

*TERROIR* IN TIBET:  
WINE PRODUCTION, IDENTITY, AND LANDSCAPE CHANGE IN  
SHANGRI-LA, CHINA

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*For Ma Yi,  
My loving companion in life*

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation illustrates the story of Shangri-La Wine brand wine, and other household and corporate wines produced in Northwest Yunnan Province of China. In this region, there are two divergent approaches to wine production and *terroir* or “taste of place.” These include corporate and state based constructions, and local reconfigurations by Tibetan Catholic villagers, which do not necessarily use the language of *terroir* but exemplify a similar ideal. This ideal of *terroir* as I define it being a particular project in branding and commodity identification utilized by winemakers (or producers of other agricultural commodities), that brings natural features such as soil and geography together with social and cultural characteristics including methods of production and history. In the most rigid and traditional sense, *terroir* has typically referred only to geographical features associated with wine, while I take the approach of other recent scholarship, expanding the term to include ideas of history, ethnicity, and methods of production among winemakers in Yunnan’s Shangri-La. This work compares and contrasts the two approaches, corporate and local, to winemaking and *terroir* in Shangri-La, illustrating how local Tibetan people produce distinctive village landscapes and unique regional identities through wine production. I use the idea of *terroir* to investigate the implications of these divergent visions among winemakers in the region, arguing that the effectiveness through which the deployment of *terroir* as a project in identity and place making, is largely dependent upon the conditions and methods of its use with relation to history, global capitalism, and methods of wine production. This is important in better understanding the operationalization of *terroir* as a social construct, a recent topic of discussion among anthropologists and social scientists, and the term’s applicability in the context of China as a



rapidly expanding global wine region. In analyzing winemaking and *terroir* in this way in Shangri-La, this dissertation also brings the experiences of Tibetans as ethnic minorities in contemporary China into further focus. Larger issues of global capitalism and history, involving certain commodities, stimulants and intoxicants in particular, and their connections between Europe and Asia and also addressed.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	<b>x</b>
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>xiv</b>
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Methodology .....	11
Notes on Language, Access, and Subjectivity .....	13
Chapter Outline .....	16
<b>Chapter 2. Analytical Framework: Ethnicity, “Shangri-La,” <i>Terroir</i>, and Global Capitalism in the Co-Production of Landscape and Regional Identity</b> .....	<b>21</b>
Indigeneity and Links to Ethnicity in China .....	21
Ethnic Minorities, Development, and Tourism .....	22
“Shangrilalization,” Ethnicity, and Landscape .....	27
Terroir, Commodities, Semiotics and Value .....	30
Global Capitalism and Temporality in the Making of Landscape and Wine Production .....	39
<b>Chapter 3. Historical Background: Catholic colonialism, landscape, and wine in Northwest Yunnan and Tibet</b> .....	<b>48</b>
History of Catholicism in Tibet and Northwest Yunnan.....	48
French and Swiss Missionary Introduction of Viticulture and Winemaking.....	53
Catholic Missionary Agriculture and Interactions with Local Landscapes.....	55
Missionary Records and Accounts of Viticulture and Winemaking .....	61
<b>Chapter 4. Producing Tibetan Wine and Landscape in Shangri-La: History, People, the State, and Capitalism in the Making of Place and Identity</b> .....	<b>71</b>

Viticulture and Winemaking in Cizhong Today .....	71
Corporate and State Driven Wine Landscape Change in Diqing.....	79
Sunspirit “Meri Ice Wine” .....	80
Shangri-La Wine.....	86
Moet-Hennessy .....	89
Hada Village White Wines .....	95
Shangrila Beer .....	100
Corporate and State Led Development and Landscape Change as an “Agriculture of Inclusion” and Diqing’s Wine Economy as Hybrid Capitalism .....	107
<b>Chapter 5. Landscape Change, Tibetan Identity, and <i>Terroir</i> in Cizhong Village.....</b>	<b>111</b>
Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing’s Story .....	120
Agricultural Life, Harvesting Grapes and Making Wine .....	130
The Process of Making Red Wine - First Step .....	132
Second Step .....	132
Third Step .....	133
Reflections on Agricultural Life and the Ideal of <i>Terroir</i> .....	134
Conclusion.....	135
<b>Chapter 6. To Be Free in the Mountains or Home in the Vineyard: Balancing Valuable Fungi Collection with “Plantation” Labor for Moet-Hennessy.....</b>	<b>137</b>
Working in the Vineyards and Collecting Caterpillar Fungus .....	140
Conclusion: Differentiating Viticulture Labor from Caterpillar Fungus Collection in Adong.....	152
<b>Chapter 7. The Practice and Semiotics of Villager and Consumer Drinking .....</b>	<b>155</b>
Drinking in Cizhong and Bu Villages .....	157
Chinese Tourist and National Consumer Drinking of Shangri-La.....	164
Anthropological Wine Tasting .....	166

Tibetan Culture, Hospitality, Drinking, Yak Butter Tea, <i>Chang</i> and <i>Qinkejiu (a Rag)</i> .....	169
Conclusion.....	174
<b>Chapter 8. Buddhist Environmental Ethics and Tibetan Ecological Entrepreneurs: Balancing Commodity Economies, Ethnic Representation, and Ecological Health.....</b>	<b>176</b>
The Players .....	177
Ani Dom, Agricultural Pollution, and Compassion for Life and Khawa Karpo.....	179
Li Weihong, Care for the Land, and Ecological Entrepreneurialism.....	189
Understanding Reactions to Viticulture and Pollution in the Context of Modernity and Khawa Karpo Cosmology and Buddhism .....	193
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>209</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Common themes among villagers for why tourists and primarily Han Chinese like Shangri-La Wine and others wines from Deqin .....	164
Table 2. Wines included in tasting in Shangri-La at Flying Tigers Cafe <sup>1</sup> .....	166

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Yunnan Province.....	10
Figure 2. Map of Diqing Prefecture.....	11
Figure 3. Andre Georges working with villagers on trail improvement (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard) .....	58
Figure 4. Priest on the Sila Pass with skis (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard) .....	59
Figure 5. Missionary photo of grape vines in Weixi (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard) .....	66
Figure 6. Angelin Lovey working in the Cizhong vineyard (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard) .....	66
Figure 7. Louis Duc working in the Weixi vineyards (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard) .....	67
Figure 8. Louis Duc working in the Weixi vineyards (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard) .....	68
Figure 9. Swiss priests drinking and smoking pipes (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard).....	69
Figure 10. Tibetan chalice and paten from 1939 in the Saint Bernard Hospice Treasury Museum .....	70
Figure 11. Cizhong church built in 1909. The Cabernet Sauvignon vineyards were planted in recent years by the Deqin County agricultural bureau. ....	74
Figure 12. Cizhong church built in 1909. The palm and banana trees are replacements planted in the 1980's for trees originally planted by the missionaries that died after their departure in the 1950's. ....	74
Figure 13. Interior of the Cizhong church today.....	75
Figure 14. Interior of the Cizhong church in the early 20th century (MEP Archives).....	75
Figure 15. Exterior of the Cizhong church in the early 20th century (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard) .....	76
Figure 16. Saint Bernard and MEP missionaries in the church yard at Cizhong. From left to right: Vicar General Francis Gore, Robbert (Bob) Chappelet, Christian Simonnet (MEP priest visiting from Vietnam), Angelin Lovey, and Louis Duc (MEP Archives).....	76
Figure 17. Bu Village vineyards with Khawa Karpo in the background.....	84
Figure 18. Ice wine tasting with the manager of Sunspirit winery .....	84
Figure 19. National park interpretive sign about Bu Village as a ideal location for producing ice wine at the foot of Khawa Karpo.....	85
Figure 20. Sunspirit company vineyards, winery, and lodge in the Mekong valley.....	85

Figure 21. Shangri-La Wine Altit series advertisement. In recent years, this A3 and others in the series have begun to win international medals and prices have begun to decrease to affordable levels as quality has risen.....	87
Figure 22. Adong villagers planting vines with Moet winery and lodge atop the hill in the background.....	94
Figure 23. Moet-Hennessy marketing material for Ao Yun.....	95
Figure 24. Vineyards in Hada village .....	100
Figure 25. Shangrila Beer Twitter advertisement.....	105
Figure 26. Shangrila Beer Twitter advertisement with owner Sonny in the brewery tasting room .....	106
Figure 27. Sonny and his family during opening ceremony of Shangrila brewery .....	106
Figure 28. Hong Xing's bottle 'Rose Honey' wine with image of Cizhong church on the label.	116
Figure 29. Cizhong "chateau" label on mini-keg produced by Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing's family and priced by the company who hired them at 695 RMB, slightly over 100 U.S. dollars. ....	117
Figure 30. Wu Gongdi's grandchildren.....	124
Figure 31. Wu Gongdi filtering fermenting wine .....	134
Figure 32. Searching for caterpillar fungus .....	150
Figure 33. Adong digging up a caterpillar fungus .....	151
Figure 34. Ani Dom discussing the sacred juniper trees next to his temple.....	189
Figure 35. Li Weihong discussing her vineyards.....	193

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

WINE

June 22, 2001

*The master put grapes in an earthen jar  
The grapes began to rot in the dark  
The grapes exploded and vociferated  
Opening wide their grape-like eyes  
Experiencing their own dying, their own rotting away.  
In their exhaustion their aspect changed.  
Now anyone can drink that wine  
The grapes are completely forgotten.  
As if it is that easy to forget one's past  
Forever.*

Janbu, contemporary Tibetan poet (2010: 48)

Many often describe China's Yunnan Province, nestled between Tibet and Burma to the west, Laos and Vietnam to the south, with other mountainous and ethnically diverse provinces to the east and north, as "Shangri-La." This image is easy to invoke with over 25 distinct ethnic and cultural groups, and tropical rainforests in the south of the province leading north into deep narrow canyons through which three of Asia's largest rivers flow surrounded by high snowcapped peaks on the edge of the eastern Himalaya. Traveling through rugged Diqing Prefecture and Deqin County in Northwest Yunnan today, the landscape is quite distinctive. The Mekong and Yangtze Rivers, known locally as the Lancang and the Jinsha flow through their deep, dry, and arid canyons flanked by the forest covered mountains and high snowcapped peaks. Along the flatlands on the banks of these rivers and their tributaries are scattered Tibetan villages, today identifiable by a common yet surprising sight, vineyards. In recent years, grapes and wine have become very significant in the livelihoods and daily agricultural life of local Tibetan villagers in this region. These industries build upon a small colonial missionary history in a few Catholic villages, combined with state schemes to improve local livelihoods and promote commodities produced within, and the development of the landscape of "Shangri-La."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Chinese state and other actors have heavily reified "Shangri-La" as an actual place with actual people in Northwest Yunnan province today. The term as a name and a place has a powerful constructed nature. I do not wish to reify Shangri-La in this way, but rather comment on this process of invention of place throughout this dissertation. I do not place quotes around Shangri-La beyond this first statement as Ferguson (1994) does



This dissertation illustrates the story of the makers of Shangri-La Wine brand wine, and other household and corporate wines produced in Northwest Yunnan's Diqing Prefecture and Deqin County, often broadly referred to as Shangri-La, the name recently given to one of Diqing's two other counties. In this region, there are two divergent approaches to wine production and the French notion of *terroir* or "taste of place." These include state-backed corporate constructions, and local reconfigurations by Tibetan Catholic villagers, which do not necessarily use the language of *terroir* but exemplify a similar ideal. This ideal of *terroir* as I define it being a particular project in branding, commodity identification, and place making utilized by winemakers (or producers of other agricultural commodities), that brings natural features such as soil and geography together with social and cultural characteristics including methods of production and history. In the most rigid and traditional sense, *terroir* has typically referred only to geographical features associated with wine, while I take the approach of other recent scholarship, expanding the term to include ideas of history, ethnicity, and methods of production among winemakers in Shangri-La.

This work compares and contrasts the two approaches, corporate and local, to winemaking and *terroir* in Shangri-La, illustrating how local Tibetan people produce distinctive village landscapes and unique regional identities through wine production. In doing so, I use the idea of *terroir* to investigate the implications of these divergent visions among winemakers in Shangri-La, arguing that the effectiveness through which the deployment of *terroir* as a project in identity and place making, is largely dependent upon the conditions and methods of its use with relation to history, global capitalism, and production methods. This is important in better understanding the operationalization of *terroir* as a social construct, a recent topic of discussion among anthropologists and social scientists, and the term's applicability in the context of China as a rapidly expanding global wine region. In analyzing winemaking and *terroir* in this way in Shangri-La, this dissertation brings the experiences of Tibetans as ethnic minorities in contemporary China further into focus. It also brings to light new perspectives on historical and contemporary exchanges between Asia and Europe, in particular focused on stimulants, intoxicants, and luxury commodities.

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throughout his work critiquing the constructed nature of the term "development." Though I do not place quotes around Shangri-La throughout this dissertation, readers should remain wary of the reification of this name.

In recent years, much scholarship has begun to focus on the uptake of Tibetan culture and “Tibetan” commodities among Chinese consumers, pointing to questions of both empowerment and exploitation among Tibetan people in China as producers of such items. An overall question remains whether these new forms of consumption are beneficial to Tibetans as ethnic minorities or not and how are Tibetans impacted by these trends. Simultaneously, China has entered a global wine craze, with consumption, importation, and production rising at unprecedented levels each year as China’s middle and upper consumer classes continue to grow. In this work, I bring the idea of commodity production and consumption based on Tibetan ethnicity together into conversation with wine, an intoxicant with colonial and global histories experiencing a boom in China. By telling the story of wine production, landscapes, and livelihoods in Shangri-La, this dissertation brings these two important contemporary trends of production and consumption in China together.

The dissertation makes two primary statements. First, I analyze the strategic deployment *terroir* as a project among different winemakers in Shangri-La, highlighting differing ways in which this ideal is exemplified by rural villagers, the state, and corporate wineries in creating and formulating new sorts of ethnoregional identities and landscapes built around production of wine as a commodity from a certain marketed locale. While *terroir* has more traditionally been linked to geography and locale, in recent studies scholars have begun to connect its use and applicability more heavily to not only geography but also history and methods of production (see Besky 2014 and Demossier 2011). In Shangri-La, while local Catholic villagers produce wines and intimately link this work to uniquely local and historical production methods, larger state and corporate interest rely strictly on the region’s aesthetically pleasing geography and Tibetan cultural imagery to claim a unique *terroir* as nothing more than a marketing tool. The strategic deployment of this term as a project by the local villagers and the state or corporate interests thus relates largely to local identities in one situation versus not at all in another.

My second statement argues how alongside an ideal of *terroir*, colonial histories and global capitalism are reverse engineered, re-established, and reformulated through the production of “Tibetan” wine and beer in creating a new global wine region, industry, and landscape. In demonstrating these assertions, taking connections between the Sino-Tibetan borderlands and Europe as an example, I argue that in post-colonial and post-socialist locales, long-standing

historical patterns of global capitalism and exchange of stimulants and intoxicants remain in continuous motion, reestablishing and reformulating colonial and other older transnational connections through the production of wine and beer.

I begin by ethnographically outlining the history and story of French and Swiss Catholic missionaries who first introduced grapes and winemaking in a select few villages in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. I then describe how over the last two decades the state and local Catholic villagers have both moved to re-create village agricultural landscapes using this history. In the case of the Catholic village of Cizhong working to form a new economic, ethnic, and religious identity melded with state promoted tourism. While these endeavors are based upon local individual household agency in Cizhong, in other areas the state has worked to transform the local agricultural landscape of predominantly traditional and subsistence wheat and barley crops to one primarily defined by vineyards and cash cropping. In the case of the Cizhong village, I inquire into the ways the development of a wine economy based upon colonial and religious history has worked to give Cizhong a specific niche within the larger landscape of Shangri-La. In Cizhong, I ask, how do wine, Tibetan culture, and conceptions of landscape and history work together to create forms of distinction among villagers different from conceptions elsewhere in the region among grape growers? In answering these questions, I draw upon a range of theories, related primarily to landscapes as dwelling spaces bringing together religion, space, people, and temporality (Ingold 1993; Ingold 2000; Tsing 2015a). I also frame the project of creating *terroir* among villagers as a cultural taste of place and method of producer agency (Demossier 2011; Ulin 1995; Ulin 2002; Ulin 2013), and connect this with literature related to the Chinese state's packaging of Shangri-La (Coggins and Yeh 2014; Hillman 2003a; Kolas 2011; Smyer Yu 2015).

Following this exploration, I look more broadly at landscape change with respect to grapes and vineyards across larger Diqing Prefecture, to hone in on the ways that grape agriculture and wine production have become a method of state incorporation and control, simultaneously labeled as development (see Scott 1998; Scott 2009; Yeh 2013). I ask in what ways villagers with no history of growing grapes or producing wine prior to recent years conceive of this new form of agriculture. I argue that grapes are much more an “agriculture of inclusion” within state schemes tied to regionalism and touristic consumption, contrary to traditional forms of mountain agriculture, often described by scholars such as Scott (2009) as

agricultures of avoidance or escape.<sup>2</sup> What I also show is that in other parts of Diqing, villagers view grapes with a more purely economic eye versus Cizhong villagers, and that much less association with identity and culture exists; in this case, wine is less a means of local cultural representation than a connection with larger nationwide and global economies. Here, landscape has become a product of global capitalism and consumer fantasies of Shangri-La.

In highlighting caterpillar fungus (a valuable Chinese medicine collected in Tibet) collection as a juxtaposition to viticulture and agricultural labor and land ownership, I tell the story of how collection becomes an annual village wide communal activity, and how the actual process of collecting centers on family, comradery, and assistance of one another. The process of collecting itself is a social process, and the fungus when collected takes on the role of a gift much more than that of a luxury commodity like wine, though it later goes through such phases after it leaves the hands of village collectors (Tsing 2013; Tsing 2015a). Simultaneously, the village level management and ownership of the land on which caterpillar fungus grows is an important point of discussion. The collective ownership and management of this resource is heavily organized for access, timeline, etc., each of which contribute to a local sense of ownership and identity in effectively owning and possessing this valuable resource. This is drastically different from the ways in which land and villager labor are organized in new contract agreements with corporate wineries. In some ways, contrary to wine, the Chinese desire to consume this resource from Tibetan lands has given villagers a methodology by which to assert their own ideals as managers and stewards of local land resources and access.

One of my major points of discussion is highlighting the ways that wine configures local livelihoods, landscape making, and identity production through both its consumptive and symbolic value. Through national and global capitalisms and both historical and contemporary transnational connections with France and Switzerland, wine and beer as commodities have worked to re-shape the story of Shangri-La and its peoples. As China's economy has developed, and alienation from a variety of traditional lifestyles and values has ensued, so has a need to return to such values and consume "the other" in the sense of wilderness, pristine, and mystic. Tibetan culture in particular has begun to fulfill much of this void (see Liang 2013; Osburg 2013;

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<sup>2</sup> Also see Schmitt (2014) for a detailed review and analysis applying theories of indigenous hill agriculture and government improvement schemes from elsewhere in Asia to the case of western China and Tibet.

Smyer Yu 2015). Simultaneously wine, especially French wine, which is seen as the best the world has to offer has provided a new mode of creating distinction among China's richest luxury consumers, aptly described as a "luxury consumer on steroids," for whom only the best Bordeaux wines will suffice (Ross and Roach 2013). What Shangri-La Wine and other wines in the region promise consumers is a Tibetan wine created through French colonial history and vinted using "French" techniques, binding multiple desirable qualities into one consumable item (Meneley 2008; Tracy 2013).

What I suggest in this story though is that the local villagers who produce and collect these items are in fact very involved in their molding and in playing into these traits of consumptive value. In many cases, this process has given rural Tibetans a new method by which to mold and conceive of themselves and new modes of being what I term "regionally ethnic" Tibetans. This makes them unique from other Tibetans as winemakers, in particular Catholic winemakers, who also promote their wine and winemaking as a distinctive part of their local culture and history.

Important are not only the unique traits that are bound up into the making of wine as a commodity, but its history or "biography" (Kopytoff 1988) as an item of exchange in global movements. In Tibet, wine is primarily foreign, introduced by French and Swiss Catholic fathers. Now it is produced for predominately Chinese consumption with the suggestion that it possess a history of being "Franco-Tibetan," or most recently in the case of one French winery now operating in the region, French produced in a Tibetan location that is described as a last Shangri-La or Himalayan paradise and being exported for predominantly western consumption. The biography of caterpillar fungus, explored for comparison in Chapter 6, follows unique and unusual circles. It began as a Tibetan medicine, then entered traditional Chinese medicine, and in the contemporary period has become a symbol of wealth, power, and prestige among China's novae rich. Slowly, its desirability as an aphrodisiac and stamina enhancer is entering into western consumption as well.

Turning to consumption locally, wine consumption is important to some, particularly Tibetan Catholics as a ritual drink used for mass and increasingly a drink associated with healthy living and with festivals. Part of this story also follows how people choose different alcoholic drinks for different occasions, the choosing of drinks, and the links between these choices and

Tibetan villager identities and how these are evolving. I examine grape wine alongside other more “traditional” Tibetan beverages such as butter tea and barley beer to see in what ways this beverage has or has not become part of village sociality. I show how people perceive and identify different drinks for different uses. Some are associated more with hospitality with others used in daily consumption. This varies considerably across location from one village to the next.

Within this story, the formation and configuration of landscapes through history is also important. In the case of wine landscapes, I delve deeply into colonial history through written work, archives, and oral histories to examine how the vineyard landscapes of today came into being. I analyze how villagers today have built off history to forge uniquely modern landscapes of wine production and vineyards using in many ways re-created historical narratives about the history of vineyards and wine making, and their importance as both items of religion and ritual, landscape formation, and economic production and identity. Across most of region however, what I suggest is that the new and expanding landscape of vineyards has greatly altered how people view themselves and their livelihoods or even life’s passions. For some individuals, the recent economic boom that has come with grapes and wine is not all good despite increasing income, and for them pursuing a new ecologically sound organic agenda, contrary to state and corporate based wine promotion has become their primary project in daily life. In all cases though, the landscape of vineyards itself has played a role in making and transforming how people view and conceive of themselves as Tibetan people of Deqin County in particular. Today to be a Deqin Tibetan also means to grow grapes and for some to make wine, whether it is for economic benefit for some villagers or for ritual, identity, and distinction for others. This is the story of the people and landscape of an emerging yet also historically imagined wine region, rather than of one person or one village, though I draw from many stories of individuals in particular locations with particular roles to play and stories to tell to bring the tale to life.

This dissertation contributes in several areas and is important for the literature addressing the social constructs of *terroir*, global capitalism, and treatments of China’s many ethnic minorities. Ethnographic treatments of winemaking, wine regions, and *terroir* often address what role local people play, but each have done so by looking at well-established winemaking regions and traditions. This study brings a new perspective by exploring the development of a

new global wine region, and the roles of local people, identities, and *terroir* as a project in this process. I argue that individual agency among local people is key to whether or not a strategic deployment of *terroir* and configuration of landscapes effectively leads to the creation of a conception of identity tied to wine. In cases of individual household wine production in the Catholic village of Cizhong and to a limited extent elsewhere, wine production is an agentive and creative methodology to adapt to what Sahlins (1999) and Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud (2015) call “indigenizing modernity.” While wine is historical for Tibetan Catholic people, they draw upon this history and engage with *terroir* to construct a space for themselves as distinct Tibetan Catholic people with a “French” winemaking tradition within the larger landscape of Shangri-La. This relates to the development of *terroir* in new locations such as China and India conceived as a practice and marketing terminology connected to both unique features of landscape and locale such as soil, climate, as well as unique methods of production, history, and identity among producers of *terroir* marked products such as wine and tea (Besky 2014).

In cases where *terroir* language, use, and branding remain a state or corporate project, rather than a deployment by locals, household farmers growing grape then view viticulture and wine only as items of economic production and gain rather than identity formation. I illustrate this juxtaposition by comparing a community’s work in vineyards via contract labor where villagers have little or no interest in the wine produced, versus the same community’s work collecting caterpillar fungus as a community activity. Here, the land on which the commodity is collected is owned and managed collectively by the community as part of their conceptions of themselves as Tibetan people. While corporate wineries including foreign ones and the state suggests that wines produced in Shangri-La have a unique *terroir* due to the magnificent landscape of the region, its Tibetan culture, and the Tibetan villagers who grow the grapes, there is nothing unique about the production of these wines in which villagers have no involvement. *Terroir* is deployed only for marketing purposes in this case and unrelated to individual productive practices that gives wines and other products unique *terroirs* elsewhere in the world (Besky 2014; Demossier 2011).

This project is timely given China’s rapid entry into the global wine market and onto the global winemaking map, highlighting the localized impacts of this emergent industry. I address larger issues of global capitalism and its history, suggesting that certain commodities, stimulants

and intoxicants in particular, have served as connection between Europe and the Asia Pacific region for extended periods of time, and that these same connections are now being reconceived in fashioning new industries and identities. Minority identities in China, with specific attention given to identities of Tibetan people and the consumption of Tibetan culture by middle and upper class Chinese, also play a role in this process of a global shift in power in the production and consumption of luxury commodities and intoxicants, with wine as an example. I refer to two factors with this power shift: One being a domestic conception within China by the state, corporate interests, and local Tibetans themselves of the desirability of things both foreign (in this case French) and ethnic (Tibetan). Second, I suggest an overall move and shift towards China among global luxury producers in recognition of the country's emerging role as a global consumer and producer of unique luxury goods. The French for instance are now making wine to export to the west in the physical place called Shangri-La conceived by China.





Figure 1. Map of Yunnan Province

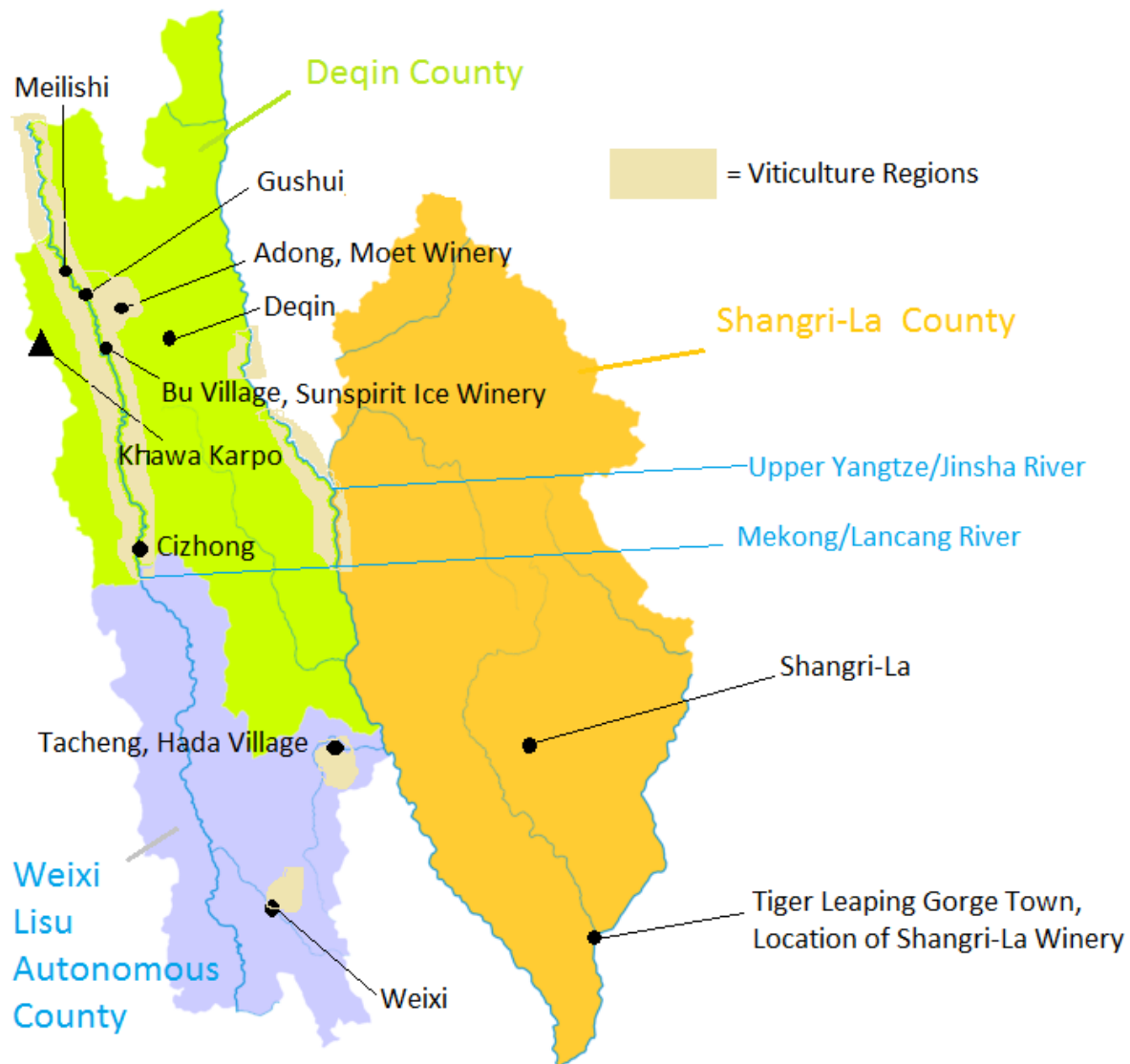


Figure 2. Map of Diqing Prefecture

## Methodology

When I first conceived of and planned to conduct this project, I primarily envisioned a “traditional” ethnographic experience, residing in a rural Tibetan village or perhaps two villages spread out over time, living with a local family and simply being there while conducting interviews and observing daily life. Certainly this type of activity still made up the majority of my time in the field, but my overall approach changed much more into that of conducting a multi-sited regional ethnography in several villages along with visiting wineries, breweries and restaurants, interviewing government officials, and hosting and organizing my own local wine tasting at a French friend’s restaurant in Shangri-La. I also found myself traveling as far as Paris

France and Martigny Switzerland for one month to delve more deeply into the archival history of viticulture in Shangri-La and the Sino-Tibetan borderlands. Still, I spent the majority of time simply being there and participating in daily life among local people. Participant observation as many say remains a cornerstone of anthropological research, and I certainly found this to be true for much of my time.

I collected the data for this dissertation over several years' time in Shangri-La and Deqin County dating back to 2007. Primary data collection took place though in the summer of 2013 when I first visited Cizhong village for a pilot study, with long-term work then taking place among a variety of locales in the region for one year from fall 2014 through summer 2015. I returned for a six-month follow-up visit with one month spent in Europe for archival work during spring and summer of 2016. Living side by side with my study subjects and engaging in their daily lives was by far the most useful of my methodological approaches, in addition to being a research instrument myself, constantly taking notes, and observing events and activities as they occurred so that I could later interpret them. As Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011: 11) point out though, "substance cannot be considered independent of method." I therefore recognize that much of what I have written in this dissertation comes from my own understanding and interpretations as an ethnographer, while simultaneously attempting to understand and interpret the events in the lives of my study subjects while stretching things like my own linguistic abilities. All of the data in my field notes and interviews relies on my understandings of what I was experiencing at the time and how I made sense of it.

My own ethnographic method was constantly evolving as I worked to improve the validity and results of my study and the data I collected; something which Bernard points out makes this method so useful (Bernard 2011). As suggested above, originally I conceived of the project as taking place in simply one or two villages to understand the local agricultural economy and life surrounding viticulture and wine production. As the project evolved however, what I found was that there were so many different stories in different locations related to the idea and development of Shangri-La's budding wine economy. Given these discoveries, I decided that it would be a disservice to the goals of my study and the people and topic I was studying not to explore these tales and the individuals and communities who wished to share them further. Therefore, while I ended up spending a majority of my "field" time in Cizhong village, I also

spent much time in other villages with wineries or individuals involved in various wine making projects or wine and viticulture related activities such as environmental activism against pesticide use. Placed together with archival materials and interviews with government officials and other important figures, this approach has produced a much more cohesive and fascinating story.

In terms of research tools or actual field methods, beyond collecting an enormous amount of field notes, which make up the bulk of the materials in this dissertation, much of the data collected also came from semi-structured and often completely unstructured interviews with people. Originally, in addition to such methods, I planned to conduct household surveys about livelihoods and agricultural life to assess how wine and viticulture affected and changed household living, subsistence, and cash crop economies. This approach had been useful in my earlier research in trying to assess the impacts of economic development projects in the region, namely resettlement from large dams on agriculture and other forms of household income generation, (see Galipeau 2015 and Galipeau 2014). I did indeed collect this type of data from over thirty households in Cizhong and collected updated figures for another community upstream, Meilishi to improve validity from earlier data collected in 2011. However, what I found as I spent more time among villagers and also chatting with various actors involved in Shangri-La wine development, was that it was the individual stories, different companies, history, and various projects that explain and highlight what I argue is occurring better than quantitative household survey numbers. I still maintain this data for Cizhong and Meilishi's households, and intend to use it in some other form or fashion in future explorations of the wine economy here, but have found it to be less central to my overall argument and narrative.

### **Notes on Language, Access, and Subjectivity**

Certainly one of the primary barriers to conducting fieldwork in China remains language. After years of effort, I can speak what one might call standard Chinese Mandarin or *Putonghua*, with a strong level of efficiency. However, throughout China, people use local dialects in daily conversation, which one cannot locate in any Mandarin language textbook, though Mandarin has certainly become more and more accessible to everyone through schooling and activities such as watching television. Except for elders who have had no schooling since before the 1950's, everyone in Deqin and Shangri-La today is at least partially proficient in standard Mandarin.

Further complicating the issue though since I was working among Tibetan communities is that in their own daily conversations, locals will often converse in local Tibetan dialects or even more confusingly, a strange combination of mixed Tibetan and Yunnan dialect of Chinese. Formally studying Tibetan language for work in Yunnan is practically out of the question, as the dialects spoken here differ so drastically from the Lhasa dialect taught in universities so as to make the two almost mutually unintelligible. To my luck however, two of my primary informants in Cizhong village, my host father, a prominent Catholic leader, and one local historian and elder who knew French and Swiss missionaries before 1949, both spoke highly proficient Mandarin, allowing me to converse with them with ease. At times in 2014 and 2015, I did also work with a local research assistant and freelance Chinese anthropologist who spoke Yunnan dialect who could help translate when an interviewee could not comprehend my Mandarin or me their local dialect. In fact, with more and more extended time in the field, my ability to understand and speak local dialect certainly improved, and upon returning in 2016 was able to conduct all my fieldwork and interviews completely on my own with high success.

Conducting official or formal research in rural China remains a difficult and complicated bureaucratic process. Many foreigners doing so will simply arrive in the country on a tourist visa and conduct their research unofficially or with only some local government approval established through *guanxi* or “relationships,” without going through the formal process of getting the correct visa and required higher-level approvals. Doing so is also getting more and more difficult in China’s Tibetan regions, with Yunnan remaining one of the few locales where foreigners remain able continue to conduct research among Tibetan communities. Fortunately, for my research I was able to secure the proper permits and approvals, affiliating with a host university in the provincial capital of Kunming, and then working with the university to secure a formal research permit from the provincial Foreign Affairs Department. Hearing many stories about failed research projects and permissions in China, there was also something quite fulfilling to receive a permit with an official red stamp indicating the government formally approved of and supported my project. In my mind, this form of approval is also extremely important in terms of being responsible to one’s study subjects as a researcher. Without formal permission to conduct research in a rural community or anywhere in China for that matter, one’s study subjects could face retribution from the state for speaking to and interacting with an unapproved foreign

researcher. Thus, I saw it as a responsibility to my study subjects to have pursued such approval, which then also granted me access to and the ability to contact important government officials and company representatives involved in Shangri-La's wine industry, which would not have been possible without potential consequences, were my project not officially approved.

In undertaking this project, and in particular having become heavily engaged in indigenous theory and the project and goals of indigenous anthropology in preparation, I was also not unaware of the role I found myself falling into as a Caucasian perceived to be studying an "other" in a developing region. One of my ways of dealing with, conceptualizing, and limiting the impacts of my position as a privileged outsider, has been through the potential mitigation provided by the long-term relationships I have developed with some of my study subjects. I have had the fortunate ability to maintain connections with individual villagers in one community for seven years. In 2007, some of these individuals worked as guides during a sixteen-day trekking and field studies trip I took part in as an undergraduate. Over the course of these two weeks, fellow students and I made close connections with several individuals, sharing in cultural exchanges of songs and dance, language, and learning about their local relationships with land and the environment as part of our studies. Much informal time and exchanges also took place. These relationships were heavily cultivated through the consumption in evenings of local village alcoholic spirits, fitting given the topic of this dissertation, and an act in which in my experience forms some of the best relationships in rural China. Following these initial encounters as a student, I returned to the region each year working for an NGO, and then as a teaching assistant for the same field program, and maintained my relationship with villagers through continuous visits. In 2009, having previously met and worked with villagers in one community, I visited their community and their homes for the first time. The head of one household served as our guide with students to trek and camp in the caterpillar fungus collecting area for one week as this activity was occurring at that time. This led me to choose to return to this village later for master's research, and I have also maintained a continuous relationship with this household head who served as a guide and who has remained a key informant as my primary connection with the rest of the village and other households whom he has introduced me to. Having maintained this connection over several years with this individual and his family, it is not

my intention to complete this dissertation research without any follow-up or regular returns. I intend to keep these friendships in the long term and return on multiple occasions.

## **Chapter Outline**

In Chapter 2, I describe my analytical framework, looking at a variety of literature and work across several areas of study. I begin by outlining the concepts of indigeneity and ethnicity in China, their connection with land management, ownership, and access and then their applicability or lack thereof in China versus other parts of the globe. In China, one cannot discuss the topic of ethnicity and indigeneity without looking at the questions of *minzu* or “minority nationalities,” which I overview within my discussion of indigeneity and ethnicity. I then tie this into an analysis of the state based development of western China, often focused around natural resources and tourism, particular ethnic tourism and minorities. A large part of this development in the Tibetan areas of Yunnan and its neighboring regions has had to do with “shangrilalization” (Coggins and Yeh 2014), state based development coupled with Chinese and foreign consumer exoticism and landscape transformation and description.

This chapter overviewing my theoretical underpinnings then moves into a discussion of recent anthropological engagement with the French concept of *terroir* or “taste of place.” Until recently, *terroir* was rooted much more in geographical and geological markers of distinction in agricultural products, though now many suggest using *terroir* as a producer tool, cultural construct, and mode of cultural branding. I contend this is occurring among villagers, the state, and corporate actors in Shangri-La. In relation to *terroir*, I also briefly enter into a conversation looking at anthropological work on drinks (alcoholic and non-alcoholic), drinking, and commodities as subjects of value. Here I look both at the ethnographic experience of drinking during fieldwork and among cultures and communities, and semiotics and identity related to specific drinks and commodities, which become important stories in Chapters 5 and 7. I conclude this theoretical construction by suggesting and calling for a new thinking towards ethnicity, culture, identity, landscape, and economic distinction among minority agricultural communities in China formed through global capitalisms, indirectly related to new emerging modes of consumption among elite urban Chinese. Whereas Tsing (2015) has suggested that diversified commodity chains and fractured piecemeal niche markets are a new form of salvage capitalism emerging in the ruins of the last century’s exploits, I offer a new suggestion for global

capitalism and niche commodities tied to local identities. I contend that diverse Shangri-La commodities and wine landscapes are the result of over two centuries of global circulations of knowledge and markets resulting from colonialism and orientalism from the west and more recently “internal orientalism” (Smyer Yu 2015) and western re-imagination in China. These circulations have created a landscape of multiple actors and creators producing commodities not as a form of salvage capitalism but rather one of cultural construction as a response to modernization and in one particular case religious revivalism and ritual. This is tied into but also extends what Sahlins (1999) and Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud (2015) have called “indigenizing modernity,” in the context of state building and globalization.

Chapter 3 provides a historical background on the history of French and Swiss Catholic missionaries in Tibet and their introduction of wine and viticulture, also paying attention to earlier limited mention of indigenous grapes and wine making in the region. In addition, I explore other interactions that the missionaries had with the local landscapes and people through agriculture and various activities. Chapter 4 then ethnographically sets the trope of my study, providing a regional overview on all of the various contemporary wine projects and landscapes in Diqing Prefecture today, demonstrating how landscapes have become an actor in creating the identities of people. I describe contemporary transformations and describe the importance of my various research sites. Using written and oral histories, and contemporary changes in the landscapes, this chapter asks, how do history, people, and landscape come together to tell a story? I describe both historical and contemporary key sites in the Shangri-La Wine project and the growing wine industry in Diqing. I show how wine has taken on two different identities of its own, one as a state led development, incorporation, and “Shangrilalization” project, vis-à-vis an individual cultural project in the Tibetan Catholic community of Cizhong. Exploring recent French corporate entrances into wine making and viticulture in Deqin, I look at how these foreign enterprises are seeking to exoticize “the other” Shangri-La internationally to the west through wine in much the same manner as domestic companies have done with Shangri-La brand wine in China. I also discuss the production of villager labor by these different projects and the ways in which it differs between them.

Chapter 5 takes us on an in-depth visit to the Tibetan Catholic village of Cizhong, exploring this unique community and its wine making tradition as an exemplification of culture



and identity change. Here utilizing *terroir*, landscape, religion, and ethnicity, I explore how state initiated tourism has led to landscape change and an association between producing wine and being a Cizhong Tibetan person. One question explored is how does this differ from other wine making and grape-growing villagers who view grapes with a purely economic eye as described in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I also explore the lives of one household in Cizhong, my host family and the first to initiate or re-invent a winemaking tradition in the late 1990's. I describe how the wine production process between the son and father of this family is an exemplification of distinction. I also address some of the challenges that this family and others like them face with the entrance into the community of new foreign high quality (versus quantity) winemaking endeavors, seeking to develop a local *terroir*.

Chapter 6 turns to discussing land and labor, juxtaposing wine and viticulture production with caterpillar fungus collection as an alternative mode of economic production and identity. I highlight how caterpillar fungus differs from Shangri-La vineyards, state incorporation, and economic inclusion in that land tenure and management is a socialized community activity, as is the collection itself. Collecting is not alienated capitalist work but rather an act of community autonomy and freedom, contrasted against working for the French Moët-Hennessy winery, where despite making more money, villagers lease land to the company and negotiate labor at daily rates. Indeed this form of wage labor, where schedules are rigid and set, is completely new to most villagers, especially women. Still, due to favorable land contracts most are ecstatic, though the juxtaposition with collecting caterpillar fungus as a community activity and managing it communally in a non-capitalist manner is profound. I also analyze the differences in the ways in which these communities engaged in wage based vineyard labor perceive grapes and wine versus those in Cizhong who take part in a household winemaking industry. Here grapes and wine are framed as primarily economic resources and something consumed by outside Chinese rather than local Tibetans.

Chapter 7 explores wine itself, looking at the semiotics of village drinking and Chinese national, or more rather tourist drinking. I examine how villagers use different drinks for different occasions, the choosing of drinks, and the links between drinking, drink choice, and Tibetan village identity. I also ask how wine has entered into daily and ritually based drinking practices to contribute to identity. I show a range of changes and non-changes across the

different villages where I worked, while also examining the Chinese and tourist drinking of Shangri-La wine as a pastime, carried out as part of the experience of visiting this exoticized locale. I then compare the role that wine plays as a drink for hospitality in particular locations to “traditional” drinks of hospitality, butter tea, and *chang* (Tibetan barley beer). In doing so I seek to understand the ways in which wine is taking on the role of these earlier drinks and providing a certain level of distinction for those who serve in it lieu of these drinks.

Chapter 8 turns toward looking at a different kind of identity formation around grapes and viticulture. Here I focus on what I call “ecological entrepreneurs” and Buddhist environmental ethics, describing the stories of two individuals who have decided that the rapid pace at which viticulture and its accompanying agricultural chemicals have expanded in Deqin threaten the environment and health, not just human health, but the health of the sacred landscape. With the region being renowned as the location of one of the most sacred mountains in all of Tibetan Buddhism and a biodiversity hotspot, upon whose image much of the wine produced here is marketed, it is ironic as these two villagers point out that viticulture may be destroying local ecology. Contrary to other anthropologists working in the region who suggest that modern economics do not overpower locals’ reverence for the sacred mountain and religion, I counter that Buddhist ethics and being “green” as a winemaker are atypical to how most perceive the impacts of viticulture and modernity.

In the conclusion I work to bring the various chapters together in brief conversation, to highlight how across a variety of perceptions, ideals, and experiences, wine, *terroir* as a project, and in turn modernity have worked to re-configure perceptions of self and community among Tibetan villagers in Diqing. Contrary to other regions of Tibet where identity is perhaps more monolithic, like others I argue that ethnic minorities in Yunnan and Shangri-La are incredibly distinctive in this culturally heterogeneous region. Their ability to negotiate within relatively liberal and opened state formed spaces to carve out entirely new economic niches for themselves using wine is not only commendable but in many ways just exciting and inspiring. This is not to say that everything is all wine and roses, because working within these state spaces to establish new economic forms of ethnicity has not come without ecological and cultural costs, as some keen villagers have caught on. Still, even in such situations people move towards more

sustainable methods while continuing on the same trajectory of indigenizing and adapting to modernity through viticulture and wine.

## CHAPTER 2. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: ETHNICITY, “SHANGRI-LA,” *TERROIR*, AND GLOBAL CAPITALISM IN THE CO-PRODUCTION OF LANDSCAPE AND REGIONAL IDENTITY

The Song of the Grape:  
*We men of Tsin (Shanxi), such grapes so fair,  
Do cultivate as gems most rare;  
Of these delicious wine we make,  
For which men ne'er their thirst can slake.  
Take but a measure of this wine,  
And Liang-chow's rule is surely thine.*  
Liu Yuxi (Tang Dynasty Poet)

### **Indigeneity and Links to Ethnicity in China**

The Chinese state has long had a complicated conceptualization towards the concept of indigeneity (often not acknowledging it), though I begin this discussion with an overview due to anthropology's engagement with these issues and access and ownership over land and natural resources having become key to claims and experiences of indigeneity across the globe (Cattelino 2010; Lambert 2007; Povinelli 2002; Yeh 2007). In this dissertation, I argue that Tibetan identity in Shangri-La connects to the production of wine as a commodity produced in a specific location on land inhabited by Tibetan people. Indeed, during my early research in Deqin, one of the major points stressed to me by villagers about their economic wellbeing was that they enjoyed access and customary rights to a particular set of natural resources and economic opportunities. These include access to caterpillar fungus and wine grape markets, which were both dependent on their living within a Tibetan region where these resources are available and sought after. Thus, villagers feel that their Tibetan identity connects with these resources and their ownership of them. In the case of Tibetans living within China, Yeh (ibid) has also provided a useful analysis of how the formation of indigeneity as a process and construct may be well suited around the collection of the caterpillar fungus. Yeh argues that while commodification of the caterpillar fungus and large numbers of sales to Chinese consumers is a recent phenomenon, the possession and ownership of the land on which the fungus grows by Tibetans is not. As demand for this resource continues to grow, more collectors besides Tibetans have begun to seek access to collecting grounds for the resource, while local Tibetans such as those I spent time collecting with have begun to assert their rights to such

collecting grounds as indigenous inhabitants and owners of customary land rights. However, they have had to be cautious in terms of framing these access rights as a purely ethnic issue based upon Tibetaness so as not to agitate against the state too heavily. What this helps me to demonstrate is that as local Tibetans have begun to enter wider markets through the collecting and selling of the caterpillar fungus, they have also begun to assert themselves as indigenous peoples through their ownership of the resource. This is an important factor in terms of how I argue throughout this dissertation that commodity production and collection inform individual and group identities. Given this conception, one set of factors I focus on in the following chapters ethnographically, are the links between agricultural production of wine, and people's descriptions of this process in terms of being a Tibetan person.

Yeh also suggests there is a growing interest among urban Chinese in a variety of aspects of Tibetan culture, including medicines, which may lead to more awareness within China of Tibetans as indigenous peoples. Indeed Osburg (2013) and Smyer Yu (2012; 2015) have also pointed in particular towards a recent urban Chinese uptake of Tibetan Buddhism, culture, and travel to Tibetan regions as a means of fulfillment due to feeling empty within urban China's hyper capitalist lifestyle. Smyer Yu (2012) also frames the revival of Tibetan Buddhism occurring among Tibetans themselves within the context of larger global indigenous movements. In many ways, the desire among Chinese and other outsiders as tourists to consume wine and other goods and services including religion from Shangri-La, gives local Tibetans a means through which to identify themselves through economic production.

#### Ethnic Minorities, Development, and Tourism

Indigeneity as a political construct in mainland China is a complicated topic, with all 56 officially recognized ethnic groups including the majority Han Chinese being referred to instead as *minzu* or "nationalities." China's official position on indigeneity is that the country has no indigenous peoples, or that everyone is indigenous, so the state insists that the international legal framework of the UN declaration on indigenous peoples does not apply to China. However the international and non-governmental communities' stances have often been that China's ethnic minorities might be better termed as indigenous peoples since they possess and face many of the

same issues of marginalization that indigenous peoples face elsewhere in post-settler states (Chee-Beng 2007; Erni 2007; Hathaway 2010).

To understand all of this better, it is necessary to review the relationship between different ethnic groups, "minorities," or "nationalities" and the Chinese state. This relationship has experienced a great variety of change over long periods of history as the state has changed its position towards different ethnic groups and their governance (Harrell 1996; Rossabi 2004). In recent decades, since the beginning of the reform and opening period of post-1978, and even more so since the opening of Yunnan and its northwestern frontiers to both domestic Chinese and foreign travelers in the 1990's, tourism has begun to play a large role in this relationship and in the maintenance of individual ethnic identity. In this section, I first frame how the state has viewed and placed ethnic groups within larger Chinese society historically, and the ways in which different groups have viewed themselves in this process. I contextualize how scholarship has framed tourism as recently playing a role in ethnicity, and the ways that this has affected ethnic minority life and identities, with particular attention paid to northwest Yunnan and neighboring areas of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands.

For hundreds of years through multiple dynasties, China's border regions or "ethnic frontiers" have been contextualized as areas of "difference," in comparison to central Chinese society (Harrell 1996). Different ethnic groups or minorities have historically been contextualized as barbarians, though their status as such could also be differentiated as "cooked" or "raw" depending on their perceived level of social development or civilized Confucian ethic (Fiskesjö 1999; Fiskesjö 2002). Managing the ethnic groups of these regions while viewing them as barbarians has involved the use of what Harrell has called "civilizing projects" (1996), which include three types: Confucian, occurring before 1949 to bring the values of Chinese society such as governance and pragmatism into the folds of ethnic minority life. Christian projects (a major point of discussion in the next chapter), taking place before 1949 when China was forced open to colonial influences and the western values of Christianity, and lastly the communist project of classification after 1949 and prior to the recent reforms of the 1980's onward. Harrell (*ibid*) has described the first two projects as involving an explicit judgment of superiority of Chinese or western values over those of the barbarians. The communist project however, which was based lightly upon Soviet ideas of social development and the potential of

all peoples to obtain the highest level, was not as explicitly discriminatory, it just conveniently placed the majority Han Chinese in the highest level of social and evolutionary development above other ethnic groups. Since this early contextualization of treatment of the ethnic minorities as civilizing projects, Harrell has reformulated his analysis to frame all three projects more as "literalizing" or bringing different ethnic groups into the fold of communication with a larger morally higher world (Harrell 2001). However, his earlier term "civilizing" has continued more prominently in use by other scholars, despite his suggestion that this earlier analysis was not the most nuanced nor as well accepted by Chinese scholars themselves.

Mullaney (2011) has also pointed to some common misconceptions about the communist civilizing project of ethnic identification and categorization into socialist evolutionary groups, with particular attention paid to the process in Yunnan. Originally when China began its communist era under Mao, it was framed as a multi-ethnic or multi-national state, and each group was allowed to self-identify itself and gain national representation in Beijing. However, hundreds of ethnic groups self-identified with a majority being from Yunnan, meaning that the province would have had a majority representation in the new National People's Congress in Beijing. Recognizing that this would not work, the state systematically set out to classify the country's ethnic groups, relying on a group of academic ethnologists to do so. Contrary to popular conceptions, Mullaney demonstrates that the identification process used linguistic analyses first begun by a British colonial officer and mapper in Yunnan, Harold Davies. Building upon Davies' linguistic studies, the state sponsored social scientists eventually placed all of Yunnan's ethnic groups including the majority Han into 25 categories, (56 nationally). The social scientists at the urging of the state also made the groups fit into various stages of Soviet social development, but contrary to popular opinion, did not actually identify, or categorize them in this way. These researchers made value judgments on social development at the urging of the state, but this was not a part of their methodology of identification and categorization.

Following a period of denial of ethnic identity/diversity, culture, and tradition under Mao and during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960's and 70's, from the reform period onward the status or at least recognition of ethnic minorities and their individual culture and identities have risen in terms of being recognized as a resource, particularly in the case of tourism (Hillman 2003a; Harrell 2001). However while tourism and other forms of economic development have

brought significant changes to the lives of different ethnic groups, many of these groups are simultaneously still viewed as backward socially and as an impediment to their own economic development and to environmental protection (Harwood 2013). The state often frames western and southwest China including Yunnan as economically behind in comparison to the east, and blames a large part of this backwardness or slowness to develop on the "minorities problem." That is, ethnic communities practicing things like swidden agriculture and animism which are viewed by the state as not having the same capacity or collective and individual agency to grow themselves out of poverty like the Han Chinese of the east (Harwood 2013). In many ways, the value judgments of social development and capacity placed on the "barbarians" by the Chinese state for centuries are still at play.

However in Yunnan and elsewhere, ethnic identity and culture has also been viewed as a means of development both by the state and by minorities themselves who have begun to capitalize on "being ethnic" in a variety of ways, including through tourism (Harrell 2001; Hillman 2003a; Jinba 2014; Kolas 2011). Being ethnic can mean a variety of things based upon a number of factors including location (Ma 2013), educational situation (Hansen 1999), economic circumstances (Harwood 2013), and history (Harrell 2001; Wellens 2010). In addition, having one identity defined by the state based upon the classification process of the 1950's has not precluded various groups and communities from keeping multiple identities to benefit them in different ways and in different situations (Harrell 2001; Jinba 2014). State-based tourism plays a role in these processes in northwest Yunnan and the Sino-Tibetan borderlands. In these areas, as I demonstrate, wine has begun to contribute to how people create identities for themselves as Tibetan people today based on economic opportunity and history.

In Northwest Yunnan, scholarship on ethnic tourism has largely centered on two areas, Lijiang and its Naxi people (Chao 2012; McKhann 2001; Swope et al. 2011), and on the Tibetans of Shangri-La (Coggins and Yeh 2014; Hillman 2003a; Hillman 2003b; Kolas 2011; Smyer Yu 2015). In both areas, prefectural and local governments directly promote tourism for economic development, in the case of Shangri-La, in direct response to an overnight halt in the local economy of logging in 1998 due to new environmental protection laws (Hillman 2003a). Around Lijiang, tourism has occurred in two arenas, within the city and the "old town" and in the surrounding rural village areas. Within the city and old town, both Chao (ibid) and McKhann



(ibid) have described the explosion of tourism as having provided a mix of results for local Naxi people. McKhann points out that when he first visited the area in the late 1980's upon hearing about its rustic charm and traditional appeal of narrow cobblestone streets with waterways and outdoor village markets, he was not disappointed. However, as word of the old town developed and the government recognized its appeal, they began to promote it more, and by the early 2000's millions of people were visiting each year. Indeed, a major boost to this growth was ironically a major earthquake in 1996 that destroyed much of the old town but then allowed the government to garner enough national and international support to rebuild the town and then have it designated as a world heritage site. Today the Naxi culture that KcKhann first observed in the old town is all but gone, but certainly many have benefitted, at least at the surface.

Chao's recent work in Lijiang and its transformation's impacts on local Naxi culture and their capacity to play a role in tourism of their own culture is useful. Popular conception around the growth of Lijiang's old town, even among those with whom I have lived with and discussed the topic in Yunnan, is that while most of the businesses which used to be Naxi homes are now run by outsiders, they are still owned by the Naxi who rent them out and benefit heavily by doing so. However, Chao's ethnographic work among the Naxi of the old town paints a different picture. Many of them have actually felt forced out of their homes and the old town by government policies that have promoted Han migration for business and that have promoted the old town as a scenic area for stores and attractions rather than Naxi homes. Incomes earned from rent, many Naxi feel, are not adequate, especially when most of the businesses run by outsiders are in fact promoting Naxi culture in which these local Naxi themselves are playing no role.

Swope et al. (ibid) discuss a similar process in the rural Naxi village areas surrounding Lijiang, where property rights are really only allowing ethnic cultural and ecotourism to benefit a select affluent group of villagers. There have been a variety of tourism sites set up on Jade Dragon Snow Mountain that promote Naxi culture, however many of these sites that previously brought benefits to local villagers, such as being able to provide horse rides to a sacred Naxi meadow, have now been taken over by corporate actors who operate a chair lift to the site. Property, the authors argue is becoming more and more privatized or "uncommon," meaning that only a select few Naxi villagers are now able to benefit from the promotion of their own culture and ethnic identity. The authors suggest that the state sets up the conditions for ethnic and scenic

tourism to be successful, but then only those Naxi with enough capacity and capital benefit. What then of the Tibetans and tourism development and promotion in nearby Shangri-La, and what role does wine perhaps play in this process?

### **“Shangrilalization,” Ethnicity, and Landscape**

The manifestation of Shangri-La as a physical place in Northwest Yunnan and the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, and the role of ethnicity, the state, and a various motley crew of actors and ideas in this process remains a fascinating process central to my story in this dissertation. This process has captivated several scholars and anthropologists in particular as well. As described by Coggins and Yeh (2014), Hillman (2003a), Kolas (2011), and Smyer Yu (2015), Zhongdian city and county were officially renamed Shangri-La in 2001 by the government for the explicit purpose of promoting Tibetan (and other) ethnic tourism. This renaming involved an elaborate process of the government calling on academics to actually prove that Zhongdian County to the south of Deqin, and one of the three counties along with Deqin in the Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture was indeed the actual place first described and named in James Hilton's famous 1933 novel, *Lost Horizon*, and subsequent Hollywood film by Frank Capra. Both the novel and the film depict Shangri-La as a mystical paradise hidden deep in the Himalayas near a towering snow-capped peak, where people age slowly, and Tibetan Buddhism, Chinese philosophies, and western Catholicism have all been blended together. Many of the studies produced to prove that Zhongdian was this actual place described by Hilton of course seemed liked pure fantasy and speculation, and lacked historical accuracy, but nonetheless the prefectural government was able to outcompete another Shangri-La in neighboring Sichuan Province and gain national naming recognition from Beijing. Beyond the official “Shangri-La,” the Chinese state has also been working to recraft the entirety of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands across Tibetan areas in the four provinces of Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu, and Qinghai, as a “greater Shangri-La tourism zone” (Coggins and Yeh 2014; Klingberg 2014). Urban Han Chinese tourists and foreigners alike view this larger Shangri-La as a borderland region of difference, cultural diversity, and ecological wonders ripe for exploration. As Harrell (2014) frames this transformation:

The imagined space that was really nowhere has become real (or at least the imagination of that space has been projected on a real place), while at the same time the real space of

the Sino-Tibetan borderlands has been imagined – as a place of difference, a place of conservation, a place of abundant resources, a place of aesthetic pleasure (VII).

Coggins and Yeh (2014) as part of an edited volume *Mapping Shangri-La* have framed the creation of Shangri-La as a physical space and landscape as “shangrilalization,” a process of corporate marketing and statecraft, reconfiguring ethnicity and landscape in Northwest Yunnan and across the region. Both ethnographic and literary endeavors throughout this volume make many salient and important observations, many of which pertain to the landscape reconfigurations and ethnic identities I suggest wine production and its influences from global capitalism work to create. As Harrell (ibid) points out, the relationship created between ethnic groups in China and the state and the rest of the world in Shangri-La is very different from any form of ethnicity observed in China before. In *Mapping Shangri-La* as a project, Coggins and Yeh (2014) also suggest that part of their own intellectual pursuit is thus “to investigate the multiple landscape and identity effects of the marketing of these borderlands as reified representations of Tibetan culture” (8). Ethnic identity continues to locate itself in new forms of expression as I suggest it has done with wine in response to new forms of governmentality based around Shangri-La:

Diligently increasing soft power, the state has been encouraging transnational and local cooperation in the development of natural and cultural landscape resources...Indigenous cultural landscapes...have thus become marketable commodities...in a global trade network alternately (and sometimes simultaneously) commercializes, exploits, re-creates, and protects desirable landscapes while restructuring, to varying degrees, the space of everyday life and subjectivity. Since the establishment in 2001 of Shangri-La County in Diqing Prefecture, Yunnan, the state, NGOs, and local people of have become increasingly engaged in the physical and symbolic transformation of landscapes throughout the Sino-Tibetan borderlands (13-14).

Landscapes in Shangri-La are incontrovertibly real and simultaneously products of visible and invisible sociocultural contests and media representations, and the practices that imbue landscapes here with meaning and with a capacity for agency are not understandable without paying attention to the subject positions of those who live and work within them. This dissertation works to provide a powerful illustration of such subject positions. There remains a complex sociology at play in Shangri-La involving local and non-local actors, with landscapes themselves as both agentive subjects and objects of representation (Yeh and Coggins 2014c).

“Shangrimalization” as transformation of both ethnic identity and landscapes and immaterial meaning making is neither hegemonic nor complete, but always in the process of formation, as a particular civilizing project in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands (ibid: 25).

Globalization and tourism have opened up new modes of inquiry and identity formation. While the region is now readily accessible, its name defines the people who live there, the people who visit, and the relationship between the region and the Chinese state. Local people and writers in particular have begun to recognize an importance in speaking for themselves, in what some view as a crisis facing their indigenous traditions, so they have drawn from images of the local environment including the mountains and rivers to re-define their place based identities on their own terms rather than on those of outsiders. Here “landscape is not only a subject to be written about; it is an agent that can and does express itself historically and politically, (historically being of primary importance in my story of wine)...landscape plays an important role in imaginative constructions of identity” (Ying 2014). As indigenous culture is further treated as a marketable resource in the governmentality of Shangri-La, Tibetans and other minorities are working to restore, revive, and reinvent indigenous places, cultural practices and identities within these new frameworks of global capitalism (Yeh and Coggins 2014b). Quoting Allerton (2009), as Coggins and Zeren (2014) suggest: “The colonized, or those who would be converted, often resist these efforts, engendering ‘new forms of conversation with the landscape, including re-enchantments, religious syntheses, [and] reassertions of the landscape’s potency’” (211). This is important to observe because in the Tibetan Catholic village of Cizhong described in the next three chapters, I suggest a similar parallel of villagers drawing on local agricultural and religious features to use their landscape to define themselves in this same manner.

Ethnic groups’ views of themselves and the ways in which others view them is also tied to the consumption of Shangri-La as a practice. In referring to another Shangri-La centered around the Labrang monastery in Gansu Province, Vasanthkumar (2014) discusses how “shangrimalization” has taken place against an important change in touristic consumption. Due to new mobility of Chinese urban middle class, the region has seen a rapid replacement of western backpackers with Chinese ones in the context of a transformation in how ethnic culture is experienced by Chinese, moving from “theme park fever” of contrived performances to a “guide book moment (ibid: 55). I suggest tourists seek this same experience with wine consumption and household visits in

Tibetan Catholic Cizhong. This type of touristic consumption has had varying benefits for local Tibetans and other ethnic groups. For one, the name Shangri-La and the promotions behind it have mostly focused on Tibetan culture, while the region is in fact home to many different ethnic groups. However, the local government has actually been keen to use the new name to promote the region's ethnic diversity and promote this diversity through tourism of multiple ethnicities and cultures (Hillman 2003a). In connection, local non-Tibetan ethnic groups and communities have actively used the Shangri-La name in their own marketing and promotions (Hillman 2003a; Kolas 2011). Perceptions of what Shangri-La and its naming and development actually mean for local ethnic change and re-creation have also not gone unnoticed or discussed. There has certainly been recognition on the part of western tourists that certainly this region being the "real" Shangri-La is a myth. However, consumers also note that in order to be successful in a growing global economy, local people need an avenue, and that tourism and Shangri-La have provided this. Cultural change and loss of traditional lifestyles are a concern, but most seem to be aware that locals cannot remain poor and marginalized and that their ethnic cultures will change no matter what (Kolas *ibid*).

One cannot think about Shangri-La as a place or a cultural construct though without referencing all of the history involved including British colonialism, the geopolitics of the Great Game in Central Asia between China, Russia, the U.S., and Europe, Hollywood and literary mythmaking, etc. However today as I argue throughout this dissertation, Shangri-La has been reborn in China through commodity production and consumption, and Chinese and western touristic encounters with Tibet. This rebirth in a specific location in China, can be approached through a variety of perspectives, including neoliberalism, governmentality, resource competition, and ethnic revitalization (Litzinger 2014). In the stories of Shangri-La and its landscapes, there is no one lens through which to view the making of these Shangri-La commodities. Their “cultural biographies” (Kopytoff 1988) involve multiple histories, actors, flows, turns, and stories.

### **Terroir, Commodities, Semiotics and Value**

Dinaburg (2008) makes an important observation regarding agriculture and natural resources in Shangri-La, noting how in recent years Tibetans in the region have been framed as “cultivators of plants and as self-entrepreneurial subjects who are instructed to be motivated by

the promise of development benefits but who are not actually granted any control or ownership over the means of production” (99). With grapes and wine however, this is not always the case. While some communities have been economically “crunched” (Wilk 1997), by the commodification of grapes and wine (see Galipeau 2015), others have in fact managed to take better advantage of the state’s development schemes and landscape transformation as citizens of Shangri-La. In Tibetan Catholic Cizhong village, household smallholders have made themselves distinct as historical Catholic winemakers. In another situation involving a large French luxury conglomerate, for the first time in the post-reform era, villagers have in fact played a role in directly negotiating the use of their own land. Indeed villagers do possess a lot of individual agency over their household lands as Yeh and Coggins (2014a) are keen to point out, which is useful in framing how they are now using commodification to reshape their own landscapes and identities with wine.

Wine is also part of a much a larger trend observed with transnational commodities in Shangri-La of “re-internationalization” where commodities are made for both national and transnational consumption (Hathaway 2014a). Consuming wine allows people to embody Shangri-La itself in a way. Many of the actors involved in wine and beer making have arrived in Shangri-La from abroad, re-linking the region with previous historical connections with France and Switzerland. Like the *matsutake* (Japanese) mushroom or *song rong* in Chinese, which is collected by villagers in Shangri-La and exported as a luxury gift to Japan, wine has in many ways become what (Hathaway 2014b) calls a “boundary object,” drawing from (1989; Star 2010). By this in the case of wine, I mean something that has different meanings for different people in Shangri-La from one village of winemakers or grape growers to the next, but at the same time, something that connects them as Tibetan people of Shangri-La and with the larger world. Wine and grapes are completely different in purpose and value for different people in Shangri-La. To give examples, for the household winemakers in Cizhong, discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, growing grapes is largely a part of who they are as Cizhong Tibetan people. For the grape growers working with a large French winery in Adong village, grapes are merely a means to a achieving a good economic livelihood. What wine has provided everyone in Shangri-La who interacts with it however, both producers and consumers, is method by which to experience or play a role in Coggins and Yeh’s “shangrilalization” (2014).

How do grape growers, winemakers, and even consumers of wine connect themselves to these items, and how do these groups of actors identify with these boundary objects? In the following chapters, I utilize a framework of both *terroir* and semiotics and value of drinks and the process of drinking to explore these connections. Anthropologists have contextualized *terroir* in a variety of different ways, but the general definition that this term is meant to convey is a "taste of place" (Trubek 2009), based upon a variety of physical and cultural factors which are usually wrapped up in branding including soil, water, climate, and the methods of production (Besky 2013; Ching Chan 2012). *Terroir* is also often tied to the idea of geographical indication, which is a set of global standards used to explicitly tie certain resources or commodities to a specific region and give the producers there an exclusive right to produce such products (Augustin-Jean 2012; Besky 2013). In asserting the *terroir* and/or geographical indication designation of a product, Ching Chan (ibid) points out that a variety of actors and definitions come into play, to differentiate a commodity. One of the primary articulations given with *terroir* products though is a sense of unique authenticity tied to a certain locale. In discussing green tea in the Hanzhou region of China, Ching Chan describes the process as "taking an agricultural product and making it a cultural one, based upon the idea of a newly created authentic national Chinese heritage." Indeed nationhood is a major aspect of *terroir* as also described by Guy (2007) in the case of French champagne. J. Zhang (2013) describes a similar process with Pu'er tea in Southern Yunnan, in which history, regionality, and its cultural cake form (historically used for transportation directly through today's Deqin and Shangri-La in caravans to Tibet), are used to make Pu'er a distinct product that cannot be found anywhere else.

*Terroir* is a concept of branding and identity tied to production, cultural traits, and placiality given to consumable commodities. It has received discussion within anthropology in terms of providing agency to commodity producers and farmers who are involved in the creation of *terroir* products; tying the concept back into political ecology and Marxist critiques of capitalism. For winemakers and grape growers in Shangri-La, the inexplicit use of *terroir* is both agentive and alienating. In Catholic Cizhong, smallholders give their wine a placiality and historical contextualization using *terroir* style language. For grape growers elsewhere in the region, the picture varies, with some simply providing grapes to corporate wineries who use their image as Tibetans to market wine, in a sense alienating the farmers from the product, while in

others cases allowing farmers to take some part in the transformation of grapes into the final commodity of Shangri-La wine. These actions parallel various engagements with *terroir* in France and elsewhere. Ulin (1996; 2002) describes how cooperatives of smallholder winemakers in Bordeaux France have used *terroir* style branding as a way to dis-alienate and identify themselves with the wine they produce, and as a way of competing with larger plantations. Bordeaux wine, Ulin explains, actually involves an invented history of the region as being the center of French wine culture with elaborate chateau style plantations. In fact the region only became important for wine relatively late in history (circa 1700's) when the French needed a place to produce wine with a shipping port that was not controlled by the British. Large plantations then developed and took up the majority of the region's emerging wine business, marginalizing local household farmers. However over the past 30 years as Ulin describes, these smallholders have used the same invented histories of the region's *terroir* ideals that have marginalized them, to now band together and situate themselves as powerful key players within the global market; producing some of the region's best wines. This is not unlike the ways in which Cizhong villagers in Shangri-La have used their French Catholic history to mark themselves and their wine within the larger landscape of Shanrgi-La.

As Besky (2013) and West (2012) both discuss, alienation from *terroir* marked products for smallholder household famers is much more at issue in situations in the developing world where *terroir* is employed, though as Chapter 4 illustrates, this is mixed among wine producers and grape growers in Shangri-La. Besky (ibid) illustrates the life of Darjeeling tea in India, one of the most expensive teas in the world produced on plantations. Darjeeling is marketed and sold with *terroir* and has global geographical indication status; however, the workers who produce the tea have no direct agency in its production other than being a paid labor force heavily used in the tea's marketing to make it look culturally exotic. These workers recognize that the tea they grow on plantations is expensive, but also note that they themselves could never afford it; nor do they understand why consumers enjoy it so much. In addition, as shown to be the same in later chapters with corporate wines produce in Shangri-La, Darjeeling tea's *terroir* relies on pictures of colorfully dressed Nepali tea harvesters standing amongst the plants to create a certain image reminiscent of that used by wineries in Shangri-La. West's (ibid) study of coffee producers in Papua New Guinea is similar. Companies in Europe and the U.S. sell, advertise, and brand



coffee from PNG as coming from some sort of primeval rainforests, grown by exotic "primitive" peoples. However the rural growers in PNG themselves are in fact completely alienated from this coffee despite invested images of them being used to advertise it. Coffee is one of several cash crops that these rural farmers grow and after it leaves their village for sale in the city they no longer have any connection to it, nor do they profit from its *terroir* style branding in the global north.

Whereas labor involving *terroir* produced products differs between situations described in France where it is used agentively by smallholders, versus in India and Papua New Guinea where producers are alienated from the products they produce, new engagements by Tsing with the production of commodity chain labor provide a useful perspective to understand the dynamics of *terroir* (Tsing 2008; Tsing 2015a). Tsing argues that when looking at agricultural and resource commodities, we need to be more in tune with both the forms of labor and various "contingencies" and "frictions" between actors that work to produce them for markets. Tsing demonstrates her idea of contingencies by looking at two examples of commodities, Korean harvested timber in Indonesia, and *matsutake* mushrooms harvested for export to Japan by Southeast Asian immigrants and Vietnam veterans in the US Pacific Northwest. Korean logging companies working in Indonesia utilize mostly bland labor forces. Anyone who buys timber from them really knows nothing about where the wood comes from, who owned it previously when it was growing in the forest, or who cut it down. This is quite the opposite with *matsutake*, which are collected by Southeast Asians who are often refugees along with veterans who are reputed to be a sort of wild or untamed just like the mushrooms they collect. Intermediaries ship and sell the mushrooms to Japan, but maintain a link with their collectors through marketing of the collectors' wildness in the mushrooms. Thus Tsing's idea of "contingencies;" different forms of labor create different identities for the commodities that they create, which I would argue ties heavily into the issue of *terroir* which seeks to provide commodities with a regional/cultural identity.

Tsing (2015a) furthers her discussion of commodity chains involving multiple actors like those found with *matsutake* to argue two primary points: Commodity chains in today's global economy actually lead to more ecological and economic diversity through multiple resource bases and different species of commodities like *matsutake* from different regions of the world,

(though not necessarily ecological protection). Second, through commodity chains capitalist commodities actually gain more value and identity through gift giving and non-capitalist transactions. One can find *matsutake* in many regions around the world within each of which they are collected for export to Japan, yet in each region, they maintain different identities and ecological forms. In Japan these mushrooms are not seen as wild at all, but are actually linked to closely managed and manicured "village forests," thus the mushrooms from within Japan are the most desired, though with decreasing habitat and more demand, the country has had to turn to other sources. Japanese consumers in particular, view *matsutake* from China as rather bland in a *terroir* and not the best, maybe due to cultural stigmas, while mushrooms from the US Pacific Northwest maintain a wild and rough identity linked with those who collect them. There are *matsutake* from different regions of the world all traveling into Japan through different commodity chains. They are different sub-species and they make the economy more diverse in terms of both labor and product.

I suggest that Tsing's (2015a) idea of capitalist commodities gaining value and identity through gift transactions is important in framing ideas of identity and value involving *terroir*. *Matsutake* from different regions of the world each come with their own unique images when they reach Japan; these images are slowly built up and then removed and re-added as the mushrooms move through the commodity chain. Collectors in various regions each place a piece of themselves into these commodities as they find them. Next, the collectors and intermediaries add value when they differentiate them based upon levels of quality; in each of these stages Tsing argues that the mushrooms are not simply alienated commodities because they carry meaning and gift value for those who collect, market, and meticulously sort them. When *matsutake* travel to Japan, they are no longer gifts but rather pure commodities, but once sold, they again become gifts for the Japanese who identify with them based upon their source. Tsing's primary assertion here using the commodity of *matsutake* is to highlight the creation of capitalist value for these natural resources through non-capitalist transactions, which often extend the identity given to a product by a producer to the consumer.

This idea of an extension of identity of one community or individual to another is one way anthropologists have characterized the ideals behind *terroir*. To make a commodity more than an alienated resource is one of the objects of *terroir*; that is to make the consumer feel as

though they are receiving a piece of the producer. Gudeman (2001) touches the surface of this idea in his analysis of economies existing in two spheres of communities and markets. *Terroir* he suggests provides a means through which a community uses the market to include or at least make outsiders feel included in an internalized community. This is occurring a great deal in two of the Tibetan villages explored in this study where wine making, sales, and sharing, play a large role in hosting tourists within the communities. Anthropologically, *terroir* provides a valuable construct for exploring the ways in which producers may perceive and address or even exploit consumer desires, though this is not always true. Besky (2014) demonstrates that in the case of Darjeeling tea, neither producers nor consumers are aware of each other; intermediaries shape the narrative and *terroir* of the tea. As I show in the following chapters, a mix of approaches and mediation involving *terroir* exists in Shangri-La from more or less complete alienation between grape growers and wine drinkers to face-to-face interactions. Chinese consumers have begun a trend of desiring cultural commodities produced by Tibetans (including fungi like *matsutake*), to fulfill both a desire among urbanites to experience "pristine wilderness" like that found in Tibet, and consume items that hold some sort of religious spirituality. This is meant to fulfill a growing emptiness within the country's hyper capitalistic economy (Yeh and Lama 2013). The extent to which the rural and corporate producers of these items maintain or attempt to create a semiotic link to them through *terroir* and/or branding varies considerably.

With respect to China and Chinese cultural conceptualization there is no equivalent to *terroir* in the vernacular, it remains an analytical tool. A particular deployment of *terroir* as an hermeneutic in the Chinese context, linking it to branding, language, and semiotics given by Tracy (2013), highlights technically produced milk products in China, which though produced in a clean and sterile environment, are then branded with an identity of being produced by pastoralists in the pristine Mongolian grassland. This gives the milk both an exotic minority look for the Chinese who purchase it, which Tracy suggests describes as a sort of "sealed in *terroir*" or authenticity, along with providing a sense of healthy "green" and safe consumption. I do not necessarily agree with this framing or use of *terroir* since there is no locality in the production of the milk products Tracy describes. Rather she suggests that branding creates locality, which would not really then make it *terroir* based since *terroir* relates to authenticity and geographic locale. However, Tracy's framing of Chinese use of *terroir* style language in branding is

relevant to the ways in which wines produced in Shangri-La are branded to include multiple qualities, “quali-signs,” or “qualia” bundled together (Chumley 2013; Harkness 2013; Meneley 2008).

Chumley (ibid) has described qualia as being useful for anthropologists working on problems of senses, materiality, embodiment, aesthetics, and affect. Qualia are experiences of sensuous qualities and feelings, not just subjective mental experiences but rather sociocultural events of 'qualic' nature. This type of analysis is built heavily upon Nancy Munn's pioneering work on the *kula* trading in the Trobriand Islands of Melanesia as both a material and semiotic expression of value across a space and time continuum (Munn 1992). For Munn, a community creates value through the processes of exchange and production, which she describes as value transformation. Central to this process is the “qualisign” of value. In processes from gardening, to canoe building, to marriage exchange, and witchcraft, people work to produce qualities such as lightness, darkness, heaviness, and buoyancy. In producing these qualities, people produce value, and in producing value, they generate intersubjective space and time, selves, relationships, communities, and hierarchies and inequalities. Qualitative experiences called qualia are what construct value. Whether positive or negative, value is embedded in material objects like shells or in the case of more recent engagements in food and beverages through branding and consumption (Harkness 2013; Meneley 2008; Manning 2012). Turning to beverages, both alcoholic and not, Manning (ibid) has described an incredible variety of ways in which drinks and drinking can be viewed through a semiotic lens of qualities or qualia. This is relevant to the ways in which wines (and beers) in Shangri-La are presented by their makers and by certain village producer communities who also consume them themselves. I explore this in Chapter 7.

Drinks, Manning (ibid) explains are different from other kinds of material culture (though perhaps no different from food) in that they represent something “embodied,” and part of their meaning comes from their material relationship to human embodiment (2). As we drink alcoholic drinks in particular, the manner in which we embody them can be described as follows: “Operating in the ‘eucharistic’ mode, the connoisseur is undergoing trial themselves, ‘being ordered by things,’ indexing their own ability to recognize and denote the prestige-conferring properties of the prestige commodity and so gain ‘distinction’ from the organoleptic encounter” (9). Embodiment of landscape and history by the dinks’ producers and consumers are key to

think on here in the case of Shangri-La wines and commodities as Manning points out. There is a desire from both sides of the commodity chain to make some sort of connection in the drinks or commodities produced, especially in modern hyper-capitalist alienated economies like today's China:

The troubling division of the idyllic unit of the natural economy into a postlapsarian opposition between separate spheres of production and consumption leads to fantasies of reconnecting producers and consumers in an unmediated fashion... The fantasy of meeting the producer face to face, we might say can only be thinkable in the shadow of industrial commodity production and long-distance exchange. As a result of this duality, circulation can both create worlds (circulation as bridge: immediacy) and also divide worlds (circulation as chasm: hypermediation), depending on how the circulatory medium is foregrounded or backgrounded (18)... Drinks thus construct elsewhere within space and time, imaginative geographies that make their consumption meaningful in a way that transcends here and now (20).

This happens in both ways or directions with Shangri-La wines in different communities, some, where producers and consumers are meeting face to face, and in some where the face of producers is sent off to consumers through branding of Shangri-La, landscape, culture, and colonial history. *Terroir* in and of itself can also be a semiotic construct in this process of creating and branding drinks today which are often meant to invoke the past, pristine nature, or a culture that the consumer can embody through consumption. For Manning, *terroir* can be just as much a true indexical category based solely on place rather than both place and taste:

Even though the category of *terroir* is sometimes defined qualitatively as a 'taste of place' (Paxson 2010; Weiss 2011), it remains that it is possible to imagine 'place' as having an important role in consumption without requiring that place to have a 'taste,' and our semiotic account should maintain distinctions so that we do not immediately assume that place will map to taste... the discourse of *terroir*, as Parry argues (Parry 2008), constructs localities as sharply bounded, naturalized, essentialized 'hermetically sealed' containers, each attribute of which – whether natural (soils, climate, varietal), cultural (traditional techniques of production) or spiritual – must be (22).

Thus, drinks share with contemporary discourses of food connoisseurship that fact that they are founded in part by indexing a picturesque locality of production, usually a hybrid of nature and culture, including both properties of climate, soil, and traditional methods of artisanal production, which taken together define the old world concept of *terroir* (Parry 2008; Paxson 2010; Weiss 2011): Champagne, Roquefort, after all are places. The concept of a distinctive 'taste of place' has proven to be quite portable, even if as Paxson (2010) notes, it requires considerable 'reverse engineering' to ring the Old World concept of a *terroir*, usually defined as a picturesque assemblage of human and non-human factors

of production, to the new world, where the category of traditional artisanal production is missing. California wines, for example, achieved a new world version of old world terroir by shifting away from brand names to place names: As the perception of where California wines came from changed from the vast central valley tract to the microclimate, the language the labels used to reflect it came to be a highly specific one of ridges, ranches, lanes, coasts, hills, and creeks. This not only communicated the uniqueness of a vineyard but also, more subtly, the very European idea of a poetry of place (Kuh 2001).

These semiotic contextualizations of *terroir* as constructions of both product and place coming from multiple actors and ideals are key to my illustration of how the melding of the landscape of Shangri-La into one of wine and Shangri-La commodities today involves both communities, the state, and corporate actors who each do so in their own way. However, each uses various aspects of these inklings of *terroir* in doing so, even if it is not explicit.

### **Global Capitalism and Temporality in the Making of Landscape and Wine Production**

To close out my analytical framework in this chapter, I wish to explore and frame the ways in which I see landscape transformation and production surrounding wine in Deqin and Shangri-La being tied both to contemporary and historical global capitalisms. By using the term global capitalism, I am referring to two facets of the wine economy here that connect the region and its contemporary wine production with other parts of the world beyond China. First, wine in Shangri-La began with a small history of French and Swiss colonial Catholicism that was itself enabled by the opium wars over trade between China and Europe. Second, foreign endeavors, particular French and Swiss, lead many of the efforts to produce wine (and beer) in Shangri-La today. The story of Shangri-La Wine and other wines in Deqin, is in fact a story about global capitalism in and of itself, along with being one of ethnicity, “shangrilalization” (Coggins and Yeh 2014), and local constructions of *terroir* and semiotics. However, what I argue throughout this dissertation is that this is a rather new and unique form of global capitalism of multiple actors, stories, and histories yet all linked together through the landscapes, which they inhabit and the commodities that they produce. This capitalism builds upon China’s contemporary and historical position with the rest of the world economically as well as that of Tibet and the Sino-Tibetan borderlands. It is not however an all-encompassing and homogenizing capitalism but in fact one of great diversity and character like that described by Tsing (2009; 2015a) with

*matsutake*. However while Tsing argues that such diversity is created through the creation and diversification of global commodity chains across locales, and through the salvage of ruined landscapes of industrial capitalism, I argue for a different view of wine and commodities in Diqing as a single locale. Wine production and landscapes have many forms in Diqing, including individual household production, state promoted household grape growing, private corporate vineyards managed with villager labor, and village collective corporations. Each of these forms of production stems from historical and contemporary global connections between Diqing, other region regions of China, and Europe. Wine like *matsutake* as described by Hathaway (2014a), has reintroduced global commodity chains to the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, as China has globalized and turned its gaze to consuming western luxuries melded with local historical and ethnic Tibetan flare.

In this dissertation, I explore landscape transformations of capitalism and colonialism across one locale rather than many, yet the diversity they are creating is still great. The agricultural and village landscape surrounding the production of wine is not one of salvage but rather a re-crafting and a reconfiguration of livelihoods and identities. Sometimes this takes place through local individual agency and at others through state and transnational interventions. In these cases of wine production being a state based project, there have certainly been negative ecological and social impacts, so I am not arguing that capitalism as a project in producing Shangri-La as a wine region is all-beneficial. However, I do suggest and agree with Tsing (2015a), taking Diqing as a global example, that we should move away from conceptions of capitalisms as being all-encompassing and homogenizing projects wherever they set foot.

Wine as a boundary object and intoxicant provides an insightful lens through which to explore global capitalism in the case of China and Tibet, given the unique pattern that these types of consumables along with stimulants such as tea have followed and experienced in their trading and consumption between east and west. As Sahlins (1994) suggests, stimulants and intoxicants like tea, coffee, and opium (and wine today as I demonstrate) are important in tracing and understanding historical interactions between Europe (and the US) with China and other regions in Asia and the Pacific. One key facet in the long-term interaction in trade between these two regions of the world highlighted by Sahlins is that contrary to what some might argue, the colonized or the exploited regions of Asia and the Pacific have always responded to the

introduction of goods and services from the west in their own manner. Often they have adapted them to local practices and “cosmologies”; that is despite heavy exploitation of indigenous societies in Asia and the Pacific encountered and capitalized upon by Europe and the west, these peoples have always found ways to indigenize introduced goods and services through their own agency. This is not to say that they did not eventually capitulate or turn over this agency in the end in one form or another. Though in fact in the case of China, this took far longer than elsewhere, such as the cases described by Sahlins of Hawai‘i and the American Pacific Northwest, where the incorporation of western goods into local practice occurred early on following their introduction.

As Mintz (1986) further shows us, these types of relationships and transactions were not limited to interaction between the west and east, but also global south and north, in particular based upon the needs of sweetening the intoxicants and stimulants of the south and east to match the tastes of the west and north. The south then became the source of production for these needs. Mintz (*ibid*) also importantly reminds us that in framing these situations in the contemporary, a historical perspective, understanding, and contextualization are paramount, which I have tried to provide both here and in the next two chapters.

In the case of China, which viewed itself as the center of civilization and all other peoples as the periphery, the attempt to introduce European goods during the last several hundred years of dynastic rule as European expansion began was initially useless. China was the core, everywhere else was the periphery and “the other” in the same manner Europe viewed China as “the other” (Wang 2009; Wang 2004). Giving tribute from the other or periphery to the Chinese empire did not give one a right to trade with China but was rather an obligation. Most were in fact unaware that the Chinese and Mongol emperors had been hoarding and keeping a vast variety of western riches and even custom architecture dating back to the periods of the Yuan/Mongol Dynasty (1279-1368) and Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Thus, whenever the west desired something from the Chinese, particularly the stimulant of tea, which they craved in vast amounts, the only answer was silver currency. That is until Europeans managed to connect more of the Pacific in their trading network and first introduced Hawaiian sandalwood which was desired as a luxury good in China, followed by their own intoxicant, opium (Sahlins 1994; Sahlins 2010). This was the beginning of a long process of opening China up to a variety of



European colonial endeavors, two of the most prevalent in this discussion of global economic reach being intoxication and proselytization. China continued to resent these encroachments on its own sovereignty, but was forced to capitulate after not only the opium wars with Britain and the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, but also after being forced into other treaties with France, namely the Treaty of Tientsin in 1860. This allowed the entrance of French, especially Catholic missionary endeavors, further marginalizing China within a global system in which it had viewed itself as the center (Kilpatrick 2015; Sahlins 1994).

What remains intriguing in the case of grape wine as an intoxicant in the history of Shangri-La as I detail in the next chapter, is that until opium, Europe and the west always desired the stimulants of China and the east, though these were almost always “sweetened” instead of consumed in their original form. After the introduction of opium however, China in a sense entered into a new form of flows within the global system in which it became the “intoxicated” (Smith 2012), rather than the intoxicator, and in a way this continues inversely today with wine in Shangri-La and across China as a whole. Opium opened the door for other European intoxicants including wine, which until that time has seen relatively little consumption within China compared to grain alcohols, which were more at the center of Chinese ritual and culture.

However, making wine from grapes was not entirely non-existent, in fact based on archeological finds dating back to the Han Dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE), beginning around 103 BCE when the Han government began diplomatic relations with central and western Asia where grape wine was much more common. Grape wine is then said to have reached a bit of a peak during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE), when at the time it remained more of an exotic foreign item consumed by the elite, with production centered around the then capital of China, Xian in Shaanxi Province and neighboring Gansu. Tang poets often wrote about grape wine (see beginning of chapter above). After this time it then declined in influence among Chinese consumers until the arrival of Europeans, who in fact played a major role in the establishment in the 1800’s of Changyu, still one of China’s largest wineries and vineyard operations today (E. N. Anderson 1990; Jenster and Cheng 2008; Shu 2016; Zhengping 2011). While “true” grape wine remained a foreign introduction with the arrival during Han trading relations of the Eurasian wine grape variety *Vitis vinifera*, an additional story remains that China may in fact be the source of the world’s oldest alcoholic beverage, which contained local wild grapes dating back to the

Neolithic between 7000 and 6600 BCE. This drink discovered and analyzed in ancient pottery found at the site of Jiahu in today's Henan Province, in the center of current day China, contained several ingredients including fermented rice (possibly the first domesticated in the world), honey mead, and both fermented wild grape and hawthorn berry juice. The discovery of this drink at Jiahu remains a peculiarity in terms of the development of wine, in that the ancient Chinese clearly used wild grapes in fermentation, but that the practice then disappeared despite an abundance of local grape varieties, many of which the Chinese have never domesticated to this day. Not until the Han Dynasty with the introduction of the Eurasian grape and winemaking did domestication take place (McGovern 2009: 28-59). Relevant in this story, thousands of years later however, it appears that Tibetans may have domesticated wild grapes to a limited extent (see next chapter).

Tibet and in particular the Sino-Tibetan borderlands' interaction with China through trade was also enacted through the pursuit of a stimulant, tea, with Deqin and Shangri-La being right at the center of this trade network in the ancient Tea-Horse Road (Freeman and Ahmed 2011; Fuchs 2008). Southern Yunnan was the center of production for brick form teas including the recently famous luxury commodity, Pu'er tea, transported into Tibet via mule trains through and across Yunnan with other routes through tea producing areas in neighboring Sichuan. As Booz (2014) explains, after the Tibetans first encountered tea around the 8<sup>th</sup> century:

They took to the new beverage with great enthusiasm and it became a central element of social and economic life as well as being the indispensable daily drink for reasons of hydration, nutrition, social interaction, hospitality and religious functions. Proverbially considered one of the “four pillars of life” —*tsampa* (barley), meat, butter and tea—tea was the only traditional staple of Tibet that needed to be imported: it was grown, processed and controlled solely by China. Tibetans wanted it and needed it.

Thus from an early point, like China with opium, Tibet entered through China, into the fold of global commodity flows by the introduction of tea which became central to life. As I show in the next three chapters however, in one community, once the French introduced wine as a part of religion and it became imprinted in recent local histories, some Tibetans have now replaced tea or rather butter tea with grape wine for various functions including hospitality, sociality, and religious functions.

Moving this discussion forward to contemporary China, it is important to conceive the convergence of consumption, capitalism, commodities, and ethnic minorities. “Conspicuous consumption,” first described by Veblen (1899) as spending money on and acquiring luxury goods in order to display economic power, has become a recent re-emergent phenomenon in China, where consumer classes have risen from being almost non-existent during the Mao era to making up large portions of Chinese society, especially in urban centers (Osburg 2013b; L. Zhang 2010). Building upon Veblen’s early work on this type of consumption, Bourdieu’s *Distinction* (1984), explores French notions of taste and various ways that people define items as being desirable, tacky, trendy, ugly, etc. For Bourdieu, “distinction” or social status defined by consumption is a demonstration of an understanding of quality, and an innate and individual sense of taste and refinement. This is how individuals make themselves distinct within larger societies and between social classes, by demonstrating that they have a refined sense of taste. Working within Bourdieu and Veblen’s framework of conspicuous consumption and distinction, Osburg (2013b) argues that recent consumption in China is not driven by distinction and individuality, but rather by “recognition.” That is, elite consumers in China rather than developing their own individual sense of taste and distinction, instead choose to purchase, consume, and display recognizable brand items, often foreign, including French wines, that demonstrate how rich they are. Yu (2014) has also referred to China’s new consumption trends within global capitalism as “conspicuous accomplishment,” in reference to the same ideal expressed by Osburg of China’s new rich seeking to express their entrepreneurial talent and thus ability to consume foreign luxury goods. The difference between Osburg’s (ibid) and Yu’s (ibid) conceptions of consumption in China and earlier notions of conspicuous consumption by Veblen and Bourdieu, is that in this case China’s novae rich consumers often have no idea if the goods they are buying or the wine they are drinking is any good. They simply buy them to demonstrate that they can afford to do so and because they are recognizable; their own sense of taste is however lacking, while sense of taste is a major factor is Bourdieu’s (ibid) sense of distinction. These is important to understand because of the new roles French, Tibetan, and Shangri-La themed commodities are now playing in conspicuous consumption, distinction, and recognition in China.

Chateaus in Bordeaux France have aggressively branded their wine in China in response to the growing importance and even dominance of China's elite within global circles of luxury consumption, with particular recognition for French wine in China continuing to grow (Mustacich 2015; Ross and Roach 2013). Following China's removal and closure from global commodity flows for thirty years under Mao, a desire for western intoxicants and imagery among Chinese is re-emerging. This now runs counter to the early years of the world system where Europeans desired these things from Asia and the Pacific while the peoples of this region desired nothing from the west (Sahlins 1994). As the prominent Beijing based wine judge and consultant, Fongyee Walker says in the documentary *Red Obsession* on Bordeaux consumption in China:

I think there's always been an interest in wine made from grapes as an element of exoticism. Now normally in the west we view exoticism as coming from the east, orientalism if you were – but here there is a type of exoticism coming from the west. They've made a lot of money, I've dealt with people who've done things like blown \$42 million on building a private wine club. It's because it viewed as being civilized, as understanding western culture and as bringing it together with Chinese ideas. When they buy the wine they buy the wine as a symbol of their status, as a symbol of what they have achieved in China. There's different ways of marking ourselves out from the rest of the herd and one of these is a bottle of Lafite, you know, and it really sets their stage, it gives them position, it gives them face, it gives them a way of presenting themselves as being knowledgeable about western wine culture in a very safe and comfortable way (Ross and Roach 2013).

A prevalent consumption trend involving exoticism in China today is that of consuming Tibet and minority cultures; what Smyer Yu (2015) has referred to as an “internal orientalism” or “orientalism without the orient.” Smyer Yu represents an important new trend in the anthropology of China, which my work seeks to engage with and enhance. This body of scholarship examines the ways in which Han Chinese are now reifying Tibet, as in the renaming of Shangri-La, in a manner very similar to the ways that western societies have reified Asian cultures and societies. As consumption of western goods and services including fine wines has increased, and people are becoming further removed from traditional Chinese cultural values and feeling empty or unfulfilled, they have begun to turn to things like Tibetan Buddhism, and the ability to visit places like Shangri-La. Tibetan Buddhism and landscapes in turn represent a sort of mysticism and return to nature for Han Chinese, similar to the much of the west's fascination

with Tibetan religion and culture over the last century dating back to the publication of works including Hilton's *Lost Horizon* (Osburg 2013b; Smyer Yu 2012; Smyer Yu 2015). Wine from Shangri-La, with its French history fulfills two forms of desire as item of Tibet and nature and one of European origins. The caterpillar fungus, while utilized in traditional Chinese for hundreds of years, has also come to be identified with elite status in China in recent years because it displays how individuals can afford to consume a piece of Tibetan wilderness and culture. Tibetan culture then also becomes reified through consumption of the fungus as a sort of miracle aphrodisiac and anti-cancer tonic (Liang 2013; Yeh and Lama 2013).

I end this chapter by framing the ways in which global commodity flows and capitalisms as working to construct and shape the landscape of Deqin and Shangri-La around wine today. Osburg (2013a) has suggested that most tend to view post-1978 Chinese capitalism through one of two monolithic lenses, either free market individual entrepreneurialism, or as a neo-Marxist or socialist state controlled and moderated free market economy. Ethnographically, Osburg seeks to remind us that viewing global capitalism in China in such a dichotomous way may be unproductive, in fact, we should view China as a model of hybridity:

Despite the growing fetishization of the market in financial worlds, the growing penetration of market mechanisms into virtually all domains of life, and the ways in which global commodity chains render us increasingly interconnected, we should remind ourselves, as Karen Ho (2005) urges, not to take market ideology at face value. Instead of seeking markets as abstract, homogenizing forces imposing their own logics of efficiency, we need to empirically investigate the ways in which markets are grounded in “specific practices and locales that can be thickly described” and in culturally and historically specific structures and ethos (Ho 2005: 68). Only then can we move beyond free-market ideology on the one hand and Marxist functionalism on the other.

Viewing this perspective in light of productive landscapes of wine in Shangri-La, what I illustrate throughout the stories in the following chapters is in the constructing of the landscape there is a strong mix of individual entrepreneurial talent along with state and corporate based schemes. These hybrid forms of production are working to formulate multiple ways of being and of expressing identity. Landscapes form, are re-crafted, and transformed thorough multiple spheres of influence from individual and community endeavors to state based ones. With invocations of history, tradition, religion, and “culture,” wine landscapes are also inherently temporal and human (Ingold 1993; Ingold 2000). As Anna Tsing reminds us, while we most

often see landscapes as a backdrop to human action, they are also actors within the stories we tell and we should attempt to move them into the forefront of these stories. For Tsing “landscapes are working assemblages of coordinations within a dynamic history” (2015b). By placing landscapes, people, commodities, and global/hybrid capitalisms together into a conversation as actors across space and time, what I argue throughout this dissertation is that the story of wine in Shangri-La is one of local Tibetan people adapting to and melding themselves in a process of “indigenizing modernity” (Sahlins 1999; Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud 2015). They draw upon exterior influences and forces including state power, and conceptualizations such as *terroir* and even Catholicism to carve out their own space, place, and regional ethnic identity within the context of Shangri-La. I argue that these forms of ethnicity and identity involving both historical and contemporary flows of religion, capital, and conceptions of ecology and landscapes, are then unique and previously unknown.

## CHAPTER 3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CATHOLIC COLONIALISM, LANDSCAPE, AND WINE IN NORTHWEST YUNNAN AND TIBET

Because of the fear of thirst, I sought for drink;  
The heavenly drink I found is the wine  
of mindfulness.  
Now I have no fear of thirst.  
Milarepa

### History of Catholicism in Tibet and Northwest Yunnan<sup>3</sup>

This chapter explores the history of Deqin County and the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands beginning with the arrival of French and Swiss Catholicism. French and Swiss Catholic fathers first came to the region in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the time at which grapes and wine first substantially appeared and a history upon which many draw today in their marketing and representation of contemporary wine production. The official renaming of neighbouring Zhongdian County as Shangri-La, based on Hilton's classic novel *Lost Horizon*, actually gains a small bit of credence as the real location of Hilton's story thanks to Catholic Cizhong village and its nearby neighbours. In the book, the fictional Shangri-La is a mixed monastic community where Tibetan Buddhists, Chinese, and western Catholics all live peacefully in meditation together. This is largely true in Cizhong today, though Catholicism historically faced a somewhat violent reception from some in the region, while other people openly welcomed it. Pope Gregory XVI first named Tibet as an apostolic in 1846 under the direction of the Missions Étrangères de Paris or MEP with the society already assigned to manage missions in the neighbouring areas of Yunnan and Sichuan. The MEP was (and still is today) not so much a religious order as an association of priests who carried the same passion of bringing Catholicism to Asia (Bray 2011; Kilpatrick 2015; Loup 1956). They were also not the first Catholic missionaries to enter Tibet at the direction of the Vatican with the Italian Jesuit, Ippolito Desideri having reached the Tibetan

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<sup>3</sup> In this case of Tibet I am limiting my discussion to Catholic missionaries who traveled and spent time in Northwest Yunnan, nearby Western Sichuan, or central Tibet including the capital of Lhasa. Catholic missionary activity was also prevalent in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands of Northwest China in today's Qinghai and Gansu provinces as well as in the south along the border of Tibet with India. For information on Catholic history in the northwest see Horlemann (2013), Horlemann (2014), and Horlemann (2015). For work on Catholics in northern India, also of the MEP along with other orders, see Bray (2011), Bray (2014), and Raignoux (2010).

capital of Lhasa by way of India in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, where he spent several years from 1716 to 1721 being the most famous. The Vatican initially directed Desideri to pursue setting up the first Catholic mission to Tibet, however during his time there, conflicts emerged with another Italian missionary order, the Capuchins arriving and arguments ensuing as to whom Tibet actually “belonged to” as an apostolic. At this point, the Vatican ordered Desideri to leave and return to Rome. During his years in Tibet though, he developed a strong appreciation for the people and their religion, studying in monasteries himself and becoming so proficient at Tibetan language that he was able to author several books on Christianity in Tibetan. Desideri wrote one of the first in depth European accounts of Tibetan society and geography (Desideri 1932; Desideri 2010; Pomplum 2010).

Other French Catholic missionaries had also had a history of travel before the arrival of the MEP. The Lazarists or Congregation of the Mission, another order of French Priests based in Paris worked in northern China like the MEP to the south and west. Two well-known and renowned Lazarist priests who travelled extensively in Tibet and the neighbouring areas of Qinghai and Gansu Provinces were Régis-Évarist Huc and Joseph Gabet, who travelled across Tibet from northeast China all the way to Lhasa between 1844 and 1846. Huc wrote extensively about the region and its peoples, providing well known accounts that are still often read and cited today, though his writing favourably of Tibetan culture and traditions was somewhat frowned upon by the Vatican. Despite their efforts and hopes towards setting up missions under the Lazarists in Tibet, Huc and Gabet completed their travels (and were expelled from Lhasa) in the same year the region was granted to the MEP (the Capuchins had long since left and been expelled), which thus ended these aspirations (Bray 1995; Bray 2011; Huc 1928; Kilpatrick 2015; Reuse 2007).

Despite the successes over approximately a century of Catholic missionaries reaching Tibet and even as far as Lhasa, the converts they made were rare, and they were never openly welcomed in Tibet in the ways that they wished. French Catholic fathers from the MEP first arrived in northwest Yunnan and the neighbouring areas of western Sichuan in the mid-nineteenth century, and viewed their work as a gateway to expanding their teachings across greater Tibet. Never being able to reach far into this isolated country, often due to resistance from local Buddhist lamas, the French would eventually manage to set up a slew of churches and



convert many Tibetan communities in northwest Yunnan along both the upper reaches of the Mekong and Salween rivers. They were never able to pierce much further into central Tibet, often facing violent repression from local religious leaders and in many cases even death. One of the difficulties at this time was that administratively, the Sino-Tibetan borderlands occupied a liminal zone of fluctuating political power between Tibet and China. With the MEP fathers under the protection of treaties between France and China, their protection against local opposition relied upon the political power of China, which was often non-existent in these remote border regions. Secondly as Bray (1995) explains, Tibet's acceptance of Chinese political influence and control in the border areas was reliant on the ideal that Tibet remained free religiously and under the power of the Dalai Lama. This was seen as being violated however whenever the Chinese allowed the introduction of Christianity.

Nevertheless, the first of the MEP fathers, Père Charles Renou, a veteran in China, arrived in the region in 1852 and disguised himself as a Chinese merchant, first arriving in the upper Yangtze valley, where he spent two years living at the Dongzhulin Monastery. Here he was able to befriend the local lama (considered a living Buddha like all Tibetan lamas), who helped him study Tibetan language, despite not revealing his true identity or intentions, though years later when it was clear that Renou and his followers were missionaries, the lama contrary to most Tibetan Buddhist leaders remained their supporter (Bray 1995; Davies 1909). Renou moved on to the neighboring Salween River valley in 1854, and established the first mission station just inside the Tibetan border with Yunnan in the small tributary valley of Bonga. From the beginning, the missionaries' presence was always unstable and they often faced significant threats on their lives. Indeed Renou and the other priests who later joined him in Bonga would see their new church burned down and themselves expelled into Yunnan by local leaders after only a few short years. Having been led to believe that they in fact held a title to the land in Bonga and the right to be there, the MEP eventually managed to have their case heard and won in the highest level district court in Chamdo Tibet. However, despite their success in court, their ability to maintain the original mission in Bonga remained politically difficult and permanently abandoned it by the 1860's. This was in spite of actual great success in making Catholic converts, with over 700 hundred local villagers in the Bonga region converting. As things would turn out, the success of the missionaries in legal terms would also end up making their endeavors

more dangerous in the long run, with growing resentment on religious grounds towards their behavior and interference from China; many of the fathers would be killed over the years by lamas and be martyred (Bray 1995; Gros 2001; Lim 2009).

The next missions would be established in southern Tibet and today's Sichuan in the Mekong valley and neighboring areas around the upper Yangtze, with the region now known as Kangding and previously as Tatsienlou becoming the center of the diocese of Tibet. The first church and mission in the Mekong valley was built upstream from today's Cizhong in Tibet at Yerkalo (today Yanjing), in 1865 by the fathers Felix Biet and Auguste Desgodins (Loup 1956). Desgodins would become an important figure in the history of the mission writing several articles and journals chronicling his work and the people he encountered as well making and publishing many Tibetan translations of the Bible and Catholic texts. A missionary presence of priests was then firmly made in Cikou in Yunnan (today Cigu) just downstream of today's Cizhong in a few years' time (Bray 1995; Davies 1909; Moseley 2011). While Renou had been able to befriend local Tibetan lamas in the region, this peaceful coexistence did not last for those that later followed him. Eventually Tibetan lamas destroyed the churches and murdered priests in a major campaign carried out across the region in 1905. The British plant collector George Forrest, who had been staying at Cikou with the two priests stationed there, Pierre Bourdonnec and Jules Etienne Dubernard, described these events. The three of them along with one of Forrest's Tibetan assistants indeed narrowly escaped being killed themselves and fled downstream, though both of the French priests were still later killed (McLean 2009; Moseley 2011; Mueggler 2011). Forrest recounted narrowly escaping with his own life, and the belief that Bourdonnec saved his life by sacrificing his own, though leaving Forrest to struggle and crawl through the woods for several days without food and water while trying to escape murder himself. Also relevant in this history is that local people were fond of Bourdonnec himself, stationed at Cikou for over a decade. He regularly provided medical services and medicine, and never openly pushed his faith upon anyone, rather viewing his mission more as that of a hospice; not only for locals but also the rare European explorer who traveled through the region (Kilpatrick 2015; Roux 1897).

Four years later in 1909, the Tibetans converts who had remained faithful began construction on a new church along the river at Cizhong, just upstream of Cikou, where the

French Catholics would also reestablish themselves. This community still exists today, and has remained faithful to its Catholic beliefs, without about 80 percent of village households remaining actively Catholic (Goodman 2001; Goodman 2010; Lim 2009; Moseley 2011). As the French persisted in their missions, by request in Paris, a group of Swiss, hailing from the Great Saint Bernard Hospice high in the Alps joined them in the 1930's. These fathers had already become famous for providing mountain rescues and services to Catholic pilgrims crossing the Alps en route to Rome. Their expertise in mountain travel and high-altitude living, including mountain viticulture, were crucial in helping to continue and eventually take over the work first begun by the French in Yunnan (Bonet 2006; Croidys 1949; Dickinson 2012; Loup 1956).

When by 1930 the MEP felt they could not handle the work of the mission in Tibet anymore and asked the Pope for assistance, he recommended the monks of the Great Saint Bernard Hospice. The fathers Marie Nelly and Paul Coquoz then undertook a first fact-finding trip, departing from Switzerland on November 20, 1930, and arriving in Weixi downstream from Cizhong on February 15, 1931. Eventually the French priest Francis Gore who was in charge as Vicar General of Cizhong at the time met up with them. They explored the region for three months and chose the Lhotsa pass south of Cizhong and Cigu at the crossroads of China, Burma, and Tibet and connecting the Mekong and Salween as the location of their planned potential mountain hospice, modeled after the St. Bernard Hospice in Switzerland. Melly and Coquoz then returned to Switzerland to report their findings and their order unanimously agreed to take up the project and the missionary work. The first group of four then left on January 13, 1933 including Melly, Coquoz, Louis Duc, and lay missionary Robert Chappelet. Three years later the second group of Maurice Tornay, Cyril Lattion, and Nestor Rouiller left on February 26, 1936. Throughout their years in Yunnan and Tibet, the Swiss fathers would keep their headquarters at Weixi, with priests stationed at several other locations including Xiao Weixi, Cizhong, today's county capital of Deqin then known as Atunze, and Yerkalo (Yanjing) in Tibet, and other locations along the Salween River (Bonet 2006; Croidys 1949; Loup 1956). Basing themselves in Yunnan actually made more sense logistically, given that most of the missions were located here, and that the previous center of the diocese in today's Kangding in Sichuan had never been easily reachable for the fathers stationed in Yunnan's Tibetan areas. Given their work around

Weixi, Xiao Weixi, and along the Salween, the fathers ended up working with a number of other ethnic groups beyond Tibetans, in particular Lisu, Naxi, and Nu.

With a few exceptions, not many have published on the MEP's direct work in Yunnan and Tibet beyond primary missionary sources written in French.<sup>4</sup> Two MEP priests who wrote extensively about their time in the region were Auguste Desgodins, and later Francis Gore who spent over 40 years in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands stationed in charge as Vicar General at Cizhong. Both published monographs detailing the history of the mission and their experiences, along with contributing to Tibetan bible translations. Some of the fathers themselves did in fact write extensively though about geography and local culture, which was published in European journals, though little was included about their own work in terms of things like agriculture, botany, the local landscape, etc. (Desgodins 1872; Gore 1939).<sup>5</sup> Much more has however been written about the later work of the Saint Bernard Fathers, primarily due to their hospice building project on caravan routes between the Mekong and the Salween in the Yunnan-Burma-Tibet border. These Swiss missionaries have also been made well known because of the father (and posthumous saint) Maurice Tornay who was killed by Tibetan lamas after being expelled from Yanjing in the late 1940's and then trying to travel to Lhasa to plead his case directly to the Dalai Lama. This had essentially been a considered suicide mission, and Tornay's compatriots pleaded with him not to attempt the trip, but Tornay was determined to plead his and the mission's cause to the highest authority in Tibet. For his martyrdom, Tornay was later posthumously granted sainthood by Pope John Paul II in 1992 (Bonet 2006; Bray 2014; Croidys 1949; Dickinson 2012; Loup 1956).

## **French and Swiss Missionary Introduction of Viticulture and Winemaking**

Local references to wine among villagers in Cizhong and in a variety of tourism promotion materials and literature along with wine company advertising all suggest that the

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<sup>4</sup> For example see Bonet (2006) and Deshayes (2008), general historical works on both the MEP and Saint Bernard missions written using primarily archival materials. Also see Launay (1909), the official chronical of the mission written by a father of the MEP in Paris. Rather frustratingly, contrary to other primary missionary works, which include many geographical and ethnographic details, Launay wrote his work much more from a religious point of view, focusing on the struggles and issues faced by the French fathers as missionaries rather than chronicling the peoples and places they encountered.

<sup>5</sup> See Kilpatrick (2015) for one exception to this. This work extensively chronicles the work of the MEP fathers (and a few other notable figures) not only as missionaries but also as botanical explorers who made the first introductions of thousands of species of plants from China to Europe.

French introduced grapes and wine to Cizhong and other Catholic villages in the region. From what material is available in the MEP and Saint Bernard Mission archives in Paris and Martigny Switzerland, it seems one French father, Emile Cyprien Monbeig, may have introduced viticulture on a very small scale. It was then practiced more widely during the 1930's and 40's by the Saint Bernard priests (Monbeig (Pere Emile): 1876-1942). What seems more likely is that while this crop and drink were not traditionally grown and consumed in this part of Tibet and China in large quantities, or used in ritual prior to western introduction, there is historical material suggesting that grapes and wine have a limited history here in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands prior to French or Swiss arrival. Through a thorough examination of both Tibetan and Chinese language sources, Stein (1972) notes the following concerning grapes and wine in Tibet, with particular attention paid to the borderland region of Batang around Yunnan and Sichuan in the Kham region of Tibet and not far from the mission stations in Kangding and Yerkalo:

In the eighteenth century, white grapes were grown at Batang (along with pomegranates, peaches, plums, and nectarines), at Draya and Ngemda (where nuts were also to be had), and south of Lhasa at Chungye (in addition to nuts and bamboos). The Jesuit missionaries who settled in Lhasa at the beginning of the eighteenth century used Dakpo grapes to make the sacramental wine. As early as 1374 the Chaori district of Kham boasted 350 families whose long established profession was the production of wine from grapes. Tibetans nowadays only use the grape in raisin form, as a sweetmeat, their customary alcoholic drink being barley-beer (*chang*). But for the Bonpo ritual described in ancient manuscripts (ninth or tenth century), a fermentation of wheat was used, with another of grapes, a third of rice and a fourth of honey. The treasury of the eighth century king Trhisong Detsen contained, according to a fairly old chronicle, an alcoholic beverage made of rice from the land of Mon (Himalayas) and another made of grapes from Tshawa(-rong).

It is clear that perhaps at an earlier time grapes and grape wine had some level of use in Tibetan culture, even for ritual, though as Stein suggests these uses involved indigenous Bön rituals and less Buddhism. What is worth taking note with respect to oral histories in Cizhong today and the accounts of the French and Swiss fathers is that there were indeed actually wild grapes in Tibet which were supplemented with introduced varieties for wine production. This practice indeed melded well with earlier indigenous practices around Batang and Chaori in Kham as described by Stein (*ibid*). One missionary account in the MEP archives from 1906,

observes this tradition in a village near Batang named Gunra. Here the Emile Cyprien Monbeig notes an abundance of wild grape vines and that families here used to actively cultivate these and make wine, but that the practice was ceased due to needing to focus on grain growing to fulfil tribute payments to local monasteries (Monbeig 1906). The name of this village, Gunra is also worth examining. Monbeig (ibid) translates it from Tibetan into French as “*enceinte de vigne*,” roughly meaning “enclosure of vines.” This is a rather liberal translation however. ལྷན (gun) in Tibetan actually means “grape,” based on my own correspondence with a Tibetan linguist and “Gunra” might more accurately been phrased as something like “Grape Garden” which matches oral histories gathered in Cizhong with an elder historian I will simply call “Liao” (see more below). What my linguist acquaintance also working on Tibetan language dialects in Northwest Yunnan has also told me is that interestingly, the word for grape ལྷན (gun) seems to only be a part of the indigenous vernacular in places like the Batang area where grapes grow naturally or wild. In places with no grapes, the word was never part of local vernaculars and the Chinese for grape 葡萄 (*putao*) has been borrowed.

#### Catholic Missionary Agriculture and Interactions with Local Landscapes

The Catholic fathers did in fact engage in viticulture, producing wine for Eucharist ritual and their own personal enjoyment. Liao, one of the few remaining elders in Cizhong who remembers the French and Swiss and is an active local historian ironically points out that for all the interest in wine in Cizhong today, the fathers themselves never really shared that much of what they produced with villagers, drinking most of it themselves. From oral histories and historical materials and observances it is clear that the Catholic fathers interacted with the local agricultural landscape a great deal, introducing a variety of plants and crops including grape vines as well as collecting hundreds of plants and sending them back to Europe as herbarium specimens. This led to a Victorian gardening craze with Chinese plants in which European and American institutions would later send professional “plant hunters” such as George Forrest and perhaps most famously Joseph F. Rock, to procure further plant material and seeds so that the specimens originally collected by the French fathers could be introduced for gardening.<sup>6</sup> As

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<sup>6</sup> Accounts of the work of Forrest, Rock, and others including Frank Kingdon Ward who was a prolific writer himself are abundant. For two recent and excellent examples see Glover et al. (2011) and Mueggler (2011).

Kilpatrick (2015) points out though, with all of the attention that the explorers and plant hunters have received in literature and among academics, the original botanical work of the Catholic fathers was extensive, and except for a few isolated cases, these men have gone rather unrecognized for their botanical work. The one major exception being the Lazarist Pere Armand David, who not only made extensive botanical collections but was also the first westerner to “discover” the panda during his time as a professional plant and animal specimen collector in the Tibetan areas of western Sichuan.

Viticulture was one of many agricultural and landscape inspired activities that the Swiss missionaries of Great Saint Bernard in particular took part in, having come from mountainous Switzerland, much like the landscape they encountered in Yunnan and Tibet. The fathers recollections about the local environment, geography, and the feelings invoked by the landscape of Tibet were vivid, and provide useful ethnographic understanding of the region during their time (Kilpatrick 2015; Loup 1956). These men had already been mountain dwellers in the Alps where they were also avid skiers and climbers, some perhaps even of professional calibre; fitting given that Pope Pius XI named Saint Bernard of Mentone himself the patron saint of mountain climbing in 1923. Many of them had also grown up in in the mountainous Valais region of Switzerland in agropastoral communities, much like those in Yunnan and Tibet. Valais of course is also perhaps Switzerland’s most famous and oldest region for wine and viticulture dating back into pre-history with much early winemaking being conducted by Catholic priests; a fitting place to learn winemaking craft given the similar terrain and altitude of Yunnan (Wallace 2014; Zufferey-Perisset 2010).

Louis Duc, a Valais has been described in particular as greatly enjoying his time as a great caravaneer who would travel all around the region, but who was also in charge of caring for all of the gardens and orchards planted in Weixi and for caring for the animals (Loup 1956: 93). Below are also several passages and vignette’s from Maurice Tornay’s writings as well:

Description of traveling along the Mekong: The river roars like far-off thunder. Traces or outlines of villages seem to people this valley which the river has dug out between steep sides, without caring about men, as though it wanted to reserve this part of the earth for itself. The animals trot to the singing of the birds. Walnut trees furnish cool damp shade. You forget everything and expect nothing and would be surprised if you saw the veil between God and us ripped apart. And you understand a little of the well-being souls in nirvana (Loup 1956: 84-85).

Descriptions of landscape and agriculture by Tornay in letter home: The country is magnificent: limitless white unknown mountains, woods, little plains, slopes and crags, all unite to give an impression of unimaginable strength and beauty. It hardly ever rains here. The wind blows very hard. The fields produce barley and buckwheat; the gardens: potatoes, pear trees that bear dry fruit, and apple trees (ibid: 140).

Loup in analyzing the works and writings of the Swiss fathers also notes their keen ethnographic and geographical observations:

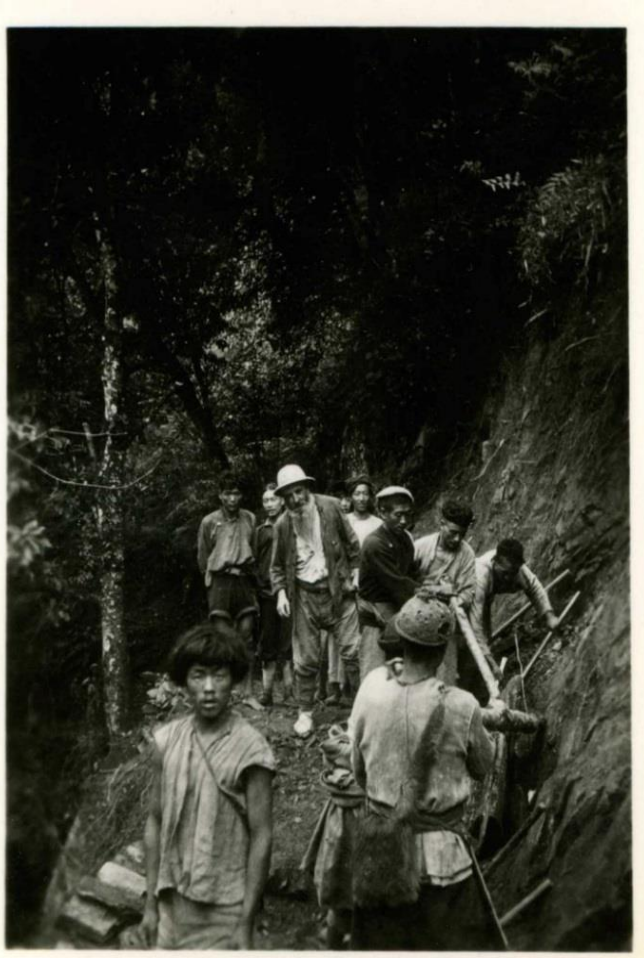
The Tsechung (Cizhong) region along the twenty-eight parallel was an ethnic and climatic boundary. The people basically were Tibetans and Tibetanized Chinese. The climate was dry; the high massives of the Khawakarpo and the Pema to the north held back the rains, and on the other hand, the strong winds kept the monsoons from driving the clouds that far...

...Father Tornay adds a few strokes to this picture: "Suddenly a flock of crows-very black crows-fly across the blue sky. You hear them before you see them. It seems that their cawing never leaves your ears because you will not hear anything else all days long. An antelope, a deer may go by; but they go silently, without bothering anyone. That long straight line of trodden grass where you see pebbles and horseshoe marks is the trail, the main trail...Tibet is solitude itself, a solitude that makes you afraid, for nothing else brings us so near to God. Can we approach God and not be afraid?" (ibid: 140-142).

Collecting plants and animals for the scientific endeavors of the west and writing about their interactions with the landscape and people were not the only ways in which the French and Swiss fathers interacted with the local landscape and environment. With viticulture being of primary interest in this story, agriculture, and the introduction of crops more generally, as well as working to develop and improve local features in the landscape of Tibetan and other ethnic villages such as their caravan routes were also major projects. Since as early as the time of the MEP's first mission station in Bonga, new crops were introduced, where Renou and his colleagues brought potatoes and cabbage, which in fact persisted long after they departed as observed 60 years later by Francis Gore (Bray 1995; Gore 1939; Lim 2009). Part of the Swiss' project involved active work on the high passes of the caravan routes between the Mekong and Salween. Working to build both the previously mentioned hospice project on a pass downstream from Cizhong modeled after the Saint Bernard Hospice, along with improving the trails and setting up a small hut on the high pass directly above Cizhong and leading to mixed ethnicity Catholic villages along the upper Salween. To this day, this stone structure along with other



religious markers remains on the trekking route, with the hut affectionately titled “The Church” by local villagers. Even Joseph F. Rock, who generally despised missionaries and their work, commented on how well the MEP priest stationed in the village of Bahang on the Salween side of the pass, Pere Georges André, had worked with the Saint Bernard fathers and villagers to improve and construct a good trail leading from the pass down to the village. Rock also mentioned how many of the Swiss would regularly cross these high passes in the middle of winter (via skis), something not many locals even today regularly attempt (Rock 1947).



**Figure 3. Andre Georges working with villagers on trail improvement (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard)**



**Figure 4. Priest on the Sila Pass with skis (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard)**

In interviews, local village elders in Cizhong and nearby areas still alive today who knew some of the French and Swiss fathers, tell similar stories. It seems the crops the fathers introduced to local farming and as ornamentals were extensive. In Cizhong today, the village elder Liao, a charismatic 88 year old half Han Chinese half Tibetan man, who has become a well-known local historian and is a devout Catholic has discussed the missionary history with me on various occasions, including the impact the fathers had on the landscape and all of the plants they introduced including grapes. I will talk more about this man in the next two chapters on Cizhong, but for historical purposes retell some of his stories here. When I first inquired with Liao about some of his impressions of the missionaries and their involvement in agriculture and the local landscape, he indeed asserted that many of the plants in the community people take for

granted today came from the missionaries and that these men were very active in agriculture and horticulture.

Liao explains that the French fathers introduced grapes, apples, and eucalyptus, which was good for treating malaria at the time. Father Georges Andres promoted and planted two *mu*<sup>7</sup> of grapes in Cizhong. According to Liao, missionaries first planted grapes in 1882 after they arrived because they desired wine to use in their services. Yanjing (upstream in Tibet) actually had grapes before Cikou and Cizhong after the missionaries arrived there from Sichuan and Tibet before traveling down the Lancang (Mekong). There is a small village 2 hours from Yanjing on the Lancang called “Grape Garden” or vineyard where the missionaries first planted grapes and my own culling of historical materials seems to confirm this is the village of Gunra where grapes and wine making in fact existed prior to the arrival of the French. The Rose Honey (a varietal introduced by the French and/or Swiss, see below) grapes were first brought to Cikou and then later to Cizhong when the church was re-built here. During the KMT and collective periods people needed to grow subsistence crops, so they cleared the grape fields in Cikou. The catholic fathers also established good trails from Cizhong to Dimaluo (on the Salween) and from Yongzhi (upstream from Cizhong where a road is being built today to replace the old trekking route) to Dimaluo. These trails always existed but the fathers greatly improved them. Liao also laments that today the church has no vineyard of its own while the original vineyard was a church asset, but that after the government kicked out the fathers in 1951, the government then also took control of the vineyards. Today the government allows the church to own land but this does not include any vineyards of its own. The vineyards in the churchyard remain controlled by the county forestry bureau. Villagers would like to get land back for the church to own its vineyards. Liao passionately says, “Wherever there is a cathedral there is a vineyard.”

According to Liao, the French brought grapes overland from Vietnam, Nepal, and Tibet (via Yanjing). Other sources confirm these interview based facts and narratives. Today in Yanjing there is also an active practice of winemaking based on the French and Swiss history similar to what has emerged in Cizhong (Zhengping 2011). It is also possible that grapes could

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<sup>7</sup> 1 *mu* is approximately 1/6 of an acre.

have come from Vietnam via southern Yunnan, a border area where the MEP established a strong presence (Michaud 2007).

With respect to agriculture in Cizhong more broadly, Liao explains that before new China (the communist era) and before the missionaries, only rice was grown in the paddy fields themselves due to a local superstition about water leaking out of the fields if other crops were planted in the paddy fields. People did grow barley, corn, and buckwheat but not in the same fields as the rice. Today villagers use these same fields for rice in the summer and other crops during the winter. In another interview Liao explained the plants introduced by the French fathers included grapes, eucalyptus, tomatoes, camphor trees, potatoes, and a flower called Yu Zan Hua 玉簪花 (Fragrant plantain lily or hollyhock); a white flower seen as pure like Christ. They also planted palm trees and bananas in the churchyard (the ones planted today are replacements as the originals died due to lack of care after 1952. They used the eucalyptus they planted to treat diarrhea and the camphor to treat and cure eye diseases with aging.

Another surviving 85-year-old elder who interacted with the French and Swiss living in the downstream village of Badong also had the following to share with me about the plants and landscape changes made by the fathers:

The fathers brought all sorts of seeds here to plant, corn, potatoes, ficus trees, grapes, pears, apples, and many kinds of flowers. The road from Cizhong to Dimaluo existed long before the fathers but the Father An (Georges Andre) repaired the road in the 1930's (he thinks it was then) to make it much better to travel. This father also helped to set zip lines and boat routes in the Nujiang (Salween) where he lived. When I was 18 years old, I traveled over the road to the Nujiang together with a 19-year-old father working as his assistant. The fathers here just planted grapes in the church grounds and kept them mostly for themselves, not really giving them out to villagers. The grapes were also lost when lamas burned and destroyed the churches. Even in Cizhong, the fathers did not really give away grape plants or teach about winemaking. Since I was an assistant to a father, I did however learn to make wine from this priest.

#### Missionary Records and Accounts of Viticulture and Winemaking

Other than Monbeig's (1906) writing about wild grapes and local Tibetan wine making in Gunra, there do not seem to be many written records about this practice or the introduction of grapes among the MEP fathers. The one exception being a mention in Monbeig's biography within the MEP archives that he also introduced grape vines to Tibet from his family's estate back in France. Interestingly, Monbeig's brother, Théodore Jean Monbeig who was also a MEP

missionary in Tibet, was the priest in charge of the construction of the church at Cizhong in 1909 after the destruction of the original church in Cigu (Saint Macary n.d.). Given that his brother introduced family wine grapes, perhaps he planted the first vines in Cizhong, though there is no definite proof nor suggestion of this. There are however extensive writings about both the introduction of Swiss grape varieties from the Valais wine making region of Switzerland, and actual wine making among the Saint Bernard fathers in the 1930's and 40's to be found in the Saint Bernard archives and in writings chronicling the work of these fathers. Croidys (1949), an early writer of the story of these fathers described the following in 1949:

The "new" Fathers of the Tibetan marches were not just a little surprised to see that the grapevine they knew from home, the cep valaisan, could grow at their station! Father Coquoz was very proud of the results and, in Siao-Weisi (Xiao Weixi), he was able to have his colleagues admire twelve grape bunches! But in Tsechung (Cizhong), Father Lovey encountered a little vineyard that was going to prosper so much that, in the following years, the harvest would permit the production of more than 600 liters of good wine. The Valais vine, too, had managed to settle on Tibetan soil (153-154).

Bonet (2006) has more recently provided a similar account based on archival work, noting both the introduction of Valais grapes, their mixture with wild varieties, and again the role of the Valais, Father Coquoz as the winemaker:

At the mission, the priests make wine. The wild grapevine grows everywhere. There are white grapes and red grapes, but most taste quite bitter. The vine grows at the bottom of the valleys, and wraps itself around birch, pine and ash trees that fill the landscape.

When they left the Grand-Saint-Bernard, they brought with them, in iron chests lined with damp moss, about fifty vine cuttings, each stuck into a potato so that they could survive the journey.

Father Coquoz, like a true son of a grape grower from the Valais, takes care of the plants. He mixes them with vines from inner Tibet and wild grapevines. Everything will prosper at it pleases, and in less than two years, he will harvest from the fruit of his "vineyard" about two hundred liters of wine, and he will save a small quantity for sacramental wine (161).

Materials in the Saint Bernard mission archives in Martigny, Switzerland shed further light on the practices among these fathers of viticulture and winemaking in Tibet. One factual correction to the above accounts that seems to have been lost in translation, is that Coquoz did not mix the vines but rather grafted Valais varieties, brought from Switzerland in potatoes, onto

the root stock of the local wild vines or older vines, perhaps introduced by Monbeig to make them more adaptable to the climate (Glarey 2009: 58). Father Marie Melly, who was the onsite director of the order of priests published two extensive articles on the successes and experience of growing grapes and making wine in Tibet, one for the mission's bi-annual review publication, *Grand Saint Bernard Thibet*, later *Mission du Grand Saint Bernard*, and one for the technical journal *Agricole Valais* (Melly 1944; Melly 1947). Several other mentions of viticulture and winemaking exist throughout the many letters written by the fathers chronicling their experiences and in shorter passages in articles appearing in the mission review periodical and other dispatches published by the priests before the official publication began in 1946. One article published in 1948 about making wine for mass in 1947, lists total production of wine for the year as 660 liters of 9.5 percent alcohol wine, with individual amounts produced by each father and mission station as follows:

Weixi (C.Lattion): 150 litres  
Xiaoweixi (P.Coquoz): 250 litres  
Cizhong (A.Lovey): 250 litres  
Hualuoba (L.Duc): 10 litres

Preceding these figures are the following passages on the difficulties, successes, and necessities of producing wine for mass at the time:

It is a big deal in these remote areas to have wine for mass. The reserves we made before the war are exhausted. With a lack of money, buying new wine is impossible. Besides, how to transport it? There are a thousand chances that the wine would spill out or turn into water. That is why the culture of the vine in the Tibetan marches is of paramount importance for missionaries. Thanks to the patience and tenacity of Father Coquoz and Friar Duc, the first vines have grown on the borders of Tibet, and the sacramental wine is henceforth assured.

Want to see the reports on the production of the Tibetan vineyards? Do not forget that for nearly three months, the rain has fallen almost continuously. A veritable deluge. Despite this, we can say that our wine growers could compete with the cooperative cellars ("Les Missionnaires Vous Donnent Des Nouvelles" 1948).

These archives also include photos of Friar Louis Duc, the gardener described by Loup (ibid) working in the vineyards at Weixi and another of Father Angelin Lovey working in the same vineyards at Cizhong, which remain today in the churchyard. As Duc at one time wrote in

his letters about the care that must be taken in growing grapes: “Certainly the wine will not be as good as the Fendant of 1945, but you must be content with both the quality and quantity when making wine” (Glarey 2009: 58). In additional articles written as a column in every issue of the review by the MEP Vicar General at Cizhong, Francis Gore providing dispatches from Cizhong, he notes how Angelin Lovey his assistant in Cizhong at the time was successfully producing good grapes. Doing so in spite of the fragility caused by the sometimes cold climate, and noting how much the two of them often enjoyed drinking kegs of this wine together which he aptly named Le Clos Lovey after its maker (Gore 1946a: 52; Gore 1946b: 71-72).

Earlier in his own wine making years, in 1942, in a letter home to his parents in the agricultural community of Orsieres, Lovey described his amazement at the success of Coquoz’s viticulture and winemaking. He mentioned how Coquoz had recently provided him with some of his own vines to grow in Cizhong, which had begun to fair well. By his own amazement, Coquoz’s wine was already comparable to some of the best back home in Valais:

About Mr. Coquoz, I forgot to tell you something extraordinary, it is that he is becoming the country's largest vine merchant. As he planted the vines, he could not be sure what would happen or if he'd be fortunate due to the environment ... but, it would seem-the vines are promising this year, and in the small vineyard in Xiao Weixi the father produces no less than 20 bottles! ... After an old missionary passed though and left some plants which have grown wild in Xiao Weixi, Coquoz began to work with this kind of varietal and each of the past four years has been unprecedented. It is easy to see that in 10 years, ORSAT (one of Valais’ oldest and most famous wine families) himself can no longer fight against Coquoz & Co. cellars ... Father Coquoz, however, is not jealous with his secret! One year ago, he sent me some vines which have grown nearly 3 meters in height since that time. The vitality of this plant is extraordinary and the grapes are much less subject to disease than the plants brought from Switzerland. Old Valais winemakers, brace yourselves! (Lovey 1942)

Francis Gore also had the following to add about Coquoz’s wine making and teaching of Lovey so that he could grow grapes in Cizhong: “With his multiple experiences, Father Coquoz has given full winemaking instruction to Father Lovey who became a brilliant emulator, now becoming a formidable competitor.” (Gore 1943)

It is difficult to tell from these passages though whether Coquoz grafted Valais grapes onto wild varieties or perhaps onto a variety first introduced earlier by Emile Cyprien Monbeig of the MEP. Indeed, see below for another suggestion years later by Lovey that Monbeig was the original source of these vines still found in Cizhong today. Note the large leaves on the vines

in the photo of Louis Duc working in the vineyards below differ from most wine grapes such as Cabernet Sauvignon, and match those of the 'Rose Honey' varietal grown in Cizhong today (see below). From these accounts, one thing that seems clear is that contrary to elder recollections today, the Swiss fathers certainly produced wine for more than just Catholic mass, though how much was shared with locals is unknown. This conforms rather well with Loup's (1956) depictions of these fathers of while being heavily devoted to their cause, also enjoying the limited comforts they could such as drinking mission wine and almost always smoking tobacco pipes. See photos below of the fathers enjoying both their drinking and smoking pastimes. On wine as a sacrament for mass, another interesting related set of items from Tibet are on display in the treasury museum in the Saint Bernard Hospice today. These are a gold chalice and matching paten with Tibetan caricature and calligraphy commissioned by the fathers there as a gift for their newly named head of congregation Provost Nestor Adam in 1939. When these were originally sent back to Switzerland, it took one year for them to arrive (Voutaz and Rouyer 2014a: 46-47; Voutaz and Rouyer 2014b: 52).

It is important to understand that for the missionaries, at least the French initially; wine was nothing more than a tool of sorts for conducting Catholic mass. Later on for the Swiss, this relationship seems to have changed, in some ways providing a sort of transition for the role wine plays in life in Cizhong village today (see below and Chapter 5). The archival materials highlighted above point towards an initial development of a viticulture industry for having adequate supplies of wine for Catholic mass. Subsequently, for missionaries including Coquoz and Lovey, growing grapes and making wine seems to have become much more of a pastime and recreational activity, producing large enough quantities for personal enjoyment and consumption in addition to supplying sacraments for mass. As I demonstrate in later sections and chapters, wine plays a very similar role among Cizhong villagers today who draw upon this history of these Swiss missionaries in their winemaking practices, marketing, and production. Many today, save for elder Liao and a few others, will say though that today wine has little to no ritual value or purpose, while this was its original purpose for the French and Swiss, with recreational production and drinking coming subsequently.





Figure 5. Missionary photo of grape vines in Weixi (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard)

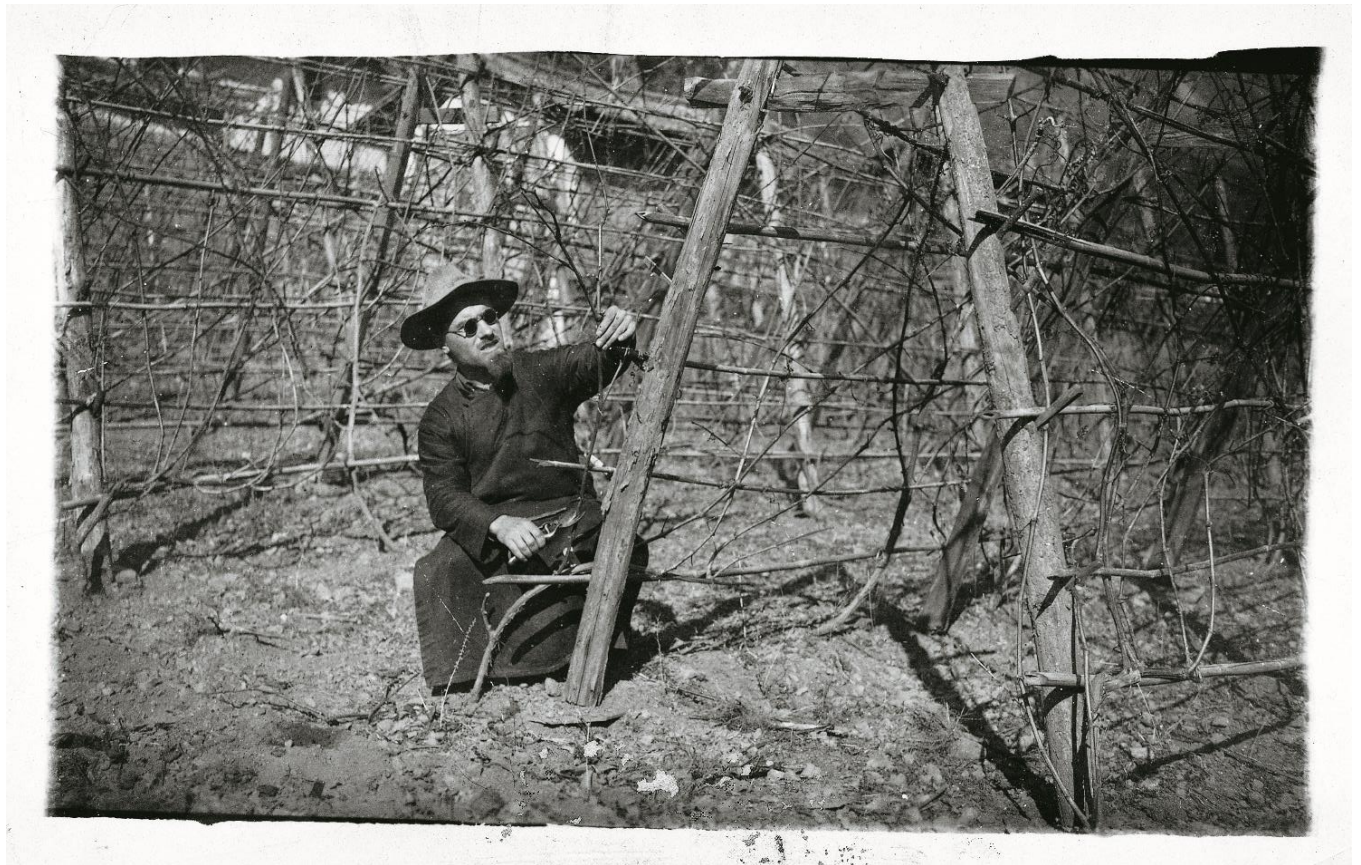


Figure 6. Angelin Lovey working in the Cizhong vineyard (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard)



Figure 7. Louis Duc working in the Weixi vineyards (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard)





Figure 8. Louis Duc working in the Weixi vineyards (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard)



Figure 9. Swiss priests drinking and smoking pipes (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard)



Figure 10. Tibetan chalice and paten from 1939 in the Saint Bernard Hospice Treasury Museum

## CHAPTER 4. PRODUCING TIBETAN WINE AND LANDSCAPE IN SHANGRI-LA: HISTORY, PEOPLE, THE STATE, AND CAPITALISM IN THE MAKING OF PLACE AND IDENTITY

*In wine there is wisdom,  
In beer there is freedom,  
In water there is bacteria...*

Blackboard outside a pub in London.

How do history, people and landscape come together to tell a story, creating commodities along the way? I provide one possible answer to this question in this chapter, which explores the emergence of today's Diqing Prefecture and Deqin County as a wine region and the development of contemporary vineyard landscapes. I look in detail at contemporary wine landscapes, place making, and identity, highlighting many of the key sites and actors in the wine economy. In doing so, I compare the various methods of wine landscape formation from community and household based ones to larger state and corporate led endeavors. Beyond Cizhong Village, I frame wine as state led development and incorporation or project of "shangrilization," versus as a cultural one in the Catholic community of Cizhong. As a state project and form of economic and agricultural "development," I suggest thinking of wine or rather vineyards as an "agriculture of inclusion," within state based landscape transformation. Bringing these differences in approach to making and marketing wine discussed throughout the chapter together, I suggest a framework of viewing wine development in Diqing using a Chinese hybrid model of capitalism, mixing state led markets and individual entrepreneurialism. Each of these seeks to exemplify an ideal of *terroir*, though while this deployment serves as an agentive response to modernity among household winemakers in Cizhong, it remains more of a marketing ploy for "shangrilization" among corporate and state conceived schemes of wine production.

### **Viticulture and Winemaking in Cizhong Today**

Today in Cizhong, where the original church built in 1909 still stands, a Han Chinese priest from Inner Mongolia sent by the Patriotic Catholic Association<sup>8</sup> of China leads village households who have persisted in their Catholic beliefs in prayer. Before 2008, the village had

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<sup>8</sup> The official Catholic Church recognized and organized by the Chinese government, which does not openly recognize the authority of the Pope and Vatican.

no priest, and no formal masses took place after 1952 when the government expelled the remaining French and Swiss Christians. Villagers nonetheless maintained their religion and began to pray openly in the 1980s. In addition to leaving behind Catholicism, the French and Swiss fathers' grape vines planted within the walled churchyard persisted. These grapes, introduced by the fathers, found in the churchyard and now in the fields of some Cizhong households are a varietal today called 'Rose Honey.' This hardy and disease resistant *Vitis* cultivar is thought to contain at least some DNA from the wine species *vinifera* hybridized with *labrusca*, though its definitive origin is still unknown (Dangl 2011; Mustacich 2015). Assumed to be of missionary introduction and previously grown in Europe, various experts suggest it was wiped out by a *phylloxera* (aphid like insect) infestation introduced from the US in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century in Europe and thus extinct. By a twist of fate it still exists, but only in Yunnan Province (Tang 2010).

Much of this information about 'Rose Honey' and its origins is pure speculation and guesswork. Dangle (ibid) a grape DNA expert makes it clear that it is difficult to say for sure where this plant came from and when. Further complicating the question is that as mentioned above, the most definitive writing about the French or Swiss actually bringing grapes with them to introduce to Tibet and Yunnan are the materials about the viticulture and winemaking of the Saint Bernard fathers beginning in the 1930's. This was long after the *phylloxera* crisis had already decimated Europe's vineyards. Another opinion suggested to me by a contemporary Swiss Valais winemaker starting a boutique winery in Cigu (see Chapter 5), is that this grape found in Cizhong today is not from Switzerland or Europe at all, but perhaps brought by missionaries from Korea or Japan. I also know from above that the Saint Bernard fathers grafted Valais vines onto local wild rootstock or earlier French introduced rootstock, which would further complicate DNA identification. The true exact timeline or origin of 'Rose Honey' and its introduction remains undetermined.

Adding a further piece of intrigue to the story of the 'Rose Honey' grapes found in the churchyard at Cizhong today, and supposedly introduced by the missionaries, is a document created by Father Angelin Lovey during the 1990s found in the Saint Bernard Archives. Lovey was by this time serving as the provost of the order of priests. This document describes a sample of grape vines collected by a younger priest who visited Cizhong who then took the sample to



Taiwan and from there sent it back to Lovey in Switzerland. Lovey then sent the sample to a viticulture lab in Italy who produced the document describing the vine's usefulness for making wine as good. Interestingly, on this document, which includes the original order form sent by Lovey to the lab, describing the vine's origin, he mentions that it comes from Cizhong and from a vine first introduced to Tibet by Emile Cyprien Monbeig. This is surprising given that Lovey and his fellow priests brought many vines from Switzerland to Tibet themselves, also bringing up the question of what led him to believe this was an older vine introduced by Monbeig to Cizhong rather than his or his compatriots' own introduction ("Analyse de Vin, Cép. de Bacot" 1999). When visiting the Saint Bernard Archives, when I described the characteristics of 'Rose Honey' vines to a priest who was a viticulture expert, winemaker and relative of Maurice Tornay, this priest indicated that the vine sounded almost definitely like a Valais varietal introduced to Tibet and originally grafted using American rootstock to make it resistant against *phylloxera*. Today for many Cizhong villagers as further discussed in Chapter 5, 'Rose Honey' grapes and vines provide a seeming connection to the community's missionary Catholic past and a means of reconnecting with this history. Is 'Rose Honey' though the true grape left behind by the Swiss and perhaps French before them? With all of my archival and literary examinations, I do not have a definitive answer to this question, but the sense of localized Tibetan Catholic identity that these grapes provide within the larger context of Shangri-La to Cizhong people remains strong regardless of the true identity of the grapes as described below and in the next chapter.





**Figure 11.** Cizhong church built in 1909. The Cabernet Sauvignon vineyards were planted in recent years by the Deqin County agricultural bureau.



**Figure 12.** Cizhong church built in 1909. The palm and banana trees are replacements planted in the 1980's for trees originally planted by the missionaries that died after their departure in the 1950's.



Figure 13. Interior of the Cizhong church today

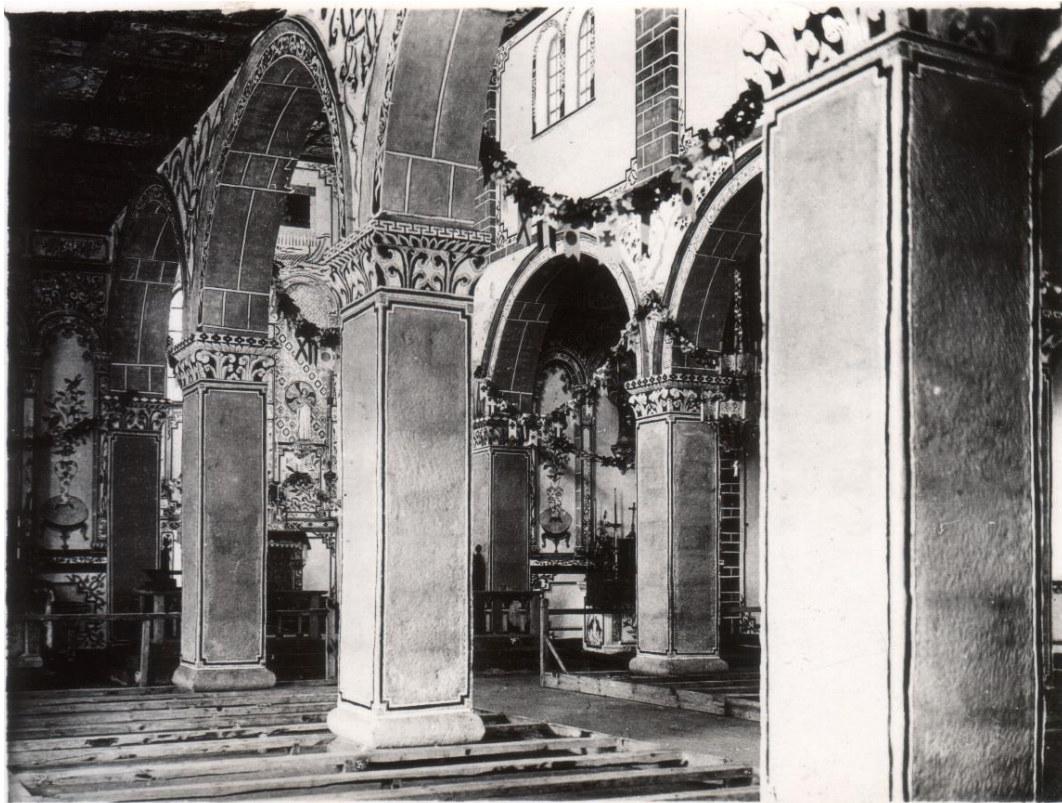


Figure 14. Interior of the Cizhong church in the early 20th century (MEP Archives)





Figure 15. Exterior of the Cizhong church in the early 20th century (Archives du Grand Saint Bernard)



Figure 16. Saint Bernard and MEP missionaries in the church yard at Cizhong. From left to right: Vicar General Francis Gore, Robbert (Bob) Chappelet, Christian Simonnet (MEP priest visiting from Vietnam), Angelin Lovey, and Louis Duc (MEP Archives).

Today in Cizhong, villagers are re-working the agricultural landscape and life with widespread household grape growing and winemaking, a newly emergent industry of sorts connected with the village's Catholicism and history. Though elders today indicate that the original vines were mostly restricted to the churchyards and winemaking knowledge never passed on to any large number of villagers, this has not prevented a re-working of local agricultural practices and identities. Villagers describe the practice of growing grapes and making wine as both historically important and even expected as part of being a Tibetan person living in Cizhong village, applying to not only Catholic households but Buddhist ones as well.

According to most accounts, villager and community interest in growing grapes and making wine first occurred in one household of Wu Gongdi in 1998.<sup>9</sup> Gongdi has told me that for him the idea of taking cuttings from 'Rose Honey' vines in the churchyard to plant his own vineyards and then make his own wine came from the thought that before wherever there was a missionary, there was a vineyard, and that to have a proper Catholic mass you also need to have wine. For him, especially as the director of the church management association, and lay spiritual leader at that time (ten years before a permanent priest arrived in the village), not having wine anymore meant that religiously and culturally, life in Cizhong was in a way incomplete. Additionally, with a burgeoning tourist interest just beginning at that time in Cizhong, coupled with the beginning years of tourism promotion across greater Shangri-La in Northwest Yunnan, making wine to serve to tourists as a way of sharing local history seemed like a novel idea for Gongdi.

Gongdi explains in two documentary films produced in the early 2000's about his family and Cizhong (one filmed by himself and his son with the assistance of Yunnan academics), that his interest in producing wine is also connected with rising concerns over health and naturalness in China. Compared to hard grain liquor or *baijiu*, more and more people in China are turning to grape wine for its health qualities and in the case of Gongdi's wine, because it is organic. Perhaps one of the most memorable times I have seen Gongdi discuss this comes from a film.

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<sup>9</sup> In the case of Wu Gongdi I use his real name rather than a pseudonym by his own request. Gongdi is a bit of a public figure in Cizhong as the director of the church management association and has also been the main protagonist in a documentary produced about Cizhong and Catholicism in Tibet by the Catholic Diocese of Hong Kong (*The Way to Tibet* 2004). Gongdi and his son Hong Xing are both especially proud of their family's wine making and viticulture, something people know them for, and they have asked me to use their family members' real names when writing about them because they want people to know about their wine and their family's story.

He and his son Hong Xing perform a wonderful drinking song about the health and religious benefits of their wine in their self-filmed documentary, *Cizhong Red Wine* (Cizhong Hong Jiu 茨中红酒) (Liu 2002). In the film, prior to singing the song, the entire family discusses their potential future economic gains that will come with the grapes they have begun to grow and the wine they are making, and they also toast with the family's grandmother wishing her a long life by drinking their new healthy grape wine. After transcribing this song from the film for a publication and showing it in a lecture, I've also since been told by two other Tibetan studies scholars that the song is in fact a re-working with new Catholic lyrics of a traditional style Tibetan drinking song. The lyrics are as follows:

“Ah, wine! Beautiful fragrant wine!  
Ah, wine! Sweet dew that makes men happy!  
Plant a grape vine in the lands of Cizhong,  
Present the first glass of sweet grape wine to Almighty God,  
Present the second glass of clear and fragrant grape wine to your kind parents,  
Take the last glass of clear and fragrant grape wine for ourselves and play a game.”

In order to ensure the production of his wine using traditional methods employed by the missionaries, in 1997 Gongdi traveled to Yanjing to learn about winemaking from his grandmother's sister who was a Catholic nun there. Gongdi today insists these methods are unique to his family, though other villagers in Cizhong often say he boasts too much and everyone now uses this method of winemaking. From 1998 onward though, he began producing wine, first using grapes from the churchyard and eventually using grapes from his own vineyards planted with 'Rose Honey' cuttings taken from the church. Following Gongdi's lead, by around 2002-2004, most families in Cizhong had also begun planting grapes and making wine using 'Rose Honey' cuttings, with each family seeing the potential market and success that selling wine as a historical product from Cizhong's landscape could provide. The next chapter delves into much more detail about the story of winemaking in Cizhong Village. Here I wish to highlight though that compared to the corporate and state based wine projects described below, winemaking in Cizhong is a grassroots individual agentive response to modern economies and markets drawing upon the community's history and identity as Tibetan Catholic people within the larger landscape of Shangri-La. Cizhong people have created a unique niche within Shangri-La for themselves, "indigenizing" and adapting to modernity through wine through their own

methodology rather than that introduced by the state with viticulture in other communities in Deqin County (Sahlins 1999; Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud 2015). The next chapter discusses this process in much more detail.

### **Corporate and State Driven Wine Landscape Change in Diqing**

Throughout the valleys of the Mekong and Yangtze rivers in Deqin County and in other areas of Diqing Prefecture, vineyards and wine have transformed village landscapes and household farming over the last 15 years. Contrary to Cizhong though, these changes do not involve grassroots household developments of winemaking, but rather state and corporate development interests. In this section, I briefly outline these developments drawing on a variety of interviews with county government officials, village leaders, and company officials. In recent years, the complexities of the wine industry developing across Deqin and more recently neighboring Weixi County have become more and more complicated with five separate wineries now operating in the region, each with its own story. Here I summarize each of their stories into one as effectively as possible so that I can then draw out my comparison between the changes this industry has brought to village agricultural landscapes, contrasting these changes with those also created by wine and vineyards in Cizhong, which the next chapter explores in much more detail.

Wine promotion and production is big business in Deqin (and Weixi) counties today, and has become a major local policy initiative for rural economic development in the region, with the government co-opting and monopolizing most of the grape and wine production. The local state directs the majority of village grapes for sales to the Shangri-La Wine Company, granted a monopoly on household grape crops by the prefectural government. However, there are a few exceptions to this monopoly, and in fact another smaller company Sunspirit, which focuses on high quality ice wines (a sweet dessert wine), was the first to pursue Deqin as a winemaking region. The local state caught on to the idea of viticulture and wine production a few years after Sunspirit, based upon the success of this first venture. Unlike Cizhong, where at least some, even if a limited history of growing grapes and winemaking previously existed, villages who never engaged in grape agriculture (nor in wine production) on their own, have now only done so at the urging of the prefectural and county governments. In this project, the state collaborated

with Shangri-La Wine (part of a much larger nationwide conglomerate named VATS) sometime around 2002 or 2003. Based on interviews with the assistant manager of the Shangri-La Winery, the local branch of the company was originally a barley liquor maker approached by the government to begin producing wine from grapes grown by Deqin's villagers as part of a Shangri-La promotion scheme and method of improving household incomes. Shangri-La Winery today produces a mixture of pure Cabernets and red blends, which in early years were perfectly drinkable but a bit lacking in taste and quality. In recent years though, those priced high above 300 RMB in its Altit or Altitude Wine series, have begun to taste incredible and have placed well in international competitions.<sup>10</sup> Shangri-La also produces some whites that are not heavily marketed or available, not surprising given the lack of many white grape vineyards in Diqing except in Weixi County, see below. Given China's love with red wines for their auspicious color, the focus on reds throughout Deqin County is not surprising. Shangri-La Winery is also known for their unique "Tibetan Dry" wines fermented using a mixture of grapes and local highland barley, creating a unique strong and flavor though rather distasteful in my own opinion as a limited expertise anthropologist of wine. I will talk more on this in Chapter 7 about a tasting of several local wines I organized in Shangri-La in spring 2016.

#### Sunspirit "Meri Ice Wine"

As mentioned, the first company to pursue Deqin as a grape growing and wine producing area was in fact not the state, nor Shangri-La Wine, but Sunspirit, owned by an independent businessman named Liu Jiaqiang<sup>11</sup>, described by his winery manager in Deqin to be as a real "lover of wine." Sometime between 1997 and 2000 (based on different accounts), around the same time that Wu Gongdi was beginning to make wine and planting vineyards in Cizhong, Jiaqiang who had been working as an executive at Yunnan Red Wine in central Yunnan two hours away from the provincial capital of Kunming, began working in the mining business in Deqin. Having already worked in the wine industry with experience marketing and producing it, Jiaqiang felt that from a marketing perspective Deqin had great features for producing wine from Shangri-La. Two features and locations in particular that captured Jiaqiang's attention were

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<sup>10</sup> 1 U.S. dollar equals approximately 6.1 Chinese RMB.

<sup>11</sup> Jiaqiang is an easily identifiable public figure as the owner of Sunspirit, so I utilize his real name.

Cizhong with its history, and nearby Khawa Karpo, the tallest mountain in Yunnan and one of the most sacred mountains in all of Tibetan Buddhism (Coggins and Yeh 2014; Da Col 2007; Litzinger 2004). Coupled with the idea of Shangri-La, these provided good advertising for wine, so Jiaqiang sought to develop an industry. To see if his ideas for growing suitable grapes in the region would work, Jiaqiang worked with the county agricultural bureau, planting out 60 *mu* each of Cabernet grapes in two villages to test for suitability, Cizhong, and Bu village several miles upstream near Khawa Karpo. Bu was the home of a local county agricultural worker named Wang who worked closely with Jiaqiang to make his village one of the test sites. As it turned out, Cizhong was actually deemed to be too wet for effective vineyards (something confirmed to me by viticulture experts working in the area), and Bu village became the eventual site of Jiaqiang's Sunspirit winery and lodge, with construction and wine production beginning in 2008 according to the facility manager. However, some of Bu's household's began planting vineyards and making some money as part of the pilot project in 2002. After 2008, every household in Bu more or less converted their fields to vineyards, abandoning the growing of grains such as wheat and barley, as well as the practice of seasonal agropastoralism and the raising of several yaks and cattle. From this point forward, each family would only keep 2-3 yaks or cows versus their previous 20-30 each, and feed them with small amounts of grain intercropped in the vineyards, while prior to 2008, much higher quantities of grain were grown to feed the animals during the winters when they weren't grazing in the high mountains.

Sunspirit's investment and experimentation in Bu village and with its own vineyards surrounding its lodge and winery just up the road from the village, were in fact and still are (while the winery is complete the lodge and restaurant are still under construction) meant to produce a high quality Cabernet ice wine. Unlike Shangri-La Wine, which generally has until more recently focused on quantity rather than quality, planting grapes throughout all lowland villages in Deqin, Sunspirit produces a high quality and expensive product, named "Meri Ice Wine" a rendition of the Chinese name Meili or another Tibetan name Menri for the nearby sacred Khawa Karpo. The labels on the bottles have a picture of the mountain, bottles that sell for a hefty price of 500-600 RMB. However, they are certainly worth it based on my own tasting during a winery tour, and based on critics saying this wine is as good if not better than the best Canadian ice wines, a country usually known for making this type of wine. Indeed since



entering production in 2008, Sunspirit has won a silver medal in an international competition for Meri Ice Wine (Salick and Moseley 2012). Part of the success of this investment according to company officials and the Bu villager named Wang who introduced Jiaqiang to the area, and who has become an avid winemaker himself, is Bu's unique microclimate at the base of Khawa Karpo. Wang, also professionally trained in winemaking, explained this to me during an interview, saying, "The land in Bu is very unique, we have a small microclimate here because of the proximity to Khawa Karpo and Minyong glacier. Sunspirit has hired a lot of experts to come here to study the climate and region, which is also why they have spent a lot of money." According to wine experts in China, Bu is the an ideal place for ice wine based upon the combination of the dry arid climate and water coming directly from snowmelt year round. In fact, though I am suspicious as to whether this matters a whole lot in production quality, Sunspirit pumps all its water, glacial melt, across the Mekong River directly from Khawa Karpo, though this may be a bit of a *terroir*/marketing ploy. Bringing experts here to study the *terroir* and conditions for producing ice wine was indeed though a major component of Jiaqiang's investment, research that not only led to the creation of a successful product, but results which have also been published as an academic paper on ice winemaking in Yunnan (see M. Yang et al. 2007).

Jiaqiang and Sunspirit's wine development have transformed the agricultural landscape of Bu village, in a much different way than has occurred in Cizhong. In the conclusion to this chapter and elsewhere (see Galipeau 2015), I discuss the general landscape changes and livelihood alterations that have occurred in Deqin's villages due to corporate and state led vineyard development. Here though, I briefly highlight the changes in Bu because they are the only village working with and selling their grapes to Sunspirit. Other than Cizhong, Bu is also probably the only other community with an extensive household winemaking industry, which has developed over the last ten years as vineyards have taken over all the household land. Winemaking is not religious or historical here, but is has slowly begun to enter into daily life and household economies, and many households do indeed produce their own wine today, which they sell to tourists who pass through the village on their way to Khawa Karpo National Park. In fact, an interpretive sign on the road above Bu village installed by the park management in the same style as other signs describing the local ecosystems and cultural features even identifies and

describes Bu as a center of ice wine making due to its particular landscape and climate. A few villagers now exclusively produce wine with all of the grapes they produce and do not even sell any to Sunspirit anymore, as they are actually able to make more money this way, some even shipping their wine to buyers in the provincial capital of Kunming. As villagers have explained to me, their knowledge of winemaking and ability to produce a quality product actually came directly from Jiaqiang and his company and Wang who first introduced grapes and the company to the village. Wang, who now owns his own small winery and lodge in the center of the village trained in central Yunnan at Jiaqiang's former company, Yunnan Red Wine, and brought his skills back to the village, teaching others along with some of the other winemakers from Sunspirit. This differs greatly from other areas in Deqin where Shangri-La Wine has not engaged villagers in any sort of vocational training, the consequences of which have led to significant problems in economic stability and food security, with concerns from year to year about whether the company will even come to purchase grapes. With no knowledge of winemaking, selling grapes to Shangri-La Wine is the only option for annual income among many households.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, while not inherently religious or cultural, wine drinking has also become everyday practice in Bu, with villagers actively drinking and discussing their wines in the evenings, and also explaining to me that grape wine and ice wine have become regular items of consumption during weddings and new year's festivals.

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<sup>12</sup> See my discussion in Galipeau (2015) for an extensive analysis of these vulnerability issues in another village upstream from Bu.



**Figure 17. Bu Village vineyards with Khawa Karpo in the background**



**Figure 18. Ice wine tasting with the manager of Sunspirit winery**





Figure 19. National park interpretive sign about Bu Village as a ideal location for producing ice wine at the foot of Khawa Karpo



Figure 20. Sunspirit company vineyards, winery, and lodge in the Mekong valley

## Shangri-La Wine

While Sunspirit was the first to pursue and develop the wine industry in Deqin, the county and prefectural governments quickly noticed its success and followed suit with Shangri-La Wine within just a few years' time. This transformed virtually all of the lowland agricultural fields in Deqin County into vineyards, as part of a massive household income improvement strategy coupled with further inscribing an image of Shangri-La on the landscape; part of what Coggins and Yeh (2014) have called "shangrilalization." To be sure, Shangri-La as a marketing tool for wine is quite an effective idea, especially when the quality of wine is often linked to landscapes and geography, via *terroir* (Ulin 2013), with Shangri-La being framed as a pristine Himalayan paradise coupled with the history of Cizhong, which the Shangri-La Wine Company actively employs in its marketing. One can partially observe these semiotic constructions by Shangri-La Wine brand wine in the company's ad in Figure 31. This particular advertisement does not include the French history of Cizhong, though this narrative is found on many of the winery's bottles. This ad focuses on the Tibetan landscape, displaying the Tibetan characters for Shangri-La in large font with an image of a bottle of wine in the foreground against a verdant Tibetan village of vineyards and walnut groves nestled in a deep canyon with snowcapped peaks above. It is important to recognize that the semiotics of the advertisement are entirely authentic. The image of the village and its surrounding landscape provides an accurate depiction of the communities where Shangri-La Winery grapes are grown.

I've previously provided a general outline of the government and Shangri-La Wine Company's development scheme, though in fact also mentioned that at the time when that research was conducted in 2011, my information was based mostly upon the direct experiences of village farmers and also due to a lack of access to government and company officials (Galipeau 2015). More recently in 2014, due to better research permission and access, I was able to conduct such interviews and re-tell the story of Shangri-La Wine and village development here, drawing upon an interview with a public official named Litsing Gerong<sup>13</sup> working in the Deqin County biological resource office. According to Litsing, grapes and wine first began with the pilot project by Sunspirit and the government in 2000 in Bu Village and Cizhong. Based on

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<sup>13</sup> Litsing Gerong like Liu Jiaqiang is an easily identifiable public figure and also heavily featured in an article from 2012 in the China Daily, crediting him with putting Deqin on the map as a wine region, so I've used his real name for similar reasons and since he'd already be easily identifiable just by description (Xiao and Li 2012).



my own work, this did not involve simply promoting the growing of ‘Rose Honey’ grapes, but rather introducing Cabernet varieties to Cizhong to sell to wineries as a new means of income, which for the most part actually failed in Cizhong with most Cabernet often becoming too diseased without heavy fertilizer and pesticide use. Many villagers in Cizhong have since abandoned the state promoted growing of Cabernet for Shanri-La Winery and produce their own wines to sell to tourists, though unlike Wu Gongdi, most do still grow more Cabernet and use more chemicals to do so.



Figure 21. Shangri-La Wine Altit series advertisement. In recent years, this A3 and others in the series have begun to win international medals and prices have begun to decrease to affordable levels as quality has risen.

According to Litsing, the original pilot project with Sunspirit involved over 200 *mu* of land, though Wang, the former county agriculture worker in Bu says only 60 *mu* were planted in each village. In 2002, Shangri-La Wine began business based on the initial observed successes with the Sunspirit project, and the government collaborated with the Huaze (华泽), a barley liquor company located near Shangri-La/Zhongdian in 1999, to form Shangri-La Wine Company under the umbrella of the large conglomerate VATS Group. By 2013, there were 130,000 *mu* of vineyards planted in village fields in the region. Litsing has also explained that his own wine and grape expertise has often been exaggerated, a-la a China Daily article featuring him and crediting him with the introduction and success of this industry (Xiao and Li 2012). He began working for the county biological resources office in 2003 where his superiors instructed him to learn about grapes and wine. In September 2013 though, he and others did visit wineries, restaurants, and chateaus in California to learn more about the industry. In his position, by

introducing wine and grapes as a new form of village agriculture, Litsing suggests the local government has significantly increased household incomes across the region, something my own survey research (see Galipeau 2015) confirms, but there are costs to this potential success discussed below. Despite a variety of concerns highlighted below regarding the motivations and successes of Shangri-La Wine as a household development project in Deqin, Litsing as the organizer of this program at the village level, does come across as carrying a genuine interest in the wellbeing of villagers. He provides every villager with his phone number and prides himself on his direct and personal connection with all the rural people in the region whenever they have any problems with their vineyards or need assistance.

Observations of the Shangri-La Wine project raise several issues of concern. These include heavy use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides in most villages selling their grapes to Shangri-La, a lack of support for household wine production in places like Cizhong, especially when sales to Shangri-La are not successful, and the overall stability of the industry in terms of long term outlook and food security described in Galipeau (2015). This is what has happened with little to no subsistence grain production anymore, and an uneasiness among villagers about being able to sell grapes to Shangri-La. When discussing these concerns with Litsing, he actually provided some keen and fair responses, though not enough to ease my critiques completely. He did indeed admit that buckwheat, a traditional Tibetan staple and culturally significant crop has actually gotten expensive in Deqin due to being replaced by grapes, and that this is a problem since local people still really enjoy it. He also explained that compared to other parts of China, less pesticides and fertilizers are used in Deqin for grape growing and that here there is also more organic manure from cows and pigs which can be used as fertilizer. He went on to explain that in wine regions in the north of China many more chemicals are used, though I have nothing to compare or quantify this against, and I have still seen a lot of chemical use, which only a limited number of environmentally active villagers seem to care about in terms of the impact<sup>14</sup>. Concerning individual villagers being able to promote their wine, and do so organically like Wu Gongdi and his son Hong Xing in Cizhong, Litsing explained that the government does not actually encourage household winemaking and marketing because it is

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<sup>14</sup> See Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion about some of these individuals whom I call ecological entrepreneurs and their particular identities related to grapes and wine.

much harder to meet and uphold health, hygiene, and quality standards. Though this certainly does not seem to have prevented virtually all of Cizhong's villagers from making their own wine, something I have recommended elsewhere might actually be beneficial for income diversification in other villages in Deqin. Due to the annual instability of selling grapes to Shangri-La, who often shows up late in the season to buy grapes after they have begun to rot, concerns over income and thus food security are prevalent; having alternative outlets for grape sales, perhaps through households producing their own wine as in Cizhong and Bu is important (Galipeau 2015). Wang, the former county agricultural worker in Bu village who first introduced Sunspirit there also reiterated these problems. This man rather bitterly said:

Litsing took my idea and takes credit for my work with grapes and wine, especially here in Bu where I am the one who engaged with the community, not him...he really made a planned economy rather than an open market by arranging for all the villagers to sell to Shangri-La. This is not really an open capitalist market, which he worked to put in place because the Shangri-La monopoly controls most of the market.

#### Moet-Hennessy

The vignettes above lead well into my description of the final corporate wine company operating in Deqin County, which began to work here recently in 2012, the French firm Moet-Hennessy, part of a larger luxury conglomerate LVMH (Louis Viton Moet Hennessy). This set of companies has wine estates in various regions around the world including France, California, Australia, and Argentina. By 2012, Moet had already begun a sparkling wine operation under its Chandon brand in Ningxia Province in Northwest China, China's fastest growing wine province where several Chinese wine makers are producing excellent wines and winning international top prizes in Europe. Despite settling on Ningxia as the location for their sparkling wine, Moet's experts were convinced based on climate, soil, and *terroir* studies that if they could overcome the logistics of working in remote Shangri-La, this region might actually be able to produce the best red wine in China. They believed this would be possible through a combination of recouping some of Shangri-La Winery's vineyards along with planting new ones. Indeed China's top viticulture and enology experts in Beijing had confirmed Moet's expert's ideas about Shangri-La as the best potential new wine region in China, assuming the question of logistics was taken out of the equation.



Collaborating in a joint venture (required for foreign firms in China) in which they hold the majority stake with Shangri-La Wine, Moet first began their work in 2012. Their first organic (uncertified) and premium priced wine known as Ao Yun or “Proud Cloud” appeared on the international market in fall of 2016 at a price of \$300 US dollars after many delays (Anson 2015; Mustacich 2015; Robinson and Lander 2014; Tyler 2015; Xiao and Li 2012). Given the price and my missing the one possible chance to try this wine at its release at an exposition in Hong Kong (see below); I will likely never taste this wine due to cost. Moet’s project began with a growing desire among the French wine industry to begin to move their operations into China itself, both the world’s fastest growing wine market and largest consumer of top-level Bordeaux wines by import. However, the idea of being able to break into the rapidly emerging industry of producing fine wines in China was not theirs alone, with the famous Chateau Lafitte having also begun their own vineyards and winery in Shandong Province in the northeast, one of China’s largest wine regions in addition to Ningxia. According to Litsing, Moet rents 700-800 *mu* of land in four villages in the area of Adong, a tributary valley with eight villages just upstream from the Mekong in northern Deqin. While their winery and a large number of vineyards are located in Adong, they also maintain vineyards directly along the Mekong in Xidang and Sinong villages, and in the higher mountain community of Shouri, where Jiaqiang also experimented with viticulture. Some of Moet’s winemakers suggest Shouri perhaps has the best potential climate and *terroir*. This project started six years ago when they came looking for Litsing and he helped to set up the project.

Most of the rest of my information about Moet comes from an interview with a winemaker there who asked to remain strictly anonymous and my own interviews with villagers who have leased their land to the company and work for them in the vineyards on a per day basis. One significant difference between Moet’s operation and that of Shangri-La is that their project involved a long-term 50-year lease with villagers for their land. The overall landscape transformation that has come with Moet’s project is the same as elsewhere, with most households choosing not to grow as many subsistence grains like wheat and barley anymore, and abandoning seasonal agropastoralism by selling off large numbers of yaks and cattle. However, in Adong, due to the long-term lease agreement with Moet there is far less insecurity in annual income compared to what other villages experience selling their grapes to Shangri-La. Moet

guarantees households an income of 2,000 RMB per *mu* of unplanted land per year, and 2,200 RMB per *mu* of vineyard land. Even if the vineyards fail to produce or the company is unsuccessful, the company still guarantees income for 50 years. Additionally, villagers can chose to work in the vineyards making 120 RMB per day. Everyone I have talked to in Adong is pleased with this arrangement compared to the previous situation of growing and selling grapes to Shangri-La Wine. In fact not only do many say they have good income security this way, but the opportunity to work in the vineyards for pay also means that they can remain at home in the village with their families instead of needing to seek out wage labor elsewhere. This is not to say that there are not negative changes in people's attitudes or that they easily accept working as wage laborers on their own land producing crops for someone else. This type of somewhat regulated wage based income is new to many, and despite higher incomes, they are still inclined to escape or avoid it at times. Much more on this in Chapter 6, which provides an in depth look at household and community land tenure and management in Adong and the changes that have arrived with Moet's lease and work program. In this later section, I also compare and juxtapose the difference between this new type of wage and land leasing based livelihood production, versus community organized and managed caterpillar fungus collection.

My discussion with the Moet winemaker who works with villagers about some of these issues is also enlightening especially when juxtaposed against the experience of most villages in Deqin working with Shangri-La Wine Company. When asked about timing of harvests and company purchases, this man did say contrary to villagers' complaints about Shangri-La's purchasing grapes after they rot, that farmers will always complain and do not always understand ripeness, quality, and sugar content for winemaking. However, most of his insights about his company's project run counter to experiences elsewhere in Deqin. He explained first off that he is not familiar with the people at Shangri-La and does not communicate with them much. Moet has a joint venture with them but this is mostly out of necessity since every foreign company needs a joint venture in China. The two companies do not actually work closely together.

Quoting him directly:

With Shangri-La's program they are probably getting about 900,000 kilos of wine per *mu* of grapes since they focus on quantity and not on quality overall. Shangri-La honestly has big problems with quality in my mind. The system currently in place is not good since there is no open market; Shangri-La has a monopoly, so the long-term outlook isn't

good. The system is however good for the farmers and good for the Shangri-La Winery however since they don't care about quality. With a quality system in place, there would be less income and food for the farmers because they would not be able to sell all their grapes at a flat rate or at all due to poor quality. We at Moet are going all organic unlike Shangri-La, but also spending lots of money doing this. This comes from respect for the farmers, land, and environment. With more time and money, you can make organic wine anywhere, but it takes a lot of effort. The reason everyone in the region has chosen to grow Cabernet is because it's a very easy cultivar to establish and is very adaptable. It will easily become localized and distinct within a specific region. This is part of why Cabernet has been chosen here. We are starting with Cabernet in Adong but will also add Merlots and other varietals over time.

This discussion regarding Moet's winery in Adong and the villager reactions to this project described above highlight a few key points. There is still a lot of income and thus food insecurity in the Shangri-La Wine project compared to the long-term lease agreements that Moet is giving villagers for their land in Adong and nearby areas. However, based on the Moet wine maker's perceptions, while there are problems with Shangri-La's virtual monopoly, because quality is less of a concern, the project can still function as a method of income improvement and economic "development," which it might not likely do if the company focused on quality. However, this lack of attention to quality has also led to heavy chemical intensification and environmental degradation, which it is clear from the cases of Cizhong and Adong is certainly not necessary, and in fact avoidable if the state and Shangri-La Wine developed a more sustainable long-term approach to the viticulture in Deqin rather than a rapid one.

I'd like to add that contrary to the other wineries in Shangri-La, even Shangri-La Winery itself which is bureaucratic and operates like a state enterprise, Moet remains the one operation that was more or less unwilling to speak with me openly and support my research. This was in some ways frustrating because in terms of how their project has been benefitting Adong and neighboring villagers I have generally positive comments, though some concerns about the impacts of new labor forms on the community as a whole as discussed in Chapter 6. The amount of media attention that the release of Moet's wine in 2016 has received from foreign and Chinese media has been vast, with articles and exclusive preview reviews of the wine and interviews with the company's CEO appearing in the Washington Post, Bloomberg, and elsewhere (McCoy 2016; McIntyre 2016). Additionally, two prominent wine journalists have been given and written about full tours and tastings they've received from the company in Adong, while I have been

unable to garner such attention (Anson 2015; Robinson and Lander 2014). Unfortunately, I also had to miss the wine's official release at the VinExpo convention in Hong Kong in May 2016 and a potential chance to discuss and talk about it with the CEO due to already being committed to giving lectures and my archival research in Europe at the time. In early summer 2016, a special tasting and unveiling also took place at the French embassy in Beijing with many government officials and managers from Shangri-La Winery joining as well as a joint venture partner. In reference to this event, Shangri-La has indicated their wines have significantly improved since the arrival of Moet (which is true in my experience) and have also become more organic through the companies working together, though I believe based on my experiences this second claim is a bit dubious (“香格里拉新闻资讯 - 超级喜讯：国内首款 300 美金定价葡萄酒海外面世” 2016).

Besides my interactions with villagers leasing land to and working for Moet, discussed in detail in Chapter 6, I did also one day while walking around the vineyards and chatting with villagers have the opportunity to meet and talk with a 28 year old Chinese viticulture and wine expert in the vineyards. This man provided me with more insight into the company's project. He originally came from Chuxiong Prefecture, a mountainous area near Kunming in central Yunnan and studied viticulture and wine making at Xian Agriculture University, China's top institution in these fields. On this day, I was able to follow him around and chat as he went thorough surveying and checking each vineyard plot. He explained that he does this weekly for a database where they track every plot. He looks at the grape bundles for their fruit percentage, and checks for disease and mildews. In one newly planted section of seedlings, he also dug a hole to check the soil moisture. In addition to managing the vineyards, he also assists the French with winemaking. He explained that the majority of the vines planted are Cabernet Sauvignon, with the first wine Ao Yun being predominantly of this varietal. He also showed me some Chardonnay vines, indicating that they've already made wine from these for over two years but that it will probably still be another 2-3 more years before it is sold or until they feel they are producing a high enough quality Chardonnay to market since it's still experimental. They are also growing a special Chinese cultivar of Chardonnay with a pink color, selected for this trait. Each week after surveying all the vineyards, he enters the data into the computer database and sends copies to his French supervisor. On this day as he finished his surveying and we walked

back to winery and his car together, I also asked him about organics and the villager practice of intercropping vineyards with corn and other crops, since in most villages the grapes sold to Shangri-La are still grown under this practice. He reiterated that with Moet, everything is completely organic and that they import their fertilizers from Europe. He also further explained that from a viticulture standpoint intercropping is not good. Tall crops like corn can shade vines and interfere with the growing in various ways in terms of water, nutrients, etc. Moet feels they manage their vineyards much better, rather than in most cases where individual households manage vineyards themselves and sell grapes as an annual cash crop.



**Figure 22. Adong villagers planting vines with Moet winery and lodge atop the hill in the background**



Figure 23. Moët-Hennessy marketing material for Ao Yun

#### Hada Village White Wines

I had been hearing about new ice wine projects and wineries in Weixi County (the third county after Shangri-La and Deqin in Diqing Prefecture) by word of mouth and in various media publications for a few years. I was therefore interested in checking these out and learning more, but could not seem to locate anyone who had any direct knowledge of these projects, with most of my long term contacts and experiences being in Shangri-La and Deqin. When I read in 2016 about an entire Ice Wine festival the government hosted in Weixi in late 2015 with experts and wine makers from Canada and Germany (regions known for ice wine), I felt visiting these projects was important. This became part my research plan upon my return to the field for six months in 2016; I really wanted to see and learn more about some of these newer wineries (F. Yang 2015). Quite fortunately, when I returned to Shangri-La from Cizhong for a few days in April to meet a professor of mine who was visiting at the time, he happened to introduce me to a local Naxi government official who also happened to be involved in a white wine project in Weixi. In this man's home village a winery was producing both white ice wines and dry wines. After receiving this introduction and tasting of some of the dry wines, which were fantastic and far better than the few whites I had tried from Shangri-La Winery, the official noted that he

would very much like to host me in his village and help me learn more about the project for my research.

Later that week I was able to spend several days' time in the village home of the local winery director in Hada, within the scenic district or township of Tacheng in Weixi County. When I arrived the first day, after spending some time visiting some of the vineyards and the company's office tasting and chatting about the wine and the project, following dinner with the director's family at home, he actually drove me about 15 minutes away to the township to a nice hotel. I went on to explain to the director and his viticulture expert also based there that this sort of VIP treatment and every day requiring them to drive back and forth from the village was certainly unnecessary. It seems that the higher-ranking official in Shangri-La who had set up my visit, wanted to treat me well. I explained that as an anthropologist I was more interested in their own daily experiences, so after the first night, which had already been paid for I then lodged in the village home of the director. In fact his viticulture assistant, also being a minority Hmong or Miao as they are referred to in China from southern Yunnan, was familiar with anthropological methods and fieldwork having had classmates in this field, and was able to explain my preferences easily. I must say though that after several years visiting wineries and tasting wines in Shangri-La, the hospitality and excitement I received about my project and my writing about the winery at Hada, was the greatest and the most welcoming of all.

Hada village and larger Tacheng are located in a verdant tributary valley of the Yantgze, which is subtropical with palm trees and bamboo compared to the arid central Mekong valley of Deqin and the Yantgze proper where most viticulture is located. While the valley is green and warm in the springtime, snowcapped peaks surround the area. In this region, paddy rice fields are also the primary form of agriculture, contrary to most of Diqing Prefecture, which is either too high in elevation or too dry for such forms of agriculture. While minority Naxi people inhabit Hada Village, Tibetan communities surround the area. Larger Weixi County, where Hada is located is a Lisu Autonomous region, with Lisu being the largest ethnic group and making up the government administration. Of the three counties in Diqing, Weixi is the only one not inhabited by a majority of Tibetans. Further interesting in the case of Hada as I learned while chatting with villagers during my several days there, is that contrary to most Naxi areas, such as those to



south in Lijiang, the general center of Naxi culture, in Hada most strictly practice and follow Tibetan Buddhism, rather than the Naxi shamanistic religion known as Dongba.

Within Hada, winemaking and viticulture is one of three industries developed as part of a larger village agricultural cooperative company. It is corporate in structure but rather than being state based or private, village households share ownership, profits, and management responsibilities. The two additional industries and products after wine are local Yunnan ham, some of the best I have ever tasted in Yunnan after many years, and wild organic honey, sold at lucrative prices, close to 800 RMB per jar. Viticulture began in 2009, at which time the only crop grown in higher fields above the paddy areas was corn, which did not create good profits. Seeing the benefits of viticulture elsewhere in Diqing, the official from Shangri-La whose home is in Hada and who arranged my visit, worked to introduce and start the village winery corporation. Under guidance from a New Zealand based winemaker and consultant who had also worked extensively in Ningxia, one of China's largest wine regions, it was decided that because of the abundance of red grapes being grown elsewhere in the region, to focus on white grapes and wine. The grape cultivar chosen and still exclusively grown is 'Vidal,' a complex hybrid developed in Europe but grown in the largest numbers in Canada for ice wines. This varietal is well suited to cold climates with high sugar content and tannins or acidity. In the past year, there was also a consideration to begin planting Rieslings as well, but instead the village used investment funds available for construction of a new winery located within the village. They will likely add Rieslings later.

Winemaking first began in 2011 two years after planting grapes, and up until today takes place several hours to the south using Shangri-La Winery's facilities and equipment. The viticultural assistant who I spent much time talking with today lives in Hada but travels to Tiger Leaping Gorge Town to the south to check on the production of the wines on a regular basis. By the harvest time in 2016, the village plans to have completed their new onsite winery to begin making the wines on site. They are building the winery at the edge of the forest up above the village, looking out across the valley with splendid views. Up until this time, the company has not sold or marketed the wines directly until they perfect them, though they have certainly come close. They have however been distributing the wines privately and making some available to



tourists locally in a boutique lodge known as Songtsam with locations throughout Diqing including here in Hada and in Cizhong.

On the day I first arrived, we sampled the ice wine, which was superb, light and sweet with a honey flavor and in my mind much lighter and a bit easier on the pallet than Sunspirit's red Cabernet Sauvignon ice wines. The dry white wine also produced using Vidal grapes is similarly splendid, though a bit more dry and sharp than something like a chardonnay due to high acidity of the grapes. The villagers and company grow the grapes for these two wines in different locations. Villagers grow dry wine grapes down low in the valley in Hada Village, while they grow ice wine grapes in another village in a much colder area higher up the mountain above the valley. Here they receive the necessary snow and frost needed before harvest for ice wines, making the sugar content high. In addition, while the company itself manages many vineyards cooperatively using their own methods, every household also maintains its own vineyards, and sells grapes to Shangri-La Winery individually. Hada is one of few locales from which Shangri-La buys white grapes. A major difference in Weixi County though is that Shangri-La does not hold a monopoly on the production and purchase of grapes, thus the ability of the villagers to create their own winery as well. The monopoly established in the early 2000's over vineyard land exists in Deqin County only.

One can also observe a difference between the two types of vineyards in Hada, those of the company, and those managed individually by households. The company manages its vineyards strictly for producing the best wine, and these vineyards look much like those owned and operated by Moet and Sunspirit. The spacing between the vineyards is much larger allowing space for more sunlight, and there is no intercropping of corn or other crops between the rows so as not to affect irrigation and nutrient needs. Households grow vineyards with the vines placed closer together and with various intercropping of other crops. The viticultural assistant from southern Yunnan, who trained at Yunnan Agriculture University under an expert from Xian Agricultural University, the location of China's most prominent viticulture program, manages the company vineyards. He also continues to work with and receive guidance from the New Zealand consultant who returns most years in the fall around the harvest and winemaking period.

In addition to the Hada Winery project there is at least one other ice winemaking operation also producing whites further to the west closer the center of Weixi County and its

capital town above the Mekong Valley; thus the Diqing and Weixi County governments' attempts at further promoting the success of ice wine here and international connections. On this last factor, there is an interesting tidbit and story to add linking the winemaking going on in Hada and Weixi today with the earlier stories of the Saint Bernard fathers. All of the archival materials indicate that wine making at the mission stations in Weixi County town and nearby Xiao Weixi was extensive, likely bigger than that in Cizhong. The more recent development then of viticulture and winemaking in the Weixi region is a sort transnational renewal of these earlier activities among the Swiss. More anecdotal but great from a storytelling perspective is an experience I had in June 2016 involving Hada village wine and the contemporary elder Saint Bernard fathers while visiting Martigny Switzerland for archival research. I had been traveling through Europe with two bottles of Hada white ice wine gifted to me at the end of my visit to the winery, originally meant for sharing after a lecture I gave at Cambridge University. Having only shared one bottle there, I completed my trip in Martigny with one more, which I shared with the Saint Bernard fathers during lunch my last day there working in the archives. Their hospitality during my ten days there had been wonderful, inviting me to join them for a prepared sit down lunch everyday with wine, followed by chatting around coffee with local Swiss chocolate. To repay some of this hospitality I shared my bottle of Hada ice wine with them after lunch the last day.

One of the elder fathers interested in my work on wine and viticulture in Tibet having been a viticulturalist and winemaker himself in his younger days, with whom I chatted most days at lunch, was ecstatic about this wine. All of them found it to be delightful I believe, but this man who was a cousin of Maurice Tornay, was particularly impressed, even going so far as to suggest that there in Valais they should now be taking lessons in winemaking from the Tibetans and the Naxi at making wine in the mountains. I explained to him that coming from Weixi, in many ways this wine began with a tradition introduced by fellow members of his order of priests and he was quite happy. This story in my mind really helps to illustrate the sort of full circle transnational circulations with Switzerland especially, that grapes and wine have taken throughout Diqing Prefecture in development of the contemporary landscape and economy here.



Figure 24. Vineyards in Hada village

### Shangrila Beer

On June 20, 2015, a new face entered, or rather re-entered the ever-growing alcohol and spirit scene in the Shangri-La region, Shangrila Beer, produced by the Shangri-La Highland Craft Brewery Company founded and chaired by Songtsen Gyalzur, known as “Sonny.” Shangrila Beer is in many ways key to understanding how production of wine and beer can connect with Tibetan culture. The company makes this a priority at a company-wide advertising and marketing level, one of the main suggestions that I have been making throughout this dissertation in trying to suggest how these kinds of economic commodity production form and relate to ethnicity.

Here I describe my experience during the opening ceremony of the new brewery, which took place in Shangri-La and draw from subsequent sit-downs, interviews, and tours of the brewery with Sonny. I will add that I have gotten to know Sonny well during my many years living in Shangri-La on and off, and consider him a good friend. I like his product and truly appreciate the corporate structure and culture of his company. Though hailing from mountainous Switzerland (note the rather strong connection between Switzerland and the region dating back to the Saint Bernard fathers), Sonny, a Tibetan, has deep roots in Shangri-La, where his parents

immigrated to Switzerland from. The impetus for Shangrila Beer first began for Sonny in 2009, when he traveled to his family's homeland here in Yunnan and visited a local orphanage run by his mother for many years. Coming from a real estate background back in Switzerland, Sonny decided to do something locally for the community in Shangri-La to give back and opened a restaurant, named Soyala in the Shangri-La old town where he worked to employ and train former orphanage residents. In running this social enterprise, Sonny later developed the idea to attempt to begin a local brewery with local ingredients, based on the inquiries of many customers asking if any local brews were available in Shangri-La. After some research, Sonny learned that most Chinese beer is made using larger quantities of rice, so he engaged with a Swiss brew master who came to Shangri-La to work with him to develop beers using the local Tibetan highland barleys grown around Shangri-La. They then opened and developed a small brewery, which mostly sold its four bottled beers to local restaurants in the old town in small quantities. These four beers, which have now been continued with new additional beers in the new large industrial brewery facility included a Tibetan Lager, Tibetan Pale Ale (brewed with local ancient Tibetan yeast strains), Black Yak (dark loger with some hints of coffee), and the Supernova (a strong flavorful ale with hints of licorice). The beers were and still are all brewed using a combination of local indigenous hulless or naked highland barley and imported Belgian malts. Today's beers from the new brewery include the Tibetan lager renamed Yalaso, the Tibetan Pale Ale, Black Yak, Songha, a sweet flavorful Belgian style ale, the Supernova, and most recently Fat Zhouma, a strong fruity wheat ale brewed using local wheats. In the future, Sonny and his team are planning seasonal microbrews, including some cask-aged ales brewed using used oak barrels purchased from the Moet winery.

Following the initial local success after some years of Sonny's original small, though unofficial brewery, the local government approached him suggesting that they would support him in starting up a much larger officially licensed operation which they believed would be a great way to support local farmers in selling their barley crops. Support may have been a bit of a misnomer though. This did not refer to financial support for the new brewery or company, nor an open invitation to do business. With today's new brewery now finally in operation though, Sonny explains that two of his management staff work full time as government liaisons, working daily to cultivate *guanxi* (Chinese meaning relationship but much larger in connotation referring

to social capital and government relationships) and to keep all parties happy. Sonny stresses that to do business effectively and successfully in China, you need to be able to work closely with the government and actively cultivate relationships with them.

Construction began on the new brewery facility in March 2014, with its official opening ceremony occurring on June 20, 2015. This was a fun and spectacular event, with many notable dignitaries, both local and foreign in attendance; and of course free beer for all. Activities performed on the stage for the opening event included a video interview with Sonny and an introduction to the brewery and the process of brewing good beer, comparing a good beer with a beautiful Tibetan woman. Performances of Tibetan singing and dancing were also included as well as signing ceremonies with distributors from cities and towns throughout Yunnan. The opening itself was paired with two other notable events in Shangri-La over the weekend, the annual horse racing festival, and the celebration of Shangri-La's establishment as an official city, as opposed to its former designation as a county capital/town. To capitalize on this weekend of events in Shangri-La, Sonny and his company also worked to make their event part of the Shangri-La city celebration by formally establishing a sister city relation with the skiing town of Arosa back in his homeland of Switzerland. As such, the opening celebration for the new brewery included speeches of recognition from both the Swiss ambassador to China and the local mayor of Shangri-La. The idea of establishing a sister city project was first pitched to Sonny as a good way to establish good government relations. He was familiar with Arosa from skiing trips there and found it similar in look and feel to Shangri-La. The local city governments were both supportive of this idea and using the brewery as a vehicle to support it, and fortunately, with much effort the government in Beijing came through to support the idea as well.

Near the end of one of my more formal conversations with Sonny before he took me on a tour around the brewery we also discussed the taste, nature, and quality of his beers, and also what makes them Tibetan beer, and special as a local product. Sonny explained that his brew master has guessed that the local spring groundwater they use is over 100 years old when it comes out of the ground, which gives it unique local characteristics. For Shangrila Beer, brewing is also not just so much about hops, which have become especially popular among American microbreweries. Sonny explains that they are more interested in malts for flavor as well as the utilization and development of local Tibetan yeasts and highland barley, which are

special. Their beer also has no additives or stabilizers, and they really believe in being all natural and green with Sonny explaining their beer cannot in fact be any greener. Shangrila makes the beer with all local highland barley in combination with important Belgian malts and they return the leftover barley mash to local farmers for animal feed. Shangrila is a local company, employing local people, about 80 percent former orphanage residents who now make some of the best salaries in the region. Sonny explains that he really thinks their beer is Tibetan beer, made by Tibetan people with local Tibetan raw materials. Tibetan people are also very social and used to drinking local barley (*chang*) beer, so he feels they are really taking the next step at Shangrila making a local barley beer that can spread the traditional Tibetan hospitality of *chang*. This is one of the things that he feels also keeps their beers unique and distinctly Tibetan with the increasing number and popularity of microbrews in China. Note here the blending of cultures to appeal to Chinese middle class and luxury consumers, with a western style microbrew being a popular growing trend in China, paired with what some view as exotic or pure and natural Tibetan culture. Indeed much of the marketing of the beer that Sonny and his team of partners engage in directly advertises the Tibetan aspects of the beer with traditional Tibetan religious *thangka* style paintings designed by one of his partners and used for the illustrations on the bottle labels. They also carry out online social media campaigns that highlight the natural and cultural aspects of the beer. This connects the beer with consumers and drinkers well in terms of the language and semiotics used in marketing, with *terroir* at one time even used in online campaigns in reference to the local water and ingredients used in the beer. A-la a return to the semiotics of drink and drinking (Manning 2012).

With their new brewery, Shangrila has moved beyond the scale of a microbrewery but they are committed to maintaining the quality and uniqueness of their beers as craft beer. Sonny explains that to make a legally bottled micro style beer is very difficult due to the required quantities, but I can attest that having been drinking much of Sonny's beer since it entered the market; they have gone beyond achieving this feat. To obtain their official health and bottling license from Beijing took a lot of investment and efforts, and the minimum production capacity required for such a license is being able to produce 20,000 bottles per day. Yet even at such quantities, Shangrila Beer remains beyond excellent and as good as some of the best microbrews I have come to love in the US. Sonny's support of and work with local farmers around Shangri-

La City also continues to grow and expand as does his and his brew master's work and experimentation with more local varieties of highland barley. Farmers from nearby villages now not only sell barley to the brewery at competitive rates but also take part in various non-technical production activities such as boxing and packaging beer. In 2016, the brewery established a new barley experimentation program, working directly with some of the local villagers.

Sonny and Shangri-La Beer are also part of what I suggest is occurring in Shangri-La through wine and beer production to re-cast transnational connections with France and Switzerland in the formation of the region's contemporary landscape. Certainly, his family's connection with the area is different from what came with the MEP or Saint Bernard Fathers, with this being his parents' original home before the political upheavals in China of the 1950's. These events in fact led to a large expatriate population of Tibetans in Switzerland today. However, what is extremely interesting about almost all the wine and beer projects in Shangri-La is that they are all linked with France and Switzerland and past histories between these regions, either through colonialism or family connections, which are working to form this economy today. The following company statement captures Sonny and the brewery's aspirations:

Shangri-La is a magical place and we're dedicated to brewing a magical beer. Life is tough and we think everyone deserves to find their own Shangri-La. All of our beers are inspired by Shangri-La, that's why we use only all-natural Tibetan Mountain Spring Water, heirloom Qingker Barley and Imported German Hops. It doesn't take a lot of ingredients to get to Shangri-La, only 3 perfect ones. But our mission is more than just making beer. We're in this to build a sustainable business that helps local farmers and businesses grow. Every single Shangri-La Beer comes from our community to yours. We're also proud of our unique heritage. With a majority Swiss-Tibetan executive team, were proud to partner with the city of Arosa, Switzerland our sister city. The Swiss dedication to craft and precision impacts everything we do. More importantly, we think you'll be able to taste the difference. At the end of the day, our mission is incredibly simple. Make Shangri-La in a Bottle.

I discovered an additional story about these sorts of transnational connections between Tibet and Switzerland through wine and beer, during my visit to the Saint Bernard Archives in the Valais region of Switzerland in June 2016. I was surprised to learn while reading some materials on Valais viticulture and its history that the Dalai Lama also owns a small vineyard in the Martigny district of Valais where the Saint Bernard Hospice is located. His vineyard here is officially the world's smallest, with only three small vines, and is named after a Swiss Robin

Hood from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Joseph-Samuel Farinet, a sort of local folk hero known for his counterfeiting of money to give to the poor. The small vineyard honoring him was planted on a mountainside in the mid-1980's, and after passing through different ownership it was given by the previous owner, Abbé Pierre, a French Catholic priest and anti-poverty campaigner to the Dalai Lama in 1998 after the two visited the site together. The Tibetan leader has owned it ever since, and today the wine produced from the vines there are sold each year to generate funds for a Tibetan children's charity, much like Sonny's work with his mother's orphanage in Shangri-La (Wallace 2014: 51-54; Zufferey-Perisset 2010: 498).



Figure 25. Shangrila Beer Twitter advertisement





Figure 26. Shangri-La Beer Twitter advertisement with owner Sonny in the brewery tasting room



Figure 27. Sonny and his family during opening ceremony of Shangri-la brewery

## **Corporate and State Led Development and Landscape Change as an “Agriculture of Inclusion” and Diqing’s Wine Economy as Hybrid Capitalism**

The development of viticulture and wine production in the rest of Diqing Prefecture outside of Cizhong has followed a different path, far less related to individual producer identities, religion, culture, and history, and tied more heavily to inscription within the larger national Chinese economy and developing Shangri-La. As grapes have become the crop grown in most abundance in river valley villages, often forming a virtual monocrop of vineyards, I also wish to overview what crops villagers have historically grown primarily for subsistence (and as cash crops) and those that are still grown today in small abundance for such purposes. Villagers still intercrop corn within the grape vineyards, which they use for animal feed, though one might occasionally eat corn for personal consumption. Many explain that they may occasionally also grow small amounts of wheat and barley within the vineyards, but compared to amounts that were previously grown for subsistence and cultural/ritual purposes, much less has been grown in recent years with the introduction of grapes. These grains were once the staple crops in the region, except in Cizhong and the villages around it, which are the southernmost Tibetan communities in Deqin and all of China, and where households actively grow paddy rice alongside vineyards. Before grapes however, in most of Deqin County wheat, barley, and buckwheat were a major part of peoples’ diet along with purchased rice, however as other cash crops were introduced including corn, and later grapes, villagers shifted their growing of wheat and barley towards cash cropping and the purchase of rice as the sole staple grain for personal consumption. Over time, villagers have replaced the traditional grains grown and consumed in Tibetan society with corn and grapes in the fields and purchased rice on household tables, (though in this region of Tibet, rice was consumed through trade for many generations and grown in areas such as Cizhong and Weixi). In thinking about ethnicity and minority identities in China, I have often tried to avoid using the terminologies “sinocization” or “hanification,” in reference to assimilation of minorities into Han Chinese culture and society. However, these terms actually work well within the framework I propose in this section to explain the primarily state based development that has come with the promotion of Shangri-La Wine (and to a lesser extent with Sunspirit Ice Wine in Bu and Moet in Adong), and the transformation of Deqin’s agricultural landscape.

I view the development and promotion of grape growing as a household form of agriculture and a state methodology by which to enhance “Shangrilalization” (Coggins and Yeh 2014), as a primarily state based top down form of development and also landscape alteration framed in the context of what Yeh (2013) ambiguously calls “development as a gift.” In this work, Yeh discusses how state territorialization and landscape transformation in central Tibet around Lhasa has followed three paths: urbanization, vegetable farming carried out first through local household labor and then migrant workers, and village and countryside modernization. Within these three examples, Yeh frames development as a gift in ambiguous terms, examining how it benefits or does not benefit rural Tibetan households. Of five key points outlined within Yeh’s framework, two are important and pertinent to my own case of wine and landscape change in Deqin. First, tracing agency and power in the production of material landscapes helps to see how development produces contradictory subjects and complex subject positions. Second, development and landscape transformation are central to the processes of state territorialization. In the case of the first point, I explore further in the next chapter how in Cizhong, while drawing upon the state’s promotion of Shangri-La, many of the material changes in the landscape have involved the agency of villagers such as Wu Gongdi themselves, building upon their history and identity as Tibetan Catholics. Here people will explicitly tell you that for them producing wine connects with what I call religious “niche” identities in larger Shangri-La. This differs greatly from the case of other villages in Deqin, where people convert traditional agricultural fields to vineyards largely at the suggestion of the state and corporate partners. While these changes have significantly raised household incomes across the region (see Galipeau 2015), they have also led to other significant changes in the cultural identities of agricultural landscapes and even cultural practices such as traditional yak herding and agropastoralism. This is where I draw my terminology of landscape change and viticulture in Deqin as an “agriculture of inclusion,” in reference to Yeh’s (ibid) point about landscape transformation being central to the process of state territorialization. Contrary to traditional forms of mountain and hill agriculture, which Scott (2009) refers to as agricultures of “state avoidance and escape,” the growing of virtual monocrop wine grapes among Tibetans in Deqin proceeds as form of state inclusion in many ways, and also differs from what is observed in this agriculture in Cizhong.

First, viticulture works to encompass and bring household economies and livelihoods into the fold of greater China, moving families away from subsistence and into the production of not just a consumable crop, which contributes to national economic growth and markets<sup>15</sup>, but in this case a luxury commodity (wine), for China's emerging middle and upper consumer classes. This commodity is then also not only marketed as wine, but simultaneously sold as being Tibetan from Shangri-La, following recent trends among urban Han Chinese who seek to "consume" Tibet (Osburg 2013b; Smyer Yu 2012; Smyer Yu 2015). Important to note here is how the most recent player in Deqin's wine economy, Moet Hennessy is actually working to exoticize their wine using Shangri-La to the west using the Chinese name "Ao Yun" or "Proud Cloud" and imagery of Khawa Karpo. Moet is in fact exporting and selling this wine to Europe and the US for its Himalayan *terroir* before they introduce it to Chinese markets. Moet is recreating wine as a transnational connection, "boundary object," or mediation between China, Tibet, and Europe, that began with the French and Swiss missionaries.

Second, while simultaneously working to connect Tibetan farmers in Deqin with the national economy by way of making them producers of raw materials for a luxury "Tibetan" commodity, the alteration of Deqin's agricultural landscape has led to a decrease in consumption and production of traditional grains associated with Tibetan livelihoods. This has in turn created a move away from seasonal agopastoralism, in which villagers previously spent summer months grazing yaks and cattle in the mountains, while they now practice mostly sedentary lifestyles. Most villagers of course do not actually complain about this second change, indicating that being able to remain home more and have a higher annual income from growing and selling grapes is preferred. However, this still raises questions about state economic incorporation at the expense of cultural preservation, especially when this incorporation is marketed at the consumer end of the commodity chain as being distinctly "Tibetan." Not surprisingly, virtually all villagers outside of Cizhong when asked about wine and Tibetan culture, and why Shangri-La and Sunspirit wines are being marketed as Tibetan, say that wine is not at all Tibetan and foreign, and that calling it such is purely for advertising. In fact, a few concerned individuals have even

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<sup>15</sup> See Schmitt (2014) for a discussion about a similar process which he calls de-swiddening among Ersu Tibetans in western Sichuan where traditional subsistence grains are replaced with monocropped vegetables, connecting village economies with the provincial capital.

suggested to me that wine and grapes are destroying the landscape and the local Tibetan culture associated with it due to all of the chemical intensification that has come with them (see Chapter 8).

This raises a variety of long-term questions about environmental sustainability and cultural vitality, which I delve into in more detail in further chapters. In closing though, I wish to point to the largely complicated and drastically different situations in Diqing concerning its emerging and budding wine economy, and the changes this has brought to the landscape. In Cizhong, there has been a grassroots revival or rather re-creation of winemaking, vineyards, and history. Elsewhere, we see a mixture of purely corporate ideals in the case of Sunspirit and Bu village (but one that has still created a unique identity as an ice wine base), and top down state led “development” and incorporation in the case of Shangri-La Wine. There are also local state and corporative village vineyards and wineries as in the case of Hada Village in Weixi, and lastly corporate but socially and environmentally conscious viticulture in the case of Moet-Hennessy in Adong and Shangri-La Beer. In closing out this section though, what I wish to suggest is twofold. First, the wine landscape of Diqing today is transnational, historical, and temporal in both a literal sense and an imaginative sense. Past French, but as I’ve shown in fact more predominantly Swiss histories are invoked to create a dynamic new image of the people who live here along with the state crafting the landscape as a place of wine with unique local and colonial characteristics. This landscape is a dynamic working assemblage of multiple actors, including foreign ones (Tsing 2015b). Second, the capitalisms that are working to meld Shangri-La as a winemaking region are hybrid and mixed in the framework suggested by Osburg (2013a) of both state directed markets as seen with Shangri-La Wine, and more corporate or small business/entrepreneurial as seen with Moet, Sunspirit, and individual household winemakers. These processes together paint a picture of people, landscape, history, and...wine.

## CHAPTER 5. LANDSCAPE CHANGE, TIBETAN IDENTITY, AND TERROIR IN CIZHONG VILLAGE

*Between the river and the mountain slope extended a narrow platform along which a few huts were scattered from Tsu-kou to Tsu-chung. Below Tsu-hung rice is cultivated, this being the last village on the Mekong where it is known, for immediately to the north the climate changes abruptly. With the climate and the want of rice people change also; there are no more Mosos or Lisus now, only Tibetans, and such Chinese merchants as have settled at the big trading centers.*

*The platform just referred to however, which is only a few hundred yards wide does not represent all the cultivation, for the slopes of the first hill range have to a large extent been cleared of their open pine woods and rhododendron scrub, and here are raised crops of wheat and barley. It is wonderful to see the Tibetans ploughing these hill sides with bullocks drawing the wooden plough, which is so light that the man picks it up and the end of the day's work and walks home with it.*

Frank Kingdon Ward on the landscape of Cizhong in 1911 (Kingdon Ward 1913: 44)

In the previous chapter, I explained that Cizhong Tibetan villagers are developing an identity based upon their wine and vineyard landscape, and upon the “niche” they are believed to occupy within Shangri-La. Here I delve deeper into this assertion and the ethnographic and historical materials that support these ideas, drawing primarily upon theories of landscape and *terroir* and my own ethnographic experiences and insights during my time living in Cizhong village. There is no doubt that grapes and wine are indeed a foreign introduction, and most villagers themselves freely admit this, but simultaneously, Catholic villagers when asked will still often assert that wine is cultural and a ritual item for them as Catholic Tibetan people and because of Cizhong's history and religious ritual practices coupled with new Shangri-La tourism. Below some quotes from Wu Gongdi and others help exemplify these assertions:

Wine is important to local culture because it is needed for Catholic mass, and this ritual can't take place without wine. Wherever there is a cathedral there is a vineyard; wine is not for play it is for ritual (elder Liao).

After the Chinese government kicked out the Catholic fathers there was no more wine, but there were still grapes here. In 1997, I traveled to Yanjing to visit a relative of mine who is a nun to learn about making wine. She learned from the Catholic fathers. I think Catholic culture is part of Tibetan culture, so wine is also part of Tibetan culture. But you also can't talk about wine without talking about Catholic mass. The fathers who

were here even learned to speak Tibetan and I think this also makes wine part of Tibetan identity here (Wu Gongdi).

Cizhong is a big name in local Tibetan culture and lore. Before wine and grapes were not part of Tibetan culture but now they are because everyone knows about our wine making.

Each of these quotes suggests that wine and vineyards are a part of Tibetan culture and identity in Cizhong for three reasons: history, religion, and now with the development of Shangri-La and tourism, a reputation and expectation among visitors and villagers that Cizhong's landscape includes two things, the original French church, and accompanying vineyards. Consequently, according to many villagers, every household should also have homemade "French technique" wine to serve to visitors. If they do not, they are not really being proper hosts or fulfilling their identities as Cizhong people, even though neither the vineyards nor winemaking were ever nearly as extensive in the past as they are today. Indeed Lim (2009), who has also published ethnographic work on Cizhong, while focusing primarily on the ethnic identity provided to villagers by Catholicism and their grappling with being perceived as believing in a foreign faith, has also observed the new identities that wine has provided to local villagers in the context of exoticising Shangri-La:

Hence in an interesting way, the increasing commercialization of wine production has discursively facilitated the inscription of a 'foreign religion' into the local tradition of the Catholic Tibetan areas, through an advertising narrative that connects the legacy of the French missionaries with the exoticism of an earthly paradise in China (93).

This brings me into the primary thrust of my discussion on Cizhong, landscape, and identity utilizing a construct of the French notion of *terroir*, along with other recent forays into rural commodities and value. Tsing (2015a) in discussing *matsutake* mushrooms (also found in Yunnan Province and Deqin), has suggested that rural commodities can confer different forms of meaning and value upon those who both produce and consume them, and that more research into how such value among producers is created is necessary. In this work, people who collect *matsutake* along with those who consume them and give them as gifts each develop special connections with the commodity and the landscapes within which it grows. For many collectors in particular, like village winemakers in Cizhong, the act of searching for the mushroom itself just as the act of tending one's grape vines and transforming grapes into wine, becomes a process

of self-identification within a larger landscape and system of diversified capitalist commodity chains. For Cizhong people living within the larger landscape of Shangri-La and Tibetan commodification, producing wine as a unique commodity with a Catholic historical past, confers a unique niche identity upon winemakers and upon the agricultural landscape of vineyards in Cizhong.

Within this trend, Besky (2013), Ching Chan (2012), and J. Zhang (2013) demonstrate how the creation or re-creation of agricultural landscapes using past histories combined with modern producer ideals can be engraved utilizing *terroir*, much in the same way I suggest deploying this analytic in Cizhong. Through a slightly different lens, Demossier (2011) describes *terroir* among wine growers in France as being a twofold process that has recently evolved more into a localized discourse similar to what I argue is occurring among Cizhong Tibetans. While having previously been used as a legal protection of the geological and geographical uniqueness of French wine on a national scale, according to Demossier, *terroir* has been re-contextualized by rural vintners today as a process of historical and cultural differentiation within the global economy; providing such farmers with a means by which to make themselves distinct (ibid). Here *terroir* has allowed small scale local farmers to directly identify themselves with their products, wine in particular, through direct connections to landscape, history, and particular methods of production (also see Besky 2014; Guy 2007; Ulin 1995; Ulin 2002).

As Demossier (ibid) further explains, the recent entry into *terroir* studies by ethnographically focused anthropologists has in particular brought to light new details on production, consumption, and social actors involved in winemaking (685). In a sense, anthropologists have sought to ask how wine is given meaning and value by those who make it, referring to *terroir* as a special ecological and cultural process that brings together actors, their histories, and agricultural practices (ibid: 186). Drawing upon histories of wine growing in France in particular, Demossier highlights how *terroir* can be used to create discussions over how old histories and landscapes of winemaking are made new, and what the roles of history and local agency are in these processes (ibid: 697). However, despite the wide range of social scientific approaches meant to capture the deployment of *terroir* by winemakers in France, few



have sought to capture its strategic deployment in precise geographic locations as Demossier does in Burgundy, and as I seek to do in Cizhong (687).

I suggest here that a similar process of creation and re-creation of history and producers' identities is taking place with wine in Cizhong, marketed by villagers utilizing the colonial history of the French and Swiss missionaries who first introduced grape growing and winemaking to the region. In a sense, Cizhong wine and the household vineyards are marketed using *terroir* like language (though this is not explicit). This *terroir* of Cizhong wine and vineyards comes from their place of origin in a region officially designated as Shangri-La or a Himalayan paradise by the government, and the history of French introduction and production that has been passed on through generations of villagers to this day. In fact, while most villagers market their wine and suggest that they produce it using traditional French techniques introduced and taught to them by the Catholic fathers, Wu Gongdi's story about how he first learned to make wine in 1997 from a nun along with other oral history accounts suggest that these forms of marketing are in fact slightly inaccurate. Still, the methods of production according to Cizhong villagers are particular special and unique on historical grounds, which along with the use of 'Rose Honey' grapes, in contrast to government introduced Cabernet, works to give Cizhong wine a special *terroir*. Each of these factors helps to tell a good story, which is why the "taste of place" *terroir* style packaging and naming of Cizhong wine is so effective at creating attachment and interest in the wine among visitors; stories of old missionary grape vines, French history, and "traditional" household wine making bring hundreds of visitors to Cizhong each year. Simultaneously, villagers who grow these vines and produce these wines then play a role in creating its culturally and regionally defined *terroir*.

In a sense, Chinese and foreign tourists who visit Cizhong and purchase wine do so primarily because of the historical value and history of colonial Catholicism embedded within the landscape of Cizhong, an inherently "temporal landscape" which brings together village homes or dwelling places, history, and religion (see Ingold 1993; Ingold 2000). The creation of this landscape of "dwelling places" as Ingold (ibid) calls them and the commodity of wine that villagers work to meld into it, is inherently historical, created through two periods of human time and imagination (Tsing 2015b). The first of these periods occurred between the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when missionaries and villagers built the church still standing today and when

missionaries planted the first vineyards. The second period involves contemporary times over the last 15 years, when villagers have converted large swaths of household farmlands into vineyards in an attempt to imbue the landscape with history. In doing so, villagers and the tourists who visit Cizhong have sought to create, drink, buy, and sell wine based upon the village's past combined with the contemporary state and touristic inscription or imagination of Shangri-La (Coggins and Yeh 2014; Hillman 2003a; Smyer Yu 2015).

By planting vineyards and invoking Cizhong's colonial Catholic history, villagers have extended *terroir* as Demossier (2011) contends, to not only encompass soil, geology, and geography, but also cultural and ethnic elements and particular productive practices originally learned from the French and Swiss. In doing so, village households are not simply becoming subjects in the state "mapping of Shangri-La" (Coggins and Yeh 2014), or "imagining" of contemporary Tibet's landscape (Smyer Yu 2015), but rather playing active roles in these state processes of landscape creation while creating their own image as Cizhong Tibetan people. Elsewhere in Deqin County as described in the previous chapter, wine and viticulture are state projects, it is the state and corporations who make wines part of Shangri-La and attempt to give them a *terroir*, while relying on the land and labor of village households. While the renaming of neighboring Zhongdian County in Northwest Yunnan as Shangri-La, and what Coggins and Yeh (2014) term the "Shangrilalization" of the greater Sino-Tibetan borderlands region have been conceived and formulated as primarily state based projects, in Cizhong, wine promotion and production have been a purely grassroots village endeavor. This is much different from the rest of Deqin County, where the state has played an active role in promoting grape agriculture and wine production. In Cizhong, while the state promotes tourism to the village because of its unique Catholic history within the larger Shangri-La landscape, the endeavor of making and promoting wine as part of this tourism scheme and simultaneously promoting it as having been "Tibetan" made, or rather "Franco-Tibetan" made, has been a village based endeavor beginning with Wu Gongdi's efforts in 1997.

Villagers engage in these efforts largely in response to the "shangrilalization" occurring around them. One can visit Tibetan villages for tourism in any number of places in Northwest Yunnan, so part of what wine and vineyards to an extent as a visual sight have provided Cizhong villagers with, is a level of distinction through the wine that they serve to visitors. Elder Liao,

the 88 year old historian described in the previous chapter compares the difference between serving visitors butter tea (the ubiquitous Tibetan drink served all over the region and discussed more in Chapter 7) and wine:

People like the wine here for its unique history. The French fathers brought wine here and wine is more civilized than butter tea, and it is getting more and more popular in China. Through wine we can provide a civilized way to welcome tourists into Tibetan culture and to experience it and the region.<sup>16</sup>



Figure 28. Hong Xing's bottle 'Rose Honey' wine with image of Cizhong church on the label

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<sup>16</sup> There is an aside worth mentioning here regarding this quote on serving butter tea and being civilized related to anthropological representation and positionality. When submitting a short photo essay about Tibetan wine making in Cizhong to a journal along with my fieldwork collaborator, we encountered a reviewer who was very adamant that we should not publish this quote. This reviewer had sense that these words made other Tibetans who do not serve wine seem uncivilized, and degraded the idea of hospitality meant in serving butter tea to guests elsewhere in Tibet. Given that Tibet is a hot topic in terms of indigenous rights across the world, I certainly understood this reviewer's concerns as an anthropologist, but also tried to reiterate that this was a direct quote from a Cizhong villager about their views and experiences rather than my own interpretation of their life. In the end, though we chose not to include the quote in the essay due to this reviewer's insistence over its negative connotation.



Figure 29. Cizhong "chateau" label on mini-keg produced by Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing's family and priced by the company who hired them at 695 RMB, slightly over 100 U.S. dollars.

The idea that wine allows Cizhong villagers to provide a more civilized experience to tourists compared to other villages in the area is an important cue towards the distinction I suggest villagers experience in their wine production, as is the unique and authentic “ethnic Tibetan” and rurally household produced component of village wines as explained by Wu Gongdi:

All the bars and hotels in places like Zhongdian and Lijiang (another popular tourist town to the south), sell fake ‘Rose Honey’ wine, it’s not real. My family has actually received a certificate from the quality bureau of Deyin County stating that our ‘Rose Honey’ is authentic. People especially also like Shangri-La Wine because it says minority and homemade, this makes Chinese people more curious and interested in the wine.

Authenticity (in this case validated by the state), organic, and household made are all important here within my contextualizing Cizhong wine as having a village *terroir* giving Cizhong a “taste of place.” ‘Rose Honey’ grapes are unique historically due their French (more likely Swiss) introduction and preservation within the churchyard, and villagers in Cizhong actively promote

their wine as organic and as made from ‘Rose Honey’ grapes. This differs from the larger corporate wine projects taking over village fields throughout the rest of Deqin, where recently introduced cultivars, primarily Cabernet Sauvignon are grown, usually under heavy chemical intensification. Cizhong villagers recognize this and actively promote their wine as both authentic ‘Rose Honey’ and as being organic, which they contrast with the corporate Shangri-La Wine for sale in local stores and produced using grapes grown by other villages in Deqin. In Cizhong, utilizing *terroir* style markers of authenticity, villagers have managed to define themselves through their wine and the planting of vineyards. In doing so they highlight what makes them not just Shangri-La Tibetans, or based on the work of Lim (2009) “religio-ethnic” Catholic Tibetans, but providing them with a newly emergent form of regionally ethnic identity within the larger Shangri-La landscape, moderated by economic distinction as winemakers.

This ties into and extends an abundance of work on ethnic identity and cultural diversity in Yunnan and Southwest China. In places like Yunnan, state sponsored tourism which thrives on minority cultures, along with a variety of other global influences have generated an abundance of ways that ethnic groups, both officially recognized and those that are not can engage in the observance and practice of their cultural identities within larger China (Hansen 1999; Harrell 2001; Jinba 2014; McCarthy 2009). Certainly state promoted tourism has not been completely of benefit to ethnic minorities, but especially following the reform and opening period of the 1980’s and 90’s, ethnic groups have located a variety of modes for self-expression within the context of tourism. Land ownership and agricultural relationships and beliefs are also some of the many ways of “being ethnic,” described by Harrell (ibid). Many groups such as Yunnan Tibetans have also found ways to differentiate themselves among other communities of the same ethnicity, often through tourism. As Jinba (ibid) suggests, this has allowed small ethnic groups who have been classified with other Tibetans to formulate unique ethnic identities that make them both “Chinese,” Tibetan (or whatever nationality to which they belong), and simultaneously indigenous to individual regions based on specific cultural traits.

Here my contention in the case of Cizhong is that such regionally indigenous or ethnic identities within the context of also belonging to a Chinese “nationality” form through the production of cultural commodity products, imbued with ethno-regional identities as part of their making and marketing. This is how I contextualize Cizhong wine producers, as fulfilling an

ethnic niche within their identity as Yunnan and Shangri-La Tibetans. In Cizhong, producing wine with a local ethnic and religious history and historical methods of production exemplifying this “*terroir*,” demonstrates a means of ethnic and locally indigenous “articulation” of identity for villagers like Wu Gongdi (Clifford 2001; T. M. Li 2000). This articulation differentiates Cizhong people from other Tibetan villagers in Deqin who grow grapes for state and corporate wineries as subjects lacking individual agency in state agricultural development and landscape transformation of Shangri-La. These processes reconfigure the agricultural livelihoods of all Tibetan villagers in the region, but only Cizhong (and to a lesser extent Bu) villagers engage with these projects to reformulate them in their own images.

To be clear, I do not necessarily assert that Cizhong Tibetanness comes solely through producing wine, as this would be erroneous, when Tibetan identity connects so heavily to religion, transnationalism, and a variety of other factors. However I do suggest that locally, in the context of Shangri-La, for communities like Cizhong, which has a specific niche in local tourism schemes due to its Catholicism and historical wine, cultural commodity production has become tied up in many other practices and ways of being “Tibetan,” to become a contributing factor in such identity formation. Without household wine production based upon “traditional French techniques” and with ‘Rose Honey’ grapes, Cizhong people could largely be viewed as being no different from any other Tibetan agricultural community in Deqin County or Diqing Prefecture; wine (and Catholicism) “articulate” their distinctiveness. Indeed Yeh (2007) has pointed to a similar conception of Tibetan possession of land with the caterpillar fungus as similar marker of indigenous identity. Almost all Cizhong Catholic people, and even to an extent Buddhists households, will tell you that part of being a Cizhong Tibetan person is also being a grape grower and winemaker, the two have become inseparable today and every household in the entire village grows grapes and produces wine. As the mother of one of Hong Xing’s close friends explained:

We drink a little bit of wine ourselves. Because Cizhong is famous for wine and grapes we think grapes and wine are necessary when visitors come here because they ask about these things. If we didn’t have them then we’d be ashamed. We are also able to be proud when we go to other Tibetan villages that don’t have these things because we do. So I do think they are important and even necessary for Tibetan identity for us.

Wine's role in ritual is also important given its history in Cizhong as being introduced as a sacrament for Catholic mass. Certainly today, grapes are much more an economic crop more than a ritual item, but this is not to say that the ritual significance of the vineyards and wine is no longer a factor. For elders such as Liao and even Wu Gongdi this is still prevalent with the quote above referencing the ritual use of wine versus play, though simultaneously Liao has also described wine as being a hospitality item. Still the ritual roots of wine are important to keep in mind. Today wine is a major item consumed during village festivals, which I discuss more in Chapter 7. The original 'Rose Honey' and newly government planted Cabernet vineyards around the church itself are also a popular item of discussion among certain Catholic villagers and the Chinese priest who resides there. Villagers such as Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing have never been prevented from taking cuttings from the original 'Rose Honey' vines planted by the French and Swiss, but they still remain in a walled off and locked area not open to the public and the key for which is kept by the county government. In an effort to promote Cizhong culture and wine, the township planted additional vineyards of Cabernet throughout the traditional garden areas of the church, but rents these out for harvest and wine making to Buddhist families who reside next to them. The return of the land and these vineyards to the village Church Management Association and to the Catholics remains an item of contention. In the words of elder Liao:

The church has no vineyard of its own. The original vineyard was a church asset, but after the fathers were kicked out in 1951 the government took control of the vineyards. The church is allowed to own land but this does not include any vineyards of its own, with the vineyards being controlled by the county forestry bureau. We would like to get land back for the church to own its own vineyards.

### **Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing's Story**

The role of wine and winemaking as a marker of identity and distinction is well illustrated in the lives of Wu Gongdi, his son Hong Xing, and their family, a family of especially zealous and active winemakers. For sure, there are other households in Cizhong for whom wine is important, probably none to the same extent as Wu Gongdi's, whom I know well as my host family when I live in the village. Wu Gongdi is recognized as a pioneer in making wine an everyday household industry in Cizhong, something he has passed on to his son Hong Xing and daughter-in-law Azu (his other son Hong Bao's wife). More than any other family in Cizhong,

Wu Gongdi and his family put an incredible amount of care into both tending their vineyards and producing their wine. In producing wine, they practice the special method taught to Wu Gongdi in 1997 by his nun relative upstream in Yanjing Tibet. Wu Gongdi and others have documented these winemaking activities in a variety of ethnographic media, in particular two documentary films, one produced by Wu Gongdi himself about winemaking.<sup>17</sup>

After elder Liao, Wu Gongdi is also the first person most people throughout Cizhong will recommend that visitors try to meet to learn more about the village history and the church. He maintains a close relationship with the now resident priest, and is well liked throughout the community, though his boasting of being the only household to utilize a specific winemaking technique, which is now widespread, is often looked at with a sense of sarcasm by other villagers since this is practiced by many now. Similar to many Tibetans in Yunnan,<sup>18</sup> Wu Gongdi's success as both a communist leader, lay catechist, and political influence among local government leaders, have come much from his embrace of the local communist party which he is an active member of. By doing so, he has also managed to bring funds for various development projects and the preservation of the Cizhong church over the years to the village. A recent engagement of Wu Gongdi's has been the establishment of a grape and viticulture cooperative from which he received funds from the county government. For this program, he received 30,000 RMB for which he holds training programs on grape growing for villagers in nearby areas and takes photos to send back to the county development offices. For these trainings he prepares handouts about good vine care along with instructions, though the interest among villagers has been low and the trainings often last no longer than 5-10 minutes. Still, Wu Gongdi maintains a bit of pride and a small income by working to pass on his self-developed knowledge of vineyard management and by working to build the wine industry of Cizhong and the surrounding villages.

Wu Gongdi and his family's pursuit of viticulture and winemaking also continues to expand as an industry, and remains by far their highest source of annual household income. Wine based income comes both from selling wine to tourists who visit their simple guesthouse for lodging and/or meals, and through their recent engagement making wine for a large

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<sup>17</sup> See W. Liu (2002) and *The Way to Tibet* (2004).

<sup>18</sup> See Hillman (2010).



conglomerate involved in other alcohol and spirits from Anhui Province with offices in Kunming, the provincial capital. Well known in Cizhong and around Deqin County for their winemaking, this company first approached Wu Gongdi and his family in 2014, hiring them to produce wine annually using Cabernet grapes purchased in another village upstream. The family also continues to produce and sell their own wine using the ‘Rose Honey’ grapes they grow. The company has now provided them with two large oak barrels and an additional two large stainless steel barrels to ferment the company’s wine. Prior to this time, the family used only a combination of both plastic and ceramic barrels. After Wu Gongdi ‘s family made the company’s wine in fall of 2014, the company returned in December and January and worked together with the family to fill hundreds of small mini-keg dispensers. Everyone then boxed up and packaged the kegs for shipping to Kunming. The company sold these for the lofty price of 695 RMB (over 100 U.S. dollars). The company branded each of these dispenser kegs with the mark 茨中酒庄 (Cizhong Jiu Zhuang) or “Cizhong Chateau” using a custom made wood burning engraving tool. In working as hired winemakers with this company, the family is now making an additional 40,000 RMB per year from winemaking alone. When I was staying with the family in the fall of 2014, when they first became engaged in this new venture, I noted the following in my field notes: “In my mind right away, this project puts Wu Gongdi and the family’s wine making practices, not just their wine itself into a form of distinction. They have actually become recognized and sought out for their winemaking skills.”

These skills and the family’s promotion of organic ‘Rose Honey’ grapes and wine, juxtaposed against chemically grown Cabernet among other households in Cizhong and other villages in Deqin, are another facet of what Wu Gongdi, his son Hong Xing, and daughter-in-law Azu describe as making them special as a Tibetan winemaking household and family. For them being a Tibetan, at least in Cizhong and engaging in winemaking are ubiquitous. This is exemplified well by some of the quotes above by Wu Gongdi about both the authenticity of his ‘Rose Honey’ grapes as certified by the government, and by his thinking that Catholicism, making and drinking wine, and being Tibetan all going hand in hand. His son Hong Xing has spent the last several years greatly developing his own winemaking, and further expanding his own vineyards, removing all government introduced Cabernet for organic ‘Rose Honey’ grapes, which he actively promotes. While fully recognizing the connection between wine and

Cizhong's history, Hong Xing is less keen to promote wine as cultural, but is still apt to identify himself as a Tibetan winemaker with a special product. He has developed his own small bottling operation with custom-made "Cizhong Wine" labels and brochures, which he produced with the help of my fieldwork assistant, his good friend, and with money from a local NGO. In doing so, Hong Xing promotes his winemaking hand in hand with his small trekking business, where he takes people across the high pass over to the Salween River Valley where he has built a lodge along the same path which was improved upon by Swiss fathers; today a popular hiking route among more intrepid travelers. For Hong Xing, wine, Cizhong's history, and its scenic beauty are all important to producing a good livelihood.

Indeed the family's wine and Hong Xing's personal wines are better compared to that made by other households, which tend to be more sour and moving towards vinegar, while theirs maintains much of its character and flavor, slightly sweet with sugar added during fermentation. This works well since 'Rose Honey' grapes appear to have a slightly fruitier and sweet tinge. After Hong Xing had been raving about his first bottled wines in 2014, I was in fact quite surprised one evening to discover it to be very good and noted at the time that it was one of the best household wines I had tasted, comparable to that of a semi-professional winemaker in Bu village. Prior to this tasting, I had always found the family's wine's drinkable compared to other households' but this became a wine that I actually wanted to drink and even purchased a bottle to take back to Kunming to enjoy with my wife.

When one looks at Hong Xing's wine advertisement brochure, which I contributed text for as a friend, you would definitely place him with his father in framing winemaking and Tibetan identity within the same sphere. However, he maintains a bit more of a pragmatic attitude when you ask him about this, suggesting winemaking relates to cultural and religious changes in Cizhong over time:

Grapes are important to me, my family, and other people in Cizhong but I can't say they are important to Tibetan culture directly. We participate in this because of our background and history with the church. In the traditional annual living cycle, we grew grains and grass and raised animals for meat and butter and they ate the grass and gave us fertilizer. I think butter and barley are thus more classically important to Tibetan culture but with our story here in Cizhong we have changed with grapes and wine and they have become a part of who we are. Actually, Tibetans living in Tibet are less farmers and known more for grazing animals while other minorities here in Yunnan like the Naxi and

the Bai are known for barley and wheat like us, but we are still Tibetan like those living in Tibet.

Both Hong Xing and Wu Gongdi take their winemaking and vineyard care very seriously, and tend to equate doing so with being a Tibetan in one form or another. During the annual winemaking in September 2014, an activity in which the entire family participated, including the two young children. At one point while we were all crushing grapes by hand in the courtyard of the family's home, Azu the wife of Hong Xing's brother Hong Bao went with her two young children and dressed them up in their traditional Tibetan clothing to take photos while grape crushing. When I inquired if this posing for photos was merely for my benefit, Azu insisted that no it was not and in fact something they often do each year while making wine. Indeed, there are photos on the walls of the family's home showing both Wu Gongdi and Azu dressed in their traditional clothing and working in the vineyards and in the courtyard crushing grapes. For this family, the annual winemaking has become a miniature festival of sorts when they enjoy their Catholic Tibetan identity in a way.



Figure 30. Wu Gongdi's grandchildren

For Azu though this is more of a gray area. Since marrying into the family, she has become the manager of all of the household affairs and finances, though Wu Gongdi's wife

certainly maintains her identity as the matriarch. For Azu, who married into Cizhong from a Buddhist family and village shortly upstream, viticulture and winemaking are more of livelihood than a cultural activity, but she has embraced the family's integration of culture into this practice along with Catholicism. Still, for her when the family makes their wine each year, while taste is important as it is to Hong Xing in making his own batches, profit becomes her number one concern. In many ways, she is not much unlike most other villagers in other areas of Deqin for whom growing grapes and/or making wine is purely economic, with some households in Bu village where the ice wine is made, being the one other exception as described in Chapter 7. This has placed Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing in a bit of a bind in terms of their favoring quality or quantity in their wine more. They are the only family with an extensive quantity of 'Rose Honey' vines, versus most who plant a combination of 'Rose Honey' with Cabernet. Because they own so many 'Rose Honey' vines, a Frenchman and Swiss winemaker developing their own small boutique winery at the site of the original mission just downstream in Cigu approached the family in spring 2015; these men wished to manage the family's vineyards in exchange for purchasing the grapes at a good price. The goal of these men was to try their hand at producing a quality wine from 'Rose Honey,' rather than the typical Cabernet grapes planted by most in the area. In exchange they would also work to train the family more in viticulture and winemaking; something Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing were both eager to learn. However, Azu was clear during the negotiations in this matter that the manner in which these men would manage the vineyards, overall reducing the grape crop to improve the quality and sugar content in the grapes produced, was not acceptable. In Azu's mind, the quantity of grapes and wine produced from year to year is more important than the quality of the wine. Removed from these sorts of affairs on an everyday basis, Wu Gongdi then deferred to Azu despite his own interest in learning more about winemaking. Hong Xing was eager to learn from these men though in order to improve his own wine and winemaking, but given his lack of a large enough quantity of 'Rose Honey' grapes to offer them, the agreement never materialized.

A bit more on this "foreign" wine venture in Cizhong and Cigu before I relate it back to the experiences of Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing. This project known as the Himalaya Development Group built off of a development NGO and now registered as a for profit company in Hong Kong, is headed by a Frenchman has spent many years working in Northwest Yunnan

on various projects. Most recently, he was involved in Yunnan's somewhat lucrative Pu'er tea business. With a long deep-seated interest in the history and background of the MEP and Saint Bernard fathers in the region, over the past few years he began a wine project. In doing so, he collaborated with a Swiss Valais winemaker from Martigny where the headquarters of the Saint Bernard Priests and archives are located. These men are in the third year of their project, planning to sell their wine, at least initially to French and other Europeans in larger eastern cities such as Shanghai. In their first year producing wine they simply purchased Cabernet Sauvignon grapes from local villagers in Cigu, but hope to secure land to manage their own vineyards as well, much in the same manner as Moet, though on a much smaller scale.

These men are also interested in experimenting with 'Rose Honey' grapes, though their ability to procure a large enough plot to work with has been difficult, especially due to the reluctance of Wu Gongdi's daughter in law to let them manage the family's vineyards for a fee in addition to allowing them to purchase the grapes. They have also offered to instruct and train the family in their methods of managing the vineyards, which will improve quality of the grapes though reduce quantity. They explained this process in detail when the Swiss winemaker spent an afternoon with Hong Xing and Wu Gongdi demonstrating proper vine and grape care. Despite Azu's refusing to take part in this business venture, it does appear that Hong Xing will practice these methods himself in his own small plot of vines to improve his own wine. The management as the Swiss expert demonstrated it involves a lot of thinning and reduction of grapes to improve the sugar content and quality of those left on the vines. One also removes the lower layers of leaves on the vines to expose the grapes to the sun to improve ripening and to prevent rot and mildew. Thinning involves removing weaker smaller stems from the vines, which produce grapes low in sugar and quality, along with reducing longer bundles of grapes, and slowly maturing ones by removing the nose (tip of a few grapes on each bundle).

I understood the necessities of these practices more on a morning when I visited the small winery next to Cigu's church these men are developing and tasted their wine. At this time, they were filling three oak barrels they had just purchased with the previous year's wine, by siphoning it out of a large stainless steel fermenting tank in the upstairs of their building, into the barrels on the lower level. They also have many Chinese style clay barrels, traditionally used for liquor production, which they are experimenting with (like Moet apparently based on journalist

accounts). This wine will be aged in the oak barrels for one year. Upon tasting their wine, the first time in 2015, when it had been fermenting for one year and just entered the oak barrels I found it quite good. It indeed tasted as like what I would expect and desire from a good and more expensive Cabernet. The winemaker then explained that actually the alcohol was a bit too low at only 12 percent, while it should have been 14 percent. This was because the villagers they bought grapes from harvested too early nor were the vineyards managed in an ideal way; thus the need for owning and managing one's own vineyards to produce optimal grapes.

When I returned in spring 2016 to visit the Swiss Valais winemaker here to see how their business and wine were coming along, I was even further impressed, and learned more about their progress as well. The wines this time were excellent and marvelous; very dark in color and fruity with hints of cheery or blackberry essence. These were by far the best wines I have had in Shangri-La. Probably comparable to Sunspirit's ice wine in overall quality but since I am more of a dry wine drinker this was better. The winemaker had glasses all laid out for assemblage where he was tasting and testing the alcohol and sugar content in all the clay barrels which they were still using but now with Swiss made pressure regulated seals. In the most professional and sophisticated manner I have observed in a small scale winery outside of a factory, on each barrel he wrote down and was keeping track of the fermentation and sugar. He explained that by this time in spring 2016 they had now organized formal tastings in Shangri-La with the French owners of the aforementioned Flying Tigers Cafe, in the popular tourist town of Dali to the south, and in the provincial capital of Kunming. At this time, they were also preparing for a formal presentation of wine in Shanghai with representatives from the prominent Decanter Magazine. Later in the summer of 2016, I learned that they had won a gold medal for their 2014 wine in one of China's largest annual wine competitions and a bronze medal in Decanter's regional Asia Wine Awards. Reviews from Decanter describe the wine similar to my thoughts as follows: "Lovely black fruit aroma with hints of toasty oak. To taste, it boasts plenty of bright black fruit, a fine structure and texture, and a liquorice-driven finish."

On this day when I was visiting the winery, the winemaker explained to me that his desire is to create a good wine for China with a true local Tibetan *terroir* for the first time. He does not think Moet focusses on this with wanting to sell more of their wine overseas. His thinking behind creating a Tibetan *terroir*, is that most of the even excellent wine in China like

that from Ningxia in the Northwest, is trying to replicate Bordeaux wines, rather than trying to highlight and create something new in terms of character. In many ways, coming from a professional European winemaker, framing Cizhong as having a *terroir* or the ability to develop one based off of the missionary history and Tibetan culture was well expressed by this individual. The company statement posted on their newly launched website in December 2016 makes a similar assertion that is more lyrical:

Himalaya Development Group finds its inspiration in the beauty of the Himalayas and their surrounding regions, their people, their rich and diverse cultures, as well as their ecological resources. We are convinced that those unique assets could be valorized a lot more than they have been until now. Our purpose is to develop high-end productions that will be deeply rooted in this very fertile environment, and serve the global market.

Our most significant venture is located in the northern part of Yunnan, one of the most promising emerging wine-producing regions in China. The vineyard finds its origins in the French missionaries who planted there the first vines in 1850, and today is producing one of Asia's finest wines...

It is there, on the legendary Mekong river, surrounded by unviolated mountains, that the unique encounter between the French wine-making tradition and the Tibetan culture has slowly evolved into a great *terroir*. Himalaya Development Group is proud to give Tian Lu everything it needs to maintain its excellence, and be promoted to the level it deserves to the world of demanding wine connoisseurs.

This story about a new “foreign” wine venture alongside Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing’s illustrates an important parallel that is occurring with wine production across China and with other countries transitioning in post-socialist economies. Until recently, within the last 10-15 years, wine was not viewed in China as a high quality item. It was produced in mass and quality was low, what Walker and Manning (2013) have called “socialist quantity” versus “post-socialist quality” with wine in Georgia. This has changed drastically in China today though, with the national state actively promoting grape wine production and consumption as a healthy alternative to grain spirits and with the growing middle and upper class consumer base and awareness of global trends. In a sense, there has been a move towards global cosmopolitanism with disposable income versus mere economic pragmatism, which existed more immediately after reform and opening in 1978. Rural farmers like those in Deqin outside of Cizhong who primarily grow grapes for larger wine producers, face a significant challenge however. For those

supplying grapes to the wineries who still live near the bottom of the social pyramid, quality has not entered the vernacular in the way it has for those consuming wines at the top. This is something many wine producers in China have discussed having to grapple with in attempting to train farmers to manage vineyards for optimal quality of grapes, even if profits seem lower, because for the winemakers, quality will go up as well as profits. Yet, this is not so for the mostly village farmers who are growing the grapes (Mustacich 2015; Ruffle 2015). For over thirty years, quantity alone has dictated farmers' agricultural profits, so changing one's thinking towards this idea overnight is not an easy task.

I can recall my own frustration attempting to mediate between Wu Gongdi's daughter-in-law Azu and the French and Swiss who explained that in exchange for allowing them to manage the family's plots of 'Rose Honey' vines in their own manner, they would buy the grapes at a higher price to compensate for the lower quantity. In return, at Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing's request and urging, they would also spend the season training them in both vineyard management and winemaking so that the family could improve their own product in future years. As manager of the household finances however, Azu would not have any of this, seeing the short term losses the family might face that year not having their own wine to sell, versus the long-term benefits they could gain in being able to produce higher quality wine. In a sense, this is what I refer to as the family's dilemma, and with the production of more and more raw materials for luxury goods by commoners in China today, it is something that I think deserves more attention. Wu Gongdi clearly wants to make wine that gives him and his family distinction, but with increasing competition from corporate and other small business interests in Deqin and Shangri-La, this is becoming more and more difficult given the family's limited capacity and capital. Indeed Hong Xing probably more than anyone can see the long term gains in this new approach in marketing and production, but does not have the vineyard land nor the capital to start out completely on his own, being tied financially to the household. Increasing entrepreneurialism is important, but will it be enough for even Cizhong's best household winemakers to survive and compete as the region continues to develop its wine profile? This question needs much consideration beyond Cizhong as well, with China's per capita wine consumption rising every year. Will small household operations be able to play a role in meeting these new demands among China's emerging wine consumers, or will those like Wu Gongdi and



Hong Xing all eventually be pushed out of the market and end up producing for larger state and corporate interests? Something they have avoided up until this point. Of course as a friend, I sympathize with the family's situation and their sense of not wanting to change for economically pragmatic reasons. Nevertheless, when Hong Xing has repeatedly asked me to help him improve his winemaking and I even moved towards possibly setting up a win-win situation for him and his family with the Europeans down the road, it was disheartening to see the venture fall through.

### **Agricultural Life, Harvesting Grapes and Making Wine**

Before closing this chapter, I wish paint a stronger ethnographic picture of my time in the field engaged in daily agricultural life and practices involving winemaking and viticulture, describing this process as I took part in it. I will begin by doing that and then follow this description with some ethnographic vignettes from my field notes taken both in Cizhong and Bu villages, while working in the vineyards and making wine with villagers. The following depiction of life in Cizhong and Bu further illustrates points about wine, villager identities, and a construct of *terroir* as a strategic analytic that I have made in this chapter.

In Cizhong, managing vineyards and wine production is one of many agricultural activities during the seasons, versus in Bu and elsewhere where vineyards remain the only abundant crop grown. Cizhong's unique niche as a Tibetan community producing rice creates a more diversified agricultural calendar and pattern of life. Remember that in places such as Bu and Adong, seasonal agropastoralism continues to die out as vineyards become monocrops and families sell off their yak herds. In Cizhong only a select few families practice seasonal agropastoralism and keep large numbers of yaks. Most simply keep 1-3 cows in their homes for milk and butter production. This also makes the community unique because many produce daily butter tea with cow rather than yak's milk. In the summertime, villagers plant flatland paddy fields with rice, and in the winter with wheat and barley, Cizhong remaining one of a few places in Deqin County where large quantities of these grains are still grown. After growing rice seedling beds in May and June, and then planting out the fields for the summer, there is little work until harvesting the rice in October. Villagers leave the fields fallow for a month or so, and then plant both wheat and several varieties of barley in December. They later harvest these crops in April.

Villagers care for and manage vineyards, which they mostly plant upslope of the paddy fields throughout the year. In December and January, after the vines have lost their leaves for the winter, families prune each of the vines, removing all of the previous year's stalks and leaving only the woody base of each vine. In March and April, just as the vines are beginning to re-sprout, families plow all of the vineyards by hand with hoes, turning over all of the soil between each row of vines. Villagers then load baskets full of mulch and manure from livestock pens outside their homes and carry these on their back to the vineyards where they apply a layer to the newly overturned soil. They then plow the vineyard rows once again to mix in the manure. As the vines mature and grow out later in the spring in summer, families work often to prune and train them, tying the new stalks up onto the trellises built along each vineyard row. People also regularly return to their vineyards to prune and remove unwanted small and stubby stems and especially the tendrils; rather than allowing the vines to tie themselves up in unusual patterns, villagers remove the tendrils to train and tie the vines up straight and neatly. Harvesting of the grapes then takes place beginning in late August or September for 'Rose Honey' and in October for Cabernet.

According to survey data, all households in Cizhong, and half of those in Bu are engaged in winemaking, growing grapes in vineyards on household land, and keeping small wine cellars in their homes. Cizhong wine is mostly handmade, though some families including Wu Gongdi's use a mechanized machine to crush the grapes. Today villagers sell grape wine to tourists and others and in some cases consume it among themselves at home, particularly during festivals and weddings where they serve guests an abundance of wine. I had the pleasure of enjoying many such weddings with wine during fall 2014 and winter 2015.

Wu Gongdi's family currently plants 8 *mu* of vineyards terraced along slopes below the forested mountains next to his house. This is larger than most other households' vineyard plots, though there are a few who also grow this much. From 1998 until today, Wu Gongdi's family has produced an average of 2000 kilos of wine per year, one of the largest annual household wine outputs in Cizhong. Domestic and foreign visitors have suggested that the alcohol content is between 10-20%, and the alcohol company whom the family has begun working with measured the alcohol content of Wu Gongdi's wine as 15% in December 2014. Actually quite strong, I do not know if this is accurate, though the wine is very fruity and sweet so it is difficult

for me to tell. The wine admittedly also fluctuates in taste and quality from my assessment. In addition to making his “traditional” grape wine, Wu Gongdi has also been testing production of ice wine like that grown and produced in Bu by villagers and Sunspirit, grape liquor similar to Italian *grappa* distilled from the leftover skin and seeds, as well as ‘Rose Honey’ grape jam. To produce the grape liquor, the same method is employed which is used to distill barley liquor or *qinkejiu*. Families have produced this liquor since long before 1998 when grape wine production began. The process involves filling a metal cylinder with barley or grape skin and seeds, and placing it on top of a pan of boiling water. A pot of cold water is placed on top of the cylinder to promote the condensation of liquor, which flows out of the cylinder through a small spout and into a second pot or kettle. All openings and connections in the cylinder are sealed with clay.

#### The Process of Making Red Wine - First Step

Winemaking begins by harvesting the grapes, which the family picks from the vines by the bundle, and places in a bamboo or plastic basket, then carries home with the basket on one’s back. All five members of Wu Gongdi’s family actively joined in the harvesting; even his granddaughter and grandson copied the others’ actions. After piling all of the grapes harvested from the vineyards in the household courtyard, the family crushes the grapes by hand in large plastic or metal basins or by machine. Some seniors have recalled that locals previously chose to use a large wooden stick to crush grapes in wooden barrels before the 1950’s. People no longer use wooden basins due to weight consideration and readily available plastics. After crushing, villagers pick the leftover stems out of the basins, leaving the grape juice and sediments of grape skins and seeds, which they then pour into large plastic buckets. Additionally, most villagers including Wu Gongdi add sugar when they crush the grapes, as local people in Cizhong prefer a sweeter tasting wine. Indeed ‘Rose Honey’ itself is a rather sweet varietal of grape and makes a better dessert wine over a dry wine.

#### Second Step

Villages leave the grape juice to ferment for three to ten days, the length depending upon the maturity and sweetness of the grapes; they then filter or sieve the wine through bamboo baskets and cheesecloth. In order to filter the wine they siphon it out into small basins or barrels from the larger buckets using a plastic tube. Wu Gongdi, though not many other households also reserves any leftover grape skins and seeds after sieving them out in a plastic bucket for later

grape liquor distillation. The filtered wine is then poured back into the buckets and sealed tightly with plastic film again to ferment. Villagers repeat the filtration and sieving process several times until the wine becomes a pure liquid free of sediment.

### Third Step

The liquid eventually becomes the final wine product after the endeavors above and is stored in clay jars for storage, sale, and display. In 2014, Wu Gongdi's family also began experimenting with storing and fermenting wine in oak and stainless barrels and for the first time, as part of their agreement with the corporation that hired them to make wine. Most households use only plastic and clay containers, while Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing stress that they are trying to move away from plastic as it does not produce such quality wine. The ratio of production of the wine is 1 kilo of raw grapes for every half liter of finished product. Marketing production and distribution varies between one family and another. Some simply sell wine by the glass to tourists and other visitors while others sell larger quantities in plastic jugs. Hong Xing and Wu Gongdi are the only family I have observed so far that has begun to bottle their wine, which they sell for 80 RMB. Several families do note that they sell wine outside of Cizhong to restaurants and government officials in places including Deqin town, Shangri-La and Lijiang. In both Deqin and Shangri-La I have seen Cizhong wine for sale in restaurants, usually displayed in either clay jars or plastic jugs. In these situations there is definitely something special being noted about the wine being from Cizhong, giving it a unique history and identity the venues that are selling it wish to promote.



Figure 31. Wu Gongdi filtering fermenting wine

### Reflections on Agricultural Life and the Ideal of *Terroir*

Throughout my time in the field while working in the vineyards and while making wine, I often found myself thinking about, reflecting and writing, about just in what ways the wine landscape and the people themselves were being invoked as actors in my mind. In going back over my field notes, I began to see a thread in these reflections which I have called “Distinction and Shangri-La in Field Notes,” giving reference to the ways in which I felt at the time that wine production was providing villagers with some sort of economic distinction. In many ways also exemplifying what the state might be wishing to invoke when they use Shangri-La as an advertising hook for wine and the greater landscape. This is obviously pure marketing, but even for someone like myself with an open mind and an understanding of local agency and the people, the concept clearly works when you spend time in the region and observe how villagers and the landscape are interacting with each other. As one villager even said: “I do actually think it is

good how the company promotes their wine as Tibetan, there's no pollution here and we have a very clean beautiful environment.”

Working in the vineyards, I often felt as if there really was something quite idyllic, Shangri-La feeling if you will conducting agricultural work in this setting of mountains along the river, and listening to Hong Xing and the women sing in Tibetan while we worked. One day in Bu village as I was helping my host Zhouma water and irrigate her vineyards, I sat down by the irrigation canal and listened to the water flow, a breeze, and looked down at the river and up at the glacier and snow mountain. At the time, I thought about how there in the vineyard in that particular setting an incredible story was occurring. Taking in the beauty and power of the place and the warm-hearted nature of the people, I thought to myself at the time that this was a Shangri-La of sorts. As I watched and worked with her, Zhouma exemplified the distinction I saw in the wine makers of the region. She was very attentive to the cultivation of her grapes and all the different grape varieties, often asking me to share what I had learned in Cizhong about the varieties with her. She was also very interested in how I perceived her wine and how it tasted. I thought at the time that there is a “taste of place” through the people in this wine, even if it does not conform to traditional notions of *terroir*. Zhouma recognizes which of her wines are better and which need further work, much like Wu Gongdi in Cizhong. Gongdi similarly feels great pride in his family's wine and its history in Cizhong, and believes that his family's wine is unique and special. Zhouma also insists upon the fact that her wine is organic and free of chemicals unlike the company wine; this gives it distinction. For Gongdi wine is a ritual drink that has become enmeshed in his family's culture and religion in an inseparable way, and producing wine for outsiders allows them to share a piece of their family and this culture.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter provided an in-depth look into the lives of Cizhong people as winemakers and how this plays into who they are as Tibetans, Catholics, and citizens of Shangri-La today. I have primarily used oral histories and then the individual story of Wu Gongdi and his family to illustrate my ideas, but much of what these actors have shown us is true for villagers throughout the community, if maybe to a limited extent among some families more than others. One great facet of life here is a deep and temporal connection with the village landscape and with the tourists and wine consumers who visit the village, embodied thorough an ideal of *terroir* or

“taste of place.” Cizhong villagers consistently point to the uniqueness of their wine, with many saying when asked why people like the wine in Cizhong that the primary reason is the church and the French history here. Cizhong wine and identities are thus an embodiment of both history and modernity through villagers’ recrafting of the landscape to meld into the fold of Shangri-La and to benefit from this form of state landscape inscription and naming.

So what is the *terroir* of wine produced in Cizhong and more broadly Shangri-La wine? I do not believe that one can truly taste the place in these wines, but at least in Cizhong it is also more than just marketing. Village people in Cizhong create a deep link to locale, history, and productive practices in their wine and contrast these against companies’ wines marketed as being from Shangri-La. These corporate Shangri-La wines in the eyes of Cizhong villagers are fake and not authentic because they do not represent the history that household wines do. They are mass-produced and made from Cabernet Sauvignon rather than ‘Rose Honey’ grapes not grown in Cizhong. Large wineries and Shangri-La Winery in particular primarily deploy *terroir* and locality only as a marketing ploy, though this is changing with French wineries such as the Himalaya Development Group, which are seeking to establish a distinct locale *terroir* in their wines based upon soils, weather, and other local topographical features. As one Swiss winemaker from Valais working with a Frenchman downstream in Cigu to develop a small boutique winery explains, his goal is to create the first uniquely Tibetan *terroir* with a distinct place driven flavor in his wines.

In conclusion, while my own view towards Cizhong household wine production has continued positively, seeing the industry as a more sustainable example compared to elsewhere in Deqin with villagers growing grapes for the Shangri-La Wine Company, the state views things with wine here differently. While it actively promotes Cizhong as a unique locale in Shangri-La tourism materials, it simultaneously views household wine production as lacking in the same sorts of quality standards that corporate brands can provide. Still, this has not stopped Cizhong households from entering the wine market in Deqin on their own terms through creating their own sense of *terroir*. Unlike other villagers, Cizhong people remain and persist as actors in commodity and landscape production, using their own history and the state’s promotional framework of Shangri-La to their benefit, both economically and culturally.

## CHAPTER 6. TO BE FREE IN THE MOUNTAINS OR HOME IN THE VINEYARD: BALANCING VALUABLE FUNGI COLLECTION WITH “PLANTATION” LABOR FOR MOET-HENNESSY

“It is also better here than other villages in Deqin. This is the best village because we have the high mountain with lots of resources and if we work hard we can make lots of money from the mountains.”

“We’re all pretty satisfied here with the leasing price and deal, certainly under this plan we have a better guarantee, there is no risk even if the grapes are diseased, no need to purchase chemicals, less work over other crops or individually owned vineyards, and no need to spend as much time in the mountains collecting caterpillar fungus.”

The two quotes above would seem rather contradictory, with one suggesting collecting mountain resources, referring to caterpillar fungus<sup>19</sup> in particular is a favorable activity while the second suggests this is no longer necessary with the vineyard lease agreements with the French winery Moet. In fact, the person who gave me this second quote contradictorily still chooses to collect caterpillar fungus herself. This chapter evaluates how villagers in Adong and nearby areas choose between two different methods of livelihood production: Working as day laborers

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<sup>19</sup> Caterpillar fungus has many names and carries with it a highly complex biology and history. In English it is called caterpillar fungus, in Chinese *dong chong xia cao* (冬虫夏草, which translates as “summer grass winter worm”, though the literal translation of *cao* is actually insect), or simply *chong cao* (虫草, grass worm “insect”). In Tibetan, it is called *yartsa gunbu* or simply *bu*. Among villagers in Deqin, it is referred to by its short Chinese name, *chong cao*. As described by Winkler (2005; 2008), caterpillar fungus has experienced a long history, spanning hundreds of years in both China and Tibet, with its earliest known history existing in Tibet, despite its modern day explosion as a consumer item in China. Outside Tibet and China it can also be found in surrounding regions in Nepal, India, and Bhutan, in areas also inhabited predominantly by Tibetans (Winkler 2010). Historically it has existed as a traditional form of medicine, both in Tibet and China, with uses varying to include use as a tonic, stamina booster, and as an aphrodisiac (ibid).

The biology of caterpillar fungus is incredibly strange and complex, and its name translated into English of “summer grass winter worm,” is actually an accurate description. The fungus which is collected is the body of a caterpillar associated with various species of moths that have been parasitized by the fungus known as *Ophiocordyceps sinensis*, formerly *Cordyceps sinensis* (Boesi 2003; Winkler 2010; Winkler 2008). In the autumn each year, the caterpillars, which live in the high grasslands over 14,000 feet where the fungus is found, effectively eat the fungal spores released by the previous year’s fungi and then go under the ground for the winter to pupate. However, after burrowing under the ground, the body of the caterpillar becomes completely parasitized and killed by the fungus, which it has eaten, leaving behind only the exoskeleton. Later in the late spring and early summer, the fruiting body of the fungus emerges out of the ground as it grows out of the former head of the caterpillar. This is the object that the local Tibetans and other collectors look for each year as they crawl across the grasslands.



on the vineyard land they have leased to Moet, or instead choosing to collect caterpillar fungus and other valuable mushrooms and fungi in the mountains. Collecting fungi differs, as villagers do so on their own schedules and without the oversight of vineyard managers. To be clear, many still take part in both of these activities given that mushroom and fungi collection is seasonal. However, given the income and social security that long-term land leases from Moet provide, as suggested in the second quote above, mushroom collection as many villagers point out is no longer necessary to maintain a good livelihood.

Why then do some still choose to partake in such activities that take them further away from home? How do villagers differentiate between working on a “plantation” of their own land, versus taking part in the unregulated “freedom” (Tsing 2015a) of fungi collection in the mountains? These are important questions because answering them illuminates a key difference between earlier forms of state promoted viticulture and new transnational corporate forms, advancing my project looking at how global capitalism configures landscapes and identities surrounding wine in Deqin. Since the arrival of Moet-Hennessy in Adong, villagers have the ability to choose from these two forms of income and livelihood production. While they previously grew grapes, sold them to the Shangri-La Winery, and combined this practice with seasonal fungi collection, today they maintain a high income without having to travel into the mountains by leasing their land to the Moet winery and choosing to work in the vineyards for a daily salary. However, some still choose to travel to the mountains and away from home for extended periods for fungi collection. This chapter explores what has gone into this decision making process and further asks why would some still choose to partake in such activities when they have been given new and arguably easier livelihood options? This juxtaposition is a useful means of analysis because of a profound difference in the forms of labor and land tenure that produce these two primarily luxury commodities, wine and caterpillar fungus in Adong. Caterpillar fungus has a long history as an item of Tibetan and Chinese medicinal use and consumption that has more recently entered Chinese markets as an item of luxury, desire, and gift giving, while wine is completely new and foreign, with most in Adong insisting it has nothing to do with Tibetan culture, identity, or ethnicity. This makes wine or rather grapes quite contrary in production and use compared to other villages, Cizhong in particular.

I argue that by returning to the mountains every year as a community, where land is also managed as a community to protect the availability of caterpillar fungus equally for all members, Adong's people have found their own way of "indigenizing modernity" (Sahlins 1999; Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud 2015). This form of indigenization is unique compared to those of others such as Cizhong households who directly use grapes and winemaking to adapt to modernity. Despite the higher incomes and easier work that come with working as a "plantation" laborer on leased vineyard land, there is a freedom and village tradition that comes with fungi collection as a socialized community activity that one can pursue on their own schedule. This differs from working in the French vineyards, where villagers must adhere to a strict work schedule and follow the directions of vineyard managers. I evaluate these results in the context of land tenure and local ethnic distinction and indigeneity. While the introduction of leasing household land preceded by the introduction of grapes and viticulture for Shangri-La Wine as a cash crop can both be viewed of as an ambiguous "development as a gift" (Yeh 2013), in the context of managing mountain land where caterpillar fungus is collected, land tenure and management is a socialized community activity, as is collection. Fungus collection is not "alienated" work, but rather an act of envisioned or imagined "freedom" from the modern economy in the mountains (Tsing 2015a).

This contrasts with working for the French winery in the village, where villagers make more money, but work as laborers in managed capitalist work, in many ways something many described to me as a type of work they were unaccustomed to and made them feel uncomfortable. Working for Moet can be frustrating when vineyard company representatives instruct villagers as agricultural people how to properly farm on their own land. This was especially clear one afternoon when a Chinese manager happened to come along and deride villagers for doing something incorrectly, as I was working with them, while after the man left they shrugged off his stern instructions. I also clearly remember one day noticing a social media post from the father of my host family in Adong where he complained about being stuck working in the fields one day until 6pm, not being able to leave since he was working on the winery's schedule. Previously, each household grew grapes and other cash crops individually, and people created their own work schedules. These results are significant in pointing to the implications

for local labor and land tenure involved in China's recent wine boom and the impacts of global capitalism and foreign investment on local livelihoods and household decision-making.

### **Working in the Vineyards and Collecting Caterpillar Fungus**

In this section, I highlight my experiences in Adong and with Adong villagers and their relatives in the nearby upstream community of Meilishi, where I previously conducted research on the political ecology and economic vulnerabilities involved in viticulture commodification and caterpillar fungus collection in 2011.<sup>20</sup> In Adong, I spent much of my time working in the French vineyards each day with villagers and inquiring with them about their experiences engaging in this new form of wage labor along with their overall feelings about the lease agreement with Moet for their household land. In May of 2015, I traveled with my host family in Adong to Meilishi where the father was originally born, to hike with the entire village up the mountain to camp out and take part in the annual caterpillar fungus collection. My reasons for choosing to take part in this activity in Meilishi were several, but mostly due to more familiar contacts with the community and long term relationships there, especially with a family of old friends dating back to 2007 who welcomed me to camp out, cook, and collect with them for several days. This ended up working out well though since Meilishi's annual collection activities included relatives from Adong.

One of the most consistent findings I made during my time in Adong speaking and interacting with people was that everyone was extremely happy with the lease agreement for their land that had been negotiated with Moet for their vineyards, this much is clear. I do not think I ever met someone who expressed any ill feelings towards the arrival of Moet or their leasing of their land. In most cases the general infrastructural development that has been brought to the community including the paving of the one access road which Moet paid for have been welcome. Perhaps the only negative or rather skeptical observation came from a prominent village doctor and former village leader who explained the community itself didn't really have much involvement in the negotiation with the company for their land; this all occurred at much higher up levels within the county government, unknown to villagers. At the same time though, this man was required to give up his home for the building of the winery but also paid a large

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<sup>20</sup> See Galipeau (2014) and Galipeau (2015).

sum directly by the French for doing so and in turn built perhaps one of the most expensive and luxurious homes in the community, which includes a hotel and restaurant operated by his wife.

Spending days with my host family members and other villagers working in Moet's vineyards was an interesting experience, typically just with troops of women who were hired to work each day. Though at times I could find men working the vineyards, they tended to work in smaller numbers or individually, while women worked in large groups, which made for more interesting participant observation experiences and conversation. I can easily recall one day early on in my time in Adong attempting to elicit some sort of response about any linkages between wine and Tibetan culture and identity while working to plant new grape vines with a group of younger and middle aged women. After sometime inquiring with a few of them and asking why they thought tourists and Chinese in particular liked the wine from Shangri-La and Deqin so much, asking perhaps if because it came from Tibet, one boisterous middle aged woman exclaimed loudly to everyone that Chinese men drink grape wine because they think it will give them big penises. After this for the next hour or so before breaking for lunch, the mood among the group remained very jovial after this woman's exclamation, with continuing jokes along the same line of thinking.

This interaction about Chinese versus Tibetan perceptions of wine consumption and use is indicative of a tension between Tibetans and Han Chinese illustrated and historicized earlier in Chapter 2. Tibetan villagers in the case of Adong where wine has no history or story as in Cizhong, perceive wine as something they are producing for Han Chinese and with no meaning for themselves. As an intoxicant like others before it in history, wine is an item of economic exchange and livelihood that manifests itself differently between ethnicities and populations. Today, the state and Moet as a corporation are using Tibetan villagers and their land, labor, identities and "Tibetan" landscape to engage in a method of "Shangrilalization" (Coggins and Yeh 2014) and "internal orientalism" (Smyer Yu 2015). This form of landscape development and wine promotion uses local labor, land, and "culture" to produce wine, and associates the wine with being a local product produced by local people even though it is not. Villagers did produce Shangri-La Winery wines prior to the arrival of Moet with a certain level of local accomplishment and recognition, since individual households were responsible for the quality of their grapes. With the arrival Moet and contracts for villager land and labor, there is now more

alienation from land and labor and increased ethnic, power, and spatial divisions reflected by differences between production, distribution, and consumption of wine. With Moet's wine actually being sold in Europe and the U.S., it could not be further removed from Adong's people, who are in fact used in advertising imagery by Moet overseas.

Over time I indeed learned that for Adong people grapes and wine are more economic, unlike other locales such as Cizhong and even Bu where they possess more social or cultural value. Nobody in Adong really believes that wine has anything to do with being a Tibetan or the Tibetan environment. However, because wine produced here comes from a clean and beautiful mountain place, my young host mother and her older aunt did have some suggestions regarding why perhaps Chinese like the wine from here and associate it with Tibet:

Grape aren't really part of Tibetan culture, they come from outside and are foreign...As a young person, actually I don't really like being here because it's too boring, but it's beautiful and there's no pollution so I can see why tourists like it and I think they must have a similar feeling buying and drinking the wine from here.

There's no Tibetan culture with the wine. Caterpillar fungus has importance for us as Tibetans as a traditional medicine and is really important economically. I eat caterpillar fungus and it's good for the body and has really helped my high blood pressure. I have also heard that wine is good for your body; maybe this is why the Chinese like it, especially because we live in such a pure and healthy place. I do then actually think it's good how the company promotes their wine as Tibetan, there's no pollution here and we have a very clean beautiful environment.

There is a clear difference in how people perceive these two commodities, and in the ways Adong people produce and manage them. Villagers grow grapes for Moet through a capitalist form of labor in the Marxist sense, while they manage access and collect caterpillar fungus much more as a community.

A typical day working for Moet in the vineyards begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning, working till noon when everyone returns home for lunch, and then returning to the vineyards an hour or so later and working until around six o'clock in the evening. The freedom of working at one's own pace, which comes with household based agriculture and collecting caterpillar fungus, is not at all the same as what Tibetan villagers in Adong experience working for Moet, though they certainly subvert this system not interacting with company managers on a regular basis when they are out in the fields. On multiple occasions when I found myself out in

the fields, typically weeding or planting out new vines, the troop of women with whom I was working would often take significantly long breaks when they were technically “on the clock” working for Moet. Moet pays villagers 120 RMB per day, not by the hour, so this may not really be an issue. When I asked about this, villagers told me that sometimes the village leader (really one of them) or a vineyard manager from Moet would come and check in on them while they are working but that most days things are actually relaxed. The Chinese vineyard manager described in Chapter 4 though who I walked around with one day did at that time also mention that the villagers can sometimes be hard to manage when we stopped as he instructed a group of women to make sure to water the new seedlings they were planting very well due to the hot weather. At this same time, they complained to him about wishing to quit work at five o’clock instead of six.

Villagers in Adong are already making far more money than they ever have before by leasing their land to Moet, and their working in the vineyards provides them a bonus on top of this. Contrary to earlier forms of household based agriculture and collecting caterpillar fungus (described in detail below), other than a daily salary, there is no investment or return from working for Moet. Villagers often express that since the company does not seem to watch them too closely, there is no need to work too hard when they will still make the same amount of money each day. Additionally, days in the dry valleys of the upper Mekong can be extremely hot, well over ninety degrees. In most situations and locations, villagers in the area do not typically carry out agricultural work in the middle of the afternoon due to the heat, and rest or perform other activities at home for several hours after lunch and working in the morning. The freedom to create one’s own schedule to do this is then lost when people are more or less obligated if they want to receive payment for the day to spend the entire time out in the vineyards. The one method possible to subvert such obligations, then becomes simply relaxing while in the fields and not working the entire time, or making an escape to the mountains for one to two months each year to collect caterpillar fungus; with other shorter trips later in the summer for also collecting *matsutake* and other valuable mushrooms. In these situations, villagers work entirely for themselves on their own time, but also take part in a significantly large social and community wide event and activity in doing so. Indeed the French manager of Moet’s winery has commented before on the difficulties of recruiting and convincing villagers to work in the vineyards over collecting fungi in the mountains during the summer seasons (Robinson and

Lander 2014). Villagers indeed carry an advantage in their relations with Moet given the isolation and remoteness of the village and the winery. Part of the lease agreement the local government brokered states that Adong people get to work in the vineyards on their own land, not outsiders. They are the only available work force so have the luxury of leaving to the mountain for one or two months without that threat of a reprisal of losing their jobs.

Collecting caterpillar fungus however is a very different experience in terms of both the terrain and landscape, and the ways in which people conduct themselves. It allows one the chance to trek with villagers up high into the mountains and get off the beaten path through forests and into the high alpine backcountry. I took part in collecting with villagers from Adong and Meilishi in May 2015. My host father came home from Meilishi to Adong one afternoon and explained he and the family who had invited me to join them collecting, along with all of the villagers in Meilishi would be leaving for the mountain in two days. He had previously told my assistant Apu and myself that it would be at least one more week before they left for the mountain and we had been planning more time in Adong first.

Just as this development took place, it seemed everyone in the family began to rapidly gear up for caterpillar fungus season, almost like an annual pilgrimage or migration; it was clearly a big event and important time. The day before the local assistant of the Moet winery had invited me to lunch, and while we were visiting, his father-in-law, who was apparently one of the best collectors in his specific village within larger Adong was also preparing for his eight hour trek to a mountain near the Tibetan border. That evening the grandfather in my host family was also cooking special corn *baba* or steamed buns for his daughter and son-in law to take to the mountain with them the next day. As these activities were all beginning to happen, it was interesting to compare villages with caterpillar fungus and those without it like Cizhong. In Cizhong, there is vineyard and other agricultural field work with rice in the summer and with wheat and barley in the winter. In most locations like Bu, where villagers grow less grains and more vineyards, there is even less work other than daily collecting animal feed which is ubiquitous everywhere. Here in Adong and Meilishi though, caterpillar fungus season and gearing up for it encompass a big annual event. It really does work to make up part of local identity in terms of the annual agricultural calendar and its enshrinement in life.

The next morning we drove to Meilishi about 20 minutes up the road along the Mekong and had lunch prepared by my longtime host father and friend Adong of many years. We then made plans for traveling to the mountain with him and the rest of the village the next day, figuring out how to handle our food for the trip and other necessities. We decided that we would pay another villager Nima to travel with us just for the trip up and carry our bags and gear, including tents and sleeping bags on a mule. This man would then travel back down the mountain and come back days later to take us down again. While villagers would be staying in their temporary cabins built near the high pasture where the fungus is collected, it made more sense for us to sleep in our own tents and simply share meals and cooking with them since these cabins are small and frankly also extremely smoky throughout the night, so not as comfortable for sleeping.

Later that afternoon the day before leaving, I sat by the shop in the center of the village, chatting with the elders who spent time there each day, an old routine of mine in the community dating back to 2011. One elder whom I have known for many years and with whom I primarily spoke, explained that the next day just about everyone was going to leave for caterpillar fungus collecting, leaving only the elders behind in the village. “It’s a really big important time for sure he said.” I mentioned how all the eastern Chinese people like caterpillar fungus, like the Japanese like *matsutake*, also collected in abundance here and he replied, “Chinese like caterpillar fungus as it’s good for the eyes.”

The next morning we left around 6:30, after Adong and our horseman, a deaf orphan adopted by the village for many years hired by Nima the man we originally hired, had both already left. We ate breakfast with Adong but by the time we were packed and ready, he was already gone. We called him on the phone and he said the deaf man would wait for us, which he did when we eventually caught up with him half an hour or so later up the mountain. I had hiked part of this route before, but not all of it and that had been many years earlier. Later we would catch up with what seemed like the whole village including Adong, and we hiked with them the rest of the day. While hiking up, some of the women collected some young tree shoots to cook while camping on the mountain. As we caught up with everyone, it was great to see many familiar faces I had known over the years in a big mule caravan, including the village leader, Adong’s cousin who had always been supportive of my research in Meilishi.



Everyone stopped together for lunch at the site where I had first camped on this route in 2009 with undergraduate students, about halfway up the mountain; this time I would be completing the hike at local speed and distance in one day. Here everyone separated into four groups that each sat and ate together. It was a very jovial scene with Tibetan music playing on a cellphone and a lot of joking around. During the continuing hike after lunch villagers stopped to collect morel mushrooms, rather a delicacy to eat on the mountain. When I asked they explained that sometimes they also collect them to sell, but these were to take up to camp to eat. We arrived at 4:30 after a ten-hour hike and made camp. Apu and I set up our tents and the villagers all set up in the eight herders' cabins scattered about the area just above the tree line. After a break of *baba* and butter tea, at 6:00 everyone headed out to begin collecting caterpillar fungus just around the camp, while the primary collecting area was actually about an hour's hike further up the mountain. Being very tired after the day's hike I almost did not join, but this was supposed to be ethnography after all!

Initially the whole village rendezvoused together by one of the huts and the leader provided some instructions. Everyone discussed how they would split up and where people would go. As soon as the discussion was finished, everyone ran off. When I asked one villager, they explained that here around the camp there was not a lot of caterpillar fungus, but that they still wanted to use the chance that evening to find a little. Within a minute, one of the women we were following found one. A few minutes later, a young eighteen year old man who I had talked with a lot that day found one too, and like many others let out a loud excited yell to the mountains. He then demonstrated to us how you have to get down close the ground to see them. This man was definitely the best collector within the small group we followed, and had already found two fungi before others had any. As it was getting dark, and this harvest ended, the village leader called everyone to a meeting. He explained that the next day they would travel over one of the nearby mountains to collect in a different area and would come back in the evening, and the day after they would collect closer to where we were camped.

Back at our cabin, shared by three households including Adong, his wife, the leader, and another cousin, while preparing dinner everyone used toothbrushes to clean the fungi they'd found. After cleaning, everyone then put their fungi in individual cloth wraps, and then all together in a basket with a lid. The younger cousin kept a record book for everyone noting how

much each person had collected each day.<sup>21</sup> As I later sat chatting with the village leader during dinner, he explained how the village has a sophisticated system for managing the collecting and access to the land. He has been leader for 22 years and worked to develop this system, since before his time the price was low and very few people actually collected caterpillar fungus. Beginning ten years ago, they completely banned all outsiders from this particular area where we were. Here nobody else can collect. Enforcement of these regulations is communal and seasonal. Because the entire community sets up temporary camps in the collecting grounds over the entire season, villagers know if anyone from outside shows up and then force them out or require them to pay a fee if it is a non-exclusive collecting site. In the off-season when there is no fungus, there is no enforcement. In another site over the ridge where they would go the next day (named Yejaw), outsiders with connections to the village can collect. The cost there is 1500 RMB for the whole season. There is also one other pasture leased by a village in Tibet for 30,000 RMB, the lease fee for which is shared among everyone in Meilishi. Since my host from Adong who we hiked up with part way married out of Meilishi, he could not collect here in this place called Huding, so he and his wife split off from us earlier in the day to collect in Yejaw. He now pays 600 RMB per year to collect there since he was born in Meilishi, while his wife pays 1500 RMB as a total outsider but with marriage relations. The best quality for the fungus they explained was here in Huding, which is why they have completely banned all outsiders from collecting.

The leader explained that since he took office there has been less and less fungus, but he thinks this is just because more and more people are collecting it so it's being divided up between more people. He does not believe it is because there is actually less growing each year. Apu then asked if they ever think about closing the mountain for one year or something similar, but the leader explained no because if they didn't collect someone else would come from outside and just steal the caterpillar fungus. He also explained that if they do not collect it, it opens up, dries, and is wasted, referring to being economically or monetarily wasted. In reality the fungi

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<sup>21</sup> Village collectors always count, price, and sell their caterpillar fungus by pairs to the first initial market buyers. At higher levels of the commodity chain, people usually sell the fungi by gram weight or other methods of pricing such as in expensive gift boxes. The reason for being sold by pairs among collectors is not exactly known, but Stewart (2014), who also conducted fieldwork on collection in Yunnan, suggests it may have to do with finding the mate or male or female partner for each fungus that is collected, with pairs often being found close to each other.

that are left behind by villagers though actually guarantee reproduction and the release of fungal spores for the following year, as most of what is harvested is likely dug up before the spores are released (Winkler 2010). Apu and I tried to explain something about this process to them and long-term sustainability, but I am not sure how much got through.

The collecting camp was very high in elevation. We climbed over 2000 meters from 2180 meters along the Mekong at Meilishi to 4330 up here in the high alpine zone, covering probably at least 6-7 miles uphill over ten hours. In the afternoon on the second day, I remained in the camp to rest after the hike up while the villagers traveled further away, planning to join them the next day in a closer location. By the time the villagers returned around 6:00, the weather had drastically changed from sunny and warm in the morning and early afternoon to a full on snowing thunderstorm, after clouds began to build during the afternoon. With the snow accumulating quickly to several inches, Adong explained that they wouldn't collect the next day, at least not in the morning until it melted and also not if the weather was still bad in the morning.

On this evening, Apu and I visited and chatted with several of the families in their cabins after their day collecting. We first met with the young 18-year-old man and his family. These folks explained that because of caterpillar fungus, they do not have to go out of the village for work and that it provides their primary livelihood, which for them makes it part of being a Tibetan for sure. They shared their hut with two other households, their family having three members staying there to collect and one each from the two other households. On this day, the young man collected 10 pairs, his father 4 pairs, and his mother 4 pairs. Another single man found 11, and a woman 6. Three families shared the next hut we visited, one man alone here got 30 pairs that day, one woman 13, and another couple 10. In the next hut, two brothers each collected 10 pairs. One of these brothers talked about views of a glacier and one of the arms of Khawa Karpo, a day's hike from there where they planned to go after the collecting season. He explained you could also see these mountains at a distance from where I would be joining them collecting the next day.

Back at our host cabin after visiting others, just over an hour later from when the snow really started falling and accumulating, at 7:15 the sun and blue sky returned with a nice light layer of snow left behind. With the weather having gotten very nice, the prospects for collecting the next day and the snow melting in the afternoon looked good. On this first day, Adong

collected 6 pairs, his wife 8, their young cousin 22, and the village leader 15. In the hut next door to ours, one man collected 7 pairs and one woman 8. This woman was a lay village doctor who I had interviewed and chatted with before over the years. She explained that Chinese really like caterpillar fungus because it is effective at curing just about everything. She asked if we have caterpillar fungus in America, and I explained no, but that we do have *matsutake* and sell it to Japan like Yunnan. She further commented that Americans must also not be able to afford caterpillar fungus and I explained that I could not but that maybe some rich Americans could. In the last hut, we visited with two families and three people, one man collected 22 pairs, another just 2, and a woman 35. One of these villagers had the following to share about the fungus:

The best caterpillar fungus is from Tibet (referring to where we were on the border with Tibet). Here everything, the water, soil, forests, etc. are all good and we are healthy. Chinese and outsiders they like caterpillar fungus because it's healthy and good for their immune systems where they live with more pollution. In Qinghai, collecting is more religious and cultural. If you collect caterpillar fungus, then for each fungus you collect you need to sow three barley seeds as an offering of worship to thank the gods.

The next day was a gorgeous morning with a completely clear blue sky and previous day's light snow cover. The villagers had slept in past 9:00 since they could not collect caterpillar fungus in the morning with the snow on the ground. By 10:00 the women had all gotten up to cook while the men were still sleeping, (interesting gender role note here). For breakfast we drank butter tea and I can really say similar to having had it the day we arrived, that up high in the mountains and the cold it really is quite satisfying, and just what one wants. We then set out around 11:00. The collecting area was a very steep grassland slope at the back of the valley along the top of a ridge. As soon as we arrived, the villagers dispersed all up onto the slope. I tried to follow them as best as I could but it was a long climb, so I initially stuck with the people in the back of the group who began collecting lower down. The fungi are incredibly hard to spot and find. I ended up following three women at first, one older and two younger. The older of the two was skilled and found three within maybe ten minutes. It is amazing just how skilled (or lucky) some collectors are. Of the three villagers I was moving around with, two of them found only one or none initially, while the older woman found at least six. After almost two hours of looking I finally found one myself, which one of the younger women Zhouma

helped me dig out with her hand pick. She then found another one right next to mine so I gave her mine to make a pair.

I then moved along the slope interacting with different villagers before eventually meeting up with Adong who I followed for a bit, and who then called me over to him when he found a fungus. He drew a circle with his finger in the ground around it and asked me to find it. Even knowing the small area within which to look, they are still incredibly difficult to spot buried within the grass and soil. Shortly later Adong found another one. For someone who usually does not find too many compared to others he found two quick. He explained that today was just the first day here collecting in this location and that there were not so many as they were still spouting. In 5-6 days there would be a lot more. The next few days they would move and collect in different parts of the valley before returning here. Overall, they would collect for 1 to 1.5 months with some families returning home sooner. While they all hike up the mountain at the same agreed upon time to give everyone an equal chance at collecting, at the end of the season people return home on their own schedule.



**Figure 32. Searching for caterpillar fungus**



**Figure 33. Adong digging up a caterpillar fungus**

A month or so later after the collecting trip, I returned to Adong after some time spent in others areas including Cizhong and Bu villages to see how people had fared after the collecting season had ended. My host father there who had collected in the shared collecting area Yejaw for married out Meilishi residents found 500 pairs for the year. Later that same first evening after arriving back we spent some time together in the center of the village along the road where one other young man explained how everyone knew about my host getting 500 pairs, with several others then teasing him for not buying a new expensive motorcycle like them. They said he got 500 because he collected at Meilishi versus there in the mountains around Adong, where people only found about 200 pairs each. They explained that the quality of the fungi in the two locations is the same and they sell them for same price, but that the mountains around Meilishi have more. As mentioned, this evening provided an interesting post collecting season scene,

with men of different ages displaying and working on all the nice new motorcycles they had just bought with caterpillar fungus money. In many ways, it was a bit of a conspicuous status show, with everyone decorating their bikes with Tibetan regalia and showing off their new stereos by blasting music on them.

### **Conclusion: Differentiating Viticulture Labor from Caterpillar Fungus Collection in Adong**

In this chapter I have proposed that a strong combination of tradition, community, a sense of freedom from capitalistic work and modernity, and community ownership of the landscape brings people back to the mountain to collect caterpillar fungus each year. People do so because the types of labor they are required to engage in working for Moët Winery are also drastically different and alienating. For those newly endowed with the livelihood given to them by Moët's arrival and land leases, the need to spend one to two months on the mountain each year is not necessary from an economic perspective, yet they still choose to do so. Grapes and wine in many ways in this community have completely altered patterns of life and land ownership, different from the rest of Deqin and Shangri-La, where household land tenure and individual labor remain intact despite the changing landscape of vineyards. I argue that insisting upon returning as a community to the mountains each year, where land is managed as a community to protect the availability of caterpillar fungus equally for all members, is a response and a methodology by which Adong's people have found their own way of "indigenizing modernity" (Sahlins 1999; Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud 2015). This form of indigenization is unique compared to those of others who use grapes and wine. However, indigenization of modernity coupled with the landscape changes created by vineyards and wine have remained a theoretical thread throughout much of this dissertation. In Adong, the preservation of social and community relations in this process is also noteworthy. Stewart (2014) who also conducted ethnographic work on caterpillar fungus collecting elsewhere in Diqing describes two very different situations in terms of the sociality of this activity. In one community, social relations as she refers to them remain embedded, drawing from Polanyi (1968), in the economy of the fungus and its collection within the community. This community manages and privileges access to collecting grounds, along with collecting as a community together, as in Adong and Meilishi. In a second community Stewart describes, which has seen the construction of a new national highway



proceed directly through its collecting grounds, the social relations that previously existed with fungus collection have disappeared or become dis-embedded. There is no more managed access and the area has become opened for anyone to collect along with the abandonment of collecting as a community. I would suggest that the dis-embedding in traditional social relations surrounding agriculture and land tenure in Adong have alternatively occurred with the arrival of Moet, where household production has been replaced by a capitalist form of “plantation” style work, which is controlled and managed beyond the bounds of the community. Previously, as observed in other communities throughout the region, while household agricultural production has been an individual household endeavor, villagers share labor between households and cooperate on a regular basis. With the arrival of daily waged based vineyard work, this has disappeared.

Returning to the mountains each year provides an escape from this managed work, which villagers find adapting to difficult. Caterpillar fungus collection provides a sort of “freedom,” which Tsing (2015a), has also referred to with mushroom collection. It creates a chance for people to interact once again more as a cohesive community. The dis-embedding of one section of the economy, has thus in a way reinforced the embeddedness of social relations in another as a coping mechanism for the former. Much like wine tying more and more into identity in Cizhong, the collection of caterpillar fungus allows the maintenance of identity for Adong people in the face of the social disruptions brought by vineyards.

In conclusion, I wish to suggest a cautionary critique. Emily Yeh (2013) reminds us that the state’s “development” and alterations of landscapes in Tibet as a “gift” for local people is something worthy of heavy scrutiny. The similar development and somewhat drastic alteration of agropastoral landscapes in Shangri-La by viticulture as a state and corporate project over the last 15-20 years is also deserving of such examination. Under most measures of success, Moet’s project might easily be framed as a complete and total success compared to earlier state and corporate ventures with Shangri-La Wine, which despite leading to overall higher incomes for rural farmers, have also brought about concerns and critiques over environmental sustainability, and long term economic and food security. On the surface Moet has essentially alleviated all of these concerns with their project in Adong. Their vineyards are all organic and they guarantee an income for land and employment to rural farmers regardless of their success or failure.



However, there are unrealized impacts of their introduction of a completely new and foreign form of capitalist work on household land transformed into corporate plantation land. Clearly, there are impacts on the ways the community perceives itself and the ways in which they view agricultural labor. With the wine boom in both Shangri-La and greater China expected to continue to grow, there should be caution as foreign firms continued to intercede and reconfigure long-standing community ties and forms of social relations in the globalization of this economy and region.

## CHAPTER 7. THE PRACTICE AND SEMIOTICS OF VILLAGER AND CONSUMER DRINKING

*“Sometimes when I reflect back on all the beer I drink I feel ashamed. Then I look into the glass and think about the workers in the brewery and all of their hopes and dreams. If I didn’t drink this beer, they might be out of work and their dreams would be shattered. Then I say to myself, It is better that I drink this beer and let their dreams come true than to be selfish and worry about my liver.”* Jack Handey on a bar wall in Cambridge

This chapter explores and analyzes the practice of drinking itself and the significance of wine as a consumable both among village winemakers, tourists who visits Shangri-La and villages, and wine consumers more broadly. I address the semiotics of drinking specific wines and spirits as a practice of linking producers with consumers and meaning and materiality. Returning to the work of Manning (2012), drinks tend to differ from other material culture (other than food) in that they represent “embodied material culture,” and their meaning is completed by their human embodiment through the practice of drinking (2). As highlighted in Chapter 2, commodities like drinks in particular have a peculiar way of attempting to link producers as branding and advertisements would like us to view them with consumers; producers and marketers then intend for consumers to think of a certain lifestyle or historical moment as they consume particular spirits and wines.

Recall the colonial histories in Cizhong, and on the labeling found on Shangri-La Wine’s bottles and advertising. Manning (ibid) gives a good example of drinks such as a gin and tonic, and in particular gins like Bombay Sapphire and Old Raj, which when being drunk are meant to invoke a feeling of returning to some sort of exotic lost colonial empire. Drinking gin for instance was an afternoon ritual among colonial outpost residents as exemplified in Orwell’s *Burmese Days* (1934). Much in the same way, drinking a Singapore Sling could bring someone back to the Raffles Hotel in colonial era Singapore (Manning: 18-20). The embodiment of Shangri-La through wine and marketing, now also coming from western owned Moet, marketing its Shangri-La wines to the west and calling them by the Chinese name of Ao Yun (Proud Cloud) in reference to the nearby sacred peak of Khawa Karpo, is indicative of these shorts of semiotic constructions. As Manning (ibid) summarizes this sort of trend: “Drinks thus construct

elsewhere within space and time, imaginative geographies that make their consumption meaningful in a way that transcends here and now” (20).

For Chinese drinkers and consumers, drinking wine has become a physical embodiment of western culture and cosmopolitanism. As Tim Tse, president of a private club in Shanghai says:

Wine now is the new Silk Road. It is one of the intermediaries, to connect China to the rest of the world. I mean you look at China now they're all dressed in a shirt a tie, like me. It's part of westernization, they wear it on top of their skin. Now you're talking about wine, that they swallow it inside their body. I mean, now they swallow Western civilization inside their body, in their blood stream (Ross and Roach 2013).

I propose taking this assertion of wine as a new Silk Road, intermediary, or “boundary object,” first discussed in Chapter 3 in my framework on *terroir* a step further. Given the development of Shangri-La and the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands as a new wine region intended to meet China's growing demand, and as a Tibetan region of touristic consumption, I propose that Diqing has returned to its historical roots as a region of trade and intermediation between Tibet and China through the embodiment of wine by both villagers and visitors alike. As I discuss in Chapter 3, this region was long a link between China and Tibet as a part of the Tea Horse Road, with brick tea transported from southern Yunnan to Tibet. Wine consumption and production has today replaced tea to bring this region into the fold of a globalizing China and Tibet. Indeed, if one looks at the development of Moet's winery in Adong village, consumption and embodiment of the wine produced here will even broaden the order and magnitude of exchange for the region, with wine sold to western consumers abroad as part of Shangri-La. Wine can be conceived of as a “boundary object,” returning to the work of Hathaway (2014b) on *matsutake* mushrooms collected in Yunnan and exported to Japan, whose boundary object framework builds upon that of Star and Griesemer (1989; Star 2010). For Star and Griesemer, a boundary object is something constituted through its use by multiple actors, creating “communities of practice,” which gives an object multiple meanings and roles within and across these societies and communities. Applying this analytic to *matsutake* mushrooms as a commodity in Tibetan Yunnan, Hathaway suggests the following:

By studying this wild mushroom as a boundary object, I show how concerns by multiple groups (such as Japanese officials promoting food safety, Chinese exporters trying to protect their market, Chinese scientists concerned about species endangeredness, and

pickers trying to make a living) reshape the lives of this commodity. I also examine how such groups encounter each other in a particular historical context, such as China's path of agricultural development and land tenure reforms, and a legacy of antagonistic relations between China and Japan.

In a similar sphere, as a boundary commodity, like tea before it, wine constructs a bridge along this "new silk road" between the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, affluent China, and the west. Wine is viewed, produced, and consumed by each of these groups differently yet simultaneously connects them as a community and becomes defined by these different modes of consumption and production.

The rest of this chapter describes how local people and visitors to Shangri-La interact with wine and other beverages, and the ways in which they do or do not embody them through consumption. As this dissertation tells the story of the creation of a new global wine region and the connection between local people with others parts of China and the west in global capitalism, I view framing the role of wine itself as essential. In doing so, I also describe my own position as an anthropologist partaking in drinking activities while in the field and the perspectives that anthropology has brought to this practice.

### **Drinking in Cizhong and Bu Villages**

Anthropologists have long engaged with the topic of drinking during fieldwork and with the study of drinking behaviors. In some cases scholars have suggested an idea that as anthropologists we bring a unique and somewhat enlightening perspective to this practice, which many often view as pure addiction or debauchery when in fact it is often more ritualized and socialized as an act (Douglas 1987). The ability to inquire about various topics during fieldwork and have one's subjects open up and welcome one into the fold of their community often comes hand in hand with engaging in socialized drinking. In some cases, this helps to alleviate the position of the ethnographer as an outsider if they are willing to engage with locals in such practices (Bernard 2011; Fiskesjö 2010). Being an anthropologist who also happens to be studying wine and winemaking, and who conducted my work with Yunnan Tibetans who tend to drink a lot, particularly as a social act in Cizhong and others villages, I found myself joining in the practice often. My hosts Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing in Cizhong and the family with which I stayed in Bu village, tended to be active drinkers within certain evening social circles, which I

often joined. Throughout my times living among Tibetan villagers then, I was certainly what Fiskesjö (ibid) has called a “participant intoxicant.” This of course in many ways fits with my theoretical thread of wine as an intoxicant and its history along with other intoxicants and stimulants of linking the east and the west in global capitalisms.

Drinking in Cizhong is primarily a social act, though not really a ritual one as observed elsewhere in highland Asia except during Catholic mass.<sup>22</sup> Rarely does one drink alone, though in the evenings Wu Gongdi does often sip a small glass of his home-distilled barley liquor known as *qingkejiu* or *grappa* like grape spirit simply called the ubiquitous name for spirits *baijiu*, with a simple grape or *putao* added before the name. This sort of solitary drinking of his is slow and he will typically only consume larger amounts in the company of others with whom he can toast and be merry; usually guests and tourists to whom he proudly serves his grape wine. Note his own choice not to drink wine, which I will return to later. Hong Xing, along with other friends his age in their 30’s and 40’s is part of a relatively large group of men that meets several nights per week to socialize and drink primarily cheap Chinese beer. For someone who makes good tasting wine, he rarely drinks it himself with a few exceptions. He and his friends whom I often joined meet late in the evening after eating dinner at home and after dark, usually at one particular man’s home where he has a large sitting and dining area for tourist guests right next to the church. These men will sit for several hours drinking beer, playing cards, engaging in singing competitions, and toasting each other, usually with the typical Chinese *gambei* or bottom up where one has to finish their entire shot glass or can of beer. While most of these men are in their 30’s and 40’s they will occasionally be joined by one older man in particular who seems to find more company and enjoyment drinking with his son’s friends rather than men his own age. His own contemporaries cannot really keep up with his drinking as this man holds his liquor extremely well, usually opting to drink Chinese store bought *baijiu* while others drink beer. Most also affectionately call this man Da Ge, or “big brother,” who always has something fun to say. For instance, once when I asked him if wine and winemaking were important to him being a Cizhong Tibetan (note he is Buddhist not Catholic), he replied completely sarcastically and in exaggeration, though with a hint of truth; “Growing grapes and making wine is the most

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<sup>22</sup> See Dove (1988), Fiskesjö (2010), and Kirsch (1997) for examples of ritual drinking and fieldwork in highland Asia.

important thing to being a Tibetan person.” Of course when Da Ge said this, he was already quite drunk himself at the time.

While daily social drinking tends to be limited to cheap Chinese beer and *baijiu*, wine has made particular entries into village festivals in both Cizhong and Bu villages. Wedding season occurs between December and February in Cizhong, due to the slow agricultural season and availability of more free time. Typical weddings in Cizhong involve many toasts among the guests and the bride and the groom, with a variety of spirits served to guests both with a pre-dinner snack, during the ceremony, and during the post ceremony dinner and dancing. Alcohol at these events includes an option of beer, *baijiu*, or red wine or soda and juice for those who choose not to drink. Usually women drink less of the alcoholic options, though some women do drink as much if not more than men and some elder men choose not to drink while all younger men do. Attending several weddings during my year of fieldwork from 2014 through 2015, I asked Hong Xing about the serving of wine with other spirits and the history of this practice. He explained it is recent since many households in both Cizhong and Cigu (where I attended one wedding of his relative) have begun producing large quantities of wine, but that since this has begun, some villagers and particularly elders seem to enjoy drinking it more than traditional or Chinese spirits.

There is though also an odd exception to the addition of wine in local festivals, which is a bit baffling given the size of the festival and the number of visitors. Christmas is by far the largest and most important festival celebrated each year in Cizhong by both Catholic and Buddhist families alike, and with many visitors both foreign and Chinese. An entire chapter could describe and analyze Christmas in Cizhong for its syncretic nature along with an examination of Cizhong’s religious practices, which I have written about elsewhere. However since my focus in this section is on drink and drinking, I refrain from providing the full details of the festival since it is not central to my discussion.<sup>23</sup> Still, given wine’s association by most if not all villagers with hospitality and being a necessary drink to serve to visitors and tourists, it was surprising to me during the 2014 Christmas festival that wine was not served as part of the post-Christmas morning mass lunch feast. Instead, options included beer, barley liquor

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<sup>23</sup> See Galipeau (In review) for a complete ethnographic description and analysis of the Christmas festival and a look at religion and ethnic identity in Cizhong.

(*qinkejiu*) mixed with meat, and locally made rice wine (*mijiu*) mixed with egg. This lack of grape wine at Christmas given its significance with hospitality remains baffling, nor could anyone really explain why villagers did not serve it. Perhaps other years they do serve wine and 2014 was just an oddity in this regard. This observation is important to question with wine's integration into life in Cizhong, yet lack of presence in the largest festival of the year that includes many guests, the primary intended consumers of most household wine.

With a huge assortment of drinks served, including wine at weddings and other festivals, one often finds oneself debating what to drink, as I did while attending one wedding and engaging in the singing and performance game that took place at the encouragement of Da Ge who I sat with. As somewhat of a connoisseur of beer and wine, I noted my distaste and resentment after several months of drinking warm and rather sour Chinese beer on several occasions, which I then tried to avoid. On this particular occasion, I chose wine, as did many older men and women, versus *baijiu*, beer, Sprite, or warm *mijiu* mixed with egg. Despite a personal distaste for *baijiu*, *mijiu*, or beer, these were the primary choices of most villagers though as opposed to my first choice of wine. As the guest, in many ways I fitted the persona and household marketing target as a wine drinker.

Despite the limits with which villagers themselves drink the grape wine they make beyond special occasions, they will definitely drink it and share it with the regular tourists who visit Cizhong as happened on multiple occasions when I visited homes throughout the village, and while living with Wu Gongdi's family whenever tourists or trekkers arrived. They will also share and drink wine in particular with government officials when they come calling on the community. In many ways wine becomes a boundary object and an intermediary between the local state and villagers who work to demonstrate their local hospitality and Tibetan Catholic culture through serving wine. Though villagers produce wine, it is actually then "made" and embodied by multiple actors, both the villagers who produce it and the tourists and sometimes government guests who consume it; the latter two being the primary intended consumers. These activities highlight and exemplify an ideal expressed in scholarship on *terroir*, of extending the lives of the producer to the consumer (Manning 2012). Many of the traits that give Cizhong wine what I would call a *terroir* or localized identity based upon villagers' historical and cultural

marketing, are created with the intent that Cizhong wine has certain qualities people seek out due to the community's Catholic Tibetan identity.

In an analytical sense, Cizhong wine, like other wines produced in Diqing, has a *terroir* based upon certain cultural traits it imbues and that villagers endow it with through certain production methods such as keeping it organic and using "traditional French handmade" techniques. However, there really is no "wine culture" in Cizhong, at least not the kind of connoisseurship that one sees relating to wine consumption among producers of wine elsewhere. Cizhong people rather know that outsiders recognize their wine for having a certain place based taste, or that it is at least presented as having one beyond the community, as descriptions of Cizhong wine appear in a variety of Shangri-La tourism materials. Cizhong wine has a *terroir*, but it is rather lost on those living there in terms of recognizing this in terms of taste themselves. These people do however exemplify the *terroir* and identify it through their production practices as described in Chapters 4 and 5. People engage in *terroir*-producing practices not for their own sense of taste, but for those of others. This is how wine is created through and across boundaries.

During one particular wine-sharing event on a Sunday in 2013, the county forestry bureau was on a tour with provincial forestry bureau officers whom they brought to visit the church, observe the mass, and look at the local county-planted vineyards around the church. After these morning activities, villagers served lunch to these 20 or so officials in one of the larger and nicer family guesthouses next to the church. This lunch included a multitude of grape wine poured and served from decorative clay jars (note that many families will typically just serve wine out of plastic jugs). Hong Xing, who happened to be helping host these officials, invited me to join as well. This was probably the first and only time I would ever drink grape wine as a shot drink in the Chinese *gambei* style. This took a lot of effort given the strength and sweetness of the wine, but my being a foreigner who was there studying the community gave some face to Hong Xing and the other village hosts in welcoming these men.

In the traditional Chinese circles of gift giving for favors, and in the cultivation of relationships with government officials and other figures of importance known as *guanxi* (Osburg 2013b; M. M. Yang 1994), village wine has also come to play a role, much in the same way that luxury wines from France have in affluent eastern China (Mustacich 2015; Ross and



Roach 2013). Whenever he travels to the township or county seat to meet with government officials about providing him with funding to support his village projects, such as the building of his trekkers lodge on the mountain pass, Hong Xing always takes some bottles of wine with him as gifts. He will do the same and serve wine whenever people of importance, often foreigners who he perceives as possessing some social capital visit his guesthouse whether they are customers or not; giving them wine to show his appreciation and potentially build some *guanxi* (literally translated as relationship) with them. From what I can gather, Wu Gongdi also used to do much the same when he managed household affairs more himself, though for him making, selling, and consuming wine has also always been a bit more of a cultural trait rather than a mixed cultural and business based one as it is for Hong Xing. While villagers only drink wine on occasion themselves, as I noted in my field notes one day, there is certainly a “Tibetan Distinction” in making and serving wine to visitors, but not so much in drinking it oneself. Throughout interviews with several individuals around the village, one facet about household wine that was almost ubiquitous was that it was authentically Tibetan because it came from Cizhong and because of the village history. When I would ask about wine companies such as Shangri-La advertising their wine as being Tibetan, most people would simply blow this idea off, suggesting that while it makes sense from a marketing perspective that is all it is, marketing; only wine from Cizhong and not factory wines are really Tibetan.

In Bu village, where people have been engaged in making wine as well for ten years or so since the arrival of the Sunspirit winery, social drinking is also a large part of life. Wine though is only slowly entering into personal consumption as it has in Cizhong; it remains primarily a drink produced for hospitality and economic gain through sales to tourists. Wine in Bu is also making its way into festival drinking. I happened to spend the evening of the Chinese mid-autumn, harvest, or “mooncake” festival in September with my host family here and wine was certainly the drink of choice for the mother Zhouma and her young adult daughter. Zhouma explained their choice twofold: As she has continued to refine her own winemaking over several years now, she has also come to enjoy drinking it as a significant part of this process to work on improving taste and quality. Second, she also finds the taste significantly better than beer or *baijiu*. Unlike Cizhong, there is a local connoisseurship of wine developing in Bu. On this particular evening, Zhouma’s husband however stuck with drinking beer and *baijiu*, which seem

to remain the drinks of choice for most men in the village, several of whom I spent evenings with. Zhouma also explained though that during the New Year's festival each year, which the whole village takes part in, everyone drinks wine.

In Bu village, evening social drinking also typically involves women drinking wine while men choose beer or *baijiu*. These social activities usually occur on weekends when certain family members, particularly men such as Zhouma's husband and brother who work for various government agencies around the county return home. These gatherings also include toasting and singing competitions similar to those in Cizhong. Zhouma, her husband, and friends, and relatives, all middle-aged seem to enjoy these weekend evenings when everyone is at home together. Wine is not always a drink of choice but women will often choose it. The time involves sitting around talking, singing, and many *tashi delek* (a general greeting used for cheers in Tibetan) toasts with beer shots or sips in the case of *baijiu* and wine; though Zhouma's brother often easily finishes at least three full wine glasses of *baijiu* by the end of the evening.

A difference in exposure to tourists and foreign visitors in Bu and Cizhong affects social drinking activities. In Cizhong, many families keep guesthouses, regularly host guests, and are accustomed to having them join in family activities. During the correct season, in Cizhong, winemaking and grape crushing are in fact activities that many tourists are invited to partake in. Bu is different however, in that it does not thrive off a tourist economy in the same way. The village is located on the main road to the Khawa Karpo National Park and Scenic area where thousands of tourists visit to hike and trek each year, but this simply involves driving through Bu village where the entrance station is located to reach the hiking areas and "scenic" villages on the other side of the Mekong River. Most families including the former county agricultural worker mentioned in Chapter 4 who has built his own semi-professional winery and Zhouma who live close the road make wine to sell to tourists who drive through the village and might stop to buy some. This is the extent of interactions occurring here, and Bu's village winemakers are not involved in hospitality as a full-fledged industry in the same way that Cizhong's people are. Social drinking in Bu thus remains primarily a community activity that the occasional visitor may join versus being an everyday tourist practice, often involving household wine in Cizhong.

## Chinese Tourist and National Consumer Drinking of Shangri-La

As I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, for many people in Cizhong wine has become an important part of culture and identity through distinction in winemaking. Most local people have their own perceptions of what makes wine important or good in quality, which are not necessarily informed by consumer ideals per se. However, in conducting interviews with villagers in Cizhong, Bu, and Adong where Moet's winery is located, whenever I asked why is it that Chinese people like wine from Cizhong, Deqin, and Shangri-La Wine in general, certain themes and perceptions were prevalent. I list the three most common themes in Table 1 and discuss them in more detail below.

**Table 1. Common themes among villagers for why tourists and primarily Han Chinese like Shangri-La Wine and others wines from Deqin**

Wine is known because of the French history	Because wine is pure, organic, and has no chemicals	Because the wine comes from Tibet and Tibetan culture which Chinese perceive as pure and pristine without pollution
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By far the most common response from villagers in Cizhong was that their wine was known because of the French history, in this case mostly referring to being known by urban dwelling Han Chinese tourists. Being marked as French in many ways makes sense, given that among the perceptions of many Chinese consumers, French wine is the best in the world. The other two most common themes villagers not only in Cizhong but also throughout Deqin expressed as to why outsiders like the wine were first, because it is pure, organic, and has no chemicals. This assertion was often juxtaposed against the factory wines made by Shangri-La, which according to villagers is not organic compared to their own. In fact, Shangri-La does market some of its wine now as organic, though I have yet to find one village that sells grapes to them that does not use chemical pesticides and fertilizers, so this marketing remains suspect to me. The second theme villagers expressed was that tourists and Chinese enjoy wine because it comes from Tibet and Tibetan culture, which is an expression of a pure environment without pollution like that found in China's large cities. Indeed this ties into the relatively recent phenomenon of the urban Han Chinese consumption and fascination with Tibet, or "internal orientalism" (Smyer Yu 2015). What is especially of note here though is that Tibetan villagers

themselves seem to be fully aware of this fascination that outsiders have with them as an “other,” a fascination that they feel is passed on to the consumer through the wine that is made here.

Experiencing this countryside, “Franco-Tibetan” winemaking, and visiting village guesthouses in Cizhong and elsewhere to eat local food and partake in local countryside farmer life, is also part of a trend of consumption and tourism in China involving food. With a growing middle class situated in urban centers, like the west, some Chinese have begun to experience a disconnect with their agricultural and rural roots, and tourism in places like Yunnan and even to countryside villages outside Beijing for a local organic lunch have become common (Hessler 2010; Klein 2014). Organics in and of themselves in China could involve an entire dissertation and I will not get too detailed on this topic here, though I will discuss local perceptions of agricultural pollution among villagers and organic responses with viticulture in the next chapter. What is important to note here is that much of what brings Chinese consumers to places like Yunnan and Cizhong, is a combination of both the history, religion, and the ideal of what Klein (ibid) has called “connecting with the countryside,” as a form of eating healthy and avoiding the increasingly common food scares with factory food in China. The chance to take part in novel agricultural activities when visiting the countryside, such as grape crushing for making wine, something I took part in with some Hong Kong tourists in Cizhong, is also a completely new and enlightening experience for China’s new traveling middle class.

On top of this, not surprisingly, Cizhong and Shangri-La wine is branded as being from an ethnic minority, which as even Wu Gongdi once mentioned to me, makes people more curious, and in my experience makes consumers believe the wine is healthier because minorities, especially Tibetans are often stereotyped as being more “green.” It is not surprising then that brands like Shangri-La, Sunspirit, and Shangrila Beer use Tibetan culture as a branding and marketing tool, given both the curiosity and desire to consume Tibetan and minority cultures, but also for their association with being natural, healthy, and free of chemicals. Tracy (2013), has ethnographically shown a similar phenomenon in Inner Mongolia, where dairy products, while being produced in what one could call hermetically sealed factories, are branded and packaged as coming from the pristine Mongolian grasslands from cattle raised by traditionally dressed Mongol herders. Of course, here there is no *terroir* or authenticity so to speak since milk

production occurs in sterile factories; though through marketing, Tracy suggests a sort of “sealed in” *terroir* of Mongolian culture and green “traditional” living.

### **Anthropological Wine Tasting**

Studying wine in Shangri-La for an extended period, but not having tasted many wines given the prices of the good Shangri-La brand wines along with Sunspirit’s ice wine, I decided in spring 2016 to use some of the grant money I had to organize a tasting with friends in Shangri-La of some of the more expensive local wines. Being an anthropologist of a wine economy, and given the financial resources I had from grant money, this seemed prudent and also shaped up to be very enjoyable and educating event. Good friends who were owners of a successful and excellent French fusion cafe mixing western and local Tibetan flavors in Shangri-La, the Flying Tigers Café, agreed to help me host and provided one set of imported meat and cheese platters on the house to accompany the tasting of the wines I purchased. I ended up buying eight wines with the names and prices listed below in Table 2 by order of tasting. The French chef working at Flying Tigers, an excellent wine connoisseur from Bordeaux himself, explained in a tasting, it best to start with the best wine first while the pallet is fresh. Except for drinking the one cheap white wine first, we based the order we followed on price and what we guessed would taste best; we were mostly correct:

**Table 2. Wines included in tasting in Shangri-La at Flying Tigers Cafe<sup>1</sup>**

<b>Wine</b>	<b>Price</b>
Shangri-La Italian Riesling (White)	50 RMB
Shangri-La Altit Wine A3 2011	460 RMB (I later saw bottles for 360 and the 2013 vintage for 295)
Shangri-La Altit Wine A3 2009	460 RMB
Shangri-La Altit Wine A8	460 RMB
Shangri-La Altit Wine 1900	358 RMB
Shangri-La Altit Wine 1700 2008	228 RMB
Shangri-La Cabernet Sauvignon	68 RMB
Sunspirit Meri Ice Wine	490 RMB

1. 1 RMB equals approximately 6.1 U.S. dollars.

People in attendance at the event included myself and the owners and chef from Flying Tigers Café. Other guests included good friends of many years from Canada who own another café, a Tibetan linguist and trekking guide friend from the US and his wife along with their

Tibetan business partner from Weixi who also make wine with local villager grown Cabernet grapes, which they bottle and sell to tourists and local restaurants. Also in attendance was another anthropology PhD student from Germany conducting fieldwork in Shangri-La and her local assistant.

The Italian Riesling was certainly a drinkable wine, though most people's assessment was that much better white wines existed for a similar price. About everyone agreed that of all the dry red wines, the first A3 from 2011 was the best. It had a lot of complex flavor, good nose, start, and finish. One of the aspects that many wine critics and journalists have pointed out so far in reviewing Moet's Ao Yun produced in this region, is that it has a very earthy smell and taste. Many of us at the tasting noticed the same sensations in these red wines from Shangri-La Winery, they are very earthy, perhaps more so than Cabernet Sauvignons from California that I am more used to drinking which tend to give off a much fruitier sensation. Many of these Shangri-La wines seem to reflect the soil more than the fruit, which matches with some reviews I have read of Ao Yun, which have used terms like graphite to describe it. For the time being, the *terroir* (in a traditional sense in referring to soil, geography, climate and taste), of the wines produced in Shangri-La seems to be enhanced by and reflect the soils more than other aspects. People have asked me why I did not include any Cizhong household wines in this tasting. The fact of the matter is that with sugar added these wines are so different from those produced by the wineries that making a comparison would be quite difficult. While Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing's wines are appreciable, I cannot say that their wines give off the same types of earthy flavors, smells, and senses that the wines included in the tasting did.

Moving on, the 2009 A3 seemed to be flatter compared to the 2011, lacking the same complexity, though was still what I would call earthy, though to a much lesser degree. Note that the 2013 A3 and A6 have both won regional Decanter Magazine Asia awards and international Decanter World Wine Awards in 2015 with tasting notes often noting certain "black currant and blackberry" flavors in these wines, not flavors we particularly noticed in the 2011 and 2009 A3. This was part of why I chose the 2011 first since it would be closer to 2013. Indeed the French winemaker from Moet who also made an appearance later in the evening, indicated that 2011 was a better vintage and that the Shangri-La Winery has gotten more skilled in recent years. Most people including myself liked the 2011 better than the 2009, though one person said she

liked the flatter flavor of the 2009 better. The A8 was also excellent, better than the 2009 in my mind, which others agreed with. It was more complex and flavorful and included some of the dark fruit blackberry kind of flavors some have noted Shangri-La's wines as having melded with earthy tones.

The 1900 had an interesting smoky nose and flavor that was a bit unusual. One person commented something just seemed a bit different or perhaps wrong with it. The 1700 was a tasty and decent wine, though nothing in particular stood out about it and for the price I could find something much nicer imported from the US or Europe. The Altit series named based on the altitude of the grapes from which the wines are made, did not capture others nor myself in the same ways that the A series of wines did. We actually did not get around to drinking the 68 RMB Cabernet Sauvignon, though I can say from prior experience having it at home with my wife at times in Kunming, that it is certainly drinkable table wine good for everyday drinking. We ended with the Sunspirit Meri Ice Wine, which was a big hit for everyone. One friend from Canada, especially well known for ice wines, commented that it had a different type of molasses flavor than the Canadian ice wines, but that it was excellent. The student and anthropology colleague studying in Germany and originally from Austria, both regions known for ice wines, commented that she enjoyed it very much. My own sense having also tasted this wine before during my own personal tour with the manager of the Sunspirit winery was that it was simply very sweet and delicious. I've never really had dessert wines prior to trying the ice wines in Diqing so can't compare it to much else, but I do believe certain critics who have compared it to the best Canadian ice wines because if you like the sweet flavor it does taste spectacular.

All in all this was a very successful and fun event, which allowed me to engage with the practice of drinking and as anthropological act. It was also an opportunity to think more on the actual embodied semiotics and tastes of some of the local wines, which I had not had the opportunity to taste previously, even though I had been studying their production in the region for some time. Thinking about *terroir* as an analytic and using its "traditional" deployment as "taste of place," it seems the wines produced in Diqing do have a distinctive flavor, which I cannot say I have quite experienced or tasted with wines elsewhere. Many of them exude a certain distinctive earthiness, linking them with the soils of Shangri-La. This is not something I have found myself typically noticing with wines from other regions such as California where

flavors seems to reflect grapes and fruit more than land. Of course, these are only my own semiotic constructions. One aspect on the ideas of both *terroir* and semiotics that this tasting provided me with is a sense that while these are topics of scholarly and anthropological inquiry, they are also highly individualized and personalized, based on sensuality in many ways. Each person who participated in the tasting had something different to say and share about each wine even while we all agreed about certain aspects of their tastes at the same time; many of us described the same flavors but using different ideas and terminologies. Wineries and individuals like Wu Gongdi are certainly making a new *terroir* for Shangri-La in a sense since aesthetic wine production (versus the primary religious wine of the missionaries) is a new endeavor. However, one thing that this wine tasting taught me is that how the *terroir* of Shangri-La is crafted is highly dependent on individual tastes and perceptions; everyone will have their own ideas about what the emerging taste of Shangri-La actually entails.

### **Tibetan Culture, Hospitality, Drinking, Yak Butter Tea, *Chang* and *Qinkejiu* (a *Rag*)**

For being a staple of the Tibetan diet, and served to visitors for hospitality across the Tibetan cultural region, it is prudent to briefly explore yak butter tea and more “traditional” Tibetan beers and liquors in this chapter as well, along with my experiences drinking them daily over many years in my times in Northwest Yunnan. Given its intimate link and ties to Tibetan culture and identity, there is little literature that discusses the practice of making and consuming butter tea and its cultural significance and or origins. Perhaps this is due to the fact that it is somewhat ubiquitous across the region, though one could easily spend much time conducting an ethnographic study into the importance and identity of this drink, which also varies considerably from one region of Tibet and the Himalayas to the next. In Cizhong, Bu, Adong, and elsewhere in Deqin County and Diqing, villagers drink butter tea daily with breakfast, lunch, and often as a snack during breaks from work in the fields. For people living higher up on the plateaus above Yunnan where other foods are less plentiful and diets more limited, butter tea and the salt placed into it, also provide a vital source of energy and nutrients, with some according to Dorje (1985) drinking as much as 40 cups per day (51). There have been times during winter in the villages, and throughout the year when I have been in high pastures in the cold and rain, when nothing warms one up or tastes quite as good and fulfilling as hot, salty, butter tea. With



more time spent in the region, it does indeed grow on the drinker, becoming less of an acquired taste and more of a necessity and desirable. The tea itself is actually a mixture of butter, water, salt, and brick tea like Pu'er from China (see chapter 2), though actually much cheaper than today's expensive forms of Yunnan Pu'er. In the northeastern region of Tibet known as Amdo in today's Qinghai and Gansu provinces, tea is made with milk more often rather than butter. Typically, one mixes the tea together by plunging it a bamboo tube or by spinning a large wooden mixing tool in a pot, but today many living in villages simply mix the tea and churn butter from milk using electric mixers and blenders. In some regions, especially more so up on the plateaus of central Tibet, the tea is also mixed with barley flour, known as *tsampa*, and eaten more as a cake mixture (E. N. Anderson 1990). In Yunnan, the most common additional practice I have found is that villagers like to add some fresh sour yak cheese to their tea for flavor.

As Dorje (1985) explains and as I have observed throughout Yunnan's Tibetan areas, butter tea is also intimately linked with hospitality among Tibetans and is most if not always served when one visits a home or even a herder's hut in the high altitude pastures. Occasionally, people serve butter tea accompanied or followed by some sort of spirit, usually a strong Chinese style grain liquor made from barley or corn. However, for hospitality and welcoming people, one usually serves butter tea first. In Cizhong, this practice is actually not all that different even with the introduction of wine, though which drink is served is situational. It is not difficult for Cizhong villagers like Hong Xing to discern the average tourist or trekker versus a government official or more affluent non-backpacker type tourist. Hong Xing and others will often serve the latter wine right off, indicating a sense of what we might remember from elder Liao's comments in Chapter 4<sup>24</sup> about wine being a more civilized way to introduce people to the region and Tibetan culture. The average tourist or trekker however, is served butter tea almost instantly whenever they arrive in a village home or guesthouse, with wine coming only later during a meal or upon the offer of the host after the visitor has had a chance to become comfortable and acquainted with their surroundings. In Bu village people follow a similar practice, first serving butter tea, followed by wine if it seems prudent, though wine might come first in a special situation. In other villages where households do not make their own wine, serving butter tea

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<sup>24</sup> See page 128.

alone is the norm. For sure during my times in Diqing, I drank a lot of wine, usually choosing it for better taste when possible over beer or *baijiu*, but I probably drank way more butter tea, doing so several times a day. Thus butter tea's inclusion in this discussion of drinking semiotics given its role as the most common beverage both personally consumed and shared with guests among Yunnan's Tibetans (and Tibetans elsewhere). It is intimately linked with Tibetan hospitality, while in Cizhong the expanded production of wine has created a new form of hospitality that allows Cizhong Tibetan to separate themselves from other communities by serving not only butter tea but either supplementing or replacing it with wine.

Kingdon Ward also wonderfully describes the process of making and drinking butter tea with intricate detail in the mountain pastures just above Cizhong in 1911:

On the way down we stopped at a mountain hut for refreshments, a simply one-room shanty, and I watched the men make their tea, though I personally drank yak milk.

The water was boiled in a big iron pot suspended over the fire, and a handful of coarse tea, sliced off a round brink thrown in. After being well stirred, the liquid was poured through a conical basket-work funnel into a tall wooden cylinder bound with bamboo hoops; in the funnel had been placed a lump of butter, which, melting and passing through the tea leaves with the hot tea, now swam on the surface in large oily drops. The basket was then removed with the tea leaves, a pinch of coarse salt thrown in, and the mixture stamped vigorously up and down in the cylinder by means of a perforated wooden disc attached to a long handle, which fitted closely like a piston. The oily drops of butter are thus thoroughly broken up and emulsified, the salty flavour equally distributed, and the beverage made ready for consumption. Taken hot from a cup, as tea, the Englishman is apt to find it nauseating, particularly when there are yak hairs from the butter generously distributed through it; but taken hot with a spoon, as soup, it is quite palatable. Such is the power of the association of ideas.

But the Tibetan himself does not as a rule drink it. He takes from the ample folds of his cloak a small leather bag of *tsamba* (roasted barley ground into flour) and a wooden bowl – two of the numerous articles a Tibetan always carries about with him in lieu of much superfluous clothing – and mixing a little *tsamba* with the tea, he kneads the mass into a ball of dough-like consistency, and complacently chews it, powdering white rings round his mouth in the process. Then out come the long pipes, a dry tobacco leaf is plucked from a bunch a stowed away in the corner, crunched up in the hand, and the dust dropped into the pipe bowl, which is lighted with a layer of hot charcoal ashes pressed down on the top; and the men sitting cross-legged round the fire in the middle of the room, contentedly smoke. (Kingdon Ward 1913: 47-48)

As discussed in reference to Shangrila Beer in Chapter 4, Tibetans have also for long periods produced a local barley beer known as *chang*, which like butter tea is associated with hospitality. This in addition in Yunnan to distilling liquors or essentially vodkas also made from barley known as *qinkejiu* or *a rag* in Tibetan. When the practice of making these drinks or any information as to how it began is lacking as it is for butter tea.<sup>25</sup> Recent archaeological work suggests that barley arrived on the Tibetan plateau and even more prominently in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands as an adaptation to colder climates sometime between 2500-1499 BCE, though there is some disagreement among different researchers (Chen et al. 2015; d'Alpoim Guedes et al. 2015). It is also suggested that barley production may in fact also never have been as widespread in highland central Tibet, as in the borderlands including Yunnan, where today the variety of indigenous hullless barley varieties is extensive with up to 54 different varieties in Shangri-La (Y. Li et al. 2011; d'Alpoim Guedes, Manning, and Bocinsky 2016). Indeed Sonny, the owner of Shangrila Beer has explained to me that when he first began to experiment with local hullless barleys he had difficulty finding any consistency with his beers. It was not until a Swiss brew master came to work with him and pointed out that he had been using different varieties of barley, that they then developed some consistency. After that time, they limited their use to one local variety but are now also experimenting separately with others. This incredible diversity of Tibetan barleys has been attributed to the work of generations of village farmers in Shangri-La perpetuating and promoting this crop (Y. Li et al. *ibid*). Certainly, at some point after the introduction of these crops historically, the making of *chang* and *a rag* began to take place.

While some have written about *a rag* production using different grains (barley is used in Northwest Yunnan, thus the name *qinkejiu* with *qinke* meaning barley in Chinese, with some corn also used) across the Himalayan region (Tamang 2010), I am somewhat skeptical of its long term large scale production in Northwest Yunnan as seen today. The production of *chang* beer, sadly seems to have heavily died out, leaving most villagers except those making wine in Cizhong and Bu distilling only hard alcohols, which can be difficult to drink, being excessively strong. In southern Yunnan among the Wa ethnic group, Fiskesjö (2010) suggests, (which I

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<sup>25</sup> Tamang (2010) indicates butter and other dairy products have been in widespread use in Nepal and elsewhere in the Himalayan region since at least 900 BCE (245).

suspect is true for Tibetan Northwest Yunnan as well) that rather excessive distillation and purchasing of hard liquors has come due to the introduction of these items and Chinese *baijiu* in markets, and that locally brewed and fermented beers are quickly disappearing. This in turn is leading to higher rates of alcoholism than what existed prior to the introduction of these spirits. I believe this may be true in the Shangri-La region as well, with *chang* having previously been more widely produced. Indeed Sonny has explained to me that there are villages in the area where he has relatives residing and people claim they used to produce *chang* using barley and local ancient yeast starters (which he now uses in his Tibetan Pale Ale), but that they have said these practices have died out. Interestingly, recent archaeological and biological research has proposed Tibet as the original origin of ancient lager beer yeasts still used today, and dating back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Eastern Europe. These particular yeast strains, likely those found among *chang* brewers and in Sonny's contemporary beers, in particular allowed lagers to ferment at colder temperatures upon their introduction in Europe. Quite a fitting adaptation given the climate of Tibet (Bing et al. 2014). Schaeffer, Kapstein, and Tuttle (2013) thorough culling of Tibetan literary sources, also suggest that beer drinking and production in Tibet was indeed a large part of society historically, being both a commodity in the economy and also being used for ritual, medicinal purposes, and as a preeminent social drug across many facets of life (447).

Further intriguing, Y. Li et al. (2011) note in their study of indigenous barley varieties and local knowledge in Shangri-La, that the making of *chang* (which they incorrectly call *qiang*, using some form of Chinese transliteration), is still common among local villagers. They also use this terminology though side by side with the Chinese *qinkejiu*, and having spent much time here I can say these are not the same thing. However, their description of the drink and the brewing process they describe is certainly that of making *chang* rather than distilling *qinkejiu*, which I have witnessed Wu Gongdi doing many times in Cizhong as described in Chapter 5. This leaves me wondering where in Shangri-La the authors witnessed this practice, as I have only seen it in one place as described below. I am dubious at their suggestion it is widespread and I believe this came from language confusion and their mixing Chinese and Tibetan names for these drinks, confusing widespread *qinkejiu* distillation with limited *chang* brewing:

[*Qingkejiu (or Qiang)*]: *Qingkejiu* is the major alcoholic beverage in Tibet. It is also called *Zajiu* and the Tibetan name is called *Qiang*. The preparation of *Qiang* begins with cleaning and washing raw hulless barley kernels. Currently many brewers mix malting

barley with hulless barley in a 1:2 ratio. This specially prepared barley grain is boiled in water for 2–5 h. When the boiled barley grain is cooled, powdered yeast is added and the mixture is allowed to ferment for 3–5 days. There is no free liquid remaining at this point. This fermented barley grain is known as Lenmar and can directly consumed in small quantities or sometimes fried in a little oil and eaten as a delicacy with sugar. Lenmar is usually put in an earthenware pot with water and steeped for 6–10 h; it is then filtered to produce *Qiang*. The water is added 3–4 times and the alcoholic content of *Qiang* depends on the number of times to add water. Alcohol content of the first run of *Qiang* is usually about 7%, and the second is about 5%. People normally drink *Qiang* at about 5% alcoholic content or less (651).

There remains one rather well known village, popular among more intrepid travelers and trekkers a bit off the beaten path, where I've previously worked for an NGO in ecotourism development with local households, that still actively produces barley *chang* in the method described above, which is served warm and is incredible. I always look forward to visits here not just for the amazing scenery but also for the *chang*. Here in Nizu or Niru village a few hours east of Shangri-La, the hospitality that comes with serving *chang* remains alive and well, while being “modernized” and perpetuated by Sonny with Shangrila Beer for all to enjoy today across China and according so Sonny, very soon abroad as well.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has provided a look into the various practices of drinking and the different types of drinks consumed both by villagers in Diqing and Chinese and other visiting tourists who consume Shangri-La wines. My intention has been to show how the introduction of wine has changed (or not) drinking practices in Cizhong and Bu villages, where household winemaking traditions have become significant, making these communities different from others who engage in viticulture without making wine. What I suggest is that wine as a semiotic construction and product of *terroir* has worked to act as an intermediary and “boundary object” between Deqin’s villagers, Chinese tourists, and other consumers who seek to consume minority products and to experience the countryside. For villagers in Cizhong in particular, wine plays a different role in that its original purpose for was for Catholic mass, while its production has recently become inscribed into daily practice and entered into the social drinking activities of villagers, in particular during weddings and other festivals. Serving wine to guests, and most importantly those like government officials, then also serves to provide villagers with a certain sort of

distinction as Tibetan and/or Catholic winemakers. However as I have illustrated, butter tea, beer, and spirits in terms of alcohol, remain the primary drinks consumed in daily life as they were and have been throughout much of Tibetan history. In Cizhong and in Bu to a limited extent though, while locals continue to consume butter tea, they have sought to differentiate themselves from other Tibetans by making wine the drink of choice for hospitality with outsiders. In the case of beer, Sonny similarly frames his Shangrila Beer as an evolution of “traditional” hospitality exhibited by Tibetans in serving *chang*, in this case making it more marketable, available, and “modern” for a much wider audience. Wine (and beer) today are products and intermediaries with the world beyond Diqing and Shangri-La. They provide a way of sharing and spreading culture and history, but unlike butter tea are not necessities in daily consumption among local villagers.

## **CHAPTER 8. BUDDHIST ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS AND TIBETAN ECOLOGICAL ENTREPRENEURS: BALANCING COMMODITY ECONOMIES, ETHNIC REPRESENTATION, AND ECOLOGICAL HEALTH**

*I am a yogi who drinks beer, because  
It illuminates the Dharma Body,  
Completes the Body of Sambhoga,  
And gives form to all Nirmānakāyas.  
From Non-cessation's pulp  
Only men with hardened heads  
Can drink this nectar beer.*

Milarepa

This chapter explores a different kind of identity surrounding viticulture. I ask what drives rural Tibetan grape growers to pursue an ecologically friendly agenda. Reasonings include observations of chemical degradation on land, Buddhist ethics, and new conceptions towards how ethnic representation can be exemplified by more ecologically friendly forms of commodity production; in a sense meant to create what some villagers call a “real Shangri-La or Shambala” (a place of divine serenity in Tibetan Buddhism), rather than a fake one. While the government incentives promoting development of Shangri-La Wine as form of development and state incorporation have tended to overlook ecological health and sustainability, villager awareness of such sustainability is not always non-existent; in some cases these new state based wine commodity schemes are in fact altered and challenged to promote ecologically sound practices and healthy living. A select few villagers in Deqin are truly interested in sustainability and ecological health, and in their pursuit of these values, they create a viticulture and wine to be compatible with indigenous cosmologies. Their approach runs counter to that of most grape growers and vintners in Deqin who have merely accepted growing grapes and the agrochemicals introduced with them by the state as a means of economic livelihood improvement. Most villagers are simply engaged in a process of “indigenizing modernity,” to use the term suggested by Sahlins (1999) and Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud (2015) to describe situations in which indigenous populations and peoples adapt to “modernity” and new market economies by engaging with them in their own unique and innovative ways. For a majority of Deqin Tibetans

though, “indigenizing modernity” does not however involve following ecologically sound practices.

While wineries market their wines produced in Shangri-La as “natural,” the emergence of this industry has actually led to rapid development in the use of agricultural chemicals introduced by wine companies and government extension workers, the effects of which are not lost on local communities. To understand these villager conceptions, in the following pages I analyze in what ways villagers have developed their own understandings of concepts such as organic and ecological, and how these are influenced by their Buddhist beliefs. I also explore how they frame their own identities as household winemakers, grape growers, and rural Tibetans; an ethnic group often viewed by Chinese consumers as being strong environmental stewards. Utilizing a framework of sustainability and Buddhist ethics, I examine how villagers have responded to personal concerns over chemical use on health and environments, including perceived pollution impacts on the sacred peak of Khawa Karpo where glaciers are rapidly retreating. These responses involve villagers producing their own chemical free wines, which they insist are healthier not just for people, but also for the mountain and ecology, and more desirable than corporate varietals, such as the Shangri-La brand.

## **The Players**

In crafting the story of this chapter I’ve decided to tell the story of two individuals in different villages in Deqin who have become recognizable locally and even nationally for their environmental and community organizing work.<sup>26</sup> Given both its local and transnational environmental and religious significance as the home of Khawa Karpo, a sacred and majestic mountain, Deqin has produced many local environmentalists interested in preserving local cultures and ecosystems. Two villagers who have given particular attention in their work to viticulture are Li Weihong of Gushui Village, not far from Adong and the Moet winery, and Sonam Dorje, or “Ani Dom” meaning “Grandfather Bear” in Bu Village; a former renowned hunter turned environmentalist. Over my two years working in the field for this project between 2014 and 2016, I visited with these two individuals and stayed in their villages on multiple

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<sup>26</sup> Given that others have written about them and they have even won national level environmental awards for their different projects, I have once again chosen to use their real names here since they would already be easily recognizable by description.



occasions, typically spending most of my hours each day interacting with them in various ways. Here I will provide a short biography and description of my introduction to each of them and then spend the rest of the chapter telling each of their stories in detail.

I can easily recall my first encounter with Ani Dom, someone I had actually already read about at the time but did not realize this was him in the flesh until I returned to those ethnographic writings by another anthropologist working in Deqin (Da Col 2007). I had just arrived to stay in Bu Village for the first time, hoping to take up long-term residence there knowing that it was a base for ice winemaking being the home of Sunspirit and rather unique in the Deqin viticulture scene because of this. When the driver I had hired in Deqin town delivered me to the home he knew in the village with guest rooms, my assistant and I quickly introduced ourselves to the proprietor, a middle-aged Tibetan woman named Zhouma (described in Chapter 5 working in her vineyards). Later, after we made ourselves comfortable in her living room and began to chat with her about the village and the wine industry there, where she herself was an avid winemaker, an elder talkative man in a wide brim hat with a beautiful strand of Tibetan prayer beads or *mala* in his hand appeared. He explained he had heard a foreign visitor had arrived in the village and that he had come to meet me. This was Ani Dom. From that moment on I listened to the man talk on and on about the region, the sacred mountain Khawa Karpo, Buddhism, the forest, his previous life as a hunter, and the horrible pollution that was occurring with viticulture and chemicals. This was the first of many insightful and intriguing conversations I had with Ani Dom during my time living with his daughter in Bu Village. This first meeting was significant because it opened my eyes for the first time to a new type of environmental awareness that the expansion of viticulture and winemaking with its agrochemicals in Deqin has awakened within some local people. Something I wished to understand more in my exploration of the local landscape of vineyards, winemaking, identity, and capitalism.

My encounters with Li Weihong were less accidental but still just as enlightening. One day while I was staying Bu Village, I received a phone call from my part time research assistant, a local anthropologist who was taking driving lessons back in Shangri-La at the time. He mentioned he happened to have a classmate from Gushui Village, who was the brother of a prominent organic winemaker and environmentalist named Li Weihong who had won awards for

her community organizing work around organic viticulture. Li Weihong is known for being awarded a national level environmental award in Beijing from the Nature Conservancy and for traveling all over China to share a documentary film she produced about her village and her organic viticulture. My assistant gave me her phone number and suggested I call her as other Chinese academics working in the area studying environmental issues had also found her and her story interesting. I called her indicating I was just down the road and made plans to visit her the next afternoon for lunch. This would be the first of several visits I made to Gushui to interact with her.

### **Ani Dom, Agricultural Pollution, and Compassion for Life and Khawa Karpo**

During all my days in Bu Village, Ani Dom became a teacher for me, daily explaining to me much about local Buddhist practice and the cosmologies surrounding Khawa Karpo, both the mountain and the god himself for which it is named. Ani Dom is a Buddhist with a deep reverence for life, the mountain, and the local environment and culture in Bu and Deqin, and regularly shared his feelings with me about what he perceived as excessive agricultural pollution from viticulture, which was killing the mountain and its spirit. Ani was not always a Buddhist, and did not always carry these beliefs until a near death and highly spiritual experience. He was a great hunter known throughout Deqin before 1986. That year, during a 25-day sleepless trance brought on by a heart attack, he dreamed about the spirits of all the animals he killed coming back for revenge. Then he saw the god of Khawa Karpo himself in his vision and devoted himself to conservation for the rest of his life. The god told him to throw his hunting dog in the river (which he did) and then he turned his gun into the police. When his daughter was young, his wife used to call him a devil for killing so many animals which he began doing at the age of seven. During his career as a hunter, he killed 15 bears, 17 deer, over 70 wild cows, 200-300 blue sheep, and numerous rabbits and birds. These escapades as a hunter earned him the name, Ani Dom, “grandfather bear” by other villagers who he would share the meat he killed with in past times when there was never enough to eat.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Da col (2007) also tells Ani Dom’s story slightly different but very close in detail to the version Ani and his daughter recited to me: “Ani Dom (lit ‘Grandfather Bear’) was the most famous hunter in Dechen, having killed fifteen bears and thirty wild yaks. One day, while aiming at a wild goat, Ani saw ‘himself’ standing in the place of the goat. He dismissed this omen and continued hunting. In 1987, during the New Year period, he went with his fellow villagers to make an offering (*bsang*) to the local mountain god. When he arrived on the mountain he had a heart attack

Ani Dom has many stories like these from his days as a hunter. One evening after dinner, he spoke about hunting bears and other animals he had killed and seen in the local mountains: When tracking a bear, you must move against the wind because they can smell very well but cannot see well. One time a bear tried to escape from him so he shot it in the butt to disable and slow it down. Once a bear also tried to attack him but he carried a bag or basket of items, which he threw to it to play with, which it did and then he shot it. He says you should always carry a basket of something to throw to a bear to distract it in case it attacks you. He was a very good sniper in his hunting days, could shoot an egg from several hundred meters away. Wild pigskin is too thick, so he never hunted or killed them. He has seen both a snow leopard near Baima Xueshan (large snow mountain on the other side of the Mekong from Khawa Karpo) and clouded leopards in the Khawa Karpo Mountains. In Minyong Village (across the river from Bu), they used to get snares and catch leopards but now nobody sees them, they are all gone. He knows of at least three leopards caught by snares over a decade ago in Minyong. He once had an old friend in Sinong Village who was an excellent tracker by reading footprints, and could recognize the prints of any animal and they were great partners together, previously as hunters and more recently as poaching snare patrollers, but his friend passed away last year.

Today Ani Dom's life is different, to the dismay of his own family members and others in Bu including the village leader who thinks of him as a nuisance for interfering too much in their economic activities and success growing grapes and making wine. As the village leader explained to me while I was visiting him one evening, he really does not get along with Ani Dom in his fighting against chemicals and the wine company (Sunspirit) and trying to stop them from working in the village. As the leader of the community primarily concerned with income and livelihood success, he thinks overall using chemicals is better for money and livelihood versus Ani who does not think at all about these things, just the environment and Buddhism. Today Ani devotes all his time to working with NGOs to preserve and protect Khawa Karpo and the village environment. Recently people have come to know him for his work establishing protection for a highly sacred old growth juniper grove in the village, where he also worked to build a small

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accompanied by a vision *lha, tsen, lu*, and *du (bdud)*, demons) tying his body and throwing him into the Mekong River while a voice was telling him how bloodthirsty he had become. After that, he converted to Buddhism and quit hunting (226).”

temple commemorating Khawa Karpo using mostly his own funds of 80-100,000 RMB generated through donations from NGOs and Buddhist monasteries. The village as a community contributed 30,000 RMB. Much of Ani's daily routine involves morning and evening walks after breakfast and before dinner to the temple to pray and perform circumambulations around it. During these times, I would typically join Ani in his daily prayers and discuss his ideas about Buddhist philosophy, conservation, and the changes brought to Deqin by viticulture and other forms of "modernity." Villagers outside of Cizhong like Ani Dom indeed describe viticulture as something associated with modernity and for him negativity, because of the ecological harms it causes. This contrasts significantly with backward-looking colonial and "historical" origins of viticulture and wine among Cizhong people.

Ani Dom's stories about his work with various environmental and cultural NGOs and his Buddhist teachings were extensive, and he always had something new to share with me every day. During my first interview and discussion with Ani Dom when he first came into his daughter's house and sat down to chat, he talked a lot about his work and various projects. He explained how he had recently set up a seniors' association in Bu and in surrounding villages to protect both the environment and the grape plantations. The association is called the Khawa Karpo Traditional Knowledge and Ecological Conservation Association. It includes elder members from Sinong, Yubeng, Xidang, and Bu villages. One of the goals is to help teach villagers to plant grapes more organically and sustainably. The association collaborated with a Hong Kong NGO (Partnership for Community Development) who sent an expert to help Ani Dom set up his organization and provided some training on more sustainable grape growing methods. For Ani Dom this work was important as he began to notice that the overdose of pesticides used with grapes was also very bad for walnuts and other fruit trees, and that the soil degraded after many years of spraying pesticides and applying chemical fertilizers. Ani Dom advocates a lot for organic wine, but most people do not follow him. He explains that pesticides are harmful for the air, earth, soil, water, and all other life beyond just humans and that to care about these things is what traditional Buddhist philosophies tell us; all life is sacred. Before villagers planted grapes, their fruit and walnut trees were much healthier, and now people get skin diseases because they do not know how to use pesticides properly. These ideas and

concerns about sustainability first came about for Ani Dom when he collaborated with TNC<sup>28</sup> and with the Khawa Karpo Culture Association.<sup>29</sup> With the help of his nephew, he has also written and published a book detailing all of his knowledge and history about Khawa Karpo and Deqin.

Ani regularly travels to the mountain to remove snare traps with a group of patrols he has organized. He explains that poaching is a very big problem around Khawa Karpo. The amounts of wild animals are going up again but people from other areas in Tibet and downstream still come and hunt the animals because they are very valuable. The NGO Shanshui (a prominent domestic environmental NGO in China) supports this work. He is also working on a second book about Buddhist knowledge of Khawa Karpo from other Tibetan regions where he traveled to collect these stories. Tibetans from other areas have great stories about a great Buddhist spirit or deity that traveled here, stories he plans to share with a wider audience. One major problem for Ani Dom and others like him recently has been that the government will not allow them as Tibetans to accept money for conservation projects from foreign NGOs anymore. This is an aftereffect of the 2008 crackdowns after mass rioting in Tibet. Organizations like TNC used to support many conservation projects in Tibetan Yunnan.

One day when I asked Ani Dom about the idea of Shangri-La Wine and wine being from Tibetan culture, he had the following to say:

Grapes and wine are not part of traditional Tibetan culture. This culture has been lost to the chemicals and garbage that come with grapes. Grape and wine are from foreigners. The French could not convert the Tibetans in this area so they chose Ciku/Cizhong as multicultural places to preach and proselytize. The church in Ciku was burned and then rebuilt in Cizhong. The Buddhists did not agree with the government giving the French so much land so the people said they could only have as much land as that covered by a cow's skin. The French then cut this skin up into threads to create a larger space of land to take. Tibetan scripture says no killing, protect the environment, and live in peace even with those from other religions, which includes the Catholics.

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<sup>28</sup> The Nature Conservancy, which was active in the region through the mid-2000s through many projects involving local knowledge experts and village conservation practitioners such as Ani Dom. See (Litzinger 2004; Moseley and Mullen 2014; Salick and Moseley 2012; Zinda 2014) for detailed overviews and analyses of the Nature Conservancy's work in Deqin.

<sup>29</sup> An environmental and cultural NGO started by a local Tibetan in Deqin. More later on the controversies of why Ani Dom no longer works with them.

The grape production here in Bu is low, but the quality is good. Buddhism promotes no killing, so we are working to pilot grapes with no pesticides for people to enjoy. I do not know why the companies use Tibetan culture to promote the wine since the French brought it here.

When I then asked about the future and any link between grapes and Tibetan identity in Deqin:

If pesticide use continues, things will be bad and the soil will be destroyed. I do not think the grape industry is promising for Deqin's future. Wang, the retired government member who introduced the grape company to the village sells a lot of pesticide in his shop here. I wish he would not.

On Wang, first introduced in Chapter 4 as the man who introduced Sunspirit's pilot project to Bu Village selling pesticides, despite all my respect and admiration for Ani Dom, I think he is often a bit harsh on Wang. Wang has actually done a lot using his former position in the county agricultural bureau to improve and lessen agrochemical use and make Bu one of the best and most sustainable grape growing villages. In 2008, Wang set up a village grape cooperative. This was the first cooperative in Deqin. The purpose as he explained it is to regulate grape cultivation in Bu and make it a skill, to help make annual production plans, and to help in contacts with companies, especially Sunspirit. Villagers are free to join or quit whenever they choose. In 2012 this cooperative was awarded as a prefectural model, in 2013 as a provincial model, and in 2014 as a state/national one. Wang also worked to establish Bu as a model pest control village in Deqin County, using many non-chemical methods such as bug zappers not seen elsewhere. This model pest program sets standards and limits on how much chemical pesticides and fertilizers people can use and primarily promotes the use of bio-pesticides with no residues or impact on humans. There really is no other such system in Deqin as Wang points out and as my own observations show, where in many villages people spray grape vines multiple times in one week.

As one can tell, perhaps Ani Dom is sometimes too critical of his own fellow villagers who do see the importance in preserving the environment, just with economic modernity and prosperity in their sights as well. However, his story and my interactions with him remain very important in understanding the mini-environmental movement that grapes and viticulture have worked to create. Some of my later talks with Ani Dom were a bit different, as we primarily interacted during his daily morning and evening prayer walks to the temple in the sacred juniper

grove. Many of these discussions would take on more of a religious and spiritual nature, with Ani's discussing the relationship between Buddhism, ecology, and the environment. Visiting the temple together with Ani Dom for the first time one evening, I was deeply struck by its serenity. While I had visited the sacred juniper grove and the outside of the temple before, I had never been inside as he keeps it locked except for when he visits. I learned and was able to observe more visiting with him to pray and see the inside of the temple. Next to temple is a large prayer wheel, which he helped to build in 1991 after climbers died on Khawa Karpo.<sup>30</sup>

Ani explains how the sacred junipers around the temple are attributed to the Sanye monastery in Tibet and that this sacred forest appears in Tibetan Buddhist scripture. The junipers are very good medicine trees and good for curing diseases. Previously the government wanted to log this grove of junipers but he worked with other elders in the village to protect them as a sacred site. When my research assistant asked him one day about the value of one large tree that the temple is built around, Ani Dom said that if it were sold, it would be worth 300,000 RMB. He then iterated how the trees do not speak, but that they still have a spirit in them. If you cut the trees, their roots will rot and there will be many disasters. The oldest tree in this forest is 1200 years old, the same age as the Sanye monastery in Tibet, which these trees are linked with in origin. There was an emperor during the Tang Dynasty who was also a supporter of Tibetan Buddhism and who journeyed to the west. He and the Tibetan king of the time collected juniper seeds from all over the world and when they came here to Khawa Karpo, the raven tricked them, telling them that the Sanye Monastery in Tibet had already been built and junipers were not needed there, so they planted their seeds here and they became this forest. Unfortunately, some people from Tibet come and collect the bark from the trees, which they use as medicine, but they peel all the bark off the trees, which can kill them, which is shortsighted of people. Some of the trees were also accidentally burned in 1988 when the road through the village was built. Before that time, there were never any floods, but afterward a flood came and washed away a small shop, killing the owner. Villager found three holes in the man's hat and it

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<sup>30</sup> In 1991 17 Chinese and Japanese died in an avalanche trying to climb the highest peak of Khawa Karpo (Litzinger 2004). Many locals felt that this was of a sign of the god responding as it is considered sacrilegious to climb the most sacred mountains in Tibet. Responding by buildings things like prayer wheels and such were a way of locals appeasing the god after this betrayal. Since that time, the Khawa Karpo Cultural Preservation Association and other groups managed to lobby the local government to ban climbing on the mountain and it remains unclimbed.

is said that these were from the tiger god who came down from the mountain and killed the man as punishment for the building of the road through the sacred grove.

Inside the temple on the wall behind the altar is an incredible fresco in 3D bust raised out of the wall depicting the entire Khawa Karpo range. Ani Dom explains Michimu, the peak to the left of Khawa Karpo is his wife, and discusses the photos on the altar of the many lamas who have visited here. Pointing to the fresco of Khawa Karpo he explains how the mountain has 33 layers with the god/Buddha residing in the inner most interior. The different color Buddha paintings on the wall depict the five elements of nature and the fresco wall bust of the mountain is adorned with many *khatas* (Tibetan silk scarves). Ani discusses a lot about all the paintings and explains each of their cosmological meanings. Khawa Karpo has twelve lesser guardian peaks, and has 10,000 soldiers to protect him. These gods exist everywhere, when the climbers died on the mountain it was not Khawa Karpo punishing them but his guardian gods.

Throughout many of these morning and evening prayer sessions at the temple with Ani Dom, he explained more to me about his Buddhist and environmental philosophies for protecting the land and environments around Khawa Karpo and his views of nature. Things like mining and pesticides are no good for the five elements of nature and Khawa Karpo. They destroy the natural balance of these things. China has lost a lot of its Buddhist philosophy and is very lost now. Buddhism is very important for protecting the environment and for sustainability. There have been too many campaigns and too much violence in China with the civil war, the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, etc. This is why in his early years he was a hunter. He had no guidance towards the traditional cultural values that were lost in all this turbulence. He explains that Buddhism is 2,000 years old but that today human practices of destruction currently overpower conservation. Just placing statues is not enough and there is still a lot of contradiction within Buddhism and its different forms of practice. Human beings are too greedy to satisfy their own needs and we end up destroying each other. If you believe in Buddhism and you believe in your heart and pray, this helps villagers to protect their mountain, and the forests, water, etc. One morning as we walked down to the temple, we choose to go through the vineyards rather than on the road. As we walked, I noticed and at the time remembered how wonderful the morning light in the vineyards and the walnut trees in Bu was; just as the morning sun comes over the mountain it makes everything sparkle. As we were walking, Ani Dom



touched on these ideas of Buddhism and ecology, saying that the government pest program with the zapper lamps we observed at the time and other techniques kills all the insects, not just the pests, so it is bad for the ecosystem's health and biodiversity.

For Ani Dom, local knowledge is better and more important than laws and policies for protecting the environment. He notes that at least the Chinese president Xi Jinping has expressed an interest against Sinicizing minorities and instead supporting their culture and beliefs. Ani Dom believes nature is the state that exists without the actions and interference of human activities. This is his idea, not something he learned from NGOs or workshops. His understanding of nature comes from experience rather than reading or studying. To be a real Buddhist must come from your heart and you must have compassion for nature and all living things. Buddhism is in one's heart. Each individual has a life and Buddhism is about protecting all of the life that exists on earth. Some local people resist his protectionism but he explains that everything is connected and things like pesticides do not just affect one thing but everything like the water and the rivers since all are connected.

In all of his work and campaigns, Ani Dom has lost some friends and dealt with religious struggle though despite the promotion of harmony he explains Buddhism promotes. Beginning in 2007, he became an active member of the Khawa Karpo Culture Association, which has recently become embroiled in a sort of Buddhist sectarian infighting, which has led him to mostly split off from the organization and begin his new seniors group. Of the four sects of Tibetan Buddhism, Ani Dom identifies with the red hat or Nyingmapa, while it is the Gelugpa or yellow hat sect, which is associated with the Dalai Lama and followed by a majority of Yunnan Tibetans. Ani Dom explains though that each sect should still believe in the Dalai Lama since he is a representative and reincarnation of god. Within Yunnan, Deqin in particular has become a bit of a hot bed within Gelugpa Tibetan Buddhist communities over the ongoing Shugden controversy involving a Tibetan deity, which some are worshiping as above as or higher than the Dalai Lama. The Chinese government has in some ways become involved in this, apparently encouraging this worship to create rifts and separatism within China from the Dalai "clique." I have chatted with many in Deqin including Ani Dom who are becoming frustrated by this conflict. In some areas, entire villages have moved towards primarily worshipping the deity Shugden, with others then saying these communities are no longer real Buddhists. According to

Ani Dom, the leader and founder of the Khawa Karpo Culture Association, of which he used to be a very active member, is in fact a supporter of Shugden against the Dalai Lama. Thus, Ani's move away from this organization, while Li Weihong remains an active member with Ani Dom claiming she is a Shugden "supporter." This controversy sadly seems to be causing serious rifts between conservationists and cultural practitioners in Deqin who in reality actually have much in common in their work and indeed used to work happily together.

In one of our later conversations and visits to the temple Ani Dom told me how he wishes to travel to the mountains more frequently with his troop of patrols so that hunters will know they are there and will eventually give up. He recently just received a grant from the national NGO Shan Shui to support this work. They could use cameras to catch the poachers but he would like to try to work to educate them rather than criminalize them. He feels that humans are too greedy to be self-satisfied. This is important to understand. Most people do not even have the ability to follow their own beliefs and their actions disagree with them. This is why most officials take bribes, while in public they try to look clean and to serve the people. This is not healthy. According to Ani Dom, the government does not actually care about the health and biodiversity of Khawa Karpo. They do not give money to biodiversity or the village because this is not a moneymaker. The tourism investment company managing the national park makes so much money but gives nothing to the environment or the people here. Near the end of this conversation, Ani Dom proceeded to draw a diagram of the earth on an incense cairn next to the temple with charcoal, explaining to me about how the five elements of the world work and how humans have disrupted their cycle, perhaps eventually destroying ourselves. These elements cycle in the earth around the sun but we are destroying this process. As we walked back to the village from the temple he then stopped to talk about the young juniper trees and explained that if your judgement is right your soul will be eternal. The tree is just a tree, if you mistake it for something else your judgment is wrong and your life is out of balance.

While the majority of Ani Dom's work in recent days has centered on mountain patrols to catch poachers and remove snare traps, his overall concern for ecological health, motivated by Buddhist ethics still leads him to campaign very hard against agrochemical use for viticulture in Bu Village and elsewhere. Indeed, he has actively worked in the past with the Hong Kong Partnership for Community Development, much to Wang's dismay, to organize special training

sessions on organic methods for grape vine care and pest management. To their credit, the NGO who has also worked with Li Weihong described below, in their work with Ani have done much research and brought experts familiar with organic methods used in Bordeaux to teach to villagers. Though Ani Dom's general feel is reverence for all life, whether it is animals, trees, or non-sentient elements like the river, he regular portends that the pollution that comes from viticulture makes the god of Khawa Karpo very unhappy. Indeed evidence he points to for this involves the retreat of Minyong Glacier, the largest glacier on Khawa Karpo, directly across the Mekong River from Bu Village. While the glacier has been retreating for over 80 years per photo documentation (Baker and Moseley 2007; Salick and Moseley 2012), the rate of retreat continues to increase, which for Ani certainly points to the gods being harmed by both pollution and a lack of devotion. Indeed Salick and Moseley (ibid) point to similar response among Buddhist monks residing in a temple at the foot of Minyong Glacier who feel that its retreat must be in response to a lack of devotion to the mountain on their part or more rather that of local villagers. Much more on this theoretically in connection to local cosmologies, juxtaposed with modernity at Khawa Karpo after my discussion of Li Weihong's work.



Figure 34. Ani Dom discussing the sacred juniper trees next to his temple

### **Li Weihong, Care for the Land, and Ecological Entrepreneurialism**

Li Weihong's work with organic viticulture, community organizing, and NGOs is different from that of Ani Dom in that while also motivated by Buddhist thought and care for the local environments around Khawa Karpo, she has also used this work for financial benefit, thus my use of the term ecological entrepreneurialism here to describe her. She has actively worked with two of the same NGOs as Ani Dom, the Hong Kong Partnership for Community Development, and the Khawa Karpo Culture Association, which in the past has often collaborated with participatory ethnographic filmmakers of the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences. One retired professor involved with this second group has continued to support Li Weihong's documentary filmmaking through equipment loans and technical assistance as well, even though his actual participatory film projects with local villagers ended many years ago,

partially due to government crackdowns on the project, due to the perception that the project empowered locals too much.<sup>31</sup>

According to Weihong, like elsewhere in Deqin, in the early 2000's the government came and introduced grapes to her village Gushui, encouraging villagers to grow them to sell to the Shangri-La Wine Company which they then began doing in 2005. At that time, they also introduced the use of many chemical fertilizers and pesticides to use with the grapes. Over time, she began to notice that the health of the local environment was degrading and getting bad and that the walnut trees around the vineyards looked especially sick. As a Buddhist with a particular fondness and connection with the god and landscape of Khawa Karpo, she was concerned about the health of the landscape. She then wrote a letter to the Khawa Karpo Culture Association and the Kunming professor working with them, describing these worries. Hearing about this and the problems with pesticides, an American professor from Kunming then came to teach her and others about using sprays made from cigarette and grass ash as organic forms of pest control, along with using various forms of manure, including human as fertilizers. She also connected with the Hong Kong Partnership for Community Development who sent a viticulture expert from the Philippines who came and trained her in some organic methods developed in Bordeaux using natural chemical sprays. This was the same training program which Ani Dom helped organize in Bu Village.

After the American professor visited Gushui and taught Weihong about organics, she then tried to pass this knowledge on to other village members and nearby villages, encouraging them to follow. Today 12 of 20 households in Gushui are all organic including hers while others still use some chemicals. She has worked with other villages though who have expressed great interest in other parts of Deqin. In the beginning when the government began the grape programs, her family still grew a lot of barley while the government said to grow all grapes. She wanted to keep some pure barley fields but her mother said no and eventually after a long time she gave up fighting with her about it. Her fields are now all vineyards but she keeps greater spacing between them than the company recommends, growing grains as she still worries she will not have enough money to buy rice and barley at times. In Gushui like elsewhere in Deqin

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<sup>31</sup> This is the same group discussed in Chapter 4 who also worked with Hong Xing and Wu Gongdi in the early 2000s to help them film and produce a documentary about their winemaking (Liu 2002).

(per my asking), most families have less yaks and cows than previously since grapes have been planted, but she still has 15 yaks, much more than most families because her husband likes animals she jokingly explained. She agreed with him to keep more animals since they also provide organic fertilizer. As Weihong explained to me regarding these types of “traditional” agricultural practices during our first conversation: “I like living in past times with things being less modern, including not using chemicals. Using old horses, living in old style Tibetan homes, etc.”

Weihong’s work with organics and community organizing has won her much recognition on both national and provincial levels by the government. In 2013, she traveled to Beijing to receive a national level environmental award from the Chinese government and The Nature Conservancy, an event that garnered her much attention from provincial media. The award included both a trophy, certificate, and 50,000 RMB. She explained to me at our first meeting that in the past her parents and her husband both used to make fun of her as she was getting less money from grapes than others families with all of her organic experimentation. However since the government sent her to Beijing and gave her a large sum of money, they now support her work more. Weihong also explained that like her father before her who actually introduced mushroom cultivation to Gushui and happened to kill a cow while conducting some sort of agricultural experiment, she very much enjoys experimenting and trying new things; she often tries out new pesticides she creates with local plants and developed her own winemaking through experimentation. She first began trying to make wine in 2008 and then had the practice refined by 2011. In the first year selling wine in 2012, she only made 1000 RMB, then 7-8,000 RMB in 2013, and 14-16,000 RMB in 2014. Many foreigners and Chinese have also come to buy her wine, including Americans and Canadians. In reality, her wine is actually very sour, like that of some households in Cizhong less adept than Wu Gongdi’s at winemaking. I did note at the time when tasting her wine that it was above average compared to other household wines I had tasted. When I also shared a sample she gave to take with me with Wu Gongdi, he had a very interesting and noteworthy comment, noting since Weihong’s reputation was for organics, that the wine indeed tasted “pure” to him.

Weihong’s other primary project has involved documentary filmmaking about her village life and in particular viticulture and winemaking. In 2011 as part of a participatory documentary

film program (described above and in Chapter 4, see note 31), some Chinese professors from the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, came and taught her how to use video cameras and basic film editing skills. At that time she explained how she wanted to make a film about grapes and planting and caring for them, but the now retired professor running the program said it would be very difficult to film and explain this whole process and suggested she instead film her village's Tibetan New Year festival. She then filmed both, and the next year when the professor returned and watched both films he said the one about grapes and village life was better and she's now traveled all over China to screen it in many places, including at top universities in Beijing and various film festivals. She now spends about 90 days per year out of the village for various engagements showing her film and organic promotions and experiments. When she leaves she also worries that her neighbors start using chemicals, which really bothers her because she wants to produce pure wine and grapes, but apparently many villagers don't care as much and still use more chemicals when she's not around.

During another conversation while working together in her vineyards one day, Weihong explained to me that her parents who have since passed way always taught her to be kind to everyone and everything and that you don't need to contribute to the country or society but you need to be a kind person. When the Khampa (Eastern Tibet) TV station came to interview her about getting the award in Beijing, she said she didn't really share the news with anyone else except for her parents when she took the trophy to their graves to so show them; they were the only ones important to share this news with. Weihong also believes that these days more and more people are concerned about the importance of organics so she has a bigger and bigger name and reputation around Deqin. Indeed this same day while working and walking around her vineyard I observed overall how her vineyards and the surrounding ecosystem look much healthier than elsewhere in Deqin. There were more birds, more greenery, and indeed more weeds, but her vineyards look more natural and less controlled than other places where agrochemicals are used.

In addition to her "benevolent" activities towards the environment, Weihong is indeed quite motivated by the profit potential of her various activities and the desire among more people for things that are organic and centered around minority Tibetan culture. On several occasions, usually at night chatting in her home or while working in her vineyards during the day, she often



suggested to me that she has plans to make a lot of money making more documentary films, with various TV stations suggesting to her that if they like her films they will buy them for good prices. In similar context, as a foreign academic who she perceived as having a lot of influence and *guanxi* or “social connections,” Weihong would often suggest to me that we should partner together to produce a film, involving both my research and her own work, and they we could make a lot of money to share together.



Figure 35. Li Weihong discussing her vineyards

### **Understanding Reactions to Viticulture and Pollution in the Context of Modernity and Khawa Karpo Cosmology and Buddhism**

As I suggest above, certainly Ani Dom and to a lesser extent Li Weihong’s work promoting ecologically friendly agendas with viticulture connect with their beliefs about the animate local landscape surrounding Khawa Karpo. This is based both upon the mountain’s renown throughout the Tibetan world, and the local cosmologies that Tibetans in Deqin themselves follow with respect to the mountain and its deities. The Tibetan belief system is based on hybrid religion of Buddhism and animistic Bön, which itself is a combination of shamanistic and spirit worship beliefs. In Bön, natural features contain spirits of gods and



guardians, whom practitioners propitiate to maintain natural harmony. In the Bön belief system, there are various geomantic points and locations in the Tibetan landscape such as mountain passes, lakes, etc. that are important to maintaining balance (Baumer 2002). In these geomantic locations, and in other areas within the Tibetan landscape which are considered sacred or the home of spirits, prayer flags, *mani* stones, etc. all contribute to the propitiation of natural landscapes and the spirits within them (Baumer 2002; Shen et al. 2012; Xu et al. 2005).

Within Tibetan areas, because people believe spirits inhabit the natural landscape, places such as mountains, lakes, rivers, etc. are each named after the gods and spirits who inhabit them. Therefore it is the role of humans to ensure that these gods are kept happy and content through various processes of propitiation (Choezin 2003). Because Tibetan people believe gods inhabit a variety of natural features, sacred spaces are very prevalent within the Tibetan landscape. Local protection of these sacred places and spaces has provided much conservation of biodiversity in the region around Khawa Karpo, in fact a global biodiversity hotspot (Salick and Moseley 2012). These various Tibetan sacred sites and landscapes are multi-scalar, and can include things as small as single trees or stones to items as large as entire mountains ranges. Being multi-scalar, sites can be imbued with spiritual significance from the family/household level up to the national/religious level (Shen et al. 2012), with Khawa Karpo being one of the 8 most sacred peaks/mountain ranges across the entire Tibetan cultural region and across all of Tibetan Buddhism (Guo 2000; Salick and Moseley 2012).

Engagement with the spirit world through natural landscapes also extends beyond national religious beliefs, and often includes local ideals and mythologies about landscapes, as well as a sense of place created by local landscape features and natural resources. In looking at this topic more closely, Lin (2009) worked in a mixed Tibetan, Nu, and Lisu ethnic community on the Salween River side of the Khawa Karpo range, directly over the mountains from Cizhong, to explore how water and rivers played a role in the community's sense of place. Many of Lin's interview results indicate that local people place great importance in the landscape of the region, not only because it is sacred to all Tibetans but also to them as individuals living there. This importance was primarily demonstrated through local myths and legends that were told to Lin by villagers, which discussed the importance and cosmology, (both religious and folks stories) that people in the region used to describe various rivers, lakes, streams, etc. The first of these stories

excerpted below actually addresses the history of Cizhong, making it very useful and relevant in understanding local sense of place in the region also expressed by Ani Dom:

There was a man from Congni that could perform miracles. One day he took a flower's child princess from her home in the hill above Baihanluo over the mountains to Cizhong to sell her. In Cizhong, the man met another sorcerer who bought the princess. When the man returned home, he found that the princess was also back home. The sorcerer from Cizhong came to find the man because the princess had disappeared. The two sorcerers fought an epic battle. The man from Congni took a rope used for carrying baskets, whipped a log and turned it into a snake. His opponent wrote scripture on a piece of paper, which floated into the air. The snake ate the paper, showing superior magical strength, which caused the Cizhong man to surrender. But, before he was defeated, the Cizhong sorcerer buried a sacred book at a flat spot in the earth and cursed it causing a massive landslide that buried the village of Congni. This is the reason there is water there now. (Lin 2009: 19)

There is a lake a day and a half's walk from Dimaluo (Catholic village directly over the mountains from Cizhong) that is very pure. It is called Nalashika in the Nu language. This lake is so large that it takes half a day to walk around it. If a person speaks loudly when near the lake, or dares to throw rocks into it, it will immediately start pouring rain (ibid: 21).

Dimaluo used to be a dense forest, a virgin forest with huge old growth trees. People would come from far, far away to hunt because there were many different kinds of wild animals that lived here. The hot spring down the road from Qimatang attracted antelope who like to drink the warm water. Hunters knew this and would wait there for the antelope. One year while on a hunting trip to the Dimaluo valley, the Nu hunters scattered highland barley seeds. When they came back the next year they saw that the plants had matured. This place was decided to be a good place to live and so they moved here to live. Many people moved here, cut down trees to build houses and changed the land. The land was impacted so much that the hot spring is no longer hot and antelope do not come to drink its water. (ibid: 23)

Lin (ibid) illuminates in her documentation of these stories that sense of place with respect to local landscapes is important and Tibetan people develop mythologies to describe their local environments. As shown in the last story, livelihood and natural resource use is very important concerning a sense of place as seen with hunting and planting barley. This is relevant given that today in Deqin local people have very much come to represent themselves through local natural and economic resources, including ideal land for viticulture that the landscape provides. However, for some, such as Ani Dom and Li Weihong, using the land for pure economic benefit without providing reverence and respect to the mountain is problematic.

Khawa Karpo is a god and a deeply important landscape for Buddhist practice and ritual, and reaping economic benefit from it at the god's expense though modern practices including chemically intensive viticulture and hunting do not pay proper homage or respect to the local mythologies that have developed over generations among local villagers.

Having looked primarily at the animistic mythologies of nature in Tibetan culture, two areas where Buddhism makes its strongest contributions to Tibetan views of nature and sacred spaces are in pilgrimage and views on reincarnation and enlightenment. A major focus of Buddhism is on obtaining enlightenment through meditation and other actions towards ending pain and suffering along with the ridding of worldly possessions. Pilgrimage to sacred sites and places has greatly contributed to the pursuit of enlightenment (Huber 1999b; Ramble 1999). Tibetans whether they are religious leaders or laypeople believe that they can gain significant merit towards enlightenment and also remove mistakes or sins in life by going on pilgrimages to sacred sites, with Khawa Karpo being one of the most important such natural sites after Mount Kailas in western Tibet (Guo 2000; Huber 1999b; Salick and Moseley 2012). One gains the most merit by circumnavigating such mountains over several days in a process called *kora*, a practice that reaches its peak in the autumn of each year when thousands of pilgrims come to the region to hike around Khawa Karpo and visit various sacred sites during the trip. In this case sacred sites that are significant to all Tibetans versus those that are just important locally, also prevalent in the region (Salick et al. 2007).

According to Huber (1999b), pilgrimage among Tibetans is a way of creating visionary landscapes, in the sense that through the act of hundreds and thousands of pilgrims visiting certain sites such as Khawa Karpo, these sites become further formulated in the collective minds of the Tibetan people as a specific type of landscape with particular significance. Discussing pilgrimage and movement among Tibetans, Ramble (1999) makes the case though that certainly pilgrimage is very important among Tibetans, but that some scholars actually tend to overemphasize pilgrimage in the formation of sacred spaces. This is suggested because while many Tibetans do take part in pilgrimage, there is much movement among Tibetans as traditionally nomadic people that would not be considered pilgrimage, and that there are thousands of sacred sites across Tibet that have not been inherently formed through pilgrimage.

However, these sites are indeed sacred and people visit them frequently, though not necessarily with the sole intent of doing so as a pilgrimage.

Buddhism's second major contribution to Tibetan views towards nature involves the ideal that humans are intrinsically part of nature, and that all sentient beings should be revered and respected. This belief comes primarily from Tibetan and Buddhist views towards reincarnation and the idea that any animal, whether it be as small or seemingly useless as a worm, could in fact be a reincarnation of one's own relative, and should therefore be protected and revered. This has been highly conducive to wildlife conservation across the Tibetan region, where villagers live side by side with a number of animals and opt not to disturb them but to protect them ("Wild China" 2008; Xu et al. 2005). Certainly not all Tibetans are vegetarians, but the ideal of reverence and protection, especially for wild animals is strong among Tibetans due to their Buddhist ideals.

In Tibetan cosmology, mountains are the most important sacred objects in the natural world. The 22,000 foot tall Khawa Karpo, is one of two types of sacred mountains in Tibetan beliefs. It is a *néri*, or pan-Tibetan sacred mountain important for pilgrimage and revered throughout the Tibetan cultural region, versus a *shidak*, which is a locally sacred mountain not associated with pilgrimage (Coggins and Hutchinson 2006; Huber 1999a). In greater Tibet there are a total of eight highly sacred *néri* of which Khawa Karpo is one, and arguably the second most revered after Mount Kailas (Coggins and Hutchinson 2006; Guo 2000). Thousands of pilgrims circumnavigate the mountain range every year and every twelve years tens of thousands visit in pilgrimage during the auspicious Tibetan year of the sheep. The earliest record of Khawa Karpo as a sacred mountain and deity appeared about 700 years ago, when Buddhism established itself in the region. However, while written records only extend back this far, it is assumed that the mountain was venerated by Bön practitioners in the region long before Buddhism arrived (Coggins and Hutchinson 2006; Salick and Moseley 2012).

The name Khawa Karpo actually refers to the range's highest peak and the god who lives there, which has made it the most commonly utilized Tibetan name for the mountain range. The actual name for the range in Tibetan is Menri, which translates as medicine mountains, reflecting the rich diversity that the habitats of the region provide in terms of traditional Tibetan medicine plants and other resources (D. M. Anderson et al. 2005; Salick and Moseley 2012). The most

commonly used colloquial name for the mountain range, the Chinese name Meili Xueshan, or Meili Snow Mountain is a transliteration of the Tibetan Menri, originally made by the People's Liberation Army while mapping the region during the 1950's. However this name has lost the original meaning of medicine to simply mean beautiful snow mountain (Coggins and Hutchinson 2006; Salick and Moseley 2012). The second most important and magnificent peak in the range after Khawa Karpo is Miancimu, a goddess and female consort of Khawa Karpo. These two are surrounded by a number of other named and important deities (Salick and Moseley 2012).

Sacred geography and landscapes around Khawa Karpo have been incredibly important for conserving a variety of habitats, landscape features, and old growth forests (D. M. Anderson et al. 2005; Salick et al. 2007). Historically, a traditional and monastic/religious management system existed among villagers in the region, in which people divided the mountain into two sections above and below 4,000 meters in elevation. This system was abolished by the Chinese government in the 1950's but since the 1980's has begun to be re-instituted among local villagers such as Ani Dom as well as conservation practitioners interested in local knowledge and practices. Areas below 4,000 meters make up the mundane human world, though this area is still full of sacred sites and spaces, which people protect and conserve for religious and cultural purposes, with some sites being significant at the village and household level while others are pan-Tibetan sacred spaces. Ani Dom's sacred juniper grove in Bu is an example of one such lower elevation pan-Tibetan site, recognized beyond the region for its importance. Above approximately 4,000 meters, one crosses the *ri-gua*, which means the "door of the mountain." This marks the boundary between the human world and the divine world of the mountains gods, who live at higher elevations and where humans must give up everything so as not to upset the spirits who dwell in these high elevations. If someone does commit a transgression against the gods above the *ri-gua* such as hunting, fishing, cutting trees, etc. it is expected that the gods will exact revenge due to humans breaking their contractual relationships. In these relationships, the gods and Khawa Karpo serve as patrons and guardians to the local villagers of the region (Coggins and Hutchinson 2006; Huber 1999b; Litzinger 2004).

There are different examples of perceived failing to appease the gods by locals, both lay people and monastic practitioners. One such situation was the attempt by Chinese and Japanese to summit the mountain in 1991. A second situation where a perceived failing in devotion to the

gods has been perceived is in the effects of climate change, becoming noticeable in the region through glacier retreat. Khawa Karpo's largest glacier, Minyong has retreated heavily over the past 80-100 years as documented through photo replication of the works of early western explorers in the region. Villagers and monks who see the glacier as a sacred site with temples placed at its base have observed this retreat. Because the glacier has continued to shrink, monks who worship at the Minyong temple have begun to express concern that either they aren't praying enough to appease the gods or that local villagers are failing in their devotion (Moseley 2011; Salick and Moseley 2012). Indeed, in Ani Dom's view, this shrinking of the glacier may be in direct response to agrochemical pollution associated with viticulture and the majority of villagers in the region more recently seeing the mountain and local landscape as an economic resource rather than a sacred site.

These feelings and relationship between locals and Khawa Karpo and its glaciers reflect observations elsewhere in the Himalaya and around the world, where local practice, cosmology, and worship is intimately tied to glaciers as animate speaking objects. Often, such relationships with glaciers reflect more than just responses to things like climate change as it is perceived by western science (Cruikshank 2010; Drew 2012). For Cruikshank (*ibid*), much of what is explored are a variety of oral histories and stories surrounding glaciers in the Yukon region of Canada, where glaciers themselves truly are actors and speakers in the changes that occur in the landscape. Some, especially coming from a western science background would attribute such changes including glaciers receding to climate change, while others suggest there is more local cosmology at play. Cruikshank asks if glaciers listen, for Ani Dom and others such as the monks residing at the foot of Minyong glacier, assertions are made more rather that the glacier is speaking and locals are not responding.

Understanding how Ani Dom and Weihong view their relationship with Khawa Karpo and its landscape, and their desires for better appeasing the mountain though more sound and sustainable practices can be framed well using what Anthropologist Giovanni Da Col (2007; 2012) has called "economies of fortune" in Deqin. Perhaps the only other foreign anthropologist to carry out long-term fieldwork in Deqin County, Da Col has framed his work around a sense of fortune, hospitality, and spirit mediated vitality among local people. This provides an interesting sphere of analysis in that it integrates traditional Tibetan views about the local landscape

regarding merit and fate and addresses how these things have begun to interplay with modern economies such as viticulture. While Da Col (ibid) though suggests that many villagers' economic activities still mediate their relationships with Khawa Karpo and the local spirit world today, I argue that in fact individuals such as Ani Dom and Li Weihong are unusual in maintaining such beliefs. Most villagers I have interacted with have accepted the economic prosperity and gains that come with modernity and viticulture with less attention given to cosmology and spirit worship.

Many of my regular interlocutors including Hong Xing and Adong from Meilishi village in Chapter 6, could really seem to care less about the Khawa Karpo's spirit world and protecting it. Ani Dom's own family, daughter, and wife in particular would be ecstatic if he quit being a conservationist. In their minds, these activities do nothing more than to alienate him from the rest of the village and waste the family's money. When he was a famous hunter, everyone loved him, now most in the community hate him. Weihong's family similarly see some profit in her activities, especially the documentary film making and the cash awards she has won for this, but many households in her community also see no real benefit in spending more time devoting themselves to organic viticulture when then can simply spray pesticides and spread chemical fertilizers much more easily. To be organic takes more effort, which most people are not willing to spend. Hong Xing and Wu Gongdi similarly promote their organic viticulture for its marketing benefits, but not because they necessarily care about the environment per se. I have seen Hong Xing and most host father in Meilishi, Adong engage in a number of perceivable environmentally destructive activities from excessive littering to cutting down forest trees simply to reach the wild fruit at the top. I have seen many trees cut down, and never once has anyone given this activity a second thought.

According to Da Col though, like the Tibetan pilgrims who visit Khawa Karpo to gain merit, seek forgiveness for sins, and move towards reaching their own enlightenment, most villagers in the region are constantly working to mediate their relationship with the local landscape to obtain good fortune. Acts such as cutting trees, even when necessary for the safety of protecting one's own home are still seen as being negative for one's merit because they may interfere in humans' relationships with their patron gods in the mountain (Da Col 2012). Much of the fortune and merit building and obtaining that Da Col describes is based on what he calls

“cosmoeconomics,” a practice of managing fortune and luck while simultaneously appeasing the spirit world around Khawa Karpo (ibid: 75-76). Villagers share this vital energy with spirits and the landscape of Khawa Karpo, and believe incorrect actions can easily push it out of balance. In this case, Da Col introduces the issue of modern market economies, and the ways in which maintaining a balance between traditional beliefs about fortune and modern economic prosperity can create conflicts. Da Col describes how when villagers come across a location rich in *matsutake* mushrooms, they are at first happy and ecstatic that their fortune and vital energy must be in a good place to have made such a discovery. However in such situations, what has recently occurred is that while one’s fortune in terms of the modern economy appears to be good, quite the opposite can happen; for instance finding a large amount of mushrooms all at once is often an indicator that their value and price on the market is about to drop. Therefore in the economies of fortune and merit, luck is not always as beneficial as it might appear on the surface, and this is something that villagers are consistently leery towards (Da Col 2007). Ani Dom is particular exhibits this type of reverence and cautiousness in his relationships with the local landscape. Li Weihong also cares deeply for her village spirit landscape and the mountain, though if she can mediate this relationship properly through organics and sustainable methods, expanding her economic profits and gains is not a mutually exclusive act.

Connecting Ani Dom and Li Weihong’s actions with those of other villagers, returning to Chapter 6, for villagers in Adong and Meilishi, caterpillar fungus creates an inherent “economy of fortune” Da Col (ibid; 2012), wherein villagers feel endowed with certain riches by the environment around them. To most, unlike Ani Dom and Li Weihong, concerns over trespassing the sacredness of the local environment in order to benefit from this fortune is mostly non-existent in the modern economy. Being a resident of a community with access rights and tenure to this landscape gives people the right to do so. Today, quality of life and standard of living in Deqin are heavily driven by economic success, especially in producing grapes as stated to me by several villagers when I asked if growing grapes and/or making wine is part of being a Deqin Tibetan today. This goes hand in hand with collecting and marketing items like caterpillar fungus and *matsutake* mushrooms, that like wine, are highly desired not by local Tibetan themselves but rather by Chinese consumer classes, or in the case of *matsutake* consumers in Japan. The economic success of Deqin’s people is as such largely a product of global capitalism



and national and transnational commodity chains. In addition, major agricultural shifts have occurred in which villagers abandon crops traditionally grown for subsistence and for religious and cultural practices, such as wheat and barley, in exchange for cash crops that are more lucrative. What is clear and prevalent throughout Deqin is that engagement with outside markets through agriculture and forest products is redefining local perceptions of and connections to the Khawa Karpo landscape. Taking up viticulture and collecting caterpillar fungus and *matsutake* are some ways that most of the region's villagers have "indigenized modernity" (Sahlins 1999; Turner, Bonnin, and Michaud 2015) as suggested at the beginning of this chapter and elsewhere in this dissertation. Ani Dom and Li Weihong's practices however remain the exceptions to these changes, attempting to maintain balance in luck and fortune with Khawa Karpo and its spirit world.

## CONCLUSION

This dissertation has analyzed two divergent modes of wine production and *terroir*, state-backed corporate and local, projects in identity and place making in China's Shangri-La. In doing so, I have argued that the effectiveness through which the deployment of *terroir* as a project in branding linked to identity and place making, is largely dependent upon the conditions and methods of its use with relation to history, global capitalism and other factors including production methods. Demonstrating this argument in the previous chapters, I have shown how across a variety of perceptions, ideals, and experiences, wine and viticulture and in turn the modernity and project of *terroir* that have come with them, have worked to re-configure perceptions of self, landscape, and community among Tibetan villagers and other actors in Shangri-La. However, only in some cases, in particular in Catholic Cizhong village, has the development of *terroir* as a project truly worked to formulate an identity for local people linked to wine. Elsewhere, in particular, with the Shangri-La brand wine and French Moët-Hennessy, state and corporate actors use imagery of local Tibetan villages, Tibetan culture, and the region's magnificent landscape in attempting projects of *terroir* and winemaking. However these cultural and place based elements are only reflected in branding and not in the methods of production nor by the winemakers or farmers themselves.

Projects in winemaking and *terroir* have led to major changes in livelihood patterns and modes of economic production across the region in response to the Chinese consumption and seeking of Tibet, along with the need for more wine production to satisfy the desires of the nation's elite and growing middle class. While in many situations, local individual agency is lost in this process of landscape change and economic "development" at the hands of the state and corporate interests, in other cases among local villagers and actors it is an important factor in the production and development of Shangri-La as a wine region and landscape of vineyards. In Cizhong, many households have explicitly moved to dictate themselves what a landscape of vineyards and winemaking should look like, building upon the history of French and Swiss missionaries and particular methods of production "inherited" from them. In doing so, villagers have created an image of themselves and their community reflective of an ideal of *terroir* to give wines produced in Cizhong a "taste of place" based upon both locale, history, and productive methods. This has been carried out contrarily compared to other parts of Diqing, where

landscape transformation related to wine production has been part of a larger process of state craft, incorporation, and “shangrilalization” (Coggins and Yeh 2014). In both Cizhong and the larger wine landscapes across larger Shangri-La though, relevant actors have drawn upon the supposed history of French wine in the region to promote today’s developments. As my archival work reveals, it was in fact the Swiss missionaries in later years who engaged in viticulture and winemaking at a significant scale. Before this research, this belief in a history of these practices remained more a local mythology rather than fact, with very little evidence of or literature on the practice among the Catholics. Local lore attributes these practices much more to the French who preceded the Swiss.

By deploying the idea of *terroir* and winemaking as projects in place making and identity formation together with the semiotics of drinks as a form of “embodied material culture” (Manning 2012), I have illustrated the ways that village winemakers, the state, corporate interests, and small entrepreneurial winemakers all seek to capitalize on the niche market of embodying Tibetan culture and the landscape of Shangri-La. In Cizhong, villagers like Wu Gongdi and Hong Xing draw upon their identity as both Tibetans and Catholics living within the context of Shangri-La, to give their wine and landscape of ‘Rose Honey’ vineyards a unique identity. Moving without the bounds of the state’s larger process of “Shangrilalization,” Cizhong people say that wine and wine landscapes in Cizhong are authentic and unique in ways that others in the larger region are not. The traits they point out to illustrate this ideal of Cizhong wine having a unique *terroir* like identity include history, grape varieties, and methods of production, an important aspect used to describe and extend *terroir* as a cultural ideal in recent social science studies (Besky 2014; Demossier 2011). Elsewhere, actors including the state/Shangri-La Winery, Moet, Sonny’s Shangrila Beer, and villager cooperatives in Weixi all utilize the imagery of Shangri-La’s landscapes and various aspects of Tibetan culture to create their own *terroirs* within the larger context of Shangri-La. Many of these *terroirs*, in particular those of Shangri-La Winery and Moet-Hennessy do not in fact though truly adhere to my own definition and conceptualizations of this term, which intimately links together both geography and cultural elements, including methods of production (Besky 2014; Demossier 2011). State and corporate wineries in Shangri-La claim to be creating a unique *terroir* for their wines based upon the picturesque landscape, local qualities such as soils, and Tibetan culture and production

by local Tibetan farmers. However outside of Cizhong, local farmers themselves do nothing more than grow grapes and sell them to the wineries. Their role as Tibetan people in creating a *terroir* for these wines is actually non-existent even though they are connected with them through marketing and imagery.

There also remains a sort of contiguous transnational loop, rooted in history, with particular ties between Shangri-La and France and Switzerland that emerges in almost all of the wine and beer producing projects and ventures in Shangri-La today. Based on work by Sahlins (1994) and Mintz (1986), I suggest using history as a starting point, that intoxicants and simulants like wine and tea worked to set up historical interactions in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands and elsewhere in the “traditional” global east between different actors, and that these same connections are being re-made today in new modes of global capitalism. This concept of a repeating circuit is significant for drawing our attention to the ways in which transnational flows of commodities, stimulants and intoxicants in particular, have shaped livelihoods and identities historically and continue to do so today. Many populations like the Tibetans of today’s Shangri-La are unknowingly part of far older and significant transnational connections as they produce their own contemporary livelihoods and identities. In the tradition of tea before them, in Shangri-La and the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, wine and beer today work as “boundary objects” (Star and Griesemer 1989; Star 2010), linking the Sino-Tibetan borderlands with both China and the west, much in the same way that Hathaway (2014a; 2014b) suggests *matsutake* as commodity has created new transnational links in the region. However, the links built by wine are re-workings of older connections rather than new forms of connection as with *matsutake*. *Matsutake* is not privy to the historical connections and conversations that wine evokes and enlivens.

Shangri-La brand wine and the local state have worked to “develop” the village agricultural landscape in the region to both raise farmers out poverty, but perhaps more importantly as a way of bringing them into the fold of the larger trans-nationalized Shangri-La landscape and region. These activities have temporalized the wine produced with French history, more accurately Swiss as my work demonstrates. However even if this fact is known, most choose to make the history French because among Chinese wine consumers this is the known commodity (Mustacich 2015; Ross and Roach 2013). Tibetan culture and the potential

fulfillment that it provides in escape from an increasingly polluted China is also becoming a major draw, which both local village Tibetans themselves and urban transnational Tibetans with local connections like Sonny Gyalzur of Shangrila Beer are quick to respond to in the production of their products. In all of these though, there is a sort of local aspect melded with larger global perspectives and histories. Craft beer is a global and predominantly western trend for instance, and Shangrila Beer markets itself as China's first officially licensed craft brewery, with Tibetan ingredients and characteristics.

In Chapter 6, we witnessed while on the surface the entrance of transnational corporate interests into Shangri-La's wine landscape with Moet appear positive, there have been drawbacks to these changes. To be sure, Adong villagers are all happy with the deal they have received for their land and much prefer it to what existed prior, selling their grapes to Shangri-La Winery. However, the introduction of capitalist labor and a "plantation" form of economy has disrupted customary household and community activity in a way not yet fully realized after only a few years. Caterpillar fungus collection as a community activity and the management of the land on which this other luxurious or conspicuous "Tibetan" resource occurs, remains a contrast over being a paid laborer in Moet's vineyards on village land. As illustrated ethnographically, caterpillar fungus collection remains as a community wide annual pilgrimage and shared family activity.

These new drinks and the landscapes that are appearing with them are also changing drinking as a practice itself among local Tibetans. Even before the large-scale arrival of wine, the "traditional" barley beer *chang*, had already it seems been slowly replaced by hard liquors inspired by the Chinese. Today, especially in Cizhong and Bu Villages, locally produced grape wine is now slowly making its way into festivals and daily consumption. While butter tea remains that dominant drink of hospitality, for Cizhong Tibetans in particular this is changing fast with every household producing grape wine. With the arrival of Shangrila Beer, Sonny is perpetuating and expanding the traditional hospitality of *chang* across China and beyond. This is bringing both the idea and a physical part of Shangri-La through ingredients such as water and local highland barley to the pallets of those who would like a chance to experience the region and its culture by embodying it through drink (Manning 2012). I consider this to be a powerful

move in terms of agency by the likes of Sonny and Wu Gongdi in the strategic deployment of the *terroir* of Shangri-La as a physical place (Demossier 2011).

Returning to my metaphor from the introduction, despite these agentive and strategic deployments of *terroir* and their role in the perpetuation of local actors in the continued crafting of the Shangri-La landscape, everything is not all wine and roses in the state's use of viticulture in making rural villagers contributing citizens of Shangri-La. As Ani Dom and Li Weihong remind us in Chapter 8, there is perhaps more at stake in the development of viticulture and wine in Shangri-La in terms of long-term sustainability and the sacred landscape surrounding Khawa Karpo. The culture, traditions, biodiversity and environment surrounding this mountain are extensive, and in some cases even unprecedented as a cluster of articulating indigenous spiritual ecology (Coggins and Hutchinson 2006; Salick and Moseley 2012). However, these traditions only remain important to a few individuals like Ani Dom who perpetuate them. As he points out, the long-term viability of this sacred place and these traditions, seem to have taken a back burner to the economic gains that have come with viticulture and its landscape transformations. Li Weihong however has demonstrated that environmental and cultural preservation of the landscape does not need to be mutually exclusive from making viticulture a viable form of economic production. Through educating herself and organizing local communities as an ecological entrepreneur, she demonstrates that growing grapes can indeed be a "green industry" and simultaneously productive economically.

In closing, I would like to return to three conceptualizations suggested early on framing the landscape of wine in Shangri-La and Diqing. The strategic deployment of *terroir* as a project in identity and place making, assemblage, and hybrid forms of capitalism in contemporary China. As Paxson (2010) notes, *terroir* itself could be described as a picturesque assemblage of human and non-human factors in production. In Shangri-La, these factors include histories and a sort of placiality, melded together with a variety of factors and individual ideals among the variety of wine producers and the state in furtherance of creating a working "assemblage of coordinations across a dynamic history" (Tsing 2015b). However, only in Cizhong are the human practices of production truly individualized and "artisan" in form among households, an important component in my contextualizations of *terroir*. Elsewhere the winemaking itself tends to be more commercial and standardized. Shangri-La's many wine and beer makers also rely

and call upon the history and temporality of the region's landscapes in order to recraft them in the image of these drinks as commodities for market. The histories called upon are built upon a variety of transnational connections with Europe that are being re-envisioned today to craft a specific image of wine, linking Shangri-La and the larger Sino-Tibetan borderlands with the rest of China and the outside world. In doing so, some maintain a strict adherence to state organized markets and capitalism or "socialism with Chinese characteristics" while others have branched out from these state visions of Shangri-La as a wine landscape using their own individual imagery, ideals, and entrepreneurial spirit (Osburg 2013a). Outside of state interventions, and even working to re-configure them in response to their potential environmental and economic consequences, winemakers and grape growers in Shangri-La have all used these new conceptions of landscape and commodity production as a way of adapting to and "indigenizing the modernity" that wine has brought. People are recrafting this modernity in their own image. Despite their pitfalls, we should not ignore the agentive power that wine and viticulture have brought to Shangri-La as development tools, nor the immense changes in patterns of livelihood production and cultural identity.

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