

**The Heritage of Viticulture in Anatolia: Connecting
Cappadocia and Mardin through a Cultural Route of the Vine**

by

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The Heritage of Viticulture in Anatolia: Connecting Cappadocia and Mardin through a Cultural Route of the Vine

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Viticulture has played a fundamental role in the development of civilizations throughout history. All aspects and levels of society, including religious, economic, trade and educational systems have been affected by the production, distribution and consumption of wine. Throughout history, wine has been a key component of many regional cultures and has also connected geographic regions across great distances, encouraging interaction and engagement among different societies. In Anatolia in particular, a region well-established as a crossroads of many different civilizations, winemaking has become synonymous with identity and belonging.

This thesis first examines the scholarly literature which concentrates on the history of viticulture in general and in Anatolia. It then provides an overview of the relevant international and national organizations that are working to promote and preserve wine heritage at individual sites in the world and through the creation of cultural routes which connect wine producing regions. Using the two case studies of Cappadocia and Mardin, regions where traditional winemaking practices have been and continue to be threatened, this thesis examines how the cultivation of vines and the production of wine in Anatolia has been shaped by political and social events in these two regions. Finally this thesis will propose a wine route to selected sites and landscapes in Turkey as a way to develop a cultural route dedicated to the promotion and preservation of the heritage of viticulture and wine production in Turkey

Keywords: Intangible Heritage, Landscapes, Contested Landscapes and Heritage, Cultural Routes, Viticulture History, Viticulture Routes, Mardin, Cappadocia, Sustainable Tourism, Wine Heritage, History of Wine, Sustainable Tourism.

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Anadolu'da Bağcılık Mirası: Kapadokya ve Mardin'i Şarap Kültürüyle Bağlamak

JOAN MACDONALD

Bağcılık tarih boyunca birçok medeniyetin gelişiminde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Toplum, her açıdan ve düzeyden, din, ekonomi, ticari ve eğitim sistemleri de dahil olmak üzere şarap üretiminden, dağıtımından ve tüketiminden etkilenmiştir. Tarih boyunca şarap, birçok bölgesel kültürün önemli bir bileşeni olmakla birlikte, aralarında büyük mesafeler olan coğrafi bölgelerin birbirleriyle bağlantı kurmasını, farklı toplumlar arasında etkileşim ve katılımı teşvik etmiştir. Özellikle birçok farklı medeniyetin kavşak noktası olan Anadolu'da, şarap üretimi kimlik ve aidiyet kavramları ile özdeşleşmiştir.

Bu tez öncelikle genel olarak bağcılık ve Anadolu bağcılık tarihi üzerine yoğunlaşan bilimsel literatürü incelemektedir. Daha sonra dünyadan, hususi alanlarda, amacı şarap mirasını desteklemek ve korumak ile şarap üreten bölgeler arasında bağlantı sağlayan kültürel rotalar yaratmak olan uluslararası ve ulusal organizasyonların çalışmalarını inceler. Geleneksel bağcılık uygulamaları daha önceden tehdit edilmiş ve bu durumun hala sürdüğü Kapadokya ve Mardin bölgeleri vaka çalışması olarak kullanılarak, bu tez iki bölgede yapılan bağ ekiminin ve Anadolu'da şarap üretiminin siyasi ve sosyal olaylar ile nasıl şekillendiğini incelemektedir. Son olarak bu tez, Türkiye'den seçilen bölgeler ve peyzajlardan oluşan, Türkiye şarap üretiminin teşviki ve bağcılık kültürü korumasını destekleyen bir kültür rotası önermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Somut Olmayan Miras, Peyzaj, Tartışmalı Peyzaj ve Miras, Kültürel Rotalar, Bağcılık Tarihi, Bağcılık Rotaları, Mardin, Kapadokya, Sürdürülebilir Turizm, Şarap Mirası, Şarap Tarihi Sürdürülebilir Turizm.

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Chapter 1

Methodology, Introduction and Literature Review

This thesis approaches the topic of viticulture heritage from the newly developing discipline of cultural routes. The argument presented for a route of wine in Turkey is grounded in the research of scholars in a variety of disciplines whose work supports the argument for a cultural wine route in Turkey.

The author also conducted extensive field research involving primary research of the two case studies presented in Cappadocia and Mardin, Turkey, in addition to a relevant vineyard in Bhamdoun, Lebanon. Field research during these investigations consisted of interviews, in Turkish and English, conducted with home and factory wine producers, tourism professionals, local residents, artisanal craftsmen and university students and professors. Interviews with professionals working in international heritage organizations in Croatia and Hungary were also conducted with the help of translators.

The author attended the Association for Culture and Tourism Exchange's workshop on sustainable tourism, held in Chisinau, Moldova in March 2012. The symposium organized and hosted by Koç University at its Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, entitled, *Of Vines & Wines: the Production and Consumption of Wine in Anatolian Civilizations Through the Ages* (December 2011), was greatly beneficial to the author, and served as the basis for historical research of the regions of the case studies. The presentation of the papers given at the Koç University Symposium are to be published by Peeter's Publishers, in their Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series. The forthcoming papers are the result of research by the participating scholars, and represent the contemporary

study of Anatolian heritage by scholars in a variety of disciplines, and will therefore be referenced throughout this thesis (Thys-Şenocak).

The author also attended a conference at Istanbul Technical University (April 2012) on cultural routes in Turkey, as well as a speech given at the French Research Institute (April 2012) regarding preservation efforts of cultural heritage in Cappadocia by Demet Binan of Mimar Sinan University.

The chapters presented each serve to frame the heritage of viticulture in Turkey, and as such, this thesis seeks to be the basis for a document that can be used to create a dialogue with organizations in Turkey and abroad that are working to develop modes of cultural exchange via the establishment of cultural routes.

Introduction

Viticulture refers to the cultivation of the vine or vine-growing and viniculture is the term used for the cultivation of grapes specifically for wine production (Oxford English Dictionary). This thesis will use the wider and more commonly known term viticulture to encompass vine and grape-growing for the purpose of winemaking. The words Turkey and Anatolia will be used interchangeably to describe the region that today encompasses the country of Turkey, including the European territories.

Viticulture has played a fundamental role in the development of civilizations throughout history. The activities that are part of the preparation of wine require the knowhow, diligence, technology and resources of a highly specialized and capable society. Humans have produced wine throughout history by utilizing and adapting to their surroundings as well as developing technology

that lends itself to viticulture. Society therefore needs to reach a certain stage of development to engage in viticultural activities (Faroghi 3).

The cultivation of the vine in many places throughout Europe can be traced to the earliest settlements of those civilizations. All aspects and levels of society, including religious, economic, trade and educational systems have been affected by the production, distribution and consumption of wine. Throughout history, wine has been a key component of many regional cultures and has also connected geographic regions across great distances, encouraging interaction and engagement among different societies.

Just as winemaking has played a key role in the development of civilizations throughout history, winemaking today holds the same potential and promise of regional and international development and linkages through cultural wine routes. The routes of the vine have followed the routes of people (Pigeat), and as winemaking communities have migrated, been expelled from a region, or become victims of war or suppression, the cultivation of wine within these communities has been similarly affected.

Larger international and national frameworks are constructing the modes within which heritage can be preserved, and in recent decades, the notion of intangible heritage in the form of cultural landscapes, contested landscapes and most recently cultural routes has been increasingly visible within these heritage organizations (Fowler).

The most recent framework for promoting intangible heritage is the development of cultural routes, which are defined as a single route or combination of routes following a historical, cultural or natural theme. Cultural routes have

become a useful framework for shaping and developing heritage that connects different sites or landscapes with related heritages.

A result of the growing attention to intangible heritage is that viticulture has found its way within the growing scope of intangible heritage being recognized by international organizations. UNESCO has been at the forefront of the developments of intangible heritage. UNESCO has used the notion of cultural landscapes to encompass viticulture sites which exemplify a significant interaction between man and the land.

Keeping this developing venue for intangible heritage in mind, this thesis will begin with a literature review containing an examination of the research that has been done by the scholars and archaeologists whose work has shaped scholarly thought on Anatolian viticulture (Chapter 1) and the way in which international and national organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental, are working to preserve viticulture heritage (Chapter 2).

This thesis draws from the work of scholars to present two case studies that exemplify winemaking in Cappadocia (Chapter 3) and Mardin/Tur 'Abdin (Chapter 4). The historical foundation is important to document in order to place these sites within contemporary heritage frameworks, particularly those established for cultural routes.

The case studies presented here are of Cappadocian wine from central Anatolia and Süryani winemaking in the province of Mardin, which have been chosen in part for their geographic locations. The two regions have the potential to be linked geographically and culturally to Europe through already-recognized cultural routes, and to connect European routes to the viticulture regions in the

Caucasus. Turkey can be the physical link which connects these sites and forms a larger cultural route of wine. Forming this connection between Europe and the Caucasus is significant to viticulture heritage given the great attention given to the eastern Turkey and the Transcaucasian region as the recognized origin of grape domestication for winemaking (“Genetic Heritage of the Origins of Wine and Grapes in Anatolia”).

The winemaking communities examined in the two case studies of Cappadocia and Mardin have also been chosen because they represent a tradition of viticulture within fragile minority communities in contested landscapes. The external conflicts that have shaped these communities have similarly affected their winemaking practices and continue to be so affected today, thus making the argument for their preservation ever more pressing (“Cultural Heritage of Conflicted Regions and Contested Landscapes”).

This thesis seeks to promote the role of Turkey within the greater scope of European wine routes by examining Turkey’s legacy and important contribution to the heritage of viticulture. Turkey has a unique set of factors which give its contemporary wine culture and industry enormous potential but this is combined with a specific set of challenges. Such challenges have caused winemaking in Turkey to ebb and flow in relation to sociopolitical and religious considerations.

The construction of a cultural route of the vine will improve our understanding of viticultural heritage in Turkey by emphasizing this country’s cultural traditions and past and also addressing the challenges which have threatened these traditions and their sustainability. The recognition of cultural wine routes has become a pragmatic and useful means of connecting and

encouraging the various regions where there are outstanding examples of viticultural heritage throughout Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas. Just as winemaking has played a key role in the development of civilizations throughout history, winemaking today holds the same potential and promise to foster regional and international development and linkages, as well as create cross-cultural dialogue through the recognition and promotion of cultural wine routes.

Literature Review: State of the Field of Viticulture Studies

Viticulture heritage is placed at the crux of several bodies of work that can be brought together to support an argument for a viticultural heritage and cultural route of wine. The literature review divides these works into four sections.

First, a brief overview is given of the general studies and references to wine as it is relevant to the formation of society. This section will include ancient textual references that point to wine's longstanding significance to mankind in the greater region of Anatolia.

Second, this chapter will give an overview of the work of historians, archaeologists, linguists and geneticists, who, in their various fields, have either found evidence of ancient practice of winemaking in Turkey, or provided scientific data that can be used to shape an ancient cultural route of wine in Turkey. Third, an overview of the historical chronology of winemaking beginning in the Byzantine Empire will be given to create an argument for the continuity of winemaking in Turkey up until the present.

The chapter concludes with a literature review of the work done by international governmental and nongovernmental bodies focusing on heritage preservation. This thesis is meant to present Anatolian viticulture heritage in the

form of a cultural wine route, as well as note the contested nature of the regions examined in the case studies. The work being done by governmental and nongovernmental heritage bodies is important to the argument being constructed in this thesis for a cultural wine route in Turkey. The second chapter of this thesis is entirely devoted to examining these organizations in greater detail.

General and Regional Wine History

Wine as a Social and Cultural Unit of Change throughout History

In the last half century, many social and cultural anthropologists, as well as historians, have written general histories of wine, including its origins and the influence of wine on cultural, economic and societal structures throughout history (Unwin, Haymes).

Tim Unwin's *Wine and the Vine* (1996) is a socio-economic and cultural history of wine, which examines viticulture through the lens of social structures which have shaped and been shaped by winemaking practices. The book traces the general world history of winemaking, starting from the origins of viticulture and viniculture, as well as, prehistoric symbolism associated with wine and winemaking (58-91).

The work of social anthropologists like Tim Unwin is relevant to this thesis as it has contributed to the argument for a cultural landscape that includes wine. UNESCO defined and offered protection to cultural landscapes at its 16th session in 1992, as “combined works of nature and humankind, they express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment” (History and Terminology”). Throughout history, winemaking has been

developed in regions where the topography and climate allows for the growth of grapes. In these places, a relationship has developed between the land and the people who inhabit the area (Unwin 14-27). Additionally, the sociological approach to wine as a product of human and societal development supports the creation of a wine route that is a product of human societal development and change as occurs in contested landscapes.

Historians have interpreted ancient texts that refer to viticulture to form an argument for the ancient importance of wine as well as evidence to understand the earliest winemaking practices.¹ These ancient texts point to a history of ancient wine-production in the greater region of the cradle of civilization that in part forms an ideological basis for the cultural heritage and cultural route of the vine that this thesis seeks to promote.

Ancient Archaeological, Linguistic and Historic Contributions to Anatolian Viticulture Heritage

In Anatolia, viticulture and particularly the origin of grape domestication has received great recognition from academic circles in recent decades. With the advent of technological developments in recent decades, geneticists, biomolecular archaeologists and botanists have gotten closer to pinpointing some of the earliest origins of grape domestication and winemaking. The study of plant genetics to

¹ The Epic of Gilgamesh, which took place southeast of Anatolia, in modern day Iraq, during the twenty fifth century BCE, is one of the earliest references to the production of wine (or possibly beer) that historians have interpreted. In his search for the tree that imparts eternal life, Gilgamesh enters the domain of the sun and walks around for a full day before encountering a great vineyard belonging to the maid/goddess Siduri. The Story of Noah planting a vineyard in the Book of Genesis points to an early domestication of grape-growing in the region of Mount Ararat in northeastern Turkey. The Assyrian King Ashurnasirpal II claimed that “mountain wine” was the best wine, coming from the mountains and hilly landscapes above Nineveh in the 9th century BCE (Hyams 38).

examine the DNA composition of ancient wine residue and the winemaking grape *vitis vinifera* has been a significant contribution to the study of the origin and spread of winemaking.

Of particular note is the research of Patrick McGovern and Ronald Gorny, who have both contributed significantly to research which establishes Anatolia as a region with some of the earliest evidence of winemaking. The work of Patrick E. McGovern has resulted in the overwhelming consensus in recent years that grape domestication originated in eastern Anatolia. His work as a botanist, archaeologist, geneticist and historian at the University of Pennsylvania has led him to conduct genetic testing on wine residues found in ancient vessels. For the past four decades, Dr. McGovern's work has tied wine and archaeology by chemically analyzing organic compounds found within ancient vessels.

In *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine* (1995), McGovern, S.J. Fleming and S. Katz argue for the origin of grape domestication in northeastern Turkey, between the upper Euphrates and Tigris rivers, in what is loosely defined as the Transcaucasian region. The earliest evidence of wine remnants, according to McGovern, has been found in clay jars from the site of Hajji Firuz in modern Iran dating to approximately 5,000 BCE. The earliest winepresses that have been found are from Crete dating to 3,000 BCE. However, it is in southeastern Turkey that the earliest evidence of grape domestication has been found, at the site of Nevalı Çori, with grape seed remains from 8,000 BCE (McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture*).

Relevant to the region of Cappadocia, the first case study of this thesis, Ronald Gorny has argued that central Anatolia was a cradle of winemaking during

the Hittite Kingdom's flourishing civilization in the 2nd millennium BCE in his articles, "Archaeological Evidence for Anatolian Viticulture" and "Viticulture in Ancient Anatolia."

Genetic Heritage of the Origins of Wine and Grapes in Anatolia

Geneticists and botanists have used genetic evidence to argue that, once established, winemaking practices spread from the through expansion, trade and migration routes from the Near East, throughout Anatolia to the Mediterranean, Western Europe and beyond.

Amphelography (the study of the genetic structure of grapes) is a growing scientific and academic technique that can be used to to analyze the routes that wine grapes have followed through Anatolia. This scientific analysis of grape varieties and their migratory patterns can be useful in creating and promotion of viticultural routes. Amphelography can provide an argument for the origin of grape domestication in northeastern Turkey and the Transcaucasian region, which gives new evidence for the development of wine routes in Anatolia, which can be used to gain recognition for these routes by contemporary international organizations.

According to McGovern, the recent identification of the origin of certain cereals and legumes such as emmer wheat, barley, pea, lentil and flax has been traced to the southeastern Turkey near Karacadağ approximately 10,000 years ago. These agricultural productions allowed for the Neolithic Revolution and the technology that would lead to grape domestication at the sites such as of Nevalı Cori in eastern Turkey circa 8,000 BCE (McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture* 29).

Dr. José Vouillamoz, a botanist working at the University of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, confirms McGovern’s research by identifying the Transcaucasian region as the center of origin of grape domestication. Vouillamoz argues that the *vitis vinifera vinifera*² was first domesticated during the Neolithic period in eastern Anatolia, between the upper Tigris and Euphrates rivers, in the wild original form of the *vitis vinifera* subsp. *silvestris* (Vouillamoz “Anatolia – Cradle of Wine?”).

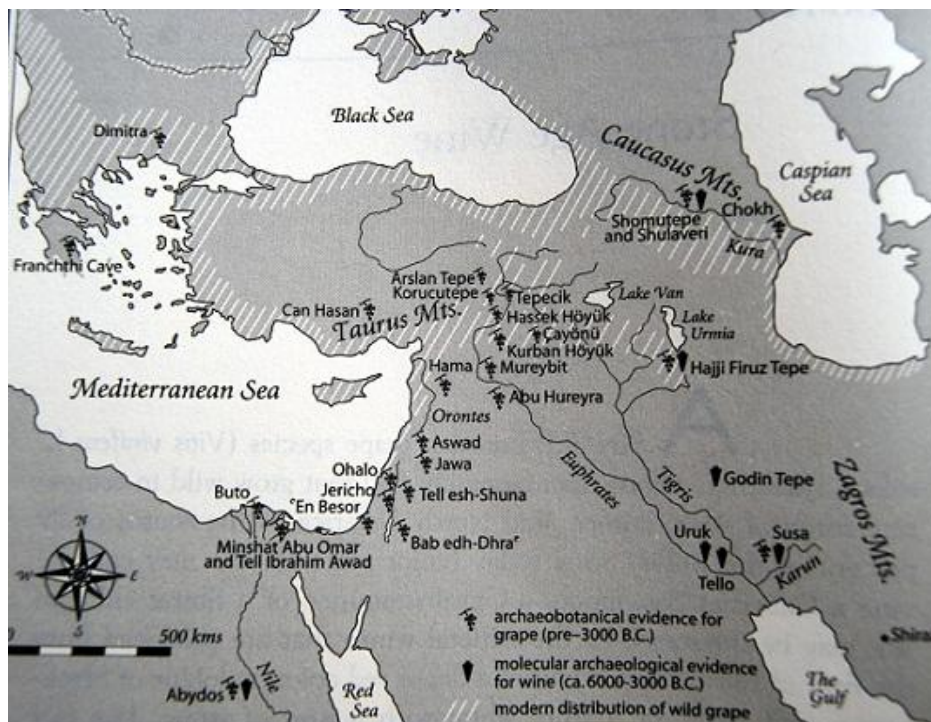


Figure 1 Map of Sites with archaeobotanical evidence of the grape and wine, courtesy of Patrick McGovern.

In his work, “Grapevine Throughout the History of Anatolia,” Gokhan Söylemezoğlu uses information gathered from molecular studies, based on DNA analysis (specifically the use of Random Amplified Polymorphic DNA, Amplified

² The *vitis vinifera vinifera* has produced the 8,000-10,000 cultivars that exist today and 99.9% of the wines in the world can be genetically attributed to it, The majority of the *vitis vinifera* subsp. *silvestris* is a wild grape with a dioecious make-up – one part male and one part female - while the cultivated *vitis vinifera vinifera* is largely hermaphroditic, with one part for both, allowing it to pollinate itself Vouillamoz, “Anatolia – Cradle of Wine?”

Fragment Length Polymorphism and Simple Sequence Repeats studies) to argue for the origin of the wild as well as the cultivated grapevine in Anatolia. Söylemezoğlu cites the discovery of shrines, seeds, wine cups and reliefs that have provided corroboratory evidence to this end.

McGovern, Vouillamoz and Söylemezoğlu have studied the genetic structure of contemporary wild grape varieties from Western Europe and Georgia and Armenia and compared them to the cultivated grape varieties from Europe. According to their study, wild grapes from Turkey and cultivated grapes from Georgia and Armenia are the closest to the modern cultivars, pointing to Turkey as the center for the domestication of the original wild grape (McGovern et al., “Genetic Characterization and Relationships of Traditional Grape Cultivars from Transcaucasia and Anatolia” 93-115).

McGovern and Vouillamoz argue that Transcaucasia, located loosely in region of modern Turkey, was the primary location for the domestication of viticulture, and that the domestication of the vine spread from Anatolia to secondary centers of domestication in Egypt, the Near East and across the

Mediterranean to Greece, Italy, southern France and Spain.

Primary and secondary domestication centres

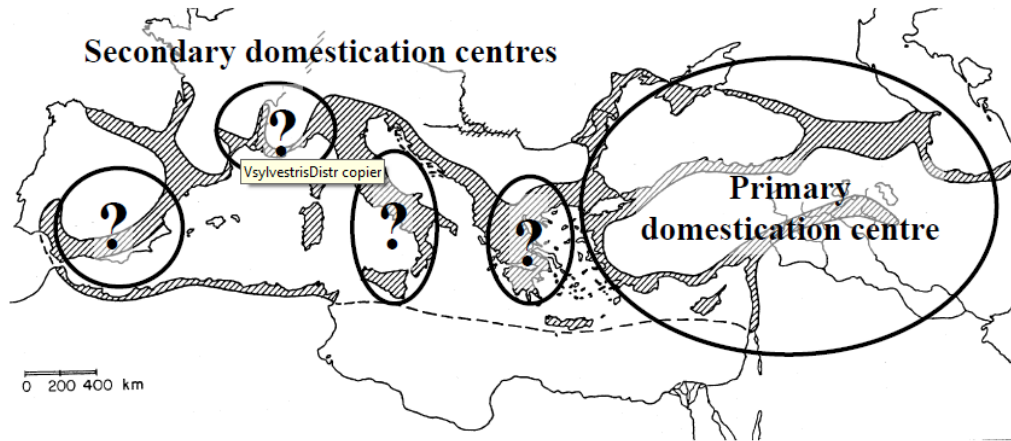


Figure 2 Primary and Secondary Domestication Centers. José Vouillamoz. "Anatolia – Cradle of Wine?" Discover the Routes: Inaugural Wines of Turkey Conference & Tasting. Vinopolis, London. February 24th, 2011. Accessed 31 May. 2012.

McGovern's, Söylemezoğlu's, Vouillamoz's and other scholar's work have focused on particular grape varieties in Turkey. The works of these scholars is particularly important to the topic of this thesis because it can be used to argue for the genetic heritage of wine-producing grapes that were domesticated in ancient Anatolia and spread over time.

International heritage associations and organizations are using different approaches to work towards establishing viticulture heritage throughout Europe. The International Organization of Vine and Wine (OIV) and the Assemblée des régions Européennes du Viticulture (AREV) are both expanding their research of viticulture to include genetic heritage as a form of preservation. Through their work in genetics, these organizations are increasing the regions that are covered in their research of grape genetics. Further work on the genetics of the grape by

these organizations will be very important for Turkey as a means of establishing Turkey within a cultural wine route.

Proto-Indo-European (PIE) Language Project and Origins and Diaspora of Viticulture

Linguistic evidence outlined in a ‘genealogical tree’ of Indo-European languages by Gray and Atkinson (2003), called the proto-Indo-European Language (PIE) project, points to the extinct language of ancient Anatolia, Hittite, as being the origin of many daughter languages (435-439).

The PIE project has particular significance for the development of a cultural wine route that originates from within Turkey. When brought together, the PIE project and the results derived from works such as Batuik’s on the migratory movements of the ETC (“The Early Bronze Age: Case of the Early Transcaucasian Culture”), support the argument for an ancient cultural route of wine which follows the route of human migration and the expansion of settlements.

The study of the ancient languages according to the PIE language analysis has been used to argue for a chronology of settlement patterns originating from the Hittite Kingdom (McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viticulture* Chapter 2). Wine was an important aspect of Hittite civilization. In his book, *Song, Music and Dance by Hittites: Grapes and Wine in Anatolia During the Hittite Period*, Sedat Alp has written about the importance of wine within the Hittite culture of song, dance and music. Therefore, evidence from the PIE project that Hittite was the base of all Indo European languages points to a

correlation between the simultaneous spread of plant (including grape) domestication with language and civilization.

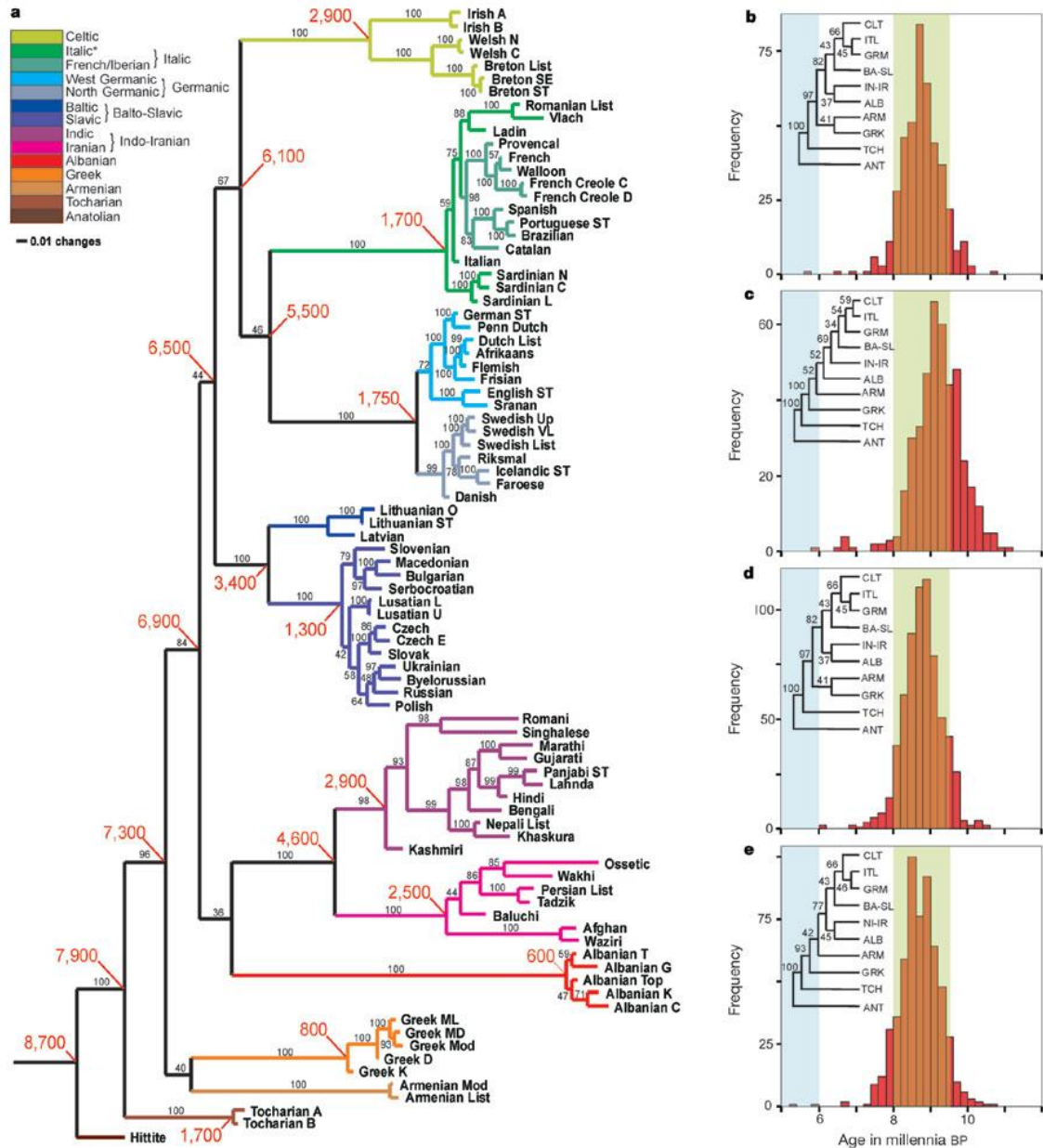


Figure 3 Proto-Indo-European Linguistic Chart (Gray & Atkinson (2003). 426)

McGovern and Vouillamoz, among others, have analyzed the PIE project by looking at the dissemination of words associated with winemaking in these cultures to argue for a spread of wine culture that can be correlated with linguistic evolution. For example, the word for wine in Hebrew *yayin*, in Arabic *wayn*, in

Greek *oinos* and in English wine, are all traced to the Hittite word *wiyana* (Vouillamoz, “Anatolia – Cradle of Wine?”).

Vouillamoz synthesizes the linguistic evidence of the Hittite language in the PIE project, with the grape genetic findings in southeastern Turkey and the biomolecular evidence of plants at the archaeological site of Çayönü to conclude that grape domestication occurred in the southeastern area of Anatolia in c. 8,000 BCE (Vouillamoz, “Anatolia – Cradle of Wine?”).

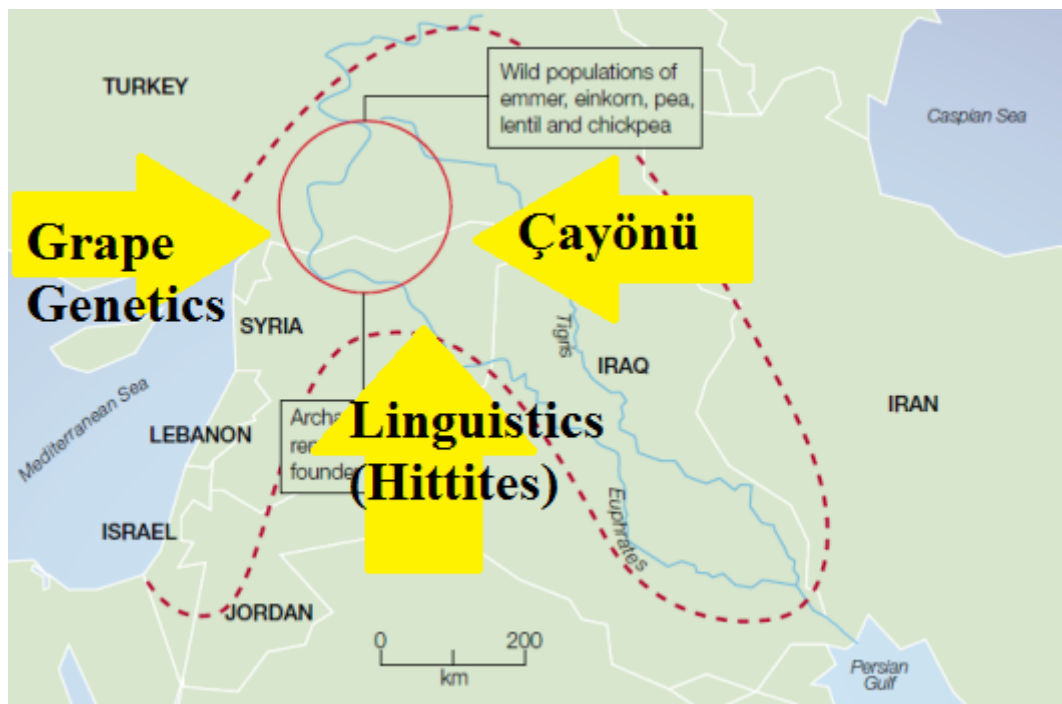


Figure 4 José Vouillamoz. “Anatolia – Cradle of Wine?” Discover the Routes: Inaugural Wines of Turkey Conference & Tasting. Vinopolis, London. February 24th, 2011.

Expansion of food production from domesticated plants (C¹⁴) from the Fertile Crescent (8000 BC)

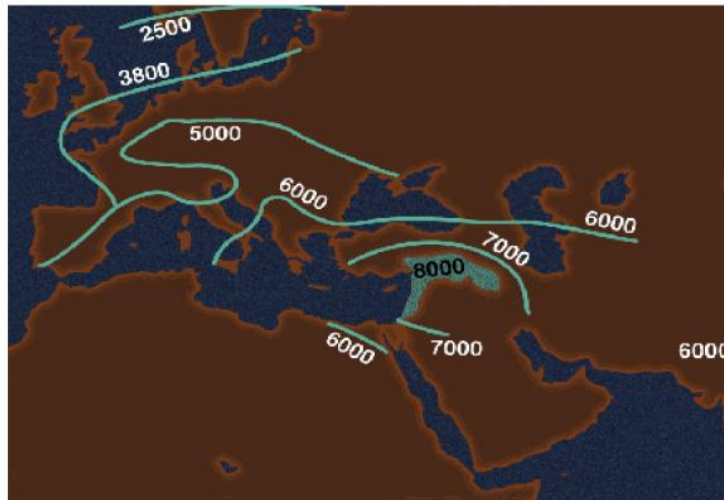


Figure 5 José Vouillamoz. "Anatolia – Cradle of Wine?" Discover the Routes: Inaugural Wines of Turkey Conference & Tasting. Vinopolis, London. February 24th, 2011. Accessed 31 May, 2012.

The collaborative work of scholars, whose linguistic, historic and archaeological research has contributed to the discussion of routes of wine, can be used to better formulate the routes that the vine has taken. The work of these scholars can be used to promote cultural wine routes based on academic research and data.

Archaeobotanical Evidence of the Cultivation of Viticulture in the Aegean

Archaeologists have used technological developments to study archaeobotanic evidence of grape domestication and wine production. They also use ethnographic research at different excavation sites in Anatolia to determine the areas where vines were cultivated and wine was produced.

Grapes have been found in excavations in the Aegean from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic eras and onward (Margaritis 2011). In her 2006 work, "Beyond

Cereals: Crop Processing and *Vitis Vinifera* L. Ethnography, Experiment and Charred Grape Remains from Hellenistic Greece,” Evi Margaritis has gathered archaeobotanical data, conducted ethnographic studies and performed laboratory experiments to learn more about the cultivation and processing of prehistoric cereals and grapes throughout the Aegean during prehistoric and Hellenistic Greece. Margaritis has gathered information on the genetic sequencing of grapes at the site of Komboloi in Southern Macedonia (“Beyond Cereals” 784–805).

Margaritis’ work also points to the major economic value of winemaking in the Aegean. The evidence of large scale winemaking for market purposes by Margaritis and others points to winemaking as a specialized field of labor and commerce in the respective regions and periods throughout Anatolia.

In her forthcoming article, “Evidence of the Domestication and the Intensive Cultivation of the Vine in the Aegean,” to be published from the symposium held at Koç University in December 2011, Evi Margaritis argues that grapes were the earliest fruits to be domesticated in the Aegean region in the late 4th millennium BCE. She uses the case of the Pieria Mountains and the Hellenistic site of Komboloi, where a wine press and wine storage in living quarters were unearthed to argue this early date of wine production in the Aegean. Margaritis’ research is important to Anatolian viticulture heritage as her work takes place in the region that could be used as the foundation of an argument to link Turkey to European wine routes through Greece and the Balkans.

In the second case study of this thesis (Chapter 4), a rock-cut winemaking complex called Çelbira was recently unearthed and is being excavated by a team at the Mardin Archaeology Museum, led by its Director, Nihat Erdoğan. The

results of the excavations there will hopefully provide information regarding labor, trade and technology in the region of Tur ‘Abdin.

The evidence compiled by these historians, archaeologists and archaeobotanists forms the basis for our understanding of viticulture heritage along historical routes. Some of the scholars mentioned are actively framing their research in terms of cultural routes. Evi Margaritis discusses the cultural routes of the vine (as well as the olive) within an investigation of the olive and grape production for markets during the Classical Period. In particular, the compilation of this evidence in Greece can be used to build an argument for a route of the vine that ties the wine producing regions of contemporary Turkey into an internationally-recognized route, such as the Via Egnatia or Iter Vitis (Chapter 2).

Winemaking and Minority Communities in Anatolia

In his book, *Dionysus: A Social History of the Wine* (1965), Edward Hyams has written about the taxation and special custom fees placed on some of the earliest records of winemaking, as a recognition of wine as a higher value drink. In his book, Hyams documents the tax on homemade wine during the Assyrian Kingdom in the first millennium BC, as well as in Egypt and in many Babylonian taverns (Hyams 50-51).³

Throughout its long history, winemaking in Anatolia has come to be associated with specific socio-religious communities. Winemaking has been

³ Hyams interprets the name of the taverns as “wine shops” in the code of Hammurabi, however it is just as likely they were only related to beer. Hyams points out a distinction that occurs early on in the Assyrian period between the classes, where upper class social drinking was more loosely regulated, and the wine and taverns of the lower classes faced taxation as well as social stigma (Hyams 50-51).

inextricably tied to the identity and development of specific minority communities in Anatolia. The case studies presented in this thesis are examples of such minority communities, however there is a long history of this phenomena in Anatolia, that can be traced to the early Bronze Age.

The Early Bronze Age: the Case of the Early Transcaucasian Culture (ETC)

In his 1995 article, “Transcaucasia at the End of the Early Bronze Age,” Christopher Edens writes about the shift to Early Bronze Age Transcaucasian culture, and the resultant changes that took place from an autonomous rural life to an increased level of social hierarchy, the flowering of urbanism and trade networks within the region of Transcaucasia.

It is during the Early Bronze Age that a distinct nomadic culture, the Early Transcaucasian Culture (ETC) appears in the region of eastern Anatolia and spread throughout the Caucasus, northern Syria, the Levant and Iran (Batiuk 2011).

In a forthcoming paper entitled, “The Fruits of Migration,” to be published from the symposium held at Koç University in December 2011, Stephen Batiuk has conducted investigatory research of the migratory movements of the ETC. Batiuk’s work particularly focuses on the most recognizable remaining material evidence of the ETC; their uniquely made and decorated pottery. Batiuk has found that, although there was a high degree of interregional trade and transhumance agriculturalists working in the area, the ETC produced advanced specialization in pottery styles and developments in each region. The clearly

identifiable production of the ETC points to their resistance to assimilation among larger neighboring cultures.

Batiuk has found evidence of winemaking along the migratory routes of the ETC, and is arguing that the ETC used their skills to create a niche economy amidst the local subsistence economies during the 4th and 3rd millennia BCE in the form of winemaking and wine trade.

The ETC developed winemaking practices as a means to carve out an economic niche for themselves within the larger economy of the settled cultures they existed among. The research by Batiuk and other scholars is important to this thesis, as it exemplifies a minority community whose identity is tied to winemaking, which grew and existed along the path formed by their migratory movements.

The two winemaking communities examined in this thesis; the Süryani winemakers and the winemaking Greek communities of Cappadocia, have unique histories of migration and trade, and similarly, their winemaking has held a special economic and cultural niche that has provided them with economic staying power.

The Süryani winemaking tradition, the second case study examined in this thesis, has been greatly formed by the research of Mark Soileau of Artuklu University. In a forthcoming chapter of the volume to be published from the symposium held at Koç University in December 2011, Soileau has researched the history of Süryani winemaking in the Tur ‘Abdin region that is today found in the Mardin province of Turkey (Chapter 4). In the forthcoming volume of the “Of Vines & Wine” papers, Soileau’s article entitled, “A Vinicultural History of Tur’

Abdin,” presents a comprehensive history of the winemaking of the Süryani people in the region of Tur ‘Abdin. His work has included analysis of sources such as Andrew Palmer’s *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Tur ‘Abdin* (1990) as well as Palmer’s survey of the monasteries in Tur ‘Abdin, entitled, “Mor Gabriel: 1600 Year History of the Monastery at Qartmin (Mor Gabriyel),” from the book *Turabdin: Living Cultural Tradition*, by Hans Hollerweger.

Soileau has also studied the work of Mario Liverani, in particular his “Studies on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II,” in order to ascertain the wine production during his campaigns, which took place within the Tur ‘Abdin region. R. Landsberger and O.R. Gurney have, in their work, “Practical Vocabulary of Ashurnasirpal,” translated the cuneiform texts that indicate evidence of Neo-Assyrian wine production in the the region of Izalla, on the edge of Tur ‘Abdin and an important landmark for trading routes.

Nicola Laneri’s work, “Connecting Fragments: a Sensorial Approach to the Materialization of Religious Beliefs in Rural Mesopotamia at the Beginning of the Second Millenium BC,” has looked at material archaeological evidence of winemaking at the site of Hirbemerdon, north of Tur ‘Abdin. Further analysis of these texts and more concerning the Tur ‘Abdin region will be given in the case study in Chapter 4.

Continuity and the History of Winemaking in Turkey

Oinon Istory

The society “Oionon Istoró” (History of Wine) is a group of scholars dedicated to researching Greek wine history. The contributing scholars come from a variety of disciplines as well as time period specialties.

Evangelia Balta, a member of Oionon Istoró, has made significant contributions to the history of wine in Cappadocia and the role played in that history by its Greek inhabitants. Balta has extensively researched winemaking during the Byzantine period in Cappadocia and is currently researching the winepresses and winemaking in Cappadocia during the Ottoman Empire. In her article, “The Underground Rock-Cut Winepresses of Cappadocia,” she has drawn from texts such as Eadem’s “Les peintures murales de six églises du haut moyen âge en Cappadoce,” to analyze the Byzantine rock-cut Monasteries in Cappadocia, including a survey of the depiction of grapes in the paintings.

Until recently, there were very few studies of Ottoman documents concerning winemaking in Cappadocia. When Balta began her research in Cappadocia, there was a huge amount of unexplored archival material of Byzantine and Ottoman primary sources. She has unearthed a whole body of work regarding the Üzümlü Kilise, as well as begun a review of several years of Ottoman taxation documents regarding wine in the region.

Cappadocia’s rich multicultural history during the Ottoman Empire resulted in a large volume of work/ethnographic material of Greek economic and cultural activities, including winemaking. Balta’s forthcoming chapter, “From Ypolonion to Bolum: the Viticultural Transition in Cappadocia through the Ottoman Sources and the Oral Tradition” examines the wine presses of Ottoman Cappadocia. Balta has worked with the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS) to

record and translate the stories of some of the Greek population who returned to Greece from Cappadocia in the years following the Treaty of Lausanne.

Balta's work with CAMS has also resulted in the documentation of grape varieties known to have been stored in jars found in Cappadocia, specifically in the cities of present day Çamlica and Kaymaklı. Kaymaklı (Byzantine Anaku) is famous for its underground city complex, including an underground rock-cut winemaking system and pressing floors, as well as clay storage jars (Balta, "The Underground Rock-Cut Winepresses of Cappadocia").

The wine presses of Cappadocia are particularly significant because they represent a historical continuity of winemaking in Cappadocia from the Byzantine to Ottoman times. According to Balta, winemaking largely died out following the exodus of "Rum Cappadocians" who took this heritage to Greece following the Treaty of Lausanne and subsequent Population Exchange.

Balta's work combines the knowledge gained from the oral traditions with historical sources and the remaining evidence of winepresses to record the previously undocumented Greek winemaking tradition in Cappadocia during the later Ottoman period. Balta's work is important to this thesis as it forms the historical foundation of wine heritage in the first case study (Chapter 3). It is also particularly relevant as it focuses on a minority winemaking tradition that existed in the region of Cappadocia, which largely disappeared following the exodus of the Greeks living in Cappadocia.

In Chapter 3, a case study analysis will further draw upon Balta's research to historically place Cappadocia as an important wine center along a Turkish wine route.

Founding member of Oionon Istoru, Ilias Anagnostakis, has written extensively about Byzantine wine. In a series of books titled, “Byzantine Wine: The Vine and Wine in Byzantine Poetry and Hymnography,” he has studied poetic evidence of winemaking during Byzantium. He has also written about the “sweet wine” produced in the northwest Anatolian region of Bithynia during the Byzantine Empire.

In a forthcoming chapter of the volume to be published from the symposium held at Koç University in December 2011, entitled, “The Sweet Wine of Bithynia in the Byzantine Era,” Anagnostokais writes that Bithynia was one of the most famous regions for winemaking in Anatolia from Antiquity through the Byzantine era. According to Anagnostokais, sweet wine was preferred in Bithynia and throughout the Byzantine Empire, and was even recommended by physicians. Bithynia was not only the largest producing region of wine during Byzantium, but it was also particularly famous for its sweet wines. It is even thought that the special method of growing grapes to produce sweet wine was developed in the region of Bithynia. All of these factors combined put Bithynia at the center of wine production in Byzantium (Anagnostokais 2011).

Bithynian wines were named for the region they came from, making it easy to identify them from tax and trade documents. Anagnostakis’ work shows that wines were being tracked and categorized according to the region their grapes came from. Relatively standardized consumption patterns existed, with older wines from Nicaea consumed at imperial gatherings, while Kyzikos, Pylae, Nicaea and Nicomedia were the suppliers of wine to the palace and army in the capital Constantinople from the ninth through the twelfth centuries.

Anagnostakis deduces in his paper that, despite the change in names over time, and various periods of relative decline of wine culture in Bythnia, the techniques used for local winemaking in Bithynia have enjoyed continuity. Anagnostakis' argument for continuity in winemaking in Bithynia is important to the idea of Bithynia as a cultural landscape within Turkey, which man has interacted with throughout time. His work also represents the continuity of winemaking in Anatolia in the Byzantine Period.

The Ottoman Empire: Wine Culture and the Ottoman Wine Market

Winemaking enjoyed notable continuity during the Ottoman Empire and was even supported by the Ottoman Empire in Crimea. Oleksander Halenko has researched the taxation of wine as well as textual references to banqueting culture as it took place within the political life of the early Ottomans.

Despite a heavy tax being placed on wine during the Ottoman Empire, wine production and commerce continued and even flourished in parts of the Empire, in particular throughout the Aegean. The city of Limnos, according to Halenko, had one of the largest amounts of wine exports throughout the Ottoman Empire during the 17th century (Halenko 2004).

Halenko has found textual evidence that many sultans drank wine, and the evidence found tells an account of royal extravagance. In the early 14th century, Sultan Osman I paired drinking with hunting, while sultans in Bursa equated courtly life with drinking and amusing activities. There are numerous detailed descriptions of drinking paired with the idea of royalty, prosperity, joviality and celebrations, including a reference to a wine-server who even accompanied the

Sultan on state missions. Banqueting items, including wine were evidently part of a gift exchange. These and other banqueting elements were put in the grave of the Sultan, effectively sending him off into the afterlife in this spirit of joviality (Halenko 2011).

In his forthcoming paper to be published from the symposium held at Koç University in December of 2011, Halenko has written that, during the reigns of Beyazid, Murat I and Mehmet II, wine was common enough of a product being consumed that only wine being put on the market was called wine, whereas personal wine was referred to as juice. Popular chronicles at the end of the 15th century in Istanbul include many references to wine (Halenko 2011).

Aside from royal banqueting scenes and laymen, Halenko has researched wine culture in the Ottoman military, and found that, military occasions also called for heavy drinking during the Ottoman Empire. In portrayals of the oath of loyalty taken by soldiers to Sultan, the scene generally depicted includes an image of the sultan excited and accompanied by a grand feast of goblets. Halenko describes a battle where Murat I took an oath while giving a speech to his fellow warriors, where the military subjects took an oath of loyalty to King by sealing the two parties together through a sip of wine (Halenko 2011).

Halenko points out that while there was evidently a great culture of drinking among the sultans, the measure of tolerance of wine culture in civilians is difficult to establish.

The wine market of the Ottoman Empire from 1890-1925 was documented by French traveler and economist Girót. Edhem Eldem has reviewed Girót's records in researching an upcoming chapter to be published from the symposium

given at Koç University. Eldem has studied the Ottoman wine market in order to prepare his article, entitled, “A French View of the Ottoman-Turkish Wine Market, 1890-1925,” to assess the production and export of wine during these years in an effort to understand the value of different wines of the era.

Eldem has found that during the last 19th and early 20th centuries in the Ottoman Empire, wine was being produced in Thrace, Macedonia, Crete, Izmir and Bozcaada. Both red and white wines were being made, although in regions closer to cities, white wine was more likely to be being produced. Girót wrote with his French bias of wine connoisseurship that Ottoman wines were generally very strong, and had to be mixed in order to be drinkable.

Girót insists that there was no real local consumption at that time in the Ottoman Empire, and that when alcohol was consumed, it was done so for ceremonious occasions and not socially. In fact, Girót’s observations indicate that instead of preferring wine, like the Greeks and French did, the Ottoman Jews, Armenians and Turks preferred beer or, in the Ottoman Turks’ case, raki.

Dr. Eldem found that competition from other markets proved a big problem for the Ottoman wine market. Greek products, for example, were always cheaper. The beer market grew rapidly in the first quarter of the 20th century. Beer had not been a popular drink before the Crimean War, but by World War I, it was one of the most highly consumed beverages. Wine experienced a big rise in production and consumption in the 1910s, however, the Balkan Wars (1912-1914), which took place in many of the Ottoman vineyards, resulted in a severe demise in the production of wine in those years.

The relative abundance of information that survives regarding viticulture, the wine market and wine culture during the Ottoman Empire speaks not only to the subtle and not-so-subtle dynamics of trade and consumption that Islamic rule brought to wine culture in Anatolia, but also to the continuity of winemaking despite obstacles it faced.

Balta's work on Cappadocian wine culture and Eldem's study of Girót's records are important as they contribute to the research which has been done of winemaking and wine culture in Anatolia during the Ottoman Empire. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, continuity is an important criterion upon which international organizations assess wine heritage. The work of scholars like Eldem can be used to form an argument for the continuity of winemaking in the region that can help Turkey access international recognition and protection of viticulture heritage.

The Turkish Republic and Post-Ottoman Wine Production Sources

At the beginning of the 20th century, there was considerable wine production in Anatolia. World War I, the War of Independence and the Prohibition law in the United States, however, adversely affected wine production, especially in Thrace and the Aegean regions.

Inspired by the Prohibition era in the United States and backed by religious authorities, the newly formed government of the Turkish Republic instituted a monopoly on alcohol production in 1924 and until 1926 (Eldem 2011). In 1927, the private wine production was permitted in order to protect the continuity of wine production in the new Turkish Republic. The only restriction placed on

wine production was that it must be produced within certain pre-approved regions. In 1928, the government began supporting wine producers with technical tools and small scale financial support (Discover the Roots: Inaugural Wines of Turkey 7).



Figure 6 Poster representing the monopoly on alcoholic products imposed by the Turkish government in 1927. Courtesy of Wines of Turkey. Accessed 22 May. 2012.

In the early Republican era, winemaking held an important place in Ataturk's Orman Çiftliği in Ankara. Established in 1925 and donated to the State in 1937, winemaking and beer brewing have always taken place at the Orman Ciftliği. It is an example of patronage on the part of Ataturk, the father of the Turkish Republic, of the ancient tradition and culture of winemaking in Anatolia that continues to this day (Çelik).

The government monopoly allowed for the development of a small private wine production sector in addition to the government-run wineries. In 1946, twenty eight private and public wineries existed and were exploring different grape varieties in different regions of Turkey (Çelik).

By the 1950s, the Turkish government began planting French grape varieties, including Semillon, Clairette, Sylvaner, Gamay, Cinsaut, Pinot Noir and Cabernet Sauvignon in the regions of the Aegean and Thrace. However, the new intended regulations were not strictly upheld in the controlled wine regions, leading to a decrease in the quality of wine production in the late 1950s and 60s.

The private sector of wine production remained relatively small until the 1980s, when, with the growing Turkish economy, private production increased with deregulation of the market in conjunction with an opening up to global economies. The tourism sector also began to develop during the late 1980s, which led to significant growth in wine sales. It was this growth in the economy that was the impetus for private Turkish wineries to invest in modern technology to develop their product according to international standards (José Vouillamoz, “Discover the Roots: Inaugural Wines of Turkey Conference and Tasting 2011”).

The diverse and various scholars mentioned above who have focused their research on the study of wine in Anatolia have created a body of work that establishes Turkish wine as a topic to be furthered studied and brought into the discussion of the heritage of Anatolia.

International Heritage Organizations and Cultural Routes

International organizations have published legislative documents, reports and guidelines for the protection of heritage that are an important body of work that has been produced regarding viticulture heritage. These organizations have

developed the frameworks to promote winemaking as a means of development and cross-cultural understanding will be discussed at length in Chapter Two.

The study of viticulture heritage has looked at the published works on intangible heritage, cultural landscapes and cultural routes to understand the ways in which viticulture heritage can be protected. A body of legislative documents has been created by international heritage organizations which pertain to forms of intangible heritage that paved the way for wine heritage. The extensive documentation of the World Heritage List files forms the foundation of these documents. These documents and protective measures will be examined in more detail in Chapter Two.

The Australian government has been a forerunner in the promotion of its national intangible heritage, including environmental protection legislation (*Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999*) as well as well as the creation of a national register for sites or regions of cultural heritage importance (Lennon, *Natural and Cultural Heritage Theme Report*).

The legislation of protection for intangible heritage in places such as Australia has, in recent years, paved the way for the development of legislation related to Contested Landscapes and Cultural Routes. Elvan Cobb completed a Master's Thesis at University of Pennsylvania in 2010 on the topic of "Cultural Heritage in Conflict: World Heritage Cities of the Middle East." Included in his thesis was a case study analysis of the Turkish region of Mardin, the province within which the Tur 'Abdin region is located in.

Recent conferences and workshops on cultural routes are allowing for the exchange of ideas and support for cultural routes. The International Conference

on “Tourism, Roads and Cultural Itineraries: Meaning, Memory and Development” being held in June 2012 in Quebec, Canada is one of several examples of a recent conference bringing together academic and professional fields. The Association for Culture and Tourism Exchange (ACTE), which will be further examined in Chapter Two, has, since 2009, hosted an annual workshop for capacity training of professionals in the fields of tourism, development and the wine industry along with local government employees. The training workshops involve creating a platform for the exchange of skills, knowledge, data and strategies.

In addition to training workshops, ACTE provides the technological platform upon which these networks can be formed and connect year round. The association is currently undergoing the creation of a mapping project that connects viticulture sites and landscapes throughout Europe. Within this map, ACTE is forming three separate wine routes; a European Wine Route, a Serbian Wine Route and a Ukrainian Wine Route (“ACTE Origins”). This thesis reviews the ongoing work of ACTE in order to frame an argument for Turkey’s inclusion within the routes being developed.

Several books have been published recently relating to Cultural Routes. Caroline Finkel’s book, *The Evliya Çelebi Way*, written in conjunction with her Cultural Routes in Turkey organization (<http://culturerolesinturkey.com/c/>), examines the cultural route taken by the 17th century traveler. The Çorum Provincial Administration has recently published two books on cultural routes in Turkey, one on trekking routes (2010) and the other about gastronomic routes (2012).

Additionally, the theoretical approach to cultural heritage has addressed perspectives regarding preservation. For most of its history, the field of heritage has been based on the presumption that absolute preservation of the artifact or tradition in its original state is ideal. In recent years, however, the theoretical approach to preservation has included work by scholars such as David Lowenthal who stress the protean and malleable nature of heritage (Lowenthal 18-24). The recognition of heritage as an entity in flux, its present just as relevant as its past, has implications for the conservation proposals to be made, especially for intangible heritage. The case studies in this thesis represent fragile winemaking communities, and while this thesis seeks to promote them as a means of preserving their heritage, it must be acknowledged that this heritage as an ever-changing heritage and should be recognized as such by any proposal for its preservation.

The recently published works are being created in conjunction with contemporary field work in support of the creation of cultural routes. The international organizations which are creating the legislation and documents pertaining to intangible heritage will now be examined.

Chapter 2

Anatolian Viticulture Heritage: International Heritage Organizations and the Development of Cultural Wine Routes

International governmental heritage organizations have, over the last few decades, undertaken and developed legislation and frameworks that preserve and promote examples of intangible heritages such as cultural landscapes and cultural routes. This evolution in the way heritage is being framed has paved the way for a new focus on cultural routes. Cultural landscapes and cultural routes stress the interaction between man with the land over sustained periods of time, and the development of communities over routes, and these are currently being used by both international and national bodies to frame and promote heritage.

The United Nations bodies UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM, as well as the European Union body the Council of Europe and its sub-organizations are the main actors in contemporary viticulture heritage preservation. These organizations and their particular functions will be described and analyzed in this chapter in the interest of forming an argument for Turkey's inclusion in viticulture heritage and a cultural route of wine in Turkey.

Chart of Heritage Organizations

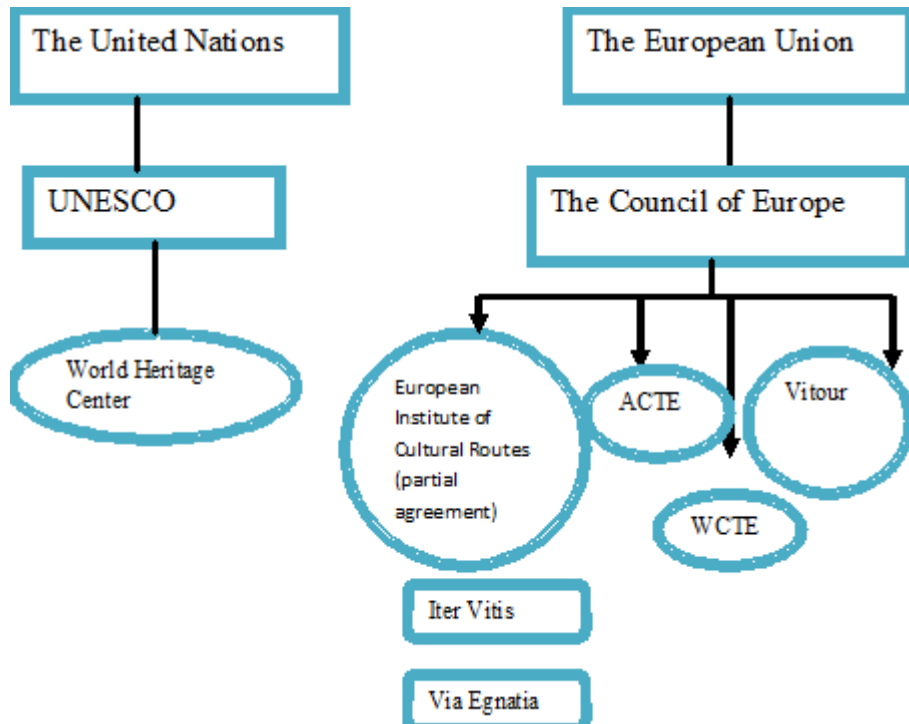


Figure 7 Chart of International Heritage Organizations.

These international organizations, most of which are governmental, but some of which are semi-private, are using new web-based forums and theoretical frameworks to bring together communities with wine heritages along routes across Europe. Most important to the preservation of viticulture heritage is the recent development of new methods of framing heritage in the form of cultural landscapes and cultural routes. The idea of cultural landscapes and wine routes has very recently become a method for international organizations to promote not only heritage and culture, but also to bring together and develop contacts among communities along the routes of the vine. Currently the routes of the vine which have been recognized by international organizations have been generated in European countries and stretch from Portugal through the Balkans and then skip over Turkey to include the Caucasus region.

Turkey has a rich viticulture heritage and can make a very strong argument for being included in the preservation and promotion of efforts of several of the European organizations promoting cultural routes based on wine. However, Turkey has yet to be formally included in any of the organizational frameworks that are currently working to promote this heritage.

In order to make a case for Turkey's inclusion in the world's viticulture heritage routes, an overview of the organizations that are working to form these routes and their current efforts and obstacles is provided below. This chapter reviews the different organizations that are working to preserve intangible and tangible heritage related to viticulture, with a special emphasis on the developing framework of cultural routes. It is important to understand how these organizations have done this in Europe in order to argue for a wine route in Turkey.

Contextual History of Cultural Heritage Organizations

Following the Second World war, in the decades that followed the Hague Convention, UNESCO responded to growing awareness that mechanisms must be put in place to protect cultural heritage in both times of peace and war. UNESCO established the World Heritage Convention at its 17th meeting and in it defined the principles and beliefs that cultural heritage should be valued and protected for the benefit of all mankind.

In the decades that followed, a slow and growing awareness of cultural heritage outside of tangible sites occurred. The recognition of spaces as cultural heritages began with "the Florence Charter: Historic Gardens and Landscapes" in 1981 (adopted by ICOMOS in 1982), and in the following years the scope of

protection for intangible cultural heritage has grown and is still growing to include cultural landscapes, of which there are now a total of eighty five sites specifically designated for their cultural landscape, with five transboundary properties and one delisted property on the UNESCO World Heritage List (“History and Terminology”).

UNESCO and its international advisory boards, such as International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), have been at the forefront of the movement to preserve and protect intangible heritages. In its 32nd session, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage, stating in Article 1:

The ‘intangible cultural heritage’ means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.

Within the listed domains of intangible heritage are social practices, rituals and festive events, and knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe (Convention for the Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage).

Cultural Heritage of Contested Landscapes

The notion of a conflicted landscape is important to this thesis as the case studies chosen represent the fragility and obstacles that challenge the continuity of winemaking in Anatolia.

The Cultural Heritage of conflicted regions has received its own attention in the formation of heritage preservation structures. Almost two decades before

The World Heritage Convention of 1972 was established, The Hague Convention of 1954 was created to protect items of cultural value that were threatened by armed conflicts (Hague Convention, 1954).

The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994), created by UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS, further enlightens the challenges conflicted regions face.

It states:

The diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind. The protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development. Cultural heritage diversity exists in time and space, and demands respect for other cultures and all aspects of their belief systems. In cases where cultural values appear to be in conflict, respect for cultural diversity demands acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the cultural values of all parties (Nara Document on Authenticity)

However, the disproportionate representation of developing and conflicted regions in the UNESCO World Heritage List and within other heritage organizations points to the inefficacy of these organizations in addressing the unique challenges facing developing countries as they seek protection for the heritage.

As an acknowledgement of and effort to rectify this shortcoming in the structure of heritage preservation policies, UNESCO adopted the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Heritage. The Declaration was specifically intended to protect the heritage of conflicted regions as a means of developing a cross-cultural dialogue in cases where it is most fragile. In Article 7, the Declaration states, “(h)eritage in all its forms must be preserved, enhanced and handed on to future generations as a record of human experience and aspirations, so as to foster creativity in all its diversity and to inspire genuine dialogue among cultures.” The

13th clause of the Declaration notes the importance of “(f)ormulating policies and strategies for the preservation and enhancement of the cultural and natural heritage, notably the oral and intangible cultural heritage, and combating illicit traffic in cultural goods and services” (“Universal Declaration on Cultural Heritage”).

The concept and legislation related to conflicted heritage can be a useful way to frame the study of viticulture and cultural wine routes in Turkey. In both Cappadocia and Mardin, the location of the two case studies this thesis will present, the regions have experienced threats to the intangible and tangible components of their viticultural traditions and heritage. Both Cappadocia and Mardin exemplify viticultural heritages in Turkey that fall within what can be viewed as contested heritages, as defined by the legislative documents.

Turkey has, like other developing nations, experienced general challenges in accessing the international heritage organizations for the protection of its cultural assets. The likelihood for the protection of viticulture heritage is increasingly difficult within the context of a potentially unsupportive government.

Another factor that must be considered is that the winemaking cultures examined in the two case studies are contested in that they are increasingly fragile, minority communities. In both case studies, winemaking has occurred within minority cultures, many of whose populations have, in the past century, been expelled or forced out of Turkey under various circumstances. Their histories are thus fragile and it can therefore be useful to conceptualize and promote their protection within the scope of the legislation afforded to conflicted heritages.

European Heritage Organizations and Developing Countries

A central tenet of the UNESCO Convention is the idea of universal value. The concept was developed by UNESCO that some things are of such importance that their value can be appreciated and understood by all mankind. In UNESCO, cultural heritage that assumes the title of universal value has been applied to an overwhelmingly Western and developed list of sites (and other entities of cultural heritage).

The representation of developing countries among the UNESCO World Heritage list is small compared with developed countries that have the capacity to better access and conform to UNESCO regulations. Having the infrastructure in place to produce and adhere to a site management plan as well as forming relationships with partnering organizations and hiring necessary experts all require significant funding. Despite the fact that countries have the equal opportunity to nominate sites, the process of being added to the World Heritage List is structured to favor Western and developed countries that have more resources to allocate to cultural heritage preservation.

The result is a stratification of site representation among the World Heritage List between developed and developing countries. For example, as of May of 2012, only eleven of the nine hundred and sixty two sites on the World Heritage List are found in Turkey (of which Cappadocia is one), and thirty seven are in the process of being nominated or preparing their Nomination files (“World Heritage List: The List”; “Tentative List: Turkey”). Mardin is in the process of

preparing itself in the hope that it will be re-nominated for World Heritage status in 2014.

UNESCO WHL sites relating to viticulture are located in nine countries, the majority of which are in developed countries in Europe. The countries represented include; Austria, Croatia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Mexico, Philippines, Portugal and Switzerland (UNESCO World Heritage List: Wine).

UNESCO World Heritage Sites Pertaining to Viticulture: Descriptions and Processes

Twenty one of the total nine hundred and sixty two UNESCO World Heritage sites have viticulture contributing to their designation status (UNESCO World Heritage List). A total of nine of these have been inscribed entirely due to their rich viticulture histories.

Viticulture World Heritage sites or regions represent a variety of historical, regional, cultural and natural backgrounds, and are henceforth assigned different criteria according to the universal value that they evoke and display.

Regions and sites that have been granted UNESCO World Heritage Status having to do with viticulture have been evaluated and granted status according to different criteria within the UNESCO model. These criteria encompass both cultural and natural elements, as well as tangible and intangible heritages, i.e., their statuses are attributed to their outstanding physical landscapes and vineyards, and also to the intangible elements such as the long-lasting interaction between man and the land that their regions represent. Continuity as well as man's

adaptation of the landscape using technology is also given great weight in the evaluation of the sites.

Regions with a history of viticulture are found within some of the world's most culturally-rich regions. UNESCO has been the main venue for legitimizing places of universal value within the international heritage community. The twenty one viticulture regions that have been granted status include some combination of the World Heritage criteria ii, iii, iv or v. These criteria are defined as the following:

- *Criterion (i): “to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius*
- *Criterion (ii): to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;*
- *Criterion (iii): to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;*
- *Criterion (iv): to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;*
- *Criterion (v): to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;*
- *Criterion (vi): to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.” (“The Criteria for Selection”)*

All the viticulture sites have arguably been framed and nominated within what UNESCO defined as a Cultural Landscape in 1992 at its 16th session (“Cultural Landscape: History and Terminology”). Some of the designated viticulture regions have a particularly outstanding history of continuity of viticulture traditions. Many sites contain evidence of winemaking structures or terraced landscapes that are a testament to human settlement and control of the

landscape for winemaking purposes. The elements of continuity of human settlement and interaction with the land (through the cultivation of the vine) have been listed as criteria for selecting the viticulture regions as World Heritage sites by UNESCO. Other international organizations reviewed in this chapter have also selected these same sites as places of viticulture heritage. These will be explored in this chapter.

Two UNESCO case studies of the Stari Grad Plain and the Tokaj region of Hungary are given in the Appendix (Descriptions in Appendix A, Questionnaires in Appendix B) as they particularly exemplify the criteria used by UNESCO to nominate these as viticulture heritage regions. These cases were chosen for UNESCO World Heritage status as well as the example they set for Turkish viticulture sites in the manner in which they have compiled their viticulture heritage for UNESCO. This examination is important for the purposes of this thesis, in order to assess the criteria for which other viticulture-rich regions have been accorded their UNESCO status.

In the case of Stari Grad Plain (2008), the nomination criteria listed included the development of systems that promote agriculture, continuity of the winemaking tradition and the threat modern developments in the region pose to the preservation of the landscape. The history and process by which the Tokaj region gained UNESCO status in 2001 will also be discussed, in order to better inform viticulture regions in Turkey as they seek to attain UNESCO World recognition. In addition to the similarities in potential criteria, the Stari Grad Plain and the Tokaj region are linked to viticulture sites in Turkey due to their geographic proximity.

The Tokaj Region and the Benefits of UNESCO World Heritage Status

It is useful to gain insight into the benefits that UNESCO World Heritage status offers in order to determine whether the benefits are enough to warrant seeking them. The Vitour Landscape project offers on their website a synopsis of the benefits and negative effects that European viticulture sites have experienced.

In the case of the Tokaj region, Júlia Nagy, Manager of Tokaj-Hegyalja and employee of the Hernádvaley Tourism and Cultural Association, cited the most important advantage of being inscribed on the UNESCO list as the protections offered by UNESCO, which have allowed for sustainable development of the landscape and agriculture in the Tokaj region (Appendix Bii).

A major disadvantage is, according to Nagy, that the building requirements of UNESCO and the ICOMOS, combined with the Hungarian bureaucratic system, has created an environment which is not easily accessible to investors, which in turn has led to less investment and preservation of the local structures (Appendix Aii).

This thesis does not assume that UNESCO World Heritage status is the only means of establishing protective and promotive measures for Turkish viticulture sites, but this recognition can offer important protection to Turkish viticulture sites. The insight gained by sites with recognition and protection from UNESCO or other European heritage organizations, specifically what the benefits and setbacks of these protections are, will be very useful to the case studies presented.

The two case studies presented in this thesis will argue that viticulture heritage, in its intangible and tangible forms, should be afforded some protection within the UNESCO legislation pertaining to their greater respective regions (of Cappadocia and Mardin).

Other heritage organizations will now be examined in order to assess other modes that European and Turkish organizations have developed in recent years to promote intangible heritage. This examination will lead to the development of cultural (wine) routes in Europe, which this thesis will argue for inclusion for Turkey.

Cultural landscapes and Routes within International Heritage Organizations

In recent years, international governmental and nongovernmental organizations have established structures to formally recognize more specific types of intangible heritages that occupy a broader scope than is limited to just a particular site or landscape. Along these lines, the Council of Europe has created several associations and organizations that are working to develop new modes of understanding intangible heritage.

The field of intangible heritage is expanding to include protection of cultural landscape and most recently, cultural routes. Stemming from the UNESCO recognition of cultural landscapes that began with the Florence Charter in 1981-2, several bodies have emerged within the Council of Europe that are developing the fields of cultural landscapes and cultural routes.⁴ Governmental

⁴Two Cultural Routes are in the process of being evaluated by the EPA, one consisting of the Route of Roma Culture and the other that explores Cultural Routes within the South Caucasus

and nongovernmental organizations are emerging in Europe and Turkey that are constructing cultural routes as a means of economic collaboration and development.

While UNESCO World Heritage recognition would be very beneficial to the protections and awareness given to the case studies provided here, the focus of this thesis is on wine routes, and Cappadocian viticulture can be included in both the international and national organizations which have frameworks that support the inclusion of viticulture heritage.

The following organizations are in the process of mapping cultural routes of intangible heritage, some specifically focusing on wine. Two newly-founded Turkish organizations, one devoted to Turkish cultural routes and the other to Turkish wine, have begun a dialogue with some of these international organizations to link into the routes currently being formed. Ongoing work being done in Turkey with these organizations will be discussed further in this chapter. First it is important to examine the various institutional organizations that are developing the field of cultural landscapes and wine routes, in order to shape an argument for how Turkey can be included and access the benefits provided by these organizations.

The Vitour Landscape Project

The Vitour Landscape Project was created by the European Union and Interreg IVC (Innovation & Environment Regions of Europe Sharing Solutions),

(“Route of Roma Culture and Heritage”; “Kyiv Initiative: Cultural Routes in the South Caucasus”).

as an offshoot of the previous project of Interreg IV that ran from 2005 to 2007. The initial Interreg IV began with the participation of Italy, Austria, Hungary, Germany, France and Portugal, and were joined by four UNESCO World Heritage viticulture landscape sites; Pico Island, Montalcino/Orcia Valley, Lavaux and Wachau.

Together, the EU and both Interreg projects form the current ongoing Vitour Landscape Project, which has drafted the International Convention on World Heritage Vineyards. The Convention states as its mission the preservation, development and enhancement of the culturally and economically valuable wine landscapes through sustainable “good practices.” These good practices should focus on:

- *respectful and harmonious spatial planning and landscape, urban or village development policies;*
- *respectful, harmonious and innovative architecture and landscape architecture for (UNESCO wine) cultural landscapes, particularly dry stone wall maintenance in vineyards;*
- *solutions for sound water-, river-/riverside- and coastal management;*
- *new strategies and methods to face (prevent, adapt to) climate change, erosion and landscape damages;*
- *new technologies for spatial management (GIS for land use monitoring) and for interactive guidance of visitors (GPS)*
- *preservation through sustainable use by land owners and users: sustainable wine and fruit growing techniques, sustainable forestry, management of green areas and maintenance of biodiversity;*
- *sustainable mobility and transport;*
- *visual, cultural and recreational valorization of landscape values;*
- *strengthening of sustainable local/regional economic cycles to safeguard and enhance the cultural landscape. (“Vitour European World Heritage Vineyards”)*

In accordance with its mission, the project has organized workshops and seminars aimed at improving the sustainable growth and preservation of wine culture through technological advancement.

A technical seminar was organized and held at each designated landscape, from the period of January to September 2012, and a variety of topics were discussed, including, “sustainable wine and fruit-growing techniques, sustainable forestry, green management and maintenance of biodiversity.” Seminars and conferences are integral to enacting the mission of the Vitour Landscape Project, as they better equip the local communities of wine-producing regions with cutting edge technology and agricultural approaches. Wachau, Austria*

- 1) Fertö Niesiedler See, Austria*
- 2) Cinque Terre, Italy*
- 3) Montalcino (Val D’Orcia), Italy
- 4) Lavaux, Switzerland*
- 5) Val de Loire, France
- 6) Alto Douro, Portugal*
- 7) Pico (Azores) Portugal*
- 8) Upper Middle Rhine Valley, Germany*
- 9) Tokaj, Hungary*

*Wachau, Fertö Niesiedler, Cinque Terre, Lavaux Terraces, Alto Douro, Upper Middle Rhine Valley, the Pico Landscape and the Tokaj Wine Region are listed among the Cultural Routes of Vitour as well as UNESCO World Heritage Sites (“Vitour European World Heritage Vineyards”).

The Council of Europe Cultural Routes Program

The Council of Europe launched its Cultural Routes program in 1987 as a means to connect the heritages of different countries and cultures throughout

Europe that share common cultural heritages. The Cultural Routes program's mission is to promote human rights, cultural democracy, cultural diversity and identity, dialogue, mutual exchange and enrichment across boundaries that incorporate both the past and present histories of the communities possessing the heritage. The Council of Europe aims to do this by revitalizing historic routes using innovative approaches to cultural cooperation, thus creating an "intercultural European heritage" ("Cultural Routes Programme of the Council of Europe").⁵

In 1987 the first route to be recognized was the Route of Santiago de Compostela, and since then the Cultural Routes Program has continued designating routes of cultural importance. The Routes run along pathways that feature exemplary artistic, musical, architectural, religious, natural formations and agricultural communal heritages. The Route of the Olive was instituted in 2005 and Iter Vitis (The Route of the Vine) designated in 2009 ("Route of the Olive," "Route of the Vine").

European Institute of Cultural Routes

The European Institute of Cultural Routes, established in 1998, is a public body which is responsible for examining applications for new routes within the Council of Europe's Cultural Routes program. In addition to evaluating new potential routes, the European Institute of Cultural Routes monitors already-

⁵ In December 2010, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted Resolution CM/Res(2010)53 establishing an Enlarged Partial Agreement (EPA) in order to enable the closer co-operation between states involved in heritage projects that cross state lines. The Enlarged Partial Agreement was also aimed at improving the ability to develop public/private partnerships with nongovernmental bodies that are particularly interested in the development of Cultural Routes in their respective regions ("Cultural Routes Programme of the Council of Europe").

designated routes (Appendix C) and coordinates with partner organizations to share and organize information documents.

Routes requesting certification should, according to the European Institute of Cultural Routes criteria:

- *focus on a theme representative of European values and common to several European countries;*
- *follow a historical route or (in the case of cultural tourism) a newly created route;*
- *give rise to long-term multilateral co-operation projects in priority areas (scientific research; heritage conservation and enhancement; cultural and educational exchanges among young Europeans; contemporary cultural and artistic practices; cultural tourism and sustainable development);*
- *be managed by one or more independent, organized networks (in the form of an association or a federation of associations)."* ("Enlarged Partial Agreement on Cultural Routes")

The Via Egnatia is another route used over a sustained period of time. The Via Engatia functioned for two thousand years as a trans-Balkan highway connecting Rome to then Constantinople; running through Albania, Macedonia, and Greek and Turkish Thrace.

The Via Egnatia Foundation was formed in 2007 and today is a network comprised of hundreds of people and communities throughout the countries along the route taken from Italy to Turkish Thrace. The Foundation is working on a mapping project to be turned into a book for hiking accessibility, and is also working with cultural scholars whose work serves to bring together the communities along the route. For instance, they are collaborating with Turkish author Engin Akın, who is writing a book of recipes that features cuisine along the route from Rome to Constantinople (*Via Egnatia Foundation*).



Figure 9 Map of Via Egnatia, Courtesy of Cultural Routes in Turkey. Accessed May 1, 2012. <http://cultureroutesinturkey.com/c/via-egnatia/files/2011/12/Map-Via-Egnatia-modern-names.jpg>

The Via Egnatia and other similar routes which connect Turkey to Europe can function as linkages which connect Turkish culture, including wine culture, into other established and recognized European cultural routes. For instance, several of the private wineries located in Turkish Thrace, such as Doluca or Sevilen, could be included in the activities and promotion of the Via Egnatia. The main benefit of including Turkish sites along a European route would be the academic, financial and organizational support provided by European route foundations and organizations. The Via Egnatia Foundation, for example has researched migration along the Via Egnatia and made a database for archaeological points of interest along the route.

Iter Vitis, or The Routes of the Vine, is another cultural route, in this case one that specifically pertains to wine, which connects countries across Europe. Turkey can and should be included in the *Iter Vitis* wine cultural route (“*Iter Vitis: The Routes of the Vine*” section).

The Development of Cultural Wine Routes in Europe

Establishing wine routes has become a means for connecting cultural heritage sites and landscapes in Europe that embody universal values and contain a history of winemaking. In the last decade, organizations and associations have been established that provide the initial platforms to promote and form networks among those regions and peoples possessing a history and heritage of winemaking.

Wine has been chosen as the focus of new European cultural routes because, according one such route of the Kyiv Initiative:

Wine has played a significant role in the development of civilization. Places of worship, learning, cultural and commercial exchange have, for thousands of years, been linked to the agricultural exploitation of the vine. Many of the vine/cultural routes spanning across Europe are hundreds of years older than the state borders that exist today. The Council of Europe aims to bring these routes back to life using innovative approaches to cultural cooperation, thus creating an 'intercultural' European heritage ("Kyiv Initiative: Wine Culture Tourism Exchange").

Winemaking accounts not only for considerable amount of European land mass⁶ and agricultural economy, but also has a diverse and longstanding history ("Our Organization: Iter Vitis: The Ways of the Vine").

The following organizations are specifically devoted to forming and promoting cultural routes of wine. They are currently developing their projects, and Turkey can make an argument for some of its own viticulture landscapes to be included along the European routes.

⁶ European vineyards account for about 5% of the total agricultural land, and are spread over three million hectares, within which over ten thousand grape varieties and vine varieties exist.

Iter Vitis: the Route of the Vine

Within the Council of Europe, Iter Vitis (the Route of the Vine), was certified in 2009 as the 25th cultural route on the list of European Institute of Cultural Routes. Iter Vitis:

has its origins in the role of the agricultural landscape linked to wine production as an element of European identity. It brings together European citizens from the Atlantic to the Caucasus, and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, representing the diversity of European identity (“The Iter Vitis Route”).

The project includes 18 countries to date, which stretch from Western Europe through Eastern Europe, the Balkans and into the Caucasus. The countries currently included within the Iter Vitis project are Azerbaijan, Armenia, Austria, Croatia, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Malta, Moldova, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain and Macedonia. The route and the countries included effectively skip over Turkey.



Figure 8 Map representing the countries recognized by Iter Vitis, Iter Vitis. Accessed May 2, 2012. <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Images/Routes/IterVitis/carte.gif>

The aim of this Route is to focus on the wine-growing landscape as a sustainable tourism destination. This entails narrating the history and the life of the people, big and small local histories, through characteristic features: those that are visible (small walls, species of vine, mountains, hills, etc.) and those that are less perceptible (production conditions, vintages, use and consumption, savoir-faire, conflicts, and so on). These tourism activities help to create a "living landscape". They generate economic opportunities for the local population and for what is produced in the vineyards: wine (Iter Vitis, "Route of the Vine").

Like the other cultural wine organizations discussed in this thesis, Iter Vitis focuses on wine culture as a cultural heritage and source of development. One of the main goals of Iter Vitis is to promote agriculture and oeno-tourism not only by protecting the existing routes but also by emphasizing and sharing the stories of the people who have interacted with the environment to create these landscapes. Like many of the other international heritage organizations working with viticulture, Iter Vitis emphasizes local people and traditions, sustainable

economic development and ethical tourism. Iter Vitis defines these efforts as a defense against globalization, and engaging in opening up dialogue about migrant labor and some of the issues that come with increases in tourism (“Our History,” Iter Vitis).⁷

To this end, Iter Vitis has collected data that indicate over 20 million people have participated in wine tourism, and has created a tourism package which offers participants the opportunity to travel the various Routes of the Vine sponsored by Iter Vitis with their “Vitipassport”.⁸ The Vitipassport tour is shaped to emphasize and promote the landscapes, history and the vineyards and persons living along the Iter Vitis route. It is also promoting heritage through an experiential engagement with wine (“Our Organization,” Iter Vitis). In particular, the people and landscapes with a history of wine production can benefit by sustainable tourism through the approach to tourism that promotes equitable exchange of benefits to the tourist and supplier of the goods and services.

The Kyiv Initiative

Another organizational project sponsored by the Council of Europe is the Kyiv Initiative, formed by the Wine Culture Tourism Exchange (WCTE)

⁷ Iter Vitis’ focus is geared towards the promotion and sale of wine being produced along the routes and less towards heritage for heritage’s sake. While historic wine culture communities are the stakeholders of the project, the work of Iter Vitis includes apprenticeships for agriculture and viticulture students and a tourism package associated with the wine regions it promotes.

⁸ Through the Vitipassport project and its own participation in cultural tourism fairs, Iter Vitis has focused on the sustainable development of viticulture landscapes. The organization aims to protect and preserve the landscapes which have been associated with wine production with the goal of preserving the history and traditional winemaking culture, while sustainably promoting the regions contemporary inhabitants, some of which participate in winemaking practices. “By contributing to the local economy, the cultural route advocates a certain social attitude, as well as a better understanding of landscapes and of the history of the men and women who depend on it and live for it” (“Our History,” Iter Vitis).

program. The Kyiv Initiative and WCTE are dedicated to promoting and preserving Cultural Wine Routes in Europe and to this end, the Kyiv Initiative is currently engaged in developing wine routes within the Caucasus and Black Sea region.⁹ The current collaborating countries are Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine, Moldova and Azerbaijan, although Greece has been involved in management throughout the project and Turkey has recently become actively involved.

According to Esin Kuleli of WCTE, Turkey is now seeking to be more involved in the exchange project, in an effort to be included in the recognized routes of the vine. A plan was made in Kuşadaşı in 2009 to be submitted to the Council of Europe on Turkey's behalf (Kuleli). Since 2009, efforts have not progressed rapidly towards Turkey's inclusion in the WCTE.

The Turkish branch of WCTE is, however, still attempting to propose and construct three wine routes to be included in the project. The first proposed wine route is within the region of Thrace and along the Aegean coast, including islands in the Aegean Sea. The second route is in Central Anatolia, including Cappadocia, and the third in Southeastern Anatolia. WCTE is working with scholars whose research supports the historical provenance of winemaking in the selected regions (Kuleli 2011).

⁹ The Kyiv Initiative aims to bring countries together in order to collaborate and improve communication, with the hope that this work can improve cultural tourism. To this end, the stakeholders come from a variety of sectors with an interest in wine culture tourism, from the cultural sector, tourism agencies, foundations, technological companies, governments and financial institutions (Kyiv Initiative: Wine Culture Tourism Exchange (WCTE)).

The objective of the WCTE project is to bring together culture, wine and tourism through the work of the project. The project recognizes the power that culture and heritage has within the tourism industry, and seeks to aid in incorporating the culture of wine, especially the route of the wine, into the tourism industry of Europe. The hope is that international and national, as well as more local entities will be able to work together (Kyiv Initiative: Wine Culture Tourism Exchange (WCTE)).

In keeping with the emphasis on cultural heritage, the three components of the Kyiv Initiative; wine, culture and tourism, are all integrated into the proposed routes in Turkey. Within the notion of “culture,” these routes take into account intangible and tangible culture, as well as natural and historical sites. In addition, the Kyiv Initiative seeks to work with museums, restaurants and hotels in order to involve the local economy and improve the tourist experience (Esin Kuleli, 2011).

Both wineries and vineyards, as well as surrounding olive and grape production sites, are emphasized in the routes proposed by the WCTE project. To this end, the Kyiv Initiative is working with the Turkish cities along the three routes to integrate and be in communication with the local vineyards, tourism agencies, wine producers, etc. in order to create a program that brings all of the necessary factors together (Kuleli 2011).

In the Kyiv Initiative’s meeting in Odessa in April of 2008, a presentation of the Aegean wine route was given along with a discussion of tourism and the capacity of local facilities along the route. Some of the cities along the Aegean route are: Tekirdağ, Çannakale, Izmir, Marisa and Buldan. The proposal has prepared detailed charts created for each city that take into account the particularities of the cultural and viticulture offerings, as well as the available facilities (Esin Kuleli, 2011).

The ongoing discussions and collaboration of Turkey with the WCTE project brings the positive potential for Turkish wine sites to be included in the European wine route frameworks. Additionally, the incorporation of wine within a larger intangible heritage route that emphasizes, among other things, culinary routes, can be an effective way for a Turkish wine route to begin to be developed.

The wine routes developed within such a project can later be turned into a more wine-centric route.

However, there remains the possibility that such a large project may not be sustainable in that it attempts to incorporate too many factors. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Turkish wine heritage will strengthen the development of wine centers along a route, which can also improve Turkish wine heritage.

The Association for Culture and Tourism Exchange (ACTE)

The newest and arguably most innovative heritage organization working for the promotion of cultural wine tourism and heritage is the Association for Culture and Tourism Exchange (ACTE). Founded by the Council of Europe in 2009, ACTE and its 47 member states are working to animate and empower local communities along wine cultural routes, and it is currently in the process of mapping a larger wine route throughout Europe.

ACTE works with the Council of Europe and other international and national organizations to develop the capacity to enable its members to promote their own heritage. The overarching mission of ACTE is to bring together and foster the development of European communities, by “empowering them to use common cultural heritage to stimulate economic and cultural development.” This is done by emphasizing a shared history of culture and tradition (“What We Do”). Wine was chosen as the basis for the exchange project, for its longstanding integration with the landscape and the people of communities across Europe. For

this reason, wine was deemed the most suitable common thread that has the ability to tie these communities together.¹⁰

A core tenet of ACTE's work, as previously described, is to organize capacity training programs that provide small and large scale enterprises along the wine cultural routes with the capability to maximize their wine culture's potential. ACTE also provides a platform for the exchange of information, goods and services which better equip the local suppliers along wine routes to connect with other similar enterprises to exchange their ideas and network.

In the same manner that ACTE organizes training capacity workshops, EWBC Digital Wine Communication Conference is primarily a web-based organization, which organizes an annual conference as well as enables interested parties to stay connected throughout the year. The conference is a forum for wine scholars, distributors, etc. to collaborate and share information about all things wine.

The annual EWBC Conference, organized by the International Organization of Wine (OIV), also fosters the development of wine networks through workshops. Similar to ACTE's training workshops, the EWBC Conference includes discussion and the exchange of technological innovations for

¹⁰ ACTE works on a local level within the relevant landscapes to provide small and large scale parties with training workshops that can equip them with the necessary tools to sustainably and responsibly develop their product. ACTE partners with local agencies within the respective regions to help them set up their own networks to will help them continue to develop their own networks. The new President of ACTE, Robert Tinlot, is helping to move the Association ahead rapidly, and to this end, one of the main goals within their new agenda is to establish a cultural wine museum map. ACTE is working with two large wineries, Dinastía Vivanco of Spain and Shabo of Ukraine. Through a private foundation, Dinastía Vivanco has created its own cultural wine museum in Briona, Las Riojas, Spain, as well as a virtual wine museum ("Museo de la Cultural del Vino"). ACTE is hoping that the new partnerships with Vivanco and Shabo will open many doors for the cultural wine map (*"Report, Annual General Meeting"*).

improvement to the wine industry data. The Conference is, quite importantly for the Turkish wine sector, being held this November in Izmir (“The Theme for EWBC 2012 is: ‘Source’”).

According to Madelena Grossman of the Association for Culture and Tourism Exchange (ACTE), ongoing collaboration and discussion may lead to collaboration between some of these organizations, including ACTE, Iter Vitis and the Wine and Culture Tourism Exchange project of the Kyiv Initiative (Grossman).

Tourism and the Sustainable Development of Cultural Wine Routes

The organizations mentioned above are creating cultural wine routes and have framed their missions, as well as developed charters and structures within their organizations, to create these routes in a way that promotes sustainable development.

The Council of Europe’s Policy Briefs on Sustainable Tourism stress “local development, local management and local ownership of the tourism experience.” Key terms that are felt necessary to incorporate in their philosophy of tourism are: “alternative tourism; new property; equity; eco and cultural protection; collaborative entrepreneurship; access; technology and tourism; cooperation; European norms (“Cultural Routes Programme of the Council of Europe”).¹¹

¹¹ The Kyiv Initiative has published seven Cultural Policy briefs that deal with challenges such as sustainability and mass tourism, encouragement and support of new technological developments, looking to alternative tourism models as well as European norms in the wine sector, and how to

There is also positive ongoing discussion between The Assembly of Wine-Producing European Regions (AREV) and ACTE regarding a future partnership. (“Wine Charter”; Grossman).¹²

International Wine Organizations and Genetic Heritage

As mentioned in Chapter One, the genetic heritage of wine is a field of study which seeks to identify the genetic make-up of grapes indigenous to certain regions with the aim of preserving plant genetics. The International Organization of Vine and Wine (OIV) is an intergovernmental organization, formed in 2001 and acting within its Founding Agreement since 2004, that has conducted significant research on grape genetics, providing scientific and technical references that are being applied to the production of wine contemporaneously in 35 countries. OIV is at the forefront of organizing a scientific reference for the purposes of establishing a genetic database for the development of viticulture worldwide.¹³

OIV is also involved in publishing genetic research regarding viticulture, specifically documenting grape varieties around the world (“OIV Publications”).

defend localized knowledge and maintain it as collective property (“Kyiv Initiative: Wine Culture Tourism Exchange (WCTE)”).

¹²AREV is a government organization focused on compiling data in order to ensure standards on the authenticity of wine products being produced in Europe. AREV has developed a training program for suppliers based on the training program developed by OIV. While the aims and structures used to implement the work of AREV differ greatly from ACTE.

¹³ OIV seeks to provide both intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations with the scientific information needed to document the genetics of wine, and enhance the production of wine. To this end, OIV hosts and organizes an annual Congress on Vine and Wine. The conferences focus on diversity and sustainability in the wine sector, and bring together the world’s wine experts to examine technical aspects of wine production. As mentioned above, the 35th World Congress of Wine and the Vine will be held in Izmir, Turkey in June of 2012 (“Strategic Plan of the OIV: 2012-2014”).

A team of grape geneticists at the University of California-Davis, Department of Viticulture, including Jim Lapsly, Carol Meredith and Andrew Walker, are also working on the documentation of genetic heritage of grape varieties.

Anatolian Viticulture Heritage Status

The dialogue between Turkish organizations and the international organizations mentioned above regarding Turkish viticulture is ongoing. Several key promoters of Anatolian viticulture are working in different regions of Turkey and different sectors of wine development to promote its history and its contemporary marketability to heritage organizations.

The Wines of Turkey Organization is the foremost of these organizations (<http://www.winesofturkey.org/>). Founded by Tanger Oğutoğlu, Wines of Turkey is utilizing the work of scientists and scholars to frame a cultural heritage of viticulture for Turkey. Wines of Turkey organized the “Discover the Roots: Inaugural Wines of Turkey Conference & Tasting” in London in 2011, and in his presentation, “Anatolia – Cradle of Wine?”, Oğutoğlu’s work echoes and collaborates with that of McGovern and other scientists. The Wines of Turkey organization is in contact with other organizations, in particular ACTE, of which Mr. Oğutoğlu is a member and the leading representative for Turkey. As ACTE creates a European map for wine, it is hoped that the work of historians, biomolecular geneticists, scientists and works such as this thesis can bolster an argument for Turkey’s inclusion in international wine heritage organizations.

Cultural Routes in Turkey

Turkey has a long and well-known history of cultural routes, including the paths taken by Ibn Battuta¹⁴ and Evliya Çelebi¹⁵ and the Silk Road. Contemporary preservation of cultural routes in Turkey has begun in the private sector in the last decade. Turkish organizations have been established, some working independently on cultural route projects and others in collaboration with international support.¹⁶

The Cultural Routes in Turkey organization has developed sixteen routes along other cultural paths such as that of Evliya Çelebi, the Hittites, the Lycians, the Phrygians, and Sultan Süleymaniye (*Cultural Routes in Turkey: Long Distance Hiking Trails for All*).

The Cultural Routes in Turkey Organization

The Association of Cultural Routes in Turkey has worked to develop and provide access to the major natural and cultural routes in Turkey, and is continuing to develop and add to the list of routes already formed. In 1999, Ms. Clow began the project by creating a plan for tourists to travel by foot along the Lycian Way, and since then the project has expanded to create similar plans for other long trails, including the St. Paul Trail (2004), the Kaçkar Trail (2008), and

¹⁴ In the third volume of his travels, 14th century traveler Ibn Battuta documents his travels through Turkey, arriving in Alanya, traveling to Antalya, then Emirdağ and arriving in Constantinople by the end of 1332 (or 1334). Over the course of a month-long stay in Constantinople, Battuta met the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos, visited the Hagia Sophia and spoke with a Christian Orthodox priest about his travels in the city of Jerusalem (Dunn, 171-178). In this Anatolian portion of his travelogue, he mentions wine and rakı (Corti 2011).

¹⁵ In his book, “Seyahatname,” 17th century traveler Evliya Çelebi documented his travels across Europe and North Africa. The document relays stories of exchanges between the Ottoman Empire and Europe through the trade of goods such as coffee, medicine and exchange of cultural styles and norms (Finkel).

¹⁶ To mark the 400th anniversary of Evliya Çelebi’s birth in 1611, the Council of Europe’s “Our Shared Europe” Project opened “Book of Travelers,” an entirely virtual exhibition which showcases the cultural routes taken by adventurers such as Evliya Çelebi and Lady Montague (Evliya Çelebi “Book of Travels”).

the newest route, which follows the path taken by Evliya Çelebi in the late 17th century.



Figure 9 Map marking the origins of cultural routes developed by Cultural Routes in Turkey, 2012 Basarsoft, GIS Innovatsia, GeoBasis-DE/BKG (©2009), Google Maps. 14 April. 2012.

Working in conjunction with the European Institute of Cultural Routes, the Association of Cultural Routes in Turkey has produced a map of Turkey highlighting more cultural routes.¹⁷ Ms. Clow and her team have implemented a way-marking system and have prepared guide books equipped with maps and GPS guide points to allow for self-implemented tours along several of the paths. In addition to creating the preparatory materials for tourists, the Association of

¹⁷ Figure 11: The routes currently included are; the Lycian Way (light purple), St. Paul's Trail (red), Abraham's Path (lighter green), Kaçkar Mountain Trails (maroon), The Via Egnatia (dark purple), The Sultan's Trail (blue), Evliya Çelebi (teal), Phrygian Way (dark orange), the Carian Trail (pink), Hittite Trails (yellow), Independence Trails (light orange), Küre Mountains National Park Trails (dark green), Yenice Forest and Eskipazar Trails (neon green), Kızılırmak River Basin Gastronomy Route, Kars-Sarıkamış Walking Route as well as other walking routes. Each of these mentioned routes fit the qualifications defined by the European Institute of Cultural Routes (*Itinéraires Culturels en Turquie*).

Cultural Routes in Turkey is working to set up a system to ensure the continued maintenance of the cultural routes.¹⁸

Potential for a Society of Cultural Routes in Turkey

The desired goal for the Cultural Routes of Turkey is to create an association, made up of stakeholders along the routes, which can be handed over to a local official management team or local people along the route.¹⁹ The founders, including Kate Clow and Caroline Finkel, have been in ongoing contact with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism since almost the beginning of their organizations formation, to gain both financial and institutional support for the routes of Turkey.

The goals of the routes are to:

promote culture as a means of broadening and deepening genuine cultural participation and understanding, advocate the

¹⁸ Cultural Routes in Turkey hopes to use the materials they produce, such as recording systems (including GPS data), mapping and other publications or new media to apply to relevant bodies both in and outside Turkey for funds to support the making, maintenance and promotion of culture routes and related infrastructure or environment. They also hope to use the publications to form a documentation center based on the relevant collected materials (*Dernek: Cultural Routes Society*). Cultural Routes in Turkey is also hoping to develop proper training programs for culture routes that would provide principles of sustainable countryside tourism, how to develop a Culture Route using the Council of Europe framework, as well as develop marketing strategies for the promotion of Culture Routes. Such courses could be attended by people working within local municipalities who are looking to create a route, proving the participants with a practice course which could allow them to develop one specific route. Such a training program would include necessary route standards, and it is a goal that a training website be created to support the encouragement of sustainable standards along the routes. The Cultural Routes of Turkey organization is hoping to develop the courses listed above by September 2012, and are searching for sustainable travel agencies as well as a Turkish University which teaches cultural heritage management courses (*Points for the Ministry*).

¹⁹ Currently the top priority of the organization is establishing a main contact within the Ministry who would be in charge of ensuring that all aspects relating to the efficiency and adherence to regulations of the developed routes are properly followed. The Cultural Routes in Turkey organization has encountered several problems in recent years, missing grant deadlines and not being included in important discussions with the Council of Europe, due to a lack of communication that an alliance with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism would help to provide. To this end, one specific request is to have a link to their website included on the Ministry's website, in exchange for the same on their own website.

conservation of routes and their related environment and help local people to provide for the (cultural and physical) needs of travellers along routes. (Dernek: Cultural Routes Society)

The international organizations examined here have placed significant emphasis on sustainability in their cultural route projects. The Cultural Routes of Turkey organization, the Turkish initiative of the WCTE project and the Kayakapı Project are also emphasizing local agency within sites along routes as a way of improving cooperation and sustained development of the routes.

The Cultural Routes of Turkey organization is important to this thesis as it is the first and strongest example of a formal organization dedicated to the revival and preservation of cultural routes in Turkey. The work being done will serve to promote intangible heritage within the framework of cultural routes, which can be used as a model for further cultural route projects in Turkey. Additionally, through work with the Cultural Routes of Turkey, the frameworks being developed can grow to include wine heritage within the cultural routes.

There is great potential benefit that would come with an association that brings together local actors, including university professors, students, small business and private citizen stakeholders along the routes. The Cultural Routes in Turkey organization has a better chance of gaining government support through an association where local support is harnessed into a collective effort. Wine heritage also can be included through the work of an association that works with local wine producers to promote wine culture along the routes. The Hittite route, for example, is one into which wine culture can easily be incorporated. This and other suggestions will be included in the case study chapters.

The Kayakapı Project and Inclusion of Winemaking into a Sustainable Tourism Project



Panorama Image of Kayakapı, courtesy of the Kayakapı Project website. Accessed May 4, 2012. <http://www.kayakapi.com/>

“Kayakapı Cultural and Natural Environment Conservation and Revitalization Project” is taking place in the city of Ürgüp in Cappadocia. The project, supported by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, has allowed local cultural tourism investments to reconstruct and revitalize a neighborhood of about 25 hectares in the old neighborhood of Ürgüp. The neighborhood, located on the slope of a hill, contains 11th century churches, baths and underground cities and cave dwellings, from Byzantine and Ottoman settlement until late 1960’s, i.e. when it was abandoned. Through research of Ottoman sources, the Kayakapı team has revealed the social structure of the neighborhood from the 18th century until its demise.

Some of the descendants continue to live in Ürgüp, and therefore, this project is also interested in forming a cultural project which can maintain as much of the cultural and architectural elements as possible in a way that the local community approves.



Figure 10 Photo of the Kayakapi Mountain. 12 March. 2012. Jpg.

In collaboration with the Dinler Hotels, Yusuf Örnek, the tourism consultant for projects in Cappadocia, is working on enhancing and organizing the elements pertaining to the cultural and natural environment. One such inclusion in the project will be a museum about central Anatolian culture. The organizers of the project hope to include a memorial exhibition to the Greek population and the effects of the Population Exchange in the region (Appendix Ei).

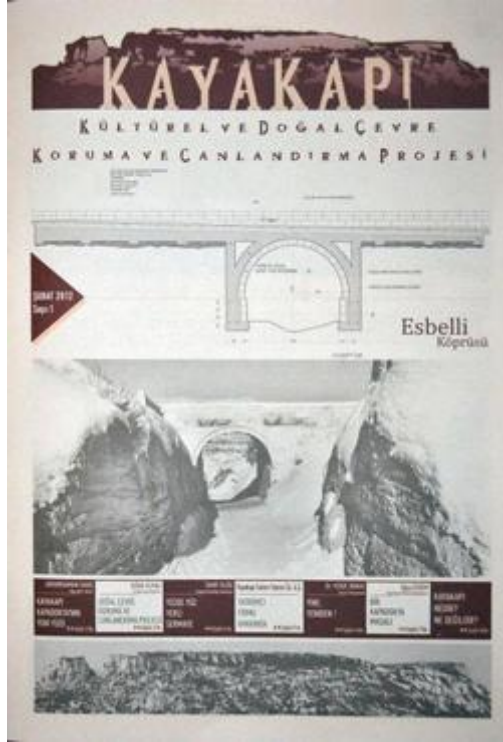


Figure 11 Image of Kayakapı Banner, courtesy of the Kayakapı Project website. Accessed May 4, 2012. <http://www.kayakapi.com/>

In preparation for the Kayakapı Project's implementation, the development team has conducted research on the cultural history that existed within the site at the end of the 19th and early 20th century ("Ottoman Tax Records and Viticulture in Cappadocia"). The leaders of the project have looked to models such as Ürgüp and other cities in Cappadocia and Greece for ideas how to frame the complexity of the project.

Greek wine culture and the effects of the Population Exchange are hoped to be included in the Kayakapı museum project. The Kayakapı team is attempting to determine whether or not wine tours will do well within a tourism project in Turkey. There is concern within the project that it is difficult to target Turkish groups to participate in Turkish wine tourism (Örnek).²⁰

²⁰ The current greater concern is the successful implementation of a cultural tourism project in a World Heritage Site. The Kayakapı Project is the first investment of such a large scale in this

State of Cultural Wine Routes in Turkey

Currently, the development of wine routes in Turkey is just beginning to be formed, mainly by tourism²¹ and wine companies²² and culture magazines that have published promotional articles and proposed wine tours. Several Turkish nongovernmental wine organizations, such as the previously mentioned Wines of Turkey Organization, are working with wineries to promote wine in all the regions of Turkey, including the development of wine tours (*Wines of Turkey*). These efforts have been focused mainly in Thrace, the Dardanelles, the Aegean and in central Anatolia (*Regional Wine Tours*).

The promotion of winemaking in these regions will be fundamental to link into the cultural routes of the vine in Europe. The case studies of this thesis, which will be presented in the following two chapters, will provide the link from the wine culture of western Turkey to central and eastern Anatolia. The aim is to propose a cultural wine route that connects Greece and the Balkans to the Caucasus via Turkey.

regard, and so is doing its best to be a good model for future projects. This means finding a good balance between protecting cultural assets and allowing for them to be shown to the public as part of tourism. As Örnek says, “(u)nsuccesful implications in this field can have horrible consequences for Turkey. Therefore our vision is to show that even historical sites can bring money if they are well protected, restored and rationally managed.” (“Questionnaire and Responses from Mr. Yusuf Örnek,” Appendix Ei)

²¹ International tourism companies, such as Travelatelier in the Unites States, are also developing ten day tourism programs that are focused around wine routes in the regions of Cappadocia and the western coast of Turkey, however these are largely not academically-based (“Wines Routes of Turkey; Ten Day Wine Tour: Turkey’s Wine Country”).

²² Karaf Magazine, a monthly Turkish Magazine devoted to Turkish wine culture, has featured many articles on all aspects of Turkish wine, including large and small scale wineries, wine tasting events, harvest festivals, cuisine pairings, etc. Large scale wineries have all been featured in many articles in Karaf Magazine, however Karaf also features the more artisanal wine projects, as well as smaller scale events, including the tradition of homemade winemaking in Tur ‘Abdin (“Şarap ve Yaşam Kültürü”).

CHAPTER 3

Case Study 1: Viticulture Heritage in Cappadocia and Proposal for a Wine Route

Cappadocia: The Region

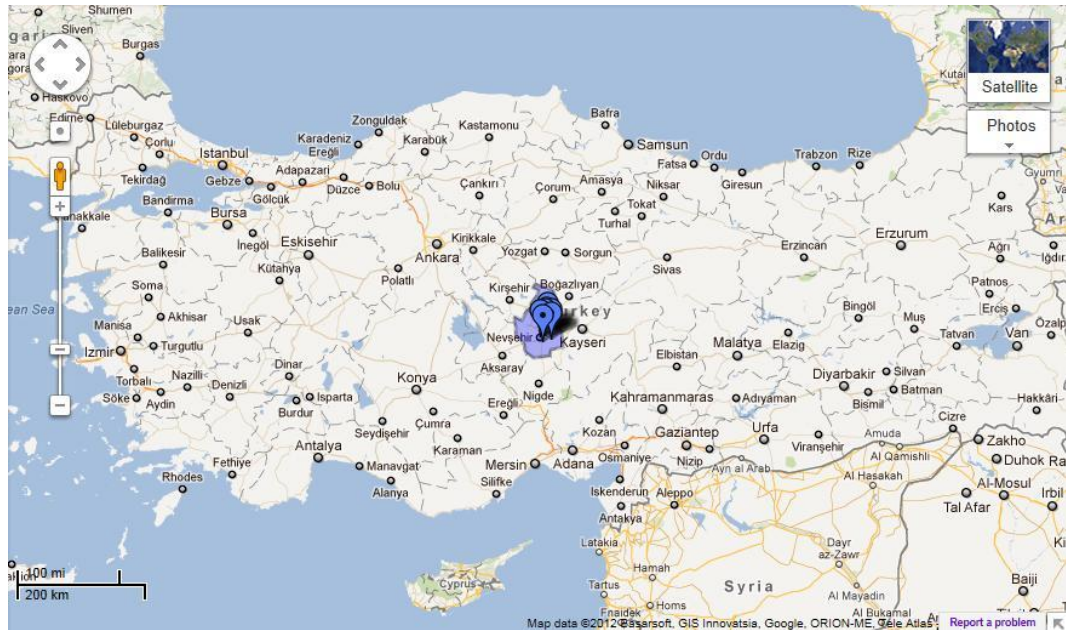


Figure 12 Map of the Nevşehir Province, in which Cappadocia is located. 2012.

Cappadocia is a region in the Nevşehir Province of Central Anatolia that has been a cradle of winemaking civilizations for over 5,000 years (Corti 2011). Cappadocia's borders have changed over time, but it is loosely defined by its distinct topography of volcanic formations and soil that are the result of the eruption of Mount Argaios. In proto-Hittite times through the time of Herodotus (c. 485-425 BC), the region of Cappadocia was considered to stretch all the way from the Euphrates in the East to the Black Sea in the North, thus creating a large trade network within which communities have flourished for thousands of years.

Geography, Topography and Layout of the Cappadocia Viticulture

Viticulture has had a particularly rich history in Cappadocia since prehistoric times due, in part, to its soil.²³ Cappadocian viticulture practices highlight how the different intangible practices in this region are and how they warrant more integrated preservation strategies.²⁴ Viticulturists in Cappadocia have historically adapted their winemaking practices to the soil by planting vines very low to the ground to protect them from extreme temperatures and winds, giving the viticulture practice a unique typology. (Balta “From Ypolenion to Bolum: The Viticultural Transition in Cappadocia Through the Ottoman Sources and the Oral Tradition”).



Figure 13 Photograph of vineyard with vines low to the ground, Uçhisar. Photograph courtesy of Murat Yankı. JPEG File.

²³ The volcanic soil is loose, slightly alkaline, calcereous and has low levels of organic matter, nutritional matter and salt, which is normally not ideal for wine (*Cappadocia Viticulture*). Located near the Euphrates River and Taurus mountain range, about 35-40 centimeters of rain fall each year, giving nearby sites excellent access to water resources (Corti 2011). However, the terroir is relatively dry, with a stark difference in temperature between day and night. The volcanic soil does not absorb or hold water well, and this produces plants with less foliage and higher acidity and sugar concentration in the grapes (*Cappadocia Viticulture*).

²⁴ Cappadocia is famous for its pigeons, with both the structure Palace of the Pigeons and the Pigeon Valley (Figure 16). It is said even today that pigeon droppings are ideal manure for viticulture, and in an interview with Murat Yankı, the Cappadocian wine expert remarked that viticulture in Cappadocia had suffered recently due to the pigeon flu that killed many of its pigeons (interview, Murat Yankı).



Figure 14 Photograph of Pigeon Valley, Uçhisar. Photograph taken by the author. April 12, 2012. JPEG file.

Migration, Conflict and the Continuity of Winemaking in Cappadocia

The region of Cappadocia is, in addition to its unique topography, also characterized and defined by its unique cultural and historical past. The settlement patterns of the cultures which have existed in Cappadocia have made the region particularly culturally diverse. This case study will examine in particular the histories of the Hittites, Byzantines and Ottoman Greeks living in Cappadocia for their contribution to the viticulture heritage of the region.

The winemaking traditions of these cultures, which have migrated, expanded, become extinct, disappeared and/or resettled in the region of Cappadocia, have been directly affected by these events. Present day viticulture in Cappadocia is equally shaped by the lasting impact of cultural shifts as well as contemporary forces which dictate the viticulture policies and environment.

The contemporary viticulture landscape of Cappadocia has been most affected by the migratory movements and political climate of the last century. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 resulted in the expulsion of much of the Greek population from the Cappadocian region. One notable exception is in the town of Mustafapaşa (ancient Sinasos), the seat of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch in the region of Nevşehir, where the Greek community was left somewhat intact and remains to this day (Clark, 102-3).

Cappadocia was a rich multicultural center and there is a volume of work/ethnographic material regarding the Greeks and their economic and cultural activities, including winemaking, (“Technical Evidence of Viticulture in Byzantine and Ottoman Periods”). Recorded oral histories of Greeks in the early twentieth century include references to unique winemaking processes in the region. In 1909, Anastasios Danas, a Macedonian teacher at a school in the town of Zincidere²⁵ spoke of:

Extensive vineyards, extremely fertile, cover its slopes and yield the wine famed throughout Cappadocia, which is one of its main products.

In the oral history record, Mr. Danas goes on to explain that he was particularly impressed by the quality of the vines produced by the unique topography of the land.

The trunks are very thick and tall, and the branches spread around umbrella-like, in such a way that a whole family of four-five persons can sit beneath them. The fact naturally astonished

²⁵ Town approximately ten kilometers southeast of Kayseri.

me and made me pay special attention to it, and indeed after careful investigation I ascertained that this extensive rock is a flattish limestone slab, not very thick, which sits upon a very thick stratum of grey clay. This accounts for the fertility of the vines. Because the slab of limestone protects the underground parts from drought, while the argillaceous layer, product of volcanic ash, pozzuolana and other volcanic ejecta, provides the nutrients in abundance (Balta “The Underground Rock-Cut Winepresses of Cappadocia”).

Another former Greek resident of Cappadocia, Georgios Mavrochalividis, also discussed the fertilization techniques used to help produce such vines, saying;

(t)he vine-growers came at a certain season, with many animals loaded with currants and they exchanged them for bird droppings. Five-six okkas of currants were given for a sack of droppings. If they were pigeon droppings, the price was almost double (Balta “The Underground Rock-Cut Winepresses of Cappadocia”).

Recent investigation and translation of the oral traditions recorded between 1940 and 1960 of Greek refugees have played an important role in remembering their stories. Research of the testimonies has been undertaken by Evangelia Balta and the Centre for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS). The stories are a testament to the contested landscape of the region and include details of viticulture, and the traditions of grape-pressing and winemaking (Balta, “The Underground Rock-Cut

Winepresses of Cappadocia” 64). From these testimonies, the traditions of the last generation of Greeks living in Cappadocia can be better understood and serve as testimony to viticulture traditions and continuity in the region (Balta “The Underground Rock-Cut Winepresses of Cappadocia” 64-5).

The evidence of winemaking throughout the history of Cappadocia, from possibly before the Hittites, throughout antiquity and the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires represents the continuity of a winemaking tradition in the region and can be used to argue for inclusion in a wine route. In particular the remaining winepresses evidence this culture which was physically engraved into the landscape of Cappadocia.

In addition, the result of the 2004 conference titled, “Common Cultural Heritage: Developing Local Awareness on the Architectural Heritage Left from the Exchange of Populations in Turkey and Greece”²⁶ was a study of the architectural heritage left by the compulsory exchange of Turks and Greeks in 1923 (“Preliminary Declaration: The Mustafapaşa Declaration,” Appendix F).²⁷

²⁶ The conference took place to promote the “Common Cultural Heritage” project, supported by the European Commission and organized by the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants (LMV). The conference was attended by various scientific and organizational cultural heritage specialists from both Greece and Turkey (“Common Cultural Heritage: Developing Local Awareness on the Architectural Heritage Left from the Exchange of Populations in Turkey and Greece”)

²⁷ The Mustafapaşa Declaration, the product of the conference, states the responsibility on the part of the country where the heritage is located, and the importance of oral history and the creation of a platform that brings together academic, scientific and technical factions to exchange technical and qualitative information (see Appendix F “Common Cultural Heritage Project, the Mustafapaşa Declaration”). In keeping with the Declaration, the conference held in Mustafapaşa was an effort by the concerned parties to enable such a mutual exchange of know-how, technical assistance and experience as it pertains to the cultural heritage of Mustafapaşa and the lasting effects of the exchange of populations (“Preliminary Declaration: The Mustafapaşa Declaration”). At the conference, Evangelia Balta, of the National Hellenic Research Foundation presented a paper titled, “Exchange of Populations – the case of Sinasos,” (modern day Mustafapaşa), in which she provides a synopsis of the transfer of Sinasonians to Piraeus during the Population exchange. Balta relayed how two brothers, realizing the impending end of their lives in Cappadocia, arranged for the photographic documentation of the Greek neighborhoods of Sinasos.

The compilation of archival material and the recording of oral traditions of the Greek population which lived in Cappadocia prior to the Population Exchange serve as a testament to the Cappadocian region as one that has witnessed a painful forced migration of an important and culturally-rich population. The Greek population was also largely responsible for winemaking, and the importance of this event is thus relevant to the argument for the recognition of wine culture history in Cappadocia.

Contemporary Cappadocia and Status as a Heritage Site

This chapter will first give an overview of the history of heritage management in Cappadocia, assessing the progress of institutions working to implement the proper protections. The assessment of the progress is important in order to make appropriate recommendations to the contemporary reality of heritage work in the region.

This chapter will then look at the criteria upon which the region has been designated UNESCO World Heritage status, in order to argue for the inclusion of viticulture heritage to the Cappadocia heritage file.

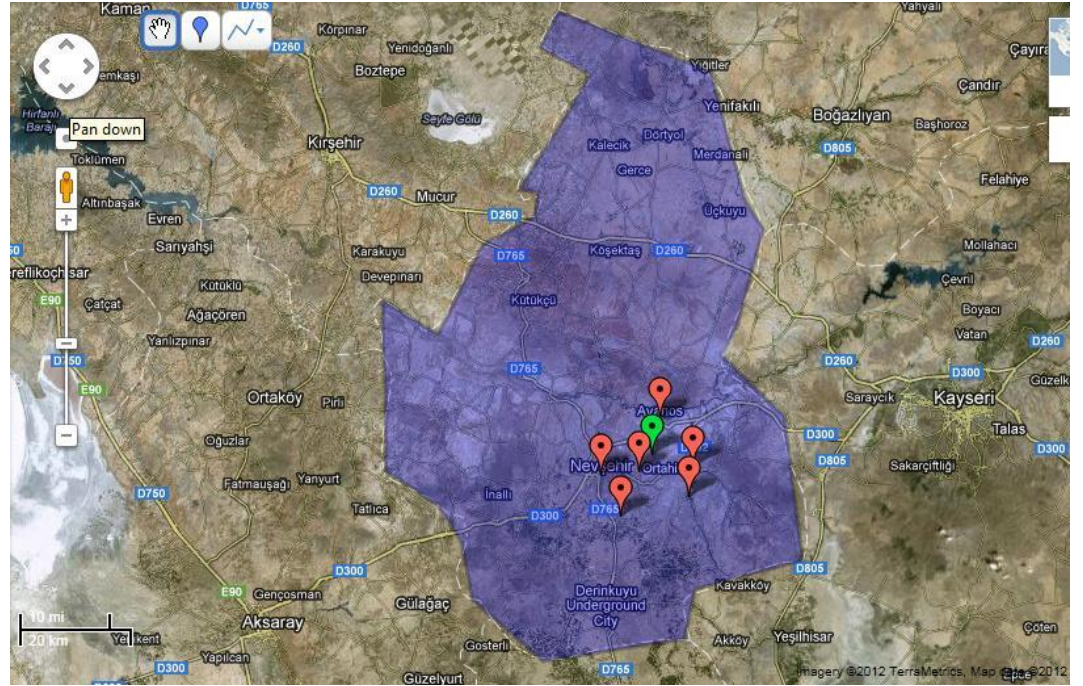


Figure 15 Map of the Nevşehir Province of Turkey, including markers for relevant sites for this thesis.

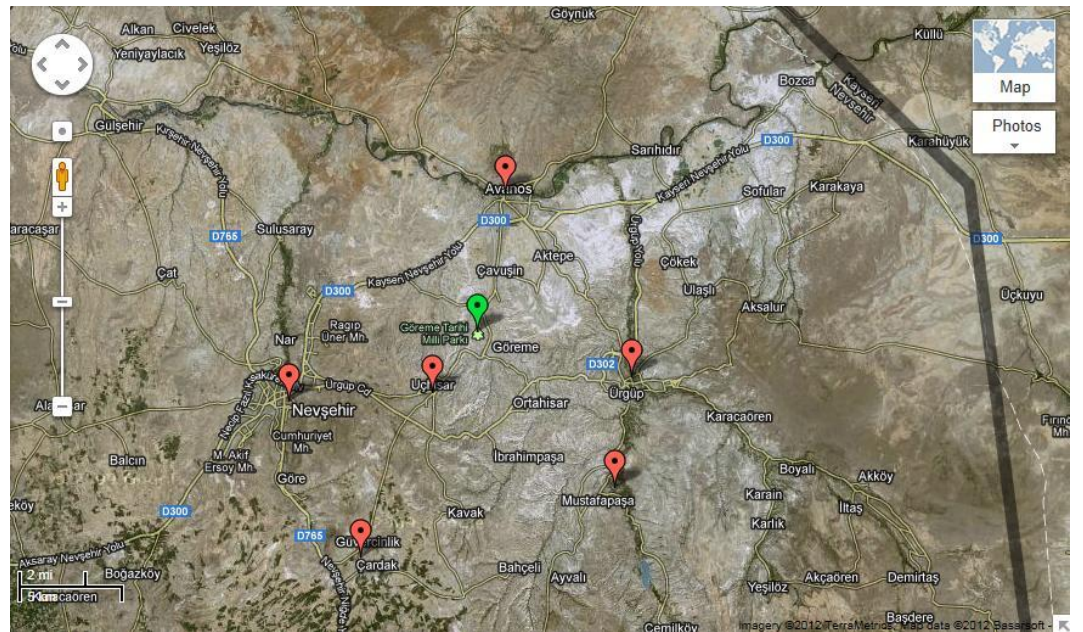


Figure 16 Map of the wine producing cities of Avanos, Ürgüp, Mustafapaşa, Uçhisar, Güvencelik and Nevşehir (in red) and the Göreme National Park (in Green).

The Göreme National Park in the region of Cappadocia was defined by a Site and Environment Plan prepared by ICOMOS and adopted by UNESCO in 1976. Along with the Hittite capital of Hattusha and the ancient site of Alaca Höyük, which were nominated as UNESCO World Heritage sites in 1986 (“Hittite

Kingdom: the First Wine Empire of the World”), the Göreme National Park was nominated by ICOMOS to be included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985 and was formally designated in 1986 (“Göreme Valley” 2).

Currently, however, the Göreme National Park has no management plan to implement the legislation of recent years, and there is no cultural tourism plan that adequately estimates the future tourism levels in order to properly prepare for them (“Turkey, Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia” 3).

Since its inscription, in light of UNESCO’s awareness of ongoing destruction and lack of sufficient protective measures, several measures have been taken by UNESCO to increase protection of the region with extended buffer zones to include more threatened territory. The areas that have been most in need of further protection include the rupestral churches and underground cities, which contain Byzantine wall paintings portraying wine and wine presses which have been used continuously until the early twentieth century.

At the time of its nomination, ICOMOS welcomed the inclusion of the Göreme National Park on the World Heritage List, but expressed the recommendation that a larger scope of the region should be included in the protected area than originally suggested. In the nomination file, ICOMOS suggested that both “all of the natural and cultural properties which are included in the Göreme Historical National Park” and the sites of Karain, Karlık, Yeşilöz and Soğanlı, and especially the subterranean cities of Kaymaklı and Derinkuyu” are included in the protected region (“Göreme Valley” 3). While eight churches were included in the nominated region, ICOMOS called for the inclusion of eleven other churches and cave dwellings outside the protected region, some of

which contain evidence of wine culture, such as Ortahisar, Çavus and Zelve (“Göreme Valley” 3).

In 1983, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M’bow, then General Director of UNESCO, expressed concern in response to visible deterioration of some of the rock-cut structures in Cappadocia, and appealed to the World Heritage center for protection of the region. Of the utmost importance in this international appeal, was the protection of churches and rupestral structures and dwellings from humidity, run off and frost. The appeal also called for the preservation of the painted murals within these structures be protected from vandalism (“Göreme Valley” 2).

In the 1990s and 2000s, development in the area surrounding the Göreme National Park led to various measures to further protect the region (Dincer 2012). In 1992, heightened concern regarding the construction of hotels in the protected area of Göreme National Park led to the World Heritage Centre reminding the local Turkish authorities of the regulations and standards stipulated in the previous protective documents. The UNESCO World Heritage Committee, at its 16th session in 1992, revisited the question of adherence to the UNESCO conditions in light of ongoing development in the region.

A consultant’s report prepared at the time noted serious changes in the landscape due to the construction of hotels in the protected area, and this prompted an appeal for an international safeguarding campaign for the region. As a result, the World Heritage Centre reminded the Turkish authorities of the regulations necessary to be implemented at protected sites, and in response, the Turkish authorities requested assistance from the World Heritage Centre in setting up a coordinating committee that could bring together and oversee the several

ministries involved in the site Göreme National Park and Rock Sites of Cappadocia (Turkey)” 13).

The conference notes from the 1992 Committee meeting reflect an ongoing disconnect between the Turkish Ministry of Culture and the UNESCO authorities in the safeguarding of the protected areas. The construction of hotels was specifically noted as an example of how actions being taken within the protected and buffer areas were in contradiction to the UNESCO preservation agenda. The increase in buffer zone areas recommended by UNESCO that followed was in the interest of the ensuring the sustainability of this natural landscape.

Since the 1992 extension of buffer zones, there has unfortunately not been much improvement in the organizational politics of the various authorities involved in the protection of the region of Cappadocia.

According to Yüksel Dincer, President of the Nevşehir Cultural Assets Conservation Board, the zoning plans have many gaps in them, and evidence the continued disconnect between the local Turkish authorities and UNESCO parties. According to Dincer, who has worked extensively on preservation issues in the Cappadocian region, there is also no single local authority on tourism that can bring the several areas and types of heritage within the Cappadocian region together (Dincer 2012).

According to Demet Binan of Mimar Sinan University, who has worked extensively on the restoration and preservation of the Cappadocian environment, the construction of hotels is ongoing and in some cases, in direction violation of the UNESCO protective measures. The entire area of Göreme National Park and

the surrounding regions, encompass both cultural and natural factors. Accordingly, the area needs one management plan and one central local authority that properly amalgamates and assesses local institutions and accounts for the interests of all stakeholders in the region (Binan 2012).

Cappadocian Wine Culture as a Protected Cultural Asset

The Göreme Valley was inscribed onto the World Heritage List in 1986 according to cultural criteria i, iii, v and natural criteria iii (“Report of the Rapporteur”). The inscription according to these criteria was prompted by ICOMOS’ recommendations in their Advisory Evaluation:

- *(C) Criterion i: Owing to their quality and density, the rupestal sanctuaries of Cappadocia constitute a unique artistic achievement offering irreplaceable testimony to post-iconoclast period Byzantine art (“Göreme Valley” 2).*
- *(C) Criterion iii: The rupestal dwellings, villages, convents and churches retain the fossilized images as it were, of a province of the Byzantine Empire between the 4th century and the Turkish invasion. Thus, they are the essential vestiges of a civilization which has disappeared (“Göreme Valley” 2).*
- *(N) Criterion iii: Rare natural formations and features of exceptional beauty are found in the landscape, reflecting varying conditions of resistance as well as the works of man. Göreme is an exceptional representation of the close relationship between man and his environment. (“Turkey, Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia” 1)*
- *Criterion v: Cappadocia is an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement which has become vulnerable under the combined effects of natural erosion and, more recently, tourism. (“Göreme Valley” 2)²⁸*

²⁸ Cultural criterion vii was later included into the Göreme Valley’s protections, for its display of the distinct character of Byzantine church history and architecture (“Turkey, Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia”). Natural criteria i and ii were also added to Göreme’s provenance on the World Heritage list, for the still active volcanic action of Erciyas Dağ (i) and for the ongoing geological process that is evidenced in the landscape of Cappadocia (iii). (“Turkey, Göreme National Park and the Rock Sites of Cappadocia” 1)

In 2011, articles 644 through 648 of the original nomination file were amended by the Commission protecting Natural Assets in a reflection of the new approach of ICOMOS to regional landscapes. The 2011 amendments included the recognition of the Göreme National Park and surrounding region as a Cultural Landscape area. The recognition as a landscape reflects the significance of the interaction between man and nature. In Cappadocia, this interaction has been manifested in man's settlement and integration into the natural landscape of the rock formations over thousands of years (Dincer 2012).

As discussed in Chapter 2, viticulture landscapes have normally been designated in part according to UNESCO Criteria v. In Cappadocia, criteria v is employed, the landscape of the region described as an “outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.” The landscape is formed by the natural erosion of volcanic matter and ash (“Göreme Valley” 2). The inclusion of viticultural heritage of Cappadocia can be argued within its UNESCO Criteria v designation.

According to both the “Göreme Valley” document and Evangelia Balta, the settlements of Cappadocia, which include houses, rock-cut churches and subterranean cities with remaining evidence of winepresses, are very slowly eroding, thus necessitating protective measures (“Göreme Valley” 2, Balta “From Ypolonion to Bolum: The Viticultural Transition in Cappadocia Through the Ottoman Sources and the Oral Tradition”).

The items relating to wine culture are not explicitly specified in the original nomination file for the Göreme National Park or any of the successive protective measures pertaining to the structures which contain material relating to wine heritage. However, the continued emphasis placed on the preservation of the churches, dwellings and subterranean cities, many of which contain winepresses and wall paintings depicting wine, can be used to argue that these items be explicitly mentioned in future UNESCO heritage documents.

All of the criteria utilized to protect Cappadocia (104) can be used to make an argument for the inclusion of wine heritage. In light of the developing climate of the cultural landscape and intangible heritage that is reshaping the ways in which heritage is being presented, cultural criteria v and natural criteria iii, pertaining to landscape and man's interaction with the land are amenable to including the Cappadocian landscape of wine heritage.

The winepresses are mentioned in the underground cities and rock-cut dwellings and wall paintings in conjunction with the emphasis on Byzantine church remains. However, these items should be re-framed by including them in cultural criteria i and iii (104), which refer to the Byzantine structures and later civilizations, in order to convey their cultural significance to the intangible viticulture heritage of the region.

The explicit inclusion of winepresses and evidence of wine culture, similar to the explicit inclusion of wine structures in other UNESCO sites, such as in the Tokaj region discussed in Chapter 2, will be important for the preservation of the intangible heritage of winemaking in Cappadocia.

Another way in which the promotion of viticultural heritage in Cappadocia can be improved is through the employment of a strong historical provenance that argues for a longstanding continuity of wine culture in the region. To this end, the evidence of wine history in the region will now be presented.

Archaeological and Textual Evidence of Winemaking in Cappadocia

Prehistoric

Winemaking has held a special and fundamental importance in the region of Cappadocia for at least the last 5,000 years. Current research points to wine production in proto-Hittite times, to the 5th millennia BCE in Carchemish (modern Kargamış) as well as in Cappadocia at the site of Kültepe and along the Kızılırmak river (Corti 2011).

Objects such as goblets and vases for wine found in the King's tomb at Alacahöyük (Figure 20), dating from c. 2400 BCE that were the sole golden objects recovered, indicate a special importance given to wine that dates to prehistoric times (McGovern, *Ancient Wine: the Search for the Origins of Viniculture* 83). Located approximately 250 kilometers northwest of modern Ürgüp, Alacahöyük was part of the greater general region of Cappadocia in ancient times, and is included in the Hittite Trail prepared by the Cultural Routes in Turkey ("Cultural Routes in Turkey" section). The evidence of winemaking found at Alacahöyük can be used to support the specific reference of wine history into the already existing route.

The Hittite Kingdom: the First Wine Empire of the World

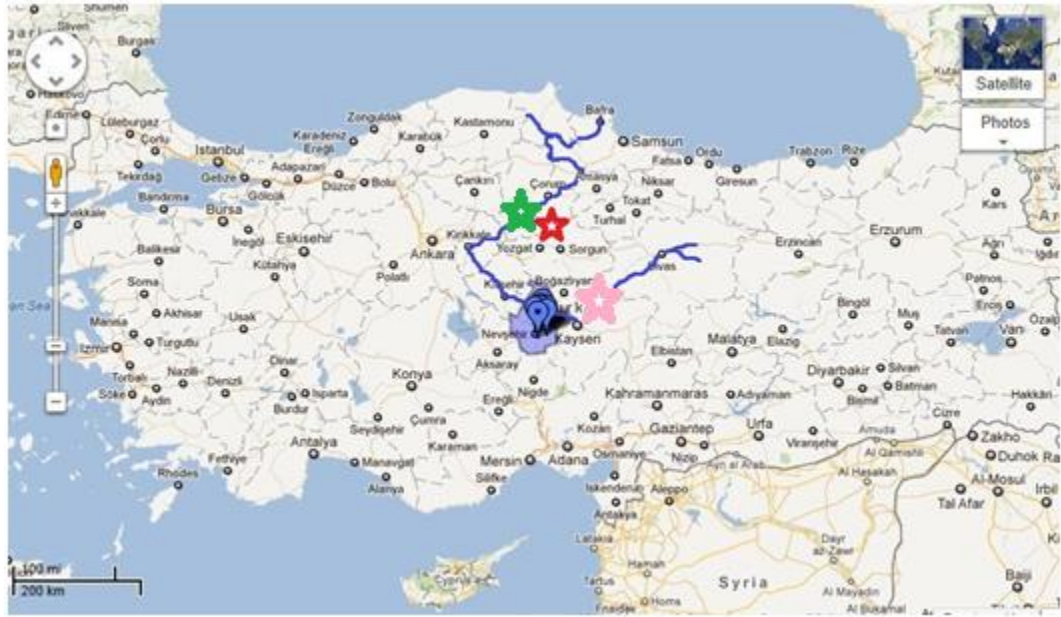


Figure 17 Green star represents site at Alacahöyük. Red star represents Hattusha, Pink star represents Kültepe. Blue line represent Kızılırmak river

In the 2nd millennium BCE, the Hittites made central and northern Anatolia the territory of their flourishing kingdom, with its capital in the bend of the Kızılırmak river in the city of Hattusha (Figure 20) (Gorny, “Archaeological evidence for Anatolian Viticulture,” 134, 137). Hattusha lies approximately 150 kilometers east of Ankara and was found in 1834 by German archaeologists, and excavated by different teams from 1893-4 and again by the German Archaeological Institute between 1906 and 1907 (“Hattusa/Boğazköy”).



Figure 18 UNESCO Map of the protected areas of Hittite capital of Hattusha, modern day Boğazköy, Map courtesy of UNESCO. Accessed April 29, 2012.

Clay tablets from the Hittite city of Hattusha (modern day Boğazköy) from c. 1600 BCE are the main source of information available about Asia Minor during the 2nd century BCE, and provide invaluable information about Hittite trade networks, the legal system, literary works and more. The tablets were inscribed to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register in 2001.

The tablets contain rules for production and farming on tablets, including detailed regulations for viticulture, making the Hittite Kingdom possibly the earliest civilization to record a categorized and regulated wine system (“The Hittite Cuneiform Tablets from Boğazköy”).²⁹ There was evidently sizeable demand and consumption of wine throughout Anatolia at the height of the Hittite

²⁹ Of the 847 Hittite laws, 21 are related to wine. According to Article 101 of the Hittite legal system, stealing or damaging vineyards was illegal and perpetrators were subject to punishment (“The Hittite Cuneiform Tablets from Boğazköy”).

kingdom. However, the wine culture was of a privileged nature. According to the calculations of analysis of the Hittite Inandik tablet, clay jars, which contained about 26.6 liters of wine and cost ½ of the Hittite currency, referred to as “şeker,” would have cost approximately \$600 in today’s U.S. dollar (Singer; Yankı 2012).

The site of Kültepe (Figure 17) was another important trade center which connected Anatolia to trade networks, especially in Egypt. Clay tablets from Kültepe mention a grape and vineyard festival (harvest), as well as stamps that served as trade agreements displaying figures serving wine to the Gods as tribute (Corti 2011). The revival of such harvest festivals as a means of promoting viticulture has been successful in other regions,³⁰ and can be an effective way of reviving an ancient wine heritage in Cappadocia as well as in Tur ‘Abdin (Chapter 4).

Wine consumption in religious practices was prevalent in Hittite culture. The stone relief of Ivriz (Figure 22) represents the Hittite god Tarhun holding a sheaf of wheat and bunch of grapes, and being adored by a smaller figure who raises his hands in adoration (Bier 115). The rock-cut relief, from the 8th century BCE, is from the Hittite settlement approximately 12 km south of the city of Ereğli on the southern edge of Turkey’s central plateau, within the region of Cappadocia (Bier 115).

³⁰ e.g., Fiestas das Vindimias. Palmela, Portugal.



Figure 19 Stone relief of Ivriz, Ereğli, Konya. Photo courtesy of Murat Yankı. JPEG.

The linguistic evidence provided by the proto-Indo-European Language Project points to the origin of all modern languages from the Hittitic language (Chapter 1). The strong wine culture present in the Hittite Kingdom could arguably have been dispersed through the same migration and trade patterns that spread languages.

The Kızılırmak River, Pottery and Viticulture in Cappadocia

Trade networks grew throughout the Hittite kingdom via the Kızılırmak River (Figure 17). The modern city of Avanos (*Zuwinasa* in Hittite) is located on the Kızılırmak River, known in English as the “Red River” for its river bed

composed of red clay (Corti 2011). Avanos has been a center of earthenware pottery production since proto-Hittite times (Corti 2011), using clay-like mud that has been extracted from the bed of the Kızılırmak River. Today, the ceramic trade survives as a staple product of this production in the city of Avanos (“Living Tradition of Pottery Culture at Avanos” section).



Figure 20 Map of the Kızılırmak River with star representing Avanos, Accessed on May 1, 2012. File JPEG. <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0d/Kizilirmak-map.jpg>



Figure 21 Photograph of the Kızılırmak River, Avanos. Photograph courtesy of the Avanos Belediyesi. Accessed May 1, 2012. JPEG File.

Wine residue within clay storage pots has been found in the Hittite capital of Hattusa near the site of Alaca Höyük, as well as at *Wilusa* (modern Troy) indicative of an expansive trade network of these clay pots containing wine. The Kızılırmak river was used for the transportation of wine on rafts from Avanos throughout the Hittite Kingdom (Corti 2011).

In circa 1200 BCE, the Hittite Kingdom abruptly ended and with it, wine culture tapered off into a more subdued state. The Phrygians, who were known to produce liquor wines, were the next civilization to inhabit the Cappadocian region following the Hittites (Gorny, “Viticulture in Ancient Anatolia” 134). The Phrygian Path is another cultural route listed by the Cultural Routes of Turkey (Figure 11), which can similarly include wine heritage in its heritage project.

Living Tradition of Pottery Culture at Avanos

Pottery-making is still very common among families in Avanos, located on the Kızılırmak or “Red River,” famous for its pottery produced since Hittite times from the red mud of the river bed. Many local pottery and ceramic shops owned by families also produce wine on a small scale. One such shop visited for this case study does so for the purpose of sharing with customers who partake in wine consumption in the clay-making workshops they host in their shop.



Figure 22 Photograph of pottery in wine producing basement, Avanos. Photograph taken by the author. April 13, 2012. JPEG File.

Antiquity, Christian Settlement and the Wine Culture in Byzantine Cappadocia

Little evidence or testimony exists of winemaking in Cappadocia from Antiquity (Gorny, “Viticulture in Ancient Anatolia” 137). Reports of winemaking come from travelers who wrote of Cappadocia while traveling through this region.

Xenophon (430-355 BCE) writes in his account of the underground cities of Cappadocia:

The grapes in this region are very good to make wine – they made wine in these underground rooms – and we were given a lot of wine in sheepskin bags when we left.

Four centuries later, in 100 BCE, in his work “Geography,” historian and traveler Strabo mentions the vineyards near the Red River (Kızılırmak) and delicious wine of Malatya, saying that despite the area from Lycaonia to Caeserea never being irrigated, the wells were the deepest in the world (Garret 58).

Wine culture began its revival in Cappadocia in the 2nd century CE, following the settlement of Christians in the region, and continued in the 4th century in Cappadocia following the legalization of Christianity by Emperor Constantine and the beginning of monastic settlement in the region.

Monastic settlements date back to the 4th century in Cappadocia, when Basil the Great was Bishop of modern day Kayseri. At that time, small communities began inhabiting the caves within the natural rock formations of the region. As refuge against Arab attacks in later centuries, some of these communities went underground into subterranean cave dwellings such as those in the modern towns of Kaymaklı and Derinkuyu (“Göreme Valley” 1-2).

Church Paintings Depicting Viticulture

By the Iconoclast Period (725-842), monasticism was well established in Cappadocia, and many of the chapels and sanctuaries were strictly prohibited from displaying excessive figurative representations. Following the Byzantine Iconoclast period, which ended in 842 CE, monasteries and rupestral churches

were carved into the landscape of Cappadocia and richly decorated with bright and colorful figural paintings. The result was a resurgence in the visibility of images, including those indicating a wine culture in Christian monasteries in the region (Soileau 2012).

In the Göreme valley, these churches include the Takli Kilise, El Nazar Kilise, Barbara Kilise, Saklı Kilise, El Mali Kilise and Karanlık Kilise. (“Göreme Valley” 2). In the Kızıl Çokur valley, the churches of Saints Joachim and Anne, as well as the 9th century Üzümlü Kilise (popularly known as the Church of the Grapes) contain such paintings (Soileau 2012; Restle 344-354; Eadem 444-479). In the Üzümlü Church, one such painting depicts both red and white grapes, possibly indicating that wine production was intended for more than religious purposes within the Christian communities (Figure 27).



Figure 23 Photograph of painting of grapes and vines on ceiling Üzümlü Kilise. Courtesy of Murat Yankı.



Figure 24 Photograph of painting of grapes and vines on the ceiling of St. Stephan Church. Courtesy of Murat Yankı.

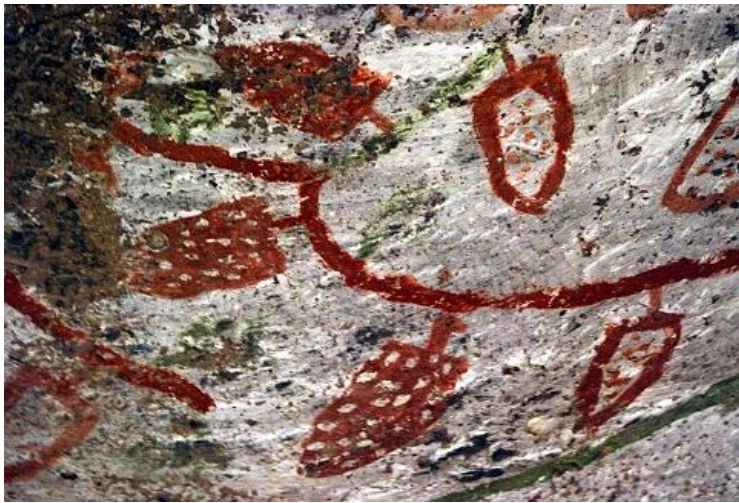


Figure 25 Photograph of painting on the ceiling of the Üzümlü Church. Courtesy of Murat Yankı.

Frescoes in the Tokalı Church in Göreme display images from the Biblical story of the Marriage at Cana (Figure 30), including one painting of a half dozen urns from which the Bible says Jesus turned water into wine, as well as another image of Jesus stirring the wine in the urns (John 2:1-11) (Figure 31).



Figure 26 Photograph of fresco painting representing Jesus and the miracle of transforming water to wine at the marriage of Cana, Tokalı Church, Göreme. Photograph courtesy of Murat Yankı. JPEG file.



Figure 27 Photograph of fresco painting representing Jesus stirring the wine in urns, Tokalı Church, Göreme. Photograph courtesy of Murat Yankı. JPEG File.

Wine-Presses in Cappadocia

Rock-cut wine presses survive in many of the Cappadocian churches. A wine press in the town of Özkonak, 10 miles north of Avanos, was found by 20th century German Byzantine archaeologist Marcell Restle. Rock-cut presses have also been discovered in the towns of Ürgüp (Figure 32), Mustafapaşa, Uçhisar and Derinkuyu (Balta “The Underground Rock-Cut Winepresses of Cappadocia”). A winepress dating to the 8th or 9th century has been found at the vineyards of Paşabağı (near Göreme), as well as in the Church of Three Crosses in Gülüdere near the Red Valley.



Figure 28 Rock-cut winepress, Ürgüp. Photo courtesy of Murat Yankı.

Similar rock-cut wine presses from Greece have been found, however, the Cappadocian wine presses are special in that they have been made from the lava rock resulting from Mount Argaeus’ (Erciyes Dağ) eruption (Balta “The Underground Rock-Cut Winepresses of Cappadocia” 63). These winepresses are slowly disappearing due to environmental factors and the effects of tourism (“Göreme Valley” 2; Pigeat). These rock-cut presses are currently being studied,

documented and archived by Evangelia Balta, and will appear in the forthcoming publication by Peeter's Publishers, in their Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series.

In addition to the monastic communities, laymen were also drinking wine throughout the Byzantine era in Cappadocian inns along what was a continuously developing trade and migratory route (Balta, Anagnostakis "La découverte de Cappadoce" 125-127). However, during this time Cappadocia was a relatively rural civilization, in which monastic life flourished, and was hardly the rich, feasting culture of wine and viticulture that had been present in the region during Hittite times.

Textual Evidence of Viticulture in Byzantine and Ottoman Periods

Viticulture during the Ottoman era has not been studied in great depth in Cappadocia, and such a study would be enormously beneficial to understanding the dynamic that existed regarding wine culture at a time when Christian, Muslim, Alevi and Bektashi communities co-existed for hundreds of years (Balta, "The Underground Rock-Cut Winepresses of Cappadocia" 62). The examination of Ottoman tax registers is now being carried out by Balta (Balta "From Ypolonion to Bolum: The Viticultural Transition in Cappadocia Through the Ottoman Sources and the Oral Tradition"), and this research will shed light on how involved each community, particularly those with strong Christian populations, was in viticulture under Ottoman rule (see following section; "Ottoman Tax Records and Viticulture in Cappadocia" section).

Of the few testimonies that exist from Ottoman times, laudatory remarks are given of the quality of wine being produced in Cappadocia. Cappadocia came to be particularly well known for its wine in the 13th century, giving the Turcoman tribes that conquered the area the difficult task of prohibiting its consumption among new converts to Islam (Vyronis 483).

In the early nineteenth century, the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril, in his descriptions of the Greek Orthodox communities, referenced their vine growing over a large expanse of the region. Among several locations, he specifically mentions the abundance and quality of grape-growing in the towns of Uçhisar and what is now Mustafapaşa (formerly Sinasos) (Cyril 36). Other churches built or restored from the eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries show the incorporation of grape vines into wall paintings, pointing to a continuation of viticulture practices.

Ottoman Tax Records and Viticulture in Cappadocia

Ongoing analysis of the Ottoman tax records by Evangelia Balta has unearthed valuable information concerning the production of wine in Ottoman Cappadocia, to be published in the forthcoming volume of the proceedings held at Koç University's symposium *Of Vines & Wines: the Production and Consumption of Wine in Anatolian Civilizations Through the Ages*.

In recent years, the Kayakapı Project, as outlined in Chapter 2, has been researching Cappadocian culture in preparation for the development of a cultural tourism project in Ürgüp ("Kayakapı Project and Inclusion of Winemaking into a Sustainable Tourism Project"). The project has tried to discern what the habits of alimentation were in the region from around 1880-1924, and have found records of the types of grapes that were being consumed and for what purpose (table

grapes or wine grapes). The Kayakapı team has collected information for this purpose from 1911 tax records and compared them with the 2011 harvest results, with striking similarity, indicative of continuity of grape varieties in Cappadocia (Örnek 2011). Data of this kind can be contributed to studies of grape genetic heritage in order to document and identify grape varieties of the region.

The historical background given here, through the research and contribution of many other scholars, can be used to appeal to heritage organizations as a record of the historical richness of winemaking in Cappadocia. Contemporary winemaking in Cappadocia is relevant to the argument for continuity that winemaking has enjoyed, as well as to examine its fragility.

Cappadocian Wine and Winemaking Today: Homemade Wine in Cappadocia

Mahzen Home Wine, Ürgüp

Homemade winemaking is common throughout the Cappadocia region today. Advertised as “Local Wine House: Mahzen Şarap Evi” in Ürgüp, this is an example of this type of home-industry. It is owned by the Sarıkaya family, who moved to the Cappadocia region from Thessaloniki in 1874. Ever since that year, they have been producing wine and selling it from a house in Ürgüp which has a historic rock-cut winepress and cellar for fermentation in the basement area.



Figure 29 Photograph of the Mahzen Wine House, Ürgüp. Photograph taken by the author. April 13, 2012. JPEG File.



Figure 30 Photograph of rock-cut wine tank in underground basement of Mahzen Winery. Photograph taken by the author. April 13, 2012. JPEG File.

The Sarıkaya family found a rock-cut press and the existing pottery in the cellar of their home in 1874, and originally, the family used the rock-cut

winemaking system for production of their homemade wine. However, today they no longer use the winepress, and instead grow and press their grapes at a vineyard and production site 20 kilometers from Ürgüp. Mahzen is a relatively large scale operation for homemade wine, with a net production of approximately 15 tons some years and closer to 40 tons of grapes in other harvests.



Figure 31 Photograph of clay jugs in the underground basement of Mahzen Winery. Photograph taken by the author. April 13, 2012. JPEG File.



Figure 32 Photograph of winepress and filtration funnel leading to tank, subterranean city in Kaymaklı. Photograph taken by the author, April 15, 2012. JPEG File.



Figure 33 Photograph of Tuna Sarıkaya, owner of Mahzen Winery. Photograph taken by the author. April 13, 2012. JPEG File.

Factory Wine in Cappadocia

Contrasting with the small scale domestic wine production the Cappadocian region is home to several of Turkey's largest wineries, including its largest and its oldest private winery, Kavaklıdere, founded by Cenap And in 1929 and Turasan, founded in Ürgüp in 1943.

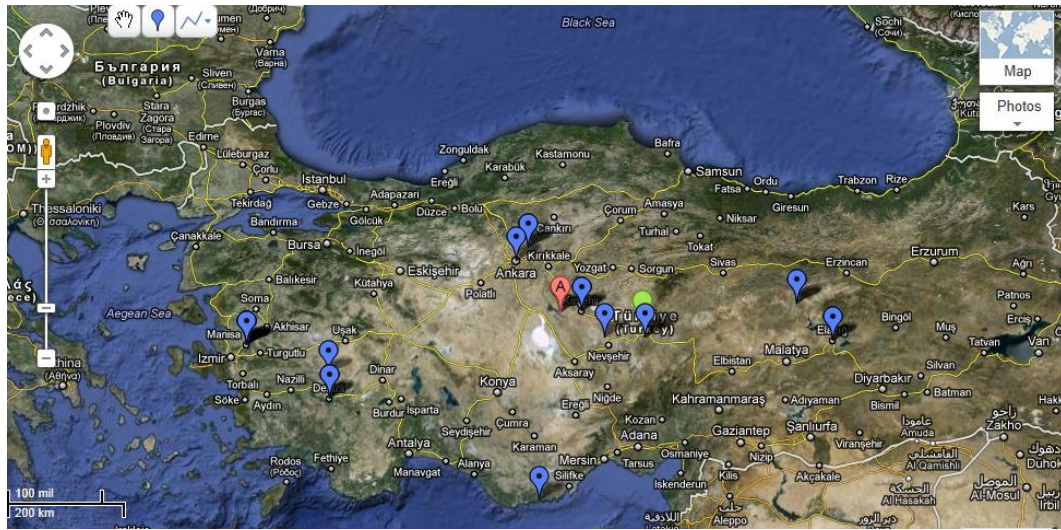


Figure 34 Map of Kavaklıdere vineyards and production centers. Created by author, May 6, 2012.

Kavaklıdere owns a total of 550,000 hectares of land dedicated to vineyards in several regions of Anatolia in Cappadocia's Gölşehir (180,000 hectares), Ege-Kemaliye-Pendore (200,000 hectares), Denizli-Güney (44,000 hectares), Elazığ-Aydıncık (23,000 hectares), Kirşehir-Toklumen (80,000 hectares) and near Ankara in Akyurt and Kalecik (32,000 hectares). Kavaklıdere has a total annual production of 18.5 million liters of wine (*Cappadocia Viticulture*).

Kavaklıdere is an increasingly international wine brand, which now exports 20 percent of its total production to European Union countries, Japan and the United States (*Cappadocia Viticulture*). Kavaklıdere credits the Kızılırmak basin and its cretaceous soil with providing a micro climate which is good for

grape-growing in its Cappadocian vineyards (“Geography, Topography and Layout of the Cappadocia Viticulture”). Kavaklıdere produces wine from both the indigenous grapes Narince, Kalecik Karası, Emir and Öküzgözü as well as the international varieties Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc and Tempranillo (*Cappadocia Viticulture*).

The Turasan Winery was founded in Ürgüp in 1943 and purchased by Rüştü Turasan in 1959, and has been operated by the Turasan family ever since. Turasan owns approximately 500,000 hectares of vineyards, with 200,000 in their “Turasan Zeyep Vineyards” and 300,000 hectares at their “Turasan Vineyards,” from which they harvest about two million tons of grapes and produce one million liters of wine (Kavaklıdere, “History”). Like Kavaklıdere, Turasan produces wine using the local Emir varietal, as well as international varieties Sauvignon Blanc, Chardonnay, Cabernet Sauvignon, Merlot and Tannat, all of which they grow in their own vineyards. Turasan used to exclusively contract with vineyards in the east where native varieties such as Öküzgözü and Boğazkere are grown but now has contracted vineyards throughout Anatolia to grow Muscat, Narince, Öküzgözü, Boğazkere, Kalecik Karası and Syrah. They have a Classic Group of “Cappadocian Wines,” which include blends of Anatolian and international varieties (Classic Group, Cappadocian Wines).

Smaller factory wineries in the Cappadocian region include Kocabağ Winery and Vinolus. Kocabağ vineyards are located about 100 km outside of Ürgüp, was founded in 1972 by the Erdoğan family who are the current owners. Today Kocabağ produces anywhere from 300-400,000 liters of wine from 35 hectares of vineyards in the area around Uçhisar. Kocabağ produces wine from

the local Emir, Narince and Kalecik Karası grapes as well as Anatolian Öküzgözü and Boğazkere varieties. The Zelve vineyard grows Dimrit grapes, which produce approximately 65% of Cappadocian wines today.

Vinolus vineyards occupy approximately 1,500 hectares of vineyards. Vinolus is a new, smaller scale winery operating in the city of Kayseri. Founded and run by a woman, Ms. Molu, the grapes are grown according to organic regulations. The Vinolus blend won the Meilluer Chardonnay du Monde Contest in 2010 (Organik Tarım).

Conclusion and Potential for the Inclusion of Cappadocia in a Wine Route

In Cappadocia, three levels of involvement will be essential to the creation of Cappadocian wine being included in a larger wine route. Factory wineries in Cappadocia will play a major role in creating outreach and development programs that increase public interest in Turkish wine and this will entail the strengthening of networks and partnerships among the wineries. Community involvement must be fostered to develop events and programs that bring together local groups that support wine promotion, such as the Vinotolia wine tours and the programs such as Cappadocian Wine Days and tastings of Cappadocian Wine.

In order for wine culture to be promoted and to become a priority within the current political climate, it should be promoted within the scope of tourism. The model offered by the Association of Cultural Routes in Turkey can encourage the recreation of a grape growers cooperative in Cappadocia, similar to the disbanded TaskoBirlik (“Harvest Festival, Tours and Wine Promotions”). It will

be beneficial to the promotion of wine heritage if local authorities are involved and supporting larger frameworks that encourage the promotion of such events. One way of gaining government support will be to follow the model being developed by the Cultural Routes in Turkey organization, which is forming an association in order to gain government support.

Additionally, the Cultural Routes in Turkey organization has included in its current list of routes the Hittite Civilization and the site at Alacahöyük. Wine culture can be included in these routes, so that people following those routes are exposed to the history of the wine culture of ancient cultures in the region. One way to incorporate this historical background would be to include it in the book prepared by the organization to accompany individuals participating in self-guided tours.

The extensive vineyards of Kavaklıdere throughout Anatolia (Figure 38) can be used to strengthen an argument for Cappadocian wine being tied into European wine routes. With the expansion of Cappadocian wineries into different areas of central and western Anatolia, wine cultural routes can be linked to those areas in the Aegean and into Thrace and Greece, to link Turkish wine centers with larger wine routes such as that of *Iter Vitis*.

Establishing Networks and Local Partners

A variety of businesses can be partnered with in the region of Cappadocia in order to strengthen the network of wine culture. Apart from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, private wineries and tourism companies, as well as

academicians and professionals should be stakeholders in any tourism or heritage project with wine in Cappadocia.

The local vocational university, “Sinassos Meslek Yuksek Okulu” (Sinassos Vocational School of Higher Education), could work with any regional wine project to enable tourism students and professionals to partake in the wine tours. The History and Tourism Departments at the local Nevşehir University can also be important partners by organizing and participating in conference venues and utilizing their university library holdings.

The local factory wineries, including: Turasan, Kocabağ, Vinolus, Kavaklıdere, should be involved, as well as homemade wine producers such as Mahzen Winery.

Some efforts are already underway. For example, the Kayakapı Project and the Dinler Hotels are conducting the research and are in the stages of planning towards the construction of a wine tour and museum project based on history and heritage in Ürgüp (“The Kayakapı Project and Inclusion of Winemaking into a Sustainable Tourism Project”). Local restaurants, such as Bizim Ev in Avanos, emphasize Cappadocian wines in their menus, and have an interest in the history of wine, could be incorporated into a project. The pottery makers in Avanos (Figure 40) can be incorporated into wine tours to give tourists an integrated experience of the ancient wine culture tradition that is tied to pottery in the region.

In keeping with the sustainable model being developed by organizations like ACTE and Cultural Routes in Turkey, local people in Cappadocia can play a monumental role in formation of a network of activity suppliers for sustainable developmental tourism. The involvement of university students and faculty, local

residents who work in the vineyards of the large scale wineries can benefit from the formation of a route. The harvest activities already make a major contribution to the household economy of the locals of the region, and nearby villagers are employed in the already existing harvest events (“Cappadocia Grape Harvest Festival – Beginning of October”).

Harvest Festivals, Tours and Wine Promotion

Reviving the ancient tradition of a grape harvest festival at Kültepe will be one effective way that the region of Cappadocia can promote its viticulture heritage while involving local agents (“Hittite Kingdom: The First Wine Empire of the World”). There has traditionally been a grape harvest festival organized by a local cooperative for wine grapes in Cappadocia, however, this annual festival ended in 1996 with the disbanding of the grape-growing cooperative. TaskoBirlik, a grape-growing cooperative which started in 1942 in the towns throughout the Cappadocian region, was formed as an cooperative which was to assess the quality of different grapes being produced in the region.

Operating until 1996, the estimates showed that approximately 35% of the grape production was turned into molasses, 30% was made into vinegar, 15-20% was used for juice and raisins and 10% was left for winemaking (Yankı 2012). Even though the amount of wine produced in the late 1990s was relatively minor, when compared to the overall grape production, the TaskoBirlik cooperative was disbanded due to discontent among the cooperative members, possibly about grapes being used for alcohol (Yankı 2012). The reformation of a cooperative of grape growers and the small scale wineries would be an important step towards

establishing a network that engages local producers and allows them to benefit from their winemaking traditions.

The reinstatement of a harvest festival will also be important for viticulture heritage in the region. There are several harvest events which take place in Cappadocia between August and October. The major factory wineries have all taken part in or hosted some private harvest festival activities associated with their wineries. One such event is hosted by Kavaklıdere, marketed as “Kavaklıdere Weekend Vintage Trips”, held in their vineyards and production plants. Throughout the year, organized tours visit the Kavaklıdere Capadoccia Production Plant, the winery’s third largest production plant after Ankara’s Akyurt and Manisa’s Kemaliye (“Cappadocia Wine Festival – End of October”). Kavaklıdere organizes such harvest trips to help advertise and promote both the historical background of the region and its winemaking traditions (“Cappadocia Wine Festival – End of October”). Kavaklıdere cites these tours as being fundamental to the growing wine tourism industry in Turkey.

Apart from the festival activities sponsored by wineries, there is only a table grape harvest festival in Ürgüp, which is held every October (“Cappadocia Grape Harvest Festival – Beginning of October”). To support its traditional and ongoing center for pottery production, the International Tourism and Handicraft Festival takes place every year in Avanos in late August (“Cappadocia Wine Festival – End of October”). Ongoing events of this sort can be utilized to revive a wine grape harvest festival in the region.

With the sponsorship of several local enterprises, including Turasan Winery, a local tourism professional and wine history enthusiast, Murat Yankı,

organized a Cappadocia Wine Days event in 2011 in order to explore the wine routes of Cappadocia (“Cappadocia Wine Days”).

The Wine Days event attempted to bring together several groups working within the wine industry with interested parties in the tourism and academic sectors. The event was sponsored by several local enterprises; mainly local tourism, hotel and hot air balloon companies, as well as Turasan, which also hosted wine tastings along with the Vinolus winery. However, several important entities, including a large scale local winery did not participate in the event, and the lack of participation among interested parties indicates a challenge for organizing local entities for events of the sort in the future. The most disconcerting issue is the lack of interest among relevant local parties in participating in this project, as this type of collaboration would foster networks that could sustainably promote the wine culture in the region.

Local tourism professional Murat Yankı has a vision for the improvement of Cappadocian wine culture which is twofold; to create wine routes in Turkey that can be implemented into tours based on the culture and history of viticulture in Anatolia, and to create a wine museum in Cappadocia. The wine museum of Cappadocia, similar to the proposed museum of the Kayakapı Project, should be an interactive cultural wine history museum that encompasses historic, genetic, cultural and social aspects of wine culture in Cappadocia throughout its history. One manner by which a Cappadocian wine route can be promoted is through the collaboration of tourism professionals and ongoing projects such as those discussed in this chapter.



Figure 35 Map of wine producing countries recognized by Iter Vitis, with region of Cappadocia included, red star.

To continue the argument for a cultural wine route through Turkey, this thesis will now examine the second and final case study of the Süryani winemaking tradition in the Tur'Abdin region of the Mardin province.

Chapter 4

Case Study 2: Viticulture Heritage of Süryani Winemaking in Tur 'Abdin and Proposal for a Wine Route

Tur 'Abdin: the Region

Tur 'Abdin is a region in the Mardin Province in southeastern Turkey bordered by the Tigris River to the north and east, the Syrian plain to the south, and the Karaca Dağ mountain to the West. The massif³¹ was known in Classical times as Mount Masius.

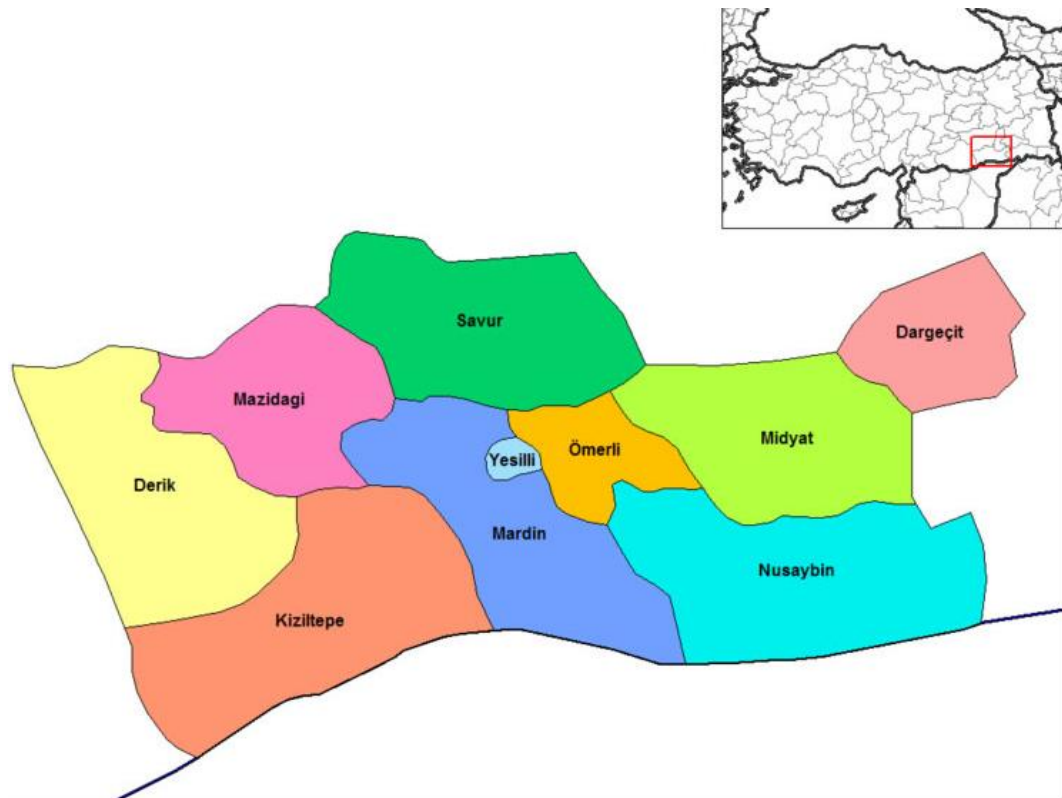


Figure 36 Map of Province of Mardin. Mardin Belediyesi. Accessed 30 May. 2012. <http://www.mardin.bel.tr/2010/tasarimresimler/mardin-haritasi.jpg>

³¹ A massif is a principle mountain mass or block of the earth's crust bounded by faults or flexures and displaced as a unit without internal change (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2012).

The words “Tur ‘Abdin” are literally translated from Syriac to mean “the Mountain of the Servants of God” (Soileau 2011). For more than 3,000 years, Tur ‘Abdin has been a culturally rich and ethnically diverse region (Barbaro et al.). In 1835, J. Hammer-Pugstall wrote that in the greater region of what is now Mardin, "Sunnis and Shias, Catholic and Schismatic Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Chaldeans, Sun-, Fire-, Calf- and Devil-worshippers dwell one over the head of the other” (Polo et al. 62).

The Süryani People of Tur ‘Abdin

Although many cultures have lived in the region throughout recorded history, the Süryani people, descendants of the Arameans were and remain an important community. Tur ‘Abdin has been populated by Süryanis since roughly 1000 BCE, and during this period they have left their mark on the landscape through architectural structures and cultural traditions in this region. The most notable structures showing Süryani presence in the region are the Christian monasteries, some of which stand to this day and are still in use (Soileau 2011).

The term Süryani is the Turkish name for these people. In English, the people, their church and their Semitic language are referred to as Syriac or Syrian. Some Süryani people today may even refer to themselves as Assyrian or Aramaean; however, the most common title used is the Turkish appellation Süryani, and future references in this thesis will identify them as such.

Migration, Conflict, and the Continuity of Süryani Winemaking

The ancient tradition of winemaking among the Süryani people living in Tur ‘Abdin is an example of intangible cultural heritage and a practice that continues to this day. This tradition has been tied to the identity of the Süryani people within the complex and diverse ethnic make-up of the region. Throughout history, Süryani winemaking has ebbed and flowed in relation to the status of the Süryani people. Demographic and political changes have affected the practice, but despite these movements, the Süryani and their winemaking tradition in Tur ‘Abdin have survived and are once again on the rise after several decades of emigration and decline.

The culture of winemaking in Tur ‘Abdin, which has come to be closely associated with the local Süryani and Armenian Christian populations, declined greatly in the last century along with the population of these groups.

Eight years before the Treaty of Lausanne, that in turn resulted in the Population Exchange of Greeks from Turkey and vice versa, highly controversial events including the displacement and alleged genocide of Armenians took place in 1915. According to Ottoman texts, effective June 1st, 1915, as many as 400,000 Armenians were displaced in accordance with the Temporary Law on the Measures Implemented by Military against those Opposing the Government Implementations at Wartime (Turkish Ministry of Culture). The estimates for the number of Armenians who died during this period range from two hundred thousand to one and a half million (Tugal 143-44).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, an estimated two thousand Süryanis were living in Mardin proper and many more in the surrounding region.

However, in 1915 approximately two thousand Süryanis living outside the city limits were allegedly killed (“Armenian Issue: Allegations-Facts”). “The real reasons for this action, and the means of its execution, are still hotly debated by historians. But, its consequence is not in dispute: the nearly complete disappearance of all Armenian and Syriac communities” (de Courtois 156).

Of the remaining Süryani population, beginning in the 1950s and continuing into the 1960s and 1970s, many were driven out Tur ‘Abdin due to ongoing violence in the area, not necessarily directed towards them, but nonetheless prompting their movement from Tur ‘Abdin. Most migrated to Europe. Many of the formerly Süryani towns and villages were occupied by Kurds who halted wine production and discontinued the use of their winepresses for winemaking (Soileau 2011).³²

There are many examples of towns along the road from Mardin going east toward Midyat (“Mardin Batman Yolu”) that were once inhabited by Süryanis and which were abandoned during the 1960s and 1970s. In the town of Ömerli, which in Syriac is called “Ma’serte” meaning “winepress,” only one Süryani family has remained in the town, and the old winepresses are either lost or destroyed. However, there are many vineyards in the lands surrounding Ömerli, and winepresses are easily visible in the neighboring towns. Like the towns, many of the vineyards have been abandoned.

While Kurds have moved into many former Süryani villages, some villages remain completely uninhabited. One of these villages, called Kafro “Elbeğendi,” is slowly being repopulated by Süryani families who have returned

³² The winepresses may have still continued being used for making pekmez.

to Tur ‘Abdin. New houses and even a Cultural Center are being constructed in Elbeğendi (Figure 46), which is surrounded by the vineyard landscape and many of the guard huts discussed in the following section.

TUR ‘ABDIN: The Mountain of the Servants (of God)
A Cradle of Aramean Christendom

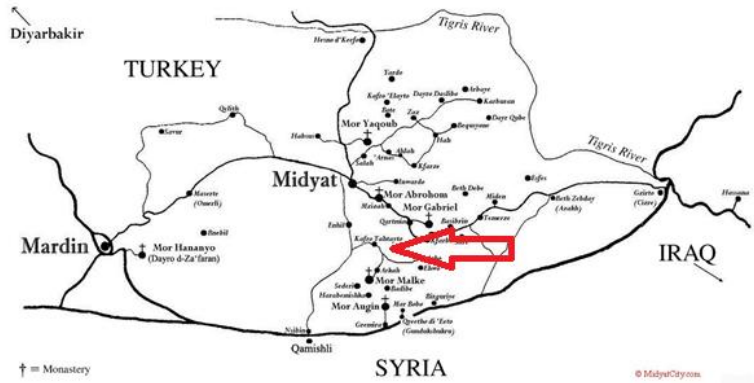


Figure 37 Map pointing to Elbeğendi



Figure 38 Cultural Center, Elbeğendi. March 17, 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Geography, Topography and Layout of Tur ‘Abdin, its Monasteries and Vineyards

The Batman Yolu road that goes from Mardin to the east cuts directly through the Tur ‘Abdin region, and on both sides of the road, there are terraces along the slopes of the many small mountains. The terraced mountain slopes extend to the town of Yeşilli and on to Manastır in the region of Izalla. Each town is surrounded by Süryani villages which in the past had been centers of wine production, especially Izalla.

TUR ‘ABDIN: The Mountain of the Servants (of God) A Cradle of Aramean Christendom



Figure 39 Map showing Batman Road, Tur 'Abdin. Courtesy of Midyatcity.com.



Figure 40 Vineyard landscape surrounding Mardin Batman road. March 17. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Many of these terraces appear at first glance to be natural formations, but careful inspection shows that the earth has been deliberately shaped to create well-drained, mineral-rich fields which would have been ideal for the cultivation of grapes. In addition to wine grapes, table grapes for grape molasses (*pekmez*) as well as vinegar would have been made from these vineyards.

Within the fields along the Tur ‘Abdin road from Mardin to Midyat, it is also possible to see abandoned huts (*komisho* in Syriac) that would have been used by guards protecting the grape crops. These structures are not found in similar wheat fields, pointing to the special importance of the grape production for the inhabitants and indicating with certainty that these fields were once used as vineyards (Soileau 2011). To this day, grapes remain a popular crop at the weekly fruit and vegetable stands of the towns along this road.



Figure 41 Hut (*komisho*) for guarding vineyard. Photograph taken by Mark Soileau. JPEG file.

Mardin is considered to be a separate ecclesiastical district from Tur ‘Abdin and is directed by a different bishop than the monasteries of Tur ‘Abdin (Soileau 2012). The mountain ridge west of Mardin, which marks the northern boundary of the Tur ‘Abdin region, is called “Zinnar,” which connotes a specific type of monk’s belt in Turkish. Mardin and the area to its east possess the defining cultural element of Tur ‘Abdin: its monasteries, identified on the following map.

TUR 'ABDIN: The Mountain of the Servants (of God) A Cradle of Aramean Christendom

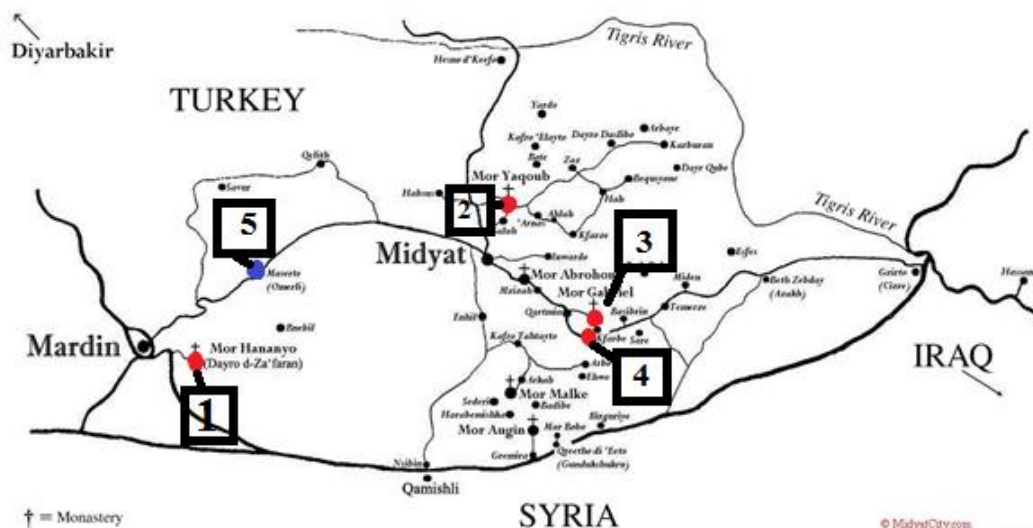


Figure 42 Map of Tur 'Abdin region, displaying monasteries. Courtesy of Midyatcity.com.

As was done in the case study of Cappadocia and the documents pertaining to UNESCO WH sites relating to viticulture, a historical background will now be given that can be used to argue for the inclusion of Tur 'Abdin and Süryani winemaking in a cultural route of wine in Turkey.

Textual and Archaeological Evidence of Winemaking in Tur 'Abdin

Biblical Reference to Viticulture in Tur 'Abdin

In the book of Genesis, it is said that "Noah, the tiller of the soil, was the first to plant a vineyard. He drank of the wine and became drunk, and he uncovered himself within the tent." (*King James Bible*, Genesis. 9.20-21). One way to interpret Noah's action to immediately plant a vineyard after the flood is

that it symbolizes the human move to a settled and non-nomadic society. The act of planting the vineyard serves as a symbol of the mended relationship between man and the land after the flood, and the establishment of a landscape within which man will integrate himself.

According to the Bible, Noah planted the first vineyard on Mount Ararat (Ağrı Dağı) after having landed his ark in northeastern Turkey near the Turkish Armenian border. According to Süryani tradition, however, the Mount Ararat referred to in the Bible, is in fact Mount Judi, near the city of Cizre, which is located in the Tur ‘Abdin region, on the Turkish side of the borders between Turkey, Iraq and Syria. According to the Süryani version of the story of Noah, it is alleged that the first vineyard was planted in Tur ‘Abdin.

There is a parable of a vineyard by the Prophet Isaiah (*King James Bible*, Isaiah. 5.1-2), in which Isaiah includes reference to all parts of the ancient winemaking process:

*Let me sing now for my beloved/ A song of my beloved concerning
His vineyard/ My well-beloved had a vineyard on a fertile hill./ He
dug it all around, removed its stones/ And planted it with the
choicest vine./ And he put a tower in the middle of it./ And also
hewed a wine vat in it.*

The landscape of Tur ‘Abdin is still marked by the walled vineyards, remains of the guard towers, and rock cut-winepresses that are referred to in the Old Testament. The Süryani people still practice this same traditional process of winemaking today (Soileau 2011).

Archaeological Evidence of Viticulture in Tur 'Abdin

Tur 'Abdin is located within the loosely defined area where the wild grapevine is known to have first grown (McGovern et al. 1997). While in-depth excavations have not taken place in Tur 'Abdin, the earliest evidence of grape remains from nearby sites, as well as some located within Tur 'Abdin suggest that grape domestication may date to the Neolithic Period in the region. Evidence of wheat domestication as well as remains of grape seeds have been found at the 9th millennium BCE sites of Çayönü, Hallan Çemi and Körtik Tepe, which are all located just north of Tur 'Abdin. However, it is undetermined whether the grape seeds were used for viticulture purposes during this period (McGovern et al. 1997).

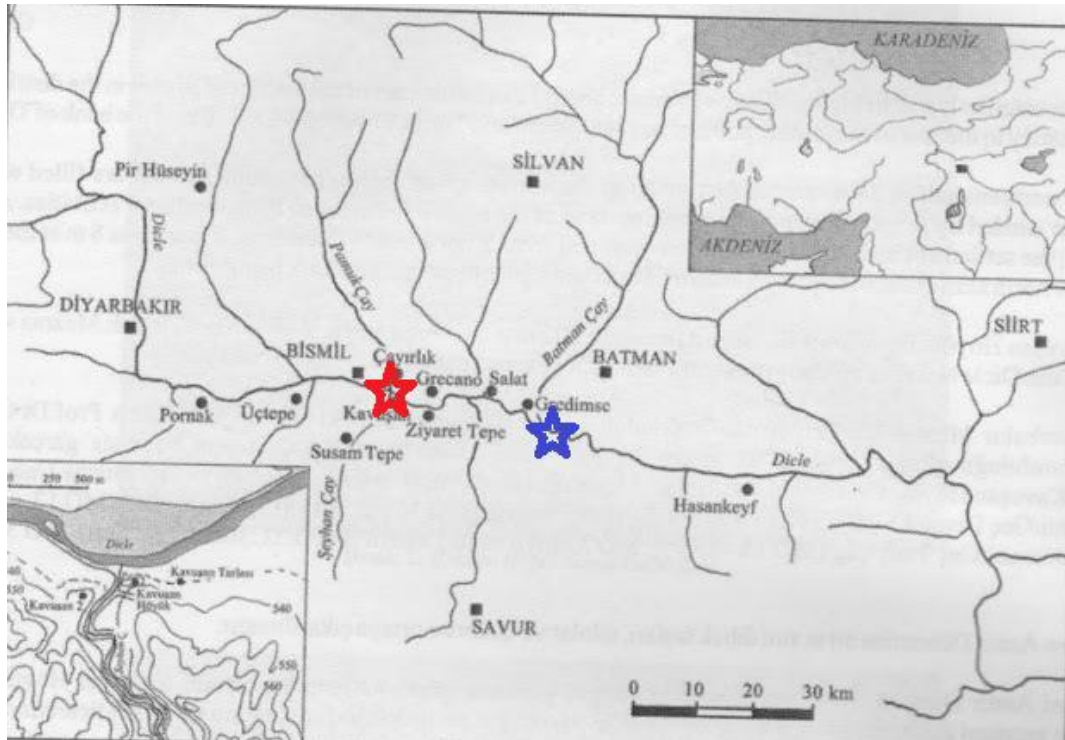


Figure 43 Map of neighboring archaeological sites with evidence of wheat and grape growing. Red star represents Kavuşan Höyük, blue star represents Hırbemerdon. Kozbe. Gülriz 2008, Kavuşan Höyük Kazısı Arşivi.

To date, evidence collected at the site of Hirbemerdon, located north of Tur ‘Abdin on the Tigris (Figure 52) points to winemaking in the region during the Bronze Age (Barnard et al. 2011; Laneri 2011 83). Evidence of a winemaking structure from the Neo-Assyrian period has been found at the nearby site of Kavuşan Höyük (Guarducci 2-4).

Physical remains have been found throughout the area of the main elements of winemaking as it was practiced in Tur ‘Abdin (rock towers, dugout wine presses, and clay pots for fermentation). Mark Soileau of Artuklu Univeristy in Mardin has been compiling textual information as well as conducting field research in the Tur ‘Abdin region regarding the history and heritage of viticulture. Soileau has found evidence of the remains of the structures associated with viticulture in Tur ‘Abdin, and his exploration of the area confirm the research of other scholars, most notably the work of Palmer, who has written about the monasteries of Tur ‘Abdin.

Çelibra Winemaking System: Archaeological Evidence for Winemaking in the Region

In 2011, remnants of a rock-cut winemaking system of a very large scale were excavated about 10 kilometers west of Mardin. The winemaking system, called Çelibra, was excavated during the summer of 2011 by the Mardin Archaeology Museum under its Director Nihat Erdoğan. The exact date of construction is currently unknown, but the scale of the remains which were uncovered points to Çelibra as being part of an entire economic, social and cultural system of winemaking (Çelibra Bilimsel Rapor).

The production system is cut from rock and connected in a way that utilizes gravity so that once the grapes were pressed, the resulting must could have been processed without much labor or interference.

In total, the excavations have unearthed five 5 meter by 5 meter treading floors, one hundred and four rock-cut tanks, of which the smaller ones were used for filtration and the larger ones for fermentation (Çelibra Bilimsel Rapor).



Figure 44 Treading Floor at Çelibra site. March 16, 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.



Figure 45 Tank for receiving the must from the tredding floors at Çelibra site. March 16. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.



Figure 46 View of winemaking system at Çelibra site. March 16. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.



Figure 47 Winemaking system at Çelibra site. March 16. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.



Figure 48 Tanks for receiving must at Çelibra site. March 16. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.



Figure 49 Funneling system at Çelibra site. March 16, 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Grape juice from the treading floors would have been funneled into smaller tanks, which would have allowed for any remaining sediment to fall to the bottom. The overflow of juice continued into another pipeline and was funneled into larger primary and secondary fermentation tanks.

The size of the wine system indicates production intended for sale and possible export beyond the region. A popular local legend suggests the presence of an ancient pipeline that ran to what was Nineveh (now Mosul). A clergyman at the Mor Gabriel monastery spoke of such a system freely, even adding that there were two pipelines, one for fermented wine and one for grape juice. Today an oil pipeline from Iraq follows approximately the same route.

Near to the winepress in Çelibra is a stream that could have been a bigger river during a less arid period. If this was the case, it would have provided an accessible mode of transportation for the large quantity of wine being produced.

The wine system discovered at Çelibra is in an ideal location for winemaking because of its proximity to grape producing areas. It is located

approximately two kilometers south of the Zinnar mountain ridge, which is spotted with villas and farmsteads which have historically been inhabited by Süryanis. Excavations at the site have since stopped due to a lack of human resources that can be devoted to the project, although a thorough report by Nihat Erdoğan and his team is awaiting publication.



Figure 50 View from the Çelibra site toward the Western end of the Zinnar mountain ridge. March 16, 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

History of Winemaking in Tur ‘Abdin

It is not until the Neo-Assyrian period, during the 9th century BCE, that concrete textual evidence of winemaking in Tur ‘Abdin is found. At this time, during the reign of King Ashurnasirpal II, detailed accounts of his various campaigns throughout the region testify not only to the existence of winemaking in the Tur ‘Abdin region, but point to its importance to trade and to the royal wine culture of the Assyrian Empire (Grayson 1991).

A large number of of King Ashurnasirpal II's campaigns were located in the area around Tur 'Abdin. King Ashurnasirpal's 5th campaign took him from Tilulu to the city of Tushan on the Tigris, conquering the cities Zazabuha, Irsia, Madaranzu, Shigishu and Madara along the way. Some of these towns surrendered upon being attacked, and there are detailed accounts of the items given as tribute in submission and honor to the new King Ashurnasirpal II (Grayson 208-10).

Certain items reoccur in the accounts, including: sheep, cattle, bronze, vessels, and wine (*karānu*). During the 5th campaign, the conquered rulers of the towns Kibaku, Zazabuha, Habhu, Irsia, and Tushhan, bestow wine upon King Ashurnasirpal II in deference to his new command (Grayson 208-10). Mario Liverani's map of King Ashurnasirpal's campaigns (Figure 61) details the towns in which wine was offered in tribute, the majority of which are located in the area of Tur 'Abdin.

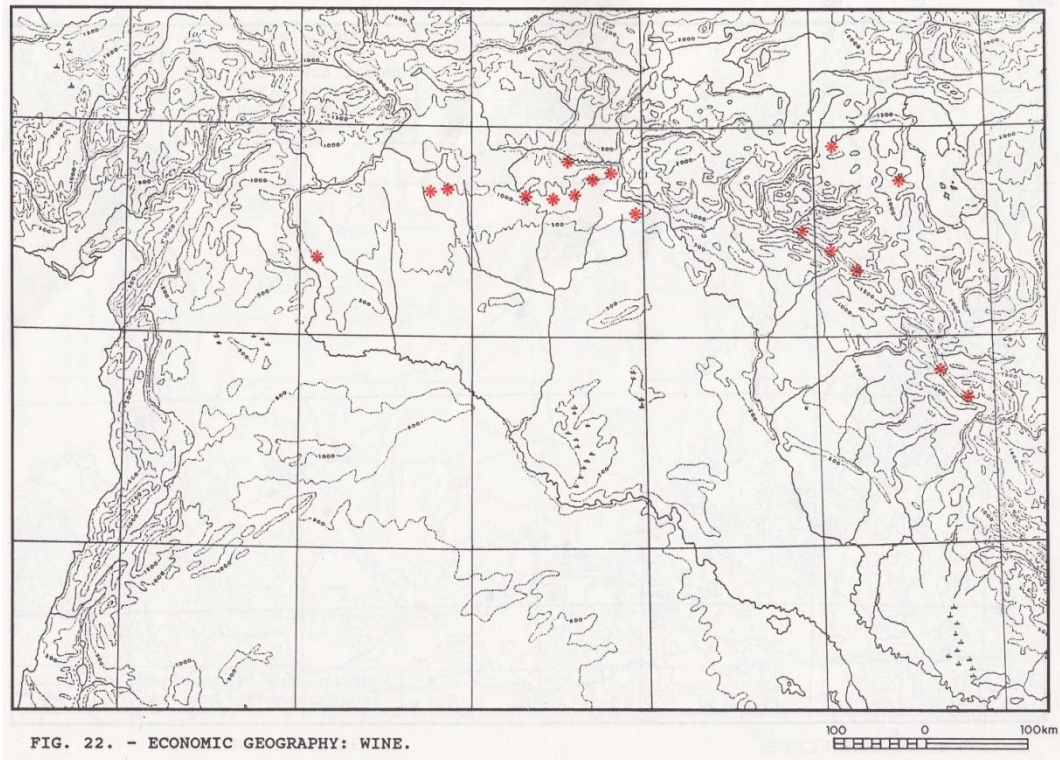


Figure 51 Map by Mario Liverani of Ashurnasirpal's 5th campaign

A view of Tur ‘Abdin as an important center of wine emerges from the written accounts of King Ashurnasirpal’s campaigns. At the beginning of his 2nd campaign, after erecting a statue in his honor at the source of the Subnat River, Ashurnasirpal II is given wine from a region identified as Izalla. It is uncertain exactly where this area is located. Some scholars have argued that it was just west of Mardin. However, Soileau believes that it could be located in the area that is today İdil, on the southern part of the massif of Tur ‘Abdin. One argument for Izalla being located here is that this area was known in Classical times as İzla or İzlo (Soileau 2012).

The region of Izalla was famous for its wine during the Neo-Assyrian period. In the “Practical Vocabulary of Nineveh,” a list of the regions known to produce wine is listed; comprising what is a rudimentary appellation system.

Wine from Izalla is listed first among the recordings of wine in this cuneiform text (Landsberger and Gurney 340). In his offerings to the god Marduk, King Nebuchadnezzar (605-562 BCE) offers eight wines to the god, and the first of those listed is wine from Izalla (Soileau 2012).

The Phoenician city of Tyre, an important port city in what is modern day Lebanon, was also known to trade and export the famous wine from the region of Izalla. Wine would have been brought from the surrounding regions into the city of Damascus (along what was to become the silk trade road) and then to Tyre, from which point it could be exported by sea (Soileau 2012).

In the 6th century account by the Prophet Ezekial, he lists the goods in Tyre which have been being imported from Damascus for trade (*King James Bible*, Ezekial 27.19). Large clay jars of wine from the regions of Helbon and Izalla were also in stock according to the Prophet (Soileau 2011).

On his way back from his 2nd campaign, King Ashurnasirpal II passed through Tur ‘Abdin proper for the first time. It is likely that all the items of tribute given to him throughout his campaigns, including wine, would have been transported back to Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian Empire, along the Tigris River, which connects Tur ‘Abdin to Nineveh. Wine would likely have been transported using rafts (maškuru) during this period (Radner via Soileau). These rafts would have been supported by flotation devices underneath the raft, possibly even skins partially filled with wine themselves, maximizing the quantity of wine being transported along the river (Soileau 2011).

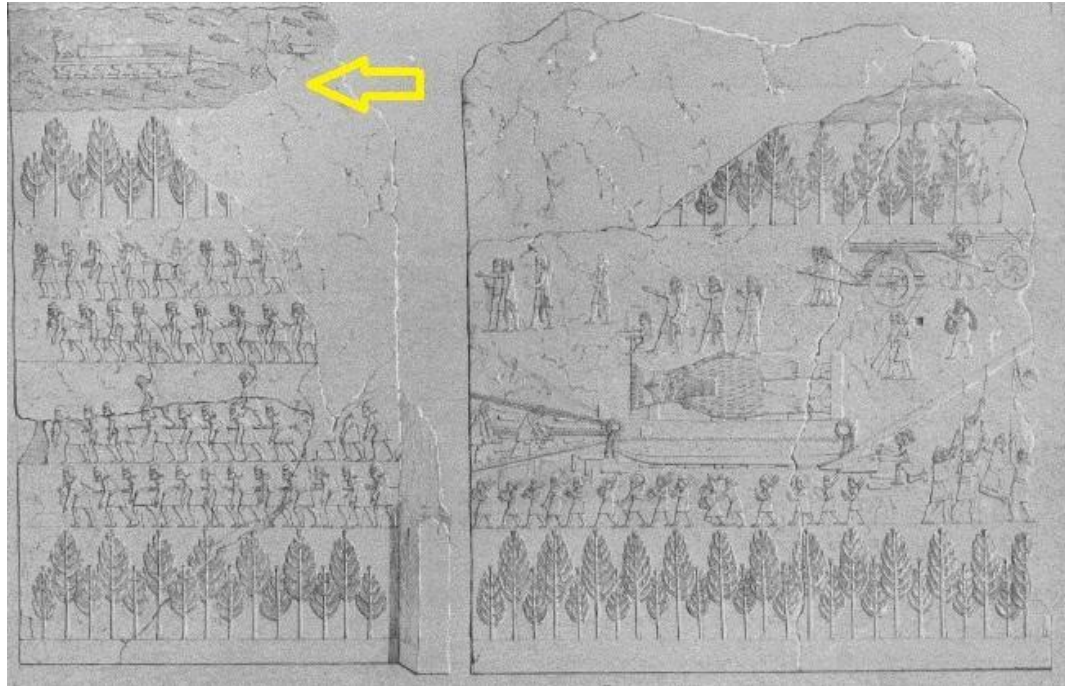


Figure 52 Depiction of Assyrian rafts, Engraved tablet, Slabs 54 and 56 from Sennacherib's Court VI at Nineveh. British Museum.

Izalla lost its stronghold as a center of winemaking probably with the fall of the Assyrian state in 605 BCE, when it would have lost its main export market. Located far from the sea, it may have been uncompetitive with newly developed regions of production. However, winemaking continued in Tur ‘Abdin after the peak of wine trade with Nineveh (Soileau 2011).

Some of the cities among King Ashurnasirpal’s campaign can be identified today, presenting implications for the continuity of winemaking in the Tur ‘Abdin region. Matyatu (a city King Ashurnasirpal destroyed) is modern day Midyat, and Sura is modern day Savur. Nirdun may be the site of Hirbemerdon where grape remains were also found dating to the late Bronze Age (Figure 52) and Zazabuha has been identified as the Süryani village of Zaz, also known in Turkish as İzbrak (Soileau 2012).

Winemaking Techniques in Tur ‘Abdin

In the stretch of land between Mardin and Midyat, the remains of all three stages of ancient viticulture are present: grape-growing, grape pressing and fermentation. The fields, guard towers, small presses (*ma ‘serto* in Syriac) and fermentation tanks have all been found in Tur ‘Abdin. Small scale production facilities have been found in the courtyards of family homes or in dedicated facilities for entire communities (Soileau 2012).

Pottery jars have historically been the preferred vessel for fermentation in Tur ‘Abdin. Mud, wax or terebinth (a tree found in Tur ‘Abdin) resin were used to secure the mouth of the jar and prevent oxidation of the wine. Jars were stored in cellars, caves or even buried underground to maintain a consistent, chilly temperature while fermenting (Soileau 2012).

The village of Boté in Tur ‘Abdin was once famous for its pottery jars, which were excellent for storing wine. However, Boté has been abandoned, so Süryani winemakers working in the area today, like Süryani winemakers throughout Tur ‘Abdin, now store their wine in plastic jugs (Soileau 2012).

Greco-Roman Empires, Early Christianity and Viticulture in Tur ‘Abdin

Along with occupying ancient city centers and territory, the Greek and Roman Empires adopted gods, ceremonies and traditions from the existing viticulture-practicing civilizations to their cultural beliefs. Temples were constructed to honor the Greek god of wine and pleasure, Dionysus, and the

custom of honoring the gods by drinking wine continued through the period of Roman rule.

With the introduction of Christianity in the region, wine took on a special religious importance as there are several stories related to wine in the New Testament. According to the Bible, Jesus' first miracle, as described in the Gospel of John, was to turn water into wine at the wedding feast in Galilee at Cana (*King James Bible*, John 2:1-12). St. Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306-373), a poet and monk from the modern town of Nusaybin, located just below the southern massif of Tur 'Abdin references Jesus' miracle of turning water into wine in his poems, saying:

I've invited Thee, Lord, to a banquet of songs

The wine hath failed, even the language of praise

Thou Guest, who fills the pots with goodly wine

Fill my mouth with the praise of Thee.

(Selected Works of S. Ephrem the Syrian 157)

At the last supper, Jesus uses wine as a metaphor for his blood, and instructs his disciples and followers to take wine and bread in his memory (*King James Bible*, Luke. 22.7-23). In the three centuries following Jesus' death, Christian culture grew in the Tur 'Abdin region along with a wave of monestary construction. During this time, most of the Aramaean population converted to Christianity through the missionary work of the monasteries in the area. According to Soileau, the tradition from one religious system to another in the first centuries after Christ was eased by the continuity of wine culture that stories of the Bible provided to the Aramaeans living in the region (Soileau 2011).

Viticulture and the Monasteries of Tur 'Abdin

TUR 'ABDIN: The Mountain of the Servants (of God) A Cradle of Aramean Christendom

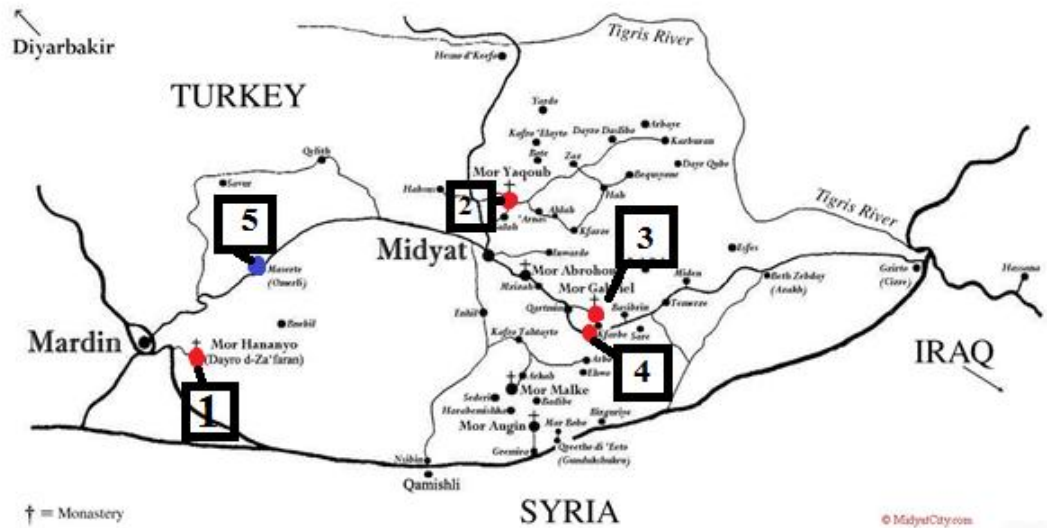


Figure 53 Map showing Christian monasteries in the Tur 'Abdin region



Figure 54 Entrance to Mor Gabriel monastery, outside Midyat. March 17, 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Wine as a symbol of transformation and prayer was a recurring theme in Christian texts, and the grape vine motif is common in early Christian monasteries in the region. Wine and the vine came to be represented in the construction of many of the monasteries of Tur ‘Abdin. The biggest and most significant monastery of these, Mor Gabriel (Figure 63, #5) which is home to the bishop, displays mosaics above the Church altar. These mosaics depict images of wine jugs placed in each corner of the vaults, with grapevines emanating from the spouts, as their vines converge in the center to meet at a cross.



Figure 55 Mosaics displaying grapes and vines at Mor Gabriel monastery, outside Midyat. March 17. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

In a niche of the Deyrulzafaran Monastery (#1 in Figure 63) near Mardin, a grapevine coming out of a wine jug and turning into a cross is again depicted. In the entrance to the Mor Yakub monastery (#2 in Figure 63) there are engraved

columns depicting vines emerging from jars (Bell 72-3).



Figure 56 Grape engravings at altar of Mor Gabriel monastery, Midyat. March 17, 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Mor Manastır monastery (397 CE) is another important monastery in Tur ‘Abdin where wine is reported to have been made. Winepresses have been found within some of the other monasteries at Tur ‘Abdin, such as at Mor Estefanos monastery in the village of Kfarbe (Figure 63, #4) and at Mor Gabriel monastery (Palmer 214).



Figure 57 Food preparation platform that could have been used for pressing grapes, at Mor Gabriel monastery, outside Midyat. March 17, 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Winemaking and Tur ‘Abdin Under Islamic Rule

Tur ‘Abdin came under Islamic rule shortly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad and has remained so ever since. Within the new religious climate, however, Christianity was an accepted religion, and as such, its traditions were also accepted in Tur ‘Abdin.

According to records indicating the existence of regulated wine production and taxation in Tur ‘Abdin during the Ottoman Period, winemaking seems to have continued uninterrupted throughout the Umayyad, Abbasid, Selcuk and Ottoman periods (Soileau 2011).

In the Ottoman Period, the 1518 lawcode (*kanun-name*) of Mardin accounts for the production of wine in the surrounding villages that was then brought into Mardin to be sold. A tavern even existed in Mardin and was documented in the 1524 lawcode (Soileau 2011). However, like in the Ottoman

Crimea, wine was heavily taxed in Tur ‘Abdin under Ottoman rule (Halenko 511; Soileau 2011).

The wine of Mardin was apparently renowned and well-liked. In the 19th century, large amounts of wine (over 150,000 kilos) were produced in Tur ‘Abdin and 55,000 kilos were commercially exported, though it is not clear to where. The French traveler and observer Vital Cuinet called the region’s wine “très renommé” while referring to Midyat’s wine as “estimé.” (Cuinet 413)

Soileau’s research of the Mardin tax codes points to one notable change to wine culture under Islamic rule: the Süryani and Christian populations in Mardin became minorities, and therefore winemaking became closely linked to their minority identity. Armenian and Süryani populations decreased, and winemaking became a specialized economic and cultural niche within the minority communities of Tur’ Abdin.

It is clear from the documents surveyed that Süryani winemaking, even on a commercial scale, continued in Mardin with the emergence of Islam in the region. However, winemaking remained a Christian tradition and a key aspect of the community’s economic survival. In fact, the culture of winemaking in Mardin among the minority of the Christian population has come to serve as a key tenet of their identity within the landscape and culture (Soileau 2011).

Süryani Wine and Winemaking Today: Homemade and Factory

“Süryani Şarabı” refers to the overall type of wine from the region of Tur ‘Abdin, made mostly with Boğazkere and Öküzgözü grapes (most of which are

grown in the region of Diyarbakir). Therefore, the appellation “Süryani Şarabı” includes both the factory-made wine that is licensed and legal to sell, as well as the homemade wine from the region.

Süryani wine can be any wine made by Süryanis. Home wine, or Ev Şarabı, is the most prevalent form of winemaking taking place in Mardin today. Süryani families have never stopped producing homemade wine. The production of Süryani wine has only increased in recent years since the tourist market has developed. The name Süryani was never applied to the wine being made by these families until recent years. Until which point, it was simply referred to as wine. Once the local market began to develop, however, families increased production in the villages where they made their wine in order to sell the extra product in shops on the streets of what is referred to as Old (Eski) Mardin.

On the whole, those Süryanis who still live in Mardin and the Tur ‘Abdin region have pursued winemaking on a small scale in their homes. The Süryani village of Killit attempted the first contemporary industrial scale winemaking project in the region in the 1980s. The wine produced there was given awards and well received, however, wine production ceased in the 1990s.

In recent years, that winery has been reopened by a group of partners which has re-established the winery and are producing wine to be sold in a shop on the main street of Old Mardin. They have also recently opened a shop to sell only their wine. Like many of the homemade wine sellers in Tur ‘Abdin today, they are selling wine out of what is primarily a jewelry store. They make and sell several types of wine, one that is homemade wine, or “Ev Şarabı,” and several others which are more industrial, factory-made wines (Figures 66, 67).

Another Süryani family making homemade wine, “Ev Yapım Süryani Şarabı” under the name Asuri, has moved their production operation to the town of Eroğlu in recent years to accommodate increased production. This year they produced about ten tons of grapes for dry red wine “kırmızı Şek Şarabı”.

Most of the shops that are selling Süryani wine in Mardin do so under the legal front of another business such as jewelry stores. These are commonly known to also sell Süryani wine, and some even have signs outside advertising wine, while others circulate that information informally, by word of mouth.



Figure 58 Inside jewelry shop where homemade wine is sold, Mardin. March 16. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.



Figure 59 Inside a homemade wine and jewelry shop, Mardin. March 16. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Süryanis use the same techniques of traditional wine production today that have always been used in Tur ‘Abdin. The use of old winepresses, the method of grape crushing by hand and foot, the drying period of three days under the sun, all reflect what is understood today by these producers of ancient viticultural processes and rituals (Soileau 2011).

Many families own old wine presses that are still in use. Fermentation in clay jars however is no longer in practice, although a few people still use them for this purpose. Instead, Süryani people are using more accessible modern vessels to store wine, such as plastic jugs and carboys. Boğazkere grapes are the most common, as many Süryani families lived and still live in the greater Diyarbakir region where this varietal is present. The second most common varietal use is the Öküzgözü, which is grown just north of Diyarbakir (“Şarap ve Yaşam Kültürü,” 34-44).



Figure 60 Gabi Yerli demonstrating cork pressing, Mardin. March 16. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Süryani winemaking tradition holds a special cultural appeal and is being marketed as a traditional product. The shops selling homemade Süryani wine market their wine with the Süryani name, specifically referring to it as homemade Süryani wine on shop signs and on wine labels.



Figure 61 Sign outside a Süryani homemade wine shop, Midyat. March 17. 2012. Photograph taken by the author. JPEG file.

Women and Winemaking

An interesting theme concerning the role of women and winemaking emerged during my fieldwork. In one of my interviews with the son of one of the Asuri wine makers, he showed me photos his family has collected of their winemaking over the years (Figures 72-77). The images overwhelmingly showed women making wine. The interviewee, who is the main salesman of Asuri wine in Mardin, confirmed that women are central to the process of winemaking in his family and that this is common.

A division of labor seems to exist in the process of winemaking in some Süryani families, where women are largely responsible for the process of winemaking and the male family members sell the product in the shops in Mardin and Midyat. The following photos were taken of the the Asuri Family in the town of Eroğlu Köyü outside of Mardin in 2006 and show the women who are involved in the different steps of wine production. All photos were reproduced with the permission and courtesy of Gabi Yerli of Asuri wine.

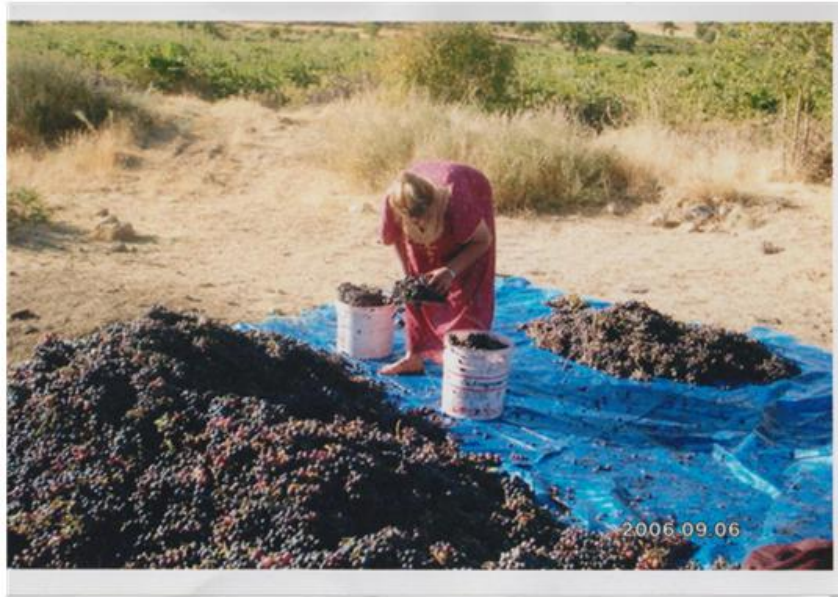


Figure 72 Woman separating grapes, Eroğlu. September 6. 2006. Photograph taken by Gabi Yerli. JPEG file.



Figure 73 Women de-stemming grapes, Eroğlu. September 10. 2006. Photograph taken by Gabi Yerli. JPEG file.



Figure 74 Women de-stemming grapes, Erođlu. September 10. 2006. Photograph taken by Gabi Yerli. JPEG file.



Figure 62 Women pressing grapes, Erođlu. September 09. 2006. Photograph taken by Gabi Yerli. JPEG file.



Figure 76 Women filtering must, Eroğlu. September 10. 2006. Photograph taken by Gabi Yerli. JPEG file.



Figure 77 Women filtering must, Eroğlu. September 10. 2006. Photograph taken by Gabi Yerli. JPEG file.

The theme of women winemakers is of particular interest to this thesis, as it exemplifies a particular tradition within the Süryani winemaking culture. Such a tradition also provides opportunities for accessing funds from grant-giving institutions which are focusing on Small and Medium sized Enterprises (SMEs) in lesser-developed regions throughout Europe. In March of 2012, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) Board, announced the availability of \$400

million in loan funds to small and medium-sized enterprises, particularly those where women are the main entrepreneurs (“OPIC Board Approves \$400 Million for SME Lending in Turkey, With Focus on Women Entrepreneurs”). The long-term lending by OPIC is intended to jump start investment, income and employment in both urban and rural areas in Turkey. OPIC and other financing organizations can be accessed to promote viticulture heritage, especially where women are the primary actors, such as in Süryani winemaking.

The Shiluh Winery

Apart from the wine factory in Killit, the only wine producer which had decided to pursue winemaking legally, the Shiluh winery decided to go through the process of acquiring a license in order to make Süryani wine in accordance with officially sanctioned winemaking standards. In an interview in April 2012, Yuhanna Aktaş, owner of the Shiluh winery shared this account of his experience with me (Appendix Eii).

Mr. Yuhanna Aktaş has been making Süryani wine in the ancient tradition all his life. After making wine in his home for many years, Mr. Aktaş reports that he was fined a sum of 180,000 TL for illegal production of wine and aggressively hounded by local authorities. According to him, these events were the impetus that motivated Mr. Aktaş to acquire a license and open the Shiluh Winery outside of Midyat (Aktaş, Appendix Eii).

Mr. Aktaş cites the unsupportive political, cultural and religious climate in Turkey as the cause for a perceived decline and demise of both the Süryani people

and their winemaking tradition. Mr. Aktaş' vision for the Shiluh Winery is large scale production, and his stated mission is to preserve the tradition of Süryani winemaking. Shiluh Winery hopes to perfect the ancient tradition using the same grapes. Shiluh emphasizes their totally natural process of winemaking, without the addition of any sulfites (commonly used by modern producers to kill off the natural yeast and to inhibit bacterial growth during the fermentation, racking and bottling processes). Shiluh wine is marketed as an opportunity to taste wine from Tur 'Abdin in the ancient Süryani winemaking tradition (Aktaş, Appendix Eii).

The winery is a large facility made out of Midyat stone, and the winery is currently in the process of constructing a large cave-like visitor's center underneath the production facilities.



Figure 63 Construction of Visitor Center at Shiluh Winery, outside Midyat. March 17, 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.

Mr. Aktaş and other producers of Süryani wine have been trying to make a niche market for Süryani wine in the global market. “I want to prevent it from extinction and re-introduce this taste to the wine world” (Aktaş, Appendix Eii).

Shiluh Winery is currently marketing throughout Turkey and hoping to open to international markets, starting with Germany, Sweden and Switzerland, in large part because many of the Süryanis who have left the Tur ‘Abdin region today moved to those countries, and Mr. Aktaş hopes to give them a taste of home, as well as give the next generation of Süryanis the opportunity to experience their heritage.

As part of their marketing strategy, Shiluh Winery has been emphasizing the historic tradition of their completely natural winemaking methods. There are several varieties of Shiluh wine, made from the blends of different grape varieties. One such blend is the Shiluh Manastır, made using the Boğazkere grape. The name of the blend references “Mor Manastır,” one of the main monasteries of the region. Mor Monastır monastery, as mentioned above, was known for its winemaking near the famous production center in the Izalla region.

The Shiluh Monastır wine is marketed as a product which uses a 1,600 year tradition of Süryani winemaking that developed in the Monastır Monastery. Another Shiluh wine blend is the Shiluh Turabdin, which also is grown from the Boğazkere grape, and is marketed as being one of the best grapes grown in the Tur ‘Abdin region (“Shiluh, Syriac Wine”).



Figure 64 Shiluh Manastır wine bottle, Midyat. March 17. 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.

Both home winemakers and factory winemakers in Tur ‘Abdin are making Süryani wine and marketing it as the product of an ancient winemaking tradition. However, there exists a tension between those who make the Süryani wine product in their homes and those making it in a factory. Some of this is due to the lack of clarity in the unofficial appellation system used in the region.

The homemade wine stores in Mardin and Midyat with signs that read “Süryani Ev Şarabı” (Süryani home wine) are likely selling wine from producers which exceed the amount allowed by the government for personal production. Unverified reports told of one home wine producer who made wine from approximately ten tons of grapes in the 2011 harvest, whereas Shiluh wine shops sell only wine made from their wineries, and conform to government regulations of production as well as a uniform style that is more polished and presentable to a discerning wine tourist (Shiluh Winery Tour and Informal Meeting).

There are two Shiluh wine stores in the historic center of Mardin that market homemade wine with ancient roots, with signs outside that read “Mezopotamya Süryani Şarapçılık” (Figure 82).



Figure 65 Front of Shiluh Wine shop, Midyat. March 17. 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.



Figure 66 Shiluh wine shop sign, Midyat. March 17. 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.



Figure 67 Exterior of a Shiluh wine shop in Midyat. March 17, 2012.

Contemporary Mardin and its Status as a Heritage Site

Mardin has been working for almost twenty five years to gain international recognition of its invaluable heritage. In 2000, Mardin was nominated by UNESCO to be a World Heritage site. However, negotiations between UNESCO and the Turkish authorities stalled, and the Turkish government requested that the historic city of Mardin not be considered for UNESCO World Heritage status during the 27th meeting of UNESCO in 2003. It is now thought that Mardin will be applying again for status in 2014.

Unfortunately, efforts to contact an individual involved in the ongoing nomination process were unsuccessful. Therefore, it is uncertain whether the culture of the Süryani community, which is the focus of this case study, is in any form being mentioned in the protective statutes.

In anticipation of the influx of tourism that will come with UNESCO World Heritage status, new construction of traditional stone-style buildings is occurring along the streets of Old Mardin. New boutique hotels in traditional

Mardin style architecture have recently been constructed throughout the old district (Figures 81-86) (“Mardin Beefs of Restoration Efforts to Re-Apply to UNESCO in 2014”).

The work to restore historic Mardin has also included the removal of concrete buildings located in the city center in order to homogenize the architectural appearance of Old Mardin.



Figure 68 Newly constructed hotel, Mardin. March 18, 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.



Figure 69 Government Building, Mardin. March 18, 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.



Figure 70 Old Post Office Building, being developed into Artuklu University's new Tourism Department, Mardin. March 18. 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.



Figure 71 Street under construction, Mardin. March 18. 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.



Figure 72 Unrestored building, Mardin. March 18, 2012. Photograph taken by author. JPEG file.

While the development of the World Heritage site has meant the forced eviction of a number of families from the city center, it is hoped that these measures will bring improved infrastructure and job opportunities for the citizens of Mardin in the long run. For the purposes of this thesis' argument for a wine route, the designation of Mardin as a UNESCO WH site would create an opportunity for Süryani wine culture to be included in the nomination.

Mardin Governor Turhan Ayvaz states that the hoped outcome of being inscribed on the UNESCO list will be that Mardin will become the European Union's next European Capital of Culture. According to Ayvan, "Mardin is a city with high tourism potential in terms of historical and natural features. We aim to develop the tourism infrastructure, marketing and promotional activities of Mardin, which was designated as an urban conservation site by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism" ("Mardin Beefs of Restoration Efforts to Re-Apply to UNESCO in 2014").

Conclusion and Potential for Inclusion of Mardin in a Wine Route

The Süryani winemaking tradition that has been presented in this case study is an outstanding heritage that has continued for millenia up until the present. It represents an interaction between the Süryani people and the soil of the Tur ‘Abdin region that dates to antiquity. Süryani winemaking is also representative of the Süryani community and has come to be a tenet of their identity in the local economy as well as religious practice. For all of these reasons, the Süryani winemaking tradition should be incorporated into the UNESCO World Heritage Status nomination, as a means of protecting the Süryani winemaking tradition as intangible heritage.³³

As seen in other viticulture regions that have been designated by UNESCO (Tokaj and Stari Gard Plain interviews, Appendices Ai and Aii), UNESCO World Heritage status will greatly enhance the global awareness of the Mardin region, and will likely be very helpful in promoting the region as well as securing support from international networks. If Mardin secures UNESCO World Heritage status, this will be incredibly beneficial, as will working with the Kyiv Initiative to promote the heritage of Süryani winemaking. A relationship with ACTE will also be beneficial to connecting the Sürayni wine centers within the larger network of European wine cultural routes.

³³ In addition to the renovations of existing structures such as a mosque, churches, an Islamic school and historic homes, several new boutique hotels are being constructed in the city center to appeal to and accommodate tourists. Excellent traditional gastronomy options and cultured leisure activities abound, including a Turkish bath and local shopping options. These accommodations are currently being vastly improved by renovations and can help Mardin become a tourist attraction, and in turn aid the promotion of Süryani winemaking.

The active engagement of the Süryani winemakers will be key to any improvement in the promotion of Süryani wine heritage. In order to access the international heritage organizations, Süryani winemakers would greatly benefit by coming together to form their own cooperative. The Shiluh Winery, which is actively promoting its wine on a greater scale, can be a significant force in establishing a network with the home winemaking families to improve and spread the awareness of the product as an economic force.

Establishing a Network of Local Partners

As seen in the work of ACTE, Cultural Routes in Turkey and Iter Vitis, local official partners are integral to the development of wine routes. In addition to forming a cooperative among home winemakers, partnerships with the larger institutions and other suppliers in the region will be fundamental to the establishment of a wine tourism project in the region.

Artuklu University outside of Mardin is a new university that is equipped to set up contacts with locals that would both promote local development and provide an integrated experience for tour groups. Artuklu University is attempting to open a Süryani Department and the Tourism Department is being moved into the newly renovated old Post Office building (Figure 88). Additionally, the affiliation with a University like Artuklu would allow for the visits to be framed within a scholarly atmosphere and possibly achieve government acceptance the way it is hoped the Cultural Routes of Turkey will.



Figure 88 Photo of the old Post Office, new Tourism Department of Artuklu University. Taken by the author. March 17, 2012. JPEG File.

A sustainable wine tour can and should be developed in the Tur ‘Abdin region to promote the heritage of Süryani winemaking. The creation of a program that incorporates and utilizes the agency of the local population will ensure its sustainability. The key to creating such a program is to give the Süryani people the mechanisms and assistance to connect with and form networks among themselves that will allow them to market their very unique culture to Turkish national and international tourism.

A wine route program in Tur ‘Abdin region would be based in the old part of the city of Mardin in southeastern Turkey. Excursion plans could be developed for visits to surrounding cultural and historical wine-related destinations.

Destinations that should be a part a Tur ‘Abdin wine tour include: select monasteries, including Mor Gabriel and Mor Manastır; the excavations of the Çelibra winemaking center; the Shiluh Winery outside of Midyat; the newly

restored winery of Killit (Dereici); a local village where a group of partners is making wine, such as Elbeğendi Köyü and its Cultural Center or Eröğlü Köyü; a trip to Artuklu University in Mardin to engage with students and an optional trip to a Süryani church service. A wine route that includes Süryani winemaking within Tur ‘Abdin should be constructed to give tourists a participatory experience of Süryani winemaking, while simultaneously allowing for an exchange between tourists and locals.

Another key component of the sustainability of such a wine route is its ability to connect many different threads of the Süryani wine community into one route. The relationship between the homemade winemakers themselves would be improved by mutual collaboration in such a project. By including visits to monasteries, villages, historical sites, viticulture landscapes, markets, etc. along the road from Mardin to the city of Midyat, the proposed route would bring together and revitalize the ancient trading culture that existed along these roads and between these communities for thousands of years.

Within Mardin itself, activities could include meeting with local shopkeepers (who sell the wine that has been made in the countryside), paired with an optional visit to a local Süryani Church. The opportunity to stay in a boutique hotel of traditional Mardin architectural style, test the local gastronomy, go to a Turkish bath, and make an optional visit to the local Church mass given in the Syriac language could provide tourists with additional activities and provide them with an intimate experience of Süryani culture that also authentically promotes the Süryani winemaking tradition.

Partnerships with local suppliers and agents of heritage, including Artuklu University and their new Tourism and Architecture departments will be fundamental to the overall sustainability of the tourism plan. The creation of a Süryani Department and the involvement of students to develop the wine route will not only lend itself to building partnerships with the local Süryani community, but will also provide the students of Artuklu University with an opportunity to be agents in the promotion of the culture that surrounds their university.

The Shiluh winery should be included as a major partner in a Süryani wine route. Shiluh is at the forefront of developing the image of Süryani wine in the larger market, and, as the only licensed producer of Süryani wine, is crucial to legitimizing and marketing such a route. Additionally, the Shiluh Winery would be pivotal in organizing events such as a harvest festival, which could help bring the production of the smaller wineries onto a legal platform.

One challenge to a route will be to bring together the Shiluh Winery with the smaller homemade winemakers. The tension between these two groups is an obstacle to promoting the different faces of Süryani wine at a time when there is enormous potential for growth and a growing danger of restrictions due to the large amount of wine produced in the informal sector. Dealing with the legal issues relating to wine production will be fundamental to the preservation of Süryani heritage, and any organization devoted to tourism in this sector will need to manage relationships with the government so that the small producers can continue to operate.

Cooperatives could be formed so that these smaller producers could work with an economy of scale and undertake the costs of legalizing their productions. The challenge will be to continue with the traditional winemaking practices while adhering to government regulated health and production standards. The Tokaj region and similar World Heritage sites associated with bringing winemaking practices and contemporary market needs together can provide guidance to Turkish wine cultural landscapes.

Tur 'Abdin Harvest Festival

A wonderful addition to the proposal itinerary could be participation in a Harvest Festival. In addition to benefitting the tourist experience, the creation of a Harvest Festival will help to bring together local home winemakers and the factory wineries. Similar to the Kurdish Reyhani Dance Festival of Mardin, featured in the December 2010 Turkish National Geographic December 2010 (Turkey), a Süryani wine festival would allow people to experience Süryani heritage in a way that is both educational and enjoyable.

During the harvest period, visitors could see traditional winemaking in progress and could assist home producers. During the author's research visit, some local Süryani winemakers were discussing hosting a wine festival that would showcase the local output. Such a festival would allow for discussion and tasting, but at the present time including wine for purchase in such an event would technically be illegal. This is a situation where a tour operator working with local authorities could provide a real benefit to the local residents by mediating a resolution to the problems faced by household producers.

While initial discussions have proven difficult, a concerted effort to create such a festival might allow both factions within the local winemaking community to benefit, and would undoubtedly promote the area's winemaking heritage.



Figure 89. Iter Vitis map including Cappadocia and Tur 'Abdin.

Chapter 5

Recommendations and Conclusion

New methodologies and ways of thinking about how to frame cultural heritage, such as cultural routes, are being developed today by organizations that are working at the grassroots level in Turkey. The work being done today has the potential to strengthen intangible heritage preservation and could be greatly benefited by further interaction with larger international networks.

Of particular importance to the preservation of cultural heritage is the close collaboration with the larger institutional and governmental frameworks that promote and protect intangible heritage. This thesis has argued for the development of a wine route in Turkey by encouraging Turkey's involvement with the appropriate legislative and nongovernmental bodies.

In particular, the newly developing international organizations that are promoting cultural routes and landscapes in Turkey provide the opportunity to develop these routes. This thesis has studied and presented the work the author has done with these bodies in order to better formulate recommendations for how Turkey should design these protections.

In order to form a Turkish cultural wine route, it will be important for Turkey to continue working with international organizations of heritage along these routes. The Association for Culture and Tourism Exchange (ACTE), the Kyiv Initiative and The Vitour Landscape Project are the organizations at the

forefront of establishing wine cultural routes across the European continent.

Turkey has established a dialogue with these organizations, and can use the cultural, genetic archaeological and social history compiled by the many scholars discussed here to tie into routes being established by these organizations

Argument for a Wine Route in Turkey: Tying into Existing Cultural Routes

Linking into the international routes that have been established by European heritage organizations will provide a more integrated and sustainable method of promoting the viticulture of Tur 'Abdin and Cappadocia.

International organizations have established frameworks for cultural routes of wine which are currently being developed in Europe. ACTE is currently mapping the European network of wine destinations which will be linked together through a technological platform to encourage the exchange of information and develop these heritages. Iter Vitis would be another organization that could provide value to developing these wine routes.

Within Turkey, the Cultural Routes in Turkey organization has developed a route along the Via Egnatia, Evliya Çelebi and others which will in the next decade likely become well established historical routes connecting Turkey to Europe. The Cultural Routes in Turkey organization is continuing to expand its network of cultural routes, and wine should be included. In addition to developing a route solely devoted to the heritage of wine in Turkey, wine culture should be added into the literature that has been produced to accompany travelers on already existing cultural routes in Turkey. The Hittite Trail, the Kızılırmak River Basin and St. Paul's trail are excellent opportunities for the inclusion of

wine heritage. Joel Butler, a Master of Wine, who is currently writing a book on references to wine in the Bible, has followed St. Paul's 3rd missionary route to Rome. Several of the places where St. Paul stopped were famous for their wines, and to some degree, still are. For instance, St. Paul stopped in Assos, which had its own wine culture, as well as the ouzo-producing island of Lesbos nearby.

Adding a component of wine heritage can be a pragmatic way of bolstering and diversifying the already existing routes, as well as benefiting the local wine producers. Ultimately, this inclusion will serve to promote wine heritage within historical routes.

Pairing a route of the vine with a route of the olive in Turkey can also strengthen the argument for wine routes in Turkey. The Kayakapı Project in Cappadocia has included wine, olive and other Turkish culinary specialties such as cheese into its heritage project. Evi Margaritis has similarly focused her research in the Aegean on both the routes of olive and wine. Especially in light of political climate that may be resistant to promoting alcohol, the pairing of wine routes with routes of the olive can be a recommended approach to developing the route of the vine.

Including Turkey within international wine routes is another way for Turkey to be recognized for its wine heritage. The map of the regions which are included in the Iter Vitis project clearly show a gap which Turkey would fill geographically, and the creation of a more comprehensive Iter Vitis map which includes Turkey would be very beneficial, not only for Turkey but for larger wine routes.

Turkey can be linked into existing international wine routes such as Iter Vitis by connecting the Balkans to Thrace, and from there to the western Aegean coast, where some of Turkey's biggest wine production occurs.

The two case studies presented in this thesis, Cappadocia and Tur 'Abdin, continue this potential route through Anatolia and connect with the Caucasus. As discussed in this thesis, an abundance of research and effort has been devoted in recent years to the archaeobotanical, biomolecular and genetic study of the origins of wine in the Transcaucasian region. The inclusion of the Turkish viticulture regions of Cappadocia in central Turkey and Tur 'Abdin in southeastern Turkey will help to link the Transcaucasian region and the genetic research of its grapes to the larger European route of the vine. Linking the resources of these regions through a wine route will improve the continued development of the academic study and heritage of winemaking in these regions.

The European Institute of Cultural Routes' Iter Vitis and the Via Engnatia routes can be used to connect Turkey to Greece and the Balkans. Archaeobotanical evidence and genetic studies of winemaking in the Aegean can also be used to argue for the heritage of wineculture that connects the western region of Turkey to other European wine regions. Additionally, the strong tourism sector in the western coast of Turkey can serve to promote the wine culture there, effectively creating an easy connection to tie into the existing routes in Greece and the Balkans. For this reason, it is strongly suggested for the wine regions in western Turkey to be promoted within the international and national organizations in order for a comprehensive route of the vine in Anatolia to be established.

The case studies presented in this thesis serve as connectors that bring the wine route through Anatolia to the Caucasus, effectively picking up where western viticulture centers leave off. While Cappadocia and Mardin are more difficult to access, both regions contain a very rich history of viticulture that should be promoted within a wine route.



Map representing the countries recognized by Iter Vitis including this thesis' Case studies and Bozcaada/Thrace region, Iter Vitis. Accessed May 2, 2012. <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Images/Routes/IterVitis/carte.gif>

Cultural Heritage Institutional Bodies

UNESCO and the Stimulation of Heritage Project Development

UNESCO has been at the forefront of establishing wine regions within the protections offered by the UNESCO nomination criteria. As evidenced in the testimonies of people closely associated with the Tokaj Region in Hungary and

Stari Grad Plain in Switzerland, accession to the UNESCO World Heritage list has significant benefits.

The wine regions that have secured UNESCO World Heritage status have greatly benefited from the implementation of UNESCO standards that sites are made to adhere to. The increased attention from tourism has also brought UNESCO sites economic and benefit and awareness. As such, wine regions of Turkey that exemplify outstanding universal value should be explicitly protected according to UNESCO criteria.

By and large the regions which are nominated for their viticulture heritage do so according to UNESCO criteria ii, iii, iv and v. Within these criteria, continuity and landscape, as they pertain to an interaction between man and the land, are often emphasized in the nomination reports. In fact, since 1992, cultural landscapes have been given great importance within the criteria for places where the interaction of mankind with the land is of exceptional value.

While cultural landscapes have been given due attention in the last two decades, at the impetus of other international organizations, UNESCO is expanding the breadth of its work to include regions, landscapes and sites that exemplify viticulture. The UNESCO World Heritage List and the bodies that continue to form this list must continue to think with an open mind about the ways in which more forms of cultural heritage can be included. The trends are moving in the direction of inclusion and should continue as such.

The notion of conflicted heritage was at the very beginning of the incentives to establish legal protection for heritage following World War II. The regions of Cappadocia and Mardin/Tur 'Abdin both have, in addition to a rich

cultural diversity, a history of violence directed towards minority groups. It is these minority groups in Tur ‘Abdin and Cappadocia that have embodied the winemaking culture. With this in mind, it is important that the intangible heritage of winemaking, which these communities have enacted over thousands of years should at least be included in the protections being given to the landscapes by UNESCO in these two regions.

The Tur ‘Abdin and Cappadocian regions will not make a case for UNESCO status solely based on viticulture heritage, as some of the designated regions on the list have done. However, both the regions of Tur ‘Abdin and Cappadocia evidence significant historical value, in addition to being home to respective minority communities whose history has been threatened by political events. The wine culture of these minority communities, which is strongly associated with both the Greek population of Cappadocia and the Süryani population of Tur ‘Abdin, can and should be included in the UNESCO criteria that already exists in the case of Cappadocia and likely will be created for the region of Tur ‘Abdin/Mardin in the coming years.

Contemporary Promotion of Turkish Wine and the Proposal for a Wine Route in Turkey

Tourism within the Turkish wine regions will bring about similar attention and development of the wine industry and heritage in those regions. As presented in their individual chapters, the regions of the case studies have significant appeal within the contemporary tourism market. The intent of this is to promote the

regions of the two case studies, with the hope that, when grouped with the more easily argued Turkish wine destinations, they can be included in the promotion of wine heritage in what is a dynamic and growing tourism market in Turkey.

The two case studies presented in this thesis were chosen due to their rich history of viticulture within long-lasting communities that are still enacting this unique and fragile living tradition of winemaking. The case studies chosen represent very important geographic landmarks for the completion of a wine route that ties into the general region considered to be the origin of viticulture and grape domestication. Turkish wine is, however, receiving more attention in the media today than in the past, presenting another opportunity for Turkish viticulture heritage to be promoted and preserved.

Turkey on the International Wine Stage: Masters of Wine in Istanbul and OIV in Izmir

Masters of Wine, the organization that grants the highest grade of wine mastership to its members, held their annual Wine Weekend in Istanbul from May 5th-8th, 2011. One hundred and twenty-two wines from twenty-one Turkish winemakers were tasted and judged by experts.

The Masters ranked the Turkish wine highly with their scores and expressed surprise at the quality of the wine. Master of Wine Nick Adams confessed his ignorance of Turkish wines, saying that “Frankly speaking I was really surprised about the quality level of Turkish wines. Really you have dozens of wines of a quality to compete easily on international markets.” Another Master, Peter McCombie, noted the vast improvement of the quality of Turkish

wine in the last twenty years, adding that “Now it is time to set serious steps forward to place your wines in a place they deserve worldwide” (Cengiz Bilgin).



Chart courtesy of Cengiz Bilgin. “Kırmızı Şarabınız Cengiz Bilgin, Demet. “Kırmızı Şarabınız Eskiden ‘Kaba’ydı Çok Gelişmiş ve Vites Büyütmüşsünüz.” Hürriyet. 16 May. 2011.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the International Organization of Vine and Wine’s 35th World Congress of Wine and the Vine was held in Izmir in November of 2012. As the justification for Izmir hosting this year’s Congress, OIV President Yves Bernard stated,

As with a good number of human activities, over the last thirty years, the world of vine and wine has experienced a trend which has led it to look to the East where, like in India which has just joined the OIV, vine and wine production is promising to become a global industry. It is therefore quite natural that from 18th to 22nd June 2012, the representatives of world vitiviniculture will meet at the gateway to the East for the 35th World Congress of Vine and Wine, to be hosted by Turkey which since the time of the Hittite empire, 2,000 years ago, has had one of the most thriving viticulture industries in the Mediterranean basin. (Yves, Bernard).

The recognition of Turkish wine by international wine organizations places it on the international platform that will not only help promote it in the contemporary market, but also encourage it to be included in the protections that are shaping viticulture heritage today. It is important that Turkey continue to engage in international dialogue with heritage and marketing organizations in order to access the growing frameworks for viticulture heritage today.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. UNESCO World Heritage Status and the Encouragement of Viticulture Heritage and Development: Stari Grad Plain and Tokaj Region

Ai. Stari Grad Plain, Split and Dalmatian Counties, Croatia. 2008.

Criteria: ii, iii, v

- *Criterion (ii): The land parcel system, dating from the 4th century BC, of Stari Grad Plain bears witness to the dissemination of the Greek geometrical model for the dividing up of agricultural land in the Mediterranean world.*
- *Criterion (iii): The agricultural plain of Stari Grad has remained in continuous use, with the same initial crops being produced, for 2400 years. This bears witness to its permanency and sustainability down through the centuries.*
- *Criterion (v): The agricultural plain of Stari Grad and its environment are an example of very ancient traditional human settlement, which are today under threat from modern economic development, particularly from rural depopulation and the abandonment of traditional farming practices. (Stari Grad Plain, Split and Dalmatian Counties, Croatia)*

The most recent viticulture region to be designated UNESCO World Heritage status in 2008 is the Stari Grad Plain in Croatia. The continuity of winemaking on the Stari Grad Plain was emphasized in its Nomination file and the decision to grant it UNESCO World Heritage status. The plain, located on the Adriatic island off the coast of Croatia, has enjoyed an uninterrupted olive and grape-growing agricultural tradition, since the Ionian Greek settlement in the 4th century BCE up until the present.

The site is also a natural reserve, and is designated World Heritage status due to its natural and architectural history, featuring examples of the Greek geometrically-based system of land division, called the cadastral system, and

small stone shelters, as well as well-preserved remnants of the chora (Stari Grad Plain, Split and Dalmatian Counties, Croatia).

In an interview with the Management Plan Officer of the Stari Grad Plain, Frančesko Duboković discussed some of the benefits of being named a World Heritage site. Duboković notes the immediate response from local people in supporting the site, as well as the validation of the regional heritage that came with UNESCO status. The Stari Grad Plain is only now compiling qualitative data on the improvements of the site since 2008, but the sense conveyed by Duboković is one of significant benefit from UNESCO World Heritage status.

Aii. Tokaj Region of Hungary, 2002

The protected areas of the Tokaj Wine region of Hungary include the Tokaj vineyard region as well as six separate wine cellars. The umbrella term used, the Tokaj region, encompasses the nine smaller vineyard regions of Tokaj, Bodrogkeresztúr, Bodrogkiszfalud, Mád, Mezőzombor, Rátka, Szego, Tarcál and Tállya. The vineyard regions in total include 13,425 hectares (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape, cover page).

The wine region is designated as the Core Area and defined as a natural unit, running between the southern and western boundaries of the railroad and mountain range and the northern and north eastern boundaries along the outskirts of the relevant communities (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 1). There are several structures and entities within the Core Area that are exempted from the declared site, such as mines and various irrelevant buildings. Buffer

zones around the protected areas have been defined to include the administrative buildings outside of the designated Core Area.

The wine cellars that are inscribed on the World Heritage list include the Ungvári Wine Cellar in Sátoraljaújhely, the Rákóczi Wine Cellar in Sárospatak, the Koporosi Cellars of Herceggút, the Gomboshegyi Cellars in Herceggút, the Oremus Cellars in Tolcsva and the Tolcsva Wine Museum Cellars in Tolcsva (Tokaj Wine Region 1). The cellars and vineyards of the Tokaj region are included on the official UNESCO map shown below. While the map does not pinpoint the exact locations of each site, it does give an idea of



Figure 73 Map of the key viticulture sites in Tokaj Region. UNESCO. Map accessed May 7, 2012.
http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1063/multiple=1&unique_number=1240

History and Contemporary Industry as a Precursor to UNESCO status

In 1990 the Royal Tokaji company invested in and founded their company in the Tokaj wine region of Hungary (“The Company”). Their investment was the first of any foreign company in the Tokaj region, and it prompted the Hungarian government to begin selling what were then entirely state-owned vineyards to private foreign companies. The initial investment of Royal Tokaji caused the

following investment of approximately twenty other foreign companies to invest in the vineyards of the region, in turn causing the rebirth in attention to the Tokaj region as a center of great viticulture region (“Background” Royal Tokaji Wine Company).

Other companies that followed and invested in vineyards in the Tokaj region are all foreign-owned and despite many of them being established companies, all invested in the Tokaj region following Royal Tokaji’s initial investment in 1990 (“Tokajneum”).

Justification for World Heritage Status

- *Criterion (iii): The Tokaji wine region represents a distinct viticulture tradition that has existed for at least a thousand years and which has survived intact up to the present.*
- *Criterion (v): The entire landscape of the Tokaji wine region, including both vineyards and long established settlements, vividly illustrates the specialized form of traditional land-use that it represents. (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape, cover page).*

On June 29th, 2002, at the 26th Session of the World Heritage Committee, the Advisory Body of UNESCO inscribed the Tokaj Wine Region of Hungary among the list of World Heritage Sites for fulfilling criteria iii and v (Tokaj Wine Region 1).

The Tokaj region became a center of refuge and settlement for the Magyar tribes beginning in the 9th century and continuing into the 12th and 13th centuries, as they defended themselves against invading Mongolian troops and foreigners from Walloon (modern day Belgium) and Italy settled in the area. It is certain, despite lack of material evidence, that the Hungarian settlements in the Tokaj

region were growing grapes for winemaking purposes since at least the 9th century (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 13).

The skills and know-how of growing grapes and winemaking in the Tokaj region originated in Caucasia, where Hungarians had lived for some time before moving to what is modern day Hungary. The Hungarians transplanted the knowledge they had learned in the Caucasus mountains to the Tokaj region, where the conditions for excellent winemaking were available (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 14).

Since the medieval period, the Tokaj region has been continuously inhabited. Historical monuments, specifically cellars (now wineries), testify to a continuum of individual settlements that have lived and used the land for wine production (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 5). The various cultures that settled in Tokaj, shaped the wine tradition by producing local wine specialties, which have become long-established traditions in Tokaj over the centuries (Tokaj Wine Region, Hungary).

During the Ottoman Empire, the Tokaj region first began producing the Tokaji Aszu, the wine for which the region has since been known for. The legend behind this wine, created through a condition known as “noble rot,” is that during Lorantffy Mihaly’s reign, the threat of Turkish raiders led the Hungarians to delay the harvest, causing the wine to take on the “noble rot” characteristics. Since then the region has produced and been known for its Aszu wine (“Tokaj Wine Region, Hungary”).

The variety of *terroir* among the different vineyards in the region, as well as a variety of grapes that are used, has allowed for a very unique variety of wines

that have been widely acclaimed and appealed to the likes of Beethoven, Rossini, Liszt, Goethe, Schubert and Catherine II. King Louis XIV of France, known for his formidable indulgence and discernment of wine, demanded that Tokaji always be present on the table during royal feasts. The French monarchs are known to have continued to prefer Tokaji as the wine of choice up until the time of Napoleon III, who ordered 30-40 barrels of Tokaji each year. Russian monarchs and the Papacy alike have likewise favored the sweet Tokaji wine over the centuries (Tokaj Wine Region, Hungary 6).

The traditional style and type of cellar in the Tokaj region were constructed and reached their peak of production between the mid 16th to late 17th century. In particular the Ungvári Wine Cellar in Sátoraljaújhely, the Rákóczi Wine Cellar in Sárospatak exemplify the typical structures that have been built in Tokaj since Medieval times (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 15). The Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI (Charles III of Hungary 1685-1740) declared the region and its cellars to be protected, making the Tokaj region the first region to be legally recognized (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 5-6).

Several of these wine cellars, such as the Rákóczi Wine Cellar in Sárospatak, the Oremus Cellars and the Tolcsva Wine Museum Cellars in Tolcsva survive. Despite being destroyed more than once, the towns of the Tokaj region that produced wine were always able to reestablish themselves through wine production. The surviving structures of these towns attest to the continued inhabitation of the Tokaj region, including its grape-growing towns, in the past five centuries in particular (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 14).

The Tokaj Nomination file outlines the historical significance of the protected areas. According to the file, local communities in the region grew into self-governing and self-sustaining towns. In the mid 17th centuries onwards, these towns, called *oppidums*, came under attack, and it was the Ottoman-ruled towns that survived, presumably for their strong defense systems (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 15).

The other group of towns which survived the attacks were those producing wine in the Tokaj region. Their survival can be attributed to the dense economic and social networks that their winemaking had created. Sárospatak, Sátoraljaújhely, Tolcsva all were classified as *oppidums* by the beginning of the 14th century; Tarcal, Olaszka, Szerencs, Tállya and Abaújszántó in the 15th century; Erdőbénye and Mád in the 16th and Modrogkeresztúr in the 17th century (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 15). UNESCO has included reference in the Nomination file to the cellars, as a representation of the ability of these wine-producing centers to resist attack over time in part due to their strong economic niche communities. The Nomination file also specifically references the continuity of these communities despite difficult periods in their history.

According to criteria v outlined by UNESCO, “(t)he entire landscape of the Tokaj wine region, including both vineyards and long established settlements, vividly illustrates the specialized form of traditional land-use that it represents” (Tokaj Wine Region, Hungary 6). The intricate network of vineyards, farms and villages that contributed to the management, labor and economic distribution of the vineyards and wine cellars represent the intricate system that enabled the survival of the winemaking tradition in Tokaj. The structures found and included

in the UNESCO protections represent every step of the process of production and distribution of Tokaj wine over the last three centuries (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 1).

The Tokaj region of Hungary has incorporated many diverse cultural groups within its borders, and each has contributed to the rich heritage of the region. Among them the Kabars, Pechenegs, Jazygians, Cumanians, Saxons, Swabians, Ruthenes, Poles, Serbs, Romanians, Armenians and Jewish peoples have all settled or passed through the Carpathian basin. Many of these cultures, no doubt, contributed their skills and knowledge to the tradition of winemaking in the Tokaj region (Tokaj Wine Region Historic Cultural Landscape 4).

The description given at length here and in the Nomination file of the Tokaj region is important to the aims of this thesis in several ways. First, the issue of continuity of many of the UNESCO WH sites is important to note, as the extensive history of the case studies of this thesis will be given in order to construct an argument for the continuity of winemaking in the two regions.

Second, the historical connections between Hungary and Anatolia noted in the UNESCO document can be used to support the link between Hungarian and Turkish viticulture. Specifically, the transfer of winemaking knowledge from the Caucasus to the Tokaj region of Hungary, as noted in the Nomination file, can support a wine route that connects the Caucasus to Hungary, possible through Turkey. The geographic proximity of Hungary to western Anatolian would be the obvious argument for connecting the Thracian regions of Turkey to Balkan and Hungarian regions of viticulture.

Third, the regions that are featured in the two case studies presented in this thesis provide similar evidence of remains found in the Tokaj region from the various stages of winemaking. Lastly, the diversity of cultural and community settlements in the Tokaj region whose collaboration contributed to the practice of winemaking strengthens the argument for the case studies presented, that also feature a diversity of coexisting minority winemaking.

Appendix B. Questionnaire to UNESCO World Heritage Site Affiliates

I am a Masters student in the Cultural Heritage Management Program at Koç University in Istanbul, Turkey. I am currently conducting research for my thesis which is about Viticulture Heritage in Anatolia. A large portion of my thesis is devoted to making recommendations for viticulture sites and cultural routes in Turkey, and I am writing to you with the hope that I might be able to learn from your experience in being designated with UNESCO World Heritage status. I have included a short series of questions that I hope you will be able to return to me with some of your insights. Thank you very much for your time and for sharing your experience with me.

If you would prefer to talk about these questions with me rather than write them in an email format, I would be happy to set up a Skype appointment.

Best,

Joan MacDonald

1. What was the impetus for, and how did the process of getting UNESCO World Heritage status begin in your case?
2. Did you encounter any difficulties or obstacles while going through the process?
3. What are some of the advantages of having UNESCO World Heritage status?
4. What are some of the disadvantages of having UNESCO World Heritage status?
5. Have you seen or experienced benefits or setbacks in the fields of sustainability? Tourism? Local development?
6. Have there been any publications associated with your site?
7. Additional Comments

Sent to:

- 1) Ferto: Präsident: Ivanics Ferenc, Vize Präsident: Abdai Géza
fertotaj@vilagorokseg.hu
fertotaj@mail.datanet.hu
- 2) Wachau
<http://www.bda.at/kontakt/sendmail/>
- 3) Stari Grad Plain
hora.faros@gmail.com
- 4) Jurisdiction of Saint Emilion
<http://www.saint-emilion-tourisme.com/fr/contact.html>
- 5) Upper Middle Rhine Valley
<http://www.wein-reich.info/index.php?id=47>
- 6) Tokay
Júlia Nagy

- Manager of Tokaj-Hegyalja, Taktaköz
- 7) CinqueTerre
(<http://www.cinqueterre.it/info.php?cat=48189428ebc89>) – did not email because necessitated an Outlook Email address
 - 8) Alto Duoro
No heritage Website/Contact info that I could find
 - 9) Landscape of the Pico Island Viticulture
No heritage Website/Contact info that I could find
(<http://www.azores.com/corporate/footer/contact-us-travel>)

Bi. Stari Grad Plain Questionnaire:

Frančesko Duboković
phone 00385 21 765 275
mob. 00385 91 58 678 56
mail zmoj@hotmail.com
Agency for management Stari Grad Plain

1. What was the impetus for, and how did the process of getting UNESCO World Heritage status begin in the Stari Grad Plane?

Recognition and value of some of the people is best manifested in the cultural history that has unfolded over the centuries of its existence. International organizations with large and long-term reputations of such a valued history is UNESCO. Although the process of listing on the UNESCO list of World Heritage are consuming and complex, the results are already visible and will be particularly visible in the future.

2. Did you encounter any difficulties or obstacles while going through the process?

The obstacles were visible in the fact that it appears that the Stari Grad Plain has reason to be included on the UNESCO World Heritage List, as well as a way to maintain the fields for the future of Old Town.

3. What are some of the advantages of having UNESCO World Heritage status?

Some of the benefits of the status of UNESCO in the fact that the international reputation of our organization ensures that there is a reason why the field is on the list of world heritage.

4. What are some of the disadvantages of having UNESCO World Heritage status?

Some of the disadvantages are that it must abide by this framework of activities and measures of protection.

5. Have you seen or experienced benefits or setbacks in the fields of sustainability? Tourism? Local development?

With regard to the Stari Grad Plain classified as UNESCO World Heritage List 2008th The agency only 2010th began to work for a short time assessment of the advantages and disadvantages. We plan to be multiple benefits and we have already experienced them last year. A lot of tourists are interested in, as well as locals people.

6. Have there been any publications associated with your site?

There are websites www.Starogradsko-polje.net on which the visible fundamental knowledge about the Old Field. There are a lot of promotional publications that show some info about the field.

Bii. Tokaj Region Questionnaire:

Júlia Nagy

Manager of Tokaj-Hegyalja, Taktaköz

Hernádvaley Tourism and Cultural Association

julia.nagy@tokaj-turizmus.hu

Translated by Zoltán Jakab

1. What was the impetus for the Tokaj Region starting the process of being nominated for UNESCO World Heritage status?

The horticultural and wine culture going back for centuries and the special wine produced in this area made for the impetus for the Tokaj Region to start its nomination.

2. Before attaining UNESCO heritage, what role did local communities, and national and international partners have in promoting the heritage and tourism within Tokaj? Did these partnerships help strengthen the heritage of Tokaj before the UNESCO nomination? If so, how?

Not too much. The region of Tokaj-Hegyalja has been one of the country's most disadvantaged areas since World War II. Economic and touristic development could only emerge after the fall of communism. International linkages mostly constituted international investors and the strong economic connections with Russia, which was mostly the result of wholesale wine commerce.

3. Did you encounter any difficulties or obstacles while going through the nomination process?

The time between the nomination and the final decision of the UNESCO was significantly long. The UNESCO has mentioned the lack of territorial immunity/protection as the major obstacle.

4. What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of having UNESCO World Heritage status?

The most important advantage worth mentioning is the territorial immunity/protection, which helps in sustainable development of landscape and agriculture. A major disadvantage is, however, that the UNESCO's and the ICOMOS' building requirements combined with the Hungarian bureaucratic system creates a non-investment friendly environment which in turn leads to less investment and reparation in structures, buildings even by local entrepreneurs or people.

5. What role does the local community (wineries, families, restaurants, small hotels) have in the Tokaj Region today?

Creation of communities became intensive only in the past few years. Wineries mostly play role in the restoration of landscape and more recently showing the area also became part of the marketing of wines. Touristic service communities play important role at the regional level since 2009. They try to incorporate the community-level thinking into the destination-management. Since then, they established their own work-organization and manage touristic infrastructural investments.

6. Have you seen or experienced benefits or setbacks in the fields of sustainability? Tourism? Local development?

Unfortunately, the region became a world heritage site prior to the establishment of the above mentioned civic and local communities and hence, plenty of useless investment projects were performed during 2002-2010. These not very well designed investments put a significant burden on local budgets. There are numerous prestige investments around the area, most notably those

of the wineries. These make the environment and landscape nice, restorate and maintain old cellars, however do not really create too many jobs.

In 2008 the sugar company at Szerencs was closed down which lead to massive unemployment among blue-collar workers and also put a strain on its counterparties. This created a severe social and economic crisis in the southern part of the Region (it had an effect on a population of several towns.) The recent world economic crisis and economic developments of the past 2 years made the situation worse. The reason is that domestic tourism to this Region disintensified as Hungarian travellers ceased to come to the area. Tourism is in a downward trend in the region. These tendencies created some emigration out of the region. There are villages which lack children at nursery or school age and only pensioners or pensioners-to-be people remained there.

7. Have there been any publications associated with your site?

Of course, there is a detailed vineyard-cadastral survey and there are plenty of books describing the specific features and values of the region.

8. Do you have any advice or recommendations for a country like Turkey whose wine heritage is very rich but not well known in the international heritage world?

It is worth looking at website of www.vitour.org which collects the good or bad experiences of european world heritage sites. The aim is that others can make use of these valuable experiences.

Appendix C. Cultural Routes in the Council of Europe

1- Saint Martin of Tours, European figure, symbol of sharing (Certification Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2005)

2- Mozart Ways (Certification Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004)

3- Schickhardt itinerary (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004)

4- Don Quixote route (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2007)

- 5- The Phoenicians route(Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2007)
- 6- The Via Carolingia (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2007)
- 7- Transromanica – the romanesque routes of European heritage (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2007)
- 8- The Via Regia (Certification Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2006)
- 9- The Santiago pilgrims routes (Certification Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004)
- 10- The Via Francigena (Certification Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004)
- 11- The ways of Saint Michael (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2007)
- 12- The St. Olav Ways (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe – 2010),
- 13- The network of cluniac sites (Certification Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2006),
- 14- The European Route of Cistercian (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2010),
- 15- Vikings and Normans, european heritage (Certification Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004)
- 16 - Hanseatic sites, routes and monuments (Certification Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004),
- 17- The pyrenean iron route (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004),
- 18- The Iron Road in Central Europe (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2007),

19- Parks and gardens, landscape (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004)

20- Fortified military architectures in Europe, Wenzel itinerary (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004), Vauban itinerary (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004)

21- The legacy of al-andalus (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004).

22- Castilian language and sefardic people in mediterranean areas (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2004)

23- European jewish heritage route (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe - 2005),

24- European routes of migration heritage (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe – 2007),

25- The routes of the olive tree (Certification Major Cultural - 2006)

26- Iter Vitis - The Ways of the Vineyards in Europe (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe – 2008),

27- Prehistoric Rock Art Trail (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe – 2010)

28- European Cemeteries Route (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe – 2010)

29- Thermal Heritage and Thermal Towns (Certification Cultural Route of the Council of Europe – 2010)

(http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_no_det&id=00000025)

Appendix D. UNESCO List and Description of Viticulture Sites/Landscapes:

Di. Lavaux Terraces, Switzerland. 2007.

Criteria: iii, iv and v. (outstanding example of control of the environment and education, Criteria iv)

Criterion (iii): The Lavaux vineyard landscape demonstrates in a highly visible way its evolution and development over almost a millennium, through the well preserved landscape and buildings that demonstrate a continuation and evolution of longstanding cultural traditions, specific to its locality.

Criterion (iv): The evolution of the Lavaux vineyard landscape, as evidenced on the ground, illustrates very graphically the story of patronage, control and protection of this highly valued wine growing area, all of which contributed substantially to the development of Lausanne and its Region and played a significant role in the history of the geo-cultural region.

Criterion (v): The Lavaux vineyard landscape is an outstanding example that displays centuries of interaction between people and their environment in a very specific and productive way, optimising the local resources to produce a highly valued wine that was a significant part of the local economy. Its vulnerability in the face of fast-growing urban settlements has prompted protection measures strongly supported by local communities. (“Lavaux Terraces, Switzerland”)

The Lavaux terraces are located along the northern shore of Lake Geneva, in southwestern Switzerland. The terraces are southern-facing and stretch from Chateau de Chillion to Lausanne in the Vaud region.

Evidence remains of a Roman settlement with viticulture and the worshiping of wine, and the city of Lausanne found its origins in the Roman culture. The terraces which are still in existence in Lavaux today, however, were first placed there during the 11th century by Benedictine and Cistercian monks. The continuity of interaction, invested human control of the landscape over the past millennia is emphasized in the UNESCO assessment of the Lavaux terraces’ heritage.

The Lavaux terraces exemplify a wine growing region which has been greatly patronized, “controlled” and protected over the centuries (criterion iv). This patronage and special interest has enabled the terraces to thrive in abundant wine production, which in turn has contributed greatly to the local economy. Specifically, the Lavaux terraces have contributed greatly to the economic and cultural development of the city of Lausanne and its surrounding regions.

Lastly, the Lavaux vineyard landscape “displays centuries of interaction between people and their environment in a very specific and productive way.” The local population has, throughout its existence, optimized “its local resources

to produce a highly valued wine that (was) a significant part of the local economy.”

Particular attention is being devoted to protection of the vineyards, which are vulnerable amidst the mass urbanization. This has prompted protection measures from within the local communities surrounding the vineyards. (“Lavaux Terraces, Switzerland”)

Dii. Alto Douro Wine Region, Portugal, 2002

Criteria: (iii) (iv) and (v) (outstanding example of human activity and control of the landscape)

Criterion (iii): The Alto Douro Region has been producing wine for nearly two thousand years and its landscape has been molded by human activities.

Criterion (iv): The components of the Alto Douro landscape are representative of the full range of activities associated with winemaking - terraces, quintas (wine-producing farm complexes), villages, chapels, and roads.

Criterion (v): The cultural landscape of the Alto Douro is an outstanding example of a traditional European wine-producing region, reflecting the evolution of this human activity over time.

Alto Douro is located in the Trás-os-Montes of northeastern Portugal. The interaction and control of the landscape of Alto Douro over the last 2,000 years is stressed in the descriptions upon which the Alto Douro region was designated World Heritage status (Alto Douro Wine Region, cover page).

The area which has been named Alto Douro according to UNESCO is comprised of the Lower Corgo, Upper Corgo, and Upper Douro regions. The Alto Douro wine region falls within the greater Douro region, of which the Alto Douro comprises 24,600 hectares of the entire demarcated area, with a buffer zone of 225,400 hectares that makes up the entire Douro region. 48,000 hectares of the entire Douro region are used for grape-growing purposes, and the area that has been designated as Alto Douro encompasses the best preserved and enduring vineyards (Alto Douro: Nomination file 3).

The boundary of the Alto Douro region is defined by natural entities, including bodies of water, mountains and roads. “The River Douro and its principal tributaries, the Rivers Varosa, Corgo, Távora, Torto and Pinhão, form the backbone of the nominated property, itself defined by a succession of view sheds.” (Alto Douro: Nomination file 4)

Alto Douro exemplifies the continuity of an involved and adaptable interaction between man and the land. The soil of Alto Douro is considerably ill-equipped to produce much of any agriculture. However, man has employed different agricultural methods and technology to get the most out of the land over 2,000 years. That communities have chosen to settle in the region under such

difficult conditions continuously for two millennia makes the production of such high quality wine that much more significant (Alto Douro: Nomination file. UNESCO. 2001 4)

Since Roman times at least, man has largely manufactured the landscape of Alto Douro to suit his purposes. The landscape of Alto Douro – the the area, between 1757 and 1761 Alto Douro laws were instituted that supported the production and classification of the qualities of the wines. The legal and qualifying mechanisms put in place were the precursor for modern day legislation and classification of wine.

The terraces that have been built in the Alto Douro vineyards are unique to the topography and soil of the region. Set upon steep hills with varying types of soil, the retaining walls, or *solcacos* are vast in length (hundreds of kilometers) and vary according to the gradient of the hill at that point. The *solcacos* can also be identified according to the community and corresponding time period that they constructed in. (Alto Douro: Nomination file)

Similar to the Tokaj Wine region, the demarcation of the Alto Douro area as a UNESCO World Heritage site has become a symbol of identity for the people of the region. Despite a history of viticulture dating back 2,000 years, today the Alto Douro region is most famous for its Port Wine which has been produced since the 18th century. Considerable change to and control of the environment has been carried out by human who have lived here, hence its fitting into criteria iii. (Alto Douro: Nomination file 1-12)

Diii. Upper Middle Rhine Valley, Germany, 2002.

Criteria: (ii), (iv) and (v)

Criterion (ii): As one of the most important transport routes in Europe, the Middle Rhine Valley has for two millennia facilitated the exchange of culture between the Mediterranean region and the north.

Criterion (iv): The Middle Rhine Valley is an outstanding organic cultural landscape, the present-day character of which is determined both by its geomorphologic and geological setting and by the human interventions, such as settlements, transport infrastructure, and land use, that it has undergone over two thousand years.

Criterion (v): The Middle Rhine Valley is an outstanding example of an evolving traditional way of life and means of communication in a narrow river valley. The terracing of its steep slopes in particular has shaped the landscape in many ways for more than two millennia. However, this form of land use is under threat from the socio-economic pressures of the present day.

Vines have been planted in the Middle Rhine Valley since Roman times, and from the 10th century onwards wine production and trade grew greatly. The

wine trade was centered in the town of Bacharach in the later Middle Ages. By 1600, approximately 3000 hectares of vineyards were being cultivated for wine purposes, whereas today roughly one fifth of that amount of land is being used. The decline in viticulture began during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), when much of the land was converted into orchards and coppice forest.

Contemporary revitalization efforts are being made to reinstitute wine-growing practices in the region. In accordance with UNESCO requirements outlined in the Nomination file, protective measures are being made by German governmental bodies according to heritage and preservation laws created to apply to specific regions, most of which predate the UNESCO World Heritage designation ("Upper Middle Rhine Valley").

The Rhine Valley Charter (Die Rheintal Charta) was signed in November 1997, and the majority of communities in the Middle Rhine Valley signed the Charter, which stipulates actions to be taken in order to "conserve, manage, and exercise care in developing the natural and cultural heritage and the unique cultural landscape of the Rhine Valley." ("Upper Middle Rhine Valley")

The Cultural Monuments Protection Law (Denkmalschutzgesetz) of 1978 and the 1998 Building Ordinance (Landesbauordnung Rheinland-Pfalz) protect the structures within the Rhineland-Palatinate region of the Middle Rhine Valley ("Upper Middle Rhine Valley").

The 2002 Hesse Building Ordinance (Hessische Bauordnung) has a variety of statutes that protect monuments and landscapes in the Hesse region. The landscapes are protected by a series of statutes, such as the 2002 Hesse Forest Law (Hessisches Forstgesetz), the 2006 Nature Protection and Landscape Conservation Law (Hessisches Gesetz über Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege), the 2002 Planning Law (Hessisches Landesplanungsgesetz), and the 2005 Water Law (Hessisches Wassergesetz) ("Upper Middle Rhine Valley").

There are a multitude of German laws specifically focusing on topics pertaining to landscape, which are being applied to the Middle Rhine Valley. The 2000 Forest Law (Landeswaldgesetz), the 2005 Landscape Conservation Law (Landesgesetz zur nachhaltigen Entwicklung von Natur und Landschaft), the 2003 Planning Law (Landesplanungsgesetz), the 2004 Water Law (Landeswassergesetz), and the 1978 Middle Rhine Landscape Protection Ordinance (Landschaftsschutzverordnung Mittelrhein) are all being applied to the Middle Rhine Valley protection efforts ("Upper Middle Rhine Valley").

Since 2005, the Upper Rhine Valley has been managed by the World Heritage Association, which is comprised of local representatives and authorities from each area within the designated area of the Rhine Valley. Additionally, officials from the federal states of Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate. The Association also nominates a World Heritage manager for the Rhine Valley region ("Upper Middle Rhine Valley").

. The Middle Rhine Valley exemplifies wine production and trade throughout history. Wine would have been produced within the terraced slopes that were specifically constructed for wine-making purposes. A stratified socio-economic system would have been created within the community to produce the

wine and distribute it via established the trade networks (“Wine Festival and More”).

Div. The Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion (France), 1999.

Criteria: (iii) and (v). 23COM VIII.C.1. Id. No 923.

Criterion (iii): “The Ancient Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion is an outstanding example of an historic vineyard landscape that has survived intact and in activity to the present day.

Criterion (v): The intensive cultivation of grapes for wine production in a precisely defined region and the resulting landscape is illustrated in an exceptional way by the historic Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion.”

Tentative Sites

In addition to the twenty four sites designated for wine heritage, nine additional sites are currently on the tentative list of regions that are being considered to be officially granted UNESCO status based on a fundamental aspect of viticulture to their make-up. Of these sites, the majority are in European countries, as well as South American and African countries.

The tentative sites, like the sites that precede them, are being considered within the standard criteria upon which viticulture sites have been nominated. The sites are designated within both cultural and natural categories, as well as a combination of the two. A portion of both the Cultural and National Sites are listed within the UNESCO List of World Heritage in Danger (“World Heritage List”).

Appendix E. Questionnaire Interviews

Ei. Questionnaire and Responses from Dr. Yusuf Örnek, Tourism Expert, Antalya Chamber of Industry & Commerce. May 16th, 2012.

1). What are some of the cultural and historical aspects that will be included in the Kayakapi Project? Who is involved in organizing and planning these?

Kayakapı Project is a Protection and Revitalization Project. Therefore, a thorough historical investigation has been done. We know the history of the neighborhood from the very beginning of the cave dwellings, through Byzantine and Ottoman settlement until late sixties, i.e. when it was abandoned. The investigations of the Ottoman sources (temettuat and tahrir defterleri) have revealed the social structure of the neighborhood from the 18th century till the end. As the relatives of the Kayakapı-inhabitants are still living in Ürgüp, the Project has a strong cultural aspect which we try to maintain during the implementation of the architectural Project. The owner is the investment company: Kayakapı Turizm Yatırım Ticaret A.Ş. The architectural plan has been done by: KA.BA Eski Eserler Koruma ve Değerlendirme-Mimarlık Ltd.

2). Can you please elaborate on the type of Museum that is in the works at Kayakapi and what will be included in it?

The concept of the Museum has not been done yet. But we will try to exhibit the coexistence of Karamanlı/Greek-Orthodox population with the Ottoman/Turkish-Islamic population in Cappadocia. It will of course depend on the information and the objects which we will obtain.

3). What role do you foresee wine having in the project? Will it be a part of the museum?

According to the large scale Kayakapı Project, a special unit/building will take place in the neighborhood in which wine products (from grapes till raki, from sirup till pestil) will be exhibited and sold. But for the moment we are too far from the realization of this idea.

4). Are you partnering with any local wineries? If so, which ones and how will they be involved in the project?

Not yet, but we will be in touch with the local wineries as soon as we are in the planning phase of this wine unit.

5). Given that Kayakapi focuses on Ottoman culture, what role will the Greek culture (of that time) have in the project?

We have already complete information about the life of Greek population in Ürgüp in the 19th century. This investigation is done in Center of Asia Minor Studies in Athens. Prof. Dr. Evangelia Balta has accomplished this work for us. Mrs. Yerasimos has also worked for us in CAMS in order to get the information about the nutrition habits of the Ürgüp Greeks. These reports will be used by us during the implication phase.

6). What is your overall goal or vision for the Kayakapi Project?

We will try our best to be a good example concerning the subject: tourism project in a World Heritage Site. A good example means a good balance between protection and tourism industry. Turkey has a plenty of such sites like Kayakapi and it is the first investment at this scale. So if we fail, other sites will also be in danger. It is the actual policy of Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism that it enables the local investors to cultural tourism investments. Unsuccessful implications in this field can have horrible consequences for Turkey. Therefore our vision is to show that even historical sites can bring money if they are well protected, good restored and rationally managed.

Eii. Questionnaire and Responses from Mr. Yuhanna Aktaş, Shiluh Winery

Translation by Canan Uğur, April 2012.

1) The work you are doing at Shiluh is great for the promotion of the Süryani heritage of winemaking. What prompted you to open Shiluh Winery?

Süryani şarapları binlerce yıldır kendi anavatanında yani Mezopotamya'nın topraklarında kısıtlı bir şekilde hep üretiliyordu. Mezopotamya'nın en kadim halklarından olan Süryaniler bunu üretiyordu ama kendi ihtiyaçları kadar üretiyorlardı. İsa Mesih'in gelmesi ve Hristiyanlığı benimsemeleriyle birlikte bu şarap kutsal bir boyut kazandı. Süryaniler 2000 yıldır şaraba bir kutsiyet atfederek ürettiler. Bölgede yaşanan siyasi, kültürel ve dinsel sıkıntılardan dolayı bu coğrafyanın en eski rengi olan Süryaniler solmaya yüz tutmuştu. Kültürümüzün önemli bir parçası olan Süryani şarabı adeta yok olmaya yüz tutmuştu. Süryani toplumu içinde bu kültürü yaşatmak için bir kaç insan şaraphane kurmaya çalıştıysa da baskılardan ve bölgenin tutucu olusundan hedeflerine ulaşamamışlardı. Son bir kaç yıldır dünyanın değişimine ayak uydurmaya çalışan Türkiye'de yaşanan bazı olumlu gelişmelerden cesaret alarak, biraz da bu kültürün önemini bilen bir Süryani birey olarak her türlü riski göz önünde bulundurarak bu kültürü yaşatmak uğruna bu şaraphaneyi kurmaya karar verdim.

Süryani wine has been produced in its homeland in a limited scope. s, one of the oldest nations in Mesopotamia, had been producing it only for themselves. With Jesus and Christianity wine had a sacred dimension. Süryanis were about to fade because of political, cultural and religious problems in the area as well as Süryani wine. Even though some people tried to open wineries because of the conservative environment they failed. I as a Süryani individual, in order to make this culture continue, I decided to open this winery by seeing the positive changes in Turkey that try to keep up with changes in the world in recent years.

2) What are your goals for Shiluh Winery and what place do you see Süryani wine occupying in the global market? Who is your target market?

Yukarıda anlattığım gibi; amacım Süryani halkıyla özdeşleşmiş bu kültürü önümüzdeki nesillere aktarmak. Yok olmasının önüne geçerek şarap dünyasına yeniden bu lezzeti kazandırmaktır. Kısa vadede Türkiye'deki şarap severleri bu lezzetle tanıştırmayı başardık. Aldığımız olumlu tepkilerden dolayı da önümüzün çok acık ve geleceğimizin çok parlak olduğunu görüyorum. Hedeflediğimiz

pazarımız özelde Türkiye ama genel anlamda başta Almanya, İsveç ve İsviçre olmak üzere tüm Avrupa'dır.

As I said above, my aim is to transmit this culture to new generations that are identified with Süryani people. I want to prevent it from extinction and re-introduce this taste to the wine world. In the short term, we introduced this taste to Turkish people and because of positive feedback, I foresee a bright future. Our target market is primarily Turkey but in general Europe, starting with Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland.

3) What are you doing now to promote Süryani wine in Turkey and abroad? How has Süryani wine been received?

Süryani şarapları aslında yöresel anlamda binlerce yıldır üretilen bir şarap olduğundan başta Turabdin bölgesi(güneydoğu-doğu)olmak üzere Türkiye'deki birçok bölge insanının duyduğu, tattığı bir şarap ama istenilen düzeye gelememiştir. Bu kültürü tüm topluma yaymak için özellikle uluslararası turizm fuarlarında,çeşitli festival ve elit mekanlarda sunumlar yaparak tanıtıyoruz. Aldığımız tepkiler ise müthiş. Olumlu ve çalışma azmimizi artıracak pozitif yönde tepkiler. Bu da bizi çok mutlu ediyor.

Because it has been produced here for many centuries, Süryani wine was familiar to many Turkish people living in the area, but it was not widely known. In order to spread this culture and wine, we make presentations in tourism fairs, festivals and in elite locations. We receive positive feedback that increases our will and ambition to continue. This makes us very happy.

4) What obstacles have you encountered in the Turkish and International wine market?

Süryani şarabının yapım tekniğinin farklı oluşu, bu şarabın dünyada herhangi bir alternatifi olmayışı ve binlerce yıldır damakta bıraktığı lezzetiyle bir çok zorluğu aşmamıza öncü oluyor. Ama özellikle piyasada ticari mantıkla üretilen kalitesiz şarapların fiyat düşüklüğü ve Türk toplumunda şarap kültürünün az oluşundan kaynaklı bazı sorunlar yasayabiliyoruz.

Because of difference in the techniques used to produce Süryani wine and that there is no alternative in the world, the unique taste has helped us overcome difficulties. However, the lower prices of commercial, poor quality wines and low levels of wine culture among Turkish people may cause some difficulties.

5) You used to make homemade wine, what is your relationship like with homemade winemakers now that you are making Süryani wine?

Evet ben de yıllar önce kendi evimde kendi ihtiyacım için şarap ürettiyordum. Bir süre sonra bölgeyi ziyaret eden yabancı konuklardan olumlu tepkiler aldım ve ürettiğim şaraplar tükendikçe Isene sonra kapasite artırımına gittim. Derken pet şişe ve diğer alkol şişelerini içki mağazalarından toplayarak şarabımı şişeledim. Ama standart bir tat yaratmak için caba sarf ediyordum. Ve hiç bir zaman para kazanmak için bu şarabın kalitesinden ödün vermedim. Son zamanlarda piyasadaki ev şaraplarına baktığımızda ‘‘Süryani Şarabı’’ ismini kullanarak ve ticari anlayışla şarap üretiliyorlar . Bu durum Süryani şarabının doğasına aykırı bir durum olduğundan sıcak bakmamız mümkün değil. Benim bu şaraphaneyi kurmamla birlikte zaten şarap severler artık bizim şaraplarımızın kalitesinin bilincindedir ve bizi tercih ediyorlar. Bu sebepten evinde şarap üreten diğer üreticilerin bir kısmının hoşuna gitmiyordur.

While only producing for my own need in my house, I got positive comments from guests about my wine and I increased the amount. I collected empty bottles from markets to put my wine. I aimed to keep the taste at a certain level. I never sacrificed the quality for making more money. But now people use the name Süryani wine but produce cheap and bad wines just to make money. This is against the nature of Süryani wine we cannot tolerate that. When I formed this winery people started to prefer us, because of the quality, over them I believe they did not like this.

6) Have you experienced any tension or problems as a winemaker in Turkey since opening Shiluh?

4 Sene önce bu şaraphaneyi kurmaya başladığımda kendi bölgemden büyük tepkiler aldım ve vazgeçmem için bir çok insan telkinde bulundu. inşaat aşamasında İslami çevreden işçi, usta,mühendis bulmakta çok zorlandım.Yine bir gece evimde şarap ürettiğimi diye ansızın polisler evimi bastı, kapımı kırdı ve çocuklarımın gözü önünde dayak yedim.Ardından mahkemeye verdiler ve 3 yıldır mahkemelerde yargılandım.180.000 TL cezaya çarptırıldım.Dosyam şuan yargıtayda.Ama canım pahasına da olsa kararlıydım ve hiç bir güç beni bu kararımdan vazgeçiremeyecekti.

When I started to form this winery 4 years ago I got big reactions from the area/region and everybody wanted me to give up. During the building phase I could not find workers from Islamic circles easily. One night while I was producing wine at home police walked into my apartment and I got beaten in front of my children. Then they opened a trial and it continued

for 3 years. I had to pay a fee of 180,000 TL. But I was sure about my decision and nothing could have stopped me.

7) What sorts of cultural activities and community involvement do you foresee?

Hedeflerim arasında Süryani şarabına özgü bir festival (Midyat Süryani şarabı festivali) düzenlemek. Bu festivali Midyat kaymakamlığı ve Midyat belediyesi işbirliği ile düzenlemeyi planlıyorum. Bu festivali turizm sezonumuz olan 15 Nisan - 30 Mayıs tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirmek istiyoruz. Festivali kalıcı ve geleneksel hale getirmeyi düşünüyorum. Bu festivale Türkiye'nin her yerinden katılım sağlamayı planlıyorum. Bunu başardığımızda eminim ki bu şarap bu ülkenin milli içecekleri arasında yer bulacaktır.

I want to make a festival for specifically Süryani wine (Mardin Süryani wine festival). I'm planning to cooperate with mayor of Midyat. We want to make it between 15th of April and 30th of May, the tourism season. I'm planning to make it continuous and traditional and aim to have people all over the country. If we achieve this I believe this wine will be one of the national drinks.

8) Have you considered hosting a harvest or summer wine festival? What do you think this will accomplish?

Bizim bölgedeki hasat dönemi 15-Eylül 15 Ekim tarihleri arasında gerçekleşiyor. Önümüzdeki iki yıl içinde bu dönemde bölge dışından gelen ziyaretçi kabileleriyle bağbozumu etkinlikleri yapmayı hedefliyoruz.

Harvest time in our area is between 15th of September and 15th of October. Next year we aim to make some harvest activities with visitors who are present in the area at that time.

Appendix F. Common Cultural Heritage Project, The Mustafapaşa Declaration

DEVELOPING LOCAL AWARENESS ON ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE LEFT FROM THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS IN TURKEY AND GREECE. The European Commission and The Foundation for Laussane Treaty Emigrants (LMV), 2004.

Preliminary Declaration:

THE MUSTAFAPAŞA DECLARATION

As a part of a wider objective to consolidate the reconciliation efforts that have been carried between Turkey and Greece, the architectural heritage left behind from the compulsory exchange of populations is being promoted with the “Common Cultural Heritage” project. The project, which is supported by the European Commission, and initiated by the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants (LMV), has two main phases. Each phase consists of a series of activities comprising an exhibition, on-site discussions and lectures. Mustafapaşa (Nevşehir) in Turkey and Rethymno (Crete) from Greece house the activities. Between September 18th and 24th, 2004, the first phase of the project was realized in Mustafapaşa. At the end of the Mustafapaşa programme, the Turkish and Greek experts prepared a joint preliminary statement to be announced to the public and related agencies. This preliminary statement will be completed after the finalization of the Crete programme, between October 21st and 27th, 2004

The preliminary declaration is composed of two main parts: Firstly, general issues about the cultural heritage and its preservation; secondly, issues directly related to the town of Mustafapaşa.

GENERAL ISSUES

Issues Related to the Common Cultural Heritage

·The definition of “Common Cultural Heritage” is considered as “the heritage, for the preservation and sustainability of which we are responsible, without depending on the society, lifestyle and culture which created it.”

·These works are the products of the common life style of two communities that have lived together for many years; therefore, the lifestyle should be preserved as well.

·It is clear that the responsibility of preserving the common cultural heritage belongs to the country where the heritage is located. The programme realized in Mustafapaşa was an effort to enable a mutual exchange of know-how, technical assistance and experience on cultural heritage.

·The Balkan countries, beside Turkey and Greece, should also accept the concept of common cultural heritage.

·Due to insufficient scientific research and inventory work in the field of common cultural heritage, new research and the creation of new inventory systems should be initiated. In this context, a common methodology and terminology should be established. Non-governmental organizations can have an effective role in developing programmes for research, methodology and terminology.

·Accounts of oral history have a prominent role in common cultural heritage research.

·The project envisages the creation of a platform for mutual exchange of technical information, accumulation of knowledge and experience on the restoration

processes of cultural heritage. It is also proposed that the related departments of universities (departments of architecture, restoration, art history, etc.) should participate in the activities; exchange programmes including experts, academicians and students should be arranged. As a non-governmental organization, the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants (LMV) can initiate such programmes.

·Furthermore, joint decisions for action should be taken between the two countries in order to gather and assess data on art history, history and social life.

·All the individuals of society, particularly women, have a significant role in preserving and developing common cultural heritage

·Education of children has a prominent role in increasing the local awareness on common cultural heritage. Educational programmes for children should be developed to create and improve awareness for preservation of the cultural heritage.

Sustainability of the “Common Cultural Heritage” Project

·Even though Rethymno and Mustafapaşa are the first locations for the common cultural heritage activities, the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants (LMV) has the intention of undertaking other projects concerning the exchange of populations and cultural heritage. These projects may cover other cultural heritage items, for instance intangible cultural heritage.

·However, with regard to the goodwill of local administrations of Mustafapaşa and Rethymno, and the values and problems of both towns, the continuation of activities in these specific settlements will be beneficial. Each settlement will serve as a laboratory to find out the appropriate methodology. This will also be proof of the sustainability of the “Common Cultural Heritage” project.

·After the completion of the project to carry out further progressive activities, a monitoring team composed of Turkish and Greek experts, members of municipalities and of non-governmental organizations is necessary. This monitoring team will be responsible for monitoring implementation and the submission of periodical assessment reports.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Balance Between Preservation and Utilization

·Preservation actions are factors of development and realized for the benefit of the public.

·Ensuring the sustainability of the preserved properties is the basic principle. This is the only that we can reach a better understanding of the interactions among communities.

- A building that is considered a cultural property can be equipped with a new function which is in conformity with its original character, and the new function should be closely related with the potentials of the building.
- The new function prescribed for a building should not have a negative impact on the spatial attributes, architectural elements and other assets of the building since the basic principle is to present and observe the architectural heritage.

Relations Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage

- Regarding cultural heritage, there should be agreement on the basic idea that preservation is the objective, and tourism is only a tool.
- To preserve the assets and to decrease the negative impacts, it is a necessity to limit the numbers of visitors in sensitive areas like Cappadocia.
- Measures should be taken to improve the profile of visitors; individuals who are sensitive about cultural heritage should be particularly attracted.
- Measures should be taken to prevent degeneration of the local social life by tourism. Experiences and studies on an international scale should be taken into consideration for the balance of tourism and preservation.

MUSTAFAPAŞA

Mustafapaşa has many assets, with its geographical characteristics and its natural and cultural beauties. Mustafapaşa is among the few settlements that have preserved their original physical structure almost intact until today. Thus, when making a decision about activities, programmes and implementations, we should act carefully in regard to Mustafapaşa. The economic dimension of preservation is getting more important every day in Mustafapaşa. This requires the utilization of the existing traditional buildings; then, the new development areas can be used for new buildings.

Tourism and Preservation

- A balanced tourism strategy should be carried out
- Cultural and natural tourism is preferable in sensitive areas like Cappadocia
- The lifestyle of the past should be presented (for instance, Mustafapaşa used to be one of the educational centers of the region); emphasis should be laid on faith tourism, and physical structure (for instance, the valleys) of the settlement
- To increase the tourist profile and to present the local lifestyle to the visitors, the use of houses as pensions is an option for Mustafapaşa. Experiences of Greece may constitute an example for such tourism.
- Various sectors beside tourism should be developed. For instance, viniculture, which has already been initiated in Mustafapaşa, is a productive project.

·Some portion of the revenues generated by the tourism sector should be refunded for preservation. Recent legislative arrangements in Turkey provide new opportunities for refunding.

Promotion

·Establishment of a cultural center in Mustafapaşa is necessary for the sustainability of the project. This center should be in a registered cultural property. In this cultural center, the representation of the former lifestyle using ethnographic items and the presentation of the history of the region, focusing on the Exchange of Populations, can be a tool for drawing the attention of tourists to the common cultural heritage.

·Beside preserving the cultural heritage, generating cultural products is another way of promotion. Various activities can be designed with a marketing strategy but without losing their traditional and original character, as a way to promote the economic development of Mustafapaşa.

Issues Related to Planning and Implementation

·The Conservation and Development Plan is an appreciated step forward for Mustafapaşa.

·However, completion of the Plan is not enough on its own, since realization of the Plan depends on detailed projects which aim to develop and preserve the settlement.

·Within this framework the Plan defines some Special Project Areas, such as valleys and public squares. On the other hand, restoration and reutilization of the individual traditional buildings are also important. Therefore, it is suggested to prepare and implement a conservation and reuse project for Topakoglu Mansion and Constantine and Helena Church. Topakoglu Mansion can serve as the Municipality Building and Constantine and Helena Church can be converted to a multi-purpose cultural center.

·For preservation activities on environmental scale, addressing issues of site management and obtaining a management plan are prerequisites.

·An advisory unit should be established in the Municipality where planning and implementation activities can be discussed and assessed. The present Commission of Art and Culture of Mustafapaşa including local representatives, can also be active in this unit.

·A consultative unit should inform and lead the local people for restoration activities. The present unit of the Municipality should be supported and strengthened.

·There is a lack of technical information in terms of implementing the Conservation and Development Plan and carrying out the restoration activities related to individual buildings. Mustafapaşa Municipality and local people need

guidance and support for such practices. Universities, professional chambers and non-governmental organizations should provide practical information in this direction.

·A technical instruction manual where it will be possible for local people to get comprehensible information about maintenance and repair interventions should be prepared.

·Restoration and preservation activities can be implemented more effectively and within the short term if local people have an organizational structure. Various forms of organizational structures (for instance, cooperatives) can be beneficial for Mustafapaşa.

Developing Local Awareness and Training

·Programmes should be organized at various levels to provide information and transfer of know-how.

·Local people and social leaders, such as teachers, imams (preachers) and representatives of local administrations should be informed about the common cultural heritage, the Exchange of Populations, conservation, etc. by exhibitions, meetings, training sessions and lectures.

-Exemplary initiatives should be activated to preserve and revitalize tangible and intangible assets of Mustafapaşa which face the risk of extinction.

-Beside the technical information provided for the local people, subjects like the history of the region and the cultural heritage should be brought to the attention of the local people. Experts on these subjects should be assigned to prepare comprehensive publications. For the creation of local awareness, the crucial role of comprehensive publications cannot be denied.

Appendix G. Proposed 10 Day Detailed Itinerary for a Wine Route in Turkey

Day 1: Morning: arrive in Bozcaada from Greece. Visit Corvus winery.

Day 2: Visit Doluca in Thrace and commute back to Istanbul.

Day 3*: **Istanbul.** Visit Istanbul wine bars; Sensus in Taksim, Corvus in Beşiktaş.

Day 4: (Morning): Uçışar: Presentation/introduction to the history of Cappadocian wine.

(Afternoon): Göreme: Visit Göreme Open Air Museum, including wine press.

(Evening): Visit the Kocabağ Winery Tasting Center and visit The Valley of the Pigeons.

Day 5: Cappadocia. (Morning): Visit the ancient underground city at Kaymaklı, including wine presses on the second and fourth floors.

(Afternoon): Go to Avanos, Lunch including a wine tasting. Tour the city, including the Kızılırmak River and a visit to pottery workshop to see and participate in a pottery workshop.

(Evening): Dinner in Avanos at Folk Dance Festival. Stop at Zelve Open Air Museum to see the red and white grape wall paintings.

Day 6: Cappadocia. (Morning): Go to Ürgüp, tour of Turasan Winery, Mahzen Wine Shop,

(Midday): Lunch and visit the Kayakapı Museum in Ürgüp, and other small scale homemade wine shops.

(Afternoon): Stop in the Red Valley/Ortahisar to see the Üzümlük Kilise and its grape paintings. Drive to Mustafapaşa (ancient Sinasos) – about 5 km south of Ürgüp, to see the Saint Visili Church and its paintings of grape clusters.

Day 7: Cappadocia. – (Morning): depart for Mardin.

Day 8: Tur ‘Abdin. (Morning): Presentation on Süryani history.

(Afternoon): Visit excavation site of the Çelibra winemaking system.

(Evening): Walk around Old Mardin. Visit homemade wine shops. Dinner in Old Mardin with wine tasting.

Day 9: Tur ‘Abdin. (Morning): Visit Mor Gabriel and Mor Manastır monasteries. Lunch in Midyat.

(Afternoon): walk around Midyat, visit homemade wine shops. Go to Shiluh Winery.

(Evening): Return to Mardin.

Day 10: Tur ‘Abdin. (Morning *optional*): go to Süryani Church service.

(Midday/Afternoon): Visit a village where a family makes wine. Stop in Elbeğendi (Kafro) for lunch.

(Evening): Return to Mardin for dinner and shopping before departing for Istanbul the next morning.

*During the harvest season, the schedule would be arranged to include the group’s participation in the harvest in one of the local villages such as in Elbeğendi (Kafro). Tour groups could work with the family winemakers to visit a village during the winemaking process, and perhaps even partake in it.

*Wine tours should ideally take place during the months of April, May, September, and October to avoid the summer heat.

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