



# A Legacy of Grape: A Socio-Cultural and Spatial Analysis of Ankara's Wine Production History

## Üzümün Mirası: Ankara'nın Şarap Üretim Tarihine Dair Sosyokültürel ve Mekânsal Bir Çözümleme

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DOI: 10.5505/jas.2020.29494

### Abstract

*The panoply of symbology and narratives that surround the grape, right from ancestral times, include dichotomous contours of both the sacred and profane, and distinguishes the final product, wine, from any other agricultural product. It can therefore be said that grape and wine production carry a multiplicity of historical meanings which convey the very characteristics and richness of the land and the soils of its origin. In this context, following an initial historical review of grape and wine from its ancient origins in Anatolia until modern Turkey, this paper focuses on Ankara's heritage of vineyard landscapes, grapes, and wine production while providing a critical assessment of its overall legacy. The aim is therefore to not only link together the vine plant and the soil, but also the people and their territory. Unfortunately, the heritage of wine production is fading away. While the Turkish word for the vineyard is bağ, which also means "connection," the connection between the city and its legacy is weakening.*

*This research constructs a socio-cultural history of wine production which combine, with an emphasis on Anatolia, sociological/ ethnographic and urbanist approaches to demonstrate the importance of grape and wine for civilizations. By referring to the geography of Anatolia and its suitability for grape production, the research also investigates the spatial features of that history, with a particular focus on Ankara. The viticulture of the city seventy years ago, when it was surrounded by vineyards, is now no more, although the living landscapes (vineyards and houses), wine production and education facilities (Atatürk Forest Farm, Faculty of Agriculture and wineries) and the towns (Kalecik, Akyurt) still remain. The main objective of this study is to contribute to the history of Ankara, which has never been specifically studied through the approach described above, thus simultaneously shedding light on the socio-cultural and spatial history of the region itself. To summarize the results obtained from the research, it can be seen that a nexus of actors, networks and policies exist between the periods of enrichment, and the destruction, of the legacy of grape in Ankara. A city that was once called*



*Engürü (the Persian word for grape) is no longer worthy of that name, and the city is symbolic of the current decline of grape and wine production in Turkey, as well as the degrading perception of the industry in the country.*

**Keywords:** Urban growth, Rural development, Vineyard landscape, Viticulture, Grape production, Wine production, Ankara

## Öz

Eski zamanlardan bu yana gelen sembol ve anlatılarla üzüm, nihai ürünlerinden olan şarabı saran kutsallık ve kâfirlik ikilemi sebebiyle diğer tarımsal ürünlerden ayrılır. Üzüm ve şarap üretimi toplumların mirasına dair çeşitli anlamlara sahiptir ve bu kalıt bir ülkenin doğduğu toprakların özelliklerini ve zenginliğini taşır. Çalışmada, üzüm ve şarabın Anadolu'daki antik kökenlerinden modern Türkiye'ye kadar uzanan tarihsel bir incelemeden sonra, Ankara ve bölgesinin bağları, üzüm ve şarap üretim mirası konu edilmektedir. Bağ kelimesi, sadece üzüm bağı değil, aynı zamanda bir kent ve üzüm mirası arasındaki giderek kopan bağları metaforik olarak anlatmaktadır.

Yetmiş yıl öncesine kadar bağlarla çevrili olan ancak bugün, bağ mekânlarını ve kültürünü büyük ölçüde yitirmiş olan Ankara kenti, bağları ve bağ evleri, şarap üretim ve eğitim birimleri (Atatürk Orman Çiftliği, Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü, şaraphaneler), ve ilçeleri (Kalecik, Akyurt) üzerinden incelenmektedir. Temel amacı Ankara ve bölgesinin kültürel ve mekânsal tarihini, daha önce bahsedilen bağlamda çalışılmamış bir çerçeve ve yöntemle tartışmak olan çalışma, Ankara'da üzümün mirasının zenginliği ve bozuma uğraması süreçleri içerisinde aktörler, ağlar ve politikaları çözümlemektedir. Bu başlıklar altında ele alınan üzüm ve şarap üretim kapasiteleri, doğal ve kırsal potansiyellerin değerlerinin de gösterdiği gibi, bir zamanlar Engürü (Farsça'da üzüm) olarak anılan kentin artık bu isimle yaşamadığını bir kere daha gözler önüne sermektedir.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Kentsel büyüme, Kırsal gelişme, Bağlar, Bağ kültürü, Üzüm üretimi, Şarap üretimi, Ankara

## Introduction: Wine's Two Faces

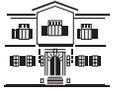
The domestication of what is known as the eight founder crops<sup>1</sup> is part of the very origin of agriculture which occurred along with mankind's first settlements. Ensuring the prosperity and sustainability of a settlement are primary conditions of any civilization, and are strongly linked to the origins of writing and the capacity to produce and store food within a determined territory. Food, after all, precedes all human major inventions as a basic requirement of life. While the nature of food is diverse through the ages, during which it enriches our cultures while feeding our lives, some types of food are particularly more culturally enriching than others, and have a stronger character and presence which goes beyond merely serving to sustain life. Such types of food become part of culture and thus undergo cultural transformations over time. They serve to embody various connections, not only between the human, the tacit, the

earthly, and the sacred, but also between the intangible and the heights of praise and devotion. Such forms of nutrition become adopted by faiths and religions, and fill the cups of spirituality, while also creating enmities, antagonisms, and even loathing. This means that instead of filling cups, consumption of such food is designated as being a sin and is subsequently forbidden. Of such exalted foods, which has both many admirers of its "bottled poetry," and denouncers of its vile attributes, no other food product in our history has ever created so great a dichotomy as wine, thus making it what can be called a "food with two faces" (Grivetti, 2005).

Wine and divinity were first connected in Greek mythology. Dionysus, known as Bacchus in the later Greco-Roman religion, (Dionysia or Bacchanalia<sup>2</sup>), is a "nature god of fruitfulness and vegetation, especially known as a god of wine and ecstasy" ("Dionysus," 2020, 20 May). The lavish drinking of this god represented praise

1 Emmer, einkorn wheat, then hulled barley, peas, lentils, bitter vetch, chickpeas and flax. First appear in 11,500 – 11,000 Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) sites in the southern Levant. (Zeder, 2011, p.222).

2 First held in secret in Rome, these rites were forbidden in 186 BCE by decree of the Roman Senate due to their reputation as being orgies. Nonetheless, they long continued in the south of Italy. See Bacchanalia, 2011, 27 September.



for hedonism. However, for the Persian mathematician, astronomer, and poet, Omar Khayyam, who is best known for his quatrains (Ruba'iyat<sup>3</sup>) wine represented, both literally and figuratively, a different form of wisdom. For Khayyam, the wisdom that comes with wine is one of being content with life and its beauties, and in which the profound spiritual appreciation of life is not only a form of mystical bond with the divine, but is also hedonistic in the sense of living the *here* and the *now* in a life that will end, and in which nothing is certain:

And if the Wine you drink, the Lip you press,  
End in what All begins and ends in--Yes;  
Think then you are To-day what Yesterday  
You were--To-morrow you shall not be less.

(FitzGerald, 1859/2009, p.39)

This food with two faces, which, as is the case with the Roman god, Janus, represents both beginnings/endings and transition/duality, not only expresses the excessive consumption of festivities, as Bruegel strikingly represents in his work below, but also, the reactive response of the enemies of wine who condemn the devilry it causes (Figure 1).

As well as being associated with revelry, wine was also praised for its medicinal properties when consumed in moderation. Interesting such accounts are provided by another widely known Persian: Ibn Sina, or Avicenna as he is often known in the Latin West, who is considered one of the greatest Muslim philosophers of the medieval period. In his *Al-Qanun fi't-Tibb* (Canon of Medicine)<sup>4</sup> the "Prince of Physicians" (McGinis, 2010, p.227) writes:

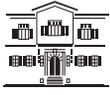


**Figure 1.** *The Wine of Saint Martin's Day*, the largest known painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, depicts peasant life during the celebration of the feast day of Saint Martin. During the feast, the first wine of the season, which is considered a gift from God, is drunk. The painting is currently on display at the Museo del Prado in Madrid, and was only identified as being an original Bruegel in 2010.

Source: Museo del Prado (Public Domain).

<sup>3</sup> First translated into English by the writer, Edward FitzGerald, in 1859.

<sup>4</sup> The Canon was the main medical textbook in Europe, until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and remains an authoritative source for traditional healers in the Middle East.



“To give wine to youths is like adding fire to a fire already prepared with matchwood. Young adults should take it in moderation. But elderly persons may take as much as they can tolerate.”<sup>5</sup>

“If it is desirable to get a person unconscious quickly, without being harmed, add sweet-smelling moss to wine”<sup>6</sup>

Centuries after the birth of Ibn-i Sina, the Ottomans prohibited wine through Islamic law<sup>7</sup>, and thus began the decline of wine production and consumption in Anatolia. Nonetheless, and rarely mentioned in Ottoman archives, the Ottomans did collect taxes on wine production as well as exporting wine, even though they “did so under the disguise of euphemistic terminology” (Halenko, 2017, p.119). It is also known that wine was commonly consumed by the early Ottoman Sultans (Lowry, 2003), and wine is therefore an intriguing part of the history of both Ottoman courts and Anatolia as a whole.

The attitude of the Ottomans is an example of the common dichotomy that can be seen throughout history towards wine; here between the visible face of prohibition and the hidden face of what really occurred. Another very interesting example of this dichotomy can be seen in how Sultan's Bayezid I proven taste for wine is blamed on his Serbian wife in an anonymous fifteenth-century Ottoman chronicle<sup>8</sup> *Tevârih-i âl-i 'Osmân*: “Until Vulkoğlu's daughter came to him, Yıldırım Khan (Bayezid) did not know what drinking parties were. He did not drink and held no carouses. In the times of Osman, Orhan and Ghazi Murad, wine was not drunk” (Kafadar, 1995, p. 111, as cited in Lowry, 2003, p. 27). Many more examples, both in history and in literature, of the dichotomous character of wine can be seen if one takes a cultural-historical view of grape and wine through the ages. Yet, despite innumerable accounts of conflicting attitudes, there is no doubt that grapes and its fermentation into wine has for many centuries played an undeniable role in both the development of settlements and overall socio-economic wellbeing.

The Anatolia region is historically one of the world's foremost territories for grape and wine production, with records dating back to 8000 BC (İncirli, 2017). As its climate and land are extremely suitable for growing grapes, the region of Ankara has a long tradition of both viticulture and wine production (Toygar and Toygar, 2005). One of the older theories for the origin of the name “Ankara” is that it was once “*Engürü*,” which comes from the Persian word *engür*, meaning ‘grape’ (Toygar and Toygar, 2005). In *Seyahatname*, Evliya Çelebi writes “They called [Ankara] ‘*Engürü*’ since it is all built up, a merry city with lots of grapes.” This work will explore the historical legacy of grape and wine production in Ankara from being highly praised to being disconnected from its heritage. This meant that the city's relationship with wine became more and more undermined and eventually lost, which is, in itself, yet another dichotomy.

### Research Approach

In this investigation into the manifold and dichotomic history of Ankara as a wine region, a qualitative analysis was performed within the theoretical frames of history, rural-urban sociology and spatial planning. This led to an extended document collection and analysis being conducted on the history of grape-growing and winemaking, initially on the context of Anatolia throughout different ages, and subsequently focusing on the region and the city of Ankara. Historical, ethnographic, journalistic and literary documents were all referred to in the study, and were obtained from several sources which included: Koç University Digital Collection, VEKAM Library, The Republic of Turkey State archives, The National Library archive collection of newspapers, The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, METU Maps and Plans Documentation Unit and Prof. Dr. Gönül Tankut Ankara Library, the archive of the Faculty of Agriculture of Ankara University, statistical data from the International Organization of Vines and Wine (OIV), and the TAPDK<sup>9</sup> annual reports of the Ministry of Agriculture. In addition to written sources, all

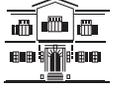
5 Canon 810.

6 Canon 814.

7 The Islamic legislative codes, *Kanunname*, were established during the Sultanate of Selim I (1512 to 1520) and prohibit Muslims from engaging in wine production and commerce, while Muslims who consumed wine were punished.

8 This was clearly due to it being impossible to impose blame on the sovereign of the Empire.

9 Tütün ve Alkol Piyasası Düzenleme Kurumu. (The Tobacco and Alcohol Market Regulatory Authority) (TAPDK).



of the locations in Ankara mentioned in the paper were visited and a special photographic archive was created.

This methodological approach has helped us to define the second step of the analysis, namely the identification of the three main axis of Ankara's grape and wine history: *Actors, Networks and Policies*. After making such a distinction, structured and semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts, and field visits were also held to supplement the information gained. Our investigations began with an interview with Prof. Dr. Gökhan Söylemezoğlu, a leading viticulturist from the Department of Horticulture, Faculty of Agriculture, Ankara University, who was crucial for our initial understanding of the regional networks and policies over the last decades, as well as to provide sources and contacts for further interviews. Field work was conducted during different visits to wineries in Kalecik, and interviews were held at the local grape's festival. We have also interviewed a locally known winegrower, Mehmet Köse, to understand the challenges to local grape producers, and Prof. Dr. Y. Sabit Ağaoglu, a retired viticulturist from Ankara University and a long-time expert<sup>10</sup> on *Kalecik Karası* (the black of Kalecik) grape variety. Prof. Ağaoglu has written a PhD thesis on the topic (Ağaoglu, 1969), and is also a local producer who owns a boutique winery in Kalecik and has collaborated on a university project to recover and stimulate *Kalecik Karası* production in the region.

Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay, the chair of the City and Regional Planning Department of TED University, was interviewed for the spatial analysis. Prof. Günay explained his personal connections with the wine production in Ankara that stem from his parents being graduates of the Agriculture Institute of Ankara (prior to Ankara University Faculty of Agriculture), as well as sharing his extensive expertise of Ankara's city vineyards. We visited Kavaklıdere winery, Ankara's first and Turkey's oldest, and were received by Cevza Başman, board member responsible for marketing. Our last interview was with Serdar Özcan, the general secretary of *Şarapçılar Birliği Derneği* (Association of Turkish Wine Producers) on the

challenges and importance of keeping the sector vibrant and relevant. All of the above historical-contextual, descriptive and graphic investigations have allowed us to explore the multiplicity of the topic and the two faces and dichotomies of the legacy of Ankara's wine heritage.

### Heritage and Legacy

Heritage is defined by UNESCO as being "our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations". It can be said that the early definition of heritage carries not only a spiritual sense, but also a profane one (Bennett, Grossberg, and Morris 2005). The spiritual applies in the sense of a figure chosen by God, e.g. to whom the crown is passed onto in a monarchy. However, the modern definition of heritage has another sense of inheritance; being in terms of the ways of doing something, and the customs or traditions which are passed onto future generations, or an assertion which intermingles cultural localities with spatial developments. Therefore, any attempt to reveal the features of a specified historical legacy, in this case, a heritage of wine, means not only to perform an inquiry, and to see how that inquiry connects to the past, present and future, but also to examine spatial representations throughout time between the facts of history and the poetry of stories.

### Wine as Heritage

If the history of wine is viewed as being heritage, both tangible and intangible, it can be seen to be filled with complexity and the ancestral symbolism of having two faces. However, a logical approach to the task would be to refer to different elements which characterize the link between wine and heritage, or more accurately, wine as heritage. The first of these elements is the link between the early days of agriculture during ancient human history, and the origins of wine from the domestication of the wild grapevine.<sup>11</sup> The second element is the link between the *how* of the origin of wine and the *where* of that origin, or in other words, the ancient geographical history of wine. This is of paramount importance when considering the history of wine in Turkey as particular areas are central to any hypotheses regarding the birthplace of grapes and

<sup>10</sup> Prof. Dr. Y. Sabit Ağaoglu, was one of the viticulturists that worked with, Patrick E. McGovern, the expert on the ancient history of wine, during his research in Turkey (McGovern, 2003, p.29-30).

<sup>11</sup> *Vitis vinifera* L subsp. *sylvestris*.

wine. An example of this can be seen in the following quote from McGovern “Lying near the center of the midworld fold belt stretching across Turkey and Iran, it is close to the earliest Neolithic settlements that have yielded the first evidence of the domesticated Eurasian grape” (McGovern, 2003, p. 19).<sup>12</sup>

More recently, issues regarding the heritage of wine heritage are related to Geographical Indications (GI). This is a qualification system of labelling or designation (known as *appellation* in the wine world) for the certification and protection of the wine-related concept of *terroir*. The GI regulations are based on legal protocols that were developed in France during the late 19th century to protect producers in prestige winemaking regions like Burgundy<sup>13</sup> from fraud following the enormous damage that was caused in many winemaking countries in Europe due to a blight of phylloxera.<sup>14</sup> Their current qualification systems are, to a great extent, based on that wine qualification system, and the 1855 French *appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC),<sup>15</sup> in which where the entanglement between product and territory is explored in two different directions: first by linking the wine to the local area through the concept of *terroir*, and secondly by placing the wine in terms of its global geographical indication (Barham, 2003). In fact, wine *terroir* is one of the most recognizable methods of representing the idea that the characteristics of qualified products are tied to the physical and/or cultural features of a specified territory:

The true concept is not easily grasped, but includes physical elements of the vine-yard habitat, the vine, subsoil, siting, drainage and microclimate. Beyond the measurable ecosystem, there is an additional dimension – the spiritual aspect that recognizes the joys, the heartbreaks, the pride, the sweat, and the frustrations of its history (Wilson, 1998, p.55).

In the case of Turkey, although the country has taken significant steps to protect endogenous agricultural products and connection with the products' localities through qualification schemes, the framework of the system is not completely integrated within the geography of the EU. As Albayrak and Güneş (2010, p.1067) rightly point out, “it is essential that Turkey develops strategies to increase the number of registered traditional food products that comply with EU regulations of GI.” Furthermore, as explained by İlber, Kneafsey, and Bamford (2000), in a world of global consumption, traditional foods gain importance for rural communities and their connections with urban areas in which most consumers are able to pay higher prices for added-value products. The wine region is therefore of particular importance because it is able to express the locality through its *terroir*. In other words, the issue is not merely choosing a specific wine due to the grape variety, the name of the company or producer, or even the design of the label; rather, the most important feature is the region where the vine cultivation, grape harvesting and production of the wine occurs.

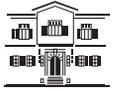
In 1992, UNESCO introduced the category of cultural landscapes, which has proven to be very beneficial for the nomination of viticulture related sites, such as wine regions. Between 1997 and May 2019, 27 World Heritage sites received UNESCO certification for their historical vineyards, either due to their landscape and/or their valuable wine-related architecture. Of the 18 Turkish sites currently on the UNESCO list, at least three have obvious links with viticulture. The first of these is Cappadocia, which was listed in 1985, in which there is “there is ample evidence [...] of continuous wine production in the region from the second millennium BCE until today” (Thys-Şenocak, 2017, p.218). The classical geographer, Strabo, wrote with familiarity and praise of the high

12 *Vitis vinifera* L is a vine species particularly cultivated for the production of wine, and can be found in the colossal work by Jancis Robinson, Julia Harding and José Vouillamoz (2013) which contains details of over 1,368 varieties of vine.

13 Burgundy has appeared, since 2015, on the UNESCO World Heritage List as the “Climates, Terroirs of Burgundy.”

14 The origin of the name *Phylloxera* is Greek, and means leaf dry. The words refers to an almost microscopically small pale yellow insect that was introduced to Europe via North America, and which, as discovered by the French botanist, Jules-Émile Planchon, caused the Great French Wine Blight of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. This blight destroyed many of the vineyards in France, and ruined the European wine industry. The French wine growers, Leo Laliman and Gaston Bazille, found a cure by proposing that the resistant American rootstock, immune to Phylloxera, be grafted to European vines. This method proved effective and lead to a process known as “reconstitution”, which became common with French vines.

15 While it was AOC who established the VQPRD (Vin de Qualité Produit Dans Une Région Déterminée) in France, the designation comes originally from the Portuguese, where Prime Minister Pombal established in 1756 the Alto Douro's vineyards demarcated region that became a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2011. This means that the famous port wine of the Douro region is the oldest geographical indication in the history of wine.



quality of the wine of Cappadocia: “[Strabo] reported that the Monarite wines of Cappadocia rivalled the Greek wines (Unwin, 2005, p.110). The second site is Hattusha, listed in 1986, the former capital of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1600-1200 BC), where discovered documents contain priceless information on the role of viticulture in that period, including information about how during the Hittite era, wine had a central role in rituals and religious festivals. Another listed Turkish site is the city of Bursa, which played a central role in the birth of the Ottoman Empire, of which there are accounts of the consumption of wine in feasts and celebrations after the victorious campaigns of the early Ottomans (Halenko, 2017). Wine was also part of the economy of Bursa, with production taking place in Uludağ, until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Eldem, 2017).

In this context, there are today two significant spatial potentials on an international scale: cultural landscapes and cultural routes. In addition to the willingness of UNESCO to consider viticulture sites for the World Heritage List, there is also the initiative *Iter Vitis: The ways of Vine in Europe*, which contains cultural routes within seventeen countries listed by the European Council Platform.<sup>16</sup> However, despite its long history of viticulture and vines over many civilizations, Turkey, is not mentioned.

### From Ancient Anatolia to Modern Turkey: A Legacy Interrupted

The historical records of Anatolia, and the area's connection with the origins of viticulture and winemaking, date back, as mentioned earlier, to the early second millennium BC. As identified by Oakes (1954), the suitability of Anatolia for wine production is reflected in the area's geomorphological qualities, with its central plateaus dominated by high mountains, isolated pockets of microclimate, and fertile soils along its intermontane valleys. Considering the fact that “the best wines are traditionally produced from grapes grown on soils with a high percentage of stones and gravel” (Gorny, 2005, p.138), the hydrology of major river valleys in Anatolia mean that they are today highly suitable for production. Baykan Günay, in our interview, described this geomorphological quality as follows: “Anatolia, known as

the site of calyxes, is a harsh land, but its isolated pockets and microclimatic sites at the intersection of mountains and valleys make it suitable for grape production.” (Baykan Günay, Personal Communication, January 22, 2020).

When attempting to answer when and where wine was first produced, McGovern (2003, p. 14) suggests that it was as early as the Neolithic period (ca. 8500 to 4000 BCE), as that was when the first necessary preconditions for viticulture appear. In a more substantiated scenario, he attributes the earliest production of wine to the northern parts of the Near East:

[...] in the upland regions bordering the Fertile Crescent – the foothills of the Zagros Mountains bordering the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers on the east, Transcaucasia to the north, and the upland plateaus descending from the Taurus Mountains in eastern Turkey (McGovern, 2003, p.15).

Although most scientific evidence agrees that the Neolithic period was when the first domestication of wild Eurasian grape occurred, and thus winemaking began, there are no absolute certainties. One theory, originating from the biblical account of the Genesis, and called the *Noah Hypothesis*, places the origin of viticulture after the Great Flood. This hypothesis is based on the epic biblical narrative in which Noah planted the first vine when his ark landed on Mount Ararat (which is almost certainly today's *Büyük Ağrı Dağı* in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey) (McGovern, 2003, p.18). This theory was widely accepted in antiquity and is a perfect display of the interplay of history and the poetry of narrative, as mentioned earlier. In fact, it is known that three<sup>17</sup> of the eight founding crops have been traced to these mountains (McGovern, 2003, p.29).

Another theory, based on the finding of domesticated grapes pips dating back to the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE, (Gorny, 2005, p.139) points to a Transcaucasian origin. However, it was only after written records began in the Middle Bronze Age that it was possible to be more certain about viticulture and viniculture in the region. It is known, for example, that the expansion of grape cultivation occurred during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C. -

16 See Certified 2009's “Cultural Route of the Council of Europe” (<https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/the-iter-vitis-route>)

17 Einkorn wheat, chickpea and bitter vetch.



Bronze Age with the spread of wild Eurasian grape from the Caucasus, through northern Anatolia, and all the way to Europe. One item of evidence that supports this theory is the changes that are found in ceramic vessels dating back to this period. By the early Bronze Age, all of the evidence shows that grapes had already become an important part of the Anatolian diet (Gorny, 2005, p.137-138).

Texts from the Old Assyrian Colony Age (ca. 2000- 1750 BCE) provide the first written evidence of winegrowing in Central Anatolia, and especially of the use of wine as an item of trade (McGovern, 2003, p.174). These documents are from the archaeological site of Kültepe, close to the Kızılırmak river, where the form of much of the pottery retrieved, such as jugs and jars, can be linked to wine consumption (Corti, 2018). The Hittites are regarded as being promoters of wine culture, and it is in the Hittite Old Kingdom (ca. 1600-1400 BCE) that we are able to first observe the importance of wine within human society. In fact, Hittitologists (Alp, 2000, p.67) claim that the Hittite word *wiyana* is the origin of the words for grape and wine (Thys-Şenocak and Balta, 2017).

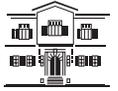
The Hittite texts also tell us that there used to be vineyards in the late Bronze Age close to the empire's capital, Hattuša (Boğazköy). Unfortunately, little is known about the organization of the vineyard system, or the production of the wine (Barjamovic, 2011). Nonetheless, the laws specified in the Hittite written documents do provide some insights into the viticulture and viniculture in Anatolia. These laws allow us to learn certain important details, such as the price of wine or the costs of maintaining a vineyard. This information suggests that wine production and consumption were particularly important for the elites of society, and were most likely not a part of most people's everyday life, during which water, milk and beer were mainly consumed (Gorny, 2005, p.151). That said, there is no doubt that wine had an important symbolic role in Hittite society. For example, the pouring of drink during rituals (libation – Figure 2), such as the sacred ceremonies performed for worship, sacrifice and supplications to the gods, as well as in feasting rituals, such as sacred marriages (*hieros gamos* – Figure 3) (Alp, 2000).

Evidence exists that following the fall of the Hittites, wine culture and traditions became widespread among the Neo-Hittite states and in the Neo-Assyrian world

(Gorny 2005, p.169). There is no doubt that grapes and wine production were an essential part of the daily lives of the Phrygians (1200-700 BC), for whom Ankara was close to their capital, Gordium (Günay, 2012, p.3). The excavation in 1957 by a team from the University of Pennsylvania of a tomb from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC on the site of ancient Gordion (modern Yassihüyük, Turkey), which was believed to be of the legendary King Midas, shed more light on the ancient winemaking practices of Anatolia. "The best collection of Iron Age drinking vessels [that has] ever [been] uncovered" (Gorman, 2000) on the site contained residue of tartaric acid, which suggests that wine was drunk from the vessels (McGovern, 2019). These civilizations were of immense importance for the continuous development of a wine culture in Anatolia, which remained unchanged until the arrival of Turkic nomadic tribes from Central Asia. It was only after the populace had been converted to Islam that ruptures and discontinuities begin in regard to wine production and consumption, although wine production did continue during the Islamization of Anatolia, mainly by Christians and other non-Muslim minorities.

Another important ancient site that is still important for the production and consumption of wine is Cappadocia, although during the Hittite era the region had not "appear[ed] to have attained the level of wine production in antiquity that made other areas of the country known" (McGovern, 2003, p.137). While it is commonly accepted that wine culture in Cappadocia was more active during the Byzantine period, and that during the Ottoman empire (1299 – 1923) there was a general decline in wine production, interesting accounts are contained in the tax records of the region. For example, recent research indicates an increase in taxation on vinegrowing and winemaking. This is not only due to the higher profitability of the product, but also to a "strong religious syncretism where Christians and Muslims lived side by side for centuries in a geographical area located between Akşehir, Niğde, Nevşehir and Kayseri" (Balta, 2017, p.156). In fact, an analysis of taxes on wine allows us to conclude that there was a growing number of wine-producing villages in Kayseri in 1484, 1500 and 1570; and that this was the case for both Muslim and for mixed (Christian and Muslim) settlements.

Thanks to the extensive studies by Halenko (2017, p.131-132) of wine in the public discourse, and its relation with the banqueting practices of the early Ottomans, we know



that not only many of the early sultans consumed wine, but that wine banquets were organized in the sovereign's court, particularly during ceremonies (*ziyafet*) in honor of valued guests, such as foreign envoys. Halenko's exhaustive review includes *Kitab-ı Cihannüma*, a composition of early chronicles from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup>

century by a civil state servant named Mehmed Neşri. The presence of various references to wine that use euphemistic and ambiguous vocabulary<sup>18</sup> leads Halenko to conclude that although wine was forbidden by Islam at the time, Neşri does not dare to criticize it. Halenko points out that the "strong political motivations for the



**Figure 2.** A beaked libation jug 1700BC to 1500BC, Kültepe. Photograph by: João Santos Duarte.



**Figure 3.** Detail from an İnandık vase. Mid-17<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The vase was found in İnandık, an archaeological site located in Çankırı province, Turkey. It depicts Hittite musicians and dancers at a sacred marriage. A procession of musicians and the sacrifice of a bull can be seen, as can a "king" and "queen" enjoying the feast (McGovern 2003, 175). Photograph by: João Santos Duarte.

18 Some of the referred euphemisms include *sohbet* (also appears as *şarap sohbeti*); *ziyafet*; *işret*; *yemek ve içmek*, among others.

wine-drinking rituals at the court of the early Ottoman sultans” was related with their steppe origins and their Turkic roots, which can “explain why wine banquets continued during the first two centuries of the Ottoman existence” (152). This observation is supported with those made by foreigners during their visits (Lowry, 2003, p.80) as well as evidence of the taxation of continuous wine production and trade (Halenko, 2004), not just during the early centuries of the empire, but also throughout later centuries (İnalçık and Quataert, 1994). There is no doubt that despite the many measures taken against wine consumption in the taverns, the weight of the Islamic law, the *ulema* and the sermons of the imams, production and trade were a very lucrative source of income for the state.

Georgeon (2002) provides us with not only a detailed account of an essentially non-Muslim “geography of taverns” in 19<sup>th</sup> century Istanbul, but also descriptions of the Ottoman elite who “permitted themselves” to drink with discretion, and of the lower classes (soldiers, janissaries, sailors, artisans) who frequented *meyhane*. In terms of the Ottoman wine market during the last decades of the Ottoman empire, Eldem (2017) extensively studies the monthly publications of the French Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul, the *Revue Commerciale du Levant*, which were signed by the secretary, and subsequently, president Ernest Giraud. Of the many accounts of the exports of wine from the Ottoman Empire, one of the most interesting is the ‘blessing’ given to Ottoman wine producers when the phylloxera pest decimated the majority of French vines. France imported “1,500 hectoliters [of Ottoman wine] in 1872, 4,000 in 1876 and 8,000 in 1878” and then levels “suddenly leaped to 100,00 hectoliters” (184) reaching 3 million and 400 thousand hectoliters in 1904 (Ergenekon 2008). To provide an idea of just how enormous an amount this is, in 2016 Turkey exported only 29 thousand hectoliters (The International Organisation of Vines and Wine, 2016).

Before the official fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1923 when the Republic of Turkey was established, the ante-chamber of the new Republican Ankara-based Assembly was founded in April 23, 1920, and only five days later (on April 28), the Assembly passed a law banning alcohol (curiously the same year as prohibition in the US) called *men-i müskirat*. Karahanoğulları (2008), who previously studied the alcohol ban of Murad IV, researched why the *men-i müskirat* was one of the first points of discussion in the newly found assembly, which is rather surprising

considering the country was struggling to remain independent at the time. The timing of the introduction of this law is enough to summarize the deep-rooted conflict over the consumption of alcohol (particularly wine) between the conservatives, and the more Western-oriented intellectuals. Karahanoğulları (2008) explains that the reason behind this conflict was the establishment of Turkish nationality within the religion of Islam that designated other communities with different religions as being “other.” Moreover, in the case of Turkish assembly, this law paved the way to a differentiation of party ideologies. That said, there were disagreement amongst members of the assembly. Some felt that the law went against the principles of Atatürk, as both he and his associates were known to consume alcohol, and that it was a form of continuing sharia law (Atay, 2004, p. 283-284). Other members felt that the law didn’t merit being a central discussion, but agreed that alcohol causes health problems and is against religion. Another group supported the law as a way of removing financial means from non-Muslim communities (Atay, 2004, p.28). This final view is vividly portrayed by one member of the Assembly, a finance counselor, who stated that “since alcohol is not one the basic needs of people, it is just for the ones who consume and produce it to be taxed.” (Atay, 2004, p. 29)

Ernest Giraud, in one of his reports for the *Revue Commerciale du Levant*, sarcastically made a comparison between phylloxera and other diseases that affected vineyards in Turkey and the high taxes on wine: “There is a far more frightening, and far more lethal illness that is strangling the vine in Turkey: the tithe collector” (Giraud, 1900, as cited in Eldem, 2017, p.183). A similar situation regarding wine taxation in Turkey exists today. High consumption taxes on wine were introduced in August 2002: the first consisting of 48.7% on table wine and 212% on sparkling wine. During the following three years, the tax rate changed five times, resulting in 63.3% for table wine, and 275.6% on sparkling wine in 2005, plus a 18% value added tax, which led, between 2005 to 2006, to a decrease of more than 10 million liters of wine being sold in the domestic market (Gümüş and Gümüş, 2007; Özdemir, 2013). However, the problem is not only taxation but also a lack of governmental support for production, a lack of promotional initiatives (public advertisement is forbidden by law) and even attempts to block connections between the product and its ancient



historical linkage within the territory of the country by introducing a law that forbids historical connections being made in wine advertisement (Özdemir, 2013, p.8).

This has not always been the case. Following the establishment of the Republic in 1923, wine making gradually became an accepted profession among Muslim Turks (Ozay, Akyol, and Azabagaoglu, 2005), and in 1928, the government introduced state support for wine producers, including technical know-how and financial support (Ergenekon, 2008). Proof of the governmental appreciation of the strategic position of the wine sector in the country can be seen when, in 1927, all alcoholic beverages came under the control of the state monopoly TEKEL, after which private production of wine and the private development of vineyards was still permitted. Ağaoglu and Çelik (1979, p.3) also emphasize the importance for the livelihood and national economy in the 1970s of a vine cultivation sector that employed three million people.

An example of this strategic view is the Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ). Founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in an area of deprived swamp land, AOÇ (or by its initial name, Gazi Forest Farm, as declared on 5 May 1925) is a site of social, cultural and agricultural production. The selection of the site, and the attempt to create an urban farm,

symbolizes the developmental ideology of the Turkish Republic to create new agricultural, industrial and recreational practices in the new capital (Alpagut, 2010). Another example of the strategic selection of location is the establishment of the *Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü* (Higher Institute of Agriculture) in 1933, which was chosen to enhance the relationship between agricultural education, updated methods and implementation in the field, as well as to strengthen knowledge for better production, including that of grape and wine.

From the 1950s (see Figure 4 for vineyard areas in the country) until the late 1980s, there was growth in private wineries, production, exports, as well as the wine sector's connection with tourism. *The Guide to Turkish Wines* currently features 35 wineries in 21 settlements within Turkey (Ergenekon, 2008), while *The Wines of Turkey Report 2013* maps 24 wineries and shows the wine routes that connect the different wines regions of the country (Wines of Turkey, 2013). Unfortunately, there has been a gradual decrease in the number of sites since 2014. Today, the Aegean Region has the biggest share (32.5%) of grape production nationally, followed by Southeastern Anatolia with a 27% share. The *Şarap Üreticileri Derneği* (Association of Wine Producers of Turkey) which was created in 1976, has 34 members and acknowledges the existence of 140 wine producers in the country (TBMM, 2018).



**Figure 4.** Vineyards in Turkey (1950).

Source: Harita Genel Komutanlığı (General Directorate of Mapping).

There has been both positive and negative (although more of the latter) political and financial measures for the grape and wine production industry over many centuries of Turkish history. Appropriate conditions and rationalization were provided in the early decades of the Republic for modern viticulture, and there was a general desire to enable higher standards of production that would take full advantage of the country's natural and climatic attributes. In 1947, an overall strategy for the development of the sector was discussed at an "International Congress of Grape, Grape Juice and Wine" in Istanbul. This positive initiative is in stark contrast with the most recent report of the Ministry of Agriculture on the sector (Yurtoğlu, 2019) which is full of excuses for Turkey's poor showing on the international market, including adverse weather conditions, and Italy's increasing share in the market being due to new vine plantations. The gradual negative impacts of this transformation of attitude regarding wine can be described as a profound loss of cultural heritage and is particularly apparent on the manifold regions of grape and wine production in Ankara.

### Spaces of Heritage: Grape and Wine in Ankara

The concepts defining urban space are inherently complex. As stated by Burns and Kahn (2004), such spaces have "temporal, cultural, ideological, perceptual, scalar and ontological dimensions." As well as the appearance of a space, there is also its reality, and as John Berger writes in *A Fortunate Man* (1996), "this landscape is like a curtain behind the life of its inhabitants and for the ones who are behind this curtain, the space is not only geographical but also biographical and personal." (Berger, 1996, p.13-15). Likewise, the spatiality of grapes and the derived products does not entail a physical space of a vineyard, but a territory which people depend on for their livelihood, and which includes the hardships and achievements of everyday life. Therefore, to focus on the spatial dimension of grape and wine production and vineyard culture in Ankara is to go beyond a mere physical inquiry which locates the past and current places of vineyards or the sites of production. Instead, territory must be considered as being a living space that includes meanings of belonging to a place within a frame of spatial and economic connections, as well as socio-cultural connotations.

The following section investigates the territorial and spatial features of grape and wine production in Ankara in

terms of the previously defined consideration of heritage, i.e. the study considers all of the relevant socio-cultural practices and meanings within a historical perspective that considers the time between pre-republican, the early days of the Republic and the situation today. The particular focus of the study is on the changes in the vineyards and the houses within them, as well as on wine production units and areas of the city such as Kavaklıdere Winery, AOÇ and *Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü*. These areas will be examined to determine the interrelations between the growing urbanization of Ankara and measure the loss of wine production in the region. To understand these spatial changes, maps that contain interscalar images have been produced, as a story line that brings together the different narratives given by the interviewees regarding the spatiality of legacy of grape in Ankara. All of the above demonstrate how integral the vineyards are for the history of the region, and therefore what a loss the decline of the vineyards is.

### Ankara: From Productive Spaces to Urban Growth

Although it is not well known, considering the legacy of grape in Ankara provides an inspiring journey in spatial and socio-cultural terms. For instance, the tradition of "*bağa göçmek*" (migration to the vineyards) between April and October, was followed by Ankara's inhabitants until the mid of the 20th century, and thus represents an exemplary tradition that demonstrates how significant the vineyards were for life in the city. During the period of the migration in the 1920s, the city was emptied while the weather was still mild for winter food preparation from the crops of the orchards and the vineyards that surrounded the city. Following the foundation of The Republic of Turkey, Hermann Jansen's sorely needed urban plan proposal for the future development of Ankara emphasized the importance of existing vineyards as being green suburban areas, shaping the urban form and forming a continuous green corridor that stretched towards the inner city. In addition to the spatial significance of the vineyards during the early days of the Republic, there is other evidence which attest the importance of these places for everyday life and socio-cultural factors. However, in less than a century, the spatial, political, and economic changes that have impacted the city and its inhabitants have unsurprisingly altered the geography of the vineyards. This study focuses on how the spaces of grape and wine production in and

around the city of Ankara have been affected by this transformation.

A historical comparison between the early days of the Republic and the current situation reveals the importance of viticulture in Ankara in terms of various spatial scales and as a socio-cultural asset. The importance of vineyards for the city can be seen in the culture of agricultural production, the urban-rural continuum, architectural values that reveal the spatial significance of the physical space, and social practices. The urban development history of Ankara, in line with the existence, transformation and disappearance of vineyards, will be explained using two interrelated scales:

- The City Region: The Ankara region as a network of grape production that focuses on production in the surrounding townships.
- The City: Vineyards, vineyard houses, wine production and education facilities.

Due to the low costs of maintenance, viticulture was traditionally preferred by most Anatolian farmers, and the dry and infertile slopes of land around many of the town surrounding Ankara used to be covered in

vineyards (Kaynar, 2020). In 1937, Oraman listed 65 grape cultivars within the city region and focused on the potential for viticulture in the Ankara center and the townships of Kalecik, Keskin, Ayaş, Çubuk, Koçhisar, Beypazarı, Nallıhan, Kızılcahamam, Bala, Haymana and Polatlı (Table 1). Finding the soil typology and climate highly suitable for grape production in Ankara, Kalecik and Keskin (where it was found to be partially grainy and calcareous), Oraman states that the best rate of return in grape production was obtained from the vineyards in the south-facing slopes (Oraman,1937, p.22). The most productive vineyards are located in the slightly higher ridges and hills within the city, such as the south-facing slopes of Etlik, Keçiören, Küçükesatlar, Çankaya, Dikmen and Kavaklıdere. The reason for this is that being higher allows the vineyards to warm up more quickly. While the number of vineyards in the region was increasing the 1940s, there was a significant change in this trend during the 1950s, mainly due to phylloxera (Kaynar, 2020). This reduction in the importance of the vineyards and grape production in Ankara has continued up until the present day, and the 2019 Grape Report of the Ministry of Agriculture stated that only 1% of the total grapes produced in Turkey are in Ankara. That said, there are

**Table 1.** A Comparative Diagram that Shows the Sizes of the Vineyards within the Ankara Region

Site	Hectare
Villages	1077
Küçükyozgat	625
Halkavun	409
Bağlum	395
Gölbaşı	207
Zir	175
Etimesgut	165
Etlik	115
Küçükesatlar	90
Keçiören	65
Cebeci	50
Çankaya	40
Forest Farm	25

Source: Oraman, 1937, p. 40, p. 205.

still oases of wine and grape production in the area. One of these is Akyurt, which is where the Kavaklıdere Winery facilities are located. However, perhaps the most important location is Kalecik, a town 70 km northeast of Ankara, which still plays a crucial role in the legacy of grape in the Ankara region in its territory, policies, actors, and socio-cultural features.

### **Kalecik Karası: The Arduous Road from Vine to Wine**

*Kalecik Karası* is a clear example of the potential of the grapes produced within the Ankara region. This indigenous and geographically labelled grape variety grows in Kalecik due to the milder microclimatic environment of the area, namely its geomorphological characteristics and the Kızılırmak river. Kalecik, which was a Hittite settlement, is known to have been producing wine as long ago as 3500-4000 BC.

However, the ancient tradition of wine making was interrupted in the 1950s and was in danger of extinction. In order to prevent this, a research team from Ankara University Faculty of Agriculture, (Fidan, et al., 1986), worked with the support of TÜBİTAK on the revival of *Kalecik Karası*, and it is due to their successful intervention that grape production continues in Kalecik today (Ülgener, 2010). Furthermore, Ankara University's Faculty of Agriculture currently owns a vineyard in Kalecik which provides a research environment for its students and inspires scientific and academic

publications.<sup>19</sup> However, Mehmet Köse, a member of the locally known winegrower Köse family who owns a small-scale vineyard, believes that the connection of technical expert knowledge between the university and the local production has seen better days (Figure 5, Figure 6):

Ankara University staff produced the Kalecik Grapes vine stems in this vineyard, and it was from here that they were distributed all over Turkey. At that time, there was Sabit Hoca from the Faculty of Agriculture, we worked together a lot [...] he was the dean I suppose. Today, no one comes, and we are just working by ourselves. (Mehmet Köse, Personal Communication, September 14, 2019) (Figure 6).

The *Kalecik Karası* ('kara' means black or dark) takes its name from the robust skin color of the grapes (Figure 6) which is described as being light rubious or sour cherry (Anlı, 2006). In the words of Mehmet Köse, "these grapes have a very thin skin which is almost dissoluble, the blackness of the grapes is hidden under smoke, which makes it even more delicate" (Mehmet Köse, Personal Communication, September 14, 2019). *Kalecik Karası* is widely agreed by agriculturists and wine experts to be an excellent fit for the production of high-quality wine (Toygar and Toygar, 2005). Anlı (2006, 148) characterizes the *Kalecik Karası* wine by having "red fruit aromas, such as black cherry and framboise, with a complex body and light tannin that leaves a delicate taste in the mouth." Resembling Pinot Noir produced in France, Anlı (2006, p.

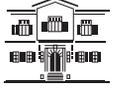


**Figure 5.** Harvesting Grapes in Kalecik.  
Photograph by: João Santos Duarte.



**Figure 6.** Kalecik Karası.  
Photograph by: João Santos Duarte.

19 For more information on Ankara University's vineyard in Kalecik, please refer to: <http://agri.ankara.edu.tr/kalecik-bagcilik-arastirma-ve-uygulama-isletmesi/>



170) points out that *Kalecik Karası* is the most expensive local wine produced in Turkey.

The way that the undeniable tradition of Ankara grape and wine production is being hindered is quite worrying, considering the strength of that tradition and the status of the wine of the area. After all, the *Kalecik Karası* grape variety that the region is mostly known for is also one of the 18 grape-related products registered with a Geographical Indication (GI). As stated by the Italian agronomist Mario Monchiero, “if a variety of grape is named after the region, it shows that the region is seeded in tradition and culture.” (Butler and Heskett; 2012, p. 144). This deep connection is also visible if we take a closer look at the mentioned registration of this grape variety. The *Türk Patent Enstitüsü* (Institute of Turkish Patents) granted in April 2006 a *Çoğrafi İşaret Tescil Belgesi* (Geographical Indication Registration Document) following the Kalecik Municipality's application in June 2005. However, the prevailing conservative attitude, which aims to hinder 5000 years of tradition, is apparent in a document prepared in collaboration between the Ankara Development Agency and the Kalecik Municipality in 2015. This document, entitled “Kalecik in Ottoman Archives”, does not even mention wine anywhere in its 248 pages. (Balta, 2019). Despite the religious constraints, the multi-cultural settlements, among which Kalecik partook, hosted both taxable wine production and consumption during the Ottoman Period.

Kalecik grape festival used to be an essential event for the locals to introduce their products to a broader consumer base. However, the former AKP mayor of Kalecik (2014-2018), argued that “grape cannot be reduced to wine”. The festival ceased soon afterwards. As suggested by the above quote, the mayor resisted the association of grape production with wine production to focus on other products such as raisins and *pekmez* (molasses). Following a prolonged hiatus, the grape festival resumed in 2019. Despite the importance of grape products other than wine for Kalecik's local economic development, the profitability of wine production should not be ignored. A study of the profitability of grape products realized by Bayramoğlu, Gündoğmu, Çelik (2010) suggests that producing wine out of Kalecik grapes, when taking into account the costs of growing and processing, as well as the selling price, is more profitable than selling them as table grapes (2010, p.25). Again, while other methods of

production, such as molasses, raisins and grape juice, are important products, the added value of producing wine, according to Sabit Ağaoğlu, has remarkable economic potential:

How much molasses could be produced? Approximately 5-6 kilograms of grapes makes one kilogram of molasses, while the same quantity of grapes makes 4-5 bottles of wine. If you sell molasses for 25-30 liras per kilo, you can sell each bottle of wine for at least 25 liras. The same quantity of grapes but quadruple the profit. (Sabit Ağaoğlu, Personal Communication, September 28, 2019).

The value of the historical trademark of Kalecik, which is associated with a deep-rooted culture of grape production, has a positive potential for the development of the entire city region (Figure 7). The grape festival of Kalecik is an example of the cultural and economic values of the site. In one of our field trips to Kalecik, we attended the 2019 *11. Uluslararası Kalecik Karası Üzüm Festivali* (11<sup>th</sup> International *Kalecik Karası* Grape Festival) which was organized by the Municipality. However, the limited participation and nature of the event meant that the festival did not live up to the adjective ‘international’ in the title (Figure 8). Although we knew beforehand that there would be no related wine promotion activities at the festival, it was surprising to see that wine was completely disregarded as if there is no such link between wine and *Kalecik Karası*, or even as if wine is not made out of grapes.

The winegrower, Mehmet Köse, has pointed out that the noticeably low participation at the festival was a result of the suppression of wine-related activities (Mehmet Köse, Personal Communication, September 14, 2019). However, this has not always been the case with the Kalecik festival. Previous mayors with different politics have allowed wine to be promoted at the festival along with other grape products. The attitude of the current municipality towards wine production shows how the amalgamation between politics and morals can jeopardize the cultural and economic potential of an agricultural product.

### Urban Growth and Vineyards in Ankara

Ankara is on the central Anatolia Plateau and stretches between the Kızılırmak and Sakarya river basins on a high point of the plateau. The area is ideal for fruit and vegetable plantations. The peculiar geography of Ankara has always been the surroundings of the human



**Figure 7.** A view from the Köse family vineyard in Kalecik. Photograph by: João Santos Duarte.



**Figure 8.** The “International” Kalecik Grape Festival. Photograph by: Duygu Cihanger Ribeiro.

settlements on and around Ankara castle, which is located on an 850-980-meter elevation surrounded by the alluvial and fertile land created by the river basins. In geomorphological terms, the calyx form of the city describes a bowl; namely, a plain surrounded by hilltops that can be roughly divided into three sections: the Keçiören and Etlik elevations to the north, the castle and Altındağ hilltops and plains, and the Dikmen and Çankaya elevations to the south. The urban settlement is surrounded by Haymana, Polatlı, and the Çubuk Plains. The slopes which benefit from the water resources run along the valleys and create micro climatic environments for vegetable, nuts, fruit, and, most importantly for us, grape production (Figure 9).

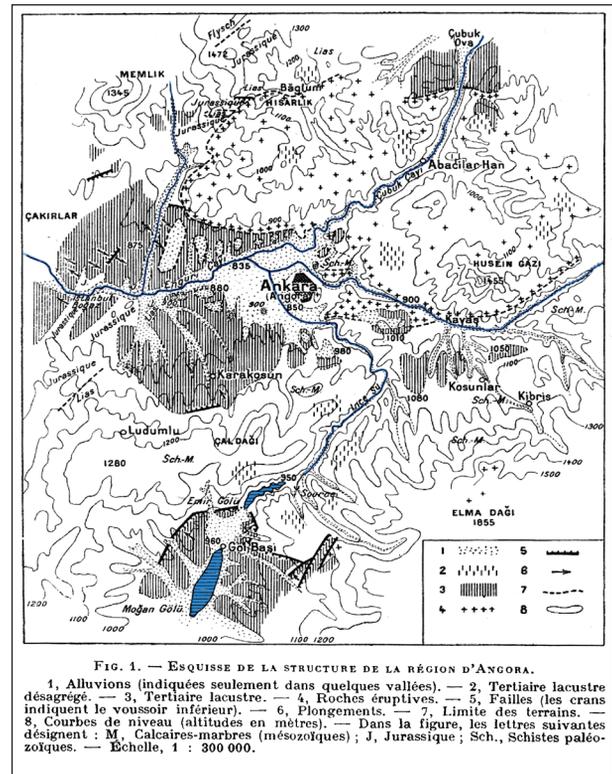
In the days before the Republic was founded, this connection was well established in both social and spatial terms. A folk song that originated from Ankara is commonly sung at many gatherings and celebrations, such as weddings. The anonymous song, named “Ankara'nın Bağları” (Vineyards of Ankara), contains the following verse:

<i>Ankara'nın bağları da</i>	<i>The vineyards of Ankara</i>
<i>Büklüm büklüm yolları</i>	<i>Its roads are twisted</i>
<i>Ne zaman sarhoş oldun da</i>	<i>When have you become drunk</i>
<i>Kaldıramıyon kolları</i>	<i>You cannot even lift your arms</i>

It is quite difficult nowadays to make sense of the references to vineyards in the verses of this song. However, by looking at some of the well-known district names in the area that contain the Turkish word for ‘vine’ (bağ), such as *Seyranbağları*, *Çinçin Bağları*, *Papaz'ın*

*Bağı*, and *VEKAM Bağ Evi*, we can witness the remnants of a century old transition within the territory.

Viticulture in Ankara dates back to 10 BC. In Vincke's map, which depicts Ankara in 1839 and was printed in Berlin in 1950, the northwestern and southern sites



**Figure 9.** A model of the evolution of the Ankara region. Source: Ernest Chaput (1931).



are described as *garten und weinbergen* (gardens and vineyards)<sup>20</sup>. Observations made by Georges Perrot during his three-month visit to the city in 1861 provide some insights into how this spatial definition is reflected upon the urban economics and everyday life of the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

All city families have houses in the center and in the outskirts with a vineyard and orchards...The best vineyards are seen in the area called *Büyük Esat* where the houses are spread along the deep and meandering valleys and have excellent views. The city looks deserted until the middle of October when during the long nights, old wines made of vintage grapes are drunk, and laughter and songs fill the air.” (Perrot 1861, as cited in Günel, 2005, p.52-53, [Translated by the authors])

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the basic economic sector of Ankara comprised of *sof* and *mohair*<sup>21</sup> production, followed by grain export by the end of the century (Kaynar, 2020). The export of various products particularly increased after the city was connected by rail in 1892. The 1900 *Ankara Vilayet Salnamesi* lists 9655 vineyards surrounding the city. During the Ottoman period, some of the state archive findings summarize the possible conflicts between the communities in terms of wine making and consumption. There are orders to Ankara *kadı* to not let Christians sell wine to the Muslims, and to prohibit some coffee shop owners from selling wine and leading Muslims into sin (A.{DVNSMHM, 36/479, BOA). Baykan Günay delicately illustrates the possibility of these tensions as follows:

The vineyards of Ankara existed within the ecology of Ankara with the location of the castle and Timur Hill just beside it; and the connections of Ankara, Çubuk, Halit and İmrahor Streams creating a swamp land around the castle. However, with this ecosystem, a social system also prevailed. Four different communities (Muslims, Christians, Armenian and Jewish) have for many years lived in friendship and continue to do so. Today, the name of *Papaz'ın Bağı* (Priest's Vineyard) tells this story. These communities have co-existed for a long time, but from the 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century, a larger political conjuncture, without

blaming any religion, scattered this diversity (Baykan Günay, Personal Communication, January 22, 2020).

The scattering mentioned by Günay accelerated after the approaches to urban planning that were instigated following the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, and this dispersion occurred not only in spatial, but also in socio-cultural terms. The designation of Ankara as the capital of the new Republic inevitably created the need for urban growth to accommodate the expansion of urban functions and population. Ankara had to grow, and the direction of its growth was towards the vineyards that had favorable climatic conditions and natural features, were close to the existing city, and were available in terms of land for construction (Figure 10, Figure 11). The maps and photographs below document the existence of vineyards that surrounded the city until the 1960s (Figure 12, Figure 13). Regarding the report for the 1932 Ankara Plan, Hermann Jansen states: “The south side has the most beautiful view. Here vineyards cover the slopes that reach the outskirts of Atatürk's Çankaya house. The new city extends between Çankaya and the old city.” Despite being attentive to the existence of vineyards, Jansen's plan proposed low-density developments on these sites which thus opened them to construction.

According to Baykan Günay, urban construction during the 1950s, rather than the urban planning process, was “wild” because land speculation ruined the value of territory such as vineyards. Some aspects of this process was due to the Jansen Plan (Baykan Günay, Personal Communication, January 22, 2020). For instance, in terms of controlling the limits of development, there are no clear planning decisions to control and/or propose further growth in Jansen's plan proposal. Moreover, the building blocks divided by the green roads (*freie flasche*) do not clearly present the planner's intention, and therefore were open to being exploited, as we can see today in Çankaya and Dikmen regions (Figure 14). Dikmen Valley, and the green corridor between Çankaya Köşkü, Botanik Park and Seğmenler Park are some of the traces of what is left today of vineyard sites (Figure 15). These valuable Ankara sites can never be restored, and the question as to whether the vineyards could have been

20 Vincke's map is available at: <https://libdigitalcollections.ku.edu.tr/digital/collection/VHPK/id/76/>

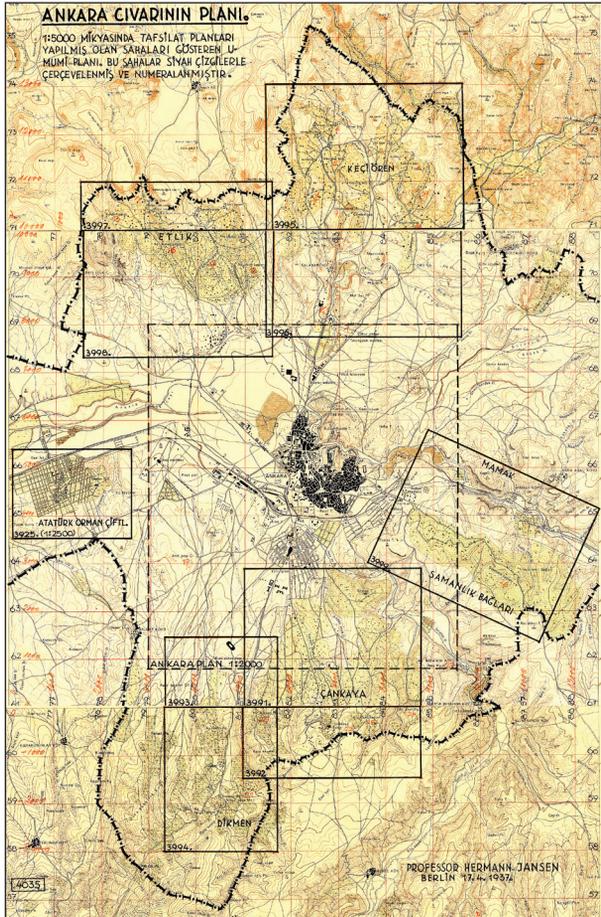
21 Mohair is a fiber type obtained from the Angora goat, and Ankara *sof* is a fabric woven from this mohair. Their production played a significant role in the economy of Ankara between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.



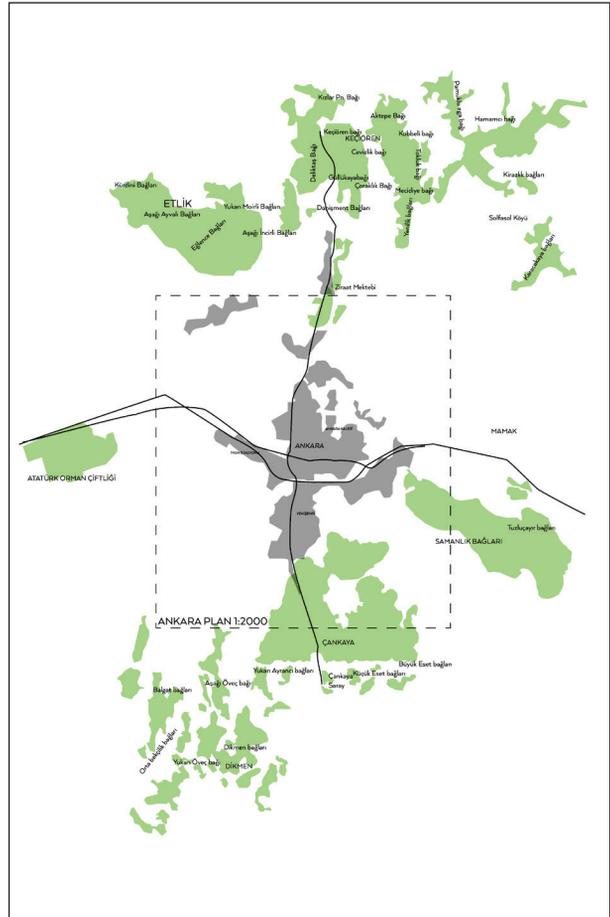
**Figure 10.** A view from the vineyards of Çankaya.  
Source: METU Maps and Plans Documentation Unit.



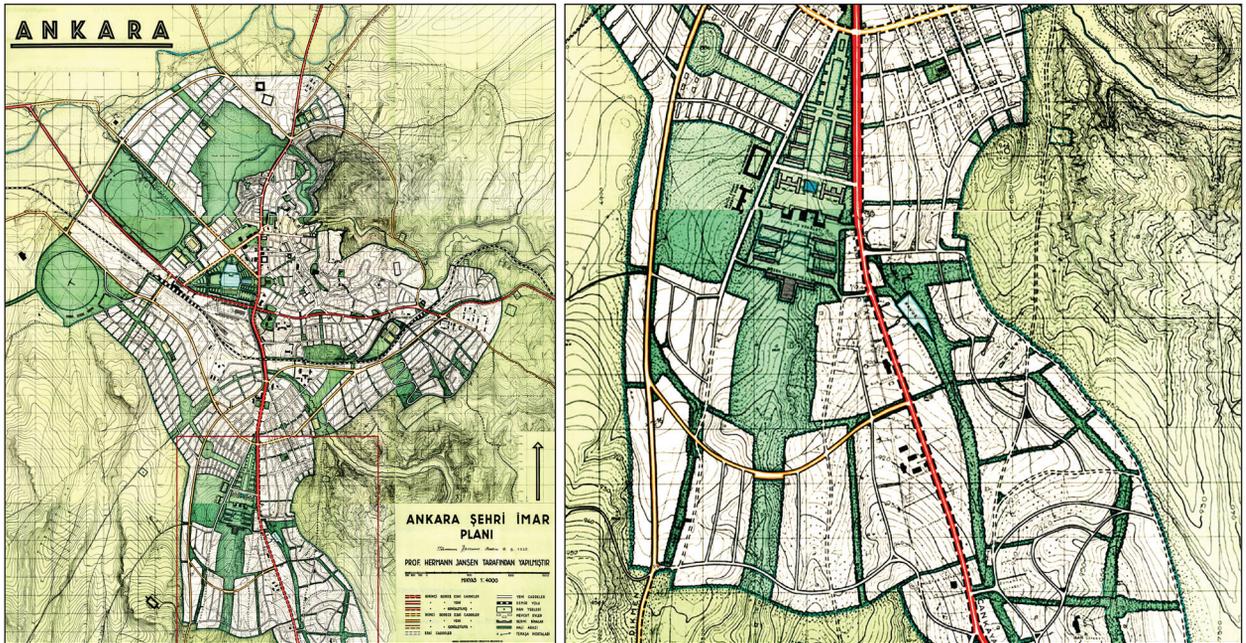
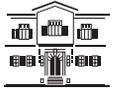
**Figure 11.** Etlik vineyards, 1940.  
Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive, Inventory No: 1493.



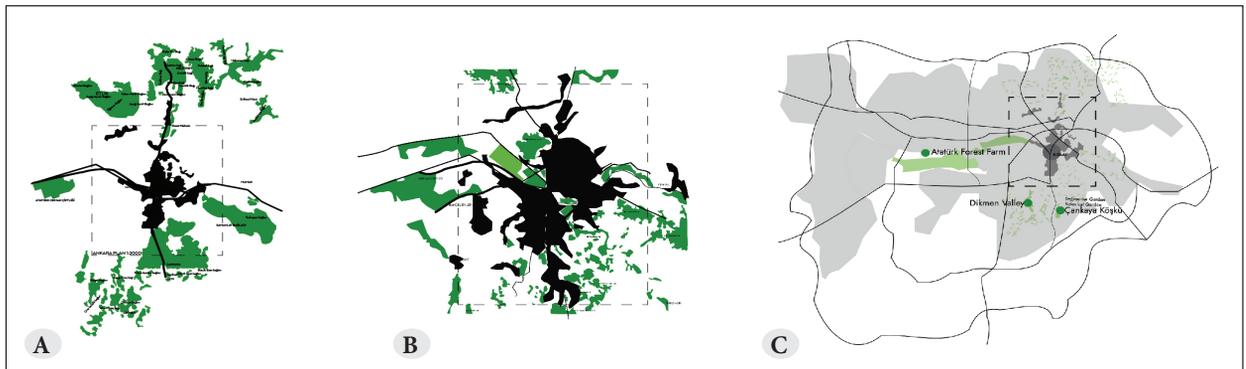
**Figure 12.** The 1934 map of Ankara shows the northern and southern vineyards of Ankara that surround the city, almost as a green belt.  
Source: Jansen, 1934, Plan No: 1530, 2750, 2017 (Merged by the authors) Berlin Technical University Architecture Museum.



**Figure 13.** The settled area and the vineyards of Ankara in 1934.  
Drawing by: Duygu Cihanger Ribeiro (Based on Figure 12)



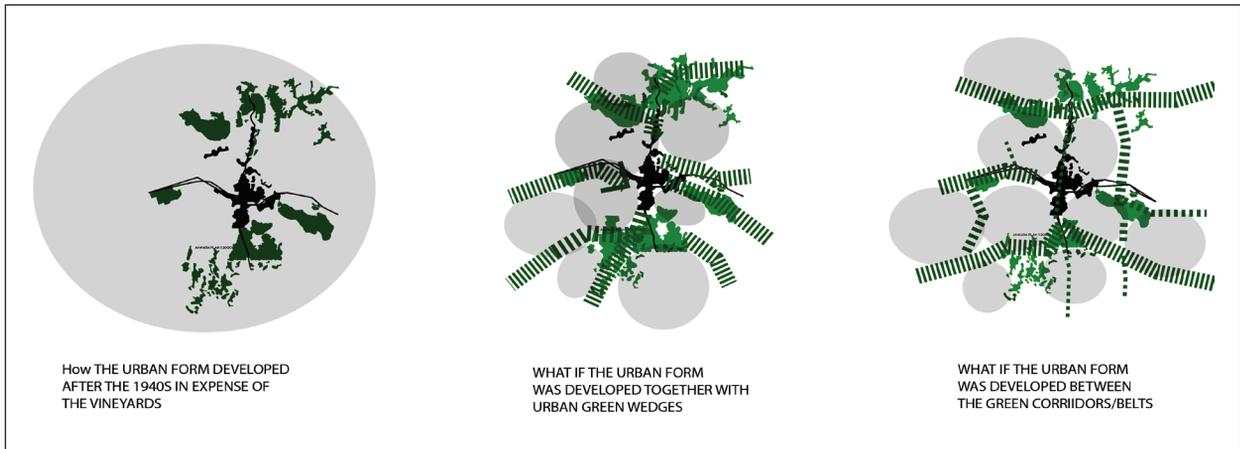
**Figure 14.** The Jansen Plan and Çankaya vineyards.  
Source: Jansen, 1932, plan no: unknown. Berlin Technical University Architecture Museum.



**Figure 15.** The development of urban form and vineyards in 1934, 1954 and 2019. The dotted rectangles on each drawing show the same area to different scales.  
Drawing by: Duygu Cihanger Ribeiro (Based on the (A) 1934 map, (B) 1948 map and the (C) current (2019) satellite view of Ankara)

protected at the time is an important discussion in terms of spatial planning. Baykan Günay, in his consideration of the urban form of Ankara in relation to the vineyard sites, states that: “Both the northern and southern vineyards were opened to development by the 60s. The point here is not only the agricultural production, including grape and wine production, but the loss of a social phenomenon and a way of life. (Baykan Günay, Personal Communication, January 22, 2020).”

The drawings in Figure 16 show some possibilities as to how urban form development could have been conducted in ways that would have preserved the vineyards. While the first drawing depicts the actual scenario, with the vineyards prior to Jansen Plan in green, and the light grey areas representing the urban growth that eliminated the vineyards, the other two diagrams illustrate how urban growth in Ankara might have been conducted. If, back in the 1930s, planning decisions had been made in a way



**Figure 16.** Possible urban growth, or *What if?* scenarios, which depict Ankara being developed along with the vineyards. Drawing by: Duygu Cihanger Ribeiro (Based on the 1934 map)

that had preserved the vineyard areas as green wedges and green belts, the city would have grown in a more controlled way that would have been more considerate of nature. Unfortunately, the reality is that the loss of vineyards in Ankara has resulted not only in the loss of vineyard culture that included the migration to vineyards during hot and dry weather, it has also meant that an opportunity to achieve better physical growth for Ankara has been missed.

### Vineyard Houses

Vineyard houses are an important component of the relationship between the urban setting and vineyard culture in Ankara in terms of architecture and the life of the community. In the Jansen Plan, Atatürk Boulevard, which is the spine of the city, used to stretch between the vineyard house of the Koç family, which has now been restored as a museum, and to Atatürk's house in Çankaya, which was a presidential building, and has also been restored as a museum (Figure 17). There is also an important vineyard house used by İsmet İnönü, and was then replaced by the *Pembe Köşk* designed by the architect Clemens Holzmeister in the 1930s. Built of stones, timber and bricks, the vineyards houses mostly comprise of two floors, according to the incline of the house, within vines and orchards. They are usually single units that do not include additional structures, unlike the houses within the castle area, which also include toilets, storage units and kitchens (Gökçe and Özgönül, 2001, p. 272). Another difference between the traditional houses

of the time is that there are separated rooms for women and men in the vineyard houses. Günel (2005) explains that the houses in the south were more modest, with 1-2 floors and a timber structure, while in the north there were stone houses with front yards that demonstrated the wealth and Armenian stone craftsmanship.

These houses could be found in the north and south of the city in districts such as Keçiören, Etlik, Çankaya, Dikmen and Büyükesat. Despite being used initially as summer houses for the inhabitants, following the increase in the usage of donkeys, horses, then horse and carts, and later cars, the houses began to be used permanently (Aktüre, 1981). Besides the architectural qualities, the significance of these houses is that they brought different communities together. According to Ortaylı (2014, p. 113) different occupational groups and communities used to live side by side as neighbors around these vineyard houses. The exception was the Jewish community who, since they were mostly working in commerce, chose to live in the city center, as pointed out by Şeref Erdoğan (2002). However, Greek, Armenian and Muslim communities came together in the vineyards of Ankara. Vehbi Koç in *Hayat Hikayem* (My Life Story) provides a first-hand account of how this occurred:

We used to go to our vineyard in *Çoraklık* area near Keçiören in the summer. The people there were mainly Muslims, but Catholics and Armenians lived in Keçiören. You could immediately see how well they cared for their gardens. Although Christians



and Muslims used to go to the vineyards in Keçiören, Etlik and Çankaya, the Jewish community used to live in the city center during the summers. (as cited in Dündar, 2007, p. 22 [Translation by the authors]).

The vineyard culture that existed during this time in Ankara was also visible in the social life of these houses (Toygar and Toygar, 2005). In comparison to the bowl-like shape of the city center, the northern and southern slopes provide a mild climate, which meant that people were able to travel between the center and their vineyard houses (Günel, 2005, p.57). Families lived in the houses and worked in the fields, orchards and vineyards between April and October to prepare provisions for the winter. That said, songs and laughter were heard from the houses in the evening as the people entertained themselves (Figure 18, Figure 19). For Christian communities, it was also common to have a wine production atelier in the basement. However, the alcoholic commerce of the Muslim community is not often referred to due to restrictions in alcohol usage during the early period of the Republic, as discussed previously.

Following the declaration of the Republic, the new bureaucrats that arrived in Ankara moved into these vineyard houses due to the limited housing stock of the 1920s and 30s, thus transforming a rural lifestyle into an urban existence (Avcı Hosanlı and Altan, 2010). For

instance, Baykan Günay's aunt and uncle, who were bureaucrats, had a vineyard house in Etlik that they used to visit, and Günay remembers those times as follows: "as a family we used to visit my uncle on the weekends, I remember there were vines and geese. Vineyards in Ankara did not only mean a space for production, but a social event". (Baykan Günay, Personal Communication, January 22, 2020)

With the arrival of new residents, the lifestyle of the vineyards also changed. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's novel *Ankara*, which was first printed in 1934, describes the scenery and vineyards of the city in the 1930s. Çelik (2014) analyzes this novel in the terms of the construction of the city and republican ideology. Ankara, in the novel is depicted as a natural setting surrounded by the vineyards and the main characters, Selma Hanım and Nazif Bey, visit a vineyard house of a friend near Etlik for the weekends. Both the Çankaya and Etlik sites were represented as still retaining their natural beauty, and being surrounded by trees and vineyards without direct road connections:

They went to Etlik by passing through and over crooked streets, untouched rural roads, streams and hills. Murat Bey was living in a weird building in the middle of a ruinous vineyard. Meeting his guests in the border of a vineyard, he said 'Our road is so bad, but we put up with it for the weather and water



**Figure 17.** The vineyard house, which became Atatürk's in 1921.  
Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive, Inventory No: 0262.



**Figure 18.** Women working in the yard of a vineyard house.  
Source: Nüzhet Sarıkaya Collection, Toygar and Toygar, 2005.



**Figure 19.** A family in a vineyard.  
Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive, Inventory No: 2681.

here...! Selma Hanım still preferred Etlik to central parts of Ankara as it was still possible to live a rural, village life with a clear horizon and a bit of greenery. (Karaosmanoğlu, 1972, p. 42 [Translation by the authors]).

The slope meandering toward the hill was surrounded by vineyards and trees among which were mud-brick vineyard houses with timbers painted in red. (Karaosmanoğlu, 1972, p. 49 [Translation by the authors]).

By the 1950s, accelerated by the *Bölge Kat Nizam Planı*,<sup>22</sup> and the cooperatives in 1963, most of these houses were replaced by other multi-storey houses. Sevgi Soysal, in her book “*Yürümek*” (Walking) mentions this in the following sentence:

Where are those Çankaya and Kavaklıdere vineyards? The gentry of Samanpazarı, the old inhabitants of Ankara, who abandoned their sacred childhood memories and sold their vineyards, parcel by parcel. Who knows if the childhood of vineyard houses with donkeys, beds and closets on the floor will now be long forgotten?

(Soysal, 1970/2003, p.22 [Translation by the authors]).

Although much of the north and south vineyards which used to cover the entire urban land space of Ankara until the 1950s has been lost, Gökçe and Özgönül (2001) list eleven examples that still remained in 2000. We have documented some of these important remaining traces of vineyards, vineyard houses and places related to wine production (Figure 20). Among those, is *Papaz'ın Bağı* recreational site, the view to the former Kavaklıdere vineyard area (now the Sheraton Hotel), and traditional VEKAM Vineyard houses, although one has unfortunately been damaged by fire and the other, which is in Ayrancı District, is now a restaurant. The Sevda Cenap And Music Foundation in Kavaklıdere also exemplifies a subsequently developed architectural style of villa type houses in Çankaya. A similar picture applies in terms of vineyard culture – most is gone, but some traces still remain. For instance, Günay states that in the land titles of some of the houses in today's Çankaya district near Kavaklıdere, the status “vineyard” can still be found.

## Kavaklıdere Winery

The rich and living landscape of Ankara's vineyards has merged with the economic identity of some wine enterprises such as Kavaklıdere Winery, Atatürk Forest Farm and Ankara University's Faculty of Agriculture. Perhaps the only name that comes to mind nowadays is Kavaklıdere Winery, which was established in the 1929 in the Çankaya vineyards, but there also used to be Esentepe Winery in Etlik that continued production until the middle of the 20th century with wine labels such as *Beylerce*, *Esentepe*, and *Hasret Geceleri*. Despite Kavaklıdere winery being the single example remaining today, its name being merged with the identity of the district, if not with Ankara, helps us to trace back the spatial and economic connection of grapes and wine production in the city. The Kavaklıdere vineyard, which was located among the southern vineyards surrounding Ankara, was initially opened to urban development by the owners of the Kavaklıdere winery. This development was later supported by planning regulations in the city, marking the vineyard houses on the site as initial examples of modern urban settlement in the Kavaklıdere region (Başman, 2005, p.33-35). The land occupied by the vineyards of Kavaklıdere Winery between 1929 and 1986 is still among the most valuable and central areas in the city and is currently occupied by the Sheraton Hotel (Figure 21).

Sevda and Mehmet Cenap, the founders of the Kavaklıdere Winery, were among the many people who decided to move to the city after 1923 following Ankara becoming the capital of the new Turkish Republic. By that time, the vineyards in Ankara had mostly been abandoned and neglected, both during the war of independence and in the years that followed. The couple, who were fascinated by viticulture, decided to invest in land within the Kavaklıdere area to establish a winery. After becoming acquainted with Balaj Usta, a Hungarian working at the construction of the *Ziraat* Bank building in Ankara in 1929, the couple hired him to produce wine for the company since he was already producing his own domestic wine from local grapes.

However, the first years of production were difficult due to lack of materials and failures in the production

22 *Bölge Kat Nizam Planı*: 1961 regulations for monitoring the building of floors along Atatürk Boulevard, including the vineyards in Çankaya region that resulted in the reconstruction of multi-storey houses in the area.



**Figure 20.** Some traditional and vineyard houses of the early days of the Republic, along with map showing their locations in the city.

Drawing by: Duygu Cihanger Ribeiro

Photographs by: João Santos Duarte



**Figure 21.** Scenes depicting the Kavaklıdere Vineyard and wine production.

Source: Kavaklıdere, n.d.

process, as well as incorrect choice of grapes. But Sevda and Cenap persisted, and with the help of newly imported equipment, as well as technical advice from European experts, they were able to improve the quality of their wines. 1932 was a turning point; Kavaklıdere showcased their wines at an exhibition for local products at Ankara's Gençlik Park. It is rumored that Atatürk himself tasted Kavaklıdere wine at the event, and is said to have praised both the quality of the *Kalecik Karası* grape, and the family's efforts to improve and promote a Turkish variety (Scheidel and Keijzer, 2018).

In 1986, the company abandoned its historical location in Kavaklıdere and transferred the operation to Akyurt. There were several reasons for this decision. One problem was that despite the growing demand for Kavaklıdere wine, it was not possible to expand the vineyard or the

production facilities. At that time, the company was in a difficult financial situation and so the owners eventually decided to sell the land and set up a new winery.

It was decided to buy, with governmental support, a 50-hectare property in Akyurt across from Esenboğa Airport. Kavaklıdere also had support from the Ankara Faculty of Agriculture, as well as *Sogelerg*, a French consulting firm in the creation of the winery. Production began in 1987. At the time, Kavaklıdere had a vineyard of more than 20 hectares, as well as a modern production bottling and storage facility which was capable of producing 40 thousand hectoliters every year. Nowadays, Cevza Başman, who is a member of the board and is responsible for the marketing of the company, states that the relocation was actually a very important strategic decision which continues to determine the current strategy of the company:



Kavaklıdere's vision is about introducing indigenous Anatolian grapes to the world, because the future of Turkish wines is based on its own grape varieties. The idea is to be known globally for taste, history and terroir, which are all part of Anatolian grapes. Ankara, the center of Turkey, was considered to be the best location to develop Anatolian grapes. (Cevza Başman, Personal Communication, November 2, 2020).

Kavaklıdere currently has a wine storage capacity of 19.5 million liters of wine per year in its three different wineries in Turkey. Although it started in Ankara, Kavaklıdere now has several facilities in Turkey and has a global stake in several international markets.

### Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ)

Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ) plays a self-sufficient, integral and important role in urban and rural development, as well as for the preservation of agricultural production in the city. The farm lies on 15,000 ha of land near the train station to the northwest of the city, and contains dairy, beer and wine factories, storage units and education ateliers. These provided the new society of the early Republic with an experience of modernity in agricultural production and industrialization.

In addition to its emphasis on agricultural production, there are many aspects of the socio-cultural importance of this unique site for an urban area. The environment created by the production units, fields and vineyards

provides pools which offer the chance to go swimming in land-locked Ankara (unlike Istanbul) drinking beer in and walking around the park, visiting the zoo, and listening to concerts around Marmara Köşk (Kaçar, 2011, p.171). The 1939 book on "Atatürk Farms" published by *Devlet Ziraat İşletmeleri Kurumu*, describes how much effort was required, due to the soil and climate conditions, to make this land fertile and attractive (1939, p.13-14). As the city population grew, and it was clear that it would grow still further following the founding of the Republic, the forest farm was able to provide vegetables, dairy and fruits to the inhabitants and avoid dependence on the other cities (Figure 22).

On the southern slopes of the farm, vineyard plantation and maintenance through the use of modern agricultural technologies began right after the farm's establishment. By the 1930s, the vineyards covered almost 25 ha of land which produced large quantities of high-quality liquor, table grapes and wine (Aydoğan, 2012). The success of Atatürk Forest Farm was mentioned as follows:

Ankara takes advantage of being able to produce both table and wine grapes from the high-quality grapes produced due to its climate and soil. The current vineyards produce high levels of revenue. There is also a new American vineyard planted in the forest. (*Devlet Ziraat İşletmeleri Kurumu*, 1939, p.38) (Translation by the authors)

Zeki Ülkenli, an assistant professor in the City and Regional Planning Department of TED University who grew up near the forest farm, states that their vineyards and grapes were being produced on the site until the 1950s (Figure 23). The first time a wine factory was founded in the whole of Anatolia was in AOÇ in 1925 (Arapgirlioglu and Baykan, 2014). Harvesting grapes locally and importing them from other cities, the farm started to produce its own wine with labels such as *Ankara Şarabı*, *Boğa Kanı*, *Kilis Şarabı*, *Ankara Altını*, *Şaheser* and *Narköy* (Figure 24). In 1961, the product range was extended to include juice, vinegar, pickles and honey (Arapgirlioglu and Baykan, 2014, p.460). 2591 liters of wine was produced in 1931, increasing to 74,286 liters by 1936 (Aydoğan, 2012), and this had reached 1,250,000 liters by 1953 (Table 2). As stated in the 2003 *Yüksek Denetleme Kurulu* Report, wine production was ongoing at the site from grapes brought from other regions (*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Yüksek Denetleme Kurulu*,



**Figure 22.** American vineyards in Atatürk Forest Farm. Source: Devlet Ziraat İşletmeleri Kurumu, 1939.

2003). This report claims that, due to inadequate storage, wine production ceased for three years between 1999-2001 (Aydoğan, 2012, p.16). However, within the same report, contradictory data was provided between 1998-



Figure 23. Atatürk Forest Farm, 1939.

Source: Presidency of The Republic of Turkey DOC Archive.

2001 (Aydoğan, 2012, p.43). Gökhan Söylemezoğlu explains the wine production started to decrease by 2002:

The public entity, which represents 88% of the TEKEL Enterprise, that was responsible for wine and beer production in AOÇ, was sold in 2004 to another foreign company. 4 years later it was sold to Diageo, one of the biggest foreign companies of the sector, who owns Johnny Walker whisky. Now the name of the company is Mey, which produces wine and other products, including raki. 88% of Mey is owned by Diageo, one of the world's biggest retailers of alcohol. The cost of the first sale was 276 million US dollars, the second one 800 million, the third was 2.1 billion dollars (Gökhan Söylemezoğlu, Personal Communication, May 22, 2019).

By 2007, it was stated that there were 307,000 liters of wine in storage (Aydoğan, 2012, p.79). Moreover, there was an attempt to revive wine production on the site in 2009. According to news from 2013, former forest farm wines, such as *Ankara Şarabı* and *Boğakanı* had been re-

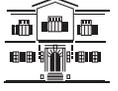


Figure 24. Several labels from Atatürk Forest Farm.

Source: Kilis Şarabı Label and Ankara Şarabı Wine Bottle: Yalçın, 2019, 6 Ocak.

AOÇ Poster: AOÇ Narköy Şarapları, n.d.; Ankara Şarabı: VEKAM Kütüphanesi ve Arşivi, Inventory no: A534.

Note: The images are collected online since there are no records left in the Atatürk Forest Farm Museum. The museum is a former wine production building, and the photo collage was produced by the authors, (2019.)



produced and sold by 2011.<sup>23</sup> Photographs of Atatürk, the former bottles of wines produced, and old machinery used in the farm, were all being exhibited on the site. In 2014, wine production stopped, due to several disputes over the alleged sabotaging of the wine in the storage units, while a fire broke out on the facility's roof in 2015 (Bayhan, 2015, 4 Kasım). As claimed by the media, almost one third of the 60 tons of wine was turned into vinegar for sale ("Sattırmadılar, sirke oldu," 2018, 29 Aralık), and this was later confirmed by the Ministry of Agriculture in 2019 ("AOÇ Şarabı," 2019, 18 Mayıs). While it is still possible to choose the option of "wines" in the online sale website of Atatürk Forest Farm, the list is now empty.<sup>24</sup>

In the 1930s, the forest farm was an oasis of green in the heart of the city (Figure 25). As the city expanded

into the western corridor by the 1980s, the land began to lose most of its physical and social spaces. The nature of the production of wine and beer on the forest farm is representative of the age-old conflict between a modern lifestyle and conservatism. In addition to the loss of productive land to construction in recent years (Arapgirlioglu and Baykan, 2014), the farm has been affected by multiple political conflicts. The winery in AOÇ has undergone restoration and began to function as a museum and exhibition hall in 2010 upon the 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of AOÇ.

The forest farm provides an example of how one can be an urbanite without forgetting the rural life. The modern lifestyle, education, technology and knowledge in agricultural methods of production demonstrated by the

**Table 2.** Changes in Wine Production in Atatürk Forest Farm.

Years	1950	1951	1952	1953	1998	1999	2000	2001
Wine (lt)	232,047	450,294	1,024,757	1,250,000	41,925	-	-	-

Source: Cumhurbaşkanlığı Yüksek Denetleme Kurulu AOÇ Report, 2003, p.16.



**Figure 25.** The loss of Atatürk Forest Farm depicted in diagrams which show the tension between forest in green and the urban environment in grey. The first diagram shows the situation is the 1930s, the second in the 2010s, and the third the current situation.

Source: Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay Keskinok

<sup>23</sup> More details are available on the video: "Ministry of Agriculture Produces Wine": [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D\\_7ZFozfSGI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_7ZFozfSGI)

<sup>24</sup> Although the Atatürk Forest Farm Online Sale website has a list of "wines", it is not possible to see any records [accessed in 29.05.2020] <https://www.aocsatismagazasi.com/icecekler-urunler-30.html>

farm exemplify the nature a desirable and modern society. As discussed by Kaçar (2011), Forest Farm was established as an agent of social and cultural transformation in the early Republican period (Figure 26, Figure 27): “with



**Figure 26.** People drinking beer at Atatürk Forest Farm. Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive, Inventory No: 0684.

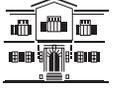
all its properties of the cultivation of barren lands, the education of young generations, the transformation of peasants into farmers, the transformation of inhabitants to citizens, and the demonstration of modern urban culture.” However, food production on the site today has almost ceased, apart from dairy products, thus altering the recreational activities based on a culture of production into the places of consumption (Keskinok, 2019). The construction of the theme park and the presidential palace are a few examples of the fundamental purpose of the site (Arapgirlioglu and Baykan, 2014). However, as pointed out by Baykan Günay, production, even if it is in a limited product-range, does continue. There is thus continuation of a century of culture and human potential, and the hope of the return of additional agricultural production that will revive the legacy of grape.

#### **Higher Education in Agriculture: Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü (YZE)**

Atatürk Forest Farm provides the land for the agricultural education for students of *Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü (YZE)*.



**Figure 27.** Harvest time at Atatürk Forest Farm. Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive, Inventory No: 2483.



Founded in 1930 as *Ankara Yüksek Ziraat Okulu*, and transformed into an institute in 1933, *Ankara Yüksek Ziraat Okulu* aims to produce experts in agriculture in Turkey, through the use of modern education and implementation techniques. The institute merged with the Faculty of Agriculture of Ankara University in 1948. Aiming to bring modern agricultural education to Turkish society, and productivity to villagers' methods (Çiftçi, 2008), the YZE plays an essential role in the modernization attempts of the early republic to connect education and agriculture. Through the establishment of YZE, Ankara, as shown previously, was mostly surrounded by vineyards and orchards which enabled students to be inspired and work in the city.

There are two essential areas of discussion in the example of the institute for this research. Firstly, the location and spatial setting of the faculty, and secondly, the scientific knowledge production on viticulture within the socio-cultural importance of the development of a modern society in the early republic. YZE was built near Keçiören on the northwestern side of the old city and is also in close proximity to Keçiören and Etlik vineyards. As it had its own implementation gardens, fields and vineyards, the institute, which was later to become the Faculty of Agriculture, was able to provide their own production in the interest of the public, such as cheese, milk, eggs, honey and fruit juice. Signed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk prior to the opening of YZE (02.07.1933) the machinery of a wine factory located in Kavaklıdere called Saksenberg used for wine production, was bought for the YZE (Figure 28).

Many aspects of the founding ideals of YZE have been realized for the development of agriculture and viticulture in Turkey. In the words of Aġaoġlu, the local producers or investors learnt from the knowledge created in the institution, and more agricultural engineers, who were also consultants to the big investors of wine production all over Turkey, in wine production regions such as Denizli, Nevşehir, Elazığ and Diyarbakır were hired. There is also a vocational school on "Wine Production and Technology" in Kalecik which is connected to Ankara University. Together with the vineyards of the Faculty in Kalecik, wine production played an integral part of the education and identity of related departments. As

declared by Mehmet Köse, a farmer in Kalecik, "there has been strong connections with Ankara University (Sabit Aġaoġlu when he was the dean) between the 70s to 80s to revive *Kalecik Karası* after the outbreak of phylloxera (Mehmet Köse, Personal Communication, September 14, 2019). Söylemezoġlu explains this process:

Ankara University began clonal selection of *Kalecik Karası* in 1979, and when this study finished, I mean, 10-15 years later, they released 23 clones of *Kalecik Karası*. The first vineyards are located in our small vineyard, next to our campus. The second vineyard in Kalecik was created in 1984... Now all of the original clones are at our research station in Kalecik (Gökhan Söylemezoġlu, Personal Communication, May 22, 2019).

Moreover, academics from Ankara University helped to establish departments in other cities of Turkey. While Prof. Dr. Arif Akman, known as one of the founders of professional wine making in Turkey, had worked for the opening Adana-Çukurova University Faculty of Agriculture in 1961, Aġaoġlu worked in the foundation of Bursa-Uludaġ University Faculty of Agriculture. Akman took a managerial role in the International Organization of Vine and Wine (OIV) in Paris in 1958 as well (Figure 29).

The winery of Ankara University, together with the one in Çukurova University, were the only public institutions with permission to produce and sell wine. According to Söylemezoġlu, wine production ceased in Çukurova ten years ago. Despite being acknowledged and having received awards from internationally renowned *Masters of Wine* in a 2013 event with their *Vintura* of 2009 *Boġazkere* (Cengiz, 2013, 8 Mayıs), Ankara University ceased wine production in 2017 following a decision made by the central administration. Nowadays, the grapes from their vineyards<sup>25</sup> are sold to Kavaklıdere, ironically to make wine. Strangely, today there is no reference and not even images on any online resources about *Vintura* from Ankara University, and what was an educational and agricultural asset of the university for over eight decades now seems to remain only in the personal belongings of professors and collectors. Although the loss here may appear to be only wine, it also represents a loss for students of the chance to learn by performing practical

25 Ankara University vineyards in the city center: Today 28 decares vineyard site in Ankara <http://bahce.agri.ankara.edu.tr/uygulama-alanlari/> and in Kalecik, 175 decares <http://agri.ankara.edu.tr/kalecik-bagcilik-arastirma-ve-uygulama-isletmesi/>

**T. C.**  
**BAŞVEKÂLET**  
**MUAMELÂT MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ**

**KARARNAME**

Şube: .....  
Sayı: 14654

Ankara'da Kavaklıdere'de Saksenberg Şarap İmalâthanesinin faaliyeti terk ederek malî sebeplerle İş Bankasına geçmiş olan alât ve edevatın , Ankara Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsünün Şarapçılık Şubesi için Müzayede, Münakasa ve İnalât Kanununun 18 inci maddesinin Z fıkrası-mucibince pazarlıkla satın alınması; Ziraat Vekilliğinin 22/6/933 x tarih ve 1021 sayılı tezkeresile yapılan teklifi ve Maliye Vekilliğinin 2/7/933 tarih ve 9695 sayılı mütaleenamesi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetinin 2/7/933 toplanışında kabul olunmuştur.

2/7/933

REİSİCÜMHUR  
*Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*

Bş. V. Ad. V. M. M. V. Da. V.  
*[Signatures]*

Ha. V. V. Ma. V. V. Mf. V. Na. V.  
*[Signatures]*

İk. V. V. S. İ. M. V. G. İ. V. Zr. V.  
*[Signatures]*

080 19 01 02 37 49 14

Figure 28. Decision to buy the former Saksenberg Wine Factory Machinery for the use of Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü, signed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1933.

Source: (K.DB., 37/49, BCA)

activities, and of an institution that was becoming known internationally as a prestigious wine producer, contributing not only to the cultural identity of Ankara, but also to the local, and even the national economy. Furthermore, we have to remember that the creation of AOÇ meant the transformation of what used to be merely

a dry and infertile land. In a larger scale, the biggest loser is the city of Ankara itself. The city already has limited natural resources (mostly due to poor urban planning decisions caused by rapid urbanization and ignorance), and so precious sites such as these, which were achieved by hard work instigated since the early Republican



**Figure 29.** The headlines of *Hakimiyeti Milliye* Newspaper in 1933, Ankara University *Dışkapı* Campus and vineyards. Source: *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, Issue 4413 (National Library Newspaper Collection, No: 1957 ŞÇ 25); Drawing by Duygu Cihanger Ribeiro (based on Google Earth Satellite View, 2019).

period, should not be subjected to the negligence of yet another facility that connects history, culture, scientific education and people. Actions such as these are symbolic of how the culture of grapes production, and the heritage of the city, are being trifled away.

### Discussion: How to Lose a Heritage

An analysis of the topographic and climatic factors, via Geographic Information Systems (Sırlı et al. 2015) shows that almost 58% of the arable land in Turkey is suitable for growing grapes. This means that Turkey is among the top five countries in the world in terms of vine area. However, in the last report of OIV, as published in the previous year with data from 2018, Turkey is the only one among the five countries which has been losing vines successively over the last five years. In terms of volume variation, there was fewer than 54 thousand ha of vineyards in Turkey in 2018, as compared with 2014.

When we extend the variation period to 2000-2018, there is a decrease of 22% in the area of vines, amounting to a loss of 127,000 hectares.

Although there has been noticeable growth in the amount of wine produced in Turkey (Table 3) during the last two decades, we should not be misled by the positive suggestion of this growth. According to the 2019 report by the OIV, out of the total grapes production in Turkey during 2018, only 3.2% was used for producing wine. On the other hand, the major grape producers of Europe, such as Italy, Spain and France, used 86.5%, 96% and 99.6% respectively for wine production. This means that while Turkey is the 6th country in the world in terms of grape production, the second for table grape production, and leads the world in dried grape production, it is not even amongst the top 22<sup>26</sup> countries in the world for wine production. The picture is even bleaker when considering

26 The OIV (2019) lists only countries with wine production of more than 1 million hectoliters as being major wine producers.

the list of major wine consuming or main wine exporting countries. In fact, Turkey is the only country among the main grape producers that completely disappears from the lists when wine is considered (Table 4).

In this section of the discussion, we would like to provide a final analysis on the socio-cultural features of grape and wine production in Ankara, and particularly reflect on the incapacity already mentioned to realize Turkey's potential in wine production. To do so, we will refer critically to the case of Kalecik, the territory from where the best-known grape cultivar of the Ankara region originated.

The GI of *Kalecik Karası* was given the designation of *Mahreç İşareti* by the *Türk Patent Enstitüsü* (Patent Institute of Turkey). The Arabic-origin word *Mahreç* can be roughly translated into English as 'the place from where something originates from' and 'the place from where it exits to another place'. In other words, it is not just the grape variety *Kalecik Karası* which has a recognized origin, but it also recognized that it can be

produced out of its original region. This is precisely the summarized criteria of the meaning of *Mahreç İşareti*. When further consulting the GI registration document for the Ankara grape variety, in the section that states the purpose of use of the GI, it appears "to promote", and in the section which declares the production area, it reads "inside the border of the Turkish Republic." Finally, but even more critically, when considering the description of the product we can read, "It is a grape variety used in the wine sector. This product has had great importance in the local economy, and it therefore has to be registered with a geographical indication."

The distinctive quality of the *Kalecik Karası* variety is visible not only by its recognized origin, and its potential to be promoted throughout the Turkish territory, (which is the case of many wineries from different parts of Turkey have wines with this variety), but above all, the recognized potential for the local economy which comes (as a legacy) from the past. Prof. Y. Sabit Ağaoğlu, a winemaker and the owner of *Tomurcukbağ*, a one-hectare boutique winery in Kalecik, confirms the potential that

**Table 3.** Top Five World Countries in the World in Terms of Vine Area (Thousand Ha)

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Spain	975	974	975	968	969
China	813	847	858	865	875
France	789	785	786	788	793
Italy	690	685	693	699	705
Turkey	<b>502</b>	<b>497</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>448</b>	<b>448</b>

Source: OIV, 2019.

**Table 4.** Total Grape Production and Uses of Grapes in Turkey (tones), 2000-2018

	2000	2010	2018
TOTAL	3 600 000	4 255 000	3 900 000
Table Grapes	2 148 950	2 249 500	1 900 000
Dried Grapes (Raisins)	338 400	386 000	381 000
Wine Production (1000 hl) <sup>27</sup>	<b>248</b>	<b>601</b>	<b>670<sup>28</sup></b> (TBMM, 2018)

Source: OIV, 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Values expressed in 1000 hectoliters. For example, in the year 2000 there was an annual yield of 248 thousand hectolitres of wine (24 million and 800 thousand liters).

<sup>28</sup> The OIV 2019 reports data on wine production only for countries with production of more than 1 million hectolitres, and so data is not available for Turkey. The number of 670 thousand hl is approximate and is given from a rough calculation considering a presentation by the president of Association of Wine Producers (*Şarap Üreticileri Derneği*) to a research commission of the National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM).



was supported by the policies of local and national management in the 1990s, yet failed to be pursued with continuity over time:

*Kalecik Karası* became famous as our field work (YZE) was successful with a local farmer in Kalecik in the 1990s and lasted until 2004. The local farmers wanted to focus on grape production for wine. Moreover, after the agricultural development plan, with the support of Ömer Çetinkaya, the mayor at that time, the well-off families of Ankara started to be able to buy vineyards on a small scale (Sabit Aġaoġlu, Personal Communication, September 28, 2019).

Due to this interest, a vineyard cooperative was also established in which groups, mostly from Ankara, visited Kalecik for the weekends for wine tasting and enjoying the vineyards. However, this peak has sharply decreased after the restrictions on advertising alcoholic products were introduced in Turkey. Since then, the sector, especially small-scale wineries, have been facing financial problems, mainly due to the continuous increase in taxation of alcohol. Most of the cooperative members have now left Kalecik, some of them leaving their vineyards unattended or having planted fruit trees instead of vines. The legacy of grape of the town now survives only by personal will and the initiative of a small group of people, despite the overall potential of Kalecik. As stated by Prof. Aġaoġlu:

I have settled in Kalecik and have worked in this vineyard to set an example of how Kalecik can be a good location for people of Ankara to visit and become acquainted with the local culture, including nature, wine tasting and to stimulate local economy... Kalecik is only 60-70 km from the city, and imagine if each week thousands of people visited Kalecik. If that were the case, the grapes and the wines here would run out... But if this did not work out, perhaps it will in the future (Sabit Aġaoġlu, Personal Communication, September 28, 2019).

On the other hand, there has been growing interest in wine tourism in the country over the last years, which represent a unique opportunity to enhance the connection between ancient wine history, and the real potential for a national and international promotion of Turkey as a wine destination (Alaeddinoġlu and Türker 2016). This potential also attracts the attention of wine producers in Kalecik:

We are thinking of providing a wine route, like the one in Urla, connecting Kalecik, Hasandede and Cappadocia [...] Kalecik has great potential, not only for agriculture but for animal husbandry, recreation and tourism. This land is fertile thanks to the microclimate created by Kızılırmak. And again, this river could be used for other sporting and recreational activities and be used by Ankara residents for the holidays.

For such a project to be realized, Kalecik requires strategic management to produce most of its flagship grape variety and to contribute not only to the identity of the town, but also to the everyday economic and social life of its residents. However, the several field visits in September 2019 reveal us the opposite. During a visit to Vinkara winery, established by a non-local investor 13 years ago, we spoke with one of their oenologists. Their 8.5 ha vineyard harvests produced 400 tons of grapes, which are complemented with extra supply from local and national growers. The winery management is aware that the region suffers from the lack of attention towards wine, despite its local product being worthy of global recognition, and it has enormous potential for local development. Considering the economic added value of wine, the region, and more specifically, local producers, appeal for a strategic focus on this potential. While other products derived from grapes are certainly important, wine, as a product embedded in the history and the agricultural development of the city, should not be overlooked in a time when the region is facing considerable heritage and economic losses. As an example of how damaging the current strategy is, the winegrower, Mehmet Köse, laments how they have had to cut down on their vineyard area and plant various fruit trees instead because of the low revenue from grapes: "These black grapes are worthy of medals in France, and its taste still attracts investors. The land is very fertile... even if you cultivate people, people would grow [laughs]... but as long as we have these policies, we don't expect any development." (Mehmet Köse, Personal Communication, September 14, 2019).

### Concluding Remarks

Turkey is at the forefront of all major indicators regarding not only the actual area covered by vines, but also levels of grape production (table grapes and dried grapes). However, it is not even close to attaining its rightful place among countries with annual wine production of more than one million hectoliters. As suggested by the research, wine is not only the grape product that provides

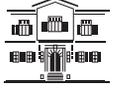
the highest economic returns, it is also a product that creates connections between local rural development and culture, as well as the development of activities such as tourism and the protection of a historically accumulated heritage. As demonstrated by our research, while wine is undoubtedly connected to the historical growth of Ankara as a city and a region, the urban expansion witnessed in the last decades have contributed to the recent diminishing and weakening of the heritage of wine in the city, and a disconnection from its legacy, a problem which has only been exasperated by a lack of support in public policies regarding the wine sector.

The legacy of grape in the city has been built up in and around Ankara over the centuries with the influence of several civilizations that have brought together (or have been in conflict) religions and cultures. However, and more importantly, an urban identity has been enriched by an agro-food product: wine. This research illustrates how a geographical potential (geomorphology and climate) has made good use of grape production and has been turned into a spatial value (viticulture). Furthermore, the research has indicated how the value of grape production has brought about not only an economic turnover (wine), but also a certain social life and consequent cultural reverberations, such as *bağa göçmek* (seasonal migration to vineyard houses), folk songs, and the remaining district names of today (*Seyranbağları*, *Çinçin Bağları*), and the spatial traces of meandering streets which follow the topographic lines of the slopes (*Büklüm Sokak* in Çankaya-Ankara, for example). In the case of grape and wine production, Ankara, over the century following the declaration of the city as the capital, has had the chance to claim this legacy and contribute to its local economy and urban identity.

If a century ago, the vineyards used to be a central axis of Ankara's social-cultural space which represented an essential part of the city and the lifestyle of its inhabitants, today it can be said that those inhabitants have not only been physically pushed away from the urban core, but their legacy has also been progressively fading to an extent where it is in danger of disappearing altogether. The heritage of grapes and wine in Ankara is not yet lost, but its legacy could become a museum artefact to be admired as a reminder of a long dead past. Nowadays, Ankara is still a region where vineyards are tended, and winegrowing results in ripe grapes to be harvested, as well as the production of wine. However, it is no longer a wine

region in the sense of being a living space of wine culture, as it used to be both in Ancient Anatolia, and as it was, at least attempted, in the period of the new capital of the Republic. The heritage and legacy of grape in Ankara still encompass a potential of which the core remains alive, as shown in the wine production histories of the AOÇ and the Faculty of Agriculture. There remains a growing wine tourism presence on the movements of urbanites to Kalecik to enjoy wine and vineyards landscapes on weekends or holidays, as well as an interest in investing in the area and buying property, just as there was also a developing inner-city wine culture in the early decades of the capital. In the case of Kalecik, that potential is of a wine route that connects the region with other regions (Hasandede, Cappadocia) supporting a cultural landscape, it along with the recreation possibilities of Kızılırmak river. However, this potential is becoming increasingly undermined.

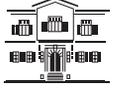
While on the one hand, there is the opinion that the capital holders and big investors in viticulture in the city do not pay sufficient attention to the local identity, but instead capitalize on this product in their vineyards far from the urban core of Ankara, on the other hand, small farmers who are struggling to make ends meet each harvest season and have to decide whether to keep the vines for the next season or simply cut and replace them. These two poles, without a doubt, reflect on the bigger picture of agricultural policies in the country. But in the case of Ankara, almost all of the vineyards are now gone. The remaining hope for recovery remains now with AOÇ and the Faculty of Agriculture to reanimate what once was a promising future. While most of the connections between city life and vineyard/winemaking may have been severed, and the areas for grape production have now been gradually pushed outside the urban core of Ankara, including several vineyards that still lend their name to the settlement areas of today, if there were investment and affirmative policies regarding grape and wine production, then that culture could be once again reclaimed. This potential is waiting to be explored in areas ranging from social-cultural activities to economic and touristic gains. However, changing the current situation requires a reversal in what have been public policies regarding this sector. When all has been said and done, the sincere wish is that further chapters remain to be written of the history of wine in Ankara – one capable of illuminating and ennobling its heritage in symbiosis with a legacy of grape through future generations.



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