

# ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

SUPPLEMENT 51

## OF VINES AND WINES

The Production and Consumption of Wine  
in Anatolian Civilizations through the Ages

Edited by

Lucienne THYS-ŞENOCAK



PEETERS

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FROM *YPOLENION* TO *BOLUM*:  
THE VITICULTURAL TRANSITION IN CAPPADOCIA  
THROUGH OTTOMAN SOURCES AND ORAL TRADITION

Evangelia BALTA

*I dedicate this paper to the memory of my father  
Stavros Baltas,  
Who taught me to love wine and to respect it,  
So it would respect me, as he used to say.*

This article constitutes a continuation of a study presented in 2004 at a conference organized by the research group “Wine History.” That conference, dedicated to wine-presses, was entitled: “Treading and Pressing. From wine-presses to pre-industrial *tsipouromangana*<sup>1</sup> manganum installations.” My paper at that conference concerned the underground rock-cut wine making installations of Cappadocia whose peculiarity lies in the fact that they are located in the depths of the volcanic lavas expelled by the eruption of Mount Argaios (Erciyes Dağı)<sup>2</sup>. Drawing on the Archive of Oral Tradition at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, I presented a wealth of information from the testimonies of the exchanged Cappadocians who reached Greece in 1923 under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne<sup>3</sup>. In this study I pointed out some ancient Greek words relating to viticulture that have survived in Central Anatolia, and passed into the Turkish language. The etymology of these words is difficult for most people today to connect to their present forms, Ch. Tzitzilis and Andreas Tietze, being of course the exceptions<sup>4</sup>. For example the word *bolum*, which I used in the title of this article, is a borrowing from the Greek word *υπολήνιον* (hypolenion), which appears in Cappadocia with several variations: *apolimi*, *polini*, *pilon* or *bolum*<sup>5</sup>. *Πολήμι* was

<sup>1</sup> *Tsipouromangano* is the wine-press known in Greece as *strofyliá* or simply *manganum*.

<sup>2</sup> On climate and soil conditions that favour viticulture in the area of Kayseri, see İzbirak (1947).

<sup>3</sup> See Balta (2008) for how refugees recounted how the grapes were transported and describe the process of vintage. The first version of this article has been published in Greek in the volume *Oinon istoro IV* (2005), Athens 2005, pp. 215–256, tables pp. 59–72. In the appendix of that article, the enologist from the “Wine History” team, Stavroula Kourakou-Dragona, sets out her enological observations not only on grape-pressing, but also on the fermentation of wine, as well as some important remarks on the traditional viticulture of Cappadocia which is remarkably similar to what is found on volcanic Santorini.

<sup>4</sup> Tietze (1955) records the words *αμπόλι*, *ατσίγγανο*, *κωνλι*, *κλήμα*, *κληματαριά*, *κληματίς*, *τσαμπί*, *τσίπουρο*, *φντεία* and *χαράκι*, which passed into Turkish in various forms. For instance the word *τσαμπί* in Çorum and Tokat appeared as *cımbı* and *cımlı* and in Bilecik as *cambıt*. The word *κλήμα* (plural *Κλήματα*) in Kırşehir, Kayseri and Nigde appears as *gılamada*, *kılmada*, *gilemede*. Tietze later included the word *bolum* in his lexicon, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugati. Sprachgeschichtliches und etymologisches Wörterbuch des Türkei-Türkischen*, vol. 1, Istanbul and Wien 2002, p. 369. The word *köftür*, *köftür* also has a Greek root (*χοπτή*, *μουστόπιττα*, *ονοόττα*), for more information see Papadopoulou (1933, p. 11). Bogas (1951) correspondingly notes in his collection only the word *cibra* (*τσίπουρα*).

<sup>5</sup> Tzitzilis 1987. For the variations of the word *υπολήνιον* in Greece and Eastern Thrace, see Andriotis (1974). Variations include *s.v.* *υπολήνιον*, *πολήμι* in many places; *πολήν* in Thrace (Saranta Ekklisies); *πολήμι*

a rock-cut vat, like a fountain basin in which the must was collected through a hole following the pressing of the grapes on the drying-floor named *αλώνι* or *harman*. In refugee testimonies kept at the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, there are many descriptions and references to *bolum* in Anatolia.<sup>6</sup>

The underground rock-cut wine-presses of Cappadocia, known as *patos* or *şırabane* are monuments whose historicity should be recorded in archaeological and architectural studies, just as their historical continuity during Ottoman times should also be studied. *Patos*, which comes from the Greek verb *πατάω*, meaning “press with feet”, are normally located in the cellar, i.e. the deepest level of the Cappadocian house where the fresh food-stuffs for the household are stored. It must be underlined here that the ventilation of the rock-cut wine-presses in Cappadocia, even those located at the deepest levels of the subterranean settlements, is excellent. The *şırabane*, or storeroom, at Anakou/Eneği (Kaymaklı) is located at one of the deepest levels. Regarding the ventilation of these underground storerooms also known as *mağara*, *kararia*, and *katafydia* where among other things, a grape-pressing floor was found, Stavroula Kourakou-Dragona observes that,

The entrance to the storerooms was a simple opening from the house courtyard, in the roof of which were one or more holes through which not only grapes were tossed into the storeroom but also fodder for the livestock. One of these apertures was directly above the *patos* (pressing floor). Between the opening of the entrance and the hole or holes in the ceiling, a continuous draught of air was created, particularly given the great difference in temperature in the months of August and September, between the inside and the outside of the underground storerooms. Thanks to this draught, the carbon dioxide emitted was borne away from the *patos*. However, as an additional precaution, when the *patos* was deep down in the ground, people held a lighted candle, which indicated the sufficiency of oxygen in the space. Thanks to this good ventilation the storerooms were entirely free of mould growth, which would have been harmful, not only for the wine, but also for keeping fresh the grapes and other fruits stored there.<sup>7</sup>

In recent years many studies have been published on wine in the Islamic and heterodox tradition, as well as studies of an ethnological nature.<sup>8</sup> In general it must be mentioned that the history of viticulture and wine in Central Anatolia has not been sufficiently examined, if one excludes certain studies on antiquity and papers concerning textual and archaeological materials and some rare studies on the Byzantine period.<sup>9</sup> For the Ottoman era, the period about which this article is concerned, there is no corresponding specialised study based on archival material. The volume of information though, just from sources already published, is extremely substantial, promising interesting results, in the event that systematic research is conducted on this topic.

In this paper, I present some aspects of the history of viticulture in the area of Cappadocia, a vine-growing and wine-making region par excellence, with strong religious syncretism, where Christians and Muslims lived side by side for centuries in a geographical area located between Akşehir, Niğde, Nevşehir and Kayseri. I intend to reveal aspects of the enormous

in Naxos, Peloponnese, Propontis (Artaki), Thera; *πολίμι* in Lesbos, Samos, Thrace (Stenimachos), *μπολίμι* in Peloponnese; *πολίβι* in Kimolos, Crete, Thera.

<sup>6</sup> Balta 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Balta 2005, pp. 248–249.

<sup>8</sup> See Şenocak 2008; Kartalcık 2008; Bayraktar 2008; Akarpınar 2008.

<sup>9</sup> For the literary approach to the history of wine in Cappadocia see Anagnostakis 1994, pp. 173–174, 249.

amount of unexploited archival and ethnographic material that testifies to the wine tradition in Cappadocia, a place which today is trying to promote itself through tourism and to win a share in the wine market. My focus is on viticulture as a facet of daily life in the region during the Ottoman period. To refine this picture I investigated different kinds of Ottoman sources and ethnographic studies so as to reconstruct the practice of grapevine cultivation, grape harvest and wine production.

As a first step we may consider certain Ottoman tax registers from the regions of Kayseri and Ürgüp in the 15th and 16th centuries. As in the case of every detailed Ottoman fiscal register (*mufassal defteri*), the names of the tax-paying inhabitants of the villages and the amount of tax imposed on their agrarian production are recorded, so these registers offer us valuable documentary evidence on the history of viticulture and wine production in the area. In the past I have also used qualitative and quantitative data from Ottoman tax registers of the 15th and 16th centuries to study viticulture and wine production in various Greek regions, such as Crete, Cyclades, Peloponnesus, Mount Athos, Euboea, and Macedonia.<sup>10</sup> In this article I investigate the first Ottoman tax registers from Central Anatolia, seeking facts that would indicate each ethnic-religious group's degree of involvement with viticulture, thereby enabling us to determine its geographical distribution in relation to the religious convictions of the inhabitants of the settlements.

The first three cadastral surveys from the region around Kayseri record the villages, the farms located on the outskirts of the villages, the so-called *mezra'as*, and finally the temporary settlements of Yörük and Turkmen nomads who arrived in waves and settled in the area throughout the first century of Ottoman rule. My calculations from all three registers from Kayseri do not include this population group, for the simple reason that up until 1520 they only paid sheep tax to their *timar* (fief) holder, or *sipahi*. We will return to this matter later on.

The oldest register, the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* # 38, drawn up in 1484, in other words immediately after the Ottoman conquest of the area, includes 65 settlements.<sup>11</sup> I classified the villages as wine-producing and non wine-producing, on the criteria of the presence of a tithe on their vines appearing in their taxation. I must though stress that the absence of a tithe does not necessarily imply the absence of vines in these particular villages. We are well

<sup>10</sup> I note here the titles of a selection of my papers from conferences we organized as the 'Wine History' research team. Evangelia Balta, "Η μαρτυρία των οθωμανικών καταστίχων. Απαράιτητη προϋπόθεση για τη μελέτη της αμπελοκαλλιέργειας και οινοπαραγωγής στην Πελοπόννησο, 15<sup>ος</sup>-18<sup>ος</sup> αι." [Evidence for Viticulture in Ottoman Morea, 15th-18th Centuries], in : *Οίνον Ιστορώ Ι. Αμπελοοινική ιστορία και αρχαιολογία της ΒΔ Πελοποννήσου* [Wine History-I, History and Archaeology of Viticulture and Wine in NW Peloponnese], Merkouris Estate (Korakohori Eleias), Athens 2001, pp. 135-141; idem, "Η Μεγαρίδα στα οθωμανικά αρχεία και η αμπελοοινική της ιστορία" [Megaris in the Ottoman Archives. Research into viticulture in the region] (Wine History-II), Efcharis Estate (Mourtiza Megara), Athens 2002, pp. 103-144; Evangelia Balta & Angeliki Georgiou & Eleni Karanastassi, "Αμπελώνες και κρασιά στην Επανομή. Η οθωμανική απογραφή του 1907" [Vines and Wines in Epanomi. The Ottoman Land Census of 1907], in : *Οίνον Ιστορώ ΙΙΙ. Αμπελανθίσματα* [Wine History-III. Ambelanthismata], Athens 2004, pp. 129-191; idem, "Η αμπελοργία στον καζά της Τριπολιτσάς (16<sup>ος</sup>-18<sup>ος</sup> αι.) [Viticulture in the kaza of Tripolitza (16th-18th Centuries), *Οίνον Ιστορώ VI. Αρκαδικά οινολογήματα* [Wine History-VI: Arkadika oinologimata], Spyropoulos Estate, Mantinea of Arkadia, Athens 2007, pp. 125-143. Halenko (2004) also refers to the informative capability of Ottoman tax registers.

<sup>11</sup> İnbaşı 2009, No. 69.

aware that a small vineyard that covered the needs of the household was not taxed. Tax was only imposed on commercial production.

<b>38</b>	<b>Villages not paying a wine tithe</b>
27	villages with a Muslim population
4	villages with a mixed population (Christian and Muslim)
7	villages with a Christian population
<b>27</b>	<b>Wine-producing villages</b>
7	villages have a Muslim population
9	villages have a Christian population
11	villages have a mixed population (Christian and Muslim)

Source: *Tapu Tahrir Defteri # 38*

**Table I.** Viticulture in the area of Kayseri (1484).

According to the date, the subsequent register from Kayseri, that of 1500, shows a dramatic increase in the number of wine-producing villages<sup>12</sup>: 49 of the 71 villages are paying a wine tithe.<sup>13</sup>

<b>22</b>	<b>Villages not paying a wine tithe</b>
17	villages with a Muslim population
2	villages with mixed population (Christian and Muslim)
3	villages with a Christian population
<b>49</b>	<b>Wine-producing villages</b>
21	villages with a Muslim population
11	villages with a Christian population
17	mixed villages, where in most cases the overwhelming majority of the population is Christian.

Source: *Maliyeden Müdevver Defteri # 20*

**Table II.** Viticulture in the area of Kayseri (1500).

Over the course of the following years the number of wine-producing villages in the region of Kayseri did not change much, as can be seen from the fiscal register of 1570 in **Table III**.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> İnbaşı 2009, No. 59.

<sup>13</sup> I must point out yet again that settlements of nomadic populations, which had also multiplied after 1484, were not included in my calculations. In 1484 the nomads consisted of 815 *nefers*, whereas in 1500 their number had reached 2,509 *nefers* and 135 *mezra'a* had become 203; see Usta and Özel 2011, pp. 159–160.

<sup>14</sup> İnbaşı 2009, No. 60.

<b>20</b>	<b>Villages not paying a wine tithe</b>
18	villages with a Muslim population
1	village with a mixed population (Christian and Muslim)
1	village with a Christian population
<b>47</b>	<b>Wine-producing villages</b>
16	villages with a Muslim population
13	villages with a Christian population
18	mixed villages, where in most cases the overwhelming majority of the population is Christian.

Source: *Tapu Tahrir Defteri # 976*

**Table III.** Viticulture in the area of Kayseri (1570).

The progressive increase in the number of wine-producing villages in Kayseri over one century, from the end of the 15th until the end of the 16th century, is shown in **Table IV**.

<i>Dates</i>	<i>Wine-producing villages</i>	<i>Non Wine-producing villages</i>	<i>Total</i>
1484	27	38	65
1500	49	22	71
1570	47	20	67

**Table IV.**

When we move further west and southwest, to Ürgüp, Ortahisar, Karahisar and Develi in Niğde, we can see that the picture in the 59 villages in the *kaza* does not deviate from the corresponding picture in Kayseri. The following data in **Table V** come from the unpublished register of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive, the *Tapu Tahrir # 46*, which dates back to the early 16th century.<sup>15</sup>

<b>34</b>	<b>Villages not paying a wine tithe</b>
29	villages with a Muslim population
2	" nomadic population
3	" mixed population (Christian and Muslim)
<b>25</b>	<b>Wine-producing villages</b>
12	villages with a Muslim population
9	" Christian population
4	" mixed population (Christian and Muslim)

Source: *Tapu Tahrir Defteri # 46*

**Table V.** Viticulture in the area of Ürgüp, Develi, Ortahisar.

<sup>15</sup> See my forthcoming publication of the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri # 46* in collaboration with Mustafa Oğuz.

Data from registers, both published and unpublished, also testify to the development of viticulture and the increase in revenue resulting from this activity. In Develi the tax on vineyards increased 170 percent. At the beginning of the 16th century the vine tithe competed with that of grain in Karahisar (Yeşilhisar). In Niğde the revenue from vineyards (*öşr-i bağat*) increased and the extent of the vineyards increased too. It is worth noting that in Bor, a village adjacent to Niğde, the vineyards accounted for 35,000 akçe in revenue generated from over 1,200 *dönüms*. And it is no coincidence that this revenue was from a type of tax farming, or *mukata'a* (*mukata'a-i bağat nefis-i Bor*). This means that profit margins were high for the individual who rented the tax from the Ottoman state. Beyond the high amount of tax paid by Bor, the fact that the vine tax was subcontracted is an indication of how viticulture was thriving in this particular village.

Even though a limited number of examples is presented, these do give a fairly accurate picture of viticulture during these early years. This is a summary of the initial findings:

1. During the years following the Ottoman conquest, viticulture in Anatolia appears to develop, according to figures from tax registers. A progressive increase can be seen both in Muslim and mixed settlements.
2. Settlements with an exclusively Christian population, with very few exceptions, have vineyards and in all the settlements a tithe (*öşr-i bağat*) is paid. Therefore these Christian settlements produced a satisfactory amount of wine. It is no coincidence that the traveller Hans Dernschwam in his journey through Anatolia during the 16th century constantly had recourse to the Greeks for his supply of wine, and his reference to vineyards, and wine is constantly linked to the presence of Greeks and Christians in general.<sup>16</sup>
3. In the temporary settlements of the nomadic population a tithe on vines is not recorded until the final decades of the 16th century. The nomadic settlements, which bore the name of the tribe, began to be taxed when they eventually settled in a permanent location; in other words they create a village government, or *karye*. In the legislative codes, or *kanunname*, compiled during the reign of Selim I (1512–1520), it was stated that,

The ethnic group known as *Yürüks*, living near Kayseri, have long been nomads: they have neither worked the lands nor possessed vineyards or gardens. Since they tend sheep, the revenues from sheep tax, taxes due from each group, were assigned to the *sipahis*, and these taxes amounted to a large amount of revenue. The nomads paid neither *çift resmi*, *bennak*, nor *caba*. Now, the *yürüks* engaged in agriculture, had gardens and vineyards ... and others worked as agricultural labourers. As a result of these new occupations, they engaged in less sheep breeding than before; thus, the revenue of the *sipahis*, which came from sheep tax, decreased.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Vryonis 1971, p. 483.

<sup>17</sup> The original text, published in Akgündüz (1991, p. 329) is as follows: “*Kaza-i Kayseriyyede mütemekkin olan yürüğe taifesi mâ-tekaddemden göçer ve konar olub zirâ'at ve hirâset etmezler imiş ve bağ ve bahçeleri olmaz imiş. Ve koyunlu olmağın her cemaatin rüsum-ı ağnamdan sipahiye hayli mahsul mukayyed olmuş imiş. Ve resm-i çift ve bennak ve caba vermezler imiş. Hâliya zikr olunan yürükler ehl-i zirâ'at olub ve bağlar ve bahçeler edinüb ve ba'zısı ticaret ve rençberliğe işigal edüb koyun dutmakdan evvelki gibi olmayub sipahiye resm-i ganemden cüz'î nesne hasıl olur imiş. Bu cihetden tımarlara tamam naks gelmeğın emr-i hümayun mucubince zikrolunan yürük*

Citing this reason, Ottoman legislation compelled the nomads to pay agricultural taxes, and consequently taxes on viticulture. The article in the *kanunname* describes a very interesting aspect of the process of the sedentarization of nomads, in other words their transition from nomads to farmers, and portrays the scene immediately after they settled down. It is extremely interesting to discover that the study of the history of viticulture and wine in Anatolia sheds light on aspects of important historical issues, such as the settlement process of Turkic nomadic populations in Anatolia.<sup>18</sup>

4. It is important to speculate on the effect of the rising population on the land under cultivation. Expansion of grain cultivation, according to tax figures, stopped in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Only vineyards and orchards seem to have continued to expand, but their growth kept pace with the local population. Therefore part of the increasing native population practiced viticulture, but it was largely newcomers who undertook this work as this crop required hard labor but also brought in higher revenue.<sup>19</sup>

These are the initial conclusions that can be drawn from my research into the crucial first centuries of Ottoman presence in Anatolia, and particularly in Kayseri, which was inhabited by Rums until 1924. My concern is to monitor the spread of viticulture in Christian and Muslim settlements in the aftermath of the conquest and to determine how viticulture operated as a facet of the agricultural strategy of Anatolian farming in order to understand its value in the area of Cappadocia.

My research has not yet reached the point of evaluating the extent of the tax burden on viticulture in relation to the total tax obligation of the villager, just as it has not yet moved on to comparing it with the corresponding tax on cereals. But what I can conclude with certainty is that Central Anatolia fell into the same pattern found elsewhere in the Mediterranean during these centuries: cereals were the main agricultural product and they ranked highest among the taxes on agrarian production. The late Ronald Jennings, who closely studied the economy of the area of Erciyes Dağı in the 16th century, wrote that the vineyards, gardens and orchards in and around Kayseri collectively provided more tax revenue than grains.<sup>20</sup> After grain, these were the most important sources of agricultural revenue. He observed that vineyard and fruit taxes, and hence production, increased quite rapidly, at almost exactly the same pace as the population of the city. Provincial law required the payment of a tithe (i.e. *öşür*) on irrigated vineyards within the city. Legislation clearly shows diversification in the taxation of the vineyard. Vineyards were taxed when production was large and therefore worth selling. In other words, cultivating them required watering, hard work and skilled agricultural techniques. On the other hand, as mentioned previously,

*taifesinden çifti olan ra'yyete tamam çift resmi elli yedi akçe ve nim çift olan nısf-ı resm ve yerlü bennâke ednâ on sekiz akçe ve evlü bennâke on iki akçe resm kayd olundu. Mücerred cabadan resm ma'vufdur. Kayseriyye'de sair re'âyânın dahi rüstüm-ı re'âyası bu minvâl üzeredir."*

<sup>18</sup> Lindner 1983, p. 54.

<sup>19</sup> The observation made by Geçer (2001, p. 48) indicates the revenue produced by one *dönüm* (.1 hectare) of vines in relation to that yielded by a corresponding field growing cereals in the subdistrict, or *kaza*, of Mut (*İcel sancağı*) in 1845. The vine brought in 120 *kuruş* in annual income for the villager, while the field just 53.

<sup>20</sup> Jennings 1999, pp. 58–59.

production from a small vineyard destined to satisfy the needs of the household, was exempt from taxation.

Having looked at production in agricultural areas in the district, or *sancak*, of Kayseri in the first centuries after the Ottoman conquest, let us now take a look at the urban areas, which are not necessarily simply areas of consumption. The inhabitants of Kayseri kept vineyards on the outskirts of the town, as revealed by the *kadi sicilleri* from the 17th and 18th centuries, and the *Temettuât Defteri* from the 19th century. It is interesting to note that 42 percent of the cultivated area surrounding the town of Konya in the mid 18th century was covered with vineyards.<sup>21</sup> Regarding wine consumption in the urban area, the tax on taverns (*resm-i meyhane*) was particularly high in the town of Kayseri. The *meyhane* tax rose from 20,000 akçe in 1500 to 30,000 in 1570.<sup>22</sup> And this amount of tax dwarfed that from other urban economic activities and even agriculture until the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, when prohibition was imposed by Şeyh-ul İslam Ebussuud. The high taxation shows that there was excessive consumption of alcohol in the town, and a corresponding intense demographic increase from the end of the 15th up to the end of the 16th century as its taxable population rose from 2,287 to 8,251 adult males.

I have presented miscellaneous images from fiscal registers concerning the state of viticulture in the regions of Kayseri and Niğde in the 15th and 16th centuries. These examples must undoubtedly be expanded to cover other areas in Central Anatolia, for example, Malatya, ancient Melitene, well-known from the time of Strabo for its wine. It is worth taking this opportunity to point out that in a tax register from Malatya dated 1530, amongst various other taxes on wine production, which indirectly revealed its ample production, the tax *mağara-i kürüm* stands out. This was the tax paid by the vitner on the grapes he kept in underground storerooms where low temperatures and good ventilation allowed them to be preserved until the winter, just as today citrus fruits from Mersin are stored in the caves, or *mağaras*, of Cappadocia.<sup>23</sup>

By delving into the first tax registers from areas in Central Anatolia, we formed an idea of the state of viticulture in the region immediately after the Ottoman conquest and during its development over the next century. We saw that even nomadic tribes, when they chose to settle down permanently, took up viticulture, which indicates the importance of the fruit of the vine for the livelihood of an Anatolian family during this period. From similar sources, in other words, tax registers, we can form a picture of viticulture in the 19th century, and imagine its development over the centuries in between. A search through the *Temettuât Defterleri*, drawn up after the Tanzimat, outlined the situation three centuries later, and has the potential to shed light on information about what percentage of villagers' income in the 19th century came from viticulture. These registers list the assets belonging to the inhabitants (e.g. lands, trees, livestock, houses, shops) and were used to determine household

<sup>21</sup> Erten 2000.

<sup>22</sup> İnbaşı 1997, p. 136.

<sup>23</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri, TD # 408, p. 52. This information I extracted from the study conducted by Gögebakan (2002, p. 349), who reports: "1530 tahririnde Malatya kazasında *şıra-i bağat*, *şıra-i eşçar* adı altında üzüm bağlarında alınan bir vergi görülmemekte birlikte, az miktarda *mağara-i kürüm* vergisine Kasaba nahiyesinde bir köyde rastlanmıştır. Bu verginin *mağara'da* kış için saklanan üzümlerden alınan bir vergi olması muhtemeldir."

income and to impose a unique tax in place of the series of taxes that existed in the traditional Ottoman tax system. The registers therefore record vineyards. Several of these sources have been published and contain valuable data for future studies dealing with the spread of viticulture throughout the Anatolian countryside in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>24</sup>

Figures would certainly emerge for villages that we know, from oral tradition or other sources, specialised in wine-making, such as Fertek in Niğde, where according to oral tradition the majority of taverns in Istanbul were owned by the Rums from Fertek. The physician Alexandros Paspatis noted in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century that the winehouses in Istanbul and Galata belonged to Anatolians; without indicating the place of origin of these Rums from Asia Minor he did mention that the people who worked there were Anatolians. Paspatis believed though that a representative sample from the guild of their mongers came from Fertek.<sup>25</sup> A search through the Ottoman State Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*) to verify this is imperative but it is interesting to note that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century scholars claimed in their writings that in Fertek, as well as in neighbouring Bor, large quantities of good *raki* were produced, which the Greek inhabitants traded in cities of the empire and mainly in Istanbul.<sup>26</sup> Indeed the contents of the profits and earnings registries (*Temettuat Defterleri*) included in the very interesting book by Hüseyin Bahar (Ekmekçiöğlü), indicate a high percentage of land devoted to viticulture.<sup>27</sup> Other 19<sup>th</sup> century sources, such as the register recording grape-production in Niğde in 1896, show the Rum inhabitants' high percentage in the grape-harvest that year.<sup>28</sup>

We have seen that the neighbouring village to Fertek, Bor, with its large number of Rum inhabitants in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had already been producing large quantities of wine since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Court records, or *kadi sicilleri*, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century record information on the village's *meyhane mukataasi*, along with charges of grape theft and wine-drinking by Muslims. In addition, out of 89 purchases and sales made during the years 1529–1532, the majority were for vines with 51 transactions, a fact which indicates the significance of viticulture in the village economy.<sup>29</sup>

It is worth noting the deep-rooted wine-making traditions of the Greeks in Bor. As an example, the famous Bodosakis (Prodromos Athanasiadis), who came from Bor was an immensely rich Ottoman subject and the owner of the Pera Palace Hotel in Istanbul. After arriving in Greece as a refugee, during the Population Exchange of 1923, he founded, among other enterprises, mines, and the winery BOTRYS, thus bringing to his new homeland, along with the mines, the wine tradition of his birthplace, Poros, or present day Bor.<sup>30</sup> In 1924 the pages of the newspaper Refugee Voice / Muhacir Sedası that was published in

<sup>24</sup> Demir 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Paspatis 1862, p. 277.

<sup>26</sup> Gedeon 1934, p. 174.

<sup>27</sup> Bahar (Ekmekçiöğlü) 2009. Information on the *Temettuat Defterleri* is provided in volume 2, pp. 425–473.

<sup>28</sup> Gedik 1995.

<sup>29</sup> Tarakçı 2006, p. 40.

<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately at the end of the 1990s, his heirs to the management of his companies closed down the winery, which produced among other things the superb brandy BOTRYS that some of us preferred to METAXA.

Athens for Asia Minor refugees, contained an advertisement in Karamanlidika (Turkish language written with Greek characters) for wine from the anonymous company BOTRYS.<sup>31</sup>

This wine culture, interwoven with the religious customs of his homeland, was lamented in the *karamanli* poem composed by the refugee Kosmas Tsekmezoglou from Gelveri (Güzelyurt) when he was forced to abandon Cappadocia during the Population Exchange.<sup>32</sup> He weeps for the village and the house he leaves behind. But he also mourns the vines that he sees being uprooted by the other refugees, the Muslims, who arrived from Macedonia under the Exchange, so they could plant tobacco in their place, the only crop they knew from their homeland.<sup>33</sup>

The studies that could take place about viticulture in Cappadocia are many and varied and the period they must cover is long. The examples I have provided here are just an indication of the rich potential of the topic. Other sources, such as the *kadi sicilleri*, would most certainly present us with interesting aspects of the relationships between the various ethnic and religious groups in Anatolia and their wine-drinking and wine-producing customs, and the presence of viticulture in the area's everyday life, all extremely fascinating topics.

The theses written at Erciyes University, in *Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi* (KAYTAM), present varied material on viticulture and its related products in the area of Kayseri.<sup>34</sup> The recorded purchases and sales in the codices note the prices of vineyards per *dönüm*, as well as information on the pricing of grape molasses, or *pekmez*; decisions are recorded from hearings of legal cases brought by relatives concerning vineyards they inherit; reports are noted of charges brought for grape theft at harvest-time or compensation for damage caused by animals and flocks to vines. Often among assets of the deceased, recorded by the judge, (*kadi*), we come across tools and items linked to the cultivation of grapevines and wine production, such as jugs and vessels used for collecting grape must (*şıra lengeri*).

Fascinating too are charges brought for wine-drinking among Muslims, who, while inebriated, harass neighbours and insult the faithful at Friday prayers, whilst wine-drinking by a Muslim husband often becomes a reason for divorce.<sup>35</sup> Also frequently found in these sources are charges and verdicts concerning those Rums or Armenians caught selling wine near mosques and mescids, or selling it to Muslims.<sup>36</sup> The abundant transliterated *Şer'iyye Sicilleri* from Kayseri, Konya and Niğde, provide exceptional material for investigating the presence of wine in everyday practices, human interactions and conduct.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Μουχατζηολάο BOTPYS μαρκασηνή τεροδζίχ ιδιμιζ. Muhaciler BOTRYS markası tercih ettiniz. Refugees! choose the brand BOTRYS!

<sup>32</sup> Τα τραγούδια της Νέας και Παλαιάς Καρβάλης (Ναζιανζού), s.l. and s.a. This karamanlidika poem (*destan*) was published in its entirety by Balta and Millas (1996, t. 25, fasc. 149, pp. 261–271) and reprinted in Balta (2016). In Greek some translated verses of the poem have been published by Karatza (1985).

<sup>33</sup> Çomu 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Please see the KAYTAM archive page for more information (<http://kaytam.erciyes.edu.tr/kaytam-arsivi/kaytam-arsivi/8/8>).

<sup>35</sup> Like Seyyid Mehmed from Talas, whose wife left him on 23 October 1902 when he broke his promise to stop drinking raki; Akşit 1999, p. 145.

<sup>36</sup> Kalipçioğlu 1996, p. 25 (document 127); see also Alidağı 2009, pp. 270–271; Kivanç 2010, p. 129.

<sup>37</sup> An exemplary study of drink and whatever accompanies it, based on material from the *Şer'iyye Sicilleri* of Edremit was conducted by Yilmaz (2005).

The impression gained from a first glance at the aforementioned *Şer'iyye Sicilleri* is that the asset most put up for sale, and most often mortgaged, is the vineyard, an indication of its important position in the economic life of these areas. In Konya, with its renowned vineyards, 17th century sources place vineyards in three categories, obviously corresponding to their location: *tahta bağı* (lowland vineyard), *puşta bağı* (hillside vineyard) and finally *erkek bağı*, also a vineyard on a hillside but for which no further clarification is given.<sup>38</sup>

Sources are many and varied for the study the history of wine in Cappadocia, and are not restricted to written archives. Irrefutable, albeit intangible evidence for the important role of wine in the Anatolian past can be found in the wonderful folksongs, or *türkü*, which sing the praises of the fertile vineyards of Cappadocia. The aim of this article was to reveal aspects of the vast amount of unexploited archival, ethnographic and architectural evidence that attests to a rich wine tradition in the area of Cappadocia. Scattered across its landscape are churches such as the Üzümlü (Grape) Kilise or Aya Eleni ve Konstantinos Kilisesi in Sinasos, the humble *patoi* and *şirahane* with the *bolums*, and of course the countless archaeological finds that link the area to a rich wine-making tradition.<sup>39</sup> Knowledge of the details involved in training the vines, pruning, harvesting, treading grapes, preparing the grape molasses (*pekmez*), storing the wines in jars, and then drinking it, all shed light on complicated questions about the economy and social customs of the Cappadocia region in the Ottoman era. As Fernand Braudel observes in his book *Identity of France*,

Talk about vines and wine you are talking about society, political power, an exceptional labor process, in fact an entire civilization. If wheat is the prose of our long history, wine is its more recently born poetry, illuminating and ennobling the landscape.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Gülcan 1989, pp. 25–28.

<sup>39</sup> For example Konyalı (1974, p. 1830) referring to the ruins of the village named Bağluca Köyü, writes: "Bağluca çevresinde gayr-ı İslami devirlere ait üzerlerinde Latince kitabeler, üzüm salkımı kabartmaları bulunan mermer taşlara çokca rastlanır. Bunlar Hıristiyanlık devrine ait."

<sup>40</sup> The reference is from the Ph.D. thesis of Walsh (1996, p. 12).

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Evangelia BALTA

Research Director

National Hellenic Research Foundation

Institute of Historical Research [evabalta@ie.gr](mailto:evabalta@ie.gr), [evangeliabalta@gmail.com](mailto:evangeliabalta@gmail.com)