



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
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**THE INVENTION OF HERITAGE: TURKISH COOKING
SHOW, *SARAYIN LEZZETLERİ* (FLAVORS OF THE
PALACE) AS A CASE OF GASTRODIPLOMACY**

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PALACE) AS A CASE OF GASTRODIPLOMACY**

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APPROVAL

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I, OĞUZ BERK ÖZ; hereby declare

- that this Master of Arts Thesis that I have submitted is entirely my own work, and I have cited and referenced all material and results that are not my own in accordance with the rules;
- that this Master of Arts Thesis does not contain any material from any research submitted or accepted to obtain a degree or diploma at another educational institution;
- and that I commit and undertake to follow the "Kadir Has University Academic Codes of Conduct" prepared in accordance with the "Higher Education Council Codes of Conduct".

In addition, I acknowledge that any claim of irregularity that may arise in relation to this work will result in a disciplinary action in accordance with the university legislation.

Oğuz Berk Öz

Date: 06.01.2023

Heskife Dolanan Merdiven

Yaz günü, çamların altında

Açık saçık bir tebessümle soruyorsun:

“-Bir rüya mı seni buralara sürükleyen?”

Ben, loş ışıkların içinde, takılıp kalıyorum sararmış dişlerine.

Çam ağaçları arasında dolanıp, reçine topluyorum gece vakti;

Bir karınca sürüsüyle aynı gayeyi taşıyoruz bünyemizde;

onlar bir arada, ben seninle.

Karıncalar bırakmıyor zihnimi, takip ediyorum gittikleri yere

Zerdüşt tapınağı içinde sıcakla bütünleşen yuvaları;

ipekle bezenmiş insanlar, duacılar koca ateşe.

Karıncalardan arda kalan,

seher vakti bir patika ve yel değirmenleri ardına insanlar

Rozerin! Doğduğun topraklara dolanıyorum, adının doğduğu yere!

Yaz günü,

Güzel gözlerini sürüp, tekrar tekrar soruyorsun:

“-Aynı rüya mı seni buralara sürükleyen?”

Yosun tutmamış denizler, kavruk leblebiler senin için

hafif bir iniltiyle, kokulu nar çiçekleri doğduğun topraklarda.

Küçük bir nehrin etrafına

Büklüm büklüm serilmiş papatyalar, mis kokulu zambaklar

Sen, toz toprak içinden yeşermeye devam ederken;

ben, zambakları koklarken uyanıyorum.

Bilemiyorum,

Esen rüzgârları değiştirmedikçe minik ellerinle, izlemeye devam ediyorum sadece

Benim tutkumu biliyorsun, ne bunlar ne de başkası

Ey Rozerin, uyandıracaklar bizi

Dokunuyor adını söyleyememek, manası su akıntılarında gizli.

Zambaklar senin olsun başka mis kokulu çiçekler de

Benim tutkum, o kaldırım çiçeğinde gizli.

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THE INVENTION OF HERITAGE: TURKISH COOKING SHOW, *SARAYIN LEZZETLERİ* (FLAVORS OF THE PALACE) AS A CASE OF GASTRODIPLOMACY

ABSTRACT

In recent years, educated and inventive chefs started to do extensive research, including archival research, to reinvent Ottoman cuisine. In particular, late-Ottoman recipes have been modernized and updated for today's taste by culinary researchers and professionals. Therefore, the dishes from Ottoman palace cuisine have developed into a new way of rewriting history to respect the Ottoman past. The past revived through culinary practices reproduced and shaped political interpretations that Ottoman Empire refers to a multi-ethnic civilization governed by a righteous and victorious Turkish nation. Thus, it is emphasized that Ottoman cuisine is described as a new traditional cuisine that once constituted the basis of today's Turkish cuisine rather than being completely distinct from Turkish cuisine. The food travelogue *Sarayın Lezzetleri* intends to convince the Turkish audience that Turkish cuisine has become one of the world's most popular cuisines due to the Ottoman Empire's culinary heritage. Thus, I aim to revisit the concept of gastrodiploMACY to explore the invention of culinary heritage with the transformation of Ottoman recipes. Rather than the common use of gastrodiploMACY as an external project, this thesis questions how gastrodiploMACY becomes an internal project to convince an internal audience. In this thesis, therefore, I aim to show how *Sarayın Lezzetleri* constitutes a Turkish gastrodiploMACY case by cooking Ottoman recipes, introducing Turkish cuisine and history, and displaying Turkey's regions on the screen.

Keywords: The invention of heritage, Ottoman & Turkish culinary culture, Turkish cooking shows, gastrodiploMACY, nostalgia

MİRASIN İCADI: BİR GASTRODİPLOMASİ VAKASI OLARAK TÜRK YEMEK
PROGRAMI *SARAYIN LEZZETLERİ*

ÖZET

Son yıllarda, eğitimli ve yaratıcı şefler, Osmanlı mutfağını yeniden icat etmek için arşiv araştırması da dahil olmak üzere kapsamlı araştırmalar yapmaya başladılar. Özellikle, geç dönem Osmanlı tarifleri, mutfak araştırmacıları ve profesyonelleri tarafından günümüzün damak tadına uygun olarak modernize edilmiş ve güncellenmiştir. Böylelikle, Osmanlı saray mutfağından yemekler, Osmanlı geçmişine saygı göstermek için tarihi yeniden yazmanın yeni bir yoluna dönüştü. Mutfak pratikleriyle canlandırılan geçmiş, politik yorumları yeniden üreterek ve şekillendirerek Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu erdemli ve muzaffer Türk milleti tarafından yönetilen çok uluslu bir medeniyet olarak tanıtmaktadır. Böylece Osmanlı mutfağı, Türk mutfağından tamamen farklı olmaktan ziyade, bir zamanlar günümüz Türk mutfağının temelini oluşturan çağdaş bir geleneksel mutfak olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Yemek seyahati programı *Sarayın Lezzetleri*, Türk izleyicisini Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun mutfak mirası sayesinde Türk mutfağının dünyadaki en popüler mutfaklarından biri haline geldiğine ikna etmeye çalışıyor. Bu nedenle, gastrodiplomasi kavramını mutfak mirasının icadı ile Osmanlı tariflerinin dönüşümünü keşfetmek için yeniden ele almayı hedefliyorum. Gastrodiplomasinin harici bir teşebbüs olarak yaygın kullanımından ziyade bu tez, gastrodiplomasinin dahili bir izleyici kitlesini ikna etmek için nasıl bir dahili teşebbüse dönüştüğünü sorgulamaktadır. Böylelikle bu tezde *Sarayın Lezzetleri*'nin Osmanlı tariflerini pişirerek, Türk mutfağını ve tarihini tanıtarak, ve Türkiye'nin bölgelerini ekranda göstererek nasıl bir Türk gastrodiplomatik vakası haline geldiğini göstermeyi amaçlıyorum.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Mirasın icadı, Osmanlı & Türk mutfak mirası, Türk yemek programları, gastrodiplomasi, nostalji

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The invention of heritage is a relatively sophisticated and challenging question. However, facing the challenge and conveying the complexity of the invention of heritage is inspiring to work on my thesis. Besides, my intellectual curiosity and inquiry are aroused by culinary heritage to grasp how it plays an essential role in enabling a country to invent. Since recipes are always under ongoing change and transformation, I believe they may give considerable insight into the invention of heritage. Therefore, I aim to revisit the concept of gastrodiploamacy to explore the invention of culinary heritage with the transformation of Ottoman recipes.

Television is still one of the essential sources to display the continual change and transformation of recipes via cooking shows. Thus, I decided to study a cooking show in Turkey. The cooking show, *Sarayın Lezzetleri* (Flavors of the Palace), is a perfect example -specifically, a food travelogue show broadcasted in Turkey- with all sixty-five episodes as the primary source to study my thesis. The program concept of *Sarayın Lezzetleri* is that the chef and television presenter Yunus Emre Akkor introduces a new region in Turkey and Ottoman recipes for every episode regarding their gastronomic importance. Introducing the diversity of local recipes and Ottoman cuisine (mostly referring to palace cuisine) is the center of the cooking show, giving me a wonderful opportunity to explore the invention of culinary heritage by revisiting gastrodiploamacy. In all episodes of the cooking show, Yunus Emre Akkor, also introduced as a cultural researcher, travels to sixty-five different regions in Turkey and prepares countless foods.

The general theory of this thesis is the harmony between the conceptions of Hobsbawm's invention of tradition, Lowenthal's past having a role in shaping today, and Sutton's importance of the conjunction of eating and remembering. The main framework of this thesis is constructed on the reconsideration of the concept of gastrodiploamacy, which is administrative research primarily focusing on the

representation of a country's image in the global world through its culinary heritage. This thesis's major theme is the invention of culinary heritage based on how the past is told, how regions are introduced, and how recipes are cooked in the framework of gastrodiploamacy. First, I transcribed appropriate Ottoman recipes, descriptions of regions, and historical anecdotes by Yunus Emre Akkor to the main framework. Then I selected remarkable examples from all transcriptions and finally interpreted them based on the general theory. Thus, I assert that a cooking show in Turkey can show the invention of culinary heritage that may enable scholars to rethink or reconsider gastrodiploamatic attempts in this framework.

Regarding the thesis theme, I intend to analyze the cooking show by considering that gastrodiploamacy is not only an external project but can also be an internal one. In other words, gastrodiploamacy is for an internal audience. In *Sarayın Lezzetleri*, the main purpose is to show the Turkish audience the great culinary heritage which deserves to be represented worldwide. Therefore, I claim that Yunus Emre Akkor focuses on gastrodiploamatic goals by cooking Ottoman recipes, telling history and his autobiographical anecdotes, and highlighting a city or town's gastronomical heritage. He combines Ottoman recipes with a grand narrative and melts traditional values into nation branding.

1.2 Theoretical Sources

In considering traditions that “appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2007), Hobsbawm and Ranger developed the concept of the invention of tradition. In the introduction of their book, Hobsbawm explains it as follows: “invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2007, 1). The invention of tradition is still a powerful and inspiring concept to grasp how invented traditions are reconstructed as reactions to current situations which “attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within [the modern world] as unchanging and invariant” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2007, 2). He considers invented traditions as needs

or demands, showing a social change in society. In this understanding, I question how Yunus Emre Akkor's cooking style, reviving Ottoman recipes, becomes the invention of culinary heritage.

Rewriting history by reimagining the past is also significant for my thesis. Lowenthal's book (Lowenthal 2015) shows the past's ever-changing role in shaping our lives (Lowenthal 2015). Like Hobsbawm, Lowenthal believes that "we transform the past to serve present needs and future hopes, alike in preserving and in discarding what nature and our ancestors have handed down" (Lowenthal 2015, I). As a result, every individual and society longs for the past through a combination of recollection, nostalgia, dreams, and more concrete historical documentation. The central argument of Lowenthal's book is that introspective awareness of the past, which establishes a clear separation from the present, is a modern phenomenon. Based on his main argument, I propose to grasp how Yunus Emre Akkor evokes Ottoman nostalgia and raises future hopes in the cooking show by resurrecting Ottoman recipes from historical documents such as palace documents. Sutton's book (Sutton 2001) is crucial to investigating how food is related to memory to illustrate the relationship between food and the past. He provides a theoretical account of food, the past, and memory interrelationships. He claims that "the transitory and repetitive act of eating is a medium for the more enduring act of remembering" (Sutton 2001, 2). He also distinguishes the food-memory association from other memory associations by implying that the connection between food and memory varies. Sutton explicates that "food is about identity creation and maintenance, whether that identity is national, ethnic, class or gender-based" (Sutton 2001, 5). Thus, food is not only a sign of identity but also forces us to think about itself in different contexts. By benefiting from Sutton's obvious link between food and nostalgia, I intend to examine how Yunus Emre Akkor's autobiographical narratives represent nostalgia in the cooking show to revisit Ottoman culinary heritage.

1.3 The Reconsideration of Gastrodiplomacy

A review of gastrodiplomacy is the main framework to discuss this thesis. Gastrodiplomacy is mainly considered as administrative research to offer governments, institutions, and companies counsel on food, to focus on how to create nation branding

through national cuisine, to promote national foods and national restaurants to the globalized world, to teach professionals such as chefs and food experts to gain considerable advantages on the global market, to attract local identities in globalized places or global identities in local places, to influence people and states' perceptions on a state through culinary heritage, to develop formal state relations and public diplomacy more effectively, to solve state conflicts among states through food. Although it shows enormous potential to study food and diplomacy in a broader view, gastrodiplomacy is seemingly stuck to the notion of serving nations' international profits. Similarly, gastrationalism is only attached to international politics despite its great potential (Bucak and Yiğit 2019; Edwards 2019; Ferguson 2010; Huysmans 2020b; 2020a; Lelieveldt 2016). In *Sarayın Lezzetleri*, the current application of gastrodiplomacy will be revisited. In other words, gastrodiplomacy will be conceptually and comprehensively studied by exploring how culinary heritage is invented and represented. I claim that gastrodiplomacy can also be an internal project to convince an internal audience to change their perception of their culinary heritage. Thus, it can be developed as a more critical concept to set the relationship between food and heritage. It is crucial to see how gastrodiplomacy enables culinary professionals to recreate Turkish culinary heritage. The invention of heritage through cooking has considerable potential to comprehend how it becomes a part of a gastrodiplomatic attempt by a culinary professional, introducing himself as a cultural researcher who invents and promotes Turkish culinary heritage via a cooking show.

2. GASTRODIPLOMACY

2.1 Food as a Diplomatic Tool

The study of food and cooking reveals the diet of groups or nations. It also shows the economic and social implications of how people have supplied and maintained food production and cultivation throughout history (Forman 2014, 25). Food as a culinary and political expression originates in anthropology and history. It means that the origins of food as a culinary and political statement can be traced back to ancient civilizations. Also, food serves as a means of communication for civilization and society, and it is cooked to communicate through performing rituals involving its preparation and serving. In other words, food acts as a medium of exchange for a culinary heritage since it is used to communicate via practices that entail preparation and serving. At the same time, the lack of food is a metaphor for difficulties, a breakdown of traditions, and a possible problem within a specific milieu that can lead to other social failures (Forman 2014, 24). Thus, we can debate food's symbolic representation when we accept that food can convey messages to communicate thoughts, morals, identities, and behaviors (Zhang 2015, 1). It is essential to discuss its symbolic representation to question whether food can be a diplomatic apparatus.

Many scholars studying food believe that food is already a communication to improve formal state relations and public relations (Maurer 2019; Zhang 2015; Demir and Alper 2021; Huysmans 2020b; Herningtyas 2019; dela Pena and Bajar 2021; İşçimen 2021; Kuprii 2018; Matta 2021; Matta and García 2009; Cebeci 2020; Morgan 2012; Moscato 2018; Nirwandy and Awang 2014; Reddy and van Dam 2020; Reynolds 2012; Rocha 2016; Soner 2020; Trihartono et al. 2020; Soner and Alan 2021). For example, Spence claims that gastronomic choices and culinary preferences can affect decision-making in state diplomacy (Spence 2016). However, it is not enough to describe other aspects of food for diplomacy. On the one hand, food can be diplomacy among nations to solve conflicts in international meetings; on the other hand, food can be a tool for countries collaborating with chefs and gourmets to create good impressions and positive images

for a nation brand. Genuine culinary skills can naturally excite people on the global stage.

2.2 The Definition of Gastrodiplomacy

Gastrodiplomacy as an administrative approach mainly focuses on the global goals of middle-power states such as Thailand and Peru, initiating gastrodiplomacy campaigns to get economic and political advantages on the global stage by promoting their traditional foods to the globalized economy (Aslan and Çevik 2020; Adesina 2017; Farina 2018; Ghazali et al. 2018; Irwansyah 2016; Luša and Jakešević 2017; Matta 2017; Mills 2016; Muñiz-Martinez and Florek 2021; Nirwandy and Awang 2014; Passidomo 2017; Qalbie 2021; Solleh 2015; Trianingsih 2021; White, Barreda, and Hein 2019; Wilson 2011; Aruna and Devebalane 2016; Lipscomb 2019; Putri 2019). For the first time, the concept of gastrodiplomacy appeared in the Economist's article 'Food as Ambassador' in 2002. According to the article, Thailand was the first to initiate gastrodiplomatic efforts (Zhang 2015, 2). Then, other Asian countries followed Thailand's gastrodiplomacy policies and launched their gastrodiplomatic campaigns to disseminate their culinary heritage to the world. For example, Japan has widely promoted its traditional food 'Sushi' to the world. South Korea has made remarkable efforts to advertise its national food 'Kimchee' globally. Further, Taiwan has conducted its gastrodiplomacy campaign, 'Sum Diplomacy,' and Peru has carried out its gastrodiplomacy campaign, 'Peruvian Cuisine for the World' (Ruddy 2014, 29).

In another example, Greece has shown its healthier foodways and lifestyle up, and culinary heritage as one of the oldest civilizations in the world. In other words, Greece has a rich heritage in politics and art (Kosmidou 2014, 64). Especially Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, Indonesia, and Malesia have initiated gastrodiplomacy campaigns which their governments either strongly support or institute themselves. However, gastrodiplomacy does not have to be an officially sanctioned program launched by the government. In the example of Turkey and Lebanon, migrants living abroad represent their nation's gastrodiplomacy (Ruddy 2014, 31). The gastrodiplomacy campaigns, including governmental and non-governmental entities, show that gastrodiplomacy exceeds the governments and chefs. Indeed, it includes more

such as “food corporations, celebrity chefs, tourist agencies, public relations firms, public diplomacy practitioners, TV cooking shows, and social media” (Zhang 2015, 2).

2.3 Public Diplomacy, Middle Powers, and Soft Power

Public diplomacy is an area that focuses on communicating policies, national heritage, and values to international audiences. In the era of globalization, public diplomacy extends beyond state-to-public interactions to encompass people-to-people involvement (Rockower 2012, 237). Gastrodiplomacy is a part of public diplomacy to advertise nation branding through food. Gastrodiplomacy allows nations and people to promote their national culinary heritage and form their culinary images. Thus, they can sell their foods globally and exercise public and foreign diplomacy through food. Governments construct nation branding by promoting foods that affect consumers’ global attitudes (Zhang 2015, 3). However, it is not proper to consider gastrodiplomacy specifically as promoting traditional tastes and flavors to the globalized world generated by economic motivations (Suntikul 2019, 3). Also, gastrodiplomacy should be distinguished from ‘food diplomacy’ as part of development diplomacy in which legal entities supply food as humanitarian aid to countries suffering from starvation (Rockower 2014, 14). In other words, gastrodiplomacy is a strategy for public diplomacy dependent on culinary heritage and nation branding.

Gastrodiplomacy as a strategy for public diplomacy differs from culinary diplomacy, which is defined as formal diplomatic manners of the states through national cuisine (Rockower 2012, 236, 237). Compared with culinary diplomacy, gastrodiplomacy takes a more comprehensive approach to raise global recognition of culinary heritage (Rockower 2012, 237). Besides, gastrodiplomacy allows states to collaborate with “non-state actors through public/private initiatives” (Rockower 2014, 15). Gastrodiplomacy as a way of public diplomacy is wider than culinary diplomacy to facilitate communication from state to public. It also provides better communication between citizens. Particularly, gastrodiplomacy is an effective way of non-verbal communication as one of the tactics for public diplomacy (Rockower 2014, 16). In addition to gastrodiplomacy as public diplomacy, Chapple-Sokol explains another type of diplomacy correlating with gastrodiplomacy. He defines ‘Track 3 Diplomacy’ as

individuals and private organizations engaging in people-to-people diplomacy to promote engagement and understanding among hostile groups and to provide recognition and engagement within these groups (Chapple-Sokol 2015, 41). He differentiates 'Track 3' from its earlier versions. Track 3 concentrates on the notions of touch and understanding as a manner of setting the table for resolution rather than seeking to resolve the greater dispute (Chapple-Sokol 2015, 41). In gastrodiploamacy, as Track 3, individuals, and private organizations present diners to an "enemy nation" and its inhabitants. Thus, they have a chance to realize their aims at international policy through the medium of cuisine. Gastrodiploamacy, as Track 3, is seemingly a complicated relationship between food and diplomacy, but it can work because of its roots in food (Chapple-Sokol 2015, 41).

Middle powers define the countries with political and economic power between great powers and small states (Rockower 2012, 237). The concept of 'middlepowermanship' describes an effective collaboration with public diplomacy and nation branding that enables middle powers to influence global politics and acknowledgment in the international arena (Rockower 2012, 238). Rockover considers gastrodiploamacy the best strategy for the countries of the middle powers because gastrodiploamacy allows these countries to receive better recognition globally (Rockower 2012, 235). According to Rockover, gastrodiploamacy is also a soft power that aims to show a nation's authentic and rich culinary heritage by focusing on unique tastes to differentiate a nation's brand and make nation branding attractive (Rockower 2012, 238). Unlike hard power, soft power attracts others to appropriate a nation's heritage (Suntikul 2019, 3). According to Suntikul, food is a potent instrument for fulfilling diplomatic aims. It is not only a substitute for hard power for the sake of middle powers but also a supplement for hard power for great powers (Suntikul 2019, 4). Thus, gastrodiploamacy can be regarded as a relatively equal diplomatic arena among nations because it enables both middle and superpowers countries to enhance their nation branding by promoting unique culinary heritage and traditions to achieve global awareness.

A rich cuisine reveals a nation's great culinary heritage and constitutes a nation's prestige in the global arena. Thanks to gastrodiploamacy, middle-power countries can exercise effective public diplomacy in promoting their authentic tastes and flavors (Rockower 2012, 244). However, having a rich culinary heritage is not enough to

conduct gastrodiploamacy because it is also needed to put together culinary diplomacy and nation branding. In combining nation branding with culinary heritage and diplomacy, good taste is central to carrying out gastrodiploamacy because the sensual satisfaction makes the foreign familiar to a nation. The motto “to know us is to love us” transforms into “to taste us is to love us” (Rockower 2012, 244). In other words, the success of gastrodiploamacy crucially depends on the ability to “win hearts and minds through stomachs (emotional connections)” (Rockower 2012, 235, 236). Like music, food also can make emotional connections by overcoming language barriers (Rockower 2014, 13). Then, food can create a gateway to be consumed like other intangible exports, music, literature, and sports (Ruddy 2014, 32). Shortly, gastrodiploamacy shows how public diplomacy can be applied through food for the sake of middle-power countries. Food becomes a soft power to understand how culinary heritage and traditions have evolved into a national identity that creates a nation brand and global image for both nations and people. Gastrodiploamacy encourages a government to launch a successful nation branding and positively change a nation’s perception globally (Ruddy 2014, 29).

2.4 Food as a Conflict or Bridge between National Cuisines in Globalization

Globalization is a term used to describe a process in which the international economy becomes more integrated through the flow of commodities and services, capital, and technology (Jenkins 2004, as cited in Mak, Lumbers, and Eves 2012, 174). Globalization results in increasing global interconnection and integration and a higher level of global consciousness (Mak, Lumbers, and Eves 2012, 173). It also creates controversy about whether it is a serious threat against local identities and places or a great chance to connect them to the globe. By considering global and local consciousness, Robertson conceptualizes ‘glocalization’ as the conflict between homogenization and heterogenization (Robertson 1995, as cited in Mak, Lumbers, and Eves 2012, 175). In other words, globalization as a dialectical process is characterized by a complex mixture of homogeneity and heterogeneity. Globalization also leads to a controversy between local and global in the culinary context. Sidney Mintz, an anthropologist, explains how scholars employ cuisine and kitchen in quite separate ways. Since the concept of cuisine in the United States has an ethnic or national sense,

national cuisines such as Chinese and Thai are separated from their worldwide known kitchens. (Mintz 1996). In another consideration, Germann Molz defines globalization as the practice of knowing, encountering, showing tolerance, and finally consuming the Other (Germann Molz 2007, 79).

Arjun Appadurai claims that when national cuisines met globalization, nations started to experience anxiety about creating their authentic cuisines (Appadurai 1986). In the globalized world, authenticity and exoticism bring essential advantages to nations to compete to sell their culinary products on the global market (Osipova 2014, 18). Therefore, the significance of national symbols for national cuisine has grown even more. The notion of national cuisine enhances the value of culinary heritage owned by a nation. Thus, national cuisine becomes a symbolic agent, such as a national anthem or flag holding a patriotic meaning. Countries have constructed their authentic national cuisine, including all foods cooked in a country. The concept of 'gastronationalism' is defined as the use of food "production, distribution, and consumption" to create a 'nation brand' and a sense of belonging to a country (DeSoucey 2010 as cited in Suntikul 2019, 4). Food serves as a bridge between citizens and their pasts and shared relationships of familial or religious identity and narratives. Culinary heritage often resurrects tales and memories of a nation from the past (Osipova 2014, 18). However, the culinary image is not entirely peaceful, so it is impossible to only focus on the positive sides of culinary heritage.

The gastro-geopolitical map shows significant conflicts among nations because of shared culinary heritage. For example, Hummus and Falafel are real problems for Arab countries such as Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine with Israel (Chapple-Sokol 2015, 43; Shutek 2017; 2020). Both sides strongly claim ownership of recipes for Hummus and Falafel. The idea of 'Israelization' of Arab cuisine has caused increasing anxiety in Arab countries. For another example, Osipova examines food conflicts between Armenia and Azerbaijan, where intense fighting has broken out militarily in recent years. By looking at the severe military and social conflict between the two nations, it is easy to say that historical disputes can easily lead to culinary fights among nations. For a similar example, the case of Keshkek is good for showing food fighting in this geography. Turkey and Armenia put claims both historically and etymologically to take patents for Keshkek. In 2011, UNESCO decided to add Keshkek to Turkey's intangible

heritage, intensifying food fighting between Turkey and Armenia (Osipova 2014, 19). By referring to the example of Keshkek, Armenian historian Ruben Nahatanyan states that there is a war of civilizations in Anatolia and Caucasia that Armenia has to fight to protect its national heritage against its neighbors, especially Turkey and Azerbaijan (Osipova 2014, 19).

Although it creates conflict among nations, culinary heritage in food campaigns has been maintained as a strategy for promoting peace and resolving disputes (Chapple-Sokol 2015, 42). Food can also change a nation's perception of others. Food is considered a vehicle for an international bridge to open a constructive dialogue. Schmitt and Shutek believe that although food is a sign of national identity, it can also open the door to showing tolerance towards people from geographical and historical differences (Schmitt 2014, 37; Shutek 2020). In this regard, food does not only conduct successful international diplomacy by "thinking global and acting local" but also exercises 'domestic diplomacy' by eliminating xenophobia (Schmitt 2014, 38). Thus, food may enable local people to overcome mistrust and fear of foreigners like immigrants, preventing them from misunderstanding foreigners' lifestyles. Besides, the culinary engagement by immigrants can easily contribute to the diversity of culinary practices of a nation (Forman 2014, 24). At the same time, food is always available everywhere. It is simple to taste and feel food, but it is also crucial to comprehend how it can teach people. Food has acquired considerable prestige in teaching people to have tolerance for differences. Showing sympathy and open-mindedness to new tastes may be a new mode of civilizing process in modern times. Thus, food has a vital role so that people learn to adapt to the new conditions caused by the spread of globalization. Food has the potential not only to resolve conflicts but also to become a multi-purpose diplomatic tool. Culinary diplomacy can be a tool to improve collaboration and interaction among nations having conflicts by creating cross-national dialogue (Chapple-Sokol 2013, 162). For example, Hillary Clinton states that "food is the oldest form of diplomacy" (Ruddy 2014, 29). Chapple-Sokol conceptualizes culinary diplomacy as an apparatus of gastrodiplomacy rather than higher diplomacy.

In gastrodiplomacy, food is also regarded as a reason for conflict and a conflict-solver (D. Çelik 2018; Lee and Kim 2021). In this understanding, gastrodiplomacy questions whether food is a conflict or a bridge among nations in the globalized world. However,

Osipova believes that gastrodiploamacy has considerable potential to fulfill commonality by becoming a mutual space where a cross-national conversation starts resolving conflicts (Osipova 2014, 20). She also states that gastrodiploamacy cannot solve ongoing conflicts but can have a critical supplementary role for diplomacy in two ways. First, gastrodiploamacy can be an apparatus from below to avoid conflicts where social negotiations collapse because of a destructive conversation. Second, it can occur from above to work toward international agreements by forcing nations to meet at a mutual point (Osipova 2014, 21). Foodways have been established over time and geography through communicating with hostile neighbors, enabling both sides to borrow tastes from the other's culinary heritage. To summarize, gastrodiploamacy is intended to solve problems because of international conflicts.

The 'Contact Hypothesis' theory asserts that gastrodiploamacy can resolve conflicts and eliminate hostility caused by unfamiliarity and separation (Brewer and Gaertner 2008, 452 as cited in Osipova 2014, 20). In this context, gastrodiploamacy mostly serves several campaigns and initiatives launched to support immigrant groups settling into their new homes. Food may lead to peace between warring countries because food can arouse the feeling of security and bring people to eat together for pleasure (Suntikul 2019, 3). For example, ethnic restaurants abroad can be a way of negotiating with a host country. Forman shares a well-known Washington cliché that "you can always tell where in the world there is a conflict by the new ethnic restaurants that open" (Forman 2014, 23). Her correlation between conflicts and ethnic restaurants demonstrates that war and conflicts in a region can result in global, such as national interaction among countries through ethnic restaurants opened by immigrants. Even though disputes and food are seemingly uncorrelated to each other, ethnic restaurants, through their national culinary heritage, can show local people how war and conflicts have changed the lives of immigrants (Forman 2014, 23). The relationship between food and war describes how conflicts alter history and how cuisines serve as a sort of culinary communication, allowing individuals who share the experience of eating ethnic meals to understand each other (Forman 2014, 25). In other words, the rise of ethnic cuisines in a city is a sign of losses and interconnections of people and an expression of global conflicts in other areas. Through the culinary links, food is the most tangible way to evoke memory and feelings so that immigrants fleeing from their country can bring their homes to new

places (Forman 2014, 24). Briefly, ethnic restaurants symbolize the importance of food for national identity and its function as a cross-national communication in a foreign country.

2.5 Global Markets, Tourism, and International Competition of Food

Bestor considers markets as a symbolic representation of ‘socially constructed space’ that is "utopian-nowhere in particular and everywhere all at once" (Bestor 2001, 76). In other words, we witness the integration of markets and urban spaces both everywhere and nowhere in globalization. Moreover, the globalization of economic activity does not separate market and place; rather, it re-connects them in various ways (Bestor 2001, 78). International connections between countries occur at different speeds, in numerous directions, and for various purposes along with multiple dimensions (Bestor 2001, 81). However, Bestor also states that the forces of nation-states in the worldwide market have decreased due to global “transactions and interactions across societal and national boundaries” (Bestor 2001, 76). It leads to the effects of globalization significantly increasing in global or transnational economic arenas rather than international ones. In the gastrodiploacy context, globalized markets and trade routes come together with businesses, cuisines, and individuals with a common interest or focus. Global re-connections and integrations create continuous economic and informational flows and culinary images with different goals. Globalization has also gone through international cities in the financial and gastronomic interrelationships between markets, urban life, and culinary heritage. In this regard, food with its culinary image is created, altered, integrated, and distributed between ultimate producers and ultimate consumers in the global market because food is not only material without its meaning (Bestor 2001, 80 and 82).

Even though governments initiate gastrodiploacy as a well-designed campaign with significant efforts, multiple interactions by individuals achieve gastrodiploacy. Gastrodiploacy programs increase the number of restaurants while maintaining control over the quality of the cuisine they provide. At the same time, they aim to expand the range and efficiency of these international public encounter zones with national cuisine (Suntikul 2019, 12). I agree with Suntikul’s argument that

gastrodiplomacy scholars should focus on the two issues of people as ‘culinary ambassadors’ and locations as ‘contact zones by culinary places’ as critical elements in the study and practice of this discipline (Suntikul 2019, 14). In this regard, tourists and foodies like culinary ambassadors are inseparable from the process of gastrodiplomacy in direct and indirect ways (Suntikul 2019, 9). The gastrodiplomacy campaigns aim to develop cuisine experiences in foreign countries to attract local people. Thus, they can be motivated to visit foreign countries to taste other foods. To attract foodies, they also aim to promote their country as a culinary destination by holding special events such as international gastronomy and gourmet festivals in their own country (Suntikul 2019, 7). To conceptualize the future of gastrodiplomacy, Rockover put forward two close concepts of gastrodiplomacy polyilateralism and gastrodiplomacy paradiplomacy¹. On the one side, gastrodiplomacy polyilateralism enhances views of a nation brand by motivating individuals to have close contact with foreign public members to create good impressions about the national cuisine rather than disseminating the national cuisine via official channels and media (Rockower 2014). Legal entities having no direct links to governments promote nation branding in the latter. On the other side, gastrodiplomacy paradiplomacy collides with culinary tourism appealing to international tourists and locals (Rockower 2014). In gastrodiplomacy paradiplomacy, for example, ersatz tourism as the imitation of ‘sites and situations’ can help individuals increase familiarity with their foreign foods and establish positive connections with a foreign nation (Suntikul 2019, 9). Locals participating in ersatz tourism can be involved in a foreign culinary heritage without leaving their home country.

Some scholars consider tourism a benefit and a tool of gastrodiplomacy efforts to aspire for positive nation brands (Suntikul 2019, 9). Tourism has a significant influence on food production and consumption in a culinary destination because it leads to the reinvention and reconstruction of local identities, resulting in diverse food consumption (Mak, Lumbers, and Eves 2012; Cömert and Durlu Özkaya 2014; Fernando 2019; Nair 2021; 2020; Park, Kim, and Yeoman, n.d.; Williams, Williams, and Omar 2014). Although globalization is widely perceived as posing a danger to local culinary identity and image, gastrodiplomacy is a solid catalyst to create a new chance for presenting

¹ Polyilateralism and paradiplomacy can be used synonymously as the participation by non-state players in the management of international relations.

local gastronomic products and identities (Mak, Lumbers, and Eves 2012, 171). Gastrodiplomacy is an eatable and tangible nation branding that allows the citizens who either travel abroad to consume strange foods or go to foreign restaurants in their region to meet other culinary heritage (Suntikul 2019, 4). Thus, the world has become a culinary destination for tourists who should experience and eat the world (Germann Molz 2007, 79). Long defines 'culinary tourism' as a journey to culinary destinations through foodways to reach exotic and strange foods (Long 2004 as cited in Suntikul 2019, 5). Molz defines 'culinary tourism' as tasting new meals to encounter the Other through experiencing culinary heritage and places (Germann Molz 2007, 77 and 78). In addition to consuming others' foods, culinary tourism also includes encountering foreign culinary heritage where a foodie or a tourist also participates in foodways such as the preparation and serving of local tastes and flavors (Suntikul 2019, 5). In detail, Germann Molz explicates culinary tourism that involves the mobilities of foods to local and people to global; the performance of showing tolerance through the ability to eat exotic and unknown foods; and the cosmopolitanism for tourists to experience and consume the global world (Germann Molz 2007, 84). She claims that culinary tourists travel to eat the Other and experience the culinary differences which the tourists eat through mobility (Germann Molz 2007, 79). At the same time, mobility includes both tourists traveling the unknown to experience the Other and the cuisine of the Other moving to local supermarkets so that tourists do not have to travel (Germann Molz 2007, 81). Increased travel opportunities, diversity of food supply, number of ethnic restaurants, and availability of information sources from various forms of media, including the Internet, have all contributed to tourists' increased exposure to foreign and unfamiliar food and cuisines (Mak, Lumbers, and Eves 2012, 184).

Tourists' food expenditures can account for up to one-third of overall tourist spending (Mak, Lumbers, and Eves 2012, 172). With the considerable potential for gastrodiplomacy, both governments and professionals have started to compete to sell their food to the world, create culinary destinations to attract tourists, and open their national restaurants abroad to allure locals. Conducting a successful culinary diplomacy agenda and gastrodiplomatic campaign by introducing national cuisine makes a nation achieve global recognition. Furthering nation branding by getting global awareness of culinary heritage brings political and economic advantages to a country (Rockower

2012, 236). Today, nations have benefited from many ways to establish their nation branding by applying their natural beauty, geographic features, and heritage for tourism. Natural sources like wonderful landscapes in a region are considered the heritage of a nation, promoting nation branding by improving the images of national identity. In recent years, culinary destinations for tourists have become a popular trend in creating nation branding. At this point, I need to differentiate gastrodiploamacy in tourism from place branding. Both strategies apply culinary heritage to build up a positive national image. While place branding aims to bring local firms, organizations, and people economic advantages, gastrodiploamacy is generally interested in affecting international tourists' perceptions of culinary heritage (Hall 2018 as cited in Suntikul 2019, 4). Gastrodiploamacy in tourism is the global arena of culinary policies and practices by governmental and non-governmental players to improve nation brands to attract tourists by promoting national cuisine (Suntikul 2019, 2). In his article on Japan's global promotion of cuisine, Bestor underlines the importance of UNESCO's 'intangible cultural heritage' for nation branding in which culinary heritage and life serve as the foundation for nation brands (Bestor 2014, 59 and 61), and he defines it as:

Traditions or living expressions inherited from ancestors and passed on to descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge, and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts.²

Also, nations have started to claim patents for traditional foods to add to their intangible national heritage. The concept of intangible national heritage legitimizes the international competition for nation branding in which foods are marked for national culinary heritage. In 2010, UNESCO declared the Gastronomic Meal of the French as the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, and French cuisine was the first culinary heritage that UNESCO added to the list (Suntikul 2019, 4 and 6). Then, other local and national cuisines followed French cuisine to be listed by UNESCO.

The gastronomic meal of the French is a customary social practice for celebrating important moments in the lives of individuals and groups, such as births, weddings, birthdays, anniversaries, achievements, and reunions. It is a festive meal bringing people together for an occasion to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking. The gastronomic meal emphasizes togetherness, the pleasure of taste, and the balance between human beings and the products of nature.³

² <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>

³ <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/gastronomic-meal-of-the-french-00437>

In this regard, Ospiva claims that nations have already competed to obtain a patent for any food belonging to their national cuisine because they can promote their nation brand to gain profit from the global market (Osipova 2014, 18). Gastrodiplomacy campaigns believe they have benefited from their nations' intangible heritage to promote their nation branding for tourism. They have developed ways to disseminate their taste and flavors to the world. For them, media is the best tool to make nation branding popular globally because media provides gastrodiplomacy campaigns for reaching and attracting worldwide audiences, including culinary tourists, to travel for food.

2.6 Cooking Shows and Food Travelogues

Various television shows, blogs, and social media platforms focus on cooking and food-related lifestyles, and food is a growing business (Phillipov 2017a, 1; Brost 2000). Mazel focuses explicitly on food and media to comprehend how media governs food (Mazel 2019). Similarly, Phillipov clearly explains the relationship between the food and media industries (Phillipov 2016; 2017b). On the one hand, television channels have recently launched cooking shows such as food travelogues to realize the aims of gastrodiplomacy campaigns. On the other hand, cooking shows enough supply the demands of media industries with huge ratings and earn more profit thanks to cooking shows (Phillipov 2016, 93). Cooking shows on television have reached worldwide, and local viewers; the wide range of new formats includes chef competitions such as MasterChef, food travelogue shows, and other creative TV cooking programs (Granlund 2015, 34). Ketchum divides cooking shows into “traditional domestic instructional cooking; personality-driven domestic cooking shows; food travel programs; and the avant-garde, a new genre of food programming that the network has both acquired and created” (Ketchum 2005, 223).

In the media industry, gastrodiplomacy campaigns have benefited from the efforts of opinion leaders involving celebrities, chefs, gourmets, and local people to boost brand exposure and credibility (Zhang 2015, 15). Granlund believes that chefs and gourmets are culinary ambassadors or diplomats who teach people tolerance (Granlund 2015, 34). By appealing to food as communication, they seek to develop a transnational interconnection among global citizens by promoting the positive values of globalism. In

this regard, food as a tool to create common goals encourages people to show great tolerance to others, avoid misunderstandings, and overcome their fear and mistrust of others (Granlund 2015, 38). Granlund states that chefs and gourmets, as culinary ambassadors, can help people adapt to new tastes and flavors via media, especially television (Granlund 2015). In another view, Phillipov argues that “celebrity chefs are themselves commodities” (Phillipov 2017a, 11).

Cooking shows have developed separate ways to disseminate their taste and flavors to the world. In this consideration, gastrodiplomacy campaigns have already known food travelogues as a cooking show genre that shows great potential for tourism in the globalized world (Temeloğlu and Taşpınar 2018). However, Buscemi claims that tourism promotes nation branding by applying different tools. In contrast, food travelogues can serve tourism's needs by showing culinary heritage and natural wonders on the TV screen (Buscemi 2014, 46). Thus, it can be questioned to what extent food travelogues are for nation branding by promoting national landscapes and food to the global market (Buscemi 2014, 46).

Even though their benefits are questionable in favor of tourism, food travelogues still serve as the foundation for national cuisine. In drawing the borders of national cuisine, nation branding is promoted by showing culinary heritage on television to achieve gastrodiplomatic goals. Thus, food can be labeled as national food and serves as a medium of gastrodiplomacy (Buscemi 2014, 47). Chefs and gourmets as television presenters of food travelogues mostly set out on culinary journeys through a whole country to discover delicious tastes and flavors. Food travelogues certainly attempt to show a nation's traditional cuisines and natural landscapes so that citizens can appreciate their country by watching their natural and culinary heritage on TV. By showing a culinary heritage and beautiful landscapes on the screen, they aim to satisfy the audience so that gastrodiplomacy campaigns can reach their goals (Buscemi 2014, 47). Therefore, food travelogues require national foods to make culinary journeys across national borders.

In the globalization context, national culinary heritage brings a nation's authenticity to attract people both locally and globally. However, Buscemi believes that authenticity on the screen is the representation of authenticity, leading to an illusion of authenticity

(Buscemi 2014, 46). Food travelogues can only provide a genuine representation of authenticity to the viewer. The viewers of food travelogues are intended to travel on touristic journeys planned for them, creating the illusion of a nation's history and authenticity (Buscemi 2014, 49). Food travelogues intend to motivate their audience to visit the place presented in the shows. Similarly, Ketchum believes that television can produce culinary narratives to encourage the audience to participate in the fiction (Ketchum 2005, 2017). More importantly, Emre Cetin and Başkaya assert that food travelogues can easily re-invent a new national cuisine from a culinary heritage supposed to belong to a nation and encourage people to adopt specific lifestyles and foodways among the audience (Emre Cetin 2017; Başkaya 2018).

In all considerations, gastrodiploamacy is viewed as an external project to influence foreign audiences about a nation's culinary heritage. I believe that gastrodiploamacy has a greater potential to approach the relationship between food and nation in a broader view. Therefore, I aim to revisit gastrodiploamacy to show that it can also be an internal project to convince a nation about its culinary heritage. *Sarayın Lezzetleri*, as a Turkish food travelogue show, is a gastrodiploamatic project to convince the Turkish audience that it has one of the richest culinary heritage in the world due to the Ottoman past. Therefore, I intend to demonstrate how *Sarayın Lezzetleri* focuses on the authenticity of Turkish recipes re-invented from Ottoman culinary heritage. More importantly, I would like to focus on how they are invented and represented in *Sarayın Lezzetleri* in the framework of gastrodiploamacy.

3. SARAYIN LEZZETLERİ (FLAVORS OF THE PALACE)

3.1 Overview

The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT; Turkish: *Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu*), which is the national public broadcaster of Turkey, together with a private agency *Piktora* makes a high-quality and budget food travelogue. It presents the Ottoman palace's cuisine, introduces the Turkish culinary heritage, and displays the regions of Turkey on the screen. *Sarayın Lezzetleri* was broadcasted on TRT 2, which mostly shows documentaries, arts, culture programs, and political/philosophical debates. Considering the television context, the Ottoman gastronomic legacy in Turkey is a quite recent phenomenon for cookery programs (Emre Cetin 2017). According to Ketchum's terminology (Ketchum 2005,223), *Sarayın Lezzetleri* can be considered a modern food travel show. It is presented by Yunus Emre Akkor, who is introduced as *Aşçıbaşı* (head of master cooks) and *Kültür Araştırmacısı* (cultural researcher) throughout all episodes. Akkor, the television presenter and chef, visits Turkey's different cities or towns in each episode. He mostly presents them as described below:

Today, I am in Gaziantep, the capital of gastronomy in Turkey. If the entire world were a house, Gaziantep would have a kitchen. Whenever I arrive in Gaziantep, I take great gastronomic inspiration here. I will first drink *Beyran* (Turkish meat soup with rice, garlic, and spicy) and sip my coffee (turpentine coffee). We then explore the flavors of the palace together (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 25).

Another example is that:

Today, I am in Safranbolu, named after the world's most expensive spice, saffron. Safranbolu, which has been included in the list of world cultural heritage by UNESCO with its houses that keep Ottoman urban architecture alive, is a bright miniature of the past and the pride of today. I am now on the way to seeing the saffron harvest in this unique region (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 04).

In *Sarayın Lezzetleri*, Akkor and Over Voice (Sinan Taymin Albayrak) draw attention to cities' and towns' gastronomical, historical, and geographical importance by telling gastro-historical stories and anecdotes. Akkor visits historically significant places in these cities and towns to introduce them on the screen and cook foods behind an authentic landscape. In Kilis, Akkor's homeland, for example, Over Voice presents the

Mausoleum of Sheikh Mansur (Akkor always goes to pray in such religious places). Then, the city's oldest structures, the Ulu Mosque and the Tekke Mosque, with their master stonework, are described as bridges between the past and the future (2019, Episode 23). Akkor also prefers to go to historical mansions to cook Ottoman recipes with locals:

I am currently in the Gaziantep Bey neighborhood. In the courtyard of the 133-year-old mansion, I will prepare *Firik* reis, a distinctive flavor in Gaziantep, together with Ms. Rindan. (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 25).

According to Lowenthal, “the past is past but survives in and all around us, indispensable and inescapable” (Lowenthal 2015, I). On the screen, the audience encounters Ottoman and traditional recipes mostly cooked in historical places. The authentic background introduces historical areas of a city through cooking Ottoman and local recipes to show that they are still alive and with us.

3.2 Ottoman Recipes: A Historical Recipe for Baklava

The Ottoman recipes represent the Turkish culinary heritage for authenticity based on the historical imagination of the past in television. Historical cuisine is an instance of reconstructing and replicating a culinary heritage (Ferguson 2004, 92). To construct Turkish culinary heritage, Akkor cooks forgotten Ottoman recipes, recounts historical topics, and tells culinary stories or the history of foods in Ottoman cuisines, such as baklava. He prepares a lesser-known baklava recipe inspired by an Ottoman document from the 15th century. He offers a detailed culinary novelty about baklava to demonstrate that modern baklava has evolved in Ottoman cuisine, so making it a part of Ottoman/Turkish culinary heritage even if the origin of baklava is unknown. Also, he makes a dessert that causes a major culinary debate, particularly between Greece and Turkey, because they are genuinely concerned about adding baklava to their intangible cultural heritage. Cooking the recipes is to invent the culinary heritage to tell “we tell ourselves who we are, where we came from, and to what we belong” (Lowenthal 2009, XVII). In both keeping and dismissing what nature and our ancestors have left us, we adapt the past to fulfill current needs and future dreams (Lowenthal 2015, I).

Revived heritage is a formalization and ritualization process defined by connecting to the past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2007, 4). Indeed, every aspect of life is historicized with a multiform narrative that includes culinary heritage (Lowenthal 2015, 14). Writing national history by examining myths, including culinary stories, is created to validate a nationalistic ideology and the sentiments of national identity. The majority of these myths can go back a long way in terms of the nation's origins because the older they are, the more valuable they are (Berger 2009, 492). By creating culinary myths, food is one of the legitimate sources for the natural dominance of a country over particular territories.

Once upon a time, Ibn Battuta was invited to a supper at the house of a Turkish khan. On the way to the Khan's house, he brought a dessert made by his friends. One of Khan's aides warned Ibn Battuta that they would not give the dessert to Khan because one day, another aide had a conflict with Khan in the past. As a punishment, Khan ordered him to eat a dessert, or Khan would kill him. Khan also told him that Khan would kill forty of his children unless he ate the dessert. However, his aide said to Khan, even if you killed us, I would not put it in my mouth. He refused to eat it because he would say that no honorable man eats dessert. Halva and other desserts were introduced to Turkish cuisine by the influence of Arab cuisine and the acceptance of Islam (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 03).

The dishes from Ottoman palace cuisine develop into a new way of rewriting history to respect the Ottoman past. It is not new that the perception of Ottomanness as 'backward'⁴ has been replaced with a fascination and respect for Ottoman history (W. Walker 2009, 384). In other words, the idea that Ottoman culture is backward has long been replaced by love and admiration for Ottoman history. Culinary activities are redesigned for all-embracing pseudo-communities like nations and countries (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2007, 6, 10). Where the new heritage is developed, it is frequently not because existing traditional practices are no longer active but rather because they are not deliberately used or adopted (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2007, 8). While inventing and protecting a 'heritage' has become fundamental to the ideology of nationalism and the nation-state, the heritage and nostalgia industry has made the commodification of history considerably more visible (Chakrabarty 1992, 63). Also, the revival of heritage has been subjected to various interpretations and inventions because history functioned as a source of reliable examples since previous circumstances were similar and relevant to current issues (Lowenthal 2015, 4). The past revived through

⁴ The notion of Ottoman as 'corruption' and 'decline' was adopted before but it came to prominence by the efforts of the early republican historians, such as Fuat Köprülü (Faroqhi 2004, 43).

culinary practices produces and reshapes new political interpretations (Sutton 2001, 170). In the interpretations, Ottoman nostalgia refers to a multi-ethnic civilization governed by a righteous and victorious Turkish nation:

Mehmet the Conqueror conquered Istanbul at 22 years old. Akşemsettin was next to the Sultan while the Sultan rode to Istanbul on his white horse after completing the conquest. When the settlers of Constantinople came closer to welcome them with enthusiasm, they wanted to give the flowers in their hands to the new Sultan of Constantinople. However, they were approaching to give the flowers to old Akşemsettin instead of the 22-year-old Sultan. Akşemsettin shrinkingly showed Mehmet the Conqueror to them to give the flowers to him. Mehmet the Conqueror said to the people coming toward them: I am the Sultan, but he is my spiritual teacher and the spiritual savior of Istanbul (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 05).

Food is “about the production, representation, and performance of a particular history” based on culinary heritage (Ferguson 2004, 31). Akkor prepares less-known baklava with honey and curd cheese (soft uncured goat’s cheese similar to cottage cheese), one of the baklava recipes in the Ottoman period. In Turkey, it is commonly known that Gaziantep is identified with its baklava. In the Antep episode, he gives the baklava recipe in a 15th-century Ottoman record, including ingredients, phyllo dough, honey, curd cheese, and plain butter. Food writers, gourmets, and chefs contribute to the revival of ‘the old’ and the birth of ‘the new’ by enhancing the synthesis of ‘diversity’ and ‘novelty’ in culinary practices (Ferguson 2010). Educated and inventive chefs started to do extensive research, including archival research, to reinvent Ottoman cuisine (Morrow 2019). Akkor mainly follows the path on which the recipes are based on mostly historical late-Ottoman sources and have been modernized and updated for today’s taste by culinary researchers and professionals (Smith 2019). He strongly believes, “If you make necessary efforts to cook them, you will be sitting at the most wonderful table in the world” (2019, Episode 25). Like Akkor, some Turkish culinary professionals claim that the Ottoman Empire was multi-national, multi-cultural, and extremely colorful (Akkor 2014, 2). Thus, Ottoman food became a commodified product representing the Turkish past.

Foodways of a society can help us grasp how society relates to its past, lives today, and imagines its future (Swislocki 2009, 4). Akkor shares gastro-historical anecdotes about baklava in Ottoman cuisine. He has encountered baklava in Ottoman cuisine’s historical records many times, and, in his opinion, baklava was first mentioned in the poems of Kaygusuz Abdal. Then, he describes the difference between pine nuts and pistachio

while preparing baklava. According to him, both were used in savory foods and desserts in Ottoman cuisine. If a recipe were savory and salty, it would be known that pine nuts should be used. If a recipe were sweet, it would be understood that pistachio should be used. Another anecdote about baklava is that during the Bayezid II, Baklava was only made with walnuts. Then, in the 16th century, baklava started to be made with almonds. By the 17th century, baklava was made with *Börülce* (cowpea), fresh cheese, and *Muhallebi* (milk pudding). Today, the dessert called *Laz Böreği* (a dessert of milk, vanilla, sugar, and butter mixture on layers of pastry) is made in the Black Sea region. He believes it is actually the baklava with milk pudding and clearly shows gastronomy heritage from the Ottoman Empire to the present day (2019, Episode 25). In other words, *Laz Böreği* is a modern recipe of historical baklava to see that it belongs to Ottoman/Turkish cuisine with its all-historical recipes. Thus, he intends to show that modern baklava has evolved in Ottoman cuisine, so it is a part of Ottoman/Turkish culinary heritage. Food also represents a connection between the past and the present in that history indicates both continuation and originality.

Culinary practices connect history and performance to “merge truth and representation, empirical objectivity and imagination, facts and creativity in history writing” (Pullock 1998, 13). Akkor details the history of baklava to praise Antep’s master baklava makers and local efforts. He explains the main ingredients that distinguish Gaziantep baklava from other baklavas. First, an exceptional phyllo dough that can be supplied in only one place in Antep is needed to make Gaziantep baklava. Thanks to its strong feature, the dough enables us to make baklava crunchy. According to him, Antep baklava requires mastery in making the best baklava for years (2019, Episode 25). He believes that although the form of baklava has changed and varied until today, today’s best baklava is Antep baklava, thanks to Antep’s master baklava makers and local efforts. Culinary practices as existing conventional traditional activities are transformed, ritualized, and institutionalized to realize the new national goals.

Culinary traditions have also evolved into a new way of understanding history, revealing the commodified past, so they are re-created and reinvented. Akkor highlights Antep’s bazaar bakeries, identified with the city’s monumental symbols in the Ottoman period while preparing baklava (2019, Episode 25). Good quality plain butter made in Antep is essential for the best Antep baklava (2019, Episode 25). Excellent quality

pistachio contributes to Gaziantep's economy today and is crucial for the best Antep baklava. However, he claims three special ingredients cannot guarantee the best Antep baklava. In addition, you have to check the weather conditions for the best Antep baklava. He puts forward Antep's phyllo makers, plain butter makers, pistachio farmers, and master baklava makers. According to him, the world's best Baklava results from locals' efforts and the suitable environment in Antep. He tries to prove that Antep baklava is the best baklava in the world by convincing us that Gaziantep has a great baklava heritage and tradition with its suitable climate and environment.

Globalization enables people "reinvent their national cuisine and sell it as a commodity" (Girardelli 2004, 324). Turkish culinary experts, such as chefs and gourmets, have also commodified Turkish culinary heritage to sell to the world. However, they argue that they have failed to promote the Turkish culinary heritage to the rest of the world despite having a tremendous gastronomic legacy. It is unsurprising because the experts have already believed that Ottoman gastronomic heritage is a bridge to the global economy (Tremblay 2013). Akkor clearly shows us that considering the more globalized market in the world, culinary professionals and locals have found an excellent opportunity to prove their culinary skills to the world by realizing their rich culinary heritage. Akkor, having made efforts on the Ottoman palace cuisine, greatly benefits from the food travelogue show since he can perform his abilities and present his recipes to the world via television. Thus, his cooking performance reviving Ottoman recipes become the invention of culinary heritage to serve Turkish gastrodiplomatic goals. He has a great chance to prove his gastro-historical background by giving an anecdote of the Ottoman ingredient which is also used to prepare baklava:

I will prepare our dessert with plain butter. I melt plain butter and brush the stewpan with the butter. *Sadeyağ* (plain butter) was known as *Revan-ı Sade* in the Ottoman period. We confuse butter with plain butter, but they are different. If you want plain butter, place a few kg of butter in a saucepan. When the butter melts, please turn off the heat and sprinkle a handful of flour. Flour makes all butter ingredients, such as buttermilk and salt, sink to the bottom. What remains on the top is plain butter. You can sift it into a new bowl. It is ready to use for a year. It remains one-year fresh (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 25).

Akkor provides valuable gastro-historical information about making good baklava to promote it to the global economy. For example, genuine baklava makers unroll phyllo dough and layer the phyllo sheets on the bottom. Then they layer the sheets at one time and brush with a semolina cream on each layer. Then pistachio or walnuts are sprinkled

on it. However, the top ten layers are critical. In the baklava-making language, the top ten layers are *yüzlük yufka* (a hundred phyllo dough). The baklava masters like rolling the best, thinnest, top-quality phyllo dough carefully on top of ten layers of baklava (2019, Episode 25). He creates a gastronomic novelty by telling the baklava recipe to revive the Ottoman palace cuisine. Culinary activities create and reshape social and historical meanings when the past is brought to life. The gastronomic novelty is an important part of commodification for the recipes representing the past. By doing it, Turkish culinary professionals promoted Ottoman palace cuisine recipes as commodified products to the globalized market.

Akkor details baklava according to the documents two hundred years before Ottoman historical records. The historical documents in the Arabian Peninsula described baklava as rolled with a rolling pin, called yellow finding. Also, he shares that baklava was called *Karnıyarık* in its Turkish name (2019, Episode 25). It shows that baklava's history is much older than the Ottoman period. It is significant to regard that although he tries to convince the audience that baklava belongs to Ottoman/Turkish cuisine, he also implies that baklava is much older than the Ottoman period. It has also been called by a different Turkish name before. Also, he does not claim that baklava belongs to pre-Ottoman Turkish cuisine. Considering the information he gave, it is possible to think that the origin of baklava is unclear or that it does not only belong to Ottoman/Turkish cuisine. However, while culinary heritage becomes a part of a nation's history, foods constitute the nation's representation because foods symbolize the country uniting its citizens by referring to its collective past (Buscemi 2014, 76). In this consideration, countries should naturally claim ownership of a recipe because natural foods are also considered natural sources rather than socially constructed by civilizations, which should be preserved for a nation's heritage (Buscemi 2014, 76).

Food is "a social and political inclusion/exclusion that continually negotiates its presence within the constructed national food culture" (Buscemi 2014, 76). Akkor prepares a dessert leading to a great gastronomical conflict, especially between Greece and Turkey, which are overly concerned about adding baklava to their intangible heritage. For instance, coffee, baklava, and imambayıldı have been the gastronomic subjects of the culinary battle for their patents between the Greeks and the Turks (E. Çelik 2016). As one of the main culinary subjects, baklava also creates a conflict

between Greeks and Turks. It has become essential for Turkish culinary writers to demonstrate that baklava is not a Greek dessert by revealing historical sources and applying academic studies (Schleifer 2012). Cooking and eating are not only everyday human activities but also define people's identities, history, and experiences in their social interactions through food (Probyn 2000, 14). In a particular geography, therefore, nations should identify culinary heritage within a national cuisine, so natural or invented foods are needed to create a national culinary identity to convince its people that they have a rich, authentic culinary heritage.

Historically, the culinary wars between Greece and Turkey have maintained predominantly nationalistic. Heritage has typically been crisis-driven with issues until an actual or imminent loss or damage triggered them. The projects like UNESCO failed to stop culinary conflicts among nations due to a lack of institutional backing in a fiscal context (Lowenthal 2015, 8). Contrarily, the European Union's efforts to preserve regional food products have led to culinary conflicts (Schleifer 2012). For example, Feta, with a detailed traditional recipe, must be manufactured in certain regions of Greece under EU law. With the backing of Greece and Cyprus, the European Commission filed a lawsuit against Denmark in 2019 to inhibit the selling of Feta abroad (Wax 2022). For the Antep baklava, 'using no additional flavorings such as the cinnamon, rosewater or lemon juice' except for aromatic pistachios only yielded in Antep and its phyllo pastry with filling perfected by Antep baklava makers during centuries make it unique and authentic. (Field 2014). The gastrohistorical novelty is still crucial in obtaining a culinary patent for food, although the origin of food is seemingly complicated to claim that it belongs to the intangible heritage of a nation.

In the example of baklava, the concept of 'common food' contributes to the nation's unity and identity (Buscemi 2014, 48). As foods are symbols of national unity, foods accepted as natural sources are required to legitimize a nation's existence. In other words, natural foods are essential to construct a national cuisine. However, there is sometimes a strong disagreement on constructing a national cuisine. For example, there are two controversial opinions of Turkish restaurant owners or chefs in London; first, some reject being involved in stereotyped categories; second, some urge to construct, express, and perform their differences from other cuisines (Karaosmanoğlu 2013, 74). Here, gastrodplomacy is essential to establish a harmonious relationship between the

Turkish nation and its culinary heritage. In *Sarayın Lezzetleri*, Akkor made significant efforts to introduce new-invented Ottoman recipes to local inhabitants and the audience to construct a new Turkish cuisine. Ottoman recipes, which are invented as natural foods to Turkish cuisine, are essential so that Turkish people can hold their opinion on their culinary heritage. If invented food naturally belongs to a nation without a doubt, it becomes a gastrodipomatic tool that enables a nation to convince its people by affecting their culinary perception of the nation. Then, it is believed that Turkish cuisine has become one of the world's most popular cuisines with the Ottoman Empire's rich culinary heritage. (Leong 2010). Thus, *Sarayın Lezzetleri*, acting as a gastrodipomatic tool, demonstrates how food can connect people through national cuisine.

3.3 Local Recipes

Akkor emphasizes the gastro-historical value of a region with its agriculture and ingredients through cooking the dishes. Local ingredients are distinctive characteristics of *Sarayın Lezzetleri*. In the Kilis episode, Akkor prepares garlic-cooked food, his favorite stew, with the locals, Ms. Nurcan and Ms. Ayşe. While preparing *Sarımsak Aşı* (garlic-cooked food) or *Şiveydiz* (the traditional name for garlic-cooked food, fresh garlic, and lamb with yogurt), he provides details about garlic and *Aş* (cooked food). First, he explains that in Ottoman cuisine, cooked food combines solid ingredients cooked in liquid and served in the resultant gravy (2019, Episode 23). Then, he details about fresh garlic that early summer is harvest time, so take advantage of the fresh garlic. According to him, *Sarımsak Aşı* must be cooked with fresh garlic. It has also been cooked with leek recently, but it tastes different. Therefore, he looks forward to the fresh garlic season in Kilis (2019, Episode 23). Locals in Kilis tell the benefits of garlic consumed as an antibiotic. Also, garlic is one of the ingredients they love to cook in Kilis because they think garlic goes well with local recipes. (2019, Episode 23).

While preparing his favorite stew in his hometown, Akkor asks about every step of the recipe to the locals, whom he introduces as his masters. Normally, he cooks his recipes confidently and does not allow locals to step into the cooking. However, the Kilis locals are seemingly confident about cooking Kilis recipes. He asks the locals for recipes for special occasions and everyday cooking in many episodes. For example, he mostly

questions, “What do you cook on an ordinary day?” He mostly draws attention to local and ordinary recipes and seemingly intends to show that everyday can be more authentic. In Kilis, after the garlic-cooked food, he emphasizes that they surely cook *ötçe* the following day. *Ötçe* is a kind of *Mücver* (battered, deep-fried patties of grated squash with dill), but in Kilis, it is only cooked with the remains of garlic, onion, and parsley. At the same time, fresh garlic remains are used for cooking Kilis pan and *Lahmacun* (very thin Turkish pizza covered with seasoned minced meat and onions) in Kilis (2019, Episode 23). The locals approve of what he says:

We cook all kinds of vegetables in their season. We often cook garlic-cooked food in summer, just like we make today. We like to cook okra with sour grapes. Kilis-style roasted is mainly cooked on Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr. The next day, after cooking garlic-cooked food, we prepare *Ötçe* with fresh garlic stalks. Thus, we kill two birds with one stone. Both the stalks of fresh garlic are not wasted because they are the ideal parts of fresh garlic to cook *Ötçe* (The Kilis Locals 2019, Episode 23).

Akkor narrates his autobiography in *Sarayın Lezzetleri*. He mostly shares his autobiographical anecdotes about his chef career and grandma’s cooking styles. Carney asserts that the increase in nostalgia responds to post-modern circumstances caused by late capitalism, and food is about culinary production and representing “such nostalgia revealed through practice” (Carney 2014). Cuisines may be considered a way of interacting in this perspective: they express the longing for hometown and promote the composition of cultural and historical limits (Law 2001, 279).

Today, I am in Kilis, where I was born. First, I would like to commemorate my childhood and our ancestors’ memories. I feel excited when I am in my hometown for *Sarayın Lezzetleri*. Because I was born in this city, I grew up on these streets and started school here. Like many of you, my aunties (showing to the locals near him) and my relatives have cooked delicious tastes, and I ate them. Kilis has a unique cuisine (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 23).

It is significant to highlight that his grandmother is a special person by whom Akkor seems inspired. He mostly refers to her as Zennup Hanım (Ms. Zennup), and she is from Antep. Considering Antep’s recipe for garlic-cooked food, he says his grandmother chopped green onions and drizzled peppermint oil on garlic-cooked food. While he cooks it in Kilis, he says there are minor differences between the Antep and Kilis recipes, but he believes both are delicious. He emphasizes that garlic-cooked food has the most traditional taste and delicious stew in this region. While preparing *Firik* (boiled, pounded, unripe wheat) reis, he shares a memory about his grandmother.

Everyday meals penetrate human memories through the transitory and recurring act of eating and cooking as a channel for the act of remembering (Sutton 2001, 2):

In the era of the Ottoman Empire, the process of *Ütme* meant burning feathers on fire. I suppose that *Firik* was called *Ütme* in Ottoman cuisine because of its burning condition. However, *Firik* has been used more commonly here. Indeed, I remember *Ütme* from childhood because my grandmother got used to this word in a sentence. For us, she prepared a soup with a sheep's head after the sacrifice on the second day of Eid al-Adha. She always asked us who would set the head on fire for the soup. In another example, when chickens were slaughtered in the village, the locals said that the chicken's feathers should be set on fire (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 25).

Akkor explicates how his grandmother cooks the recipe in many episodes and proudly shares her cooking techniques. In Kilis, he claims that roasted foods are Ottoman dishes because his grandmother also used to cook them. She used to roast meat and serve it with tomato paste. He also utters that he always encounters the recipes she used to cook in many historical records in the Ottoman archives (2019, Episode 23). As a result of its ability to be pleasant and essential to integrating ordinary life, food can convey meanings and identities (Sutton 2001, 4). He adds authenticity to everyday dishes by merging personal stories and nostalgia. Thus, he passionately believes that her cooking style is fully authentic and Ottoman:

While preparing *Alinazik* (eggplant puree with yogurt served with seasoned ground meat), she would strain yogurt twice. She would strain it with tap water and then pour a glass of water into it. After the second time she strained it, the yogurt would never turn sour, and there would be no unexpected water around the eggplants. Her recipe for *Alinazik* was delicious (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 25).

Like Akkor, some Turkish culinary professionals claim earlier that even today's most humble family tables have wonderful examples of the Ottoman palace kitchen (Livanelioğlu and Kadioğlu Çevik 2006). They believe the tendency is due to the culinary connection between local kitchens and Ottoman palace cuisine (Karaosmanoğlu 2006, 107). Then, Ottoman cuisine is described as a 'new' traditional cuisine that once constituted the basis of today's Turkish cuisine rather than being completely distinct from Turkish cuisine (Karaosmanoğlu 2006, 165). Therefore, he shows a profound respect for his grandma's recipes. In considering Akkor's concern about his grandma's recipes, "if we are what we eat, then we are what we ate as well"; the obvious link between food and nostalgia is "to eat in order to remember" (Sutton 2001, 7, 12). He also cooks to remember:

Kilis *Tava* (pan) was the first food I cooked when eight or nine years old. I learned the recipe from my father. Kilis pan has always been among the top three recipes I cook best in my chef career. Now, I would like to introduce you to him, both my master and my father. Dad, welcome! How are you? It must have been 40 years since the first Kilis pan I made with you. It has been so long” (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 23).

In every episode, Akkor emphasizes the importance of eating together by referring to his childhood. The local inhabitants who help him prepare dishes with every new recipe are always invited to the concept supper at the show’s end. Gathering at the same table is a clear sign of nostalgia for him, and he believes dinner at the same table is also the most powerful symbol of a peaceful family, as his family has done. He often highlights that the table shared with others symbolizes hospitality. He gratefully thanks the locals with whom he cooks together in every episode. He guests them as family members, introducing them to eating at the same table. As Sutton utilizes, “the kitchen was a gathering place in the evening” (Sutton 2001, ix). He mostly asks the guests about their kitchen and eating times with their families. For example, the Mayor of the Gaziantep Municipality, Fatma Şahin, explains it below:

Now, time use is critical to preparing Antep foods. Of course, if you have limited time, you will encounter some problems with foods that require a lot of cooking time. However, I try to prepare recipes for short orders as much as possible. When my husband helps me cook, the children enjoy it very much. When we cook together, we are filled with family happiness (Fatma Şahin 2019, Episode 25).

Seemingly, he deeply respects the dinner where people eat together. Culinary activities and cuisine not only reflect but also build communities. Food is used to develop relationships and go beyond social boundaries. According to him, gathering at the same table is correct, ideal, and traditional as if the Ottoman sultans regarded:

The dinner table where the family eats together represents warm homes. Mehmet the Conqueror attached foremost importance to family life. He upheld a series of laws to strengthen the family life at the table so that the beautiful understanding has been going on for centuries. According to the laws, even the sultans had to dine with their family members (Yunus Emre Akkor 2019, Episode 25).

The concept supper at the show’s end is to remind the importance of eating together as a family in peace and stressing the significance of hospitality and solidarity as it happened in his childhood. It is important to consider that the concepts of childhood, family, and solidarity also are needed to add authenticity to recipes.

Akkor revokes his childhood memories by cooking his grandmother's recipes to revisit Ottoman culinary heritage. He relates his autobiography by cooking and eating to remember. Daily meals serve as a conduit for the process of remembering by penetrating human memories through the transitory and repetitive act of eating. Thus, food communicates since it is appealing and necessary for integrating into everyday life. In several episodes, he explains how his grandma prepares food and proudly uncovers her culinary methods. He is certain that her cookery is guaranteed Ottoman and genuine. In this consideration, Akkor asserts that delightful representations of the Ottoman imperial kitchen may even be seen at the most modest family tables. Moreover, he claims that he has always found recipes in the Ottoman archives that his grandmother used to cook. He asserts that the tendency is a result of the culinary connections between regional cuisine and Ottoman dishes. Then, rather than being wholly different from Turkish food, Ottoman cuisine is regarded as a new traditional cuisine that was once the foundation of modern Turkish cuisine.

3.4 Gaziantep and Gastrodiplomacy

In keeping with the current application of gastrodiplomacy, the Gaziantep episode is crucial to observe gastrodiplomatic attempts in *Sarayın Lezzetleri*. In the episode, Akkor guests the Metropolitan mayor Fatma Şahin. He confirms himself, who closely knows the heritage of Antep, and follows Ms. Mayor's gastronomical efforts. Also, he thinks that Ms. Mayor is an influential leader who has already succeeded in a gastronomical initiative. To bring Antep's gastronomic journey to light the audience, he asks Ms. Mayor: How did Antep's gastronomy journey begin? How did you plan it? Then, Ms. Mayor answers them by explaining the process shortly:

First, we led experts to make a scientific report on the prominent features of our city on a global scale. Two things make Antep stand out. They are archeology and gastronomy that make our city outshine other cities. We prepared a map on which people can see the five ancient cities in Antep and the most beautiful museums to house rare collections from the Hittite period, the Roman period, and the Ottoman Empire. Then, we worked seriously on gastronomy and archeology, reported the heritage, and joined international networks. We have already very successfully performed the task on the local scale, but the networks brought our heritage into view in the national and international arena. Today, what is discussed about tourism in San Sebastian is also concerned about Gaziantep (Fatma Şahin 2019, Episode 25).

Akkor asserts that she made Gaziantep's culinary heritage known worldwide, the flavors of Gaziantep universally appreciated, and Gaziantep a destination where foodies and tourists visit the city worldwide. Then, he states that there is a matter of pride in the meeting with the Metropolitan mayor (2019, Episode 25). In return, she answers by appreciating Antep's culinary human power and heritage:

I revealed what Antep already owns. Our responsibility is easy to bear since you (referring to the professionals like Akkor) have been well educated. We got an impressive result thanks to Antep's human capital and human power. It is simple to show what it already possesses. That is why the people like you deserve credit for revealing the culinary heritage of Antep (Fatma Şahin 2019, Episode 25).

Akkor believes that the city has gained well-educated culinary instructors and educators thanks to Ms. Mayor. He appreciates her team's great-heartedness and greater coordination (2019, Episode 25). Then, he starts to explain Antep's hospitality. He thinks every guest paying a visit to Antep was hosted as if they were visiting Mayor's home. He sincerely believes that Ms. Mayor has reached out to everyone who comes to Antep. He highlights that the city has launched a major gastronomy initiative under her leadership. If the initiative had not been introduced, our culinary heritage in Gaziantep might not be so known worldwide today. However, she regards Antep's heritage and the efforts of Antep's culinary professionals more:

However, it is not a success that a mayor can achieve alone. The city is very generous and welcoming, and our team is extraordinarily strong. When all the conditions get together, success also comes. It is a team effort. I am only responsible for leading the team in this game. The team is strong, and the city is strong in this respect. You have been educated well, and your efforts create international brand value. We are proud of you, too (Fatma Şahin 2019, Episode 25).

Akkor emphasizes that Antep is part of the creative cities network in UNESCO, thanks to its rich culinary heritage. He believes that although many people have already been familiar with Antep's gastronomy heritage, he must stress that the Antep traditional home foods are the most delicious dishes in the world for those who do not know it. He also indicates that Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality has first-class facilities that genuinely embrace Antep's culinary heritage and bring Antep's natural foods to your dinner table (2019, Episode 25). Also, Ms. Mayor speaks about Antep recipes and UNESCO:

Suppose we had not obtained the UNESCO patent for the creative cities and made gastronomical heritage visible here, such as opening the Culinary Art Centre. In that case, we could only

present the delicious dishes taste to guests by hosting them at home. Nevertheless, hosting guests at home might not be possible because of the living conditions. Therefore, we decided to open a place so that our guests could taste Antep's delicious foods outside anytime. You know, we are living in a world so-called where I should go and what I should taste. To follow the trend, tourists can read gastronomical checkpoints in Antep on the map since Antep is the gastronomy capital of the region (Fatma Şahin 2019, Episode 25).

Akkor does not neglect to give key details about Antep's rich cuisine. He explains that many foods of our culinary heritage, most of them are demanding to cook. However, he believes that many Antep foods can be practically cooked. Considering Antep's rich culinary heritage, he points out that Gaziantep not only comes into prominence with its kebabs but also traditional home cooking and ingredients to cook Antep foods seasonably to highlight Antep cuisine:

Now, of course, when you especially consider stews, the foods cooked in a cooking cauldron, I can ensure you that they have great health, healing, and taste. The list of Antep foods consists of over five hundred foods depending on their season. For example, when we harvest *Çağla* (unripe almond) and cook foods with *Çağla*. When we gather plums, we cook the plum pan. When *Keme* (truffle) enters the season, we make the truffle pan. We aim to cook almost all vegetables freshly as soon as they enter the season. Cooking and presenting them in their season brings us a culinary richness and a variety of flavors (Fatma Şahin 2019, Episode 25).

Thus, Akkor shows Antep's gastrodipomatic efforts to guide future gastrodipomatic attempts. He focuses on gastrodipomatic goals to highlight a city or town's touristic value and gastronomical heritage. Thus, he recommends that Turkish culinary professionals achieve these goals and appreciates ongoing gastronomical efforts and successes. He urges them to embrace their city's Ottoman/Turkish culinary heritage. They should set up and present it as a nation brand to the international arena to create brand value for their city. More importantly, while the show presents Gaziantep's gastrodipomacy attempts, it also shows the internal audience the culinary values and heritage of the city. Gaziantep's gastrodipomacy attempts are related to gastrodipomacy for external audiences, but when these attempts are introduced to the internal Turkish audience, the show becomes a Turkish gastrodipomacy tool for the internal audience.

Sarayın Lezzetleri is an example of a gastrodipomatic attempt to connect the Turkish audience with the invented Turkish culinary heritage. In another saying, it is a gastrodipomatic attempt to convince the Turkish audience to believe they have a rich, authentic culinary heritage. Therefore, I claim that gastrodipomacy also becomes an

internal project to convince an internal audience. To reconstruct rich and authentic Ottoman cuisine, educated and creative chefs began to conduct significant studies, including archive research. Culinary experts and scholars have modified and improved late-Ottoman recipes to fit current tastes. Like them, Akkor passionately believes that if you could put in the effort to prepare Ottoman recipes, you would be seated at the most delicious table in the world. To honor the Ottoman past, the dishes from Ottoman imperial cuisine evolve into a new method of rewriting history. According to new interpretations, Ottoman nostalgia alludes to a multi-ethnic civilization reigned over by a Turkish dynasty that was successful and moral. As a result of the unique history of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish cuisine has grown to become one of the most famous cuisines in the world. Akkor evokes Ottoman nostalgia to raise future hopes that Turkish cuisine will be recognized both locally and globally. Thus, gastrodiplomacy is a gastro-historical opinion influencing how Turkish people think about their culinary heritage through cooking Ottoman recipes.



4. CONCLUSION

Gastrodiplomacy is an effective strategy for middle-power countries to conduct it for soft power. In the globalized market, nations collaborating with other gastrodiplomatic entities have initiated gastrodiplomacy campaigns to promote their national cuisine based on their culinary heritage. Although the states start gastrodiplomacy campaigns, individuals such as tourists, chefs, and gourmets are also essential to accomplish gastrodiplomatic goals. Restaurants and individuals like chefs and tourists could teach people to show tolerance to others by exchanging food and ideas.

Gastrodiplomacy brings considerable advantages to get political benefits and economic profits—the exchange for tastes and flavors results from the increase in tourism worldwide. Tourism is one of the main goals of realizing gastrodiplomacy because tourists bring a high income. Nations have competed to sell their traditional foods to a globalized economy to attract tourists and open restaurants in foreign countries. Therefore, nations strive against other countries, especially their neighbors, to protect their foods and add them to UNESCO's intangible heritage.

Media is a crucial tool to achieve gastrodiplomatic goals. Although it is controversial whether media can contribute to tourism income, natural cuisine is essential so that both local and foreign people can appreciate a nation of culinary heritage. Cooking shows like food travelogues promote a nation's cuisine as exotic and authentic based on its culinary heritage. In other words, cooking shows have promoted national cuisine based on its culinary heritage to accomplish gastrodiplomatic goals. National cuisine is seemingly considered essential so that both local and foreign people can appreciate a nation of culinary heritage via television.

Shortly, gastrodiplomacy is mainly considered as administrative research to focus on creating national branding through national cuisine, promoting national foods and national restaurants to the world, and teaching professionals such as chefs and food experts to gain considerable advantages in the global market. Gastrodiplomacy is also to attract both local identities in globalized places and global identities in local places, to influence people and states' perceptions of a state through culinary heritage, to develop

formal state relations and public diplomacy more effectively, and to solve state conflicts among states through food.

However, gastrodiploamacy is a broader concept, including nations, culinary professionals, restaurants, tourism agencies, public relations firms, public diplomacy agencies, and media. Countries collaborating with other gastrodiploamatic entities in the globalized market have initiated gastrodiploamacy campaigns to promote their national cuisine based on their culinary heritage. In gastrodiploamacy campaigns by the states, individuals such as tourists, chefs, and gourmets have an essential role in accomplishing gastrodiploamatic goals. Even though there is a promising future in studying gastrodiploamacy in a broader sense, it appears to be over-focused on helping states' international interests.

Moreover, revisiting gastrodiploamacy is the main framework of this thesis because it can be advanced as a more critical notion for addressing the relationship between food and culinary heritage. Here, gastrodiploamacy can be a future term to conceptualize an internal project of a nation or country to convince an internal audience through culinary practices. Thus, the concept of gastrodiploamacy enables scholars to research culinary practices to understand a nation's or country's internal dynamics. Cooking and eating are not only everyday human activities but also define people's identities, histories, and experiences in social and political contexts. Thus, the current usage of gastrodiploamacy can be questioned.

Considering that gastrodiploamacy can be critically applied, it is here to develop a new study with a critical approach covering invented culinary heritage and authenticity. The foodways of a society help us understand how it deals with its history, lives in the present, and plans for the future. Thus, culinary traditions have transformed into an original approach to comprehending history, illuminating the commodified past in being reimagined and reinvented for the present and future. Culinary activities need to be reinvented because they should be able to reflect and construct communities. Culinary practices are altered, ritualized, and institutionalized to achieve new national goals as if they were existing traditional activities. The culinary narrative displays continuity and innovation to accomplish it. In the case of *Sarayın Lezzetleri*, gastrodiploamacy is critical to understand how invented Turkish culinary heritage becomes a national culinary goal

to convince the Turkish audience that it has a rich culinary heritage. Gastrodiplomacy can be conceptually examined thoroughly by looking at how a culinary heritage is invented and presented to an internal audience. Therefore, this approach may enable scholars to apply gastrodiplomacy for more culinary studies.

This food travelogue, *Sarayın Lezzetleri* (Flavors of the Palace), is an excellent example of gastrodiplomacy to explore the invention of culinary heritage with the transformation of Ottoman recipes. *Sarayın Lezzetleri* presents the Ottoman palace's cuisine, introduces the Turkish culinary heritage, and displays Turkey's regions on the screen. Akkor uses gastro-historical stories and anecdotes to highlight cities and towns' geographic, historical, and culinary significance. Most dishes the audience watches on the screen are prepared in historical locations and authentic places to show how authentic local and Ottoman foods are. He puts a huge effort into sharing newly invented Ottoman dishes with the audience and the locals in *Sarayın Lezzetleri*.

The gastronomic importance of the different regions with numerous Ottoman recipes is represented in *Sarayın Lezzetleri*. Food in the relationship between past and nostalgia reinvents Ottoman culinary history to serve present needs and future hopes that Turkish cuisine will be recognized both locally and globally. In other words, combining food with nostalgia, *Sarayın Lezzetleri* creates a new Turkish culinary heritage to fulfill present needs and future hopes by preparing Ottoman recipes. Turkish culinary professionals have turned their culinary heritage into a commodity to promote to the rest of the world.

Turkish educated and innovative chefs have discovered a great chance to demonstrate their culinary expertise to the rest of the world by realizing their reinvented culinary heritage. They conducted intensive archive research to rebuild Ottoman cuisine. Culinary production and the reconstruction of new political views resurrected the Ottoman past. The reimagined historical kitchen is an example of the reconstruction of Ottoman culinary heritage. Recipes for Ottoman palace cuisine are revived as a new form of rewriting history to celebrate the Ottoman past. According to the interpretations, Ottoman nostalgia implies a multi-ethnic civilization controlled by successful Turkish people in peace and justice. Turkish cuisine is also about creating, expressing, and performing a narrative based on the multi-ethnic Ottoman civilization.

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