BODY AND SOUL: AN INTERPRETATION

OF VALUES IN THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF WINE

by

JENNIFER DEANNE WARD BRITTON

(Under the Direction of Mary Anne Alabanza Akers)

ABSTRACT

Shaping landscapes for millennia, viticulture, evokes a unique iconology of alluring idyllic scenes. Yet, as an agricultural crop, grape cultivation's social, economic, and political realities sharply contrast with its romantic image. To understand how cultural perception transcends the realities of an environment, perpetuating an ideal landscape, this thesis explores the manifestation of human values as inscribed on the landscape of wine.

Although scholars have produced a vast literature on the history and science of wine and vine, little research critically interprets viticulture's cultural landscape. This qualitative study, based in social constructivism and hermeneutics, reveals land as pleasure, paradise, and power. In understanding values represented in wine landscapes, a hope—a desire to explore and describe the phenomenon of a valued landscape underscores this interpretation.

INDEX WORDS: Landscape interpretation, Cultural landscape, Viticulture, Wine, Napa Valley, Social constructivism, Hermeneutics, Environmental aesthetics, Semiotics.

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DEDICATION

To Aaron,

my love,

I am never without what matters most in life with you at my side.

My mother a sensitive spirit and teacher of kindness,

from whom I learned empathy.

And to my father who imparted love of land and nature.

I sing this song since you are gone.

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PREFACE

Pour, Bacchus! the remembering wine;
Retrieve the loss of men and mine!
Vine for vine be antidote,
And the grape requite the lote!
Haste to cure the old despair,
Reason in Nature's lotus drenched,
The memory of ages quenched;

Ralph Waldo Emerson[1]

To paraphrase a question posed by geographer Jay Appleton, I ask, what is the source of that pleasure which we derive from the contemplation and engagement in a wine landscape?[2] When I first began researching this topic, people typically responded to my research with a polite smile, blank stare or a wink-nudge remark something to the effect of, "So what's your research… tasting wine?" At this point my deadpan monosyllable reply, "no" usually brought an abrupt end to any further discussion. Admittedly, as much as a thesis based on swilling wine sounds enjoyable, this was not the premise for the study. Yet, upon reflection, these reactions do disclose a curious response towards my interpretational inquiry… how seldom people think of looking at the landscape, in this case a wine landscape, as a reference in better understanding themselves.

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[1] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Bacchus," in *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, ed. Arthur Thomas Quiller-Couch, Sir (Oxford: Clarendon: Bartleby.com http://www.bartleby.com/101/671.html, 1999).
[2] Jay Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape*, Rev. ed. (Chichester; New York: Wiley, 1996), 14.

All human landscape has cultural meanings. Looking out upon the land, depending upon one's perspective, one can see nature or habitat, artifact or history, wealth or ideology, place or aesthetic. As geographer D.W. Meinig once wrote, "Landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads."[3] Yet, frequently we fail to look and discover meaning from the land. Perhaps the vineyard scene communicates imbibing wine, but does it tell us something more?[4] What can we learn about ourselves by interpreting this landscape?

To investigate these quandaries further, I set my attention on describing the winescape and in so doing choose a place recognizable to people in general while also significant to myself, the Napa Valley. This region was the place I called home in adolescence. My father received his training and education in Viticulture and Oenology from UC Davis, and Napa became the source of his work and our lives. I myself did not study vine or wine academically, yet my undergraduate Alma mater is also UC Davis, and wine research and money is a palpable presence on campus. Later, as an adult I lived for awhile in the adjacent Sonoma County working in landscape architecture while my husband, with his training in architecture, worked predominantly on designing wineries. Needless to say, I designed my fair share of landscapes nestled amongst vines and heard the daily goings-on of the wine industry.

I share this personal history simply to illustrate my own contradictory connection to this land, the woe and the splendor; and to shed some light on the perspective I bring to

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[3] John Brinckerhoff Jackson and D. W. Meinig, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 34.
[4] Ibid., 165.

this thesis as interpreter. Like many, I appreciate the inherent physical beauty in the wine landscape, but I also understand it as a working landscape, an agricultural crop. The realities of my own family's livelihood inexorably depended on soil, weather, pest control, immigrant labor, and consumers. Yet to this day, if the scent of fermentation passes my nose, my heart aches for the cool damp of the wine cellar and of walking in knee high mustard flowers amid the leafy rows of vines. Skeptical of those including myself who wax romantic about the wine country, this thesis found inspiration in questioning the desirability of this landscape. In the end, my voice is but one layer in a narrative intent on revealing meanings and values in a landscape that matters to me and the world.

INTRODUCTION

Quality in wines is much easier to recognize than to define.

Maynard A. Amerine[1]

Like wine, quality in landscapes is easily recognized yet difficult to define. We can define *quality* as a "degree or grade of excellence"[2] and as a synonym the word *value* describes a degree of worth culturally and socially bound. A *quality* landscape thus defined becomes something intrinsically desirable or valuable; and this value interpreted by human perceptions, can denote land as nourishment, pleasure, spirituality, as well as production, wealth, and profit. Landscapes embody ideals which in turn give purpose and meaning to our thoughts and actions.[3]

In Landscape Architecture Theory, Michael Murphy describes landscapes as "one of the most accurate indicators of a society, its values, its technology, and its aspirations."[4] As an element most near to us, landscape becomes a medium for transferring and communicating values. Robert Rotenberg emphasizes in Landscape and Power in Vienna, "the discourse on landscape is a communication system of a society, the mechanism through which implicit agreement is reached on the values necessary to

[1] Nina Wemyss, ed., *Soul of the Vine, Wine in Literature* (Oakville, ON, Canada: Robert Mondavi Winery, 1988). Amerine born in 1911 was a professor Emeritus, Enology, at the University of California, Davis. He was an acknowledged authority on both the cultural and technical aspects of grape growing and wine making. Over the last half century, he made the most singularly significant contributions of any one individual to the California wine industry.
[2] G. & C. Merriam Company., *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1971).
[3] Michael D. Murphy, *Landscape Architecture Theory: An Evolving Body of Thought* (Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press, 2005), 3.
[4] Ibid., 11.

hold large societies together."[5] Thus, social values reflect in social relationships with land.[6] To quote Jay Appleton, "Landscape is a kind of backcloth to the whole stage of human activity"[7]; but more than this, landscape is a direct and indirect ideological palimpsest. Any judgment, appraisal, or appreciation of landscape must then consider the context of its creation. For every landscape one must ask what the landscape is stating; secondly, how it is stating it, and thirdly, what the whole or the spirit is.[8] In this view landscape is a social product informed by social values.

Without an understanding of our relationship with our environment, the constant back and forth of ideas negotiated and reflected in physical and cultural artifact, little chance exists of ensuring improvements in the human and landscape condition and we are more likely to create, temporary alterations to visual form or style. By leaving unexplored the meaning and purpose of our activities to impose design change on the landscape, and continuing to overlook salient factors such as the role of value and desire, we ultimately fail in understanding our "bond between people and place."[9] As Yi Fu Tuan eloquently describes in the seminal work Topophilia,

> The scientist and theorist, on his part, tends to overlook human diversity and subjectivity because the task of establishing linkages in the nonhuman world is already enormously complex. However, in the larger view we know that attitudes and beliefs cannot be excluded, for it is practical to recognize human passions in any environmental calculus; they cannot be excluded from the theoretical approach

[5] Robert Louis Rotenberg, *Landscape and Power in Vienna* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 5.
[6] Ibid., 4.
[7] Jay Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape*, Rev. ed. (Chichester; New York: Wiley, 1996), 2.
[8] Friedrich Ast, "Hermeneutics," in *The Hermeneutic tradition: from Ast to Ricoeur*, ed. Gayle L. Ormiston and Alan D. Schrift (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 47.
[9] Yi-fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1990), 4. Tuan calls the affective bond between people and place *Topophilia.*

> because man is, in fact, the ecological dominant and his behavior needs to be understood in depth, not merely mapped.[10]

Tuan suggests that the study of, "perception, attitude, and value—prepares us, first of all, to understand ourselves. And human problems, whether they are economic, political, or social, hinge on the psychological pole of motivation, on the values and attitudes that direct energies and goal."[11] Motivational attitude towards landscapes "necessitates the definition of a particular stance in life—some idea of a culture's relationship toward the world and existential problems."[12]

To promote a deeper understanding of people and place, for both enlightenment and enjoyment, the goal in *Body and Soul: Interpretation of Values in the Cultural Landscape of Wine* is to identify culturally perceived value in landscapes particular to wine. As a value-orientated interpretation, this thesis looks at those qualities which enable appreciation of the viticultural landscape—the agrarian practice of vine cultivation for wine—to transcend realities, perpetuating an ideal. In the belief that viticulture, by virtue of its presence, shares a symbolic function in conveying cultural values, this study's purpose is to reveal why we value and appreciate wine landscapes within the context of social, political and economic influences.

In extracting meanings associated with a wine landscape, I base the success of this thesis in the deeper discovery of why we value these landscapes, why they are appreciated and perhaps most importantly, what unpleasantness is overlooked in the act of appreciation. Yet in asking, *what meaning is represented in this landscape?* I confess one thing: meaning is not is one dimensional. Meaning is rarely if ever the same at all

[10] Ibid., 2.
[11] Ibid., 1.
[12] James Corner, "Origins of Theory (1990)," in *Theory in Landscape Architecture: A Reader*, ed. Simon R. Swaffield (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 19.

times, in all places, and to all people. From this belief, the following interpretation is not intended as an authoritative judgment on wine landscapes, merely a reflection of one point of view; and its purpose is to illuminate a new perspective.

In deciding the course of navigation in the narrative, the discussion could have stayed a safe course, avoiding any infelicity. Plainly stated, the interpretation could have simply gazed at the landscape of wine in romantic contemplations. Romantic writings abound in vine literature and such a course would be normative. As Hugh Johnson, who is one of the world's best-selling wine authors, wrote in the introduction of A Companion to California Wine, "Since my first own visit to the California wine country… its extraordinary patina of history has always given me goose bumps. I can't even say the names of Calistoga, or the Silverado trail, or Russian River Road, or even Oakville Grade, without their romantic swagger tipping me off balance."[13] This type of romantic postulation, viewing the cultural landscape of wine through rose-tinted glasses is the well-worn road. Indeed, in an established industry such as wine, an easier course resides in stroking feathers not ruffling them, retaining a certain status quo. Yet I contend this approach would result in an interpretation as meaningful as a dime-store romance novel, a discourse created in fear of disrupting or destroying perceived value. As Mugerauer expressed in Interpretations on Behalf of Place,

> What is called for is courageously facing up to the situation with relentless honesty, which means violently stripping away our comforting illusions and forcefully

[13] Charles L. Sullivan, *A Companion to California Wine: An Encyclopedia of Wine and Winemaking from the Mission Period to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), ix.

> undoing past interpretations by inserting our own. Yet, we need to be critically vigilant that we do not take our own unavoidable substitutions too seriously…[14]

In the spirit of "uncovering" the wine landscape, this interpretation knowingly heads toward possible destruction in a faithful leap of enlightenment. The interpretive vessel metaphorically steers towards the Siren's island; and like Odysseus from Greek mythology, this thesis intends not to simply glance at this landscape, but to listen to its clear song in hopeful discovery of knowledge, ripe wisdom, and spiritual reward. This thesis is a journey into possible impending destruction. Yet without destruction, creation is not possible. The British artist Graham Sutherland once said, "In painting, you have to destroy in order to gain . . . you have got to sacrifice something you are not quite pleased with in order to get something better."[15]

The Interpreted Vineyard

> *Talk about vines and you are talking about society, political power,*
> *an exceptional labor process, in fact an entire civilization.*
> *If wheat is the prose of our long history, wine is its more recent born poetry,*
> *illuminating and enobling the landscape.*
>
> *Fernand Braudel* [16]

Intertwining its supple tendrils with civilization since 6000 B.C.,[17] the grapevine is one of the first plants to shape the built environment with significant, social,

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[14] Robert Mugerauer, *Interpretations on Behalf of Place: Environmental Displacements and Alternative Responses, Suny Series in Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 52.
[15] Graham Sutherland, *The Painter's Keys: Resource of Art Quotations* (2006 [cited June 24 2006]); available from http://www.painterskeys.com/auth_search.asp?name=Graham%20Sutherland.
[16] Carey Walsh, *The Fruit of the Vine: Viticulture in Ancient Israel, Harvard Semitic Museum Publications* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 11.
[17] Patrick E. McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 299.Carbon dating of grape pips from the Transcaucasia region places the domesticated Eurasian *Vitis vinifera vinifera*, the source of 99 percent of the world's wine produced today, at about 6000 B.C.

ideological, economical, and political consequences.[18] The cultural landscape of wine possesses qualities contemporary and historic, commonplace and unique.[19] Effective in evoking images of alluring idyllic scenes[20] this landscape's images of beauty and culture exemplify perceived values of peace and bounty with an ever present hedonistic allure. Growing soybeans, corn or wheat may be more lucrative, but the collaborative effort between humans and environment in creating wine, of transforming nature into "something that gives pleasure and serves as nourishment, not just to the body but to the senses, the spirit and the imagination"[21] is something infinitely more potent.

Yet, the wine landscape is not without its complexities; it is fundamentally duplicitous as a favored landscape of the elite and an unspectacular landscape of work and toil. As Rod Phillips points out in A Short History of Wine, "Wine is consumed by the homeless and by the powerful and wealthy. Wine can be bought very inexpensively or at fabulous prices that only the very rich can afford. Wine has been called a gift of God and the work of Satan. It is a sign of civility and sophistication and a threat to social order. It is part of a healthy diet and it kills."[22] The melodic labors and life associated with vineyards hypnotically alludes to adventure, novelty, romantic hobby, but if one listens carefully, ever present are whispers of economic globalization silently degrading the environment with an addictive reliance on woeful labor conditions.

In recent years, wine landscapes have gained world recognition as unique and significant places of cultural heritage. Due to the long traditions of viticulture in Portugal

[18] McGovern, 299.
[19] John Robert Gold, Jacquelin A. Burgess, and Institute of British Geographers., *Valued Environments* (London; Boston: G. Allen & Unwin, 1982), 4.
[20] Virgil and L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics*, *Penguin Classics* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England; New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1982).
[21] Barbara Ensrud and Charles E. Dorris, *American Vineyards*, 1st ed. (New York: Stewart Tabori & Chang: Distributed by Workman Pub., 1988), 19.
[22] Rod Phillips, *A Short History of Wine* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 2000), xxi.

and Hungary, in 2001 and 2002 UNESCO inscribed the wine regions of Alto Douro (Fig, Intro.00-.03) and Tokaj (Fig, Intro.04-.05) as World Heritage Sites. These sites represent a distinct viticultural tradition which has existed for a thousand years intact to today: they are recognized as cultural landscapes of "irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration"[23] reflecting the technological, social and economic evolution of a wine landscape.

However, despite the palpable new paradigm of global appreciation and appeal, interpretive investigations in scholarship into wine landscapes as a cultural product and process remain relatively devoid.[24] The primarily focus in literature is in science, technology, and history; and, admittedly, in these areas, research is extensive. A simple search in a large library under 'Wine' does not begin to reveal the extent of these resources.

Literature is usually directed at both winemaker and drinker with early writing focusing on practical guidance for winegrowers. Such historic volumes, beginning in the 1850's. include Agoston Haraszthy's, Report on Grapes and Wines of California, George Husmann, Grape Culture and Wine Making in California: A Practical Manual for the Grape-Grower and Wine-Maker, and Emmett Rixford's The Wine Press & the Cellar. Today, cultivation practicum still serves as the fundamental base in viticultural education with books such as: Roger B. Boulton's Principles and Practices of Winemaking, Bruce W. Zoecklein's Wine Analysis and Production, Kenneth C. Fugelsang's Wine Microbiology, J.Y Hewitt's Chemistry of Wine Making, A.J. Winkler's General Viticulture, and Michael, Mullins, et. al. Biology of a Grapevine.

[23] Scientific United Nations Educational, and Cultural Organization, *"About World Heritage"* (UNESCO, December 6, 2005 [cited December 6 2005]); available from http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/.
[24] Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991, 1996), 3.

Topics in wine literature relating a historical and appreciative approach include Horatio P. Stoll's, Wine-Wise: A Popular Handbook on How to Correctly Judge, Keep, Serve and Enjoy Wines, M.A. Amerine and V.L. Singleton's Wine: An Introduction for Americans, Thomas Pinney's two volumes of A History of Wine in America, Leon D. Adams The Wines of America, and Charles Sullivan's Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.

Although popular magazines in the past took only a limited interest in California wine (before prohibition and for a long time after Repeal), wine literature today also abounds in periodicals. Wine & Vine is a sophisticated trade journal that no serious wine aficionados can be without. The California Wineletter and Wine Spectator are directed to the trade, but also serve as an information source for the serious amateur. Specific to the United States and in particular California, these texts offer a glimpse of predominant research efforts in viticulture up to the present.[25]

The few published cultural studies specific to wine landscapes which do exist are recent arrivals primarily hailing from geographic studies. Tim Unwin's insightful book Wine and Vine explores "the emergence and spread of viticulture and wine consumption throughout history" while aiming to develop a greater understanding of the "transformation and interactions in the economical, social, and political and ideological structures"[26] in the wine industry. Unwin's approach is similar to this thesis, and he admits that his study's design, which I might add is of exceptional breadth, is a world

[25] This list serves only as a sampling, as mentioned above the literature is quite vast. To quote the description of the U.C. Davis description of their Biological & Agricultural Sciences Viticulture & Enology Collection, "In physical terms, collection contains approximately 27,000 volumes representing both monographic and serial holdings. Shields Library currently maintains some 140 serial subscriptions and contains over 325 serial titles, both active and inactive in the viticulture and enology subject area. The form of material in the collection ranges from books and serials, to pamphlets, to maps, to printed ephemera, to archives and personal papers. Twenty nine different languages are represented within the collection."
[26] Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, xv.

survey, “a starting point” for further detailed examination. Two other investigations into the cultural landscapes of wine, Gary Peter’s, American Winescapes and Edward Hyam’s, Dionysus: a Social History of the Wine Vine, look at the winescape ideologically. Although useful, these authors also tackle wine landscapes in a similar world-wide and topical historical-geographical survey form. In a narrower interpretive focus, concerned primarily with organizational structure and dynamics of a wine cooperative, Robert C. Ulin describes Vintages and Traditions from an anthropological view. While the study’s focus centering on France alone, Ulin’s discussion, the result of 11 years of research, is a valuable model for a detailed interpretation into a wine landscape.

Given the extensive literature available today, and the progress of academics in viticulture and enology in the past years, with world renowned departments at the University of California, Davis; California State University, Fresno and Cornell University; it is all the more perplexing why interpretational studies exploring the cultural landscape of wine—that is to say literature interpreting the social communication between the wine landscape and humans has not been more fully developed. It seems the pedagogical emphasis is *how* the wine landscape is created today and in the past, but seldom *why* we value the wine landscape in the first place.

In an effort to remedy in some small way the scholastic shortcoming, this thesis cultural study explores values in the viticultural landscape. A practical problem apparent in starting the research became the issue of scope. The research design needed to create the necessary focus and form, one which would allow for a depth rather than breadth in the interpretation. To resolve this dilemma I chose a case study to illustrate and reveal a landscape; one which surprisingly seemed to lack any previous interpretational study.

The place selected, the Napa Valley in California, is significant and recognizable worldwide and enables the interpretation to result in a deep awareness balanced between uncovering significant meanings without losing sight of the wider contextual setting.[27]

There is no doubt when conversing today about American wines, the California wine industry is the dominant player. In a new Wine Institute[28] survey, California ranked "first in favorability, familiarity and consumption" with "three-quarters of U.S. wine consumers describe[ing] the state's wine as: an easy to enjoy taste, versatile, appropriate for many occasions, a good value and consistent." They report further that, "no other region comes close to matching California's rankings on these key purchase criteria." And of reputable wine regions within California, the Napa Valley is considered whether correctly or not, as the dominant producer. In 1993, an ABC broadcast touring the California wine county reported, "We have come to the quintessential wine-making country in the United States. Three-quarters of all wine produced in America is produced in California—the majority in the Napa and Sonoma Valley's just north on San Francisco."[29] This glaringly wrong statement, as Napa and Sonoma produce only a small fraction of California's wine[30], illustrates the power that Napa Valley holds over people. Due to the areas easy recognition, Napa serves as an excellent case study.

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[27] Arnold Berleant, *Living in the Landscape: Toward an Aesthetics of Environment* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 5.

[28] Wine Institute is the public policy advocacy association of California wineries. It effectively brings together the resources of 887 wineries and affiliated businesses to support legislative and regulatory advocacy, international market development, media relations, scientific research, and education programs that benefit the entire California wine industry. The Wine Institute, *"New Wine Institute Research Offers Road Map for California Wine Competitiveness"* (2006 [cited June 10 2006]); available from http://www.wineinstitute.org/industry/statistics/.

[29] William F. Heintz, *California's Napa Valley: One Hundred and Sixty Years of Making Wine* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1999), vii.

[30] In 2005 there was 2,275 wineries in California, and 391 wineries in Napa County. The Wine Institute, *"Commercial Wineries"* (2006 [cited June 10 2006]); available from http://www.wineinstitute.org/industry/keyfacts/ca_wineries.php.

To illustrate why the wine landscape exists in this region and how it is valued today and in the past, the thesis is divided into three parts: the first is an introduction of topic and description of methods as laid out in the Introduction chapter. Following this the second part are the chapters describing the analysis: Chapter 1 sets the foundation by describing the physical and historical culture of winegrowing in the America and more specifically California and the Napa Valley, reflecting our continuous negotiation of our border with nature:[31] Chapter 2 focuses on the aesthetic description analysis technique. In observing and describing the culture of the wine landscape this chapter contains a sensory experience thus allowing the interpretation and reading participant direct experience with the environment and landscape:[32] and Chapter 3 discusses through semiotic analysis the promoted idea of escape—if only temporarily—from the harsh grip of reality.[33] The third part in this thesis is in the final chapters, Chapter 4 and 5, which discuss the interpretational results, weaving the history, observation and semiotic research together into a discussion of why the landscape of wine is culturally valued.

The Terminological Rootstock

To elicit a common ground of understanding before we delve further into this interpretational analysis, several key terms require definition in the context of this study. The words *landscape*, *culture*, and *value* carry many meanings and associations in social understanding and since as the subtitle of this thesis is *An Interpretation of Values in the*

[31] Jorgen Dines Johansen and Svend Erik Larsen, *Signs in Use: An Introduction to Semiotics* (London: Routledge, 2002), 186.
[32] Arnold Berleant, *The Aesthetics of Environment* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1992), 19.
[33] Magen Broshi, *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series; 36* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 145.

Cultural Landscape of Wine an explanation of terminology will help to clarify any assumptions.

The word *landscape* can communicate a broad range of subjects depending upon the perceptions of the observer. The suffix 'scape' generally defined means a scene or a view; while definitions of 'land' include phrases like, "the solid ground of the earth," and "a topographically or functionally distinct tract."[34] However, these definitions imply a static image, as if landscape is two dimensional, something charted or surveyed for a plat. As a conventional description, this idea supposes that landscape is a distant, bounded, visual entity. Raymond Williams comments in The Country and the City that "a working country is hardly ever a landscape. The very idea of landscape implies separation and observation. "[35] However, in reality, a landscape is much more than a flat medium; it is everywhere, surrounding our sensory experiences. It is the surface that is immediately observable, penetrating our perception with things attractive and soothing, at times disturbing, in an intimate or panoramic interaction.[36]

In The Iconography of Landscape, the seminal geographers, Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels define landscape as, "a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings."[37] Landscapes produce, perform, and affect us not as mere objects, but as a process in which we are unavoidable participants. In this way landscape denotes those meanings input by people in their cultural and physical surroundings in reciprocal relation, making landscape a cultural process. As Cosgrove

[34] Dictionary.com, *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000 [cited 1/27/ 2006]); available from http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=land.
[35] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973), 121.
[36] Johansen and Larsen, *Signs in Use: An Introduction to Semiotics*, 151.
[37] Denis E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, "Introduction: Iconography and Landscape," in *The Iconography of landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design, and use of past environments*, ed. Denis E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1.

argues in Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, "once we elect to offer explanation of either an historical, a functional or an ecological kind we are forced to abandon the static visual model in a search for process."[38] Landscape is not a passive participant in social formations. As human beings we do not simply cast our shadow on land as a diminutive object. Transforming land into landscape, we define our world and in turn our world defines us. This relationship, whether good or bad, acknowledged or ignored, functions interdependently. W. J. T. Mitchell describes in Landscape and Power, that to look comprehensively at landscape "asks not just what the landscape "is" or "means" but what it does, how it works in cultural and ecological process."[39] "Landscape", he argues, needs to transcend perceptual commonality as a visual object, or as legible text, and instead become a "process by which social and subjective identities are formed."[40]

Working from this position, landscape is not passive, but a representational and effectual medium through which we make sense of the world around us. This definition implies *landscape* is something more than its individual parts. It is an amalgam of "specific geographical, social and cultural circumstances," in the physical world of "nature and territory" containing "deep resources of myth and memory."[41] Much like any other cultural artifact, *landscape* becomes imprinted and reflexive towards human activity, bearing the wide imprint from the inhabitants, yet also influencing them. *Landscape*, in this case the wine landscape of Napa, both is the perception of an environment and the process of a culturally shaped nature.

[38] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 32.
[39] Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 1.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, xi.

This then brings us to discuss the meaning of *culture*. As both a verb and a noun, this term is far more complex to define in relation to the landscape of wine. The word signifies a threefold definition. As a verb, the word simply denotes "to grow in a prepared medium," "to culture." In noun form *culture* is defined as "excellence of taste acquired from intellectual and aesthetic training", or as a "stage of intellectual or moral development in a civilization".[42] As all three definitions relate to the landscape of wine, I would like to briefly describe ways in which the connotations of the word *culture* are relevant to the cultural landscape of wine.

The word *culture* as a verb is best surmised in Arnold Berleant's book Aesthetics and Environment in which he states, "The environmental implications of culture are embedded in the very word, for the term 'culture' derives from 'agriculture'."[43] Thus, the word serves to illustrate agriculture, and viticulture, as relational terms*e*.

In referring to *culture* as a noun, the definition indicates "training in taste." In this sense *culture* refers to the notion of a "high-culture" in which things are created and possessed rendering those associated as "cultured."[44] In this way "culture can be understood as the historical transformations and displacements of dominion"[45] typically associated with a "category of westerners, removed by privilege from ordinary folk."[46] Since this notion referring to aesthetic appreciations and communications of power and wealth plays an important role in this thesis interpretation, we must scratch a bit deeper into the meaning.

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[42] G. & C. Merriam Company., *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary*, 202.
[43] Arnold Berleant, *Aesthetics and Environment: Variations on a Theme* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 104.
[44] Kay Anderson and Fay Gale, *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography* (Melbourne, Australia New York: Longman Cheshire; Wiley Halsted Press, 1992), 3.
[45] Mugerauer, *Interpretations on Behalf of Place: Environmental Displacements and Alternative Responses*, 16.
[46] Anderson and Gale, *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, 1.

One way to look at culture is through the noteworthy anthropologist Clifford Geertz describes *culture* as "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."[47] In this view, *culture* is a particular stage in civilization creating itself from "the diversity of forms and norms of patterns of social behavior, as well as for the variety of products of civilization, i.e. objects around which human life is organized and structured."[48] Yet for the purposes of this study this one-sided view neglects the relationship between humans and land, *culture* becomes an artifact, a reference point but not a mutual process with land.

Another perspective towards defining *culture* can be seen in the hermeneutical philosophy of Robert Neville who claims in his book Recovery of the Measure, that the important element in defining *culture* is to notice "that it is selective according to human values. Culture qualifies the carryover value into experience by limiting what can be carried over to what can be registered at a certain level in cultural terms."[49] In other words values decide the culture, and together they influence and at times determine how and what one experiences in life. This view is closer to the definition of *culture* for the purposes of this thesis as it begins to talk of process together with values, but still missing from this explanation is any account of landscape as something other than an objectified form, something more than background scenery to human activity.

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[47] Salzman, *Understanding Culture: An Introduction to Anthropological Theory*, 71.
[48] Martina Plumacher, "Dealing with the Diversity of Sign Systems in Human Culture," in *Semiotic evolution and the dynamics of culture*, ed. Marcel Bax, Barend van Heusden, and Wolfgang Wildgen (Bern; New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 89.
[49] Robert C. Neville, *Recovery of the Measure: Interpretation and Nature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 77.

Yet another view towards *culture* is expressed by Kay Anderson and Fay Gale in Inventing Places, "People's cultures and their geographies intersect and reciprocally inform each other, we argue, in process, in time."[50] In this view *culture* becomes reflexive. The definition transforms into the active form "to culture"—meaning it grows, changes, is created in relation to land, imprints land and vise-versa.

The proposed eclectic stance in defining *culture* in this study understands the root connection between viticulture and culture; incorporating notions and implications of "high culture", and finally placing the definition firmly in Geertz's artifact and Neville's value process, while adding the dimension of place illustrated by Anderson and Gale. Defining *culture* in this context results in a definition of dynamic interaction between people with their environments. "The word culture here refers to the prevailing attitudes, dispositions, and lifestyles that both characterize and provide structure to everyday life."[51]

This then brings us to perhaps the most important term: *value.* In the introduction to this thesis *value* is synonymous with *quality* as a degree of worth culturally and socially bound. The metaphysical assumption is that everything has value, that "anything that is patterned togetherness of components has a value that can be carried over into the interpretation of the thing."[52] Yet, what constitutes value is different to different people. Plato and Aristotle used the language of goodness to describe what constituted value:[53] whereby goodness is a universal and intrinsic property of the object rather than a subjective attribute. Heidegger and his followers morphed the definition of value into

[50] Anderson and Gale, *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, 5.
[51] Robert C. Fuller, *Religion and Wine: A Cultural History of Wine Drinking in the United States*, 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 1.
[52] Neville, *Recovery of the Measure: Interpretation and Nature*, 129.
[53] Gold, Burgess, and Institute of British Geographers., *Valued Environments*, 4.

intensity and authenticity. Neville describes values as "subjective assessments of secondary qualities, depending on will, taste, or perceptions of inner sense, according to one philosopher or another."[54] On the other hand one may see value as a relative quality, assigned on the basis of comparative assessment and dependent upon its context.

Arguably all are valid perspectives. However, in establishing the position of this thesis, *value* is grounded in a relative and contextual valuation, in the belief that "value is something people feel about things, irrespective of whether those valuations are merited by the worth of the things."[55] For a landscape to be deemed valuable is then contingent on convention, human perception, and social experience; existing not in an objective reality, but relative to the people who have agreed to act as if it exists. [56] Thus landscape, in this case the landscape of wine in Napa, requires human practices to sustain its perceived value.

As value can denote such a wide range of ideological functions, the focus of understanding values in this study centers on aesthetic value, the appreciative value judgment towards wine landscapes. In this way the "valued" landscape can mean "the favored landscape of the elite and the unspectacular environments in which most of us live." The values might not be the best possible, and indeed might contain dualities, but they are still values.[57]

[54] Neville, *Recovery of the Measure: Interpretation and Nature*, 161.
[55] Ibid., 61.
[56] Gold, Burgess, and Institute of British Geographers., *Valued Environments*, 5.
[57] Ibid., 189.

Philosophical Framework and Methodologies

In summarizing this interpretation's foundations, I refer to the Greek concept of theoria—the "meditative and reflective" approach derived from "realms of human experiences and perception."[58] It is from this contemplative stance that the theoretical framework and methodologies emerged and evolved as knowledge came to light. Because this study views the wine landscape as a palimpsest of social and political arrangements, subjected to personal viewpoint, a number of theories aid in the interpretation for an "insider's apprehension of the land."[59] Denis Cosgrove states in Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape,″ no single, coherent set of theories, concepts and methods—regardless of their moral or political appeal—can hope to provide a certain and progressive path towards truth."[60] This thesis adopts this belief in its qualitative and naturalistic bricolage[61] combining hermeneutics with the techniques of historical review, aesthetic observation and semiotic research.

The difficulty in any interpretation, including this one, is the defense of validity. One of my concerns is to secure a theoretical basis that enables the interpretation to possess a validity of interpretation against romantic speculation and skeptical subjectivity.[62] Yet can an interpretation be truly objective? As Robert Mugerauer points out in his book Interpreting Environments: Tradition, Deconstruction, Hermeneutics, "historical objectivism, in which one transcendentally and objectively passes over into

[58] Simon R. Swaffield, *Theory in Landscape Architecture: A Reader*, *Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 21.
[59] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble Books, 1985), xi.
[60] Ibid., xv.
[61] Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, "Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research," in *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1998), 3.
[62] Wilhelm Dilthey, "The Rise of Hermeneutics," in *The Hermeneutic tradition: from Ast to Ricoeur*, ed. Gayle L. Ormiston and Alan D. Schrift (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 114.

another time to understand an earlier situation, text, or object in the same way that people of the time did is an unrealistic impossibility."[63] Drawing on Mugerauer, this thesis assumes subjectivity is a natural bi-product of interpretation. He further states,

> To be human is constantly to attempt to understand, that is, to interpret things, to project expectations, and to discover whether and how those expectations are filled. Because we always approach things and text from within horizons of what we are able to attend to, from within our time and place, with certain expectations about the existence and manner of their meanings, understanding naturally has presuppositions.[64]

Indeed in a worthwhile interpretation of the wine landscape, of nature and the sense of place, interpretation must occur together with a more critical, socially conscious perspective. As discussed in Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's book, The Social Construction of Reality, individuals and groups participate in the creation of their perceived reality, and the nature of being and knowledge is "socially constructed."[65] In this socially dependent world, shared meanings and materialism, political, historical, and socio-economic factors influence perceptions.[66] Ultimately, our social interaction creates meaning; landscape can be viewed as an articulation, a reflection of complex beliefs and material conditions of everyday life.[67]

To gain deeper understanding, to create new knowledge, that which is studied must "make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to

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[63] Robert Mugerauer, *Interpreting Environments: Tradition, Deconstruction, Hermeneutics*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), xxvii.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Joy Higgs, "Charting Standpoints in Qualitative Research," in *Critical moments in qualitative research*, ed. Hilary Byrne-Armstrong, Joy Higgs, and Debbie Horsfall (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2001), 53.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), 19.

them."[68] The landscape of wine cab be better understood through revealing social perceptions and attitudes toward the landscape. From this assumption, this study stresses "the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry."[69] All communication and all meanings have socio-political dimensions, and cannot be understood outside their social context.

This idea accepts the notion that the interpreter comes with a distinct viewpoint, socially created, and unavoidably approaches a subject with a set of subjective ideas. My personal biography and history influence my reflections and determine to an extent the voice in this interpretation. I am white, female, with a college education, and, as I mentioned in the preface my past is closely tied to the landscape of wine. The way I view this landscape would inevitably be different if I was a minority male with little formal education, and no personal connection to the wine landscape.
Yet, rather than viewing this lack of "scientific objectivism" as a hindrance, my hope in this interpretation is that the inclusion of the subjective voice will create a deeper understanding, locating the landscape of wine in time and place.

The word hermeneutics, derived from Greek, means "to interpret," and interpretation of landscape through hermeneutics considers what the landscape says, supposes, doesn't say, or implies. Adopting hermeneutics as a guiding framework allows the interpreter to listen to what is "nearest and hidden."[70] The hermeneutical approach is neither a whimsical account, a diatribe with little real application, nor an empirical study, quantified to abstraction. A hermeneutical study claims no discovery of absolutes; rather,

[68] Denzin and Lincoln, "Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research," 3.
[69] Ibid., 8.
[70] Mugerauer, *Interpreting Environments: Tradition, Deconstruction, Hermeneutics*, 118.

the agenda is heuristic, "serving to direct attention to certain factors, thus setting the research agenda…"[71] As philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer once stated, "The real power of hermeneutical consciousness is our ability to see what is questionable."[72]

As James S. Duncan and David Ley point out in Place/Culture/Representation, hermeneutics

> …acknowledges the role of the interpreter and therefore rules out mimesis in the strict sense of the term. Rather than setting up a model of a universal, value-neutral researcher whose task is to procees in such a manner that s/he is converted into a cipher, this approach recognizes that interpretation is a dialog between ones data—other places and other people—and the researcher who is embedded within a particular intellectual and institutional context." [73]

Thus, the texts truth or verisimilitude is substantiated by its textual "thickness." A thick interpretive experience becomes something more than simple recorded facts, independent of intentions or circumstances. A valid or "correct understanding" results from thickly contextualized interpretational material that is historical, relational, and processual.

Technique and Analysis: Methods to Reveal Meaning in the Wine Landscape

In asking what the wine landscape signifies in socially constructed values, this analysis is guided by three questions, (1) What does the landscape mean? (2) How does it represent its meanings? (3) Why does it represent particular meanings? To answer these questions, the selected approaches—a historical review, aesthetics description, and

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[71] Philip Carl Salzman, *Understanding Culture: An Introduction to Anthropological Theory* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 2001), 2.
[72] Hans-Georg Gadamer, "The Universality of the Hermeneutical Problem," in *The Hermeneutic tradition: from Ast to Ricoeur*, ed. Gayle L. Ormiston and Alan D. Schrift (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 154.
[73] James S. Duncan and David Ley, *Place/Culture/Representation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 3.

semiotics interpret socially effected meaning and representation in the landscape by looking at the landscape physically through history, described experience, and psychologically through "a set of assumptions and concepts that permit systematic analysis of symbolic systems."[74]

Each method of this interpretation represents the wine landscape as pieces of a larger puzzle, each present a different representation of the wine landscape (Fig, Intro.06). As philosopher Friedrich Ast once said, "The particular can be understood only through the whole, and conversely, the whole only through the particular."[75] Interpreting the wine landscape through multiply techniques and method reveals the perceived value in the wine landscape, merging the conscience and subconscious, identifying aesthetic value.

Historical Review as a Method to Meaning

Reviewing the history of viticulture in America and specifically the Napa Valley is the first layer in interpreting the wine landscape. Now that winegrowing has become acknowledged worldwide as "unique and significant", one can hardly examine this landscape without a nod to past developments. It is instructive to understand the conditions under which the viticultural landscape came to its present state of fruition.

Much has been written of the history of viticulture. Thomas Pinney notes in A History of Wine in America that "so much has been done and so much is known that it is impossible to pack it all into a space of a single volume"[76] or in the case of this thesis a

[74] Peter K. Manning and Betsy Cullum-Swan, "Narrative, Content, and Semiotic Analysis," in *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1998), 251.
[75] Ast, "Hermeneutics," 45.
[76] Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From the Beginnings to Prohibition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), xv.

single chapter. The historical overview is then just that, an overview for the purpose of grounding the subject and analysis in previous events and conditions.

Descriptive Aesthetics as a Method to Meaning

In looking for meaning in the landscape of wine, the second approach in this thesis is through aesthetic engagement.[77] This methodology capitalizes on an active contextual approach. The personal observational narrative illustrates elements touched, smelled, tasted, seen, and remembered. In this engaged descriptive method critical attention is paid to object, place and experience.[78] In allowing the reader to follow my train of thought, the reader takes part in the experience by existentially living the event. This narrative style assumes interpretation occurs during the recording and upon further reflection and during the finesse of the writing.

Following the form and flow of aesthetic description, the experience in this thesis is not the result of systematic observations in which the event was "selected, recorded, closed into meaningful units, and interpreted by non-participants."[79] The goal in this account of Napa's wine landscape is to combine acute observation with compelling language, thus, encouraging the reader towards a vivid aesthetic encounter.[80] As Lucy Lippard reflects in her book The Lure of the Local, "my lived experience is central to my writing and to the subject of place."[81] Likewise, the expressive narrative in this thesis communicates my personal lived experience with the goal of immersing both the

[77] Berleant, *The Aesthetics of Environment*, 12.
[78] Ibid., 38.
[79] Francis C. Dane, *Research Methods* (Pacific Grove, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Pub. Co., 1990), 151.
[80] Berleant, *The Aesthetics of Environment*, 26.
[81] Lucy R. Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society* (New York: New Press, 1997), 5.

interpreter and the reader in the aesthetic experiences of a wine landscape. I am observer and participant within the landscape; and in this subjective observation my perspective as researcher is exposed. As Arnold Berleant acknowledges in Living in the Landscape,

> The knowledge we have acquired, the belief systems through which we order that knowledge, the associations that involuntarily attach themselves to what we see and do, the memories that add sympathetic resonance—all these inform and color our sensory experiences. Description cannot help calling on these, and by including reflection we do explicitly what we would do in any case.[82]

The field research in the Napa Valley involved a direct, unobtrusive observation of naturally occurring events on Thursday, February the 9th, 2006. The day chosen was premeditated only in that it fit well into travel plans; the decision was phenomenological—one flowing naturally as life events unfolded. While in Napa I did not participate in a tour, wine tasting, or other event, and in this way I observed without becoming a participant; however, due to my own personal historical connection with the wine industry in Napa, in the experience of driving and visiting the Napa, I in effect became "a researcher who fully participates in the event but is not known to the other participants as a researcher."[83]

A field journal was the primary recording device for the day spent in the Valley. In gathering impressions from the surrounding world the writing and observational techniques were freeform and journalistic. Noted in the observation were the landscapes appearance, participants, rituals, and temporal elements. Additional photographic recording supplements the text.

[82] Berleant, *The Aesthetics of Environment*, 27.
[83] Dane, *Research Methods*, 159.

Choices on the journey were both premeditated and whimsical (Fig. Intro.07). The route up the valley was chosen spontaneous; however, in choosing a winery, I decided before hand on Hess Winery. As a child, I lived just around the bend when the winery was still operated by Christian Brothers. At that time it was not open to the public as the winery was part of a private novitiate. Then in the late 1980's Donald Hess[84] leased the winery and subsequent vineyards, and opened them to the public. With a mixture of tasting room, gardens, an extensive art collection, and my own memories this seemed a good collage of activities for an observational experience.

Semiotics as a Method to Meaning

The third phase of analysis examines the wine landscape in a distanced contemplation.[85] The primary goal of this semiotic approach is to document and investigate patterns of culturally perceived aesthetic value.[86] As Daniel Chandler expounds in Semiotics: The Basics, "No one with an interest in how things are represented can afford to ignore an approach which focuses on, and problematizes, the process of representation."[87] Thus, the semiotic agenda in this investigation looks not only at how socially constructed aesthetic value exists in the wine landscape, but also what this landscape communicates through its representational system. Landscape is a material means, that is, as W.J.T Mitchell states in Landscape and Power,

[84] Donald Hess is a Swiss business man who inherited his Swiss family company in the 1960s at the age of 20 and immediately set about converting it from a beer to a mineral water business, including Swiss Valser Wasser. Hess also owns wineries in Australia and South Africa.
[85] In art this is usually termed "disinterested" contemplation. In which one is removed from the subject when judging its aesthetic qualities.
[86] Marcel Danesi and Paul Perron, *Analyzing Cultures: An Introduction and Handbook, Advances in Semiotics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 14.
[87] Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 14.

> …like a language or a painting, embedded in a tradition of cultural signification and communication, a body of symbolic forms capable of being invoked and reshaped to express meanings and values. As a medium for expressing value, it has a semiotic structure rather like that of money, functioning as a special sort of commodity that plays a unique symbolic role in the system of exchange-value."[88]

Assuming that the modern world can be characterized by its reliance on visual media for its daily information, and that "one of the most influential ideological forms in capitalist society is advertising",[89] this interpretation focuses on magazine advertisements of wine as a set of visual signifiers and indicators of social assumptions.[90] This assumes that communication in advertisements acts as an indicator of industry and consumer interest and provides an additional dimension of geography. As the semiotician Marcel Danesi points out,

> In consumerist societies, advertising has become a privileged discourse which has more rhetorical force, by and large, than the traditional forms of rhetorical discourse such as sermons, political oratory, proverbs, and wise sayings. Advertising exalts and inculcates lifestyle values by playing on hidden fears—fear of poverty, sickness, loss of social standing, and unattractiveness.[91]

The underlying assumption in using this approach is that you can discover and reveal ideology in a landscape of wine as portrayed in advertisements.[92] As art Historian Keith Moxey argues:

> …semiotics makes us aware that the cultural values with which we make sense of the world are a tissue of conventions that have been handed down from generation to generation by the members of the culture of which we are part. It reminds us that

[88] W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 14.
[89] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2001), 70.
[90] Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 81.
[91] Marcel Danesi, *Of Cigarettes, High Heels, and Other Interesting Things: An Introduction to Semiotics* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1999), 183.
[92] Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, 71.

> there is nothing 'natural' about our values; they are social constructs that not only vary enormously in the course of time but differ from culture to culture.[93]

The magazine advertisements are viewed as creations of deliberate choice, and the analysis concentrates on the image and the compositional and social modality inscribed. To reveal and describe the different representations the analysis uses a mixture of the dominant schools of thought in semiotics.[94] The advertisements exploration looks for transmission of message, examining the way in which the advertisement (sign) works as a signifier—identifying what the important signifiers are and what they say. This analytical task identifies the orders of signification, in other words, if the sign presented are denotative or connotative in communication, if it contains icons, indexes, or symbols,[95] if the ad presents rhetorical troupes of metaphor or metonymy, and if the ad is mythic or symbolic. The analysis then looks to see if the sign contains redundancy;[96] if the message is common or breaking new ground, disrupting a conventional thought.

After identifying the advertisements signifying elements, the analysis then seeks to identify and interpret what semiotic codes are used within the ad.[97] Since the

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[93] Jonathan E. Schroeder, "Consuming Representation: A Visual Approach to Consumer Research," in *Representing consumers: voices, views, and visions*, ed. Barbara B. Stern (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 225.

[94] John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, 2nd ed., *Studies in Culture and Communication* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990). Models of analysis emphasizing the *process* of communication concentrate on the transfer of a message from A to B. Their concerns are with medium, channel, and transmitter and so on. In a different approach, models concerned with *meaning* places emphasis on signs, icons, signification.

[95] Thomas Albert Sebeok, *Signs: An Introduction to Semiotics*, 2nd ed., *Toronto Studies in Semiotics and Communication* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 10. This thesis relies on the method of semiological analysis put forth by Pierce's classification of icons, indexes, and symbols· an *icon* maintains a resemblance between the sign and the portrayed object, such as a photograph depicting a vineyard. An *index* maintains a direct existential connection between the sign and its object, such as the demarcation of harvest year on a bottle of wine to communicate or indicate the quality and character or that wine. A *symbol* is a matter of agreement in social convention such as a winery symbolizing a brand.

[96] Redundancy being that which is conventional or predictable in a message, entropy being the opposite with a low predictability due to its unconventional nature.

[97] Culturally based codes conveyed by a medium (in this case an ad) belong to a system of meaning common to the members of a culture or subculture.

development of signifying codes within a culture is complex, the goal in this technique is to reveal meaning in the advertisement. To do this the analysis questions if the codes are verbal or non-verbal, if there is text or an image or both. Also examined is the intended audience; and if the ads communicate in the emotive, connotative, referential, phatic, or poetic functions.[98]

The analysis also employs the commutations test[99] (a technique of changing an element in the ad and determining if the meaning then changes) to identify paradigm sets and structural or syntagm relationships and organization.[100] As Daniel Chandler succinctly describes in his book Semiotics: The Basics, "If changing the setting used in advertisement contributes to changing the meaning then 'setting' is one of the paradigms; the paradigm set for the setting would consist of all those alternative signifiers which could have been used and which would have shifted the meaning."[101] Likewise, addition or deletion within the syntagmatic form[102] reveals contrasts, relations, and noticeable absences of information.

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[98] This process and semiotic approach towards communication is structured from Jakobson's model. According to his model the *emotive* function speaks to the addresser's emotions, attitude, and status—that which makes the message personal. The *connotative* function refers to the effect of the message on the addressee. *Referential* function focuses on the orientation of reality. *Phatic* function keeps the channels of communication open and is performed by the redundancy of an element. *Metalingual* function, which is explicit or implicit in all messages, identifies the code of communication, such as a political code or an aesthetic code. The *poetic* function is most central to aesthetic communication; this is the relationship of a message to itself.

[99] According to Daniel Chandler, the communtations test is a method for identifying "distinctive signifiers and to define their significance. To apply this test, a particular signifier is selected: then alternatives to this signifier are considered. The effects of each substitution are considered in terms of how this might affect the sense made of the sign. This might involve imagining the use of frame, a substitution in age, sex, class or ethnicity, etc. It could also involve swapping two of the existing signifiers, thus changing their original relationship. The influence of the substitution on the meaning can help to suggest the contribution of the original signifier and also to identify syntagmatic units. The commutation test can identify the sets (paradigms) and codes to which the signifiers used belong.

[100] A concept developed by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, a paradigm is a set of signs from which the one to be used is chosen. They gain their meaning from a contrast with all other possible signs. A syntagm is the message from the signs in combination; gaining meaning from the surround signs.

[101] Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 101.

[102] Ibid., 100.

Figures Intro.00-.03 Alto Douro Wine Region in Portugal. (Regionais, "Alto Douro Wine Region for the World Heritage List" http://www.espigueiro.pt/douro-vinhateiro/uk/index_uk.html)

Figures Intro.04-.05 Tokaj Wine Region in Hungary. (Puhak, http://www.gonomad.com/features/0508/tokaj.html)

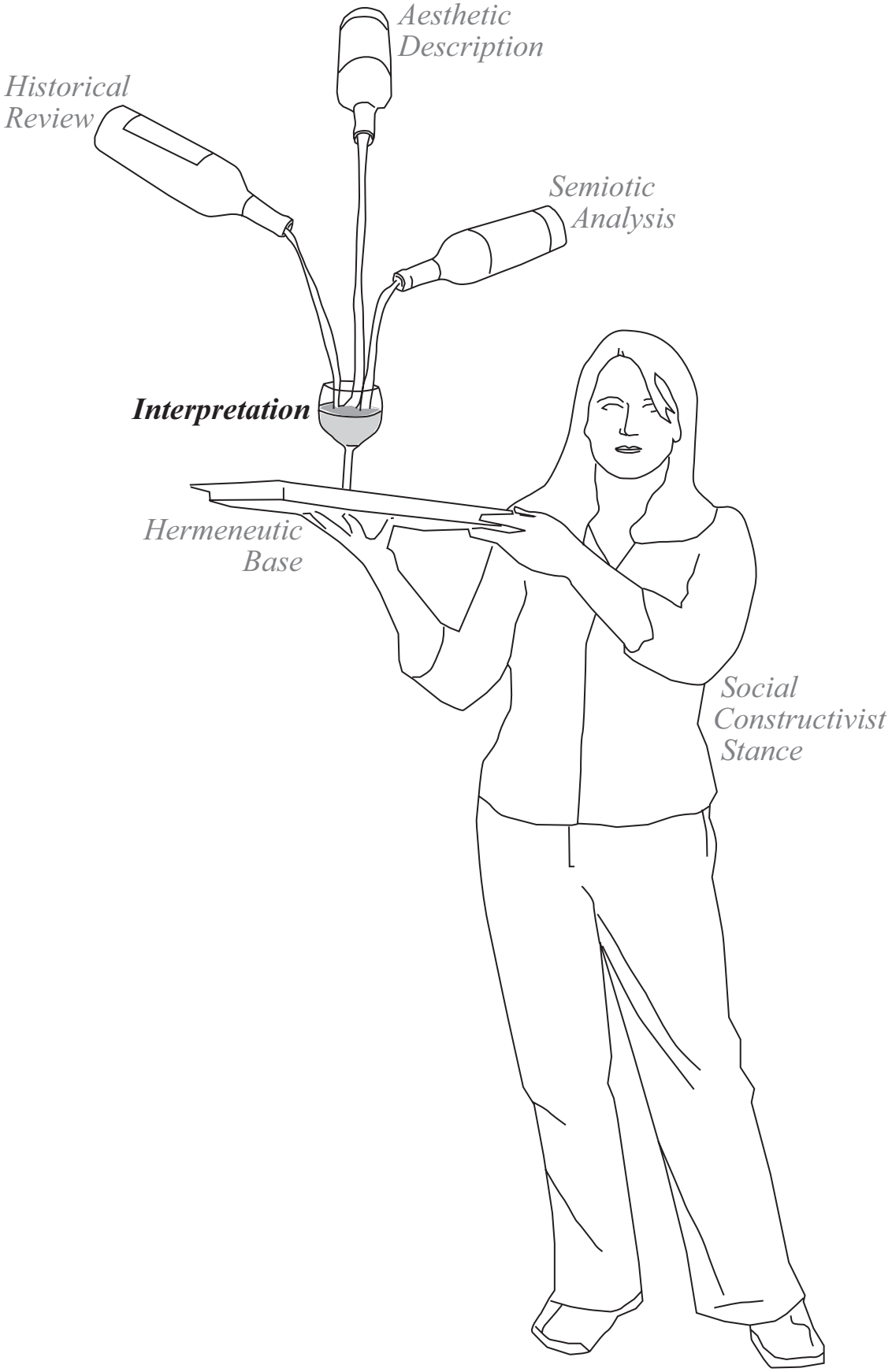

Figure Intro.06 Diagram to Illustrate Philosophy and Methodologies for Interpretation (By author August, 2006).

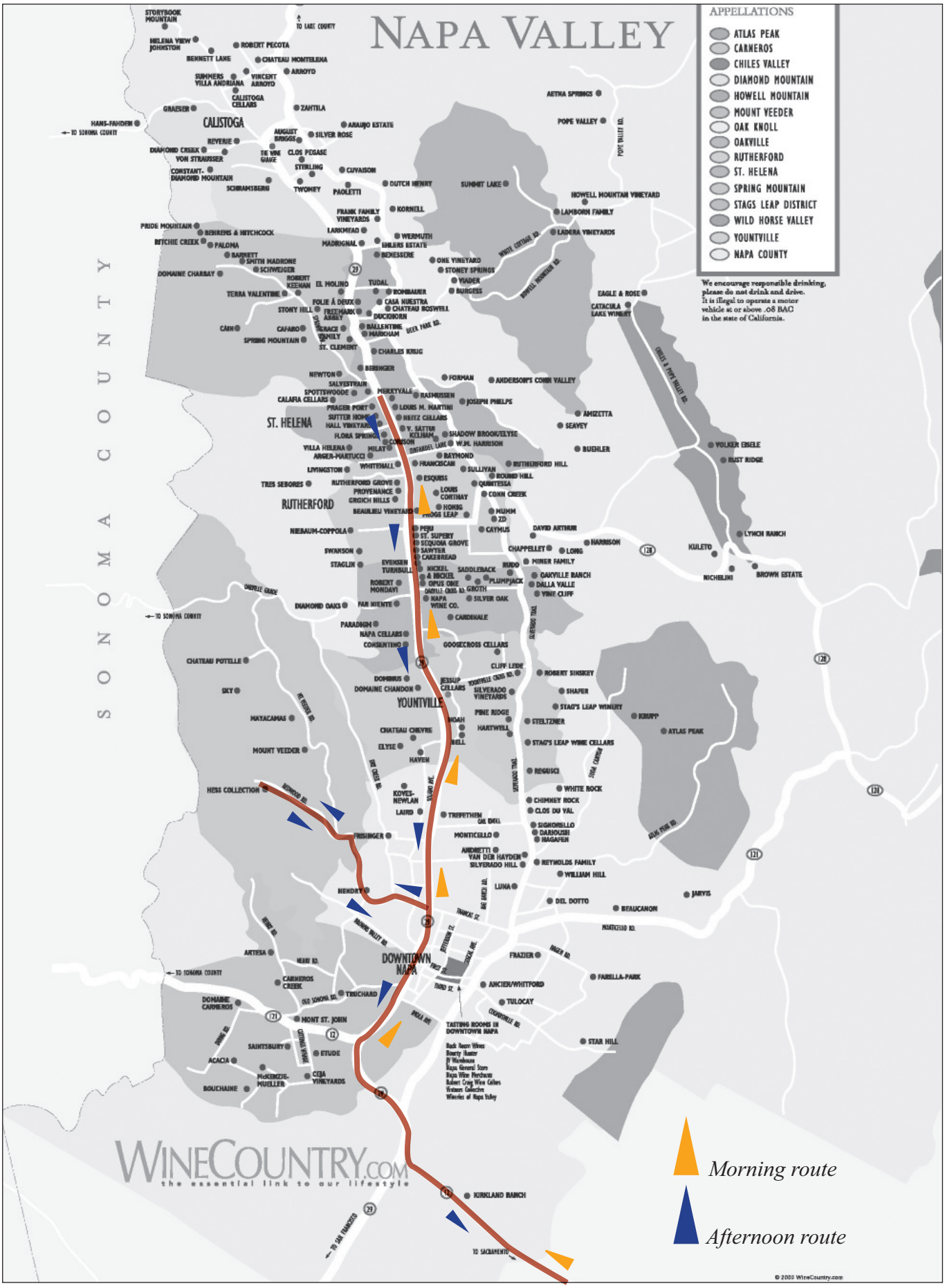

Figure Intro.07 Napa Valley Route (original map from Technologies, 1994 www.napavalley.com, alterations by author June, 2006).

CHAPTER 1
PLACING THE NAPA VALLEY WINE LANDSCAPE: PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL CULTURE

Wine landscapes grow in abundance in many parts of the world; from classic antiquity in Europe and the near East, in South Africa, China, the Caribbean, in South America and the new world continents of North America, Australia, and New Zealand (Fig 1.00). Presently in the United States every state has vineyards and at least one winery[1] (Fig 1.01); each representing a region with its own unique characteristics and social history in viticulture. As Magen Broshi points out in Bread, Wine and Scrolls, "No other agricultural product depends as much in its geographical origin as wine, since the area of cultivation determines its quality and taste… [c]onsequently, great importance is attached to the indication of place of origin—country, province, adjacent settlement, and even particular vineyard."[2]

This chapter provides a brief glimpse into the physical nature, people and tourism of the Napa Valley, and the history of viticultural development in America, California,

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[1] About AllAmericanWineries, *"Winery Locator by State within the USA"* ([cited May 30 2006]); available from http://www.allamericanwineries.com/AAWMain/locate.htm. Wineries per state: Alaska-3; Alabama-6; Arizona-5; California-950+; Colorado-30; Connecticut-18; Delaware-2; Florida-8; Georgia-11; Hawaii-2; Iowa-13; Idaho-23; Illinois-24; Indiana-27; Kansas-8; Kentucky-16; Lousiana-4; Massachusetts-16; Maryland-15; Maine-6; Michigan-46; Minnesota-12; Missouri-58; Mississippi-6; Montana-2; North Carolina-52; North Dakota-2; Nebraska-7; New Hampshire-2; New Jersey-17; New Mexico-29; Nevada-2; New York-120+; Ohio-70; Oklahoma-13; Oregon-314; Pennsylvalia-74; Rhode Island-6; South Carolina-4; South Dakota-2; Tennessee-25; Texas-100; Utah-5; Virginia-76; Vermont-7; Washington-360+; Wisconsin-19; West Virgina-12; Wyoming-1.

[2] Magen Broshi, *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series; 36* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 149.

and more specifically Napa. Together the histories shed light on the cultural landscape of wine we know today, and place the wine landscape in historical context.

Napa's Physical Environment

The Napa Valley is a long and narrow portion of the California Coastal Range system, just shy of thirty miles in length and a little over a mile wide at its narrowest point (Fig. 1.02-.03). The county is approximately 485,120 acres, or 758 square miles. At the southern base of the Napa River pours into a delta, and in the north the mountains bunch and huddle pinching the valley to a close with the dormant volcano Mount St. Helena standing at 4,343 feet. Elevation of the Valley floor is 18 feet above sea level at Napa, rising to 419 feet in Calistoga. On the west side, the Mayacamas Mountain Range, covered by conifers, oaks, and the occasional vineyard runs the length of the Valley, separating it from Sonoma County and the Pacific Ocean. This range ends in the southern end of Napa, gently rolling into the Carneros region. On the eastern side of the Valley, the dryer Vaca Mountain Range extends down into Vallejo, buffering the Valley from neighboring counties. Two main roads and a number of crossroad connections run through the valley: Highway 29 on the west side, and the Silverado Trail on the east.

The terroir[3] of the Napa Valley is a unique amalgam embodied in certain qualities; in sum, specific appellations with differing weather conditions and soil types which contribute to give specific personality to the wine. Currently within the Valley there are

[3] From French the word *terroir* means in essence "taste of the earth"; this phrase is commonly associated with wine and wine regions.

sixteen legally designated regions of viticulture or AVA's (Fig 1.03).[4] These appellation regions cover the valley floor and some adjacent hill ranges.

The Napa Valley and most of northern California has a climate very similar to the Mediterranean—one with moderate but plentiful rain in the winter and spring, followed by warm dry summers.[5] Coastal fogs cool the valley during the hot days, burning off by the afternoon. Starting in the 1930's, professors at the University of Davis, including A.J. Winkler, developed a system of climate regions (Fig. 1.04-.05). This heat summation index is based on the sum of days above 50 degrees during the growing season (April 1 to October 31). Napa contains three out of five possible mesoclimates productive for vineyards. For example, the area between St. Helena and Calistoga, with a heat index of 3,001 to 3,500, resides in Region III category.[6] This mesoclimate favors grapes with higher sugar content, making good-to-excellent table wines such as Cabernet Sauvignon and Zinfandel. Although the mesoclimate regions give a good geographic pattern of viticultural distribution, local variations do exist in the form of microclimates sometimes creating cross-over between regions.

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[4] An American Viticultural Areas or AVA is a delimited grape-growing region distinguishable by geographic features, with boundaries defined by the United States government's Alcohol and Tobacco Tax and Trade Bureau (TTB). The TTB defines these areas at the request of wineries and other petitioners. Unlike most European appellations, an AVA in the United States, and subsequently Napa, specifies only a location. It does not limit the type of grapes grown, the method of vinification, or the yield, for example. Some of those factors may, however, be used by the petitioner when defining an AVA's boundaries. Requirements for designation include: evidence that the name of the proposed new AVA is locally or nationally known as referring to the area; historical or current evidence that the boundaries are legitimate; evidence that growing conditions such as climate, soil, elevation, and physical features are distinctive. The 16 AVA's are: Atlas Peak, Calistoga, Chiles Valley, Diamond Mountain , Howell Mountain, Los Carneros, Mt. Veeder, Napa Valley, Oak Knoll District, Oakville, Rutherford, St. Helena, Spring Mountain District, Stags Leap District, Wild Horse Valley, Yountville.

[5] Less than one percent of the earth has such a climate.

[6] Gary L. Peters, *American Winescapes: The Cultural Landscapes of America's Wine Country* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), 73.

Much of the county's soil is a product of volcanic material, with pockets of igneous alluvium; and, through time, the San Andreas Fault resulted in soils that can be completely unrelated within a distance of mere inches. Suffice it to say, the composition of the valley soils is complex with more than forty fairly distinct types[7] that are typically divided into two general groups, upland for the mountains and lowland for the valley floor.

Napa's Population & Tourism

Moving sequentially south to north up the valley, the city of Napa, the valley's county seat, is physically the largest with a population of 124,000; north from Napa is Yountville with 3,200 people, then Oakville with 300, and Rutherford with 525, still more north St. Helena with 6,000, and the last and most north city in the valley is Calistoga with a population of 5,200. As the county's primary industries are winegrape growing and tourism—most of the employment for valley residents is found in the wine, vineyard and service sectors. This equates to approximately 40,000 full time jobs, nearly half of the county's total employment, and generates wages of nearly $1.4 billion dollars.[8]

Today the Napa Valley is one of the most popular tourist attractions in California[9] with the estimated number of wine related visitors at 3 million annually.[10] As viticulture,

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[7] Charles L. Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.* (San Francisco: The Wine Appreciation Guild, Ltd., 1994), 20.
[8] Napa Valley Farm Bureau, *"Economic Impact Report of Wine and Vineyards in Napa County."* ([accessed August 26 2006]); available from, www.napafarmbureau.org/pdf/ImpactStudy.pdf.
[9] County of Sonoma Economic Development Board, *"2006 Tourism Report"* ([cited August 26 2006]); available from http://www.sonoma-county.org/edb/.

is a major aspect of life in Napa, several types of related tourism activities are available. This includes a varied cultural calendar such as wine and food related events, festivals, international sporting events and a gamut of musical performances, equestrian shows, private barrel tasting and winery tours, film festival, art exhibits and instruction. The region offers a wide range of accommodations, restaurants, and shops for visitors to take advantage of while they explore the scenic surroundings. The area also boasts a number of parks and green spaces, and has several biking trails that provide alternative means of touring for visitors experiencing the area. According to an economic impact report prepared in June of 2005 for The Napa Valley Agricultural Land Preservation Fund and Napa Valley Vintners, wine related tourism expenditures estimated at $534 million dollars in annual revenue.[11]

Napa's Historical Culture

The landscape of wine has existed for over 2000 years; and, American development can be traced back over 400 years. To understand the historical development of the cultural landscape of wine in the Napa Valley, one must see it in the context of the initial hardships of winegrowing and winemaking in the United States; the natural deterrents of climate, fungus, and disease which consistently devastated efforts; the effects of American politics and Prohibition; the sanctity of religious practices, and

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[10] The county estimates that wine related visitors account for more than 80% of the 4 million total visitors to the Napa County.
[11] The full economic impact of wine on the Napa county economy is an estimated at 9.5 billion dollars annually; with tax revenues from the wine industry at $836 million.

the evolving notions of diet and health. For the purposes of this thesis it is easiest to segment this history into three periods: pre-Prohibition, Prohibition, and repeal.

The Early Years: Pre-Prohibition

Although North America is home to 70 percent of the grape species of the world, the vine of European and American viticulture, *Vitis vinifera,* is not native. Wild grapes of North America evolved in conditions cultivated by man, and in their vigorous adaptation native vines, such as *Vitis labrusca* (concord grape), *rotundafolia* (Scupernog or muscadine), *riparia*, *vulpina*, *aestivalis*, *cordifolia*, and *rupestris* (to name a few) might well be suitable for jellies and juice, but rarely in unadulterated form for wine.

Early settlers, the Huguenots and Spaniards, made attempts at winemaking with native vines in the southeastern United States as early as 1568, but no stable cultural landscape resulted. A persistent objective in English colonization was to produce wine, thus alleviating England's heavy dependence on imports from France and Spain. Virginian settler's experimentation began as early as 1609 and other colonies followed suit only to fail in the struggle to make a decent tasting wine from native vines or in propagation with the imported *vinifera*. Due to inclement weather, pests, and lack of skill, wine production never came to fruition in the early colonies. Yet efforts in winegrowing continued, promoted by officials in government, in the hope of prosperity (Fig. 1.06). Colonist hope for successful viticulture can be seen in this poem dedicated to Georgia's efforts;

> With nobler Products see thy Georgia teems,
> Cheer's with the genial Sun's director beam
> That the wild Vine to Culture learns to yield,
> And purple Clusters ripen through the Field.

> Now bid the Merchants bring thee wine no more
> Or from the *Iberian* or the *Tuscan* Shore;
> No more they need th'*Hungarian* Vineyards drain,
> And *France* herself may drink her best *Champain*.
> Behold! At last, and in the subject Land,
> Nectar sufficient for thy large Demand:
> Delicious Nectar, powerful to improve
> Our hospitable Mirth and social Love.[12]

The Virginians are the most prominent in their attempts and relative successes. It is with notable figures such as, Robert Beverly, Philip Mazzei, and Thomas Jefferson that the leadership on enology and viticulture begins to take foot in America. Thomas Jefferson believed the health and the morality of the nation depended on the development and consumption of wine in America; and, although, Jefferson never succeeded in making a good wine at Monticello for a number of reasons, it is significant that he, the premier wine connoisseur for five presidents, consistently experimented with numerous varieties with the intention of producing his own wine.

The true beginnings of commercial winegrowing in the eastern United States began to take root by the early 1800's with the discovery of new American hybrids, crossbreeds between vinifera and the natives. John Adlum "the father of American Viticulture" planted two such hybrids in D.C., the Alexander and the Catawba grape, making the first wines of attractive quality (Fig. 1.07). Adlum went on to publish the first book on winegrowing and winemaking in the newly formed United States in 1823, Memoir on the Cultivation of the Vine in America, and the best Mode of Making Wine. His success contributed greatly to the revival of interest in wine growing in the 1820's.

[12] Rod Phillips, *A Short History of Wine* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 2000), 167.

New York in particular boomed with production rapidly rising to the second largest state after California by 1890. Ohio also proved to be a commercial success of early American viticulture. By the turn of the century, vineyards were well established in states around the great lakes, in the mid-Atlantic, mid-west, and to a lesser extent in the south.

In comparison to the east coast, the early European settlers on the west coast, the Franciscan fathers in California, enjoyed relative success in planting their first vineyards in San Diego around 1770. Production was mostly for church consumption, but by the mid 1830's the missions were producing enough for their own use, with some left over to sell or barter to the presidios, civilians of the pueblos, and the growing number of rancheros. San Gabriel, a mission located in Southern California, was the biggest and oldest wine producer in California with wine production reaching 50,000 gallons a year. Its wine, used for the celebration of mass, the occasional use of the fathers, and the entertainment of visitors, was highly regarded in Spanish California.

With the dissolution of the Missions, the expropriation of mission lands created a small land rush in the northern frontier which included the Napa Valley. Characteristic of the times, the land grab ignored the required transfer of land to the mission Indians and instead holdings were transferred into large Mexican ranchos. A key person in distributing lands was General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. It was in this parlay of land that George Calvert Yount was granted 12,000 acres of Napa Valley land in 1836 (Fig. 1.08). Yount planted grapes in 1838 intended for eating and sugar and later produced wine in the 1850's. His vineyard marked the beginning of viticulture in the valley, and his contributions to the area are memorialized in the naming of the town of Yountville.

Elsewhere in California, notably in the south, by the mid 1830's winemaking was raised from a crude domestic craft to a commercial enterprise as secular vintners began winegrowing. Individualists, such as Frenchman Jean Luois Vignes, stand out as the first generation of commercial winegrowers in California, Vignes from 1833 to the late 1860's, produced wine at his ranch vineyard El Alison winery. Unfortunately, the original location of Vignes vineyard is now the concrete and asphalt of downtown Los Angeles and Union Station. Between the 1830's and 40's the number of vines in California was over 200,000.

Wine production first became significant to the state's economy during the late 1850's, sparked by demand from the growing population in San Francisco. The increase of vines in the state doubled in one year with 1,500,000 vines in 1857 to 3,954,000 in 1858. "The discovery that California has the earth's best range of climates for grapes coincided with the sudden emergence of a thirsty market: the boisterous, open handed-new Californians of the Gold Rush were drinkers."[13] As the men from the gold rush began asking themselves what they might settle down to do, the Monterey Sentinel in April of 1856 offered this suggestion for those seeking a new direction in life

> From the first settlement of the country to our time, nothing has given continental Europeans, who have visited California, more admiration and surprise than the extra-ordinary facility with which different species of the grape have succeeded in our mellow and fertile soil.[14]

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[13] John N. Hutchison, "Northern California from Haraszthy to the Beginnings of Prohibition," in *The University of California/Sotheby Book of California Wine*, ed. Doris Muscatine, Maynard A. Amerine, and Bob Thompson (Berkeley & Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press/ Sotheby Publications, 1984), 30.

[14] William F. Heintz, *California's Napa Valley: One Hundred Sixty Years of Wine* (San Francisco, CA: Scottwall Associates, 1999), 35.

The wine boom came first to southern California, followed by Santa Clara County, Sonoma, and finally Napa. Napa was still very rural; the first road laid in the Napa Valley in 1852 and the railroad in 1864. Wheat was the principal crop for Napa farmers yielding about 591,375 bushels per year, and cattle was second with about 22,000 range cattle.[15] An 1852 description of the Napa landscape from a written account by a member of the U.S.-Mexican Boundary Commission, John Russell Bartlett describes,

> Here we entered the Napa Valley. The hills on both sides as well as the valley were covered with a luxurious growth of wild oats, and immense herds of cattle were roaming about feasting on them.
>
> Wild flowers of varied hues were thickly scattered around, and everything showed that the heavy and continued rains had given new life to vegetation. Our course now north, directly up the valley…
>
> The valley soon became perfectly level, without a hill or depression. In many places ploughmen were at work turning up the soil, which was of the richest description. Barley appeared to be the principal grain sowed, this being in more general use for horses than oats, and found to give better yield.[16]

The Civil War had little impact on viticulture in California. The 1860s began with feverish expansion of vineyards in California. Powered by the rising market for table grapes, and by the campaigns of land agents to attract Americans westward California transformed its industry from an infant to a strong political force. An 1862 report estimated California was home to 10.5 million vines—more than eight times the 1856 number.[17] Napa was rapidly becoming a wine-growing region within the state.

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[15] William F. Heintz, *California's Napa Valley: One Hundred and Sixty Years of Making Wine* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1999), 47.
[16] Heintz, *California's Napa Valley: One Hundred Sixty Years of Wine*, 28.
[17] Hutchison, "Northern California from Haraszthy to the Beginnings of Prohibition," 33.

George Belden Crane and Charles Krug (Fig. 1.09), promoted the idea that the upper Napa Valley made the best wines in Northern California; they developed wines synonymous with great quality promoting the notion that the "agricultural community in the Napa Valley might attain most of the elements of high culture aspired to by city folk."[18] The Bay Area landscape in general "reflected the prosperity and soaring ambitions of people from various parts of the world that had absorbed the wealth and were in the process of building greater fortunes and more splendid houses to accommodate them."[19] Following the Civil War San Francisco had more than 20 millionaires.

The vines planted in Napa between 1879 and 1882 more than tripled the Valley's vineyard acreage and raised the potential for quality as they were generally first class grape varietals (Fig. 1.10-.11). Unfortunately, during this time a new concern emerged in the wine industry in California—Phylloxera vastatrix (Fig. 1.12). This microscopic root louse, native to the Mississippi valley and carried to France on American vines in the 1850's, ironically came to California on imported *vinifera* vines from France in the early 1860's. The solution to abating the infestation was to graft *vinifera* to resistant American rootstock. Most Napa growers in the 1870's however were more concerned with the economic downturn of the nation than with a pest which may or may not harm their vineyards. By the time most appreciated the threat, it was too late. In 1875-76, during a national economic depression, the California wine industry experienced the first in a series of economic downturns. Too much land was under cultivation contributing to a

[18] Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.*, 33.
[19] James Conaway, *Napa* (Boston, Massachusettes: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), 69.

market flush and overburdened with production. Supply far outweighed demand, a repeating cycle for decades until the wine industry organized a voluntary trade associations. Similar to their east coast counterparts, quality and marketing were also serious problems facing Napa winegrowers in the latter nineteenth century.[20]

From the turn of the century to the beginning of Prohibition, Napa followed California and the nation in a general downturn of commercial winegrowing. In 1900 only 18,000 acres in Napa lay under vineyard cultivation with about 166 wineries.[21] Between slumped pricing, phylloxera, and for the most part intolerable crops resulting in terrible quality wine, it seemed viticulture was coming to end. To exacerbate the situation, by the turn of the century, the daunting specter of prohibition was now hovering over the state. In an effort to salvage the already struggling industry, The California Grape Protective Administration (CGPA) produced one-reel movies in the late teens concentrating on California's small vineyardists, depicting wholesome life among the vines and in the cellars of California's winegrowers. Over 100,000 people watched the bucolic scenes representing "happy, solid farmers, whose tidy wineries placed a sound beverage on the table of ordinary Americans"[22] (Fig. 1.13). Despite the CPGA's effort, the majority of growers saw the handwriting on the wall… and the landscape transformed into orchards of prune and walnut: Napa was "a picture of intensive orchard and vineyard culture", with mixed land of fodder crops and grazing.[23]

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[20] Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.*, 80.
[21] Conaway, *Napa*, 15.
[22] Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.*, 177.
[23] Ibid., 123.

In the years leading up to Prohibition, interests other than viticulture brought people to Napa. Increasingly, Napa became a place sought by the wealthy for their summer and weekend homes, or for retirement.[24] The Valley had a reputation for beauty coupled with a perfect climate. As an *Alta California* editorial commented, "Nowhere else in California can a traveler go by rail for thirty miles through one unspoken stretch of enchanting landscape."[25] Most of the distinguished newcomers streaming up the Valley now considered wine little more than booze, a beverage which much of middle-class America increasingly perceived as a serious social problem.[26] From 1914 to 1920, as people sought something from Napa other than a wine landscape, there was a 30 percent decline in wine grape acreage.[27]

Trying Times: Prohibition

In the early stages of the reform movement, fermented beverages, wine and beer, were often thought of as lesser evils. This belief stemmed, in part, from the general misconception that alcohol was a result of distillation not fermentation; and that grape-based drinks in particular embodied the natural environment and soils in which the vines grew. When scientists in the 1820's proved that fermented beverages contained the same alcohol as rum and brandy, views towards its consumption began to change.

By the 1900's the nation perceived drunkenness as a grave threat to home and family. On the heels of WWI, the Temperance Movement gained the political muster to

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[24] Ibid., 160.
[25] Ibid., 71.
[26] Ibid., 161.
[27] Ibid., 178.

criminalize alcohol. Although individual states had prohibition as early as the 1840's (Portland, Maine, voted itself dry in 1843), the 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, in conjunction with the Volstead Act, brought National Prohibition across all of America in 1920[28] (Fig. 1.14).

Ironically, winemaking during prohibition actually increased. Sacramental and medicinal wine was legal, as were flavorings in nonbeverage products, and industrial alcohol."[29] Congress also allowed heads of household to make up to 200 gallons of cider and "fruit juice" for consumption at home. The ultimate loophole was in the ambiguous language: neither the act nor the amendment specified the term "alcoholic" instead they refer only to "intoxicating" drink.[30] In court the beverage in question would have to be proved to be in fact intoxicating, but from the very start home wine was held as "unintoxicating in fact." Cryptic as this language sounds it was nonetheless the intention of the framers of the bill.[31] Furthermore established wineries were allowed, upon applying for the appropriate permits, to make wine and store it, in recognition of the fact

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[28] Interestingly, California never actually supported Prohibition. In election after election, starting in 1914, the state's voters turned down every prohibition proposition on the statewide ballot, even rejecting a state enforcement act in 1920 meant to support the national Volstead Act."[28] This is attributed in part by the demographics of population. Southern California was the most fertile field for support: there the population was overwhelmingly white, protestant and predominantly mid-western or from European regions with a tradition of strong drink. In contrast, Northern California had been a cosmopolitan population since the mid 1800's with 68 percent of San Francisco's population foreign born from parts of Europe Roman Catholic where wine was an accepted part of everyday life.[28]

[29] Rith Teiser and Catherine Harroun, "The Volstead Act, Rebirth, and Boom," in *The University of California/Sotheby Book of California Wine*, ed. Doris Muscatine, Maynard A. Amerine, and Bob Thompson (Berkeley & Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press/ Sotheby Publications, 1984), 51.

[30] It is important to mention that the act and amendment also did not prohibit the "purchase" or "use" of such drink.

[31] Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From the Beginnings to Prohibition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 22.

that crops of wine grapes continued to be produced. This combination of nonsensical arrangements proved to be the grape grower's salvation.

By the early 1920s, total wine production in the U.S. averaged 76.5 million gallons a year, compared to a little more than 50 million in the single biggest pre-Prohibition year. And, California's grape bearing acreage increased from 300,000 acres in 1919 to 400,000 in 1923: total land under cultivation reached a Prohibition high of more than 650,000 in 1928.[32] Admittedly grape growers faired better than wineries as most grapes were shipped off in train cars to Chicago and New York for home winemaking markets. In 1922, there were 912 bonded wineries in the U.S. but the number declined steadily. By mid-1924 there were 642. In 1926 the number dropped below 500, in 1928 below 400, and in 1933, the last year of Prohibition, to 268. Yet even at the industry's lowest ebb, well over 100 bonded wineries were operating in California.

When repeal came in December of 1933, the industry began a slow recovery. Associated with illegality, wine had fourteen years worth of a bad reputation. Those who did drink wine hadn't access to anything resembling good wine and the public's taste had changed. The make-up of the vineyards changed too. In supplying home winemakers, most of whom were on the east coast, grape varietals with thicker skin replaced higher quality wine grapes which could not last the journey (Fig. 1.15). Neglected equipment was in shambles, no research had been carried out, and the younger generation was without instruction. Although "the grand experiment" of Prohibition ultimately failed, it left an indelible mark on the wine landscape.

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[32] Teiser and Harroun, "The Volstead Act, Rebirth, and Boom," 57.

Begin Again: Post-Repeal

The wine culture was a shadow of its former self. The hope for winegrowers after repeal was that America would enter a boom economy. Indeed the year following repeal, there was a spasm of activity but the industry did not grow much beyond the point that it had already reached before Prohibition. A host of new problems assaulted the industry: federal and state regulations, taxes, the decline of quality grapes, bad harvest seasons, and a generally disinterested public. It seemed that despite the wine industry in America was drifting towards an eminent disaster regardless of wine's reinstated legality.

Still, despite the troubled times, wine consumption in the United States was rising and supply did not out weigh demand; the industry was slowly reemerging after a long hiatus. New patterns emerged in the cultural landscape on both the west and east coast. Winegrowers and makers began to market themselves with the help of cooperative marketing initiatives.[33] The agricultural cooperatives which formed in the mid 30's, a marketing system that viticulture would utilize for the next thirty years. Also of importance in California, was the creation of the Wine Institute—its agenda, "to oppose adverse legislation and support the simplification of regulations; to have wine recognized as 'a food product and temperance beverage'; to educate the public about wine; to

[33] In California, the California Marketing Act enabled agricultural growers to combine their efforts in promoting their product. If 65 percent of growers of a certain crops agreed to ask the state department for a "marketing order", then all growers of that crop within California would be compelled by law to contribute. By 1938, 90 percent of winegrowers signed up in support for cooperative advertising.

sponsor research; and to keep its members informed."[34] The Wine Institute continues to play a key role in politics, advertising, and education about California's wine industry.

With the beginning of World War II, shortages of wine from Europe turned the national spotlight on American wines. This situation gave the industry the chance to promote national wines; vintages from New York, Ohio, and California were soon offered by merchants and restaurants. The War resulted in a seller's market, and for the first time, American winemakers and growers were able to sell all they produced at a higher price. By the end of the war, winemakers in the US were giddy with the thought of easement in regulations and restrictions on materials and supplies. In a heady expansion in 1946, the culture of wine in America witnessed a revolutionary change in perception. The industry's future seemed bright. The war had brought a period of financial reward in addition to a number of European exiles with superb training in and knowledge of viticulture and oenology. This infusion of immigrant knowledge coupled with university research helped to raise winemaking standards. However, the euphoria was short-lived. In the years immediately after the War the future of wine was in fact discouraging. The public still preferred fortified wines and inferior grapes were flooding the market with regular surpluses in production.

Although practices in grape growing and winemaking on the east and west coast were vastly different, wineries across America (by the late 1940s) started to consolidate into fewer and larger establishments. In California, companies such as Allied Growers-United Vintners and Gallo Winery reached astonishing proportions. These power-house,

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[34]Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From Prohibition to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 96.

large-scale companies dominated the market, and monopolized distribution practices in the market. Although production numbers show a dramatic rise; the number of wineries in the U.S. following the war actually steadily declined. These winery conglomerations became industrial giants, and by the 1950s it seemed the California wine trade might become an oligopoly.[35] Although the trend again shifted to smaller wine producing establishments by the 1970s, it nonetheless shows a pattern which would reemerge at the turn of the century when large corporations again consolidated wine production.

Another change affecting the wine landscape in the years following the war was, particularly in California was the rapid increase of population and the resulting suburban sprawl. Before WWII, California was a sparsely populated state with 7 million inhabitants in 1940. By 1970 the population had tripled to an estimated 20 million. This growth manifested in the form of suburban expansion and the most obvious and destructive change in this process was the loss of traditional vineyard regions.[36] Southern California felt the change most acutely. In Los Angeles County vineyards shrunk from 4,700 acres in 1940 to 175 acres a decade later (Fig. 1.16). However with the loss of viticultural land in some areas also came new or renewed growth in others. Monterey and areas in the Sierra foothills were discovered and re-discovered for grape growing.

During the 1950's and 60s many of the old problems persisted: issues of quality, surplus, and anxiety and gloom over instability in the trade. Wineries, particularly in the Finger Lakes, began to offer elaborate hospitality rooms. Winery architecture soon became something more than just utilitarian structures, assuming characteristics beyond

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[35] Ibid., 192.
[36] Areas around S.F. such as Santa Clara Valley (home of the Silicon Valley), Alameda, and Contra Costa.

that of a production place. By the early 1960's, ideas were definitively changing and wine once perceived the dubious drink of immigrants, made in basements, was being transformed into a symbol of high culture, an edible art. By the late 60's, the cultural landscape of wine was becoming a different thing, unprecedented in America. The American public was beginning to become acquainted with American wines and their distinct identities. Table wine was the primary consumer demand and under the continued stimulus of advertising and public relations, wine began to acquire a certain glamour. There were new publications for consumers of wine, newspapers began to have wine sections. There wine judgings, wine festivals, and a growing interest in home winemaking, wine societies, museums, and library collections, university led appreciation courses, and wine auctions.

As Americans increased in affluence, people bought what they perceived as a luxury. People were looking for consumer status symbols and wine was associated with a style of living to which to aspire. Americans had a growing interest in food. *Gourmet* magazine started publishing in 1941 had considerable effect in changing peoples culinary tastes by the 1960's; and wine was commonly featured as a compliment to any cuisine. Other portents for change in perceptions towards wine were also evident in the promotion of the "California dream" or California style. This mythos was a heady promotional mix intermingling such things as California's scenery (ocean, mountains, desert), its natural wonders (redwoods, Yosemite and the Sierras), the glamour of Hollywood, its tourist attractions (Disneyland), its year-round sunshine, and its Pacific beaches. The newcomers who poured into the state naturally sought to acquire the signs of this style. California, it seemed, was the state of wine, and as the residents of California drank wine,

wine was therefore a part of this style. In the mid-1960's the idea of owning a winery "appealed mostly to the irrational side of people with money to spend and a romantic vision of rural life where winemaking was more idyll than professional."[37]

By the 1970s the national wine landscape changed and small wineries multiplied with America's growing consumption, table wines rose to unforeseen levels of popularity, and the big wineries struggled to maintain their market share.[38] As the last big remaining wineries in the Finger Lakes were disappearing, small, family owned wineries based on French hybrid vines sprang up. New York again reached its traditional place of leadership among the winegrowing states of the East; and its evolution and transformation turned it into something quite different from what it had been.

Napa also changed considerably from the early 1970's. Napa Valley wine by the late 1970's were being noticed world-wide as superior quality; and one could measure the growing interest in wine by the number of people now pouring into the Valley to visit wineries, take a tour, and partake the sampling services in winery tasting rooms. Newcomers to the wine landscape had sometimes restored forgotten wineries, and sometimes established new ones. The people planting vineyards, or better, having them planted, had other goals in mind than simply to procure profit. As one bank advisor remarked, "these aren't speculative investments. They are way-of-life investments."[39] With heady prospects investors of all kinds have invested in Napa's wine landscape—including big well-financed international companies. These large companies tended to

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[37] Conaway, *Napa*, 77.
[38] Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From Prohibition to the Present*, 225.
[39] Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.*, 323.

exploit family winery names, once associated with a particular place and product, as a brand to be applied whenever an opportunity arose.

In the 1990's acquisitions of smaller properties by larger companies became standard business practice in Napa. Today, large corporations such as Constellations, Diegeo, Heublein, and Foster's own many vineyards not only in California, but in other states such as New York and Virginia, not to mention other countries. The cultural landscape of wine mirrors the process of corporate acquisition, merger, and consolidation happening globally. By the turn of the century California displayed some sensational contrasts of scale—the huge, increasingly international conglomerations at one end and the tiny wineries at the other—with few businesses in between.[40]

During the past forty years the production and consumption of wine in the United States has vastly increased. By 2005 the acreage devoted to wine grapes in California was 550,000 acres; with a total of 1367 wineries in California, 391 of which in Napa. [41] By 2005 California wine sales reached 441 million gallons (185.4 million nine-liter cases) with a retail value of $16.5 billion.[42] In the world league of wine-producers the USA is now fifth, with California contributing 95% to its total. Per capita consumption has quadrupled from two and half bottle to 11 a year.

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[40] Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From Prohibition to the Present*, 347. Some sixty-one small wineries were bonded in California in 2001 alone.
[41] The Wine Institute, *"Commercial Wineries"* (2006 [cited June 10 2006]); available from http://www.wineinstitute.org/industry/keyfacts/ca_wineries.php.
[42] Ibid.([cited).

Today there are more wineries, more vineyards, and better distribution than ever before; but for the most part America is still not a wine drinking country.[43] The status in many states is still problematic in regulation and moral attitudes. Those who do drink wine are often driven by pricing, rating, and the obsession to have the best.[44] Still, much has been accomplished in the cultural landscape of wine in America. If the U.S. is not yet a wine-drinking country, it is an indisputable area of the world that one may find much good and interesting wine. Probably the hope for the continued growth of the wine industry in America and the cultural landscape of wine in Napa, is best expressed by Edmund Mirassou, of Mirassou Winery, who once remarked, "thank God, for the entrepreneurs, and the universities—and the banks that had the courage to lend us money—it has worked out well."[45]

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[43] Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From Prohibition to the Present*, 367.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 369.

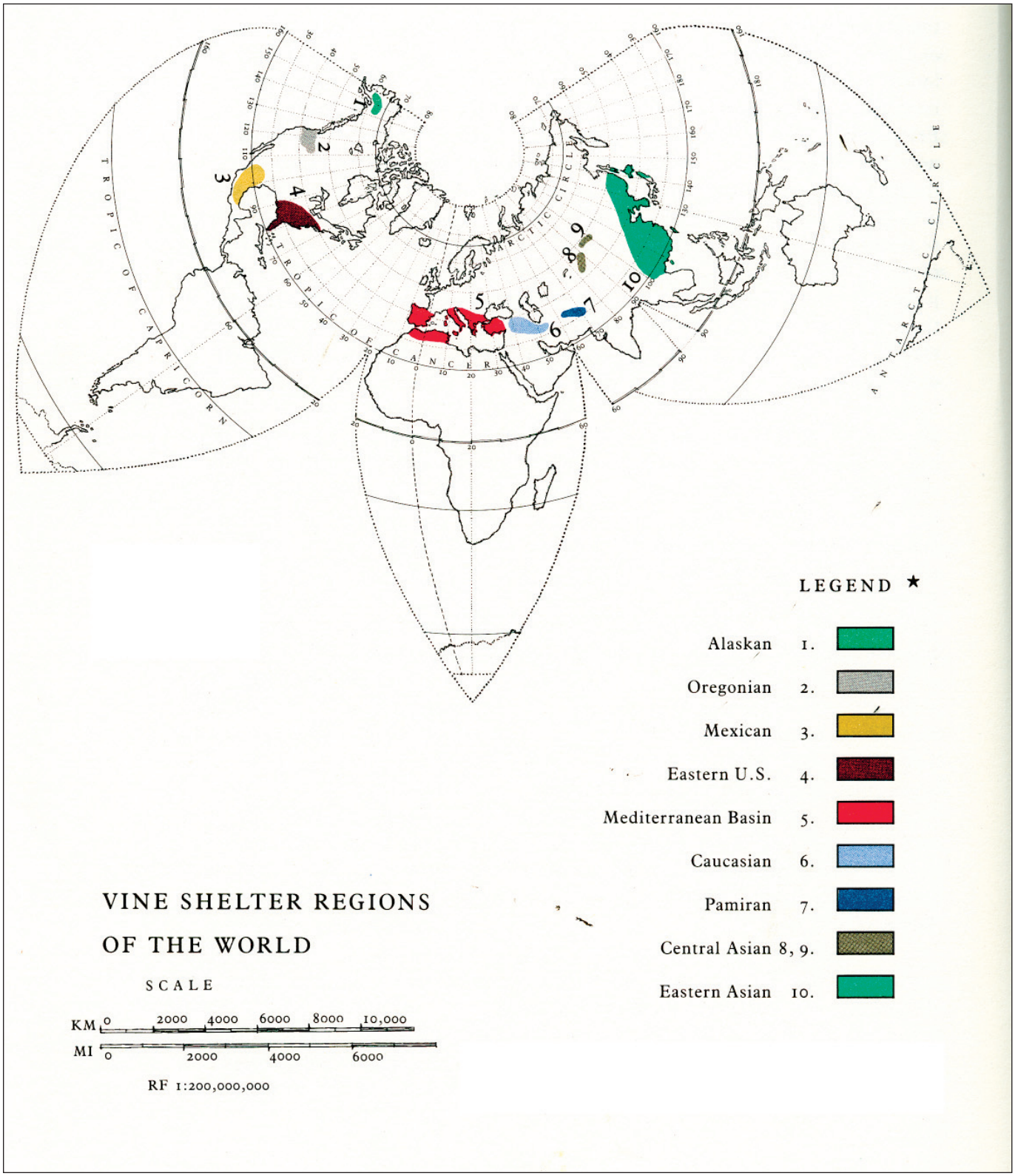

Figure 1.00 Vine regions of the world after Ice Age. (Muscatine, 1984 pg.90).

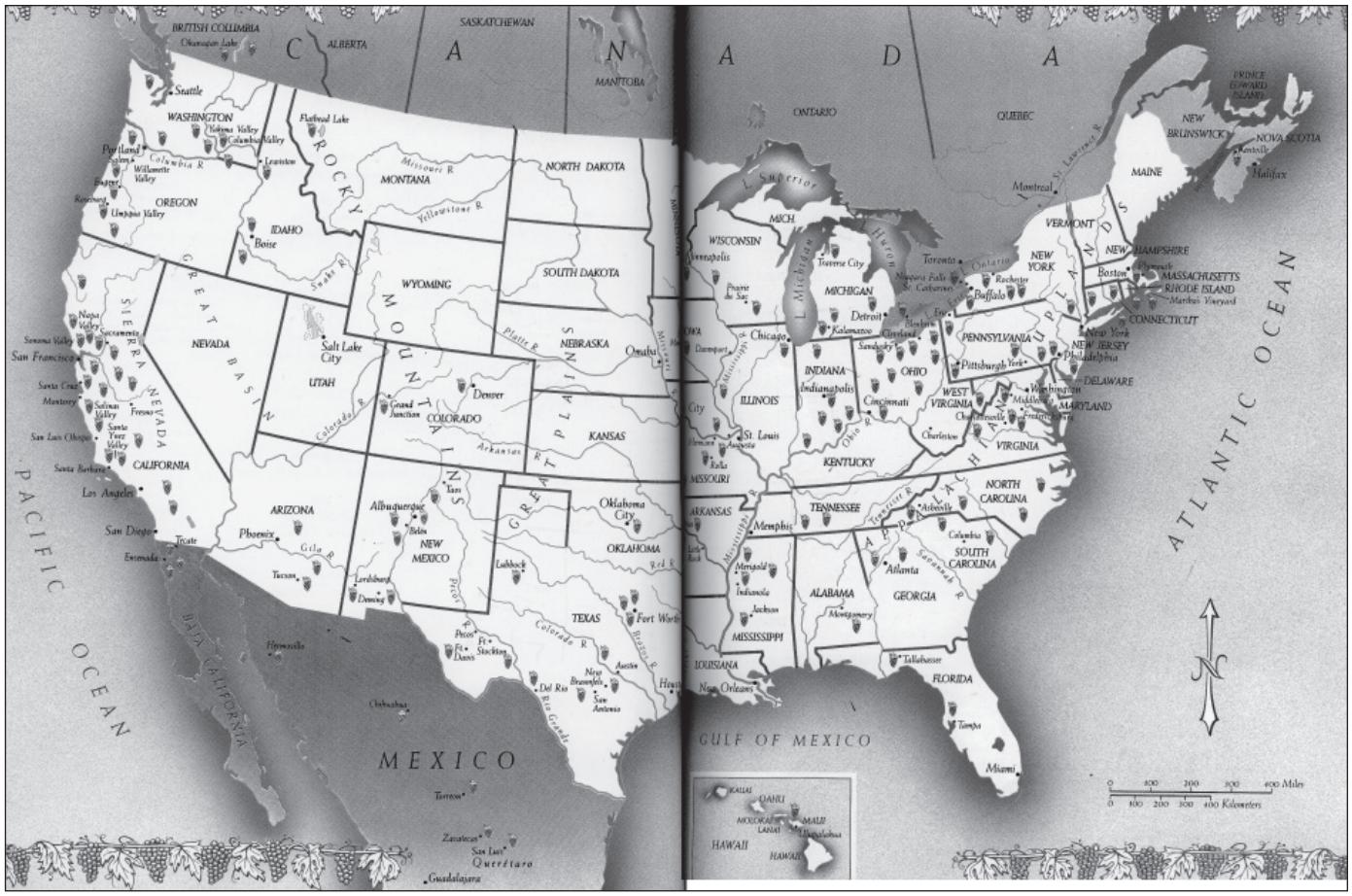

Figure 1.01 American Wine areas
(Ensrud, 1988 pg. 1)

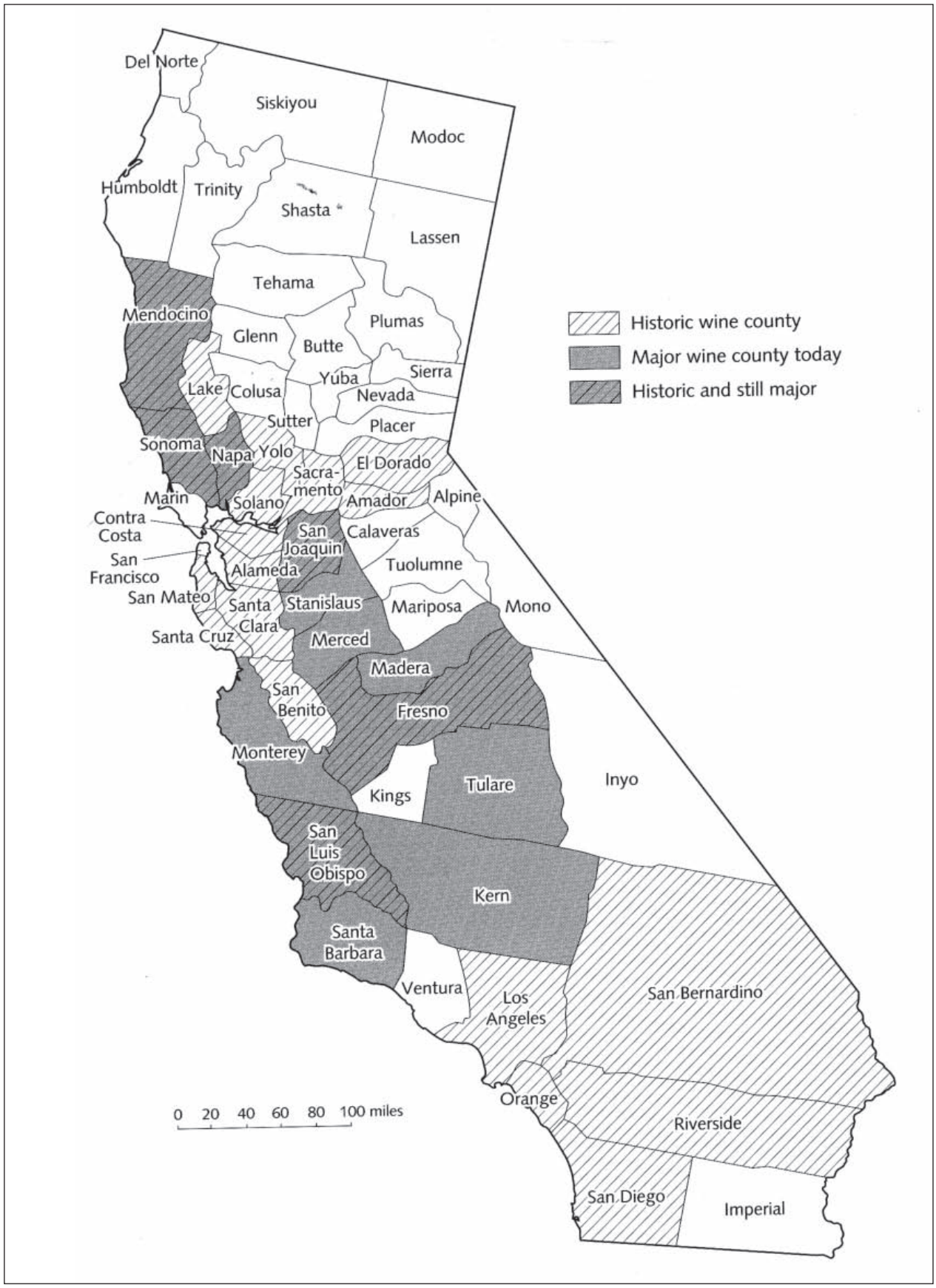

Figure 1.02 California Wine Counties (Muscatine, 1984 pg.35).

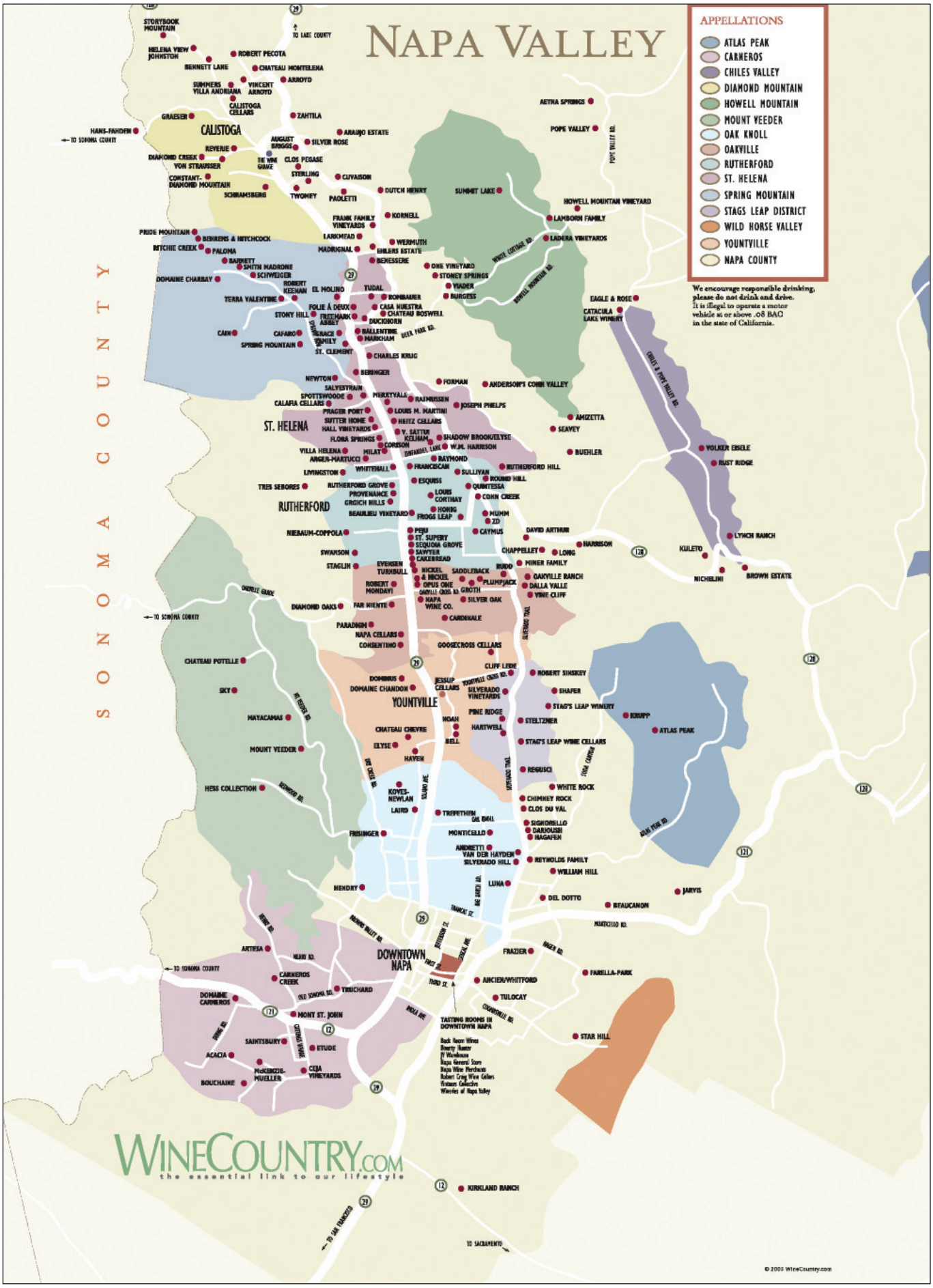

Figure 1.03 Napa County (Technologies, 1994 www.napavalley.com).

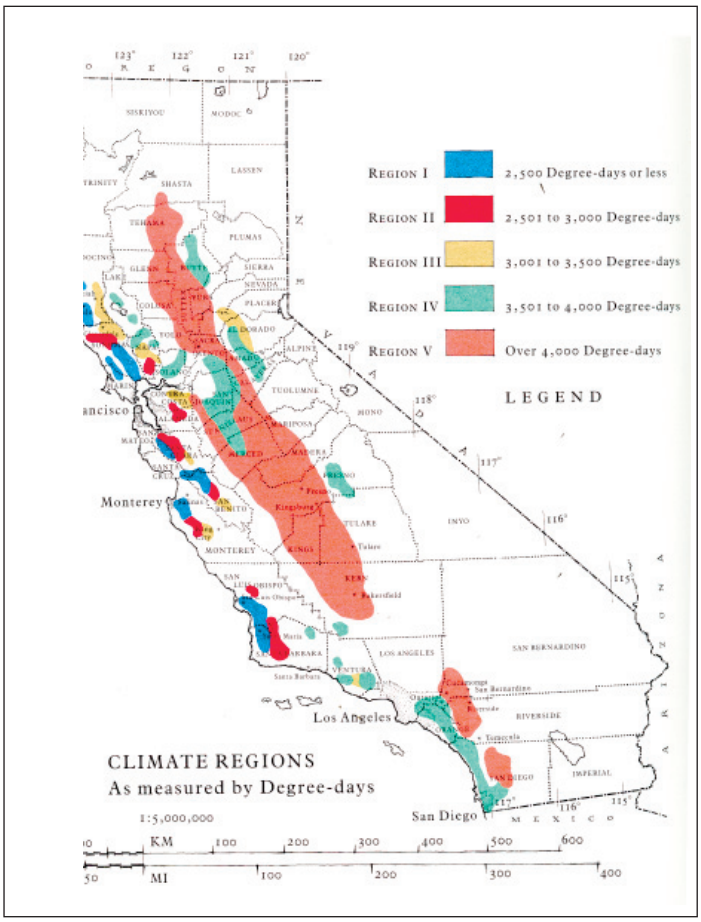

Figure 1.04 Climate Region Zone Map. (Muscatine, 1984 pg.196).

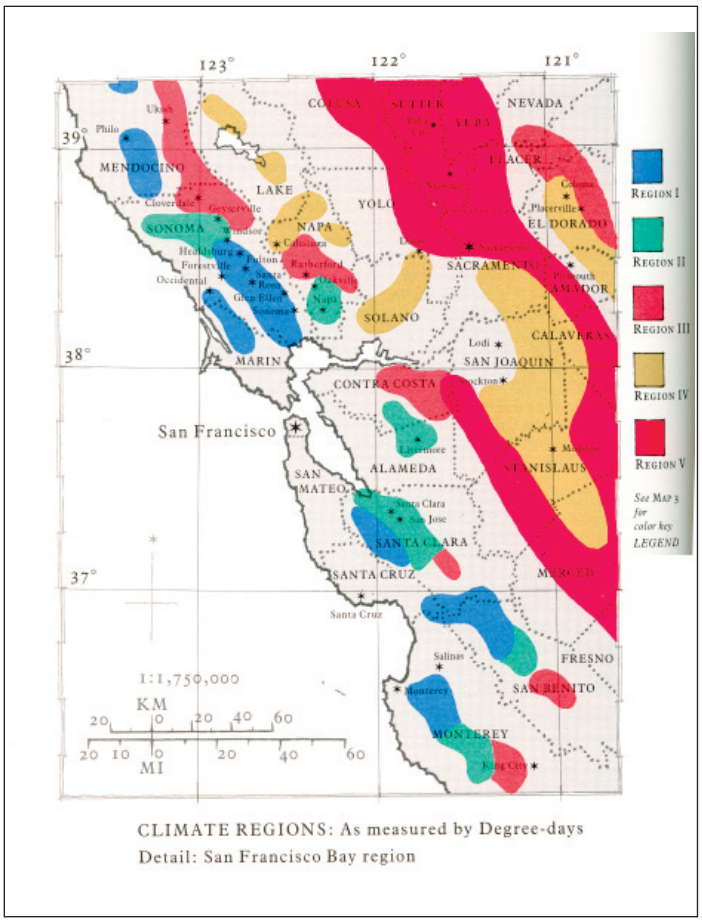

Figure 1.05 Climate Region Zone Map close up of Napa Valley. (Muscatine, 1984 pg.195).

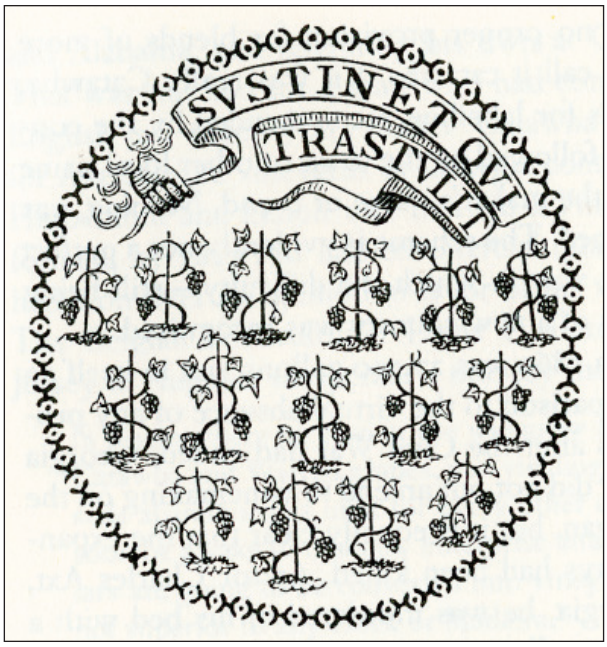

Figure 1.06 Seal of the state of Connecticut. The motto may be translated as "who transplants, sustains." (Pinney, 1989 pg.228).

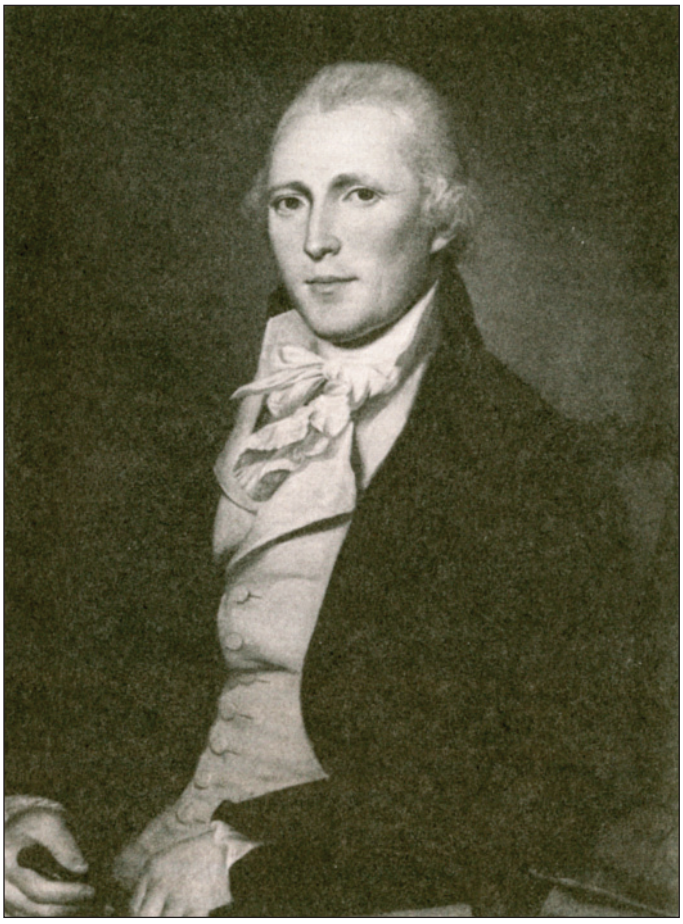

Figure 1.07 John Aldum (1759-1836) (Pinney, 1989 pg.185).

Figure 1.08 George Calvert Yount. (Sullivan, 1994 pg.18).

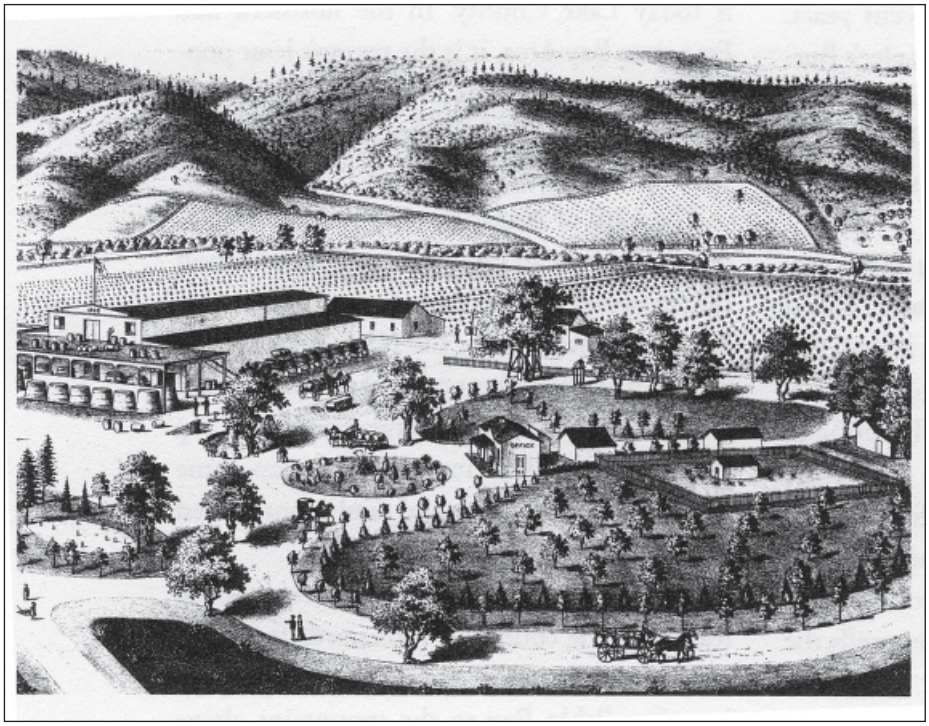

Figure 1.09 Charles Krug and his estate. The Winery is the structure on the left, vineyards in background. (Sullivan, 1994 pg.232).

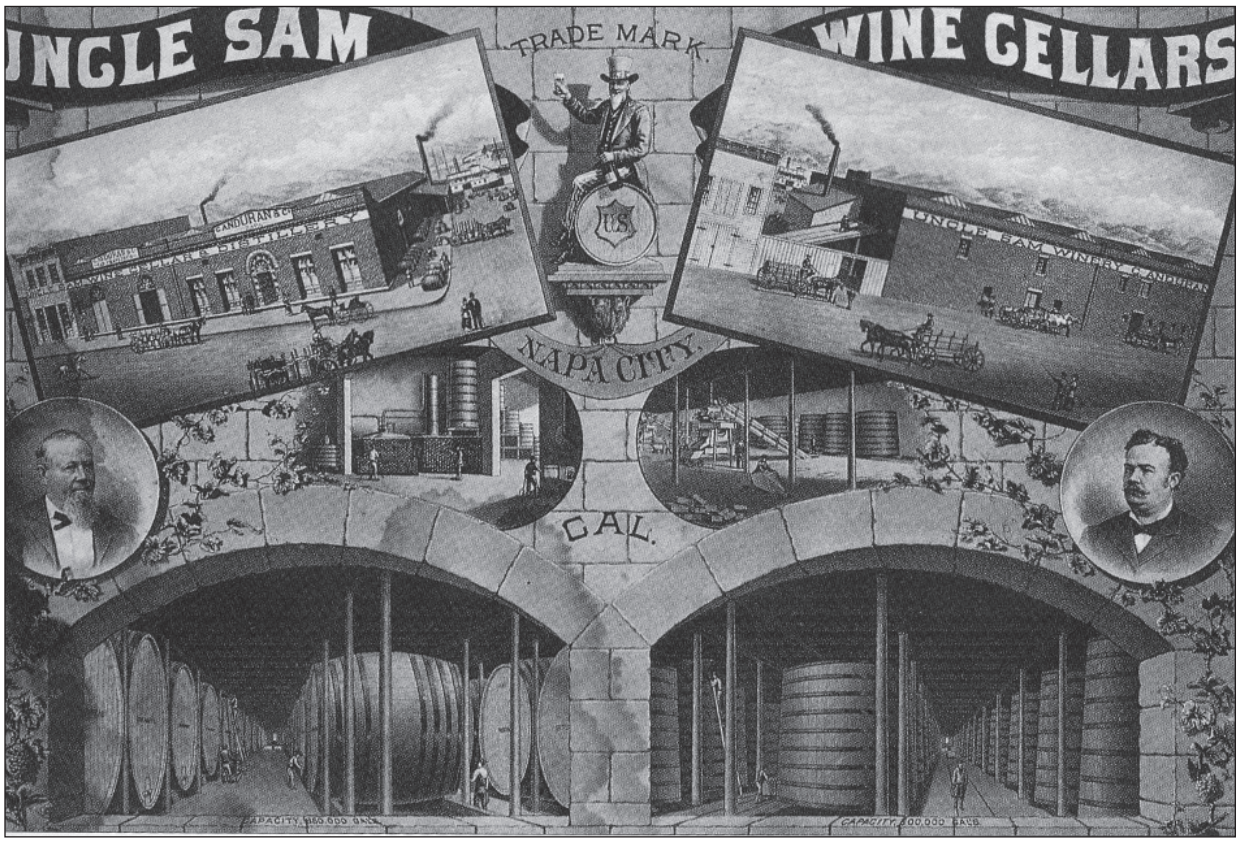

Figure 1.10 19th Century Post Card for Napa winery.(Sullivan, 1994 pg.56).

Figure 1.11 19th Century Post Card for Yountville winery. (Teiser, 1983 pg.93).

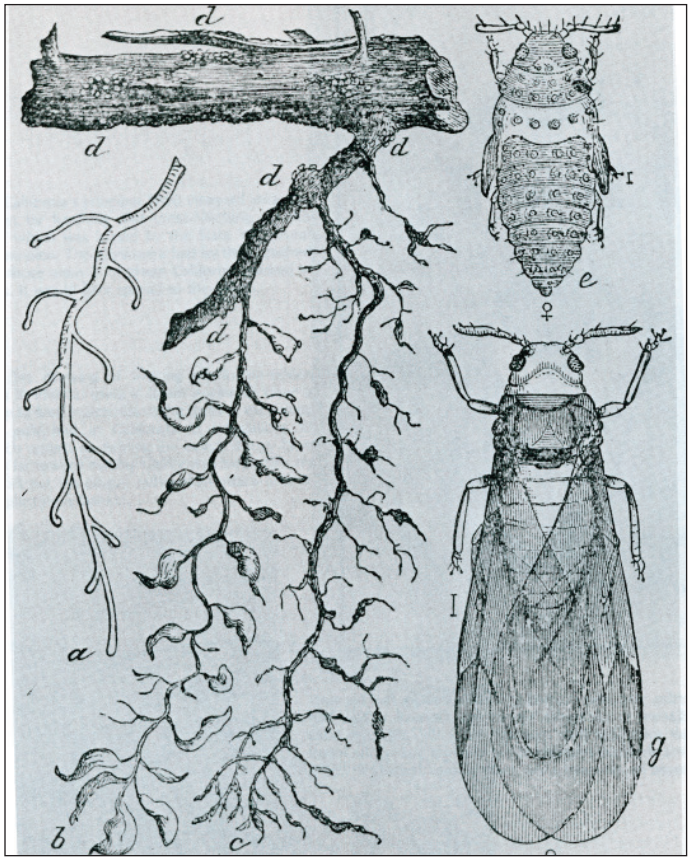

Figure 1.12 Phylloxera vastatrix. (Teiser, 1983 pg.99).

Figure 1.13 Advertisment depicting wholesome family life with wine. (Teiser, 1983 pg.109) .

Figure 1.14 Printed material on both sides of the argument before Prohibition. (Teiser, 1983 pg.176).

Figure 1.15 How grapes were sold to home wine-makers. These crates were packed and shipped in cattle cars. (Pinney, 2005 pg.21).

Figure 1.16 The impending end of vineyards in Southern California. (Pinney, 2005 pg.21).

CHAPTER 2

PLACING THE NAPA VALLEY WINE LANDSCAPE: OBSERVED CULTURE

Aesthetic Description Analysis

Meandering though a land green from winter rain, I travel the two lane highway of Jamison Canyon. Congested with cars and trucks reflecting the bright sun this route is one of a handful of roads accessing the wine country. On the side of the road, wild cherries are starting to exhibit their delicate blushing blooms. Petals closest to the streaming cars whip and tear in the manufactured wind. The surrounding hills, threadbare from a century of cattle farming, roll away in steep incline. The compacted earth swells in breast with breaths of uneven green streaked with hard-worn paths crisscrossing into the horizon. I pass the remnants of a creek trampled into oblivion, a muddy trickle diying in a culvert at the road's edge. Ahead, newly born Bacchanal bounty shimmers in metallic pattern, braces and trellising for vines strung upon contours.

The wine country slumbers in February making a quiet reprieve for a visit. In less numbers are the giddy tourists typical on a summer weekend, for this I am thankful. It's ten minutes to nine in the morning: the temperature is a brisk fifty-four degrees. A lucky patch of weather maintains a clear sky, an anomaly in California's winter rainy season. In sharp contrast to my current state of residence, Georgia, whose humid character suspends history in mid-air creating a burden as inescapable as breath is for life, California's clear air feels open, everything in focus. The sky, a French shutter blue, hinges to land in a resolute horizon, and life beneath exists exposed without shelter,

without overwhelming tradition and propriety. For those who populate this golden state, the landscape maintains anonymity. Yet, life is not simpler here. Within this anonymity land and people exist in a marriage of freedom and isolation, independence and loneliness.

Staked rows emerge; vines mark either side of the road displacing cattle. I pass the Chardonnay Golf Club which opened after I graduated high school. This is one of eight golf courses in the valley (three of which are private country clubs, Chardonnay is semi-private, the rest are public). A tailored landscape with ornamental plantings and obligatory turf flanks a stone entrance. From the car I can see men in bright polo shirts swinging their clubs amongst vineyards and trees. Rounding another curve in the road the lower Napa basin opens up and in the distance the hills appear veiled thinly in wisps of fog, or is that smog? The hue seems not quite white but stained like the discolored teeth of a habitual coffee drinker. I cannot help but grimace. When my family moved north from Southern California in the 1970's, my father claimed we were escaping the wastes of humanity. We drove the hot oppressive Interstate 5 highway out of Los Angeles and climbed the infamous Grapevine Canyon eventually crossing the Tehachapi Mountains to sharply descend near the southernmost point of the San Joaquin Valley, California's agricultural basin. This formidable passage gave us the ultimate feeling of physical separation, escape from the noise, heat, and sea of people. Now, almost thirty years later, I see the orange stained sky and think humanities waste is catching up with paradise. My family's escape was temporary at best.

I turn north onto Hwy 29, passing a Sake house complete with walled Japanese Gardens. The southern basin of Napa consists mostly of tilt-wall constructed buildings

servicing light industrial business. Wine merchants and wineries house their surplus, cooperages build barrels, corks and capsule manufacturers store and sell their goods.

Napa is a narrow valley with two main routes north, Hwy 29 and the Silverado Trail. Both are lined with vineyards and wineries, but Hwy 29 is generally thought of as the main route, the "wine road" (especially by non-locals). In the valley the western hills, influenced by a cooling coastal fog which rolls over the mountains, is home to ferns and redwoods while the eastern side's dryer chaparral character hosts craggy oaks covered in lichen and Spanish moss. The northern valley is typically the hottest in the summer, usually in the high 90's, while the south tends to be a bit cooler with more wind. Flooding is not an uncommon occurrence, nor is devastating fire or the occasional murmuring earthquake. In growing up here, I experienced all three.

As I come to the high concrete bridge which crosses over the Napa River a bronze statue of a man crushing grapes stands against the sky, a cast monument to the wine industry (Fig. 2.01-02). The river below him spreads placidly to form a small wetland (Fig. 2.03). A popular San Francisco radio station is playing The Who on the radio as I tentatively pull to the side of the road and climb out of the passenger's seat to avoid the fast heavy traffic.

I contemplate which view to shoot with the camera unable to hear myself think over motoring noise. Looking back towards the opposite side of the river, I can see white satellite dishes, metal industry, storage facilities, and groves of Eucalyptus trees. Gum trees are not native to California, although their sheer numbers might suggest they were wrought out of the same soil which begat the golden poppy and sweet lupine. As cultural immigrants, these trees speak of the long-standing horticultural relationship and exchange

between California and Australia. I once read that conservationist John Muir thought the gum tree an excellent replacement for the oak forest excessively depleted for lumber and tannins. Indeed, they grow fast and well in the California climate. Today, however, an ongoing debate rages about keeping these brittle giants. The California Department of Transportation (CALTRANS) considers their shallow roots a roadside liability, while environmentalists recognize them as suitable habitat, especially for predatory birds. There is of course no easy solution in the wake of previous generation's over-foresting. I notice on the side of the road deliberate plantings of oak seedlings, perhaps to mitigate current cutting of the gum trees (Fig 2.04).

Twenty feet below me, a barbed wire fence stands knee-deep in water. The rusty metal cuts through the natural floodplain of Napa. A white egret in a nearby tree perches in still repose (Fig. 2.05). A truck driver yells something out the window while unidentifiable birds continue their songs against the rolling hum of automobiles.
My shoulders and temples are tight with stress, I climb back into the rented Toyota hybrid and switch the car on… it's so quiet I'm not quite sure it's running.

At the first stoplight upon entering the valley floor I have a choice of turning left onto Hwy 121 towards Sonoma Country, or heading straight into the Napa Valley (Fig. 2.06). I lurch forward and pass through the town of Napa—the namesake city which houses most of the Valley's population. Comparatively speaking, Napa tends to offer more reasonably priced housing than the smaller tourist towns up valley. Of course "affordable" is a relative thing in California. Napa residents represent a broad spectrum of economic and social backgrounds, with cultures integrating freely. Politically, Napa and the Valley as a whole tend towards a relatively conservative viewpoint, particularly

for northern California. The general feel is a “farmer conservative” attitude. My mother used to call Napa a social bubble, as it seemed to always stave off any real influence from the Bay Area, and has its own peculiar and somewhat isolated political ideology. The arguments and debates are typical: concern over private property rights, government controls, and taxes sway old-timers (who are usually more affluent) towards the Republican Party. With a predominantly catholic population, there is an overall tendency towards social conservatism as well.

With the window down, the distinct spicy-sweet scent of mustard flowers enters the car (Fig. 2.07-08). I look for their origin and from across the highway I can see a farm worker on a 4-wheeler driving down the rows of vines spraying some sort of clear liquid. Trained in rows the vines trellis thin metal wires that stretch horizontally for maximum sun exposure. The winter snarl of the vineyard stems is not yet trimmed and pruned. Each season carries its duties, winter for pruning, spring for cultivation, summer for thinning of fruit, and fall, the hectic season of harvest when a whole year of labors are celebrated. Today, the vines, stark and naked, sleep in suspended animation, with plump buds not yet ready to open. Huge propellers and smudge pots litter the scene, insurance against late spring frosts that can devastate crops by freezing the tender flower buds.

Just south of the city of Yountville, I turn onto a quiet two-lane side road running parallel with the highway. A light breeze brushes my face. The car controls read 9:30 with a temperature of 65 degrees. I decide to pull to the side of the road, framing the historic Veterans home in my camera lens. This large stucco complex founded in 1884 initially served the needs of veterans of the Civil War. Today it provides long-term residential care for veterans of all wars (Fig. 2.09). As a child I took swimming lessons

in the large outdoor pool and remember seeing old men sitting in wheel chairs under the shade of the trees.

The sound of the wine train, a passenger train designed for tourists with an appetite, softy whistles nudging my thoughts I drive forward into Yountville, a small town with an estimated population of about 3,400 (the whole valley is about 160,000). Established in 1855 by the first American settler in the Napa Valley, George C. Yount, the town consists mostly of restaurants, inns, and boutique shops (Fig. 2.10). It is quiet, sleepy, with most permanent residents being retirees. I leave the car with the window open and take some notes. A couple looking to be in their 60s stop, and skeptically ask if I am some sort of inspector. The man sports a plaid shirt with shorts contrasting in pattern or color; the woman stands next to him in a comfortable leather jacket and wide brim straw hat shading her carefully rouged cheeks. I am convinced that in some popular travel book for the wine country there is a list for appropriate attire: ranked number one as an item women cannot do without—the straw hat. Big and floppy or tightly woven, plain or decorated, makes no difference, what is important is the unspoken dress code upon entering the wine county be upheld. You must don a woven hat preferably of dry grass material.

Waiting outside the visitor's center, a gentle breeze ripples the California state flag. Raised in Sonoma in 1846, the flag depicts the grizzly bear which once populated Napa and surrounding areas in Northern California. Ironically, this symbol of California was hunted into oblivion less than 75 years after the discovery of gold; the last known grizzly was shot in 1922. I think it must be the kiss of death for any species unlucky enough to be selected as a national or state symbol.

I leave the *uber* tourist town and merge back into Hwy 29 traffic. I click photos in a whirlwind, occasionally slowing down to a speed I scorned as a resident; but, after all, today I'm a tourist. The road becomes two lanes and the drive relaxes into a lazy movement. Driving up the valley I pass winery after winery, too many to count, spaced apart by vineyards. Dominus Winery, designed by Herzog and de Meuron, stands in minimalist austerity with gabions filled with stone. Not more than one mile down the road another winery, Opus One, a partnership between Mondavi and the Rothschild's, bespeaks of European elegance. Facing me in reproduced Spanish heraldry another five miles further I pass Robert Mondavi Winery (Fig. 2.11-13). Driving I pass more wineries one after another, mostly new, in a collection of styles and scales. I move through the small town of Oakville. On my right stands The Oakville Grocery, a food-stuff-store 120 years old, now with 3 other stores by the same name in the bay area (Fig. 2.14).

I drive on, slowing, passing through another small train-stop town, home of Napa Valley's premier Cabernet Sauvignon growing region—Rutherford. This unincorporated town is best known for its two major wineries, Beaulieu Vineyard (or BV) established in 1900 and Rubicon Estate formerly known as Niebaum-Coppola (Francis Ford Coppola today owns the estate), and before that Inglenook, with a first vintage in 1882. At this point in the summer, Hwy 29 becomes more like a parking lot than a serviceable road. Supposedly this highway accommodates up to 25,000 cars per day on a busy weekend. Luckily this is winter, and the tourists are not out in full force. In a blink of an eye I pass through the town and push north, accelerating slightly (Fig. 2.15). I pass still more vineyards and wineries until I come to the town of St.Helena and the V. Sattui Winery (Fig. 2.16). Today, the outside grounds of this winery appear sparsely inhabited, but on a

sunny warm day this winery is a sea of picnic blankets. As a kid, my parents would stop here on occasion, pick up some cheese and crackers, a bottle of wine, and snack on the grass. We stopped coming sometime in high school, when the number of people became too oppressive. Traffic slows to a crawl as I enter the affluent St.Helena. Tourists dressed in their casual finery pause to window shop. Without hosting the obligatory chi-chi shops like Dolce and Gabbana or Chanel, St.Helena still manages to appeal to the up-scale shopper. There is a mixture of antiques, boutiques, and art galleries, all insanely pricey.

Architecturally speaking, downtown St. Helena maintains its historical appearance; brick and stone buildings line the main road. Simply said, the town appears money clean. Fresh paint and decorative storefronts display their wares in understated but apparent affluence. I turn onto a backstreet to bypass the congestion of the three-block downtown corridor. The houses are mostly turn-of-the-century, small with manicured cottage gardens of lavender and clematis. I roll into the public library parking lot, a good place to park away from the crowded main street. The simple, almost monastic structure sits amid gnarled vines and yellow blooming mustard (Fig. 2.17-18). Built in the late 70's, this structure replaced a smaller Carnegie library which functions today as a community center. The present U-shaped structure of pure white stucco with a grey slate roof contains three entities, the public library, the Napa Valley Wine Library, and the Silverado Library (devoted to Robert Louis Stevenson). Robert Louis Stevenson wrote about the area in his book The Silverado Squatter which he drew from his experience of a two-month honeymoon stay on Mount St. Helena. The library's collection includes some of Stevenson's books, art, manuscripts and memorabilia.

My stomach growls and I realized its well past lunch time so I leave the library and walk the short distance to a popular local bakery for lunch (Fig. 2.19). The place smells yeasty sweet from rising bread and the artfully displayed shelves house scores of sourdough loaves, braided egg breads, seeded buns with olives and walnuts (Fig. 2.20). Awaiting the patron, focaccia bread, baguettes, and cookies the size of your hand sit on wax paper. The bakery's light-filled interior speaks a picture perfect moment of a bakery wine-country-style with foot-worn wood floors, yellow walls, green trim, an espresso machine hissing breathy foam, a yuppie, telecommuting, yoga mom talking on a cell phone and punching computer keys while her child naps in a stroller. I eat lunch watching pedestrians pass by. Couples strolling, relaxed, scrubbed, with pressed clothes. I bite into my turkey sandwich encased in sourdough bread, pungent and chewy with just the right amount of air. I finish with coffee and a seriously rich dessert far too buttery for a trim waistline.

The day is wearing on so I decide not to travel further north to Calistoga, instead my next stop is Hess Winery, south-west of Napa. Wired on caffeine, I depart St. Helena retracing my morning drive towards Mt. Veeder, the formidable hill on which Hess Winery sits. It takes me half an hour to reach the First street overpass in Napa. I exit the highway and drive through the suburban area known as Browns Valley. Fields I remember as a child are now covered in stucco two-storey houses with tile roofs and large two-car garages. I enter a dense canopy of trees, the temperature cools and the road winds, climbing up the mountain. The area is mostly forested, dotted with the occasional house or gated drive. Tar repairs in the asphalt sealing fissures of shifting earth rattle the car. Unfortunately for me, this is not a road for those prone to car sickness. As I mount

the top of the Mayacamas Mountain Range vineyards appear before me contained by a fence and two large iron gates. As a child, I lived around the corner, and at that time both gates were always closed, sealing the Christian Brothers novitiate school inside. I still remember peering through the large iron gates to catch glimpses of the brothers and the Spanish-style buildings. Today however, the main building functions as administrative headquarters of the San Francisco District of Christian Brothers, they lease the rest to Hess Winery.

I drive through the first gate, feeling childishly naughty, and looking up I see the familiar yet mysterious mission-style buildings. Driving slowly I pass a priest in long dark robes. He smiles in a friendly acknowledgment. The road dead ends at the top of the hill, I turn back to the main road and take the second gate entry with the logo of Hess Winery. I pull into a parking space closest the office and walk through the generous landscaped path to emerge into an herbaceous garden (Fig. 2.21). The working winery and tasting room fill my vision straight ahead, the art gallery stands in an ivy cover on the right. The winery's original structure, like so many in the Napa valley, is stone with ivy creeping up the sides (Fig. 3.22). I move towards the general opening, stopping to take in large bronze and stone sculptures placed in and around the garden. Two men are trimming and pruning various shrubs, bantering in Spanish and laughing.

Before opening the doors to enter, a distant familiar smell hits me: a sweet mixture of age and sugar—the smell of fermenting grapes. As much as I remember running through vineyards, jumping hoses strewn on the wet winery floor, lighting the sulfur sticks in oak barrels… it is this unforgettable smell of frothing grapes permeating

the air that connects me to Napa, my restless soul's home. I hesitate a moment, door half ajar and take in the vivid scent of childhood.

I smile and nod at the young girl at the welcome desk, commenting that I am here to look at the art. She motions to the stairs. I take my time wondering the galleries with larger than life canvases by Franz Gertch, and Robert Motherwell. I pass Francis Bacon, Frank Stella, and Robert Rauschenberg. A glass window situated between two Gertch canvases displays the wineries bottling line, perhaps in a display of performance art. There are three floors of art housed in the stone and white-plaster building; this represents only a fraction of the full collection. I pass casually into the tasting room and gift shop area. Visible through the glass walls stacked barrels burned with the Hess emblem of medieval quality create fine wine wallpaper. The tasting bar, a polished mirror of wood, glints in lit rows of spotless stemmed glassware. Trying to escape the typical sales pitch I avoid eye contact with the salesperson and slip outside again.

The sun sets behind me as I meander to the car and drive down into the valley floor once more. In the evening twilight the mountain ranges cut a feminine silhouette. Leaving the valley I pass once again the enshrined crusher man, a monument to the good life. Without doubt this place, this valley, exudes loveliness… a calm gentility, one notably wealthy; and, if only for today, I became part of this oasis of manicured country life. From Jamison Canyon road I break through the delicate membrane of paradise and merge south into a stream of headlights on Hwy 101. The congested bustle of the Bay Area engulfs me in turgid pressure. In the rear mirror I no longer can glimpse the Valley, the mountains like protective arms erases the oasis from view, and in waning strength they barely manage to stave off California's unrestrained sprawl.

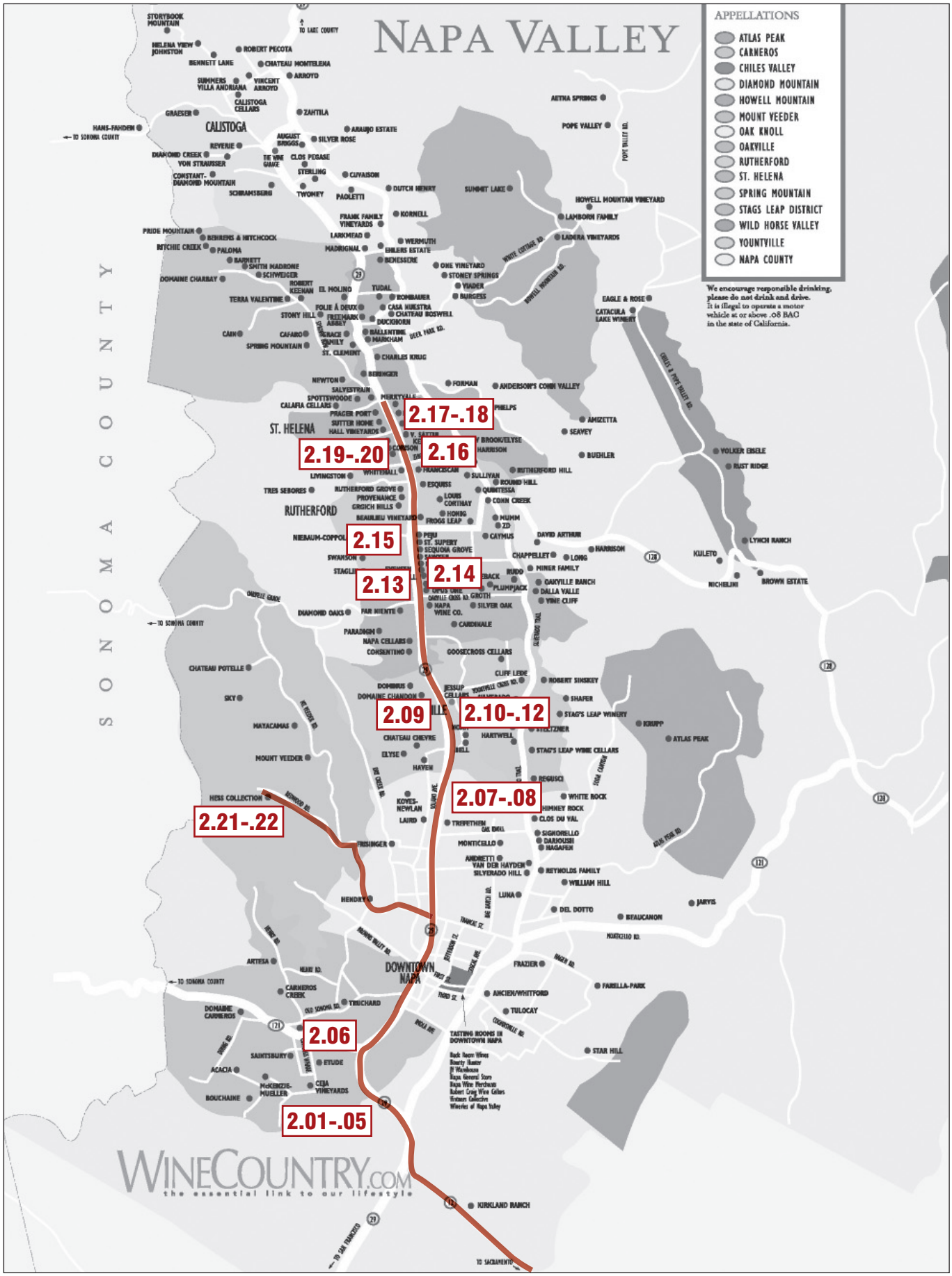

Figure 2.00 Napa County with Keyed Route to Observational Photographs (original map from Technologies, 1994 www.napavalley.com, alterations by author June, 2006).

Figure 2.01 Crossing over bridge on Hwy 29.
(photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.02 Grape crusher statue.
(photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.03 South Napa Wetland area.
(photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.04 Gum trees lining Hwy 29.
(photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.05 Egret in Gum tree.
(photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.06 Stop light on Hwy 29.
(photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.07 View looking west north of Napa City. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

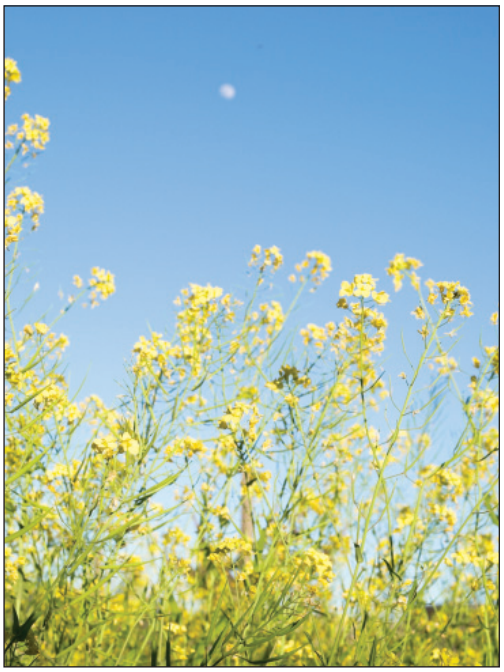

Figure 2.08 Mustard grass in a vineyard. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.09 Looking West at Yountville's Veterans Home. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.10 Typical Bistro in Yountville . (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.11 Looking East on Hwy 29 just after Yountville. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.12 Looking West on Hwy 29 just after Yountville. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.13 Passing Robert Mondavi Winery. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.14 Oakville Grocery. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.15 Looking West on Hwy 29 just after Oakville. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.16 Coming into St.Helena. V. Sattui Winery (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.17 St.Helena library set amongst vineyard and mustard grass. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

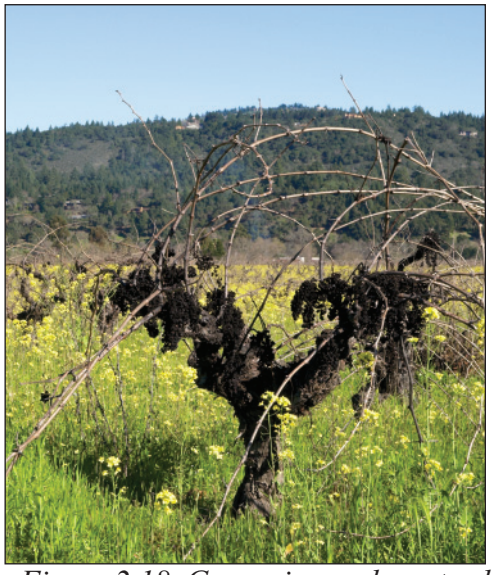

Figure 2.18 Grapevine and mustard looking east in St. Helena. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

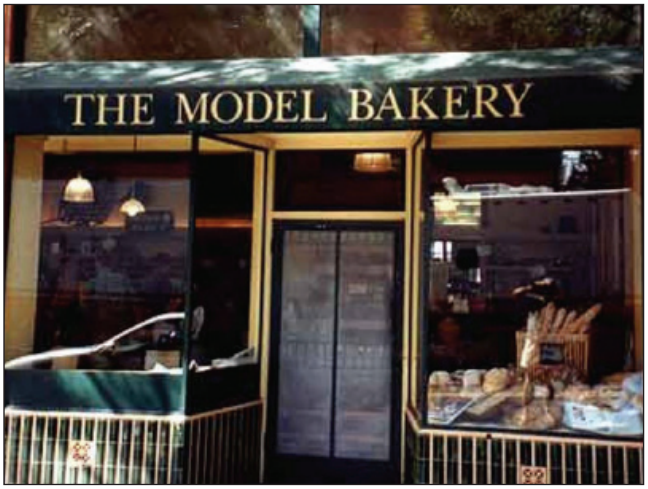

Figure 2.19 Model Bakery, Main Street in St. Helena. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.20 Inside the Model Bakery. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.21 Hess Winery garden courtyard. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

Figure 2.22 Hess Winery. Originally a winery this now functions as the art gallery. (photo by author, Feb 2006)

CHAPTER 3

PLACING THE NAPA VALLEY WINE LANDSCAPE: COMMERCIAL CULTURE

Semiotic Analysis

In choosing the appropriate advertisement for analysis, one which we can assume represents a strong pattern in exchanging meaning in the cultural landscape of wine, it seemed appropriate to first see how much the landscape of wine finds itself represented in magazine advertisements in a given year; to then see if the prevailing messages could be divided into communicative themes; and, if a dominant theme is present (Fig, 3.00).[1] To these ends I conducted a preliminary "windshield" sampling of magazines at Border Books located on Alps Road in Athens, Georgia on May 10, 2006. Three lifestyle sections were chosen: *Travel, Food & Wine, and Home & Interior*. The survey documented every magazine present within each section for the following information: the issue month, the number of direct or indirect advertisement pertaining to wine[2] (Fig, 3.01-.02), the theme communicated, and whether the advertisement indicated the location of the vineyard (Fig. 3.03-.05).

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[1] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2001), 73. This sampling procedure is based more on a content analysis procedure as in semiology there is not concern to find images that are statistically representative of a wider set of images. Yet this study takes the form of a detailed case study on relatively few images, and in this way, the study interest's in analytical integrity rather than applicability of a wide range of material is in-line with more semiological thought.

[2] In this study a *direct* advertisement infers those advertisements designed and paid for by wineries and placed for direct marketing, *indirect* means unintentional advertisement, such as an editorial, without fiscal endorsement from the winery itself.

This "windshield" sample was then cross-referenced with the University of Georgia library for popular magazines in 2005. Based on availability within the library catalog the sample size was reduced to four magazines: Gourmet, Food and Wine, House Beautiful, and Real Simple. The advertisements pertaining to wine were then cataloged from the 2005 issues into thematic subgroups: *social, food, escape, sense of place, sophistication/elite, value/quality* (Fig, 3.06-.07). These themes developed from personal comparative observation; and although the meanings do in some instances overlap they generally clearly express a main thematic pattern (Fig, 3.08-.13). From the final en-mass count, *Escape* emerged as the overwhelmingly dominant theme with thirty-eight instances (Fig, 3.14-.16), *social* and *sophistication/elite* were tied for second with twenty-nine, *sense of place* had twenty-four, *value/quality* had eighteen, and *food* was last with fourteen.

To then narrow the advertisements to a final image for analysis, the advertisement needed to fill three requirements: First it had to be from the dominant theme *escape,* second it had to depict within the advertisement a wine landscape, last it had to be associated with the Napa Valley. These guidelines left only one advertisement campaign from Beringer wine (Fig, 3.17-.19). The final choice between the advertisements within the campaign then came down to which one was also found in the first sample, in May of 2006. As discovered there was one advertisement featuring "Chicago"; and this became the main image for semiotic analysis (Fig, 3.19).

Paradigms and Syntagms

The Beringer advertisement is made up of five main paradigms—five elements or sets from which meaning is drawn in its contrast with the other present signs. Each of the paradigms is distinguishable by distinctive features of the individual sign. For instance swapping the aerial photograph of Chicago with a photograph of a Virgin Island Beach would be outside the paradigm set; however, swapping the image with a view of congested time-square in New York would be within the paradigm choice. In other words, each element within the advertisement is in and of itself a discreet unit. For example, if we look at the signs clockwise starting from the upper left, the large aerial photograph of Chicago represents one paradigm communicating the notion of "city landscape". A second and third paradigm are in the two smaller color images on the bottom right, in the image depicting the "viticulture landscape", and the "commodity" with the bottle of wine. The forth and fifth paradigms can be located in the two textual references: the "directions" in the bottom left and the small print trademark in the upper right.

These five paradigmatic units then combine into a syntagm relationship to form a complete system. The advertisement's combined elements create a relationship of communication similar to words coming together to form a sentence. "This relationship of the sign to others in its system is what Saussure calls *value*. And for Saussure *value* is what primarily determines meaning."[3] But in the instance of the Beringer advertisement how exactly is the meaning or the value of *escape* communicated? To answer this question, let us now turn our attention to deciphering meanings in the Beringer

[3] John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, 2nd ed., *Studies in Culture and Communication* (London; New York: Routledge, 1990), 45.

advertisement itself, to the process of representation through the two levels of semiotic representation—the *denotative* and the *connotative*.[4]

First and Second Order of Signification: Denotation and Connotation

To sum up the diegesis, or the body of denotative meanings, we can see in the first order of signification a number of visual signs in the Beringer advertisement (Fig, 3.19). Contained within the white background are both non-verbal and verbal signs. The advertisement's most prominent non-verbal sign is the large sepia image of downtown Chicago. The image depicts various skyscrapers and topography in an aerial view. The two other images in the advertisement are of a non-descript wine landscape and a bottle of white wine, in this case Chardonnay, displaying the Beringer wine label with the vintage of 2003. The small Beringer trademark notes the copyright, "2005 Beringer Vineyards, Napa, CA." The main body of text, on the bottom left, acts as an anchorage, allowing the reader to choose between a confusing number of possible denotative meanings in the advertisement. Contained within the text of directions is the claim "How to get to Napa Valley, CA from Chicago, IL." In this way the advertisement plainly communicates an idea of travel. The directions are not in fact realistic; rather they are directions to a shop in Chicago (*Dirk's Fish & Gourmet Shop*) and entail at the same time a sort of menu to accompany Beringer wine.

This advertisement, with its overall casual tone and discreet reminders of Beringer's brand, is not necessarily easily understood if analyzed solely denotatively. To fully understand it we must also look at the transfer of meaning as the signified slides into

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[4] Marcel Danesi, *Of Cigarettes, High Heels, and Other Interesting Things: An Introduction to Semiotics* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1999), 26.

the second order, into its connotative level of representation. At this level of analysis the sepia color photograph of Chicago makes the city appear cold and inhumane. The visual dominance on the page depicts busy downtown Chicago, an finance and business area not typically associated with relaxed living. The aerial view further distances the observer, and seems to imply a view from an airline, already whisking the consumer away. The communication alludes to escaping the post-industrial American city.

Likewise the image of the vineyard implies a myth of its own; that this image represents in fact a typical vineyard vista, that all wine landscapes are this virulent green, the sky this healthful blue—as if viticulture embodies a utopian agricultural crop. The picture extols the satisfactions of a life of contented ease, broad acres, and a bountiful harvest all for the incorporeal view of the advertisements consumer.

The bottle of wine represents the vehicle for escape: a means by which to escape the bleak landscape of Chicago to that of the healthful vineyard. Within the image of the wine bottle, the wine label is in all accounts an advertisement within this advertisement. By comparison to other product packaging, wine labels are somewhat conservative, with emphasis usually on typography instead of pictorial matter. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms also has regulations governing the design of the label. Among them are specifications for the size of type, language used, physical location of the label, the manner of affixing it to the bottle, and the prohibitions governing designs, devices, graphics, and pictorial or emblematic representations that appear on it.[5] Nonetheless,

[5] The strict legal requirements for labeling in the United States provides practical information about what the bottle contains: the wine must bear a brand name: the label must communicate the type of class (varietal wine is any wine named after a specific grape variety that derives not less than 75 percent of its volume): it must label the vintage year (of which 95% must be from the year): it must communicate the appellation of origin (an appellation contains 75%, while a EVA is 85%): it must state the name and address of bottler.

labels are a direct communication to the consumer, and used to full advantage by wineries. For example in 1987 the Robert Mondavi winery began placing the following statement on his wine labels:

> Wine has been with us since the beginning of civilization. It is the temperate, civilized, romantic, mealtime beverage recommended by the Bible. Wine has been praised for centuries by statesmen, philosophers, poets, and scholars. Wine in moderation is an integral part of our culture, heritage, and gracious way of life.[6]

The BATF accepted Mondavi's "mission" statement with the condition of removing the reference to the bible or "our culture." Regardless of these changes, the label communicates further the lifestyle and history for the consumer. In the case of Beringer, calling out the year the winery was founded, 1876, further extols Beringer's connection to a perceived simpler time when the Napa Valley was in its beginnings of agrarian development.

Looking at the photographs: none contain people as visual negotiators for consumer projections. The advertisement invites the reader to put him/herself in the picture much like a person looking at painted scenery devoid of humans.[7] In this way the

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This last point is rather confusing, and is best explained in *Understanding a California Labe*l within the anthology The Book of California Wine. According to this essay, "Bottled by" means no more than that, giving no clue to the source of wine itself. However, "cellared and bottled by," "vented and bottles by," "perfected and bottled by," or "blended and bottled by" means that the bottler may also have blended, or otherwise put the finishing touches on, wine produces elsewhere. In cases where the bottler has fermented at least 10 percent of the wine, the label may read "made and bottled by." If the bottler has fermented and finished 75 percent (formerly 51 percent), the label wording is "produced and bottled by." Estate bottled means a bottling winery is located in the same viticultural area that produced all its grapes by 100 percent. This wording means "owned or controlled and at no time left the premises during harvest, crush, fermentation, finish, aged, and bottling." This does not rule out cooperatives or leased land. However everything must be from the same viticultural region. All of this discussed nomenclature does not of course mean the ATF is the judge on final quality… that is up to the consumer.

[6] Charles L. Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.* (San Francisco: The Wine Appreciation Guild, Ltd., 1994), 368.

[7] Claudia Bell and John Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism, and Identity* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002), 4.

advertisement invites the consumer into pristine nature glossily presented with empty space into which they can escape.

Turning our attention now to the displayed text, the directions featured begin in one of the most affluent areas of Chicago, in fact the United States: the areas known as the Gold Coast and Lincoln Park, some of the city's most sought-after and prestigious locations. This is where coffee houses rub elbows with four-star restaurants and stylish boutiques; and, residents enjoy a variety of cultural and entertainment opportunities all within reach of shopping at Bloomingdale's, Neiman Marcus, and Saks Fifth Avenue. Also in this area is Northwestern University's Chicago campus, which includes its law and medical school, plus the University of Chicago's Graduate Business School Residential properties.[8]

As for the suggested shop in the advertisementss text, *Dirk's Fish & Gourmet Shop* is known for fresh seafood and related high-brow cuisine. In tandem with the

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[8] To compare the other advertisements in the campaign: the ad featuring Los Angeles depicts the freeway crossing of Hwy 105 and 110 near the Los Angeles airport. This is adjacent to one of the roughest neighborhoods in L.A—Compton, a poor minority area associated with heavy crime and drug problems. The advertisement directions take one through Beverley Hills and Brentwood, two of the most exclusive areas in Southern California, to arrive at Santa Monica's famed farmers' market. Here stands are brimming with top-grade goods; exotic greens, brightly colored veggies, gigantic fruits and fresh-cut flowers. Average Home Prices in the neighborhood surrounding the market average $730,000. HomeGain.com, I. (1999-2005). "Santa Monica California Real Estate." Retrieved May 5, 2006, from http://www.homegain.com/local_real_estate/CA/santa_monica.html.

The ad depicting Boston features an area known as North End, one of the city's oldest residential community, and home to a number of immigrant populations. Today, it is still largely residential and well-known for its small, authentic, Italian restaurants. Yet, the area has recently gone through a makeover from multigenerational ethnic enclave to haven for well-heeled professionals. The shop alluded to in the text, Savenor's Market, has been a Boston family tradition for more than sixty-five years. First opened in 1939 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the gourmet butcher shop and high-end grocer made a name for itself by providing customers with the finest meats and produce. Once frequented by Rockefellers, and Kennedys, the retailer's brand recognition reached a pinnacle with the help of America's first celebrity chef, Julia Child. A loyal customer long before she became a household name, she continued to source all of the meats for "The French Chef" throughout the eleven-year run of her popular PBS show. Savenor's has been featured in countless publications including Harper's Bazaar, Women's Wear Daily, Boston magazine, The New York Times and The Boston Globe. Savenor's Savenor's Market, *The Story of Savenor's* ([cited May 4, 2006]); available from http://www.savenorsmarket.com/History.htm.

Lincoln Park neighborhood it calls home, it is "kind of pricey but oh-so worth it."[9] The shop also sells fresh salsa, guacamole, and salads in a style akin to Whole Foods. Plenty of fish are available, including a sushi-grade tuna, hamachi, and snapper. Additionally, Dirk's offers a variety of cooked food like tuna burgers, key lime pie and smoked whitefish salad, and can pull together a tray for your next house party.[10] This connection between gourmet food and wine in the Beringer advertisement further strengthens the popular perceived relationship between good food, good wine, and the "good life"; it even goes as far as communicating the proper wine, a white wine, for a seafood dinner.

Reality in the Landscape of Wine

In the Beringer advertisement "reality" or referential meanings are apparent in the images representing "city life"—Chicago, the "paradise landscape"—vineyard, "vehicle for escape"—the bottle of wine. As metonyms and metaphors these images are signifiers not meant to stand for a specific place or object, but as constructed realities the observer makes from the parts to stand for a whole, such as the Chicago image representing a distant, cold, impersonal city life; the vineyard representing a green, abundant, tranquil wine landscape; and the bottle of wine representing a catalyst, in essence the transcendent ticket from one location to another, from one lifestyle to another.

Perhaps a more important question though is what "realities" are not present or avoided in the communication? In other words what realities in the landscape of wine are

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[9] Griffin, V. (2005). "Fresh Fish Markets." Centerstage Chicago: The Original City Guide Retrieved June 5, 2006, from http://centerstage.net/restaurants/articles/fishmarkets.html.
[10] Venita Griffin, *Fresh Fish Markets* (Centerstage Media, LLC., 2005 [cited June 5 2006]); available from http://centerstage.net/restaurants/articles/fishmarkets.html.

overlooked? In semiotic analysis we can learn as much if not more by analyzing that which is avoided in communication.

Most advertisements "clearly address many qualitative objectives such as image, awareness, and positioning."[11] Yet the personnel eliciting the advertisement and those creating it are closer in background than those without the money to buy the luxury item, or those who work as a worker in the field.[12] To discover the distinctive features in the advertisement, in effect what realities of the wine landscape are absent from the advertisement, and understand their significance, this study employs the Commutations Test.[13] In adding text and altering the syntagm relationship the reality of globalization emerged (Fig. 3.20); and in changing the settings, the paradigms, to include pictures of the work force and vineyard maintenance with pesticides, the reality of labor (Fig. 3.21) and environment came to light. (Fig. 3.31)

Let us look again at the Beringer advertisement but this time with the commutation alterations. Although the year on the wine label states 1876, Beringer's founding year and wine making legacy, additional information added in the upper right hand corner completes the trademark and ownership of Beringer by uncovering the influence of **globalization** (Fig. 3.20). Added into the advertisement is the following information obtained from Foster's web site and corporate literature,

> Foster's Wine Estates is the world's leading premium wine company with an unrivalled portfolio of premium brands including Beringer, Lindemans, Wolf Blass, Penfolds, Rosemount, Matua Valley, Wynns Coonawarra Estate and Castello di

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[11] Kirby S. Moulton and James T. Lapsley, *Successful Wine Marketing* (Gaithersburg, Md.: Aspen Publishers, 2001), 144.
[12] Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, 27.
[13] Ibid., 109.

> Gabbiano. Foster's Wine Estate (FEW) combines the worldwide wine supply chain operations (winemaking, viticulture and production facilities) of the former Beringer Blass Wine Estates and Southcorp Wines businesses along with their global wine brand marketing activities and sales ad marketing operations in the Americas, Europe, Middle East & Africa and Asia. FEW also includes Foster's combined multi-beverage business in New Zealand. Its international wine portfolio includes more than 50 individual brands of sparkling, table and fortified wines. Foster's Wine Estates controls more than 15,000 hectares of vineyards in the premium wine growing regions of Australia, California, New Zealand, Italy and France and operated more than 20 wineries across the world.

This text acknowledges the fact that Beringer is a part of Foster's Wine Estate, a multi-beverage company with more than fifty individual brands in its wine portfolio, controlling more than 15,000 hectares of land in Australia, California, New Zealand, Italy, and France. This company in turn is a subsidiary of Foster's Brand, the multinational conglomeration which also produces beer, hard spirits, and other non-alcoholic beverages.[14] In reality, Beringer is but a small part of a global company, not at all the local farmer.

Globalized control of viticulture is the norm today in the Valley, where the chance to make good money has encouraged a strong corporate presence. According to an article in Wine Business Monthly published in 2001, four out of five of the biggest land owners in the Napa Valley are controlled by interests outside of California.[15] Purchasing a product from Foster's Group Limited doesn't have the same emotive power, the same

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[14] Foster's Group Foster's Group Limited, *Enjoy Our Products* (2004 [cited April 15 2006]); available from http://www.fosters.com.au/enjoy.htm.

[15] Of the top five, First is Laird Family Estate from California, Second, Diageo/UDV Guinness from England (Beaulieu Vineyard , Sterling Vineyards and Mumm Napa Valley), Third, Robert Mondavi (now owned by the conglomerate *Constellations* from New York), Fourth, Foster's Group from Australia (Beringer Blass Wine Estates - Beringer Vineyards, St. Clement, Stag's Leap Winery). Winter, M. "Napa Valley Vineyard Owners: Who Owns Napa Valley's Vineyards?" Retrieved April 23, 2006, from http://www.napavalleyonline.com/vineyardlist.html.

authenticity that enables the consumption of the imaginary and of the past. With no mention of Beringer's ownership reality, a consumer can create his or her own identity, appropriate the geographical space, and interiorize the image of what he/she drinks to become the image in return.[16]

The agrarian dream of viticulture in Napa has not died; rather, it has become an extension of agribusiness, a wider economic development and outgrowth of urban conglomerates.[17] The reality of globalization in Napa's viticulture is that the farmer is now a "grower" without an individual face. The company regards viticulture and the vineyard as a business and has it incorporated. The incorporation usually belongs to a number of wealthy produce exchanges; and with a strong hand in state politics, it is rarely an ally to anything which might deplete the bottom line of profits. In this attitude global viticulture is rarely an ally of labor or the environment.[18]

This now brings us to another discovery of undisclosed reality in the commutations text—the reality of **labor** (Fig, 3.21). How differently the advertisement reads when the vineyard image is replaced with one which shows the laborer crouched under the vine. The black-and-white image drains the luxurious virtues, and left in its place is a landscape of work. The consumer reading the advertisement is thus left with the reality that the landscape of wine is as much one of toil as the landscape of downtown Chicago.

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[16] Thomas M. Wilson, *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), 147.
[17] Ian R. Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999), 14.
[18] David Vaught, *Cultivating California: Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920, Revisiting Rural America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 1.

There is a saying "When you drink remember the well digger"[19] Unfortunately the actual Beringer advertisement pays no heed to those who physically create the viticultural landscape. Apparently indulging the "Napa way" does not include awareness of the labor necessary for the luxurious experience; it seems this communication is not a selling feature. Although farming from the earliest days in America, has been regarded as an especially honored occupation and way of life, "one singularly fitted to promote and safeguard those values of self-reliance, freedom, industry, simplicity, and thrift," the landscape of wine in the Beringer advertisement seemingly springs forth without reference to labor.

Yet, the reality from wine's beginnings in California and Napa is the physical task of getting vines in the ground, pruned, and picked; and, viticulture, as much of the agriculture in California, has relied heavily if not exclusively on immigrant labor to execute these tasks. As Cletus E. Daniels points out in Bitter Harvest, a History of California Farm Workers "The dependence of large-scale commercial agriculture on a large force of cheap seasonal labor was fairly well established by the 1850s."[20] Generally, Napa's viticultural industrialists tended to regard labor only as a factor of production, and sought through any means available to reduce the costs of labor to the lowest levels possible. They sought to influence the supply of labor in ways that would guarantee that farm workers were available in adequate numbers when they were needed and at a cost that would not endanger the profits that constituted the fundamental motive of large-scale

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[19] Jack Chen, "Note: The Contributions of the Chinese," in *The University of California/Sotheby Book of California Wine*, ed. Doris Muscatine, Maynard A. Amerine, and Bob Thompson (Berkeley & Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press/ Sotheby Publications, 1984), 22.
[20] Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest, a History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981), 24.

agriculture.[21] Descriptions such as "bitter harvest," and "caste of despair," are common references when reading about California's agriculture, in which Napa viticulture played its part.[22]

If we look at the dominant labor force when Beringer was established, that romantic Victorian period promoted in Beringer's Heritage advertisements, label, and website, we see a mostly Chinese labor force. From the 1860's until the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, Chinese farm workers made up from 80 to 85 percent of the vineyard workers in California (Fig, 3.22). In the Napa Valley their labor can still be seen today as, "They built miles of stone walls, still standing solid, green with moss and lichen, along the Silverado Trail. They built many wineries, including the Greystone, then the largest winery of dressed stone in the world."[23] For Beringer Winery the Chinese laborers built the wine cave, installed vineyards, and worked as yearly field hands for pruning and harvest. The Chinese were seldom treated without the dignity and respect deserved as California Farm employees saw,

> …in the Chinese, as they would see in a succession of nonwhite groups in subsequent decades, a work force ideally suited to their needs… [which] provided cheap labor power that was indispensable to its [large-scale agriculture] success but were immune to democratizing forces of tradition, circumstance, and social contract that afforded the lowly just enough opportunity for advancement to keep the popular expectation of upward movement alive.[24]

The Beringer advertisement's reluctance to display the immigrant workers has an uncanny parallel to an advertisement published in Harper's Weekly in the 1880s under

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[21] Ibid., 24-25.
[22] Ibid., 23.
[23] Chen, "Note: The Contributions of the Chinese."
[24] Daniel, *Bitter Harvest, a History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941*, 27.

"The Vintage of California—at Work at the Wine Presses" (Fig, 3.23) This advertisement infuriated vintners at the time as it seems the advertisement wrongly depicted men stomping grapes with their bare feet. However, the main point of contention for Napa wine makers was showing Chinese men with their feet in the grapes; this they felt cast a long shadow on the reputation of Napa's wineries sanitary conditions. The vintners gathered forces and demanded the magazine immediately drop all further reference to the Chinese.[25] Beyond the obvious and ugly racial implications, this Harper's illustration is a good example of advertisement communication in the wine landscapes of Napa… the simple "removal" of any reference to immigrant labor.

The reality of labor in viticulture is that farm work is hard, unrelenting manual labor involving stooping, squatting, lifting, cutting, and crawling about. For the most part, farm workers today still augment their toil with little more than hand tools—pruning shears, hoes, buckets, and knives…" (Fig, 3.24)[26] And, although the Beringer advertisement might not refer to the unpleasantness of labor, "it is abundantly clear that without the contributions of the hundreds and thousands of workers who labored anonymously in the vineyards throughout its history, there could be no Beringer and certainly not the California wine industry which exists today.

Those who labor in the earth may not receive the recognition accorded to the entrepreneurs who employ them or to the innovators who have led the industry to its

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[25] Richard Steven Street, *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farmworkers, 1769-1913* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004), 318.
[26] Ibid., xvii.

present prominence, but their role is indeed one of "substantial and genuine virtue."[27] These workers "adrift in a landscape of ordered beauty" [28] illustrate the human costs required to produce the "reality" behind Beringer's iconic photograph of abundance. These people tell us not only about irony, suffering, misery, resentment, cynicism, and violence (Fig, 3.25-.28), but also about hope, tenacity, sacrifice, and the transnational forces intruding on the countryside (Fig, 3.29-.30).

Now let us turn our sights on the reality this ordered beauty impacts on the **environment** (Fig, 3.31). Looking at the commutation test image, the landscape certainly seems to loose its healthful image when seen in light of chemical spraying. In this view, the landscape of wine seems, perhaps, not better that the landscape of Chicago. It has long been recognized that pesticides contribute to cancer; the EPA considers 60% of all herbicides, 90% of all fungicides, and 30% of all insecticides to be potentially carcinogenic.[29] Industrial pesticides developed during and after WWII have long been used in Central Valley grape propagation and today are used in a majority of vineyards in Napa. According to a 2000 report by PANNA (Pesticide Action Network North America) and Californians for Pesticide Reform, Napa County in 1998 dumped 60.88 active pounds of ingredients (pesticides) per acre planted; and 4.56 pounds of "Bad Actor Pesticides".[30] Out of the 58 counties in California, Napa ranked 19th in amount of pesticides used and 39th in use of "Bad Actor Pesticides".[31]

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[27] Sue Eileen Hayes, "Those Who Worked the Land," in *The University of California/Sotheby Book of California Wine*, ed. Doris Muscatine, Maynard A. Amerine, and Bob Thompson (Berkeley & Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press/ Sotheby Publications, 1984), 29.
[28] Street, *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farmworkers, 1769-1913*, xviii-xix.
[29] RussianRiver Travel, *Organic and Biodynamic Wines and Vineyards* (2002-2006 [cited June 19 2006]); available from http://www.russianrivertravel.com/wineries/organic.htm.
[30]In the 2000 report by PANNA and Californians for Pesticide Reform, to identify a "most toxic" set of pesticides, the term was created "Bad Actor" pesticides. These pesticides are at least one of the following:

But what of other environmental degradation, such as mountain ridgelines laid bare with huge rock pile reared on the horizon; landscapes which look like industrial rather than agricultural artifact; eroding hillsides which "bled soil into streams that flowed into the Napa River."[32] These realities are certainly not the landscapes depicted in the Beringer advertisement.

The reality is that by the early 1990s there were virtually no valley land left for planting vineyards; and with increasing pressure to plant more, hillside development began to impact watershed quality. As James Conway describes in his controversial work The Far Side of Eden, "The people who had caused the problem were driven by profits so great that the penalties [environmental], if there were any, seemed insignificant. They were willing to risk money and legal action because new regulation might emerge at anytime that would curtail their plans."[33] It seems people came to the Valley praising its beauty, but soon sought to exploit it.

In November 1989, erosion and hillside development became so environmentally disastrous that a local newspaper, The Star, called for measures to save Napa hillsides and their topsoil. The editorial pointed out that Napa's vineyards were not the county's

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1. Known or probable carcinogens, as designated by the International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC), U.S. EPA, U.S. National Toxicology Program, and the state of California's Proposition 65 list. 2. Reproductive or developmental toxicants, as designated by the state of California's Proposition 65 list. 3. Neurotoxic cholinesterase inhibitors, as designated by California Department of Pesticide Regulation, the Materials Safety Data Sheet for the particular chemical, or PAN staff evaluation of chemical structure (for organophosphorus compounds). 4. Known groundwater contaminants, as designated by the state of California (for actively registered pesticides) or from historic groundwater monitoring records (for banned pesticides). 6. Pesticides with high acute toxicity, as designated by the World Health Organization (WHO), the U.S. EPA, or the U.S. National Toxicology Program.

[31] S. Orme and S. Kegley, "Pan Pesticide Database," (Pesticide Action Network, North America, 2002-2006).

[32] James Conaway, *The Far Side of Eden: New Money, Old Land, and the Battle for Napa Valley* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 63.

[33] Ibid., 76.

greatest resource; it was the soil.[34] Over this concern and the continued worry over residential sprawl, saving the valley became a real issue as population continued to grow in the Bay Area in the 1990s. It seemed that the Agricultural Preserve Zone created in the late 1960s only conserves the valley floor; land use on the hillsides in Napa today is still a bitter contentious issue within the valley. In reality, Napa Valley is a long way from approaching viticulture sustainability.

In not revealing the globalization, labor, and environmental conditions in the Napa Valley, what the Beringer advertisement tells us about the "realities" in Napa's winescape is that unsurprisingly the selling feature is not about political correctness. The impersonal changes wrought by global economics, the people employed in subservient roles, and the iniquitous environmental destruction, all are realities best ignored in attracting the happiness seeking consumer. Nonetheless regardless of the mind set of the addresser and addressee in the ad, the realities in the wine landscapes exist for those who wish to see.

Attitude, Audience, and the Poetics of Escape

All of the signs in the Beringer advertisement collectively communicate and touch on emotive functions that tap into unconscious desires, urges, and mythic motifs embedded in the human psyche. In looking at the advertisements the message it offers is clear in its poetic relationship (Fig 3.32): elements within the advertisement come together to communicate a message of *escape*.

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[34] Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.*, 357.

In the photograph of Chicago, the vineyard and the bottle of wine, and in the written text the Beringer advertisement communicates a promise to all: buy this and you will be happy. The advertisement expresses an escapist experience, one to compensate for the daily grind of the commercial urban world.[35] Yet the membership is not entirely inclusive. Although the advertisement seems for a mass audience, its phatic function or intended audience is made-up of a specific group. Aimed at consumer or wine seller, the advertiser's message, the symbolism in this advertisement, depicts the landscape of wine as something "more than just the expression of a particular middle class, or bourgeois, lifestyle."[36] This advertisement serves to "highlight that the symbolism in wine and vine lies deep in the cultural psyche…"[37] highlighting what we think of as socio-economic status, identity, good and bad taste, and values.[38]

Through the method of substitution in the Commutation test we can see that the wine bottle is not like a plane, it is not a straight-forward means of transportation from Chicago to Napa (Fig, 3.33). The wine bottle offers transcendence by metaphysically transporting the consumer from one landscape to another through the various pleasures associated with drinking wine. Likewise in substituting the sepia image of Chicago with a color aerial and replacing the color image vineyard with a black and white picture, the landscape of wine no longer communicates its mythic dimension of a present day Eden (Fig, 3.34). Nor does the landscape seem so heavenly when the vineyard image is

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[35] Denis E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, "Introduction: Iconography and Landscape," in *The Iconography of landscape: essays on the symbolic representation, design, and use of past environments*, ed. Denis E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 103.
[36] Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991, 1996), 10.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Jonathan E. Schroeder, "Consuming Representation: A Visual Approach to Consumer Research," in *Representing consumers: voices, views, and visions*, ed. Barbara B. Stern (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 197.

substituted for a sepia aerial photograph (Fig, 3.35). The monotonous lines of vines are no more charming than the streets of Chicago.

In the last substitution, applied to the text, we can see also that the advertisement portrays a certain amount of social status in its assumption of gourmet tastes (Fig, 3.36). To purchase fish sticks and ketchup from an everyday grocery store, to eat while sipping Beringer Chardonnay, the reference does not have the same "je ne sais quois." This common-sense reading stresses that all meaning has an ideological system in which members of a society agree upon. These shared symbolic forms express meanings and values provide an important source for "culture."

Through this mixture of pleasure, myth, and social status, these elements, the signs within the advertisement, are according to Beringer the ingredients for happiness. Does imbibing under the conditions stated in the Beringer advertisement offer *escape*? It seems, more times than not an advertisement's message is folly; however, as seen through this semiotic approach it seems the answer to this question is an affirmative, maybe.

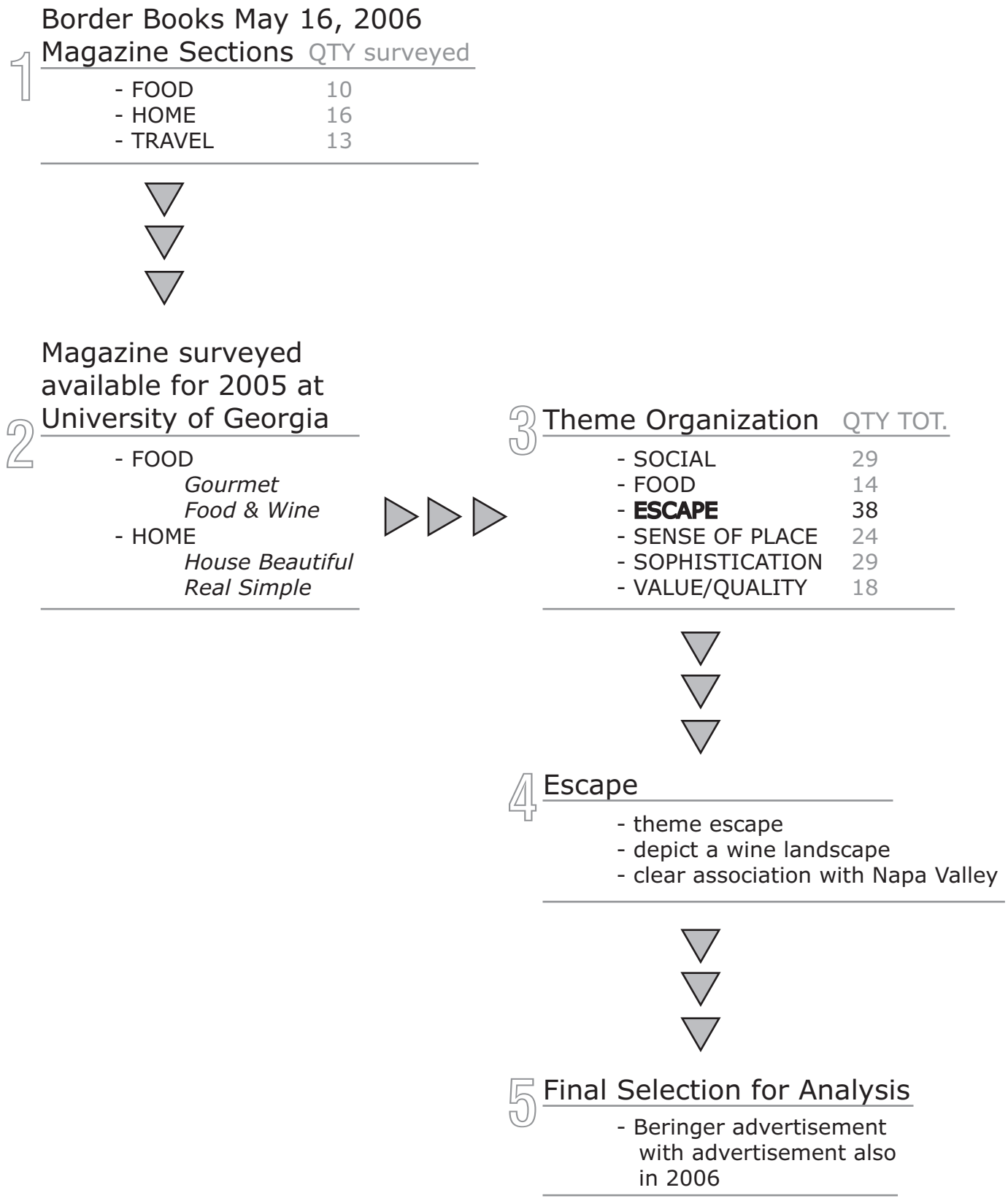

Figure 3.00 Flow chart for selection process of advertisement for semiotic analysis (chart by author, June 2006)

Figure 3.01 Example of Direct Advertisement
The cut-off text on the bottom right reads, "For so many reasons."
(from Gourmet magazine, June 2005 pg.43)

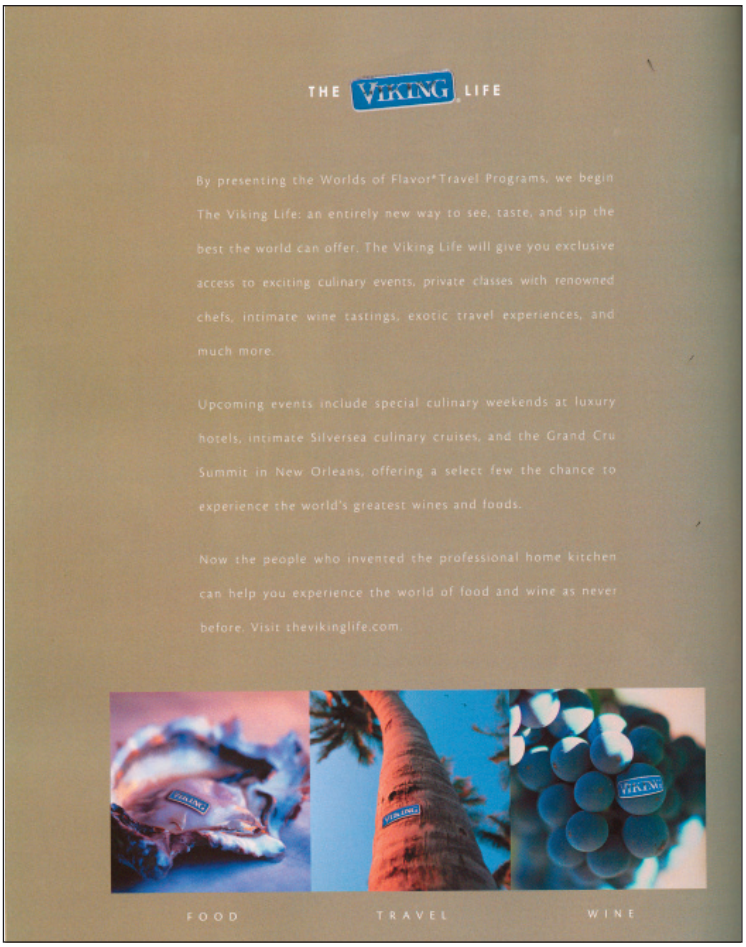

Figure 3.02 Example of Indirect Advertisement, see the Viking label, "top-of-line" kitchen equipment on the grape clusters.
(from Gourmet magazine, November, 2005 pg.48)

BORDER BOOKS MAGAZINE SAMPLING: Travel			
MAGAZINE NAME	DIRECT AD**	INDIRECT AD**	TYPE***
Affluent Traveller	X		**Joseph Phelps Wine, Napa, CA**
Arringtons Inn Traveler		X	Article: creating a wine cellar
The Atlantan		X	Article: Healdsburg Inn Sonoma
Beautiful Itineraries		X	"wine diary" section, Italy
Conde Nast Traveller	X		Ad: Redwood Creek Winery, Modesto CA
Frommer's Budget Travel		X	hotel and sailing ad
Southern Distinction		X	Article: Building a home wine collection
Frommer's Budget Travel		X	hotel and sailing ad
The Sunday Times Travel			
Town and Country		X	ad for hotel & Far Niente wite up, Napa, CA
Travelgirl		X	Article: vinospa in France
Travel + Leisure	X		Woodbridge Wines, Lodi CA
Travel + Leisure + Romance			

*Only those in bold identify clearly the regional location where the wines are produced.

Figure 3.03 Windshield sampling at Border Books "Travel" section (chart by author, June 2006)

BORDER BOOKS MAGAZINE SAMPLING: Food & Wine			
MAGAZINE NAME	DIRECT AD	INDIRECT AD**	TYPE***
Bon Appetite	X	X	**Kendall Jackson, Sonoma** also for a stove range and inn
Food & Wine	X	X	Woodbridge Wine, Lodi CA; **Beringer Wine, Napa CA;** J Lohr Wine, Monterey CA Monterra Wine, Monterey, CA **La Creme, Sonoma CA** Penfolds Wine, Australia 9 page spead on Sonoma Wine
Fresh Cooking	X		Woodbridge Wine, Lodi CA
Imbib		X	article: organic wine in oregon
Saveur	X	X	Woodbridge Wine; Article: Nantucket Wine Festival
Southern Living		X	shown with food
Taste of Italy	X	X	Multiply ads and articles
Wine Enthusiast	X	X	Multiply ads and articles
Wine Spectator	X	X	Multiply ads and articles
Wine & Spirit	X	X	Multiply ads and articles

*Only those in bold identify clearly the regional location where the wines are produced.

Figure 3.04 Windshield sampling at Border Books "Food & Wine" section (chart by author, June 2006)

BORDER BOOKS MAGAZINE SAMPLING: Home & Interior			
MAGAZINE NAME	DIRECT AD	INDIRECT AD**	TYPE***
Better Home & Garden			
British BH&G		X	Decorated room shown with formal dinning including wine
Costal Living	X		**Kendall Jackson, Sonoma, CA**
Design Your Life- Blueprint	X		Turning Leaf Wine, Modesto CA
Dwell	X		Fisheye Wines & South African
Easy Decor			
House Beautiful		X	wine with food spread
House & Garden		X	wine in decoration spread; Article: Santa Barabara CA winemakers
Martha Stewart Living	X	X	Turning Leaf Wine, Modesto CA; potato chip Ad
Metropolitan Home			
O at Home	X		**Kendall Jackson, Sonoma**
Real Simple			
Veranda		X	Food with wine; Christopher Peackock Cabinetry Ad
Vogue Living		X	Ad for countertop
Weekend	X		**luluB Wine, France**
World of Interiors			

*Only those in bold identify clearly the regional location where the wines are produced.

Figure 3.05 Windshield sampling at Border Books "Home & Interior" section (chart by author, June 2006)

Thematic Sampling “Food & Wine” Section

FOOD & WINE	01/05	02/05	03/05	04/05	05/05	06/05	07/05	08/05	09/05	10/05	11/05	12/05	TOT.
DIRECT AD	8	3	4	1	1	0	8	7	3	20	9	5	69
INDIRECT AD	3	2	0	3	2	3	3	3	2	1	1	2	25
NAPA	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	9
THEMES	01/05	02/05	03/05	04/05	05/05	06/05	07/05	08/05	09/05	10/05	11/05	12/05	TOT.
SOCIAL	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	3	10
FOOD	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	1	2	12
ESCAPE	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	6	1	1	24
SENSE OF PLACE	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	1	4	3	1	17
SOPHISTICATION	2	1	0	1	1	1	2	3	2	5	1	0	19
VALUE/QUALITY	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	3	0	12

GOURMET	01/05	02/05	03/05	04/05	05/05	06/05	07/05	08/05	09/05	10/05	11/05	12/05	TOT.
DIRECT AD	1	2	3	0	1	2	1	1	2	4	3	5	25
INDIRECT AD	4	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	5	1	18
NAPA	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	4
THEMES	01/05	02/05	03/05	04/05	05/05	06/05	07/05	08/05	09/05	10/05	11/05	12/05	TOT.
SOCIAL	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	3	11
FOOD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ESCAPE	1	1	3	0	1	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	14
SENSE OF PLACE	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	5
SOPHISTICATION	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	10
VALUE/QUALITY	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	5

Figure 3.06 Thematic sampling “Wine & Food” section
(chart by author, June 2006)

Thematic Sampling “Home & Interior” Section

HOUSE BEAUTIFUL	01/05	02/05	03/05	04/05	05/05	06/05	07/05	08/05	09/05	10/05	11/05	12/05	TOT.
DIRECT AD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
INDIRECT AD	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	8
NAPA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
THEMES	01/05	02/05	03/05	04/05	05/05	06/05	07/05	08/05	09/05	10/05	11/05	12/05	TOT.
SOCIAL	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	6
FOOD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
ESCAPE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SENSE OF PLACE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOPHISTICATION	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VALUE/QUALITY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

REAL SIMPLE	01/05	02/05	03/05	04/05	05/05	06/05	07/05	08/05	09/05	10/05	11/05	12/05	TOT.
DIRECT AD	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
INDIRECT AD	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
NAPA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
THEMES	01/05	02/05	03/05	04/05	05/05	06/05	07/05	08/05	09/05	10/05	11/05	12/05	TOT.
SOCIAL	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
FOOD	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
ESCAPE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SENSE OF PLACE	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
SOPHISTICATION	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VALUE/QUALITY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 3.07 Thematic sampling “Home & Interior” section (chart by author, June 2006)

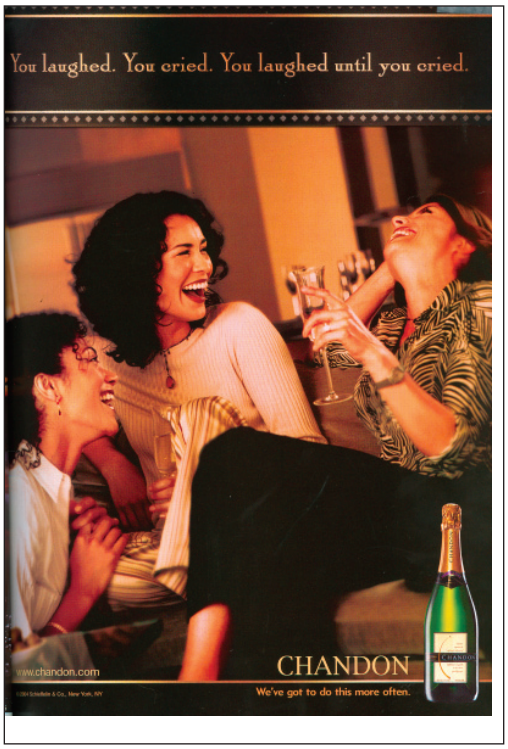

Figure 3.08 'Social' theme (from Gourmet magazine, January 2005 pg.41)

Figure 3.09 'Food' theme (from Real Simple magazine, July 2005 pg.39)

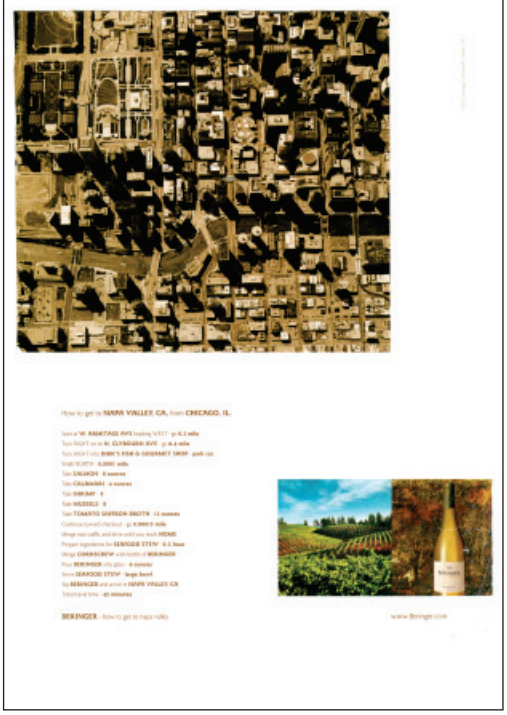

Figure 3.10 'Escape' theme (from Food and Wine magazine, December 2005 pg.167)

Figure 3.11 'Sense of Place' theme (from Food and Wine magazine, July 2005 pg.148)

Figure 3.12 'Sophistication/elite' theme (from Gourmet magazine, January 2005 pg.52)

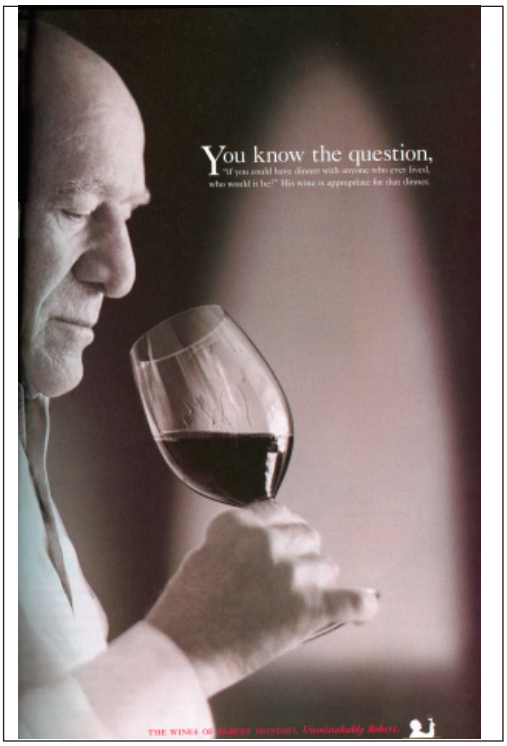

Figure 3.13 'Value/Quality' theme (from Food and Wine magazine, July 2005 pg.154)

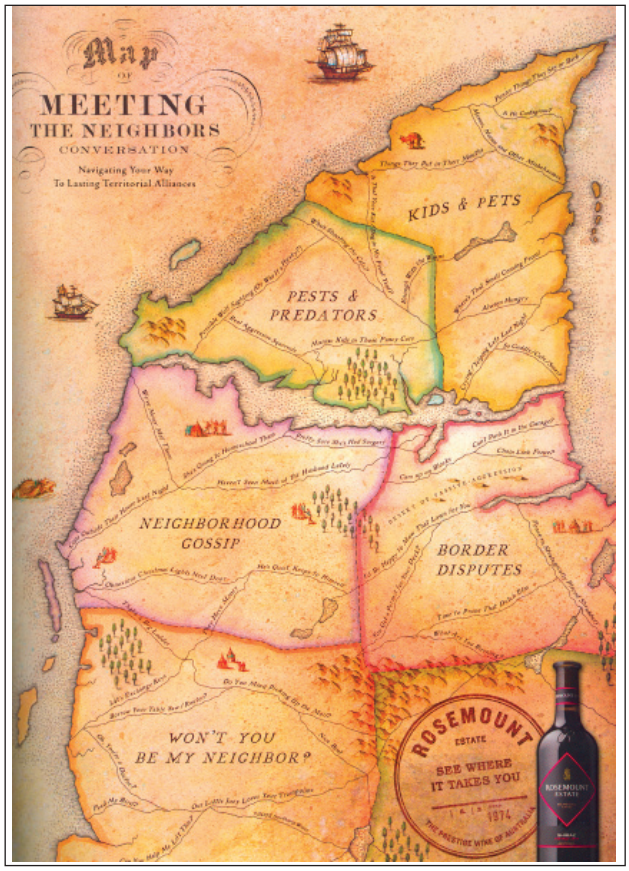

Figure 3.14 'Escape' theme
(from Gourmet magazine, February 2005 pg.49)

Figure 3.15 'Escape' theme
(from Gourmet magazine, October 2005 pg.109)

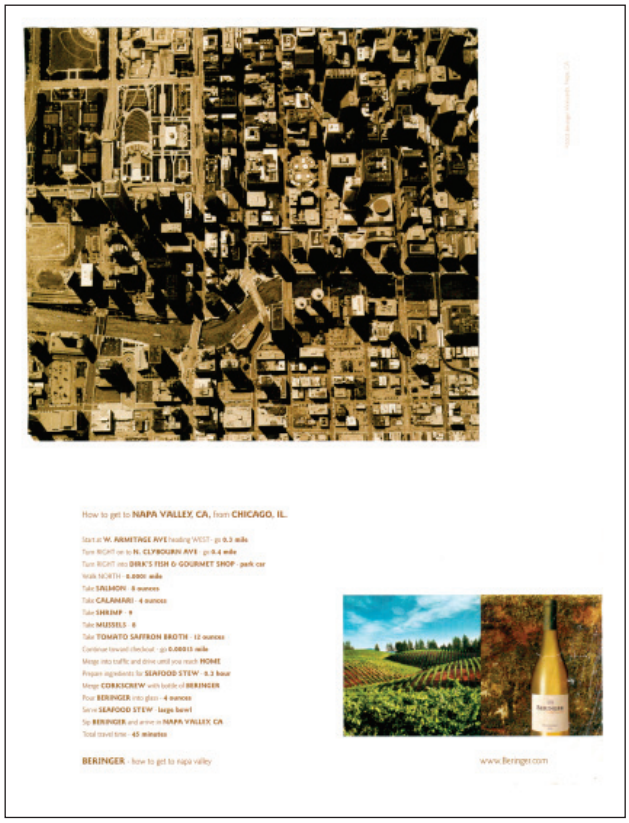

Figure 3.16 'Escape' theme
(from Food and Wine magazine, December 2005 pg.167)

Three examples out of thirty-eight advertisements of "Escape" theme.

Figure 3.17 Beringer wines advertisement showing Los Angeles
(from Food and Wine magazine, Feb 2005 pg.49)

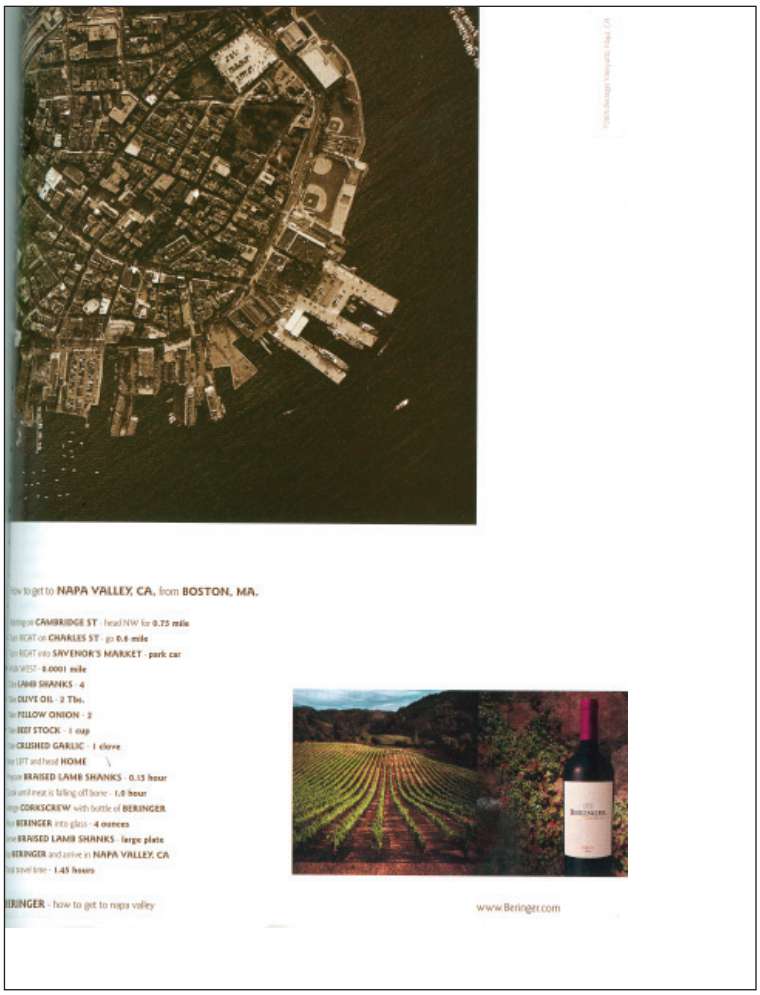

Figure 3.18 Beringer wines alternate advertisement showing Boston
(from Food and Wine magazine, November 2005 pg.83)

How to get to **NAPA VALLEY, CA,** from **CHICAGO, IL.**

Start at **W. ARMITAGE AVE** heading WEST - go **0.3 mile**
Turn RIGHT on to **N. CLYBOURN AVE** - go **0.4 mile**
Turn RIGHT into **DIRK'S FISH & GOURMET SHOP** - **park car**
Walk NORTH - **0.0001 mile**
Take **SALMON** - **8 ounces**
Take **CALAMARI** - **4 ounces**
Take **SHRIMP** - **9**
Take **MUSSELS** - **8**
Take **TOMATO SAFFRON BROTH** - **12 ounces**
Continue toward checkout - go **0.00015 mile**
Merge into traffic and drive until you reach **HOME**
Prepare ingredients for **SEAFOOD STEW** - **0.3 hour**
Merge **CORKSCREW** with bottle of **BERINGER**
Pour **BERINGER** into glass - **4 ounces**
Serve **SEAFOOD STEW** - **large bowl**
Sip **BERINGER** and arrive in **NAPA VALLEY, CA**
Total travel time - **45 minutes**

BERINGER - how to get to napa valley

www.Beringer.com

Figure 3.19 Beringer wines advertisement chosen for analysis showing Chicago. (from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.145)

How to get to **NAPA VALLEY, CA,** from **CHICAGO, IL.**

Start at **W. ARMITAGE AVE** heading WEST - go **0.3 mile**
Turn RIGHT on to **N. CLYBOURN AVE** - go **0.4 mile**
Turn RIGHT into **DIRK'S FISH & GOURMET SHOP** - **park car**
Walk NORTH - **0.0001 mile**
Take **SALMON** - **8 ounces**
Take **CALAMARI** - **4 ounces**
Take **SHRIMP** - **9**
Take **MUSSELS** - **8**
Take **TOMATO SAFFRON BROTH** - **12 ounces**
Continue toward checkout - go **0.00015 mile**
Merge into traffic and drive until you reach **HOME**
Prepare ingredients for **SEAFOOD STEW** - **0.3 hour**
Merge **CORKSCREW** with bottle of **BERINGER**
Pour **BERINGER** into glass - **4 ounces**
Serve **SEAFOOD STEW** - **large bowl**
Sip **BERINGER** and arrive in **NAPA VALLEY, CA**
Total travel time - **45 minutes**

www.Beringer.com

BERINGER - how to get to napa valley

Foster's Wine Estates is the world's leading premium wine company with an unrivalled portfolio of premium wine brands including Beringer, Lindemans, Wolf Blass, Penfolds, Rosemount, Matua Valley, Wynns Coonawarra Estate and Castello di Gabbiano.Foster's Wine Estates (FWE) combines the worldwide wine supply chain operations (winemaking, viticulture and production facilities) of the former Beringer Blass Wine Estates and Southcorp Wines businesses along with their global wine brand marketing activities and sales and marketing operations in the Americas, Europe, Middle East & Africa and Asia. FWE also includes Foster's combined multi- beverage business in New Zealand. Its international wine portfolio includes more than 50 individual brands of sparkling, table and fortified wines. Foster's Wine Estates controls more than 15,000 hectares of vineyards in the premium wine growing regions of Australia, California, New Zealand, Italy and France and operates more than 20 wineries across the world. ©2005 Beringer Vineyards, Napa, CA

Figure 3.20 Not saying globalization and zoom in on text. (from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.145. Text from Foster's corporate site at http://www.fosters.com.au)

How to get to **NAPA VALLEY, CA,** from **CHICAGO, IL.**

Start at **W. ARMITAGE AVE** heading WEST - go **0.3 mile**
Turn RIGHT on to **N. CLYBOURN AVE** - go **0.4 mile**
Turn RIGHT into **DIRK'S FISH & GOURMET SHOP** - **park car**
Walk NORTH - **0.0001 mile**
Take **SALMON** - **8 ounces**
Take **CALAMARI** - **4 ounces**
Take **SHRIMP** - **9**
Take **MUSSELS** - **8**
Take **TOMATO SAFFRON BROTH** - **12 ounces**
Continue toward checkout - go **0.00015 mile**
Merge into traffic and drive until you reach **HOME**
Prepare ingredients for **SEAFOOD STEW** - **0.3 hour**
Merge **CORKSCREW** with bottle of **BERINGER**
Pour **BERINGER** into glass - **4 ounces**
Serve **SEAFOOD STEW** - **large bowl**
Sip **BERINGER** and arrive in **NAPA VALLEY, CA**
Total travel time - **45 minutes**

www.Beringer.com

BERINGER - how to get to napa valley

Figure 3.21 Not saying labor force (original source from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.14. Bottom photograpgh of worker from Street, 2004 pg. 255)

Figure 3.22 Chinese at work in vineyard.
(Street, from Photographing Farmworkers in California, 2004 pg. 216).

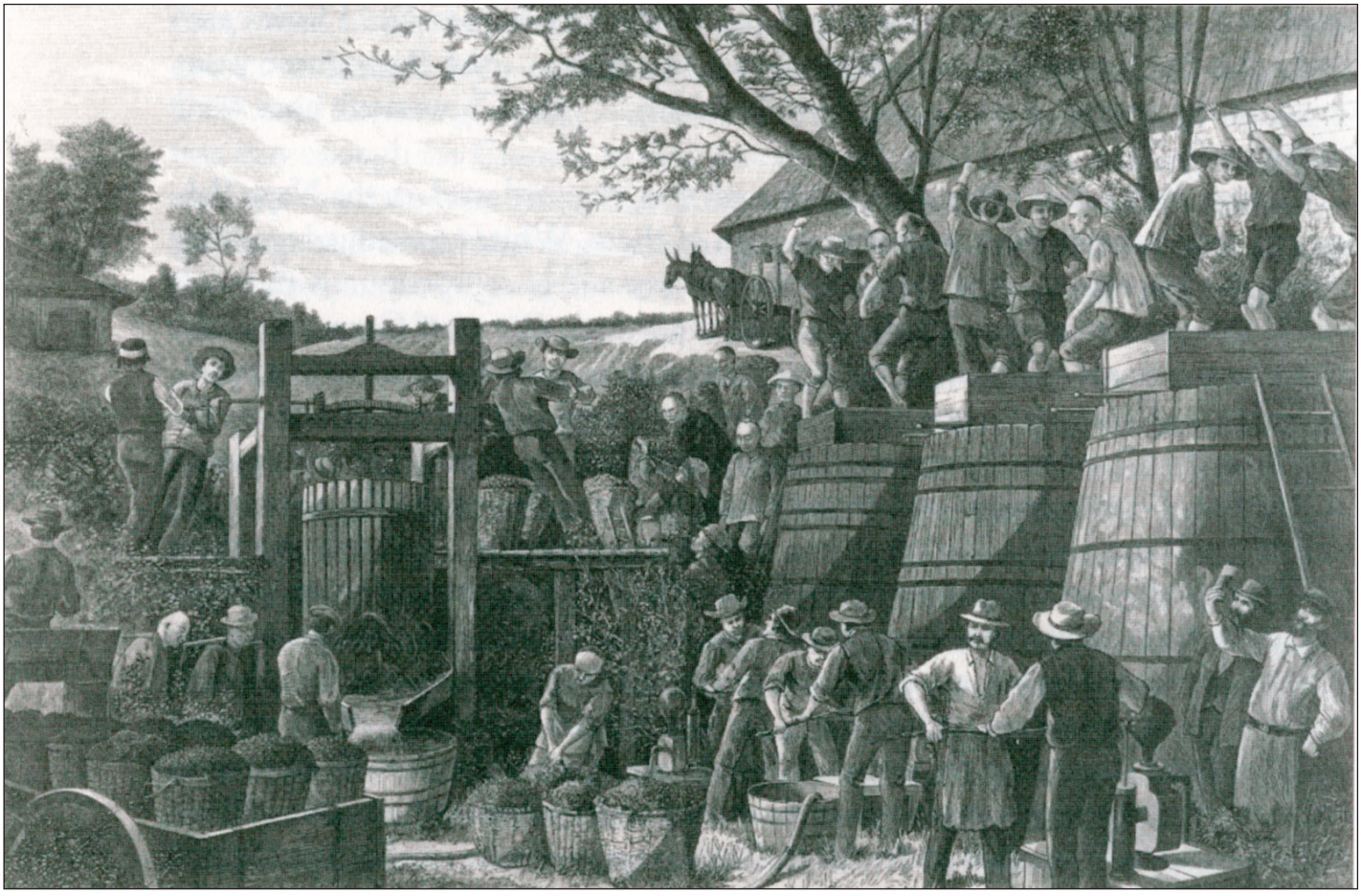

Figure 3.23 Drawing by Paul Frenzeny for Harper's Weekly, October 5, 1878
"The Vintage of California—at Work at the Wine Presses".
(Street, from Beasts of the Field, 2004 pg.318).

Figure 3.24 Typical cutting knife for harvest, this instrument has been used since Roman times. (O'Rear, pg. 114).

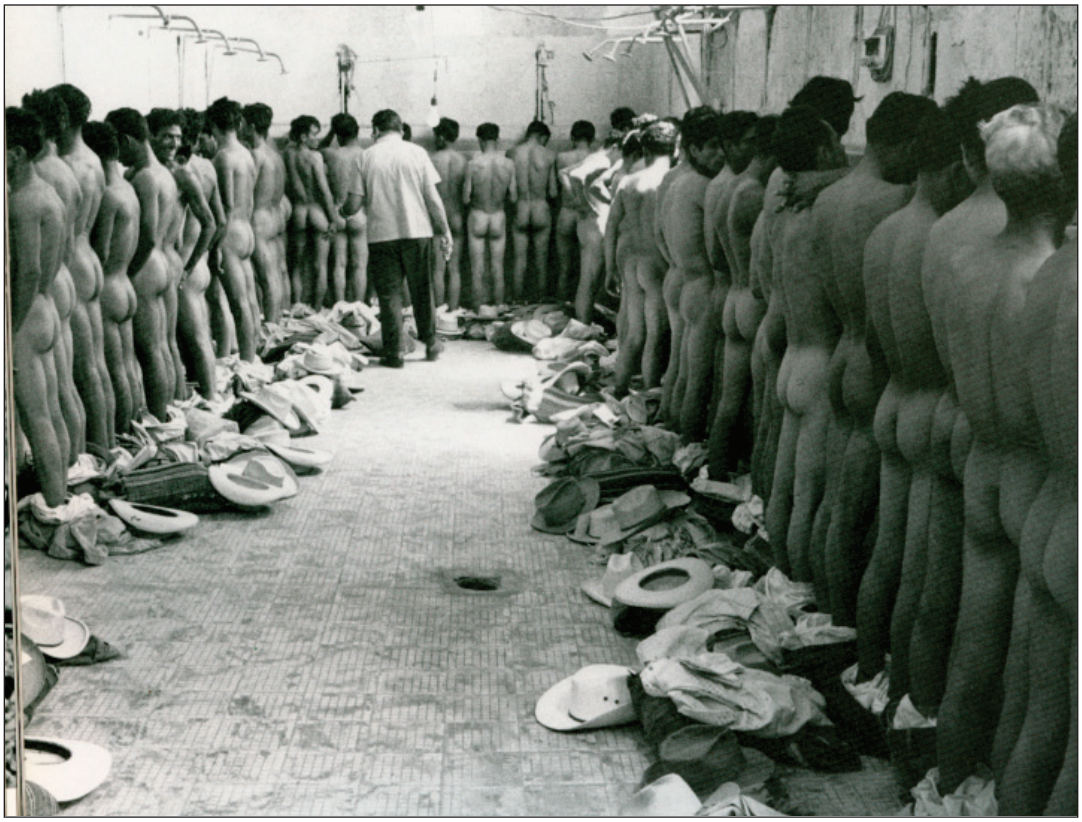

Figure 3.25 Physical inspection. This photograph taken sometime in the middle of the twentieth century shows the health inspection necessary to enter America as an Agricultural worker from Mexico. (Street, from Photographing Farmworkers in California 2004 pg. 188).

Figure 3.26 Cesar Chavez on strike. 'Huelga' in the central valley, California. (Street, from Photographing Farmworkers in California 2004 pg. 237).

Figure 3.27 A defiant sixteen year old girl, splattered in mud, during the vineyard labor strikes in the central valley during the 1970's. (Street, from Photographing Farmworkers in California 2004 pg. 257).

Figure 3.28 Women in the early morning collecting grape prunings for wreaths. (Street, from Photographing Farmworkers in California 2004 pg. 284).

Figure 3.29 Mexican men on their way to California for agricultural work. Street describes this picture as one of brimming hope. (Street, from Photographing Farmworkers in California 2004 pg. 169).

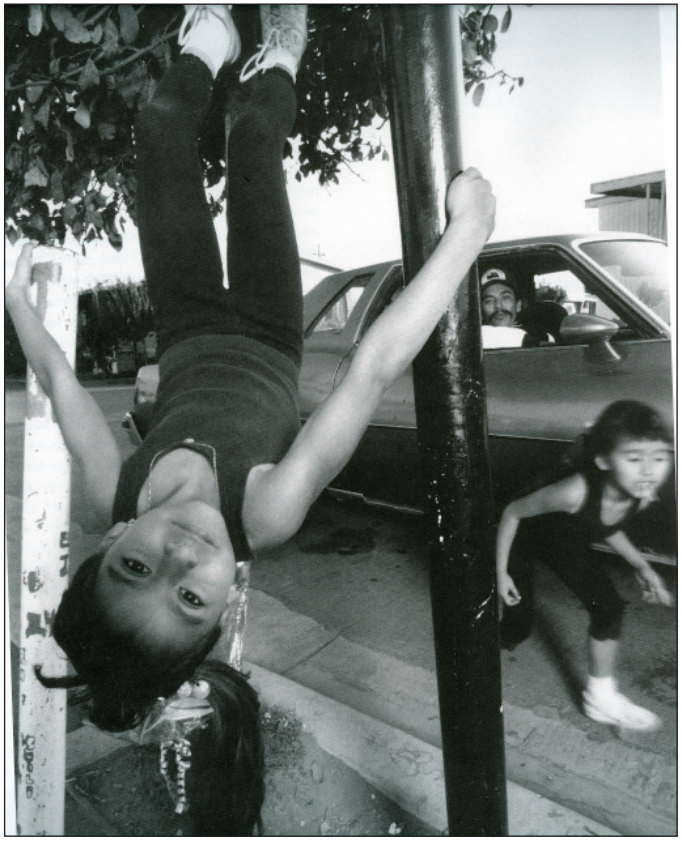

Figure 3.30 Child of immigrant farm workers showing off her swinging skills. Her sister runs in the background, as her father arrives home from work. I include this image as it is an accurate depiction of families I knew growing up in Napa. (Street, from Photographing Farmworkers in California 2004 pg. 284).

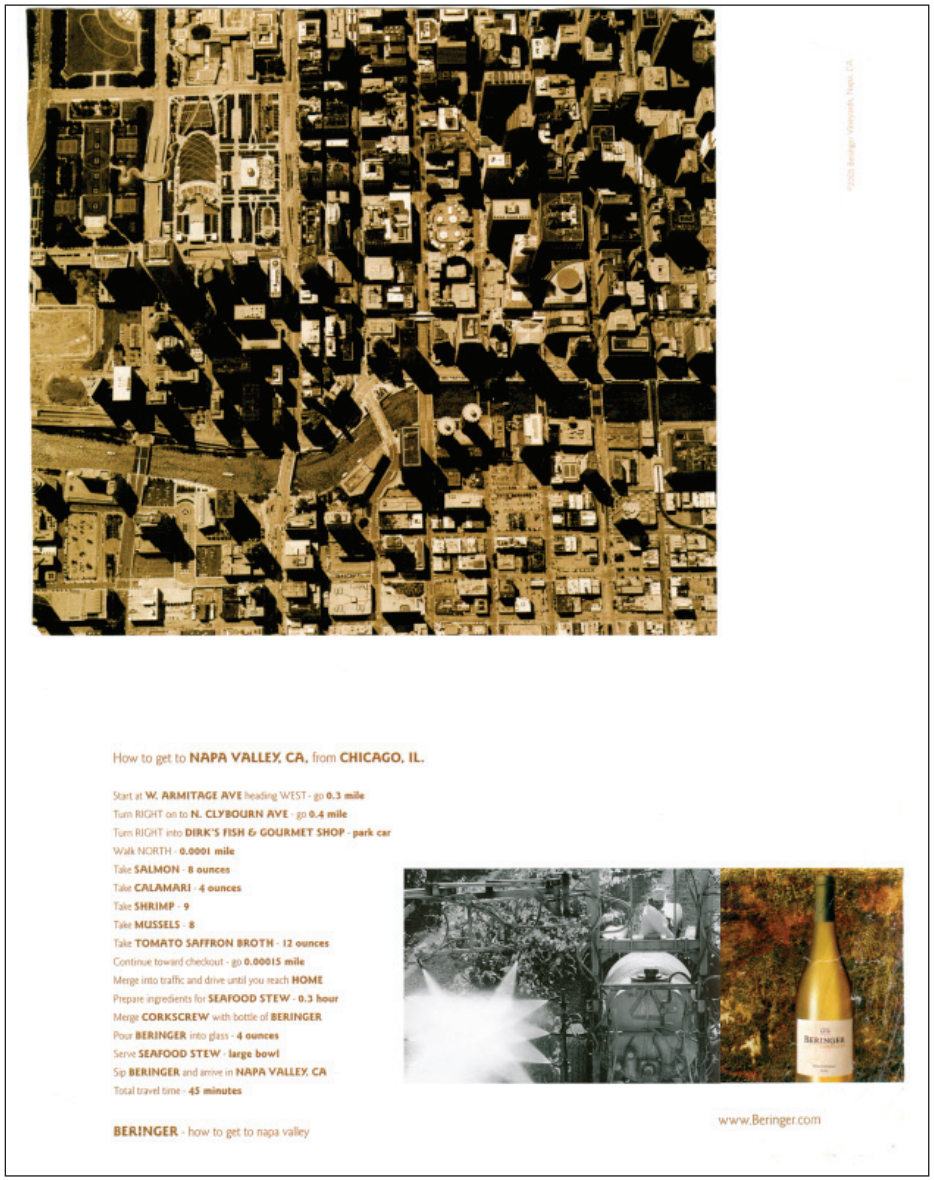

Figure 3.31 Not saying environmental degradation (original source from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.14. Bottom photograpgh of spraying from Fisher, 1962 pg. 37)

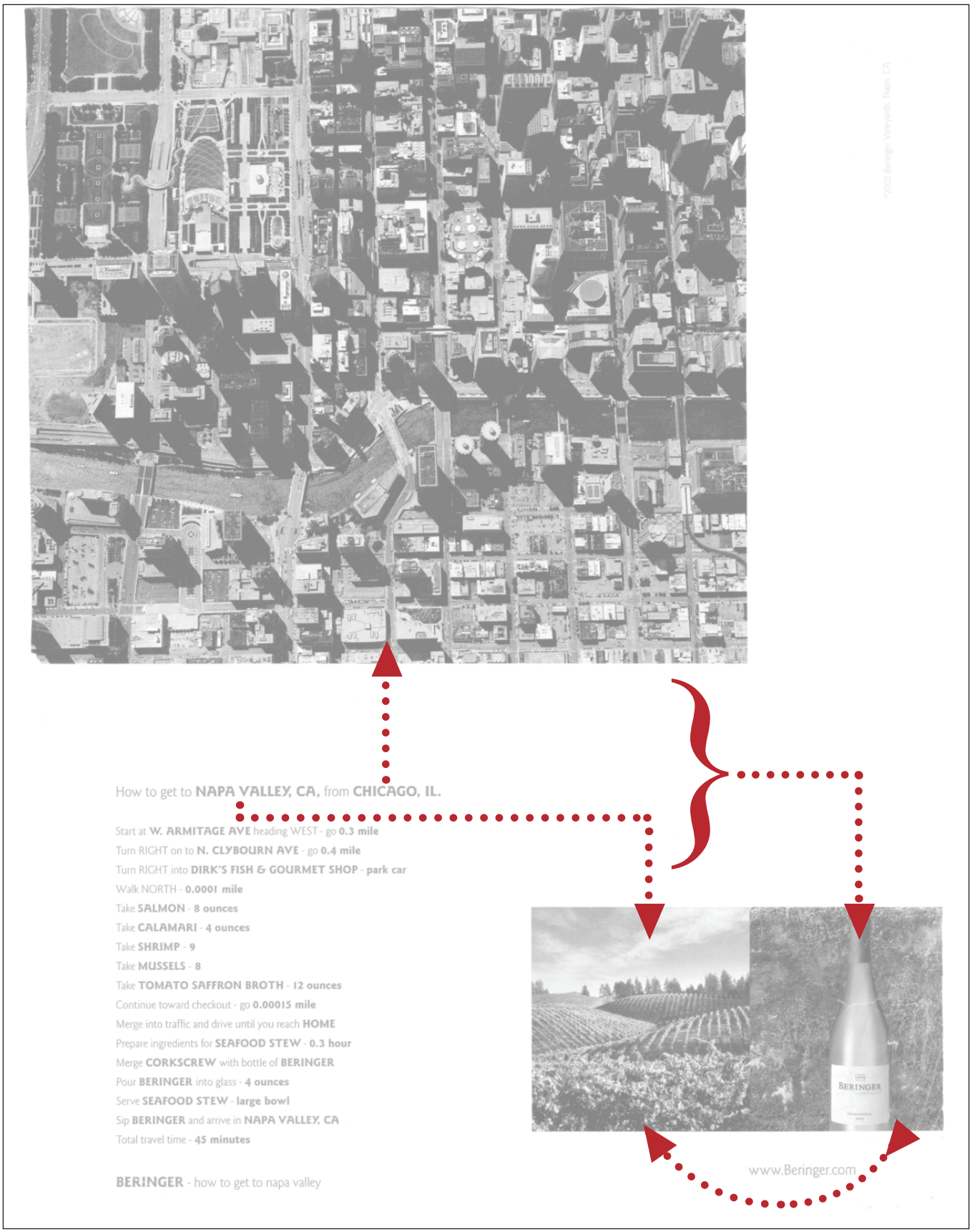

Figure 3.32 Describing the poetic relationship in the Beringer advertisement: wine as pleasure vehicle away from "big city life" in Chicago to the myth and social status of the viticultural landscape . (original ad from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.145)

Figure 3.33 Pleasure
(original source from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.145)

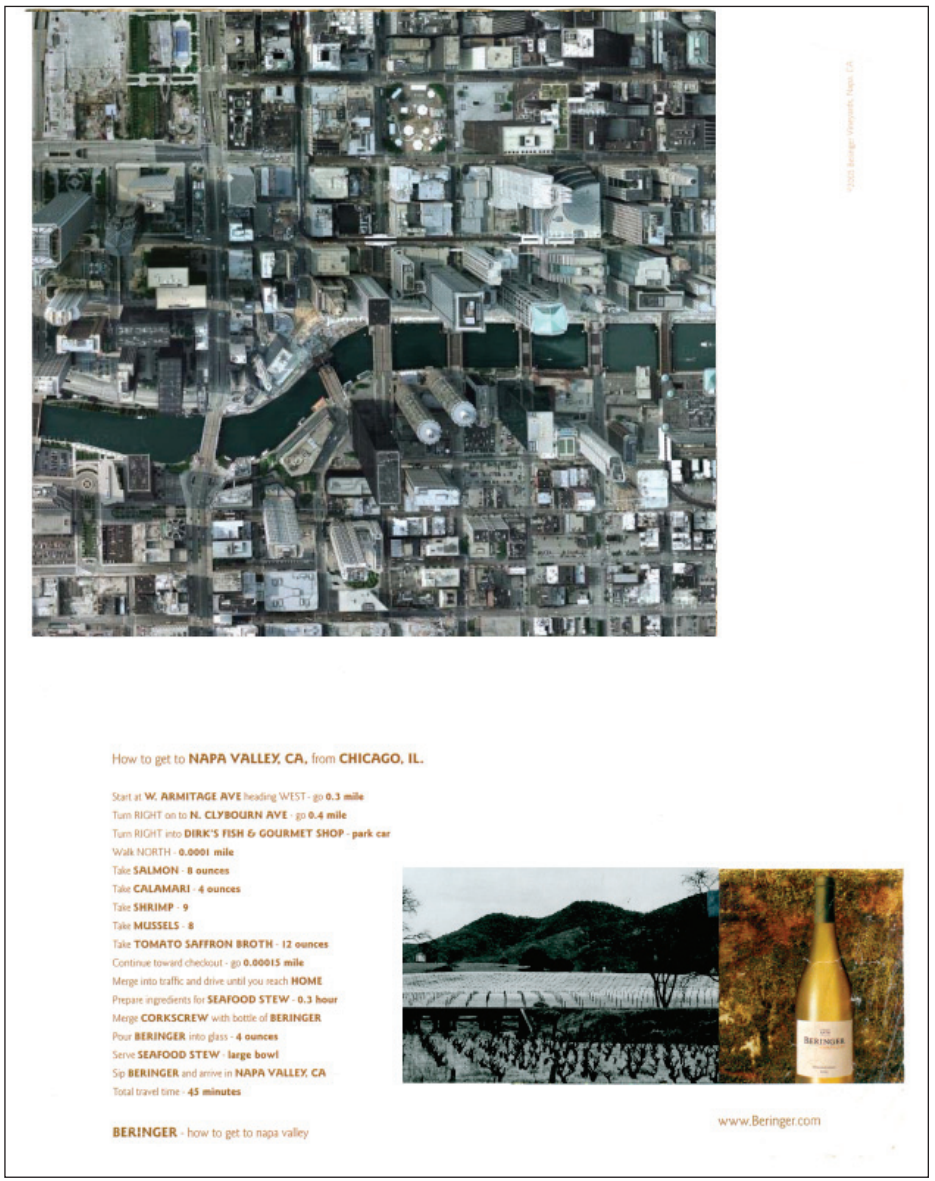

Figure 3.34 Myth
(original source from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.145. Aerial photograph from google map at www.http://maps.google.com. Bottom vineyard photograph from Fisher, 1962 pg. 27)

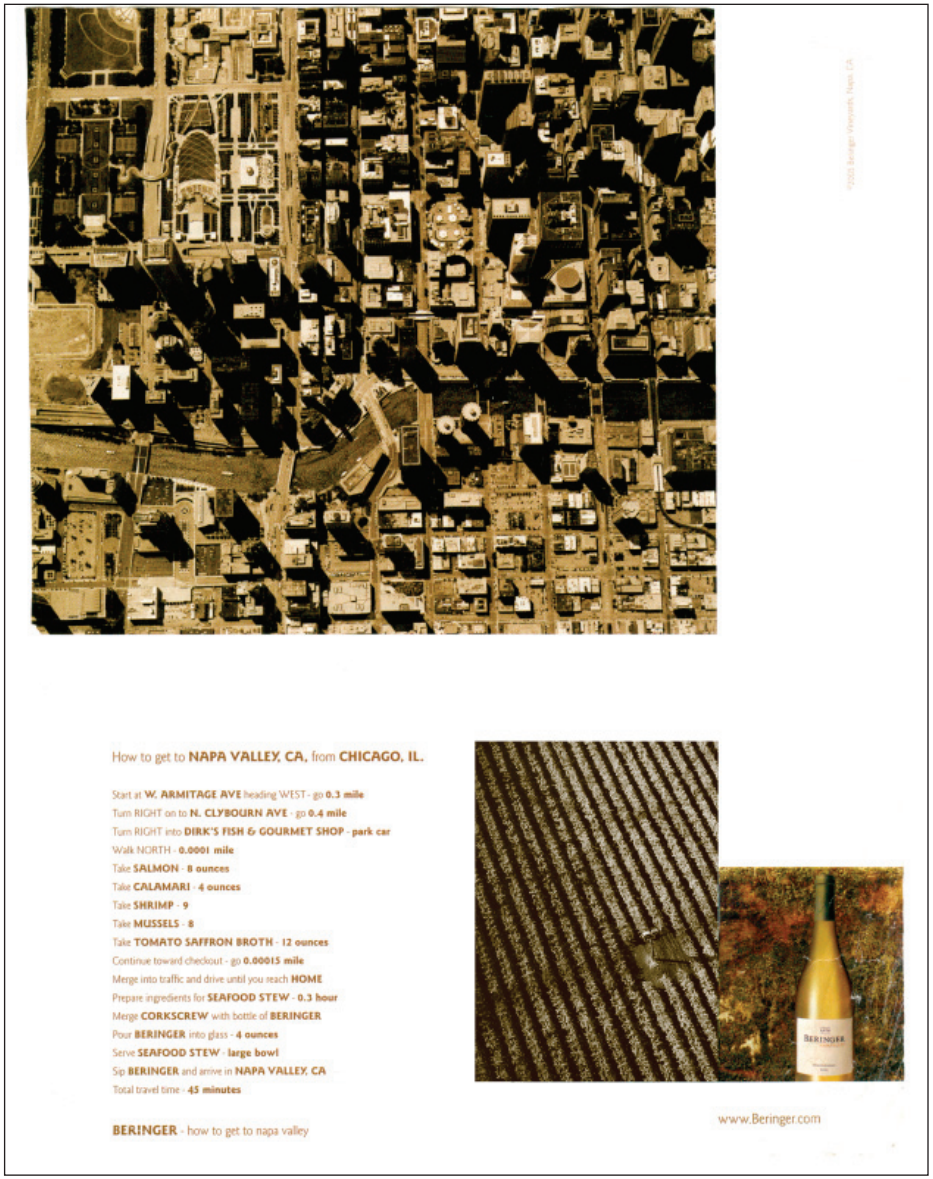

Figure 3.35 Myth
(original source from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.145. Bottom vineyard photograph from O'Rear, pg. 148)

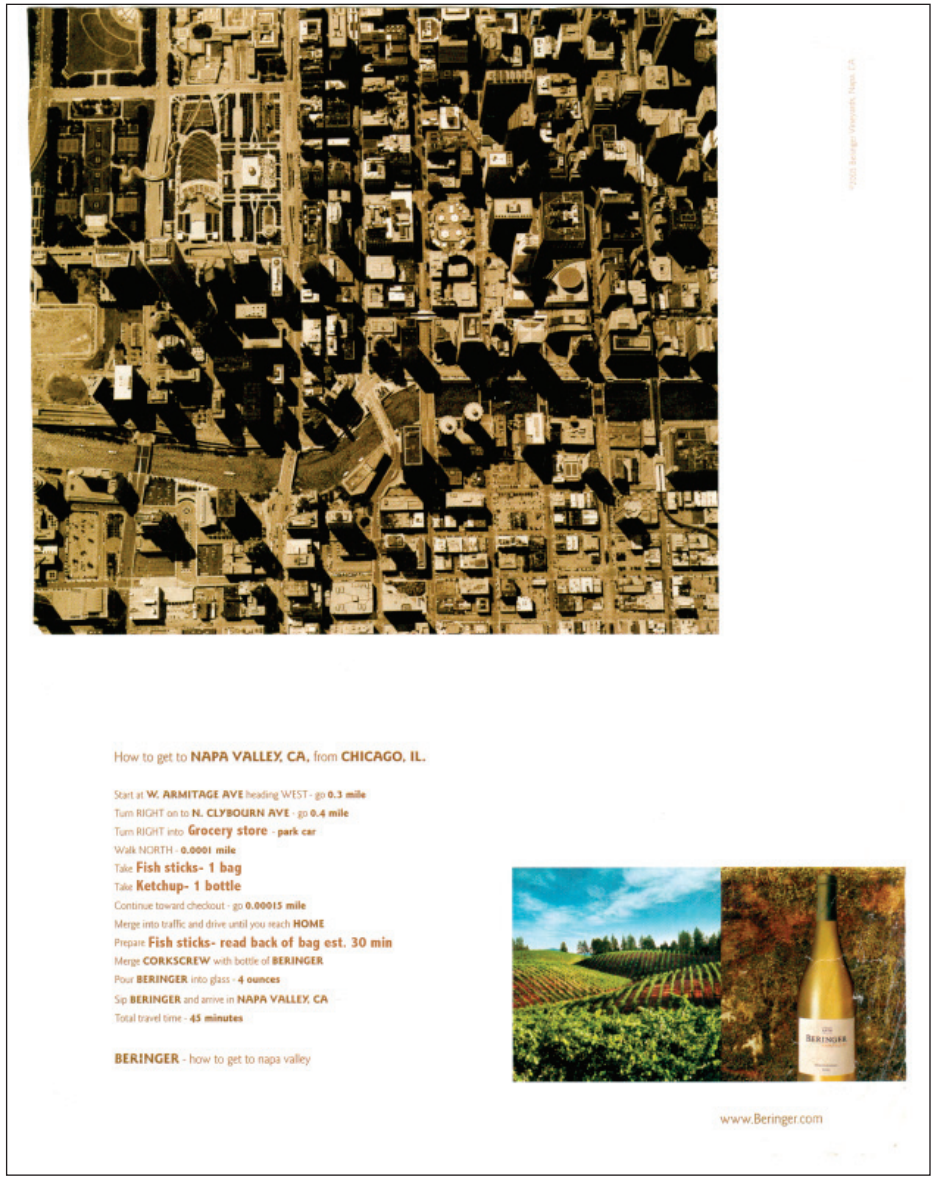

Figure 3.36 Social Status
(original source from Food and Wine magazine, May 2006 pg.145)

CHAPTER 4

THE WINE LANDSCAPE: INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

Our pale day is sinking into twilight,
And if we sip the wine, we find dreams coming upon us
Out of the imminent night.

D.H. Lawrence[1]

Existing between twilight and imminent night, value in the landscape of wine resides in the ephemeral state of pleasant dreams. Its lure is similar to any land of promise that will somehow "lift us out of the dreariness of necessity."[2] As a lifestyle symbol, the landscape of wine in popular perception equates to "the good life"; and as in all cases of styling, something ordinary is made extraordinary. It has been transformed into a social, public and ritualized act around which culture has constructed an 'ideal world.'[3] Bestowed with perceived qualities of absolute perfection, the winescape quenches thirst for pleasure, paradise, and power.

Yet, before elaborating on these points, let us first reiterate the purpose of this study: to identify culturally perceived value and understand *why* we value this landscape, to examine those qualities which enable appreciation to transcend realities, and to describe the landscapes transformation into an ideal. Led by these investigative tasks,

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[1] Alexis Bespaloff, ed., *The Fireside Book of Wine: An Anthology for Wine Drinkers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), 19.
[2] Jonathan Smith, "The Lie That Blinds:Destabilizing the Text of Landscape," in *Place/culture/representation*, ed. James S. Duncan and David Ley (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 81.
[3] Thomas M. Wilson, *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), 142.

this thesis interpretation has approached the landscape of wine as a 'field of action', meaning that the landscape is a marker of regional and national identity asserting and negotiating social influences.[4] Through contemplation of Napa's wine landscape in its physical, historical, observed, and visual culture, the motivation behind *why* we value and create the wine landscape revealed itself in multiple layers.

Immediately apparent, the powerful underlying motivations of human need and desire manifested in all the landscapes valued qualities. As a general belief, human beings have three basic needs: food, clothing and shelter; but this is an incomplete list of what we seek in an environment if we are to thrive. As John Gold and Jacqueline Burgess wrote in Valued Environments, "We all search for environments that satisfy our basic needs… places which afford us pleasure and mental stimulation; environments that supply an indication of our past and of what the future might hold. In seeking to satisfy these needs people will be attracted towards some environments and repelled by others…"[5] The architect Louis I. Kahn once said, "I don't believe in need as a force at all. Need is a current, everyday affair. But desire—that is something else again. Desire is the forerunner of a new need. It is the yet not stated, the yet not made which motivates."[6] Indeed the very motivation for creating the wine landscape rests in need and desire beyond basic survival.

In searching the social needs and desires inscribed on the landscape of wine in this thesis, three underlying currents surfaced as dominant motivations and overriding

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[4] Ibid., 129.
[5] John Robert Gold, Jacquelin A. Burgess, and Institute of British Geographers., *Valued Environments* (London; Boston: G. Allen & Unwin, 1982), 1.
[6] Louis I. Kahn and Alessandra Latour, *Louis I. Kahn: L'uomo, Il Maestro* (Roma: Kappa, 1986).

values: hedonistic pleasure of the mind and body, mythical paradise as seen in religion and American ideology, and social power linked to viewing land as a commodity. From these triptych motivations, the thesis conclusions illuminate transcendent qualities inscribed in the cultural values and perceptions towards the wine landscape.

Hedonism: Pleasure in the Wine Landscape

"…wine maketh glad the heart of man,…".
Psalm 104:15[7]

Baths, wine and sex ruins our bodies.
But what makes life worth while except baths, wine and sex?
Roman epitaph[8]

Hedonistic pleasure, the gratification of the senses, springs most immediate to the mind when contemplating why we culturally value the wine landscape. "Pleasure", Jay Appleton remarks in The Symbolism of Habitat, "emerges both as a driving force of the whole biological system and as a criterion of excellence in a hedonistic aesthetic."[9] The wine landscapes pleasure qualities saturate Roman and Greek writings, Persian poetry, Shakespeare, and the political postulations in America's democratic beginnings. Plato called wine "the cure of crabbedness of old age, whereby we may renew our youth and enjoy forgetfulness of despair"[10]; and Thomas Jefferson called it a "sublime everyday

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[7] Helen Exley, ed., *Wine Quotations: A Collection of Fine Paintings and the Best Wine Quotes* (New York: Watford, UK: Exley Publications, 1994).
[8] Stuart J. Fleming, *Vinum: The Story of Roman Wine* (Glen Mills, PA: Art Flair, 2001), vii.
[9] Jay Appleton, *The Symbolism of Habitat: An Interpretation of Landscape in the Arts, The Jessie and John Danz Lectures* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 22.
[10] Dwight B. Heath and International Center for Alcohol Policies., *Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture* (Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel, 2000), 145.

pleasure."[11] In pursuit of pleasures, wine and its landscape readily satisfies human desire and need.

Both physically and psychologically, wine offers the power of intoxicants to relieve physical suffering and release the human spirit. "Wine was specified in the Old Testament as appropriate for libation, and in the New Testament for medication"[12] Through wine consumption, intoxication takes hold relaxing mind and muscle, relieving weariness and toil, creating a view on life that can literally look rosier through the tint of deep red burgundy. As Michael Pollan states in The Botany of Desire, "Intoxication is a human desire cultivated from a handful of plants that manage to manufacture chemicals with the precise molecular key needed to unlock the mechanisms in our brain governing pleasure, memory, and maybe even transcendence".[13] Wine, in service as man's oldest and safest tranquilizer, has been prescribed for relief of fatigue, distress, pain, and sorrow for more than 2,700 years.

By association with this chemical transcendence, the wine landscape has also come to symbolize similar pleasurable qualities, as a remover of affliction and a promise of "fulfillment of amorous desires."[14] Within the realm of hedonistic pleasure two

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[11] R. De Treville Lawrence, *Jefferson and Wine: Model of Moderation*, 2nd ed. (The Plains, Va.: Vinifera Wine Growers Association, 1989), 310.
[12] Robert C. Fuller, *Religion and Wine: A Cultural History of Wine Drinking in the United States*, 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 3.
[13] Michael Pollan, *The Botany of Desire: A Plant's Eye View of the World*, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 2001), xviii.
[14] Philip F. Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry: Abåu Nuwåas and the Literary Tradition, Oxford Oriental Monographs* (Oxford
New York: Clarendon Press;
Oxford University Press, 1997), 85.

dominant patterns emerged in the analysis of this thesis: the vineyard as pleasure in relief and as a social lubricant.

The Vineyard—Pleasure in Relief

Long a salve for conditions of the human body, wines healthful properties have long been extolled as a cure to illness, or if nothing else "a vehicle with pleasing taste that could offset or mask" the most unpleasant herbal remedies.[15] Hippocrates was among the first to advocate the use of wine for healing the sick. In fact he admonished that only wine should be used to moistened wounds. Until the nineteenth century wine was deemed a capitol remedy in every stage of typhus;[16] and as a gentle narcotic which dulled the senses in a far more pleasant way than mandrake or opium.[17] Not uncommonly monasteries planted vineyards in cloister gardens for the solace of the sick.[18] More recently studies in wine's healthful properties have demonstrated a synergistic effect with some antibiotics, enhancing their effectiveness against bacteria. Furthermore wine is also proving helpful in pulmonary and cardiovascular disease.[19]

Apart from wines healing powers in the past (and in a reality that seems antiquated by much of the world standards today), wine's ultimate value was as an alternative to disease-ridden water. As seen in the historical review in this thesis, Americans' early attempts at viticulture stemmed in part from the desire for a reliable and

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[15] Fleming, *Vinum: The Story of Roman Wine*, 76.
[16] De Treville Lawrence, *Jefferson and Wine: Model of Moderation*, 284.
[17] Fleming, *Vinum: The Story of Roman Wine*, 75.
[18] John Harvey, *Mediaeval Gardens* (Beaverton, Or.: Timber Press, 1981), 12.
[19] Salvatore P. Lucia, *Wine as Food and Medicine* (New York: The Blakiston Company, Inc., 1954).

safe beverage; and Thomas Jefferson believed not only the health of the nation lay in the virtues of viticulture, but that his own health was to be attributed to his daily wine consumption. A century later, the nation still considered wine a hygienic beverage. Louis Pasteur noted in his microbiology studies that, "Wine is the most healthful and most hygienic of beverages."[20] Perhaps, then, it is not incomprehensible why the U.S. Congress during Prohibition allowed the continued use of wine not only for prescribed medicinal purposes, but also for home winemaking; the latter harkening back to a heritage of families fermenting beverages as healthful alternatives to an unreliable water source.

Beyond viticulture's salubrious pleasures, hedonism in the landscape of wine also correlates with the pleasure of inebriation which Lord Byron described, "…cheers the sad, revives the old, inspires the young, and makes weariness forget his toil."[21] Likewise, Ralph Waldo Emerson exclaims of wines virtues, "Give me wine to wash me clean, from the weather-stains of care.[22] Equally poignant, the peasants of Castilia, Spain aptly call wine *quita penas*—"the drowner of sorrows."[23] Historically and today, a value in wine drinking is in providing occasions of psychological time-out.

As a symbol of wine's pleasures, the landscape of wine itself denotes escape from the woes of life, from ones burdens and cares.[24] As discovered through the aesthetic description analysis, upon entering the Napa Valley, I almost immediately felt a palpable

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[20] Exley, ed., *Wine Quotations: A Collection of Fine Paintings and the Best Wine Quotes*.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Magen Broshi, *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series; 36* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 145.
[24] Heath and International Center for Alcohol Policies., *Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture*, 185.

pleasure in escaping the pressures of the heavily populated Bay Area. The wine landscape lifted me out of everyday drudgery to a place of calm gentility; and although I did not imbibe on my journey, my hedonistic pleasure was in relaxation. The land itself became elixir. Furthermore, as seen through the semiotic analysis, in the Beringer advertisement, the image of the vineyard communicates the wine landscape as something healthy and bountiful, full of the satisfactions of life: content ease, safety, and stability.

The Vineyard—Pleasure in Socialization

"Wine drinking in groups is as old as recorded history: The bible and ancient Greek and Egyptian manuscripts are replete with talks of wine parties and tasting."[25] Perhaps it is a truth that when wine is poured in moderation people are at their best; relaxed, content, able to eat leisurely and speak freely. Michael Broadbent, the head of Christie's wine department, once said"…drinking good wine with good food in good company is one of life's most civilized pleasures."[26] As a psychotropic, wine fosters feelings of well-being in social relations by reducing inhibitions, facilitating conversation, and easing social interaction.

Since at least the 4th century wine has been linked with family meals and as a result became a means to express social solidarity, interpersonal warmth, and shared values. In my own aesthetic observations, V. Sattui Winery reminded me of warm sunny days, snacking on fruit and cheese, nestled amongst vines; and in observing people while

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[25] M.D. Paul Scholten, "Social Organizations," in *The University of California/Sotheby Book of California Wine*, ed. Doris Muscatine, Maynard A. Amerine, and Bob Thompson (Berkeley & Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press/ Sotheby Publications, 1984), 345.
[26] Exley, ed., *Wine Quotations: A Collection of Fine Paintings and the Best Wine Quotes*.

at the Model Bakery, life in a wine landscape captured a mood of leisure and social congruity. In a similar resonance, the wine landscape in the semiotic analysis communicated contentment in epicurean delights. The text in the Beringer advertisement suggests a menu for a seafood dinner with sumptuous taste such as "tomato saffron broth." In this way the advertisement uses America's growing interest in gourmet food while also reaffirming wines connection to civil socialization.

A discussion on the hedonistic pleasure in wine landscapes is not complete without some mention of its association of human need and desire for social romance and sexuality. Magen Broshi points out in her book Bread, Wine, Walls, and Scrolls, "There is hardly any wine-consuming culture which does not regard wine as an aphrodisiac, a remover of inhibitions and abolisher of chastity."[27] One Christian philosopher once said, "The eating of meat and the drinking of wine and the fullness of the stomach is the seed plot of lust."[28] In describing the landscape of wine, it often takes on feminine qualities… adjectives such as lush, curving, plump, and full-bodied describe the land and vine.

The landscape of wine is a pleasant visual drink giving the consumer a needed and desired sense of well-being. Through the hedonistic pleasure of relief and socialization we see values in the landscape of wine attributed to better health, eased social situations, and sensuality.

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[27] Broshi, *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls*, 164.
[28] Fleming, *Vinum: The Story of Roman Wine*, 71.

Myth: Paradise in the Wine Landscape

A book of verses underneath the bough
A jug of wine, a loaf of bread—and thou
Beside me singing in the wilderness
Ah, wilderness were paradise enow.

Omar Khayyam[29]

Roman philosopher and politician Cicero wrote, "We sow corn, we plant trees, we fertilize the soil by irrigation, we confine the rivers and straighten or divert their courses. In short, by means of our hands we try to create… a second nature within the natural world."[30] Whether through religious ideology in the form of reclaiming Eden, or political ideology inspired in the enlightenment period, the need and desire to recreate paradise by taming nature creates the second layer of values placed on the landscape of wine.

From the Sumerian-Babylonian culture the notion of "paradise" was incarnate in the "idyllic earthly garden of peace and plenty reserved for those who had achieved immortality."[31] Gardens throughout history have been intended as places of perfect peace with all elements conjoining for the experience of earthly paradise.[32] As a visual element and as the ingredient for wine, vineyards have long offered a means to manifest an earthly paradise, an ideal garden.[33] The vine has been in "partnership with mankind for many thousands of years in the task of imposing order upon chaos, the garden upon

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[29] Nina Wemyss, ed., *Soul of the Vine, Wine in Literature* (Oakville, ON, Canada: Robert Mondavi Winery, 1988).
[30] Anne Whiston Spirn, *The Language of Landscape* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 32.
[31] Elizabeth B. Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden: In Persia and Mughal India*, 1st ed., *World Landscape Art & Architecture Series* (New York: G. Braziller, 1979), 123.
[32] Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 46.
[33] Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden: In Persia and Mughal India*, 4.

wilderness."[34] In the paradise of the vineyard the land value exhibits itself in two ways, as paradise in Eden and agrarian life.

The Vineyard—Paradise in Eden

The recovery of Eden narrative is the story with which has culturally shape most Western societies. Wilderness means that which is savage, rude, unsafe, and unpredictable; conversely, a civilized landscape described a place refined, enlightened and in an advanced state of humanity. In an Edenic paradise, the wild is tamed, wilderness subdued. In America this story is one of converting wilderness into ordered civil society—creating a reinvented Eden—through "science, technology, and capitalism."[35]

Europeans believed that in settling the New World, a new earth could be reconstructed using the original garden as the ideal. As Wolfgang Schivelbusch points out in his book Tastes of Paradise, "The New World has been hymned as a potential paradise."[36] In this land of unlimited opportunity, "The earth could be plowed, cultivated, and improved as people mixed their labor with the soil."[37] In creating a utopian paradise, the abundant "natural" landscape imposed on an arid wilderness has caught the imagination of many.[38] The landscape of wine, as one such utopia, signifies God's

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[34] Edward Hyams, *Dionysus: A Social History of the Wine Vine* (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1965), 18.
[35] Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture*, 68.
[36] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, 1st American ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), 13.
[37] Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture*, 81.
[38] David Vaught, *Cultivating California: Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920, Revisiting Rural America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 53.

blessings[39] and subsequently the landscape of wine has long been considered a "garden of the gods."[40] In representing western transformation of nature into culture, darkness into light, and chaos into order,[41] viticulture symbolizes human recovery of the barren desert and infertile ground.

As Clifford Davidson discusses in The Iconography of Heaven, "The recovery of paradise was seen as an avenue of escape from the hostile world of thorns and thistles, hard work… pain, strife, exploitation, death, and destruction. The lost paradise also stood for the perfection of God's creation—a place quite different from the harsh realities of this world."[42] As Anne Spirn points out in The Language of Landscape, "In Scripture the paradise of the Lord became a simile for a desirable place to live (*Genesis* 13.10)."[43]

Ubiquitous in biblical imagery, viticulture and its product, wine, are representations of a blessed desirable place.[44] According to the bible Noah was the first cultivator of grapes and the maker of wine and as the story goes, "Noah, a husbandman, began to till the ground, and planting a vineyard, and drinking of the wine was made drunk, and lay naked in his tent. (Genesis 9:20-21).[45] The use of wine and development of viticulture has figured significantly into the "socio-cultural identities of America's

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[39] Fuller, *Religion and Wine: A Cultural History of Wine Drinking in the United States*, 42.
[40] Ian R. Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods: Californian-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999), 2.
[41] Harvey, *Mediaeval Gardens*, 2.
[42] Clifford Davidson, *The Iconography of Heaven* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1994), 71.
[43] Ibid., 73.
[44] Broshi, *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls*, 144.
[45] Heath and International Center for Alcohol Policies., *Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture*, 145.

most dominant denominations."[46] As Robert Fuller points out in his book Religion and Wine, "An important part of the settlement of the Midwest was the formation of small religious communities seeking to establish a utopian, God-centered society. And, interestingly, several of these actively embraced wines as a means of symbolizing and strengthening their communal ties."[47] Commonly the wine landscape has symbolized the union of the divine and human activities.

> That is, the growing of grapes and the production of wine requires a harmonious blending of human and divine activities. The grapevine itself has, since biblical time, been viewed as a gift from God and as a symbol of the divine benevolence we find throughout Nature. Thus the grapes themselves, as well as the presence of wild yeasts that initiate the fermentation process, are a part of nature's creative rhythms. Humans can, however, join with God's creative activity by nurturing these natural processes.[48]

As seen through the aesthetic description analysis, in my own experience at Hess Winery, the wine landscape merges almost seamlessly with that of the herb and flower garden creating an en-suite Edenic scene. In traveling the Napa Valley I was a tourist in paradise with the scent of heady blossoms and vine rows of tamed nature. Even the casual people passing by on the street exuded a relaxation and cheerfulness as if strolling in Eden. Looking at the winescape through the semiotic analysis the Beringer advertisement connotatively suggests a bountiful Eden. When the ad no longer contains the color vineyard image, as removed through the commutations test, the wine landscape

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[46] James Conaway, *Napa* (Boston, Massachusettes: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990).
[47] Fuller, *Religion and Wine: A Cultural History of Wine Drinking in the United States*, 43.
[48] Heath and International Center for Alcohol Policies., *Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture*, 145.

looses its potency, resulting in a bleak, cold, and infertile communication. In effect the viewer is cast out once again from the Garden of Eden. The bottle of wine which once offered transcendence only delivers a muted message for purchasing paradise.

The Vineyard—Paradise in Agrarian Life

The idea that domesticated productive land is beautiful as opposed to nature in its "wild state" paints a common scene of paradise as an agrarian ideal. With the domestication of animals, along with grains and fruits, foundations for settled agriculture in turn developed culture. The production of wine marks a significant shift in the human control of food through cultivation of a plant. "For with the advent of viticulture, agriculture turned toward producing a product not necessary for biological subsistence…"[49] Typically when looking at viticulture's past in its agrarian relationship,

> The farmer who cultivated a vineyard likely had his son(s) in mind to carry on the farm and its vines after he was gone… ancient viticulture, because it entailed sedentary settlement in an area and traditional land inheritance through a family, presumed a social nexus. The social consequences of wine, then, begin not with a first sip, but right when the vine is planted in the ground."[50]

The Roman poet Virgil wrote of a cycle from "savagery" to "civilization" and in the middle stage of the cycle which he set out in the Georgics he describes agriculture as a state when "the potentials of both society and earth are actualized and perfected."[51] The

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[49] Carey Walsh, *The Fruit of the Vine: Viticulture in Ancient Israel, Harvard Semitic Museum Publications* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 12.
[50] Ibid., 20-21.
[51] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 67.

wine landscape expressed human achievement towards harmony with nature through a productive land as he expresses in the following excerpt:

> And call upon you Bacchus, in cheerful songs,
> Suspend for you small effigies of wool
> High on a pine. Hence every vineyard ripens
> With generous fruit, the valleys and deep glades
> And every place to which god had turned
> His comely countenance are filled with plenty.[52]

In Virgil's poetic landscape the farmer's efforts bring forth nature's bounty; and as Philp Salzman further describes in Understanding Culture,

> …Virgilian works represent a progress from the Pastoral which posits a 'natural' relationship between humans and their physical surroundings at the birth and infancy of society; through the Georgical society of individual farmers who intervene in nature, making it respond more certainly to the rhythm and needs of human life but nonetheless relating to it as husbandmen rather than as exploiters; to the urban society of celebrating the birth of Rome, sustained initially in the labor of the fields but over time introducing commerce, competition, and war. The progress from nature to culture is the progress of society from innocence to experience…[53]

In American colonies as well as in Europe, the Georgics widely read literature by educated people; and Thomas Jefferson was undoubtedly familiar with Virgil's agrarian views. Jefferson, "Like so many other Americans of education—that is, under the spell of ancient classical traditions—he turned his attention to the vines of the Old World…".[54] A strong advocate of U.S. wine growing, Jefferson promoted the cultural landscape of

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[52] Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture*, 44.
[53] Philip Carl Salzman, *Understanding Culture: An Introduction to Anthropological Theory* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 2001), 63.
[54] De Treville Lawrence, *Jefferson and Wine: Model of Moderation*, 221.

wine as an agrarian ideal[55] believing that "in countries which use ardent sprits drunkenness is a mortal vice; but in those which make wine for common use you never see a drunkard."[56]

It is said that Jefferson had a love of the soil[57] and coupled with his scientific curiosity, agrarianism proved "the most significant aspect of his entire philosophy. He loved farming more than anything else, and once wrote, 'I have often thought that if heaven had given me choice of my position and calling, it should have been on a rich spot of earth, well watered, and near a good market for the production of the garden. No occupation is so delightful to me as the cultivation of the earth.'"[58]

In the Jeffersonian yeoman farmer, the dream of paradise in America acquired a new and potentially more democratic expression when linked to the garden myth in the American West. The image of diverse, abundant resources for small-scale agriculture fed egalitarian hopes for westward expansion and everywhere, the mythical power of paradise inspired settlers to shape the landscape.

In my own observational experience in traveling through the Napa Valley the tamed agrarian landscape instills a kind of calm to visitor and local alike. Gone is the "man-eating" grizzly bear, the Wappo Indians, the hills of wild oak and Manzanita: in their stead are orderly vines, trellised to wires controlled by humans. Likewise in the Beringer advertisement the vineyard image is again a connotative communication of

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[55] Gary L. Peters, *American Winescapes: The Cultural Landscapes of America's Wine Country* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), 3.
[56] De Treville Lawrence, *Jefferson and Wine: Model of Moderation*, 220.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Hyams, *Dionysus: A Social History of the Wine Vine*, 275.

tamed nature for production of goods. Here, the Chicago landscape represents the wilderness: an untamed industrial wasteland. In contrast the fertile Napa Valley portrays a landscape depicting man's triumph and recovery with vines covering the region wholly from end to end.

Americans have long had a fondness for agricultural landscapes; and although for some people rural landscapes are still reminiscent of the Jeffersonian ideal of an agrarian republic, most see them as an occasional refuge from the bustling life of modern American cities—a modern Eden.[59] The ideal landscape either found in an Edenic or Agrarian ideal is not a deception, but an indicator of desirable human life as versions of paradise."[60]

Social Status: Power in the Wine Landscape

I wonder often what the Vintners buy
One half so precious as the stuff they sell.

Omar Khayyam[61]

In The Beautiful and the Damned Scott Fitzgerald wrote, "at the left a great bulk of granite and marble muttered dully a millionaire's chaotic message to whoever would listen: something about 'I worked and I saved and I was sharper than all Adam and here I sit, by golly, by golly."[62] The third pattern of value discovered in the landscape of wine

[59] De Treville Lawrence, *Jefferson and Wine: Model of Moderation*, 251.
[60] Robert Mugerauer, *Interpretations on Behalf of Place: Environmental Displacements and Alternative Responses, Suny Series in Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 97.
[61] Wemyss, ed., *Soul of the Vine, Wine in Literature*.
[62] Smith, "The Lie That Blinds:Destabilizing the Text of Landscape," 83.

shares some sentiment with this statement. As an object to be purchased and consumed,[63] the wine landscape has long been a symbol for hierarchy and has consequently contributed to the hierarchy of society.[64] As Denis Cosgrove points out in Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape,

> Land as status did of course allow for its representation as a reflection of aristocratic taste, consumption, and display. But this is scarcely landscape in the sense of a representation of land in and for itself, as property from whose production is to be realized for a profit. In an economy based on free labor and private ownership of the means of production, land is a commodity whose value lies in exchange."[65]

Yet a place or an object has value and symbolic significance only if others are aware of and impressed by our possession of it. Significantly, these symbolic possessions tend to be highly consistent with those things possessed by other people we wish to associate ourselves with. As a status symbol, the landscape of wine is an emblem of power, displayed and consumed. For example money is a symbol and like all symbols is stable only so long as a power is in place to penalize misreading. Symbolic meanings, then, are held in place by power.[66] As Thomas Wilson argues in Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity, "Drinking is an economic relation, linked to the production of alcohol, its marketing, its consumption, and its role, as commodity and symbol, in the wider commodification of society."[67] In viewing the wine landscape through an economic lens we see the land in yet another dimension—as the potent cultural symbol of

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[63] W. J. Thomas Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 15.
[64] Guille-Escuret quote translated by Thomas Wilson Wilson, *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity*, 138.
[65] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 62.
[66] Smith, "The Lie That Blinds:Destabilizing the Text of Landscape," 89.
[67] Wilson, *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity*, 17.

commodity. As another layer in the interpretation of the wine landscape, the vineyard as an indicator of social status revealed the land as power.

The Vineyard—Power in a Broad Scope

As Patrick E. McGovern points out in his seminal work Ancient Wine, "the prestige exchange of wine and special wine-drinking ceremonies were more likely the motive forces in the spread of Neolithic wine culture."[68] Unlike the assumption that viticulture's agrarian production spread through its hedonistic qualities or by the diffusions of myth and religion, viticulture's value and thus spread is more easily attributed to its worth as an exchange commodity.[69]

Dwight Heath points out in his book Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture,

> During the early days of civilization, the production and distribution of beverage alcohol appear to have been an important part of the process by which emerging elites expanded their control over craft production, established symbols, and created and manipulated surpluses. Because of their irregular availability and scarcity value, such drinks took on a diacritical symbolic function as a new way to define status, and they were strategically used by elites to differentiate themselves.[70]

In the Neolithic age of wine culture, the 'upper classes' had the resources and leisure to adopt what may be called "a vinicentric approach to life and the world. They could plant vineyards and make wine, even if it took years, and they could enjoy wine

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[68] Patrick E. McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 304.
[69] Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991, 1996), 94.
[70] Heath and International Center for Alcohol Policies., *Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture*, 185.

whenever they wanted…"[71] Historically in both Egypt and Mesopotamia, "wine was a prestige drink—saved for the king and his officials, kept from the commoner. Prestige was bought either in the achievement of royal vineyard productions or in the state's ability to import wine from afar. In either case, wine required the imperial power to obtain it."[72] In Greek and Roman antiquity, wine and its consumption were held in the highest regard.[73] And in trade, "the Celtic passion for wine stemmed from the fact that it was a prestige commodity—a sign of wealth ranking alongside gold and thus an instrument of power."[74]

In America's beginning, there was a continuation of the traditional tendency for wine drinking and viticultural landscape to be identified with the learned and culturally sophisticated members of society.[75] The reason for this association between wine and the relative small upper class was party economic and partly psychological. "Economically wine was an expensive imported item that the lower and middle classes viewed it as a luxury they had to do without."[76] Wealth in America was a precondition to appreciation until the commercial viniculture in the 1840's and 50's. Psychologically, enjoying wine required in the words of Robert Fuller in his book Religion and Wine,

> a great deal of accumulated knowledge concerning the unique characteristics of different grape varietals, the quality of distinct vintages, the role of proper clearing,

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[71] McGovern, *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture*, 303.
[72] Walsh, *The Fruit of the Vine: Viticulture in Ancient Israel*, 25.
[73] John Wilkins and Shaun Hill, *Food in the Ancient World* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 170.
[74] Fleming, *Vinum: The Story of Roman Wine*, 5.
[75] Fuller, *Religion and Wine: A Cultural History of Wine Drinking in the United States*, 22.
[76] Ibid., 13.

> etc. Wine drinking thus provided upper-class gentlemen with an activity that was both aesthetically and intellectually stimulating. [77]

As the young American nation strove for respectability and a social status to match its military and political achievements, wine was seen as an easily recognized indicator of class and refinement. Thomas Jefferson's enthusiasm for viticulture stemmed in part from wines association with the "high-culture."

In consumption of wine and wine landscapes, distinctions of class which American society protests are not important can be found in the past and today in the privileged consumption of these elite commodities.[78] Not dissimilar with wine's socially hierarchical past, vintners and consumers today, "…those with high cultural resources construct what they perceive to be a unique style," [79] and through the wine landscape they project established values of status and power.

The Vineyard—Power in Napa

As Charles Sullivan stated in Napa Wine, "An economist for Bank of America put forth a view that was as sound in 1885 as it was in 1980. 'The Napa Valley is a unique commodity that demands a premium, like buying a unique painting. It's a unique socioeconomic environment that takes a certain clientele."[80] Like those who can purchase a Picasso painting, the "certain clientele" the banker refers to is one who can afford the price tag. As one disenfranchised winegrower also stated in Sullivan's book,

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[77] Ibid., 16.
[78] Wilson, *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity*, 18.
[79] Ibid., 133-34.
[80] Charles L. Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.* (San Francisco: The Wine Appreciation Guild, Ltd., 1994), 322.

"This [the Napa Valley] is no longer a farming area. It's a label, like Calvin Klein."[81] Presently people are in fact spending fortunes to purchase the Napa Valley label, to make not much in return; and all this effort comes from the motivational desire for association with "the most basic sort of enterprise—agriculture—which in this incarnation has become glamorous."[82]

As commerce and electronics have brought unimaginable new wealth to the United States, a disproportionate amount of it has settled into the Napa Valley. "Land and agriculture become capitalized in commodity production; they are merely space-extensive industries dependent on the life of the urban market-place."[83] Wines association with the finer things in life, as sculpted works of art, has created a landscape in which "everybody who mattered suddenly had to have one [a vineyard]. This link to ancient tradition was the latest, best way of transforming money into status…"[84] As Sullivan again points out, "Ever since the nineteenth century, the idea of owning a vineyard and making wine had been the romantic goal of many Californians who had little knowledge of viticulture, the technology, or the economics of such a venture. Most were well enough financed wine lovers who thought that connoisseurship equated with success, and for some it did." [85]

Similar to the picturesque pleasure seekers of the eighteenth century, appreciating the wine landscape in Napa Valley today has clearly a class dimension to looking.

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[81] Ibid.
[82] James Conaway, *The Far Side of Eden: New Money, Old Land, and the Battle for Napa Valley* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 11.
[83] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 44.
[84] Conaway, *The Far Side of Eden: New Money, Old Land, and the Battle for Napa Valley*, 9.
[85] Sullivan, *Napa Wine: A History from Mission Days to Present.*, 22.

Typically those who appreciate the wine landscape and are desirous of ownership are seldom those who till the soil or get their hands dirty.[86] For those privileged enough to own an estate vineyard, the wine landscape that surrounds their house is a mirror, "and the unflattering mechanism that makes their life possible is as obscure as the source of their wealth.[87] Like traditional activities associated with wealth such as polo ponies and yachts, today the landscape of wine in Napa is a sign of distinction. Good wine and the cultural landscape attached to it has become a symbol of the "good-life" lifestyle; and "its consumption acts as a social marker or a sign of belonging to a dominant social class."[88]

In the aesthetic descriptive analysis, while in the Napa Valley I observed a landscape manicured with money. Wineries stood against hill and sky as commercial emblems of their owners. Everything seems purchasable for a price; and the proletariat masses which stream up and down the valley have their choice of produced goods to associate themselves with the bourgeois owners. Throughout my journey the landscape of wine seemed a commodity in a phase of full exploitation.

When semiotically analyzing the Beringer advertisement, the dimension of class became most apparent in the audience addressed. Unlike most Mediterranean cultures; which in the past considered wine a staple of every life, drunk by all classes and ages, wine drinking in the United States is concentrated significantly in the professional classes. As Kirby Moulton and James Lapsey point out in Successful Wine Marketing, wine consumption is "increasingly typical behavior of a specific type of individual, often

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[86] Claudia Bell and John Lyall, *The Accelerated Sublime: Landscape, Tourism, and Identity* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002), 33.
[87] Smith, "The Lie That Blinds:Destabilizing the Text of Landscape," 84.
[88] Wilson, *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity*, 133.

young, with a comfortable economic position and possessing some cultural capital."[89] Households headed by professionals consume an estimated half again as much as other households; and the "geographic location of consumers is representative of a number of factors—such as income distribution, occupation, regional cultures, and ethnic mix directly effect wine drinking."[90]

Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote "I think wealth has lost much of its value if it has not wine."[91] To Emerson wealth was only worthwhile if one could partake in wine and husbandry; a viticultural lifestyle. As discovered in this interpretation, the wine landscape, with its associations to wealth and power, provides a means for society to display social status. In effect the production in this land expresses explicit consumptive power, a message "by golly" for all to hear.

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[89] Ibid., 142.
[90] Kirby S. Moulton and James T. Lapsley, *Successful Wine Marketing* (Gaithersburg, Md.: Aspen Publishers, 2001).
[91] Bespaloff, ed., *The Fireside Book of Wine: An Anthology for Wine Drinkers*, 218.

CHAPTER 5
FINAL REFLECTION: QUALITY IN A LANDSCAPE

In water one sees one's own face, but in wine one beholds the heart of another.
French Proverb[1]

So, too, when interpreting the landscape of wine we behold the heart of a culture. Expressing circumstances particular to place geographically, socially, and culturally, the value placed in the landscape of wine is at once ambiguous, attractive and important. Viticulture transfigures the landscape through mankind's shaping intention to create an ideal world of harmonious interaction between nature and culture; it is the resulting design of a desirable landscape.[2]

The values exhibited in the landscape of wine cannot be derived and enjoyed without concern or effort: they must be sought and desired.[3] The wine landscape's perceived value rests in its dynamic interaction between people and environment, contingent on convention, human perception, and social experience. Together people have agreed to act as if this landscape fulfills desires; and in this agreement cultural perception towards the wine landscape is invariably tied to the social mores of the time. Unlike a romantic view of the fulfillment of ones heart's desire without a moralistic taint,

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[1] Wemyss, ed., *Soul of the Vine, Wine in Literature*.
[2] Jiahua Wu, *A Comparative Study of Landscape Aesthetics: Landscape Morphology* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 15.
[3] Michael H. Mitias, *What Makes an Experience Aesthetic?* (Amsterdam, Wèurzburg: Rodopi; Kèonigshausen & Neumann, 1988), 145.

the wine landscape is inseparable from prevalent moral views.[4] Thus, this landscape requires human practices to sustain its perceived positive value. In this way "the visible landscape reflects the human values and ideologies of the resident and viewer, serving as a palimpsest of place attachments between individuals and social groups to specific locations and places."[5]

As a source of pleasure, an 'enameled' eden, and as a symbol of power the viticultural dreamscape is culturally created.[6] In its desirability this landscape becomes the signifier of a reverie. Quite separate from the realities inherent in the landscape of wine, the Napa Valley:

> …invites its subject to indulge in the illusion that they have stepped outside of their context of consequential actions, and to assume a position from which the future is obstructed, it also raises a wall that blocks the past. This is not readily apparent since the landscape is, above all else, a legacy to the past. But it is precisely the ability of landscape to outlive that past, its tenacious durability, which causes its objects to pile up in front of history, shielding it from our view and substituting a seemingly greater reality of spotless innocence for its guilty and gritty processes.[7]

The actualities in the landscape—the globalization, labor and environmental conditions—reminders of despair are only discovered upon deep investigation and historical review. The landscape of wine in Napa effectively shields harsher realities through its overwhelming power to ignite hedonistic, mythical, and status laden desires.

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[4] Laurence S. Lockridge, *The Ethics of Romanticism* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 183. To the romantic writer William Blake, joy was the ultimate fulfillment of desire; and the pursuit of joy was never only of the purist and best intention.
[5] Gregory D. Ringer, *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism, Routledge Advances in Tourism; 4* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 7.
[6] Wu, *A Comparative Study of Landscape Aesthetics: Landscape Morphology*, 254.
[7] Smith, "The Lie That Blinds:Destabilizing the Text of Landscape," 80.

Yet, this is perhaps nothing new, as the Roman philosopher Horace aptly said, "Who after wine, talks of war's hardships or of poverty?"[8]

Donald Meinig expresses in The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes that "all landscapes are *symbolic*, they express 'a persistent desire to make the earth over in the image of some heaven', and they undergo *change* because they are expressions of society, itself making history through time." [9] It is through its symbolic nature that the perception of the wine landscape has been lifted and removed from the "tragic and terrifying process of history that brought it into being."[10] Over time the value in this landscape, "the enduring elements" as Jonathon Smith argues in the anthology Place/culture/representation, have been "alienated from both agency and the scene of its creation, and with this displacement it loses the taint of intention and assumes the purity of nature..."[11] This "displacement" is in fact the vehicle by which appreciation of the Napa Valley transcends realities, perpetuating an ideal.

In cultural perceptions, the landscape of wine has come to symbolize pleasure, paradise, and power and whether through hedonism, myth, or social status, the land of fruit and wine represents the human condition in its continuous 'compromise' between an ideal and the real life of necessity.[12] Judgment of whether the ethical realities diminish the aesthetic values in the wine landscape are the subjects for future speculations; and in a way this thesis is the starting point to such investigations. There is a saying in Latin, *in vino veritus*—truth is in the wine. Perhaps the most conclusive realization in this

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[8] Exley, ed., *Wine Quotations: A Collection of Fine Paintings and the Best Wine Quotes*.
[9] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 35. John Brinckerhoff Jackson and D. W. Meinig, *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 288-9.
[10] Smith, "The Lie That Blinds:Destabilizing the Text of Landscape," 80.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Wu, *A Comparative Study of Landscape Aesthetics: Landscape Morphology*, 297.

interpretational narrative is that truth is also in the landscape. In contemplating the land of wine and vine, in examining its setting for human activity, land that taciturn partner in human relationships, reveals meaning of a most significant and irreplaceable place.[13]

[13] Michael D. Murphy, *Landscape Architecture Theory: An Evolving Body of Thought* (Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press, 2005), v.

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