

Exploring Fish Species in an Unexpected Source: Insights from the Inheritance Inventory (*tereke*) of *Baqqāl* Estavrinu

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Context

The inheritance inventory of *Baḳḳāl* Estavrinu, dated *evāsıt-ı ŧehr-i Rebī ü'l-evvel* 1143 (1730) in the *Hijri* calendar, is documented among the Galata Sharia Court Records as No: 275; 42b3. To remind the reader, inheritance inventories (*tereke* registers) contain lists of the movable and immovable possessions of the deceased person in addition to his/her dues and debts.¹ *Baḳḳāl* Estavrinu's inheritance inventory is significant on two fronts. First, it enhances our understanding of the fish species available in the Ottoman fish market, along with their prices, in the 18th century. Second, it illuminates the locations at which fish was sold beyond the boundaries of fishermen's stalls and associated guilds. Accordingly, this register offers micro-level insights from an unexpected source into the diverse array of fish species, accompanied by their corresponding market prices.

At the outset of the case, it is noted that *zımmī Baḳḳāl* Estavrinu, who was an inhabitant of Galata, in the vicinity of *Ḳaraköy Ḳapısı*, passed away without any heirs, resulting in the transfer of his assets to the state treasury. Following this declaration, the *ḳassām*² crafted five distinct lists unveiling the inventory of goods possessed by *Baḳḳāl* Estavrinu throughout his shops and cellars.

To start, the initial list encompasses staple grocery items such as lentils, chickpeas, rice, salt, onions, garlic, olives, assorted cheeses, and cooking oils. Of particular interest within this list is the presence of 57 *ḳıyye*³ of caviar, valued at 798 *ḡuruş*.

The following list reveals the contents of Estavrinu's small grocery shop situated within the specified neighborhood. It comprises 27 items, 10 of which are various types of fish and seafood, namely: *sardalya* (sardine), *uskumrı* (mackerel), *ḳolyoz* (chub mackerel), *ḳolirudya* (young horse mackerel), *mersin* (sturgeon), *'atīḳ çiroz* (aged sun-

¹ Said Öztürk, *Askeri Kassama Ait Onyedinci Asır Tereke Defterleri (Sosyo-Ekonomik Tahlil)*, Istanbul: Cihan Matbaası, OSAV, 1995, p. 11.

² *ḳassām*: The official of the local court attendant who implemented the Islamic laws in inheritance issues.

³ 1 *ḳıyye* = 1282 gr.

dried mackerel), *çütre* (grey triggerfish), *morina* (codfish), caviar and *tirkoz*⁴. While many of the fish listed may be familiar from existing literature,⁵ the inclusion of *kolirudya* and *çütre*, which have been mentioned only in Karekin Deveciyan's study, serves to further enrich our understanding of fish species documented in related literature.

The fixed prices in the list below help us to understand the hierarchy among these fish. In the list, nearly all of the fish are registered on a per-piece basis, with the exception of *morina*, which is recorded by weight (*kañtār*). Other seafood items such as caviar and *'atīk çiroz* are also registered by weight. Based on the pricing provided below, the most expensive fish is the *mersin*, followed by the *çütre*. Conversely, the list indicates that the *sardalya* is the least expensive fish among the species listed.

The third list unveils Estavrinu's other shop within the same vicinity, denoted as "*kebīr*", meaning "large". This shop surprisingly lacks the diversity seen in his smaller shop. It features merely 8 pieces of *çütre* fish and sardines in barrels, valued at 1700 *guruş*, within the inventory. Additionally, the following line in the register mentions that in the cellar near Estavrinu's *kebīr* shop, there are 13 more barrels of *sardalya* as well. The final list details the utensils (*ālāt-ı lāzıme ve bisāt-ı ma'lūmesi*) employed in his shops. The concluding section of the register comprises the taxes collected by the state, followed by a list of creditors from whom *Bağkāl* Estavrinu borrowed, presented at the very end.

To summarise, this register deepens our insight into 18th century Ottoman fish markets, detailing species and prices while also revealing alternative trading locations beyond the known stalls and guilds.

⁴ In the *tereke* register, the *kaşām* spelled it as "*tirkoz*", while Evliya Çelebi mentioned a fish named "*tirkis*". It can be inferred that these two fish are most probably the same.

⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Fish and Fishermen in Ottoman Istanbul", *Water on Sand: Environmental Histories of the Middle East and North Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 91-111. Faroqhi uses three primary sources to compile a list of fish species across various time periods. These include Pierre Belon du Mans's travel notes, Evliya Çelebi's writings, and the *narḥ* register dated 1640.

Transcription

İSTM.ŞSC.14.d.275 / 42b-3

Maħrüse-i Ğalaṭa kazası tevābi'inden Ķaraköy ḳapusu ħāricinde sākin iken bundan aḳdem hālik olan baḳḳāl Estavrinu [?] nām zımmīnūñ zāhirde vāris-i ma' rūfi olmamaḡla terekesi cānib-i beytü'l-māle 'ā'id olduḡı müte'ayyin olduḡdan soñra maħrüse-i mezbūre tevābi'inde voyvoda ve beytü'l-māl emīni olan faħrū'l-eşbāh El-ħāc Muşṭafā Aḡa tarafından umūr-ı beytü'l-māli rū'yete vekīl-i müsecceli olan şehīr Meħmed Aḡa ma'rifetiyle hālik-i mezbūruñ taħrīr olunan muħallefāti defteridür ki vech-i ātī üzre zıkr olınur ħurrire fī evāsīṭi şehri Rebī'ül- āħir sene 1143.

Girid şābūni: fī 21 / kıyye 49 / kıymet 1029	Mercümek: fī 3 / kıyye 62 / kıymet 186	Noħūd: fī 6 / kıyye 53 / kıymet 318	Beglerce: fī 3 / kıyye 43 / kıymet 129	Pirinc: fī 9 / kıyye 38 / kıymet 347	Trilye zeytūni: fī 5 / kıyye 40 / kıymet 200	Ĥavyār: fī 14 / kıyye 57 / kıymet 798
Revḡan-ı zeyt: fī 15 / kıyye 91 / kıymet 1365	Ķaşḳaval: fī 16 / kıyye 7.5 / kıymet 126	Fınduḳ: fī 6 / kıyye 14.5 / kıymet 87	Şa'riye: fī 5 / kıyye 8 / kıymet 40	Böḡrülçe: fī 6 / Kıyye 5.5 / kıymet 33	Ṭulum pegniri: fī 8 / kıyye 23 / kıymet 184	Ṭoñ yaḡı: fī 24 / kıyye 3.5 / kıymet 84
Sirke: 10	Nārdeng: fī 10.5 / kıyye 35 / kıymet 360	Şalamura pegniri: fī 9 / kıyye 17.5 / kıymet 157	Ķavanozlar: kıymet 100	Şoḡan şarmısak: kıymet 70	Eflaḳ tuzı: fī 2 / kıyye 128 / kıymet 256	Nişāšta: fī 8 / kıyye 10 / kıymet 80
Revḡan-ı sāde: fī 30 / kıyye 12 / kıymet 360	-	-	-	-	-	-

Yekūn: 6179

Hâlik-i mezbûruñ maḥall-i mezbûrdaki saġîr dükkânında taḥrîr olınan rızkıdur:

Sardalya balġı fuçı: 'aded 2500 / kıymet 237	Uskumrı balġı: 'aded 500 / kıymet 120	Qolyoz balġı: 'aded 800 / kıymet 240	Qolirudya balġı: 'aded 1500 / kıymet 240	Mersin balġı: fî 17 / 38 / kıymet 646	'Atık çiroz balġı: kıymet 30	Çütre: 'aded 6 / fî 12 / kıymet 72
Ťoñ yaġı: fî 24/ kıyye 58 / kıymet 1392	Girid pegniri: fî 16 / kıyye 80 / kıymet 1280	Şıġır dili: fî 14 / 'aded 22 / kıymet 308	Revġan-ı sâde: fî 33 / kıyye 37 / kıymet 1221	Pirinc: fî 9 / kıyye 36 / kıymet 324	Mercümek: fî 3 / kıyye 5 / kıymet 15	Büber turşusu: Fuçı 1 / kıymet 30
Zift: fî 5 / kıyye 18 / kıymet 90	Ḥavyâr: fî 14 / kıyye 13.5 / kıymet 189	Qaramürsel zeytünü: fî 2 / kıyye 5 / kıymet 10	Qavanoz fuçılar: kıymet 350	Morina balġı: kantar 1 / 240	KeŤe tuzı: fî 3 / keyl 160 / kıymet 4800	Tirkoz balġı: fî 90 / 'aded 9000 / 810
Sardalya balġı: 'aded 1000 / kıymet 90	Bakla: fî 45 / keyl 4 / kıymet 180	Noḥüd: fî 120 / keyl 6 / kıymet 720	Def'a şıġır dili: fî 14 / 5 / kıymet 70	Odun pekmezi: fî 48 / kıyye 3 / kıymet 144	Ihlamur ipi: 'aded 50 / kıymet 50	-

Yekün: 13898

Ḥâlik-i mezbûruñ maḥall-i mezbûrdaki kebir dükkânında taḥrîr olınan rızkıdur:

Çütre: Fî 12/ 'aded 8 / kıymet 96	Sintine yaġı: 39	Cam kova: fî 10 / 'aded 75/ kıymet 750	Ťünis küpi: 2 / 80	Qaramürsel zeytünü: fî 2 / kıyye 15 / kıymet 30	Şalamura pegnir: fî 8 / kıyye 179.5 / kıymet 1436	Revġan-ı zeyt: fî 16 / kıyye 170 / 2720
Sardalya balġı fuçıda: kıymet 1700[...]	Ḥavyâr: fî 16 / kıyye 317 / kıymet 5072	-	-	-	-	-

Yekün: 11923

Hâlik-i mezbûruñ maḥall-i mezbûrda Cāmi‘-i şerîf taḥtındaki maḥzende taḥrîr olınan rızkıdur

Ḳebîr dükkân ḳurbındaki maḥzende sardalya balığı: Fuçı 13 / 100 / ‘aded 13000 / kıymet 130000

Cem ‘an Yekûn: 45000

Hâlik-i mezbûruñ işbu dört maḥalde taḥrîr olınan metâ‘ıdur iki ‘aded baḳḳâl dükkânınıñ âlât-ı lâzıme ve bisât-ı ma‘lûmesidür

Köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 330	Def‘a köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 600	Def‘a köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 480	Def‘a köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 750	Def‘a köhne piyāde kayık: kıymet 1800	Köhne yaşdıq: kıymet 15	Köhne kilim: kıymet 51
Köhne iḥrām: ⁶ kıymet 21	Kebe: kıymet 90	Ġilāf ve torba: kıymet 36	Minder: kıymet 159	Def‘a kebe: kıymet 147	Şalvār: kıymet 90	Def‘a kebe: kıymet 300
Ġilāf ḥırdavāt: kıymet 51	Mismār ḥırdavāt: kıymet 45	Don: kıymet 75	Naḳd meblağ: 4044	-	-	-

Cem ‘an Yekûn: 67284

⁶ *iḥrām*: Name of several ornamental types of woolen cloth, usually with a long-twisted pile on the face, used as sofa covers, etc. *Redhouse* p.38

Minhā el-ihrācāt

Resm-i emlak: 6720	Resm-i 'ādī: 3360	Resm-i mübaşiriyye: 1680	Resm-i nāzır ve kātib beytülmāle virilen: 840	Resm-i muhziyye⁷ ve çukā-dāriyye: 840	Dellāliye-i dekākin: 120	Ücret-i bāzārbaşı: 480
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Yekūn: 14040**Der yed-i emin el-mezbūr: 53244**

Ba 'dehū hālik-i mezbūruñ dūyūnı zuhūr itmekle yed-i eminde olan sahhū'l-bākī terekesi ğuremālar beyninde tevzī⁶ ve taqsīm olundığı işbu maḥālle şerh virildi. Fī selḥ-i şehr-i Rebī 'ü'l-āḥır 143

Deyn-i müsbet 'Alī Çelebi: ğuruş 164 / 19480 / 7560	Deyn-i müsbet Mehmed Bey: ğuruş 26 / 3120 / 1100
Deyn-i müsbet Es-seyyid Ebūbekr Çelebi: ğuruş 130 / 15600 / mine'l-ğuremā 5800	Deyn-i müsbet Yani zımmī : ğuruş 100 / 1200 / mine'l-ğuremā 4540
Deyn-i müsbet Hasan Çelebi: ğuruş 140 / 12780 / mine'l-ğuremā 6240	Deyn-i müsbet Manaki zımmī: ğuruş 200 / 24000 / mine'l-ğuremā 9080
Deyn-i müsbet Mūşā Çelebi: ğuruş 147 / 17640 / mine'l-ğuremā 6730	Deyn-i müsbet diĝer Yani: ğuruş 114 / 13680 / 5200
Deyn-i müsbet Mehmed Aĝa: ğuruş 100 / 12000 / mine'l-ğuremā 4540	Deyn-i müsbet şarrāf Aĝyazar: ğuruş 24 / 2880 / 900

Zımmiler terekede biñ beş yüz altmış dört aqçe kırkına şarf itmekle dūyūnından muqaddem virilüb mā- 'adāsı tevzī⁶ olunmaĝla sahhū'l-bākī elli üç biñ ikiyüz kırk dört aqçeden yed-i eminde bir aqçe bākī kaldığı ecilden işbu maḥālle şerh ve nüşḥa olundı

⁷ *muḥzır*: An officer who cites or summons people before a court of justice. *Redhouse* p.772. Based on this explanation, it can be understood that “*muḥziriyye*” is a fee paid to the officer who summons individuals to court.

⁸ *çūḥa-dār*: *me'mur*, officer, *Devellioĝlu*, 191. Based on this explanation, it can be understood that “*çukadariyye*” is a fee paid to the officer of the local court.

Translation

The estate of the dhimmi Grocer Estavrinu, proprietor of a grocery store who passed away while residing near the outskirts of the Çaraköy gate in the Ğalaça district, was bequeathed to the state treasury due to the absence of known heirs. This inheritance was documented by the well-known Meḥmed Ağa, acting as the deputy of *pride of the [people] like him* El-ḥac Muştafâ Ağa, the authorized representative responsible for overseeing affairs within the specific region. Written in the middle decade of *Rebî'ül-âḥir* 1143 (24 October – 2 November 1730).

Cretan soap: price 21 / kıyye 49 / value 1029	Lentils: price 3 / kıyye 62 / value 186	Chickpeas: price 6 / kıyye 53 / value 318	Raisins (Beglerce): price 3 / kıyye 43 / value 129	Rice: price 9 / kıyye 38 / value 348	Olives from Trilye: price 5 / kıyye 40 / value 200	Caviar: price 14 / kıyye 57 / value 798
Olive oil: price 15 / kıyye 91 / value 1365	Kashkaval: price 16 / kıyye 7.5 / value 136	Hazelnuts: price 6 / kıyye 14.5 / value 87	Vermicelli: price 5 / kıyye 8 / value 40	Black-eyed peas: price 6 / kıyye 5.5 / value 33	Tulum cheese: ⁹ price 8 / kıyye 23 / value 184	Tallow: price 24 / kıyye 3.5 / value 84
Vinegar: 10	Nârdeng: ¹⁰ price 10.5 / kıyye 35 / value 360	Cheese in salt: price 9 / kıyye 17.5 / value 157	Jars: value 100	Onions and garlic: value 120	Salt from Wallachia: price 2 / kıyye 128 / value 256	Starch: price 8 / kıyye 10 / value 80
Clarified butter: price 30 / kıyye 12 / value 360	-	-	-	-	-	-

Total: 6179

⁹ A kind of granulous curd cheese, marketed in small skins. *Redhouse*, p. 1262

¹⁰ Treacle made from the juice of pomegranates or of damsons, *Redhouse* p. 2061

These are the possessions of the aforementioned deceased documented within the small shop located in the aforementioned neighborhood.

Sardines barrel: piece 2500 / value 237	Mackerel: piece 500 / value 120	Chub mackerel: piece 800 / value 2400	Young horse mackerel: piece 1500 / value 2400	Sturgeon: price 17 / 38 / value 646	Aged sun-dried mackerel: value 30	Grey triggerfish: piece 6 / price 12 / value 72
Tallow: price 24/ kıyye 57 / value 1392	Cretan cheese: price 16 / kıyye 80 / value 1280	Beef tongue: price 14/ piece 22 / value 308	Clarified butter: price 33 / kıyye 37 / value 1221	Rice: price 9 / kıyye 36 / value 324	Lentils: price 3 / kıyye 5 / value 15	Pickled peppers: barrel 1 / value 30
Tar: price 5 / kıyye 18 / value 90	Caviar: price 14 / kıyye 13.5 / value 189	Olives from Karamürsel: price 2 / kıyye 5 / value 10	Jar and barrels: value 350	Codfish: Kaṅṅâr 1 / 240	Salt from Kefe: price 3 / keyl 160 / value 4800	Tirkoz balığı: piece 9000 /
Sardines: piece 1000 / value 90	Broad bean: price 45 / keyl 4 / value 180	Chickpea: price 120 / keyl 6 / value 720	Recurring beef tongue: price 14 / 5 / value 70	Wood smoked treacle: price 48 / kıyye 3 / value 144	Linden thread: 50 / 50	-

Total: 13898

These are the possessions of the aforementioned deceased documented within the larger shop located in the aforementioned neighborhood.

Grey triggerfish: price 12/ piece 8 / value 96	Bilge oil: 39	Glass bucket: price 10 / piece 75/ value 750	Tunisian pot: 2 / 80	Olives from Karamürsel: price 2 / kıyye 15 / value 30	Salted cheese: price 8 / kıyye 179.5 / value 1436	Olive oil: price 16 / kıyye 170 / 2720
Barreled sardines: value 1700	Caviar: price 16 / kıyye 317 / value 5072	-	-	-	-	-

Total: 11923

These are the documented possessions of the aforementioned deceased in the cellar beneath the *Cāmi 'i Şerīf* in the aforementioned neighborhood.

Sardines stored in the cellar adjacent to the large shop: barrel 13 / 100 / piece 13000 / value 130000

Sum Total: 45000

These are the utensils and essentials belonging to the deceased in the two grocery shops (were) recorded in the four locations mentioned.

Old Rowing boat: value 330	Recurring old rowing boat: value 600	Recurring old rowing boat: value 480	Recurring old rowing boat: value 750	Recurring rowing boat: value 1800	Old pillow: value 15	Old rug: value 51
Old woolen cloth: (<i>İhrām</i>) value 21	Thick felt: value 90	Covering and bag: value 36	Cushion: value 159	Recurring thick felt: value 147	Baggy trousers: value 90	Recurring thick felt: value 300
Scraps of cover: value 51	Scraps of nails: value 45	Underwear: value 75	Cash: 4044	-	-	-

Sum total: 67284

Payables

Fee of possessions: 6730	Customary Fees: 3360	Fee of a mubashir (remuneration): 1680	Fee due to clerk and state treasury: 840	Fee of <i>muḥziriye</i> and <i>çukādāriye</i>: 840	Fee due to a crier or broker: 120	Pay due to the warden of a market: 480
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Total: 14040

The amount that depository owns: 53244

It is hereby explained that the debts of the deceased person have emerged, and the remainder of his estate has been allocated and distributed among the creditors.

Debt of `Alī Çelebi: <i>guruş</i> 164 / 19480 / 7560	Debt of Meḥmed Beg: <i>guruş</i> 26 / 3120 / 110
Debt of Es-seyyid Ebübekr Çelebi: <i>guruş</i> 130 / 15600 / from the creditors 5800	Debt of Yani dhimmi: <i>guruş</i> 100 / 1200 / from the creditors 4540
Debt of Ḥasan Çelebi: <i>guruş</i> 140 / 12780 / from the creditors 6240	Debt of Manaki dhimmi: <i>guruş</i> 200 / 24000 / from the creditors 9080
Debt of Mūşā Çelebi: <i>guruş</i> 147 / 17640 / from the creditors 6730	Debt of other Yani: <i>guruş</i> 114 / 13680 / 5200
Debt of Meḥmed Ağa: <i>guruş</i> 100 / 12000 / from the creditors 4540	Debt of goldsmith Ağyazar: <i>guruş</i> 24 / 2880 / 900

It is hereby elucidated and documented that 1564 *aķçe* have been expended for the fortieth day of the death (religious ritual) by the dhimmis prior to his debts, after discharging the debts from the total of 53244 *aķçe* depository had 1 *aķçe* left.

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Facsimile

