

**DATA RECOVERY PLAN (GBYP 05/2012) OF THE
ATLANTIC-WIDE RESEARCH PROGRAMME ON
BLUEFIN TUNA
(ICCAT-GBYP-)**

**-REPORT-
-I-**

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A- ABBREVIATIONS

AD: Ayniyat Defterleri

AH: Anno Hegirae

BEO: Sublim Porte Document Series

BOA: Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives

cf.: See

C. HR: Cevdet-Foreign Affairs (Cevdet Hariciye)

C.İKT Cevdet- Economy

DH. İD: Interior Ministry Administrative Department Documents Series

DH.İUM: Interior Ministry Department of General Administration Documents Series

DH.ŞFR: Interior Ministry Cipher Bureau Documents Series

gm: Gram

HR.MKT: Foreign Ministry General Correspondence Documents Series

HR.SYS: Foreign Ministry Political Correspondence

ICCAT: The International Commission For The Conservation Of Atlantic Tunas

MAD: Registries for the Fiscal Issues

MV: Council of Ministers Minutes

MVL: Presidency of Council of Judicial Ordinance Document Series

ŞD: Council of State

B- INTRODUCTION

This Project undertook a work at the Ottoman Archives on behalf of ICCAT in order to find out whether there exist any substantial data concerning bluefin tuna fish in 19th and 20th centuries at the said Archives. Thus, a two month long research in the sections of the Ottoman Archives and Maritime Museum Archives were carried out by a team of three experts in accordance with the contract.

What was initially noticed during this preliminary work was that bluefin tuna was also named as salt fish (*tuzlu balık*) in the Ottoman documents. As of 1900, *tuna fish* as a name was also used along side with salt fish (cf. BOA, BEO, no. 333002). Additionally, it was found out that tuna fish was not consumed domestically by the Ottoman population. Neither was the tuna fish consumed at the Ottoman Palace as clarified by the official lists showing the types of fish sold to the Palace (cf. BOA, HH.d, no. 3104, 11042) Tuna fish were hunted mostly by foreigners such as English, Italian, Austrian and Russians (cf. BOA, HR. MKT, nr. 105-31; C. HR, nr. 794) and exported to Europe (cf. BOA, DH. İUM, no. 2445). For instance, an English Merchant ship sailing from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean on 15 July, 1821 was reported to being loaded with 10.000 salt fish –tuna fish- (cf. BOA, C. HR, nr. 2991).

During this preliminary work, it was observed that procedures concerning fishing and fish sale in the Ottoman domain had been executed by Administration of Imperial Fish Market (*Balikhane Nezareti*). In the records prepared by the aforementioned Administration a good deal of information exists about the domestic fishing and fish consumption. However, it was found out that any information on bluefin tuna fishing is not available in these records. Since the Administration of Imperial Fish Market was officially attached to Istanbul Municipality, we also conducted some research in the Archives of Istanbul Municipality. However, it was understood that this archive does not contain the earlier records about the fishing activities. The earliest document exists in this archives regarding fishing starts from 1960. Nonetheless, after a search there saw no records pertaining to bluefin tuna.

Fishing taxes in the Ottoman State were dealt with through two systems, complementing each other, namely mukataa and iltizam (tax-farming). *Mukataa* as a fiscal term meant to lease a certain state income or land for a fixed price and time. *Iltizam* or tax farming was one of the methods by which these incomes were hired out to an individual, in which the leaser would pay the state the determined price for that certain income in advance (*bedel-i iltizam or mukataa*) and operate it collecting the revenue for the determined period, one, two or more years. Accordingly, people obtaining the right for fishing in the Ottoman Empire in accordance with the systems of mukataa and tax farming would pay a previously determined amount of money to the government and hunt in the specified area. What seems important for the state in this situation was not the amount and types of fisheries hunted in those areas but the amount of money paid to the treasury in return for mukataa and tax farming. This fact was perfectly confirmed by Ottoman documents. Ottoman fiscal records, of which hundred of them were examined through MAD registers during our preliminary

work, clearly reflect this. The records of mukataa and tax farming for fishing only give the amount of total money paid by the leaser to the state in advance (bedel-i iltizam or mukataa). These registers do not contain detailed statistics. For instance, in an account book belonging to Administration of Imperial Fish Market (BOA, MAD no. 11857) the total price for the mukataa of fishing for the fiscal years 1265 (1849), 1267 (1851) and 1268 (1852) was 162.845 piaster. However, there is no mention about the types of fish, of which this amount paid for. Moreover, in a registry (BOA, MAD, no. 11068) the income of aforementioned administration for the fiscal year 1271 (1855) was a total of 254.747 piaster. The registers kept in MAD series at the Ottoman Archives were the most important component of the bid we submitted to the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT) where we were expecting to find out substantial and detailed information about bluefin tuna extensively offer these sort of information. (Also cf. BOA, MAD, no. 8669; 8720; 9079; 11065; 11066; 11067; 11068; 11069; 11072; 11073; 11075; 11076; 11077; 11078; 11079; 11254; 11787; 11806; 11848; 11857; 11914; 11940; 12013; 12018; 12073; 12126; 12175; 12504; 13077; 13300; 13768; 21249; 21298). Nor those registries mention the types of fish. A detailed list of such records will be shown below.

The Ottoman Empire handed over the collection of fishing taxes to the Public Debt Administration as of 1880. After an accurate research both at the Ottoman and Maritime Museum Archives, we came to the conclusion that the detailed information and statistics regarding fishing must be in the private archives of Public Debt Administration. Indeed, the renowned Director of Istanbul Fish Market, Karekin Deveciyan seems to have intensively used the material from the Public Debt Administration in his famous book “Türkiye’de Balık ve Balıkçılık (Fish and Fisheries in Turkey)”, which was first published in 1915. At this stage one needs to remind of the Ottoman administrative practices related fishing and fishery in the 19th century where there were certainly two different practices. The first period starts from the beginning of 19th century or earlier when there was a full state control in permission, tax collection etc concerning fishing until 1880. After the establishment of Ottoman Public Debt Administration (PDA) in 1880, the government handed over revenues of the six items including fishing to PDA. The PDA used to collect taxes from fishing (*Saydiye Rüşumu*) and kept records of regional tax collections and only annual reports submitted to the Ottoman government. These reports, however, have not been found yet. As an official worked for the PDA, Deveciyan must have had access to the Administrations records, hence the writing of the famous book.

Bluefin tuna fishing came to be a subject for consideration during the World War I by the Ottoman bureaucracy, when there was a bid to have fisheries in the Sea of Marmara installed. However, no permission was granted owing to the military reasons. (cf. BOA, DH. İD, no. 17-65).

C-METHODS AND SURVEYS

We conducted a survey on the previously determined sections and document series at the Ottoman Archives and Maritime Museum Archives for two months in accordance with the contract signed with ICCAT, which were listed below. With the new information derived during the research process a number of different sections, although not specified in the contract, were also checked out. Thus, the extent of the survey expanded. The surveys were carried out through the catalogues at the archives. The relevant documents detected from the entries were ordered and examined. However, the registries such as MAD, AD, HH.d. and the like were individually examined broadly since there is no entries for their contents.

1- SURVEY AT THE OTTOMAN ARCHIVES

- Ayniyat Registries (AD):

It was found out that there exists some information, albeit brief, about the fishing in the Ayniyat registries for the period between 1866 and 1895. However that information was hugely related to the fish consumed domestically. Neither did the Revenue (Rüsumat) records within the Ayniyat registries bear any considerable information regarding the fish export. The most relevant 74 registries were scrutinised out of the total 1717 as follows:

a. Bahriye (Navy)

Code	No.	Time scope	Total volume
AD	<i>986-993</i>	<i>1866-1879</i>	8
	<i>1213-1220</i>	<i>1879-1892</i>	8
	<i>1362-1363</i>	<i>1882-1883</i>	2
	<i>1585</i>	<i>1884-1889</i>	2
	<i>1608</i>	<i>1889-1891</i>	1
	<i>1662-1663</i>	<i>1889-1895</i>	2

b. Rüsumat (Revenue)

AD	<i>1016-1023</i>	<i>1866-1879</i>	8
	<i>1315-1321</i>	<i>1879-1884</i>	7
	<i>1045-1053</i>	<i>1866-1879</i>	9
	<i>1423-1424</i>	<i>1891-1892</i>	2
	<i>1428</i>	<i>1891-1892</i>	1
	<i>1601-1602</i>	<i>1885-1891</i>	2
	<i>1613</i>	<i>1891</i>	1
	<i>1692-1694</i>	<i>1892-1895</i>	3

c. İstanbul Şehremaneti (Istanbul Municipality)

AD	<i>1045-1053</i>	<i>1866-1879</i>	9
	<i>1222-1223</i>	<i>1891-1892</i>	2

	1364-1368	1879-1883	5
	1686-1687	1892-1895	2

-Şura-yı Devlet (Council of State) Documents (ŞD):

The ŞD section consist of documents between the years 1868 and 1920. After a complet survey within this section, the couple of documents about the salt fish (tuna fish) found out are described below. These certain documents are extensively about the salt fish hunting, fish salting, fish market and the income of the fisheries.

Catalogue name	Code	No.	Time scope	Total volume
Bahriye/Navy	ŞD	686-687	1868-1922	2
		724-732	1877-1922	9
Dersaadet/Istanbul		695-723	1868-1922	8
		852	1909-1922	1
Rüsumat/Revenue		763-767	1868-1922	5
Şehremaneti/Istanbul Municipality		774-781	1868-1922	8
Trabzon		843-845	1868-1920	3

-Registries of the Office of the Chief Accountan (D.BŞM.).

There were 12.471 registries under this section at the Ottoman Archives. The relevant registries were determined through the catalogues and inspected. The records in these registries give some information about the fish types and fisheries. For instance D.BŞM, no. 41250, dated around August-September 1763, is about the fisheries and counts the names of the fish consumed domestically. No data was found out about the bluefin tuna.

-Registries of Permissions for Ships (Izn-i Sefine)

These registries were kept between the years 1847 and 1877. They contain copies of the permissions showing the final destinations of the ships, obtained by the ship owner. There is listed the name, destination, freight, and the tonnage of the ship. There are 10 registries of this sort in the Ottoman Archives and all were surveyed but no information about the bluefin tuna was available.

-Registries of the Sultan's Private Treasury (Hazine-i Hassa) (HH. d)

As understood from its name, this was the private treasury of the Ottoman sultans. The total number of these registries is 973. There were found out some lists where the amount and types of the fish bought by the Imperial Palace were recorded. After a careful survey a registry dating to 1886-1888 was discovered in which all the fish bought for the Palace were listed (BOA, HH.d. no. 3104). However, there was no reference to the bluefin tuna.

-Registries for the Fiscal Issues (Maliye Ahkam Defterleri) (MAD)

These fiscal registries constitute detailed information regarding the financial matters through out the country. The time range of these registries is between 1427 and 1927. The total number of these registries is amounted to 23.138. Each of them has got around 200 pages. Considering the relevant importance and their pivotal place in the Ottoman central bureaucracy, our preliminary work mainly focused on these registries. Initially the catalogues for the MAD registries were looked through and the most relevant 150 of them, in which entries such as fishing, fisheries and fish market appeared, were severally ordered and examined.

- Imperial Decree Series (Hatt-ı Hümayun Belgeleri) (HAT)

This series comprise 250.000 documents ranging between the years 1740 and 1839. Although there was some information about the fishing and fisheries, no particular document was found out regarding bluefin tuna.

- Irade Series

Irade is the same type of document as hatt-ı hümayun and has got the identical function. Rather, in the Ottoman central bureaucracy hatt-ı hümayun series were replaced by irade in 1832. The irade series were classified into 5 different groups. The documents in two of these groups were meticulously studied.

a- Irade Series (prior to 1892)

This group consists of 150.528 documents ranging from the year 1839 to 1892. Of which Dahiliye (Interior) division has got 91.067; Hariciye (Foreign) Division 25.213; Meclis-i Vala (Council of Judicial Ordinance) 25.576; Meclis-i Mahsus (Council of Ministers) 5.666; Şura-yı Devlet (State Council) 6.914 and Divan-ı Ahkam-ı Adliye (Supreme Court) 863. The whole series was checked out.

b- Irade Series (Post 1892)

This second group series includes documents starting from 1310 AH (1892 AD). The total 142.095 documents in this series were classified into 80 catalogues. Even though there were many documents about the domestic fishing and fisheries, no particular document was detected regarding bluefin tuna.

- Grand Vizier's Council Document Series

a- Foreign Countries Series (Düvel-i Ecnebiye Kısmı) (A.DVN.DVE.)

This series contains documents about the commercial issues between the Ottoman and the other states. A total number of 8.035 documents were scanned and the contents of the relevant documents are given below.

b- Secretary of the Grand Vizier Correspondence (Sadaret Mektubî Kalemi Belgeleri) (A.MKT.)

A total number of 14.000 documents within this series between the years 1840 and 1849 were checked out through the 10 volume catalogues.

- c- Secretary of the Grand Vizier Prominent Correspondence (Mühimme Kalemi Belgeleri) (A.MKT.MHM.)

The time range of this series is between 1840 and 1913 and all these documents were classified in 17 catalogues.

- d- Secretary of the Grand Vizier Provincial Correspondence (UmumVilayet) (A.MKT.UM)

The documents in this series range from 1849 to 1891. The contents of the relevant documents about the salt fish in this series are shown below.

- e- Secretary of the Grand Vizier Correspondence of Ministries and Departments (*Nezaret ve Devâir Yazısmaları*) (A.MKT.NZD.)

The documents in this series range from 1849 to 1891. The detailed information will be given about the documents found out in this series concerning salt fish below.

- Sublim Porte Document Series (Babiali Evrak Odasi) (BEO)

Starting from 1890, this series has got 350.000 documents, which last 1916. After a meticulous survey, details of the documents regarding bluefin tuna are given below.

- Presidency of Council of Judicial Ordinance Document Series (Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyâseti Belgeleri) (MVL.)

This series hold documents ranging from 1842 to 1853. The documents found in this series regarding bluefin tuna are described below.

- Council of Ministers Minutes (Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbataları) (MV).

This series holds 25.000 documents between 1885 and 1918. Those documents about the bluefin tuna found in this series are listed below.

- Yıldız Palace Documents Series

Yıldız Palace Series has various subdivision such as Yıldız Esas Evrakı (Main Document Series), Yıldız Perakende Evrakı (Individual) and Yıldız Mütenevvi (Miscellaneous) with a time range between the years 1857 and 1916. It was ascertained that although there were so many documents in this series regarding fishing and fisheries, problems and complaints, there is no document directly referring to bluefin tuna.

Interior Ministry Documents

- a- Secretariat of Confidential Correspondence Documents Series (Kalem-i Mahsûs Müdüriyeti) (DH.KMS.). This series retains 28.000 documents between the years 1913 and 1922.

- b- Department of General Correspondence Documents Series (*Muhaberât-ı Umumiye Dairesi*) (DH.MUİ.). This series retains 12.000 documents between the years 1909 and 1910.
- c- Administrative Department Documents Series (İdarî Kısım Belgeleri) (DH.İD). This series contains around 10.000 documents with a time range between 1909 and 1917. After a complete research there were found out some significant documents and a map which are shown below.
- d- Department of General Administration Documents Series (İdâre-i Umumiye) (DH.İUM). With roughly 78.000 documents from the year 1914 to 1922 this series was completely scanned and relevant documents are described below.
- e- Cipher Bureau Documents Series (Şifre Kalemi) (DH.ŞFR). This series has got 20.640 documents from the year 1914 to 1917.

Foreign Ministry Documents

- a- General Correspondence Documents Series (Mektubî Kalemi) (HR.MKT). 9.500 documents dating between 1838 and 1854 were gone through and relevant ones are reported below.
- b- Office of the Legal Consultant Department of Consultation Document Series (Hukuk Müşavirliği İstişare Odası) (HR.HMŞ.İŞO.). 41.428 documents contained in this series were scanned.
- c- Translation Office (Tercüme Odası) (HR. TO).
- d- Political Correspondence (Siyasi) (HR.SYS). A relevant document found out in this series is reported below.

Muallim Cevdet Documents Series:

This series holds approximately 200.000 documents between the years 1553 and 1904 which were classified into 34 catalogues under different divisions. Amongst them, particularly Marine (C.BH), Interior (C.DH), Foreign Affairs (C.HR), Economy (C.İKT), Municipality (C.BLD), Finance (C.ML) divisions were scanned and some relevant documents were detected.

2- SURVEY AT THE MARITIME MUSEUM ARCHIVES

There are seven sections in the Maritime Museum Archives. General Correspondence (Mektubi Bölümü) (MKT) classified in **three** catalogues; Department of Accountancy (Muhasebe Bölümü) (MUH) classified in **one** catalogue; Council of Navy (Şura-yı Bahri (Ş.BH) classified in **one** catalogue; Ships, General Staff, Dockyard and Departments (Gemiler, Erkan-ı Harbiye, Tersane ve Daireler Bölümü) classified in **one** catalogue; Office of Commodore, Factories, Court Marital, Boxes and Miscellaneous (Komodorluk, Fabrikalar,

Divan-ı Harp, Sandıklar ve Müteferrik Bölümler) classified in **one** catalogue; Abolished Naval Division (Mülga Bahriye Bölümü) classified in **five** catalogues; General Documents, Office of the Legal Consultant (Umumi Evrak, Evrak Hukuk Müşavirliği) classified in **one** catalogue, after surveying the respective 13 catalogues it was understood that there exist no relevant document in the Maritime Museum Archives concerning bluefin tuna.

3- SURVEY AT THE ARCHIVES OF ISTANBUL MUNICIPALITY

Administration of Istanbul Fish Market was subordinated to the Istanbul Municipality both in Ottoman and Republican periods. Therefore this particular archives was also visited and surveyed. Eventually it was understood that there exist documents concernign fishing only after 1960s and no documents dates earlier is available.

D- AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS

(Originals of the Documents Accompanying the Other File-II-)

BEO, no. 332506

From Ministry of War to Grand Vizier dated to 10 September 1916 asking for a ban on the export of salt fish to Europe owing to the belligerent situation.

BEO, no. 33302.

Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture asking for the abolishment of the prohibiton on the salted tuna fish export to Europe (October-November 1916).

C.BLD, no. 373

Grand Vizier wants to have the duty of salt fish trade in Dimetoka granted to someone new (June 17, 1805).

C.İKTS, no. 794

Informs that Captain Covani, one of Russian merchants, sailed to the Mediterranean after having loaded his ship with 408 barrel of salt fish (April 2, 1825).

C.HR, no. 1335

Informs that an English Captain transporting 56 barrels of salt fish on his ship board (June 3, 1825).

C.HR, no. 2710

A merchant captain of English origin transported 24 barrels of salt fish (October 29, 1829).

C.HR, no. 2991

Informs that Captains Nikola and Kasvic of an English merchant ship loaded their ship with 10.000 salt fish and set off to the Mediterranean (July 15, 1821).

DH. İD, no. 17-65

Evaluation of an application for a grant to install fisheries in the Sea of Marmara, Gulf of Bandırma, Erdek, and Imralı Island for fishing tuna, with a map showing the possible spots where fisheries to be installed (December 8, 1913).

DH. İD, no. 17-76

Correspondences between a certain Edib Efendi who wants to install fisheries in Marmara Sea, around Yedikule and Public Debt Administration. Correspondences of Ministry of Interior to the Ministries of Finance and Navy about the same issue, stating that it was not possible to allow tuna fish hunt in the open sea (June 18, 1914).

DH. İUM, no. 14-20.

About the removal of the hindrances in the salt fish export to the foreign countries in the face of continuing World War. From Grand Vizier to the Interior Minister (April 13, 1916).

DH. İUM, no. 24-45

From Grand Vizier to the Interior Minister about granting permission for salty tuna fish export to the foreign countries since it was not domestically consumed (November 23, 1916).

DH.ŞFR, no. 375-14

A cipher from the Ministry of Post and Telegraph to the Interior Ministry informing that also salt fish was sent to Romania (January 22, 1907).

HR.MKT, no. 76-6

Informing that salt fish hunted in the fisheries in the District of Evline in Janina Province were granted to a tax farmer (May 2, 1854).

HR.MKT, no. 128-95

Three officers who were citizens of Austria brought salt fish to their country (November 3, 1855).

HR.MKT, no. 218-79

Bartil Birican and Manol, citizens of Austria bought salt fish from a certain Salih at city of Ruse (Ruşçuk) but had not paid their debt yet (November 30, 1857).

HR.MKT, no. 343-79

From Foreign Ministry to the Governor of Drama District about the salt fish bought from Hacı Osman Reşid Aga by Yorgi Istavri, an Austrian subject (July 31, 1860).

HR.SYS, no. 205-2

About 10.000 *kıyye** of salt fish purchased by Asiliye Belinksan and Yuvan Manol, Austrian subjects, from a Turkish fisher and its price (December 9, 1854).

MV, no. 202-61

Communication advising the permission of salt fish export to the friendly and allied countries (June 14, 1916).

* A kıyye is equivalent of 1,280 gm.

MV, no. 204-4

Informing that salty tuna fish export was allowed (November 19, 1916).

MVL, no. 24-6.

Salt fish was discovered in a ship owned by a certain Jewish merchant (April 10, 1848).

MVL, no. 1015-82

Salt fish got hunted in the lakes in Tolcu, Isakça and Maçın (June 27, 1865).

ŞD, nr. 595-20

Salt fish exported to the foreign countries (October 5, 1903).

E- SUMMARY

After a two months long survey we have come to the conclusion that although there were discovered some documents containing information regarding bluefin tuna fishing in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and early 20th centuries, this information was confined to the export and consumption of the tuna fish. However, our survey at the Ottoman Archives and Maritime Museum Archives did not reveal any sustainable data, statistics and/or this sort of figures and details with regard to bluefin tuna. As explained at the introduction, there should be two reasons behind this absence. One of them is related with the fashion that the Ottoman treasury handled the fish revenues. Second one, which is valid only after 1880, is that Ottoman Empire had to hand over the collection and administration of fish revenues to the Public Debt Administration. Moreover, one should take into consideration the eating habits of the people living in the Ottoman domain during the time under study. As far as Ottoman documents disclose tuna fish was not a food among their daily diet.

Up to 1881 Administration of Imperial Fish Market was bound to Istanbul Municipality (then called Şehremaneti) and until then bluefin tuna had been probably called salt fish. It is also understood that 1880 was a turning point for the Ottoman central bureaucracy in terms of fish taxes since the state granted the PDA the concession to manage it along side with five other taxes. The new situation and regime is clearly reflected by the documents in the Ottoman archives in which now only small amount of information was available about the fishing in general, as much as the PDA decided to be sufficient for the State. On the other hand, with advent of PDA, more statistics about the items the PDA were now responsible started to become available. Certainly one of them was fish tax (*Saydiye*

rüsumu). It is easy to comprehend that working as Director of Istanbul Fish Market under the PDA, Karekin Deveciyan, could have had good access to those data systematically collected by PDA from every angle of the Ottoman Empire in order to improve the incomes of the revenue it was collecting. Therefore the only exception in terms of data on bluefin tuna fishing during Ottoman Empire seems to be the statistics for the years between 1915 and 1923 in his famous book (See the table below).

Bluefin Tuna								
(Ottoman Empire seems to be the statistics for the years between 1915 and 1923)								
Month	1331/1915		1337/1921		1338/1922		1339/1923	
	Quantity (kg)	Price (piaster)	Quantity (kg)	Price (piaster)	Quantity (kg)	Price (piaster)	Quantity (kg)	Price (piaster)
March	27.191	26.665	285	10.237	1.169	33.334	49.687	612.537
April	22.894	19.804	3.198	86.282	28.629	475.468	16.378	307.222
May	1.442	2.251	5.129	127.621	3.639	37.269	6.176	110.052
June	5.819	6.570	540	15.129	978	14.551	1.195	21.050
July	22.396	20.705	29.985	344.231	24.106	151.616	20.895	303.986
August	21.782	12.935	3.829	66.783	8.182	69.405	1.042	16.767
September	204	649	4.288	94.615	1.195	14.862	534	3.770
October	801	1.721	2.119	34.527	185	2.972	2.816	29.973
November	3.164	8.484	828	18.566	2	35	3.270	53.788
December	16.270	44.466	-	-	5687	94.531	2.023	39.072
January	10.128	22.663	137	4.179	671	9.952	394	5.906
February	2.486	6.414	-	-	9.339	144.911	93	2.430
Total	135.027	173.326	50.338	802.170	83.722	1.048.906	104.503	1.506.553

Source: Karekin Deveciyan, *Türkiye’de Balık ve Balıkçılık*, Trans.: Erol Üyepazarcı, Aras Yayınları, Istanbul, 2011, Table B-I.