



EARLY OTTOMAN-DUTCH RELATIONS

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In this article, early periods of Ottoman-Dutch relations will be handled. The process of Dutch independence from Spain will be followed by Dutch naval superiority in the 17th century. After the establishment of first diplomatic and commercial relations, capitulations were granted to the Dutch Republic and these capitulations were renewed according to the new conditions. In the last part, a list of the Dutch ambassadors in İstanbul until early eighteenth century is given.

HISTORY OF DUTCH INDEPENDENCE

The Dutch Republic, which was a great commercial state in 17th century, had gained its independence after a series of battles. The Netherlands, at that time, was a province of Spain. It consisted of today's Netherlands, plus the Flemish area which included Northern Belgium. Provinces of the Netherlands were officially estates of the duke of Burgundy. An atmosphere of freedom could be observed in the Netherlands, as compared to other European states. Winds of Renaissance and Humanism had scattered among the well educated bourgeoisie in the Netherlands. Merchants of Antwerp, who had close commercial relations with Germany, distributed the writings of Luther.

Emperor Charles V, who was born in the city of Ghent, in Belgium today, was anxious about the spread of idolatry in his own country, and after the excommunication of Luther in 1521, he confiscated all books of Luther in the Netherlands. His second step was to bring the Spanish Inquisitions to the Netherlands. After two people were burned to death in 1523 in Brussels, death orders were given for all the followers of Luther. However, all these measures were unable to prevent the spread of Lut-

heranism. According to some predictions, - of the population in Antwerp in 1530's had adopted Luther's ideas.¹ After 1550s, Calvinism had penetrated into the low lands through Genoa, and rapidly spread, despite the heavy punishments of the Dutch Inquisition. The low lands were the richest among the territories of the emperor. According to the Venetian reports of 1559, the Netherlands was the treasury of Spanish king, who defended Christianity, against the Turks and other heretics.²

Delegation of the throne by Charles V to Philip II in 1555 did not stop the oppressions. Philip II perceived Protestantism as an uprising against his sovereignty and determined to destroy it. So, he took the first measures to establish a direct rule in the Netherlands. The Flemish area was given under the rule of Count Egmont; Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht was to William of Orange.³ In 1529 Philip II went to Spain from the Netherlands and had left the illegitimate daughter of Charles V, Margaret as regent. As a result of the decision to have three archbishops and fourteen bishops in the Netherlands the tension had risen and "icon rebellion" had exploded.⁴ Although he had the chance, prince William did not take the lead of the separatist Calvinists during this rebellion.

The uprising spread everywhere, and Margaret demanded an oath of loyalty to the Emperor. When William refused the oath, Margaret marched towards the rebels in Antwerp and defeated them. The leader of the rebels, Brederode and later William had to flee Germany. But Philip II did not give up his harsh rule. In 1567, he sent Duke of Alva with an army to unite all the Netherlands under one kingdom, Brussels being the capital. But the harsh measures and the terror of the duke furthered the discontent.



After the death of Brederode one year later, William remained as the only leader. But his first battles against Alva did not bring any result. Thus, against the Spanish, William had decided to support the corsairs. First of all, the corsairs occupied the port city of Brill, and then took all Northern ports one after another. Actually, William was not pleased with the fanatic corsairs. The corsairs had established a safe, but a merciless rule, plundered the churches, killed the priests, and changed the Catholic judges with the Calvinists.

The Spanish forces moved towards the North and in 1573 sieged Haarlem. After six months, Haarlem surrendered. Nevertheless, the Spanish were in difficulty. Having been in war in the Mediterranean with the Ottomans, Philip II could not meet the expenses of a second front. Since no money was paid to the soldiers for a long time, his army returned to Antwerp and refused to fight until their wages were paid. When they were paid in 1574, the army marched again, and this time sieged Leiden. When no other solution could be found, after long discussions, the Dutch authorities accepted to demolish the walls which blocked sea waters. When the sea waters flooded everywhere, Spanish troops were trapped in the mud and panicked. They had to withdraw as defeated.⁵

However, the conflicts between the Catholics and the Protestants did not come to an end. Southern aristocrats declared loyalty to Philip II and Roman Catholic Church in January 1579 in Arras. A unity, composed of ten provinces was also established. Two weeks later seven provinces established another unity in the North (United Provinces). Later, Prince William was brought to the head of this unity. Being unable to defeat him on the battlefield, Philip declared William as illegal in 1580, with heavy religious and political accusations.⁶ Although Prince William had refused all these accusations and defended himself, 25000 golden pieces were promised for his head, alive or dead. In the end, in 1584, he was assassinated in Delft.⁷

Establishing correspondence with Turks was among the accusations. It seems that like the Queen of England Elizabeth, Prince William requested help from the Ottoman sultan, who was the only power capable to fight

against Spain, at that time. Correspondence was achieved secretly through Joseph Nassi.⁸ Nassi was employed by Süleyman the Magnificent and Selim. Before his departure for Istanbul, William had given a letter to Nassi in 1569, who was active in banking in Antwerp to provide the support of the Ottoman sultan in their fight against Philip II.⁹ Nassi was the consultant of the Ottoman state. He discussed the Dutch revolt with Ottoman statesman. Consequently, The Ottoman sultan had sent a letter to the Lutherans in Flemish and other Spanish provinces and promised his support in their fight against idolatry and the Catholics.¹⁰ In the same manner, Ottoman Grand Vizier had sent a similar letter to promise support to the Muslims in Spain, who complained about Spanish oppression.¹¹

The Spanish religious oppression was so heavy that the phrase "*Liever Tuks dan Paaps*" had become a slogan among the people.¹² However the Lepanto disaster for the Ottoman navy in 1571 prevented the Ottoman state to involve in overseas operations.

DUTCH WORLD TRADE HEGEMONY

Towards the end of Middle Ages, the world trade centre was Venice. After 1500's, Antwerp had gained a relative importance. Although the Spanish invasion of Antwerp in 1585 provided a short period of revival to Genoa, Amsterdam had become the world trade centre.¹³ Then, the Venetian commercial hegemony in the Mediterranean had come to an end. The rapid development of the Netherlands was partially realised by the Dutch technological innovations in ship building.¹⁴

Until 1580's, while the southern provinces were active in transportation of valuable goods, banking, and insurance, Zeeland and Northern Holland were busy with small businesses. Big merchants, textile products, warehouses, luxurious items, and the capital centre was in Antwerp. But after the uprising against Spain in 1572, most of the wealthy merchants had transferred their businesses out of the country. It is not a coincidence that regular English naval trade had started after 1570's.¹⁵ At the beginning, the merchants in Antwerp were dealing with intermediary activities for spice exports of Lisbon, cloth merchants of London, and Italian and German ex-



porters. After 1550's, Antwerp's own trade has developed. Merchants in Antwerp had begun to operate entrepôts of neighbouring exporters. As a result of this rapid development, Antwerp had become the commercial centre for Europe. But, the Spanish invasion of 1585 and Philip's declaration of embargo against the Dutch goods and Dutch naval transport has shifted this commercial centre to Amsterdam. From then onwards, the capital centre of Europe and the richest market of the world was Amsterdam.

After 1590's, the Netherlands had developed rapidly. The Dutch commercial world hegemony could be possible with her direct naval access to African, Asian, Russian and American markets. To the places that their ships could not reach, they sent intermediary merchants to buy the raw materials from the source. They could pay higher prices than local merchants could pay. Consequently, from early seventeenth century onwards, the Dutch commercial superiority was composed of far distance trade, storing, productive manufacturing techniques, and speculative trade.¹⁶ It could achieve development by her triple centres European commercial goods, shipping and leadership in capital markets.¹⁷

EARLY COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

Ottoman state was busy with internal turmoil and foreign threats in the late sixteenth century. At the same time the Ottoman state was trying prevent disposal of the Venetian navy by the Pope who led Crusades, through granting capitulations to Venice. After the Ottoman naval defeat at Lepanto in 1571 when Venetian-Spanish-Papal coalition formed a big threat to the vital Ottoman interests in the Mediterranean, Ottoman authorities felt it necessary to establish new alliances from the Christian World.¹⁸ Before the naval expedition to the island of Cyprus, comprehensive capitulations were already granted to France in 1569. It was followed by diplomatic contacts with England, and then with the Netherlands. In these relations, the naval superiority of these powers over Venice has played an important role. Venetian galleys were easy targets for English bretonis,¹⁹ which were heavily armed with bronze and steel guns.²⁰

After the attempt of Prince William during the Dutch rebellion against Spanish invasion to get the Ottoman support by Joseph Nassi,²¹ certain contacts were achieved by travellers and by Mediterranean merchants individually. These were the merchants who migrated to the Netherlands after Spanish invasion of Antwerp. With a great possibility, the first merchants were Daniel van der Meulen and Jacques de la Faille who came with their own ship to the Ottoman territories. The information given by these merchants was that Levant trade was very profitable.²² In 1598, the Dutch merchants obtained permission from French king Henry IV to make trade in the Ottoman ports.²³ At that time the Netherlands did not have her own capitulations. The first Dutch convoy, composed of 10 ships loaded with gold, and spices, armed with heavy guns, sailed for Ottoman ports in 1609.²⁴ In a letter dated 1611, Levant merchants in Amsterdam emphasised that Levant trade would be the most important area of activity for the Dutch merchants. Furthermore, trade with Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt, and Aegean islands was potentially more favourable for their interests than naval traffic by the Dutch East India Company. It was also stated that the sources of raw material, like silk, cotton, and mohair were inevitable for luxurious textile in the west.²⁵

ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND CAPITULATIONS

Continuous attacks of Algerian corsairs to the Dutch ships had forced the States General to establish direct contact with the Ottoman state. According to Artus Thomas, the reason of Dutch application to Ottoman sultan for diplomatic contact was disappearance of Dutch ships, their cargo and crew. Thomas also indicate the Dutch willingness to provide safe naval traffic in the Mediterranean and free trade in Ottoman ports through an alliance with the Ottoman sultan.²⁶ In 1604 States General²⁷ had already sent a letter to Ottoman sultan Ahmed I to ask for permission for trade in Syria. This was not replied soon, but in 1610, a letter was sent by the Ottoman admiral. In this letter, the intention of the sultan to permit the Dutch merchants to travel under their own flags was also emphasised.²⁸



In establishing Ottoman-Dutch relations, Halil Pasha, who occupied the position of grand admiral, played a crucial role. In his letter to the Dutch authorities, the will of the sultan to admit a Dutch ambassador in İstanbul was indicated. After long discussions, the states General has decided to appoint Cornelis Haga, a member of a prominent Dutch family, as ambassador to İstanbul. Haga was a young lawyer from Schidam, Rotterdam. In 1609, the Netherlands had signed a 12 years truce with Spain. Soon afterwards, in 1610, a commercial treaty was signed with Morocco, an Islamic country.²⁹ States General did not want the discussions with the Ottoman Empire to be perceived by Spain as an alliance vis-a-vis Spain. Thus, the mission of Haga was declared as a simple visit to enfranchise Dutch slaves.

The possibility of the Dutch capitulations to be granted by the Ottoman state alarmed the English and French ambassadors in İstanbul. They spent great effort to prevent acknowledgement of Haga by the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I. These two ambassadors attempted to persuade the Ottoman statesmen that the Netherlands was not an independent state, but a province of Spain, and added that such a coalition would put the Ottoman sultan in difficulty.³⁰ French ambassador Achille de Harle went further, and in return for prevention of a possible Dutch capitulations, offered ten thousand gold pieces as a bribe to the Ottoman statesmen.³¹

Thirty years ago, when English capitulations were granted, the French ambassador had also created great difficulty. At that time, French ambassador had claimed that according to French capitulations, except for Venice, all other non-Muslim countries merchants would sail under the French flag. When the English capitulations were renewed in 1601, protection of Dutch merchants was given to the English.³² This created a big conflict and rivalry between the Dutch and English ambassadors at the Porte. Both French and English ambassadors were insistent on the right of their flags for other non-Muslim countries. The right of flag, and thus, the most favoured nation clause changed hand many times between the French and the English for ten years.³³

Despite the adverse propaganda by the Dutch and the English ambassadors, with the support of grand admiral Halil Pasha, Cornelis Haga was admitted by Sul-

tan Ahmed I, on May 1 1612.³⁴ According to the Ottoman protocol, the most important event for an ambassador was to be accepted by the Ottoman sultan personally.³⁵ His king's letter and the gifts brought by the ambassador were presented to the sultan with a great ceremony.³⁶

Two months later, the first Dutch capitulation was delivered to Haga, dated *Evail-i C.ewel* 1021/1612.³⁷ As in the case of French and English capitulations, it was also a unilateral document, not a bilateral treaty. According to that document, the Dutch ships had the right to freely visit the Ottoman ports with their own flag, and freely make trade. From then onwards, the French merchants had two big rivals in Ottoman territories; English and the Dutch. Through granting capitulations first to England and then to the Netherlands, the Porte had expected certain political benefits. Both of them were the rising powers of the Protestant world. The Netherlands would be a natural ally against the common enemy, Spain. Nevertheless, after her 12 year truce with Spain 1609, the Netherlands had preferred only commercial and economic cooperation. But, Dutch naval superiority had greatly influenced Halil Pasha and the Ottoman state. The strategic war materials, to be purchased from England and the Netherlands had great importance.³⁸

Besides very precious gifts, Haga had brought strategic naval maps to İstanbul, which the Dutch carefully kept secret from other European powers. Through capitulations, the Dutch authorities expected both commercial cooperation, and enfranchisement of the Dutch slaves held by Algerian and Tunisian corsairs.³⁹ After a short period, Dutch capitulations were granted by Sultan Ahmed I, but, this issue of Dutch slaves could not be solved immediately. After continuous letters to the Ottoman governors in Algeria and Tunis by the Ottoman sultan, some of the slaves could be found, and delivered.

The first title of Haga was orator, to the rank of ambassador. When his activities at the Porte pleased the states General, he was assigned as the Dutch ambassador in İstanbul, in 1614. He came to İstanbul in 1612 for a provisional mission, but he could return in 1639 with the permission of Sultan Murad IV after 27 years.



One of the most important successes of Haga was the foundation of Dutch Levant Company. Taking into consideration his reports and the petitions of big merchants in Amsterdam, Dutch Levant merchants established their organisation in 25 June 1625. It was not a monopolistic company, but an organisation of control and advice.⁴⁰ Its centre was Amsterdam.⁴¹ Directorate of the company would function as the representative of the Dutch merchants in the Mediterranean. Its main task was to provide correspondence between the Dutch ambassador at the Porte and the Dutch consuls in North Africa and in the Mediterranean.⁴² As a bridge between the government and the merchants, the directorate had established a network of consuls in the Mediterranean. The company targeted establishing a political and administrative base for the distinguished merchants, who were active in the Mediterranean. The directors were influential in the Dutch foreign policy. For this reason, they had a representative at the Porte.

Open door policy for the Dutch and the English went on in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. When privileges were granted, the Porte was aware of its superiority. These countries constituted neither military nor commercial threat for the Ottoman Empire, but on the contrary an important obstacle for Spanish and Portuguese threat. Ottoman statesmen were aware of the danger by the Dutch and English East India Companies to old trade routes. But since the Ottoman sultan could not equip big ships to prevent Dutch and English expansion, the Porte preferred to provide attractive conditions for Levant trade. In this respect, the Ottoman policy was quite successful. The Ottoman state could still control the activities of northern merchants. However, in the nineteenth century, some capitulations had become an instrument of commercial and financial pressure against the Ottoman Empire.⁴³ During the office of Haga, Dutch Levant trade spread all over Eastern Mediterranean. Many consulates were opened. In 1634 the Dutch capitulations were renewed by Sultan Murad IV. Levant trade was profitable for the Dutch. But, lack of stable Dutch consuls gave rise to French intervention. The merchants were free to prefer the flag of whichever country provide the cheapest protection and service. In those years, ships' flags could be changed easily.⁴⁴

In early seventeenth century, the Dutch trade was concentrated in Syrian ports. First Dutch consulates were opened in Aleppo and Alexandrietta, which were on the caravan routes.⁴⁵ Towards 1650, the silk trade route had shifted to İzmir (Symrna) through Anatolia. For this reason, including the Netherlands, many countries had established their own trade centres at Symrna. Most of the cargo, brought by Dutch merchants to the Ottoman ports contained Dutch or London woollen clothes, and spices. Exports from the Ottoman ports were all kinds of luxurious textiles, velvet, raw silk, silk, embroidered clothes, raw and processed cotton, wool, wine, dried fruits, carpets and leather.⁴⁶

DUTCH AMBASSADORS IN THE 17th CENTURY

Haga came to İstanbul as an ambassador for a short period. But, he could not leave soon. He was continuously sending letters to States General to release him from that heavy and burdensome mission. In the end, after insistent attempts, he obtained the permission to leave from Sultan Murad IV in 1638. Because of the indifference of the States General, a new ambassador could not be assigned. For financial reasons, the nephew of Haga, Henric Cops was designated as *charge d'affaires*. Cops has carried out this mission until his death in 1647. Dirk Kroll, who was a secretary of Haga, took the mission, but died in the same year. Another secretary of Haga, Nicholas Ghisbrecht had replaced him. Meanwhile, the Dutch Embassy in İstanbul employed a young Orientalist, Levinus Warner. Warner was born in the city of Lippe in Germany, and came to Leiden University in the Netherlands to have Arabic education in 1639. He had completed his studies in 1644 and departed for an eastern journey, and arrived İstanbul.⁴⁷ Until the death of Ghisbrecht in 1644 from plague, Warner was in close contact as secretary with the Dutch Embassy.

In 1647, after the death of Cops, English Ambassador in İstanbul Thomas Bendisch,⁴⁸ and French Ambassador Jean de la Haye Vandelet⁴⁹ tried to benefit from the situation and attempted to undertake the protection of the Dutch subjects in Ottoman territories. Under these circumstances, Warner requested his designation as a



resident ambassador. The Dutch Republic had to reply soon, because if the Dutch citizens were given under English protection, the Dutch nation would be turned to pre-1612 status.⁵⁰ In the end, Warner was provisionally designated as the only representative of the Dutch nation in the Ottoman lands. His letter of credit was sent in 1655. However, when the active Dutch support to the Venetian side during Crete War had arrived İstanbul, Warner was not welcomed at the Porte.⁵¹ In 1656 and in 1663, slavery of an Ottoman pasha and plunder of his goods by the Dutch increased the tension. Warner was even imprisoned in 1663 for a short period. Despite promises, the Dutch capitulations were not renewed since 1634 by the Ottoman sultan.

With the death of Warner in 1665, the Dutch nation in the Ottoman territories remained without protection once again. Councillor of Warner, Francesco De Brosses, a Dutch merchant took the mission. Nevertheless, States General was aware of the fact that they could not postpone appointment of a fully accredited the ambassador to İstanbul anymore. Otherwise, the position of the Netherlands in the Levant would be endangered. On 30 Sept. 1665, a lawyer, Joris Croock was appointed as the ambassador. But Croock and his accompanies died in an earthquake in Ragusa, on the way to İstanbul.⁵² On 21 July 1667, States General had appointed another lawyer, Justinus Colyer as the Dutch Ambassador at the Porte. Colyer arrived in İstanbul on 25 May 1668 with precious gifts.⁵³ He was admitted by Sultan Mehmed IV personally in Edirne on 12 August 1668.⁵⁴

The most important mission of Colyer was to provide a new capitulations, clear enough to secure the Dutch trade in the Levant. His colleagues in İstanbul claimed that States General had not appointed him with a valid and customary status. He was not called by his colleagues for greeting. Diplomats in İstanbul found his position inferior and considered it unnecessary to organise a welcome ceremony. Actually, the Ottoman state did not distinguish the resident ministers and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. All of them were called "*elçi*" (envoy). Moreover, the Porte considered the ambassador not as an extraordinary ambassador of their

own countries, but as representative of their citizens in the Ottoman territories. Thus, like other Ottoman officials, consuls and other diplomatic staff should have a special certificate (*berat*) from the sultan to take office. Yet, the attitude of other ambassadors against Colyer gained the attention of the Ottoman authorities. When asked from Venetian and French Embassy dragomans, it was realised that the Dutch Republic had never sent an extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador to İstanbul, and added that the rank of Colyer was only equal to *charge d'affaires*. Under these circumstances, only after he was designated with the status of full ambassador, the new capitulations were granted to the Dutch nation.⁵⁵

Renewed capitulations were handed over to Colyer with a ceremony dated 9 *Zilkade* 1091/Nov. 1680 by the grand vizier. The status of the Dutch nation had now risen to the equal rank with French and English nations whose capitulations were renewed in 1673 and 1675, respectively. The principles of 1680 capitulations remained valid until abolition of capitulations in 1914.⁵⁶

When Colyer died in 1682, two years after the new capitulations, his son and secretary in the embassy, Jacobus Colyer provisionally took the mission. His official letter of credence arrived in 1684, and full status of ambassador arrived in 1688. Jacobus Colyer had grown up in İstanbul and he spoke Turkish quite well. His experience in the embassy, his close contacts with prominent Turkish and Greek families in İstanbul provided him with clear superiority against his colleagues *vis-a-vis* the Ottoman authorities. Jacobus Colyer functioned as a mediator with his English colleague, first in the discussions of the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699), later in Pruth (1711), in Ottoman-Venetian War (1714-1718), in the Ottoman-Austrian War (1716-1718), and finally in the Treaty of Pasarowitz (1718). Because of his performance in Ottoman-Austrian peace talks, he was rewarded by the Austrian emperor as the count of Holy Roman Empire in 1703. In the Ottoman documents also, his name was written as "*Yakomo Konte Kolyer*". Those diplomatic activities had a great role in development of Ottoman-Dutch relations.



CONCLUSION

The Netherlands which was dependent on Spain, rebelled in the second half of 16th century as a result of the religious pressures of Charles V and Philip II. In 1574, the Netherlands gained independence. In 1579 when the south provinces came together and declared loyalty to the emperor, seven northern provinces had established their own union (United Provinces).

The United Provinces had performed a rapid development through their previous commercial experiences. Spanish economic embargoes could not stop this development. The merchants and entrepreneurs, who created the trade and naval transport centre of Europe in Antwerp transferred their centre to Amsterdam. This transfer made the Netherlands the greatest naval power in the world in the seventeenth century. This is called the Golden Age (*Gouden Eeuw*) in the Dutch history.

The Ottoman Empire, which occupied a huge area from the Persian Gulf in the East to Hungary in the West, held the trade routes, held Black Sea as her internal water, with a powerful navy in Mediterranean and a great

land force was one of the most important states in Europe. Despite the long distance between the two countries, it was advantageous for the Netherlands to establish commercial and diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire. In early seventeenth century, 40% of the Dutch foreign trade was with the Ottoman Empire. This figure gives us an idea about the size of the relations between the two countries. But, after the eighteenth century, Britain had developed further, and in the nineteenth century, she had become dominant not only in trade, but in the Ottoman politics, and even in domestic affairs.

Dutch Representatives in İstanbul

Cornelis HAGA	(1612-1638) ambassador, returned to the Netherlands
Henric COPS	(1638-1647) <i>Charge d'affaires</i> , died in İstanbul
Nicolas GHISBRECHT	(1647-1654) <i>Charge d'affaires</i> , died in İstanbul
Levinus WARNER	(1654-1665) <i>Charge d'affaires</i> , died in İstanbul
Joris CROOCK	(1667) died in Ragusa, on the way to İstanbul
Justinus COLYER	(1667-1682) ambassador, died in İstanbul
Jacobus COLYER	(1682-1725) ambassador, died in İstanbul
Cornelis CALKOEN	(1726-1744) ambassador, returned to the Netherlands
Jean Charles Des BORDES	(1744-1747) <i>Charge d'affaires</i>
Elbert De HOICHEPIED	(1747-1763) ambassador

- 1 Roger Lockyer, *Habsburg and Bourbon Europe 1470-1720*, (NY: Longman, 1988), p153
- 2 Roger Lockyer, *ibid.*, p. 218
- 3 Since he was heir to a small principality, named Orange, William was called Prince of Orange. He continued to use this title after the independence of the Netherlands.
- 4 In August 1566, people rebelled and plundered the churches in Antwerp. All the icons were broken on the streets. The rebellion then scattered to the other cities as well. Calvinist priests could not appease the angry mob. The precious icons were all smashed by the people.
- 5 The Dutch victory on 3 Oct. 1574 is still celebrated in the Netherlands as the salvation day of Leiden. As a reward of Leiden's resistance, a university was established there for the education Protestant priests.
- 6 P. J. A.N. Rietbergen, *A Short History of the Netherlands*, (Amersfoort: Bekking Publishing, 1998), p 76.
- 7 Prince William was accused of creating discontent in the country, to be rebellious, an enemy of humanity, plague of the Christian world, and was in treason. For the proscription and the defence of William of Orange, see: L. H. Lehmann, *The Drama of William of Orange*, (NY: Agora Publishing, 1957).
- 8 Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), p. 373.
- 9 Alexander Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, (Leiden: Netherlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1978), p. 84.
- 10 Feridun Beğ, *Müşahat al-Salaten*, (İstanbul, 1849). Vol II, pp 450-2.
- 11 Feridun Beğ, *ibid.*, pp. 458-60.
- 12 Prefer being Turk rather than Catholic.
- 13 Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740*, (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992), p. 3.
- 14 Jonathan Israel, *ibid.*, p.21.
- 15 Jonathan Israel, *ibid.*, pp. 27-8.
- 16 Jonathan Israel, *ibid.*, p. 409.
- 17 Immanuel Wallersstein, *The Modern World System*, (NY: Academic Press, 1974), p. 212.
- 18 Halil İnalcık, *ibid.*, p.189.
- 19 *Brestoni* was a sail ship with high level of board and could carry 30-40 cannons.
- 20 H. İnalcık, *ibid.*, p.366.
- 21 The correspondence between Prince William and the Ottoman Empire was carried out secretly through Nassi.
- 22 Alexander De Groot, *ibid.*, pp. 86-7. According to the recent researches by Mehmet Buluc in Utrecht University on the customs and port registers, long before the Dutch capitulations were granted, merchants in Amsterdam were exporting commercial items of not only their own, but also from Hamburg and other ports to the Ottoman ports.
- 23 Bosscha Erdbrink, *At the Threshold of Felicity: Ottoman-Dutch Relations During the Embassy of Cornelis Calcoen at the Sublime Port 1726-44*, (Ankara: TTK Basimevi, 1875), p. 2.
- 24 Jonathan Israel, *ibid.*, p. 97.
- 25 Jonathan Israel, *ibid.*, p.99.
- 26 Artus Thomas, *Continuation De L'Histoire Des Turcs. Depuis Qu'ils Se Firent Rendre*, A. Roven, Chez Jean Berthelein, MDCLX, pp 850-1.
- 27 P. J. A. N. Rietbergen, *ibid.*, p. 15.
- 28 Bosscha Erdbrink, *ibid.*, p. 3.
- 29 Alexander De Groot, *ibid.*, p. 97.
- 30 Bosscha Erdbrink, *ibid.*, p. 5.



- 31 Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi*. (Ankara: A.Ü. DTCF Yayınları, 1953), p. 116.
- 32 Akdes Nimet Kurat, *ibid*, p. 206.
- 33 For detailed information about the issue of flag, see Halil İncalcık, İmtiyazat, EI2, vol. IV, p 1184; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *ibid*, pp 90-1; Mübahat Küçüköğlü, *Osmanlı-İngiliz Münasebetleri*, (Ankara), pp 39-45.
- 34 29 Safer 1021.
- 35 Naima
- 36 For more information about the ceremony organised in the court for the ambassadors, and the protocol, see: "Tevkî Abdurrahman Pasha Kanunnamesi", *Millî Tesebbü'lar Mecmuası*, p. 511; Mübahat Küçüköğlü, "XVI. Yüzyılda Fevkalade Elçilerin Ağırılanması", Prof. Dr. İsmail Ercüment Kuran'a Armağan, (Ankara: 1989), pp. 199-231; Ali İbrahim Savaş, "Osmanlı Elçilerinin Resm-i Kabul Protokolleri", *Ege Üniversitesi Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, vol. XI, (1996), pp. 111-24; Mehmet İpşirli, "Elçi", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11, pp. 3-5.
- 37 Original of this capitulations is now kept in Rijksarchief in Den Haag, inventaris: Staten Generaal, Secrete Kas, 1.01.08, no: 12593.15. Renewed 1634 and 1680 capitulations are in no: 12593.47 and 12593.69. For transcribed text of 1612 and 1680 capitulations see: Alexander De Groot, *ibid*, pp. 233-46. Bülent ARI, *Conflicts Between the Dutch Merchants and the Ottoman Local Authorities According to "Felemenk Abidnâme Defteri Dated 1091/1680*, unpublished MA. Thesis, Bilkent University, (1996), pp 48-62; Hans Theunissen has made an analysis of both 3 capitulations in: *Een Diplomatieke Analyse van de Abdname*, Ph.D Thesis, Utrecht University, (1984).
- 38 Halil İncalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 384.
- 39 Ben Slot, "De diplomatieke brekkingen tussen Nederland en het Osmaanse Rijk", *Topkapı & Turkonaniz*, (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989), p 10.
- 40 Directeuren van den Levantschen Handel en de Navigatie op de Middellandsche Zee.
- 41 Bosscha Erdbrink, *ibid*, p.10.
- 42 Alexander De Groot, "The Organisation of west European trade in the Levant, 1500-1800" *Companies and Trade*, (Leiden, 1981), p. 235.
- 43 Alexander De Groot; *ibid*, pp. 237-8
- 44 Alexander De Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and The Dutch Republic*, p. 215.
- 45 First Dutch consulates: Aleppo, Alexandrietta, Livorno, Scio (1612), Larnaca, Andro, Milo Morea (1613), İzmir, Venice (1614), Genoa (1615), Algiers (1616), Zea (1620), Tunis (1626). For detailed information on these consulates, see: Alexander De Groot, *ibid*, pp 215-7.
- 46 Bosscha Erdbrink, *ibid*, pp.16-7.
- 47 Bosscha Erdbrink, *ibid*, p. 20.
- 48 Bosscha Erdbrink, *ibid*, p. 22.
- 49 Alexander De Groot, *ibid*, p. 226.
- 50 Alexander De Groot, *ibid*, p. 227.
- 51 Bosscha Erdbrink, *ibid*, p. 21.
- 52 6 April 1667.
- 53 Among the gifts brought by Coiyer, there were a globe, and an Atlas Major, prepared by Janzson.
- 54 4 R.evvil 1079.
- 55 The third Dutch capitulations, dated Evail-i Ramazan 1091/ 25 Sept.-5 Oct 1680.
- 56 Alexander De Groot, *ibid*, p. 228.

