

Wandeling Op audiëntie bij de sultan

# Dutch Heritage in Turkey & An Audience with the Sultan

# **Project description**

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# **Brief project description**

The *Dutch Heritage in Turkey* project tells, depicts and connects a specific part of the history the Netherlands and Turkey share, namely the diplomatic relations that the Dutch maintained with the Ottoman Empire. The project provides:

- The replacement of the modest website developed in 2014 by a comprehensive, bilingual platform that focuses on:
  - the traditions and rituals that shaped these diplomatic relations;
  - the (urban) landscape of Constantinople/Istanbul against which these diplomatic relations took place;
  - the persons who played a leading role in entering into and maintaining the relationships,
  - the daily life and the street scene against which their lives took place;
  - the writers and painters who recorded their lives and events;
  - (to a lesser extent) trade relations and the cultural cross-fertilisation that followed.
- An update of the heritage route/guided walk *An* Audience with the Sultan. This walk invites interested parties to follow in the footsteps of the first Dutch envoys and ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire such as Cornelis Haga and Cornelis Calkoen. The mobile app/audio tour leads them from the Palais de Hollande (the building in which the Netherlands consulate general is now housed) to the Topkapı Palace.

Thousands of residents and visitors stroll daily through these streets and past the iron fence of the consulate general on Istiklal Caddesi, the flag and coat of arms of the Netherlands. Few know that the route to Topkapi has a rich history. The guided walk – with facts, stories, images, sound clips and, maybe in the future, augmented reality items – bridges past and present in a memorable experience.

• An update of the walk that leads interested parties from the Palais de Hollande to the Protestant cemetery in Feriköy. This walk is expanded with references to *The Feriköy Protestant Cemetery Initiative*, in which the NIT (Netherlands Institute in Turkey) is a partner with stories about the Dutch people who are (re)buried there. This walk with the working title *Feriköy: Stones and Stories* will be included in the mobile app/audio tour.

Those who visit the website and walk the route are invited to learn not only about Dutch heritage in Turkey and the sights along the route in Istanbul, but also about other relevant sites and museums in the Netherlands and Turkey, such as the Dutch Protestant Church in Izmir, which bears witness to the trade interests that led the Dutch to the Levant.

Conversely, visitors to, for example, room 1.3 in the Rijksmuseum are invited to take the route *An Audience with the Sultan*, which they see depicted in the painting of the same name by Jean Baptiste Vanmour.

# 2014: background information

In 2014, Karin Elgin-Nijhuis and Frank Go, the late Professor of Tourism Management at the Rotterdam School of Management/Erasmus University, organised the first Heritage, Tourism and Hospitality, International Conference (HTHIC2014,

https://heritagetourismhospitality.org/conference/hthic2014/) together with colleagues from Boĝaziçi University in Istanbul.

The Dutch Consulate General in Istanbul was one of the organisations that provided in-kind and/or financial support to the initiative. It covered part of the costs for simultaneous Turkish/English translation. The welcome reception was held in the Palais de Hollande (against the usual price).

Consul-general Robert Schuddeboom, himself very interested in history, said he would appreciate "attention to Dutch heritage in Turkey" during the conference. Karin Elgin-Nijhuis decided to take up that wish and pour the "attention" into a form that would be more durable than an item at the conference and would serve a wider audience (see "Apparoach" below): a website and a heritage route/themed walk. She also turned it into a trainee project and involved students from a Dutch university of applied sciences.

During the welcome reception, Mr Schuddeboom was surprised with the unveiling of the website, developed entirely at the expense of Elgin & Co.

(https://www.facebook.com/HollandaBaskonsolosluguIst/posts/723265064433005). The website and walk were promoted on the consulate general's website.

Unfortunately, there was no budget for more PR, such as a poster next to the consulate general's gate at Istiklal Caddesi informing passers-by about the guided walk and providing a QR code to download the route description, collaboration with the Rijksmuseum and other stakeholders.

The website and walk, accessible via the domain names www.erfgoedinturkije.nl and www.opaudientiebijdesultan.nl, were nevertheless a success. In 2014-2018, approximately 1200 people downloaded the walk per year.

At the end of 2018, Elgin & Co. took the website offline as content and ICTs needed updating. Plans to find funding and develop a new edition in 2019-2020 had to be shelved. The COVID-19 pandemic made travel undesirable.

# **Objectives**

The *Dutch Heritage in Turkey* project aims to increase and enrich public interest in the heritage that testifies to diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire after the Eighty Years' War, by, in collaboration with partners,

- turning the past into an experience through the heritage route/guided walk *An Audience* with the Sultan;
- connecting virtually and physically various relevant heritage locations and collections in the Netherlands and Turkey;
- consolidating relevant (online) information on one platform;
- fully in line with the objectives of HTHIC (the Heritage, Tourism and Hospitality, International Conference & LAB) bridging theory and practice, research and experience.

Fragmentation – the dispersion of assets and information, geographically and on the World Wide Web, plus a multitude of stakeholder interests - characterises the fields of heritage (interpretation), tourism (destination management and marketing) and place branding. The challenge is always to (co-)create cultural tourism services that help overcome fragmentation, connect stakeholders and and captivate audiences.

The project makes the past relevant by – literally with the visitor to Istanbul or the resident of Turkey - build a bridge between past and present, the Netherlands and Turkey and by paying attention to:

- the way in which contemporaries and more recent visitors and residents (poets, writers, painters, photographers) experienced and currently experience the (urban) landscape of Istanbul and, in particular, the crossing (later via the Galata Bridge) from Pera to Topkapı and in word and image captured. The place the landscape, the city and the water thus acquires even more significance as a background and scene of the past: "place as a character".
- the visitor's need to be able to "place" paintings, photos, letters, poems and stories, i.e. relate them to the area at hand, and to previous experiences.
- the importance of diplomacy then and now.

An additional, important objective for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Turkey and the district of Beyoğlu (Beyoğlu Belediyesi) in Istanbul, is to increase the awareness and image of the Beyoğlu and Pera districts as a district with a rich history and central role in international diplomatic relations.

# **Target audiences**

The Dutch Heritage in Turkey project serves target groups

- in Turkey:
  - Dutch tourists visiting Istanbul,
  - Dutch tourists with a Turkish background and/or Turkish nationality,
  - Turkish school children, living in Beyoğlu or other districts,
  - domestic tourists,
  - researchers and students;
- in the Netherlands:
  - Dutch visitors to, for example, the Rijksmuseum, of course also those with a Turkish background and/or nationality,
  - Turkish nationals who work or study in the Netherlands, a group that has grown strongly in the past five years to circa 35,000 and consists of mainly highly educated professionals,
  - tourists from Turkey,
  - researchers and students and

- more in general:
  - people interested in the history of diplomacy.

The 2014 version of the heritage route/walk *An Audience with the Sultan* provided a (downloadable) Google Map and route description in PDF. The addition of an app with augmented reality items will captivate a younger audience.

On a global scale and per market, research is being done into those interested in cultural heritage tourism, their expectations, needs and wishes. We refer to the significant body of academic papers, reports and handbooks on the topic, to which also the authors of this project description have contributed. See, for example, Du Cros and McKercher (2020), Richards (2018), Boniface (2013). Data and insights are translated into detailed personas and glocalities. For an example of such a study, see NBTC Holland Marketing's (2020) From Mentality to Glocalities. Switch to Glocalities target groups

(file:///C:/Users/karin/Downloads/Segmentatie%20van%20Mentality%20to%20Glocalities%20(NL)). The project *Dutch Heritage in Turkey/An Audience with the Sultan* will make use of the insights gained and will itself be a valuable contribution to the positive impact of cultural tourism in historic urban neighbourhoods.

# Approach

This project will draw on expertise in heritage interpretation, theme-based tourism, experiential tourism and cultural routes.

The difference between a product or place on the one hand and an experience on the other lies in how an experience is created, namely through a combination of activity, location/environment, social interaction and the personal bond that arises. An experience is sensory, physical, emotional and/or spiritual. Experiential tourism offers discoveries and learning opportunities. The more these features are offered, the more powerful the memory and the greater the value of the tourist experience. Cultural routes and themed walks are pre-eminently services that offer this kind of rich experience. They invite people to invest (time and attention) in the process of discovery and learning.

The human brain processes information in a narrative way. Knowledge and values are shared by storytelling. This project will, therefore, also make use of expertise in the field of story-based visitor experience development. An approach based on a narrative strategy, narrative communication and storytelling, as well as working with storytrees, (geographical) storylines (heritage lines) and storyscapes assist in

- engaging visitors on an individual level and create memorable experiences (online and offline);
- overcoming the fragmentation that characterises world cultural heritage and tourism, and offer a coherent picture of a period and the events that took place, as well as
- working on alignment in other respects so that stakeholders feel involved in the project and recognise themselves in the stories.

A project like *Dutch Heritage in Turkey* is layered, polyphonic, multicultural and multidisciplinary. The application of narrative communication creates space for a range of actors and developments, historical and contemporary, and can connect and explain simultaneously.

Thinking in storyscapes ensures the most holistic approach possible. See the appendices to this project description for a schematic representation of this proven method.

# Activities

# Brief overview of the work

- Composition of an advisory committee.
- Development of the new platform that informs visitors in Dutch and Turkish about the diplomatic relations that the Netherlands maintained with the Ottoman Empire and about the heritage that bears witness to this in Turkey and in the Netherlands.
- Update of the content and development of a mobile app/audiotour facilitating the guided walk from the Palais de Hollande (Netherlands consulate general in Istanbul) to the Topkapı Palace using Google Maps, (downloadable and printable) route description/brochure (in PDF) and (if budgetary possible) also augmented reality items. The same pertains to the walk to the Protestant cemetery in Feriköy.
- Promotion of this website and mobile app/audio tour in collaboration with partners.

# Detailed overview of activities and planning

**Phase 1**: Inventory, analysis and preparation (1 December 2021 – 15 February 2022)

- Collecting (additional) information for the development of website and app content.
- In collaboration with the NIT in Istanbul, collecting information, writing and portraying the lives of the Dutch who are buried at the Feriköy cemetery.
- Developing the storylines and story structure (storylines and storytrees).
- Developing the navigation structure, flowchart and content creation plan.
- Consultation with partners and providers.

# Phase 2: Development (15 February 2022 – 1 April 2022)

- Updating logo files and other elements of the web design, app and the layout of the route description in collaboration with an external designer.
- Configuring the server, implementing the Open Source CMS WordPress, the web design templates, Google Maps, certificates, templates, plugins and other necessary components.
- Updating and testing all aspects of the walks.
- Content creation editing, image editing, sound recording and editing, translation and search engine optimisation.
- Developing the mobile app.

- Updating and testing all aspects of the walks.

Phase 3: Maintenance, enrichment and promotion (1 April 2022 – 31 December 2024)

- Maintenance in technical terms: implementing (security) updates of software, certificates, etc.
- Physically checking the walk at regular intervals.
- Content maintenance: research, editing and translation of a minimum of 16 new articles.
- Communication with partners and users (contact form).
- Promotion online and offline.\*
- Evaluation and reporting (annual).

A possible next stage: Extending the walks with augmented reality features.

\* PR actions in collaboration with project partners and other stakeholders in the Netherlands and Turkey, depending on budget. The wish list includes, for example:

- A poster next to the entrance of the Dutch Consulate-General in Istanbul (suggestion of a former press and culture officer of the consulate; after all, the facilities for this are already in place).
- Handing out postcards with a mention of the website on the back during flights to Istanbul (after a similar action by NBTC-KLM in the past for www.holland.com).
- Attention to the project on Açık Radyo, a channel that focuses on the metropolis of Istanbul and pays a lot of attention (live and in podcasts) to the history of and heritage in the city, recently to diplomacy in the Ottoman era. See https://acikradyo.com.tr/.
- Attention of the editors of the radio program OVT (Onvoltooid Verleden Tijd).
- Lectures/seminars online and/or in, for example, the Rijksmuseum, the Pera Museum, the NIT.

This is an iterative process that will meet the quality criteria and critical success factors for website design and development, online branding and PR as agreed in the W3C (World Wide Web Consortium) and described in, for example, the UNWTO-ETC Handbook on E-marketing for Tourism Destinations.

# Expectations

The *Dutch Heritage in Turkey* project will result in:

- A richer and in various respects more coherent picture of a (so far fragmented and not well communicated) part of the history that the Netherlands and Turkey share: the diplomatic relations that the Low Countries maintained with the Ottoman Empire after the Eighty Years' War and, as a result, a broader understanding of this part of history.
- An increase in public interest in and 'experience' of the heritage that bears witness to those relationships.
- An increase in the number of visitors from the Netherlands and Turkey to relevant locations and museums in Turkey and the Netherlands, for example, to visitors' room 1.3 in the Rijksmuseum, which displays the Vanmour collection, and to the permanent exhibition

Intersecting Worlds - Ambassadors and Painters section in the Pera Museum in Istanbul.

 An accessible and attractive digital platform that provides context and encourages future collaboration between stakeholders in the world of heritage and tourism - researchers, students, entrepreneurs and policy makers - in the Netherlands and Turkey will increase the visibility of relevant heritage locations and collections and trigger public interest in the history and heritage connecting both nations.

In addition to this:

• Of those who visited the website www.erfgoedinturkije.nl in the years 2014-2018, an average of 1200 people downloaded the heritage route/theme walk each year. Both were only available in Dutch. Enrichment, renewal, translation and PR for the new website through partners in this project will increase the number of Dutch visitors and walkers in Istanbul and attract new interested parties from Turkey. Augmented reality will also captivate a younger audience.

# Organisation

The project organisation will consist of:

A project team responsible for research, design, development, editing and relations, namely

- Karin Elgin-Nijhuis Elgin & Co. / HTHIC (The Hague) https://www.linkedin.com/in/karinelginnijhuis/
- Hakan Elgin Elgin & Co./HTHIC (The Hague)
  <u>https://www.linkedin.com/in/hakanelgin/</u>
- Ayşegül Yılmaz (Istanbul) <u>https://www.linkedin.com/in/aysegul-yilmaz-64924b119/</u> <u>https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5010-0286</u>

who will collaborate with external experts and guest authors, partners and stakeholders.

Advisory Committee:

• Members will be invited in due course.

# Relevant knowledge and experience

Karin Elgin-Nijhuis will bring in her experience as:

- Historian at Utrecht University (various roles (1986-1996).
- Part-time tour guide of cultural tours through Turkey (1989-1992).

- Product Manager Excursions and Tours employed by a major Dutch tour operator (1996-1998).
- Internet Consultant and Head Consultancy and Project of the Media & Information Services department of the Netherlands Bureau for Tourism and Congresses (NBTC) (1999-2003).
- Owner of consultancy Elgin & Co., specialist in tourism, heritage and communication (2004present); Associate Consultant of TEAM Tourism Consulting (2006-present), specifically in the role of:
  - UNWTO Consultant (advising to and on behalf of the World Tourism Organization).
  - Co-author and managing editor of three UNWTO and ETC (European Travel Commission) handbooks on online branding and marketing for tourist destinations.
  - Advisor to ministries and tourism offices in various countries; teacher and trainer of entrepreneurs and organisations in various countries.
  - Co-author of the chapter Connect Heritage interpretation and storytelling in Handbook on Heritage, Sustainable Tourism and Digital Media, Silvia De Ascaniis and Lorenzo Cantoni eds. Expected: January 2022.
  - Organiser of the Heritage, Tourism and Hospitality, International Conference & LAB (2014 present)
  - Voting member of the ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Committee (ICTC).

For more information, see:

- the websites: https://elgin.nl/events/, https://elgin.nl/events/past-events-public-speaking/, https://www.heritagetourismhospitality.org/ and https://www.team-tourism.com;
- CVs of those involved (can be requested via karin@elgin.nl).

# 2027: a diplomatic anniversary

In 1610, Cornelis Haga left for Constantinople as ambassador of the Republic of the United Netherlands. In 1612, he was welcomed by the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I. In 2012, the Netherlands celebrated 400 years of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the Netherlands.

An application for a contribution towards the costs of the development, maintenance and promotion of a new digital platform *Dutch Heritage in Turkey/Audience with the Sultan* will be based on a period of three years (end of 2021-end of 2024). However, it's worth looking a little further into the future together, to a 300th anniversary that could be celebrated in 2027. It was on 14 September 1727 that Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen presented his credentials to Sultan Ahmed III (recorded by Vanmour, see <u>https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/SK-A-4078</u>).

#### Where we are now

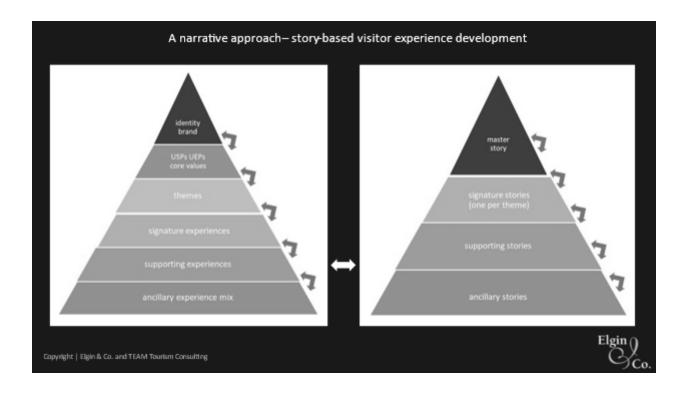
In recent months,

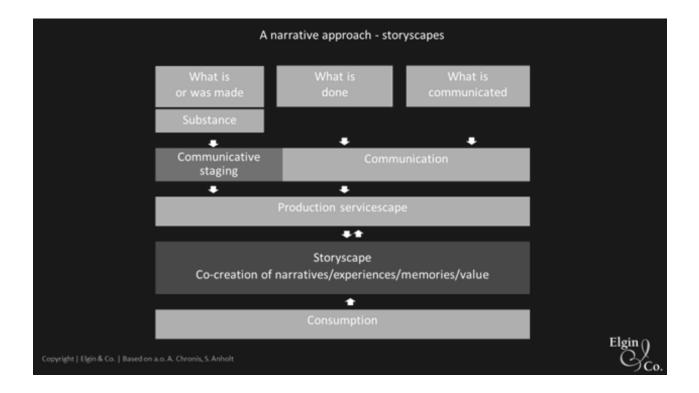
• various organisations and companies, academics and professionals in the Netherlands and Turkey were consulted to

- to assess whether there was support for the concept outlined above;
- take note of any specific wishes;
- discuss the possibilities of cooperation;
- be able to estimate the costs of specific items, such as the development of augmented reality by external providers;
- to explore the possibilities of sponsoring and granting subsidies.
- an inventory of the possible content was made.

# Appendix 1

Schematic presentation of working with storytrees and storyscapes on behalf of heritage interpretation and experience-based heritage tourism development.





# Appendix 2

Screenshots of some of the 2014 webpages.





home

#### Welkom

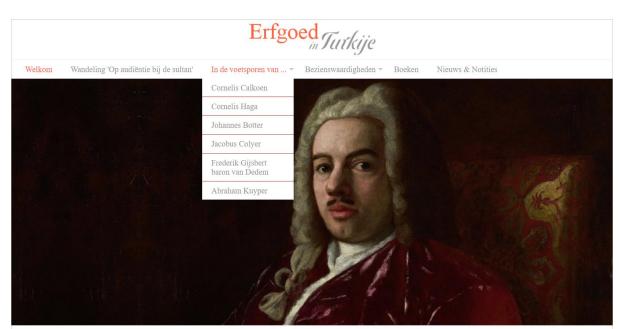
Al meer dan 400 jaar onderhouden Nederland en Turkije diplomatieke relaties. In 1610, immers, vertrok Cornelis Haga als ambassadeur van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden naar Constantinopel en werd daar in 1612 ontvangen door de Ottomaanse sultan Ahmed I. Deze website informeert u over Nederlands erfgoed in Turkije, over handel en liefde, over ontmoetingen tussen ambassadeurs, grootviziers, sultans, schilders en anderen die de geschiedenis kleur geven.

Wandeling **Op audiëntie bij de sultan** I

Abraham Kuyper Ahmed I Beyaz Gül Botterhuis Cornelis Calkoen Cornelis Haga Frederik Gijsbert Baron van Dedem Galatabrug Gouden Hoorn grootvizier Halil Pasha **Istanbul** Jacobus Colyer Jan van 't Hooft Jean Baptiste Vannour Johannes Botter Nederlands Consulaat-Generaal Nederlandse Kapel Nieuws **Palais de Hollande** Pera Museum Pera Palace Hotel **Protestantse** 

Tags

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#### Welkom

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Wandeling **Op audiëntie bij de sultan I** 

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Abraham Kuyper Ahmed I Beyaz Gül Botterhuis Cornelis Calkoen Cornelis Haga Frederik: Gijsbert Baron van Dedem Galatabrug Gouden Hoorn grootVizler Hall Pasha **IStanbul** Jacobus Colyer Jan van 't Hooft Jean Baptiste Vannour Johannes Botter Nederlands Consulaat-Generaal Nederlandse Kapel Nieuws **Palais de Hollande** Pera Museum Pera Palace Hotel **Protestantse** 

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# Erfgoed Jutkije Wandeling 'Op audiëntie bij de sultan' In de voetsporen van ... • Bezienswaardigheden • Boeken Nieuws & Notities home + in de voetsporen van ... + cornelis calkoen

#### Cornelis Calkoen

Welkom



Cornelis Calkoen (1696-1764) was ambassadeur voor de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden in Constantinopel van 1726 tot 1744.

Calkoen kwam uit een Amsterdamse regentenfamilie en had het ambassadeurschap voornamelijk te danken aan de inspanningen van een familielid, de burgemeester van Amsterdam, Jan Six.

Waarom Calkoen solliciteerde naar het ambassadeurschap in het Ottomaanse Rijk is niet bekend, maar de commerciële belangen van de familie zullen hoogstwaarschijnlijk hebben meegespeeld. Ook de betrekkelijke onafhankelijkheid van het ambassadeurschap in Constantinopel zullen Calkoen hebben aangetrokken.

In September 1726 vertrok Calkoen naar Istanbul en kwam daar nas na een moeizame reis van 7 maanden in mei 1727 aan. Hij kon niet meteen zijn intrek nemen in het Palais de Hollande. De hoge schulden die zijn voorganger Jacobus Colver had achtergelaten, hadden diens weduwe gedwongen delen van het Palais te verhuren aan de Engelse gezant. De Oostenrijkse gezant boodt Calkoen tijdelijk onderdak aan.

De vrijgezel Calkoen leefde net als zijn voorganger, Cornelis Haga, een weelderig bestaan in het Palais de Hollande in Istanbul. Hij stond bekend als rokkenjager. Zijn beeldschone geliefde Beyaz Gül - Turks voor Witte Roos - was een levende legende. Toen Calkoen werd overgeplaatst naar Dresden, stierf Beyaz Gül aan een gebroken hart. Het



Foto 1: Portret van Cornelis Calkoen (1696-1764), Jean-Etienne Liotard, datering 1738-1742, te zien in het Rijksmuseum (objectnummer RP-T-2010-57). Foto 2: Portret van Cornelis Calkoen (1696-1764). Ambassadeur bij de Hoge Porte te Constantinopel, anoniem, datering 1725-1737, te zien in het Rijksmuseum (objectnummer SK-A-1996).

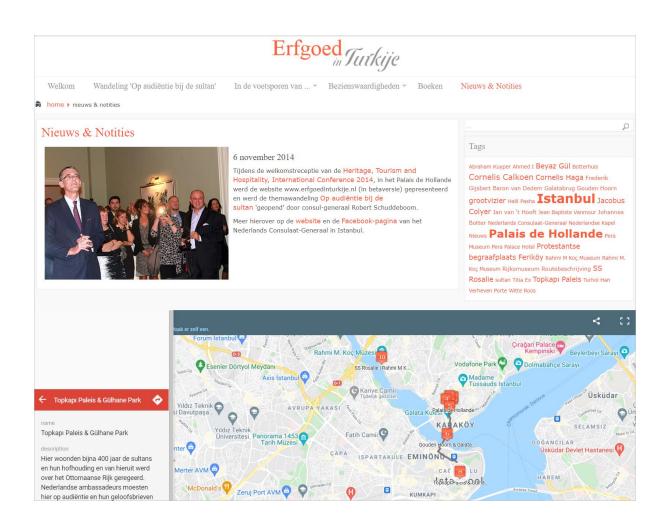
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Abraham Kuyper Ahmed I Bevaz Gül Botterhuis Cornelis Calkoen Cornelis Haga Frederik Gijsbert Baron van Dedem Galatabrug Gouden Hoorn grootvizier Halil Pasha Istanbul Jacobus Colyer Jan van 't Hooft Jean Baptiste Vanmour Johannes

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Botter Nederlands Consulaat-Generaal Nederlandse Kapel Nieuws Palais de Hollande Pera

Museum Pera Palace Hotel Protestantse begraafplaats Feriköy Rahmi M Koç Museu um Rahmi M. Koç Museum Rijksmuseum Routebeschrijving SS Rosalie sultan Titia Ex Topkapi Paleis Turhol Han Verheven Porte Witte Roos





#### Erfgoed *m Tutkije* Welkom Wandeling 'Op audiëntie bij de sultan' In de voetsporen van ... 🔻 Bezienswaardigheden 👻 Boeken Nieuws & Notities home > bronnen en literatuurverwijzingen Bronnen en Literatuurverwijzingen Tags Beeldfiguren van het christendom. (s.a.). Abraham Kuyper: de organisator van de kleine luyden. Gevonden op 29 september 2014 op: https://sites.google.com/site/beeldfiguren//abraham-kuyper-3 Abraham Kuyper Ahmed I Bevaz Gül Botterhuis Bulut, M. (2001). Ottoman-Dutch economic relations in the early modern period 1571-1699. Hilversum: Verloren Cornelis Calkoen Cornelis Haga Frederik Bulut, M. (2006). The Dutch Merchants and their activities between the Atlantic and Levant during the mercantilist ages. Gevonden op Gijsbert Baron van Dedem Galatabru 20 september 2014 op: http://www.helsinki.fi/lehc2006/papers1/Bulut16.pdf grootvizier Halil Pasha Istanbul Jacobus De Lange, H. (2003). Kunstminnaar met legendarische maîtresse. Gevonden op 3 oktober 2014 op: Colyer Jan van 't Hooft Jean Baptiste Vanmour Johannes http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4512/Cultuur/archief/article/detail/1785678/2003/07/02/Kunstminnaar-met-legendarische-ma-icirc-Botter Nederlands Consulaat-Generaal Nederlandse Kapel tresse.dhtml Nieuws Palais de Hollande Pera Dols, T. (2012) Gedeeld erfgoed. Gevonden op 20 september 2014 op: Museum Pera Palace Hotel Protestantse http://issuu.com/tvculture/docs/gedeelderfgoedmagazine2012/91) begraafplaats Feriköy Rahmi M Koç Museum Rahmi M. Hoenkamp-Mazgon, E.M.T. (2002). Palais de Hollande te Istanboel: het ambassadegebouw en zijn bewoners sinds 1612. Amsterdam: Koç Museum Rijksmuseum Routebeschrijving SS Boom Rosalie sultan Titia Ex Topkapi Paleis Turhol Han Karacay, I. (2012). 400 jaar officiële betrekkingen Turkije-Nederland en 50 jaar Turkse migratie. Rotterdam: Stichting Dunya Verheven Porte Witte Roos Kraaljvanger, C. (2013). Mata Hari: spionne of slachtoffer?. Gevonden op 20 oktober 2014 op: http://www.scientias.nl/beroemd-enomstreden-mata-hari/20640) Kuyper, A. (1907). Om de oude wereldzee. Amsterdam: Van Holkema & Warendorf Leiden Universiteit. (2012). Nederland in Turkije, Turkije in Nederland : 400 jaar vriendschap. Leiden: Leiden University Press Levantine Heritage, (1999), Information on the Feriköv cemetery - Mr Stier: The cultural Attaché, German Consulate, Taksim, Istanbul, 1999. Gevonden op 30 oktober 2014 op http://levantineheritage.com/note71.htm