

# HISTORY OF SRI LANKA-TÜRKİYE RELATIONS: FROM REMOTE ANTIQUITY TO THE 20TH CENTURY

RESEARCH ARTICLE

**Dr. Zameer CAREEM**

University of Colombo

Departement of History

tuanzameerwrites@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0002-38134560

Gönderim Tarihi: 22.12.2022 Kabul Tarihi: 27.12.2021

Alıntı: CAREEM, Z. (2022). History of Sri Lanka-Türkiye Relations: From Remote Antiquity to the 20th Century. *Akdeniz Havzası ve Afrika Medeniyetleri Dergisi*, 4(2), 128-138.

DOI: 10.54132/akaf.1222740

**ABSTRACT:** Sri Lanka, famously called the 'pearl of the Indian ocean', is an island nation located in the tropics, lying off the southern tip of the Indian subcontinent. Given her favourable geostrategic position at the crossroads of major maritime routes, Sri Lanka, which is richly endowed with natural resources, has since time immemorial, been a major player in International trade. Known formerly as *Serendib*, *Saheelan* and *Seylan* among the Türks, Arabs and Persians, Sri Lanka, on which prophet Adam is believed to have descended when expelled from Paradise, has been immortalized in the works of numerous scholars including Mawlana Rûmî, and Katip Çelebi. Despite the fact that Süleyman the Magnificent's reign heralded the beginning of contacts between Sri Lanka and Ottoman Türkiye, official diplomatic relations were not established until Sulţan Abdül Aziz's reign in 1864. The Muslims of Si Lanka revered the Ottoman Sulţans to the point of mentioning their names in the '*khutba*', or sermon, during Friday prayers, and this age-old tradition continued until the reign of Sulţan Abdül Hamid II, after whom the first Muslim Boys' School and a road in Sri Lanka are named. Unfortunately, limited research has been done on Sri Lanka-Türkiye historical relations, a subject that, despite its relevance, has received little attention. Therefore, this article, which examines Sri Lanka-Türkiye relations from ancient times to the twentieth Century, intends to enlighten the readers about the largely untold and unknown facets of our shared history and heritage. Given that Sri Lanka is one of Türkiye's important allies, raising awareness of this topic is timely, and pertinent.

**Keywords:** Ceylon, Ottoman Empire, Serendib, Sri Lanka, Türkiye

## Sri Lanka-Türkiye İlişkilerinin Tarihi: Uzak Antik Çağlardan 20. Yüzyıla

**ÖZ:** Ünlü olarak 'Hint okyanusunun incisi' olarak anılan Sri Lanka, tropik bölgelerde, Hint Yarımadası'nın güney ucunda uzanan bir ada ülkesidir. Önemli deniz yollarının kavşağında elverişli jeostratejik konumu göz önüne alındığında, zengin doğal kaynaklara sahip olan Sri Lanka, çok eski zamanlardan beri Uluslararası ticarete önemli bir oyuncu olmuştur. Adem peygamberin cennetten kovularak üzerine geldiğine inanılan Sri Lanka, Türklar, Araplar ve İranlılar arasında eski adıyla Serendib, Saheelan ve Seylan olarak bilinen Sri Lanka, Mevlana Rûmî'den Katip Çelebi'ye kadar pek çok âlimin eserlerinde ölümsüzleşmiştir. Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın saltanatı, Sri Lanka ile Osmanlı Türkiye'si arasındaki temaslara başlangıcını müjdelemesine rağmen, 1864'te Sultan Abdülaziz'in saltanatına kadar resmi diplomatik ilişkiler kurulmamıştır. Si Lanka Müslümanları, Osmanlı padişahlarına isimlerini ancak kadar saygı duyuyorlardı. Cuma namazlarında 'hutbe' yani hutbe okunur ve bu asırlık gelenek, Sri Lanka'daki ilk Müslüman Erkek Okulu'na ve bir yola adını veren Sulţan II. Abdülhamid dönemine kadar devam etti. Ne yazık ki, ilgisine rağmen çok az ilgi gören bir konu olan Sri Lanka-Türkiye tarihi ilişkileri hakkında sınırlı araştırma yapılmıştır. Bu nedenle, antik çağlardan yirminci yüzyıla kadar Sri Lanka-Türkiye ilişkilerini inceleyen bu makale, okuyucuları ortak tarihimizin ve mirasımızın büyük ölçüde anlatılmamış ve bilinmeyen yönleri hakkında aydınlatmayı amaçlamaktadır. Sri Lanka'nın Türkiye'nin önemli müttefiklerinden biri olduğu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu konudaki farkındalığı artırmak yerinde ve yerindedir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Seylan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Serendib, Sri Lanka, Türkiye

## Introduction

Sri Lanka, meaning 'resplendent land' in Sanskrit, is a tropical island off India's southern coast with a population of over twenty million people. This sun drenched island nation, is home to scenic landscapes, exotic fauna and flora, a plethora of archaeological sites, delectable cuisine, and the world's finest tea. Due to her strategic location, Sri Lanka has long since attracted tourists, sojourners, conquerors, traders, explorers, scholars, pilgrims, missionaries, émigrés, and refugees, among others. With a history that stretches back into the dim infancy of the world, Sri Lanka has been known by a bevy of names, many of which have fallen into abeyance. The Greeks and Romans called the island *Taprobana*, *Taprobane* and *Tabrobane*, which were derived from the native term *Thambapanni*, which means land with copper-colored soil. (Friedman, and Figg, 2013). The island was referred to by the Arabs, Türks, and

Persians as *Saheelan* and *Serandib* (the "island of rubies"), and by the Indians as *Lankadeepa*, *Simhadweepa*, *Sielediba*, *Ratnadweepa*, and *Parasamudra*, while the Europeans identified the island as *Seylan*, *Zeylan*, *Ceilao*, and *Ceylon*, which are all distorted variants of *Saheelan*. (Hussein, 2007; Merton, and Barber, 2011). The Portuguese arrived in Sri Lanka in the early 16th century and became the first European power to conquer her Maritime Provinces. Then, in the middle of the 17th century, the Dutch usurped the Portuguese, who were subsequently replaced by the British, who arrived in Sri Lanka in 1796. Attempts to seize control of the island were also made by the French and the Danes, but their efforts proved futile. (Methley, 1918; Pieris, 1926) On February 4, 1948, Sri Lanka, or Ceylon as it was known at the time, attained independence from the United Kingdom. The island was given the name "Sri Lanka" when it transitioned from being a constitutional monarchy to a republican state in 1972, but its former name "Ceylon" is still widely used, especially when marketing the island's premium tea, cinnamon and other exotic commodities on the international market.

### Byzantine Empire & Sri Lanka

Relations between Sri Lanka and Anatolia (region which constitutes the major part of modern-day Türkiye) date back to the Roman times and it has been established through archaeological, literary and numismatic evidence that ivory, gems, spices and other precious commodities found in great abundance in Sri Lanka were highly sought after by the Romans, particularly by those in the eastern domain, the Byzantine Empire, whose capital was Constantinople. (Biedermann, and Strathern, 2017; Codrington, 1924). Brass coins with the images of Roman Emperors from various eras, including those of Constantine, Arcadius, and Theodosius, who ruled from Constantinople between the third and fourth centuries, have been discovered during archaeological excavations in British Ceylon. (Codrington, 1924; Sirisena, 2002). The *Kahavanu* coin, which was used extensively for trade in the Indian Ocean during the (late) Anuradhapura and early Polonnaruwa periods, was modelled after the Byzantine gold Solidus, which served as the weight standard. (ibid.) According to Joseph Roberts (1835), early in the nineteenth century, a pot of gold coins bearing the inscription "*konob-obryza*" in ancient Greek was discovered in the Jaffna peninsula, a part of Ceylon that is located in the north. Humphrey W. Codrington (1924), the foremost expert on Ceylon numismatics, surmises with tolerable authority that the coins were solidi from the Byzantine period. There are numerous accounts of Sri Lankan royals desiring Byzantine coinage, particularly solidi, which were pure gold coins minted in the late Roman and East Roman (Byzantine) Empires and ranked above Persian silver coins. Traders from Adulis, which is now Zulu in modern-day Eritrea, as well as Axumites and Christian Homerites (on behalf of Byzantine traders) frequented Sri Lanka, which has been identified in Byzantine/Greek and Roman records by her former names as '*Taprovani*', '*Tabrobane*' and '*Tabrobana*'. (Dasanayake, 2017; Markell, 2004; Michaelides, 2014). During the reign of Emperor Justinian, a 6th century Byzantine monk and geographer named Cosmas is said to have made several voyages to India, earning him the moniker, 'Cosmas Indicopleustes' which translates to "Cosmas who sailed to India." Not only does his book titled 'Christian Topography' contain some of the earliest and most famous world maps, but it also includes a detailed description of India and Sri Lanka, which has been identified by him as 'Tabrobane'. He writes that Sri Lanka's ports handled goods from China, Southeast Asia, the Deccan, Sindh, and other parts of the world. (Larsen, 1983). He goes on to say that *Tzeniestae* (probably Chinese) brought silk, aloes, cloves, and sandalwood to Sri Lanka, and that none of the western merchants went any further east than Sri Lanka because they could get all of the goods they needed without having to travel much further. (Hunt, 1845). Sri Lanka became a major trade hub as a result of this, attracting traders from all over the world to her entrepôts. In one of his stories, Cosmas mentions the Byzantine gold coin, or *nomisma*, as he refers to it, commanding a tremendous amount of respect in Sri Lanka. Story goes that the King of Sri Lanka, whose name is unknown, received two envoys, one from Persia and the other from Byzantium named Sopatrus. The King inquired as to which of their kings was the more powerful. Sopatrus remained deafeningly silent while the Persian envoy sang his King's praises. When the King questioned Sopatrus why he was so quiet, he replied, "if you wish to learn the truth, you have both kings present here; examine each and you will see which is the more magnificent and the more powerful." (Hendy, 2008, p. 276). Baffled by what he had heard, the king inquired, "How can I have both kings here?" In response, Sopatrus advised the King of Sri Lanka to compare the two currencies bearing the images of the Kings—the *nomisma*/solidi (gold coins) of Byzantium and the drachma (silver coins) of Persia—and decide which was superior. The gold coins from Byzantium wowed the King of Sri Lanka, who agreed that the Emperor of Byzantium was far superior to that of Persia, and Sopratrus was feted and paraded through the city on an elephant.

This story was told to Cosmas by Sopratus and his companions who had accompanied him to Sri Lanka from Adule. As they told the story, a Persian in the audience expressed his displeasure with what had happened in Sri Lanka. (Eckstein-Diener, 1938; Vasiliev, 1952).

### **Prince of Konya who introduced 'Unani' to Sri Lanka**

Despite the fact that Sri Lanka has had diplomatic and trade relations with Anatolia (Asia Minor) since Roman times, the earliest mention of Türks settling in Sri Lanka comes from the period following the Seljuk conquest of Anatolia. Oral traditions are one of the major sources of history in countries like Sri Lanka since for centuries, the island's many communities have received, transmitted, and preserved their knowledge, art, ideas, and cultural material orally. Jamal-ud-din, a prince-physician, is the subject of one of the most well-known legends passed down in the Moor<sup>1</sup> community of Sri Lanka. Story goes that, long before the Portuguese conquistadors set foot on Lankan soil, Jamal-ud-din, also identified in some records as 'Camelubdin,' the son of Sulṭān Albdin of Konya, Anatolia arrived in Sri Lanka and settled in a village called Beruwela, on the island's south-western coast. (Cariolato, 2017). In addition to being the port where Prince Jamal-ud-din's ship anchored, Beruwala, where one of its main thoroughfares bears the name 'Sheikh Jamal-ud-Din', is historically significant because it was also the site of the first Muslim settlement on the island, which is believed to have occurred in 1024 AD, as well as the location where the first mosque in Sri Lanka was built. (Fernando, 2000). Carl Muller (1997) is one of the few writers to mention the Prince's settlement in Beruwela, although he leaves out the year of the visit due to the uncertainty surrounding it. However, like other legends, there are various versions of this one. Prince Jamal-ud-Din serves as the main protagonist in each of these renditions, yet they vary in terms of the plots, the number of characters, and other factors. One version has it that, the Prince of Konya arrived in Sri Lanka with an entourage of eleven people, and after a brief stay in the country, he travelled to South India, where he married the daughter of the Pāṇḍyan King, before settling permanently in Beruwala. According to another version of the legend, Jamal-ud-din arrived during the reign of a Sinhalese King named Dapula III, who is said to have given permission to Jamal-ud-Din, an adept physician, to build a school that taught locals 'traditional medicine.' Nearly all versions of the legend claim that the prince's quest for some of the most rare herbs is what ultimately led him to leave Anatolia and travel to the far-flung island of Serendib. He was mesmerised by the island's beauty when he first came and decided to make it his permanent home. Along with introducing "*unani*," or the Greco-Arabic herbal medicine, he is also credited with imparting his medical knowledge to the natives of Sri Lanka. If the legend is true, Jamal-ud-din, like many other early physician-explorers who travelled to Sri Lanka at the time, would have most likely come looking for the fabled "tree of life," which was a miraculous herb that was thought to have grown only in Sri Lanka, and which legends claim to have bestowed immortality to anyone who ate any of it. (Suckling, 1876).

Legend has it that Prince Physician Jamal-ud-Din's efforts transformed Beruwala from a fishing hamlet to an important city, famed for its hospitals and institutions that taught medicine. Among those who surged into Beruwela to be treated by Jamal-ud-Din were some local and foreign monarchs. Some Sri Lankan Moor families assert that, in accordance with an oral tradition that has been passed down through generations in their families, Prince Jamal-ud-Din married a native of Beruwala, and that many of the Prince's descendants became notable physicians in their own right, with many having traveled to India and beyond to pursue Islamic theology, medicine, and jurisprudence, among other subjects. Many practitioners of Unani medicine, locally known as 'hakims,' who rose to prominence during the Colonial period claimed to be descended from Prince Jamal-ud-Din of Konya. The most notable among them was Miera Lebbe Mestriar Sekadie (Shekidi) Marikar<sup>2</sup>, also known as Mathicham Miera Lebbe Mestriar Shaikh Abdül Cader Marikar, who hailed from a long line of physicians. (Effendi, 1982; Roberts, 1993).

<sup>1</sup> The Moors are Sri Lanka's third and most populous Muslim ethnic group, accounting for nearly 98 percent of the country's Muslim population. Until the 1950s, the 'Moors,' who are now commonly referred to by the collective misnomer "Sri Lankan Muslims," were classified as either Indian or Ceylon Moors, depending on their ancestry. As the name implies, the Indian (Coastal) Moors are of South Indian ancestry, whereas the Ceylon Moors are of mixed Sri Lankan (Ceylonese), Indian, and Arab ancestry.

<sup>2</sup> Sekadie Marikar, was recognised by the British as one of the island's foremost Moorish doctors, and served as a physician to the Cinnamon Peelers' Lascareens (Guards) (chaliah commanders) and Moor Regiments that served under the Dutch in Colombo, and was appointed Native Superintendent of the Medical Department under the control of the Supreme Court by the British in 1806. Sekadie Marikar was also appointed as arbitrator and president of the Moorish community in 1823, and he was a signatory to the special laws concerning 'Moors,' Muslims in Sri Lanka, during North's governorship. (Effendi, 1982). Sir Alexander Johnston, Chief Justice of Sri Lanka and President of His Majesty's Council, presented a portrait of Sekadie Marikar to the Royal Asiatic

Owing to the dearth of literary and archaeological evidence, some researchers like Ekrem Saltik (2020), have questioned the veracity of this legend. The biggest ambiguity surrounding Jamal-Ud-Din's legend is the period of his visit to Sri Lanka. Some Moor families assert that he came to the island in the ninth century, while others claim that it was the eleventh or even twelfth. Given that the Seljuk Türks flooded into Anatolia, and took control of the region only in the eleventh century, it seems unlikely that a Muslim Prince from Konya, let alone one of Türkic heritage, would have settled in Sri Lanka in the ninth century. However, it is important to note that a Sulţān by the name of Alâeddin Keykubad did rule Anatolia in the 13th century, but again, given the paucity of records, it is impossible to say with certainty whether his son or other kin travelled to Sri Lanka. Similarly it is worth noting that coins from the Seljuk period, notably those minted during Kay Khusrau II' reign in the 13th century, have been discovered in Sri Lanka. (Dasanayake, 2017). Despite the fact that Jamal-ud-din's advent to the island is shrouded in mystery, there is substantial evidence that explorers and physicians from across the world, particularly those from the Middle East and Central Asia, visited Sri Lanka between the 9th and 15th centuries, in quest of herbs, spices, and to pay homage to the sacred Adam's peak. Some of the notable Muslim explorers who visited or at-least made mention of Ceylon in their writings include, Sulayman al-Tâjir (A.D.851), Al-Balazuri (9th century A.D.), Abu Said Hasan al-Sirafi (A.D.950), al-Battānī (d.950), Ibn Khurdadbeh (A.D.912), Ibn Wahab (9th Century A.D.), Ibn Rūsta (A.D. 892-913.), Buzurg Ibn Shāhriyar of Ramhurmuz (A.D.914), Al-Istākharī (10th century A.D.), Mustawfī (10th century A.D.), Ibn Hauqal (10th century A.D.), Al-Bashshari al-Maqdisi (A.D.10th century), Al-Beruni (A.D.973-1048), Al Idrisi (A.D.1153), Al-Qazwini (A.D.1203-1283), Al-Yaqūt (A.D.1179-1229), AL-Maqrisi (13th Century A.D.), Dimishqi (A.D.1325), Qazwini (d . 1283 ), Abul Fida (A.D.1273 -1331), and Ibn Battūta. (Dasanayaka, 2017). Al-Isthakri, an Arab geographer from the 10th century, mentions the export of medicinal plants from Sri Lanka, as do Yakut al Hamawi (d. 1229 AD) and Al Qazwini (d. 1287 AD). The herbs of Serendib were so widely known that they've been immortalised even in Jalāl ad-Dīn Mohammad Rūmī's poems. The fact that Serendib, is mentioned in Rūmī's poetry as well as in some of the major works on geography and medicine from the 12th and 13th centuries, including Yāqūt al-Hamawī's Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān, suggest that the people of Anatolia would have undoubtedly been familiar with the island. In light of this, it is possible that the legend surrounding Jamal-ud-Din is more than just a myth.

### Sri Lanka-Ottoman Relations

From the mediaeval Era until Atatürk abolished the Sultanate in 1924, the Sulţān of the Ottoman Empire, served as the Caliph (leader) of the Islāmic World and the defender of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. Therefore, the majority of Muslims across the world, including those in Sri Lanka, held them in high regard. As evidenced by the letter dated January 7, 1566, from Sulţān 'Ala' al-Din Syah of Aceh to Ottoman Sulţān Süleymān the Maginificent, under whose reign the Ottoman Empire reached the apogee of its military and political power, Sri Lanka at the time had fourteen mosques, and the Muslims on the island, despite having a non-Muslim ruler, read their Friday sermons in the name of the Ottoman Sulţān. (Feener et al., 2011). This demonstrates that Muslims in Ceylon were resolute in their commitment to the Ottomans and upheld their allegiance to the Ottoman Sulţān, despite all conceivable dangers, throughout the Colonial era. At the time, invoking the Sulţān's name in the sermon, or '*khutba*', during prayers was a common way to demonstrate obedience to the Ottoman Empire. (Peacock, 2018). Türkish warlord Lütfi writes in his report that, despite living under the rule of a 'pagan' sovereign, the Muslim population of Ceylon was devoted to the Ottoman Sulţān, and that the rulers of Ceylon and Calicut were willing to embrace Islām in exchange for military support from Istanbul. The Muslims there, according to Lütfi, had built dozens of mosques where they, like in other Ottoman realms, "read the *ḥuṭbe* [Friday sermon] in the noble name of his most high and blessed Imperial Majesty, refuge of the world, and pray for the longevity and prosperity of his state." (Casale, 2010, p. 129). Local legend has it that the Ottomans dispatched troops to crush the Portuguese in Ceylon. When the Ottoman Sulţān learned of the Muslims' grievances in Ceylon, it is said that he sent troops right away to exterminate the Portuguese and the 'Kafirs' (a derogatory term for African mercenaries and slaves). In addition to identifying Africans, the Arabic term 'kafir' was also used to describe the infidels. The Ottoman army that arrived was said to be composed of 'Türk' and 'Pathan' warriors who slaughtered tens and thousands

---

Society Ceylon Branch on July 19, 1834, and Dr. Paul E. Peiris C.M.G. later passed it on to the National Museum of Colombo, where it is on display. (Effendi, 1982; Roberts, 1993).

of Portuguese. The world map made for the Ottoman Sulṭān by navigator and cartographer Piri Reis clearly shows Ottoman interest in the Indian Ocean. A poem in Piri Reis' *Kitāb-i-Bahriye* (Book of Seafaring, 1521, revised 1526), a collection of Mediterranean navigational charts and personal notes, also highlights the need for jihad (holy war) against infidels in the Indian Ocean. (Casale, 2010; Peacock, 2018). Though there isn't enough evidence to say whether Ottoman troops arrived on Ceylon's shores to fight the Portuguese, there is enough evidence to prove that the Zamorin of Calicut sent thousands of soldiers to Ceylon under kunjali Marikars to fight the Portuguese in the 1520s and 1530s. (de Silva, 1991; Courtenay, and Francis, 1999).

During the age of exploration, which spanned between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottomans, like the Europeans, explored the world in quest of new trading routes, wealth, and knowledge, and during this period, some of the most renowned Ottoman scholars of the time produced works on world geography. *Kitāb-i Tevārīh-i pādīshāhān-i Hindu ve Khitāy ve Kishmīr* (1582), an encyclopaedia by the Turkish historian Seyfi Çelebi from the 16th century that focuses on the historical geography of Asia, is one of the earliest works printed in the Ottoman Empire that provides information on Serendib as well as other Asian territories that the Ottomans knew little about. (Bentley, et al, 2007; Casale, 2010; Subrahmanyam, 2018). Another notable Turkish explorer whose work which dates from the 17th century, includes information on Ceylon is Derviş Mehmed Zillî (1611–1682), also known as Evliya Çelebi, who over the course of forty years, travelled extensively throughout the Ottoman Empire and neighbouring lands, recording his observations in his travelogue titled, *Seyâhatnâme* ("Book of Travel"). The Adam's Peak, regarded by Muslims as the site where Prophet Adam descended after being expelled from heaven, is among the facts about Serendib mentioned in Evliya Çelebi's travelogue. Although famous travellers like Fa Hien, and Marco Polo have made references to the sacred mountain in their works, the most comprehensive account of Adam's peak is that of Ibn Battuta, who also scaled the summit during his visit to the island in 1344 AD. In the years 1655 and 1656, Evliya Çelebi visited the eastern Anatolian town of Bitlis (now in southeastern Türkiye), where the people of Bitlis, he writes, possessed a wide array of precious stones, including the diamonds that had come from Ceylon. "From one drawer emerged two hundred forty - five Ceylon diamonds, all of them set" (Çelebi and Kreiser, 1988, p. 307). In his travelogue, he also makes note of the many jewellers, engravers, and pearl stringers in Istanbul, as well as the 600 itinerant merchants who sold Ceylon garnets and other priceless imports from around the globe. (Khazeni, 2014). It is evident from Evliya Çelebi's writings that there was a demand for the precious stones and other valuable commodities that came from Ceylon among the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire and the Bitlis Khānate (Bitlis Emirate). Also apparent from his travelogue is Evliya Çelebi's extensive knowledge of gemstones, which he most likely acquired from his father, Ottoman court jeweller Dervis Mehmed Zilli.

The '*Cihānnümā*', a cosmography from the 17th century, written by the Turkish polymath and author Kātib Çelebi, and subsequently translated into a number of languages, is another significant work that provides information on Serendib. (Çelebi, 2021) Despite the fact that there are some errors in the details provided in the chapter devoted to the island, '*Cihānnümā*' covers a wide range of topics, including demography, mores, culture, climate, biodiversity, and topography. Additionally, the book includes information on the names that were formerly employed to refer to Sri Lanka as well as details on the island that were mentioned in the writings of some of the most illustrious explorers, cartographers, and historians. Among the natural resources mentioned in *Cihānnümā*, are the pearls and rubies of Serendib, which fetched very high prices in Europe and were greatly sought by Royals and aristocracy from all across the world, including the Ottomans. (Cordiner, 1807; Jinadasa, 2019). Also covered in '*Cihānnümā*', are details on rare spices like cinnamon, cloves and pepper. (Çelebi, 2021). According to Kātib Çelebi, Ceylon's capital was '*Qūl-Mūkhī*', and he goes on to list a number of cities that appear to be Arabized and corrupt versions of the actual names, which is most likely how the Ottoman Türks identified the locations. The hallowed Adam's peak is also described in detail by Kātib Çelebi. (Çelebi, 2021).

Kātib Çelebi, pays particular attention to the elephants on Serendib in his description of the island's animals, noting that they were better, bigger, and more respected than elephants from other nations and that they were renowned for their longevity. *Cihānnümā* also goes into detail on the physical characteristics of the elephants found in Ceylon, including their tusks, as well as the fact that white pachyderms were more valuable due to their rarity. Larger elephants with longer tusks were also highly sought

after. He also claims that it was proven that Ceylonese elephants were respected by elephants from other parts of the world. He also claims that, while the elephants from Ceylon are good for battle, they are terrified of fire. Elephants were also presented as gifts by Sri Lankan rulers to other nations to strengthen their diplomatic relations. Sometime in the 1540s, King BhuvanekaBāhu VII of Kōtṭe<sup>3</sup>, a close ally of the Portuguese, sent an elephant calf to the Portuguese royals, John III and Catherine, as a diplomatic and auspicious gift. The calf was later presented by John III to Habsburg Archduke Maximilian II of Austria, who christened it *Süleymān*, as a jibe at Sulṭān Süleymān the Magnificent of the Ottoman Empire, the West's most feared foe at the time, who in 1529, despite having a massive army of over a hundred thousand men, failed to capture Austria's capital, Vienna. (Devendra, 2011; Holloway, 2011).

In his account of his meeting with King Vimaladharmasuriya of Kandy in 1602, Joris van Spilbergen, the first Dutch envoy to Ceylon, writes that he was "received [in] the city of Kandy by some thousand armed soldiers of all nationalities, such as Turcken (Türks), Mooren (Moors), Singales, Cafferros (Kaffirs), and renegade Portuguese." (Obeyesekere, 2017, p. 164). This helps affirm the fact that there were Türks living in Ceylon in early 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the Portuguese were in control of the island's Maritime Provinces.

### Sri Lanka in Turkish Literature

Some of the most well-known Turkish, Tartar, and Persian legends, anthologies, and other works of literature contain references to and stories about Serendib, indicating how popular the island was among Türks and Persians. One of the most renowned scholars to have made numerous references to Serendib in his writings is Jalāl ad-Dīn Mohammad Rūmī<sup>4</sup>, a poet whose work has profoundly influenced spiritual philosophy, Islamic mysticism (Sufism), and literature throughout the Muslim world. Rūmī, like many other Persian and Arab scholars of his time, was largely drawn to the island because of the well-known legend about Prophet Adam's expulsion from Paradise and subsequent descent to Serendib after giving in to the serpent's temptation and eating the forbidden fruit. Upon landing in Serendib, Adam wept pitifully over the fate that had befallen him, so much so that all the beasts and birds quenched their thirst therewith, and when his tears sunk into the earth, and, as they still contained some of the juices of his food he had consumed in Paradise, produced the most fragrant flowers, spices and medicinal plants on the island of Serendib. (Baring-Gould, 1871; Chamberlain, 1896; Liaw, et al. 2013). "Learn from your great-grandfather Adam, when he lost the marriage, the tears that streamed down his face filled Ceylon's valleys with fragrant spices and herbs" as Rūmī eloquently puts it in his poem "It Was Adam Who Wept" which vividly captures Adam's agony. (Rūmī and Helminski, 2005, p. 113). Serendib is also believed to be the first place visited by Archangel Gabriel, and that when Prophet Adam was expelled from heaven, God instructed Gabriel to take him to Serendib, the earthly paradise, which was brimming with spices, fruits, sandal (sandalwood), cinnamon, and jewels. Other than Rūmī, a number of explorers and academics have described how Serendib's medicinal plants sprouted from the soil that prophet Adam's tears seeped into; nevertheless, some sources claim that as Adam's tears reached the earth, they turned into gems. (Suckling, 1876; Walters, 1892). According to the writings of early Biblical scholars, when the great flood had passed, Noah's ark came to a halt on the mountain of Serendib. (Tressider, 1960). These legends lured travelers, traders, and pilgrims from across the world to Ceylon, a country that is abound with precious stones, pearls, and herbs.

Flowers from Serendib have also been mentioned in one of the hagiographies surrounding Rūmī's spiritual encounters, as recorded by Shemsu-'d-Din Ahmed (1353) in his magnum opus on Rūmī's anecdotes, titled "The Acts of the Adepts," (*Menaqibu'l Afifin*), which has been rendered into English and several other languages by numerous scholars. During his residence in Konya, Rūmī is said to have solemnly withdrawn to his room every evening for sobbet (spiritual communion) with the shams, or guides of the creator, who represented Rūmī's vision of the ideal human being in the Ibn Arabi tradition. Rūmī's wife, Kirā (or Girā) Khātūn, is said to have been curious to find out on what happens in the room every night. One night through a chink in the door, Kirā peered into the room to see what happened

<sup>3</sup> The Kingdom of Kōtṭe named after its capital, Kōtṭe, was a Sinhalese kingdom that flourished in Sri Lanka during the 15th century.

<sup>4</sup> Since Jalāl-ad-Dīn Mohammad lived much of his life in the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Anatolia, which was formerly a part of the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine Empire before the Turks conquered it in the 11th century, he was given the moniker "Rūmī," which is an Arabic word that means "Roman". In Türkiye and Central Asia, he is also known by the honorific title 'Mevlevî/Mawlawî', which is an Arabic term that means "our master."

during a sobbet. She was taken aback when she saw the wall suddenly open and six men of majestic mien enter through the cleft. These strangers saluted, bowed, and placed a nosegay at Rūmī's feet, which was odd given that the incident occurred during the winter season. (Barks, 2010; Rumi and Redhouse, 1881).

They stayed until it was almost time for dawn prayers, at which point they motioned for Shemsu-'d-Dīn to conduct the morning prayers. He excused himself, and Rūmī led the prayers. The six strangers left after the prayers, exiting through the same cleft in the wall through which they had entered. Following their departure, Rūmī came forth from the room where he was holding his congregation, carrying the nosegay in his hand. When he saw his wife, Kirā, in the hall, he handed her the nosegay, explaining that it had been brought as an offering to her by some visitors. She'd never seen the leaves that made up the nosegay before, so the next day she sent her servant with a few leaves from her nosegay to the city's perfumers' mart to inquire about them. The merchants were all awestruck, and they all agreed that they had never seen anything like these leaves before. Finally, a spice merchant from India, who was passing through Konya at the time, noticed those leaves and recognised them as the petals of a flower from Serandīb (Ceylon). How did these flowers from a far-flung island of Ceylon get to Konya, especially in the dead of winter? The servant returned with the leaves and informed Kirā of what he had learned from the Indian merchant he had met. Kirā's astonishment was only heightened by the news. Rūmī appeared at that precise moment and advised her to take special care of the nosegay, which had been sent to her as a special offering by the florists of the lost earthly paradise (Ceylon) through those Indian saints. Rūmī's saints were most likely those from Sri Lanka, whose people were sometimes mistaken for Indians. Kirā is said to have kept the flowers for as long as she lived (she outlived her husband Rūmī by 19 years), giving only a few leaves to others with Rūmī's consent. The Georgian wife of the king, whose identity has not been revealed, was one of those who was presented with the petals from these flowers, which possessed miraculous healing powers. A single leaf or petal from that nosegay was said to be an instant cure when applied to the ailing part of the body. They were the most effective treatment for all types of eye injuries. The fragrance and freshness of the flowers continued unabated at least until Kirā's death; what happened after that is unknown. (Barks, 2010; Rumi and Redhouse, 1881).

The 14th century author Tāceddīn Ibrahim Ahmedī, in his famous work titled, *İskendernâme* (Story of Alexander), mentions that having liked the climate of the island, Alexander built a city called "Serendīb" (Tez, 2008; Tören, 2001). Şeyh Mehmed Çelebi, a 15th century dervish poet, in his work titled 'Hızırname', describes the story of a warrior dervish's voyage through the physical and spiritual worlds, including a stop at Adam's Peak on the island of Serendīb. (Pala, 1990). The Turkish classic "Emsalat-i Aziz Efendi" (The Exemplars of Aziz Efendi) talks about a love affair that is centered on fantastical plots and adventures that take place in Khorezmia, Serendip, and other places. *Muhayyelat, Muhayyelat-ı Ledünni-i Divine-i Girdî Ali Aziz Efendi* or *Muhayyelat-ı Aziz Efendi*, a work written between 1796 and 1797 by Ottoman scholar Ali Aziz Efendi and first published in 1852, contains a tale about Abdüssamed, the Sultān of Serandīb. One of the European orientalists who translated some of the famous Turkish and Persian tales was François Pétis de La Croix (1653-1713), a French orientalist and interpreter at the French court, and the English adaptations of Croix's 'Les mille et un jour' and 'Histoire de la Sultāne de Perse et des viziers' contain several references to Serendīb. 'The singular adventures of Aboul-souaris', 'story of the Prince of the Carizme and the princes of Georgia', 'story of the three scrump twin brothers of Damascus', 'story of Boulaman-Sang-hier, Prince of Achem', 'History of Alcouz, Taher, and the Miller', 'History of Zebd-El-Caton', 'adventures of the physician Abubeker', 'the return of the physician Abubeker' and 'History of Shems-eddin' are some of the popular tales of the East, that make several references to Serendīb. (Weber, 1812). The English words "Serendīb," "Serendipity," and "Serendipitous," among many others, are derived from the classical Persian name for Sri Lanka, "Serendīb". Horace Walpole, who is credited with using the term "Serendīb" in a letter to Horace Mann dated Jan. 28, 1754, said he formed the word from the Persian fairy tale "The Three Princes of Serendip" (an English version was published in 1722) whose heroes "were always making discoveries, by accidents and sagacity, of things they were not in quest of" [Brewer, 2001, p.980]. It should be noted that the Persian tale "The three Princes of Serendip" was inspired by the work of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi (1253-1325), a scholar under the Delhi Sultānate who is regarded as the "father of Qawali", a Sufi genre of devotional singing from the Indian subcontinent. (Nahm and Hughes, 2001; Samier, 2019)

## Bilateral Relations since the 19<sup>th</sup> century

The Muslim elite in Sri Lanka maintained close relations with the Ottomans even during the British colonial era, and some of them were appointed by the Ottoman Sultān to serve as Shahbenders and honorary consuls of Türkiye on the island in recognition of their devotion to the Ottoman Empire as well as their contributions to Muslim society. In 1864, Sultān Abdülaziz appointed Hassan Lebbe Marikar as the Honorary Consul of the Ottoman Empire in Colombo and Sultān Bawa Jaman as the Consul in Galle in 1864, thereby establishing the foundations for formal diplomatic and consular ties between Türkiye and Sri Lanka. Among the noteworthy Shahbenders and Ottoman Empire representatives in Sri Lanka, or Ceylon as it was known during the British rule, are Hassen Lebbe Marikar, Marikkar Abdül Majeed Effendi, Hadji Ibrahim Didi Ben Hadjie Ali Didi, Odume Lebbe Macan Markar Effendi, and Sir Macan Marikar Effendi. (Akalin, 2015; Farook, 2021; Wright, 1907). Sultān Abdül Hamid II was highly revered by the Muslims of Ceylon, to the point where his name was invoked during Friday congregational 'Jumma' prayers. Even the first Muslim boys' school in the nation, the *Madrasathul Hameediah* (Hameediah Boys' English School), and a major boulevard in Hulftsdorp, Abdül Hamid Street, were named in his honour. (Abdül -Azeez, 1900; Akalin, 2015; Hussein, 2007). A *Mushaf-erif* (a gold-gilded Holy Quran) was awarded annually by Sultān Abdül Hamid to the best student at Al Madrasathul Khairiyyathul Islamiah and Madrasathul Hameediah. One of Sri Lanka's premier Muslim institutions, Zahira College Colombo, founded in 1892 as 'Al Madrasathul Zahira' under the patronage of Ahmed 'Urabi' Paşa, has two of its four school houses<sup>5</sup> named after historic Türkish cities: Angora and Istanbul.

Muslims in Ceylon were so committed to the Ottoman interests that they even donated money to help with some of their projects, such the construction of the Hedjaz Railway. Through the *Hilal-iAhmer* Society, they donated aid to the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan and Turco-Italian Wars alongside other Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. (Akalin, 2015; Saltik, 2020). The majority of the Muslims in Ceylon, particularly the Moor elite, supported the Ottomans and wished for their success in the wars they waged against their foes. For example, the Muslims in Ceylon held special prayers in which they prayed for the Ottoman Sultān to win the Greco-Türkish War that broke out in 1897. (Akalin, 2015). Even when the Ottomans turned against the British, the Muslims in Ceylon remained steadfast in their loyalty to the Ottomans. Although they were residing in a British colony at the time of the First World War, Muslims of Ceylon continued to support the Ottoman Sultān, openly pledging their allegiance to the Ottoman State and even providing financial support to the Türkish army's war effort. (Akalin, 2015; Saltik, 2020). No matter the occasion—important anniversaries, religious celebrations, or the Sultān's victories in battle—the Muslims in Ceylon never lacked an opportunity to express their unwavering loyalty to him. When Sultān Abdül Hamid II celebrated his silver jubilee, the Ceylon Türkish Friendship Society, which was founded in 1899 by Marikkar Abdül Majeed, sent the Sultān a scroll in a silver casket as a token of their loyalty. The Ceylon Moor Union organized a special lecture on August 31, 1900, to commemorate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the succession of Sultān Abdül Hamid II to the throne of Türkiye and the Caliphate of Islam. (Akalin, 2015). During the lecture, the Muslim audience was confidently reminded of the fact that in British Ceylon, the Ottoman Sultān's name was recited every Friday during the afternoon Jumma prayers. (Abdül-Azeez, 1900; Hussein, 2007). The Ceylon Moor Union also released a booklet written by its president I.L.M. Abdül Azeez in 1900 to commemorate Sultān's silver jubilee.

Ottoman ships made a point of stopping at Ceylon's ports whenever they had to pass through the island nation. For example, in November, 1889, the Ottoman frigate Ertuğrul docked in Colombo for logistical purposes while on route to Japan. (Landau, 2015; Ocal, 2008). When Hasan Enver Paşa, an envoy of Abdül Hamid II, arrived in Ceylon in June 1901 on the German postal boat 'Sachsen', the Muslims from all across the island, including their elite, gathered in large numbers at the dock to personally welcome him. (Akalin, 2015). Similarly, during his tour to Ceylon, Muslims welcomed Ali Asgar Effendi, a member of the Naval Society and translator for the Ottoman Empire's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the utmost warmth and friendliness. (Saltik, 2020). When S. M. Tevfik, the writer of the magazine '*Sebilürreşâd*' visited the island in November 1913, he was hosted by the Ottoman Shahbender Sir Macan Markar Effendi at his palatial retreat, Stamboul Villa in Colombo, which played host to almost all important events associated with the Türks and Islamic culture during Sir Macan's lifetime, including the reception 'the Arabian Night', given by the wife of William Henry Manning, the British Governor to Ceylon, for

<sup>5</sup> The house system has long been associated with schools in Sri Lanka, as it is in the United Kingdom and the majority of other Commonwealth nations.



Ceylonese Muslim women in October, 1927. (Saltik, 2020). Stamboul Villa and the street on which it stands are named after Istanbul, a city frequented by Sir Macan Macar Effendi. The Bosphorus Strait, which is flanked by the magnificent Paşa Mansions, served as inspiration for Sir Macan's decision to build his Stamboul villa in Colombo, which was one of Colombo's finest homes when it was completed and a visible example of the exorbitant sums of money Sir Marcan had spent on it. (ibid.) Since the Muslims of Sri Lanka have had long-standing ties with the Türks, they have incorporated some Türkic and Persian<sup>6</sup> words into their language. Some words in Sinhala and Tamil are even thought to have Türkic or Persian roots. For example, the words "tüwakku" or "tüwakuwa" in Sinhala and "Tüpakki" or "Tüppakki" in Tamil, all of which refer to firearms, are all derived from the Türkish word "tüfek" for a gun.

Another major Ottoman influence, which has survived the turbulence of history in Sri Lanka is the fez, a thimble-shaped felt headdress, known to the Moors of the island as "*Turukki toppi*", which translates to Türkish cap, which, though not exactly a Türkish headgear, was adopted by the Muslims of Ceylon in the late 19th century, as a symbol of Muslim identity because it was sported by the Türkish Sulţāns. (Holt, 2011; Tambiah, 1997). The popularity of the Fez was influenced by the Egyptian Nationalist leader Arabi Paşa and his entourage, who resided on the island in exile from 1882 to 1911, Sir Macan Macar Effendi, who served as the Türkish consul at the time, and the Turks who were residing in Ceylon at the time. (ibid.) The 'fez controversy' of 1905-1906 flared up when M.C. Abdul Cader, a prominent Moor leader and advocate, was barred from entering the court wearing the fez. According to a notice published in local newspapers by the Fez Committee, a well-attended mass meeting of the Muslims of Ceylon, was held at the Maradana Mosque Grounds in Colombo on Sunday, December 31st, 1905 at 4 p.m. They gathered to protest the action of the island's Supreme Court, which barred Mr. Abdul Cader from appearing in court wearing his customary "Mohammedan head-dress – the Fez." (Dewaraja, 1994). The protest was attended not only by Moors, but also by all other Muslim minority groups living in Ceylon at the time, including the Türks and Muslims from Asia Minor. In 1881, there were 128 Türks living in Ceylon, and a considerable number of families of Türkic ancestry continued to live there well into the early 20th century. However, since the First World War, their numbers have drastically decreased.

The office of the Ottoman Shah-bender (honorary consul), who served as representatives of the Ottoman Empire in Ceylon, discontinued in 1915. The Muslims in Ceylon continued to be interested in Türkish matters even after the Grand National Assembly proclaimed Türkiye a republic on October 29, 1923, and elected Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as its first president. (Tambiah, 1997). Türkiye was one of the first countries to recognise Sri Lanka's independence and re-establish diplomatic relations in 1948. Since then, the diplomatic, cultural, and trade ties between both nations have strengthened. Following the 2005 tsunami that ravaged Sri Lanka, then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan paid a visit to the country. In 2008, Mahinda Rajapakse, the then president of Sri Lanka, paid a state visit to Türkiye. Following that, in 2012 and 2013, respectively, Sri Lanka and Türkiye established embassies in the respective capital cities. During his official visit to the island in January 2022, Mevlüt Çavuşođlu, Türkiye's foreign minister, hailed Sri Lanka as "an extremely valuable and important ally," underlining the strong relationship between the two countries. (Bayer, 2022).

## References:

- Akalın, D. (2015). OSMANLI DEVLETİ'NİN SON DÖNEMLERİNDE SEYLAN ADASI MÜSLÜMANLARI İLE MÜNASEBETLER . *Belgi Dergisi* , (10) , 1361-1392 . Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/belgi/issue/35058/388871>
- Abdul Azeez, I.L.M. (1900). *The Moor's Union and the Sultan's Silver Jubilee*. Colombo; Ganesha Printory Works.
- Bardakçı, M.N. (2008). *Eğirdir Zeynî Zâviyesi ve Şeyh Mehmed Çelebi Divanı (Hızırnâme)*. Eğirdir: Sivan Ofset.

<sup>6</sup> Persian was the court language in Ottoman Türkiye, as well as in the majority of Muslim Sulţānates on the Indian subcontinent and beyond, that were ruled by Türks, Afghans, Persians or Mongols.

- Barks, C. (2010). *Rumi: The Big Red Book : The Great Masterpiece Celebrating Mystical Love and Friendship*. New York: HarperCollins
- Baring-Gould S. (1871). *Legends of old testament characters: from the talmud and other sources*. Macmillan.
- Bayer, G. (2022, January, 28), Sri Lanka 'extremely valuable, important ally' of Türkiye. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/sri-lanka-extremely-valuable-important-ally-of-Turkiye/2488033>
- Bentley, J. H., Bridenthal, R., and Wigen, K. (Eds.). (2007). *Seascapes: maritime histories, littoral cultures, and transoceanic exchanges*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Biedermann, Z., and Strathern, A. (Eds.). (2017). *Sri Lanka at the crossroads of history*. UCL Press.
- Brewer, E. C. (2001). *Wordsworth Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. Wordsworth Editions.
- Cariolato, S., (2017). *The Treasures Ships. Ming China on the seas: history of the Fleet that could conquer the world and vanished into thin air*. Youcanprint.
- Casale, G. (2010). *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. : Oxford University Press. Retrieved 16 Mar. 2022, from <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195377828.001.0001/acprof-9780195377828>.
- Çelebi, E., and Kreiser K. (1988). *Evliya çelebi's book of travels : land and people of the ottoman empire in the seventeenth century : a corpus of partial editions*. Brill.
- Çelebi, K., Hagen G. and Dankoff R. (2021). *An ottoman cosmography : translation of cihännümâ*. Brill.
- Chamberlain A. F. (1896). *The child and childhood in folk-thought (the child in primitive culture) by alexander francis chamberlain*. Macmillan.
- Codrington, H.W., (1924). *Ceylon Coins and Currency*. Colombo; Colombo Museum.
- Cordiner J. (1807). *A description of ceylon : containing an account of the country inhabitants and natural productions : with narratives of a tour round the island in 1800 the campaign in candy in 1803 and a journey to ramisseram in 1804 : illustrated by twenty-five engravings from original drawings*. Printed for Longman Hurst Rees and Orme.
- Courtenay, P., and Francis, M. G. (1999). *History of Ceylon: An Abridged Translation of Professor Peter Courtenay's Work*. Asian Educational Services.
- Dasanayaka R. (2017). *Arabs in serandib : trade relations between sri lanka and west asia from ancient time to 15th century a.d. : historical and archaeological survey*. S. Godage and Brothers (Pvt).
- De Silva, C. R. (1991). Political and Diplomatic Relations of the Portuguese with the Kingdom of Kōtṭe during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century'. *Revista da Cultura*, 13-14.
- Devendra, T. (2011, June, 5). The Alpine trek of a 'Ceylon' elephant. *Sunday Times Plus*. [https://www.sundaytimes.lk/110605/Plus/plus\\_02.html](https://www.sundaytimes.lk/110605/Plus/plus_02.html)
- Dewaraja, L. S. (1994). *The Muslims of Sri Lanka: one thousand years of ethnic harmony, 900-1915*. Lanka Islamic Foundation.
- Eckstein-Diener B., Paul E. and Paul C. (1938). *Imperial byzantium*. Little Brown and Company.
- Effendi, M. (1982). *Personages of the Past: Moors, Malays. and Other Muslims of the Past*. Colombo: Moors Islāmic Cultural Home.
- Farook, M. H. (2021). *SRİ LANKA MÜSLÜMANLARININ REFORM SÜRECİ* [Doctoral thesis, Ankara University].
- Feener, R. M., Daly, P. T., and Reid, A. (2011). *Mapping the Acehnese past*. KITLV Press Leiden.
- Fernando, M. S. (2000). *Rituals, Folk Beliefs and Magical Arts of Sri Lanka*. Colombo, Sri Lanka: S. Godage and Brothers.

- Friedman, J. B., and Figg, K. M. (Eds.). (2013). *Trade, travel, and exploration in the middle ages: an encyclopædia* (Vol. 1899). Routledge.
- Hendy M. F. (2008). *Studies in the byzantine monetary economy c. 300-1450*. Cambridge University Press.
- Holloway, M. (2011). The Story of Süleyman: Celebrity Elephants and Other Exotica in Renaissance Portugal. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 64(2), 609.
- Henri S. (2019). *Intuition creativity innovation*. John Wiley and Sons Incorporated.
- Holt, J. (Ed.). (2011). *The Sri Lanka reader: history, culture, politics*. Duke University Press.
- Hunt, F. (1845). *Sketch of the commercial intercourse of the world with China*. New York: Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.
- Hussein, A. (2007). *Sarandib: an ethnological study of the Muslims of Sri Lanka*. Asiff Hussein.
- Katupotha, J. (2019). Pearl Fishery Industry. WILDLANKA Vol.7.
- Khazeni A. (2014). *Sky blue stone : the turquoise trade in world history*. University of California Press. Retrieved December 11 2022 from <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10867300>.
- Larsen, C. E. (1983). *Life and land use on the Bahrain Islands: the geoarchaeology of an ancient society*. University of Chicago Press.
- Landau J. M. (2016). *Pan-islam : history and politics*. Routledge. Retrieved December 11 2022 from <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1036458>.
- Liaw Y. F. Razif B. Aveling H. and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. (2013). *A history of classical malay literature*. ISEAS. Retrieved December 11 2022 from <https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=1362575>.
- Markell, J. (2004). *Unusual Vessels*. ProStar Publications.
- Merton, R. K., and Barber, E. (2011). The travels and adventures of serendipity. In *The Travels and Adventures of Serendipity*. Princeton University Press.
- Methley, V. M. (1918). The Ceylon Expedition of 1803. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1, 92–128. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3678350>
- Michaelides, D. (Ed.). (2014). *Medicine and healing in the ancient Mediterranean*. Oxbow Books.
- Muller C. (1997). *Children of the lion*. Viking. Retrieved December 6 2022 from <http://books.google.com/books?id=kpplAAAAMAAJ>
- Nahm S. and Hughes Rinker C. (2016). *Applied anthropology : unexpected spaces topics and methods*. Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Obeyesekere, G. (2017). Between the Portuguese and the Nāyakas: the many faces of the Kandyan Kingdom, 1591–1765. In Z. Biedermann and A. Strathern (Eds.), *Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History* (pp. 161–177). UCL Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1qmw8bs.13>
- Öcal Yüksel. (2008). *Kürek ve yelken döneminden günümüze türk bahriyesi* (1. baskı). Deniz Basımevi Müdürlüğü.
- Pala, İ. (1990). Ansiklopedik divan şiiri sözlüğü (No. 54). Akçağ.
- Peacock, A. (2018). The Ottoman Empire and the Indian Ocean. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*. Retrieved 21 Jan. 2022, from <https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-31>.
- Pieris, P. E. (1926). THE DANES IN CEYLON. *The Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 30(79), 169–180. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43483255>

- Roberts, J. (1835). *Oriental Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures: Collected from the Customs, Manners, Rites, Superstitions, Traditions, Parabolical, Idiomatical, and Proverbial Forms of Speech, Climate, Works of Art, and Literature, of the Hindoos, During a Residence in the East of Nearly Fourteen Years.* John Murray.
- Rumi, J. and Helminski, K. (2005). *The Rumi collection: an anthology of translations of Mevlâna Jalâlud-dîn Rumi.* Boston : Shambhala.
- Rumi, J. and Redhouse J. W. (1881). The mesnevî (usually known as the mesnevîyi sherîf or holy mesnevî) of mevlânâ (our lord) jelâlu-'d-dîn muhammed er-rûmî. Trübner. Retrieved December 11 2022 from <http://books.google.com/books?id=u8iUeF-wWsoC>.
- Saltık, E. (2020). Osmanlı Devleti'nin Seylan Adası ile İlişkilerine Methal. *Journal of Türkology*, 30 (2) , 699-733 . Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iuTürkiyat/issue/56889/777154>
- Sirisena O. M. R. (2002). Medieval gold coins of sri lanka (700-1100). Unigraphics (Pte).
- Suckling, H. J. (1876). *Ceylon: a general description of the island, historical, physical, statistical. Containing the most recent information* (Vol. 15). Chapman and Hall.
- Subrahmanyam, S. (2018). *Empires between Islam and Christianity, 1500-1800.* Suny Press.
- Tambiah, S. J. (1997). *Leveling crowds: ethnonationalist conflicts and collective violence in South Asia.* Univ of California Press.
- Tez, Z. (2008). Mitolojinin kültürel tarihi: Doğu ve İslam mitolojisi mitolojik söylenceler. Doruk.
- Tören, H. (2001). *Alî Şîr Nevâyî, Sedd-i İskenderî (inceleme-metin).* Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yay.
- Tresidder A. J., Tresidder N. P. and De Fontaine D. (1960). *Ceylon : an introduction to the resplendent land.* Van Nostrand.
- Vasiliev, A. A. (1952). *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324–1453, Volume II* (Vol. 1). University of Wisconsin Press.
- Walters, A. (1892). *Palms and Pearls: Or Scenes in Ceylon.* Bentley.
- Wright A. (1907). *Twentieth century impressions of ceylon : its history people commerce industries and resources.* Lloyd's Greater Britain.