A 17th–century View and Map of Mecca: the inscriptions

In 1717 Uppsala University Library acquired a large painting of Mecca that had been brought to Sweden by Michael Eneman (1676–1714). The painting has most recently been described by Karin Ådahl and Friederike Voigt. The painting has been discussed at a symposium at the Uppsala University Library “The Image of Mecca”, May 5th 2014. The painting can now be studied in detail at the site

http://app.ub.uu.se/epub/bildsok/bibrecord.cfm?bibid=9554

The superimposed inscriptions in red on the painting have never, however, been studied systematically. These inscriptions inform the viewer of the name of a place or a building. Sometimes they just indicate a function, e.g. "kahve" “café”.

There are similar views of Mecca from the 17th and 18th centuries. The main parallel is a painting in the Ulu Cami (Great Mosque) in Bursa, which is probably much younger. There is also the view in Johannes Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Entwurff einer historischen Architectur, Leipzig 1721, and the

---, "Unknown Artist c. 1700: View of Mecca and the Ka’ba,” Uppsala University Art Collections: Painting and Sculpture (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2001) 256–57.


Observation by Deniz Beyazit at the Uppsala symposium “The Image of Mecca”.

3 Further research has shown that the painting (93 x 119 cm.) was acquired by Michael Enemans companion Johan Silfwercrantz in Cairo on 7 March 1712, as is described in more detail in a contribution to this volume by Johan Heldt.
4 I am indebted to the staff of Uppsala University Library, especially the staff of Maps and Pictures and of Photographic Services for all their help.
5 Since some of the inscriptions are very difficult to read, an infraread photograph of the painting was first by by Astrid von Hofsten from the National Museum of Fine Arts in Stockholm, at Uppsala University Library and then by an ultraviolet photograph by the staff of the library. The 17 UV-photos were of some use in resolving difficulties. The infrared photograph, on the other hand, did not produce any more legible text. In many places the text is unreadable because the red ink has faded. In some cases it is the handwriting that is difficult to read.
6 Observation by Deniz Beyazit at the Uppsala symposium “The Image of Mecca”.
7 Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, Entwurff einer historischen Architectur in Abbildung: unterteilter berühmten Gebäude, des Alterthums und fremder Völcker, umb aus den Geschicht-büchern, Gedächtniss-minten, Ruinen, und eingeholten wahrhaftigen Abrissen, vor Augen zu stellen...gezeichnet und ... herausgegeben von ... Johann Bernhard Fischers von Erlachen, Buch 3 (Wien: [s.n], 1721).
more detailed one in Mouradjea d’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire othoman* published in Paris 1788.\(^8\) \(^9\)

There are also many histories and studies with topographical information about Mecca. The most important ones in Arabic can be found in a collection by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld,\(^10\) containing accounts by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al–Azraqī (9th century), Muḥammad ibn ʿIṣḥāq al–Fākiḥī (9th century), Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al–Fāsī (d. 1428/29), Muḥammad ibn Amīn ibn Ṣuhayrah (16th century) and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al–Nahrawālī (d. 1580/81). The compiler concludes with a summarised translation.\(^11\)

Other Arabic sources include accounts by ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr al–Harawī (d. 1215)\(^12\) and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al–Asadī (d. 1650?).\(^13\) An important Ottoman Turkish account is the one by Evliya Çelebi (d. 1682?).\(^14\)

The most useful European descriptions by travellers are those by the Catalan Ali Bey\(^15\) and the John Lewis Burckhardt from Switzerland,\(^16\) bearing in mind

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\(^8\) Ignatius Mouradjea d’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire othoman*: divisé en deux parties, dont l’une comprend la législation mahométane; l’autre, l’histoire de l’Empire othoman, dédié au Roi de Suède, par m. de M*** d’Ohsson, vol. 2 (Paris: De l'imprimerie de monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1788).


\(^15\) Ali Bey (Domingo Badia y Leyblich), *Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, between the Years 1803 and 1807*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, 1816)


This online version has no maps, and I have used the maps in the first German translation 1830 (see below).
that they describe conditions more than a hundred years later than the date of the Mecca painting.

**Orientation and Topography**

The view is from the northeast or east, from the masʿā “run, running” side of the ḥaram or sanctuary. The Ulu Cami painting and the view in Mouradgea d’Ohsson have the same orientation. This seems to be the case, for example, the title pictures, or ‘unwāns in the various manuscripts of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jāzūlī, Dalāʾil al-khayrāt. The view seems to be from the mountain Abu Qubays (Ebi Kubeys), although at the same time this mountain is depicted in the upper left corner of the painting (no. 50). The script is naskh. The language is usually Ottoman Turkish, although in many cases it can just as well be read as Classical Arabic. The inscriptions have been transcribed according to modern Turkish usage and when a particular problem demands it, according to the rules for Classical Arabic.

**The Sanctuary (ḥaram) area**

The view of Mecca is dominated by the sanctuary area, the ḥaram. In the centre is the Kaʿbah. The Black Stone is inserted into the eastern corner of the Kaʿbah with the inscription hacer-i esved “black stone” written vertically immediately to the left. On the roof of the building is the text altun oluk “gold spout” at the place of the water spout. As Burckhardt states,

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19 Observation by Mehmet Tütüncü at the Uppsala symposium “The Image of Mecca”.

20 I am very grateful for the suggestions and observations on the transcription made by Selcuk Kirbac. However, any mistakes made in this area are to be ascribed to me.
“this spout was sent hither from Constantinople in A.H. 981[1572/73], and is reported to be of pure gold.”

Opposite the right-hand or north-western face of the Ka‘bah is a low semicircular wall. It encloses an area of special sanctity the *hicr* or *ḥijr* “inviolable,” according to tradition the burial place of Ishmael and Hagar. The inscription below the wall is *hücre-i İsmail* “the enclosure of Ishmael”.

Immediately below the front or north-eastern face of the Ka‘bah is a square hollow in the ground, with the explanatory text *ma’cene* “trough”. This is where Abraham and Ishmael mixed their mortar when they built the Ka‘bah.

The four legal schools (*madhhabs*) of Islam each have a position around the Ka‘bah. Three of them have their own pavilion with inscriptions, the *makâm-i Hanbelî* “the Hanbali place” on the left-hand or south-eastern side, the *makâm-i Mâlikî* to the rear on the south-western side and the *makâm-i Hanefî* on the right-hand or north-western side behind the *hicr* wall.

The fourth legal school, the Shâfi‘ite *madhhab*, is situated above the well of Zemzem and in the same building, the pavilion on the left of the two at the front or north-eastern side of the Ka‘bah. The well is not designated by any inscription, unless it is written in the illegible text in the upper part of the building and on the adjoining minaret to the left (the painting has a vertical fold here). On the lower part of the building, the practically illegible legend probably says *makâm-i Şâfi‘î*.

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22 Peters 15.
23 Cf. James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon, Shewing in English the Significations of the Turkish Terms* (1890; 3rd ed. İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2006) 767, and for the original meaning “enclosure (for animals)” Peters, 15. The name of the wall itself, *al-Ḥaṭîm*, is not mentioned on the painting.
24 Evliya Çelebi 384.
26 *makam–ı Hanefî* (maqâm ‘hanafi) is unclear.
The pavilion to the right houses the stone of makâm-ı İbrâhîm “the standing place of Abraham,” a stone on which Abraham stood on when building the Ka‘bah.\(^{27}\) The unclear text is written along the roof.

Between the two pavilions is a small movable staircase with the text *madrac* “staircase”. It is used for the entrance to the Ka‘bah, since that is placed slightly above the ground (on the painting a white square on the face of the building).

To the right of the makâm-ı İbrâhîm is the minber-ı şerîf (or member-ı şerîf), “the noble pulpit” used for preaching. The text is written along one of the pillars at the top of the square.

In front of the makâm-ı İbrâhîm there is a gate, perhaps the only remaining part of an older sanctuary enclosure. A text inside it designates it as the *bâbü’s-selâm-ı atîk* “the old gate of peace”.\(^{28}\)

In the lower left-hand corner of the sanctuary stand two buildings known as *al-qubbatayn* “the two domes”. They were demolished in the late 19th century\(^ {29}\) and had been used as storehouses.\(^ {30}\) The inscriptions on the painting are difficult to read. The left-hand one may read (in Classical Arabic) *qubbat al-farrâshîn*, “the dome of the caretakers and cleaners”, the right-hand one *qubbat? q-d-m?* or *kubbe-i kadîm* “dome ...”\(^{31}\) The second one may mean “the front one”.\(^ {32}\) On Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s map these buildings (nos. 32 and 33) are called *Coubbé-y-Schémidann* and *Coubbé-y-

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\(^{28}\) Nowadays often called the Banū Shaybah portal.


\(^{30}\) Burckhardt, *Travels* 145: ” On the north–east side of Zemzem stand two small buildings, one behind the other, called El Kobbateyn; they are covered by domes painted in the same manner as the mosque, and in them are kept water jars, lamps, carpets, mats, brooms, and other articles used in the very mosque. These two ugly buildings are injurious to the interior appearance of the building, their heavy forms and structure being disadvantageously contrasted with the light and airy shape of the Makams."

\(^{31}\) Mehmet Tütüncü in an e-mail to me 2 April 2014. I at first read the left-hand one as (in Classical Arabic) *qubbat al-qāriʾîn*, “the dome of Quran readers”. In that case it may refer to that the house has been used as a storehouse for Quran copies (Bā Salāmah 197, quoting Ibn Ťuzhayrah).

\(^{32}\) Mehmet Tütüncü proposes *Makam Nebi Kadem* “Footprint of the Prophet”, mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, 388.
Abbas. The first refers to Arabic *shamʿadān* “candelabrum,” for which the building was a storehouse, the second to a watering post of ‘Abbās, the uncle of Muhammad.33

Apart from these two buildings the Uppsala painting shows essentially the same features as those that exist today. The number and positions of the minarets surrounding the sanctuary are also the same.

Only a few of the numerous gates are shown and named. At the back, forming a special square outside the south-western wall proper, is the *bâb-i Ibrāhîm* “the gate of Ibrahim” (named not after the patriarch but after a nearby tailor).34 To the right, in a similar square outside the north-western wall between two minarets, is the *bâbü’z-ziyâde* “the gate of the extension”. At the front or north-eastern side the inscriptions read, from right to left, *bâbü’s-selâm-i cedid* “the new gate of peace,” *bâbü’s-selâm-i sigîr* “the small gate of peace,” *bâbü’s-sebîl-i Kayît Bay (Bîk)* “gate of the fountain of Qā’ît Bey,” *bâbü’n-nebi* “gate of the Prophet,” and *bâbü’l-bâgle* or *bâb-i bağle* (almost illegible) “gate of the (female) mule”.35

Between the last two gates is what seems to be a fountain, but with the text *mîl-i ahzar* “the green signpost.” This is one of the pillars along the *mes’â*, the course that forms a part of the pilgrimage rituals. It is a sign for the pilgrims to change from walking to running. The course runs between the three arched building to the left or south, with the inscription *makâm-ı Ṣafâ* “the station of al-Ṣafâ,” and the one arched roofless building to the right or north, with the text *makâm-ı Merve* “the station of Marwah”.

Around the sanctuary parts of the city of Mecca are shown. Its features are not as detailed and faithful as those of the sanctuary. On the right-hand or north-western side of the sanctuary, three houses down from the upper right-hand minaret, there is an on a cupola *makâm-ı ʿ-b-y-n-w-s* “the station of … ?”.36 Lower down, on a house with two cupolas, is the text *hamâm-ı Umre* “the ‘Umrah bath”. The ‘Umrah is the “lesser pilgrimage,” which may be undertaken at any time of the year. However, this is a bath

33 Burckhardt, *Travels* 146; al-Asadî 190; Bā Salāmah 197.
34 Burckhardt, *Travels* 152.
35 Mehmet Tütüncü prefers the reading *Bab Ali*, a gate also mentioned by Burckhardt, *Travels* 152.
36 Mehmet Tütüncü suggests *Makam Idris*. 
mentioned by Burckhardt: “In proceeding from the Shebeyka along the broad street, northerly, we come to a bath, which, though by far the best of the three in Mekka, is inferior to those of other Asiatic cities, from the scarcity of water; it was built in A.H. 980 [1571/72], by Mohammed Pasha, the vizier of Sultan Soleyman II., and is one of the best structures in the town... It is frequented principally by foreigners, the native Arabs being little accustomed to the use of the bath, and choosing to perform the ablutions prescribed by their religion at their own dwellings. The bath, together with several by-streets leading to the mosque, forms the quarter called Haret Bab el Omra, ...”. 37 Next to the second right-hand minaret, counting from the bottom, is the text mahkeme “the Court of Justice”. Further down is the medrese-i Süleymâniyye “the School of Soliman,” a centre for the four legal schools, built by Süleyman I and Selim II 1572–75.38

The texts in the lower right-hand corner of the painting, the north part of the city, are particularly difficult to read. Immediately below the mes’ā, the “course” mentioned above, is an inscription mazābīz or possibly hazābīz. However, it is probably to be read as bazābīz “taps” or “public fountains.” 39

In the same place Mouradgea d’Ohsson has “Fontaine publique,”40 and Burckhardt states “Near this place, too, is a public fountain, the work of the Othman Emperor Soleyman Ibn Selym: it is supplied from the Mekka aqueduct, and is crowded the whole day by hadjys [pilgrims], who come to fill their water–skins”. 41

Below these fountains, near the bottom of the painting, are two water pools. The left–hand one is named bürketü'l-şâmi “the Syrian reservoir,” the right–hand one bürket–i misrî or bürketü'l-misrî “the Egyptian reservoir”. On Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s map they are named Scham–Burkessy and Missir–Burkessy.42

40 Mouradgea d’Ohsson map no. 29.
41 Burckhardt, Travels 118.
42 Mouradgea d’Ohsson map no. 30–31.
These reservoirs are placed to the north of the sanctuary, which tallies with the maps of Ali Bey\(^3\) and Burckhardt.\(^4\) Ali Bey, describing the city at the beginning of the 19th century, states that they are abandoned and deserted.\(^5\) But according to Burckhardt who visited the city at about the same time they seemed to be in use: “on each side of the road large birkets, or reservoirs of water, for the accommodation of the pilgrim–caravans: they can be filled from the aqueduct which passes this way towards the town. Of these birkets, one is for the Egyptian caravan; another for the Syrian: they were constructed in A.H. 821 [1417/18], are entirely cased with stone, and continue in a state of perfect repair.”\(^6\) On of Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s map, nearly a hundred years later, they are situated to the east of the sanctuary.\(^7\) On the Ulu Cami painting in Bursa they are placed to the south and south–east.

Below the reservoir to the left is the *mevlayı hâneh* or *mollahâne* “the house of the Mevla or Molla”. Mouradgea d’Ohsson mentions a “Hôtel du Molla” but on his map this house is situated between the two lower minarets of the right side of the sanctuary (no. 56).

Immediately below are four buildings with cupolas. The second from the left is the *merkad–ı Ebû Tâlib* “the tomb of Abû Ṭālib”, uncle of Muhammad and father of ‘ʿAlī.\(^8\) The building furthest to the right is a *mescid* “a mosque”. There is something more written on the building and it may be a small mosque near the reservoirs called “Djama è Soleymanyè” according to Burckhardt.\(^9\)

Further to the right stand two buildings in front of the right–hand reservoir.

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\(^3\) Ali Bey vol. 2 map no. 17–18.
\(^5\) Ali Bey vol. 1 xxxiv.
\(^7\) Mouradgea d’Ohsson map no. 30–31.
\(^8\) The spelling is unclear: /m-r-q-d[?]–y[?].
\(^9\) Burckhardt, *Travels* 127. Burckhardt states that this quarter of the city is called “El Soleymanyè”, from immigrants from the Indus area with the same name.
The inscription on the upper one is easier to read: serdâriyye-i mustahfîzân “place of the head of the guards”. The lower building has the same text in the beginning, but the ending is illegible. At the time of Ali Bey these were “the barracks of the Negro and Mogrebin guards [i.e., from western North Africa], which are situated at the northern extremity of the ... town”.50

In the right-hand lower corner of the painting is a cemetery with an inscription that is impossible to read. However, it probably refers to the grave (kabîn) or mausoleum (kubbe) of Khadîjah, the wife of Muhammad, in the cemetery of al-Ma’lâ. In Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s this grave is placed practically to the east of the sanctuary.51

Above the two reservoirs are two buildings, one provided with a minaret and one adorned by a cupola. The inscriptions on these are difficult to read. The one on the left ends in ahmediyye, the one on the right may end in kâdiryye. A conjecture is that they were centres for the Sufi orders of the Aḥmadîyah (perhaps a branch of the Khalwatîyah or Halvetiyye) and Qâdirîyah. But it seems difficult to link the various Sufi orders named Aḥmadîyah with Mecca at the turn of the eighteenth century.

In the quarters below or north-east of the sanctuary there are two buildings with cupolas. The upper one, in the second row of houses below the open space, the mas’â, is the birthplace of Fatma (Fâtîma) the daughter of Muhammad and wife of ʿAlî, the fourth caliph. Only the word Fâtîma is clear. Immediately below is the menzîl-i Ebû Bekr, “the house of Abû Bakr,” the first caliph.

Further down, separated from the city proper by a hill, is a large building. The inscription on it ends in vezîr “minister”. This is either the citadel or, more probably, the palace of the ruler of Mecca.52

To the left, a building with two domes between two hills is indicated by the text hamâmû’n-nebî, “the bath of the Prophet”, and further to the left a building with a cupola and a minaret bears the text mevlûdû’n-nebî

50 Ali Bey vol. 2 64. Cf. vol. 2 119, and Burckhardt, Travels 130: “The building now serves as a barrack for the Turkish soldiers.”
51 Mouradgea d’Ohsson map no. 54.
52 Burckhardt, Reisen map no. 42 and 41; Ali Bey vol. 2 map no. 5 and 4.
“birthplace of the Prophet”. Above, with three houses in between, is another domed building, mevlûd–i Ali “the birthplace of ‘Alî”.

Slightly to the right of the minaret is the inscription dār al–h–rdān, dār al–h–zdān, dār al–h–zrān, dār al–m–rdān, dār al–m–zdān. There is a possibility that it reads darū’l–Hayzuran “the house of Khayzuran”, mother of the caliph Hârûn al–Rashîd, who bought the house where Muhammad has his first secret meetings with his followers and turned it into a place of praying.53 Two hundred years later the house was still called “Dâr el Khayzaran”.54

On the south–east side of the sanctuary, there is a loggia with an inscription on the roof, … dârû’l–şeḥâde, possibly … dârû’s–sa’âde “house of bliss”, one of the names of Istanbul. Dârûl–şeḥâde (dâr al–shaḥâdah) is unintelligible, but could be a misspelling for dârü’l–şeḥâde (“the testimonial house”). The beginning of the inscription is impossible to read. On Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s map the “Palais du Schérif” (no. 55) is situated at the corresponding place. In any case, the building seems to have an official function.

The mountains around Mecca
Apart from the cebel–i Arafât in the top left–hand corner, which will be discussed later, three mountains are named in the painting. Above the sanctuary is the cebel–i Sevr (jabal Thawr) “the Bull Mountain”, which according to Encyclopaedia of Islam is seven kilometres south–south–east of the Sanctuary and is where the Prophet took refuge in a cave with Abû Bakr at the beginning of his hijrah “emigration” from Mecca.55 At the right of the painting, on the uppermost mountain is the cebel–i Cezzel (jabal Jizall), which has had different names, al–Aḥmar “the Red”, al–Aʿraf in pre–Islamic times, and jabal Hindî at the time of Burckhardt and later.56 To the left of the sanctuary, on a prominent mountain with a domed mosque or memorial, is cebel–i Ebî Kubeys “the Mountain of Abû Qubays”, where according to

53 Wüstenfeld, Geschichte 180. This reading presupposes that kh and h are pronounced the same in Ottoman Turkish and that the name therefore is misspelt.
56 Evliya Çelebi 402 for the Ottoman Turkish form; Wüstenfeld, Geschichte 82–83; Burckhardt, Reisen map no. 65; Winder vol. 6 163 map no. 4.
tradition, the Black Stone may have been kept for some time, originally or during a flood.57

By the left frame of the painting are six inscriptions. The lowest one, under a domed building on a very steep mountain is makâm-ı mescid-i nuru “the Place of the Mosque of Light.” 58 This is the cebel-i Nûr “the Mountain of Light”, where the first revelation of a sura of the Quran (the 94th) took place.59 The mountain is situated to the north of Mecca. Mouradgea d’Ohsson places it further to the south-west.60

The second text by the frame, counting from the bottom, is the mahall-ı šakkü’l-kamer “the Place of the Splitting of the Moon”, a reference to sura 54 of the Quran and one of Muhammad’s miracles. Immediately above is a mosque mescid-i ’-š-r (masjid ’-sh-r). The only reference I have found to this place is Burckhardt, who says that when he was in Minâ “It was mentioned, that in a side–valley leading from this place towards Djebel Nour, stands a mosque called Mesdjed el Ashra, where the followers of Mohammed used to pray; but I did not visit it.”61

‘Arafât, Muzdalifah and Minâ.

At the top left hand corner of the frame is written cebel-i Arafât “the Mount ‘Arafât”. On the 9th of the month of Dhû l–Hijjah pilgrims gather here for the station at ‘Arafât.

Beside the mountain is a building with four or five domes, the matbah “kitchen”. Possibly it is the one Evliya Çelebi mentions: Mescid–ı matbah–ı Hazret–ı Âdem “the Mosque of the Kitchen of Adam”. According to one tradition met here at ‘Arafât after a long separation and were taught among other things how to prepare a soup.62 And further to the right is the mescid–ı [lbrâ]hîm “the Mosque of Abraham”.

57 Peters 6, 14.
58 The text is in part disguised by the frame of the painting.
59 Winder vol. 6 168; Burckhardt, Travels 175.
60 Mouradgea d’Ohsson map no. 51.
61 Burckhardt, Travels 279.
62 Evliya Çelebi 356.
Leaving ʿArafāt the pilgrim passes two pillars, the *mîleyn* “the two milestones”, which mark the boundaries of the territory of Mecca.63 The next stop is *Müzdelife* “Muzdalifah” with a large mosque and minaret. Then downwards to the left is *Mine* 64 “Minā” on a building above a mosque with two minarets, the *Mescid-i Hayf* “the mosque al-Khayf”. To the right of the mosque is a smaller domed building, *mahall-i nüzûl-û Ve'l-mürselât* “The place where [the sura] *Wa-al-mursalât* was revealed” [i.e., sura 77:1, “By those sent forth.”]

To the left of the mosque is the site of the first ritual stoning of Satan, *cemre-i evvel*. Then follows the second, *cemre-i sânî* and, at the border of the painting, the third, *cemre-i sâlis*. According to a tradition, Satan is stoned because he wanted to prevent the sacrifice of Ishmael.65 Where this happened is indicated at the edge of the painting, *mahall-i zebh-i İsma’îl* “place of the sacrifice of Ishmael”.

In reality, ʿArafāt, Muzdalifah and Minā are situated some 15 to 20 kilometres to the east of Mecca. The road to these places, according to Ali Bey and Burckhardt, ran through the northern part of the city and then eastwards.66 But, as mentioned before, there seems to be a tradition of showing these pilgrimage centres in what is the southern side of the city.

The upper or south-west surroundings of the city
To the right of Muzdalifah and the other pilgrimage centres a village called in Arabic *Husaynîyah* is depicted an oasis about 20 kilometres south-east of the city according to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.67 Burckhardt connects this village with ʿArafāt: “From Hosseynye a road leads to Arafat, passing to the S. and S.E. of Mekka.”68 The painter has placed this village near the pilgrimage centres rather than in its actual direction from Mecca.

Further to the right is the already mentioned *jebel-i Sevr* (*jabal Thawr*) 48

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63 In many accounts they are called (in Arabic) *al-ʿAlamayn* “the two signposts,” for example by Burckhardt, *Travels* 60 and Rutter vol. 1 159.
64 The spelling is *m-n-h*, not as in Classical Arabic *m-n-y*.
66 Ali Bey vol. 2 map no. 35; Burckhardt, *Reisen* map, and *Travels* 131.
67 Winder vol. 6 160.
68 Burckhardt, *Travels* 113.
“the Bull Mountain”.

Above the central part of the sanctuary is another village with two inscriptions. The first refers to the first caliph: “mahall-ı mevlûd-ı Ebî Bekr “the birthplace of Abû Bakr”. But other sources place his birthplace in the city itself,69 and as shown above the painting refers to a house or lodging below the sanctuary. The other inscription above the first one is unclear. It begins with bûrke “reservoir, dam.” Probably it is a reservoir for pilgrims from Yemen.70

To the left of the right-hand uppermost minaret is a domed building mevlûd-ı Seyyidna Ömer “birthplace of our lord ʿUmar”. Whether this refers to the second caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb or to some other saint is unclear. Burckhardt states that “a small building with a dome ... Mekam Seydina Omar”, was erected in honour of the caliph, but was ruined by the Wahhabis.71

Above and to the right are two simple inscriptions kahve “café”. A small fort and village Hıdde is also shown.72

In the upper right-hand corner is the sebîl-i Ahmed Bey “the fountain of Ahmad Bey”. The bey in question may be either an emir of Juddah who died in 1697,73 or the emir of Juddah in the 16th century under Selim II and Murad III.74

The port of Cidde or Juddah is also shown at this corner of the painting. Another fountain or sebîl is shown at the frame of the painting slightly lower down under a domed building.75 To the left is a three-domed

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70 As suggested by Mehmet Tütüncü in the e-mail mentioned above. Another possibility is that it is an old reservoir mentioned by al–Harawī (d. 1215), Kitāb al–ishārāt 89; Guide 204: biʾr Maymūn “the well of Maymūn”.
71 Burckhardt, Travels 114.
72 Evliya Çelebi 407.
74 Wüstenfeld, Geschichte 316–18.
75 The beginning of the word is under the frame of the painting.
sanctuary for the saint Şeyh Mahmûd\textsuperscript{76} or Shaykh Maḥmûd,\textsuperscript{77} also called Sidi Mahmud.\textsuperscript{78}

The places shown in the upper right-hand corner of the painting correspond roughly with the geographical situations and directions in reality. Thus the main differences between the places in the Uppsala view of Mecca and geographical accuracy concern the pilgrimage centres of ‘Arafāt, Muzdalifah and Minā. This was a traditional way of depicting the sanctuary of Mecca and the pilgrimage centres at the same time.

Both the painter and the scribe, who are probably not the same person, do seem to have a reliable knowledge about Mecca, either from making the pilgrimage or reliance on a solid tradition of knowledge. The scribe was certainly someone who was well able to write a flowing Arabic script. The language is Ottoman Turkish.

\textsuperscript{76} Evliya Çelebi 407.
\textsuperscript{77} Winder vol. 6 163 map no. 6.
\textsuperscript{78} Ali Bey vol. 2 93.