

Office Palestinian Territories

Aberglaube im Land der Bibel – Tawfiq Canaan's 1922 Essay: Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine

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This project is a study of Palestinian doctor, Tawfiq Canaan's 1922 essay "Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine". It aims to locate and reflect upon 125 haunted springs, wadis (En, Ein, Ayn, Ain), wells and cisterns (birs) in Historic Palestine whereby many sites were located in areas destroyed, abandoned or depopulated from 1948 onwards. The objective is to see if these sites still physically exist and in what contexts. Canaan's encyclopaedic work on Palestinian superstition and folklore detail the many Christian, Islamic and Jewish myths and beliefs, that are primarily located surrounding Jerusalem, Ramallah and Bethlehem at a time when Palestine was violently transitioning from Turkish Ottoman to British Mandate rule and the Nakba and Israeli military occupation. Canaan was not just a witness to two world wars and the Nakba, but he was both an acting physician and, at the same time, serving both as an active custodian of precarious Palestinian culture and as figure of resistance.

The project aims to locate sites inside the West Bank and if they can be found in Areas A, B or C and then to examine what extent their cultural significance remains. It also aims to reflect upon the sites accessibility and to examine current existential threats by Israeli military ordinances, settler vandalism, archaeological expropriation and Israeli parks and tourism. The project has used open-source mapping which incorporates Mandate 1922 mapping of Palestine, and later more detailed 1940's maps. These early 20th century maps are juxtaposed alongside 2009 satellite imagery, which have then been overlaid onto current day satellite imagery and imported into Google (default setting as Israel) as walking routes, thus posing the question of Google's role towards how the world perceives the West Bank.

Finally, images from the Edith Matson Collection have been chosen to accompany the research for a number of reasons, notably that they were produced at the same time of Canaan, during the Mandate. Although these images have become a standard photographic reference of Palestine, they exemplify par excellence, an atypical Western orientalist pilgrimage to the Levant. This notion is not in the positive sense, as the Matson's were investors in many public and large scale engineering projects that have been hugely detrimental to the Palestinian people. Reflecting upon these sociopolitical conditions, and also aesthetically, to the chemical and water damage of the photographs over the last hundred years, which have created abstract dark shadowy forms; the images doubled, stereoscopic nature often lend an eerie atmosphere that underscores notions of Aberglaube and superstition.

Introduction

*All the rivers run into the sea,
Yet the sea is not full;
To the place from which the rivers come,
There they return again.*

Ecclesiastes 1:7

Tawfiq Canaan was born in Beit Jala on the 24th of September 1882. His family were Lebanese Lutheran Protestants, whereby both his parents were forced to flee Lebanon in the 1860's due to the Lebanese Syrian war between Lebanon's Christian and Druze militias. Canaan's father Bishara was a missionary from Kfarshima, near Aley, who came to Palestine as a young boy to attend the Syrian Orphanage in Jerusalem, opened by Johann Scheller in 1860. Canaan's mother Katherina was from Bhamdoun not far from Kfarshima and was educated in Beirut at the Kaiserswerther Deaconesses institution where upon completing her studies she remained as a teacher and then a Deaconess herself before travelling to Jerusalem to teach at the newly formed Talitha Kumi school. It was there, with the blessing of his director of the Syrian orphanage, Johann Schneller, where Bishara met Katherina. Shortly afterwards they moved to a house in Beit Jala to continue with their missionary work and their teaching at Talitha Kumi. From there on they had six children, with Canaan being the second eldest and eldest of the boys, thus affording his father the venerable title, Abu Tawfiq.¹



Canaan (second right) with German nuns in the desert of Hafir. Left to right: Dr. Hans Kickton, Major Hans von Ramsay, the nuns, Dr. Canaan, Director Otto Haussmann.²
Image Credit: Norbert Schwake.

In his diaries Canaan describes an idyllic childhood growing up in the missionary of Beit Jala, of learning the piano, spending summers walking through the olive groves and valleys of Battir and Makhroul collecting scorpions, beetles, and small snakes, which he would then sell to his German teachers to send back to Germany. His fascination with looking at the natural world and taxonomy led to deepening his understanding of physiology which in turn led to studying medicine at American University of Beirut.³

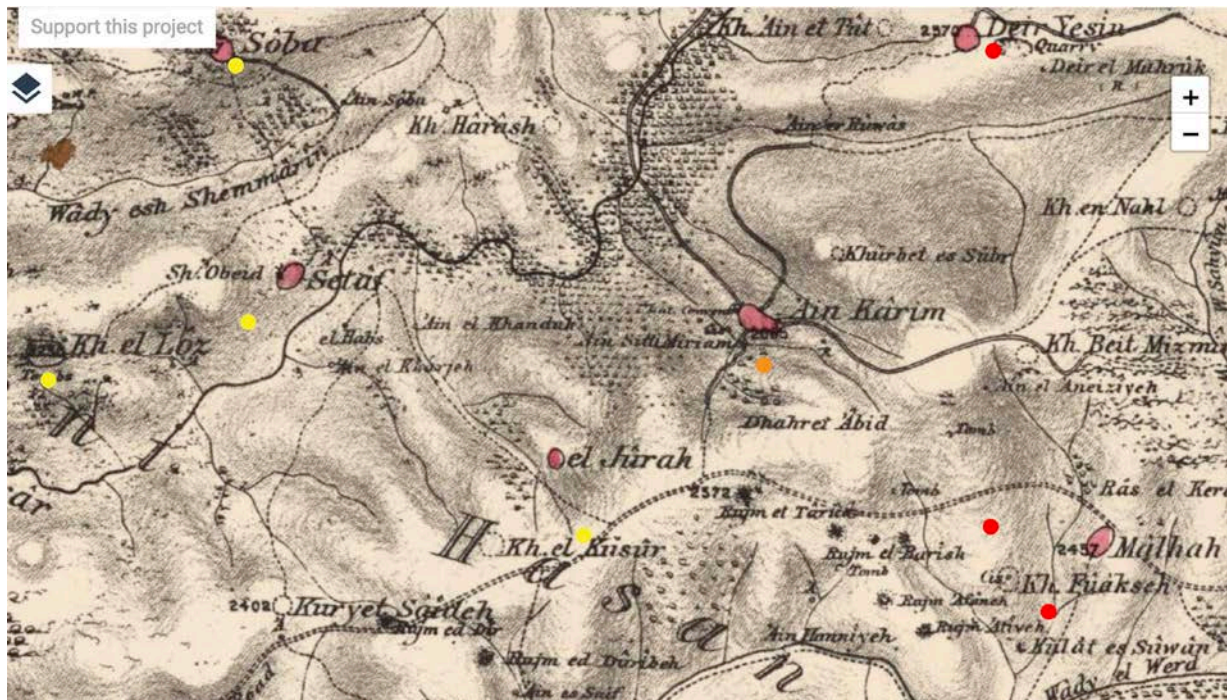
In 1922, Canaan published (in English) a preliminary survey of Palestinian folklore and customs for the Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, of which he was a secretary, editor, member of the board and later in 1927,

president. His short essay focuses on 125 haunted springs, wells, wadis, *birs* and cisterns local to villages mainly surrounding Ramallah and Jerusalem, extending south to Hebron and north to Tiberias. The text categorizes seven different types of hauntings, whether a site was good / bad, Christian / Muslim, animal / demon, singular / plural, curative or unknown. Haunted Springs and Water Demons was expanded five years later in a larger volume: Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine which came to include religious maqams, or shrines, many that could be found near a water source and the range of his study was extended further northwards, particularly in Nablus.

Mapping Water Sources (by religious and folkloric narratives)

From the early 19th century through to the British Mandate, a concerted effort to map Palestine in more detail begun shortly after Napoleon's invasion of 1799 with surveys being carried out by Pierre Jacotin (1765-1827) and later Victor Guerin (1821-1890), through to the German alliance with the Ottoman Empire⁴ and then finally the British Administration. Before that what predominantly fuelled the mind of orientalist Europeans, Christians and Jews, and thus informed the mapping of Palestine, were the readings of the Old and New Testament, whereby the reading of "place" was initiated by (more readings of) biased historic or religious events and more often than not, the accuracy of the mapping depended on the accuracy of the accompanying narration (or interpretation) of place.⁵ Before that, the main European reference map of the Levant was the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* produced by Abraham Ortelius (1527-98) in Antwerp in 1570. *Theatrum* was hugely prolific having reprints between 1570 and 1624 and the map appeared in Latin, Spanish, English, French, Dutch, Italian and German, and in 47 editions. Since their inception maps have signified social and political turning points; they constitute, implement, and represent the most contemporary forms of technology *at the time* (the map as a social mirror) and as such they are quite transitory things. What marks maps of the Levant at the time is that the usual imagery of sea monsters and mythical creatures are largely absent and not required. Such maps did not need such historical mythology, as the "Holy Land" has long provided its own unique historical and domineering religious narrative that is more than capable of overreaching general forms of mythology. Canaan's life's work is itself a mapping of Palestinian superstition and as such is hugely important.

As Foucault wrote, mapping the terrain is an index to power and knowledge, revealing the disparity of both in civil society. Maps in the late 19th / early 20th century did not include, for example: the sea level, lines of longitude and latitude, topographical elevations and other more nuanced but vital details, such as water sources, wadis, springs, wells, and cisterns, as well as ruins (*khirbet*) that were often nearby a water source. These things would be gradually incorporated and examining maps, images, and technology today; the terrain is vastly more polymorphous and has many disadvantages regarding how the terrain is presented, the user (or target's) personal security, trackability and diminishing personal privacy. However, Canaan's readings are also presented in the style of Eurocentric anthropology and language, which is sometimes pastoral, romanticized and portrays an idyllic picture of Palestine and it is noteworthy that even today, published Arabic translations of his works are scarce, which has been a major concern for Palestinian ethnographers.



1922 Mandate map. Overlaid with depopulated villages after the Dayr Yassin massacre (Northwest) highlighted in red, orange and yellow. Image Credit: Visualizing Palestine.

The 1920's – 1940's Mandate maps (made available on Open Source through Visualizing Palestine and Palestine Open Maps, which have been used for this project)⁶ begin to accurately in greater detail the natural water resources, wells, wadis, cisterns, and springs found in Palestine. In the archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), which is an independent 19th century British archaeological organisation and not exclusively part of the British Mandate, one can see a huge development in map making during this short period of time. The PEF conducted an exhaustive preliminary Study of Western Palestine whereby each region studied had a dedicated Hydrology chapter. Despite, the PEF's autonomy, it is important to note that these maps were often made in conjunction with British Military / War Office (many of the archaeologists were in the military), commissioned by the Mandate and represent colonial goals and orientalist attitudes, particularly an essentialist attitude towards notions of cultural property (often referred to as "treasure") associated to and before Biblical times. This is not the PEF's role today, but this association remains.

During the Mandate, Palestine's natural water resources were becoming more aggressively privatised by both the Mandate and newly arriving Zionist settlers from around the world and to which Palestinian water and access have been, since then, continually restricted.⁷ There are two later Israeli Military Orders (MO's) related to the restriction of Palestine's water: One is Military Order #158/1967 which prevents all inhabitants to dig wells and the other is Military Order #291/1968 which declares all water resources in the Occupied Palestinian Territories as Israeli State Property. Of all the water available from the West Bank aquifer, Israel consumes 73 percent (annually 333 m³ per capita) with the West Bank being allocated 17 percent (annually 83 m³ per capita), nearly a quarter less. The disparity is furthered when Israeli settlers consume 10 percent of the aquifer but at an annual rate of 1.450 m³ per capita, nearly twice as much as Palestinians. Furthermore, only 69 percent of Palestinian communities are connected to water infrastructure, which further highlights the inequality in water distribution and availability.⁸ Now, Israel controls 100 percent of the Palestinian water rights in the Jordan River and 86 percent of the Palestinian groundwater resources (shared and endogenous) resulting in an inequal and biased per capita water consumption ration of 4:1 in favor to Israel.⁹

The control of water resources has been physically manifested throughout the whole country from the Golan to the Negev. There have been major engineering projects in Galilee¹⁰, Jaffa, Bab el-Wad¹¹, Jericho, the Jordan River, which were first set out by the first Governor of Mandate Palestine, Norman Bentwich.¹² All of this time, the accessibility of water that has, for over a hundred years, been socially manifest (for Palestinians) in a legally and morally questionable manner, through the inequality of the distribution of water, the inaccessibility of water sources and irrigation due to damming on the Jordan River, or irrigation local to the separation barrier, the rediverting of Palestine's aquifers, the restricted issuing of water permits, restrictions on Palestinian well depths, settler attacks on Palestinian wells. These are to mention a few examples.

The Classification of Canaan's Springs

The core of Canaan's 1922 essay on haunted springs, wadis, wells, and cisterns. Canaan laid out seven categories of hauntings, which are as follows:

- 1) Springs inhabited by Good Spirits
 - a) by Welis, Sheikhs and Mohameddan Saints
 - b) by Christian Saints
- 2) Springs inhabited by Very Bad Spirits
- 3) Springs inhabited by Bad Spirits (less harmful than the last group)
- 4) Springs inhabited by Brides and Young Women
- 5) Springs guarded by Several Spirits
 - a) by Two Antagonistic Spirits
 - b) by Several Spirits
- 6) Springs which have a curative action, and which are not inhabited by Holy Persons
- 7) Springs which have not been mentioned

Of the hauntings listed, the majority are Muslim and Christian. 29 of the sites listed by Canaan now reside in modern day Israel, 9 can be found in Israeli national or recreational parks, 7 can be found in and around five Palestinian refugee camps, two are very contrasting UNESCO World Heritage Sites; one being the destroyed depopulated village of Lifta, which was proposed by Israel in 2015 for UNESCO heritage protection and where the destroyed village has struggled to rebuild subsequent Jewish communities inside this enclave of West Jerusalem. Conversely, the Palestinian village of Battir was successfully afforded UNESCO protected status in 2014. It is noteworthy that also a portion of the sites, mentioned by Canaan in the North such as Afula, al-Lajjun and Sheikh Ibreiq were sold off by the Sursock family to the Jewish Nation Fund in the 1920's.

Regarding the most "haunted" villages, towns, and districts listed by Canaan, the prominent sites are as follows: 14 in Ramallah, 7 in Birzeit, 6 in Der Ghassaneh, 6 in Jerusalem (Old City), 5 in Kobar, 5 in Nabi Samwil, 4 in Battir, 4 in Beit Jala, 4 in Hebron, 4 in Silwan.

Of the springs the following applies:

In 28 cases the spirits are good:
 24 of these are Mohammedan welis
 7 of these are female Saints
 4 of these are Christian Saints

In 18 cases very bad spirits are met with
 In 35 cases brides and young women are met with
 In 46 cases the djinn takes a female shape
 In 32 cases the djinn is in an animal form
 In 26 cases several spirits exist in one source
 In 6 cases two antagonistic spirits haunt the same water

In 3 cases springs were haunted by several holy persons AND

In 17 cases several bad spirits are found

In 17 cases the colour black is specified and in 6 other springs, one spirit is black, and the other spirit is white

In 7 cases a cock, a hen, or a hen with her chicks guard the water

In 5 cases a camel

In 8 cases one or more sheep

In 13 cases, the shape of which the djinn take shape is not specified

Many of the springs, wadis, wells, birs, and cisterns noted by Canaan are inhabited by one or more “haunting” and some sites are shared between faiths during religious festivals. Bir Ona in Canaan’s hometown Beit Jala is and the Hamman esh-Shifa, or Hamman Ashura, in the Old City in Jerusalem are two notable examples. The well of Bir Ona (translated as the “well of help” or “well of assistance”) was shared between Christians and Muslims and linked by blood, whereby during Easter the Christians would dye the stones around the well red to commemorate the site. The stones being a symbol of where the Virgin Mary was attacked by stones in the pea fields nearby Beit Jala. Similarly, during Ashura local Muslims would dye the water red to commemorate the martyrdom of Husseyn. Canaan frequently reminds the reader when a site, or saint, or *weli* is also venerated and shared by the other Abrahamic faiths – whether it is Abraham, Job, or St. Mary for example. This text advocates for the embedded practice *within* Historic Palestine of the interfaith sharing of water sites in mixed and shared communities.

Canaan’s essay amplifies each and every myth and haunting, highlighting narratives that may have been lost orally and physically but still survive through his research. One aspect of this project is the act of trying to remember and name – and repeat the names – of many lost and displaced places, people, myths and animals – and looking for their traces amongst what exists today; above or underneath the ground. If anything, a chthonic, or subterranean element pervades much of the mythology of Abrahamic religious texts; from the Sheytan (Satan or Iblis) to King Solomon commanding his army of djinn from his palace under the ground. The subterranean dwelling might house an animal such as a hyena, dragon, or snake living in a cave; or a Saint inhabiting the bottom of a well connected to a vast underground network. It is often what lurks below, in the dark, that has long fuelled the human imagination and Palestine, as porous as it is depicted today, in its Post Oslo mapping, is analogously hollow geologically being situated on a major fault line. Canaan divided his spirits into three categories:

<i>al-arwah el-ardiyeh</i>	_____	Earth spirits
<i>al-arwah es-sufliyah</i>	_____	Lower spirits (subterranean spirits)
<i>al-arwah ed-djahannamiyah</i>	_____	Hellish spirits



"Hot baths in Tiberias", 1939.
Image Credit: Edith Matson Collection.

In his 1922 essay, Canaan draws his readers' attention to a subterranean djinn triangle between the villages of Battir, Dayr Dibwan and the famous Hammam of Tiberias. It is rumoured that every night, the Djinn would carry hot water from Dayr Dibwan, east of Ramallah to the hot springs in the north. The djinn would also travel south from to Battir every night to clear away the dung from the village, where Canaan notes one can also hear the sound of a djinn drumming in the caves surrounding the village. Canaan reveals:

*"In the case of the springs of Tiberias it comes from a cave in the valley ed-Djai near Der Diwan [sic]. King Solomon ordered this djinn to perform this piece of work in order to give the inhabitants of Palestine a natural hot bath. And as these demons are blind and deaf, they do not yet know that their master, King Solomon, has died, and dreading his punishment they still continue to work. A similar belief exists about the Turkish baths. The inhabiting djinn – and every bath is inhabited help to heat the water: sukkânuh byihmûh."*¹³

Sukkânuh byihmûh translates as: *"Its inhabitants (the demons) heat it (the bath)"* and adds that in the valley is a much dreaded marid. The inhabitants of Der Diwan pretend that although a large number of cattle gather every evening in the cave and spend the night there, the cave is swept clean by that djinn every morning and all the dung disappears.¹⁴ This belief about the djinn of Tiberias carrying away dung is also shared by the people of Battir but is applied to the local spring of Ein Djami.¹⁵

Some of the sites, such as Neby Samwil, Dayr Ghassaneh, Birzeit, share a number of diverse "hauntings" and sometimes the myths surrounding the same site evolves, or aberrates. However, sometimes, it is notable when a large number of sites are inhabited by the same spirits or hauntings. One popular example is the site of Silwan in East Jerusalem, whereby the bubbling of the spring was associated to the sound of camels and later

came to be associated with chickens. This myth of chickens and her chicks associated to active springs applies to the main spring, Ain Lifta being another example.

This example is generally applied to springs haunted by many djinn (Section 5b). Generally, they are members of one family and in four out of fifteen cases belonging to this subdivision the djinn has taken the shape of a hen with her chickens (other sources belonging to this subdivision are inhabited by camels, a flock of sheep, djan (pl. of djinn), the family of *Za'rurah* etc.). It is believed by some that if a human being has the exceptional chance of catching one of these chickens, it will change at one into a lump of gold. This folklore Canaan attributes to Omar Bharghouti.

Bethlehem (Bayt Jala, Bir Ona, Battir, Artas, Solomon's Pools)



"Bethlehem and surroundings. Beit Jala (Zelzah), home of Saul", 1900
Image Credit: Edith Matson Collection.

If one walks through Canaan's hometown of Beit Jala and heads up the hill northwest (leaving behind Bir Ona and Dayr Kremisan on the right, or Eastern side), one will eventually find a valley and a nature reserve with ancient olive presses and stores. The valley traverses to Battir and one has to avoid walking near the Gilo and Har Gilo settlements in the escarpment above and the trail along the wadi has long been marked with white and blue paint on the rocks by Israeli settlers, which are used to orienteer illegal hiking routes (often, but not exclusively, through Area C) and is something that can be seen on Google Maps, as Palestinian water sources near Israeli settlements are earmarked for settlers' domestic, agricultural and recreational use.

Makhrour, which sits on the south-west side of the valley, (on the left as one approaches Battir) is haunted by, according to Canaan, the Greek Orthodox Saint Gabrianus, also known as Saint Cyprianus. Further along the valley, Ein el Hawiya, which is adjacent to where Canaan reports are the caves where the *djinn* are believed to carry the heat to the hot springs of Tiberias and is also where the sound of djinn drumming can be heard.

These are the valleys and groves where Canaan used to spend his summers as a child collecting beetles and reptiles. Today, the caves underneath the settlements of Gilo and Har Gilo settlements house one of the last remaining residents displaced from the original site of el-Walajeh. which also exists on the other side of the valley squeezed in between the settlements. El-Walajeh was moved in 1948, the original site now being in Judaeen Mountains National Park and its inhabitants displaced. In 1948 old Walajeh becoming part of the new Israeli West Jerusalem and new Walajeh part of Bethlehem / Beit Jala whereby few of the original inhabitants of the village remain, to the extent of being forced to live in nearby caves to continue to tend to their legally owned farmland.

Some of these springs show a special miracle on the day consecrated to the holy person who guards them. Thus, the water of Bir Ona rises to the brim on the Virgin's Day and the stones at the well's mouth are dyed red. This sort of animation of lifeless objects is met with in different phases of Palestinian folklore. Similarly, in regard to Bethlehem, the sites – and complex municipalities of, say, Bir Oneh in Beit Jala (Jerusalem municipality), Artas, Atan, Solomon's Pools; they have become absorbed into a larger Bethlehem that includes Dheisheh, Palestine's oldest refugee camp, as well as Aida Camp.



Abandoned / derelict British pumping station at Solomon's Pools and Artas.
Image Credit: Nathan Witt, 2023.

Dheisheh being Palestine's oldest refugee camp, sits on a hill, perched above the recently built Catholic monastery of Artas, which Canaan notes is haunted by black and white sheep and a djinn in the shape of a colourful bird with a long tail. I asked the sisters in the monastery about the local folklores, specifically if their colours black and white were associated to the church, as it is with Rosicrucian's, but they had not heard of the myths. As a child growing up in late 19th century Ottoman Palestine, Canaan used to spend his summers on the land of what has now become Dheisheh and he would have painfully witnessed its transition in 1948 to a makeshift camp of UN issued tents, which how now become concrete. As with many Palestinians, the residents were told by Israeli military and volunteers that their expulsion was temporary and they still reside today in the camp, able to see their old village over the border. Artas is notable for its fertile valley with its vegetable crops and has for millennia been one of Jerusalem's main water suppliers via Solomon's Pools and Ain Atan

(haunted by Brides) a little further West. From Roman times, Solomon's Pools has supplied Jerusalem via a complex system of uphill aqueducts and cisterns carrying the water northwards. Because of Solomon's Pools and the drainage from the lush fertile valley, Artas has long been a focal point of Palestine's hydro politics. During a severe drought in 1925, the well at Artas was incorporated into a larger centralized water network by the British and it was fenced off and allocated water for Jerusalem, (again via the route of Solomon's Pools), for 5 days a week, restricting access to the Artas locals to 2 days a week. This was the ominous sign of things to come in regard to the British and Zionists diverting aquifers, rainwater, imposing restrictions to Palestinian well digging depths, ongoing settler vandalism of wells, illegal settler tourism on contested springs and wells, ad infinitum. The environmental impact of Israel's hydro politics has been catastrophic with water levels of the Dead Sea and the Jordan river being reduced by 50% since Israel's post 1967 diversion of mountain water and groundwater from Lebanon, Golan, and Galilee westward to Haifa then south to Tel Aviv.

Hebron (Shuhada, Bayt Jibrin, Bayt Zakariyya)



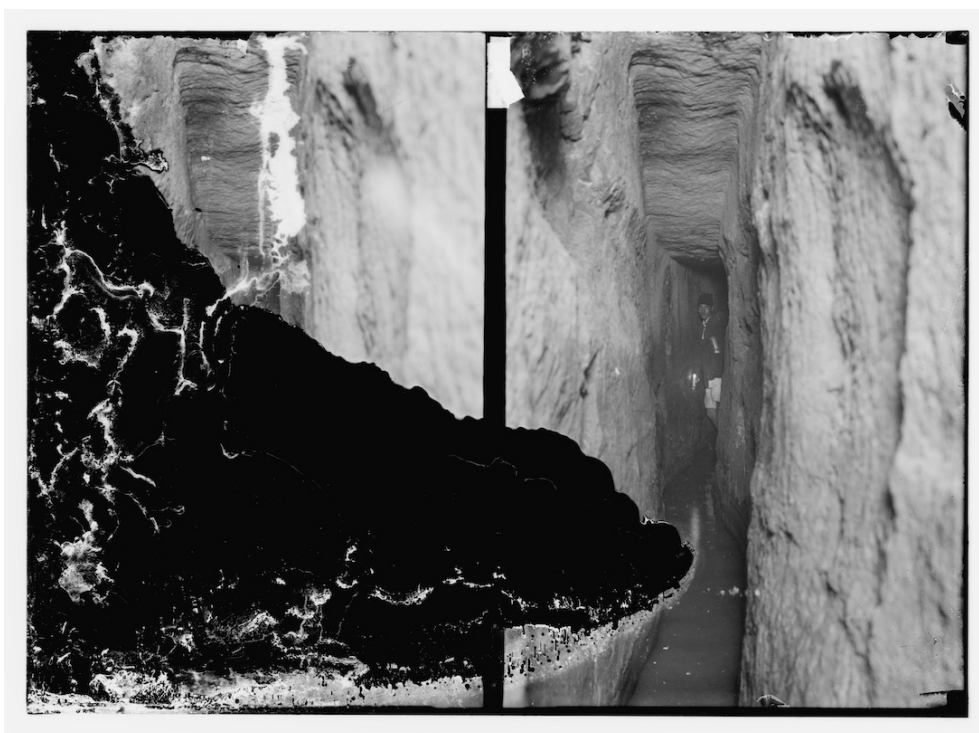
"Cave dwelling of gunpowder makers [Beit Jibrin]", 1898.
Image Credit: Edith Matson Collection.

*"The tombs of mujahdin and suhada. Both words mean "martyrs." The first denotes those 'who have fallen in a Holy War. In Hebron we are shown the tombs of es-Suhada. After decapitation, it is said, the heads rolled down shouting: 'Nashadu, nashadu, nashadu' ('We witness, we witness, we witness')."*¹⁶

The above story relayed by Canaan resonates so much today as one reflects upon exactly how much the people of Hebron have witnessed and experienced over the last 100 years. From the riots in the 1930's to the Ibrahimi Mosque massacre. Ein Djedideh, the "new spring" or Abraham's Spring in the centre of Hebron is barred to many Palestinians. Yet, it is not to international visitors or illegal settlers and is part of al-Shuhada street, often referred to as Hebron's ghost town. The site being a religious resting place is of huge cultural significance to both Jewish people and Muslims, but the area has long been earmarked for future Israeli control being under strict segregation with Palestinians having limited access to the Khalili Mosque and Old City.

Cannan further writes: *“Hamis el-Amwat is a feast day of the women. The visiting of the dead is in most cases very superficial, and the time is actually spent in good company out in the fresh air. No men mix with the women, except in Hebron, where the young unmarried and betrothed girls go to the cemetery of es-Suhada and dance. Unmarried men are allowed to look on from a respectful distance.”*¹⁷

East Jerusalem: Silwan, Bir Ayub, Hammam esh Shifa, Virgin’s Fountain, Neby Samwil



“Siloam Tunnel, Jerusalem, (alley)”, 1946.
Image Credit: Edith Matson Collection.

Occupied Palestine and modern-day Israel house a hyper-accelerated type of ancient and modern history whereby contrasting ruins, old and present are deeply polarized and embedded with the recent traumas of Palestinian memories, which only serves to strengthen the hauntology of the ruins. In a present-day context Jerusalem is obviously now significantly larger and more complex than it was in 1922 when Canaan first conducted his studies, whilst working as a doctor and being a direct witness and participant during both the First World War, as well as the transition of the Israeli State in the Nakba.

As such, it is incredibly difficult to visually “assemble / reassemble” the many depopulated Palestinian villages, suburbs, and their cultural sites into any contemporary map. This hypothetical map would have to take into account all of the contested borders surrounding Jerusalem, the Armistice Lines, 1948 and 1967 borders, Areas J1 and J2, the Jerusalem District, the Quds Governate and Jerusalem Municipality; as well as Areas A, B and C, the Biddu Enclave and many other constantly revised city municipalities. Mapping Palestine in any sense has been compounded by the Oslo. The terrain of the West Bank is constantly shifting, mostly shrinking, with Palestinian land continually being taken and homes demolished. To construct this map, one would potentially have to overlay present day Israeli Western Jerusalem and Palestinian Eastern Jerusalem (Areas J1, J2,) over (Mandate maps of) Canaan’s 1922 Historic Palestine, which is to include many – but not all – of the villages destroyed or depopulated in 1948.

Palestine's population and building frenzy is aggressively consuming and damaging the landscape and putting a huge strain on Palestine's wildlife and natural resources.¹⁸ To the West and South West and South East of Jerusalem, many of the depopulated or destroyed villages such as al-Maliha, al-Djura and Lifta, have been consumed into the city as suburbs, private gated moshav's and in the case of Lifta, a liminal civic space that is still awaiting its fate. Holy Sites such as the Dome of the Rock have, for decades, been under constant threat and Palestinian East Jerusalem suburbs like Silwan are now under full development. Israel and the West Bank have almost become a nightmarish Kafkaesque archaeological theme park. This has been recently typified by subterranean archaeological digging in Silwan to create, or "recreate", the Kings Garden Plan in the adjacent Kidron Valley / Wadi el-Joz. Archaeological religious historical bias has often been discussed as an entrenched and effective tool / practice, used to both destabilise and secure Palestinian territory and legitimise Israel's historical claims to certain sites. Furthermore, even when there is academic ambiguity about the historical veracity of a site, the public presentation of the site, aggressively marketed and campaigned as de facto "religious" and "authentic" pervades but inevitably undermines many historical narratives.

Travelling north of Jerusalem towards Ramallah, through Qalandia; on the Western Beit Iksa and Beitunia flanks is also another complex de-parcelled area with numerous Palestinian villages that are isolated and cut off by the separation wall and restricted checkpoints and with many areas deliberately closed off in order to improve access to settlements. The Biddu enclave, a narrow North-South corridor that starts at the springs of en-Nabi Samwil and travels North to at-Tira and the settlement of Beit Horon and the spring of Ein Djenan, West of Beitunia. Al-Jib is only accessible by an underpass and a checkpoint from the West at Ofer. The Biddu enclave houses the important springs and sites of Ein ed-Djoz in Kolonia (or Qalunya) and en-Nabi Samwil two kilometres to the North, which have five and seven reported hauntings respectively. Canaan reminds us that, like so many sites around Palestine, there was significant damage to sites during the First World War with mounds being levelled to remove vantage points for shooters, or doors being removed for firewood and with Nabi Samwil, there was significant trench building by Turkish and British forces. The area is haunted by children and brides according to Canaan. Today, Nabi Samwil is made completely inaccessible by incorporating the ruins into an Israeli Archaeological Park which has all but cut off access to the remains of the village.¹⁹



"Ruined village of Neby Samuel", 1917.
Image Credit: Edith Matson Collection.

Canaan's documentation of the sites in the centre of Jerusalem, particularly the many Hammams dotted throughout the Old City, the man made and natural springs and pools in (or under) Silwan, the ruins of Lifta, the holy site of the Dome of the Rock; notions of folklore assume a different complexity due to the stories inhabiting an urban and part-metropolitan environment. This is one that contrasts with the more pastoral rural folklores where, for example, a beautiful bride would inhabit a picturesque wadi, or a terrible marid would be lurking in a village well. An essentialist and orientalist image of Jerusalem still pervades and there are many pastoral and scenic elements within the city, such as Gethsemane and Wadi el-Joz / Kidron Valley – and these also contrast to what most would consider to be "metropolitan" with many overlapping epochs marking the architecture. What makes Jerusalem a typically ancient city is clear; a labyrinth of narrow, murky winding passages lining innocuous looking doors, many revealing a grand al-Hoash or open court or plaza, bulldozed and cleared in the 1940's. Or its rooftop networks that have their own invisible borders and communities, marked below. Underneath the city is a predominantly Roman network of water and blood cisterns, whereby both are separated for hygiene reasons. The blood cisterns being used for both rituals, sacrifices and by butchers and were stumbled across by British archaeologists in the late 19th century who would remove a door from a home and use it as a punt in the sewers below, floating on top of the city's effluence as they went. Regarding the territory of Israel being expanded underneath the surface of Palestine, the water runs through a network of diverted / drained aquifers and fissures and ancient man-made channels that run along a geological fault line, as the Asian, African, and European plates meet. The plates fold up on each and descend into the Dead Sea. St Mary's Pool, the spring underneath Silwan, is an ancient natural karst spring, with tunnels dating back to the Bronze Age.²⁰ To Muslims, it is known as Ein Umm al-Daraj (Spring of the Mother of the Steps) and to Christians Ain Sitti Mariam (Spring of the Lady Mary) and to Jews, it is known as the Gihon Spring, which stems back to the City of David. There is also an ancient myth about a dragon sleeping underneath Silwan that goes back to Nehemiah 2.13: *"I went out by night by the Valley Gate to the Dragon Spring and to the Dung Gate, and I inspected the walls of Jerusalem that were broken down and its gates that had been destroyed by fire."* The well is also known as the Serpent's well, the Jackal's Well, the Dragon's Spring and it is uncertain if it is at the Virgin's Well, or Bir Ayub, Ain el-Madauwerah or one of the lower Silwan Pools.²¹



"Valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom. Virgin's Fountain", 1900

Image Credit: Edith Matson Collection.

Canaan asks his readers: *“Are all periodical springs inhabited by good and bad spirits which cause their abnormal flow? I must answer this question in the negative. Other explanations are easily found, ‘Ēn Silwân, also called ‘Ēn Imm ed-Daradj, for example, was formerly guarded by a bad spirit appearing in the form of a camel. He used to drink a lot of water from time to time, thus stopping the flow for a short period. This camel died. In its place now lines a hen with her chickens, i.e., the place of one demon was taken by several, very much as in Matthew, 12.45.²² Everybody I asked informed me that no camel has ever appeared to anybody during recent years in that spring. The bubbling sound of the water is explained as being the sound of the chickens.”*

Tapping into the abundance of subterranean overflow beneath the Old City is a vast network of predominantly Roman cisterns which drains into the Wadi / Kidron. These cisterns were extensively recorded before the Mandate in 1864 by Ermete Pierotti, Captain in the Corps of Royal Piedmontese Army Engineers, working on behest for Surrayya Pasha of Jerusalem. Unlike the Palestine Exploration Fund later on, the Pasha allowed Pierrotti unfettered access to all of the Holy Muslim sites in Jerusalem and so was able to meticulously document the maze of cisterns, tunnels, and wells. Silwan itself is a concrete tank, or series of them, each being filled from a network of channels underneath the Haram esh-Sharif. Pierrotti located some 16 cisterns gathering water from the surface, many draining into Silwan.

Canaan describes that from under the rock in al-Aqsa, Jerusalem’s water flowed in all directions throughout the city, making the water from under the Well of Paradise, *Bîr el-Waraqah*, the Well of Souls, or the Holy of Holies more available. He goes on: *“Another present belief²³ is that from under es-Sahkrah (the rock in the Omar Mosque) four living waters flow: to the South Hammân esh-Shifâ, to the East Siloam, to the North En Haddji and ‘En el-Qashleh and to the West Hamman es-Sultan.”* In the North, he mentions *Ein Qashleh* and *‘Ēn Hajjî*, which is haunted by a *rasad*, who used to devour a person yearly. In the “East” is *Siloam* and *Hammâm sittî Mariam*, “South” to *Hammân esh-Shifâ*; “West” to *Hamman es-Sultan* (the Serpent’s Pool). The statement is rather confusing as the *Hammam esh-Shifa*, currently administered by al-Quds University is directly adjacent (and West) to al-Aqsa and Silwan is situated South / South East, however one may read the heading as East if the walker has to head out of Stephen’s Gate before heading South to Silwan.

However, one could read this statement, more as the prominent pools and water sources in uses at the time: *“A girl of Siloah having been maltreated by her stepmother fled and threw herself into Bîr Ayûb. Before she took her last step, she asked the help and the protection of this saint, and she felt as she was falling down that that venerable sheikh took her in his arms, and placing her on a stone step, just above the water level, told her: ‘Do not be afraid, my child; soon you will be again in your father’s house.’ A few hours later her anxious father, discovering that she was still living, threw down a rope and drew her up. The second day after the accident I was called to see the girl, who was not feeling quite well, and I heard the story from her mouth.”²⁴*

Zemzem: The Light

Canaan talks of the significance of Zemzem (Hauntings) / Zemzem (Mohameddan Saints) water in Jerusalem and highlights what seems to be a ritual and / or narrative that continues today, in that there is not much distinction exercised in affording a spring from any part of the world to be labelled Zemzem water. There have been many recent reports of Zemzem containing high levels of arsenic and nitrates and not being passable for human consumption and one reason for this is groundwater being contaminated by (often untreated) wastewater. A lot of springs, wells and cisterns in Palestine have been carved directly into the rock and both pollution, restrictions on well depth, water treatment and deliberate contamination are severe.

It seems that many of the wells in Palestine were afforded the honour of Zemzem issued out and celebrated on the 10th of Moharram. Strangely, the *Bir el-Arwah*, the Well of Souls / Holy of Holies is not clearly cited as a source of Zemzem, but that the *Hamman esh-Shifa* is a site which was also used to cure many other ailments.



Hammam esh Shifa, part of Al-Quds University

Image Credit: Nathan Witt, 2023.

As a proof of the truth of their superstition the following story is told: *“An Indian pilgrim lost his water-cup in Bir Zemzem. One year afterwards he happened to be in Jerusalem, and while on the day of 'Ashurah he was taking a hot Turkish bath in Hammân esh-Shifâ, the bath-keeper, drawing water from the well, fished out a cup. This was recognized at once by the Indian pilgrim to be his own cup, which fell down into Zemzem while he was at Mecca. This proved to everybody that the water of the holy Zemzem mixes on this day with the waters of this well.”*²⁵

Some waters derive their power from the fact that they mix once a year with the water of the holy well Zemzem in Mecca. At such a period the water is curative. Wells of this type with a special reputation are:

'Ën Imm ed-Daradj, in Siloam.

Hammân esh-Shifâ in Jerusalem.²⁶

The cistern in the shrine of en-Nubani in Nablus.

This overflow of the water of Zemzem takes place generally on the Tenth of Moharram, which is also known by the name 'Ashura, and is thought to be the anniversary of the death of Hussein, the son of Fatimeh, Mohammed's daughter. The connection of the overflowing of the spring and the memory of Hussein is not without interest. According to some the water of this holy well at Mecca mixes on this day with all springs in Mohammedan countries, thus giving every Moslem the opportunity of drinking from Zemzem.

The following belief about Hammân esh-Shifâ is a very primitive conception of the animation of water: *“The Mohammedan women of Jerusalem go on the Tenth of Moharram and take a bath, as it is believed that the waters of Zemzem overflow on this day and mix with the waters of this bath, also called Hammam 'Ashura. According to some even 'Ën Imm ed-Daradj, [Silwan] receives on this day some water from Zemzem.”*

West / Southwest Jerusalem: Judean National Park, al-Maliha, Sataf, Suba, al-Djura, al-Walejeh, Ain Karim



Entrance to the Judean National Park at Malha / al-Maliha. Running to Ain Hanniyeh, El-Walajeh, Sataf and al-Djura.

Image Credit: Nathan Witt.

Of the depopulated Palestinian villages found within Israel, many are often publicly presented, or glossed over, in a tourist friendly (read “accessible”) recreational context. Such narratives seek to suppress the violence of the past and which compounds the trauma and suffering of existing Palestinian families, those who have been long displaced and are unable to return and who have yet to receive any compensation for their losses. Villages, like Sataf, al-Walajeh, al-Maliha, al-Djura, Suba, Ain Karim to name but a microcosm of many; these have now been greenwashed or developed over and absorbed into Israeli civic society. Many of Canaan’s sites were evacuated or destroyed in 1948 as a result of intensifying nascent Israeli military operations. Canaan, interestingly, does not record any hauntings in the village of Deir Yassin, which is the site of one of the most notable crimes of the Nakba.²⁷ The nearest site he recorded was Ein Karim, whose venerated resident is Saint Mary (Sitti Mariam). The villagers and many of the nearby neighbouring villages fled not long after the massacre and these sites have now become absorbed as suburbs of Western and Southwestern Jerusalem, which now assumes a wholly different identity and meaning/s, with the recent past being buried and concealed. The (destroyed and depopulated) villages have become sanitized, used, and promoted in contexts that conceal their previous cultural meaning (Canada Park, Ayalon Forest), or they have become private residences. In the case with al-Maliha, where Canaan comments the water was “*lighter than gold*”, the haunted spring now sits adjacent to a national aquarium, with a subtle degree of irony and abstraction. These deeply significant cultural sites are subjected to a cultural bias with the Israeli State’s cultural re-contextualization overwriting and ignoring or glossing over the last two millennia of history.²⁸ The notion of overlooked “recent” history is more than just a semantic argument, although that is one facet of its personality.



Ein el-Walajeh (haunted by Brides), now part of the Judeean National Parks.
Image Credit: Nathan Witt, 2023.

Many villages remain as ruins and are abandoned with fast growing non-endemic pine trees concealing the spring, well or *maqam*, something which can have its own detrimental environmental impact, in addition to the wider cultural damage. With reference to the previously cosmopolitan village of Lifta (haunted by chickens), that had at the time a large Yemeni Jewish community forming an integral part of the Ottoman Palestinian social fabric; the destroyed village's remains have, so far, failed to be absorbed by Israel, failed to be destroyed and failed to be preserved. Consistent plans to re-settle Yemeni Jews have been unsuccessful; corporate attempts to try and bulldoze the village and redevelop it have been opposed by campaigns like "Save Lifta"²⁹ and the recent UNESCO proposal³⁰, but the village remains still derelict and abandoned, awaiting a wholly ambiguous fate.

Over the last two millennia there has been a mania – and a parallel industry of antiquities smuggling – in the Levant that goes back to the times of Emperor Constantine's mother, Helena, who, essentially, was the first person to go on a Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land – and the first to take a Christian object (reliquary) from it. Odiously, Helena has the unfortunate reputation of being the person who precipitated the ongoing frenzied practice of reliquary looting and antiquities smuggling that continues to this day in the Levant.³¹ In 2001, the Palestinian and Israeli Antiquities Authorities (IAA) reported a 300 percent rise in incidents of grave robbing. Most Palestinian illegal diggers seem to have learned the skills of excavating and tomb robbing from foreign archaeologists working in the country, passing this knowledge to their children and friends later on. A well-known grave digger from the village of al-Jib (ancient Gibeon) named Muhammad told the author: "*The people of the village learned the nature of digging, and learned stratigraphy and layers from [European and American archaeologists like] Pritchard who excavated the village in the 1950s.*"³² Contrary to belief, looting is not a profitable business and local looters / grave diggers do not receive huge financial payoffs from their work. Grave digging is a tedious job that doesn't compensate the accompanying effort and risks and besides the danger of being caught by police, grave diggers face poisonous snakes and scorpions, as well as deadly insects. And in relation to Canaan's lexicography of folklore and superstition and how it is intertwined into Palestinian culture, a digger

from the Hebron area in the southern West Bank named Munther told the news agency Reuters: *"The most frightening of all are the djinn [the ghosts]. I am not afraid of the soldiers or the snakes,"* he said. *"Sometimes people become sick or go mad from the ghosts."* He added: *"We sometimes bring Muslim sheikhs – holy men – to recite incantations to drive away the evil spirits from the tombs."*³³



Ein esh-Sharqiyeh, Sataf (haunted by a man with fiery red eyes), now part of the Judeean National Parks.
Image Credit: Nathan Witt, 2023.

Ramallah, Ain Qiniya, Ain Arik, Al-Bireh, Al-Tireh, Birzeit, Dayr Dibwan, Jifna

Birzeit, Jifna, Ein Arik, Der Dibwan, al-Bireh and Beitunia become absorbed by the Ramallah Municipality. These are the most obviously examples but in the West Bank there are many more smaller villages being consumed by greater municipalities and essentially becoming modern suburbs of larger towns and cities.

*"En Qiniya is inhabited by the weli Abu el-'Enen (The Father with Many Eyes). The peasants used to light in his honour, every Thursday night, an oil lamp, the oil of which was regularly drunk by jackals. This irritated the owner of the ground just around the spring (Mohammed 'Abdallah), so much, that he lighted an oil lamp for him with the words: 'If you cannot protect your property, we shall never light your lamp again.' The next morning the jackal was found dead, with the oil lamp in his mouth. This of course proved the power of the weli conclusively."*³⁴

Canaan recalls this story earlier in *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, but refers to the jackal as a wolf. Apparently, the jackal is often interpreted as *el-Wawi*, a type of ghul in the form of a black shadow. *"Animals whose forms are preferred by demons. These are the goat (djidi), hyena (djabi), 'arbid and ghul."* The colour of these animals is black or dark, which points, 'as we know from Palestinian demonology, 'to a bad *djinn*. 'Arbid, not *haiyeh*, is used in these cases to denote a serpent. 'Arbid means primarily "troublesome, petulant³⁵ quarrelsome, 'ill-natured." In classical Arabic *'irbidd* means "a bad and poisonous serpent," as well as the "male of every serpent." Popular use has combined these forms and characteristics, so that 'arbid now means "an ill-natured, poisonous male serpent." Common belief always gives it a dark colour. A goat stands, as was shown in *Haunted Springs and Water Demons*, for a bad demon. The *ghul* is one of the worst demons, while the hyena is reckoned as the most insidious and ill-natured of animals."³⁶

The etymology of *ghul* (female *ghula*) means to “seize”. It has been attributed from the Mesopotamian *gallu*, who was a demon from the underworld who abducted the fertility God Dumuzu / Damuzi, of which later the Hebrew and the Turkish Rumi month Temmuz / Tammuz are named. One frequently mentioned aspect about haunted sites in Palestine, particularly in Hebron, is that the dead are not perceived as being dead and should not be disturbed.³⁷ This respect for the dead accounts to a certain proximity, for example, how the dead become closer to us as their resting places, such as the many Khirbets around Palestine, are too often disturbed, either in order to look for hidden “treasures”, or as the various forms of extraterritorial infrastructures take hold.

However, the myth still survives in the village today. Area C, according to Oslo, is designated for settlements, Israeli parks, and military training. Palestinians living within this area are frequently denied building permits and experience regular settler attacks. One of the many examples is the site of the Maqam of Abu el-Enen in Ain Qiniya, which is West of Ramallah. Ain Qiniya is adjacent to two settlements Dolev and Talmon. Ain Qiniya means the gathering of springs.



Maqam of the Weli Abu el-Enen at Sakiya in Ain Qiniya. Hebrew graffiti laying out proposed trail by Israeli settlers.

Image Credit: Nathan Witt.

The local farmers and a local arts organisation at Sakiya in Ain Qiniya³⁸, who have been restoring the site and is home to the weli's maqam and the spring, receives regular settler assaults, on average once a week. The settlers often arrive in the early hours and damage the farm's restored Roman water reservoir and also the shrine and its adjacent hundred years old tree. What is clear looking at Dolev, through their expansion outwards from the settlement and building trails around the area, is that Sakiya and the Maqam of Abu el-Enen is a de facto targeted and earmarked. What is also evident is that the settlers have no interest whatsoever in the local cultural narrative and seek to destroy it.

El-Hasr: The Darkness

One of the most interesting beliefs recalled by Canaan is the medicinal quality of water called *el-Hasr*. *El-hasr* is continuously stored in the dark (usually in a cistern in the basement of a house) and administered only during night, in order to suppress urinating and improve the body's water retention. Naturally, the need for this in desert is vital and it is uncertain how far back the tradition goes. *El-Hasr* lives a completely subterranean chthonic life, subsumed in darkness before it is consumed where it will return to and stay in darkness, inside the body. As such, it has to come, drawn at night and consumed at night, from a darkened cistern, or bir. Locations are:

'Ên Sôbah	-	Suba (Western Jerusalem)
'Ên Abû Niâq	-	Der Ghassaneh
'Ên Mghalis	-	Jibya
'Ên el-Wihrah	-	Kafr Tut
Bir es-Sabar	-	Der Tarif

Canaan also mentions a cistern used for *el-Hasr*: *'Ên el-Wihrah* in Kafr Tut, as being a walled ground floor room, which was (and possibly still might be) inhabited by the ghost of a monkey. Covering the *bir*, or well, is a practical solution to keeping out the light and there is one example of making one's bed over the well, (although not listed by Canaan as *el-Hasr*): *"Abmad ed-Djabbarah (Yalo) spreads his bed on the surface of his well. The bed is made of a farweh (a sheepskin coat) with long white wool."*³⁹

Canaan also refers to a custom where *el-Hasr* can cure sterility in women. He says that if a woman is unable to have children she should: *"Take with her seven mashâkhis, seven keys of doors which open to the South, and seven cups of water, each from a different cistern, where at no time of the day do the rays of the sunshine over its opening."*

A major aspect of any haunting is that the narrative, folklore, and parable are physically bound to a site. The land activates the myth and although it creates the atmosphere for the haunting, we know our readings go much deeper than merely the terrain. The terrain is, again, the vessel. The site does not need to be rural, or pastoral and even without any folktales the history of the site, of what crimes, misdemeanours, tales of woe, or comedy, love, or good fortune or has transpired. The haunting narrative acts more than just an echo of the past (invariably as a negative parable), and sometimes something psychologically more inexplicable and primal occurs, and becomes the thing that becomes more unsettling, or what Freud referred to in his essay on the Sandman as *Das Unheimliche*, the uncanny. Folklore, on both cultural and metaphysical levels, serves to both alleviate suffering and provide cultural reclamation and in many senses are intertwined and as such is effective to gain political leverage, which in turn empowers civil society. The tradition of storytelling is both textual and oral and one that needs to be passed on down from generation and is fortunately widely practised.

Nathan Witt is a British artist and a graduate in painting from Winchester School of Art, University of Southampton, the Royal College of Art in London and Ashkal Alwan's Home Workspace Programme in Beirut. Witt has recently been part of CERN Arts Guest Artists programme in Geneva conducting research on contemporary carbon dating techniques and their usage in areas of conflict, specifically the Middle East.

Over the last ten years, Witt has been working between Palestine, Lebanon and the South West of England. He has been resident with Delfina Foundation, Art School Palestine, Decolonizing Architecture in Bayt Sahur, Batroun Art Project in Lebanon, Barzakh in Beirut, Hospitalfield Arts in Arbroath and Mansion in Zoqaq al Blatt, Beirut. He has been recipient of a Foundation for Arts Initiative Award in 2017 for work with Campus in Camps in Dheisheh Refugee Camp.

Recent exhibitions include: Real Time at Seventeen Gallery, London (2020), PARSE Biennale on Time, University of Gothenburg, Sweden (2015); A Interloper at CCA Gallery, Glasgow (2015); On Concerning the Bodyguard, The Tetley, Leeds (2014); A Museum of Immortality, Ashkal Alwan, Beirut (2014); Proxy Special, Platform Gallery, Belfast (2014); NOA III (Not Only Arabic) Research Week at 98 Weeks, Beirut (2013); Points of Departure, Al Mahatta Gallery, Ramallah (2013).

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HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

1 Springs inhabited by Good Spirits

a) by Welis, Sheikhs and Mohameddan Saints

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
Bir es-Sahar Shoaib.	Weli Shu"eb. Shu'ayb/	Der Tarif	Beit Arif, Israel 291 Houses/ 1,750 people. Depopulated on 11/7/ 1948	Lydda 14-15
Ên el-Bîreh	Sheikh	Al-Bireh	39.8 % Area A 5 % Area B 55.2 % Area C	el-Bira 17-14
Bîr Ayûb Ein Rogel	en-nabi Ayub	Siloam Silwan	E. Jerusalem J1 (Al-Quds Governate)	Jerusalem 17-13
Bîr Sindjil	en-nabi Yusuf/ Joseph	Sindjil	13.8 % Area A 34.7 % Area B 51.5 % Area C	Qabalan 17-16
'Ên Qînâ	el weli Abu el-Enen.	Ein Qiniya	NW of Ramallah	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên esh-Sheikh Yûsif	esh-sheikh Yusif	N. of Ramallah (Surda)	95.4 % Area B 4.6 Area C	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên el-Hadjar	es-sitt Mu'minah	Der Ghassaneh Beit Rima	Area C Bani Zaid	Biddya 15-16
'Ên Djakûk	Weli (The Prophet Samuel)	E. of en-nabi Samwil, Beit Ikse	Area C "Seam Zone" PA Control. East of 1967 Green Line. West of Israeli separation barrier	Ein Karim 16-13
Ên el-Amîr Part of Ein Jakak and Ein Tiwala	Sullah and Awlia	E. of en-Nabi Samwil Beit Ikse. Beit Hanina.	Area C "Seam Zone" PA Control. East of 1967 Green Line. West of Israeli "Separation Barrier".	Ein Karim 16-13
'Ên Masiûn Al Masyoun	An angel	Ramallah	Area A	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên esh-Sheikh	esh-Sheikh 'Abd-Allah 'Abdallah	[Ein] Yabrud ("Nimrud")	Area C Surrounded by two settlements and a military base.	Silwad 17-15
'Ên esh-Sheikh Husên	esh-Sheikh Husen	En 'Arik	7.3 % Area B 92.7 % Area C	Ramallah 16-14
Bir ed-Djâbbarah (Bir el Jabbar)	esh-Sheikh Ahmad ed-Djabbarah	Yalo [Latrun] Ayalon Forest	Village Destroyed. Now Canada Park. No Man's Land. Taken during 1967 Six Day War	Bab el-Wad 15-13

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

1 Springs inhabited by Good Spirits a) by Welis, Sheikhs and Mohameddan Saints (continued)

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ên Ayûb	En-nabi Ayub	E. of Kharbathah Kharbatha Bani Harith	942d Area B 6,200d Area C 833d confiscated to make way for Modi'in Lilit	Abud 15-15
Bîr (in)	Sullah	Hizmah (Jerusalem)	Jerusalem Governate Area C Between Qalandia & Shu'fat 8 surrounding military bases.	Jerusalem 17-13
Bîr Imm Djê	Salhat	Beit Djibrin	Destroyed 1948 Now Bet Guvrin National Park	Beit Jibrin 14-11
'Ên es-Sitt Lêlah The Valley of the Lady ('Ayn al Khalil, 'Ayn Nasir, 'Ayn Sitt Leila, and 'Ayn Jumma) ['Uyun Seil Lajjun]	es-Sitt Lelah	Al-Ladjun Lajjun. Roman site of Legion/ Jezreel Valley	Kibbutz Megiddo built on destroyed village, taken between April - May 1948	Nahalal 16-23/ Megiddo 16-22
'Ên el-Qubbeh	es-Sitt Zenab	Kaubar	53.7 % Area B 46.3 % Area C	Birzeit 16-15
'Ên es-Sharqiyeh (Wadi el Laya)	es-Sitt Fatumeh	Kaubar	53.7 % Area B 46.3 % Area C	Birzeit 16-15
'Ên es-Shâmiyeh	es-Sitt Esh-shamiyeh	Qalunya (Now Arza) Nahal Sorek	Destroyed/ depopulated April 1948. Part of Deir Yassin Massacre	Ein Karim 16-13
'Ên es Sharîf	esh-sheikh Esh-Sharif	Qalunya (Now Arza) Nahal Sorek	Destroyed/ Depopulated April 1948. Part of Deir Yassin Massacre	Ein Karim 16-13
El Matba'ah	Esh-Sheikh Ibrek	Tell esh-Shamman Beit Shearim Jezreel Valley	Land sold in 1925 to JNF by A. Sursock. Now Beit Shearim National Park. Bani Zeid.	Nahalal 16-23
'Ên ed Djôz	Esh-sheikh Husen	Qalunya (Now Arza) Nahal Sorek	Destroyed/ Depopulated April 1948. Part of Deir Yassin Massacre	Birzeit 16-15
Bîr el-Waraqah The Well of Souls	Leads to Paradise	Jerusalem	Haram Ash-Sharif. E Jerusalem (J1). Al- Quds Gov	Jerusalem 17-13

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

1 Springs inhabited by Good Spirits

b) by Christian Saints

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ên er-Râhib	Monk	Nablus	Area A	Nablus 17-18
'Ên Kârim	The Virgin Mary	'Ên Kârim	Now Ein Kerem, Israel	Ein Karim 16-13
Bîr 'Ônah	The Virgin Mary	Nr Bet-Djala. Jerusalem	25 % Area A. 75 % Area C. Bir Ona. Partially surrounded by separation wall.	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên Kibriân	St Gabrianus	W. of Bet-Djala Bethlehem	Makhrour	Bethlehem 16-12
Hammâm sittî Mariam	The Virgin Mary	Jerusalem	St Stephen's Gate/ Sheep's Gate. E Jerusalem (J1). Al- Quds Governate	Jerusalem 17-13
'Ên Imm el-Lôzeh	Has a curative action in eye troubles	Jerusalem	Silwan. E Jerusalem (J1). Al- Quds Governate	Jerusalem 17-13

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

2) Springs inhabited by Very Bad Spirits

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
A spring near Wâdî Benî Hâmmad	Ghûl.	Wâdî Benî Hâmmad	Jordan (Wadi Rum)	N/A
'Ên Hasbân	Ghûleh.	Transjordania	Jordan	N/A
'Ên Djariût	Abdeh.	Der Diwan Dayr Dibyan	Municipality D 0.2 % Area A 16.8 % Area B 83 % Area C	El-Bira 17-14
'En Flêfleh North of village	Abd.	Bir Zet	75.8 % Area B 24.2 % Area C	Birzeit 16-15
'En el-'Arâq	Abdeh.	Bir Zet	75.8 % Area B 24.2 % Area C	Birzeit 16-15

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

2) Springs inhabited by Very Bad Spirits (continued)

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
Bîr Srîdah	Abd.	Der Ghassaneh (NW of village)	Area C Bani Zaid	Biddya 15-16
'Ên el-Hadjar	Marid.	Der Ghassaneh (SE of Beit Rima)	Area C. SW of village, adjacent to Ein el-Hajjar. E of settlement Giv'at Haberecha.	Biddya 15-16
Bîr Abu Sarrîs	Shetan.	Der Ballut	5.2 % Area B 94.8 % Area C	Biddya 15-16
'Ên Qârûs	Shetan.	Kefr Tut Umm al-Tut	Municipality D Area A	Azzun 15-17
'Ên in Wâdî ed-Djâi	Marid.	Der Diwan	Municipality D 0.2 % Area A 16.8 % Area B 83 % Area C	El-Bira 17-14
'Ên 'Abbâsîn	Abd.	Between Battir and Husan	23.7 % Area B 76.3 % Area C	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên M'ân	Djinn.	Ma'ân	Jordan	N/A
'Ên Hajjî	Rasad.	Jerusalem	?	Jerusalem 17-13
Bir el-Qal'ah	Marid.	Bet Jibrin	Destroyed 1948 Now Bet Guvrin National Park	Beit Jibrin 14-11
'Ên ed-Djdîdî	Abd.	Kaubar	53.7 % Area B 46.3 % Area C	Birzeit 16-15
Wâdî-l-Bîr	Abd.	Kaubar	53.7 % Area B 46.3 % Area C	Birzeit 16-15
'Ên ed-Djâmî	Black male.	'En 'Arik	7.3 % Area B 92.7 % Area C	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên esh-Sharqiyeh	Man with fiery red eyes.	Sataf.	Depopulated. 540 People, 101 Houses destroyed, 13-14 July, 1948. Replaced by Even Sapir, Moshav in 1950.	Ein Karim 16-13

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

3) Springs inhabited by Bad Spirits (less harmful than the last group)

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ên Abu'l Karzam	Black dog	Ramallah	Area A	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên Misbâh	Camel	Ramallah	Area A	Ramallah 16-14
Bîr esh-Shâmî	Camel	Beit Iksa	Lifta	Ain Karim 16-13
'Ên es-Sêf Nearby Al-Hadfa and Al-Juwayza springs?	Donkey	el-Waladjeh Jerusalem and Bethlehem Municipalities	2.6 % Area B/ 97.4 % Area C On Green Line/ in "Seam Zone" Completely surrounded by separation fence. 1,914 residents depopulated, village destroyed, Oct 21, 1948. Now Har Gilo.	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên Silwân	Formerly inhabited by donkey	Siloam Silwan	Silwan E Jerusalem (J1). Al- Quds Governate	Jerusalem 17-13
'Ên en-Nasbeh	Camels	Ramallah	Area A	El-Bira 17-14
'Ên el-Gharbiyeh Wadi el Gharbi?	Camel	el-Yaman	Yamun	Silat el Harithiya 17-21
Ras el-Bîr	Black Cat	en-Arik	Ramallah Municipality D 7.3 % Area B 92.7 % Area C	Ramallah 16-14

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

4) Springs inhabited by Brides and Young Women

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ên es Sitt Hasnâ	N/A	Es-Siffлах	Fell Oct. 1948 during Operation ha-Har. 70 people Depopulated. Found on E. edge of Nahal Dolev Reserve, nr Nes Harim.	Deir esh-Sheikh 15-12
'Ên el-Qasr	N/A	Ramallah	Area A	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên el-Lôzeh	N/A	Ramallah	Area A (nr el-Tireh heading towards Ain Qiniya)	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên Tarfidah	N/A	Ramallah	Area A	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên Mindjid	N/A	Ramallah	Area A	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên Mizrâb	N/A	Ramallah	Area A	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên el-Hanniyeh	N/A	el-Hanniyeh Walaja	Now Ain Haniya. Emek Refaim Park.	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên el-Waladjeh	N/A	el-Waladjeh	2.6 % Area B and 97.4 % Area C on Green Line in "Seam Zone" Destroyed on Oct 21, 1948. Now Refaim Nat. Park	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên Battîr/ Ein Al Balad	N/A	Battir	23.7 % Area B 76.3 % Area C	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên Harrâsheh (Ruin)	N/A	Mazra'ah Gharbieyh	54.2 % Area B/ 45.8 % Area C Spring on B/C Border. Village Al-Zaytouneh. Adjacent to Horesh Yaron and Talmon A.	Birzeit 16-15
'Ên el-Baqûm	N/A	Kefr Tut Kafr Thulth?	10.7 % Area B 89.3 % Area C	Azzun 15-17
'Ên el-Qas'ah Abu Qush?	N/A	Birzeit	99.8 % Area B 0.2 % Area C	Birzeit 16-15
Bir Abû S'hêl	N/A	Der Ghassaneh	Area C	Biddya 15-16
'Ên et Tahtah Ras el Tuta?	N/A	Ed-Djora Now Ora	Village destroyed, 63 houses. Depopulated 420 persons. During Operation Dani, 1948.	Bethlehem 16-12

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

4) Springs inhabited by Brides and Young Women (continued)

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ēn-Nabî Samwîl	N/A	'Ēn-Nabî Samwîl	Area C. "Seam Zone". PA Control. East of 1967 Green Line. West of Israeli Separation Barrier	Ein Karim 16-13
'Ēn el-Gharbiyeh	N/A	Sataf	540 Depopulated. 101 Houses Destroyed on 13-14 July, 1948. Replaced by Even Sapir, Moshav in 1950	Ein Karim 16-13
'Ēn Djaryût	N/A	Beitunia	Adjacent to Jebel el Zeitun, Khirbet Jaryut and Khirbet Asqalan.	Ramallah 16-14
'Ēn el-Qabû	N/A	el-Qabû	Jerusalem district. West of Battir. De-populated (260 people and 31 homes): 22-23 October 1948, during Operation ha-Har. Now sits in Begin Park in Israel: Ein Kobi.	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ēn Atân	N/A	Atân	Bethlehem, Dheisheh. Part of Solomon's Pools.	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ēn Farrûdjeh	N/A	Solomon's Pools	Bethlehem, Dheisheh.	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ēn Hammân	N/A	Bir Zet	75.8% Area B. 24.2% Area C. Still existent. Now a swimming pool. North of Birzeit village.	Birzeit 16-15
'Ēn Dabbâghah	N/A	Bir Zet	75.8% Area B. 24.2% Area C.	Birzeit 16-15
'Ēn es-Sultan Fountain of Elisha	N/A	Jericho	Area A, fully surrounded by Area C. Base of Tell es-Sultan. 2 KM north-west of Jericho. Since 1948 home of Ain es-Sultan refugee camp, housing refugees from Jaffa, ar-Ramla and Bir as-Sabi'.	Jericho 19-14
'Ēn Hantash	N/A	Bayt Djala. Kremisan	25 % Area A and 75 % Area C. Currently situated between Beit Jala Hospital, Kremisan Winery & Gilo settlement adjacent. Nr Khulat el Ghuleh	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ēn Djifnah	N/A	Djifnah	96.1% Area B and 3.9% Area C Spring of the Virgin Mary.	Silwad 17-15

'Ên Kafriyeh	N/A	Ramallah	East of En Qiniya. Nr el-Tireh. On Route 463, on Area C and B border.	Ramallah 16-14
'Ên Milkeh	N/A	Beit Haninah	87.8% Area C and 12.2 % Area B Israeli Seam Zone. Separation fence cutting off the well. What was then Bab el-Mu'allakah but is now Neve Ya'akov. Spring western part of what is now Nahal Atarot.	Jerusalem 17-19
'Ên Abû Ziad	N/A	Beit Haninah	87.8% Area C and 12.2 % Area B Israeli Seam Zone. Separation fence cutting off the well. Prev Bab el-Mu'allakah but now Neve Ya'akov. Now Nahal Atarot.	Jerusalem 17-19
'Ên el-Djôz	Es-Seh Husen	Qalunya	Destroyed April 3, 1948, during Operation Nahchon. Population of 910 Arabs and 350 Jews and 156 houses. Now Moza Illit, Israel. Cannot locate spring but some 20 swimming pools in neighbourhood. 2 streams: Nahal Sorek and Arza Stream.	Ein Karem 16-13
'Ên-el-Mâlhadh (The Salt Pan)	N/A	el-Mâlhadh	Destroyed (299 houses) and depopulated (1,940 people) on 6 th of March, 1948, and evacuated after Deir Yassin massacre on 9 th of April, 1948.	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên ed-Djîdeh "New Spring"	Abraham	Hebron H2 Zone (East)	Nr al Shalala Compound Military checkpoint and Tel Rumeida Settlement.	Hebron East 16-10
Bir es-Sbâ	N/A	Yamun West of Jenin	Remaining. Area B. Situated 1 Km SE between el Yamun and Kafr Dan. 1940's map lists spring as Bir es Siba, adjacent to old mill.	Jenin 17-20
'Ên Bêtin	N/A	Bêtin Ramallah	19.1% Area B and 80.9% Area C Israeli settlement of Beit El (pop. 6,000) NW of town. Land from Beitin also taken Givat Asaf.	El Bira 17-14
'Ên el-arâq	N/A	Bir Zet	75.8 % Area B/ 24.2 % Area C Difficult to find. Ein el-'Alaq West of Birzeit and East of Abu Shukheidim.	Birzeit 16-15

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE
**5) Springs guarded by Several Spirits
a) by Two Antagonistic Spirits**

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ên el-Djôz	Es-Seh Husen	Qalunya	Destroyed April 3, 1948 during Operation Nahchon. Population of 910 Arabs and 350 Jews and 156 houses. Now Moza Illit, Israel.	Ein Karem 16-13
'Ên Artâs	White & Black Sheep	Artâs	66.7% Area C, 33.3% Area A. Artâs Villlage	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên Fawâr	White & Black Sheep	E of Jerusalem	Wadi Qelt, Jericho. Although, Area C, listed by UNOCHA as built up settlement area and is an area designated for an Israeli Nature Reserve.	Wadi el-Mallaha 19-15
'Ên Fawâr	"Free" man & a black man.	E of Jerusalem	Wadi Qelt, Jericho. Although Area C, listed by UNOCHA as built up settlement area and is an area designated for an Israeli Nature Reserve.	Wadi el-Mallaha 19-15
Bîr Ônah	St Mary and at times an	Beit Djala	25 % Area A / 75 % Area C. Bir Ona. Opposite Gilo Settlement and route 60 Tunnel.	Bethlehem 16-12
'Ên el-Hadjar	es-Sitt Mu'minah Der Ghassaneh and a Marid.	Der Ghassaneh	South West of Deir Ghassaneh, West of Beit Rima. Area B	Bidya 15-16

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE
**5) Springs guarded by Several Spirits
b) by Several Spirits**

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ên Liftâ (Ney Naftoah)	Hen & chickens.	Liftâ	410 Houses (1931) and population of 2,550 (1945) depopulated in 1948. Israel submitted UNESCO World heritage proposal in 2015.	Ein Karem 16-13
'Ên Silwân	Hen & chickens. (formerly camel).	Silwan	E Jerusalem (J1). Al- Quds Governate	Jerusalem 17-13
Bîr Hâileh	Hen & chickens.	Der Ghassaneh	Area C	Biddya 15-16
'Ên el-Farkhah wid-Dîk	Young hen and a cock.	Salt	Amman, Jordan	N/A
'Ên esh-Shâtir	Young children.	Nabî Samwîl	Area C. "Seam Zone". PA Control. East of 1967 Green Line. West of "Separation Barrier".	Ein Karem 16-13
'Ên ed-Dabbûs	Young children.	Nabî Samwîl	Area C. "Seam Zone". PA Control. East of 1967 Green Line. West of Israeli "Separation Barrier".	Ein Karem 16-13

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE
6) Springs which have a curative Action and which are not inhabited by Holy Persons

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ên Abû Zêd	For fear	Beit Zakariya	Khallet/ Khirbet Sakariya. Area B. Ein Abu Ziad. N. of village now in Rosh Tzurim settlement	Beit Fajjar 16-11
'Ên Abû Fak(i)hah 'Ên Abû Fakkah	For fear	Beit Zakariya	Area B. Possibly Ein Faghur on Route 60. Surrounded by Dekel, Neve Daniel, Zayit and Elazon settlements	Beit Fajjar 16-11
'Ên Silwân	For el-Kasbeh	Silwan	E Jerusalem (J1). Al- Quds Governate	Jerusalem 17-13
Hammân esh-Shifâ	Skin diseases	Jerusalem	Suq el-Qatanin Street, Al Aqsa	Jerusalem 17-13
'Ên Sôbah	'Ên hasr	Sôbah	Depopulated during Operation Dani, 13 July, 1948. Population 620 and 110 houses. Now Tzuba (Ain Tsuba) in Israel.	Bab el-Wad 15-13
'Ên Abû Niâq	'Ên hasr	Der Ghassaneh	Area C.	Biddya 15-16
'Ên Mghalis	'Ên hasr	Djibia	51.4 % Area B	Birzeit 16-15
'Ên el-Wihrah	'Ên hasr	Kefr Tut	10.7 % Area B/ 89.3 % Area C	Azzun 15-17
Bir es-Sabar	'Ên hasr	Der Tarif	Depopulated on 11/7/ 1948. 291 Houses/ 1,750 people. Beit Arif, Israel.	Lydda

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

7) Springs which have not been mentioned

Name of Spring	Figure	District	Location	Map #
'Ên Adjab	White-cock	El-Qubebeh	53.3% Area B, 46.2% Area C 1km from Green Line. 0.5km from Separation Fence and Har Adar Settlement.	Ein Karim 16-13
'Ên Qashqalah	Cock	Hebron	Area A, H1, Short distance South of Ain Nimra?	Hebron East 16-10
Bir el-Hummus	Ram	Hebron	?	Hebron East 16-10?
'Ên ed-Djîb	Ram	Ed-Djib	7.5% Area B/ 92.5% Area C. Area surrounded by separation fence, village split in two.	Ein Karim 16-13
'Ên el-Farûmeh	Ram	Bir Zet	?	Birzeit 16-15
'Ên Halbûl	Ram	Near Hebron		Hebron East 16-10?
'Ên 'Audjah	Gazelle	N. of Jericho Al Auja.	15.5% Area A/ 84.5 % Area C Land confiscated from Al Auja: 993 dunams for Nativ HaGdud 499 dunams for Yitav/ 497 dunams for Nirán/268 dunams for Gilgal.	Jericho 19-14/ Wadi el-Mallaha 19-15
'Ên Surik	Mouse	Bet Surik	10.3 % Area B/ 89.7 % Area C Part of "Biddu enclave"	Ein Karim 16-13
'Ên Mardeh	Serpent	Mardeh	15.8 % Area B / 84.2 % Area C SW of Nablus in Salfit District.	Salfit 16-16
Bir in Bir Nabâlah	Serpent	Bir Nabâlah	14.4 % Area B / 85.6 % Area C Part of Biddu Enclave.	Ein Karim 16-13
'Ên et-Tanbûl	Serpent	Kobar	53.7 % Area B/ 46.3 % Area C NW of Birzeit	Bir Zeit 16-15
'Ên el-Bwêrih	Ox	Zif (Hebron)	illage Area B, Surrounding Area C. Spring North of Tell es Zif	Tell Zif 16-19
'Ên Matîlyah	Monkey	Bet-illu	Ein Qatliya East of Beitillu?	Birzeit 16-15

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- ²⁵ Salman Majadle explained that the well gathers all of Baqa's spring water, including that of the al-Bassa Springs. A rural myth that has never been confirmed or refuted tells of an underground path that connects ancient wells along a regional caravan route. Old people in Baqa claim that it links the al-Siyar Well, East of Meisar, with the Baqa Well, the al-Bom Well in Jatt, the Shabatbat Well in Zeita, the Abu al-Rish Well on the road to Atil, the al-Sikka Well in Bir al-Sikka, and the al-Asqa Well in Shweika. One of Baqa's old men, Ahmad Najib Dik, told the local historian Subhi Bayadse that some men who watered their livestock at the al-Siyar Well dropped part of a plough into the well and that sometime later it was pulled out of the Baqa Well by women who were trying to retrieve buckets that they had dropped into the Well. He also mentioned the story of an orange that fell into the al-Sikka Well and on the same day was pulled out of the al-Asqa Well in Shweika. From: *The Social Texture of the Baqa Well: Drawing History from an Old Well in a Palestinian Arab Town in Israel*. Peled, Kobi (2014). *Middle Eastern Studies*, 50:5, 810-825.
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