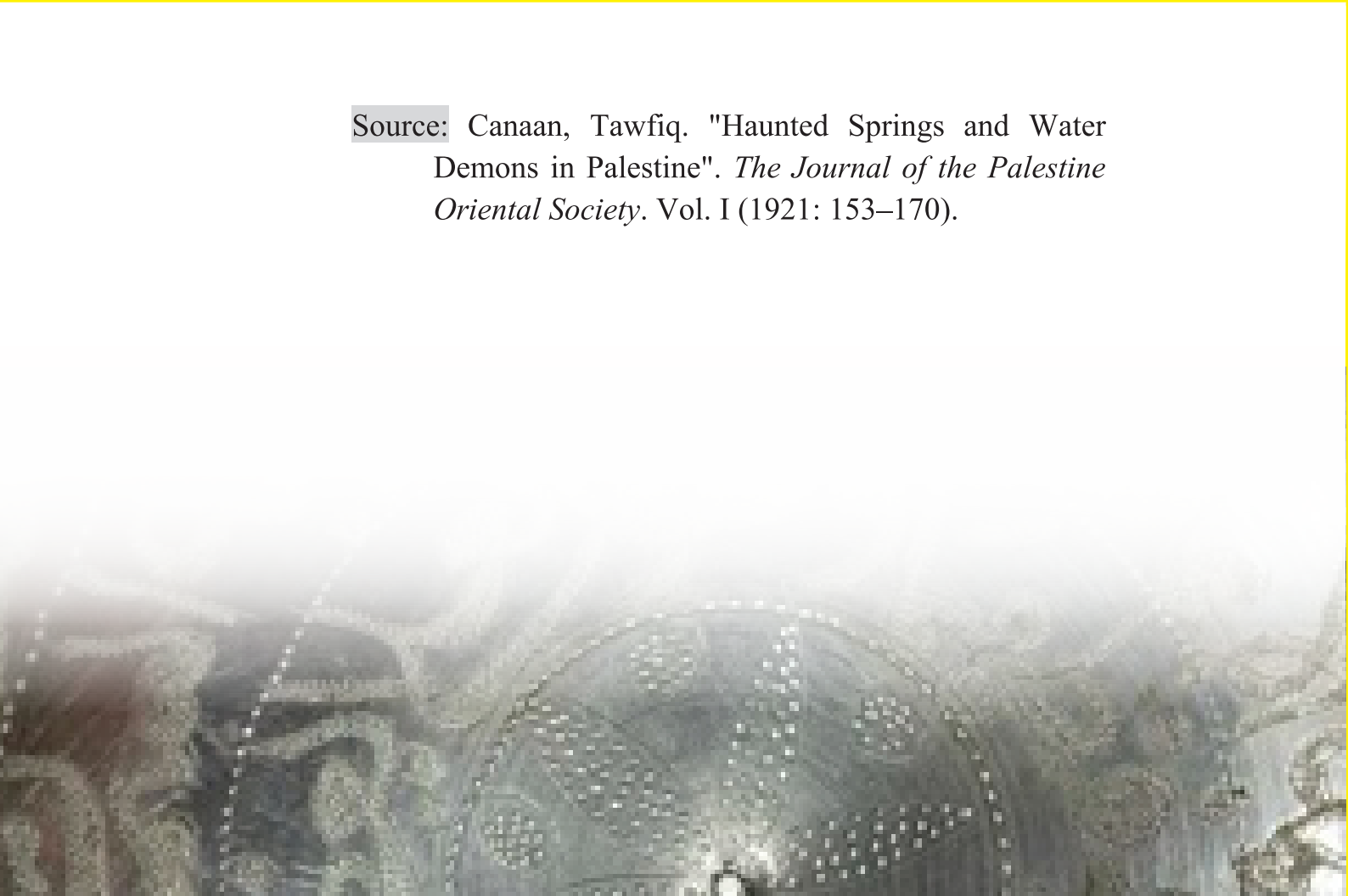


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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introductory Notice	1
Constitution	3
Reports of Meetings	5
<hr/>	
ABEL, F.-M., O. P. La maison d'Abraham à Hébron	138
ALBRIGHT, W. F. A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology	49
— A Colony of Cretan Mercenaries on the Coast of the Negeb	187
BEN YEHUDAH, ELIEZER. The Edomite Language	113
CANAAN, T. Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine	153
CLAY, A. T. The Amorite Name Jerusalem	28
DECLOEDT, A. Note sur une monnaie de bronze de Bar Cochba	25
EITAN, ISRAEL. Contribution à l'histoire du verbe hébreu	42
— La répétition de la racine en hébreu	171
GARSTANG, J. The Year's Work	145
HADDAD, E. N. Blood Revenge among the Arabs	103
— Political parties in Syria and Palestine	209
IDELSON, A. Z. Hebrew Music with Special Reference to the Musical Intonations in the Recital of the Pentateuch	80
LAGRANGE, Rév. Père. Inaugural Address	7
MACKAY, E. J. H. Observation on a Megalithic Building at Bet Sawir (Palestine)	95
MCCOWN, C. C. Solomon and the Shulamite	116
PETERS, JOHN P. A Jerusalem Processional	36
— Notes of Locality in the Psalter	122
RAFFAELI, SAMUEL. Two Ancient Hebrew Weights	22
— A Recently Discovered Samaritan Charm	143
— Classification of Jewish Coins	202
SLOUSCH, NAHUM. Quelques observations relatives à l'inscription juive découverte à Ain Douk	33
TOLKOWSKY, S. Metheg ha-Ammah	195
WORRELL, W. H. Noun Classes and Polarity in Hamitic and their Bearing upon the Origin of the Semites	15
YELLIN, DAVID. Some Fresh Meanings of Hebrew Roots	10
— The Use of Ellipsis in "Second Isaiah."	132
<hr/>	
Notes and Communications	215
<hr/>	
Reports of Meetings	217
Report of the Treasurer of the Palestine Oriental Society	221
Members of the Palestine Oriental Society	222

HAUNTED SPRINGS AND WATER DEMONS IN PALESTINE

T. CANAAN
(JERUSALEM)

PALESTINIAN demonology, which is only a part of the general oriental demonology, is a very well worked out science. I do not intend in this paper to make a study of it in detail; I shall only try to give one phase of it: "Haunted Springs and Water Demons." I include under this study running springs (*'ên*, pl. *'îin*) as well as living wells. The Arabic word *bîr*, which means the latter, stands also at the same time for cisterns.

It is an old and wide spread belief in all Semitic countries, that springs, cisterns and all running waters are inhabited. We rarely find a holy shrine which is not directly attached to a tree, cave, spring or well (for the explanation of this *vide infra*). This idea has spread also to non-Semitic races.

One asks: How has it come that this belief is so well founded in mythology and superstition? I shall try to answer this question.

The *djinn*—demons—live in the first place in the interior of the earth, whence they come out.¹ The Hebrew *ôb*, the Syriac *zakkûrâ* and the Arabic pre-Islamic *'ahlul'art*² illustrate this.³ Up to the present day we meet with names for the demons which point to their origin:

al-arûâh el-arîyê = earth spirits

al-arûâh es-sufîyê = lower spirits (subterranean spirits)

al-arûâh ed-djahannamîyê = hellish spirits.

¹ T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedezin im Lande der Bibel* (Hamburg, 1914).

² W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*.

³ Cf. Luke 8 29.

They come from the lower world and therefore we meet them generally in places which have a direct connexion with the lower regions: trees whose roots go down into the interior of the earth; cracks, caves, springs and wells which have a direct or indirect connexion with the above named original abode of the demons.¹

Springs which appear suddenly in the dry country and continue to pour out their running waters for the benefit of human beings and of vegetation, were and are still in their origin and in their continuous flow a mystery to the oriental mind. This was the first reason for assigning to them some supernatural power—a numen which was finally depotentized, becoming a spirit or a demon; and finally the above mentioned explanation was worked out.

But there is another explanation or rather another phase of the above mentioned explanation. We know that the planets, in whose hands human fortune and misfortune lie, were divided by all Semitic races of antiquity, and are still by the Palestinian, into good and bad planets. To each one of these heavenly bodies, be it good or bad, language, science, metal, colour, trees, herbs, fruits, and animals, elements, are assigned.² According to the planet to which they belong these objects are good or bad.

The two bad planets are Mars and Saturn, but the latter is the most ill-omened one. Now we read in *ghâyatu'l-hakîm*³ that springs, wells, caves, underground canals, and lonely valleys,⁴ are assigned to this ill-omened planet. It is to be noted that every thing mentioned in this list has a direct connection with demons, talismans, or sorcery.

This explains why wells and springs are thought to be always haunted and this belief is not at all a new one, characteristic only of the Palestinian. It formed a foundation stone of ancient superstition and mythology. Even in the Old and New Testament we have references to this belief; the demons are even characterized as loving

¹ In one of the prayers in the Greek Prayer-Book (*adjiazmâtârî* Jerusalem, 1884, pp. 180—185) eighteen places where demons live are enumerated; in fourteen of them the above conditions are fulfilled.

² For further details about this point see Canaan, *Aberglaube*,

³ *El-madjrîtî*.

⁴ Other things belonging to Saturn are: the Coptic and the Hebrew languages, the spleen, black mountains, deserts, graves, the magnet, all black stones, black iron, the awl, and the raven.

water and searching for it.¹ Very interesting is the teaching in the Prayer Book of the Greek Church,² where all sort of waters³—springs, wells, cisterns, pits, seas, rivers, pools—are thought to be inhabited.⁴

While most of the springs⁵ are known by all the surrounding villages to be inhabited, there are others where only few persons have encountered at different times the guarding spirit. The most important conditions for a water course to be inhabited are the following two. Each one alone suffices to attract the djinn:

1. Sources originating in a more or less deserted place, or in a thicket of trees.

2. That the rays of the sun do not penetrate to the real source. This condition is fulfilled when a small cave, large crack, or an old canal forms the entrance to the spring.⁶

The above mentioned conditions,—loneliness, desertedness, darkness, cracks, caves, canals, trees, combined with a spring, assure the habitation of that place. For every object with such a situation is there by a favourite abiding place of the spirits, since it has on the one hand a direct communication with the interior of the earth, and on the other hand belongs to the planet Saturn.

A spring in the neighbourhood of a ruin, grave or *welî* is also inhabited and generally by the soul of the *welî* or of those who died in that ruin.

Special attention must be paid to two sorts of springs—periodical and hot springs. The abnormality in both—hot water in the one and the periodical flow of the other—has keyed the oriental imagination

¹ Cf. Luke 8 29, 33.

² *Adjiâzmâtârî el-kebîr*, pp. 180—182 and 195.

³ It is very interesting to note that, with few exceptions, all the objects named in the list of this book as being inhabited correspond with the list of *Ghâyatu'l hakîm* above mentioned.

⁴ In the prayer of St. Gabrianus (Arab. text) we find the sea as the only representative of inhabited waters.

⁵ From some names used in the Bible for springs we may conclude that the inhabitants of Palestine had then the same belief: 'En-dôr, "spring of dwelling," 1 Sam. 28 7; Ba'al-peraşîm, "Owner of the outflow" 2 Sam. 5 20; Ba'al hamôn, "Owner of the torrent," Can. 8 11 (L. B. Paton, *Annual of Am. School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, 1920).

⁶ Even common cisterns which are built under a house, and where the only opening to the water is inside of a room, so that the rays of the sun never reach the water, are used for various medical and magic purposes.

to its highest pitch and has resulted in a beautiful, superstitious explanation.

Periodical springs especially perplexed many minds: Why does the water of 'ên-fawâr,¹ for example, flow now? Why did it not flow a few hours ago? At last they found an explanation which corresponded exactly to their demonology and was absolutely in accord with the religious belief of their ancestors. They now think that 'ên-fawâr is inhabited by two spirits, a *hurr* "free man" (master) and an 'abd, "servant." The first is a white person, the second a negro (also slave-born) as the Arabic words themselves indicate. These two "powerful spirits" are continually fighting each other. When the *hurr* gains the victory he allows the water to flow for the benefit of thirsty mankind. But soon the 'abd rises and resumes the battle. As soon as he overpowers the *hurr* he shuts off the blessing to avenge himself on the human race.²

This representation of

good against evil,
white against black,
angels against devils,
light against darkness,
upper against lower world and
God against Satan³

is a very old idea in Semitic religions and we could not have it better pictured than as reproduced by the simple imagination of a Palestinian *fellâh*.

It is not necessary to have two anthropoid spirits inhabiting a spring. The importance lies in the colours white and black. Thus we find a black and a white sheep inhabiting 'ên ed-djôz.⁴

Naturally a question arises: 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. 'ên silwân, also called 'ên imm ed-daradj, for example, was formerly

¹ The continuation of 'ên-fâra.

² Canaan, *Aberglaube*.

³ There are many references in the Bible which point to this representation. I will mention only a few: Job. 18 18; Zech. 3 1; Rom. 16 20; Ps. 140 1; Prov. 8 13; Is. 7 15; Jerem. 38 4; Eph. 6 12.

⁴ Near Râmallâh.

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. In the case of 'ên sâbûna,¹ which is inhabited by a whole djinn family known by the name 'êlet za'rûrah the water dries up at those times when all the members of the family come to drink; therefore they say: *wirdat-hâ 'êlet za'rûrah.*²

The hot springs were always a great puzzle to the oriental mind. Accordingly the Palestinian asks himself how it is that the water of the springs near Tiberias comes directly from the earth in a boiling state? Here again he solved the question. There are a great number of demons who continually heat the water before it penetrates to the surface. The fuel is brought from a great distance. In the case of the springs of Tiberias it comes from a cave in the valley Ed-djâi³ near Dêr diwân.⁴ King Solomon ordered these *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 deaf⁵ 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, *sukkânih byihmûh.*⁶

Special mention of 'iân el-*hasr*⁷ should be made. The peasant understands by this expression springs where at no time of the day or of the year do the sun's rays reach the source. The water is used to cure suppression and retention of urine. In order that such water shall preserve its curative action the sun must never shine over it; so it is fetched only after sunset. If the place to which this healing water is to be carried cannot be reached during one night, the jar is hidden during the day in a dark place, and as soon as the sun

¹ Dêr ghassâne.

² "The family of *zârûrah* (medlar tree) came to it (the water)."

³ The valley is inhabited by a much dreaded *mârid*. The inhabitants of Dêr diwân 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 those *djinn* every morning and all the dung disappears.

⁴ According to the peasants of Battîr the *djinn* of Tiberias come every night to 'ên djâi' to carry away the dung.

⁵ One of the many illustrations which show how the Palestinian attributes to the *djinn* human qualities, weaknesses, and diseases.

⁶ Translation: Its inhabitants (the demons) heat it (the bath).

⁷ Translation: Springs of suppression (of urine).

goes down the journey begins anew. A curious fact about *'iûn el-ḥaşr*, which was told me by a man of Bêt-Surîk, is that springs with a composite name, where the first part is *bêt*, can not be—although they fulfill all the above named conditions—*'iûn ḥaşr*. It was impossible for me to get any explanation for this belief.

Some springs belonging to this group are: Bîr es-saḥar (to the north of Dêr ṭarif), 'ên abu niâq, (Dêr ghassâneh), 'ên el-wihra (Kefr tût) and 'ên şôba.¹

If we turn to study the number, shapes, customs, colour and actions of the djinn who haunt these places, we may divide them at once into two major groups:

1. Springs guarded by good spirits, the souls of holy men buried in the neighbourhood, or other saints.² There are fifteen such cases in my list.

2. Evil demons.

1. This belief is common among Christians and Mohammedans. Some wells and springs inhabited by Christians saints are: Bîr 'ôna³ (Bêt-djâla) by the Virgin Mary, 'ên kârim also by the Virgin; 'ên Kibriân⁴ by St. Gabrianus (St. Cyprianus).

Springs and wells in which Mohammedan saints dwell are:

'ên qîna by el-welî Abu'l'ênên,

'ên el-bîrêh by shêkh Aḥmad,

Bîr es-saḥar by el-welî Shu'êb,

Bîr Ayûb by en-nebî Ayûb,

Bîr sindjil by esh-shêkh Şâleḥ⁵ (or, as others think, by en-nabî Yûsif).

These men of God⁶ appear in the same form as they did in their lifetime and they try always to help human creatures. A girl of Siloah having been maltreated by her step-mother fled and threw herself into Bîr Ayûb. Before she took her last step she asked the

¹ Some of these are more important and more used than others. The most important one of the list is 'ên şôba.

² The same idea prevailed in biblical times: B'er Elîm, "well of gods" Is. 15 s Elîm, "gods," Ex. 15 27; Nu. 33 9—10; 'ên Shemesh, "spring of the sun," Jos. 15 7.

³ It is curious that some believe they have seen an 'abd.

⁴ Between Bêt-djâla and el-Khaḍr.

⁵ Some Mohammedans believe that in the neighbourhood of Sindjil, Joseph was thrown by his brethren into a pit (perhaps into this well). 'Omar Barghuti.

⁶ Only in one case out of one hundred and twenty does an angel haunt a spring ('ên maşîûn, according to Tiâb of Râmallâh).

help and the protection of this saint, and she felt as she was falling down that that venerable *shêkh* took her in his arms,¹ 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.²

Some of these springs show a special miracle on the day consecrated to the holy person who guards them. Thus the water of Bîr 'ôna rises to the brim on the Virgin's day³ and the stones at the well's mouth are dyed red.⁴ This sort of animation of lifeless objects is met with in different phases of Palestinian folk-lore.

Such springs should never be approached irreverently. Therefore no pious woman would ever come near or touch such a spring while "impure" through her menstrual blood. If she is careless, the holy man who dwells in that water will afflict her with some bodily ailments, or by stopping the flow of the source punish all that village. In the midst of the vineyards of Bêtûnia is the source of Khirbet nûta which is guarded by the soul of *esh-shêkh* Şâleḥ. From time to time the water gets scanty and may even stop flowing. This is always thought to result when an unclean woman approaches the opening. Once the water stopped flowing and as the inhabitants of Bêtûnia searched in vain for the impure woman, a sheep was offered to *shêkh* Şâleḥ and the source was well cleared out, and the water flowed again, even more abundantly than before.⁵

Among all the holy persons whose spirits dwell in springs there are only two females in my list: St. Mary (in two cases) and *es-sitt* Mu'minah⁶ ('ên el-ḥadjar in Dêr ghassânèh).

¹ Christians have the same belief. The son of el-Qandalaft fell accidentally into a cistern and was saved by a holy man. The same thing happened in Dâr eḍ-ḍaw to another child. The *shêkhs* or holy men are described nearly always as wearing white clothes (Imm. Iliâs).

² 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.

³ On the eighth of September (Jul. Calender).

⁴ Most probably a vestige of menstruation, as will be pointed out later on.

⁵ See Canaan, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁶ It is curious that in both of these cases bad spirits appear sometimes in the same springs. In Bîr 'ôna, generally haunted by the Virgin Mary, some have seen an *'abd*; and in 'ên el-ḥadjar (Dêr ghassânèh) guarded by *Sitt* Mu'minah—a *mârid* appears at times.

2. Sources guarded by evil *djinn*. Under this class we have the very bad demons as well as the partly harmful ones. They take different forms when they appear. Some have the shapes of animals—sheep, cock, hen, chicken, dog, camel, gazelle, donkey, goat, mouse, monkey or serpent.¹ Others look like negroes and negresses, and still others have the dreadful shapes of the monstrous *ghûl*, *ghûlê* and *mârid*. This last group is the most harmful, and special care has to be taken when one encounters *el-ghûl*, who is continually looking for his prey.

Spirits appearing in the form of animals are not necessarily bad demons: they may even be indifferent to human beings, or even good-natured. When spirits in animal shapes are described as white they belong to the latter, when black to the former category. An exception is the camel, which always represents a bad demon. Even in the explanations of dreams given by the *fellâhîn* at present camels are always a bad omen.²

An intermediate place between the two above-mentioned classes is taken by those springs which are inhabited by women,³ generally in the form of brides.⁴ These spirits are almost always described as having a majestic stature and a charming form; wearing beautiful cloths and costly adornments. Very often they sit on a stone beside the flowing water and comb their beautiful long hair, which hangs partly over their shoulders and partly over their breast. These females have a particular inclination to human beings, following and imploring them to come and live with them. They promise men all sorts of riches and comforts and are very harsh towards women. If once entangled a person may disappear for several years, as the case

¹ In the Bible we have several springs which were guarded, as their names show, by animals: 'ên-eglaim, "Spring of two calves," Ez. 47 10; 'ên-gedi, "Spring of the kid," Jos. 15 62; 'ên-haqqôrê, "Spring of the quail (or partridge)," Ju. 15 19; 'ên-hattannîn, "Spring of the dragon," Ne. 2 13. (*Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem*, 1920.—L. B. Paton.)

² The old Arabs had the same belief about the vamel. See "*Tâ'îr el anâm fî ta'bîr el-manâm*" by 'Abd el-ghanî en-nâblasî I 127 etc.

³ Even in the Bible we have reference to a well haunted by a woman in Jos. 19 8, Ba'alatb'er, "Mistress of the well."

⁴ Arabic 'arûs, pl. 'arâyis. The clothes of these "brides" are like those used by brides of the neighbouring villages, except that they are richer in decoration and of a superior quality.

of the bride who inhabits 'ên el-ḥammâm¹ shows, where a man disappeared for seven years. When he came back he related his story. The *djinniyât*² employ sometimes different tricks to entangle men. In the case of 'ên ed-djôz³ the passer by observes at times a black she-goat. If he tries to catch her, she jumps from one place to another, thus leading him on and on to a deserted spot, where she changes into a bride who tries to charm and thus to gain him.⁴

One may recognize these *djinn* ladies⁵ from their eyes. The pupils are perpendicularly elongated.⁶ A human being may escape their clutches if in the moment of temptation he repeats the name of God, a saint, the Virgin, the Cross, or says a prayer. If, on the other hand, he commits adultery with such a female *djinn*, he is lost.

These spirits, although not so bad as the 'abd and the *ghûl* group, may follow an escaped man and inflict upon him disease and weakness, even death.⁷ Some of them are described as drying up from time to time the water of springs. Such an event happens inevitably if they should be provoked by women approaching the place during their impure days. In Djifna the priest has to go on such an occasion to the dry spring to repeat prayers and burn incense, and thus reconcile the *djinniyé* or force her to let the water flow.

¹ Bir zêt.

² Fem. Plur. of *djinn*.

³ According to Ṭiâb of Râmallâh. But see above, p. 87.

⁴ Demons are thought in Palestine to have the ability of changing their shapes.

⁵ According to the wife of Ya'qûb abu er-rukab (Râmallâh).

⁶ The same characteristic is assigned to the *ghûlê*.

⁷ The following story is an example: Ya'qûb abu er-rukab went one day very early in the morning to gather wood from the gardens of 'ên el-qaşr. He fastened his donkey to a bush near the spring. As soon as he had sufficient wood for a load, he searched, but absolutely in vain, for his animal. At last he crossed himself and said: *bism es-salîb el-hayy*, "in the name of the living Cross." At once the donkey was there where he had tied him. On the way back he felt an unseen power troubling him. Soon afterwards a female voice called him by his name: "Oh Ya'qûb, wait a moment." He stopped and a beautiful bride, overloaded with gold and jewels, walked up to him. The frightened *hattâb* (wood-cutter) knew that he had to do with a female demon. She implored him with her melodious voice to throw away his axe and follow her. But as he had not yet lost his presence of mind, he crossed himself repeatedly and said a prayer, and she vanished away. When he reached home, he spoke disconnectedly and was completely changed, since he talked only about the beauties of the "bride of 'ên el-qaşr." She afflicted her escaped prey with blindness, and soon afterwards he died (related by his own wife).

In one case, Bir abu s'hêl, the inhabiting female, called 'Ammâriyé¹ tells the future of the inhabitants of that village. If she is heard weeping or mourning, somebody in that village will surely die; if on the other hand she is heard singing, some good thing will take place.²

It is a most interesting fact that among one hundred and twenty springs which I have listed, fifty-four are supposed to be inhabited by females (belonging to this group).³ Among these springs are: 'ên el-qaşr, 'ên el-lôze, 'ên tarfîda, 'ên mindjid, 'ên mizrâb, 'ên el-waladjé, 'ên el-hannîye, 'ên battîr, etc. These spirits are—as already stated—very charming. The following story shows that they are at times refractory in love. Why and when such a condition happens I could not find out. While Husên from el-Waladjé was on night duty protecting the gardens of 'ên hantash against thieves, he beheld a beautiful and charming female sitting on a stone at the source of the spring, combing her long hair. He fell in love with her and gently approaching her, begged her to accept him as a lover. As she showed no inclination towards him, despite all his requests, he committed suicide by cutting his throat, as he could live no longer without this enticing creature.

In analysing the shapes which the inhabiting spirits take when they appear to human beings we find that in 40 cases out of 88 (*i. e.* about half) female forms are chosen. If the instances of holy men whose spirits still haunt springs and all the cases where the sex is not specified are subtracted, we find that 80 *per cent* of the spirits are in female form.

When the colour of the demon is specified, we meet only with the two antagonistic colours, white and black. The first one stands for good and the other for evil spirits.

If we study the question from the point of view of the number of spirits which inhabit one water course, we find that most of the springs and wells are inhabited by a single demon. But there are some, in my collection 25 out of 120, where several live together. This last category we may divide into two subdivisions:

¹ 'Ummâr (pl. of 'ammâr which is the masc. of 'ammâriyé) is the name given generally to *djinn* who live in ruins or deserted houses.

² 'Omar Barghuti.

³ The three cases, where the holy Virgin (twice) and es-sitt Mu'minah (once) haunt springs, are not counted among the number mentioned above. Out of the 54 we have only two black women.

1. Springs inhabited by two spirits, which represent—with one exception¹—a bad black and another good white one. I have six such cases.

2. Springs haunted by many *djinn*. Generally they are members of one family and in four out of thirteen cases belonging to this subdivision the *djinn* have taken the shape of a hen with her chickens.² It is believed by some that if a human being has the exceptional chance of catching one of these chickens, it will change at once into a lump of gold.³

These spirits, to whatever category they belong, appear—as all the demons—only during the night and in the dusk. They also are only to be seen when a lonely traveller passes by, as they never like to face several human beings at once. Many of them try to injure the passer-by by frightening him with their noise, shape or misbehaviour. If they attack him, he gets sick or may even die.

If a human being has the opportunity of meeting one of them, he observes that the opening of the spring, guarded by this spirit, has changed to a large doorlike crack, and sometimes a peep inside will reveal great riches. A woman passing near the spring of Ḥalḥūl just before the sun began to be visible, saw grazing beside the water a sheep which to her great astonishment had rushed out from a rather large crack. She looked through this opening and beheld to her amazement heaps of gold, silver and precious stones. Without hesitation she rushed in to get as much as possible of these worldly riches. But with one jump the sheep darted in, and the crack closed. She had to tear her clothing, which was caught in the crack, to get free.⁴

These spirits go out during the night and act quite free by; but they never go far from the spring. Some of them look for grass and herbs (sheep, camel, gazelle, donkey, etc). The hen takes her chickens and goes in search of grain. Brides and young females are mostly described as combing their hair. *Shēkhs welīs* and saints are in meditation,

¹ In one case of a female and male spirit living together, 'ên el-farkha wid-dik, (near Salt) inhabed by a cock and a hen (Imm. Elias H.)

² Other sources belonging to this subdivision are inhabited by camels, a flock of sheep, *djân* (pl. of *djinn*), the family *za'rûra* etc.

⁴ 'Omar Barghuti.

³ Imm. Djordj M.

while *'abds*, *mârids* and *ghûls* roam around the source searching for their prey.¹

Very interesting is the story I heard lately from a woman of Siloam.² The spring of Jericho is inhabited by a woman who once a year for 10—12 hours has her menstrual period. At this time the water is tinted red. But this redness occurs only during the night of that day. At daybreak the normal colour returns. This is the only case I have known, where popular superstition gives female spirits the human capacity for menstruation. A vestige of this belief is perhaps to be found in the superstition regarding Bir 'ôna, inhabited by St. Mary.

The following belief about Hammâm esh-shifâ is a very primitive conception of the animation of water.³ The Mohammedan women of Jerusalem go on the tenth of Moḥarram⁴ 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,⁵ also called Hammâm 'ashûra.⁶ According to some even 'ên imm ed-daradj (Silowân) receives on this day some water from Zemzem.⁷

A Mohammedan lady⁸ whom I asked lately about Hammâm 'ashûra gave me another explanation, quite different from that which I have already mentioned. The prophet Job, who was afflicted with the worst kinds of skin eruptions, took a bath every day, but without any

¹ In some springs, 'ên Djariût for example, the passer-by will see a whole demon wedding procession, and is able to hear their songs and see their dances.

² Imm. Dâhûd the wife of 'Abd.

³ Cf. also Bir 'ôna and the signs on the Virgin's day.

⁴ The anniversary of the death of Ḥusên the son of Faṭmé, the daughter of the Prophet.

⁵ 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 'Ashûrah he was taking a hot Turkish bath in Hammâm 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 Mekka. This proved to everybody that the water of the holy Zemzem mixes on this day with the waters of this well.

⁶ From *'ashara*, "ten," *i. e.* the tenth of the month.

⁷ Some Mohammedans believe that on this day the water of this holy well at Mekka mixes with all springs of Mohammedan countries, thus giving every Moslem the opportunity of drinking from Zemzem.

⁸ Ḥustun R.

result. It happened that on the tenth of Moḥarram he took a bath in Hammâm esh-shifâ with the result that he was cured. This of course proved to all that this water has on this day particular curative action. This offers a marked parallel to John 5 2.¹

Another observation is not without interest: 'ên Silwân was formerly inhabited—according to some peasants—by a demon in the shape of a camel. 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 Matth. 12 45.² 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.³ Death of demons is also known in other cases.

Nobody dares to approach a spring and take water without first repeating the name of God or that of the saint living in that place.⁴ This rule is specially important during night-time or when one passes quite alone near water which flows in a deserted place. If such a precaution is not taken, one is sure to be troubled by the demons. If the guardian spirits are excited in any way the intruder will be surely punished. We have seen already some examples of this conception. Another one is that if a person urinates in flowing water he will get some genito-urinary trouble.

I do not doubt that several of the springs and wells which are thought at present to be inhabited were believed in former times to be sacred, and were devoted to the cult of one of the numerous gods of Palestine. And it is not improbable that some of the old deities continue to haunt the same springs, although ages have passed by. Of course the name, the character, and the manner of appearance have changed, but the fundamental thought still exists. This is only one of the many survivals which point to the primitive religious practises of Palestine and still more or less known at present.

This explains why many waters are used at present, as they were in Bible times, for medicinal purposes: the 'ûn el-ḥaṣr have been

¹ While in John 5 2 the curative power was due to an angel, in this case the apparent cause is not seen. We must probably look for the explanation to Zemzem.

² Also Luke 11 26.

³ Hens and chickens represent bad spirits.

⁴ A custom which is becoming gradually less frequent.

mentioned; Siloam and the bath of Sitti Mariam¹—especially the first—are renowned for their help in cases of sterility in women.² In fever one resorts to bathing in ‘ên imm ed-daradj. Some believe that Ḥammâm esh-shifâ cures certain skin eruptions. For the same reason we find that:

- (a) Offerings are brought in some cases to the guardian spirit.³
- (b) No unclean person (especially a woman) should approach such a spring, which is the abode of a holy spirit (probably that of a former deity).⁴
- (c) Prayers are offered and incense burned on some occasions.⁵
- (d) In ‘ên esh-shêkh Yûsif,⁶ which is haunted by the spirit of that shêkh, one may even hear *ṣalâh u bakkkhûr, u şôt djumhûr*, “prayers and incense and the voice of a gathering.”⁷

A final observation has still to be made. The periodicity of several manifestations connected with the springs is very striking. The waters of Zemzem mix once a year with those of Ḥammâm ‘ashûra and of Siloam. The lady of ‘ên es-sultân has her menstrual flow once a year. St. Mary causes the above mentioned miraculous sign of Bîr ‘ôna only on her anniversary. A spring in Nâblus stops its flow once a week on Sundays, as it is inhabited by a monk, who must fulfil his religious duties on this day. In some periodical springs battles and victories take place regularly and periodically between good and bad spirits.

All the spirits inhabiting waters are known by the collective name *el-‘afârît*. Of course saints and *welis* do not come under this heading. Sometimes the word *raşad*, pl. *irşûdê*⁸ is used. But this expression

¹ They take their bath in the *djurn* (stone basin) in which it is supposed that the Virgin Mary took a bath.

² Such a woman has to take with her seven *mashâkhiş* (see Canaan, *Aberglaube*), 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 sun shine over its opening (Ḥusun R.).

³ To Ḥammâm sitti Mariam candles, flowers, etc. are vowed (Ḥusun R. and Imm. Djordj). To others oil lamps are lighted.

⁴ Examples of this have already been mentioned.

⁵ Cf. what has been said about ‘Ën Djifnah.

⁶ To the north of Râmallâh.

⁷ Ṭiâb of Râmallâh.

⁸ Waters which run from places where hidden riches are to be found, are guarded by a *raşad*.

stands also for other sorts of demons. An inhabited source is called *maskûné* or *marsûdé*.

At the close of this paper I have still to mention that not all statements one hears from different persons about on and the same spring correspond. But the fundamental idea, which is the basis of their belief, is as sound as any other one we meet with in Palestinian demonology.

The following is an analysis of the one hundred and twenty inhabited springs which I have noted:

In 24 cases the spirits are good.

4 of them are Christians saints.

29 are Mohammedan *welis*.¹

" 15 " very bad spirits are met with.

" 35 " we encounter brides and young women.²—

" 54 " the demons take a female shape.

" 29 " the *djinn* in animal forms are met with.

" 25 " several spirits live in one source.

6 times two antagonistic spirits haunt the same water.

19 times, more than two live together;

" 14 " the colour black is specified, and in 6 other springs one of the inhabiting spirits is black, while the other one is white;

" 7 " a cock, a hen, or a hen with her chickens guards the water;

" 5 " a camel,

" 8 " one or more sheep;

" 9 " the shapes which the *djinn* take are not specified.

In the *'iûn el-haşr* the form is also not given.

The following is a list of eighty eight of the inhabited springs.³

I. Springs inhabited by good spirits:

1. By *Welis*, *Shêkhs* and Mohammedan saints:

Bîr es-saħar	Dêr Tarif	Weli Shu'eb. ⁴
Ên el-Bîrè	el Bîre	<i>Shêkh</i> .

¹ One of these springs is inhabited by an angel.

² The Virgin Mary and es-sitt Mu'minah, as well as a black woman are not added to this number.

³ Some of these springs are mentioned in Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*.

⁴ For further details see Canaan *l. c.*

Bir Ayûb	Siloam	en-nabî Ayûb.
Bir Sindjil	Sindjil	esh-shêkh Şalih.
Bir Sindjil	Sindjil	en-nabî Yûsif.
Ên Qîna	Qîna	el-welî Abû el'ênên. ¹
Ên esh-shêkh Yûsif	N. of Râmallâh	esh-shêkh Yûsif.
Ên el-ĥadjar	Dêr Ghassâne	es-sitt Mu'minah. ²
Ên Djakûk	E. of en-nabi Şamwil	<i>Welî.</i>
Ên el-amîr	E. of en-nabi Şamwil	Şullâh and Awlia.
Ên Maşitn	Râmallâh	An angel.

2. Christian Saints:

Ên er-Râhib	Nâblus	Monk. ³
Ên Kârim	Ên Kârim	The Virgin Mary.
Bir 'ôna	Bêt-djâla	The Virgin Mary. ²
Ên Kibirîân	W. of Bêt-djâla	St. Gabrianus.
Ĥammâm sittî Mariam	Jerusalem	The Virgin Mary. ⁴

II. Springs inhabited by very bad spirits:

A spring in wâdî Benî Ĥammâd	Wâdî Benî Ĥammâd	<i>Ghûl.</i> ⁵
Ên Ĥasbân	Transjor dania	<i>Ghûl.</i> ⁵
Ên Djariût	Dêr Diwuân	' <i>Abd.</i>
Ên Flêflê	Bir Zêt	' <i>Abd.</i>
Ên el-'arâq	Bir Zêt	' <i>Abd.</i>
Bir Sridah	Dêr Ghassâné	' <i>Abd.</i>
Ên el-Ĥadjar	Dêr Ghassâné	<i>Mârid.</i>
Bir abu Sarris	Dêr Ballût	<i>Shêtân.</i>
A spring Qârûs	Kefr Tût	<i>Shêtân.</i>
Ên in wâdî Ed-djâi	Dêr Diwân	<i>Mârid.</i>
Ên 'Abbâsîn	between Battîr and Ĥûsân	' <i>Abd.</i>

¹ This *welî*, it is said, does not always protect his property in the right way. Once a peasant, who was disappointed by this saint, offered him an oil lamp and vowed: "O, welî, if you do not protect your lamp this time I shall never offer you anything more". Next morning the peasant found near the spring a dead wolf with the lamp in his mouth. This, of course, was a sufficient proof that the saint had exercised his power.

² Inhabited at times by a bad spirit; see sect. V. The bad spirits appear very seldom.

³ Imm. Eliâs H.—from Jerusalem.

⁴ There is no spring in the bath. The belief about St. Mary I heard only from one person.

⁵ Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes*.

III. Springs inhabited by bad spirits (less harmful than the last group).

'Ên abu'l-karzam	Râmallâh	Black dog.
'Ên Misbâḥ	Râmallâh	Camel.
Bir esh-Shâmî	Bêt-Iksa	Camel.
'Ên es Sef	el-Waladjé	Donkey. ¹
'Ên Silwân	Siloam	Formerly inhabited by a camel.
'Ên en-nasbé	Râmallâh	Camels.
'Birket Ḥadjia	Jerusalem	<i>Raṣad</i> , who devours a victim every year.

IV. Springs inhabited by brides and young women:

'Ên es-sitt Ḥasna	Es-sifla. ³	'Ên el-qabû	el-Qabû.
'Ên el-Qaṣr	Râmallâh.	'Ên 'Atân	'Atân.
'Ên el-Lôzé	Râmallâh.	'Ên Farrûdjé	Solomon's Pools.
'Ên Tarfida	Râmallâh.	'Ên Ḥammâm	Bir Zêt. ⁴
'Ên Mindjid	Râmallâh.	'Ên Dabbâgha	Bir Zêt.
'Ên Mizrâb	Râmallâh.	'Ên es-Sulṭan	Jericho. ⁵
'Ên el-Ḥanniyé	el-Ḥanniyé.	'Ên Ḥantash	NW. of Bêt-djâla.
'Ên el-Waladjé	el-Waladjé.	'Ên Djifna	Djifna. ⁴
'Ên Battîr	Battîr.	'Ên Kafriye	Râmallâh.
'Ên Harrâshé	Mazra'a gharbiyé.	'Ên Milke	near Bêt Ḥanîna.
'Ên el-Baqûm	Kefr Tût.	'En abu Ziâd	near Bêt Ḥanîna.
'Ên el-Qas'a	NE. of el-Bîré.	'Ên el-Djôz	Râmallâh.
Bir abû S'hêl	Dêr Ghassâné.	'Ên-el-mâlha	el-Mâlha. ⁶

V. Springs guarded by several spirits:

1. By two antagonistic spirits:

'Ên ed-Djôz	Râmallâh	White and a black sheep.
'Ên Artâs	Artâs	White and a black sheep.
'Ên Fawâr	E. of Jerusalem	White and a black sheep.
'Ên Fawâr	E. of Jerusalem	Free man and a negro.
Bir 'ôna	Bêt-djâla	St. Mary and at times an ' <i>Abd.</i>
'Ên el-Ḥadjjar	Dêr Ghassâné	es-Sitt Mu'minah and at the some time a <i>Mârid</i> .

¹ Lic. Kahle, P. J.² The female saints, two negresses and one *ghûlé* are not mentioned in this list.³ Lic. Kahle, P. J.⁴ The peculiarity about this spring was mentioned in the text.⁵ Has once a year her menstrual period.⁶ She wears an *izâr*.

2. By several spirits:

'Ên Ma'ân	Ma'ân	<i>Djinn.</i>
Tiberias	Tiberias	<i>Djinn</i> who heat the wells.
'Ên el-Ḥalazon	near Bîr Zêt	Flock of sheep.
'Ên en-Naşbé'	Râmallâh	Camels.
'Ên Djariût	Dêr Diwân	A <i>djinn</i> marriage procession.
'Ên Sâbûnah	Dêr Ghassâné	The family of Za'rûrah.
'Ên Hiddiyé	between Hûsân and Battîr	<i>Djinn.</i>
'Ên Djâmi	near Battîr	<i>Djinn</i> who carry fuel to the springs of Tiberias.
'Ên Djenân	Bêtûniâ	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên Liftâ	Liftâ	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên Silwân	Siloam	Hen with her chickens (for- merly by a camel).
Bîr Hâilé	Dêr Ghassâné	Hen with her chickens.
'Ên el-Farkha wid-dîk	Salt	Young hen and a cock. ¹

VI. Springs which have not been mentioned:

'Ên 'Adjab	el-Qubêbé	White cock.
'Ên Qashqalé	Hebron	Cock.
Bîr el-Ḥummuṣ	Hebron	Ram.
'Ên ed-djîb	ed-Djîb	Ram.
'Ên el-Farûmé	Bîr Zêt	Ram.
'Ên Ḥalhul	near Hebron	Ram.
El 'Audja	N. of Jericho	Gazelle.
'Ên Surîk	Bêt Surîk	Mouse.
'Ên el-Wihra	Kefr Tût	Monkey. ²
'Ên Mardé	Marde	Serpent.
'Ên Şôba	Şôba	'ên ḥaşr. ²
'Ên Abu Niâq	Dêr Ghassâné	'ên ḥaşr. ²

¹ Imm Eliâs H.² Has a curative action in supression of urine.