

**Ya kafi, Ya shafi ...**

**The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets:**



**An Exhibition, October 30, 1998 – February 25, 1999**





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An Exhibition, October 30, 1998 – February 25, 1999

Edited

by

Khaled Nashef

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Birzeit University

This catalogue accompanies the exhibition *Yā kāfī, yā shāfī ...The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets*, organized by The Founding Committee for the Development of Cultural Heritage at Birzeit University.

Exhibition Schedule:

The Ethnographic and Archaeological Gallery, The Yusuf Ahmad al-Ghanim Library, Birzeit University: October 30, 1998 - February 25, 1999

The Founding Committee for the Development of Cultural Heritage, Birzeit University. Members:

Vera Tamari (chairperson)  
Rema Hammami  
Penny Johnson  
Nazmi Jubeh  
Sharif Kanaaneh

Exhibition Curator: Gisela Helmecke, Custodian at the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin

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Frontispiece: Courtesy Leila Mantoura. Tawfik Canaan is wearing the following orders: "The Order of the Red Crescent" and below to the right "The Iron Cross", both from World War I; to the left: "The White Cross" bestowed upon his father, Bechara, by the German Kaiser in 1898. Around Canaan's neck: "The Cross of the Holy Sepulchre" with red band, bestowed upon Canaan by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch. Information provided by Mr. Thorsten Neubert-Preine, Jerusalem. See also Malsch 1998: 231 (quoted on p. 25).

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Khaled Nashef (ed.).

*Yā kāfī, yā shāfī ...The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets*

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for the  
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at Birzeit University

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## Welcome Message

The rich and stimulating exhibit of selections from the Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets at Birzeit University heralds two important inaugurations, that of the exhibit itself and the other, of the University's new gallery where the exhibit will be held. Both offer benefit, opportunity and challenge for the University and for the wider Palestinian community, whether scholars, students, or persons interested in Palestinian material culture and heritage.

The inauguration of the Canaan exhibition brings to light for the first time a selection from a major collection of Palestinian material culture which comprises about 1400 amulets and related objects collected with dedication and scholarship from villages and towns throughout Palestine by the distinguished scholar and physician Dr. Tawfik Canaan (1882-1964).

Birzeit University is highly honored to be the recipient of this remarkable gift and extends its warmest thanks and appreciation to the donors, Yesma Styring, Nada Batten, Leila Mantoura and their families, for abiding by their father's wish to keep the collection in Palestine as well as for their own generosity and dedicated effort to ensure that the collection has a secure home at Birzeit University. It is a challenge and a responsibility for the University to safeguard, promote and facilitate the use of this collection for academic research. Scholars will find in the Tawfik Canaan Collection enormous scope for study and analysis related to Palestinian culture. The University is committed to developing the means, both academic and technical, to preserve this cultural heritage and to give suitable access for research initiatives in this field.

We are also proud of a second inauguration - that of *The Ethnographic and Archaeological Gallery*. In the near future the Gallery will host further selec-

tions from the Tawfik Canaan Collection as well as exhibitions from other collections at Birzeit University, particularly from its archaeological artifacts, traditional pottery, and costume collections that have been collected by the University over a number of years. We are especially concerned to link these collections with programs of study and research in the University and outside it, and hope to eventually house them in the proper setting of a University museum.

I would like to thank all those who helped in the preparation of the present exhibit. Particularly I wish to express appreciation to the chairperson of The Founding Committee for the Development of Cultural Heritage at the University, the Committee members, who devotedly planned and executed this unique and pioneering exhibition.

On behalf of Birzeit University, I warmly welcome all visitors to the present exhibit. In viewing the valuable and exquisite objects so lovingly collected and preserved by Dr. Canaan, each one of us will be bringing to life a portion of the lost cultural past of Palestine, a culture that we are committed to preserve and develop.

Dr. Hanna Nasir, President  
Birzeit University



## Note from the Editor

**This** catalogue accompanies *Yā kāfī, yā shāfī ... The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets* exhibition. Selected items from the collection, which has been donated to Birzeit University by members of the Canaan family, are on display for the first time.

Gisela Helmecke, Curator of the exhibition, selected the objects, a large portion of which corresponds to pieces already published by Canaan in his work *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*\* (1914). Furthermore, the description of objects benefits heavily from notebooks, in which Canaan listed a short and preliminary description of each item of his collection (see Helmecke, pp. 27-34 below). Except for measurements of the objects, the present listing of 162 entries is true to the description as given by Tawfik Canaan in the above-mentioned works. Measurements were not checked or added systematically. The order of the items in the exhibition is the work of Gisela Helmecke. It defines the amulets according to their function in magic or popular medicine, which partly follows divisions in Canaan 1914. In the editorial process this grouping was complemented with sub-divisions indicating functional shapes of the amulets (pendants, necklaces, rings ... etc.). The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets is not restricted to "amulets" in the strict sense, but also contains a variety of related groups, such as the so-called "bread stamps", which were not included in the selection.

The material for the Catalogue has been originally given to the Editor in the form of data base sheets with descriptions for forty additional pieces added in the editing. The Editor, with the assistance of Wissam Abdullah, has revised the entire material and prepared its final catalogue form. The Arabic version of the Catalogue has been edited by the latter. The layout of the catalogue has

\**Superstition and Popular Medicine in the Land of the Bible* (see p. 25: Canaan 1914).

been designed by the Editor. This task has been professionally fulfilled with some suggestions by Murad Ratib Izzat from Al-Nashir Technical Services (Al-Bireh).

The biography of Tawfik Canaan was been written by Wissam Abdullah, and translated into English by Tania Nasir. The latter article has profited from references provided by Mr. Fihmi Al-Ansari (Jerusalem). Ms. Martina Rieker copy-edited the article by Gisela Helmecke (pp. 27-34), and translated into English some sections which were left in the latter in German.

Being a former member of The Founding Committee for the Development of Cultural Heritage, I was able to follow closely the growth and development of *The Ethnographic and Archaeological Gallery* project and consequently the present exhibition. Accordingly, Vera Tamari, chairperson of the committee, asked me to edit the catalogue.

I wish finally to thank Wissam Abdullah, my wife, for the continuous support she has shown during the work on the catalogue. This not only consisted in actual help such as checking the material, but also in her keen suggestions and insights, which contributed substantially towards shaping the catalogue in its final version.

Khaled Nashef  
Palestinian Institute of Archaeology



## Acknowledgements

The Founding Committee for the Development of Cultural Heritage would like to thank all the people who contributed, whether in their professional or personal capacities, to seeing this event come to light. The Committee is grateful to several scholars and experts who collaborated on this important project, to Shelagh Weir of the British Museum for carrying the first evaluation report (Summer 1996), and for her recommendations for the undertaking and development of the collection. Much appreciation goes to Salwa Mikdadi Nashashibi for proposing a professional layout of *The Ethnographic and Archaeological Gallery*, the design for an earlier concept of the present exhibition and for the preparation of an important document - *Policy and Procedure Manual* for the management of museums, collections and exhibitions, as well as other materials (Summer 1997). Very special thanks also go to Gisela Helmecke from the Islamic Museum in Berlin for generously offering her time and expertise in the curation of this exhibition and to Tina Sherwell for her great patience and invaluable assistance in administrative work. She also collected works of Canaan and some biographical information through correspondence with Leila Mantoura, Canaan's daughter.

The Committee also extends its deep appreciation and thanks to many individuals, in particular: Ms. Suha Shouman and Ms. Widad Kawar, for their genuine interest in this project and who through a variety of means helped to promote it; to Dr. Hanan Ashrawi and Dr. Lily Feidy for their involvement and interest in the project.

At Birzeit University, different offices, especially the director and staff of the University Library and the President's Office, facilitated the many administrative steps required for the preparation of *The Ethnographic and Archaeological Gallery* and the present exhibition.

Most special thanks, however, go to all the members of The Founding Committee for the Development of Cultural Heritage at Birzeit University who despite their many other duties and involvement worked patiently and imaginatively together, overriding the many obstacles. I am especially indebted to Dr. Khaled Nashef of the Palestinian Institute of Archaeology of Birzeit University, who accepted to edit and the Catalogue.

Vera Tamari

Chairperson, Founding Committee for the Development of Cultural Heritage at Birzeit University

## Introduction

*The teacher who walks in the shadow of the temple, among his followers, gives not of his wisdom but rather of his faith and his lovingness.*

*If he is indeed wise he does not bid you enter the house of his wisdom, but rather leads you to the threshold of your own mind.*

Khalil Gibran, *The Prophet*

**The** Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets was bequeathed to Birzeit University by members of the Canaan family in 1995. The Collection was protected and sheltered for decades since 1948 and now selected specimens of that collection are shown publicly for the first time, thus introducing an impressive cultural treasure and a private legacy.

The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets is a testimony to the authenticity and evidence of the richness of Palestinian heritage; the collection echoes a web of interrelated aspects of folk beliefs and social customs. Dr. Canaan acquired the first amulet in the year 1905, the last one 1947. It offers a complex scope of narrative data, re-anchoring the fragmented glimpses of the past, which we have so brutally lost, and thus shedding light on the issue of identity and assertion of historical and political rights.

For most people the notion of amulets is a thing of the nostalgic past associated with magical rituals and folk beliefs. Amulets and talismans are in the minds of many people merely as objects of superstition, fetishes that simple folk resorted to in solving health ailments or as remedies for social or psychological problems. Dr. Tawfik Canaan viewed the amulets differently; he probed and asked questions related to their value as a source of knowledge in the interpretation of the traditions and beliefs of his own people. His impressive collection comprised almost 1400 amulets and other related objects. He made use of the



collection in several ethnographic publications, especially in his book *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*\* (1914), that guided us in the thematic selection of items in this exhibition.

Tawfik Canaan, one of the earliest medical doctors in Palestine, had also shown genuine interest in other academic disciplines and had through his personal and professional life provided a model for the true meaning of scholarship - a veritable inspiration for students and all those seekers of knowledge. He possessed an extraordinary "seeing eye", motivation, diligence, clarity and above all an analytical mind. His work is an adventure embracing the dualities of two practices: the precision of a scientist and the creative sensitivity of an artist. Dr. Canaan may be considered a "Renaissance" man, a true "craftsman" whose main tools were his personal sensibility and dedication, attributes, which we here at Birzeit University hope to guide our young Palestinian men and women in contemplating a new tomorrow.

Vera Tamari

Chairperson, Founding Committee for the Development of Cultural Heritage at Birzeit University

\**Superstition and Popular Medicine in the Land of the Bible* (see p. 25: Canaan 1914).

## Father, Friend, and Inspiration

**I**t is with sadness and shame that we, Tawfik Canaan's children, have to admit that we never fully appreciated him. For us our father was a loving, caring, and fully involved parent. He made us feel proud of our heritage, and traditions, and taught us to love our country. He and mother gave us a wonderful home life and childhood in a secure and happy home. I also have to admit that we never appreciated his genius, versatility of interest or his accomplishments.

Father was born in Beit Jala in 1882, the child of Pastor Bechara Canaan and Katharina Khairallah. In 1899 he went to the American University of Beirut (AUB) to study medicine, and graduated in 1905 with honors. He was offered several positions at the AUB. He, however, decided to return to Palestine to start his medical career there and join his family. He moved his mother and sister Badra to a rented house in Jerusalem, continuing with his financial support of his two younger brothers who were studying in Germany. One graduated as an engineer and the other in Business and Banking studies. His first employment in a hospital was with the German Hospital, and soon afterwards he was appointed Director of the Muslim-funded polyclinic in the Old City. It was through the polyclinic and his visits to outlying villages and hamlets, on horseback, carrying a bag full of medicines, that he noticed many women and men wearing amulets. After treating them, he would discuss with the patients what protection these amulets offered, which fired his interest in folklore and folk medicine. He often bought the amulets, or took them in lieu of payment for his treatment and medicines supplied. On his return home he would immediately write down all the information obtained. Over the years he made friends with the village heads who supplied father with a lot of background information and bought amulets for him. According to his notes the first amulet was collected in 1905.

In 1910 father decided it was time for him to get married and with the help of friends made a short list of four young ladies. Being a very systematic man, he researched their background, education and interests. Finally he chose a beautiful 24-year-old German lady called Margot Eilender, who was born and bred in the Middle East. He joined Esperanto classes after he found out that Miss Eilender attended them, and they got to know one another. They became engaged in 1911 and were married in 1912. As a wedding present father gave mother a piece of land in the Musrara quarter of Jerusalem, built a 3-story house and moved into it in 1913. Yesma, the eldest child, was already born before they moved to the new house, but the other children were born in the Musrara house. In this house he opened his first clinic. This remained their home until they lost it in 1948.

Throughout the years we spent at home we lived simply, surrounded by love and had continuous intellectual challenges. One aspect of our life was strictly supervised, that we should do our home work well, study and fully understand our lessons and do an enormous amount of outside reading on different subjects. All four children had weekly music lessons, but only Yesma and Theo became accomplished piano players.

Both mother and father played the piano very well. Music played a very important part in our life and we were introduced very early to classical music. Even though father used to work very late on his research and writing, he always had time for us either to help with lessons, discuss world events, or just talk for a short time. Religion and living faith were also very important and a cornerstone in our life. Before every meal, thanks was given to the Lord and we attended church on Sundays. Sundays were also special days because father,

Tawfik and Margot, 1911





mother and auntie Badra would spend the day with us either walking in the hills around Jerusalem or picnicing in neighboring areas. Mother would point out the Roman roads and ruins (her special interest), father would tell us folk stories, describe the historic importance of a *tell*. In spring, when the fields were full of flowers and grass, father and mother used to tell us the names of every flower in Arabic, German and sometimes in Latin, and make us pick wild flowers which we would take home, and dry, and before Christmas, make greeting cards with them, which would then be sold and the proceeds given to Jerusalem charities.

Every summer holiday we used to go to either Lebanon, Cyprus or Syria where we had many friends. For shorter holidays father and mother took us to Tiberias, Jericho, Nazareth, Acre, Gaza, and other towns. Education was a very important factor in our life and was very carefully planned by father and mother. Yesma, Theo and Nada were all sent to Europe to study. They spent four years away from home in both England and Germany. Unfortunately, when I was old enough and had finished my secondary education, World War II was on, so I could only go to Beirut and later to Cairo. In spite of this simple life, his various activities such as his affiliation with foreign archaeological schools, filled our home with scholars of many nationalities. We remember names like professors William Foxwell Albright, Nelson Glueck, Kathleen Kenyon, Martin Noth, Gustav Dalman, Lux and Magnus from the Hebrew University.

We were also very privileged to meet people in the medical field who worked with Father, many of whom were Jewish. To mind comes Dr. Moritz Wallach, who was in charge of the Schaare Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem. Whenever Dr. Wallach used to take a holiday or go to Europe for refresher courses, father was asked to take over the medical direction of this hospital. Other doctors with whom father worked were Dr. Salzberger, Dr. Albert Ticho, and Dr. Schwartz. Professor Dr. P. Mühlens worked with father for three years to combat malaria, travelling all over the country and into Trans-Jordan for this purpose. Professor Dr. Eberhard Gmelin, the brilliant surgeon at the German Hos-

pital, Drs. Shafiq Nasr Hanna Haddad and Yusuf Hajjar and many others were frequent visitors at home. Students in archaeology and anthropology came to our home to listen to father talk about folklore and folk medicine, and explain the history of the country.

When he was elected President of the YMCA in King David Street, this opened so many doors to us; we could go swimming, play tennis or use the soda-fountain coffee shop. My father with his diverse interests gave us children a wonderful exposure in meeting so many different people from all walks of life, of so many different professions, many of whom had attained distinction in their countries and worldwide.

In 1934 auntie Badra and mother were among the founders of the Arab Women's Council in which they did charitable work to start with, but which quickly turned political during the 1936 General Strike. I remember that as a young girl, wearing a kufiyeh, I joined other girls of my age at the Women's Council and we spent many afternoon winding bandages and filling first aid boxes to make these available to the anti-British demonstrators, many of whom were wounded.

He foresaw the troubles lying ahead due to the Jewish immigration, especially in the 1930's, and expressed his deep concern through writing a book in 1936 entitled *Conflict in the Land of Peace* (1936). This and other publications made him very unpopular with the British Mandate authorities, especially since he continued giving speeches on this subject. It is interesting to note that after publication, mother and father were dropped from the guest list at the British High Commissioner's.

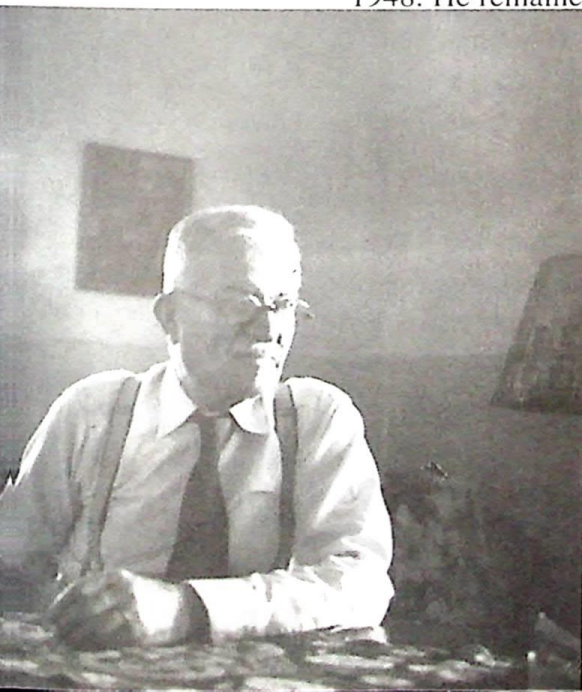
On September 3rd, 1939 World War II started. At three p. m. our doorbell rang. I was alone with the maid and cook and on opening the door found three British policemen asking for father, mother and auntie Badra. They were out visiting a sick friend; the police insisted on knowing where they were and arrested



them, allowing them to take a small bag each. Father was taken to Acre prison. Mother and auntie Badra were taken to Bethlehem women's prison and had to share a cell with a Jewish murderess and prostitute. When our lawyer asked what the charges were, the prosecution claimed it was for the "safety of Palestine". Father was brought to court twice and each time his release was ordered, but the order was not put to effect. Father remained in prison for nine weeks, mother for 36 weeks and auntie Badra for four years. Father was writing us every day, but the letters were only sent to us once a week. Mother and Badra were not allowed to write home for nine weeks. It is very sad to note that many people whom we considered as friends did not call or check on us while our parents were interned.

It was only three Muslim families that called on us every day, supplying us with friendship, their protection and care, and two American friends who stood by our family. When father returned I remember him saying "Now I know who our friends are". These events had a dramatic influence on my parents. Mother, who was always shy and retiring, became almost a recluse for several years. My father put his anger and frustration into work, research and writing. It was also at this time that he took up his piano playing again. He composed several very beautiful tunes; unfortunately they, like all the rest were lost to us after 1948. He remained a member of the archeological societies, giving up political anti-zionist and anti-mandate speeches.

We all believed that there would be a war between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine in 1948, but we were also convinced that the Arabs would hold their own against the Jews, never foreseeing what would happen. We four children were outside Palestine, three of us in Lebanon and Yesma in England. Mother and father decided that they would not leave Jerusalem. They accepted the fact that there might be fighting and possibly looting. It was the fear that father's collections might be looted that made him



Tawfik Canaan: Musrara Home, 1947



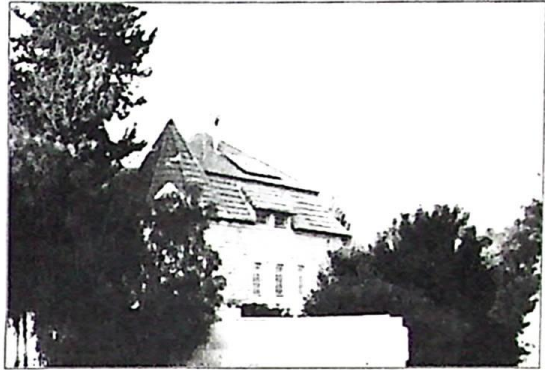
and mother decide to pack the amulet collection and 217 icons and place them with an international organization in West Jerusalem. Eventually, fighting broke out around our house and it received a direct hit, which destroyed the third floor. Father decided to move his wife, sister and sister-in-law to the Old City until the fighting stopped. He had made previous arrangements with the Latin Patriarchate, which enabled them to enter the Old City at night. The four of them took a small suitcase each, climbed the stairs and entered the Old City, never to return to their home again. The Greek Orthodox patriarch gave them a small room in which they lived, and in which father held his clinic.

Mother and father would go daily to the top of the wall to look at their home. They witnessed it being ransacked, together with the wonderful and priceless library and manuscripts, which mother guarded jealously and with great pride. They saw mother's Biedermeyer furniture being loaded into trucks and then their home being put to fire.

Most Arab doctors had left Jerusalem, there were no hospitals or polyclinics in the Old City, medical supplies were very scarce, but the spirit of Jerusalem prevailed. Muslim and Christian religious groups got together and agreed to establish medical services. Soon afterwards medical and social services came pouring in from the Arab World and Europe. In 1950 father was able to convince the Lutheran World Federation to turn the magnificent property they owned on the Mount of Olives, the Augusta Victoria Hospice, into a hospital, and together with UNRWA it was opened to serve the refugees. Father was appointed Director and Medical Director of the Hospital.

The biggest blow father and mother suffered was the death of their only son in 1954. Theo was a successful architect in Beirut, and had spent every weekend in Jerash helping to rebuild the South Amphitheater. One Saturday morning, standing on top of the Eastern Arch, he lost his balance, fell backwards and broke his neck. The shock of this left both our parents completely shattered, and I do not think that they ever recovered from it.

My father retired in 1957 at the age of 75, moving to a small villa in the grounds of the Augusta Victoria called the "Gardener's House" where they lived contentedly for many years. This villa had the most superb view over Bethany and down to the Dead Sea. Being sur-



Gardner's House in the Augusta Victoria

rounded by pine trees, it made a wonderful retreat for us children and our children to come to. The grandchildren and we spent many happy holidays there and having the grandchildren around them seemed to give mother and father a new lease of life. Father started writing again, telling the grandchildren Palestinian country tales, teaching them about wild flowers, drying them and sticking them on cards for sale for the benefit of Jerusalem charities.

He gave his grandchildren the same love, care, and pride he gave to us. It was this closeness to the family and the country that installed in all of us a love for our country and its people and pride in belonging to it.

Once more I have to admit that we the children did not appreciate what we had, taking for granted all that life offered us. When he died in 1964 mother said to me "the Canaan name is now dead".

I wish she were around to realize that his name would live on through his writings, which we hope the young generation will find worthy of research and study, and through his amulet collection, which we have given to Birzeit University.

Leila Mantoura  
Daughter of Dr. Tawfik Canaan







## Tawfik Canaan: A Biography

The year 1905 witnessed the graduation of a twenty-three year old medical doctor from the American University of Beirut, a Palestinian from Jerusalem, who, upon his graduation decided to go back to his home town to serve his people despite tempting offers to work elsewhere. He was to become one of the most prominent Palestinian personalities of the twentieth century. His name was Tawfik Canaan.

Tawfik Canaan was born on September 24, 1882 in Beit Jala. His parents Bechara Canaan and Katharina Khairallah had six children; Tawfik was their second child. Bechara, the father and teacher, founded the Lutheran Church in Beit Jala. He was the first Arab pastor in the Near East. He was also the founder of the YMCA, and the first boys and girls schools in Beit Jala. The man whom everyone loved and respected inspired his son Tawfik, and had a primary influence on his life. Of his father, Canaan writes: "father took us on short and long excursions all over the country to learn more about the country and people. This ongoing contact with the people instilled in all of us, and especially in me at an early stage, the love for homeland, and maintained in all of us an unshakable loyalty to our country" (Canaan 1961:18).

Faith and education were essential in the Canaan home. All six children completed their higher education, and the effect of family and early childhood remained strong throughout their lives, and never did they abandon family or homeland. Of this, Dr. Canaan writes: "At all stages in our lives, we the children carried a deep sense of the family blessing" (Canaan 1961:18).

Like his father, Canaan studied at the Schneller School, and went in 1899 to Beirut to take up his medical education. A month and a half after his arrival in Lebanon, he lost his father, his mentor and guide, who died suddenly of pneumonia. Burdened by the need for financial support, Canaan started to give

private lessons and working in odd jobs in order to support his university education.

Towards the end of 1904 the German Deaconesses Hospital was looking for an assistant doctor<sup>1</sup>, and Canaan was contacted for the post upon his graduation. In the summer of 1905, Dr. Canaan started work with Dr. Grußendorf, the hospital director, who was a brilliant surgeon. Of this period in his life, Canaan writes "In 1905 I started my work as an assistant doctor at the German Deaconesses Hospital, where I learnt a lot under the supervision of Dr. Grußendorf, the hospital director. In order to gain the utmost from this experience, I worked at least nine hours daily. This prevented me from starting my own clinic, and when I was dismissed to allow a German doctor to work in my place, I was almost penniless" (Schwake 1983:322). In 1906, Dr. Grußendorf took a leave of absence, and Dr. Canaan, together with Dr. Adolf Einszler, the deputy doctor, directed the hospital.

After this period, Canaan pursued his career at the English Mission Hospital (English Hospital), then as director of the Schaare Zedek Hospital<sup>2</sup> in the absence of its own director Dr. Moritz Wallach. In 1910, he became the chief director of the Municipality Clinic of Jerusalem, and in 1912 he commenced in Germany his studies in microscopy, bacteriology and tropical diseases with Prof. Dr. P. Mühlens, Prof. Dr. Ruge, and Dr. Huntemüller. He had special instruction in tuberculosis from Dr. H. Much. Dr. Canaan, who at the time was conducting a special research program on amebal dysentery, was appointed as head of the Malaria Section in the International Hygienic Institute in Jerusalem.

In 1912, Tawfik Canaan married Margot Eilender, a German brought up in the Middle East. And in 1913, the couple moved to their own home, which they had built in the Musrara quarter of Jerusalem. It was there that Dr. Canaan opened his first clinic, the only Arab clinic in Jerusalem at the time.

In 1914, Canaan, a subject of the Ottoman Empire, was ordered to join the

army. He was first appointed as physician for an army unit in Nazareth, later he kept moving among several locations: Beersheba, Beit Hanoun, Jerusalem, Nablus, Damascus, Aleppo, and Ḥafir el-<sup>o</sup>Ījā where he became the head of the army laboratories. After the end of the war, Canaan resumed his own career and was appointed in 1919 as director of the Quarantine Station, as well as taking on the directorship of the Leper Home, named *Jesushilfe*\* (in Talbieh). He remained as its head until 1948 at the end of the British Mandate over Palestine.



In 1923, Dr. Canaan returned to the German Deaconesses Hospital in Jerusalem to work with Prof. Dr. Eberhard Gmelin, the hospital director and the famous German surgeon. He chose Canaan for his broad experience in the treatment of infectious diseases of the area and his up-to-date knowledge. He remained in this position till 1939 when the hospital was closed.

In 1939, Canaan was imprisoned, obviously for his position against the British Mandate and Zionism. He was against the encouragement of Jewish immigration to Palestine<sup>3</sup>, quite evident in some of his writings (e. g. Canaan 1936).

The Arab Medical Society was established on August 14, 1947 with the election of Dr. Canaan as president. When the Society after one year started publishing its own journal, Canaan was on the editorial board. The editor was Mahmoud Dajani. The Society played an important role as the political and security

\* *Help of Jesus.*



file: Immanuel Hospital

Jerusalem, den 19. September 51.

Herrn

Dr. Tufik Canaan  
Auguste Victoria Hospital  
Mount of Olives  
Jerusalem.

Lieber Herr Doktor,  
Eben bekomme ich diesen Notschrei von Graf  
..... und sende den Brief durch den arabi-  
schen Jungen des Grafen zu Ihnen. Können Sie dem  
Ueberbringer wohl eine Antwort für den Patienten  
geben? Er ist seelisch in ziemlich grosser  
Bedrängnis, und ich wäre dankbar, wenn man ihm  
ein wenig helfen könnte.

Herzliche Grüsse von Haus zu Haus,

Ihr,

H. Döring

Sehr geehrter Herr Propst!

Ich würde Herrn Graf

sofort aufnehmen können, aber nur unter  
d. Bedingung, dass er in ein Zimmer mit

einem anderen Patienten sein muss. Ich

habe nämlich keine freie Zimmer. Wenn Herr  
Graf einverstanden ist, kann er sofort

Kommen

zugelassen

D. Canaan

19/9/51

Bitte diesen Brief zu beantworten

Pencil handwritten letter by Dr. Canaan. This is a response to a letter by the Dean of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, Johannes Döring asking for the admission of a certain Graf (name omitted by the Editor) in the Augusta Victoria Hospital. Dr. Canaan replies that the Graf, if to be admitted, must be in one room with another patient.

conditions began by 1948 to deteriorate. It started training and organizing first aid units in towns and villages. The Society received financial and material support from various official and private sources.

It was clear to the Arab Medical Society under the leadership of Canaan that the British Mandate authorities would leave Palestine and hand over all institutions under its jurisdiction to the Jews. Repeated attempts to contact concerned Arab parties to take over the hospitals were in vain. It is at this time that the Society decided to take the initiative towards preserving the hospitals. After painstaking negotiations with the British Mandate Government, Dr. Canaan succeeded in taking over the building of the Hospital for Epidemic Diseases in Beit Safafa. The hospital, which had been closed and destroyed, was reequipped by the Society and started, under severe conditions, to admit patients. The hospital functioned again under the name of the Arab Civil Hospital.

At the beginning of May 1948, the Society took over officially from the British Mandate Government in Jerusalem the central hospital and the hospital of the Austrian Hospice. The former started receiving casualties and patients. It was, however, hit by the Jews in spite of the Red Cross flag above the building. A large portion of the building was destroyed, while the Jews occupied most of the surrounding houses and part of the building. The bombardment of the building did not cease, and access to the hospital was difficult. It was evacuated in October 1948. At the Austrian Hospice, which the British Mandate Government had already changed into a hospital at the beginning of 1948, work continued, but with the continuous bombardment, the Society was forced to evacuate the building.

In 1948, the Canaan house was directly hit, and Dr. Canaan was forced to leave it and take refuge in the Old City. He was never to return to his house again, for it was burglarized and burned, and so Canaan lost his home, his library and several manuscripts ready for publication. However, he was able to hide his amulet collection in West Jerusalem.

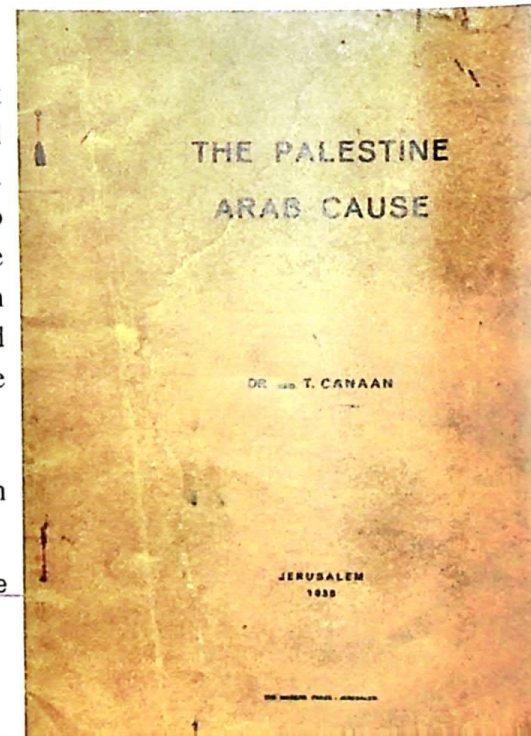
In the Old City, Canaan and his family lived in one room only, which also served as his clinic. It was a difficult period in the life of Jerusalem, and due to the influx of refugees to the city, the Lutheran World Federation created polyclinics in Jerusalem, Hebron, Beit Jala, Taybeh and Bethany, where Dr. Tawfik Canaan worked. He was amongst the few Arabs doctors who remained in Jerusalem and stayed despite the hardships to serve his people.

In 1950, and in cooperation with the UNRWA, the Lutheran World Federation with the special effort of Dr. Canaan, established al-Muṭallaḥ Hospital at the Augusta Victoria Hospice on the Mount of Olives. Dr. Canaan was appointed as its first medical director, remaining in office until 1957 when he retired at the age of seventy-five. He continued to live in the premises of the Augusta Victoria where he was given a house, called, Gardner's House, where he went on with his writings and community services as long as he lived.

In the early hours of January 15, 1964, he passed away in the very hospital, which he helped to establish. He was buried in the Lutheran cemetery in Bethlehem, close to Beit Jala, the town of his birth. It was the end of a long - yet short voyage, and Canaan thus returned to the very earth, which he loved with unshakable loyalty.

**Dr.** Canaan's prominence in the medical field was not foremost in his rich life; one could say that it went hand in hand with his highly applauded achievements in various other fields. His professional know-how, as well as his deep commitment to his country and his people, were the foundation of any work he was to be involved in. Early in his medical practice, Dr. Canaan started noticing the amulets worn by his patients, and he started collecting them and writing his notes and observations until he came to own around 1400 amulets.

Moreover he was a member of the board of the YMCA in



Cover of The Palestine Arab Cause



Jerusalem, where he was three times elected as president. He became a honorary member for the rest of his life after his retirement in 1954. He was a member of the Palestine Oriental Society along with many other Palestinian and foreign scholars. The Society published the first issue of its journal in 1920, Canaan being one of the contributors. He wrote in this journal regularly until it ceased to appear by the beginning of the fifties. Under the directorship of George Horsfield, then Director of Antiquities in Trans-Jordan, he participated in the Petra expedition of 1929. His profession as medical doctor, his ability to deal with the local inhabitants of the area, and a thorough knowledge of the previous literature on Petra - all enabled him to write a comprehensive study in five chapters on the dialects, folk tales, and place names of the Petra region (Canaan 1930). The most significant result of this study was a map, which is considered up until now one of the major sources on the topography of the Petra region. Tawfik Canaan was a member of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

His first publication was his graduation speech in 1905, which appeared in the same year (Canaan 1905, in Arabic). An avalanche of articles followed: by 1939 Dr. Canaan had published close to 30 medical articles and more than 40 on various subjects all related to people and country.

In 1914, he published his monograph *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*<sup>\*</sup>, a lengthy study that resulted from his relationship with his patients and was based on his amulet collection. It is noticeable that although most of Canaan's articles had to do with folk heritage, yet at times he would expand his pure scientific observations such as in his article on *The Child in Folk Beliefs* (Canaan 1927). In others, he would leave room for further research and study as in his paper on "fear cups" (*ṭāset er-rajjeh*) (Canaan 1923). In other studies he recorded daily life in its simplest details, as in his *The Palestine Arab House* (Canaan 1932; 1933), which leaves the reader with an experience of the

<sup>\*</sup>*Superstition and Popular Medicine in the Land of the Bible* (Canaan 1914).

Palestinian house as it developed from a piece of land to a home full of life. Several other studies by Canaan share this quality.

This interest in tradition did not isolate Canaan from the actualities of life. His book *The Palestine Arab Cause* is an accurate and conscious documentation of relevant statements and writings on the Palestinian problem from 1915 till 1936, when the book was published. Canaan writes in the Preface: "In presenting this short resume of the Palestine Arab Cause to the public I wish to point out that I have with great care avoided injecting my personal view point. The information has been drawn from British and Jewish authors, with the sole object of presenting a clear statement untinged by Arab nationalistic views. I have attempted to render the translation of German quotations as faithfully as possible and now I leave for the reader to judge for himself" (Canaan 1936a:3).

This book, *Conflict in the Land Peace* (1936b), and lectures against the British Mandate policy and Zionism resulted ultimately in his imprisonment and the cessation of publishing for about 14 years. In 1940-1950 only eight medical articles were published; later, just before his retirement, Dr. Canaan resumed publication and more than 20 various non-medical articles appeared<sup>4</sup>.

Wissam Abdullah

#### NOTES

1 This is implied by a report published by the deaconesses in *Dank- und Denk-Blätter* V. Jahrgang, Juni 1905 (not available to the author), quoted by Schwake 1983:322.

2 Officially called "Allgemeine Krankenhaus Schaare Zedek" (General Hospital Schaare Zedek).

3 It is usually claimed that Tawfik Canaan was imprisoned for his "propaganda for Nazi Germany" (Al-Asali 1994:260 after earlier biographers). Schwake 1983:323 quotes Dr. Immanuel Propper, a Jewish neighbor of Canaan, who reports on his "intensive overt support of arms provision to the Arabs". Note also that *The Palestine Arab Cause* was first published "in cyclostyle form, about the middle of June 1936". The final version is dated "Jerusalem July 2, 1936. Seventy-fifth day of the general strike" (Canaan 1936a:3).

4 For a comprehensive bibliography of Canaan's works see von Rabenau 1963:1-7. To be added to this list: Canaan 1912; 1949; 1954; 1964. The bibliography below includes these additions as well as biographies and works relevant to Canaan's life.

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# The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets

In 1914 the Jerusalem physician Dr. Tawfik Canaan published his *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*\*. The study is based on the insights and experiences Canaan gained in his years as a practicing physician and on his collection of amulets and charms that he had been acquiring since 1912. In his introduction to the study, the leading German Orientalist Carl Heinrich Becker, commented that,

*"driven by love of his country and scientific interests Canaan worked on Palestinian folklore for years. Thanks to his deep studies we already have received a few important articles. As a man belonging to the country, its language and customs, and as a simultaneously modern educated man informed by the questions of European science, he was able to see and experience what the seasoned Palestine researcher could not ... The basis of this unique book lies in these scientifically collected observations of the realities of the living present. Although Dr. Canaan explicitly limits himself to the holy land, his observations are valid for the entire Muslim world ... And Canaan informs us that these superstitions are not particularly Islamic, but with a few adjustments are also applicable to Jews and Christians, in other words, they are quintessentially oriental" (Canaan 1914:V).*

Reflecting upon his collection, Canaan noted that "My profession simplified my acquisition of an extensive collection of amulets and charms ... I came across most of these amulets and charms from all segments of the Muslim and Christian population of Jerusalem and the surrounding areas in my office. I was able to familiarize myself, as far as that is possible with such objects, with their usage, origin, production and the reasons attributed to their healing capa-

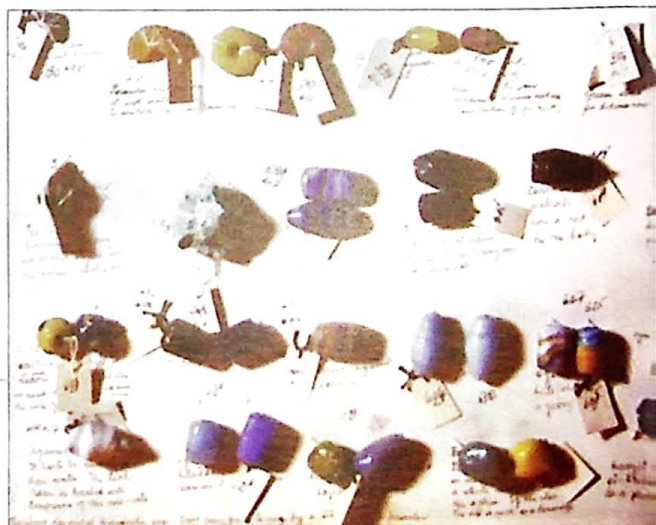
\* *Superstition and Popular Medicine in the Land of the Bible.*

bilities" (Canaan 1914:VIII). In *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, of which Canaan was a member from the start, he wrote of the obstacles he encountered along the way. "In the beginning it was very difficult to get many explanations for any superstitions. People did not like to open their hearts and do disclose their beliefs to a stranger. One has first to gain their full confidence - and this I tried to do and slowly succeeded". According to Leila Mantoura (Letter), his daughter, Canaan spent much of his time interviewing village shaykhs, and villagers as well as his own patients, regarding local traditions, folklore and beliefs. In addition to taking detailed notes of these conversations, he made use of his own extensive library and that of Hebrew University (Jerusalem); he also engaged in an exchange of ideas with foreign academics residing in Palestine.

Tawfik Canaan conducted research on traditional Palestinian customs throughout his life. Many of these customs were already beginning to disappear by 1914, a process that intensified after World War I due to the drastic changes in the economic, social and political situation in Palestine. Canaan continued to expand his collection until 1947 and published numerous articles on it. His first article, published in the Beirut based journal *Al-Kulliyeh* in 1912, remained largely unknown; however, his book, published in 1914, continues to be used as a standard work in the field of Palestinian folklore. Other articles include one essay on *The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans* (1937; 1938), a study of inscribed metal objects and especially paper Talismans, and two articles on the so-called fear cups or *Arabic Magic Bowls* (1923; 1936).

The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets contains about 1,400 objects. Canaan catalogued 1,380 pieces, some catalogue numbers containing more than one object. The earliest date noted as acquisition was 1912, the last 1947. According to Leila Mantoura, Canaan was interested in amulets since 1905 (Letter). From the outset, his wife Margot Canaan, fixed the ob-

Beads on Cardboard





jects on paper-sized cardboard pieces; subsequently Tawfik Canaan would enter whatever data he had available. These entries were written primarily in English, and occasionally in German. Initially Canaan wrote Arabic terms in Arabic letters, occasionally supplemented with Latin transliterations. Eventually he worked with transliterations only.

Probably at the beginning of the 1940's Canaan started to put together a systematic catalogue of his collection. He wrote four volumes, all in German. In the catalogue he carefully numbered the acquisitions and gave a short description of each object, its Arabic name, material, content of any inscription(s), and whenever possible he gave a short description of its meaning and use(s). Canaan also entered the year of acquisition, the seller/donor, and the circumstances of the sale/donation, and the price paid. He did not note the measurements of the object. Having many other obligations, Canaan could only work on the catalogue as his time permitted.

The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets includes an array of different objects. Here lies the significance of the collection. Canaan collected whatever he saw in terms of strange and rare objects. Many of these objects were already disappearing in his own time. Without his careful collection and notation these material objects would have been completely lost from the collective memory of the Palestinian people.

The core of the Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets consists of amulets and amulet quality jewelry. Thus one can find nearly all major types of Palestinian jewelry with only a few exceptions, such as silver bracelets. The second largest group of objects within the collection are paper charms, consisting of about 200 pieces. Amulets include 135 special glass and stone beads used in folk medicine. Another subgroup in the collection consists of 50 *māskeh*-pendants (*māwasik*); 37 hands, 8 fishes and 15 amulets made out of Nebi Musa asphalt stone. Then there are glass articles produced in Hebron (eyes, hands, beads, bracelets, finger rings) and objects made from small imported European

glass beads (bracelets, foot rings, chains with amulet boxes and single boxes for alum and other amulets, chains for animals). The collection contains eleven small amulet plates and charm boxes worn on the upper arm, always in pairs. Floral and animal objects were used for protection and/or magic; included here are dates from Mecca, *mēs*-tree branches, gilded garlic, grains of wheat, cut palm tree leaves mixed with legume shells, dried cow's eyes, animal bones, tortoise carapace, and even a simple woolen string. Talismans were not only written on paper, but also on bones, glass, eggs, wood plates, leather, and ceramic dishes used in special ceremonies. Canaan also collected imitations or falsifications made for ignorant European travellers, for example. A very special group of charm vessels are the so-called fear cups (*tāset er-rajjeh*) of which the collection possesses eleven, supplemented by four dishes. The collection also contains china poison cups with a round metal piece in the center. People used to drink their coffee and tea from these cups to protect themselves from poisons or malevolent forces.



*māskeh*, no. 3 below

The paper talismans are partly preserved in their original containers and wrappings, made from metal, fabrics, leather or wood. Included here are Muslim, Christian and Jewish pilgrim certificates from visits to holy places in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Hebron. Printed calligraphic pictures, hung on the wall inside a house, constitute another form of paper charms. Some of the written or printed charms and pilgrim certificates are stamped with magic seals, signs and special inscriptions. The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets consists of twenty such stamps, mainly metal ones. Other stamps, called *rashim*, made from wood, were used to stamp soap and bread, for example, for



the special Easter bread made by Christians. Stamped clay and soap pieces from Christian and Muslem holy places and sold there, are also part of the collection.

The majority of the amulets in The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets are from Muslims, about 250 pieces from Christians, and a few pieces from Jews. The Christian amulets include small gilded cakes made of incense, crosses brought to Palestine by foreign pilgrims, silver medallions with the images of St George, the Virgin Mary and Jesus. The collection also includes thin silver sheets pounded in the shape of hearts, arms, legs, eyes, babies and other figures. These were mainly brought from Aleppo (Syria), and were prom-



*washāwesh*, no. 109 below

ised to holy persons like the Virgin Mary or al-Khadr and donated to a local church as votive pictures. A similar tradition is to be found alive in Southern Europe until today. This type of amulet was also used by Muslims. An example of this inter-confessional usage is a chain with multiple pendants that was taken from a Muslim child in Jerusalem in 1913. The chain contains blue beads against the evil eye, a Jewish *māskeh*, and a Christian medallion. Amulets were used not only to protect people but also valuable animals, the doors and walls of houses and different objects such as baby cradles or beds. The collection contains 20 amulets used for animals, especially horses. This includes beautiful crescent shaped pairs of boar teeth.

Canaan acquired many of the objects from his patients, some as gifts, some he purchased and some he accepted in lieu of payment. Sometimes the amulet was directly "taken from the cap of a child" and he noted carefully if the child was Muslim or Christian. Canaan received many of his charms from Maghribian and Nubian shayks living in Jerusalem or other places in



Palestine, as well as from Palestinian shaykhs. Some of the charms were especially made for Dr. Canaan and his family. In the catalogue he mentions three shaykhs of the well-known Jerusalem ad-Dawwaf family, the keepers of the



Alum Container, no. 75 below

Haram al-Sharif: Shaykh Ibrahim ad-Dawwaf (1914), Shaykh Khalil Badri ad-Dawwaf and Shaykh Yahya ad-Dawwaf al-Ansari (1942). He also mentions the Nabulsi Shaykh Sharaf (1920). Canaan received objects, directly or indirectly, from monks and priests, such as Bishop Basilus (1942), a monk called Theodoros (1942) and the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchs Timotheus and Damianus.

Other amulets were acquired through antique dealers, such as Ohan on Muristan Street in the Old City of Jerusalem. According to Leila Mantoura, Tawfik Canaan instructed Ohan to look for objects that were missing from his collection. Yesma, the eldest daughter of Canaan, recalls that women and men used to come by the clinic with bags full of amulets for sale (Y. Canaan 1988). By the 1930's the peasantry by and large had stopped wearing amulets extensively. Canaan was disconcerted that he did not have the time to visit distant villages to collect more material and background information (Letter of Leila Mantoura).

Canaan collected his amulets and talismans primarily from the Jerusalem area, but also from other towns and villages in Palestine. The amulets were either made at these locations or purchased from people living there. It was not possible to identify the geographical origin of many of the pieces. Of those that could be traced about 30 amulets came from Nablus, 20 from Hebron and 10 from Gaza. Others came from Bethlehem, Nazareth, Tiberias, Jaffa, Ramleh,

Lydda and the following villages: Lifta, Silwan, Artas, Beersheba, Khan Yunis, Deir Ghassana, Dura, Beit Hanina, Birzeit, Beit Safafa, Ramallah, Al-Bireh, Beitunia, Beit Sahur, °Ain Karim, Deir Yassin, Qubeibeh, Jericho, Beit Surik, Sur Bahir, Beit Iksa and Isawiyya. Other sources for the acquisition of amulets included the market at Nabi Musa, the convent of Mar Saba or "bedouins". He purchased silver sheet shapes and figures from Aleppo, printed charms from Egypt, and to a lesser extent from Amman and Damascus. Individual amulets were also purchased from the Yemen, Mecca, Medina, Bukhara, North Africa, Iraq, Mount Athos (Greece), Austria, Ethiopia, Iran, India, Istanbul and Greece. The geographical range of the purchases sheds light on the widespread faith in amulets. It also points towards the diversity of people coming to Palestine as pilgrims, travelers and dwellers and it draws attention to Palestinians embarking upon similar ventures in the larger Mediterranean region.

In the 1940's Canaan received amulets as gifts for his collection from well-known Jerusalemites such as the Mahlouks, Mattia Nahhas, Sulayman Klebo, Haidar Klebo and his wife and Najati Nashashibi. He also received amulets from other collectors such as from Lydia Einsler, a German collector of Palestinian folk traditions resident in Palestine. Her own collection was given to the Museum for Hygiene in Dresden (Germany), and following World War II was transferred to the Ethnographic Museum in the same city, and finally published in the 1980's.

The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets is a unique treasure made available to the public. It will provide scholars with the possibility to examine Palestinian heritage from a comparative historical perspective. Leila Mantoura (Letter) reminds us that her father "considered his collection his most important work and showed it to visitors with pride and devotion". When Lord Wellcome from London visited Dr. Canaan during the Man-

Pilgrimage Certificate, no. 161 below





date period he was so eager to purchase the entire collection that Dr. Canaan promised to create a similar collection for him. This second collection of 230 pieces is now at the Pitts River Museum in Oxford, and is ongoing to publish, too.

Gisela Helmecke  
Curator of the Exhibition

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Letter of Leila Mantoura, June 20, 1998.



# The Objects

*Pendants  
(1-14)*

**Protection against the Qarina(t)**

1 Gold plaque<sup>1</sup>; inscribed on both sides. See front and back cover.

Diameter: 4.3 cm

Jerusalem, 1912

1

2 Metal round plaque, gold coin, and a pair of wolves' teeth in a silver frame with five coral ornaments; disc inscribed on both sides. On one side: magic formula within a star, objects attached together with a safety pin.

Diameter (plaque): 3.6 cm

Jerusalem, 1913

2

3 Cast lead plaque, drop-shaped; inscribed on both sides.

Height: 4.1 cm; maximal width: 2.8 cm

Jerusalem, 1912

4

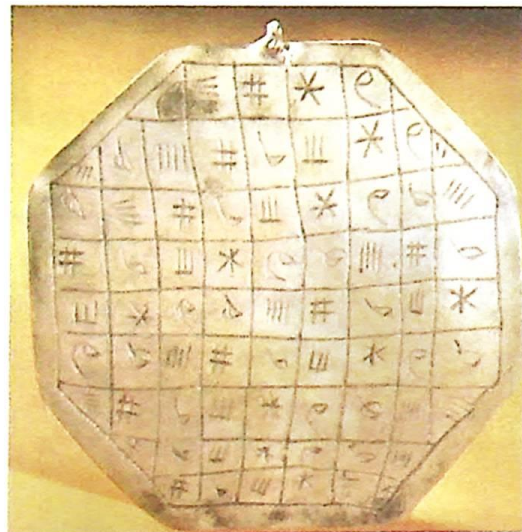
4 Cast lead plaque, drop-shaped; inscribed on both sides. See p. 30.

Height: 7.2 cm; maximal width: 5 cm

Jerusalem, 1914

12

5 Silver plaque, drop-shaped; inscribed on both



No. 7: Obverse

sides. On one side: 6x6 magic square with letters, surrounded with names of angels and palmettes, crescent at the top. On the other side: 3x4 magic square with letters, the sun at the top.

Height: 6.7 cm; maximal width: 4.5 cm

Jerusalem, 1918

14

6 Silver plaque, drop-shaped; inscription on one side. Seven small ornaments.

Height: 12.1 cm; maximal width: 6.2 cm

Amman, 1916

15

7 Silver plaque, octagonal; inscribed on both sides. On one side: A magic square with letters ("Seal of God").

Diameter: 8 cm

Jerusalem, 1914

19

8 Silver plaque, star-like; inscribed on one side with Quraic verses.

Diameter: 6 cm

Jerusalem, 1924

23

9 Round brass plaque; inscribed on one side.

Diameter: 5 cm

Jerusalem, 1920

24



No.8

*Choker,  
Anklets  
(15-19)*

- 10 Silver plaque coated with gold, drop-shaped; inscribed on one side in Hebrew and Arabic, on the other in Hebrew.  
Height: 5 cm; maximal width: 3.2 cm  
Jerusalem, 1913 95
- 11 Brass, tablet-shaped; inscribed on one side in Kufic<sup>2</sup>.  
Height: 2.9 cm  
Jerusalem 97
- 12 Silver, hand-shaped; inscribed on both sides.  
Height: 5 cm  
Jerusalem, 1915 159
- 13 Carnelian stone (fragment), framed at a later date; inscribed on both sides.  
Jerusalem, 1017 183
- 14 Silver, dented; inscribed on one side; inscriptions in the outer ring and in the center within a granulated ring with a star motif and inscription.  
Diameter: 6.1 cm  
1942 1089
- 15 Iron choker made of a horse-shoe.  
Jerusalem, 1912 247
- 16 Iron anklet.  
Jerusalem, 1913 242
- 17 Iron anklet with thickened ends.  
Nablus, 1917 245
- 18 Iron anklet made of a horse shoe.  
Jerusalem, 1927 239
- 19 Iron anklet made of horse-shoe.  
Jerusalem, 1920 248
- 20 Upper part of an animal bone joint.  
Silwan, 1914 782
- 21 Upper part of snake body with head.  
Jericho, 1914 784

22 Partridge beak.  
Sur Bahir, 1915 785

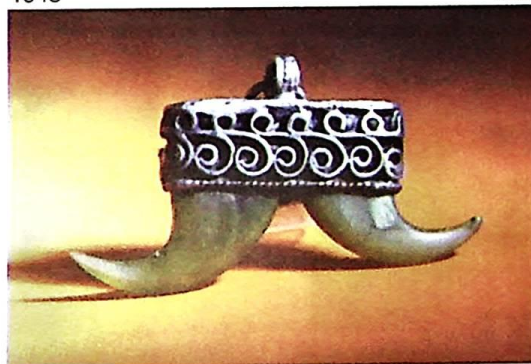
23 Stag-beetle tongs (*qarn en-namil*).  
789

24 Chain of cloves (*kabsh qrunful*).  
867

25 Hedgehog fur hung on children's bed.  
1035

26 Candied peel hung on children's bed.  
1036

27 Pair of claws as a pendant, joined together in a decorated silver container; worn by Yemenis.  
1943 1367



No. 27

28 Pair of wheat and barley chains. Taken from cooked wheat with sugar, distributed at the grave on the seventh day after the death of a person ; hung on children's caps.  
1943 1386

### General Protection

29 Pair of silver plaques, cartouche-shaped; worn by men on each upper arm. Each piece is made of three hinged parts attached with fringed cords at the ends, 4x4 magic square in each.  
Length: 23.7 cm; width: 21.2 cm  
Jerusalem, 1919 38

30 Brass plaque, circular, dented; worn on the

*Organic*  
(20-28)

*Charms*  
(29-32)



*Talisman Boxes*  
(33-39)

arm by men. On one side: Arabic inscription, on the other: Hebrew.

Diameter: 10.2 cm, 10.6 cm  
Jerusalem, 1940 40

31 Silver plaque, circular. In the center: magic square with letters and numbers; rudimentary human faces above each side of the square; magic names in the corners. Worn by men.

Diameter: 7 cm  
Jerusalem, 1940 43

32 Brass plaque, circular; worn by men on the upper arm. In the center: invocation of God; on the edge of the circle: *āyat el-kursī* (incomplete).

Diameter: 7.7 cm  
Jerusalem, 1940 44

33 Octagonal silver box with magic square, letters and numbers in the middle. On one side two small pendants (*khyāra[t]* imitations), in the middle of each a red stone, the pieces of which are attached with a cord and metal-ended fringes. Worn by men on the upper arm.

Length: 3.7 cm; diameter: 1.2 cm  
Jerusalem, 1921 46

34 Triangular silver box. Filigree work and simple granulation with a blue bead; eight ornaments (two missing).

Base: 10 cm; height: 12.2 cm  
Jerusalem, 1916 72

35 Triangular silver box; a red stone in the middle with nine small discs as ornaments, each engraved with a hand (one is missing).

Base: 5.8 cm; height: 4.6 cm 75

36 Rectangular silver box with five Ottoman coins; chain with six Ottoman coins as ornaments. On one side: a crescent with a star flanked with two "Trees of Life"; two rosettes above the crescent.

Length: 8.6 cm; width: 6.7 cm,  
Jaffa, 1913 52

37 Rectangular silver box with four discs. On one side: Representation of St. George and the Dragon. On the other: The Virgin Mary with the Child.

Length: 7.7 cm; width: 6.7 cm,  
Jerusalem, 1913 59

38 Rectangular brass box; lotus blossoms in each corner. Inscription in the center.

Length: 7.3 cm; width: 6.8 cm  
Jerusalem, 1916 78

39 Three rectangular silver boxes on a chain; each box with three coins as ornaments (four coins from two of the boxes missing). Inscription on each box.

Nazareth, 1918 171

40 Triangular white bag. In the middle the Virgin Mary and the Child, surrounded with embroidery decoration.

264

41 Quadratic orange-creame bag. Edges with visible straight sewing. Talisman with Quranic verses.

Ramallah, 1919 280

42 Triangular reddish-brown bag. Black stitches on lower corners, upper corner tied with a thick white thread.

Jerusalem, 1914 303

43 Quadratic bag with white and red stripes. On the right red rosettes in white surrounded with black design.

Hebron, 1937 300

44 Cylindrical silver box with five facets inscribed and decorated with tendrils.

Length: 9 cm; diameter: 2 cm  
Nablus, 1918 70

45 Pair of cylindrical silver boxes hung between three short chains; the lower doubled with two blue beads, each with a pair of small discs as ornaments. Worn on the headdress as jewelry

above the ear (*izbēqah*<sup>3</sup>).

Each box: Length: 10.4 cm; diameter: 1.6 cm

Jerusalem, 1914 151

46 Cylindrical silver box with seven ornaments: hands, discs, crescents. Colored beads above ornaments.

Length: 15.5 cm

Hebron, 1918 172

47 Cylindrical silver box with six facets; five rings for ornaments; inscribed with *āyat el-kursī*.

Length: 13.1 cm; diameter: 3 cm

Jerusalem, 1923 173

48 Cylindrical silver box with chain; original cover was replaced at one end by a flower-like cover with a blue bead; double filigree work with simple granulation.

Jerusalem, 1922 176

49 Three silver boxes: two triangular, and one rectangular, with a chain. Each box with small leaf-like ornaments; filigree work.

Jerusalem, 1919 1128

## Protection of Children

50 Tortoiseshell; hung on the cradle against *qarīna(t)* and Jinn.

866

51 Two arm-rings; cowry shells sewn on two



No. 46

pieces of textile and leather; carried by children against the Jinn.

Lifta, 1929 235

52 Pendant; two animal nails<sup>4</sup> fixed in a silver cylinder between two rows of small blue beads, the lower row with three round disc ornaments.

1914 94

53 Pendant; crescent-like pair of wolves' teeth fixed on a silver cylinder; the teeth points wrapped in silver. Suspended from a small chain with a blue bead. Two cast frogs and a hand as small ornaments.

Jerusalem, 1913 794

54 Silver pendant; bell, filigree work, bird on top, five pendants (one missing) with hands and colored glass beads. Fixed on a plate; hung on children's cap.

Height: 4.9 cm; diameter: 2.9 cm.

1923 1096

55 Round black stone with 12 corners; inscribed on both sides. On one side: Solomon Seal in the center surrounded with the names of the Seven Sleepers (*ahl el-kahf*).

Diameter: 5.8 cm; thickness: .8

Jerusalem, 1946 1472

56 Necklace. Thick thread with blue beads, one medallion on each side and a central silver pendant. The medallion to the right has a Hebrew inscription, the one to the left a representation of St. George. The central pendant is an imitation of a tortoise shell with five ornaments (three bells, a cowry-shell, and a small disc).

Length (with thread): 40 cm

Jerusalem, 1913 108

57 Pair of arm-bands made of plaited strings with small colored beads with a design of a diamond-like pattern. Made in Palestine.

Diameter: 4 cm

Jerusalem, 1928 221

*Khyārat*  
(44-48)

*Dishes, Comb  
(61-63)*

58 Fabric foot-band with cowry-shells and small colored beads with a design of a diamond-like pattern. Made in Palestine.

Diameter: 5 cm  
Lifta, 1920 223

59 Pair of arm-bands with small beads interrupted by four knots. Made in Palestine.

Diameter: 6 cm  
Hebron 226

60 Arm-band with coral pieces alternating with pairs of small beads.

Diameter: 5.2 cm  
Nebi Musa 233

*Plates  
(64-66)*

**Relief of Difficult Labor and Birth**

61 White dish; written with 4x4 magic square in the middle; on the top triangles with names of prophets, letters, and numbers.

Diameter: 20.3 cm 1049

62 White dish with red border; written; on the inside a 4x4 magic square with numbers on the right side, and letters; two outer bands with numbers; to help quick ejection of the placenta.

Diameter: 21.6 cm 1050

63 Ivory double-edged comb, square; written with letters. To ease difficult labour.

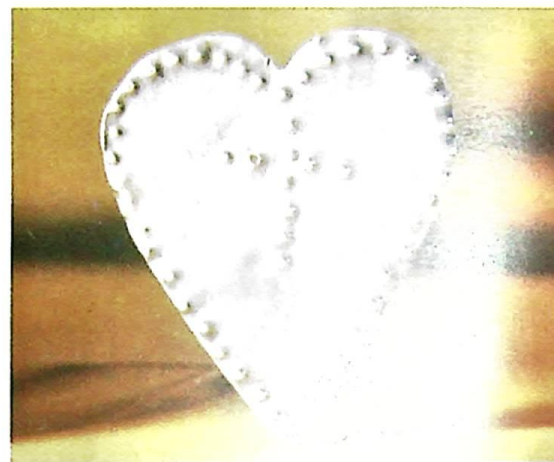
Width: 7.4 cm  
Nablus, 1920 252

**Votive Offerings**

64 Leg of thin silver sheet; dotted to mark edges, big dot at the ankle.

Height: 8.4 cm  
Aleppo, 1918 638

65 Eye of thin silver sheet; dotted to mark the edges, big dot representing the pupil, and four



No. 66

crosses.

Height: 6 cm; width: 3.7  
Jerusalem, 1925

676

66 Heart of thin silver sheet; dotted at the edges and a cross in the middle.

Height: 5.2 cm; width: 4.3 cm  
Nazareth

724

**Protection against the Evil Eye**

67 Pair of glass beads (*‘ēn el-jamal* "camel eye"). Each is a perforated flat disc predominantly blue; black spot in the center in white surrounded with orange. Made in Hebron. Diameter (bead): 3.1 cm, 2.7 cm

387

68 Pair of glass beads (*‘ēn el-jamal* "camel eye"). Each is a perforated flat disc, predominantly green; black spot in the center surrounded by white and orange. Made in Hebron.

Diameter (bead): 3 cm, 2.7 cm

388

69 Glass beads (*‘ēn ed-dīk* "cock eye"): 17 small beads, each predominantly blue: black spots in the center surrounded by white and orange.



Made in Hebron.

Length: 10 cm; diameter (bead): 2.5 cm

399

70 Glass beads (*muṭallaṭāt* "triangles"): seven beads, each predominantly orange, surrounded with blue; three black spots surrounded with white ("eye"). Made in Hebron.

Length: 9 cm

413

71 trapezoidal stone bead: white stone with circles, within each a dot ("eye").

Height: 1.7 cm; width: 1 cm

Jerusalem, 1941

568

72 Alum stone, heart-like, with a blue bead and a perforated piece from a *mēs*-tree.

417

73 Beads, mainly light blue. Three loops, one is a plaited cotton thread, two with very small glass beads. Beneath: Three spheres of beads within each a piece of alum. Each sphere ends with three strings of white beads and coral.

420

74 Triangular "alum containers". Three triangles made of bead strings, within each shiny red paper as substitute for alum.

Nebi Musa, 1930

428

75 Triangular "alum containers". Three triangles



No. 69

made of bead strings; blue cloth within the middle triangle; green cloth within the side triangles. Both as substitute to alum. See p. 32.

Base (box): ? cm; height: ? cm

Nebi Musa, 1930

429

76 Iron rings forming a triangle (*dir* "shield"). One disc and two bells on both sides as ornaments.

1040

77 Stones and beads; 11 pendants with ornaments (hands, crescents, discs). The middle pendant is a stone naturally showing lines resembling the eye. See p. 16.

Length: 48 cm

Jerusalem, 1913

135

78 Pendant; blue glass ring; hung on the neck of animals. Made in Hebron.

Diameter: 3.5 cm

238

79 Blue beads. Big ball made of small blue beads and two smaller beads with Cross attached. An alum piece inside. White beads as ornaments.

775

80 Leather talisman box; thread with blue beads on each side. For animals.

Nablus

824

81 Blue glass ring with an orange edge. Made in Hebron.

Diameter: 7.2 cm; thickness: 1 cm

230

82 Blue glass ring. Made in Hebron.

Diameter: 5.4 cm; thickness: 1.4 cm

231

83 Blue glass ring, convex-shaped with white edge. Made in Hebron.

Diameter: 7.4 cm; thickness: .8 cm

234

84 Twig from *mēs*-tree (*celtis australis*). Taken from the *mēs*-trees in *el-Haram* on the night of Ramadan 27 (*Leilat el-Qadr*).

Jerusalem, 1913

810

*Bracelets*  
(81-83)

*Organic*  
(84-87)

*Hands*  
(88-95)

85 Gilded garlic.  
Jerusalem, 1912 1026

86 Necklace. Talisman box, blue beads, a piece from a black donkey ear, and two twigs from a *mēs*-tree (*celtis australis*) threaded together.  
Sur Bahir, 1912 821

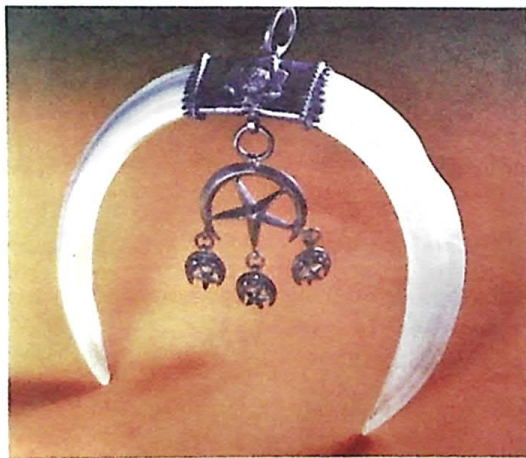
87 Pair of tusks fixed together in a case to form a crescent. On the case an 8-pointed star as ornament. Hanging from the case: A crescent around a 5-pointed star. Three smaller crescents and stars hanging from two points of the crescent and from one point of the star. For animals.  
Jerusalem, 1944 1373

*Pendants*  
(96-99)

**Protection against the Evil Soul**

88 Silver; with Hebrew inscription.  
Height: 6.5 cm  
Jerusalem, 1912 31

89 Pair of silver earrings; crescent-shaped with an open hand and five leaf-like ornaments.  
Height: 4.9 cm  
Aleppo, 1918 122



No. 87

*Necklaces and  
Chains*  
(100-106)

90 Silver chain (*sinsile[t]* or *sikke[t]*) made of hands, crescents, discs, and colored beads (mostly blue). Worn by bedouins; sewn on the part of the headdress covering the forehead.  
Gaza, 1933 132

91 Turquoise small hand (fist), "old Egyptian"<sup>5</sup>.  
Jerusalem, 1917 165

92 Small dark-blue beads in the shape of a hand.  
434

93 Small blue beads forming a hand with golden discs.  
441

94 Small glass hand. Made in Hebron.  
443

95 Stamp seal representing the hand. To be stamped on paper talisman or pilgrimage certificates.  
Jerusalem, 1942 1330

96 Blue glass bead with seven holes, framed; three metal rosettes as ornaments.  
396

97 Oval stone bead, brownish-white, perforated (*kharazat nafs* "bead of soul").  
Height: 4.2 cm; 2.9 cm 536

98 Agate stone with stripes, perforated (*kharazat nafs* "bead of soul").  
Height: 2.4 cm; 2.2 cm 538

99 Oval black stone; imitation of a *kharazat nafs* ("bead of soul"). Framed silver with three silver chains ending with moon discs as ornaments.  
Height: 3.8 cm; 2.3 cm  
Hebron, 1918 583

**Amulet Quality Jewelry**

100 Silver beads alternated with coral clusters, six crescent with 5-pointed star; three *khyāra(t)*-imitations, the middle one with three filigree







*Pendants*  
(107-109)

- ornaments (one is missing).  
Length: 45.5 cm  
Jerusalem, 1917 130
- 101 Silver discs and balls as ornaments. Ottoman coins in the center. Worn by bedouins. Jerusalem, 1922 146
- 102 Silver triangular silver plaque (imitation of a *māske(t)*) with three disc ornaments. On each side stones and silver beads with disc ornaments.  
Length: 50.9 cm 156
- 103 Silver beads, alternating with amber beads. Length: 47 cm  
Jerusalem, 1912 157
- 104 Silver chain. In the middle a bird representation on a plaque with filigree silver beads, stones, discs, crescents, and rosettes. On each side of the chain: filigree silver beads,

blue beads, red stones framed with silver, two crescents as ornaments. See p. 43.  
Length: 47 cm  
Nablus, 1917 198

105 Two lines of long shiny bronze-colored beads (*kharaz libbe(t)*) grouped in pairs, at each end long shiny blue beads; 16 pendants between each pair of beads: Each a line of beads ending with cowry shells (the ninth from the right is a bone ring).  
Length: 40.5 cm  
Trans-Jordan, 1917 220

106 Silver crescent decorations with granulation and three blue beads. Five ornaments, the central one is a big blue bead with a disc and four colored beads (one missing).  
Diameter: 7 cm  
Jerusalem, 1919 119

107 Silver crescent decorated with three rosettes, inlaid with red stones. Five discs as ornaments, the central one with a light brown bead.  
Jerusalem, 1920 160

108 Triangular black stone (*ḥajar nēbī mūsā* "Prophet Moses stone"), perforated; framed in silver. Three chains with moon discs as ornaments.  
Height: 13 cm  
Jericho, 1919 187

109 Square black stone (*ḥajar nēbī mūsā* "Prophet Moses stone") framed in silver as pendant. Three chains, each with three beads as ornaments (the middle beads are blue, the others are green).  
Height: 7.6 cm  
Jerusalem, 1925 190

110 Silver ornament attached to a woman's cap above the ear (*washāwesh*). It consists of a

*Head Ornaments*  
(110-118)



No. 107

semi-round plate over a triangular amulet with a rosette decoration and a blue bead in the middle. The amulet has five pendants with chains, blue beads, crescents, and hands. On the backside Hebrew letters. See p. 31.

Height: 19 cm

Jerusalem, 1914 139

111 Silver ornament. Filigree rosette with dark blue bead in the middle, five chains as ornaments with discs, colored beads, bells.

Height: 32.5 cm

Jerusalem, 1922 149

112 Silver disc as headdress ornament sewn on the child's cap. Double filigree work showing five palmettes and five stars.

Jerusalem, 1926 329

113 Pair of silver plaited ornaments (*qāramīl*). Each has a ball ending with three chains and discs.

Height: 12.9 cm

Beersheba, 1917 152

114 Pair of silver plaited ornaments (*qarāmīl*). Conical-shaped with a hemisphere, one cowry shell at the end, and chains with rhombus-shaped plaques. A thread with colored beads above.

Beersheba, 1917 154

115 Silver ornament attached on a woman's cap above the ear (*washāwesh*). A triangular talisman box with five long chains as ornaments, along which there are discs, keys and bells with hands.

Height: 30.5 cm

Jerusalem, 1923 142

116 Pair of gold earrings. Five ornaments: four drop-shaped and a bunch of grapes, filigree work above.

Height: 3.7 cm

Jerusalem, 1923 125

117 Pair of silver earrings. Five filigree beads with five ornaments (discs on one, coins on the other)<sup>6</sup>.

Jerusalem, 1940 140

118 Silver earring. Rosette decoration inlaid with one blue bead. One crescent as ornament.

Jaffa, 1920 161

119 Two, cast silver; each with four birds, the two at the bottom are reversed; ornamented with chains, along which there are pierced small discs and colored glass beads.

Length: 8.4 cm

Nablus, 1917 126

120 Cast silver; two interlocking with floral design and three incusted beads. Five chains with blue beads and metal ornaments in the upper part, crescents and hands in the lower.

Width: 10 cm

Jerusalem, 1920 127

121 Silver cast; two plates with floral design and one central round plate. Long and short chains with discs as ornaments.

Width: 10.2 cm

Jerusalem, 1914 155



No.116

## Belt Fittings (110-121)



*Rings*  
(122-125)

122 Silver with a rectangular shank; the shank with an engraved magic square containing numbers.

Height: 2.2 cm  
Jerusalem, 1914

103

123 Silver with a movable shank as seal; inscribed on both sides with magic numbers in a net.

Height: 2.5 cm  
Jerusalem, 1940

109

124 Silver with a movable shank as seal; inscribed on both sides with magic numbers.

Height: 2 cm  
Jerusalem, 1940

112

125 Silver; shank set with three blue beads; three crescents on one side as ornaments.

*Bowls*  
(126-130)

Height: 2.2 cm  
Jerusalem, 1920

164

### Healing from Diseases

126 Brass bowl (*tāset rajfe[t]*) with omphalos; inscribed on both sides. Geometric designs on the interior with Quranic verses. At the inner edge the names of the 12 *imāms*. On the exterior: whirling fields alternating with other ornaments.

Diameter: 16.3 cm  
1920

983

127 Brass bowl (*tāset rajfe[t]*) with flat everted rim, high omphalos, and foot base; inscribed on both sides. Geometric design on the interior and exterior. Quranic verses in the interior, partly



No. 119



written in cartouches forming a flower. At the outer border *āyat el-kursī*.

Diameter: 23.7 cm

1932 988

128 Brass plate; inscribed on both sides.

Diameter: 20 cm

1920 985

129 Brass plate; inscribed on both sides.

Diameter: 23.2 cm

1932 989

130 Brass bowl (*tāset rajfe[t]*).

Diameter: 10 cm.

1942 1276

131 Black beads(*kharaze[t]kabse[t]*), perforated. Jerusalem, 1942 1134

132 Three dark green beads (*kharaze[t] kabse[t]*), perforated. 1138

133 Silver Byzantine coin (*mashkhaṣ*) fixed in filigree with three ornaments, each with three beads.

Jerusalem, 1929 57

134 Gold Byzantine coin (*mashkhaṣ*) with perforated black bead (*kharaze[t] kabse[t]*). Both threaded together.

1942 1101

135 Brass ring, the upper part of which is crescent-shaped; in the middle a core stab with five loops (*mafāṭih* "keys"), in the lower part 12 loops.

Height: 8 cm

Jerusalem, 1941 141

136 Triangular dark brown stone (*ḥajar nēbī mūsā* "Prophet Moses stone"), perforated at the top; inscribed on both sides.

Jerusalem, 1913 181



No. 142

137 Various healing stones and beads on original cardboard as kept and documented by Tawfik Canaan.

608-631

138 Dark green agate (*ḥajar ras̄-el-qalb* "heart head stone"), perforated at the top.

Height: 3.7 cm; 2.4 cm

Jerusalem, 1924 507

139 Glass bead, triangular, perforated. Made in Hebron.

Height: 3 cm 510

140 Oval flat stone (*ḥajar ras̄-el-qalb* "heart head stone"), reddish; perforated at the top.

Height: 5 cm, 3.6 cm

Jenin, 1937 512

141 Heart-shaped stone (*ḥajar rās el-qalb* "heart head stone"), dark-blue with reddish line on one side; perforated at the top.

Height: 3.6 cm, 2.9 cm 513

142 Rectangular stone (*ḥajar rās qalb* "heart head stone"), engraved with net pattern; perforated. Attached are two imitations of cylindrical talisman boxes (*khyārat*).

Jerusalem, 1913 524

## Pendants (131-153)

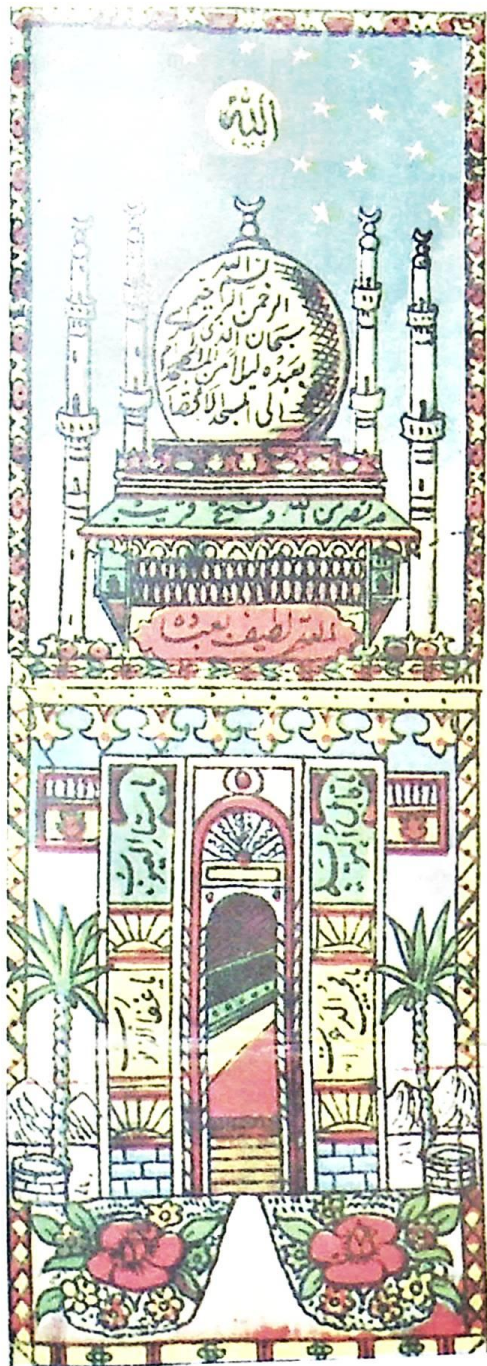
- 143 Red bead (*kharaze[t] bazle[t]*), piece of garlic, and Ottoman coin. All joined in a red silk thread; heals ophthalmia.  
Lifta, 1913 374
- 144 Red brown bead (*kharaze[t] bazle[t]*), silver coin, joined in a white thread.  
Hebron, 1913 375
- 145 Light brown triangular bead (*kharaze[t] bazle[t]*), silver coin, joined in a white thread.  
Height: 1.8 cm 587
- 146 Ring bead (*‘ēn el-hirr* "cat's-eye"); dark red brown with turquoise spots.  
Diameter: 2 cm  
Jerusalem, 1939 569
- 147 Hemispherical stone (*‘ēn el-hirr* "cat's-eye"); white with brown spots.  
Diameter: 1.2 cm; height: .8 cm  
934 1357
- 148 Iron piece in a rhomboid frame.  
Height: 5 cm, width: 2 cm  
Tiberias, 1922 184
- 149 Silver cast brooch representing a chameleon with two frogs and a cowry shell in between, as ornaments, ending with coins.  
Jerusalem, 1921 93
- 150 Brass pendant. Semi-circle with five ornaments: one club between four spears and one hand on each side.  
Height: 8.2 cm; width: 4.7 cm  
Jerusalem, 1914 137
- 151 Silver necklace with 21 ornaments representing various objects and animals, each with a blue bead.  
Jerusalem, 1914 132A
- 152 Round flat stone, black with brown and white stripes (*kharazet es-sōdā*); heals melancholy.  
Diameter: 2.7 cm 548
- 153 Long black stone, faceted (*kharazet es-soda*).  
Height: 3.5 cm  
Jerusalem, 1940 1147

### Talismans and Pilgrimage Certificates

- 154 Amulet; colored print roll with eight sections: 1. Four minarets and a copula; 2. Two palm trees, a *minbar*, river and two scorpions; 3. Legacy of the Prophet; 4. Wild animals; 5. Two *mahmals*; 6. The holy shrine in Mecca; 7. The holy shrine in Medina; 8. Tree with leaves, within some letters. At the end the word Allah within a star, crescent, Quranic verses.  
Length: 81,3 cm; 8.8 cm  
1943 1377
- 155 Written and stamped talisman. Six repeated written seal, in between five pairs of written rows with the names of the four prophets and their wives.  
Length: 30 cm; width: 20.2 cm  
Hebron, 1943 1376
- 156 Pilgrimage certificate from Mecca for Muhammad Yalkhi, who made the Pilgrimage instead of a woman; 1358 H.  
Length: 40.4 cm; width: 29 cm  
1943 1401
- 157 Stamped talismans around a central circle.  
Length: 42.6 cm; width: 33 cm  
Jerusalem, 1913 952
- 158 Printed pilgrimage certificate to Jerusalem worn as a talisman. On the top: seals, hands and swords. In the four corners: Pictures of holy places in Palestine.  
Length: 47 cm; width: 30 cm  
Jerusalem, 1913 943



159 Printed pilgrimage certificate to Jerusalem worn as an amulet. At the top: The Dome of the



Rock between two seals representing the sword of Ali. In the middle: the certificate and the dimensions of the Haram with the names of the ten gates.

Length: 44 cm; width: 22.4 cm

Jerusalem, 1913

946

160 Talisman against the *qarīna(t)*, written by a Muslim sheikh for a Christian woman.

Length: 42 cm; width: 34 cm

Jerusalem, 1925

958

161 Printed pilgrimage certificate to Jerusalem, worn as an amulet. On the front side: Picture of the *Haram*, big square with the name of places to be visited in Jerusalem, some with small Hebrew script. On the backside: certificate, handwritten; many seals.

Length: 50 cm; width: 26.6 cm

945

162 Printed pilgrimage certificate to Jerusalem, worn as talisman. To the left: The Dome of the Rock. Seals with Quranic verses. See p. 33.

Length: 25 cm; 21 cm

Jerusalem, 1912

944



## NOTES

1 Nos. 1-14 are *mawāsik*, singular *māske(t)*. The term should not be confused with the formal function of the jewelry piece (pendant).

The description of objects also provides numbers of pieces as in the original catalogue of Canaan.

2 "500 years old" according to Tawfiq Canaan.

3 Designation according to Canaan. Compare Weir 1989: 230: *zaybaqah* (a necklace with 3 *khyārat*). Possibly *izbēqah* represents a diminutive of *zaybaqah*. For No. 41, compare similar pieces such as the one included in the headress Weir: 180, triangular instead of cylindrical "box".

4 In the catalogue: wolves' teeth.

5 According to Canaan.

6 Yemeni according to Canaan.

7 Cardboard; in the catalogue: *khara:et el-baraket(t)*.

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