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Exploring the life of amulets in Palestine: from healing and protective remedies to the Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets

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Introduction

The amulets of the *Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets* (T.C.C.P.A) have fulfilled multiple functions throughout their ‘existence’; some simultaneously, others successively in relation to changing historical circumstances. From healing and protective devices as they were used when Taufiq Canaan¹ acquired them in the early 20th century, these amulets have gone through different moments in their life as objects. They have also been ethnographic evidence, collectibles, commodities, and became part of the national cultural heritage of the Palestinians in the 1990’s. Acknowledging this multifaceted and multilayered life of the amulets forces researchers to see them in their engagement with different bodies through time and space, disclosing that amulets have not only been passive receptacles of meaning, but played a role in shaping cultural practices.

When I began my research on the Canaan amulets in 2015, it seemed to me that the objects in the T.C.C.P.A., nowadays kept in storage and displayed a few times,² had been decontextualised and deprived of their primary function (as healing and protective devices) when Taufiq Canaan collected them. It was my assumption that this “authentic” use of amulets had to be somehow rescued. However, after analysing Canaan’s collecting process and his engagement with the amulets throughout his life, in parallel to his development as a scholar, collector and political activist, and after carrying out ethnographic research on how amulets are used nowadays, it became clear that the focus of this thesis should be different. There was no “authentic” or original use of amulets; they were simultaneously circulating as healing and protective remedies, collectibles, and ethnographic data among users, traders, antiquarians, ethnographers and folklorists. In this sense amulets had to be studied in relation to their use and function in particular settings, in the way they have been continuously re-contextualised. This flow of multiple rearrangements and re-contextualisations is linked to Canaan’s medical, social, and political life, and his work as an ethnographer. In this thesis Taufiq Canaan works as the vehicle between these settings disclosing that his multifaceted character is present in his amulets.

¹ Taufiq Canaan is the romanised way he wrote his name in his memoirs. Therefore, it is the way I will refer to him in the thesis. Other romanised transliterations that have been used are Tawfiq Canaan and Tawfik Canaan, the latter appears in the name of the Collection.

² A big selection of items was exhibited for the first time in 1998 in the exhibition: *Ya kafi, ya shafi... The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets*. Next to it, some objects have been on display in the University Library of Birzeit University as part of an itinerant display. Finally, in 2017 a group of object was selected to be part of the inaugural exhibition *Jerusalem Lives* (Tahya al-Quds) of the Palestinian Museum. Cfr. <http://www.palmuseum.org> See chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the (effects of) exhibitions of the amulets.

Although the thesis takes its rationale from the T.C.C.P.A., it does not revolve around the Collection as a unit, neither does it only deal with its formation and development. Rather, it reconstructs the amulets' uses and functions through different moments in time, before and after they became part of the Collection. Because the thesis focuses on the amulets rather than on the collection, it also addresses amulets in other repositories, as well as the amulets' trajectories before being collected. Paying attention to the changes in the amulets' systemic background, helps to understand how they were used in the time period under scope, from early 20th century when they began to be collected until the 1990's when they were exhibited.

This thesis contributes to the general study of amulets by adding other dimensions to the objects, which have been studied for their magical, medical, and religious functions alone. It considers amulets as objects that go through different phases in life, that move across settings and circulate in different networks. It also reflects on the way we continue to capture them under the same, sometimes misleading heading "amulet", despite the fact that they have different functions.

i. Mal de ojo,³ limpias,⁴ and amulets in Palestine

Since I was an undergraduate student at the Art History program in the Universidad del Claustro de Sor Juana, I have always been curious about how we perceive, interact, give meaning to the world, and how through our interaction the world has an effect on us. My curiosity began while studying modern and contemporary art. Back in the early 20th century many artists were already placing objects in museums and questioning their culturally assumed nature. Among them was Magritte's famous *La Trahison des images* where the depiction of a pipe of tobacco is accompanied by the caption *Ceci n'est pas une pipe* reflecting on the distance between objects, their visual representation, and their semantic reference in words; Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain*, a porcelain urinal set in an uncommon position and placed in a context alien to it, is another example. These kind of art works awakened in me the interest of exploring material culture.

As for my interest in Palestinian amulets and my decision to dedicate my PhD research to it, it probably relates to my cultural background and my personal upbringing. On the one hand, Palestine through its resistance and emblematic figure Yasser Arafat became next to Che Guevara and other revolutionary leaders part of the imagery of the student movement in Latin America

³ *Mal de ojo* can be translated as evil eye.

⁴ *Limpias* refer to ritual cleansing procedures in which the practitioner of traditional medicine (brujo or shaman) cleanses the client from all kinds of evil affections. *Limpias* are widely carried out in Mexico.



Figure 1. *La Trahison des images*, 1929. René Magritte
Photo taken from Wikipedia:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Treachery_of_Images

during the 1960's. My family was part of that generation, and introduced me to the Palestinian cause from a very young age and taught me the value of taking sides with people oppressed, vulnerable and deprived of opportunities. On the other hand, my interest in amulets, and the ritual practices related to them are deeply connected to the widespread belief of *mal de ojo* in Mexico, the use of amulets and the performance of healing procedures. In Mexico as in Palestine, these practices have been accumulative and contain pre-colonial elements. Resemblances in the use of amulets and healing rituals in these different latitudes are many as I have witnessed during my last visits to Mexico where I carried out research on *limpias* and amulets in Oaxaca. However, despite the similarities in functionality, amulets respond to the history and development of healing practices in each region.

When I was preparing my PhD research proposal, I came across the T.C.C.P.A., which caught my attention due to the kinds of objects in it.⁵ It did not take long to find out that it had barely been studied. While examining it, I ended up questioning the way the objects have been presented all these years as a collection of Palestinian amulets. Focusing on how the amulets have

⁵ For the complete list of materials see Table 1 in the Appendix B

been subjected to one particular reading led me to the idea of exploring them in other possible contexts. In the field of visual arts in general, and in my study of contemporary art in particular, research has shown that new meanings open up when we focus on materiality. Shifting attention to the objects and the way we engage with them as they appear to us, led me to be more sensitive to their agentive quality. So even though we are used to engage with objects in one particular way, we need to develop the habit to question their usual context to realise all the possibilities that they can offer.

ii. Research question

Framing amulets as objects that have a life and whose biographies encompass different phases, how did the different uses and functions of the objects in the T.C.C.P.A. before, during and after being collected, articulate with each other and with Taufiq Canaan's own life phases within the historical development of Palestine? In other words, how can we understand the biographies of the amulets, and how have these been impacted by their historical context including: everyday religiosity, colonisation, collecting processes, commercial exploitation, and nationalism? In answering my research question I consider processes of contextualisation as continuous.

After analysing Canaan's writings, collecting process, and the development of the Collection after it was unpacked and exhibited, I identified four contexts of interaction with the amulets that are important in their life cycle. The following questions address these contexts per chapter. Chapter 1: How have the terms amulet and talisman developed in academic research? Chapter 2: How were the amulets used as healing and protective remedies in a context of an *agrarian religion*⁶? Chapter 3: What was their socio-political function in a context of ethnographic interest and research, and how were they used as ethnographic data? Chapter 4: how were the amulets commoditised as medico-religious remedies and collectibles? Chapter 5: how did the amulets, while keeping their use as protective and healing remedies, ethnographic data, and collectibles, articulate a discourse on cultural heritage of Palestine? Finally, answered in the conclusion, how do all these uses and functions stand next to each other as latent qualities of the amulets?

⁶ Agrarian religion is a term elaborated by James Grehan in his work *The Twilight of the Saints*. "As much as urban as it was rural, it was the expression of the entire social and economic order whose rhythms were tied to the slow turning of seasons and the vagaries of the earth, sky and environment. The consequences of this lifestyle were far reaching, and profoundly shaped cultural conditions and psychological reactions across the whole population. Religion bore all the marks of this overarching agrarian order, catering to its needs and vulnerabilities, its struggles and setbacks, its fears and fantasies." See J. Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints. Everyday Religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*, p.16

iii. About the sources

This study takes into account a variety of sources that include material, textual and oral sources. The material sources are the amulets. The textual sources provide perspectives of the existing views on the different aspects of amulets. Some of them consider amulets as palliative medicaments, apotropaic objects, and recipients of blessings. Other sources typically rely on objects that had been gathered as ethnographic evidence, thus they explain amulets within the framework of magical thinking of the people who used them. Sources also include studies on amulets in contemporary settings and highlight their commercial aspect and circulation. By including a wide spectrum of sources I have tried to explore as many different viewpoints as possible in an attempt to apply different approaches to the phenomenon of amulets, and to compare these approaches to the amulet users' perspective. Next to written sources I have included oral accounts. They are less stable than written texts, which explains why scholars have been interested in recording the intangible aspect of cultural heritage. Scholars have written down folk stories and sayings, leading to the problem of standardising and freezing a lively and continuously-changing aspect of culture. The oral sources used in this thesis are based in the interviews I carried out during my fieldwork in Palestine. The different groups of sources are described below.

1. The amulets

The material objects nowadays in the T.C.C.P.A. at Birzeit University (BZU) constitute the first and main group of sources of this thesis. However, my material sources also include amulets in other collections. These are 1. the collection made by Lydia Einsler (currently in the Museum of Folklore in Dresden); 2. the collection made by Taufiq Canaan for Henry Wellcome (first sent to the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and later relocated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford); 3. the Widad K. Kawar Arab Heritage Collection of Palestinian Dress (currently in Amman, Jordan); 4. some items from the Collections of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen; 5. some of the amulets of Ohan, the antiquarian that appears in Canaan's records and is mentioned in Chapter 4; 6. contemporary amulets that are still in use among the bedouins such as those studied by Aref Abu Rabia (some from his personal collection, others exhibited permanently at the Bedouin Museum of the Negev); and 7. amulets used by the relatives of some of my interviewees, from towns and villages in the West Bank. All these amulets share similarities regarding materials, shapes and use, and the networks in which they all have circulated.

The T.C.C.P.A. alone comprises 1379 items,⁷ which show a diversity in shapes, materials and in the way they were used. The materials used are paper, metal, glass, wood, fruits, seeds and stones.⁸ Some amulets are inscribed or contain iconography, others do not have any visible human intervention (they are neither inscribed nor carved). According to Canaan's records most artefacts he collected belonged to Muslims, the rest to Christians and Jews. This distinction however, does not exclude the fact that many amulets were used regardless the religious denomination.⁹ Canaan got the amulets from the following cities, towns and villages in the Levant: Jerusalem, Nablus, Hebron, Gaza, Lifta, Bethlehem, Nabi Musa, Nazareth, Jaffa, Beersheba, Tiberias, Ein Karem, Auja al-Hafir, Sur Baher, Artas, Isawiya, al-Nabi Samuel, Jericho, Mar Saba, Silwan, Sharafat, Beit Sahour, Qalunya, al-Tur, al-Qubayba, Bait Iksa, Beituniya, Ramallah, al-Bireh, Birzeit, al-Ludd, al-Jura, Sheikh Nuran, al-Shuyukh, Jenin, al-Ramla, Beit Surik, Beit Hanina, Beit Safafa, al-Khidr, Amman, Damascus, Aleppo and Beirut; and a few from Egypt, Mecca, Yemen, Iran and Germany. These locations do not always indicate the place where the amulets were made, sometimes they refer to the place they were bought by the users, or collected by Canaan.

The T.C.C.P.A. is very valuable because of the diverse material it contains, and the documentation that Canaan carried out of each item in it. It is so unique because Canaan collected the materials himself, kept records about the circumstances under which each item was acquired, and used these items as the main source for his publications. The Collection thus contains the objects themselves, Canaan's notes about how and when the amulets were acquired, and his interpretations. Moreover, it is a collection that comprises amulets used by ordinary people from towns and rural areas. Khaled Nashef from his introductory study to the Collection's catalogue says, "it reflects, the popular beliefs related to occult practices in the first half of the 20th century... they are a material proof of the way a traditional society dealt with things and events not probable within the religious framework."¹⁰

⁷ The numbering of the items in the catalogue is not precise. The numbers jump from 1153 to 1254, making it look like there are 1480 items, while in fact the total number of items is 1379. However, the numbers used in this thesis are exactly the ones given in Canaan's catalogue.

⁸ The entire list of materials can be seen in Table 1 in the Appendixes.

⁹ Examples of amulets used by all religious communities are explored in Chapter 2.

¹⁰ K. Nashef. trans. *Majmū'a tawfiq kan 'ān li l-hujub. Makkhūṭa bi khaṭ tawfiq kan 'ān*. Birzeit University. Unpublished., p.3

2. The documentation of the amulets

The second group of sources comprises all the documentation of the material objects. It includes first of all, Canaan's handwritten notes on the cardboards on which he attached all the amulets. These notes in English, German, Arabic and Romanised Arabic (Arabic written in Latin characters), originally accompanied each amulet giving hints about their materials, usage and owners. In the late 1990's after the donation of the amulets and their exhibition in the BZU Museum, the objects were detached from the cardboards and mixed, some were not re-attached properly, making the links between some objects and their respective notes difficult to track. Next to the cardboards, Canaan documented the amulets in a more systematic way in the catalogue he prepared, which seems to have been based on his cardboard notes. The catalogue written by hand in German with Romanised Arabic terms, contains more systematic information about the objects; for many amulets the catalogue offers metadata that is not included on the cardboards. This German catalogue is precisely what was used to describe the objects on display when the collection was the subject of the exhibition *Ya Kafi, Ya Shafi* in 1998.

The documentation also includes the catalogue's translation into Arabic prepared by Khaled Nashef. This translation shows an exhaustive study of Canaan's notes and ethnographic work, and is useful as it links Canaan's description of the amulets (not always in Arabic) to the way Palestinians referred to them, their materials and the illnesses they meant to cure. This translation into Arabic has been useful because it has also given me the tools to locate the materials and objects in a contemporary context, and investigate through my interviewees the way their forefathers used them back in the early 20th century when Canaan collected them. Finally, the documentation provided by Canaan and Nashef has served as the basis for the digital catalogue of the BZU Museum.¹¹

3. Studies on Palestine folklore

The third group of sources comprises studies on Palestine folklore. The largest group of studies is authored by Canaan, who in parallel with his collecting activity wrote extensively about the many and different components of religious beliefs and practices in the countryside,¹² and explained at

¹¹ V. Tamari, "Tawfik Canaan - Collectionneur par excellence: The Story Behind the Palestinian Amulet Collection at Birzeit University", p.70

¹² The complete list of works of Dr. Canaan can be found in the bibliography of this thesis.

times the way amulets were linked to beliefs and other practices, giving specific examples and making allusion to concrete items he had collected. His observations, carefully translated into a detailed analysis of the inner mechanics of Palestine folklore, offer a wide panorama of the diversity and the complexity of elements involved in the religious life of the peasants. They also show the very particular attitude and concern that he had towards the undermining of folk culture; a preoccupation that can be seen in Canaan's works and in those authored by other Palestinian intellectuals of his closest circle.¹³

Folklore studies were embedded in a conceptual framework of essentialist and reductionist assumptions about peasant's beliefs and customs, and included biblical parallelisms brought to Palestine by foreign scholars in the field of Biblical Studies, who attempted to show the "living Bible" in the norms and material culture of the peasantry.¹⁴ Even though Canaan —and other Palestinian scholars such as Stephan and Haddad— was complicit in presenting folklore in biblical terms, he gradually changed his approach to the Palestinian peasantry proposing the bases of a native ethnography. By producing an ethnographic corpus rich in empirical data, and by experiencing the effects of colonisation, Canaan's ethnography gradually gave agency to the peasantry.

Canaan's writings on folklore, primarily in English and German, targeted a European audience which included the Mandate political elite and Western scholars in the fields of medicine, history, anthropology and archaeology. However, it was not until the 1970's when studies on folklore were considered a valuable asset of cultural resistance, that Palestinian scholars became aware of the richness of his work, and started translating most of his articles into Arabic. Salim Tamari has highlighted that such translations and studies about Canaan's work are very often uncritical; his writings have been mostly read through the lens of nationhood, preventing his works to be understood as a cultural phenomenon of scientific endeavour and awareness in the context in which they were produced.¹⁵

¹³ Canaan's circle is identified as a group of Palestinian Arabs: Khalil Totah, Omar Saleh al-Barghouti, Stephan Hanna Stephan, Elias Haddad, that were amateur ethnographers and carried out ethnographical work based in empirical data; their works were mainly published in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, JPOS, from 1920 to 1948. They did not formally constitute as a group or school but shared the same concerns about the undermining of native culture in Palestine. Cfr. S. Tamari, "Lepers, Lunatics and Saints: The Nativist Ethnography of Tawfiq Canaan and his Jerusalem Circle." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 20 (2004): 24-43.

¹⁴ S. Tamari, "Lepers, Lunatics and Saints", p.35

¹⁵ S. Tamari, "Problems on Social Science Research in Palestine: An Overview." *Current Sociology* 42 (1994): 69-86

Next to Canaan's studies on folklore, other sources include the studies on folktales and sayings by Palestinian Arab scholars; the comparative studies on popular beliefs and practices of the Muslim world; the studies on magic, divination and the occult in Muslim societies. A detailed literature review on amulets can be seen in Chapter 1.

4. The interviews

The fourth group of sources consists of oral accounts from inhabitants of villages and towns that I visited during my fieldwork trips to the West Bank in Spring and Autumn 2015, Spring 2016 and Summer 2017. The accounts come from inhabitants of Jerusalem, Ramallah, al-Bireh, Bil'in, Nabi Musa, Nablus, Zababdeh, and Sir.¹⁶ These accounts come first of all from formal interviews that I conducted and recorded, and secondly from countless more informal and short conversations. Among the formal interviews, some were open aiming to find out about the use of amulets in general, others were more detailed and revolved around particular amulets. All these conversations provided a lot of valuable information.

Some of the information I obtained about particular amulets came from the museographers at the BZU Museum who shared information about the use of particular amulets among their relatives and acquaintances.¹⁷ Another interesting way I got information about the amulets was through showing my interviewees photos of the amulets under scope. Based on the photos, my interviewees were able to tell me whether or not the objects were familiar to them. This exercise not only provided data about the familiarity people had with certain amulets, but also disclosed the attitudes that nowadays prevail among Palestine's inhabitants. As a result of this ethnographic exercise, I realised how important it was to consider the attitudes of the people in telling the story of the amulets. The use interviews for this thesis aimed to track some information about the amulets used in the first half of the 20th century. Most of my interviewees did not live during that time or were very young, but their accounts about their parents and grandparents is what helped me to visualise the use of amulets by real people. Since I was able to ask questions, the interviews showed that each experience and account of it was different, that every individual had something to add about their experience, something that did not always happened by reading Canaan's notes and academic articles on Palestine's folklore.

¹⁶ Sir is a village next to Zababdeh, in the northern part of the West Bank.

¹⁷ For an interesting passage about the current use of amulets, see the Conclusion.

iv. Literature review - Studies on the Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets

The T.C.C.P.A. is an amazing repository of objects that were used as amulets in Palestine in the early 20th century. It is a unique collection that not only contains the largest number of Palestinian amulets collected by one single person worldwide, but also includes the documentation of each one of them. Moreover, the kinds of objects in it are not commonly found in other collections of amulets, which mainly contain amulets from elite groups and amulets that are fully inscribed with Qur'anic text or contain elements that link them to practices of divination and magic.¹⁸ Rather, the collection that Taufiq Canaan formed includes objects used in the everyday religious practice of the peasants, the nomads and the townspeople of Palestine, that range from very simple objects taken from the natural landscape to objects made with elaborated techniques that make use of materials in a very distinctive way.

The T.C.C.P.A. has barely been studied despite the fact that Taufiq Canaan's works on Palestinian folklore have been widely used.¹⁹ The main reason for this is the fact that the Collection was hidden for almost 50 years, and while Canaan's publications kept circulating after he died, his collection was somehow forgotten. It is surprising, however, that although the Collection has been open to the public since the mid 1990's, and it is the largest collection of amulets and talismans from the Levant, the only studies on it are: Vera Tamari's *Tawfik Canaan - Collectionneur par excellence: The Story Behind the Palestinian Amulet Collection at Birzeit University*²⁰; Khaled Nashef's introduction to the unpublished Arabic translation of the Collection's catalogue²¹; Baha al-Jubeh's paper *Magic and Talismans. The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets*²²; and the short contributions to the catalogue/booklet of the Collection's first exhibition *Ya Kafî, Ya Shafî, The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets*.²³ Other publications about the figure of

¹⁸ E. Savage Smith, (ed.) *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*. London: Ashgate/Varorium, 2004.

¹⁹ References to Canaan's works appear in the writings of scholars who focus on magic in the Muslim world, amulets and talismans, Palestine's folklore, and social history of Palestine, such as E. Savage Smith; P. Lorry; C. Coulon; P. Bourmaud; S. Tamari; among many others.

²⁰ V. Tamari, "Tawfik Canaan - Collectionneur par excellence: The Story Behind the Palestinian Amulet Collection at Birzeit University" in *Archives, Museums and Collecting Practices in the Modern Arab World*, edited by Sonja Mejcher-Atassi and John Pedro Schwartz, 71-90. England: Ashgate, 2012.

²¹ *Majmû'a Tawfîq Kan 'ân li l-hujub. Makhtûṭa bi khaṭ Tawfîq Kan 'ân*. Birzeit University. Unpublished.

²² B. al-Jubeh, "Magic and Talismans. The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 22-23 (2005): 103-108.

²³ K. Nashef, edit. *Yā Kāfî, Yā Shāfî, The Tawfik Canaan Collection of Palestinian Amulets*. Palestine: Birzeit University Publications, 1998

Taufiq Canaan deal more with his biographical details than with the collection itself; reason why they are not included here, but they are used in Chapter 3, which deals with Taufiq Canaan's life and collecting activity.

Research on the T.C.C.P.A. started after the donation of the items to the BZU Museum in 1995, but more specifically within the frame of its first exhibition: *Ya Kafi, Ya Shafi* in 1998.²⁴ The exhibition catalogue contains short contributions by the people involved in its organisation, including staff from the Museum and relatives of Canaan. Gisela Helmeke, who in 1998 was guest researcher at BZU and worked as head curator of this exhibition, addressed the collection as ethnographic material and presented the collection as scientific evidence of popular medical practices. By organising the material based on Taufiq Canaan's analytical categories, Helmeke put forward the scientific aim of Taufiq Canaan's collecting activity. Other contributions in the catalogue addressed the exhibition and the collection as part of Palestine's cultural heritage, in tune with the discourse on national identity, further explored in Chapter 5.

Ya Kafi, Ya Shafi set the framework for the study of the T.C.C.P.A. in two directions, on the one hand through its items and on the other hand through the documentation/written sources. The documentation has been explored by Khaled Nashef, who was then researcher at the Birzeit University Institute of Archaeology. His contribution includes the introductory notes to the Collection's catalogue prepared in Arabic in 1998 under the title: *Majmū'a tawfiq kan'ān li l-hujub, makhtūṭa bi khaṭṭ tawfiq kan'ān*, which has not been published and is only available at the BZU Museum. Nashef's work complements and deepens the information on the identity of the people involved in Canaan's collecting activity, the relation Canaan had with them, and the places where the items were obtained. He also brings forward many references to Canaan's articles where he referred to specific amulets. In sum, Nashef offers a historical and social background of Canaan's social network in which his collecting project took place.

The approach to the T.C.C.P.A. through its items has been done by Baha al-Jubeh, who was the museographer of BZU Museum when the amulets were donated, and also during the exhibition. With a background in museum and collection studies al-Jubeh was responsible for setting the categories to classify the items and making them accessible to the public through the Virtual Gallery of the BZU Museum, an open-access digital database that contains photos of all the items.²⁵ His

²⁴ Besides this exhibition, few items have been exhibited in the Library of Birzeit University. A few other items were part of the exhibition *Jerusalem Lives (Tahya al-Quds)*, at the Palestinian Museum in 2017.

²⁵ <http://museum.birzeit.edu/collections/tawfiq-canaan-amulets>; <http://virtualgallery.birzeit.edu>

contribution to the study of the T.C.C.P.A. also includes the paper *Magic and Talismans*. In it, he analyses a selection of inscribed items by using analytical tools that come from Taufiq Canaan's published work: *The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans*. Al-Jubeh's analysis, however, only focuses on inscribed amulets, which amount to less than half of the items. Beyond the analysis of the inscriptions he neither deals with how these talismans were used, nor problematises the issue of magic, which he uses as the theoretical framework to understand the talismanic inscriptions. Interesting to see is that al-Jubeh's article was published when a sort of revival of the study of magic took place in academia. In fact the year of its publication, 2005, is one year after the re-issuing of Taufiq Canaan's *The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans* in the book *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, in 2004 by one of the eminent scholars in the field, Emilie Savage-Smith.

Among more recent studies about the T.C.C.P.A. is Vera Tamari's "Tawfik Canaan - Collectionneur par excellence: The Story Behind the Palestinian Amulet Collection at Birzeit University". Published in 2012, it revolves around collecting practices, and it is part of a wider movement on museum and collection studies. Tamari's paper explores the social and ideological background in different phases of the Collection, and it is useful as it problematises collecting practices and the construction of meaning within collections' narratives. It reconsiders Taufiq Canaan's motivations, and the Collection's main purpose against the prevailing ideas of the Collection as representative of a Palestinian heritage. Her paper opens a door for reflecting upon collection formation, but it does not deal with the different stages in Canaan's collecting activity, neither does it analyse the Collection in the context of emergent collecting practices in early 20th-century Palestine. She revises the category of "Palestinian", but does not reflect on the category of "amulet". Furthermore, Tamari's idea of the disassociation between Canaan's collecting activity, and any kind of national sentiment requires further exploration because since the late 19th century we can see expressions of a nascent Palestinian identity, and Taufiq Canaan an example of it.

Although these previously mentioned studies are valuable inasmuch as they set the ground for the study of Canaan's collection, they do not provide an in-depth analysis neither of the process of formation and historical development of the T.C.C.P.A.; nor of the items and the ways they were apprehended/understood/conceptualised during this long process. A reason of this gap is that the methodologies for the study of material culture and collections is relatively new in the West Bank,

therefore their latter application to Arab collections.²⁶ Another reason is that attention has been paid to collections that are constantly on display in museums, which are more accessible than those that are exhibited in a temporary basis. Moreover, research on private collections located in the West Bank, such as the T.C.C.P.A. and other smaller collections, is difficult mainly because of the Israeli surveillance and the systematic erasure of Palestinian culture. By providing the first in depth, book length study to the T.C.C.P.A. this thesis aims to fill this gap, and lay the foundation for future research on the diverse material the Collection has.

v. Theoretical framework(s)

This thesis uses theories that have explored things, objects and materiality. As explained before, the main aim of this thesis is to give insights into how amulets' uses and functions change and articulate with each other through their life. Focusing on the objects collected by Taufiq Canaan, this thesis revolves around the different phases amulets in Palestine had throughout the 20th century, from their use as magical, medical and religious remedies for protection and healing, to their exhibition as part of Palestine's cultural heritage in the 1990's when they were made public.

The thesis also reflects on how, through these different phases, amulets had agency. They were not passively used and given by meaning by people. The way amulets were used and circulated show us how they actually were part of the formation of professions, cultural practices and national identities. Reflecting on such an agency demands a focus on the materiality of objects, i.e., on their physical features such as shape and material in relation to human activity. In sum, the thesis explores amulets as objects in different phases, not only their function and symbolism, but also on what they have done to people.²⁷

Since the thesis explores different phases and aspects of the amulets, the theoretical framework is diverse. For the overall approach, I use Appadurai's and Kopytoff's cultural biography of things to analyse the function and agency. In Chapter 2, I explore amulets as

²⁶ During my fieldwork in the West Bank I learn that museum and collection studies was relatively new. However, Palestinian institutions are investing in this field, and nowadays there are some recognised scholars working for Palestinian Museums doing incredible work. Cfr. S. Mejcher-Atassi and John Pedro Schwartz, edit. *Archives, Museums and Collecting Practices in the Modern Arab World*. England: Ashgate, 2012. Cfr. M. Volait, *Antique Dealing and Creative Reuse in Cairo and Damascus 1850-1890: Intercultural Engagements with Architecture and Craft in the Age of Travel and Reform*, Leiden: Brill, 2021.

²⁷ C. Knappett and L. Malafouris, *Material Agency Towards a Non-anthropocentric Approach*, Berlin: Springer, 2008; E. Yalouri, "Matter Matters Matter: Development in Material Cultural Studies Since the 1980's," in *Social Matter(s); Anthropological Approaches to Materiality*, edited by T. Bampilis and P. ter Keurs, p. 32-33; C. van Eck, M. J. Versluys and P. ter Keurs, "The biography of cultures: styles, objects and agency" *Cahiers de l'École du Louvre* 7 (2015)

protective means and healing remedies, and I use theories of embodiment to analyse how amulets' function is defined by the way users engage with them through bodily interactions; for Chapter 3 on amulets as collectibles I draw on collection studies; in Chapter 4, as I explore the aspect of commoditisation of amulets, I use the biography of things and theories about commoditisation; and in Chapter 5 on Palestinian amulets/cultural heritage, I focus on collection theory including identity formation and narrative construction. The pertinence of each theoretical framework and its applicability to the contents is discussed at the beginning of each chapter.

1. Life of things and their biographies

The theoretical framework for the overall thesis comes from Appadurai's and Kopytoff's works on the life and biography of things. According to them, in a fluid way things move through different temporal and spatial contexts from the moment of their manufacture until the moment they are disposed, and destroyed. Things acquire different values and functions as they become part of meaning-making processes. Kopytoff has formulated the idea of things having a life, and as such being capable of accumulating a set of biographies.²⁸ Like people, who go through many stages in life, perform different activities and move in multiple networks, things go through phases functioning in different systems. These stages sometimes merge with others in a fluid way, making it pointless to seek strict boundaries between them. Moreover, like people, things are subjected to have many biographies, each one emphasising one or another aspect of their being (historical, political, economic, etc.) In a cultural biography, we explore the possibilities of things in time and space. We can trace their origin, the way they develop a career, and the expectations posed on them throughout their career. Because the way an object should or should not be used is determined also by its age, by its deterioration.²⁹

Using Kopytoff theoretical framework, in this thesis I aim to analyse the Canaan amulets in different phases to trace their multiple functions. Although they are treated as amulets all through the thesis, the chapters deconstruct the phases they go through. First, I explore the amulets' "original" dimension when they were part of medical/magical/religious practices. Then, I move on to how amulets entered the ethnographic world as scientific evidence for the study of the "other", the past, and the folklore of Palestine, while simultaneously becoming commodities and circulating

²⁸ A. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, p.34

²⁹ Although Kopytoff's study slaves, their objectification and commoditisation place them in a similar status to things. I. Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditisation as Process", p.67

as collectibles. Lastly, I explore the amulets as part of the discourse of cultural heritage where they have been defined as “Palestinian” amulets. Although the phases somehow relate to a chronological development, each function does not make the previous superfluous, on the contrary, they constantly overlap.

2. *The agency of objects.*

So far, exploring things from a biographic perspective helps to understand how the objects’ meaning is produced in different contexts. However, this theoretical framework still considers that things are subsumed to the subjects as primary agents. In order to shift our attention from the objects as passively becoming containers of meaning, to the way they actually participate in meaning making processes, is necessary to recognise that objects are technological agents that interact with people and act upon them. In other words, objects affect people’s routines and cultural practices. This shift to the agency of objects requires a reflection on their material aspect.

According to B. Brown’s Thing Theory,³⁰ when *objects* are deprived of their object-ness or they stop functioning as they were originally intended, they can be theoretically considered as *things*. The *thing-ness* of objects can only be glimpsed or theoretically understood because “things lie beyond phenomenal perception.”³¹ Meaning that *objects* cannot stop being objects regardless of their function because they are always meaningful, and this meaningfulness only occurs through our interpretative attention. This difference can be exemplified by what in computer jargon is called a *bricked phone*. Think about an electronic device such as a mobile phone that has been designed to be used in a particular way through its system and apps. When the phone does not longer function due to misconfiguration, physical damage, corrupted hardware or hardware unable to be updated, it becomes as technologically useful as a brick.³² The reference of a bricked phone points to its thing-ness, by suggesting that the damage is such that the phone is considered to be dead. It can be stored, accumulate dust and degrade from its lack of use. Or in different circumstances, it can become a museum object to be exhibited due to its aesthetic value or what it represents, but not due to its original use. A very similar situation happened to the amulets that Canaan collected once they were stored in the drawers of the BZU Museum, and exhibited a couple of times.

³⁰ B. Brown, “Thing Theory.” *Critical Inquiry* 28, no.1, Things (Autumn, 2001):1-22.

³¹ B. Brown, *Op. Cit.* p.6

³² Cfr. “Brick (electronics)” in Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brick_\(electronics\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brick_(electronics))

By accessing things or shifting the attention to the thing-ness, we could argue that a close-up look occurs through their physical qualities: material, colour, size, shape, and any sort of index that hints at the way it was employed. The aim of analysing objects through their materiality, is to see them as things, devoid of assumptions and fixed associated functions, allowing their material qualities (as separated from function) to determine our interpretation. The description and study of the objects comes from examining the materiality only.

Considering objects as things discloses that things refer less to an object than to a particular object-subject relation.³³ In other words, objects are in their engagement with humans and also with other objects. According to B. Brown, “modernity has artificially made an ontological distinction between inanimate objects and human subjects, whereas in fact the world is full of “quasi-objects” and “quasi-subjects.”³⁴ Within this distinction, objects have been obscured by the subject: the individual, the human, the only capable of having agency.³⁵ The aim of reflecting on the relation between people and the material world is to put forward that objects, and in this case amulets, are not only repositories of human history but also active agents that have affected and contributed to the development of historical processes. In their many phases, amulets are in their engagement with manufacturers, users, traders, collectors, and folklorists.

vi. Methodology

Although ethnographic objects form a gate to approach and understand a culture, it is quite difficult to interpret them without the proper documentation that ethnographic research offer. This is especially true for objects from a different culture and time. With no data about the material, ethnographic objects become only things, useful for contemplation as artistic objects but not as valuable material for scientific study.³⁶ To our luck, the T.C.C.P.A. was well documented from the very beginning by Taufiq Canaan and subsequently by Khaled Nashef.

The first time I accessed the T.C.C.P.A. was virtually through the BZU Museum’s Virtual Gallery. It was possible to find pictures of all the amulets, however, not all with very good quality.

³³ B. Brown, *Op. Cit.*, p.4

³⁴ B. Brown, *Op. Cit.*, p.12

³⁵ Baudrillard says: “we have lived off the splendour of the subject and the poverty of the object”, Cfr. Bill Brown, *Op. Cit.*, p.8.

³⁶ C. S. Fowler and D. D. Fowler, “Formation Processes of Ethnographic Collections. Examples from the Great Basin of Western North America” in *Learning from Things, Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*, edit. W. David Kingery, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996, p.131.

During my first fieldwork trip, I made a photographic archive of the amulets. I had the chance to see them, touch them and think about their features as signs conveying messages of how they had been used. This was the moment when I realised I was dealing with a very unique collection that not only contains inscribed amulets, but also amulets that bear no inscription, and even amulets that look like if they had been put in the Collection directly from nature.³⁷ So far, the amulets I had studied and the studies I had read all related to inscribed amulets; particularly in the case of amulets used by Muslims, they either contained Qur'anic references or magical inscriptions based on the knowledge of letters and their numeric valency, etc. However, this was not the case for the T.C.C.P.A., which contained much more than inscribed amulets. With a large number of uninscribed items in the Collection, I started looking for signs that could reveal the way they had been used. Any scratch, hole, or crack, could give an indication of how the objects had been used, stored, treated or gotten damaged over the years. It was only after this first encounter with the objects that I had access to the catalogue in German and its Arabic translation, which I compared carefully to my own observations and notes. From it I could draw information about materials and the terms used to refer to each amulet. Using the catalogue, I made tables of materials to see which were the most used and how they were used, pure or in combination with other materials. From the analysis of this data I found out that particular combinations of materials appeared repeatedly. Having become familiar with the material, I started expanding the documentation of the amulets with all Canaan's writings, and with writings of other scholars. In order to complement this documentation, I carried out the interviews and got information about the amulets, the way some were used, the way they are remembered, and the way people nowadays engage with similar amulets or with amulets that contain the same materials.

Simultaneously, while going through Canaan's writings I started mapping how he collected the amulets. In other words, the relation between the amulets he acquired and his writings year by year. Throughout his life, I traced periods when his collecting activity increased and decreased, so I decided to link the life of the amulets with Canaan's. So, in this thesis the amulets' life unfolds in connexion to Canaan's activities.

³⁷ Amulets with organic materials such as twigs, flowers, and seeds.

vii. *Taufiq Canaan*

This thesis revolves mainly around the amulets that Taufiq Canaan collected from 1905 until 1947³⁸. It also explores the relation between Canaan's collecting activity with his development as a scholar, public figure and political activist, reflected in his written works. By exploring his collecting in relation to his life, we can reconstruct the people he interacted with, the places he visited, and the networks he was a part of and thus the ways by which the amulets came into his possession. The forms of obtention disclose the amulets' many and simultaneous uses and their socio-political function. What follows is a short biography of Canaan, to make it easier for the reader to grasp the amulets' life and circulation. The five chapters explore different aspects of Canaan's life in more detail and provide specific context for the amulets in each phase.

Taufiq Canaan was a prominent physician, anthropologist and collector whose work has been of great importance for many academic fields. He is an example of the Palestinian professionals who, not related to any traditional family of notables, benefited from Western education and culture introduced by the Protestant mission that had started settling in Palestine since the 1830's. His education plus his ability to forge social relations gave Canaan access to many circles.

Taufiq Canaan (September 24, 1882 – January 5, 1964) was born into a protestant family in Beit Jala, a village on the outskirts of Jerusalem. His father, Bishara Canaan (ca. 1850 – 1899), became part of the German Protestant Mission's activity, was the first Arab Lutheran Pastor in the Near East and founder of the Lutheran church in Beit Jala³⁹. Taufiq, like his father, attended the Schneller School in Jerusalem, –also known as the Syrian Orphanage, one of the many institutions founded by the German mission. Afterwards, Taufiq studied medicine in Beirut at the Syrian Protestant College founded by the American Protestant Mission, later becoming the American University of Beirut, from which he graduated in 1905. After graduation he returned to Jerusalem to work in the German Deaconesses Hospital and in the “Jesus-Hilfe” Lepers' Asylum where he met important German physicians. In 1912, 1913, 1914 and 1922 he travelled to Germany to specialise

³⁸ Although the catalogue indicates that the earliest amulets were collected in 1910, Canaan mentions having gathered the first items since 1905. Cfr. Table 2 in the Appendixes.

³⁹ U. Huebner and B. Mershen “Taufiq Canaan and His Contribution to the Ethnography of Palestine”, p.251; T. Canaan, “The Taufiq Canaan Memoirs. Part I.”



Figure 2. Taufiq Canaan and his wife Margot Eilander
Jerusalem 1912

Photo credit: Birzeit University Archive

in tropical diseases, bacteriology and microscopy.⁴⁰ After his return, he was appointed at important positions in the International Health Bureau in Jerusalem and in the Arab General Hospital.

Next to his medical career, Canaan cultivated a keen interest in the history and archaeology of Palestine motivating him to dedicate a few years to absorb the contemporary trends in Biblical Studies. He joined the American School of Oriental Research and followed closely the

⁴⁰ U. Huebner and B. Mershen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 252

investigations of scholars such as the prominent anthropologist Gustaf Dalman (1855-1941)⁴¹; Albrecht Alt (1883-1956) and Martin Noth (1902-1968) who influenced him in his approach to the study of folklore in Palestine.⁴² Taufiq Canaan carried out research on Palestine's folklore and published extensively in academic journals. Next to his writings he collected a substantial amount of objects, books, amulets, and icons. From all what he collected, only his collection of amulets and icons survived the Israeli occupation of West Jerusalem in 1948. All Canaan's other possessions got destroyed in the war.

Next to his medical and anthropological work, Canaan was a public intellectual involved in many associations such as the Alumni Association of the Syrian Protestant College, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Jerusalem Arab Medical Association, the Palestine Arab Medical Association, and the Palestine Oriental Society (POS). Through his membership in these associations, he came in contact with important political figures, some of whom actually collaborated in the formation of his collection. Canaan's involvement in the political life of the country became more evident after 1936 after publishing his political pamphlets.

An overview of Canaan as medical doctor, anthropologist, folklore scholar, collector, and political activist discloses how amulets in Palestine circulated in different networks. Those that he collected were linked to these different aspects of his work. It is because of Canaan's multifaceted life that amulets can be apprehended as part of these phases, not only as extensions or parts of Canaan's networks, but also as phases that the amulets actually had.

viii. Chapter Structure

This thesis is divided in five chapters. Except from the first chapter, the rest evolve in a chronological way. I have decided to follow this order because it reproduces the way amulets have circulated through time and space, which helps to understand the accumulative load that they have gathered from the time they were used by the inhabitants of early 20th century Palestine, to the way they are used today. This chronological order, however, should not mislead us from the fact that the different uses and functions have overlapped through the time period under scope. Moreover, this order challenges the way we naturally engage with objects beginning from the present; at the very

⁴¹ First head of The German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, Research Unit of the German Archaeological Institute (*Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes*) Cfr: K. Nashef, "Tawfik Canaan: His Life and Works." Translated by Khalil Sleibi. *Majallat ad-Dirasat al-Filastiniya* 50 (2002): 69-91.

⁴² K. Nashef, "Tawfik Canaan: His Life and Works", p.16

moment of the encounter with an object we give meaning to it according to our own immediateness. It is only after this first encounter that we, as opening a Matryoshka doll, start going through the layers that have been formed over the object, setting them aside and exploring them one by one.

Chapter 1 explores the term amulet and the often-used term talisman as an interchangeable synonym. As a reflective exercise of the historicity of our analytical categories, it questions the usefulness of the English terms *amulet* and *talisman* when analysing the objects used in Palestine, particularly contrasting them with *emic* references that appear in Taufiq Canaan's notes and those of other collectors and anthropologists contemporaries to him who delved into the same sort of material. The chapter is divided into two parts. First, it explores how magic as the conceptual framework of amulets and talismans, has erased the possibility of other interpretations. It then turns to the conceptualisation of amulets and talismans from the Levant in the work of 19th-century and early 20th-century scholars whose approach developed during colonial times and got shaped by what has become known as Orientalism. The chapter then turns to more recent approaches of the study of amulets that come from material culture studies, reflecting on the feasibility of applying analytical tools for the study of the T.C.C.P.A.. The second part of the chapter revolves around Taufiq Canaan's use of the concepts amulet and talisman. It analyses a selection of his writings that focuses on amulets, as well as his fieldwork notes where he discussed the ways these objects were referred to by their users.

Chapter 2 revolves around the first function that was attached to the amulets, that of healing and protective devices. The chapter explores the historical context of the use of amulets as such particularly among Palestine's rural population. It analyses the elements of the common cosmology that framed the manufacture and use of the amulets that are nowadays in the T.C.C.P.A. The chapter also advances the proposition that multipurpose and mixed-material amulets responded to the complexity of people's cosmology, which is the reason why biomedicine could not replace their use. The chapter ends by reflecting on how amulets can adapt and adjust to new social conditions and the changes over time as a result of an every-day religiosity.

Chapter 3 analyses the processes that led to consider amulets as collectables. By focusing on the development of ethnographic research and colonial practices of collecting, this chapter explores the formation of a mentality in which specific (ethnographic) objects became worthy of being included in collections. The chapter also delves into the overlap of uses in a colonial context. In other words, it analyses how while operating as collectibles for some, amulets kept functioning as healing and protective objects for others, disclosing that autochthonous practices were not passively

erased and replaced, but had to be negotiated. The chapter starts with a short historical description of the arrival of the Christian missionaries, the foundation of their institutes and their role in the transformation of the Jerusalemite urban milieu where Canaan developed as a physician and ethnographer. Then, it explores the revival of the Holy Land and the rising ethnographical interests that led to the formation of a generation of collectors. Finally, the chapter focuses on the articulation of three aspects of Canaan's collecting activity: acquisition of amulets, networks, and political engagement. The different ways Canaan acquired the amulets show the networks that he built throughout his life. As time passed, these networks changed in parallel to his gradual involvement into the political life of his country.

Chapter 4 revolves around the commoditisation of amulets. Even though Chapter 3 already explores the growth of amulets as collectibles (a form of commoditisation), this chapter focus on how bought, sold, and exchanged, amulets were valuable goods that circulated in public and private networks. Framed in the first half of the 20th century, the chapter analyses the ways amulets were commoditised prior to and in parallel with Canaan's acquisition of his collection. Next to the networks established by collectors, these objects had been circulating as healing and protective remedies within families, the local markets, and the pilgrimage sites for a long time. The chapter also explores the effects of foreign tourism to Jerusalem, the role of foreign scholars and travellers in the creation of new commercial networks with specialised antiques' shops that traded folklore objects including clothes and amulets. Finally, the chapter analyses the effects of these networks on new forms of consumption in which peasants, bedouin and townsmen operated.

Chapter 5 revolves around the conceptualisation of the Canaan amulets as a "Palestinian Collection of Amulets" soon after they were donated to BZU in 1995. Peeling off the layers of meaning added over the years, I start with the most recent stage of the Collection, which according to the chronological limits set in this thesis is the current exhibition of some items in the BZU Library. Peeling off the layers of meaning added over the years, I go from the inception of the T.C.C.P.A. through the collecting activities of Taufiq Canaan and his work on the collection as a collector-cum-ethnographer. In the first part of the chapter, I analyse the process of naming the collection in 1995 and the way amulets were addressed in the exhibition *Ya Kafi, Ya Shafi* in 1998. Based on my correspondence with members of the exhibition committee, as well as by analysing the catalogue, reports and reviews of the exhibition, this chapter explores the message this exhibition aimed to convey. The chapter then moves on to how the amulets have been catalogued and approached after the exhibition. Since these approaches refer over and over to the time of the

Collection's formation, the second part of the chapter aims to trace how Taufiq Canaan approached the amulets as Palestine's material culture and as cultural heritage of his country. This second part shows that the Palestinian-ness of the objects is not merely a product of the 1990's. Rather, it is based on Canaan's own experience that developed throughout his life. Since the chapter touches upon how the formation of national identity is intimately connected with collecting, displaying and exhibiting material culture of the past, it also includes Taufiq Canaan's political views and considerations on the Palestinian-ness of the material he collected.

Finally, a conclusion in which I will summarise my answer to the research question: "How did the different uses and functions of the Canaan amulets before, during and after being collected articulate with each other and with Taufiq Canaan's own intellectual development within the historical development of Palestine?"

ix. About the transliteration

This thesis contains many terms in Arabic. The transliteration of most terms has been done following the system used by the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES) for Modern Standard Arabic. However, in a few cases, such as the name of particular amulets, when pronunciation is key locating them in a contemporary context, transliteration has been done in the colloquial form.⁴³ In these cases, a footnote is added giving its MSA correspondence. Arabic terms mentioned for the first time, are given with their corresponding forms in singular and plural in a footnote. Consecutive mentions appear in singular or plural according to their placement in the sentence. *Ta' marbūṭa* at the end of a word is transliterated as "a", or as "at" in case of an *izāfa*. Proper names are written as they occur in the English dictionary. Names of towns and villages in Palestine have not been transliterated, but use the English spelling of the platform PalestineRemembered.com and *All That Remains*.⁴⁴

⁴³Among transliterations of colloquial Arabic is Taufiq Canaan's transliteration proposed for the dialect of the Bedouins of Petra (Wadi Musa), based on previous studies such as Musil, A., *Arabia Petrea*, II, Edom, 1917; Dalman, G., *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, 1908; Bruennow und Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, Vol. I; the works of the Dominican Fathers: Jaussen, Savignac, Lagrange, and Vincent's articles written in the *Revue Biblique*; among other works. Cfr. T. Canaan, *Topography and Folklore of Petra*, p.1

⁴⁴ Khalidi, Walid. *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948*. Washington DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1992

Letter	IJMES
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ا	ā / a
ب	b
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ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
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ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
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ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	,
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w; ū / u
ي	y; ī / i