

ENCYCLOPEDIA VISUAL D'AIGUA MALLORQUINA

visual encyclopedia of mallorcan water

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„Aquí mai se sap amb s'aigua,
avegades hi és, avegades no.“

“Here you never know with water,
sometimes it's here, sometimes it's not“

(Juan, from travel journal, 2024)



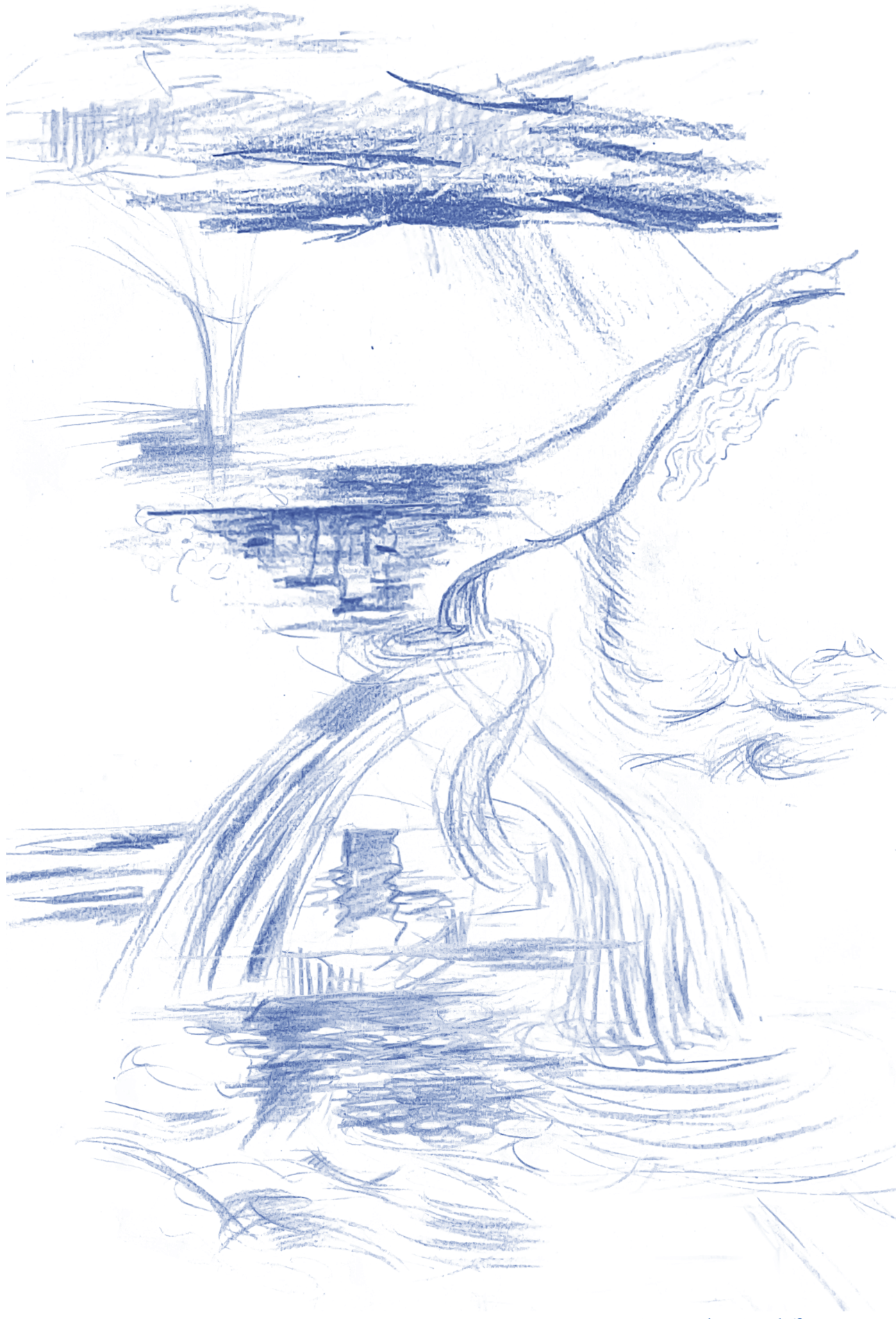


Figure 1: drawing different waters

Que es aigua? What is water?

(Aigua) font de vida,
 modeladora del paisatge,
 creadora de bellesa, de cultura,
 font de purificació i de ritus iniciàtics.
 "Water: source of life, Aigua, remor, música, bellesa... misteri."
 shaper of the landscape,
 creator of beauty, of culture,
 a source of purification and of initiatory rites.
 Water, murmur, music, beauty... mystery."
 (Barón Périz, 2009, as cited in Mateos
 Ruiz & González Casasnovas, 2009, p.11)

Aigua embodies life, purity and rebirth

Aigua has infinite sounds,
 from the delicate drip,
 a tranquil murmur of a river,
 a rumbling,
 Aigua constantly flows,
 shifting between gentle curves
 to powerful rushes
 a sudden splash
 to a roaring cascade

Aigua never looks the same,
 changes colour,
 adapting to the changes of light and wind
 it reflects its surrounding
 Aigua is a source of amusement
 it invites tactile engagement,
 immersion and play

Immersed in aigua,
 we are weightless,
 freed from gravity's constraints,
 experiencing a sense of liberation
 Aigua is mysterious,
 beneath it's surface lies the unknown,
 stirring curiosity and imagination
 for the big underwater creatures

Aigua connects ecosystems,
 connects us to the globe
 and with each other

Aigua is what we all have in common
 who live on earth,
 an inherent condition of humanity

Aigua possessed the extraordinary
 ability to metamorphose rapidly into
 substances with oppositional qualities,
 from solid, liquid to vapor continuously
 in movement and must be seen in its
 multiplicities: as life-giving but also
 life-threatening medium (Strang, 2004,
 p.49)

Multiplicity of aigua

aigua, aygo, aigo(s), aigües

water - the word has different ways of writing and pronounciations in the catalan language

- aigua pura (pure water) clean, uncontaminated water
- aigua beneïda (holy water) water blessed for religious use
- aigua de pluja (rainwater) water that falls as rain
- aigua dolça (sweet water) water without salt (from rivers/lakes)
- aigua dura (hard water) water rich in minerals like calcium
- aigua mineral (minearal water) water from a source, which carries mineral substances
- aigua viva (living water) aigua que raja, que fluïx
- aigua de roses (rose water) fragrant water made from rose petals
- aigua morta (dead water) still, stagnant water (aigua estancada i sense corrent)
- aigua negras (black water) sewage or wastewater
- aigua amunt (upstream water) water flowing upward/inland
- aigua avall (downstream water) water flowing downward/toward the sea
- aigua blana containing a small amount of salts
- aigua cavallera (knight water) stream of water that flows freely but calmly
- aigua corrent (running water) water from a tap or flowing source

Everyone is familiar with aigua—water. Commonly understood as an odourless, tasteless, colourless liquid, formed by a combination of hydrogen and oxygen, essential for life (Water, 2024), its nature extends far beyond this simplicity.

As the ancient traditions believed, aigua can be seen as a total being that has a body (matter), soul (gas) and voice (liquid) (Cahner et al., n.d.).

In the context of Mallorca, water has not only shaped the physical landscape but also influenced the development

of human settlements and societal structures (Trias Mercant et al., 1996). This close relationship with water has given rise to a rich culture surrounding water, reflected in a rich water-related vocabulary, traditional songs, and an abundance of local toponyms and hydronyms. Words tell us who we are and how we are. The way we speak has consequences for the way we think. This highlights the depth of cultural adaptation to the island's environmental conditions and the diverse meanings water holds (Dubon i Pretus, 2011) (Centre, n.d.).

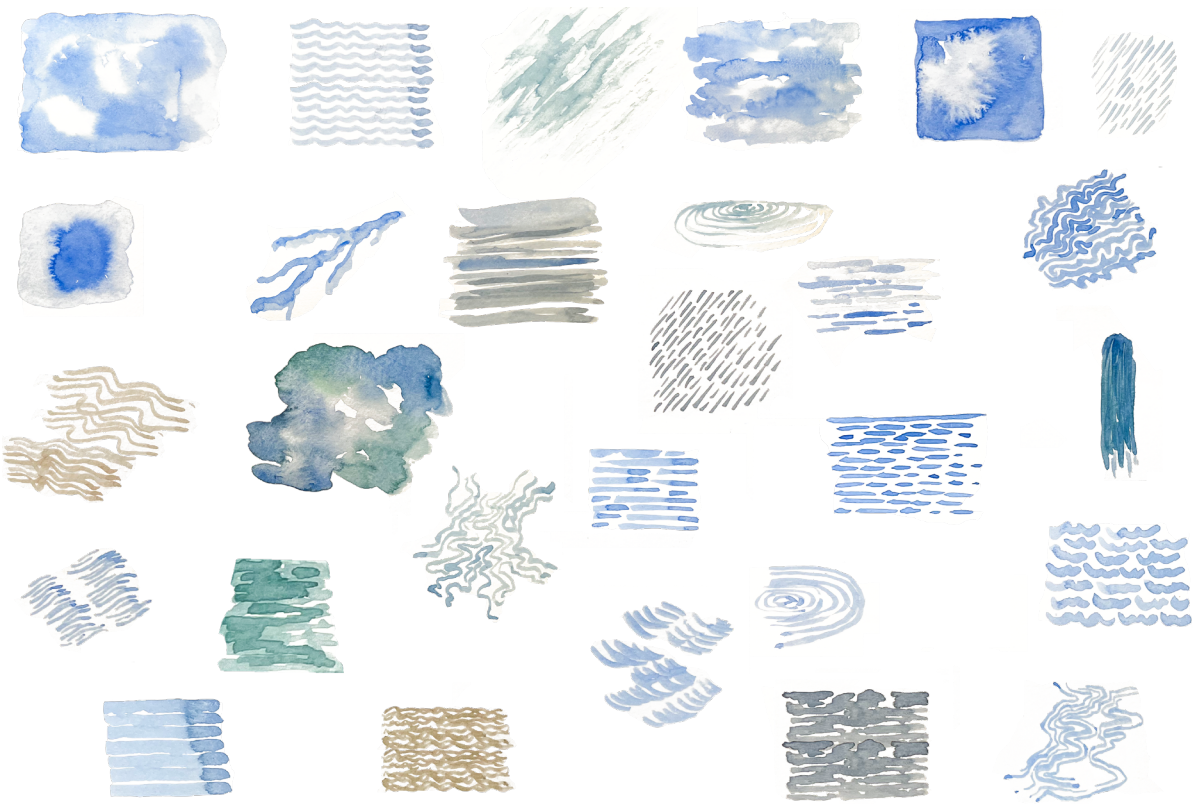


Figure 2: drawing different waters in watercolours

Composition of water



Figure 3: different waters taken during site visit



Water is characterised by its ability to absorb and retain a wide spectrum of colours, flavours and aromas. It is the solvent element par excellence. Gases and solids dissolve in it, and as a consequence, it is never found in a pure state in nature (Cahner et al., n.d.).

During my fieldwork, I collected samples from various sources to explore potential differences in their composition. Through conversations

with locals, it became clear that water is not perceived merely as a functional resource, but as something deeply sensory and qualitative. Many spoke of distinct tastes among different springs, often referring to particularly desirable sources as „aigua bona“ (good water). Water coming from sources is also high in lime as it carries the minerals from the many layers it crosses. Water is in direct link to the landscape and mountain.



Where is Mallorca's agua?
 What is Mallorca's agua?

Mallorca is an island surrounded by water and was a practically unknown until the 1960s. Mallorcans continued to live practically in isolation.

Figure 4: Mallorca insula, by Camocium, 1560

Mallorca's climate

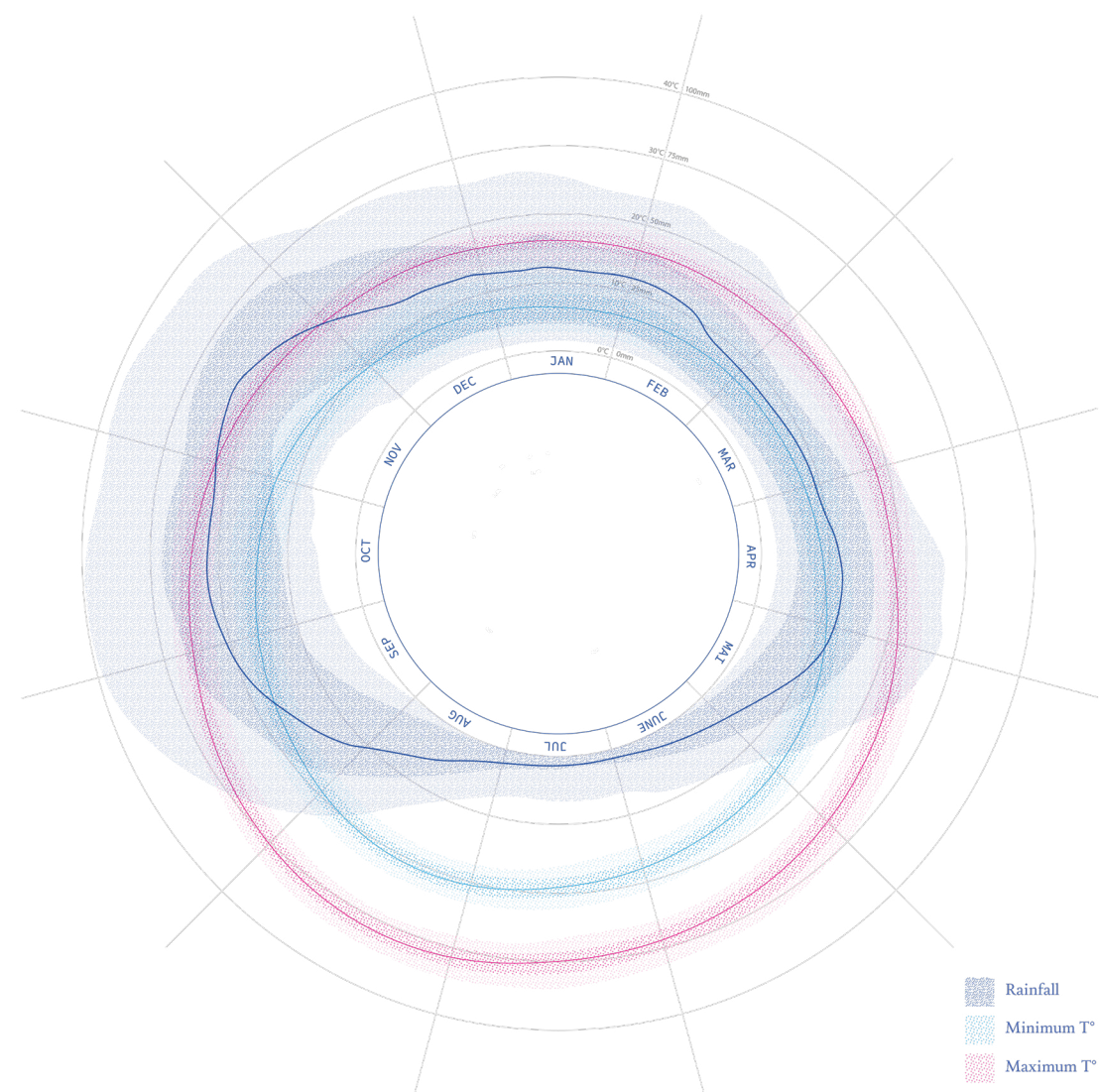


Figure 5: Average rainfall and low and high temperatures on Mallorca

Mallorca's climate oscillates between extremes, demanding adaptation. As tourists anticipate, summers are hot and arid — marked by cloudless skies and parched soils. In stark contrast, winters bring not only high humidity and rainfall but, at higher altitudes,

a surprising presence of snow. Water on Mallorca exists in all its states: as vapor saturating the air, as torrential downpours transforming dry riverbeds into floods, and as snow and ice in the elevated Serra de Tramuntana.



„La font qui no vessa,
la font qui no plora
Me fa plorar a mi“

„The fountain that does not spill,
the fountain that does not cry,
it makes me cry“

(La Reliquia, Joan Alcover)

Mallorca's natural and humanized landscape

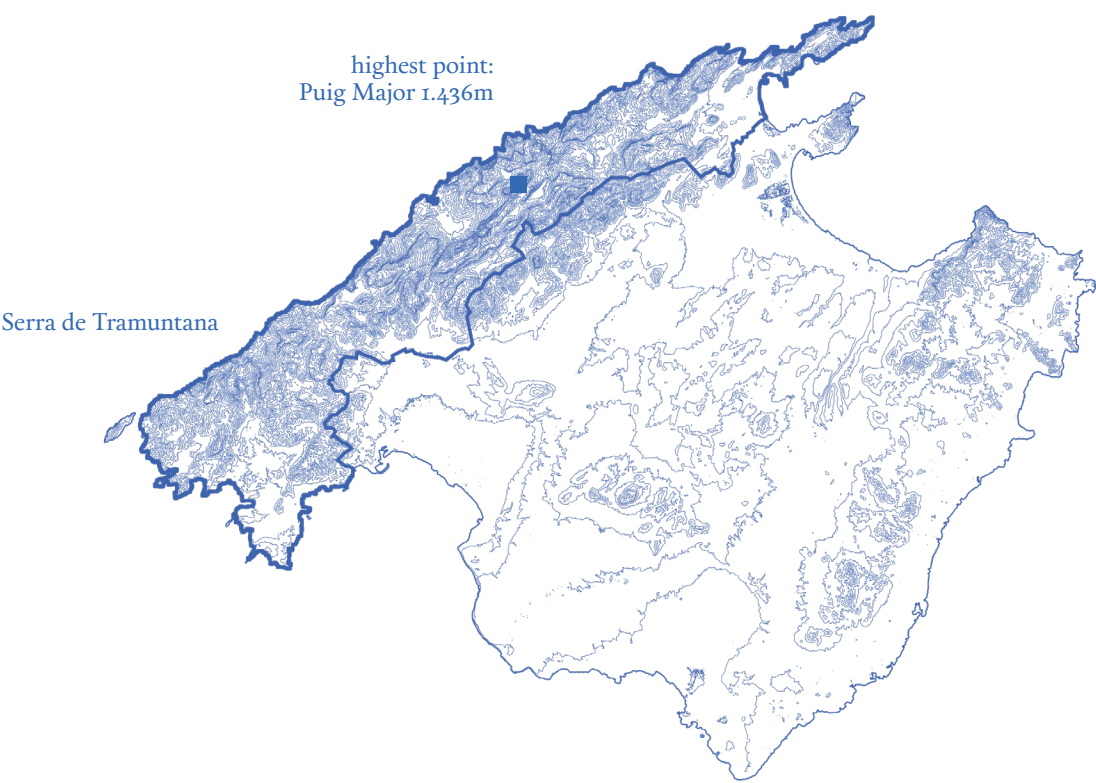


Figure 6: Mallorca's topography (every 50m)

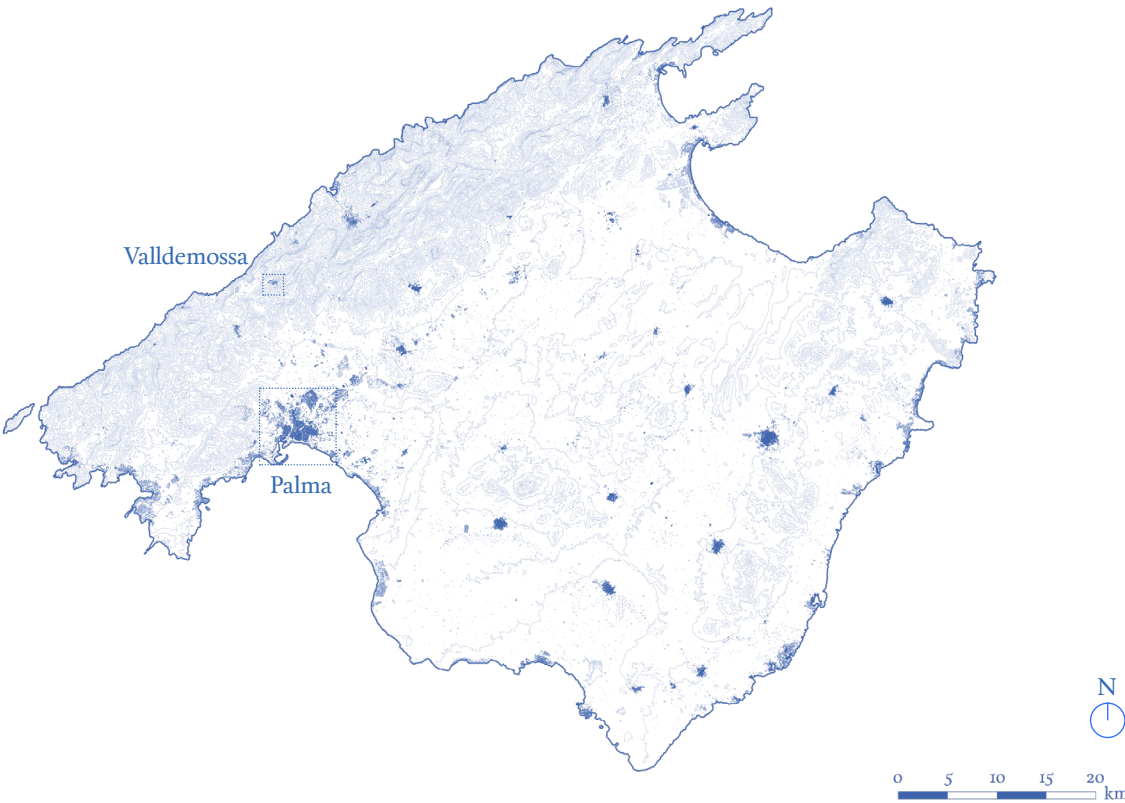


Figure 7: Mallorca's building plan, it has a pop. densité: 258.33/km²

Mallorca is an island with an area of about 3.640km², and between 70-110km wide.
It has a population of about 940.300 (Palma: 430.600) compared to almost 18.000.000 tourists a year (in 2023).

Mallorca's surface water



The story of water on Mallorca has started by shaping the island's topography. Interacting with the karstic porous limestone, water gradually dissolved it creating its own natural hydrological network. This complex network has given rise to a variety of geomorphological features, including limestone pavements, deep gorges and extensive subterranean cavities and caves. Through continuous infiltration, water has carved its own infrastructure into the rock, creating abundant underground reserves that serve as the island's primary water source. In fact, in 2009, 80% of the consumed fresh water was extracted from aquifers (Mateos Ruiz & González Casasnovas, 2009).

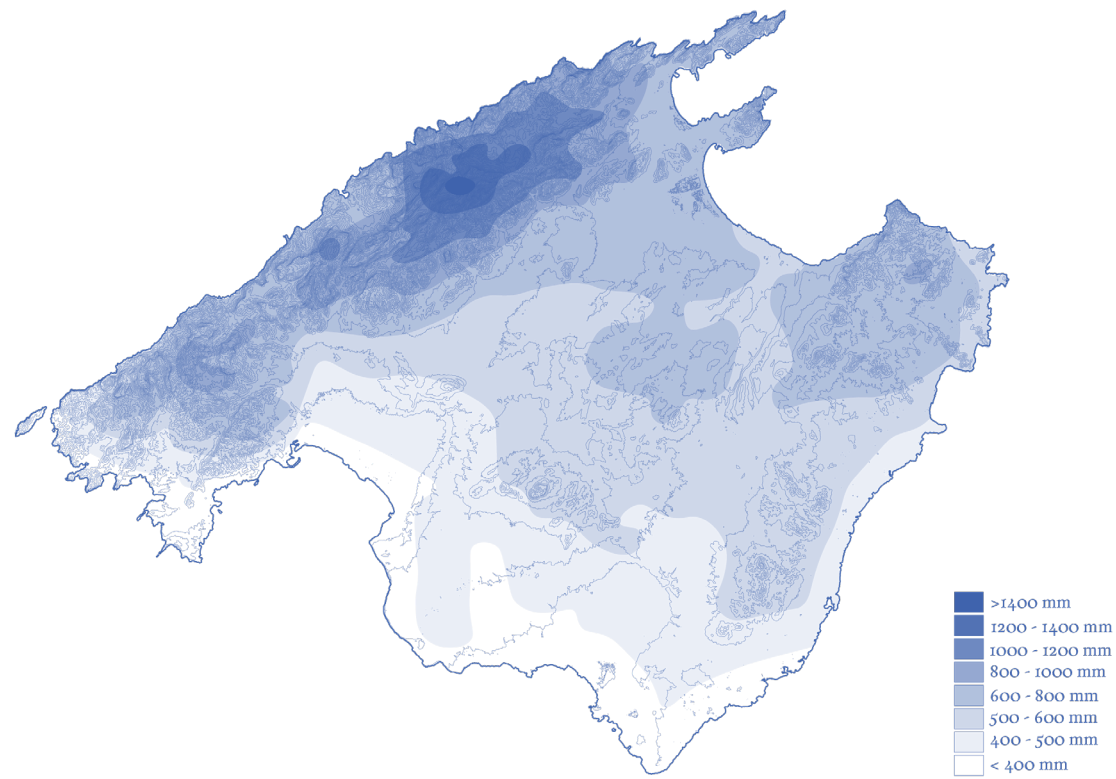


Figure 8: Mallorca has irregular rainfall pattern with peaks in autumn and spring, which are heavier in mountain range

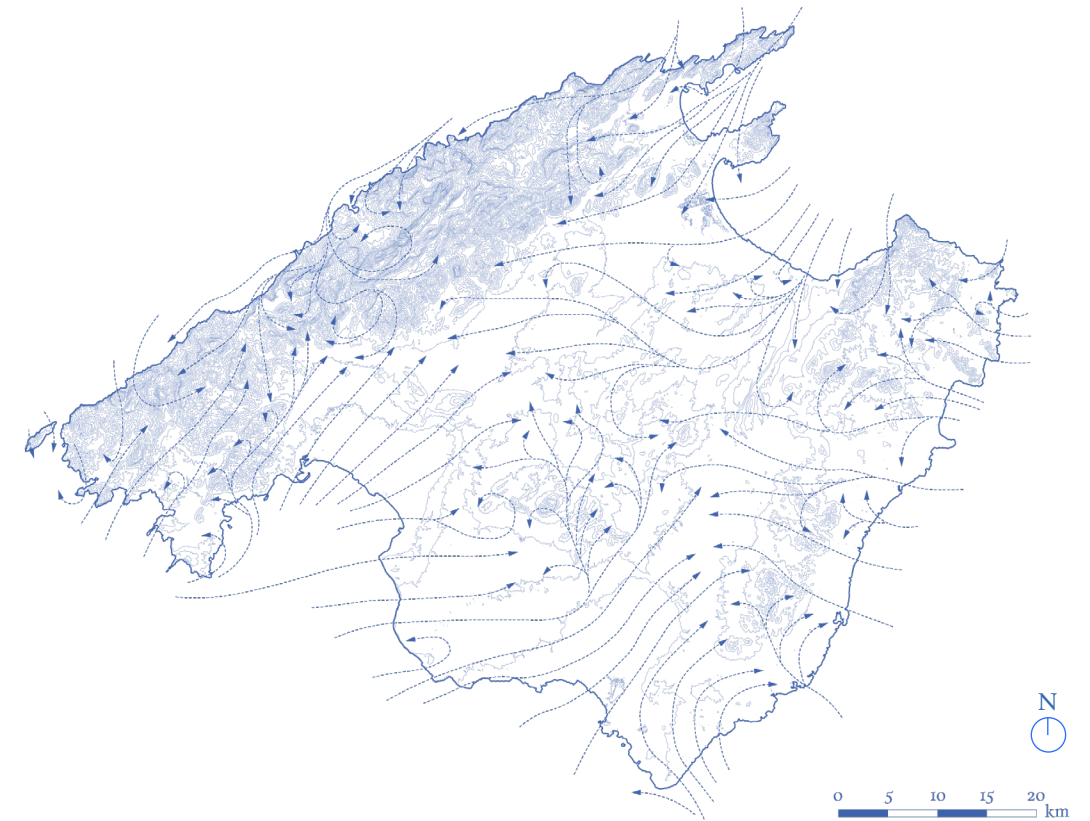


Figure 10: Strong wind lines of the sea breeze on the island of Mallorca (and typical areas of convergence) Own reworking from Chart I. Líneas de corriente (Jansà y Jaume, 1946).

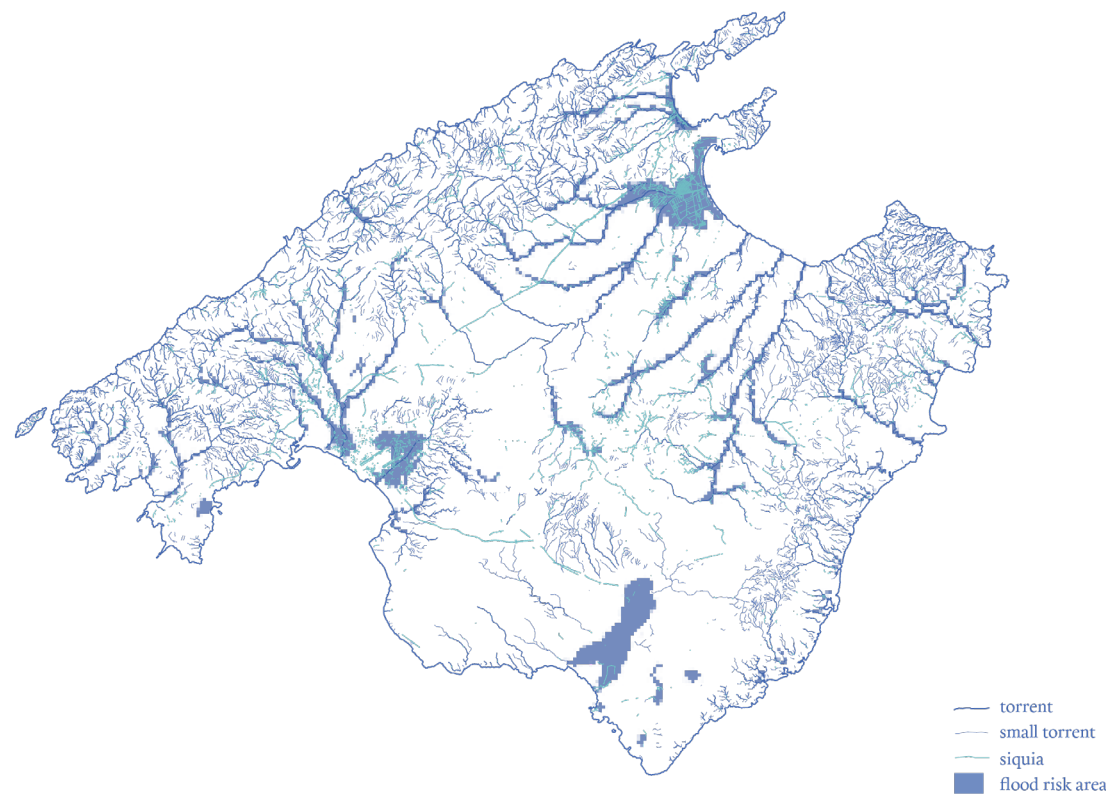


Figure 9: heavy rainfall resulting in temporal torrents and flooded areas in the flatter parts

Torrent

watercourse that flows intermittently or temporarily along a fixed channel

The annual precipitation of the island is about 400mm/year, being the heaviest in the Serra de Tramuntana.

The mountain range was and still is a vital resource for Mallorca's society, providing not only agricultural and forestry products but also essential water supplies that are crucial for the entire island (Dubon i Pretus, 2011).

Mallorca's underground water

Hidden from sight, the majority of the island's water flows silently beneath the surface. Within the island's limestone belly lie expansive caves and aquifers, often spectacular and inaccessible. These subterranean landscapes remain largely unknown, adding a mystical quality to the island's water story

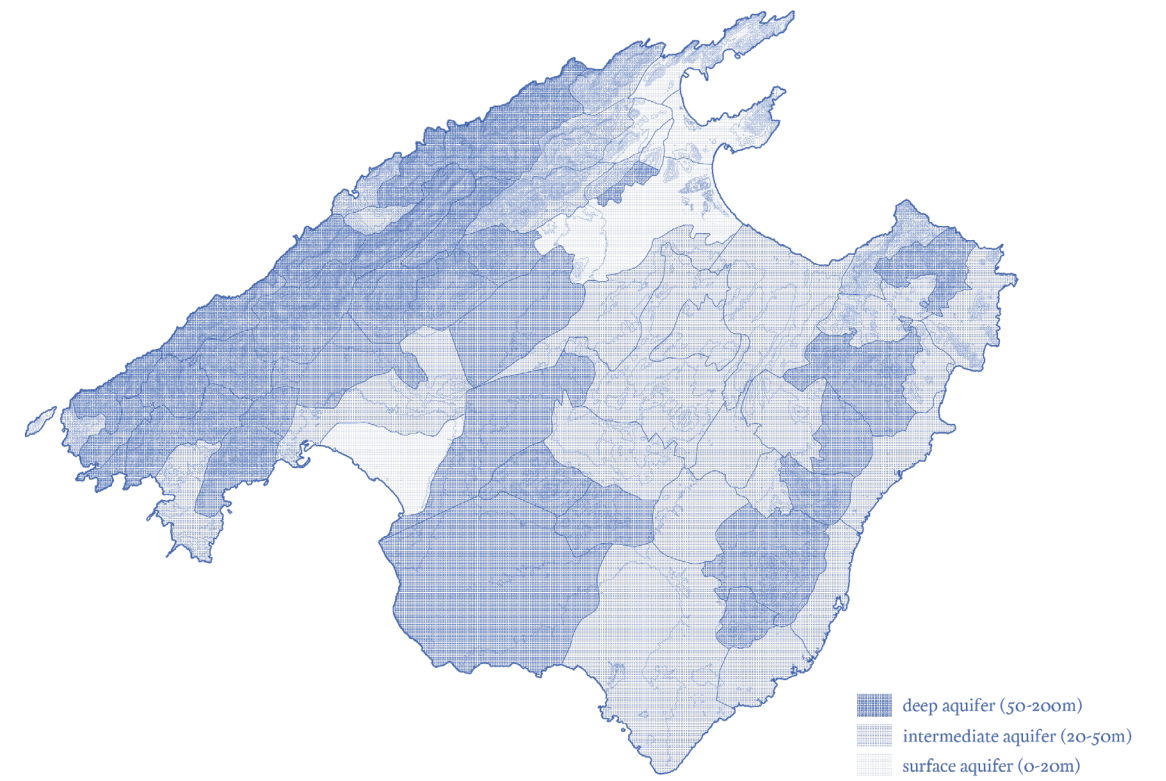


Figure 11: Location and depths of aquifers in Mallorca

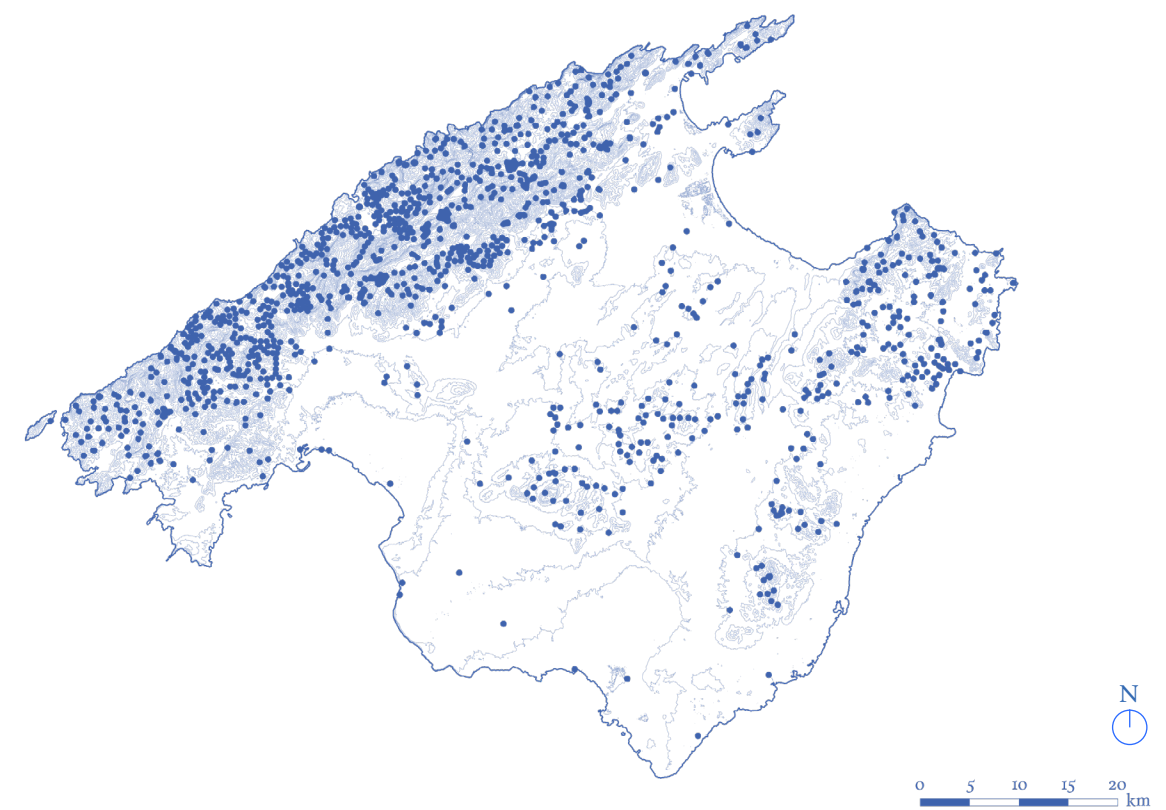


Figure 12: Natural water springs are isolated and scattered around the island but more abundant on the Tramuntana (counting nearly 800 natural sources)

Mallorca's water usage

For centuries, Mallorcans navigated a dual condition of hydrological extremes: abundance in winter, drought in summer. Their response was in adaptation, a knowledge system rooted in careful observation and layered infrastructure. Two complementary systems emerged: one for profiting from water, and one for draining it.

In the profit system the infrastructures where designed according to specific needs: minimal flows were reserved for human consumption, moderate flows for irrigation of crops and the most

powerful and constant flows were used to drive water mills to use its energy. The destination of water was closely linked to the volume and consistency of flow it could provide. Additionally, the irrigated surface could vary annually depending on the availability of water, reflecting a flexible, adaptive approach to resource management (N. Cañellas i Serrano & Tortella i Araque, 1992). Overall, water use wisely and reduced to the bare minimum, guided by a deep understanding of environmental constraints.

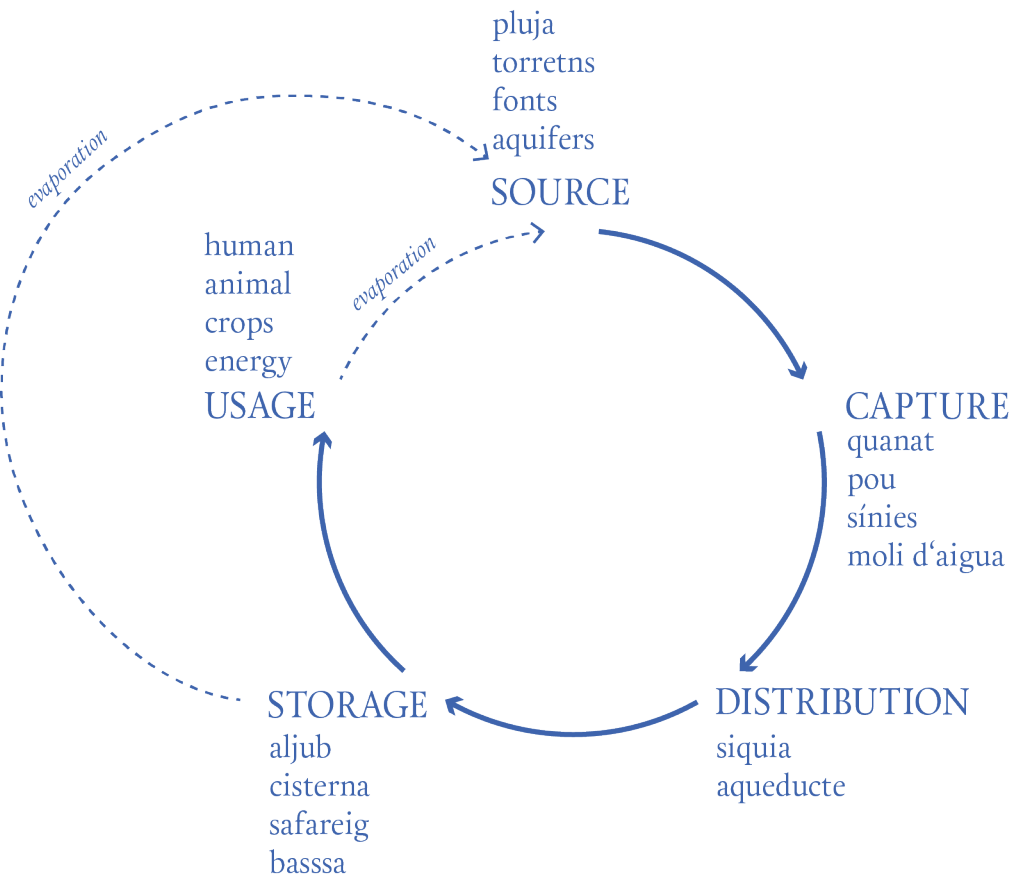


Figure 13: Schematic cycle of the profit system



Water usage, hierarchy, priority

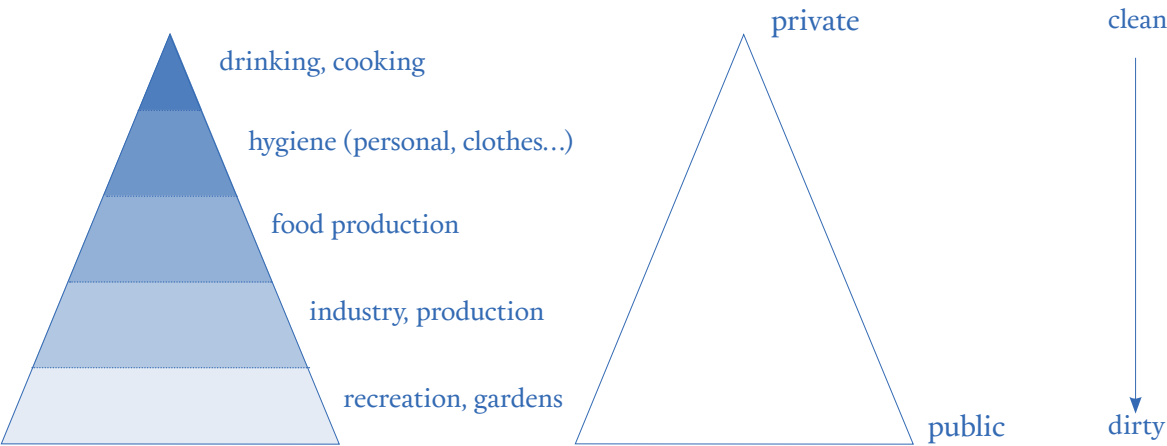


Figure 14: Schematic cycle of the profit system



Mallorca's water cosmologies

Yearly water calendar

Water shaped not only infrastructures but imaginations. In a landscape where water could not be taken for granted, anticipation became a form of survival. Over generations, Mallorcans developed a vernacular meteorology: reading rain in the curvature of clouds or the color of wind-swept mountains. A cloud shaped like an eyebrow or cape above a particular peak might be a sign (Cahner et al., n.d.). This intuitive climatology gave rise to oral traditions and proverbs, small poetic devices to carry seasonal wisdom. One such tradition dictated that rainwater should only be harvested during months containing the letter „R,” echoing long-standing climatic rhythms.

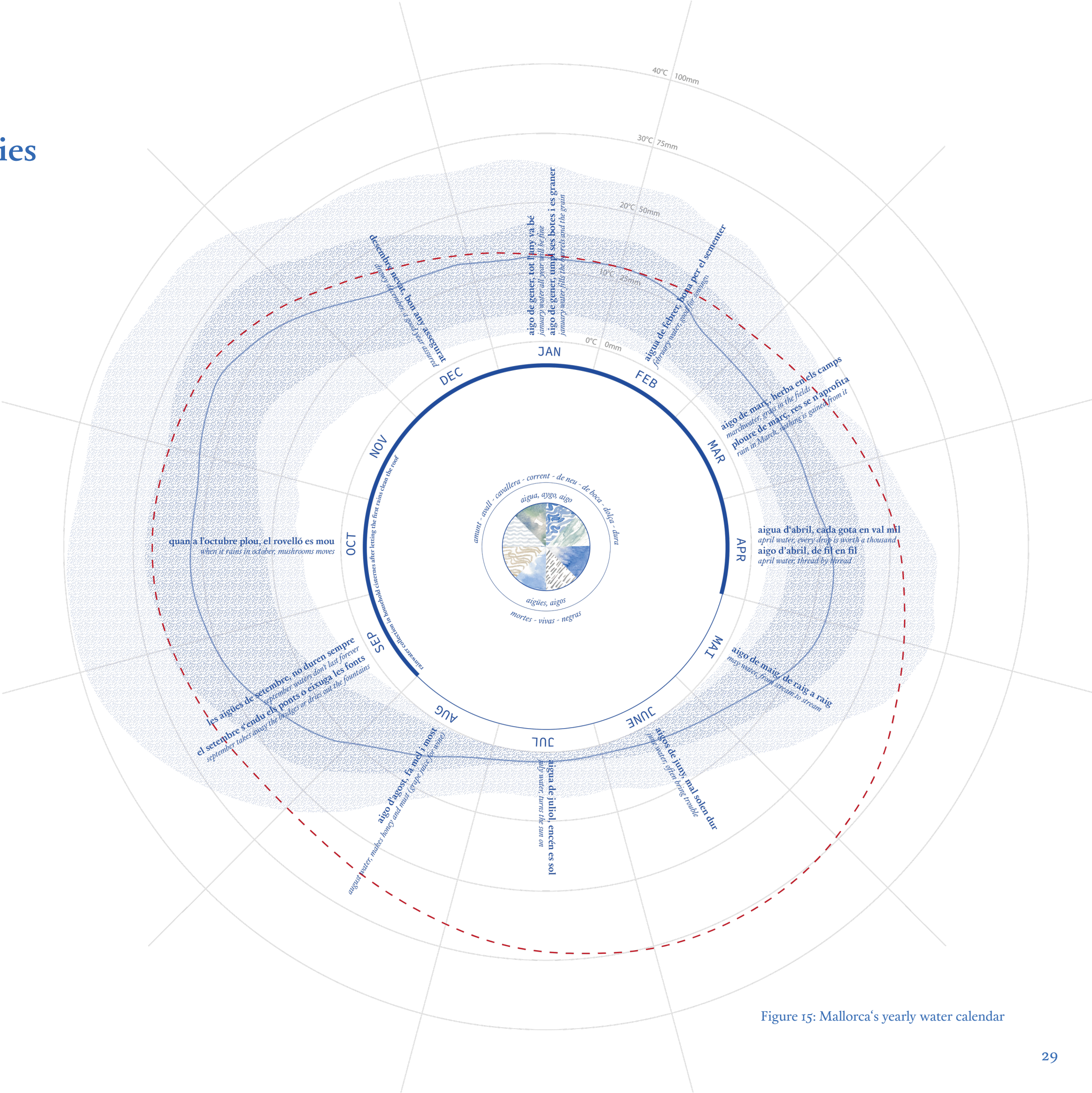
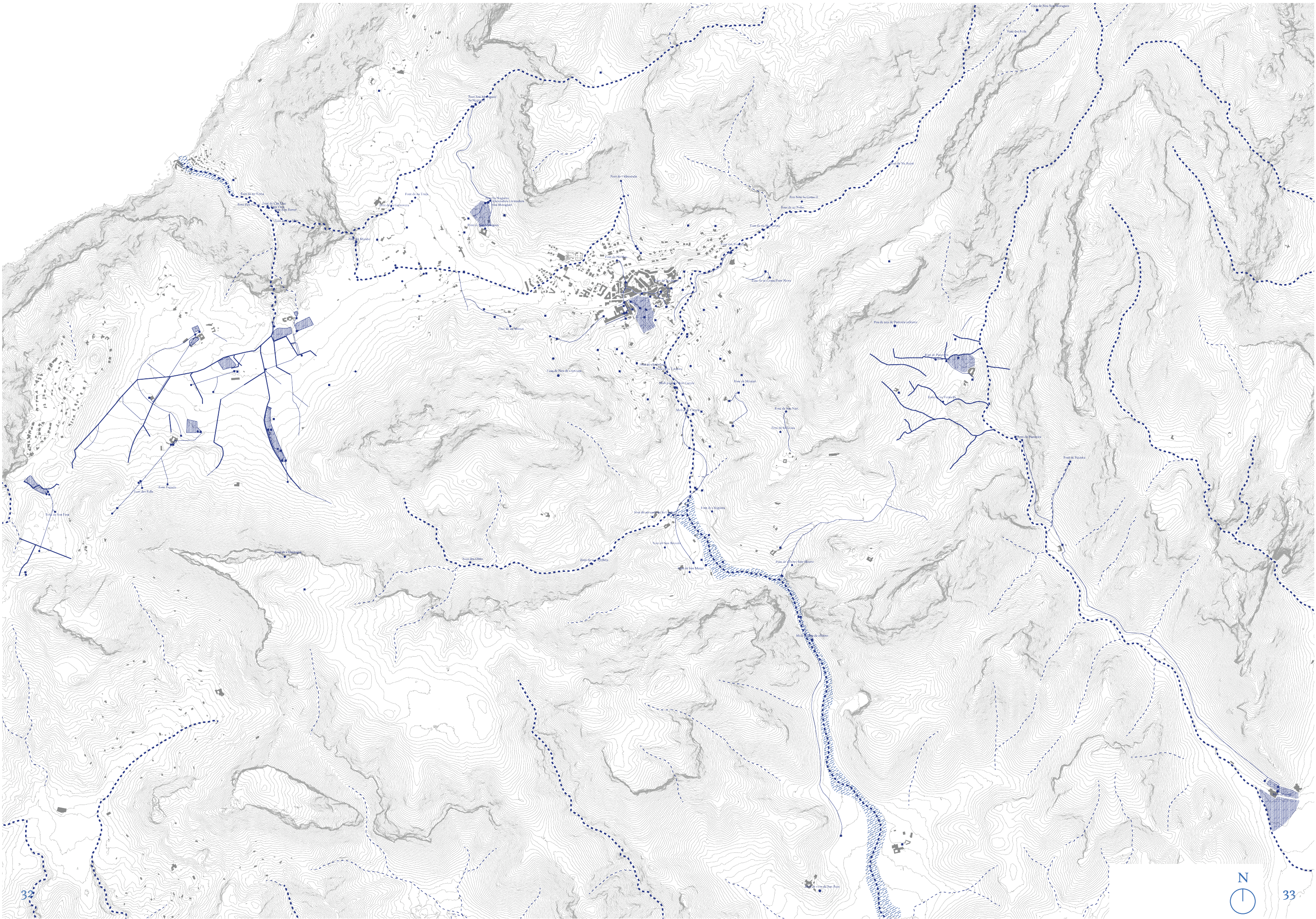


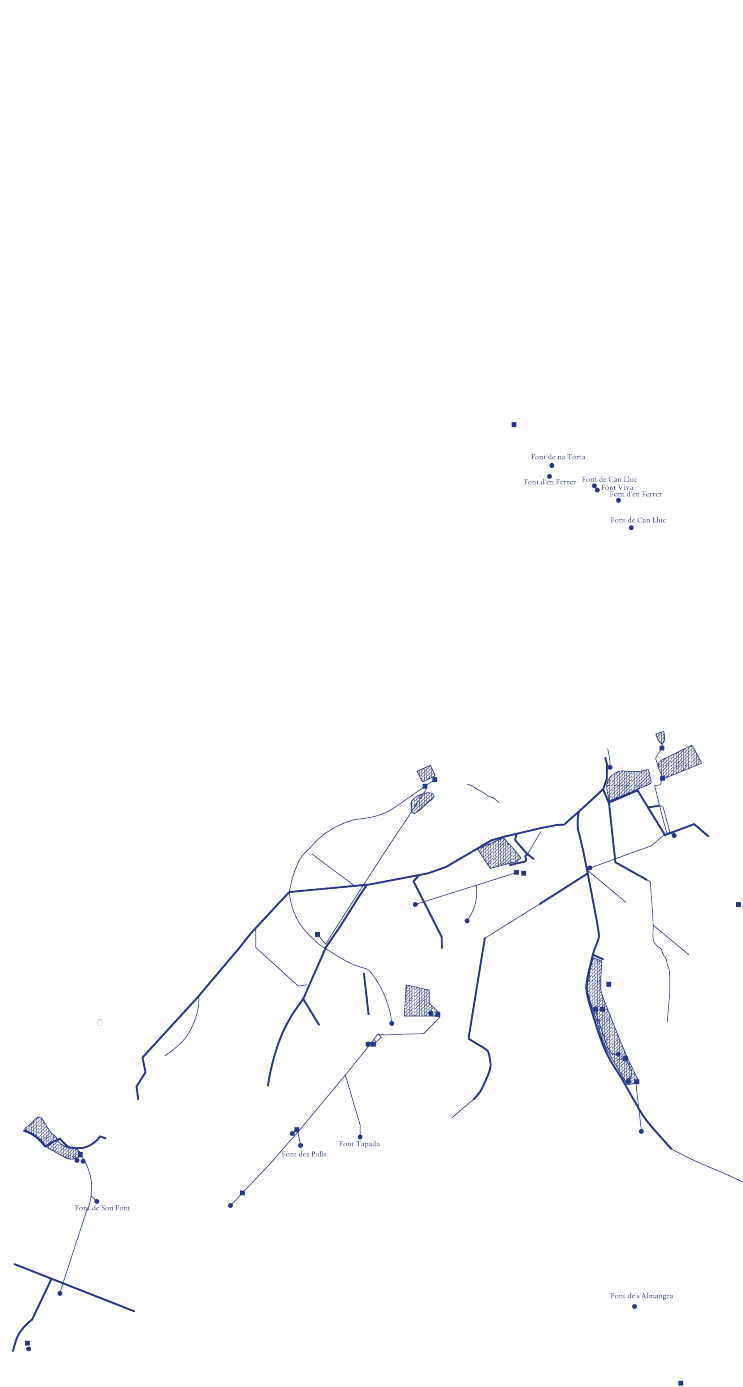
Figure 15: Mallorca's yearly water calendar

Valldemossa's regional hydrosocial cycle

Following Valldemossa's aigua



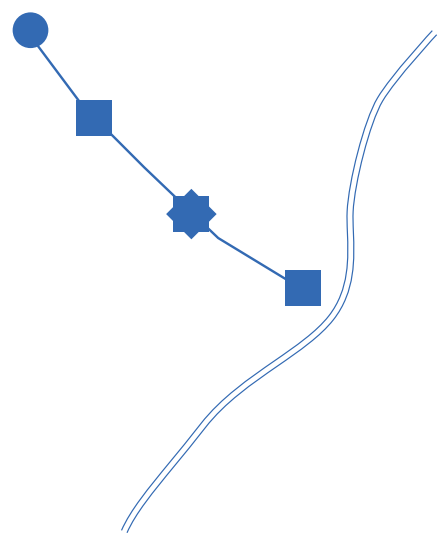




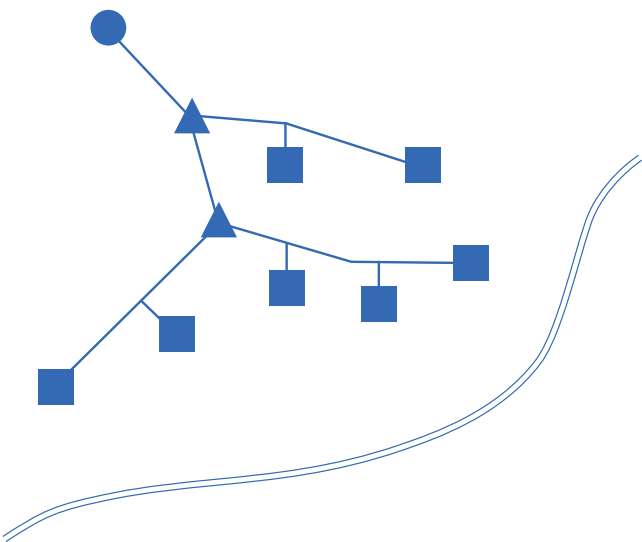
Mallorca's humanized landscape

Learning from the landscape
the logic behind it

autonomous system



communal system



- legend
- source
 - bassin/depot
 - ▲ distributor
 - ✱ activity
 - water supply
 - == drainage (lefover) / torrent

Water can be captured at different moments: when it rains, when it runs through the drainage network (runoff water but lack of continuous stream on Mallorca) and underground, where it accumulates in aquifers. Groundwater can be collected in 2 ways: natural spring or wells natural spring: where in a natural way, the water table intersects with the topographic one wells: drillings that seek to find the water table (N. Cañellas i Serrano & Tortella i Araque, 1992).

A tactile map an experientable map

A hand-cut topographic model became a central tool in my exploration, not only as a representational device, but as a way of physically engaging with the landscape's depth and complexity. Layer by layer, the model revealed the island's hidden infrastructures, from carved terraces to the subterranean aquifers that lie like veins beneath the surface. This analogue process became an act of enchantment: a slow, tactile way of learning that invited me to feel the terrain. Through this crafted geography, I could trace the relationships between topography, natural water sources, and historic extraction methods, while uncovering how water flows through the island horizontally and vertically, in a truly three-dimensional system of life.



Mallorca's humanized landscape

Margades, margins

Over centuries, Mallorcans have profoundly shaped their mountainous terrain through the construction of *marjades*: stone terraces that transform steep, rocky slopes into cultivable land. Two main types are distinguished (Carbonero, 1984): small, discontinuous margins, typically found in stonier terrain, serve primarily to control erosion and support the cultivation of rainfed trees; and continuous terraces that follow the contour lines of the land, creating cultivable fields where the slope once made farming impossible. These are often planted with olives, almonds, cereals, or legumes. Stone, both an obstacle and a resource, is ever-present in the landscape. When its abundance surpasses immediate structural needs, it is carefully arranged

into „clapers“ or „caragols“, which themselves become part of the island's visual and ecological fabric. This intricate system of terraces and dry-stone walls is anchored around the „*posseïó*“ (the traditional farm land) as the central unit of self-sufficient land management (Garcia, 1986; Forteza, 1955). This transformation, rooted in dry-stone construction, has given rise to a landscape where human intervention and nature are deeply entwined. Over time, the natural environment begins to reclaim dry-stone constructions, and in doing so, they evolve into singular biotopes, enriched by species and plant communities of notable ecological interest (Centre, n.d.).



A variety of infrastructures

A system that shaped the landscape



Dutch engineer, Paul Bouvijn de Schorrenberg, used a windmill to pump the water from the below sea level swamps for the first time in Mallorca. The evolutionary process of successive improvements has many similarities with biological evolution, depending on needs, resources and environmental pressure: mutations and selection. Urban expansion: over 2.500 watermills. Overexploitation of the groundwater.

Mallorca's water infrastructures

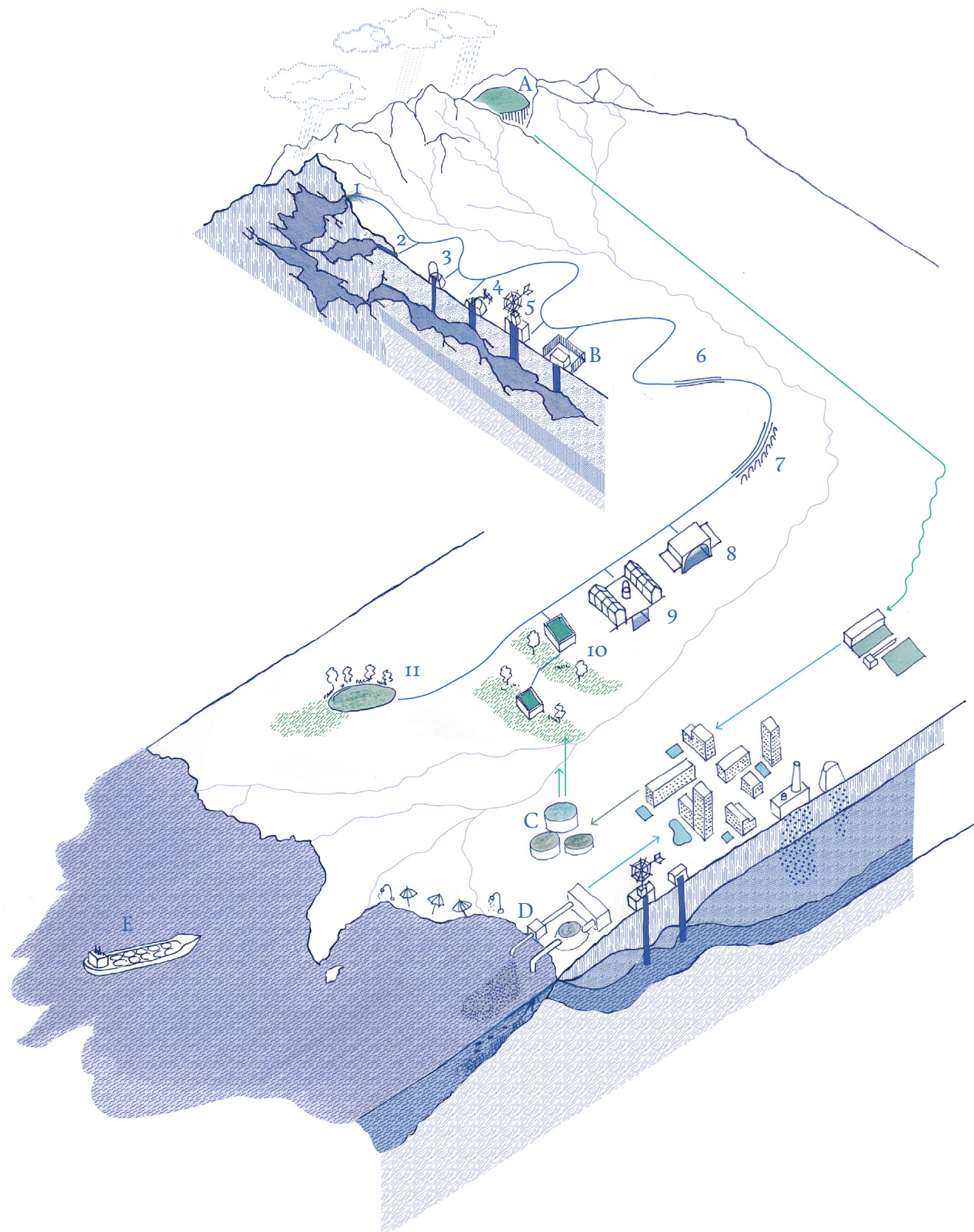


Figure 16: Axonometric drawing of Mallorca's past and present water network

Past

Present

sources/capture

distribution

storage



1. source



6. siquia



8. aljub



A. water reservoir



2. quanat



7. aqueducte



9. cisterna



B. modern pou



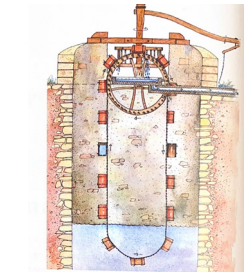
3. pou



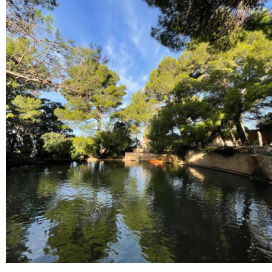
10. safareig



C. depuradora



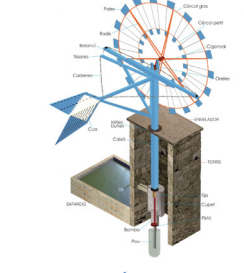
4. sínies



11. bassa



D. desalination

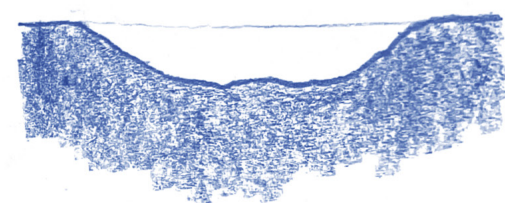


5. moli d'aigua

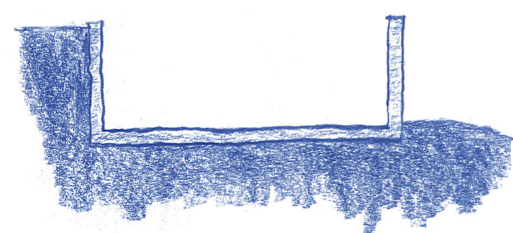


E. operacion barco 1995-1997

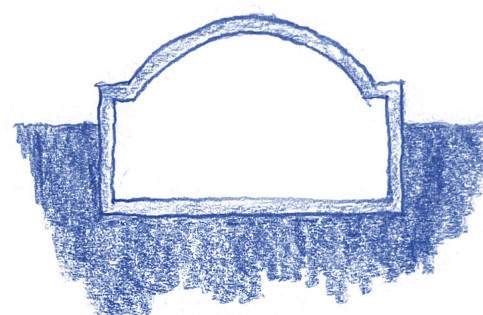
Water storage typologies



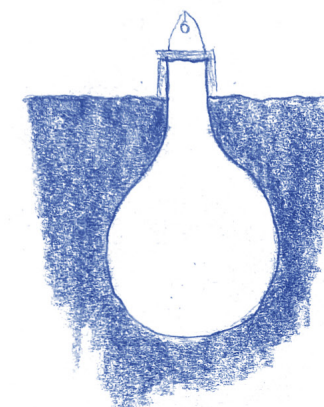
bassa
open basin, good for insects and animals



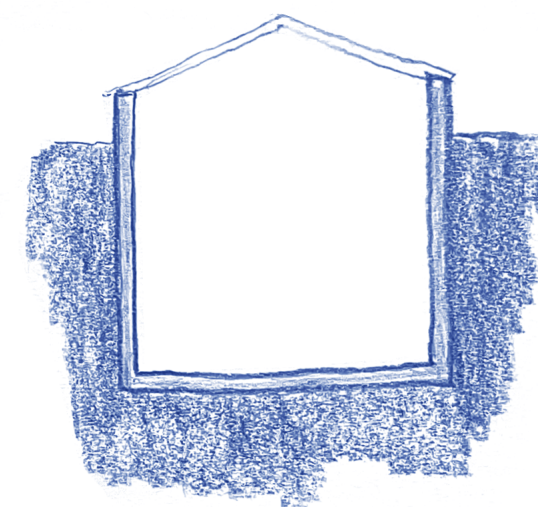
safareig
artificial water deposit, mainly used for irrigation



aljub
architectural structure, often half underground, intended for the collection and storage of drinking water



cisterna
underground reservoir for rainwater for human consumption



casa de neu
snow house, wells or cavity in the mountain where the snow is collected and stored for summer

Over time, distinct typologies of water storage emerged across the island, each shaped by the specific needs and constraints of its environment. These infrastructures are often buried or enclosed to not only preserve the coolness of the water and protect it from evaporation, but also to shield it from the sun, which the water green and undrinkable. In this concealed state,

water becomes less a visual element and more a sensory presence. You do not see it, but you hear it echoing softly through stone channels or dripping within deep cisterns. It appears only in fragments, glimpsed through small openings or reflected in shaded corners. These storage systems reveal a culture of care, where water is guarded like a treasure.

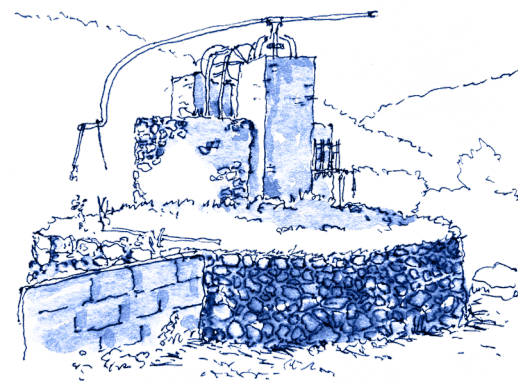
Water ruins, the remains from the past



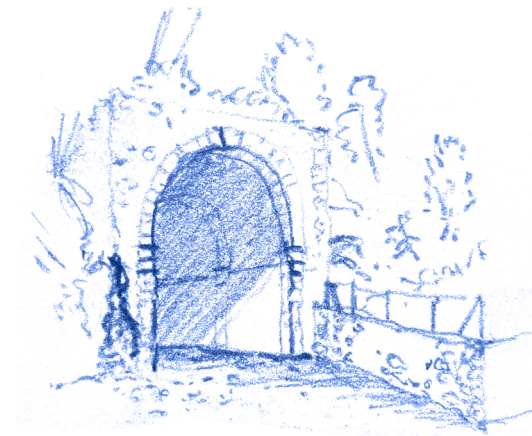
casa de neu
snow house



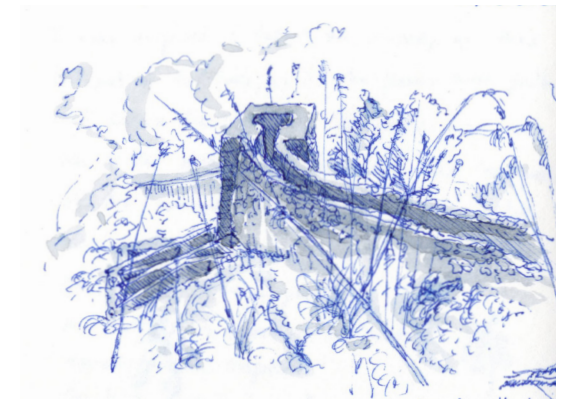
abeurador
drinking pond in the mountains



sinia
noria
from islamic
origin „saniya“,
infrastrucutre to
extract water



font
source



moli de coup
flouer grainding
uses the power of water to turn a
wheel and

Scattered across the Mallorcan landscape are the quiet remains of a water culture: the ruins of cisterns, aqueducts, mills, and channels that once were active and full of life. These structures have not vanished; they linger as monuments. Built from the very stone and earth they rest upon, they possess a tactile quality; weathered surfaces, moss-covered joints, and hand-shaped openings that invite touch and memory. Unlike many heritage sites, these water ruins remain accessible, woven seamlessly into footpaths, terraces, and everyday routines.

Water activities / production



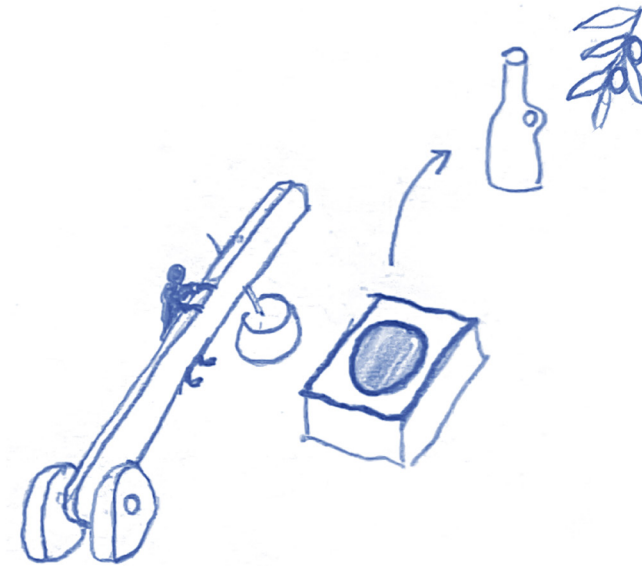
rentadors

cleaning the clothes, place of meeting



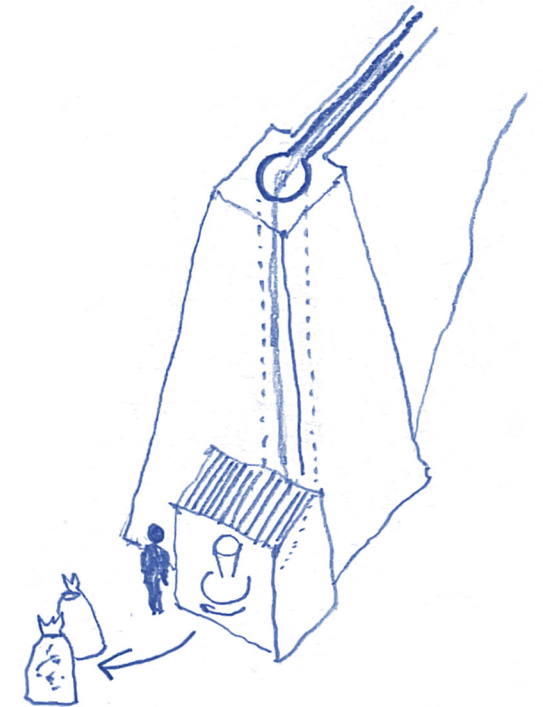
lli

production of linen
many productions required water



tafona

olive oil production

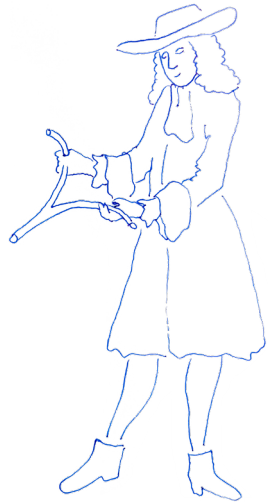


moli de coup

flour grinding

Historical infrastructures reveal how water was intimately woven into daily labor: used to wash clothes in shared basins, to knead and mix in domestic spaces, or to generate motive power in water mills for grinding flour. These mills, placed strategically at sites of the most constant and forceful flows, embody a profound understanding of hydraulic potential. Water was engaged with, harnessed, and respected as an active participant in human sustenance and craft.

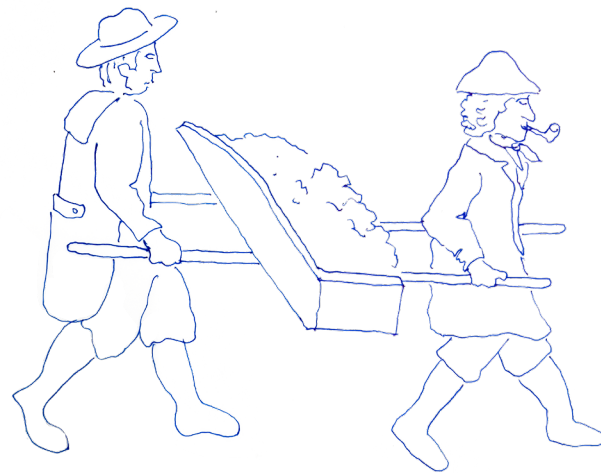
Beyond architecture and landscape water characters



sauri

Person with a special sensitivity to find groundwater and minerals using an ancestral technique that stimulates the awareness of the senses.

It is a real person but with more than human abilities

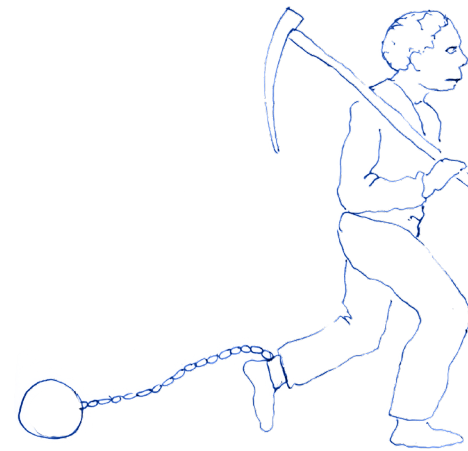


naveter

People used to collect snow and store it in winter to sell it again in summer as a cooling material and for health properties

aiguader

A waterman was a person whose job was to take care of the water in the ditches. I was also someone who was dedicated to carrying and selling water in the cities



esclau

Slave: To free themselves slaves had to find water (qupte book)
real person but legends around it evolved



maria enganxa

A witch lives inside the wells which are all connected underground. If a child would get lean to forward to the well she would catch them.



dona d'aigua

Catalan mythology of feminine beings of mesmerizing beauty that live in places with abundant fresh water. (Fada que habita en fonts, en torrents o altres llocs on hi ha aigua.)

Across Mallorca's cultural memory, water appears through both real professions and imagined figures. Snowmen, watermen and others once held essential roles, forming a network of human caretakers attuned to water's presence and movement. Yet alongside these roles emerged mythical characters embedded in folk stories and oral traditions. These figures reflect a more-than-human relationship with water, one that acknowledges its agency,

temperament, and unpredictability. In this interweaving of the material and the spiritual, water becomes a meaning-making force, shaping both landscape and human identity. As geographer Jessica Budds suggests, such relationships uncover alternative knowledges—intimate, experiential, and place-bound—challenging the purely technical view of water and offering instead a deeply felt cosmology. (Budds)

Valldemossa's hydrosocial cycle

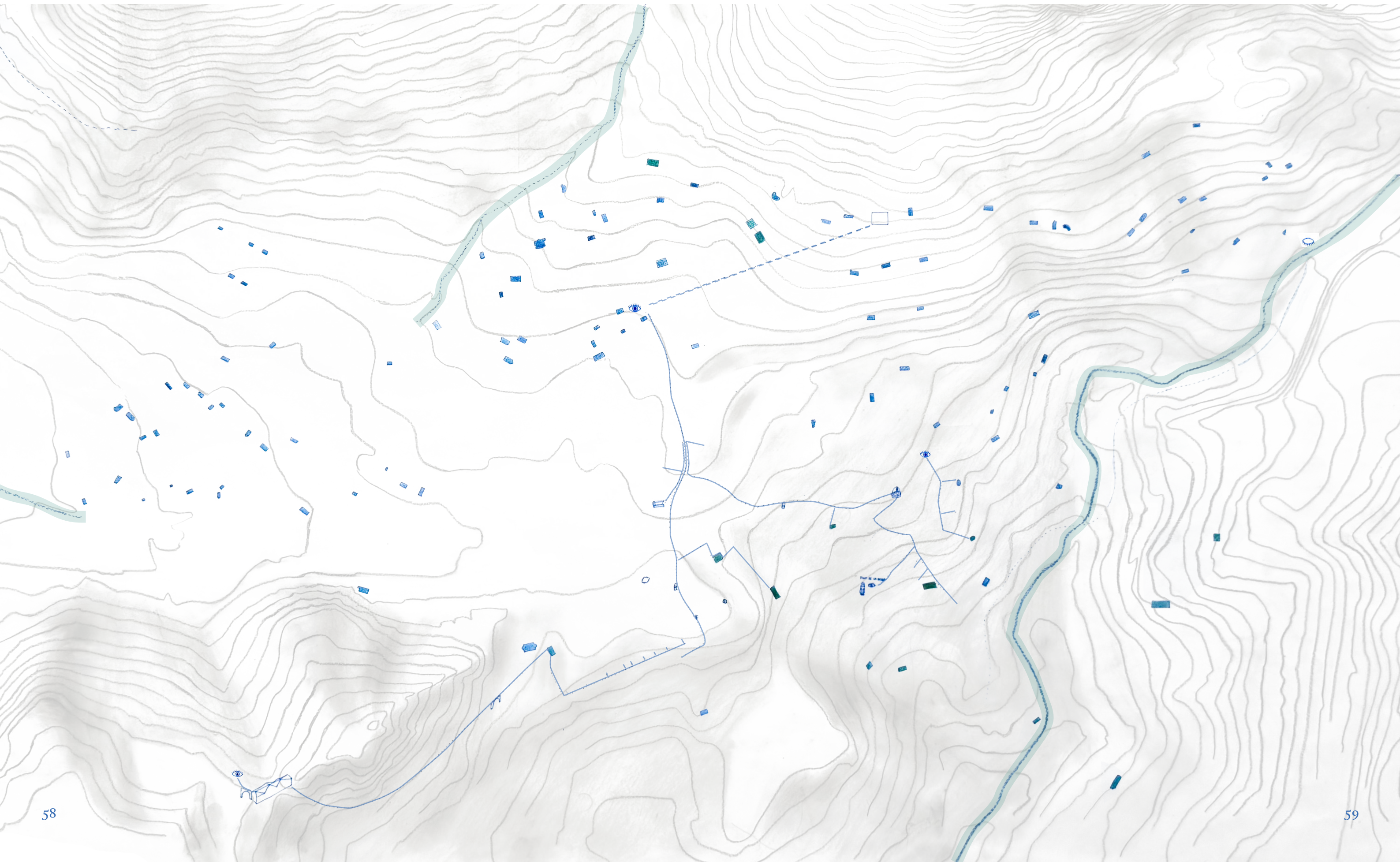
An enchanted village



Valldemossa's water mapping



Valldemossa's water mapping

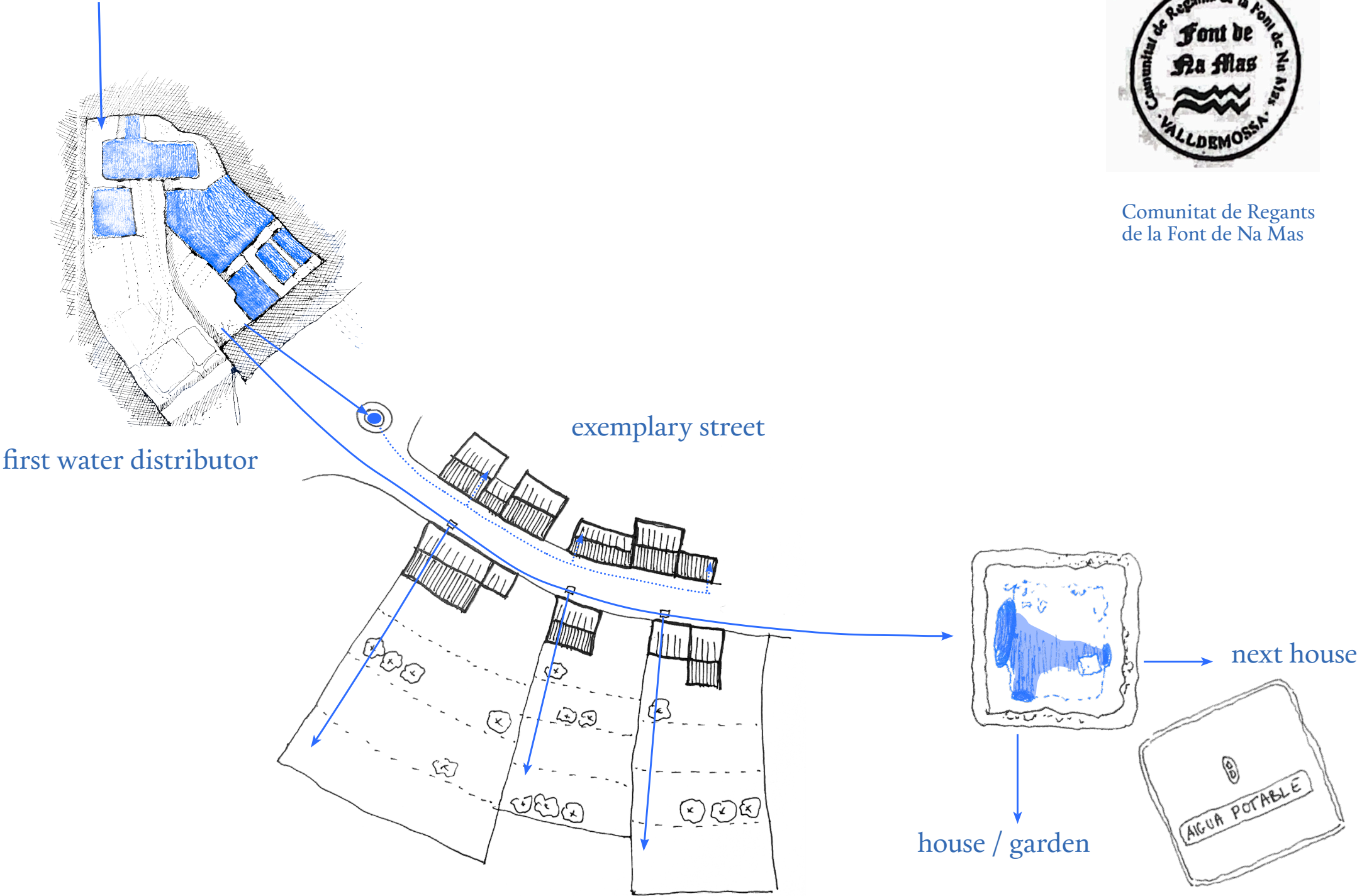


A community



Where there is water, there is life. The presence of water has long determined the origins of human communities. Yet before the age of instruments, people relied on their senses, traditions, and deep attunement to the environment to detect where water pulsed beneath the surface. This perceptual intimacy with the landscape, an ability to see what is not seen, bound human life to water not only out of necessity but through reverence. Water was listened to, waited for, and respected. It shaped daily behavior and cultivated rituals of care and economy. Even today, wherever water reveals itself in the cool shade of a mountain spring or in the heart of a village square, it draws people in. Around water, communities form, linger, and celebrate. It is a magnetic presence, quietly enchanting the spaces it touches (Cahner et al., n.d.).

A shared system



The Font de Na Mas in the village of Valldemossa stands as a testament to a long-standing communal water-sharing system. Rooted in reciprocity and cooperation, the system was managed collectively by a group of tenants who distributed water according to time-based rights. These shared arrangements formed a delicate social contract, carefully negotiated and upheld through rhythms of trust, necessity and mutual care. The water was not owned by one person, it was passed, awaited, and received in cycles.

Figure 17: clay model reproducing the ditributor

A shared system the distributor

This presents the first distributor of the system. This simple device enables tenants to modulate water flow in multiple ways: a tab could be opened or closed entirely, a narrow passage could permit a constant flow known as the „diner de Cartoixa“ or the „dineret de s'Abeurador“, both named after local institutions, their names derived from the coin-sized holes through which water passed. The Cartoixa monastery and the village's washhouse received their supply through these small, continuous streams. In moments of excess, when water flow surpassed normal capacity, the system would redirect water toward those with the largest reservoirs, preventing overflow towards others and ensuring no drop was wasted.



Figure 18: clay model reproducing the distributor

Water rights

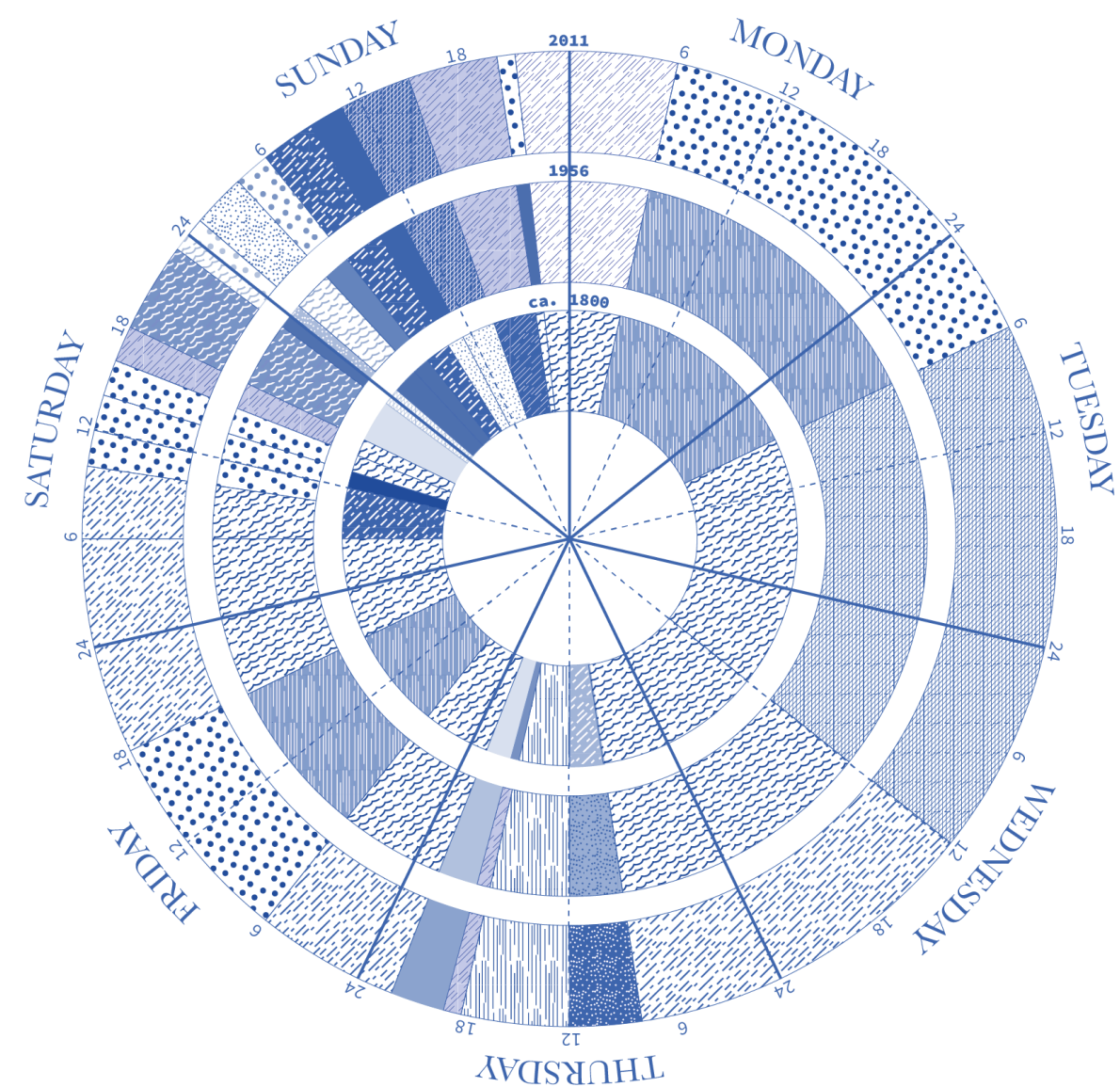


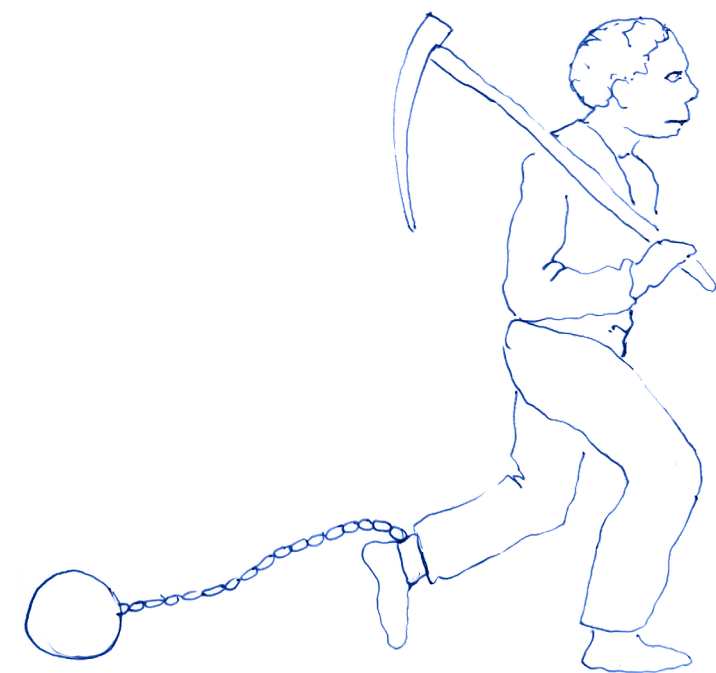
Figure 19: water distribution to the different tenants in Valldemossa in 1800, 1955, 2011

Perhaps most remarkable was the way in which water was measured, not by volume, but by time. The Font de Na Mas was allocated by the hour, with each tenant entitled to draw water for a specific duration, depending on their agreement. Flow was variable, contingent on the eye of the spring and the season's generosity, yet the rhythm of hourly rights remained largely unchanged over generations (1800 until today).

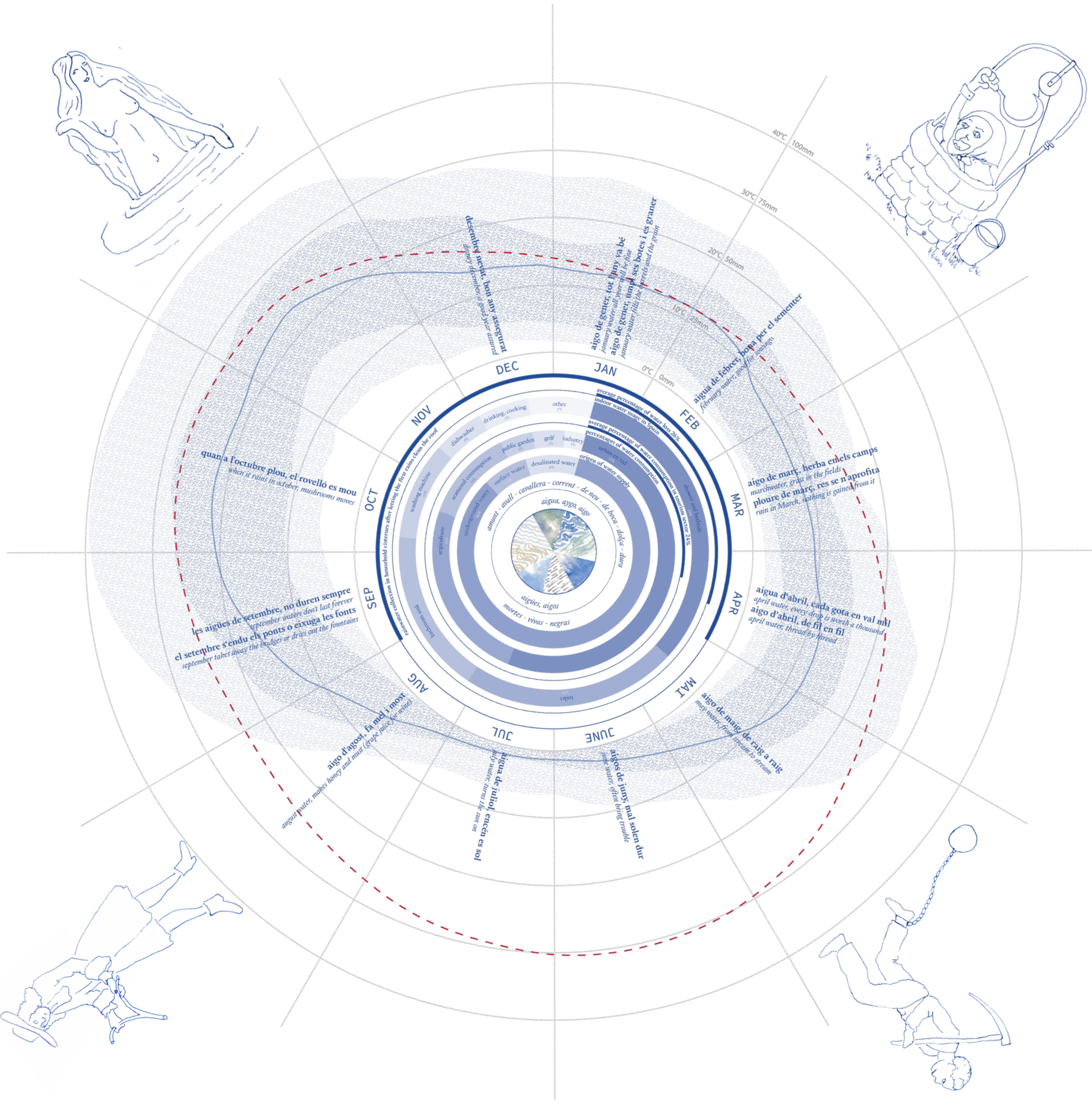
Legend, Ahmed de Pastorix

Once upon a time in the land of Pastoritx, near Valldemossa, the sun had burned the land for far too long. The grass was gone, the rivers silent. The master of the estate grew desperate, his sheep were dying. One day, he gathered his slaves and made a desperate offer: "To anyone who finds water and saves my flock, I will grant freedom." A slave named Ahmed waited for a favorable moon, and one night he dug and dug with all his strength, thinking of his freedom. The next day, he returned to the master and announced: "A spring flows in Es Polls," he said. "I've found it. Will you keep your promise?" The master asked Ahmed for seven days to verify the quality of the water. After seven days, Ahmed claimed his reward, which was postponed for another seven days to ensure the flow didn't stop. It didn't. Ahmed insisted again, but the

master asked for seven more days to finish building a pond, then seven more to channel the water to the houses, and then seven more, and more, and the seven days never ended. Ahmed made a decision. He took his spade and blocked the spring. The shepherd, who was nearby, heard the noise and came running. "Please, don't do this," he begged. "At least leave some water for the sheep." Ahmed told him the sheep would have water, but it would be bad and bitter. For the shepherd, he left a small trickle of clear water to quench his thirst and to remind him of the revenge taken against the master. And still to this day, people say, the spring at Sa Font d'es Polls flows on. One stream, bad and bitter. Another, just a trickle—pure as glass. A reminder of revenge.



Water cosmologies



Mallorca's present water

Dictated by consumption

Arriving at Palma bus terminal

Behind a glass box, in plastic emballage
Hides a precious treasure, once shared by all.
From shared to bought, from need to earned,

The cycle shifts, the flow is turned.
What once was ours, now priced and sold,
The story of water, turned to gold



Water dis-enchantment

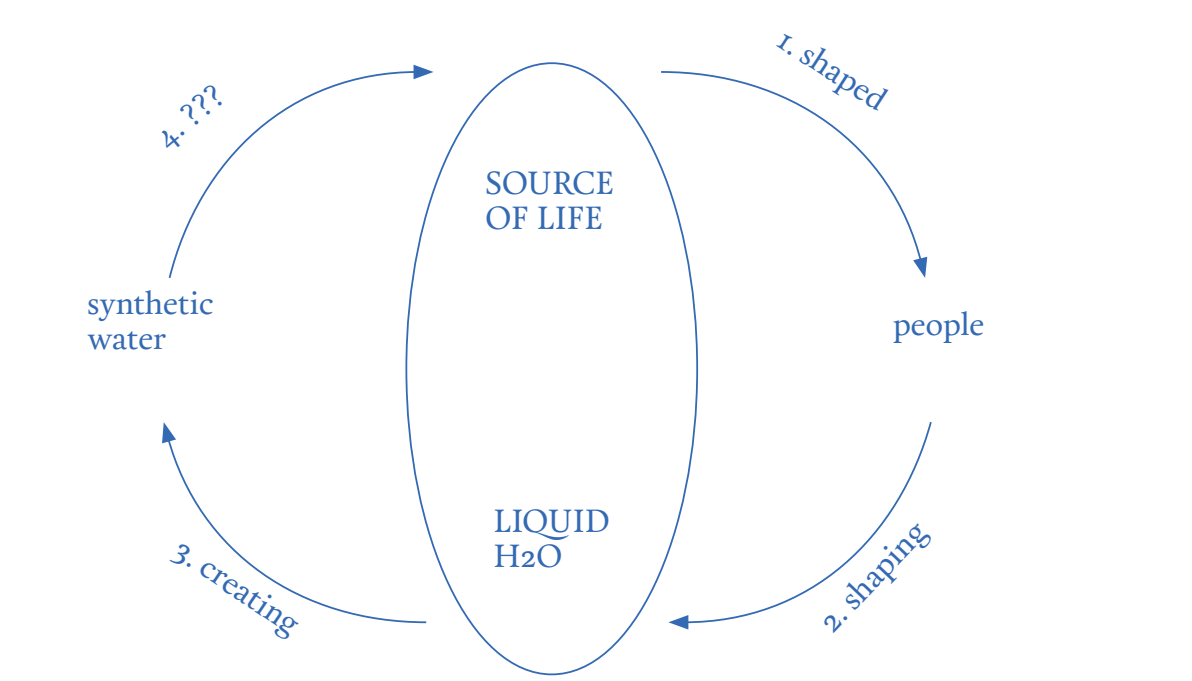
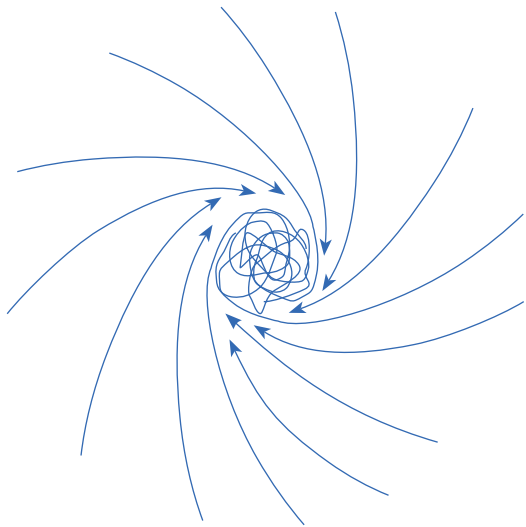


Figure 19: water problem

The current crisis facilitates the artificial creation of value from water, treating it as a commodity or financial product rather than a vital resource (Hof et al., 2014). However, due to water scarcity on the island, today’s infrastructure attempts to reversely shape water, transforming saltwater into freshwater, a river into a water reservoir (Cruz-Pérez et al., 2023), effectively creating an engineered or even synthetic water: a resource removed from its ecological and cultural context, processed behind closed systems and hidden from public view.

This technological mediation contributes to a profound loss of

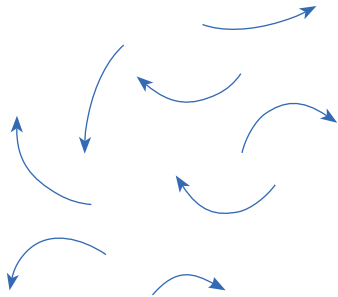
relationship and meaning. Where water was once intimately linked to place, season, and community, it is now encountered in sealed plastic bottles, flowing from taps without history, brandished as luxury or convenience. It is no longer sacred, but strategic; no longer collective, but individualized. The spiritual and symbolic dimensions of water have been suppressed or forgotten. The rise of private ownership and profit-driven management systems fuels global movements for water justice, environmental protection, and the reclamation of public water infrastructure.



PROCESS OF ENCHANTMENT
POSSIBLE WORLDS
CAPTIVATED
entry gate to imagination

This transformation can be read through the lens of repressive desublimation, a concept developed by Herbert Marcuse in *One-Dimensional Man* (1964). Marcuse argues that in advanced industrial societies, even liberation becomes a form of control: instinctual desires and deeper imaginative potentials are not repressed outright, but are instead flattened and commodified. Subversive impulses are absorbed into mass culture, redirected into consumption, and emptied of their critical power. Desire, once a generative force that could give rise to new forms of consciousness, becomes domesticated.

Enchantment, in contrast, opens a space for possible worlds. As Jane Bennett suggests, enchantment is not



REPRESSIVE DESSUBLIMATION
DIS-ENCHANTMENT
DISORIENTATION
cannot get to the core

naïve mystification, but a sharpened attentiveness, a state of being struck, affected, and attuned. It invites a pause, a recognition of something more, something not yet fully knowable. Enchantment does not bypass reason; it expands it. It makes room for awe, for moral and aesthetic reflection, for the imaginary. It does not simply restore beauty to the world, it reawakens agency and care.

If repressive desublimation leads to disorientation and disconnection, enchantment can re-orient us toward complexity, contingency, and interdependence. It is not about going backward to a romanticized past, but about recovering the capacity to feel water again, to recognize its sounds, its rhythms, its absences. .

Water usage

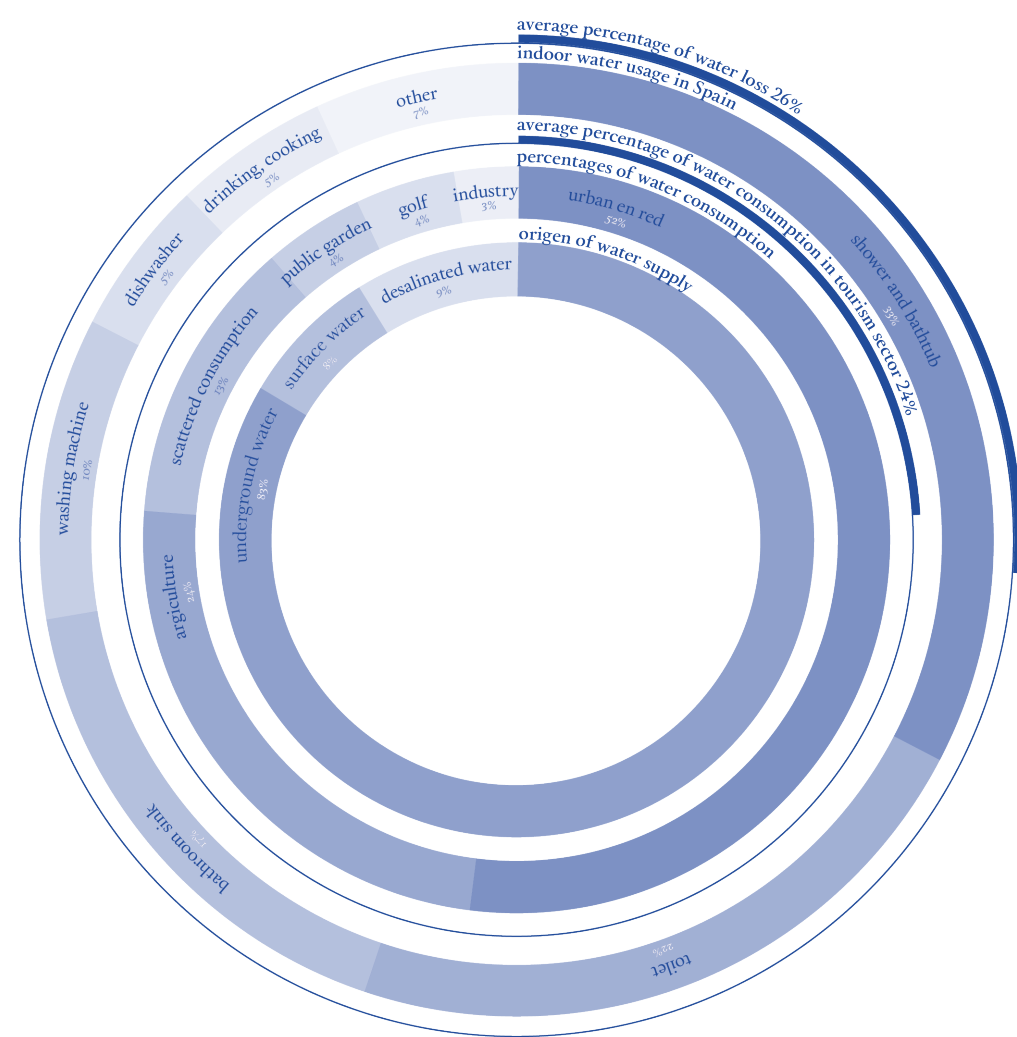


Figure 20: Water statistics

In facing contemporary water challenges, the response is frequently framed through increased restrictions or added pressure on aquifers, rather than through efforts to renew cultural and perceptual engagement. Meanwhile, water consumption has risen dramatically, increasing from an average of 100 to 400 liters per person per day in recent years, particularly during the (Garcia et al., 2023). This growing detachment underscores the urgency of restoring a visible, lived connection to water in the landscapes we inhabit.

Valldemossa's present water infrastructures

In contrast to the historically intimate relationship between people and water, today's modern water infrastructure often feels distant and unwelcoming. Defined by fences, barriers, and locked enclosures, it offers little visual or physical access. This disconnection contributes to a broader erosion of our relationship with water. When we no longer see or interact with it, its presence fades from our daily awareness, and with that, our sense of care and responsibility diminishes. Water becomes an invisible utility rather than a shared and valued resource. In facing contemporary water challenges, the response is frequently framed through increased restrictions or added pressure on aquifers, rather than through efforts to renew cultural and perceptual engagement. Meanwhile, water consumption has risen dramatically, increasing from an average of 100 to 400 liters per person per day in recent years, particularly during the (Garcia et al., 2023). This growing detachment underscores the urgency of restoring a visible, lived connection to water in the landscapes we inhabit.



**DEPOSITO DE AGUA DE
CONSUMO HUMANO**

**PROHIBIDA LA ENTRADA
A TODA PERSONA AJENA
A LA EXPLOTACION**



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