

WIT AND WISDOM
IN MOROCCO

I dedicate this book to
SIR JAMES G. FRAZER,
as a token of my admiration for his genius—and learning,
of my gratitude for all I have learned from him, and
of my affection for him as a friend.

WIT AND WISDOM
IN MOROCCO

A Study of Native Proverbs

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WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF
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PREFACE

THIS book completes my trilogy on 'the customs and ideas of the Moors, which is based on nine years' experience among them in the course of more than three decades, the earlier parts being *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (1914) and *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (1926), published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co.

During all those years I have had as my constant companion my Moorish friend Shereef 'Abd-es-Salām el-Baqqālī, who has rendered me invaluable assistance in many ways. For the present work in particular I am also greatly indebted to the Shereef Siyid el-Ḥaddj 'Abd-Allāh el-Baqqālī, a resident of Tangier, and to the scribe Si 'Abd-es-Salām ben Aḥmed ben Slimān from Andjra.

I beg to express my sincere thanks to Miss Agnes Dawson for kindly reading over the English text and improving its style by various suggestions, as also to Professor Rolf Pipping for stimulating discussions on certain points of a theoretical character.

In the Introductory Essay I have embodied the main part of the Frazer lecture on "The Study of Popular Sayings", which was delivered by me on the invitation of the University of Glasgow and formed at the same time one of the two Evening Discourses at the British Association's meeting in 1928.

E. W.

VILLA TUSCULUM,
OUTSIDE TANGIER.
3rd July, 1930.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

ب = *b*.

ت = *t*¹, pronounced *ts*; or, when immediately preceding a س, ش, or ص, and in Dukkâla always, *t*. A doubled ت = *tt*².

ث = *t*, pronounced as *th* in thing.

ج = *j*, pronounced as the French *j*; or in Andjra often *'j*, pronounced as the English *j*¹; or sometimes *g*, pronounced as *g* in "grand". A doubled ج = *'dj* or (when resulting from an assimilation of the article) *d-dj*, pronounced *ddj*; see *infra*, p. 35.

چ = *č*. A doubled چ = *tč*.

ح = *h*.

خ = *h*.

د = *d*.

ذ = *d*, pronounced as *th* in "this".

ر = *r*.

ز = *z*.

س = *s*.

ش = *š*.²

ص = *s*.

ض = *d*.

ط = *t*.

ظ = *d*.

ع = *'*.

غ = *g*.

ف = *f*.

¹ = *dj* in the word "Andjra". In Tangier this word is pronounced "Anjra".

² = *sh* in some names in the English text.

ج = *q* ; or sometimes *g*, pronounced as *g* in "grand".

ك = *k* ; or *k*, pronounced approximately as *ch* in the German *ich*, and representing a sound that is very frequent in Andjra.

گ = *g*, pronounced as *g* in "grand".

ل = *l*.

م = *m*.

ن = *n*.

ه = *h*.

و when used as a consonant = *w*, pronounced as *w* in "will".

ي when used as a consonant = *y*, pronounced as *y* in "yoke".

ء (*hamza*) = ' , indicating that there is a slight interruption in the pronunciation of the two letters between which it is placed.

The vowels in the transliterated text represent, at least approximately, the following sounds :

a = the Italian *a*.

ā = *a* in "fat".

ā = a sound between *a* and *ā*.

d = a sound between *a* and *o*.

e = *e* in "met".

ē = a sound between *e* and *i*.

i = *i* in "this".

o = *o* in "not".

ö = the German *ö*.

u = *u* in "put".

ū = a sound between *u* and *o*.

The sign $\bar{\quad}$ over a vowel indicates that it is long ; $\acute{\quad}$ that it is long and accentuated ; $\check{\quad}$ that it is very short ; $\hat{\quad}$ that it is accentuated.

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WIT AND WISDOM IN MOROCCO

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

I

WHAT is meant by a proverb? A famous definition is that which was given by James Howell in his book, *Paroimiografia*, published in 1659: he said that the chief ingredients which go to make a true proverb are "sense, shortness, and salt".¹ He then omitted a most essential, and generally recognized, characteristic of a proverb, namely, popularity, acceptance, and adoption on the part of the people. But he was fully aware of it; for he also says that "proverbs may be called the truest franklins or free-holders of a country", being traditional sayings, precepts, and memorandums handed over from one generation to another. Of course, each of them must have had an author—we cannot believe in the spontaneous generation of proverbs. But, as Archbishop Trench observes in his little book on proverbs, the author may only have clothed in happier form what others had already felt and uttered. The proverb may have been "the wit of one and the wisdom of many", as Lord Russell put it; and its constitutive element is not the utterance on the part of the one, but the acceptance on the part of the many, whose sanction makes it a proverb.² The same may be said of the accessions which the stock of popular proverbs in the course of time has received from literary sources.

Another quality that has often been held essential to a proverb is figurativeness. The Latin *proverbium* indicates a saying in which a figurative expression is used in the place of the plain word—*pro verbo*—and there are other terms with a similar

¹ James Howell, *Paroimiografia, Proverbs, or, old Sayed Sawes and Adages* (London, 1659).

² R. C. Trench, *Proverbs and their Lessons* (edited by A. Smythe Palmer; London, 1905), p. 15 sq.

meaning.¹ But though some figure of speech may generally be found in the most popular proverbs, there are many sayings recognized as proverbs that contain no such ornament at all. This is admitted by Aristotle, who says in one chapter of his book on rhetoric that proverbs are "metaphors from species to species",² but elsewhere also speaks of maxims as proverbs.³ On the other hand, there are few proverbs that do not in their form, somehow or other, differ from ordinary speech. The proverb contains some touch of fancy in the phrasing, it personifies inanimate objects or abstract conceptions, it is paradoxical, hyperbolic, pointed and pungent, pithy and epigrammatical, or it makes use of the antithesis or parallelism, or of rhythm, rime, alliteration, or puns. It is the form that gives most proverbs their salt.

From these brief preliminary remarks I shall pass to a discussion of the proverbs presented in this book. A large number of them are sentences conveying a statement of a more or less general character which is either literally or metaphorically applicable to individual cases; but the statement of some particular event, real or imaginary, may also be a proverb, though only on condition that it may be figuratively applied to other events reminiscent of it. Proverbs have become proverbs only by being used in definite concrete situations. For example, the assertions that there is a resemblance between parents and children (p. 98 sqq.) are not proverbs in the mere capacity of being theoretical truths; and the saying, "Muhammed I-Qaisi's descendants have been scattered" (441) would not be a proverb if it were simply meant to represent a historical fact.

The proverbial statements are expressive of all sorts of observations, opinions, and feelings, but an instructive tendency is common to most of them.⁴ They are very often, either

¹ See F. Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde* (München, 1922), p. 5 sq.

² Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, iii, 11, 14. ³ *Ibid.*, i, 15, 14. Cf. *ibid.*, ii, 21, 12.

⁴ In his excellent work, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde* (p. 2), Seiler defines proverbs as "im Volksmund umlaufende, in sich geschlossene Sprüche von lehrhafter Tendenz und gehobener Form".

implicitly or explicitly, value-judgments. The proverb which says that "the beauty of the man is in his intelligence, and the intelligence of the woman is in her beauty" (3) is surely not a mere statement of the opinion that intelligence is a characteristic of men and beauty of women, but the essence of it is rather to emphasize the intellectual inferiority of the latter. Other proverbs are more directly derogatory to the female sex: "Women are defective in understanding and religion" (1); "Women have been omitted by God from his mercy" (2); "When a woman becomes old, nothing remains in her but poison and the colour of sulphur" (17). A typical form of valuation is to say that one thing is better than another: "Work for the sake of the children is better than pilgrimage and the holy war" (174); "Learning is better than goods" (1750); "Propriety of behaviour is better than origin" (246); "A strange grave is better than an empty bag" (517). Proverbs of this type often make use of antithesis: "Your friend who is near is better than your brother who is far away" (282); "The tar of respect is better than the honey of quietness" (1024); "The supposition of the wise man is better than the certainty of the ignorant" (1747). In other cases, though less frequent, one thing is said to be worse than another: "An old woman is worse than the devil" (20); "Fright is worse than a blow" (1428); "The wound caused by words is worse than the wound of bodies" (1469).

A valuation is also implied in those very numerous proverbs that speak of the consequences of certain events: "Obedience to women makes one enter hell" (83); "A marriage without children does not last long for men" (160); "Patience is the key of all well-being" (1318). Such proverbs may consist of a complex sentence with a subordinate clause that is either relative, conditional, or temporal: "He who does not travel will not know the value of men" (513); "He who has been bitten by a snake starts at a rope" (1422); "If he increases the number of his friends, he will remain without a friend" (343);

“ If the face disappears, no respect is left for the nape of the neck ” (453); “ When the cow falls down, the daggers are many ” (1163). Instead of the subordinate clause there may be a second assertive sentence preceding the other one: “ We played with the dogs, in the morning they became our cousins ” (1439); “ Eye does not see, heart does not suffer ” (132); “ I went to hunt, they hunted me ” (1257). Or there may be a second sentence which has an imperative as its predicate; and if the imperative is affirmative the other sentence expresses certain consequences of its observance: “ Do good, you will find good ” (1225); “ Live humbly, you will die old ” (1483); “ Say no from the first, you will have rest ” (1716). On the other hand, if the imperative is negative, conveying a prohibition or warning, the other sentence expresses consequences of its non-observance: “ Don’t take a wife who has money, she will treat you with arrogance and say to you, Fetch water ” (37); “ Don’t marry a tall woman, she will embarrass you in regard to clothes and drawers ” (57); “ Don’t speak badly about people, [if you do,] evil must overtake you or your children ” (1496). In all these instances the sentence beginning with an imperative is, of course, by no means a mere substitute for a conditional clause; but there are cases in which it is nothing else: “ Boil the water, you will find the foam ” (1185); “ Plant him, he will pull you up ” (744); “ Catch him [and] he will make you sad, release him [and] he will annoy you ” (198). Sometimes the sentence containing an imperative is equivalent to a concessive clause: “ Feed him (i.e. although you feed him) for a year, he will not give you dinner for a day ” (624).

The consequences of events may also be expressed in proverbs containing two sentences which are logically related to each other in the same way as if they were joined together either by “ for ” or by “ hence ”: “ In work there is utility, it heals the wounds ” (570); “ [O] people, everything will satisfy you except money, as much as you have so much [more] you want ” (890); “ What has passed has died, it will be repeated no more ”

(1396). Here again one of the sentences may be imperative : "Go with people without [doing them] harm, he who opens a door will have to close it himself" (1235); "Be upon your guard against it before it happens, and if it happens you are gone" (197); "Every one afar is a great deceiver, may he who makes a friend make a friend of his neighbour" (542).

When a proverb contains two or more assertive sentences they may express the same idea, one directly and the other or others figuratively, or both or all figuratively: "An enemy will not become a friend, and bran will not become flour" (353); "People know people, and horses know their riders" (258); "Honey is not fat, and *běšna* (an inferior kind of sorghum) is not food, and *Shelḥa* is not a language" (503); "Shaving embellishes the face, and the turban embellishes the head" (1307); "He who is dressed in other people's belongings is naked, and he who is made satisfied by other people's belongings is hungry" (1061); "Only your own foot makes you go, and only your own nail scratches you, and only your own eyelash weeps for you" (214). Much more frequently, however, the different sentences represent ideas which are not only different, but distinctly opposite to each other. Indeed, the predilection for the antithesis, or contrast of ideas expressed by the parallelism of strongly contrasted words, is one of the main characteristics of our proverbs.

The strongly contrasted words may be restricted to the predicates of the sentences. These may be contradictories: "The white hair lies, and the wrinkles do not lie" (51); "He who rises gets tired, and the open mouth does not get tired" (625); "I know you, and my horse does not know you" (1043). Or the predicates may be merely contraries, even though they may be popularly looked upon as contradictories: "The cunning of women is strong, and the cunning of the devil is weak" (12); "The funeral is great, and the dead one is a mouse" (1830); "One day is in favour of you, and another day against you" (1797); "The beggar begs, and his wife gives alms" (945).

In such cases the sentences may have the same subject : “ The camel does not see his own hump, he sees only the hump of his brother ” (1510) ; “ He who has a big appetite takes it all or leaves it all ” (766) ; “ He lived [and] acquired nothing, he died [and] left nothing ” (179).

It may also be that the contrasted words are restricted to the subjects of the sentences : “ He who keeps his faith is a bringer of profit, and the faithless one is disgraced ” (1556) ; “ He who loves you wearies you, he who hates you kills you ” (435). In such cases the predicates may be identical : “ Much of it makes one blind, and little of it makes one blind ” (121) ; “ The affliction does not last, nor will the enjoyment last ” (1801). Here the antithesis is purely formal.

Much more frequently the contrasted words include both the subjects or their attributes and the predicates. The latter are sometimes contradictories : “ He who has been broken by his parents will not be repaired by the saints, and he who has been broken by the saints will be repaired by his parents ” (204) ; “ The empty river will not take you away, and the full one will not leave you ” (1421). But generally the predicates are, like the subjects, contraries : “ Slowness comes from God and quickness from the devil ” (1325) ; “ The unlucky one is [always] unlucky, and the lucky one is [always] well ” (1685) ; “ Every one who ascends will descend, and every one who descends will ascend ” (1799) ; “ He who hates you will speak badly about you, and he who loves you will wish you good ” (1499) ; “ The words of an enemy make one laugh, and the words of a friend make one weep ” (308) ; “ The heart of the fool is in his mouth, and the mouth of the wise man is in his heart ” (1776). Sometimes the contrasted words are both the predicates and the objects of the sentences : “ That which you like you will not find, and that which you do not like you will find ” (1790). Or they may be the predicates and some adverbials : “ He eats with the jackal and weeps with the shepherd ” (1168) ; “ A man killed a lion in the wilds, and a man was killed by a mouse in the house ” (1585).

If the proverb consists of two complex sentences there may be antithesis between corresponding parts of the subordinate clauses as well as of the principal ones : “ As soon as the woman slave of the judge dies, all the people go [with her to the grave], and as soon as the judge dies, no one goes with him ” (454) ; “ If a rich man asks for children dollars come to him, and if a poor man asks for dollars children come to him ” (168) ; “ If a wealthy man steals they say that he forgot, and if a poor man forgets they say that he stole ” (866).

In proverbs containing two co-ordinate statements one of them has sometimes the significance of a concessive clause : “ Riding on the donkey, and he seeks for him ” (1816) ; “ We taught them and had trouble with them ” (1612) ; “ A butcher, and he sups on intestines ” (955) ; “ The work is the black woman’s, and the fame belongs to her mistress ” (419) ; “ He remained fasting for a year and breakfasted on snails ” (24) ; “ [She is] foolish, and they said to her, Trill the *zġârū* ” (13).

Besides proverbs consisting of one or more assertive sentences there is another large group of proverbs, consisting of one or more sentences conveying a command, advice, or warning, expressed by an imperative. If there are two or more imperatives, both or all may be affirmative, or both or all negative, or one affirmative and another negative. I shall consider these different classes separately and begin with the first.

The affirmative imperatives may express alternatives : “ Do as your neighbour does, or move from him ” (525) ; “ Believe him or leave him ” (806) ; “ Despise him who despises you, or throw him away from you ” (1253). They may be co-ordinate injunctions referring to the same situation : “ Give your *mūzāna*, and await your turn ” (769) ; “ If you meet a jackal in the morning, go back and sleep and say, O Approver, save me from the omen of the jackal ” (1687). Such injunctions may also occur in pairs in the same proverb : “ Try him and bring him near, try him and put him to flight ” (702) ; “ Stretch out your hand and follow it, draw it in and sit close to it ” (1042). The

imperative sentences may be parallel injunctions referring to different situations: "Know how to meet, and know how to part" (760); "Give it for the sake of God, and give it [even] to him who does not believe in God" (994); "May a friend not be covetous, and may a neighbour not let [his neighbour] starve" (264). In such cases each imperative may be preceded by a conditional clause: "If they get up, get up with them, and if they sit, sit with them" (593); "If you see, say that you did not see, and if you find, say that you did not find" (1706); "If you have much give from your wealth, and if you have little give from your heart" (1045). The imperative sentences may be contrasting injunctions referring to different situations: "Face your friend, and turn your side to your enemy" (307); "Lend him at the opening of the fence, catch him in the open yard" (1078); "Settle accounts with me as if I were your enemy, and entertain me as your brother" (348). And here again each imperative may be preceded by a conditional clause: "If men swear to do you harm spend your night sleeping, and if women swear to do you harm spend your night awake" (5); "If you are a peg endure the knocking, and if you are a mallet strike" (719); "If he is hard upon you be hard upon him, and if he is fond of you be fond of him" (1248). One of the two imperative sentences in a proverb may have the meaning of a conditional clause subordinate to the other: "Repose trust [in God], and sleep with a snake" (1221); "Speak to me kindly, and eat me" (731). One of the sentences may express the motive for the other: "Shut up the house, and have mercy upon the carpenter" (1143). Sometimes one of them has a concessive meaning: "Marry a woman of noble origin, and sleep on a mat" (35).

Much less frequent than proverbs that contain only affirmative imperatives are those that contain only negative ones: "Don't teach your daughter the signs [of beauty], and don't lodge her in the loft" (190); "Don't belittle him who is not small, don't magnify him who is not great" (1457); "Don't swear, don't

make [anybody] swear, don't be present when anybody swears " (1571). One of the imperatives may merely serve as a figurative illustration of the other: "Don't put the breast-harness [on your horse] until you bridle [him], and don't speak until you think " (1777).

The proverbs that contain two imperative sentences one of which is affirmative and the other one negative are very numerous. The two sentences may actually mean the same thing: "Don't make your dog satisfied, leave him hungry, he will follow you " (634); "Leave your brother with his reputation, don't disgrace him before the sons of his quarter " (1487). The equivalent sentences may also be figurative: "Make a strong knot, don't be careless, or you will be disgraced " (653); "Run in the morning, don't louse yourself in the morning " (637). In other cases the affirmative sentence enjoins an alternative mode of conduct which strongly contrasts with the prohibited one: "Associate with him who is better than you, don't associate with him who is inferior to you " (357); "Follow people in good, and don't follow them in evil " (411); "Sow wheat, don't sow thorns " (1338). But all emphasis may also be laid on the prohibition, while the other sentence, in spite of its formally imperative character, only contrasts with the forbidden thing a course of conduct to which no objection can be made: "Beg of [good] people, and don't accept a favour of the niggard " (1055); "Consult them, don't follow their advice " (1728); "Compete, don't envy " (1620). The emphasis laid on the prohibition becomes particularly strong when the other sentence also expresses something that is objectionable, though less so than the forbidden act: "Sell the new garment, and don't give up the old one " (341); "Bear him unlucky, don't bear him lazy " (621); "Be a lion and eat me, don't be a dog and worry me " (446). In such cases the whole proverb with its two imperatives may be rendered by a statement in which one course of conduct is said to be "better " than the other: "To make friends with a wild beast is better than to make friends with an inquisitive

person" (1708). In some proverbs the two sentences are connected in such a manner that the negative one gives the motive for the positive injunction: "When you travel, travel with provisions, don't apply to anybody [for food]" (521); "Buy and cook, don't eat at the market, even though it is given for nothing" (1683); "Don't trust him whose grave is new, leave his head and come to his feet" (1694); "Don't meet [as the first person] in the morning one with reddish hair, [if you do,] go back and sleep that day" (1688). A proverb may contain two pairs of imperative sentences, of which one is affirmative and the other negative: "Sleep in the beds of Christians [but] don't eat their food, eat the food of Jews [but] don't sleep in their beds" (467).

The tendency to shortness which characterizes proverbs may lead to the suppression of the imperative in the beginning of a command: "A hand for the sake of God that the load may be lifted [on to the pack-animal]" (31); "The crate, may God spare me the grapes" (1367); "Compliance with destiny" (1335). But the largest number of proverbs intrinsically conveying a command, advice, or warning without the use of the imperative mood consist of sentences that have the form of an assertion. One of the chief aims of proverbs is to influence people's conduct, and for this purpose a statement may be as effective as a command, and at the same time more polite. There is not much difference between the proverbs "Marry a young woman, even though you will eat bread made without yeast" (47), and, "He who marries a young woman gets welfare and a treasure" (46); and between the proverbs, "Don't marry an old woman, even though you will eat with her young pigeons and lamb's meat" (48), and, "He who has an old woman [for wife] has a plague" (49). The same proverb may even, from the formal point of view, owing to the poverty of language, be either a statement or a command. Thus the proverbs which I have translated "A friend should not flee in adversity nor stay away" (295), and "A friend should not absent himself in [the

time of] hunger ” (296), might also mean, “ A friend does not flee in adversity nor stay away,” and, “ A friend does not absent himself in [the time of] hunger.”

But a proverbial sentence of assertion may not only take the place of a command : it may even serve as a means of compulsion by being used as ‘*ār*, that is, an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request.¹ Sayings of this kind are : “ May the ‘*ār* of a neighbour be on his neighbour, and may the good man’s ‘*ār* not pass by ” (270) ; “ Only he who is very patient attends to the ‘*ār* ” (1281). But the word ‘*ār* need not be mentioned at all : “ I complain of him to the great Sultan, the judge who has no vizier ” (1455). When a person has committed an offence against another, a third party very frequently intervenes on behalf of the culprit by casting ‘*ār* on the offended person in order to appease him ; and in such cases the following proverbs may be used : “ A full-sized garment does not call to account ” (if the offended party is a highbred man ; 1282) ; “ Beat the dog, and respect him for the sake of his master ” (if the offender is a man of family ; 1283). When a man is in love with a woman who has not yielded to his advances, he may try to coerce her by saying, likewise as a kind or ‘*ār* : “ In front of your house I weep and let my tears drop ” (107).

There are also ordinary, unconditional curses among the proverbs : “ May God curse him who trusts neither enemy nor friend ” (330) ; “ May God close the door for him who has only one ” (717) ; “ The curse of God be on the golden cup, if there is bile in it ” (736). Others have an optative form without containing an invocation of God : “ May that which a woman neighbour wishes her woman neighbour fall on her own belly in the morning ” (277) ; “ May he not grow old, may he pass away young ” (1359). But there are also proverbial curses that lack the form of a wish : “ I left to you the food and neighbourship ” (269) ; “ There remains no *baraka* in the wheat for lack

¹ See E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i (London, 1926), p. 518 sqq.

of good faith and deceit ” (1178). A proverb may contain an oath confirming a promise : “ May he who does it again scratch my face ” (701) ; “ My feet have done it to me, and if I do it again, may you do it again to me ” (400). Various proverbs contain blessings : “ May God be with you, O stranger ” (544) ; “ May God betray the betrayer, and may God increase the good of him who is good ” (1557).

Not a few proverbs have taken the form of a question. In most of them the question has the significance of a negative statement containing the expected answer to the question : “ Is shame seen in the face of an oven-boy ” (1346) ? “ What is death going to take from an empty house ” (1056) ? “ Who look at you, O woman with blackened eyes, in the dark ” ? (1613) ; “ The sun rises and sets, and if a brother dies, where will you find [another one] ” (210) ? The question may be ironical, ridiculing the eventual answer “ nothing ” : “ By what did the stork live until the locusts came ” (1591) ; “ What has the bald woman to feed on ” (1593) ? Certain questions point out the unreasonableness of a particular mode of behaviour : “ What took you to the bees till you got into a scrape ” (390) ? “ What makes you count a month for which you receive no hire ” (594) ? “ The life has its fixed limit, and why the fear ” (1153) ? There are jocular or sarcastic proverbs containing both a question and its answer : “ From where comes the splinter ? From the little piece of wood ” (130) ; “ What do you want, O naked one ? He said to him, Rings, O my lord ” (929) ; “ He said to him, How do you know God ? He said to him, By the change of the hours ” (1766). Sarcastic proverbs may also have the form of an exclamation : “ O how beautiful is the hoe in the hand of other people ” (677) ; “ What a pity that the Jew has his eyes ” (202) ; “ O doctor for others, O he who is at a loss with regard to himself ” (1765).

As appears from numerous examples quoted above, our proverbs, like proverbs generally, have a strong tendency to make use of figurative language. They abound in metaphors.

This figure may be restricted to what is said of the subject, which is itself used in its literal sense: "Your neighbour is your saw" (said of a bad neighbour; 272); "The wealthy man's speech is pure silver, and the poor one's is coated with dung" (869); "When the Jew is destitute, he remembers his father's buttons" (i.e. his father's old friends; 972). The metaphor may be restricted to the subject: "Only copper returns, and silver does not return" (i.e. he who does not return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, but dies during it, is particularly blessed; 1315); "If a man has no trouble, his she-ass (i.e. his wife) will cause it to him" (89); "The falcon (i.e. a guest) praises his lodging" (1115). In the following proverb there is a curious inversion of words, the metaphors being formally subjects but logically complements of the predicates: "The falcon (representing bravery) is a man from the Bni Mëssâra, and the tame pigeon (representing timidity) is a woman from the Hmäs" (506).

Most frequently, however, the whole sentence is a metaphorical expression of the idea for which it stands. A few other instances of this may be added to those given before: "He who is riding on a camel is not afraid lest the dogs should bite him" (257); "Every lion is roaring in his own forest" (528); "There is no rest below the top of the hill" (he who commences a task should go on with it until it is finished; 659); "The fire leaves only ashes, and the rain leaves only roses" (children will be like their parents; 232); "Go across the murmuring stream, don't go across the silent one" (trust a rash and noisy person rather than a quiet and silent one; 1710).

The metaphor may be a personification of something which is directly, not figuratively, expressed by the subject of the proverb, as will be seen in some instances quoted below; but more frequently personifications are found in proverbs that are metaphorical throughout. Action, speech, or feeling is ascribed to inanimate objects and abstract conceptions: "The nails of the table are watching the place where the people are

sitting" (1125); "The lump of dry dung is seeking her sister for forty days" (409); "The pumpkin gives birth, and the fence has the trouble" (207); "A curse without causes does not pass through the door" (1493); "When the understanding travels, there is no courier like it" (1744); "The water said, I [was] in the sky [and] fell down and stayed on earth and burned myself with the wood I made alive" (1611); "Everything which you find you should keep until time says to you, Give it" (951); "The almond-trees lie, and the apricots speak the truth" (1182); "The net scolds the sieve" (1467); "The joke swore that she would become enmity" (1631); "The granary covets the corn sack" (1005); "The work of the night is a wonder to the day" (643); "The sky takes no notice of the barking of dogs" (1463); "The oil-lamp gives light to the people and burns itself" (1201). Things or abstractions are addressed as persons: "Now I shall water you, O cummin-plant" (1080); "I shall not eat you, O my supper, I shall not give you to my enemies" (113); "Beat me, O my pieces of bread, and they are in my bosom" (1608); "Work, O my youth, for my old age" (579). Things thus addressed may also give answers to the questions put to them: "They said to the baking-oven, How did the fire enter you? She said, Through my mouth" (1515); "What are you like, O twig? She said, Like that plant" (241); "Who is your enemy? The bean said to him, He who is with me in the skin-sack" (1200). Bodily organs are directly or indirectly attributed to inanimate things or abstract conceptions: "She (representing a sum of money) raised her eye to me, how beautiful, with a smile" (924); "The day has its eyes, and the night has its ears" (1542); "A benefit returns with stomach-ache" (1082). Abstractions are personified as human beings or represented as standing in human relationship to each other: "Hunger is a Christian, and the killer [of it] is a Moslem" (460); "Abundance is a friendly fellow, he is loved by big and small" (833); "Haste is the sister of repentance" (1323). Parts of the body are spoken to, or otherwise

dealt with, as if they were persons: "O my head, O stranger, there remains in the world no friend" (331); "O my head, work and go away, lest you have to weep and wail" (368); "O my head, give alms and be merciful, where are the people of yore" (1035); "When I need you, O my face, the cats have scratched you" (302); "O my heart, have no affection for him who has no pity on you" (1251); "There you are, O stomach of the poor one" (780); "The feet betrayed me, until I met with misfortune" (401); "The foot said to the pubes, I am in the cold and you are in the warmth" (223). Sometimes abstractions are represented as animals: "Truth is a lion, and lies are a hyena" (1521); "Lies are a stinking dead worm, and truth is a clean thing" (1522); "Theft is a worm, it does not die either by abuse or by a hatchet" (1209).

More frequently animals figure in the proverbs, not as a metaphorical complement to the predicate, but as the subject of a sentence: "There remained among the birds no Moslem, even the sparrow-hawk was said to be a Christian" (1489); "The fantail-warbler cuts the sinew of the camel's ham" (1825). In most cases the animal is represented as saying something: "The high-bred horse says, Feed me as your brother and ride on me as your enemy" (738); "The cat said, I shall not miss the mouse, even though he enters a hundred houses" (610); "The mouse said, I will not make the cat my friend, even if he makes himself wings and is going to flap" (323); "The bird in the sky says, Livelihood is secured [by God] and why the toil" (644)? "The snake said in her speech, Burning by fire is better than leaving the nest" (549). Other sayings are attributed to the mare (176), the lion (1539), the jackal (790), the ring-dove (372), and the fish (234); and there is a dialogue between a snake and a hedgehog (1823). At least some of these proverbs are connected with tales about animals.

Related to the metaphor is the simile: both are tropes based on likeness or resemblance. But while the metaphor is the application of a name or descriptive term to an object to which

it is not literally applicable, the simile is the introduction of an object or scene or action with which the one in question is professedly compared, not identified, and usually connected by a comparative conjunction such as "as". At the same time it is unlike an ordinary comparison in this, that the things compared differ in kind, and attention is called to some resemblance that they possess in spite of the difference. The simile is also frequent in the proverbs, though not so frequent as the metaphor, which has the advantage of being shorter and less explicit—a condensed simile in fact: "A man without children is like a horse without a tether" (159); "He who swears in good faith is like him who visits a shrine" (1573); "A horseman without arms is like a bird without wings" (1827); "By God and run fast as the dog runs fast barefoot, [yet] you will receive nothing but that which God has destined for you" (650).

A trope that is particularly congenial to the nature of proverbs is the hyperbole, that is, an exaggerated statement not meant to be taken literally. It conduces to shortness, definiteness, and impressiveness; and proverbs are essentially sparing of words, categorical in their pronouncements, forcible in their expressions. They avoid modifying adverbs, like often, sometimes, seldom, mostly, scarcely; they state as a universal truth what is true on the whole or even what is true in exceptional cases; and they exaggerate not only the frequency of events but their quality and, generally, anything they are intended to express. In doing so they make use of the hyperbole. The following sayings may serve as instances in addition to others already quoted, especially in connection with those that contain an antithesis—a form of thought which finds its most forcible mode of expression in the hyperbole: "Everybody who is respected will be despised" (452); "Wine is the key of all evil" (1653); "If people have eaten [with you] they betray you, and if a dog has eaten [with you] he loves you" (1128); "What the devil does in a year an old woman does in an hour" (21); "The death is nearer than the twinkling of the eye" (957);

“The Rifian kills his brother for the sake of an onion” (502); “His size is the size of a bean and his sound the sound of a *ǧǧla*” (1580); “A hundred drunkards are better than one gambler” (1655); “A hundred and one knocks [at the door] are better than one ‘Peace be with you’” (1692). There are many proverbs containing hyperboles of the following type: “Everything is rubbish except wheat and wool” (918); “Everything you plant will be useful to you except a human being, if you plant him he will root you up” (745); “Everything is useful, except that lies and slander bring no profit” (1531); “Nobody is really a man but he who is with other men” (1582). In these cases the object of the hyperbole is to emphasize the exception; whereas in the following proverb the exception serves to bring the hyperbolic statement into strong relief: “Nobody is like his father except the jackal with his howl” (614).

Another trope implying a statement that is not meant to be taken literally is irony. But while the hyperbole gives vigour and intensity to the expression by exaggeration, irony does so by making use of language that in its literal sense is opposite to the meaning attached to it; and while the hyperbole is serious in its purpose—though it may itself unintentionally become an object of ridicule by degenerating into rant—derision is the very essence of irony. Our proverbs contain various instances of this trope: “There is no witness but that of a person from Marráksh” (who is reputed to be a liar; 499); “My lady is beautiful, and the splendour of the hot bath increased her beauty” (allusion to an ugly woman who goes to the hot bath to improve her appearance; 672); “Dress up the little piece of wood, it will become pretty” (said of an ugly woman who wears a fine dress; 118); “The girls have supped on starlings” (which are considered delicious food but are mentioned to convey the idea of something opposite; 818); “If you see your brother’s beard being shaved, put yours into the shaving-cup” (said, for example, by a robber who ran away when the sheikh

confiscated his companion's property ; 1157) ; " Trust him and pray behind him " (meaning that you should not trust a person even though he be the *imām* behind whom the people pray ; 1538) ; " Generous, except with regard to his own field " (said when a person who has been invited to a wedding takes with him several uninvited guests ; 1101). Irony often expresses simulated adoption of another's point of view for the purpose of ridicule, as in the following instances : " Get what you want, may God curse your female neighbour " (said of a person who speaks badly of another who has done him a favour ; 1503) ; " Get up, O my mother, [from the place] where my wife is to sit " (said by a poor man who is the guest at a feast and is told by the host to get up and give place to a wealthy man who comes there ; 875) ; " Will you eat anything, O sick one ? " (said to a person who, instead of supplying his guests with food, asks them if they want any ; 1092) ; " Decrease the beard and increase the moustache " (said by a poor man to a rich one who in buying something from him wants him to give a larger quantity than he pays for ; 809) ; " [I shall have to wait] till the raven becomes white and the donkey climbs a ladder and the salt blossoms " (said to a person who has promised another to give him something, but when reminded of it only makes excuses ; 1565).

II

From tropes, which deal with the expressions themselves, we come to figures that deal with their relations and arrangement. Among these are the figures of repetition, which abound in our proverbs. The repetition of words presents many varieties. It may be immediate : *Z-zra' idōr idōr u yējja' nē t-t'ōqba dē r-r̄ḥa*, " The wheat turns round, turns round and comes back to the hole of the mill " (551) ; *Urrīh urrīh w idā 'ma ḥallīh*, " Show him show him, and if he is blind let him alone " (1720) ; *L-mdši r-rīf r-rīf kun 'āḷa bdl mēn t-t'hlīf*, " Wanderer, a trench a trench,

be careful with your walking" (558); *D-ḍaif ḍaif ḍlu yaḡ'ūd šēt'wa au šaif*, "The guest [is a] guest, even if he stays a winter or a summer" (1120); *Qḍṣṣt'āk qḍṣṣa waḥ ḥdīt'ek ḥdīt'*, "Your tale [is a] tale, and your talk [is] talk" (1511). In other cases the identical words, though belonging to the same sentence, are separated from each other by one or more words: *Lā zein illā zein l-fa'l*, "There is no beauty but the beauty of action" (34); *Uldā 'abd l-wāḥeḍ kullum wāḥeḍ*, "The sons of the slave of the One (i.e. God) are all one" (236); *Uādēm wālūd aḥsēn mēn ḥorra ḡair wālūd*, "A fertile negress is better (as a wife) than a white woman who is not fertile" (61); *Ma ya'ráf b ḥāl l-mēskīn ḡēr l-mēskīn*, "Nobody knows the condition of a poor man but a poor man" (1036). In such cases the identical words are often the first and the last word of the same metrical unit or sentence: *Nāsēk ḥūmaḡ nāsēk ḍlu ikḍrhūk t'ējbārhum f bāsēk*, "Your people are your people; even though they hate you, you will find them in your evil" (228); *L-ḥāiri bē l-ḥāiri u l-bādi akrām*, "Good for good, and he who begins is more generous" (1227); *Mēl'ōḡ bēn' mēl'ōḡ li yēt'ba' l-mēḍbō'*, "Unlucky, son of an unlucky one, is he who follows a fool" (412); *Mūṣiba kaḍjōrr mūṣiba*, "Misfortune draws misfortune in its train" (1436); *Šēffar tāḥ 'āla šēffar*, "Thief fell in with thief" (1549); *Hūt'a kaṭ'ḥānnēz š-šwāri dē l-ḥūt'*, "One fish makes the pannier of fish stink" (396). The predicate of a subordinate clause may be repeated as predicate in the principal clause of the same complex sentence, or vice versa: *Li ḡāb ḡāb ḥāqqū*, "If a person is away, his right is away" (550); *Li 'āmluh n'āmluh m'āhum*, "What they do we should do with them" (1675); *Ida t'ābbi 'ābbi l-mēskīna ḍlu dḡīb la ḡēr l-ḥōbza u s-sērdīna*, "When you take a wife take a poor one, even though you bring her only a loaf of bread and a sardine [she will be content]" (36); *Ida dāḥlēt' r-rāḥḥa dāḥlēt' š-šāḥḥa*, "If rest enters, avarice enters" (1051); *'Amel ma 'mel jārāk au rḥal 'ānnū*, "Do what your neighbour does, or move away from him" (1676). Or the principal and the subordinate clause may end with the same word: *Mā iḡi l-ḥbīb*

yərgab fīya ḥatt'a ikūn l-hāmm fāt' fīya, "The friend will not come and intercede for me, until the evil has overtaken and left me" (309); *Ida bgīt'i t'ənja mēnnum glēs fōq mēnnum*, "If you want to escape them, seat yourself above them" (369); *'Aṭe l-mā dlu t'kūn 'āl l-mā*, "Give water, even though you are close to water" (999).

If a proverb contains two sentences, a word that occurs in the first one may be repeated in the second: *T-ṭma' tā'ūn ū t-ṭā'ūn kāyāqt'el*, "Cupidity is a plague, and the plague kills" (895); *Z-zein 'āḷa d-dēfla u d-dēfla mērra*, "Beauty is on the oleander, and the oleander is bitter" (117); *Kul b šāuhi'ēk u lbēs b šāhwāt' n-nās*, "Eat according to your own taste, and dress according to the taste of others" (794); *Yā'la r-rājēl ḥatt'a yā'la wā la yā'la 'la ḥōt'ū ū bni 'ammū*, "A man may rise ever so high, he will not rise above his brothers and his father's brother's sons" (252). There may be two pairs of short sentences in a proverb, each of which contains an iteration of this kind: *Mēkkēl li nmēkkēl lēk qta' li nāqtā' lēk*, "Give to me I shall give to you, cut me I shall cut you" (822). In a proverb containing two or more sentences each of them may begin with the same word (not counting particles), which may be either the subject or the predicate of the sentence: *Šwāi n rūbbi u šwāi n qālbi*, "A little for God and a little for my own heart" (1016); *Sēl'āt' l-ḥāra wā la sēl'āt' l-qammāra*, "Goods bought at a loss, and not goods bought from gamblers" (1659); *Hṣart' l-māl wā la ḥṣart' ṣ-šāḥḥb*, "The loss of goods, and not the loss of a friend" (303); *Š-šī mēn š-šī nzāha u š-šī mēn qāllēt' š-šī sfāha*, "[To spend] something out of something is enjoyment, and [to spend] something out of little is shamelessness" (938); *Jāt' š-št'ā jāt' lē-ryāḥ jāt' l-hmūm kt'ira*, "Rain came, winds came, a lot of troubles came" (882); *Kāiśūf r-rbē' ma' isūf l-ḥāfa*, "He sees the grass, he does not see the precipice" (1614); *'Azz rōḥāk i'āzzuk n-nās*, "Respect yourself, others will respect you" (1677). There may be two pairs of short sentences in which the first word of each pair is the same: *Jārrbū ū qārrbū jārrbū*

ú hárrbú, "Try him and bring him near, try him and put him to flight" (702). In many cases two sentences in the same proverb ends with the same word: *L-qott yðht'áll wá l-farr yðht'áll*, "The cat uses cunning, and the mouse uses cunning" (1155); *D-djorh yębrá u klām l-'aib 'ómmrú ma yębrá*, "The wound will heal, and shameful talk will never heal" (1498); *Séllém 'álih sérręf 'álih*, "Greet him, seize him" (962); *Li hálqú hūwa ihánn 'álih u l-'abd ma 'ándú juhđ 'álih*, "He who created him will take pity on him, and the servant [of God] has no power over him" (1270). The sentences that end with the same word may both be complex sentences: *Li t'hębbú ma ijík u lli t'kárhú kull yáum ijík*, "He whom you love does not come to you, and he whom you hate comes to you every day" (301); *L-'abd ida jád męn qállét' hásbú w ida bhal háđak hásbú*, "If the negro is generous it does not belong to his nature, and if he is stingy, that is his nature" (484); *Li kwa n-nás yękwih álláh u lli fárrah n-nás ifárrhú llāh*, "He who burns the skin of others will have his own skin burned by God, and he who makes others happy will be made happy by God" (1210); *Ida qámú qum m'áhum w ida gęlsu glęs m'áhum*, "If they get up, get up with them, and if they sit, sit with them" (593). In the two last-mentioned proverbs there is not only iteration of the last word of the first sentence at the end of the second one, but there is also in each principal clause iteration of the predicate of the clause subordinate to it.

The repetition of words is a means of securing emphasis. It may do so either directly or indirectly. On the one hand it lays stress on similarities, as in the proverb, "The cat uses cunning, and the mouse uses cunning" (1155); on the other hand it may help to throw contrasts into stronger relief, as in the proverb, "The cunning of women is strong, and the cunning of the devil is weak" (12). It is obvious that the contrasted words stand out most prominently against a harmonious background; hence the frequent connection of iteration with antithesis.¹

¹ Cf. R. Pipping, *Kommentar till Erikskrönikan* (Helsingfors, 1926), p. 752.

Both the repetition of words and the use of antithetic words give strength to the parallelism of successive sentences, which is one of the most conspicuous features of our proverbs. This parallelism shows itself in a relation of either similarity or contrast between the general contents of the passages and between the position and meaning of corresponding parts. There may be parallelism not only between sentences, simple or complex, but also between the principal and the subordinate clause of the same sentence, as appears from several examples quoted above to illustrate other peculiarities of the proverbs. We have further met with cases of parallelism in which parts of one sentence or clause are repeated in reversed order in the other, as in the proverbs: "The beauty of the man is in his intelligence, and the intelligence of the woman is in her beauty" (3); "The heart of the fool is in his mouth, and the mouth of the wise man is in his heart" (1776); "If a rich man asks for children dollars come to him, and if a poor man asks for dollars children come to him" (168); "If a wealthy man steals they say that he forgot, and if a poor man forgets they say that he stole" (866). This is a particularly impressive way of formulating an antithesis.

A particular kind of iteration, not exclusively of a formal character, is the play on words, when it consists in using words of the same sound with different meanings: *D-dīn kāihāddēm d-dīn*, "A debt (if left unpaid) demolishes religion" (1062); *L-'abd ida ma yākūl šī l-'ḍṣā mēn l-ḥadd nē l-ḥadd kāiqūl ma bhālu ḥadd*, "If the negro does not taste the stick Sunday after Sunday, he says that there is nobody like him" (483); *N-nsā nsāhum āllāh mēn rhāmt'ū*, "Women have been omitted by God from his mercy" (play on the words *nsā*, "women," and *nsā*, which means "he forgot", "he omitted"; 2).¹ More often there is some slight difference in the sounds of the words: *R-rjēl qāl nē l-'āna āna jē l-bērd u nt'in jē s-šāna*, "The foot said to the pubes, I am in the cold and you are in the warmth" ('*āna*

¹ Cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. 172, n.

meaning "pubes" and *āna* "I"; 223); *Lā u'ēq b wūld l-'āmā ālu ikūn 'āmā*, "Don't trust the son of a negro wife (legal concubine), even though he is blind" (*'āmā* meaning "negro wife" and *'āmā* "blind"; 485); *R-rāzza bla lahya mēn gāllēi' l-hyā*, "A turban without a beard comes from lack of modesty" (1345); *'Ammāk yā'mīk ū hālāk yā'hlik ū bā'ad mēn dēmmēk la yēblīk*, "Your father's brother will make you blind, and your mother's brother will make you destitute, and keep away from your blood, [then] it will not afflict you" (45); *Li yēbda l-wūlda l-lūlāya bē l-farj fārraj āllāh 'ālih*, "He whose first child is one with a vulva was gladdened by God" (*farj* meaning "vulva", and *fārraj* "he gladdened"; 163); *Lā t'āmēn fē blād l-'āmān* "Don't trust [even] a country of safety" (541); *Mēn bga yēslem mā ihālat mēslem*, "He who wants to remain safe and sound should not associate with a [wicked] Moslem" (386); *Li dārrqāk b hait dārrqū nt'īn b hait*, "He who shelters himself from you with a thread, shelter yourself from him with a wall" (321); *'Ammār lū hālqū yēnsa li hālqū*, "Fill his throat, he will forget him who created him" (1606). In the following proverb there is a pun consisting of the humorous use of one word to suggest different meanings: *Idā djūwījt'i hāuwūd l-mlāh t'ērt'āh*, "When you marry surround [yourself] with a ditch of salt (i.e. salt water), you will be at rest" (84). This implies that a married man should say "good" (*mlēh*) to anything his family ask of him, without thinking of doing it, because of the similarity in sound between *mlāh* "salt", and *mlāh*, which is the plural of *mlēh* "good". It must be admitted that when there are two words of nearly the same sound and with different meanings, it may be difficult to say whether we have to do with a play on words or only with the riming of one word with another. The rime is a rime independently of the meaning of the riming words, whereas the pun implies that the maker of it purposely combines similarity of sound with double-ness of meaning; and it may be a mere conjecture on our part that he actually does so.

The rime plays a very prominent part in the proverbs. I use the term in its usual sense, for identity of sound between words extending from the end to the last accented vowel and not further, but I do so with a reserve: the word "identity" must in the case of the vowel sounds be interpreted in a broader sense than is permitted by our own rules of prosody. The Arabic alphabet has three letters that are used as vowels, all of which are long, while there are three vowel-marks to express the corresponding short vowels; in transliteration the former are generally written *ā*, *ū*, *ī*, and the latter *a*, *u*, *i*. But each of those letters and vowel-marks represents a group of sounds which vary, mainly owing to the influence of preceding or following consonants, and do not fit in with our ideas of rime. The *ā*-group comprises sounds which are in this book expressed by *ā* (if accentuated, by *á*), *ā̄* (*á̄*), or *ā̇* (*á̇*); the *a*-group is represented by *a*, *á*, *ā̇*, *ā̄*, and *e*; the *ū*-group by *ū* (*ú*), *ū̄* (*ú̄*), *ō* (*ó*), and *ō̇* (*ó̇*); the *u*-group by *u*, *ú*, *o*, and *ō*; the *ī*-group by *ī* (*í*), *ē* (*ê*), and *ē̇* (*ê̇*); the *i*-group by *i*, *e*, and *ė*. If a vowel is very short it has the sign *˘* above it. Now, when speaking of rime in the proverbs I extend the notion of "identity" of sound to all vowels belonging to the same group. Thus, for example, the words in the following combinations rime with each other: *ūdām—tā'ām—klām* (503), *šāfi—wāfi* (176), *hāja—^aajāja* (575); *š-šārya—^aajārya* (106), *lāunu—'ānunū* (195), *d-dēmm—l-hāmm* (222); *hrūfū—tšūfū* (109), *hi^sūf—š-šōf* (918), *l-'oşól—iqūl* (33); *twīla—t-tšarwēla* (57), *kbīra—šgēra* (48), *hrīr—š'er* (1452); *l.^ajīnna—mēnna* (88), *^aajāmla—n-nēmla* (153). Moreover, a word with a long vowel may rime to one with a short vowel belonging to the group of corresponding quality; and this may be the case even when the short vowel is followed by a doubled consonant: *š-šarr—l-adrār* (376), *yēnhābb—l-klāb* (863), *l-ihūd—šudd* (472), *l-fūmm—mā'dūm* (1047).

The riming words may immediately succeed each other in the beginning of the proverb or be separated only by a particle: *Hyār n-nhār būkrāh* (638); *T^sub it^sūb 'ālik āllāh* (1139); *Li*

fāṭi māi ma bāqi yēt'āuwūd (1396). In such cases there may in addition be a third rime at the end of the proverb: *L-hāiya blīya w ida tāhāt' bē l-jwād irūddūha mēt'nīya* (1027); *Drab u hrab ū gāṭṭi bē t-t'rāb* (1634); *Jārrbū ū qārrbū jārrbū ū hārrbū* (702). Or the riming words that follow each other may be the last words of the proverb: *Mā dānnūt' l-hbīb ihīb* (324); *Yiddin l-horra fā t-t'ām iddm* (62). In many cases the first and the last word in a short proverb rime with each other: *Š-šauf ma iberrēd a-ājauf* (1817); *L-'ār šatr mēn n-nār* (1137); *T-t'ām 'āla qadd l-'ām* (1088); *Fāhma u t'wūkkēlni š-šāhma* (64); *Flūsēk ihslū kēffūsēk* (859); *N-n'ās fē l-hābs wā la ujūh n-nhās* (381); *L-hbīb ma ihrāb 'and š-šēdda w ijīb* (295); *Dfa' li ma fih nfa'* (699); *Š-šdēq hāwa yēn'ārāf f zāmnān d-dēq* (292); *L-hlāhāl ū l-hwa mēn dāhāl* (1597). There are other less regular cases of riming: *Ā ma šāfēt' l-'ain u bāt'ēt' nā'sa* (914); *Ana mrīt ū mējrōh lau šābūni lā-'dā idfnūni bē r-rōh* (1259); *L-Ġarb bqa ddt' bla rās mēn kēt'rūt' l-kdūb ū qlūb n-nhās* (1529); *L-ihūd fē s-sēffūd u n-nšāra fē š-šānnāra u l-msēlmīn fē n-nūwāra* (465). The two first substantives in the last-mentioned proverb do not rime with each other according to the definition of rime given above, because the identity of sound in *l-ihūd* does not extend to the last accented vowel in *s-sēffūd*; but in a case like this there might also be good reason for us to modify the ordinary definition of rime, on account of the great variability of the accent in Arabic words. *S-sēffūd* might, under the influence of the rhythm, be changed into *s-sēffūd*, just as in the following proverb the accent in the two riming words has moved from the last syllable but one to the last: *Ida hābb allāh ya'tēk* (instead of *yá'tēk*) *mēn fūmm l-mēdfa' yēsqēk* (instead of *yēsqēk*; 920).

In the large majority of proverbs the rime immediately precedes a pause, and the last rime the chief pause, which is furnished by the end of the proverb. Even in those short proverbs in which the first and the last word rime with each other the first one is frequently followed by a pause; but the general rule is that the first rime precedes a pause within the

proverb, usually about the middle of it: *L-mrā t'āhrāb mēn š-šīb kif n-nā'ja mēn d-dīb* (15); *J-jwāj bla nīya bhāl l-b'errād bla sīnīya* (78); *Hraq qābrāk yēnšhar hābrāk* (445). When the proverb contains more pauses than one the words immediately preceding the pauses may all rime with each other: *Jūj imārrtū š-šbāb jwāj bnāt' l-klāb u n-n'ās fē a-'jēllāb* (32); *L-mākla wū š-srēt hatt'ā ši ma isēt mēn gēr n-n'ās t'āht' l-hēt* (909); *Bellāgt' lēk slāmi wū qbēl klāmi ida kūt'i qdāmi* (408). Or there may be two pairs of rimes: *Ida fāt'ēk t-tā'ām qūl šba't' w ida fāt'ēk l-klām qūl sma't'* (1380).

The rime is an important means of giving a proverb currency among people. It affords delight to the ear by its musical accord, it makes the rhythm stand out more distinctly and knits together rhythmic units, it gives stability to the form of the proverb, it impresses it more powerfully on people's memory. At the same time its influence has not been altogether salutary: not infrequently it has led to artificiality in expression and superficiality in thought, indeed many a proverb has come into existence chiefly for the sake of its rime (see e.g. p. 88). The predilection for rimed proverbs has sometimes caused slips in grammar. It is responsible for a predicate in the plural where it should be in the singular: *San'āt' būk la igēlbūk* (instead of *t'gēlbēk*; 611). Or for a wrong pronoun: *L-wārda mēn š-šūk u t-t'rābi mēn mmūk ū būk*, "A rose comes from thorns, and a well-bred boy from your (instead of his) mother and father" (233). In other proverbs the same tendency has led to the use of 'āri instead of 'arāya (279), of the singular *n-nēmla* instead of *n-nmēl* (153), of the masculine *qšēr* instead of the feminine *qšēra* (58), of the feminine *nt'īya* instead of the masculine *nt'īna* (777). The rime may also interfere with the logical sequence of words. It is said: *Ida jā n-naum n'ās u šudd mēn l-qaum*, "If sleepiness comes, sleep and shut the door against the people" (1095)—although it is more natural to shut the door first and sleep afterwards. Another proverb runs: *Šri ū hābbi šrab ū šāffi dāim m'āfi*, "Buy and hide, drink and

clear [the water, then] you are always well" (1632)—although the drinking of the water cannot precede the clearing of it. On the other hand there are cases in which a rime has been allowed to drop. In one proverb the colloquial *mēn'ūl* is used instead of the original *mēl'ūn*, which rimes to the word *iḥūn* in the same proverb (268); but in other proverbs the original form has been preserved (439, 1406). In Andjra the proverb, *Bē l-mhāll lāyint'kēl l-blē^{ad}ājān* (73) has lost the rime it has in Tangier, where it is said: *Bē l-mhāl yēnt'kel bđinjāl* (or *bū dēnjāl*; 1331).

Even more prevalent in our proverbs than the rime is the assonance, if by this term is understood resemblance of sound not merely between vowels but also between consonants, and between combinations of vowels and consonants of a less exacting character than the ordinary rime. In the resemblance between vowels there is the same latitude as is admitted in the case of the rime. Thus defined, assonances must be so exceedingly frequent that they cannot possibly be assumed to be intentional unless there is some special indication that they really are so. This I take to be the case when they regularly appear immediately before a pause, that is, under the same circumstances in which we usually find the rime. It is on such cases alone that I base my analysis of the various kinds of assonance in the proverbs.

The assonance may consist merely in the resemblance of sound in the final vowel of the words concerned. The following instances are chosen from the *ā*- and *a*-groups, the sounds of which, as in the case of the rime, are interchangeable: *'ārja—gēiza* (53), *l-lūla—t'ēnfda* (773), *l-ḥōbza—mēnna* (602), *l-mrā—l'ḍma* (119), *s-smā—r-rāḥba* (985), *l-'āšyā—jahliha* (605). Some of these cases show that no notice is taken of the grammatical termination *ā*, which is only found in writing; hence the assonance in words like *l-fḥūla—wāḥda* (458), *l-qāmla—ḥāima* (1419), *šārfa—naqīma* (49), also falls within the present type. In the assonance between sounds of the *u*-group, the letter *o* of the written language is likewise left out of account, as in *nēnnū—*

küllü (71), *jrü—hâimti^u* (215); and so also in *tšdħbü—dëmmü* (349), *yâddü—târ lü* (715), *hâqqü—âinü* (456). Assonance between *i*-sounds is found, for example, in *yêbgi—âjri* (26), *kêrsi—râsi* (1025), *s-sêfi—l-fôqi* (1378), *hâjtiⁱ—mêtⁱli* (667). But besides the assonance in the final vowel of the words there is often, in addition, assonance in the vowel preceding the separating consonant or consonants: *blâdi—snâni* (535), *msrâra—âna* (104), *âdda—gâdda* (941), *t^uâbbi—t^uhâlli* (943), *l-hâdima—s-sâya* (70), *qâbli—jânbü* (307), *âqba—yêllâ la* (612), *s-sûsi—kâina^{sû} ši* (497), *l-hôbza—nâşsha* (896), *ôşba—n-nôqla* (241), *fiya—t^uêbsima* (924).

The assonance may consist merely in the resemblance of sound in the final consonant: *l-mjârrâb—t-tbîb* (14), *glat—mêzlôt* (867), *l-fadl—l-weil* (1009), *fül—l-keil* (1681), *l-fil—l-mâl* (917), *kt^uëm—l-fümm* (1633), *l-mêşlem—l-yâum* (469). Together with the assonance in the last consonant there may be another in a vowel that, at least in one of the two words, does not immediately precede it: *l-hrâr—ş-şar* (8), *l-hair—ş-sarr* (411, 1010), *lsâs—l-hâbs* (763), *ibâwün—mgâbbên* (585), *n-nfâq—ş-şarq* (1570), *l-bô'd—şhüd* (267), *doq—l-onq* (789), *ş-şôq—l-onq* (1142). When the consonant at the end of the word is, in one or both of the words, preceded by a very short vowel sound, as is often the case, the assonance is at any rate mainly, if not exclusively, between the consonants: *qâddêk—mêt^ulek* (360), *yêft^uel—l-âjêl* (940), *l-âsel—n-nhâl* (72), *t^uhâmmâm—t^uendêm* (788). In such cases there may at the same time be assonance between other vowels within the words: *âinêk—gâirêk* (75), *dëmmêk—inêggsêk* (44), *âqâl—jâhêl* (314), *t^uhâzzêm—fâhêm* (682). In other cases the vowel sound immediately preceding the final consonant participates more effectively in the assonance: *l-bnâti^u—l-hinkâti^u* (6), *ş-şârfâti^u—ş-şibâti^u* (7), *âşrân—âdyân* (339), *l-hîyâr—l-kibâr* (358), *şâraq—hmaq* (199), *tšêddaq—kâifêllaq* (193), *hâbbuk—ildhêgük* (888), *q-dâbör—n-nônör* (145), *râzqüm—âinum* (910), *yâ'mîk—yâhîk* (219).

The assonance may be in the last syllable consisting of a final

vowel and the preceding consonant: *kúnnā—šbáhnā* (325), *aḥḥárnā—awwúnnā* (913), *‘állēmha—wēldha* (189), *š-šárfa—r-rúffa* (50), *š-šámra—š-šáfra* (52), *dúda—ḥdída* (1209), *šdbrú—kēfrú* (986), *ásliú—fá‘lú* (238), *jéddú—wēldú* (235), *rúbbi—qálbi* (721), *mḥábbi‘i—kúlft‘i* (284), *ḥájt‘i—járt‘i* (276). Sometimes two preceding consonants are involved: *hémmt‘ú—háumt‘ú* (1487). The assonance may also be in the whole last syllable if it contains two consonants separated by a vowel: *š-šúbyān—n-nésyān* (148), *‘-‘jédyān—ḥáiyān* (188), *l-‘únšar—t‘-‘úšsar* (926), *yěšráł—ifárráł* (1109), *ḥšēmāk—ršámāk* (377), *‘ábdēk—šá‘dēk* (250).

In the cases we have hitherto considered the last sound in the words is always assonant; but in words ending in a consonant the assonance is often restricted to the last vowel: *‘ām—nhār* (624), *n-nfá‘—lě-jráḥ* (570), *l-‘abd—kḥal* (482), *l-klām—l-bdān* (1469), *l-māl—l-‘insān* (887), *l-lsān—l-ūdām* (1046), *jūj—š-šhūd* (1454), *s-šḥūr—t‘qūl* (383), *māḥbúb—mēdmúm* (835), *māḥbúb—mēš-rók* (652), *mēl‘óq—l-mēdbó‘* (412), *kt‘ir—dtil* (640). In some cases, however, only one of the words ends in a consonant, while the other word ends in the assonant vowel: *š-sfā—zār* (1573), *šra‘—bērd‘a* (30), *ḥāni—‘ālih* (425). In such cases there is sometimes also assonance in sounds preceding the vowel: *bú ḥánnú—l-qānnūt* (447). Finally we have to notice the assonance in the first vowel of the words: *tt‘láqa—tt‘fāraq* (760), *l-báqra—š-šfári* (1163), *nádāk—káfer* (1342), *jáyēr—fásda* (459), *gáibt‘ú—l-ḥáiba* (557). Many other instances of such assonance are found above (p. 28 sq.).

In all the cases quoted the assonance occurs in words immediately preceding a pause, and in nearly every case one of these words is the last in the proverb while the other one is about the middle of it. But assonance is also frequently found in other circumstances similar to those in which rime is used, and this gives us reason to suppose that in these instances also it is not a mere accident. It may appear in the first and the last word of the proverb: *L-‘ádāb afđāl mēn n-násāb* (246);

Flúsek igáttiu hmámek (860); *T-ṭbīb mā ikún hnīn* (1524). Or it may occur in the last two words, not counting particles: *Lā t'beḍdel l-háḍar be l-gáib* (601); *Hḍem yā sógri n kabri* (579). In various proverbs the number of assonant sounds seems to be too great to be accidental, even apart from those which belong to words preceding pauses or words that rime with each other; *Mā imiššik gēr réjlék u mā ihákk lék gēr dáfrák u mā yēbkí lék gēr šéfrák* (214); *Wéldék ú 'ábdék 'ála qadr sa' d'ek* (250); *Ida t'gádda t'ámádda w ida t'á'ássa t'ámássa* (647); *Mēn ba 'dl-'áṣar ma ba ma t'-'áṣṣar* (646); *Ida 'ás l-'ádam ilaqqáh l-ḥam* (1206); *Qattá'ha hábra t'ábrá* (1261). It is presumably for the purpose of obtaining assonance and rhythm that two words have been changed in the proverb: *Hárt'a* (instead of *hart'a*) *ú wárt'a* (instead of *wart'a*) *wā la sir hátt'a* (768). Like the rime, the assonance may also interfere with the logical sequence of words: *Šri u doq 'ándék t'graq hátt'a né l-'onq*, "Buy and taste (instead of 'taste and buy'), lest you be drowned to the neck" (789)—which implies that before buying a thing you should examine it carefully in order not to be cheated.

Alliteration consisting in the commencement of closely connected words with the same consonant is fairly common in our proverbs, even apart from consonantal prefixes, and there can be no doubt that at least in some of these cases it is intentional—alliteration is found in Arabic prose as well as poetry. When the alliterative words are next to each other they may be at the end of the proverb: *háimi'ú hláha* (92), *hába' hóbzt'ek* (1100), *l-ḥbīb ḥdúra* (1286), *jém'ái' jléila* (1375). Or they may occur in the beginning: *ḍ-ḍamána ḍamnāi'* (761), *hálla hlíft'u* (161). Or they may be within the proverb: *'amláit'ú l-'ámša* (1389), *l-kéddáb káisgáru* (1536), *yédfēn yímmāh* (1388). The whole proverb may consist of alliterative words (particles excepted): *L-gáib grīb* (531); *Šufáni šennú f šúni* (1595); *L-'ámšá wā la l-'ámíya* (581). In the following proverbs also the alliteration is hardly accidental: *Háiru hūwa hláṣú* (1615); *Li ma šbar lé šhōt mā idfár b šūḍ* (1322); *Ida bgūt'i t'fraḥ t'rak*

qāl ū qīl t'ert'āh (1699); *Ṣbaḥ t'ējri lā tṣbaḥ t'ēfli* (637); *L-ḥlāḥl*
ū l-ḥwa mēn dāḥl (1597); *Sēllēm 'ālih sērrēf 'ālih* (962).

Rhythm is a very general characteristic of the proverbs; indeed, though often defective, it is seldom completely lacking. In the transliterated text it is indicated by the accentuation of the words, which on the whole corresponds to the way in which they are generally pronounced in ordinary speech. Yet there are exceptions to the rule. The word-accent, which is by no means invariable even in common parlance, may therefore all the more easily be modified for rhythmical purposes. In some of the proverbs it is thus thrown on the final syllable of a disyllabic noun that generally has it on the penultimate: *L-gārṣa bla dżrīb ḥḥal l-kēlb bla dēnnīb* (1030); *Ḥlūt l-lsān ū qāllēt l-īdām* (1046); *Sārṭān bla mēdgān* (1651); *Mṣibt mētyār fēls wālla mēšmār* (1791); *L-b'ūd kullū gaddār li yēṣḥāb yēṣḥāb a-ājār* (542); *R-rā'i ū l-ḥammās kāiddārbū 'āla rāzq n-nās* (1464). But in other cases, when a corresponding change would have produced a similar effect, it has nevertheless been refrained from: *Idā šrūt'i šri bē l-flūs ma tsmā' mēnnū la qārrān wā la mēngūs* (820); *Kull šaraq mēškāk u kull mējrāb ḥākkāk* (1441); *R-rḥa ihēbbuh n-nās ḥḥal a-ājndn bē l-'assās* (834).

Most proverbs contain one or more pauses. Very frequently a rhythmical pause is at the same time a pause in the sense, like the pauses in the proverb: *Mūl l-flūs ihēbbuh | ālu ikūn qbēḥ | l-mēškān ibdājduḥ | ālu ikūn mlēḥ*, "He who has money is loved, even though he is bad, the poor one is hated, even though he is good" (864). The same is very frequently the case with the pause which in the majority of cases is found about the middle of the proverb, in English prosody called the caesura: *Sāl l-mjārrāb | lā tsāl t-ṭīb*, "Ask the experienced one, don't ask the doctor" (14); *N-nsa sfīna mēn l-'ūd | u r-rākb fēha mēfqūd*, "Women are a vessel of wood, and he who travels in it is lost" (27); *Ida dāḥlēt r-rāḥḥa | dāḥlēt š-šāḥḥa*, "If rest enters, avarice enters" (1051). But there may also be a rhythmical pause where there is no logical pause. In many of the proverbs the

subject of a sentence is often separated from the predicate by a slight pause: *Dyōr l-bnāi' | fē l-hēn hlāi'*, "The houses of girls are soon empty" (165); *Jūj hnūs | ma it'lāqau fē l-gār*, "Two male snakes do not meet in one den" (410); *Lē-ftōr bēkri | bē d-dhāb mēsri*, "The early breakfast is bought with gold" (639). Yet even in such cases the pause may, by laying emphasis on the word or words preceding it, produce an effect that is not exclusively rhythmical. In most proverbs the pauses are sufficiently indicated by the rhythm, and very often also by the rime or assonance in the words immediately preceding them.

Like the rime and assonance, the rhythm is an important means of securing popularity to a proverb. Combined with either of them, or even alone, the rhythm makes the proverb a little poem, pleasing to the ear and easy to remember. But the poem must be a very short one; this is indispensable, because without shortness no utterance could be sufficiently fixed in the minds of the people to become a proverb. And the shortness does not merely imply avoidance of lengthy sentences. In our Arabic proverbs the article preceding a noun is frequently left out in violation of grammatical rules; and instead of complete sentences they may be fragments lacking the predicate or the subject or some other essential part. We have proverbs like these: "Every day [has its] food" (935); "A white man [is made to obey] with a wink, a negro with a blow" (481); "A barber with his cupping-instruments" (1548); "Cauterization and a *mudd* of barley" (1174); "Bellowing and no goring" (1423); "Rings round the ankles and emptiness inside" (1597); "A blind man's catch in the dark" (805); "An abject life and then death" (883); "Eaten and blamed" (1187); "From the dunghill to the *tūfōr*" (a low table used at eating and tea-drinking; 256); "Even though it flew [it was] a goat" (1551). We have previously (p. 10) noticed the occasional omission of the imperative in the beginning of a command. Sometimes there is a subordinate clause while the principal clause has been left out: "[I shall have to wait] till the raven becomes white

and the donkey climbs a ladder and the salt blossoms ” (1565) ; “ [Wait] till he is born, and call him ‘Abdrzzaq ’ ” (1599). Or, while the principal clause is fairly complete, the subordinate one is reduced to the mere conjunction : “ Ploughing and inheriting are better than to go [and wait] till [you gain by buying and selling] ” (768).

• I have included within brackets words that have no equivalents in the Arabic text, though the notions they express may be taken to be implied in it. Otherwise I have, in my rendering of the proverbs into English, in the first place aimed at literal accuracy, without trying to do justice to the formal beauty of the original. Any such attempt would inevitably be a failure. As Erasmus, the great humanist and student of proverbs remarked, “ most proverbs have this peculiarity that they sound best in their native tongue, but if they are translated into another language they lose much of their beauty ; just as some wines cannot stand exportation, and only give their proper delicacy of flavour in the places where they are produced.”

III

The majority of the proverbs—all those for which no locality is specially mentioned—are represented as I have heard them in Tangier ; but a large number also, about 400, are from Andjra, a mountainous tribal district to the east of Tangier inhabited by so-called Jbâla, and a few from other parts of Morocco. The proverbs are transliterated in the dialects of the respective places, while in the Arabic text at the end of the book I have reproduced them in the usual Moorish writing. A comparison between the two texts will show considerable differences between the spoken and the literary language. Apart from those of a more general character, well known to students of the Arabic of Morocco, there are others, to which I desire to draw special attention.

Changes of consonants are exceedingly frequent in the colloquial language. The most conspicuous are the assimilations due to the contiguity of two consonants, one of which is absorbed by the other in such a manner as to cause a doubling of it.

We notice the following instances:—

$dt^s > u^s$: *úlett^s* (176), *'áwütt^s* (400).

$dd > dd$: *d déinéġ* (971; Andjra).

$dt^s > u^s$: *mrätt^s* (960; Andjra; in the spoken language an assimilation of *dt^s*).

$hh > hh$: *farráhha* (486), *tráhħum* (367).

$jš > šš$: *t'harráš ši* (170).

$lm > mm$: *m-mši* (727).

$ln > nn$: *auwánnā* (913), *kúnni* (731), *nəzzənni* (348), *wúkkənni* (738; in Andjra *t'wúkkəłni* [64]).

$ms > ss$: *ssánəs* (979; Andjra).

$nb > bb$: *b bənt^s* (1293).

$nd > dd$: *'áddū* (49; Dukkāla).

$nh > hh$: *zéhha* (527; but also *zéhha* [3]).

$nl > ll$: *lləbsū* (1417; in Andjra *nləbsū ši* [1418]), *beil l-hjūr* (203), *məl l-gədwār* (254), *məl l-gār* (549), *məl lā* (1251), *məl lāhydt^kum* (1272), *məl li* (176), *məl l-fəġkra* (1138; Andjra), *məl l-gnəm* (1418; Andjra), and other cases both from Tangier and Andjra in which *n* in *mən* has been assimilated with a following *l*.

$nr > rr$: *r rāšū* (1394), *mər raqq* (1044), *mər rāzq* (1785), *mər rbāh* (1077), *mər rəht^u* (1309), *mər rəġla* (1215), *mər rhāmt^ū* (2).

$nt^s > tt^s$: *laytt^kəl* (418; Andjra).

$nt > tt$: *ttāwulū* (1399; in Andjra *ntāwulūh* [1258]).

$št > šš$: *yəššād* (1543).

$šj > jj$: *aj jāb* (259, 1376).

$št^s > šš$: *šška* (1460).

$t^d > dd$: *ddħlū* (1635), *kəddāħħal* (83; but *t^dħl* [1383] or *t^dħl* [1341]), *kəddāwi* (570), *yəddāwa* (1773), *t^eddāwūd* (1303); *t^eddāwəd* (1186; Andjra).

$t^d > dd$: *kāddūb* (1494 ; in the spoken language an assimilation of t^d).

$t^d > dd$: *kāiddārbū* (1464), *ddōr* (188 ; in the written language t^d).

$ts > ss$: *yīssēmma* (537), *t'ēssēmma* (1183) (Andjra ; in Tangier *yētsēmma* [915]).

$t^t > tt$: *tt'āwīt* (1611 ; in the spoken language a doubling of t^t).

$t^t > tt$: *ttēh* (1287), *katllā'* (210 ; also *kat'tllā'* [925]), *katllāl* (916), *ttira* (197) ; but in Andjra *lat'tēh* (1163), *t'té'u* (732), *t'tēmd'* (1005 ; also said in Tangier).

$tt > tt$: *hāllūt'ih* (1715) ; 'āiyēt't' (1067 ; Andjra).

The doubling of *j* (*j-j*) as an assimilation of the article with a following *j* is found in Tangier and Andjra only when the *j* is originally a *z* which in the spoken language has been changed into *j* (see *infra*) : *j-jwđj* (30, 160) ; *j-jūja* (710 ; Andjra). Otherwise the pronunciation of the article together with a following *j* or aj , and of a doubled *j* or aj generally, is in Tangier and Andjra *ddj*¹ (in the former case written ^a-aj , otherwise ^aa-j). But in several cases the article has retained its *l* before *j* or aj : *lē-jbāl* (706), *lē-jdūd* (874, 1044), *lē-jrāh* (570), *lē-jwāđ*, *lē-jwāđ*, or *l-jwāđ* (742, 1027, 1039, 1285, 1604) ; *l-^ajēddīn* (608), *l-^ajinna* (88) (Andjra).

The contiguity of two consonants is the cause of yet some other changes :—

$t^j > dj$: *djāra* (1598), *djī* (1860), *kādjī* (927), *djīb* (36), *djēllēđ* (495), *kādjōrr* (1436), *djri* (682), *djērri* (650), *djūl* (510), *djūwūj* (33 ; in the written language t^z). On the other hand : *t'ējbār* or *t'ējbar* (1225, 1537) ; *t'ējwēj* (1149, Andjra ; in the written language t^z).

$t^z > dz$: *dzārrab* (1781), *dzrīb* (1030), *dzā'rađ* (990), *dzūd* (607), *dzūynēk* (606), *dzūyn* (1307), *dzraq'* (1338 ; but also *t'ēzraq'* [1212]),

¹ According to M. W. Marçais (*Textes arabes de Tanger* [Paris, 1911], p. xiii), the doubled *j* is at Tangier pronounced *dj*, that is, without a doubling of *d* ; but this is not in agreement with my own experience, and is expressly denied by my native informants.

kādzūwēl (1749); *lāyīdzēnnēn* (972), *dziḍ* (645), *dzūl* (694) (Andjra).

The change of a consonant may be due to the influence of another consonant in the same word, even though they are separated by other sounds:—

s—j or *ʾj* > *š—j* or *ʾj*: *šējēn* (1262), *mēšējūn* (763), *tšērrēj* (1778); *šfēnʾja* (759, Andjra; in Tangier *šfēnja*).

š—s > *š—š*: *šēmš* (210).

z—j > *j—j*: *jūj* (32), *jwījūt*^s (1440), *jwḍj* (160), *djūwūj* (33); *jūj* (458), *tʾējwēj* (1149) (Andjra).

. There are many other changes of consonants, which in some cases but not in all are due to the immediate or more distant proximity of another consonant:—

b > f: *fḥal* (Andjra, *passim*). The same pronunciation is also common in Tangier, side by side with *bḥal*.

b > m: *mnādēm* (327; Andjra).

d > ḍ. This change is exceedingly frequent in Andjra; but when *d* is doubled there is no such change.

d > ḍ: *dār* (262), *dārrqāk* (321), *iḍbr* (1146), *mḍūwar* (560), *dābōr* (145), *yḍḥṣād* (1226), *ḥaṣṣādū* (1211), *rūḍḍ* (825; not in Andjra), *qḍart*^s (1081; not in Andjra [1981]), *yēqṣād* (959), *ṣād* (1257), *ṣīḍ* (1322), *ṣiāda* (1586), *ṣādāft*^s (401), *ward* (232); *dār* (1196), *fard* (884; in Tangier *fērd* [1997]), *kēidar* (448) (Andjra).

d > ḍ: *hādra* (106), *ṣaiyaḍ* (1172) (Andjra).

d > t: *ṣhōt* (1322); *tḥal* (74), *tāḥāl* (645) (Andjra).

ḍ > d. This change is universal in Tangier, where *ḍ* does not occur at all. In Andjra it is found in certain words in spite of the opposite tendency to change *d* into *ḍ*: *mējdām* (200), *yīkdēb* (51), *tʾērdēll* (372); and the doubled *ḍ* invariably becomes *dd*.

ḍ > d: *ḍrā* (1938; Andjra).

ḍ > d: *mēdgān* (1651).

ḍ > d: *lāiḍūwi* (1201), *aḍrāb* (1478), *fḍōli* (1173), *hādra* (1091), *ḥḍa* (1141), *mrīḍ* (1092), *māḍa*^c (40), *nāḍū* (1289), *qḍa* (1141), *lāyitʾqāḍa* (595) (Andjra).

$\dot{d} > t$: *byat* (1218), *mbîyât* (128), *gol̄t* (1662), *ḥāmāt* (1621), *mar̄t* (124; but the plural *māraḍ* [1874]), *mr̄it* (1259), *mūtū'hum* (354), *ndr̄ta'* (1026), *qābtū* (198), *yēnqbāt* (1415), *ṭhak* (470), *iṭāḥ-hak* (308; but *ḍahk* [1404]), *t'rāt'ū* (85), 'ār̄ta (1134), 'ār̄atnaḥ (1123), ma'r̄ūta (796), 'att (1327; in Andjra 'aḍḍ [72]); *igāmmaṭ* (456), *qab̄t* (946), *ṭḥāk* (1482) (Andjra).

$\dot{d} > d$: *df̄er* (1390; also in Andjra).

$\dot{d} > \dot{d}$. This change is the rule in Tangier, where \dot{d} does not occur: *idf̄ar* (1322), *dāfrāk* (214, 666), *df̄arāk* (1113), *dāhar* (1346), *kat'dhār* (563), *ḍall* (855), *nḍall* (855), *ḍulm* (436), *dālmā* (123), *māḍlām* (1456), *dānn* (1747), *dr̄ifa* (151), *gaid* (1714), *iḥāfḍāk* (476), *nḍar* (1834), *nḍor* (238), *nāḍra* (115), *nḍifa* (1522), 'āḍām (217; also 'ḍām [1255]).

$\dot{d} > t$: *hānīḍll* (1796), *tāhrū* (630), 'ḍām (1255; also 'aḍām [217]).

$\dot{g} > ḥ$: *iḥslū* (859), *ḥāsla* (1660), *ḥsūl* (1661).

$j > k$: *kṣāra* (1354).

$j > š$: *štāffū* (1289; Andjra).

$m̄ > n$: *nbārrqa* (1364), *nbātt'ū* (1114), *nḍi* (792).

$n > l$: *léisān* (1981; Andjra).

$q > ḥ$: *fūyah* (302); *sāḥsi* (1034; Andjra).

$s > š$: *yēbšāt* (708), *dārša* (1815), *garš* (1517), *t'gēš* (1780), *gēšsar* (712), *garš* (1679), *yēḥšár* (1319), *ḥšāra* (461), *kṣāra* (1354), *marš* (1679), *mēšmār* (1791), *mšāmar* (1125), *qeš* (790), *qyūs* (1646), *qšdm* (1353), *rāš* (689), *ršūmāk* (377), *t'a'sēr* (317), *šābbaq* (1350; also *sēbbāq* [1716]), *šābbaṭ* (599), *šāfur* (521), *šāḥhar* (627), *šóḥra* (626; in Andjra *sāḥhar*, *sóḥra*), *šahāwa* (1048; not in Andjra), *šāllān* (259), *išāllaṭ* (1663), *šūllitū* (1427; not in Andjra), *šmāim* (1892), *šānnāra* (465), *šōr* (1193), *šōq* (520; not in Andjra), *šárba* (1304), *šrēt* (909), *šraq* (866), *šāraq* (199; in Andjra *sraq* [1197], *sāraq* [1584]), *šórōr* (1672), *šārtān* (1651), *šárwāl* (493), *šoṭ* (676), *štaḥ* (247); *garš* (1074), *igāršēm* (1680), *ḥšāra* (202), *išar* (1064), *marš* (1074), *yēntraš* (1465), *lāyit'qāiyēš* (1152), *yēqšāḥ* (1485), *rāš* (69), *šōr* (425), *šárwal* (1332), *šárya* (106; in Tangier *sárya* [1479]), *štāḥ* (133), *šētāš* (23), *šwāri* (907) (Andjra).

The change of *s* into *š*, as also of *d* into *ḍ*, is due to the influence of some emphatic consonant in the same word.¹

š > *s*: *sbiḡa* (87; not in Tangier), *šḥri* (907; but *Šāḥra* [1107]), *sāḥsi* (1034) (Andjra).

š > *s*: *sga'* (1647; Dukkāla).

tʰ > *t*: *štáffu* (1289), *yīštáqu* (757; in Tangier *mēštʰáq* [915]) (Andjra).

ttʰ > *tt*: *šəttāš* (23), *fəttāš* (590), *ḥəttāš* (590), *ḥəttāša* (444) (Andjra).

t > *tʰ*. This change is well nigh universal in Tangier, where *t* is not found at all, and the rule in Andjra: *ngáiwʰu* (1102), *tʰultʰáin* (1158), *tʰimma* (1823), *tʰrūd* (67), *tʰaub* (201), *tʰaur* (95). *T*, however, is not unknown there: *kétrātʰ* (946), *kīr*, *kīar*.

t > *t*: *tnāš* (1943).

Consonants found in the literary language are often omitted in the pronunciation. This is invariably the case with the *h* in the feminine termination *ah* and in the suffixed pronoun *hu* and frequently in the suffixed pronouns *hā* and *hum*. But sometimes the *h* at the end of a word is left out even when it belongs to the stem: *tšbā* (241; but also *tšbāh* [1344]); *tʰēšba* or *tʰēšbā* (242, 244), *ūja* (70, 1506) (Andjra). There is also *māi* (943), instead of *mā hi* (673; Andjra). In Andjra *n* is sometimes dropped: *na* for *nna* (661), *šku* for *škūn* (878), *kūtʰ* for *kuntʰ* (457); in the last-mentioned case the omission of the *n* causes a lengthening of the preceding vowel. In the word *marʰáin* (1150; Andjra) the doubling of *r* has disappeared.

On the other hand consonants are also doubled, which, however, does not appear from a comparison between the transliterated and the Arabic text because the *šeddah*, or mark of doubling a letter, has been omitted in the latter, in conformity with Moorish usage: *dēmm* (222; also in Andjra [44]), *ḥadd* (22; also in Andjra [76]), *ḥantḍll* (1796), *nbáttʰu* (1114) for *mbáttʰu*, *rāḥḥa* (733; also in Andjra [659]) for *rāḥa*. A similar

¹ Cf. W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen* (Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger. Bulletin de correspondance africaine, vol. xxvi; Paris, 1902), p. 31.

doubling of consonants is particularly frequent in Andjra: *farr* (1105; in Tangier *fār* [323]), *yǧhīʿall* (1155), *māll* (1079; in Tangier *māl* [303]), *mhall* (73; in Tangier *mhal* [1331]), *māšša* (968) for *māšya*, *išāddfū* (1172) for *išādfū*, *aššri* (787), *nēššriwah* (1821), *ʿamm* (24; in Tangier *ʿām* [21]). As appears from several of these instances the doubling of the consonant is combined with the shortening of a preceding long vowel. In Tangier the fifth form of certain derivative verbs has the prefixed *t*^s doubled instead of the second radical letter: *yētʿēnsa* (11) for *yētʿnēssa*, *yētʿāṭāʿām* (449) for *yētʿāṭāʿām*, *yētʿaʿmél lū* (1214) for *yētʿammél lū*, *yētʿūjēd* (1767) for *yētʿūʿjēd*.

The shortening of long vowels is one of the most characteristic features of the spoken language all over Morocco. Vowels that in the written language are marked as long have a distinct tendency to be pronounced short in syllables which are not accented, but even accentuation is in many cases insufficient to save a long vowel from a similar fate. This is more often the case in Andjra than in Tangier; hence the reader must not accuse me of inconsistency if he finds *ḥāwya* in one proverb (516) and *ḥāwya* in the next. The shortening of a long vowel at the end of a monosyllabic word is exceedingly prevalent. On the other hand, under the influence of the accent, or for some other reason, a short vowel may also become long: *ḥbār* (1379), *mdūn* (1851), *šǧōl* (419), *aḥōr* (692; also in Andjra [76, 1180]), *ḍābōr* (145), *kānif* (1050), *sūkkār* (1758), *yētʿwāla* (1429), *wāli* (230; also in Andjra [63]), *ʿāsar* (692). In Tangier *rājēl* is often heard side by side with *rājēl*, or the first vowel is perhaps more often pronounced semi-long. The same is the case with the vowel in the accented syllable at the end of many a noun or verb to which a suffix is appended or a verb followed by *ši* or some other very short word closely connected with the verb: *kēsawātʿāk* (1937), *ḥāmlātʿū* (93), *ḥallēha* (1445), *jbartʿihum* (523), *sufʿīni* (703), *tʿāklū ši* (315), *fššaltʿi la* (58). Emphasis may also be a cause of prolongation: *urriḥ urriḥ* (1720), *nkih nkih* (1721). When particular stress is laid on an imperative there is a strong

tendency to lengthen its vowel or last vowel ; but although for this reason forms like *sīr*, *zīd*, *kūl* are anything but rare in the mouths of the people, I have not found, either in Tangier or Andjra, that general habit of prolonging the vowel in the imperative of concave verbs which is said to prevail in many other dialects.¹ The rime is also responsible for the lengthening of some vowels in the proverbs : *hlāt*^s riming with *l-bnāt*^s (165), *ūkār* riming with *n-nār* (1822), *mīl* riming with *yībrīl* (1928 ; Andjra).

Generally speaking, the length of a vowel is a difficult matter, both because it is so changeable and because it allows of so many degrees ; and it is equally difficult in many cases to distinguish between the presence or absence of a vowel sound before a consonant or between two consonants. In these respects absolute accuracy may, in fact, be impossible without the aid of phonetical instruments.² I have only made use of the signs $\bar{\quad}$, $\hat{\quad}$, and $\check{\quad}$ in cases where I have distinctly heard the sound pronounced either long or very short, but the omission of any such sign does not *eo ipso* imply that it might not have been used, nor does the use of it imply that the vowel is always pronounced long or very short, or, in the latter case, that a vowel sound is always present.

Like the quantity of a vowel its quality is often variable. The pronunciation of vowels is in this respect much influenced by consonants or by other vowels that precede or succeed them ; and as this influence is not restricted to sounds belonging to the same word, the quality of a vowel may in the spoken language differ when the adjoining word differs. We find variations like these : *bāb wāḥda* (717), *bāb q-dār* (500) ; *kān kūllu* (494), *kān z-zra'* (1870) ; *bla šra'* . . . *bla bērd'a* (30), *blā šī* (758) ; *ma yāqra* (187), *ma ihāraqha* (192), *mā rbāḥ* (191) ; *ālu ikān* (349), *ālu dārāt*^s (559) ; *fē l-ḥmūr* (1385), *fē l-qfā* (18), *fā t-tā'ām* (62). But the modifications of vowels in point of quality present many

¹ Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, pp. 58, 68.

² Cf. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tangier*, p. xi.

irregularities and may vary even in the mouth of the same individual, to the annoyance of the student who has to choose between the alternatives. In defence of probable shortcomings in my transliteration I can only say that I have tried to reduce their number by going through the whole text several times, making almost exorbitant demands upon the patience of my informants.

There are many contractions of vowels belonging to contiguous words : *tī shab* (313), *tī qūl* (29), *tī kūn* (257), and others of the same kind, for *li ishāb*, *li iqūl*, etc. ; *šī teh* (886 ; Andjra), for *ši itēh* ; *lā nā* (777), for *lā āna* ; *anā hli* (229), for *āna āhli*. In Tangier the final vowel in 'āla is generally dropped before the article that is affixed to the following word or assimilated with its initial consonant : 'āl *l-hṣēr* (35), 'āl *l-qāṣba* (1352), 'āl *a-ajmēl* (247), 'āl *n-nās* (1019), 'āl *s-sākūl*'i (1710), 'āl *š-šīb* (1356), 'āl *z-zēnda* (1177) ; but 'ālā *d-dēṣla* (117). A similar curtailment is not found in any of the proverbs from Andjra.

We have still to notice certain points in which the dialect of Andjra differs from that of Tangier. To express the present tense of a verb the syllable *la*, not *ka*, is prefixed to the aorist ; this peculiarity has been preserved in the Arabic text. In the preterite the termination of the second person singular is identical with that of the first ; thus, for example, *šuft*^s means both " I saw " and " you saw ". The initial *l* of many imperatives is as a rule pronounced. Instead of the relative pronoun *li* or *lli* we invariably find *ḏ* (or *d*, owing to assimilation with the following consonant), often with the addition of a very short vowel, the quality of which depends on the following sound or sounds. When the relative pronoun precedes the personal pronoun *hūwa* or *hi*, the consonant *n* is added to it : *ḏēn hūwa* (1166), *ḏēn hi* (884, 1200) ; and the same is the case when the personal pronoun is the third person feminine singular or the third person dual or plural.¹ Instead of the *u* in the suffixed

¹ The same has been noticed among some other tribes of the Jbāla (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textes arabes de l'Ouargha* [Paris, 1922], p. 37).

pronoun *hum* or *um*, there is a very short vowel, the quality of which is determined by the preceding sound or sounds¹: *mēnnēm* (355), *taḥḥalnāhēm* . . . *ḥāṣṣām ḥāqqām* (747), *l'ārḥām* (416).

IV

From the form of the proverbs I shall now pass to their contents. But on this point my discussion need not be equally detailed and dissecting: the method adopted for their arrangement and the attention paid to their meaning, and to the circumstances in which they are used, make it unnecessary for me to add anything more than some remarks of a more general nature, illustrated by a few examples.

In different collections of proverbs we often find different schemes of classification. The most convenient one—from the collector's point of view—is that followed by Count Landberg in his book of Syrian proverbs, who says that he has published them in the order in which he jotted them down in his notebooks.² Very frequently proverbs have been arranged in alphabetical order according to the first letters of the first word, or according to the first word itself, if it consists of one letter only—as in the case of English proverbs beginning with the word "A"³—or according to the first letters of the first significant word. Alphabetical classification is found, for instance, in Freytag's⁴ and Mohammed ben Cheneb's⁵ large collections of Arabic proverbs. Sometimes proverbs have been classed under various headings suggested by the person, animal, object, or anything else round which they are formally woven,

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 36.

² C. Landberg, *Proverbes et dictons de la province de Syrie : Section de Saydā* (Leide and Paris, 1883), p. xviii.

³ See, e.g., W. C. Hazlitt, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (London, 1907); James Kelly, *A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs* (London, 1818).

⁴ G. W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbialia* (Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1838-1843).

⁵ Mohammed ben Cheneb, *Proverbes arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb* (*Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger. Bulletin de correspondance africaine*, vols. xxx-xxxii, Paris, 1905-7).

as when the Ashanti proverb,¹ "If you strike a lion, your own head will pain you," is placed under the heading "Wild animals", although the proverb is purely metaphorical. Collectors and compilers of proverbs have obviously been anxious to find a principle of some sort to put order into their chaotic material; but I fail to see that any of these formal methods of arrangement can be of much practical use. What has been disconnected before is brought together into a hotchpotch hardly less difficult to digest; and if anyone wants to know what may be said on a certain subject in this medley of proverbs he has to find it out for himself. My experience is that even when trying to discover if a particular proverb in my own collection has been previously recorded by somebody else, the alphabetic classification has given me little help: proverbs are subject to variations, and the word to look for has often been changed in this process.

A very different method has been followed in this book. The proverbs which I have collected have been grouped together according to subjects or situations on which they have a bearing. These are very often clearly indicated in the proverbs; but there are also many proverbs that are applicable in different situations and may consequently be repeated under different headings. Even these repetitions may be anything but exhaustive: I have only recorded the circumstances in which such proverbs seem to be most frequently applied, or which most readily occur to the mind of a native informant when he speaks of them; but I think that this should generally be sufficient to reveal the meaning attached to them. To find the intrinsic meaning of every proverb has been my chief ambition, and in conveying it to the reader I have preferred concrete instances to abstract explanations. Many proverbs are of course perfectly intelligible without any explanation at all. Others are only apparently so, because they easily suggest an interpretation which is not the correct one. And others cannot even deceive us, because they appear as veritable riddles which baffle any

¹ R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 8, 61.

attempt to decipher their meaning. There is a strong tendency in proverbs to be more or less enigmatic—and in their collectors only too often a tendency to ignore it. In Mr. Rattray's book of Ashanti proverbs the writer of the preface feels compelled to remark that if the saying of the Tshi-speaking natives, "When a fool is told a proverb the meaning of it has to be explained to him," is applied to the reader, "few of us, it is to be feared, will escape conviction of folly."¹ Even the foremost compiler of English proverbs, Hazlitt, confesses that he has been obliged to leave without a gloss many proverbs which have defied his attempt to unriddle their occult meaning.² The extremely cryptic character of many Arabic proverbs has been pointed out by scholars³; and I may ask the reader of this book how much of its contents would not be incomprehensible without commentaries. There are also proverbs that are interpreted quite differently by different natives. Take, for example, the saying, "The Jebli (mountaineer), when he settles down in a town, is like a tambourine when it is provided with a skin" (495). According to one explanation I have heard, it means that a Jebli who comes to live in a town by and by loses his rusticity, whereas the interpretation given by a scribe from Andjra was that he becomes noisy like a tambourine.⁴ Again, the proverb "The woman flees from white hair as the ewe from the jackal" (15), means, according to some of my informants, that women are much afraid of becoming old, but according to others, that women dislike old men.⁵ Sometimes a proverb may assume an entirely different meaning through the confusion of one word with another. Thus the proverb, *Kull t'a't'era fêha hêra* (1686), is evidently, in its origin, identical with another one recorded by M. Brunot, *Kul stu hêra fihâ hêra*.⁶ But while

¹ Sir H. Clifford, in Rattray, op. cit., p. 5.

² Hazlitt, op. cit., p. xxviii.

³ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten* (Haag, 1886), p. 1.

⁴ Cf. Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1369; L. Brunot, "Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat," in *Hespéris*, viii (Paris, 1928), p. 93.

⁵ Cf. Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1756.

⁶ Brunot, loc. cit., p. 103.

the former proverb means, "In every stumbling there is good" (because the stumbling serves as a warning: if you stumble on your way to a place where you intend to do some business you should not proceed), the latter means, "En toute abstention se trouve un bien."

The principles I have followed in collecting, classifying, and expounding my material have been adapted to the chief aim I had in view when I made Moorish proverbs an object of research. The proverbs of a people may, apart from their prosody, be studied under different aspects. Their study has been the pursuit of philologists who have been mainly interested in the linguistic side of the subject. Various eminent scholars have made use of proverbs for their study of modern Arabic dialects, well aware, of course, of the caution necessary in such an undertaking. The statement made by a recent student of Jewish folk-lore that proverbs are the "people's voice", not only in so far as it reflects the popular mind, but also because it is "an accurate record of the vernacular"¹ is a hazardous proposition. Proverbs may contain expressions that are not found in the native idiom but belong to another dialect from which they have been imported or, as is often the case with Arabic proverbs, have been taken from the literary language, which in many respects differs from the modern vernaculars. The present collection contains words and grammatical forms that do not occur in ordinary speech; to these belong, for instance, the negative *lā*, which is very frequently used instead of *mā*. Moreover, the proverbial style, its shortness and pregnancy, its tendency to be formal or elevated, its rhythm, and sometimes its predilection for rime and assonance, may cause deviations from the colloquial language, which may even amount to corruption of words and violation of grammar. Such pitfalls, however, are easily avoided by the competent student; and as to the importation of strange proverbs it may be said that they generally, perhaps with the exception of a few typical expressions, soon adapt themselves

¹ A. Cohen, *Ancient Jewish Proverbs* (London, 1911), p. 14.

to the idiom spoken in their new surroundings. As an instance of this, I may refer to the different modifications the same proverbs have undergone in the two neighbouring communities of Tangier and Andjra, which have been my chief fields of research. My own study of Moorish proverbs is not in the first place intended to serve a philological purpose; yet I should be glad if my efforts to secure linguistic accuracy had yielded some fresh contributions to Arabic dialectology. While the proverbs from Tangier may be a complement to M. Marçais' masterly treatment of the Tangier dialect, those from Andjra are, together with words and formulas published in my earlier books on Morocco, the only recorded specimens of the language spoken in that tribal district.

Another method of studying proverbs is to examine their diffusion: peoples have at all times taken sayings from each other. The wanderings of proverbs are a fascinating study, but one beset with considerable difficulties. It must always be borne in mind that the resemblance between proverbs may have another cause than diffusion, namely, the uniformity of human nature, which makes men in similar situations think and feel alike. The real test of a common origin is therefore not the mere similarity of ideas and sentiments expressed in the proverbs, but the similarity of formal expression, with due allowance for modifications that are apt to occur when a saying is adopted from another language and transplanted into a new soil. Among the nations of Europe we find a very large number of identical, or almost identical, proverbs which obviously have a common origin. We know for certain that very many of our proverbs have been borrowed from the Romans, who themselves had borrowed many of theirs from the Greeks,¹ and another great source has been the Bible. Others have descended to us from the Middle Ages, when popular sayings in Latin translations spread from one country to another through the monasteries,

¹ A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), p. xviii sq.

and afterwards were retranslated into the vernaculars.¹ Others again were introduced into Europe by Jews and Arabs; the extraordinary wealth of Spanish proverbs has to a large extent been attributed to such influence. Arabic-speaking peoples have also in common a store of sayings, partly derived from the Muhammadan traditions but largely of secular origin. In some collections of Arab proverbs from a particular area—above all Mohammed ben Cheneb's monumental work—there are references to their distribution elsewhere, and with regard to many widespread proverbs I have availed myself of this information in remarks made in footnotes. But otherwise I have refrained from all comparison between proverbs recorded by others and those collected by myself. My book contains about 200 which, in some form or other, have been published by earlier collectors in Morocco—Meakin,² Fischer,³ Lüderitz,⁴ Lévi-Provençal,⁵ and Brunot,⁶—and various others are found among Ben Cheneb's Algerian proverbs; but as all of them are derived from my own experience among the natives and stated in the way I have heard them, I have no printed sources to quote. I have dispensed with references because my aim has been, in the first place to collect facts by sociological field-work in Morocco, and in the second place, to study those facts from points of view which differ essentially from that of him who examines their distribution.

Besides the two methods of investigating proverbs, I have just mentioned there is a third, which is primarily concerned with

¹ Seiler, *op. cit.*, p. 80 sq.

² Budgett Meakin, *An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco*, etc. (London, 1890), pp. 217-22.

³ A. Fischer, "Marokkanische Sprichwörter," in *Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Universität zu Berlin*, 2^o Abtheilung, 1898 (Berlin and Stuttgart).

⁴ H. Lüderitz, "Sprichwörter aus Marocko mit Erläuterungen im Dialekt des nördlichen Marocko," in *Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Universität zu Berlin*, 2^o Abtheilung, 1899 (Berlin and Stuttgart).

⁵ E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textes arabes de l'Ouargha* (Paris, 1922), pp. 115-23, 159-67.

⁶ L. Brunot, "Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat," in *Hespéris*, viii (Paris, 1928), pp. 59-121.

their contents as a subject of sociological or psychological interest. It is a traditional view that the proverbs of a people are a safe guide to its character and temperament, opinions and feelings, manners and customs; Bacon said that "the genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered by their proverbs". This view has of late been subjected to criticism, not altogether undeserved. It has been pointed out that a very large number of proverbs are international common property, and that most of the sayings of different nations are so similar that they must be regarded as expressions of general human nature. This is perfectly true; but besides similarities there are also differences, and even in substantially similar proverbs there may be shades of dissimilarity that correspond to national characteristics. Such characteristics may also to some extent show themselves in what the proverbs of a people speak of and what they are silent about, in the degree of popularity a certain proverb or class of proverbs has gained among a people, and in the frequency or paucity of proverbs dealing with a particular subject. This is admitted by Seiler, the most acute and moderate critic of the traditional view, who has himself pointed out various differences between the Romans and Germans which he found reflected in their proverbs.¹ It has further been argued that the proverbs of a people have generally come to it from other peoples and cannot, therefore, be indicative of its peculiarities. To this I would answer, first, that the proportion of imported proverbs has never been proved to be so large as it has often been assumed to be, and that there is no reason to suppose that a group of people who are fond of using other people's proverbs have none of their own make; indeed the number of proverbs used in Andjra that are unknown to my informants in the neighbouring town of Tangier has led me to a very different conclusion. But above all, it should be noticed that a foreign proverb is scarcely adopted by a people unless it is in some measure congenial to its mind and mode of life; that it is apt to be modified so as to

¹ Seiler, *op. cit.*, p. 290 sqq.

fit in with its new surroundings ; that, when sufficiently deeply rooted, it may in turn influence the native habits of thought and feeling ; and that, if it does not succeed in being acclimatized in its adoptive country, it will wither and die. These facts are of great importance on account of the frequent difficulty, or impossibility, of separating indigenous proverbs from others, which have crept into the language from abroad. A very similar answer may be given to the objection that proverbs are not creations of a group of people but of individuals.¹

The value of proverbs as evidence of opinions generally held by a people may perhaps seem to be lessened by the fact that not infrequently some of them contradict the teaching of others. But such incongruities, which have been commented upon by several students of proverbs, really only add to the fullness of the testimony. Many of them are more apparent than real. Proverbs have often the form of categorical imperatives ; but common sense morality does not share the rigorism of certain philosophers, and the unconditional character of its proverbial maxims may be due simply to their necessary brevity. In such cases their one-sidedness has to be corrected by other proverbs dealing with particular circumstances that modify the general rule. To take a few instances from our Moorish proverbs.

The duty of almsgiving, which is one of the five practical duties of Islam called the pillars of religion, is often inculcated in the proverbs : " Give what there is in your pocket, God will bring you what is absent " (988) ; and so forth. But even this cardinal duty has its limitations. It should be practised with discretion. You should bestow charity only on those who are destitute, not on those whose poverty is less pressing : " The dead are dear to us, but as for the wounded they will be cured " (1003).

¹ F. Mauthner writes (*Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, i [Leipzig, 1923], p. xlv) : " Die alte Weisheit, dass der Character eines Volkes aus seinen Sprichwörtern erkannt werden könne, ist nicht mehr wahr. Aus zwei Gründen nicht. Erstens, weil die Sprichwörter ebensowenig wie die Volkssagen vom Volke geschaffen worden sind. Zweitens, weil Sprichwörter fast immer international sind, von einem Volke zum andern wandern, und, ob richtig oder unrichtig, um so gläubiger nachgesprochen werden, je bekannter sie sind."

Moreover, in practising charity you should not forget the needs of your family, nor your own needs: "Don't let charity go out of your house until the children are satisfied" (170). A person who impoverishes himself through excessive charity is "like a needle that clothes the people and is herself naked" (1020). "He who gives away his goods during his life will call on God, [but] he will not help him" (1021). Many sayings inculcate economy, such as: "Eat and drink, and put what is left into a palmetto bag" (948). But there are others that make fun of a person who might live in comfort and yet is too stingy to do it: he is like a butcher who "sups on intestines" (955), or, "like a donkey, he carries gold and silver and wants straw" (954). What is the good of being parsimonious when he knows that "death is nearer than the twinkling of the eye?" (957)—"Eat and drink and dress yourself, and say, Come O death" (958). Industry is enjoined: "Livelihood is underneath the feet" (617). On the other hand: "If you find a meal of fruit at the gate of the orchard, don't proceed into it" (645). It is best for a man to stick to his father's or ancestors' occupation: "He to whom his father and grandfather left some hill should climb it" (612). But the younger generation also have something to say on the subject; a person who is blamed for not taking up his deceased father's trade replies: "Nobody is like his father except the jackal with his howl" (614). In proverbs like these we may discern differences of inclination and temperament: one maxim appeals to one person, another quite different maxim to another, and as people are not all alike so also their proverbs differ. There is further the distinction between proverbs that represent ideals and others that are based on realities which do not come up to these ideals. The rule of tit-for-tat forms the contents of many sayings: "Despise him who despises you, or throw him away from you" (1253); "Revenge is forgotten only by bastards" (1250). But side by side with the doctrine of resentment there is the doctrine of forgiveness: "Show mercy to him who is on earth, he who is in heaven will have mercy

upon you ” (1266); “ Forgiveness from the heart is better than a box of gold ” (1268). Truthfulness is insisted upon: “ Speak the truth, even though it is bitter ” (1523); “ The liar is cursed, even though he is a learned man he is cast off by God ” (1528); “ A lie is of no avail ” (1530). Yet there are occasions when this does not hold good and it is prudent to have recourse to a lie: “ O man, see and be silent; if you eat meat, say it is fish ” (1705); “ If he asks you about something, then say, I don’t know ” (1707).

The proverbs of the Moors are in many respects reflections of their Islamic culture. God is often mentioned, and always in a reverent manner. There is nothing of that familiarity or jocularity which is so frequent in European sayings referring to him, causing annoyance to puritanic writers; Kelly states that he has excluded from his “ complete collection ” of Scottish proverbs “ all those proverbs that seem to make too homely with the Almighty Being ”.¹ We may be a little puzzled when we hear that “ [to commit] ten sins against God is better than [to commit] one against a servant [of God] ” (1274); but all appearance of irreverence is removed by the explanation, that God is forgiving but man is not. The religious duties of almsgiving and prayer are strongly emphasized, and the same is the case with patience and resignation, so frequently enjoined in the Koran, and propriety of behaviour, on which the Islamic traditions have so much to say. Other Muhammadan characteristics are the deference shown to refugees and guests, the low opinion held about women, the belief in curses and the evil eye. At the same time there are also proverbs that have a distinctly local colour; but to discriminate between those that reflect specifically Moorish conditions, ideas, and traits of character and those that the Moors have in common with other Muhammadan nations is mostly beyond my power. Even a complete knowledge of the proverbs of the whole Arabic-speaking world would not, by itself, be sufficient for such a task. Proverbs can only throw

¹ Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. v.

rays of light, never full light, upon national characteristics. If certain proverbs are found among one people and not among another, their absence among the latter by no means proves the absence of the facts they express. And there is another point to be remembered in this connection, a point which is of the utmost importance for the whole study of proverbs: in order to gain reliable information about a people from its proverbs it is necessary to possess intimate knowledge of it derived from other sources, foremost of which is personal experience.¹ I think I may say that I have acquired some qualification for such a task during the nine years I have spent in Morocco as a student of its people, whereas my knowledge of other Muhammadan nations is gathered from books, which are silent on many points relating to ideas, feelings, and behaviour on which information is essential for a full understanding of their proverbs.

As an instance of the danger the student of a people's proverbs runs if he takes them as indicative of its character without possessing adequate knowledge of facts that the proverbs fail to disclose, I may mention the sayings dealing with married women. Among all our proverbs there is not one that expresses any tender feelings in a husband towards his wife; yet it would be a mistake to assume that no such feelings exist. As is pointed out below (p. 80), we have here to take into account the Moorish ideas of decency: it is considered indecent of a man to *show* any affection for his wife, and it would consequently be improper to speak of it in proverbs. In other cases it will be seen that

¹ My own observations fully endorse the following opinion expressed by Seiler (op. cit., p. 294): "Es fällt zwar mancher Lichtstrahl aus den Sprichwörtern eines Volkes auf seinen Charakter, es werden auch bekannte Charakterzüge eines Volkes durch die Sprichwörter oder ihr Fehlen bestätigt, aber durch den Sprichwörterschatz allein kann man nun und nirgends zu einer sicheren und umfassenden Kenntnis eines Volkscharakters gelangen. Das ist wohl auch der Sinn des Goetheschen Spruches:

Sprichwort bezeichnet Nationen,

Musst aber erst unter ihnen wohnen.

D.h.: Sprichwörter sind allerdings bezeichnend (charakteristisch) für die Völker; um aber deren Charakter aus den Sprichwörtern erschliessen zu können, muss man erst mit ihnen gelebt haben."

the proverb is based on some superstition the knowledge of which is necessary for an adequate interpretation of it. It is particularly difficult to draw conclusions as to the actual prevalence of a mode of conduct from proverbs enjoining it. Of course, whenever a rule is laid down the possibility of its transgression is assumed ; but it does not tell us whether the transgressions are many or few. Not even the multitude or paucity of proverbs inculcating the same kind of behaviour is a safe indication of its prevalence. There are numerous exhortations to patience and resignation, which the Moors possess in a much higher degree than other peoples whose proverbs have comparatively little to say about these qualities ; on the other hand, they also have a large number of proverbs condemning lying, although they cannot be called a truthful race. A multitude of sayings on a certain mode of behaviour may imply either that much importance is attached to it, or that the people are particularly deficient in it. Both cases may, of course, be said to imply the same thing, namely, that the actual practice does not come up to expectation ; but from this no definite conclusions may be drawn as regards the real character of the people. Again, the absence of proverbs relating to a particular course of conduct may be due to the fact that it is looked upon with indifference ; but it may also be due to its being unusual. I have only heard one proverb condemning wine-drinking, which is prohibited by Islam and hardly occurs among Moslems unaffected by foreign influence, and none enjoining the cardinal duty of fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, which is more strictly observed than any other Muhammadan duty. Sometimes proverbs seem actually to serve the purpose of concealing practice. The proverbs, "Don't follow the advice of your wife" (81), and, "Consult your wife and follow your own mind, consult your wife and act contrary to her advice" (82), mostly sound like bragging ; for, as a matter of fact, the men not only consult their wives, but are also very much influenced by them.¹ In

¹ Cf. E. Daumas, *La vie arabe et la société musulmane* (Paris, 1869), p. 477 ; Ben Cheneb, *op. cit.*, nr. 1005.

short, although the proverbs of a people are in some way or other expressive of its life and character, they may very frequently have to be interpreted in the light of knowledge which they do not themselves supply.

V

Proverbs are not only reflections of life: they also play an active part in it. This functional aspect should engage our attention, not only because the study of it helps us to understand their intrinsic meaning and their bearing on national characteristics, but for its own sake as well.¹ The importance I attach to it from the latter point of view is one reason why I so often represent concrete situations in which proverbs are used, instead of stating their import in general terms. Those situations may teach us something not only about the meaning of the proverbs and the life of the people, but about the use that people make of their proverbs—teach us when and how and why they use them.

The Moors are very fond of quoting proverbs in their talk; and there are some general reasons for this which are obvious enough. When a person has something to say, a proverb often gives him a convenient ready-made means of expression which spares him the trouble of finding words of his own for formulating his thought.² The use of a proverb adds piquancy to one's speech; it shows *savoir vivre* and knowledge too; it makes a neat argument which has the authority of custom and tradition—as Aristotle said, “proverbs are in the nature of evidence”.³ Another reason for the popularity of proverbs is the great variety of purposes for which they may be employed. A proverb may be an unemotional statement of even the most trivial

¹ The importance of the functional *role* of proverbs has been duly emphasized by Dr. R. Firth in his suggestive articles in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxvii (London, 1926), “Proverbs in Native Life, with special reference to those of the Maori.”

² Cf. Firth, loc. cit., p. 264 sq.

³ Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, i, 15, 14.

nature which has become impressed on people's minds through some peculiarity of phrasing, and is repeated by them because they are fond of talking of trivialities; or it may be a matter of fact statement of a somewhat instructive nature, which for this reason in particular is preserved and transmitted from generation to generation. Such proverbs, however, may assume a different character by being interpreted and used in a figurative sense, although it may be difficult or impossible to distinguish between cases in which a change of this kind has taken place and others in which the proverb has been metaphorical from the beginning.¹ Anyhow there can be no doubt that most of the proverbs have always been expressive of feelings or opinions or been intended to influence people's wills and actions.

One of the feelings which figure very prominently in the proverbs of the Moors, as well as of other peoples,² is dissatisfaction. The world is full of evils of many kinds. The innocent is punished for the fault of the guilty: "One eats beans, and for another they swell in his stomach" (1180); "The minaret fell down, hang the barber" (1462). A good deed is often rewarded with evil: "He who has done good will have colic in return" (1603). Good servants or workmen are dismissed to give place to bad ones: "The tables were turned upside down, and the earthenware pots sat up" (718). A person who has been introduced to his work, or has been taught a trade, by another afterwards displaces him: "Plant him, he will pull you up" (744); "I taught him swiftmess, he threw me out and shut the door" (749). A Moslem envies another Moslem if he finds him prosper in any way, and will not help him even if he sees some one trying to kill him: "Brother hates brother, even if he sees people slaughter him" (1618). What a difference between a poor man's life and a rich man's: "He who has money is loved even though he is bad, the poor one is hated even though he is good" (864); "If a wealthy man speaks unjustly they say to him, Your speech is gold" (870); "If a poor man speaks

¹ Cf. Seiler, *op. cit.*, p. 303 sqq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 320 sqq.

the truth, they drive him away and in addition spit on him " (871). A poor man is always liable to be deprived of his property, either by the authorities or others : " The sheep of a poor man pasture on the border " (879). Nobody speaks on his behalf if he is robbed : " The orchard of a fatherless child is always robbed, even if it is surrounded with a wall " (1193). A man who has been well off and had many friends round him, but afterwards has become poor and been abandoned by them, says to himself : " There remains in the grave none but its master " (912). Generally speaking, there is not much happiness in this world : " The joy [lasts] seven days, and the sadness all the life " (1803).

But while the proverbs express sadness and despair, they also give hope and consolation. " However long the night may last, there will be a morning " (1800) ; " After every affliction there is enjoyment " (1802). Everybody will get what he deserves : " As you sow you will reap " (1212) ; " An upright man has no fear, even though the enemies are many " (1220) ; " Trust and trust [in God], and you will get what you want " (1222) ; " An innocent person's invocation to God has no curtains " (it will be heard at once ; 1456). On the other hand : " He who commits a wrong must suffer punishment " (1232) ; " He who sows thorns must walk on them barefoot " (1234). An unjust official will be punished by God : " The oppressor is cursed by God and despised by the people " (439) ; " Every one who ascends will descend " (440). A person who goes to prison is comforted with the saying : " The days of imprisonment are numbered, and the mercy of God is at hand " (1262). You need not take any notice of people's envy : " If God has given you, what can a servant [of God] do [to you] ? " (1622). If a brigand robs you of your property but spares your life, you have the consolation : " If the head is alive, it will not be without a cap " (1205) ; or, " [To suffer damage] in goods is better than in bodies " (1204). So also it is better to have some work, whatever it be, than to have no work : " Blear-eyedness is better than blindness " (581) ; " The itch is better than leprosy, deafness

is better than dumbness" (582). It is better to have a good master and low wages than a bad master and high wages: "O God, to be eaten by lions is better than the maltreatment of jackals" (726); "Say to me, O my lord, and strip me naked, and don't say to me, O dog, even though you make me rich" (730). A poor man who has many worries is given the comforting advice: "Put the troubles in a net, some will fall and some will remain" (886). Wealth has also its drawbacks, and the poor man may be happier than the rich: "Abundance of money is a trial for a man" (887); "[O] people, everything will satisfy you except money, as much as you have so much [more] you want; but [after death] nothing will fill the eyes of people but earth" (890); "Small and spirited is better than big with money" (898). "Little with health is better than much with sickness" (899). Moreover, he who is wealthy may become poor, and he who is poor may become wealthy: "He who becomes fat must become thin, and he who flies must come down" (901). First and last: "What God wills, what God desires, that will be" (1787).

It may be said that even pessimistic proverbs give some comfort in suffering by reminding the sufferer that there are others as badly situated as himself; and this is no doubt one reason why complaints so frequently take the form of proverbs. So also cheerful proverbs derive particular efficacy as a means of consolation from their generality: they express not merely individual expectations, but hopes based on common experience.

Dissatisfaction also leads to disapproval or reproach; and here again a proverb is a very suitable vehicle for giving vent to one's feelings. On the one hand, it gives the censure a semblance of public opinion; on the other hand, it makes even a sarcasm less offensive by making it less personal. I shall here quote some instances of sayings which certain persons have to put up with as objects of other people's blame.

A father who disowns his son on account of misbehaviour: "Your hand belongs to you, even though it is leprous" (200).

A man who lets some outsider take care of his deceased brother's children : "The wing covers the chest" (180). A person who boasts of being better than his family : "However high a man may rise, he will not rise above his brothers and his father's brother's sons" (252). A man who through his behaviour has proved unworthy of the friendship bestowed on him : "I did not believe that a friend would be disappointed" (324). One who has risen to a high position and forgotten an old friend : "Yesterday and we were companions, and to-day we are enemies" (339). A person who makes a show of friendship but hides enmity in his heart : "Fire underneath the straw" (336). Some one who does not do his work properly : "The sea is not crossed by a ferry, the belt is not made from a shirt" (670) ; or, "A work rises only in the hand of its master" (671). A man who makes his employees work too hard : "He who has not begotten him takes no pity on him" (651). A workman who does not do what his master tells him : "Whom you serve obey, what you are going to pawn sell" (691). A woman who celebrates a family feast and does not entertain her guests to their satisfaction : "Slacken the eyelash, the day will pass" (1093). A person who refrains from inviting relatives or friends to a feast that he gives in his house : "The vegetable gardens are emptied of their fruits, and the blame remains" (216). A person who, when two others are speaking to each other, comes and asks them what they are talking about : "Every one sells his ragged old clothes in his market" (1382). Some one who interferes in other people's affairs : "Enter your own market, don't enter the markets of others" (1383) ; or, "Every one buries his mother as he likes" (1388). A person who reports to others something bad that he has seen or heard : "My eye saw something, and my ear heard something" (1393).

The reproof is not always equally polite : there are many scornful or sarcastic proverbs used for the purpose.¹ A person who boasts of being better than his family may also hear the

¹ See also *supra*, p. 12.

remark : "None but a mule denies his origin" (251). A person of low extraction who pretends to come from a good family : "A wick does not come out of a rag" (254). A man of humble origin who rose to a high position and became very overbearing, but afterwards lost his position : "He said to him, What was your father ? He answered him, *Néffār* (the man who during Ramaḍān at certain hours of the night sounds a trumpet from the tower of a mosque). He said to him, Thank God, Ramaḍān has come to an end" (1601). Old people who imitate the behaviour of young ones : "The she-cat is on the roof, and the old woman with blackened eyes is dancing" (wanting to show herself as agile as a cat ; 1813). A servant who constantly makes a mistake when sent on an errand : "Crooked as the tail of a greyhound" (693). An extremely incapable workman : "Blow the fire, O Ḥsāin" (676). A person who quarrels with his guest : "None but a dog bites in his own house" (1090). A man who robs an old woman living alone in her hut : "He who is conquered by men at the market goes back to his wife in the house" (to have his revenge on her ; 1196). A robber who is armed only with a stick, when caught : "A cuckold, and he sups on potatoes" (the poorest of food ; 1160). A bad man who seeks equally bad company : "The lump of dry dung is seeking her sister for forty days" (409).

Proverbs are not only suitable means of censure but also, and for similar reasons, useful weapons of defence. When a white woman who can find no husband of her own race marries a negro, and is laughed at in consequence, she defends herself by saying : "For lack of a relative I call a negro my mother's brother" (63) ; or, "A charcoal, and it will give me fat to eat" (64). If a man is reproved by his family for spending all the money he earns with the proverb, "Bite off a bite and leave [the rest] till to-morrow" (941), he answers them : "Tear off tear off, and God will replace" (942). A person who is blamed for separating himself from a friend with whom he has had a quarrel justifies his conduct with the saying : "Nobody knows

what is inside the skin bag (used for carrying food in travelling, but also, by snake-charmers, for keeping snakes) but he who puts his hand into it " (333). An employer who is told that he pays too high wages quotes the proverb : " Give a little for the sake of God and a little for the sake of my heart " (721). If a man who is engaged to work in another person's garden for small pay is scolded by some one for being idle when the owner is absent, he excuses himself by saying : " If he does not give me my fee, I shall sleep and [then] stretch myself " (636). When an indocile apprentice is beaten by his master, and his father complains of it, the master replies : " The thorn is not removed with cotton " (694) ; or, " Shave me, O my lord, over the cap " (i.e. do the impossible ; 695). If a farmer who refuses to lend his neighbour corn is told that he has lent some to others, he defends himself by indicating that it is impossible for him to help everybody : " The friends are many, and the tears are few " (1073). A person who has caught a thief in his house and taken him to the sheikh accuses him of having stolen more than he has actually done ; when people blame him for it he answers them : " Scratch him who rubbed you " (1162). A thief excuses himself by repeating the saying : " Lack of work is a misfortune " (1164). A person who hears others speaking disparagingly about him, without knowing that he is listening, says : " If fires are lighted, put more wood on me " (1507). The sayings used as answers to unpleasant remarks may also be less civil. If an old man says something disagreeable to a younger person, the latter should politely reply ; " I respect you for the sake of the white beard that is on your face " (1356) ; or, " I respect you for the sake of those white hairs " (1357). But sometimes he gives vent to his anger in the saying : " A white-beard and a villain are like a jackal " (1358). If a person denies the truth of a statement made by another, the latter replies : " The clouds are not hurt by the barking of dogs " (1550). A man who is criticized for something which he has bought indignantly asks : " What does the donkey know about ginger ? " (812).

Generally speaking, however, the Moors are a polite race. If anyone shows you a thing he has bought, you should say it is good, whatever you may think of it: "If you see him riding on a bamboo-cane say to him, Good health to your horse" (1352). Indeed, this is not a matter of mere politeness: there is an idea that the spoken word brings about its own realization. This idea is particularly prominent in curses, oaths, and blessings, but it is also believed that if a person says of a thing that it is not good, something bad will happen to it.¹ There is another superstition that has been conducive to politeness, and at the same time to the use of proverbs as polite answers, namely the idea that a person by refusing a request exposes himself to the danger of being hurt by the other person's evil eye or his curse. If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to some one else, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire; or if one villager refuses to lend his camel to another for a day's work, the camel will become ill or die.² Now it is obvious that a request cannot always be granted, and people often prefer running some risk to doing what they are asked to do; but they may lessen the danger by politely couching the refusal in a proverb. In a country where charity is a cardinal duty it does not sound well to say "no" to a beggar; it is much better to convey one's denial by making an excuse: "What will death take from an empty house" (966)? "Our sickness is the same, and the one who cures is God" (967); or, "[You are] going to a divorced woman that she may make magic for you" (meaning that he who is asked for something is himself in need of it, just as a divorced wife is herself in need of sorcery to make her former husband take her back; 968). A beggar who is not content with that which he has received but asks for more, is told: "Be content with little, God will bring you much" (975); or, "This is for the sake

¹ See *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 603 sq. Even the bare thought is supposed to bring about the event thought of (*ibid.*, i, 422).

² *Ibid.*, i, 424 sq.

of God, give [it] that we may weigh it" (i.e. what is given for the sake of God, even though it is little, weighs much; 976). If a person is asked by another to lend him money, he may inform him that he has already spent all his money (whether it is true or not) by answering: "The sowing passed you before March" (the time when the sowing comes to an end; 1074). When a farmer wants to borrow another's oxen for a day or two in the ploughing season, he may, to his disappointment, be told: "Barley does not come out of a stable of horses" (1075). When a woman who is going to a wedding asks another woman to lend her her costume, and the latter wants it herself because she also is going to the wedding, it is a polite answer to say: "No one gives yeast on a feast-day" (when every mistress of a household needs all the yeast she has; 1076). If a man is invited by another to come and eat with him and, having enough food in his own house, would prefer being entertained on some future occasion when it is scarce, he refuses the invitation by saying: "There is no liberality on a feast-day" (when everybody has meat; 1108). A seller denies credit to a customer by repeating the proverb: "One in the pocket is better than ten that are absent" (824). On the day when a bride is to be taken to the bridegroom's home, the latter is sometimes asked by her family to pay more money in addition to the stipulated dowry; he then refuses the unwarranted claim by saying: "The weeping is over a dead man's head" (69). A guest who proposes to marry the daughter of his host, instead of receiving a direct denial, is told: "He entered walking and went out buying" (74).

In spite of their natural politeness, however, the Moors are an excitable people, and, when enraged, hurl at each other the most awful curses. How exquisite their curses may be can be judged from one of them: "God damn your grandfather and the grandfather of your grandfather and the grandfather of him who does not curse your grandfather"¹—grandfathers

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 480.

are great favourites in Moorish curses because a curse is supposed to affect not only the person mentioned in it, but all his descendants as well. We have seen that there are also some curses among our proverbs.¹ But, on the other hand, the use of an appropriate proverb may serve to cool the rage, stop the quarrel, and make those who were cursing each other a moment before rejoice and shake hands with each other. Once when two of my servants from Tangier quarrelled I had only to recite the proverb: "The quarrel of a native of Tangier is like fumigation with benzoin" (which only lasts for a moment; 505)—and the angry look was changed into a friendly smile. In Morocco the commission of an offence against a person very frequently leads to the intervention of a third party on behalf of the offender—the Moors distinguish between forgiveness from the heart and forgiveness for the sake of another. And in such cases, as has been noticed above,² certain proverbs are used as a kind of *'ār*, which implies the transference of a conditional curse and consequently should act as a means of compulsion. Thus proverbs are in various ways conducive to goodwill and peace.

To influence people's wills and actions is undoubtedly the principal aim of our proverbs. This is true not only of those proverbs which convey an express command, advice, or warning, but, as has been pointed out before, to a very large extent of those also which have the form of an assertion. The directions in which they exercise their influence will be found in the various chapters dealing with different forms of behaviour.

¹ *Supra*, p. 11 sq.

² *Supra*, p. 11.

CHAPTER I

WOMEN—MARRIAGE

ISLAM looks upon women with an unfriendly and suspicious eye. It pronounces their general depravity to be much greater than that of men. According to Muhammadan tradition the Prophet said: "I have not left any calamity more hurtful to man than woman. . . . O assembly of women, give alms, although it be of your gold and silver ornaments; for verily you are mostly of hell on the day of resurrection."¹ And women are stupid and ignorant as well as wicked.

The Moors are acquainted with the Muhammadan saying² :—

- (1) *N-nsā nāqīṣāt'ū* (or, *qillāt'ū*) '*āqlin wā dīn*, "Women are defective in understanding and religion" (Fez, Tangier).
- (2) *N-nsā nsāḥum allāh mēr rhāmt'ū*, "Women have been omitted by God from his mercy."
- (3) *Zein r-rājēl f 'āqlū ū 'aql l-mrā f zéinha*, "The beauty of the man is in his intelligence, and the intelligence of the woman is in her beauty."

Women are the friends of the devil. They are possessed by *jnūn* (*jinn*), who help them to practise witchcraft³; nay many women are really *jnūn* in disguise.⁴ Their looks are dangerous; it is said :—

- (4) *Ida lqūt'i l-m'diyna bzaq fē trêqha u da'i la bē l-qrīna*, "If you meet a woman who has an evil eye, spit on her way and wish her the *Qrīna*" (a female spirit causing the death of infants).⁵

¹ S. Lane-Poole, *The Speeches and Table-Talk of the Prophet Mohammad* (London, 1882), pp. 161, 163.

² I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii (Halle a.S., 1890), p. 296.

³ E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i (London, 1926), pp. 276, 571.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 266 sq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 401 sq.

The curses and vows of women are more fearful than those of men ; it is said :—

- (5) *Ída hálǵú fík r-rjāl bāt nā'as w ída hálǵú fík n-nsā bāt fáyaq*, " If men swear to do you harm spend your night sleeping, and if women swear to do you harm spend your night awake."

A mother's curse is more frightful than a father's, and to be cursed by a shereefa, or female descendant of the Prophet, is even a greater calamity than to be cursed by a shereef. Women are quarrelsome :

- (6) *Šarr l-bndī mā iqāḍiuh hátt'a inédbū l-hínkāt*, " Girls will not finish their quarrel until they scratch the (i.e. each other's) cheeks " ;
- (7) *Šarr š-šárfāt mā irét'hu mēnnū hátt'a inét'fū š-šibāt*, " Old women will not rest from their quarrel until they pull out the (i.e. each other's) white hairs " ;
- (8) *Šarr l-ḥrār mā iqāḍiuh hátt'a inét'fū š-ša'r*, " White women will not finish their quarrel until they pull out the (i.e. each other's) hair " ;
- (9) *Šarr l-ḥdēm mā yēt'qāda illā bē d-dēmm*, " The quarrel of black women only ends with [the effusion of] blood."

When two women are quarrelling and the husband of one of them comes and curses the other woman, the latter says to him :—

- (10) *'Azzūna t'ūlēḍ u l-ḥázzan ihárrqū zúkkū*, " 'Azzūna (name for a Jewess of high rank, such as the wife of a rabbin) gives birth to a child, and the rabbin (her husband) feels pain in his bottom " (Andjra).¹

Men will forget their quarrels, women never :

- (11) *Šarr n-nsā hāmm ū hāmmhum la yēt'ēnsa*, " The quarrel of women is a trouble, and their trouble will not be forgotten."

They are more cunning than the devil :

- (12) *Keid n-nsā qwī u keid š-šitān ḍā'if*, " The cunning of women is strong, and the cunning of the devil is weak."

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1386.

Women are tale-bearers and slanderers. Of a woman who is in the habit of reporting the secrets of other women it is said :—

- (13) *Hámqa ù qalú la zágrét*¹, “ [She is] foolish, and they said to her, Trill the *zjárūt* ”¹ (Andjra).

When a woman is reproved for speaking badly about another woman, she answers :—

- (14) *Sál l-mjárráb lā tsál t-ṭbīb*, “ Ask the experienced one, don't ask the doctor ” (meaning that she knows what she is talking about).²

Women dislike old men, and are much afraid of becoming old themselves :

- (15) *L-mrā t'āhráb mēn š-šīb kīf n-ná'ja mēn d-dīb*, “ The woman flees from white hair as the ewe from the jackal ” ;

- (16) *L-mrā t'āhráb mēn l-kobr kīf ḥauf l-fēkrón*, “ The woman flees from old age like a frightened tortoise ” (which pulls in its head at the least apprehension of danger).

And she has good reasons for her fear, as old women are held extremely objectionable. It is said :—

- (17) *L-mrā ida šerfēt³ ma yēbqa fēha mēn gēr s-sēmm u laun l-kébrūt*³, “ When a woman becomes old, nothing remains in her but poison and the colour of sulphur. ”

The tears of an old woman are not to be trusted, because they come easily :

- (18) *L-bkī dē š-šārfa mḥább'in 'ánda fē l-qfā*, “ The tears of an old woman are hidden behind her neck. ”³

Old women are hypocrites :

- (19) *Ida súft'i š-šārfa bē t-t'ēsbēh 'árfa šītána bē t-t'āshēh*, “ If you see an old woman with a rosary, know that she is truly a devil. ”

¹ For this noise see my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), p. 22, n. 2.

² *Infra*, nr. 1727. A widespread Arabic proverb (see the references in Mohammed ben Cheneb, *Proverbes arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb*, nr. 967; K. L. Tallqvist, *Arabische sprichwörter und spiele* [in *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. xxxix, Helsingfors, 1897], nr. 70).

³ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1453.

There is a saying that when a boy is born a hundred *jūn* (*jinn*) are born with him, and that when a girl is born there are born with her a hundred angels; but every year a *jēnn* passes from the man to the woman and an angel from the woman to the man, so that when the man is a hundred years old he is surrounded by a hundred angels, and when the woman is a hundred years she is surrounded by a hundred devils (*Andjra*). This saying is too long, and not sufficiently definite in its form, to be called a proverb. But there are also the proverbs:—

(20) *L-‘āgūza kt’ar mēn š-šūān*, “An old woman is worse than the devil”; and,

(21) *Li kāyā‘mel yēblīs f ‘ām kāt‘āmlū l-‘āgūza f sá‘a*, “What the devil does in a year an old woman does in an hour.”

There is a story about an old hag who drove the devil into a bottle and closed the bottle; then the devil said “Bravo”, and was released.

In spite of the low opinion held about woman a man should not hesitate to marry one. Though Islam regards marriage as a civil contract, it nevertheless enjoins it as a religious duty “incumbent on all who possess the ability”.¹ “When a servant of God marries, verily he perfects half his religion.”² It is related in the Traditions that the Prophet once asked a man if he was married and, being answered in the negative, said, “Art thou sound and healthy?” When the man replied that he was, the Prophet said, “Then thou art one of the brothers of the devil.”³ The Moors maintain that a married man is blessed in this life and goes to Paradise after death, whereas:

(22) *Idā māt‘ ḥadd ‘azri yēnḥsar m‘a š-šayātīn*, “If some one dies a bachelor, he will rise again with the evil spirits.”

When a well-to-do man who refrains from marrying is laughed

¹ *Mishkāt*, xiii, 1, 1 (English translation by A. N. Matthews, vol. ii [Calcutta, 1810], p. 76).

² *Ibid.*, xiii, 1, 3 (vol. ii, p. 79).

³ T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1896), p. 313.

at and told that no father is willing to give him his daughter, he answers :—

- (23) *Ađráb fě l-‘ázfa iqâmũ šettás*, “ Strike the palmetto, there will rise sixteen [creatures] ” (such as mice ; i.e. if he only indicated his wish to marry, many fathers would offer him their daughters ; Andjra).¹

An elderly bachelor may also explain his disinclination to marry by saying that he is waiting for an opportunity to get a very beautiful wife ; if he then marries an ugly woman the remark is made :—

- (24) *Bqa ‘amm šáyem u ftar b áđlál*, “ He remained fasting for a year and breakfasted on snails ” (Andjra).²

A bachelor is a dangerous person ; if he wants to come and live in a married man’s house, his request is refused with the words :

- (25) *L-qarn mā ikún m’a l-hášra*, “ The horn is not to be with the waist ” (Andjra).

At the same time the advantages of bachelorhood also find expression in the sayings of the people :

- (26) *R-ráđěl l-‘ázri yěmši fāin yěbđi u mhānni mēn a-đjri*, “ The man who is a bachelor goes where he likes and is saved from running ” ;

- (27) *N-nsa sfīna mēn l-‘ūd u r-ráđkēb fēha mēšqūd*, “ Women are a vessel of wood, and he who travels in it is lost ” (Andjra).

A young man of small means should not be in a hurry to marry, but should wait till he owns enough to establish a household. Old people complain that nowadays many a man marries when he possesses some thirty or forty dollars, and then perhaps will have to sell his cloak to be able to buy food for himself and his wife ; formerly a man first earned money by a year’s work :

- (28) *L-lūkiyīn qáhu jwđj līla t’ēdbīri ‘ām*, “ The ancients said, Marriage [takes] a night, the thinking of it a year.”

¹ *Infra*, nr. 709.

² Widespread variants of this proverb (Ben Cheneb, *op. cit.*, nr. 1057).

It is true that the wedding was then a more elaborate affair than it is now :

- (29) *N-nās qālēt^s lī qūl* (see *supra*, p. 41) *l-ōrs sūhāl yēsqâ lū gēr l-mā*, "The people [of old] said, He who says that the wedding is easy should only provide water for it" (then he would see that it is anything but cheap).

There is also the dowry to pay :

- (30) *J-jwāj bla šra' bḥal l-bhîma bla bērd'a*, "Marriage without [the dowry prescribed by] the religious law is like an animal without a pack-saddle."

If a young bachelor is too poor to marry and has no relatives to assist him, some good man in the village may suggest to the other villagers that each of them should give something to help him to get married :—

- (31) *Yidd ne' Uāh yērt^sfēd l-hmel*, "A hand for the sake of God that the load may be lifted [on to the pack-animal]" (Andjra).

A man should be careful in his choice of a wife. It is said :—

- (32) *Jūj imārrtū š-šbāb jwāj bnāt^s l-klāb u n-n'ās fe' a-djēllāb*, "Two [things] make young men sick : to marry daughters of dogs (i.e. disreputable people) and to sleep in the cloak."
 (33) *Idā djūwūjt^si djūwūj l'oşdl ma' ijbār l-ādū ma' iqūl*, "When you marry, marry into a good family, the enemy will find nothing to say."

If a man is going to marry a girl of good family who suffers from some bodily defect and this is commented upon by a friend, he answers :—

- (34) *Iā zein illā zein l-fa'l*, "There is no beauty but the beauty of action."

Nor should a man hesitate to marry into a good family on account of its poverty :

- (35) *Hūd l-mrā l-aşliya u num 'āl l-hşēr*, "Marry a woman of noble origin, and sleep on a mat."

Even in other circumstances it is better to marry a poor woman than a rich :

- (36) *Idā t'ābbi 'ābbi l-məškīna ālu dǰīb la ġēr l-hóbza u s-sərdīna*,
 "When you take a wife take a poor one, even though you bring her only a loaf of bread and a sardine [she will be content]";
- (37) *Lā t'ābbi l-mrā bē dráhma t'ā'mél lēk n-néřha u t'qúl lēk sqi l-mā*, "Don't take a wife who has money, she will treat you with arrogance and say to you, 'Fetch water'" (which is a woman's business).

If a poor man wants to marry a girl whose parents are well-off, he is warned by a friend :—

- (38) *'Āmél l-lóřma qadd dōqmēk qābla t'ohāl lēk*, "Make the handful of food equal to your mouth before it chokes you" (Andjra).

It is natural to marry a person of one's own class or position :

- (39) *Kull zra' kāřǰīb lū llāh kiyaǰlū*, "God brings to all wheat its measurer."¹

If a low-born man wants to marry the widow of a high-born one, she refuses his proposal by saying :—

- (40) *Māda' l-āuda ma nārbāř fēh l-ħmār*, "I shall not tie the donkey at the place of the horse" (Andjra).

If a woman is blamed for having married a stranger who has come to live with her in her own village, she defends herself by saying :—

- (41) *Īak mēl l-āuda wā lā řfeit' lā-dā*, "Your brother by a mare is better than the malignant delight of enemies" (Andjra).²

A man should by preference marry his cousin, especially his father's brother's daughter. It is not right of a man to leave his own cousin unmarried by taking another woman for wife :

- (42) *Lī ħāmmel zēbbāř n-nās iħāmmel dyāli mā iřřf bās*,

¹ Widespread proverb used in various circumstances (Ben Chenob, op. cit., nr. 1509).

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 1638.

“He who clears away the dunghill of others should clear away his own, he will see no evil.”

Cousin marriages are considered to have many advantages.¹ A man knows what sort of a woman his cousin is. It is said that while marrying a strange woman is like drinking water from an earthenware bottle, marriage with a cousin is like the drink from a dish ; or :—

- (43) *D yǎddi bēnt' ammū fḥal dī 'áyyid mēn gánmū*, “He who marries the daughter of his father's brother is like him who celebrates his feast with a sheep from his own flock” (Andjra).

At the same time cousin marriages are not without their drawbacks. They may lead to quarrels between the husband's and wife's families, both wanting to interfere in the married life of the couple. The wife is apt to be disobedient to her husband ; hence the saying :—

- (44) *T'ēssá' mēn dēmmēk qábla inēggsēk*, “Keep away from your blood before it defiles you” (Andjra).

There is also a belief that cousin marriages make the children resulting from them weak and the family unlucky² :

- (45) *'Ammāk yá'māk ū ḥálāk yǎḥlīk ū bá'ad mēn dēmmēk la yēbtīk*, “Your father's brother will make you blind, and your mother's brother will make you destitute, and keep away from your blood, [then] it will not afflict you.”³

The age of the woman who is to be chosen for wife is of course a matter of great importance.

- (46) *Lī djúwǔj l-mrā ḡgēra kāihúz l-ḥair ū d-dḥēra*, “He who marries a young woman gets welfare and a treasure.”

- (47) *'Abbi l-mrā ḡgēra álu t'ákul l-hobz fīēra*, “Marry a young woman, even though you will eat bread made without yeast” (which is supposed to contain little nourishment ;

¹ See my books *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 53 sq., and *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii (London, 1921), p. 70.

² It was also the opinion of the ancient Arabs that the children of marriages between relatives are weakly and lean (see *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 55, n. 1).

³ Cf. *infra*, nrs. 219, 220.

strong food is not needed, because a young wife gives strength to her husband).

- (48) *Lā t'ābbi l-mrā kbīra ḍlu t'ḍkul m'āha l-frāḥ ū l-lḥam ṣgéra*, "Don't marry an old woman, even though you will eat with her young pigeons and lamb's meat" (the most delicious food).
- (49) *Li 'āddū šārfa 'āddū naqīma*, "He who has an old woman [for wife] has a plague" (Dukkāla).
- (50) *Nikāḥ l-mrā š-šārfa kāiwarrāt' l-qmūl u r-rúffa*, "Sexual intercourse with an old woman gives one lice and long hair on the head."

If an old woman asks a young man to marry her, telling him that she is still young and that her white hair is due to some other cause than her age, he refuses her proposal by saying:—

- (51) *Yīkdēb š-šīb u ma yīkdēb šī t-t'ēkmāš*, "The white hair lies, and the wrinkles do not lie" (Andjra).

Various other warnings are given as to the choice of a wife.

- (52) *Āllāh inē^{ad}jik mēn ṣ-šmra u l-mrā ṣ-šāfra*, "May God save you from the dew (which is considered injurious to the health) and from a woman with a yellow face."
- (53) *Lā t'ābbi l-mrā 'ārja t'hāššmēk m'a n-nās ḥēn t'kūn gēiza*, "Don't take a lame wife, she will make you feel shame before people when she is passing."
- (54) *Lā djūwūj l-mrā 'ārja t'ūlēd lū 'āila mārja*, "A lame woman will bear a marshy girl (i.e. a girl whose genitals exude a yellow fluid) to him who marries her."
- (55) *Lā djūwūj l-mrā zā'ra yēmšī lū mt'ā' ū w izīd l-bāgra*, "He who marries a woman with reddish hair will lose his property and also the cow."
- (56) *Lā djūwūj l-mrā 'āina zārqa ḍlu t'kūn 'ānda d-drāhim f ṣōndōqa*, "Don't marry a blue-eyed woman, even though she has money in her box" (a blue-eyed person being reputed to have an evil eye).¹

¹ See *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 419.

- (57) *Lā djúwúj l-mrā twíla t'háiyřek fě l-késwa wú t-tšarwéla*,
 "Don't marry a tall woman, she will embarrass you in regard to clothes and drawers."
- (58) *Ida djúwújiⁱ djúwúj l-qšer ida fššaltⁱ la ma t'hēr*, "When you marry, marry a short one, when you cut clothes for her you will have no trouble."
- (59) *Mā t'ēddi l-hā^{ad}jāla t'ārḥām l-mārḥōm u t'rāddāk zēbbāla*, "Don't take a widow for wife, she will have mercy upon him whom God has had mercy upon (i.e. she will think of her late husband) and make you a dunghill."
- (60) *Lī djúwúj l-hādem š-šārfa ka^twārrāt^s l-'ámrad ū l-qādfa*,
 "He who marries an old negress gets from her illnesses and shortness of breath."

On the other hand :

- (61) *Hādem wālūd aḥsēn mēn ḥorra gair wālūd*, "A fertile negress is better (as a wife) than a sterile white woman."

But of a good white woman who bears children to her husband it is said :—

- (62) *Yīddin l-ḥorra fě t-tā'ām īdām*, "The hands of a white woman are fat in the food."

Sometimes a white woman who can find no husband of her own race marries a negro ; when people laugh at her, she excuses herself by saying :—

- (63) *F 'ādmet^s l-wāli nqūl nē l-'abd ḥāli*, "For lack of a relative I call a negro my mother's brother" (Andjra)¹ ; or,
 (64) *Fāḥma u t'wūkkēlni š-šāḥma*, "A charcoal, and it will give me fat to eat" (Andjra).

When a man who is inclined to marry a certain girl asks other people's advice, he may receive the answer :—

- (65) *Kul lā tsāl*, "Eat, don't ask" (Andjra).

Of a man who hesitated in the choice of a wife and, after marrying, was found to have made a mistake, it is said :—

- (66) *T-tair l-ḥdēq kāiḥsāl mēn mēnqārū*, "[Even] a perspicacious bird is caught by its bill."

¹ *Infra*, nr. 230.

Parents not infrequently arrange the marriage of their son according to their own taste, but he may oppose the choice made by them. If his family want him to marry a certain girl whom he finds objectionable, because he knows that she has had love affairs with other men, he answers them :—

- (67) *L-hádra 'ála t-t'rīd úmma kēsksū šēb'ōh l-'ābīd*, " The talk [should be] about *t'rīd* (thin cakes made of wheaten flour, water, oil, and salt butter, which only a skilful woman can prepare), but as regards *kēsksū* (a common kind of food which anybody can make, symbolizing the girl his family want him to marry) the negroes (meaning her lovers) have eaten of it till they were satisfied " (Andjra).

As for the marriage of a girl, the proposal is made to her father. The dowry, or *šdāq*, which is required for the contraction of a valid marriage, is in some parts of the country fixed once for all by custom, but more frequently its amount is settled by a casual agreement between the parties.¹ Sometimes the suitor is told, as a mark of friendship, that he can give any sum he pleases ; but, in order to avoid future quarrel, he may insist on the mention of a definite amount, by saying :—

- (68) *Š-šart fē l-fēddān wā la l-ḥšāma fē n-nwāḍḍēr*, " A contract in the field is better than a quarrel on the threshing-floor " (Andjra).

But it may also happen that, on the day when the bride is to be taken to the bridegroom's home, the latter is asked by her family to pay more money in addition to the stipulated dowry ; he then refuses the unwarranted claim by saying :—

- (69) *L-bki leiḳūn 'ála rāš l-mīyūt*, " The weeping is over a dead man's head " (Andjra).²

If the suitor is a poor man, the father of the girl may repudiate the proposal with the words :—

- (70) *Lā dṛa' nē l-ḥāḍḍma la ūja nē s-s'āya*, " No arm for work, no face for begging " (Andjra).

¹ *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 64 sqq.

² *Infra*, nr. 1188.

If a man is fascinated by a very young girl and desires to marry her, but her father refuses his consent on account of her young age, a friend may advise him to wait until the girl is grown-up, saying :—

(71) *D ḥābb nēnnū yēšbār l-tīl kūllū*, "He who wants something pretty should wait all night" (Andjra).

If a man is anxious to marry a certain woman and sends some persons to negotiate on his behalf, but the proposal is not accepted, somebody who gets to know about it may give him the advice :—

(72) *D ḥābb l-'dsēl yēšbār n 'add n-nḥāl*, "He who loves honey should be patient of the stinging of the bees" (Andjra) ¹ ;
or,

(73) *Bē l-mḥāll lāynt'kēl l-blē^{ad}jān*, "With slowness the egg-plant is eaten" (i.e. the growing of an egg-plant requires unusual attention) (Andjra).²

A guest who proposes to marry the daughter of his host, instead of receiving a direct refusal, is told :—

(74) *Tḥal msāri wū ḥrēj šāri*, "He entered walking and went out buying" (Andjra).

A man who has asked the parents of a girl to give him her hand, but been told by them that she has already been betrothed to another, says to himself or to some one inquiring about the matter :—

(75) *Fāin 'ainēk 'ain gāirēk*, "Where your eye is, is the eye of somebody else" (Andjra).

If a young man cannot get the girl whom he wishes to marry, other young men of the village may tease him by firing off their guns opposite his house and crying out :—

(76) *Takkūk takkūk fīn ma nārḍawah ū ḥadd aḥḥr arāwah*,
"Cuckoo, cuckoo, we do not approve of so-and-so, and bring somebody else."

Then another party of young men answer from a distance :—

(77) *Qālēt' lāwah qālēt' lāwah fīn ma nārḍawah ū ḥadd aḥḥr*

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1327.

² *Infra*, nr. 1331.

ardwah, "She said no, she said no, we do not approve of so-and-so, and bring somebody else."

The unsuccessful lover can get rid of his tormenters only by giving them tea and sugar (Andjra). A similar custom prevails in the tribe of the Jbël lä-Ḥbīb, where I heard the cries of the young men on two successive evenings.

There are many sayings relating to married life.

(78) *J-jwāj bla nīya bhāl l-bérrād bla sīnīya*, "Marriage without good faith is like a tea-pot without a tray."

(79) *Kull šī fīh š-šérka mēn gēr j-jwāj ū š-šlā l-mēbrūka*, "In everything there is partnership with the exception of marriage and the blessed prayer."

(80) *D ḥābb ḥrāmū yāḥdih*, "He who loves his wife should guard her" (not allowing other men to talk with her; Andjra).

(81) *Lā t'ā'mēl šī b rai l-mra*, "Don't follow the advice of your wife" (if you do, she will rule over you; Andjra).

(82) *Šāwar mrāt'āk ū 'āmel rāyēk šāwar mrāt'āk ū ḥālēf rāiha*, "Consult your wife and follow your own mind, consult your wife and act contrary to her advice."

(83) *Tā'at n-nsā kaḍḍāḥḥal lē n-nār*, "Obedience to women makes one enter hell."

A married man should say "good" (*mlēḥ*) to anything his family ask of him, without thinking of doing it; hence the punning saying:—

(84) *Idā djūwūjtī ḥāuwūd l-mlāḥ t'ērt'āḥ*, "When you marry surround [yourself] with a ditch of salt (i.e. salt water), you will be at rest" (the plural of *mlēḥ* is *mlāḥ*).

If a man speaks kindly to his wife, he will be loved by her as if he were her sucking child:

(85) *L-lsān l-ḥlū t'rdt'ū l-lbīya*, "A sweet tongue will be sucked by the lioness."

Of a bad couple who are constantly quarrelling it is said:—

(86) *Tāḥ l-ḥokk fē l-ma ū jbar ḡtaḥ t'emma*, "The snuff-box fell into the water and found its lid there" (Andjra).

The following saying is used of a bad man who marries a bad woman, or of two bad persons who settle down as neighbours :—

- (87) *T'láqa š-šēbb m'a t-tártar u jāt s-sbiġa hēndīya*, " Alum met with tartar, and prickly-pear coloured dye came [out of it] " (Andjra).

If a married woman quarrels with her husband for the purpose of being divorced by him and people ask her why she has picked the quarrel, she answers them :—

- (88) *Mā laikūn ḥadd fē l-^ajinna u yāḥrūj mēnna*, " There is nobody in Paradise who will go out of it " (i.e. if her marriage were a happy one she would not desire to put an end to it ; Andjra).

A thievish wife is of course a great nuisance. If a man, when coming home from his work in the evening, is told that his wife has stolen something from another person, he says :—

- (89) *D ma 'andū ḥamm t-wēldū lū ḥmārt'ū*, " If a man has no trouble, his she-ass will cause it to him " (Andjra).

A thievish wife should be divorced :

- (90) *L-mrā ida kânēt' qārrāqa idlāqha u 'ātēha sdāqha*, " If the wife is a thief, divorce her and give her her dowry."

- (91) *L-mrā ida kânēt' qāḥba dlu t'kūn b wūlda idlāqha mā t'hēbbha*, " If the wife is unfaithful, even though she has a child, divorce her, don't love her."

But a man should not on flimsy grounds divorce a wife who has borne children to him ; the following is said as a reminder that such a wife should be treated with consideration :—

- (92) *Li 'ānēd ḥāimt'ū ḥlāqha*, " He who opposes his tent (i.e. his wife) empties it."

There are also other sayings discouraging divorce. If a man wants to repudiate his wife and marry another woman, with whom he has already had sexual intercourse, he is told :—

- (93) *L-mbēddēl mā ḥāmlāt'ū yimmāh*, " A changeling (i.e. a child that some jēnn has substituted for the mother's

own child shortly after its birth)¹ is not endured by his mother" (Andjra).

If a married couple are constantly quarrelling, the husband is warned by his relatives that it will end in divorce :—

(94) *Idā šuft^s t-ṭbēl läiqāllaq 'drfū māši yīskut^s*, "If you see a drum beaten quickly, know that it is going to be silent" (Andjra).

If a married man complains of his wife to her father and says that he is going to divorce her, the father replies :—

(95) *T-t'aur ma yá'ya bā grónū*, "The bullock does not get tired of his horns" (i.e. she is welcome back to his house ; Andjra).

Married women hate the idea of their husbands taking fresh wives, and try by magical means to prevent them from doing so.² A married woman expresses her objection to a new marriage by saying :—

(96) *Qálbi frīk ma ydhmel šrīk*, "My heart is a dry ear (or pod ; i.e. as easily broken as a dry ear or pod), it will bear no partner."

If a married man complains to his friends of the behaviour of his wife, they may give him the advice :—

(97) *Dull l-mra b áhra*, "Humble the wife with another" (Andjra).

When a man has two wives, one is naturally the favourite and the other one may have to ask her permission if she wants to do this or that ; hence the saying :—

(98) *Tāmu šōndōq l-māl ū 'Awīša mēft'āhū*, "Tāmu is the money-box and 'Awīša (the favourite) is the key of it."

A mother is generally on good terms with her daughter's husband, but quarrels with her daughter-in-law ; it is said :—

(99) *R-rájl b yīmmāh idā djúwūj mša ně l-hāmm kūyēndrāj*, "If a man with his mother [alive] marries, he goes to trouble by steps."

¹ See *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 398 sq.

² *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 574, 575, 580 ; ii, 544, 552, 555 sq.

If we judged the Moors by their proverbs we might easily draw the conclusion that they are almost devoid of tender feelings towards their wives. But here we have an instance of the danger the student of a people's proverbs runs if he takes them as indicative of its character without possessing adequate knowledge of its habits and modes of thought. In the present case we have to take into account the Moorish ideas of decency. It is considered indecent to *show* any affection for one's wife ; in the eyes of the outside world the husband should treat her with the greatest indifference. I once had a discussion with some women in an Arabic-speaking nomad tribe, who were very anxious to hear about the women in my own country. They greatly approved of our monogamy ; when there are two wives in a tent, they said, they scratch each other's faces and pull each other by the hair. They were almost indignant when I told them that we do not pay anything for our wives, but on the contrary often get money with them ; they argued that if we pay nothing for a wife, we must consider that she is worth nothing. Then I said, " In my country the husband is always kind to his wife, and when they go out together they walk arm in arm." But I should never have said this. The women suddenly turned pale as a sheet and did not know where to look, and even the two men who were present felt much embarrassed. I found, too late, that it was probably the most indecent thing I had said in all my life. On board a steamer going to Genoa I met a young Moor from Fez. He had just married and was now on his wedding trip ; but he had left his wife at home. This was very appropriate behaviour for a newly-married young man.

CHAPTER II

LOVE—SEXUAL RELATIONS

WHILE there is no tenderness in the sayings relating to married life, there are not a few sayings about love and even romantic attachment; although where the separation between the sexes is so strict as it is in towns and among the Jbâla, or Arabic speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco, there is no great opportunity for a young man to fall in love with a decent girl before marriage.

(100) *Ārôq l-mhébbā fē l-qalb*, "The roots of love are in the heart" (which is regarded as the sultan of the body).

If you fall in love, you do not see or care for anybody but the beloved one:

(101) *B'âini šuft' z-zein kāyq'mi l-'âinîn*, "With my eye I saw the beauty, it blinds the eyes."

(102) *R-râbta š'diba hîya t'hâmmaq au t'dq'el*, "Strong attachment is difficult, it makes one mad or kills."

A young man who has been captivated by a pretty girl to become her lover is compared with a fish that has been caught by a sea-gull:—

(103) *L-hottdâf l-bâhri rhâ jnâhi nē l-mā dâk l-'âyyûn l-kôhâl fârqâni 'âla yîmma*, "The sea-gulls lowered their wings to the water, those black eyes separated me from my mother."

A man who is laughed at, because he follows a woman from place to place, defends himself by saying:—

(104) *Qsîsra u msrâra fâ grâdha jût' âna*, "A pretty little one and tiptop, for her sake I came."

When a love-sick person is asked what is the matter with him, he answers:—

(105) *T-îbîb ya'râf dâya*, "The doctor (i.e. the woman he loves,

who is the only one that can cure him) knows my illness."

When a man passes the house of his sweetheart, who may be a married woman, and sees her from the road but is unable to speak to her on account of the presence of other persons, he says, as it were to himself:—

(106) *L-hádra m'a ṣ-ṣárya u fhām yǎ ʔ-ʔjǎrya*, "The talk is with the pillar and understand, O servant girl" (Andjra).¹

When a man is in love with a woman who has not yielded to his advances, he tries to coerce her by going to the door of her house and addressing her with the following words, which are looked upon as a kind of 'ār, containing a conditional curse²:—

(107) *Qúddam ḍárkum nǎbki u nqáttar ḍmǎʔi*, "In front of your house I weep and let my tears drop."

When a man wants to have sexual intercourse with a woman, either with her permission or by force, she may refuse him by saying:—

(108) *Ma nkrabná ši ʔála síddi u mwǎliya ʔása ḍébbān šwǎriya*, "We take no notice of my lords and masters, so much the less of the flies of my basket" (Andjra).

When passing a pretty girl in the street a man may say by way of invitation:—

(109) *Z-zein bá ḥrǎfǎ ddiḥ nǎ mmǎ tšǎfǎ*, "The beauty with its signs, take it to his mother to look at."

If a woman loves a man she will give herself up to him without money or presents, but if she dislikes him nothing that he could give her will induce her to do so:

(110) *Ida bǎwǎk lǎ tšqa w ida kǎrhuk lǎ tʔkǎttʔar nǎfqa*, "If they love you don't trouble yourself, and if they hate you don't spend more [on them]."

A woman who loves a man is not kept back even by a closed door:

(111) *L-mrǎ ida ḥábbǎtʔ r-rǎjǎl tʔaʔtǎh lǎ mǎn t-tʔǎqba ḍǎ l-bǎb*, "If a woman loves a man, she will give it (i.e. her vulva) to him [even] through a hole in the door."

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1479.

² See *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 518 sqq.

If a woman is chatting with a ragged man and is laughed at because she associates with such a person, she replies:—

- (112) *Bus 'ad-jrū mēn fāmū hātt'a t'ūdqi hājit'ēk mēnnū,*
 "Kiss the dog on his mouth, until you get what you want from him" (Andjra).¹

If a man has promised to marry a girl with whom he has had sexual intercourse and not kept his promise, she blames him for having at the same time spoiled her chance of getting another husband, saying:—

- (113) *Ma nāklēk ā 'šei ma nū'tēk n ā'dei,* "I shall not eat you, O my supper, I shall not give you to my enemies" (Andjra).

Love is excited by beauty:

- (114) *Z-zein hābbū llāh,* "God loves beauty."

- (115) *Nādra fē l-mlēh t'đhyi l-qalb u yērja' šhēh,* "The sight of the beautiful enlivens the heart, and it becomes strong."

To give enjoyment to a man, a woman must be good-looking and stout:

- (116) *Li ma drab f bēndāir kbīr mā šba' hādra,* "He who does not play on a big tambourine is not satisfied by the hādra" (the performance of some religious fraternities, in this case symbolizing sexual intercourse).²

When an ugly woman wears a fine dress the remark is made:—

- (117) *Z-zein 'ālu d-dēfla u d-dēfla mērra,* "Beauty is on the oleander, and the oleander is bitter" (Andjra); or,

- (118) *Ziyin nē l-āwīyid yēr'ja' jwīyid,* "Dress up the little piece of wood, it will become pretty" (Andjra).³

Excess in sexual intercourse is fraught with evil consequences:

- (119) *N-n'ās kt'ir m'a l-mrā kāiwārrāt l-đma,* "Much sleep with a woman produces blindness."

A man who is reproached for having spoiled his eyesight through a libidinous life may make the remark:—

- (120) *Wahhābt' bašāri 'āla dakāri,* "I have given away my eyesight for the sake of my penis."

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1719. Widespread proverb (A. P. Singer, *Arabic Proverbs*; edited by E. Littmann [Cairo, 1913], nr. 115).

² *Infra*, nr. 1091. ³ Widespread proverb (Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, nr. 151).

But on the other hand there is also a belief that lack of sexual intercourse hurts the eyes :

- (121) *Qāwt'ū t'ā'mi ū qāllt'ū t'ā'mi*, " Much of it makes one blind, and little of it makes one blind."

The Moors attribute the downfall of their power to two circumstances : they exchanged the weapons which formerly used to hang on their walls for ornamental things, and they began to sleep with their wives in one bed, treating them like prostitutes, which had the effect of making the man womanly. This is implied in the saying :—

- (122) *Sbāb hlākna t'ezwēq l-ḥyōt u n-n'ās m'a qhābna*, " The causes of our ruin are the decoration of the walls and the sleeping with our harlots."

There is also the maxim :—

- (123) *Ba'ād mēn nēfs l-mrā kāiwārrāt' l-ḥauf fē d-dādma*, " Keep away from the breath of a woman (i.e. don't sleep with her in the same bed), it produces fear in the dark."

- (124) *Li yēnkāḥ l-yahūdīya yēlṣaq mēnna l-mart fē s-ṣbah ū l-'āšīya*, " If a man has sexual intercourse with a Jewess, sickness from her will stick [to him] in the morning and evening."

A man who has had such intercourse is considered to be so polluted that he has to bathe in seven different rivers to get rid of the defilement. On the other hand, intercourse with a Christian woman is so highly appreciated that a man may make himself destitute in order to have the enjoyment :

- (125) *Li yēnkāḥ n-nāṣrānīya t'be' lū kull šī ḥātt'a l-bēd'āya*, " If a man has sexual intercourse with a Christian woman, she will sell everything that he has got (i.e. he will sell it and spend the money upon her), even the waistcoat."

Of a man who has wasted all his money on prostitutes it is said :—

- (126) *Bāš nḥraq l-qāṣṣōn bē t-trōr ū š-šēbbāba*, " How was the tent burned ? By little tambourines and a reed-flute."

- (127) *L-gla mēn ăllāh 'dṣā u n-nās zéidīn fē š-šubbān wū n-nsā,*
 "Dearth is a chastisement from God, and the people
 increase [it] through [intercourse with] lads and women."

In a country where the greatest decency is required of women, prostitutes are naturally held in the utmost contempt.

A well-dressed woman who offers herself in the street is asked :—

- (128) *Ā l-mbīyāt mēn bārā aš ḥālēk mēn dāḥāl,* "O you who
 are whitened outwardly, how do you fare inwardly ?"

Or she may hear the joking remark :—

- (129) *Zāwaq t'be'*, "Decorate, you will sell" (which is also
 said of a beautifully decorated shop).

Of a prostitute whose mother is also known to have been a prostitute, it is said :—

- (130) *Māin dē l-āšība mēn dā l-ḥšība,* "From where comes
 the splinter ? From the little piece of wood" (Andjra).¹

If a man who has a prostitute among the women of his family comes and sits down in a company of other people, they say between themselves :—

- (131) *Qārrān d-dyāb ydḥfar l-gār w ibāt' āla bārā,* "A cuckold
 among the jackals digs a den and spends the night
 outside."

It may be that a person in whose family there is a lewd woman moves to another place so as not to see her or hear about her ; if asked why he has changed his abode, he answers :—

- (132) *'Ain la tšūf qalb la yēt' wū'āja'*, "Eye does not see,
 heart does not suffer."²

If a married woman is seen on the roof of a house by people passing by, she is regarded almost as a prostitute ; they make the remark :—

- (133) *N-nās t'ā'jbēt' fē ā-jmēl ida tla' fōq ṣ-ṣtaḥ,* "People
 wonder at a camel if he climbs a roof" (Andjra).

A bastard is also held in great contempt. He feels no gratitude for a benefit :

- (134) *'Alāmāt' ulād l-ḥrām ḥāma li ma išūfū tā'ām,* "The signs

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 241. ² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1272).

of children of fornication are that they do not regard food [given them].”

There is no merit in helping them, the good deed being washed away at once :

(135) *Ida 'int'i wēld z-znā bḥal l-gābra āl l-qnā*, “ If you help a child of fornication, it is like dust in a gutter.”

(136) *Māklēt' l-ḥorrēq wā la ḥair z-zēndēq*, “ The eating of nettles is better than a benefit from a bastard ” (*zendēq* means originally a Manichean).

Incest is looked upon as a horrible and nefarious act.

(137) *Li yēnkāḥ āmmū kāḡnāḥū nākāḥāḥa fē l-kā'bah*, “ If a man has sexual intercourse with his mother, it is as if he had intercourse with her in the Ka'bah.”

(138) *Li yēnkāḥ dḥt'ū kāḡnāḥū nākāḥāḥa fē l-qūds*, “ If a man has intercourse with his sister, it is as if he had intercourse with her in [the Temple of] Jerusalem.”

(139) *Li yēnkāḥ ḥāl'ū kāḡnāḥū nākāḥāḥa fē l-beit' l-mā'mōr*, “ If a man has intercourse with his mother's sister, it is as if he had intercourse with her in *l-beit' l-ma'mōr* ” (the name for a house which is supposed to be in the sky above the Ka'bah).

(140) *Li yēnkāḥ āmm'ū ya'tēḥ āllāḥ t'lāt'a l-ḍma u l-faqr u a-ḡjdām*, “ He who has intercourse with his father's sister, may God give him three [things] : blindness and poverty and leprosy.”

(141) *Li yēnkāḥ bēnt' ḥt'ū yēḥdāb āllāḥ barakāt'ū mēḥ rdzqū*, “ He who has intercourse with his sister's daughter, may God take away his blessings from his daily bread.”

Incest is considered infinitely worse than pederasty. Indeed, in towns and among the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco, where pederasty is exceedingly prevalent, it is practically regarded with indifference, except in the case of boys who prostitute themselves and grown-up men who practise passive pederasty. Nevertheless it is censured in many sayings.

- (142) *Nâkeḥ d-dâkar ikûn mëllâl bë l-lîl u n-nhâr*, "He who has sexual intercourse with a male is despised by night and day."
- (143) *Nikâḥ d-drâri kâishât 'âlih l-bâri*, "Intercourse with boys is cursed by the Maker" (one of the epithets of God).
- (144) *Nikâḥ l-fëkkêḥa kâiwârrât^s l-fîlêḥa*, "Sodomy causes disgrace."
- (145) *Nikâḥ d-dâbôr kâizûwël n-nônôr* (instead of *l-ônôr*), "Sodomy takes away honour."
- (146) *Nikâḥ t-t^sérma kâiwârrât^s l-'âma*, "Sodomy produces blindness."
- (147) *Nikâḥ l-'âyâl kâizûwël qâwût^s r-rijâl*, "Intercourse with boys takes away the strength of men."
- (148) *Nikâḥ ṣ-ṣâbyân kâiwârrât^s l-faqr u n-nésyân*, "Intercourse with young boys causes poverty and forgetfulness."
- (149) *Nikâḥ z-zwâqmël kâiwârrât^s d-dmâmël*, "Intercourse with boy prostitutes produces boils."
- (150) *Nâkeḥ l-'abd ikûn mâqḥôr fë l-blâd*, "May he who has intercourse with a negro be subdued in [his] country."

Homosexual intercourse between women is held in much contempt both by men and women, though it is anything but rare. It is said :—

- (151) *Drîfa û 'ammâla bḥal a-'jârwa mâḥkâka fë n-nûwâla*, "Fine looking and a tribade, like an itchy bitch in a straw hut."

Bestiality, also, is by no means infrequent. It is sometimes practised for medicinal or prophylactic purposes : with a she-ass on three days in succession as a cure for gonorrhœa (Dukkâla), and with a black dog as a permanent safeguard against imprisonment (Andjra). Boys have intercourse with she-asses for the purpose of getting sexual capacity and making the penis grow. In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed.¹ There

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 289.

are many sayings, of a jocular character, relating to it, in which the evil consequences attributed to the act have been suggested by the name of the animal. A few instances will suffice to give an idea of these sayings.

- (152) *Li yēnkāḥ l-ḥmāra ma ihāmluh la msēlmīn wā la nšāra*,
 "He who has intercourse with a she-ass, neither Muhammadans nor Christians will bear him."
- (153) *Li yēnkāḥ a-^ajēmla ya'tēh āllāh kāt^rrdt^r l-baqq u n-nēmla*,
 "He who has intercourse with a she-camel, may God give him a lot of bugs and an ant."
- (154) *Li yēnkāḥ l-qātta ijb lāh l-ḥārrēs lū rāsū bē l-bd̄tta*,
 "He who has intercourse with a she-cat, may God bring one who breaks his head with a bottle."
- (155) *Li yēnkāḥ d-dība ydt^rih āllāh bē a-^ajēdri ū 'ādām š-šība*,
 "He who has intercourse with a she-jackal, may God bring him smallpox and no absinthium" (used as a medicine for smallpox).
- (156) *Li yēnkāḥ yūka ijh l-weil bē š-šēbka*, "He who has intercourse with an owl, may a net of great evils come to him."

I have heard other similar sayings in which the animal mentioned is a mare, a she-mule, a she-calf, a ewe, a she-kid, a bitch, a sow, a she-monkey, a she-fox, a female hare, a hen, or a tame pigeon.

Masturbation is considered more reprehensible than pederasty and bestiality. This is also suggested by the sayings:—

- (157) *Li yēnkāḥ yiddū kāḡnāḡhū nkāḡ ūmmū*, "If any one has intercourse with his hand, it is as if he had intercourse with his mother";
- (158) *Nākeḡ yiddū isd̄ḡtū 'ālih n-nās u jd̄ūdū*, "He who has intercourse with his hand, the people and his ancestors will curse him."

CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY

CHILDREN are generally much longed for.

(159) *R-rjēl bla ulād bḥal l-'aud bla qaid*, "A man without children is like a horse without a tether."

(160) *J-jwāj bla 'āyāl qīl dwāmū ně r-rjāl*, "A marriage without children does not last long for men."

Of a man who leaves children when he dies it is said:—

(161) *Li ḥālla ḥlīft^u kāṇnāḥū ma māt*, "If a man leaves his substitute, it is as if he did not die."

Yet when, on the death of a man, condolers say to his widow that her husband has left a son in his place, she answers:—

(162) *Idā zālēt^s l-'ain bqa māda' ḥofra*, "If the eye disappears, the place remains a hole" (Andjra).

It is said, in accordance with Muhammadan tradition, that in the case of the first child the birth of a girl is a greater blessing than that of a boy:—

(163) *Li yēbda l-wūlda l-lūliya bē l-farj fārraj allāh 'ālih*, "He whose first child is one with a vulva was gladdened by God."

A daughter is called *mēft^sāḥ d-dār*, "the key of the house," because she looks after the house and her parents. A year during which the women of a village give birth to daughters only will be a prosperous year (Dukkāla). It is a person's daughters, not his sons, who express grief at his death; hence:

(164) *Li ma 'āddū bnāt ma i'arfūh n-nās imta māt*, "He who has no daughters, the people will not know when he died" (Dukkāla).

On the other hand, daughters leave the house as soon as they marry:

(165) *Dyōr l-bnāt^s fē l-ḥēn ḥlīt^s*, "The houses of girls are soon empty."

There can be no doubt that a boy is generally much more welcome than a girl.¹ When a married woman is going to give birth to a child, people say :—

- (166) *Wēldū dkar ū sūybū fē l-bḥar*, “ Give birth to a male and throw him into the sea ” (a boy will save himself even though he is thrown into the sea).

A man who has money but no children grudgingly says to one who has children but no money :—

- (167) *Mā yá'te rábbi l-fūl ġar ně d ma 'ánu snān*, “ God gives beans only to him who has no teeth ” (Andjra).

But the poor man with a family has also something to complain of :—

- (168) *T-t'ājēr ida tlab l-'āyāl kāijih r-ryāl u l-mēskīn ida tlab r-ryāl kāijih l-'āyāl*, “ If a rich man asks for children dollars come to him, and if a poor man asks for dollars children come to him.”

There is even the pessimistic saying :—

- (169) *Idā djūwūj rkēb s-sāfīna w ida ūlēd ġraq*, “ If he marries he embarks on a vessel, and if he gets a child he is wrecked.”

It is the first duty of parents to support their children.

- (170) *Mā t'harrās (š=ǰ) šī š-šādqa hátt'a išēb'ū l-'āyāl*, “ Don't let charity go out of your house until the children are satisfied.”

- (171) *Nēfqa áhsēn mēn šādqa*, “ Expenditure [on behalf of one's family] is better than charity.”

A man who gives charity to strangers and leaves his family starving is told :—

- (172) *R-ráǰēl kāibūl ġēr l-láura bhāl l-būla dē a-ǰmēl*, “ The man is only making water from behind like the making water of a camel.”²

A well-to-do man who is reproached by his family for giving charity may answer :—

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 374 sq.

² *Infra*, nr. 1012. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1490).

(173) *Llah yēn'āl ṣ-ṣāba dī gēlba l-hmār*, "May God curse the heap of corn that was taken by the donkey" (i.e. he has so much corn that it does not matter if a donkey eats one of the heaps of it; Andjra).

(174) *L-hādma 'āl l-ulād aḥsēn mēl l-hādj u d-djihād*, "Work for the sake of the children is better than pilgrimage and the holy war."

The first thing a father should give to his children is food, which is even more important than clothing :

(175) *Lā jō' illā jō' z-zra'*, "There is no hunger but the hunger of wheat."

Parents must give their children food and drink even though they themselves have to suffer want :

(176) *Klām l-'āuda mēl li ālett' ma šrabt' mā'i ṣāfi wā la 'ālfī wāfi*, "The mare said, Since I foaled I have not drunk my water pure, nor has my food been up to the mark."

A man who finds it difficult to support his family remarks :—

(177) *Yā'ya lī qūm u ma ya'yā' šī mēft'ōh d-dqūm*, "He who rises gets tired, and the open mouth does not get tired."¹

The expenses for feeding his family may be greater than a man can well afford. When asked by some one how much he has paid for the food he bought at the market, he may answer :—

(178) *D hēsba ma klāha*, "He who counts it does not eat it" (i.e. if he had counted what he spent, he would not eat of the food; Andjra).

Of an old man who on his death leaves nothing behind for his family it is said :—

(179) *'Ās ma ksēb māt' ma hālla*, "He lived [and] acquired nothing, he died [and] left nothing" (Andjra).

When the children of a man who has died without leaving anything behind are taken care of by some stranger, the brother of the deceased is politely told that it is his duty to support them, with the phrase :—

(180) *D-djndh lāigātti 'āla ṣ-ṣādra*, "The wing covers the chest" (Andjra).

¹ *Infra*, nr. 625.

There is also the education of the children, which should not be neglected.

- (181) *Bněk fđđđli fě l-mākla wũ l-kěswa ũ đárbũ 'āla t-t'rābi wũ n-něšwa*, "Favour your son with food and clothing, and beat him for the sake of education and for intoxication."
- (182) *Rābbi ũ đrab iněf'āk fě d-dúnja u t-t'rāb*, "Educate and beat [your child], he will be useful to you in the world and in the earth" (i.e. the grave).
- (183) *Rābbi wělděk iněf'āk m'a llāh u m'a n-nās irdf'āk*, "Educate your son, he will be useful to you with God and will exalt you among the people."
- (184) *Ūlěd wělděk šěh lā t'wěldũ gándōr*, "Bring up your son to be a learned man, don't bring him up to be a fop."
- (185) *L-qāri lā t'wúrrīh u l-fāhām yěf'hām*, "He who can read, don't show him (i.e. you need not show him) [how to do it], and he who has understanding will understand."

When a father takes his little son to school, he tells the teacher to punish the boy if he does not behave properly, by saying:—

- (186) *Qt'el w āna nědfěn*, "Kill and I will bury."

But he may also ask the schoolmaster not to beat the boy because his wife would not like it; and in this case the master may answer him:—

- (187) *Sīdi běn sīdi ma yđqra*, "[Then] his lordship, son of his lordship, will not study."

A father cannot be at ease until the son has grown in years and wisdom, just as the owner of a flock is anxious about his lambs and kids until the *hāiyđn* (lasting from 25th February to 4th March, Old Style), when they are only too liable to be killed by rough weather, has passed; this is figuratively expressed by the well-known saying ¹:—

- (188) *Lā t'ā'zel jđik měn a-đjěđyđn hātī'a đđōr liđli hāiyđn*, "Don't separate your kid from the other kids until the nights of *hāiyđn* have turned round." ²

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 175 sq.

² *Infra*, nr. 1975.

- (189) *Rābbi bēnt'ēk ū 'allēmha ida djūwjet' t'lēbbes wēldha,*
 "Educate your daughter and teach her, when she
 marries she will clothe her child."

The parents should carefully guard her chastity. They should not allow her to paint her eyes, lips, or other parts of her face, and they should only let her sleep on the lower floor of the house, where the parents sleep :

- (190) *Bēnt'ēk lā t'allēmha hrūf wā lā tsēkkénha grūf,* "Don't teach your daughter the signs [of beauty (*hrūf z-zēin*)], and don't lodge her in the loft."

Children give their parents troubles in various ways. A parent whose child does mischief complains :—

- (191) *D ūlēd mā rbāh,* "He who gets a child does not gain" (Andjra).

- (192) *L-gāba ma ihārāqha mēn gēr 'ūdha,* "The forest is only burnt by its own wood."¹

Of a man who has a wasteful wife and an unruly son it is said :—

- (193) *S-sū'i yēs'a wū l-mrā tšēddaq u bnu kāifēllaq,* "The beggar begs, and the wife gives charity,² and his son knocks [people] on the head" (implying the drawing of blood).

When a lazy son consumes the earnings of his father, people remark :—

- (194) *S-sba' kāihārrēs u d-dīb kayākul,* "The lion breaks to pieces, and the jackal eats."

When a person is annoyed with his son (or friend or servant), people say to him :—

- (195) *Li t'bēddel lāunu yāhsēn 'āunu,* "May He (i.e. God) render his help to him who changes countenance."

When a child breaks something in the house and runs away, his mother threatens to punish him by tying him up :—

- (196) *Hātt'a nāqqi lēk rjēl m'a rjēl kif l-bāqra m'a l-'ājēl,*
 "[I shall not be content] till I put on you foot to foot,
 like a cow with the calf" (Andjra).

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1274). ² *Infra*, nr. 945.

A father warns his son that if he commits a fault he will have to help himself :—

- (197) *Hdēha qbēl ma ttra w ida trat' mšit'i*, "Be upon your guard against it before it happens,¹ and if it happens you are gone."

As regards a mischievous son the father makes the remark :—

- (198) *Qdbtū ihāzznēk idlqū yēnkik*, "Catch him (i.e. put him in prison) [and] he will make you sad, release him [and] he will annoy you."

- (199) *Bnēk ida hrēj lēk šaraq sūybū 'alik ālu ikān hmaq*, "If your son turns out to be a thief, give him up even though he will be mad."²

But a father who disowns his son on account of misbehaviour may also be told :—

- (200) *Yiddēk mēnnēk wā lau mējdām*, "Your hand belongs to you, even though it is leprous" (also said if a person speaks badly about a relative; Andjra).

If a well-to-do man has an incapable or lazy son who asks his father to support him and his family, and the father complains of it to other villagers, they say to him :—

- (201) *T-t'aub l-wāfi lāigātti 'āla l-qšir*, "The full-sized garment covers the short one" (i.e. the support he gives his son will not affect him; Andjra).³

But if poor parents have a lazy son whom they provide with food and good clothes, a friend who sees him so well dressed makes the reproachful remark to his father :—

- (202) *Ā hšara fē l-ihūdi 'āinū*, "What a pity that the Jew has his eyes" (the only thing admired in a Jew; Andjra).

On the other hand, grown-up sons have to take care of their old parents; they should not forget the time when they sat on the parent's lap :

¹ *Infra*, nr. 696.

² For proverbs used with regard to a son or foster-son stealing from his father, see *infra*, nrs. 1200-3.

³ For a proverb used with regard to a son who leads an idle and dissipated life, see *infra*, nr. 642.

(203) *Uldā d-dūkōr yēnšābū beil l-hjūr*, "Male children should be found on the laps."

Parents have at their disposal a terrible means of punishing a wicked or neglectful child, namely, their curse. The curses of parents are more powerful than those of saints :

(204) *Li hārrsuh l-wālīdīn ma ijdbbrūh ṣ-ṣālēhīn wū lli hārrsuh ṣ-ṣālēhīn ijdbbrūh l-wālīdīn*, "He who has been broken by his parents will not be repaired by the saints, and he who has been broken by the saints will be repaired by his parents."

At Fez there was a man who had become blind through the curse of a living saint with whom he had a quarrel ; but afterwards his parents gave him back his eyesight by means of their blessings and prayers. A person who has been cursed by his parents will have all sorts of trouble : he will be disliked by everybody, he will have many quarrels, he will become a glutton, he will be poverty-stricken, he will fall dangerously ill, and after his death he will go to hell. Yet the parents may themselves make their curse ineffective by a subsequent blessing. The blessings of parents are as powerful as their curses :

(205) *L-mārđi gattīwāh u l-mēshōt 'arriwāh*, "He who is blessed by his parents is covered by them, and he who is cursed by his parents is stripped of his clothes by them."

(206) *L-hārāmi ma ikūn bhāl l-mārđi*, "The rascal is not like him who is blessed by his parents."

There are also various sayings referring to the relations between other members of a family or to kindred in general.¹ When a woman has married a man who has children by an earlier marriage and they make her angry, she says :—

(207) *L-qār'a t'ūlēd ū z-zarb yīnbla*, "The pumpkin gives birth, and the fence has the trouble" (Andjra).

A step-mother who is blamed for ill-treating her step-children replies :—

(208) *Wēld n-nds fhāl l-hait blā lsd̄s*, "Other people's son is like a wall without a foundation" (Andjra).

¹ See also *infra*, nrs. 1197, 1198.

A brother may be more valuable than a son, because in many cases you may get a new son when you cannot get a new brother in the place of one you have lost :

(209) *L-wēld mūjūd u l-ḥō mēfqūd*, "The son is there, and the brother is gone."

(210) *Š-šēmš kaṭṭá' ū t'gīb ū l-ḥō ida māṭ' fāin tšīb*, "The sun rises and sets, and if a brother dies, where will you find [another one] ? "

When two brothers quarrel there should be no interference,¹ because they will easily become friends again :

(211) *L-ḥāwa ma t'ēnbá' ma t'ēnsra*, "Brotherhood is neither sold nor bought."

If a man is sitting together with people who speak badly about his brother and he does not leave the company, it is said :—

(212) *Ga'ád l-ḥmaq ū št'em f ḥōh*, "Make a fool sit up, and insult his brother."

Of a person who behaves badly to his family it is said :—

(213) *Li ma 'ándū ḥāmm f dāk l-bērr yētsēnna wēld dḥt'ū ḥātt'a yēkbēr*, "May he who has no trouble [even] in that (i.e. a strange) country wait till the son of his sister is grown up."

When a man is in trouble and nobody, not even his nearest relatives will help him, he remarks :—

(214) *Mā imiššik gēr rējlēk u mā ihákk lēk gēr dāfrāk u mā yēbkī lēk gēr šēfrāk*, "Only your own foot makes you go, and only your own nail scratches you, and only your own eyelash weeps for you."²

A man who leaves his family and goes to beg is worse than a dog :

(215) *Ḥātt'a jrū ma hrab mēn ḥāim'ū*, "Not even a dog runs away from his tent."³

If a person refrains from inviting relatives or friends to a feast that he gives in his house, they afterwards say to him :—

¹ See also *infra*, nr. 1390.

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 666. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1706; Singer-Littmann, op. cit., nr. 94; Tallqvist, op. cit., nr. 160).

³ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1459.

- (216) *Yēt'hárrfū l-bháyēr u yēbqau l-m'áyēr*, "The vegetable gardens are emptied of their fruits, and the blame remains."

What you do not use yourself you should give to your relatives and not to strangers :

- (217) *L-'ādám li ma t'gèrrdū wúddi bih hōk*, "Give to your brother the bone that you do not gnaw."

The same is said if a person who gives up a good job leaves it to a stranger. So, too, a man is blamed for employing a stranger to do some work which might be done by a relative. If, on the other hand, he gives it to some poor relative, he may do so with the complacent remark :—

- (218) *Álláhumma f díbna wā la f díb Rhōna*, "O God, it is better [if the goat is] in our own jackal (i.e. if our own jackal is satisfied) than in the jackal of Rhōna" (a tribal district near Wazzan; Andjra).

But you should not make a relative partner in business, as you cannot accuse him if he swindles you :

- (219) *'Ammāk yá'māk ū hāk yāhlík*, "Your father's brother will make you blind, and your brother will make you destitute"¹; or,
 (220) *Hálāk yāhlík*, "Your mother's brother will make you destitute."¹

A man warns his relative not to betray him for a bribe :—

- (221) *Hōk hōk lī igórrāk t-tma'*, "Brother brother, may cupidity not delude you."
 (222) *L-qáta' d-dēmm yēt'béššar bē l-hāmm*, "He who cuts his blood will have evil tidings."

Persons who belong to a poor branch of a family say to members of a well-to-do branch of the same family :—

- (223) *R-rjēl qāl ně l-'ána ana fē l-bērd u nt'in fē s-shāna*,
 "The foot said to the pubes, I am in the cold and you are in the warmth."

If a person shows no signs of sorrow on the death of a near

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 45.

relative or friend, but is as cheerful as usual, the remark is made :—

(224) *T-tyōr fě l-mūt^a ū š-šabyān kāilā'bi*, "The birds are dying, and the little children are playing."

Of a good man who is treated unkindly by his family it is said :—

(225) *Lā-hnīn yūrūt^a*, "The kind-hearted will inherit."

A well-to-do man, whose heirs are some poor relatives, says about them :—

(226) *Lau jūbrāna lā-dā idēfnūna bē r-rōh*, "If the enemies found us, they would bury us alive."

If a man has a quarrel with another and the latter is assisted by his family, he remarks :—

(227) *L-hmīya kaī'āglēb s-sba'*, "Assistance conquers a lion."

Even relatives who do not generally live on good terms with each other are ready to help one another in case of need :

(228) *Nāsēk hūma nāsēk ūlu ikārhuḥ t'ējbarhum f bāsēk*, "Your people are your people ; even though they hate you, you will find them in your evil."

A person who has suffered an injury and has nobody to help him complains :—

(229) *N-nās kūllhum b āhlum w anā hli māt^aū*, "All other people have their family, and my family have died."

One who is disliked by his family must make friends with strangers :

(230) *Mēn qállēt^a l-wāli 'āmēlt^a l-'abd* (or, *l-kēlb*) *hāli*, "For want of a relative I made a negro (or, a dog) my maternal uncle." ¹

Of a person who has no family or friend it is said :—

(231) *Li ma 'andū māgrūf yēḥārāq yiddū*, "He who has no spoon will burn his hand."

There is a strong belief that children will be like their parents : the offspring of a good family will be good, and the offspring of a bad family will be bad.

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 63.

- (232) *N-nār kaṭ'hālli mēn gēr r-rmād u š-štā kaṭ'hālli mēn gēr l-ward*, "The fire leaves only ashes, and the rain leaves only roses."
- (233) *L-wārda mēn š-šūk u t-t'rābi mēn mmūk u būk*, "A rose comes from thorns, and a well-bred boy from your (i.e. his) mother and father."
- (234) *Hlēf l-hūt hrej mēl l-mā yērja' nē l-mā*, "The fish swore that he came out of the water [and] will go back into the water."
- (235) *Li t'a'raf būh u jēddū ma ihēmmēk wēldū*, "If you know his father and grandfather, don't worry about his son."
- (236) *Ulād 'abd l-wāḥed kullum wāḥed*, "The sons of the slave of the One (i.e. God) are all the same" (said in the case of a bad man belonging to a bad family).
- (237) *Wēld l-fār ma iḥrúj gēr háffār*, "The son of a mouse will only turn out to be a digger" (used in a good as well as in a bad sense).¹
- (238) *Li hfa 'alik ašlu ndor fá'li*, "If a person's origin is unknown to you, look at his doing."
- (239) *Ida hfau 'alik n-nṣā dē l-múduṅ šuf uládhum*, "If the towns-women are hidden from you, look at their children."
- (240) *Li t'a'raf ksūt'u ma ihēmmēk 'ārāh*, "If you know his dress (i.e. origin), don't bother about his nakedness."

The following saying refers to a person who has committed a wrong, and its meaning is that he has acted like his father:—

- (241) *Nē mmēn tšbā yā 'ošba qālēt mēn dāk n-nóqla*, "What are you like, O twig? She said, Like that plant."²

Of a girl whose mother has a bad reputation it is said:—

- (242) *L-qádra t'ēnqlīb 'ālā fúmma u l-bēnt t'ēšba n wámma*, "The earthenware pot turns upside down over its mouth, and the daughter is like her mother" (Andjra).

If a robber has left some sons they will be worse than their

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1733).

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 130.

father, and even the youngest one, though not yet grown-up, may steal so dexterously in the presence of other people that they will not notice it ; hence the saying :—

(243) *L-láhhri f úlād trāin i'áwwar l'ain*, “ The last of the sons of evil-doers blinds the eye ” (Andjra).

If a man with an ugly face has children who look like him, it is jokingly said about them :—

(244) *L-hája d ma t'ěšbá ši n muláha kúlla hrām*, “ A thing that does not resemble its owner is all wrong ” (i.e. a child who does not look like his father must be a bastard ; Andjra).¹

There is no rule, however, that is without exceptions ; even in a good family there may be some one who behaves badly. Such a person may be told :—

(245) *Mā dānnūt l'ásēl mrāra*, “ I did not think that honey was gall ” ; or,

(246) *L'ádāb afdāl mēn n-nāsāb*, “ Propriety of behaviour is better than origin ” ; or,

(247) *'Aib 'āl a-ajmēl yētlá' ně š-šah w ámma l-qātt hádik dārū*, “ It is a shame for the camel to climb a roof, but as for the cat that is his house.”

If a shereef or a learned man has, besides several good sons, one who is bad, it is said of him :—

(248) *Š-šāba ma t'kūn bla gērfu*, “ The heap of threshed corn is not without unthreshed ears ” (Andjra).

A good father who complains of having a bad son is told :—

(249) *Wēldēk mēn sū'dēk au mēn swād sū'dēk*, “ Your son comes from your good luck or your ill luck ” ; or,

(250) *Wēldēk ū 'ábdēk 'āla qadr sū'dēk*, “ Your son and your slave are in accordance with your luck.”

A person should not boast of being better than his family or try to rise higher than his father.

(251) *Ma yēnkar áslū mēn gēr l-bǧal*, “ None but a mule denies his origin.”²

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1344. ² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1731).

(252) *Yá'la r-rájēl hátt'a yá'la wā la yá'la 'la hót'u i bni 'ammū*, "However high a man may rise, he will not rise above his brothers and his father's brother's sons."

(253) *Li hallá lū bábāh šī 'aqba iđl'a*, "He to whom his father left some hill should climb it." ¹

A person of low extraction who pretends to come from a good family may be told:—

(254) *L-ft'ila ma t'kūn mēl l-gédwār*, "A wick does not come out of a rag."

If a low-born man pretends to be higher than others it is said:—

(255) *T'á'la l-'ain hátt'a t'á'la wū tšīb l-hájēb fōq mēnna*, "However high the eye may rise, it will find the eyebrow above it." ²

If such a man has risen to a high position, but does not act up to it, the remark is made:—

(256) *Mēn z-zēbbāla ně t-táifōr*, "From the dunghill to the táifōr" (a round low table used at eating and tea-drinking).

A person belonging to a small but good family need not be afraid of low-bred people with a large family:

(257) *Lā-kūn rákēb 'āl a-ajmēl ma iháf l-klāb i'attūh*, "He who is riding on a camel is not afraid lest the dogs should bite him." ³

If a low-bred person quarrels with a high-bred one, the latter says to him:—

(258) *N-nās kat'a'ráf n-nās u l-hāil kat'a'ráf rúkkābha*, "People know people, and horses know their riders." ⁴

A person of low extraction who does not show due respect to a high-born person, or who wants to associate with people of family, may hear the remark:—

(259) *Aj (= aš) jāb l-hbaq n buqnīna aj jāb šúltān l-hūt' ně s-sērdīna*, "What brought the basil (a sweet-smelling

¹ *Infra*, nr. 612.

² Widespread proverb (*Singer-Littmann*, op. cit., nr. 6).

³ *Infra*, nrs. 432, 1414.

⁴ *Infra*, nr. 1311.

plant) to the solanum (which has no scent), what brought the red mullet to the sardine ? ”

A person should follow the customs of his ancestors :

(260) *Ma hállau l-lūlîyîn ma iqûlû l-laḥrîyîn*, “ The ancients did not leave anything for the later people to say ” ;

(261) *L-l'ām bē š-šrēṭ wā la qṭē' l-'āda*, “ A veil of rope is better than breach of custom.”

CHAPTER IV

NEIGHBOURS—FRIENDS—GOOD AND BAD COMPANY

IT is good to have a neighbour and bad to be without one, as is the case with him who lives one day in one place and another day in another—a friendless person :

(262) *Li ma 'ándû dār ma 'ándû jār*, “ He who has no house has no neighbour.”

Neighbours help each other in case of need :

(263) *Li ma 'ándû nār isēllēfha mēn jārû*, “ He who has no fire will borrow it from his neighbour ” ;

(264) *L-ḥbīb ma ikūn idmā' û a-jār ma ikūn jūwā'*, “ A friend should not be covetous (i.e. betray his friend for money), and a neighbour should not let [his neighbour] starve.”

Of people who have had friendly intercourse with each other and afterwards become enemies it is said :—

(265) *Auwēlhum jārān w aḥḥārhum fīrān*, “ They began as neighbours and ended as mice.”

A wealthy man who employs people from afar to work for him instead of employing neighbours is told :—

(266) *Jārāk l-qrīb ḥsēn mēn ḥāk l-b'ūd*, “ Your neighbour who is near is better than your brother who is far away ” (Andjra).¹

If you behave well to your neighbours, they will bear testimony to your good character :

(267) *Š-sarr fē l-bō'd û ḥālli a-jārān šhūd*, “ Quarrelling [should be] far away, and leave the neighbours as witnesses.”²

Neighbours often take their meals together, and a common meal lays restraints on those who partake of it³; it is therefore

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 282.

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 1197.

³ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 567 sq.

said to be more important to be kind to a neighbour than to a relative (Dukkāla). If a person has eaten together with another and afterwards behaved badly to him, "God and the food will repay" him for it, as the food contains a conditional curse.

(268) *Mēn'ūl bēn mēn'ūl li yākul t-tā'ām w ihān*, "Cursed, son of a cursed one, is he who eats food and deceives [him who shared it with him]."

It is a dangerous curse to say:—

(269) *Hallū' lēk t-tā'ām ū a-djūra*, "I left to you the food and neighbourhood."

When a person casts 'ār (an act implying a conditional curse)¹ on a neighbour, or on a saint whose tomb is in the vicinity of his dwelling, he sometimes says:—

(270) *'Ār a-djār 'āla jārū ū a-djijūd mā igūz 'ārū*, "May the 'ār of a neighbour be on his neighbour, and may the good man's 'ār not pass by."

The importance of having a good neighbour is emphasized in the saying:—

(271) *'Amel a-djār qbēl d-dār ū r-rfēq qbēl t-trēq*, "Choose the neighbour before the house, and the companion before the road."

Of a bad neighbour it is said:—

(272) *Jārāk mēnšārāk*, "Your neighbour is your saw."

(273) *Ida bāgdāk jārāk hāuwēl bāb dārāk*, "If your neighbour hates you, shift the door of your house."

Neighbours may easily do mischief to each other. Of a person who has stolen something from his neighbour at night and in the morning pretends to sympathize with him it is said:—

(274) *Kāiṣrāq m'a s-šurrāq u yēbki m'a mwātīn d-dār*, "He steals with the thieves and cries with the owners of the house."²

If a person is rude to his neighbour, the latter may threaten to pay him in his own coin:—

(275) *Ida jbart'ni hmār lā t'ērkeb šī 'ālīya*, "If you find me a donkey, don't ride on me" (Andjra).³

¹ *Ibid.*, i, 518 sqq.

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 1168.

³ *Infra*, nr. 1477.

Female neighbours are particularly apt to be objectionable. There is a curse used by a person who has lent a thing to another and not got it back :—

(276) *Qđūi* *hđjt'i* *āllāh yēn'dl jđrt'i*, "I got what I wanted, may God curse my female neighbour." ¹

If a woman wishes her female neighbour something bad, the latter replies :—

(277) *Di hđbbet* *j-jđra l jđrt'ha iřbđh lha 'āla dđwđrt'ha*, "May that which a woman neighbour wishes her woman neighbour fall on her own belly in the morning" (Fez).

Too close neighbourhood, and especially living in the same house with another family, is a nuisance; among other things, it exposes one to evil looks and indiscreet or slanderous talk :

(278) *řbah l-hđir yā jđri nt'in f đđrđk w āna f đđri*, "Good morning, O my neighbour, [may] you [stay] in your house, and I in my house" ²;

(279) *Đđri katst'đr 'đri* (= *'arđya*), "My house covers my nakedness."

And it is an expression of goodwill to say to a person :—

(280) *Āllāh yá'tēk ma 'tā ně s-sđkēn wđhdđ*, "May God give you what he has given him who is living by himself."

To have a friend is a great blessing. When your brother, who has shared with you the same mother's milk, does not help you, your friend will help you; hence the saying :—

(281) *L-hđbđb wā lđ l-hđb*, "A friend is better than milk."

(282) *Hđbđbēk l-qřb āhsēn mēn hđk l-b'đd*, "Your friend who is near is better than your brother who is far away." ³

In a place where you have a friend you may sleep safely and well :

(283) *L-ūsđđ đđmēn n-n'ās*, "The pillow is the guarantee of sleep."

¹ *Infra*, nrs. 1503, 1605.

² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1058).

³ Cf. *supra*, nr. 266.

A friend should take care of his friend :

- (284) *Lī fīh mhābbt'i hāwa iqōm b kūlft'i*, "He who has my love should take care of my concerns."

A friend can see what his friend wants without being told about it :

- (285) *L-mēšya dā gẓāli ma t'ḥfā šī 'āliya*, "The gait of my gazelle is not concealed from me" ;

- (286) *Zāizūn ma t'fāhmū gēr y'tmmāh*, "The dumb one is only understood by his mother."

What is otherwise difficult becomes easy when done for the sake of a friend :

- (287) *L-'aqba f ūjāh l-ḥbīb ḥdūra*, "An ascent for the sake of a friend is a descent." ¹

- (288) *L-qūl mēn 'and l-ḥbīb kt'ir*, "Little from a friend is much."

- (289) *Hājra mēn yidd l-ḥbīb t'effāha*, "A stone from the hand of a friend is an apple." ²

A person loves his friend for the sake of God, without expecting anything from him in return :

- (290) *Lē-mḥēbba mēn allāh wa āmma l-'abd gēr sābāb*, "The love is from God, and as for the servant [of God] he is only the occasion [of it]."

He who is your friend only because you are useful to him is not to be relied upon :

- (291) *L-ḥbīb dē l-lqīma ma idūm dīma*, "The friend of a little handful of food will not remain [a friend] for ever."

- (292) *Ṣ-ṣdēq hūwa yēn'ārāf f zāmān d-dēq*, "The friend is known in the time of difficulty." ³

- (293) *L-ḥbīb iqūl nē ḥbībū f kull dēq iṣībū*, "A friend says to his friend that he will find him in every difficulty."

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1286.

² For another somewhat similar proverb relating to friends, see *infra*, nr. 1389.

³ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1074; Tallqvist, op. cit., nr. 89.)

(294) *Ida ma i'áwēn hōh fē d-dēq ma isībū fē š-šēdda rfēq*, "If he does not help his brother in a difficulty, he will not find him a companion in adversity."

(295) *L-hbīb ma ihráb 'and š-šēdda w igīb*, "A friend should not flee in adversity nor stay away."

(296) *L-hbīb 'and š-šēddō' ma igīb*, "A friend should not absent himself in [the time of] hunger."

(297) *Li yēṣḥáb l-gērrāb isāḥbū fē l-liáli*, "He who makes friends with the waterseller should make friends with him in the *liáli* (the forty days between 12th December and 20th January, Old Style, when water is plentiful and the seller of it has few customers).¹

(298) *L-hbīb ma yēb'ād*, "A friend should not be far away."

A friend should not be left alone :

(299) *Bē šrē't n-nbi fāin t'ēmsi t'ēddini*, "By the law of the Prophet, wherever you go you should take me with you."

If a friend has not seen his friend for a long time, he says to him when they meet again :—

(300) *Mēl li dēfnāhum ma zārūhum*, "Since they buried them they have not visited them" (i.e. their graves); or,

(301) *Li t'hēbbū ma ijik u lli t'kārhu kull ydum ijik*, "He whom you love does not come to you, and he whom you hate comes to you every day."

When a person has sent for his friend (or some one else) and the latter does not come, he says :—

(302) *Fāyah ḥt'ājt'ek ā wūjhi ḥārbšuk l-qtōt*, "When I need you, O my face, the cats have scratched you."

(303) *Hšart l-māl wā la ḥšart š-šāḥāb*, "The loss of goods is better than the loss of a friend."

If some one comes to a person and speaks badly about his friend, he does not believe it but says to his friend :—

(304) *Tāḥ ḥōbbi 'āla ḥōbbēk ma tšīb šī t'ārmēni*, "My love fell over your love, you will not find anything to throw me off."

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 751.

A person should frankly speak the truth in the face of his friend, whether it be agreeable or not :

(305) *Íyeh u lāwāh f mēnzla wōhda*, “ Yes and no are in the same position.”

(306) *Li tšđhbū lā t'ēl'ib 'ālih u li t'āmbū hāk lā t'lāwa 'ālih*,
“ Don't play upon him whom you make your friend,
and don't humbug him whom you make your
brother.”

Listen to anything your friend says, don't listen to anything said by your enemy :

(307) *Šāhbāk qāblū ū 'ādūk jānbū*, “ Face your friend, and turn your side to your enemy.”

If you do something wrong, an enemy who pretends to be your friend may please you by maliciously praising you for your deed, whereas a true friend will frankly tell you that you acted wrongly :

(308) *Klām l-'ādū itāhḥak u klām l-ḥbīb ibēkki*, “ The words of an enemy make one laugh, and the words of a friend make one weep.”

If a person is in trouble his friend will intervene on his behalf ; hence, when the friend is away, he has to be more careful and says to himself as a warning :—

(309) *Má iji l-ḥbīb yērgab fīya ḥātt'a ikūn l-hāmm fāt' fīya*,
“ The friend will not come and intercede for me until the evil has overtaken and left me ” ; or,

(310) *Má iji n-nbi yēšfā' fīya ḥātt'a t'kūn n-nār r'at' fīya*,
“ The Prophet will not come and intercede for me until the hell-fire has devoured me.”

In the case of a great crime, when the wrong-doer cannot be helped by his friend, the latter says to him :—

(311) *Mušība tāhēt' u ma jbarnd' šī kif ndawīāha*, “ Evil befell [us], and we found no means of curing it.”

A friend should show you the right way :

(312) *Li ma iwūrrik trēq šhōbt'ū ma t'lēq*, “ The friendship of him who does not show you the way is not suitable.”

The person whom you choose for your friend should be upright and wise :

(313) *Lā-ṣḥab yēṣḥab lē-miⁱⁿ u llī-wuzzā' iwúzza' s-smīn,*
 "He who makes a friend should make friends with a strong one, and he who [slaughters an animal and] divides [its flesh] should [slaughter and] divide a fat one."

(314) *'Ādū 'āqāl ḥēr mēn sdēq jāhēl,* "An intelligent enemy is better than an ignorant friend."¹

Though the obligations of friendship are great, there is also the warning that you should not demand too much of your friend, so as not to make him tired of you :—

(315) *Idā kān ḥbībēk 'āsēl mā t'āklu šī kāmēl,* "If your friend is honey, don't eat it all."²

Friendship should last for life :

(316) *Sir m'a ṣāḥbāk bē n-nīya ḥāll'a t'kmēl lē-mnīya,* "Go with your friend faithfully until death is accomplished."

(317) *Mū' lā-ḥbāb mēn t'a'šēr l-īyām,* "The death of friends makes the days hard to bear."

A person whose friend has died or gone away does not know what to do without him :

(318) *Idā mšd li māḥbābi lāin ikūn ḥrābi,* "If my beloved one goes away from me, where will my flight be?"

But there is also a more optimistic saying about a friend who is away :—

(319) *L-ḥayy ibān ibān dlū tāl z-zāmān,* "He who is alive will certainly appear, even though it take a long time."

There are, however, circumstances that may put an end to friendship. A friend who has behaved badly may receive the warning :—

(320) *'Āmēl kāmā 'mel ṣāḥbāk wūlla bā'ad mēnnū,* "Do as your friend does, or leave him."³

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Chenob, op. cit., nr. 1186).

² Widespread proverb (Ben Chenob, op. cit., nr. 86).

³ Cf. *infra*, nrs. 525, 1676.

If you find that your friend no longer cares for you, you should have nothing more to do with him :

- (321) *Li dārrqāk b ḥait dārrqū nīn b ḥait*, “ He who shelters himself from you with a thread, shelter yourself from him with a wall.”¹

Give up a friend who turns out to be a bad man :

- (322) *Z-zra' ida ddhlūh s-sūs siybū au bé'ū b jūj dē l-flūs*, “ If corn-weevils enter the wheat, throw it away or sell it for two flūs.”

If a former friend who has been given up on account of bad behaviour wants to renew his friendship, he is told that it is impossible :—

- (323) *L-fār qāl ma nṣḥab l-qattī ḍlu yā'mel a-djnāh w ifdtfdt*, “ The mouse said, I will not make the cat my friend, even if he makes himself wings and is going to flap.”

There are many sayings referring to persons who have through their behaviour proved unworthy of the friendship bestowed on them.

- (324) *Mā dānnūt^a l-ḥbīb iḥīb*, “ I did not believe that a friend would be disappointed.”

- (325) *Fāin kūnnā u fāin ṣbāḥnā*, “ Where were we [before], and where are we this morning ? ”

- (326) *L-mēšmām šammūt^ū wū dbāl li wā rmāt^ū*, “ I smelt the bouquet, and it withered for me, and I threw it away.”

- (327) *A mnādēm yā kāhl r-rāṣ yā ḥáyīb t-tb'ā l-fūmm yēḥḥk nē l-fūmm ū l-qalb fīh l-ḥd'ā*, “ O people, O [you with a] black head, O [you with] an evil character, mouth laughs towards mouth, and in the heart there is deception ” (Andjra).²

- (328) *Mā dānnūt^a l-ḥbīb yēřjā' li tlib*, “ I did not believe that a friend would become an enemy to me.”

- (329) *Šāfū ḥái l-ḥbīb kāišiyar bē s-sēkkīn*, “ Look at my brotherly friend, he brandishes the sword.”

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1254.

² *Infra*, nr. 1450.

(330) *Āllāh yēn'āl lī-t'ēq lā bē l-'ādū wā lā bē ṣ-ṣdēq*, " May God curse him who trusts neither enemy nor friend."

A person who has been deceived by one after another of those whom he believed to be his friends says despairingly :—

(331) *Yā rāṣi yā l-ǧrīb ma bqa fē d-dúnnya hbīb*, " O my head, O stranger, there remains in the world no friend."

When a person gives up a friend who has behaved badly, the remark is made :—

(332) *Nās lā t'ēndēm 'āla frāqhum*, " If people part, don't regret it."

But he who has a quarrel with his friend and separates from him may also be blamed for it ; he defends his conduct by saying :—

(333) *Ma ya'rāf šēnnū fē l-mēzwūd ǧar d dāss yiddū fēha*, " Nobody knows what is in the skin bag (used for carrying food in travelling, but also, by snake-charmers, for keeping snakes) but he who has put his hand into it " (Andjra).¹

A person who in his talk pretends to be one's friend, but in reality is not so, is told :—

(334) *Mhēbbēt š-šārēb u l-qalb hārēb*, " Love of the upper lip, and the heart is running away."

Of a man who feigns to be the friend of one person after another, but only as long as he finds them useful to him, it is said :—

(335) *L-mhēbba z-zērbāna mfārrqa 'āla l-īyām*, " Sudden love is divided between the days."

When some one makes a show of friendship but hides enmity in his heart, it is said :—

(336) *N-nār t'āḥt' ēt-t'bēn*, " Fire underneath the straw."²

The friendship of two persons is easily disturbed by the company of others :

(337) *Sābāb l-frāq jmē'ā l-lāmma*, " The cause of separation is the gathering of a *lāmma*" (the name for the performances of various religious fraternities).

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1552.

² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1573).

A man who has risen to a high position easily forgets a friend whom he had in those days when he, like other humble people, used to sit on the ground ; hence the saying :—

(338) *'And r-ráħba kat'ēdhár l-mħēbba*, “ On the ground affection shows itself.”

Such a man may be reproved by his old friend with the words :—

(339) *L-bârah wâ ħna 'úsrān u l-yūm 'údyān*, “ Yesterday and we were companions, and to-day we are enemies.”

Money or prosperity may also induce a person to neglect his friend :

(340) *'And l-mākla yēshāu l-'āqūl*, “ At eating they forget their wisdom.”

One who wants to give up an old friend for the sake of a new one is told :—

(341) *T-t'auḅ 'ā-ājdād bé'ū wū l-bāli lā t'farrāt fih*, “ Sell the new garment, and don't give up the old one” (Andjra) ; or,

(342) *D-ājdād 'āziz u l-bāli lā t'farrāt fih*, “ The new thing is dear [to one], and don't give up the old.”

There is danger in having a multitude of friends :

(343) *Ida kēu'ar lā-ħbāb yēbqa bla ħbīb*, “ If he increases the number of his friends, he will remain without a friend.”

A person can really have only one true friend :

(344) *Mħēbt'ēin fē l-qalb ma yēt'sāwāu šī*, “ Two loves will not stay together in the heart.”

If a man has had many friends but separated from all of them except one, the latter is advised to be on his guard :—

(345) *Trah ts'ōūd u ts'āin ū ħdi rāsāk mēn kmāl l-mīa*, “ Subtract ninety-nine, and be on your guard against the full hundred.”

Of a person who separates from a friend in a bad mood it is said :—

(346) *Li ma ya'ráf šī yēt'fāraq ma ya'ráf šī yēt'lāqa*, “ He who does not know how to part does not know how to meet.”¹

¹ *Infra*, nr. 760.

When two friends quarrel, people say :—

- (347) *Ida ḥḍēt' l-frāq ma ba mlāq*, "If separation occurs, there remains no meeting."

In business transactions friends should treat each other as if they were strangers, without letting this disturb their friendship :—

- (348) *Ḥāsebnī ḥsāb 'ādūk u nəzzēnnī mēnzlēt' ḥōk*, "Settle accounts with me as if I were your enemy, and entertain me as your brother."¹

- (349) *L-gēzzār lā tšāḥbū ālu ikūn mēn dēmmū*, "Don't make friends with the butcher, even though he is of your (lit. his) blood."

A person who sells to his friend a thing which the latter is anxious to buy says to him :—

- (350) *Mā ijō' d-dīb mā yēbki r-rā'i*, "The jackal will not be hungry, the shepherd will not weep" (i.e. the price will satisfy both; Andjra).

Bad friends are like a house without a foundation, in which the thought of getting away from it disturbs one's sleep :—

- (351) *D-dār blā lsās kātēr fēha n-n'ās*, "In a house without a foundation the sleep is flying about."

Friendship between bad people will not last; of such a friendship it is said :—

- (352) *Jā l-līl bē njūmī ulād l-ḥrām mā idūmī*, "The night came with its stars (symbolizing lasting friends), [but] the children of fornication will not last."

- (353) *L-'ddū mā yērjā' šdēq u n-noḥḥāla mā t'ērjā' dqēq*, "An enemy will not become a friend, and bran will not become flour."

Good people know how to choose their company :

- (354) *Lē-jwād kat'a'raf mūtā'hum*, "Good people know their place."

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nrs. 602, 2352).

To be careful in the choice of company is important from various points of view.

(355) *Dī ḥālat šī qaum ināl mēnnēm*, "He who mixes with some people will get from them [their ways]" (Andjra).

(356) *M'a mēn sūft'ēk m'a mēn šēbbāht'ēk*, "The one I see you with I take you to resemble."

(357) *Ḥālat li ḥsēn mēnnēk lā t'ḥālat li qall mēnnēk*, "Associate with him who is better than you, don't associate with him who is inferior to you."

(358) *Ida 'ārāft'i 'ārāf l-ḥiyār t'ērjā' mēn nās l-kibār*, "When you make acquaintances, acquaint yourself with the best, [then] you will become one of the big people."

At the same time you should choose your company from among the people of your own class :

(359) *T-t'aur ma iḥrāt' gēr m'a grīnū*, "The bullock only ploughs with his like" (not, for example, a big one with a small one);

(360) *Lbēs qāddēk ū ḥālat mēt'lēk*, "Dress according to your size, and associate with your equal" (e.g. scribe with scribe, carpenter with carpenter).

You should be in the company of persons from whom you may learn useful things :—

(361) *Mēn ḥālat l-'āttār fāḥ bi ṭībīhi*, "He who mixes with the grocer smells of his perfume."¹

You should only be with good-mannered people :

(362) *L-ḥlīb nē l-ḥbāb u l-lbēn nē bni qarḥāb*, "Fresh milk is for friends and buttermilk for the sons of palmetto bags" (i.e. low-class people);

(363) *Li bga ikūn mēzyān fē klāmū iḥālat n-nās li kaiḥāsmū*, "He who wants to be good in his talk should mix with people who are shamefaced."

A person who has many troubles should choose the company of wise people :

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 695).

(364) *Měn kt'ar hámmu yáħud mrā qadd ámmu*, "He who has many troubles should take a wife as [old as] his mother."

On the other hand :

(365) *Ba'ád rōħāk mēn l-mūhālāta t'ēnja*, "Keep away from [bad] company, you will save yourself";

(366) *Ida 'āraft'ihum tyār ba'ád mēnnum u t'hábba' fē l-gār*, "If you know them to be scoundrels, go away from them and hide yourself in a den."

A person who is working with bad people should leave them when the work is over :

(367) *Qum m'áhum ū qāi hájt'ēk ū tráhūm*, "Rise with them [to work], and do your business, and throw them off";

(368) *Yā rāši ħdēm ū roh 'ándēk t'ēbki u t'nōh*, "O my head, work and go away, lest you have to weep and wail."

Don't sit together with people whom you know to be wicked, but seat yourself above them to watch their doings :

(369) *Ida bjūt'i t'ēnja mēnnum glēs fōq mēnnum*, "If you want to escape them, seat yourself above them."

The following is advice given to a person not to associate with rascals, who are black like the night and in whose company there is no gain :—

(370) *Mšq l-līl u jā š-šbāh 'ómmar wēld z-znā ma yērbāh*, "The night went and the morning came, never will the son of fornication gain."

A person who is with bad people learns from them what is bad :

(371) *Měn ħālat l-ħáddūd indl mēnnu l-wásah*, "He who mixes with the blacksmith gets from him his dirt"¹;

(372) *L-qámmor qāl l-ħólta t'ērdēll*, "The ring-dove said, Company makes one vile" (Andjra).

(373) *'Andēk m'ērfēt' l-kšōt kat'rúdd r-rájel mēshōt*, "Take care lest acquaintance with robbers make the man cursed."

Avoid bad company and places where there is quarrel or fighting :

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 695).

(374) *Ba“ád mël lē-blā la iblīk*, “Keep away from evil, it will not afflict you.”

Avoid ill-natured persons :

(375) *Lā t’hālat bǧal zwāwi*, “Have nothing to do with a Zouave mule” (an animal that is reputed to be ill-natured).

(376) *Ba“ád mēn nās š-šarr ‘andēk ilāḡḡāk l-adrār*, “Keep away from quarrelsome people, lest evils should overtake you.”

Avoid a person who hates you :

(377) *Idā kǧn l-qādi ḡḡēmāk rfēd rḡmāk*, “If the judge is opposed to you, take away your documents.”

Don't associate with a person whom you dislike :

(378) *Li t’hēbbū qārrbū ū lli t’kārḡū jānbū*, “Make him whom you love come near, and avoid him whom you hate” ;

(379) *Li ma wāt’āk lā t’wāt’ih*, “He who does not suit you, don't be suitable to him.”

(380) *Ba“ád mēn nās s-sumūm klāmhum ‘and n-nās mēdmūm*, “Keep away from people of poison (i.e. persons whose talk is like poison), their talk is blamed by the people.”

(381) *N-n’ās fē l-ḡabs wā la uḡūh n-nḡās*, “Sleeping in the prison is better than faces of copper” (i.e. persons who have no shame).

(382) *Dāqqa bē s-sīf wā la m’āsērt’ l-kīf*, “The stroke of a sword is better than the company of Indian hemp” (i.e. smokers of Indian hemp, meaning lazy people).

Don't be in the company of people who practise witchcraft :

(383) *‘Andēk nās s-ḡūr irādḡūk ḡmār ma t’a’raf ma t’ḡūl*, “Take care lest people of magic make you a donkey, so that you do not know what to say.”

A person who is sitting with a bad individual is told :—

(384) *N ‘and l-āḡḡer t’ēsmā’ ‘āwēḡū*, “In the end you will hear his howl” (Andjra).

If a person is in the company of another who is suspected of having an intention to kill him it is said :—

(385) *Ráféd gëzzáru 'ála ħmáru*, "He is carrying his butcher on his donkey."

One who has been in bad company and has had trouble in consequence may hear the remark:—

(386) *Měn bġa yęslem mā iġálat męslem*, "He who wants to remain safe and sound should not associate with a [wicked] Moslem."

If a person is in the company of another who commits an offence, he may be punished together with the guilty one:

(387) *D yęt'ħállät m'a n-nóġħál yákluh l-kláb*, "What is mixed with the bran will be eaten by the dogs" (Andjra).

Of a person who has changed good company for bad it is said:—

(388) *Lī będdel n-nóġra bę l-qázdār ħúwa ħán b róħú*, "He who changes silver for tin becomes himself depreciated."

A man who has associated with another from whom he has only heard bad talk says to himself:—

(389) *Š ęddáni ně l-gra' němšet lú rářú ú ħúwa b nářú*, "What took me to the baldheaded man to comb his head? ¹ and he is with his people."

A man who went to live in the neighbourhood of some people whom he thought to be good but who proved to be bad, is asked:—

(390) *Aš ęddák ně n-nġál ħátt'a t'óġal*, "What took you to the bees till you got into a scrape?" (Andjra).²

When a person goes away from bad company, people say of him:—

(391) *L-horb fę t-t'ásé' ráġla*, "A flight out of the way is bravery."

Avoid large gatherings, be with a few select people only:

(392) *Męi fę l-líl bę l-fnār wá la s-řđb bę n-nġār*, "To go in the night with a lantern is better than with clouds in the day."

(393) *Yđ li bġa yęt'đġ yęt'rák l-męjma' u l-męddđġ*, "O may he who wants to rest get away from the gathering of people

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1290.

² *Infra*, nr. 430.

and the eulogist" (who in public places gives recitations in praise of saints and heroes).

A person who does not mix much with others is respected :

(394) *'Azz l-ḥajl mrābāḥa*, "The honour of horses is their stables."

(395) *Ida qwau l-ḥāṭar rʿəd ḥattāarak*, "If the visitors are numerous go away."

Where there are many people together there are always likely to be some bad ones among them ; and :

(396) *Hūt'a kaṭ'ḥánnēz š-šwāri dē l-ḥūt'*, "One fish makes the pannier of fish stink."¹

(397) *Ida rū'i š-šarr fē d-djmā'a hrab ū qūl l-ḥamdú li llāh 'ālēha sá'a*, "If you see fighting at a gathering of people, flee and say, Praise be to God for this hour" (when I got away from them).

(398) *Ida t'áddbū t'áddēb m'áhum w ida gádbū fērr mēnnum*, "If they are well-behaved be well-behaved with them, and if they grow angry flee from them."

If a person who is sitting in the company of others finds that they are becoming unfriendly to him; it is best for him to leave :

(399) *Ida šúft'i l-hwā t'bēddel kun ḥdēq 'ándēk t'édēllet*, "If you see the weather changing, be sharp so as not to be put up for auction."

One who is treated badly by the people of a place to which he has gone leaves it, saying:—

(400) *Rējli 'amluhá li w ida 'áwūt' 'audú li*, "My feet have done it to me, and if I do it again, may you do it again to me."

If a quarrel arose at a gathering to which a man had been invited and he was hurt or put in prison with the others, he says:—

(401) *Lā-qdām zdīgū biya ḥatt'a šáddft' lē-bliya*, "The feet betrayed me, until I met with misfortune."

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1179.

If a well-to-do man goes to a gathering of people, he should not take much money with him as he may be robbed by them :

- (402) *Ida šúft'i l-äyün mälél' rfd rásák u kun mt'ëbbél',*
 "If you see the eyes [of people] bent, raise your head and look out."

When a disagreeable person who has been sitting with others goes away, they say:—

- (403) *L-insdn t-t'qil müt'ü dhsën mēnnü,* "The place of a disagreeable person (i.e. the place where he has been sitting) is better than himself"; or,
 (404) *Háffēf l-bšal iráwwš,* "Thin out the onions, they will make bulbs"; or,
 (405) *Ida müt' d-djenn háffēf 'äl l-mláika,* "When a *jenn* dies, it gives relief to the angels."

When an undesirable person has been told to leave a company it is said:—

- (406) *Dfá' bē l-mā u š-šellába hátt'a n qā' l-bhar,* "Push [him] away with water and broom even to the bottom of the sea."¹

When an objectionable person comes to a gathering of people who have repeatedly driven him away, and they, on complaining about him to his family, are advised to tell him to leave, they reply:—

- (407) *L-hmār dē l-gnāwi ma läyēnhámm ší mnē l-qraqāb,*
 "The donkey of the Gnāwi is not frightened by the castanets" (used by the Gnāwa at their performances; Andjra).²

If, on the other hand, a person has made himself liked by a company of people and they, after he has left, speak well about him, one of them may go to him and say:—

- (408) *Béllágt' lēk slāmi wš qbēl klāmi ida kúnt'i qdāmi,* "I convey to you my greeting, and accept my words if you are a gentleman."

¹ Cf. *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 595.

² See *ibid.*, i, 344 sqq.

Of a bad man who seeks equally bad company it is said :—

(409) *L-bá'ra kät'fětt'ěš 'älá ht'a ár'b'đin yđum*, "The lump of dry dung is seeking her sister for forty days."

But if the search is successful, it is not likely that the two companions will stay long together; for:

(410) *Jűj hnűš mą it'łáqau fě l-gār*, "Two male snakes do not meet in one den."¹

Whoever the people be with whom a person mixes, he should take example from them only in that which is good:

(411) *T'ba' l-qaum fě l-hair wđ lā t'ět'ba' hum fě š-šarr*, "Follow people in good, and don't follow them in evil."

(412) *Měl'đq bėn mėl'đq li yět'ba' l-měđbó*, "Unlucky, son of an unlucky one, is he who follows a fool."

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 458.

CHAPTER V

OFFICIALS

PEOPLE must have somebody to rule over them and to prevent injustice :

(413) *D-dála ma t'kūn bla fḥal*, " A herd of cattle should not be without a bull " (Andjra) ;

(414) *Rā'i š-šāi' yēḥmēha mēn d-dāb*, " The shepherd should protect his sheep against the jackal."

When a person has accused another of some wrong and both parties claim to be in the right, the official to whom the complaint has been made says to them :—

(415) *Ida kān l-mḥāddēt' ḥmaq ikūn s-sāma' 'āqāl*, " If the speaker is foolish, may the hearer be wise."

When a newly appointed sheikh has punished a rebellious village and some of the villagers bring him presents to testify their subjection, it is said :—

(416) *Jul t'ārḥām glēs ihōltū 'ālik*, " Travel [and] you will know them, sit [and] they will come to you " (Andjra).¹

When a poor and quiet man complains of an injury he has suffered, his friends recommend him to the care of the sheikh with the words :—

(417) *Mā dwa ḥātt'a ḥkwa*, " He did not speak until his skin was burned " (Andjra).

A sheikh who is asked why he has seized a certain man's property and taken his life, answers :—

(418) *D-dāb ma layitt' kēl gar 'āla kāfrū*, " The jackal is eaten only on account of his unbelief " (Andjra).

When a sheikh sends one of his men to confiscate the property of an offender, it is said :—

(419) *Š-šgōl dē l-ḥādēm u š-šen'a d lallāha*, " The work is

¹ *Infra*, nr. 514.

the black woman's, and the fame belongs to her mistress" (Andjra).

When a sheikh has seized all the animals of a village, and one of the villagers, being unaware of it, asks another why he has not rendered him assistance, he is told:—

(420) *Lā 'za yāum l-hābba*, "There is no condolence in the time of the plague" (i.e. what has happened to you has also happened to me; Andjra).

If a man has been deprived of all his animals by his sheikh and one of them, which has got loose, comes back to him, he is reminded of the saying:—

(421) *Lā-'māš wā la lā-'māya*, "Blear-eyedness is better than blindness" (Andjra).¹

When an innocent person has been arrested by his sheikh, his friends comfort him by saying:—

(422) *Lāla t'gūz wāhha bē d-dēbbūz*, "A night will pass even [if one is beaten] with a club" (i.e. to-morrow you will be released; Andjra).

If a man who has been caught by his sheikh is told that he is not going to be set free until he pays a certain sum of money, he may refuse to do it by saying:—

(423) *Ma layitt^s kēl bē z-zēzz gar d-dūa*, "Nothing is eaten by force except medicine" (Andjra); or,

(424) *Z-zēnnit dē s-slōqi ma t'ēt'qāwūm wāhha t'ēbqa sēb'a snīn fē l-qālēb*, "The tail of the greyhound will not be made straight, even though it remains seven years in the melting-pot" (Andjra).²

When two men have a fight and one of them appeals to the sheikh, the other one may declare that he is not afraid:—

(425) *Š-šōr d jāk hāni nāqqaz 'ālih*, "Jump over a wall that appears to you low" (Andjra).

If a sheikh who has seized a man's animals hears that he has

¹ *Infra*, nr. 581.

² Widespread proverb (Ben Chenob, op. cit., nr. 776; Singer-Littmann, op. cit., nr. 40).

been cursed by his victim, he may reply that he does not care—how many curses have proved to be unfulfilled :

(426) *Kā kânēt^s dē d-d'a kâ rébhû s-s'a*, “ If it were for the invocations, the beggars would profit ” (Andjra).

But there are other more substantial dangers that may threaten a sheikh from his subjects. If he is not strong enough to punish an offender he will have to wait :

(427) *Ida kunt^s mēržēb doqq w ida kunt^s út^sēđ šbar*, “ If you are a mallet beat, and if you are a peg endure ” (Andjra).¹

When a sheikh is informed that a certain important personage in his district is abusing him, he tells his men to go with him to find out whether his enemy is supported by other people besides those of his own village :—

(428) *Ġar idá hna šúfna hād l-‘iúj kâ mnē l-hēnd au mnē l-fās*, [We shall do something] only when we have seen if this crookedness comes from steel or from a hoe ” (i.e. his own villagers only ; Andjra).

When a sheikh, at the head of numerous followers, has attacked a small but strong village, and been repulsed, it is said :—

(429) *Kúmša dē n-nhāl áhsēn mēn š-šwári dē d-dēbbān*, “ A handful of bees is better than a pannier of flies ” (Andjra).²

If a sheikh, after an unsuccessful attack, is driven back to his own village, the villagers may ask him :—

(430) *Aš ēddāk né n-nhāl hátt^sa t^sóhal*, “ What took you to the bees till you got into a scrape ? ” (Andjra) ?³

Or they may put to him the question why he has returned empty-handed ; and when he replies that he only wanted to beat the people and not to take their animals, one of the villagers, who knows what actually happened to him, says to the others :—

(431) *Ma ráddēk ‘ann t-t’am ġar šhánt^sú*, “ The only thing that keeps you back from food is its heat ” (Andjra).

¹ *Infra*, nr. 719.

² *Infra*, nrs. 572, 1305.

³ *Supra*, nr. 390.

A person who is the friend of a person in a high position has nothing to fear from other people; it is said:—

- (432) *D yērkēb 'āla a-djmēl ma ihāf šī mnē a-djra i'ādḍūh,*
 "He who rides on a camel is not afraid lest the dogs should bite him" (Andjra)¹; or,
 (433) *Ida rkēbt'i rkēb d-dēmm l-kbīr ḡdāl'ak ḡlu t'kūn f qā' l-bīr,* "If you ride you should ride a high-blooded animal (i.e. a horse), it will raise you even though you are at the bottom of a well"; or,
 (434) *Ida ḡabbāk l-qmar bē kmāli fāin jāwāk n-njūm ida mālū,* "If the full moon loves you, what does it matter to you if the stars decline?"

But you should not be too confident in such a friend:

- (435) *Li ḡabbāk t'ḡ'bak li kḡrhāk qāt'lāk,* "He who loves you wearies you, he who hates you kills you."

Instead of being guardians of justice, officials themselves frequently transgress its most elementary tenets. Of this we find an expression in many sayings, which are particularly used with reference to persons in authority.

- (436) *Dār d-dūlm t'ḡhla fē l-hēn au ba'd l-hēn,* "The house of injustice (or, oppression) will sooner or later be empty."
 (437) *D-dālām mā i'ini llāh,* "The oppressor will not be helped by God" (Andjra).
 (438) *D-dālām ihāni llāh,* "The oppressor will be forsaken by God."
 (439) *D-dālām 'and allāh mēl'ūn i 'and n-nās māḡbūn,* "The oppressor is cursed by God and despised by the people."

The idea that an unjust official will be punished by God is also expressed in the proverb:—

- (440) *Kull mēn ḡla' yēhbāt,* "Every one who ascends will descend."²

The following saying, referring to a very cruel governor of the Bni Mēssāra, whose descendants are now going about begging in different parts of the country, is applied to any cruel official:—

¹ *Supra*, nr. 257; *infra*, nr. 1414.

² *Infra*, nr. 1799.

(441) *Muḥammed l-Qáisi uládu mējláyin*, "Muḥammed l-Qaisi's descendants have been scattered."

If a man has risen to great power and made evil use of it, and some one avenges the wrongs he has committed, it is said:—

(442) *Yá'la l-bátal hátt'a yá'la u yējbár l-ḥaqq fōq mēnnú*, "However high the slanderer may rise, he will find the truth above him."

Of an official who has abused his authority and been dismissed it is said:—

(443) *Leh la yá'te lē n-ná'ja grōn*, "May God give no horns to the ewe" (i.e. make the man unable to do further mischief).

When a man has been unjustly deprived of his animals by the sheikh, it is said:—

(444) *Yēḥlēf álláh 'ála l-'ázfa u ma yēḥlēf šī 'āla mēn hátt'ša*, "May God replace the palmetto (i.e. the animals), and may God not replace him who cut it" (Andjra).

The following saying is used with reference to a man who has been guilty of much violence and then been appointed sheikh:—

(445) *Ḥraq qábrāk yēnšhar hábrāk*, "Burn your grave (i.e. commit crimes that will exclude you from Paradise), you will become famous" (Andjra).

Of a sheikh who is constantly exacting fresh taxes from his subjects it is said:—

(446) *Kun sbā' u kúlni ma t'kūn šī jrū u t'mērmēdni*, "Be a lion and eat me, don't be a dog and worry me" (Andjra).¹

When a man who is disliked by the people is appointed sheikh they make the remark:—

(447) *Wáqt'ēk ā bú ḥánnú t'gūz fē l-qánnūt*, "Your time, O fruit of the strawberry tree (which is unsavoury) will pass [, even though it be] through the internode of a cane" (i.e. even though it will be difficult; Andjra).

¹ Cf. *infra*, nrs. 726, 1148.

When a man who has been looked down upon is made a sheikh it is said of him :—

- (448) *L-‘áuda šábhūt^s kéiḍar*, “The mare became a horse in the morning” (Andjra).

There is a saying to the effect that if God gives power to a person, no man can take it away from him :—

- (449) *L-máida máidēt^s álláh li tá‘mú llāh mēnna yētt^s‘āttā‘ám*,
“The table is the table of God, he whom God feeds from it will be [well] fed.”

Yet we hear of good men being turned out of their positions and bad men taking their places :

- (450) *Nqālbū l-middi wū t‘gá‘dū l-qdōḥa*, “The tables were turned upside down, and the earthenware pots sat up” (when not used the latter are kept upside down or in a lying position).¹

Big men in the towns are superseded by new-comers from the country :

- (451) *Lēbsu l-fīna ū ‘āmlū r-rzāz ū réj‘ū mēn kbār l-mdīna*,
“They dressed in fine clothes and put on turbans and became notables of the town.”

When a high official loses his post it is said :—

- (452) *Kull mēn n‘azz yēndáll*, “Everybody who is respected will be despised.”

If such a person is dismissed or dies, no notice is any longer taken of him or his children :

- (453) *Ida gāb l-ūjāh má bqa nē l-qfā ḥorma*, “If the face disappears, no respect is left for the nape of the neck” ; or,

- (454) *Ġēr mátt^s‘ēt^s l-ḥādem dē l-qādi mšau n-nās kāmīn ū ġēr mátt^s l-qādi ma mša m‘ah ḥadd*, “As soon as the woman slave of the judge dies, all the people go [with her to the grave], and as soon as the judge dies, no one goes with him.”

A dismissed official does not easily forget his former power :

¹ *Infra*, nr. 718.

(455) *Nār māḥya ma yēḥfēha l-ḥall*, "The fire of gin is not extinguished by vinegar."

If a dismissed sheikh still tries to exact money from people who have not heard of his dismissal, he is told by his successor:—

(456) *D kēl ḥāqqū igāmmaṭ 'āinū*, "He who has eaten his share should shut his eyes" (Andjra).

But a late sheikh may also modestly inform others that he has lost his post, saying:—

(457) *Kūt^s rāṣ ū rājā't^s kwāra'*, "I was head and became feet" (Andjra).

If two men fight with one another because each of them wants to become sheikh, one of them has to be removed from the village in which he is living, in accordance with the saying:—

(458) *Jūj dē l-fḥūla ma yūt'āwau f qārya wāḥda*, "Two bulls do not get on together in the same pen" (Andjra).¹

In spite of all the censure passed upon unjust officials there is also the saying:—

(459) *L-māḥzēn jāyēḥ wā la rā'īya fāsda*, "An unjust government is better than corrupt subjects."

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 410.

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTIANS—JEWS—NEGROES—CERTAIN NATIVES OF MOROCCO

DURING my stay among the Jbâla, or Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco, I was told that the Christians do nothing but kick up rows and fight and try to get hold of other people's money and land. To be blue-eyed as a Christian is to be false. To have a heart as a Christian is to be hard and cruel. Among the Aith Yusi I heard of a father who had cut the throat of his little daughter at the door of an influential man's house as *'ār*, to compel him to intervene on his behalf because he had been a victim of extortion; the governor, however, ordered him to be thrown into prison for life, saying, "This was something so horrible that not even a Christian would have done it"—which at any rate shows that the cruelty which the Berbers of Morocco believe us to be capable of has a limit. The Christians are not like ordinary human beings. My host in the village in the Jbël lā-Ḥbīb where I was staying told me that some men in a distant mountain tribe had said to him, "We should like to go with you to Tangier to see the Christians grow." He assured me that they seriously believed that the Christians grow up from seeds in the ground and that they have horns on the forehead; and though he laughed at their ignorance, he asked me if it was true that Christian women give birth to children twice a year. In Andjra there is a belief that they do so every four months.

Moorish views about Christians are expressed in various sayings.

(460) *D-d jō' nāšrāni u l-qāt'el mēšlem*, "Hunger is a Christian, and the killer [of it] is a Moslem."

(461) *N-nšāra kufāra kāyēbgīu nē l-msēlmīn gēr l-ḥšāra*, "The Christians are infidels, they wish the Moslems nothing but loss."

- (462) *Ida dāhli n-nšara ně l-blād hruj mēna u skun 'ālā ḥadd l-wād*, "If Christians enter a town, go out of it and live on the bank of a river."
- (463) *Ida dāhli n-nšara ně l-mdīna mā bqa ně l-mēsem fāin ibē ḥāt'a l-lētīna*, "If Christians enter a town, there remains for the Moslem no place to sell even an orange."
- (464) *Li šāf bērr n-nšara mšūl' iyāmū ḥšāra*, "He who has seen the land of the Christians has wasted his days."

What will happen to the Christians in the other world is indicated in the following ditty, which I have heard chanted by boys in the neighbourhood of Tangier:—

- (465) *L-ihūd fē s-sēffūd u n-nšara fē s-šānnāra u l-msēlmīn fē n-nūwāra*, "The Jews on a spit, and the Christians on a fish-hook, and the Moslems on a flower."

Contact with Christians is polluting. You may work for a Christian, but you must not accept alms from him:

- (466) *N-nšara rfēd hrāhum lā ts'āhum*, "Carry away the dung of Christians, don't beg of them."¹

A prayer said in a Christian's house is of no avail. The barbers of Andjra maintain that there is no *baraka*, or holiness, in the razors used by their colleagues in Tangier, because they are sharpened by Christians. One reason why the sultan Mūlāi 'Abd-el-'āzīz lost his *baraka* was the presence of Christians at court. Once when I arrived at a governor's place in the Great Atlas mountains, my host would not shake hands with me. In an Arab tribe in the interior a boy refused to accept a coin I offered him for some little service. When, on a journey in the neighbourhood of Marrāksh, I halted on the banks of a river, a woman came there immediately after to fetch water, but hesitated what to do, because, as my servants told me, she was afraid that I had drunk from the river. Old people say that before the Christians came to Morocco there was only one sickness,

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 586.

malaria, and even that was rare, but that they brought with them ninety-nine new sicknesses. As regards personal cleanliness, however, the Christians are superior to the Jews. It is said :—

- (467) *N-nšāra n'as fě frāšhum lā t'ākul maḳlēt'hum l-ihūd kul maḳlēt'hum lā t'n'as fě frāšhum*, "Sleep in the beds of Christians [but] don't eat their food, eat the food of Jews [but] don't sleep in their beds."

The Jews are a cursed people, exceedingly unclean and polluting and not to be trusted. If a Jew enters the house of a Moor, the angels will desert it for forty days. A prayer said in the house or garden of a Jew has no efficacy. A scribe from the Rif told me that if a person who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca wants to retain his *baraka*, he must never go to the market and expose himself to the looks of the Jews who are gathered there. Nor are the latter allowed to come near the place at the market where the Moslems sell their grain, so as not to spoil its *baraka*. A Jew must not tread on a threshing-floor nor enter a granary. He must not ride a horse—a holy animal—that has on it a Moorish riding-saddle. Nor is a Jew allowed to approach the hives of the bees ; nay, I was told by a Berber from Aglu in Sūs that if a man robs the hives of his bees while he has a Jew as his guest, he will find them empty the next time he goes to them. The defiling effects of sexual intercourse with a Jewess have been mentioned above.¹

- (468) *L-mā bě d-dūd dhsēn mēn ḥair l-ihūd*, "Water with worms is better than the favour of Jews."
- (469) *L-ihūdi ida gašš l-mēslem kūrikān farḥān f dāk l-yūm*, "A Jew, if he cheats a Moslem, is happy that day."
- (470) *L-ihūdi ida ṭhak ně l-mēslem 'arfū ně l-gūšš yēt'ḥāzzēm*, "If a Jew laughs at a Moslem, know that he girds himself (i.e. makes himself ready) for cheating."
- (471) *Lā tt'ēq b l-ihūdi ida slem ālu yēbqa arb'āin 'ām*, "Don't trust a Jew if he has become Moslem, even though he remains [so] forty years."

¹ *Supra*, p. 84.

- (472) *Ida rja' l-hikm l l-ihūd dhūl dārāk u šudd*, "If the power returns to the Jews (i.e. the power they possessed in the times of Sidna Mūsa, or Moses), go into your house and close [it]."

If any one praises a Jew, he is told that however good the Jew may appear to be there is always something in his heart that is not genuine :—

- (473) *L-ihūdi ida k̄n dē d-dhāb ikūnu l-fūl dyāli dē n-nhās*,
"If the Jew is of gold, his testicles are of copper"
(Andjra).¹

At the same time it is better to sit together with a Jew than with a vile Moslem :

- (474) *Ihūdi fē l-būt wā la rājēl hbūt*, "A Jew in a room is better than a vile man."

Indeed, it may be useful to be on friendly terms with a Jew :

- (475) *Šhab ihūdi inēf'ak f hādi u hādi*, "Make friends with a Jew, he will be useful to you in this and that."

There is the saying :—

- (476) *'Amel l-hair ālu f l-ihūd ihāfdāk allāh mēl lā-'dā u l-ḥsūd*,
"Do good even to a Jew, God will save you from enemies and envious people."

The negroes are wicked people. They have become black in consequence of the curse which Sidna Nōḥ (Noah) pronounced upon his son Ham, their ancestor.

- (477) *Lukān l-hair fē l-'ābūd ma ikūn wūjhum ḥdīd*, "If there were goodness in the negroes, their faces would not be [black like] iron."

- (478) *Qīmēt' l-'abd l-mlāh*, "The price of a negro is [only] salt."

Negro slaves cause a lot of trouble :

- (479) *D-dār l-mēs'ūda hiya li ma fēha la Mābrūk wā la Mābrūka*, "It is a lucky house where there is neither a Mabrūk nor a Mabrūka" (names, meaning the "blessed one", which are only given to male and female slaves).

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 494.

There is a close connection between negroes and *jnūn*: they are "like brothers".¹ Both negroes and Gnāwa,² a fraternity consisting chiefly of negroes, are proverbially obstinate; hence an obstinate person is told:—

(480) *Lā t'āšer 'abd gnāwi*, "Don't be familiar with a negro of the Gnāwa."

(481) *L-horr bē l-gāmza u l-'abd bē d-dēbza*, "A white man [is made to obey] with a wink, a negro with a blow."³

Negroes never feel shame, as their faces never blush; hence the saying, referring to a shameless person:—

(482) *N-nās kāiqūlu nē l-'abd l-ūjāh li kāyēhšēm 'andēk khāl*, "People say to the negro, The face that is ashamed [in others] is in you black."

Negroes are exceedingly conceited:

(483) *L-'abd ida ma yāqūl šī l-'dšā mēn l-ḥadd nē l-ḥadd kāiqūl ma bhāli ḥadd*, "If the negro does not taste the stick Sunday after Sunday, he says that there is nobody like him."

(484) *L-'abd ida jād mēn qāllēt' ḥāsbū w ida bhāl ḥādāk ḥāsbū*, "If the negro is generous it does not belong to his nature, and if he is stingy, that is his nature."

(485) *Lā t'ēq b wūld l-'āmā dlu ikūn 'dāmā*, "Don't trust the son of a negro wife (legal concubine), even though he is blind."

(486) *L-ḥādem 'ommra ma t'ūlēd l-farrāhha*, "A negress will never give birth to a child that makes her happy."

But a negro, with all his faults, is stronger than a white man:

(487) *L-'abd zāyēd 'āl l-horr dāl'a u kās dē d-dēmm*, "The negro has a rib and a cup of blood more than the white man."

There are also disparaging sayings about the natives of certain towns and districts in Morocco.

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 276, 379 sqq.

² See *ibid.*, "Index," s.v. Gnāwa.

³ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1746. There are widespread variants of this proverb (Ben Cheneb, *op. cit.*, nr. 638).

- (488) *Šhábna l-faḥṣiyya la 'ahd la nīya*, "Our friends from the Faḥṣ (a district bordering on Tangier) [have] neither promise nor good faith."

The people of Azila, Shawen, and Wazzan are not honest in business :

- (489) *Be' u šri ba'ād mēn z-zailāši u š-šāuni*, "Sell and buy, [but] keep away from a man from Azila and Shawen";
 (490) *Be' u šri li š-šāuni wū l-wazzāni bá'dum mēnni*, "Sell to me and buy for me, [but] keep a man from Shawen and Wazzan away from me."

The Jbāla of the Ḥmās are very lazy; hence it is said of a person who has been sent on an errand and is late :—

- (491) *Raqqāṣ l-Ḥmās šáḥhrū fē l-ḥart' ijīk fē d-dērs*, "Send a courier from the Ḥmās at the [time of] ploughing, he will come [back] to you at the [time of] threshing."

The Jbāla of Ġmāra are not "men", but cowards; hence the following saying is addressed to a man whose little son has been killed and who has received for him in blood-money the same amount as is paid when a grown-up man is killed :—

- (492) *Imūt' l-ġmār u yētsēmma rájēl*, "The man from Ġmāra dies and is called a man."

With reference to the Jbāla in general and the people of the Faḥṣ, who as a rule wear no trousers, except on festive occasions and when they practise powder play in the presence of women, and whose cloaks and shirts are short, it is jokingly said :—

- (493) *R-rájēl bla šárwāl bḥal d-dār bla bíbān*, "A man without trousers is like a house without doors."

However excellent a Jebli otherwise may be, his intelligence is always defective :

- (494) *D-d jēbli ida kán kúllu dē d-dhāb ikānū fūlū dē l-qāzīr*,
 "If a Jebli is all of gold, his testicles are of tin."¹

A Jebli among his mountains is like a tambourine of earthenware before the skin has been put on it, and it is only when he comes to live in a town that he by and by loses his rusticity; or,

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 473.

according to an entirely different interpretation of the same proverb, he then becomes noisy as a tambourine :

- (495) *D-djēbli idā t'bellēd bhāḷ āgwāl idā djēllēd*, "The Jebli, when he settles down in a town, is like a tambourine when it is provided with a skin."

The oath of a person from Fez is like the food eaten by a donkey, which remains in it only for an hour or two :

- (496) *L-fāsi idā hlēf bhāḷ l-hmār idā 'lēf*, "The native of Fez, when he swears, is like a donkey when it feeds."
 (497) *L-fāsi wū s-sūsi jāryīn 'āl l-fēls ma kāina'sū šī*, "The native of Fez and the native of Sūs are running after a *fēls* (the smallest copper coin), they are not asleep."
 (498) *S-sūsi wū z-zailāši bā'ad mēnnum f kull šī*, "The man from Sūs and the man from Azīla, keep away from them in everything" (they cannot be trusted).

The inhabitants of Marrāksh are reputed to be liars; hence the ironical saying :—

- (499) *Lā šhāda illā marrākšīya*, "There is no witness but that of a person from Marrāksh."

The people of Tafilet are importunate; hence :—

- (500) *L-filāli wū l-fār lā t'wurrīhum bāb d-dār*, "The man from Tafilet and the mouse, don't show them the door of the house." ¹

Of this saying I have also heard the variant :—

- (501) *L-mālṭi wū l-fār lā t'wurrīhum bāb d-dār*, "The Maltese and the mouse, don't show them the door of the house" (the Maltese being considered both importunate and addicted to pilfering).

There is a story about a Rifian who, when he saw another man carrying some small thing in the hood of his cloak, killed him in the belief that it was a dollar piece, but then found that it was only an onion; hence the saying :—

- (502) *R-rīfi qt'el hāh 'dla bāḷa*, "The Rifian kills his brother for the sake of an onion."

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1105.

Of the Berber language it is contemptuously said :—

- (503) *L-‘dsēl ma hīya idām u l-bēšna ma hīya tš‘ām u š-šēlha ma hīya klām*, “Honey is not fat, and *bēšna* (an inferior kind of sorghum) is not food, and *Shelha* is not a language.”

There are also complimentary sayings, referring to the natives of certain places and, particularly, to those of one’s own place. In Tangier I have heard various sayings of this kind. The people of Tangier and Fez are the wisest in all Morocco :

- (504) *Tanja u Fās hūma jém‘ā n-nās*, “Tangier and Fez are the sum of people.”

When a native of Tangier quarrels, it is soon over :

- (505) *Šarr t-tanjāwi bhal li kāibāhhar bē ‘-djāwi*, “The quarrel of a native of Tangier is like fumigation with benzoin.”

The Jbāla of the Bni Mēssāra are brave people :

- (506) *T-tair l-horr mēssāri wū l-hmāma homsīya*, “The falcon is a man from the Bni Mēssāra, and the tame pigeon is a woman from the Hmās.”

A brave man is addressed :—

- (507) *L-mēssāri yā l-hallūf yā l-mtsūwah fē z-zéit‘ūn*, “Man from the Bni Mēssāra, O wild-boar, O you who are travelling among the olive-trees.”

The girls of the Jbēl lā-Hīb are very pretty, and when a man sees one of them he falls in love with her :

- (508) *Bndi‘ Jbēl lā-Hīb kāilā‘bi bē nūwāri*, “The girls of the Jbēl lā-Hīb are playing with its flowers.”

They are highly appreciated as wives, but difficult to get, like wild animals living in caves ; hence the following is said of a man who intends to marry, meaning that if he wants a good wife, he will have to pay a high sum for her :—

- (509) *Blādi yā Jbēl lā-Hīb yā l-māūra bē l-kifān*, “My country, O Jbēl lā-Hīb, O the one surrounded by caves.”

CHAPTER VII

TRAVELLING

- (510) *Lā ḥayr fē l-mrā li djūl wā lā ḥayr f r-rájēl li ma ijāl,* "There is no blessing in a woman who travels, and there is no blessing in a man who does not travel."
- (511) *Jul t'ā'ráf n-nās,* "Travel, you will know the people" (Andjra).
- (512) *Jul t'ára l-mā'ānī,* "Travel, you will see the meanings [of things]."
- (513) *Li ma jāl ma ya'ráf b ḥaqq r-rjāl,* "He who does not travel will not know the value of men."

He who travels learns to distinguish between good people and bad, whereas he who stays at home will not know when rascals from other places come to swindle him :

- (514) *Jul t'ráhum glēs iháltū 'alik,* "Travel [and] you will see them, sit [and] they will come to you."¹

Travelling increases a man's reputation at home :

- (515) *Kull gība kādzid ḥiba,* "Every absence increases the respect."

Moreover, if a man does not get on well at home he had better go to another place to earn his living, even though he will have his grave there :

- (516) *Klām l-fāsi qbar mēnsi wā la škāra ḥāwya,* "Said the man from Fez, A forgotten grave is better than an empty bag"; or,
- (517) *Qbar grīb wā la škāra ḥāwya,* "A strange grave is better than an empty bag" (Andjra).
- (518) *Ida kēt'rū l-qūyūdm fē d-dunya rḥal mēn l-Ġarb u sir n 'Asia,* "If there are many rebel chiefs in the world, leave the Gharb and go to Asia" (i.e. Turkey).

¹ *Supra*, nr. 416.

- (519) *Ida smā't'i l-Garb qwa fih l-hār tālla' šdbbātāk u sir,*
 "If you hear strong noise in the Gharb, pull up [the
 backs of] your slippers and go away." ¹

When a person leaves for another place he should have with him enough money to procure food and lodging and not rely upon hospitality :

- (520) *Š-šōq hwint'āt' hwint'āt' šri t'mdaǧ kri t'bdt',* "The market-
 place [has] many little shops, buy to chew, hire to
 lodge." ²
- (521) *Ida šāfart'i šāfar bē z-zād mā t'ōqaf 'āla ḥadd,* "When
 you travel, travel with provisions, don't apply to anybody
 [for food]."

The stranger should mix with the natives so as to learn to know the place :

- (522) *Ma t'endḥāl l-blād illā bē mwaḷiḥa,* "A country is only
 entered by the aid of its owners."

He should respect the customs of the country and even put up with things that are forbidden :

- (523) *Ida jbart'ihum kāi'ḏbdū l-ḥmār jib lū r-rbē,* "If you
 find them worshipping a donkey, bring him grass";
- (524) *Dē ṭhal n šī mdīna iwīlli 'āla dīna,* "He who enters
 some town should become of its religion" (Andjra).

These sayings are in agreement with the more general proverb :—

- (525) *'Āmel kāmə 'mel jārāk au rḥal 'annū,* "Do as your
 neighbour does, or move from him." ³

At the same time the people may tolerate less important deviations from their customs, in accordance with the sayings :—

- (526) *Kull blād w āhla,* "Every country has its people [with
 their customs]";
- (527) *Kull blād u zēihha (= zēinha),* "Every country has its
 beauty."

To live in a strange place has many disadvantages. A person who is somebody in his own country becomes nobody outside it.

¹ For other advice to leave the Gharb see *infra*, nrs. 1570, 1617.

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 1119.

³ *Infra*, nr. 1676. Cf. *supra*, nr. 320.

- (528) *Kull sba' fə ġábt'u* (or, *bládu*) *zəhhár*, "Every lion is roaring in his own forest (or, country)." ¹
- (529) *L-fār f ġáru šáluān*, "The mouse in its hole is a king." ¹
- (530) *As mən šóla nə l-ġrīb fə blád n-nās*, "What power has a stranger in other people's country?"
- (531) *L-ġaib ġrīb*, "The absent one is a stranger."
- (532) *Ma yəbqa f l-qbar illā málāh wā la l-ġrīb illā wəhdu*,
 "There remains in the grave none but its master,²
 and the stranger remains only alone."
- (533) *N-nās li ma ikānu bħal áhli*, "Other people are not to me like my family."

Who will make the stranger happy in a place where he has no friends?

- (534) *L-ġrīb fə blád n-nās ma yəst'áhəl z-zġárət*, "A stranger in other people's country is not worthy of *zġárət*" ³ (as salutation).

He cannot laugh heartily:

- (535) *Mən yáum ħrújt' mən bládi ma thekt' bə snāni*, "From the day I left my country I have not laughed with my teeth."
- (536) *Li ma 'mel ħair fə bládu ma i'ámli fə blád n-nās*, "He who does not do well in his own country will not do well in the country of others."

Yet there may be exceptions to this rule. If a man who has settled down in a strange place begins to practise a trade previously unknown there, he may gain a reputation for skill which he by no means deserves:

- (537) *L-má'maş fə blád l-'ómyān yissəmma kaħl l-'áyún*, "A bleary-eyed one is called black-eyed (a great compliment) in the country of the blind" (Andjra).⁴

A man who has moved from his village because he disliked the

¹ There are widespread variants of these proverbs (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1488).

² *Infra*, nr. 912.

³ For this noise see *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 22, n. 2.

⁴ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1244).

people there, but finds that the inhabitants of the new place are just as bad, makes the remark :—

(538) *L-bħar kúllu málāħ*, “The whole sea is salt ” (Andjra);
or,

(539) *Msaqqīya b mógrūf wáħda*, “Pouring [gravy] with the same ladle ” (Andjra).

Indeed, the new place where a person has settled down may be found to be much worse than the old one :

(540) *Hrab mēl l-hófra tāħ fē l-bīr*, “He ran away from a hole, he fell into a well.”

Even in a country with an organized government there are many thieves :

(541) *Lā t'āmēn fē blād l-'ámān*, “Don't trust [even] a country of safety.”

(542) *L-b'īd kúllu ġaddār li yēṣṣháb yēṣṣháb a-djār*, “Every one afar is a great deceiver, may he who makes a friend make a friend of his neighbour.”

(543) *L-blād li tāħkū 'alik ħalléha álu t'kūn mēbnīya bē l-yáqūt'*, “Leave the town where you are laughed at, even though it is built of rubies.”

At the same time the stranger may also meet with kindness in his new surroundings. He may hear the blessing :—

(544) *Állāħ m'ak yā ġrīb*, “May God be with you, O stranger.”

(545) *R-rájēl fē blād n-nās ġrīb u 'and ulād n-nās ħbīb*, “A man in the country of others is a stranger, and the sons of [good] people regard him as a friend.”

After all : “East or west, home is best.”

(546) *L-blād li 'árfúk ħájārha áħsēn mēl li 'árfúk násha*, “The country where the stones know you is better than the country where the people know you.”

(547) *Qātrán bládi wā la 'sēl l-búldān*, “The tar of my country is better than the honey of other countries.”

(548) *Báládi báládi áli jārāt' 'áliya*, “My country is my country, even though it is unjust to me.”

(549) *Mēn klām l-háyiya qālēt' l-hrēq bē n-nār wā la l-hrūj mēl l-gār*, "The snake said in her speech, Burning by fire is better than leaving the nest."¹

(550) *Li gāb gāb háqqū*, "If a person is away, his right is away."

(551) *Z-zra' idbr idbr u yērjā' nē t-t'ōqba dē r-rha*, "The wheat turns round and round and comes back to the hole of the mill."²

(552) *Kull gāzi yērjā' nē blādū*, "Every conqueror returns to his country."

Of a person who goes to a foreign country it is said:—

(553) *L-bhar li kāiddhli mēfqūd u l-hārēj mēnnū bhal li mulūd*, "He who goes into the sea is gone, and he who comes out of it is like a new-born."

When a person returns from a journey it is said:—

(554) *Kull mēbdi mēt'mām*, "Everything that is begun comes to an end" (also said at the beginning of a new month, especially Ramaḍān).

When a man returns from a long journey and his friends who greet him make the remark that he has been away for a great length of time, he answers them:—

(555) *Ma 'andēk bās ida 'āš r-rāš*, "There is nothing wrong with you if the head is alive."

If a man comes home from a journey in a bad state of health and his friends ask him how he is, one of them remarks:—

(556) *Šuf hālū lā tsdlū*, "Look how he is, don't ask him" (Andjra).

Of a man who has been long away for the purpose of earning money, but comes back penniless, it is said:—

(557) *T'āuwēl gāibt'ū jā b l-hāiba*, "He lengthened his absence, he came [back] with disappointment."

When a person makes a journey he should only go by safe roads:

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1822.

² Widespread proverb (Singer-Littmann, op. cit., nr. 126; Tallqvist, op. cit., nr. 46).

- (558) *L-māši r-rīf r-rīf kun 'āla bāl mēn t-t'hlīf*, "Wanderer, a trench a trench, be careful with your walking."
 (559) *Trēq s-slāma dlū dārūt*, "[Choose] the road of safety, even if it winds."

People who pass the night in open country should be on their guard :

- (560) *Yā Bni Mēssāra lā-'dū mdūwar bikum*, "O Bni Mēssāra (who are constantly at odds with other tribes and therefore have many enemies), the enemy is round you."

When a man who is going on a journey is asked by another to allow him to accompany him and he does not care for the company, he may try to frighten the other person by saying that the road is not safe; and he may then receive the answer:—

- (561) *L-wād d 'abbak ma hallāni*, "The river which takes you does not leave me" (Andjra).
 (562) *'And šāfrū t'a'raf hābrū*, "When you travel with him you will get to know him."
 (563) *R-rjāl kat'đhār f š-sfar*, "Men show themselves during journeys."

When a person who is travelling with others falls behind, he excuses himself by saying:—

- (564) *D ḥābb yērbāḥ l-'amm twīl*, "[For him] who likes to gain the year is long" (Andjra); or,
 (565) *Qālēt l-mā'za l-'ar'ja f rāš d-dwīra nkānu*, "The lame goat said, We shall meet at the head of the yard" (the part of the yard nearest the house, where the goats are kept at night to be safe from robbers; Andjra).

CHAPTER VIII

WORK

A PERSON who works will be helped by God :

- (566) *Sébbēb ũ rábbi i'áuněk*, "Give occasion, and God will help you."
- (567) *L-'abd yēbda ũ llāh ikēmmēl*, "The servant [of God] begins, and God completes."
- (568) *Yērhām āllāh mēn yēšná' šī w út'qnũ*, "May God have mercy upon him who makes something and perfects it."
- (569) *Kun šdēq ũ hđēm ma ijik dárar mēn bnádēm*, "Be faithful and work, no evil will befall you from men."
- (570) *L-hđdma fēha n-nfa' kaddáwi lē-jrah*, "In work there is utility, it heals the wounds."
- (571) *Hđēm t'idēm glēs t'hnez*, "Work [and] you will be strong, sit [and] you will stink."
- (572) *Kúmsa đē n-nhāl dhsēn mēn šwári đēbbān*, "A handful of bees (i.e. useful persons) is better than a pannier of flies" (i.e. useless persons).¹

Of a person who has no trade or who is too lazy to work, it is said :—

- (573) *R-rāš li mā fih nēswa t-t'āqté' ulá lú*, "The head that has no stimulation had better be cut off" ; or,
- (574) *D ma dbāh šát'ũ wđ gra brát'ũ ũ fđššal jēllábt'ũ nđs l-mqābēr fát'ōh*, "He who does not slaughter his own sheep, nor read his own letter, nor cut the cloth for his own cloak, has been preceded by the people of the cemetery" (i.e. had better die ; Andjra) ; or,
- (575) *Li ma 'ándũ hája iqárraq a-đjđja*, "He who has nothing to do will make a hen hatch" ; or,

¹ *Supra*, nr. 429 ; *infra*, nr. 1305.

(576) *Jib l-mra bē d-dīn ū qūl mēl'ōqa*, "Bring a wife by debt and say [she is] unlucky" (Andjra).

A man who supports himself, not by work, but by selling his animals, is told:—

(577) *Ida gēlbēk z-zmān lqah bē drā'āk ma t'lqah ši bē mt'a'āk*, "If time conquers you, meet her with your arm, don't meet her with your property" (Andjra).

If a strong man, instead of working, goes about begging under the pretence of being a fool, the remark is made:—

(578) *Hbēl t'ērt'āh*, "Become foolish, you will find rest."¹

If an elderly man can live without work because he worked hard in his younger days and bought property with his earnings, other men of his own age, who did not do the same, say to him:—

(579) *Hdēm yā šógrī n kábri*, "Work, O my youth, for my old age" (Andjra).

Of a person whom nobody wants to employ it is said:—

(580) *Qāl r-rbīb ma bqa fē z-zmān hbīb*, "Said the stepson, There remained in the world no friend."

It is better to have some work, whatever it be, than to have no work.

(581) *L-āməš wā la l-āmiya*, "Blear-eyedness is better than blindness."²

(582) *L-hēkka wā la d-djām š-šamm wā la l-bkām*, "The itch is better than leprosy, deafness is better than dumbness."

(583) *Ida ma jbārt'i mā t'ā'mel šri l-hmār ū hdēm hāmmāl*, "If you do not find what to do, buy a donkey and work as a carrier."

(584) *Bē l-bāiṣar āhsēn ma t'ēbqa fē d-dār*, "To sell gruel made of beans is better than to stay in the house."

(585) *Bē ibāwūn āhsēn ma t'ēbqa fē d-dār mgābbēn*, "To sell boiled dried beans is better than to stay in the house distressed."

¹ For the privileged position of fools see *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 47 sqq.

² *Supra*, nr. 421.

- (586) *Rfəd hráhum lā ts'áhum*, "Carry away their dung, don't beg from them."¹
- (587) *L-ħádma m'a n-nšára wā lā l-glās ħšára*, "To work with Christians is better than to lose [time] by sitting idle."
- (588) *'Ámel ma tšīb 'ándək fě t-t'rāb t'gīb*, "Do what you find, so as not to disappear in the earth."
- (589) *Qđi kīf ma jbart'i ma šī kīf t'ėbgri*, "Do whatever you find, not what you want."
- (590) *L-ħáttāš mā ikún fěttāš*, "A mower should not be a searcher" (Andjra).
- (591) *Li yėkrėha ma iglės 'álėha*, "He who hires it (i.e. his bottom) out will not sit on it" (i.e. cannot do what he likes).
- (592) *Ibrīl káijbəd s-sbūla mən qā' l-bīr*, "April draws the ear from the bottom of the well" (i.e. if April, the time when the corn ripens, can find no corn in the field, it has to get it even from the bottom of the well).
- (593) *Ida qāmū qum m'áhum w ida gėtsu glės m'áhum*, "If they get up, get up with them, and if they sit, sit with them" (i.e. accept any job, whether it requires standing or sitting).

Of course, you should not do work from which you derive no income :

- (594) *Š-šhar li ma t'ħbės krāh qš čđđak t'ħásbū*, "What makes you count a month for which you receive no hire?"²

There are, nevertheless, circumstances in which work is done gratuitously. In Andjra a ploughman generally receives as wages a fourth part of the harvest yielded by the field he has ploughed, but if a ploughman who has finished his work is asked by another one to come and help him to finish his, there is no payment for the help. It may, however, be refused; the man who has done his work may want to rest :

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 466.

² Widespread proverb (Ben Chenob, op. cit., nr. 1036; Singer-Littmann, op. cit., nr. 2).

- (595) *Māin layūt'qāda ṣ-ṣābōn lat'ēfrāḥ ṣ-ṣabbāna*, "When the soap comes to an end, the washerwoman rejoices" (Andjra).

It is better to earn a little than to earn nothing at all; a person who refrains from work because the pay is small is told:—

- (596) *Aḥdēm b wūjhāin ū ḥāsēb l-bāttal*, "Work for two *mūzūnas* (a *mūzūna* is an imaginary Moorish coin worth less than a farthing), and call to account him who is idle" (i.e. ask him how much *he* has earned; Andjra).

It is better to receive a small wage every day than to have to wait for a larger one:

- (597) *Mūzūna fē l-kāff ahsēn mēn 'āsra fē t-t'ēlf*, "A *mūzūna* in the palm is better than ten lost" (Andjra).¹

It is better to have a badly paid job that lasts long than a well-paid one of short duration:

- (598) *Qlīl u mdāwūm ahsēn mēn bē z-zāf ū mqtō*: "Little and lasting is better than much and passing."

Don't give up a job, even though it is badly paid, until you are sure to get another one:

- (599) *Qdī bē l-hārkūs ḥātt'a ijīb allāh ṣ-ṣābbat*, "Go on with the old shoes until God brings new ones."

- (600) *Lā t'hārraq mā ḥātt'a tsqī āhrīn*, "Don't pour out water until you get some other" (also said as a warning to an employer).

- (601) *Lā t'bēddel l-ḥādar bē l-gārib*, "Don't change that which is present for that which is absent."

- (602) *T-tḥūl fē l-ḥóbza wā la l-hruj mēnna*, "To enter a loaf of bread is better than to go out of it" (Andjra).

A person who has been offered some work is advised by his family to accept it:—

- (603) *Dā 'tak l-mā'za bādēr la bē š-šrēt*, "If one gives you a goat, go quickly to it with a rope" (Andjra).

¹ *Infra*, nrs. 823, 824. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1211; Tallqvist, op. cit., nr. 102).

A person who hears of a job to be got, and then goes and gets it in advance of him who spoke of it, is told:—

(604) *'Allemnāhum s-s'āya sēbqūna nē ḏ-ḏyār lē-kbār*, "We taught them begging, they came before us to the big houses."

A person should see that his children learn some trade.

(605) *T'āllēm l-'āšyā ahsēn mēn jaḥlīha*, "The learning of things is better than the ignorance of them."

(606) *Yā aḥi ḥōbzī'ēk dzīynēk ū ḥobz n-nās t'rēdlēk*, "O my brother, your bread adorns you, and other people's bread abases you."

(607) *Ṣ-ṣān'a ida ma gnaṭ' t'ēst'ōr w'illa dzīd fē l-'ōmor*, "A trade, [even] if it does not make one rich, will cover one or even prolong one's life."

(608) *Yīnt'āmm mt'ā' l-'jēddīn u t'ēbqa ṣān'āt' l-y'iddīn*, "The property of the grandfathers will come to an end, and the craft of the hands will remain" (Andjra).

But a trade should be learned when one is young:

(609) *L-qārd š-šārēf ma yēl'āllēm š-šēḥ*, "An old monkey does not learn dancing."¹

On the other hand, he who has once learned a trade will not forget it afterwards:

(610) *L-qāṭṭ qāl ma nfēllet' l-fār aḥu idḥāl fē miāt' dār*, "The cat said, I shall not miss the mouse, even though he enters a hundred houses."

Of a man who has learned no trade it is said:—

(611) *Ṣān'āt' būk lā iḡēlbūk*, "The trade of your father will not overreach you" (i.e. you might at all events have learned your father's trade).

It is best for a man to stick to his father's or ancestors' occupation and customs:

(612) *Li ḥallā li bābāh u jēddū šī 'aqba yētlā' la*, "He to whom his father and grandfather left some hill should climb it"²; or,

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1812.

² *Supra*, nr. 253.

(613) *Li hallá li sī jēddū i^aéb'ú*, "He to whom his grandfather left some occupation should follow it."

But the younger generation have also something to say on the subject; a person who is blamed for not taking up his deceased father's trade replies:—

(614) *Mā yēšba n bábāh gar d-dāb bē t^aka'wīla*, "Nobody is like his father except the jackal with his howl" (Andjra).

A man should keep to one trade:

(615) *Darbt^aáin f r-rāš kat^ahūmmaq*, "Two strokes on the head make one mad."

Of a person who knows several trades but keeps to none it is said:—

(616) *Seb^a'ā šnáya' ú r-rāzq dāya'*, "[He knows] seven trades, and livelihood is lost."

A person should be industrious in his work. Only he who uses his feet, not he who sits idle, gets on in the world:

(617) *R-rāzq t^aāht^a lā-qdām*, "Livelihood is underneath the feet."

When people praise the good luck of a conscientious workman or servant, he answers:—

(618) *Š-šdbbār yēbqa fē d-dār*, "The very patient one remains in the house."

A man who is the first to begin his work in the field will rest while the others are still working:

(619) *L-lūli fē l-gāfla yēnšī märt^aāh*, "The first in the caravan walks at ease" (as a caravan is generally attacked from behind; Andjra).

A lazy farmer, again, who is slow in beginning his ploughing is told:—

(620) *Yāum r-rbē' bā rbē'ú wū s-sékka mār'hōna*, "The spring with its grass, and the plough-point is pawned."

Of two men who often go together to markets on business one refuses to accompany the other on a day when the weather is bad; when his family afterwards hear that he has lost a good opportunity, they reproach him, saying:—

(621) *Wēldū mēl'ōq lā t^awēldū mā'gāz*, "Bear him unlucky, don't bear him lazy" (Andjra).

A lazy man or woman is told :—

(622) *Měn hánha drá'a kat'qúl mēshóra*, “When her arm deceives her, she says she is bewitched.”

Of a man who has been invited to help another in his work, but after being entertained with food goes away without having done any work at all, it is said :—

(623) *Kěl t-t'am ú hrab 'ann l-fát'ha*, “He ate *késkú* and fled from the *fát'ha*” (a ceremony, often performed after a meal, consisting of an invocation with the hands stretched out and the palms turned upwards ; Andjra).

A lazy servant or apprentice is compared to a cock :—

(624) *'Alfú 'ám ma igáddik nhār*, “Feed him for a year, he will not give you dinner for a day.”¹

A servant who does little work but eats much, is told by his master :—

(625) *Yá'ya lī-qúm u ma ya'yá ši mēst'óh d-dqum*, “He who rises gets tired, and the open mouth does not get tired.”²

Of an employee who neglects his work, but is the first to appear when wages are paid, it is said :—

(626) *'And š-šóhra yéflét' ú 'and l-mákla yénbét'*, “When sent on an errand he escapes, and at eating he sprouts.”

Don't tell a lazy servant to carry away many things that are liable to break, because he will overload himself so as not to have to go back another time :

(627) *Sáhhar l-má'gáz yéřféd qintār*, “Send the sluggard on an errand, he will carry a hundredweight.”

If a person complains of his employecs being too slow in their work, he is told by his friends to look after them better :

(628) *D hább n-nār izinda mēn k'ábú*, “He who wants fire should strike it with his ankles” (Andjra).

When a man complains of having to work too hard, he is answered that he who is well paid ought to be patient :—

(629) *Ida kán l-qáđhi bé nfa' l-qfā ma 'leh háraj*, “If a knock

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1772.

² *Supra*, nr. 177.

on the top of the head is of use, the nape of the neck is not to blame for it" (Andjra).

If a workman who is paid by the month is idle for a few days, he is told that he afterwards has to make up for it by working so much the more:—

(630) *Mən təhrü yēt'hállas*, "The payment will come from his back" (as in the case of a pack-animal that has to pay its price with its back).

When a workman who has neglected his work and in consequence is not paid his full wages complains of it, he receives the answer:—

(631) *D-darb kái'allēm š-štēh*, "Blows teach to dance."

You should finish your work before you ask for wages:

(632) *Bərrəd u kul*, "Let it cool and eat."

It is bad policy to pay wages in advance:

(633) *Tsbēq l-ijāra mēnni t'ābtēl l-āmāl*, "To pay wages in advance stops the work";

(634) *Lā tšēbba' kēlbək hāllih bē a-ajb' it'ēb'āk*, "Don't make your dog satisfied, leave him hungry, he will follow you."

When a man refrains from doing work for which he has been paid in advance, his employer complains of it to the governor, and he is then compelled to do the work. But he does it badly, and the master remarks:—

(635) *L-hādma bē z-zēzz aš mən hajr nā'mēl lēk fēha*, "What good is my doing for you a work by force?"

If a man who is engaged to work in another person's garden for small pay is blamed by some one for being idle when the owner is absent, he replies:—

(636) *D ma yā'teni šī ft'ōhi nēn'ās u nmēdd rōhi*, "If he does not give me my fee, I shall sleep and [then] stretch myself" (Andjra).

A man who is late for his work is told:—

(637) *Šbah t'ējri lā tšbah t'ēfli*, "Run in the morning, don't louse yourself in the morning."

- (638) *Ilyār n-nhār būkráh*, "The choice of the day is its early morning."
- (639) *Lě-ftōr bēkri bē d-dhāb mēsri*, "The early breakfast is bought with gold."
- (640) *N-n'ās kt'ir kairūdd r-rájel dtl*, "Much sleep makes a man contemptible."

A man who is sleeping by day and night is told by his family:—

- (641) *'Amm dē n-n'ās yēsua mudd dē n-nóhḥāl*, "A year of sleeping is worth a *mudd* (a measure which varies in size in different localities) of bran" (Andjra).

A father reproves a son who leads an idle and dissipated life by saying:—

- (642) *Zey ulād z-zfūt^a bē l-lil iḥarqū z-zūt^a u n-nhār iqdbtū l-qnūt^a*, "It is the manner of scamps (lit. sons of pitch) to burn oil-lamps at night and to seize corners at day" (to sleep in).

If work that should be done in the day is done in the night, it will in the morning be found to be good for nothing:

- (643) *Šḡul l-lil 'ājūba lē n-nhār*, "The work of the night is a wonder to the day."

While industry is enjoined, overwork is discouraged.

- (644) *T-tair f s-smā iqūl r-rāzq maḍmān u t-t'ab 'āḷāš*, "The bird in the sky says, Livelihood is secured [by God] and why the toil?"
- (645) *Ida jbart t-t'ahrifa f bāb a-jnān lē dzid ši n tāḥḥl*, "If you find a meal of fruit at the gate of the orchard, don't proceed into it" (Andjra).
- (646) *Mēn ba'd l-'āṣar ma bqa ma tt'āṣsar*, "From the 'āṣar (mid-afternoon) onward there is nothing left to be squeezed out."
- (647) *Ida t'gādda t'āmādda w ida t'ā'āšša t'āmāšša*, "When he has dined he lies down, and when he has supped he takes a walk."

(648) *Ida t'gaddit'i wárrak ma idúrrák újá' f këršák*, "When you have dined rest on your side, you will not be troubled with stomach-ache."

(649) *Ida t'aššit'i mši 'ād n'as ma tšuf bās*, "When you have supped walk [and] then sleep, you will see no evil."

Of a man who is working by day and by night in order to become rich, but fails in his endeavour, it is said :—

(650) *Ū llāh u djërri ma jërri l-kēlb bē l-hfā ma t'áhūd gēr li kēt'eb lēk allāh*, "By God and run fast as the dog runs fast barefoot, [yet] you will receive nothing but that which God has destined for you."

On a man who makes his employees work too hard or otherwise ill-treats them, the remark is passed :—

(651) *Li ma wēldū ma hann 'ālih*, "He who has not begotten him takes no pity on him."

When you do a thing you should do it well :

(652) *Š-šgūl māhbūb ūllā mēt'rōk*, "A work [should be] liked [by the people] or not done at all."

(653) *'Āmel 'oqda šhēha lā t'ēgfel au t'āt'ik lē-fdēha*, "Make a strong knot, don't be careless, or you will be disgraced."

A workman or servant who always does his work well will never have any trouble :

(654) *Sāffi ū šrab ma idúrrák t'rāb*, "Clean [the water] and drink [it], the earth will not hurt you."

Something well made is said to be :

(655) *Šgūl l-m'allēm b yiddū*, "The work of a master-hand."

Of a person who works with his master faultlessly it is said :—

(656) *D-dhāb š-šāfi kāšārrfū mūlāh b qālbū m'āfi*, "Pure gold is changed by its owner with a safe heart."

If a workman is well paid he works well, if badly paid he works badly :

(657) *Niyūt l-hāddam f kēršū*, "The mind of a workman is in his stomach" (Andjra).

He who commences a task should go on with it until it is finished ; it is said :—

(658) *L-hūd kāyēndāqq fē šhānt'ū*, "The iron is struck while it is hot"¹; or,

(659) *Lā rāhha t'āht' āqba*, "There is no rest below the top of the hill" (Andjra).

Of a person who has been cultivating his garden, but given up the work when it was almost completed, it is said :—

(660) *R-rha tđhnāt śāhfa ū 'āla mudd 'āyāt*, "The mill ground a śāhfa (sixty mudd) and got tired of [grinding another] mudd" (Andjra).

A person whose work has been spoiled by some accident—for example, the builder of a house which has been destroyed by floods of rain—complains :—

(661) *Kull ma gžēlna r'āj'na šōf*, "All that we spun became for us wool" (Andjra).

Of a person who has himself undone the result of his labour—who, for example, has pulled down a wall he has made because he was dissatisfied with it—people say :

(662) *Kull má hrāt' a-ājmēl dāggū*, "All that the camel tilled he stamped on" (Andjra).

When a person spoils his work by a bad finish it is said :—

(663) *Aher l-lōqma 'ājīn*, "The last handful of food (i.e. *sēksū* or bread) is dough" (also said when business transactions end in a quarrel, or when two travelling companions begin to quarrel just before parting).

If you want to have a job well done, you had better do it yourself :

(664) *Li ya'mēl lēk drā'āk ma i'āmlúh lēk n-nās*, "That which your arm does for you other people will not do for you";

(665) *Li t'ēkkel 'āla mreqt' jāru bāt' bla 'ša*, "He who counts upon the gravy of his neighbour passes the night without a supper"²;

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1189. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 634).

² *Infra*, nr. 817.

(666) *Mā ihakk lēk gēr dāfrāk au bnēk mēn šālbāk*, "Nothing will scratch you but your own nail or the son from your loins." ¹

Or you should not ask anybody to do a thing for you unless you know that he can do it as well as yourself :

(667) *Mā yāqdi hājti gēr li mēt'li*, "May nobody do my job but he who is my equal."

If you put your work into the hands of an agent he is liable to swindle you :

(668) *Ida 'tēt'ihum imēštō lēk bē l-mēšta irēblā lēk*, "If you allow them to comb you, they will scratch you with the comb."

An artisan is asked to do a thing only on condition that he knows how to do it, being told :—

(669) *Li mā wāt'āk 'ādbū*, "He who does not suit you, make him suffer."

Of a person who does not do his work properly it is said :—

(670) *L-bhar mā yēnqta' bē l-m'āddya l-hzām mā ikūn mēn l-mūšūrīya*, "The sea is not crossed by a ferry, the belt is not made from a shirt" ; or,

(671) *Mā inūd š-šgūl gēr fī yidd mūlāh*, "A work rises only in the hand of its master."

A person who has done bad work and does it again is compared to an ugly woman who goes to the hot bath in vain to improve her appearance ; it is ironically said of him :—

(672) *Lālla mēzyāna u zādha nōr l-hāmmām*, "My lady is beautiful, and the splendour of the hot bath increased her beauty."

Of a man who earns much money by bad work it is said :—

(673) *Mā hi d zein mā hi dā hūd mā hi gar d sa'd s-s'ōūd*, "She is not beautiful, she has not [red] cheeks, she is only the luckiest of the lucky" (Andjra).

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 214.

If a person who has done bad work wants to have more work to do, he may get the reply :—

(674) *Ma qdar ši yēmši qālu ‘āgluh*, “ He could not walk, they said to him, Fetter him.”

A man who is incapable of doing the work his master asks him to do, but tries to do something more difficult, is told by the master :—

(675) *Ma jbar ši ‘jru mēn ijórru ‘ása mēn yēbki ‘ālih*, “ The [dead] dog did not find anybody to drag him away, so much the less anybody to weep over him ” (Andjra).

An extremely incapable workman may have to swallow the sarcasm :—

(676) *Soṭ ā Hsāin*, “ Blow the fire, O Hsāin.”

A man offers to do the work of another, alleging that he can do it better, but when the job is given him it appears that he is not up to it; the master then takes him down with the remark :—

(677) *A ma zéinū fās f yidd n-nās*, “ O how beautiful is the hoe in the hand of other people ” (Andjra).

(678) *Ma ya‘mélha gēr li yēqdār ‘ālēha*, “ Only he should do a thing who can do it.”

(679) *T-trēq t‘āqt‘él li ma ‘ārafhá ši u lli ‘ārafha háwa yēqt‘élha*, “ The road (i.e. the work) will kill him who does not know it, and he who knows it will kill it ” (i.e. conquer the difficulties).

One who wants to do something that he does not understand how to do is told :—

(680) *Lukān l-hōh idāwi kā dāwa rāšū*, “ If the peaches could cure [anybody], they would have cured themselves ” (allusion to their lack of medicinal virtue and the worms they contain)¹; or, if he makes very energetic efforts to do it,

(681) *Siwāna kat‘mūt‘ u ‘āina fē l-fellūs*, “ The kite is dying, and her eyes are on the chick.”

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1292.

Don't try to do a thing until you are sure that you can do it :

(682) *Lā djri ḥatt'a t'ḥazzem u kun fāḥem*, "Don't run until you gird yourself, and be wise."

An agricultural labourer should first learn his work in the least fertile part of the field :

(683) *Fē r-rāṣ dē l-it'dma lāyēt'āllmū l-ḥa^{ad}jāma*, "On the heads of orphans the barbers are learning" (Andjra).¹

An unskilful artisan is likewise told :—

(684) *'Adād dē l-ḥa^{ad}jāma t'āllmū fē ryōṣ l-it'dma*, "Numbers of barbers learn [their trade] on the heads of orphans."

An unexperienced person should take the advice of an experienced one :

(685) *L-wād ma yēnqtā' bla mēšrā'*, "The river is not crossed without a ford."

Of a novice in a trade who pretends to be a master it is said :—

(686) *Bāt līla fē l-mrūj ṣbah mēl l-grāin*, "He stayed the night in the marshes, in the morning he was one of the frogs"²; or,

(687) *Rja' zbīb qbēl ma ikūn 'inēb*, "He became a raisin before he was a grape" (also said of a student who pretends to be a scribe).

If a man is ironically called a master by another who sees him at work, he replies :—

(688) *L-m'āllēm ḥūwa ajmēl irēfda mēl l-arḍ u yēkla fē s-sma*, "The master is a camel, he lifts it (i.e. his food) from the ground and eats it in the sky" (Andjra).

If an apprentice pretends to know more than his master, the latter answers him :—

(689) *Li f rāṣ a-ajmēl ma ḥū f rāṣ a-ajemmāla*, "What is in the head of the camel (i.e. his own head) is not in the heads of the camel-drivers."³

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 2005).

² *Infra*, nr. 1124.

³ *Infra*, nr. 1147. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nrs. 244, 2180).

If the master of a trade is advised by some one how to do a thing belonging to it, he answers :—

- (690) *Yállah a yimma nwúrreḵ dār ḥwāli*, “ Let us go, O mother, I will show you the house of my mother’s brothers ” (Andjra).

A workman who does not do what his master tells him to do is reprimanded with the popular saying ¹ :—

- (691) *Dě t’ḥādmū tē’ū ū dē t’rdhnu bē’ū*, “ Whom you serve obey, and what you are going to pawn sell ” (Andjra).

A person who is sent on an errand and does not do what he has been told is compared to a person dying at the ‘*āṣar*, or mid-afternoon, who is supposed to be unable to recognize any of his friends at the moment of his death :—

- (692) *Miyūt l-‘āṣar mā dda ḥbār mā jāb aḥḥr*, “ He who dies at the ‘*āṣar* takes no news with him and brings no other back.”

A servant who constantly makes a mistake when sent on an errand is told :—

- (693) *‘Āwēj bhāl d-dēnnib dē s-slōqi*, “ Crooked as the tail of a greyhound.”

When an indocile apprentice is beaten by his master and his father complains of it, the master replies :—

- (694) *Š-šūka ma dzūl bē l-qtēn*, “ The thorn is not removed with cotton ” (Andjra); or,

- (695) *Ḥassēn li a sīdi fōq š-šāšīya*, “ Shave me, O my lord, over the cap ” (i.e. do the impossible; Andjra).

When a servant or workman commits a fault and tries to excuse himself, his master warns him :—

- (696) *Ḥḍēha qbēl ma tṭra*, “ Guard against it (i.e. the punishment) before it befalls.” ²

The first fault is forgiven, the second is followed by a threat, the third leads to dismissal :

- (697) *L-lūliya smūḥh u t-t’ānya dbūḥh u t-t’āli’a t’āqtē’ r-rās*,

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 187.

² *Supra*, nr. 197.

“The first is forgiveness, and the second is slaughter, and the third is cutting off the head.”

If a person who is in the service of a difficult man commits a fault, people say to him :—

(698) *Dhān rāṣū bē s-smēn u dāḥḥlū f āngōr dē n-nmēl*, “Anoint his head with salt butter, and put it into the hole of ants.”

A servant or workman who does not obey his master, or does not do his work to his master's satisfaction, is told by him :—

(699) *Dfa' li ma fih nfa'*, “Push off him who is of no use”;
or,

(700) *Li ma fih nfa' lik sūybū 'ālik*, “He who is of no use to you, throw him from you.”

A bad workman may be dismissed by his master with an oath confirming the promise not to employ him again :—

(701) *Li 'āwūdhā yēndēbha*, “May he who does it (i.e. the work) again scratch my face” (i.e. may you scratch my face if I employ you again).

Workmen and servants should be trusted or dismissed according as they are found worthy of confidence or not :

(702) *Jārrbū ū qārrbū jārrbū ū hārrbū*, “Try him and bring him near, try him and put him to flight.”

When they are engaged they are told that their treatment will depend upon their own behaviour :—

(703) *Ida ṣuft'ini ṣuft'āk w ida fhamt'ini fhamt'āk*, “If you see me I see you, and if you understand me I understand you.”

If they are honest they will stay, if they are dishonest they will be dismissed :

(704) *Ida nfaḥ r-rēḥ kāi'ābbi l-gābra u yēbqa ṣ-ṣhēḥ*, “When the wind blows, it takes away the dust, and what is solid remains.”

If you suspect an employee of dishonesty you should change him for another, as you will then find if your suspicion was correct :

(705) *Hâlêf t'a'raf*, "Replace, you will know."

Of a workman who steals from his master and is flogged and imprisoned in consequence it is said :—

(706) *Kull ma gúwzēt l-má'za f qrôn lē-jbāl t'āhráh f dār d-dbāǧ*, "All that the she-goat passed [through her mouth] on the tops of the mountains she evacuates in the tannery."

A servant who has constantly quarrelled with his master is dismissed with the words :—

(707) *Qta' r-rāš tt'qāda l-hšūma*, "Cut off the head, the quarrel is finished."

Of a man who has repeatedly lost his job on account of his foul mouth and unpleasant look it is said :—

(708) *Li hābb hājtu yēbšāt hāddū*, "May he who likes his job hold out his cheek [for a blow]."

An arrogant workman is told :—

(709) *Drab fē l-'āzfa iħárjū sett' in bē l-ħfā*, "Strike the palmetto, sixty barefooted ones will come out" (i.e. at the market there may be found as many unemployed ready to take his place as there appear vermin when you strike a palmetto).¹

A workman who quarrels with his master is told :—

(710) *Mūl n-nēfha lāyērbāt j-jūja dyālū b wāhdū*, "The proud man ties his pair [of oxen] alone" (Andjra).

Again, a master who by being too indulgent to, or familiar with, his employee has made him impudent or overbearing may hear the remark :—

(711) *Gēšsarnāhum tál'ū fōq thārna*, "We have spoiled them, they have climbed upon our back"; or,

(712) *Gēšsar l-kēlb yēlhās lēk šwārbāk*, "Spoil the dog, he will lick your moustache."²

A man who has lost his post and has no work is told :—

(713) *Dī fārrāt yēbqa ikārrāt*, "He who is careless will be left to scratch himself" (out of regret; Andjra).³

¹ *Supra*, nr. 23.

² *Infra*, nr. 1492.

³ *Infra*, nr. 1140.

The following saying is used of a person who has been the manager of another's property and lost his post :—

(714) *L-méksi bě mt'ā' n-nās 'ōryān*, "He who is dressed in other people's belongings is naked." ¹

When a man who has been in another's service and been dismissed for some fault tries in vain to regain his former occupation, he is told :—

(715) *Kān f yāddū ū tār lū*, "He (i.e. the master) was in his hand and flew away from it."

A servant who is dismissed by his master with the promise that the latter will get for him some other employment, angrily replies :—

(716) *Ida tādlaqt'iha lā t'wurriha bāb d-dār*, "If you divorce her (i.e. your wife), don't show her the door of the (i.e. her) house" (i.e. I do not want your advice or recommendation any more than a divorced wife needs to be shown the door of her old home).

A master who sends away his only servant or apprentice may have the curse :—

(717) *Li 'āndu bāb wōḥda āllāh iglāqha 'āṭh*, "May God close the door for him who has only one."

When good employees are dismissed and bad ones take their place, it is said :—

(718) *Nqālbū l-miādi wū t'gā'dū l-qdōḥa*, "The tables were turned upside down, and the earthenware pots sat up." ²

A servant or workman is compared to the peg of a tent and his master to a mallet :—

(719) *Idā kúnt'i ūt'ēd šbar nē d-dagq w idā kúnt'i rzāma drab*, "If you are a peg endure the knocking, and if you are a mallet strike." ³

When a workman who has been wrongly accused of theft complains of it to other people, they say to him :—

(720) *Kun šāfi u n'al l-bāiṭār*, "Be sincere and curse the veterinary" (who is reputed to be an untrustworthy person ; Andjra).⁴

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1061. ² *Supra*, nr. 450. ³ *Supra*, nr. 427. ⁴ *Infra*, nr. 1518.

An employer who is blamed for paying his employees too high wages replies :—

(721) *‘Amel šwāi n rābbi u šwāi n qālbī*, “ Give a little for the sake of God and a little for the sake of my heart.”¹

A person who has been forsaken by all his servants but one is advised to be liberal to him, to prevent him from following the example of the others :—

(722) *Li tšībū lā t’qta’ nšībū*, “ Don’t cut off the portion of him whom you find [with you].”

When a servant complains of receiving lower wages than he expected, and his master pleads that he also keeps him in food, the servant replies :—

(723) *Mēn zīt’ū qlih*, “ Fry it (i.e. the fish) with its own oil.”

A man has been engaged to do a certain amount of work in another’s garden, but when it is finished he is told to do some more if he wants to be paid ; he submits, with the remark :—

(724) *Ṭ-tāyāḥ nē mīa yāḵkul miqat’āin*, “ He who falls down to get one hundred [lashes] will taste two hundred ” (Andjra).

An employee who has a wealthy master, and therefore is supposed to earn much money, denies it by saying :—

(725) *Šēnā’t’ū ‘āliya ma gāttat’ wūdniya*, “ His fame has not covered for me [even] my ears.”

It is better to have a good master and low wages than a bad master and high wages. This is the substance of many proverbs :—

(726) *Allāhumma māklēt s-sbō’a wā la t’mérmād d-dyāb*, “ O God, to be eaten by lions is better than the maltreatment of jackals ”² ;

(727) *M-mši bē l-tāl wā la šfeit’ l-ḥammāra*, “ Walking at night is better than the malignant delight of the muleteers ” (when they see a person going on foot) ;³

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1016. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 2569).

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 446 ; *infra*, nr. 1148.

³ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1639.

- (728) *Lóqma fǎ sállās áhsēn mēn r-rba' fě l-'áula*, "A handful of food in the dark (which people cannot see and envy) is better than two stones of provisions [by day]";
- (729) *L-'azz m'a l-qilla hēr mēl l-kēt'rát' m'a d-dēll*, "Respect with little is better than much with disgrace";
- (730) *Qūl li yā sīdi ū 'arrīni wā lā t'qūl li yā kēlb ba'd ma t'žgnīni*, "Say to me, O my lord, and strip me naked, and don't say to me, O dog, even though you make me rich";
- (731) *Qūl li klām mlēh ū kūnni (= kúlni)*, "Speak to me kindly, and eat me."

If a man works for an employer who is too proud, or who wants to exact too much money from other people, he should change him for another master, even though the latter gives him less pay:—

- (732) *Kbīr r-rāš u kbīr l-kēš lā t'té'ū idā swā lēk nūšš bāšla gar bē'ū*, "Don't obey a swollen head and a big stomach, if it is only worth for you half an onion sell it" (Andjra).

When an employee who is well fed by his master is scolded by him in the presence of others, he may make the remark:—

- (733) *Máklēt' t-t'bēn ū r-ráhha wā la zra' l-fđéha*, "The eating of straw and rest is better than the wheat of disgrace."

Even the simplest kind of work is better than any work done for bad people:

- (734) *L-hádma fě l-hrā wā la l-hádma dē n-nās bhāl a-djra*, "To work in dung is better than to work for people who are like dogs."

When a man who has given up a good situation, because he disliked his master, is advised by his friends to go back to it, he replies:—

- (735) *Álláh yīn'ál l-kās dē dhāb d nēšrab fīh l-mrāra*, "May God curse the golden cup from which I drink bitterness" (Andjra).

Another version of the same proverb runs :—

- (736) *Ná'let' alláh 'älq käs d-dhab ida kán fih l-mrār*, "The curse of God be on the golden cup, if there is bile in it."

When a ploughman who is dissatisfied with his employer thinks of giving up his job, other people may try to dissuade him from doing it by saying :—

- (737) *Šrīk 'amm ma yissemma šrīk*, "A partner for a year [only] is not called a partner" (Andjra).

Of a man who strictly pays his employees their wages, but shows them no kindness, it is said :—

- (738) *L-'aud l-horr iqāl wūkkenni ka hōk u rkbēbni ka 'dūk*, "The high-bred horse says, Feed me as your brother and ride on me as your enemy."

When some work that might be given to an acquaintance is given to a stranger, the former complains :—

- (739) *Li ma gēllsēk 'älq māida mā'rfi'u zāida*, "The acquaintance of him who does not seat you at [his] table is superfluous."

When an employee is dismissed for the benefit of another person who offers to do the same work at a lower price, the following saying is used :—

- (740) *Šahb šand't'ēk 'ādūk*, "A comrade in your trade is your enemy" (Andjra).

A workman should be on his guard against his comrades. He should not let their bad example induce him to deceive his master :

- (741) *Hdi rāšuk mēl l-gūšš 'andēk isīybuk mēl l-'ušš*, "Be on your guard against fraud, so that they do not throw you out of the nest."

The following saying is used with reference to a workman who, when he wakes up in the morning, out of ill-will refrains from awaking his companion and goes alone to his work :—

- (742) *L-hāin yēferi u lli tāh b lē-jwād ifīyquh bēkri*, "The traitor goes in the night, and he who has fallen in with good people is awaked by them early."

A workman who has lost his employment through the intrigues of another proudly declares :—

- (743) *Yūdēm s-slōqi ūma l-qott̄ yissāra ‘āla d-dyār*, “The greyhound (i.e. the enemy) will regret, but as to the cat he will walk over the houses” (i.e. he will easily get other employment; Andjra).

Various sayings refer to a person who has been introduced to his work by another and afterwards has displaced him :—

- (744) *Ġārsū iqáll‘ak*, “Plant him, he will pull you up” ;
 (745) *Kull ma t‘ējras inf‘ak mēn ġēr bnādēm ida ġrās‘ih iqáll‘ak*, “Everything you plant will be useful to you except a human being, if you plant him he will root you up” ;
 (746) *Háida qálu dahħalnāhum ħarrjūna*, “This they said, We made them come in, they made us go out” ;
 (747) *Ṭahħalnāhem isārbū l-lbēn qálu ħāṣṣām ħāqqām fē l-‘ājūl*, “We made them come in and drink buttermilk, they said that they wanted their share in the calves” (Andjra).¹

Of a person who has been taught by another a trade and then, either through slander or skill, takes his place, it is said :—

- (748) *‘Allmū iqáll‘ak*, “Teach him, he will pull you up” ; or,
 (749) *‘Allēmt‘ū l-ħāffa sūyibni u šādd d-dēffa*, “I taught him swiftness, he threw me out and shut the door.”

The following saying refers to an artisan who attracts the customers of his former master :—

- (750) *‘Allēmnāh l-‘aum sbāqna nē l-bħar*, “We taught him how to swim, he came before us to the sea.”

Good people do not change their masters without good reasons.

Of a servant or workman who leaves his master because he is offered higher wages by somebody else, it is said :—

- (751) *Qārrāb fē l-liāli l-ġerrāb mēnnēk fē ṣ-ṣaif ihrāb*, “Bring the water-carrier near you in the *liāli* (the forty days between 12th December and 20th January, Old Style),

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1013.

he will run away from you in the summer" (in the *liáli* his income is small because there is plenty of water, whereas in summer water is scarce and dear)¹; or,

(752) *'Ammár lù l-blān yēnsa l-ūtan*, "Fill his stomach, he will forget his country."

If a man who has worked for another and, after leaving him, is asked to come back again refuses to do it, his former master says to him:—

(753) *Di šēbba' l-lḥam ně l-'ayāl iqūlūh dē l-ḥmīr*, "He who has satisfied boys with meat is told by them that it [was meat] of donkeys" (Andjra).

Of a person who has changed a good occupation for a bad one it is said:—

(754) *Kull ḥāuwāt' mēl'ōq u kt'īr mūl ṣ-šānnāra mēn ḥājra n ḥājra kāyēmsī lū n-nḥār ḥšāra*, "Every fisherman is unlucky and particularly he who is fishing with a hook, [going] from stone to stone he wastes his day"; or,

(755) *Gārṣū m'a l-fēnn yēt'qālla' ū yēmsī ně d-dfēll*, "Plant him with the spikenards, he will tear himself up and go to the oleanders"; or,

(756) *L-mēl'ōq ḥloq ālu t'āmhu fē ṣ-šōndōq yētlā' mēn fōq*, "The unlucky man is born [so], even if you put him into a box he will ascend [and leave] from the top."

If a person who has complained of his work, and at last given it up, longs to go back to it, he is reminded of the well-known saying²:—

(757) *D yēnfah' āl l-blēn yištāqū*, "He who blows upon butter-milk will [have to] long for it" (Andjra).

A man who has been in the service of some good and important person, but afterwards left him of his own accord, regrets it:—

(758) *N-nās ḥāzēt' z-zein w āna bqūt' blā šī*, "Other people have appropriated all the beauty, and I have remained without any."

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 297.

² *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 237.

A man who pretends to dislike a job which he has not got may be told:—

(759) *D ma jbar ši šfēn^aja iqúl ‘áuja*, “He who does not find a fritter says, Rotten” (lit. crooked; Andjra).¹

He who works for another should from beginning to end be well-behaved:

(760) *‘Áráf kīf tt^slāqa ù ‘áráf kīf tt^sfāraq*, “Know how to meet, and know how to part.”²

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1621.

² *Supra*, nr. 346.

CHAPTER IX

COMMERCE

NOBODY should engage in business without possessing any capital :

(761) *D-damāna dāmnūt^s lā-ḥlās*, “ The guaranty answers for the payment ” ;

(762) *Aš mēn fāida fē l-būnydn blā lsās*, “ Of what use is building without a foundation ? ”

(763) *L-bni blā lsās bḥal l-mēšējūn fē l-ḥabs*, “ A building without a foundation is like a prisoner in the prison.”

When a person who has only a small sum of money invests it in something with a view to making a profit, but fails to do so, it is said :—

(764) *Z-zālt ma irūdū mēt^sqāl*, “ Destitution is not averted by a *mēt^sqāl* ” (an imaginary Moorish coin).

On the other hand there is also a saying to the effect that a man who has no work should rather buy some trifle to earn a little by selling it than sit idle :—

(765) *Šri u be' ālu f r-rbē'*, “ Do business, even though it is in grass.”

But people do not generally consider it worth their while to engage in business unless they make a considerable profit by it :

(766) *Kbīr l-kēš yiddiha kām̄la au ihallīha kām̄la*, “ He who has a big appetite takes it all or leaves it all.”¹

It is better to earn much at a stroke than to make profits by degrees :

(767) *Dārba bē l-fās āhsēn mēn 'āsra bē l-qādum*, “ A stroke with a hoe is better than ten with an adze.”

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1094.

But you must not expect to make profits by commerce as quickly as, for example, by agriculture; it is said:—

(768) *Hārt'a ū wārt'a wā la sir hātt'a*, “Ploughing and inheriting are better than to go [and wait] till [you gain by buying and selling].”

Indeed, you should not be too anxious to sell your goods soon, but rather keep them till the prices rise:

(769) *'Ātē mūzānt'āk u tsēnna nūbt'āk*, “Give your *mūzāna*, and await your turn”¹;

(770) *Hallēha fē jwāha hātt'a tšēb dwāha*, “Leave it in its case until it finds its remedy.”

Every trade has its special season:

(771) *Wāqt' l-gāz kāifrāh d-dērrāz*, “At the season for shearing the sheep the weaver rejoices.”

A person whose business prospers says:—

(772) *Fēha l-hair jmāli wullāt' li nāgāt'*, “There is blessing in my camels, they became for me she-camels.”

On an occasion when a man makes an exceptionally large profit and doubts whether he ever again will be equally fortunate, he may make the remark:—

(773) *D-dāqqa l-lūla 'ōmmra ma t'ēnfda*, “The first blow will never be redeemed.”

Of a man who the first time he engaged in business lost everything he owned it is said:—

(774) *'Ommrū mā hba ū gēr hba tāh fē l-bīr*, “He had never crawled, and as soon as he crawled he fell into a well.”

The following saying refers to a merchant who runs away from his creditors:—

(775) *L-wa'd ilōh hātt'a ně blād š-slōh*, “The misfortune throws [him] right to the country of the Shluḥ” (the Berbers of Southern Morocco).

People should be straightforward in business, whether they sell or buy:

¹ *Infra*, nr. 826.

- (776) *Āllāh ij'āl l-gāfla bāin l-bāyā' u š-šāri*, " May God bring heedlessness between him who sells and him who buys " ;
- (777) *Mēn qāllēt' n-nīya mā rbāht' lā nā wā lā nī'īya*, " By lack of good faith neither I nor you could gain " ;
- (778) *Be' u šri m'a n-nās bē n-nīya 'ōmmrāk ma t'rā l-ḥīīya*, " Sell and buy with people in good faith, you will never see a loss. "

People who do business with each other should not joke ¹ :

- (779) *D-daḥk yēfsāḥ l-bē'*, " Laughter cancels the sale. "

The principle of honesty, however, is only too often disregarded. A poor person, in particular, who commands no respect, is easily cheated. When he finds that the amount he has bought is smaller than the amount he has paid for, he says to his family :—

- (780) *Ilāk ā bēzzdt' l-mēskīn*, " There you are, O stomach of the poor one. "

Of a shopkeeper who is known to use false weights it is said :—

- (781) *Qal lū šmētt'āk qal lū n ša llāh 'ārāft'āk*, " He (i.e. the seller) said to him (i.e. the buyer), I cheated you ; he (the buyer) said to him (the seller), Thank God I knew you. "

When a merchant has induced another merchant to buy of him an article which was not worth the price charged for it and afterwards, on being reproached for his behaviour, only laughs at it, the buyer says to him :—

- (782) *Kāibē' l-gārd w iṭḥēk 'āla mēn šrdh*, " He sells the monkey and laughs at the one who bought it. "

When two men are partners in business without having any written agreement and one of them, who keeps the money, is found to defraud the other one of his share in the profit, people say to the latter :—

- (783) *Li ḥālla ḥarf mēn š-šra' yēt'wāqqaf 'ālih*, " He who leaves out a letter from the religious law has to forego his claim. " ²

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 277.

² *Infra*, nr. 1525.

When a man begins to quarrel with his partner because business is slack, the latter says to him :—

- (784) *Š-šrīk dhsēn mnē s-sāba*, “ The partner is better than the heap of threshed corn ” (Andjra).

When a person is selling goods of a certain kind in the market and another one, who has similar goods for sale, comes and sits down close to him, the new-comer is asked to go away ; but he refuses by saying :—

- (785) *L-hwānēt^s mētšāffa u lē-rzāq mēt^shālfa*, “ The shops are in one row, and the livelihoods are opposite ” (also said of persons who carry on the same trade but with different success¹).

There are also many sayings relating to buying. A person should not buy a thing before seeing it :

- (786) *L-hūt^s ma yēnsra* (or, *yēnbā^s*) *f qā^s l-bhar*, “ Fish are not bought (or, sold) at the bottom of the sea.”
- (787) *Aššri māqyam lā t^sqīm*, “ Buy [it] ready-made, don't make [it] ” (Andjra).
- (788) *Lā tšri hāt^sa t^shāmmām ‘āndēk t^sēndēm*, “ Don't buy till you think, lest you may regret.”

Before you buy a thing you should examine it carefully so as not to be cheated :

- (789) *Šri u doq ‘āndēk t^sgraq hāt^sa nē l-onq*, “ Buy and taste, lest you be drowned to the neck ” ;
- (790) *Qāl d-dīb kul ū qeš*, “ The jackal said, Eat and measure ”²
 (This saying is taken from a story about a hedgehog and a jackal who went together into a garden through a hole in the fence, to regale themselves on grapes. When they had eaten a considerable quantity, the hedgehog went back to the opening to try if he still could get through and advised the jackal to do the same, saying the above. The improvident jackal, however, did not follow the advice and was subsequently

¹ Cf. L. Brunot, *Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat*, nr. 56.

² *Infra*, nr. 1779.

caught by the owner of the garden, whereas the hedgehog escaped through the hole¹);

(791) *Ā š-sāri t'fēkkar ydum t'bē'*, "O buyer, remember the day when you will sell."

A person who is sent to buy a thing is told:—

(792) *Qāi wū ndi ū rūdd flūsēk m'ak*; "Do it and do it well, and bring your money back with you."

At the same time you should not hesitate too much when you think of buying a thing:

(793) *'Āmel ū qūl r-rāzq 'āla llāh*, "Do and say, Good things come from God."

It is good to consult a friend when you buy your clothes, though it is needless to do so when you buy your food:

(794) *Kul b šāwūt'ēk u lbēs b šāhwūt' n-nās*, "Eat according to your own taste, and dress according to the taste of others."²

But if you contemplate buying a thing and an enemy, who happens to pass, gives you his advice, you should refrain from buying anything:

(795) *Ida wāqfū lā-'dā išriū lēk smaḥ fēhum u sir n šāglāk*, "If enemies stop to buy for you, pardon them and go to your business."

The enemy may not only give you malicious advice, but may harm you through his evil eye, a danger that has led to some other proverbs relating to buying, which will be found in another connection.³ On the other hand, if you are asked by a person to buy a thing from him, it is profitable for you to buy it on account of his friendly feeling:

(796) *L-ma'rūta fēha l-ḥair*, "In that which is offered there is blessing."

You should take care to buy good things:

(797) *Ida t'qāddēt' lē-s'ār fē l-mlēḥ ḥt'ar*, "If the prices are equal choose the best";

¹ There are many versions of this story (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Textes arabes de l'Ouargha*, p. 133 sq.).

² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1471).

³ *Infra*, nrs. 1632, 1633.

(798) *Mən gēr l-mělf ú ş-şöf kull şi ht'üf*, "Anything that is not cloth or wool is rubbish." ¹

The price of a thing depends of course on its quality :

(799) *Kull büt' wü krāh*, "Every room has its rent" (Andjra). But he who buys a good thing gets the worth of his money ; it is said :—

(800) *L-hāja ahsən mən qimt'a*, "The thing is better than its price" ; or,

(801) *Şári l-mlēh ma yēndēm*, "He who buys what is good will not repent" ; or,

(802) *Hattab d-dlēm ma yēndēm*, "The hewer of cork-trees (which are considered to have the best wood) will not repent" (Andjra).

(803) *Şári l-mlēh ālu yēnšmēt'*, "He who buys what is good [will not repent], even though he is cheated."

On the other hand, he who buys a cheap thing may lose half of the money he paid for it :

(804) *'And rāhşü t'hālli nūşşü*, "By its cheapness you lose half of it."

Of a person who insists on buying a certain thing whatever its price may be, it is said :—

(805) *Tšbērt' lā-'ma f d-dālma*, "A blind man's catch in the dark." ²

A person who wants to buy a thing tells the seller to state the lowest price by saying :—

(806) *Şādqu au fārqu*, "Believe him or leave him."

Or he may himself offer a price ; and if his offer is not accepted and the owner of the article has subsequently to sell it at a still lower price, people say to him :—

(807) *S-saum l-lāli 'ālih 'āuwül*, "Believe in the first price [offered]."

If a person is dissatisfied with a thing which he has bought of a shopkeeper and takes it back to him to exchange it for another of the same kind, the shopkeeper may ask for more money, saying :—

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 918.

² *Infra*, nr. 1161.

(808) *Zid l-ma u zid d-dq̄q*, “Increase the water, and increase the flour” (Andjra).

On the other hand, when a rich man buys something from a poor one and wants him to give a larger quantity than he pays for, the poor man says :—

(809) *Nqaş m̄l l-láhya u zid f̄ š-šárēb*, “Decrease the beard (of the poor man) and increase the moustache” (of the rich one).

A man who finds that he has wasted his money on an article that he has bought curses the seller by saying :—

(810) *Lleh lā irēbbāh li ma m̄rah rbāh*, “May God give no gain to him from whom he (i.e. I) gained nothing.”

If a man who has bought a thing is told by his people at home that it is not good, and he defends himself by saying that the seller gave him an assurance to the contrary, he receives the answer :—

(811) *Mūl l-fūl ma iq̄l gār t̄bēh*, “The owner of beans only says, Cooked” (Andjra).

But he who has bought something, for instance a cloak, and is criticized for his choice, may also indignantly reply :—

(812) *Aş ya'ráf l-hmār f̄ sk̄enj̄b̄r*, “What does the donkey know about ginger” (Andjra) ?

A person who has bought a bad article and tries in vain to sell it is told :—

(813) *L-mleh līlu u ně n-nās u l-qbeḥ līlu b w̄ḥd̄u*, “A good thing is for him and other people, and a bad thing is for him alone” (Andjra).

A person who has sent another to buy something for him and is dissatisfied with what he has bought makes the remark :—

(814) *Ma yāqd̄i l̄k hájt̄'ek m̄n ḡr yidd̄ek*, “Only your own hand gets for you what you want.”

If a person has been asked to buy something for another and then is scolded for the price he has paid for it, he gives the answer :—

(815) *D̄i w̄kk̄el mā ih̄aş̄em*, “He who has appointed an advocate should not quarrel” (Andjra).

If a person who has bought a thing for another is found to have paid for it less than he says he has, he is told :—

- (816) *Mīzānēk šāfi lākin šrūfū nāqšīn*, “Your scale is clear, but its weights are short.”

If somebody has been commissioned by another to buy food for him and his family but, contrary to his promise, has omitted to do it, he is reproached for his negligence with the words :—

- (817) *D ytt^skēl ‘āla mrēqāt^s jāru lāibāt^s blā ‘ša*, “He who counts upon his neighbour’s gravy passes the night without a supper” (Andjra).¹

Or he is ironically told :—

- (818) *T^s‘āššāt^s r-ryām bē z-zrāzar*, “The girls (lit. Marias) have supped on starlings” (which are considered delicious food).

When you buy a thing you should do it for cash :

- (819) *Hāk w āra mā fih drōra*, “Take and give, there is no harm in it” ;

- (820) *Ida šrūtⁱ šri bē l-flūs ma tsmā^t mēnnū la qārrān wū la mēngūs*, “When you buy, buy for cash, you will not hear from him (i.e. the seller) [abuses like] ‘husband (or, ‘father’, or, ‘brother’) of a whore’ or ‘dirty fellow’” ;

- (821) *Be^t u šri bē flūsēk mā iji ḥadd n ‘andēk ihāsbeḳ*, “Sell and buy with your money, nobody will come to you and call you to account.”

A seller refuses to give credit by saying :—

- (822) *Mēkkēl li nmēkkēl lēk qta^t li nāqtā^t lāk*, “Give to me I shall give to you, cut me I shall cut you” ; or

- (823) *Fēls f l-yidd āhsēn mēn ‘āsra fē t-t‘ēlf*, “A fēls (the smallest copper coin) in the hand is better than ten lost”² ; or,

- (824) *Wōḥda fē^t d-ājīb āhsēn mēn ‘āsra fē l-ḡīb*, “One in the pocket is better than ten that are absent.”

¹ *Supra*, nr. 665.

² *Supra*, nr. 597.

A person who buys a thing on credit is told :—

(825) *Qđi ù rùđđ šřik fě l-mđl*, “ Buy and give back, [then you are] a partner in the money.” ¹

If you order an article, you should pay part of its price in advance to prevent anybody else from getting it—just as a man who comes to a brothel where all the women are engaged has to do in order to be served in his turn :

(826) *‘Ātė mūzāni*āk u tsēnna nūbi*āk*, “ Give your *mūzāna*, and await your turn.” ²

Of a person who is standing close to a thing which he likes but cannot afford to buy, it is said :—

(827) *‘Ainū fě n-nāhla u rējlū fōq ablōh*, “ His eye is on the palm-tree, and his foot is on the unripe dates ” ; or,

(828) *‘Ainū t*ēbrāq ù qálbū yāhřaq*, “ His eye flashes, and his heart burns.”

A man tells his wife to make ropes with which he may tie the animals he is going to buy ; she knows that he has no money for buying them, and says to him :—

(829) *Hálhál ‘āla l-árněb fě d-dáuma*, “ Make *kěsksi* on the hare in the palmetto ” (Andjra).

Commerce is to no small extent carried on by the medium of auctioneers who walk about with their articles in the open, loudly crying out the last bid. They are disliked both by buyers and sellers on account of the commissions they take :

(830) *D-děllāl měn‘úl ma ‘ándù la šāhāb wā la hīb ib iqúl*, “ The auctioneer is cursed, he says he has neither comrade nor friend ” ;

(831) *D-děllāl šaraq ma yđhšēm álu ikún hāh au l-m‘állēm*, “ The auctioneer is a thief, he has no shame even though he is his [victim’s] brother or [former] master.”

He is even called *qát*el séb‘ā rwāh*, “ the killer of seven persons.”

There are many sayings relating to times of abundance and dearth.

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1079.

² *Supra*, nr. 769.

- (832) *Idā kân r-r̥ḥa fē l-‘ām ikānu n-nās fē l-fraḥ u l-īdām*,
 “If the year is good the people will rejoice, and there will be [much] fat.”
- (833) *R-r̥ḥa rājēl ḥbīb ihēbbuh l-kbīr ū ṣ-ṣgēr*, “Abundance is a friendly fellow, he is loved by big and small.”
- (834) *R-r̥ḥa ihēbbuh n-nās bhāl^a ajndn bē l-‘ássās*, “Abundance is loved by the people like an orchard with a guard.”
- (835) *R-r̥ḥa māḥbūb u l-gla mēdmūm*, “Abundance is loved, and dearth is blamed.”
- (836) *R-r̥ḥa fē d-dūnya kāyāqwa m’a n-nīya*, “Abundance in the world becomes great with good faith.”
- (837) *Sābāb r-r̥ḥa fē d-dūnya l-mūḥānāna u r-rāḥma u n-nīya*,
 “The cause of abundance in the world is pity and mercy and good faith.”
- (838) *Sābāb l-gla fē d-dūnya l-kdūb u z-zīna*, “The cause of dearth in the world is lies and fornication.”
- (839) *Sābāb l-gla fē d-dūnya d-dūlm u l-ḥsēd ū qāllēt^a n-nīya*,
 “The cause of dearth in the world is injustice and envy and lack of good faith.”
- (840) *L-gla dālma kāḥla u n-nās fēha bhāl l-ḥūt^a f l-māqla*,
 “Dearth is pitch darkness, and the people in it are like fish in the frying-pan.”
- (841) *L-gla ‘war u n-nās fīh katt^a kūwar*, “Dearth is blind,¹ and the people tumble down in it.”
- (842) *Idā rūt^a i l-gla qwā ‘arāf n-nās fē l-hāmm swā*, “If you see that there is great dearth, know that the people are in distress all alike.”
- (843) *Ida t^a qāddēt^a lē-s’ār ‘arāf ma bqaru nās lā-ḥyār*, “If the prices are equal, know that the best people no longer remain.”
- (844) *Idā súft^a i l-gla fē z-zra’ ‘arāf ma bqa zkā wā la ḥokm š-šra’*, “If you see dearth of wheat, know that there remains no almsgiving as prescribed by religion nor justice according to the religious law.”

¹ The meaning attached to the word ‘*dwar* in Tangier.

- (845) *Idā šúft'i l-gla fě l-iddām 'ārāf ma bqau ḥákkām*, "If you see dearth of fat, know that no authorities remain."
- (846) *Idā rít'i fě d-dúnya l-gla 'ārāf d-dūlm kt̄ir u l-blā*, "If you see dearth in the world, know that there is much injustice and evil."
- (847) *Idā rít'i l-gla fě l-'ām 'ārāf ma bqa nfa' la f aḥḥ wā la f'amm*, "If you see dearth in the year, know that neither brother nor father's brother is any longer of use."¹

¹ See also *supra*, nr. 127.

CHAPTER X

WEALTH AND POVERTY

WEALTH is appreciated and poverty is looked down upon.

(848) *Qadd ma 'ándék qadd ma tswa*, "As much as you own so much you are worth."

(849) *Qadd ma t'ēlbés fě l-késwa tswa*, "As much clothing you dress in so much you are worth."

Anybody who has money commands respect :

(850) *Sid r-rjāl hūwa li yāhāi rās l-māl*, "The lord of men is he who takes care of his capital."

(851) *Ā gra' bē flūsū ara dāk r-rās nbūsū*, "O baldheaded man with money, give that head that I may kiss it."

(852) *Ida réj'ū nās r-ryāl šūrfa š-šrīf u l-fqī yēmšīu irēfdū l-qóffa*, "If people with dollars become shereefs, the shereef and the learned man will have to go and carry a basket."

(853) *L-ūjūh kāi'āmlū l-hbīb w iqārbū l-b'īd*, "Mūzūnas make friends and bring the distant one near."

To him who has enough money everything is cheap :

(854) *Kull mājūd rhēs*, "Everything that is at hand is cheap" (also said to denote that everything which you can buy ready-made is really cheap, even though you may have to pay a high price for it).

A person who has money can do what he likes :

(855) *B šāhwūt^a mūl l-mḍall yēmšī fě š-šēmš au fě ḍ-ḍall*, "The owner of an umbrella goes, as it pleases him, in the sun or in the shade";

(856) *Li 'āndu smīd kull yāum 'īd*, "For him who has semolina every day is a feast";

(857) *Li 'āndū z-zá'frān i'āmlū f āglāl*, "He who has saffron (which is expensive) spices snails with it."

- (858) *L-flūs kāi'āmlū t-trēq fē l-bħar qal li l-flūs 'āmlū t-trēq fē l-hāmm d yāmmāh*, (One person said to another :)
 "Money makes a road on the sea; he (i.e. the other one) said to him, Money has made a road in his (i.e. the other person's) mother's vulva."
- (859) *Flūsēk ihslū kēffūsēk*, "Your money washes away your dirt."
- (860) *Flūsēk igāttiu hmāmēk*, "Your money covers your evil deeds."
- (861) *Li ma 'andū dērħām n-nās kulla iqūlū fih l-hāmm*,
 "He who has not [even] a *dērħām* (a small Moorish coin), all people say that there is evil in him."
- (862) *Šāħbāk hāwa bēlyūnēk ida hīāk hnaū 'ānum mēnnēk*,
 "Your friend is your *bēlyūn* (a small Moorish silver coin), if you lack it they lower their eyes from you."
- (863) *Mūl d-dħāb yēnhābb ālu ikūn kēlb mēl l-klāb*, "He who has gold is loved, even if he is a dog, son of dogs."
- (864) *Mūl l-flūs ihēbbuh ālu ikūn qbēh l-mēskīn ibdāgūh ālu ikūn mlēh*, "He who has money is loved, even though he is bad, the poor one is hated, even though he is good."
- (865) *T-t'ājēr ida šraq qālū li ma nī'ī šī hmaq*, "If a wealthy man steals they say to him, You are not foolish" (i.e. so foolish as to steal).
- (866) *T-t'ājēr ida šraq iqūlū nsa wū l-mēskīn ida nsa iqūlū šraq*, "If a wealthy man steals they say that he forgot (that the thing did not belong to him), and if a poor man forgets they say that he stole."
- (867) *L-mēskīn ida glat qālū li šraqt'i yā mēzlōt*, "If a poor man makes a mistake they say to him, You have stolen O pauper."
- (868) *Mūl d-dħāb klāmū mārfo' u l-mēskīn klāmū mērbō'*,
 "The speech of the owner of gold is exalted, and the speech of the poor man is rejected."

- (869) *Mūl l-mi'ā' klāmū šāfi nógra u l-měškīn māḍli bē l-hrā,*
 "The wealthy man's speech is pure silver, and the poor one's is coated with dung."
- (870) *Mūl l-flūs ida t'kēllēm bla šwāb qālū li klāmēk dhāb,*
 "If a wealthy man speaks unjustly they say to him, Your speech is gold."
- (871) *L-měškīn ida t'kēllēm bē l-ḥaqq yēḥīwah w izīduh l-bzaq,*
 "If a poor man speaks the truth, they drive him away and in addition spit on him."
- (872) *Li ma 'andū flūs dāiyū mēssūs,* "The speech of him who has no money is saltless."
- (873) *T-t'ājer ida ḥzaq 'andum bḥal l-kalānyū ida ntaq l-měškīn ida ḥzaq izēbbū fīh u izīduh d-daqq,* "If a wealthy man breaks wind, they consider him like a canary bird when it sings; if a poor man breaks wind, they insult him and in addition give him a knocking."¹
- (874) *Mūl l-flūs iqḍbluh ālu kān qbēh lē-jdūd,* "The owner of money is received, even though his ancestors were bad."

When a wealthy man comes to a feast, the host tells some poor man to get up and give place to the new-comer; the poor man remarks:—

- (875) *Qūm ā yīmma fāin t'ēglēs mrāt'i,* "Get up, O my mother, [from the place] where my wife is to sit" (representing himself as the mother who has to give room to the wife, although the mother has a greater claim to regard, as she has been in the house before the wife).
- (876) *Mrāt t-t'ājer mārfō'a ālu ikūnu ḥwāija bē r-róq'a,* "The wife of a wealthy man is exalted, even though her clothes are mended" (she is anyhow supposed to possess fine clothes as well).
- (877) *Mrāt' l-měškīn māḥqōra ālu t'ēlbēs d-dhāb ū n-nógra,* "The wife of a poor man is despised, even though she is dressed in gold and silver" (her dress is then supposed to be borrowed).

¹ Cf. *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 280 sq.

When a poor man has been wronged by an influential person and tells him that he will complain to the sheikh, the offender answers :—

(878) *Šku 'arfēk ya l-qāmla hāima fē l-ḥbāka*, "Who knows you, O louse, roaming at the hem of the hood" (Andjra)?¹

A poor man is always most liable to be deprived of his property, either by the authorities or others :

(879) *Šāt l-mēskīn t'ār'a nē t-ṭarf*, "The sheep of a poor man pasture on the border" (Andjra).

For a poor man life is no pleasure :

(880) *Li ma 'andū flūs ma idērrā' ma ibūs*, "He who has no money can neither embrace nor kiss."

Poverty is an obstacle to religion :

(881) *Idā ma t'kūn ḥobz ma t'kūn la šlā wā la 'bāda*, "If there is no bread, there is neither prayer nor worship."

A poor man who is prevented by the weather from doing his work complains :—

(882) *Jāt š-št'ā jāt lē-rydḥ jāt l-hmūm kt'ira*, "Rain came, winds came, a lot of troubles came."

A poor man who can find no work says to himself :—

(883) *L-'qīs d-dlīla wū l-mūt mirāha*, "An abject life and then death."

When a very poor man who has bought a cow is told that he is now better off, he replies :—

(884) *Dēn ḥi b fard 'ainīna 'war ḥūwa*, "He who is one-eyed is blind" (i.e. even though I have a cow, it is as if I had none; Andjra).

A poor man who complains of his poverty is told, as a joke :—

(885) *Ana nškī lū bā ḥla dāri ū ḥūwa iqūl li šḥal d ulādēk 'andēk yā jāri*, "I complain to him of the emptiness of my house, and he says to me, How many children have you, O my neighbour ?"

A poor man who has many worries on the same day—who has no food for himself and his family and no money for buying

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1419.

any, who has to make preparations for a forthcoming feast, who is harassed by a creditor demanding his money back, and so forth—is given the comforting advice:—

(886) *‘Āmel l-hmūm fē š-šēbka sī-ṭeḥ u sī yēbqa*, “Put the troubles in a net, some will fall and some will remain (Andjra).¹

At the same time wealth has also its drawbacks and poverty its consolation. “Much coin, much care”:

(887) *Kēt^srāt^s l-māl māḥna nē l-’insān*, “Abundance of money is a trial for a man.”

The wealthy man has to be on his guard against people who pretend to love him in order to get money out of him:

(888) *Ida suft^siḥum ḥābbuk hrab mēnnum ‘andēk ildḥqūk*, “If you see them love you, flee from them so that they do not catch you.”

(889) *Yā lli ‘andēk l-flūs kun dīb ‘andēk i-ḥmluk fē a-ḥjīb u ma kāin ḥbīb*, “O you who have money, be a jackal so that they do not put you (i.e. your money) into the pocket, and [then] there is no friend.”

(890) *Bnādēm kull šī išēbb^sāk mēn gēr l-māl qadd mā ‘andēk qadd mā ḥāṣṣāk lākin ma i-‘ammār ‘ain bnādēm illā t-t^srāb*, “ [O] people, everything will satisfy you except money, as much as you have so much [more] you want; but [after death] nothing will fill the eyes of people but earth.”

Be content with that which God has given you:

(891) *Ida ‘tāk l-‘āti ḥrat^s lā t^swāti*, “If the Giver gave you [a hill] plough [it], don’t level [it].”

A wealthy man who works as a day-labourer is told:—

(892) *Š-ṣāltān bē t-t^sāj kāyāḥt^sāj*, “A sultan with a crown wants [more].”

(893) *L-‘āqēl ma ikūn tāmmā^s*, “The wise man must not be covetous.”

(894) *T-tma^s yēfsəd t-tābā^s*, “Cupidity spoils the character.”

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1671.

- (895) *T-tma' tá'un ú t-tá'un káyáqt'el*, "Cupidity is a plague, and the plague kills."
 (896) *Li ma rdā šī bē l-hóbza ifétt'ēs 'āla nášša ma ijēbrū*, "He who is not content with a loaf of bread will seek for one-half of it [and] will not find it."

A person who has no money may resort to pleasing speech as a substitute :

- (897) *Li ma 'ándū 'dsēl fē mkānū ya'mēlha f rāš lsānū*, "He who has no honey in his place should put some on the tip of his tongue."
 (898) *Š-šjēr u b nēfsū ahsēn mēl l-kbīr bē flūsū*, "Small and spirited is better than big with money."
 (899) *L-qlīl m'a š-šāhha hēr mēn l-kt'īr m'a l-mart*, "Little with health is better than much with sickness."¹
 (900) *Ida dārrāk 'a-ājō' t'ba' n-njūm*, "If hunger afflicts you, follow the stars" (they will show you a place where you can find food).

He who is wealthy may become poor, and he who is poor may become wealthy :

- (901) *Li smān lā búdda yēhzzēl u lī tār lā búdda yēnzēl*, "He who becomes fat must become thin, and he who flies must come down."

Of a well-to-do person who has become poor it is said :—

- (902) *Kīf mā jāt' āji m'āha*, "Whatever came, come with it"²; or,
 (903) *Dā 'waj lū māimānu yēbki 'āla ydmū*, "He whose luck got crooked weeps over his days" (Andjra).

If such a person had made his fortune by dishonest means, the remark is passed :—

- (904) *L-mēksi b l-iyām 'arrāt'ū*, "He who was dressed by the days was made naked by them."

If a man has been well off but had many losses, and in trying to recover them by selling and buying things only incurs new losses, it is said :—

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1673.

² *Infra*, nr. 1793.

- (905) *Ida 'wájět' yü'hárrsü fêha s-snâsël*, "If [the life] gets crooked, the chains in it will break" (once gone, the luck will not come back; Andjra).

A man who was once in good circumstances, but then has to earn his living as a day-labourer and feels ashamed of it, is told :—

- (906) *D yistáh mē ihábba' újäh*, "He who dances should not hide his face" (Andjra).

When such a man leaves his village to find work elsewhere, and is asked why he has done so, he answers :—

- (907) *T'gärfíta fê s-shári wü la t'ëznîna bân s-šwâri*, "To tuck up one's clothes in deserts is better than to be destitute between pillars" (Andjra).

When a well-to-do man loses all that he owns and is reduced to beggary, people say :—

- (908) *L-bërd kâi'allëm sreqt' l-fham*, "The cold teaches one to steal charcoal." ¹

Of a person who spends all his money on food and drink it is said :—

- (909) *L-mâkla wü s-šrēt hatt'á šî ma isêt mën gër n-n'ās t'qht' l-hēt*, "Eating and swallowing without chewing, nothing at all is left but sleeping underneath a wall."

The following saying refers to people who have become prosperous, but afterwards lost their fortune by making some mistake :—

- (910) *Nâs bhal l-késkâs ida qwa râzqüm kâit'gâmmü 'ânüm*, "People are like a steamer for the making of *séksü* : if they become prosperous their eyes close" (as the holes in the bottom of the steamer are clogged when the grains of *séksü* swell).

A person who has been in good circumstances and respected, and then lost this position for no obvious reasons, is supposed to have been cursed by some holy man or by his own parents :

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1165.

- (911) *Li 'ātāhā li ma dūwār šī mārāh*, "He who gave it (i.e. the curse) to him did not turn round afterwards" (i.e. went away without removing his curse).

A man who was once well off and had many friends round him, but afterwards became poor and was abandoned by them, says to himself:—

- (912) *Mā yēbqa f l-qbar illā mūlāh*, "There remains in the grave none but its master."¹

If people see a person who was prosperous when young and subsequently became poor, they say:—

- (913) *Āllāh yēj'āl aḥḥārnā āhsēn mēn auwūnnā*, "May God make our end better than our beginning."

When a man who has been well-to-do and become poor meets another who has been poor and boasts of having become rich, he says to him:—

- (914) *Ā mā šāfēt' l-'ain u bāt'ēt' nā'sa*, "O what the eye has seen and [yet] passes the night asleep" (i.e. he does not grudge the other one his prosperity).

If a person, A, who has become poor by squandering away the fortune he inherited from his father, is sitting together with another, B, and a third person, who once was poor and now is well-dressed, passes by, and B makes a remark on his prosperous condition compared with his friend A's poverty, A replies:—

- (915) *Li kla u daq mā yētšemma mēšt'āq*, "He who has eaten and tasted should not be called eager."

Of a merchant who has lost what he had, but thinks that he is going to be rich, it is said:—

- (916) *Āškān ḥīya ḥādīk li kaṭṭāllāl u t'ērja'*, "Who is that woman who is looking in and goes back?"

Of a person who has lost part of his property, but has something of it left, it is said:—

- (917) *Imūt' l-fīl u yēbqāu 'ādāmū rāš l-mdl*, "The elephant dies, and his bones remain as capital."

After all, the chief things in the world are food and clothing:

¹ *Supra*, nr. 532.

(918) *Kull šī ht'ūf mēn gēr z-zra' ū š-šōf*, "Everything is rubbish except wheat and wool." ¹

And the worst evil that can befall a person is not loss of property :

(919) *Āllāhūmma fē l-māl wā la fē l-bdān*, "O God, [to suffer damage] in goods is better than in bodies." ²

Again, a poor or insignificant person who has become well off or risen to a high position is told :—

(920) *Idā ḥabb āllāh ya'ték mēn fūmm l-mēdfā' yēsḡék*, "If God wants to give you [something], he will give you [even] from the mouth of a cannon" (allusion to the story of a man who found money inside an old cannon that had been filled up with stones in order to conceal it).

Such a person is bound to feel happy :

(921) *Lī 'ātāt'ū iyāmū išīyar bē kmāmū*, "He to whom his days have given it flutters his sleeves" (for joy).

Of a man who was poor when he came to a place and had become well off when he left it, people say :—

(922) *Yā d-dāḥēl Fās bē t-t'ēllīs yā l-ḥārēj mēnnū bē l-kīs*, "O he who entered Fez with a rug, O he who leaves it with a money-bag."

When among the mountaineers of Andjra a scribe, after visiting distant tribes, comes back with a good deal of money and the people of his village ask him how he made it, while they themselves had made none at all, he replies :—

(923) *D ḥabb yāḡra iqārrab u d ḥabb yāḥrāt' iqārrab*, "He who wants to read should go far away, and he who wants to plough should be near" (Andjra).

Of a person who had only a small sum of money and then became rich it is said :—

(924) *Rēfdēt' 'āina fīya ma zēina b t'ēbsīma*, "She (i.e. the small sum) raised her eye to me, how beautiful, with a smile."

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 798.

² *Infra*, nr. 1204.

One person may become wealthy by owning a trifle, another may suddenly become poor :

- (925) *Ida tál'át' kat'ílá' b šá'ra w ida háruwdét' kat'qátta' s-snásél*, " If she (i.e. wealth) ascends she ascends by the aid of a hair, and if she descends she cuts chains."¹

A method of becoming rich is to be well-dressed, clean, and polite, and to make oneself attractive to and connect oneself with wealthy people ; of him who behaves in this manner it is said :—

- (926) *Ráha f rāš l-'ánšar katsábbēn u t'áššar*, " Look at her at the head of the spring, she washes and wrings."

But if a poor man grows wealthy, he may also have to hear the comment :—

- (927) *D-dúnya kádjī mēn š-šáħħa au l-ħrām*, " Worldly goods come from avarice or what is forbidden."

And if a poor family has risen to prosperity and at the same time become very proud, other people remark :—

- (928) *Kébrēt' dār Ĥsáin u rj'ú ifátrū marrt'áin*, " The family of Ĥsáin grew and came back to breakfast twice."

When a person who has nothing or is nobody wants to have much or become somebody, it is said :—

- (929) *Aš ĥáššāk ā l-'oryān qal lū l-ħwátt'ēm ā málái*, " What do you want, O naked one ? He said to him, Rings, O my lord."

The best safeguards against poverty are : not to spend too much of what you own, and to save what you can. A person should live according to his means :

- (930) *Qđi bē l-ħobz u s-smēn ĥátt'a ijīb álláh l-gwāz*, " Manage with bread and salt butter until God brings something to eat with it " ;

- (931) *Ĥull 'áinēk u šudd yáddēk*, " Open your eye and close your hand " ;

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1789. There are widespread variants of this proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 47).

- (932) *Mudd réjlèk 'āla qadd háikèk*, "Stretch your leg according to the size of your blanket"¹;
- (933) *R-rájël itlāq réjlū 'āla qadd háikū*, "A man should slacken his leg according to the size of his blanket";
- (934) *Li ma qáddū qábrū yèllá' fōq mēnnū*, "He whose grave is not of his size should ascend to the top of it";
- (935) *Kull nhār tā'ām*, "Every day [has its] food."²
- (936) *Ráqqa' nhār t'ēlbēs šhar*, "Mend [your clothes] in a day, you will dress [in them] for a month."
- (937) *Mā t'ulédhum mā ihóssōk*, "Don't give birth to them (i.e. don't part with your money), you will not miss them."
- (938) *Š-šī mēn š-šī nzdha u š-šī mēn qállēt š-šī sfáha*, "[To spend] something out of something is enjoyment, and [to spend] something out of little is shamelessness."

Of a man who spends all the money he earns it is said:—

- (939) *Flūs l-lébbān kayáklum zá'tōt*, "The money of one who sells buttermilk is eaten by insects" (*zá'tōt* are small flies eating buttermilk; the selling of milk is supposed to be fraught with evil consequences)³; or,

- (940) *Fḥal d yéft'el fé d-dqūm dē l-'ájel*, "Like one who twists [a palmetto rope] in the mouth of a calf" (Andjra).

Such a man may be blamed by his family with the phrase:—

- (941) *'Add 'ádda ū ḥállī n gádda*, "Bite off a bite, and leave [the rest] till to-morrow" (Andjra).

When reproved by his family he may answer them:—

- (942) *Nt'ēf nt'ēf ū rábbī yáhlēf*, "Tear off tear off, and God will replace" (Andjra).

When two men have gone to work in a strange place and one of them spends all the money he earns, while the other one saves something, the latter says to his wasteful companion:—

- (943) *Z-zéira lāt'wálli ma t'ábbī māi (= mā hīyá) šī t'wálli*

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1232; Singer-Littmann, op. cit., nr. 107; Tallqvist, op. cit., nr. 105).

² *Infra*, nr. 1795.

³ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 244.

ma t'hālli, "A woman visitor is looking for what to take, she does not look for what to leave behind" (referring to a woman who for the first time after her marriage visits her parents together with her husband; she only brings a little food, but receives substantial presents from her parents; Andjra).

Of one who earns nothing, but only spends what he owns, it is said:—

(944) *Jbēd lā t'rūdd nē l-qū' u'wūssal*, "Pull, don't put back, you will come to the bottom" (of the money-box).

Of a poor man whose wife is a spendthrift it is said:—

(945) *S-sī'i yē's'a ū mrāt'ū tšēddaq*, "The beggar begs, and his wife gives alms" (Andjra).¹

A person who owns no money and yet speaks of buying expensive things, such as a house or a garden, is told:—

(946) *Kētrāt' l-ḥsāb ū qāllēt' l-qabt*, "The counting is big, and the catch is small" (Andjra).

The following saying, which contains an allusion to a passage in the Koran ("The weakest of all houses surely is the house of the spider"),² is used with reference to one who spends all that he has while alive and will leave nothing behind when he dies:—

(947) *N-nūwāla dē l-'ānkbūt' ḥsāra fē llī-mūt'*, " [Even] a hut of spider-web is a loss for him who is going to die."

But you should not only avoid wastefulness, you should save:

(948) *Kul ū šrab u llī šāt' āmkū f āqrab*, "Eat and drink, and put what is left into a palmetto bag";

(949) *Ḥott' nē z-zmān tšībū*, "Put by for the time, you will find it";

(950) *Ḥott' nē z-zmān iqāl lēk āra*, "Put by for the time, it will say to you, Give" (Andjra);

(951) *Kull ma tšīb ḥābb'ū ḥāt't'a iqāl lēk z-zmān arāḥi*, "Everything which you find you should keep until time says to you, Give it."

¹ *Supra*, nr. 193.

² *Koran*, xxix, 40.

Experience teaches economy: A hungry person who has not had enough to satisfy him will not forget it:

(952) *Lóqmēt^s a-ajō^s 'aqqála*, "A handful of food in hunger makes one mindful."

At the same time economy should not be carried too far. There are several disparaging sayings referring to persons who might live comfortably but are too stingy to do it.

(953) *Yēšbár n mártù li ma yēšha bě t-ibīb*, "May he who is not generous to the doctor patiently suffer his illness."

(954) *L-bhīl bhāq l-hmār yēřfēd d-dhāb u l-fādda u yēbgi t-t'bēn*, "The miser is like a donkey, he carries gold and silver and wants straw."

(955) *Gēzzār w it^s 'āšša bě l-fart^s* (or, *l-lēft^s*), "A butcher, and he sups on intestines (or, turnips)."

(956) *Mēš'hūm bě l-qtīfa u l-bard zwāh*, "Suspected of [having] woollen cloth, and the cold gave him stomach-ache" (as a woollen-drapeer who on some festive occasion borrows another man's clothes out of greed).

(957) *L-mūt^s aqrāb mēn ramš l-'ain*, "The death is nearer than the twinkling of the eye."

(958) *Kul ū šrab u t'ēksa w āji yā l-mūt^s*, "Eat and drink and dress yourself, and [say,] Come, O death."

CHAPTER XI

BEGGING AND CHARITY

BEGGING is very prevalent, and charity is regarded as a duty.

Wealthy people are, of course, most exposed to beggars.

(959) *Li blāh āllāh bē s-s'āya yēqšād ʿd-dyōr lē-kbār*, "He whom God has inflicted with beggary goes to big houses."

If a person wants some particular thing, say fruit or butter-milk, he goes to a place where there is plenty of it and asks the people if he may have some; they consent by saying:—

(960) *Mšit^s nē blād flāiyū ū mrāt^s bē r-rwāh*, "You went to the country of pennyroyal and were taken ill with a cold" (for which pennyroyal is used as a medicine; Andjra).¹

Beggars are up to various tricks:

(961) *Idā suft^s ihum ḥāsnū lēk ḥāj^tum iḏlbū lēk*, "If you see them to be good to you, they will beg of you what they want."

They will salute you and then immediately beg money of you; they deserve the answer:—

(962) *Sēllēm 'ālih sērrēf 'ālih*, "Greet him, seize him."

But a beggar cannot get anything from another beggar, just as a robber gets nothing from another robber or a niggard from another niggard:

(963) *Aš t'ēddi mēl li yiddik aš t'āhdi fē lli yāhdek*, "What will you take from him who will take from you, what will you guard against him who will guard himself against you?"

When a poor man helps him who has nothing, it is said:—

(964) *L-'ārāj kūidēbbēb l-mēksōr*, "The lame one supports the broken one."

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1583.

A poor man who is ashamed to beg directly uses the circumlocutory phrase:—

(965) *D-ajō* 'abd u š-šēb'a lāllāh, "Hunger is a slave, and satiation is its mistress."

A person may refuse to grant the request of a beggar by saying:—

(966) *Aš t'ēddi l-mūt^a mēn dār l-hālyā*, "What will death take from an empty house?" (Andjra)¹; or,

(967) *Mārtna wāḥed u š-šāfi llāh*, "Our sickness is the same, and the one who cures is God" (also said to a sick person who complains of his illness, to prevent it from affecting the person spoken to)²; or,

(968) *Māšša n 'and l-mtāllqa t'ēshār lēk*, "[You are] going to a divorced woman that she may make magic for you" (meaning that he who is asked for something is himself in need of it, just as a divorced woman is herself in need of sorcery to make her former husband take her back; Andjra); or,

(969) *Qal lū āllāh ij'āl l-baraka qal lū māḥsūbīn*, "He (i.e. the beggar) said to him, May God bestow a blessing [upon you]; he (i.e. the person addressed) said to him, They are counted" (meaning that he has already given charity to the best of his ability).

If a person is asked in the evening to give something, he may politely refuse by saying:—

(970) *Mā yēšbāḥ ḥātt'a yēft'āḥ*, "It will not be morning until He (i.e. God) opens [the door of subsistence]."

If a poor man asks somebody to give him a sheep or a goat—as is often the case if an animal is needed for a wedding, or for the feast when a child is named, or for the Great Feast—and the person requested does not want to give him the animal as a present, but is willing to lend it to him and not to be in a hurry for the payment, he indicates this by saying:—

(971) *D dēinēk 'dāk*, "He who lends you gives you" (Andjra).

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1056.

² Cf. *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 604 sq.

When a man who has dissipated all that he inherited from his father asks one of the latter's friends for money, he receives the answer :—

- (972) *L-ihūdi māin lāyūdzēnnēn lāyūt^sfēkkar l-‘dquḏ d bābāh,*
 “ When the Jew is destitute, he remembers his father's buttons ” (i.e. friends ; Andjra).

A beggar who is not content with that which he has received, but asks for more, is told :—

- (973) *Kēš bla dlō,* “ A stomach without ribs ” ; or,
 (974) *Qal lū khuz qal lū ṭhar l-ḥmār qšer,* “ He said to him, Move a little ; he (i.e. the other one) said to him, The back of the donkey is short ” (so that there is no room for moving) ; or,
 (975) *Qna‘ bē l-qlīl yāt^rik āllāh bē l-kt^rir,* “ Be content with little, God will bring you much ” ¹ ; or,
 (976) *Hāda nē llāh āra nwūznōh,* “ This is for the sake of God, give [it] that we may weigh it ” (i.e. what is given for the sake of God, even though it is little, weighs much ; Andjra).

When a disappointed beggar refuses to accept the small gift offered him, the giver remarks :—

- (977) *T^slāt^a mēn tābⁱ li šēdd rhāt^sū ūffār li zārⁱ,* “ Three things belong to my nature [and this is one of them] : he who shuts up his mill saves for me my wheat.”

A beggar who comes back morning after morning is told :—

- (978) *Šbah ‘ālīya kīf šābhāt^s l-‘āmsa ‘āl l-khul,* “ He came to me in the morning as the bleary-eyed woman came in the morning to the antimony ” (to paint her eyes with it in order to conceal her complaint).²

If a person has been used to getting food in charity from another and one day, when he does not get it, becomes angry, he is reproved with the remark :—

- (979) *Ssānēs (= msānēs) l-qott^s šwīya,* “ The cat is accustomed to roasted entrails ” (Andjra).

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1320.

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 1057.

If you have been in the habit of giving charity to a person and cease to do it, he easily becomes your enemy :

- (980) *Sânsû û qtá' lû 'ddû t'ěrjû' lû*, " Make him accustomed [to receive something] and cut him short [of it], you will become his enemy."

The same idea is expressed in the saying :—

- (981) *Wúrri lû û qtá' lû*, " Show him and cut him short [of it]."

There are also sayings that are used by beggars in reply to refusals. A poor beggar may indicate that the person who turns a deaf ear to him nevertheless is generous to others, who are in no need of charity, by saying :—

- (982) *Nt'ěf męn d-dúma û 'áté ně l-'ájěl*, " Pluck [leaves] from the palmetto and give [them] to the calf."

If a man who lives with his parents refuses to give away a thing asked of him with the excuse that it does not belong to him, he may receive the answer :—

- (983) *Ida nşah l-m'allēm yđ'mel l-fham đě l-bárwaq*, " If the master advises, he will make charcoal [even] of asphodel" (i.e. he could give it if he wanted to, just as, for example, a blacksmith, if asked to do some work, could make fire of any rubbish ; Andjra).

A shereef who has been repeatedly told by a person that he will get from him on the next day the charity asked for, reproves him by saying :—

- (984) *Š-šřif bě š-šřäif u l-qalb jäif*, " A shereef (even though the person addressed is not a shereef) with the lips, and the heart is rotting."

If a person keeps another from doing a favour asked for, the one who asked for it says to him :—

- (985) *L-'āti fě s-smā u l-měkkās f r-ráhba*, " The Giver is in heaven, and the collector of taxes is on earth" ; or,

- (986) *Mwđlin đ-dār şábrü û l-'azzáin kěfrü*, " The masters of the house are patient, and the condolers are blasphemous" (Andjra).¹

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1387.

The giving of alms is one of the five practical duties of Islam, called the pillars of religion, the other four being the recitation of the creed, prayer, fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Almsgiving will be rewarded¹:—

- (987) *‘Āteḥ ū rūbbi r-rzzāq*, “Give him, and God is the sustainer”;
- (988) *‘Āte ma fē^{a-djīb} yāi^{rik} ăllāh ma fē l-gīb*, “Give what there is in your pocket, God will bring you what is absent”;
- (989) *S-šādqa t^{šdfā} l-blā u l-‘abd ma yldri*, “The alms drive away the evil, and the servant [of God] will not know [it]” (i.e. the evil);
- (990) *Ḍrab d-dūnya dzā‘raṭ l-āhra*, “Beat the world, the other world will caper”;
- (991) *L-bhīl yēbhīl nēfsū u s-shī irēj^ū flūsū*, “The niggard is niggardly with regard to himself, and the money of the generous one will come back to him.”

Prayer without almsgiving is of no avail:

- (992) *L-bhīl lē n-nār ālu yā‘bēd bē l-līl u n-nhār*, “The niggard [will go] to hell, even though he worships God by night and day.”

Almsgiving is more meritorious than the pilgrimage to Mecca:

- (993) *Lūgma bū ffārha ḍhsēn mēn Mékka ū gbārha*, “A handful of *sēksū* [given in charity] is better than Mecca and its dust” (Dukkāla).

The *zakāt*, or legal alms, must not be given to a person who is not a Muhammadan; yet it is said, with regard to ordinary alms:—

- (994) *Wāhba li llāh ū ‘āteha nē l-kāfēr bē llāh*, “Give it for the sake of God, and give it [even] to him who does not believe in God.”

A generous giver is also rewarded through the blessing of the recipient. During my residence in Ḍar l-Hjār in Andjra

¹ *Koran*, ii, 267, 275.

the village was visited by a band of ambulant scribes who went from house to house, receiving presents and invoking blessings in return. When a goat was given them they asked God to increase the flocks of the giver, when money was given they asked God to increase his money, and so forth. Some of the villagers told me that it was a profitable bargain, since they would be repaid tenfold for their gifts through the blessings of the scribes. A town Moor who starts on a journey to the country generally likes to give a coin to one of the beggars who are sitting near the gate, so as to receive his blessing. On the other hand, a poor man may punish the uncharitable by means of his curse or his evil eye. If a person comes to you and asks for something, it is better to give him something, however little it be, than to refuse :

(995) *D-darb bē t-tūb wā la l-hrūb*, "Hitting with lumps of earth is better than flight."

Nobody would like to eat in the presence of somebody else without asking him to partake of the food, or at any rate offering him a morsel. A person who is eating, or is just going to eat, says to another who then happens to come to him :—

(996) *'Ammār li sēbsīya kmi ū rūdd 'āliya*, "Fill for me my hashish pipe, smoke and give [it] back to me."

If the invitation is refused, there is little danger in eating in the case of a friend, but a stranger is hardly allowed to refuse. He who takes food in the presence of some hungry looker-on is said to eat the poison of his eyes (Fez).

(997) *Li yākul wāhed mgābli ji'ān āglā' lih allāh rāzqū mēn d-dūnya*, "He who eats before the face of one who is hungry, may God deprive him of his livelihood in the world" (Dukkāla).

(998) *L-'ām l-mēksūf wāhed yākul w aḥr išūf*, "A barren year, [if] one eats and another looks on."

At feasts the women are allowed to eat first, since otherwise they might injure the men with their evil eyes. If the owner of a well prohibits other people's animals from drinking from it,

the well will dry up; and if anybody refuses to lend his camel to some other man in the village who wants it for a day's work, the camel will become ill or die (Dukkâla). If a person shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Rif told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

The best of all alms is water. It is a merit to give water to a thirsty person even though you have water near you :

(999) *'Āṭe l-mā ālu t'kūn 'āl l-mā*, "Give water, even though you are close to water."

It is better to give water in charity than food; a thirsty man, it is said, dies in an hour, whereas a hungry one remains alive for three days :

(1000) *'Āṭe l-mā wū la t'ā'ṭe n-nā'ma*, "To give water is better than to give bread" (or other cereal food).

(1001) *L-mākla bla mā mēn qállēt' l-fhāma*, "[To give] food without water comes from lack of understanding."

But charity should be practised with discretion. There is no merit in giving alms to persons who are not in need of them; if you do give alms to such a person :

(1002) *'Amālēk nē d-dēffa w ājrāk 'āl l-ḥait*, "Your doing is to the door, and your reward is on the wall."

You should bestow charity on those who are destitute, not on those whose poverty is less pressing :

(1003) *'Azzū 'ālina l-māut'a w āmma l-mjārah yiddāwau*, "The dead are dear to us, but as for the wounded, they will be cured."

Indeed, he who is not needy should not beg :

(1004) *Lī 'andū z-zra' f dārū ulādu mā yēs'āu n jāru*, "The children of him who has wheat in his house should not beg of his neighbour."

Of a person who owns much himself, but begs of another who is poor, it is said :—

(1005) *L-mātmār t'ētma' f āskēl*, “The granary covets the corn sack” (Andjra).

If a poor person appears dressed in fine clothes which he has bought with money given to him in charity, people say :—

(1006) *Ajju tšūfū l-hādem bē n-ngāb*, “Come to look at the negress with a veil.”

You should not give a thing to one who does not understand its value :

(1007) *Lā t'ēhdi nē š-sēlēh qāhwa*, “Don't present coffee to a Shelh” (a Berber from Southern Morocco, who does not drink coffee).

If you give something to a good man, you will not have to regret it :

(1008) *Dik z-zra' m'a l-wād jāt' l-gnēm ū r'āt'ū*, “Sheep came and grazed that wheat along the river” ;

(1009) *Ida 'tīt'i 'āṭē li nās l-faḍl inē^{dajik} āllāh mēn^{dajō} u l-weil*, “If you give [anything] give to good people, God will save you from hunger and misfortune” ;

(1010) *Ida 'int'i 'in nās l-hajir inē^{dajik} āllāh mēn l-bās ū š-šarr*, “If you help [anybody] help good people, God will save you from evil and trouble” ;

(1011) *L-hajir fē r-rjāl slūf u f š-šmāit' ṣadāqa*, “Benefits to [honest] men are loans (i.e. they will remember them) and to rogues, charity.”

A person who has been kind to another and finds that his kindness has been thrown away passes the remark :—

(1012) *D-djmēl ma ibāl gar n lāura*, “The camel only makes water from behind” (Andjra).¹

Of one who has been given something and then appropriates everything he is able to, it is said :—

(1013) *Šarrābnah l-ḥlīb rjā' šrik fē l-bāgra*, “We gave him milk to drink, he became a partner in the cow.”²

¹ *Supra*, nr. 172.

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 747.

If a man out of charity is given employment and, after working a few days, runs away with some valuable thing belonging to the employer, it is said of him :—

(1014) *Jā i'ānunū f qbar bbāh hrab lu bē l-fās*, “ He came to help him with his father's grave, he ran away from him with the hoe.”

You should not give money in advance to a person who may run away with it :

(1015) *Šudd l-māntēh 'andēk itēh*, “ Take hold of the pander that he may not fall.”

While charity, rightly practised, is a duty it should not be excessive. A person should not, in doing good to others, forget what he himself and his family¹ are in need of :

(1016) *Šwāi n rābbi u šwāi n qālbi*, “ A little for God and a little for my own heart ”² ;

(1017) *Āllāh yārḥāmni 'ūd yārḥām wāldīya*, “ May God be merciful to me, and may he then be merciful to my parents ” ;

(1018) *Li ḥšem f li dārrū š-šitān gārrū*, “ He who is ashamed of that which hurts him (i.e. of saying no to a beggar) is duped by the devil.”

Of a person who has made himself and his family destitute, either by excessive charity or by wantonly wasting his money on things which benefit others, it is said :—

(1019) *Zōgbi 'āla rāṣū mēs'ūd 'āl n-nās*, “ Unlucky for himself, lucky for others ” ; or,

(1020) *Bḥālu bḥal l-yḥbra t'ēksi n-nās u hīya 'ōryāna*, “ He is like a needle that clothes the people and is herself naked.”³

A man who has given away his property in charity or otherwise, and then asks others to help him, may receive the answer :—

(1021) *Li yā'te mt'ā'ū fē hyāt'ū i'āiyēt 'āla llāh ma igīt'ū*, “ He who gives away his goods during his life will call on God, [but] he will not help him.”

¹ See also *supra*, p. 90.

² *Supra*, nr. 721.

³ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, *op. cit.*, nr. 1411).

In any case it is better to help one's self than to be helped by others :

(1022) *L-mā də l-bīr wā la jmīl l-gərrāba*, "The water of the well is better than the favour of the water-sellers" ¹ ;

(1023) *Šorb l-mā də l-bħar wā la jmīl t-t'úddjār*, "The drinking of sea-water is better than the favour of merchants."

It is better to eat your own food, even though it is poor, and be respected than to sponge on other people, however good their food may be, and be despised :

(1024) *Qātrān l-'azz wā lu 'səl l-hānā*, "The tar of respect is better than the honey of quietness."

Even he who is in distress may be too proud to beg other people to help him and say :—

(1025) *Jō'i f kērsi ū 'āndū'i f rāši*, "My hunger is in my stomach, and my honour is in my head" ; or,

(1026) *Ndrta' senni u nbāt' mhānni*, "I suck my tooth and pass the night quietly."

A gift may have to be returned ; of an unwelcome present it is said :—

(1027) *L-hdiya bliya w ida tāhāt' bē l-jwād irūddūha mēl'nīya*, "A present is a misfortune, and if it falls to good people they will return it twofold."

If the giver boasts of his generosity, he may be reminded that the gift came from God and that the man was only his instrument :

(1028) *R-rāzq li dāmnū ijībū ū l-'abd ikūn sabbū*, "The good things which He (i.e. God) guaranteed he will bring, and the servant (of God) will be the occasion of it."

If a person boasts of a favour he has done to another and again intends to give him something, the latter may refuse to accept it, saying :—

(1029) *Šēb'ān u f yiddū kēsrā*, "Satisfied, and in his hand a bit of bread" (i.e. he has got what he wants).

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1070.

He who receives a gift may be exposed to the evil eye of an envious spectator, hence the rule that it should not be given before witnesses :

(1030) *L-gārša bla dżrīb bħal l-kēlb bla dēnnīb*, “ A garden without a fence is like a dog without a tail ” ;

(1031) *Fħāmmi lā t'a'tēni*, “ Understand me, don't give me [publicly]. ”

A present may also be given with a grudging eye ; there is a saying :—

(1032) *Li ħāsdēk 'ātāk*, “ He who envies you has given you [something]. ”

It is also said :—

(1033) *Kúlha mēn yidd š-šēb'ān ida jā' lā t'ākúlha mēn yidd a-djāi'ān ida šba'*, “ Eat it (i.e. food) from the hand of the [one who used to be] satisfied if he is hungry, don't eat it from the hand of the [one who used to be] hungry if he has become satisfied ” ¹ ; or,

(1034) *Sāħsi 'āla d kān šēb'ān u jā' lā tsaħsi ši 'āla d kān jāi'ān u šba'*, “ Ask of him who has been satisfied and is hungry, don't ask of him who has been hungry and become satisfied ” (Andjra).

When a man who was poor but now is wealthy falls ill, he may repentantly say to himself :—

(1035) *Yā rāši šdddaq u rħam fāin nās l-qdām*, “ O my head, give alms and be merciful, where are the people of yore ” (i.e. as they did) ?

He who is poor himself says ungrudgingly :—

(1036) *Ma ya'raf b ħāl l-mēskīn gēr l-mēskīn*, “ Nobody knows the condition of a poor man but a poor man. ”

Of a man who was once rich but is now poor and yet charitable it is said :—

(1037) *Imūt z-zēin u yēbqau ħrūfu*, “ The beauty dies, and its signs remain. ” ²

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 714).

² *Infra*, nr. 1301.

Of course, a gift should be offered from the heart :

(1038) *Hâjjet^s l-hâtar tswa l-qnâtar*, " A thing given with goodwill is worth hundredweights."

But :

(1039) *L-mâl mël l-kbâd ma ya'têhum gër ulâd lë-jwâd*, " Money from the heart is given only by the children of good people."

And :

(1040) *Ma yâ'lem ma fë l-qalb gër l-krim subhânü*, " Nobody knows what is in the heart except the Generous one (one of the names of God), be he praised."

A niggard is an object of much contempt. Of a very greedy person it is said :—

(1041) *Ş-şaddqa ma t'hruj mël l-habs*, " Charity does not come out of a prison."

A generous man mixes with people and is liked by them, whereas a niggard sits by himself :

(1042) *Mudd yiddëk u t'ëb'ü jem'ü ü glës hâh*, " Stretch out your hand and follow it, draw it in and sit close to it " (Andjra).

The following saying refers to a niggardly man who does not like to give hospitality or money to a person asking for it :—

(1043) *Ana n'ârfäk ü 'âudi ma i'ârfäk*, " I know you, and my horse does not know you."

A greedy man may be told that he does not come of a good family but of slaves :—

(1044) *D-âjüd mël lë-jdâud ma hûwâ şi mër raqq a-âjlüd*, " Generosity comes from the ancestors, not from thin faces " (lit. skins ; *raqq a-âjêld* is a nickname given to a slave).

Another saying addressed to a greedy man is :—

(1045) *Ida 'ândëk kt'ir 'âtë mën mîlëk w ida 'ândëk qîl 'âtë mën qâlbäk*, " If you have much give from your wealth, and if you have little give from your heart."

Of a person who is kind in his talk but uncharitable in his action it is said :—

(1046) *Hlqut^s l-lsān ū qállēt^s l-īddm* (or, *lā-ḥsdn*), “Sweetness of the tongue and little grease (or, goodness)”; or,

(1047) *L-mēskīn bē l-fūmm ū l-qalb mā‘dūm*, “Poor in the mouth, and the heart is lacking”; or,

(1048) *L-mū‘āwqna t‘kūn b ṣ-ṣaḥāwa*, “The help should be [given] with generosity.”

Of him who only has in the heart to give charity it is said :—

(1049) *Allāh ij‘ālhūm f yiddna maḥum f qālbna*, “May God give it in our hand, not in our heart.”

The following saying is used of a person who spends a lot of money on his food, but gives no charity :—

(1050) *L-qādra t‘ējla u l-kānif yēmla*, “The earthenware saucepan boils, and the closet is filled.”

As to a man who was once poor, but afterwards became rich and at the same time greedy, the remark is made :—

(1051) *Ida dāḥlēt^s r-rāḥḥa dāḥlēt^s ṣ-ṣāḥḥa*, “If rest enters, avarice enters.”

When such a person behaves niggardly he is told :—

(1052) *Ida ‘tāt‘ēk l-īyām sīyar bē l-kmām*, “If the days give you [wealth], wave your sleeves” (i.e. invite people to you).¹

If he refuses the request of a poor man who formerly was well-to-do and in those days gave charity to him, he may have the answer :

(1053) *L-ḥqir maḥ isrūf*, “A benefit does not become old” (Andjra).

A person who intends to beg something of a niggard is told :—

(1054) *S‘a n-nās wā la t‘ārda bē l-knds*, “Beg of [good] people, and don’t accept a favour of the niggard”; or,

(1055) *Mēn dār l-bqar t‘ēddi t-t‘bēn*, “Will you take straw from the cattle-stall ?”² or,

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 921.

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 1075.

(1056) *Aš māsī t'ēddi l-mūt' mēn dār l-hālyā*, "What is death going to take from an empty house?"¹

Among women the following saying is used in similar circumstances:—

(1057) *Mēn dār l-'āmsā t'ēddi l-khul*, "Will you take antimony from the house of a blear-eyed woman?"²

Of a stingy man without heirs who has been uncharitable but built houses, which on his death are appropriated by the government, it is said:—

(1058) *Bni ū 'ālli sir ū hālli*, "Build and make high, go and leave."

People should avoid making debts.

(1059) *D-dīn hāmm ālu ikūn mēn dēr'hām*, "A debt is an affliction, even though it is only a *dēr'hām*."

(1060) *Bāt' bla lḥam tṣbah bla dīn rēt'hān*, "Pass the night without meat, in the morning you will rise fresh without a debt."

(1061) *L-mēksi bē mt'ā' n-nās 'ōryān u š-šēb' ān bē mt'ā' n-nās jāi' ān*, "He who is dressed in other people's belongings is naked,³ and he who is made satisfied by other people's belongings is hungry."

(1062) *D-dīn kāihāddēm d-dīn*, "A debt (if left unpaid) demolishes religion."

Yet if a needy person asks you to lend him something which you can spare, you should comply with his request:

(1063) *Li 'āndū l-qmāh isēllēf d-dqēq*, "He who has wheat should lend flour."

If a man is asked by another to lend him money but, contrary to the latter's expectation, refuses to do it, he may hear the reply:—

(1064) *Āllāh la iwāqqaf l-īmin 'āla l-īṣar*, "May God not make the right hand beg of the left" (Andjra).

Of a person who is in vain asked to lend a thing to another it is said:—

¹ *Supra*, nr. 966.

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 978.

³ *Supra*, nr. 714.

(1065) *Lā tsēllēf mēn 'and l-hāira dqēq t'āmlēk trēq*, "Don't borrow flour from an impatient woman, she will make a road to you."

When a well-to-do man refuses a poor one's request to lend him money or corn, people say to the latter:—

(1066) *Kā kdn^{a-djō'} yd'ṭi ma ydqṭ'ēl*, "If hunger gave [anything], it would not kill" (Andjra).

A person who makes a futile attempt to borrow something from a man who is known to be greedy is told:—

(1067) *Mšit' ně l-mēllāh ū 'āiyēt' ā l-'āsqīn f n-nbi*, "You went to the Jewish quarter and called out, O lovers of the Prophet" (Andjra); or,

(1068) *Ida jlak l-bhīl 'and l-krīm t'bdit'*, "If the niggard drives you out, pass the night with the generous one" (Andjra).

When a man wants to send his wife to borrow corn or money from a certain person and she is sure of a refusal, she says to her husband:—

(1069) *Ma t'ētma' šī fē l-mohh fē l-hrāwa*, "Don't hope to find a brain in the handle [-top] of a hoe" (Andjra).

A woman who in vain asks another woman to lend her some kitchen or other utensil of a larger size than the one she has herself, meets the refusal with the saying:—

(1070) *Bērkukkūs wā la jmil l-'annāba l-ma dē l-bhar wā la jmil l-gērrāba*, "Wild grapes are better than the favour of grape-sellers, sea-water better than the favour of water-sellers" (Andjra).¹

The refusal is also frequently made in the form of a proverb. A farmer who has no corn left and asks another to lend him some, may receive the answer, amounting to a refusal:—

(1071) *D yāhtāb šī yēšhōn 'ālih*, "He who cuts some wood gets warm over it" (Andjra)²; or,

(1072) *L-mēbli bē l-'ālla ma itābb l-'āil*, "He who is [himself] afflicted with sickness does not cure [another] one who is sick" (Andjra).

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 1022.

² *Infra*, nr. 1238.

If the man who has refused to lend the corn asked for is told that he has lent some to others, he defends himself by indicating that it is impossible for him to help everybody :—

(1073) *Lă-ħbăb bē z-zăf u d-dmōō' qlāl*, "The friends are many, and the tears are few" (Andjra).

If a person is asked by another to lend him money, he may inform him that he has already spent all his money, by answering :—

(1074) *Făt'ēk ġarş qbēl marş*, "The planting passed you before March" (the time when the sowing comes to an end ; Andjra).¹

When a farmer wants to borrow another's oxen for a day or two in the ploughing season, he may, to his disappointment, be told :—

(1075) *Š-š'ēr mǎ yēħrúj mēn dār l-ħail*, "Barley does not come out of a stable of horses" (Andjra).²

When a woman who is going to a wedding asks another woman to lend her her costume, and the latter wants it herself because she also is going to the wedding, a proper answer is :—

(1076) *Ma yǎ'tē ħadd l-ħmīra nhār l-'ūd*, "No one gives yeast on a feast-day" (when every woman needs all the yeast she has ; Andjra).

A gambler refuses to lend money to another gambler by saying :—

(1077) *Sēlléf lu wǎ l'ib m'ah aš mēř rbāħ t'ēddi mūrah*, "Lend him and play with him, what profit will you take from him ?"

A person who does not want to lend money to another, whom he does not trust, refuses to do it with the words :—

(1078) *Sēllfū fē t-t'ūr'a qđbū f amrāħ*, "Lend him at the opening of the fence (i.e. the door of the house), catch him in the open yard" (i.e. the market-place from which the money has to be fetched back).

A polite way of demanding payment of a negligent debtor

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1879.

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 1054.

is to hold out prospects of new loans in the future in case he pays his debt, by saying:—

(1079) *'Abbi ū rādd šrīk fə l-māll*, “Take and give back, [that makes] a partner in the money” (Andjra).¹

When a man who has borrowed money from another constantly promises him to pay it back, without keeping his promise, he is told by the creditor:—

(1080) *Dāba nəsqiḱ a l-kéimūn*, “Now I shall water you, O cummin-plant” (meaning that the debtor will pay him when the cummin is watered, that is never, because cummin is never watered; Andjra).

A person who has borrowed money for buying some fine thing and cannot repay it, is told:—

(1081) *Šahūt'i fih ma qđart' ālih*, “My desire is for it, [but] I have no power over it” (i.e. cannot afford to buy it).

A creditor who has had much trouble in getting his money back says:—

(1082) *L-ḥajr lāyər'jā' b bā mwzi*, “A benefit returns with stomach-ache” (Andjra).²

When a man who has lent money to another and in vain tried to recover it happens to see the debtor selling an animal, he lays hold of the payment, saying:—

(1083) *L-wūjba lat'đqt'ēl s-sba'*, “Opportunity kills [even] a lion” (Andjra).

When a debtor hides himself from his creditor and the latter complains of it to other people, they say to him:—

(1084) *Tāuwēl n šāhbāḱ t'qōbtū*, “Give respite to your friend, you will catch him” (Andjra).

¹ *Supra*, nr. 825.

² *Infra*, nr. 1603.

CHAPTER XII

HOSPITALITY

HOSPITALITY is regarded as a stringent duty.

(1085) *Ida wūqfū n-nās f bāb dārāk lē tšudd 'ālīhum gārāk,*
“If people are standing at the door of your house,
don't shut your den for them.”

(1086) *Kul u wūkkel d-daiḥ ālu t'kūn mhāiyēf,* “Eat and give
the guest to eat, even though you are starving.”

The host should set before his guest all the food that has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up, as the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all :

(1087) *L-'ain šābqāt,* “The eye goes before.”

The host may apologize for any deficiency in the entertainment by saying :—

(1088) *Ṭ-tā'ām 'āla qadd l-'ām,* “The food is according to
the year.”

A good host entertains his guests as though he were their servant, in accordance with the traditional saying :—

(1089) *Siyid l-qaum hādīmūhūm,* “The lord of the people is
their servant.”

A person who does not treat his guest with due consideration is an object of reproach. To quarrel with one's guest is disgraceful :

(1090) *Maḥ kai'att f dārū gēr l-kēlb,* “None but a dog bites in
his own house.”

A guest who has been provided with too small a spoon may say :—

(1091) *D maḥ yēdrāb f bēndāir kbīr maḥ yēšbā' hādāra,* “He who
does not play on a big tambourine is not satisfied by the

hádra " (the performance of some religious fraternities ;
Andjra).¹

If a person, instead of supplying his guests with food, asks them if they want any, they answer him, " No, we are not hungry " ; but afterwards he may be blamed by some member of his family, who compares him to somebody who asks a sick man if he wants food, by saying to him :—

(1092) *Kāi'akúl šī á mrīd*, " Will you eat anything, O sick one ? " (Andjra).

If a woman who celebrates a family feast in her house does not entertain her guests to their satisfaction, she may be reproached with the words :—

(1093) *Arhi š-šfar igūz n-nhār*, " Slacken the eyelash, the day will pass " (Andjra).

But a guest must not be too exacting. If a person who has been invited to a family feast is not satisfied with the quantity of food that has been set before him but asks for more, and, on being told by the host that he has no more to offer, angrily goes away without eating anything, the other people say of him :—

(1094) *Mūl l-kērš l-kbīra yákla kúlla au ihállīha kúlla*, " He who has a big appetite eats it all or leaves it all " (Andjra).²

If a host becomes sleepy, he should not be afraid of asking his guests to leave the house or to go into another room :—

(1095) *Ida jā n-naum n'as u šudd mēn l-qaum*, " If sleepiness comes, sleep and shut the door against the people."

Of course, guests are not always welcome. If a person comes uninvited to another's house to pass the night there and the latter has no food to offer him, he says to the visitor, or to somebody else so that the visitor can hear it, as an indication that he should go away :—

(1096) *Ma 'arfū bšš mdt' gēr 'ázza u bšt'*, " He (i.e. the visitor) did not know how he (i.e. the owner of the house) died,

¹ *Supra*, nr. 116.

² *Supra*, nr. 766.

he only condoled and passed the night [in the dead person's house]."

If a poor man receives a guest, he may say to himself:—

(1097) *Hna f hāmmna u l-ʿūd l-kbīr zādna*, "We have our trouble, and the Great Feast (i.e. the guest) gave us more" (Andjra); or,

(1098) *Zīda gbēra tʿāqsāh*, "Give it (i.e. the porridge, symbolizing his difficulty in finding enough food even for his own family) a little more flour, it will become hard" (Andjra).

When a poor man has offered a guest the little he has to give and then receives another visitor, to whom he has nothing to offer, he says to himself:—

(1099) *Hōda hāmmē kbīr u fāt fēh tʿa-ājīr*, "This is a great trouble, and the whitewash passed into it" (i.e. it became still greater; Andjra).

When a woman has a feast to which a large number of people come uninvited and she shows herself cross in consequence, they say to her:—

(1100) *Dāhhar ʿabstʿēk ū hābbaʿ hōbztʿēk*, "Show your crossness, and hide your loaf of bread" (i.e. she should be in good humour, but give them no food, as they have not come there for the purpose of eating; Andjra).

If a person who has been invited to a wedding takes with him several uninvited friends, he is told:—

(1101) *L-krīm gāir fēddānū*, "Generous, except with regard to his own field" (Andjra).

A man who has guests, though he does not wish to have any, and sees new ones coming, says to his family:—

(1102) *Hna ngāūwtʿū wū s-sūrraq yīnzādū*, "We shout (i.e. are sorry to have guests), and the robbers increase" (Andjra).

The following saying refers to a well-to-do person who has many friends but never invites them to his house, and, though

hospitable enough to any of them who comes, would be more pleased if he had not come :—

- (1103) *Li jâna hōna wū lli ma jâna hâdik hîya l-hâwa l-kbîra*,
 “He who comes to us is our brother, and what does not come to us is the great brotherhood.”

When a host has told a guest whom he has found to be a thief to go away, and his family afterwards ask him why he treated his guest in such a manner, he answers :—

- (1104) *L-âinin q yâhliû dâr bûya ma yâhfâu si ‘âlîya*, “The eyes that empty my father’s house are not concealed from me” (Andjra).¹

You should never invite to your house a person who is known to be a thief :

- (1105) *L-farr lâ t'wûrrik bāb d-dār*, “Don’t show the mouse the door of the house” (Andjra).²

Nor should you allow too many people to come to your house, since they may do mischief by their talk or action :

- (1106) *Šudd eđ-dār u tḥe a-âjār ‘andĕk yá’tĕk n-nūr*, “Close the house and send away the neighbour, lest he give you fire.”

The people of a village do not like any of its inhabitants to receive many guests from other places, because there may be thieves among them; they express their disapproval by saying :—

- (1107) *D ja mnĕ s-Sâhra bĕn ‘ammĕk a Zâhra*, “He who came from the Sahara is the son of your father’s brother, O Zahra” (Andjra).

If a man is invited by another to come and eat with him and, having enough food in his house, would prefer being entertained on some future occasion when food is scarce, he refuses the invitation by saying :—

- (1108) *Lā krâma ydum l-‘âd*, “There is no liberality on a feast day” (when everybody has meat; Andjra).

As a host should have regard for his guest, so the guest should be considerate to his host.

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1448.

² Cf. *supra*, nrs. 500, 501.

(1109) *D-ḍaif mā yēšrāt ū mūl ḍ-ḍār mā ifārrāt*, "The guest should make no stipulations, and the owner of the house should not be neglectful."

(1110) *Z-zāir fē ḥukm l-māzār*, "The visitor is under the rule of the visited one."

A guest should not refuse to eat the food partaken of by the other members of the company; if he does so he is told:—

(1111) *T-t'aur l-'affāf 'ōmmrū mā irābbi lē-kt'āf*, "An abstemious bullock will never grow [strong] shoulders."

(1112) *D-ḍaif yēḥḍér šāut'ū w iqállēl šāuft'ū w izīyēn maḳālt'ū*, "The guest should guard his voice and shorten his sight (i.e. not look about much) and beautify his food" (by his manner of eating it).

The guest is supposed to transfer *baraka*, or holiness, to the food; hence he should always leave something in the dish set before him, so that the host, if he has not eaten together with him, or the host's family, may have the benefit of his *baraka*. A guest must not crack his fingers, nor cut his nails; there is a saying:—

(1113) *Hāssēn 'and ḥōk ū qāššāš ḍfārāk 'and 'ādūk*, "Shave your head in the house of your brother, and pare your nails in the house of your enemy."

And there are various other taboos to which a guest is subject, especially if he passes the night in the house of his host.¹ When he leaves he should bless his host,² and he should speak highly of him:

(1114) *D-ḍjūyīd yēškor nbātt'ū*, "The good man praises his lodging";

(1115) *T-tair l-ḥorr yēškor nbātt'ū*, "The falcon praises his lodging."

The guest should not stay too long in the house of his host.

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 539; ii, 6 sq.

² *Ibid.*, i, 541.

It is said, both with reference to guests and to persons visiting the shrine of a saint:—

(1116) *Yërhám álláh mën zār ù háffëf*, “ May God be merciful to him who pays a visit and makes it short ”; or,

(1117) *Bárāk álláh f mën zār ù háffëf*, “ May God bless him who pays a visit and makes it short ” (also said by one of a company of guests as a signal for leaving; Andjra).

The Moors speak of “ the hospitality of the Prophet ”, *dyaft^s n-nbi*, which lasts for three days; on the first night the guest is “ the guest of God ”, *ḍaiif álláh*, and then he is entertained most lavishly.¹ If a guest does not want to leave after three days’ hospitality, the host may say to him:—

(1118) *Šfat^s wā lá bqa ně ḍ-ḍaiif fáin ibát^s*, “ It is finished, and there is no place left for the guest to lodge in ”; or,

(1119) *L-mdína kri t^sbát^s šri t^sēmdáǧ*, “ [In] the town, hire [a place] to stay the night [in], buy [food] to chew.”

But if a person comes to another not as an ordinary guest, but as a refugee—appealing to him not by the phrase *Ana ḍaiif álláh*, “ I am the guest of God,” but by the exclamation *Ana ‘ándëk*, “ I am with you ”—then he cannot be told to go away when the three days have passed. With reference to such a person the saying holds good:—

(1120) *Ḍ-ḍaiif ḍaiif áhu yǧq^súd šët^swa au šaiif*, “ The guest is a guest, even if he stays a winter or a summer.”

It is the custom for country-people who pay a visit to towns-people, or *vice versá*, to carry with them some present:

(1121) *Márḥba bë lli jā u jāb wū lli jā u ma jāb ma ‘álih ūjāb*, “ Welcome to him who comes and brings [something], and he who comes and does not bring [anything] gets no answer.”

If a person has been entertained as a guest, he should in his turn entertain his former host when occasion offers:

¹ *Ibid.*, i, 542.

(1122) *Li yâkul jdâd n-nâs isemmên dyâlî*, "He who eats the fowls of others should fatten his own."

Like a neglectful host, so a guest who misbehaves is an object of reproach. If he begins to give orders to the people of the house, it is said of him, or to him :—

(1123) *‘Ārātṇah ibât^s rjâ^t mēn mwâlîn d-ḍār*, "We invited him to stay the night, he became one of the masters of the house"; or,

(1124) *Bât^s lîla fē l-mrūj ṣbaḥ mēl l-grāin*, "He stayed the night in the marshes, in the morning he was one of the frogs."¹

Of meddlers at a wedding it is said :—

(1125) *Mṣâmar l-mâida ḥâḍyin l-mqâ‘da*, "The nails of the table are watching the place where the people are sitting."

The following saying refers to a guest who takes the opportunity to rob his host of something when left alone :—

(1126) *Y‘iddû fē t-tbaq û ‘ainû ‘āḷa mēn zhaq*, "His hand is in the palmetto tray and his eye on him (i.e. the host) who slips out" (Andjra).²

A promise given by a guest is not to be trusted :

(1127) *Klām d-daiḥ bḥal š-št‘ā fē ṣ-ṣaiḥ*, "The words of a guest are like rain in summer" (an allusion to the fact that when it looks as if it were going to rain in summer nothing comes of it).

Nor does hospitality guarantee the observance of those restraints that a common meal is supposed to lay on the persons who have partaken of it :

(1128) *Bnâdēm ida kla gâdrāk u l-kēlb ida kla ḥâbbāk*, "If people have eaten [with you] they betray you, and if a dog has eaten [with you] he loves you."

It is not in all circumstances advisable to be another person's guest. The hospitality of a grudging or greedy person should be avoided :

¹ *Supra*, nr. 686.

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 1167.

- (1129) *L-byát'a fě l-běrd wā la dyaft' l-qěrd*, "To pass the night in the cold is better than the hospitality of a monkey" (symbolizing a grudging person, because, if you give a monkey a piece of bread, you cannot get it back from him except by force);
- (1130) *L-byát'a bě d-daqq ahsěn mẹn dyaft' l-měšt'āq*, "To pass the night with beating is better than the hospitality of one who grudges [it]";
- (1131) *L-mākla dē d-dūd ahsěn mẹn mākklēt' l-ḥsūd*, "The eating of worms is better than the food of envious people";
- (1132) *L-byát'a fě l-ḥla wā la dyaft' l-būḥāla*, "To pass the night in the wilds is better than the hospitality of niggards."
- (1133) *L-byát'a bě d-djō' ahsěn mẹn dyaft' l-māḥlō'*, "To pass the night hungering is better than the hospitality of one who is haunted by *jnūn*."

As prosperous and handsome persons are liable to be bewitched by food offered them, they had better follow the advice:—

- (1134) *Lā t'ārda b ḥadd wā lā t'ākul tā'ām l'ārta*, "Don't accept anybody's invitation, and don't eat the food of invitation."

For a similar reason you should refuse to partake of the food of strangers, if you happen to come to them when they are eating:

- (1135) *'Anděk t'ākul tā'ām l-mšādja*, "Take care not to eat food offered you casually."

The duty of hospitality, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ is closely connected with the belief in the 'ār and the compulsion it carries with it. The term 'ār is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, and it is also applied to the relationship in which a person places himself to another by putting 'ār on him. A guest is in the 'ār of his host, because

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 537 sqq.

as soon as he has passed through his door he has established a close contact with the host and can consequently transfer conditional curses to him :

(1136) *Li jā n dārāk jā n 'ārāk*, " He who has come to your house has come in your 'ār."

And the 'ār is not thought lightly of ; it is said :—

(1137) *L-'ār šatṛ mēn n-nār*, " The 'ār is half the fire of hell."

CHAPTER XIII

ROBBERY

IN Andjra, as among the Jbâla in general, robbery is carried on as a genuine trade. That it is not looked upon as a crime of the darkest hue, is indicated by the saying :—

(1138) *L-be' u š-šra dhsën mël l-fěkra*, “ Selling and buying is better than robbery.”

And when an old highwayman retires from his favourite occupation with a feeling that, after all, he is a sinner who in the future life may be called to account for his transgressions, he is comforted with the saying :—

(1139) *T'ub it'áb 'alik ălláh*, “ Repent, God will forgive you.”

People should never forget to be on their guard against robbers :

(1140) *Dĩ fárrät yěbqa ikárrät*, “ He who is careless will be left to scratch himself ” (out of regret ; Andjra) ; ¹

(1141) *L-hda glěb l-qda*, “ Guarding is victorious over destiny ” (Andjra) ;

(1142) *Ida mla š-šōq hđi sělđ' t'đk ũ táuwěl l'onq*, “ If the market is full, look after your goods and stretch your neck.”

When you go to bed or leave your house, you should carefully lock the door :

(1143) *Šudd ęd-dār ũ rham n-něđjār*, “ Shut up the house, and have mercy upon the carpenter ” (who is held morally responsible for doors and locks).

A man who owns sheep is advised to watch them :—

(1144) *Kun đřb qábła yákluk d-dyđb*, “ Be a jackal before the jackals eat you ” (Andjra).²

When a person who is known to be a thief comes to sit down at a gathering of people, they say among themselves, as a warning :—

¹ *Supra*, nr. 713.

² *Infra*, nr. 1711.

- (1145) *Rájěl máđi nézzlú 'ála a-djorh yěbri*, "Put a sharp man upon a wound, he will recover."

If such a person comes to another's house, the owner of it should in time shut up anything that might be stolen; this is said to him as advice:—

- (1146) *Ma táh lú ma yělqót bqa idór bhal l-qátta 'al l-húš*,
"There did not fall for him anything to pick up, he went round and round like a she-cat for fish."

A person is told by a friend that two men have an intention to rob him: he replies that he is quite prepared to meet them though they are not aware of it:—

- (1147) *Dě f rās a-djměl ma hú f rās a-djěmmála*, "What is in the head of the camel (i.e. himself) is not in the heads of the camel-drivers" (i.e. the two would-be robbers; Andjra).¹

When a well-to-do person who keeps watchmen as a safeguard against robbers is asked why he goes to the expense of doing it, he answers:—

- (1148) *Máklét s-sbó'a wá la t'měrmídét d-đbó'a*, "To be eaten by lions is better than to be tormented by hyenas" (Andjra).²

A man who is afraid of losing his animals by robbery tries to induce another man to become his partner and keep the animals; when the proposal is rejected he says:—

- (1149) *D yěrgob b bėnt'ú ma t'ějwěj*, "The daughter of him who offers her in marriage will not be married" (Andjra).

The owner of a house has frightened away with his gun some men who came at night to rob the house; when he remains outside in order to prevent their return, his wife, who is afraid that he might be shot, tries to induce him to come in again by repeating the saying:—

- (1150) *L-ğšiš ma išáffaḥ mart'ğin*, "Wild animals do not appear twice" (Andjra).

¹ *Supra*, nr. 689.

² Cf. *supra*, nrs. 446, 726.

A man who has once been robbed of a horse thinks that the same has happened again on a night when he finds that his horse has disappeared from the yard where he had tethered it. He goes into his garden and fires at something that he takes to be a robber, but then finds to be the missing animal; and when his friends in the morning ask him why he has shot his horse, he replies :—

(1151) *D 'aḍḍát'ù l-ḥāyia ihāf mnē š-šrē*, “ He who has been bitten by a snake is afraid of a palmetto cord ” (Andjra).¹

The robbers, too, take their precautions. If a man intends to commit robbery in another person's garden, he may send a boy in advance to make sure that the owner does not happen to be there. If the boy is caught and confesses his errand, the following saying, referring to a fool who is sent to try if a river is safe to cross, is applied :—

(1152) *Bē r-rāš d lā-ḥmaq lāyīt'qāiyēš l-wāḍ*, “ By the head of a fool the [depth of the] river is measured ” (Andjra).

But a robber should be brave. When a man who is asked by another to go with him to rob answers that they might be shot, he is told by the other one :—

(1153) *L-'āmar māḥdūd ù l-ḥauf 'ālāš*, “ The life has its fixed limit, and why the fear ? ” (Andjra).²

When robbers who are surprised by people passing by run away and leave their weapons behind, the remark is made :—

(1154) *Bē d-dāḥša sēmmau l-'ail 'Aiša*, “ In a fright they called the boy 'Aisha ” (a name given to girls; Andjra).

When a man has found in his garden a would-be thief who has succeeded in escaping, he says to his friends :—

(1155) *L-qott ydḥt'āll wū l-farr ydḥt'āll*, “ The cat (i.e. himself) uses cunning, and the mouse uses cunning ” (Andjra).

When a man has failed to catch a successful robber and in consequence is teased by others, he proudly replies :—

(1156) *Šḥāl mā tāl l-līl yēšbāh*, “ However long the night may

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1422. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nrs. 262, 1755).

² *Infra*, nr. 1668.

last, there will be a morning" (i.e. he will catch the robber sooner or later; Andjra).¹

Of two robbers who are friends the one is caught by the sheikh and has his property confiscated, whereas the other one runs away; when asked why he did so, the latter answers:—

(1157) *Idā šuft^a l-lāhya d hak t'ēt^ahāssēn 'āmel dyālēk fē l-fēzzāka*, "If you see your brother's beard being shaved, put yours into the shaving-cup" (meaning, of course, the reverse; Andjra).

A man who has been robbed of his cattle asks some friends to go with him to trace the lost animals, but instead of leading the way he remains in the rear; he is reproved by the others, who say to him:—

(1158) *Mūl n-nēms yāhfar t'ul^aāin*, "The owner of the ferret should dig two-thirds" (i.e. twice as much as all the others who are with him, when the ferret and the rabbits are to be removed from the rabbit-burrow; Andjra).

If a company of men have thoughts of going to attack a powerful robber, but hesitate to do it, one of them, who is braver than the rest, makes the encouraging remark:—

(1159) *Fārēs wāhid mā yiqāiyim 'ājāja*, "One horse does not raise any whirl of dust" (Andjra).

When a robber who is only armed with a stick is caught, his captors contemptuously say:—

(1160) *Qārran u yū^a'āšša l-bīāta*, "A cuckold, and he sups on potatoes" (potatoes without meat being considered the poorest of food; Andjra).

When a person catches a thief and does not let him go, whoever he be, he says:—

(1161) *Tšbērt^a lā-'ma f d-dālma*, "A blind man's catch in the dark."²

A person who has caught a thief in his house and taken him to the sheikh accuses him of having stolen more than he has

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1800.

² *Supra*, nr. 805.

actually done ; when people blame him for it he answers them :—

(1162) *Dī hokk lēk arbél lū*, “ Scratch him who rubbed you ” (Andjra).

When a robber has been caught, many persons will at once complain that they have been robbed by him :

(1163) *Māin lat'téh l-bāqra laydqwau š-šfāri*, “ When the cow falls down, the daggers are many ” (Andjra).¹

A thief excuses himself by saying :—

(1164) *Qállēt š-šgōl mšiba*, “ Lack of work is a misfortune ” (Andjra).

A poor man who has committed theft in order to get something for himself and his family to eat pleads in apology :—

(1165) *L-bērd kái'allēm sreqt' l-fḥam*, “ The cold teaches one to steal charcoal.”²

If two persons who are together are caught because one of them is seen stealing something and the other one tries to save himself by pleading that he is innocent, the latter is told :—

(1166) *Lā t'rafēg dēn hūwa hfif*, “ Don't accompany one who is light-fingered ” (Andjra).

Of a gardener who, when his master leaves the garden, plucks some fruit for himself and then pretends that there have been thieves, it is said :—

(1167) *Yiddū fē l-gēs'a ū 'ainū f l-mūlat' d-dār*, “ His hand is in the dish, and his eye is on the mistress of the house ” (i.e. the master when leaving the garden ; Andjra).³

If a party of men go to rob somebody of his animals and the owner, on detecting them, cries for help, one of the robbers may try to save himself by joining in the shouting ; it is said of him :—

(1168) *Yākul m'a d-dīb u yēbki m'a r-rā'i*, “ He eats with the jackal and weeps with the shepherd ” (Andjra).⁴

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 70).

² *Supra*, nr. 908.

³ Cf. *supra*, nr. 1126.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, nr. 274.

A thief who has been caught will not only have to give back or compensate for what he has stolen, but to pay a fine besides :

(1169) *D yákul jǰǰǰ n-nās izǰǰ mǰn dyǰǰ*, " He who eats other people's fowls will give more from his own " (Andjra) ; or,

(1170) *D yákul l-hábra iǰǰǰa 'ǰǰǰ*, " He who eats a piece of flesh will discharge it as a bone " (Andjra).

When a robber who, after paying a fine to the sheikh, comes back to his village, is congratulated by his friends, he answers them :—

(1171) *Kull zǰlla lǰdzǰǰ fǰ r-rās 'ǰǰǰ*, " Every fault increases the wisdom in the head " (Andjra).

But robbers, of course, expose themselves to greater risks than that of having to pay a fine. If a man is killed while out robbing the remark is made :—

(1172) *Šáiyǰǰ l-bla iǰǰǰǰǰǰ*, " He who is hunting for evil will meet it " (Andjra) ; or,

(1173) *L-fǰǰǰi b iǰǰǰǰǰǰ*, " A meddler gets his wages " (Andjra).

If a robber has been killed the sheikh may nevertheless confiscate the property he has left behind to the detriment of his family, who complain :—

(1174) *Káiyǰǰ u mudd ǰǰ š-š'ǰǰ*, " Cauterization and a mudd of barley " (Andjra).

If a robber who has been caught is advised to ask the sheikh for pardon, he may give the proud reply :—

(1175) *D imǰǰǰ mǰ yǰǰǰǰǰǰ*, " He who is going to die will not exculpate himself " (Andjra).

But there is also a saying to the effect that people should have no pity on a thief, even when he is under lock and key :—

(1176) *Lǰǰ t'ǰǰn ǰ-ǰǰǰǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ ikǰǰn ǰǰǰǰǰǰ*, " Don't help a thief, even though he is going to be drowned."

His hand should be branded :

(1177) *L-yǰǰǰ l-bǰǰǰǰǰǰ 'ǰǰ z-zǰǰǰǰ kwǰǰǰ*, " Brand the cold hand over the wrist."

A punishment that is inflicted by the owner of a piece of land

upon a farmer or ploughman who has robbed him of corn is to curse the stolen article so as to deprive it of its *baraka*, by saying :—

(1178) *Ma bqat^s baraka fě z-zra' mēn qállēt^s n-nîya u l-hídā'*,
 "There remains no *baraka* in the wheat for lack of good faith and deceit."

Innocent persons may be punished in consequence of robbery committed by others. When the crime of one highwayman makes the sheikh punish his whole village, it is said :—

(1179) *Hūt'a lat'hānnēz š-šwāri*, "One fish makes the pannier stink" (Andjra).¹

If a robber has succeeded in escaping to another tribe and the sheikh comes and confiscates his brother's property, the latter complains :—

(1180) *Wāhīd yákul l-fūl w aḥōr yēnt'efhó lū f kēršū*, "One eats beans, and for another they swell in his stomach" (Andjra).

A man who has bought a stolen article at a low price and is then caught by the sheikh as though he had been the thief, is told by his friends :—

(1181) *Yā t-támma' fě z-zīdda ḥīi bdlēk mēn n-nóqsūn*, "O you who are greedy of getting more, take care lest you get less" (Andjra).

If a man who is known to be addicted to robbery is again accused of an offence of this kind and denies the truth of the accusation, people express their disbelief of his assurance by saying :—

(1182) *Kēddēb l-lāuz u šāddaq l-mēšmaš*, "The almond-trees lie, and the apricots (i.e. his accuser) speak the truth" (allusion to the fact that almond-trees sometimes come out in blossom in summer without giving any fruit; Andjra).

If a man has been in the habit of committing robbery before his marriage, but afterwards ceases to do so, he is nevertheless

¹ *Supra*, nr. 396.

readily accused of thefts that his wife is guilty of ; when the truth comes out it is said :—

- (1183) *Šhāl laṭ'q'mel d-dība u t'ēssēmma 'āla d-dīb*, "How much is done by the she-jackal and is imputed to the male jackal ?" (Andjra).

If a person who has been robbed of something accuses a certain other person of being the culprit, the latter replies :—

- (1184) *'Aib l-bhēra f'āšha*, "Search for the defect of the vegetable garden" (which is open to everybody's sight).

A person who has lost a thing makes a row with another, whom he charges with having taken it, and the neighbours come and see what is going on. When they find that the missing article is a mere trifle, and that there is no evidence of the truth of the accusation, they say :—

- (1185) *Tbaḥ l-ma t'ējbār r-rgāwi*, "Boil the water, you will find the foam" (Andjra).

If a person who is known for his honesty is accused of theft, the remark is made :—

- (1186) *L-mēlh ma t'ēddūwēd*, "Salt will not become worm-eaten" (Andjra).¹

When a man who has been robbed is himself charged with a crime and put in prison, it is said :—

- (1187) *Mākūl ū mdmūm* "Eaten (i.e. robbed) and blamed."

When you have been robbed you should lodge your complaints at once ; if you put it off, your accusation may be met with the remark :—

- (1188) *L-bkī kākūn 'āla rāš l-mīyūt*, "The weeping is over a dead man's head."²

A man who sees that he is being robbed does not try to catch the robber, but when he afterwards meets him on the road he takes him to the sheikh. The robber denies the charge, no witness can be produced, and the sheikh dismisses the case with the saying :—

- (1189) *L-hādīd ma lāy'indaqq gar šhōn*, "The iron is struck only while it is hot" (Andjra).³

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1303.

² *Supra*, nr. 69.

³ *Supra*, nr. 658.

If a person who has been robbed of his animals has not complained of it to the sheikh, but subsequently blames him for having taken no steps in the matter, he gets the answer :—

(1190) *D fēh l-hrēq lāiwāli 'āla l-hā^{dd}jam*, “ He who has a pain is looking for the barber ” (who, especially in country places, acts as a doctor ; Andjra).

A person who owns nothing need not be afraid of being robbed :

(1191) *L-'ōryān fē l-gāfla mēst'āmēn*, “ A naked one in a caravan is protected.”

But a poor man may be robbed of the little he owns ; of one who, for example, has a single cow and asks God to give him another one, but instead of getting what he asks for is robbed of the cow he has, it is said :—

(1192) *L-mēl'ōq yēbki ū rābbi izūū*, “ The unlucky one weeps, and God makes him weep more ” (Andjra).

A poor man has nobody to speak on his behalf even though he is robbed :

(1193) *Jnān l-māhjōr dāim mēsrōq ālu idōr bē š-šōr*, “ The orchard of a fatherless child is always robbed, even though it is surrounded with a wall.”

If someone tries to deprive a family of orphans of their property and they ask an uncle or other relative to help them, the latter may himself commit the crime he was expected to prevent ; and when the orphans complain of it to other people, they are told :—

(1194) *Škiū 'āla sidkum ū hūwa izidkum*, “ Complain to your master, and he will give you more [of it] ” (i.e. of the trouble ; Andjra).

Yet it is a great sin to rob a fatherless child of his property—both he who does so and his children as well will be punished by God :

(1195) *Mt'ā' l-mhājar kāyōqaf fē l-hnājar*, “ The property of the fatherless stops in the throat.”

Of a man who robs an old woman living alone in her hut it is contemptuously said :—

- (1196) *D ġđlbuh r-rjāl fě s-sōq yěr^dġđ' ně l-mra ně đ-dār*, " He who is conquered by men at the market goes back to his wife in the house " (to have his revenge on her ; Andjra).¹

Of a person who has robbed his relatives it is said :—

- (1197) *Sraq n-nšāra u l-ihūd ũ ħālli ^a-đjîrañ šhūd*, " Rob Christians and Jews, and leave the neighbours as witnesses " (Andjra).²

If a person steals from a member of his own family no complaint should be made to the authorities :

- (1198) *Đi đđrbũ yiddũ mā yěbki*, " He who is beaten by his own hand must not weep " (Andjra).³

A father may take his son's property without being guilty of theft ; he is not called a thief :

- (1199) *Đ qattá' lũ yiddũ š-šra' mą yissemma gártēt*, " He who has his hand cut off by the religious law is not called docked " (Andjra).

A father who finds that he has been robbed by his son, as frequently happens in Andjra, says :—

- (1200) *Škin 'ādūk l-fūla qāl' lũ đěn hũ m'ai fě l-mézwūd*, " Who is your enemy ? The bean said to him, He who is with me in the skin-sack " (alluding to a small insect often found inside dry beans ; Andjra).

When a son has taken money from his father and spent it upon a woman and her family, the father, on hearing of it, makes the remark :—

- (1201) *L-qándil lăidăuwi 'āla n-nās u lăiharraq rāsũ*, " The oil-lamp gives light to the people and burns itself " (Andjra).⁴

When a father quarrels with his son, who has stolen money from him to spend upon prostitutes, and people ask him what is the cause of the quarrel, the father answers :—

- (1202) *Lăiwăli ġar n bārra fhaj l-bá'ra*, " He is only looking

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1289).

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 267. ³ *Infra*, nr. 1461. ⁴ *Infra*, nr. 1306.

out like a lump of dung [in the bottom] of a donkey ”
(Andjra).¹

A man who is robbed of articles in his house by his grown-up foster-son says of him :—

(1203) *L-‘aud d rābbī² bēh nkwūt²*, “ With the piece of wood that I nursed I burned my skin ” (Andjra).

If a person who is robbed is not killed by the robber, people comfort him by saying :—

(1204) *Fë l-māl wā la fë l-bdān*, “ [To suffer damage] in goods is better than in bodies ”²; or,

(1205) *Ida ‘ās r-rāṣ ma t² d² dēm šāšiya*, “ If the head is alive, it will not be without a cap ” (Andjra); or,

(1206) *Ida ‘ās l-‘dām ilaqqāh l-lḥam*, “ If the bone is alive, it will bring forth flesh ” (Andjra).

Of a learned man who by writing false documents deprives people of their property it is said :—

(1207) *L-‘āsēl fë l-kērš dē a-ajrū*, “ Honey in the stomach of a dog ” (Andjra).

A child should be punished for stealing even the smallest trifle; for:

(1208) *Ida šraq yibra yęšraq bágra*, “ If he steals a needle, he will steal a cow.”

A thief is incorrigible:

(1209) *Š-šarqa dūla ma t² mūt² la bē m-‘aira wā la bā hāida*, “ Theft is a worm, it does not die either by abuse or by a hatchet.”

¹ For a proverb relating to a thievish son, see *supra*, nr. 199.

² *Supra*, nr. 919.

CHAPTER XIV

RETRIBUTION AND FORGIVENESS

EVERYBODY will get what he deserves: the good man will be rewarded and the bad one punished. This is the justice of God, which is largely realized even in this imperfect world.

(1210) *Li kwa n-nās yekwih allāh u li fārrah n-nās ifārrhū llāh*, “He who burns the skin of others will have his own skin burned by God, and he who makes others happy will be made happy by God.”

(1211) *Kull zra' kājīb li llāh haṣṣādū*, “To every [field of] wheat God sends its reaper.”

(1212) *Kif t'ēzrā' t'āhṣād*, “As you sow you will reap.”¹

(1213) *Li fēt'ēs 'ālā šī ijābrū u li ḥabbā' šī iṣībū*, “He who seeks a thing will find it, and he who hides a thing will find it.”

(1214) *Li ya'mél šī yēt'a'mél li*, “He who has done something will have it done to him.”

(1215) *Kull sā katt'āllaq mēr réjla*, “Every sheep hangs by its own leg.”²

(1216) *Li yā'mel l-ḥair ma yēndēm*, “He who does good will not repent.”

(1217) *Kun ṣāfi m'a n-nās ihāfdāk allāh mēn kull bās*, “Be sincere with people, God will save you from all evil.”

(1218) *Mūl l-qalb l-byaṭ allāh kārbā'ad 'ālih s-saḥt*, “From him who has a white heart God keeps away the curse.”

(1219) *L-māmēn b snāhū*, “The true believer has his weapon.”

(1220) *Mūl ṣ-ṣdaq ma ihāf ʿilu ikūnu l-'ūdyān bē z-zāf*, “An upright man has no fear, even though the enemies are many.”

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1566).

² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1493; Singer-Littmann, op. cit., nr. 100).

- (1221) *‘Āmel n-nīya u n’as m’a l-hāiya*, “Repose trust [in God], and sleep with a snake.”
- (1222) *N-nīya bē n-nīya u l-hāja maḡdīya*, “Trust and trust [in God], and you will get what you want.”
- (1223) *N-nās bē n-nās u n-nās bē llāh*, “The people with the people, and the people with God” (i.e. if people help each other they will be helped by God).
- (1224) *Ida ‘tāk allāh u widdak r-rēh yāḥṭāb lāk*, “If God gives you and pays you, [even] the wind will cut wood for you.”
- (1225) *‘Āmel mlēh t’ējbār mlēh*, “Do good, you will find good.”
- (1226) *Li zra’ l-hair yāḥṣād s-slāma*, “He who sows good will reap peace.”
- (1227) *L-hāiri bē l-hāiri u l-bādi akrām*, “Good for good, and he who begins is more generous.”¹
- (1228) *Ida sbaq ḥāirēk fē n-nās inēf’āk fē ṣ-ṣāḥḥa u l-bās*, “If the good you do to others precedes [the good they do to you], it will be useful to you in health and evil.”
- (1229) *Fārras n ulād n-nās fāin inā’su ulādēk*, “Make a bed for the children of other people in the place where your own children sleep.”
- (1230) *L-īyām t’lāqi u d-dūnya sāira*, “The days are meeting and the world is going” (said by a person who asks another to help him, meaning that there may come some day when the other one will in his turn ask for help).
- (1231) *Mēn ṣqa ḥrāmi kāyīddi l-’ājar*, “He who makes a rascal suffer obtains reward.”
- (1232) *Li kāyā’mel d-dēnb kāt’lāzmi l-’āqāba*, “He who commits a wrong must suffer punishment.”
- (1233) *Li zra’ ṣ-ṣarr yāḥṣād n-nādāma*, “He who sows evil will harvest repentance.”
- (1234) *Li zra’ ṣ-ṣūk lāzēm yēmī fīh bē l-hfa*, “He who sows thorns must walk on them barefoot.”

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 755).

- (1235) *Sir m'a n-nās bla sū' li ft'ah šī bāb išūdda b rāšū*, "Go with people without [doing them] harm, he who opens a door will have to close it himself."
- (1236) *Li 'āta zakkū leh lā ifakkū*, "May he who offers his bottom (i.e. knowingly commits a wrong) not be saved by God."
- (1237) *Li hfar šī hōfra n hāh itēh fēha*, "He who digs a pit for his brother will fall into it."¹
- (1238) *Mēn htab šī yēshān 'ālih*, "He who cuts some wood gets warm over it."²
- (1239) *Idā šūft'ih 'āwār kānu f'āilu mēt'l n-nār*, "If you see him to be blind, [know that] his actions have been like hell-fire."
- (1240) *Idā šūft'ih 'ārāj 'arfū kān yēmsī bāin n-nās bē l-'aib yēndrāj*, "If you see him to be lame, know that he has been going between people with evil talk by steps."
- (1241) *Kull haddā' ijīb li llāh haddā'ū*, "To every deceiver may God bring his deceiver."
- (1242) *Kull gāllāb ijīb li llāh gāllābū*, "To every victor may God bring his victor" (said of an unjust person).
- (1243) *Li yērkēb 'āla ulād n-nās lāzēm irēkbu n-nās 'āla ulādū*, "If any one rides on the children of others, others must ride on his children" (said of a bachelor who seduces other people's daughters).
- (1244) *Li t'kārhu fē z-zānqa iwurrīk zakkū fē l-hūmmām*, "He whom you hate in the street will show you his bottom in the hot bath."

Of a person who is addicted to some vice, like thievishness or drunkenness, it is said:—

- (1245) *Auwlu fārha wū z'āma w āhhrū ndāma bla slāma*, "His beginning is joy and boldness, and his end repentance without peace."

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Choneb, op. cit., nr. 348; Singer-Littmann, op. cit., nr. 89).

² *Supra*, nr. 1071.

Of one who has committed an offence and mistakenly thinks that he will escape punishment, it is said :—

- (1246) *'And ḥrāh tsmā' zwāh*, "At his evacuation you will hear his groan."¹

When a person who does wrong time after time without being found out, people repeat with reference to him the words that an old tale puts into the mouth of a man who stored a large quantity of onions with a view to selling them later on at a high price, but found that they had rotted; in despair he beat his face and said to himself :—

- (1247) *Mūl l-bṣal bqa ijri ḥātt'a ḥṣal*, "The dealer in onions kept running until he was caught."

There are many sayings inculcating the rule of tit-for-tat.

- (1248) *Idā jfāk jfeh w ida bjāk bgeh*, "If he is hard upon you be hard upon him, and if he is fond of you be fond of him."

- (1249) *Ida ḥābbāk j'al ḥōbbū irāt'a w ida t'āddāk bē qdēm gūzu bē t'lāt'a*, "If he loves you make his love an heritage, and if he gets a step ahead of you pass him by three" (i.e. if he dislikes you dislike him more).

- (1250) *Ma yēnsau l-ḥsāif gēr ulād t-t'lāif*, "Revenge is forgotten only by bastards."

- (1251) *Yā qālbi lā t'ḥebb mēl lā yērt'ā lēk*, "O my heart, have no affection for him who has no pity on you."

- (1252) *Li ma 'nā bik lā t'ā'nā bih*, "Don't respect him who does not respect you."

- (1253) *Mēn ḥān bik hun bih au lōhu 'ālik*, "Despise him who despises you, or throw him away from you."

- (1254) *Li dārrqāk b ḥait dārrqū nt'in b ḥait*, "He who shelters himself from you with a thread (i.e. avoids you now and then), shelter yourself from him with a wall" (i.e. cut him altogether).²

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1256).

² *Supra*, nr. 321.

If a person speaks badly to you, give him an answer which is worse and which he will not forget :

(1255) *Ida t^sfěkkártⁱ l-kělb ḥaddár lú l-‘đtam*, “ If you remember the dog, present a bone to him.”

(1256) *Btar bih qběl ma yěbtár bik*, “ Harm him before he harms you.”

The following is said of a person who wanted to hurt another, but was anticipated by him and in consequence suffered a still greater injury, or of a robber who deprived another robber of his booty :

(1257) *Jū^s ně ṣ-šād ṣādūni*, “ I went to hunt, they hunted me.”

When two persons quarrel and one of them says to the other that he is going to punish him later when he finds him alone, he is told by the other one that he had better do it at once :—

(1258) *Dě ntáuwłih nqáṣṣrüh*, “ What we make long let us shorten ” (Andjra).¹

A sick person says about his enemies :—

(1259) *Ana mrīt ũ mějrōḥ laṣ ṣābūni lā-‘dā idfnūni bě r-rōḥ*, “ I am sick and wounded, if the enemies found me they would bury me alive.”

A milder mood is expressed in the saying :—

(1260) *Ana ma qūt^s gēr allāh yāḥṣādni mēl l-‘údyān*, “ I only say, May God guard me against my enemies.”

Punishment is looked upon as an atonement. An offender is advised to submit to it willingly :

(1261) *Qattá‘ha hábra t‘ābrá*, “ Cut off a picce of flesh, you will recover.”

A person who goes to prison is comforted with the saying :—

(1262) *Aiyām ṣ-šējén mǎ‘dúda ũ rāḥmēt^s rábbi mājūda*, “ The days of imprisonment are numbered, and the mercy of God is at hand.”

It is also said :—

(1263) *T‘ēlt^s iyām dė ṣ-šējén mt‘ā‘ l-māḥzēn ũ l-báqi dė llāh*,

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1399.

“ Three days of imprisonment are of the government, and the rest is of God.”

But punishment is at the same time a means of determent :

(1264) *Ḍrab l-kēlb ihārbū l-klāb*, “ Beat the dog, the other dogs will run away.”

When a person who has been previously forgiven several minor faults is guilty of a great one, for which he is to be punished, he is told :—

(1265) ‘*And l-qli t’ēdri yā hūt*’, “ At the frying you will know, O fish.”

Side by side with the doctrine of resentment we meet with the doctrine of forgiveness.

(1266) *Rham li f l-arq irāhmāk li f s-smā*, “ Show mercy to him who is on earth, he who is in heaven will have mercy upon you.”

(1267) *Smaḥ li b qālbāk yāǧfēr lēk allāh dēnbēk*, “ Forgive me from your heart, God will forgive you your sin.”

(1268) *L-musāmāḥa bē l-qalb āḥsēn mēn šōndōq dhāb*, “ Forgiveness from the heart is better than a box of gold.”

(1269) *Ṣ-ṣābōn kāihārrēj t-t’aub ū r-rāḥma katṣāffi l-qalb*, “ Soap makes a garment come out [clean], and mercy cleans the heart.”

(1270) *Li ḥādqū ḥūwa ihānn ‘ālih u l-‘abd ma ‘āndū juhd ‘ālih*, “ He who created him will take pity on him, and the servant [of God] has no power over him.”

(1271) *Mēn ḡlēb i’āff*, “ He who is victorious should be forgiving.”

(1272) *Dāriu s-sufāḥā dyāllkum ālū b šā’ra mēl lāḥyāt’kum*, “ Treat with deference those who are impudent to you, even though you have to give them a hair from your beard ” (then they will not speak badly about you).

If you conquer your anger, you will not feel regret afterwards :

(1273) *L-byāt’a bē l-ḥdūd wā lā ndāma lā t’fīd*, “ To pass the night in irons is better than repentance, which is of no use.”

To repress all resentful feelings, however, is an ideal that seems to be too high to be realized by ordinary mortals, who, even when they refrain from actual retaliation, still bear ill-feeling in their hearts :

(1274) *‘Ašra dē l-ma‘āši m‘a llāh wā la wδhda m‘a l-‘abd,*
 “ [To commit] ten sins against God is better than
 [to commit] one against a servant [of God] ” (because
 God is forgiving) ;

(1275) *L-mlāqya m‘a llāh wā la l-mlāqya m‘a l-‘abd,* “ To
 face God is better than to face a servant [of God]. ”

When a person for shame says that he forgives another, the remark is made :—

(1276) *I-musāmāha bē l-fāmm ū l-qalb kēddāb,* “ Forgiveness
 with the mouth, and the heart is a liar.”

He who unknowingly commits a wrong should be forgiven :

(1277) *L-gšīm ‘ādrū llāh,* “ He who does not know is excused
 by God.”

He who of his own accord admits a wrong that he has done is readily excused :

(1278) *Ma yēšemma t‘qil mēn fāq b rāšū,* “ He who wakes up
 by himself is not called heavy.”

Of a generous person who has committed a fault it is said :—

(1279) *Hāirēk igātti šarrāk,* “ Your goodness covers your
 evil deed.”

There is even a saying to the effect that no man is really to be blamed for anything he does, since it was decreed by God :—

(1280) *Li mzēmmēm fē r-rāš lāzēm yēt‘wūdda,* “ What is
 registered in the head must happen.”

In Morocco the commission of an offence against a person very frequently leads to the intervention of a third party on behalf of the culprit ; the Moors distinguish between forgiveness from the heart and forgiveness for the sake of another. And in such cases a proverb may serve as a kind of ‘*ār*, which implies the transference of a conditional curse and consequently may

be expected to act as a means of compulsion. The following is a proverb of this kind :—

(1281) *Ma yērfēd bē l-‘ār gēr li hūwa šābbār*, “ Only he who is very patient attends to the ‘ār.”

If the offended party is a high-bred man, the intervener may say to him :—

(1282) *T-t‘aub l-wāfi ma ihāfi*, “ A full-sized garment does not call to account.”

If the offender is a man of family, the intervener may say :—

(1283) *Drab l-kēlb ū wāqqrū ‘āla ūjāh mūlāh*, “ Beat the dog, and respect him for the sake of his master.”

If a man who has been accused of a crime is caught by the sheikh, his friends may go to some men in the sheikh’s village and appeal to them for intervention on behalf of the prisoner, reciting the following saying, which is also meant as ‘ār :—

(1284) *Ida tāh l-qda r-rjāl dūah*, “ If evil fate befalls one, men are its remedy ” (Andjra).

If a person is in trouble for some trifling reason and others come to mediate, it is said :—

(1285) *‘And l-wād ihādri lē-jwād*, “ At the river good people present themselves ” (to help another to cross it).

The injured party may concede the request of the intervener by saying :—

(1286) *L-‘aqba f ūjāh l-ḥbīb ḥdūra*, “ An ascent for the sake of a friend is a descent.”¹

If the request is refused the intervener may reply :—

(1287) *L-m‘allqa tēh u l-mrīt iśāfih allāh*, “ What is hanging (i.e. the punishment) will fall, and God will cure the sick one.”

When a highly respected person has invited to his house a man whose relative has been killed, with a view to inducing him to procure the release of the homicide from prison, and his request is refused, he says :—

¹ *Supra*, nr. 287.

(1288) *Šrab l-brēq u zād m'a t-trēq*, "He drank the pot of tea and went his way" (Andjra).

If a man who is asked to forgive an injury consents, but his sons object, it is said :—

(1289) *Štaffū l-āyūn ū nādū l-ānāšar*, "The wells got dry, and their veins welled forth" (Andjra).

If a man who tries to mediate when two others are fighting is struck by one of them, he is asked by some spectator :—

(1290) *Aš 'abbak f lā-gra' t'ēmšēt lū rāšū*, "What took you to the baldheaded man to comb his head" (Andjra) ? ¹

Of a man who has come to intervene in a quarrel, but joins in it himself, it is said :—

(1291) *Dhal yākul lē-frīq rja' šrīk*, "He entered to eat the dry ears (or pods) [and] became a partner" (in the quarrel).

A person who is asked by another to intervene on his behalf may refuse to do it by comparing himself to a peach (which has no curative quality), saying :—

(1292) *Kā kām l-hōh idāwi kū dāwa gār rāšū*, "If peaches could cure [anybody], they would only have cured themselves" (because they have so many worms that they could not have dispensed with their medicine; Andjra). ²

If a man has promised to act as a mediator with the authorities on behalf of another who is in trouble, the latter, who asked him to intervene, may be told that he is no more fit to do so than a woman cousin would be :—

(1293) *Bhal li kār'āuwūd hāmmū b bēnt' 'āmmū*, "Like him who repeats his trouble to the daughter of his father's brother."

¹ *Supra*, nr. 389.

² *Supra*, nr. 680.

CHAPTER XV

GOODNESS—CARDINAL DUTIES—PATIENCE—PROPRIETY— COURAGE AND FEAR.

- (1294) *Li t'hēbb li nēfsēk hēbbū lē n-nās*, "What you desire for yourself you should desire for others."
- (1295) *L-mūmēn yēbda b nēfsū*, "The true believer begins with himself."
- (1296) *Sīd n-nās hūwa li yēnfā' kull n-nās*, "The lord of the people is he who is useful to all people."
- (1297) *L-mēziān līlū ū lē n-nās u l-qbēh līlū wōhdū*, "The good one [is good] for himself and others, and the bad one [is bad] for himself alone."
- (1298) *R-rājēl li nqī wū lbīb 'and n-nās bhāl d-dhāb fē 'ājīb*, "A man who is pure and gentle is to the people like gold in the pocket."
- (1299) *Mūl l-qalb l-mlēh dāim 'and n-nās mēškōr ma hūwa qbēh*, "He who has a good heart is always praised by the people, he is not [said to be] bad."
- (1300) *Nādrā fē l-mlēh t'āhyī qalb l-mrīt ū yērjā' šhēh*, "The sight of what is good quickens the heart of a sick person, and he becomes strong."

When a good person dies his good deeds will live :

- (1301) *Imūt^s z-zein u yēbqau hrūfū*, "The beauty dies, and its signs remain." ¹

Of good people it is also said :—

- (1302) *Mā yēšbāh l-mlēh nē l-qbēh*, "The good one is not like the bad one";
- (1303) *'Ommra l-mlāh mā t'ēddūwūd*, "Never will salt become worm-eaten" ²;

¹ *Supra*, nr. 1037.

² *Supra*, nr. 1186.

- (1304) *Dāk š-šárba dě l-ḥail ně n-nādra mēziāna*, “ That troop of horses is beautiful to look at ” (also said of people who are handsome or finely dressed or have good manners) ;
- (1305) *Kúmsa nhāl dḥsēn mēn šwāri d-dēbbān*, “ A handful of bees are better than a pannier of flies ” (i.e. ordinary people).¹

Of a man who is good to others and liked by them and then commits some fault that ruins him, it is said :—

- (1306) *Š-šmā‘a t‘āḍwi u t‘hraḡ rōḥa*, “ The candle gives light and burns itself.”²

Of a person of poor appearance who does something good it is said :—

- (1307) *L-ḥsāna dzīyīn l-ūjāh ū r-rāzza dzīyīn r-rāš*, “ Shaving embellishes the face, and the turban embellishes the head.”

Of a person who is liked by the people, though he is not good-looking, it is said :—

- (1308) *Yā ‘āzz n-nās umā z-zein yēt‘ḥābba‘*, “ O he who is dear to the people, but the beauty is hidden.”

People know who is good (or bad) by his talk :

- (1309) *L-‘āša a-‘jīyīd mēḡ rēḥi‘u ibān*, “ A good supper is known by its odour ” ;
- (1310) *Idā šúft‘i n-nmēl fē d-dārja ‘arāf s-smīd fē l-gārfa*, “ If you see ants on the staircase, know that there is semolina upstairs ” ;
- (1311) *N-nās kāt‘a‘rāf n-nās ū l-ḥail kāt‘a‘rāf rūkkābha*, “ People know people, and horses know their riders.”³

CARDINAL DUTIES

The five practical duties of Islam, called the pillars of religion, are : the recital of the *kalimah*, or creed ; the prayer consisting of the recital of a certain prescribed and invariable formula at five stated times of the day ; the fasting between dawn and

¹ *Supra*, nrs. 429, 572. ² *Supra*, nr. 1201. ³ *Supra*, nr. 258.

sunset throughout the month of Ramaḍān ; the giving of the *zakāt*, or legal alms ; and the pilgrimage to Mecca in the twelfth month of the Muhammadan year. Almsgiving has been dealt with in an earlier chapter. Of prayer it is said :—

(1312) *Ṣ-ṣlā f wāqt'ha āhsēn mēn d-dún̄ya u ma fēha*, “Prayer at its [proper] time is better than the world and what is in it” ;

(1313) *L-mā bla šrā ū l-qābla bla krā āllāh yēn'al t'ārēk ṣ-ṣlā*, “Water is not bought, there is no hire for the direction of Mecca (i.e. it costs nothing to pray), may God curse him who has given up praying” ;

(1314) *Ḍūbōr l-mūṣālli nqā mēn fimm t'ārēk ṣ-ṣlā*, “The anus of him who prays is cleaner than the mouth of him who has given up praying.”

He who dies during the pilgrimage to Mecca is particularly blessed ; it is said :—

(1315) *Ma kāyērjā' gēr n-nḥās ū n-nógra ma kat'ērjā' šī*, “Only copper returns, and silver does not return.”

PATIENCE

(1316) *Ṣ-ṣbar ma 'tah āllāh gēr nē l-'āzīz 'ālih*, “Patience is given by God only to him who is dear to him.”

(1317) *Bāb ṣ-ṣbar ma 'ālēha zhām*, “In the gate of patience there is no crowding.”

(1318) *Ṣ-ṣbar mēft'āh kull ḥayr*, “Patience is the key of all well-being.”

(1319) *Ṣ-ṣdbbār yērbāh ū l-mqāllaq yēhṣār*, “He who is very patient will gain, and the hasty one will lose.”

(1320) *Ṣbar 'āl l-qlīl yā'tēk āllāh l-kt'ir*, “Be patient of little, God will give you much.”¹

(1321) *D-dwām kāyēt'qab r-rḥām*, “Endurance pierces marble.”²

(1322) *Li ma ṣbar lē ṣhōt ma iḏfār b ṣīd*, “He who is not patient of great heat will get no game.”

¹ *Supra*, nr. 975.

² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 806).

- (1323) *L-‘ájla oht^s n-nädäma*, “Haste is the sister of repentance.”¹
- (1324) *T-t‘ä‘ánnü mēn älláh ü l-qlaq mēn š-šütān*, “Gentleness comes from God and excitement from the devil.”
- (1325) *T-t‘qála mēn älláh ü l-háffa mēn š-šütān*, “Slowness comes from God and quickness from the devil.”
- (1326) *Lä zërba ‘äla šlāh*, “No hurry over that which is to be good.”
- (1327) *Li häbb l-‘äsēl yěsbār ‘äla ‘att n-nhäł*, “He who loves honey should be patient of the stinging of the bees.”²
- (1328) *Li bja z-zein bë kmälü yěsbār l-tıl küllü*, “He who wants beauty in perfection should wait all night.”

A person who wants a favour from another should be patient like a dog gnawing at a bone :

- (1329) *Mēn klām l-kēlb r-rēq u n-nāb hátt‘a yärtab*, “From the talk of the dog, The spittle and the canine tooth until it (i.e.the bone) becomes soft.”

A person should be patient in his work until it is completed :

- (1330) *Imú‘ l-fēkrün wā la ihúkk táhrü*, “The tortoise dies and does not scratch its back.”

When something is done too hurriedly it is said :—

- (1331) *Bë l-mhäł yēnt‘kel bdínjäl* (or *bü देंjäl*), “With slowness the egg-plant is eaten.”³
- (1332) *‘Aiša l-mqállqa lát‘érkēb bla šarwal*, “The impatient ‘Aisha is riding without drawers ” (she has not given herself time to put them on ; Andjra).

If a man who goes to a place by the shortest route, though warned that it is unsafe, is killed on his way by robbers, people say of him :—

- (1333) *L-farr l-mqállqa mēn sähm l-qott*, “The impatient mouse belongs to the portion of the cat ” (also used in a more general sense ; Andjra).⁴

A person should be patient under misfortune :

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1179).

² *Supra*, nr. 72.

³ *Supra*, nr. 73.

⁴ *Infra*, nr. 1785.

(1334) *L-māǧlūb iṭē' ně l-gālēb*, "The conquered one should obey the conqueror" (i.e. God).

(1335) *R-rīdā bě l-qādā*, "Compliance with destiny."

Patience is a manly virtue:

(1336) *Ṣ-ṣbar hūwa ně r-rǧāl ma hūwa ně n-nṣā wā la ně l-'āydl*,
"Patience belongs to men, it does not belong to women nor to boys."

Patience and resignation are frequently enjoined in the Koran. Indeed, the literal meaning of Islām is "resignation" to the will of God, and a *muslim* is "one who is resigned". But in the Koran resignation is more often expressed by the word *ṣabr*, "patience." There is nothing in the character of the Moors that has impressed me more than their wonderful patience and resignation to the inevitable. Their slowness may sometimes irritate us, but they on their part laugh at our fussiness.

PROPRIETY

Another characteristic of the Moors in which they are superior to the average European is their civility, a subject on which the Muhammadan traditions have much to say. It also plays a prominent part in the proverbs.

(1337) *Qlīl l-'ādāb 'and n-nās ma iṣlāḥ ma yēt'qarrāb*, "An ill-bred person is of no use in the eyes of the people and should not come near [them]."

Good behaviour makes a person liked by everybody, whereas he who has not been taught how to behave is disliked:

(1338) *Zra' z-zra' la dzra' š-šūk n-nās kullhum yēbjiwāk w iḥēbbuk*, "Sow wheat, don't sow thorns, all the people will like you and love you";

(1339) *L-garṣ bla nqēš ū qlīl l-mā kāiḥrúǧ b qlīl n-nēsma*, "Planting without hoeing and [with] little water gives little scent."

(1340) *Lā t'ēdhāl n dār n-nās illā bī idn u kyās*, "Don't enter other people's house except with permission and good manners."¹

¹ Cf. *Koran*, xxiv, 27.

(1341) *Lā t'ēdhāl 'āl l-bdb hāt'a tmaq' a-ajwāb*, "Don't enter through the door until you hear the answer."

(1342) *Wājēb mēn nādāk ālu ikūn kāfēr*, "Answer him who calls you, even though he is an unbeliever."

Be polite to and salute even bad people if you happen to meet them, but don't stop to talk with them :

(1343) *Ida lqāuni nēlqāhum ma nēt'kēllēm m'āhum*, "If they meet me I meet them, I do not talk with them."

A person should behave in accordance with his station in life :

(1344) *L-hāja li ma tēbāh šī n mūlāha kulla hrām*, "A thing that does not resemble its owner is all wrong" ¹ ;

(1345) *R-rāzza bla lāhya mēn qāllēt' l-hyā*, "A turban without a beard comes from lack of modesty" (a person who is too young to have a beard must not wear a turban, unless he is married or has made the pilgrimage to Mecca).

Of a person who behaves in a shameless manner it is said :—

(1346) *Dāhar l-hyā 'āla ūjāh t-tārrāh*, "Is shame seen in the face of an oven-boy ?"

A person who feels no shame when he is blamed by others says :—

(1347) *Li 'āndū 'ain yā'mel 'āšra*, "May he who has a pair of eyes make [them] ten" (even then I shall not be ashamed).

There are many sayings referring to the propriety of speech.

(1348) *Klām mēziqān mūzūn āllāh yērhām mēn qāl šī klām māhsūn*, "Good speech is balanced, may God be merciful to him whose speech is kind."

(1349) *Ziyīn lsānēk t'nāl mūrādēk*, "Beautify your tongue, you will obtain what you desire."

(1350) *Šdbbaq klām mlēh ma t'ērjā' mēn t-trēq*, "Speak well in advance, you will not [have to] come back the [same] way" (to repeat your request).

You should not pass unpleasant remarks on a person who suffers from some defect, who is, for example, one-eyed or lame :

¹ *Supra*, nr. 244.

(1351) *Kull hānfūs ‘and yimmāh gẓāl*, “Every beetle is a gazelle in the eyes of its mother.”¹

If anybody shows you a thing he has bought, you should say it is good whatever you may think of it :²

(1352) *Idā šúft’ih rākēb ‘āl l-qdšba qūl lū b šāhh’t’āk l-‘aud*,
“If you see him riding on a bamboo-cane say to him,
Good health to your horse.”

A person who speaks to another should pay regard to his station :

(1353) *Qšdm l-lham ū ndor l l-ūjūh*, “Divide the meat and look at the faces” (and give to each one his due).

A person who is rude to his superior is told :—

(1354) *L-kšāra ‘āl l-mulūk š-‘āiba*, “Impudence to kings is dangerous.”

You should be respectful to a person who is older than yourself :

(1355) *Li fāt’ek b līla fāt’ek b hēla*, “He who surpasses you a night in age surpasses you in cunning.”

If an old man says something disagreeable to a younger person, the latter should politely reply :—

(1356) *Ana wāqqart’āk ‘āl š-šīb li f ūjhēk*, “I respect you for the sake of the white beard that is on your face” ; or,

(1357) *Ana wāqqart’āk ‘āla dāk š-šībāt’*, “I respect you for the sake of those white hairs.”

It is not always, however, that such a polite answer is given to an old man who speaks bad words to a young person ; sometimes the latter angrily says :—

(1358) *Šāib ū hārāmi bhāl d-dīb*, “A white-beard and a villain are like a jackal.”

Then the old man replies :—

(1359) *Hūwa ma išīb šī yēmšī šgēr*, “May he not grow old, may he pass away young.”

(1360) *‘And n-nds ‘aib li f’ih qlīl š-šwāb*, “He who does not know how to speak properly is disgraced in the eyes of the people.”

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1484). ² See *supra*, p. 61.

Such a person may be told :

- (1361) *L-ğazl ġazl rfēq u sāl nās t-t'āḡḡēq*, " Spinning [should be] fine spinning, and ask people who know how to do it properly " ; or,
- (1362) *Drab fē l-bērd'a ifēq l-ḥmār*, " Beat the pack-saddle, the donkey will wake up " ¹ ; or,
- (1363) *L-mērr ma yēhla ālu ikūn f zūkk n-nāhla*, " What is bitter does not become sweet, even though it is in the bottom of a bee " ; or,
- (1364) *Ṣ-šārqa nbārrqa*, " The theft is seen like a lightning " ; or,
- (1365) *Qālbi mrūt ū mējrōḥ li llāh lā dzidú šī*, " My heart is sick and wounded, for God's sake don't make it worse " ; or,
- (1366) *Ḥadd l-ḥlāwa zbība*, " The border of sweetmeats is the raisin " (as the raisin is the last among sweetmeats, so also should the talker now have said his last word) ; or,
- (1367) *S-súlla lleh la 'inēb*, " [Give me] the crate, may God spare me the grapes " (the crate represents the closed mouth and the grapes the talk) ; or,
- (1368) *L-klām kt'ir u s-skūt' āḡsēn mēnnū*, " Much talking, and silence is better than it " ; or,
- (1369) *Skūt' 'ām āḡsēn mēn kélma qbēḥa*, " Silence for a year is better than a bad word."

The following sayings refer to a person who has an attractive face but does not know how to speak properly :—

- (1370) *Nūwar d-dēfla meziān fē n-nāḡra u 'ūdha mērr bḡal l-mārrāra*, " The flowers of the oleander are beautiful to look at, and their wood is as bitter as gall " ;
- (1371) *Nās āḡḡum qmār u klāmhum ḡbār*, " People's faces are [like] moons, and their talk is dung."

Of a person who is mostly sitting silent but, when he says something, does not speak properly, it is said :—

¹ *Infra*, nr. 1478.

(1372) *Āllāh inē^{aa}jik mēn s-sākēt^s ida hdar*, “ May God save you from the silent one if he talks ” ; or,

(1373) *Bqa ‘ām ma hdar ū gēr hdar qāl l-hra*, “ For a year he did not speak, and as soon as he spoke he said, Shit.”

When a person uses improper language in the presence of others, some one makes the following remark, alluding to a woman who breaks wind while sitting with other women :—

(1374) *Gánnat^s hāšakum*, “ She sang [and said], I beg your pardon.”

When a man who has said something improper makes an apology, he is answered :—

(1375) *Fāqāt^s u jēm‘āi^s jléila*, “ She woke up and gathered her hems.”¹

If a person comes to a company of people and interrupts their conversation with some scandalous talk, he is asked :—

(1376) *Āj jāb t-tozz ně st‘ágfir āllāh*, “ What brought the fart to ‘ I implore the pardon of God ’ ? ”

It is always unmannerly to interrupt people in their conversation. When a person does so by beginning to talk of something quite different, it is said :—

(1377) *N-nās m‘a n-nās ū bba Hāmmū fē qtē‘ r-rās*, “ People [are talking] with people, and father Hāmmu is cutting the head [of their talk] ” ; or,

(1378) *N-n‘ūs fē s-sēsti ū l-hra fē l-fōqi*, “ Sleeping on the lower floor (where the closet is) and evacuation on the upper floor ” (where people sleep) ; or,

(1379) *L-bāyēt^s lila mā dda hbār mā jāb aḥōr*, “ He who spends a night [in a place] does not take away any news nor brings any ” (the time being too short).

If one in a company of people is telling a story and, in the middle of it, somebody turns up who wants to hear it from the beginning, he is politely told :—

(1380) *Ida fāt‘ēk t-tā‘ām qūl šba‘t^s w ida fāt‘ēk l-klām qūl sma‘t^s*, “ If food passes you say, I am satisfied, and if speech passes you say, I heard.”

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1786.

When two persons are talking and a third comes and joins in their talk, he may hear the remark :—

- (1381) *L-kldm bāin jūj u t-t'ālet' klūfi ū r-rāba' sērref u ddi nē l-ḥabs*, “The talk is between two, and the third one is a meddler, and [when] a fourth one [comes,] seize [them both] and take [them] to prison.”

If two persons are speaking with each other and a third comes and asks them what they are talking about, he may receive the answer :—

- (1382) *Kull wāhed f šoqu ibé hrōqu*; “Every one sells his ragged old clothes in his market.”

It is, generally, improper to interfere with other people's doings :

- (1383) *Dhul f šoqāk lā t'dhul f šwāq n-nās*, “Enter your own market, don't enter the markets of others” ; or,

- (1384) *Bā'ad mēn šwāq d-dhās t'ēnja mēn kull bās*, “Keep away from crowded markets, you will escape all evil.”

A meddler is told :—

- (1385) *L-keiy fē l-ḥmīr u l-bqar kāiza'artū*, “The cauterization is made on the donkeys, and the cattle are capering” ; or,

- (1386) *D-ajdāda kāt'ālēd u l-fārrūj kāihārqū zūkkū*, “The hen lays an egg, and the cock feels pain in his bottom”¹ ; or,

- (1387) *Mwdlīn l-gnāza šdbrū ū l-'azzdīn kēfrū*, “The mourners are patient, and the condolers are blasphemous”² ; or,

- (1388) *Kull wāhed yēdfēn yimmāh kif ihēbb*, “Every one buries his mother as he likes.”

When a person interferes in the dealings of two friends, one of them says to him :—

- (1389) *Kīf ma 'amlāt'ū l-'āmsa yākluh ulāda*, “Whatever [food] a bleary-eyed woman has prepared, her children will eat it” (i.e. anything a person's friend does is good enough for him).

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 10.

² *Supra*, nr. 986.

When two brothers quarrel and a third person interferes with the result that they become more quarrelsome, some one says to the meddler :—

(1390) *Ma kāidhūl bāin d-dfēr u l-lḥam gēr l-ūsah*, “What enters between the nail and the flesh is only dirt.”

When a person does something that he knows to be wrong and another interferes, he says to the latter :—

(1391) *Bāinū u bāin li ḥālqū u l-‘abd gēr klūfi*, “ [This is] between him and the one who created him, and the servant [of God] is only a meddler.”

Nor is it good form to talk too much about other people's doings. It is an ancient rule that you should not speak about that which you have seen :—

(1392) *Šuf u skut^s mešrīya bē miūt^s mešqāl*, “See and be silent [is a rule that] has been bought with one hundred mešqāl.”

A person who reports to others something bad that he has seen or heard is thus reproved for his talkativeness :—

(1393) *‘Aini šāfēt šī u wūdni sēm‘āt šī*, “My eye saw something, and my ear heard something.”

(1394) *Kull dūwai meššūs ijīb l-ḥlika r rāšū*, “Every tale-bearer is saltless, he brings evil on his head.”

You should, generally, refrain from useless talk ; it is said :—

(1395) *L-klām bla fāida ma yešlāh šī uqida*, “Useless talk is not worth a match” ;

(1396) *Li fāt^s mā^t ma bāqi yeš‘āuwūd*, “What has passed has died, it will be repeated no more.”¹

Of two persons who are only talking rubbish with each other it is said :—

(1397) *L-ḥmār kāyēndāh l-ḥmār ma fēhum ma t‘ḥt‘ār*, “A donkey drives a donkey, there is nothing to choose between them.”

The talk of a man who speaks much but has little to say is

¹ Cf. *infra*, nrs. 1669, 1670. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 241).

compared to the pumpkins of Salli, which are long but contain comparatively little to eat :—

(1398) *Klāmū twīl ū ḥāwi bhāḷ l-qrā' dē s-slāwi*, “ His talk is long and empty like the pumpkins of a man from Salli.”

Don't talk too much :

(1399) *Li ttāuwū nqāṣṣrū*, “ What we make long let us shorten ”¹ ;

(1400) *Lukān ma t'kēllēm wēld l-ḥmām mā ijih l-ḥēnš háyēm*, “ If the son of the pigeons did not speak, the snake would not come to him pursuing.”

A person who entertains a company with his talk is asked to go on talking :—

(1401) *Ġárrēd yā umm lā-ḥsēn ġárrēd lā t'ḥānnén šī*, “ Sing O nightingale, sing, don't lower your voice.”

When wonderful things are told the remark is made :—

(1402) *Ġrāyēb d-dúnya kt'ar mēn mṣáibha*, “ The wonders of the world are more numerous than its misfortunes.”

Of excessive laughter it is said :—

(1403) *D-ḍahk bla sbāb mēn qállēt' l-'ádāb*, “ Laughing without reasons comes from lack of good manners ”² ;

(1404) *D-ḍahk bē l-qūwa kāyēt'qāb s-sūwa*, “ A roar of laughter pierces the anus ” (as if it were wind).

Extraordinary indecency is attached to breaking wind. It disgraces a person though done involuntarily ; he may have to leave his tribe, and I have heard of cases of suicide committed in consequence of such an act.³ It is said :—

(1405) *L-ḥazzāq fē d-djmd'a rūbbi yēḥzīh*, “ May God put to shame him who breaks wind at a gathering of people ” ;

(1406) *L-ḥazzāq mēdlūl ū 'and n-nās mel'án*, “ He who breaks wind is despised and cursed by the people ” ;

(1407) *L-byāt'a m'a l-baqq wā lā l-byāt'a m'a l-ḥazzāq*, “ To pass the night with bugs is better than to pass it with one who breaks wind.”

¹ *Supra*, nr. 1258.

² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1095).

³ See *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 280 sq.

(1408) *L-ḥazzāq yidhēb l-'arzāq*, "The breaking of wind drives away the means of subsistence."

But the general horror in which this act is held in Morocco, as well as among the Arabs of the East, is not shared by the inhabitants of Fez, who do not consider it shameful to break wind even in the company of women.¹ Hence the saying:—

(1409) *L-ḥazzāq quddām n-nās ma ḥūwa fē blād mēn gēr Fās*, "One who breaks wind in the presence of others is not found anywhere except in Fez."

COURAGE AND FEAR

(1410) *Z-z'im 'andū razqāin*, "The brave man has two fortunes" (one being his bravery and the other what he gains by it).

(1411) *'And l-ḥāṣra kāidāhrū r-rjdl mēl lā-'yāl*, "In distress men (i.e. brave people) are distinguished from boys" (i.e. cowards).

Speak the truth and don't be afraid :

(1412) *Drab lā t'āhrāb*, "Strike, don't run away."

Of a poor man who is strong and brave it is said:—

(1413) *Hanzir bē drā'ū gēr z-zmān li ḥānū*, "A swine with its strength is only deceived by time."

A superior person need not be afraid of anybody :

(1414) *Li yērkeb fōq d-djmēl ma ihāf mēl l-klāb i'attūh*, "He who rides on a camel is not afraid lest the dogs should bite him." ²

Of a man who shows no fear when he is caught by the authorities or by enemies or robbers, it is said:—

(1415) *T-tair l-ḥorr mnein yēnqbāt ma yēt'ḥābbāt*, "The falcon does not struggle when he is caught."

A man who did not avoid a danger of which he was aware, and who was hurt in consequence, is told:—

(1416) *Ā 'ma bēn 'āma lī šūf s-shāb fē s-smā u yā'mel ksāt'ū*

¹ Ibid., i, 281 sq.

² *Supra*, nrs. 257, 432.

fě l-mā, "O blind man, son of a blind one, who sees clouds in the sky and puts his *ksā*¹ into water."

A person who has a quarrel with another testifies his courage by saying to him :—

(1417) *Lukān nhāfū mně n-n'āj mā llěbsū šōfha*, "If we were afraid of the ewes, we should not dress in their wool";
or,

(1418) *Kā kúnna nhāfū mēl l-gnēm mā nlěbsú šī š-šōf dydlēm*,
"If we were afraid of the sheep we should not dress in their wool" (Andjra); or,

(1419) *Škūn hāss bik yā l-qámīla wū nt'in fr-rāš hāima*, "Who takes notice of you, O louse, and you who are roving about the head?"² or, if he is a man who is threatened by a boy,

(1420) *Ma hofná šī mēn d-dhādha 'assāk mēn mēnt'úfīn l-lha*,
"We are not afraid of bearded persons, so much the less of beardless ones."

If a man who has committed homicide is afraid of exposing himself to the revenge of his victim's relatives, he is told by his friends that his caution is of no avail: if his enemies are cowards they will not do harm to him even though he passes them, and if they are brave people they will come and kill him even in his own house; they say to him :—

(1421) *L-wād l-hāwi mā yāddik u l-āmer mā ihāllik*, "The empty river will not take you away, and the full one will not leave you" (Andjra).

Bad experience may make a person over-cautious :

(1422) *Li 'attāt'ū l-hāiya yēnfēr mēl l-hbēl*, "He who has been bitten by a snake starts at a rope."³

Of a person who quarrels but is not brave enough to fight it is said :—

(1423) *L-hādd ū qāllēt' n-nēh*, "Bellowing and no goring."

¹ *Ksā* is another name for *hāyēk*, a long rectangular piece of white cloth worn without fastenings by men and women; it is called *ksā* especially when made of finer material.

² *Supra*, nr. 878.

³ *Supra*, nr. 1151.

The following remarks refer to a coward :—

(1424) *L-hauf kâi' dîllem 'a-djri*, " Fear teaches to run " ;

(1425) *Mrā bēn mrā lī š'âl l-fnār fē l-gāmra*, " Woman, son of a woman, who lights the lantern in moonlight " ; and,

(1426) *Kull Yûnes Yûnes wâhed qt'el s-sba' u wâhed hâf mēn n-nēms*, " Both are [called] Yûnes (Jonah), one killed a lion and one was afraid of a ferret " (allusion to an old tale :—A beautiful woman was married to a brave hunter by name Yûnes. When he died she swore that she would only marry again if she could find a husband whose name was also Yûnes and who was also a brave hunter. A man pretending to have these two qualifications offered himself, and she married him. He went out to hunt, and the first animal he met was a ferret. He was seized with fear, threw away his gun, and ran back to his wife. When she heard what he had done she claimed a divorce on the ground that he had not fulfilled the conditions stipulated in the marriage contract).

Various sayings referring to a cowardly person who poses as brave are found in another place.¹

There is a general belief that fear is a cause of misfortune² ; hence the saying :—

(1427) *Mēn hâf mēn šī š'lliŷi 'âlih*, " He who is afraid of a thing gives it power over him."

He who is afraid of an illness will have it, he who is afraid of the evil eye will be hurt by it ; I have even been told by wise people that fear of the evil eye is necessary to make anybody a victim of it, and that the 'âr likewise only hurts those who are afraid of it. A person who gets frightened is particularly apt to be struck by *jnūn*³ :

(1428) *Hâl'a kt'ar mēn dārba*, " Fright is worse than a blow."

¹ *Infra*, p. 272.

² *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 422.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 273.

Hence you should avoid giving anybody a fright. This is exemplified in the following saying by the rule prohibiting the sudden waking of a person who is asleep—it should be done slowly and gently, by touching his little finger or touching him with the palm of one's hand, and with the phrase *subḥān ʿallāh*, since otherwise he may be frightened and become *mēš'ōt*, or struck by *jnūn* :—

(1429) *Lā t'fīyaq n-nā'as bē jhdla qūl li subḥān ʿallāh ma yēt'wāla*, “Don't wake up him who is asleep without knowing [how to do it]; say to him, God be praised, he will not be touched [by *jnūn*].”

CHAPTER XVI

WRONG-DOING—GUILT AND INNOCENCE—BAD SPEECH

- (1430) *'Abd rábbi mā yēt'ádda hūd*, "The servant of God must not overstep borders" (i.e. do what is forbidden).
- (1431) *Hđi yáddék*, "Guard your hand."
- (1432) *Álláh ifyáqna b'áibna*, "May God make us awake to our fault."
- (1433) *L-hrām u l-ħlāl bāin l-qātt járrbū iwúrrík fě l-hēn*, "What is forbidden and what is allowed are evident, [even] the cat is sensible of it [and] will show it to you at once" (e.g. by refraining from stealing food in your presence or by running away with food stolen).

Yet there are many bad people in the world, and it is full of wrongs :

- (1434) *N-nās tūb ū ħájár*, "Men are lumps of earth (i.e. good people) and stones" (i.e. bad people) ;
- (1435) *D-dúnya jifa káit'ēb'úha klāb*, "The world is a carcass, dogs follow it."

One wrong leads to another greater wrong afterwards :

- (1436) *Mušiba kađjór* (or, *kađwárrát*) *mušiba*, "Misfortune draws (or, brings) misfortune in its train."

If anybody is guilty of an offence, the whole place will know it or talk about it :

- (1437) *Fěls dě a-đáwi káibáħħar Tánja*, "A fělsworth of benzoin fumigates [the whole] Tangier" (in another town the name of that town is mentioned instead) ;
- (1438) *Měn yá'mel táqa f júnbū mā yá'dem mēn yěđállál 'álih*, "He who makes an opening in the side of his body will not lack people to look at him."

Don't be familiar with bad people, lest you should become one of their class :

- (1439) *L'ibna m'a l-klāb šdbhi ulād 'ammna*, " We played with the dogs, in the morning they became our cousins " (sons of our father's brother).

Of two persons who are constantly seen together and are suspected of stealing or committing other offences in common, it is said :—

- (1440) *Hna gēr jwījāt^s u l-'ddā kākārḥāna*, " We are only two little ones, and the enemies hate us."

Bad people always suspect others of being bad :

- (1441) *Kull šāraq mēškāk u kull mējrāb ḥākkāk*, " Every thief is suspicious, and every one who has the itch is scratching himself."

Of a confounded scoundrel it is said :—

- (1442) *Kāya'raf mēn kull 'alla ūqīya*, " He knows of every evil an ounce."

One who has secretly committed some fault is told :—

- (1443) *Huzz š-šēbka ibānū l-msās*, " Lift up the net (which is at the door of a barber's shop), the knives will be seen."

The following saying is used with reference to a man who is intent upon committing some great crime :—

- (1444) *Yā t-tāma' fē l-ḥlīb dē l-ḥallūfa n-nās qān'u ū ḥūwa dāim fē l-lēhfa*, " O he who is desirous of sow's milk, other people are content and he is always groaning."

A person who has thought of doing some wrong, but refrains from carrying out his intention when told by others that he ought to be ashamed of it, says to himself :—

- (1445) *L-ḥāja li t'ḥallik ḥallēha*, " Leave the thing that leaves you."

A person's bad character or evil intentions appear from his face :

- (1446) *Ḥrūf mēt'qāl mēn r-rbat ibān*, " The lamb worth a mēt'qāl shows itself by the tying " (quietly submitting to being tied up, whereas a good and strong lamb when tied tries to get loose) ;

(1447) *Mūl l-qalb l-kḥaḥ dāim ūjhū swūd 'and r-rjdl*, "The face of him who has a black heart always appears black to men";

(1448) *L-'āinin lī ḥliu dār būya dāhrīn*, "The eyes that will empty my father's house are evident."¹

Of a person who appears to be good but has a bad heart, it is said:—

(1449) *L-gdīr r-rēkdāna hādēk hīya l-bēllā'a*, "A pool with stagnant water is just the one that swallows [people]" (Andjra).

A bad person who has a pleasant face or speaks nicely calls forth the remark:—

(1450) *S-sēnn yēthēk nē s-sēnn ū l-qalb fīh lā-ḥdē'a*, "Tooth laughs towards tooth, and in the heart there is deception"²; or,

(1451) *Z-zwāq ū l-'att bḥaḥ bū rzzai*, "Decorative painting and stinging like [that of] a wasp"; or,

(1452) *L-mkēbb hrīr ū t-tā'ām š'ēr*, "The cover (of a conical shape) is silk, and the food [underneath it] is barley."

Don't trust the tears of a rascal, because they come easily:

(1453) *L-bkī dē l-qāḥba mḥābb'in mūr d-dēffa*, "The tears of the harlot are hidden behind the door."³

GUILT AND INNOCENCE

He who has to decide upon guilt and innocence in a quarrel between two persons should follow the example of the judge and not of the governor:

(1454) *L-qādi ismā' mēn jūj u l-qaid bē š-šhūd*, "The judge listens to both [parties], and the governor [judges] on a hearing of witnesses."

A person who in his own opinion has suffered an injustice at the hands of a judge or governor complains of it by saying, as a kind of 'ār:—

(1455) *Da'wāt'i bih nē ṣ-ṣāltān l-kbīr l-ḥāḳēm bla uzīr*, "I

¹ *Supra*, nr. 1104.

² *Supra*, nr. 327.

³ Cf. *supra*, nr. 18.

complain of him to the great Sultan, the judge who has no vizier."

- (1456) *D-dá'wa dē l-māḍlīm 'and ăllāh ma fēha hējáb*, "An innocent person's invocation to God has no curtains" (it will be heard at once).

When a person is heard to speak badly about another who does not deserve it, he is told:—

- (1457) *Lā tšđđar mēl la iŝđar lā t'kēbbar mēl la ikbār*, "Don't belittle him who is not small, don't magnify him who is not great."

When a person who has a quarrel with another is blamed by him for having some bodily defect, he gives him the following answer, which means that God has afflicted him with the defect after his birth and that the same may happen to the other person:—

- (1458) *Yimma wūldēt'ni bla 'aib u l-'aib hwiñt'ū mēft'ōha*, "My mother bore me without defect, and the shops of the defect are open."

When a person has run away from another who has not given him his due—as when a wife has run away from her husband, a child from his parent, or a servant from his master—and is asked why he has done so, he replies:—

- (1459) *Hátt'a ŝi jrū ma kăihráb mēñ dār l-'ōrs*, "Not even a dog runs away from a house where there is a wedding"¹ (i.e. he would not have run away if he had been treated with fairness).

Of a person who is guilty of an offence but accuses an innocent one of having committed it—a so-called "Jewish accusation"—it is said:—

- (1460) *Drábni wū bka ŝbáqni wū ŝŝka*, "He beat me and wept, he went before me and complained."

He who blames somebody else for a fault committed by himself is told:—

- (1461) *Li đarbát'ū yiddū mā yēbki*, "He who is beaten by his own hand must not weep."²

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 215.

² *Supra*, nr. 1198.

If a wrong-doer has succeeded in escaping and an innocent person is caught instead of him, people who are aware of the latter's innocence say :—

(1462) *Tāhāt' s-šom'a 'allqū l-hā^{ad}jam*, "The minaret fell down, hang the barber."¹

But there is also a saying to the effect that he who is unjustly accused of having committed a wrong need not care about it :—

(1463) *Lā t'ā'ba' s-smā b nēbh l-klāb*, "The sky takes no notice of the barking of dogs."²

Of persons who have trouble for the sake of others it is said :—

(1464) *R-rā'i ū l-ḥammās kāiddārbū 'āla rāzq n-nās*, "The shepherd and the ploughman fight on behalf of the livelihood of others."

When a man has been killed and the avengers come at night to burn the manslayer's house, other villagers, whose houses also catch fire, complain of the injury they have suffered through no fault of theirs :—

(1465) *L-fhūla yit'lātmū wū l-bārwaq yēntras*, "The bulls run against each other, and the asphodels are trampled down" (Andjra).

Sayings relating to the sufferings of innocent people in consequence of robbery committed by others are found in a previous chapter.³ If a man who seeks another's life hires some one to kill him—as often happens in a case of revenge—he is nevertheless the real homicide :

(1466) *N-nēddāh hāwa l-qātt'āl*, "The instigator is the manslayer" (Andjra).

Of a scoundrel who blames another person for having committed some trifling fault, it is said :—

(1467) *Š-šēbku kat'āiyīb 'āl l-gārbāl*, "The net (which is big) scolds the sieve" (which is small).

¹ There are widespread variants of this proverb (Singer-Littmann, op. cit., nr. 141). For a story connected with it see Lüderitz, *Sprichwörter aus Marocko*, nr. 78.

² Cf. *infra*, nr. 1550.

³ *Supra*, p. 222.

BAD SPEECH

It is better to be stabbed than to be insulted :

(1468) *L-byāt^a m'a l-ḥdīd wā la ṣ-ṣdīd*, "To pass the night with iron is better than with pus."

(1469) *Jorḥ l-klām ṣ'āb mēn jorḥ l-bdān*, "The wound caused by words is worse than the wound of bodies."¹

(1470) *L-'arīb šūk u l-ḥyā mālāh mābrūk*, "Shameful talk is thorns, and he who feels shame (i.e. who does not speak badly to people) is blessed."

Yet it is better to suffer an insult than to fight :

(1471) *Mīūt^s ḥzūt^s ū ḥzūt^s wā la kāiya wōḥda bē z-zūt^s*, "To be put to shame one hundred and one times is better than one cauterization with oil."

(1472) *L-blā dē l-insān mēl l-lisān*, "The evil of a person comes from the tongue."

He who speaks badly to another is cursed by God and by him whom he has insulted :

(1473) *Dārbū llāh u zādu l-'abd*, "God struck him and the servant [of God] increased it."

He must be prepared to receive a bad answer :

(1474) *Li daqq fē l-bāb lāzēm ismā' ^a-ājwāb*, "He who knocks at the door must hear the answer"; or,

(1475) *Li daqq fē l-bāb ma yā'dēm ūjāb*, "He who knocks at the door will not be without an answer."

Even a person who is otherwise gentle and considerate will not put up with an insult :

(1476) *Bḥal l-ḥaiṭ dē l-ḥrīr rtab u kāijīyīf*, "Like a string of silk he was soft, and [now] he strangles";

(1477) *Idā šūftⁿi ḥmār lā t'ērkeb šī 'ālīya*, "If you see me to be a donkey, don't ride on me" (Andjra).²

A person who, when sitting in a company of people, hears bad talk about himself, says :—

(1478) *Aḍrāb fē l-bérd'a yēftān l-ḥmār*, "Beat the pack-saddle, the donkey will wake up" (Andjra).³

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1498.

² *Supra*, nr. 275.

³ *Supra*, nr. 1362.

When a person in speaking to another makes nasty remarks alluding to a third person, who is also present, the latter says :—

(1479) *L-klām m'a s-sārya u fhām yā^a-djārya*, “The talk is with the pillar and understand, O slave concubine” (the meaning attached to the word in question at Tangier, but not in Andjra).¹

To insult a shereef is particularly dangerous; to him who does it people say :—

(1480) *Rūbb l-beit^a yāhmīh*, “May the lord of the house (i.e. his saintly ancestor) protect him” (also said to one who enters a mosque in a state of uncleanness or commits any other kind of sacrilege).

When a person who has insulted, or quarrelled with, another, ignorant of the high respect in which the latter is held, he may, when informed about it, say as an apology :—

(1481) *Li ma 'arfāk hāṣṣrāk*, “He who does not know you makes you lose [the respect due to you].”

There are cases, however, in which an insult may be well deserved. A man who, when playing with a young boy, is insulted by him is told :—

(1482) *Ṭhāk ně^a-djru yēlhās lēk šwārbēk*, “Play with the dog, he will lick your moustache” (Andjra).²

The following advice is given to a quarrelsome person :—

(1483) *'Iš mēskīn t'mūt^a šārēf*, “Live humbly, you will die old.”

But there is also a saying according to which self-assertion is conducive to happiness and peace :—

(1484) *Sēffel t'ērt'āh*, “Be insolent, you will have rest.”

If two persons quarrel and one of them goes to the sheikh to complain of the other one, the latter scornfully says :—

(1485) *Ṭābbēl fē l-ma hāt't'a yēqṣāh*, “Beat the water till it is hard” (Andjra).

When a quarrelsome man who is feared by the people of his

¹ *Supra*, nr. 106.

² *Supra*, nr. 712.

own village is taken down by a man from another village, the former triumphantly say of him :—

(1486) *Ḥokk l-kéimūn ifóh*, “ Rub the cummin, it will give a strong smell ” (Andjra).

Even a person who has committed a fault should be treated with consideration and not be blamed in the presence of others :

(1487) *Ḥállī ḥók b hémmn^u lā t^ufádhū qúddám uláid ḥáumt^u*,
“ Leave your brother with his reputation, don't disgrace him before the sons of his quarter ” ;

(1488) *Ḥzīt^u bēkrīya áhsēn mēn māzūzīya*, “ To be put to shame early (i.e. privately) is better than late ” (in the presence of others).

If a person is blamed by everybody, even his friends, he says to the latter :—

(1489) *Ma bqa fā t-tyōr mēn ḥáwa mēslem hátt^a bú 'mīra qálū nāsrāni*, “ There remained among the birds no Moslem, even the sparrow-hawk (which is considered to be a *fqēh*, or learned man, among the birds) was said to be a Christian.”

The most dangerous insult is a curse, being an intended cause of further injury brought about either directly through the mysterious power of the curse itself or by the aid of a supernatural being invoked in it.¹ The curse has often the express form of a wish ; but it may also consist in giving the other person a bad name, which is meant not as a mere insult, but as a means of causing him misfortune, and in some cases even of making him that which the name indicates. The effect of a curse is influenced by the personality of the curser. As has been said in another connection, no curses are more terrible than those which parents pronounce upon their children² ; but the curse of a husband is as potent as that of a father :

(1490) *Li šḥat 'ālēha rajēlha bḥal li šḥat 'ālēha bābāha*, “ The woman who is cursed by her husband is like her who is cursed by her father.”

¹ See *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 479 sqq.

² *Supra*, p. 95.

The curses of saints and shereefs are more dangerous than those of ordinary persons, and the curses of women are worse than those of men.¹ The dangerous character of a woman's curses is no doubt connected with the notion of her uncleanness ; for there is a saying :—

(1491) *D-dá'wa dě l-měngús mda mēl l-mūs*, “ The curse of an unclean person is sharper than a knife.”

In Dukkâla this was said to mean that the curses of persons like drunkards, professional singers, and prostitutes are very dangerous. But at Fez I was told that it has reference to Jews only, whose curses are, generally speaking, more fearful than those of Muhammadans ; and of prostitutes it is even said that their curses are of little consequence :

(1492) *D-dá'wa dě l-qāḥba ma t'ǧarraq sfīna*, “ The curse of a harlot does not sink a ship.”

The efficacy of a curse is further influenced by the guilt or innocence of the person on whom it is pronounced. He is not hurt by an undeserved curse, which, on the contrary, generally falls back on him who uttered it :

(1493) *D-dá'wa bla s-sdbb ma t'qtá' ši l-bdb*, “ A curse without causes does not pass through the door ” (it will remain with the curser) ;

(1494) *Dá'wa bla dnüb f rāṣ mülāḥa kāddúb*, “ A curse without fault melts on the head of its master.”

And if an undeserved curse is pronounced on the father, grandfather, or other ancestor of the cursed person, it will affect the corresponding relative or relatives of the curser :

(1495) *Li zēbbel f wāldīn n-nās bḥal li zēbbel f wāldih*, “ He who curses the parents of others is like him who curses his own parents.”

Yet there are certain exceptions to these rules. The curses that parents pronounce on their children and shereefs on persons who are not shereefs can never, however undeserved they be, fall back on the persons themselves ; but, on the other hand,

¹ *Supra*, p. 66.

they become blessings for anybody involved in the curse. The case is different, however, if a shereef unjustly curses another shereef : such a curse will fall back on his own head (F'ez).

Besides sayings referring to insults hurled in a person's face, there are others referring to bad speech about a person behind his back.

- (1496) *Lā t'qūl qbēh fē n-nds lāzēm ilāḥqāk au ulādēk l-bās*, "Don't speak badly of people, [if you do,] evil must overtake you or your children."
- (1497) *Li t'kēllēm fā qfāya bḥal li kla hrāya*, "He who speaks at the nape of my neck is like him who eats my dung."
- (1498) *D-ājorḥ yēbrā u klām l-'aib 'ómnrū ma yēbrā*, "The wound will heal, and shameful talk will never heal."¹
- (1499) *Lā kḥrḥāk qbēh iqūl fīk u llī ḥēbbēk l-ḥair yēḡī lēk*, "He who hates you will speak badly about you, and he who loves you will wish you good."
- (1500) *Lā kḥrḥāk ma yā'dem ma iqūl fīk*, "He who hates you does not lack what to say about you."

When a person abuses another, he is told that he should speak well of his friend in the presence of others so as to make him respected :—

- (1501) *Kēbbar ḥōk fē l-mḥālla yērja' qaid*, "Make your brother great in the camp, he will become a captain."
- (1502) *D 'aibēk ma jēbrāk*, "He who speaks badly about you will not find you" (when he wants your assistance ; Andjra).

Of a person who speaks badly of another who has done him a favour, it is said :—

- (1503) *Qdi ḥājt'āk allāh yēn'al jart'āk*, "Get what you want, may God curse your female neighbour."²

When a person is abused by another who has given him something, he says :—

- (1504) *L-'azz leh la mā'za*, "[I want] respect, may God spare me the she-goat."

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 1469.

² *Supra*, nr. 276 ; *infra*, nr. 1605.

Of people who speak badly about some one after he has left their company it is said :—

(1505) *Kēlb nbāh ma 'att ma jrah*, “ A dog that barked, he did not bite nor wound.”

The person who left the company may in such a case himself, after hearing of the incident, pass the remark :—

(1506) *Ida gab l-ūja ma yēbqa fē l-qfa mḥābba*, “ When the face disappears, the love does not remain at the nape of the neck ” (Andjra).

A person who hears others speaking disparagingly about him without knowing that he is listening to them, says :—

(1507) *Ida šq'let' n-nirān zid l-ḥtab 'ālīya*, “ If fires are lighted, put more wood on me.”

When two persons are abusing a third and he happens to appear and overhear them, he scolds them saying :—

(1508) *L-hādra fē s-sba' ū hūwa yēsmā'*, “ The talk is about the lion, and he hears it ” (Andjra).

Of a person who speaks nicely before another's face and badly behind his back, it is said :—

(1509) *F l-ūjāh mrāya u f l-qfā mqaṣṣ*, “ At the face a looking-glass, and at the nape of the neck a pair of scissors.”

The following saying is applied to a man who is abusing others, although he is worse himself :—

(1510) *D-ājmēl ma išūf kūrri'u ma išūf gēr l-kūrri d hāh*, “ The camel does not see his own hump, he sees only the hump of his brother.”¹

A person who without sufficient reason speaks badly about another, whether what he says is true or not, is told :—

(1511) *Qdṣst'āk qdṣsa wā ḥdūt'ek ḥdūt'*, “ Your tale is a tale, and your talk is talk.”

Even if you know that some one has committed a fault, you should not talk too much about it :

(1512) *Lā t'ḥfar 'āla d-dēbra ḥātt'a iḥrūj d-dēmm mēnha*, “ Don't dig in a sore till blood comes out of it.”

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 575).

A person who is told that some action of his is disapproved of by others remarks :—

(1513) *Dă hśédna yă'mel fhălna*, "May he who envies us do the same as we ourselves" (Andjra).

If a person who speaks disrespectfully of a very powerful man is told that it is dangerous to do so, he answers that he is not afraid of him, as he has had to do with more powerful men :—

(1514) *'Ādina l-widdān 'ása swāqi*, "We have crossed rivers, not to speak of rivulets" (Andjra).

A man who has abused the Government and been punished in consequence may hear the remark :—

(1515) *Qāli nē l-fārrān mnāin dāhlāt'ēk n-nār qāl mēn fūmmi*, "They said to the baking-oven, How did the fire enter you? She said, Through my mouth."¹

The worst kind of bad talk behind a person's back is to tell lies about him. It is better to be shot than to be slandered :—

(1516) *Fūmm lē-j'āb wā la fūmm lē-klāb*, "The mouths of gun-barrels are better than the mouths of dogs."

(1517) *Nēmmām n-nās ikūn klāmū bhāl l-gaiṣ*, "The talk of him who slanders people is like mud."

A person who has been told that some one has slandered him compares the slanderer to a veterinary, who, for the sake of gain, pretends that the animal he examines suffers from some defect; he says :—

(1518) *Kun ṣāfi u n'āl l-bāitār*, "Be sincere and curse the veterinary."²

Or he may make the polite remark :—

(1519) *Allāh ij'ālna gāba u n-nās fīna hattāba*, "May God make us a wood and the people wood-cutters in it" (lit. us; i.e. if people speak badly about us, it will be a merit for us in the eyes of God).

And if he does not believe what he is told, the informant may bring the slanderer to him and say :—

(1520) *Hā Mēs'ūd hā mēn bā'ū*, "Here is Mes'ūd ('the lucky one'), here he who sold him" (Andjra).

¹ Cf. *infra*, nr. 1544.

² *Supra*, nr. 720.

CHAPTER XVII

FALSEHOOD—BOASTING AND ARROGANCE—INGRATITUDE— ENVY AND MALIGNANT JOY—VARIOUS VICES

- (1521) *L-ḥaqq sbā' u l-kdūb dba'*, "Truth is a lion, and lies are a hyena."
 (1522) *L-kdūb dūda jīfa ū ṣ-ṣddq ḥāja ndīfa*, "Lies are a stinking dead worm, and truth is a clean thing."
 (1523) *Qūl l-ḥaqq ūlu ikūn mērr*, "Speak the truth, even though it is bitter."

The same meaning is attached to the saying:—

- (1524) *Ṭ-ṭīb mā ikūn ḥnīn*, "The physician should not be soft" (i.e. not be afraid of causing pain).

The whole truth should be spoken:

- (1525) *Li ḥalla ḥarf mēn š-sra' lāzēm yēt'āddeb 'ālih*, "He who leaves out a letter from the religious law must suffer for it."¹
 (1526) *L-kdūb hum snāḥ l-ḥrāmi*, "Lies are the weapon of the rascal."
 (1527) *L-kēdb ḥūwa snāḥ l-fājēr*, "The lie is the weapon of the libertine."
 (1528) *L-kēddāb mēn'ūl ūlu ikūn fqēh 'and āllāh mērdūl*, "The liar is cursed, even though he is a learned man he is cast off by God."
 (1529) *L-Ġarb bqa ddt' bla rāṣ mēn kēt'raīt' l-kdūb ū qlūb n-nḥds*, "The Gharb remains a body without head owing to much lying and hearts of (i.e. as hard as) copper."
 (1530) *L-bāṭal kāyēḫṭāl*, "A lie is of no avail."
 (1531) *Kull si kāyēnfā' mēn ġēr l-kdūb u l-ġība mā t'ērbbāḥ*, "Everything is useful, except that lies and slander bring no profit."

¹ *Supra*, nr. 783.

It is said of a liar :—

- (1532) *L-ḥāzāq ma ifákkū mēl l-mūt*¹, “The breaking of wind will not save him from death.”

What is a lie will be known to be a lie, and what is true will be known to be true :—

- (1533) *Ma f l-kdūb ma yēt¹kēddēb ma f ṣ-ṣaḥḥ ma yēt¹‘áuwūl*,
“There is nothing in lies to lie for, there is nothing in truth to repeat.”

- (1534) *L-kdūb kāiqállū r-rāzq álu ikún d-dhāb f ṣ-ṣnádaq*,
“Lies decrease livelihood, even though there is gold in the boxes.”¹

According to an old Andjra woman, it was a belief in former times that a person by telling lies shortens his life, lessens his size, and decreases his money, whereas he who always speaks the truth thereby increases his age, strength, family, understanding, and property. The face of a person who speaks the truth is as attractive as light :

- (1535) *L-ḥaqq ‘ālih n-nōr*, “Over truth there is light.”

- (1536) *‘Ainin l-kēddēb kāiṣṣgáru álu ikún f ḍáru*, “The eyes of a liar become small, even though he is in his own house.”

The world is full of untruthfulness ; hence you should not trust people too readily :

- (1537) *Fáin t¹énwa l-ḥajr t¹emma t¹ejbar l-hāmm*, “Where you look for good there you will find evil.”

You should not trust a person, even though he be the *imām* behind whom the people pray :

- (1538) *T¹eq bih u ṣállī m¹rah*, “Trust him and pray behind him.”

The following saying, referring to the untrustworthiness of people, is allusive to a story about a person who was caught by a lion on the bank of a river and, in order to be able to escape

¹ There are, however, certain cases in which untruthfulness is recommended for prudential reasons (*infra*, nrs. 1705 sqq.).

by crossing the river, asked the lion to wet him in it before he devoured him :—

(1539) *Qālha s-sbq' bnādēm kulu yābēs lā t'fēzzgū*, "The lion said, Eat human beings dry, don't make them wet."

Of a man whose word is not to be trusted any more than that of a young boy, it is said :—

(1540) *Lī sūhhar m'a d-drāri yēšbāh fātar*, "He who eats the *shōr* (a meal in the month of Ramaḍān partaken of two hours before dawn) with young boys will eat the *fīōr* (which in Ramaḍān is eaten as soon as the sun has set) in the morning" (i.e. he will be like a young boy who does not fast); or,

(1541) *S-shōr m'a d-drāri kāifāttar*, "The *shōr* with young boys makes one eat the *fīōr* [with them]."

A person who knows from what he himself has seen and heard that a certain statement is false denies it by saying to the liar :—

(1542) *N-nhār b 'āinū u l-līl b ūdnū*, "The day has its eyes, and the night has its ears."

A servant who denies a fault he has committed is told by his master :—

(1543) *Mša yēššād l-hjēl dārbū l-mēnjēl fē r-rjēl*, "He went to hunt partridges, a sickle wounded him in the foot."

Of an official who has told a lot of lies and been put in prison in consequence it is said :—

(1544) *Ma t'ēḥḥāl n-nār nē l-fārran gar 'āla dōqmū*, "No fire enters the oven except through its mouth" (Andjra).¹

If some one is asked whether a certain person, whom he knows to be a great liar, is so or not, he gives the following answer, which means that he is not worth asking about, that anything he says is a lie, and that it is only by force one can be induced to salute him :—

(1545) *Sēllēm 'āla ḥbībēk bē d-dra'*, "Greet your friend by force" (Andjra).

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 1515.

A person who is told some news which he does not believe asks :—

(1546) *Kull ma sma'ti^s fě s-sōq shēh*, “ Is all that you hear at the market true ” (Andjra) ?

If you suspect a person of telling a lie you should not ask him more until some time has passed, because only then you can make sure if your suspicion is justified or not :

(1547) *Něssi l-kěddāb u sáqsih*, “ Make the liar forget and ask him.”

A person who cannot be easily deceived is compared to a barber, who also cups people and is considered to be a clever man :

(1548) *Há^{aa}jām bē qráurū*, “ A barber with his cupping-instruments ” (made of tin or brass).

A person who finds that another wants to swindle him compares the latter to a thief who in vain tries to steal something from another thief :—

(1549) *Šěffar tāh 'āla šěffar*, “ Thief fell in with thief.”

If a person denies the truth of a statement made by another, the latter defends himself by saying :—

(1550) *La t^sdorr s-shāb něbh l-klāb*, “ The clouds are not hurt by the barking of dogs ”¹ ; or,

(1551) *Ālū tārūt^s mā'za*, “ Even though it flew [it was] a goat.”

(This saying is quoted from a story about a man from Tafielt—the inhabitants of which are reputed to be unusually stupid—who took a raven sitting on the ground for a goat and could not be persuaded of his mistake. When the bird took wing his companion asked him, “ Can a goat fly ? ” to which he answered the above.)

When a servant who complains of being ill is told by his master that he is a liar, he replies :—

(1552) *Ma ya'rāf fě l-mězwūd gēr li dáhhāy yiddi fēha*, “ Nobody knows [what is] in the skin-bag but he who has put his hand into it.”²

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 1463. Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1621).

² *Supra*, nr. 333.

A witness who is accused of having received a bribe to give false evidence answers :—

- (1553) *Li t'a'téh li síybù fě l-bħar l-'áti llāh*, "What you will give me throw into the sea, the giver is God."
- (1554) *L-mù'āhāda hīya mēn d-dīn*, "An agreement is a kind of debt." ¹
- (1555) *Dāim mūl n-nīya hāj't'ū māqdīya*, "He who keeps his faith will always have his wish fulfilled."
- (1556) *Mūl n-nīya mārboh u qtl n-nīya māfdōh*, "He who keeps his faith is a bringer of profit, and the faithless one is disgraced."
- (1557) *L-ħāin allāh ihñnū wū d-ājīyid allāh izīdū*, "May God betray the betrayer, and may God increase the good of him who is good" (said when a promise is made).
- (1558) *Mūl n-nīya yēglēb mūl l-hēla*, "He who keeps his faith overcomes him who uses cunning."
- (1559) *L-ħāuwān mā i'īnū llāh*, "May the traitor not be helped by God."
- (1560) *L-ǧāddār yēbqa fě d-dār*, "May the traitor stay at home."

The following sayings are used when a person does not keep his promise :—

- (1561) *L-qaul hč i-j'ūmm u l-fe'l mā'dūm*, "The talk is with the mouth, and the action is missing";
- (1562) *L-qaul u l-fe'l hāwa l-'āmāl š-šahēh*, "Speech and action make the perfect conduct";
- (1563) *Klāmū fšyāt'un 'āla kudyāt'un ddāha rēh 'ārif*, "His talk [was] a noiseless fart on a hill, the strong wind took it away";
- (1564) *L-'ard yērt'bāt mēn rējlū u r-rājēl mēn dōqmū*, "The ox is tied by his leg and the man by his mouth" (Andjra).

A person who has promised another to give him something,

¹ Widespread variants of this proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 3076; Tallqvist, op. cit., nr. 193).

but when reminded of it only makes excuses, is told by the impatient promisee :—

(1565) *Hátt'a išib l-ğrab u ilá' l-ħmār fē s-sēllum u t'nāwar l-mlāh*, “ [I shall have to wait] till the raven becomes white and the donkey climbs a ladder and the salt blossoms.”

Of a man who has been plotting with others and then denounces them, it is said :—

(1566) *Yęsrāq m'a s-šarrāq u yęsbāh šāħēd*, “ He robs with the robbers, and in the morning he is a witness [against them].”

A protégé must not be given up :

(1567) *L-mēzrag mā yęđħál bē l-ħēla*, “ Protection should not enter by cunning.”¹

Yet in spite of all this condemnation of deception and cunning there is also the saying :—

(1568) *L-ħēla gēlbēt' r-rājla*, “ Cunning conquers valour.”

Of hypocrisy it is said :—

(1569) *Rábbi rábbi u n-nfāq ħrām*, “ God, God, and hypocrisy is forbidden.”

(1570) *L-Ġarb ida kt'ar fīh n-nfāq ħruj mēnnū u sir ně š-šarq*, “ If there is much hypocrisy in the Gharb, leave it and go to the East.”

The most dangerous form of falsehood is perjury, that is a conditional self-imprecation, a curse by which a person either explicitly or implicitly, in his assurance that he speaks the truth, calls down upon himself some evil in the event of what he says not being true.² But an oath may be attended with evil consequences even though it is not false ; it is in all circumstances considered to be in some degree dangerous to the person who takes it, just as a drop is always left in a vessel when you pour out from it the milk with which it is filled. The conditional self-imprecation readily causes an uncanny feeling in an unreasoning

¹ Cf. *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 535 sqq.

² *Ibid.*, i, 492 sqq.

mind, which does not clearly enough distinguish between the categorical and the conditional. Indeed the evil energy in an oath is looked upon as a miasma which contaminates anybody who comes near it. People therefore dislike being present when an oath is taken, avoid meeting a person on the road when he comes back from a shrine or mosque where he has sworn, and are reluctant to give lodging to a person who has taken an oath on the same day ; and in some parts of the country he who has sworn at a holy place does not return the same way as he went, so as not to carry the *bās*, or evil, with him to his home. Moreover, an accuser who knows that his accusation is false is particularly liable to be affected by the oath in the same manner as if he had himself committed perjury. It is said that when a person swears three drops fall down from the sky. If his oath is false one of them falls on himself, another on his children, and the third on his animals, whereas if he is innocent the three drops fall on the false accuser, *his* children, and *his* animals ; and one of the drops will cause misfortune wherever it falls.

The various dangers attending the taking of an oath have led to the sayings :—

(1571) *Lā t'hālēf lā t'hālēf lā t'hdar 'āla mēn ydhlef*, “ Don't swear, don't make [anybody] swear, don't be present when anybody swears ” ;

(1572) *Llāh injjīna mēn l-hālf u l-mihālīf u li gā'ad išūf*, “ May God save us from him who swears and him who makes another swear and him who is sitting looking on ” (Dukkāla).

There is, however, also a saying, taken from the Muhammadan traditions, to the effect that if an innocent person is compelled to swear at a shrine it is as if he visited the saint to give him an offering :—

(1573) *Li hālēf 'āl ḡ-ḡfā kāyinnū zār*, “ He who swears in good faith is like him who visits a shrine.”

Yet in spite of the fear of a false oath there are many who are

ready to perjure themselves whenever it suits them. It is, after all, better to swear falsely at a shrine than to be taken to prison by a mounted soldier sent by the governor :

(1574) *Lláhōma fqēr mjīyēr u la 'aud mliyēr*, O God, a white-washed shrine is better than a horse with a breast-plate " (Dukkāla).

Persons who often take oaths are perjurers :

(1575) *Alāmūt' l-kēddāb kt'ir l-hālf fih*, "The signs of the liar are [that there is] much swearing in him."

BOASTING AND ARROGANCE

(1576) *Mā yēškor rôhū mēn gēr qall n-nās*, "Nobody praises himself but the lowest among people."

(1577) *Mā lāit'kīllēm fē l-gērga' jar l-hāwi*, "Among the walnuts only the empty one speaks" (Andjra).

(1578) *D yidd'āi bē l-qāwa imūt' bē d-dof*, "He who calls himself powerful will die with weakness" (Andjra).

(1579) *R-rājēl ida tḡā kājīb lū llāh tī_hēlki f' s'ā*, "If a man becomes overhearing, God brings to him one who will make him perish at once."

Of an insignificant man who is arrogant and quarrelsome it is said :—

(1580) *Qāddū qadd l-fūla ū hāssū hāss l-gūla*, "His size is the size of a bean and his sound the sound of a *gūla*" (an evil spirit¹).

An ignorant man who pretends to know things of which he is quite ignorant is told :—

(1581) *'Aql gnāwa bnaq l-mdīna bla bāb ū qālu fāin bābū*, "The understanding of the Gnāwa² : They built the town without a gate and said, Where is its gate ?"

A man who boasts of some great achievement is told that he could not have done it alone without the assistance of other men :

(1582) *Lā rājēl illā bē r-rjāl*, "Nobody is really a man, but he who is with other men."

¹ See *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 396 sq.

² See *supra*, p. 132.

When an artisan, who has settled down in a strange place, boasts of an ability which he does not possess, he is given to understand that he has no chance of success since there are many really skilful artisans in the place:—

(1583) *Jā n marj flāyū u bga imrāt bē t-t'arwēha*, "He came to the meadow of pennyroyal and wanted to catch cold" (for which pennyroyal is used as a medicine).¹

Of a man who boasts of having done something he has done, though he never before did anything to boast of, it is said:—

(1584) '*Āgūza u šūbbrāi' sāraq*, "An old woman, and she caught a robber" (Andjra).

There are various sayings relating to a coward who poses as brave:

(1585) *Rājēl qt'el āṣad f l-qifār u rājēl qāt'lū l-fār f d-dār*, "A man killed a lion in the wilds, and a man was killed by a mouse in the house";²

(1586) *Wāqt' s-šāda kāyēmsi l-kēlb ibūl*, "At the time for hunting the dog goes and makes water";

(1587) *Mā hāmmund šī d-dhū' 'āssak bšīr l-ḥūt'*, "The sly ones do not cause us anxiety, so much the less fish-scales";

(1588) *T-t'āhzim nāṣrāni u š-šgūl ihūdi*, "The girdling is Christian and the business is Jewish."

When an arrogant and boastful man becomes timid in the presence of another of whom he is afraid, it is said:—

(1589) *Idā šūft'i d-dīb 'ārāq 'ārāf s-slōqi mēn mārah*, "If you see a jackal sweat (i.e. running so fast that he sweats), know that a greyhound is after him"; or,

(1590) *Idā šūft'i t-twīl kājri 'ārāf l-qšer mēn mārah*, "If you see a tall fellow running, know that a short one is after him."

When a person boasts of having been kind to another, the latter may angrily reply:—

(1591) *Bāš 'āš bēllārēj hāt't'a jā d-djrad*, "By what did the stork live until the locusts came?" or,

¹ *Supra*, nr. 960.

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 1426.

- (1592) *Bāš kânēt^a mūka qbēl îji d-djrad*, "By what did the owl exist before the locusts came" (said if both parties are women) ?

When a woman boasts of having given another woman this or that, the latter may also reply :—

- (1593) *Aš 'and l-qār'a ma t'ār'a*, "What has the bald woman to feed on ?"

A person who boasts of his wealth is told :—

- (1594) *Li 'ātāk ya'tēni*, "May He who has given to you give to me."

When a person who is known to have been poor makes a show of no longer being so, people say of him :

- (1595) *Šufūni šēnnū f šūni*, "Look at me what I have got in my bosom" ; or,

- (1596) *L-qātta bē l-hórša u l-kélba bē š-šérbīl*, "The she-cat with an ear-ring and the bitch with embroidered slippers."

Of a poor person who pretends to be rich it is said :—

- (1597) *L-ḥlāḥl u l-ḥwa mēn dāḥl*, "Rings round the ankles and emptiness inside" ; or,

- (1598) *Yā t-tāma' fē d-djāra bē z-zēzz n-nās iḍḥkū 'ālik w izīduk ḥāt'a d-dbēz*, "O you who are ambitious to become a merchant with might and main, the people will laugh at you and even give you blows with the fist."

A man who boasts of his intention to buy houses, gardens, or other expensive things, although he is much too poor to do it, is laughingly told :—

- (1599) *Ḥāt'a yēḥlāq u sēmmih 'Abdrrzzāq*, "[Wait] till he (i.e. a son) is born, and call him 'Abdrrzzāq" (a name which means "the slave of the Sustainer", an epithet of God ; Andjra).

Of a poor man who puts on airs it is said :—

- (1600) *Z-zālt u l-fērā'na bhāl l-bārjōt^a dē z-zrahna*, "Destitution and arrogance like the flies of the people of Zārhūn" (which are reputed to be very troublesome).

The following saying refers to a man of humble origin who rose to a high position and became very overbearing, but afterwards lost his position :

- (1601) *Qal lū ǧš kǎn bābāk qal lū neffār qal lū l-ḥamdū li llāh ramḍān t'qāda*, "He said to him, What was your father? He said to him, *Neffār* (the man who during Ramaḍān at certain hours of the night sounds a trumpet from the tower of a mosque). He said to him, Thank God, Ramaḍān has come to an end."

INGRATITUDE

- (1602) *Neḥkār l-ḥair ḥārāmi* (or, *wēld l-ḥrām*), "He who disavows a benefit is a rascal (or, bastard)."

Yet a good deed is often rewarded with evil :

- (1603) *Lī-ǧmel l-ḥair yēḥjā lū bā mezwī*, "He who has done good will have colic in return."¹

A person who has been kind to others but met with no gratitude, says to himself :—

- (1604) *N-nās t'āiyāṭ yū lē-jwāld w āna ma jbart^s ḥadd*, "Others call out, O good people; and I have not found any one."

Of a person who speaks badly about his benefactor it is said :—

- (1605) *Dā qda ḥājt^s ū yīn'al jārt^s ū*, "He who has got what he wanted curses his female neighbour" (Andjra).²

With regard to one who abuses a person who has fed or fostered him it is said :—

- (1606) *'Ammār lū ḥālqu yēnsa li ḥālqu*, "Fill his throat, he will forget him who created him"; or,

- (1607) *L-mākla wū š-šēt^s ma bḥal ā-jnān dē l-ihūdi*, "The food and the insult are like the garden of a Jew" (it is said that a Jew speaks badly of a person who has been kind to him and well of one who has treated him harshly); or,

- (1608) *Ḍarbūni yā ksūri u ḥūma f sūni*, "Beat me, O my pieces of bread, and they are in my bosom"; or,

¹ *Supra*, nr. 1082.

² *Supra*, nrs. 276, 1503.

(1609) *Ksúrna 'amluhá nna*, "Our pieces of bread made it for us"; or,

(1610) *La tṣhab l-məřjō' dlu t'wúkkli bē l-tīl u n-nhār ma iqūl gēr bē 'a-jō'*, "Don't make friends with one whom you have brought up (not your own child), even if you feed him day and night he will only say he is hungry."

A person who has helped another to a high post and afterwards been treated very badly by him says:—

(1611) *L-mā qāl ana f s-smā hwūt' ū f l-ard u'ūwūt' u l-'ūd li hyūt' bik nkūt'*, "The water said, I [was] in the sky [and] fell down and stayed on the earth and burned myself with the wood I made alive."

Of a man who becomes troublesome to his former teacher or master it is said:—

(1612) *'Allemnāhum u herna m'āhum*, "We taught them and had trouble with them."

A benefactor who is treated with ingratitude is told:—

(1613) *Škūn šafū lek yā l-mkūhhla fā sállas*, "Who look at you, O woman with blackened eyes, in the dark?" or,

(1614) *Kāišūf r-rbē' ma išūf l-hāfa*, "He sees the grass, he does not see the precipice"; or,

(1615) *Hāirū hūwa hlāsū*, "His good office is his pay."

If a person who has treated another as a friend and helped him when he was poor, is afterwards abused by him, people make the remark:—

(1616) *T'hālla gēr fē rkūbt'ēk ida hallit'īha t'hōn bik*, "Look only after your own knee (i.e. see that you have enough food for yourself), if you leave it uncared-for it betrays you" (by becoming weak).

ENVY AND MALIGNANT JOY

Envy is a very conspicuous emotion in the Moors. It is said:—

(1617) *L-Ġarb ida kt'ar fīh l-ḥsēd be' mī'ā'āk u sir nē l-Hēnd*, "If there is much envy in the Gharb, sell your property and go to India."

But it is to be feared that if this advice were generally followed not many people would be left in the country. There is a saying to the effect that a Moslem envies another Moslem if he finds him prosper in any way, and will not help him even if he sees some one trying to kill him :—

(1618) *L-hō yękráh l-hō dlu isúfu kaidēbhū*, “Brother hates brother, even if he sees people slaughter him.”

(1619) *Ma bqat^a baráka la fę nhār qšēr wā la fę līl twīl męn kēt^arūt^a l-hsēd u l-weil*, “There remains no *baraka* either on the short day or the long night on account of the abundance of envy and evil.”

A person who has become prosperous through his work says to one who envies him his success :—

(1620) *‘Āněd lā t^ađhsēd*, “Compete, don’t envy.”

Of one who pretends not to be envious it is said :—

(1621) *Li ma yęlħáq ši l-‘ánqūd iqūl ħámāt*, “He who does not reach the bunch of grapes says, Sour.”¹

There is a saying according to which a person need not take notice of people’s envy :—

(1622) *Ida ‘tāk ālláh qš ‘and l-‘abd ma yó‘mel*, “If God has given you, what can a servant [of God] do [to you] ?”

But as a matter of fact envy is considered to be a most dangerous emotion, on account of its connection with the evil eye.² It is said :—

(1623) *L-‘ain t^aħli đ-đtyōr u t^a‘ámmar l-qóbōr*, “The evil eye empties the houses and fills the graves” ;

(1624) *L-‘ain t^a‘ħli l-qóšōr wa t^a‘úámmir l-qóbōr*, “The evil eye empties the castles and fills the graves” (Fez) ;

(1625) *L-‘ain ‘anda t^aul^a‘áin fę l-mqābar*, “The evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard” ;

(1626) *N-núşş fę bnādēm kāmút^a bē l-‘ain*, “One half of mankind die from the evil eye.”

The belief in the evil eye is obviously rooted both in the expressiveness and the uncanniness of the look, which make the

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 759.

² *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 414 sqq.

eye appear as an instrument for transmitting evil wishes ; as Bacon said, " There seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye." ¹ The danger is considered to be particularly great when the look is accompanied with speech : there is not only an evil eye, but an evil mouth. One of the worst of all people is he who has a black heart and a joking mouth ; and when the look of a person is accompanied with words of praise the danger is so great that it is always necessary to add, as a precaution, the phrase *t'barak allah*, " May God be blessed." Nay, there may even be danger in being praised without being looked at, as when somebody speaks of another person's children in their absence. But the psychology of the evil eye is not exhausted by the belief in the eye as a transmitter of the injurious energy inherent in evil wishes : it may also be an original source of injurious energy emanating from it involuntarily. Jocular, allegorical, or laudatory speech, when accompanied with a look, is feared even though there is no feeling of ill-will or envy.

These beliefs relating to the evil eye or the evil mouth—which is considered to belong to *l'ain*, or the evil eye—account for, or at least give additional justification to, the following sayings :

(1627) *Kull mēškōr māhqōr*, " Everybody who is praised [will be] despised " ;

(1628) *Fraq l-mzdħ t'ert'āh*, " Give up joking, you will have rest " ;

(1629) *Aṣl l-'ādāwa mzdħ*, " The origin of enmity is joking " ;

(1630) *L-mlāja dāmnēt' l-'ādāwa*, " The joke vouches for enmity " ;

(1631) *Hālfēt' l-mlāja hātt'a t'ērja' 'ādāwa*, " The joke swore that she would become enmity." ²

A safeguard against the evil eye is secrecy.³ When you buy a thing you should hide it :

¹ Bacon, *Essays*, ix: " Of Envy."

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 779.

³ See also *supra*, nr. 728, pp. 195, 200 ; *infra*, nr. 1683.

(1632) *Šri ū ḥbbi šrab ū šāffi ddim m'āfi*, "Buy and hide, drink and clear [the water, then] you are always well."

(1633) *Idā šrīt'i rhēs kt'ēm 'āndēk i'āiyruk bē l-'ain u l-fūmm*, "If you buy [something] cheaply, conceal [it] lest they should hurt you by an evil eye and an evil mouth."

For the same reason a merchant or shopkeeper should not speak about his gains :

(1634) *Drab u hrab ū gātti bē t-t'rāb*, "Beat (i.e. sell) and run away and cover with earth."

Generally speaking, you should be reticent as regards your private doings and intentions. Of the sayings recommending silence ¹ the following one in particular is heard as a warning against the evil eye :—

(1635) *L-fūmm l-mēšdūd ma dddhli dēbbāna*, "Into a closed mouth no fly will enter."

There is also a warning against associating with persons with fair eyes, which are considered dangerous ² :—

(1636) *Lā tšhab li 'āinū zārqa šhóbt'ū ddim mēl'ōqa*, "Don't make friends with one who is blue-eyed, his friendship is ever unlucky."

A method of averting the evil glance is by turning it off :

(1637) *Ida lqūt'i l-m'āiyin qlēb lsānēk fē l-hēn ū qul lū l-ūjā' fē l-līl twīl*, "If you meet one who has an evil eye, turn your tongue at once and say to him, Stomach-ache for a long night."

In Andjra the person who on such an occasion turns the tongue backwards in the mouth whispers, *Allah iyyar 'āinēk*, "May God make your eye fly." Many other methods of escaping or counteracting the dread influence of the evil eye are described in my *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*.³

A person who has an evil disposition is apt to feel another emotion, which is even worse than envy, namely, malignant joy at another's misfortune.

¹ See *infra*, p. 285 sq.

² *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 419 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 423 sqq.

- (1638) *Mút'a wôhda wâ lâ šfeit' lā-'dā*, "One death is better than the malignant delight of enemies" (who are more than one).¹

A man who has been robbed of his cattle says:—

- (1639) *Mā binā šī maūt' l-ḥmār ḥārqēt'na šfeit' l-ḥammāra*, "The death of the donkey does not concern us, [but] the muleteers' (i.e. enemies') malignant joy has burned us" (Andjra).²

- (1640) *Ida ḥšart'i ktsēm sērrēk mā isēm'ū lā-'dā ḥābrāk*, "If you have made a loss (in business) keep your secret, that the enemies may not hear your news" (and rejoice).

- (1641) *Li ḥālla ḡdāt'ū nā 'šāt'ū mā šfāwah 'ādāt'ū*, "If a person leaves his dinner for supper (i.e. keeps something in reserve to have in case of need), his enemies cannot rejoice at his expense."

It is better to be hungry than to go about in dirty and shabby clothes, which will please one's enemies:

- (1642) *L-kēš bīt' mēšdūd u l-kēswa 'ālēha t'q'mi l-ḥsūd*, "The stomach is a closed room, and the clothes over it blind the envious."

But if a person who has been in the habit of dressing neatly ceases to do so, he may also be suspected of being a gambler or of labouring under a curse; hence the saying:—

- (1643) *Guz 'āla ḥbibēk jāi'ān lā t'gūz 'ālih 'ōryān*, "Pass by your friend hungry, don't pass by him naked."

VARIOUS VICES

Gluttony is a vice which may attach to a person as the result of a curse pronounced on him by his parents. It is unlucky both for the glutton himself and for others, who may have to suffer from hunger on account of his selfishness.

- (1644) *Ida klīt'i mā tšba' ḥwā nfa' lik mā tšūf ūjā'*, "Don't get satisfied when you eat, it is useful to you, you will not have colic."

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 41.

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 727.

- (1645) *L-mākla bē z-zāf kaṭ'wārrāt' d-ḍorr u l-hāif*, "Much eating causes illness and insatiable hunger."
- (1646) *L-mākla bla qyāš kaṭ'wārrāt' l-kbās*, "Eating beyond measure makes one a sluggard."
- (1647) *Llāhūma yūlāga m'a wāhēd ṣ-ṣga' u la m'a wāhēd ukkāl*, "O God, it is better to meet one who has an evil eye than one who is a glutton" (Dukkāla).
- (1648) *Wēldu mēl'ōq lā t'wēldu wikkāl*, "Bear him (i.e. your son) unlucky [for himself], don't bear him a glutton" (who does harm to others).
- (1649) *Dārba bē l-kūmīya wā lā kul ū ḥālli liya*, "A stroke with a dagger is better than [saying], Eat and leave for me."

A person who eats so much that others may have to remain hungry is told :—

- (1650) *Ida 'ājḥāk t-tāul t'ba' Lēkkūs*, "If you are fond of length follow the Lekkūs" (a river in Northern Morocco); or,
- (1651) *Šartān bla mēdḡān*, "Swallowing without chewing"; or,
- (1652) *Mēn qanā'a šabā'a*, "From contentment with little comes satiation."

The drinking of wine is forbidden by Islam, and wine is regarded as unclean and polluting in Morocco, as elsewhere in the Muhammadan world. By drinking alcohol, a Muhammadan loses the *baraka* of the *īmān*, or "faith", and a scribe loses the memory of the Koran; a charm becomes useless if worn by a person who drinks alcohol, or even by one who visits a place where wine is sold; a person entering a mosque or a saintly shrine in a state of drunkenness is struck by the Muhammadan *jnūn* haunting it. It is said :—

- (1653) *L-ḥmar mēft'āḥ kull šarr*, "Wine is the key of all evil."

Yet the Prophet admitted that there is both sin and profit in wine, though the sin is greater than the profit.¹ Wine may be useful as a means of getting information :

¹ *Koran*, ii, 216.

(1654) *Sqeh û saqséh kull ma ‘ându yentâq bih*, “ Give him drink and ask him, all that he knows he will speak of.”

(1655) *Mîât^s hâmmâr wâ la wâhd l-qâmmâr*, “ A hundred drunkards are better than one gambler.”

This is a saying which is supposed to have been uttered by the Prophet himself on an occasion when he had come to a gathering of drunkards who received him with a jolly greeting, after he had visited a company of gamblers whom he greeted three times without getting a reply.

(1656) *Hrab mên şwâq l-qammâra ma idârrâk la hâiya wâ la fâra*, “ Flee from the places of gamblers, neither snake nor mouse will hurt you.”

(1657) *Lâ t^sîn l-qâmmâr dlu ijô^s bê l-tîl u n-nhâr*, “ Don’t help a gambler, even though he is hungry day and night.”

(1658) *Idâ ‘int^si l-qâmmâr bhâl li rmût^si ş-sâ’ra fê n-nâr*, “ If you help a gambler, it is as if you throw a hair into the fire.”

(1659) *Sêl’ât^s l-hşâra wâ la sêl’ât^s l-qammâra*, “ Goods bought at a loss are better than goods bought from gamblers.”

Cleanliness is insisted upon. It is better to abstain from food than to refrain from washing the hands before and after a meal :

(1660) *Hâsla âhsên mên wûkla*, “ Washing is better than a mouthful ” ;

(1661) *L-mâkla bla hşîl ‘and n-nâs dlîl*, “ Eating without washing is held despicable by the people.”

A dirty person may be told :—

(1662) *Bhâl l-fêkrôn golt l-qâşşâb û qállêt ş-şâbôn*, “ The woollen frock is thick as a tortoise, and there is lack of soap.”

Magic practised for a wicked end is unlawful. A professional witch is haunted by *jnûn*, she will never give birth to a child, and blood oozes out of her face as it does in the case of a person who has committed homicide (Dukkâla). Again :

(1663) *Sahhâra keddâba li hâltûm isâllat allâh ‘âlih l-qmûl bê ş-şâba*, “ Wizards are liars; may God send a heap of lice on him who mixes with them.”

CHAPTER XVIII

PRUDENCE—INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES

NOBODY likes to do harm to himself :

(1664) *L-háiya ma t'att rōha*, "The snake does not bite itself."

Everybody wants to prosper :

(1665) *R-rájel ma kāihámmām gēr fāin rbāh au fāin ḥsar*,
"A man only thinks of where he has gained or where he has lost."

(1666) *L-máda' d t'ērbāh fēh zārū*, "Visit the place where you will gain" (Andjra).

Prudential maxims occupy a very prominent place among the sayings of the Moors. A large number of such maxims have been recorded in earlier chapters, and many others may be added.

(1667) *'Aiyēt 'āla llāh u l-ḥajir n quddām*, "Invoke God, and the good is ahead."

(1668) *Lä-'mār māhdūd u l-ḥauf 'āḷāš*, "The life has its fixed limit, and why the fear ?" ¹

(1669) *Ma máda fāt' u l-mū'ámmāl gáib wā láka s-sá'a li nt'in fēha*, "What is past is gone, and what is hoped for is absent, and for you is the hour in which you are" ; or,

(1670) *Li fāt' má't' u l-gáib ma 'lih hádra u fraḥ b s-sá'a li nt'in fēha*, "What has passed has died, and what is absent should not be talked of, and enjoy the hour in which you are." ²

(1671) *'Āmel l-hāmm fē š-šēbka šī tēh u šī yēbqa*, "Put the trouble into a net, something will fall and something will remain." ³

¹ *Supra*, nr. 1153.

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 1396.

³ *Supra*, nr. 886.

- (1672) *Ida šibt'i l-hānā u š-šōrōr lā dzūd nē t-t'āb ū š-šqā*, "If you find quietness and joy, don't proceed to toil and trouble."
- (1673) *L-ql̄l m'a l-'āfīa wā lā l-kt'ir m'a l-bālāya*, "Little with health is better than much with affliction."¹
- (1674) *Ql̄l u mēziān wā lā kt'ir ū 'āiyān*, "Little and good is better than much and bad."
- (1675) *Li 'āmluh n'āmluh m'āhum*, "What they do we should do with them."
- (1676) *Āmel ma 'mel jārāk au rhal 'ānnū* (or, *Aqqi má qqa jārāk au rhol 'ānnū* [Andjra]), "Do what your neighbour does, or move away from him."²
- (1677) *'Azz rōhāk i'āzzuk n-nās*, "Respect yourself, others will respect you."
- (1678) *Li jā f wāqt'ū ma yēt'lām*, "What comes in its time will not be blamed."

A person who is late for something is told :—

- (1679) *Fāt'ek l-garš qbel mars*, "The planting passed you before March"³; or,
- (1680) *D hābb d-dwāli igāršēm fi l-līli*, "He who wants vines should plant them in the *līli*" (between 12th December and 20th January, Old Style; Andjra).⁴
- (1681) *Lā t'qūl fūl hāt'a ikānū fē l-keil*, "Don't say, [I have] beans, until they are in the measure."⁵

A person should take care of himself in various ways.

- (1682) *Ida qāmt'i mēn n-n'ās lbēs u šudd hzāmāk ma t'ra bās*, "When you get up from the sleep put on clothes and tie your belt, you will see no evil."
- (1683) *Šri ū tāiyīb lā t'qkul f š-šōg ālu ikān msīyīb*, "Buy and cook, don't eat at the market, even though it is given for nothing" (the food offered there may be unwholesome or bewitched, or he who eats there may be hurt by the evil eye).

¹ *Supra*, nr. 899. ² *Supra*, nr. 525; cf. *supra*, nr. 320. ³ *Supra*, nr. 1074.

⁴ *Infra*, nrs. 1899, 1900.

⁵ Widespread proverb (Tallqvist, op. cit., nr. 149).

- (1684) *Lā t'ēmši fē trēq l-mēl'ōq ālu t'ērbāḥ m'ah ma t'āmmar ṣ-ṣōndōq*, "Don't go on the road of the unlucky one (i.e. have nothing to do with him), even if you gain with him enough [money] to fill a box with."
- (1685) *L-mēl'ōq mēl'ōq u l-mēs'ūd mārzōq*, "The unlucky one is [always] unlucky, and the lucky one is [always] doing well."

You should always be attentive to evil omens: they are warnings that should be followed.¹ For example, if you stumble on your way to a place where you intend to do some business, you should not proceed; hence the saying:—

- (1686) *Kull t'a't'ēra fēha ḥēra*, "In every stumbling there is good."
- (1687) *Ida lqū'i f ṣ-ṣbah d-dīb rja' u n'as ū qūl yā mujīb nēdjini mēn fāl d-dīb*, "If you meet a jackal in the morning, go back and sleep and say, O Approver (one of the epithets of God), save me from the omen of the jackal."
- (1688) *Lā ṣābbāḥ 'āl lē-z'ar rja' u n'as dāk n-nhār*, "Don't meet [as the first person] in the morning one with reddish hair, [if you do,] go back and sleep that day."²
- (1689) *Ida šuft'ih gra' ma iḥrūj mēn fāmmū gēr l-fra'*, "If you see a man with a bald head, [know that] only destruction goes out of his mouth."

If in going out on business in the morning you see the nakedness of a man who is urinating or bathing, it is unlucky for you to go on; whereas if you see the nakedness of a woman, it is just the reverse:

- (1690) *Ida ṣābbāḥ' 'āla l-mēlli gar wūlli*, "If you see a penis in the morning, go back at once" (Andjra);
- (1691) *Di ṣābbāḥ 'āla l-mēšqōq gar izīd nē s-sōq*, "He who sees a vulva in the morning should at once go on to the market" (Andjra).

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ch. xii.

² For the unluckiness of reddish hair see also *supra*, nr. 55.

A person should keep the door of his house closed :

- (1692) *Míat^s taqtêqa ú taqtêqa wá la wáhd s-sáldmú 'álikum,*
 "One hundred and one knocks [at the door] are
 better than one 'Peace be with you'" (i.e. greeting).

Don't greet a disagreeable person or one whom you do not know, because if you do he may begin to talk a lot of nonsense with you :

- (1693) *S-sáldm yéjbéd kalám,* "Greeting draws talk."

Don't trust a person whom you do not know, if he comes and tells you that he is your friend :

- (1694) *Li qábrú jdúd lá t'ámen sí bih hálí rású w áji 'and réjlíh,* "Don't trust him whose grave is new, leave his head and come to his feet."

Be careful in your speech if you find a stranger with your friend :

- (1695) *Fáin ikún šdêgák t'émma ikún 'ádúk,* "Where your friend is, there is your enemy."

- (1696) *Sërr l-mudákara ma báin jūj,* "The secret of a discussion is only between two."

Don't speak much about your doings and intentions :

- (1697) *Hóbztⁱ t'áht^s ibáti ma sma^s hadd 'áyáti,* "My loaf is underneath my armpit, nobody heard my calling" (i.e. I do not speak about it);

- (1698) *N-nádám 'ál s-súkút^s hër mën n-nádám 'ál l-qaul,*
 "Repentance for silence is better than repentance for speaking";

- (1699) *Ida bgít^s t'frah t'arak qāl ú qāl t'ért'áh,* "If you want to be happy keep from idle talk, you will have rest";

- (1700) *Ida rbáht^s skut^s 'ándék ihásslúk fě l-byūt^s,* "If you make a profit, be silent so that they do not catch you in the rooms" (i.e. your house);

- (1701) *Lá kt'ém sërrú yéblág murádu,* "He who keeps his secret will obtain what he wishes";

- (1702) *Š-šumt^s hékma u mēnnú t'fárrqāt^s l-hkāim,* "Silence is wisdom, and wisdom spreads from it";

- (1703) *S-skāt^s mën r-rda,* "Silence is a kind of consent";

- (1704) *Lā t'āuwūd ḥbārāk n ḥadd ḥūwa sbdb š-šarr u l-wa'd*, "Don't repeat your news to anybody, it causes quarrel and affliction";
- (1705) *Yā rājēl šuf u skut' ida klit'i l-lḥam qul l-ḥūt'*, "O man, see and be silent; if you eat meat, say it is fish";
- (1706) *Ida rit'i qul mā rit' w ida šibt'i qul mā šibt'*, "If you see say, I did not see, and if you find say, I did not find";
- (1707) *Ida sālēk 'ālā šī fa qul lā 'ādri*, "If he asks you about something, then say, I don't know" (if a person is asked whether he knows how to do a certain thing that he does not know, he should answer *lā 'ādri*, instead of *mā na'raf*, because this will help him to learn it owing to the *baraka* of the Koran [xxi, 109, 111] contained in that phrase).
- (1708) *Šḥab l-waḥš wā la tḥāb l-fēt'ās*, "To make friends with a wild beast is better than to make friends with an inquisitive person."

But while silence is a safeguard for the person himself,¹ it may be a danger to others—the taciturn listener may be a spy:

- (1709) *L-ḥauf mēn bnādēm s-sākēt'*, "[Have] fear of people who are silent."

A rash and noisy person is more to be trusted than a quiet and silent one:

- (1710) *Guz 'āl l-harḥōri lā t'gūz 'āl s-sākūt'i*, "Go across the murmuring stream, don't go across the silent one."²

Be sharp to others so that they may not hurt you:

- (1711) *Kun dīb 'andēk yākluk d-dyāb*, "Be a jackal, so that the jackals may not eat you."³

Shyness is taken as a sign of fear:

- (1712) *Ḥšēmna mēnnu kāishāb lū ḥōfna mēnnū*, "We were shy of him, it seems to him that we were afraid of him";

¹ See also *supra*, nr. 1635.

² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, *op. cit.*, nr. 514).

³ *Supra*, nr. 1144.

- (1713) *Sābāb š-šarr hūwa l-hyā u l-qaut*, "The cause of quarrel is bashfulness and food."

At the same time you had better keep away from a person with whom you are very angry :

- (1714) *Bāt fē l-gaiḍ wā la tšbah fē n-nādāma*, "To pass the night in anger is better than to rise in the morning with repentance."

- (1715) *Lā tškor lā t'dēmm mēl la ḥālāt'ih*, "Don't praise nor blame him you have not mixed with."

If anybody asks you to do something,

- (1716) *Sēbbāq l-mīm t'ērt'āh*, "Say no from the first, you will have rest."

But be generous to a person who is useful to you :

- (1717) *Li tšibū lā t'āqtā' nšibū*, "If you find any one [useful to you], don't cut off his portion."

Treat well a person whom you want to remain with you :

- (1718) *Dhān s-sīr isīr*, "Smear the leather string (with which the soles of slippers are sewn), he will walk well."

You should treat a person well until you have got from him all that you want :

- (1719) *Bus l-kēlb mēn fāmmū ḥātt'a t'dqdi ḥājt'ēk mēnnū*, "Kiss the dog on his mouth, until you get what you want from him."¹

If a person does not follow your advice, let him alone :

- (1720) *Urrīh urrīh w idā 'ma ḥallīh*, "Show him show him, and if he is blind let him alone";

- (1721) *Nhīh nhīh w idā 'ma ḥallīh*, "Forbid him forbid him, and if he is blind let him alone."

A person who is heedless of good advice given him is told :—

- (1722) *Li šēdda b yiddū iḥūllha b snānū*, "He who has tied it with his hand has to open it with his teeth"; or,

- (1723) *Leh lā ij'al f rāina ma yēhlékna*, "May God not direct our judgment to our ruin."

If a person does not want to follow the advice given him by a

¹ *Supra*, nr. 112.

relative or friend but afterwards, when it is too late, changes his mind, he is told :—

(1724) *Z-zein ḥallūṯih mūrak fāin tšībū ḡadda*, “The beauty you left behind you, where will you find it to-morrow ?”

If somebody ignores the advice given him by an older person, the latter says to him :—

(1725) *Lī mǎ ‘mel rai kbīru l-hāmm t’ēdbīru*, “He who does not act upon the advice of his elder will have evil as his counsel.”

A person, A, asks another, B, to buy a thing for him ; B warns him, but as A is persistent, does what he is asked. When the thing he bought proves to be bad, as he suspected, he says to A :—

(1726) *Lī ‘ātāk ḥbēl jiyfū bih*, “He who gives you a rope (A’s unfortunate request), strangle him with it.”

You should only take advice with people who know what they are talking about :

(1727) *Sāl l-mjārrāb lā tsāl t-ṯbīb*, “Ask the experienced one, don’t ask the doctor.”¹

Never follow the advice of people who do not like you :

(1728) *Šdwarhum lā t’ǎmel ráihum*, “Consult them, don’t follow their advice.”

(1729) *Lā t’ǎmel rai l-‘arāj iǧārrqāk fē l-mēřj*, “Don’t follow the advice of a lame man, it will drown you in a marsh.”

(1730) *Lā t’ǎmel rai l-‘dmā iǧārrqāk fē l-mā*, “Don’t follow the advice of a blind man, it will drown you in water.”

Generally speaking, you should not listen too much to the counsel of others :

(1731) *Lī ‘ammar rāšū bē klām n-nās ma ijbār fāin yǎmel dydli*, “He who fills his head with other people’s words will find no place where he may put his own” ;

(1732) *‘Amel ráyēk ida šlah ráyēk w ida fsed ráyēk*, “Act on your own advice ; if it is good it is your advice, and if it is bad it is your advice.”

¹ *Supra*, nr. 14.

It is prudent to be respectful to the descendant of a saint :

- (1733) *Fāin ma kǎn wǎld s-sūyid bus lu yiddū ida ma gār ‘ālik hāwa igīr ‘ālik jēddū*, “ Wherever there is the son of a saint kiss him on his hand, if he does not assist you his grandfather will assist you.”

The wisest plan is to treat everybody with respect, since even the most insignificant-looking person may have much *baraka* :

- (1734) *Sēllem nē l-hāwi t’ēnja mēl l-‘amar*, “ Greet the empty one, you will escape from the full one.”

For a similar reason you should avoid quarrelling with anybody whom you do not know :

- (1735) *Mā t’ēdrāb hāll’a tt’qārrāb*, “ Don’t strike until you come near.”

Indeed, every person is possessed of some *baraka*, however little it may be :

- (1736) *Kull wāḥed ‘āndū barāka*, “ Every one has *baraka* ” ;
 (1737) *Kull wāḥed ma nqū‘āt’ mēnnū barāka*, “ The *baraka* is cut off from nobody.”

A person who has been offended by a shereef or learned man or scribe forgives him with the expression :—

- (1738) *‘Āla ūjāh l-kt’āb kūt’ēnhābb a-ājēlda*, “ For the sake of the book (i.e. the *baraka* inside him) the binding is loved.”

The same saying is used by a man who is married to a shereefa or the daughter of a learned man, when he wants to explain why he does not divorce her in spite of her bad conduct.

INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES

- (1739) *Li ḥābbū llāh ‘āḡāh ‘āqlū*, “ God gives understanding to him whom he loves.”

- (1740) *Li sādū llāh kēmmēl li ‘āqlū*, “ For him who is favoured by God he perfects his understanding.”

- (1741) *L-‘aql māḥlōq u t-t’mēl’ēqa mēn š-šūṭān*, “ Understanding is inborn, and unluckiness comes from the devil.”

(1742) *T-t'āb kāyā'mel l-'aql*, "Toil makes understanding."

(1743) *Ma yē'rjā' fārēs hātt'a yēt'hārrēs*, "He will not become a horseman till he is broken."

(1744) *L-'aql ida jāl ma kifū rāqqās*, "When the understanding travels, there is no courier like it."

A wise man can by merely looking at a person or thing distinguish between the good and the bad :

(1745) *L-'ārfē šāuft'ū kfāt'ū*, "For the wise man his look is sufficient."

If the wise man makes a mistake in his speech, he at once becomes aware of it from the look of others who are present, whereas the ignorant one goes on talking until he has to be stopped :

(1746) *L-'āqīl (or, t-tālēb) bē l-gāmza u d-ājāhēl (or, l-qóbbēn) bē d-dēbza*, "The wise man (or, the scribe) with a wink, and the ignorant (or, illiterate) with a blow."¹

(1747) *Dānn l-'āqīl āhsēn mēn yaqīn d-ājāhēl*, "The supposition of the wise man is better than the certainty of the ignorant."²

(1748) *T-tālba 'āzzhum āllāh u sqāhum r-raḥmān*, "The scribes were dear to God, and the Merciful gave them to drink" (i.e. gave them the Koran).

(1749) *Nādra fē l-kt'ub kādzūwēl mēl l-qalb l-hmūm*, "The sight of books removes sorrows from the heart."

(1750) *L-'ilm hēr mēl l-māl*, "Learning is better than goods."

(1751) *S-sūyūd bla qráya bhāl l-kēlb bla dráya*, "A gentleman without reading is like a dog without training."

(1752) *Šjēr u m'āddēb āhsēn mēl l-kbīr ma hū fāhēm*, "Young and educated is better than old without understanding."

(1753) *Šābi fāhēm wā la r-rjāl bhāim*, "An intelligent boy is better than men who are [like] animals."

(1754) *T-t'ā'īm fē š-šégār kif n-naqš fē l-hājār*, "Instruction in youth is like engraving in stones."³

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 461.

² Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 1162).

³ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 515; Tallqvist, op. cit., nr. 103).

(1755) *T-t'ā'tīm fē l-kībar kīf n-naqš fē l-ǧbār*, "Instruction in old age is like engraving in dung."

(1756) *L-must'āḥi u l-must'ākēbir la inḏlu l-'ilm*, "He who is bashful and he who is haughty will not obtain learning."

When a learned man is taught by an ordinary scribe something he did not know, the remark is made:—

(1757) *L-ārneḥ iqādiyēm l-hānzīr*, "The hare makes the wild boar get up."

The following saying refers to a person who speaks well and writes well, his writing being beautiful as the cheeks of a woman when coloured with ochre:—

(1758) *Š-šfāif bḥal s-súkkār u l-hīnkāt^s bḥal l-'ákkār*, "The lips are like sugar and the cheeks like ochre."

(1759) *Klām r-ráǧel ḥsīn u mēfhúm áḥsēn mēn álēf fūmm*, "The speech of a man which is beautiful and understood is better than [the speech of] a thousand mouths [that is not]."

Of a person who answers well without delay it is said:—

(1760) *Ūǧdbū 'āla ndbū*, "His answer is on his canine tooth."

A learned man, however, is not always an object of praise. Of one who accepts bribes it is said:—

(1761) *L-'álēm bē l-'ain u l-ǧalb ma ḥūwa mēziqān*, "A learned man from the eye, and the heart is not good."

A judge who, owing to a similar weakness, passes unjust sentences is reproved in the saying:—

(1762) *L-'ásēl fē ǧēld l-kēlb*, "Honey (i.e. his learning) in the skin of a dog."

Physicians are held in bad repute. They are considered both wicked and ignorant, cheating sick people of their money and unable to cure them. We have already met with the well-known saying, "Ask the experienced one, don't ask the doctor"¹; and there are others to the same effect:

¹ *Supra*, nrs. 14, 1727.

- (1763) *Li yākul lāhm d-dīb ahsēn mēn miāt¹ tībīb*, "He who eats jackal's flesh (which is considered to contain much medicinal virtue ¹) is [a] better [doctor for himself] than a hundred doctors";
- (1764) *Jā iṭabbū sá'a māh*, "He came to cure him, in a moment he made him blind";
- (1765) *Yā tībīb n-nās yā l-hāyēr b rāsū*, "O doctor for others, O he who is at a loss with regard to himself."

In many sayings ignorance is scoffed at. An ignorant and illiterate person is told:—

- (1766) *Qal lū bās t'a'ráf allāh qal lū b t'ēbdīl s-swāyā'*, "He said to him, How do you know God? He said to him, By the change of the hours."

Yet it may be that an unlearned person can give you information about things of which a learned man has no knowledge:

- (1767) *Yēt¹ūjēd fē n-nahr u ma yēt¹ūjēd fē l-bhar*, "It is found in the watercourse, and it is not found in the sea."
- (1768) *Li ma 'āndu fēddān nābēt¹ ma 'āndū 'aql t'ābēt¹*, "He who has no sprouting field (i.e. a poor man) has no sure judgment."

An ignorant person is compared to a savage bullock that breaks the plough when used for ploughing:—

- (1769) *D-ājūhd kāihārrēs l-māhrūt¹*, "Strength breaks the plough."
- (1770) *R-rājēl li ḥallūf u ḥmār 'and n-nās bhāḷ z-zjab 'āl d-ājīmār*, "A man who is a pig (strong) and a donkey (ignorant) seems to the people like hair on live coal."

Of an ignorant person it is also said:—

- (1771) *Ma n¹īn mēl lā-ḥmām wā la mēl l-īmām wā la t'a'ráf ḥlāl mēn ḥrām*, "You are not one of the tame pigeons nor one of the wild ones, nor do you know [how to distinguish] the lawful from the forbidden."

A person who has been taught by another for a long time and

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 319 sq.

then, when asked to do a thing, does not know how to do it (or is too lazy to do it) is compared to a cock that has been fed for a year :—

(1772) *Allfū 'ām ma i'aššīk šī līla*, "Feed him for a year, he will not give you supper for an evening." ¹

A person who behaves foolishly is told :—

(1773) *Kull šī yēddāwa u l-homq ma yēddāwa*, "Everything can be cured, and foolishness cannot be cured."

Don't speak to a person who talks foolishly :

(1774) *L-hmaq ma t'ēnkīh ma yēnkīk*, "Don't vex a fool, he will not vex you."

All the following sayings inculcate the rule that a person should think before he speaks or acts. This is done by him who ties up his fowls in the evening before he takes them to the market ; hence it is said :—

(1775) *Jdd š-šōq kārbāt'ū mārbutīn*, "Fowls for the market pass the night tied up."

(1776) *Qalb l-hmaq ēf fūmmū ū fūmm l-'āqāl f qālbū*, "The heart of the fool is in his mouth, and the mouth of the wise man is in his heart."

(1777) *Lā t'diyēr hāt'a t'lē^{da}jēm u lā t'āhdār hāt'a t'hām-mām*, "Don't put the breast-harness [on your horse] until you bridle [him], and don't speak until you think."

(1778) *Lā tsērrēj hāt'a t'lē^{da}jēm*, "Don't saddle [your horse] until you bridle [him]."

(1779) *Mēn klām d-dīb kul ū qeš*, "From the talk of the jackal : Eat and measure." ²

(1780) *Qeš qbēl ma t'gēs*, "Test [the bottom of the river] before you get stuck in the mud."

(1781) *Mā t'graš hāt'a dzārrab*, "Don't plant until you make a fence."

(1782) *L-'āqāl qbēl s-seil iwūnni*, "The wise man makes a trench before the floods."

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 624.

² *Supra*, nr. 790.

- (1783) *Li yēbni ṣ-ṣóm'a yāhfār la l-bīr*, "He who builds a minaret should dig [a foundation-ditch as deep as] a well for it."
- (1784) *Lī ṣrāq ṣ-ṣóm'a lāzēm yāhfār la l-bīr*, "He who steals a minaret should dig a well for it" (to hide it in).
- (1785) *L-fār l-mqāllaq mēṣ rāzq l-qdtt*, "The impatient mouse belongs to the portion of the cat."¹
- (1786) *Ḥátt'a ḥázzqūt' 'ād jēm'āt' réjla*, "Only when she broke wind she gathered her feet [under her clothes]" (for shame; said to a person who regrets that he has spoken thoughtlessly to another).²

¹ *Supra*, nr. 1333.² Cf. *supra*, nr. 1375.

CHAPTER XIX

MISCELLANEOUS PROVERBS

- (1787) *Ma šā' allāh li rād allāh hūwa lī k̄ān*, "What God wills, what God desires, that will be."
- (1788) *Mēn s̄ā'dāk au swād s̄ā'dāk*, "[Whatever happens to you comes either] from your good luck or your bad (lit. black) luck."
- (1789) *Idā j̄āi' gūwūdha bē sbība w īda hāwūdēt' kat'qāṭṭa' s-snāsēl*, "If [good luck] comes [to you] lead it (i.e. you may lead it even) with a hair, and if it goes down it breaks [even] chains."¹

Of a person who has bad luck in his doings it is said :—

- (1790) *Li t'ēbġih ma t'wūjdu wī lli ma t'ēbġih t'wūjdu*, "That which you like you will not find, and that which you do not like you will find."

An unlucky person only finds unlucky things :

- (1791) *Mšibt' mētyār fēls wūlla mēšmār*, "The find of an unlucky one is a *fēls* (the smallest copper coin) or a nail."

There is no use for a sick person in trying to cure himself :

- (1792) *Qāl l-fqī Bēn Qjellū l-yūfa ājlū imūdd rējlū*, "Said the learned man Ben Qjellu, He who has completed his term should stretch out his leg."

A person who is asked how he fares replies :—

- (1793) *Kīf mā j̄āi' l-īyām āji m'āha*, "Whatever days may come, come with them."²

Everything is subject to change.

- (1794) *L-fēlk idōr u s-swāyā' bēddāla*, "The firmament goes round, and the hours are changing."

- (1795) *Kull nhār ū rdzqū*, "Every day has its fare."³

¹ *Supra*, nr. 925.

² *Supra*, nr. 902.

³ *Supra*, nr. 935.

- (1796) *Ydum ħla mēl lā-sēl u ydum mērr mēl l-ħanīdl, "One day is sweeter than honey, and another day more bitter than colocynth."*
- (1797) *Ydum līlēk u ydum 'ālik, "One day is in favour of you, and another day against you."*¹
- (1798) *D-dūnya ma 'tat' ahd ħātt'a n wāḥed, "The world has not given promise to anybody."*
- (1799) *Kull mēn tla' ihāwūd u kull mēn hāwūd yētlā', "Every one who ascends will descend, and every one who descends will ascend."*²
- (1800) *Šḥāl mā tāl l-līl yēšbāh, "However long the night may last, there will be a morning."*³
- (1801) *Ma dāmēt šēdda wā la šrōr idūm, "The affliction does not last, nor will the enjoyment last."*
- (1802) *Kull dāriqa bā'dha fārḥa, "After every affliction there is enjoyment."*
- (1803) *L-fārḥ sēb'ā iyām u l-ħuzn tāul l-ōmor, "The joy [lasts] seven days and the sadness all the life."*

Of a person who is changeable in his likings it is said:—

(1804) *'Aššaq mēllāl, "The lover gets wearied."*

Every person has his particular nature:

(1805) *Kull wāḥed ū tbē't'ū, "Every one has his nature";*

(1806) *Kull tā'ām 'āndu lēdda, "Every food has [its] flavour."*

And nobody can change his nature:

(1807) *D feh šī tbē'a ma ibē'a, "He who has a certain nature will not sell it" (Andjra).*

If a person has been born with a bad nature, nothing can make him good:

(1808) *Kull mḥāwēl mēdbāl āli 'āla tarf l-mā, "Everything crooked is withered, even though it is on the border of water."*

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 2065).

² Cf. *supra*, nr. 440.

³ *Supra*, nr. 1156.

Habit is second nature :

(1809) *Li fih ši qá'ida ma it'hänná ši 'äléha*, "He who has a certain habit will have no peace for it."

A person who has experienced a certain pleasure wants to have it again :

(1810) *Hlu ú hlilu li dáqu yérja' lilú*, "Sweet and delicious, he who tastes it will go back to it."

Old habits are not easily forgotten :

(1811) *Imút z-zéffán u ma yénsá ši házzét' lě-kt'áf*, "The dancer dies and does not forget the shaking of his shoulders."

On the other hand, old people cannot learn new things :

(1812) *L-qátt š-šárēf ma yēt'állēm š-štēh*, "An old cat will not learn dancing."¹

Of old people who imitate the behaviour of young ones it is said :—

(1813) *L-qáttā f š-štāh u š-šárfa mkáhhla kátšāh*, "The she-cat is on the roof, and the old woman with blackened eyes is dancing" (wanting to show herself as agile as a cat).

There are many men who appear humble like pack-animals but, when occasion offers, show themselves to be superior persons :

(1814) *Šhāl mēn srūt' t'ah' l-bráda'*, "How many horses there are under pack-saddles."

If a person needs a thing he has to try to find it :

(1815) *Li harqát'ú d-dárša ifétt'ēs 'äl l-küllāib*, "He whose molar tooth pains him should search for pincers."

A person who is looking for a thing that is close at hand is told :—

(1816) *Rákēb 'äl l-hmār ú hāwa ifétt'ēs 'ālih*, "Riding on the donkey, and he seeks for him" (Andjra).

If you see a thing and have no means of getting it, you are not satisfied :

¹ Cf. *supra*, nr. 609.

(1817) *Š-šauf ma ibèrrəd a-đjauf*, "Sight does not cool the stomach."

(1818) *Lī t'rdđja áhsěn mēl lī t'mēnna wū lī t'mēnna áhsěn mēn qáta' l-íds*, "He who hopes fares better than he who wishes, and he who wishes fares better than he who despairs."

The following saying is used, e.g., by a bachelor as a reply to a friend when he is blamed for not having, as often before, invited the friend to a tea-party with a girl in whose company he was going to spend the night :—

(1819) *Serr z-zhū wū t-tība ma bāin jūj*, "The secret of amusement and what is agreeable is only between two."

If a person accidentally meets another whom he is anxious to meet, he says :—

(1820) *L-wūjba áhsěn mēn mī'ād*, "Chance is better than meeting by agreement."

When a man refuses to tell his friends some news which he has brought with him from another place, they find comfort in the idea that the secret will come out before long, and say :—

(1821) *Dāba yērhós ū něššriwah*, "Very soon it will be cheap, and we shall buy it" (Andjra).

People who are driven out from the house they inhabit remark :—

(1822) *L-ḥáiya qálēt^s l-ḥrēq bē n-nār wā la l-ḥrūj mēl l-ákār*, "The snake said, Burning by fire is better than leaving the nest." ¹

When two villages are at war with each other and one of them has been set on fire, a messenger is despatched from the burning village to invite the enemy to come and take its animals; he receives the answer :—

(1823) *L-ḥáiya qálēt^s ně l-qánfūd š-šḥam bāin 'áini qal la n t'imma ḥárjīn*, "The snake said to the hedgehog (who had caught the snake by the tail), The fat is between

¹ *Supra*, nr. 549.

my eyes ; [the hedgehog] said to her, There [we] are making [our] exit ” (i.e. there I shall finish my eating of you ; Andjra).

Of a village or tribe that has been beaten by another it is said :—

(1824) *L-měšya dĕ s-sbó'a u r-rěj'a dĕ d-dbó'a*, “ The going of lions, and the return of hyenas ” (Andjra).

When a small, though grown-up, person attacks a big one people say :—

(1825) *Bu fěssiú kái'arqab a-ajmēl*, “ The fantail-warbler (a very small bird) cuts the sinew of the camel's ham.”

(1826) *D yēl'áb t-trēha mā iqúl ahháh*, “ He who plays *trēha* (a kind of blindman's buff that may be very rough) should not say ah ” (Andjra).

(1827) *L-fūrēs blā snāh kif t-tair blā jnāh*, “ A horseman without arms is like a bird without wings.”

A man who considers himself to be protected by another, though the other one cannot even protect himself, is told :—

(1828) *T'hāzzmēt' l-hrīra bē l-bákōr*, “ The gruel is girded with the first fruits of figs ” (Andjra).

(1829) *L-hāmm ida kdn qlīl ibēkki w ida kt'ar idāhhak*, “ A trouble, if it is small, makes one weep and, if it increases, makes one laugh ” (you cannot remain weeping for long).

When much fuss is made about a trifle it is said :—

(1830) *L-gnāza kbīra u l-mūyit' fār*, “ The funeral is great, and the dead one is a mouse ”¹ ; or,

(1831) *Běrrāh u mšā lū hmārū*, “ A crier, and his donkey is gone away from him ” ; or,

(1832) *'Ála jrēha yēqqi qrēha*, “ Of a scratch he makes a big wound ” (Andjra).²

Again, when some slight misdemeanour is treated as if it were

¹ Widespread proverb (Ben Cheneb, op. cit., nr. 577).

² See also *supra*, nr. 1185.

a great crime, the remark is made that if it really had been so, little notice would have been taken of it :—

(1833) *Këbbárha tşjar*, “ Make it big, it will become small.”

The following saying is an expression of the sense of nature, which may be very vivid in the Moors :—

(1834) *Š-šauf f l-hđar keizîyın l-qalb u n-nđar*, “ To look at the green adorns the heart and the eye.”

CHAPTER XX

SAYINGS RELATING TO CERTAIN PERIODS, AGRICULTURE, AND THE WEATHER

There are sayings relating to the twelve months of the Muhammadan year.

(1835) *Ida dhal l-muḥarram ṣdddāq mēn mālēk u qūl yā rābbi rḥam*, “When Muḥarram sets in, give alms from your wealth and say, O God be merciful.”

There is not much business done in this month, but all the more in the following one :

(1836) *Ida dhal ṣāfar l-ḥayr fē l-bē' u š-šrā yēnjar*, “When Ṣāfar sets in, benefit will be found in buying and selling.”

(1837) *Ida jā rabē' n-nābdwi kun m'a n-nās bē l-iḥsān lē t'kūn m'āhum qāwi*, “When Rabī' 'l-Āwwal (popularly called *l-mūlūd*, after the birthday feast of the Prophet, which commences on the twelfth day of this month) comes, be good to the people, don't be harsh to them.”

This is the month when the Prophet was born, hence you should be good to everybody.

(1838) *Ida dhal rabē' t-t'āni be' u šri u qūl yā gāni*, “When Rabī' *t-t'āni* (or 'l-Āḥir) sets in, sell and buy and say, O Independent one ” (one of the names of God).

This is a month for business, because in the previous month people devoted themselves to merriment.

(1839) *Ida dhal jumād l-duwēl qim t'ḥdēm dlu t'dellēl*, “When Jumādā 'l-Ūlā sets in, get up to work even if your job is that of an auctioneer ” (considered as the lowest kind of work).

(1840) *Ida dhal jumād t-t'āni qūl yā rābbi mēj rāzq zidni*, “When Jumādā *t-t'āni* (or 'l-Uḥrā) sets in, say, O God increase my livelihood.”

In these two months there are no feasts that divert people from their work.

- (1841) *Idā jā šhar rājāb n-nās yēd'ēu fīh u llāh ist'ājāb*, "When Rajāb comes, people will invoke [God] during it, and God will hear [their prayer]."

It is a blessed month.

- (1842) *Idā jā šhar šā'bān n-nās t'frah fīh u t'l'ab*, "When Sha'bān comes, people will rejoice in it and play." ¹

- (1843) *Idā dhal rāmdān izīd allāh r-rāzq lē n-nās u l-gūfrān*, "When Ramaḍān sets in, God will increase [his] bounties to the people and [his] forgiveness."

Ramaḍān is a holy month: in it the Koran is supposed to have been sent down to the Prophet. Its most important feature is the obligatory fast, lasting from daybreak to sunset. The *ftōr*, or breakfast, partaken of as soon as the sun has set, begins with spiced gruel, and there is much tea-drinking during the night; hence the saying:—

- (1844) *Idā jā rāmdān šri l-ḥrōr u z-zlāif u l-kīsdn*, "When Ramaḍān comes, buy spices and dishes and glasses."

Another meal, called *shōr*, is eaten two hours before dawn. It should be a substantial one, since no more food is partaken of before sunset; and in cold weather it should consist of meat—which remains six hours in the stomach, not of fish, which remains there only two—in order to keep the body strong:

- (1845) *Idā jā rāmdān fē š-št'a sáhhar bē l-lḥam wā la tsáhhar bē l-ḥūt'a*, "If Ramaḍān comes in winter, eat meat for *shōr* and don't eat fish."

When Ramaḍān has come to an end and the dawn of day no longer is a signal to abstain from food and drink, the breaking of the taboo is preceded by a rite which obviously serves the purpose of removing the supposed danger attending it: a portion of the kind of corn which is the principal food of the family is set aside

¹ See *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 89 sq.

on behalf of every member of the household as *ḡētra*, or alms to be given away.¹ Hence the saying :—

(1846) *Idā jā šhar l-ḡā'ar z-zra' yēhrúj mēn kull dār*, “When the month of the breaking of the fast (Shawwāl, popularly called *l-'ūd ṣ-ṣḡēr*, “the Little Feast,” after the feast that commences on the 1st of this month) comes, wheat goes out of every house.”

(1847) *Ida dhal šhar l-ḡá'da d'āi n allāh inē'djīk mēn lā-'dā*, “When Dū 'l-Qa'dah (popularly called *bāin l-'āyād*) sets in, invoke God to save you from your enemies.”

Your prayer will be heard then, because it is a blessed month. The same is the case with the following month.

(1848) *Ida dhal šhar l-hē'dja d'āi n allāh ū ḡil yā rābbi 'āḡēni ma nē'rā'dja*, “When Dū 'l-Ḥijjah (popularly called *l-'ūd l-kbīr*, “the Great Feast,” after the feast that commences on the 10th of this month) sets in, invoke God and say, O God give me what I hope for.”

Four months are called “exquisite”, because they are considered to be particularly blessed, namely: Dū 'l-Qa'dah, Dū 'l-Ḥijjah, Muḡarram, and Rajab. Of them it is said :—

(1849) *'Amēl l-ḡar fē šōhōr l-mfāddla 'ōmmrāk lā tt'bāla*, “Do good in the exquisite months, [if you do] you will never be visited with affliction.”

Besides the feast of the *mālūd*, the Little Feast, and the Great Feast, each of which lasts for seven days, there are six lesser feasts, *mwāṣēm* (sing. *mūsēm*) of one day's duration: on the 10th of Muḡarram, called *nhār 'āšōra*; on the first Thursday (in Fez on the 15th) of Rajab; on the 27th of the same month, called *nhār l-má'rāj*; on the 15th of Sha'bān, called *nhār n-nēšha*; on the 26th of Ramaḡān; and on the 9th of Dū 'l-Ḥijjah, called *nhār 'arafa*.² It is said :—

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 99 sqq.

² For all these feasts see *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ch. xiii sq.

- (1850) *L-mwâsēm sētt'a kun 'āla bāl mēn d-dū'ā fēha lā t'ēnsa*, "The *mwâsēm* are six : give heed to invocation during them, don't forget."
- (1851) *Idā jāl' 'āsōra n-nās ifārḥū b ulādhum fē l-mdūn u l-qōra*, "When the day of 'āsōra comes, the people with their children rejoice in towns and villages."
- (1852) *Idā kān l-lḥmīs l-āuwēl mēn rājāb n-nās idēbhū fīh d-djāj u ijt'ām'ū bē l-lāl m'a l-'āḥbāb*, "When it is the first Thursday of Rajab, the people kill fowls and gather at night with friends."
- (1853) *L-má'rāj yāum múbáarak n-nās iṣōmū fīh u id'ēu bē l-fáraj*, "The *má'rāj* is a blessed day, the people fast on it and invoke the Comforter."
- (1854) *N-nēsha fēha t'ēzmīm l-'árwāḥ n-nās iṣdddqū u iqūlū yā fāt'āḥ*, "On [the day of] the *nēsha* the account of everybody's life is made out (by angels), the people give alms and say, O Opener" (one of the names of God).
- (1855) *Yāum sētt'a ū 'ōsrīn n-nās tšalli fēha u izūri l-wālidīn*, "On the 26th [of Ramaḍān] the people pray and visit [the graves of] their parents."
- (1856) *'Arāfa yāum mēs'ūd šddaq ū ṣūm fēha ū qūl yā raḥmān yā wādūd*, "'Arāfa is a lucky day, give alms and fast on it and say, O Merciful One, O Loving One" (names of God).

Among the days of the week there is one to which much *baraka*, or holiness, is attributed, namely Friday.¹ It is the day of public service, which confers blessings upon all who take part in it, almsgiving on a Friday is particularly meritorious, and it is the most usual day for visiting dead relatives² :

- (1857) *Yāum d-djūm'a šddaq ū zor nāsāk ū qūl yā rzzāq*, "On Friday give alms and visit [the graves of] your people and say, O Sustainer" (one of the names of God).

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 133 sq.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 511.

Monday is also a day of some religious significance :

- (1858) *Lă-t'nîn ydum măkrôm hlaq fîh n-nbî l-măht'âm*,
 "Monday is a bounteous day, the last (lit. sealed)
 prophet (i.e. Muḥammad) was born on it."

While the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also familiar with the Julian calendar, especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. Owing to the great practical importance of the events associated with it, we find a large number of sayings bearing upon it. There are some relating to the solar year in general.

- (1859) *L-ām l-mēs'ūd hūwa ikūn l-hrîf fē l-ūd*, "A lucky year is that in which there is fruit in the trees."
 (1860) *L-ām l-mēs'ūd hūwá dĵi l-gállá bla dūd*, "A lucky year is that in which the fruits of the earth come without worms."
 (1861) *Ām z-zū' mābrūk yāklū n-nās mēnnū wū l-byūt'*,
 "A year in which there is much oil is blessed, the people eat of it and [also] the rooms."
 (1862) *L-ām l-măġbún hūwa mā ijî fîh la zra' wā la zéit'ūn*,
 "An unfortunate year is that in which there come neither wheat nor olives."
 (1863) *L-ām lē-zrúq hūwa mā ijî fîh mēn ġēr l-bárgōl' u l-baqq*,
 "A dull year is that in which there come only fleas and bugs."
 (1864) *L-ām bla št'ā bhaj l-mrū ida māt'ēt' bēnt'a*, "A year without rain is like a woman whose daughter has died."

The year has four seasons (*foṣōl*, sing. *faṣl*). Spring (*faṣl r-rbē'*) commences on 15th February, summer (*s-ṣaiṣ*) on 17th May, autumn (*l-hrîf*) on 17th August, winter (*š-šét'wa* or *š-št'ā*) on 16th November.

- (1865) *Faṣl r-rbē' drîf aḥsēn mēn š-št'ā ū ṣ-ṣaiṣ*, "Spring is pleasing, it is better than winter and summer."
 (1866) *Faṣl r-rbē' mēškōr 'and n-nās ma hūwa māḥqōr*, "Spring is praised by the people, it is not despised."

In spring everybody who can afford it should make merry without minding the expense :

- (1867) *Ida dāhlēt' ydum r-rbē' t'hālla f rāṣāk u hull l-bdē',*
 "When spring sets in, look after yourself and open the money-box."
- (1868) *Ida dāhlēt' ydum r-rbē' fraḥ b ulddēk u be',* "When spring sets in, rejoice with your children and sell" (something, if need be).
- (1869) *R-rbē' bā rbē'ū idā kānēt' š-št'ā kat'ēb'ū,* "If there is rain in the spring with its grass, it goes along with it" (i.e. makes the grass grow).
- (1870) *Ṣ-ṣaiḥ ṣaiḥ idā kān z-zra' fih bē z-zāf,* "Summer is summer, if there is much wheat in it."
- (1871) *Ida dāhlēt' ṣ-ṣaiḥ jma' nē š-šet'wa u kun 'āla bāl mēl l-hāif,* "When summer sets in, gather for the winter and look out for starvation."
- (1872) *Ida dāhlēt' ṣ-ṣaiḥ kāirēt'hū n-nās mēl l-mākla bē z-zāf,*
 "When summer sets in, the people abstain from much food."

It is dangerous to leave off winter clothing in summer :

- (1873) *Lbēs t'ābēk fē š-št'ā u lēbsū fā ṣ-ṣaiḥ hāt'a,* "Dress in your garments in winter, and dress in them in summer, too."
- (1874) *Idā nēzlēt' š-št'ā fā ṣ-ṣaiḥ ikūn l-mārad kt'ir fē d-d'jauf,*
 "If rain falls in summer, there will be much illness in the bowels."
- (1875) *Idā t'kēllēm r-ra'd fā ṣ-ṣaiḥ ikūn fih l-mart u l-hāif,*
 "If it thunders in summer, there will be illness and starvation during it."
- (1876) *Ṣ-ṣaiḥ l-mēs'ūd idā kān r-rēḥ fih māhdūd,* "It is a lucky summer if the wind in it does not last long."

The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive form the period of the *ṣmāim*, the hottest time of the year.

- (1877) *Ida dāhlēt' ṣ-ṣmāim bē l-'ābūs yēfrāḥ mül r-rāḥla u yēnked mül l-kārmūs,* "If the *ṣmāim* enters cloudy,

the owner of a ewe-lamb will rejoice and the owner of fig-trees (lit. figs.) will be afflicted ” (Hīáina).

The reason for this saying is that cloudy weather is bad for the figs, which require sunshine to ripen, but good for the sheep, which would otherwise suffer from the heat.

(1878) *Ila ra'd fě ş-şmaim l-marđ fě n-nsa au fě l-bhūim*, “ If it thunders in the *şmaim*, [there will be] sickness in women or animals ” (Fez); or,

(1879) *R-ra'd đě ş-şmaim fě mnádđen au fě l-bhūim*, “ Thunder in the *şmaim* [causes sickness] in people or animals ” (Andjra).

(1880) *R-rēh đě ş-şmaim läitarráh l-bhūim*, “ The wind of the *şmaim* makes the animals abort ” (Andjra).

(1881) *Ida nfaḥ š-sárqi f ş-şmaim đebbar f l-'alf ně l-bhūim*, “ If east wind blows in the *şmaim*, provide fodder for the animals ” (Andjra).

(1882) *Faşl l-hrīf hūwa ida kân mēziān ũ drīf*, “ That is autumn, if it is good and pleasing.”

In autumn you should be careful about your diet; over-ripe fruit in particular is considered unwholesome :

(1883) *Ida dḥal faşl l-hrīf ḥt'ar mēnnū mēn ġēr n-ndēf*, “ When autumn sets in, choose from it only what is clean.”

(1884) *Ida t'kēllēm r-ra'd f l-hrīf t'kūn ş-sāḥḥa f n-nās đ'ūif*, “ If it thunders in autumn, the health of the people will be weak.”

Autumn is the best time for planting garlic :

(1885) *T-t'aum đě l-hrīf laṭ'ēqqi r-rāş qadd aukrīf*, “ Garlic planted in autumn makes a bulb as large as the head of a new-born calf ” (Andjra).

(1886) *Ş-šet'wa set'wa ida kānu n-nās bē l-flūs u n-nēşwa*, “ Winter is winter, if the people have money and stimulation.”

(1887) *Ş-šet'wa l-māḥsūna ida kānu l-mndzēl fēha māmūna*, “ It is a good winter if the *mndzēl* (for the meaning of this word, see *infra*) in it are to be trusted.”

(1888) *Ida dāhlēt š-št'ā l-lāla lbēs s-šōf ālu t'kūn mderbla,*
 "When the early winter sets in, dress in woollen
 clothing, even though it is ragged."

(1889) *Ida dāhlēt š-št'ā l-lāla kul kull ši hāt'a n-nūhhāla,*
 "When the early winter sets in, eat everything,
 even bran" (in order to keep warm).

In winter there are many people who have to starve, being out
 of work on account of the wet weather ; hence :

(1890) *Ida šúft'i l-gmām fē s-smā hmēd āllāh 'āl l-hobz u l-mū,*
 "When you see clouds in the sky [in winter], praise
 God for having bread and water."

At the same time a rainless winter is bad, not only for the crops
 but also for the health of the people :

(1891) *Ida hārjet' š-šet'wa bla mātar ikūn l-mart fē l-bādīya u*
l-hādar, "If the winter comes to an end without rain,
 there will be sickness among the people in the country
 and in the towns."

The rain that falls during the *liāli*, the period of forty days
 between the 12th December and the 20th January inclusive,
 is the best for the crops, as the sunshine of the *šmāim* is the best
 for vegetables, fruit, and durra :

(1892) *L-liāli ū s-šmāim hāma rōh l-hair yā fāhēn,* "The
liāli and the *šmāim* are the soul of goodness, O he who
 understands."

(1893) *Š-št'ā dē l-liāli yēdmān béha l-'ām yā hāli,* "The rain of the
liāli is the security for the year, O my mother's brother."

(1894) *Ida tāhlēt l-liāli mséllsa hfar l-mdīmār ū gélisa,* "If
 the *liāli* enters dark, dig the granary and make it
 smooth" (the year will be good ; Andjra).

(1895) *L-hart' ida bērdēt' fē l-liāli fārhu yā 'yāli,* "If the
 grain sown gets wet in the *liāli*, rejoice O my children"
 (Andjra).

(1896) *Iḏā rwat' l-liāli 'āwēl 'āḷa s-smēn bē l-qlāli,* "If the
liāli brings water, make ready for salt butter with
 pitchers" (Andjra).

- (1897) *L-liáli l-mēs'úda t'énzél š-št'ā bě l-lil u n-nhār t'kūn mēfqáda*, "The *liáli* brings good luck, when rain falls in the night and there is no rain in the day"
- (1898) *L-liáli úda hárjēt' bla št'ā t'kūn n-nábāt' mīyt'a*, "If the *liáli* comes to an end without rain, the vegetation will die."
- (1899) *Dě hābb l-'inēb yēzbar d-dwāli au ijdrsū fē l-liáli*, "He who wants grapes should prune the vines or plant them in the *liáli*" (Andjra).
- (1900) *Ida tđhlēt' l-liáli rfēd fāsēk w agrās d-dwāli*, "When the *liáli* sets in, pick up your hoe and plant the vines" (Andjra).
- (1901) *Ida t'násfāt' l-liáli agrās l-'ānāni w azbār d-dwāli*, "When the *liáli* becomes half, sow the cucumbers and prune the vines" (Andjra).
- (1902) *Ida dđhlēt' l-liáli ijriú l-'ānāsar w insqau d-dwāli*, "When the *liáli* sets in, the fountains run and the vines are watered."
- (1903) *Qālēt' š-šējra azbārni fē l-liáli au halli li dyāli*, "The tree said, Prune me in the *liáli* or let me keep what belongs to me" (the *liáli* is the only time suitable for pruning; Andjra).
- (1904) *Qāl l-ward sqēni fē l-liáli u hallini nā'mel šgāli*, "The rose said, Water me in the *liáli* and let me do my business."
- (1905) *Lētēin l-liáli kúlū wā la t'bāli*, "The oranges of the *liáli*, eat them and don't be anxious" (they are supposed to contain medicine).
- The *liáli* is a very cold time; hence:
- (1906) *Ida dđhlēt' l-liáli lā t'bē' l-bāli*, "When the *liáli* sets in, don't sell your old clothes."
- (1907) *Qālēt' l-'áuda harrējni l-liáli wāhha yēbqa fīya jar hūdli*, "The mare said, Take me out of the *liáli*, even though only my shadow remains in me" (it is a bad time for her; Andjra).

(1908) *L-ḥómmiṣ ḥārt'ū bein l-lidli u mars*, "Sow the chick-peas between the *lidli* and March" (Andjra).

There are sayings relating to the various months of the Julian calendar, which are called by their Latin names, more or less modified.

New Year's Day (Old Style) is a day of omens, which portend what will happen during the year.¹ Prognostic importance is thus attributed to the day of the week on which it falls.

(1909) *Ida dḥal yēnnāir bē l-ḥadd ifraḥ kull ḥadd*, "If January sets in on a Sunday, every one will rejoice."

(1910) *Ida dḥal yēnnāir b lē-t'nīn t'fraḥ l-arḍ u l-mēskīn*, "If January sets in on a Monday, the ground and the poor man will rejoice."

(1911) *Ida dḥal yēnnāir bē t-t'lat'a t'kūn l-ḥart' fīh mḥābbt'a*, "If January sets in on a Tuesday, the crops of the year will be bad."

(1912) *Ida dḥal yēnnāir b l-árba' ikūn r-rāzq fīh mḥābbq'*, "If January sets in on a Wednesday, the good of the year will be hidden."

(1913) *Idu dḥal yēnnāir bē l-ḥmīs ikūn z-zra' fīh rḥēṣ*, "If January sets in on a Thursday, the wheat will be cheap in the year."

(1914) *Idu dḥal yēnnāir bē a-d'jūm'a t'kūn l-fāwākih nāf'é'a*, "If January sets in on a Friday, the dried fruit [of the year] will be good for use."

(1915) *Ida dḥal yēnnāir bē s-sēbt' ikūn l-aql fīh mī'ēbbēt'*, "If January sets in on a Saturday, the mind will be steady during the year."

(1916) *Ida dḥal yēnnāir gātti ulādēk ū 'atēhum f ṣ-ṣbaḥ l-ḥārdāir*, "When January sets in, cover your children and give them gruel in the morning."

In January the first ploughing season, *ḥart' l-békri*, comes to an end, and if you do not then choose a good piece of land for ploughing and sowing, you had better refrain from

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 162 sqq.

sowing and make bread of your corn or lend it to someone else, who will pay it back later on. This is meant by the saying :—

(1917) *Ida hrěj yinnéir hđl'ru bē l-mtair au kulu ftair au sēlfu nē l-gair*, “ When January expires, choose between the pieces of land or eat *ftair* (bread made without yeast) or lend it to others ” (Andjra).

If the wheat is spoilt either by the lack or the excess of rain, it is said :—

(1918) *Z-zra' lāijōrhū yinnéir u iqđt'lu yibráir u yissēmna 'āla marš*, “ The wheat is wounded by January and killed by February, and the blame is laid on March ” (Andjra).

(1919) *Ida dhal yēbráiyār l-bērd fih yēhli d-dwáyēr*, “ When February sets in, the cold weather in it empties the yards ” (where the cattle are kept at night).

(1920) *Š-št'a d yibráir lāislāh l-bqar f d-dwáir*, “ The rain of February strips the cattle in the yards of their skin ” (Andjra).

(1921) *Marš bu zházāh hālla l-bqar f l-mrāt'āh*, “ Mars, the master of shaking (a nickname given to this month on account of its strong wind), leaves the cattle in their pens ” (it is also a rainy month ; Andjra).

(1922) *Qal l-ħmār ħarréjni marš wāhħa yēbqa fiya ġur r-rās*, “ The donkey said, Take me out of Mars, even though only the head remains in me ” (the dangerous time is then over ; Andjra).

(1923) *L-bāqra d-đafāna ħárrja marš ma yēbqa fēħa bās*, “ Take the weak cow out of March, no evil will remain in her ” (Andjra).

(1924) *Šhar marš mēs'ūd ma iħrúj ħátt'a izáħhar l-'ūd*, “ The month of March is lucky, it does not pass until the wood comes out in blossom.”

(1925) *T-t'aum d marš qádda qadd r-rās*, “ Garlic planted in March [will grow] as big as a head ” (Andjra).

- (1926) *Ida nēzlēt š-št'a fē yibril t'fraḥ n-nūwar ḥatt'a l-ḥaḥil,* "If rain falls in April, the flowers will rejoice [and] also the horses."
- (1927) *R-ráwya f yibril dhsēn mēn mäll Maḍrūr,* "A downpour of rain in April is better than [all] the money of Madrid" (Andjra).
- (1928) *F yibril fāin ma šuft l-fūl māl,* "In April, wherever you see beans stoop down [to pick them]" (there is such an abundance of them; Andjra).
- (1929) *F yibril lat'ár'a l-má'za u t'qíl u t'ámmar ḥállēb d l-ḥlib u t'qúl ma zāl l-líl,* "In April the she-goat grazes and dozes and fills the milk-pot and says, The night has not yet come" (the day appears to her long; Andjra).
- (1930) *Máiyū kull it'im b ráiyū,* "In May every orphan follows his own bent" (everybody is happy then and his own master).
- (1931) *Máiyū ḥsdu wáḥḥa ikún fláiyū,* "In May, reap it even if it be pennyroyal" (Andjra).
- (1932) *Ida nēzlēt š-št'a f máiyū t'šfsēd n-nábāt ũ zár'ū,* "If rain falls in May, the crops and its wheat are spoilt."
- (1933) *Ida taḥ š-št'a fē yúnyuh dī yēzrá' šī ma yēndém feh,* "If rain falls in June, he who sows something (i.e. vegetables) will not be sorry for it" (Andjra).
- (1934) *Ida t'kállēm r-ra'd fē yúlyuz kul mēn gēr z-zra' u l-lauz,* "If it thunders in July, eat only wheat and almonds" (i.e. light food, because the thunder forebodes sickness).
- (1935) *Ida dḥal ḡšt t'rak l-ḥrīf u kul l-qaut,* "When August sets in, give up fruit and eat food made of grain."

From the commencement of August many people abstain from all fruit except grapes and melons. August is a treacherous month:

- (1936) *Ḡšt leigašš l-qāmi,* "August cheats the people" (Bni 'Ároṣ).

- (1937) *Šhar šut'ānbīr šri kēsūāt'āk 'āndēk t'ḥēr*, "In the month of September, buy your clothes so that you may have no trouble."
- (1938) *F šut'ānbīr qā' ḍ-dra wāḥḥa f qa' l-bīr*, "In September, cut the durra, even if it is at the bottom of the well" (even then it will be ripe; Andjra).
- (1939) *Ida dḥal kt'ōbar ḥārāt' l-ḥart' lā t'ēt'wāḥḥar*, "When October sets in, do the ploughing, don't be tardy."

The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October, but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground; during this season wheat, barley, beans, peas, and lentils are sown. When the Pleiades rise again in the evening, which happens in October, you should begin the sowing of beans on the following day:

- (1940) *Ida tāl'āt t-t'riya fē lā-'ša azrā' l-fūl bē l-kūmša*, "When the Pleiades rise at the time for the evening prayer, 'sow beans with a handful'" (Andjra).
- (1941) *Ida dḥal nūwānbīr dḥul mēn bārri u lbēs l-qšēr*, "When November sets in, come away from the country and dress in short clothes" (on account of the rain and mud).
- (1942) *Ida dḥal dūjānbīr l-'ālla fīh t'ēt'lā' mēn qā' l-bīr*, "When December sets in, sickness will rise in it [even] from the bottom of the well."
- (1943) *Š-šohōr t'nāš qūl yā rūbbi rzāqni fēha l-'aiš*, "The months are twelve: say, O God provide me with my livelihood during them."

The year is divided not only into twelve months, but into twenty-eight *mndāzēl* (in the written language *manāzil*), sing. *mēnzla* (*manzil*), each containing thirteen days, with the exception of the *jēbha* (18th–31st July), which contains fourteen. The first *mēnzla* is the *naḥ*, from 23rd March to 4th April. The three following ones are the *būain* (*buḥain*; 5th–17th April), *t'riya* (*turiyā*; 18th–30th April), and *dēbrān* (*dabarān*; 1st–13th May).

- (1944) *L-btain fēh šī šībāt^s a ma lāihālliū mēn twibat^s*, “ [If there are] some little clouds in the *btain*, how many little lumps are left by them ” (i.e. by the ploughmen, who refrain from ploughing for fear of rain; Andjra).
- (1945) *Ida t̄ahlēt^s t-t^rīya azrā[‘] ḍ-ḍra wāhha fē l-ma mējriya*, “ When the *t^rīya* sets in, sow the durra, even if it be in running water ” (even then it will ripen; Andjra).
- (1946) *Ida t̄hal d-dēbrān la ḍra lā t^rīraṇ*, “ When the *dēbrān* sets in, there should be no [more sowing of] durra nor [ploughing with] bullocks ” (whose feet would become sore owing to the hardness of the ground; Andjra).
- (1947) *Fē d-dēbrān qal lū tab l-fūl qal lū fāin qal lū f hauz l-mulein*, “ In the *dēbrān* he said to him, The beans are ripe; he said to him, Where? he said to him, In the surroundings of the towns ” (where they ripen earlier than in the country; Andjra).
- (1948) *Ida t̄hal d-dēbrān āt^si jmālēk bē l-qāṭrān u āt^si zrā’āk bē l-gómraṇ w āhṣar gānmēk mēl l-góḍraṇ*, “ When the *dēbrān* sets in, bring tar to your camels and sheaf your wheat and keep your sheep away from the ponds ” (Andjra).

The *mndzēl* of the winter are the *šqūla* (13th–25th November), *n’aim* (*nū’aim*; 26th November–8th December), *būlda* (*balad*; 9th–21st December), *sq’ḍ bēn dābeḥ* (22nd December–3rd January), *sq’ḍ bla’* (*bula’*; 4th–16th January), *sq’ḍ s-s’ōūd* (*su’ūd*; 17th–29th January), and *sq’ḍ l-ḥbiya* (*l-aḥbiya*; 30th January–11th February).

- (1949) *Dē ḥabb l-fūl nē l-’āula izr’ām f š-šqūla*, “ He who likes beans for provisions should sow them in the *šqūla* ” (Andjra).
- (1950) *Ida taḥ š-št^a f š-šqūla lā t^rēbki hāmm nē l-’āula*, “ If rain falls in the *šqūla*, don’t worry about provisions ” (Andjra).

- (1951) *Š-šárqi f š-šáula láitálla' l-měnn fě l-fúla*, " East wind in the *šáula* raises worms in the bean " (Andjra).
- (1952) *R-rēh dě š-šáula lāyēnfa' l-áula*, " The wind of the *šáula* is useful to the girl " (it will improve her health and appearance ; Andjra).
- (1953) *N-n'aim l-běrd mēn l-arđ qaim u ikēt'rá fih l-mnāim*, " In the *n'aim* the cold is rising from the ground, and the dreams are plentiful " (people sleep much on account of the cold).
- (1954) *Ida t'kěllēm r-ra'd f n-n'aim īji l-marđ mēn s-smā hūim*, " If it thunders in the *n'aim*, sickness comes fluttering from the sky."
- (1955) *Lā bērd illū bērd l-búlđa*, " There is no cold but the cold of the *búlđa*."
- (1956) *Ida ddhlē' l-búlđa kat'rudđ l-ägúza jélda wū l-bēnt' qárđa*, " When the *búlđa* sets in, it renders the old woman skin and bones and the girl a monkey " (through its cold).
- (1957) *Ida nfaḥ l-gárbi fě l-búlđa lā baš 'ála d 'ánda u d ma 'ánda*, " If west wind blows in the *búlđa*, he who has it (i.e. corn) is all right and [also] he who has not " (the latter will easily find employment as a farm-labourer, because the west wind brings rain and the crops will be good ; Andjra).
- (1958) *Ida nfaḥ l-gárbi fě l-búlđa t'fraḥ kull mulúda*, " If west wind blows in the *búlđa*, every domestic animal that brings forth young is pleased " (Andjra).
- (1959) *Š-šárqi dě l-búlđa bēh lát'đhmēl l-qērdá*, " With east wind in the *búlđa* the monkey becomes pregnant " (Andjra).
- (1960) *Ida t'kěllēm r-ra'd fě l-búlđa t'kūn n-nūwar jāyúda*, " If it thunders in the *búlđa*, the flowers will be fine."
- (1961) *Ida t'kěllēm r-ra'd fě sá'd bēn dābeḥ ikūn r-rēh fih gēr nāfe'*, " If it thunders in *sá'd bēn dābeḥ*, the wind in it will bring no profit."

- (1962) *F sa'd bēn dābeḥ la wājhun sāmeḥ lā kēlbun nābeḥ*; " In *sa'd bēn dābeḥ* there is no forgiving face nor barking dog " (on account of the cold weather, which makes the people cross and keeps the dogs indoors ; Andjra).
- (1963) *Ida dḥal sa'd bla' kul kull šī ḥatt'a l-gra'*, " When *sa'd bla'* sets in, cat everything, even pumpkins " (which are generally eaten only together with other food ; it is said that the cold weather makes the teeth cold, and that cold teeth make one hungry).
- (1964) *Ida dḥal sa'd s-s'ḍūd kāyǰri l-mā f l-'ūd u yēšḥān kull mēbrūd*, " When *sa'd s-s'ḍūd* sets in, the water runs into the wood and everything that has got cold gets warm " ; hence :
- (1965) *Ida dḥal sa'd s-s'ḍūd kāifārḥū n-nās ḥatt'a l-'ūd*, " When *sa'd s-s'ḍūd* sets in, the people rejoice [and] also the wood."
- (1966) *F sa'd s-s'ḍūd lat'āhrúj l-ḥāiya u l-qānfūd*, " In *sa'd s-s'ḍūd* the snake and the hedgehog come out [from their nests] " (Andjra).
- (1967) *Ida dḥal sa'd l-ḥbīya t'frah l-bēnt' u l-lbīya*, " When *sa'd l-ḥbīya* sets in, the girl rejoices and [also] the lioness " (because the winter is now very nearly over, though the weather may still be cold).
- (1968) *F sa'd l-aḥbīya be' d-dra u ššri l-bēd'āya*, " In *sa'd l-aḥbīya*, sell durra and buy a waistcoat " (Andjra).
- (1969) *F sa'd l-aḥbīya ḥārrēj l-ḥaīl mēn lē-rwīya*, " In *sa'd l-aḥbīya*, turn the horses out of the stables " (Andjra).
- (1970) *F sa'd l-aḥbīya t'āhrúj kull māgbīya*, " In *sa'd l-aḥbīya* everything hidden comes out " (referring to vegetation ; Andjra).
- (1971) *F baṭn l-ḥūt' aqlēb nē d-dra qābla t'fūt'*, " In *baṭn l-ḥūt'* (the last of the *māzēl*, 10th–22nd March), turn the ground for the durra before it passes " (there is another ploughing later on, when the sowing takes place ; Andjra).

- (1972) *L-mnâzël t'ménya ü 'ôsrîn ðâb n allâh ihâfdâk mên sârrhum yâ męskîn*, "The *mnâzël* are twenty-eight : pray to God to save you from their evil, O poor man."
- (1973) *Hđi râşâk mël l-mnâzël fę l-til ş-şahha m'âhum qlil*, "Be on your guard against the *mnâzël* at night, there is little health with them."

We have still to notice some other periods, of shorter duration, that figure in the popular calendar. From 25th February to 4th March there is one, lasting eight days and seven nights, which is called the *hsüm* or *hâiyân*. It is represented as a bitterly cold time of the year, known for its rain, wind, and snow, which are considered very dangerous to people, animals, and crops.¹ This accounts for the nickname given it in the saying :

- (1974) *Hâiyân bu tluj lulu bâida w ahêru 'asklj*, "*Hâiyân*, the master of snow, on the first day of it an egg and on the last day of it the stalks of edible wild herbs" (i.e. on the first day the partridges begin to lay eggs, and on the last day the young sprouts of various wild herbs are big enough to be used for food ; *Hîâina*).

Lambs and kids are then very liable to be killed by the rough weather ; hence :

- (1975) *Lâ t'â'zel jđik mên ^{a-d}jđdyân hâtt'a đđör liâli hâiyân*, "Don't separate your kid from the other kids until the nights of *hâiyân* have turned round" ² ; or,
- (1976) *Lâ t'đhseb jđdyânâk mên j-jđdyân hâtt'a idûz liâli hâiyân*, "Don't take away your kids from the other kids until the nights of *hâiyân* are past" (*Hîâina*).

Nothing can be worse than a thunderstorm in *hâiyân* : it hurts the little children, animals, and bees, and makes milk and honey scarce :

- (1977) *Allâh injjîna mên ra'd hâiyân*, "May God save us from the thunder of *hâiyân*" (*Hîâina*).

On the other hand, the east wind is very welcome, as there is no rain while it is blowing :

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 174 sqq.

² *Supra*, nr. 188.

(1978) *Ila häbb š-šergi fə həiyān t'hāmmam d-drā fə n-nīsān u ihórij l-'ām zīn blā nōqsān*, "If the east wind blows in *həiyān*, the durra will have a bath in the *nīsān* (see *infra*), and the year will turn out good without scarcity" (Hiáina).

(1979) *Ida kânēt' l-ħsūm l-bē' u š-šrā fəha mēsmūm*, "In the *ħsūm* buying and selling are poisoned."

The time from 27th April to 3rd May is called *nīsān* (or the *nīsān*, the *līsān*, or *léisān*). It is a propitious period¹; hence:

(1980) *Ida dhal nīsān ifrah kull insān hatt'a l-wūhūs u l-ħit'ān*, "When *nīsān* sets in, every person rejoices [and] also the wild beasts and the fishes."

While rain in *həiyān* is considered injurious, rain in *nīsān* is considered very beneficial. This refers sometimes to all the seven days of this period, sometimes to the first three days, and sometimes to the first day only, which is in Andjra called *nhar léisān*. Rain-water which has fallen on 27th April (*l-ma də léisān*) is there highly appreciated and used for a great variety of purposes:

(1981) *L-ma də léisān dī hoqq qādrū iššréh bē l-kīsān*, "He who knows the value of the water of *léisān* will buy it by the cupful" (Andjra);

(1982) *L-ma də léisān lārdāuwi kull insān*, "The water of *léisān* cures every person" (Andjra).

The 'ansra, or Midsummer (Old Style, like all the other dates of the solar year), plays a very prominent part in popular ritual and belief.² Among other things it is a great time for the practice of magic; hence:

(1983) *Ida jdt' l-'ansra hdi rāsāk mēn s-šhōr dlu t'kūn f bērr n-nšāra*, "When Midsummer comes, be on your guard against witchcraft, even if you are in the country of Christians" (who are considered less addicted to it than the Moors).

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 177 sqq.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 182 sqq.

There are many sayings relating to agriculture, besides those mentioned in connection with certain periods.

(1984) *L-flāḥa hīya flāḥa r-rāzq fēha u s-ṣaḥḥa*, "Farming is farming, there is prosperity in it as well as health."

(1985) *Š-šǧūl f wdqt'ū lāzēm t'āḥūd gāllt'ū*, "The fruit of your labour you must take in its time."

(1986) *'Ātē l-mā u l-gbār t'āḥūd f wdqt'ū n-nāwar*, "Give water and manure, you will take the flowers in their time."

(1987) *L-'ām ida kdn qlīl l-mā t'kūn l-garṣ u l-ḥart' mā'dūma*, "If there is little water in the year, the planting and the ploughing will come to nothing."

(1988) *L-garṣ bla 'irf lā būdda yēḥrúj d'āif*, "Planting without knowledge must turn out poor."

(1989) *Amši bēkri au ḥrat' bēkri au mši t'ēkri*, "Go early (wherever you want to go), or plough early, or go to hire" (someone else to do your work early; Andjra).

(1990) *Dī isāḥḥāl nhar l-ḥadd 'āndu r-rbāḥ fē l-yūdd gar ida ḥan l-'ahd*, "He who starts [ploughing] on a Sunday has profit in his hand, unless he breaks his faith" (being the first day of the week, Sunday is considered to be the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, but Monday and Thursday are also regarded as suitable for the purpose; Andjra).

(1991) *Lē-t'nin zār'ū u t-t'lāt'a qāf'ū u l-ārba' idb'ū*, "On Monday sow it, and on Tuesday cut it, and on Wednesday seal it" (i.e. store it in the subterranean granary; Andjra).

(1992) *Dī isāḥḥāl nhar l-ḥmis mā ira t'á'kis*, "He who starts [ploughing] on a Thursday will see no misfortune" (Andjra).

(1993) *Dī isāḥḥāl nhar a-djumó'a ma isá'duh gar d-dbó'a*, "He who starts [ploughing] on a Friday, only hyenas will help him" (Andjra).

- (1994) *Dī isāhhāl nhar s-sēbt^a fē l-hāmm yēbqa mēnbūt^a*, “He who starts [ploughing] on a Saturday will remain sprouting in misfortune” (i.e. remain without crops; Andjra).
- (1995) *Dī isūf mūl t^airān iqūl lū ‘āqlū fēllāh ū hāwa mūl l-blād dē rbāh*, “He who sees an owner of bullocks, his understanding tells him that he is a farmer and the owner of the land the one who gains” (Andjra).
- (1996) *Mul l-blād sūltān mūl t-t^airān wūzīrū*, “The owner of land is a sultan, the owner of bullocks is his vizier” (Andjra).
- (1997) *Hart^a b jūja āhsēn mēn hart^a b fērd*, “Ploughing with a pair is better than ploughing with one” (the general excellence of odd numbers¹ does not apply to ploughing, which should be done with two animals, not with one).
- (1998) *T-t^aaur hāt^arū qrōnū twal u l-hārrat^a yā‘rāf l-mēfṣal*, “Choose a bullock with long horns and a ploughman who knows the proper time [for ploughing]” (Andjra).
- (1999) *T-t^aaur lē-dbes ma ihallīha u‘ēbbes*, “A dark-brown bullock does not let it [i.e. the ground] get dry” (on account of his great strength; Andjra).
- (2000) *Bāttal l-hart^a b lē-sfar iwūsslāk nā hyar mā feh u yēndbar*, “Don’t go on ploughing with a yellow bullock, he will take you to the best part of the field and get galled” (Andjra).
- (2001) *Ahrāt d-dra bē t-t^airān u š-š‘ēr wāhha bē l-fīrān*, “When you sow durra plough with bullocks, and when you sow barley even with mice” (durra is sown when the ground is dry and hard, and barley when it is wet and soft; Andjra).

When the corn or pulse is measured, a tenth part of it should be set aside and given away to the poor, widows, scribes, or shereefs; it is said that otherwise there is no *baraka* in it, or that it will be haunted by *jnūn* or infested with vermin or pilfered by men.

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, i, 141.

These alms, which are called *lā-šōr*, are prescribed as a religious duty; but the prescription is by no means universally followed.¹

- (2002) *L-fellāh idā rfēd z-zra' lāzēm ihárrāj mēnnū ma yč'nfā'*, "When the farmer removes the wheat [from the field], he must take out of it what is profitable."
- (2003) *L-fellāh qāl 'átē mēř rāzq álláh ya'ték álláh*, "The farmer said, Give out of the bounties of God, God will give you [more]."
- (2004) *Z-zra' qāl šaddaq mēnni t'ērja' gáni*, "The wheat said, Give alms from me, you will become rich."
- (2005) *'Áté mēř drát'āk izúlek álláh f qáut'āk*, "Give out of your durra, God will increase your grain."
- (2006) *Šaddaq mēř l-hřf inē't-jřk álláh mēř l-hāřf*, "Give alms out of your fruit, God will save you from starving."
- (2007) *Ida grař'i grař l-kram izúlek álláh r-rāzq f kull 'ām*, "When you plant, plant fig-trees, God will increase your means of living every year."
- (2008) *Kull ři fřh d-dā u d-dúa mēř gēr l-'inēb u l-lētēn hřn yēbda*, "In everything (i.e. every kind of fruit) there is [both] sickness and medicine, with the exception of grapes and oranges, when they are in their beginning" (then there is no sickness in them).
- (2009) *Mēř 'ámmar bāřnū bě l-bēřtēh bħal li 'ammārha bě n-nōř*, "He who fills his stomach with melons is like him who fills it with light" (there is *baraka* in them).
- (2010) *'Ām n-núa u t-t'mar izúř f r-rāzqu l-'āmár*, "A year in which there are plenty of almonds and dates increases prosperity and life."

To the sayings relating to the weather at certain periods may be added a few about the east wind in general. It contains *baraka* because it comes from the *qábla*, or direction of Mecca.

- (2011) *Š-šārqi lāyřđfa' l-blā*, "The east wind drives off evil" (Andjra).

¹ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, ii, 241.

(2012) *Ṣ-ṣbaḥ n-nda u š-šérgi 'and lá-ğda*, "In 'the morning dew and east wind at dinner-time [make the year good]" (Ḥiáina).

At the same time, if strong and lasting the east wind is not good, it dries the crops ; and it also indicates that there is much fighting and that many men are killed. In spite of its *baraka* there is the saying :—

(2013) *Kull mēn jā mēn l-qábla mlēḥ gēr l-mard u r-rēḥ*, "Everything that comes from the direction of Mecca is good, except the sickness and the wind" (Ḥiáina).

ARABIC TEXT OF THE PROVERBS

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- (1) النساء نافصات (فلة) عفل ودين
- (2) النساء نسام الله من رحمته
- (3) زين الرجل في عفله وعفل المرأة في زينها
- (4) اذا لفيت المعينة ابزف في طرفها وادع لها بالفريفة
- (5) اذا حلبوا بك الرجال بت ناعس واذا حلبوا بك النساء بت فايف
- (6) شر البنات ما يفاضوه حتى يندبوا الحنكات
- (7) شر الشاربات ما يرتاحوا منه حتى ينتهبوا الشيبات
- (8) شر الاحرار ما يفاضوه حتى ينتهبوا الشعر
- (9) شر الخدم ما يتفاضى الا بالدم
- (10) عزونة تولد والحزان يحرفه زكه
- (11) شر النساء وهمهم لا يتنسى
- (12) كيد النساء فوي وكيد الشيطان ضعيف
- (13) حمفا وقالوا لها زغرت
- (14) سل المجرب لا تسال الطيب
- (15) المرأة تهرب من الشيب كيف النعجة من الذيب
- (16) المرأة تهرب من الكبر كيف خوف البكرون
- (17) المرأة اذا شربت ما يبني فيها من غير السم ولون الكبريت
- (18) البكي ذالشاربة مخمين عندها في الفبا
- (19) اذا شبت الشاربة بالتسبيح اعربها شيطانة بالتصحيح

- (20) العكوزة أكثر من الشيطان
- (21) الي كي عمل ابليس في عام كعمله العكوزة في ساعة
- (22) اذا مات احد عزري ينحشر مع الشياطين
- (23) اضرب في العزبة يفوموا ستاش
- (24) بني عام صايم وبطر باغلل
- (25) الفرن ما يكون مع الخصرة
- (26) الرجل العزري يمشي باين يبغي ومهني من الجري
- (27) النسا سيفنة من العود والراكب يها مفود
- (28) الاولين فالوا زواج ليلة تديره عام
- (29) الناس قالت الي يفول العرس ساهل يسفي له غير الها
- (30) الزواج بلا شرع مجال البهيمة بلا بردعة
- (31) يد ناله يرتهد الحمل
- (32) زوج يمرضوا الشباب زواج بنات الكلاب والنعاس في الجلاب
- (33) اذا تزوجت تزوج الاصول ما يجير العدو ما يفول
- (34) لا زين الا زين الفعل
- (35) خذ المرأة الاصلية ونم على الحصير
- (36) اذا تعبي عب المسكينة ولو تحيب لها غير الخبزة والسردينة
- (37) لا تعبي المرأة بدرامها تعمل لك النبخة وتفول لك اسف الها
- (38) اعمل اللفمة فد دفك قبل توحل لك
- (39) كل زرع كيحيب له الله كيا له

- (40) موضع العود ما تربط فيه الحمار
- (41) اخاك من العودة ولا شبيت الاعدا
- (42) الي يحمّل زباله الناس يحمّل ذياله ما يشوب باس
- (43) ذيدي بنت عمه بحال ذعيد من غنمه
- (44) تسع من دمك قبل ينكسك
- (45) عمك يعميك وخالك يخليك وبعد من دمك لا يليك
- (46) الي يتزوج المرأة صغيرة كيحوز الخير والذخيرة
- (47) عب المرأة صغيرة ولو تاكل الخبز بطيرة
- (48) لا تعبي المرأة كبيرة ولو تاكل معها البراخ واللحم صغيرة
- (49) الي عنده شارفة عنده نفيمة
- (50) نكاح المرأة الشارفة كيورث الفمول والربة
- (51) يكذب الشيب وما يكذب شي التكماش
- (52) الله ينجيك من الصمرة والمرأة الصبرا
- (53) لا تعبي المرأة عرجا تحشمك مع الناس حين تكون كيزة
- (54) الي يتزوج المرأة عرجا تولد له عيلة مرجة
- (55) الي يتزوج المرأة زعرا يمشي له متاعه ويزيد البفرة
- (56) لا تزوج المرأة عينها زرفا ولو تكون عندها الدراهم بيـ
صندوقها
- (57) لا تزوج المرأة طويلة تحريك في الكسوة والتسرويلة
- (58) اذا تزوجت زوج الفصير اذا وصلت لها ما تحير

- (59) ما تادي' الهجالة' ترحم المرحوم وتردك زبالة
- (60) ابي يتزوج الخادم الشارقة كتورث الامراض والفدبة
- (61) خادم ولود احسن من حرة غير ولود
- (62) يدين الحرة في الطعام ادام
- (63) في عدمت الولي نفول نالعبد خالي
- (64) بحمة وتوكنني الشحمة
- (65) كل لا تسال
- (66) الطير الحديف كيجصل من منقاره
- (67) الهدرة على الثريد وما كسكسو شعبوه العبيد
- (68) الشرط في البدان ولا الخصومة في النوادر
- (69) البكي ليكون على راس الميت
- (70) لا ذراع نالخدمة لا وجه نالسعية
- (71) ذحب نينو يصر الليل كله
- (72) ذحب العسل يصر نعص النحل
- (73) بالمهل لينتكل البلجان
- (74) دخل مساري وخرج شاري
- (75) باين عينك عين غيرك
- (76) طكوك طكوك بلان ما نرضوه واحد اخر اراره
- (77) قالت لاواه قالت لاواه بلان ما نرضوه واحد اخر اراره
- (78) الزواج بلا نية مجال البراد بلا سينية

- (79) كل شي فيه الشركة من غير الزواج والصلاة المبروكة
 (80) ذحب حرامه يحضيه
 (81) لا تعمل شي براي المرأة
 (82) شاور مراتك واعمل رايك شاور مراتك وخالب راياها
 (83) طاعة النسا كتدخل لالنار
 (84) اذا تزوجت حوض الملح تترتاح
 (85) اللسان الحلو ترضعه اللبنة
 (86) طاح الحك بي الما وجبر غطاه تم
 (87) تلافى الشب مع الطرطر وجات صبيغة هندية
 (88) ما ليكون احد بي الجنة ويخرج منها
 (89) ذما عنده هم تولده له حمارته
 (90) المرأة اذا كانت سراقه طلفها واعطها صداها
 (91) المرأة اذا كانت فجة ولو تكون بولدها طلفها ما تحبها
 (92) الي عاند خيمته خلاها
 (93) المبدل ما حملته يماه
 (94) اذا شبت الطبل ليفلف اعربه ماشي يسكت
 (95) الثور ما يعي بفرونه
 (96) فلببي بريك ما يحمل شريك
 (97) ذل المرأة باخرى
 (98) طامو صندوق المال وعويشة مفتاحه

- (99) الرجل يمناه اذا تزوج مشى ناهم كيندرج
 (100) عروف المحبة في القلب
 (101) بعيني شبت الزين كيغمي العينين
 (102) الربطة صعبة هي تحمف او تفتل
 (103) الحطيف البحري رجا جناحه نالما ذاك العيون الكحل برفونبي
 على يما
 (104) فصيصرة ومسرارة في غرضها حيت انا
 (105) الطيب يعرف داي
 (106) الهدرة مع السارية وابهم يا الجارية
 (107) فدام داركم بنكي ونفطر دموعي
 (108) ما نكرنا شي على سيادي وموالي عسى ذبان شواربي
 (109) الزين مجروبه اده نامه تشوبه
 (110) اذا بغوك لا تشفى واذا كرهوك لا تكشر نفقة
 (111) المرأة اذا حبت الرجل تعطيه له من الثفة ذالباب
 (112) بس الجرو من بيه حتى تفضي حاجتك منه
 (113) ما ناكلك اعشاي ما نعطيك ناعداي
 (114) الزين جبه الله
 (115) نظرة في الميخ تحي القلب ويرجع صحيح
 (116) الي ما ضرب في بندير كبير ما شبع حضرة
 (117) الزين على الدبلة والدبلة مرة

- (118) زين نالعويد يرجع جويد
- (119) النعاس كثير مع المرأة كيورث العما
- (120) وهبت بصري على ذكري
- (121) فوته تعمي وفلته تعمي
- (122) اسباب هلاكنا تزويف الحيوط والنعاس مع فخابنا
- (123) بعد من نفس المرأة كيورث الخوب بے الظلمة
- (124) الي ينكح اليهودية يلصف منها المرض بے الصباح والعشية
- (125) الي ينكح النصرانية تبیع له كل شي حتى البدعية
- (126) باش المحرف الفيطنون بالطرور والشبابة
- (127) الغلا من الله عصا والناس زايدین بے الشبان والنسا
- (128) المبيض من برا اش حالک من داخل
- (129) زوف تبیع
- (130) من اين ذالعشبة من ذالحشبة
- (131) فران الذياب مجبر الغار وبيات على برا
- (132) عين لا تشوب قلب لا يتوجع
- (133) الناس تعجبت بے الجمل اذا طلع بوف السطح
- (134) علامات اولاد الحرام هم الي ما يشوبوا طعام
- (135) اذا اعنت ولد الزنا بحال الغبرة على الفنا
- (136) ماكلة الحريف ولا خير الزنديف
- (137) الي ينكح امه كانه نكاحها بے الكعبة

- (138) الي ينكح اخته كانه نكاحها في القدس
- (139) الي ينكح خالته كانه نكاحها في البيت المعمور
- (140) الي ينكح عمته يعطيه الله ثلاثة العما والبفر والجذام
- (141) الي ينكح بنت اخته يذهب الله بركاته من رزفه
- (142) ناكح الذكر يكون مذلول بالليل والنهار
- (143) نكاح الذراري كيسخط عليه الباري
- (144) نكاح البكيحة كيورث البضيحة
- (145) نكاح الدبر كيزول النونور
- (146) نكاح التمة كيورث العما
- (147) نكاح العيال كيزول فوات الرجال
- (148) نكاح الصبيان كيورث البفر والنسيان
- (149) نكاح الزوامل كيورث الدعامل
- (150) ناكح العبد يكون مفهور في البلاد
- (151) ظريفة وعمالة مجال الجروة محكاكة في النوالة
- (152) الي ينكح الحمار ما يجمله لا مسلمين ولا نصارى
- (153) الي ينكح الجملة يعطيه الله كثرة البف والنملة
- (154) الي ينكح الفطة يجيب الله الي يهرس له راسه بالبطة
- (155) الي ينكح الذبيته ياتيه الله بالجدرى وعدم الشية
- (156) الي ينكح يوكه يجيه الويل بالشبكة
- (157) الي ينكح يده كانه نكح امه

- (158) ناكح يده يسخطوا عليه الناس وجدوده
- (159) الرجل بلا اولاد مجال العود بلا فيد
- (160) الزواج بلا عيال فليل دوامه نالرجال
- (161) الي خلى خليفته كانه ما مات
- (162) اذا زالت العين بنى موضع حبرة
- (163) الي يبدأ الولدة الاولى بالبرج برج الله عليه
- (164) الي ما عنده بنات ما يعرفوه الناس امتى مات
- (165) ديور البنات بى الحين خلت
- (166) ولده ذكر وسيديه بى البحر
- (167) ما يعطي ربي البول غير نذما عنده اسنان
- (168) التاجر اذا طلب العيال كيجيه الريال والمسكين اذا طلب الريال
- كيجيوه العيال
- (169) اذا تزوج ركب السفينة واذا ولد غرف
- (170) ما تخرج شي الصدقة حتى يشبعوا العيال
- (171) نفقة احسن من صدقة
- (172) الرجل كيبول غير الورا مجال البولة ذالجمل
- (173) الله ينعل الصابة ذغلبها الحمار
- (174) الخدمة على الاولاد احسن من الحج والجهاد
- (175) لا جوع الا جوع الزرع
- (176) كلام العودة من الي ولدت ما شربت ماي صابي ولا عليبي واوبي

- (177) يعيى اليّ يفوم وما يعيى شيى مفتوح الدفم
 (178) ذحسبها ما اكها
 (179) عاش ما كسب مات ما خلى
 (180) الجناح ليغطي على الصدره
 (181) ابنك فضله فى الماكلة والكسوة واضربه على الترابى والنشوة
 (182) رب واضرب ينبعك فى الدنيا والتراب
 (183) رب ولدك ينبعك مع الله ومع الناس يربعك
 (184) اولد ولدك شيخ لا تولده غندور
 (185) الفاري لا توريه والباهم يهم
 (186) افتل وانا ندون
 (187) سيدي بن سيدي ما يفرأ
 (188) لا تعزل جديك من الجديان حتى تدور ليالى حيان
 (189) رب بنتك وعلمها اذا تزوجت تلبس ولدها
 (190) بنتك لا تعلمها حروب ولا تسكنها غروب
 (191) ذولد ما ربح
 (192) الغابة ما يحرفها من غير عودها
 (193) الساعى يسى والمرأة تصدف وابنه كيفلف
 (194) السبع كيهرس والذيب كياكل
 (195) الي تبدل لونه يحسن عونه
 (196) حتى نفيى لك رجل مع رجل كيف البفرة مع العجل

- (197) احضها قبل ما تطرا واذا طرت مشيت
- (198) اقبضه يمزتك اطفه ينكيك
- (199) ابنك اذا خرج لك سارف سيه عليك ولو يكون احف
- (200) يدك منك ولو مجدام
- (201) الثوب الوابي ليغطي على الفصير
- (202) اخساره بيه اليهودي عينه
- (203) اولاد الذكور ينصابوا بين الحجور
- (204) الي هرسوه الوالدين ما يجبروه الصالحين والي هرسوه الصالحين
يجبروه الوالدين
- (205) المرضي غطوه والمسخوط عمروه
- (206) الحرامي ما يكون مجال المرضي
- (207) الفرعة تولد والزر ب ينبل
- (208) ولد الناس مجال الحيط بلا لساس
- (209) الولد موجود والاخو مفقود
- (210) الشمس كتطلع وتغيب والاخو اذا مات بيه ابن تصيب
- (211) الاخوة ما تنباع ما تنشرى
- (212) كمد الاحف واشتم بيه اخوه
- (213) الي ما عنده هم بيه ذاك البر يستنى ولد اخته حتى يكبر
- (214) ما يمشيك غير رجلك وما يحك لك غير ظفرك وما يكي
لك غير شبرك

- (215) حتى جرو ما هرب من خيمته
 (216) يتخربوا البحار ويفقوا المعابر
 (217) العظم الي ما تگرده ود به اخوك
 (218) اللهم في ذينا ولا في ذيب رهونة
 (219) عمك يعميك واخاك يخليك
 (220) خالك يخليك
 (221) اخوك اخوك لا يفرك الطمع
 (222) الفاطم الدم يتبشر بالهم
 (223) الرجل قال نالعاة انا في البرد واتين في السخانة
 (224) الطيور في الموت والصبيان كيلعبوا
 (225) الحنين يورث
 (226) لو حيرونا الاعداء يدفنونا بالروح
 (227) الحمية كتغلب السبع
 (228) ناسك هما ناسك ولو يكرهوك تجبرهم في باسك
 (229) الناس كلهم باهلهم وانا اهلي ماتوا
 (230) من فلة الولي عملت العبد (الكلب) خالي
 (231) الي ما عنده مغرور يحرف يده
 (232) النار كتخلي من غير الرماد والشتا كتخلي من غير الورد
 (233) الوردة من الشوك والترابي من اموك وابوك
 (234) حلب الحوت خرج من اما يرجع نالما

- (235) الي تعرف ابوه وجده ما يهملك ولده
 (236) اولاد عبد الواحد كلهم واحد
 (237) ولد البار ما يخرج غير حمار
 (238) الي خبي عليك اصله انظر بعله
 (239) اذا خبوا عليك النسا ذالمدن شب اولادهم
 (240) الي تعرف كسوته ما يهملك عراه
 (241) نم تشبه يا عشبة فالت من ذاك النفلة
 (242) الفدرة تنقلب على بمها والبننت تشبه نامها
 (243) الاخري بے اولاد طراين يعور العين
 (244) الحاجة ذما تشبه شي نمولاها كلاها حرام
 (245) ما ظنيت العسل مرارة
 (246) الادب افضل من النسب
 (247) عيب على الجمل يطلع نالسطح واما الفط هذيك داره
 (248) الصابة ما تكون بلا شربة
 (249) ولدك من سعدك او من اسود سعدك
 (250) ولدك وعبدك على فدر سعدك
 (251) ما ينكر اصله من غير البغل
 (252) يعلى الرجل حتى يعلى ولا يعلى على خوته ويني عمه
 (253) الي خلى له باباه شي عفة يطلعها
 (254) البتيلة ما تكون من الكدوار

- (255) تعلى العين حتى تعلى وتصيب الحاجب فوف منها
 (256) من الزبالة نالطيهور
 (257) الي يكون راكب على الجمل ما يجاب الكلاب يعضوه
 (258) الناس كتعرب الناس والحيل كتعرب ركابها
 (259) اش جاب الحبف نبفينة اش جاب سلطان الحوت نالسردينة
 (260) ما خلوا الاولين ما يفولوا الاخرين
 (261) البثام بالشريط ولا فطيع العادة
 (262) الي ما عنده دار ما عنده جار
 (263) الي ما عنده نار يسلبها من جاره
 (264) الحبيب ما يكون طماع والجار ما يكون جواع
 (265) اولهم حيران واخرهم بيران
 (266) جارك الفريب احسن من اخاك البعيد
 (267) الشر بى البعد وخل الجيران شعود
 (268) منعول بن منعول الي ياكل الطعام ويخون
 (269) خليت لك الطعام والجورة
 (270) عار الجار على جاره والحيد ما يگوز عاره
 (271) اعمل الجار قبل الدار والريف قبل الطريف
 (272) جارك منشارك
 (273) اذا بفضك جارك حول باب دارك
 (274) كيسرف مع السراف ويكيي مع موالين الدار

- (275) اذا جبرتنی حمار لا ترکب شی علی
- (276) فضیت حاجتی اللہ ینعل جارتی
- (277) ذحبت الجارة لجارتها یصبح لها علی دوارتها
- (278) صباح الخیر یا جاری اتین بی دارک وانا بی داری
- (279) داری کتستور عری (عرای)
- (280) اللہ یعطیک ما اعطى نالساکن وحده
- (281) الحیب ولا الحلب
- (282) حبیك الفریب احسن من اخاك البعید
- (283) الوساد ضامن النعاس
- (284) الی بیہ محبتی هو یفوم بکلقتی
- (285) المشیة ذغزالی ما تخفی شی علیی
- (286) زیزون ما تفهمه غیر یماه
- (287) العفة بی وجه الحیب حدورة
- (288) القلیل من عند الحیب کثیر
- (289) حجرة من ید الحیب تقاحة
- (290) الحجة من اللہ واما العبد غیر سبب
- (291) الحیب ذاللفیمة ما یدوم دیماء
- (292) الصدیف هو ینعرب بی زمان الضیف
- (293) الحیب یقول لحیبه بی کل ضیف یصیه
- (294) اذا ما یعاون اخوه بی الضیف ما یصیه بی الشدة رفیف

- (295) الحبيب ما يهرب عند الشدة ويغيب
- (296) الحبيب عند الجوع ما يغيب
- (297) الي يصحب الكراب يصحبه في الليالي
- (298) لحبيب ما يعد
- (299) بشرية النبي في اين تمشي تاديني
- (300) من الي دبنوم ما زاروم
- (301) الي تحبه ما يجيك والي تكرهه كل يوم يجيك
- (302) بويف احتاجتك اوجهي خربشوك الفطوط
- (303) خسارة المال ولا خسارة الصاحب
- (304) طاح حبي على حبك ما تصيب شي ترميني
- (305) ايه ولاواه في منزلة واحدة
- (306) الي تصحبه لا تلعب عليه والي تعمله اخاك لا تلوى عليه
- (307) صاحبك فابله وعدوك جابه
- (308) كلام العدو يضحك وكلام الحبيب يبكي
- (309) ما يجبي الحبيب يرغب بي حتى يكون اهم بات بي
- (310) ما يجبي النبي يشمع بي حتى تكون النار رعت بي
- (311) مصيبة طاحت وما جبرنا شي كيف نداووها
- (312) الي ما يوريك طريف صحبته ما تليف
- (313) الي يصحب يصحب المتين والي يوزع يوزع السمين
- (314) عدو عاقل خير من صديق جاهل

- (315) اذا كان حبيك غسل ما تاكله شي كامل
- (316) سر مع صاحبك بالنية حتى تكمل المنية
- (317) موت الاحباب من تعسير الايام
- (318) اذا مشى لي محبوبي لايين يكون هروبي
- (319) الحبي بيان بيان ولو طال الزمان
- (320) اعمل كما عمل صاحبك والا بعد منه
- (321) الي درفك نجيط درفه اتين بجايط
- (322) الزرع اذا دخلوه السوس سيه او بعه بزوح ذالبلوس
- (323) العار فال ما نصحب الفط ولو يعمل الجناح ويهطهط
- (324) ما ظنيت الحبيب نجيب
- (325) بے اين كنا وبے اين صبشنا
- (326) المشموم شميته وذبل لي ورميته
- (327) ابني ادم يا اكل الراس يا خايب الطبيعة البم يضحك نالبم
والقلب وبه الخديعة
- (328) ما ظنيت الحبيب يرجع لي طليب
- (329) شوبوا اخاي الحبيب كيشير بالسكين
- (330) الله ينعل الي يشف لا بالعدو ولا بالصديف
- (331) يا راسي يا الغريب ما بنى بے الدنيا حبيب
- (332) ناس لا تندم على برافهم
- (333) ما يعرف اشهو بے المزود غير ذدس يده ويها

- (334) حجة الشارب والقلب هارب
- (335) المحبة الزرابة مبرقة على الايام
- (336) النار تحت التبن
- (337) سبب الغراف جميع اللمة
- (338) عند الرحبة كتظهر المحبة
- (339) البارح واحنا عشيران واليوم عديان
- (340) عند الماكلة يسهوا العفول
- (341) الثوب الجديد بعه والبالى لا تفرط بيه
- (342) الجديد عزيز والبالى لا تفرط بيه
- (343) اذا كثر الاحباب يبنى بلا حبيب
- (344) محبتين بى القلب ما يتاواوا شي
- (345) اطرح تسعود وتسعين واحض راسك من كمال المية
- (346) الي ما يعرف شي يتعارف ما يعرف شي يتلافى
- (347) اذا حدث الغراف ما بنى ملاف
- (348) حاسبني حساب عدوك ونزلى منزلة اخوك
- (349) الكثرار لا تصحبه ولو يكون من دمه
- (350) ما يجوع الذيب ما يبكي الراعي
- (351) الدار بلا لساس كيطير فيها النعاس
- (352) جا الليل بنجومه اولاد الحرام ما يدوموا
- (353) العدو ما يرجع صديق والنخالة ما ترجع ديف

- (354) الاجواد كتعرف موضعها
 (355) ذخالط شي قوم ينال منهم
 (356) مع من شفتك مع من شبهتك
 (357) خالط الي احسن منك لا تخالط الي اقل منك
 (358) اذا عربت اعرف الخيار ترجع من ناس الكبار
 (359) الثور ما يجرث غير مع فرينه
 (360) البس فدك وخالط مثلك
 (361) من خالط العطار باح بطيبه
 (362) الحليب نالاحباب واللبن نبني فرباب
 (363) الي بني يكون مزيان بے كلامه يخالط الناس الي كيشموا
 (364) من كثر همه ياخذ مرآة فد امه
 (365) بعد روحك من المخالطة تنجى
 (366) اذا عربتهم طيار بعد منهم وتجمع بے الغار
 (367) فم معهم وافض حاجتك واطرحهم
 (368) يا راس اخدم ورح عندك تبكي وتنوح
 (369) اذا بغيت تنجى منهم اگلس بوف منهم
 (370) مشى الليل وجا الصباح عمر ولد الزنا ما يربح
 (371) من خالط الحداد ينال منه الوسخ
 (372) الفمور فال الخلطة تزدل
 (373) عندك معرفة الكشوط كترد الرجل مسخوط

- (374) بعد منّ البلا لا يبلِك
- (375) لا تخالط بغل زاوي
- (376) بعد من ناس الشر عندك يلحفك الاضرار
- (377) اذا كان الفاضي خصيمك اردد رسومك
- (378) الي تجبه فربه والي تكرهه جانبه
- (379) الي ما واتاك لا تواتيه
- (380) بعد من ناس السموم كلامهم عند الناس مذموم
- (381) النعاس في الحبس ولا وجوه النحاس
- (382) دقة بالسيف ولا معاشرة الكيف
- (383) عندك ناس السحور يردوك حمار ما تعرف ما تقول
- (384) فعند الاخر تسمع عويفه
- (385) رابد كزاره على حماره
- (386) من بنى يسلم ما يخالط مسلم
- (387) ذيتخلط مع النخال ياكلوه الكلاب
- (388) الي يبذل النفرة بالفزدير هو هان بروحه
- (389) اش اداني نالفرع نمشط له راسه وهو بناسه
- (390) اش اداك نالنحل حتى توحل
- (391) الهرب في المتاسيع رجلة
- (392) امش في الليل بالبنار ولا السحاب بالنهار
- (393) يا الي بنى يرتاح يترك المجمع والمداح

- (394) عن الخيل مرابطها
- (395) اذا فووا الخطاطر اربد خطارك
- (396) حوته كتخنز شواري ذالحوت
- (397) اذا ريت التمر بے الجماعة اهرب وقل الحمد لله عليها ساعة
- (398) اذا تادبوا تادب معهم واذا غضبوا بر منهم
- (399) اذا شبت الهوا تبدل كن حديف عندك تدلل
- (400) رجلي عملوها لي واذا عاودت عاودوا لي
- (401) الافدام زلغوا بي حتى صادبت البلية
- (402) اذا شبت العيون مالت اربد راسك وكن مثبت
- (403) الانسان الثفيل موضعه احسن منه
- (404) خبيب البصل يروس
- (405) اذا مات الجن خبيب على الملايكة
- (406) ادبع بالما والشطابة حتى نفاع البحر
- (407) الحمار ذالكناوي ما لينهم شي من الفراقب
- (408) بلغت لك سلامي وافبل كلامي اذا كنت ادمي
- (409) البعرة كتبتش على اختها اربعين يوم
- (410) زوج حنوش ما يتلافوا بے الغار
- (411) اتبع القوم بے الخير ولا تتبعهم بے الشر
- (412) ملعوف بن ملعوف الي يتبع المضبوع
- (413) الدولة ما تكون بلا وجل

- (414) راعيني° الشات يجميعها من الذيب
- (415) اذا كان المحدث احمف يكون السامع عافل
- (416) جل تعرفهم اكلس يخلطوا عليك
- (417) ما دوى حتى نكوى
- (418) الذيب ما لينتكل غير على كبره
- (419) الشغل ذالحادم والشنة ذلالاها
- (420) لا عزرا يوم الحبة
- (421) العمش ولا العمية
- (422) ليلة تكوز واخا بالدبوز
- (423) ما لينتكل بالرز غير الدوا
- (424) الزنيط ذاسلوفي ما تنقوم واخا تبني سبعة سنين بے الفالب
- (425) السور ذجاك حاني نفز عليه
- (426) ككانت ذالدما كرمجوا السما
- (427) اذا كنت مرزب دف واذا كنت وتد اصبر
- (428) غير اذا احنا شبننا هذا العوج كمن الهند او من الباس
- (429) كمشة ذلحل احسن من الشواري ذالذبان
- (430) اش اداك نالذل حتى توحل
- (431) ما ردك عن الطعام غير سخاتنه
- (432) ذيركب على الجمل ما يخاب شي من الجرا يعضوه
- (433) اذا ركبت اركب الدم الكبير يطلعك ولو تكون بے فاع البير

- (434) اذا حبك الفمر بكاله في اين جاوك النجوم اذا مالوا
 (435) الي حبك تعبك الي كرهك فتلك
 (436) دار الظلم تخلى في الحين او بعد الحين
 (437) الظالم ما يعينه الله
 (438) الظالم يخونه الله
 (439) الظالم عند الله ملعون وعند الناس مغبون
 (440) كل من طلع يهبط
 (441) محمد الفيصي اولاده مجلين
 (442) يعلا الباطل حتى يعلا ويجبر الحف بوف منه
 (443) له لا يعطي لالنعجة فرون
 (444) يخلب الله على العزبة وما يخلب شي على من حشها
 (445) احرف فبرك ينشهر خبرك
 (446) كن سبع وكلني ما تكون شي جرو وتمردني
 (447) وفك ابوخنو تكوز في الفنوط
 (448) العودة صبحت كيدار
 (449) الهيدة مايدة الله الي طعمه الله منها يتطعم
 (450) انقلبوا الميادي وتفعدوا الفدوحي
 (451) لبسوا البينة وعملوا الرزاز ورجعوا من كبر المدينة
 (452) كل من انز ينذل
 (453) اذا غاب الوجه ما في نالفا حرمة

(454) غير مانت الخادم ذالفاضي مشوا الناس. كاملين وغير مات الفاضي

ما مشى معه احد

(455) نار ماحياة ما يطبيها الخل

(456) ذكل حفه يغمض عينه

(457) كنت راس ورجعت كوارع

(458) زوج ذالبحولة ما يتاواو بے فرية واحدة

(459) المخزن جاير ولا رعية باسدة

(460) الجوع نصراني والقاتل مسلم

(461) النصارى كهرة كينغوا للمسلمين غير الخسارة

(462) اذا دخلوا النصارى نالبلاد اخرج منها واسكن على حد الواد

(463) اذا دخلوا النصارى نالمدينة ما بنى نالمسلم بے اين يبيع حتى

اللجينة

(464) الي شاب بر النصارى مشت ايامه خسارة

(465) اليهود بے السبود والنصارى بے السنارة والمسلمين بے النواراة

(466) النصارى اربد خراهم لا تسعاهم

(467) النصارى انفس بے براشهم لا تاكل ماكلتهم اليهود كل

ماكلتهم لا تنفس بے براشهم

(468) اما بالدود احسن من خير اليهود

(469) اليهودي اذا غش المسلم كيكون برحان بے ذاك اليوم

(470) اليهودي اذا فحك نالمسلم اعربه نالغش يتحزم

- (471) لا تئيف باليهودي اذا سلم ولو يبنى اربعين عام
- (472) اذا رجع الحكم لاليهود ادخل دارك وشد
- (473) اليهودي اذا كان ذالذهب يكونوا البول ذياه ذالنحاس
- (474) يهودي بے البيت ولا رجل خيٲ
- (475) اصحب يهودي ينفعك بے هاذي وهاذي
- (476) اعمل الخير ولو بے اليهود يحفظك الله من الاعداء والحسود
- (477) لو كان الخير بے العبيد ما يكون وجههم حديد
- (478) فيمة العبد الملح
- (479) الدار المسعودة هي الي ما فيها لا مبروك ولا مبروكة
- (480) لا تعاشر عبد گناوي
- (481) الحر بالغمزة والعبد بالدبزة
- (482) الناس كيفولوا نالعبد الوجه الي كيحشم عندك اكحل
- (483) العبد اذا ما ياكل شي العصا من الاحد نالاحد كيفول ما مجاله احد
- (484) العبد اذا جاد من فلة حسبه واذا بجل هذاك حسبه
- (485) لا تئيف بولد الاما ولو يكون اعمى
- (486) الخادم عمرها ما تولد الي يبرحها
- (487) العبد زايد على الحر ضلعة وكاس ذالدم
- (488) اصحابنا البحصية لا عهد لا نية
- (489) بع واشر بعد من الزيلاشي والشوني
- (490) بع واشر لي الشوني والوزاني بعدهم مني

- (491) رفاں الحماں سخره ۛ الحارث ۛيڪ ۛ الدرس
- (492) يموت الغماري ویتسی رجل
- (493) الرجل بلا سروال مجال الدار بلا بیان
- (494) الجبلي اذا كان كله ذالذهب يكونوا بوله ذالفزدير
- (495) الجبلي اذا تبد مجال آكوال اذا تجلد
- (496) الباسي اذا حلب مجال الحمار اذا علب
- (497) الباسي والسوسي جارین علی البلس ما كینعسوا شي
- (498) السوسي والزیلاشي بعد منهم ۛ كل شي
- (499) لا شهادة الا مراکشة
- (500) الفيلاي والبار لا توريهم باب الدار
- (501) المالطي والبار لا توريهم باب الدار
- (502) الريهي قتل اخاه علی بصلة
- (503) العسل ما هي ادام والبشنة ما هي طعام والشلحة ما هي كلام
- (504) طنجة وباس هما جمع الناس
- (505) شر الطنجاي مجال الي كينخر بالجاوي
- (506) الطير الحر مساري والحمامة خمسة
- (507) المساري يا الحلوب يا المتسوح ۛ الزيتون
- (508) بنات جبل الحبيب كيلعبوا بنواره
- (509) بلادي يا جبل الحبيب يا المدورة بالكيبان
- (510) لا خير ۛ المرأة الي تجول ولا خير ۛ الرجل الي ما يجول

- (511) جل تعرف الناس
- (512) جل ترى المعاني
- (513) الي ما جال ما يعرف بحف الرجال
- (514) جل تراهم اكلس يخلطوا عليك
- (515) كل غيبة كتزيد هيبه
- (516) كلام الباسي فبر منسي ولا شكاره خاويه
- (517) فبر غريب ولا شكاره خاويه
- (518) اذا كثرنا الفيام في الدنيا ارحل من الغرب. وسر ناسية
- (519) اذا سمعت الغرب فوي فيه الهدير طلع سباطك وسر
- (520) السوف حوينتات حوينتات اشتر تمضغ اكر تبات
- (521) اذا سابرت ساقر بالزاد ما توفب على احد
- (522) ما تندخل البلاد الا بمواليها
- (523) اذا حيرتهم كيعبدوا الحمار جب له الريع
- (524) ذدخل نشي مدينة يولي على دينها
- (525) اعمل كما عمل جارك او ارحل عنه
- (526) كل بلاد واهلها
- (527) كل بلاد وزينها
- (528) كل سبع في غابته (بلاد) زهار
- (529) البار في غاره سلطان
- (530) اش من صولة نالغريب في بلاد الناس

- (531) الغائب غريب
- (532) ما يبني في القبر الا مولاه ولا الغريب الا وحده
- (533) الناس لي ما يكونوا مجال اهلي
- (534) الغريب في بلاد الناس ما يستاهل زغاريت
- (535) من يوم خرجت من بلادي ما ضحكت باسناني
- (536) الي ما عمل خير في بلاده ما يعمله في بلاد الناس
- (537) المعماش في بلاد العميان يتسمى اكحل العيون
- (538) البحر كله مالح
- (539) مسفية بمغروب واحدة
- (540) هرب من الحفرة طاح في البير
- (541) لا تامن في بلاد الامان
- (542) البعيد كله غدار الي يصحب يصحب الجار
- (543) البلاد الي يضحكوا عليك خلها ولو تكون مبنية باليافوت
- (544) الله معك يا غريب
- (545) الرجل في بلاد الناس غريب وعند اولاد الناس حبيب
- (546) البلاد الي يعرفوك حجارها احسن من الي يعرفوك ناسها
- (547) فطران بلادي ولا غسل البلدان
- (548) بلادي بلادي مولو جارت علي
- (549) من كلام الحية فالت الحريف بالنار ولا الخروج من الغار
- (550) الي غاب غاب حفه

- (551) الزرع يدور يدور ويرجع نالثفة ذالرحا
- (552) كل غازي يرجع نبلاده
- (553) البحر الي كيدخله مبفود والحارج منه بحال الي مولود
- (554) كل مبدي متموم
- (555) ما عندك باس اذا عاش الراس
- (556) شب حاله لا تساله
- (557) طول غيبته جا بالحيية
- (558) الهاشي الريف الريف كن على بال من التخليب
- (559) طريف السلامة ولو دارت
- (560) يا بني مسارة العدو مدور بكم
- (561) الواد ذعباك ما خلاني
- (562) عند سبره تعرف خبره
- (563) الرجال كتظهر بے السبر
- (564) ذحب يرج العام طويل
- (565) فالت المعزة العرجا بے راس الدويرة نكونوا
- (566) سبب وربي يعاونك
- (567) العبد يبا والله يكمل
- (568) یرحم الله من يصنع شي ويتفنه
- (569) كن صديف واخدم ما يبيك ضرر من بني ادم
- (570) الخدمة فيها النفع كنداوي الجراح

- (571) اخدم تيدم اكلس تخنز
- (572) كمشة ذالنحل احسن من شوارى ذبان
- (573) الراس الي ما فيه نشوة التفطيع اولاه
- (574) ذما ذبح شاته وفرا براته وبصل جلابته ناس المفابر باتوه
- (575) الي ما عنده حاجة يفرف الحاجة
- (576) جب المرأة بالدين وفل ملعوقة
- (577) اذا غلبك الزمان الفه بذراعك ما تلفاه شي بمتاعك
- (578) اهبل ترتاح
- (579) اخدم يا صغري نكبيري
- (580) فال الريب ما بنى فى الزمان حيب
- (581) العمش ولا العمية
- (582) الحكمة ولا الجذام الصم ولا البكم
- (583) اذا ما جبرت ما تعمل اشرا الحمار واخدم حمال
- (584) بيع البصر احسن ما تبني فى الدار
- (585) بيع اباون احسن ما تبني فى الدار مغبن
- (586) اربد خراهم لا تسعاهم
- (587) الخدمة مع النصارى ولا الكلاس خسارة
- (588) اعمل ما تصيب عندك فى التراب تغيب
- (589) افص كيف ما جبرت ما شي كيف تبغي
- (590) الحتاش ما يكون فتاش

- (591) الي يكرهها ما يكلس عليها
- (592) يريل كيجبد السبولة من فاع البير
- (593) اذا فاموا فم معهم واذا كلسوا اكلس معهم
- (594) الشهر الي ما تجبس كراه اش اداك تحسبه
- (595) من اين ليتفاضى الصابون لتفرح الصبانة
- (596) اخدم بوجهين وحاسب البطل
- (597) موزونة في الكب احسن من عشرة في التلب
- (598) فليل ومداوم احسن من بالزاب ومقطوع
- (599) افص بالهر كوس حتى يجيب الله السباط
- (600) لا تهرف ما حتى تسفي اخرين
- (601) لا تبدل الحاضر بالغايب
- (602) الدخول في الحبة ولا الخروج منها
- (603) ذاعطاك المعزة بادر لها بالشريط
- (604) علمنام السعية سبنونا نالديار الكبار
- (605) تعلم الاشيا احسن من جهلها
- (606) يا اخي خبزتك زينك وخبز الناس تزدك
- (607) الصنعة اذا ما غنت تستور والا تزيد في العمر
- (608) ينتم متاع الجدين وتبقى صنعة اليدين
- (609) الفرد الشارب ما يتعلم الشطيح
- (610) الفط فال ما نفلت الغار ولو يدخل في مية دار

- (611) صنعة لبوك لا يغلبوك
- (612) الي خلى له باباه وجده شي عفة يطلع لها
- (613) الي خلى له شي جده يتبعه
- (614) ما يشبه نبابه غير الذيب بتكويولة
- (615) ضربتين في الراس كتحمف
- (616) سبع صنايع والرزف ضايح
- (617) الرزف تحت الافدام
- (618) الصبار يبنى في الدار
- (619) الا ولي في الكفلة يمشي مرتاح
- (620) يوم الريع بريعه والسكة مرهونة
- (621) ولده ملعوف لا تولده معكاز
- (622) من خانها ذراعها كتفول مسحورة
- (623) كل الطعام وهرب عن الباتحة
- (624) علبه عام ما يغديك نهار
- (625) يعبي الي يفوم وما يعبي شي مبقوح الدفم
- (626) عند السخرة يهلت وعند الماكلة يبت
- (627) سخر المعكاز يربد فنطار
- (628) ذحب النار يزندها من كعابه
- (629) اذا كان الفدحي بنفع الفبا ما عليه خارج
- (630) من ظهره يتخلص

(631) الضرب كيعلم الشطيح

(632) برد وكل

(633) تسيف الاجارة منه تبطيل العمل

(634) لا تشبع كلبك خله بالجوع يتبعك

(635) الخدمة بالزراش من خير نعمل لك فيها

(636) ذما يعطيني شي فتوحي ننعس ونمد روجي

(637) اصبح تجري لا تصبح تبلي

(638) خيار النهار بكره

(639) البطور بكري بالذهب مشري

(640) النعاس كثير كيرد الرجل ذليل

(641) عام ذالنعاس يسوى مد ذالنخال

(642) زي اولاد الزبوت بالليل يحرفوا الزيت والنهار يفضوا

الفنوت

(643) شغل الليل عجوبة لالنهار

(644) الطير بالسما يفول الرزف مضمون والتعب علاش

(645) اذا جبرت التخريفة في باب الجنان لا تزيد شي نداخل

(646) من بعد العصر ما بقي ما تعصر

(647) اذا تغدى تمدى واذا تعشى تمشى

(648) اذا تغديت ورك ما يضررك وجع في كرشك

(649) اذا تعشيت امش عاد انعس ما تشوب باس

(650) والله و' تجري ما جرى الكلب بالحبا ما تاخذ غير الي

كتب لك الله

(651) الي ما ولده ما حن عليه

(652) الشغل محبوب والا متروك

(653) اعمل عفة صحيحة لا تفعل او تاتيک البضيحة

(654) صب واشرب ما يضرک تراب

(655) شغل المعلم بيده

(656) الذهب الصابي كيصره مولاه بقلبه معابي

(657) نية الخدام في كرشه

(658) الحديد كيندف في سخاته

(659) لا راحة تحت عفة

(660) الرحا طحنت صحبة وعلى مد عيت

(661) كل ما غزلنا رجع لنا صوب

(662) كل ما حرث الجمل دقه

(663) اخر اللفمة عجيب

(664) الي يعمل لك ذراعك ما يعملوه لك الناس

(665) الي اتكل على مريفة جاره بات بلا عشا

(666) ما يحك لك غير ظهرك او ابنك من صلبك

(667) ما يفضي حاجتي غير الي مثلي

(668) اذا اعطيتهم يمشطوا لك بالمشطة يربلوا لك

- (669) الي ما واتاك عذبه
- (670) البحر ما ينفطع بالمعدية الحزام ما يكون من المصورية
- (671) ما ينوض الشغل غير بے يد مولاه
- (672) لالا مزياية وزادها نور الحمام
- (673) ما هي ذزين ما هي ذخدود ما هي غير ذسعد السعود
- (674) ما فدر شي يمشي فالوا اعكلاه
- (675) ما جبر شي جرو من يجره عسى من يبكي عليه
- (676) سط احسين
- (677) اما زينه باس بے يد الناس
- (678) ما يعملها غير الي يفدر عليها
- (679) الطريف تفتل الي ما عربها شي ولي عربها هو يفتلها
- (680) لوكان الخوخ يداوي كداوى راسه
- (681) سيوانة كتموت وعينها بے البلوس
- (682) لا تجري حتى تحزم وكن باهم
- (683) بے راس ذاليتامى ليتعلموا الحجامة
- (684) اعداد ذالحجامة تعلموا بے ريوس اليتامى
- (685) الواد ما ينفطع بلا مشرع
- (686) بات ليلة بے المروج صبح من الكراين
- (687) رجع زيب قبل ما يكون عنب
- (688) المعلم هو جل يريدها من الارض وياكلها بے السما

- (689) الي ونے راس الجمل ما هو بے راس الجمالة
 (690) يا الله اياما نوريك دار خوالي
 (691) ذنخدمه طعه وذترهه به
 (692) ميت العصر ما ادى خبر ما جاب اخر
 (693) اعوج بحال الذنب ذالسلوفي
 (694) الشوكة ما تزول بالفطن
 (695) حسن لي اسيدي بوف الشاشية
 (696) احضا قبل ما تطرى
 (697) الاولية سموح والثانية ذبوح .الثالثة تفتيح الراس
 (698) ادهن راسه بالسمن ودخله بے انغور ذالنمل
 (699) ادبع الي ما ييه نبع
 (700) الي ما ييه نبع لك سييه عليك
 (701) الي عودها يندبها
 (702) جربه وفربه جربه ومربه
 (703) اذا شفتني شفتك وذا بهمتني بهمتك
 (704) اذا نبخ الريح كيبي الغبرة ويبنى الصحيح
 (705) خالف تعرف
 (706) كل ما كوزت المعزة بے فرون الجبال تحراه بے دار الدباغ
 (707) افطع الراس تنقاضي الخصومة
 (708) الي حب حاجته يبسط حده

- (709) اضرب في العزفة يخرجوا ستين بالهما
(710) مولى النبغة ليربط الزوجة ذيله بوحده
(711) كسرناهم طلعا بوف ظهرنا
(712) كسر الكلب يلحس لك شواربك
(713) ذبرط يبني يكرط
(714) المكسي بمتاع الناس عريان
(715) كان في يده وطار له
(716) اذا طلفتها لا توريتها باب الدار
(717) الي عنده باب واحدة الله يغلفها عليه
(718) اتغلبوا الميادي وتفعدوا الفدوحى
(719) اذا كنت وتد اصبر ندف واذا كنت رزامة اضرب
(720) كن صابي وانعل البيطار
(721) اعمل شوي نربي وشوي نغلي
(722) الي تصيبه لا تقطع نصيبه
(723) من زيتة افله
(724) الطايح نمة ياكل ميتين
(725) شنته علي ما غطت اذني
(726) اللهم ماکلة السنوعة ولا تمرمد الذياب
(727) المشي بالليل ولا شبيت الحماره
(728) لفة في اسلاس احسن من الربع في العولة

(729) العزم مع الفلة خير من الكثرة مع الذل

(730) فل لي يا سيدي وعرنني ولا تقول لي يا كلب بعد ما تغنيني

(731) فل لي كلام مليح وكلني

(732) كبير الراس وكبير الكرش لا تطيعه اذا سوى لك نص بصلة

غير به

(733) مأكلة التبن والراحة ولا زرع البضيحة

(734) الخدمة في الحرا ولا الخدمة ذالناس بحال الجرا

(735) الله ينعل الكاس ذذهب ذنشرب فيه المرورة

(736) نعلة الله على كاس الذهب اذا كان فيه المرار

(737) شريك عام ما يتسمى شريك

(738) العود الحريقول وكلني كاخوك وركبني كعدوك

(739) الي ما كلسك على مايدة معرفته زايدة

(740) صاحب صنعتك عدوك

(741) احض راسك من الغش عندك يسبيوك من العش

(742) الخاين يسري والي طاح بالاجواد يهيفوه بكري

(743) يندم السلوفي واما الفط يسرى على الديار

(744) اغرسه يفلحك

(745) كل ما تفرس ينبعك من غير بني ادم اذا غرسته يفلحك

(746) هايذا فالوا دخلناهم خرجونا

(747) دخلناهم يشربوا اللبن فالوا خصهم فهم في العجول

(748) علمه يفعلك

(749) علمته الخفة سيني وشد الدقة

(750) علمناه العوم سبنفا نالبحر

(751) فرب بے الليالي الكراب منك بے الصيب يهرب

(752) عمر له البطن ينسى الوطن

(753) ذشبع اللحم نالعيال يفولوه ذالحير

(754) كل حوات ملعوف وكثير مولى الصنارة من حجرة لبحجرة

كيمشي له النهار خسارة

(755) اغرسه مع البن يتفلع ويمشي نالدبل

(756) الملعوف خلف ولو عمله بے الصندوق يطلع من بوف

(757) ذينفخ على اللبن يشتافه

(758) الناس حازت الزين وانا بفيت بلا شي

(759) ذما جبر شي سفنجة يفول عوجا

(760) اعرف كيف تتلافي واعرف كيف تتعارف

(761) الضمانة ضمننت الخلاص

(762) اش من بايدة بے البنيان بلا لساس

(763) البني بلا لساس مجال المسجون بے الحبس

(764) الزلط ما يردو مثقال

(765) اشروبع ولو بے الربيع

(766) كبير الكرش يديها كاملة او يخليها كاملة

- (767) ضربة بالبأس احسن من عشرة بالفادوم
- (768) حرث وورث ولا سر حتى
- (769) اعط موزوتك واستى نوبتك
- (770) خلها بے جواها حتى تصيب دواها
- (771) وقت الكزاز كيمرح الدراز
- (772) فيها الخير جمالي ولت لي ناگات
- (773) الدفة الاولى عمرها ما تنهدى
- (774) عمره ما. جبا وغير جبا طاح بے البير
- (775) الوعد يلوح حتى نبلاد الشلوح
- (776) الله يجعل الغبلة بين البايع والشاري
- (777) من فلة النية ما رجحت لا انا ولا انتيا
- (778) بع واشر مع الناس بالنية عمرك ما ترى الخطية
- (779) الضحك يهسخ البيع
- (780) هاك ابزة المسكين
- (781) فال له شمتك فال له ان شا الله عرفتك
- (782) كيبيع الفرد ويضحك على من شراه
- (783) الي خلى حרב من الشرع يتوفف عليه
- (784) الشريك احشن من الصابة
- (785) الحوانت متصبعة والارزاف متخالفة
- (786) الحوت ما ينشرى (ينبع) بے فاع البحر

- (787) اشر مفيام لا تفيم
 (788) لا تشري حتى تحمم عندك تدم
 (789) اشر وذف عندك تعرف حتى نالغنف
 (790) قال الذيب كل وفس
 (791) الشاري تفكر يوم تبيع
 (792) افض وامض ورد بلوسك معك
 (793) اعمل وقل الرزف على الله
 (794) كل بشهوتك والبس بشهوة الناس
 (795) اذا وفبوا الاعداء يثروا لك اسمح بيهم وسر نشغلك
 (796) المعروضة بيها الخير
 (797) اذا تفدت الاسعار بى المليح اختار
 (798) من غير الملب والصوب كل شي هتوب
 (799) كل بيت وكراه
 (800) الحاجة احسن من قيمتها
 (801) شاري المليح ما يندم
 (802) حطاب الدلم ما يندم
 (803) شاري المليح ولو ينشمت
 (804) عند رخصه تخلي نصه
 (805) تشيرة الاعبى بى الظلمة
 (806) صدفه او بارفه

- (807) السوم الاولي عليه عول
 (808) زد الما وزد الديف
 (809) انقص من اللحية وزد في الشارب
 (810) له لا يريج الي ما موراه ريج
 (811) مولى البقول ما يفول غير طبيخ
 (812) اش يعرف الحمار في سكنجير
 (813) المليح له ونالناس والفحيح له بوحده
 (814) ما يفضي لك حاجتك من غير يدك
 (815) ذوكل ما يخاصم
 (816) ميزانك صافي لاكن صروبه نافسين
 (817) ذيتكل على مريفة جاره ليات بلا عشا
 (818) تعشت الريام بالزرارز
 (819) هاك وارى ما فيه ضرورة
 (820) اذا شريت اشر بالبلوس ما تسمع منه لا فران ولا منكوس
 (821) بع واشر ببلوسك ما يجي احد نغندك يحاسبك
 (822) مكل لي نمكل لك افطع لي نفتح لك
 (823) بلس في اليد احسن من عشرة في التلب
 (824) واحدة في الجيب احسن من عشرة في الغيب
 (825) افض ورد شريك في الهال
 (826) اعط موزوتك واستى نوبتك

- (827) عينه في النخلة ورجله بوف ابوح
- (828) عينه تبرف وقلبه يحرف
- (829) حلحل على الارنب في الدومة
- (830) الدلال منقول ما عنده لا صاحب ولا حبيب يقول
- (831) الدلال سارف ما يحشم ولو يكون اخاه او المعلم
- (832) اذا كان الرخا في العام يكونوا الناس في الفرج والادام
- (833) الرخا رجل حبيب يحبه الكبير والصغير
- (834) الرخا يحبه الناس مجال الجنان بالعساس
- (835) الرخا محبوب والغلا مذموم
- (836) الرخا في الدنيا كيفوى مع النية
- (837) سبب الرخا في الدنيا المحاننة والرحمة والنية
- (838) سبب الغلا في الدنيا الكذوب والزنا
- (839) سبب الغلا في الدنيا الظلم والحسد وفلة النية
- (840) الغلا ظلمة كحلا والناس فيها مجال الحوت في المفلة
- (841) الغلا اعور والناس فيه كتنكور
- (842) اذا ريت الغلا فوى اعرب الناس في الهم سوا
- (843) اذا تفدت الاسعار اعرب ما بفوا ناس الخيار
- (844) اذا شبت الغلا في الزرع اعرب ما بفي زكاة ولا حكم الشرع
- (845) اذا شبت الغلا في الادام اعرب ما بفوا حكام
- (846) اذا ريت في الدنيا الغلا اعرب الظلم كثير والبلا

(847) اذا ريت الغلاب في العام اعرف ما بنى نفع لا في اخ ولا في عم

(848) فد ما عندك فد ما تسوى

(849) فد ما تلبس في الكسوة تسوى

(850) سيد الرجال هو الي يحضي راس الال

(851) افرع بفلوسه اري ذاك الراس نبوسه

(852) اذا رجعوا ناس الريال شربا الشريف والبقية يمشوا يربدوا الفبة

(853) الوجوه كي عملوا الحبيب ويفربوا البعيد

(854) كل موجود رخيص

(855) بشهوة مولى المظل يمشي في الشمس او في الظل

(856) الي عنده سميد كل يوم عيد

(857) الي عنده الزعفران عمله في اغلال

(858) البلوس كي عملوا الطريف في البحر فال له البلوس عملوا

الطريف في الهم ذيمه

(859) بلوسك يغسلوا كبوسك

(860) بلوسك يغطوا همومك

(861) الي ما عنده درهم الناس كلهم يقولوا فيه الهم

(862) صاحبك هو بليونك اذا خطاك حنوا عينهم منك

(863) مولى الذهب ينحب ولو يكون كلب من الكلاب

(864) مولى البلوس يحبوه ولو يكون فييح المسكين يغضوه ولو يكون

- (865) التاجر اذا سرف فالوا له ما اتين شي احف
- (866) التاجر اذا سرف يفلوا نسي والمسكين اذا نسي يفلوا سرف
- (867) المسكين اذا غلط فالوا له سرفت يا مزلود
- (868) مولى الذهب كلامه مربوع والمسكين كلامه مرجوع
- (869) مولى المتاع كلامه صابي نفرة والمسكين مطلي بالخرأ
- (870) مولى البلوس اذا تكلم بلا صواب فالوا له كلامك ذهب
- (871) المسكين اذا تكلم بالحف يطحيوه ويزيدوه البنف
- (872) الي ما عنده بلوس ديه مسوس
- (873) التاجر اذا حزف عندهم بحال الككنيو اذا نطف المسكين اذا حزف يزلوا ييه ويزيدوه الدف
- (874) مولى البلوس يفلوه ولو كان فيدح الجدود
- (875) فم ايما بے اين تكلس مراتي
- (876) مرأة التاجر مربوعة ولو يكونوا حوايجها بالرفعة
- (877) مرأة المسكين محفورة ولو تلبس الذهب والنفرة
- (878) اشكون عربك يا الفملة هايمة بے الحباكة
- (879) شاة المسكين ترعى نالطرب
- (880) الي ما عنده بلوس ما يذرع ما يبوس
- (881) اذا ما تكون خبز ما تكون لا صلاة ولا عبادة
- (882) جات الشتا جات الرياح جات الهموم كثيرة
- (883) العيش الذليلة والموت موراها

(884) ذن هو ببرد عينه اعور هو

(885) انا نشكي له بخلا داري وهو يقول لي اشحال ذاولادك عندك

يا جاري

(886) اعمل الهموم في الشبكة شي يطيح وشي يبني

(887) كثرة المال محنة نالانسان

(888) اذا شفتهم حبوك اهرب منهم عندك يلحفوك

(889) يا الي عندك البلوس كن ذيب عندك يعملوك في الجيب

وما كاين حيب

(890) بني ادم كل شي يشبعك من غير المال فد ما عندك فد ما

خصك لا كن ما يعمر عين بني ادم الا التراب

(891) اذا عطاك العاطي احث لا تواطى

(892) السلطان بالتاج كيجتاج

(893) العافل ما يكون طماع

(894) الطمع يفسد الطبع

(895) الطمع طاعون والطاعون يقتل

(896) الي ما رضى شي بالحبزة يفتش على نصها ما يجبره

(897) الي ما عنده غسل في مكانه يعملها في راس لسانه

(898) الصغير وبنفسه احسن من الكبير ببلوسه

(899) القليل مع الصحة خير من الكثير مع المرض

(900) اذا ضرك الجوع اتبع النجوم

- (901) الي سمن لا بد يهزل والي طار لا بد ينزل
- (902) كيف ما جات اجي معها
- (903) ذعوج له ميمونه يبكي على ايامه
- (904) المكسي بالايام عرته
- (905) اذا عوجت يتهرسوا فيها السناسل
- (906) ذيشطح ما يجبع وجهه
- (907) تكريطة بے الصحاري ولا تزينة بن السواري
- (908) البرد كيعلم سريفة البحم
- (909) الماكلة والسريط حتى شي ما يشيط من غير الناس تحت الحيط
- (910) ناس مجال الكسكاس اذا فوى رزفهم كيتغمطوا عينهم
- (911) الي اعطاها له ما دور شي موراه
- (912) ما بيني بے القبر الا مولاه
- (913) الله يجعل اخرنا احسن من اولنا
- (914) اما شابت العين وباتت ناعسة
- (915) الي اكل وذاف ما يتسمى مشتاف
- (916) اشكون هي هذيك الي كتطلل وترجع
- (917) يموت البيل ويبفوا عظامه راس المال
- (918) كل شي هتوب من غير الزرع والصوب
- (919) اللهم بے المال ولا بے الابدان
- (920) اذا حب الله يعطيك من فم المدبوع يسفيك

- (921) إلي اعطته ايامه يشير بكمامه
- (922) يا الداخلى فاس بالتليس يا الخارج منه بالكيس
- (923) ذحب يفرأ يغرب وذحب يحرث يفرب
- (924) رعدت عينها فيى ما زينها بتبسيمة
- (925) اذا طلعت كتطلع بشعرة واذا هودت كتقطع السناسل
- (926) راها في راس العنصر كتصبن وتعصر
- (927) الدنيا كتجي من الشحة او الحرام
- (928) كبرت دار حسين ورجعوا يبطروا مرتين
- (929) اش خصك العريان فال له الخواتم امولاي
- (930) افض بالخبز والسمن حتى يجيب الله الكواز
- (931) حل عينك وشد يدك
- (932) مد رجلك على فد حايكك
- (933) الرجل يظلف رجلاه على فد حايكه
- (934) الي ما فده فبره يطلع بوف منه
- (935) كل نهار طعام
- (936) رفع نهار تلبس شهر
- (937) ما تولدم ما يخصوك
- (938) الشي من الشتي زاهة والشي من فلة الشي سباهة
- (939) بلوس اللبان كياكلهم زعطوط
- (940) مجال ذيهتل في الدفم ذالعجل

- (941) عض عضة وخل نقدا
- (942) انتب انتب وربي يخلب
- (943) الزايرة لتولي ما تعبي ما هي شي تولي ما تخلي
- (944) اجيد لا ترد نالفاع تتوصل
- (945) الساعي يسى ومراته تصدف
- (946) كثرة الحساب وفلة الفبض
- (947) النواله ذالعنكبوت خسارة في الي يموت
- (948) كل واشرب والي شاط اعماله في اقرب
- (949) حط نالزمان تصيبه
- (950) حط نالزمان يقول لك ارى
- (951) كل ما تصيب خبعه حتى يقول لك الزمان اراه
- (952) لفمة الجوع عفالة
- (953) يصبر نمرضه الي ما يسخى بالطيب
- (954) البخيل مجال الحمار يرد الذهب والبضة وينغي التبن
- (955) كزار ويتعشى بالبرث (اللبت)
- (956) متهوم بالفطيمة والبرد زواه
- (957) الموت اقرب من رمش العين
- (958) كل واشرب وتكسى واجي يا الموت
- (959) الي بلاه الله بالسعية يفصد الديور الكبار
- (960) مشيت نبلاد فليو ومرضت بالرواح

- (961) اذا شفتهم حسنوا لك حاجتهم يطلبوا لك
 (962) سلم عليه سرب عليه
 (963) اش تادي من الي يدك اش تحضي في الي يحضيك
 (964) الاعرج كيدب المكسور
 (965) الجوع عبد والشبعة لاله
 (966) اش تادي الموت من دار الخالية
 (967) مرضنا واحد والشابي الله
 (968) ماشية نعد المطفلة تسحر لك
 (969) فال له الله يجعل البركة فال له محسوين
 (970) ما يصبح حتى يفتح
 (971) ذدينك اعطاك
 (972) اليهودي من اين ليتزن ليتفكر العفود ذبابه
 (973) كرش بلا ضلوع
 (974) فال له احز فال له ظهر الحمار فصير
 (975) افنع بالفليل ياتيك الله بالكثير
 (976) هذا ناله اري نوزنوه
 (977) ثلاث من طبعي الي شد رحاته وبر لي زرعي
 (978) صبح علي كيف صبحت العمشا على الكحل
 (979) مسانس الفط شوية
 (980) سانسه وافطع له عدو ترجع له

- (981) ور له وافطع له
- (982) اتب من الدومة واعط نالعجل
- (983) اذا نصح المعلم يعمل البحم ذالبرواف
- (984) الشريف بالشفايف والقلب جايف
- (985) العاطي في السما والمكاس في الرحبة
- (986) موالين الدار صبروا والعزائن كهبروا
- (987) اعطه ورب الرزاف
- (988) اعط ما في الجيب ياتيك الله ما في الغيب
- (989) الصدقة تدفع البلا والعبد ما يدري
- (990) اضرب الدنيا تزعرط الاخرى
- (991) البخيل يبخل نفسه والسخي يرجعه بلوسه
- (992) البخيل لالنار ولو يعبد بالليل والنهار
- (993) لفمة بو بارها احسن من مكة وغبارها
- (994) وهبها لله واعطها نالكافر بالله
- (995) الضرب بالطوب ولا الهروب
- (996) عمر لي سبسي اكم ورد علي
- (997) الي ياكل واحد مفايله جيعان افلع له الله رزفه من الدنيا
- (998) العام المكشوف واحد ياكل واخر يشوف
- (999) اعط اله ولو تكون على اله
- (1000) اعط اله ولا تعطي النعمة

- (1001) الهاكمة بلا ما من فلة البهامة
- (1002) عملك نالذبة واجرك على الحايط
- (1003) عزوا علينا الموتى واما المجارح يتداووا
- (1004) الي عنده الزرع في داره اولاده ما يسعوا مجاره
- (1005) المطمور تطمع في اسكل
- (1006) احيوا تشوبوا الخادم بالنشاب
- (1007) لا تهدي نالشلح فهوة
- (1008) ذيك للزرع مع الواد جات الغنم ورعته
- (1009) اذا اعطيت اعط لالناس البضل ينجيك الله من الجوع والويل
- (1010) اذا اعنت اعن ناس الخير ينجيك الله من الباس والشر
- (1011) الخير في الرجال سلوب وفي السمايت صدقة
- (1012) الجمل ما يبول غير من الورا
- (1013) شربناه الحليب رجع شريك في البفرة
- (1014) جا يعاونه في فبر اباه هرب له بالباس
- (1015) شد المنطيح عندك يطيح
- (1016) شوي نزي وشوي نفلبي
- (1017) الله يرحمني عاد يرحم والدي
- (1018) الي حشم في الي ضره الشيطان غره
- (1019) زغبني على راسه مسعود على الناس
- (1020) مجاله مجال اليرة تكسى الناس وهي عريانة

- (1021) الي يعطي متاعه في حياته يعيط على الله ما يهينه
 (1022) اما ذالير ولا جميل الكرامة
 (1023) شرب اما ذالبحر ولا جميل التجار
 (1024) فطران العز ولا عسل الهنا
 (1025) جوعي في كرشي وعنايتي في راسي
 (1026) نرضع سني ونبات مهني
 (1027) الهدية بلية واذا طاحت بالاجواد يردوها مئنة
 (1028) الرزف الي ضمنه يجيبه والعبد يكون سببه
 (1029) شبعان وفي يده كسرة
 (1030) الغرسة بلا تزريب مجال الكلب بلا ذنيب
 (1031) ابهمني لا تعطيني
 (1032) الي حسدك اعطاك
 (1033) كلها من يد الشبعان اذا جاع لا تاكلها من يد الجيعان اذا شبع
 (1034) سفص على ذكان شبعان وجاع لا تسفصي شي على ذكان جيعان وشبع
 (1035) يا راسي صدف وارحم في اين ناس القدم
 (1036) ما يعرف مجال المسكين غير المسكين
 (1037) يموت الزين ويفقوا حرابه
 (1038) حاجة الخاطر تسوى الفناطر
 (1039) المال من الاكباد ما يعطيهم غير اولاد الاجواد
 (1040) ما يعلم ما في القلب غير الكريم سبحانه

- (1041) الصدقة ما تخرج من الحبس
- (1042) مد يدك وتبعه جمعه وأكلس حذاه
- (1043) انا نعربك وعودي ما يعربك
- (1044) الجود من الجود ما هو شي من ريف الجلود
- (1045) اذا عندك كثير اعط من مالك واذا عندك قليل اعط من فلبك
- (1046) حلاوة اللسان وفلة الايدام (الاحسان)
- (1047) المسكين بالغم والقلب معدوم
- (1048) المعاونة تكون بالسخاوة
- (1049) الله يجعلهم بيه يدنا ما هم بيه فلبنا
- (1050) الفدرة تغلى والكنيف يملأ
- (1051) اذا دخلت الراحة دخلت الشحة
- (1052) اذا اعطتك الايام شير بالكمام
- (1053) الخير ما يشرب
- (1054) اسع الناس ولا ترضى بالكناس
- (1055) من دار البفر تادي التبن
- (1056) اش ماشي تادي الموت من دار الحالية
- (1057) من دار العمشا تادي الكحل
- (1058) ابن وعل سر. وخل
- (1059) الدين هم ولو يكون من درهم
- (1060) بت بلا لحم تصبح بلا دين ربحان

(1061) المكسي بمتاع الناس عريان والشبعان بمتاع الناس جيعان

(1062) الدين كيهدم الدين

(1063) الي عنده الفمخ يسلب الديقف .

(1064) الله لا يوفف اليمين على اليسار

(1065) لا تسلب من عند الحائرة ديفف تعمك طريف

(1066) بكان الجوع يعطي ما يفتل

(1067) مشيت نالملاح وعيطت العاشفين بى النبي

(1068) اذا جلاك البخيل عند الكريم تبات

(1069) ما تطمع شي بى المخ بى الهراوة

(1070) بر ككوش ولا جميل العنابة الما ذالبحر ولا جميل الكرابة

(1071) ذيمحطب شي يسخن عليه

(1072) المبلي بالعة ما يطب العليل

(1073) الاحباب بالزاف والدموع فلل

(1074) باتك غرس قبل مرس

(1075) الشعير ما يخرج من دار الخيل

(1076) ما يعطي احد الحميرة نهار العيد

(1077) سلب له والعب معه اش من ربح تادي موراه

(1078) سلبه بى الترة افبضه بى امراح

(1079) عب ورد شريك بى الهال

(1080) دابا نسفيك الكيمون

- (1081) شهوتي فيه ما قدرت عليه
- (1082) الخير ليرجع بو مزوي
- (1083) الوجبة لتقتل السبع
- (1084) طول نصاحبك تفضنه
- (1085) اذا وقفوا الناس في باب دارك لا تشد عليهم غارك
- (1086) كل ووكل الضيف ولو تكون مهيب
- (1087) العين سبفت
- (1088) الطعام على قد العام
- (1089) سيد القوم خادمهم
- (1090) ما كيعض في داره غير الكلب
- (1091) ذما يضرب في بندير كبير ما يشبع حضرة
- (1092) كتاكل شي امريض
- (1093) ارخ الشهر يگوز النهار
- (1094) مولى الكرش الكبيرة ياكلها كلها او يخليها كلها
- (1095) اذا جا النوم انفس وشد من القوم
- (1096) ما عرفه باش مات غير عزى ويات
- (1097) احنا في همننا والعيد الكبير زادنا
- (1098) زدها غبيرة تمصح
- (1099) هذا هم كبير ويات فيه الخير
- (1100) ظهر عبستك وخبع خبزتك

- (1101) الكريم غير بدانه
- (1102) احنا نفوئوا والسراف ينزادوا
- (1103) الي جانا اخونا والي ما جانا هذيك هي الخاوة الكبيرة
- (1104) العينين ذمخلوا دار ابوي ما يجفوا شي علي
- (1105) البار لا توريه باب الدار
- (1106) شد الدار واطح الجار عندك يعطيك النار
- (1107) ذجا من الصحرا بن عمك ازهرة
- (1108) لا كرامة يوم العيد
- (1109) الضيف ما يشرط ومولى الدار ما يهرط
- (1110) الزاير بے حکم المزار
- (1111) الثور العباب عمره ما يربي الا كتاب
- (1112) الضيف يجذر صوته ويفلل شوقته ويزين ماكلته
- (1113) حسن عند اخوك وفصص اظبارك عند عدوك
- (1114) الجيد يشكر مباته
- (1115) الطير الحر يشكر مباته
- (1116) يرحم الله من زار وخبيب
- (1117) بارك الله بے من زار وخبيب
- (1118) اصبت ولا بقی نالضيف بے اين يات
- (1119) المدينة اكر تبات اشتر تمضع
- (1120) الضيف ضيف ولو يفعد شتوة او صيف

- (1121) مرحبا بالي جا وحاب والي جا وما جاب ما عليه جواب
- (1122) الي ياكل جداد الناس يسمن ذياه
- (1123) عرضناه يبات رجع من موالين الدار
- (1124) بات ليلة في المروج صبح من الجراين
- (1125) مسامر الهيدة حاضين المفعدة
- (1126) يده في الطيف وعينه على من زهف
- (1127) كلام الضيف مجال الشتا في الصيف
- (1128) بني ادم اذا اكل غدرك والكلب اذا اكل حبك
- (1129) البيتة في البرد ولا ضيافة الفرد
- (1130) البيتة بالدف احسن من ضيافة المشتاف
- (1131) الهاكلة ذالدود احسن من ماكلة الحسود
- (1132) البيتة في الخلا ولا ضيافة البخلا
- (1133) البيتة بالجوع احسن من ضيافة المخلوع
- (1134) لا ترضى باحد ولا تاكل طعام العرضة
- (1135) عندك تاكل طعام المصادفة
- (1136) الي جا ندارك جا نعارك
- (1137) العار شطر من النار
- (1138) البيع والشرا احسن من البكرة
- (1139) تب، يتوب عليك الله
- (1140) ذوبرط يبنى يكرط

- (1141) الحضى غلب الفضيا
- (1142) اذا ملا السوف احض سلعتك وطول العنف
- (1143) شد الدار وارحم النجار
- (1144) كن ذيب قبل ياكلوك الذياب
- (1145) رجل ماضي نزه على الجرح ييري
- (1146) ما طاح له ما يلفظ بنى بدور بحال الفطة على الحوت
- (1147) ذبى راس الجمل ما هو فى راس الجمالة
- (1148) ماكلة السبوعة ولا تمرميدة الضبوعة
- (1149) ذيرغب بنته ما تزوج
- (1150) الغشيش ما يصبح مرتين
- (1151) ذعضته الحية يخاب من الشريط
- (1152) بالراس ذالاحف ليتفيس الواد
- (1153) العمر محدود والخوف علاش
- (1154) بالدهشة سموا العيل عايشة
- (1155) الفط يحتل والبار يحتل
- (1156) اشحال ما طال الليل يصبح
- (1157) اذا شبت اللحية ذاكك تنحسن اعمل ذالك فى الفزائة
- (1158) مولى النمى يجبر ثلثين
- (1159) برس واحد ما يفيم عجاجة
- (1160) فران ويتعشى البطاطة

- (1161) تشبيرة الاعمى في الظلمة
 (1162) ذحك لك اربل له
 (1163) من اين لتطيح البفرة ليفووا الشباري
 (1164) فلة الشغل مصيبة
 (1165) البرد كيعلم سريفة البحم
 (1166) لا ترايك ذن هو خميب
 (1167) يده في الكصعة وعينه في مولاة الدار
 (1168) ياكل مع الذيب ويكي مع الراعي
 (1169) ذياكل جداد الناس يزيد من ذياه
 (1170) ذياكل الهبرة يظلفها عظم
 (1171) كل زلة لتزيد في الراس عفل
 (1172) صياد البلا يصادبه
 (1173) الفضولي باجارته
 (1174) كية ومد ذالشعير
 (1175) ذيموت ما يتدمم
 (1176) لا تعين السارف ولو يكون غارف
 (1177) اليد الباردة على الزندة اكوها
 (1178) ما بفت بركة في الزرع من فلة النية والحداع
 (1179) حوتة لتخنز الشواري
 (1180) واحد ياكل البول واخر يتبفخوا له في كرشه

- (1181) يا الطماع في الزيادة احض بالك من النقصان .
- (1182) كذب اللوز وصدق المشماش
- (1183) اشحال لتعمل الذببة وتسمى على الذيب
- (1184) عيب البحيرة ابقشها
- (1185) اطبخ الما تجبر الرغوي
- (1186) الملح ما تتدود
- (1187) مكول ومذموم
- (1188) البكي كيكون على راس الميت
- (1189) الحديد ما ليندف غير سخون
- (1190) ذويه الحريف ليولي على الحجام
- (1191) العريان في الفعلة مستامن
- (1192) الملعوف يبكي ورببي زيده
- (1193) جنان المحجور دايم مسروف ولو يدور بالسور
- (1194) اشكوا على سيدكم وهو يزيديكم
- (1195) متاع المحاجر كيوقف في الحناجر
- (1196) ذغلبه الرجال في السوف يرجع نالمرأة نالدار
- (1197) اسرف النصارى واليهود وخل الحيران شهود
- (1198) ذضربه يده ما يبكي
- (1199) ذقطع له يده الشرع ما يتسمى كترطيط
- (1200) اشكون عدوك البولة فالت له ذن هو معي في المزود

- (1201) الفنديله ليضوي على الناس وليحرف راسه
 (1202) ليولي غير نبرا مجال البعرة
 (1203) العود ذريت به نكويت
 (1204) في المال ولا في الابدان
 (1205) اذا عاش الراس ما تعدم شاشية
 (1206) اذا عاش العظم يلفح اللحم
 (1207) العسل في الكرش ذالجرو
 (1208) اذا يسرف ييرة يسرف بفرة
 (1209) السرقة دودة ما تموت لا بمعيرة ولا بمحديدة
 (1210) الي كوي الناس يكويه الله والي برج الناس يبرحه الله
 (1211) كل زرع كيجيب له الله حصاده
 (1212) كيف تزرع تحصد
 (1213) الي فتش على شي يجبره والي خبع شي يصيبه
 (1214) الي يعمل شي يتعمل له
 (1215) كل شاة كتتعلف من رجلها
 (1216) الي يعمل الخير ما يندم
 (1217) كن صافي مع الناس يحفظك الله من كل باس
 (1218) مولى القلب الايض الله كيعد عليه السخط
 (1219) المومن بسناحه
 (1220) مولى الصدف ما يخاف ولو يكونوا العديان بالزاب

- (1221) اعْمَلْ النِّيَّةَ وَانْعَسْ مَعَ الْحَيَّةِ
- (1222) النِّيَّةُ بِالنِّيَّةِ وَالْحَاجَةُ مَفْضِيَةٌ
- (1223) النَّاسُ بِالنَّاسِ وَالنَّاسُ بِاللَّهِ
- (1224) إِذَا أَعْطَاكَ اللَّهُ وَوَدَاكَ الرِّيحُ يَحْطُبُ لَكَ
- (1225) اعْمَلْ مَلِيحًا تَجِبُ مَلِيحًا
- (1226) الْيُوسُفُ زَرْعُ الْخَيْرِ يَحْصُدُ السَّلَامَةَ
- (1227) الْخَيْرُ بِالْخَيْرِ وَالْبَادِي الْأَكْرَمُ
- (1228) إِذَا سَبَفَ خَيْرُكَ فِي النَّاسِ يَنْفَعُكَ فِي الصَّحَّةِ وَالْبَاسِ
- (1229) بَرَشَ نَوَالِدُ النَّاسِ فِي أَيْنَ يَنْعَسُوا أَوْلَادُكَ
- (1230) الْإِيَّامُ تَلَا فِي وَالِدِنَا سَائِرًا
- (1231) مَنْ شَفَا حَرَامِي كِيَادِي الْأَجْرُ
- (1232) الْيُوسُفُ كَيْعَمَلُ الذَّنْبِ كَتَلَزَمَهُ الْعَفْوَةُ
- (1233) الْيُوسُفُ زَرْعُ الشَّرِّ يَحْصُدُ النَّدَامَةَ
- (1234) الْيُوسُفُ زَرْعُ الشُّوْكَ لَا زَمَ يَمْشِي فِيهِ بِالْحَبَا
- (1235) سَرَّ مَعَ النَّاسِ بَلَا سُوَّ الْيُوسُفُ فِتْحَ شَيْءٍ بَابُ يَشْدَاهَا بِرَأْسِهِ
- (1236) الْيُوسُفُ أَعْطَى زَكَاةً لَهُ لَا يَهْكُهُ
- (1237) الْيُوسُفُ حَبْرُ شَيْءٍ حَبْرَةُ نَاحِيهِ يَطِيحُ فِيهَا
- (1238) مَنْ حَطَبَ شَيْءٍ يَسْخَنُ عَلَيْهِ
- (1239) إِذَا شَبَقَتْهُ أَعْوَرٌ كَانُوا إِبَاعِيَهُ مِثْلَ النَّارِ
- (1240) إِذَا شَبَقَتْهُ أَعْرَجٌ عَرَبُهُ كَانَ يَمْشِي بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِالْعَيْبِ يَنْدَرُجُ

- (1241) كل سخداع يجيب له الله سخداعه
 (1242) كل غلاب يجيب له الله غلابه
 (1243) الي يركب على اولاد الناس لازم يركبوا الناس على اولاده
 (1244) الي تكمره بے الزنفة يوريك زكه بے الحمام
 (1245) اوله برحة وزعامة واخره ندامة بلا سلامة
 (1246) عند خراه تسمع زواه
 (1247) مولى البصل بنى يجري حتى حصل
 (1248) اذا جفاك اجبه واذا بفاك ابغه
 (1249) اذا جبك اجعل جبه ارانة واذا تعداك بقدم كزبه بثلاثة
 (1250) ما ينسوا الحسايف غير اولاد التلايف
 (1251) يا قلب لا تحب من لا يرثى لك
 (1252) الي ما عنا بك لا تعنا به
 (1253) من هان بك هن به اوله عليك
 (1254) الي درفك بنحيط درفه اتين مجايط
 (1255) اذا تفكرت الكلب حضر له العظم
 (1256) ابطر به قبل ما يبطر بك
 (1257) جيت نالصاد صادوني
 (1258) ذنطولووه نفصرووه
 (1259) انا. مريض ومجروح لو صابوني الاعداء يدفنوني بالروح
 (1260) انا ما فلت غير الله يحفظنى من العديان

- (1261) فطعها هبرة تبرأ
- (1262) أيام السجن معدودة ورحمة ربي موجودة
- (1263) نلت أيام ذالسجن متاع المخزن والباقي ذالله
- (1264) اضرب الكلب يهربوا الكلاب
- (1265) عند الفلي تدري يا حوت
- (1266) ارحم الي في الارض يرحمك الي في السما
- (1267) اسمح لي بقلبك يغفر لك الله ذنك
- (1268) المساحة بالقلب احسن من صندوق ذهب
- (1269) الصابون كيخرج الثوب والرحمة كتصفي القلب
- (1270) الي خلفه هو يحن عليه والعبد ما عنده جهد عليه
- (1271) من غلب يعب
- (1272) دارو السبها ذيا لكم ولو بشعرة من لحيتم
- (1273) البتة بالحديد ولا ندامة لا تهيد
- (1274) عشرة ذالمعاصي مع الله ولا واحدة مع العبد
- (1275) الملافة مع الله ولا الملافة مع العبد
- (1276) المساحة بالهم والقلب كذاب
- (1277) الغشيم عذره الله
- (1278) ما يتسمى ثقيل من فاف براسه
- (1279) خيرك يغطي شرك
- (1280) الي مزمم في الراس لازم يتودا

- (1281) ما يربد بالعار غير الي هو صبار
- (1282) الثوب الوابي ما يجابي
- (1283) اضرب الكلب ووفره على وجه مولاه
- (1284) اذا طاح الفضا الرجال دواه
- (1285) عند الواد يجضروا الاجواد
- (1286) العفة بـ وجه الحبيب حدورة
- (1287) املفة تطيح والمرىض يشبهه الله
- (1288) شرب البريف وزاد مع الطريف
- (1289) اجتبوا العيون وناضوا العناصر
- (1290) اش عبك بـ الافرع تمشط له راسه
- (1291) دخل ياكل البريك رجع شريك
- (1292) ككان الخوخ يداوي كداوى غير راسه
- (1293) مجال الي كيعاود همه بنت عمه
- (1294) الي تحب لنفسك حبه لالناس
- (1295) المومن يدا بنفسه
- (1296) سيد الناس هو الي ينفع كل الناس
- (1297) المزيان له ولالناس والفريح له وحده
- (1298) الرجل الي نفى وليب عند الناس مجال الذهب بـ الجب
- (1299) مولى القلب المليح دايم عند الناس مشكور ما هو فيح
- (1300) نظرة بـ المليح تحيي قلب المريض ويرجع صحيح

- (1301) يموت الزين ويفوا حروبه
- (1302) ما يشبه المليخ بالفبيح
- (1303) عمرها الملح ما تتدود
- (1304) ذاك السربة ذالحيل نالظرة مزريانة
- (1305) كمشة محل. احسن من شواربي الذبان
- (1306) الشمعة تضوي وتحرف روحها
- (1307) الحساة تزين الوجه والرزة تزين الراس
- (1308) يا عاز الناس وما الزين يتخجع
- (1309) العشا الجيد من ريخته يبان
- (1310) اذا شبت النمل في الدرجة اعرب السميد في الغرقة
- (1311) الناس كتعرب الناس والحيل كتعرب ركابها
- (1312) الصلاة في وقتها احسن من الدنيا وما فيها
- (1313) اما بلا شرا والقبلة بلا كرا الله ينعل تارك الصلاة
- (1314) دبر المصلي انقى من فم تارك الصلاة
- (1315) ما كيرجع غير النحاس والنفرة ما كترجع شي
- (1316) الصبر ما اعطاه الله غير نالعزير عليه
- (1317) باب الصبر ما عليها زحام
- (1318) الصبر مفتاح كل خير
- (1319) الصبار يربح والمفلح يخسر
- (1320) اصبر على الفليل يعطيك الله الكثير

- (1321) الدوام، كيثقب الرخام
- (1322) الي ما صبر لصهود ما يظفر بصيد
- (1323) العجلة اخت الندامة
- (1324) التانو من الله والفلف من الشيطان
- (1325) الثفالة من الله والحفة من الشيطان
- (1326) لا زربة على صلاح
- (1327) إلي حب العسل يصر على عض النحل
- (1328) الي بغى الزين بكماله يصر الليل كله
- (1329) من كلام الكلب الريف والتاب حتى يرطب
- (1330) يموت البكرون ولا يحك ظهره
- (1331) بالمهل يتكل بودنجال
- (1332) عايشة المفلفة لتركب بلا سروال
- (1333) البار المفلف من سهم الفط
- (1334) المغلوب يطيع ناغالب
- (1335) الرضا بالفضا
- (1336) الصبر هو نارجال ما هو نالنسا ولا نايعال
- (1337) فليل الادب عند الناس ما يصلح ما يتقرب
- (1338) ازرع الزرع لا تزرع الشوك الناس كلهم يبعوك ويحبوك
- (1339) الغرس بلا فقيش وفليل الما كيخرج بفليل النسمة
- (1340) لا تدخل ندار الناس الا باذن وكياس

- (1341) لا تدخل على الباب حتى تسمع الجواب
- (1342) واجب من ناداك ولو كان كافر
- (1343) اذا لفوني نلفام ما تتكلم معهم
- (1344) الحاجة الي ما تشبه شي نمولاها كلها حرام
- (1345) الرزة بلا لحية من فلة الحيا
- (1346) ظاهر الحيا على وجه الطراح
- (1347) الي عنده عين يعمل عشرة
- (1348) كلام مزيان موزون الله يرحم من قال شي كلام محسون
- (1349) زين لسانك تنال مرادك
- (1350) سبف كلام مليح ما ترجع من الطريف
- (1351) كل خنفوس عند يمه غزال
- (1352) اذا شفته راكب على الفصبة فل له بصحتك العود
- (1353) افسم اللحم وانظر لالوجوه
- (1354) الجسارة على الملوك صعبة
- (1355) الي باتك بليلة باتك بحيلة
- (1356) انا وفرتك على الشيب الي بـ وجهك
- (1357) انا وفرتك على ذاك الشيبات
- (1358) شايب وحرامي مجال الذيب
- (1359) هو ما يشيب شي يمشي صغير
- (1360) عند الناس عيب الي يه فليل الصواب

- (1361) الغزك غزل رفيف وسل ناس التحفيف
 (1362) اضرب في البردعة يهيف الحمار
 (1363) المر ما يجلا ولو يكون في زك النحلة
 (1364) السرقة مبرقة
 (1365) فلي مريض ومجروح لله لا تزيده شي
 (1366) حد الحلاوة زبيبة
 (1367) السلة له لا عنب
 (1368) الكلام كثير والسكات احسن منه
 (1369) سكات عام احسن من كلمة فيدحة
 (1370) نوار الدبلة مزيان في النظرة وعودها مر مجال المرارة
 (1371) ناس وجههم فار وكلامهم غبار
 (1372) الله ينجيك من الساكت اذا هدر
 (1373) بني عام ما هدر وغير هدر فال الحرا
 (1374) غنت جاشاكم
 (1375) بافت وجمعت جليها
 (1376) اش جاب الطز ناستغفر الله
 (1377) الناس مع الناس واما حم في قطع الراس
 (1378) النعاس في السبلي والحرا في البوفي
 (1379) ابايت ليلة ما ادى خبر ما جاب اخر
 (1380) اذا باتك الطعام فل شبت واذا باتك الكلام فل سمعت

- (1381) الكلام بين زوج والثالث كلوبي والرابع سرف. واد نالجبسن
- (1382) كل واحد بے سوفه يبيع خروفه
- (1383) ادخل بے سوفك لا تدخل بے اسواف الناس
- (1384) بعد من اسواف الدحاس تنجى من كل باس
- (1385) الكي بے الحمير والبفر كيزعراطوا
- (1386) الجداة كتولد والبروج كيحرفه زكه
- (1387) موالين الجنازة صبروا والعزائين كبروا
- (1388) كل واحد يدفن يه كيف يجب
- (1389) كيف ما عملته العمشا ياكلوه اولادها
- (1390) ما كيدخل بين الظفر واللحم غير الوسخ
- (1391) بينه وبين الي خلفه والعبد غير كلوبي
- (1392) شب واسكت مشرية بمة مثقال
- (1393) عيني شابت شي واذني سمعت شي
- (1394) كل دوي مسوس يجيب اهلركة نراسه
- (1395) الكلام بلا بايدة ما يصلح شي وفيدة
- (1396) الي بات مات ما بافي يتعود
- (1397) الحمار كينده الحمار ما ييهم ما تختار
- (1398) كلامه طويل وخاوي بحال الفرع ذالسللاوي
- (1399) الي نطوله نفصره
- (1400) لوكان ما تكلم ولد الحمام ما يجيه الحنش هايم

- (1401) غرد، يا ام الحسن غرد لا تحن شي
- (1402) غرايب الدنيا اكثر من مصايبها
- (1403) الضحك بلا اسباب من فلة الادب
- (1404) الضحك بالقوة كيفب السوة
- (1405) الحزاف في الجماعة ربي يخزيه
- (1406) الحزاف مذلول وعند الناس ملعون
- (1407) البيته مع البف ولا البيته مع الحزاف
- (1408) الحزاف يذهب الارزاف
- (1409) الحزاف فدام الناس ما هو في بلاد من غير باس
- (1410) الزعيم عنده رزفين
- (1411) عند الحصرة كيفظهروا الرجال من العيال
- (1412) اضرب لا تهرب
- (1413) خنزير بذراعه غير الزمان الي خانه
- (1414) الي يركب جوف الجمل ما يخاف من الكلاب يعضوه
- (1415) الطير الحر من اين ينقبض ما يتخبط
- (1416) اعمى بن اعمى الي يشوب السحاب في السما ويعمل كساته
- في الها
- (1417) لو كان تخابوا من النعاج ما نلبسوا صوبها
- (1418) ككنا تخابوا من الغنم ما نلبسوا شي الصوب ذياهم
- (1419) اش كون حس بك يا الفملة وانتين في الراس هامة

- (1420) ما خبنا شي من الدحدحة عساک من متووين، الاحى
- (1421) الواد الخاوي ما يدىك والعامر ما يخليك
- (1422) الي عضته الحية ينبر من الجبل
- (1423) اهد وفلة النطیح
- (1424) الخوب كيعلم الجري
- (1425) مرارة بن مرارة الي يشعل البنار بے الكمرة
- (1426) كل يونس يونس واحد قتل السبع وواحد خاب من النمىس
- (1427) من خاب من شي سلطه عليه
- (1428) خلعة اكثر من ضربة
- (1429) لا تقيف الناعىس مجهالة فل له سبحان الله ما يتولى
- (1430) عبد ربي ما يتعدى حدود
- (1431) احض يدك
- (1432) الله يهيفنا بعينا
- (1433) الحرام والحلال باين الفط جربه يوريك بے الحين
- (1434) الناس طوب وحقر
- (1435) الدنيا جيفة كيتبعوها كلاب
- (1436) مصيبة كتجر (كتورث) مصيبة
- (1437) بلس ذالجواي كيبخر طنجة
- (1438) من يعمل طاقة بے جنبه ما يعدم من يطلل عليه .
- (1439) لعبنا مع الكلاب صبخوا اولاد عمنا

- (1440) احنا غير زويجات والاعدا كيكرهونا
- (1441) كل سارف مشكاك وكل مجراب حكاك
- (1442) كيغرب من كل علة وفة
- (1443) هن الشبكة يبانوا المنساس
- (1444) يا الطامع في الحليب ذالحلوبة الناس فنعوا وهو دايم في اللهبة
- (1445) الحاجة الي تخليك خلها
- (1446) خروب مثفال من الربط بيان
- (1447) مولى القلب الاكل دايم وجه اسود عند الرجال
- (1448) العينين الي يخلوا دار ابوي ظاهرين
- (1449) الغدير الركدانة هذيك هي البلاعة
- (1450) السن يضحك نالسن والقلب فيه الخديعة
- (1451) الزواف والعض مجال بو رزي
- (1452) المكب حرير والطعام شعير
- (1453) البكي ذالفجة مخرجين مورا الدبة
- (1454) الفاضي يسمع من زوج والفايد بالشهود
- (1455) دعوتي به نالسلطان الكبير الحاكم بلا وزير
- (1456) الدعوة ذالمظلوم عند الله ما ويها محجوب
- (1457) لا تصغر من لا يصغار لا تكبر من لا يكبار
- (1458) بما ولدتني بلا عيب والعيب حواته مفتوحة
- (1459) حتى شي جرو ما كيهرب من دار العرس

- (1460) ضربني وبكى سبفني واشتكى
 (1461) الي ضربته يده ما يبكي
 (1462) طاحت الصمعة علفوا الحجام
 (1463) لا تعبا السما بنبح الكلاب
 (1464) الراعي والحماس كيتضاربوا على رزف الناس
 (1465) البحولة يتلاطموا والبرواف ينطرس
 (1466) الندده هو القتال
 (1467) الشبكة كتعيب على الغربال
 (1468) البيته مع الحديد ولا الصديد
 (1469) جرح الكلام صعب من جرح الابدان
 (1470) العيب شوك والحيا مولاه مبروك
 (1471) مية خزيت وخزيت ولا كية واحدة بالزيت
 (1472) البلا ذالانسان من اللسان
 (1473) ضربه الله وزاده العبد
 (1474) الي دف في الباب لازم يسمع الجواب
 (1475) الي دف في الباب ما يعدم جواب
 (1476) مجال الحيط ذالحري رطب وكيجيف
 (1477) اذا شفتني حمار لا تركب شي علي
 (1478) اضرب في البردعة يهطن الحمار
 (1479) الكلام مع السرية وابهم يا الجارية

- (1480) رب البيت يحميه
- (1481) الي ما عرفك خسرك
- (1482) اضحك نالجرو يلحس لك شواربك
- (1483) عش مسكين تموت بمبارك
- (1484) سهل ترتاح
- (1485) طبل في الما حتى يفسح
- (1486) حك الكيمون يهوج
- (1487) خل اخوك بهمته لا تفضحه فدام اولاد حومته
- (1488) خزيت بكريه احسن من مازوزيه
- (1489) ما بنى في الطيور من هو مسلم حتى بو عميرة فالوا نصراني
- (1490) الي سخط عليها رجليها بحال الي سخط عليها باباها
- (1491) الدعوة ذالمنكوس امضى من الموس
- (1492) الدعوة ذالفجة ما تعرف سيفية
- (1493) الدعوة بلا اسباب ما تقطع شي الباب
- (1494) الدعوة بلا ذنوب في راس مولاها كتذوب
- (1495) الي زبل في والدين الناس بحال الي زبل في والديه
- (1496) لا تفول فييح في الناس لازم يلحفك او اولادك الباس
- (1497) الي تكلم في فباي بحال الي اكل خراي
- (1498) الجرح يرا وكلام العيب عمره ما ييرا
- (1499) الي يكرهك فييح يفول يك والي يحبك الخير يبغي لك

- (1500) الي يكرهك ما يعدم ما يفول يك
 (1501) كبر اخوك في المحلة يرجع فايد
 (1502) ذعيك ما جبرك
 (1503) افص حاجتك الله ينعل جارتك .
 (1504) العز له لا معزة
 (1505) كلب نبج ما عض ما جرح
 (1506) اذا غاب الوجه ما يبنى في الفبا محبة
 (1507) اذا شعلت النيران زد الحطب علي
 (1508) الهدرة في السبع وهو يسمع
 (1509) في الوجه مراية وفي الفبا مفص
 (1510) الجمل ما يشوف كرتة ما يشوف غير الكرة ذاخاه
 (1511) فصتك فصة وحديثك حديث
 (1512) لا تحجر على الدبرة حتى يخرج الدم منها
 (1513) ذحسدنا يعمل مجالنا
 (1514) عدينا الويدان عسى سوافي
 (1515) فالوا نالفران من اين دخلتك النار فال من بمي
 (1516) في الجباب ولا في الكلاب
 (1517) تمام الناس يكون كلامه مجال الغيس
 (1518) كن صابى وانعل البيطار
 (1519) الله يجعلنا غابة والناس بينا حطابة

- (1520) ها مبسعود ها من باعه
- (1521) الحف سبع والكذوب ضبع
- (1522) الكذوب دودة جيفة والصدق حاجة نظيفة
- (1523) فل الحف ولو يكون مر
- (1524) الطيب ما يكون حين
- (1525) الي خلى حرف من الشرع لازم يتعذب عليه
- (1526) الكذوب هم سناح الحرامي
- (1527) الكذب هو سناح الباجر
- (1528) الكذاب منقول ولو يكون فيه عند الله مردول
- (1529) الغرب بفي ذات بلا راس من كثرة الكذوب وفلوب النحاس
- (1530) الباطل كيطل
- (1531) كل شي كينفع من غير الكذوب والغيبة ما تريح
- (1532) الحزاف ما يهكه من الموت
- (1533) ما بے الكذوب ما يتكذب ما بے الصح ما يتعود
- (1534) الكذوب كيفلوا الرزف ولو يكون الذهب بے الصنادف
- (1535) الحف عليه النور
- (1536) عينين الكذاب كيفغروا ولو يكون بے داره
- (1537) بے اين تنوي الخير ثم تجبر اهم
- (1538) ثف بے وصل موراه
- (1539) فالها السبع بنبي ادم كله يابس لا تهزكه

- (1540) الي يسحر مع الذراري يصبغ باطر
 (1541) السحور مع الذراري كيفطر
 (1542) النهار بعينه والليل باذنه
 (1543) مشى يصطاد الحجل ضربه المنجن في الرجل
 (1544) ما تدخل النار نالفران غير على دمه
 (1545) سلم على حبيك بالذراع
 (1546) كل ما سمعت في السوف صحيح
 (1547) نس الكذاب وسفصه
 (1548) حجام بفراوره
 (1549) شبار طاح على شبار
 (1550) لا يضر السحاب نبج الكلاب
 (1551) ولو طارت معزة
 (1552) ما يعرف في المزود غير الي دخل يده ويها
 (1553) الي تعطيه لي سيبه في البحر العاطي الله
 (1554) المعاهدة هي من الدين
 (1555) دايم مولى النية حاجته مفضية
 (1556) مولى النية مربوح وفليل النية مبضوح
 (1557) الخاين الله يخونه والجيد الله يزيده
 (1558) مولى النية يغلب مولى الحيلة
 (1559) الخوان ما يعينه الله

- (1560) الغدار يبنى في الدار
 (1561) الفول بالهم والبعل معدوم
 (1562) الفول والبعل هو العمل الصحيح
 (1563) كلامه بسية على كذبة اداها ربح عاصب
 (1564) العرض يرتبط من رجله والرجل من دفة
 (1565) حتى يشيب الغراب ويطلع الحمار في السلوم وتور الملح
 (1566) يسرف مع السراف ويصبح شاهد
 (1567) المزارب ما يدخل بالحيلة
 (1568) الحيلة غلبت الرحلة
 (1569) ربي ربي والنفاء حرام
 (1570) الغرب اذا كثر فيه النفاء اخرج منه وسر نالشرف
 (1571) لا تحلب لا تحلب لا تحضر على من يحلب
 (1572) الله ينجينا من الحالب والمحلب والي فاعد يشوب
 (1573) الي حلب على الصبا كانه زار
 (1574) اللهم بغير مجير ولا عود مدير
 (1575) علامات الكذاب كثير الحلب فيه
 (1576) ما يشكر روحه من غير اقل الناس
 (1577) ما ليتكلم في الكركاع غير الحاوي
 (1578) ذيدعي بالقوة يموت بالضعف
 (1579) الرجل اذا طفي كيجيب له الله الي يهلكه في الساعة

- (1580) فده فد البولة وحسه حس القولة
 (1581) عفل كئاوى بنوا المدينة بلا باب وقالوا بے اين بابہ
 (1582) لا رجل الا بالرجال
 (1583) جا نمرج فليو وبني يمرض بالترويجة
 (1584) عكوزة وشبرت سارف
 (1585) رجل قتل اسد بے الفبار ورجل فتلہ الفار بے الدار
 (1586) وقت الصيادة كيمشي الكلب يبول
 (1587) ما همونا شي الدهوت عساک بشير الحوت
 (1588) التحزيم نصراني والشغل يهودي
 (1589) اذا شبت الذيب عرف اعرف السلوفي من موراه
 (1590) اذا شبت الطويل كيجري اعرف الفصير من موراه
 (1591) باش عاش بلارج حتى جا الجراد
 (1592) باش كانت موكة قبل يجي الجراد
 (1593) اش عند الفرعا ما ترعى
 (1594) الي عطاك يعطيني
 (1595) شوبوني اشهو بے شوني
 (1596) الفطة بالخرصة والكلبة بالشريل
 (1597) الخلاخل والخوا من داخل
 (1598) يا الطامع بے التجارة بالزز الناس يضحكوا عليك وزينوك
 حتى الدبز

- (1599) حتى . يخلف وسمه عبد الرزاف
- (1600) الزلط والبرعنة مجال البرغوث ذزرهني
- (1601) فال له اش كان باباك فال له نبار فال له الحمد لله رمضان تفاضي
- (1602) نكار الخير حرامي (ولد الحرام)
- (1603) الي يعمل الخير يرجع له بو مزوي
- (1604) الناس تعيط يا الاجواد وانا ما جبرت احد
- (1605) ذفضي حاجته ينعل جارته
- (1606) عمر له حلفه ينسى الي خلفه
- (1607) الهاكلة والشتمة مجال الجنان ذاليهودي
- (1608) اضربوني يا كسوري وهم في شوني
- (1609) كسورنا عملوها لنا
- (1610) لا تصعب المرجوع ولو توكله بالليل والنهار ما يفول غير بالجوع
- (1611) الها فال انا في السما هويت وفي الارض تناويت والعود
الي احيت به نكويت
- (1612) علمناهم وحيرونا معهم
- (1613) اشكون شابوا لك يا المكحلة في اسلاس
- (1614) كيشوب الربيع ما يشوب الحافة
- (1615) خيره هو خلاصه
- (1616) تهلا. غير في ركبك اذا خلتها تخون بك
- (1617) الغرب اذا كثر فيه الحسد بع متاعك وسر ناهند

- (1618) الاخويكره الاخو ولو يشوبه كيدجه
- (1619) ما بفت بركة لا بے نهار فصير ولا بے ليل طويل من
كثرة الحسد والويل
- (1620) عاند لا تحسد
- (1621) الي ما يلحف شي العنقود يفول حامض
- (1622) اذا اعطاك الله اش عند العبد ما يعمل
- (1623) العين تخلي الديور وتعمر القبور
- (1624) العين تخلي الفصور وتعمر القبور
- (1625) العين عندها ثلثين بے المفابر
- (1626) النص بے بني ادم كيموت بالعين
- (1627) كل مشكور محفور
- (1628) ابرف المزاح تراح
- (1629) اصل العداوة مزاح
- (1630) الملاغة ضمنت العداوة
- (1631) حلقت الملاغة حتى ترجع عداوة
- (1632) اشروخب اشرب وصب دايم معايب
- (1633) اذا شريت رخيص اكرم عندك يعينوك بالعين والبم
- (1634) اضرب واهرب وغط بالتراب
- (1635) البم المشدود ما تدخله ذبابة
- (1636) لا تصحب الي عينه زرفا صحبته دايم ملعوقه

(1637) اذا لقيت المعين اقلب لسانك في الحين وقل له الوجد في

الليل طويل

(1638) موة واحدة ولا شعيت الاعداء

(1639) ما بنا شي موت الخمار حرفتنا شعيت الخمار

(1640) اذا خسرت اكنم سرك ما يسمعون الاعداء خبرك

(1641) الي خلى غداته نعشاته ما شبهه اعداته

(1642) الكرش بيت مشدود والكسوة عليه تعمي الحسود

(1643) كز على حبيك جيعان لا تكوز عليه عريان

(1644) اذا كلت ما تشبع هو نفع لك ما تشوب وجع

(1645) الهالكة بالزاف كتورث الضر والهيب

(1646) الهالكة بلا فياس كتورث الكباس

(1647) اللهم يتلافى مع واحد الشفاع ولا مع واحد وكال

(1648) ولده ملعوف لا تولده وكال

(1649) ضربة بالكمية ولا كل وخذ لي

(1650) اذا عجبتك الطول اتبع لكوس

(1651) سرطان بلا مضغان

(1652) من فناعة شباة

(1653) الخمر مفتاح كل شر

(1654) اسفه وسفصه كل ما عنده ينطف به

(1655) مية خمار ولا واحد الفهار

- (1656) اهرب من اسواف الفهارة ما تضررك لا حية ولاه جارة
- (1657) لا تعين الفهار ولو يجوع بالليل والنهار
- (1658) اذا عنت الفهار مجال الي رميت الشعرة في النار
- (1659) سلعة الخسارة ولا سلعة الفهارة
- (1660) غسلة احسن من وكلة
- (1661) الهالكة بلا غسيل عند الناس ذليل
- (1662) مجال البكرون غلظ الفشاب وفلة الصابون
- (1663) سحارة كذابة الي خالطهم يسלט الله عليه الفمول بالصابة
- (1664) الحية ما تعض روحها
- (1665) الرجل ما كيخيم غير في اين ربح او في اين خسر
- (1666) الموضوع ذتر ربح فيه زره
- (1667) عيط على الله والخير نقدام
- (1668) العمر محدود والخوف علاش
- (1669) ما مضى بات والمامل غايب ولك الساعة الي اتين فيها
- (1670) الي بات مات والغيب ما عليه هدره وابرح بالساعة الي اتين فيها
- (1671) اعمل الهم في الشبكة شي يطيح وشي يبني
- (1672) اذا صبت الهنا والسرور لا تزيد نالتعب والشفا
- (1673) الفليل مع العافية ولا الكثير مع البلايا
- (1674) فليل ومزيان ولا كثير وعيان

- (1675) الي عملوه نعملوه معهم
- (1676) اعمل ما عمل جارك او ارحل عنه (اف ما في جارك او
ارحل عنه)
- (1677) غز روحك يعزوك الناس
- (1678) الي جا في وقته ما يتلام
- (1679) باتك الغرس قبل مرس
- (1680) ذحب الدوالي يغرسهم في الليالي
- (1681) لا تفول بول حتى يكونوا في الكيل
- (1682) اذا فت من النعاس البس وشد حزامك ما ترى باس
- (1683) اشروطيب لا تاكل في السوف ولو يكون مسيب
- (1684) لا تمش في طريق الملعوف ولو ترج معه ما تعمر الصندوف
- (1685) الملعوف ملعوف والمسعود مرزوف
- (1686) كل تعشيرة ويها خيرة
- (1687) اذا لفيت في الصباح الذيب ارجع وانعس وقل يا عجيب لجني
من بال الذيب
- (1688) لا تصبح على الازعر ارجع وانعس ذاك النهار
- (1689) اذا شفته افرع ما يخرج من فمه غير البرع
- (1690) اذا صبحت على المدلي غير ول
- (1691) ذصبح على المشفوف غير يزيد نالسوف
- (1692) مية طفطيفة وطفطيفة ولا واحد السلام عليكم

- (1693) السلام يجيد كلام
- (1694) الي فبره جديد لا تامن شي به خل راسه واجي عند رجلاه
- (1695) به اين يكون صديفك ثم يكون عدوك
- (1696) سر المذاكرة ما بين زوج
- (1697) خبزتي تحت يباطي ما سمع احد عياطي
- (1698) الندم على السكوت خير من الندم على الفول
- (1699) اذا بغيت تبرح اترك فال وفيل تراح
- (1700) اذا رجحت اسكت عندك يحصلوك في البيوت
- (1701) الي يكتم سره يبلغ مراده
- (1702) الصمت حكمة ومنه تعرفت الحكايم
- (1703) السكات من الرضى
- (1704) لا تعود اخبارك ناحد هو اسباب الشر والوعد
- (1705) يا رجل شب واسكت اذا كلت اللحم فل الحوت
- (1706) اذا ريت فل ما ريت واذا صبت فل ما صبت
- (1707) اذا سالك على شي فقل لا ادري
- (1708) اصحب الوحش ولا تصحب البتاش
- (1709) الخوب من بني ادم الساكت
- (1710) كز على الهرهوري لا تكوز على السكوتي
- (1711) كن ذيب عندك ياكلوك الذياب
- (1712) حشمننا منه كيسحب له خفنا منه

- (1713) سبب الشر هو الحيا والفوت
- (1714) بت وبه الغيظ ولا تصبح وبه الندامة
- (1715) لا تشكر لا تدم من لا خالطه
- (1716) سبب الميم ترتاح
- (1717) الي تصيبه لا تقطع نصيبه
- (1718) ادهن السير يسير
- (1719) بس الكلب من وبه حتى تفضي حاجتك منه
- (1720) وره وره واذا عمى خله
- (1721) اتفه انه واذا عمى خله
- (1722) الي شدها يده يجلها باسنانه
- (1723) له لا يجعل وبه راينا ما يهلكنا
- (1724) الزين خيلته موراك وبه اين تصيبه غدا
- (1725) الي ما عمل راي كبيره الهم تديره
- (1726) الي اعطاك جبل جيبه به
- (1727) سل المجرب لا تسال الطيب
- (1728) شاورهم لا تعمل رايهم
- (1729) لا تعمل راي الاعرج يعرفك وبه المرج
- (1730) لا تعمل راي الاعمى يعرفك وبه الما
- (1731) الي يعمر راسه بكلام الناس ما يجبر وبه اين يعمل ذباله
- (1732) اعلم رايك اذا صلح رايك واذا بسد رايك

(1733) بے این ما كان ولد السيد بس له يده اذا بما غار عليك،

هو يغير عليك جده

(1734) سلم ناخاوي تنجي من العامر

(1735) ما تضرب حتى تنفرب

(1736) كل واحد عنده بركة

(1737) كل واحد ما نفضت منه بركة

(1738) على وجه الكتاب كتنجب الجلدة

(1739) الي حبه الله اعطاء عفاه

(1740) الي ساعده الله كمل له عفاه

(1741) العفل مخوف والتمليفة من الشيطان

(1742) التعب كيعدل العفل

(1743) ما يرجع فارس حتى يتهرس

(1744) العفل اذا جال ما كيفه رفاص

(1745) العارب شوبته كفته

(1746) العافل (الطالب) بالغمزة والجاهل (القبان) بالدبزة

(1747) ظن العافل احسن من يفين الجاهل

(1748) الطلبة عزهم الله وسفاهم الرحمان

(1749) نظرة بے الكتب كتزول من الفلب الهموم

(1750) العلم خير من المال

(1751) السيد بلا فراية مجال الكلب بلا دراية

- (1752) صغير ومادب احسن من الكبير ما هو باهم
- (1753) صايي باهم ولا رجال بهاييم
- (1754) التعليم في الصغار كيف النفس في الاحجار
- (1755) التعليم في الكبر كيف النفس في الغبار
- (1756) المستحي والمستكبر لا ينالوا العلم
- (1757) الارنب يفيم الخنزير
- (1758) الشبايف مجال السكر والحنكات مجال العكار
- (1759) كلام الرجل حسين ومفهوم احسن من الب فم
- (1760) جوابه على نابه
- (1761) العالم بالعين والقلب ما هو مزيان
- (1762) العسل في جلد الكلب
- (1763) الي ياكل لحم الذيب احسن من مية طيب
- (1764) جا يطبه ساعة اعماه
- (1765) يا طيب الناس يا الحاير براسه
- (1766) فال له باش تعرف الله فال له بتبديل السوايح
- (1767) يتوجد في النهر وما يتوجد في البحر
- (1768) الي ما عنده بدان نابت ما عنده عفل نابت
- (1769) الجهد كپهرس المحراث
- (1770) الرجل الي حلوف وحمار عند الناس مجال الزغب على الجمار
- (1771) ما اتين من الحمام ولا من اليمام ولا تعرف حلال من حرام

- (1772) علمه عام ما يعيشك شي ليلة
- (1773) كل شي يتداوى والحف ما يتداوى
- (1774) الاحف ما تنكه ما ينكك
- (1775) جداد السوف كيناتوا مربوطين
- (1776) فلب الاحف بيه وبه وبم العافل بيه فلبه
- (1777) لا تدبر حتى تلجم ولا تهدر حتى تخمم
- (1778) لا تسرج حتى تلجم
- (1779) من كلام الذيب كل وفس
- (1780) فس قبل ما تغييس
- (1781) ما تغرس حتى تزر
- (1782) العافل قبل السيل يوني
- (1783) الي بيني الصمعة يجبر لها البير
- (1784) الي يسرف الصمعة لازم يجبر لها البير
- (1785) البار الملف من رزف الفط
- (1786) حتى حزفت عاد جمعت رجليها
- (1787) ما شا الله الي اراد الله هو الي يكون
- (1788) من سعدك او اسود سعدك
- (1789) اذا جات كودها بسية واذا هودت كئفطع السناسل
- (1790) الي تبغيه ما توجده والي ما تبغيه توجده
- (1791) مصيت مطيار بلس والا مسبار

- (1792) قال إلهيه بن فجلو الي يوبى اجله يد رجله
 (1793) كيف ما جات الايام احبي معها
 (1794) البلك يدور والسوايح بدالة
 (1795) كل نهار ورزفه
 (1796) يوم احلى من العسل ويوم مر من الحنظل
 (1797) يوم لك ويوم عليك
 (1798) الدنيا ما اعطت عهد حتى نواحد
 (1799) كل من طلع يهود وكل من هود يطلع
 (1800) اشحال ما طال الليل يصبح
 (1801) ما دامت شدة ولا سرور يدوم
 (1802) كل ضيفة بعدها برحة
 (1803) البرح سبعة ايام والحزن طول العمر
 (1804) عاشف ملال
 (1805) كل واحد وطبعته
 (1806) كل طعام عنده لذة
 (1807) ذويه شي طبيعة ما يبيعهما
 (1808) كل محول مذبال ولو على طرف الها
 (1809) الي يه شي فاعدة ما يتنها شي عليها
 (1810) حلو وحليلو الي يذوفه يرجع له
 (1811) يموت الزبان وما ينسى شي هزة الاكتاب

- (1812) الفط الشارب ما يتعلم الشطيح
- (1813) الفظة في السطح والشاربة مكحلة كتشطح
- (1814) اشحال من سروت تحت البرادع
- (1815) الي حرفته الضرسة يفتش على الكلايب
- (1816) رآكب على الحمار وهو يفتش عليه
- (1817) الشوب ما يبرد الجوب
- (1818) الي يترجى احسن من الي يتمنى والي يتمنى احسن من
فاطع الاياس
- (1819) سر الزهو والطيبة ما بين زوج
- (1820) الوجبة احسن من ميعاد
- (1821) ذابا يرخص ونشروه
- (1822) الحية فالت الحريف بالنار ولا الخروج من الوكر
- (1823) الحية فالت نالفنبود الشحم بين عيني فال لها نم خارجين
- (1824) المشية ذالسبوعة والرجعة ذالضبوعة
- (1825) بو فسو كيعرفب الجمل
- (1826) ذيلعب الطريجة ما يفول احاح
- (1827) البارس بلا سناح كيب الطير بلا جناح
- (1828) تحزمت الحريرة بالباكور
- (1829) الهم اذا كان فليل يبكي واذا كثر يضحك
- (1830) الجنازة كبيرة والميت بار

- (1831) براح، ومشى له حماره
- (1832) على جريحة يفبي فريجة
- (1833) كبرها تصغر
- (1834) الشوب في الاخضر كيزين القلب والنظر
- (1835) اذا دخل المحرم صدف من مالك وقل يارب ارحم
- (1836) اذا دخل صبر الخير في البيع والشرا ينجر
- (1837) اذا ربيع النبوي كن مع الناس بالاحسان لا تكون معهم فوي
- (1838) اذا دخل ربيع الثاني بع واشر وقل يا غني
- (1839) اذا دخلت جمادى الاولى فم تخدم ولو تدلل
- (1840) اذا دخلت جمادى الثانية قل يارب من الرزف زدني
- (1841) اذا جا شهر رجب الناس يدعوا فيه والله يستجاب
- (1842) اذا جا شهر شعبان الناس تبرح فيه وتلعب
- (1843) اذا دخل رمضان يزيد الله الرزف لالناس والفقيران
- (1844) اذا جا رمضان اشر الحرور والزلايف والكيسان
- (1845) اذا جا رمضان في الشتاء سحر باللحم ولا تسحر بالحوتة
- (1846) اذا جا شهر البطر (شوال) الزرع يخرج من كل دار
- (1847) اذا دخل شهر ذو الفعدة ادع نالله ينحك من الاعدا
- (1848) اذا دخل شهر ذو الحجة ادع نالله وقل يا رب اعطني ما نترجا
- (1849) اعمل الخير في الشهور المفضلة عمرك لا تنبالي

- (1850) المواسم ستة سنة كن على بال من الدعا فيها لا تنسج
- (1851) اذا جات عاشورا الناس يهرحوا باولادهم في المدن والقرى
- (1852) اذا كان الخميس الاول من رجب الناس يذبحوا فيه الجاج
ويجتمعوا بالليل مع الاحباب
- (1853) المعراج يوم مبارك الناس يصوموا فيه ويدعوا بالبارج
- (1854) النسخة فيها تزميم الارواح الناس يصدفوا ويقولوا يا فتاح
- (1855) يوم ستة وعشرين الناس تصلي فيها ويزوروا الوالدين
- (1856) عرفة يوم مسعود صدف وفيها وفل يا رحمان يا ودود
- (1857) يوم الجمعة صدف وزر ناسك وفل يا رزاف
- (1858) الاثنين يوم مكروم خلف فيه النبي المختوم
- (1859) العام المسعود هو يكون الخريف في العود
- (1860) العام المسعود هي تحيي الغلة بلا دود
- (1861) عام الزيت مبروك ياكلوا الناس منه واليبوت
- (1862) العام المغبون هو ما يجبي فيه لا زرع ولا زيتون
- (1863) العام الازرف هو ما يجبي فيه من غير البرغوث والبف
- (1864) العام بلا شتا مجال المرأة اذا ماتت بنتها
- (1865) فصل الربيع ظريف احسن من الشتا والصيف
- (1866) فصل الربيع مشكور عند الناس ما هو محفور
- (1867) اذا دخلت يوم الربيع تهلا في راسك وحل البضيع
- (1868) اذا دخلت يوم الربيع ابرج باولادك وبع

- (1869) الربيع بريعه اذا كانت الشتا كتبعه
 (1870) الصيف صيف اذا كان الزرع فيه بالزاف
 (1871) اذا دخلت الصيف اجمع نالشتوة وكن على بال من الهيف
 (1872) اذا دخلت الصيف كيرتاحوا الناس من الماكلة بالزاف
 (1873) البس ثيابك في الشتا والبسه في الصيف حتى
 (1874) اذا نزلت الشتا في الصيف يكون الامراض كثير في الجوف
 (1875) اذا تكلم الرعد في الصيف يكون فيه المرض والهيف
 (1876) الصيف المسعود اذا كان الريح فيه محدود
 (1877) اذا دخلت السمايم بالعبوس يهرح مولى الرخلة وينكد مولى

الكرموس

- (1878) اذا رعد في السمايم المرض في النسا او في البهايم
 (1879) الرعد ذالسمايم في بني ادم او في البهايم
 (1880) الريح ذالسمايم لي طرح البهايم
 (1881) اذا نفخ الشرفي في السمايم دبر في العلب نالبهايم
 (1882) فصل الخريف هو اذا كان مزيان وظريف
 (1883) اذا دخل فصل الخريف اختار منه من غير النظيف
 (1884) اذا تكلم الرعد في الخريف تكون الصحة في الناس ضعيف
 (1885) الثوم ذالخريف لتفي الراس فد او كريف
 (1886) الشتوة شتوة اذا كانوا الناس بالبلوس والنشوة
 (1887) الشتوة المحسونة اذا كانوا المنازل فيها مامونة

- (1888) اذا دخلت الشتا الاولى البس الصوف ولو تكون بدرملة
- (1889) اذا دخلت الشتا الاولى كل كل شي حتى النخالة
- (1890) اذا شبت الغمام به السما احمد الله على الحبز والما
- (1891) اذا خرجت الشتوة بلا مطر يكون المرض في البادية والحضر
- (1892) الليالي والسمايم هما روح الخير يا باهم
- (1893) الشتا ذالليالي يضمن بها العام يا خالي
- (1894) اذا دخلت الليالي مسلسة احبر المطمور وكسها
- (1895) الحرث اذا بردت في الليالي ابرحوا يا عيالي
- (1896) اذا روت الليالي عول على السمن بالفلالي
- (1897) الليالي المسعودة تنزل الشتا بالليل والنهار تكون مبهودة
- (1898) الليالي اذا خرجت بلا شتا تكون النبات ميتة
- (1899) ذحب العنب يزبر الدوالي او يغرسه في الليالي
- (1900) اذا دخلت الليالي اربد باسك واغرس الدوالي
- (1901) اذا تنصبت الليالي اغرس العناني وا زبر الدوالي
- (1902) اذا دخلت الليالي يجروا العناصر وينسفوا الدوالي
- (1903) قالت الشجرة ازبرني في الليالي او خل لي ذياي
- (1904) قال الورد اسفني في الليالي وخنني نعمل اشغالي
- (1905) لچين الليالي كله ولا تبالي
- (1906) اذا دخلت الليالي لا تباع البالي
- (1907) قالت العودة خرجني الليالي واخا يني في غير خيالي

- (1908) الحميص احرثه بين الليالي ومرس
 (1909) اذا دخل يناير بالاحد يهرح كل احد
 (1910) اذا دخل يناير بالاثنين تبهرح الارض والمسكين
 (1911) اذا دخل يناير بالثلاثة تكون الحرث فيه مخبثة
 (1912) اذا دخل يناير بالاربع يكون الرزف فيه مخبج
 (1913) اذا دخل يناير بالخميس يكون الزرع فيه رخيص
 (1914) اذا دخل يناير بالجمعة تكون البواكيه نائمة
 (1915) اذا دخل يناير بالسبت يكون العفل فيه مثبت
 (1916) اذا دخل يناير غط اولادك واعطهم في الصباح الحرير
 (1917) اذا خرج يناير اختاروا بالمطير اوكلوا بطاير او سلفوه بالغير
 (1918) الزرع ليجرحه يناير ويفتله يراير ويتسنى على مرس
 (1919) اذا دخل يراير البرد فيه يخلي الدواير
 (1920) الشتا ذيرير ليسلخ البفر في الدواير
 (1921) مرس بوزحزح خلي البفر في المراتح
 (1922) فال الحمار خرجني مرس واخا يني في غير الراس
 (1923) البفرة الضعبانة خرجها مرس ما يني ويها باس
 (1924) شهر مرس مسعود ما يخرج حتى يزهر العود
 (1925) الثوم ذمرس فدها فد الراس
 (1926) اذا نزلت الشتا في يريل تبهرح النوار حتى الخيل
 (1927) الراوية في يريل احسن من مال مدير

- (1928) بے یریل بے این ما شبت البول مل
- (1929) بے یریل لترعی المعزة وتفیل وتعمر حلب ذالحلب وتفول
ما زال اللیل
- (1930) مایو کل یتیم برایه
- (1931) مایو حصده واخا یكون فلايو
- (1932) اذا نزلت الشتا بے مایو تبسد النبات وزرعه
- (1933) اذا طاح الشتا بے ینیه ذیزرع شی ما یندم ینیه .
- (1934) اذا تکلم الرعد بے یلیوز کل من غیر الزرع واللوز
- (1935) اذا دخل غشت اترك الحریف وکل الفوت
- (1936) غشت لیغش الادمی
- (1937) شهر شتبر اشر کسوتک عندک تحیر
- (1938) بے شتبر افطع الذرا واخا بے فاع البیر
- (1939) اذا دخل اکتوبر احرت الحرث لا تتوخر
- (1940) اذا طلعت الثریا بے العشا ازرع البول بالکمشة
- (1941) اذا دخل نونبر ادخل من بره والبس الفصیر
- (1942) اذا دخل دجنبر العلة ینیه تطلع من فاع البیر
- (1943) الشهور اثناش فل یا رب ارزفنی ینیه العیش
- (1944) البطین ینیه شی سحیات اما لیخلوا من طویبات
- (1945) اذا دخلت الثریا ازرع الذرا واخا بے الما محزیه
- (1946) اذا دخل الدبران لا ذرا لایران

(1947) في الدبران فال له طاب البول فال له في اين فال له في

حوز المداين

(1948) اذا دخل الدبران ات جمالك بالفطران وات زرعك بالغمران

واحصر غنمك من الغدران

(1949) ذحب البول نالعولة يزرعهم في الشولة

(1950) اذا طاح الشتا في الشولة لا تبكي هم نالعولة

(1951) الشرفي في الشولة ليطلع المن في البولة

(1952) الريح ذالشولة لينجع العيلة

(1953) النعيم البرد من الارض فايم ويكثروا فيه المنام

(1954) اذا تكلم الرعد في النعيم يجي المرض من السما هايم

(1955) لا برد الا برد البلدة

(1956) اذا دخلت البلدة كترد العكوزة جلدة والبنت فردة

(1957) اذا نفخ الغربي في البلدة لا باس على ذعنها وذ ما عندها

(1958) اذا نفخ الغربي في البلدة تبرح كل مولودة

(1959) الشرفي ذالبلدة به لتحمل الفردة

(1960) اذا تكلم الرعد في البلدة تكون النوار جيدة

(1961) اذا تكلم الرعد في سعد بن ذابح يكون الريح فيه غير نافع

(1962) في سعد بن ذابح لا وجه سامح لا كلب نابح

(1963) اذا دخل سعد بلع كل كل شي حتى الفرع

(1964) اذا دخل سعد السعود كيجري الما في العود ويسخن كل مبرود

- (1965) اذا دخل سعد السعود كيفرحوا الناس حتى العود.
- (1966) في سعد السعود لتخرج الحية والفضود
- (1967) اذا دخل سعد الاخوية تبرح البنت والليية
- (1968) في سعد الاخوية بع الذرا واشتر بالبدعية
- (1969) في سعد الاخوية خرج الحيل من الروية
- (1970) في سعد الاخوية تخرج كل مغية
- (1971) في بطن الحوت اقلب نالذرا قبل تهوت
- (1972) المنازل ثمانية وعشرين اطلب نالله يجبظك من شرهم يا

مسكين

- (1973) احض راسك من المنازل في الليل الصحة معهم قليل
- (1974) حيان بوثلوج اوله بيضة واخيره عسلوج
- (1975) لا تعزل جديك من الجديان حتى تدور ليالي حيان
- (1976) لا تحسب جديانك من الجديان حتى يدوز ليالي حيان
- (1977) الله ينجيننا من رعد حيان
- (1978) اذا هب الشرفي في حيان تحمم الذرا في نيسان ويخرج

العام زين بلا نقصان

- (1979) اذا كانت الحسوم البيع والشرا ويها مسموم
- (1980) اذا دخل نيسان يهرح كل انسان حتى الوجوش والحيتان
- (1981) اما ذنيسان ذحف قدره يشريه بالكيسان
- (1982) اما ذنيسان ليداوي كل انسان

(1983) اذا جات العنصرة احض راسك من السحر ولو تكون في
بر النصارى

(1984) البلاحة هي بلاحة الرزف ويا والصحة

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- (2009) من عمر بطنه بالبطيخ مجال الي عمرها بالنور
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- (2011) الشرفي ليدفع البلا
- (2012) الصباح الندى والشرفي عند الغدا
- (2013) كل من جا من الفبلة مليح غير المرض والريح

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