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**SIDI HMAD U MUSA OF TAZERWALT
(SOUTH MOROCCO)
AND THE TASHELHIYT BERBER ORAL TRADITION).¹**

by
Harry Stroomer

1. Introduction

For Moroccans the name of Sidi Hmad U Musa² of Tazerwalt (South Morocco) is inextricably bound up with the troupes of acrobats that one can see on the Jma' al-Fna, the famous square in the centre of the city of Marrakesh. This square is a real showcase of popular performance with a wide variety of attractions and among them are the boys and men dressed in colourful, circus-like costumes known as *Ulad Sidi Hmad u Musa* in Moroccan Arabic or as *Ayt Sidi Hmad u Musa* in Tashelhiyt Berber. They not only perform at the Jma' al-Fna in Marrakesh but in many other locations. In fact the *Ayt Sidi Hmad u Musa* perform all over Morocco, in countries of North Africa and the Middle East, as well as in European countries. Reports on their trips to Europe reach back over more than one century. The well-known Berberologist-Arabist Hans Stumme (1864-1936) met the *Ayt Sidi Hmad u Musa* on various occasions in Germany and Sweden in 1894 and benefitted greatly from their presence in Europe. With their help he was able to write some extraordinary contributions to Tashelhiyt Berber linguistics and oral literature, see the bibliography below.

The French officer Léopold Victor Justinard has devoted much scholarly attention to the historical Sidi Hmad u Musa and his role in Tashelhiyt Berber oral poetry. He called this saint *le plus grand des saints*

1. I am indebted to John Cooper (Norwich, United Kingdom) for the correction of the English of this article and for his stimulating remarks.

2. The first name of this saint is transcribed as *Hamed* by Laoust and *Hmad* by Justinard. With informants I heard *Hmad*, like Justinard. The second element of the name, *u*, means "son of", with the plural *ayt*.

*du Sous*³. Sidi Hmad u Musa was born in Bou Merouan in the Idaw Semlal region south-east of Agadir. His father was Sidi Musa, his mother Lalla Tawnut⁴. The date of his birth is unknown. He died, at an advanced age, in 971 AH (1563 AD) and was buried in his zawiya outside the village of Iligh in the Tazerwalt region⁵. Popular oral accounts say that Sidi Hmad u Musa went to Baghdad to visit the famous mystic Sidi Abdelqadir al-Jilani (1078-1166)⁶, who lived more than three centuries earlier.

The saint and his adherents also played a political role in their time. Sidi Hmad u Musa was among the marabouts who fought against the Portuguese who, during his lifetime, tried to establish commercial settlements on the Moroccan coasts. Doyle Hatt depicts this period succinctly as follows⁷:

In any case, the reaction to the Christian “commerce” along the coast within Morocco was intense and, during the 16th century, a movement grew up that would culminate in what some historians call the “maraboutic crisis”. Throughout Morocco, local religious leaders preached against the Portuguese incursions and raised small armies of followers to wage a jihad against them. Many of the charismatic reformers who were swept up in this movement were later to become revered as saints (“marabouts”), although their modern reputations have little to do with the irridentist jihad. These were the famous “saints of the tenth century” (tenth Muslim century): an entire generation of religious reformers who sprang up at one critical time of political ferment and ideological revisionism, and who made their mark on local religious practice in Morocco, and whose tombs have since become the prime landmarks in the “sacred space” of the Sûs: Sidi Sa‘id u ‘Abd an-Na‘im, Sidi Muhammad ben Sliman al-Jazuli, Sidi u Sidi (of Tarudant), Sidi Hmad u Musa, Sidi Brahim u ‘Ali, Sidi Megdul, etc.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the adherents of Sidi Hmad u Musa founded an independent marabout petty kingdom in the Tazerwalt region that lasted for more than one and a half centuries⁸.

Still today, the tomb of Sidi Hmad u Musa is an object of veneration, particularly during the *moussems*, the annual fairs held in commemoration of

3. Justinard 1925: 238.

4. Justinard 1954: 18.

5. Iligh is the central village of Tazerwalt. It is situated some 100 km south-east of Agadir, between the towns Tiznit and Tafraout.

6. Abdelqadir al-Jilani (or as the Moroccans put it: al-Jilali), one of the greatest mystics in Islam, was born in Persia in 1078 AD and died in Baghdad in 1166. He founded the order of the Qadiriyya. For the visit of Hmad u Musa to this famous person, see Justinard 1933: 46.

7. Hatt 1974: 18, 19.

8. See Pascon e.a. 1984 and Justinard 1954, *passim*.

this great saint⁹. One text from the *Fonds Roux*¹⁰, states that three *moussems* are held each year for Sidi Hmad u Musa¹¹ :

Many people still visit the tomb of Sidi Hmad u Musa. They say it is the “Mecca of the poor”. Three *moussems* are held there each year: one in August, one in March and the one they call the *mousssem* of the Mejjat¹² for the following reason: Once Sidi Hmad u Musa was with the Mejjat. One day when they were fighting, throwing stones at one another, Sidi Hmad u Musa got wounded on his head, blood flowed from his wound. They asked him: “What can we do to compensate for this wound?” He said to them: “You must organize a ritual meal (*Imeruf*) each year, during which you eat porridge and throw stones at one another. Your harvests will be abundant and you should give a part of this to my descendants.”...

Another Tashelhiyt Berber text says that the *mousssem* of Sidi Hmad u Musa used to be a famous slave market¹³.

Once upon a time we were travelling to a country far away in order to buy male and female slaves. We wanted some slaves for ourselves and some to resell at the annual fair of Sidi Hmad U Musa, where many slaves are sold.

In oral literature of South Morocco this saint still plays a great role, both in songs and in oral accounts in prose. His name is invoked quite frequently by itinerant singer-poets (Moroccan Arabic and Tashelhiyt Berber: *rrways* (plural of *rrays*)) in the first lines of their songs. In her precious *Recueil de poèmes chleuhs*, Madame Galand-Pernet states¹⁴:

Sidi Ahmed ou Moussa...est aussi un des grands saints du Maroc et le plus célèbre patron des chanteurs et, comme tel, souvent mentionné dans les chansons chleuhs. Cf. Our. 22, 23,
Sidi Hamed ou Moussa, nta kaf ntzor d awal | ifoulkin
“Messire Ahmed ou Moussa, c’est auprès de lui seul que je viens en pèlerin pour demander le don de belle parole”.

9. A lively picture of the Sidi Hmad u Musa *mousssem* was given by Abderrahmane Lakhsassi, professor of religious studies at the Mohammed V University, Rabat, in a lecture given at the ISIM Leiden on the 15th of November 2000.

10. The *Fonds Roux* at Aix-en-Provence keeps the archive of the famous berberologist Arsène Roux (1893-1971), a specialist in Middle Atlas Berber and Tashelhiyt Berber. For a catalogue of the *Fonds Roux*, see Stroomer & Peyron 2003.

11. Stroomer and Peyron 2003: 47, item 46.3.1.

12. The tribe Mejjat or in Tashelhiyt Berber, the *Imjjad*, plural of *amjjud* “scurfy-head (French: *teigneux*)”. This tribe is situated to the south-east of Tiznit, very close to Iligh, the actual location of the tomb of Sidi Hmad u Musa. For the special bond of Sidi Hmad u Musa with the Mejjat, see also Justinard 1954: 76.

13. Roux 1942: 102, Stroomer 2003: 200, 201. For the *mousssem* of Sidi Hmad u Musa as a slave market, see also Justinard 1954: 11.

14. Galand-Pernet 1972: 242.

Another example is the song of *Rrays Ubiḍar* “The crippled singer”, cited in one of the articles of Justinard¹⁵:

A Sidi Ḥmad u Musa, a yu tẓrwalt
ad ak nγra, a yyi ṭḥadrt i tjmaεt
 O Sidi Ahmed u Musa, O son of Tazerwalt,
 Let me invite you, please be present at this meeting.

In the forties of the 20th century Jean Podeur, an *Officier des Affaires Indigènes*, stationed at Tanalt, a village south of Agadir, recorded¹⁶:

A Sidi Ḥmad u Musa, iγ ak γ^wriγ
ad aγ ikf Ṛbbi γ ljnt, mani γ a ttiliγ.
 O Sidi Ahmed u Musa, when I call on you,
 May God give me a place in Paradise, where I can stay.

Another song about Sidi Ḥmad u Musa, recorded by Corjon, another *Officier des Affaires Indigènes*, starts as follows¹⁷:

A Sidi Ḥmad u Musa, tini hlli tgit izm,
Hann, ayda n igigil, ššan as t akk^w mddn
 O Sidi Ḥmad u Musa, if you are still a lion,
 Know that people rob the belongings of orphans.

In Tiznit, 100 kms south of Agadir, I recorded a song in March 1990 by the 72 year old *rrays* Boumia Aâchour. It begins as follows¹⁸:

A wa Sidi Ḥmad u Musa, jara d fflaḥ
γikann ijara wasif n Sus, gigan d aman.
 O Sidi Ḥmad u Musa, flow over us,
 like the Oued Sous flows, with its abundant waters.

The poem given in section 3h of this article is a poetic account of a part of the oral stories in prose (see 3a, 3b and 3f).

The name of Sidi Ḥmad u Musa is linked also to oral prose stories. Robert Montagne¹⁹ reports that descendants of Sidi Ḥmad u Musa roam around in the region of Massa, a town south of Agadir, telling stories about the journeys of their forefather Sidi Ḥmad u Musa and telling, among others, the story of the ogre (see 3e below), the story about the pullers of the sun (see 3c below), and about Sidi Ḥmad u Musa seeing *Bahmut*, the legendary monster that carries the earth²⁰.

15. Justinard 1928: 351 and 353.

16. Podeur 1995: 56-57.

17. Stroomer 2000: 84-87.

18. Stroomer 1990.

19. Montagne 1924: 386-387.

20. Montagne gives “*Mahmout* (le taureau), qui soutient la terre sur ses cornes”. *Bahmut* has various meanings according to Iraqui-Sinaceur 1993, vol. 1: 132: 1. “the infernal abyss” 2. “the legendary monster in the depth of chaos” 3. “a creature or being acting as carrier of the earth” In

2 Motifs in the popular oral stories about Sidi Hmad u Musa.

In the translated fragments on the saint Sidi Hmad u Musa, given below in section 3, various themes and motifs, sometimes partially overlapping, can be observed :

1. Sidi Hmad u Musa is depicted as a wild boy in a group of adolescents or in a group of acrobats. He is asked to carry a basket with ripe, juicy figs for an old man or an old lady, which is a humble job for a proud young man. As his friends hope for a naughty trick, Sidi Hmad u Musa carries out his job seriously. The old woman (or old man) rewards him by granting him God's favours. From then onwards Sidi Hmad u Musa leads a pious life. See the fragments 3a, 3b, 3f, 3h.

2. Sidi Hmad u Musa wants to have children, who must invoke the divine mercy for him and therefore he sends people away to find him a proper wife, see fragment 3f. In fragment 3e Sidi Hmad u Musa learns that being a father of children is considered such a merit that he decides to have children. He sends people out to find a woman for him. The woman they bring him reacts more sharply to the confrontation with Satan on the road to Sidi Hmad u Musa, than her companions do.

3. There are various confrontations of Sidi Hmad u Musa with phenomena from the cosmos : he helps angels to pull the sun (3c), he hangs his knapsack on a star (3e), he gets a glimpse of Heaven and the divine throne (3h), he meets *Bahmut*, he meets a giant snake whose tears make a river flow (3g).

4. The escape of Sidi Hmad u Musa from the cave of the ogre of fragment 3e, resembling the escape of Odysseus from the cave of Polyphemus gave rise to some speculations²¹.

3 Popular oral stories about Sidi Hmad u Musa.

The transcription used in the Tashelhiyt Berber texts below, follows in all details the one used in my earlier Tashelhiyt text-editions. I give a reanalysed, homogeneous transcription of the cited texts. I have deleted the schwa, written by Roux, Laoust and Justinard in various vowel qualities (*e*, *ä*, *a*), since it is not phonemic in Tashelhiyt. Moreover I have deleted the hyphen as an indicator of morpheme boundaries. In my translations I have tried to keep as close as possible to the Berber original as English usage permits.

fact, in islamic cosmogony various beings act as "carriers" of the earth : angels, bulls, fishes, bull-fish-hybrids, etc.

21. Laoust 1921b, Roux 1952 and Germain 1935.

3a. Sidi Hmad u Musa lliγ iga ahyyaḍ.²²

Sidi Hmad u Musa γ ššbab nns ikkattinn idḍṣr bahra. Nnan ur a ittuqqaḥ ḥtta yan zγ willi t ugrnin ; d yan ur ittuqqaḥn wida t ugrnin, ur a t tasin mddn f tmarṭ.

Iwa ihum γ ddunit Sidi Hmad u Musa lli. Aylliγ iruḥ nnta d kra ihyyaḍn yat tmazirt. Afn inn gis yan urgaz yug^wm kra n wiyddidn n waman. Iγṛ srsn, inna ysn : “I Rbbat, a rṛma, εawnat yyi ad asiγ ayddidn ad f lbhimit ad.” Nnan rṛma i Sidi Hmad u Musa : “Zayd, aws as !” Walaynni ur rin abla ag gis ḥḍn γ urgaz lli, igllin. Iftu Sidi Hmad u Musa, yall ayddidn n urgaz lli, walaynni inqb as tn s ššfi ! Zaydn waman ar d tffin, ar tṭṣṣan ihyyaḍn. γayann ka yadlli ran !

Lkmm inn daγ yat tfqqirt, tusi yan waryal n uknari. Tna yasn : “Lḥurma nmun, allat yyi taryalt ad d umadl ad !” Nnan daγ ihyyaḍn i Sidi Hmad u Musa : “Asi yas, a wddi, taryalt ann i tfqqirt ad !” Walaynni ur daγ rin abla ad ḥḍn. Yasi yas tt ar iggi n umadl. γ ḍḍur ad ila lεql nns, issfrḥ tafqqirt. Lliγ a ittazzal γ umadl lli, tna yas tfqqirt lli : “Zayd, a yiwī, ak k issrbḥ Rbbi ar d a tssrbaḥt mak k iwalan !” Inmma iwri d, ar ittεbad.

3a. When Sidi Hmad u Musa was an acrobat.

Sidi Hmad u Musa was very naughty in his youth. They say that he did not have any respect for people older than himself ; one who does not respect older people is not taken seriously.

This Sidi Hmad u Musa roamed around in the world. Then, one day, he and some acrobats arrived in a village. They found a man there who was busy drawing water from a well by means of several leather waterbags. He called them saying : “Please, O archers²³, help me carry these leather waterbags to my beast of burden.” The archers said to Sidi Hmad u Musa : “Come on, help him !” They only did this to mock this man, poor fellow ! Sidi Hmad Musa came, lifted the man’s leather waterbags up, at the same time piercing them with a needle ! Water started to flow out and the acrobats started to laugh. This is really what they were looking for !

They also met an old lady (on the road) carrying a basket full of figs. She said to them : “Please, carry this basket up this hill for me !” The acrobats said again to Sidi Hmad u Musa : “Carry this basket up for this old lady, O

22. Roux 1942: 66 ; Stroomer 2003: 124-127.

23. The now extinct brotherhood of archers (Moroccan Arabic and Tashelhiyt Berber: *rma*, transcribed in the title of Quedenfeldt 1889 as *Ormâ*) were affiliated to the brotherhood of Sidi Hmad u Musa. Their patron is Sidi Ali bn Naṣir, who was a pupil of Sidi Hmad u Musa.

son!” They only wanted to have some fun again. He carried the basket to the top of the hill. This time he remained sensible and pleased the old lady. When he had climbed that hill (for her), the old lady said to him: “Go, my son, and may God bless you and bless your future actions!” Then he came back (to his companions) and (decided to) devote his life to God.

3b. Sidi Ḥmad u Musa.²⁴

Ar ttinin mddn Sidi Ḥmad u Musa ikkattinn idḍṣr bahra lliγ sul imzḗziy. Tigut as tdwwayt. Iγ illa gr tarwa n lmuḍε nns, taft t inn, yuti tn kullu γ taqqurt, aylliγ ittussan s tdwwayt iggutn. Iγ a ttleabn tarwa n lmuḍε γ kra n mani, imil izri fllasn kra n lxlq, irin ag gis dṣṣan, ar nn fllas ssak^wayn Ḥmad u Musa lli s ssnn is a ur itthṣṣam.

Ar yan wass mmaγn rṣṣyan takurtt. Izri fllasn yan ufqqir išīban, irmin, irba yat taryalt, yall tt, illa gis lfakit n tazart. Ibdd, inna i rṣṣyan ann: “I Rbbi, a ifrxan, is illa ma izḍarṇ ay yyi gigun yasi taryalt ad ar tigmimi nu? Hati, rmin ixsan inu. Ḡwa nna yyi tt yusin, rad as dεuγ at t issrbḥ Rbbi!” Sawln rṣṣyan ann, nnan as: “Ḥmad u Musa a izḍarṇ ad ak tt yasi!” Ran ntni ag gis ṭṭnazn, zεma, aṣku ssnn iz d Ḥmad u Musa is bahra idwi. Nnan ak imil rad uk^wan yamz taryalt ann lli γ tlla tazart γ dar ufqqir ann, iluḥ tt, izluzzu lfakit lli gis illan. Uk^wan grun tt ntni iγ tluzza; sul xmmrṇ, γakudann, ammas n bab n taryalt. Maṣṣ Ḥmad u Musa, ikfa as Rbbi lεql nns γassann, ihdu t. Ur d issḍhir tadwwayt nns. Ar gis kullu ttejjabn middn lliγ ihddn, ur iluḥ taryalt! Imun Ḥmad u Musa d ufqqir lli ar tigmimi nns, ifk as taryalt nns. Isawl d ufqqir ann, inna as: “Ak k issrbḥ Rbbi!”

Mn γassann lli γ as idεa ufqqir ann at t ihda Rbbi, ifl tadwwayt lli tt isala d tarwa n lmuḍε. Uk^wan ilmna, isala agayyu nns aylliγ iga lwali imqqrṇ.

Ittyara γ lktub n mddn lli zrinin iz d Sidi Ḥmad u Musa is tt inn ikka²⁵ isiyyh bahra γ tmizar n ddunit. Sidi Ḥmad u Musa ur d Tazrwalṭ lli γ ittumḍal a igan darsn s laṣl. Tamazirt n Ida u Smlal a igan darsn; nttan a γ ilul, ittumḍil gis babas Sidi Musa. Ida u Smlal gan ṣṣrfa ttyaṣlnin.

Sidi Ḥmad u Musa, illa ma innan iγra lεilm, illa ma innan iγra aγar lq^wran waḥdat. Tawwuri nns a stt igan γ zzman nns, ar immala i mddn aγaras s Rbbi. Nttan iga amddakk^wl n ṣṣix Sidi Mḥmmud u Brahim u Tmanart, aṣku ntta dids llan γ yan zzman! Ar ttinin γ ass lli γ immut Sidi Mḥmmud u Tmanart idda Sidi

24. Roux 1942: 89, 90; Stroemer 2003: 174-177.

25. *Is tt inn ikka* is the same as *ikkattinn* “once, once upon a time”. The different syntactic order of elements is triggered by the element *is*.

Hmad u Musa ar Tamanart, inna yas : “Lla ihnni km, a Tamanart, a mm usttif, a mm unsrif, a mm uzkkif! Yinna iffay umddakk^wl i yan, iffay t!”

Ar day ttinin middn, ar ittini Sidi Hmad u Musa : “Is nniy iz d middn a yuqqrn Hmad u Musa, zziy Hmad u Musa a yuqqrn agayyu nns!”

3b. Sidi Hmad u Musa.

People say that Sidi Hmad u Musa was very naughty when he was a little boy. He was very mischievous. When he was among the children of his village, you could see that he surpassed them all with his big mouth (lit. : in noise), so that he was, in the end, quite well known for his naughtiness. When the children of the village were playing somewhere and (if) some person then passed by whom they would like to mock, they encouraged Hmad u Musa, who, as they knew, had no scruples (to occupy himself with the passer-by).

One day the children were playing football. A tired grey old man²⁶ passed by, carrying a basket containing figs. He stopped and said to those children : “Please, O children, is there someone among you who can carry this basket to my house ? I am very tired (my bones are tired). For the one who will carry it for me, I shall ask God to make him prosperous !” The children spoke to him, saying : “Hmad u Musa can carry it for you !” (Of course) they wanted (Hmad u Musa) to cheat on him, because they knew that he was very impertinent. They thought that he would take that basket with figs from the old man, that he would throw it down and scatter the figs that were in it. Then they would pick up the figs when they were scattered and they would mock the owner of the basket. But that day God gave him understanding, (God) guided him. Hmad u Musa did not show his naughtiness. The people were amazed to see him act so calmly, he did not throw down the old man’s basket at all ! Hmad u Musa went together with the old man to his house and gave him his basket. The old man said to him : “May God make you prosperous !”

From the day onwards that this old man had asked (God) to guide (Hmad u Musa), Hmad u Musa quit his naughtiness that he had practised (so often) in the presence of the children of the village. He devoted his life (to God) and became a great saint.

It is written in the books of the people from the past that Hmad u Musa had once travelled much in countries all over the world. Sidi Hmad u Musa was originally not from Tazerwalt, where he is buried. He was born in the region of Ida Usemlal, where his father, Sidi Musa, is buried. The Ida Usemlal are famous sharifs.

26. For an old *man* with the basket of figs see also Justinard 1954 : 19.

Some people say that Hmad u Musa studied (religious) sciences, others say that he knew only the Koran. It was his job in his time to point out the road of God to the (common) people. He was a friend of Si Muhammad u Brahim of Tamanart²⁷, as they lived at the same time! They say that on the day Sidi Muhammad of Tamanart died, Sidi Hmad u Musa went to Tamanart and said to (this village): “Farewell Tamanart, provider (lit. : mother) of stones, clothes and soup! One should leave (the place), where one loses a friend!”

People say also that Sidi Hmad u Musa used to say: “If people respect Hmad u Musa (that is all right, but) look, Hmad u Musa also respects himself!”

3c. Ssabab n litihal n Sidi Hmad u Musa.²⁸

Nnan aγ mddn Sidi Hmad u Musa, γ ššbab nns, iḍalb i Sidi Rbbi, at t ihdu s leibada. Ihdu t Rbbi. Izayd ar ittebad. Ar yan wass iḍalb i Sidi Rbbi a ig zγ injbad n tafukt, zεma : zγ wida lddinin tafukt. Yazn as d Rbbi lmalayka, nγdd lmluk lli lddinin tafukt. Imun didsn, zaydn, ar stt lddin. Iγ rad d tγli, ar tt jbudn, ard tkkis kra f idrarn. Munn dids, ard nn tḍr. Mašš, iγ tra a nn tḍr, ar tt daγ jbudn, ar stt lahh.

Imil yan wass ar tt lddin, tag^wi; ur tri ad asn tfttu γmklli myarn. Isqsa Sidi Hmad u Musa yan zγ lmluk lli dids llanin. Inna yasn : “Mat tufa tafukt, aylliγ ur tri γassad a tfttu?” Nnan as lmluk lli : “A wddi, yan ddrivš llan dars tarwa mzziyin, nsn iḍgam bla imnsi. Inkr babatsn, iddu isuq, afad ad asn d yawi ma s a ttetaqn. Kln daγ γassad bla imkli. Ikṣuḍ babatsn iγ daγ nsan bla imnsi ḥtta γiḍad ag gisn ifat lfut. Iḍalb ddrivš ad i Rbbi ad ur truḥ tafukt, ard isslkm i tarwa nns ma s a ttetaqn. γayann a f ur tri tafukt a tzzigiz!” Isawl d inmma Sidi Hmad u Musa lli, inna ysn i lmluk lli : “Maxx? Illa nit γ iggi n wakal ma mmu tḍdar dduεa nns at thṣr tafukt γ ignwan?” Nnan as : “Maxx? Is ur tssint, iz d lxyar n leibada n Rbbi i yan, iγ a ittazzal f tarwa?” γakudann inmma ad d igg^wz Sidi Hmad u Musa bεd a isjd i Sidi Rbbi, inna yas : “A Sidi Rbbi, ad yyi tamṛt, ad gg^wzγ s wakal ad skrγ tarwa nu.”

Lliγ d igg^wz, ismun d imddukk^wal nns d ayddars, inna ysn : “Riγ ad tahlγ. Zṛat yyi kra n tmγart igan taddriwšt, sri iṣlahn.” Nnan as : “Tlla flant tga bahra tamγart ilan leql nns!” Yazn tn srs, walaynni inna yasn : “Hann, imxxarn γ uγaras. Hann dda fllawn iqḍea kra!”

Imil lliγ lkmn dar tmγart, awin tt id. Lkmn d ngr kra n iγarasn, afn d gis yan

27. For this story see also Justinard 1933: 23, for this saint see Justinard 1933: 100-105.

28. Roux 1942: 76-78; Stroomer 2003: 146-151.

urgaz işibn, inna ysn : “Əla sşlamt kum, a yaytdarnγ!” Nnan as : “Llāh isllm k !” Inna yasn : “Mani tram?” Nnan as : “Nra dar Sidi Hmad u Musa.” Inna yasn : “At t irhm Rbbi, igllin !” Nnan as : “Maxx? Immut?” Inna yasn : “Bhḥra t inn uk^wan nmḍl γ lqbr nns, γir rarar tamγart s dar aytdars.” Biddn mddn lli, ar swingimn. Tnna ysn tmγart lli igan tasliyt : “Rwaḥt ar dars. Iγ nn nufa awal n γwad işḥa, hatinn ddad urriγ s dar ayddari ; iγ t inn nufa iga tikrkas, γayann nit an nra !” Inmma tnna ysn : “Iniyat : ‘Aεudu billah zγ Iblis’ ” Nnan t, uk^wan s asn lahh argaz ad. Zaydn lkmn inn Sidi Hmad u Musa. Inna ysn : “Tuf k^wn kullu tmγart ad kra igam !” Izayd Sidi Hmad u Musa yili tamγart lli, yaru inmma tarwa nns. Zγ gisn Sidi Lḥsn u Hmad n Imtēiyn. Nnan aγ : Llan wiyyaḍ yaḍnin. Yuzn tn kullu γ tudrt nns s tmizar. Kraygat yan gisn yazn t s yat tmazirt. Yid ad ssnγ γ lqišt ad. Nfl tn inn γ ugadir n lhul, našk id s ugadir n lhna.”

3c. Why Sidi Hmad u Musa married.

People tell us that Sidi Hmad u Musa asked God, in his youth, to guide him towards a life of pious devotion. God did guide him to this. He did devote his life (to God). One day he asked God to make him one of the pullers of the sun, that is: one of those who pull the sun. God sent (some) angels to him, notably those who pull the sun. He accompanied them and they went to pull the sun. When (the sun) rises, they pull until it separates itself (from the earth) above the mountains. They accompany it, until it goes down. But if the sun has to set, they have to pull also, until it disappears.

One day they pulled (the sun), but it refused (to go further) ; it did not want to go (by the path) they were used to. Sidi Hmad u Musa asked one of the angels who were with him (about it). He said to them : “What does the sun find (on its way) when it does not want to proceed (like it does) today ?” The angels said to him : “O friend, (perhaps it was stopped by) a poor man with small children, who went to sleep yesterday without a proper meal. Their father had gone to the market to bring them something with which they could feed themselves. Also today they spent the (whole) day without any food (in their stomachs). Their father fears that one of them may die of hunger, if they would go to sleep without food again tonight ! This poor fellow asked God not to move the sun, until he has brought home something to eat for his children. That is why the sun refuses to go down !” Sidi Hmad u Musa spoke and said to the angels : “How come ? Is there really someone on earth whose prayer can stop the sun in heaven ?” They said to him : “Why not ? Don’t you know that the best way to devote oneself to God is when one looks after one’s children ?” At that moment Sidi Hmad u Musa wanted to descend to earth after he had prostrated himself before God, saying : “O God, command me to descend to earth and to have my children.”

When he had descended (back to earth) he assembled his friends and family and said to them : “I want to marry. Find a modest woman for me, who is compatible with me.” They said to him : “There is Miss So-and-so, a very clever woman !” He sent them to her, but he said to them : “Be cautious, there are thieves on the road. Someone might (try to) rob you !”

When they had come to that woman, they brought her (along to him). (On the way back) they arrived at a fork in the road and found a grey (old) man who said to them : “Peace on you, O relatives of ours !” They said to him : “May God keep you healthy !” He said to them : “Where are you going ?” They said to him : “We are going to Sidi Hmad u Musa.” (The old man) said to them : “May God have mercy on him, poor fellow !” They said to him : “Why ? Is he dead ?” He said to them : “We buried him in his grave only a short time ago ; take the woman back to her parents.” The people stood there thinking. The woman, the (future) bride, said to them : “Come on, let us continue our way to him. If we find that the words of this person are true, I will go back to my family ; if we find that they are lies, well that is just what we wish them to be !” She said to them also : “Say : ‘I take refuge in God, away from Satan’²⁹” They said this and immediately this man disappeared before them. They went further until they reached Sidi Hmad u Musa. (They told him what had happened on the road and) he said to them : “This woman surpasses you all !” Sidi Hmad u Musa married this woman and brought forth his children. Among them Sidi Lahsen u Hmad of the Imeta’iyyn tribe. They told us : There are other (children as well). He sent them all to (various) villages, during his life-time. He sent each one to a different village. I know this story until here. We left them in Castle Troubles and we went to Castle Peace³⁰ !

3d. Lqışt n Sidi Hmad u Musa d Sidi Mħnd u Ieqqub d urqqaş nnsn.³¹

Sidi Hmad u Musa, ar ttinin, ikkattinn iga amddakk^w l n Sidi Mħnd u Ieqqub ; ar bdda ttnşarrafñ gratsn s lmuşarafa iggutn. Ar yan wass yazn Sidi Hmad u Musa yan urqqaş s dar Sidi Mħnd u Ieqqub, inna ys i urqqaş : “Zayd s dar Sidi Mħnd u Ieqqub, ad ak d ifk kra n ixnaf.” Tazrwal, lli γ illa Sidi Hmad u Musa, tmgala d zzawiyt n Sidi Mħnd u Ieqqub ugg^w ar n kkuż wussan n twada. Yaşk d urgaz lli s dar Sidi Mħnd u Ieqqub. Lliγ t id ilkm ismrħba srs. Inna yas : “Ma ihuwwn lxaṭr ?” Inna yas urqqaş : “Inna yak Sidi Hmad u Musa, azn as d kra n ixnaf, ira tn.” Ifk as d Sidi Mħnd u Ieqqub i urqqaş smmus ixnaf. Yawi tn d urgaz lli igan arqqaş ar aγaras, ihdu yan gisn, ifk kkuż i Sidi Hmad u Musa. Isawl d

29. A wellknown line from the Koran, Sura : 114 : 1.

30. A common formulaic final phrase of a story.

31. Roux 1942 : 70, 71 ; Stroomer 2003 : 132-135.

Sidi Hmad u Musa, inna ys i urqqaş : “Mnnaw ad ak d ifka?” Inna yas urqqaş : “Kkuz ay yyi d ifka!” Iɛawd daɣ Sidi Hmad u Musa, isqsa t ; ɣaylli ittini urqqaş lli ka ukan ittini. Inkr Sidi Hmad u Musa, inna i urqqaş : “Qql sri ar d ttuɣdaɣ.” Iggawr urgaz lli, ar ittqql aylliɣ d ittɣda. Iɛawd daɣ, isqsa t ɣ wawal lli izwurn, inna yas daɣ urqqaş ɣaylli yas ittini. Iɣr Sidi Hmad u Musa : “Wa Sidi Mhnd u Iɛqqub!” Inna yas d : “Nɛam!” Inna yas : “Mnnaw ixnaf ad d tfkit i urqqaş?” Inna ys : “Fkiɣ as smmus!” Lliɣ issfld urqqaş i ɣayad kullu nnan, inna yas inmma urqqaş i Sidi Hmad u Musa : “Lliɣ kullu tgam ɣmkad, ma s yyi tşddɛam ar sri tkkatm iɣarasn nkki! Fk as nn afus nnk, ig ak d gis aynna trit, txxam yyi nkki ad ssunfuɣ.” Igr as nit urqqaş lli s uxniɣ lli issntl. ʸid a ɣ tħudda lqışt.

3d. The story of Sidi Hmad u Musa, Sidi Mhand u Yaquab and their messenger.³²

They say that Sidi Hmad u Musa once was a friend of Sidi Mhand u Yaquab; they always kept a friendly relationship. One day Sidi Hmad u Musa sent a messenger to Sidi Mhand u Yaquab saying: “Go to Sidi Mhand u Yaquab, (tell him) that he must give you a number of burnouses.” Tazerwalt, where Sidi Hmad u Musa lived, was at a distance of more than four days by foot (lit.: march) from the zawiya of Sidi Mhand u Yaquab. The messenger went off to Sidi Mhand u Yaquab. When he arrived, he was warmly welcomed. (Sidi Mhand u Yaquab) said to him: “What is on your mind (i.e. what can I do for you?)” The messenger said to him: “Sidi Hmad u Musa asks you to send some burnouses to him, he needs them.” Sidi Mhand u Yaquab gave five burnouses to the messenger. The messenger took them with him on the road, (but) he hid one of them and gave (only) four to Sidi Hmad u Musa. Sidi Hmad u Musa spoke to the messenger saying: “How many burnouses did he give you?” The messenger answered: “He gave me four!” Sidi Hmad u Musa repeated his question and the messenger answered in the same way. Sidi Hmad u Musa stood up and said to the messenger: “Wait for me until I have finished my ritual ablutions.” The messenger waited until Sidi Hmad u Musa had finished the ablutions. Sidi Hmad u Musa asked him the same question again and again the messenger gave the same answer. Then Sidi Hmad u Musa cried: “Hello Sidi Mhand u Yaquab!” (Sidi Mhand u Yaquab answered him from far away) saying: “Yes!” (Sidi Hmad u Musa) said to him: “How many burnouses did you give to the messenger?” (Sidi Mhand u Yaquab) said to him: “I gave him five!” When the messenger heard what they said (to each other) he said to Sidi Hmad u Musa: “If you are (capable of doing things) like this, why

32. *Sidi Mhand u Yaquab* is a saint, buried at Tasaft in the Goundafa region, south of Marrakesh; on this saint, see Justinard 1933: 106-108. For this story, see also Justinard 1933: 22-23.

did you bother me (and order me to make such) a difficult journey! Stretch out your hand to him and he will give whatever you want and you can leave me in peace!” The messenger threw the hidden burnous to him. The story ends here.

3e. Sidi Hmad u Musa in the cave of the man-eater.³³

Nkrn sin lxlayq, Sidi Hmad u Musa d usmun nns, siyhñ γ ddunit. Lkmm ttmi n ddunit, ag^wln tawlkt lli γ illa ləwin nnsn s yan itri. Irwl asn srs. Ar ttzžin. Ha yan lxlq inna yasn: “Ma k^wn yaγn?” Nnan as: “Laḥ aγ tawlkt n ləwin!” Inna as: “A ur ttzžim! Rad id tašk ar γi. Nsat γi ar šbaḥ, tamzñ tt!” Nsin, šbaḥ lli tašk id; amzñ tt γmklli, ur gis laḥ yat.

Ar fttun, nsin dar ugrzam. Ḍalbn as tingbiwt, inna asn: “Mrḥba!” Iškšm tn s ifri lli γ izdγ d lbahim nns ggutnin. Isrγ asn ləafiyt, inna asn: “Mat tram at tššim?” Nnan as: “Aynna aγ tfkit!” Inna asn: “A awn fkiγ tifiyi, tfkim yyi tayyaḍ!” Ar smuqquln ingratsn, nnan: “Maγ tt nufa?” Ar ttmšiwirn, nnan: “An nšš, ukan ifth aḷḷah!”

Lliγ ššan, inna asn: “Is tššam?” Nnan as: “Iyyh!” Inna asn: “Nkki ur ta ššiγ!” Inna asn: “Fkat yyi yan gugun³⁴!” Nnan as: “Waxxa! An ng tisγarin manwa gignγ.” Gin tisγarin, tawi t Sidi Hmad u Musa at t išš ugrzam. Inna as usmun nns: “Uhu! Nkki ar ra išš!” Inna as: “Uhu, aij yyi a išš nkki!”

Lliγ yujad at t išš, yasi d yat tmurt, ig tt nn γ ləafiyt aylliγ tnwa, isntl as i tiṭṭ lli iṭṭaf, immas tt γ tiṭṭ. Ikks tiṭṭ nns, ur sul isfaw, inna as: “Waxxa! Ha k^wnin γ ug^wns n ifri, ha yyi γ imi. Ar šbaḥ njmēa!”

Šbaḥ γrsn i izimr, lsin abḍan nns, lsin sin. Yan ššan t, yan fln t. Kšmn gr wulli. Ffγnt lbahim. Ar tnt itḥasab ugrzam. Wa nna yumz s ufus nns, iḍi t s brqa, aylliγ akk^w ffγnt. Ffγn gr wulli, iffγ Sidi Hmad u Musa d umddakk^wl nns.

Kksn ibḍann, utn t dis, nnan as: “γikad a iskr yan ingbi, iγ dars insa.” Rwlñ, fln t. γinna γ t inn flγ d wrriγ d nkkin!

3e. Sidi Hmad u Musa in the cave of the man-eater.

Two people, Sidi Hmad u Musa and his friend, roamed around in the world. They then arrived at the end of the world; they hung their knapsack, contain-

33. Text in Laoust 1921a: 251-252. See also Laoust 1949, vol 2: 307-308.

34. *Gugun* “among you” is a variant of *gitun*, *gigun*.

ning their provisions on a star. The star then disappeared with (their knapsack). The two men started to quarrel. Then someone (appeared who) said to them: "What is wrong with you?" They said to him: "We lost a knapsack with our provisions!" The man said to them: "Don't argue about that! The knapsack will come back to this place. Sleep here and tomorrow morning you will have it back!" They spent the night there and the next morning it came back; they got their knapsack again, nothing was missing.

They went on and wanted to spend the night with (a person who turned out to be) an ogre, a man-eater. They asked him hospitality and the ogre said to them: "Welcome!" He made them enter the cave where he lived with his enormous herd. He lit a fire for them and said: "What do you want to eat?" They said to him: "Whatever you want to give us!" He then said to them: "Let me give you some meat, then you must give me some other meat!" The men looked at one another and said: "Where would we find (other meat)?" They discussed the matter and then said: "Let us eat first, then God will bring us an answer to your question!"

When they had eaten, the ogre said to them: "Have you eaten?" They said to him: "Yes!" He then said to them: "As for me, I have not yet eaten." He then said to them: "Give me one of you to eat!" They said to him: "All right! Let us draw lots who of us it will be." They drew lots and it was Sidi Hmad u Musa who was to be eaten by the ogre. His friend said to him: "Oh no! He must eat *me*!" Sidi Hmad u Musa said to him: "Oh no! I will be the one who is eaten by the ogre!"

When the ogre prepared himself to eat him, (Sidi Hmad u Musa) took an iron rod, put it into the fire until it was hot and then stabbed it into the (one and only) eye that the ogre had and stirred (the rod) in his eye. The ogre took out the eye (from pain) and could no longer see. He said to them: "All right! You two are inside the cave and I am here at the entrance. We will meet tomorrow morning!"

In the morning (Sidi Hmad u Musa and his friend) slaughtered a sheep and put its hide over both of them. They ate one sheep and they left the other one. (Having covered themselves with hides) they went among the sheep. The sheep were about to go out. Sitting at the entrance of the cave, the ogre counted them. He took all of them in his hands and then pushed them out of the cave, until all the sheep had gone out. Sidi Hmad u Musa and his friend had gone out also, (hidden) among the sheep.

Outside, in the open, they took their sheepskins off and hit the ogre with them, saying: "This is what a guest does, after he has spent the night with (a hateful host)!" They fled and left the ogre behind. I left him there and I came back here³⁵.

35. The last phrase is a formulaic end of a story.

3f. Sidi Hmad u Musa and the old lady.³⁶

Inkr Sidi Hmad u Musa, iskr rrbiet nns, iga ahyyaḍ, ar ittlli γ ddunit. Ilkm yan lmakan, afin gis yat tfqirt, tusi taryalt n uknari. Tnna asn: "I Rbbi, a tarwa nu, ma yyi ittalln taryalt ad d umadl ad?" Nnan as: "Hann, Sidi Hmad u Musa nnta ar rad am yall!" Ikkattinn idḍḡ. Lliγ d ilkm, tnna as: "I Rbbi, a yiwi, all yyi taryalt ad!" Inna as: "Waxxa!" Yasi tt, ikk d f ixf nns, yaw n srs i umadl. Aylliγ tt isslkm, isrs as tt inn. Tnna as tfqirt lli: "Sir, a yiwi, ak k issrbh Rbbi, ar d a tssrbaht imuslmn!"

Iddu Sidi Hmad u Musa, iftu s yan lmakan, ar gis ittēbad. Ar yan wass izri f yan lxlq, yaf t inn ar ikrrz. Inna as: "Allah iēawn!" Lxlq lli, tiwi yas d mas ma ištta. Iγra i Sidi Hmad u Musa, inna as: "Ašt, an nšš imkli!" Iskkiws. Aylliγ ššan, inna as: "γr yat lfatha a stt nfk i lwalidin nny!"

Inkr Sidi Hmad u Musa, ilkm γilli ar ittēbad. Inna i ayt dars: "Nkkin ad ukan iskkiwsn γ ddunit, ur skirγ tarwa. Mad yyi ittrḥamm iγ mmuḡ?"

Iftu, itahl. Işrf mddn ad as d awin tamγart. Inna i wi lli işrf: "Eqdat ixfawn nmun, hann iqttaēn γ uγaras!" Nnan as: "Waxxa!" Awin d tamγart. Aylliγ lkmm aγaras, mmaggarn gis d yan lxlq, inna asn: "Mani tram s tmγart ad?" Nnan as: "Sidi Hmad u Musa a mmi stt id niwi!" Inna asn: "Immut igllin! Bhra ukan flas nzzull!" Biddn mddn lli, ar ttējabn. Nnan as: "Ad nrar tamγart!" Tsawl tmγart lli, tnna asn: "Zaydat, nēlat ššitan!" Ššitan ifta, ašku lxlq lli mmi mmuggurn a igan ššitan. Zaydn d uγaras. Tnna asn tmγart: "Iγ nufa Sidi Hmad u Musa immut, iwriγ f lhaltati; iγ ur immut, γwann an nra!"

Lkmm inn. Immaggar didsn Sidi Hmad u Musa, inna asn: "Allah iēawnat, a irgazn, tuf tmγart!" Nnan as: "S mit ma s aγ tuf?" Inna asn: "Yak, niγ awn: 'Hann iqttaēn rad awn mdin γ uγaras!' " Nnan as: "Ur nzri yat mn γir yan lxlq ad dinγ immuggur. Inna yaγ: 'Mani tram s tmγart ad?' Nenna yas: 'Nra tt i Sidi Hmad u Musa.' Inna yaγ: 'Hati immut!' Tsawl tmγart, tnna: 'Nēlat ššitan!' Lliγ tma: 'a'ūdu billah', laḡ argaz lli!" Inna asn: "Hati, γwann a f k"n uşşiγ!"

3f. Sidi Hmad u Musa and the old lady.

Sidi Hmad u Musa had formed a troupe and became an itinerant acrobat. Once he had come to a place where (he and his friends) met an old lady carrying a basket full of figs. She said to them: "Please my children, who will bring this big basket uphill for me?" They said to her: "Look, Sidi

36. Text in Laoust 1921a: 253-254. See also Laoust 1949, vol 2: 305-306.

Hmad u Musa, he will do that for you!” Well, Sidi Hmad u Musa used to be very naughty in those days. When he had come to her, she said to him: “Please, young man, bring this basket uphill for me!” He said to her: “All right!” He took it, placed it on his head and walked uphill with it. When he had escorted her home, he put (the basket) down for her. The old lady said to him: “Go now my son, may God reward you so that you may reward all Muslims!”

Sidi Hmad u Musa went off to a place where he started to pray and live a pious life. One day he passed a man, he saw him busy ploughing. He said to him: “May God help you!” The mother of this man had just brought something to eat. He invited Sidi Hmad u Musa saying: “Come on, let us have lunch!” (Sidi Hmad u Musa) sat down. When they had finished, he said to (Sidi Hmad u Musa): “Let us pray one *fatiha*³⁷ for our parents.”

(After his lunch with this man) Sidi Hmad u Musa stood up and went to the place where he use to pray. He said to his companions: “I sit here in this world and have not made any children. Who will ask divine mercy over *me* when I am dead?”

He went off and decided to get married. He sent people out to bring him a woman. He said to those he sent away: “Watch out, there are robbers on the road!” They said to him: “All right!” They then found (lit.: brought) him a woman. While they were on the road, they met a person who said to them: “Where are you taking this lady?” They said to him: “We are taking her to Sidi Hmad u Musa!” He said to them: “The poor fellow has died! We prayed for him a few moments ago!” The men stood there shocked. They said to him: “We will take the woman back!” Then the woman spoke saying: “Go on! And curse Satan!” (When they had cursed him) Satan went off, because the creature they had met, was Satan himself. They went on. The woman said to them: “If we see that Sidi Hmad u Musa has died, I will go back to where I come from; if he is not dead, well that is exactly what we hope for.”

They arrived. Sidi Hmad u Musa met them and said to them: “By God, O men, the woman is better than you!” They said to him: “In what respect is she better than us?” (Sidi Hmad u Musa) said to them: “I told you: ‘Beware, there are robbers on the road!’ is that not so?” They said to him: “We saw only one person who met us. He said to us: ‘Where are you taking this woman?’ We said to him: ‘We want (to take) her to Sidi Hmad u Musa!’ He then said to us: ‘Look, (Sidi Hmad u Musa) has died!’ Then the woman said: ‘Curse Satan!’ When she had said: ‘I take refuge in God!’ the man disappeared!” Sidi Hmad u Musa said to them: “Look, I gave you advice precisely about this!”

37. The opening sura of the Koran.

3g. Sidi Hmad u Musa d ulg^wmaḍ.³⁸

Yan wass izri Sidi Hmad u Musa x yat tmazirt illa gis yan lein zund asif mqqurn. Yili gis yan rrgg igaddan zund annrar, ibdd ag gis izzall. Lliḡ ikmmi, issfld i mad as innan: "Itti nn gigi, hati tḍḗrit yyi!" ḡaylli isawln iga yan ulg^wmaḍ bahra mqqurn, iggawr f dḍhr nns. Inna yas urgaz lli: "Mak k yaḡn? Ma s tettawḍḗrat?" Inna yas: "Itawwna yyi ḡ dar Rbbi is rad ftux s jahnnama. Qllḡḡ bahra aylliḡ yyi tkks yat tiṭṭ s tugtt n imṭṭawn." Inna yas urgaz: "Ad akk^w ur tallat! Rbbi iga rrahim!" Aywa, ibbi ulg^wmaḍ imṭṭawn.

Iwrri Sidi Hmad u Musa s tmazirt lli x d yufa lein mqqurn d mddn ggutnin. Yaḡ tt id tx^wla, iqqar lein. Ar iswingim x ssibt n ḡayad. S d srs idḗr Saydna Jibril. Inna yas: "Kiyi a igan ssibt n ḡayad! Imṭṭawn n ulg^wmaḍ a issngayn lein."

ḡakudann yini urgaz i ulg^wmaḍ: "Ufix nn x lktub, iz d wa nna iran jahnnama, iqqan t id ay yalla imṭṭawn n walln nns kullutn!" Izayd dax ulg^wmaḍ ar yalla, ingi dax lein.

3g. Sidi Hmad u Musa and the snake.

One day Sidi Hmad u Musa passed by a place where a well was situated as big as a river. Near to it was a plot of land, flat like a threshing floor. He went to pray there. When he had finished his prayer, he heard someone say: "Go away from me, you annoy me!" The creature that had spoken was a very big snake and apparently Sidi Hmad u Musa was sitting right on top of its back. Sidi Hmad u Musa asked: "What is wrong with you? You are annoyed at what?" It said to Sidi Hmad u Musa: "God told me that I will go to hell. I am so distressed that I have already lost one eye because of the many tears that I have wept!" Sidi Hmad u Musa said to the beast: "You must not weep, God is compassionate!" The snake stopped crying.

Sidi Hmad u Musa went back to the region where he had seen the big source and many people. But now he saw that this region was empty and that the well had dried up. He went to look for the reasons of all this. Then the angel Gabriel appeared to him and said: "You are the reason of all this! The tears of the snake made the well flow!" Then Sidi Hmad u Musa said to the snake: "I have found in a book that the one who must go to hell must weep all his tears out!" The snake started to weep again and the water of the well started to flow again.

38. A Tashelhiyt Berber text from the *Fonds Roux* at Aix-en-Provence, see Peyron & Stroemer 2003: 47, item 46.3.1. For the story of the snake, see also Justinard 1933: 21.

3h. A poem on Sidi Hmad u Musa.³⁹

- 1 *Ida bismillah u rrahman, ak km d awiγ,*
 2 *a lqišt n yan lxlq ma s ikka ddunit.*
 3 *Sidi Hmad u Musa, ur akk^w ili zzawit,*
 4 *ula lan timzgida, rrbæz kad d imun,*
 5 *ur igi bla ahyyaḍ, rrbæz kad d imun.*
 6 *I nna γ nn tlla yat tmγra, yasi d allun,*
 7 *I nna γ nn tlla yat tarragt, yasi nn aburi.*
 8 *I nna γ insa, i nna γ ikla, i nna γ iruḥ.*
 9 *γ ass lli ira Rbbi at tn issrbḥ,*
 10 *smdin as lulyt inqqrn d waækkaz nnsnt.*
 11 *Ha nnit fllas lšašra wa lli d immun.*
 12 *“A iwi, lhurma nnun, all yyi nn aryal ar tamggrtḥ ann!”*
 13 *Sawln kullu s lkibr, ur iri yan*
 14 *ay yasi aryal ula at tn slin ibrdan nmsn.*
 15 *Tγr i Hmad u Musa. Inna ukan : “Nεam!”*
 16 *Ta lli ittyaqann s Rbbi nns a γ ššrjant⁴⁰.*
 17 *Ha nnit fllas lquṭub lli biddn srs.*
 18 *Tnna yas : “A yiwi, lhurma nnun ad yyi nn*
 19 *tasim aryal ann, an nγli f tamggrtḥ ann.”*
 20 *Inna : “Bismillah!” Igr s tilluna zγ ufus.*
 21 *Yals ašḍaḍ i ix f aylliγ d usin.*
 22 *Itrm as umṭta n ik^wzarn tudmt nns.*
 23 *Ha aryal lli iγli ar f tamggrtḥ ann.*
 24 *Tnna yas : “A xuya, hann rrbḥ iḍmn ak.”*
 25 *Igr tiṭṭ s ufla, isfaw akk^w ignwan.*

39. See Justinard 1925: 237-238. Justinard’s informant was: Boujema’ Umzil (the blacksmith) from the Goundafa tribe.

40. Justinard’s transcription : *cherja ount* must be interpreted as *ššrjant* “they (f. plur.) derive (poetic for : she derives) hope from...” According my to informant the pronunciation *ššrjawnt* instead of *ššrjant* is possible poetic usage.

- 26 *Isfaw akk^v lərš ula kra gis iggiwrn.*
 27 *Sidi Hmad u Musa, rzm d i tagat nmk,*
 28 *ad dis utγ anwwaš, ilha gigi d lzar*
 29 *ig iyt umγar nγ lqayd nγ ur igi yat.*

3h. A poem on Sidi Hmad u Musa.

In a poem published by Justinard one again finds some motifs seen in the preceding fragments :

- 1 In the name of God, I will tell you
- 2 a story of a man (whose name) went over the world.
- 3 Sidi Hmad u Musa did not have a zawiya,
- 4 nor did he possess a mosque, he simply joined a troupe.
- 5 He was nothing but an acrobat, he simply joined a troupe.
- 6 Wherever there was a wedding, he brought along his tambourine.
- 7 Wherever there was a big group of visitors at a wedding, he brought along a rifle.
- 8 Wherever he spent the night, wherever he spent the day, wherever he went.
- 9 On the day God wanted to bestow favours on him,
- 10 He confronted him with a great woman saint who carried her stick.
- 11 The troupe (of acrobats) that had joined Sidi Hmad u Musa approached her.
- 12 (The old lady said :) “O sons, have pity on me and take this big basket of figs up the hill for me!”
- 13 They all talked proudly, no one wanted
- 14 to carry the big basket for her nor for (the sticky basket) to touch their clothes.
- 15 She then called Sidi Hmad u Musa. He said : “Yes!”
- 16 She who believes in God, may surely expect hope from Him.
- 17 He went to her and there the “Pole”⁴¹ stood in front of her.
- 18 She said to him : “My son, please,
- 19 carry this big basket for me and let us climb that slope.”

41. *Lqutb* (here: *lqutub*) with the meaning “the central pole of a tent” has become an important notion in islamic mysticism, indicating the sheikh, the mystical leader.

20 He said: “In the name of God!” and he threw the tambourine from his hands.

21 He rolled a piece of cloth around his head on which he carried (the basket).

22 The juice of ripe figs dripped down on his face.

23 He carried the basket uphill.

24 She then said to him: “O brother, a reward is guaranteed for you.”

25 He looked up: he could see the Heaven,

26 he could see the divine throne and Someone who was sitting on it.

27 Sidi Hmad u Musa, release your pledge,

28 so that I may use to hit the jealous person who spreads scandal about me,

29 whether he be a chief or a caid or nothing at all.

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