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Tuddsa n tmurt n Leqbayel deg tallit tamensayt

تنظيم المجتمع القبائلي في العصر التقليدي

Organization of kabyle society during the traditional era

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Agzul

Tamurt n leqbayel deg talliyin yezrin txuṣ, d tamellaẓut, yernu ggten yimezdaɣ-is. Llan wid izedɣen deg yidurar ur sɛin ara ula aḥric n wakal iselḥen i tuẓẓut imi tamurt truḥ akk d iẓra. Ma yella d imezdaɣ yettilin deg uzaɣar, xeddmen timura-nsen, imi leqbayel ḥemlen mliḥ tafellaḥt, fell-as i d-kkren, d nettat i d aɣbalu n temɛict nsen, acu kan tamurt-agi yella anda ur tluḥeq ara ad ten-tɛeggec akken ma llan, ɣef waya liḥala nsen txuṣ.

Imezdaɣ n temnaḍin n leqbayel sɛan assaɣ ijehden d tmurt-nsen, tesɛa amkan d wazal meqqren deg wulawen-nsen, ur zmiren ad fken deg-s afus. D tidet d imdanen xuṣṣen, maca d imdanen i yeddren deg lɛezz d lḥerma akked nnif, ṭṭfen deg leɛwayed-nsen, xeddmen tiferkiwin-nsen, ttidiren s wayen i d-ttarran n lɣella. Ama d argaz, ama d tameṭṭut yal yiwen ixeddem ɣef uxxam-is. Timetti taqbaylit seg tama nniḍen, ula d nettat am tmettiyin nniḍen tesɛa taɣessa d nnḍam i ɣef tetteddu. Imezdaɣ yellan deg tmetti-agi ttḥaraben fell-asen, ur ḥemmlen ad ten-id-yaweḍ wayeḍ neɣ ad yeɛreḍ ad yessexṣer nnḍam-

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agi akked tarrayt n tudert-nsen. Akal yesɛa azal meqqren ɣur uqbayli, yezmer ula ad yefk tarwiḥt-is fell-as.

Awalen isura: Tamurt n Leqbayel; timetti taqbaylit tamensayt; tuddsa n tmetti; ansayen d leɛwayed.

Abstract

The berber culture and language belong to all those who recognize themselves and who are aware of belonging to this great Berber nation linked by a common history, culture and language. Imazighen have ancient and deep roots, they have always preserved their tongue and land as a precious peace.

The history of the land of the Berbers is like a stage ballet where the joy and madness of men have mixed to weaves a trajectory sometimes shrouded in promise, sometimes tinged with frustration. The Kabyle country was like a unique world for its inhabitants. He had no modern means of communication. The kabyle city, closed to its base of villages autonomous in their management, gathered and grouped into Arch (tribe) and Laarach (general confederation of Kabylia), was governed by system of social organization whose mechanisms were identical throughout the region.

Keywords: The Kabyle region; Traditional Kabyle society; Social organization; Traditions and customs.

Tazwart:

Tamurt n ugdud amaziɣ, tejbed-d lwelha n wacḥal d aberrani, d tamurt i ijemɛen gar yidles d tutlayt d tgemmi akked tɣerma n yimezdaɣ-is. Yal yiwen s twuri yesɛa, yal yiwen amek i iɛawen di reṣṣu n ugerruj-agi, xas yelḥa-d acḥal d akud, xas tawilat n usiweḍ ur llint ara, medden deg talliyin yezrin tteklen kan ɣef wallaɣ akked ccfawat sɛan. Ssawḍen deg yiwet n tallit ad d-smenɛen acḥal n temsal i ten-yeɛnan, i yerzan tamurt-nsen, tudert-nsen, ayen i swayes ttamnen, ayen i ɣer ssaramen, iḥulfan-nsen yemgaraden ama n tayri, ama n lferḥ ama n lqerḥ, ama n tayri, ur zgilen ula d tamsalt, ssawḍen

ad ḥerzen tamurt d tutlayt akked leɛwayed nsen, di lwaqt i deg llant tutlayin nniḍen, d yiderman nniḍen i iruḥen.

Nekkni deg umagrad-agi nneɣ, nebɣa ad nerr tawelha nneɣ ɣer wannect-a, nebɣa ad nẓer amek tella tmurt n leqbayel di tallit yezrin, amek i tessaweḍ tebna iman-is s yiman-is, nebɣa ad d-nesgenses tirekkizin i ɣef tbedd. Ɣef waya, ad d-newwi tikta akked kra n yisallen ɣef tmurt akked tmetti taqbaylit d wamek tuddes ?

Iwakken ad nessiweḍ ad d-nejmaɛ isallen-agi, nuɣal cwiṭ ɣer umezruy d wayen deg-s yellan, s tɣuri n kra n yidlisen i uran kra n yimyura d yinagmayen, anda ttuneḥsaben d agerruj i deg ttwaḥerzen ineḍruyen akked usgenses n tmurt n leqbayel sumata. Rnu ɣer tamansen, taɣuri nneɣ i yiḍrisen n tmedyazt n talliyin yezrin, anda i tennettwali ula d nitni d amnir i izemren ad aɣ-d-yefk isallen imazragen ɣef tudert n talliyin-agi yezrin.

Agdud aqbayli d tmurt i deg yedder acḥal d aseggas, kecmen deg umezruy. Taɣerma tanesbaɣurt n ugdud-a ur yezmir ḥedd ad ttyenker, ğğan-d acḥal d limarat, tallit tettak-itent i tayeḍ almi i aɣwwḍent ɣer tizi n wass-a.

Timetti taqbaylit tamensayt, tebna iman-is, tesbedd ilugan d nnḍam i ɣef tleḥḥu. Xas tudert n medden deg talliyin timensayin maččі d tin isehlen, xas tamurt d tigellilt, maca llsas n tikli tesbed-it tmetti, isuḍaf d wid yellan seg zik, fell-asen i iteddu ugdud aqbayli. D agdud iḥemmlen tamurt-is, iḥemmlen akal-is, tarwiḥt-is yettsebbil-itt fell-as, d nettat i d lɛez akked sɛaya ɣur uqbayli, ur iqebbel ad tt-idyaweḍ uberrani.

« Seg wakal n lejdud i d-nefruri » [(1)].

(1) ALLIOUI Youcef. *Les archs tribus berbères de Kabylie*, Ed. l'Harmattan, Paris, 2006, p. 51.

Tamurt n Leqbayel teffer seg tmuɣli n yiɛdawen-is acḥal n lwaqt, imi ɣummen-tt yidurar-is ɛlayen, ḥudden fell-as. Dayen i iḥurben ula ɣef yimezdaɣ-is, menɛen i uzaglu aberrani. Tamurt n Ǧerǧer tedder d tilellit, tella-d di lmendad n yal amnekcum. Aṭas n yiberraniyen i iɛerḍen ad d-kecmen ɣer-s, aṭas n tɣermiwin i d-yusan, ta deffir ta, yal yiwet s yiswi i tesɛa, maca aqbayli yennumen yedder d ilelli yugi myal assaɣ ara as-d-yasen si berra. Am wakken ara aɣ-d-iban wannect-a deg udlis n BOULIFA Si Amar, anda i d-yura :

« Tamurt n Leqbayel tedder tudert tilellit, yernu acḥal d leqrun tebɛed ɣef tekriḍt akked uɣmar n yimaslaken i yemxallafen n Tefriqt Ugafa. Ḥala taɣerma tafransist i yessawḍen ad tekcem ɣer wul n tmurt n yimaziyen s uzɣuɣ-is* akked draɛ n leslaḥ-is [(1)].

Ihi, ad naḥsu belli tamurt-agi n Leqbayel, ddren kan d ielliyen, ɣef uskir n tudert amagnu i asen-yettunefken, d tudert i yellan tuɛer s waṭas imi xuṣṣen tawilat. D annect-a i tt-yeğğan ad teg irebbi i kra n yinekcumen i d-yerzan si berra, akken ad tɛiwen iman-is d yimezdaɣ-is ad d-ffɣen seg lixṣaṣ i deg ttidiren.

Ma yella nuɣal ɣer tɣermiwin-agi yemgaraden i d-ikecmen ɣer tmurt n Leqbayel, ad tent-naf ttwabdrent-d deg umezruy, ad d-nebder di tazwara, taɣerma n Qerṭaq, anda i d-yella wassaɣ gar Yifniqen akked Leqbayel, ad ten-naf xedmen ula d tanzut yid-sen. Anda ttembaddalen ama d igumma, ama d ayen sɛan nniḍen s tɣawsiwin n Qerṭağ am: Imrigen akked n tɣawsiwin nniḍen i tteḥwiğin di tudert-nsen[(2)]. Syen ad d-tas tɣerma n Ruma, acu kan, tagi tessexdem afud. Tekcem ɣer tlemmast n tmurt n Leqbayel, maca ur neẓri ara d acu-tent tarrayin n tsertit neɣ n tserdast i sxedmen Irumanen akken ad tt-kecmen.[3] Irumanen fkan isem n Feratus i Ǧerǧer, ma yella d imezdaɣ-is ssawalen-asen Quinque Gentii, i d-yemmalen 5 n yiɣerfan i

(1) *Le Djurdjura à travers l'histoire,* Ed. J. Bringau, Alger, 1925, p. 01
(2) BOULIFA Si Amar. Op.cit , p.03.
3 Idem, p. 06.

yettidiren deg udrar-agi n Ǧerǧer tallit-nni, (1). Le Mons Ferratus d agecrarad, iɣerfan i izedɣen deg murt n Leqbayel (les Quinquégentiens), ḥurben ɣef tmurt-nsen, ur ten-ǧǧin ara akk ad ten-ɣemren.

Syen usan-d iwendaliyen, d wayen sɛeddan. Mebla ma nettu aɛraben, d wayen xedmen, anda xtaren timura yelhan, zɛen leqbayel ɣer tmura n yidurar. Syen ad d-nebder Iturkiyen, i yeqqimen deg tmurt azal n kraḍ n leqrun. Tella-d dayen n tɣerma n Sbanyul, acu kan tagi ur tɛeṭṭel ara deg tmurt n Tefriqt Ugafa. Melba ma nettu anekcum n yimrabḍen ɣer tmurt n Leqbayel, anda ara naf ineggura-agi fkan-asen azal d ccan ameqqran.

Boulifa, yura-d dayen ɣef temsalt-agi anda i d-yura deg udlis-is: “Seg wasmi i d-banen deg Ǧerǧer, uɣalen d nitni i yettḥuddun fell-asen, d nitni i d iqerra fell-asen, i ten-yiwin ɣer tlelli” (2). Amrabeḍ yettuneḥsab deg tallit-agi seg yimusnawen, yemmal iberdan n ṣwab imi yessen awal n Rebbi, d netta i iferrun timsal n medden, yettwellih-iten. Acku tamurt tesɛedda acḥal d aseggas deg umennuɣ d txeṣṣarin, lḥif yuli ɣef medden, lixṣaṣ yuɣ yal askir n tudert n Leqbayel di tallit-agi, ɣef waya ḥwaǧen win ara asen-yemmlen d acu ara xedmen, ad ten-id-yessuffeɣ seg twernaḍt i deg llan. Ɣef waya, ttwalin imrabḍen-agi d tamkarra i d-iceggaɛ Rebbi.

Ihi, sumata nezmer ad d-nini belli tamurt n leqbayel xas deg waṭas n leqrun yezrin llan-d waṭas n yimnekcumen iberraniyen i iɛerḍen ad tt-rren ddaw n yiḍarren-nsen ama wid i d-yusan s talwit, ama wid i isxedmen afud. Maca ur ssawḍen ara i lebɣi-nsen, idurar n leqbayel qqimen d igecrurad, imezdaɣ-is ddren d ilelliyen s tawilat n tmeddurt i asen-yettunefken. Tamurt n leqbayel teqqim d tafulmant, tedder di tlelli.

(1) DAUMAS Eugène., *Mœurs et coutumes de l’Algérie, Ed*. Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1853, p. 155.
(2) BOULIFA Si Amar. Op.cit , p. 31.

D irumiyen i yessawḍen i tikkelt tamezwarut deg umezruy, ad kecmen ɣer yidurar n tmurt n Leqbayel deg useggas n 1857 (1).

Deg tallit i deg tella temharsa tafransist deg tmurt, terra yal tamnaḍt ddaw ufus-is s ddraɛ akked leslaḥ tesɛa. Timetti taqbaylit tekcem nnḍam ur tessin, tudert texreb i yimezdaɣ-is. Fransa texdem ḥala tixeṣṣarin deg tmurt wala deg yimezdaɣ-is, tesɛedda ɣef ugdud aqbayli yiwen n unegman d ameqqran.

«Mi tella Fransa amdan azzayri yettuneḥsab am wakli, ussan-is akk uɣalen d iberkanen. » (2)

Xas ulamma imezdaɣ n temnaḍin n leqbayel ur sɛin ara aṭas n tawilat i ilaqen deg yimennuɣen, maca aya ur ten-yeğği ara ad uɣalen ɣer deffir, xedmen ayen yellan deg yifassen nsen akken ad ḥarben aserdas afransis. Aṭas i yuzzlen yidammen, medden ur qbilen ad uɣalen ɣer deffir, ttsebbilen tirwiḥin nsen akken ad d-rren tilelli i tmurt-nsen. Tigrawliwin agi i d-yettilin mgal amnekcum arumi, yedda-d deg waṭas n yiḍrisen ama n yimyura d yinagmayen, ama deg tmedyazt n yimedyazen.

Ma yella nebder-d tamedyazt taqbaylit tamazyat i d-yewwin ɣef ṣṣenf-agi n yisental, imi amedyaz aqbayli ula d netta iḥulfa s wayen iḍerrun deg tmurt-is. Tamharsa-agi tegla-d s tebrek i wussan-is d wussan n medden i yettilin gar-as, ɣef waya ayen ddren yettawi-ten-id s wudem aḥeqqi deg yiḍrisen n tmedyazt-is, isefra-is ttunaḥsaben d tamrayt i deg d-tban tidet yedder ugdud aqbayli deg tallit-nni. Yal afyir yettales-aneɣ-d amezruy, yettunaḥsab d amnir amazrag. Atas n yimedyazen i d-teslal tmurt n leqbayel yal yiwen s yisem-is, ufraren-d, ur zgilen ara tidyanin-agi i d-yellan, wwin-d fell-asen ameslay deg yiḍrisen-nsen, ad d-nebder yiwen n usefru n Lḥağ Σmer Ulḥağ, d amedya(3):

(1) LASHEB Ramdane. op. cit. p. 49.
(2) CAMUS Albert. *Misère de la Kabylie*, Ed. Zirem, Alger, 2005, p. 10.
(3) NACYB Youssef. *Anthologie de la poésie kabyle*, Ed. Publisud, Paris, 1994. p. 252.

Ay ixef-iw kker ur ggan

acu akka yelhan?

amek ara k-yeɣḍer yiḍes?

Leɛbad fnan

sens-d ay uzmir times

Γef wasmi d-yeffeɣ uqerṣan

afransis yeqwan

iḥecd-d leğnus-ines

Tura haten ɛezben s iɣnan

lezzayer tucbiḥt tekkes

Tamurt n Leqbayel truḥ akk d idurar, d tigellilt. Akal-is yelha, yal tazemmurt ad teẓẓun deg-s, ad d-tefk lɣella. Acḥal n yiqbayliyen ur nruḥ ara ad xedmen deg Fransa, qqimen bɣan ad xedmen tamurt-nsen. D tidet, tamurt-agi n yimesdurar d tamurt yelhan, leqbayel deg-s i ttidiren acḥal d leqrun-aya. Maca ayen ddren ur ten-yeğği ara ad tt-xedmen akken ilaq, llan wid i ixedmen timura-nsen, llan wiyaḍ ttwakksent-asen tmura akked tferkiwin-nsen, ur sɛin s wacu ara idiren. Imi deg wayen akk i asen-yeḍran n lexṣara, sebba-is d inekcumen-agi iberraniyen i d-yettasen ɣur-sen, ihi nitni ledhan kan deg umennuɣ akken ad ten-ssufɣen seg wakal-nsen. (1)

Acu kan llan kra nniḍen mmazren, ur ufin d acu ara ččen, abeɛda wid izedɣen deg yidurar, imi timura yellan din ḥala iẓra d yisennanen i sɛant . Ula d aḥric amecṭuḥ n wakal yelhan, ur yelhi i

1 AISSAOUI Hassiba, tameddurt d tmedyazt n yimedyazen iqbayliyen n lqern wis XVIII d lqern wis XIX, agemmir n Duktura, tasdawit Akli Muḥend Ulḥağ, Tubiret, 2018, p. 37.

tuẓẓut, deg-s kra n tzemrin ara d-yerren xerṣum s cwiṭ n lɣella. Yernu imezdaɣ n tmurt n Leqbayel ketren, almi ula d tamurt-nsen ur tessaweḍ ara ad ten-tɛeggec akken ma llan. (1)

Timetti taqbaylit tamensayt d nnḍam i ɣef treṣṣa

Reṣṣu n tmetti taqbaylit deg yiseggasen i yettɛeddin, yettban-d seg sin n yiferdisen: Taddart, i d-yeskanayen ddunit n tudert, akked uxxam aqbayli aqdim, i yebnan ɣef yiwet tɣessa. (2)

Tamurt n leqbayel d tɣessa-is, tuddsa n tmetti-is, leɛwayed d wansayen i deg ṭṭfen acḥal d akud, nnḍam akked yilugan i ɣef teddun, azalen n tmetti i yettqadar yal yiwen seg yimezdaɣ-is, xas ihuz-itt acḥal d aḍu i d-yeglan s taɛdawt, xas ɛerḍen ad beddlen deg-s, maca timetti ur tbeddel ara llsas i ɣef terṣa. Tamnaḍt n leqbayel tejbed-d lwelha n wacḥal, uran fell-as yinagmayen yimxallafen, ama d wid n tmurt nneɣ, ama d imyura n tmurt taberranit. Tira-agi i deg ara yaf umdan aglam akked usgenses n tmurt n leqbayel, yal tamnaḍt s yisem-is. Iwin-d ɣef tuddsa n tmetti, iwin-d ɣef uxemmen n yimdanen, ɣef leɛayed akked trekkizin iɣef sbedden tudert-nsen.

“Nettemlili-d deg tmurt n leqbayel, d teɛricin i yebnan s uẓru d wakal, sseqfent s yiwen s ssqef d amenzu, iwumi ssan afernan. Daɣen nettwali deg kra n temnaḍin i d-yusan di rrif, tiɛecciwin myenṭaḍent sduklen-tent s texmirt n wakal d leɣbar n yiɣersiwen. Deg yal axxam aqbayli, ttidiren yiɣersiwen d yimdanen, yezmer ad yili d aɣyul neɣ d aserdun, neɣ d tafunast, neɣ d taɣaḍt neɣ d aqelwac (3).

Ma yella deg tuddar icebḥen, ad ixxamen bnan s uẓru d texmirt n wakal, yal lğiha ad ssemlilen din-a sin neɣ ugar, akken ad d-ğğen gar-asen ifergan.

(1) Idem.
(2) MORIZOT Jean. *Les Kabyles : Propos d’un témoin,* Ed. l’Harmattan, Paris, 2001, p. 83.
(3) HANOTEAU Adolphe. LETOURNEUX Aristide. 1869. *Les coutumes Kabyles,* Ed. Chalamel, Paris. 332.

Axxam aqbayli yejmaɛ lejdud, ababat, tayemmat d warraw-nsen. Tlata n tsutiwin ddrent akken [1]. D amɣar i d ameqqran n twacult, d awal-is kan i yettɛeddin, d netta i yettḍebbiren. D netta i yettmeslayen s yisem-nsen, abeɛda di tejmaɛit. Ma yella tawacult taqbaylit ur tesɛi ara amɣar ara yilin ɣef uqerru-is, d tamɣart-is ara yeṭṭfen amkan-is. Iɛeggalen n twacult taqbaylit ddukklen, ijmeɛ-iten yiwen n ssqef, ttidiren ddaw tezmart ubabat. Aqcic d taqcict ur sɛin ara izerfan yemtawan, imi aqcic d netta ara irefden isem n twacult-is, maččі am taqcict ara ibeddlen isem n twacult mi ara tejwej, ɣef waya tayemmat tesselmad-as ad tili d taqeddact, d tameṭṭut n uxxam.

Ma yella d aqcic ttrebbint ɣef wazalen n tmetti, ɣef leɛwayed, seg wasmi ara yili d amectuḥ. Sselmaden-as ad yetbeɛ talsa d tisuḍaf n tmetti-is. Ttrajun seg-s ad yili d argaz aḥeqqi, d win ara ixedmen tamurt, d win i yettarran aɛdaw. Ɣef waya, talalit n uqcic ɣur twaculin tiqbayliyin yesɛa azal d ameqqran.

Mi d-tesɛa tyemmat aqcic ad ṭṭreḍqent tlawin d tiɣratin, iwumi ara d-sslen yirgazen, syen ad wwten lbaruḍ deg yigenni s lferḥ d ameqqran, akken ad ẓren ula d imezdaɣ nniḍen n taddart. Ma yella d taqcict i d-ilulen, ad d-yeɣli leḥzen ɣef uxxam, ur sliliwent tlawin, ur kkaten yirgazen lbaruḍ. [2]

Amdan aqbayli iḥemmel aṭas axeddim n tebḥirt, axeddim n tmurt d yiwen n ugerruj i d-warten sɣur yimezwura nsen. Ma yella uqbayli yessaweḍ yeğğa axeddim n wakal-is, annect-a imi d anabal, ur ten-iqad ara. Ula d timetti taqbaylit tessawal i uxeddim n wakal.

Deg lawan n tkerza, mi yennejmaɛ win ikerzen tameddit ad yuɣal s axxam, yettağğa-n lmaɛun-is din, alamma tekfa tkerza. Win ara yakren lmaɛun-agi, ad yidir deg lɛar akk tudert-is, yernu medden

(1) *LASHEB* Ramdane. *Autour de la civilisation Amazhighe,* Ed. l'Odyssée, Tizi-Ouzou, 2012, p. 50.
(2) RAHMANI Slimane. *Coutumes de Kabylie,* Ed. Belles-Lettres, 2011, p. 46-47.

ttwalin belli ilaq ad idder i laẓ alamma yemmut. (1)

Tadamsa n udrar tbedd ɣer tiẓẓin n ṭṭjur, ɣef uxeddim n wurtan akked urebbi n yiɣersiwen (2). Akken ad naf daɣen, Leqbayel xeddmen deg tmurt-nsen: Zzit n uzemmur, xeddmen ṣṣabun, xeddmen aglim, xeddmen aɣbab, xeddmen afexxar, xeddmen izeḍwa, xeddmen iqerdacen, idigen, xeddmen daɣ tasɣent, ssnen ad reqmen, xeddmen daɣen tissirt, iɣerbalen. Am wakken ad naf deg tuddar n leqbayel, iḥeddaden i ixeddmen uzzal, akked yirgazen i ixeddmen asɣar (3).

Leqbayel fkan azal muqqren i wuẓẓu n tzemrin, yis-sent tteṭṭfen akal, ttekksen-d lɣella-nsent. Deg tmurt n Leqbayel, tteẓẓun tizemrin n: uzemmur, aḍil, tagusimt i d-yettaken lğuz, talxuxt, tamecmact, abelluḍ, taktunya, taččinat, taqareṣt, tteffaḥ, tifirest…

S umata, lmakla talsasit i d-nettaf s waṭas ɣur Leqbayel d seksu.Yis-s i ttwasnen yixxamen iqbayliyen. Yella seksu n yirden ara naf deg yixxamen n twaculin yesɛan, anda i t-sebbayen s uksum; yezmer ad yili d aksum n uzger neɣ n yikerri, neɣ ahat d aksum n tsekkurt neɣ n tkanart. Drus maḍi, i yettili deg uxxam n uqbayli igellil. Aneggaru-agi, itett seksu n temẓin, am wakken ttheggin-d daɣen seksu s yiḥellaḍ. Leqbayel, tetten daɣen aɣrum, aɣrum-agi yezmer ad yili d aɣrum aquran neɣ d aɣrum n temtunt. Tteggent-tt tlawin s umata s tfarint, s yiḥellaḍ ma yella ur sɛin ara. Ad ten-naf, tetten daɣen igumma; am waḍil, ifires, afeqqus, tteffaḥ, tetten daɣen akermuṣ akked tbexsisin.(4)

Deg wayen yeɛnan iselsa i ttlusun yiqbayliyen, sumata irgazen ttlusun tijellabin n taduḍt, rennun s ufella abernus. Ttarran ticifaḍ i yiḍarren nsen i xeddmen s uglim n yizgaren, tacacit naɣ atabani ɣef uqerru. Mi ara tewwet lehwa neɣ adfel, ttlusun iqebqaben acu sɛan yiwen n leḥfa d azuran, ara ten-yesmenɛen seg wazzug d ugris.

(1) HANOTEAU Adolphe. LETOURNEUX Aristide. Op. cit, p. 381.
(2) LASHEB Ramdane. op. cit. p. 55.
(3) HANOTEAU Adolphe. LETOURNEUX Aristide. Op. cit, p. 412.
(4) AISSAOUI Hassiba. Op. cit . p. 37.

Aqbayli yesɛa kan yiwen n ubernus, ur yecliɛ ma yumes neɣ icerreg, yeğğa-as-t-id baba-s, netta ad t-yeğğ i mmi-s. (1)

Ma d tidma, llant tid yettlusun tiqendyar n taduṣt, neɣ n lkettan, hrawit deg yidmaren akked tuyat, tteqnent-tt s tḥezzamt. Am wakken i ttarrant timeḥremt i yiqerra-nsent, acku d lɛib ad d-banen sdat yimɣaren-nsent neɣ ilewsan-nsent. Daɣen, tilawin timerkantiyin ttagant kra n yisɣunen n lfeṭṭa, ma yella d tilawin tiẓawaliyin ggarent nneḥḥas.

Ma yella d tamsalt n zzwağ di tmetti taqbaylit, ad tt-naf temgarad gar urgaz d tmeṭṭut. Sumata ma yella d aqcic ara ijewjen, d imawlan-is i as-d-yettaxtirin tameṭṭut, yessi-s n lexwul neɣ laɛmum, ma ur llint ara, ttextirin-d tullas nniḍen n taddart. Am wakken i yezmer ad yextir tin yebɣa. Ayagi, ur d-isaḥ ara i tmeṭṭut, d imawlan-is, ama d baba-s, ama d atmaten-is i tt-yettakken ad tejwej. Ayen i d-yettilin tikwal mebla lebɣi-s, d zzwağ n bessif.

Aqbayli mi yebɣa ad yejwej, ad iruḥ ad as-yini i umeddakel-is ɣef teqcict i yebɣa, aneggaru-agi ad iruḥ ɣur baba-s n teqcict ad as-yini. Ababat n teqcict ma yella yeqbel; ad as-d-yini ɣef temrist; acḥal ara ixelleṣ urgaz-is, imi aqbayli d tiɣin i ittaɣ tameṭṭut-is. Yiwen ma yella yesɛa aṭas n teqcicin deg uxxam, ad yefreḥ imi yettwali-tent d anekcum n yidrimen. Ma yella mkul mi ara tejwej yiwet ad ixelleṣ urgaz-is tamrist, d ababat n teqcict ara yawin idrimen-nni, yernu ur as-ittak ara ula d acemma. Tikwal nniḍen, argaz ara yaɣen taqcict, ur yesɛi ara idrimen akken ad ixelleṣ tamrist-is, ad as-yernu baba-s n teqcict i yebɣa ad yaɣ, aggur neɣ sin, simi ara yesɛu swacu ara ixelleṣ. Deg lweqt-nni yezmer ad ittruḥu ɣer uxxam n teqcict-agi, ara yuɣalen d tameṭṭut-is. Ass i deg ara tt-yawi, xeddmen tameɣra d tameqqrant s uẓawan d ccna akked tteɣratin n tlawin. Isli d teslit, ad d-zzin qbel i taddart, netta ad yeddem lmus akked tmekḥelt yid-s, syen ad tt-yawi s

(1) DAUMAS Eugène. op. cit. p. 167.

axxam.[1]

Deg taddart, nettaf tajmaɛit neɣ tajmaɛt, d nettat i d aqerru-is, tsedday timsal-is, acku tesɛa tizmar tisertaniyin d yidebliwen, am wakken tesɛa rray uɣdim, tettuneḥsab d anezzarfu n taddart [2]. Deg tejmaɛt-agi d agraw i yellan deg-s, i d-yessufuɣen tiɣtasin i ɣef teddun medden, ttnadin ɣef leṣlaḥ n taddart-nsen d yimezdaɣ-is, s yilugan i d-txeddem tejmaɛt-agi i teṭṭef tmetti taqbaylit deg wazalen-is acḥal d akud. S teɣtasin-agi ara segment temsal-is, yal yiwen seg yimezdaɣ ama d ameqqran ama d ameẓyan ad yissin d acu d leqder-is, ad ḥsun belli llan wid yettḥasaben ɣef texnanasin, txeddem akk ayen imu tezmer akken ad tseddu timsal d tudert n medden akken iwata. Ahat lukan ur telli tejmaɛt-agi, taddart ad tuɣal d tiẓgi, yal yiwen ad yexdem ayen yebɣa, tizelgi ad taɣ yal tamnaḍt,

“Deg taddart, tajmaɛt tella uqbel tamharsa tafransist, d asqammu asertan, d tilellit, tesɛa izerfan-is, d nettat i yesselḥun timsal n tejmaɛit: Traḍ, talwit. D nettat i d-yessufuɣen ilugan, d nettat i ten-ittekksen…asqamu-agi iselkam tiɣtasin n ugraw, tettɛeẓẓir ɣef tgemmi akked wayen akk ara inefɛen taddart”[3].

Tajmaɛt tettrebbi agraw-is ɣef leɛwayed d tnaṣlit n tjaddit, teskar-iten-id ɣef llsas i d-ğğant tsutiwin iɛeddan, d annect-a i yeğğan medden ṭṭfen deg laṣel-nsen, snen seg wansi i d-frurin, ḥsan d acu d iẓuran-nsen. Amdan ara d-yetturebban ɣef tnaṣlit, ulac tigdi fell-as, yernu d annect-a i ten-yeğğan qqimen-d deg umezruy, ad ilin deg umaḍal gar leğnas nniḍen.

Tajmaɛt tettwali akkas, ayen ara inefɛen taddart-is. Yella ula wanda i tetteddem tiɣtasin i ileḥḥun akked wakud i deg tella, meḥsub ad d-tessufeɣ ilugan neɣ tiɣtasin ɛlaḥsab asiser amaynut n umdan.

1 AISSAOUI Hassiba. Op. cit, p. 41.
(2) HANOTEAU Adolphe. LETOURNEUX Aristide. Op. cit, p. 07.
(3) LASHEB Ramdane, op. cit, p. 53.

Abeddel-agi deg yilugan-is, i ten-ittağğan ad mgaraden ɣef yigduden inselmen nniḍen [1].

Tajmaɛt, tettnadi kan ad tseggem tudert n medden, ayen yellan deg ufus-is d wayen iwumi ara tezmer txeddem-it. Yella ula anda i d-tessekcam deg ugraw-is yiwen i ixeddmen deg temsulṭa, imi taneggarut-a ilaq ad tili yid-s akken ad seddun taddart s lewqam akked yisuḍaf. Dagi yal yiwen seg yimezdaɣ, ad yili yettewḥettem fell-as ad ten-itbeɛ. Tajmaɛt tettak ula d idrimen i yimsulṭa-agi, akken ma yella yiwen seg yimezdaɣ-is yexdem albeɛḍ n texnanasin, ad t-awin ɣer lḥebs [2].

Win i isselḥayen timsal n tejmaɛit, qqaren-as ameqqran n tejmaɛt. D netta i yesnen, i yeẓran ayen yelhan d wayen n dir, acu kan ur yezmir ara ad yexdem rray-is kan iman-is, yessefk fell-as ad iciwer agraw-nni i ɣef tebna tejmaɛt, ad yawi ula d rray-nsen. Deg udlis n HANOUTEAU akked LETOURNEUX, ad ten-naf rnan-d sin n yismawen nniḍen i ssexdamen medden deg usiwel i win i yettilin d aqerru ɣef tejmaɛt: Amɣar akked lamin·. Asmi ara tessebded tejmaɛit aqerru fell-as, win ara yesselḥun timsal-is, imiren netta s timad-is ad d-yextir seg yal amkan deg taddart, argaz ara yilin d amɛiwen-is deg uxeddim-is akked urfad n tnebḍaṭ yid-s. Win iwumi qqaren tamen [3], ayen iwumi neqqar tura aḥmil.

Ihi d netta i yettakken afus n tallelt i umeqqran n tejmaɛt, issawaḍ-as akk isallen i yellan, ɣef wayen akk iḍerrun deg lğiha n taddart i yeṭṭef netta, maca ur ilaq ara fell-as ad yexdem kra n ubeddel neɣ ad yeddem taɣtast iman-is. Ihi, assaɣen-agi n uxeddim i yettilin gar umeqqran n tejmaɛt d yimɛiwan-is akked yinejmuɛen i d-yettilin gar-asen, ttuneḥsaben am terbaɛt yettɛassan akk taddart.

(1) Idem, p. 08-09.
(2)LASHEB Ramdane, op. cit, p. 8-9.
(3) Idem, p. 10.

Yettili-d unejmuɛ deg tejmaɛit yiwen n wass deg yimalas, medden akk ilaq ad ḥeḍren deg unejmuɛ-agi, ma yella win ur d-nusi ara mebla sebba ad as-yexdem umeqqran n tejmaɛit tafgurt [1].

Anejmuɛ-agi yettili-d deg berra, deg wadeg i d-heggan kan i yinejmuɛen-agi, ma yella d ageffur, ad nnejmiɛen deg lğameɛ neɣ deg lebni nniḍen n tejmaɛt. Mi d-yeɣra limam lfatiḥa, ad bdun ameslay ɣef temsal i ɣef d-nnejmaɛen, ad slen i wulɣuten-nsen. Win meqqren akked wid yessnen ad mmeslayen, ttmeslayen-d deg tejmaɛit iman-nsen. Ma yella d afellaḥ, alamma iɛemmed-as umeqqran n tejmaɛit, ma yella yessexṣer deg wawal, ittaweḍ wiyaḍ, ad as-yegzem ameslay, yernu ad as-yexdem tafgurt[2]. Inejmuɛen-agi tikwal ttɛeṭṭilen akken ad kfun, ttawin aṭas n lweqt. Mi yekfa, ad d-ɣren daɣen lfatiḥa syen ad fɣen, yiwen ur yezmir ad yeffeɣ iman-is uqbel ma yekfa unejmuɛ.

Tajmaɛit tesɛa azal meqqren deg tudrin n Leqbayel, d nettat i d aqerru-nsent, tesselḥay akk lumur-nsent. D nettat i d anezzarfu, d nettat i d tamsulṭa, d nettat i d-ittarran ɣef yisteqsiyen n tsertit akked yisteqsiyen idebliwen.

Deg yal taddart, d tajmaɛt i d-yettextirin awkil n lğameɛ[3], aneggaru-agi iḥerrez lɣella i d-ikeččmen ɣer lğameɛ, yernu ad yesfayda yis-s. Limam i yettilin deg lğameɛ, d amrabeḍ, d netta i yeɣran awal n Rebbi, d netta i yessnen tira. Limam-agi ixeddem d amaray n tejmaɛit, d netta i yessawalen ɣer tẓallit; ittedden, d netta daɣ i yettẓallan s medden. Yal mi ara d-tili tmeɣra, ad d-yas ad iḥḍer mi ara tili lfatiḥa n wid ijewjen, daɣen ad t-naf iḥeṭṭer i lğanaza mkul mi ara d-tili d wasmi ara neṭlen lmeyyet. Am wakken i yettili daɣen d aselmad n yilmeẓyen n taddart deg zzawiya, anda i asen-yesselmad taɣuri d tira.

Amrabeḍ ixeddem daɣen d aberraḥ, issexdam-it umeqqran n tejmaɛt, akken ad as-iberreḥ i wakken ad slen medden, ad ẓren d acu-

(1) HANOTEAU Adolphe. LETOURNEUX Aristide. *op. cit.* p. 21.
(2) Idem, p. 22.
(3) Ibidem.

ten wussan i deg ara yilin yinejmuɛen. Am wakken i yettberriḥ daɣen, ɣef temsal nniḍen i yeɛnan akk medden. Limam amrabeḍ i yettilin deg taddart taqbaylit yessen akk medden, yeẓra win i ixeddmen, yeẓra anwa ur nxeddem ara deg taddart-is. Ɣef waya, netta i iketben deg wumuɣ ismawen n wid akk i ixeddmen. Limam-agi amrabeḍ ur ixeddem ara cci-agi akk baṭel, imi d tajmaɛit i t-ittxelliṣen s yiṣurdiyen, yernu sya ɣer da rennun-as kra deg texriḍt-is. Am wakken i as-d-ttakken daɣen, arrazen akked trezfin; imi ɣur-sen amrabeḍ yesɛa azal d ameqqran, ttqadarent akk medden.(1)

Mi ara nnejmaɛent snat tuddar neɣ kter, ad uɣalent d lɛerc neɣ d aɣref. Imi leɛruc n Leqbayel, ur llin ara kan deg tmucuha akked tumgisin, maca tella ula deg lebni n tudert n Leqbayel. Seg zik, tudrin n Leqbayel ttidirent ɣef wanya n leɛruc-nsent (2).

Yal aqbayli yeddem isem n lɛerc i deg yettidir. Mi ara iruḥ ɣer lɛerc nniḍen, iwakken ad asen-yemmel d anwa-t, ad asen-yemmel isem n lɛerc i deg yettidir, yis-s ara t-issinen. Daɣen mi ara d-ilint kra n temsal tiberraniyin, ara iḍurren tuddar n Leqbayel, d lɛerc i izeggiren ɣer ferru-nsent, imi d netta i yettḥuddun ɣef tudrin-is (3). Ma yella mlalen waṭas n yiɣerfan (leɛruc), ad d-ffken taqbilt, iwumi ara nsemmi imqunen(4), d wagi i d isem aneggaru deg yinejmuɛen-agi ɣur Leqbayel.

Maca faruq-agi, i yettilin ger yimezdaɣ n tmurt n Leqbayel, i ten-yettağğan ad bḍun, yal taqbilt s yisem-is, s yilugan-is, d nettat i yettḍebbiren ɣef yigrawen-is. Ur tesmuqul ara ɣer teqbilin nniḍen, ayagi yağğa-ten ad mbaɛaden, wa ur yesmuqul wayeḍ. Tikwal yella ula anda i ttuɣalen d iɛdawen ula gar-asen, mi ara d-yili kra n lxilaf ur msefhamen ara fell-as, yettuɣal d taɛdawit gar-asen. La ttdukulen kan tikwal, mi ara asen-d-tas tyita seg berra, tekka-d sɣur iberraniyen. Imi

(1) AISSAOUI, Hassiba, op. cit, p. 45.
(2) ALLIOUI Youcef. Op. cit, p. 31.
(3)ALLIOUI Youcef. Op. cit, p. 32.
(4) HANOUTEAU Adolphe. LETROUNEUX Aristide. *op. cit.* p. 04.

dagi ufan-d iman-nsen ttewḥetmen ad mlilen, ad mɛawanen afus deg ufus akken ad rren amihi ɣef tmurt-nsen. Neɣ ma yella yal yiwen i yiman-is, ur ssawaḍen ara ad ḥudden ula ɣef yiman-nsen, maççi kan ɣef wayla-nsen akked tmurt-nsen. Anekcum aberrani ad yeshel fell-as maḍi unekcum ɣer tmura-nsen, acku ma yella yal taqbilt tqubel-iten-id iman-is, ur ttafen ara akk amrir deg truẓi-is akked usteɛmer n tmurt-nsen s umata.

Taggrayt

Tamurt n Leqbayel tedder d tilellit acḥal d iseggasen. Seg zik tettkel ɣef yiman-is, tessbedd ilugan-is s yiman-is, tesselḥa nnḍam-is akked tudert n medden. Azalen-agi i ɣef tebded, yal tasuta tettağğa-ten-id i tayeḍ, tesselmed arraw-iw ɣef wayen i yellan d alsasi. Xas akken askir n tudert ur yennerni ara, tawilat ur ggitent ara, maca amdan aqbayli yessaweḍ yedder di lɛezz d lḥerma, yettagi yal anekcum aberrani, yedder ɣef yiwen n uskir, imi d ayen-nni kan i yessen. Yessebded llsas-is ɣef wayen akk i as-d-ikkan seg timawit, tudert xas tella-d kan s wawal, maca ssawḍen seddan lecɣal-nsen akken iwata. Timetti yellan d tigellilt maca tessen amek ara teddu, medden fkan azal i yal tamsalt i ten-yerzan, fkan azal ama i umeqqran ama i umeẓyan, ṭṭfen deg wayla nsen akken yebɣu yili-d, ssawḍen ḥerzen agerruj n tutlayt d ugerruj n yidles, ssawḍent-id ɣer talliyin akked d tsutiwin i ten-id-iḍefren.

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