

Aumer U LAMARA

Muḥend Abdelkrim



**‘Di Dewla
n Ripublik’**

(Rif, 1920 – 1926)

Tizrigin Zama

«...Nekk d Amaziy [...] Imaziyen d imdanen yessnen, d wid yesnernan i yal tayerma i-d-ikecmen tamurt nney, i yal dдин i-d-ikecmen, am dдин uday, dдин aḥumi ney dдин ineslem. Nessen Taâḥabt, tutlayt n Leqran, nesawal Tamaziyt, tutlayt n imezwura nney, nessen day Tafransist, tutlayt n tmurt i yeqqnen azaglu i tmurt nney...».

Muḥend Abdelkrim¹ n At Xeṭṭab

(Mohamed Abdelkrim El Khettabi),
Lqahira/Le Caire, 1952.

¹ **Muḥend Abdelkrim n At Xeṭṭab** : Sbanya, Fransa akked wid yuran fell-as s taâḥabt, gan-as isem: «Mohammed Abdelkrim El Khettabi». At tmurt-is, Imaziyen n Arif am netta, yaren-as kan «Muḥend Abdelkrim», «Abdelkrim», «Si Muḥend», «Dda Muḥend», ney tikkal «Amḡar». Yemma-s akked baba-s d watmaten-is yaren-as : Muḥend.

Agbur

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1. Tazwart

Isem n Abdelkrim sliḡ-yis di tejmaât n taddart nney.

D tajmaât nni nney i d aḡerbaz amezwaru deg lemdeḡ tamussni n imeqranen. Di tazwara n 1970, tḡfey-d awalen i yellan ass-n ger wid iqqimen din. Dd' Ameqran yella iḡekku-d tadyant n tḡrad n Rif, amek innuḡ Abdelkrim mḡal tamurt n Sbanya akked Fḡansa², amek Abdelkrim ihudd di yal iḡrem tixibbutin³ nni yellan nnig yexxamen nsen anda d-tḡyimin i tyita ubaḡud gar-asen. Dd' Ameqran yunag ḡer Paris deffir 1930, yufa din di luzin tadyant n tnekra n Rif, tella deg wawal ger ixeddamen n Fḡansa akked wid n Meḡruk d Lezzayer.

Timlilit tis snat n yisem n Abdelkrim tella-d di Paris, ass-mi d-iḡli ger ifassen-iw udlis nni «Abdelkrim et la République du Rif»⁴. D adlis i d-iffyen di 1976. Ayen yuran deg udlis nni d ayen sawlen imussnawen di temlilit n 1973 di tesdawt n Paris VIII, Vincennes, ilmend umulli n 50 iseggasen seg-mi tlul Tagduda n Arif di 1923. Adlis nni yekkes-iyi fad s wayen lemdeḡ ḡef tnekra n Arif, amek tenti, amek tedda, amek tennerna d wamek teḡreḡ deg wammas send ad tefk tirkelt. «Republik n Arif» nni tban-iyi-d imir am tifeḡḡiwejt nni iteddun deg igenni, texsi send ad tessiḡ tafat-is i tegnewt.

² Di tḡrad ameqran n 1925, Fḡansa tefka Maréchal Pétain akked 350000 iserdasen (44 bataillons, 73 avions qui devaient larguer 11307 bombes), Sbanya terna azal n 100 000 iserdasen, snegren tamurt n Arif!

³ Acebraw (Icebrawen): d taqubbett taâlayant i taâssast ḡef tzeqqa (français : une guérite de garde, une tour de garde) ; di 1920, yal tazeqqa n Arif s ucebraw-is.

⁴ **Abdelkrim et la République du Rif**, Actes du Colloque International d'Etudes Historiques et Sociologiques, Paris 18-20 janvier 1973 Université Paris VIII, Vincennes. Organisé à l'occasion du cinquantenaire de la fondation de la République du Rif, édition F. Maspéro, Paris 1976.

Isew amezwaru n temlilit nni n Vincennes ad d-skeflen tidett umezruy, ilmend n 50 iseggasen si mi tezra, ad d-kksen isem n Abdelkrim si tillas yer tafat. Ger imusnawen nni, llan wid d-isawlen tidett, llan wid yewten ad yummen tafukt s uyerbal. Taggara, si tama-w, tira nni ukiy-as am zun d lmut ney d tanḥelt tis snat n Muḥend Abdelkrim seg ufus n wid i-d-implalen din akken ad t-id-rren yer tmeddurt.

Muḥend Abdellkrim d Amaziḡ, di tmurt Imaziḡen n wedrar n Arif, yennuy mgal Sbanya akked Fransa s tikli n tṛad tamaziḡt, taggara selsen-as aqenduṛ n «nationalisme Arabe».

Amur ameqran n wid d-isawlen, wid i d-yusan si Merṛuk ney si Tunes, skecmen Abdelkrim deg ubrid n taḥrabt tineslemt. Win ur nessin tamurt, mar ad sen-isel, ad yesers Arif yer tama n Mekka ney n Beydad. Win d-isawlen yef tuddsa n Ripublik isenteḡ-itt yer «Dewla n Aumaṛ Ibn Xeṭṭab» mačči yer tmurt n Sbanya i yegren aḡar di Mellila, win d-yernan yef cṛaâ yuy-as-d aḡar si ccariaâ n lislam mačči si lqanun n yal ass deg Ajdir, n tmurt n Arif i d-yusan si leqrun imezwura n Sifaks d Juba...

Taneggart, d yiwen uselmad⁵ n Fes, yerna tardast yer zdat deg ubrid n tukksa n sser. Inna-yasen⁶ din : "...yal yiwen ad d-yadren Abdelkrim, ilaq-as ad d-yini isem-is n tidett, Muḥammed Ibn Abdelkrim El Rifi". Yif-it lemmer yesaweḡ yiles-is anda yefka aḡar wallay-is, di Jeddah ney di Ryaḡ, ad d-yernu: «...Ibn Abdelkrim El Rifi ...El Sâaudi !».

⁵ Brahim Boutaleb, ilul di 1937, d aselmad n umezruy (Histoire contemporaine) di tesdawt Muḥammed V, di Rbaṭ. Yella d dipiti n Fes ger 1977 d 1983. Yura adlis «Amezruy n Merṛukk» (Histoire du Maroc, ed. Hatier).

⁶ Abdelkrim et la République du Rif, Actes du Colloque, p. 165.

Di tmemmast n tkerkas nni, taggara n udlis ufiy yura wayen i yellan itezzi deg wallay-iw.

Di tebert 514 n wedlis i yufiy yura wayen saramey : *«Ayen i yi-iswehmen di taggara n temlilit agi d wa: tefram Irifiyen d Imaziyen, tefram Abdelkrim d Amaziγ s yidles Amaziγ, tefram ayen akk issuli di tudsa n Republik yusa-d si tudsa tamaziγt, tennam abrid n tṛad i yuy d tṛad Amaziγ s yirgazen Imaziyen. Amek di taggara n wawal, yal yiwen seg-wen iwwet akken ad iqqen Abdelkrim γer «nationalisme arabe» akked «l'arabisme»! I kenwi akk yellan da, ur twalam illa wayen izelgen di tikli nwen ?»⁷.*

Adlis nni, akken d-illi allen-iw γef tṛad n Arif, i yerna amur-is n wurfan d uylif γef wid yennuyen nitni d tidett. Urfan nni ur kkisen ur nyisen seg wass-n.

D adlis d-iffyen di 1999 sγur Zakya Dawed⁸, i yes d-tkakiy tikkelt tis snat tadyant n Abdelkrim, tadyant n "Ripublik n Arif". Deg wedlis nni teskefl-d ayen wumi tezmer, terna-d tameqqunt i taffa n tidett deg umezruy.

Nnan imezwura, *'win ur nekmiz i yiman-is ur as ikemmez yiwen'*. Ger wid akk yuran γef Tṛad n Arif, ger 1920 d 1926 akkin, amur ameqran seg-sen n Fransa ney n Sbanya, ney n teγremtin n Meṛṛuk, n Fes akked Rbaṭ. Amur ameqran n tidett ur t-id-nnan.

⁷ « Ce qui est absolument incroyable dans les rapports de ce congrès, c'est qu'on admet, en passant, que les rifains soient berbères : Abdelkrim est de culture berbère, toutes les institutions mises en œuvre sont d'inspiration berbère, la façon dont il fit la guerre est aussi berbère, ses soldats étaient aussi berbères... Et au moment de la conclusion, chacun de vous s'efforce de rattacher cela au nationalisme arabe et à l'arabisme. N'y a-t-il pas là, Messieurs quelque chose de contradictoire ? ». (Georges Lapassade, Actes du colloque, p. 514).

⁸ «Abdelkrim, Une épopée d'Or et de Sang », Zakya Daoud, préface de Bruno Etienne, éd. SEGUIER, 1999.

Yal yiwen yewwi-d tadyant, yeḥra tadyant, s tiṭṭ n Uṛumi, n Paris, n Madrid, ney s tiṭṭ n Wâaraben n Beydad d Damas.

Ger wayen akk yuran, adlis n Germain Ayache i yellan d tagejdit umezruy n tṛad n Arif⁹, yesers tiggugemt i wayen illan di tmemmast n tṛad n Arif: Irifiyen s umezruy nsen, s tḥerma nsen, s tutlayt nsen tamaziyt. Di 260 tebtirin n wedlis, yiwet tikkelt i yura awal «berbère», irnu akken kan ad yeg iceqqiq ger Irifiyen isawalen tamaziyt akked d wid uzayar isawalen tâarabt. I German Ayache, Irifiyen ḡlin-d seg igenni, s war amezruy, llan kan d iqeddacen ugellid n Fes akken gen afrag si tama ufella, d afus n Fransa akken ad nnaḡen Sbanya, ney d ixabiten garasen, wa uznuzu wa. I Germain Ayache, Irifiyen i yesdukel uḥar akked tmurt, i yesdukel iḍelli d uzekka ur llan.

Mi yura adlis nni, G. ayache yella d asemad umezruy di tesdawt Muḥammed V di Rbat, irna d axeddam n tzeqqa umezruy n leqseḥ n tgelda (Archives historiques, palais royal) !

Tamurt n Arif tekker zun d yiwen, aḥal d aseggas, amyar, aqcic, argaz tameṭṭut, akken ad suffyen Sbanya, syen kkren-as i Fransa akken ad sdukklen tamurt n Merṛuk. Sengugin snat timura timeqranin n Uṛupa, wten s wayen wumi zemren, wten ula s waccaren nsen, ma d ayen i ten id-isnekren zun ur t-iḥra yiwen, yeffer, yedreg i tiṭṭ : d aḍu Amaziḡ n tilelli¹⁰.

⁹ La Guerre du Rif, p. 136, Germain Ayache, Edition L'Harmattan , Paris 2009

¹⁰ « ...Le publiciste Druze Shakib Arslan publia en 1933 un chapitre sur Muhammad Ben Abdelkrim présenté comme le héros de l'islam et des Arabes » ! (Abdelkrim El Khattabi, Entre pragmatisme, Réformisme et Modernisme, M. Tahtah, ed. Peeters, Louvain, 1999, p.52).

D asalu nni i terḡa Zakya Dawed di 1999 i ḡefrey, s tmuyli tamaziyt, akken ad nesihrew abrid deg ad teddu tafat i umezruy n Arif, n Merḡuk, i yimal n Tamazya.

Taggara, yas Tagduda n Arif tbedd di 1923, yas si tama ufella tenger s times d wuzzal n Fransa akked Sbanya akked tikerkas n taârabt-tineslemt ugellid n Rbaḡ di 1926, aḡar-is yella ur yengir. Seg uḡar nni i-d-ffyen ixulaf n tnekriwin yellan di yal tamurt iḡelli, si 1921, n wass-a, akked tnekriwin ad d-yilin azekka, akken tayerma tamaziyt ad tay amkan-is di tmemmast n tmurt-is: Tamazya.

1. Igelliden¹¹ n El Mexzen

Di 1911, zzin imesdurar n Meṛṛuk i tiyremt n Fes, anda yella yekbel ugellid Mulay Abdelḥafid Ayâalawi.

zzin-as s ibeckiden akken ad kksen aẓar n tgelda nni i d-irnan laẓ d uylif i tmurt n Meṛṛuk seg wachal n leqrun.

Mi yeẓra ugellid nni teteddu-d yer uqerru-s, iyra-yas i Fṛansa, ifka-d Maréchal Lyautey lâeskeṛ-is si tmurt n Lezzayer. Deg wass n 21 Meyres 1911 afesyan Moinier ikcem Fes s Lâeskeṛ-is. Taggara, iga afrag akken Imaziyen ur keččmen tiyremt n Fes. Ikker imenyi d ameqran. Imenyi yefra, agellid yella, Fṛansa tekcem tamurt, tesenta tucrar-is di Meṛṛuk.

Deg wass n 30 di Meyres 1912¹² Fṛansa terra tamurt n Meṛṛuk ddaw laânaya-s, s lâaqed n «Protectorat». Terra agellid Mulay Abdelḥafid ddaw tecdaṭ n lâeskeṛ-is. Lyautey ibedd d « Résident Général» n Fṛansa di Meṛṛuk. Yeqqen uzaglu i tmurt n Meṛṛuk.

Tidyanin yesawden tamurt n Meṛṛuk yer uzaglu n 1912 yuy-d uẓar-nsent si zik n zik, si leqrun imezwura umezruy. Deg useggas n 788 i tezẓa tgelda n Idris¹³ amezwaru di tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Nnan, Idris yusa-d yer Tmazya si tmurt n Mekka, syen yekcem tiyremt n Ulili¹⁴, tamurt n Imaziyen lwraben¹⁵. Din, rran-t

¹¹ Igelliden n Meṛṛuk: ɣas tṭfen di tjadit nsen tamezwarut si lqern wis 12, d lyaâlawayen d Aâṛaben, di tidett uyalen d Imaziyen deg idammen nsen. Seg iseggasen imezwura, yal agellid yuy tameṭṭut tamaziyt n Meṛṛuk. Aneggaru d Muḥammed VI, yemma-s d tamaziyt, Faṭima Ameḥruq U Ḥemmu n At U Laḥsen (Moyen Atlas).

¹² Tifrat n Fes : protectorat n Fṛansa di Meṛṛuk di 30/03/1912.

¹³ Idris I: nnan d mmi-s n mmi-s n Aâli akked Faṭima, yelli-s n Nbi Muḥammed.

¹⁴ Ulili (Alili) : d isem-is amaziyt di tazwara umezruy; di tallit n Ruman, tiyremt Ulili tuyal isem-is Volubilis. Volubilis tella d tamaneyt (capitale) n ugellid Amaziyt Juba II (-52 send Aâisa, armi d 23 deffir Aâisa).

Imaziyen nni d agellid fell-asen. Sbedden-t d «agellid» akken ad smeyren adabu¹⁶ nsen nitni, s tezmert nsen akked leqran d yisem n «win i d-yusan seg uxxam n Rēbbi»!.

Γas Idris yusa-d si Mekka, d Aârab, lwraben sulin tagelda tineslemt tamaziyt di tmurt Imaziyen, syen bnan ney smeyren tiyremtin deg zedyen.

Ur d-zzin 5 iseggasen di tgelda n Idris I, mi yas d-ifka Haṛun Eṛṛacid¹⁷ win i t-inyan. Imir nni Haṛun Eṛṛacid yella d lخاليف ameqrان n yinselman lâabbasiyen di Beydad. Ur iqbil ad yili ugellid ineslem ur nella ddaw laânaya-s netta.

Ass-mi d-ilul mmi-s n Idris I di 791 (yella di taâbbuḍt n yemma-s mi yemmut baba-s), fkan-as isem "Idris wis sin" (Idris II). Ass-mi yuḡal d agellid Idris II, deg useggas n 803, isdukkel ugar Imaziyen n tmurt nni i yerran baba-s d agellid. Mi meqquer, yezza tuzzal-is, taggara yesbedd tuddsa¹⁸ akked lâeskeṛ i yas d-izzin, akken llan d Aârab¹⁹.

S tkemmict n waâraben, Idris II iga tagelda taârabt di tmurt Tamaziyt. Idris II yeffey-asen afus i lwraben, yebna adabu s ifadden n tineslemt akked taârabt di tneimmast n Tmazya. Idris II yettef 26 iseggasen di tgelda-s.

¹⁵ Imaziyen lwraben, llan di tmurt n Wawras, di Warsenes akked d Merṛuk. Deg Awras, d nitni i yennuyen mgal Aâraben imezwura i d-ikecmen. Ur izra yiwen ma d lwraben nni n Awras i yebḍan yef tmura n Tmazya. Awal "awrab" ney "amwareb", d win yeffyen tamurt anda yella. (Wareb = effey si tmurt-ik; «tameṭṭut twureb» = teffey seg wexxam-is, tezzi yer wexxam n imawlan-is). (français = exilé, révolté, dissident, etc.)

¹⁶ Adabu: leḥkem (français = le pouvoir)

¹⁷ Haṛun El Ṛacid (765 - 809); ibedd d lخاليف di Beydad deg useggas n 786. Ur iqbil ad d-ilal ugellid ur isemma netta, ur nella ddaw tecḍaḍt-is netta.

¹⁸ Tuddsa: amek teddunt temsal (niḍam) (français = l'organisation) ; awal yusa-d si 'tiddas' (urar n tiddas, tiddest) ; tasuddest = stratégie.

¹⁹ « Idris II prend soin de maintenir la coalition berbère qui avait assuré la victoire paternelle mais constitue une administration et une garde personnelle formées surtout d'Arabes ».

Si tedyant nni n 803 i yasen teffey afus i yimaziyen nni n Meṛṛuk. Igelliden d-ilulen deffir-s, am mmi-s n Idris II, Muḥammed, ney Yeḥya, ddan deg webrid-is netta, abrid n taârabt-tineslemt. Ayen d-irnan yer zdat deg umezruy, am tedianin n Imṛabden²⁰ (1035-1147) ney Imewḥiden (1121-1248), yas d adabu Amaziḡ deg iyrem n Meṛṛakec²¹, kksen-d iman-nsen si ddaw laânaya n Beydad ney Maseṛ ney Kuṛduba di Sbanya. Gas sdukklen Tamazya, si Meṛṛuk armi d Lezzayer d Tunes, nitni ur kksen adabu nni n taârabt-tineslemt nnig uqerru nsen. Tuḏḏal yuy-itent lḥal ḏḏant si 803 nni. Yal adabu i sbedden s ddin ineslem, tutlayt-is d taârabt di leqser akked tigejda n tuḏḏsa-s d yidles Aârab. Tiḡremt n Fes, ney Meṛṛakec, deg iseggasen yer zdat, uyalent d taftilt n yidles Aârab-ineslem. Tayerma Tamaziḡt teffey aguns, teffey tanemmast, teqqim-d akkin deg udurar d izuyar. Aḏar n Idris yenger, wid i d-ikkren deffir-s, icban Imaziḡen Yusef n Tacfin, Ibn Tumert ney Abdelmumen, ur d-ḡḡan aḏar Amaziḡ i tgelda izemren ad d-texlef di leqrun yer zdat.

Tagelda Tayâalawit.

Di 1631 i tuli txerṛubt Tayâalawit, teslal-d igelliden i tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Tedda tgelda nsen si baba-s yer mmi-s, si tazwara-s di tmurt n Tafilalet.

Tenti si Mulay Crif, teseḡṛuḡ seg wass-n armi d ass-a, igelliden n Meṛṛuk nsen. Deg wawal nsen, nnan tawacult nni Tayâalawit aḏar-is d Ḥsen, mmi-s n Faṭima, yelli-s n Nbi Muḥammed, akked Aâli. Nnan, usan-d si Lḥiḡaz, di tmurt n Waâraben anda tella

²⁰ Imṛabden (Yusef Ibn Tacfin); Imewḥiden (Ibn Tumert, Abd-el-Mumen).

²¹ Meṛṛakec (Marrakech) : d isem amaziḡ, «amur n Kuc»; seg-s i-d-iffey yisem n tmurt n Meṛṛuk (Maroc).

Mekka. Kecmen-d yer Meṛṛuk yer tmurt n Tafilalt, di lqern wis 12. Cettlen din, taggara uyen aẓar akked tgelda n tmurt²². D abrid nni n Idris I i tuy txeṛrubt Tayâalawit.

Udem n tmurt n Meṛṛuk yebḍa yef sin iḥricen, yef sin idelsen: si tama d idles akked tutlayt tamaziyt di yal tiymeṛt n tmurt, deg idurar d izuẓar d tiniri n wadda, si tama nniḍen d idles n taârabt d tineslemt deg iẓerman²³ yellan ddaw udabu ugellid, icban Fes, Meṛṛakec, Meknes, atg...

I beṭṭu nni n tmurt yef sin udmawen, yerna-d beṭṭu wis sin igan iẓisi ameqran di tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Beṭṭu yaḡi gan-as isem. Ilmend yiwet tmurt, taggara lulent-d''snat tmura'', s tliṣa nsent, s tudḍa nsent : tamurt n El Mexzen²⁴ n wid iqeblen adabu n ugellid, teffken yal aseḡḡas tiwsi²⁵ nsen, akked tamurt n Şiba n wid u neqbil adabu ugellid, ur teffken tiwsi nsen i El Mexzen. Amur ameqran n weḥric n tmurt n Şiba d wid izedyen idurar anda ur keččmen imnayan n ugellid, icban idurar n Arif, Aṭlas Anemmas, tamurt n Ssus akked d tiniri n wadda. Anda yesaweḍ ujenwi neẓ ubeckid ugellid d El mexzen, anda ur isaweḍ d Şiba. Snat tmura di yiwet tmurt!

Amezruy n cwal ger 'tamurt n El Mexzen' akked 'tamurt n Şiba' uran fell-as ačḥal n idlisen. Abrid-is yiwen, d amerẓi d imenyi n

²² Ass-a, yal agellid amaynut (intronisation), tarzeft-is tamezwarut ad iddu ad d-izur aẓekka n Mulay Idris, ad iẓẓal din i lbaraka n jedd-is. Adabu yiwen-is, d win n idris di 789, d adabu ugellid n wass-a di 2010 (Muḥemmed VI). Si taârabt-tineslemt i d-tuy aẓar tgelda nsen.

²³ Iḥeḍriyen (el ḥaḍara/taẓerma): wid izedyen deg iẓerman anda yella yidles, tella tẓerma (el ḥaḍara, s taârabt); s wawal aḡi, wid izedyen deg idurar "ur yella ẓur-sen yidles ur tella tẓerma", d aẓref n war idles (el ḡahiliya); i nitni, idles yiwen i yellan = idles Aârab-ineslem.

²⁴ Semman-asent s taârabt : Bled El Mexzen; Bled Eşşiba.

²⁵ Tiwsi (tiwsiwin): leẓrama (français : impôt)

yal ass ger imnayen ugellid akked Imaziyen n tawrarin d idurar. Wid i-d-ifkan tiwsi zemren ad kerzen ad megren²⁶ deg uzayar, ma d wid ur d-nefka, d tṛad d imenḡi; win seg-sen yudren azayar akken ad ikrez, ur izra ad d-izzi ḡer tiḡremt-is neḡ ad as kksen aqerru yemnayen ugellid, ad iqqim ad t-ččen wuccanen din.

Temyer n tmurt n El Mexzen, yal ass tedda akked tezmert n lâeskeḡ ugellid. Yal ass, agellid ad d-isexdem tiqbilin i yas d-ifkan udem akken ad iwet yissent ugar tid i yas d-yusan d axšim, tikwal akka, tikwal akkin.

Imaziyen akka, si ačal n leqrun d iseggasen. Yiwen useggas ad zḡallen s yisem ugellid nni, mi tent-isugget, yiwen wass ad kkren, ad as-dukklen i tṛad d ubaṛud d wuzzal mgal agellid nni.

Tilufa ger Igelliden n Fes akked d imezday n Arif nant adar ḡer tmura nniḡen. Tamezwarut, At Arif, seg iceḡfan n idurar nsen, ur ran agellid ur d-nlul seg iḡerman nsen, agellid ur sulin nitni d agellid. Tis snat, adrar n Arif izga-d deg webrid n tmurt n Sbanya, tin illan akkin i yilel. Akken ad tzeḡreḡ ḡer Sbanya, abrid-ik igzem tamurt n Arif, syen ad k-id-imager «Jbel/udrar n Tariḡ» i tzeḡra n waman.

Igelliden n Fes ur ran ad ḡḡen, ur ḡḡan at Arif ad gen tḡarara nitni d tmura ufella, icban Sbanya, Legliz akked tmura nniḡen. D win i d ugur ameqran yellan, d timmist yellan gar-asen.

Uzzlen idammen ačal n tikkal ger lâeskeḡ ugellid akked Irifiyen, ḡyan iḡerman d yigran, ddant temrawin n imdanen, d imeḡbas

²⁶ Tiwsi nni gan-as isem s tmaziḡt: «amur uzaglu». Di tmurt Igawawen, ass-mi yeḡḡef Terkw izuḡar yellan tama n Tizi Wezzu, yal aseggas, at tuddar ufella (At Yiraten) ilaq-asen ad fken “amur uzaglu” i lqayed n Terkw akken ad kerzen akal nsen yellan deg uzayar.

deg ucuddu yer tiḡremt n Fes. Fas akken, At Arif ur knan ddaw uzaglu n "At tiqelmunin n Fes".

Taggara, at Arif zgan-d di tneemast n tlufa, am tneqlett n webrid. Tiyita, ma ur d-tusa si tama n wadda, sḡur imnayan ugellid, ad sen d-tas si tama ufella, sḡur timura yellan akkin i waman, Sbanya, Legliz neḡ Fransa. Ur illa wanda zemren ad netlen, d nitni i ibedden din, d talast agemmaḡ i Uḡrupa.

Tilufa n Sbanya si zik n zik i bdant. Ger Tmazḡya akked Sbanya yekka wasif gar-asent, zun d turdas kan n waman n llel Agrakal. 15 kilumiter n tehri n waman ger Uḡrupa akked Tferka, deg wakal n Arif. Netta d Sbanya zun isdukkel iten wakal, taggara iqqen-iten umezruy d tayuga, si tedyant n Hannibal, Yugurten, Taḡriq n Zeyyad. Targa nni n waman ger wakal n Sbanya d wakal n Merḡruk, neḡ ger Uḡrupa d Tferka, tella deg umezruy aqdim. Tella isem-is tazwara "Taxneqt n Gades" (Détroit de Gades), syen gan-as isem 'Tigejda n Arkul'²⁷. Ična fell-as Homer²⁸, amedyaz ameqran n tmurt n Grik (Hellas). Deg yidles nsen, amkan nni n waman ger wakal d wakal agemmaḡ, d talast ger tmurt n tḡerma akked d yilem²⁹, tamurt n war tayerma neḡ d «war tamurt». I nitni imir, d Taferka Tamaziḡt i d «war tamurt» !

²⁷ Tigejda n Arkul: « les colonnes d'Hercule».

²⁸ Amedyaz ameqran n tmurt n Grik, Homer (idder di lqern wis 8 send Aâisa); nnan iteddu ittmeddiḡ di tmura. Taggara uran ayen ḡef yecna ḡef sin idlisen imeqranen: «Ilyad» d tamacahutt n tḡrad n tiḡremt n Troie, akked «Odyssée » /Tadyant n Ulisse», tuḡalin n Ulisse ḡer tmurt-is.

²⁹ Les Colonnes d'Hercule : « Les Colonnes ont reçu leur nom d'un des douze travaux d'Héraclès, et plus particulièrement celui durant lequel il dut récupérer les bœufs de Géryon, monstre au triple-corps habitant dans « l'extrême Occident » pour les ramener à Eurysthée qui les offrit à Héra en

Imir nni imussnawen n Uṛupa nnan : «Taferka ur tella ger tmura n ṭyerma», timura nni n yidles, icban Ṛuma, neṣ Athena, ... Si txennaqt nni i yezger aman Hannibal, yesemyer tazmert-is di Sbanya, taggara yezger idurar n Alpes di -218 armi yewwed zdat tewwurt n Ṛuma.

Di leqrun yer zdat, amkan nni gan-as isem «Taxennaqt n Gibraltar»³⁰ (Jbel/Adrar n Taṛiq). Seg webrid nni i yezger Taṛiq di lqern wis 8 deffir Aâisa. D win i d abrid n yal tikli tameqrant ger Uṛupa akked Taferka. Di tallit nni tamezwarut n yinselmen, mi yezger Taṛiq yer wakal n Sbanya, isery ibabuṛen-is. Deg umezruy iqqim-d wawal nni i yasen-inna i lâesker-is akken ad ddun yer zdat : «*Acengu zdat nwen, ilel deffir nwen*»! Ur illa anda ad rewlen. Ddan lâesker-is yer zdat, dehmen icenga nsen, kecmen tamurt n Sbanya. Mi kecmen Imaziyen ṛzan asalu n ṛad, ddan deffir-nsen wid yesulin tagelda taârabt tineslem aḥal n leqrun di Wandlus n Sbanya. Tadyant tenti di 711 s Taṛiq U Zeyyad, tefra di 1492 ass-mi d-kkren Iṛumyen suffyen-d inselmen, ass-mi d-irwel Bu Aâbdil, El Muṛu, abrid-is yer Fes.

Si leqrun agi imezwura i d-tegra ṭyennant ger Sbanya akked tmurt n Arif akked Meṛṛuk: agemmaḍ-in, agemmaḍ-a, win iyeflen, wayeḍ ad t-iqqed, deg waman neṣ deg wakal. Asif nni n yilel yellan gar-asen, iqqim-d d talast n ccwal d umerṛzi.

Akal nni deg llan Irifiyen deg-s i d-myin, d akal nsen, d Tamazya nsen. Ur d-usan si Mekka neṣ si Beydad, ur d-usan si Ḥernaṭa

sacrifice. Elles symbolisaient la frontière entre le monde civilisé et un monde inconnu ou dangereux.

³⁰ Détroit de Gibraltar.

ney si Kuḥduba di Sbanya. Irifiyen ḡran nitni ur tella tmurt nniḍen anda ad rewlén. Begsen yef iman-nsen, ansi yasen-d-tusa tyita ad as-rren snat.

Di 1684, at Arif kkren yer imenyi, suffyen Legliz mi yella yetṭef tiyremt n Tanja³¹. Di tallit nni, agellid Ayâalawi, Mulay Ismâil, ifreḥ s tnekra n at Arif i mi yas-gan afrag yef tgelda-s. Si tedyant nni i yenti ugellid yesbedd iqeddacen-is di Arif, Ibacaten³² imeqranen.

Di 1742, Illa-d imenyi ameqran ger at Arif akked lâesker n ugellid Mulay Abdellah. Imenyi n El Minzah igla-d s lmut n Pacha Ḥmed Arifi mi zegren adrar, teddun ad kecmen Fes. Deg imenyi nni, Agellid iwwi tasawent, iga-d afrag, Irifiyen ur kcimen Fes.

Di 1766, Agellid Muḥammed Ben Abdella isenger tamurt n Arif acku ur qbilen at Arif ad as d-fken tiwsi i yasen isuter.

Di 1802, 1810 akked 1812, agellid Mulay Sliman ikcem s wuzzal tamurt n Arif akken ad d-isekcem tiwsi, akken day ad yeg afrag i yat Arif akken ur tjaḡen nitni d tmura ufella n Uḡrupa.

Di tnekriwin i d-illan ger 1811 akked 1817, Mulay Sliman yergagi ugar yef tgelda-s. Deg imenyi ameqran n 1813 Mulay Sliman iṭṭef-asen tasawent i yat Arif. Gas akken, at wedrar n Arif gan-as iceqqiq deg udabu nni yesbedd. Tallit kan tezzi-d yef uqerru-s netta.

Deg useggas n 1820 akked 1822, Imaziyen n Waṭlas, si tama wadda, kecmen Fes, srewlen agellid nni, Mulay Sliman. Netta yeffey, yerwel, yenfa, yuḡal-d deg umkan-is waggaw-is, Mulay Abdeḡraḡman.

³¹ Tanja : Tanger, tella isem-is Tinjis, di tallit Tamaziyt, ass-mi yella Ruman.

³² Ibacaten (abaca, ubaca) : les Pachas (lqeyyad imeqranen n iyerman, ass-a: Lqayed di Merḡuk, ney Awali di Lezzayer)

Ekkes wa, err-d wa deg umkan-is. Tuyal-asen i yimaziyen d tiddas. Ilmend deg ad snegren yef uẓar adabu nni i d-yusan ansi nniḍen, tagelda n taârabt-tineslemt, nitni d aleqqem kan i t-leqqmen, zun akken ad d-yay aẓar ugar.

Di 1844, lâeskeḥ n ugellid Abdeḥraḥman Ayaâlawi yečča tiyrit deg imenyi n Isli mgal Fṛansa. Tamurt n Fṛansa tekcem tiyremt n Tanja.

Di 1845, lâeskeḥ n ugellid Abdeḥraḥman iserwet tamurt n Arif, inya ačhal d imdanen. Irra ttaḥ ilmend tamurt n Arif tegguma ad tefk Lmir Abdelqadeḥ i tmurt n Fṛansa, mi yella yerwel, yeffer di Arif.

Di 1864, lâeskeḥ n ugellid yejba akkin yer Arif, inya ačhal n yemdanen di tiyremt n Ajdir ilmend ucetki n Sbanya i ugellid: At Arif gan ačhal d iyezzuten deg llel Agrakal mgal ibabuḥen n Sbanya.

Di 1880 yekker imenyi ameqran n Irifiyen mgal adabu ugellid n Fes.

Amerzi mgal igelliden ur gan i yat Arif ad qablen s tezmert nsen acengu i yellan si talast ufella. Tamurt n Sbanya tella tressa tigusa di Tmazya si ačhal n leqrun izran. Teṭṭef imukan deg wakal, deg waman, tesnera tazmert-is : aẓru n Nekkū³³ aghemmaḍ i Lḥusima di 1673, Sebta (Septa / Ceuta) di 1415 (ikcem-itt Portugal di 1415, syen yerra-tt i Sbanya deg useggas n 1640), Mellila di 1497, akked kra yeẓra yellan yef waman, Badis

³³ Tigzirt n Nekkū (Peñon de Alhucemas) tezga-d 300 m akkin i yiri n waman. tga zun d ababuḥ ur zuzunet Imujat, zdat tijdit n Sfiḥa akked Swani. Di tneemast-is yella Iberḡ ameqran n lâeskeḥ, kra n tzeḡwa akked tamesgida Uṛumi. Di teẓzi-is 50 m, di tehri 27 m, di tiddi nnig waman 27 m, di littâa 15 ha.

akked Jafaṛin. Sbanya tesenta tuc̣car-is di tmurt n Tmazya, syen tnebbec yal ass tilisa akken ad tesihrew akal i tuy s yiyil d ubarud. Imenyiyen imeqranen n Irifiyen mgal Sbanya gten, ṭrad ur ikkis yal aseggas. Imeqranen nni llan-d di 1863, 1866, 1871, 1883, 1893 akked 1898. Ass-a di 2011, Mellila d Sebta d tegzirin nniḍen d akal yellan deg ufos n Sbanya, d akal aneggaru n temhersa n Sbanya di Tferka.



Azru n Nekkuṛ (tigzirt, Penon del Hoceimas)

Di tama nniḍen, tidyanin n ṭrad ger at Arif mgal lâeskeṛ ugellid n El Mexzen zgant llant yal aseggas. El Mexzen, tiṭ-is netta d asekcem ugar n tedrimt d naâma yer Imexzen-is di Fes. Imezday n Arif ẓẓayet fell-asen taâkemt, simal tettazay trennu mi ẓeṛren tidi nsen tettay abrid n Fes. Tamurt teqqur, akal d ujriḍ, aman ur llan, yugar lxelq erreḥq. Fkan-d ulac.

I yat Arif, taluft yiwet. Am lâeskeṛ n Sbanya i yasen-d iqqimen si tama ufella, am imnayen ugellid i d-yulin yal tikkelt si tama wadda, si Fes ney si Meknes, nger nsen yiwen, udem nsen nitni

yiwen, d udem ucengu, d udem n twayit. Idammen n Imaziyen
nni i sazzlen aḥal n iseggasen yiwen nsen: d izeggayen.

3. Tamurt n Arif deffir 1900

Talalit n Muḥend Abdelkrim

Di tallit n tudert taberkant n imezday n Arif i yekcem lqern n 1900. Di Fes, d Mulay Abdelaâziz Ayâalawi i yellan imir d agellid. Muḥend Abdelkrim n At Yusef U Aâli (di twacult n At Xetṭab) yella imir d ilemzi. Muḥend ilul di 1882 di tiyremt n Ajdir, di teqbilt n At Waryayen.

Ass-mi d ilul Muḥend Abdelkrim, yufa-d talwaḥt taâllaq. Jedd-is yella d lqaḍi, baba-s, isem-is Abdelkrim n At Yusef, yella imir nni d lqaḍi deg Ajdir. "Lqaḍi Abdelkrim", am akken i yas-ḡaren Irifiyen, ney Si Abdelkrim, d argaz itwassnen di tmurt n at Waryayen akked tmurt n Arif ufella. Tudert n twacult n At Xetṭab tella tufrar ḡef umur ameqran n imezday n Ajdir. Zedyen, Isan, ččan. Deg wexxam n Si Abdelkrim, ḡer tama n Muḥend, yella gma-s Mḥemmed, d amalas, mezzi fell-as s kra iseggasen, akked snat yessetma-s.

Lqaḍi Abdelkrim d yiwen wemḡar ger yemḡaren iferrun tilufa di yal tajmaât n tmurt n Arif. D amussnaw, yessen Tarifit taqurant, awal-is ḡur-s azal, sellen-as yemdanen. Imir-nni, win iḡran leqran akked taâḡabt, ḡaren-as 'Lefqih'. Abdelkrim n At Xetṭab isdukel-itent i kḡaḍ: d amussnaw amaziḡ, d lefqih, d lqaḍi !

Mi yella Muḥend d ilemzi, yefka-t baba-s ḡer tiyremt n Fes, ḡer tesdawt El Qaḡawiyin. Din, yelmed taâḡabt, yerna Leqran akked

uzref³⁴ n cṛaâ n tineslemt, akken taggara ad yuḡal d lqaḍi ula d netta, am baba-s.

Ayen i d-ilmed ugar Muḥend si Fes, d tamuḡli nni n ugellid d yiwziren-is akked wid akk itezzin i leqser n Fes am tzizwa. Izra ayen ḡef teffey tiḡ-is: laḡ d uyilif deg idurar, tawat d liser di tiḡremt n Fes;. Yiwet tmurt, sin wudmawen.

Ass-mi d-ijemmel, Muḥend yezzi-d ḡer Ajdir.

Lqaḍi Abdelkrim iḡa ayilif i warraw-is. Ibya ad ḡren, ad lemnden ugar, ad issinen tamussni yesuffuḡen. Ger tiḡremt n Fes akked Mellila ḡer Iḡebenyulen, lqaḍi yefren. Muḥend akked gma-s Mḡhemmed ad kecmen Mellila.

Din di tiḡremt n Mellila, si yiwet tama Muḥend illa ilemmed tasebenyult, si tayeḡ iselmad Tamaziḡt akked Taâṛabt i yisebbenyulen, syen ikcem d tṛejman di "Oficinas de Asuntos Indígenas"³⁵, deg useggas 1908.

Amezruy n tmurt n Arif ibeddel udem si tifat nni d-illan ger Fransa akked Legliz di 1904 akked d tifat n Algesiras, di Sbanya, ger 12 tmura n Uṛupa di 7 Yebrir 1906. Fran gar-asen, bḡan tamurt n Meṛṛuk akked tmura n Tferka³⁶; yal yiwen ad yay amur-is. Tazmert nsen, akal n Taferka ad yuḡal nsen !

Taggara, tamurt n Meṛṛuk tebḡa ḡef sin: tama wadda n Fransa, tama ufella (agafa) n Arif tezga-d ger ifassen n Sbanya. D tiḡerḡi

³⁴ Azref (izerfan) : "Iḡeq/Iḡuquq" (français : le droit, études de droit) (Izerfan n Wemdan / les droits de l'Homme)

³⁵ 'Oficinas de Asuntos Indígenas : Ibiru n temsal n at tmurt (Imaziḡen n Arif); am «lesBureaux Arabes» i tḡa Fransa di tmurt n Lezzayer.

³⁶ Taferka : Africa, Afrique.

n Legliz i yeffyen. Legliz ur ira ad d-tbedd Fṛansa d lġar-is, agemmaḍ i Gibraltar³⁷.

Tifrat n Algésiras telli tiwwura i Sbanya akken ad tesemyer tazmert-is, ad tewwet ad d-taf amek ad d-teffey si teyremtin deg tella ačhal n leqrun aya, si Mellila, Sebta akked iżra n Nekkuṛ d wiyad.

Fṛansa tella tekcem tamurt n Lezzayer si 1830; tegra-d di tṛad d imenyi n yal ass, n yal tama n tmurt i tewed. Di 1856 tekcem tamurt n lgawawen s imenyi ameqran n Larbaâ n A Yiraten. Maréchal Randon yedda s 35000 iserdasen seg Isyaxen Umeddur. Imenyi ameqran aneggaru ger imenyiyen d win n lceṛriḍen di 1857.

Akken ad tesdukkel anekcum s wuzzal d ubaṛud akked unekcum s tsertit akked tiḥerci, Fṛansa tessuli tudsa n «Les bureaux arabes» di 1844³⁸.

D lbiruwat agi i tella temlilit ger lâesker n Fṛansa akked at tmurt i tukksa n wakal nsen, i lexlaṣ n uxetṭi, i tuṭṭfa n yergazen³⁹ deg iḡerman i ten id-innuyen, i tifkin n wakal i iṛumyen d-ikecmen tamurt deffir lâesker nsen. Abeckiḍ d laâesker, afus n udabu d lbiruwat nni.

Ifesyänen n «Les bureaux arabes» Kecmen tamur si daxel, lemden timeslayin n tmurt, tamaziyt akked taârabt, lemden laâwayed akked tudsa n tmurt, n laâṛac akked teqbilin d idewwaren. Ur ġġan amkan, xaḍen tamurt.

³⁷ Azru n Gibraltar teṭṭef-it tmurt n Legliz si 1713 (tifrat n Utrecht).

³⁸ Lbiru amezwaru yesbedd-it capitaine Lamoriciere di tama n tiyremt n Lezzayer di 1833, akken ad zren amek ad as ddun i wnekcum n tmurt. Mi zran abrid nni yesuffuy, taggara tuyal tudsa nni d taâkkazt nsen armi d iseggasen n 1870.

³⁹ Afran n yergazen di tuddar ar ad arzen d imeḥbas (en otages).

Taggara d nitni i yesulin tuddsa n ismawen n at tmurt, "recensement" nni, akken ad gen ismawen i yal amdan am zun akken di tmurt n Fṛansa. Si tedyant nni i d-skecmen ismawen n taâṛabt di Tmazya. Amur ameqran n ifesyane nsen llan di tmurt n Surya, llan gan dinna ismawen i yat tmurt nni. Mi d-usan yer Lezzayer, win-d amur ameqran n yismawen nni n taâṛabt deg idlisen nsen. «Les bureaux arabes» bedden udem i tmurt, skecmen-d aẓar n taâṛabt send ad gen nḍer nsen, akken ad rren Tamayza d amur n tmurt n Fṛansa⁴⁰ kra iseggasen yer zdat.

D abrid nni i tuy Fṛansa ass-mi tekcem tamurt n Meṛṛuk di 1912, tesuli tuddsa n «Les Bureaux des affaires indigènes».

Ger «Les bureaux arabes» di Lezzayer akked «Les Bureaux des affaires indigènes» di Meṛṛuk, yuy lḥal iṛumyen ssnen tamurt ugar, ufan tamurt kecmen d Tamazya, nnu tekkes tsertit nni n Napoléon III, win akken iran ad isali «Le Royaume Arabe»⁴¹ si Damas ar Ṭanja. Fas «tasertit taâṛabt n Fṛansa» tekkes imir-nni, tawekka-s tuy tamurt n Tamazya.

Ayen tga Fṛansa di tmurt n Lezzayer yella yef tiṭ n Sbanya.

Di Arif, Sbanya tuy abrid n wetma-s, tesnulfa-d tuddsa n "Oficinas de Asuntos Indígenas" di 1908. Isew⁴² n Oficinas nni, akken Sbanya ad tekcem adrar n Arif tardast tardast, s tiḥerçi n inisi. Ad tekcem tamurt s war ṭrad, s war idammen.

⁴⁰ Lezzayer tuyal tebda yef krad iḥricen n tmurt ...n Fṛansa : département d'Alger + département d'Oran + département de Constantine

⁴¹ « Royaume arabe » : « Notre possession d'Afrique n'est pas une colonie ordinaire mais un royaume arabe » (Napoléon III, discours d'Alger, septembre 1860).

« l'Empereur a une vue globale du problème. S'il emploie le terme arabe, c'est parce qu'il songe aussi au Proche-Orient où il ressusciterait volontiers la Nation Arabe dans le cas où les Turcs seraient décidément incapables de se réformer. » (Mac Mahon, 11/08/1865).

⁴² Isew : (français = le but, l'objectif, la cible)

D abrid nni i ten-isawḍen gan aḡerbaz di Mellila, lemden nitni Tamaziḡt Tarifit akked taârabt, rnan selmaden taṣebenyulit i wid d-fernen, ger tarwa n lqeyyad akked wid i-d-yufraren ger Irifiyen. Selmaden-ten akken ad zḍen tissist, azekka ad bnun fell-asen, ad ten-sxedmen di tuddsa i tuṭṭfa n tmurt n Arif.

Yiwen seg wid nni ilemden taṣebenyulit di Mellila d Muḥend Abdelkrim n At Yusef.

Mellila, Sebta, Nekkur: tiwwura n Uṛupa

Di yal tallit, yella deg-s wayen ilhan, yella deg-s wayen n ur nelha. Gas d akal n Tmazḡa i teṭṭef Sbanya s wuzzal d ubarud si leqrun d leqrun izran, taggara timura n Mellila, Sebta neḡ tigzirt n Nekkur, uḡalent zun d tiḡuna timeqranin zdat tmurt n Arif. Yal asafar i d-iffyen di Uṛupa ad d-yaweḍ tamurt n Arif. Deg iseggasen n laḡ, iseggasen nni deg ur d-ḡlin waman deg Arif, ur d-tella tmegra, amur ameqran n temḡin d yirden i ččan Irifiyen, usan asen-d si tegzirin nni yellan deg ufus n Sbanya.

Tiyremtin n Mellila akked Sebta fkant anza i tiyremtin nni yellan di tallit n Ifniqen, am Carthage, Volubilis, Sala, Lixus, Banasa, Ceuta. Di tallit n Sbanya, Ceuta nni n Ifniqen, tuḡal d Sebta; tiyremt yiwet, tbeddel kan isem. Si zik nent, d tiyremtin yellan di tmurt n Tmazḡa, ddaw udabu awerdani. Gas amezruy n Carthage ixulef⁴³.

⁴³ Carthage tella d tiyremt n Ifniqen deg wakal n Tmazḡa (di Tunes n wass-a). Tella d tiyremt n tḡara d tdamsa syen tḡa adabu ameqran, tḡa lâesker ameqran akked wachal ibabuḡen. Tennuḡ mgal Ruman anta deg-sent ar iḡekmen llel Agerakal akked tmura i yas-d-izzin. Imaziyen, tikkelt malen ḡer tama n Carthage, tikkelt malen ḡer tama n Ruman (mačči yiwen tḡad i yellan gar-asen:

1ere guerre punique (264-241 send J.C./Aisa).

2eme guerre punique (218-202 send J.C./Aisa), innuḡ deg-s ugellid Masnsen si tama n Ruman. Deg imenḡi n Zama, Masnsen yeserwel Hannibal ; Sifaks yella din si tama n Carthage. Masnsen isarem ačhal ad yerr Carthage d tamaneyt n tgelda-s.

Di Arif, tella tallit anda si yiwet tama yella tṛad ger Sbanya mgal yiwen laârc n Arif, tallit n ubarud d idammen, si tama nni niḍen, tjara gar-asen ur tekkis.

Wid ittmenyan ttmenyan, wid itjaṛen ferrun-tent gar-asen s talwit; yal yiwen isfaydi s wexšim-is; akka d ssuq, akkin d tṛad si aḥal n leqrun.

3eme guerre punique (149-146 send J.C./Aisa), innuy deg-s ugellid Makawsen (Micipsa) si tama n Ruman ; taggara Ruma ihudd Cartage yef Isas di -146, sin iseggasen kan seg-mi yemmut ugellid Masnsen di -148.

4. Tifrat n Algésiras di 1906

Tadyant n Algésiras, di tmurt n Sbanya, tefka udem amaynut i unekcum n Arif. Ger 15 di Yennayer akked 7 di Yebrir 1906, mlalent 12 tmura n Uṛupa i beṭṭu n Taferka am zun d taḥbult n weyrum.

Agraw i yas gan di Algesiras, di Sbanya, ikka-d si cwal nni yellan ger tmura n Uṛupa anta deg-sent ad izwiren ad tekcem tamurt n Meṛṛuk. Fṛansa tella tekcem tamurt n Lezzayer, syen teseksay simal akken ad tekcem Meṛṛuk. Aḥal n tikkal i yekcem lâesker-is armi d asif n Muluya⁴⁴, akken ad ḍefren imjahden izzayriyen mi yella Aâbdelqader. D tazmerri i yas tt-ikksen i Fṛansa mi ur tekcim deg iseggasen nni deg tetṭef Lezzayer. I tmuyli n Fṛansa, skud tamurt n Meṛṛuk d tilellit, ur tezmir ad tili talwit di tmurt n Lezzayer.

D amured nni ines yer Meṛṛuk i yessakin timura n Uṛupa akken ad d-skecment iman-nsent. Ger Fṛansa akked Lalman qrib tewwet yer tṛad. Taggara, Lalman tejbed taqejjiṛt yer deffir si tedyant n Agadir. Di 1906 qqiment-as tmura nni di Algesiras. Taluft d tameqrant. Akken ad frunt s talwint, skecment-d Président Roosevelt n Marikan, yella d inigi i tifrat gar-asant. D tikkelt tamezwarut i tekcem Marikan⁴⁵ di temsal n tsertit n umaḍal⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ Asif n Muluya: yella d talast ger Numidya akked Muretanya di tallit n masnsen > Makawsen > Yugurten (Salluste, «Tṛad n Yugurten» (asif nni, Salluste isemma-t: Mulucca).

⁴⁵ Doctrine Monroe: Marikan yunef seg ubrid-is amezwaru, abrid wumi semman si 1854, «doctrine Monroe». Mi yella James Monroe d Aselway (Président) n Marikan, ger 1817 d 1825, Marikan iga tilisa i timura n Uṛupa; tilisa-nni beddent yef: (1) Tamurt n Marikan s tilisa-s, tefreg i yal anekcum

Mi kkren, fran, bḍan tamurt n Tferka: Lalman yuy tamurt n Kungu, Telyan yuy tamurt n Libya, Legliz yuy tamurt n Maṣer, Fṛansa tḥella-d tamurt n Meṛṛuk. Tifrat nni teḡḡa-d ugzir. Tama ufella n tmurt n Meṛṛuk, adrar n Arif, iqqim-d i Sbanya. Tiṛremt n Tanja teqqim ddaw laânaya tagraylant⁴⁷, yef ufus n tejmaâzt n tmura nni akken llant. Legliz teḥṛec, ur tra ad d-tili Fṛansa agemmaḍ i wezru n Gibraltar.

Tifrat n Algesiras tefka yas afud i Sbanya akken ad tewwet ad tekcem tamurt n Arif, akkin i tiṛremtin n Sebta akked Mellila. Tamurt tura «d ayla-s», s laâqed n Algesiras, ilaq-as ad tewwet tilisa, ad d-tbeggen anwa i d bab n wayla!

Sbanya tessan tamurt n Arif, tessan Imaziyen nni yellan din, tessan anda yella iceqqiq gar-asen, teḗra ansi tezmer ad tsekcem iccer-is.

Deg imenṛiyen izran, Sbanya teḗra mačči d imnayan n ugellid i d-ittasen si Fes i d-tufa zdat-s. Imnayan nni ttasen-d kan akken ad nṛen atmaten nsen, at Arif, akken ad awin tiwsi s idammen i ugellid. Di yal imenṛi n Sbanya, d at Arif i yas d-irran tiyita, d nitni i yas irran aman d asawen. D imesdurar nni i teḗra ad ilin d ixṣimen-is azekka.

Agraw n Algesiras ifka yas akal, ma d akal nni ilaq-as ad t-id tassis s yiṛil-is. Mi frant i ntint.

syur timura n Uṛupa; (2) yal tamurt ad d-ikecmen akal n Marikan ad tili i nekkni, d acengu ; (3) Marikan ur tsekcam iman-is di temsal yellan ger timura n Uṛupa.

⁴⁶ Amḍal = (ddunit) le monde.

⁴⁷ Tanger : tiṛremt n Meṛṛuk i yellan imir deg ufus n tmura n Uṛupa (ville de statut international).

Arif, yaṣ tamurt d adrar, ala aẓru ɣer gma-s, llant deg-s lminat n wuzzal, n waldun, n wurey! D awal iffyen i tmura nni i yaṣ d-izzin. Tamurt n Arif, si tama ufella d adrar, si ddaw yal asafar illa, nnan yella ula d lpitṛul d lgaz s waṭas. D aseqqiḍ nni n wurey n Arif akked d isufar nniḍen i yesrekcen Sbanya akken ad tazzel ad d-tneḥḥel ayen wumi tezmer si trika n tmurt.

Di tazwara kan tekker Sbanya ad tyez lmina n wuzzal deg udrar n Aâwan, di tmurt n Igellayen (Gellaya), di tama n tiyremt n Naḍur. Deg Afra tekker i lminat n waldun. Abrid iban-as-d ibrez i Sbanya imi si 1905 yagi tuli 'tkebbanit n lminat n Rif' seg wfus n Comte Romanonès⁴⁸, ameddakel n jiniral Marina, win i yellan imir d ameqran, d anebbaḍ⁴⁹ di Mellila. Arif iteddu ad yuḡal d Eldoraro⁵⁰, tamurt n trika tamaynut n Sbanya.

Tamurt ass-a ines, s laânaya n tifat n Algesiras akked wuzzal d ubaṛud d waldun, akken yella deg wawal. Sbanya tenti tayuzi n lminat n ddaw wakal di 1908.

⁴⁸ Mačči ala tamurt n Sbanya i yesulin takebbanit n lminat, ula d Fṛansa tga « Compagnie des Mines de l'Afrique du Nord ». D timsizzelt gar-asen anwa ad-d iskeflen agerruj n wurey yellan ddaw tmurt n Arif.

⁴⁹ Anebbaḍ: gouverneur

⁵⁰ Eldoraro: «tamurt n wurey», am akken i yaṣ gan isem i tmura n Marikan n wadda ass-mi tent-tekcem Sbanya si 1492, deffir Christophe Colomb.

5. Tanekra n Muḥend Ameḥyan n At Bu Yifrur (1909 - 1912)

Di tedyant n Iminat, Sbanya tewwet ad tečč tamurt s ufus n iqeddacen-is n tmurt. S wedrim akked ureggem n yal udem, tga afus nettat d wid illan di Arif zemren ad as-d-asen d ixšimen. Ilmend d ixšimen kan, nitni uyalen d ifadden-is. D irgazen n Bu Teyyult⁵¹ i ibedden d iaâssasen s ibeckiden i tkebbanit n Romanonès. Sbanya tesbedd-iten d idan-is, teselqeḍ-iten, sarmen ad ččen amur si lxiḥ ad d-iffyen si ddaw wakal n wedrar Aâwan. Ixeddamen Isebenyulen d Irifiyen γazen akal s iqabacen, ibeckiden n iserdasen n Bu Teyyult akked Sbanya zzin-asen-d, d iaâssasen fell-asen.

Awal iffey di Arif, iweḍ iyerman d laâḥrac, tamurt temmečč ur tufa amḥaddi ger tarwa-s.

Agur si mi d-yusa ugellid n Sbanya, Alphonse XIII, deg wass n 2 Magu 1908, illi abrid i tyuzi n webrid n tmacint ger Mellila akked Iminat n Wedrar Uksen, Igellayen kkren am zun d yiwen.

D abrid nni n tmacint i yessawḍen tifidi s iyès mi bdan tayuzi deg wakal n Tmazya. I wemdan Amaziy, akal tbedd fell-as tmurt, beddent fell-as tlisa. D akal i d tameddurt. Illa deg wawal, «tardast n wakal». yella wanda mmuten yergazen d yergazen yef tardast n wakal. Ur illa azal-is d 'akal' nni kan. Azal-is d leqdeḥ n talast nni i yerḥzen. Talast n wakal: sya d ayla-w, syen d ayla-k. Taggara, akken beddey yer wayla-w ar ad beddey yef ayla-k. Abrid nni n tmacint yusa-d d iyisi ameqran, d tiyita n tefrut deg weksun n Irifiyen. Gas uyen tanumi n tyitwin ucengu n

⁵¹ Bu Teyyult: Bu Ḥmara (netta isem-is n tidett: Jilani Zerḥuni), yekker-d di Taza, yerra iman-is d gma-s ugellid n Fes. Iga tanekra s wid i yeddān yides di Arif akken ad isker ṭrad, syen ad igelled di Fes, deg wemkan n "gma-s".

Sbanya, ney n imnayen igelliden n Fes ney n tmura nniḍen, tikkelt-a tewweḍ talast. Icenga nni n zik, ad d-asen, ad nḡen, ad seryen ad srewten, taggara ad uyalen ansi d-usan. Di magu 1908 ḡran ayen ur ḡran deg izri nsen. Acengu ijreḥ akal n Tmazya, iftek adrar s wuzzlan-is imeqranen akken ad d-ikkas iḡerman-is si ddaw wakal. Tewweḍ ar talast!

Mi kkren Igellayen d imezwura, iffey wawal akkin i laârc. Yal iyrem ifka-d irgazen-is.

Tanekra tendeh, irgazen n Arif wḍen amkan nni n webrid n tmacint, anda cellḥen jerḥen Iḡebenyulen akal n Tmazya. I At Arif, akken jerḥen Iḡebenyulen akal nsen ar ad jerḥen laesker n Sbanya akked wid i sen yeḡḡfen afus. Zdat irgazen nni n Arif yella s ubeckid-is Muḥend Amezyan n At Bu Yiffrur.

Muḥend Amezyan ilul deg useggas n 1889 di laârc n At Buyiffrur, tama n tiyremt n Naḍur. Di temzi-s yeyra leqran, syen yunag yer tiyremt n Fes, irna din almad n ddiin akked uzref. Ass-mi yessuli, yeffey d lqaḍi, yuḡal-d si Fes yer Arif. Di laâmer-is 31 iseggasen.

Muḥend Amezyan ittwassen di tmurt-is, iferru-tent ger medden. D argaz d wawal. Anekcum nni n Sbanya deg wakal n tmurt-is ur as yefka wul-is ad iqbel ney ad isusem. Nnan, ewwet uzzal skud yehma. Tisin n ugellid n Sbanya akken ad ibedd din mi yewwet uqabac amezwaru, tekka tgersa n Sbanya deg wakal n Muḥend Amezyan, tusa-yas-d di tefkert n wul. Si mi d-semden tirni n yergazen imezwura, Muḥend Amezyan akked yerfiqen-is uyen abrid n Mellila. Ikker ubarud n tlelli.

Deg imenḡi nni amezwaru, Bu Teyyult, mi d-izra Irifiyen dduklen, kkren s ibeckad nsen, yerwel akkin ad iffer aqerru-s. Di trewla nni, yuy abrid n Laârc n At Waryayen. Ilmend ad yaf talwit, At

Waryayen mugren-t id s ubarud, yezzi-d d tarewla deg webrid nniḍen.

Ass n 16 di Magu, Muḥend Amezyan yettef Adrar n Kert. Tayuzi deg wakal n Arif tekkes. Awal iffey di tmurt n Arif, yal iyrem irennu-d irgazen. Di trewla-s, Bu Teyyult issawed yer tiyremt n Selwan, anda yella wexxam-is, yesbedd laesker-is i tyita. Imjuhad n Arif ddan deffir Muḥend Amezyan wden asgen-is. Taggara, Bu Teyyult irfed ifassen-is, urzen-t-id, yedda-d deg ucuddu am uṭarus.

Muḥend Amezyan yefka-t d tarzef t i ugellid n Fes. Din ḥekmen-as s tmettant. Bu Teyyult yemmut ass n 13 ctamber 1909.

Tanekra n Arif tuy am tmes di yal tama n tmurt. Ilmend deg laesker n Sbanya ad ilhu di taâssast n Iminat, taggara yuyal yer ṭrad-is. Sbanya sya, Irifiyen syen, Imeniyen yal ass.

Deg imeniyen imeqranen yellan akkin i Mellila, yella win n «Diwana» anda tečča tiyita tameqrant Sbanya. D tiyita nni i yernan ḥamu, kkren ugar n yergazen. Syen rnan-d imeniyen imeqranen yer zdat deg At Ciker, Kebdana d Selwan.

Agellid Alphonse XIII yerra ṭrad n Arif d ṭrad ines netta. Ifka-d nnig wayen wumi tezmer Sbanya deg wuzzal akked ibabuṛen n yergazen. Asagen⁵² n Mellila yeččur si yal asafar, si yal uzzal n lmut. Gas akken, 5 iseggasen i yeqqim ṭrad, ur d-tris talwit yef Mellila d wanda yella yisem n Sbanya di tmurt n Arif.

Di 1912, imeniyi ibeddel udem. Deg wass n 30 di Meyres, tifat nni n «protectorat» terra Merṛuk ddaw laânaya n Fṛansa, s ufus ugellid Ayâalawi akked wid⁵³ yellan ḡran di tiyremt n Fes. Si

⁵² Asagen (isugan): Imarsa = (français : le port)

⁵³ « ...soumission de l'élite intellectuelle Fassi issue des courants maraboutiques favorables à la France »

tama-s, Sbanya ur tra ad teḡḡ Arif ad isenser si tucrar-is. Akken ad tiymur tezmert n lâesker-is, d awzir⁵⁴ n tṛad i-d-ifka ugellid n Sbanya akken ad iseddes imenḡi n wedrar n Kert. Si tama d Muḥend Ameḡyan akked azal n 12000 Irifiyen, si tama nniḡen d aglaf n lâesker n Sbanaya, d waḡal n ijiniralen. Deg imenḡi n yiwen wennar, yiwet tama sya yiwet tama syen, Tazmert tmal ḡer tama n Sbanya. Deffir nnig 8 waguren n ubarud d idammen, Muḥend Ameḡyan immut di tmemmast imenḡi deg wass n 15 di magu 1912, di Aâziz Aâllal Kebdu.

Di tnekra nni, adrar n Arif ifka-d ayen wumi yezmer akken ur ijerreḡ, ur iqqaz wakal-is seg ifassen akked wuzzal n Sbanya. Tṛad nni yegla-d taggara s waḡal imeḡbas si yal tama, d imejraḡ, d iḡerman yeryan neḡ ihudden, d tuḡḡal d igujilen.

Ḥas imenḡi ameqran insa, ixsimen qqimen yal yiwen deg umkan-is. Imjahden Irifiyen gan-d afrag i lâesker n Sbanya deg wakal n At Sâid, deg wedrar n Muṛṛu. Iḡebenyulen bedden, snernan tazmert nsen, kkren-as i tyuzi n wakal di lminat, kkren-as i webriid n tmacint ad isuffyen akal n wuzzal ḡer usagen n Mellila, ad iddu akkin deg ibabuṛen ḡer Sbanya.

Di tallit nni n tnekra n Muḥend Ameḡyan, Muḥend Abdelkrim yella d axeddam di Mellila. Di tazwara n 1907 yella d tṛejman di 'Oficinas de Asuntos Indígenas', syen irna d aselmad n tmaziyt. Kra iseggasen ḡer zdat yuli d lqaḡi. Di 1912 tufat-id d wis sin⁵⁵ di 'Oficinas de Asuntos Indígenas'. Deg wemkan nni, si tiyremt n Mellila, ger Iḡebenyulen, Muḥend izra udem n tṛad nni n Muḥend Ameḡyan si tazwara-s armi d taggara-s. Din di Mellila, ḡur-s

⁵⁴ Awzir n tṛad: ministre de la guerre n Sbanya

⁵⁵ Wis sin : Secrétaire général adjoint du Bureau des Affaires Indigènes.

isalan yal ass, zun yella di tneemast n tṛad nni, netta iḥer ayen iseggmen, ayen ur nseggem di tnekra nni. Isarem taggara tifat n tnekra nni ad tili d asfel, ad tekkes ayen ur nelha. Uzzlen idammen, taggara ad d-tas talwit ger Sbanya akked d at Arif i tdukkli deg webrid ilhan, abrid n tneflit⁵⁶ n tmurt n Arif, lebni n iberdan, n lakulat akken ad tennerni tmussni. Ayen isarem ad d-yawed d ayen akken i yura aḥal n tikkal deg uymis nni, Telegramma del Rif⁵⁷, aymis i d-iteffyen di Mellila. Imir nni d netta i yettarun yef tmurt n Arif di tebtirin n weymis yuran s taârabt.

Di tazwara nni kan, di 1911, ifreq ger tikli n Sbanya akked tikli n Fṛansa di tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Yura deg uymis: "Sbanya ur tra ad teṭṭef tamurt n Meṛṛuk. Ur tella d acengu i nekkni, abrid-is zeddig. Ma d Fṛansa abrid-is iban: tekkat ad tekkes Meṛṛuk si lkaṛta n wamḍal. D tamara, nettat d acengu nney. D win i d abrid nney alamma d taggara".

Tanekra nni n Muḥend Ameḥyan tefka-yas-d udem n tṛad akken yella akked tikli n ixṣimen-is. Muḥend iseggem-itent deg wallay-is: Tamurt n Sbanya terra tamurt n Arif d ayla-s. Ma zik tekcem am umakwar, tifat n Algesiras tefka-yas tasarut, telli-yas tawwurt. Lemmer mačči akken ur d-izegger wewzir n tṛad akken ad yefk afus i lâesker-is.

Tṛad n At Arif, tanekra n yal tiyremt, n yal laârc, am twizi yer tmegra, ur tella d abrid n tṛad mgal tamurt izemren, iḡehden am Sbanya. Ma zik akken i yella webrid n tṛad, ass-a ur isuffuy webrid nni. Tanekra am igelfan, ass-a da, azekka din, ur izmir ad

⁵⁶ Taneflit : développement (développer = snefli).

⁵⁷ Telegramma del Rif: Aymis s tasebenyulit di Mellila, i yesedduy Candido Lobera.

iṭṭef ney ad iddu yer zdat di ṭrad n 1900. Ṭrad ibeddel abrid, ibeddel udem.

Tanekra nni n watmaten-is am uglaf teqqim deg wallay-is. Di tedyant nni n Bu Teyyult, mi yas-irwel i Muḥend Ameḥyan s lâesker-is, d at iḡerman n Arif i yellan ḡef webrid n trewla-s, irgazen, tilawin, imḡaren, imeḥyanen, i d-ikkren gezmen-as-d abrid-is, zun d yiwen, snegren lâesker nni n Bu Teyyult. D at iḡerman i yas-izzin di Selwan cuddent-it am yiyid. Tanekra nni n watmaten-is di tiwizi n imenḡi, am uḡeḡḡaḡu n tmes, ilmed-itt Muḥend Abdelkrim.

Tanekra nni am uḡeḡḡaḡu, ḡas telha i tyita n tegnitt, ur tettdumu. Irgazen tikwal llan, tikwal uckan, zzin akkin ad kerzen, ad neycen, ad ḡḡun igran nsen. Amur ameqran n yemdanen deg wennar imenḡi d ifellaḡen. Ur zmiren ad qqimen din yal ass i ṭrad⁵⁸, ad ḡḡen tafellaḡt nsen. Iceqqiq nni izra-t Muḥend Abdelkrim di tnekra n Muḥend Ameḥyan. Izra ṭrad s ifellaḡen ur izmir ad yili am ṭrad s lâesker i yellan d win i d tafellaḡt-nsen, twaxelḡen s tedrimt, ur kerrzen ur neqqcen.

Muḥend ilmed ayen illan d amaynut si ṭrad nni: ṭrad ḡures sin wudmawen, yiwen d abrid n imenḡi deg wennar s ubarud d wuzzal, wayed d imenḡi s tiḡerḡi akked tikerkas d usekkak. Tikwal imenḡi yaḡi yugar imenḡi n ubeckid. Mi yella ṭrad iḡma di tnekra nni n Muḥend Ameḥyan, ifesyanen n Sbanya, icban

⁵⁸ Di ḡect 1514, Agellid n At Abbas akked Aâruj (Barberousse) zzin-as i tiḡremt n Bgayet, i tella teṭṭef-tt Sbanya, akken ad kecmen s ubarud d wuzzal. Sin waguren nitni d imenḡi mgal lâesker n Sbanya i yellan deffir ugadir. Di ctamber (septembre 1514) mi hudden amur ugadir i yezzin i Bgayet, teddun ad kecmen, ḡlin-d waman igenni, teswa-d. Imaziyen nni (Leḡbayel) yezzin i Bgayet dmen ibeckiden nsen, uḡalen yer iḡerman/tuddar nsen akken ad kerzen. I nitni, tafellaḡt tezwar ṭrad. Di tegnitt nni, d tamara, agellid yuḡal yer At Abbas, ma d Aâruj izzi akkin yer Jijel. Ur kcimen Bgayet (Diego de Haëdo, Amezruy n igelliden n Lezzayer,p.29).

kulunil Riquelme, skecmen tucrar nsen ger Irifiyen; sbedden wid i yasen-d-isawaḍen ayen illan, llan wid iteddun di leswaq, ttwaxelṣen, tberriḥen akken ad sfeclen atmaten nsen, llan wid ikecmen ger yiccer d weksun, deg at Buyifrur ney iḡerman nniḍen, akken ad d-skeflen tilufa yellan ger at Arif, icban timeḡraḍ ittwalasen, tilisa, imennuḡen iqdimen. Sbanaya tedda-yas am akken nnan, «Akken i yas-yufa wuccen iḡez-itt». S yedrimen nsen, Sbanaya skecmen tawekka di tmurt.

Deg wemkan nni deg yella, i Muḥend Abdelkrim ayen i d-ikecmen ḡef ufus-is. Iḡra anwi yewten, anwi irewlen, anwi yezenzen atmaten-nsen. Mi d-yusa wass n tifat, iga ayen wumi yezmer akken ad isifes tiyita i watmaten-is mi ten xetṭan Iṣebeniyulen ad xelṣen tiwsi n tṛad. Tṛad nni inḡa-ten, axetṭi n taggara yuza-ten. Adrar n Arif yefcel, d alaxetṭ idden.

6. Tifrat n Fes di 30 di Meyres 1912

(Protectorat français)

Tilisa ger Meṛṛuk akked tmurt n Lezzayer tga-tent Fṛansa di 1845. Si mi tekcem tamurt n Lezzayer, Fṛansa tesahrew tilisa. Tifrat nni n 18 di Meyres 1845 netta d Meṛṛuk tecba beṭṭu n yizem. Ansi i tra Fṛansa i d-terra tilisa. Tesemyer, tesahrew, Agellid n Meṛṛuk yuy tama n wadda.

Tilisa nni zun d afrag n tegnitt nni kan. Fṛansa tesdukkel tamuṛli-s i tmura n Meṛṛuk akked tmurt n Tunes, ṡur-s frant. Mi turez Lezzayer, teṡṡa tuzṡal-is din, tid yellan akka d wakka ad d-yaweḍ wass nsent. Tilisa nni tewwet d tilisa n tikerkas.

Gas llant tilisa nni, ur llant d afrag i lâesker n Fṛansa di tṡad mgal imjahden i ten ikkaten yal ass, yal aseggas di Lezzayer. Aḥal n tikkal i teḍfer Fṛansa wid irewlen ṡer Meṛṛuk, am Abdelqadeṡ. Tikkelt nni deg yenser Abdelqadeṡ, yentel deg udrar n Arif aḥal n waguren, Fṛansa tesuter i ugellid n Fes akken ad t-id-isuffey syen. At Arif ur fkan afus deg-s; ṡran acengu n Lezzayer akked win n Meṛṛuk yiwen. Iqqim ayen iqqi din Abdelqadeṡ, d inebgi nsen, mi d-izzi ṡer Lezzayer, ddan-d yid-s imsebblen Irifiyen, nnuyen Aṡumi.

Taggara, talast nni, Fṛansa ur as-tga azal. Tetteffey tkeḥḥem akken i tra, melmi i yas ihwa. Aḥal n tikkal i teṡṡef tiyremt n Wejda, agellid ur d-inna awal. Tazmart n wuzṡal si tama n Fṛansa i tella.

Ayen akk iḍeṡṡun ṡef tiṡ n imezday n Meṛṛuk, am imesdurar, am imezday n izuṡar. Tardast nni n leqdeṡ yellan ṡef ugellid simal tettiwzil.

Di 1911 i tbeddel udem. Lâesker nni n Lyautey kecmen tiyremt n Fes akken ad ilin d imḥadden yef ugellid!

D agellid nni, Mulay Abdelḥafid s timmad-is, i yas iyren i Fṛansa akken ad d-tas ad tbedd d afrag gar-as akked Imaziyen i yas izzin s ibeckiden, teddun ad kecmen Fes akken ad snegren adabu ugellid Ayaâlawi. Lâesker nni ugellid, ilmend ad nnayen iserdasen n Fṛansa, nitni dduklen akken ad nnayen imesdurar am nitni i yas izzin i Fes. Iffey ubarud si yal tama, uzzlen idammen. Iserdasen ugellid n Merṛuk rran tayanimt ubeckidnsen mgal Imerṛukiyen am nitni. Agellid nni ur d-iqqim leqdeṛ fellas, yuyal d afus n udabu awerdani.

Ilmend deg Fṛansa ad tekcem tamurt n Merṛuk s tṛad am akken i tekcem tamurt n Lezzayer, ass-n tekcem d tamḥaddit n ugellid. Timura n Uṛupa ur d-ufant awal ad d-inint si tedyant nni.

Tadyant agi n 1911, d nettat i d-iglan s Protectorat n 1912, d nettat i d-yesqerben anekcum n Fṛansa yer Merṛuk⁵⁹. Di tidett, aḷar-is yuy-d si leqrun d leqrun umezruy; yuy-d seg igelliden imezwura n tallit tineslemt n tmurt n Merṛuk, si Idris amezwaru di 788 nni. Kkes-d tillat nni n Yusef U Tacfin akked Tumert, igelliden yuyen tamurt sbedden adabu yef ddin d tineslemt. Adabu nsen ur illa d win d-ikkren seg imezday n tmurt, ur illa d adabu Amaziṛ. Yal adabu yellan si 788, si Idris I ar Iyaâlawiyeṛ, di tfekka-s d adabu awerdani. Tigejdit-is n wagmuḍ⁶⁰, ddin-is n wagmuḍ, tutlayt-is n wagmuḍ.

⁵⁹ 30 Meyres 1912 : Deffir tifat nni, mi yekcem lâesker n Fṛansa tiyremt n Fes, taggara yekker din herwel nitni d imezday-is; imesdurar i yas izzin i Fes sqerben-d. Deg wass n 27 di Yebriṛ, Lyautey yuyal d Résident Général, syen yesuffey agellid si Fes yerra-t izdeṛ di Rbat. Acemma kan Lyautey yekkes Mulay Ḥafid yerra gma-s Yusef deg umkan-is. Fṛansa tekcem Merṛakec di çtamber 1912.

⁶⁰ Agmuḍ = eccerq / Est; Ataram = Iyerb / Ouest, Agafa = Nord; Anzul = Sud.

Aḥal n imyura n tusssna timettit⁶¹ ney tussna umezruy, uran idlisen d yidlisen γef beṭṭu n tmurt n Merṛuk γef sin iḥricen: "tamurt n El Mexzen" akked "tamurt n Šiba". Imyura yagi uzan timetti n Merṛuk si tama γer tayed, ma d tidett ur d teffiy. Zun teffer deffir ugadir n war talast. Tidett tban am azal, nitni ffren tafukt s uyerbal. Di tidett imyura nni llan kan di yiwet tama, fṛuxen-d si tama n El Mexzen, di tiyremtin n Fes ney n Rbat. Gas llant di Merṛuk, tamurt nsen d tamuγli nsen rran akkin γer wagmuḍ !

Tamurt n Merṛuk tebḍa γef sin, d tidett. Amek armi teqqim akken d iseggasen akked leqrun ur tefra, igelliden d amerzi d imenyi ger wigi akked wigi, ger imezday akked imnayan ugellid. Talast ger sin iḥricen nni ur tella, d iyisi iteddun yal ass. Tamurt yellan aseggas-a di "El Mexzen», azekka tezmer, ma tufa llan yergazen ar iqablen, ad teffey ad tay amkan-is ger tmura n Šiba. Udem agi n beṭṭu d udem yellan si tama ufella. Di yal tamurt akka, anda yella ugellid, akken tella tezmert-is i hrawet tmurt-is. Talast tekka-d ansi i-d-terra tezmert n imnayan-is.

Di Merṛuk, di tidett, ur illa d lsas amezwaru n cwal. Lemmer imezday n tmurt qeblen agellid nni, umnen yes, zullen s yisem-is seg wul, taggara ur d-tnekkaren ad nnayan imnayan-is s ubaṛud. Ad inin « d netta i d lmir n lmunin, d netta i yellan deg ubrid n ddin, deg ubrid n Rbbi». Amezruy n Merṛuk ur d-ifka udem agi n kennu zdat ugellid. Ma knan tallit, knan kan zdat tezmert-is, ddan deg ubrid nni n tmurt: «afus ur tezmireḍ ad t-tyezzeḍ, suden-it».

Di Merṛuk n 788 d asawen, iyisi ameqran, ney talast, tekka-d si tama nniḍen: ayref n Merṛuk d Amaziγ, di timetti tamaziγt, idder s

⁶¹ Tussna timettit: sociologie / science sociale) (timetti = la société)

yidles d ṭyerma tamaziyt, ma d adabu n igelliden, d adabu n Taârabt Tineslemt. Gas imdanen yesbedden adabu d Imaziyen deg idammen, idles nsen ur illa d idles Amaziȳ. D tanemmast n El Mexzen, d leqseȳ ugellid akked d tiȳremtin ȳef ibedd, icban Fes, Meknes akked Ṛbat, d tigzirin tiwerdaniyin di tmurt n Meȳruk. Adabu yellan di Meȳrakec, di Fes, neȳ di Ṛbat, ur illa d adabu n tmurt i yuȳen iȳuran di tmurt-is: d adabu awerdani⁶².

Tadyant nni n yemdanen iberkanen i d-wwin d aklan si tmurt n Tferka n wadda t̄ga d tasarut n beȳtu n tmurt ȳef sin. Igelliden imezwura n Meȳruk, Akken ad gen afrag gar-asen akked Imaziyen, ufan-as-d tawwurt: uȳen-d aklan iberkanen si Tferka, irgazen akked tilawin. Di tazwara d iserdasen, syen fkan-asen akal deg izuȳar i d-izzin i tiȳremtin n leqsur nsen. F̄ruȳen din, taggara gan afrag⁶³ n taâssast ȳef igelliden.

Lemmer zemren igelliden nni ad snegren neȳ ad suffȳen akk imezday Imaziyen si Meȳruk akken ad ten i d-ȳermen s imezday i yasen ittayen awal, am aklan nni n Tferka, yili gan-tt. D tazmert i yasen tt-ikkxen.

⁶² Adabu awerdani: un pouvoir « étranger» (culturellement).

⁶³ Igelliden n Meȳruk snulfan-d «Afrag n yemdanen» (bouclier humain) send timura nniȳen.

Ddiy ad sendey fell-as⁶⁴ ...

D adabu am wagi, adabu n Mulay Abdelḥafīḍ, i yeyren di 1911 i lâesker n Fṛansa, usan-d si Lezzayer ad ḥarben fell-as mgal Imaziyen i d-iwḍen tiwwura n Fes. Adabu awerdani, iyer i udabu awerdani am netta akken ad iqqim ad yernu ad igelled.

Mi yefra imenyi n Fes, Imaziyen uyalen akkin s igemren nsen akked ibeckaḍ nsen, uyalen yer deffir zdat tezmert tameqrant n Fṛansa. Di Fes, nnig 5000 iserdasen n Fṛansa sersen iman-nsen. Nitni usan-d, ur kkren ad uyalen yer Lezzayer. Sersen iḍarṛen sen deg wakal n Merṛuk.

Tifrat n Fes d tifrat n wawal, d tin n wuccen d yiyid. Fṛansa terra azaglu i tmurt n Merṛuk. Mi qqimen 5000 iserdasen nni yezzin i leqser, abrid-is ifra.

D awzir Henri Regnault i izemlen⁶⁵ isem-is si tama n Fṛansa. Tifrat nni n 1912 tenna⁶⁶: «Anabaḍ n tagduda n Fṛansa akked ugellid fran ad sbedden di tmurt n Merṛuk adabu amaynut ar ad iseddun tudsa iseggmen [...] Tagduda n Fṛansa tefka awal-is ad tbedd d afrag i yal ugur ad d-ilalen zdat ugellid akken ad iwwet ad isengugi tagelda-s ney ad d-yaweḍ ixef-is [...] Fṛansa d afrag i ugellid ass-a, d win i tarwa-s azekka».

⁶⁴ “Ddiy ad sendey fell-as, iyli-d fell-i d ayelluy”.

⁶⁵ Izmel : istenya (français : il a signé) (zmel : signer)

⁶⁶ Aḍris n Protectorat : « Le gouvernement de la République française et sa Majesté le Sultan sont d'accord pour instituer au Maroc un nouveau régime comportant les réformes administratives, judiciaires, scolaires, économiques, financières et militaires que le gouvernement français jugera utile d'introduire sur le territoire marocain. Ce régime sauvegardera la situation religieuse, le respect et le prestige traditionnel du sultan, l'exercice de la religion musulmane et des institutions religieuses [...] le gouvernement de la République prend l'engagement de prêter un constant appui à sa Majesté chérifienne contre tout danger qui menacerait sa personne ou son trône ou qui compromettrait la sécurité de ses Etats. Le même appui sera prêté à l'héritier du trône et à ses successeurs. » ; La Guerre du Rif, V Courcelle-Labrouse, N. Marmié, p.14.

Franza tbedd d tigejdit n tgelda Tayâalawit di Fes. Nettat tufa afus, tekcem tasga, Mulay Abdelḥafid yedduri akaskiḍ Uṛumi. Anef-as i tmurt n Meṛṛuk ad tener, mačči d tamurt-is netta.

Si Teṛk ar ...Fransa

Tadyant n Protectorat n Franza di 1912 di Meṛṛuk am tedyant n Teṛk di 1512 di Lezzayer: yusa-d d amḥaddi, iqqim d imnekcem ! Tadyant n Teṛk, n watmaten Aâruj d Xiṛeddin tefka anza i tedyant n Meṛṛuk. Teṛk ikecm-d di tawara d amḥaddi, taggara yettef tamurt n Lezzayer nnig 3 leqrun!

Di 1510, Comte Pedro Navarro n Sbanya ikcem tiyremt n Bgayet⁶⁷, isemyer agadir i yas d-izzin i tiyremt, yerna imrad⁶⁸ imeqranen d iâassasen fell-as.

Ass-mi d ikcem Navarro, Agellid n At Abbas yenser si Bgayet, yuli s adrar, ur izmir ad iqabel tazmert n Sbanya akken ad isuffey Navarro d lâesker-is. Ibeckaḍ ubaruḍ akked wuzzal ufuḥ ur zmiren i ugadir nni n wezru i yas-d-bnan Iṣebenyulen. Ilaq-as imrad imeqranen. Agellid n At Abbas isla s yisem n Aâruj. Imir Aâruj yella di Tunes, iga nger deg ibabuṛen iṛumyen di temsizzelt yellan deg Ilel Agerakal. Isem n Aâruj simal iteddu di tmura n Uṛupa akked Tferka. Aâruj ittef-d aḥal n ibabuṛen d waḥal n imrad n iṛumyen, n Telyan d Sbanya akked tmura nniḍen. Mi yeffey ad d-iglu s tissi n wuzzal d igerrujen yellan deg ibabuṛen yurez.

Di 1512, yuzen-as ugellid n At Abbas win iwḍen yer Tunes. Isuter-as i Aâruj ad d-yas ad as dduklen i Bgayet. Iṛeggem-as

⁶⁷ Diego de Haëdo, « Amezruy n igelliden n Lezzayer/Histoire des Rois d'Alger », Bouchene 1998, pp.25-34

⁶⁸ Timsizzelt deg Ilel Agerakal : "la course" / piraterie en Méditerranée.

ugellid i Aâruj, ma yesuffey Aṛumi, ad yuḡal d netta i d Pacha n Bgayet. Ass-mi d-iweḡ Aâruj akked gma-s Xiṛeddin s ibabuṛen d lâesker nsen, zzin-as i Bgayet nitni akked lâesker Imaziyen n ugellid n At Abbas. Wten ayen wten ur zmiren ad kecmen tiḡremt. Mi yeḡma imenḡi, Aâruj am yizem zdat lâesker-is, yiwet tyita n tmegħelt tameqrant n Sbanya tusa-d si tama ufella, tegzem-as iyil azelmaḡ. Mi ḡran iterḡiyen nni aqerru nsen yennejraḡ, uḡalen ḡer deffir, feclen. Tefra tyita, Aâruj yuḡal ansi d-yusa, d aâiban n yiwen ufus, agellid n at Abbas yuzzi ḡer wedrar.

Di 1514, Aâruj yejji, yuḡal-d ḡer Bgayet akken ad isuffey Sbanya. Yusa-d ur isuter i ugellid n At Abbas, ur as-d-yuzen awal. I tyita, dduklen, zzin-as i ugadir n Bgayet, Teṛk ikkat, Imaziyen kkat, Isebenyulen tṡfen deffir ugadir. Am tikkelt nni tamezwarut, Aâruj ur izmir ad ikcem Bgayet neḡ ad isuffey Pedro Navarro. Taggara, Aâruj yezzi akkin, yuḡ amkan-is di Jijel anda i yella iga amkan i yibabuṛen-is d lâeskeṛ-is.

Zdat tiḡremt n Lezzayer, Sbanya tetṡef tigzirt nni tamezḡyant, peṅon nni yellan din, tebna fell-as lkazirna wumi d-izzi ugadir ahrawan n weḡru, deg-s lâesker akked imrad imeqrannen. Imrad nni zzin-d taḡanimt nsen ḡer tiḡremt n Lezzayer akked usagen deg llan ibaburen. Si lkazirna nni, tekkes asen i yat Lezzayer timsizzelt nni n waman. Ababuṛ ur iteffey seg usagen, win ifḡyen ad yeḡḡ tiyita, ad izzer.

Agellid n Lezzayer, Suleiman Tumi, iḡra-yas i Aâruj akken ad d-yas ad as-dduklen i tyita, ad hudden peṅon nni. Aâruj yusa-d, yewwet ayen wumi yezmer s yimrad-is. Ur ikcim, ur ihud agadir n

peñon⁶⁹ nni. Ilmend deg ad isuffey Sbanya, Aâruj ibren-as tiyersi i Suleiman Tumi deg wexxam-is, inya-t mi yella di lḥemmam, yuḡal d agellid n Lezzayer deg umkan-is. Terḵ yuy tasga, yetṭef Lezzayer, agellid deffir gma-s, si 1514 armi d 1830. Kkes-d tallit nni deg yetṭef tiyremt n Lezzayer ugellid Amaziɣ, Ḥmed U Lqaḍi n Kuku, si 1520 armi d 1527⁷⁰.

Tadyant n Terḵ di tmurt n Lezzayer tefra ass-mi d-tekcem Fṛansa di 1830⁷¹, tuy amkan-is di temhersa.

Tayerma nni taârabt-Tineslemt-Taterḵit n Lezzayer iqublen d tamezwarut iserdasen n Fṛansa di Sidi Fṛeḡ ur tetṭif nnig kra wussan, ṭḥuc-itt tezmert tameqrant n Fṛansa. D timetti tamaziɣt i-d-ikkren seg idurar d izuyar, reglen-d abrid i Fṛansa, armi d imenɣiyen imeqrannen n 1856-1857⁷².

Tayuri si tedyant n Protectorat n Fṛansa di Merṛuk di 1912, akked tin n Terḵ di 1514 armi d 1830 di Lezzayer, tefka-d udem n talast yellan ger udabu i-d-yuɣen aḡar seg idles n tmurt akked win ileqmen d aleqqem si tama ufella. Am udabu n terḵ di Lezzayer

⁶⁹ Armi d 1529 i yas ikker Xiṛeddin s imrad imeqrannen, ihudd penon nni tetṭef Sbanya, S weḡru nni i-d-ikkren seg uhuddu ugadir, sdukklen tizirt nni ɣer wakal n Lezzayer. Tekkes tegzirt nni i yefkan isem-is i tiyremt n Lezzayer (Tigzirin / El Ġazayer).

⁷⁰ Ayeñ d-inna Boulifa : «...profitant de son beau succès, Bel Kadi, à la tête de ses troupes victorieuses, traversa le col de Tizi n At Aïcha et déborda sur la Mitidja d'où il se dirigea directement sur Alger. Sans rencontrer de sérieuse résistance, il entra dans la ville, dont il s'empara sans coup férir. Devenu le maître absolu de la grande cité, il l'occupa dit-on près de 7 ans consécutifs et sans difficultés. Notons que le gouvernement de Bel Kadi s'est accompli avec ses propres moyens et sans se compromettre par une alliance quelconque avec les espagnolsCet événement extraordinaire eut lieu de 1520 à 1527. ». Amar Boulifa, « Le Djurjura à Travers l'Histoire, p.84-85.

⁷¹ Fṛansa tekcem-d ass n 14 yunyu di Sidi Fṛeḡ. Deg wass n 5 julyu 1830, Dey Ḥusin izmel tifat gar-as d Fṛansa. Terḵ iffey tamurt!

⁷² Imenɣi n lceṛriḍen, di tmurt lḡawawen.

am win n lyaâlawiyen di Meṛṛuk, d aleqqem i leqqmen, ur d-uyen aẓar seg idles n tmurt n Tmazya. Di 1830, adabu n Teṛk irfed ifassen-is di tazwara kan n tṛad. Ur t-terra tmara ad innay ney ad immet yef tmurt ur nella d tamurt-is. Di 1911, d agellid Mulay Abdelḥafid s timmad-is i yeṛran i Fṛansa, «tamurt n lkuffar», akken ad as-d-teg afrag gar-as d imezday n tmurt i d-iwḍen tiwwura n Fes, yas d inselmen am netta.

D asekkak i yef ibna udabu nni, deg ubrid usekkak i yedda si tazwara-s.

7. Fṛansa tuy tasga di Merṛuk

Tifrat nni n Fes iban-d wudem-is deg wussan nni kan imezwura. D tifrat usekkak.

Di yal tamsalt, Fṛansa tger tucrar-is, tesedda lâesker-is, teṭṭef yal tiyremt yellan deg webrid-is. Awal iffey, agellid izenz tamurt, di yal tama Imaziyen gan-d afrag i unekcum n Fṛansa. Di tmemmast n Fes yekker imenyi ger laâesker n Lyautey akked lâesker n ugellid ur ifkan afus mgal wid iguḡan yer Fṛansa, igumiten nni n Tabur⁷³, gar-asen uzzlen idammen.

Agellid Mulay Abdelḥafid yuki i twayit iga, zun yedda ad yerr aḍar yer deffir, netta ayen izran izra. Tamurt yerra-yas tabarda.

Deg wagur n yect 1912, Lyautey yekkes-it, yerra gma-s, Mulay Yusef⁷⁴ d agellid amaynut di Fes. Yusef ad iddu akken ira Lyautey. Abrid yelli, Lyautey izmer ad iserwet di temhersa-s.

D anekcum nni Fṛansa yer Merṛuk n wadda i yefkan afud i Sbanya akken ad tesseḥmu tiyita, ad tekcem tamurt n Arif, ad d-ṭhelli ayla-s nettat send ad d-taweḍ Fṛansa tilisa-s si tama wadda. D timsizzelt akken ad d-gen tilisa anda yewweḍ umezwaru. Fṛansa akked Sbanya bḍan tamurt n Merṛuk, tilisa ur frant imir.

D timsizzelt nni di 1912 i d-isawḍen awzir n tṛad n Sbanya akken ad ikcem annar imenyi s lâesker-is mgal Muḥend Ameḡyan akked nnig 12000 Imaziyen n Arif, deg iyil n Kert. Sbanya tefka-d akk tazmert-is akken ad terṛeḡ afud n tnekra n Arif, ad tekcem

⁷³ Tabors marocains : igumiten, Imaziyen wid iguḡan di lâesker n Fransa; llan si 1908 armi d 1956 (1956: aseggas n timunent n Merṛuk).

⁷⁴ Mulay Yusef (igelled si 1912 armi d 1927) : d baba-s n Muḥammed V (1927-1953) akk (1956-1961), d jedd-is n Ḥasen 2 (1961-1999).

tamurt n wedrar, ad tyez lminat n wuzzal, n waldun d isufar nniḍen.

Anezgum n Ajdir

Deg Ajdir, At Yusef (At Xetṭab) ddan-as s leḥder i tallit nni deg llan. Gan-as anezgum d ameqran i tmurt nsen. Si tama d Sbanya, tesuffey-d tazmert-is ad tekcem Arif, si tama nniḍen d Fransa tekcem tamurt n Meṛruk n wadda, trennu tesihriw aḥric i tetṭef s usekkak n ugellid akked ubarud d wuzzal. At Xetṭab, am lqaḍi Abdelkrim deg Ajdir, am mmi-s Muḥend di Mellila, wten ad d-afen amek ad fernen abrid isuffuyen.

Tanekra nni n Muḥend Ameḥyan teselmed-asen anda tella talast n tnekra n war azekka. Tanekra i yefkan anza i twizi nni n zik, ass-a d laârc agi ad d-ikkren, azekka d win akkin, wayeḍ d wayeḍ. Zdat nsen acengu yiwen, tudsa-s yiwet, lâesker-is yiwen, tazmert-is teddukel. Akken byan llan yergazen deg Arif, ḡas d izmawen, ur zmiren ad dehmen admer n lâesker n Uṛupa. Ḥas zemren ad wten, di yiwen imenḡi neḡ sin, ur illa d win idumen.

Lqaḍi Abdelkrim yella ḡur-s afus netta d Sbanya deg Ajdir. D lqaḍi, d ameqran ger imussnawen n Arif. Sbanya tesedda tasertit-is akken ad d-teslal akabar n «imeddukal n Sbanya» di tmurt n Arif. D abrid nni i yesawḍen Muḥend, s ufus n baba-s, si mi ijemmel, yuḡal d lqaḍi di Mellila, yerna d ameqran n "Oficinas de Asuntos Indígenas".

Tikli n Sbanya tefra: s ufus n at tmurt n Arif ad tekcem Arif s war tṛad am akken kecmen Ifniqen⁷⁵ timura n Tmazya, bnan Carthage, s tjaṛa d wawal azidan. Nnan, ur illa imenḡi ameqran, ur illa cwal. Ma yella wugur deg iseggasen izran zdat Sbanya, ass-a tifat n Algesiras akked tifat n Fes «fkant-as amur ufella/ugafa n Arif i nettat. Arif yuḡal d ayla-s.

Ger tikli ubanduziṛ n Fransa akked tikli n leḡder n Sbanya, amur ameqran n Irifiyen, am lqaḡi Abdelkrim, malen ḡer tama n Sbanya. Taggara, Sbanya ur teqqim deg "webrid nni n Ifniqen". Akken ad tekcem tamurt, ur teḡḡa taḡilett yes ur twit. Sbanya tesekcem tawekka di tmurt n Arif, tawekka n tedrimt d yir iberdan.

Isew-is nettat imir ifra am azal: ad tekcem tamda⁷⁶ n Lḡusima s lâesker-is, akkin zdat Ajdir, s ufus n at Arif, akken ad tetṭef Tawerga, azayar n wakal ameqran n tfellaḡt - Ad tyez Iminat anda i tra akken ad tawi ayen illan d asafar n ddaw tmurt (nnan yella wureḡ deg wedrar n Arif) - Ad teg tudsa n ddaw laânaya-s deg Arif akken ad tesexdem imezday-is zun d aklan-is.

D wigi i d-ibanen d iberdan imeqranen n tikli n Sbanya di tmurt n Arif. Lemmer teqqim Sbanya deg webrid n tsertit, ur tella tyita deg-s, taggara 'akken tt-yewaâ wuccen iyeḡ-itt'. Maca nettat tedda deg webrid nniḡen. Tesekcem tawekka di tudsa d lâwayed n imezday n Arif. Sbanya tekcem ger yiccer d weksun akken ad innerni cwal ameqran gar at Arif. S tedrimt nsen, Sbanya tuy irgazen di yal iyrem, di yal laârc akken ad gen uguren ger yemdanen, ger twaculin. S tedrimt nsen, ṛḡan tajmaât

⁷⁵ Ifniqen: les phéniciens/carthaginois ; usan-d si Lubnan, wid ibnan Carthage di -814, akked kra tiyremtin nniḡen di Tmazya, di Sbanya. Hannibal d yiwen seg-sen. Carthage thudd n ufus n Ruman akked Imaziyen deg useggas -146.

⁷⁶ Tamda n Lḡusima: la baie d'El Hocima.

nni iferrun tilufa si leqrun d leqrun imezwura. Di yal iyrem skeflen-d imennuḡen iqdimen yellan ger imdanen akken ad uḡalen ḡer imenḡi nsen. Tikkal ḡef wawal, ḡef waydi neḡ iyid yeksan akkin i talast, ad ikker ubarud ger yexxamen, ad ḡlint tmegraḡ. Mi uzzlen idammen, wa ad ikkat deg wa, tifrat ur tella.

Imdanen nni tuḡ Sbanya simal teddun, simal simḡuren tilufa ger watmaten nsen. Awal nni n kulunil Riquelme i yellan isedduy Oficinas de indigénas, s wazal-is ameqran: «Llant tikwal ḡef waydi, nekkni nesker amennuḡ gar-asen, armi msenḡen Irifiyen...». Anda ulac cwal ad t-id-snulfun, anda yella ad as smentgen times.

Di tallit nni n cwal gar-asen, at Arif ur d-lhan di tlufa n tmurt nsen ittwaḡfen, ur ḡran Sbanya d-iseksayen.

Ilmend deg Sbanya ad tewet ad tesnerni talwit, ad tefk tayett i tmurt n Arif akken taggara ula d nettat ad tečč amur-is di tmurt nni, Sbanya tuḡ yir abrid, abrid n tikerkas d usekkak, abrid nni uḡen ass-mi kecmen tamurt n Marikan n wadda si 1492.

Ger yergazen nni i tenwa Sbanya tuḡ-iten d tirni, yella lqaḡi Abdelkrim. ḡas yella iteḡḡef tadrimt seg ufus n Sbanya, abrid-is netta yefra. Ur yuyes seg webrid nni i yuḡ, abrid ilhan i tmurt-is: ad yeg ayen wumi yezmer akken ad d-isekcem tamussni n tmurt n Sbanya ḡer tmurt n Arif, ad bnun iberdan, lluzinat, lakulat. Si tama n Sbanya kan i tezmer ad d-tas tafat, mačči sḡur at tqelmunin n Fes. Abrid ızra-t, asalu ameqran irgel-d abrid nni.

Asalu nni d tamuḡli nni n Sbanya i yeqqimen kan deg iseggasen nni deg tella d tamurt tameqrant di Uḡrupa. S tezmert-is, tella tekcem timura n Marikan n tneммast akked wanzul, akkin i yilel. Ass-a Sbanya d tamurt am tmura nniḡen, maca tenwa mazal tallit nni n wureḡ n Pérou. Ifesyaneḡ-is akked d wid isedduyen

tasertit-is di Madrid akked Mellila qqimen di lqern nni n Eldorado. Tallit tbeddel udem, nitni sebken deg wudem nni. I nitni, Amuru⁷⁷ d Amuru, ddaw-nsen i yella, ur izmir ad yili d amdan am nitni, ad isuter amur n talwit d tumert di tmeddurt-is, di tmurt-is. Isebenyulen ttfen-d tasawent, qqimen din.

Tamuḥli yagi, lqaḍi Abdekrim akked Muḥend zran-tt. Si tama nniḍen zran yella wudem nniḍen n Sbanya, llan yergazen di Sbanya i yellin aṭṭawen nsen, zerr̄en yer zdat, ran talwit ger tmurt nsen akked tmurt n Arif. D irgazen nni i yesarem lqaḍi Abdelkrim ad d-ifriren di Madrid, ad ten-yaf d ixṣimen-is, ad mjaddalen, syen ad d-afen abrid n tdukli, abrid n tucerka i yesuffuyen. Abrid yelhan i tmurt n Sbanya i yelhan i tmurt n Arif.

Tṛad ameqran n 1914 - 1918, isawed-d tilufa-s yer tmurt n Arif. Gas di tṛad nni, tamurt n Sbanya ur tmal akka yer tama n Fṛansa, ur tmal akkin yer tama n Lalman, uguren n tṛad ur ḡḡan amkan. Tamurt n Teṛk tmal yer tama n Lalman. Adabu n Teṛk iwet ad d-isenker timura tinselmin i yellan ddaw uzaglu n Fṛansa, akken ad kkrent ad nnaḃent mgal tamurt n Fṛansa. Teṛk ikcem tṛad si tama n Lalman. Di Meṛṛuk, Teṛk isedda tamsalt s tuffra armi d-islul lâesker yef ufus n Abdelmalek, yiwen seg warraw n mmi-s n Lmir Abdelqadeṛ. Akken ad isemyer tarbaât n lâesker-is, Abdelmalek yusa-d yer tmurt n Arif, yezzi din ayen yezzi, taggara ur d-isenker Imaziyen akken ad nnaḃen Fṛansa s yisem n tineslemt akked tmurt n Teṛk. Abdelmalek yewet kra n tikkal lṛumyen deg

⁷⁷ Amuru: moros (maure) ; yusa-d seg umezruy ; d isem i yas-gan at Uṛupa. Amuru d amezday n Mauretanya (Maurétanie Tingitane, tamaneyt-is d Tingis=Tanger), neḡ Tamazya n utaram, yellan yer tama n Mauretanie Cesarienne (Tamazya n tneemast, tamaneyt-is de Cherchel); Mauretanie n Sitifis (tamaneyt-is d Sitifis = Stif), Tamazya n wagmuḍ.

wakal n Lezzayer, akkin i tliṣa, taggara tanekra nni teqqim din. Abdelmalek yeffey akkin, yenger yisem-is send ad d-taweḍ tifrāt n 1918.

Di Arif, Sbanya teqqim deg wemkan-is, ur tekkir i tṛad ameqran mgal at Arif. Di Meṛṛuk n wadda ney anḗul, Maréchal Hubert Lyautey yettēf tamurt s tkemmict n lâesker i yas ḡḡan wid yellan ḥekmen di Paris. Tazmert tameqran, Fṛansa tefka-tt yer tliṣa n Lalman akked tmurt n Biljik.

Lyautey yettēf tamurt s wulac, yas amur ameqran n lâesker-is zegren yer imenḡi, wid d-igran di Meṛṛuk amur ameqran d imgiḡan n Tabors n Meṛṛuk, wid n 'tirailleurs n Lezzayer' akked imgiḡan n Sanigal. Lyautey yeqqim iseggasen nni yekbel, ur idda yer zdat ad iṭtēf idurar n Atlas, ur d-yuḡal yer deffir, ad yeḡḡ tamurt, am akken i yas-d- sutren ad yeg si Paris.

Fṛansa tetēf tamurt s lexyal n tezmert-is ur nella. Aybel ameqran n Lyautey imir nni, d ibabuṛen n yirden d temḗin i yettazen i tmurt n Fṛansa akken ad ččen wid yellan di tṛad. Meṛṛuk akked tmurt n Lezzayer uḡalent d igran akked ikufan n Fṛansa. Ayen d-tefka tmurt yekcem di tesraftin n ibabuṛen n Fṛansa. At tmurt n Tmazḡa iqqim asen-d laḗ d sbeṛ. Ačḡal n leqrun yer deffir, akken i tella Tmazḡa ddaw uzaglu n Ruman si mi nḡan Yugurten di tesraft n Tullianum di Ruma. Igran n yirden di Tmazḡa, tissirt d wuglan i ten-iččan di Ruma akked tmura anda tedda « la Légion » n Ruman. Ilmend d Ruman, ass-a d lâeskeṛ n Fṛansa.

Di tallit nni, imezday n Meṛṛuk akked at tmura nniḗen n Tferka saramen ad teḡli Fṛansa, «ad teṛṛeḗ taâkkazt n Fṛansa», ad ikkes fell-asen uzaglu. Taggara, di 1918 teffey akken nniḗen, d Lalman i yuḡen takessart, i yeččan tayebbart.

D tucrar n tmurt n Terḳ akken ad tesenker inselmen ad nnayen Fṛansa i yeseddant tadyant n Arif. Irifiyen imir, ḡas akken fkan-as-d uzzal⁷⁸ i Abdelmalek, nitni ur kkiren ad nnayen Fṛansa i yellan akkin i wedrar. Taggara Irifiyen nnan-as i Abdelmalek: «Amek ad nekker ad nennay Fṛansa nekkni ad neḡḡ Sbanya dagi deg wakal nney. I nekkni d Sbanya i yettḡfen tamurt nney mačči d Fṛansa. Ma nekker ad nennay, ad nekker tanekra ilhan, ad nezwir di Sbanya. Mi teffey ad as-nekker i Fṛansa!».

Tidett tban am azal, ma d Irifiyen zran-tt. Fṛansa ney Sbanya, i nitni ur tella talast gar-asent. Am tin am ta, i snat d timura n Uṛupa, usant-d tḡfent tamurt n Merṛuk s wuzzal d ubarud, yiwet si tama ufella, yiwet si tama wadda. I nitni yiwen ufus i yewten tamurt nsen. ḡas ass-a tamurt n Sbanya ur tesserwet am akken tesserwet Fṛansa di tama wadda, d tazmert kan i yas-tt-ikksen.

Abrid n lḡebs⁷⁹ n Cabrérizas Altas di Mellila.

Si mi yekker tṛad ameqran, tikli nni i teddun di tmurt n Arif kra yemdanen ḡef ufus n Lalman akked Terḳ, yella ḡef tiḡ n Sbanya. ḡas di tṛad ameqran, Sbanya ur tmal akka ney akka, ur tra ad d-ikker kra n cwal di tmurt i yellan ddaw udabu-s, ddaw tecḡat-is, am Arif. Timlilit nni n lḡaḡi Abdelkrim akked Abdelmalek yewed Sbanya. Di Mellila, afesyant Sist yella d yiwen seg wid ixeddmen akked Muḥend di Oficina Central. Sist yura ṛabul ḡef tikli nni n lḡaḡi Abdelkrim akked mmi-s Muḥend. Inna yas di ṛabul nni : «ayen akk ixeddmen baba-s di Ajdir, lḡaḡi Abdelkrim, ur izmir ad

⁷⁸ Wid isawaḡen awal s tuffra i Lyautey, nnan-as di yunyu 1916 : «Lḡaḡi Abdelkrim n At Xetṡtab yefka i Abdelmalek 600 ibeckidən n lmaṛka Mauser akked taggayt n 3 iserdan uqerḡas».

⁷⁹ Lḡebs : d awal i d-yusan si taârabt (ḡebbes = arrêter). Ur illa wawal Amaziḡ acku ur illa lḡebs di tmurt tamaziḡt, di tudḡsa n timetti tamaziḡt. (français = prison, arabe classique = esseḡn).

yili ur iżra mmi-s, Muḥend». Sist isbabb-as ayen wumi yezmer i Muḥend. D tismīn, d tayennant ney tella tidett di tikli nni n Sist ? Muḥend akked Sist akken i llan xedmen di Officina Central, myussanen, tmezran yal ass, sawalen gar-asen yal ass. Sist yeẓra anda teffey tiṭ n Muḥend, yeẓra aḥal iḥemmel Muḥend tamurt-is, iżra aḥal ur iḥemmel Muḥend wid d-ikecmen tamurt-is. Sist yeẓra Muḥend ur iqbil anekcum d tamhersa n tmurt-is.

Mi yedda Muḥend iqubel wid i yas isbabben, ifka-yasen udem, ifra yasen awalen i d-ibanen d abrid.

Inna-yasen Muḥend : «Ass-a d tamurt n Fṛansa i d-ikecmen tamurt nney. Fṛansa tkecm-d s wuzzal d ubarud terra tabarda i umur ameqran n tmurt nney, tenya, tessery igran d iyerman, ur teḡḡa tamdiṛt. Fṛansa tedda deg webrid ur nqebbel ; idelli tetṭef tamurt n Lezzayer, ass-a tezger-d tilisa akken ad tay tamurt n Meṛṛuk...».

Muḥend tga-yas ayilif tedyant nni. Netta i yas igan leqdeṛ i tmurt n Sbanya, ass-a rran-t d axšim n Sbanya nnig lebyi-s netta. Idelli kan i yella d Amyar nsen, cawṛen-t di yal tamsalt, ass-a yuḡal d netta i d axšim. Send ad kkawen idammen n wid immuten di tnekra n Muḥend Amezyan n At Bu Yifrur, send ad yekkes yiyed deg ixerban n iyerman yeryan ihudden ney yexlan, Muḥend sawden-t akken ad isendef ul-is. D atmaten-is i yemmuten di tnekra nni, d ayilif ameqran n tiyemmatin akked ibabaten nsen i yemmuger aḥal n tikkal i ijerḥen ul-is. Gas akken, Muḥend ur ikkis asirem deg ul-is, ira ayen ilhan i tmurt n Arif, i tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Ayen ilhan i netta iżra-t, d tamussni, d lakulat, d sbitarāt, d iberdan akked tẓuzi n lminat n wuzzal d waldun deg wakal n tmurt-is i yat tmurt-is. Abrid nni, iżra Muḥend ur zmiren at Arif ad t-nejren iman-nsen kan. Iẓra ul yella, iyallen llan, ma d tamussni

ur tella. D Sbanya kan i izemren ad sen-tefk tazmert ad senden fell-as. Illa deg wawal, «ur llant ticṛad s war idammen». Ma d win i d abrid isuffuyen, d win i d abrid-is ass-a. Gas Sbanya tusa-d si akkin i yilel, wicqa. Imezwura nnan : «afus ur tezmireḍ ad t-tyezzeḍ, suden-it». D abrid nni kan i yeḗra Muḥend, d abrid nni i yuy Muḥend.

I tejmaât udabu n Sbanya di Mellila, di tama-s tefra temsalt n Muḥend : akken yella Muḥend d acengu n Fṛansa i yella ass-a ney azekka d acengu n Sbanya. Talast nni yellan ger Fṛansa akked Sbanya zun ur tella zdat talast yellan ger Irifiyen akked Sbanya. I Sbanya, si yiwet tama d Fṛansa, d iṛumyen am nitni, d atmaten nsen ḡas llant tismin gar-asen, si tama nniḍen d inselman, d Los Moros n Taferka ; mačči yiwen yillu nsen, mačči yiwen ddi nsen. Taggara, i nitni, Muḥend d acengu n Sbanya. D tagi i d tamuḡli n imdanen n Sbanya di 1915 di Mellila mi yas sbabben ayen wumi zemren i Muḥend.

D tidett, d abrid nni yuy Muḥend i t-isawḍen ḡer lḡebs n Cabrérizas Altas di Mellila di tazwara n 1915.

Tamuḡli n Muḥend tres, tebna ḡef ayen d-iḡḡa umezruy: Sbanya tetṭef timura n Sebta, Mellila akked kra tegzirin, am azru n Nekkuṛ, si ačḡal iseggasen, si ačḡal n leqrun izran. Gas yella imenḡi yal ass di tlisa n iḡerman nni i bnan ney i smeyren lḡebenyulen, tamurt n Arif tufa seg-s ayen ilhan. Sbanya si tama-s tufa ayen ilhan. Iḡerman nni usan-d zun d tiwwura n tmussni ney d tiqentert n Uṛupa di tmurt n Tferka. Widen znuzun isufar nsen, wigi ttayen di yal lawan deg tensa tyita ubaṛud. D asayes n ssuq.

Ačḡal n leqrun i teqqim akken, llan d lḡiran n tmara. Talwit tella, imenḡi yella, ḡas tama ur tekka di tayeḍ.

D tifat nni n Algesiras di 1906 i yesengugin tigusa n talwit nni sersen iseggasen ger Imaziyen n Arif akked Sbanya. Di tifat nni, timura n Urupa fkant-as tamurt n Arif i tmurt n Sbanya, nettat tesarem ad tessers adabu-s di tlisa n tmurt nni seg yixef yer yixef. Ma d Irifiyen, d tamurt n imezwura nsen idelli, d tamurt nsen ass-a, yas "tettunefk i Sbanya". D Algesiras ney d war Algesiras, d tamurt nsen nitni.

Ayen yellan ger webrid iẓer Muḥend akked webrid tuy tmurt n Sbanya, d ayen yellan ger igenni akked tmurt. D sin iberdan ur nettemlil.

Mi medlen fell-as tawwurt n lḥebs n Cabréizas Altas, kksen-as amkan-is di Oficina Central, rnan kksen-as tabzimt n yisey, tazalyi⁸⁰ nni i yas fkan mi t-sbedden d lqaḍi di Mellila. Ġġan-t din d ameḥbus ar d-yaweḍ wass n cṛâ-is.

Muḥend yerra tablaḍt i wul-is, ibedd. Ifra amek ad iqabel di cṛâ i d-teddun yer zdat di Mellila.

Deg wass n cṛâ i d-illan di 6 ctamber 1915, Muḥend iqubel. Deg wallay-is frant seggment, akken ufafent timẓin deg wennar ufellaḥ. Tikta n zik yeġġa-tent akkin, tamuḡli n wass-a yerra-tt d tafat, yezṛa yis abrid-is amaynut.

Di cṛâ nni n mellila, yerna awal i wawal-is, yesefrez-asen tamsalt, iga talast ger tikli n Fransa akked tikli n Sbanya di tmurt n Meṛṛuk, inna-yasen abrid n talwit iẓer ma tuy-it azekka tmurt n Sbanya. Muḥend inna ayen tesaweḍ tmussni-s.

Amḡar⁸¹ n cṛâ ifra-tt, ur illa wayen i yas sbabben i Muḥend. Gas akken, adabu n Sbanya yeġġa-t deg wemkan-is di lḥebs n Cabréizas Altas. Awal-is netta ur as gan azal.

⁸⁰ Tazalyi (tizilyiwin) : médaille(s), Légion d'honneur.

⁸¹ Amḡar n cṛâ : le juge

Di tifat nni, tidett tban-d am azal: sbabben-as i Muḥend akken kan ad awḍen bab-as n Muḥend, lqaḍi deg Ajdir, ilmend n tazza-s i tyita n Fṛansa s ufus n Abdelmalek akked Irifiyen yeddak akked Abdelmalek.

Tamuyli nni ur as tensir i Muḥend. Sbanya tekkes leqdeḥ yef tgejdit n wazref-is nettat s timmad-is. Sbanya ur teqqim deg wawal n wemyar, ur as tga azal i tgejdit n cṛaâ nni nsen. Amek ad iggani netta akken ad t-tqadeḥ tmurt n Sbanya ?

Muḥend ikkes asirem si tama n Sbanya. Abrid nni i yella iẓerṛ-it, d abrid n tafat i tmurt-is yer tama n Sbanya, yal tamurt s leqder-is, ass-a yergel yir argal.

Tarewla si lḥebs n Cabrérizas Altas

Deg yiḍ n 23 di dujamber⁸² 1915, Muḥend icudd amrar i yes yuder, ineggez nnig ugadir, yeffey si Cabrérizas Altas. Amrar nni wezzil, Muḥend yenṛer d anṛar yer terga deg yella djaj d wuzzlan, yerṛez deg uḍar yerna yejreḥ. Muḥend ikref din, ur izmir ad ikker ad yerwel akkin, ad iffey si Mellila. Tallit, zzin-as-d yaâssasen n lḥebs, cudden-t-id, rran-t yer lḥebs ansi d-iffey akken teddun idammen deg-s. Si tṛuẓi nni iqqim-as-d lâaib, yuyal d aqudar armi d ass-mi yemmut.

D tasraft nni n lḥebs i yefra d yiman-is Muḥend ad as-d-illi tawwurt s ufus-is netta deg yiḍ nni n 23 di dujamber. Gas ittwarez taggara, Muḥend ur indim i wayen iga. Taṛuẓi nni yerṛez, ajraḥ nni yejreḥ, yezra-ten d uguren kan deg webrid deg yedda. Abrid-is iẓra-t ad yiyzif, d asalu, d abrid ukessar d usawen.

⁸² Dujamber (agur n Dujamber) = Décembre

Ass nni deg ifra d yiman-is Muḥend ad irwel, ad iffey si lḥebs n Cabrérizas Altas, d tin i d talast ger webrid-is n zik akked d webrid ira ad injeṛ azekka. D tin i d talast ger tikli n win illan deg ubrid akked win iran ad iffey i webrid n kennu, ad yay abrid n tissas. I Muḥend, abrid-is n zik, am akken i t-izra i t-isarem netta ačḥal, d abrid n talwit ger at Arif akked Sbanya, d abrid i tneflit n tmurt. Ma d abrid wumi yeṛṛa asalu deg yiḍ nni n 23 di bujamber, yaṣ izra tafat-is tezureg, ur ifriṣ anda yesuffuy.

Muḥend yessen, ilmed ayen ur Imiden amur ameqran n at tmurt-is. D amussnaw n yidles Amaziṣ syur baba-s, di Fes yelmed azref n ddi ineslem, yelmed taârabt yerna tasebenyult, taggara yeffey d lqaḍi. Si tama nniḍen, yessen tayerma n Sbanya, issen azref n Sbanya, yesawal tutlayt n Sbanya. Tarewla nni si lḥebs deg yiḍ nni n tegrest 1915, Muḥend iqqim-as, iwzen-as. Tarewla nni ur tella d azlaz nni n win yerfan, ad ineggez akkin, ad yeṛṛ ayen yellan, taggara ad indem, ad isuter ad as-surfen.

Ačḥal n waguren i yekmen Muḥend di lḥebs n tiyremt anda yella iḍelli d netta i d lqaḍi, d netta i tent iferrun di çraâ nni. Di tlisa n tiyremt n Mellila, tamurt yiwet, akal yiwen, igenni yiwen, çraâ yebḍa yef sin: ayen illan ger Sebenyul iferru-t lqaḍi n Sebenyul, ayen illan ger Imaziyen n at Arif, iferru-t Muḥend, lqaḍi n inselmen. Akka !

Akman nni yekmen di lḥebs, yufa-t Muḥend d afud i tmuyli n umezruy n tmurt-is. Tasusmi nni akked tillas nni n lḥebs nant-as tafat i tmuyli-s akken ad yani anṣad anṣad tilufa yezrin yef tmurt n idurar n Arif, tilufa nni n laṣ d imenyi n yal ass, n yal aseggas ger at tmurt-is, ney mgal Sbanya i d-iččan idisan n tmurt di Sebta, di Mellila, akked tigzirin nniḍen. Ačḥal n leqrun, anda texsi yiwet, ad tekker azekka nni si tama nniḍen, zun yella ufuṣ

unnig i yegguman ad taf talwit tmurt n Arif. Aguren nni yakk idda-
yas Muḥend tardast tardast akken ad d-isefsusi ulman nni
yemcudden, ulman wumi kersent tundar gar-asen.

Di fessi nni, izwar deg yiman-is : idelli kan i yella d amdan
yufraren di tiyremt n Mellila, d lqaḍi s 'tebzimt n Sbanya', ass-a
yekkes wayen yellan, yers-d yer tmurt, yeqqen am yiyid di
Cabrérizas Altas. S tedyant-is i yefra d yiman-is send ad yaweḍ
tidyanin timeqranin. Inna yas: Sbanya d urar i tetturar yis-ney, d
urar i tetturar s tmurt nney.

Tis snat d tadyant nni n tnekra n Ameḥyan di 1909. Ass-mi
teḥma tyita, ikker imenyi ameqran, ilmend deg ad d-yas wewzir n
tdamsa n Sbanya i lebni n Arif, ad d-yas i tifat, taggara yusa-d
wewzir n tṛad. Yusa-d akken ad yili tama n lâeskeṛ-is deg imenyi
deg yiyil n Kert, yusa-d akken ad sen yefk tazmert i lâeskeṛ-is ad
srewten ugar deg ifellaḥen n Arif. D yir tazmert, d lâar!

Taneggarrut n tneggura, d awalen nni yakk i yesla Muḥend,
awalen nni i yas nnan zdat wudem-is si mi i t-id-ttffen d ameḥbus
di Cabrérizas Altas. Wid nni ixedmen yid-s, wid i yenwa issen-
iten, yas nitni d Sebenyul, yesarem azekka ad ibnu tamurt yid-
sen, taggara yufa d wid i d-ikkren d imezwura, wwten ad t-zzren
di tesraft ansi ur d-iteffey. I nitni tefra talast, si tama nsen nitni d
lṛumyen n Sbanya, si tayed, tama n Muḥend, d "Los Morros" n
wedrar n laḥ !

Ussan nni yerna si tedyant nni n trewla ur newwiḍ, d ussan n
tlalit tis snat. I Muḥend, mačči d amdan i d-iffyen yeglalez di
terga i yas-d-izzin i Cabrérizas Altas i yuḥalen yer lḥebs nni. Ilul-
d Muḥend wis sin.

Tuffya si lḥebs n Cabrérizas Altas.

Ass-mi d-iffey Muḥend si lḥebs n Cabrérizas Altas di yeṭt 1916, s ufus n jiniṛal Jordana, tṛad ameqran yerna di tlufa-s, tekker tmes di yal tamurt n Uṛupa. Muḥend yerzef yer Ajdir ad iḥer imawlan-is ilmend n Laâid Tamezyant.

Tuffya nni deffir 11 waguren n lḥebs, am zun kra ur illa ?

Di tidett, tuffya nni ur tella d lxiṛ i yellan deg udabu n Sbanya. Tamezwarut sarmen ad sinfen Muḥend yer webrid nsen, akken tis snat, ad sfeclen baba-s, lqaḍi Abdelkrim, di tikli-s i tlalit n tnekra mgal Sbanya. Ad wten baba-s s mmi-s am akken uyen tanamit.

Adabu n Sbanya yerra-yas i Muḥend tabzimt nni n yiseḡ, yuḡal Muḥend yer wemkan-is d lqaḍi di Mellila. Ma d gma-s amalas, Mḥemmed, tefka-t Sbanya tadrimt (bourse) ad ilmed di Malaga d Madrid deg ubrid deg ad d-iffey d ajenyuṛ.

I Muḥend frant. Ayen akk iḍerṛun ass-a, d yiwen wudem n wurar nni i yeḡra mi yella di lḥebs di Mellila. Yal ass Muḥend iḥer uraren nni n tiddas i tetturar Sbanya. D urar aberkan.

Gas iqqim Muḥend di Mellila, d tiyimit n tmara. Ussan zerrin, asirem ad isinef abrid n Sbanya yer webrid n tifrat, akken ad qqimen di talast nsen, simal ityummy-t usigna. Iqqim, igguni ass deg ad yaf tawwurt n tifrat-is, ad d-iffey si txennaqt n Mellila.

Deg Ajdir, di txerṛubt n At Xeṭṭab n At Yusef, di teqbilt n At Waryayen, awal n lqaḍi Abdelkrim iteddu deg webrid n tifrat. D tifrat nni akken i tt-ḡerṛen at Arif, mačči akken i tt-ḡerṛen lḥebenyulen.

Di Dujamber 1918 tṛad ameqran ifra. Kecmen warraw n lqaḍi Akbdelkrim yer Ajdir, am Muḥend si Mellila, am Mḥemmed si Madrid and yella ilemmed. Usan-d i sin ilmend n Lâaid n Lmulud.

Lqaḍi Abdelkrim iskecmen-d arraw-is, ikkes-iten-id si ger ifassen n Sbanya. Yiwen ugur n tasa-s ikkes, abrid-is iban-as-d.

Ger taggara n Yennayer d Fuṛaṛ 1919 i yuran i sin yid-sen tibratin i Sbanya, am Muḥend i Don Manuel Civantos di Mellila, am Mḥemmed i wemyar n tiyremt n tesdawt⁸³, anda yella di Madrid.

Inna yas Muḥend di tebratt nni : «...Abrid nuḡ nekkni, deg webrid n tdukli akked Sbanya, yiwen ur t-yuḡ di tmurt n Arif. Ass-a nugad abrid agi nney ad aḡ-d-iglu s wuguren imeqranen, am akken i yaḡ tuḡ aḥal n tikkal deg iseggasen izran. Ma d tamurt n Sbanya, akken nezra, ur aḡ-d-tefka tayett, ur aḡ-d-tga laânaya i yes a nemmager wid nney n Arif di tikli yaḡi nuḡ nekkni...».

Si tama-as, Mḥemmed inna-yas di tebratt-is: «Send tifat n Algesiras n 1906 ḡef beṭṭu n tmurt n Merṛuk, ifka yaḡ-d baba tamuli-s. Inna-yaḡ-d tamurt n Merṛuk ur tezmir i yiman-is ilmend n war tussna, n war taneflit. Di tama ugafa, deg Arif, tamurt i izemren ad aḡ-tall d tamurt n Sbanya kan. D netta i yaḡ iḡerben, yid-s i nemyussan. S tmuyli yaḡi i yuḡ abrid n tdukli akked Sbanya. Taggara, tikli n tyennant n umur ameqran udabu n Sbanya tergel-d abrid n tdukli, thudd iseggasen n lebni n tagmatt azru azru, tga iceqqiq deg ugadir i nessuli... Akka i newweḡ ass-a ḡer ger iberdan di tikli nney. Si yiwet tama d atmaten nney n At Arif i yaḡ-d-ideggren, si tama nniḡen d Sbanya ur aḡ-d-nefka udem, ur aḡ-d-nefka tayett. Nekkni ur nezmir i snat tuzzmiwin».

Tibratin n watmaten n At Yusef, frant ugar tikli tamaynut i yas fran di Ajdir: ḡas uysen si tama n Sbanya, ur kkisen asirem ḡer zdat. Awal nsen iwzen. Ikka-d seg yidles Amaziḡ n iseggasen d iseggasen; illa deg wawal di Tmazḡa, «Ma tseyled, ewwet, ma ur

⁸³ Amyar n tiyremt n tesdawt : directeur de la résidence d'étudiants.

tezmireḍ, ur syal». At Xeṭṭab n At Yusef, am At Arif akken llan, ur zmiren ad wten di tazwara nni n 1918.

At Xeṭṭab fran anwa i d abrid ar ad aḡen. Muḥend ur ittuyal ḡer Mellila, Mḥemmed ur ittay abrid n Madrid. Ad qqimen deg Ajdir. Nitni akked Sbanya, ur iddukel webrid nsen.

Tawekka n Sbanya di tmurt n Arif terna tekcem yal axxam, yal iyrem, yal tiyilt. D tadrimt i d afud n Sbanya; di yal tiyremt tufa imdanen, tiwaculin i tesbedd ddaw laânaya-s. Amur ameqran seg-sen d wid wumi tefka tafellaḥt anda ad d-megren adrim, di tjaḡa neḡ di tṛabendu. Abrid n Sbanya, d win i yuyent akk tmura ikecmen timura n medden di temhersa. D tiḡeḡci n inisi : ad tewwet arraw n tmurt s ufus n warraw n tmurt nni, nettat ad teqqim d tamḥaddit. Azekka nni, ad ibeddel wurar, win iwten ad ittwet ma yella ur ifka tazmert-is. Di yal tallit akka: d Imaziyen i yezwaren i lâeskeḡ n Ruman akken ad snegren tiyremtin n Gafsa, Tala akked Begga, d Imaziyen i yezwaren i lâeskeḡ n Carthage di yal imenḡi. Ass-a d Imaziyen i yezenzen idammen nsen d igumiten ḡef weḡrum n tmara, aḡrum n tixubbta.

Ger twaculin yeddand akked Sbanya, At Xeṭṭab abrid nsen ixulef. Ur ddan akken ad d-sisen tazmert akken ad ilin nnig watmaten nsen. Ur ddan akken ad d-ččen talqimt seg wfus n Sbanya. Abrid nsen nitni d abrid n tsertit: d awal i yasen iselmed lqaḍi Abdelkrim i warraw-is i yuḡ netta. Yenna yasen, yal tikkelt ad asqqimen i wawal : «nekkni akken nella d Irifiyen, ur nezmir ad nesseddu ḡer zdat, ad nesnerni tamurt n Arif. Ur nezmir ad nekkes laḡ d war tamussni. Abrid nney d tadukkli akked Sbanya, d lḡiran nney n tmara. Isdukkel-aḡ wakal, isdukkel-aḡ umezruy. D nitni kan wukud ad d-naf abrid isuffuḡen».

Asenned nni isenned lqaḍi yer Sbanya, At Arif ur gan talast gar-
At Xeṭṭab akked twaculin nni i-d-imyin ddaw tecḍaṭ n Sbanya,
serwaten rennun deg watmaten nsen.

Ass-mi yekker herwel, At Arif srewten tiwaculin⁸⁴ nni, seryen-
asen ixxamen nsen, rnan ixxamen n At Xeṭṭab di ṭhemmalt.
Aseggas i yeffey lqaḍi Abdelkrim seg Ajdir, yunag yer tiyremt n
Taṭiwin (Tetwan), yeqqim din armi ters tyita, syen uyalen-d yer
Ajdir.

Tikli n At Xeṭṭab txulef seg uẓar-is tikli n wid yuzzlen i lfiyda nsen
nitni, ddaw tecḍaṭ n Sbanya, am wid nni yerran iman-nsen d
igelliden akken ad srewten s watmaten nsen. Sin ismawen i d-
iqqimen: Ṛaysuni di tmurt ljebliyen (Imesdurar) akked Bu Teyyult
i d-ilulen “d mmi-s ugellid” di Taza.

Bu Teyyult akked Ṛaysuni

Sin yismawen ufraren-d ger wid akk ikkren di tmurt n Arif ad
nnaḡen Sbanya, ad nnaḡen Agellid n Fes, ney taggara ad
nnaḡen atmaten nsen.

I sin yid-sen abrid nsen yiwen: si yir abrid ar yir abrid.

Bu Teyyult (isem-is Jilani Zerḥuni), yerra iman-is d mmi-s ugellid
n Fes. Iwwet ad d isker imezday n Taza akked Arif, syen ad
yuḡal d agellid di Fes. Taggara ur yuḡal d agellid, ur isnerna i
tmurt-is. Deg webrid-is d taxeṣṣaṭ d uyilif. Timsislit taneggarut:
izzenz akal d ddaw wakal i Sbanya, yuḡal d aâssas fell-assen di
tyuzi n lminat n wuzzal d waldun. Taggara-s yuḡal yer yifri ansi d-

⁸⁴ G.Ayache, di “Trad n Arif”, ifka-d ismawen n twaculin timeqranin i yeddin d
Sbanya di tallit nni. D nitni i d afud, i d afus n Sbanya di Arif. Adrim nsen, iyil
nsen, tazmert nsen, adabu nsen. Akken ran i tedda tmurt n Arif. Di yal tawayit
d nitni.

iffey: di 1909, icudd-it id Muḥend Ameḥyan, yuzen-it akkin ḡer Fes, kksen-as aqerru din.

Tadyant n Raḥsuni txulef. S yergazen, yebna adabu yuḡal zun d agellid di tama utaram n Arif, di Teyzut, tamurt n ljebliyen. Tallit d afus ugellid n Fes, tallit nniḍen d acengu ugellidn Fes. Di tmurt ljebliyen, amur deg-sen sawalen tamaziḡt Tarifit, amur deg-sen sawalen Taâraḡt. Si leḡrun imezwura, tamurt nni d tin i d abrid ḡer Sbanya, ḡer Tanja akked Sebta. Si tadyant n Tariḡ U Zeyyad, d win i d abrid n Uḡrupa. Di tmurt nni dḡa teqqim-d taâraḡt di kra n iḡerman si lḡern nni deg d-uḡalen At Wandlus. Cettlen din mi ten-id-nfan si Sbanya.

Raḥsuni yuḡal d aqerru n tibbandit, iffey i webrid, iserwet ayen wumi yezmer, icenga igla-ten, at tmurt igla-ten. Yiwen wass d ameddakel n Sbanya, azzekka nni d acengu n Sbanya. Tafellaḡt-is d ayeḡḡu yal ass, d aneḡzum iberdan di tmura n wedrar. Anda yella wureḡ akked udrim, d win i d abrid-is. Ikkat akkin, ikkat akka.

D tikli-s i-t-isawḍen ḡer taggara-s. Mi yekker tḡad n Arif mḡal Sbanya, yiwen wass n 1925, cudden-t-id lâeskeḡ n Arif. Urzen-t-id di tiḡremt n Tayzut, iqḡen am izimer am netta am 4 tlawin-is akked ugerruj-is, akked wid yellan yid-s. Raḥsuni yella yuḍen, ur izmir ad iddu. Kra n waguren kan ḡer zdat, immut di Tamasint.

Am Raḥsuni, am Zerḡhuni Bu Teyyult, akken i d-kecmen amezruy n Meḡḡuk seg iceqqiq n tewwurt, i ffyen si tzuliyt.

Ffyen yir tuffya n laâḡ d tucmitt.

8. Tawekka n jiniṛal Lyautey di Tamazya

Di tama wadda n Arif, tallit tbeddel seg useggas nni n 1912.

Si mi d-tekcem Fṛansa tamurt n Merṛuk n wadda n Arif, ur teqqim di teyremtin nni n Fes akked Meknes. Lâeskeṛ-is yuy tamurt seg yixef yer yixef, si Wejda yer Agadir, yas akken llant deg idurar n Waṭlas timura ur ikcim, anda i tufa zdat-s afrag ubaṛud.

Anekcum n Louis Hubert Lyautey akked lâeskeṛ-is ur illa d anekcum n wemḥaddi, yas si afella d «Protectorat », di tidett, d anekcum n win i yefran ad yarez tamurt, ad yay adabu, ad iqqim nnig talast, ad yay aṛar. D tamhersa⁸⁵. Awal nni n «Protectorat », d awal kan, d aṛerbal i tafukt i tmura n Uṛupa, akken ad ten ḡḡen ad sretwten din.

Di tikli n temharsa, ur tella d tikli n tezmert n lâeskeṛ kan. Amur ameqran n tikli nni d usihrew n udabu n Lyautey, ur illa d win n tezmert n wuzzal kan. Gas di tiyremtin timeqranin, tamsalt tefra yal tikkelt ad kecmen, ad sbedden iqerra nsen, di tmurt tamaziyt, akkin i tiyremtin, anda tella tudsa tamaziyt deg iyerman, Iṛumyen uyen abrid ixulfen.

Di tidett, di tallit nni, ur zmiren ad qqnen tamurt s tezmert n lâeskeṛ nsen kan. Ger 1914 d 1918, amur ameqran n lâeskeṛ nni n Fṛansa yellan din, yuy abrid n uṛupa i tṛad ameqran mgal Lalman. Di Merṛuk tegra-d kan tkemmict n wid i yes yetṭef Lyautey tamurt. Di tidett ur izmir ad irnu ad isihrew, ur izmir ad iqabel ma tella tnekra n Imerṛukiyen. Netta yezra ayen illan, idda-yas s tiḥḥerçi. Tikli nni yura fell-as di yal tabṛatt i yunza i imeddukal-is. Inna yasen «ur izmir ad isihrew, ur as-izmir i

⁸⁵ Tamhersa: colonisation (sehres : kcem tamurt n medden s yiyil, français = coloniser) (s taârabt = listaâmeṛ, estâameṛ)

tnakra ma tekker-d di yal tama. Takemmict nni n lâeskeṛ i yas ḡḡan wid iḥekmen di Paris, netta isban-iten-d akken ad isiged ugar at Meṛṛuk». Iṭṭef tamurt s wulac!

Jiniṛal Lyautey ur igen. Deg iseggasen nni imezwura si mi yekker ṭṛad ameqran, netta yefka tamussni-s ḡer webrid nniḍen: lâeskeṛ wuyur yerra tamuḡli ad iṭṭef tamurt mačči d wid irefden tameḡhelt. Lâeskeṛ-is netta wumi iga azal ameqran d irgazen n "Les bureaux des Affaires Indigènes". D wid nni i d ifadden n tikli, i d afud n tasuddest⁸⁶ n Lyautey. Tiḡita nsen s tsusmi, ddaw tmurt, war abarud, war ṭṛad. D abrid n ṭṛad amaynut.

Anda yekcem lâeskeṛ n Fṛansa, ad yeḡḡ annar i ufesyan n "Les Affaires Indigènes", nitni ad d-qqimen akkin. Yella wanda d at lbiṛuwat agi i d imezwura keččmen tamurt tikkelt deg yas ufan abrid, anda yella ufus s yemdanen uḡen ger at tmurt nni.

Tikli nsen iban-d webrid-is, ddan-as i tudḡsa tamaziḡt ḡef lsa.

Di timetti tamaziḡt, di yal tama n Tamazḡya, ur illa ugellid, ur illa win i d-yuḡen aḡar seg igenni akken ad yifrir ḡef at tmurt-is. I wemdan amaziḡ, yella yiwen ugellid, d Agellid Ameqran, isem-is Rēbbi, Yuc neḡ Illu, d win izedḡen igenwan. Akken yufrar ḡef tmurt i yeffeḡ akkin si tlufa n yemdanen, n tmeddurt n yal ass. Di timetti tamaziḡt, d amdan kan i wuyur d-izzi uyilif. Akken ad yifsis uyilif, imdanen n Tmazḡya dduklen-as, gan tajmaât, tiwizi, tacemlit, tiddukla di yal iḡrem. Di yal tiḡmeṛt n Tamazḡya, tudḡsa yiwet:, si lamin n taddart neḡ iḡrem, d amḡar i fernen at taddart alamma d amḡar n laâṛc, syen ḡer wemḡar ameqran n Teqbilt, lamin n lumna, d at tmurt i ten ifernen. Si zik n zik, ur d-ikkir

⁸⁶ Tasuddest: stratégie (awal yusa-d si «tudḡsa» = organisation ; asuddes = un stratège)

yiwen, s lbaraḳa n jedd-is, ney s yiyil-is ad yuḡal d Amḡar n tmurt. Kra n win i yewten ad izger akkin i talast, taggara ad imceḡ tayebbaṛt. Di Tmazḡa, yal wid i yuḡalen tallit d igelliden, d wid i yesuli udabu i d-ikecmen si berṛa. I wemdan Amaziḡ, agellid amaziḡ aneggaru n tidett, d Yugurten. Igelliden akk i d-yemyin si Yugurten ḡer zdat, d igelliden usekkak.

Afud n tuddsa di tmurt Tamaziḡt, d tagejdit nni yellan di yal amdan amaziḡ. Tella, tedda, ssnen-tt, ur tura: imdanen yiwen wazal nsen, akken llan d imezday n tmurt.

Lyautey yessen amezruy n Tmazḡa, di Merṛuk isdukkel wid yessnen amezruy n Imaziḡen. Di tikli-s deg webrid n tuqqna n tmurt, Lyautey izwar seg uḡar nni n tuddsa. Idda-yas akken ad t-id-ikkas seg yixef, akken ad isenger isem n tnekra tamaziḡt.

Di yal iyrem, d ifesyane n "Les Bureau des Affaires Indigènes" ad isbedden lqayed. Mi ufan win i sen ittayen awal ney win seččen, syen ad as sbedden tajmaât i fernen nitni si wadda. Tasarut deg ufus nsen i tella: lqayed nsen, tajmaât nsen. Akken di yal iyrem. Mi fran tifukal nni, ad sbedden Amḡar ameqran n Teqbilt, d yiwen seg wid nni i sbedden. Taggara zemren ad srewten s teqbilt ḡer ifassen nsen.

Tiḡerçi n ifesyane nni terna tardast akkin. Di yal iyrem, ad gen sin iderma: wid ibyan fraṅsa, wid i d-ikkren d icenga n Fraṅsa. Mi gan afran nni ad d-afen irgazen nsen. Llant tikkal deg rennun tayuzi di tmeddurt n yiyrem: anda tella temḡert ḡer twaculin, uguren n tliṣa n wakal, amennuy ḡef tkessawt ney beṭṭu n waman. Yal tindert ad tt-cudden akken ad gen tiddas deg yiyrem. Isew yiwen: ad andin ticerḡett i yat iyrem nni akken ad

smeyren tayennant nsen yer watmaten sen. Fṛansa ad d-teqqim d tamḥaddit si tama ufella, ad teqqim i tifrat. D Protectorat !

Di yal tiymerṭ n tmurt akka i gan, di 1917 deg At Yizdeg⁸⁷, Deg At Yafelman, ney di teqbilin nniḍen, yiwen webrid nsen. Tamurt tella deg ufus n "Les bureaux des Affaires Indigènes".

Di 1917, di temsizzelt nni ger Sbanya akked Fṛansa, lâeskeṛ n Lyautey teddun ad awḍen talast n tmurt n Arif, asif n Twerga (Ouergha). Si yiwet tama d Meṛṛuk n wadda, ddaw ufus n Fṛansa, agemmaḍ i wasif d Arif ilelli.

At Xeṭṭab n At Yusef U Ali, sellen, ḡran ayen iḍeṛṛun di tmurt nsen. Am lqaḍi Abdelkrim, am mmi-s Muḥend, ḡran anda ad d-tegri tmurt n Arif ma tekcem-itt-d Fṛansa, ḡran zgan-d ger sin iceṛfan: wayzen n Sbanya si tama ufella, talafsa n Fṛansa si tama wadda. Ukin-as, ḡran abrid nsen idyeq, d areqqaq am yinziz.

Abrid n tilelli.

Tifrat n tṛad ameqran ger Fṛansa akked Lalman teskew timura n Uṛupa, terna laḡ yef tmura n Tferka am tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Di Arif , laḡ yerna tardast yer zdat. Zun dduklen-t tlufa, i tṛad akkin i yilel, yerna-d uyurar n igenni. 4 iseggasen zun ur d-ylin waman seg igenni, yekkaw wakal, qquren isekla, igran uḡalen d asuki. Irden nni akked timḡin i d-ikeččmen si Sebta, Nekkuṛ ney Mellila yenger mi kan yekker imenyi di Uṛupa. At Arif ičča-ten laḡ, kerfen tagecrir, tazmert ulac, ma d isey yella.

Deg Ajdir, lqaḍi Abdelkrim akked d warraw-is, Muḥend akked Mḥemmed, dduklen-as amek ad fsin tundar nni icudden tamurt n

⁸⁷ Tamhersa akked tmurt Tamaziṛt di Meṛṛuk (Colonisation et Campagne Berbère au Maroc, Aouchar Amina, 2002).

Arif. Si yiwet tama ikkes-asen wayen akken bubben aḥal, fran nitni d Sebenyul. Fran, abrid nsen akked d webrid n Sebenyul ur illa d yiwen.

Lqaḍi Abdelkrim, ḡas tamuḡli-s terra ḡer zdat, ur ittu akk iseggasen nni deg yewwet ad yaf abrid isuffuḡen ḡer liser n tmurt-is. Deg wallaḡ-is ur illa uḡilif. Ayen akk idda, ur illa i netta kan akked warraw-is. Tamezwarut ifka-ten ad ḡren ḡer Sbanya akken ad d-skecmen tamussni i tmurt-is, ur ten ifka akken ad ilin kan nnig at tmurt-is.

Ussan nni deg d-kecmen, yiwen si Mellila, wis sin si Madrid, awal nsen, tiḡimit nsen ḡef tiwwura i zemren ad llin i tmurt n Arif, amek ad d-sinfen Sbanya ḡer webrid nsen, amek ad gen afrag i Fṛansa i yasen d-ikecmen si tama wadda, akkin i wasif n Werya. Tilufa meḡrit, tamurt tekkaw, imdanen teddun tazwara ḡef tleqqimt, ini-yas i ulaxeṛt ad yazzel!

Ḡas akken, At Xeṭṭab ur fciḡen, sarmen, ddan deg ubrid nsen.

Tifrat n ṭrad ameqran n wamḡal di 1918, ikkes-as akukru i Sbanya. Fkan-as tamurt n Arif di tifrat n Algesiras, nettat ad tewwet ad as-teḡ tilisa s lâeskeṛ-is, ad teseddu tamurt akken i tra nettat. Ḡas akken teḥḥa tiḡita yelhan di tnekra nni n Muḥend Ameḡyan ger 1909 d 1912, Sbanya zun tettū. Taggara, di 1918, akal i teṭṭef seg imenḡiyen n 1909 ḡer deffir, ur iwiḡ tis mraw n wakal n Arif. Akal nni i teṭṭef tseqqa-t s idammen n warraw-is. Yal tardast i tedda, s tissi-s.

Di 1919 di Mellila, d jiniṛal Aizpuru i d ameqran lâeskeṛ n Sbanya. Adabu n Madrid illi-yas tawwurt, netta icudd arkasen-is ad iṭṭef tamurt n Arif akken tella.

Tuffya tamezwarut n lâeskeḥ n Aizpuru si Mellila, abrid-is yer Imtallsen (Metalsa). Iffey s wuzzal izemren ad isenger tamurt. Aizpuru igzem tamurt n Imtallsen syen irna tamurt n At Bu Yaḥi. Idda, ur illa imenyi, ur yufa afrag ubaḥud zdat-s. Idda zun d tazza, iṭṭef tamurt uzayar.

At Arif ur bnan yef tikli nni n Sbanya. Taggara, yas sarmen ad gen afrag ur zmiren. Tamezwarut tefcel tmurt, tis snat tamurt n Imtallsen d azayaḥ. Imaziyen n Arif ur zmiren i yimenyi mgal tazmert nni tameqran n Sbanya. Nnan, imenyi n luḍa n bab-is.

Deg wass-is, jiniḥal Aizpuru icerreg tamurt n Imtallsen akked d At Bu Yaḥi zun d amerreḥ wuyur isuffey lâeskeḥ-is, idda ur iffiy wâabaḥ ubaḥud. Di Madrid d abayur, ikkes-asen wugur, nwan tefra, ḥerren iman-nsen kecmen tanemmast n iyallen n wedrar n Arif.

Anekcum nni i sen-ikcem tamurt jiniḥal Aizpuru akked lâeskeḥ-is isduqqes At Arif. Mi yeffey wawal s tedyant nni, yekker uferfud di tmurt. Amek ur sen-gan afrag Imtallsen akked d At Bu Yaḥi ?

Tanekra n ifellaḥen

Tazmert tella si tama n Sbanya. D tamurt n Uṛupa, s udabu ugellid-is, s umezruy-is, s lâeskeḥ-is, rnu tazmert nni tenneḥder, teqqim ur thudd si trad ameqran n 1914-1918. Sbanya tella di tneemmast, d tamḥaddit, ur tmal akka ney akka. Ur tedda d tama n Fṛansa, yas d lḡiran, ur tedda d Lalman. Di 1919 tebna yef tezmert-is akken ad tekcem tamurt n Arif.

Si tama n tmurt n Arif, ur illa unabaḥ, ur illa lâeskeḥ idduklen, ur tella tezmert n wuzzal. Di tmurt nni llan iyerman d lâaṛac, yal yiwen d ripublik n yiman-is, akked ifellaḥen ittazalen yef weyrum nsen. Ma teswa-d ad kerzen ad megren, ma tekkaw ad qqimen i

laḥ ney ad inigen. D tin i d tameddurt n Arif, tameddurt n lhif. Ayurar nni yellan ger 1915 akked 1918 yerna isefcel tamurt ugar. Fas wid itḥfen di Ṛebbi, taggara gan-as ccek i Ṛebbi nni. Amur ameqran ger yergazen unagen yer izuḡar akkin yer tmurt n Wihran, ddan d ifellaḥen di Ifirmat n ikuluten n Fṛansa.

Di tallit nni n 1919, tikli n jiniṛal Aizpuru terna-d amur-is uyilif. Tiyita nni ur tella d tamezwarut. Si 1909, Sbanya tufa iyisi di tezmert n tmurt, tekcem tiḡremt n Laâṛac akked Teṭwan⁸⁸. Din di Teṭwan, Sbanya tesbedd agellid amaynut, «lxalif n yinselman» i yuḡalen zun d agellid n tmurt n Arif, am akken yella ugellid di Fes, deg umur nni n Merṛuk i teṭṭef Fṛansa. Sbanya tra ad teg «protectorat» di Arif am «protectorat» nni n Fṛansa di Merṛuk n wadda. Di Arif imir nni irgazen ad yenzen llan, Sbanya tufa win i terra d «agellid n yinselman». At tmurt uyen tama wadda, ggunin ar d-tefrari tagut.

Anekcum nni s tazza n lâesker n Sbanya deg izuḡar n lmtallsen ifka-d udem n tezmert: lâesker nni ur d-mlalen yiwen ad sen d-ireglen abrid. Tamurt texla ?

Awal n twayit nni iffey, idda si lâaṛc yer wayeḡ deg udrar n Arif.

Ilmend deg ad isefcel imdanen, anekcum nni n jiniṛal Aizpuru yesaki-d At Arif. Am laâṛac iḡerben lmtallsen am wid yellan akkin deg wedrar, ikcem-iten unezgum, ikcem-iten waḡu n tdukli. Ḥran taluft yiwet, abrid-is yiwen. Yal taqbilt tesenker-d imjahden ad innayen Sbanya. Yal iyrem ifren irgazen-is, taggara uyen abrid n iyallen n wedrar n Kert, akken ad gern afrag i tikli n Aizpuru, ur iteddu yer zdat.

⁸⁸ Teṭwan: yusa-d si tmaziyt: Tiṭṭawin (= taṭṭiwin = allen); (s tefransist yura : Tétouan)

Awal n tnekra nni n Imaziyen n Arif yeweḍ adabu n Sbanya di Mellila. Ur illa wayen ad iffren. Ilmend deg ad ixḍef tiyita, ad yernu ad ikcem tamurt akkin, Aizpuru yezdel deg umkan nni anda yewweḍ. Ur idda yer zdat, ur d-yuḡal yer deffir ad yeḡḡ tamurt nni yekcem. Tanekra nni n yal taqbilt n Arif isla-yis, netta iżra zdat-s afrag n yergazen s ibeckiden, ur izmir ad izger. Yeqqim anda i-t-tuḡ.

Di Madrid, ur asen-teččuḡ tiṭṭ tiddi nni n Aizpuru, ur zmiren ad bnun fell-as akken ad ikcem tamurt n Arif seg yixef yer yixef. Tadyant-is tefra. Deg wass n 30 di Yennayer 1920, ḡran-as-d i jiniḡal Aizpuru, yuḡal akkin yer Madrid. Jiniḡal Manuel Fernandez Sylvestre yusa-d deg umkan-is, ikcem Mellila.

Tanekra nni n teqbilin yer tikkelt ur illa d tanumi n At Arif. Ačḡal iseggasen, ačḡal n leqrun, yal taqbilt ikkren ad tennaḡ yer yiman-is. Tin ittewtan ad tekker ad tennaḡ, tid yellan akkin am zun ur ten tewwiḍ taluft. Gas tanekra nni n Muḥend Ameḡyan tesdukkel ačḡal n teqbilin, taggara texsi tafat nni n tdukkli. Si mi yemmut Muḥend Ameḡyan, yal yiwet tuḡ abrid-is.

Di 1919 tallit tbeddel, imdanen ssanen ugar, tḡad ameqran ifra, Sbanya tesuffḡ-d tucrar-is. Ur illa d urar nni n zik s ubaḡud, yer snat lmitrat n wakal deffir ugadir n Sebta neḡ n Mellila. Anekcum nni n Fḡansa yer tmurt n Meḡḡuk si tama wadda imla-yasen i yat Arif ayen izemren ad idru yid-sen ma ḡḡan Sbanya ad d-tekcem tamurt nsen.

Tella tayeḍ. Ma yella am zik nni, nwan zemren ad bnun yer udabu n Fes akken ad sen d-yefk tayett, s tissi ibeckiden neḡ abarud, ass-a adabu nni yeḡli. Adabu n ugellid n Fes ifka afus di tmurt nsen, yedda akked Fḡansa. Si tama nniḍen, tadyant nni

taneggarut n Bu Teyyult terna tesfecl-iten ugar. Bu Teyyult niqal Ikker-d ad ikkes aḡilif ḡef tmurt n Merṛuk, nitni kkren yid-s, taggara yezzenz tamurt akked ddaw tmurt i Sbanya akken ad tyez Iminat n wuzzal d waldun.

At Arif ḡran zdat nsen tidett qerṛiḡen. Ma yella ur bgisen nitni, ur d-ittas yiwen d amḡaddi ad sen-d yefk tayett. Akka d Sbanya, akkin d Fṛansa seg idisan n wadda, zgan-d ger sin iḡesmaṛen n wayzen. Ur illa wanda ad rewlen.

Si 1906, Sbanya teseks-d, aḡezzu deffir wayeḡ, taggara tetṛef timura i yasen isehlen. Tama n ljebliyen, s ufus n Ṛaysuni, tekcem tiḡremt n Laâṛac, Asilaḡ, Tiṭwan akked wakal i yas d-izzin. Di 1919, din di Tiṭwan i yella waddar n jiniṛal Damasso Berenguer, d kumisaṛ ameqran n Sbanya.

Si tama n Mellila, deg agmuḡ, Sbanya tcudd iman-is deg wakal nni n Imtallsen akked d At Bu Yaḡi. Di 1919, Sbanya tella tger aḡar, terna tebbi-d amur si tmurt n Arif. Tiṭ-is nettat tra ad teg asurif ameqran alamma d anda i yas d-rran talast di Algesiras, anda akken ad temlil nettat d lâeskeṛ n Fṛansa. Fṛansa akked Sbanya llan d lḡiran di Uṛupa, deg idurar n Pirini⁸⁹, ass-a nwan, s yiḡil nsen, ad ilin d lḡiran deg idurar n Tmazḡa, di tmurt n Arif.

Di 1919, tikli akked tmuyli n Irifiyen tbeddel. Ass-mi yekker uberraḡ ḡef unekcum n Sbanya di tmurt n Imtallsen akked wakal n At Bu Yaḡi, ur d-ikkir yiwen Urifi ad d-yini «mačči d ugur-iw nekk, send ur d-wiḡen iḡrem-iw nekk !».

Awal iteddu, At Arif di yal iḡrem tnekkaren-d yergazen i yimenyi. Di tmemmast n 1920, Jiniṛal Sylvestre ikcem-d annar. Agellid n Sbanya, Alphonse XIII, yuzen-it-id akken ad yeg ṭrad, netta yerna

⁸⁹ Idurar n Pirini: Les montagnes des Pyrénées, frontière franco-espagnole.

tardast ɣer zdat, inwa ad isenger «los moros». Anda yedda ad izwir di tukksa n sser ɣef At Arif, d aqcic, d argaz, d amyār neɣ d tameṭṭut. Ur teqqim tyita, ur iqqim yir awal, am netta am lâeskeɣ-is. Jiniṛal Sylvestre yusa-d i tṛad, netta ad yeg tṛad. Icudd arkasen, izwar i lâeskeɣ-is, abrid-is ɣer At Kelates akked d At Sâaid.

Agraw n Tafersit

Nnan, yiwen uɣus ur ikkat llir. Anejmaâ amezwaru ameqran i tnekra n At Arif yella-d di yunyu 1920 di tiyremt n Tafersit, ger teqbilin n At Temsaman, At Tuzin, At Sâaid, akked At Waryayen. Deg At Waryayen, yiwen seg wid yezwaren ad d-snekren imjahden akken ad gen afrag i Sbanya, d lqaḍi Abdelkrim n At Xetṭab. Yusa-d wass-is. Lqaḍi Abdelkrim ur iqqim d aneggaru. Ass-n, izwar zdat 400 yimnayan s ibeckiden, abrid nsen ɣer wedrar n Lqama, agemmaḍ i Asif Ameqran.

Arraw n lqaḍi Abdelkrim, Muḥend akked Mḥemmed, qimen deg Ajdir akken ad d-afen amek ad sbedden, s wawal akked tmussni, tikli nni n Jiniṛal Sylvestre deg wakal n Arif, akkin i tliisa timezwura n Sbanya.

Anejmaâ nni n Tafersit yusa-d d tasarut nni i yuckan aḥal iseggasen aya, i ufan At Arif. Qqimen-as akken ad sduklen iyallen nsen mgal ayen i yasen d-yusan si Sbanya. Ass-a ṣran yiwet teqbilt iman-is ur tezmir ad tdegger akkin tazmert tameqrant n Sylvestre. Tiyimit nni n Tafersit tusa-d d tagejdit i tnekra nsen.

Imnayan n At Waryayen akked d wid n teqbilin nniḍen gan afrag deg yiyil n Lqama. Afus n Sbanya ɣezzif, ssnen-as i tyita udebuz, ssnen i tyita s thila. Tadukkli nni n At Arif, slan-yis, ur

teffiy fell-asen. Agur si mi llan din, yiwet tmeddit lqaḍi Abdelkrim yettef taâbbut-is, yuḍen aṭan ameqran. Si mi t-id-sawḍen yer Ajdir, yesred deg usu. Yerna deg wexxam-is azal n 40 wussan ur izmir ur ijji. Taggara yemmut deg wass n 7 yect 1920. Yenṭel di tmeqbert n Sidi Muḥ U Aâli, deg Ajdir.

Muḥend ur as iga ccek. Baba-s d Sbanya i t-inyan s usečči. Nyan-t s ufus n yiwen n at tmurt-is.

Di tenṭelt n lqaḍi, tamurt n Arif tenneyl-d yer tmeqbert n Sid Muḥ U Aâli. D ayen isarem lqaḍi Abdelkrim si zik n zik i d-iwḍen deg wass nni n tenṭelt-is: teddukel tmurt n Arif. Tamuyli nni ur as tensir i Muḥend. Baba-s yas immut, abrid yuy baba-s idder.

Mi yezra zdat-s imaâzzan nni, Muḥend ira ad sen yini awalen nni i yesla aḥal n tikkal deg umezzuy-is netta. Awalen nni issen-iten si mi yella d amezyan, isekcem-iten deg wallay-is, uyalen d tafat nni yis-iteddu. Awalen nni snin, gezmen, ḍersen zun d azeṭṭa n wustu d tadutt. Lemmer d ffiyen deg yimi n Muḥend, yili yal yiwen di tmeqbert nni ad sen isel : Ayen nesarem si zik d abrid n tafat, abrid ad ay-ikkisen laḥ, ammus, war tamussni, tayennant garaney. Abrid nesarem yezra di yal tiyilt, di yal tayzut, di yal tazayart. Abrid nni d abrid nney, d abrid n tissas nney, d abrid n imal nney. Gas yergel yella usalu, ad as neddukel ad neṛḥ asalu nni ad neffel akkin i tizi. Aḥal iseggasen aya, aḥal n leqrun aya i yezrin nekkni d amerḥi n yal ass. Nnan zik, amennuy n yizem yan wass, amennuy n waydi yal ass. Ihi, ass-a akka i teḍra yidney, negra-d i umerḥi yal ass garaney akked Sbanya i d-iččan idisan nney. Zik d Sbanya kan, ass-a terna-d tmurt n Fransa yer idisan nney n wadda. Anda yella uḥeddur n tmellalin i ten idiseksen yer tmurt nney ? Timmas n Sbanya i d-imyin yer idisan

ney ggumant ad frunt, gumant ad jjint. Nitni zḡan tuḡḡal deg wakal nney, nekkni yekka iyisi di tesga, ur nezmir. Taggara timmas nni nufa-tent d asafar i tindaw⁹⁰ nney. Tadyant nney nekkni akked Sbanya am tin n wakniwen. Lulen-d akken di taâbbuḡt n yemmat-sen, taggara d tamara ad sdukklen tudert nsen, ad zdin akken ad semlilen tayett. D abrid agi i yaḡ iseddan deg webrid ideyqen akken ad d-naf abrid idukklen, win iseggmén, isawaḡen yer liser. Deg webrid agi, neḡwa akessar d usawen. Ur negguni kra sḡur wid nney neḡ sḡur Sbanya. Nedda s neyya, nefsi tundar icudden, nekkés tayennant anda i d-tennulfa, nečča tiyita ur yeḡ nebna. Nezra di tiḡḡ n tissegnit, nesbeḡ, necrew-itt meḡriyet. Tiḡila n Sbanya nessen-itent, tikerkas n at tmurt nney neḡra-tent, deg-sent i d-nekker. Nekkni nra ad nekkés ayen ur nelha si tama-ya akked tama-yen, nra ad nesdukkel yal tama deg wmur-is n wayen ilhan. Ma d inziz kan, nesarem ad t-id narez, ad t-ncudd i wenziz nniḡen akken ad nessali azeḡḡa i tcemlit n tmurt. Nesarem tamurt n Arif ad tuyal d tamurt d wawal. Tawayit tameqrant tusa yaḡ-d ansa ur nebni. Tusa yaḡ-d si tiḡremt n Fes nni i nenwa d timiḡḡ n tmurt nney. Amek, agellid i nesulli yer igenni, win i nerra d agellid n yinselmen, taggara iḡra i uḡumi, isekcem-it-id akken ad isenger atmaten-is ? Ur d-igra wayen ilhan sḡur at tqelmunin n Fes. Si tama nniḡen, ur illa d azayar, d abrid usennan inijel akked tidderyelt. Ixsimen n Sbanya zun deg yiwen uqaleb i d-frurin, tiḡ nsen teqqim kan di leqrun nni deg llan zemren ugar n tmura nniḡen, ssnen ugar, ufraren am di leqrun nni deg zegren ilel d yilel ffyen akkin yer Marikan, urzen igerrujen n wureḡ n Peru. Tallit tbeddel, nitni qqimen akken llan. ḡas akken, nekkni ur

⁹⁰ Tindaw: aḡan n waḡḡawen / wallen) (français : trachome)

nekkis asirem ad d-naf irgazen n Sbanya i yufraren, wid iran ayen ilhan i tmurt nsen, wid igan iccer n leqder i tmurt n Arif. Nekkni nesarem d iseggasen ad d-naf irgazen agi ur nuyes, armi d ussan agi ineggura mi d-yusa Jiniṛal Sylvestre si Sbanya. Mi d-yewweḍ kan yer Mellila, Sylvestre iseḥma tbel-is. Nekkni tewḍ-aḡ-d tafat yer wanzaren, ur illa anda ad nerwel. Taggara, akken teffey teffey, yif tamettant azaglu n Sbanya!».

Mi tefra kan tenṭelt n lqaḍi, Muḥend isereḡ agmer-is, iddem abeckid, yuy abrid ufella netta d Abdeslam⁹¹, gma-s n baba-s. Abrid nsen yuli yer yiyil n Lqama.

Iteddu Muḥend akken ad yay amkan-is ger imjahden, anda i yella baba-s kra waguren izran. Deg webrid nni n tikli ger Ajdir akked yiyil n Lqama, Muḥend iseqdec allay-is. Tadyant d tameqrant. Gas yessen yefra-tent aḥal n tikkal, lmut n baba-s teḡḡa-yas-d ilem. Gas inneyni Muḥend ikkes-as unezgum. Awal n baba-s akked webrid n baba-s yufa-ten Muḥend deg waṭṭawen n wid nni yellan di tenṭelt deg Ajdir. Tamuyli nni d-yerran yures ur as-teḡḡa anda ad as-yeg tagut i wallay-is. I nitni tefra: lqaḍi yemmut, lqaḍi yedder. Abrid n Muḥend yuki-yas yenjer, ad yay amkan n baba-s.

Deg webrid nni n wedrar i yas-yuki ugar i unezgum d-yerzan At Xetṭab. Ussan nni deg yella iselqaf baba-s, ur illa yedder ney yemmut, Muḥend yella deg uferfud. Awal nni aqerḥan yusa-t-id yer Ajdir: Muḥend izra anwa afus i yeseččen baba-s, afus nni yenyan baba-s. Ussan nni izwaren lmut, iwzen-as amek i d ix-f-is tedyant nni. Taggara, si mi yenṭel wemyar, uyalent-as tmedlin,

⁹¹ Iffey wawal n tikli n Muḥend akked Abdeslam mi yuyen abrid n Lqama. Tiligram iffey si tegzirt n Nekkuṛ abrid-is yer Mellila, inna: «Si Mohand El Khattabi akked aâmmi-s Abdeslam uyen abrid n Jbel Lqama akken ad kecmen di "la Harka" yellan din».

tekkas tebrek deg wallay-is, tusa-d tafat ur igguni. Abrid-is iban-as-d, d abrid hrawen ifflen akkin i yiyil. Tikli nni tayeẓfant yer wedrar teḡḡa-yas ad tent-ifru d yiman-is, yiwet yiwet.

Γas afus i yenyan baba-s yeẓra-t. Ma d ayen yeẓra ugar d win i yas d-iseylen i ufus yeseččen inya. Afus deg d-tusa tyita, d win i d acengu. Muḥend ızra, d afus n Sbanya. Mi yenṭel wemyar i yasen-ifra awal i At Xeṭṭab, i wid ten-iqerben, i At Waryayen: amyar d Sbanya i t-inyan. Yefra wawal!

Tawekka nni n ttaṛ i yeččan tamurt n Arif si leqrun d leqrun, ass-a tusa-d, tewed-d Muḥend akked d watmaten-is. Deg wallay n Muḥend tefra: Ma nesarem ad nekkas tabarda i tmurt nney, ad as-d-nessis ussan ilhan i tarwa nney azekka, ilaq-ay tamezwarut ad nekkas tayennant nni yellan deg-ney. Si zik n zik negren iyerman, uzzlen idammen, ylin yergazen di tlufa ur nferru. Llan-tikkal yef ulac ad isix wedrar, ad msenyen yergazen, ad tt-id-ḡḡen si lḡil i lḡil. Tundi tcerkett yal ass gar yemdanen. Ayen illan si zik, taggara yerna yesimyar si mi d-ikcem Sbanya. S tedrimt nsen, skecmen-d tawekka isenfufuden trennu. Anda i tekker ur tella tifat send ur ngirent twaculin. Tekker taluft yef aydi, izimer yeksan ney iniyem yeḡlin akkin i talast, ur din tifat. Tadyant nni ad tili kan d asafu yesekren times, mi tekker yiwen ur d-ismekti tadyant nni tamezwarut. Seg iniyem yer ubarud ur illa umecwar alamma tama tekka di tayed.

Muḥend ifra ad izwir si tmes nni ad tt isens din. Awal nni ines igzem, ifra, ur izmir yiwen ad as-isunef: «amyar d Sbanya i-t-inyan!».

Simal iteddu deg webrid n wedrar, simal awalen ihegga ad ten yini i wid yellan din ferrun deg wallay-is : Γas neddem abeckid ad nennay Sbanya, ur nezmir ad neqqim kan deg imenyi nni. Nek

walay imenḡi amezwaru ad yili mgal wayen yellan ur ilha di tmurt nney, ayen ur ilhan deg-ney di laâwayed nney. Sbanya akked Fṛansa i d-iččan tamurt nney, tazwara armi tufa iyisi deg-ney; Aṛumi iwet-aḡ ass-a s yiḡil nney, s ufus nney s wayen ur nelha deg-ney. Ma nefka udem yiwen, udem n tagmatt, ad as-neddukel i tnekra, ad nesiweḡ.

Iteddu Muḥend deg webrid-is mi yeḡra zdat wallen-is tiḡaltin n Lqama. Di laâmeḡ-is 38 iseggasen, d argaz n warraw-is. Isarem azekka ad d-kkren warraw-is di tmurt yesarem netta. Abrid wezzil neḡ yezzif, awi-d kan ad isiweḡ.

Mi d-yerra tamuḡli ḡer ugar n 10 iseggasen izran di tmeddurt n Mellila, ger Iṣebenyulen akked Imaziḡen am netta, tuḡal-as zun d anezgum. Amek deg iseggasen nni ur ibeddel tamuḡli n Sbanya ḡef tmurt n Arif. Ur izzim ḡef yiman-is, netta isawel, inna, yura deg iyḡisen, iseḡzef awal, tagara awalen-is kecmen sya, ffyḡen syen. Aṛumi n Mellila akked Madrid yefra wawal nsen si zik: llan nnig medden. Amuṛu ad iqqim kan deg wemkan-is akken ad kerzen-yis. Ma d win d-yufraren yeḡran yessnen am Muḥend, awal nsen yiwen: kečč mačči am wiyad! Kečč am nekkni. Ačḡal n tikkal i d-teweḡ tkurt nni n wurfan, ad d-tali am tkurt n tmes ireqqen, ad d-isuffeḡ ayen yellan deg wul-is. Taggara ad yerr imetman di tgerjunt-is, ad isusem. Di tallit nni, d awal nni n imezwura i yas d iteggen afud: «afus ur tezmireḡ ad t-tyeḡḡed suden-it». Di tikli-s ḡer Lqama, Muḥend ifra, ad ikker, ad iyeḡ afus nni i ten-iwten ačḡal.

Ḡas yerfed abeckidḡ yuli, Muḥend ur ikkis asirem ad d-iseḡdeb Sylvestre akked wid iḡekmen di Mellila neḡ di Tiṡwan. Isarem ad ten id-yerr ḡer webrid send ad inḡel ubuḡal. Mi yedda ad yali ḡer Lqama, iweṣṣa gma-s Mḡhemmed akked wid yellan din deg Ajdir

akken ad smeyren tanekra, akken day ad gen tajmaât ar ad
isiwlen nettat d Sbanya ma fkan-d udem. Si tama n Muḥend, ḡas
afus iddem abeckid, si tama-s, awal n tifat ur igdil, abrid n tifat
ur irgil.

9. Tṛad n Arif (1920 - 1926)

Di 1920, tamurt n Sbanya tella tessent tamurt n Arif, tessent-itt seg aḥal n leqrun si mi d-tella yer tama-s, di Sebta, di Mellila ney di tegzirin n Nekkuṛ akked tiyaḍ. Sbanya tessent akal tardast tardast, tessent idurar-is, tessent isaffen-is. Ayen tessent ugar Sbanya d imezday-is, Irifiyen. Tessent-iten akken ur ssinen nitni iman-nsen. Sbanya tufa iyisi anda i tenta tucrar-is. Tesenta-tent ger yiccer d weksun, di tyennant nni yellan ger at Arif, ger watmaten : d tismen akked d wurar n ttaṛ yal ass, urar nni aberkan anda yiwen ur tt-iḡḡa yef wayeḍ, win icḍen ad imceḥ tayebbart ney ad iqlileḥ.

Anekcun nni n Jiniṛal Aizpuru deg wakal n At Bu Yaḥi akked Imtallsen s war imenyi, ass-a yules-as Sylvestre. D abrid n Aizpuru i d abrid yuy Sylvestre. Deg iberdan deg yedda, deg wakal n Arif, ur illa ubaṛud ur illa imenyi. Am tikli umezwaru nni am ass-a, ur illa yiyil ad d-iwten, tamurt zun texla!

Abrid n Sylvestre yefra, d abrid i yas d-fran wid illan di Madrid: ad iffey si Mellila, syen ad iddu ad yali yer idurar, ad izger asif n Kert, taggara ad idwi am tmedda yef At Waryayen. Sylvestre yeḗra laârc n At Waryayen d yiwen ger ifergan usennan i unekcum n Sbanya di tmurt n Arif. Sylvestre akked wid iḥekmen di Mellila fran-tt. Ma yettef tanemmast, deg Ajdir akked uzayar n Lḥusima, din izmer ad izzu tuzzal-is di tmurt n Arif.

Timlilit nni n Tafersit tga-d afrag i tikli n Sylvestre deg udrar. Nnan, acengu zwir-as, mager-it deg webrid-is, anda ur ibna,

mačči ar d-yawed tasga. Ma ikcem-ak-d tasga, tewed tafat yer wanzaren, ur d-iqqim imenyi.

D abrid nni i yuy Muḥend akken ad iseggem imjahden yeffyen ad gen afrag i tikli n Sbanya.

Mi yekcem Lqama, Muḥend ibedd-as i rray akken ad iseggem tanekra. Muḥend yessen, yeyra ayen ur gran watmaten-is n Arif. Gas akken, ayen yeyra ugar ilmed-it deg umezruy n Arif, seg iseggasen nni izran n imenyi mgal Sbanya ney tikkal mgal igelliden n Fes. Yufa-d Muḥend tanekra ilaq-as ad tili s webri-d-is, d tanekra izemren ad tettef iseggasen d iseggasen. D abrid nni i wumi yekker ussan nni kan imezwura i yuli yer wedrar n Lqama.

Tikli nni n zik, tikli nni «ar zdat a yatmaten» ilaq-as ad tekkes.

Yal tikkelt ad tili tyita mgal Sbanya, ad d-mlilen imnayan s ibeckiden nsen. Yal yiwen seg-sen s ubarud-is, s waâwin-is. Win iqqimen kra wussan, mi yas ifuk ubarud akked tgella nni, ad izzi ad yuyal yer wexxam-is d twacult-is. Yal yiwen seg-sen yella d amjahed, d afellaḥ. Ma di tallit n tkerza ney n tmegra, yas yella uberraḥ, ur tafen yiwen ad iddu ad iwet abeckid mgal Mellila, Sebta ney imkan nni. Tanekra imir, tella am twizi, ass-a tella, azekka ur tella. Imjahden am uglaf n tzizwa, tikkal yella, tikkal yexla.

Deg ugraw nni n Lqama, Muḥend yufa-d awalen i yasen inna i yemyaren nni d-yewwin imjahden n At Waryayen am netta, At Tuzin, At Bu Yaḥi, At Temsaman akked d lbeqqiwen. Inna-yasen amek ad bedden abrid i tnekra. Ma yella wayen ur ssinen, ad zren kan zdat nsen amek tella tudssa n Sbanya, ad zren ma tugar tin n At Arif ney ala. Nnan «issin acengu-k send ad tennayed acengu-k». Awalen n Muḥend uyen azar deg

yergazen yellan din. Żran yelli-yasen aṭṭawen nsen s tmuyli werġin ssinen.

Mi yasen-ifra abrid, yeżra ad as ayen awal, ikker iga tuddsas deg wemkan nni anda llan : isdukel imjahden n iyerman ɣas ur myussanen, isbedd wid ittnawalen akken ad ččen yimjahden učči yehman, yufa-d wid yessnen tussna n lâeskeṛ selmaden atmaten nsen di tṛad. Iselmed asen ayen yellan d amaynut ur ssinen: iselmed-asen amek ad ɣzen tisrafin deg wakal, yal yiwen anda yella akken ad ilin deg ufrag inetlen.

Mi yedda Muḥend ad yezzi yer Ajdir akken ad isemyer tanekra, iġġa di Lqama tuddsas n tnekra tuy aṣar.

Deg aguren nni n tegrest 1920 i usemmit n tizi d wedfel, imjahden Irifiyen sbedden afrag ur nefcil. Tagmatt nni tesdukel-iten zun d yiwen, tefka-yasen tirkelt i wussan d-iteddun. Mi tekcem tefsut 1921, iyli-d usigna yef tmurt.

Uzzlen idammen di suq n Ajdir

Deg wass n larbâa 13 di Yebrir 1921, d ass n suq deg Ajdir. Imdanen teddun akka d wakka di suq nni, yal yiwen d abrid-is, yal yiwen d isufar yef ittazzal ad ten-yaɣ. Yal yiwen ansi d-yusa ad iseweq; llan din yemdanen n Ajdir, llan At Qemra, At Hicem, At Buâayyac, Tamasint, Imzuṛen, Azayar... Yella yeččuṛ suq mi yekker uyebbaṛ akked herwel n lbumbat di tneemast n suq. Imsewqen nni, d anejli anda zemren ad sdergen ixfawen nsen. Wa yuzzel yenser, wa yeyli yejreh, wa tgezmit lbumba yeqqim din, yesred, teddun idammen deg-s.

Si tegzirt n Nekkuṛ, tin i yellan deg waman agemmaḍ i Ajdir, i d-tusa tyita. Sbanya tefka-d ayen wumi tezmer s yimrad-is⁹², tefka-d times n lbumbat i yemsewqen n Arif. Mi tezra kan tegnitt nni tamezwarut n usduqqes, imjahden n Arif, yer tama n Muḥend Abdelkrim, uzzlen akkin yer yiri n waman, yer Lḥusima. Mi derren s ibeckiden nsen, fkan aâbaren n waldun yer tegzirt n tilufa. Gas d tawayit s tidett, at Arif ikkes-asen uyilif. Tamurt n Sbanya tewet-iten-id, irgazen n Arif rran-as tiyita s ubaṛud akken zemren.

Tiyita n Sbanya s wemrud yer tneemast n suq n Ajdir tella-d deg ubrid-is n tkerkas. Jiniral Sylvestre akked ifesyane-is, heggan tadyant wumi sarmen ad d-teḍru. Nwan, mi yekker herwel n tyita yer suq n Ajdir, adrum⁹³ n Sbanya ad d-ikker si tama-s, ad isdukkel imdanen yef yebna, ad innay imjahden imezwura irefden ibeckad.

Tiyita nni tesuffey-as tirga tezleg i Sbanya. Yella yiwen wawal di Tmazya, ssnen-t yemdanen seg yixef yer yixef n tmurt : «Ur ḥemmley/riy gma, ur ḥemmley win ad t-yewten». At wedrum nni yef tebna Sbanya ad tekcem tiyremt n Ajdir, taggara amur ameqrان seg-sen uyalen-as d icenga imezwura i Sbanya. Idammen nni yuzzlen di suq n Ajdir isdukkel At Arif. Takemmict nni n imdanen itwassnen, i yellan d ifadden n Sbanya, ččan srewten s ufus nsen, taggara xetṭan-ten At Arif akken ilaq. D tamara fell-asen, fkan-d tabzert nsen i tnekra mgal Sbanya. Wid deg-sen izelgen, At Arif seryen ixammen nsen. Win i d yuyalen

⁹² Amrud (imrad) = Imedfaâ (français = canon)

⁹³ Adrum n Sbanya= 'les amis de l'Espagne' (Irifyen yellan malen yer tama n Sbanya, tiwaculin yef tebna ad tekcem tamurt n Arif)

yer webrid yeqqim, win irewlen izger akkin yer tegzirt n Nekkur, yenfa ddaw laânaya n Sbanya.

Tiyita nni n 13 di yebrir, ilmend ad tebḍu at Arif yef sin iderma, taggara tesdukkel-iten i tnekra.

Tiyita s wemrud ameqran yer tmemmast n suq tefka-d udem n tikli n Sbanya. Muḥend yufa Sbanya ur telmid yiwet. Suq d amkan n talwit, yal yiwen ansi d yusa, wa ad isenz, wa ad yay isufar-is, wa ad iẓer imeddukal-is syen ad yuyal yer wakal-is. Di suq, ur illa imenḡi ur illa ugeccim, ur illa ubarud. Suq zun d tamesgida, abeckid ad intel akkin, aâkkaz ney amezrag ad yers akkin, tafrut deg wegrab. Di suq, ɣas mlalen tiḡ yet tiḡ sin yellan d ixšimen ney d icenga deg yiḡrem nsen, ɣas si yiwet twacult, ur zmiren ad myewaten din. Yiwen ad yanef akka, wayeḍ ad yanef akkin. I sin yid-sen ẓran akal-nni deg llan, ur illa d akal n tyita, n ttaḡ n tmegraḍ. Akal nni deg llan d akal n laânaya n teqbilt. Ma yeceḍ yiwen yerḡa laânaya nni, ad iwzilen wussan-is, ad d-yeḡḡ tacmatt i twacult-is d wid ad d-ilalen deffir-s. Akka, suq d amkan n talwit anda myussanen yemdanen iteddun din.

S tyita nni, Sbanya teffey abrid, ur illa wawal ur llan sin, tesureg-d aldun d ubarud, tesazzel idammen n Imaziyen n Arif.

Tiyita nni yef ur bnan, tusa-d d tarzeft i Muḥend Abdelkrim akked wid ibegsen ad dehmen Sbanya. Ma llan wid yellan gunin tifat akked Sbanya ass-n fran d webrid nsen. Ma llan wid ikukran, ass-n ikkes-asen ukukru. Asalu nni n tnekra yerḡez yef yiwet tikkelt. Si yiwet tama d At Arif, si tama nniḍen d Sbanya, akkin di tegzirt n Nekkur akked tmura i tella teḡḡef. Akka tefra taluft.

Tella tayeḍ. Mi zelzen yemdanen, tiwuya d użeggi, yal yiwen anda yewwet ad isentel aqerru-s, wa yeğğa arkasen-is, imjahden n Arif, deffir Muḥend Abdelkrim, ur rewlén. Kkren, uzzlen, sdukklen ibeckiden nsen, wten s waldun tizirt n Nekkuḥ. Gas abeckid ur idda i tyita ugadir ameqran n wezru n lkazirna n Nekkuḥ, At Arif zran atmaten nsen rran tiyita.

Illa deg wawal, win yerran tiyita yiwen wass, dayen yekkes-as ukukru. Azekka ur izmir ad yaḡ takessart i tyita d-yernan. Akken at Arif, ikkes-asen ukukru i tnekra.

Mi yuli Muḥend yer wedrar n Lqama di taggara n yebrir akken ad isefqed yef yemjahden yellan din d iaâssasen, tallit tbeddel udem. Gas amur ameqran d At Waryayen, usan-d ugar si teqbilin nniḍen, am At Buyahi, At Temsaman, Ibeṭṭiwen. Tuddsa nni yesbedd din Muḥend, ass-a tefka imyi tennerna. Yal yiwen deg wemkan-is, yal yiwen yeḡra ayen ad yeg akked imeddukal-is. Irgazen nni yal ass bedden, tiṭ nsen yef ayen tgen lṣebenyulen agemmad i tyaltin n Lqama.

Qqimen-as di Lqama

Nnig 10 waguren i sbedden taâssast⁹⁴ di Lqama mar ad izger lâeskeḥ n Sebenyul. Gan afrag id d wass yal yiwen d amkan-is. Wid itṭfen abeckid llan, wid iqedcen llan, wid iteddun senqaden akka d wakka llan. Tuddsa n Muḥend s tidett tuy azaḥ. Gas llan

⁹⁴ Asefru yef tedyant nni n 1921 : « Aḥumi iga şuga,yuy Tizi Aâzza / Ira ad yeg ttay s waman n Ulma / A yimjahden tanekra, i wumi tameddurt am ta» / (« Le roumi fait souga il a pris Tizi azza / il veut faire le thé, avec de l'eau d'Alma / Moudjahidines au combat ! A quoi bon la vie »).

wid yuḡalen ḡer yiḡrem nsen, llan wid d ikecmen din amkan nsen. Lemmer d tanekra nni n zik, yili am twizi. Tikkal ad ilin meyya anda ilaq kan mraw yergazen, neḡ deg wemkan deg ilaq ur d-tettafeḡ yiwen. Anda ulac aqerru ur teddun iḡarḡen.

Mi d-yuḡal Muḥend akked imedduk-al-is si Ajdir, nnan-d ibeckidən akked lemkaḡel n tḡrad. Amur ameqran deg-sen s tedrimt n Muḥend Abdelkrim i tent-id-sasen.

Mi mlalen di tewirt n Lqama yemḡaren nni n laâḡac i d-ifkan irgazen imezwura, am At Waryayen, At Temsaman, At Tuzin, At Bu Yaḡi akked Ibeḡḡiwen, i yas qqimen ad sbedden aqerḡu i tnekra. Imḡaren ur zzin deg wawal, nnan-as i Muḥend Abdelkrim ad ibedd d netta i d aqerḡu n tnekra n Arif. Tifrat nni teqqim-d deg wawal: “tagallit n Lqama” (neḡ “laâḡhed n Lqama”). Di tejmaât nni, nnan-as awalen i Muḥend : tamezwarut d baba-k Lqaḡi Abdelkrim i d izwaren s yergazen akked ibeckidən ḡer wemkan aḡi. Ibedd s ubeckid-is armi d ass-mi t-nerra ḡer Ajdir ur iddir ur immut. D netta i d amjahed amezwaru di tnekra nney. Tis snat, d kečč i yessnen nnig at tmurt nney dagi. D kečč kan i wumi d-tewwi ad tuḡaleḡ d aqerḡu. Awal-ik d awal nney, abrid-ik d abrid nney.

ḡas iwzen-as Muḥend Abdelkrim i wayen d-iteddun ḡer zdat, tifrat nni n Lqama tesbab-as aybel ameqran ḡer yiri-s. Yuki-yas i weḡbel nni am tedyant nni n Mellila deffir tifrat n tnekra akked Imut n Muḥend Ameḡyan di 1912 nni. Ass-a tbeddel. Tadyant n Muḥend Ameḡyan d ayen izran, tefra, ma d tin n wass-a d asalu ad yeḡḡen i uzekka, iberdan ur fran. Ayen izran iban ur iffir, ḡran-t akk medden, ma d ayen d-iteddun ḡer zdat, akken yeffer i yesagad, ur t-turez tiḡ, ur t-id-yurez ufus.

Muḥend ibges, netta akk d imezwura i d-isbedd yer tama-s akken ad gen tigejda n tnekra. Tilufa mačči yiwet, γas abrid ubarud simal ifrez, abrid n talwit ur d-irgil. Ilaq-asen ad fken tazmert ugar i taâssast n Lqama, ad sbedden tazmert di Ajdir akken ad temmager ayen ad d-yasen si Nekkur neγ si Mellila deg webrid n waman, ilaq-asen day ad seddun awal nitni d Sbanya i tiffin n tifat. Tifat-is zran-tt, am Muḥend, am baba-s n Muḥend send ad immet, am umur ameqran n Arif : Sbanya ad teqqim kan di talast-is, ma d tamurt n Arif ad as-gen aqerru imawlan-is, ad ibedd adabu n yiman-is di timument-is⁹⁵.

Aybel ameqran n Muḥend Abdelkrim d tamurt uzayar. Sbanya tekcem-d amur n wakal n Arif, tezza tuzzal-is aḥal iseggasen aya. Teṭṭef Tiṭwan, tezmer ad tekcem si Lḥusima s ibabuṛen-is. Gas Muḥend iḡga-n wid ad yeseddun tanekra ugar deg Ajdir, deg At Waryayen, ira ad yuγal akken ad isemyer admer n tnekra n Arif. Ira ad ibedd din, ad iẓer wid yef ad yettkel. Tiddi deg udrar, tiddi deg uzayar, ur iẓra yiwen ansi ad tendeh.

Di Lqama, iẓra tikli nni n Sbanya deg yiγil akkin, syen ifka irgazen yer tawrarin i d-izzin i Lqama, yer Sidi Cayeb akked tid iqerben, gan afrag i webrid n Sbanya.

Mi yedda ad yuγal yer Ajdir, zun ifra-yas-t-id wawal nni n zik, akken yella wass, ad as yeks umeksa. Iserreḡ, yuγ abrid-is yer Ajdir.

Win iddan ad ay ikellex!

Deg webrid n Ajdir, Muḥend Abdelkrim yesfel tamuγli-s akkin i iseggasen d leqrun n umezruy n tmurt-is. Ira ad d-yaf tafat i wussan uyilif deg yella. Ayen i d-yufraren zdat wallen-is d

⁹⁵ Timument: tilelli tasertit (autonomie politique, indépendance).

tadyant nni n Zerḥuni Bu teyyult. Di tedyant nni, qqiment-as i Muḥend snat tedianin: di yiwet tama at tmurt-is, Irifiyen am netta, win iddan ad ten ikellex; di tama nniḍen, ma dduklen, adrar ad t-hudden.

“Bu teyyult” nni ur ızra yiwen ansi i d-iffey, syen yusa-d yer tmurt n Arif, si Taza, akken ad d-isemyer tanekra mgal agellid n Fes, akken ad yay amkan-is. Tamurt akk n Merḥuk ur as teččuṛ tiṭ, yusa-d yer wedrar n Arif akken ad yaf irgazen s wayes ad yeg ṭrad! Netta ikmez asen anda i byan, At Arif ddan yid-s am izamaren. Tallit deg yefka tazmert i yiḥil-is, yuḥal-asen d agellid n war tagelda, iserwet ayen wumi yezmer. Taggara iga laâqed, yezzenz akal akked ddaw wakal n Arif i Sbanya akken ad tyez lminat n wuzzal d waldun!

Muḥend ihuz aqerru-s. Amek tezmer ad teḍru tedyant am tin?

Di tama nniḍen, di kra n waguren yer zdat, d At Arif nni itwakelxen idelli nni i yuyen abrid n tissas. Kkren am zun d yiwen deffir Muḥend Amezyan, srewten Zerḥuni Bu Teyyult akked lâeskeṛ-is, syen cudden-t-id am yiḥid.

D tadyant nni mgal Bu Teyyult i d-yufraren ugar deg uqeṛṛu n Muḥend Abdelkrim: amek di yiwen wass yekkes ukukru, tekkes tigdi, At Arif, aqcic, argaz tameṭṭut, ddan deg udwi nni isrewten Bu Teyyult akked lâeskeṛ-is. Lâeskeṛ nni d tazza, At Arif d tazza deffir nsen, wa d azru, wa d taqabact ney tazzer, wa d tagelzimt. Win ibedden seg-sen immut, win yuzzlen yečča-t ujajih, win inetlen cudden-t-id am izimer. Di timsizzelt nni, taggara igra-d Bu teyyult, yurez-it-id lâeskeṛ n Muḥend Amezyan.

Amek i d-tella tnekra nni n At Arif, amzun d yiwen, deffir tallit n tergigit zdat tezmert n Zerḥuni, iseggasen nni anda tezza tiggugemt uqezzul-is, win d-irefden aṭṭawen-is ad t-yečč ujenwi.

D aḥar n tnekra nni i ira Muḥend Abdelkrim ad as-yaf ixef. Amek tezmer ad tekker tmurt di yiwen wass am uglaf n tzizwa?

Mi yella iteddu akken ad as-yaf ixef i tuttra-s, ad d-isefsusi tundar n tnekra nni, i d-yuḡal Muḥend ḡer tedyant nni n Bu Teḡyult. Ilmend deg ad iddu Bu Teḡyult ḡer terga am netta am lâesker-is, Muḥend Ameḡyan ikkes-it-id si lmut ger ifassen n At Arif, icudd-it, ifka-t d tarzeft i ugellid n Fes. Muḥend Ameḡyan isarem ad as-d-yuḡal lxiḡ si tama n ugellid n Fes. Taggara, am akken nnan si zik n zik: ur d-ittefk wareḡ tamemt. Agellid inḡa Zerḡuni di tmemmast n Fes, akken ad yimḡur ugennur-is, ad yimḡur yisem-is, ma d ibeckad d ubarud d yergazen i yesraem Muḥend Ameḡyan n At Bu Yifur akken ad innay mgal Sbanya, ulac. Ameḡyan, ḡas iḡrec, ikellex-it ugellid n Fes. Akka! Win iddan ad ay-ikellex!

Mi yewed Muḥend ḡer yiḡrem n Ajdir, amecwaḡ n 40 km , tezzin rennun leḡrun umezruy n Arif deg uqerru-s.

Tiyita n Aberḥran⁹⁶ (01/06/1921)

Di yal tamurt, di yal tallit, mi tekker tmes, teffel seg yiḥil yer yiḥil, tessery tuga d isekla, terra akal d iyed akked tibuxin, taggara ad yuḡal wawal yef usafu nni amezwaru i yefkan tawayit nni. Amek ad d-tuḡal tmuyli n wemdan seg iyallen d idurar akken ad tesenqed tasafut ney aceqquf n tirgin i yesemyin tezwey n wayen ur ttarzen ifassen ? Imir nni yal yiwen ad d-iselqem awal, ad iselqem aktay, ad d-yaf amek teḍra, ansi tebda, amek tedda. Llan tikkal deg iddukul wawal, iddukul waktay akken ad as-yini : da i tenti⁹⁷, da i tebda!

Akken di tḥrad n Arif. Asafu nni n tnekra s ubarud mgal Sbanya inti deg Aberḥran, deg wass amenzu n Yunyu 1921.



**Tawrirt n Aberḥran :
Imenyi amezwaru n tḥrad n Arif (01/06/1921)**

Deg wedrar n Lqama, imjahden n Arif si tama senqiden yer zdat, aghemmaḍ i wasif Ameqran. Yal ass senqiden, garen tamawt amek teddun akkin lâesker n Sylvestre. Si tama nsen, iserdasen

⁹⁶ Aberḥran ney ‘Dher Uberḥran’ di teqbilt n At Temsaman, (taqerrut n teskurt), d tawrirt iberzen deg llan imyan ney isekla yef tqacuct, am tḥabubt n teskurt.

⁹⁷ Inti: ibda (nti = bdu =commencer)

Sbanya kkren i tuddsa d usiwed n wuzzal yer wemkan nni n trad wumi cudden arkasen. Teddun yal ass, yal tawrirt ad as sbedden irgazen d wuzzal. Deg Anwal sersen azal n 6500 n yaâsekriyen. Ma agemmaḍ, di tewrirt n Lqama, Irifiyen sduklen-d irgazen d wuzzal, bedden yef iman-nsen, gan-d d afrag.

Gas awal ur igzim ger Irifiyen akked Sbanya di Mellila, yella usirem si yal tama i tifi n webrid n talwit. Si tama-s, Muḥend Abdelkrim isbedd Azerqan, argaz n wetma-s, d amsiwed n wawal netta d Sbanya. Sylvestre, netta ikcem abrid n trad. Si tama-s frant; yunez-it-id ugellid Alphonse XIII si Sbanya akken ad iserwet wid d-ikkren ad d-zgen d afrag deg webrid n Sbanya. Imelluza n Arif, jiniṛal Sylvestre ifra ad ten-idhem akken ad meḥen tayebbart. I Sylvestre, Sbanya meqquer ccan-is, win ur nessin ad as-icfu !

Deg yid n wass n 31 di magu 1921, Sylvestre ifka si Anwal 1500 iserdasen, s ibeckiden nen, Imatrayuzat akked wemrud afessas. Zegren Asif Ameqran, syen ulin yer tewrirt Aberṛan deg wakal n At Temsaman, i yellan agemmaḍ i Lqama. Sylvestre izwar ad ittef tiyilt nni send ad tt-ttifen Irifiyen. Yugad ma zwaren-t yer din, zemren ad reglen abrid n tikli-s yer tmurt n at Waryayen. Ass-a tuyal d timsizzelt anwa deg-sen ad izwiren amkan-in ney amkan-a, anwa ad d-ittefen tasawent.

Ddan lâesker nni n Sylvestre s tsusmi deg webrid nni n 5 km, ur illa wawal, am uccanen, deffir ufesyan nsen Villar. Mi yuli wass uzekka nni amenzu di yunyu (01/06/1921), Irifiyen zran si Lqama tawrirt n Aberṛan tetwazdey.

Imyaren⁹⁸ Irifiyen yellan di Lqama ukin-as i tyita nni. Mi žran Işebenyulen wden-ten-id yer ičumar nsen, zun kecmen-asen tasga, ur zzin deg wawal. Din kan fernen-d ger yergazen nsen azal n 500⁹⁹ ad izegren asif Ameqran ad kecmen Aberḥran. Gas d azal, ddan s leḥder si tdarit ar tdarit armi d-zzin i tewrirt n Ubeḥran. Mi žran amur n lâeskeḥ nni n Sbanya yuḡal ansi d-yusa, ḡḡan kan azal n 250 iserdasen akken ad tḥfen tawrirt nni. Gef tlata n tmeddit, yekker ubaḥud. Mi tewweḍ temrit d lxemsa n tmeddit yefra imenyi. Nesren seg-sen azal n 20 iserdasen rewlen akkin anda llan Işebenyulen nsen di Anwal, ma d amur ameqran igzem-iten řsaş. Gar-asen, mmuten 2 lqebḥanat akked 4 lyuḥnat. Mi tefra tyita, Irifiyen megren-d tamegra ilhan: 400 ibeckiden n Mauser, 60000 iqerḍasen, 4 lmatrayuzat akked d yiwen umrud afessas (batterie 65 n wedrar), rnan-d tiram n wučči i wachal n yergazen akked isenduqen n ddwa. Si tama Irifiyen, mmuten azal n 8 ney 9 yergazen.

Imenyi nni yeffey nnig akk wayen sarmen. Ikkes asen ukukru, tekkes-asen tigdi n Sbanya, ikkes fell-asen uzaylal. Tamuyli n wennar nni deffir imenyi terra yasen-d isey i wid nni akk yellan din: dehmen Sbanya, srewlen Işebenyulen, žran-ten teddun s tazza am yiwta.

Awal n tyita n Addar Ubeḥran yuḡ tamurt, yezger i yal tawrirt, i yal iyil, i yal asif, yeweḍ yal iyrem, yal taddart n Arif: Sbanya tečča tiyita!

Azekka nni kan n tyita n Ubeḥran, imjahden n Arif zzin-as i Sidi Dris i yellan yer tama n waman, anda yeffey wasif Ameqran yer

⁹⁸ Ger imyaren nni (ifesyane Irifiyen), illa Muḥammed Ḥaḥimi, Abdeslam n at Bu Ayyac, Muḥammed Lqadi, Cwayeb Afellaḥ. D nitni s imjahden nsen, i ikecmen Aberḥran.

⁹⁹ G. Ayache, La Guerre du Rif , p. 86.

yilel. Di ḥamu nni n imenḡi, uzzlen ḡer Sidi Dris acku d tiḡremt tella tetḡef Sbanya. Si tiḡremt nni i d-ikcem umur ameqran n wuzzal i yulin ḡer Anwal. Nwan Irifiyen ma ḡḡfen amkan nni, ad as gezmen i Sylvestre abrid n Mellila. Gas irgazen llan, At Arif ur zmiren ad kecmen Sidi Dris. Tella din tezmert i ten i-d-imugren s tmes ubarud ameqran. Taggara zzin-d ḡer deffir.

Di tallit nni deg tekker deg Aberḡran, abarud yella yeḡma di tama n ljebliyen, akkin tama n Tanja. Jiniral Berenguer, win illan nnig Sylvestre, d aqerḡu di Mellila, ikker i imenḡi mgal ḡaysuni. Di tazwara inwa ad as tishil taluft, taggara yufa-d iman-is iḡḡafar lexyal n ḡaysuni, tawirt tefka-t i tayed.

Mi yesla Berenguer s twayit n Aberḡran, yuzen-as-d awal i Sylvestre akken ad yerr aḡar, ad as iqqim ugar i unekcum n Arif. Tikli n wedrar n Arif llan deg-s isennanen. Di tazwara kan Berenguer yekkes tudsa nni tamezwarut i yas heggan: «ad ḡḡfen ljebliyen, syen ad kecmen tamurt n At Waryayen seg webrid n yilel, s ibabuḡen yellan di Mellila, ma d Sylvestre ad d-igzem adrar, ad d-yaweḡ iḡrem n Ajdir. Abrid n Berenguer akked Sylvestre ad mlilen di tnevmast n At Waryayen». Am Berenguer, am Sylvestre, ikcem-iten uferfud n tallit ibedden. Zdat nsen ikkr-d weḡref n Arif, ibges zun d yiwen, gar-asen yella Muḥend Abdelkrim.

Awal n tyita n Aberḡran iffḡen, ur iqqim d awal kan. Si yal taqbilt n Arif wḡen-d yergazen s ibeckiden. Gar-asen yella Si Ḥmidu n Wezzan akked Muḥammed Ikemlicen, win-d ugar n 1000 yergazen. Di kra wussan, tazmert n tnekra tessaweḡ azal n 4000 yergazen s wuzzal nsen, ger wid d-irennun d wid ittuyalen ḡer

ixxamen nsen. Asafu nni yesarem Muḥend, ass-a yuy di tmurt n Arif. Amek ad ismenteg asafu nni akken ad yuḡal d aḥeḡḡaḡu ameqran, ma terra tmara.

D tamara nni i wumi iga aybel Muḥend. Ass-a At Arif rran tiyita i Sbanya. S tyita Ubeḗḗran nnan-asen «anekcum n tmurt n Arif ur awen d-ittas s war tidi nwen akked idammen nwen», ḡas yif abrid n talwit abrid n ṭṭrad. Ussan nni, imḡaren yellan akked Muḥend bḡan tikli nsen ḡef sin: tuddsa n imjahen i tyita, tuddsa n iḡerman; di tama nniḡen d aselqem n wawal nitni d Sbanya akken ad d-afen tawurt i tifat. Ḥas yeffeḡ ubaḗud, Muḥend Abdelkrim ur ira ad yeg ṭṭrad mgal Sbanya. Netta ira tifat¹⁰⁰: Sbanya ad tezzi ḡer tliisa-s di Sebta akked Mellila, tamurt n Arif ad teg aqerḗu i yiman-is s warraw-is. Ad qqimen d lḡiran i talwit nitni d Sbanya. D win i d abrid yuy Muḥend di yunyu 1921.

Anekcum n Ubeḗḗran s webrid-is.

Imjahden yellan di Lqama ur ggunin Muḥend Abdelkrim, i yellan di Ajdir, akken ad sen yefk lameḗ ad sdukklen tazmert ilaqen, ad kecmen Aḡeḗḗran s ubaḗud d waldun, ad srewten lḡebenyulen yellan din. D nitni i yellan di Lqama, d nitni i yas yufan aqerḗu i temsalt yellan zdat nsen. Ṣḗran s waṭṭawen nsen iserdasen n Sbanya kecmen tawrirt Ubeḗḗran, suffḡen-ten-id s iḡallen nsen akked ibeckidḡen nsen.

¹⁰⁰ Di tazwara n ṭṭrad n Arif, tikli n Muḥend Abdelkrim tefka anza i tikli n Yugurten ger lqern -114 armi de taggara n -105. Di 7 iseggasen nni n ṭṭrad, Yugurten yennuy mgal 5 ifesyenen imeqranen n Ṣuman (Bestia, Albinus, Metellus, Marius, Sulla). Win i d-yusan si Ṣuma akken ad yerḡ Yugurten, ad yuḡal d ilem ansi d-ikka. Di tama-s, Yugurten yuzzel yal tikkelt akken ad d-yaf abrid n tifat akked Ruman. Yal tikkelt iwet ad sen isefrez abrid n talwit yif abrid n ṭṭrad. Taggara, abrid nni n imenḡi yuy-it Yugurten s tmara (sḡur Salluste, «ṭṭrad n Yugurten /La Guerre de Jugurtha/Yugurthinum Bellum»).

Lemmer d Sbanya i yellan deg wemkan n Irifiyen, yili afesyan tuy din ad isuter i win yellan nnig-s, netta ad isuter i win yellan nnig-s, akken d asawen alamma d aneggaru yellan nnig-nsen akk. Tiseddarin n tuddsa n lâeskeḥ am tseddarin n tikli. Tikkal, mi yewweḍ wawal ḡer uneggaru, win akken ad tt id-ifrun, ad tili tfut-it tagnitt.

Deg Ubeḥḥran, At Arif “wten uzzal skud yeḥma” mi ḡran kan lṣebenyulen kecmen Abeḥḥran, acku uḡen tanumi di tmeddurt nsen ferrun-tent d nitni. At Arif, am Imaziyen akken llan, di yal iḡrem, di yal tamurt, tuddsa nsen yiwet: gan-as aḡilif¹⁰¹, zemren i yima-nsen di temsal n tmeddurt, di tḡrad neḡ di talwit.

Yal iḡrem, yal taqbilt neḡ agraw n teqbilin, ḡḡan gar-asen tuddsa i yis-tedda tmeddurt nsen: aḡanun ger yemdanen, tilisa n wakal, tilisa n wawal, beḡḡu n waman. Di yal tallit zdin i yal tiwizi di tkerza neḡ di tmegra, nnig nsen ur illa ugellid ad ten iseddun s umezreg neḡ s uâkkaz. Ur kennun, ur sudnen afus. Agellid nsen yiwen, d Agellid Ameḡran izedyen igenwan, win ur ḡeḡḡent wallen, ur d-ttarzen ifassen.

Di Lqama, mi beḡsen ad zzin i lâeskeḥ n Sbanya i d-ikecmen Abeḥḥran, ḡran d nitni kan i tegguni. Sbanya tekcem tawrirt nni, Sbanya ad d-teffey si tewrirt nni. Nnan-t d awal gar-asen. Mi iteddu ad iḡli yiḡij, kecmen Abeḥḥran. S tidett, yella deg wawal n zik, win ur nekmiz i yiman-is, ur as-ikemmez yiwen.

¹⁰¹ Aḡref amunan : aḡref ilelli ur nella ddaw udabu (français : peuple autonome / indépendant)

Idles n imezday n Arif, wid ideggren akkin Iṣebenyulen, d adlis Amaziy. D adlis n tmurt ur teqqin tesnakta¹⁰² icudden imdanen, yaṣ yella ddin ineslem i ten isduklen.

Sbanya teṭṭef tawrarin

Di yal amennuy di Tmazya, yella deg wawal: win iṭṭfen tama ufella d win ad iwten. Awal nni, yal ameqran yal amezyan issen-it seg wuraren nni n temzi, «iṭṭef-as-d tasawent!» ney «iṭṭef-as tama ufella!». Awal yella si zik n zik acku amennuy yella s ifassen, s iḍarḥen am urar n tiqqar, ney s umezreg akked uaâkkaz d wezru. Mi yekcem jiniral Sylvestre tamurt n Arif si Mellila, yuy abrid n wedrar, tikli-s ad izger, ad yader yer At Waryayen. Deg wbrid-si, di yal tawrirt yeḡḡa amur n lâesker-is, gan-as din lkazirna. Ibda si Sidi Dris, Tililit akkin i wasif armi d Anwal akked Iyriben. Yal taqacuct n tmurt iga din iyrem n lâesker ifergen s tregwa deg wakal, s wuzzal d Iminat. Afrux ma izger deg igenni ad t-yečč řšař. Deg Anwal, Sylvestre isdukel amur ameqran n tezmert-is: 6500 iserdasen ger Iṣebenyulen akked Irifiyen Regulares¹⁰³, Imatrayuzat, imrad mačči yiwen ney sin. Sylvestre iṭṭef taqacuct n tmurt, zun deg igenni i yella, akken ad

¹⁰² Tasnakta: ayen yellan d tikta isduklen imdanen deg ufus udabu (français : idéologie, au service d'un pouvoir, ex. capitaliste, communiste, socialiste, nazie,...)

¹⁰³ Forças **Regulares** : lâesker imaziyen n Arif i yellan d iserdasen n Sbanya. Llan seg-sen wid iguḡan akken ad ččen aḡrum nsen, llan wid qqnen s tmara mi kecmen tamurt n At Said, At Bu Yaḡi ney tiqbilin nniḍen. Tamurt iṭṭfen ad d-fernen ilmezyen syen ad sen sersen d Regulares. Am Sbanya, am Fřansa, slulen-d lâesker n tmurt (tirailleurs algériens, Zouaves, goums, tabors marocains, tirailleurs sénégalais,...), akken ad gen řrad s idammen n at tmurt ... mgal tamurt!

Ur illa d ayen i d-tesnulfa Fřansa ney Sbanya. Mi yella Yugurten ittnay mgal Ruman (ger -114 d -105), jiniral Marius iga lâesker Imaziyen akken ad innay yissen Yugurten. Di yal tiyremt i kecmen (am Tala, Gafsa), lâesker n Ruman ad iffer akkin, syen ad zewren Imaziyen nni; mi yasen d-llin imezday tiwwura, kecmen, ad ddun deffir nsen s tazzla Ruman nni, taggara ad snegren tiyremt.

immeḡ am tmedda ḡef tmurt n At Waryayen, ad ikcem Ajdir d Lḡusima.

Tuddsa n Muḥend Abdelkrim akked imḡaren yellan yid-s di Lqama akked Mezwiḡa, anda iga tajmaât-is (QG)¹⁰⁴, iban-asen-d wudem-is, fran:

- Sylvestre ḡas iṡṡef tiḡaltin, ur irennu tikli ḡer zdat
- Niḡal d netta i iteddun anda ira, i yewten anda ira, ass-a d nekkn i ad yezwiren ḡer tyita
- Taggara, Sylvestre abrid-is irgel, ad yuḡal ḡer Mellila, ansi d-yusa.

Mi fran awal nsen, kkren. Iḡra-yasen-d ad gen ifadden i wawal nsen. Nnan, mi yas-d-smektan i Muḥend Abdelkrim, nnan-as :

- Ulac uzzal i yes ad nennaḡ Sbanya!

Netta yezḡel iyil-is ḡer Anwal, inna yasen:

- Uzzal deg Anwal i yella. Din ad t-id nekkes !

Mi yasen inna awalen nni, ur iḡra yiwen amek ad teffey tedyant deffir tiyita nni n Ubeḡḡan.

Am tasna n waḡeḡzen

Akken ad teqqim tawla nni ubaḡud ger imḡahden n Arif, Muḥend ifka amur deg-sen ad zzin i tawrarin teṡṡef Sbanya. Inna yasen: ezzit i lkazirna deg yiḡ deg wass, win deg-sen i-d-iḡallen aqerḡu-s ad ittwaqqed, ad bedden ar ad feclen, talwit ur tt-tafen.

Ussan nni n yunyu, yal ass ad d-awḡden yergazen si tama neḡ si tama yen ḡer wedrar n Lqama. Yal taqbilt tefka-d tissi-s. Awal iffey, ikkes ukukru, tiwizi tameḡrant tendeh di tmurt n Arif. Wid

¹⁰⁴ QG : Quartier Général, amkan anda tella tzeqqa n udabu (afesyan ameqran).

yellan zik d imeddukal n Sbanya, d nitni i yezwaren yer tṛad. Ass-a tefra, akka ney akkin, si yiwet tama d abrid n tlelli, si tami nniḍen d abrid n tixubbta.

Irgazen nni yefka Muḥend akken ad zzin i lkazirnat gan zun d agus i tawrarin nni. Tuzya nni s ubarud teqqen iserdasen n Sbanya anda i ten-tuy. Ilmend ad ffyen i tawrarin nniḍen akken ad sihrewen, nitni keblen deffir iderna n wakal akked d ifergan n ssilan n wuzzal, stuttin-d s Imatrayuzat nsen anda zran Irifiyen i yasen-iqqimen.

Di tallit nni, Muḥend akked ifesyenen-is tseggimen tanekra: bnu tikebbaniyin n lâeskeṛ, efren uzzal i yasen ilaqen, sdukkel taqbilt agi akked teqbilt nni, azen i teqbilin nniḍen ad d-fken amur nsen n tebzert i tgella, ayen ar ad ččen yergazen nni, sdukel wid ad yuḡalen yer iḡerman nsen akken ad duklen ad rnun ad inin awalen iseggmen.

Di tallit nni deg bedden Iṣebeniyulen di tawrarin, Irifiyen bennun tudsa nsen seg yixef yer yixef, zun d wid itturaren tiddas, yal ass s tiremt-is.

Amaynut ameqran ur ssinen At Arif yusa-d si tama n Muḥend Abdelkrim. Isnulfa-yasen-d almad akked tussna n tṛad¹⁰⁵. Imjahden nni yakk yellan di tyaltin, wid ibedden i tmuyli bedden, wiyad lemden amek ad nnayen, amek ad ffren, amek ad dduklen d takemmict ad azzlen akkin. Muḥend yufa-d wid yellan zik d iserdasen yer Sbanya, wid i yessnen tasuddest n lâeskeṛ, uḡalen d iselmaden n watmaten nsen.

Di kra wussan d imalasen, imjahden nni ur nessin isem d tudsa uḡen amur n tussna i yasen ilaqen ass-a. Imaziyen n Arif ffyen seg webrid nni n zik n «adham yer zdat alamma d Imut!» kecmen

¹⁰⁵ Tussna n tṛad: science de la guerre/entraînement militaire

abrid n tmussni i yeddin di yal tamurt: aheggi n tiddas send ad iffeḡ ubarud. Send abarud, llan wid ad yezmiren, wid ad yeddarin ad ḥudden ḡef imezwura nni, wid ad yegrin ad gezmen abrid i wid ad d-yasen si tama nniḍen. Imjahden nni Irifiyen sellen i wid i yasen islemden ayen werḡin slan.

Abrid nni n tasna n warezzen iga-t Muḥend akken ad yefk afud i tezmert n yemjahden, akken ad d-islal tazmert tameqrant s ifellaḥen nni i d-yusan s wul nsen ad fken idammen nsen i wudem n tmurt nsen.

S tuzya nni i yasen izzi i tawrarin teṭṭef Sbanya, netta ḡur-s isedha-ten din akken ur teddun ḡer zdat. Ayen qqimen din ikkes-d si ṭrad, ma tezmer ad d-tas tifrat. Muḥend isedda sin iberdan am zun ur izwer wa ney win, ḡas si tama-s netta d talwit. Si yiwet tama ibennu tuddsa n tnekra, si yiwet tama isedda awal netta d wid issen di Mellila akken ad d-rren jiniṛal Berenguer akked jiniṛal Sylvestre ḡer webrid n tifrat. Yal ass yella win ad yesiwḍen awal-is ḡer Ajdir, yella win ad d-yawin awal si Ajdir.

Am Muḥend Abdelkrim, am Irifiyen yellan ḡer tama-s ssnen tamurt n Arif, ssnen urḡu n tafugt n taggara n tefsut. Am amdan am tayaṭ, win ur as nedduri i yiṭij ad inzef. Di tqacuct n tyaltin n Arif, Iṣebenyulen n Sylvestre ddurin aqıḍun yeḡman, anda tikkal ur illa useklu ur tella tili. Qqimen din di tyaltin izzan : ilaq asen wuḳḳi, ilaq asen ad swen aṭas n waman.

Amdan am iziwec, ḡas yufeg deg igenni, taggara ad d-yers ḡer tmurt akken ad yaf ayen izmer ad yeḳḳ d wayen ad isew. Akken iserdasen Isebenyulen n tawrarin nni. ḡas ṭṭfen tasawent, ṭṭfen tiyaltin, tidett ur ṭṭfen tigdert. Ma heggan-d aâwin ad asen ifak, ma heggan-d icbula n waman ad sen faken. Nnan, laḡ akked fad

suffuyen-d azrem si texbudṭ-is. Ma di tawrarin n Gurugu, Kert ney Iyriben ur illa wučči, ur llant tliwa n waman, ur illa wasif. Isafen llan akkin akessar di teyzut.

Di tejmaât n Mezwiṛa i yasen-ifra awal Muḥend Abdelkrim: yal tawrirt ittwaṭṭfen ad as neg azrar n yemjahden nney, win d-iffyen ad t-herqen. Yal abrid ad igzem s terbaât nney, ad bedden din, akken ma usan-d lsebenyulen si tama nniḍen, ad sen d-awin aâwin, ad ten-magren wid nney s ubaṛud.

Taxatemt tamezwarut n Abdelkrim teqqen-asen deg Iyriben. Mi wten ad d-ffyen lâeskeṛ nni akken ad adren yer wasif ad d-agmen, imuger-iten ujajih ubaṛud. Wid iylin mmuten, qimen din, wiyad snesren iman-nsen d timendeffirt, kecmen yer wanda i d-ffyen. Tikkelt, snat, kṛad n tikkal,... akken gan igzem-iten ṛsaṣ n yemjahden n Arif.

Mi zran ur tella tewwurt, ṛran i wid yellan di lkazirna tameqrant n Anwal. Nnan asen ayen illan; awal nni nsen d tiyri n wid iqqnen. Nnan asen llan wid ijerḥen, fuden, lluzen, ur illa wučči ur llan waman, ur zmiren ad ffyen. Gar-asen llan wid iteddun ad swen ibeccan-nsen. Itij yerṛa, akal yerṛa, tamurt terṛa, ddaw iqiḍunen nsen d times.

Sylvestre nni iteddun aqerru deg igenni, ass-a iyli ccan-is, inta iteg ccek i webrid nni yuy, abrid nni anda yenwa ad iskef tamurt n Arif deg yiwen wass. Di kra wussan kan yufa injel arifi zdat iḍarṛen-is, taggara tekcem-it tergigit, yuyal yer wawal n jiniral Berenguer. Sylvestre yella iteddu ad ikcem Anwal akken ad yili ger lâeskeṛ-is di tnemmast n tṛad-is. Di tiselbi-s yedda deg webrid-is, am akken yella deg wawal, iseqqa-t-id d netta, yečča-t. Ur tella tikli nni tamezwarut, ur tella tazza nni deg izuṛar n At Bu Yaḥi akked iyallen n Arif anda ur d-imuger yiwen ad as d-

irgel abrid i lâeskeḥ-is. Ass-a, Sylvestre tezzi fell-as tegnitt. Aḡbel-is amezwaru isuter ad as d-rnun lâeskeḥ ad iqabel yis imjahden n Arif i d-irennun am uweṭṭuf ḡer tḡaltin n Lqama, Aberḡan akk d imkuna nniḡen. Yal ass ad d-ternu tissi n yergazen s ibeckidḡen. Awal n tnekra yedda, Irifiyen ikcem-iten nnif n tmurt nsen, kkren argaz tameṭṭut.

Aḡbel nni n Sylvestre d tiffin n webrid amek ad isdukkel lkazirnat nni yesnin si tiḡilt ḡer tayeḡ, amek ad mlilen wid iqerben akken ad sdukken tazmert nsen.

Tamuyli nni n Sylvestre izra-tt Muḥend Abdelkrim. Di tikli-s netta, yuzzel, izwar Sylvestre. Muḥend ifka irgazen yezzin i yal tiḡilt i yal tawrirt nni yellan ṭṭfen-tt lṡebeniyulen.

Timeqbeṛt n lḡriben

Deg wass n 17 di yulyu 1921¹⁰⁶, mi yuli wass, teffey si Anwal terbaât n 200 iserdasen n Sbanya akked azal n 100 iserdan s ibariyen n waman akked wuċċi, abrid nsen ḡer lḡriben i yellan akkin. Izwar-asen ufesyan nsen, Cebollinos Von Lindeman. Mi ffyen kan lâeskeḥ nni seg wefrag n Anwal, iċċa-ten-id ujajih n ṛsaṡ. Ikker herwel gar-asen. Win iḡlin immut isred din, win i yuzzlen ḡer zdat irna iċċa-t ṛsaṡ, win i yezzin ḡer deffir intel iman-is deffir iserdan akked tbariyin n waman. D aḡdun !

Irifiyen netlen, yal tuzzut, yal adernu, yal tazrut s yergazen-is. Nitni zḡḡen, ddurin, lṡebeniyulen teddun am iwtal zdat nnican nsen. Taggara, nnig 20 lṡebeniyulen i yemmuten, 60 jerḡen, iserdan nejlan neḡ mmuten. Wid iwḡen ḡer lḡriben d imudduren, am zun zran di tiṭṭ n tisegnit, ur ddiren ur mmuten. Sawḡen kra n litrat n waman i wid yellan din, d ayen kan i yis zemren ad

¹⁰⁶ Ṭṛad n Arif , V. Courcelle-Labrousse & N. Marmié, p. 61

sbezgen icenfiren nsen wid illan mmuten si fad. Ass nni kan, Cebollinos akked lâeskeṛ-is zzin-d deg webrid nsen uyalen yer Anwal seg ubrid yellan intel i tyita n Irifiyen. Mi kecmen Anwal, sawḍen-as di tilifu i Sylvestre tawayit deg llan irfiqen-nsen n Iyriben.

Tadyant nni tga ayilif ameqran i Sylvestre akked ifesyaneen yellan deg Anwal, iga ayilif ameqran i uselway n Mellila, jiniṛal Berenguer mi t-wḍen isalan. Iḍelli nni d Sidi Bṛahim i srewten Irifiyen, snegren wid yellan din, ass-a d Iyriben i wumi d-zzin ifellaḥen n Arif. Anda i teteddu ?

Azekka nni ddan Iṣebeniyulen ad ffyen si Anwal am iḍelli nni s ugar iserdasen. Mazal i ffyen i wefrag n Anwal mi d-teyli fella-sen tmes n ibeckiden n At Arif. Mačči d ibeckiden nni imezwura. Lmatrayuzat nni n Sbanya i kksen Irifiyen i wid immuten, uyalent-d i tyita n Sbanya. Gar wid iffyen, win immuten iqqim din, wiyadḥ bernen-d yer iqiḍunen nsen, ur kcimen Iyriben. Tuffya tegdel fell-asen!

Am zun ur nechamen si tyita, Sbanya terna tedda deg wbrid-is. Azekka nni, sdukklen azal n 7 tkebbaniyin akken ad smeyren admer. Am iḍelli nni am ass-n, d times i ten d-imugren. Ur ddan ayen ddan imezwura deg ubrid, uyalen d tmendeffirt yer lkazirna n Anwal, keblen din.

Sylvestre yella ussan nni di Mellila. Mi yesla s tadyant yeḍran, yuy abrid n Anwal deg wass n 21 yulyu 1921. Tikli-s ur tella am tazza nni tamezwarut, aqerṛu deg igenni. Yedda s leḥder netta d lâeskeṛ-is, ger tiregwa d ixendaq, yezzi-d iberdan yeffren akken ad yaweḍ d amuddur yer Anwal. Anda tella tfentazit nni n zik !

Mi yeweḍ yer din i yas-yuki i twayit iḍran. Sylvestre yufa wid illan din tekcem iten tergaḡit tameqran, am userdas am ufesyaneen.

Yufa-ten ḡas tazmert tella, uzzal yella, yeḡli-d igenni fell-asen.
Ilaq-as ad ten ihucc akken ad sen ikkes uzaylal nni.

Deg wass-is, Sylvestre ifren-d 3000 iserdasen, azgen n iserdasen d ifesyaneḡ yellan di Anwal, akken ad ffyen, ad siwḡden aâwin d waman i wid yellan deg lḡriben, akken daḡ ad ten-id-kksen si tcebbakt nni i yasen gan Irifiyen, zzin-asen, iḡ d wass d abaḡud.

Deg lḡriben, afrag nni n wuzzal akked tisrafin iḡzen akked iderna nni n wakal i durin uḡalen-asen zun d iḡekwan. Wid mazal ddren inḡa-ten fad akked laḡ, ma d tariḡt n wid immuten deffir wefrag tuḡ amkan nni, terna deg-sen ayilif. Di yal adham n tmes n Irifiyen ad ḡlin yemdanen gar-asen, ad rnun ḡer wid immuten. Mi sarmen ad d-asen watmaten-nseḡ si Anwal ad ten id-suffyen din, ad slen i webruri n řšař n yemjahden yeḡli-d fell-asen. Iserdasen uysen.

Deg Anwal, Sylvestre ifka-yasen lameḡ ad ffyen , ad aḡen abrid n lḡriben. Mi kksen afrag n tewwurt n lakziḡna, bdan teffyend iserdasen imezwura, inneḡl-d ujajiḡ n tmes fell-asen. Ineggura mazal ur ten-tefka tewwurt mi d-uḡalen imezwura nni d tarewla ḡer deffir. Abrid iqqim irgel fell-asen.

Zdat lkaziḡna yekker imenḡi ameqran. Tuffḡa nni n Anwal, ilmend ad d-tekkes si lmut wid yellan deg lḡriben, taggara terna ḡer lmut timrawin ger wid yellan di Anwal. D afrag n tmes i yufan deg webrid nsen wid iffyen. Di twayit nni, zzin-d ḡer deffir, kecmend ḡer lkaziḡna.

Tekker tawla deg-sen. Ur illa webrid isuffuyen. D tamara, Sylvestre iḡra tidett taqerḡant zdat waḡḡawen-is, iḡra i ufesyaneḡ

isedduyen isalan s tafat¹⁰⁷ di tiyilt yer tiyilt ger Anwal akked lɣriben, inna yas ad isiweḍ awal-is: «abrid n lɣriben irgel - ilaq asen ad d-ffɣen seg lɣriben - ad d-asen yer Anwal s tezmert nsen nitni - send ad d-ffɣen seg lɣriben ad rẓen, ad seryen ayen akk ur zmiren ad d-awin, am lmatrayuz tameqrant». Sylvestre ifra-yasen awal.

Tawla terna tardast deg-sen deg lɣriben. Ukin-as am win iteddun yer yimi n yizem. Amek, ad ffɣen "s tezmert nsen", ad qablen ajajih n tmes ?

Mi heggan iman-nsen ad d-ffɣen seg lɣriben, abbu nni n tmes n tmeryi yerna adar i tmeryi n yitij d wuzzal. Yal yiwen seg-sen izra zdat-s abrid nni n 6 kilumiter ukessar d usawen alamma d Anwal, amek ad as-iddu, amek ad iffey, amek ad isenser ad iddari, ad igrireb, ad immured, taggara ad ikcem d amuddur di tewwurt n lkazirna tameqrant ger watmaten-is. Yal yiwen, di tagnitt nni, immekta-d wid iḥemmel, wid icedha i yellan akkin i yilel di tmurt n Sbanya, deg iyrem nsen di Sevilla, di Madrid ney Malaga. Di tagnitt nni, di yal amdan, targit tuy amkan ameqran zdat tmuyli n wallen, n wayen d-izzin. Yal yiwen isarem ad ikkes tiḥdert nni n wakud akken ad iyli di tmemmast n Anwal, akkin akkin i tmes de lɣriben.

Yal yiwen di targit deg yella mi slan i ufesyan, ifka-yasen lameṛ ad ddun yer zdat, ad ffɣen seg wefrag nni n wuzzal. Ur ẓran amek yekkes wefrag nni n tewwurt, amek d-neggzen yer beṛra, amek dwin deg webrid isuffuyen yer Anwal. Şṣut ubarud nsen nitni akked win n Irifiyen dduklen, gan zhir n nger n wamḍal. Wa

¹⁰⁷ Asiwel s tafat (s lemri) ger sin imkan, di tiyilt yer tiyilt, anda teffey tiṭṭ : (code de transmission optique par miroirs). Tura s Laser i sawalen lâesker ger tiyilt yer tiyilt, acengu ur izmir ad sen isel.

yekkat, wa yuzzel, wa yeyli, wa yegrareb yesred, wa yeffey akkin yentel ddaw udernu. Targit nni sarmen akken llan, taggara wa teffey-as, wa teḡḡa-t din isred. Ger nnig 200 yergazen i yellan deg Iyriben, sawḍen azal n 10 yemdanen d imedduren yer tewwurt n Anwal. Amur ameqran deg-sen jerḥen. Gar-asen yiwen ufesyan, d lqebṭan Luis Casado Escudero.

Ṙabul i yas-fkan wid iddren ur as-iḡḡa i Sylvestre asirem yer webrid nni i yuy ass-mi yekcem adrar n Arif. Asafu yuy, times tekker, tarewla yer deffir ur tella.

Tuddsa n ifellaḥen

Izzi-d useggas si mi bedden imjahden deg webrar n Lqama akken ad gen afrag i tikli n Sbanya. Si yect 1920 armi d yulyu 1921, Muḥend Abdelkrim akked imeddukal-is ur ten iffiy uyilif ameqran: amek ad gen ifellaḥen n Arif afrag ur iceqqiq zdat tezmert tameqrant n Sbanya, lmatrayuzat-is, imrad-is, ibabuṛen-is akked tmussni n tṛad n waḥal n leqrun?

Mi yedduri azru, zdat wefrag n Anwal, i yas yufa Muḥend Abdelkrim amur n tafat i wayen akk uzzlen akken ad sbedden tanekra n tmurt n Arif. Di tagnitt nni deg fkan iqerṛa nsen lâesker lṣebenyulen, teddun ad ffyen seg ifergan i gan i yima-nsen, akken ad d-sisen aman d wučči i fad akked laḥ nsen, imjahden n Arif bedden kan yer imenyi. Aybel nsen d imenyi, ur as gan aybel i fad, i laḥ ney i wefcal n aâwaz. Di tagnitt deg bedden i ubarud, llan lâesker n war udem n war isem, akkin di yal iyrem, d tilawin, d timyarin ney imyaren, yal yiwen d tama yetṭef i watmaten nsen yellan deg imenyi: aman nsen llan, učči nsen yusa-d alamma d iri n wefrag n Anwal. Tamurt tekker, win iṭṭfen abeckid iṭṭef-it, win ibedden i taâssast di tiyilt isehṛec aṭṭawen-is, tin itnawalen ayrum

d seksu di tuddar, deg iyerman terna afus, win iteddun si tesraft
yer tayed akken ad yefk učči i watmaten-is yesafes aḍar-is
akken ad isiweḍ. D tasna n tzizwa.

Mi yeḗra Muḥend Abdelkrim imjahden nni netlen ddaw iderna,
deffir yeḗra ney di tesrafin i ḡzen s ufus nsen nitni akken ad
ddarin, Muḥend ikkes as unezgum nni amezwaru.

Anezgum nni izdey-it seg iseggasen nni n tnekra n Muḥend
Ameḡyan, nnig mraw iseggasen aya. Amek ad ikker wegduḍ, ad
imager acengu, ad iṭṭef iseggasen d iseggasen. Muḥend issen at
tmurt. I tnekra, imdanen Imaziyen am times n walim, mi tezra
tyita nni ur iqqim yiwen, ad afgen am izerḡuren! Amek netta ad
isiḡzef, ad isbedd tanekra nni ass-a ?

Ayen isarem Muḥend Abdelkrim ur t-yufa di leqrun izran: di
tnekra nni zdat lfniqen n Carthage, wid i d-iččan idisan n tmurt,
yal tikkelt Imaziyen ad kkren, ad wten syen ad afgen ad negren;
zdat Ruman akken, zdat lwandalen akken, zdat Waâraben
akken, ... Muḥend ur yufa agadir anda ad iddari. Tamuḡli nni yer
deffir, yesarem seg-s. Ilmend deg ad as d-tefk tafat, terna-yas-d
tillas d tideryelt.

Mi yella yedduri azru Muḥend Abdelkrim, iḡer imjahden nni zdat-
s, yal yiwen ansi d-yusa. Inwa yufa-d tasarut, yufa-d izirig n tafat
i unezgum-is: aseggas izra, imjahden llan deg imukan nsen, ur
ufigen yer iyerman nsen, win iffyen ad d-yas wayeḍ. Iḡra-ten
zdat-s bedden, ḡḡan tuzḡal, wten abeckid akked ujenwi,
deggren, kksen-d imukan i Sbanya, ass-a zzin i yal lkaziḡna
nsen. Zzin-asen si yal tama am txatemt i Iḡebenyulen, ma d nitni
keblen deffir ifergan nsen, keblen am iyerdayen deg umerḡax.

Jiniṛal Sylvestre isuter i jiniṛal Berenguer akken ad as d-irnu lâesker. Berenguer s timmad-is ur izmir ad d-iffey si txennaq deg yella di tmurt ljebliyen, anda ittnay mgal Ṛaysuni. Lâesker akk yellan ittwaṭṭef di yal tama. Mellila ur tezmir ad as-d-tessali laâsekr ira yer wedrar n Anwal. Sylvestre kkawen ifadden-is. Iẓra s wallen-is Irifiyen nni yetṭfen yal abrid, yal tiyilt i d-isawaḍen yer Anwal.

Anwal nni i yebna ad yili d taṛkizt zuren, d afud n tikli-s deg unekcum n tmemmast n tmurt n Arif, anekcum s tazzla si Mellila alamma d iyrem n Ajdir, taggara yuṛal-as d ifri n war tawwurt. Sylvestre, aqerṛu ger ifassen, itezzi deg wallay-is amek ad as yaf ixef i tedyant deg yella. Ayen isuter d uzzal ney d irgazen ur as ten-id-ttaznen i uzekka. Jiniṛal Berenguer yefra yas ten-id: Ayen illan itwaṭṭef, ma d timerna ad d-yasen si Sbanya, di Madrid i tella tewwurt.

Sidi Dris, Aberṛan, Iyriben akked wiyad, llan ger ifassen n ifellaḥen imelluẓẓa ur nesawaḍ tiremt, ass-a d Anwal i wuyur d-sawaḍen! Mi yeẓra Sylvestre ger wallen-is lexyal n 1500 yergazen i d-yuṛalen si zdat wefrag n Anwal, iserwel-iten-id ujajih n ṛsaṣ send ad iffey userdas aneggaru, ulin-as d wurfan si ger tuyat. Anezgum-is yiwen: aḥal yellan Irifiyen i d-izzin i Anwal, ansi i d-usan, amek tella tudsa nsen d tezmert nsen, d acu-t wuzzal nsen?

I tuttra nni taneggarut n wuzzal, Sylvestre ur izzi deg wawal-is, yufa-d; d ibeckiden-is i yellan ger ifassen Iṣebenyulen di Sidi Dris, deg Ubeṛṛan, deg Iyriben i d-izzin tiyunam yer Anwal.

Iberdan n Arif ur xlan. Si yal tama, si yal iyrem teddun yergazen at warkasen, sawaḍen awal si tiyremt yer tayed. Tajellabt n

taḍutt yef yiri, agrab yef tayett, teddun uḍan ussan, taggara nsen yer Ajdir, Lqama ney Mezwiṛa. Ddan at warkasen uḍan ussan, i laḥ d fad, akken ad siwḍen isalan i watmaten nsen, ma fuden luḥen wicqa. Yal taqbilt tesbedd tuḍḍa i tnekra n tmurt, yal taqbilt terra-d awal i tiyri n Muḥend Abdelkrim. I telegram n Sylvestre iteddun di ṛadyu deg igenni ney s tafat, at Arif ḍḍan tissist n wawal d isalan deg iyrem yer wayeḍ s yergazen at warkasen. S tiḥdert n weyrum akked wuraw n tazart, ddan uḍan ussan, zegren izuṛar d iyallen.

Fas fkan-d ulac at warkasen nni, Muḥend Abdelkrim yeḥḥra anda tella talast yer tussna n zik di tmurt-is, akked tussna n tilifu d telegram n wass-a, tussna n tikniḥt n Uṛupa. Muḥend yeḥḥra di tegnitt nni deg ttazzalen watmaten-is deg iyezran, seg iyrem yer wayeḍ, tilifu n Sbanya tesdukkel yal ass, yal taswaât wid ittemsawalen am zun llan deg yiwen wexxam, deg yiwet tzeqqa. D tussna nni i yesarem Muḥend Abdelkrim i tmurt-is. Iḥḥra ur tezmir ad d-tas si at tqelminin n Fes, at tbiḥ ur nessin acraw n tidi..

Muḥend Ira ad d-tas tussna nni s talwit i yat tmurt-is. D abrid nni n talwit i wumi yerḥa asalu akken ad as-yefk tehri akked tafat, akken ad zrin deg-s ilmezyen akked telmezyin nsen. Ass-a Sbanya tergel-d abrid n tifat. Zun tiyita n Aberṛan tesendeḍ adabu n Mellila. Ur d-yusa wawal si tama n Azerqan di Ajdir, amsiweḍ n Abdelkrim netta d Sbanya.

Tanekra deffir tamegra

Si yal iyrem usan-d yergazen akken ad smeyren tanekra. Amur ameqrان syur wid yellan yer tama ufella, anda ur iwwiḍ Sylvestre. Tadyant Ubeṛṛan tbeddel udem i tnekra. Irifiyen

umnen zemren ad qablen tazmert n Sbanya. Atmaten nsen wten, srewlen Iṣebenyulen, ula d nitni zemren ad wten.

Di Iqama akked imukan nniḍen, tuddsa iger Abdelkrim simal tettay afud. Yal amdan i d-yusan ad as-slemden amek ad iwet s wuzzal n tṛad, amek ad yeddu, amek ad iyez tasraft i yiman-is, amek ad intel... Adrar nni yuḡal d aḡerbaz i ifellaḡen. Di kra wussan, yal win i d-yusan ad as iḡulfu tbeddel fell-as, yuḡal d aserdas n tmurt n Arif akken tella, mačči d yiwen n At Winnat.

Ger Iṣebenyulen immuten di Sidi Dris akked Iyriben Ilan deg-sen Irifiyen ikecmen ḡer Regulares. Amur ameqran seg-sen si teqbilin yellan ddaw uzaglu n Sbanya, am At Sâid, At Bu Yaḡi ney At Bu Yifṛuṛ. Wid ilsan seg-sen, ur Ilan s lebyi nsen. Yal iḡrem d tamara fell-as ad yefk ačḡal n yergazen i lâeskeṛ n Sbanya. Mi wḡen ḡer iḡerman nsen imezwura nni yemmuten deg imenḡi n wedrar, at tmura nni ikcem uferfud. Gan gar-asen ačḡal d anejmaâ, syen sawḡen awal i Muḥend Abdelkrim, uran-as tabṛatt, nnan-as: « ...Ur numin nezmer ad nerr tiyita i Sbanya; ass-a kkren-d yemjahden n tidett, rran-d isey i tmurt nney; zṛet wid nney i yellan si tama n Sbanya, ur Ilan din s lebyi nsen, di laânaya nwen sinfet fell-asen tiyita nwen. Si tama nney ḡas ekkest ayilif. Talast mi tekfa tmegra, neskecm-d naâma, ad nekker am zun d yiwen, ad nesemḡer yid-wen tanekra»¹⁰⁸.

Tibṛatin ney awalen am wigi yal ass ttawḡen Abḡdelkrim. Tawrirt n Aberṛran tbeddel udem i tnekra.

Muḥend Abdelkrim iṛṛa ur izmir ad d-yekk nnig uguren n tmurt. Ḡas iṛṛa tella tewwurt ḡer zdat, abrid-is ḡezzif. Ilan deg-sen wid ur izmir ad ten-isinef. Iṛṛa tamurt n Arif d tamurt n laṛ, akal-is

¹⁰⁸ G. Ayache, op.cit,p.91. Tabṛatt nni teyli ger ifassen n lâeskeṛ n Sbanya.

ijreḍ, aman ur gten. D tagella nni n timzin d yirden i d afud n tmurt, i d afud n tnekra. I Muḥend, afellaḥ yettḥfen amger deg ufus am umjahed ittḥfen abeckid i tyita. I sin d imjahden n tmurt. D awal i yasen inna Muḥend i wid i d-yusan, sutren-as akken ad zwiren di tmegra nsen skud ur tekkir tmes tameqrant n tnekra. Gas tamurt n Sbanya d acengu, laḥ d acengu am nettat ney ugar.

Nnan, asif iḥemlen ur izmir yiwen ad t-izger. Ass-a, asif n tnekra iḥmel yer tama ufella, iḥmel yer tawrarin nni yettḥef Sylvestre akked lâesker-is. Di yal iyrem, At Arif cudden arkasen, abrid nsen yer wedrar n Lqama d Mezwiḥa. Ayen isarem Muḥend ass-a iweḍ-it: iga afrag, isbedd tikli n Sylvestre, izḍa tissist i yal tiyilt i tetḥef Sbanya. Isarem abrid n tifat izmer ad d-yili.

Illa deg wawal, ezwir, ewwet azrem yer uqerḥu.

Di tegnitt ni deg igguni Muḥend Abdelkrim ad d-tas tifat si tama n Berenguer akked Sylvestre, ilaq-as ad ibedd akken ad ibeggen tazmert yellan, akken nitni taggara ad rren aḍar. Gas izḥa ur izmir i wedrar n Anwal, ur izmir i wejrad nni n lâesker akked wuzzal yellan din, Muḥend iga-yasen azrar. Si yal tama n lkazirna n Anwal isbedd asen imjahden s ibeckiden. D anbac kan akken ad ḥren kecmen di txennaqt deg ur-d-teffyen.

S tuzzya nni i lakirnat n Sbanya, Muḥend Abdelkrim ikkes sin wuguren: Iḥebenyulen yellan din ur teddun yer zdat, aybel nsen amezwaru lhan-d kkatn yef iman-nsen, tudert nsen. Di tis snat, Irifiyen d-ittawḍen yal ass yer Lqama ifka-ten Muḥedn ad lemnden ḥrad s tariḥt ubarud n tidett. Imjahden imaynuten lemnden amek ad wten s ibeckiden n Mauser, amek ad netlen, amek ad ḥzen tasraft i tuffra n yiman-nsen, amek ad neggzen seg wemkan yer wayeḍ.

Tuzzya nni ur teqqim d tuzzya n tsusmi. Muḥend Abdelkrim akked ifesyane-is zṛan amur¹⁰⁹ si lâeskeṛ nni yellan din di Anwal d Irifiyen am nitni. Amur ameqran seg-sen ur senzen tamurt nsen, ur nzan s lebyi nsen, llan wid ilsan s tmara di teqbilin tekcem Sbanya. Di yal taxerṛubt, d tamara fell-as ad d-tefk tabzert n yergazen, ad ddun nitni d Sbanya di terbaât n Regulares. Irgazen nni, ḡas lsas, tṛfen abeckid n Sbanya, ul nsen iqqim d Arifi.

I yal tiymert, akkin deffir ifergan n wuzzal d lminat, Muḥend ifka irgazen i yesawḡen awal-is i yat Regulares nni akken ad ten ikcem uyilif. Deg yid deg wass, tiyri n yemjahden nni yiwet : «kenwi d Irifiyen am nekkni! Amkan nwen dagi yid-neḡ mačči din ger icenga n tmurt nney! Effeyt-d ad nesemyer agraw i tnekra nney, ad nekkes tabarda n Sbanya ! Nessen-iken akken tellam, ur illa anda ad teffren iqerṛa nwen azekka! Yella webrid n tixxubta, yella webrid n yiseḡ, aḡet abrid n yiseḡ i wudem n tmurt nney!». Yal id, yal ass, awal n yemjahden izger i wefrag, ikcem lkazirna, ikcem yal aqidun n regulares, isekcem aferfud gar wid yellan din. Di yal tkemmict n yal iyrem ikker usbecbec ḡef wayen sellen, ḡef tnekra n tmurt. Yal yiwen seg-sen iferru-tent deg uqerṛu-s amek ad as-yaf abrid, amek i d taggara-s.

Abrid nni ameqran ukarṛus i d-yusan si Mellila armi d adrar, deg s i d-idda wuzzal nni yellan di Anwal. D abrid nni i yesdukklen Anwal ḡer Mellila. Skud yella webrid nni, izmer ad d-yernu wuzzal, ad d-rnun yergazen si Mellila akked Sidi Dris. Abrid nni ilaq ad igzem.

¹⁰⁹ Ger 6500 lâeskeṛ yellan di Anwal, amur wis kṛad (1/3) seg-sen d Regulares, d Irifiyen iguḡan; ad ilin din nnig 2000 Irifiyen .

Tamuyli n Muḥend akked wid illan yid-s tefra. Mi d-tewed tirect n iqubac akked tlewḥin si Ajdir armi d Mezwiṛa, fkan irgazen ad iḥzen¹¹⁰ abrid nni. Yal snat temrawin n lmitrat ad as gen targa tahrawant idermen ur izegger ukamyu.

Muḥend ifra-tent: uzzal ur d-irennu si Mellila, si Ben Ṭeyeb alamma d Anwal. Uzzal nni yellan ur d-iteffey si Anwal yer webrid ameqran. S yiwet tyita, iṭṭef-itent i snat.

¹¹⁰ Tayuzi nni tzegr-d yer tmurt n Lezzayer. Di tṛad n 1954-1962, tayuzi iberdan ukarḥus tella d tafellaḥt n yemjahden di yal iyrem. Deg yid, imjahden akked at taddart ad ḥzen abrid, azekka nni ney mi d-usan lâesker n Fransa, ad awin irgazen nni akken ad reglen tayuzi nni, akken ad zrin ikumya GMC d tkeryas Jeep nsen.

10. Imenyi n Anwal

Di tmemmast n Anwal, jiniṛal Sylvestre iżra zelgen wussan-is. Ayen iqas akked tikli nni yedhem di tazwara, inwa ad as-gen abrid ahrawan yer Ajdir. Inwa tididi nni ibedd di tyaltin n Arif tella-d am win kan isgunfan si tazza-s akken ad irnu ugar tazza yer zdat. Mi yenti abrid-is, iṭṭef tiyilt n Anwal, isla ulin-d Irifiyen yer wedrar n Lqama, isla gan "la harka", irgazen s ibeckiden, ulin-d ad as gezmen abrid. Netta, ur asen-iga ccan. Ibna ad ten-idhem am aḍu nni iddmen iferrawen n tneqlett di taggara n lexrif, ifkaten yal tama. Targit-is ur as-teffiy akken i tt-isarem. Ger ifergan n wuzzal d lminat, di tmemmast n Anwal, di tafukt yeryan, Sylvestre iqqim itezzi am yizem di tmemmast n tesraft deg yeḡli. Urfan, llant tikkal deg rennun di tideryelt.

Gas yella wawal gar-as d jiniṛal Berenguer, win i yellan imir akkin ger ljebliyen d Tiṭwan, akked wawal yellan gar-as d "Mohamed Ben Abdelkrim" akken i yas iḡar, si tama n Nekkuṛ, tadyant n Aberṛan, Iyriben, Sidi Dris akked tuffya nni si Anwal i yasen itwakksen, sebreken-as tawenza. Sylvestre zun ifra d rṛay-is. Amek ad iqqim, ad isiwel, neḡ ad ifru tamsalt gar-as d "los Moros" di lawan deg i yas-d-zzin s ibeckiden nsen, deg imekwan deg yella netta d wanda yesbedd lâeskeṛ-is. I Sylvestre tefra, "ur illa wawal akked imelluza del Rif" !

Muḥend Abdelkrim si tama-s, ur yuyes. Skud yetṭef adrar, d afrag zdat tikli n Sbanya, izmer ad d-yaf udem akken ad iqqim i tifat. Tazmert ilhan d tin iddan deg webriid n talwit. S tezmert n yemjahden nni yeddurin tazrut, i yefkan aqerṛu nsen i tmurt nsen, isarem ad isinef ugar yeḡ iqerṛa n watmaten-is di yal tama n tmurt-is. Di Mezwiṛa neḡ deffir ifergan n Anwal, Muḥend igguni

ugar awal ar as yasen si tama wadda, awal n Azerqan ney n Aâlluc, irgazen nni yellan gar-as d Sbanya di Nekkuj, Mellila ney imkan nniḍen. Di tibṛatin yura i Sbanya i yasen-ifka ad tent siwḍen, awal-is yeqqim kan deg ubrid n talwit : «... ur ira tṛad ney isem n imenyi mgal Sbanya. Ira talwit d wussan ilhan i tmurt n Arif yer tama n tmurt n Sbanya, tamurt n tussna d tmussni ... ma teqqim Sbanya di tliṣa nni n zik, di Sebta, Mellila akked tegzirin nniḍen, nekkni ul nney yelli i tdukkli, ...nezmer ad d-naf abrid i tdukkli ar ad idumen yer zdat, tadukli i lebni n tmurt, i tyuzi iberdan ...Nekkni nella d lḡiran ass-a, nesarem ad neqqim d lḡiran n talwit azekka...».

Tafat zεrṛent yer zdat wallen n Muḥend, temuger-itt-id tideryelt n Sylvestre akked tin n Berenguer. I nitni, win d-irefden iyil-is iwet Sbanya, deg Abeṛṛan ney imkan nniḍen, ur d-iqqim yid-s wawal. Yiwen ubrid i yellan, d abrid ubaṛud!

S tayert nni nsen i sin, zzin-as s uzagur i webrid n tifrāt i yasen d-ifka Muḥend Abdelkrim, yal yiwen s webrid-is. Jiniṛal Berenguer isarem, mi yefra tadyant n tṛad mgal Ṛaysuni deg ljebliyen, ad isdukel lâeskeṛ-is, ad d-yaweḍ ad as istufu i tnekra n Arif. Isarem ad tt-iselffey zun d âaqqa uzemmur ger iyuraf. Tamurt n Arif tettunefk i Sbanya si Algesiras, netta ad tt-id-iḡelli s tummezt. Ma d jiniṛal Sylvestre, s ufus n Berenguer, ifra ad yuyal akkin yer Mellila, ad as isuffey leḡsab amaynut, Madrid ad isem yer tazmert n lâeskeṛ-is, syen ad d-yuyal ad iserwet Ajdir d Lḡusima akken tebyu tili. I sin yid-sen, yal yiwen si tama-s isedda tiddas-is, s ileqqafen-is netta. I sin yid-sen abrid yiwen: ur illa yisem n talwit akked "los moros".

Illa deg wawal, «ur izmir ad ikker umulab i tlafsa»¹¹¹. Muḥend Abdelkrim iżra ḡas tiyita n Ubeṛṛan, Sidi Dris ney Iyriben sergagint Sbanya, kksent azaylal i yat Arif, ma d Anwal ur as-zmiren, ur as-iga tiṭ akken ad t-iwet. Deg Anwal llan nnig 6500 yergazen s wuzzal nsen, s lmatrayuzat akked imrad imeqranen, mačči d takemmict iserdasen s ibeckad nsen am wid ufan deg Aβεṛṛan. Ayen yellan deg Anwal, d aḡric ameqran n 24000 iserdasen n Sbanya i yellan imir nni deg wakal n Arif. Ḡas Muḥend izzi yas s yemjahden i lkaziṛna n Anwal, d tuzzya n wenbac d tuqqsa kan akken ad ten isedhu, ur teddun ḡer zdat, ur d-teffyen, di tallit nni deg iwet ad iseddu awal n tifat d talwit akked Sbanya. Tuzzya nni ur tella d tin iheggan i tyita tameqrant. Imjahden i yas-izzin, amur ameqran deg-sen s ibeckibden ney s lmatrayuzat i d-kksen i Sbanya deg imenḡi n Aβεṛṛan, Iyriben ney imukan nniḡen. Kṛad Imrad nni (les batteries de campagne) i d-kksen si tyita n Iyriben, ifka-tent Muḥend ḡer Ajdir; sersen-tent zdat uzru n Nekkur, d afrag ḡef Ajdir. Ḡas At Arif gan afrag deg wedrar i Sylvestre d lâeskeṛ-is, anezgum ur ikkis deg uzayar si tama n yilel. Yal ass, At Waryayen bedden ḡef yiman-nsen akken ad dehmen ibabuṛen ad d-izegren seg waman, di Lḡuṣima.

I Muḥend, abrid n tifat ur irgil ḡas isawen. Ḡas iffey waâbaṛ ḡaras d Sbanya, imdanen zemren, s tmuyli nsen akked tmussni nsen, ad semḡin ayen ur nelhi, ad siherwen abrid isuffuyen ḡer tafat. Muḥend ira ussan n tafat netta d tmurt n Sbanya. D tidett, uzzlen idammen, ikker herwel, ṛyant tzeywa, maca skud yella wawal ger icenga, awal nni yezmer ad d-iglu s tifat. D tifat nni

¹¹¹ Awal akken ittwassen : « Ikker umulab i tlafsa ! » (= win ikkren i wayen wumi ur izmir)

anda yal yiwen ad iẓer abrid i yeffyen fella-as, abrid ad ten isdukklen yer imal.

Ur illa d tirga. Muḥend issen tamurt-is, issen imdanen n tmurt-is, issen day Sbanya seg iseggasen nni deg yella di Mellila. Isarem ad d-isdukkel ayen ilhan si yal tama, am ustu uẓeṭṭa, akken ad yezḍ taṛakna ad ten isdukklen, am Sbanya am tmurt n Arif di Merṛuk.

Tuffya n lâesker si Anwal.

Di tzeqqa n Sylvestre, di tneммast n Anwal, ur d-isuḍ waḍu n tifat ney n wawal akked Irifiyen. Tamuḡli n ifesyaneṅ yiwet: llan di tṛad, ad seddun awal n tṛad deg webrid n tṛad. Wid yellan deg ugraw i d-izzin i jiniṛal Sylvestre, am jiniṛal Navarro, kulunil Morales, anezgum nsen yiwen: amek ad ffyen si tesraft deg llan. Isalan i yasen d-yusan si yal tama yiwen-is: yal tiyilt i tṭfen nitni di tikli nni n 30 km si Mellila, ass-a zzin-as Irifiyen. Anezgum nsen innerna ugar mi seddan awal akken ad d-afen ixef-is: ansi d-ffyen akk Irifiyen nni s ibeckad nsen?

Ufan-d mačči d tarbaât nni n Lqama i yesawḍen tanekra akka. Mačči d takemmict n yimnayan n At Waryayen akked At Temsaman s ibeckiden nsen i yuyen tamurt.

Tasarut n tuttra nsen ifka-yasent-id kulunil Morales. Tanekra tbeddel udem di Arif. Morales yessen tamurt, issen idles n Arif, issen amek teẓḍa tudḍsa ger twaculin, iderma, iyerman d teqbilin n Arif. Di Oficinas de Indigenas, Morales yelmed amek yella wurar ger teqbilin, urar n tṛad s lmut ney n tdukkli gar-asen. Di tnekra nni n Muḥend Amezyan mgal Sbanya akked Zerhuni Bu Teyyult, iẓra amek tekker tmurt n Arif am uḥeḡḡaḡu n tmes, srewten lâesker n Sbanya, srewlen Bu Teyyult d lâesker-is,

qqnen-t-id am izimer di tiyremt n Selwan. Aḥemmal nni imesdurar i d-ikkren, isla-yis Morales, iżra anda izmer ad isiweḍ. Aḥemmal nni am win n wasif Ameqran, ayen d-yufa deg webrid-is ad iddu yef iżuṛan, ur tella trewla, ur illa wental.

Deg wegraw nni uqīḍun n Sylvestre, awal itezzi yef tnekra n At Arif, yef tikli n "Ben Abdelkrim", am akken i yas iṛar Sylvestre. Mi yella wawal iḥma, abaṛud n Irifiyen i d-izzin i lkaziṛna ur inṣa. Si yal tama, tiṛsaṣin nsen taḥḥent nniḡ iqerra nsen. Mi nwan tṭfen awrir n Anwal, taggara d nitni i yettwaṭṭfen deg Anwal.

Ayen i yasen-isberken tamuṛli di Anwal, d awal nni n jiniṛal Berenguer i yellan imir deg Ijebliyen: "Ur izmir ad d-yas s lâeskeṛ-is netta, ur izmir ad sen d-yazen lâeskeṛ ugar si Mellila neṣ si Tiṭwan. Ayen illan ur izmir ad d-itwakkes anda yella, ma d ayen izemren ad d-yernu si Sbanya yezzif webrid-is, akken ma ira Madrid ad d-yernu lâeskeṛ i ugar n 24000 nni yellan deg wakal n Sbanya di Taferka". Iṣli-d yiḍ fell-asen di Anwal.

Si 1921 i d-teqqim tuttra tameqran ur tefra yef tedyant n Anwal: Acu isawḍen jiniṛal Sylvestre ad yefk lameṛ i lâeskeṛ-is ad iffey Anwal deg wass n 22 yulyu 1921, akken ad yuṣal yer deffir, deg ubrid n Mellila ?

Tifrat-is tusa-d seg wedlis «La Guerre du Rif, 1921-1926» (Tṛad n Arif) n Courcelle-Labrousse d Marmié, i d-iffyen di 2008.

Ayen yuran di tebtirt 24 : «Di tmemmast n yiḍ, Sylvestre iyer-asen i 6 ifesyenen imeqranen. Gar-asen yella kulunil Morales i yellan iḥkem lâeskeṛ Irifiyen Regulares. Yiwen di 6 nni i d-teḡḡa tyita d amuddur, d kumundu Alzugaray. D netta i d-iwwin awal n Sylvestre : 'Nniy-awen, aqlay nettwaṭṭef di Anwal. Ur illa

lâeskeṛ ugar ad d-yasen ad aṅ d-fken tayett. Ilaq-aṅ ad nebnu yeṛ yiman-nney kan. Di tegnitt agi taberkant, sutrey-awen akken ad tt-nefru ma ad neqqim neṅ ad neffey si Anwal¹¹². D kulunil Morales i d-ineṭqen d amezwaru inna-yas: 'ur nezmir ad neffey si Anwal acku lâeskeṛ ad d-yasen ur zmiren ad d-awḍen yeṛ Ben Teyeb, d amkan n tseddarit amezwaru izemren ad iṭṭef mi ad neffey si tesraft agi n Anwal'. Ifesyaneṅ nniḍen fernen tuffya si Anwal. Nnan-as ur llan waman d wučči i nnig 4 wussan, ur illa uqerḍas i tyita tameqrant ma terra tmara. Taggara, Morales imal yeṛ ifesyaneṅ nni. Mi yefra wawal, Sylvestre inna-yasen 'azekka yeṛ 6 n tsebhit ad neffey si Anwal'...

Azekka nni, Sylvestre ibeddel tamuṅli-s; irna isemlal-d ifesyaneṅ nni, inna-yasen ayen isawel s tiligram deg yiḍ nni izran netta d wewzir n ṭrad i yellan di Madrid. Awzir nni, taggara ifka-d lameṛ i jiniṛal Berenguer akken ad yefk ayen yellan d lâeskeṛ yeṛ Anwal... Llan sawalen gar-asen mi yasen d-ikcem s tazza lqebṭan Carrasco, inna-yasen: 'lweḍ-aṅ-d wawal, nezra 3 trebuyaâ n azal n 2000 Irifiyen di yal yiwet deg-sent, teddunt-d yeṛ Anwal'».

Awal nni n Carrasco isker aferfud di lkaziṛna n Anwal. Ma llan kukran i wayen heggan, awal nni ikkes-asen akukru i Sylvestre d ifesyaneṅ-is. Tarewla temnaâ bab-is!

Awal n tuffya slan-as akk wid illan di lkaziṛna. Gef 11 n wass lâeskeṛ imezwura tefka-ten tewurt n lkaziṛna, uyeṅ abrid n

¹¹² « Messieurs, nous sommes assiégés à Anoual ; nous n'avons pas d'éléments avec lesquels former une colonne de secours ; nous n'avons pas d'autre solution par conséquent que de faire avec ce dont nous disposons aujourd'hui. Dans cette situation si grave, je veux que vous décidiez avec moi si nous devons nous maintenir ou abandonner Anoual ». (La Guerre du Rif, p. 24)

tiyremt Izumar, akken ad waḍen yer Ben Ṭeyeb. Fer deffir, Sylvestre iserkeb mmi-s di tkeṛrust-is, akken ad-t-isdari i r̥šaṣ...

Ayen iḍran yer zdat ittwassen. Imen̄yi n Anwal¹¹³ uran fella-as aḥal n idlisen, aḥal n iymisen, cnan-t aḥal imedyazen Irifiyen akked Tirifiyin. Di Anwal, Irifiyen gan annar n tmes d ubaṛud. Si nnig 6000 iserdasen nni yellan, tegra-d tkemmict tedder. Sylvestre immut, Morales immut. Deg ifesyane nni, igra-d kan Navarro, yeffey akkin. Wid illan deg-sen d Irifiyen di Regulares, imezwura mmuten, wid inesren uyalen d imjahden n Arif.

Di tagnitt nni deg tent-iferru Sylvestre ma yella ad iqqim ney ad iffey si Anwal, Muḥend Abdelkrim illa di tesrafin nni anda ffren yemjahden i ten-d-ikkaten si akkin i ifergan. Muḥend iḍra tasarut n temsalt tella di Anwal. Tasarut isarem Muḥend mačči d tin imen̄yi ameqran. Iḍra ur izmir ad idhem tazmert nni tameqran yellan deg Anwal, uzzal nni, imrad nni. I Muḥend Abdelkrim, skud yella Sylvestre din, ur illa deg imen̄yi di tama nniḍen, ur isery iyerman, ur inḡa atmaten-is. I Muḥend, tifat isarem-itt ad d-tas si jiniṛal Berenguer akked Madrid. Gas isarem tifat, awal-is ineddeṛ irgazen nni iḡer yiwen yiwen di tesrafin. I yal yiwen iwet ad as isefrez s wawal awezlan, s wawal aḥlawan tadyant amek tedda, tiddi n tseylit i wakal n imezwura. Di tuzya nni, yal yiwen wukud isawel seg yiles, yaâqel Tarifit-is, yufa-d anta taqbilt ney

¹¹³Tettwassen s yisem « La Bataille d'Anoual ». D imen̄yi ameqran n lqern wis20, anda temceḡ tayebbaṛt yiwet si tmura n Uṛupa tanehrast (nation colonistatrice), deg ufus n tmurt itwahersen (nation colonisée). «La Bataille» tis snat ittwassnen, d tin n Dien Bien Phu di Vietnam tekker di 7/05/1954. Vietnam izzi yas-d i lkazirna nni tameqranṡ (base) n Fransa, isenger wid illan din. Nnig 10000 i yemmuten akked 12000 imeḡbas d wid ijerḡen si tama n Fransa. 8000 mmuten si tama n Vietnam.

iḡrem ansi d-yusa. Imlal-d ilmeḡyen n At Waryayen, n At Bu Yaḡi, n At Temsaman, n At Said, n At Tuzin, n At Bu Yifurur,... I Muḥend ikkes-as unezgum nni amezwaru. Ass-a Arif iddukel d yiwen akken ad yeg afrag i tmurt-is. Awal n Muḥend yiwen, inehhu-ten ad sdarin iman-nsen, ad cuḡen i waâbaḡen, ad sebḡen deg webrid n yiseḡ.

Itij d ubaḡud serḡen tamurt n Anwal. Di lkaziḡna yekker herwel, yal yiwen anda ittazzal. D tayrast n tzizwa. Seg wefrag akkin, Irifiyen yellan i taâssast, yal yiwen anda intel ger wakal n tesraft d tqelmunt n tjellabt-is, ikbel akken ad isenḡes fell-as aḡyal tafukkt n yulyu. Gar-asen llan wid innudmen, llan wid ifuden lluzen, uysen wid ad d-yasen ad qqimen deg wemkan-nsen. Akka yal ass, di yiwet tama ugar imjahden tisrafin, di tama nniḡen llan wid iqquren deg wemkan nsen send ad d-yas win ad iqqimen.

Izeggen wass mi ḡran idurra n lâeskeḡ n Sbanya ffyen-d si tewwurt tameḡrant. Wid iḡerben tawwurt, anda teffey tit, ḡran ayen i ten isduqqsen: ur tella d tuffya nsen ḡer imenḡi. Mi ḡran idurra nni n lâeskeḡ, ikaḡrusen nni n inejraḡ akked d tibardiwin nni n iserdan sbabbent aḡeffu n wuzzal d isufar nniḡen, tban-asen-d. Ur tella d tuffya ḡer imenḡi am tid n wussan nni imezwura. Ass-a d tuffya si Anwal, d tarewla si lkaziḡna tameḡrant!

Mi yeffey wawal ger yemjahden n Arif, iweḡ wawal ḡer Muḥend Abdelkrim akked ifesyaneḡ yellan din, fran-as amek i d abrid-is: ad ḡḡen lâeskeḡ ad iffey si lkaziḡna, ad iddu sin neḡ ḡrad n kilumiter, syen anda isefk, ad d-ylin fell-asen Irifiyen si yal tama am tmedda.

Mi bdan teddun s leḥder lṣebenyulen deg webrid, Irifiyen nitni d tazzla, d aneggez, d affug yer webrid nni ger Anwal akked Izumar anda idyeq webrid zun d tinifift. Anda i wḍen yemjahden ad gen afrag si yal tama, ad tṭfen yal tiyilt, anda teffey tiṭ, anda yedyeq webrid, anda tella txennaqt. Mi llan teddun s leḥder lṣebenyulen, teddun tseggimen abrid iḥzen akken ad zrin ikaṛṛusen nsen d iserdan nsen, Irifiyen suffyen awal akkin i tyaltin. Si yal tama, imjahden yellan uḡen-d abrid n Anwal.

Awal nni iffeḡ: “isedenyulen teffyen si Anwal; lṣebenyulen rewlent”.

Awal nni n trowla ibeddel udem n tṛad. Ayen akk yellan zik d tighi n tezmert tameqran n Sbanya, ass-a ikkes deg uqerru n Irifiyen yellan din: acengu yuḡal yer deffir, yerwel !

Deg idles Amaziḡ, yella wawal si zik n zik: «ma tseyleḡ, ewwet! Ma ur tezmireḡ, ur sḡal!». Ass-a, Sbanya tesuffey-d tazmert-is akken ad tekcem tamurt n Arif, tefka-d uzzal ameqran akked yergazen gezmen-d tamurt si Mellila, srewten, serḡen, nḡan wid ufan zdat-nsen, taggara gan iḡrem ameqran n wuzzal d ubaṛud di Anwal am timmis deg wammas.

Tiyita nni n Aberṛan akked tin n lḡriben sduqqsent wid inwan ad ddun d tazzla di tmurt n Arif n war isennanen. Imjahden n Aberṛan akked lḡriben suffyen-d isennanen n tmurt, xebcen yir axbac tazmert n Sbanya. Tacebbakt nni n Anwal terna tesemḡer ugar anezgum nni yellan di Sylvestre akked ifesyenen-is.

Tuffḡa nni si Anwal, akken tesnerna anezgum n Sylvestre i tekkes azaylal ḡef yemjahden n Arif. Deg uqerru n yal yiwen tamsalt tefra: Sbanya tesḡel, maca ur tezmir ad tewwet, taggara tuḡal yer deffir !

Tuyalin yer deffir, ney tarewla deg umennuy ger sin imdanen tesawaḍ anda tella talast ger yisey d war isey. Yella yisem-is: d lâaḥ. Taggara, lâaḥ ameqran mačči yer yiri n win irewlen zdat win d ikkan nnig-s, win akken izemren ugar i yas-d-iṭṭfen tasawent. Di tidett, lâaḥ ameqran yerna i win ikkren ad iwet win illan ddawas.

Di tuffya si Anwal, Sbanya tesdukel-itent i snat:, tacmatt n Sbanya i d-isuffyen Imatrayuzat akked imrad yer ifellaḥen imelluza n Arif, akked tacmatt n win irewlen taggara zdat tnekra n ifellaḥen nni.

Deg uqerru n yal amjahed i d-iqqimen nnig webrid n Izumar, tefra temsalt. Acengu yellan iteddu-d zdat-s ur iḡḡa isey yef iman-is akken ad as-yeg netta isey. Abrid n tifat-is iban, d abarud.

Tuddsa n Muḥend simal tetseggim. S tazza, yal yiwen yuy amkan i yas-nnan. Wid izwaren yer zdat ddan akken ad awḍen amkan zdat Iṣebenyulen akken ad xemten din, wid yeḡḡa Muḥend akken ad kecmen lkazirna qimen yer deffir, ggunin. Awal n Muḥend ifra: wid iffyen si Anwal ur d-keččmen mi tekker tyita; amur n imjahden ad ṭṭfen tawwurt, amur ad d-ikcem si deffir akken ad isenger wid yellan d ineggura di lkazirna.

Mi yenti rṣaṣ, tuddsa tella tefra, tseggem.

Mi d-ffyen lâeskeḥ imezwura si lkazirna, bḍan yef kḥrad idurra: di tneemast d Iṣebenyulen akked imejrah, si tama tayeffust d tama tazelmaḍt d adar n Irifiyen n Regulares, teddun d afrag yef Iṣebenyulen nni. Tban am azal! Ticerḳett undin ifesyenen n Sylvestre ur teffir. Yal tarṣaṣt n Irifiyen imjahden ad d-yasen seg

yiḡil ad tezwir deg Irifiyen n Regulares. Anef i Irifiyen ad msenyen gar-asen! D tiḡerçi n izirdi !

Mi yenti r̄şaş, d Irifiyen nni n Regulares i yestuttin ugar n r̄şaş yeḡ Işebenyulen yellan di tmemmast nsen. D aḡḡun!

Amek wḡen Irifiyen nni i yellan d iserdasen n Sbanya, twaxelšen, lsan, ččan nitni d iserdasen Işebenyulen, akken ad rren tiyunam ibeckiden nsen yeḡ imeddukak nsen?

Mačči yiwet tsarut i yellan i fessi n tundar, i useḡrez n tedyant. ƒas di yiwet tagnitt amur ameqran n Regulares nni bedden udem, yal yiwen deg-sen yella wayen i t-iseḡfen, ibeddel udem. Tezmer ad tili tlul-d kemmict n yergazen seg-sen i yemcawaren send ad d-ffyen si lkaziḡna, fran gar-asen akken ad nekren¹¹⁴. D yiwen webrid, yaş llan iberdan nniḡen.

Imdanen nni yellan di tkebbanit n Regulares, mačči yiwen webrid kan i ten-iwwin. Llan wid yuyen abrid nni s lebyi nsen, iwwi-ten weyrum di tmurt n laż, llan wid iddan s tmara. Di yal iyrem i yetḡef lâeskeḡ n Sbanya, mi fran ahuddu d useḡyi, taggara ad cerḡen deg at iyrem nni ad sen-d-fken irgazen ney ad snegren iyrem. Anda yedda lâeskeḡ ad iglu tajlibt n yilmezzen akken ad isemyer ḡrad s idammen n at tmurt.

Aguren nni unekcum n Sbanya yeḡ tmurt ufella, si Mellila armi d Anwal, akked imenyyen i d-illan ger watmaten Irifiyen si tama d tama, iga yasen anezgum i Regulares nni. Di yal imenyi ḡran d nitni i fernen ifesyenen d imezwura d aḡrag yeḡ zdat, yeḡ tmettant. Wid deg-sen i yeddin s tmara, ukin-as i tawla nni mar ad ijbed yiwen znad yeḡ gma-s.

Tuffya nni n trewla si Anwal tekkes fell-asen tugdi nni i yasen idlen ačçal iseggasen. Llan di tmemmast n lkaziḡna, ḡran ayen

¹¹⁴ Nker : (inker, ur inkir, ittenkar, ankar) (français : se révolter)

iḍerḥun, sellen i wawalen ger Iṣebenyulen. Tigdi nni yellan deg-sen tezzi, teffey-iten, tented akkin Iṣebenyulen. Tuffya nni si Anwal, ḡran nitni d tuffya n trewla yer Mellila. Tazmert nni i nwan tella kan di tama n Sbanya, tezzi yer tama n watmaten nsen Irifiyen i d-ikkren.

Di lkaziṛna n Anwal llan imir azal n 2000 Regulares. Amur ameqran myussanen, si yiwen yiṛrem, yiwet teqbilt ney d atmaten, isdukel-iten ujajiḥ n tmes n imenyi. ḡran mačči d takemmict kan i yellan din, mwanasen.

Taggara d tneggura, llint-d wallen-nsen mi ten-id-suffyen si lkaziṛna, fkan-ten d idurra, yiwen udar si tama tayeffust, yiwen si tama tazelmaḍt, akken ad ilin d afrag yef Iṣebenyulen i yeddand di tneimmast. Tban am azal. Ma yella yiwen d aderyal ad tt-iḡer.

Tifeṭṭiwejt ney asafu i yesayen times n tnekra nni ur izmir yiwen ad tt-id-ifru anta. Llant akk di tmes nni yuyen mi yekker ujajiḥ n rṣaṣ deg webrid n Izumar.

Tawla akked tergagit nni i yettayen imdanen ma yekker ubarud ferrunt tundar icudden, tekksent akukru nni iteqqnen iyallen d ifadden. Mi yejbed znad Muḡa ney Ḥemmu, yuki yekkes fell-as uberrak nni n "Los Moros".

Si mi yeffey waâbaṛ amezwaru, ger Anwal akked Izumar, armi wḍen imedduren inesren yer tiyremt n Ben Ṭeyeb, tamurt n Anwal tbeddel udem.

D timeqbirt n yemdanen, n iserdan, n wuzzal, n ibeckiden, n ikaṛṛusen, n yal asafar. D nnger ur igguni yiwen, ur inwa yiwen izmer ad d-iḍru di taggara n wass n 22 julyu 1921.

Mi yefra wass, yekcem Muḥend Abdelkrim tanemmast n Anwal. Iẓra abrid n tifat akked Sbanya irgel-d. Gar-as akked Sbanya yezra wasif idammen.

Deg wennar nni n Anwal, ger tissi nni yergazen immuten, llan sin ufraren: Kulunil Morales akked Jiniṛal Sylvestre.

Kulunil Morales imyussan netta d Muḥend, llan i sin d ixeddamen di Oficinas de Indigenas di Mellila. Ifka-t Muḥend i wid i t-isawḍen yer tiyremt n Sidi Dris. Mi wḍen, derren fell-as yemjahden nni s ibeckiden nsen, gan-as tiddi n yisey (les honneurs militaires), wten abarud yer igenni, syen fkan-t i lâeskeṛ n Sbanya.

Jiniṛal Manuel Fernandez Sylvestre immut din. Awal n Muḥend Abdelkrim yef Sylvestre: yiwen ilemzi yufa-t immut. Iwwi yay-d agus-is akk d itran-is. Mi ddan yid-s wid iddan akken ad t-afen anda yella, taggara ur ufan tefkka-s. Inṭel di tesraft anda i neṭlen wiyad.

Ar ass-a, tafekka n Sylvestre ur iẓra yiwen anta tasraft deg tenṭel, tucka di tennemast n Anwal. Sylvestre yusa-d ad isery akal n Arif, yekkes leqdeṛ yef imawlan n Arif, taggara yečča-t wakal n Arif.

Aḥemmal n Anwal.

Ayen isarem Muḥend ačḥal n waguren aya iẓra-t ilul-d, iteddu zdat wallen-is, iteddu ittumyur ugar yal ass. Ačḥal isarem Muḥend ad d-isuḍ waḍu n tnekra si tkemmict nni n yergazen n Lqama, akken ad yuṛal d aḥemmal ameqran ar ad ihudden tazmert n Sbanya. Ačḥal n tikkal i yesarem Muḥend ad d-tuṛal tedyant nni n Zerḥuni Bu Teyyult ass-mi ddan fell-as At Arif d

aglaf, d argaz d tameṭṭut, d aqcic d taqcict, d amyar, wa s ubeckid, win s wemger ney s tazzert, snegren lâeskeṛ-is, netta cudden-t id am yiḥid di tiyremt n Selwan.

Aḥemmal n wass nni n 22 Yulyu izra-t Muḥend yedda si Anwal, yuy abrid udyiq n Ben Ṭeyeb, idda am wasif nni n taggara n tegrest mi d-fsin ideflawen.

Mi ffyen lâeskeṛ n Sbanya si Anwal, yeffey waâbaṛ amezwaru, nitni ddan d tazzla, d anejli, wa yeḡḡa abeckid-is deg webrid, wa yeḡḡa arkasen-is akken ad yifsis, abrid nsen yer tdarit n Ben Ṭeyeb. Deffir nsen idda weglaf n Irifiyen, smeyren-as adwi akken llan d imjahden ney d Regulares. Tikli nsen yiwet, acengu nsen yiwen.

Lâeskeṛ imezwura n Sbanya i yewḍen yer tiyremt n Ben Ṭeyeb nwan ad afen din tadarit i trewla nsen, ad afen afrag ad d-imagren aglaf n Irifiyen nni i yeddin deffir nsen. Taggara aḥemmal nni igla s lkazirna n Ben Ṭeyeb. Mi d-ḡran wid illan din wid iwḍen s tazzla am zun rewlend seg ifri n yizem, kkren rewlend ula d nitni, ddan d imezwura yer zdat. Teḍra i wid nni irewlend si Anwal am tedyant n wawal nni, ddin ad sendey fell-as, iyli-d fell-i d ayelluy. Lâeskeṛ n Ben Ṭeyeb zwaren d nitni yer trewla.

Ger ifesyaneɛn imeqranen yellan di Anwal, llan wid yeddren deffir tarewla nni, wten ad seggmen tikli. Abrid nni n trewla ger Ben Ṭeyeb d Mellila yuḡal-asen d amewcaṛ n nnger. Gas ifesyaneɛn nni wten ad sdukklen lâeskeṛ nni yellan, akken ad sdergen iman-nsen syen ad rren tiyita, taggara ur llan ifadden, ur zmiren ad wten. Tarewla temnaâ bab-is ! Ur tella d tarewla, d anejli !

Llant tikkal deg yif win ur ngir afus win t-igren. Di trewla nni n lâeskeṛ, yal yiwen anda yufa abrid yuy-it, anda tella terga yezger, anda tella tdarit ikmen. Fas wid iddan deffir nsen seddan lmut deg ifassen-nsen, llan lṣebenyulen inesren. Jiniṛal Navarro yella di Mellila. Mi yesla s tedyant n Anwal, yusa-d si Mellila s lâeskeṛ yellan akken ad iger afus. Ira ad isdukkel laesker-is akken ad isemyer tazmert akken ad iqabel, ad iwet am akken i yas slemden di tussna n tṛad. Mi yeweḍ Deryuc, imlal-d imezwura d-irewlen si Anwal i yuki s twayit iḍran. S yergazen d-igran si trewla akked lâeskeṛ yellan di lkaziṛna n Deryuc, Qendusi akked Ttlata, inwa izmer ad yeg tazmert i tyita. Anda isarem ad yaf tayett, Navarro yufa aḡilif ameqran. Wid yellan di Qendusi sersen uzal, refden ifassen nsen send ad nnayen. Taggara, nyan-ten Irifiyen akken ma llan. Wid yellan di lkaziṛna n Ttlata, ffyen, zegren talast n tmurt n Arif, kecmen yer tama deg tella Fransa. Ger 1200 nni yellan di tazwara di lkaziṛna n Ttlata, wḍen d imedduren azal n 450 iserdasen akked 16 ifesyane.

Tawayit tameqrant tella-d deg udrar n Aâṛwi (Mont Arruit)¹¹⁵: «Deg wass n 23 julyu, tarbaât n Navarro deg llan azal n 2700 yergazen i d-inesren si Anwal ney seg imukan nniḍen, tedda deg webrid n Baṭel akken ad tesseqreb yer Mellila. Deg ubrid nsen, si yal tama d ajajiḥ ubarud n Irifiyen. Mi wḍen Adrar n Aâṛwi, gran-d kan azal n 1300 yergazen. Akken, tilufa ur frant fell-asen. Send ad kecmen lkaziṛna n Aâṛwi, lâeskeṛ n Rugulares i yellan d iaâssasen fell-asen zzin ibeckad nsen yersen. Wid inesren deg webrid, taggara ičča-ten řšař zdat tewwurt n lberğ n Aâṛwi. Send ad d-medlen tiwwura, Irifiyen zzin-asen am tirkeft. Tuffya tekkes fell-asen. Jiniṛal Navarro nni akked 3000 yergazen ḡlin di tesraft.

¹¹⁵ V. Courcelle-Labrouse & N. Marmié, *la Guerre du Rif*, p. 71.

Tadyant tefra yir tifat deg wass n 9 di yect. Mi d-tusa terbaât n At Waryayen akken ad d-afen tawwurt, At Bu Yaḥi akked Imtallsen fkan-asen udem. S tihila, sutren i yiserdasen sersen uzzal nsen, suffyen-d ifesyane win-ten At Waryayen d imeḥbas, ma d iserdasen nni ičča-ten řšař akken llan, negren».

Tuffya i yesarem Navarro teffey-asen d timenjeřt i yergazen d-igran. Asdukkel nni yesdukel lâeskeř-is akken ad yerr tiyita, taggara d aseksi i yeseksa imdanen yer lmut, yir tamettant.

Di sin wussan, ger 21 d 23 julyu 1921, ibeddel wudem n tmurt n Arif. Tamurt nni yeknan ddaw tezmert n Sbanya ass-a teřteř tasawent, tesenger lâeskeř yuyen tamurt ufella, tenya-yas ifesyane imeqranen, tezza tigdî deg ulawen n Sbanya. Irifiyen ikkes-asen kennu nni i yasen iřzan ifadden. Ass-a kkren, wten, srewlen acengu nsen.

Muḥend Abdelkrim iga-yas anezgum ameqran i tyita nni n Anwal. Si tama ikkes-as ukukru nni amezwazru, iřra tamurt-is tekker am akken i tt-isarem, si tama nniđen uzzlen idammen imeqranen. Tiyita n wedrar n Aârwi yeffey wawal-is, terna-d taluft-is. Amek ad iqqim azekka zdat Sbanya ma tefka-d udem ad teqqim i tifat?

Tikli n Abdelkrim ur tunif akka ney akka. Inwa ad ikker ad d-isuffey tucrar, syen ad d-injeř webrid n tifat send ad taweđ yer imenyi. Sylvestre akked wid illan di Madrid akked Mellila uyen abrid nniđen. Uyen abrid uḥđim, abrid n tyennant, taggara fkan-tt i yeyzeř.

Uzzal n Sbanya.

Afrag ameqran i yellan zik i tnekra tameqran, d uzzal i tyita. Di yal tanekra n Arif mgal Sbanya ney mgal imnayen ugellid n Fes, yugar tiqubac ibeckiden. Ass-a, tiyita n Anwal tbeddel-as udem. Di kra wussan, nnig 14000 lṣebenyulen i yemmuten. At Arif megren-d ayen ur nwan ad siwḍen d ibeckiden, lmatrayuzat, imrad ifessasen akked imeqranen: 20000 ibeckiden, 400 lmatrayuzat, 130 imrad !

Aybel n Muḥend Abdelkrim d ameqran: amek ad d-ikkas uzzal nni yellan ger ifassen n teqbilin nniḍen, tid yellan akkin i tmurt n At Waryayen. Di taâddit n tmurt, deg imenḡi ayen d-ikkas wergaz d ayla-s netta. D abeckid ney d tayawsa. I Muḥend, tanekra n tmurt ur tella am tinekriwin nni n imenḡi ger iyerman ney tiqbilin. Ass-a, tanekra i d-yuyen si Anwal ur tezmir ad teqqim deg uzlaz nni n zik n tmurt lmaziyen gar-asen.

Gas udem n tṛad ibeddel, imdanen i yeseddan tṛad nni ur bedden. Imdanen nni d at tmurt n Arif ibedden yeḡ talast n yisey nsen, ḥeḍmen am usḡar nni i tesery tafukt n uzal n yeḡt. Gas isarem Muḥend ad bedden yiwen wass, ur ira ad ihucc ney ad isneḡni at tmurt-is. Tamsalt n wuzzal idda-yas s leḥder. Di yal iyrem, ifka wid ad ifernen uzzal. Amur ad iqqim din i tyita uzekka, amur ad d-ikkas ad irnu d tabzert. Di yal iyrem, wid d-ikkas uzzal s yiḡil nsen ifka-yasen tadrimt akken ad d-rren ayen yellan nnig yiwen ubeckid.

Di beṡtu nni s webrid, Muḥend isunef akkin yeḡ urfan n yemjahden, yesemyer axezzan n wuzzal. Amur ameqran n imrad nni uyen abrid n Ajdir akken ad gen afrag i yiḡrem, akken ad rren tiyita yeḡ weḡru n Nekkuṛ. Ma d ibeckiden, bḍan-ten di

yal iyrem. Yal tiyilt, yal iyrem ibeddel udem, yuyal d lkaziṛna n at tmurt.

Azekka ad nekcem Mellila!

Tamurt nni n At Bu Yaḥi akked At Bu Yifrur iḡerben Mellila llant ddaw uzaglu n Sbanya. Di tallit nni deg uḡen tama wadda, susmen, am zun qeblen azaglu n Sbanya. At Arif knan, ffren ibeckad nsen di tesrafin, ggunin ad yali wass fell-asen.

Mi d-iweḡ uḡeḡḡaḡu nni n Anwal, kkren am yiwen, srewten ayen yellan zdat nsen, tḡfen tiyremt n Naḡur akked iyerman nniḡen, rnan smeyren agraw deg wedrar n Gurugu, bedden-d akkin nnig Mellila.

Di Mellila yekker uferfud ameqran. Iḡebenyulen yellan din am iserdasen nsen, slan s twayit iḡran deg wedrar, di Anwal ney imkan nniḡen. Tekker tawla, nwan ad meḡḡen deg yiwen wass. Ayen i yasen-nnan wid d-inesren d imedduren si Naḡur akked iyerman ufella ikkes fell-asen asirem¹¹⁶. Wid izwaren, rewlen ad ffren deffir ugadir n lberḡ n Mellila, wid inwan tarewla akkin i yilel d aglaf ad ayen amkan deg ibabuḡen akked teflukin yellan din, ineggura mlalen ḡer webḡraḡ anemmas n Sbanya, Plaza Espana. Tarewla temnaâ bab-is !

Di tama nniḡen, lâeskeḡ yellan di Mellila ur llan nnig 1800 iserdasen. ḡas llan am zun ur llan ilmend amur ameqran deg-sen

¹¹⁶ Awal n Muḥend Abdelkrim : «...Nniḡ-asen ur nkeḡḡem Mellila akken ur d-nrennu uguren akked tmura n Wamḡal. Nedmey deg ubrid nni uḡeḡ [...] nezmer ad nekcem Mellila, ur illa d adrar fell-ay...» / « ... A l'issue de la bataille de mont Arouit, j'étais parvenu sous les murs de Melillia [...] Mais je leur recommandais, aussi énergiquement, de ne pas occuper Melilla, pour ne pas créer des complications internationales. De cela je me repends amèrement. Ce fut ma grosse erreur. Oui, nous avons commis la plus lourde faute en n'occupant pas Melilla ! Nous pouvions le faire sans difficulté... ». (1927)

ur ssinen tṛad ur lmiden imenyi, ur zmiren ad qablen Irifiyen. Jiniṛal Berenguer yesuter i Madrid ad as d-aznen si Sbanya ayen yellan akken ad yeg afrag yef Mellila. Taggara, akken ad ikkes anezgum yef imezday, Berenguer isuffy-d lâesker iḍebbalen, teddun deg izenqan n Mellila, tturaren tḥbel d lyaḍa!

Deg iyallen ufella, nnig ugadir akkin n Mellila, At Bu Yifru, At Sidel akked At Bu Yaḥi smeyren adriz, isud-d fell-asen waḍu n tilelli. Di sin wussan, zelzen kksen akkin tabarda nni n waḥal iseggasen. Zelzen, seylon, wten armi tama tekka di tayed. Mi zran zdat-nsen lṣebenyulen ḡḡan ibeckad nsen, rewlun zun d iwtal umaday, ikkes fell-asen uylif. Nwan ur zmiren ad wten, ass-a wten, win isey.

Di sin wussan, imukan akk yellan ger ifassen n Sbanya uyalen-d akken llan si zik n zik, d iyerman n tmurt, n at tmurt. Di yal iyrem tekkes tagut nni i yas idlen.

Di yal iyrem, awal yiwen-is: timmist taneggarut ad d-isfin d Mellila. Di yal iyrem zun yeffey yiwen wawal, wa isawaḍ-it i wayeḍ: azekka ad nekcem Mellila.

Anekcum n Mellila izmer ad yili yef sin iberdan: s laesker iseggmen ddaw ufus n Muḥend Abdelkrim, ney d adway am tasna n waṛezzen n imezday i d-izzin i Mellila.

Taggara, anekcum n Mellila ur d-illa.

Amek, di tallit nni deg yekker uḥemmal, at Arif ur witen uzal skud yeḥma, ad kecmen tiyremt, ad dehmen lâesker yellan din, ad srewten lṣebenyulen yuyen azaṛ din, taggara ad d-rren akal nni akked tiyremt nni d ayla n at tmurt n Arif, Mellila ad d-tuyal d "Tamellalt" yer yisem-is amenzu.

Amek, At Bu Yifruḥ, At Sendel d At Bu Yaḥi akked imjuhad n yal tamurt ur dduklen di yiwet tikli, ad dwin seg wedrar am tmedda, ad zzin i Mellila, ad as-kecmen tasga?

Ayen i yurzen at Arif di tikli nni, d udem amaynut n tnekra n Arif: ur tella d tanekra n iḡerman ney n teqbilin. Tanekra n wass-a d tanekra yedduklen s tuddsa n Muḥend Abdelkrim akked irfiqen-is. Yella umeksa deffir, yella zdat.

Abrid yesawḍen Muḥend akken ad isinef yeḥ Mellila, izmer ad ibḍu yeḥ sin udmawen.

Amur ger 50000 imezday yellan imir di Mellila d Irifiyen am netta. Amur ameqran d ixeddamen ney imetjaren zedḡen di tiyremt nni. Di yal tamurt, di yal taḡerma, anda yella ixeddim i weḡrum ad nadin fell-as wid iran ad d-sisen aḡrum nsen. Mellila d tizirt di tneemast n tmurt tamaziḡt, d tiyremt n cci d tmussni, zun d tamurt n Uḡrupa. Ger ixeddamen Irifiyen yellan din, llan wid itezzin yal ass yeḥ iḡerman nsen, llan wid yuḡen aḡar, gan taddart nsen din.

Anezgum n Muḥend Abdelkrim d abrid. Ma zedḡmen Irifiyen yeḥ Mellila si tama ufella, d Irifiyen nni yellan din ad iḥḥen tiyita tamezwarut si tama n lḡebenyulen, ad ten- snegren wakali.

Anezgum n Muḥend ḡas yella, di tidett yedda di tmuyli-is akkin yeḥ zdat. Ur llant d kra n temrawin ney ugar n Irifiyen ad imten deg imenḡi n Mellila i yas-d-igan ugur. Lmut-is netta akked lmut n at tmurt-is ibna fell-as, ur llant ticḡaḍ s war idammen.

Mellila tella deg wul n Abdelkrim. Ḥas si tama ufella tella deg ufus n Sbanya, nettat akal-is akked ddaw wakal-is d Tamazḡya, d

tiyremt n tmurt-is. Ur izmir ad yefk deg-s afus. I Muḥend, ḡas ass-a d udem n Sebenyul, azekka ad d-tuḡal d tamaziyt¹¹⁷.

I Muḥend Abdelkrim, ḡas deffir Anwal, ḡas yerya uzegzaw ḡef uquran, uzzlen idammen, ryan iyerman, ččurent tegrurin s imeḡbas Iṣebeniyulen akked Irifiyen, tamurt n Sbanya tella, tawwurt-is d Mellila.

Muḥend Abdelkrim iga afrag ḡef tewwurt n Sbanya. Ifra d yiman-is, Irifiyen ur keččmen Mellila, ur seryayen Mellila, ur sengaren Mellila.

Di tejmaât n tnekra n Arif, ger Muḥend Abdelkrim, Abdeslam n At Yusef, Azerqan, Mḡemmed n AT Xeṡṡab akked wiyad, abrid ur asen-idrig. Akken tra tiyzif tallit n imenḡi, d aguren ney d iseggasen, taggara ad d-tas tallit n tifat. Tifat nni ad d-tili ger wid imsenḡen. D tamara ad d-tili akked Iṣebeniyulen.

Ma yekker uḡemmal, amdan akken ibḡu yessen, ur izmir ad d-yerr talast ad isbedd aḡemmal nni. Izmer kan ad t-isinef ḡer zdat ma yekcem deg uḡemmal nni. Maca, anekcum nni n Mellila ur iḡmin taggara. D abrid nni i yuḡ Muḥend Abdelkrim. Netta akked baba-s gan tarḡizt tamezwarut i tnekra, tanekra nni teffeḡ-asen afus. D asinef kan si ddaw webrid d nnig webrid i wumi ibedd akken tanekra n Arif ad tesiweḡ anda ira.

Abrid ira i tnekra n Arif d abrid ad isuffyen tamurt si tillas ḡer tafat, abrid n tussna d usnerni akken akal akked ddaw wakal n

¹¹⁷ Tadyant n Mellila ddaw udabu n Sebya tefka anza i Carthage i yellan ddaw udabu n Ifniqen. Mi yella Masnsen d agellid, ḡas iga ṡrad mgal wid izedyen Carthage, deg wul-is ira ad ikcem Carthage s talwit ad tuḡal d tamaneyt n tgelda tamaziyt. Taggara, asirem-is ur iffiy. Di -146 Ruma akked Imaziyen n ugellid Makawsen kecmen Carthage deffir 3 iseggasen i yas-zzin, yiwen ur d-iteffeḡ, yiwen ur ikeččem; taggara seryen-tt, hudden-tt ḡef Isas. Masnsen ur iḡra tawayit nni. Yella yemmut deg useggas n -148.

Arif ad yili i warraw n Arif. Tayerma ira Muḥend Abdelkrim d tin iẓurān n tmurt i wumi ad tleqqem t̄yerma n tussna, tayerma n Uṛupa. Di tidett Muḥend Abdelkrim ur igguni ixef n tisegnit si tama n t̄yerma n at tqelmunin akked tiḥerztin n Fes ur nessin acraw n tidi..

Times yekkren di tmurt akked idammen yuzzlen si tnekra n Anwal ur asen-ifriḥ Muḥend Abdelkrim. Kksen-as ayilif, maca rnan-as-d anezgum ameqran. Ass-mi yuli yer Lqama s ubeckid-is, netta inwa ad tefru s wid ilhan. Ad izlez, ad isyel ney ad iwet ayen ilaqen kan, taggara Sbanya ad d-tuṛal yer webrid. Tadyant teffey akken nniḍen.

Timecṛeḍt n Anwal yiwen ur iẓra tezmer ad d-tili, yiwen ur as isarem. Teffey akken teffey, mmi-s n tayaṭ ad t-yečč wuccen.

Gas terkem deg iyallen yellan nnig Mellila, Irifiyen ur kcimen tiyremt. Ur illa d tazmert i yasen tt-ikksen. Di yal tanekra, si zik n zik, mi ḥman idammen n Imaziyen, a wer d-igri bu umezzuṛ. Lemmer ur d-illa wefrag, At Bu Yaḥi ney At Bu yifruṛ ad dehmen agadir n Mellila s ifassen ilmawen. Nitni ur kcimen Mellila. Afrag i ten-id-itṭfen ur yella d tazmert ney d uzzal n Sbanya, ur tella d tigdi n ucengu. D awal n Muḥend Abdelkrim akked tejmaât n tnekra i yuyen. D isey ameqran i yernan di tedyant nni i yiri n Muḥend Abdelkrim¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁸ Deffir tnekra n Arif, mi yella yettwaṭṭef d amehbus di 1926, Muḥend Abdelkrim, yenna-d awal n tuzzma yer iman-is : «ndemmey mi ur kcimey Mellila mi kan teḥma tyita. Ugadey imir-nni, ma kecmey, ad d-grent tmura n Uṛupa yer tama n Sbanya. Ur nezmir ad nqabel aḥal n tmura».

Arif iteddu yer zdat, Sbanya yer deffir

Agur n tṛad ibeddel udem i tmurt n Arif. Nnig 600 imeḥbas uyen abrid n Ajdir akked iyerman inetlen anda ur zmiren Iṣebenyulen ad ten-awḍen. Ger imeḥbas nni llan ifesyaneɛn imeqranen: jiniṛal Navaro, kulunil Araujo akked kulunil Lopez Gomez.

I tedyant n imeḥbas nni, terna-d tin n wuzzal ameqran i d-iḡlin ger ifassen n Irifiyen; ibeckad, Imatrayuzat akked imrad. D tikkelt tamezwarut n tmedduṛ n tmurt n Arif i teṭṭef ger ifassen-is anect-nni n wuzzal n tṛad.

D sin isufar nni, imeḥbas akked wuzzal n tṛad, i yis-ibna Muḥend Abdelkrim adabu idduklen si Ajdir ar Mellila. Uzzal nni ibḍa-t Muḥend yeḥ yal iḡrem akken ad yili deg wemkan-is, ihegga di lawan-is. Irifiyen imezwura i yemmuten seg ufus n tnekra, d wid nni igguman ad d-fken uzzal i yellan ger ifassen nsen akken ad izdi. Imezwura izelgen mmuten, ineggura iran ad zelgen uḡalen yer deffir, uyen abrid ilhan, abrid n tegrawla.

Di yeḥt 1921, tamurt n Arif tenwa tefra tilufa-s, tedhem Sbanya, tesenger ugar n 15000 n iserdasen Iṣebenyulen, teslul-d lâeskeṛ n tmurt n Arif s yemjahden akked Irifiyen n Regulares i yuḡalen yer watmaten nsen. Deg iyerman d abaḡur. Amur ameqran Irifiyen nwan Sbanya tefcel, ur tezmir ad d-terr tiyita.

Tamuḡli nni ur tella d tin n Muḥend akked imeddukal-is. Ḷran tamsalt d tameqrant, tifat-is ad tiḡzif, abrid-is d akessar d usawen.

Tamsalt i Ḷran tefra deg uqerru-nsen: Sbanya ad tewwet ad d-terr tiyita, ad d-terr ttaḡ s wayes tezmer. Akken i teffey. Di Mellila, Sbanya ur tekkis jiniṛal Berenguer. Gas d tawaḡit teḍra, ḡḡan-t deg umkan-is, d kumisaḡ ameqran n Sbanya di Mellila akked Tṭwan.

Tiyita teḥma. Ussan nni kan deg teddun at Arif ad sbedden adabu ad ifrun tilufa i d-innulfan, Sbanya tcudd arkasen akken ad d-terr ttaṛ. Azal n 20000 iserdasen-is i yas-immuten ney inejlan di talast n wagur, ma d imkan nni yakk teṭṭef ḡlin ger ifassen n Irifiyen. Di talast n wagur, Sbanya tuyal ḡer tliṣa nni timezwura.

Tuyalin n Sbanya ḡer wennar n tṛad

Tadyant n Anwal teffey, tezzi-d i tmura. Di Sbanya iyli-d fell-asen uḡemḡum. Amek ifellaḡen yečča laḡ di "El Rif", wid iteddun s ijellaben nsen i leḡfa, kkren, srewten lâeskeṛ n ugellid Alphonse XIII. D awezḡi¹¹⁹!

Tidett taqerḡant n wayen iḡran di Arif terna-d tebrek fell-asen mi wḡen wid immuten ḡer yexxamen nsen, ad neṭlen deg wakal n Sbanya. Ukin-as i tyita.

Adabu n Sbanya, am wid illan dduklen, am wid illan ttnayen am umcic d uyerda, zdin ad rren ttaṛ i Los Moros.

Fkan-d si Sbanya nnig 35000 iserdasen ḡer mellila. Di 17 ctamber 1921 teffey teṛḡilt tamezwarut akken ad terr ttaṛ, ad tesired laâṛ yellan ḡef laâseṛ n Sbanya. D jiniṛal Calvacanti, jiniṛal Sanjurjo akked kumundu Franco¹²⁰ i yeffḡen s 20000 iserdasen, abrid nsen ad kecmen Naḡuṛ. Teddun dduklen taḡḡan nnger d lmut deffir nsen di tmurt Igellayen. Deg wass n 10 di tubeṛ kecmen adrar n Gurugu, syen kecmen iyrem n Selwan

¹¹⁹ Awezḡi = lmuḡal / ayen ur izmir ad iḡru (français = l'impossible)

¹²⁰ Franco : d netta i yuḡalen d jiniṛal Franco; yeṭṭef adabu di Sbanya si 1939 armi yemmut di Madrid deg wass n 20/11/1975.

Tuyalin n lâesker nni s tezmert tameqrant, ur tella d tuyalin n talwit. Uyalen akken ad rren ttaṛ n wtamaten nsen, wid i yemmuten din izlef-iten yiṭij n yect ney ččan-ten wuccanen. Mi teddun deg iberdan n wedrar, simal tmagaren iyerrusen d yeysan n watmaten nsen zelfen i tafukt. Tamuyli nni terna yasen tayennant d tuḥsift. Di Selwan srewten ayen wumi zemren, nyan, uzan mezzī ney meqqr. Isem n Rēbbi ur t-ssinen.

Tikli n Sbanya deg udrar n Arif tedda yeḥ sin udmawen: deg agmud d aqezzul n lâesker s ubarud akked tmes armi tekcem Selwan, deg utaram, akkin di tmurt n Iyumaren, tesker cwal ddaw ufus akken Iyumaren ur teddun akked Irifiyen. Ass-mi yewed Mḥemmed, gma-s n Muḥend, s terbaât n imjahden akken ad ten id-isdukkel i tnekra, nitni kkren-d ad t-nyen. Tawekka i ten-ikecmen, syur Iṣebenyulen i d-tusa.

Anda ur tezmir, Sbanya tessent amek ad teseddu tilufa n zik n zik akken ad tewet Irifiyen s watmaten nsen, netta ad teqqim si deffir. D tikli i yas-iččan ačçal iseggasen aya. Tiddas-is txez-itent akken ilha. Sbanya tesseḥrec Iyumaren acku d nitni i yellan d talast ger Arif n wagmuḍ akked tmurt Ijebliyen, si tiyremt n lccawen armi d tiyremt n Tanja akkin yer yilel ufella.

Gas d tallit ubarud, awal ger Muḥend Abdelkrim akked Sbanya ur igdil. Awal d-illan ger Ajdir akked Nekkuṛ, yella-d yeḥ tifat ilmend n imeḥbas n Arif. Sbanya tiṭ-is ad d-tesenser amur ameqran imeḥbas akken ad taf abrid ad tekcem tamurt n Arif s tezmert tameqrant. Skud yella jiniṛal Navaro ger ifassen n Abdelkrim, tugad fell-as. Mi sutren Iṣebenyulen akken ad sen d-fken atmaten nsen, Muḥend Abdelkrim isuter-asen ula d netta ad d-serḥen i wid tṭfen. Inna-yasen Muḥend: «amek ad awen-nefk wid

neṭṭef nekkni, ma d kenwi ur aḡ d-tetefken wid i teṭṭem ? Yal ass imawlan n wid teṭṭem ttasen-d ḡuri ad ttren ḡef tarwa-nsen ?».

Anda inwa Adelkrim ad yaf tamussni, taḡuri n Sbanya am akken i tt-isarem i tmurt-is, taggara yal ass d-ittalin ittaf amur-is n teḥṡaymit. Abridni nni i yas d-wwin Iṡebenyulen isduqqes-it. Di tallit deg iteddu id d wass akken ad isdukkel tamurt n Arif zun d yiwen, yekkes tilisa ger teḡbilin, ger laâṡac d iḡerma, taggara ugur yekka yas-d si tmurt n Uṡupa! tamurt n Sbanya iddan ḡer zdat i yesarem ad tefk ḡures anza tmurt-is. Mi yasen-isuter Muḥend ad d-brun i yimeḥbas i ṭṭfen, nnan-as-d: «ad d-nebru kan i yimeḥbas n At Waryayen!», laâṡc n Abdelkrim.

Tiḥṡerci nni n Sbanya tban am azal. Di tallit deg At Bu yifru, At Sâid, At Wlicek, At Seddat, Imetalsen d wid illan akkin di Arif,... rran-d awal i tnekra n "Si Muḥend", Iṡebenyulen wten ad qqnen Muḥend Abdelkrim di tliṡa n wakal n Waryayen, ger tliṡa n ugadir n Ajdir. Di tallit deg tamuyli n Muḥend tekka-d di tazwara si tliṡa n Arif, seg yixef ḡer yixef alamma d tilisa n Merṡuk, At Madrid akked wid iḥekmen di Mellila, ran ad-as-gezmen afriwen.

Taḥṡaymit nni ur tečča. Di Arif isud-d waḡu n tlelli, yekkes tilisa ger teḡbilin, ger iḡerman, ger idurar d isaffen, isdukkel wid yellan idelli bedden ḡef tfednan gar-asen, wid isdukulen yal ass abaṡud i wawal deg ucebraw ḡer wayeḡ. Anwal islul-d Arif amaynut.

Tifxett nni ur tečča. Sbanya tezzi ad taf taḥilett akken ad teṡz tazmert n tnekra. Iḡumaṡen ukin i wurar n Sbanya, uḡalen ḡer deffir, Iṡebenyulen ddan ḡer zdat ad d-sbedden afrag i uḥemmal n tnekra n Arif akken ur ikeččem tamurt ljebliyen deg utaram. Afrag nsen ufan-t-id: d ṡaysuni. I Muḥend Abdelkrim Amaziḡ, Sbanya tufa-yas-d axṡim «Aâṡab i d-yuḡen aḡaṡ si cuṡafa n Nbi!»

akken ad tegzem Arif di tmemmast, ger Irifiyen akked war Irifiyen, ijebliyen. Taḥilett tban am azal, am timezwura nni.

Tadyant n Mulay Aḥmed Ṛaysuni si zik i tenti. Netta ilul di tiyremt n Zinat di tama n Ṭanja. Di 1905 yella d Lqayed ameqran n Ṭanja akked tmurt Ijebliyen. Isbedd-it ugellid n Fes, Mulay Abedelḥafid. Di 1906 ikkes-it Mulay Abdelaâziz di Ṭanja. Ulac tawayit ur iga. S yimnayan-is iserwet, yuker, yenya yal win ad as-ibedden deg ubrid-is. Aḥal n iwerdaniyen n Legliz ney n Marikan i yuker di Ṭanja, i wumi d-ibra s wedrim ameqran. Deg iyeraman imesdurar iseyli-d qawsas. Win ur nefka tabzert n tmara, d ameksa ney d afellaḥ, ad yečč tamrart. Di tallit yer tayed ibeddel udem aḥal n tikkal, yella di tama n ugellid n Fes, di tama n Lalman, di tama n Legliz. Tikli nni yakk d urar. Netta yella di yiwet tama kan, tama-s netta akken ad isemyer agerruj-is n wurey d tezmert n wuzzal d ubarud. D'abandi" d wawal!

Di tmeddurt-is, inna-d yiwet tikkelt awal i d-ifkan udem-is amek yella: «Imaziyen d iqeddacen-iw, Iṣebenyulen d aklan-iw, Iṛumyen d icenga-w, Almaniyen d icriken-iw»¹²¹.

Deffir 1921, d Ṛaysuni nni wuḥur tuzzel Sbanya akken ad t-id tesekcem yer wennar. Tefka wid yulin yer Taḥrut anda i yella yeffer, tenced-it-id Sbanya. Fran-as, rran-as Iberğ-is, fkan-as adrim ameqran d wuzzal, sulin-t d "Pacha" akken taggara ad idhem imjahden n Abdelkrim. Akken ad yeg afrag i yemjahden ur d-kecmen tamurt n Ijebliyen. Ṛaysuni tikli-is tban. Efka-as kan adrim, izmer ad ibeddel udem mraw n tikkal si tfejrit ar tameddit.

¹²¹ « Les Berbères sont mes serviteurs, les Espagnols sont mes esclaves. Les Français sont mes ennemis, et les Allemands sont mes alliés ». (Mulay Ahmed Ṛaysuni)

Tanekra nni n Abdelkrim tesemyer tismen n Raṣuni, Iṣebenyulen kemzen-as anda ira, fkan-as tazmert i yis ad iseḡli axṣim-is Abdelkrim, ad iqqim d netta kan i d «agellid n idurar», akken iḥemmel ad isemmi iman-is!

Di tallit deg Arif iteddu ḡer zdat, itekkes uguren n zik, Sbanya tuzzel ad d-tesekfel ayen akk isderylen tamurt si zik n zik, akken ad tewwet yis. Abrid-is yiwen: ad tesexsi times nni yekkren di Anwal tessay i tmurt n Arif.

Mi kecmen lâeskeḡ n Calvacanti tiyremt n Selwan, mačči s wudem n Sbanya n imussnawen am Miguel de Cervantes¹²² neḡ San Juan de la Cruz. Iserdasen kecmen s wudem n tyennant n ttaḡ akked idammen. Ayen d-igran deg imenḡi amezwaru di Selwan kemmlen-t wid d-yuḡalen. Ma llan Irifiyen ikukran ad malen ḡer tama n tnekra, tadyant n iserdasen n Calvacanti di Selwan d iyerman nniḡen i snegren tekkes-asen akukru.

Abrid nni tuy Sbanya yeffey laâḡ-is di tmurt n Arif.

Di tallit deg d-illa wawal akken ad mbiddalen imeḡbas, times n imenḡi ters. Yal yiwen isarem ad as d-rren imeḡbas-is d imedduren. Mi llan ferrun awal i yekker imenḡi ugar si tama n Sbanya. Jiniḡal Sanjurjo yuḡal deg wemkan n jiniḡal Calvacanti, yezger asif n Kert, idda d asawen yekcem tamurt n Deriuc. Din, yeḡḡa lâeskeḡ-is gan ayen ur ittwaqbel; nyan aqcic, amḡar, argaz, tameṡṡut. D timecḡeṡt i gan deg iyrem.

Muḥend Abdelkrim isla s tedyant idḡan di Selwan, di Deryuc akked iyerman tekcem Sbanya. Yebra i wawal nni n imeḡbas.

¹²² Imyura imeḡranen n Sbanya : Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616) ; San Juan de la Cruz (1542-1591), Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600-1681), ...

Ur tella d tagnitt n tifat ney n wawal akked ucengu ur nga talast ger imenyi akked d tijehli. D abrid imenyi!

Mi yerra tamuḥli yer wussan nni ineggura, si tedyant n Ubeḥḥan, n Anwal akked imkan nniḍen, Yufa imjahden wukud yekker, fkan kan tiyita i iserdasen am nitni. S tidett nnuyen s wul, nyan, jerḥen ayen wumi zemren. Maca imjahden ur nyan, ur nudan ad nyan imḥaren, tilawin ney imeḥyanen n Sbanya. Lemmer yekcim Mellila, yezmer ad d yili kra. Taggara imjahden ur kcimen Mellila. Di yal tallit yella imenyi ger yemdanen, ger tmura, maca imenyi iga tilisa-s. Di tmurt tamaziyt, tilisa nni d adrar ur izmir ad izger win i yas igan azal. Imenyi deg wemkan-is ; ur illa imenyi ma axḥim ur izmir ad iwet yef iman-is ; ma yeḥli wemdan ur as-irennu tiyita wexḥim -is ; ur tella tyita ma tuyal tecḍaṭ n laḥnaya ney timeḥremt n tmeṭṭut yef wemdan.

Muḥend Abdelkrim yessen tamurt n Arif akked tlisa i yef tebna tyerma. Mi yeḥra zdat waṭṭawen-is iḥsan n tlawin akked imeḥyanen nni i seryen di tmemmast n Deryuc, ur isarem tifat gar-as d Sbanya.

Urar n Fḥansa

Tanekra n Arif ur tesefḥeḥ Fḥansa. Tismin nni yellan ger Sbanya akked Fḥansa yef beṭṭu n tmurt n Meḥḥuk yal ass rennunt. Ugur yellan gar-asent yusa-d si tucarka nni n tmara. Sbanya tenwa tella deg wayla-s si 1497 mi tger aḍaḍ di Mellila akked Sebta akked tegzirin nniḍen; anekcum n wakal n Arif tefka-yas-t-id tifat n Algesiras di 1906. Di 1921, i nettat, Arif d ayla-s ur din ccek.

Fḥansa tuy abrid nniḍen. Di 1921 tella teṭṭef amur ameqran n tmurt n Meḥḥuk si 1911, tella teṭṭef tamurt uzaḥar, ma d idurar n Watlas llan imkan ur tekcim. I Fḥansa, tekcem tamurt acku iḥra-

yas-d ugellid n Fes, Mulay Abdelḥafid, di 1911. Mi d-iweḍ lâeskeḥ-is yer Fes, Imnayen imaziyen zzin-d i ugadir n Fes. Fṛansa teqqim di Meṛṛuk acku isuter-as-d ugellid Mulay Abdelḥafid akken ad tbedd yef tgelda-s, ad tseggem, ad tesnerni tamurt. Ur din ccek!

Am Sbanya, am Fṛansa, yal yiwen yetekka yef tidett-is akken ad yefk lḥeq i tuḗḗal nni yeḗḗa di tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Di 1921, tilisa di Arif ger “weḥric n Sbanya” akked “weḥric n Fṛansa” ur frant.

Mi tekker ger At Arif akked Sbanya, Fṛansa tra ad tesbedd tilisa akken ad teg afrag ger Arif n Sbanya akked Meṛṛuk ines! D win i d ugur yellan gara-asen.

Yiwet si tliisa yefran gara-asen, d asif n Waryayen, ma si tama nniḍen, deg udrar, ur qqimen ad tent-frun acku lḥebeniyulen llan ur kcimen «ayla nsen».

Anekcum n Fṛansa di tedyant n Arif deffir Anwal yusa-d anda ur t-ggunin. Mi tekker tmes si Anwal deg wass n 21 yulyu, tedda tyita, tuy iḡerman n Iyriben, Ben Ṭeyeb, Izumar, Afraw, ... Awal simal iteddu yeweḍ lkaziṛnat yellan akkin deg iḡallen armi d Mellila. Di lkaziṛna n Qendusi sersen uzal, redden ifassen-nsen, taggara mmuten akken llan di 950. Ma Di tin n Ttlata llan azal n 1200 iserdasen. Mi slan s wayen idṛan, ffyen si lkaziṛna, zegren talast, rewlent yer wakal tetṭef Fṛansa, kecmen Tawrirt.

Lyautey, akken ad ikkes ccek ur imal akka ney akka, di tazwara n yeḗt isaweḍ lâeskeḥ nni yer Wihran, di tmurt n Lezzayer, akken ad aḡen ababuḡ yer tmurt nsen di Sbanya.

Di tallit nni, tikli n Lyautey akked tmurt n Fṛansa yiwet : Fṛansa ur tkeḗḗem di ṭṛad yellan ger Sbanya akked Irifiyen. Awal-is yal ass d win: «ur nebbec tassna n waḡeḗḗen n tmurt tamaziḡt, n idurar n

Arif»; «imenyi yellan ass-a, yella ger Sbanya akked tmurt n Arif», «nekkni ur nekcim tamurt n Meṛṛuk s udebbuz, d agellid i yay d-iyran» ...

Tikli n Lyautey d abrid ifran, iseggem si tama n tmuyli-s netta: «ur ilaq Irifiyen ad aḡ-d-ḡren am nekkni am Iṣebenyulen, ur ilaq ad aḡ-glun di tnekra nsen...».

Urar n Fṛansa ibedd yef tḥilett ur neffir i tmuyli: wid ittnayen di Arif, i sin yid-sen d ixṣimen-is nettat : Sbanya ur tekcm tamurt n Arif akken ilaq ur teqqim, terna tnebbec yal ass Irifiyen, ma d Irifiyen nni d imezday n tmurt n Meṛṛuk, ad qqimen ddaw tecḍat ugellid n Fes i yellan ddaw tecḍat n Fṛansa. Tamsalt teqqen, tefra, tuḡaw!

Tanekra n Anwal, ḡas iga-yas Lyautey anezgum, tidett yugad times nni ad tessiy i tmurt ad d-taweḍ tyita yer “wakal yellan ddaw laânaya-s”. Si tama nniḍen ira ad tekker, ad timyur akken ad feclen i sin yexṣimen nni. Taggara Fṛansa ad d-temger ayen d-iqqimen.

Ddaw ufus, Fṛansa zun tmal yer tama n Arif. Ger zdat, telli-yasen tawwurt i yat Arif si tlisa n Lezzayer, akken ad d-syen syin isufar i ran.

Tagrest n tuddsas tamezwarut

Nnig 160000 iserdasen n Sbanya i d-idduklen akken ad kecmen imkan nni n Arif i seg d-nnejlan deg wagur nni n yulyu. Abrid nsen nitni ifra: ad d-rren ttaḡ akken yebyu yili. Gas smeyren tazmert n ubarud d tmes, Iṣebenyulen ur ddan nnig n 35 km.

Di Arif, di taggara n 1921, mi tekcm tegrest, tallit tbeddel. Anda nwan Iṣebenyulen ad afen imeksawen zdat nsen, taggara ufan deg ubrid nsen iserdasen n Arif am nitni, s wuzzal am nitni, s

tuddsa am nitni. Anda nwan ad azzlen, ad nʒen, ad seryen ad srewten, taggara imuger-iten-id ujajih ubarud n yimjahden. Tazzla nni i sarmen tuyal-asen d tdarit ddaw wezru akked tizza, anda yal yiwen seg-sen yugad tili-s.

Deg idurar n Arif d axmat n iserdasen, ma di Madrid d amennuy ger imeqrarn n udabu n Sbanya: agellid akked iwziren-is, iserdasen imeqranen, at ikabaren si tama nniḍen. Yal yiwen d abrid-is, yal yiwen iwet ad yerr laâr yef ixṣimen-is. Terki gara-asen. Sin iberdan ur dduklen: llan wid iran ad snegren Arif s tezmert nsen ubarud, ad kecmen yal tiymert, llan wid iran ad ayeṅ abrid n liser, ad uraren s tiḥila akken ad kecmen Arif s tsertit. Di Madrid iḥma wawal, ma di Arif yerreḥ usalu i tlalit n tmurt tamaynut. Tanekra n tmurt tcudd-itt, tesebdad tigejda yal ass.

Si tyita Ubeḥran akked Anwal tlul-d tmurt s wudem amaynut. Di tallit deg Sbanya tesefti tazmert, uzzal, times, idammen, Muḥend Abdelkrim akked imjahden anezgum nsen yal ass d tadukli n iyerman, n laârac, n yemdanen akken ad kkren am yiwen ad cemḥen i yiyallen-sen i lebni n tmurt. Di tallit deg Sbanya terra tamuḥli-is yer deffir, yer wayen n diri deg wemdan, Imjahden n Arif fkan tamuḥli-nsen yer zdat, akkin i yiyil, yer uzekka anda ad d-tali tafat n yiṭij i Arif amaynut.

I Muḥend Abdelkrim akked yirfiqen-is, zran ad yiyzif webrid n tnekra. Di tejmaât nni n Lqama, mi yas fkan rray i Muḥend ad iseddu tanekra, izra ayeṅ d-iddan yef tuyat-is. Yuki-yas i tazeyt nni, iga-yas anezgum ameqran, ibubb-itt.

D uzzal nni ameqran akked imeḥbas nni n isenbenyulen i yefkan aḥar n tuddsa tamezwarut. I Muḥend, ilaq uzzal ad yili ihegga anda ad t-afen di lawan-is. Ma yella d uzzal afessas iban webrid-

is, yal amjahed s ubeckid-is, uzzal ameqran, icban imrad d lmatrayuzat timeqranin, ad ilint yef yiwen ufos isdukklen tazmert. Si wid it-iqerben, am gma-s Mḥemmed, iseddes tajmaât n tṛad (Etat major), d tamezwarut deg umezruy n Arif.

Si zik n zik tamurt tamaziyt ur as-tufa abrid amek ad tesdukel tazmert-is, ad tesdukel irgazen-is, si yal tiyremt, si yal adrar d uzayar akken ad sbedden tazmert idduklen. Si leqrun imezwura mi ttnayen mgal Ruma, d win i d ugur-is amezwaru. Mi yella Yugurten d agellid n tmurt n Tamazya yuki yas i uceqqiq nni. Tuddsa n tmurt tamaziyt, anda yal iyrem, yal taqbilt s uqerru-s, s tuddsa-s, akken i tseggem i tifat n temsal timezyanin i yella d ugur i tdukli tameqrant izemren ad tbedd iseggasen d iseggasen. Yugurten s timmad-is, mi yeṣra akken ur izmir ad ibeddel tanamit n tmurt, taggara ibeddel-as abrid i tṛad¹²³ mgal iserdasen n Ruman. I tkebbaniyin timeqranin i yettnayen Ruman deg inurar imeqranen n izuyar, anda Ruman si tama, Imaziyen si tama, taggara tama ad tekk di tayed, Yugurten yuy abrid amaynut. I tkebbaniyin nni tiṣayanin n waḥal d aterras, iga igelfan imezyanen, ifessasen n kra temrawin n yergazen, iteddun am tassna n waṣṣen. Anda yella lâeskeṛ n Ruman ad d-neggzen fell-as am tmedda. Mazal ukin anda i yasen d-tekka tyita, Imaziyen ad ilin imir srafgen akkin, ad nesren, syen ad d-zzin si tama nniḍen. D abrid nni i yuyen wid akk innuyen Ruman si deffir Yugurten, icban Takfarinas yer zdat.

D ugur n Yugurten i wumi yebges Muḥend Abdelkrim. Amek ad isdukkel tiqbilin n Arif, si At Bu Yifruṛ tama n Mellila armi d At Yedder akkin yer tama n Tanja, si At Waryayen tama n yilel armi

¹²³ La Guerre de Jugurtha, Salluste, p. 185

d Isenḥaḡen akkin akessar ? Tamurt d tameqran, tebḍa ger isaffen akked icuqar n idurar. Yal taqbilt tezza tuzzal n tudsa-s. Nnig-s ur yella ! Axsim d atmaten nsen yellan agemmaḍ i wasif. Gas ugur d ameqran, Tikli nni n Sbanya, tijjehlit nni nsen tefra-yas abrid. At Arif ass-a zran acengu nsen ur illa d gmat-nsen yellan akkin i wasif ney i yiyil. Acengu nsen d Sbanya.

Mi yenti Muḥend Abdelkrim ad isbedd imyaren imezwura di yal taqbilt, ur illa d abrid n luḍa, zgan lulen-d wuguren syur wid yusmen ney wid yugaden ad asen-ikkas wemkan nni nsen akked tixnanasin nsen. Aḥal n tikkal armi s yimnayan akked ibeckiden i yuyalen yer deffir wid nni ur neqbil tudsa tamaynut. Amur ameqran n wid d-ibedden di tmemmast n webrid, d imsixesren nni, wid i teseḥrec Sbanya akken ad rzen tanekra deg wammas. Taggara, ur zmiren ad sinfen aḥemmal nni n tnekra, uyen tama wadda, wa yenfa, wa yuki yuyal-d yer webrid.

Tagejdit tameqran i yesbedd Muḥend Abdelkrim d tajmaât n lqanun, n cṛaâ¹²⁴ n tmurt n Arif.

Tamurt deg ur tella talwit ger yemdanen ur tezmir ad teddukkel, ur tezmir ad tesimyer tanekra. I Muḥend Abdelkrim abrid-is ifra. Seg iseggasen nni deg yella d lqaḍi di Mellila, anda yella iferru tilufa yellan ger Irifiyen am netta, amur ameqran n tlufa d imennuyen akked ttaṛ ur nferru d iseggasen d iseggasen. Mi yeyli wergaz si tama, ad yernu ad iyli wergaz nniḍen si tama nniḍen. Aḥal n twaculin inegren si ttaṛ nni idammen. Ma zik

¹²⁴ Cṛaâ: Di Tarifit ur illa wawal amaziɣ i «cṛaâ». Awal ikka-d si taârabt («cṛaâ, cṛaâ ineslem»). Deg udabu n Abdelkrim, yas awal «cṛaâ» yella, ur illa d cṛaâ ineslem s timmad-is (echariyya); Di Ripublik n Arif ur gzimen afus i yiwen, ur fkan lfalaqat i yiwen, ur rjimen yiwen s wezru alamma yemmut, ur kkisen aqerru i yiwen. Cṛaâ yesedda Muḥend Abdelkrim yusa-d seg uqanun n tmurt tarifit, yefka anza ugar yer «la legislacion española » n tmurt n Sbanya wala yer cṛaâ ineslem.

yella webrid n tifat ma d-as-teqqim tejmaât n imyaren, ma seg wass-mi d-tekcem tweeka n Sbanya akked iqeddacen-is, terki trennu simal yer zdat. Tadrimt n Sbanya, ilmend ad tili d taḥkizt i usnerti n tmurt, tseqqa tamurt s idammen n warraw-is. Yal ass anda yeyli ilemzi s ubarud n gma-s.

Di tegrest 1921, di yal iyrem tbedd tudsa n tnekra n Arif amaynut: din yella wemyar n tnekra, yella wemyar n cṛaâ, llan iserdasen imjahden s ibeckiden nsen. Tigejda n tmurt iseggmen beddent.

Di taggara, di yal iyrem, At Arif zran ayen werġin zran. Am Mellila akked Sebta, di yal iyrem yella lḥebs anda ad ttwaqqnen wid iffyen abrid, wid yef tefra temsalt syur wemyar n cṛaâ. Deg wussan nni imezwura seg d-tlul tmurt tamaynut, llan Irifiyen, wid innuyen ney yukren, ikecmen «lḥebs n tmurt nsen».

Di kra waguren, tamurt n Arif tefka anza yer tmura iseggmen, am tmurt n Sbanya.

Abeckid d uqabac

Amek ad isdukkel tussna n tṛad n tmurt tamaziyt akked tin n tmura n Uṛupa akkend ad idegger akkin lâesker n Sbanya ?

Muḥend Abdelkrim izra ur izmir ad iqabel tazmert nni n Sbanya ma yuy abrid n tyita nni n zik n zik. Tadyant n tnekra n Muḥend Amezyan idelli kan, tekkas-as ccek ma yella din kra n ccek. Gas imjahden d at tmurt, ssnen tamurt, zran ansi ad ddun ansi ad ffyen, ur iččur tiṭ. Ilaq-as i Muḥend ad d-yaf abrid amaynut.

Abrid nni amaynut yufa-t-id seg waguren nni imezwura. Yufa-t-id si tuzzya nni i yas izzi i Anwal. Mi yasen-inna i yemjahden yezzin i lkazirna n Anwal ad yzen tisrafin timezyanin i tadarit akken ad zemren ad netlen i yas-yufa tasarut. Mi sersen ibeckiden nsen

imjahden imezwura, ddm̄en iqubac, ḡzen tisrafin n tiddi n wemdan, yeḡra Muḥend abrid-is.

Di yal tussna, yella wayen ilhan yufrar izmer ad iddu di yal tamurt, yella wayen iteddun kan di tmurt neḡ di timetti n tmurt nni deg d-ilul. Ayen i d-innulfan di yiwet tmurt, snulfan-t-id warraw n tmurt nni di tazwara i nitni, akken tella tmurt nsen, akken tedda tmurt nsen akked yidles nsen.

Di temsal n tṛad, Muḥend Abdelkrim ira ad isdukel tefses n tṛad n tmurt tamaziḡt¹²⁵ akked tuddsa n tmurt n Sbanya.

Ass-mi bedden d afrag di Lqama, yal ass ad d-taweḡ terbaât n imjahden s ibeckiden nsen, s ubarud nsen, s iserdan nsen d wučči nsen. Ur tella tazeyt. Ass-a llan da, azekka llan di tama nniḡen. Di teswaât, zemren ad ddun ad zzin akkin i wedrar ad wten anda i yasen-d-ḡren ad fken tayett. Tefses nni telha. Muḥend ira ad yeḡḡ amur si tefses nni akken ad idegger akkin Sbanya. Maca tefses nni s wuguren-is. Aserdas yessnen kan ad iwet, ad yazzel, ad ibeddel amkan, ad iwet ad yerwel ur izmir ad yettef amkan, ad ittef tanemmast. Muḥend iwet ad isdukkel sin yemdanen nni ur nemyussan: amjahed n Arif akked userdas n Arif !

Muḥend iwet ad ten-isdukkel i sin deg yiwen wemdan, ad isdukkel tefses n Tamazḡa akked tuddsa n Uṛupa, adway ḡer zdat n Imaziḡen akked tiḡin n wawal n Iṛumyen. Fezzif umecwar!

¹²⁵ « ...Jugurtha avait tant de ruse, tant d'expérience du terrain, et de l'art militaire qu'on ne savait jamais, absent ou présent, en paix ou en guerre, quand il était le plus à redouter... », La Guerre de Jugurtha, Salluste, p. 87.

Tanekra n Arif, akkin i wedrar, akkin i yilel

Mi yella ibennu agadir n tuddsa di Arif, Muḥend Abdelkrim ur iḡḡa ayen illan akkin i tlisa n Arif. Tadyant n Anwal teffey tezzi-d i wamḍal. Timura slant akk s twayit yeḍran d Sbanya, rant ad ḡren udem n Arif ur nettwassen akked wid iseddin tanekra n Arif.

Di yennayer 1922, yefka Muḥend tarbâat izegren yer Fṛansa akken ad siwḍen awal-is i udabu n Fṛansa. Krad yergazen (Azerqan, Ḥeddu akked Abdelkrim n Zeyyan) i yuḡen ababuṛ si tyremt n Wihran di tmurt n Lezzayer.

Di yulyu 1922, yerra tamuḡli-s Muḥend akken Legliz ad tsel awal d webrid ira i tmurt n Arif, ad ḡren ur illa d acengu n Uṛupa. Wid yunza ur mugren adabu n Legliz, maca uran tabṛatt i tejmaât n tmura idduklen (S.D.N.)¹²⁶, sutren-as ad teqbel ad tefk udem i unabaḍ n Arif¹²⁷. Tabṛatt nni teffey-d deg iymisen n Uṛupa. Mi yeffey wawal n tikli nni n Muḥend Abdelkrim, Sbanya tezzem yef Fṛansa akked Legliz mi ḡḡan Irifiyen nni ddan di tmura nsen.

Mi teffey tamuḡli akkin i tlisa n Arif, yer tmura n Uṛupa, Muḥend Abdelkrim ur ittu ayen illan akkin i wedrar n Arif yer tama wadda, anda tuy aḡar tmurt n Fṛansa.

Akal yiwēn, tamurt yiwet, tilufa gtent. Aybel-is n wass-a d Arif, Muḥend Abdelkrim ur ira ad d-irnu acengu wis sin. Idda-yas i Fṛansa am win ur nra ad isendef timmest. Di tazwara kan ifka irgazen yef yettkel, sawḍen awal-is i Lyautey. Inna-yasen ad inin : «ur nra ṭrad nekkni d Fṛansa; acengu nney d Sbanya, ...». Di tikli-is, Muḥend yedda am win d-itekksen timellalin ddaw

¹²⁶ Tajmaât n tmura idduklen : « Société des Nations (S.D.N.) », tuddsa yellan d-ilulen di 1920 (anejmaâ n Versailles), send ad tuyal d « Organisation des Nations Unies (ONU) » di 1946.

¹²⁷ Anabaḍ n Arif : Gouvernement du Rif.

tsekkurt. Ur izmir yiwen ad ikker i wayen ur izmir. Muḥend icfa i wawal nni i yas inna baba-s aḥal iseggasen izran: «afus ur tezmiṛeḍ ad t-tyezzen, suden-it».

Akken ad isifes taxennaqt nni, 'blocus' nni i tga Sbanya i tmurt n Arif, Muḥend isuter i Fṛansa akken ad teḡḡ At Arif an inigen yer Lezzayer, akken ad d-syen isufar. Abrid n Lezzayer yenjer aḥal iseggasen aya si mi d-tekcem Fṛansa tamurt di 1830. Di Arif ur tella tfellaḥt tameqran. Si mi gan ikuluten igran d Ifirmat timeqranin, amur ameqran ifellaḥen n tmegra d Irifiyen. Yal aseggas ad zegren, mi sulin tamegra ad zzin yer tmurt nsen.

Muḥend yerra tablaḍt i wul-is mi yedda ad isuter i Fṛansa, tamurt n Uṛupa, akken ad iddu deg wakal n tmurt-is, akal n tmazya, yaṣ isem-is tamurt n Lezzayer. Terra tmara. Muḥend itkaki-d awal nni n baba-s...

11. Talalit n Ripublik n Arif¹²⁸

(La Republica del Rif /Jumhuria Errifia/ République du Rif)

Awal iffeɣ akkin i tliṣa n Arif, akkin i Taferka, yuɣa timura n Uɣupa akked wagmuɗ ineslem. Tanekra nni n war isem, di kra waguren tbeddel udem. Deg Ajdir, di tazwara n Fuɣaɣ 1923, tuɣal d «Republica del Rif»¹²⁹, Tagduda n Arif.

Di tira s taârabt semman-as «Jumhuria Errifiya», ma d Irifiyen ddmn awal nni n Sbanya, rran-t d isem Amaziy: «Ribublik n Arif». Ur illa imir nni wawal n «ribublik» di Tmaziyt Tarifit, awal nni nessen ass-a: Tagduda n Arif.

Awal nni s timmad-si ifra tamsalt tameqrant. Ur tella d tagelda i id-ilulen seg idurar n Arif. Abrid ibrez, yenjer yesuffey: tagduda n Arif i-d-ilulen seg iɣuran n tmurt, si teqbilin akken llant. Adabu i-d-ilulen yusa-d si teqbilin n tmurt, seg iyerman akked tzeɣwa n tmurt Tarifit. Iɣuran-is n tmurt, ixfawen-is n tmurt. Tajmaât n tnekra tga tigejda i yuyen azaɣ. Aqerru-s d Muḥend Abdelkrim, ur illa d agellid, ur illa d Mulay i d-yusan si Mekka, ur illa d nbi i d-iffyen seg icuqar n wedrar n Arif. Muḥend Abdelkrim n AT Xettab, n At Yusef U Aâli, d yiwen seg watmaten nsen. Tigejda n Ripublik nni fkant-d udem n webrid uɣen Irifiyen. Tajmaât n

¹²⁸ Tagduda n teqbilin idduklen n Arif / «la République des tribus confédérées du Rif». Tagduda tbedd deg Ajdir s 18 teqbilin n Arif. Di Arif imir nni llant 66 teqbilin.

¹²⁹ **Anabaɗ n Republik n Arif** (gouvernement rifain): Aselway (président nommé par l'assemblée nationale rifaine): Muḥend Abdelkrim n At Xettab ; Amaru ameqran (délégué général): Mḥemmed Abdelkrim n At Xettab, gma-s n Muḥend; awzir n tizraft (finances): Abdeslam n At Xettab; awzir n craâ d welmad: Fqih Zerhuni; awzir n temsal tiwerdanin (affaires étrangères): Muḥemmed Azerqan ; awzir n temsal n tmurt (intérieur): Lqayed Lyazid; awzir n tɣad: Aḥmed Budrâa.

weyref n Arif, ney agraw n Arif, tenna deg Ajdir, tura¹³⁰: (1) *Agdal n yal tifrat (laâqed) ur nga azal i wezref n Merṛuk ney i d-ifkan aẓaṛ si tifrat n protectorat n 1912 - (2) tesuter azarug n tmurt n Arif seg yixef yer yixef, tiddi n unabaḍ n Arif - (3) aneyrum n wayen akk i thudd, i tesery, i tenya tmurt n Sebanya di tmurt n Arif - (4) tucarka n talwit akked timura n wamḍal akken llant.»*

Tamuyli n jiniṛal Lyautey yef tlatit n tagduda n Arif ur teḡḡa isem n ccek yef udem n tnekra akked webrid i tuy tnekra nni. Inna-yas Lyautey deg wawal-is, si mi tekcem Fṛansa annar n tṛad mgal Tagduda : *“Imal¹³¹ n tmura n Uṛupa akked imal n Fṛansa di Taferka ad d-ifru seg wayen iḍerṛun deg udrar n Arif, anda yekker Abdelkrim yesdukel tiqbilin n Arif deg yiwet tudsa ur nessin ar ass-a: tagduda n Arif»*¹³².

Axṣim amezwaru n tagduda ur illa d Sbanya, ur illa d Fṛansa, d Legliz ney d tamurt nniḍen. Axṣim-is amezwaru d agellid n Fes di Ṛbaṭ, d Mulay Yusef Ayaâlawi !

¹³⁰ Charte de la République du Rif «1.Non reconnaissance de tout accord violant les droits du Maroc ou ayant un rapport avec le protectorat de 1912 – 2.Reconnaissance de l'indépendance totale de l'Etat du Rif – 3.Formation du gouvernement républicain constitutionnel – 4.Indemnisation pour dommages subis par les Rifains au cours des deux années écoulées – 5. Etablissement de rapports d'amitié avec tous les pays sans privilège pour aucun, et conclusion d'accords avec eux (A. Youssoufi, Les institutions de la République du Rif, Actes du colloque "Abdelkrim et la République du Rif", 1973, pp. 81-100).

¹³¹ Imal : le futur , l'avenir, l'espérance, ...

¹³² «Toute la puissance coloniale de l'Europe d'occident et surtout le destin de l'empire africain de la France se joue dans les montagnes du Rif, là où Abdelkrim entreprend la colossale tâche d'unir les tribus rifaines autour de lui dans une forme d'organisation inédite : la république du Rif ». (Maréchal Louis Hubert Lyautey).

Di tazwara n tnekra, mi yekker tṛad, Muḥend Abdelkrim isarem ad isengugi at tqelmunin, taburjwazit¹³³ nni n Fes, agellid Yusef akked iwziren-is, ad ten ikcem nnif. Yura yasen aḥal n tebratin isuter-asen akken ad netqen s wawal, ad ḡren i yinselmen akken ad d-allen At Arif di tnekra mgal Sbanya. Aḥal n tebratin i yura, taggara ur isla i yisem n wawal si tama n Fes. Muḥend, yal tikkelt ur ifcil, isarem, yerna yura, igguni ad t-id-yas yiccer lkayed ney amsiweḍ ad d-yasen si Fes, ad d-iglu s wawal ugellid. Ulac!

Tasusmi nni ur tella d tasusmi n tiḥedrit ilmend n tmurt n Meṛṛuk i yellan imir ddaw uzaglu n Fṛansa. Tasusmi ḡres isem : agellid ur illa si tama n tnekra n Arif, ur isarem ad timḡur ney ad tawed isew-is tnekra n Arif. Tiddi nni tban am uzal!

Agellid yusa-d d axšim ilmend n uḗar ugellid s timmad-is. Tagelda n Meṛṛuk tesbedd-itt yiwet teqbilt, lwraben, akken ad tetṭef tasawent s ddin ineslem, taggara inser-as udabu nni seg ufus-is. D tagelda i yetṭfen adabu. Akken i d abrid-is am tagelda n imezwura, At Idris, am tin n lyaâlawayen. Tagelda n Meṛṛuk tebna d taxšimt n teqbilin, d taxšimt n Tamazḡa. Di 1921, agellid Mulay Yusef yuḡ amkan s uḗar n jedd-is i-d-icetlen si tmurt n waâraben, si tmurt n Mekka. Di Arif Muḥend Abdelkrim yesuli adabu i d-yemḡin di tmurt-is, d adabu i yebnan s teqbilin n Arif. Muḥend Abdelkrim mi yuḡal d aqerṛu n tnekra, d imdanen am netta, imyaren n teqbilin i-t-isbedden mačči d kra n tzawit i yas-d-

¹³³ Di tnekra n Arif, At Fes inešliyen ur fkan tayett i tnekra. Mačči kan acku nitni d at tḡerma, fazen, Irifiyen d ifellaḡen. Ur tella d tamsalt n tmetti i yellan di yal tamurt, talast nni yellan ger ifellaḡen akked at iḡerman, wid izedyen iḡerman. Di Meṛṛuk, iḡisi ameqran i yellan, d win n uḗar akked yidles ger Irifiyen akked lfasiyen d at iḡerman nniḍen: at iḡerman "d Aṛaben" deg wallay nsen (ḡas d Imaziyen deg idammen), deg yiles nsen, di tmetti nsen. At tmurt, Irifiyen ney at idurar d izuḡar n Meṛṛuk d Imaziyen deg idammen nsen, deg yiles nsen, di tmetti nsen, deg yidles nsen. Zun snat tmura i yellan di yiwet tmurt. Akken di Lezzayer, akken di Tunes akked Libya.

igan taberḥant s tṣurṭin n dḍin. Taggara, agellid n Fes akked Muḥend Abdelkrim ur ten isdukel webrid.

Tasusmi n ugellid Yusef i tebratin n Muḥend Abdelkrim ur tella d tasusmi kan. Agellid ur iqbil talalit n tagduda n Arif, ur iqbil ad timyur. Agellid d acengu n tagduda n Arif.

Tiyita n Anwal teweḍ Madrid, tesenhez anabaḍ, tga iyisi di yal akabar, di yal tardast n udabu n Sbanya. Mi sbedden tajmaât n çrâa ad ifrun amek d-tella twayit n Anwal akked imukan nniḍen, ur tesayzef awal, tefra tekker. Di yulyu 1922 tajmaât nni tekkes jiniṛal Berenguer d aqerru ameqran di Mellila, tesbedd jiniṛal Ricardo Buergete. I jiniṛal Berenguer, sbabben-as ayen wumi zemren, d tamara fell-as ad iqabel di çrââ.

Gas aqerṛu ibeddel, udem n tezmert n Sbanya ur ibeddel. Anda yeweḍ lâeskeṛ-is di tawrarin n Arif, d udem n tmes d tmettant. Iṣebenyulen uyen abrid n imezwura nsen, «conquistadors» nni i yesnegren timura n Marikan n tmemmast akked wanzul. Tijehlit nni n Iṣebenyulen ur tesaged yiwen. Taggara, tekkes akukru i yineggura ikecmen annar n tnekra n Arif. Ur tella tmemmast. Ekker, azzel, ewet abaṛud yef tmurt-ik, ney qim ad temteḍ zdat tzeqqa-k, ad teglilzeḍ am yiḍid. Irifiyen kkren zun d yiwen.

Di tazwara n 1922, gas Isebenyulen sduklen tazmert tameqrant n lâeskeṛ, ur zmiren ad uyalen ansi d-rewlen yir arwal: Anwal.

Tikli tameqrant tella-d di nunambeṛ. Iṣebenyulen smeyren tarḥilt s wuzzal ameqran uyen iyezran d iceṛfan. Nitni teddun, Irifiyen ttuyalen yer deffir, ḡḡan-ten ad ddun. Mi wḍen Iṣebenyulen Tizi Aâzza, iyli-d fell-asen ujajih n tmes. Zzin-asen Irifiyen, ur illa anda ad rewlen. Teḍra yasen am tedyant n Anwal. Si Mellila iweḍ-itent wawal: «effeyt-d seg wedrar n Rif!». Gas tṭfen di Tizi

Aâzza, si tyita nni, Iṣebenyulen zṛan ur zmiren ad kecmen tanemmast n Arif. Di Madrid yeṛli unabaḍ, iwziren yefkan afus di Anwal ad qablen di cṛaâ.

Ɣas di Madrid terki, di Mellila rennun-d yal ass ibaburen n wuzzal d yergazen si Sbanya. Tayennant ur tekkis sṛur Sbanya.

Abrid n tummezt irgel-asen, Sbanya tuy abrid n tḥila. Di yal iyrem ney taqbilt uzayar i tetṭef, am At Sidel, At Bu Yaḥi, At Bu Yifur, Sbanya tesbedd irgazen n wuffal di yal tajmaât. Imyaren nni i sbedden at tmurt, nitni ulin yer wedrar tama n Abdelkrim, wid sbedden Iṣebenyulen uṛalen d timmas yef yiyes. Ɣas ddirin ddaw laânaya n Sbanya, irgazen nni ugaden tili nsen, ugaden tanekra. Llan deg-sen wid tenya, llan wid teḡḡa, rewlén akkin anda ur ttwassnen. Tamurt tekker, Irifiyen ur qbilen wid izenzen tamurt nsen.

Di tallit nni i deg uṛalen yer deffir isenbenyulen, llan deg-sen wid iran ad ffyen si Arif, ad ḡḡen kan Mellila akked Ṭiṭwan. Inna-yas Primo de rivera¹³⁴: «Tamsalt n Arif tekker-ay-d meqqret. Ad neḡḡ kan Mellila akked Ṭiṭwan ger ifassen-nney, ma d Arif ad d-nekkes syen idaṛṛen-nney. Ad nzer si sya ar sin ney kṛad iseggasen yer zdat».

Tiḥila nni i seddan Iṣebenyulen si tama n Mellila, tama n wagmuḍ, yas ur sen tečča, skecmen tawekka di tmurt. Yella anda tekker ger wid yellan d imjahden akked imawlan d imeddukál n yeragzen n wuffal i tesbedd Sbanya. Cwal nni isefcal imdanen.

Si tama n Ṭiṭwan, ufan win ad sen igen afrag i tikli n Muḥend Abdelkrim : ufan Raṣuni. Iṣebenyulen sulin-t yer tqacuct, fkan-

¹³⁴ Awal n Primo de Rivera i jiniral de Chambrun (Attilio Gaudio, op. cit)

as adrim ameqran akked ad d-islul tazmert n lâeskeṛ. Taggara ad nnayen Irifiyen mgal Irifiyen nniḍen. Ad azzlen idammen n Imaziyen, Iṣebenyulen ad d-qqimen d ifeṛṛaḡen. Taḥilett nni tečča ayen tečča.

Di Ṭiṭwan, lxalif i sbedden Iṣebenyulen, yella zun d agellid wis sin. Isedduy tazallit yal Iḡemaâ di tamesgida n yiṛrem.

S teḥraymit akked d-din ineslem, Sbanya tga am Fṛansa, tga afrag akken ur teddun yemjahden n Abdelkrim.

Di yiwet tallit, tajmâat n Arif ilaq-as ad tefru tilufa d-irennun yal ass: imenṛi s ubarud yal ass, tiḥila n ugellid n Fes, tilufa n Raṣsunni akked Iqeyyad n wuffal i tesuli Sbanya, laḥ akked uṛilif n tuḡḡal akked igujilen. Fas akken tilufa ggtent, tajmaât n Arif tceṛmeṛ i yiṛallen-is i lebni n tagduda. Yal ass ad tesali aḥric-is.

Di Arif, fran imennuṛen, tekkes tyennant d tismen ger yemdanen, tamurt teddukkel zun d yiwen. Ibeckiḍen yellan zik rran tayanimt ṛer iberdan nsen, ṛer tzeṛwa n Iḡiran nsen, ass-a bedden amkan, ulin akkin ṛer wedrar neṛ tama n yilel i yimenṛi ameqran.

Di tejmaât n Arif di Ajdir, anabaḍ i d-ilulen iferru timsal akken yufa, iteddu am win ittṛuḥun asalu, iteddu akken yufa mačči akken ira.



Akbaḥ / Asenḡaq n Tagduda n Arif

Agraw n tnekra ifren Muḥend Abdelkrim

Talalit udabu n Arif yusa-d seg unejmaâ n teqbilin di Fuṛar 1923. Gas ur illa imir d anabaḍ, tifrat nni ur d teḡḡa isem ccek: at Arif qqimen, fran ad salin Agraw¹³⁵ nsen win ad iseddun tanekra, ad irṣun tigejda n tmurt.

Nnan deg ugraw nni : «*Neqqim, nefra ad nefren win yufraren gar-aney, win i-d-ikkren di tidett, deg webrid n yisey yerman tamussni, win yesduklen iles d tikli yer zdat, ur nunif ur nefcil [...] tajmilt i tmurt nney ifernen win ad isdukklen imdanen, ad d-inejren abrid n talwit, ad idehmen acengu akkin i tlisa n tmurt, ad d-yerren iseḡ ameqran i wakal n tmurt nney [...] amin a Rēbbi*».

Tifrat nni terna adar yer tallit izran. Wid ikkren i tṛad, kkren i wayen meqqren, kkren ad d-salin ass amaynut i tmurt n Arif. Gas talalit unabaḍ s timmad-is tella yagi di Ajdir, tifrat n fuṛar 1923 terna tezḗa taṛkizt. Arif d tamurt am tmura n medden, am tmura n wemḍal.

Muḥend Abdelkrim ur iseḡzef akken ad isali anabaḍ. Ifern-d ger wid yellan yagi di tmemmast n tnekra, wid yuzzlen i yewten abaḍud. D wid nni yerwan akessar d usawen i yuḡalen d iwziren-is imezwura. Mḥemmed yella yer tama-s, anda ur izmir ad yili Muḥend, d netta i yellan, di tyimit n tifrat ney di tṛad. Nnig Muḥend akked iwziren-is, illa ugraw n Arif; d netta i iferrun yal tamsalt tameqran n tmurt. Agraw nni d udem n tmurt akken tella, d win i d-tefren, ilmend yal yiwen deg-sen d win i d-fernen Irifiyen di yal taqbilt.

¹³⁵ Agraw n Arif = Assemblée nationale (« La clé de voûte des institutions républicaines rifaines est l'assemblée nationale, composée des représentants des fractions des tribus. Elle dispose des pouvoirs législatif et exécutif. Son président est élu, il est le chef de l'exécutif... » (A. Youssoufi, les institutions de la république du Rif, p.92)

Di tazwara n 1923, ḡas imenḡi ameqran ur d-illa deg wedrar n Arif, anbacen llan yal ass, di yal tiḡilt. Tikli ḡer zdat ur as-zmiren, Iṣebenyulen sferfuden am win iteddun s tḡanimt deg wedfel akken ad yaf abrid deg ad izri. Abrid nsen teddun ad afen iceqqiq ansi ad kecmen ma yella ufan afus deg at tmurt. Iṣebenyulen lemden yiwet temsalt ḡer Fransa, ddmn-tt : ad kecmen tamurt s ufus n at tmurt. Deg ubdil n ubaḡud, fsin-d i taâzzult n wedrim. Llan yemdanen ttuzun di yal tamurt.

Timmist n Tizi Aâzza ur tekkis. Iṣebenyulen ntan din s tin n tuḡsift, tiḡimit nni tekker-asen-d meqqret. Wid illan din qqnen din, wid i yasen-ittawin aâwin d waman d ubaḡud yal tikkelt ad ččen tamrart, ad temmet tissi seg-sen. ḡas akken, nitni tḡfen amkan nni di tmemmast n Arif.

Di yal tḡad yella webrid ubaḡud, yella webrid n tifat, llant tikkal deg zemren ad dduklen, neḡ zemren ad msegdalen. Awal akked Sbanya yella yekkes, yegdel, taggara yal yiwen seg yexṣimen ira ad-d yaf tifat-is. Tamuḡli nni tamezwarut n Muḥend Abdelkrim ur tekkis. I netta, Sbanya d tamurt s leqdeḡ-is, s tlisa-s akkin i yilel. Muḥend ira Sbanya ad d-tzeḡ Arif am yal tamurt ger tmura, s tlisa-s, s leqdeḡ n tlisa-s. Ur isuter di Sbanya ayen ur iqebbel netta i tmurt-is.

Timlilit tamezwarut tella-d di Nekkuḡ deffir imenḡi ameqran n Tizi Aâzza. Imjahden n Arif dehmen tazmert n Sbanya, mlan-asen i Iṣebenyulen teqseḡ n wakal n Arif akked ubaḡud n At Arif.

Di timlilit nni, tawwurt i-d-telli Sbanya d iceqqiq ur deg izerri wemcic. Mazal qqimen at tjemaât mi kkren seg unejmaâ. Awal nni n Sbanya ur illa d awal ad iḡzen asalu i tifat. Nnan-asen i yat

tejmâat n Arif: «Arif d akal nney si tifat n Algesiras, tefka-yay-id tejmaât n tmura, nekkni ad neṭṭef awal n tejmaât. Ayen i nezmer ad-t neqbel d ayen nezra ilha i kenwi, ilha i nekkni. Ur illa d abrid ad nay s tmara n tnekra nwen. Akken ad d-ters talwit, neqbel ad yuḡal Abdelkrim d lqayed ameqran n At Waryayen akked teqbilin i yasen d-izzin i yat Waryayen».

Ur illa d awal i ggunin ad as-slen at Arif si tama n Sbanya. Di tallit deg Arif iteddu yer zdat ibennu tamurt tamaynut, tagduda n Arif, Sbanya tekcem di temsal n laârac, teqqim di tlisa n laârac.

Anejmaâ nni, akken inta ifra. At Arif kkren. Ur d-iqqim wawal gar-
asen.

Tamsalt ur teqqim din. Di yulyu 1923 i yura unabaḡ n Arif tabṛatt i unabaḡ n Sbanya. Inna-yas¹³⁶: «*Am timura n wamḡal, am nekkni, yal yiwen izmer ad as-yeg leqdeṛ i tlisa n tmurt-is. Ur nesuter ayen ur nella d ayla nney. Di temsalt, Sbanya tezri akkin i tlisa mi terra akal nney d akal-is, mi tga laânaya yef tmurt nney. Ur as-nesuter akken ad nili ddaw laânaya-s, ur as-nesuter akken anabaḡ nney ad yili ddaw tecḡaṭ n Madrid. Ur neqbil ur nqebbel laânaya nwen. Abrid nney nekkni ad neddu yer yiman-nney nekkni, ad nseggem tamurt nney nekkni yef talast n izerfan nney. Neqqim-as, nefra, nekker ad neg afrag i tmurt nney, i tlelli nney s wayen i nwala d abrid, s wayen i wumi nezmer, s tezmert nney. Deg webrid n tlelli nney, ass-a ad d-nesbedd ayref n Sbanya ad izeṛ, ad yili d inigi, ad d-inteq azekka s tidett, s yisey n tnekra nney ass-a.»*

¹³⁶ La Guerre du Rif, V. Courcelle-Labrousse ; N. Marmié, p.104

Abrid n Tiṭwan

Tazmert tameqrant n Sbanya tbedd si tama n wagmuḍ, zdat Mellila. Ur illa webrid i tikli yer zdat i yemjahden n Abdelkrim. Gas Irifiyen ur zmiren ad ddun yer zdat ad d-rnun ad d-kksen tiqbilin nniḍen yellan ddaw uzaglu n Sbanya, taggara tiddi nni tga afrag i tikli n Sbanya yer zdat. Yal yiwen yeqqim yef talast-is, talast n yiyil.

Isew udabu n Arif yiwen: abrid-is ad iwet ad isdukel tiqbilin anda llant di tlisa n tmurt n Arif, si Tanja ar Mellila akkin. Di tikli utaram, afrag ameqran ilul-d di teqbilin n Iyumaṛen (Ghomara) reglen-d abrid. Kra yella, afus d wedrim n Sbanya rnan. Tiḥila n Madrid terna-d afrag i wefrag.

Di tallit deg Muḥend Abdelkrim akked tejmaât n Arif saherwen tamuṛli nsen akkin i tlisa n teqbilin, akkin i tlisa n tismen iqqnen yer icerfan, lqeyyad ugennur n Iyumaṛen ugaden tanekra nni ad teglu s iqerṛa nsen. Deg At Xaled, At Ḥmed akked Imeṭṭiwen ney wiyad, yal yiwen seg-sen ansi d-ibedd d afrag. Gas gezmen-d abrid i yemjahden, am win isusfen igenni. Aḥemmal n tnekra yezri, igla s iqerṛa n wid d-ikkren d ixṣimen. Di yal taqbilt, adabu amaynut n tmurt isbedd imyaren i fernen imezday n tmurt, d wid yufraren ger watmaten-nsen, d wid ad yilin d taṛkizt n tnekra. Tikersi n Iyumaṛen taggara tefsi, abrid n Tiṭwan yelli yer zdat.

Di Tiṭwan i tezṛa tazṛelt usekkak n Sbanya. Din i d-tesnulfa ccix ameqran, amufti n yinselman, selsen-as aqendur d ugennur i tṛallit zdat at Arif. Snulfan-t-id akken ad gen am Fṛansa i yetekkan yef ugellid, Mulay Yusef, akken ad ḥekmen tamurt n Meṛṛuk. D tiḥila n izirdi. Iṣebenyulen, si tama senfufuden ddin ineslem, si tama seḥṛacen imenfan am Ṛaysuni akked wid yellan

am netta. Abrid nsen yeqqim yiwen: ad bɗun Irifiyen s yal tiḥilett, s yal asekkak akken ad d-gen afrag i tikli n tnekra n Arif.

Urar nni, tiḥila nni issen-itent Muḥend Abdelkrim. Di yal asurif deg yedda, yezra anta ticerḳett ad as-cudden zdat. Iteddu iferru-tent yiwet yiwet. Am lqeyyad nni i d-snulfan, am Raysuni nni, yal yiwen anda yerwel ad isdari aqerru-s zdat waɗu n tlelli i d-ikkren si Arif. Tiḥila nni n Sbanya yellint am tgejda n wuffal.

Ur illa d tazmert n tnekra kan i yesdermen imsixesṣen nni. Imdanen teddun, zerr̄en, qernen ger wayen ilhan d wayen ur nelha. Di leswaq ttmezran medden, sawalen gar-asen. Di yal tiyremt yellan ded ufus n tnekra, taggara tbeddel udem. Deg yiṣrem kksen imennuṣen ger yemdanen, ikkes ttaṣ nni isfeclen tamurt, teddukel tmurt i twizi tameqrant. Imdanen iteddun seg yiṣrem ṣer wayeɗ sawaɗen ayen i zran, ayen i yellan. Di yal tamurt zran imdanen abrid tuy tagduda n Arif. Ur illa d urar, ur tella d tagelda tamaynut i d-yuṣen sṣur At Waryayen.

Abrid n tṛad ameqran

Sbanya tergel-d iberdan. Yal tikkelt ad d-yili wawal ger Irifiyen akked Sbanya, d abrid n tḥila. Tiyita nni n Anwal tesderyel Iṣebenyulen. D ttaṛ kan i yellan zdat wallen nsen. Di tallit deg Muḥend Abdelkrim akked udabu n Arif teddun ad kksen ttaṛ nni yellan di yal tawacult, di yal iṛrem akken ad ters talwit, Iṣebenyulen uyalen ḡer deffir, ḡer webrid nni ur nelha di tmurt n Arif. Zun d urar; Arif itekkes tid n zik nni ur nelha, Sbanya tesemyay tid n zik, terra-tent-id i wass-a.

D iwziren n Madrid, d kumisar Primo de Rivera i yellan di Tiṭwan ney d jiniṛal flan si Mellila, abrid nsen yiwen. Ayen i ten ixulfen d amezyan: yiwen ad izwer tazmert ad d-isegri tiḥila, wayeḍ ad izwer tiḥila, ma ur ččant ad d-isegri aqezzul. Abrid nsen yiwen.

Di tsertit tamaynut i d-iwwi Primo de Rivera, netta ifra ad yuḡal ḡer deffir, ad yeḡḡ kan lâeskeṛ-is anda llant tiyremtin am Sebta, Tiṭwan, Mellila akked kra imkan nniḍen am ubrid n tmacint iteddun ger Tanja d Fes. Ula d imekwan nni n wedrar, am Tizi Aâzza, ifra ad d-ikkas laâkeṛ-is syen. Abrid d-iwwi Primo de Rivera ur asen-ikka di tiṭ i yifesyenen imeqranen n Sbanya. Gar-asen yella kulunil Franco.

Teqqim, ur tefra ur terna ger Irifiyen akked Sbanya. Tikli nni ḡer deffir i yasen ihegga Primo de Rivera tufa-d ifesyenen d ixṣimen-is. Di yunyu 1924 ufan-as-d asafar: lbumbat n gaz moutarde ad d-wten si tmesrufag. Iṣebenyulen wten Ajdir akked iḡerman nniḍen, fkan-d lmut seg igenni, nḡan hudden ixxamen.

Tagnitt nni ur tesefcel Irifiyen. Di tikli nsen deg webrid utaram, imjahden snegren tazmert n wid d-ikkren d ixṣimen deg At Iḡumaṛen, akked wid yella d Raṡsuni. Irifiyen teddun ḡer zdat, Iṣebenyulen d tarewla ḡer deffir, armi wḍen agadir n Tiṭwan.

Di tiyremt n Cawen¹³⁷ (Iccawen), Sbanya tga taṛkizt. Ur tra ad teğğ tiyremt i yirifiyen. Tesdukel-d 40000 iserdasen d afrag yef tiyremt. Afrag nni ur iṭṭif zdat uḥemmal. Usan-d qqimen, taggara zdat imenḡi ameqran, rewlen am akken d-usan. Ineggura ffyen si tiyremt di nunamber 1924. Di trewla nni, armi yekcem dujamber i wḡen imudduren d-igran tiyremt n Tiṭwan.

D Mḥemmed, gma-s n Muḥend Abdelkrim, i ikecmen tiyremt n Cawen zdat terbaât n yemjahden n Arif.

Anekcum nni n Cawen yelli abrid i tikli yer zdat akkin yer Tanja. I Muḥend Abdelkrim frant; tamurt n Arif ad teddukel seg yixef yer yixef si tama n wedrar, syen ad as yeg afrag akken Sbanya ad teqqim kan di tliṣa tiqdimin. Tadyant n Tiṭwan ad teqqim d taneggarut.

Di tmuyli-is, ur ira ad ikcem tiyremtin n Sbanya, am Mellila ney Sebta, ney ass-a Tiṭwan. Muḥend Abdelkrim ur ira ad igdel awal netta d Sbanya. Gas ass-a wid iṭṭfen adabu di Sbanya qqnen arkasen i ṭrad, gedlen abrid n talwit, azekka zemren ad d-kkren wid iran talwit i tmurt nsen, ad sinfen abrid n tsertit nsen yer win n talwit. Anabaḡ isarem Muḥend ad d-ilal di Sbanya d win ad igen azal i tudert n warraw-is akken ur d-zegren yer Arif akken ad mmten deg udrar n Gurugu ney Tizi Aâzza. Gas ass-a yegdel wawal, azekka ad d-ifsu wegris, ad d-tezzi tizi n wawal. Anezgum n Muḥend d asemyer n tezmert n tagduda n Arif.

Tagduda n Arif ḡas tlul-d di tmemmast n ṭrad, di tmes n Anwal, aḡar-is yuli-d si leqrun d leqrun. Ur tebna yef wulac. D tayuzi nni

¹³⁷ Cawen (Chechaouen): yusa-d seg yisem Amaziḡ «Iccawen» (yiwen ic, sin iccawen) (français = corne). Di tiyremt nni llan sin icuqar n wedrar zun d iccawen. D tiyremt i bnan yenselman i d-yuḡalen si Wandlus (Andalousie), di Sbanya.

akessar i wumi d-ilha Muḥend akked tejmaât udabu n Ajdir. Talalit nni unabaḍ di Ajdir, deg yisem-is, "Ajdir", yuy-d aẓaḥ seg umezruy : Ajdir, ney Agadir... Ajaddar, d ayen i d-ğġan imezwura¹³⁸.

Tamurt ad tebnu ɣef teḥkiz n timezwura. Anabaḍ n Arif izwar s wayen izwaren: tuddsa n imenɣi mgal Sbanya. Di tmemmast n tmes, d tazmert i tyita i d tamezwarut. Di yal iyrem, di yal taqbilt, anbaḍ isuli tarbaât n yemjahden. Akken meqqrer yiyrem i meqqrer terbaât-is. Yal ilemzi n nnig 14 iseggasen ad yissin ad iddem abeckid.

Muḥend Abdelkrim ur d-isnulfa amaynut. Si zik n zik, Imaziɣen zdin di yal tallit akken ad rren tyita i yimnekcem n tallit nni. Nnuyen iḥumyen n Ruma, Ifniqen n Carthage, Iwandalen, Aâraben, Ifransiyen, ass-a d Iṣebenyulen. Ayen iga Abdelkrim d ameqran, isaki-d atmaten-is akken ad semzin tid yellan gar-assen, ad dduklen i Sbanya. Ibeckiden nni yerran ɣer watmaten-nen, ass-a zzin ɣer iserdasen n Sbanya. Muḥend isens times tessay Sbanya di yal taqbilt, di yal tiyremt. Wid d-igran si tama n Sbanya, d lqeyyad nni i tesečč s wedrim ameqran akken d cuḥafa nni isedduyen tizawitin, sedduyen ddin, leqran akked leḥruz i lfayda nsen nitni. Wid nni, anda llan twassnen, zran-ten medden, yal yiwen d ass-is. D Abderreḥman Derqawi n teqbilt lizerwalen i d-igan afrag ameqran i tikli n tnekra n Arif, taggara yerwel akkin, yuy tama wadda. Ussan n Raysuni simal ttiwzilen.

¹³⁸ Ajdir = Agadir / ajaddar : d tazeqqa tameqrant ibnan s wezru ahrawan, anda yentel ugellid Amaziɣ, ney igelliden akken mizwaren (am ijaddaren n lmedyasen deg Awras, di tmurt n Lezzayer); (français: mausolée, mot francisé: les Djedars).

Talwit akken ad tili, ad tdum ger yemdanen, ilaq-as tiseylit-is. Di yal iyrem sulin tazeqqa n uqanun, gan-as isem "meḥkama"¹³⁹, d awal i d-yusan si taârabt, ur ittwassen di tmaziyt n Arif. D tajmaât n yemdanen n iyrem i tent iferrun; ur bnan tazeqqa i tifat n temsal. Di yal taqbilt, d tajmaât n tyimit ney tikkal d annar anda serwatan timzin d yirden. Din ur illa ugadir, ur tella tewwurt, ur illa wefrag. Lqanun isdukel akk imdanen, zemren ad zren ayen illan, ad slen i wawal n tifat ...ney n ttrad.

Tamurt tekker d yiwen i twizi tameqrant, d tamara ad dduklen yemdanen. Di yal taqbilt iberdan yellan smeyren-ten, anda ur llan deg udrar yzen-ten akken yal iyrem ad yili yeddukel netta d wid yellan yer tama-s. Ur iqqim iyrem ney tizeywa ur yewwid webrid. D tacemlit tameqrant. Deg iyerman am Ajdir, yella wanda yzen Irifiyen tisrafin akkin i tdarit mar ad d-asent tmesrufag n Sbanya i d-iseylyen lmut si ddaw iferrawen nsent.

Di tallit n ttrad, imenyi d uyilif, ur d-iqqim wugzir i ubayur, i wayen isedhuyen imdanen. Adabu n Arif iger tiyri i tmurt akken ad ggen ayen ur nezwar. Kksen timeyriwin s tbel d lyaḍa, kksen ahidus d wahwac, kksen tiyratin akked timezla n laâid¹⁴⁰. Ur illa d tukksa ney d agdal, d tukksa ubayur n tegnitt kan. Ad ten-ttun At Arif ar ad frunt tlufa n ttrad.

Di tallit nni deg tbennu tagduda, ripublik n Arif, ur iqqim yiwen akkin i wennar. Amjahed deg imenyi, tilawin i leqdic d tazza akked tfellaht n wakal, imezyanen akked imyaren i taâssast yef iyerman, senqaden ansi zran lsebenyulen, ansi d-usan iserdasen nsen.

¹³⁹ Meḥkama (tazeqqa n uqanun): tribunal de distrito.

¹⁴⁰ Di ttrad n Lezzayer n 1954-1962, d abrid nni i yuy FLN. Di tazwara kan n 1954 imjahden kksen timezla n lâid, kksen idebbalen akked tiyratin di tmeyriwin. Gas timeyriwin llant, s tsusmi kan.

Deg iseggasen imezwura n tagduda, anabaḍ n ripublik ur illi iyerbazen (lakulat) anda ad lemnden imezyanen n Arif. Tamezwarut imezyanen nni llan imir-n d iyallen, d allen, d ifassen n tnekra. Tis snat tamsalt n uyerbaz ur as tensir i Muḥend Abdelkrim. Iga-yas anezgum. Ayerbaz ad d-inulfun anda ad lemnden deg-s yilmezzen n tmurt-is d tamsalt i yezwer i wumi yesarem, ḡas tagnitt ur as-tefka ad ibnu ayerbaz di yal iyrem, di yal tiyremt tamezyant.

Nnan win ittruzun asalu iteddu akken yufa mačči akken ira.

Muḥend yessen amek ilaq ad yili uyerbaz i yesarem. Mi yella di Mellila, yezra talast yellan ger uyerbaz n Sbanya akked Imadeṛsat n leqran i yellan di Arif. D ayen yellan ger igenni akked tmurt. Deg yiwen selmaden tussna d wayen snulfuyen imussnawen, wayeḍ iteqqen imezyanen di tsurtin akked leḥruz n taâṛabt tineslemt. Muḥend ur ira tizawitin nni yellan di Arif ney tid yellan akkin di tmurt n Meṛṛuk¹⁴¹ seg yixef yer yiwef¹⁴².

¹⁴¹ Mi yekcem tamurt n Meṛṛuk, jiniṛal Lyautey isnulfa-d timrawin n iyerbazen n ddiin d taâṛabt di yal iyrem. S yisem n lislam, jiniṛal yufa-d asafar i yes ad iqqen allen nsen i yelmezzen n Meṛṛuk.

¹⁴² Di Lqahira, deffir 1950, mi yemial Muḥend Abdelkrim akked Allal El Fassi, n ukabar Listiqlal, inna-yas Allal El Fassi: «Si 1920 armi d 1926 ur tellim ula d yiwen uyerbaz (« vous n'avez pas ouvert une seule école de 1920 à 1926 ») ; nnan, irra-yas awal Muḥend Abdelkrim, inna-yas: «Kenwi, at ukabar n Listiqlal, d ayagi kan i tgam; kenwi d iselmaden n uyerbaz» (les istiqlalens, les oulemas n'ont fait que ça, « vous n'êtes que des maîtres d'école»). Illa wawal ney ur illa, ger yir ayerbaz n tsurtin akk d war ayerbaz, Muḥend Abdelkrim yefra abrid-is, izwar seg uyerbaz n tṛad. Di yal iyrem llan wid iselmaden ilmezzen akken ad issinen ad nnaḡen, ad ddun wa deffir wa, ad ffren, ... d ayerbaz amezwaru di tallit n tṛad, mačči d ayerbaz n tsurtin n leqran.

Tadyant am ta tella-d di tmurt n Lezzayer send tṛad n 1954-1962: «...Di tallit nni deg nella di PPA nettheggi tanekra s ibeckiden, s wedrim d tudsa tuffirt, akabar n El Ulama iselmad i yelmezzen n Lezzayer amek ad ayen luḍu i tḡallit!» (Mesâud At Ammar/Oulamara, Iberdan n Tissas, 2007).

Muḥend isarem aḡerbaz n Arif ad isuffey ilmeḡyen n Arif si tillas ḡer tafat, ad issinen yal tamussni i d-yusan si yal tama n wamḡal. Aḡerbaz n Arif amaynut ad yili d aḡerbaz n wamḡal am win n tmura n Uḡupa, d aḡerbaz ad d-isuffuyen ijenyuḡen akked ṡebbat. Di tallit nni n ṡṡad, Muḥend ur yufa iselmaden ilaqen ad llin tiwwura n uḡerbaz amaynut. Irifiyen ur llan seg-sen wid ilemden, lṡebenyulen izemren ad slemden ur tella d tagnitt deg ad malen ḡer At Arif, ḡas llan wid iran ad malen. Teqqim akken.

Iselmaden yellan di Arif d ifesyenen i d-iffyen si lâeskeḡ n Regulares n Sbanya. Ayen i ssnen d tussna n ṡṡad, d tin i selmaden yal ass. Di yal iyrem n Arif, imjahden akked ilmeḡyen lemden tussna n ṡṡad, amek ad ddun, amek ad wten, amek ad ddarin neḡ ad ḡzen tisrafin. D win i d aḡerbaz amezwaru n Arif di tallit n ṡṡad.

Taggara, tallit ur teqqim deg uḡerbaz.

Sbanya tefra ad tekk tama di tayeḡ. Wid yellan deg unabaḡ n Madrid yiwet tmuyli nsen, ma d Arif ihegga, lgguni. Akken yella wass ad as-yeks umeksa.

Lbumbat n «gaz moutarde»

Tussna n Uḡupa, tin i yennernan ugar di ṡṡad n 1914-1918 tekcem tamurt n Arif. Di Uḡupa tesenger aḡal d imdanen, teḡḡa-d lmut d twayit ḡer deffir i wid ur newiḡ ḡer talast taneggarut. Di tesrafin n wennar n ṡṡad n Uḡupa, deg wakal n Fṡansa, Biljik neḡ Lalman, anda tdel tamurt idel-as lmut ur deg tella tewwurt. «Gaz moutarde» amcum izegr-d ilel, iwwi-d lmut n war udem.

Tussna nni d-izegren ilel, d asafar ur yuy ufus, ur feḡzent wallen, ur sraḡent tanzarin.

Di tiyremt n Maranosa, tama n Madrid, i tella luzin ixeddmen «gaz moutarde» (phosgène, chloropicrine, ypérite, lewisite,...). Di tazwara-s, di tmurt n Lalman i d-tusa tussna nni i tmurt n Sbanya, s ufus n Reichswehr. Di Madrid, lṣebenyulen gan luzin i «gaz moutarde», di Mellila bnan-as luzin i lbumbat deg rennun amur n isufar n lmut. Ayen ur inya ubarud akked iceqfan n lbumbat ad as-irnu gaz nni.

D ijenyuren n tkebbanit Schneider n Lalman i yellan din d iselmaden n lṣebenyulen. Tussna n Uṛupa tzegr-d ilel, tegla-d lmut, yir lmut deg uqelmun-is.

Di 1915 i tewet Lalman tikkelt tamezwarut s gaz ineqqen. Deg imenyi wis sin n Ypres i tefka 150 tun n chlore yef lâeskeṛ n Fransa: muten din 5000, jerḥen azal n 10000. Si tyita nni n Ypres id-yusa yisem n'ypérite', din i tenti temsizzelt tameqrant gar-asen anwa ad d-isnulfun gaz ineqqen ugar. Si temsizzelt nni i d-iffey «gaz moutarde», isaweḍ-d ssus-is yer tmurt n Arif.

Tawayit n gaz nni, ur izmir yiwen ad t-israḥ akken ad irwel ney ad isenser. Win inefsen gaz nni ur iḟeṛ ur as-ittaki ikcem deg-s di turin-is. Mi zran sin ney kṛad wussan, syen amdan nni ad iglilez ad immet, ur illa ddwa.

Di taggara n tṛad ameqran n 1914-1918, mi yella ccek deg imenyi, afesyan ad isuy, iserdasen ad lsen akmam nsen (masque à gaz) yef imawen nsen.

Di Arif, ur illa «masque à gaz» nni. Mi tenti tiyita s lbumbat nni deg unebdu n 1923, Irifiyen yellin am yizan.

Ma yella zik yixef usirem n tifrat akked Sbanya, tiyita nni s gaz moutarde ur d-teḡḡa ad isirem yiwen.

Amzun ur gtent tlufa, Sbanya tesnera tussan-s, tga lbumbat timeqranin ad d-tefk seg igenni, si tmesrufag¹⁴³, yef imjahden n Arif. Ma nwan Irifiyen yella Rēbbi deg igenni, ineq iḥeggu, ass-a d lbumbat nni i yuḡen amkan n Rēbbi. Win yef d-iyli gaz nni ad yeg talast i wussan-is, d amjahed, d tameṭṭut, d amyar di taddart ney d amezyan deg wexxam. D timrawin i yenya gaz nni.

Tadyant nni n gaz d anezgum ameqran yef unabaḍ n Arif. Ilaq-asen ad as-d-afen afrag, ad rnun ad wten akken Sbanya ad teg talast.

D tazza d ubeddel n wemkan i yesanfen fell-asen. Fer tama n berṛa, anabaḍ n Arif icetka i tejmaât n tmura idduklen, «Société des nations» (SDN), icetka yef tiyita n gaz moutarde. Taggara yeffey wawal deg amḍal, Sbanya tekkat s yir gaz nni i tegdel temlilit n La Haye¹⁴⁴ di Fuṛaḥ 1918.

Mi tewet Sbanya s gaz yperite taqbilit Ineḡḡaren, tama n Tanja. Nnig 80 imezday n yiḡrem nni i yedreylen.

¹⁴³ Hidalgo de Cisneros yella inehheḡ tamesrafegt n tṛad n Sbanya. D netta i yewten s lbumba tamezwarut uqenṭar (100 kg) : «...à ce moment débutèrent les bombardements chimiques : d'après le général de l'aviation espagnole Hidalgo de Cisneros dans son autobiographie Cambio de rumbo, il fut le premier à larguer une bombe de 100 kilogrammes de gaz moutarde depuis son Farman F60 Goliath au cours de l'été 1923).

¹⁴⁴ Timlilit n la Haye (Conférence de la Haye): tella-d di 6 fuṛaḥ 1918; yesuli-tt CICR/Comité International de la Croix Rouge akken ad sensen times nni n tṛad ameqran i yentini si 1914 igumman ad ifru. Di taggara n temlilit nni, gedlen ayen yellan d isem n gaz ineqqen di tṛad (interdiction de l'usage des gaz toxiques).

12. Ripublik tameqrant, si Ajdir¹⁴⁵ ar Agadir

Tuddsa n Ripublik simal trennu tigejda anda tella, simal tesihriw akkin yer tmurt ljebliyen. Ugur n R̄aysuni, yas yella, ur izmir ad d-irgel abrid n tagduda n Arif. Tazmert nni n zik tekkes, gran-as-d kra imenfan azekka ad t-ḡḡen, ad rewlen.

Anezgum yusa-d si tama n At Zerwal (Izerwalen) akked d wasif n Twerga (Warya), talast yellan ger wakal teṭṭef F̄ransa akked tmurt n Arif. At Zerwal llan imir ddaw udabu n F̄ransa.

Muḥend Abdelkrim idda-yas s leḥder. Ur ira ad d-ilin wuguren ger Arif akked F̄ransa. Si 1920, F̄ransa ur d-tesekcem iman-is di ṭrad yellan gar Arif d Sbanya. F̄ransa ur ṭhemmel Sbanya, ur ṭhemmel Arif akked Irifiyen-is. Deg urar nni, teḡḡa-ten ad msengaren di sin. Gas teḡḡa-ten, cwal yella yef tiṭ-is. Tikli n jiniral Lyautey di tazwara nni yiwet -is: «...ulac anbac n Irifiyen, awi-d kan ad rnun ad nnayen mgal Sbanya, maca ad qqimen kan di talast nsen». Mi tettimɣur tyita, Lyautey yesla s nnger n Anwal akked tyitwin tečča Sbanya di yal imenɣi, inti ikcem-it unezgum yef «Irifiyen agi yekkren i Sbanya»! Gas ur iḥemmel Sbanya, ur iḥemmel ugar Irifiyen.

Di tebratin yura Lyautey i uselway n F̄ransa di Paris, Président Pain levé, ur iḡḡa isem n ccek yef tikli n tnekra n Arif: «ma terna akka, nniy awen ad tesengugi tamurt, ad teglu yis-neɣ di tmurt n Meṣruk, ad aɣ-isuffey ... tanekra n Abdelkrim ur ilaq ad timɣur». Gas ineddeɣ, iger tiṭ yer wayen d-iteddun, Lyautey yezra ur izmir ad isekcem iman-is akkin «deg wakal n Sbanya».

¹⁴⁵ Ajdir ... Agadir : yiwən wawal,

Temyer n tnekra n Arif akked tuddsa nni n yal ass n Ripublik, ur tedrig yef Fṛansa. Imdanen i tefka akken ad as-d-siwden isalan, fkan-as-d ayen illan: tamurt tamaynut tbennu yal ass seg teqbilin d iyerman n Arif. Tamurt teddukel, iberdan tellin ger idurar, talwit teẓḍa ger yemdanen, tiwizi yal ass. Isalan nni skecmen tigdi deg ifesyane n Fṛansa.

Tazmert yellan deg ufus-is, Fṛansa tenti-yis akken ad teg taxennaqt i tmurt n Arif. Fṛansa tbeddel udem. Di tazwara nni n 1922 teḡḡa yal Arifi ad yinig akkin yer tmurt n Wihran di Lezzayer. Irifiyen uḡen-d syen yal asafar. Fṛansa ur d-tga afrag i tikli n Irifiyen si tama ya d tama yen n tlisa ger Lezzayer d Meṛṛuk.

Mi terra afrag, yiwen ur izegger yer Lezzayer, yiwen ur d-ikeččem si lezzayer, Fṛansa tra ad teskuffer tagduda n Arif. Si tama n yilel d afrag n Sbanya, akka d Fṛansa, ur d-iqqim i yat Arif ansi ad d-sisen isufar ur illan di tmurt. Di taggara n 1924 ur tella tasent i ddwa. Si tama n Tanja, yezzi webrid, gten ifergan n Sbanya, am zun ur illa.

Tifeṭṭiwejt i yesayen times ger tagduda n Arif akked Fṛansa ur illa d amennuy n lḡiran yef tlisa, yef wasif n Tawerga (Warya) ney beṭṭu n teqbilin n At Zerwal si tiyilt yer tiyilt.

Di 1924 llan sin iberdan i Muḥend Abdelkrim : ad isihrew tanekra ad iffel i wedrar akkin, ney ad iqqim ad iselqef ger tlisa n Arif. D abrid n tikli i yefren, ad iffel seg yiyil n Arif yer izuḡar n tmurt, Fes, Taza akked iyerman nniḍen. Mi d-iga afrag ger Meṛṛuk akked Lezzayer, igzem abrid i Fṛansa, Muḥend Abdelkrim ifra ad

isemyer tanekra, ad yay azayar, syen ad iddu si Ajdir ar Agadir¹⁴⁶!

D tamara. Akken ad tedder tagduda n Arif, ad teffey si tliisa n wedrar, ad tay izuḡar, tewwi-yas-d ad izlez akkin. Abrid nni ur illa d tiselbi ney d urar.

D tuddsa n Arif i yas illin izri-s, i yas-d-implan abrid-is. Imdanen yellan iḡelli kan ur ferrun tamsalt, yas d ulac, ar ad azzlen idammen gar-asen, ass-a bennun tamurt, teddun tayett yer tayett am iḡudan ufos, cerwen tidi di yiwet twizi tameqran. Tis snat, izra Muḥend s waṭṭawen-is ayen wumi zemren at tmurt-is di tṛad. Deg imenyi, d izmawen ney nnig yizmawen. Yiwen ad iqabel adrar. Ur yumin yerra tazmert n Sbanya deffir wefrag n Mellila ney Tiṭwan, netlen deffir ugadir ansi ur zmiren ad d-ffyen. Fas yella wuzzal ameqran, tella tussna, llant lbumbat n gaz, taggara d irgazen i iteggen tṛad. Iṣebenyulen i d-yusan ad gen tṛad ur ten terra tmara ad mmten deg udrar n Gurugu yef jiniṛal de Rivera ney agellid Alphonse XIII.

Ger sin iserdasen nni i tella talast. Yiwen ad innay ad immet yef tmurt-is, wayeḡ yusa-d d axeddam, ad d-yessis ayrum-is, taggara ad iwet ad isenser ad yerwel. Sin imdanen, sin iberdan.

¹⁴⁶ «Abdelkrim ibna tagduda tatrart, isbedd anabaḡ, yerna lâeskeṛ / tazuli (armée) tatrart i tmurt, si Ajdir ar Agadir» /Abdelkrim a fondé une république, un état, un gouvernement et une armée modernes pour un Maroc depuis Ajdir jusqu'à Agadir ». Aumeṛ n At Xeṭṭab (Omar El Khettabi). Aumeṛ d mmi-s n Abdeslam n At Xeṭṭab, awzir n tizraft (ministre des finances) n tagduda n Arif. Abdeslam d aâmmi-s n Muḥend, d gma-s n Lqayed Abdelkrim. Aumeṛ llul deg ubabuṛ Abda i ten iwwin yer tegzirt n La réunion di 1926. Aumeṛ d amejji (ṭbib) ameqran, ilmed d acellaḡ (chirurgien) di tesdawt n Lausanne akked Genève di tmurt n Swis. Yella ixeddem di Meṛṛuk, di tiyremt n Qniṭra/Kenitra. Immut deg wass n 08/08/2006. Inṭel deg Ajdir.

Açhal d imenḡi deg tella tkemmict n Irifiyen, taggara ad srewlen ney ad snegren ajemmal n iserdasen n Sbanya. Ur tella d tin n lbaḡaka!

Izmawen nni n Arif yerna yasen Muḥend tuddsas yal ass, almad n tussna n tḡad akken ad snernin i tmussni nsen, si tin i d-yusan si Uḡupa. Imenḡi ur illa d tazzaḡa ḡer zdat kan. Illa wental, tella tuffra, yella uneggez, tella tikli ḡer deffir di tegnitt deg telha, ur tella d tarewla.

Anbacen nni n lâeskeḡ n Lyautey si tama n wasif n Twerga gan-as anezgum ameqran at unabaḡ n Arif. Anbac si yal tama, ur dilul si tlisa kan, illa ufuḡ i t-ismentigen yal ass si ddaw.

Akken ad d-rnun uguren, lâeskeḡ n Fḡansa iga afrag akken ad irgel abrid i yat tmurt ur teddun si tama ḡer tayed n wasif. Anda ur llan lâeskeḡ n Fḡansa ḡḡan iserwat Derḡawi. Awal nni i tefka Fḡansa ur tesekcam iman-is di tḡad yella ger Arif akked Sbanya ur tetḡif deg-s. Fḡansa tuy abrid nniḡen, abrid n cwal.

Tettenfufud times ddaw walim.

Di tazwara n 1925, tadyant n Raḡsuni tefra. Dduklen-as yemjahden n Arif di Tazḡrut, anda yella yeffer. Deg wass n 8 di Fuḡaḡ 1925 wḡen-t. Irgazen i yas-d-igran rewlen, ḡḡan-t, ney yečča-ten waldun, netta qqnen-t-id yemjahden am yiḡid. Abrid-is ḡer Tamasint.

13. Fṛansa tekcem tanemmast n tṛad

Irgazen yunza Muḥend Abdelkrim ad as d-awin isalan si tmurt teṭṭef Fṛansa, fran-as-d tadyant. Fṛansa tga am Sbanya; di yal tiyilt tebna lkaziṛna akken ad teg afrag, ad tbedd yef wakal-is. Muḥend yessen uguren n lkaziṛna n tiyilt. Din ur llan waman, ur illa wučči, ur tella tdarit tameqrant zdat tyita. D aman nni i yesnegren iserdasen n Sbanya mi yekker ubaṛud di lkaziṛnat yellan tama n Anwal ney n Tizi Aâzza.

Taggara, ma yekker imenyi mgal Fṛansa, ad teḍru yid-sen am akken teḍra d Sbanya.

Di tebratin yura Lyautey, ur illa yisem n ccek deg webrid-is. Inna-yas: «Si temsal i d-ilulen si mi d-tennulfa tnekra n Arif, ur nezmir ad neqqim akka di tagnitt agi. Ma neqqim, abrid-is ifra, ad neffey si tmurt n Meṛṛuk¹⁴⁷».

Gas yella wawal ger Lyautey akked unabaḍ n Arif, d awal n tkerkas.¹⁴⁸ Muḥend Abdelkrim ihegga-d imjahden d afrag aghemmad i lkaziṛnat n Fṛansa, Lyautey yesiyzif awal ar d-iheggi tazmert i yesuter i unabaḍ n Paris. Yal yiwen yuy amkan-is. Si tama ufella Lyautey yesedduy awal: «ur illa d isew nney ad nekcem azekka tamurt n Arif ur ay-d-ittunefken».

¹⁴⁷ « En présence des éventualités créées par la soudaineté et la violence de l'irruption des rifains [...], il est impossible de rester dans cette situation, sous peine, je le dis nettement, de risquer de perdre le Maroc. » général Hubert Lyautey.

¹⁴⁸ Fṛansa turar s ddi n lislam. Si tama tesefṛurex iyerbazen n ddi di Meṛṛuk akken ad tesderyel tamurt, terna tebna tamesgida n lislam, lḡamaâ n Paris (Grande Mosquée de Paris) di 1924; D architecte ameqran, Maurice Tranchant de Lunel, ameddakel n Lyautey, i tt-ibnan. Tesuli deg wass n 15/07/1926. Si tama nniḍen Fṛansa tesimṣur tazmert n wuzzal d ubaṛud akken ad tesenger Arif.

Deg wass n 14 di Yebrir 1925 i tekker tmes ubarud di tmurt n At Zerwal. Muḥend Abdelkrim ifka nnig 3000 yemjahden akken ad kksen Crif Derqawi akked lâeskeḥ-is. Abrid nsen yer tqubett n Tamejjuḍt. Di sin ney kḥad wussan, imjahden n Arif kecmen Tamejjuḍt, seryen taqubbett n tṭariqa Derqawa¹⁴⁹, syen uyen akk tamurt n At Zerwal. Abderreḥman Derqawi yerwel akkin i tliṣa, yekcem tamurt anda tella Fṛansa. Ma d Ben Ḥmidu n teqbilt Imeynisen yuḡal-d yer webrid s war imenyi.

Am akken uyen tanumi At Arif, taqbilt i kecmen ad sbedden amyar ger wid zeddigen ur nesluḡ iman-is akked wid ger curafa yuyen tama ufella. Mi kksen wid nni yellan d afus n Derqawi, ad sbedden di yal tiyremt adabu amaynut n Ripublik. Tanekra n Arif teteddu am tmes. Mi tuḡ tamurt ad tesmenteg i tmurt nniḍen yer zdat.

Taqbilt n At Zerwal tbeddel afus, tuḡal yer imawlan-is. Ifṛansiyen ur d-mbawlen, ur d-rran tiyita. Lkaziṛnat yellan akkin agemmaḍ, ḡas zṛan ayen illan, qimen xemten deffir ugadir nsen. Ifṛansiyen ssen teqseḥ n Irifiyen, di 1919 nni ččan tiyita di Aâin Medyuna. Irifiyen ur ḡḡan tamsalt ad tismiḍ. Si mi seggmen adabu, imezday n at Zerwal kkren am nitni, zzin-as i lkaziṛnat yellan din, am Talezḡa akked Bab Ceṛṛaqa. Si tama nniḍen, Irifiyen yellan deffir wefrag n lâeskeḥ n Fṛansa, yal ass d tarewla yer tama i tṭfen Irifiyen. Amur ameqran deg yiḍ i zegren afrag s twaculin nsen akked d lmal nsen. Uḍan uḡalen i yinig n At Waryayen akked At Sles si tama yer tayed n wefrag nni, teddun rennun yer tama n tnekra. Syen yer zdat tekker tmes deg At Jaya akked Isenḡaḡen, wid i yellan akkin di tama wadda.

¹⁴⁹ Messali Lḡaḡ, azaṛ-is si twacult yellan di tzawit n Derqawa, di tmurt n Tlemcen.

Deg imenɣiyen imezwura n Irifiyen mgal lâeskeɣ n Fɣansa, zun ufan-as tasarut i tnekra. Lâeskeɣ n Fɣansa wukud ttnayen ass-am Iṣebenyulen nni i srewten iḍelli kan. Mi kkren i lkazirnat nni timezwura, imenɣi yiwen wudem. Si tama d Irifiyen ifkan aqerru nsen i tmurt nsen, si tama nniḍen «d ixeddamen ubeckid» i d-yusan akken ad d-sisen aɣrum nsen. Ur ten terra tmara ad mmten yef tmurt ur nella d ayla nsen. Mi yekker ubaɣud, ad xemten am izerman ddaw tmurt. Amur ameqran n waldun nsen ikkat yer igenni.

Di Ajdir, deg wegraw n tagduda, Muḥend Abdelkrim akked iwziren-is fran-tt: tanekra n Arif ur tettɣimi di tlisa n Arif. Ripublik ɣas tlul si Arif, ad teddu ad tennerni si Ajdir ar Agadir. Abrid-is izra yef Fes.

Tikli ad teddu ad tesihriw si Wezzan ar Tawrirt, abrid-is yer Taza akked Fes, syen ad tessiy i tmurt alamma d Agadir.

Tikli n Irifiyen izra-tt jiniɣal Lyautey. Si mi tettenfufud si tama n wasif n Tawerga, terna tekcem tamurt n At Zerwal, Lyautey icumm-itt tettraḥ ɣzaget. Ma iga-yas ccek Lyautey di tazwara, udem n lâeskeɣ i d-yefka Muḥend Abdelkrim yer tama nni, ur d-usan akken kan ad seryen taqubbett n Crif Derqawi. D Mḥemmed, i d-yusan s terbaât tameqran n nnig 3500 iserdasen n At Waryayen akked ljebliyen i yellan iḍelli kan d afus n ɣaysuni. D irgazen i d-yerra yer webrid Xayriɣu. Muḥend Abdelkrim ifka-d yer At Zerwal wid i yas-issnen i ubaɣud, i yas-issnen i tuddsa deffir ubaɣud akken ad sdukklen tiqbilin di tnekra n Arif, di tagduda n Arif.

Ifka-ten Muḥend Abdelkrim akken ad fflen i yiḥil, ad sdukklen tiqbilin yellan yef tlisa ney abrid nsen yer tiyremt n Taza akked Fes?

Amek imenḡi yellan si yal tama n wasif n Tawerga ger Irifiyen akked ifransiyen, anwa seg-sen ad iṭṭfen tiyilt-a d tiyilt-n, taggara ibeddel udem, yuḡal d ṭrad ger wid iteddun ad zegren akkin akked wid i yasen d-igan afrag?

Di temsizzelt nni, wid yellan afella ḡran. Muḥend ira ad iḥwes ifransiyen ad issiy times i tmurt n Merṛuk send ad ddekwen, jiniṛal Lyautey yezlez akken ad as-d-rnun tazmert si Fṛansa akked si Lezzayer, ad yeg afrag. D timsizzelt n war isem.

Tuttra n Lyautey i uselway n tmurt n Fṛansa ney i wewzir n ṭrad akked ad as-d-aznen lâesker, ur d-teḡḡa amur n ccek yef teqseḡ n tegnitt d wayen igguni Lyautey. Awal-is yiwen: «*ma yella ur nga afrag i Irifiyen, d aḡemmal ad d-inneḡlen fell-aḡ, Abdelkrim ad aḡ-isuffeḡ si Merṛuk akked Lezzayer!*».

Ur illa d urar. D isalan i d-yewḡden Lyautey i yas-igan anezgum ameqran : tiqbilin nni yellan aḡal iseggasen aya ddaw udabu n Fṛansa, ass-a beddlent udem, kkrent, uḡalent si tama n Abdelkrim.

Tazmert i yesuter Lyautey d tameqran¹⁵⁰. Ur tella d tin kan ad igen afrag i tkemmict n yemjahden. Tuddsa i yass-ihegga ad tay tamurt si Wezzan ar Taza akken yal abrid ad irgel ; ansi d-usan Irifiyen ad d-afen lâesker n Fṛansa zdat nsen.

¹⁵⁰ Lyautey isuter i Paris ajemmal n "les bataillons, les tirailleurs algériens akked les sénégalais", imrad n 75mm, n 150mm, lbumbat n gaz ypérite (20000 lbumbat n^o20, deg-sen yella gaz nni), 5000 lbumbat n 50 kg!". D ṭrad ameqran !

Fas agellid n Meṛṛuk, Mulay Yusef, yeffey si Fes, yezdey di Rbaṭ, tiyremt n Fes d tiseyilit n tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Si Fes i yeyra ugellid Mulay Ḥafiḍ i Fṛansa akken ad d-tekcem si Lezzayer, ad teg afrag i teqbilin n Arif akken ur d-keccment Fes. Muḥend Abdelkrim ira ad ikcem Fes akken ad ikkes laâṛ nni n Mulay Ḥafiḍ n Iyaâlawiyen. Abrid-is yer Fes, akken ibyu yili, ḡas d awal ur d-inna s yimi-s.

Fes d amecwaṛ amezwaru, ur illa d taggara n webrid. Si Ajdir, Muḥend Abdelkrim izwer irgazen i yal tiyremt, i yal taqbilt armi d tamurt n Sus, Tafilalt, Weṛzazet, akken ad heggim tanekra. I Muḥend Abdelkrim, Arif d asafu amezwaru i yessayen times i tmurt n Meṛṛuk, si Ajdir ar Agadir, akken ad tekkes tbarda n Fṛansa. Anekcum n Fes d tasarut ad ikksen akukru i wid ikukran, akken ad zren s waṭṭawen nsen, ma teddukel tcemlit, Imeṛṛukiyen zemren -as i wedrar.

Awal iweḍ jiniṛal Lyautey anwa i d abrid uyen yemjahden Irifiyen.

14. Tedduk el tirkeft i tmurt n Arif

(Sbanya, Fṛansa akked ugellid n Meṛṛuk)

Di tazwara n 1925, tallit deg tesihriw tegduda n Arif, teteddu tiyilt deffir tayeḍ, Fṛansa si tama wadda tesimḡur afrag n wuzzal d lbumbat, si tama nniḍen tekcem s tkebbaniyin timeqranin tizeḡwa n wasif n Werya akken ad d-tekkes lkazirnat nni wumi zzin Irifiyen, ad tesbedd tilisa nni yellan ger «wayla-s nettat akked wayla n Sbanya!». Di lkazirnat n Lbiban, n Myella, n Awlay, n Tawnat akked wiyad, uzzlen idammen si yal tama aḥal n wussan d wuḍan n tefsut 1925.

Seg imenḡiyen mgal Sbanya ar imenḡiyen mgal Fṛansa, terna-d taluft tameqrant ur ssinen Irifiyen: Fṛansa tetṭef igenni. Di yal imenḡi ugar i yeylin s lbumbat i d-yusan seg igenni n tmesrufag nsen. Mi tekker tyita, din ad d-yaweḍ weglaf n tmesrufag nni Breguet 14 neḡ tid n Goliath-Farman F60. D timesrufag i d aṭṭawen n lâesker n Fṛansa. Gas akken ṭṭfent igenni, ṭrad di tmurt yella.

Tussna n ṭrad, snernan ugar deg-s Irifiyen. Ur qqimen deg udway nni ḡer zdat n Imaziyen n zik. Ayen yeḡza Muḥend Abdelkrim yuḡ aḡar. I nitni, imenḡi maḥḥi d admer uḥḍim, yiwen si tama wayeḍ si tama. Acengu, ddu-yas akken tella tikli-is netta, syen zwir-it. Ma yedda-d ḡer zdat, eḡḡ-it ad d-iddu, keḥḥ senser, eddu ḡer deffir, tezziḍ-as si yal tama. Ma yuḡal ḡer deffir, eddu-tt fell-as d aḡbaj. degger-it akkin si yal tama, enteḍ deg-s, ur as-

teġġ ad isgunfu ad d-irfed iman-is, alamma yefcel ifka mayna, yenger.

Muḥend yunez imjahden ɣer zdat, zwaren s tazza ɣer Gersif d Taza, akken imezday n tmura nni ad gezmen abrid n tmacint¹⁵¹, win iteddun ger Gersif ar Taza.

Anabaḍ n Arif idda ad isihrew tanekra ɣer tama n wanzul n tmurt, akken ad ikkes tabarda n Fṛansa. Di tagnitt nni deg Sbanya tekbel di tlisa n teɣremtin i tella teṭṭef-itent, zdat imukan nni teṭṭef Sbanya, lâeskeɣ n Ripublik n Arif sbedden taâssast aemmaḍ, akken ur d-teffyen lṣebenyulen. Lâeskeɣ nni, imjahden nni yellan din ur zmiren ad fken tayett i watmaten nsen yellan ttnayen mgal Fṛansa, deg wedrar n At Zerwal akkin. Muḥend Abdelkrim ur izmir ad d-ikkes tazmert nni igan afrag i Sbanya. Ilaq-as ad innay ɣef sin wudmawen: tiddi zdat Sbanya akked tṛad mgal Fṛansa. Ilaq-as ad innay Fṛansa di tagnitt ur tkeččem Sbanya. Izra ur izmir yiwen ad innay sin icenga ɣef tikkelt, yiwen si tama, wayeḍ si tama nniḍen. Tuɣmest, ɣas d tuɣmest tuɣ azaɣ, ma zzint-as tyemdin ur illa anda ad tesner. ɢas akken, Muḥend Abdelkrim yessen tismen akked tyennant yellan ger Fṛansa akked Sbanya, izra si tazwara nsen ur zmiren ad dduklen. D tamuɣli nni ɣef yebna Muḥend abrid-is : ad innay akka d wakka, sin icenga nni yal yiwen ad iddu abrid-is, ad yazzel ɣef ayen inwa d lfayda-as netta.

Mi yasen-ifra awal i Mḥammed akked Xayriṛu send ad ayen abrid n At Zerwal zdat nnig 2000 yemjahden imezwura, Muḥend Abdelkrim asirem-is ad isihrew, ad yeg tagduda tameqrant, si Ajdir ar Agadir. Di sin yid-sen i d asafu.

¹⁵¹ Abrid n tmacint: "chemin de fer", voie ferrée.

Tiḥila n Fṛansa ur asent-gan talast. Mi ḡran Yefṛansiyen tikli nni n Irifiyen akken ad siherwen tanekra, ad siyen times i tmurt n Meṛṛuk seg yixef ar yixef, jiniṛal Lyautey akked wid yellan yid-s, ufan-d taḥilett akken ad sfeclen Muḥend Abdelkrim. Tṛad ur illa d imenḡi ubaṛud kan. Tṛad deg-s ugar n wudmawen. Tṛad d tiḥerḡi, win izwaren ad d-iṭṭef tasawent.

Akken ad yeg afrag i times n Arif, Lyautey iskecm-d lâeskeṛ ugellid Mulay Yusef deg imenḡi. Isekcem-iten-id mačči akken ad nnayen Irifiyen kan. Isekcem-iten-id akken ad gen ccek deg iqeṛṛa n at tmurt. Di yal iyrem n Arif neḡ akkin i Arif ḡran anwi i yettnayen. Di tazwara kan tefra. Si tama d imjahden, si tama nniḡen d Iṣebenyulen, d Ifṛansiyen neḡ d iḥerkiyen nsen, d Regulares n Sbanya, d "tirailleurs marocains" neḡ d "tirailleurs algériens".

S tḥilett nni i d-yerna, Lyautey yerwi-yasen tamuḡli: lâeskeṛ n Fṛansa yedda ḡer tama n iserdasen inselmen n ugellid Yusef, ttnayen mgal Imerṛukiyen am nitni!

Azal n 9000 iserdasen i yefka ugellid Mulay Yusef, di snat lemḥellat, akken ad fken tayett i lâeskeṛ n Fṛansa. Taneggarut n tneggura, akken ad ibeggen yella deffir nsen, ḡer tama n Fṛansa, yiwet terbâat d gma-s i yeddand zdat nsen, izwar-asen i lâeskeṛ nni, tarbâat tis snat, izwar-as El Beydadi, i yellan imir d Pacha n ugellid di Fes !

Tṛad yellan ger Fṛansa akked Imerṛukiyen n Arif, yerra-t Lyautey d tṛad ger Imerṛukiyen mgal atmaten-nsen. Terwi yir arway.

Iserdasen n Regulares neḡ n "tirailleurs" ssnen-ten medden; nitni Isan am Iṣebenyulen neḡ am Ifṛansiyen, ḡas udem nsen d win n tmurt, taselsa nni tbeddel-iten. Di tidett ur ten-ḡran at tmurt

n Arif am zun nitni d at tamurt. Akaskiḍ nni i Isan ikkes fell-asen isey. Ma yella d iserdasen ugellid, Isan am nitni, zṛan-ten am zun d atmaten nsen. Taggara anwa i yellan deg ubrid, anwa i yefferen abrid ? Terwi d tidett. Di tallit nni, laârac yellan di talast deg zemren ad milen akka ney akka, yella wanda i d-kkren d icenga i tagduda n Arif.

D tiḥila n Sbanya i yeselqem Lyautey akken ad yeg tṛad s idammen n Imaziyen. Lyautey isekcem tawekka di tnekra, ma d tawekka nni tedda yer zdat, tezwar i tikli n imnayan nni n Muḥend Abdelkrim i yellan teddun akkin i wedrar akken ad sakkin atmaten nsen, akken ad zwiren i tnekra send ad d-awḍen yemjahden Irifiyen.

Afrag i tga Fṛansa simal ittimyur, Lyautey simal isekcam-d iserdasen si yal tama: si Lezzayer, si Fṛansa, ney si tmura n Tferka i teṭṭef Fṛansa. Tamacint n Wihran tesawaḍ trennu yal ass irgazen i tṛad. Tazmert i d-iḡḡa i Fṛansa tṛad ameqran nni n 1914-1918, ass-a tezger yer tmurt n Meṛṛuk!

Ma Fṛansa tesekcam-d irgazen si tmura nniḍen i yimenyi, Irifiyen abrid nsen akken nniḍen: d irgazen n yal laârc i yettuḡalen d iserdasen n Ripublik. Anda kecmen yemjahden, anda serḡen lkaziṛna n Fṛansa, din ad d-snekren imjahden imaynuten ad ismeyren tanekra. Yal asurif seg yiḡil yer yiḡil ad d-isnemi tissi n yergazen i ubeckiḍ. Ur yella ansi d-usan yemjahden. D at tmurt i yettnayan yef tmurt nsen di tmurt nsen.

Aḥal n tikkal i yeyra Muḥend Abdelkrim yer teqbilin nniḍen di Suss, di Meṛṛakec ney tiyremtin nniḍen, ur as-d-usan yergazen iwaziwen ad nnayan s lebyi nsen i tmurt n Arif, i tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Mi yasen-isuter Abdelkrim akken ad as-d-aznen irgazen, nitni si

Tafilalett ney si Agadir ad as-d-rren tiyri nni ur igguni : «Efk-aḡ-d kečč irgazen i yessnen i tṛad, ifesyaneṅ, akken ad aḡ-slemden di tussna n imenḡi i tnekra d-iteddun!».

Teqqim di nniḡ-ak tenniḡ-i.

15. Tṛad ameqran n Maréchal Pétain

Di tefsut 1925 ur tekka tama di tayed ger Ripublik n Arif akked Fṛansa.

Si tama, lâeskeṛ n Muḥend Abdelkrim iteddu ad isihrew tanekra akken ad yaweḍ tiyremt n Fes, si tama nniḍen d Fṛansa i d-irennun simal tazmert n lâeskeṛ si yal tama akken ad teg afrag i tikli n Irifiyen, akken ur d-teffyen si tliṣa n Arif.

Fṛansa tesedda sin iberdan n tḥila n tṛad: tuqqna n tezmert n Arif akken ad teqqim i tuzya n lkaziṛnat yellan deg wudrar akked d useḥṛec n teqbilin, s ufus n lqeyyad uyen, akken ad gen afrag d nitni i tikli n Irifiyen. Di tallit deg tezzin s ubaṛud i lkaziṛnat, Irifiyen ur ddan yer zdat deg ubrid nsen yer Fes. Aḥal d ussan, aḥal d aguren, tezzin kkatn lkaziṛnat nni. Nitni qimen din, iṛansiyeṛn yal ass ad sen-d-awin aman d wučči d ubaṛud i wid yellan din. Yall ass d imenyi. D tḥila n Lyautey i yebḍan tazmert n Arif.

Ḥas yella wanda tetṭef tḥilett nni, tikli yer zdat ur tefcil. Tanekra n Arif simal tettay tamurt, taqbilt deffir tayed deg iberdan iteddun yer Fes.

I Fṛansa tamsalt tefra: «ma teqqim akka, azekka Abdelkrim ad ikcem Fes, Taza akked tiyremtin nniḍen. Ma yekcem Fes, ad issiy i tmurt n Meṛṛuk di yal tama, taggara ad teffey Fṛansa si Meṛṛuk».

Di Paris, ṣran mačči d jiniṛal Lyautey i izemren ad yeg afrag i Abdelkrim. Tamsalt meqret, abrid-is ur ifri.

Si tama-s, akken ad idhem Abdelkrim, Lyautey yufa-yasen-d abrid: timerna ugar n lâeskeṛ yal ass akked lbumbat n yperite, gaz moutarde seg igenni!

Talast, Lyautey yeḥra ur izmir ad innay deg unnar mgal Irifiyen s lâeskeḥ nni yellan ger ifassen-is, d iḥumyen nni ney wid iguḡan d Fṛansa, at tirailleurs nni. Mi yekker ubaḥud, aḡbel nsen d antal ney d tarewla ḡer deffir. I Lyautey, ala lâeskeḥ n “la légion étrangère” i izemren ad qablen izmawen n Arif.

Di Paris, ur ḡfiṛen abrid nni n Lyautey. Abrid nsen ixulef, akken ad dehmen Abdelkrim, ilaq ad as-d-sekren times si yal tama. Abdelkrim i yellan yettnay deg ubrid n Fes, ilaq ad as-d-asen si tama ufella akken ad t-gren ger tḡemdin, ad t-rḡen di tne mmast. Di tama ufella, agafa n tmurt, d Sbanya i yellan. Di Paris fran ad wten akken ad d-skecmen Sbanya di tṛad nni.

Tamsalt temger, terwet, tufaf, tuyaḡ ḡer tesga!

S tuffra, aselway n Fṛansa, Président Paul Painlevé¹⁵², ifka awzir-is, Aristide Briand, akken ad isuter di Sbanya ad as dduklen i tṛad mgal Abdelkrim. Abrid nni i yugi ad t-yay jiniṛal Lyautey, rḡan-as-d asalu si Paris.

Ddan-as s tuffra i webrid n tṛad acku imenḡi ni yekkren di Arif ur t-qbilen ikabaren akked sandikat n Fṛansa, ur t-sarmen ifṛansiyen. Ḥran akk tasraft deg tger Sbanya aḡal iseggasen di tṛad ur nefri deg udrar n Arif. Ifṛansiyen ur ran ad rnun ad mmten din yelmezyen n Fṛansa.

Aguren nni deg yekker imenḡi ger Fṛansa akked yemjahden n Arif, yal yiwen iwet ad t-isbib i jiniṛal Lyautey. Nnan-as de netta i d tasebbiwt n tṛad, d netta i inebcen Abdelkrim. Iḡelli kan i yefra tṛad ameqran n 14-18, ur isarem yiwen ad rnun ad azzlen

¹⁵² Paul Painlevé (1865 -1933): d amussnaw n matimatiks, illa deg ugraw n tussna (Académie des sciences), syen ibedd d aselway (président) n Fṛansa di 1925.

idammen n Iṛumyen di tṛad yellan akkin i yilel, di tmurt n Tferka ur ssinen. Ur ran ad zeggint tyemmatin n Paris, n Marseille ney n Lyon. Nnan-as : «ur nra ad mmten warraw nney deg udrar n Tawnat!», am akken llan zeggini yelmezyen Iṣebenyulen di Madrid ney di Barcelone mi gumman ad rekben di tmacint n lâeskeṛ iteddun yer Malaga, syen d ababuṛ yer Mellila. Awal nsen imir : «ur nra ad nezger, ad nemmet deg udrar n Gurugu!».

Illa deg wawal, di yal tamurt, di yal tallit, anda ur tella talast, «di tegnitt umerṛzi, ayen ufiy ad wtey yes». Deg imenyi mgal Irifiyen, Fransa tefcel. Sin iberdan i yas d igran, ad tewet s gaz moutarde ad tesenger tamurt, ad ternu ad teseddu tiḥila n wawal d tkerkas. Fransa tezwar s tḥila n wawal akken ad tzer ayen yellan si tama n Muḥend Abdelkrim, ayen yeffren, abrid uyen. Mi fkan win ikecmen akkin di tmurt n Arif, yeweḍ Ajdir, imuger Abdelkrim, yufa zdat-s aselway d wawal. Léon Gabrielli yufa zdat-s Muḥend Abdelkrim frant deg wallay-is, issen-as i wawal, issen i wayen ad izwer akked wayen ad isegri. Di tazwara kan ifra-tent Muḥend i yinebgi-s n tmara, inna-yas: «Ur nella di tallit n imeniyen n Iḡihad, ur neqqim di zzman aqdim n tṛad nni yef udem n ddi ger Inselman akked Iṛumyen (croisades)»¹⁵³.

Deg urar nni n tiddas di taggara n yunyu 1925, yal yiwen yedda ad as-isečč i wexšim-is. Fransa tekkat ad tesefcel Muḥend Abdelkrim, ad tesiyzef awal ar d-theggi tazmert ad t-iseylin, ma d Muḥend yuy abrid-is akken ad yaf iyisi ger wid yellan di Meṛṛuk,

¹⁵³ « Le temps des guerres saintes est passé ; nous ne sommes plus au Moyen Age ni au temps des croisades » (La guerre du Rif, V. Courcelle-Labrousse & N. Marmié, p. 219).

jiniṛal Lyautey d ifesyänen yellan yid-s, akked wid yetṭfen adabu di Paris.

Si tama-as, Abdelkrim isuter-as kan yiwet tṛawsa i Fṛansa: «Fṛansa ad teqbel tagduda n Arif, ad teḡḡ at Arif ad bnun tamurt-nsen di tliṣa-s akken llant ass-a».

Adabu n Fṛansa, akken yesedda awal i tifrāt i yesendeh tikli i tṛad. Abrid nsen yiwēn: ur teḡḡen Irifiyen ad siyen times di «Meṛṛuk nsen nitni». Afrag nni n 300 km di teṛzi, si Wezzan ar Taza, selqamen-as rennun yal d uzzal, yal d abaṭayu n lâeskeṛ akken ad iṭṭef wefrag nni.

Fṛansa akked ifesyänen-is llan zerrēn tṛad nni zun d tṛad ger snat tmura, yiwet si tama tayedḥ si tama nniḍen. Amur ameqran seg-sen idelli nni kan i d-ffyen si tifrāt n tṛad n 14-18. Tṛad nni d tṛad «klasik»; si tama-ya d Fṛansa, si tama-yen d Lalman. Ma d tṛad yellan deg udrar n Arif yer tliṣa n izuṛar n Fes d Wezzan, ur illa d tṛad klasik. Imir-nni, Irifiyen teddun am tmes nni n ddaw walim. Teddun taqbilt yer tayedḥ, s tuffra, syen bennun adabu amaynut n Ripublik. Mi tuy tmes tenteh, d wid n tmurt nni ad ikkren ad seryen lkazirna n Fṛansa i yellan din, d nitni i d iserdasen n tnekra. Ma d iserdasen imezwura n Ripublik ad d-qqimen kan i lewhi akken ad gren afus ma terra tmara, syen ad ddun yer zdat. Tikli nni ur tella d imenyi ney d tṛad klasik am akken i t-lemden ifesyänen di Saint-Cyr¹⁵⁴. Lyautey ur as-yufa ixef. Anda yenwa yetṭef tamurt, taqbilt tella ddaw ufus-is, azekka nni ad tekker din tmes, at tmurt nni ad bedden udem, ad zwiren i lâeskeṛ n Ripublik. Lâeskeṛ d-ikeccmen si Fṛansa ney si

¹⁵⁴ Saint-Cyr (Ecole Militaire) : aṛebaz n tussna n lâeskeṛ, anda i d-teffyen ifesyänen imeqranen n Fṛansa (Saint-Cyr yella yer 30 km n Paris).

Lezzayer yal ass ur isaweḍ ad irgel iberdan. Tazzla nni deg ubrid n 300 km di teyzi isefcel-iten.

Tṛad nni ibeddel udem deg wass n 21 di yunyu mi tefka Fṛansa timesrufag s lbumbat nsent yer Suq Lḥed, deg At Zerwal. Nnig 800 i yemmuten ney jerḥen. Anda ur tezmir ad tedhem imjahden n Arif, tesmar lbumbat i yiṛremen ney i leswaq. Di Suq Lḥed, d imyaren, imezṛyanen akked tlawin i yemmuten din mačči d imjahden. Tiyita nni tefka-d udem n Fṛansa tikkelt i yas inser lkil. Iḍelli nni kan i tsuy, tlum yef Sbanya i yeseryen iyerman n Arif s lbumbat, ass-a Fṛansa tuy abrid nni n Sbanya, tga akken ney ugar.

Di tallit nni, Fṛansa ur tefra ma ad teg tṛad ameqran mgal Arif, ney ad tesers tifat ad teqbel tagduda n Arif. Si tama nsen, wid iseddun awal di Madrid nitni d Primo de Rivera, ur zṛan amek ad d-seknun Sbanya yer tifat nitni d Abdelkrim ney yer imenyi mgal Abdelkrim. Sbanya tesawal nettat d udabau n Paris s ufus n Sorbier de Pougnaoressa n Quai d'Orsay, tesawal day akked udabu n Lyautey i yellan di Meṛṛuk. Yiwet tmurt, sin wudmawen. Di tallit nni, Irifiyen wḍen yer tewwura n Taza.

Di tallit deg ifesyane n Ifṛansiye n ur fran ma ad ffyen si Taza, ad ḡḡen Irifiyen ad d-kecmen tiyremt, akken nitni ad sduklen tazmert yellan i wefrag n Fes, taggara ifra-yasen-tt-id jiniral Lyautey, inna-yasen: «Ad neqqim di Taza. Akken tella tegnitt ad as-neddu. Ma neffey si Taza, Imeṛṛukiye n ad ay-d-zren d tarewla i nerwel. Ma nerwel d nnger n Fṛansa di tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Nniy-awen ur nteg am akken tga Sbanya di Anwal. Ad neṭṭef ayen wumi nezmer skud ad d-nesdukkel tazmert tameqran i nesuter.

Tayuga i tṛad: jiniṛal Lyautey akked Mulay Yusef.

Tazmert i yegguni Lyautey ur tella d tazmert n ubarud d wuzzal. Tazmert tameqrant i yesarem ad teg afrag i tikli n yemjahden n Arif d tazmert n Leqran d tṣurtin, d afus ugellid Mulay Yusef i yellan imir di tiyremt n Rbaṭ.

Lyautey ifhem-as i tikli n Muḥend Abdelkrim. Irifiyen teddun skaren times n tnekra di yal iyrem; teddun slalayan-d imjahden irennun tazmert i Ripublik nsen. Anda wḍen ad yimḡur wegraw i twizi tameqrant. Lyautey ifra ad yerḡ tiwizi nni n Abdelkrim. Ad tt-iskuffer s ubeṛnus n Mulay Yusef.

Mi yesemyer lâeskeṛ ad ifergen tiwwura n Taza akked Fes, Lyautey iyra-yas i Mulay Yusef ad d-yas yer Fes, ad iqqim din, di tiyremt nni anda i yeyra i Fṛansa gma-s, Mulay Abdelḥafid, di 1911, akken ad d-tekcem si lezzayer, d afrag fell-as.

Lyautey ira ad d-ḡren Imerṛukiyen agellid Mulay Yusef di Fes anda akken ira ad d-ikcem Muḥend Abdelkrim i wass n laâid tameqrant di yulyu 1925.

Akken ad yernu ad yerṣu tuḡḡal Mulay Yusef di tṛad-is mgal Abdelkrim, iseker-d azal n 6000 n lâeskeṛ Imerṛukiyen si teqbilin yellan akkin deg uzaḡar. Yusef ifka-d Imerṛikiyen nni akken ad myenḡen nitni d yemjahden n Ripublik. Ur teqqim din; aqerṛu n lâeskeṛ nni d yiwen seg watmaten n Mulay Yusef.

D taḥilett nni n Lyautey i yesfeclen tikli n Irifiyen deg webrid nsen, si Ajdir ar Taza d Fes, syen d abrid ar Agadir.

Urar ugellid d urar n tḥila n war isem. Ass-mi d-iweḡ yer Fes, awal-is isekcem aferfud di tmurt. Inna yas di tebratt i yura i teqbilin neḡ ayen yenna s timmad-is i wid d-yusan ad t-ḡren di Fes di tḡallit n laâid tameqrant, deg wass n 4 yulyu 1925 :

«...Inna-d Nnbi Muḥemmed “wid i d-irnan cwal anda yefra cwal ad kecmen ḡahennama”[...] deg imenḡi n wass-a yella ger “lḡuhala n Rif” mgal wid d-ikkren d afrag ḡef tmurt, deg ubrid n yiseḡ d webrid n Rēbbi akken ad jebren tamurt nneḡ di tliṣa n lḡerḡma-s...ur illa ccek, azekka kan ad d -yaweq wass, ma irad Rēbbi, deg ad negren wid d-ikecmen tamurt nneḡ...teḡram akk talwit d lehna i tesnerna tgelda n lejdud nneḡ si leqrun d leqrun di tmurt n Meḡḡruk, asnerni n lxiḡ d lbaḡaka...»¹⁵⁵.

Awal n Mulay Yusef ifra. I netta, Imnekcem mačči d Fḡansa. I Mulay Yusef, imnekcem d «lḡuhala n Rif»!

Tḡad yellan ger Fḡansa akked yemjahden n Meḡḡruk i d-iffyeni si Arif, ibeddel udem. Lyautey iga yas udem amaynut: d tḡad ger Imeḡḡrukiyen ugellid akked Imeḡḡrukiyen «lḡuhala n Arif». Lyautey yerwi tisḡar anda ur ferrunt. Di teqbilin yellan akkin deg uzayar, kkren-d yemdanen, s neyya nsen, ad qablen icenga n ddin n lislam, ad qablen «lḡuhala n Rif»!

Talast nni n wuzzal d ubaḡud akked tḡila i d-tesbedd Fḡansa ger Taza akked Fes tesengugi tazmert n Ripublik. Anda nwan ad zegren deg wubrid nsen si tiḡremt ḡer tiḡremt, yerra-ten-id ugadir amaynut, agadir n wuzzal n Fḡansa akked teqbilin imalen ḡer ugellid Mulay Yusef. Deg waguren nni n ḡect 1925, imjahden tḡḡfen tiḡaltin nnig Taza, gunin ass-is, times tekker si tama nniḡen, si tama n Wezzan.

¹⁵⁵ « Les hordes de l’agitateur Rifain ont trouvé devant elles les vaillantes troupes qui défendent l’intégrité de notre empire... Vous ne tarderez pas à apprendre, s’il plait à Dieu, le succès total qui viendra couronner leurs valeureux efforts, infligeant à l’envahisseur le châtimeut qu’il mérite... ». (La guerre du Rif, V. Courcelle-Labrousse, N. Marmié, p. 229).

Maréchal Pétain ikcem annar

Maréchal Pétain yusa-d di tazwara deg wass n 17-07-1925. Yusa-d ad yeg tuttra (l'enquête). Ifka-t-id si Paris uselway n Fṛansa, Président Pain Levé, akken ad iheggi tisin n jiniral Naulin yer Meṛṛuk, d ameqran n lâeskeṛ.

Di tidett, fkan-d Pétain akken ad kksen ṛṛay i jiniṛal Lyautey, akk ad zren udem n tṛad s tiṭ nsen nitni mačči s tiṭ n Lyautey i yasen isuturen yal ass ad as d-rnun lâeskeṛ ugar.

Gas di Madrid inti wawal amek ad as-ddun, Fṛansa akked Sbanya, i temsalt n Arif, ur d-ilul kra seg tɣimit nni nsen. Si tama ufella d tiɣimit i tifrat, si tama wadda ur izra yiwen anda tesaweḍ. Udem-is n tidett iban-d mi yemlal j Maréchal Pétain akked Primo de Rivera n Sbanya di Algesiras, syen yenti ubaṛud si yal tama deg wass n 9 ctamber 1925. «Tifrat n talwit» taggara tefra d tifrat n tṛad mgal tamurt n Arif.

Fṛansa teseɣli-d Sbanya yer tɣimit akken ad as-dduklen i Abdelkrim, Fṛansa si tama n wanḥul, Sbanya si tama n ugafa, ad d-gren adrar n Arif di tneemast. Gas fran di sin, d tifrat n iqemmaṛen, yal yiwen d urar n tkerkas-is akken ad as-ikellex i wexšim-is.

Tamuyli n Fṛansa tefra: tugad, ma yesemyer Muḥend Abdelkrim, yettṛef akk Arif; izmer ad isihrew akken ad yeg ripublik tameqrant si Ajdir ar Agadir. D isalan nni i yewḍen jiniṛal Lyautey. Sbanya si tama-s, aɣilif ixulef. Si 1921 armi d 1925 tečča tiyita deffir tayed seg ufus n Irifiyen. Ass-a tesdukkel lâeskeṛ deffir ugadir n wuzzal zdat tiyremtin i tella tetṛef-itent, si Tiṭwan armi d Mellila. Teqqim din. Asirem-is ameqran ad tekcem tamurt n Lḥusima, zdat Ajdir,

akken ad tesdukkel "tamurt-is" si Mellila ar Sebta. Di tama nniḍen, Sbanya ur tra ad telli tawwurt i lâeskeḥ n Fṛansa akken ad kecmen "tamurt n Sbanya" di Meṛṛuk, tamurt nni i yasen tefka tejmaât n tmura di tifat n Algesiras di 1906.

Tifat nni n Fṛansa akked Sbanya, d yiwet tifat, sin iberdan.

Gas yal yiwen yundi-tt, taggara yugar i ten-isduklen i ten-ibḍan. Deg wass-is sekren abaṛud, Fṛansa si tama n Taza d Wezzan d abrid yer iyallen n Arif, Sbanya tesdukl-d timrawin ibabuṛen-is akked wid n Fṛansa, tkecm-d Lḥusima. Nnig 300000 n lâeskeḥ i yas izzin i wedrar n Arif, yal uzzal yedda, aḥal d ccaḥ Renault, d imrad imeqranen n 150mm, d timesrufag i d-ismaren nnig 200000 kg n lbumbat nsent. Times n tmurt terna-yas times d-iyellin seg igenni. Irifiyen teddun d anejli yer tama ufella, akkin yer tdarit deg idurar ur tewiḍ tmes.

Anda wḍen iserdas n Fṛansa ad sbedden lqeyyad nni i tekkes Ripublik n Arif. Win iṭṭfen seg-sen amkan-is, syen ad iserwet deg watmaten-is. Deg At Zerwal, Abdeṛeḥman Deṛqawi yuḃal yer tqubbett-is deg Amejjuḍ, taqubbett nni i seryen at tmurt-is deg waguren nni yezrin.

Taḥilett n Fṛansa d tameqrant akken ad kellxen i yat Arif. Anda wḍen ad salin lqayed nni deg ijufaḥ nsen s yisem n ugellid Mulay Yusef. Si tama ufella, Mačči d nitni i yesbedden lqayed, d Mulay Yusef!

Tikli nni n Fṛansa tesekcem ayilif di tmurt. Fṛansa i d -yusan si akkin i yilel, si akkin i tliṣa n tmurt, tuḃal d taâkkazt ugellid Yusef mgal imjahden n Arif.

Sbanya tkecm-d tazayart n Lḥusuḣima syen d abrid yer Ajdir. Ur tella din tezmert tameqrant n Irifiyen. Deg wess n 2 di tuber 1925

kulunil Vera yekcem El Maḥekma/La Cantina, tazeqqa n Ripublik, anda yella lbiru ilem n Muḥend Abdelkrim.

Ayen wuyur tesarem Sbanya tewḍ-it, tekcem Lḥusima, amkan nni yer tesarem aḥal iseggasen aya. Mi tekcem, tga afrag ameqran akken ad teṛsu tilisa, ad tesimyer «tamurt-is».

D igenni i yas d-igan talast i tikli nni n Fṛansa. Deg wussan imezwura n tuber neylen-d iḥemmalen n waman, isaffen skefkufen, iberdan yellan uyalen d aluḍ, tiqentyaṛ yellan igla-tent uḥemmal. Lâeskeṛ nni iteddun yer Tizi Wezli, Kifan ney Bu Rḩekba rnan ylin di txennaqt n Arif. Anda tella terbaât n lâeskeṛ tettwaâzel, syen ad as-zzin Irifiyen am tzizwa. Wid nni iteddun iḍelli ad snegren tamurt, ass-a tuyal-d yer iqeṛra-nsen. Tasuddest n Maréchal Pétain teffey-as tezleg. Netta inwa ad isenger Ripublik di kra wussan, ad d-icudd Abdelkrim am yiyid, taggara mačči akken ira i teffey.

Gas jiniṛal Lyautey yeffey tamurt yezzi akkin yer Fṛansa, Pétain ikcem amkan-is, tikli n thila n Fṛansa yiwet. Si tama wadda d nitni, si tin ufella d agellid Mulay Yusef i seqdacen. I yat tmurt, sbedden-t d amextaf akken ad gen tṛad s yisem-is, netta yefka azuṛeṛ, isarem di Fṛansa ad tesimyer tagelda-s. Inna-yas Yusef i Maréchal Pétain yeṛ Muḥend Abdelkrim : «Ur riṛ ad qqimey i wawal akked Abdelkrim; sarmey ad tekksem amnafeq nni si tmurt n Meṛṛuk»¹⁵⁶.

Awal n Yusef ifra. D win n wass-a, d win n iḍelli mi yezwar d netta d acengu uqsiḥ n Abdelkrim si 1919 nni. Ass-mi d-wḍen

¹⁵⁶ «Ur riṛ ad i-yi-icrek wawal nekk d Abdelkrim. Sarmey ad tesnegrem azaṛ n imenfi nni si tmurt n Meṛṛuk / « Je ne veux pas traiter avec Abdelkrim, j'espère que vous débarrasserez le Maroc de ce rebelle» (Mulay Yusef, 1925). (Courcelle-Labrousse et al. p. 271)

yemjahden ḡer tewwurt n Taza, Lyautey yuzzel ḡer Ṛbaṭ, yewwi-
t-id akken ad d-isker imezday ad gen afrag i tikli n Irifiyen. Awal
nni n "Iḡuhala n Rif" deg yimi n Mulay Yusef idda ḡef uḡaṛ. I
Mulay Yusef, «*wid d-ikecmen tamurt nneḡ*», d Irifiyen! Mačči d
lâeskeḡ n Fṛansa i d-yusa si tmurt n Uṛupa!

16. Escadrille La Fayette, Escadrille Chérifienne

Timesrufag n Mulay Yusef

Di tṛad n 1914-1918, tamurt n Marikan ur tekciṃ annar imenṽi i yellan ger timura n Uṛupa mgal Lalman. Ɠas tamurt ur tella di tṛad, usan-d Imarikaniyen akken ad fken tayett i Ƒransa. Usan-d akken ad rren lxiṛ i yasen iga La Fayette¹⁵⁷ di tṛad nni nsen mgal Legliz. Ger wid nni i d-yusan llan wid yellan sedduyen timesrufag n tṛad (pilotes de chasse). Di 1916 i d-tlul terbaât “Corps d’aviation La Fayette”. Tarbâat nni tennuy di yal imenṽi mgal Lalman. Ger 209 yergazen nni yellan di terbaât, amur ameqran mmuten, llan wid d-igran.

Mi yekker tṛad n Arif, Ƒransa¹⁵⁸ tesuter-asen i wid nni d-igran akken ad rnun di lxiṛ nsen, ad nnayen i wudem n Ƒransa di tṛad n Arif. Tikli n Ƒransa tella di sin iberdan : ad tewwet ad d tesgri arraw-is i d-iġġa d imedduren tṛad ameqran n 14-18, ad tewwet ad teg tṛad n Arif s idammen n wiyaḍ. Aguren nni kan imezwura deg ikker tṛad n Arif, timesrufag i tekfa ƽer imenṽi isery-iten-d ṛsaṣ n Irifiyen. Azal n 20 deg-sent i d-iwḍen akal. Am tmesrufag n Ƒransa am tid n Sbanya, ur zdiṽent igenni n Arif. Lmatrayuz n Irifiyen tesaweḍ tamegra-s n ṛsaṣ.

Di 1925 usan-d 16 Imarikaniyen nni ƽer Meṛṛuk, gar-asen 9 ifesyannen¹⁵⁹ akked 7 adda-ifesyannen¹⁶⁰. Amezwaru deg-sen d

¹⁵⁷ Gilbert du Motier de la Fayette (1757-1834) d jiniral n Fransa; yennuy mgal Legliz, si tama n Imarikaniyen, di tṛad nni n 1775-1783 (guerre d’indépendance des Etats-Unis d’Amérique).

¹⁵⁸ Archives du service historique de la Défense, département armée de Terre et département armée de l’Air (France).

¹⁵⁹ Kulunil Charles Sweeny, kulunil Charles Kerwood, lqebtan William Rodgers, major Charles Craig, lqebtan Paul rockwell, major Austin Gillette Parker (n twacult itwassnen : Gillette Corp.USA), major paul Baer, major Granville Pollock, ... Amur ameqran mačči d adrim i ten-id iwwin ƽer tṛad n

kulunil Charles Sweeney, d netta i yemlalen akked uselway n Fṛansa, Président Pain Levé akked awzir Aristide Briand. Deg wass n 10 yulyu 1925 i yewweḍ tiligram i Lyautey yef tlatit n terbaât tamaynut la Fayette. Tama n Imarikaniyen nni, ddan sin imyura deg yeḡmisen (journaliste) akken ad gen adellel¹⁶¹ i Fṛansa akked Marikan.

Akken ad tesinef tuzzma izemren ad d-tlal yer zdat si tama n Marikan¹⁶², Fṛansa tufa-d taḥilett: tarbaât n tmesrufag, escadrille nni ur tettili s yisem n La Fayette. Ad tili s yisem «Escadrille chérifienne», s yisem ugellid Mulay Yusef. Tamsalt tseggem nnig useggem: timesrufag n Fṛansa, llant ger ifassen Imarikaniyen, ad stuttint lbumbat yef Irifiyen, deg wakal n Meṛṛuk, s yisem ugellid n Meṛṛuk!

Agellid Mulay Yusef ibub taḥilett nni n Fṛansa. I netta di tazwara, d Arifi i d acengu ameqran.

Tamuyli n Fṛansa terna tardast yer zdat: ma yeffey wawal di Marikan s wayen gan Imarikaniyen nni di tṛad n Arif, d isey ameqran, at Marikan ad milen yer tama n Fṛansa. Tuddsa n Fṛansa d tiḥerçi n izirdi: ad tewwet s ufus n Imarikaniyen, ad tesfeḍ tiyita yer ubernus ugellid Mulay Yusef, ad tcuff aqendur i Marikan!

Tarbaât «Escadrille chérifienne» ters deg wakal n Meṛṛuk di yeçt 1925. Llant deg-s 7 tmesrufag Breguet 19. Mi rsent, yuy lḥal Irifiyen seḡlin-d s Imatrayuzat nsen nnig 20 tmesrufag n Fṛansa.

Arif, d tariḥt ubarud, zun d urar mi d-seḡlayen iqenṭaren n lbumbat yef iḡerman n Arif.

¹⁶⁰ Adda-afesyan : Sous-officier.

¹⁶¹ Adellel n Fṛansa akked Marikan : Propagande « profrançaise » et « proaméricaine ». (adellel = publicité, propagande)

¹⁶² Aselway n Tmura Idduklen n Marikan (USA) imir nni yella d President Calvin Coolidge.



Breguet 19.

Ger yeçt 1925 d nunamber 1925, tarbaât nni teffey azal n 350 tikkal; tekfa azal n 40 ẗun n lbumbat yeḥ iyerman akked imjahden n Arif; tessery aḥal d iyrem n wedrar n Arif.

Awal iffey. Taggara Marikan nni ur iqbil ayen illan, ur iqbil ayen iḍerḥrun yeḥ yisem-is deg idurar n Arif, di tmurt n Meḥḥruk. Deg wass n 15 dujamber 1925, US Department of State n Marikan, s tiyri n wewzir Frank Kellog, isuter di Fḥansa ad tekkes tarbaât nni n «Escadrille Lafayette». D Maréchal Pétain¹⁶³ akked kulunil Armangaud, ameqran n lâeskeḥ igenni n Fḥansa (commandant du 37eme régiment d'aviation), i yeḥfran tadyant nni n «Escadrille chérifienne». Kksen tarbaât nni, ḥḥzan laâqed nni n 3 iseggasen i stenyan yid-sen. Tefra tedyant n Charles Sweeney. Wid d-igran deg-sen ddren, uyalen yeḥ Paris.

¹⁶³ Awal aneggaru n Philippe Pétain fell-assen :“tarbaât yufraren i yellan deg-ufus n kulunil Sweeney, yeḥ tama-s ifesyenen d wawal, am kervood, Parker, Pollock, ...usan-d, fkan iqerra nsen yeḥ tmurt n Fḥansa, kecmen di ḥḥrad n Meḥḥruk akken ad ilin tama n imeddukul nsen d watmaten nsen i ten isdukklen di ḥḥrad Ameqran. D tarbaât ifazen, ur ugaden lmut, ur uyalen yeḥ deffir, uffgen yal ass deg igenni, d tafukt ney d asigna, ddan akken ad d-awin isalan, ad gren tiḥ, ad wten s lbumbat di yal amkan i yasen nemla. Di 6 imalasen (smanat), ffyeḥ nnig 350 tikkal, fkan nnig 400 iqenḥaren n lbumbat».

Tadyant n «Escadrille Chérifienne» tedda deg webrid nni n 1911 ass-mi yeyra ugellid Mulay Abdelḥafiḍ i Fṛansa akken ad d-tekcem ad tḥareb fell-as, ad teg afrag mgal imesdurar i yezzin i Fes. Akken iga Abdelḥafiḍ afrag γef tiyremt n Fes i yefka afus, yelli tawwurt tameqrant n tmurt n Meṛṛuk i Fṛansa akken ad d-tekcem. Laâṛ nni amezwaru, isawal i laâṛ simal γer zdat. Imarikaniyen nni isedduyen timesrufag Breguet 19, wid i yefkan lbumbat akked times γef yemjahden d iγerman n Arif, Isan taselsa ugellid¹⁶⁴ n Meṛṛuk, uγen tadrimt nsen seg uγus ugellid. Timesrufag nni, Breguet 19, sebyent s uzegza d uzeggay n usenjaq¹⁶⁵ n Meṛṛuk.

¹⁶⁴ «Agellid n Meṛṛuk yufa-yasen-d taselsa ilaqen i Imarikaniyen nni, yerna ixelleṣ tiram n terbaât nni» (« Le sultan du Maroc procura des uniformes aux américains et solda également les personnels de l'escadrille...»). (op. cit)

¹⁶⁵ Asenjaq = takbabt = taâllamt (français = drapeau)

Tṛad ubarud... tṛad n tḥila

Di tegrest n 1925 tṛad ibeddel udem. Sbanya i d-ikecmen akal n Arif seg yilel, teṭṭef Lḥuṣima, teqqim di teḥdert nni n wakal i d-tḥella, tegguma ad teddu d Fṛansa akken ad kecmen tanemmast n Arif, ad seylin Abdelkrim. Si tama-s, Fṛansa tenta deg walud n isaffen d iyezran n Arif. Tikli nni tameqrant i d-ihegga Maréchal Pétain ur tewwiḍ anda i yesarem. Di yal amkan, wid iaâzlen negren, wid d-isnesren uyalen-d yer deffir akken ad netlen i ubarud n yemjahden. D tamara, Pétain¹⁶⁶ ifra ad isegger tṛad, ad iggani ad tezri tegrest, ad d-taweḍ tefsut 1926.

Illa deg wawal, illa tṛad aḥmayan, illa tṛad asemmaḍ. Mi susmen ibeckiden d yimrad n Fṛansa, kecmen annar ifesyane n «Bureaux des affaires indigènes». Anda ur d-iwwi ubarud, ad d-yawi wawal n tiḥerçi d tixubbta. Di yal taqbilt yellan yer tama n tmurt tewed Fṛansa, yekker tṛad n wawal ger imjahden n Ripublik akked ifesyane n Fṛansa, iqeddacen nsen ney ixuniyen n ugellid Mulay Yusef. Awal ibḍa ger wid isakayen tamurt akken ad bnun tagduda tamaziyt, Ripublik n Arif, akked d wid d-iskecmen ddin d tineslemt akken ad milen medden yer ugellid Yusef. Si tama-ya d awal n takayt i tmeddurt tamaynut i twizi tameqrant, si tama-yen d tiḥila s wayen isderiyilen imdanen, «inna-d Rebbi!». Mulay Yusef isrekc-d ayen yellan d iqeddacen-is akked d curafa n Fes. Ifra ayen ur tezmir Fṛansa ad teg. Yusef ifra ad as-yeg

¹⁶⁶ Awal n Maréchal Pétain yef tṛad nni amezwaru : «Nufa-d iman-nney zdat tmurt akk tekker mgal Fṛansa, mačči d lâesker nni n Republiik i nufa zdat nney, d imezday n tmurt s ibeckiden» /...nous nous trouvons donc placés en présence, non plus d'une armée rifaine régulière, mais en face du Maroc septentrional révolté, et la nécessité s'impose de reconquérir, sans base de départ assurée, toute la région dissidente ou insurgée... C'est tout un peuple qui est soulevé, dirigé contre nous, et dont les habitants armés participent à la lutte ». (Le commandement militaire français et ses réactions vis-à-vis du mouvement rifain, Actes du Colloque, 197, p. 116)

asyax seg wadda. I Mulay Yusef, imnekcem mačči d Fṛansa i d-izegren ilel; i netta, imnekcem d Irifiyen nni i yekkren ad kksen tabarda n Fṛansa akked Sbanya yef tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Yuḡal uqelmun yer iḡarṛen!

Yal taḥilett wten-yis akken ad bḡun tanekra n Arif. I ljebliyen nnan-asen nitni mačči d Irifiyen, ilaq-asen ur teddun d Irifiyen; i At Zerwal nnan-asen kenwi mačči d Irifiyen, ur ken icrik webrid akked Irifiyen, i Iṣenḡaḡen, At Ibernas (Branes) neḡ At Tsul nnan-asen akken nniḡen. Urrar nsen iban am azal, anda ur ičča wawal, kecmen yedrimen akken ad aḡen irgazen. Di yal tiḡremt i tetṡef Fṛansa terra-d yer tnemmast wid akk srewlen yemjahden, lqeyyad nni yeččan tamurt, am lqayed Amerḡ Ḥmidu di teqbilt Imeḡnisen. Fṛansa terra-yasen ibernas nsen akken ad srewten ugar deg watmaten-nsen... s yisem d Ibaṛaka n ugellid Mulay Yusef, akked Fṛansa.

Fṛansa tessan tamurt, ur teqqim di tṛad tardast tardast s lâesker-is. Di yal taqbilt tufa wid ad teseqdec akken ad nḡen atmaten nsen. Deg At Ibernas, Igeznayen neḡ At Bu Yaḡi, Fṛansa tesuli lḡerkat i yelsan, yeččan, irefden ibeckidḡen n Fṛansa, seḡlin-d tagut yef tmurt. Di tegrest n 1925, imenḡi ur insa yal ass nitni d yemjahden n Arif. Tuḡal-asen d timsizzelt anwa ad yetṡfen d amezwaru tiḡremt neḡ taqbilt.

17. Tagduda Tamaziyt n Arif

Talalit n tagduda n tmurt n Arif, aḥar-is yuy-d si leqrun imezwura. Ass-mi d-tekcem Sbanya tiyremtin nni n Sebta akked Mellila di 1415 d 1497, imeniyen llan yal ass, yal aseggas nitni d At Arif. Di yal iyrem, d tiwizi i tyita s ubarud yer ugadir n Sebta ney n Mellila. Imeniyen nni imeqranen ittwassnen llan-d ger 1863 d 1898. Di yal tallit, berḥa n wussan n tkerza ney n tmegra, ad dduklen Irifiyen d tiwizi akken «ad wten Aṣebenyul». D tabzert i tyita. Yal iyrem ad d-yefk irgazen ad iwten acengu. Mi smaren agrab n waldun nsen, ad uyalen yer tfellaḥt nsen. D nnuba n tiyremt nniḍen.

Di 1920, mi ulin yemjahden n At Waryayen akked At Tuzin yer wedrar n Lqama akken ad gen din afrag i tikli n lâeskeḥ n jiniḥal Sylvestre, akken ur d-keccmen tamurt n Arif si Mellila, ur illa ufesyan, ney amḥay ibedden nnig yemjahden nni imezwura akken ad sen yini anda ad wten, ayen ilaq ad wten. Imjahden nni d lâeskeḥ n war jiniḥal, ney d aqdeḥ n war ameksa. Yal amjahed n teqbilt ad yay kan awal i wemyar n teqbilt-is, yella yessen ney ur issin i temsal n imeniyi.

Di tallit deg d-yuzen ugellid n Fes imnayen-is yer Arif akken ad wten abarud ula d nitni, ur keccmen di ḥḥay i tyita. Mi wten ayen d-win d abarud d waldun, ad zzin yer wemkan nsen. Am zun d lwaâda i fkan i ugadir n weḥru n Mellila ney n Sebta.

Di yunyu 1920, mi tuli terbaât nni tamezwarut n At Waryayen si Ajdir yer wedrar n Lqama, deffir lqayed Abdelkrim n At Xetṭab n At Yusef U Aâli, baba-s n Muḥend, d tarbaât nsen kan i yellan. Mi rnant teqbilin nniḍen, At Tuzin akked At Timsaman, At Bu Yaḥi akked d lbeqqiwen, yal yiwet tuy amkan-is i taâssast, s

yergazen-is, s ubarud-is d waâwin-is. Di yal taqbilt, ur illa udabu idduklen. Win iran ad yuḡal ḡer wexxam-is ad yuḡal. Yal yiwen s nneya-s. Di Lqama, yal ass rennun-d yemjahden, yal ass teffyen akkin wid itezzin ḡer taddart nsen d warraw nsen. Wid d-ittasen ur fran d wid iteffyen akken ad iqqim wemkan s wayen i yas ilaqen n yergazen i taâssast. Muḥend tuḡ-it din, izer s tiḡ-is ayen akk iḡerḡun. D suq!

Mi yemmut lqaḡi Abdelkrim, yenḡel deg Ajdir, d Muḥend i yuḡalen s ubeckid ḡer Lqama di taggara n 1920, akken ad ibedd deg wemkan n baba-s, d aqerḡu n yemjahden n At Waryayen.

Mi yella d lqaḡi di Mellila, Muḥend iger tamawt amek tella tuddsa n tmurt n Sbanya. Di temsalt n lâeskeḡ izer talast yellan ger wid n Sbanya akken wid n tmurt-is. Di lqama, ifra d yiman-is, ifra-tent deg wallaḡ-is. Akken At Arif a nnayen Sbanya, tlaq-asen tuddsa am tin n Sbanya neḡ ugar.

Deg waguren nni n taâssast di Lqama, Muḥend izḡa imḡi n tuddsa tamaynut, tuddsa ur ssinen si zik nsen Irifiyen.

Ḥas ur illa deg umkan nni deg wass n 1 yunyu 1921, ass deg tekker tiyita tamezwarut n tiḡilt Ubeḡḡan, d netta i yefkan taḡkizt i tuddsa i yesbedd ussan-nni imezwura. Irifiyen ḡran s waḡḡawen-nsen ayen zemren ad t-gen ma dduklen. Tiyita n Anwal ḡer zdat, di 21 yulyu 1921, terna taseddaḡt ugar i tuddsa n Muḥend Abdelkrim.

Ḥas di tneemast n ḡrad, idda-yas Muḥend i tuddsa n tnekra am win isafayen s uḡerbal. Si tama ufella uḡerbal yella yidles Amaziy, idles n Sbanya i yelmed di Mellila akked yidles n umezruy n tmura tinselmin. Iwet Muḥend ad isezri deg uḡerbal nni ayen inwa yelha si tama-ya neḡ si tama-yen.

Tigejda n tuddsa llant, ddrent, zemrent ad beddent ad rnut ad beddent i leqrun yer zdat: d tiqbilin n tmurt n Arif, yal yiwet s tlisa-s, s tuddsa-s, s uqanun-is di yal tamsalt. At Waryayen, Imtallsen, At Zerwal, At Bu Yaḥi... zdan tamurt seg yixef ar yixef, si Tanja ar Tawrirt akkin alamma d tilisa n Lezzayer. Taqbilt, tiyremt, tawacult, d tigejda n tmeddurt n tmurt, d icuddan isdukklen imdanen di tudert, di tmettant, di tmegra akked tṛad si leqrun d leqrun izran.

Amdan ur izmir ad ibnu kra seg ulac ney seg waḍu kan. Akken ad ibnu ayen ad ibedden, ilaq-as ad d-yaf isufar s wayes ad isali taseddart ar tseddart alamma yuli ugadir. Isufar nni, amdan ad izwir ad ten yaf din kan, anda ira ad yali ugadir nni. Akken i yas-iga Muḥend Abdelkrim. Tamurt n Arif tenti si teqbilt n At Waryayen, taqbilt deg d-ilul, tin ibedden d afrag aḥal n leqrun zdat Sbanya akken ur d-tkeccem tamurt si tzayart n Lḥuṣima, aagemmad i wezru n Nekkuṛ. Aḗru nni n Nekkuṛ yeqqim-asen i yat Waryayen d timmist yef yiyes deg wammas si leqrun imezwura. Si tama nsen, lṣebenyulen yal ass saramen ad zegren snat tsuraf nni n waman akken ad kecmen akal n Arif am akken t-kecmen di Sebta akked Mellila. D asirem n teryel.

Mi sulin tajmaât tamezwarut n lâesker¹⁶⁷ di Lqama, ufan ur illa webrid nniḍen ma sarmen ad gen afrag i Sbanya akken ad teqqim tmurt n Arif d tlellit. Tajmaât nni ur tella d tin n wass kan ney n waguren. Ilaq-as «ad teqqim, ad tennerni i iseggasen d-iteddun yer zdat». Deg ugraw nni, ifra-yasen awal Muḥend amek ad teddukel tcemlit. Deg waguren nni iga yas abrid i tuddsa: yal taqbilt s nuba-s, aḥal n yergazen, aḥal ad qqimen

¹⁶⁷ Tajmaât n lâesker n Arif: «Commandement unifié des tribus rifaines »

din syen ad uḡalen ḡer tfellaḡt nsen, asdukkel n ubaḡud d waldun, asdukkel n lmatrayuzat yellan. Tamsalt tameqrant i yesdekwalen uḡar wid yellan din di Lqama d aselmed nni n tḡad¹⁶⁸ i yesbedd Muḥend Abdelkrim di tazwara. Ilmend ad qqimen yemjahden keblen di tqeccuba nsen, afus ḡef znad si yal tama, yufa-yasen-d tafellaḡt tamaynut: almad n imenḡi.

Ger yemjahden nni imezwura, llan wid yessnen i tḡad, d wid yellan di tazwara d iserdasen n Sbanya (regulares) neḡ d imjahden yennuḡen mgal Sbanya di tnekriwin timezwura n Muḥend Ameḡyan n At Bu Yifzur. Muḥend Abdelkrim yufa-d segsen iselmaden yessnen wid iran ad snernin tamussni i watmaten nsen. Di kra wussan tendeh di Lqama. Wid yellan di nnuba n taâssast tfen imekwan nsen, wiyad d almad yal ass, d aneggez, d tikli d idurra, d tikli ḡer zdat yiwet yiwet, d antal, d taḡuzi n tesrafin i yal yiwen akken ad iṡṡef adar. Seg ifellaḡen n war tamussni, Muḥend akked ifesyane n iselmaden snulfan-d iserdasen imezwura n Arif!

Di taggara n 1920 di Lqama, tlul-d lkaziḡna tamezwarut n lâeskeḡ n Republik n Arif, ḡas imir ur illa wawal nni n «Republik».

Mi llant ḡḡant tuḡḡal n tuḡḡsa n lâeskeḡ n Arif i tekkeḡ tyita n Ubeḡḡan akked tedyant n Anwal di yulyu 1921. Tuḡḡsa nni tamaynut tefka-d udem-is, tesaweḡ abrid-is, tesengeḡ tuḡḡsa n lâeskeḡ n Sbanya. Imjahden ḡran zdat wallen nsen nnger n lâeskeḡ n Sylvestre, ḡran lḡebenyulen imudduren d tarewla, d anejli ḡer deffir.

Ur illa din ukukru, Irifiyen umnen s webrid nni i yasen-injeḡ Muḥend Abdelkrim.

¹⁶⁸ Aselmed n tḡad : «entrainement militaire».

Tadyant n Anwal tesazzel ugar asnerni di tuddsa tamaynut n Arif. Di taggara imenḡi, nnig 600 imeḡbas lḡbenyulen i tḡfen Irifiyen; gar-asen yella kulunil Navarro. Ussan nni kan fkan-ten yer Ajdir akked d iḡerman anda netlen.

Imenḡi n Anwal isnulfa-d lḡbs amezwaru di tmurt n Arif.

Tadyant nni deg llin lḡbs i yiserdasen n Sbanya ur teqqim deg iserdasen nni kan. Muḥend Abdelkrim idda-yas si lḡsas akken ad ibeddel tamurt n Arif. Muḥend Abdelkrim isnulfa-d lḡbs¹⁶⁹ i yat tmurt-is, wid iffyen abrid. Lḡbs yella imir d ayen ur ssinen Imaziyen di yal tama n Tmazya, si Agadir ar Tḡables akkin.

Akken ad tbeddel udem tmurt, ilaq-as ad yili ccraâ am akken yella di tmura umaḡal, ad tennerni talwit, ad beddent tliḡsa seg yixef ar yixef n tmurt. D tamsalt tamezwarut i wumi ibedd Muḥend Abdelkrim akken ad idegger akkin tihila n Sbanya i yeskecmen tawekka di tmurt-is.

Si zik n zik tamurt Tamaziyt tebna yef ttaḡ. Win inyan tamgeḡt taggara ad d-tezzi yef uqeḡru-s ney ad iffey tamurt. Talast nni tedda di leqrun imezwura anda d tin i d talast ger yemdanen. Anda tenyel, yella wanda msengarent twaculin ney tiḡremtin, wa yekkat deg wa. Di tmurt n Arif tesekcem Sbanya tawekka-s, tufa iyisi nni yellan, terna tesenteg times s tedrimt akken ad msengaren ugar Irifiyen. Di tallit nni deg yal ass d amerḡzi d ubaḡud gar-asen, Irifiyen ur d-lhan di Sbanya i yasen-d iḡḡan idisan nsen.

Di temsalt n ttaḡ, Muḥend Abdelkrim izwar seg yiman-is. Ass-mi yuḡden baba-s, lqaḡi Abdelkrim, deg wedrar n Lqama, Muḥend

¹⁶⁹ Lḡbs: d awal i d-yusan si taâḡabt n tmurt ; ur illa wawal di Tamaziyt (français = prison, arabe classique = el seḡn)

izra anwa i t-iseččen din armi yemmut kra waguren yer zdat deg Ajdir. Gas izra Muḥend anwa afus i yeseččen baba-s, izra day anwa i d-ifkan lameṛ i ufos nni. Izra d Sbanya i yenyan baba-s mačči d At Arif. Muḥend ur yerra ttaṛ¹⁷⁰ n baba-s deg yiwen Urifi am netta i wumi uraren lṣebenyulen.

Tadyant n ttaṛ, n tmeḡraḡ ger yemdanen, tiwaculin, iderma ney tiqbilin, tella si zik deg idurar n Tmazya. Anda tedyeq tmurt, yiwen ur iteḡḡ di lḥeq-is. Di tmurt n Arif tesemyer armi llan iḡerman anda ur zmiren ad d-ffyen yergazen seg tudrar nsen, seg yexxamen nsen. Yal yiwen ittala-itt i wayeḡ armi ur zmiren yergazen ad gen tafellaḥt nsen, ad kerzen ney ad megren. Llan iḡerman anda d tilawin i yuḡalen deg imukan nsen. Di tallit n 1920, di yal axxam n Arif, illa ucebraw nnig sqef i tyimit n taâssast. Amdan ur nella n twacult ur izmir ad d-iseqreb yer tzeqqa nni.

Tazeqqqa tarifit, am tzeḡwa n tmurt tamaziyt di yal tama, s timmad-is d lberj wumi yezzi ugadir, d afrag n tiddi n sin yergazen ney ugar. Yal tazeqqqa deg-s snat tewwura¹⁷¹, tawwurt

¹⁷⁰ Tadyant n Muḥend Abdelkrim tefka anza i tadyant nni yeḡran di tmurt n Lezzayer, di Michelet di 1944 : “.. Ass-a ihi, ma yella neḡya ad d-neḡyu tamurt n Lezzayer, ilaq di tazwara ad nefru gar-aneḡ. Ma neḡya ad nekkes azaglu n listiaâmeṛ, ad nuḡal am nekwni am leḡnas nniḡen, s leqdeṛ nney, ilaq-aḡ ad nekkes tayennant akked taâdawt yellan gar-aneḡ. Ilaq-aḡ ad d-neḡḡ yiwen wexsim akken ad t-nqabel ! Ma yella ur teddukel tcemlit, ur tferru tameddit ! Aâdaw d-ikecmen tamurt nney, ilaq ad iffey si tmurt nney. Akken dayen ad ters lehna gar-aneḡ, ilaq yal yiwen ad yeḡḡ di lḥeq-is. Ad zwireḡ deg yiman-iw; aqli nek ass-a zdat-wen, gar “*les bulletins*” yaḡi n taddart n Darna deg At Budrar, yella win n mmi-s n win yenyan baba. Atan daḡi zdat-wen, seg wassa-tefra gar-aneḡ ! Aqli zdat-wen d nekk ad ifken tabzert-is!” (Mesaâud At Ammaṛ, lberdan n tissas, ed. Le Pas Sage, Alger, tabtart 44-45).

¹⁷¹ Di tmurt n Tgergert (Djurdjura/Kabylie), di tudrar llant tzeḡwa akked ifergan n at snat tewwura, yiwet tewwurt terra yer wezrib, tis snat terra yer tmazirt, i tuffya yer tebḥirt ney aâfir. Di tṛad n 1954-1962, d ifergan nni n at snat tewwura i fernen yemjahden n ALN akken ad zedyen deg-sen (“axxam n

tameqrant akked tewwurt n inebgi, ixxamen zzin-d i wefrag. Ur illa tṭaq yer webrid ney yer tmazirt. Yal axxam tawwurt-is yer wemraḥ¹⁷², ney afrag. Tazeqqa tarifit d tadarit yef yir timlilit.

Tawekka ikecmen tamurt tusa-d seg wid itessen idammen n ifellaḥen Irifiyen. Tawekka nni ur d-tusa seg lṣebenyulen, tella di tmurt n Arif. D lecyax, imṛabḍen d cuṛafa i d tawekka n tmurt. Di yal tamsalt n imenyi s idammen ger sin yemdanen, snat twaculin ney sin iderma, mi kecmen gar-asen lecyax nni i tifat taggara ur tferru. Di yal asurif, win inyan, ad yefk azal n temgeṛt akken ad tefru. Di tidett, amur ameqran n tedrimt nni ad tt-ččen lecyax nni gar-asen, syen ad d-afen anda ad nebcen akken ixšimen ad nyan yiwen si tama nniḍen. Akken alamma tenger ney tenfa yiwet twacult, lecyax ad zzin yer twacult nniḍen. Ifellaḥen n Arif kerrzen meggren akken ad tečč tarwa nsen, lecyax n Arif fettin tisurṭin n lislam akken ad msengaren yemdanen, nitni ad smeyren tadrimt d tassemt. Llant twaculin deg negren yergazen ney wid d-igran keblen deg yexxamen ur teffyen seg ucebraw. Di 1920, llan iyeraman deg igran d leswaq¹⁷³ aāmṛent-tent tlawin n Arif.

Mi tger Sbanya tucrar-is, tufa tagnitt tenfufed. Sbanya tufa iyisi, terna tger deg-s aseffud yehman i tmes ger Irifiyen. Tasertit nni taberkant n Sbanya iżra-tt Muḥend Abdelkrim, iżra tiḥila nni mi yella d tṛejman di Officinas de indigénas ney mi ibedd d lqaḍi di Mellila.

rifiy"n = refuge). Tawwurt nni tis snat tella i trowla idergen ma yekcem-d lâesker n Fransa seg wezrib n taddart.

¹⁷² Amraḥ = Afrag = Azqaq (français = cour intérieure).

¹⁷³ Di Arif, akken llan leswaq n yergazen i llan leswaq n tlawin.

Tifrat tamenzut gar-aney

Tamsalt n crâa yeqqim-as Muḥend Abdelkrim, yefra-tt deg wussan nni deffir Anwal. Di yall iyrem isbedd, s yisem n Dewla n Ripublik, lqayed n crâa i ferru n tilufa ger yemdanen, si tmezyanin ar timeqranin. Win d-isasen lḥebs i yiman-is ad ittwaqqen din. Aqanun i yesbedd Muḥend Abdelkrim ḡas isem-is "crâa" ur illa d «crâa n ddin n lislam». Amur ameqran n crâa nni yusa-d si lqanun Amaziḡ n teqbilin n Arif, amur si crâa ineslem, amur seg uqanun n Sbanya¹⁷⁴. Muḥend akked imussnawen i t-ibnan sdukklen ayen ilhan si yal tama, ur gan «Eccaḡiyâa ni igezzmen ifassen i yemdanen»!

Tagrawla n Arif yufa-yas abrid Muḥend Abdelkrim, yufa-d awalen i yasen-inna i yemyaren akken awalen nni ad ffyen, ad ddun seg yiḡrem ḡer yiḡrem alamma kecmen yal tazeqqa n tmurt. Inna-yasen: ur nezmir ad nqabel Sbanya ma ur nefra gar-aney di tazwara. Sbanya ikecm-d tamurt acku nebḡa ur neddukel. Ma nesarem ad ndegger Sbanya akkin, iwwi-yay-d di tazwara ad nekkes tayennant yellan gar-aney, ad nekkes idammen nesazzal gar-aney. Aḡan deg-ney i yella, asafar-is deg-ney i yella. Tilufa n tmegraḡ, n tazza n idammmen tesfecl-ay si aḡal n leqrun. Newwet iman-nney, nesenger tamurt nney s ifassen nney. Azekka, ilaq-ay tiḡunam n ibeckiden nney ad rrent ḡer Sbanya maḡḡi ḡer gar-aney. Yal aâbaḡ ad iffyen, ad iffey i nnif n tmurt nney. Win inḡan gma-s ad immet seg ufus n crâa n tejmaât n tmurt n Arif. Ikkes ttaḡ nni i yay isfeclen, i yay isnegren. Tekkes temgallit n wedrum, yal amdan ad iqabel ayen iga netta s timmad-is. Ad awen sutrey ass-a, di yal tazeqqa ad yaweḡ wawal, ad iddu di yal iyrem, ad hudden icebrawen nni i yay

¹⁷⁴ Aqanun n Sbanya : Código Civil Espanol, yura di 1889.

yerran d incenga si tzeqqa yer tayeḍ. Ad hudden icebrawen, ad ikkes uẓar nsen akken ad temyi ad tennerni talwit gar-aney...

D imjahden nni yellan di tyitwin timezwura i yezwaren hudden icebrawen nsen. Ẓran s waṭṭawen nsen tbeddel udem tmurt, ilul-d uzekka amaynut i sarmen, begsen i tudert n tafat, n tegmatt n Arif. Mi ddmn iqubac deg ifassen-nsen hudden 'tixibbutin' nni, ukin-as sarden idammen nni yesswen akal n Arif seg aḥal n temrawin iseggasen.

Awal n tejmaât n Arif ur iqqim d awal kan. Qqimen-as, fran-tt, tamurt n Arif tbeddel udem. Di yal taqbilt d-ikkren, taggara negren icebrawen nni. D tiwizi nni i d taṛkizt n tegrawla n Arif.

Di tallit nni deg iḥma tṛad mgal Sbanya, ur llan ugar wid iffyen abrid¹⁷⁵. Amur ameqran n yemdanen ayilif nsen d tazza deg imenyi yer wayeḍ. Imdanen n Arif gren di tallit deg ttun tilufa nsen nitni, ttun ttaṛ nni yellan gar-asen, ass-a anezgum nsen d tamurt nsen. Tilisa nni zərṛen kan zdat yexxamen nsen d tferkiwin nsen ass-a ffyent akkin i yiyallen, zegrent ansi d-tekka tmurt n Arif, tamurt n Merṛuk si Ajdir ar Agadir akkin ar tiniri.

Di yal taqbilt n Arif illa wayen ilhan, illa wayen ur nelha. Agraw n tagduda n Arif iwet akken ad yesif, ad ifren akken ad ikkes akk ayen ilaqen ad ikkes. Ikkes tiririt n ttaṛ, tagallit n zzuṛ, ihudd

¹⁷⁵ Amaru (secrétaire) n Muḥend Abdelkrim, Muḥammed Beydadi, innayas: «Seg waguren nni imezwura, i yellan di lḥebs ala lâesker n Sbanya ittwaṭṭfen akked wid d-ikkren d ixšimen n Ripublik. Ur llan Irifiyen ittnayen gar-asen».

icebrawen, taggara yerna yegdel takerḍa n tlawin ger iḡerman d teqbilin¹⁷⁶.

Ilmend n tiwizi tameqrant i tṛad, Anabaḍ n Tagduda yekkes timeḡriwin nni timeqranin, si 7 wussan ḡer 3 wussan kan, yekkes imezran iḡezfanen i yergazen n At Waryayen, illa anda yekkes cḡeḡ, tadersit uḡidus gar yergazen akken tilawin. D tallit n tṛad¹⁷⁷, yal axxam deg-s win illan deg imenḡi, ifka aḡerru-s, neḡ yella deg-s win d-immuten seg imenḡi ur kkawen idammen. Ur llan d ussan ubayur, izlan d teḡratin ar yali wass.

Deg ubrid nni n tegrawla, anabaḍ n Arif iḡer tamawt akken ad ikkes ayen yellan d ugur ger imezday n Arif. I Tagduda, yiwet tmurt, yiwen weḡref. Di tazwara kan isuffeḡ-d lameḡ i yeddand leswaq d iḡerman: igdel awalen¹⁷⁸ nni n temḡeqranit i sedduyen yinselman ḡef udayen. Deg uḡanun nni, win d-innan awal nni, llan inigan, ad ikcem lḡebs n Ripublik. I Tagduda n Arif, Udayen d imezday n tmurt si zik n zik, am wid ifṛuḡxen di tmurt si lḡern wis sin am wid i d-yusan si Wandlus ass-mi d-rewlen yinselman. Tagduda n Arif terra-ten ddaw laânaya-s, d Irifiyen am imezday n Arif akken llan.

Ger tfidiwin illan fṛuḡxent di tmurt n Arif, llant Ṭṭariqat neḡ tizawitin i yeḡḍan tamurt di kra n teqbilin, fkant aḡaḡ akkin d wakka si

¹⁷⁶ Di teqbilt Isenḡaḡen, llan wid ittakren tilmeḡyin seg iḡerman imeqranen akken ad uḡalent d tilawin nsen, d taklatin nsen. Argaz yufraren ḡur-sen imir, d win d-iḡellan 5 telmeḡyin icebḡen seg iḡerman nniḡen. Mi d-iffey lameḡ n Tagduda, di yal iḡrem, tilawin nni ffḡent-d seg tizeḡwa deg llant, uḡent imḡahden i fernent nitenti, ger wid yellan ur zwiḡen.

¹⁷⁷ Di tṛad n 1954-1962 di Lezzayer, ALN iḡa am akken gan di Ripublik n Arif. ALN ikkes timezla n laâid, ikkes iḡebbaleḡ, ikkes di tmeyriwin adriz n wuraren d ubayur, tiḡratin d icewwiḡen.

¹⁷⁸ «Uday aâli-h nâal»: d argam s taârabt ḡef Uday ; d argam i-d-yusan si taârabt si mi d-kecmen yinselman tamurt n Tamazḡa, ur illa wawal nni di Tmaziyt ḡas llan Wudayen di tmurt.

ddaw tmurt. Ger tzawitin nni, llant tid yeḥran di tazwara kan anda yella webrid n nnif di tnekra n Arif, kecmnt-d tanemmast n tṛad s lecyax nsent d yergazen nsent. Tazawit¹⁷⁹ tameqrant i d-ikkren d taxsimt d tin n Derqawa di teqbilt Izerwalen. D Fṛansa i yas d-ifkan ibeckiden d ubaṛud i ccix n tzawit nni, Crif Abdeṛreḥman Derqawi, akken ad innay atmaten-is n Arif. Ass-mi wḍen yemjahden yer Amejjuḍ, yerwel akkin i talast yer tama deg tella Fṛansa. Imjahden seryen-as tazawit nni. Amur ameqran n tzawitin i d-ikkren d ixšimen, tusa-d si lecyax (muqeddem) nsent i yenzan seg ufus n Sbanya ney n Fṛansa i yellan si deffir.

Talalit n cṛâa n Ripublik n Arif ibeddel udem n tmurt. Si tama isnulfa-d ayen ur nella si zik, isnulfa-d lḥebs anda ad twarzen yemdanen iffyen abrid, si tama nniḍen yekkes awal i wid nni i tent iferrun, i tent idellun. Cuṛafa nni, Imṛabḍen nni i yellan teddun si teyremt yer tayed akken ad frun timsal ger medden tetwakkas-asen tfellaḥt nsen, itwakkas-asen umur n lberḥan nni nsen. Di kra waguren, uyalen d imdanen am at tmurt nsen, rsend d seg igenni yer tmurt. Gas gar-asen llan s tidett wid i tent iferrun s wul d neyya, ma d amur ameqran seg-sen d nitni i tent-icuddun akken yal tikkelt ad d-asen, si tama nniḍen ad tent-frun ad rnun tadrimt. D tafellaḥt taberkant s tedrimt akked idammen n watmaten nsen, ifellaḥen nni n at tfexsa ččuṛent d akal. Di temsal n tmegraḍ, ma ḡlin yergazen, ur tferru di temrawin iseggasen. Si yal tama irgazen ad yellin, si ddaw tcuddun fessin tiyersi wid i yasen-d-iqqimen agemmaḍ. Llant twaculin inegren ney infan si

¹⁷⁹ Tazawit (tizawitin) : tazeqqa anda tella deg-s tamesgida, lemden leqran imezyanen, terna tesdukel imdanen deg yiwen webrid n ddi (tariqa, ney asalu). Imawlan-is d cuṛafa ney d imṛabḍen ; (s taârabt: zawiyya) (français : la zaouïa ou confrérie). "Azawi" d win ilemden di tzawit ney d aâggal n tzawit

Arif si ttaṛ nni gar-asen d twaculin n tmurt nsen. Alamma tama tekka di tayeḍ.

Crâa n Ripublik yemdel iyisi nni yellan deg idles Amaziɣ. D win i d ajgu anemmas n tagduda n Arif deg iseggasen nni kan imezwura. Yekkes ttaṛ, tekkes tɣennant, imjahden n twaculin i yellan zik nsen d icenga, ass-a qqimen tayett ɣer tayett di Lqama, di Anwal neɣ di Tizi Uzli. Tiɣunam n ibeckiden nsen derrent akkin ɣer tama n lâeskeɣ n Sbanya neɣ n Fṛansa.

Tadukli n lâeskeɣ d wuzzal n Arif, tadukli n crâa, i snat gant ifadden imezwura ɣef tbedd tagduda n Arif. Afud wis kṛad d tabzert n tedrimt i tlalit n tagduda. Si 1921, yal amdan izemren iwwi-d fell-as ad yefk tawsa-s i Dewla n Ripublik. D tiwizi tameqran, am yemdanen, am twaculin, am tzawitin yellan di yal iyrem, yal yiwen ad d-yefk akken yezmer amur-is i tmurt. Lâeskeɣ imezwura n tagduda, wid nni yelsan yal ass¹⁸⁰, ttayen amur i tiram nsen n tedrimt yal agur. I nitni, d tṛad i d tafellaḥt nsen yal ass, ur zmiren ad nesren akken ad kerzen neɣ ad neycen akal nsen.

Gas amur ameqran n tedrimt i yes teteddu Ripublik deg iseggasen imezwura yusa-d si tebzert n at tmurt, Muḥend Abdelkrim yeṛza ur tezmirt tmurt n Arif ad tekker s tebzert ifellaḥen, ad terfed iman-is, ad tebnu iberdan, tiɣremtin timeqranin, isugan i yibabuɣen, tafat n trisiti akked luzinat. Muḥend yella isel i isalan di radyu nni yellan deg Ajdir, izra ayen illan deg wamḍal. D abrid nni i yesawḍen Muḥend ad yefk iwziren-is, am awzir Muḥend Azerqan, ɣer tmura n Uṛupa, Fṛansa akked Legliz, akken ad gen nitni d wa neɣ win laâqed n

¹⁸⁰ Lâeskeɣ n Arif: «l'armée régulière rifaine ».

tdamsa¹⁸¹ yef lminat n wuzzal d waldun d isufar nniḍen yellan ddaw wakal n tmurt n Arif. Tanekra n tmurt ilaq-as afud ameqran. Di yal tifat nni i seddan yewziren, illa wayen d-ikecmen d adrim yer ugerruj n tagduda n Arif, ma d amur ameqran d win yeqqimen d awal uṛeggem n wid wukud mlalen di Paris ney di London. Di tallit n tṛad, ur illa wemkan i lebni ameqran. Wid igren afus ggunin tifat n Arif, tifat n tṛad ger Ripublik akked Sbanya, akken ad ntin tayuzi n lminat deg udrar n Aâwan akked imukan nniḍen.

Tiwizi nni tameqrant n Ripublik tesefsi-d agris n leqrun d leqrun ger teqbilin, ger teyremtin. Di tallit deg ur illa imenḡi, amur ameqran n yemjahden begsen i tyuzi d usihrew iberdan ger teqbilin. Di yal iyrem tekker twizi akken ad segmen iberdan deg ad ddun yemdanen d yemjahden si tiyremt yer tayed. Ifellaḡen d yemjahden yiwen nsen, tikkelt d abeckid i tyita, tikkelt d aqabac i tyuzi, tikkelt d amger i tmegra. Tagduda tesdukkel iyerman d laâzuyab yellan akkin deg wedrar, akken ur ittyim yiwen Urifi ittwaâzel berṛa n twacult tameqrant, Ripublik isdukklen At Arif.

Iberdan nni i yeḡzen ney i sahrewen ger yal iyerman, uḡalen zun d azeṭṭa n tudḡsa n Ripublik i tikli n isalan n udabu si Ajdir, si Tafersit ney anda yella unabaḡ n Muḥend Abdelkrim. Yal ass teddun wid isawaḡen isalan si tiyremt yer tayed, yer imukan n tṛad deg wedrar ney anda nniḍen. Send ad tili tilifu¹⁸² nni i yesarem Muḥend Abdelkrim ad tesdukkel azekka yal taqbilit, yal

¹⁸¹ Laâqed n tdamsa: accord économique

¹⁸² Tilifu tamezwarut n tagduda n Arif tella deg Ajdir, tedda si lbiru n Abdelkrim, El maḡkama / la cantina, armi d tiyremtin n Sidi Dris, Ccawen, Ṭitwan... Ass-mi kecmen Iṣebenyulen Ajdir deg wass n 02/10/1925, d kulunil Vera i yemmyen d amezwaru yef tilifu n Abdikrim (n lmarḡa « Eugene Busson, Paris »), iyra-yas i jiniral s tilifu nni, inna-yas: «Aqlay nekcem lbiru... aqli yriy-ak-n s tilifu n Abdelkrim!». (La guerre du Rif, V. Courcelle-Labrousse & N. Marmié, p.275)

iḡrem, d irgazen at warkasen i yellan teddun i uzal, teddun i yiḡ, d tafukt neḡ d adfel, zeggren i tḡaltin seg yixef ḡer yixef n tmurt akken ad siwḡen isalan n Ripublik. Ddan i laḡ d fad d aâwaz akken ad siwḡen awal n tnekra, awal n Muḥend Abdelkrim, awal nni n twizi tameqrant.

Di tallit nni deg ferrsen Irifiyen, sihriwen iberdan n tmurt, iberdan nni d wid nejren imezwura nsen akken ad dduklen iḡerman, leswaq akked teqbilin. Iberdan imeqrannen, d nitni i ten iḡzen s iqubac nsen. Di tallit nni, ur tella tmurt tawerdanit i d-ikecmen tbeddel udem i tmurt n Arif. Tilisa yellan ger teqbilin, d tid yellan si leqrun imezwura. Mi tbedd Dewla n Ripublik, tufa-d tezḡa tmurt s iberdan-is am uzeḡḡa n wustu, tella tuddsa n zik, tleqqem fell-as d aleqqem¹⁸³.

¹⁸³ Di tḡrad n Lezzayer n 1954-1962, di lwilayat n wedrar, tuddsa n FLN/ALN tebna ḡef iḡerman (tuddar) imaziyen. Yal taddart d taseqqamut n FLN. Ilmend ad yernu FLN di tuddsa nni Tamaziḡt, ad isdukkel tiqbilin akken llant, am Arif, FLN yufa-d abrid nniḡen: igzem tamurt n Leqbayel, Awwras neḡ Warsenes akken llant tliḡa n iberdan imeqrannen i tḡez Fḡansa (routes nationales, routes départementales). Tilisa yellan ger Zone 1, Zone 2, Zone 3 d Zone 4 n lwilaya, d iberdan nni Uḡumi (ex. route nationale 15, etc.), mačḡi d tilisa ger teqbilin. Ilmend FLN ad ibnu tuddsa ḡef teqbilin (neḡ laâḡrac), netta ibna-tt ḡef tilisa n iberdan imeqrannen i tḡez Fḡansa. FLN ibḡa yal tamurt d « les zones» am akken gant tmura n Uḡrupa ass-mi bḡant timura n Taferka/Afrika deg unejmaâ n Berlin (nunamber 1884 - Fuḡar 1885). Gezmen Taferka akka d wakka s ijerriden n tarigla ḡef lkaḡḡa; bḡan aḡal d iḡerfan s talast di tneimmast n wakal nsen; azgen yedda akka, azgen akkin.

18. Timanit¹⁸⁴ n weyref Arifi.

Mi tbedd Ripublik n Arif, ur tella kra n tazeyt i d-iylin fell-as. Yal iyrem, yal taqbilt tella tbedd yef yiman-is, tella tefra tilufa-s di timanit-is. Yal taqblit d timerna i d-terna i tmurt: irgazen, uzzal, isufar. Timanit nni n yal taqbilt teddukel, teslal-d timanit tameqrant n tmurt n Arif. D timanit nni i d afud n tezmert n Arif mgal timura nni n Uṛupa, Sbanya akked Fṛansa, i yeseddan yer zdat tussna akked temsal n tiknikt ur nekcim imir yer idurar n Arif.

Timanit tella si zik n zik di tmurt, mačči d ayen d-inulfan di tṛad yuyen di 1921. Yal amdan iga-yas anezgum, izṛa ayen ad yeg, yessen tilisa-s anda yezmer ad yaweḍ. D timanit nni i d afud n tyeṛma tamaziyt di yal adrar, di yal azayaṛ, di yal tiniri n Tamazya.

Tayerma n tmurt tbedd yef yidles i yezḍan tamurt. Di Tamazya, tamuyli n yal amdan tebna yef yidles nni n timanit tamezwarut, yas tella tallit deg umezruy deg teqqen tmurt s tgelda tawerdanit (am udabu n Ruman), s ddi i d-yusan si tmura, ney s temhersa n Sbanya d Fṛansa di lqern wis 19. Deg uzaṛ, idles Amaziṛ ibna yef tiddi timanit¹⁸⁵ n yal iyrem, n yal agraw idduklen akken ad imager tameddurt, n yal amdan deg ugraw nni. D imdanen i tent-iferrun yal ass ilmend ur illa udabu nnig-nsen ad ten-iseddun, s talwit ney s tmara. Adabu yellan di yal iyrem, d win i sbedden imezday-is, am tajmâat n yiṛem, gan-as tilisa nitni. Tilisa udabu cuddent nitenti akked tilisa n tmuyli, n tikli n yal amdan armi

¹⁸⁴ Timanit : Autonomie (individuelle, groupe, ...)

¹⁸⁵ Deux types principaux de comportements : mode autonome < > mode systématique (agent de l'autorité). (Asch & Milgram).

amdan nni ur iẓeḥ tilisa yellan ger yemdanen nni. Tilisa nni ddant d tafat, d tafukt, d tagnewt i yas d-izzin.

Timanit nni akken tedda i tilleli n wemdan i tella d ugur anda terra tmara ad iddu weyref deg yiwen ubrid am di tallit n tṛad. Aḥal n tikkal i d-ikker yiwen umdan ad d-irgel¹⁸⁶ abrid i yiyrem, d axšim deg ubrid nni yeḥ yefra yiyrem. Tididi timanit telha, maca ar talast anda d agraw i yezwaren send amdan.

D ugur nni n talast ger wemdan Arifi, iyrem, taqbilt akked weyref n Arif i wumi kkren, Muḥend akked ugraw, akken ad as-afen tawwurt.

Mi sbedden tajmaât tameqrant, Agraw n Arif, anabaḍ n Ajdir ur d-imuger uguren si yat tmurt. I nitni, adabu nni ibedden di Ajdir ilul-d seg-sen nitni. Wid nni i d-yufraren d aqerru n tnekra, Muḥend, Mḥemmed, Azerqan, Bujibar, zran-ten At Arif, ... d nitni i yezwaren yer imenyi.

Uguren usan-d seg at leḥruz akked tqubtin i yeskecmen tawekka s yisem n ddi. Ccuṛafa nni, amur ameqran llan qqnen azaglu s ddi ineslem i tkerza s watmaten-nsen. Di yal iyrem, win iqqnen isem n jedd-is akken ad as-d-yaḡ aẓar si Mekka ney si Lḥiḡaz, ad ikrez ad iserwet s ifellaḥen at neyya n tmurt n Arif.

Di tṛad ney di lebni n tmurt, timanit nni tusa-d d afud i yesafessen tiwizi¹⁸⁷. Deg wennar n tṛad, amjahed ad d-yas s ubeckid-is, s tiram-is. Di yal tagnitt ur d-irna taẓeyt i yiyrem anda yella. Tallit

¹⁸⁶ D talast yellan ger tugdut (démocratie) akked «l'anarchie». Tugdut tesbedd ilugan i yis-tedda (ex. règle de la majorité pour la prise de décision). «La règle de la majorité » ur tettwassen yer Imaziyen.

¹⁸⁷ Timanit d abrid n tudssa iteddun di yal tamsalt, di tsertit (autonomie politique), di tgella (autonomie alimentaire) d wayen nniḍen. Ass-a, di tkebbaniyin n tdamsa, di luzinat, tudssa tamaynut tebna akken yal tarbaât ad tezmer ad tefru tilufa-s i yiman-is, s war ccif. Ixeddamen i yeẓran anta i d tawuri (=ixeddin) nsen, ur ḥdaḡen ad sen-yini yal ass ccif nsen ayen ad xedmen. Ccif ad d-iqqim akken kan ad ifru timsal yellan nnig-nsen, ney akkin i tlisa n wennar anda xedmen.

yella da, tallit izmer ad izger akkin i yiyil ad ibeddel annar n imenyi. Uraw n tazart akked teḥbult n weyrum deg uqrab-is, izmer ad iṭṭef yes agur.

Di yal imenyi mgal Sbanya, mačči d imjahden nni kan i yellan ntin imenyi i t-iferrun di taggara-s. Ma tella tkemmict n yergazen di tazwara, acemma kan ad d-awḍen yemjahden d aglaf si yal tama ad as-dduklen i ucengu. D tefses nni n tikli n yemjahden, tallit llan da tallit nesren akkin agemmaḍ, i yesmeyren ugar tazmert n tnekra n Arif. D abrid nni wumi semman taggara «la guérilla», yas Irifiyen ur d-snulfan abrid nni i yellan deg idammen nsen, deg idles nsen; d abrid nni deg ddan Imaziyen ass-mi nnuyen Ruman di tṛad n Yugurten, n Takfarinas...

Zdat tazeyt n lâeskeṛ n Sbanya, Muḥend Abdelkrim isdukel yal tefses n wemjahed akken ad ibnu tefses tameqrant ur ssinen imeqranen n lâeskeṛ, jiniṛalat n tmura n Uṛupa. I nitni, yal aserdas s ubeckid yellan yer zdat, laqen-as sin yemdanen yer deffir, ger win ad iheggin učči d waman akked win ad isiwḍen¹⁸⁸ uzzal, aqerḍas d lbumbat. I yat Arif, amjahed nni izmer i yiman-is s yiman-is, ur illa win i yas-d-iddan si deffir.

Illa wayen illan d tuddsa, illa day wudem n tṛad deg azal n yergazen. Tella talast tameqrant ger win ittnayen yef tmurt-is d wakal-is akked win d-izegren ilel, si Sbanya ney si Fṛansa, akken ad innay yef tedrimt ney s tamara. Talast nni d ayen illan ger igenni akked tmurt. Di yal imenyi di Arif, amur ameqran d lṣebenyulen i yetezzin akkin i trewla yer deffir, reffden ifassen nsen ney teḡḡen ibeckiden nsen akken ad ifsisen i trewla. D abrid, ur ten terra tmara ad mten yef tmurt ur ssinen ur nella d tamurt nsen !

¹⁸⁸ Ayen wumi gan isem s tefransist : la logistique.

Abrid n talwit... Abrid n tṛad.

Gas imenḡi ameqran yers di tegrest n 1925, si mi d-tekcem Fransa yer tṛad, igenni yal ass ifka-d amur-is n tmes. Adrag nni dergen iserdasen n Fransa yef tmurt, nnig tmurt gan ayen wumi zemren s lbumbat n tmesrufag nsen. Anda ḡran llan yemjahden neḡ llant tesrafin anda xemten yemjahden nni, ad sersen iqenṭaren n lbumbat n usafar n lmut, gaz moutarde nni i yeseryayen turin.

Gas times ur tensa, Muḥend Abdelkrim isedda awal akken ad ikkes yef tmurt agu nni n tdukli n Fransa akked Sbanya. Tiṭ-is terra yer Tejmaât n Tmura Idduklen (Société des Nations / SDN) akked Legliz, akken ad teffey tiḡri n Arif, akken Fransa d Sbanya ad rren aḡar. Amek timura n wamḡal ad fkent afus ad tenger tmurt n Arif ?

Gas ur igguni lxiḡ si Fransa neḡ si Sbanya, Muḥend Abdelkrim isarem ad d-isbin abrid n talwit anda, am Fransa nni am Sbanya nni ad semyifent ad tili tagduda n Arif tbedd wala tenger.

Muḥend Abdelkrim isedda yal abrid izemren ad d-yefk tafat. Yuzen imdanen yer Foreign Office n Legliz, yura tibṛatin i S.D.N., yuzen wid iḡran iwziren n Fransa akked wid n Sbanya. Di taggara n 1925, isem n tagduda n Arif, «République du Rif», iffey akkin di yal tamurt, ma d tiḡri n tmura, tiḡri tunṣibt n unabaḡ n tmurt-a neḡ n tmurt-in ad iqeblen¹⁸⁹ Tagduda n Arif, ulac. Aḡal i sarmen Irifiyen ad ddekwalent tmura n Uḡrupa neḡ n Marikan¹⁹⁰, ad d-tkakin tidyanin izran fell-asen, i mugrent wallen d ilem.

¹⁸⁹ Reconnaissance officielle

¹⁹⁰ Tabratt yura Muḥend i tmurt n Peru, di Marikan n wadda, ilmend umuli n 100 iseggasen n tṛad-is mgal Sbanya: "Ur illa uzref yufraren nnig win n yal aḡref akken ad yili d amunan di tlisa-s, ad ifren abrid i yas d-iseggmen akken

Seg wawal yellan ger Republik n Arif akked udabu n Fṛansa d Sbanya ur iffiy ṣwab. Di tallit deg Muḥend Abdelkrim yeqqim deg awal-is, timument¹⁹¹ n Tagduda n Arif, si tama n Fṛansa d Sbanya tezzin rennun yef tliṣa i yas-gan i tmurt n Arif, awal n «timanit d daw udabu n ugellid Mulay Yusef». Ayen i ceṛḍen nitni d ayen ur iqebbel Muḥend Abdelkrim. Di tallit nni, anezgum-is netta d tiddi n tgejda n tagduda n Arif, d tuddsas di yal taqbilt, d tira tamezwarut n tamendawt¹⁹² n tmurt.

Di dujamber 1925, yeqqim deg wawal nni.

Di tallit deg Fṛansa d Sbanya seddan awal akked Abdelkrim si tama ufella, man awal deg iymisen n Paris akked Madrid deg «ubrid n tfrat n tṛad n Arif», si ddaw ufus fran, begsen akken ad hudden yef uẓar Tagduda n Arif.

ad iseddu timsal-is s lqanun n tmurt-is, s laâwayed-is d yidles-is. Ayref Amerṛuki ittnay ass-a deg ubrid nni deg llan ttnayem imezwura nwen. Uṛupa i yesenger tṛad ameqran n umaḍal ur tezmir ass-a ad teg aqezzul di tmura nniḍen akkin i Uṛupa. Nekkni nekker akken ad nebnu tamurt yef izerfan d lqanun n talwit". (Afrique française, 1925, n°7, pp. 23-62, syur Abderrehman Youssef, "Les institutions de la république du Rif")

¹⁹¹ Timument: lhureyya, azarug (français = Indépendance)

¹⁹² Tamendawt: Aqanun amenzu n tmurt (français: la constitution ; s Taârabt: El Deṣṣur). Amaru n Abdelkrim, Muḥammed El Beydadi, yenna-d deffir 1926 : «tamendawt tamezwarut yuran (avant projet de constitution de la République du Rif) terya di Maḥekma n Ajdir, ass-mi kecmen lṣebeniyulen. Ur ḡḡan lkayed».

19. Tṛad ameqran n 1926

*Teddukel Fransa, Sbanya, Mulay Yusef, Thami El Glawi¹⁹³ ...
akked lecyax nsen.*

Fransa akked Sbanya ddan afus deg ufus, ikkes-asen ukukru. Yal yiwen yufa ayen isarem si tama n wayeḍ. Fransa ad tekkes fell-as Ripublik n Arif i d-iteddun seg idurar yer uqeṛru-s, Sbanya tesarem ad tekcem idurar n Arif s wuzzal, tidi akked idammen n lâeskeṛ n Fransa. Ma d agellid Mulay Yusef akked Thami El Glawi kkren ad gezmen abrid i win d-ikkren ad ikkes tabarda i tmurt n Meṛruk, tabarda nni n «Protectorat» i cudden nitni s tezmert n Fransa.

Mi fsin ideflawen, kfan igefran imeqranen n tegrest 1925, Maréchal Pétain icudd arkasen-is akken ad ifru tadyant nni wumi yebges. Si tama isedda tiddas n tsertit akken ad d-iserḍeb adabu n Fransa akked win n Sbanya ad as-d-qeblen ayen isuter, si tama nniḍen d aheggi n tṛad s wuzzal ameqran zun d tṛad n 1914-1918 i wumi ira ad yales. Tefra tin n wamḍal, tensa tmes, kkawen idammen, Pétain issay tin n Arif !

Di tyaltin n wedrar, imjahden n Arif zzin i lkaziṛnat n Fransa, yal ass d abaṛud, ur fcilen. Aseggas n 1926 ilul-d deg wegris, laḍ d usemmiḍ n wuḍan d wussan n yemjahden di tesrafin n waluḍ d waman.

Di yennayer 1926 tamurt n Arif tekkaw, yerna-d waṭan n tifi isenger wid ifeclen. Tiwwura nni yellan keččmen-d seg-sent

¹⁹³ Thami n Iglawen (El Glawi), d Amaziy n teqbilt Imezwaren. Yella d Pacha n Meṛrakec. Amur ameqran n izuṛar n tfellaḥt n tmurt nni n Meṛrakec yerra-ten d ayla-s s lbaraka n Fransa akked yiyil. Di tṛad n 1926, ifka-d 1000 iserdasen Imaziyen i Maréchal Pétain akken ad nnayen mgal Irifiyen. El Glawi yella d yiwen seg ifadden yer ibedd «Protectorat» n Fransa di Meṛruk.

isufar i tmurt, si Mellila, Sebta ney si Lezzayer d izuyar n Merḥuk, ass-a reglen iberdan. Laz yerna-d tilufa-s. Lâesker n Sbanya si tama, wid n Fṛansa si tama, tuyal tmurt n Arif d lqefs. Isem n tasent (Imelḥ) i ddwa ur tella. Gas uguren llan, Ripublik tesebdad yal ass tigejda i tudssa n tmurt. Anekcum nni i d-tekcem Sbanya tamurt n Lḥuṣima akked Ajdir tezga-d am timmis deg wammas. Ajdir nni yellan d tafat n tnekra, d amkan n tyimit n wegraw n Arif, d amkan n tlalit n Ripublik, taggara srewten-t iserdasen n Primo de Rivera, smeyren din lkaziṛna. Si trewla nni rewlen lṣebenyulen iseggasen nni izran, yiwen ur yumin ad zemren ad d-uyalen yer wakal n Arif. Nitni kecmen-d di tallit nni deg amur ameqran n yemjahden n Arif rran udem nsen yer tmurt tetṭef Fṛansa deg webrid n Wezzan, Fes akked Taza. Tadukli nni ger Fṛansa akked Sbanya tefka-d udem-is, tesduqqes tamurt n Arif yef tidett taqerḥant i wussan d-iteddun: ur izmir yiwen ad innay sin icenga yef tikkelt!

Si zik n zik, timura n Fṛansa akked Sbana seddant yal taḥilett gar-asant. Di yal tamsalt, akken iga wa, wayeḍ ad iddu akken nniḍen. Seddant tismen d teḥraymit deg ur iddukul webrid nsen. I yat Arif, I Muḥend Abdelkrim, Fṛansa d Sbanya ur zmiren ad zdin. Tamara n tsertit tesdukel-itent.

Aguren imezwura n 1926 fkan-d udem amaynut deg tella tmurt n Arif. Si tama wadda, Fṛansa tečča-d idisan n tmurt, tesekcem tawekka di teqbilin yellan d talast s wawal n Mulay Yusef akked wedrim ameqran, si tama ufella, si mi tekcem Ajdir, Sbanya simal tesimyur ugar trennu-d uzzal d yergazen. Nnig 25000 iserdasen i d-isekcem Primo de Rivera. Tamuyli nsen tban anda tuy tiṭ, d iyallen nni ufella n Arif.

Ʀad duklen, awal ger icenga ur ifra, yal yiwen d tasuddest-is. Fṛansa tedda-yas i wawal akked Abdelkrim yef sin iberdan. Yiwen d abrid n Maréchal Pétain akked d ifesyanen-is. Awal nsen ifrez, wezzil, yebna yef tezmert n lâeskeṛ d tiknuluji n tṛad. I nitni «Abdelkrim igra-yas-d kan ad isers abeckid-is ney ad t-nawed yer yifri anda yeffer». Pétain ira yiwet tewwurt am akken i-tt-ibna, akken ad d-yifrir win i-tt-yefran di 1918; yal ass itheggi amek ad as-iddu i tṛad ameqran i tefsut 1926. Abrid wis sin, d abrid udabu n Paris, abrid unabaḍ n Aristide Briand. Netta ifra ur izmir ad inti si tṛad send ad iwet ad d-yaf iberdan n talwit i tifat n temsalt n Arif. Ur ira ad isluṛ ney ad isimes udem nni n Fṛansa, "tamurt n izerfan n wemdan".

Di tikli nsen, abrid nsen yiwen, am Pétain nni am Briand nni. Tamurt n Republik n Arif tusa-yasen-d asennan i tuṭṭfa n tmurt n Meṛṛuk. Ur ran ad sen-d-teqqim Republik n Arif yef talast ufella. Di tazwara, Aristide Briand ur isemyer cceṛt-is, inna-yas: «Ma sarmen talwit Irifiyen, d nitni kan wuṛur yella wawal aneggaru. Di tazwara ṛran si tama nney nekkni ur tella tiṭ nney akken Fṛansa ad tekcem akal nsen. Nekkni neqbel ad ilin di timanit nsen di tliisa nsen, s yiwen cceṛt ur d-itlal cwal azekka si tama nsen».

Tamuyli n Paris ur tdum zdat wid iteggiren i nnger n Abdelkrim. Yiwen d Maréchal Pétain nni akked ifesyanen-is, fersen abrid i tikli yer tmemmast n Arif. Deg waguren nni n tegrest, ddan d amured si teqbilt yer tayed, sbedden deg imkan nsen lqeyyad nni srewlen yemjahden, selsen-asen i yergazen nni yellan idelli kan d imjahden. Wayed d agellid n Rḅaṭ, ayilif-is yiwen, cceṛt-is yiwen : «ad ittwakkes Muḥammed Abdelkrim, win i-d-ikkren d acengu n ugellid n inselmen». Awal-is ur iqqim d awal ; ifka-d iserdasen s ibeckiden akken ad nnayen atmaten nsen, ifka-d

yiwen seg wtamaten-is d afesyen n iserdasen nni, yusa-d netta s timmad-is i uberreh di tmezgidiwin n Fes, Taza d iyerman nniḍen akken «inselmen ad kkren ad nnayen Irifiyen, wid i d-ikecmen tamurt!».

Tṛad nni n Irifiyen i yellan d tṛad n tlelli, n timument mgal timura tiwerdaniyin, Fṛansa akked Sbanya, agellid Yusef yerra-t-id d tṛad ger Imerṛukiyen d Imerṛukiyen, d tṛad ger at tmurt, ger watmaten¹⁹⁴. Mi uyen abrid n Arif, di yal taqbilt i kecmen iserdasen n Pétain, mi yesusem ubarud, neṭlen wid nyan, s yisem n Mulay Yusef i sawalen i yemdanen n tmurt nni akken «ad sersen uzal, ad anfen seg webrid n imenfane, yir abrid nni anda i ten- isekcem Abdelkrim». Deg ubrid n Fṛansa deg idurar, d iserdasen n Mulay Yusef, Imerṛukiyen, i iteddun zdat yal takebbanit, malen-asen iberdan, teddun d tṛejman.

Di tallit tamezwarut yella wawal ger Republik n Arif akked Fṛansa. Tiyita tameqrant i d-ifkan tamuṛli n Fṛansa di temsalt n Arif, tesenhez Muḥend Azerqan, awzir n Ripublik. Mi yas-d-fkan tabṛatt n Steeg¹⁹⁵, ameqran n Fṛansa di Merṛuk deg wass n 24 di meṛres 1926, yekkes uyemyum nni deg Fṛansa tdel tamuṛli-is aḥal waguren. Di tebṛatt nni n cceṛt n Fṛansa, yura: (1) Abdelkrim ad yerr iman-is ddaw laânaya ugellid, (2) Abdelkrim ad infu si tmurt n Arif, (3) Uzzal (les armes) ad ittwakkes i teqbilin, (4) imeḥbas ittwatṛffen ad sen-d-brun Irifiyen.

¹⁹⁴ Tṛad ger at tmurt : « la guerre civile ».

¹⁹⁵ Jules Joseph Steeg : Ameqran n Fṛansa di Merṛuk, win ibedden deffir Hubert Lyautey, d Résident Général au Maroc (remplaçant de Hubert Lyautey).

D tabḥatt nni n Jules Steeg i d asurif amezwaru i yesawḍen Irifiyen akked Fṛansa d Sبانيا ad qqimen i tيفrat di tiyremt n Wejda¹⁹⁶.

Mi qqimen deg wass n 26 di Yebrir 1926, di tazwara-s kan iban-d wurar n Fṛansa d Sبانيا. Tajmaât n Irifiyen i yellan din: Muḥend Azerqan, awzir n temsal tiwerdanin, Ḥmed Ceddi, Ḥeddu, awzir n tṛad Ḥmed Budraâ akked Mḥemmed, gma-s n Muḥend Abdelkrim. Tṛejman i d-tewwi Fṛansa yer Wejda d azzayri, isem-is Buzar Abdelqader¹⁹⁷.

Fṛansa ur teḡḡa tawwurt deg zemren ad zrin Irifiyen. D cceṛt nni amezwaru n teḥatt n Steeg i yasen-d-ulsen si mi qqimen. Tiyersi tcudd yef wis sin nni : «ad infu Abdelkrim». Si tama nsen, awal n Irifiyen yeqqim anda it-tuy, nnan-asen : «ur nqebbel ad infu Abdelkrim; d netta i yas-izemren i tṛad, d netta i yas-izemren i talwit».

Gas awal izuyer si 26 di Yebrir armi d 5 di Magu 1926, tيفrat ur tewwiḍ. Deg wass n 5 di Magu, kkren, yal yiwen yuy amkan-is. Irifiyen uyalen yer wedrar nsen, Primo de Rivera, Philippe Pétain akked ifesyane-nsen fkan lameṛ ad bdun tikli iserdasen nsen si yal tama yer wedrar n Arif. Tameddit n wass n 7 di Magu, nnig 100 000 iserdasen, s wuzzal ameqran, uyen si yal tama abrid n wedrar. Nnig 150 tmesrufag n Fṛansa akked Sبانيا tezzint yal ass s lbumbat nsent deg igenni n Arif. Times si tmurt, times si nnig tmurt seriyent igran d iceṛfan n Arif. Ayen d-iḡḡa laḥ d tيفis d gaz moutarde n Sبانيا glan-yis taggara iserdasen n Fṛansa

¹⁹⁶ Les négociations d'Oujda (tripartite : représentants du Rif, France, Espagne), 26/04/1926 ar 5/05/1926.

¹⁹⁷ Buzar Abdelqader: yura fell-as adlis Nadir Bouzar, mm-is n Abdelqader, «Umney s Fṛansa (J'ai cru en la France)», ed. Comité de Libération du Maghreb, Le Caire, 1954.

akked Sbanya. D nnger n tmurt. Taggara, azal n 350 000 iserdasen i yas izzin¹⁹⁸ i wedrar n Arif si tama n Fṛansa.

Gas inyel-d wejrad yef tmurt, Irifiyen ur fcilen. Anda ttnayen yergazen, mačči d nitni i ireglen yer deffir. Di tidett, mačči d iserdasen n Sbanya ney n Fṛansa i ten yugaren deg imenyi. Acengu nsen ameqran d tamussni n tiknik, iblandiyen akked timacinin iqqazen iberdan akken ad awḍen yimrad n 150 mm yer tmemmast n Arif akked tmesrufag igenni i d-ikkaten s gaz moutarde ineqqen irgazen d tissi.

Deg wass n 20 di Magu lâeskeṛ n Sbanya kecmen Anwal, amkan nni deg teḍra twayit nni nsen di 1921. Deg wass n 23 di Magu lâeskeṛ n Fṛansa iweḍ iyrem n Targist, anda i yella Abdelkrim. Yekker din imenyi ameqran, syen Muḥend Abdelkrim yenser yer tiyremt n Snada, syen isuter talwit i lâeskeṛ n Fṛansa. Deg wass n 27 di Magu 1926, yuy-d abrid n tuḡalin yer Targist, ddan-d yid-s 3 ifesyenen n Fṛansa¹⁹⁹ akken ad iger ddaw laânaya n kulunil Corap.

Gas Fṛansa turez Muḥend Abdelkrim²⁰⁰, tṛad ur ifra deg idurar n Arif. 7 iseggasen i yerna yer zdat. Imenyi ameqran aneggaru yella-d di 1934.

Teyli Tagduda n Arif, iyli-d usigna yef tmurt n Arif. Sbanya «tekcem tamurt-is», tewwet tilisa gar-as d «wakal n Fṛansa», syen teḥkem tamurt armi d aseggas n 1956.

¹⁹⁸ Akken ad ikcem Arif, Maréchal Pétain izwer zdat-s 60 jiniṛalat/généraux, 44 ibaṭayuten/ bataillons, 73 tmesrufag n tṛad i yesmaren 11307 t. n lbumbat.

¹⁹⁹ Ifesyenen n Fṛansa i yezwaren : lqebtan Sufren, luyṭna Montagne akked luyṭna La Ronzière. D nitni i yewin Muḥend Abdelkrim yer Targist.

²⁰⁰ Muḥend Abdelkrim idda d amehbus yer lḥebs n Taza, syen yuy abrid n Casablanca, irkeb deg ubabuṛ Abla di 1926, d imenfi yer tegzirt n La Réunion. Yeqqim din armi d 1947.

Lâaṛ irennu deffir lâaṛ...

Deg umuli n 14 yulyu 1926 di Paris, zdat ujaddar n Arc de Triomphe, derren wid nni yerḗan tagduda n Arif : Aselway n Fransa, Gaston Doumergue²⁰¹, awzir Edouard Herriot, aselway n Sbanya, Primo de Rivera, Bey n Tunes Muḥemmed El Ḥabib akked Mulay Yusef Ayâalawi s ugennur-is!

Deg wass n 16 yulyu 1926, sin wussan kan deffir tedyant nni n Arc de Triomphe, Président Doumergue akked Mulay Yusef ,dduklen akken ad as-llin tawwurt²⁰² tikkelt tamezwarut i Tamesgida n Paris²⁰³ !

Fransa tekrez, temger s taâṛabt-tineslemt akken ad tesehres tamurt n Meṛṛuk, s ufus n igelliden n Fes.



**Muḥend Abdelkrim, deg ubabuṛ «Abda» di Casablanca.
D abrid yer tegzirt n La Réunion**

²⁰¹ Gaston Doumergue, président de la République française (1924 - 1931) ; Edouard Herriot (Président du Conseil et ministre des affaires étrangères, 1924,1926 et 1932) ; Primo de Rivera (dictateur, Espagne, 1923 – 1930).

²⁰² 16 Juillet 1926 : Inauguration de la grande mosquée de Paris, dont la construction a commencé en 1922-1924.

²⁰³ Tamesgida (lġamâa) n Paris, 39 rue Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire 75005 Paris.

20. Uguren n Tagduda n Arif

Ur illa wawal nnig wawal n Muḥend Abdelkrim yef tmuyli-s deffir tedyant n Arif. Awal-is yenna-t mi yella yenfa si tmurt-is yer tegzirt n La Réunion di 1926.: «*Ugur ameqran zdat tanekra n Arif, yusa-d seg wid i yesqedcen ddi ineslem [...] lecyax akked curafa kkren-d d ixšimen-iw [...] taggara ur ufiy wid yef zemrey ad sendey akken ad as-nbeddel udem, ad d-neslal tamurt n Arif tamaynut...*»²⁰⁴.

Awal-is ifra-t-id. Ur tella d tazmert n Sbanya²⁰⁵, ur tella d tin n Fṛansa²⁰⁶ i yas yerḻan ifadden i Ripublik n Arif. I netta, ugur yusa-d seg umur n tarwa n tmurt-is. Tiyita tameqarnt tusa-d seg wid isusmen netlen²⁰⁷, akked wid yugaden ad sen tekkes tafellaḥt nsen Tagduda n Arif i-d-ilulen. Di tazwara-s kan imdanen agi ḻran Tagduda n Arif abrid-is akken ad tesdukkel tamurt anda yal amdan ad yay amkan-is, anda ur llant tseddarin ger yemdanen, ur llan waklan. Abrid nni ur asen-d-ikka di tiṭ i nitni. Tamuyli nsen nitni ufraren s jedd-nsen i-d-yuyen aḻar si Mekka akked tiḥertzit n leqran. Uyen aḻar di tmurt akken ad

²⁰⁴ : « une cause de ma défaite a été le fanatisme religieux ... les cheikhs se sont opposés à moi... mais je n'ai trouvé au Rif aucun encouragement à réaliser mes projets de réformes... », (Muḥend Abdelkrim, di Lqahira).

²⁰⁵ Tazmert n Sbanya si 1921 ar 1926 : 100000 iserdasen ; gar-asen 40000 Regulares ; taggara muten-asen azal n 20000. (V. Monteuil, Abdelkrim et la République du Rif, Acte du Colloque, 1973).

²⁰⁶ Tazmert n Fṛansa si 1921 ar 1926: di tazwara 160000 iserdasen d 42 généraux, di 1925, 750000 iserdasen, 32 divisions, 60 généraux, 44 escadrilles d'aviation.

²⁰⁷ Amur ameqran n wid issnen, i yellan di teyremtin n Fes ney anda nniḍen ur d-gren afus akken ad bnun Tagduda n Arif («La vraie cause politique qui mérite d'être soulignée est que l'appareil étatique de la République est resté assez sommaire, qu'il n'a pas bénéficié de l'apport de l'élite marocaine, qu'il n'a reçu aucune aide directe ou indirecte de la part de l'establishment (notabilités intellectuelles maraboutiques ou économiques)... » (A. Youssoufi, Actes du colloque, p. 99)

ifriren yef yemdanen. Di tidett, Wid wumi ur teččuṛ tiṭ tmurt, ur llan seg at tmurt.

Amezwaru si cuṛafa nni i yeqqnen tamurt ddaw uzaglu n Fṛansa si 1911 armi d 1956, d Mulay Yusef Ayaâlawi, win yuyalen d agellid n tmurt. Zdat tnekra n yemjahden n Arif akken ad kksen tabarda n Sbanya akked tin n Fṛansa si tmurt n Meṛṛuk, Mulay Yusef yefren tagelda-s, agennur-is d waklan-is.

Tikli n Iyaâlawayen yiwet-is. D nitni i d-iskecmen Fṛansa di 1911 d tamḥaddit yef tgelda nsen, d nitni i d-isnekren iḥerkiyen ger tarwa n tmurt akken ad nnayen atmaten nsen tama n iserdasen n Fṛansa.

Abrid nni n Mulay Yusef irna 30 iseggasen n temhersa n Fṛansa di Meṛṛuk. Ilmend ad ikkes uzaglu-s di 1926, yeqqim armi d 1956. Di tallit nni deg d-kkren Irifiyen sengugin timura n Sbanya akked Fṛansa, ṛzan asalu i tmura yellan ddaw uqezzul n temhersa di Taferka akked Asya, agellid Yusef iskecm-d tagut i tnekra. Tṛad nni n tlelli yuyal d tṛad ger wtamaten, Irifiyen mgal Irifiyen, Imerṛukiyen mgal Imerṛukiyen.

Deg ubrid n tixxubta, leqseṛ n Fes d Rbaṭ yurar yal urar akken ad isefcel tanekra n Muḥend Abdelkrim. D urar n leqseṛ i d urar n tzawitin n yal iyrem. Tizawitin nni zḍant afrag n tillas yef tmussni akken ad rnunt ad smeyrent tazmert nsent yef war tamussni n at tmurt. Ddaw laânaya nsent, teqqim tmurt n Meṛṛuk tesbek am ugris n yennayer.

Di taggara n tegrest n 1925 i yuki Muḥend Abdelkrim yella-d iceqqiq di tnekra n tmurt, tuy tweekka tanemmast. Lbumbat nni n Maréchal Pétain, ḡas seryent tamurt, ur sfeclent imjahden d

imezday n Arif. Acengu ssnen-t, ayen d-yusan si tama-s bnan fell-as. Urar n «les Bureaux des affaires indigènes» yessen-it Muḥend Abdelkrim. Yessen win n Sbanya am akken yessen win n Fṛansa, tiḥila nsen yiwet nsent. Gas kecmen tiqbilin nni yellan d timezwura yef tlisa, zdat lâesker n Fṛansa, ur gan iyisi i wedmer n Arif. Yal taqbilt yellan yef talast, si tama d Ripublik, si tama nniḍen d tazmert n Fṛansa s wuzzal ameqran igenni tamurt, ma tefka mayna ur illa yer-s, azekka tezmer ad tekker, zun kra ur illa. Nnan imezwura «afus ur tezmireḍ ad t-tyezzeḍ, suden-it». D abrid nni i ddant teqbilin timezwura yer zdat i yetwarzen deg At Zerwal, Isenḥaḡen ney di Tissa.

Tawekka ikecmen tamurt ur tella d tin n tlisa ney tin n «les Bureaux des affaires indigènes». Tawekka tella di tmurt si leqrun imezwura.

Awalen n Ṛaysuni, yiwen seg wid yerran iman-nsen seg uzaṛ n Idris amezwaru, ifruri-d si nbi Muḥammed, ur d-ḡḡan ccek yef wanda terra tmuyli nsen. Inna-yas Ṛaysuni : «Imaziyen d iqeddacen-iw, Iṣebenyulen d aklan-iw...». Deg wawal-is ifra-tt netta. Ur illa d Amaziy, ur illa d Aṣebenyul. Gas zran 12 n leqrun si tmacahutt n Idris Amezwaru di 788, armi d 1920, Ṛaysuni yeqqim di tedyant tamezwarut. Jedd-is yusa-d si Mekka yer Tmazya, netta yeqqim d Aḥrab n Mekka am jedd-is, ur icettel d Amaziy! Idammen n waklan akked wid n cuṛafa ur ddukulen! Tamuyli n Ṛaysuni am tin n cuṛafa anda byun ilin. I nitni, usan-d si twacult n Nbi, ufraren nnig medden, d igelliden s Ibaṛaka n jedd-nsen.

Si tama nniḍen, wid yellan d imṛabḍen ney yerran iman-nsen d imṛabḍen, ula d nitni nwam ufraren yef at tmurt. Gas nitni ur qqinen azaṛ nsen yer tmurt n Mekka, d at tmurt n Tmazya, deg

Asif Azeggay di Merṛuk, tirrubṭa nni zun tesuli-ten nnig at tmurt. Taggara, tamuṛli nsen akked cuṛafa yiwet: nitni d igelliden, at tmurt d aklan nsen. S tmussni n leqran akked leḥruz, zun ṭṭfen anzel i tkerza s watmaten nsen.

Di yal tamurt deg llan sin neṛ ugar iṛerfan, wid ibḍa d din, aḗar, tutlayt neṛ temlel d tebrek n weglim, tella temsizzelt gar-asen anwa ad iṭṭfen tasawent. Amur ameqran di temsizzelt nni yebna ṛef tdamsa, tadrimt d cci. Taggara, d wid isedduyen tamurt di temsal n trika, d wid yurzen tadrimt n tmurt i yettifiren, i yettayeṛ adabu ger ifassen nsen. Akka di yal tamurt.

Tamsalt n cuṛafa akked imṛabḍen di Tmazṛa d tin d-iḡḡa umezruy si leqrun nni deg d-ikcem d din ineslem ṛer Tmazṛa. Lemmer teqqim kan deg urar nni anda yal aṛref ad iwet akken ad yifrir ṛef wiyad, s ṭḥila neṛ s webrid yuṛ, wicqa. Di Tmazṛa, iceqqiq ameqran isban-it-id unekcum nni n Fṛansa akked Sbanya. Tamhersa n Fṛansa di tmurt n Lezzayer, Merṛuk akked Tunes akked Sbanya di Arif tesawed ad yimṛur iceqqiq nni armi yuṛal d tasraft i tmurt.

Awal nni n Abdelkrim, «...*lecyax akked cuṛafa kkren-d d ixṣimen-iw...*», ur iqqim d awal afessas akken kan ad isbib taruṛi n tnekra n Arif akked Ripublik i Sbanya akked Fṛansa, neṛ akken ad isinef ṛef yiman-is. Awal-is ibna ṛef ayen izṛa s waṭṭawen-is netta si 1921 armi d 1926 akked wayen izran send ad tekker di 1921 nni, di tnekra n Muḥend Ameṛyan neṛ tinekriwin di teqbilin nniḍen n Merṛuk neṛ di tmurt n Lezzayer.

Iceqqiq yella s tidett, Fṛansa d Sbanya ufan-t, ufan afus, ufan ansi i yas d dan, smeyren iceqqiq nni, ṛḗan tamurt n Arif deg wammas.

Tizawitin n tillas, ddi i tkerkas.

Gas yella ufuṣ n Mulay Yusef deffir umur ameqran n tzawitin²⁰⁸ i d-ikkren d ixṣimen n Ripublik, am tzawit n Iderqawen iceyyex Crif Abderreḥman Derqawi di teqbilt n At Zerwal, urar ameqran yella-d si tama n Fṛansa akked Sbanya.

Akken ad gen uguren i tnekra, ad bḍun imdanen ur ddukulen, Fṛansa d Sbanya uraren s yal taḥilett, s wedrim, s ddi, s tismīn ger wid isawalen tamaziyt d wid isawalen s taḥrabt, wid izedyen azayar d wid izedyen adrar, s tyennant yellan ger yemdanen di yal iḡrem, s ttaḡ n tmeḡraḍ yellan ger twaculin. Uraren s idammen n yemdanen akken ad rnun ad mmiren idammen ugar.

Timsizzelt nni yellan ger Ripublik akked Fṛansa anwa seg-sen ad izwiren ḡer tzawitin, anwa ad tt isinfen ḡer tama-s, ifka-d udem n tezmert nsent. Ma imal ccix n tzawit akka neḡ akkin, deffir-s d taqbilt neḡ d tiḡremtin ad imalen ḡer wanda imal netta. Yiwen wemdan izmer ad isfel tamurt akka neḡ akkin. Amek izmer ad yili, imdanen ad uḡalen zun d izamaren deffir ccix nsen, anda ira ad ten inher ?

Aḡaḡ-is yusa-d si ddi akked yemdanen isedduyen ttaḡiqat di yal tazawit. Tizawitin nni, yiwen webrid nsent. Di tazwara, d tagelda s yisem n ddi akken ad sduklen lumma tineslemt.

Di yal iḡrem tadyant yiwet ; amezwaru ad yili d win ilemden leqran, ad ibnu tazawit, ad isdukkel imdanen deffir-s deg yiwen usalu²⁰⁹ (ḡariqa). Syen wid d-icetlen seg-s ad seddun tazawit nni

²⁰⁸ Tizawitin nni, tikli nsent yiwet, am ḡariqa Derqawiya, Tijaniya, Wazzaniya neḡ kra n yemdanen si ḡariqa n lkemlicen.

²⁰⁹ Deg usalu (ḡariqa) Tijania, yal amdan yellan deg-s ad iddu deg ubrid «n tmussni n yillu yellan afella... Di tḡallit nsen, ad isuter 100 tikkal smaḡ deg illu ; ad yini 100 tikkal tasuret n lḡatiḡa ; 100 tikkal n yillu yiwen, i yellan ala illu ...». Di ḡariqa ad slemden i yal amdan akken ad iddu ur ittaneḡ, s wawal uffir, d aderyal deffir muqeddem n tzawit. Ma abrid nni yefka ḡer yeḡzer, ad iddu. I

si baba-s yer mmi-s. Nnig tgelda nni, yella ufud ameqran. Ccix n tzawit, muqeddem²¹⁰, ad yili yuy-d tṭariqa si jedd-is akked leqran, zun d inigi ney d asemsaḥ ger Ṛebbi akked yemdan n tṭariqa-s. Netta d ameksa, nitni d izamaren. Awal n Ṛebbi yiwen webrid i deg yella, d awal-is netta, d awal n muqeddem. Di yal tadyant, ccix izmer ad iseggem tisurṭin akken ad tent-ismil yer tmuyli-s netta, anda yenwa tella-yas lfayda i netta, ney akken inwa iḥer tadyant. «Atmaten n tzawit» nni itwakkes-asen yeḥri i yes zemren ad ḥren tidett s waṭṭawen nsen. I nitni, tiṭṭ nsen tederyel, tiṭṭ n ccix nsen n ṭariqa telli ad sen-tmel iberdan n tafat. Di tidett, ilmend d tafat, amur ameqran d asedrem di tillas n war tafat. «S yisem ugellid akked webrid n leqdeḥ n ddi n lislam», yerna urar s tzawitin ddaw ufus, Maréchal Lyautey yeṭṭef tamurt n Meḥruk s tkemmict n lâesker. Abris-is n tihila d wawal usekkak, taggara yugar abrid ubaḥud d wuzzal d lbumbat n Ypérite si tmesrufag.

Aserkec n tzawitin akken ad skecmen tawekka di Tagduda n Arif ur illa d abrid amaynut n thila n Fransa. Uyen tanamit. Di 1909 di tmurt n Izayen, d abrid nni n thila i yes tesefcel Fransa tanekra n Muḥa U Ḥemmu deg idurar n Izayen²¹¹.

Gas taggara lâesker ameqran n Fransa izzī-yasen i yemjahden n Muḥa U Ḥemmu s wuzzal ameqran, ṭrad ifra send ad inti. Ṭrad yella yefra s thila n Lyautey. Amur ameqran n teqbilin i yezzin i Xnifra llant imir di Ṭariqat. Di yal tazawit n Ṭariqa sxedmen

yat Ṭariqa, muqeddem nni n tzawit, d ameksa nsen, mačči d amdan kan am nitni, d netta i d amsiweḥ ger Ṛebbi akked waklan-is (imdanen).

²¹⁰ Muqeddem = «win ibedden i temsalt», aqeddac.

²¹¹ Muḥa U Ḥemmu n Izayen: isedda tanekra di tmurt n Khenifra (Moyen Atlas) mgal Fransa si 1908 armi yemmut deg imenyi, di Tawejgelt di 1921.

lecyax nni nsent, uyen-ten s tedrimt d wawal asekkak akken ad d-jebden aḍar yer deffir, ad ayent abrid n lâar, ad ḡḡent abrid n yisey i yuy Muḥa U Hemmu.

Di yal taqbilt n Meṛṛuk, anda tufa Fṛansa iyisi, d tazawit nni yellan din, wid iseddaneqran, i d afud-is di temhersa. D tasuddest nni i tesedda Fṛansa di tmurt n Lezzayer si 1830 i wumi tleqqem di tmura n Meṛṛuk akked Tunes.

Tiknuluji i temhersa

Gas Fṛansa d Sbanya ufant di tmurt afus i yes ṛzant Tagduda n Arif, ur illa d win kan i d afud nsent.

Tazmert n Sbanya d Fṛansa ur d-tusa seg iserdasen nsent. Anda ttnayen yergazen, d iserdasen n Sbanya akked wid n Fṛansa i iregglen yer deffir!

Tazmert nsent tusa-d si tussna d tiknuluji n tṛad i yennernan si tṛad ameqran n 1914-1918. Acengu ameqran n Arif d timesrufag igenni, d ibanduziren itegen iberdan deg udrar akken ad zrin iblandiyen, d abrid nni n tmacint iteddun si tiyremt n Wezzan armi d Fes, deffir wedrar n Arif, di yal amkan tezmer ad tesers ibaṭayuten n lâesker. Tazeyt nni tamezwarut n lâesker arumi i yellan d ugur zdat tefses n yemjahden n Arif, tekkes-itt tiknuluji nsen. Di yal tagnitt, seg igenni ney seg ubrid n wuzzal, zemren ad zzin akkin ney akka, ad alin ad rsen si tmacint, ad wten si tama-yen ney ad wten si yama-ya.

Acengu ameqran i d-yernan di taggara, d tiyita nni s usafar n takrura²¹² n gaz moutarde, asafar ineqqem imdanen s war abarud. Igenni nni n Arif yellan itefk-d tafukt, aman d wedfel

²¹² Takrura = Chimie (s taârabt = el kimya)

akken ad myin yirden d temẓin, taggara isurug-d lmut n war udem.

Tanekra n Arif tufa-d iman-is zdat tezmert tameqrant n Fṛansa i yerẓan Lalman, tessnerna tamussni-s, tefra ad tay amkan-is di Uṛupa. Di tallit nni, adabu n Fṛansa ur izmir ad yeḡḡ ad d-tlal tmurt tilellit zdat «wakal-is» di Meṛṛuk. Adabu i yeyran i Maréchal Pétain, ur illa d win ad yuḡalen yer deffir.

Tagduda n Arif tedda d asfel, tener ilmend n temsizzelt ger tmura n Uṛupa.

Gas terreẓ Tagduda n Arif send ad tessiy i tmurt n Tmazya, tefka iẓuran i yesleqmen tanekra²¹³.

²¹³ Deg wass n 20 Yunyu 1926 tlul-d tiddukla ltri n Tamazya/Etoile Nord-Africaine (ENA) ²¹³ di tneimmast n Paris. D atmaten n Irifiyen, Ibeldiyen Imaziyen²¹³ n Meṛṛuk, n Lezzayer, d Tunes i yellan d ixeddamen di Fṛansa i d afud-is amezwaru.

21. Si Tagduda n Arif ar «Comité de Libération de l’Afrique du Nord»

Muḥend Abdelkrim yenfa si 1926 armi d 1947 di tegzirt n La Réunion, azal n 9000 km akkin deg ilel n Lhend. Gas infa, Muḥend Abdelkrim ur as ikkis unezgum yef tmurt-is.

Isuter aḥal n tikkal akken ad d-iffey si tmurt nni. Di 1947 llint-d tewwura i yinig-is, adabu n Fṛansa yeḡḡa-t ad ikcem yer tmurt n Fṛansa, tama n tiyremt n Nice. Heggan-as tazeqqa i twacult-is tameqrant. Ur illa d lxiṛ i yellan mi yas siwezlen inig-is. Di tallit deg d-ikker Muḥammed V akked wegraw isutren timument n Meṛṛuk, Fṛansa tetkaki-d Muḥend Abdelkrim. Taggara teḡḡa-d ad ikcem Fṛansa akken ma tezmer ad t-teg d axšim i wid d-yusan d ixšimen n Fṛansa di Meṛṛuk. Urar nni n Fṛansa ur isaweḍ. Muḥend Abdelkrim idda-d deg ubabuṛ netta akked twacult-is. Mi zran si Canal n Suez, yella yeffey wawal n tikli-s yer Fṛansa. Deg wass n 31 di Magu 1947, deg usagen n Port Saïd, yufa gguni-t imeynasen n Listiqlal, am Allal El Fasi, Bourguiba, Ben Muḥammed Aâbbud, Yusef Rwis, atg. Muḥend Abdelkrim ifra din inig-is, yers-d seg ubabuṛ nni, yekcem Lqahira.

Di Lqahira i tenti tedwilt tis snat n tṛad n Muḥend Abdelkrim mgal Fṛansa d Sbanya.

Mi yeweḍ yer Lqahira, yufa tella «Tzeqqa n El Meyreb»²¹⁴ anda llan dduklen imeynasen n Meṛṛuk, n Tunes d Lezzayer. Amur ameqran seg-sen d «Iḥedriyen» n Fes, n Tunes ney tiyremt n Lezzayer. Abrid nsen d tasertit n wawal akken ad suffyen Fṛansa

²¹⁴ « Bureau du Maghreb Arabe », 10 rue Darih Saad, Le Caire, Egypte ; llan deg-s imir, Allal El Fassi, Bourguiba, Muḥammed Khiḍer, ...

s tertit. Abrid nni ur illa d tamuḥli n Muḥend Abdelkrim. Agur sin yer zdat islul-d « Agraw i Teslelli n Tamazya » (« Comité de Libération de l'Afrique du Nord »)²¹⁵.

Snat tikta ufrarent si tikli nni n Muḥend Abdelkrim :

Tamezwarut, i netta ur tezmirt ad d-tlal tnekra di yiwet tmurt kan. Ma tella d tanekra ad yimyuren, Merḥuk, Lezzayer d Tunes, d tamara ad as-dduklen i tnekra nni. D win kan i d abrid. I Muḥend Abdelkrim, ur tella d tasuddest n tegnitt di tallit n tegrawla. I netta, tamurt yiwet i yellan, yaṣ ur d-inna isem-is yellan si zik n zik, d Tamazya. Tamuḥli n Muḥend ur d-tlal di Laqḥira, tella deg-s di tmurt n Arif mi yewet ad izger i wedrar n Arif, akkin yer lizerwalen, akken ad issiy tagrawla alamma d Agadir. Tiḥdert nni n Arif i deg ibna Tagduda, iga-tt d afud akken ad isihrew alamma d tilisa n tmurt-is tameqrant i yesduklen Merḥuk²¹⁶, Lezzayer d Tunes akkin. Tamuḥli nni tusa-d seg iḥḥran n umezruy, mi yesdukel ugellid Masnsen Tamazya, seg ixef yer yixef.

Tis snat, Muḥend Abdelkrim ur isarem ad iqqim kan deg urar nni n tsertit d usuter di Fṛansa akked d igerwan n O.N.U. ney Agraw n Talwit (Conseil de Sécurité), akken ad as-d-tuḥal tmurt-is i yettwakksen. I netta ur tella ticṛaḍ s war idammen. Fṛansa d Sbanya kecment tamurt s ubaḥud d wuzzal, ad ffyent s ubaḥud d wuzzal. Tban am azal. Di tallit nni, Muḥend Abdelkrim iḥḥra ur izmir ad yeg kra s imeynasen nni « lḥḍriyen » yellan di Lqahira. Wid wukud izmer ad tt-isker d imesdurar, d Imaziyen am netta.

²¹⁵ Comité de Libération de l'Afrique du Nord (ney Comité de Libération du Maghreb) : Muḥend Abdelkrim (Président/Aselway), gma-s Mḥammed Abdelkrim (vice-président), Bourguiba (secrétaire général).

²¹⁶ Tarkizt tamezwarut n Tagduda n Arif (Charte de la République du Rif) : « 1. Non reconnaissance de tout accord violant les droits du Maroc ou ayant un rapport avec le protectorat de 1912... ». Irifiyen ur uran « les droits du Rif » !.

Abrid-is akked ubrid n imeynasen nni n «Bureau du Maghreb Arabe» ur dduklen. Aḥal i qqimen wid nni i cwal gar-asen, di tuttra n wawal d lbuṭ usekkak. Di 1954, d abrid n Muḥend Abdelkrim i yeffyen. Yekker ubaṛud di tmurt n Lezzayer, syen yerna di Meṛṛuk d Tunes, yerḷa asalu i «Libération»²¹⁷ n tmura n Tmazya. D abaṛud n yemjahden n A.L.N. akked A.L.S. i yesawḍen yer timument n Meṛṛuk d Tunes.

Muḥend Abdelkrim ur igguni ad d-iffey wayen ilhan si timument n Meṛṛuk akked Tunes di 1956, i yellan ger ifassen n ukabar Listiqlal di Meṛṛuk akked win n Destuṛ di Tunes. D wid nni n tiḥila n «Bureau du Maghreb Arabe» i yessen di Lqahiṛa i yuyen akersi di Ṛbaṭ akked Tunes. Asirem n Abdelkrim yerra yer tama n Lezzayer mi yerḷa kkren ifellaḥen di nunamber 1954 akken ad kksen azaglu s ubaṛud.

Di lqahiṛa deffir 1947, Muḥend Abdelkrim iqqim-d akkin, imla-d abrid n tmussni-s i yal win ad as-isutren. Si Arif ney si tmura nniḍen n Meṛṛuk, yal win izemren, ikcem Maseṛ akken ad yerzef, ad isel i wawal n Abdelkrim.

Muḥend Abdelkrim yemmut deg wass n 6 Fuṛar 1963.

Gamal Abdelnaseṛ, aselway n Maṣeṛ, iga-yas tanṭelt tameqrant ; sezren-t di tmemmast n Lqahiṛa. Inṭel di tmeqbeṛt n Abbasieh di Lqahiṛa.

Muḥend Abdelkrim ur ira ad inṭel di Meṛṛuk.

²¹⁷ Awal « Libération » (taslellit), d Muḥend Abdlekrim i t-yeseddan d amezwaru deg umaḍal. Syen yefṛurex di tmura i yekkren ad kksent azaglu n temhersa.

22. Taggara

Tanekra n Arif terḥa asalu i tmura yellan ddaw uzaglu n temhersa akken ad kkrent deg ubrid n tlelli. Ripublik n Arif d amedyia di Tferka akked Asya. D tanekra nni n Arif i yesengugin tazmert n Sbanya, n Fṛansa, n Legliz, Telyan d Puṛtugal, tezwar, tekkes akukru akken ad mdekwalent tmura yellan ddaw uzaglu n temhersa.

Di tallit n tṛad, isem n Abdelkrim²¹⁸ yeffey akkin i tmura, slan yis di yal tiymert n Uṛupa, deg Agmuḍ Anemmas di tmura Taâṛabin, si Marikan ar Cinwa. Di tmurt-is ass-a, di Meṛṛuk, d isey nni n Anwal i yellan am akken yella di 1921. Ass-a di 2011, yal amdan n Arif, n Meṛṛuk, yessen tadyant n Ripublik n Arif, «Di Dewla n Ripublik», ney «Di lweqt n Abdelkrim». Gas ssnen awal nni i yasen d-ismektayen tagrawla tameqrant, amur seg-sen rennun tikkal awal nni uyilif : «Ur d-iqqim ḥed si mi yemmut Abdelkrim»! Asirem n tnekra nni 1921 ar ass-a ur tensa tafat-is. Ger 1921 d 1926, ḡas d tallit n tṛad, tamurt tufa iman-is, Irifiyen sbedden tamurt yef tgejda n yidles Amaziḡ, kksen azaglu i ten-iqqnen,

²¹⁸ Amur ameqran n wid iseddin tṛad di tmura n wamḡal, lemden tussna syur Muḥend Abdelkrim: Maréchal Tito n tmurt n Yougoslavia, Che Gevara ; Hô Chi Minh n tmurt n Vietnam, inna-yas: « Abdelkrim héros national, précurseur de la guerre révolutionnaire ». Mao Tsedong n Ccinwa, netta isnerna i tussna n Abdelkrim deg webrid n tṛad agerwal, tṛad Amaziḡ, «guérilla populaire». Hô Chi Minh irna-d: «D imenḡi n Anwal di 1921 i yesawḡen ḡer win n Dien Bien Phu di 1954». Di 1945 i d-islal Hô Chi Minh Tagduda n Vietnam (déclaration d'indépendance). Fṛansa ur teqbil Tagduda nni, taggara yekker tṛad armi d 1954. Mi yeqqim Hô Chi Minh i tifat netta d Fṛansa di Genève di 1954, ceḡden fellas Iṛumyen ad tebḡu tmurt n Vietnam yef sin: ad iddem Nord Vietnam, ma d aḡric n Sud Vietnam ad iqqim i ugellid Bao Dai. D tadyant nni n Arif i yas d ifkan tafat mi yella ikukra : s weḡric n Nord, izmer ad isihrew ad yay tamurt akken tella. Deffir Fṛansa, irna innuy mgal Marikan. Deg wass n 30 ctamber 1975 ikcem Saïgon, isdukel tamurt-is.

fernen ger wayen ilhan d wayen ur nelhi, r̄zan asalu i tmurt tamaynut i d-ileqmen seg izuṛan n Tamazya.

Tagduda n Arif si yiwet tama terza tazmert n Sbanya terna tin n Fransa, si tama tis snat tekkes tikerkas nni n tārabt-tinselemt i yentin amezruy n Meṛṛuk si mi d-kecmen yinselmen am zun ur illa kra, ur llan yemdanen, ur tella tmussni, ur illa yidles, ur tella t̄yerma send lislam. Di yal tamurt kecmen Wāraben s yisem n ddi, wten akken ad snegren isem n yidles d t̄yerma yellan send ad kecmen. Yal tamurt snegren, ad rnun ad snegren amezruy-is. D tafellaḥt nsen. I nitni, tamurt ur nella d tineslemt, d «war t̄yerma», ney taggara d «war amezruy»²¹⁹. Ula s wawal b̄dan tamurt ʔef sin²²⁰. Tagduda n Arif, tekkes akkin tikerkas nni, tesbedd idles n Arif amezwaru, tefka-yas afud akken ad tesbedd immal-is s yiyl akked tidi n tarwa-s.

Di 1925, Fransa akked Sbanya z̄ran zdat-nsen aḥemmal nni n tnekra tamaziyt i d-yusan si Arif ad ten ikkes ʔef uẓar; taggara dduklen, r̄zan adwi nni send ad ten yerz netta.

Amezruy n tmura iteddu tikkal d asaru, tikkal itneggiz tiseddarin n wakud, akka d wakka. Deffir Tagduda n Arif, si 1926 ur leqqmen ixulaf n tnekra nni Tamaziyt. Ilmend ad d-isuḍ waḍu n tlelli seg idurar d izuṛar n Meṛṛuk. Taggara si teyremtin n Fes d R̄baṭ i d-ilul wedwi n tārabt-tineslemt n Listiqlal, s Ibaṛaka n

²¹⁹ D abrid nni n tārabt-tineslemt yellan imir nni di 1925 i yellan ass-a. Amedya: di 1980, deffir Tafsut n Imaziyen di tmurt n Lezzayer, awal n FLN akken ad yerz tanekra d win : «Qbel tineslemt, Imaziyen llan d lmal, teddun āaryan, tezgen tiyeṭṭen, ttminyan gara-asen; taggara yusa-d ddi n lislam yewwi-yasen-d t̄yerma, yerra-ten d imdanen !» (d awal n Lmuḥafed n FLN deg unejmā di Tizi Uzzu, Magu 1980).

²²⁰ Di Meṛṛuk, llan sin yemdanden: Ḥeḍri = amdan n t̄yerma (win izedyen tiyremt tārabt-tineslemt, i yesawalen Tārabt); Beldi = win izedyen idurar ney izuṛar, ur neksib t̄yerma, ur neksib amezruy d yidles, i yesawalen «war tutlayt» (= El Baṛbariyya)!

ugellid Muḥammed V, mmi-s n Mulay Yusef, win akken ifkan azal n 10000 iserdasen ad nnayen mgal Abdelkrim yer tama n iserdasen n Fṛansa!

Awal nni i yenna Muḥammed V di Tanja di 1947²²¹ akken ad isuter azarug²²² n tmurt n Meṛṛuk, si tama ifka-d tafat, ikkes lâar nni n 1912 n Mulay Abdelḥafid d Mulay Yusef, si tama nniḍen yerra tillas yef tmurt. Inna-yas Muḥammed V di Tanja : «...tamurt n Meṛṛuk d taâṛabt, ad tekcem yer tejmaât n tmura taâṛabin» (la ligue arabe).

Send ad ikkes uzaglu n temhersa n Fṛansa akked Sbanya, tamurt ibeddel-as udem Muḥammed Ayaâlawi, yerra tamurt n Meṛṛuk tamaziyt d tamurt tâaṛabt, izenz-itt akkin yer wagmuḍ alemmas. Inna-yas i Fṛansa "kem effey ad geldey deg umkan-im". Muḥammed V isuter ad teffey Fṛansa si Meṛṛuk akken ad isnerni deg ubrid nni i d-tesnulfa Fṛansa di 1860, abrid nni n Napoléon III, tadyant n «Royaume arabe»!

Amur seg wid i d-islulen akabar n Listiqlal²²³ deffir 1944, d tarwa n at tqelmunin n Fes, wid nni i d-ikkren d ixšimen n Tagduda n

²²¹ Mulay Yusef yemmut di 1927, ibedd mmi-s, Muḥammed V, d agellid deg umkan-is.

"Discours de Tanger" n Muḥammed V di 10 yebri 1947, di El Mendoubia di tiyremt n Tanja. Awal n Muḥammed V irna-d deffir tiyri nni n 1944 (Manifeste de l'indépendance du 11/01/1944 remis à Mohammed V) i stenyen 70 Imeṛṛukiyen akken ad gen afrag i beṭtu n tmurt deffir tadyant nni n «Dahir Berbère» i yestinya s ufus-is Muḥammed V deg wass n 28/08/1930!).

Di «Dahir Berbère», Fṛansa tewwet ad tebḍu di temsal n çraâa ger Bled El Mexzen (Imeṛṛukiyen yellan di tiyremtin d izuṛar, ddaw laânaya ugellid) akked Bled El Şšiba (wid ur nella ddaw laânaya ugellid, Imeṛṛukiyen n idurar isawalen tamaziyt). Tewet Fṛansa ad tebḍu ger «waâṛaben» i d-tesnulfa akked Imaziyen i terra yer icuqar idurar, yas tamurt n Meṛṛuk d Imaziyen seg yixef ar yixef. Fṛansa tebḍa tamurt yef sin iderma akken ad teṭtef tanemmast, d tamḥaddit! Syen ad tay aṛar di tmurt. Tidett, iyisi yellan gar agellid akked weyref n Meṛṛuk, Fṛansa terra-t gar Imeṛṛukiyen izuṛar akked Imeṛṛukiyen idurar!

²²² Azarug: timunent, lhureyya, (français: indépendance).

²²³ Allal El Fasi akked imeddukal-is, «les nationalistes arabes».

Arif, d ixṣimen n Muḥend Abdelkrim. Wid d-ikkren, ḡas amur ameqran deg-sen d at tmurt, d Imaziyen deg idammen nsen, maca allay nsen d yiles nsen si Beydad, d Aâraben nnig Wâaraben. Gar Ifasiyen nni llan wid i d-yuḡen aḡar si Wandlus²²⁴, wid nni d-irewlen ass-mi d-kkren Iṣebenyulen Iṣumyen kksen azaglu ḡef tmurt nsen di tnekra taneggarut di 1492. Gar Ifasiyen nni akked wid illan di tiyremtin n Tanja ney n Tilimsan, llan wid yeffren ar ass-a tisura n tzeqqa nsen di Γernaḡa (Grenade) ney Qeṛtuba (Cordoba), saramen ad uḡalen!

Di tikta-s akked tasuddest-is, akabar n Listiqlal isnulfa-d tamurt n Meṛṛuk n targit-is : «tamurt taârabt-tineslemt, s umezruy intin si tineslemt n «El Futuḡat»²²⁵ di Iqern wis 7, s tutlayt taârabt lfuṣḡa, s ugellid-is d lmir n lmumnin». Tasnakta nni wumi fkan tirkelt tusa-d seg wagmuḡ (Eccerq anemmas), si tmura tinselmin akked tmura taârabin si mi d-tlul di Lqahiṛa Tejmâat n Tmura Tâarabin (La Ligue des Etats Arabes) di 1945.

Awal nni n Muḡammed V di Tanja yusa-d seg aswir nni, Congrès du Maghreb, i d-yellan di Lqahiṛa si 15 armi d 27 di fuṛar 1947. D afus n Listiqlal, yiwen seg wid isulin aswir nni, i yeskecmen Muḡammed V ḡer wennar. Abrid nsen imir, ad d-kksen timura n Tmazḡa (Meṛṛuk, Lezzayer, Tunes,...) si ddaw uzaglu n Fṛansa s wawal d tafrent.

Ass-mi yeweḡ Muḡhend Abdelkrim ḡer Lqahiṛa deg wass n 31 di magu 1947, ikcem annar, ibeddel-as udem. Ur iqqim deg uḡrired n imeynasen nni. Din kan islul-d «Comité de libération de l'Afrique

²²⁴ Andlus : Andalousie (Espagne)

²²⁵ «El Futuḡat»: tikli n ddin akked imenḡi n wâaraben akken ad skecmen ddin ḡer tmura n Tferka akked tmura nniden (conquêtes musulmanes)

du Nord», syen terna-d «Armée de Libération du Maghreb» i yesdukklen imjahden n Tmazya.

Abrid n Muḥammed V akked win n Muḥend Abdelkrim ur dduklen.

Franza tezra ayen illan, tessent tamurt n Merḥuk, tessent wid nni d-ikkren di temdinin. S tiḥerċi, trekkel-iten, terna yasen tazmert ugar akken ad tezzu tuzzal di tmurt n Merḥuk. Deg wallay nsen, imdanen nni n Listiqlal ur llan d imawlan n tmurt, ur d-uyen aẓar seg iẓuṛan n tmurt akken ad kkren ad ḥuccen Franza yef uẓar am akken gan Irifiyen, Iẓayen akked Imaziyen n idurar nniḍen.

Urar nni n Franza di Merḥuk am urar i tga di tmurt n Lezzayer. Di tallit deg Franza tesekcam imeynasen n PPA²²⁶ yer leḥbus, acku kkren deg webrid uzaruḡ d ixṣimen n Franza, am yemjahden n Arif, Tajmâat n El Ulama²²⁷ n Ben Badis akked imeddukal-is tesutur i yelmezyen n Lezzayer «ad lemden ad ayen luḡu, ad ẓallen», akken ad uyalen d inselmen ilhan. Tamurt tbub tabarda n temhersa n Franza, Tajmâat n El Ulama aybel-is d ddiin akked luḡu !

Gas iseggasen zerrin, tallit tbeddel udem, Franza teqqim di tmuyli nni tamezwarut n «Royaume Arabe» n Napoléon III, si Damas ar Tanja.

²²⁶ PPA (Parti du Peuple Algérien) / Akabar n Weyref Azzayri (ilul-d di Meyres 1937 - ittwagdel di 1939, idda s tuffra armi d 1946 mi d-ilul MTLD (Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques) / Adwi n Tlelli Tamagdayt.

²²⁷ Tajmâat n El Ulama («Association réformiste des Oulémas») tlul-d di 1931 (Abdelḥamid Ben Badis, El Uqbi, Bacir Ibrahim, ...). Ayerbaz nsen ameqran yella di Qsentina. Awal n El Ulama imir yiwen : «Eṭṭerbiyya wa eddin!», ddaw uzaglu n Franza!

Di Merṛuk, « l'orientalisme» n Maréchal Lyautey yuḡ-d azar si tsuddest nni n Napoléon III. Mi tekcem Fṛansa tamurt n Merṛuk, Lyautey yerna ifka-yas tazmert, isented Merṛuk yer Beydad.

Tanekra n Arif n 1921 ur d-tesnulfa tanekra n weḡref am zun d yiwen di Tmazya. D ayen illan si leqrun imezwura. Tanekra n iḡerman n Arif tefka anza yer tnekriwin n Gafsa neḡ Tala di tallit n Yugurten ass-mi d-ikcem Ruman. Di yal tallit akken, mgal Ruman, mgal Ifniqen, mgal Aâraben neḡ Terḡ akked Iṛumyen mi d-kecmen Lezzayer di 1830. Di yal tadyant umezruy, ad naf tamurt tekker, aḡref ad yerwi ayen yellan zdat-s, ad yesery, taggara times nni ad texsi aḡhal iseggasen neḡ timrawin iseggasen. Yiwen wass yer zdat, ur iḡra yiwen amek, ad tekker ad as-ales i herwel nni zun d yiwen i yas d-isayen asafu.

Tanekra n Arif tunef i webrid nni n herwel n war azekka. Mi tekker kan tmurt n Arif tufa-d tamussni thegga, tufa-d ameksa. Tuddsa i yesuli Muḥend Abdelkrim akked yerfiqen-is si tyita n Aberṛan, d tigejdit tamezwarut. Imenḡi n Anwal yerna-yas tazmert deg ubrid nni uyen. Si tazwara kan n ṡrad, i nitni «imenḡi yella d abrid n tmara akken ad tebnu tmurt n Arif maḡḡi akken ad hudden Sbanya». I Muḥend, Sbanya d afus deg tella tussna ur ssinen Irifiyen. Ur isarem ad inger ufus nni n Sbanya. Deffir imenḡi n Anwal, ḡas izmer ad ikcem Mellila, Muḥend Abdelkrim ur ikcim Mellila, ur isery Mellila. I Muḥend Abdelkrim, Mellila d tiqentert akken ad d-tezger tmussni si Uṛupa yer tmurt n Merṛuk. Deg iseggasen nni ṡrad i tlelli n tmurt n Arif, amur ameqran n tezmert yerra yer lebni n tuddsa n tmurt, Tagduda n Arif. Ger yewziren nni yellan deg ugraw n Arif, awzir n ṡrad d yiwen kan ger wid yellan ḡas imir ṡrad d anezgum ameqran. Taggara, ayen

ibedden di tmurt n Arif di 5 iseggasen nni yugar ayen izemren ad iddu yer zdat di lqern ney ugar. D tagrawla tameqrant, mi yekcem useggas n 1925, tamurt tbeddel udem²²⁸, tbedd Tagduda Tamaziyt n Arif.

Laâṛ n lyaâlawayen ur izmir ad ikkes deg umezruy.

Tadyant n Tagduda n Arif tefka-d udem-is akken yella: d tamhersa n tmurt tamaziyt s yisem n ddin n lislam²²⁹. Ur illa d yiwen seg-sen i yecḍen ney yuy yir abrid di yir tagnitt. D asalu nsen deg ubrid deg ddan si baba-s ar mmi-s. Mulay Abdelḥafid iyra i Fṛansa di 1912 akken ad d-tekcem d tamḥaddit yef tgelda-s mi yas d-wḍen Imaziyen zdat tewwurt n Fes. Gma-s, Mulay Yusef ifka irgazen ad nnayen mgal tanekra n Arif yer tama n Fṛansa, iberreḥ di leswaq akked tmezgidiwin i lḡihad mgal at Arif, yerna Yusef isekcem tawekka di tzawitin akken ad nnayent Tagduda. Muḥammed V idda deg ubrid n baba-s, Mulay Yusef, izmel (istenya) «Dahir Berbère» di 1930 akken ad ibḍu ger

²²⁸ « ... Ce qui frappe beaucoup [...] c'est la rapidité du processus de modernisation en l'espace de quelques années, toute une société change, change extrêmement vite. En effet, les Rifains ont envoyé à l'étranger des délégués comme fera plus tard le FLN (algérien) ; Ils ont posé, ou essayé de poser, la question rifaine à la Société Des Nations, comme plus tard d'autres mouvements nationalistes poseront devant la S.D.N. ou l'O.N.U. le problème qui sera le leur. Au niveau des troupes également, des techniques très modernes ont été utilisées. Les soldats partaient avec de la nourriture pour huit jours, techniques que reprendra Ho-Chi-Minh. C'est peut-être pour cela que Ho-Chi-Minh a déclaré qu'Abdelkrim était l'un des précurseurs de la guerre populaire... ». (F. Clément, di Abdelkrim et la République du Rif, Actes du Colloque, p. 137)

²²⁹ « En vérité, le mouvement de libération animé par Abdelkrim ,[...] avait un contenu socio-politique nouveau et même révolutionnaire auquel ne pouvait souscrire un establishment (**bourgeoisie urbaine arabo-islamique**, ndlr) dont le développement s'était fait aux dépens du monde rural et **en association avec des intérêts étrangers** » (A. Youssoufi, Actes du Colloque, Abdelkrim et le République du Rif, p.100)

Imerḥrukiyen akked Imerḥrukiyen, syen yekkes Meḥruk di Tmazya, isekcem tamurt yer irebbi n «Ugraw n tmura tâarabin».

Abrid nni yuy Muḥammed V akked ukabar Listiqlal deffir 1955 mi teffey Fṛansa si Meḥruk, ifka-d udem n tmurt i sarmen ad tt-bnun. Send ad ikkes udabu n Fṛansa si tmurt, «les milices» n Listiqlal sersent-d tillas yef tmurt, win ur nedda yid-sen ad immet²³⁰. Imjahden yekkren nnuyen mgal Fṛansa akked Sbanya, at ALN/Armée de Libération Nationale²³¹, deg idurar n Arif akked ALS/Armée de Libération du Sud, teffey-asen afus tmurt nsen. Deffir «les milices» n Listiqlal, tbedd tezmert n lâesker ugellid, FAR/Forces Armée Royales. Tuffya nsen tamezwarut n lâar yer tmurt n Arif di 1958 akked 1959 tenti akken ad snegren irgazen n ALN. D Ḥassen II s timmad-is i yeddand s Imatrayuz-is zdat 26000 iserdasen nni n FAR, uḡen abrid n Lḥusima akked Naḍur. Taggara, nnig 5000²³² Irifiyen i yemmuten, aḥal d iyerman ihudden. Ar ass-a, tadyant n 1958 ur tezmir ad tekkes deg uktay n Irifiyen.

²³⁰ Tamhersa n Fṛansa tekkes di 1955, «tbedd deg umkan-is temhersa n Ifasiyen». (wid isbedden akabar n Listiqlal tama n Allal El Fasi, amur ameqran si Fes)

²³¹ « ...Le parti de Listiqlal était reconnu par la France ...ils (istiqlaliens) n'ont jamais mentionné la résistance armée à l'occupation du pays...dans leur littérature officielle de 1928 à 1948 aucun ne signalait le nom de Abdelkrim, pour eux c'est un homme qui n'existait pas...c'est Abdelkrim qui a fondé l'Armée de Libération...c'est lui qui a donné le nom « Comité de Libération du Maghreb »...Listiqlal a tout réglé en secret avec la France. A cette époque l'Armée de Libération était dans la montagne du Rif et dans le Sud. Lorsque la France a reconnu l'indépendance, Listiqlal a demandé un cessez le feu...la vraie Armée a continué sa lutte...les dirigeants de Listiqlal ont décidé de liquider l'Armée de Libération ». (Muḥend Sillam Amezyan, 1926-1996, n yiḡrem Alma di Arif; d yiwen seg wid iseddand tanekra n 1958 di Arif, tadiwennit (interview) n 1995).

²³² Wid immuten di tnekra nni 1958 di Arif, ad ilin ger 2000 d 8000. Ur tella imir tudsa i yesdukklen leḥsab di teqbilin n Arif. Adabu n Meḥruk, si tama-s, iwet akken ad iffer ayen yenyā.

Gas si tama ufella, Muḥammed V iffey akken ad isenger wid «iran ad bɗun tamurt», netta izra ayen i t-isawɗen yer din: isew-is ad ikkes azaɗ n Ripublik di tmurt n Meɗruk; ad ikkes deg yemdanen asirem n tmurt anda zemren ad ilin d imezday s yisey nsen d tlelli nsen, d tarwa n tmurt, mačči d aklan ney d iqeddacen ugellid. Di Arif i yella, i yuy azaɗ yisem n Abdelkrim, Muḥammed V izwar si tmurt n Arif ad tt-isenger.

Si 1960 ar ass-a, udem n teyremtin nni yellan d afud n taârabt-tineslemt, ibeddel. Seg iseggasen n 1960 kecmen Ibeldiyen n yidles Amaziy yal tiyremt n tmurt; iserwel-iten laɓ²³³ seg idurar d izuyar nsen, ufan aɣrum di teyremtin. Ass-a, zun uyalen d nitni i d amur ameqran n imezday n teyremtin nni. Anekcum nni n weyref Ibeldiyen, ney ifellaḥen n tmurt, yessay azaɗ n tnekra di yal tiyremt n Meɗruk ney n Tmazya akken tella. Tinekriwin n Casablanca (Daɗ El Beyɗa) di 1965 akked 1981, tinekriwin n Lezzayer di 1960 akked 1988, akk tnekriwin n Tunes di 1984 akked 2010/2011, usant-d syur imezday nni Imaziyen i tent-ikecmen.

Gas amur ameqran n Ibeldiyen ikecmen tiyremtin timeqranin uyalen iles nsen d Tâarabt n tmurt, deg idles nsen qqimen d Imaziyen deg uzaɗ d tyerma; amur ameqran deg-sen ḡḡan azaɗ nitni d twaculin nsen yellan deg udrar ney deg uzayar.

Ass-a, afud n taârabt-tineslemt akken yeffey si teyremtin, yeffey seg irebbi n tburjwazit²³⁴ nni inegren, i yuy azaɗ deg udabu n yal

²³³ Exode rural : inig n tmara yef uɣrum (di yal tamurt n umaɗal, d aɣrum ney d talwit i yesinigen imdanen si tmura nsen yer teyremtin timeqranin i ten iɣerben, ney timura deg yella weyrum ney ugar n talwit).

²³⁴ Tiwaculin n tburjwazit i yellan d afud n taârabt-tineslemt, ass-a uyent iberdan n yidles Afransis ney win n Legliz. D nitni i yesfeydin si temhersa mi

tamurt n Tamazya. D adabu n yal tamurt i yeseddan seg aḥal d aseggas tasertit n taârrubt (arabisation) akken ad ayaen amkan di tsertit n «Amaḍal Aârab». Ass-a, di tallit deg teddukel tmurt, tekkes talast ger Ubeldi d Uḥedri, uyalen akk d lbeldiyen (ney d Imaziyen), tennulfa-d talast ger udabu akked weyref n tmurt. Ass-a, d adabu kan i d afud n taârabt-tineslemt deg ubrid n tsertit n ugraw n tmura taârabin (la Ligue Arabe). Di Meḥruk, di Lezzayer ney di Tunes d Libya, taârabt-tineslemt d amezrag n tsertit, ur tuy azaḥ di timetti n tmurt.

Tasertit nni, akken tella ass-a ad tekkes azekka, syen ad uyalent tmura n Tmazya deg ubrid nsent amenzu.

Zdat Muḥammed VI²³⁵, ass-a di 2011 di Meḥruk, ilan sin iberdan: Abrid amezwaru, ad iddu deg ubrid n igelliden izran zdat-s si lqern wis XII, ad yernu ad iseddu tamacahutt n «Imir n Imumnin» i d-imyin di Tafilalet, ad yernu ad ibib lâar n protectorat n 1912, akked tmesrufag n gaz moutarde n Mulay Yusef, akked idammen n wid immuten di tnekra n 1958 akked 1984. Abrid nni taggara, yiwen wass ad d-isekfel aḥemmal Amaziḥ ameqran ad iglun s tgelda-s yef iẓuran.

Abrid wis sin, d abrid n tissas, abrid n tidett, ad imil yer iẓuran-is²³⁶ netta, iẓuran n tmurt n Meḥruk.

Ilan di teyremtin tetṭef Fransa ney Sbanya. Tarwa-nsent telmed di tesdawiyyin n tmura n Urupa, Paris, Londres, Washington, mačči di tesdawt n El Qarawiyyin di Fes. Di Meḥruk, Lezzayer ney Tunes, d tarwa n igellilen (= lbeldiyen/Imaziyen) i yuyen abrid n uyerbaz n taârabt. (Amedya: awal n yiwen uselmad n Blida deg uymis El Muḡahed, di 1974 : « je constate que ...classes bilingues = fils de riches, classes arabisées = fils de pauvres »).

²³⁵ Muḥammed VI yuḥal d agellid deg wass n 23/07/1999 mi yemmut baba-s, Ḥasen II.

²³⁶ Muḥammed VI d Amaziḥ. Yemma-s, Faṭima Amehruq U Ḥemmu si twacult n Muḥa U Ḥemmu n At U Laḥsen, n teqbilt Iẓayen (Xnifra, Moyen Atlas).

Deg ubrid nni, ad ikkes timucuha n zik, ad yeḡḡ Meṛṛuk di Tmazya, taggara ad d-yawi si Maseṛ yer Ajdir iysan n Muḥend Abdelkrim n At Xeṭṭab n At Waryayen. Syen ad izwir ad illi tawwurt tameqrant, ad tbedd Tagduda n Meṛṛuk, anda yal Ameṛṛuki ad yaf iman-is.

Ass-n, ma yeqqim d agellid Muḥammed VI, ilmend ad iẓẓal di tqubett n Mulay Idris²³⁷, ad yali akkin yer wedrar n Arif, ad iẓẓal tazallit-is di tmemmast n Anwal.

Ass-n, anza n Muḥend Abdelkrim ad isusem. Taggara ad yeffey wawal nni yenna Muḥend Abdelkrim: «Nek zriy, ayen akk sarmey taggara ad idru, akken ibyu yizif umecwar, d tamara ad d-isiwed...».

17/01/2011

Muḥa U Ḥemmu d amjahed nni ameqran i yennuyen Fṛansa ger 1908 d 1921. yemmut deg imenyi.

Ass-mi tuy Mulay Ḥasen II di Rbat, Faṭima U Ḥemmu tella ur tessin Tâarabt, tesawal kan Tamaziyt.

²³⁷ Di Meṛṛuk, yal agellid amaynut ad ibedden (intronisation), tazallit-is tamezwarut di tqubett n Mulay Idris, di tama n Meknes, din i yella uẓekka n Idris Amezwaru.

23. Awal n Muḥend Abdelkrim

Azaṛ n Muḥend Abdelkrim

«Nekk d Amaziɣ [...] Imaziɣen d imdanen yessnen, d wid yesnernan i yal taɣerma i-d-ikecmen tamurt nney, i yal ddin i-d-ikecmen, am ddin uday, ddin aṛumi neɣ ddin ineslem. Nessen taârabt, tutlayt n leqran, nesawal tamaziɣt, tutlayt n imezwura nney, nessen day tafransist, tutlayt n tmurt i yeqqnen azaglu i tmurt nney».

« Je suis de race berbère [...] mais j'affirme cependant que les berbères sont des gens avancés, qui ont hérité de nombreuses civilisations. Vous ignorez par exemple qu'en tant que berbère, je suis de religion d'origine juive. Mes ancêtres sont ensuite devenus chrétiens, puis musulmans. Maintenant nous parlons l'arabe, langue du Coran, nous nous entendons en berbère, langue de nos aïeux, mais nous conversons aussi en français, langue de notre pays asservi ». (Le Caire, 1952)

Ripublik, Tagduda n Arif

«Nga-yas isem i tmurt nney 'République' n Arif di 1923 [...] akken ad d-nini amek tamurt nney tebna ɣef teqbilin i yezdin deg yiwen ugraw; ur d-nenna tamurt nney d tamurt ibedden s tejmaât-is, tin i fernen imezday-is. Awal nni n 'République' idda ad yaɣ anamek-is acemma ɣer zdat...».

« Nous avons appelé notre pays république rifaine dès 1923 [...], pour exprimer le fait que nous étions un Etat composé de tribus indépendantes fédérées, et non pas un état représentatif ayant un parlement élu. Le mot "république" ne devait, dans notre esprit, prendre sa signification véritable qu'après un certain temps... ». (1927)

Tɣad nney d tamara

Ur izmir yiwen ad d-yini nekker nekknɣer imenɣi i tazza n idammen kan [...] Abrid nney ixulef, d abrid n talwit i nesahrew ugar i tmura i yaɣ d-iwɣden akken ad qeblent timument nney.

«Il ne peut venir à l'esprit d'aucun être sensé que nous fassions volontiers la guerre et prenions plaisir à faire couler le sang. Au contraire, et ce qui en témoigne, ce sont les conditions de paix excessivement modérés que nous avons soumises aux puissances : conditions dont le principe essentiel était la reconnaissance de notre indépendance.»

Abrid i yay iggunin yezzif

Ur illa iyimi, ur illa usgunfu send ur nesuffey Fransa akked Sbanya si tmurt n Merṛuk. Ma qqimen da, ad kerzen s lmerṛkuyen, ad ḥellin i nitni yal asafar yellan, tiḥegwa n tmurt, igran, tibḥirin d yexxamen. Ur d-ittyim uẓemẓum i yat tmurt.

« nous ne prendrons aucun repos, tant que nous n'aurons pas chassé les Français et les Espagnols du Maroc. S'ils y restent encore, ils feront des Marocains ce qu'ils voudront et ne leur laisseront aucune ressource : ni forêt, ni aucun jardin, ni terrain, aucun magasin ni maison ». (1921).

Tallit n lǧihad n dḍin tezra

Wid i yezzen fell-ay zun nedda deg ubrid n lǧihad yef dḍin, nekk ad asen-iniy unfen. Tallit n lǧihad n dḍin tezra, ur nella di tedyant nni n tṛad ger dḍin d wayeḍ. Nekkni nra kan ad nedder di tlelli, di timument nney...

« Lorsqu'on me reproche de faire la guerre sainte, on commet une erreur pour ne pas dire plus. Le temps des guerres saintes est passé ; nous ne sommes plus au moyen âge ou au temps des croisades. Nous voulons simplement être et vivre indépendants... » (1925)

Wid iseddan dḍin i tixubta

Yiwen ger wuguren n tnekra n Arif d wid iseddan dḍin ineslem s tideryelt yer tixubta. Nekk s timmad-iw, yiwet tikkelt i grey tiyri s yisem n dḍin, akken at Arif ad ten yaweḍ nnif, ass-mi d-tewet Sbanya s lbumbat yer tmemmast n ssuq n Ajdir. Dḍin ineslem n tidett ur ifdi di tikerkas akked tideryelt».

« Une cause de ma défaite a été le fanatisme religieux. [...] Je reconnais que j'ai dû utiliser moi aussi le sentiment religieux à certains moments, lorsque le marché d'Ajdir a été bombardé, mais le vrai islam est loin du fanatisme... » (1927)

Tixubta n lecyax d cuṛafa

«Ugur ameqran zdat tanekra n Arif, yusa-d seg wid i yesqedcen dḍin ineslem [...] lecyax akked cuṛafa kkren-d d ixṣimen-iw [...] taggara ur ufiy wid yef zemrey ad sendey akken ad as nbeddel udem, ad d-neslal tamurt n Arif tamaynut...».

« Les cheikhs se sont opposés à moi [...] Je dois préciser que je n'ai trouvé au Rif aucun encouragement à réaliser mes projets de réformes. Seuls quelques groupuscules [...] m'ont compris et m'ont soutenu...». (1927)

«... Imdanen nni ur d-gren afus di tnekra, acku i nitni tamurt mačči d aybel nsen, aybel nsen d ddin kan. Si tama-w, giy ayen wumi zemrey akken ad kksey aẓar nsen si tmurt, mi nitni d ugur ameqran deg ubrid n tlelli akked timument».

“...Ces gens n’ont pas participé à la lutte, parce qu’ils disaient que le combat pour la patrie ne les intéressait pas, leur rôle se limitait à la défense de la foi. J’ai tout fait pour débarrasser la patrie de leur influence, qui constitue un grand obstacle sur la voie de la liberté et de l’indépendance”.

Yif abrid n talwit

Ma tuy Fransa abrid n talwit, abrid nni n tifat ad ay isiwden yer taggara n tafat, taggara ad igen afud i tlelli nney, nekkni d win i nesarem. Ma tuy abrid nni, d leqrar ad tẓer nekkni nefka iqerra nney di yal tagnitt akken ad nesbedd admer ad tent ifrun gar-aney.

« Que la France s’engage dans la voie de l’amitié, de la compréhension et de la réconciliation, qui conduit à une solution positive, par la reconnaissance de notre liberté et de notre indépendance, tel est notre vœu. Sinon, la France saura que nous ne sommes pas avare de nos vies, que nous ne perdons aucun instant qui passe, et que nous nous préparons en vue de l’action décisive et rapide » (1948)

Tajmaât n Tmura idduklen (O.N.U.)

Ayen akk i nezra di temsal n l’O.N.U. akked Ugraw n Talwit yef tmura n Maser, Palestine ney Anducin, ur ay iččuṛ tiṭ. Giy-as ccek i yal tikli ad ibnun yef temḥaddit n yal tiddukla tagraylant icban l’O.N.U. Ugur nney, d nekkni kan ad ten-ifrun, s wid n talwit ney deg ubrid n tṛad.

« Ce que nous avons déjà vu devant l’O.N.U. et le Conseil de Sécurité sur les questions d’Egypte, de Palestine, d’Indochine, etc., m’inspire peu de confiance, ou plutôt me rend tout à fait méfiant quant à la valeur à accorder à un recours aux organisations d’arbitrage international. Nos problèmes ne seront tranchés que de nos propres mains, que ce soit pacifiquement ou par la guerre » (1948)

Afud i tugdut n weyref

«Ur tella tmendawt (aqanun amenzu n tmurt) nnig tin tefren tmurt s yiman-is i yiman-is [...] tamendawt n tidett d tin tura tejmaât i d-ikkan si tafrent i yesdukklen tarwa n tmurt akken tella...».

« Il n’y a de Constitution valable que la Constitution nationale établie par la nation elle-même et pour elle-même [...] La Constitution légitime d’un pays ne peut être élaborée que par une commission ou un organe d’élus, représentant authentiquement et correctement les différentes classes populaires.» (1962)

Abrid n yisey yezzif

Amennuy nney irna i yat Arrif isey d usirem nni ur tezmir ad tekkes tṛuži n tegnitt [...] tiddi d usirem n weṛref nney deg ubrid n tlelli ad yidir akkin, nnig yal tazmert n icenga nney.»

« Notre combat a donné aux rifains une fierté, un espoir, une confiance en soi qu'aucune défaite ne pourra effacer [...] L'aspiration à la liberté et la détermination de notre peuple dureront au-delà de la puissance de nos oppresseurs.» (1954)

Asirem...

«Nek zriy, ayen akk sarmey taggara ad iḍru, akken ibyu yiṛzif umecwar, d tamara ad d-isiweḍ».

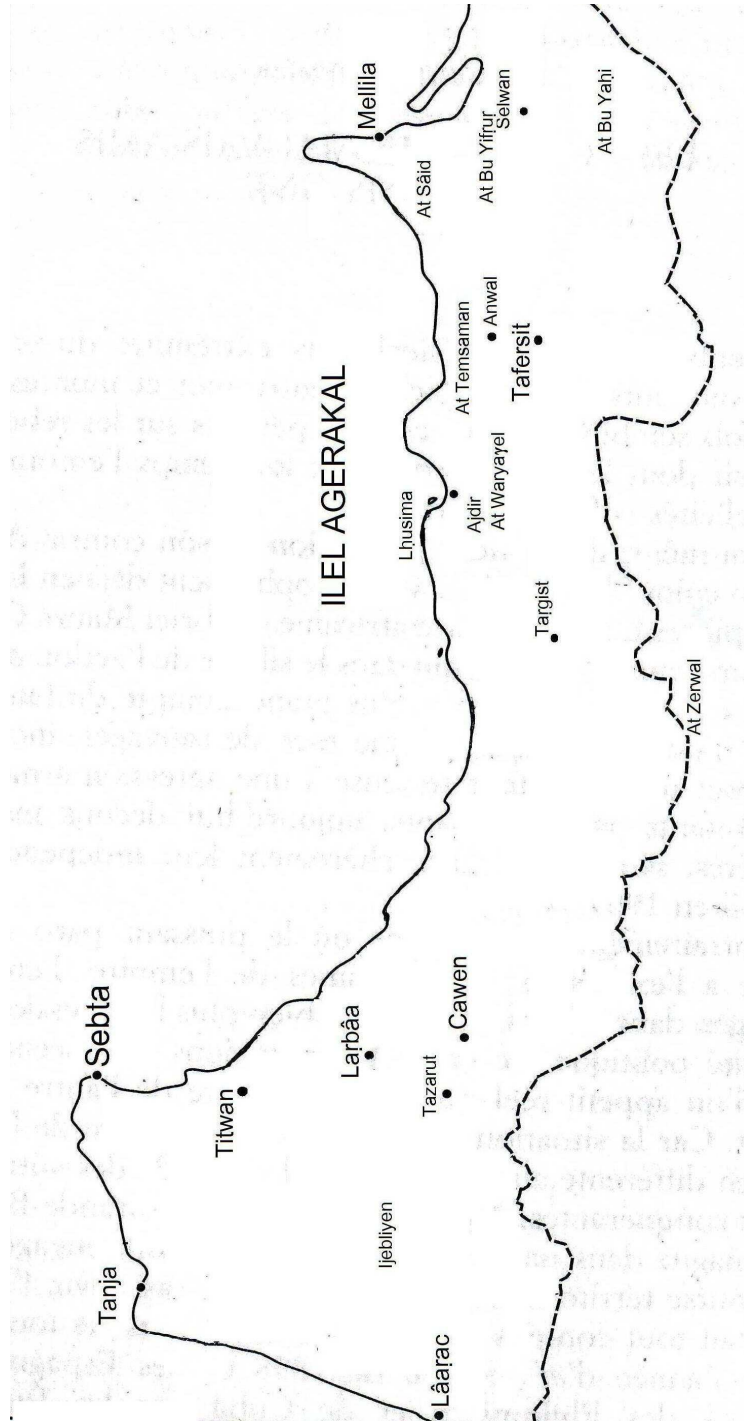
« ... je suis convaincu que mes espoirs seront réalisés, tôt ou tard, par la force même des choses... ». (1954)

24. Asaru umezruy

1415	Sbanya tekcem Mellila deg wakal n Arif
1631	Tezza tgelda n lyâalawiyen di Tafilalet, anzul n Merṛuk
1640	Sbanya tekcem Sebta deg wakal n Arif
1673	Sbanya tekcem azru n Nekkuṛ, tizirt illan agemmaḍ i Ajdir
1882	Talalit n Muḥend Abdelkrim n At Xetṭab di Ajdir
1909-1912	Tanekra n Muḥend Ameḥyan n At Bu Yifruṛ mgal Sbanya
15/05/1912	Muḥend Ameḥyan immut deg imenḡi n Aâziz Aâllal Kebdu deg udrar n Arif
21/03/1911	Fraṅsa tekcem Fes s lâeskeṛ-is; iḡra-yas Mulay Abdelḥafid ad d-tas d afrag gar-as d Imaziḡen i yezzin i Fes, teddun ad kecmen.
30/03/1912	« Protectorat » n Fraṅsa di tmurt n Merṛuk
06/1920	Talalit n ugraw n tnekra di Tafersit (At Temsaman, At Said, At Tuzin, At Waryayen)
07/08/1920	Immut Lqadi Abdelkrim, baba-s n Muḥend, s useḥḥi n Sbanya deg udrar n Lqama; intel di Ajdir
10/05/1921	Tagallit n Lqama i tnekra n Arif: Muḥend sbedden-t Irifiyen d aselway n yemjahden n Arif
22/07/1921	Imenḡi n Anwal
02/1923	Talalit n Tagduda n Arif di Ajdir
07/05/1926	Timlilit n Wejda ur tefra (échec des négociations d'Oujda entre les Rifains, la France et l'Espagne); Inti trad ameḡran n Arif, Maréchal Pétain zdat 350000 iserdasen n Fraṅsa , akked 100000 iserdasen n Sbanya, zzin-as i wedrar n Arif.
27/05/1926	Fraṅsa tetṭef Muḥend Abdelkrim di Targist. Nfan-t yer tegzirt n La Réunion
28/08/1930	Agellid Muḥemmed V izmel (istenya) «Dahir Berbère », win ibḡan Imeṛrukiyen gar-asen
10/04/1947	Muḥemmed V iga timlilit n Tanja (discours de Tanger): yenna «Merṛuk d tamurt tâarabt, ad tekcem di «La Ligue arabe».
31/05/1947	Muḥend Abdelkrim ikcem tamurt n Maser, yusa-d si tegzirt n La Réunion, illa iteddu yer Fraṅsa.
	Talalit n « Comité de Libération de l'Afrique du Nord »
07/04/1956	Timument (indépendance) n Merṛuk
06/02/1963	Muḥend Abdelkrim immut di Lqahira, di Maser; intel di tmeqbert Abbasiyeh (cimetière militaire) di Lqahira.



Tamurt n Merṛuk.



Tamurt n Arif di Merruk

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