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Ticraḍ, gar usemres d wazal n yizamulen i d-mmalent

Tattoos and the values of the symbols they convey

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Agzul

Awal-nney deg umagrad-a ad yili yef uglam n tecraḍ deg kra n temnaḍin n Tmazya. Ad d-neglem tarrayin i yettusemrasen deg tirmitt-a n uweccem, wi i tt-ixeddmn, azayer-nsen deg tmetti akked wallalen i semrasent tcerraḍin akken ad wenneent ticreḍt-nni. Taneggarut-a tla azal meqqren deg tgensas n uyref, asemres-ines ila mačči ala yiwet n twuri, ticraḍ ttmaggant akken ad sehlunt amdan seg kra n waṭṭanen yecban akazuz, ttecqiqa akked waṭṭan n lemfasel, am wakken i ttilint i umdan d lherz seg yir tiṭ akked teiqert. Iswi n umagrad-a d tiririt n wazal i tirmitt-a n tecraḍ deg tmetti n Yimaziyen akked usegzi n kra n yizamulen i d-yettilin deg tecraḍ.

Awalen-tisura : aweccem, aḥajam, azamul, tacerraḍt, tazult

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Abstract

This contribution aims to describe the practice of tattooing in some Amazigh regions. It tries to list the different techniques, the actors plus the means used to succeed in this practice which has a high value in the society. The use of tattooing is multifunctional; it helps treat some illnesses such as goiter, migraine and rheumatism, as it plays a protective role against bad oil and sterility. The objective of this contribution is to highlight the value of tattooing in Amazigh society and attempt to reveal the secret of some tattoo symbols.

Keywords : Antimony, aḥajam, symbol, tattoo, tattoo artist

Ticraḍ, gar usemres d wazal n yizamulen i d-mmalent

Ticraḍ i txeddem tmeṭṭut deg tfekka-s, deg yiselsa, deg uz-eṭṭa, deg teklut, deg yisyunen akked ufexxar d wid ilan azal meqquer deg tudert-is n yal ass. D izamulen ideg yella wayen ur tezmir ad d-tini qbala i wiyad ama d iḥulfan-is ama d tagnit ideg tetteic. Izamulen i d-yettilin deg tecraḍ-a, lan assay d ugama ideg tudert tcudd nezzeh yer lxedma n wakal, nettaf-iten yur yiḡerfan ixedmen akal merra, tterran izamulen-a, mgaraden kan deg yisekkiren i ten-yetṭafaren (Moreau, 2015).

Deg umagrad-a, ad nefk tixutert i tecraḍ i txeddem tmeṭṭut deg tfekka-ines, imi ula d nutenti d allal n taywalt, lant inumak uf-firen, ad nessissen kra deg-sen. Ad d-nesken dayen timental i yeḡḡan tameṭṭut tamaziyt tettarra ticraḍ-a, s unamek-nniḍen, ti-wuriwin i lant tecraḍ-a deg kra n temnaḍin timaziyin.

Izamulen i tterrant tlawin deg tecrađ-a, ur mgaraden ara yef wid i tterrant deg uzetđa, deg yiselsa, deg teklut yef lehyuđ n uxxam akked ufexxar, d izamulen s umata i d-yemmalen assigel (fécondité)ad naf deg-sen : azrem, taxemset, tařaret n yigenni/iselbeđ), wid d-yemmalen tumert d talwit, ad d-nebder: řřir, izi, timcedř, wid d-yemmalen ayen d-yettuyalen am tsemhuyin, gar-asen: ayyur, itřij, itran.

Iswi-nney, deg umagrad-a, d tiririt n wazal i tirit n uwec-cem i řřfent tyemmatin ney tiyemmatin n tyemmatin ařas n tsutwin, d tukksa n uyebbar fell-asant. Ad ilint fell-asant tezrawin tussnanin, deg-sent, ad yili uglam n wayen akk icudden yer-sent: asatal ideg d-llant, taggayin-nsent, tiwuriwin-nsent deg tmetti, allalen i yettus-emrasen deg tirit-a akked tmuylı n wiyad fell-asant.

I. Anamek n wawal cređ akked tecrađ

Ařar argalan i d-yefkan awalen: *cređ/creř, acrađ/acrař, ticrađ/ticrař, tacerrađt ney tamecrađt* d “CRD”.

Amyag *cređ/creř*ıla sin n yinumak:

- Eđđ ccama deg kra n tyawsa, d tafekka, d afexxar, d isyunen, d lehyuđ, d idyayen, atg. Llant temnađin deg tmurt n tmazya i yeqqaren: nqec, rqem, eellem.
- řleb i yiwen kra, d tiririt n wazal i wayen i as-tefkiđ yakan; MD: yiwen yefka yelli-s, ad yecređ yef yidulan-is kra (d adrim, d læzz...);

Imegdawalen n wawal *ticrađ* d *ticerbebb*a akked *rrqem*. Amyag *Cređ*, seg tama-s, ila amegdawal *weccem* mačči kan deg tmurt n Wawras ney yer yimsiwal aeraben (Dahmani, 2023, sb.105), yettusemras ula deg kra n temnađin n Usammar n tmurt n Leqbayel (*kabylie orientale*) gar-asent, Isendal deg Drae lgayed, yefruri-d seg-s yisem akmam *lewcam* akked yisem n tigawt *awec-cem*, aneggaru-ya ur yettusemras deg tama n Yigawawen (Dahmani, 2023, sb. 98).

Gar wid i d-yesbadun² ticrađ, ad naf wid yefkan azal i wawal s timmad-is, amezruy-ines akked wid yefkan azal i tigawt akked ugmud (irit ara yilin yef tfekka, ad t-walin medden). Ad naf (Grogard, 1992) yesseqdec awal ticređt s unamek n tigawt akked ugmud-is (isem amilan). Yekcem wawal-a, i tikkelt tamezwarut deg usegzawal deg useggas 1860.

Win yerran azal i yirit s timmad-is, mačči i tigawt, d (Breton, 2002), yenna-d ticređt d unuy-nni ney d irit ara nwali s wallen-nney, d ayen i d-yeğgan later deg uglm n tfekka s yini yemgaraden.

1. Azayer n tcerrađt

Zik, tacerrađt tesea azayer imi ttwalin-tt yimezday n leerc-is, ney leerac i as-d-iqerben, tettwazdey, rekben-tt yijenniwen. Tettwamlek syur ayt lxir imi ur txeddem ayen n diri, ttawin-d syur-s ddwa, tujjya akked lherz. Llan wid i as-yessawalen taderwict.

² « Le mot tatouage désigne l'opération et son résultat. Il fait son entrée officielle dans le dictionnaire Littré vers les années 1860 »

Segmi d-yekcem lislam yer da, tirit-a n tcerrađt tettwagdel, d lħenni i yuyen amkan n tecrađ, ula d tid i tent-ilan deg tfekka-nsent, ttefrent-asant tid ara tent-yessizedgen, asmi ara mmtent, s lħenni, akken ur tent-yettættib æzrayen (Dahmani, 2023, isb.103-107).

Unuyen ney iriten i ttarrant tlawin n tmazya ur mgaraden ara yef yiwerfan i ixeddmen tafellaħt, d acu mgaraden yef wid n tmura n Usammar (*l'Orient*), imi wid n tmazya d izamulen inez-giyen (ijerriden, iqusisen, uzgen uqusis, atg.), ma d wid n tmura-nniđen n umađal; ad naf d aferdis i ira bab ney lal n tecređt ara yilin deg tecređt-is, s unamek-nniđen ticrađ d unuyen mačči d izamulen ideg iruħ wassay gar tikti akked yirit. D amedya, deg tmura n Usammar, ad naf deg tecrađ ijeğğigen ma deg tmura n utaram, yec-ban Fransa, d ayaziđ.

Deg kra n temnadin n tmazya, gar-asant Tayazut, d ameqqran n taddart i yessuturen deg tlawin n taddart ad rrent ticrađ yef tfekka-nsent (Mahmoudi, 1999, sb. 138), ifulka i asent-yettakk d wi³: « - Wwtemt yef twenza-nkumt iferr n uzemmur ad teqqimemt dima d tuħricin; -Ur ttağğamt ara udem-nkumt d ilem am lexla (tiniri). Weccmemt-it ad tilimt telhamt ugar yur Yillu, ad kunt-ħemmlen ugar yirgazen-nkumt » (Mahmoudi, 1999, sb. 139).

³ « -Parez votre front de la feuille verte d'olivier, et vous restez toujours fraîches ; - Ne laissez point votre visage nu comme le désert. Tatouez-le ; ainsi vous serez plus agréables aux yeux de Dieu, car vous serez plus aimées de vos maris ».

Ma yella aweccem, deg kra n temnađin timaziyin, gar-asant tamurt n Leqbayel, ila kra n twuri (asiggel, lherz, rrcil akked lehzen n wul); deg temnađin-nniđen, yecban læerc Tayazut, deg tniri, tiyita n tecrađ tekcem deg yidles, tasuta tettağğa-tt-id i tayed, d ayen ara negzu deg tebdert-a (Mahmoudi, 1999, sb. 138) imi d-yenna :« Deg læerc n Teyzut, ..., ticređt mačči d aweccem menwala, wala d axbac aherfi. D tazuri, d asegni i d-tettağğa tsuta i tayedt »⁴.

Deg wayen yerzan tayara n tecređt s timmad-is akked tin i ixedmen tirit-nni, Dahmani (2023) yettmeslay-d yef sin n lesnaf n tcerrađin:

- Tin yellan d tamanunt, uread tefriz deg tirit-a. Deg wayen yerzan tahuski ney cebađa n tecređt, ur d-tufrar, ur tecbiđ. S umata ssuturen-tt wid ney tid yuđnen, iswi n tecređt-nni dya d ddwa mačči d cebađa yerna, deg talya, d iriten iherfiyen, d imecđah (Guenfissi, 2022, sb. 148). Qqaren i tecrađ-a *aceđtab*.
- Tin yellan tefrek, tewwi ssenea deg ufus-is; d tafennant, tessem ama i wunuy n yirit ama i yiniyen ara tefren deg-sen. Ticrađ i txeddem tcerrađt-a cebhent nezzeđ, dya d tahuski i d iswi-nsent, qqaren-asant *aneqqad*.

Talya n ssenf-a, tezmer ad tili d tađerfit am wakken i tezmzer ad tili d tuddist, d asefrurex n yirit seg wayeđ, aya ilmend n

⁴« Dans la tribu de Taghazout,... le tatouage n'est pas un vain et libre crayonnage, ni un simple griffonnage. C'est toute une culture, une éducation transmise de génération en génération ».

tehri n wadeg ideg ara tili tecređt-nni (Brousse, 2012; Benazouz & Refrafi, 2023, sb. 294).

2. Tanudda n lal n ticrađ

Tin i ixeddmen ticrađ, ur tli tanudda irekden, tezmer ney yezmer ad yecređ, acku ticrađ nettarra-tent ama i uqic ama i teqcict deg yiseggasen imezwura n tlatit, ma yuđen; mi ara tili d tilemzit am wakken i tezmer ad tent-texdem mi ara tuyal d tamyarat.

2.1. *Tanudda tamezzyant*

Tezmer ad tesɛu sin n yiseggasen (ɛamayen), d lħerz seg yir tiđ ney i ttabea yellan deg yimma-s n lħufan-nni (ur tessidir ara), ticređ-nni d tamezzyant, s umata ttarran-as-tt i lħufan deg tmezzyut-is, qqaren-as taɛyyact; ad t-teħrez seg tmettant, ad as-tili d lħerz. Am wakken i tezmer ad tili d tikci n wawal, d lweed i rrcil (zik xetħben yimawlan deg dduħ).

2.2. *Tanudda taqsaysit (talemast)*

D tin n telmezyn ilan gar 12 akked18 n yiseggasen i d-yewwđen yer rrcil akked tlawin iran ticrađ deg wadeg n wurey d uzref, imi ur ten-tufi ad tcebbeħ iman-is yes-sen teg teswiein n lfuruħ.

2.3. *Tanudda tameqqrant*

Tezmer ad tili d tamyarat yeddin deg leɛmer (tasuta tis tlata, d jidda/nanna), d ddwa i kra n waħħan ney d leħzen, d tamettant n win yeɛzizen fell-as (lħerħ n wul).

3. Tallit n tecrađ

Kra i xeddment tlawin ila tallit-is, ama deg teyzi n wass (tanezzayt, deg uzal akked tmeddit) ama deg teyzi n useggas (tagrest, tafsut, anebdu akked umwan). S wakka, ula d ticrađ sukksent-d lawan-nsent.

- Tettili-d tyita n tecrađ, ma d tid n thuski, deg tefsut imi twulem i lğerh; ur yetteemmir, ur yettsulum, ad yeħlu s læjlan. Dya ma d ticrađ n lħerz, asiggel akked udawi; ur lint tallit irekden, tilint-d mi ara d-teħder tegnit i tent-srant.
- Leħcawec ara tessexdem tcerrađt i yini (ssbay) ama d timzin ama d selgu, ama d amezzir ama d tucanin tettheggi-ten-d uqbel n wass n uweccem;
- Tallit ay smenyifent tcerrađin deg wass d tanezzayt, imi ulac irgazen deg uxxam (ffyen yer yiger ney yer uxeddim), tin ara yewten ticređt ur teeyi ara, tezmer ad tlawi leqriħ-nni, ad tesber;
- Tacerrađt tla lweqt ad teass lğerħ-nni, ma ur ħbisen ara yidammen, ad d-taf tifrat deg wass (ad as-teqqen aman n umagraman, ad ħebsen yidammen.

Ad d-nesmekti kan da, tiyita n tecrađ mačči am wansayen-nniđen n tmetti n Yimaziyen s umata, Leqbayel ladya (Azeyyen/tħhara, talalit n uqcic, asufey-ines, asemyi n tyen-nusin ...), ney ula d irmuden ideg tterran ticrađ yecban azetħta, taklut yef leħyuđ, akked talaxt umi xeddmen asekkir (lfal) ama d uħbik,

timezliwt n uyaziđ (Genevois, 1964, sb. 41) akked ubexxer n tsegra deg uzetđa, timezliwt n uyaziđ d asfel ney d asefk i ueessas n uxxam, ama i dderya, i lmal ney i leula (Westermarck, 1936, sb.17), itbir ney awtul deg teklut (Djabri & Guaoua, 2019). Deg tyita n tecrađ, dya, ur tent-yetđafar usekkir, yettili-d melba lħess (Dahmani, 2023).

Adeg n temlilit n tcerrađt akked tin yebyan ad tecređ yezmer ad yili d axxam n tneggarut-a, am wakken i tezmer ad truħ yer uxxam n tcerrađt. Ma yella mačči yiwet, d agraw; timlilit tettili-d deg wadeg n tejmaet yellan d ayla n taddart merra (Dahmani, 2023, sb.115).

Ma yella deg tmurt n Leqbayel, s umata, d tilawin ay d ticerrađin akken tebyu tili twuri n tecređt-nni (tahaski, adawi, lħerz, atg.), deg tmurt n Yicawiyen mgaraden wid ilan sseneā-nni akked wallalen i yettusemrasen deg tyita n tecređt, ad naf:

a. *Lewcam* d ticrađ i tterrant tlawin akked yirgazen i ccbaħa. Ma yella irgazen ttweccimen taqebbiđt n ufus akked yiyallen-nsen; tilawin, s umata, kkatent ticrađ deg yidgan yemgaraden deg tfekka-nsent (tawenza, tamart, timiđt, atg.). Ilmend n wayen i d-segzant Rivière akked Faublée (1942, isb.70-72), tid ay xeddmn ssenf-a n tecrađ d tilmezyin uread nezwiğ ney d tid i d-yennebran, d tiririt n wazal i ccbeħa-nsent. Allal swayes i d-yettili lewcam d tissegnit mačči d lmus ney d arazwar, tterran-t gar leħbab, menwala (mači ala win ilan ccfa deg ufus-is) yezmer ad iweccem win iran ad yerr

ticređt. Akken ad yesbey yirit n tecređt, tacerrađt, deg tmurt n Yicawiyen trennu tazult; tessemras aslew ney imbuxxen, anagar ma ulac tazult ney lekħul yerna tdelleg amkan-nni i tweccem s waman n temzin i therres, tżem-itent akkenad d-fkent ini icebħen; adal i d-yemmalen tizzegzewt d lyella.

b. *Aħajam* i ttgen i ddwa, xeddmen-t s lmus yerna kra n twaculin kan i izemren ad yexdem ticređt i tmeđtut yellan d tieiqert, akken i d-nenna, ney ur tessidir ara (ad d-nnernin mmuten ney ad dden kra n wussan ney kra n wagguren), d tid n yimrabđen ilan ccfa deg ufus-nsen, ney, ilmend n Rivière akked Faublée (1942, sb. 77), syur urgaz yewwin timegređt.⁵

4. Taggayin n tecrađ

Ticrađ s umata d iriten ney d izamulen i yettarra umdan s umata, ama d irgazen deg kra n tegnatin, ama d tilawin deg tuget n tegnatin, deg wayen i as-yezzen srid, d talya n tenfalit swayes tettili taywalt yid-s, llan yimassanen i d-yeqqaren d talya taqburt n tira (Grogard, 1992, sb. 19) ama deg tfekka, ama deg yiselsa, ama deg leħyuđ n uxxam, ama deg yisyunen ama deg talaxt, gar yirman i yettwasemrasen, ad d-nebder:

- Rrqem, aellem, nneqc (afniq), ccama;
- Lewcam, aħajam (Icawiyen);

⁵ Asekkir-a yettwassnen deg læerc n Ulad Ebderrahman deg tmurt n yicawiyen, yella ula deg Lmerruk anda ttweccimen tameđtut ur nessidir s tessegnit s wayes ixad lekfen n win yemmuten ur nezwiğ (d leazeb), d ayen i d-yura J. Herber, Le tatouage des pieds au Maroc, dans *l'Anthropologie*, t. 33, 1923, p. 92.

- Aweccem, lewcam (Isendal deg Drae lgayed);
- Lherqus, ur yettdum ara yerna yesa tallit ideg t-xeddmn (laezla n Yennayer), yettseħhi allen, d ddwa mgal ațtan n tirtaw, qqaren-as *timmi s yimețti n uzezzu* (Genevois, 1975-III, sb.11);
- Lhenni, yuy amkan n tecrađ, ikcem-d akked lislam, ur yegdil imi ur yettdum yerna yettili sufell n uglim, ur ttazzalen seg-s yidammen.

5. Tiwuriwin n tecrađ

Ilmend n Dahmani (2023, isb.136-137) akked Taileb (2021, sb. 511), ticrađ mačči ala yiwet n twuri i lant deg tmetti, mgaraden yiswan n yimdanen i yettarran ticrađ, gar twuriwin-a, ad d-nebder:

5.1. *Ccabaħa*

Tterrant tlawin ticrađ deg wadeg n yisyunen (wurey ney azref) imi amur ameqqran deg-sent d tigellilin, tterrant-tent deg ufus; deg umkan n umeqyas, deg uđar deg umkan n urđif, deg yimegređ deg umkan n ucrur, atg. S tecrađ-a ara d-seknent zzin-sent, aladya ma d ticebħanin (Rivière & Faublée, 1942). Am wakken ara naf, amur ameqqran seg tid yettarran ticrađ-a d tid yennebran, yes-sent ara d-jebdent tamuylı (Refrafi & Benazouz, 2023, sb. 293).

Tawuri n tecrađ-a n thuski d tuffra n kra n ccama i yellan deg tfekka, ama d lixsas, ama d timerna. Llant dya teqcicin ilan kra n texas deg tfekka-nsent, ticrađ-nni ttymmunt leeyub-nni, tid ur

nli ccæer deg leeyun-nsent, xeddment-ten s tecrađ, dument i lebda. Am wakken i llant, dayen, tid ilan kra n ccama deg yigmamen n tfekka-nsent, ttyummunt-itt s tcređt-nni.

5.2. Rrcil ney tebyez

Deg kra n tudrin, tterran ticrađ i teqcicin i d-yewwđen yer zzwaj, akken ad d-jebdent tiđ n yilmezyen ney n yimawlan-is am wakken i kkatent ticrađ tid yellfen ney yennebran. Seg tama-nniđen akken ad d-beyynen taqcict-a temyur ur telli d tamanunt, tezmer ad tebnu axxam, tezmer ad tqabel taært d unezgum n ddunit, s unamek-nniđen, tezmer i umyar, i temyart, i yilewsan, i urgaz, atg.Zik, deg kra n temnađin n tmurt n Leqbayel, gar-asen At Zmenzer d Tizi Raced, tterran i teqcicin timecđah, seg 12 ar 16 n yis-eggasen akken ad d-inin taqcict-a tewweđ i zzwag, s umata ticređt-nni tterran-as-tt deg twenza.

5.3. Adawi

Tterran, ama d irgazen ama d tilawin, ticrađ akken ad dawin kra n wađđanen yellan deg tfekka-nsen: ineddicen, tawla, tirtaw (Rivière & Faublée, 1942, sb. 76), ttecqiqa, rrumatiz, akazuz, tigezzal akked lkist, d ayen ara negzu deg :

Ticrađ n udawi ttmaggant deg wadeg ira umdan ad yekkes leqriđ, am wakken i d-skanayent tecrađ deg lemfasel akken ad seđlunt rrumatiz d wađđanen n yiysan akked d tecrađ ilan talya n uqisis, i yellan s wađas deg tmurt n Leqbayel, i usuji n lkist.
(Guenfissi, 2022, sb.150)

Ticrađ-a n udawi (Lacoste-Dujardin, 2005, isb. 334-335) s umata xeddmment-tent deg umkan yuđnen deg tfekka: deg yimegređ ma d akazuz (ađazuz); deg ufud, taqebbiđt n ufus akked uđar ma d rrumatiz ney d aserđer n lemfasel d yiđsan. Ayen yessemgarden ticrađ i tterran yirgazen akked tid i tterrant tlawin d talya-nsen: tid n yirgazen d timecťađ ma d tid n tlawin, zemrent ad ilint d timecťađ am wakken i zemren ad ilint d timeqqrarin. Aya yettbeddil ilmend n temnađin akked umkan yuđnen, ma d awesean ney d adeyqan. Ma d iđeddmer ney d idmaren d azamul ameqqran (abernus), ma d iyil, d tawenza akked tamart; d azamul d amecťuđ (ssxab, aqumis akked usennan n lđut).

5.4. Ađraz

Tettili tecređt dayen d lđerz seg yir tiť i tmetťut ur tessidir dđerya. Tin ixedmen ticrađ, tessaman iman-is am wakken tella kra n tezmert dixel-is ad tđudd seg wayen n diri (Hallouche, 2022, sb. 376). Md: tid i itterran ticrađ deg yiwerzan-nsent akken ad tent-đuddent seg ssem n yizerman;

5.5. Asderwec ney agezzen

S umata xeddmment tcerrađin ssenf-a i uđraz n telmezyin ur nezwiđ deg lawan n tťrad s umata, akken ad tent-đerzent seg yirgazen, ad qqiment d tilmezyin ur ttwayayent kra, d ayen i d-tebder Ait Berri (2017, sb. 66) deg yiwet n temnađt umi qqaren Ayt Suxman deg Lmerruk. S umata, ttekksent-asant lđerz-nni mi asent-yas unexđab, teqreb-d tmeýra. Deg tmurt n Leqbayel; yella wanda ssurufent

temyarin tilmezyin ur nezwiğ azetța; mačči s tyita n tecrađ, akken ur tteeddayen yirgazen yef lherma-nsent.

5.6. Tuzzuft

Kkatent tlawin ssenf-a n tecrađ akken ad d-sseylint argaz-nsent, ur yettwexxir fell-asant, s umata aweccem-a yettili-d deg yidgan uffiren n tfekka, ala lal ney sut tecređt d win ney wid themmel ara t-iwalin yirit-nni (Belhassen, 1976, sb.67). S umata, idgan ideg d-tilint tecrađ-a d: tibbucin, timiğ akked tayma.

5.7. Areqqeε

Kkatent tlawin ssenf-a n tecrađ akken ad reqqeent kra n umkan yettwayen deg tfekka, tterrant-tent tid ixuss kra deg-s, ad ffrent ney ad reqqeent ccama-nni s tecređt ara rrent deg umkan-nni. Md: timmi, i tid ur nesei cceer nnig tiğ-nsent; tuqlibt i tid i d-ilulen s kra n ccama, rant ad tt-ffrent.

5.8. Tawuri n usiggel (fertilité/fécondité)

Lbaraka d asfilet i leemara; txeddem-itent tmeđtut yellan d tieiqert akken ad d-teseu dderya ney tin ur ten- nessidir, tmettaten mi ara d-lalen, ney ur tteddren ara, qqaren i tmettut-nni tin iyezzazen arraw-is. D ayen i d-tessegza Rivière d Faublée, tenna-d :

Tikwal ticrađ ur lint ara assay srid d wađtan n tin i tent-yerran, maca i kra swayes tumen, yeffey tazmert n umdan, am tmeđtut ara igen ticređt acku ur tessidir ara arraw-is, tmettaten d imezzyanen, ad ddren kra n wussan ney kra n wayyuren (Rivière & Faublée, 1942, sb.76).

Deg tmetti n Yicawiyen, tarrayt swayes xeddmn ticrađ-a, d wid i tent-ixeddmn mgaradent yef tecrađ menwala, dya yemgarad ula d isem-nsent. Ma yella ticrađ n thuski qqaren-asant *aweccen/lewcam*, akken i t-id-nessegza i usawen, xeddmn-ten s tessegnit, win ney tin yessnen tezmer ad tweccem tin iran ad teg ticrađ; *aħajam* yellan d ddwa, xeddmn-t s lmus yerna kra n twaculin kan i izemren ad yexdem i tmeṭṭut yellan d tieiqert. Ilmend n Rivière akked Faublée (1942, sb.77), d timrabđin i ilan ccfa deg ufus-nsen, ney d argaz yewwin timegređt⁶. Amkan n *uħajam* deg tfekka n tmeṭṭut ara yettwacerden, yemmal-it-id uyersiw i tettaf deg lemnam (ma d tafunast, ad yili deg twenza, ma d ayyul, ad yili deg tgellgit n uđar, s umata unuy i as-xeddmn d iferr n ṭṭmer imi yettaru, d azidan. Dya ula d aqcic-nni amezwaru ara tessider, yettawi ula d netta ticređt, s umata tterran-as-tt deg umezzuy-is, qqaren-as taēyyact, ad ṭhudd mgal lmut, ad as-tili d tudert.

5.9. Tawuri n ccƒawat

Ssenf-a n tecređt ad t-naf deg sin n wattalen: ama d lmut n win yeezizen yef lal n tecređt, ad yeqqim deg ccƒawat; ama d lgerħ n wul, inebran ur tebyi lal n tecređt ad tesfeđ ass-nni imi ur thewwen argaz-nni ney d tagnit tarzagant ur tebyi ad tettū.

⁶ Asekkir-a yettwassnen deg læerc n Ulad Ĕbderrahman deg tmurt n Yicawiyen, yella ula deg Lmerruk anda ttweccimen tameṭṭut ur nessidir s tessegnit s wayes ixađ lekfen n win yemmuten ur nezwiġ (d leazeb), d ayen i d-yura J. Herber, Le tatouage des pieds au Maroc, dans *l'Anthropologie*, t. 33, 1923, p. 92.

5.10. *Tawuri n lhiba (le charisme et l'autorité)*

S umata nettaf ticraḍ-a yur temyarin ilan tislatin akken ad asent-d-ssegzint i teslatin-nni d nutenti ay d aqerru n uxxam, d awalnsent ara yeddun, ad ttucawrent, ad ttuqadrent, ulac ara d-yekken nnig-sent skud mazal ddrent.

5.11. *Asizdeg n tfekka seg yidammen n diri*

S tecraḍ-a, ad beddlen, ama d irgazen ama d tilawin, idammen ijdiden (Lhiḡama n tura) ney d asizdeg n yiḡsan-nsen seg kra n ddnub; ad fken ayen iezizen fell-asen (idammen) d tabzert akken ad yifsus wallay-is seg kra yexdem (Hallouche, 2022, sb. 378).

6. Adeg n tecraḍ

Adeg ideg tetterra tcerraḍt irit-nni, deg tfekka n lal n tecreḍt, yemgarad ilmend n sin n yittewlen, tarakalt akked ugmam n tfekka n umdan, aya ilmend n twuri n tecreḍt.

- Ilmend n temnaḍt: llant kra n tamiwin yettweccimen tafekka merra, llant tiyaḍ kra n yidgan kan. Amedya, deg wudem: deg tmurt n Leqbayel ad naf ticraḍ deg twenza akked tamart, ma deg tmurt n Yicawiyen; leḥnak, anyir, tamart akked yixf n tenzert (Refrafi & Benazouz, 2023, sb. 293).
- Ilmend n twuri n tecreḍt: mgaraden yidgan n tecreḍt ilmend n ssebba iyef muggent, tid n thuski d amedya ttilint deg yidgan i ttwalin medden (udem, aḍar akked yiḡil); tid n tuzzuft deg yidgan yeffren (taḡma, timiḍ akked tebbuct), tid n udawi (lemfasel, tawenza, imegreḍ akked tqebbiḍt n ufus d uḍar). S

umata, nezmer ad naf ticrađ deg tfekka merra (Dahmani, 2023, isb. 110-112), gar yidgan-a, ad naf:

- Udem (anyir, tamart) yur Leqbayel, (leħnak, anyir, tamart) yur Yicawiyen; nezmer ad t-naf deg yimezzuyen, timmi, tawwurt n uqerruy.
- Tamegređt, amegređ, aæenquq, aæenqiq, rreqba;
- Idmaren (abernus ney azrem);
- Iffan ney tibbucin
- Iyallen, taqebbiđt n ufus, ayemmur, tiwwa n ufus, iđuđan;
- Timit, lqae n tæbbuđt;
- Azagur, tigg^wa, tiwwa;
- Tigezzelt ney lqae n tiwwa;
- Tadawt, tayma ney timeccacin;
- Tamessađt;
- Tagecirt, aqejjar, aqeccir;
- Taglult, tigellgit
- Takeebubt, takeeburt, taqebbiđt n uđar;
- Iwerz, igerz, agerz;

7. Imecwaren ney tizza n uweccem

Ticrađ ur d-tilint ara deg yiwet n tiremt (ssaæea ney ass), d tirmit i yettađafen afus, ma ur d-ffiyent tecrađ akken i tent-tra lal-is, ad asent-tales alma tewweđ lebyi-s, yerna tiyita n tecrađ tettæed-day-d yef kra n tizza, seg-sent, ad d-nebder:

a) Ad teqqim tcerraḍt d tin ara icerṭen yef ugertil ney yef ulemsir, ad tt-id-tqabel ma yella deg ufus ney deg yiḥil i tra ad terr ticreḍt; ad tezzel d tanegnit, ad tesres aqerruy-is yef tgecrar n tcerraḍt ma d udem ney d imegreḍ i tebya ad tewcem.

b) Ad textḥir lal n tecreḍt adeg akked ugama n tecreḍt i tesra, ma d win n udawi, d win n thuski ney d win n lḡerḥ n wul. S umata, irit ney azamul ara terr deg tfekka-s, mačči d nettat ara t-ifernen, d taweccamt ara yezren anwa i ilaqen, d nettat i yegzan azal-nsen. Lal n tecreḍt i tt-yecqan d agmuḍ (ḥellu ma d adawi, tahuski ma d ccbaḥa, lḡerz ma i tiṭ).

c) Aheyyi n wallalen n tecraḍ : Allalen i ssemrasent tlawin deg uweccem d imensayen, segmi d-tella termit-a almi tener, ur d-yelli fell-asen kra n ubeddel, aserter ur tt-yekki deg-sen (Dahmani, 2023, sb. 116), d wi :

- Asennan n lkermus ney n ubueqqar, idmim, asennan n usebbarariw, asyar n uxlenḡ ney n tuzzalt,
- tissegnit, lmuss n uḥeffef, arazwar,
- imessaken i d-ttawint syur yiḥettaren;
- Ayen ilan leqdeε ama d tamencart ama d amger;
- abgas n taduṭ,
- acettiḍ n ubernus ney menwala, adyili kan yettwasxedmen ;
- acettiḍ s wayes sefḍen i lmeyyet, ma d tukksa n ttabεa i tijjert (Herber, 1923, sb. 92);
- Tameqqunt n taduṭ iraden, tqerdec ney temceḍ;

- Aslew, ilewyan ney imbuxen ara d-yettwakksen seg uťajin⁷ (eđdan fell-as lejnun ;
- Tirgin i qeblen lejnun izedyen tacerrađt (Dahmani, 2023,sb.117);
- Lmidad n taduť, ayen ara d-yeqqimen mi ara tery, ad t-tger deg waman ad yefsex;
- Ccæer n tayat, isennanen n llim;
- Lekhul, lehkul, tazult akked nnila ;

Ad ddzent tuccanin akked yiferr ibawen deg tmurt n Leqbayel (Guenfissi, 2022, sb. 148) ney timzin d yibawen ilan ini n urbiei yur Yicawiyen (Benazouz & Ferfari, 2023, sb. 292), ad as-rnunt kra n waman, yella wanda ttebbyent tcerrađin tissegnit-nni deg yizi n uyaziđ ney n yitbir (Taileb, 2021, sb. 514) akken ad d-yeffey yini n tecređt-nni d arbiei mliħ.

d) Ad tessired tcerrađt amkan i tra ad tweccem s waman im-muzejlen ney ad tedhen amkan-nni s waman n yimejj n ukermus, ad t-tħukk mliħ akken ad ddun yidammen. Syin yer-s, ad tæellem ticređt-nni. Ad teflu aglim s usennan (akermus ney idmim) ara tger deg lekhul ney deg yilewgan⁸ i d-tekkes ddaw uťajin. Tasnazamult n yini-nni aberkan d abeæeden tiť, n yir lfal, yettili dima usemres-is deg usfel (tayaziđt taberkant).

⁷Awal-a ila atas n yimegdawalen : afan, bufraħ, atg.

⁸Awal-a ila atas n yimegdawalen deg temnađin n tmurt n Leqbayel: iselwan, ilewyan, imbuxen, buxsus, bufsus.

e) Ad tenqer tcerrađt aglim, ad tesseflu seg 4 ar 5 tifla syin yur-s ad tcelleđ aglim yellan gar tifla-nni akken ur d-tteddun ara yidammen s wađas, ad ten tesfeđ s tmeqqunt n tađut tazedgant. Idammen-nni ara d-yeffyen d asfel ad yeddu yid-sen wađtan swayes yehlek win yewten ticređt-nni (Genevois, 1964, sb.43). Am wakken i llan yimusnalsen, gar-asen afilandi Edward Wastermarck (1936, sb.17) i d-yeqqaren asfel-a nessufuy yes-s lejnun izedyen amdan, d arraz i lejnun imi ħemmlen ađas idammen (ulac acu i ten-yifen), ad ten xđiren yef tfekka ideg llan, dya ad d-ffyen seg-s. Am wakken i llan wid yettarran idammen-a, ara d-iwezzeen, yer usizdeg n tfekka n umdan seg kra n ddnub (Hallouche, 2022, sb. 378) ney seg kra n wađtan akked ssem (Taileb, 2021, sb. 518)

f) Tacerrađt ad tedleg lđerh-nni, uqbel ad yekkiw, ama d tazult ney nnila, ama d ssbay i d-tessuffey seg kra n yimyan ilan ini ar-biei. Yemgarad yimy-nni, ilmend n temnađin: tuccanin, iferrawen n yibawen, timzın, atg. Ad ten-teddez ass-nni yakan, ad asen-ternu tiqqit n waman akken ad d-brun i lliqa tarbieit. Llant temnađin ti-maziyin ideg rennun yer tazult akked lliqa n yimyan izi n uyaziđ akken ad tecbeđ tcređt-nni ugar.

g) Tacerrađt, ad teass lđerh-nni alma yehla, yezmer ssmama ney ugar. Seg tama, ad terr lwihla-s yer tyara n uglım ma ur isulem, acku tettay deg-s tawla; yettawef tikwal yetteemmir. Seg tamannıden, ad twali ma teffey-d tcređt-nni akken i tt-tra lal-is ney ad as-ales tikkelt-nnıden.

II. Kra n yizamulen d wayen i d-mmalen

Izamulen-a mačči kan deg tecrađ n tmetti n Yimaziyen i llan, cerken talsa merra (Haddadou, 2000, sb. 160; Moreau & Dahmani, 2019). Yella kan kra n ubeddel deg kra deg-sen, dya aya yella ula gar yigrawen n tmazya, ad naf azamul tikwal yeččur deg kra n tama, yefsus deg tiyađ. Dya tikwal d limara swayes ara tett-waεqel tmettut-nni mačči n leerc ney taddart-nni, tercel-d seg tamiwin-nniđen.

S umata izamulen i tterrant tlawin ney irgazen yef tfekkan-nen d iriten inezganen (*géométriques*) zdin iyerfan iqburen⁹, zdin rrqem s umata: ama d yen yellan yef tfekka (ticrađ) ama dayen yellan yef talext ney afexxar, ama d ayen yellan deg uzețta, ama d ayen yellan deg yiselsa ama deg yizraren ney isyunen, d ayen i d-yessegza ula d Camps imi d-yenna :

Ayen i wumi sawalen tazuri tamaziyt deg tefriqt ugafa d tnezruft tikwal ala i wayen yellan s talya taqburt i yettwacebbhen, teffey-d s tarrayt n uferdes. S umata, temmug s yizamulen n tinezgit i nessen yer tuget n yidelsanen n wagraikal i yettnernin seg wakud yer wayeđ (Camps, 2011, sb. 276)

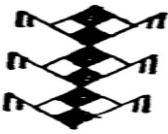
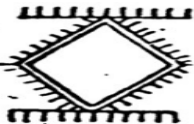


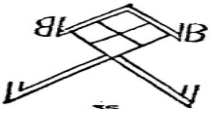
Gar yizamulen-a, ad naf, wid i d-yessegza Haddadou (2000, isb. 161-165), ismawen-nen s teqbaylit, mgaraden seg tama yer

⁹ Le tatouage amazigh en général défini comme une « sorte d'écriture déchiffrable par les initiés » (Brousse, 2012), comportant des formes qui « sont géométriques, généralement rectilignes. Des cercles et demi-cercles sont rares. Les éléments de base sont limités à la ligne droite, le zigzag, la croix, le chevron et le losange » (Searight, 1993).

tayed, amdan-nsen 27 n yizamulen d wazal-nsen deg tesnazamult:
 Izimer, azger, tazemmurt, tiyirdemt, izi, ibezzinzer, tissist, tizizwit,
 amillus, azrem, azrem n wayyur, tațaret n yigenni, agdiđ, tifiellest,
 azemmur, irden, tasetța, lħebb/zerriea, afđis, lmelzem, acaqqur, an-
 eccab, tafukt/iťtij, ayyur, timceđt, lbabur, tațaret n ugťiť,..





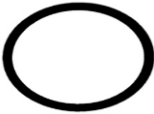


Tafelwit 1



Iriten n yiyersiwen

Azamul	Anamek n uzamul
 <p>tiyirdemt</p>	<p>Azamul-a yemmal-d tťar, tawayit akked tmettant.</p>
 <p>Tayyult</p>  <p>Aqerruy uyyul</p>	<p>Azamul-a yemmal-d Rgem, leħqer, leyben.</p>
 <p>Tiyennusin n yinisi</p>	<p>D azamul n useħbiber d tebyest.</p>
 <p>Aydi/aqjun</p>	<p>Llan wattalen ideg d-yemmal taqriťt, deg wat- talen-nniđen d liser</p>

Tafelwit 2





Iriten imezgiyen (géométriques)

Azamul	Anamek-is
 Astay yeldin	D tuzzuft n tmeđđut, yemmal-d a assigel (<i>fécondité</i>)
 Sin n wastayen ladin d ijerriden	Yesbeyyin-d tuzzuft n urgaz, d azamul n tirugza d ussigel.
 Sin n yisatayen	Sbeyyinen-d argaz d tmeđđut, d azamul n tayri d leqder
 Sin ijerriden Ajerrid	Sbeyyinen-d abellar; d Argaz i yellan d azamul n tafat, d tumert
 Aqisis	Yesbeyyin-d ayyur, d azamul n tmeđđut, n thuski.
 Tineqqidin ney itran	Sbeyyinen-d itran ney tieeqqayin, d azamul n tarrawt.
 Ameyrun	D tayrast n tzizwa i d-yeskanayen tuzzuft n tmeđđut, d azamul n usiggel

Azamul	Anamek-is
 <p data-bbox="162 388 515 423">Zeddi n waṭas imeyrunen</p>	<p data-bbox="656 249 1009 354">Yesbeyyin-d læecc n tzizwa, d azamul n tudert d usiggel.</p>
 <p data-bbox="162 591 350 626">Sin yisatayen</p>	<p data-bbox="656 446 997 550">Sbeyyinen-d timazzayin n tayat, d azamul n tudert d usiggel</p>



Tafelwit 3

Iriten igmawanen (imyan d yisekla)

Azamul	Anamek-is
 <p data-bbox="162 878 283 913">Aḍerḍar</p>	<p data-bbox="656 774 1000 878">D azamul n tayri, sexdament-it dayen tlawin i yiḥeckulen.</p>
 <p data-bbox="162 1038 268 1072">Aseḥsaf</p>	<p data-bbox="656 935 1009 1005">D azamul n unefray (<i>sensible</i>).</p>
 <p data-bbox="162 1239 318 1274">Takermust</p>	<p data-bbox="656 1097 1009 1270">Yesbeyyin-d uzamul-a acengu, isennanen-is qqa-ren-asen iserdasen iṛumiyen, yezmer dayen ad yili d azamul n usiggel</p>
 <p data-bbox="162 1413 315 1447">Tazemmurt</p>	<p data-bbox="656 1282 997 1387">D azamul n tezmert, n tyurad, n trugza, n tarrawt akked liser.</p>


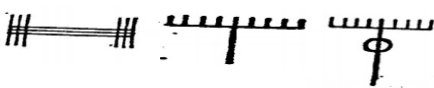

Tafelwit 4

Iriten imtiwganen (ittij, ayyur, itran)

Azamal	Anamek-is
 <p>Ittij</p>	<p>Azamal-a yesbeyyin-d itran i as d-yezzin i wayyur, d tugna n warraw i as d-yezzin i tyemmat, d azamal n thuski d ussigel</p>
 <p>Azgen n wayyur</p>	<p>Yesbeyyin-d iffan n tmeṭṭut, d azamal n tudert d ufares.</p>

Tafelwit 5

Iriten n tyawsiwin

Azamal	Anamek-is
 <p>Akersi</p>	<p>D azamal n tayri d leqder, yellan gar urgaz d tmeṭṭut</p>
 <p>Timceđt n ucekkuḥ ney uzetṭa</p>	<p>D azamal n tezmert, n tdukli d umsawi.</p>
 <p>Tasarut</p>	<p>D azamal n uḥraz n wayen n diri, d yir titṭ.</p>

Izamulen i d-nekkes seg tezrawt n Djabri Celia & Gaoua Badra (2019/2020)

Γas atas n tezrawin i d-yellan taggara-ya yef teçrađ, segmi tejla tirmitt-nni s timmad-is, ama yef yizamulen i d-wwint (Haddadou, 2000), ama yef usatal ideg d-llant (Dahmani, 2023) ama yef twuriwin-nsent (Taileb, 2021 akked Benazouz & Refraf, 2023), mazal ur d-iban wangel i d-ttawint teçrađ-nni. Γas mazal llant temsulya ara d-yemmeslayen yef teçrađ maca qqarent-d ayen byant, yella waças i ffrent, ad t-awint yid-sent i użekka, ilaq asatal uzzig akken ad tent-id-yessenteq umnadi, ad d-ylint deg wawal. Tizrawin i d-yewwin yef teçrađ almi d assa, seg tama:

- Wwint-d yef kra n twuriwin kan, tin yettwazerwen s waças d tin n udawi (Guenfissi, Dahmani akked Benazouz), maca mazal tiyađ, yuli-tent uyeçbar, yecban tid tuzzuft, ladya tid n ugeçzen akked usiggel.
- Mgaradent tezrawin i d-yewwin yef teçrađ deg tegzi n yiriten ney n yizamulen yellan yef teçrađ-nni. Ad naf yiwen n uzamul, yal tazrawt amek i t-id tezzegza, MD: azrem, imiyez ney ifiyer. Seg tama, azamul-a, yemmal-d yur (Haddadou, 2000, sb. 162) udem aqbur n ddunit, yas d ayersiw i yunzan madden; deg tesnazamult n Yimaziyen, yeskan-d asiggel, fetti akked leemara. Seg tama-nniđen, irit-a, yessegzay-d yur (Brahimi, 2010, sb.19) tazmert, luçara akked leqsaça, d azamul n uwtem am wakken i d-yemmal day lherma n uxxam, d aeessas n wagnes.

Seg tama-nniđen, timsulya yakan ur lint ara atas n ccfawat, nutenti yakan yef yinumak n yizamulen-nni, yewt yiysi gar usemres-nni n

tecrad akked tezrawin i d-yellan fell-asant, atas n tezrawin i d-yellan yef tecrad deg tmetti n Yimaziyen maca aseghi n yizamulen n tecrad-nni yebna yef tid i d-yellan yef yigduden d tyermiwin-nniđen (Moreau, 1967, 2015, 2019).

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