



Domestic life in play, games and toys

SAHARAN AND NORTH AFRICAN TOY AND PLAY CULTURES

J e a n - P i e r r e R o s s i e

Foreword by Gilles Brougère

Stockholm International Toy Research Centre

*To the Saharan and North African children
To my children Tania, Ben , Ruben and Pia
To my grandchildren Linde, Camille, Ilona, Thilda, Oona and Alvin*



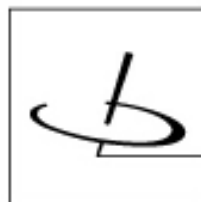
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2008



SITREC

Cover photograph:

Group of girls and one boy playing in their pretend house,
Aït Slimane, Haut Atlas, Morocco, 1999, photo by the author

With 400 color photographs and 10 other illustrations

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Abstract

This book describes play activities of make-believe as did the books on dolls and on the animal world in play, games and toys of the Saharan and North African children. Under the title *Domestic life in play, games and toys* I have compiled a whole series of play activities that reflect many different aspects of domestic and family life.

The first chapter analyses the theme of dwellings in the playful representation of the tent and the house. The second chapter describes dinner play and the toy utensils used for these games that often take place in a pretend house. The play activities linked to household tasks, which like dinner play belong for the larger part to the play world of girls, are proposed in the third chapter. These household tasks belonging to the female sphere are collecting firewood, fetching water, grinding corn, making bread, preparing oil, washing the linen, spinning, weaving and dressing up. The following chapter speaks of play in which children interpret subsistence activities. This often belongs to the play world of boys. The subsistence activities take place outside the domestic circle and they very often belong to the male sphere. They are hunting and fishing, breeding, gardening, working in the fields and trading. The two final chapters discuss play activities and toys inspired by music and dance or by rites and festivities.

The conclusions are more developed than before as I have included in the French version some themes discussed in my book *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An anthropological approach with reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (2005). For the first time a chapter on children's creativity has been integrated in a volume of the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures*. Then follows the catalogue of the Saharan and North African toys of the Musée de l'Homme which now belong to the Musée du Quai Branly, a catalogue that only is available in French.

The Saharan populations whose children's play activities and toys are described in this book are the Tuareg, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Sahrawi, the Chaamba, the Teda, the Zaghawa, the Belbala, the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley and the Mozabites. Except the Belbala, the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley and the Mozabites, these populations lived a nomadic or seminomadic existence but since a longer or shorter time they became partially or totally sedentarized. The sedentarized populations this book is speaking about are the Kabyles and the Chaouïa from Algeria, several communities living in the Moroccan countryside and inhabitants of some Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian towns.

Through all these play activities and toys related to domestic life the children appropriate the adult world in an active way. At the same time they progressively integrate in their family and community. Sometimes their games put on stage locally inexistent situations or dreams of the future. A few examples described in this book show that Moroccan children mock adult practices but one must underline that on this topic information is almost totally lacking.

Once more the play world of the girls is clearly distinct from the play world of the boys but it happens that this distinction fades away and that some girls or boys find interest or participate in play activities of the other sex.

I hope it is clear that I am not interested in what is usually called traditional games and toys only but that I also have a special interest in the evolution of these play and toy traditions. A remarkable example of the infiltration of the very new in an ancestral play activity is offered by the construction and doll game of a girl and her brother in the Sidi Ifni region. Although the pretend houses with clay walls and the dolls consisting of snail shells belong to old times, the introduction into their game of a self-made mobile telephone that is related to the high technology of today demonstrates the interpenetration of both worlds something these children certainly did not see as a contradiction. Furthermore, I have the impression that the past, the present and sometimes the future are easily combined in play activities.

The creativity of Saharan and North African children is to be found among others in the making of toys who most of the time copy real objects. To create their toys the children use a large variety of natural and recyclable materials found on the spot. The toys described in this book can be extremely simple as the flower a girl picks to change it into a whistle or very elaborate as the violin build by some boys.

Since long but more and more toys made by children and possibly by an adult are replaced with imported toys made by the toy industry. Especially in towns but also in rural areas one finds today in shops and markets many toys made in China.

A small painted earthenware jug collected in North Africa before 1889 is the oldest toys mentioned in this book. In March 2007 Khalija Jariaa photographed the most recent toys being miniaturized tents. Talking of Khalija Jariaa, I would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that she became since 2006 the major source of the information and photographs on Anti-Atlas children and on children from the Tan-Tan area. Her family and friendship relations, her knowledge of local culture and languages and her interest in children's culture that progressively developed makes possible among others a better knowledge of the dialogues the players are exchanging.

Jean-Pierre Rossie was born in Gent (Ghent), Belgium, in 1940. After studies in social work and later on in African ethnology at the State University of Ghent, he became a doctor in African history and philology at the same university in 1973. His thesis in Dutch covered the theme of “Child and Society. The Process of Socialization in Patrilineal Central Africa”.

Following fieldwork among the semi-nomadic Ghrib of the Tunisian Sahara, he devoted himself, since 1975, to research on Saharan and North African play, games and toys.

In 1967, he was proclaimed prizewinner of the Belgian Foundation for Vocations, Brussels. From 1968 to 1978, he was a researcher of the Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research, Brussels, which supported his research and publications till 1992.

Between 1980 and 1990 he worked as social worker and sociocultural anthropologist in the social services for, especially Turkish and North African, migrants of the city of Ghent.

A first research trip to Southern Morocco, in February 1992, followed by yearly sojourns in this country give him the opportunity to supplement, verify and actualize the information on Moroccan children's play, games and toys.

In 1993 he was one of the founding members of the International Toy Research Association (ITRA), from 1997 till 2001 he was a member of the Nordic Center for Research on Toys and Educational Media (NCFL), and since its creation in March 2002 he is a member of the Stockholm International Toy Research Centre (SITREC).

On October 29th, 2004 the Lennart Ivarsson Scholarship Foundation awarded him the BRIO Prize 2004.

In July 2005 he became an associated researcher of the Musée du Jouet, Moirans-en-Montagne, France.

In April 2007 he was nominated “Member of the Advisory Board of the UNESCO/Felissimo Social Design Network”.

The collection: Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures

Engaged since 1975 in research on games and toys and later on in experiments in the field of intercultural education based on this research, the idea slowly matured to create a collection called *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures*. A toy and play culture that rightly should be part of the cultural heritage of mankind, just as the masterpieces of art and architecture.

A first attempt to create such a collection for the International Council for Children's Play was supported by André Michelet, director of the Centre d'Etudes Roland Houdon at Saran, France, with the publication by this Center of my book *Jeux et jouets sahariens et nord-africains: poupées - jeux de poupées* in 1993. As the Centre d'Etudes Roland Houdon stopped its publishing activities soon afterwards, this attempt was prematurely broken off.

In 1999 the Nordic Center for Research on Toys and Educational Media published on its website the first English and French HTML versions of *Children's dolls and doll play*, and of the *Commented bibliography on play, games and toys*. A final version of these books and of *The animal world in play, games and toys* were published by the Stockholm International Toy Research Center in 2005. These volumes are available on the CD included in *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An anthropological approach with reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (Rossie, 2005).

The present publication and fourth volume in the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures* is to be followed by two more books on *Technical activities in play, games and toys*, and on *Games of skill and chance*.

In order to make the information on Saharan and North African games and toys available to people reading English as well as to those reading French, to stimulate the exchange of information and the reciprocal enrichment of ideas and actions between the French-speaking and the English-speaking world, who otherwise remain too often separated by a

linguistic cleavage, the studies are to be published in English and in French.

For financial reasons the volumes of the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures* and of the collection *Cultures Ludiques Sahariennes et Nord-Africaines* are published on CD.

The volumes of the collection:

Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures

- Children's dolls and doll play, 2005, 328 p., 163 ill.
- The animal world in play, games and toys, 2005, 219 p., 107 ill.
- Domestic life in play, games and toys, 2008, 438 p., 410 ill.
- Commented bibliography on play, games and toys, 2008, 64 p.

The volumes of the collection:

Cultures Ludiques Sahariennes et Nord-Africaines

- Poupées d'enfants et jeux de poupées, 2005, 344 p., 163 ill.
- L'animal dans les jeux et jouets, 2005, 229 p., 107 ill.
- La vie domestique dans les jeux et jouets, 2008, 449 p., 410 ill.
- Bibliographie commentée des jeux et jouets, 2008, 64 p.

Foreword by Gilles Brougère

Asking a specialist of industrial toys, more precisely of contemporary mass produced toys, who is better acquainted with Barbie, Pokemon or Power Rangers to write the preface of a book essentially devoted to toys made by children may seem paradoxical. One might even wonder whether the same word really designated the same thing.

On one side, the toy seems to precede the play activity, structuring it, even profoundly modifying it and, according to some critics, destroying it. The toy comes from elsewhere and fits in with a double relationship: a trade relation between the family and society, and an often ritualized gift relation between the child and the adults. It is possible to see this as a setting up of the child's dependence, a child that although covered with gifts remains separated from the sphere of production.

On the other side, the toys are objects created within the play dynamics and remain outside trade relations. These toys show children's autonomy but within the context of children's proximity to or even their participation in the activities of the adult world.

Of course these differences are not radical. Children in societies full of toys continue to recuperate material to nourish their play activities; the others find cheap toys imported from China and sold in markets and streets. Moreover, the school as an international standardizing factor in children's life develops a logic of segregation between children and adults all over the world.

Not only do the modes of production and consumption of these toys differ but the represented images also tend to grow more distant from each other. In the Sahara and North Africa the toys evoke adults' domestic life with a concern for realism but a variable result according to means, material and competence. This dimension remains present in the toys of our children, sometimes with a concern for detail made possible by using plastics, a word underlining the plasticity that facilitates the representation of the world and what it contains. However, as Gary Cross has adequately said, and as mentioned by Jean-Pierre Rossie, the American toy, but also the European and even more the Japanese toy, grows away from a realistic representation to embark on a fantasy that is at the center of the contemporary children's goods industry. This refers to the relation with the

cinema and television and brings the child to play dinner evoking for example the universe of Pokemon instead of real life. This also obliges the manufacturers to differentiate, to sell what their competitors cannot sell and no doubt beyond that to the inclusion of the play in the 'frivolity' of the entertainment, of a present pleasure, more than in the relationship with a future that became uncertain.

The result is different play cultures, although certain structural elements can be found in both. To propose a caricature: on the one hand the play culture remains a collective production among peers profoundly linked to the transmission of a heritage, and on the other it would be the result of meeting the toy in a highly solitary activity.

Of course this opposition exists but it cannot account for the way things are. When the toys are made by Saharan children, there exist transmitted models, toy patterns already made by older children that impose themselves onto the children and partially determine the play activity. The toy is not always the product of the game, it exists beforehand, its existence engages the game and before that its transmission. On the side of our children, believing that all comes through the toy and therefore from the manufacturers is to forget that these manufacturers are far from inventing everything. Toys are above all an objectification of play culture. This is true even for the most sophisticated ones as when the creator of the Pokemon video attested that he only reproduced his childhood's play of capturing insects, putting these in boxes and exchanging them. Children's play culture does exist and partially determines the toys before these modify the play culture, among other ways by making possible a solitary activity that is a fundamental characteristic of Western societies as Sutton-Smith has shown.

It is not a question of denying differences but of following Jean-Pierre Rossie's reasoning: one cannot understand toys without relating them to play culture, something he does in his remarkably illustrated work and so doing is linking a toy to a practice. This is true for rich countries whose toys are reified play culture, which is to say play culture transformed into objects. This is also true in a certain way for the studied North African children, although both modalities of reification are very different. A culture produces objects and a play culture produces toys here and elsewhere. However, the modalities of this production are different, at the same time showing convergences (there are common spaces to these

different play cultures) and differences. Yet, the fundamental division between play cultures is without doubt the one that relates to gender, which some people too quickly attribute to the manufacturers' role in our rich countries. It is perhaps profoundly linked to the fact that the manufacturers follow children's play culture whereas some would like toys that are closer to present-day adult preoccupations. In that sense there is continuity with the North African observations. What can be questioned in our societies, which have changed a lot in some sectors, is why in this area there is so much strength of tradition.

If the toy is a window on the play culture it is also a means to reach, through the child, the daily adult culture it stages. The analysis offered by Jean-Pierre Rossie indicates the limits of a mimetic vision of this relation to the adult world, and this is probably true in a very general way. In the production of toys (by children as well as by adults) and in the play activity we do not see an imitation of the world but an interpretation of it. I view the idea of a playful interpretation of the adult world as really adequate and close to the notion of interpretative reproduction which Corsaro, an American specialist of childhood sociology, uses to think of the socialization of a child, more particularly through playing.

The question of learning remains. This should be located at the informal level as the author rightly says. Children do not play to learn, something pedagogues forget too often, but so doing they re-appropriate through their play culture whole patches of their society's culture. Indeed, for a great part the play culture does not have a specific content but brings into play, transforms into a toy, the culture of the player's society and so doing interprets and reflects on it.

Reading Jean-Pierre Rossie one learns a lot not only about Saharan and North African play cultures but by contrast also about our own culture, as in order to better understand our society it is important to look elsewhere and from elsewhere.

Gilles BROUGERE

Université Paris-Nord

Author of *Jouets et compagnie* (Paris, Stock, 2003)

Introduction

This book is the fourth volume of a series of publications on the toy and play culture of Saharan and North African children; a culture that has not been systematically analyzed up to now, whereas this was done by Charles Béart (1955) concerning West Africa, by Fritz Klepzig (1972) for the Bantus in Africa South of the Sahara and by Eliseo Andreu Cabrera (2004) for the Mediterranean region. The only attempt for the area covered here has been, as far as I know, the one made by Paul Bellin in his “L'enfant saharien à travers ses jeux” published in 1963.

Yet, I am convinced that this task is one of the most urgent ones because of the spectacular transformations that take place in the societies of this region. Following political, economic, social and cultural changes this heritage, having participated in full in the shaping of the identity of the individuals and communities concerned, are threatened with disappearance. This could in the long run become really detrimental to the Saharan and North African children and youngsters. Moreover, the games and toys form a treasure very profitable for the socialization of this youth, as well as for an adapted pedagogy and new didactics which are urgently needed according to international organizations such as UNESCO (see bibliography: Groupe Consultatif...) or the International Federation for Parent Education (see bibliography) as well as some national authorities also.

Girls and boys do not observe and undergo the domestic and family life in a passive way only, but very soon they become active participants in the tasks as well as in the entertainments. This domestic and family life is therefore directly reflected in their play activities and toys.

This new study on the play activities, games and toys of the Saharan and North African children will, I hope, reveal the diversity of cultures, due to the geographical, historical and sociological specificity, as well as the universality of human culture, due to fundamental responses to comparable existential situations.

With an exception for the Ghrib and the Sahrawi populations and for Morocco, the analysis covers a period lasting from the beginning of the 20th century up to the end of the 1960s. More precisely and within the limits of this book, the oldest bibliographical reference dates from 1905 (Doutté). Yet, the oldest toy related to domestic life from the collection of the Département d’Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l’Homme in Paris was given to that museum in 1889. It is a little painted

earthenware jug of unknown North African origin. The most recent information comes from my own research in 1975 and 1977 among the Ghrib of the Tunisian Sahara who lived at that time their last years of seminomadism, supplemented by some information on the evolution of the toy and play culture of this population which has been given to me by my friend and colleague Gilbert J. M. Claus. My ongoing research since 1992 on children's games and toys in Morocco provides new information on the second half of the 20th century and the very beginning of the 21st century. There also exist a book on Sahrawi games and toys published in 1999. Thus, when the present tense is used in the text it refers to the period in which the data originated and not to the present-day.

In general, one could say that the described games and toys belonged to children living in communities that, although influenced by modernity and the European way of life, still honored ancestral tradition, especially in the fields of childhood and womanhood and in the spheres of socialization and the intergenerational transmission of norms and values. When making abstraction of what is said about children from some Moroccan cities, the information on children living in urbanized, industrialized and/or occidentalized centers is lacking. Taking Algeria as an example, the data refers to children, who received no or little schooling and were living among nomadic, seminomadic or rural communities, but one will search in vain for information on school-going children from Algiers or other Algerian cities.

The information gathered here speaks of children between three and thirteen years; for boys possibly a somewhat older age. So, one will find virtually no information on infants under three. The reasons for this are multiple: it is difficult for a male researcher to enter the female world in which the very young child grows up; outdoor play is an activity of the already somewhat older child; small children in need of a toy often transform an object into a representative toy whereas making oneself a toy starts at the age of about three years. However, Khalija Jariaa, a woman who grew up in the village Ikenwèn in the Tiznit region, collected some information on babies and tots of the Anti-Atlas in 2006.

Four sources of information lay at the basis of this book:

- The collection of Saharan and North African toys of the Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, supplemented with data from the index cards and through a personal analysis of the toys. As this collection has been transferred to the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, inaugurated in 2006, one should contact the Unité Patrimoniale Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient of this museum (<http://www.quaibrantly.fr>, hana.chidiac@quaibrantly.fr).
- The ethnographic, linguistic and other bibliography of the geographic area concerned, which I have analyzed in a commented bibliography.
- My research on the games and toys of the Ghrib children, between 1975 and 1977, that since then and up to now has been followed up by Dr. Gilbert J. M. Claus.
- My ongoing research in Morocco since 1992, more specifically in rural areas and popular quarters of towns, which has yielded interesting information.

Although the bibliographical data are not always based on detailed or scientific investigations and sometimes are accompanied by ethnocentric comments, I think that the care taken in the analysis and the critical confrontation of the sources guarantee a high degree of veracity of the data.

My research moved from a micro level, the analysis of the play activities and toys of the Ghrib children living in an oasis in South Tunisia, to the macro level of collecting information on children's play and toys in North Africa and the Sahara. At the same time, my research direction changed from detailed recording within a well defined area to collecting disparate information of unequal value over a huge territory and a period of time stretching out from the end of the nineteenth century till today. Of course Moroccan children gave me detailed information on their play activities and toys. Sometimes the information is based on the memories of adolescents, adults and older people. All this material enables me to work out a comparative and historical approach written down in the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures*. The main purpose of this research is fourfold:

- To assemble the information found in disparate bibliographical and museographical sources and to engage in fieldwork on Saharan and

North African children's play activities and toys, several of these quite quickly becoming obsolete or forgotten especially in urban areas.

- To make this information on play and toys and the sociocultural context in which they occur available to those interested in the field of childhood and children's culture from a scientific and/or a pragmatic perspective.
- To create a bibliographical, visual and museographical documentation on Saharan and North African children's play and toys.
- To promote an interest in children's culture, especially the play and toy culture, in Saharan and North African countries.

So that this documentation remains available for scholars and practitioners it is donated to the Musée du Jouet of Moirans-en-Montagne in France (<http://www.musee-du-jouet.fr>), along with my collection of 641 Moroccan toys (1992-2005) and 29 Ghrib toys (1975).

The interest in children's play, games and toys seems to be lacking in North Africa and the Sahara. At least I have found almost nobody working or writing in this field. I should mention three exceptions. First I met Mohamed Lihi, a teacher at the training center for teachers of physical education in Taza who wrote his dissertation on the use of some traditional games of his own town Goulmima in teaching physical education. He brought me in contact with the unpublished thesis of Oubahammou Lahcen, professor at the national training center for teachers of physical education in Casablanca. This study on some traditional games, mostly games of skill, of his own population the Aït Ouirra in the Moroccan Moyen Atlas was defended at a Canadian University in 1987. Moreover, my contacts with students of the Département de Langues et Littératures Françaises of the University of Marrakech in 1992-1993 has led some of them to write their end of studies dissertation on the subject of games and toys. These dissertations are mentioned in my commented bibliography. My efforts to stimulate interest in children's games and toys through lectures given at suitable departments of the universities of Rabat, Kénitra and Casablanca, and at the Institut de Recherche sur le Maghreb Contemporain (IRMC) at Rabat between 1993 and 1996 remained without tangible results. Thus, I stopped this when living at Midelt, a small Central Moroccan town at great distance from these universities. On a more structural level I can only refer to the interest shown in Algeria by the

authority responsible for youth in the 1980s. This ministry organized a questioning of local authorities to prepare the use of local games in promoting more positive attitudes among adolescents and older children (see Fates Youssef, 1987). In Tunisia my discussions with Abderrahman Ayoub during a three weeks' visit to northern Tunisia in 1987 lead him to organize a congress in Carthage and publish its results in the collective book *Jeu et Sports en Méditerranée*. As far as I know this promising effort has not survived the congress and the book. Yet, I know of a Moroccan organization with an interest in children's play within preschool, namely the action-research group ATFALE, Alliance de Travail dans la Formation et l'Action pour l'Enfance. The Bernard van Leer Foundation in The Hague supported this organization for many years. One of its members El Andaloussi Brigitte wrote a practice-oriented book to be used in the organization's training sessions for preschool personnel (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* (2005: 225-227).

My research in Morocco between 1992 and 2000 stood in direct relation to the macro approach. The change of living places and my many trips around the country served to verify and complement the data I already had collected. The decision to finally settle down in a particular Moroccan region is related to my wish of returning to the micro level. That I chose to do this in Sidi Ifni is based on its interesting sociocultural and historical situation but also on the collaboration I could establish with Boubaker Daoumani and some of his friends and colleagues. Moreover, I should not hide that its fine climate the year over played a role. The interested reader can find an autobiographical note linking my research to my personal situation in an appendix of *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An anthropological approach with reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (2005: 243-247). The same autobiographical note is mentioned in *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* (2005: 315-319).

Influenced by the work of Shlomo Ariel (play theory), Artin Göncü (cultural psychology) and Theo van Leeuwen (social semiotics) from 1998 onwards, I felt more and more the need to leave the macro approach and to return to a detailed description and in depth analysis of specific play activities. In view of such an analysis and in collaboration with Boubaker Daoumani, I was able to make four videos on pretend and/or construction

play of some children from Sidi Ifni and the nearby region of Lagzira during the first quarter of 2002. I used a tentative analysis of three of these videos showing pretend play with dolls when I was invited by Artin Göncü to give a lecture at the Symposium “Studying Children’s Play, Development and Education in Bicultural Contexts” at the College of Education, University of Illinois at Chicago on April 18th 2002. Afterwards I wrote a more developed version of this lecture (Rossie, 2003) and started to write out the video protocols. In these protocols the language used by the Amazigh-speaking or Arabic-speaking children was translated in close collaboration with Boubaker Daoumani (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003/2007). No doubt the analysis of videotaped play and toymaking activities of children from the Sidi Ifni region offers a new dimension. Finally, I think it is useful, on the one hand, to situate microanalyses in a broader sociocultural context and, on the other hand, to make a general discussion more precise by the analysis of concrete examples.

Every population on which I found information is incorporated in this book. These populations are different Tuareg groups, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Sahrawi, the Chaamba, the Teda, the Zaghawa, the Belbala, the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley, the Mozabites, the Kabyles and the Chaouïa, as well as some Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan communities.

Due to the pejorative meaning of *Berber*, related to the word barbarian, the concerned North African cultural movements put forward the local term *Amazigh* to refer to the culture and language of the North African and Saharan populations that lived in these areas before the coming of the Arabs and continued to speak their own language. Therefore I use the word *Amazigh*. Yet, I continue to use the term *Arab-Berber* for the descendants of these populations who lost their original language and speak Arabic.

Throughout the text the order of succession of the populations runs as follows: first one finds the data on the nomadic or seminomadic Saharan populations, followed by the Saharan sedentary populations and finally the North African sedentary populations.

The geographic and ethnic terms have been indicated on two maps, one of North Africa and the Sahara (p. 49) and one of Morocco (p. 50).

As the different volumes of the collection: *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures* are separate publications and in order to fit the toy and play cultures into their geographic, economic and social context, I think it is necessary to include each time a short description of the peoples

concerned. This description refers to the same period as the one to which the data on the games and toys belong. Moreover, from one volume to the other there are some changes in the populations and communities whose children's games and toys are described.

Description of the populations

The Tuareg

Although the Tuareg certainly are not the most numerous population of the region covered in this book, they are at least the best documented upon in the bibliography and in the analyzed toy collection.

The Tuareg live in an immense Saharan and Sahelian territory delimited, in the northeast by Ghadames in Libya, in the southeast by Agadez in Niger and in the southwest by Mopti in Mali. Their habitat is a mountainous region varying in level from 500 to 2000 meters.

The estimations of the number of Tuareg, of course always approximate, vary from 250,000 to 300,000 (Camps, 1984: 8), about 350,000 (*La Vie du Sahara*, 1960) and about 700,000 (Komorowski, 1975: 101), up to less than one million (Bernus, 1983: 7). In the exposition on the Tuareg held in 1994 at the Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium, the number of 1,300,000 Tuareg was mentioned of which 750,000 in Niger, 400,000 in Mali and 60,000 in Algeria, Libya and Burkina Faso. The Tuareg Kel Ahaggar populations, who will be mentioned quite often, consist only of some 20,000 persons living on an Algerian territory almost as vast as France (Bernus, 1983: 7). In July 1999, the population of Mali was estimated at 10,429,124 inhabitants of whom 47 % are children younger than fifteen and 10 % belong to the Tuareg (E-Conflict™ World Encyclopedia). The Encyclopédie Universelle Larousse 2006 speaks of more than two million Tuareg.

However, all these sources agree in stating that the Tuareg lived a nomadic or semi-nomadic life, at least up to the first third of the twentieth century. In the case of a semi-nomadic way of life they temporarily became sedentarized in an oasis.

The Tuareg were in the first place dromedary-breeders, living however around 1960 essentially from the breeding of sheep and goats and in the south also of oxen (*La Vie du Sahara*, 1960: 7). From the 1950s onwards, the traditional way of life of the Tuareg is disappearing. First of all because of the influence of the French colonization, then through the integration into five different independent states and finally following the extreme draught in the Sahel during the 1970s that had dramatic consequences for the Sahelian Tuareg (Leupen, 1983: 58; Claudot-Hawad, 1992: 222). Actually many Tuareg live in houses and have television with satellite antenna.

From the ethnic and linguistic point of view, the Tuareg are Amazigh-speaking people, but they do not form a 'race' or a 'nation'. Their common denominator is to be found in a similar culture, language and behavior (Bernus, 1983: 6).

Within the analysis of the play activities, games and toys one has to distinguish five groups of Tuareg:

- the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar: Ahaggar massif (Algeria);
- the Tuareg Kel Ajjer: Tassili n'Ajjer (Algeria), region of Ghât (Libya);
- the Tuareg Kel Aïr: Aïr massif (Niger);
- the Tuareg Kel Iforas: Adrar des Iforas (Algeria/Mali);
- the Tuareg Kel Ullimenden: Sahelian plains of the Niger winding (Mali).

The Ghrib

The territory of the Ghrib extends from the southern limit of the Chott l-Djerid, the South Tunisian salt lake, onto the Algerian border. The surface of this area covers about 6000 km² situated on the northern border of the Grand Erg Oriental, an immense sandy desert. The relief is quite flat with sand dunes here and there.

The Ghrib were estimated at about 4,400 persons in 1975. Meanwhile this population has grown and numbers actually some 7,000 persons. These data and the following ones come from the publications of Gilbert J. M. Claus or have been personally handed over to me.

Among these Arabic-speaking Ghrib, some fractions pretend to descend from Amazigh ancestors who migrated out of the south of Morocco, but other fractions claim to be the descendants of Arabs who lived in the south of Arabia or the north of Yemen.

Since the 1920s and until recently, the economy was based on semi-nomadism, with on the one hand dromedary-breeding, for which they were very famous, and goat-, sheep- and donkey-breeding, and on the other hand agriculture in the oases.

Since the 1970s, the transition from nomadism to sedentariness in the oases on the border of the Chott l-Djerid has set through. Nowadays, the Ghrib have almost completely settled down in the oases of Ghidma, Hezwa, Redjem Matoug and especially in the oasis of El Faouar, an oasis that has grown to an important urban center, the principal center of a Tunisian delegation. This way the Ghrib have lost everything of their renown as dromedary-breeders, although the interest in this breeding increases slowly because of the promotion of Saharan tourism in the region of El Faouar where a transit hotel functions now.

The Moors

In the Western Sahara live the Moors on a territory limited by the Atlantic in the west, the actual border between Morocco and Mauritania in the north and an imaginary border going from the Senegal River over Nema to the Niger River winding in the south.

From the coast the relief rises slowly up to 350 meters in the Dhar Plateau where Oualata is located. A large part of Mauritania is occupied by enormous sand dunes, lying from the coast in northeastern direction and passing just north of Tidjikdja.

The Moors have been estimated at 600,000 in 1960 with 77 % nomads (*La Vie du Sahara*: XXIV; Belgisch Comité voor UNICEF, 1996: 57). In contrast with the Tuareg who live very dispersed over different states, the Moors have been able to organize themselves into a state, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. In 1996 there are 2.4 million inhabitants in Mauritania of whom 52 % live in towns and only 12 % are still nomads. One third of the population lives in the capital Nouakchott and the surrounding slums (UNICEF-Information). With 30 % the Moors only

form part of the total population. 40 % are mixed groups of Moors and Black African origin and another 30 % are Black Africans. Of the estimated population of 2,581,738 inhabitants in July 1999, 47 % are younger than fifteen years (E-Conflict™ World Encyclopedia).

Ethnically speaking, the Moors are Arabs mixed with Amazighs, as well as strongly Arabicized Amazighs of the southwestern Sahara and the formerly Spanish Sahara (Komorowski, 1975: 103). However, they call themselves the 'Beïdane' or 'Whites'. Linguistically, the Moors speak a local form of the Arabic spoken in the Maghreb.

The Moors have been, certainly during the period covered for the analysis of the games and toys of the children of this population, nomadic dromedary-breeders, caravaners, merchants and, in the Sahelian zone, ox-breeders. Certain Moors were settled in small towns. One of these urban centers is Oualata, an agglomeration of some 800 to 1000 inhabitants in the 1970s. It was a spiritual center and a commercial town on the crossroads between Morocco, Mali and Senegal. Its isolation made possible the survival of the tradition of spirituality and of the traditional schooling, going back to the eighth century, as well as of its social organization and family life (Gabus, 1967: 7).

Just as it is the case with the Tuareg and the Ghrib, the way of life of the Moors suffers a growing pressure towards an adaptation to a state and an economy integrating in a worldwide context. Nowadays, some 60 % of the population lives from agriculture and cattle breeding and some 40 % find its livelihood in the cities in the modern or informal economic sectors (Belgisch Comité voor UNICEF, 1996: 33).

The Sahrawi

The Sahrawi wandered all over a vast Saharan space they call 'Trab el Bidan', the 'Land of the Whites'. This region stretches from the Senegal River to the Oued Drâa running along the southern slopes of the Jbel Bani and the Anti-Atlas passing near the town of Assa in southern Morocco. This area comprises Mauritania, the Western Sahara, part of the northwest of Mali and the southwest of Algeria. The language of the Sahrawi is a local form of Arabic called 'Hassaniya' (Pinto Cebrián, 1999: 9).

As with the Tuareg, the Ghrib and the Moors, a process of sedentarization developed among the Sahrawi, a process of sedentarization becoming more important from the 1970s onwards.

A part of the Trab el Bidan called the Western Sahara has been a Spanish colony from 1904 till 1975. Actually and according to the terminology used by the United Nations Security Council, the government of Morocco is the “administrative Power in Western Sahara” (Report of the Secretary-General on the situation concerning the Western Sahara, 25.10.2000, S/2000/1029, p. 6, § 30, <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/reports/2000/1029e.pdf>, consulted on 11.1.2001). The news agency Europe Medea mentions as the only useful source on the population of the Western Sahara the last Spanish census of 1974. According to this population census, there were at that time 73,497 Sahrawi in this territory and 21,522 Europeans and citizens of other countries. However, the census did not count the entire nomadic population (consulted on 11.01.2001: <http://www.medea.be/fr/index250.htm>). Under the control of the Polisario, the Frente Popular para la Liberación de la Seguia el Hamra y el Rio de Oro, some 200,000 Sahrawi live in the refugee camps of the Tindouf region in the southwest of Algeria (consulted on 12.01.2001: <http://www.sahara.net/people.html>).

The old economic system relying on nomadism and Saharan trade is largely replaced by an economy based on the fishing industry and on the exploitation of phosphate and iron mines (consulted on 11.1.2001: <http://www.medea.be/fr/index250.htm>).

The Chaamba

The Chaamba, nomads at least in their majority, wander through the whole northern part of the Algerian Sahara, from El Oued, Ouargla and the Grand Erg Oriental, along El Golea and the Grand Erg Occidental, as far as the Erg er Raoui and even further on. Arid plains cross this immense desert with its enormous sand dunes.

The Arabic-speaking Chaamba are Arab-Berbers whose origin clearly shows the interpenetrating of the autochthonous Amazigh populations and the Arab tribes who came from the Arab Peninsula. According to some estimation, the total population was about 20,000 at the beginning of the 1950s (Cabot Briggs, 1958: 111).

The Chaamba found their means of subsistence, and up to a certain point still find it, in the breeding of dromedaries and, in the north of their habitat, also of sheep. They were famous dromedarists who partially entered the French colonial army and the Algerian army later on. In the oases they also cultivated gardens and palm-trees.

Today, they come down off their dromedaries and mount on the trucks that cross the Sahara (Komorowski, 1975: 107).

The Teda

The Teda, named Toubou by the Arabs and the Europeans, live in an area as particular as isolated, namely the Tibesti volcanic massif in the northwest of Chad. This Tibesti massif, rising up to 3350 meters and with an average height between 1000 and 1800 meters, rises like a bastion in the middle of a sea of sand (Lopatinsky, *Les Teda du Tibesti*: 9).

In contrast with the other populations whose children's games and toys are described and who are Amazighs or Arab-Berbers speaking an Amazigh or an Arabic language, the Teda belong ethnically and linguistically to a distinct group related to the black populations of the Sudan.

The Teda of the Tibesti numbered some 20,000 persons in 1960 (*La Vie du Sahara*: XXIV), and possibly even less as this source incorporates in this number also the agriculturists related to the Teda. The population of Chad was estimated at 7,557,436 inhabitants in July 1999, of whom 44 % younger than fifteen years (E-Conflict™ World Encyclopedia). The 1993-population census of Chad numbers 28,501 Teda (Ethnologue: Languages of the World).

For a very long time, the Teda remained attached to the ancestral way of life and conserved a cultural particularism that reflects the imperatives of their living conditions, this still in 1980 (Brandily, 1980: 141). Indeed, the influence of the French colonialization, with an effective occupation of the area from 1930 only, has been really low until World War II.

Semi-nomadism was the socio-economic system making possible the survival of the Teda. In this system, part of the family unit remains in the oasis, Bardaï for example, and keeps the gardens - a task felt as a servant's job - and cares for the palm-trees. Meanwhile the other part goes searching

for grassland to feed the goats, sheep, donkeys and dromedaries, holding at the same time a small ambulant trade (Lopatinsky, *Les Teda du Tibesti*: 10, 15, 285, 288; Le Cœur, 1950: 198; Kronenberg, 1958: 3-5).

Traditionally the basis of the food consists of dates and cereals, some cultivated and some wild (Brandily, 1980: 141). The girls reveal the importance of the dates for the Teda in the making of dolls.

The Zaghawa

A black population called the Zaghawa by the Arabs and later on also by the colonial administration, but calling itself the Beri, lives on the border between Chad and Sudan.

It is a hilly territory with in its center the Ennedi high plateau that constitutes part of the southern border of the Sahara. Always situated above 600 meters this territory rises to 1450 meters. In this inhospitable region of Chad some 30,000 Zaghawa were living about 1975 and Iriba, the residence of the sultan of the Zaghawa, was a regional center with more or less 3000 inhabitants (Tubiana, 1977: 99, 118).

The Zaghawa, who since long have been under the influence of Islam and Arabic, are first of all seminomadic people moving over a limited area and living from cattle-breeding, food gathering, agriculture, hunting and also trade. Cattle represent the principal wealth of a Zaghawa. It gives him part of his food and his clothes and some of his household utensils. By exchanging or selling some animals he obtains the needed supplement of millet, but also tea, sugar and textile fabrics. The wealth of a man and the influence of a chief are evaluated according to the possessed cattle. Cows and bulls are the most important. The Zaghawa also raise dromedaries as beasts of burden, sheep and goats. Horses belong to chiefs and high-ranking men, whereas the women and the smiths use donkeys (Tubiana, 1964: 11-12).

The Belbala

Up to now, the populations have, or at least had, a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life. In contrast, the Belbala form the first settled population, living at Belbala in the North Western Sahara, but in direct contact with the Chaamba.

Belbala, situated at 500 meters above sea-level, is a very isolated oasis at the foot of the Erg er Raoui, in between this zone of sand dunes and a little mountainous region of about 700 meters high.

According to Dominique Champault, the Belbala were some 1600 individuals around 1960 and they speak a language of their own, completely different from the languages of the surrounding nomadic or settled Saharan populations. Their language is of Black African origin but influenced by Amazigh and Arabic languages.

The inhabitants of Tabelbala have survived through an oasis economy based on date palms. There were also gardens, goats, donkeys, some sheep and a few dromedaries cared for by Chaamba herdsman. Moreover, Tabelbala has been a place of rest and supply for the caravans coming from Morocco, all this at least until the beginning of the twentieth century.

But the future of this caravan-trade and the future of the oasis of Tabelbala was described by Dominique Champault as follows in 1969: as it is probable that Tabelbala developed because of the Saharan trade and that it survived for a lot of centuries thanks to this trade, it is also clear that it cannot survive this trade for a long time (p. 447).

The inhabitants of the Saoura Valley

Another Saharan sedentary population is made up of the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley, a population on which I have found very little information.

The Saoura Valley delimits the stone desert extending to the west from the sand dunes of the Erg er Raoui extending to the east and the south. This Saoura River rises out of the Saharan Atlas, flows in a north-south direction and dries up in the desert after some hundreds of kilometers. In winter it sometimes carries a large amount of water.

The Saoura Valley has been since time immemorial a very important transsaharan route of communication and trade. In the bed of the Oued Saoura lay gardens and palm-groves, some 8000 palms at Beni Abbes in 1944. At that time nearly 5000 persons lived in this agglomeration (Naval Intelligence Division, 1943-1944: I, 66-67, II, 61).

According to Dominique Champault, the alimentary situation was even worse in the small oases of the Saoura Valley than it was in Tabelbala. Even if there always and quite regularly passed through the Saoura Valley small caravans, at least up to the 1950s (1969: 176, 269).

The Mozabites

The Mozabites, being Muslims of a puritanical non-orthodox sect, sought refuge during the XIth century in the Saharan region of the Oued Mزاب. There they founded four fortified cities of which Ghardaïa is the most important, and in the XVIIth century they founded two more cities. The relief resembles the one of a high plateau, generally situated at about 700 meters and with often large and profound valleys (Naval Intelligence, 1943-1944: 69).

The number of these city dwellers was estimated at about 50,000 persons around 1950 and about 1980 they were with some 200,000 persons (Camps, 1984: 8). Their language belongs to the large family of Amazigh languages.

Zygmunt Komorowski writes about the Mozabite economy that they have been able to enrich themselves because of the transsaharan trade and this for centuries. Nowadays, they control much of the retail trade in Algeria and their diaspora has reached America (1975: 107).

Although the Mozabites lived quite isolated because of their religious particularism, they have nevertheless been able to profit from their integration into a modern state and into a colonial and post-colonial economy.

The Kabyles

The Kabyles live in a mountainous region in the North East of Algeria and extending from Algiers to Annaba. This area is divided in three zones. The 'Grande Kabylie' or the Kabylie of Djurdjura culminates at 2308 meters height. To the East of the Grande Kabylie there is the 'Petite Kabylie' with a maximum height of 1008 meters. Further eastwards lays the third region, the Kabylie de Collo. In these mountainous regions the Kabyles always withdraw because of succeeding invasions. The capital of Kabylie is Tizi-Ouzou.

Kabylie has a high population density as there where 2,537,000 people living there in 1987. In 1984, more then 530,000 Kabyles lived in France (*Ethnologue: Languages of the World*). According to another source published in 1998 the Kabyles are estimated at four million and the emigration to France and some other European countries dates back to the First World War (Tamisier, 1998: 143). The Kabyle language belongs to the large family of Amazigh languages.

In 1931, the *Larousse du 20^e siècle* writes about some aspects of the economy in these regions that cereals are cultivated in the low places and on the slopes orchards and vineyards. Beautiful woods of cork oaks, other oaks and higher up also cedars cover this excellently watered region. The Petite Kabylie and that of Collo have mines of lead, copper and especially iron (volume I-M, p. 222). On the sheer coast one still finds some harbors like Djidjelli. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* mentions in 2001 that the Kabyles predominantly are agriculturalists cultivating olives, figs, grenades, peaches, apricots, peers, prunes and vegetables.

The socio-political structure is marked by a strong village organization. The evolution since the second half of the last century reveals the importance of the traditional political institutions and of the modern culture acquired by the Kabyles within syndicalism and political movements in which they have been so active, and this as well as immigrants in France as in Algeria itself (Mahe, summary of the book).

The Chaouïa

The Aurès, the territory of the Chaouïa, is a mountainous massif of about 11,000 km² situated in between the northeastern Algerian plateaus and the Sahara.

The Chaouïa, meaning 'herdsmen' in Arabic, are Amazigh-speaking people. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* mentions 1,400,000 Chaouïa for 1993.

They still lived largely according to ancestral customs in the 1940s and remained mountain-dwellers only slightly influenced by what they observed in the cities. They stuck to the social organization of the past (*Catalogue des Collections de l'Aurès*, 1943: 4).

In 1938 and according to Thérèse Rivière, the Chaouïa of the north of the Aurès are settled in fertile valleys where an intensive cultivation of gardens and palm-groves is possible. The Chaouïa of the south are, in contrast, semi-nomadic goat- and sheep-breeders, also cultivators of wheat and barley, who live in an almost closed economy. These semi-nomads winter in the Sahara and summer in the Aurès (p. 294).

In the north of the Aurès the density of population reached from 5 to 25 inhabitants per km² during this period, five times more than in the south of the Aurès. The total Chaouïa population must have numbered some ten thousands.

Danielle Jemma-Gouzon has described the recent situation in the Aurès: and then comes the time to break the isolation and, simultaneously, the temptation of the outside world. In the depth of the valleys the men are leaving. In the villages only remain the elders, the women and the children. The gestures, just as the earthen houses, lose their meaning and symbols. Time has penetrated the Aurès mountains and together with it history. The family is opening but becomes fragmented thereby, being satisfied with a less precarious but also less communitarian economy, new aspirations and new models (1989: 7-8).

The populations of the Moroccan countryside

My ongoing research in Morocco since February 1992 gives me the possibility to collect information on the play activities, games and toys in relation to domestic life of the children of Arab-Berber and Amazigh communities living in the villages or small towns of Moroccan rural areas. In the context of this book it concerns the population of the Aït Ouirra (Moyen Atlas), of the small towns Goulmima, Imi-n-Tanoute, Imzouren, Midelt, Ouarzazate and Taroudannt (Central Morocco), Tiznit and Sidi Ifni (Southern Morocco), and of the villages Zhana (Kénitra), Aït Hmed ou Yacoub (Khemisset), Aïn Taoujdate (Fès), Arhbalou-n-Serdane, Sidi Brahim and Tighboula (Moyen Atlas), Ouirgane (Marrakech), Bertèt, Ksar Assaka, She^oba, Taäkit and Zaïda (Midelt), Meski (Errachidia), Aït Ighemour, Aït Slimane, Amellago, Ignern and Imîder (Haut Atlas), Tiffoultoute (Ouarzazate), Hmar (Taroudannt), Douar Ouaraben and Ikenwèn (Tiznit), Idoubahman-Imjâd, Ifrane a/s, Terloulou (Tafraoute), Lahfart, Lagzira (Sidi Ifni), Igîsel (Guelmim), Douar (Tan-Tan) and Oulad ben Sba (Sidi Mokhtar).

The Aït Ouirra, an Amazigh-speaking population, lives in the region of El-Ksiba an administrative center situated at an altitude of 1130 m in the Moyen Atlas. Their territory measures about 600 km². According to the 1971 population census there were 24,019 Aït Ouirra. They are semi-nomads living in the mountains as well as in the plains. Breeding goats and sheep is the most important activity but they also cultivate wheat, barley and maize or corn. The data on the Aït Ouirra, their play activities and toys come from the thesis of Lahcen Oubahammou (1987).

Near the Mediterranean coast and at 17 km from El Hoceima lies the small Rif town Imzouren where Amazigh is spoken.

Midelt is the center of a region where apples grow. It is situated along the road going from Meknès to Errachidia at a height of 1500 m and at the foot of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain forming the northern part of the Haut Atlas. This Amazigh town where more and more youngsters speak Arabic has about 25.000 inhabitants.

The small town of Goulmima, on the road from Ouarzazate to Errachidia and near the Oued Gheris, is located at the border of the Moroccan Pre-Sahara and the eastern side of the Haut Atlas. This Amazigh-speaking urban center with its big *ighrem* or fortified quarter, and its important oasis

is only slightly touched by tourism. According to local informants Goulmima also has about 25,000 inhabitants.

The town of Ouarzazate in the Pre-Sahara is a regional center of more or less the same size as Goulmima. It became a city for European tourism and movie studios. Ouarzazate is an Amazigh-speaking town where nowadays much Moroccan Arabic is spoken, especially among the younger generations.

Imi-n-Tanoute is a regional center situated on the Western slope of the Haut Atlas, at an altitude of about 900 meters, along the road from Marrakech to Agadir. The town of Taroudannt lies in the valley between the Haut Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, at an altitude of about 250 meters and along the Oued Sous flowing into the Atlantic in Agadir. Both centers have a population between 25,000 and 40,000 inhabitants. There Arabic-speaking and Amazigh-speaking people mix and it sometimes happens that even within one family both languages are used at the same time.

Sidi Ifni is a small coastal town in Southern Morocco and 160 km from Agadir. There one hears people speak Amazigh as well as Moroccan Arabic. Tourism is of some importance, with tourists coming from Europe especially during winter and local tourists or Moroccans living in Europe during summer.

Tiznit is a fast growing town along the road from Agadir to Guelmim and Tan-Tan. For some years it has been promoted as an interesting tourist place on the adventurous route of Southern Morocco.

Aïn Taoujdate, between Meknès and Fès, being only a village at the beginning of the 1990s is developing fast into a larger urban center. On the contrary, Zhana, at 10 km from Kénitra, remains a small village. The village of Meski, near the very tourist Source Bleue de Meski, is located at 20 km from Errachidia on the border of the Pre-Sahara. It has a big oasis and is a rural center of some importance. In Zhana and Meski Moroccan Arabic is spoken.

A few kilometers from Khemisset, on the road from Rabat to Meknès, lay the small Amazigh-speaking village Aït Hmed ou Yacoub.

I received quite some information on the games and toys of children living in the Moyen Atlas among others in Arhbalou-n-Serdane near Boumia, in Sidi Brahim near Ifrane and in Tighboula near El Ksiba. In all these villages Amazigh is spoken.

This is also the case in the rural center Amellago and two neighboring villages, Aït Slimane and Imîder, all situated in the Haut Atlas not that far from Goulmima, and in Ouirgane a village situated at 60 km from Marrakech along the Tizi n Test road.

At Aït Ighemour, a small 'traditional' Haut Atlas village, Amazigh is spoken. This village with its roughly a hundred families lies hidden at an altitude of 2600 meters in the province of Ouarzazate. To reach it a track of 36 km starting from the village Anezal on the road from Tazenakht to Amerzgane must be followed. Aït Ighemour is only 8 km away from the Jbel Siroua Mountain. Agriculture is possible in the gardens next to the brook in which water runs the whole year.

Ignern is situated at an altitude of 1600 meters along the road from Taroudannt to Tazenakht and 15 km before Taliouine when coming from Tazenakht. This Amazigh village lies also at the foot of the Jbel Siroua Mountain in the Haut Atlas. Although a small village it is less isolated than Aït Ighemour. The collecting of natural saffron provides some money generating activity in the region.

Taäkit is a little village at 2 km from Midelt in the direction of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain and Ksar Assaka with about 50 families lies 2 km further. Zaïda is found along the road coming from Meknès and at 30 km before Midelt. It lives largely through the road traffic. Bertèt is situated at about 40 km from Midelt and near the road running from Midelt to Errachidia. The small village Ighrem-n-Cherif is near Goulmima. People in all these villages speak Amazigh. The influence from the urban center is growing and quite some inhabitants have left their village to live in town. She°ba, a village located at 2 km before Midelt when coming from Meknès, is an Arabic-speaking community within an Amazigh-speaking region.

Douar Ouaraben just outside Tiznit, Ikenwèn at 29 km from Tiznit along the road to Tafraoute, Ifrane a/s (Atlas Saghir or Anti-Atlas) at about 25 km from Bouizakarne on the road from Tiznit to Guelmim, Idoubahman-Imjâd at 24 km from Ifrane a/s in the direction of Tafraoute and Terloulou at 26 km from Tafraoute in the direction of the high mountains are

Amazigh-speaking. The same holds for the population of the coastal village Lagzira and the mountain village Lahfart, both located near Sidi Ifni, and the village Igîsel near the hot water springs of Abaynou close to Guelmim. All these village of the Anti-Atlas are really small except Ifrane a/s with about 20,000 inhabitants. Ifrane a/s is an important rural center with a secondary school and a quite big grove.

In the village Hmar, at about 10 km from Taroudannt, and in Oulad ben Sbaa, near Sidi Mokhtar on the road from Essaouira to Marrakech, people speak Moroccan Arabic. In the small village Douar near Tan-Tan Hassaniya Arabic, the language of the Sahrawi, is spoken.

In the villages subsistence is based on agriculture, often according to age-old methods, on olive, apple or other fruit trees and livestock, the livestock often being herded by boys or girls. In the small towns, casual labor, craft industry, commerce, transport and public service create additional opportunities, this way causing a more or less important rural desertion. Where in 1960, the Moroccan rural population still represented 71 % of the total Moroccan population; it now only represents some 50 % of this population.

By the way, modernization has not left the Moroccan rural towns and villages unaffected, as is certainly also the case in the whole of North Africa and the Sahara. After the craze for the satellite antenna, the mobile phone has conquered the rural world, and especially the young men and young women. The mobile phone became at the end of 1999 the very latest fashion and a prestigious item in the small Moroccan town Midelt, and during the year 2000 the mobile phone infiltrated already the little village Ksar Assaka near Midelt. In this town several shops started to offer the possibility of using computers and communicating through the Internet in 2000. This is also the case in Sidi Ifni and other Moroccan rural centers.

Sometimes I have mentioned the 'tribe' or ethnic group to which the children belong. However, the importance of the ethnic group has strongly diminished in an urban context and even in the larger villages.

The town-dwellers of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia

In the big, middle and even small cities of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, situated along or nearby the coast, live non-ethnic or multi-ethnic communities. In this book are also mentioned a few urban settlements lying in the interior of these countries that present an analogous demographic situation. These agglomerations are, with very few exceptions, located in coastal plains or slightly elevated plains of the interior.

In July 1999, the population in Algeria was estimated at 31,133,486 inhabitants of whom 37 % are children younger than fifteen years, in Morocco at 29,661,636 inhabitants with 36 % of children younger than fifteen years, and in Tunisia at 9,513,603 inhabitants with 31 % of children younger than fifteen years (E-Conflict™ World Encyclopedia).

The urban population lives, for the major part and for the period covered by this book, from casual labor, crafts, trade, public service and the rendering of other services.

Fès, Marrakech and Rabat, where I gathered information, are cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. Khouribga is a phosphate-mining town. They are cities with multiple appearances, showing a very Western behavior, a really traditional behavior as well as a strict Islamic behavior. This is most visible among the female population as one can see in the streets some women wearing veils and others following the mini-length fashion.

The information on the play activities and toys related to domestic and family life gathered in these cities comes from families belonging to the middle and popular classes.

The language spoken in all these centers is the local form of Arabic spoken in the Maghreb. Ethnically, these populations consist largely of Amazighs, Arabicized since a longer or shorter period. Gabriel Camps writes about this situation: in the Islamic North African and Saharan society one finds Arabic-speaking or Arab-Berber people and Berber-speaking people who conserve the name of Berbers that the Arabs gave them. Among the Arab-Berbers, who do not form a sociological entity just like the Berbers, one can distinguish an ancient urban group of very mixed origin because of the pre-Islamic demographic contributions in the cities, the Andalusian Moslem refugees and the newcomers generally grouped

under the term of Turks, though they mostly were people from the Balkan and the Greek Archipelago (1984: 9).

The best way to close this overview of the different populations whose children's play activities and toys are described further on, seem to me to listen to what Nefissa Zerdoumi tells us on this difference between Arabic-speaking and Amazigh-speaking populations of the Maghreb. In her interesting book *Enfants d'hier. L'éducation de l'enfant en milieu traditionnel algérien* she writes that for centuries and notwithstanding a stirring history, the Islamic Algerian family has remained unchanged, not that it was particularly protected by religion or law, but because it had adopted a defensive structure keeping it away from the causes that could provoke its evolution. The structure of the family possessed in itself those static elements enabling it to absorb or to neutralize the successive and opposing influences of the politico-social environment. These influences have created relatively distinct cultural zones. In the mountainous massifs (Kabylie, Aurès), the languages and the customs of the Berbers retained their originality. One finds there a certain independence regarding Islam, notably in the juridical system, a strong attachment to the land and its fruits, a pronounced desire for lucrative individual work, a social structure of democratic tendency. In contrast to all this, the area of the Arabs, the one of the vast steppes and plains, has remained faithful, in the rural as well as in the urban centers, to the characteristics of a pastoral civilization, more open, more classical Islamic, but less attached to the land than to tribal and family solidarity. Between these two systems, that seem to be distinct outside the towns, there is much interpenetrating modeling a society with varying outlooks but with a common basis founded on resembling family units (1970/1982: 35-36).

Already for *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* I had the intention to give in the introduction an overview of the family organization and of children's socialization among the mentioned populations. However, my efforts remained without success. I think that in the actual state of knowledge it is impossible to write such an overview, impossible due to the diversity of the physical and human environment. There is a big difference between a popular quarter of Casablanca and a small Amazigh village hidden in the Haut Atlas, or a nomadic Saharan settlement. Secondly, the covered period extends through the whole 20th century, a period marked by important

technological, economic, social and political changes. Thirdly, the basic information is often lacking especially concerning childhood. So if I could have written such a synthesis it would have been too generalizing. I therefore dropped this idea and refer the reader to some rare books describing family and childhood in different areas and periods. Books such as *Enfants d'hier. L'éducation de l'enfant en milieu traditionnel algérien* of Néfissa Zerdoumi (1970), *Enfants du Maghreb entre hier et aujourd'hui* of Mohamed Sijelmassi (1984), *Enfances Maghrébines* of Dernouny et Chaouite (1987) and *Conception, naissance et petite enfance au Maghreb* of the IREMAM (1997). A short commentary on these books can be found in *Saharan and North-African Toy and Play Cultures. Commented bibliography on play, games and toys* (2005) in which some other recent documents on Moroccan childhood and youth are mentioned.

In this book the reader will find an analysis of the play activities, games and toys of Saharan and North African children that are related to domestic and family life. First the play activities and toys related to the dwellings have been discussed, then those related to dinner and utensils, to household tasks, to subsistence activities, to music and dance, and finally to ritual life and festivities. Each of these subdivisions starts with a summary putting forward the main characteristics of the concerned group of play activities and toys.

In the section *Conclusion* a synthesis is proposed, together with a discussion of some environmental, economic and sociocultural aspects. This time the chapter on sociocultural aspects is more detailed. The relation between Saharan and North African children's toys and play on the one hand and culture and society on the other hand, their role in the socialization of children, and in the relationship between children and between children and adults is analyzed. There also is a discussion of gender differentiation in toys and play followed by the evolution of toys and play during the 20th century. A final chapter on children's creativity has been included.

In an appendix a detailed and systematic description, in French, of the Saharan and North African toys related to domestic life of the collection of the former Musée de l'Homme can be consulted. This collection belongs now to the Musée du Quai Branly, Unité Patrimoniale Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient, in Paris.

The transcription of the vernacular words and the ethnic references is based on the sources I believe to be trustworthy or which are commonly accepted and were at my disposal. The diversity of languages and bibliographical sources made it as good as impossible to reach complete standardization. The linguistic information is mentioned to keep trace of it not as totally correct data. This way scholars well qualified in Amazigh and Arabic will be able to verify and correct the local terminology. In the transcription of the Arabic letters some conventional signs have been used. The list of these conventional signs is given in the list of transcriptions. The Arabic words put in *italics* have been transcribed in this way. The Amazigh words I noted in Morocco have often been first transcribed in the Arabic alphabet as those speaking Amazigh regularly use Arabic letters to write their language. These Amazigh words are also written in *italics*.

The measures are given in centimeters: BA = base, H = height, L = length, B = breadth, T = thickness, D = diameter, + = maximum, - = minimum.

Concerning my contacts with children, the ethical rules put forward by the European Council for Scientific Research have been followed. Thus, the paternal or maternal authorization has been obtained when collecting information from children or when photographing them. Certainly, it would have been difficult to do it any other way, the research being done in families or in public spaces. Still, there is an exception to this rule, namely the observations or photographs of children occasionally made in streets or public areas in Moroccan urban centers in which case the permission of the children themselves was only asked when making photographs. On a few occasions the photograph was taken from a distance without asking permission. Yet, in these cases adults were present in the area and I encountered no negative reaction when photographing these children.

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- The family Jariaa from Ikenwèn and Tiznit
- The family Daoumani from Guelmim.
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- The children of Idoubahman-Imjâd, Ifrane a/s and Terloulou together with their families.

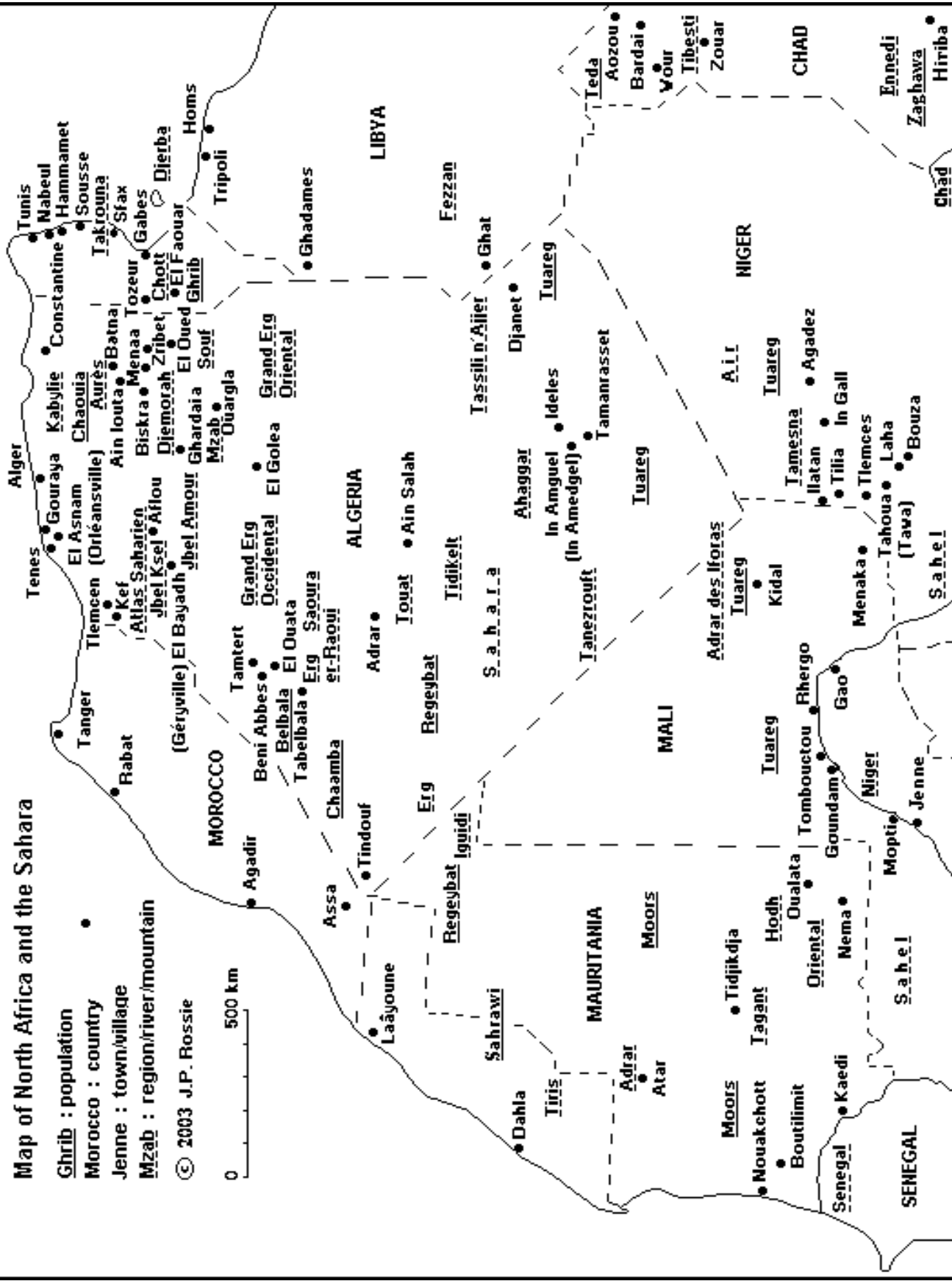
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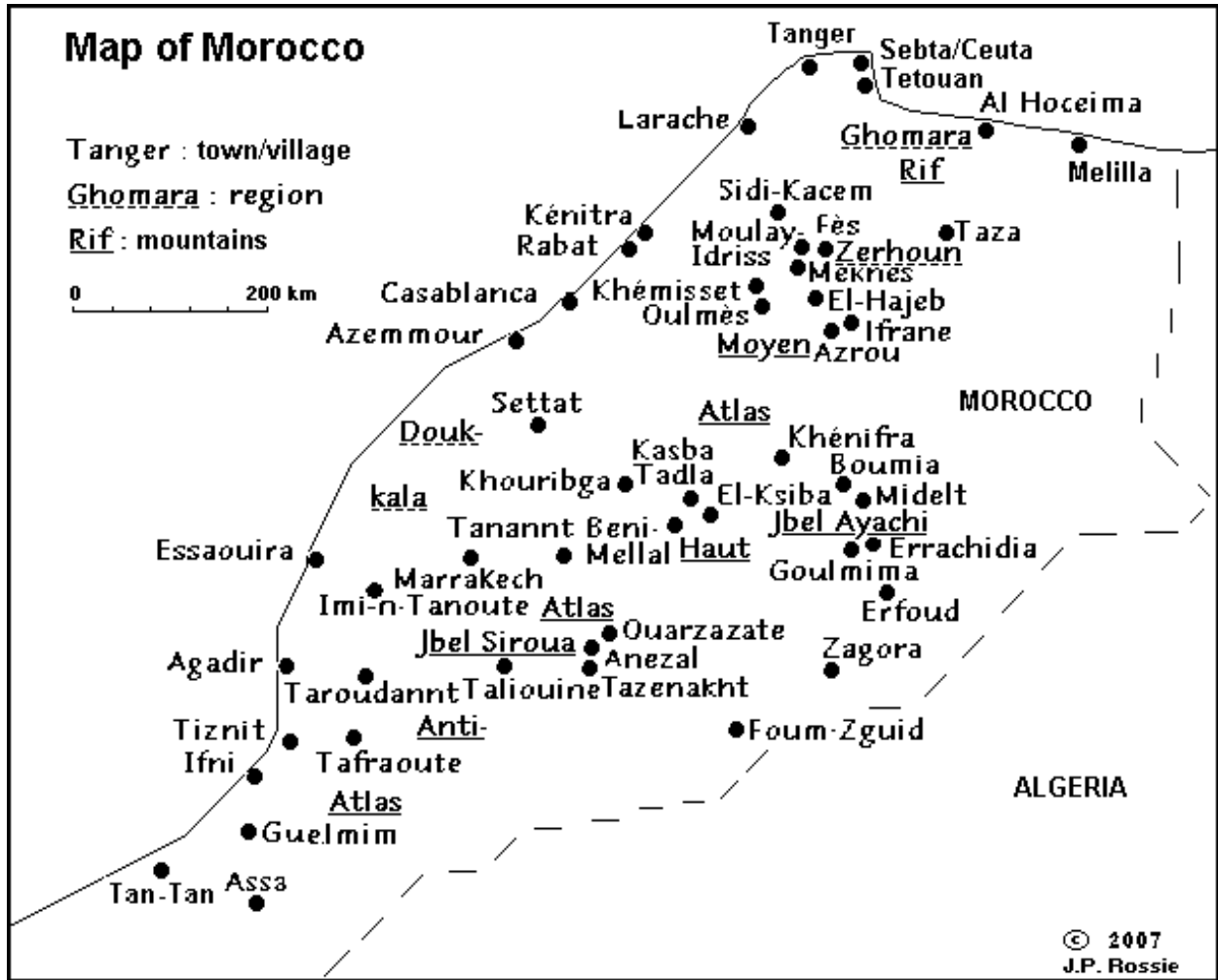
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Map of North Africa and the Sahara

Ghrib : population
Morocco : country
Jenne : town/village
Mzab : region/river/mountain

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Domestic Life
in Saharan and North African
Children's Play, Games and Toys

1 Dwellings in play, games and toys

1.1 Summary

Toys representing objects related to a nomadic way of life, especially the tent, have been mentioned for the children of the Ghrib, the Tuareg, the Moors, the Sahrawi and the Chaamba, all populations living in the Sahara.

Next to the toy tents, I have found miniaturized copies of tent arches, pegs for the tent's mat enclosure, mat doors, sleeping mats, crosspieces for a bed, carpets and cushions.

These toys date from between 1930 and 1975 and the used material consist of straw, little branches, strips of a palm branch bearing a date cluster, pieces of wood, leather straps, rags and cotton or wool threads.

The information on the Ghrib and Tuareg children indicates that in the Sahara the toy tent is constructed by the girls for their doll play, household play and dinner play. However, this does not exclude that the boys also make a toy tent and other objects related to the tent, as was noticed for the young Chaamba shepherds who use these toys to create a nomadic settlement and nomadic way of life.

All these miniaturized objects are surely used for play activities inspired by the nomad's life, play activities in which toy animals and dolls are used as described in my books *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* (2005) and *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* (2005).

The miniaturized tent is a toy of nomadic or semi-nomadic children. Up to now I can only mention two exceptions, namely the toy tent of the sedentarized children of the villages Douar Ouaraben and Ikenwèn in the Anti-Atlas.

The dollhouse or pretend house is a toy of children of settled or semi-sedentarized populations. Pretend houses are constructed by the children of the Ghrib, a population on its way to sedentarization in the 1970s, the Moors living in the little town Oualata, the oasis Tabelbala, the Mozabites, the Chaouïa, the Kabyles, the Djebel Amour and Djebel Ksel regions, the town of Mopti and several Moroccan regions.

The earliest information on pretend houses and other miniaturized constructions dates back to 1917, the most recent information to the end of 2006. The used material consists of sand, clay, stones, pebbles, sardine tins and seldom a cardboard box.

One will see that most pretend houses evoke the dwellings of the adults only in a basic and partial way. Thus, I think it is adequate to use in relation to the games with a pretend house described in this book what Gilles Brougère writes in *La représentation de l'habitat dans le jouet*, namely that for a symbolic action it is mostly sufficient to have a partial evocation of the house, for example a roof or a frame. The imagination and activity of the children completes the representation in a dynamic way (1989: 29).

Although the pretend houses are simplified models in most cases they can also be realistic miniaturized copies of existing houses. This is for example the case with the dollhouses of the children of the Oualata Moors mostly made by female servants.

Saharan and North African children do not limit themselves to making pretend houses for doll play, dinner play and household play. They also make other constructions like a fold, a garage, a restaurant, a shop, a saint's tomb and a mosque.

As for the small tents, the girls mostly create the pretend houses. However, recent information from the Anti-Atlas shows that boys make the same kind of play houses as girls but use these for playing at male occupations such as working in a cake shop, in a restaurant, in a tailor's shop and at constructing roads.

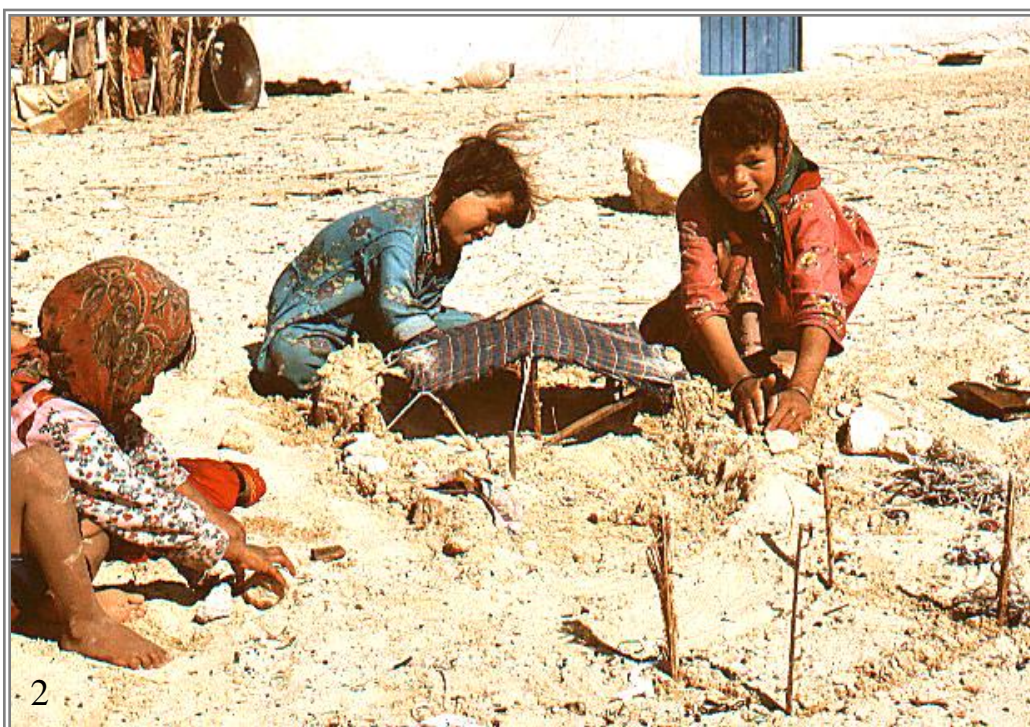
After the chapter on nomadic settlements in play activities, the vast information on pretend houses is analyzed in three sections: dollhouses, houses for dinner and household play, and other constructions. In the chapter on play activities related to trade more pretend houses are presented.

1.2 Nomadic settlements

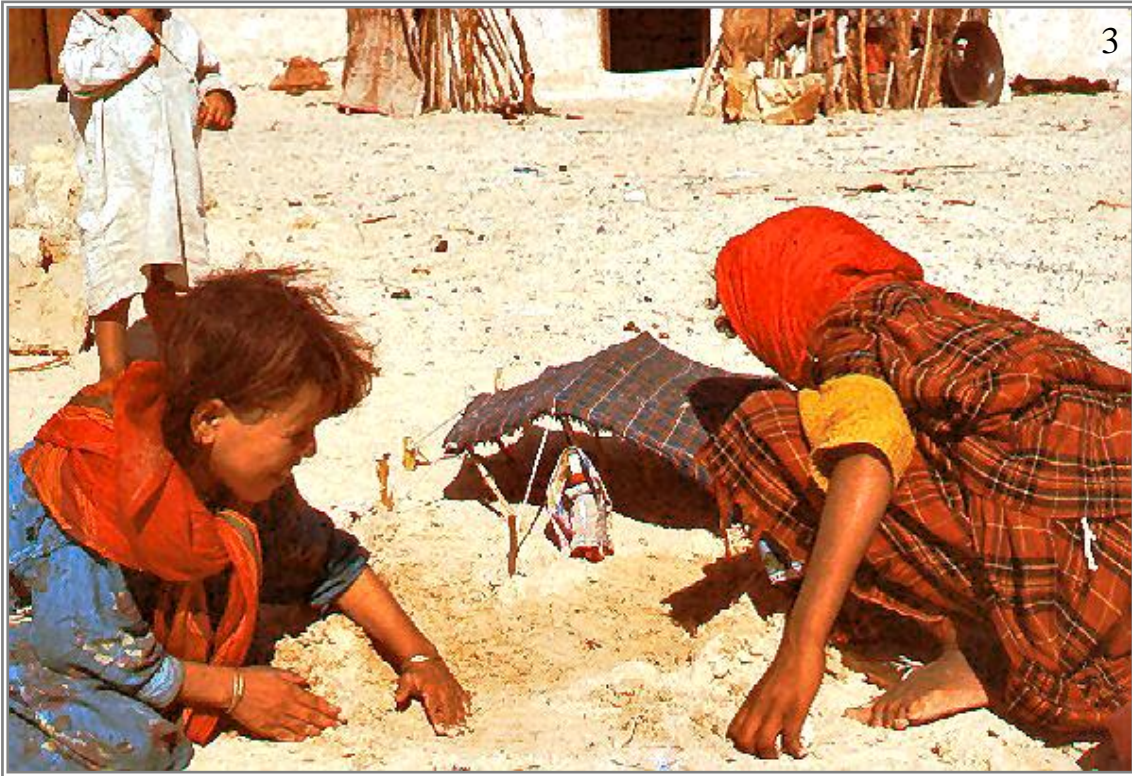
In 1975 Ghrib girls of about seven years living in the Tunisian Sahara made with a rectangular rag, some little branches and thread a nice tent just as their mothers do in reality (fig. 1).



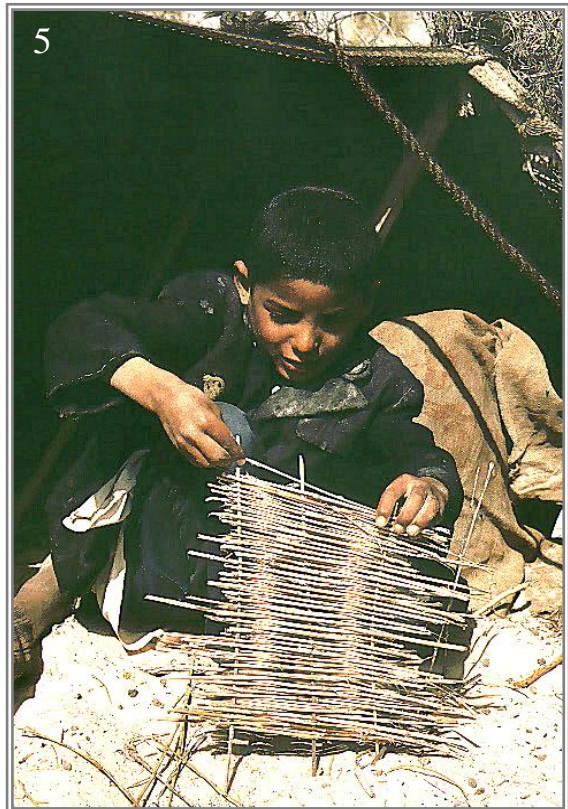
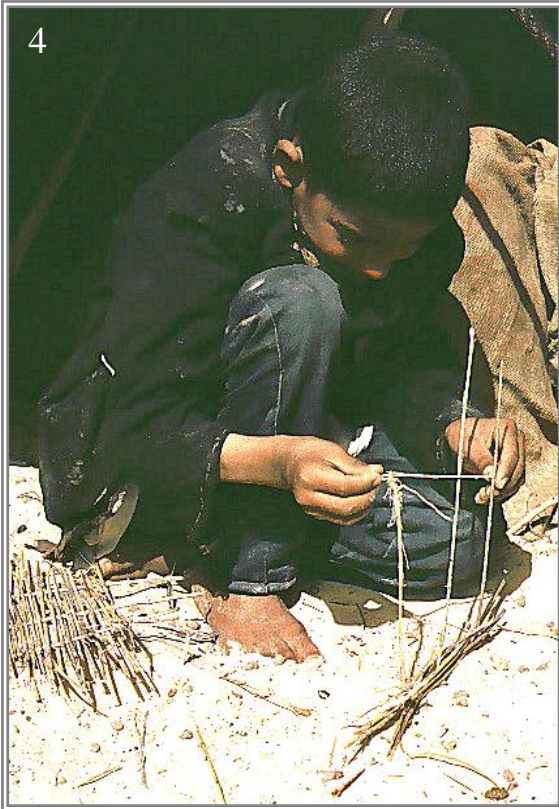
In front of this small tent they erect an enclosure with wet sand in imitation of the enclosure put before the tent's entrance (fig. 2). Another enclosure made in the same way closes the back of the tent.



This *bît el-°arûs* or doll's tent (fig. 3) serves for doll play as explained in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* (2005: 87).



Such a tent is also used for playing dinner or household. Thus one sees in the front of figure 2 (p. 55) four little branches stuck into the sand indicating that the making of a toy weaving loom is started. Rags and other tiny objects represent the few objects found in a nomad's tent, all kinds of bags and different utensils. To cover the floor of their toy tent these girls, but sometimes also a boy, weave a sleeping mat in imitation of the weaving of a real one. This mat called *es-serîr* or *el-h'açîr*, is made with little branches of 30 to 40 cm in length or strips of a palm branch bearing a date cluster of the same length. Three branches are stuck into the sand at a distance of about 10 cm between them and on one line (fig. 4, p. 57). The child starts to weave little branches or strips between the three branches fixed in the sand (fig. 5, p. 57). The strips of a palm branch are preferred as they will show different colors with yellow and red nuances once dry.



When the mat is finished it measures between 25 and 35 cm in length. Sometimes it this mat is put on four branches serving as the feet of a bed (fig. 6).

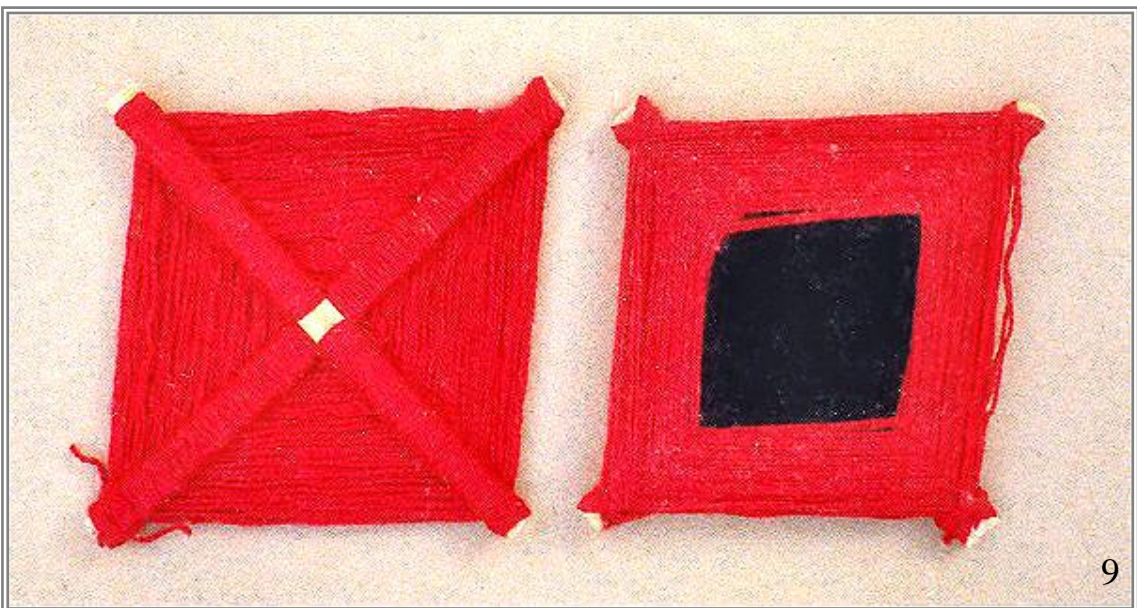


Occasionally a little carpet, called *ez-zarbîya*, is part of this tent's furniture (fig. 7). The girls make it by fixing two sticks of 10 cm to 20 cm length, in the shape of a cross (fig. 8).



Starting from the crossing each turn of the yarn is placed above the other and by turning it each time around each stick a square carpet is made. After one or a few turns yarn of another color is used. As seen on the above figures, about one centimeter of the top of the sticks is left without yarn.

The same way of making carpets is found in Morocco. A girl from the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt made in 1995 two carpets with red and black yarn (fig. 9).



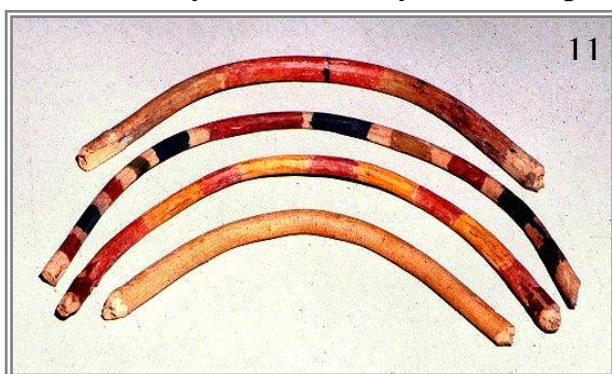
The little carpet shown at figure 10 was made with white, yellow and black yarn by a girl from the Tazenakht region in 1997. Both these places are located in Central Morocco. In the village Douar Ouaraben, just outside Tiznit, Khalija Jariaa received in July 2006 a set of five carpets used by some girls to decorate their pretend houses.



Just as among the Ghrib, the Tuareg children make small tents for their game of imitating a nomad's camp. However, I did not find in the consulted bibliography a direct reference to making a small tent except the one in the catalogue of the exposition in the Musée de l'Homme of March 1993, *Touaregs: 12 photographes témoignent*. One of the photographs of this catalogue shows a Tuareg girl in front of her small tent. Yet, one finds in the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly as well as in the bibliography several examples of miniature objects used for the construction of a toy tent, such as toys representing the arches, pegs for the tent enclosure mat, tent enclosure mats and mat doors. There are also copies of tent furniture such as bed crosspieces, sleeping mats and carpets.

Figure 11 shows these miniature arches. Two of the five arches are unpainted. A third one is painted alternatively in red and yellow stripes. The fourth arch is decorated by alternating an unpainted stripe with a red, green and yellow stripe. The last arch has a large red stripe in its center. The segment of the half-circle measures between 18 and 24 cm.

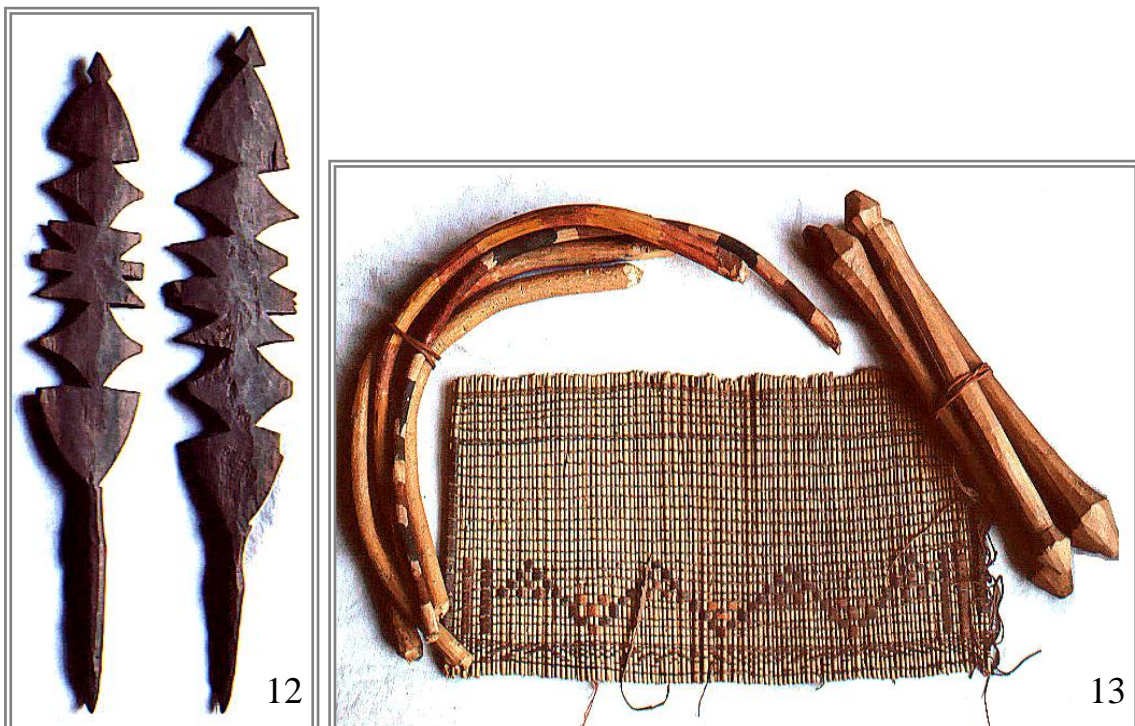
Such arches support the canopy



of a small or middle-sized tent. Two wooden arches are placed parallel to each other with a distance of one and a half meter in between and then they are fixed with pegs. These arches replace the central post (Foley, 1930: 12-13; de Foucauld, 1951-1952: 247, 408). Plate IV of H. Foley's book shows how the women build a tent using arches.

A twelve-year-old Tuareg Kel Ahaggar girl (Algerian Sahara) made in 1938 a toy representing the enclosure mat of a tent using graminaceous stalks and straps of skin or cotton threads. The stalks are fixed together in pairs with small straps of skin (71.1941.19.117, H = 23 cm, LO = 75 cm, p. catalogue p. 416) or cotton threads (71.1941.19.118-119, H = 13 cm, LO = 47/33 cm, catalogue p. 416). The same girl also made a small tent carpet (71.1941.19.120, catalogue p. 418). These toys belong to a set of toys used when playing at imitating a nomadic camp and for which the girl also created some dolls (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play*, 2005: 80, fig. 29).

From the Tuareg children of Timbuktu in Mali François de Zeltner collected in 1930 two little pegs for the tent enclosure mat of 42 and 47 cm in height (fig. 12, 71.1930.61.617-618).



In 1939 among the Tuareg Kel Ullimenden of the Sahara of Mali, Henri Lhote received from a girl a toy mat that shows a correct imitation of the Tuareg tent enclosure mat. It is made with stalks of straw bound in pairs with straps of skin. Somewhat larger straps of skin painted red and black create decorative patterns. Little fringes decorate one of the sides. This mat measures 17 cm by 32 cm (fig. 13, 71.1941.19.1313). In *La Vie du Sahara* one reads that, from Mauritania till Tibesti and from the south of the Atlas till Senegal and Sudan, the same mats are used as carpets or as partition

walls. Made with graminaceous stalks and straps of leather or palm-fibers, these mats can be decorated with colored geometric designs (1960: 33).

At the same time and among the same children, Henri Lhote collected some sleeping mats in miniature; true copies of those used in Tuareg tents (fig. 14). The stalks of straw are bound in pairs with straps of skin. Several fringes decorate its sides. The mat on the bottom right of the photograph (71.1941.19.1311) and the one of figure 13 have a geometric design. A third mat on the top right of figure 14 has its stalks of straw asymmetrically assembled with strings of red and black skin and it is embellished with blue cotton threads (71.1941.19.1310). The width of these four mats varies between 8 and 12 cm and their length between 13 cm and 19 cm.



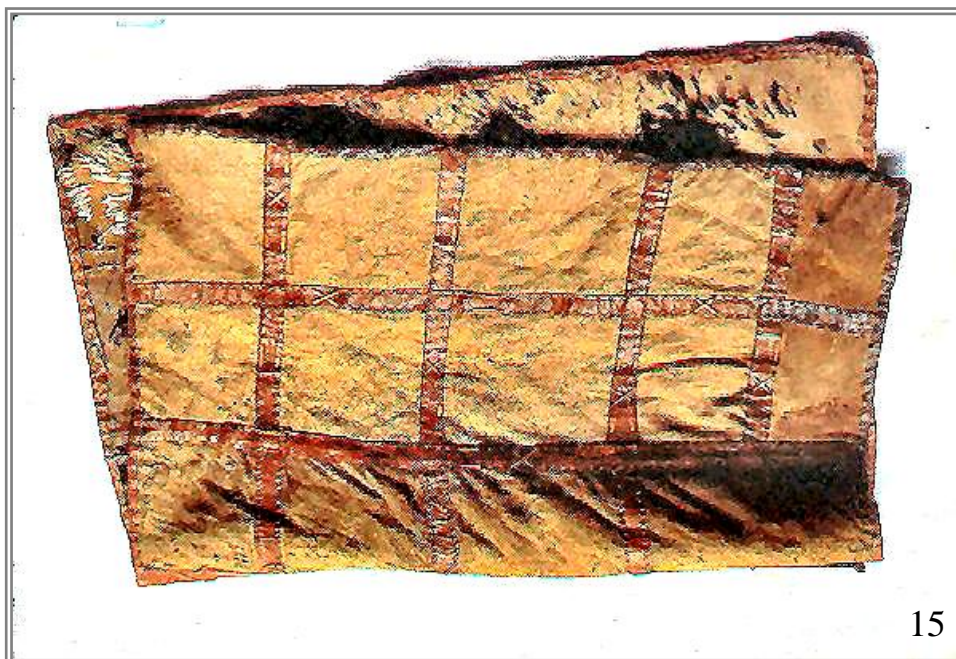
Moreover, the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly contains some beds' crosspieces used for children's games and coming from a Tuareg Kel Ullimenden girl. These were also collected by the Henri Lhote Mission of 1939 and made by a woodworker with 'teboraq' wood (fig. 13, p. 60, 71.1941.19.1306.1-4). The four toy crosspieces have a cylindrical shape with a head like a flattened cone. Their diameter measures 1.5 cm and the length is 21.5 cm and they imitate the crosspieces of a Tuareg bed. In H. Foley's book one finds two photographs of the bed's structure and the bed with its mats (1930: planche IX, n° 13-14). The Album du Musée du Bardo on the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar shows on plate XXXIII a Tuareg bed. Such a bed has four feet with fine pyrography supporting two crosspieces

decorated with large wooden disks at both sides. The two crosspieces support six others on which one or more special mats, called 'taousit', are placed with on top some blankets or a carpet. These beds are very much appreciated by the nomads even if they are cumbersome to transport. They offer during summer good ventilation underneath the sleeper together with a protection against the numerous small insects living on the ground and being very aggressive during hot weather (Balout, 1959).

As for the Ghrib and the Tuareg, accessories for small tents have been mentioned for the Moors (Mauritanian Sahara). These toy accessories are made up of wooden pegs, rags for making tents, ropes, etc. There are also cushions to be used in the small tent (Béart, 1955: 840).

A carpet and a cushion that served as toys for the children of the Moors of Tidjkdja (Mauritanian Sahara) belong to the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly. Local female artisans have made these toys.

The toy carpet of figure 15, reproducing the large 'faro' carpet used all over the Mauritanian Sahara, consists of a rectangle of black lambskin trimmed with a strap of yellow leather. The wrong side decorated with intertwined straps of red leather, sewed up with thin straps of yellow leather to create different kinds of stitches, lines and zigzags. The red straps that have been sewed on the wrong side imitate those strengthening the real faro. The tanning of these skins is done with the acacia bark. This toy carpet measures 44 cm by 33.5 cm (71.1938.48.34).



15

The toy cushion in tanned sheepskin is a reduction of the cushion used by the Moors (71.1938.48.35). Both sides are fixed together with a 3.4 cm large indigo strap of leather. These sides are decorated with black, yellow, red and green designs on a natural colored background, designs contained within geometric spaces separated by red straps. The stitches are done with thin leather straps. The cushion has been filled with raw cotton. This toy cushion measures 16.5 cm by 24.5 cm.

In his book on Sahrawi games and toys Fernando Pinto Cebrián shows a nice color photograph and a design of two different types of toy tents (1999: 103, 110). The photograph and the design on page 103 also show the bed, the mats, the utensils and the doll used by the girls in their doll play or household play. This author writes that the girls, as soon as they are able to do it and by using a small tent called 'jaima lawzar', play all over the year to imitate their mothers in their function of wife and mistress of the family tent. The adults see this game as necessary for the girls to learn all that relates to the traditional family living in the desert. This miniature tent is made and decorated just as the real tents (1999: 105). Sometimes when there are several girls with a toy tent in the family camp, they may build a 'frig sahir', a small camp in imitation of the real one. In this miniature camp these girls will establish some traits of social relationships similar to those of their elders. When there is more than one toy tent and a camp is created, the girls make nearby a pantry with leaves and seeds, and a cattle enclosure with stones and shells. In the vicinity they create a 'suk' or marketplace where they go to buy things and with branches an oasis with palm trees as the one where they live. This way, the girls organize feasts and meetings like those they watch in reality (1999: 108-109).

The boys, except when they are small and used as 'children' by the girls, do not participate in these games afraid as they are to be stigmatized as girls or women. However, occasionally and as a mischievous action, the boys demolish the tents so that the girls take notice of them (1999: 105).

To play with miniature dolls called 'owzar' the girls use one of the two types of toy tents shown by Fernando Pinto Cebrián. This toy tent normally made with rags or leather is nowadays also constructed with modern material such as plastic sheets from bags or paper sheets from newspapers. As dolls one finds not only the traditional dolls, resembling those of the Moors, but also imported plastic dolls, among others the Indians and Cowboys given to the little boys (1999: 109).

At about 5 km from Tan-Tan in southern Morocco and on the other bank of the river Oued Dra lies the village Douar. This village with about a hundred houses is inhabited by Sahrawi families. Many dwellings have a tent used to drink tea for example. Khalija Jariaa who visited this village in February 2007 observed there the game described hereafter. The children of Douar like to create their own tent as thirteen-year-old Fatimatou and eight-year-old Meryem do. The tent's structure is made with four sticks bound together with a ribbon at one end. One stick stands upright in the middle of three others set around it in the form of a tripod. Then an old blanket is thrown over the sticks (fig. 16).



Before fitting up the tent, Fatimatou and Meryem make decorative carpets to embellish their tent. These carpets are made by winding ribbons around two cross-shaped sticks. Three-year-old Souquaina who is Meryem's sister tries to make a carpet but she does not succeed (fig. 17, p. 65).



17

One carpet is fixed below the place where the tent's armature sticks have been bound together (fig. 18, H = 21 cm, LA = 19 cm). The other carpets hang from a string encircling the tent's interior. The smallest carpet, in the middle of figure 19, measures 7 cm on 7 cm and the largest carpet, in the middle of figure 20 (p. 66), measures 54 cm on 57 cm.



18



19

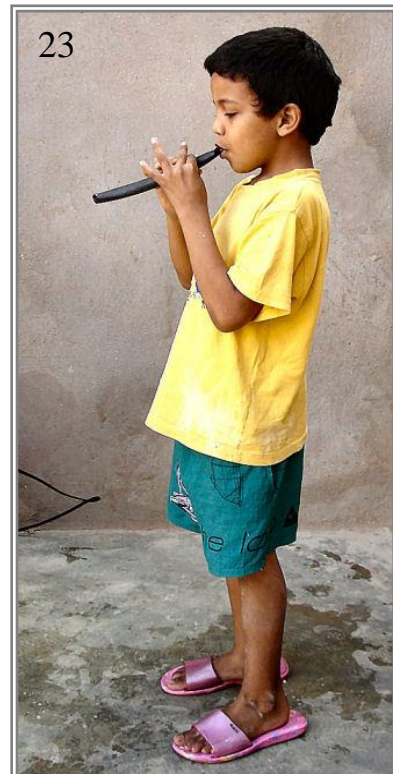


While Fatimatou attaches the carpets in the tent, Meryem creates two dolls (fig. 21, p. 67). The small doll represents a one-year-old girl and is named Souquaina. The large doll represents her mother who is named Moulkhout. The mother doll is only made out of rags so that any structure is lacking (H = 29 cm). Its head without facial features is a ball of rags covered with a red rag and tightened at the neck by a ribbon. The girl doll is made by winding rags around a little branch and its upper dress is kept in place by a white ribbon turned around the lower part of the doll (H = 23 cm). Its head does not have facial features. Fatimatou made a small black bag closed by a white ribbon and representing the charm protecting babies and small children from any harm. As women do she hangs this charm at the top of the toy tent where it is hidden by the carpet of figure 18 (p. 65).



21

When Souquaina asks Fatimatou what she should do Fatimatou answers that she can build a pen for the goats. Souquaina takes some thorn bush branches and makes a pen. Then she starts putting some kids in the pen (fig. 22, p. 68). Meanwhile Sidi Ahmed, an eleven-year-old boy and the brother of Fatimatou, pretends to guard his herd of dromedaries, donkeys, goats and sheep in an imaginary pasture situated a few meters away. As herdsmen do he plays a flute, a piece of black rubber tubing with eight holes (fig. 23). When Souquaina asks him to help her to put the kids in the pen he immediately joins her (fig. 24, p. 68).



23



Meryem who lives in the town Tan-Tan proposes to Fatimatou that they celebrate the birthday of their small girl doll. When Fatimatou calls Sidi Ahmed to join them he replies that they must wait till sunset when the herd is returning home to celebrate the anniversary. After half an hour Sidi Ahmed states that night has fallen and he returns with his herd. Now the anniversary celebration can start. Fatimatou tells Meryem that she does not know how to make an anniversary cake like those bought in a cake shop. "No problem" replies Meryem, "it is enough what we already have: bread, milk, water and Danone". The four players eat all this in their tent after which the game ends. This game lasted from eleven o'clock in the morning till it is time for lunch at about two o'clock in the afternoon.

At the beginning of the 1950s the Chaamba boys of the Algerian Sahara played at constructing their own camp and at imitating the nomad's way of life (Denis, 1952: 35-36). They also made small tents with rags and sticks to be used in this play activity just as they made toy dromedaries and other toy animals as described in *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* (2005: 55-56).

Outside the Sahara I have not seen children building a tent for their games nor have I found information on this. Yet, Khalija Jariaa observed such tent games in the Anti-Atlas villages Douar Ouaraben and Ikenwèn.

In Douar Ouaraben on the outskirts of Tiznit, Smaïl, a six-year-old boy, and two of his sisters, nine-year-old Sadiya and eight-year-old Fatiha, play at living in a tent in March 2007. They know about tents because there are people in this village who come from the Tan-Tan region and who keep dromedary herds in the vicinity. These people put a tent next to their house. The three children each make their own tent and the two girls also create dolls. Smaïl starts to make his tent, a tent called *akiton* in Tashelhit. He fixes the three pieces of reed together with a ribbon and then puts them on the ground in the form of a tripod (fig. 25).



While the girls make a doll Smaïl covers his tent's structure with some plastic (fig. 26).



Sadiya already made the structure for her first doll, two pieces of reed attached cross-wise with a ribbon (fig. 27, p. 71). On this photo is shown the way to cut an opening to be able to put the dress over the doll's head. To cut the rag Sadiya hits the folded side of the cloth with the stone lying near her hand.



Once the dress hangs over the reed serving as arms, two small stones are introduced under the rag to represent the breasts. Figure 28 shows Fatiha helping Sadiya to fix the breasts on the right place. According to Sadiya the white string around the neck represents the tattoo of older women.



Sadiya put a piece of shining wrapping-paper on her doll's head as a scarf and a rag round her face as a veil (fig. 29). She then wedged the doll in a heap of pebbles to give it an elevated position as if on a hillside and cried "*Mètskèrt?*" - What are you doing? In this way Sadiya acts as if the tent's mistress overlooking the area from her high position is angry at children for spoiling water. Sadiya also creates a male doll dressed in blue trousers, a white shirt and a black scarf. This is the tent's master.



The framework of Sadiya's tent is a tripod covered with a piece of the packaging of a sack of cement (fig. 30, p. 73). On the ground Sadiya lays a piece of plastic she then fixes to the three reeds with a string.

The photo shows Sadiya preparing a cushion for her tent, another piece of the same packaging. Before putting this cushion in the tent she makes it heavier with damp earth as she is afraid that the wind will blow the tent away. On top of the tripod Sadiya put a square piece cut out from a polystyrene box. The brown cross is an imitation of how people living in buildings with three apartments in this urbanized village mark their own satellite antenna with signs in different colors (fig. 31).



The game is mostly about four boys and six girls living in the neighborhood who pay a visit to the tent of Sadiya, Fatiha and Smaïl. The visitors bring along bread (pieces of cardboard cut out in the form of round loaves or French sticks), and sugar (a piece of polystyrene). After the usual greetings Sadiya or Fatiha invite the visitors for a meal. Smaïl apologizes for only offering tea saying he is a bachelor.

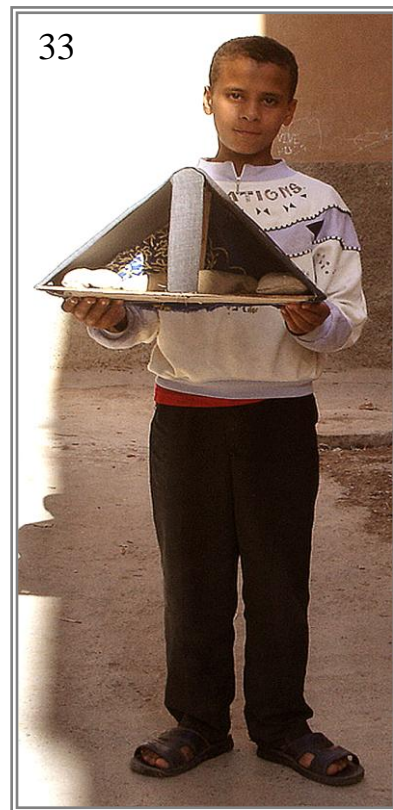
Khalija Jariaa observed a game with a tent in her village of birth Ikenwèn in the Tiznit region in March 2007. Several girls between five and nine-years-old play together a game of mother and child living in a tent. These girls know about tents as they see them among the nomads coming from the Sahara who are passing by Ikenwèn with their herds. The tent on the right in figure 32 represents the mother's tent. To the left stands a small tent for babies. As the nomads observed by these girls do, they close the baby's tent with a piece of the canvas to protect the baby from the wind.



For their game the girls make a mother doll with a cross-shaped reed frame and call it Fadma. In the same way they also make two small dolls representing twins (*ikenwèn*) called Smaïl and Lahoucine. Then they create an enclosure with thorny branches. In this enclosure they place a cow of European origin (*tafunest nerrûm*) with black and white spots made with a

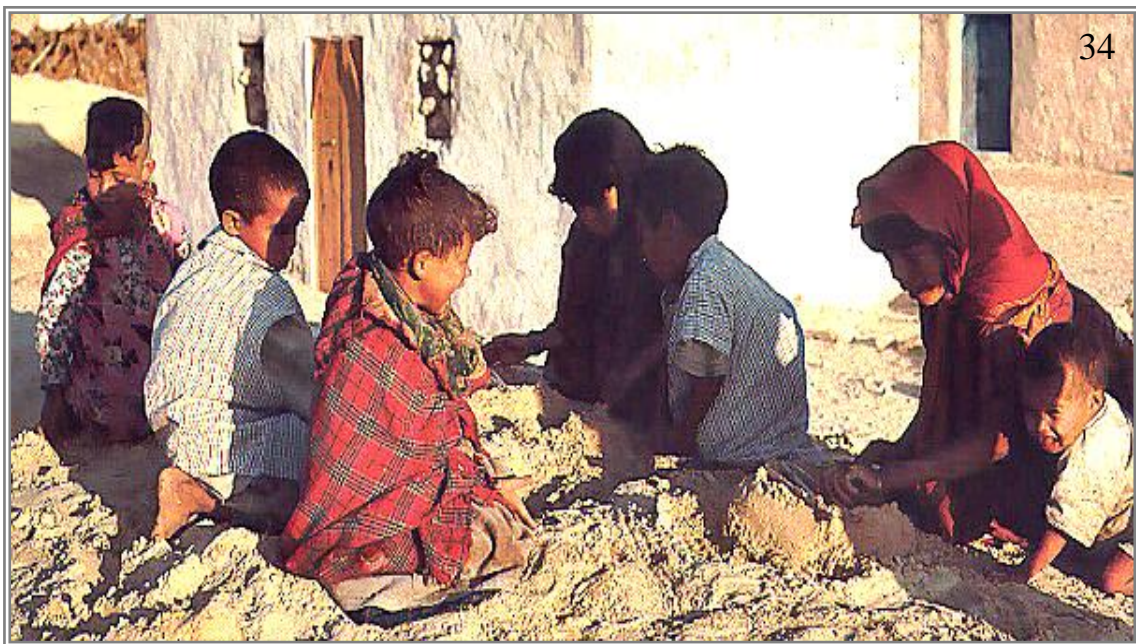
blown up plastic bag partially covered with a white rag. There is a donkey (*ariul*) made with cactus fruit and sticks as legs. A chicken (*afullus*) consists of a wild melon (*ferzîs*) with four sticks for legs and another stick with a smaller melon on top for neck and head.] In the beginning of the 1980s Khalija and the girls from Ikenwèn already played this game and made the same kind of tents.

A deaf-mute boy from Tiznit found in making tents a means of earning some money. In the summer of 2006 he started to make tents and sold them to the girls for 5 dirhams (0,5 €). The boy's sister made the cushions (fig. 33, H = 21 cm, LO = 30 cm). At the end of 2006 he still made these tents and now and then he sold one.



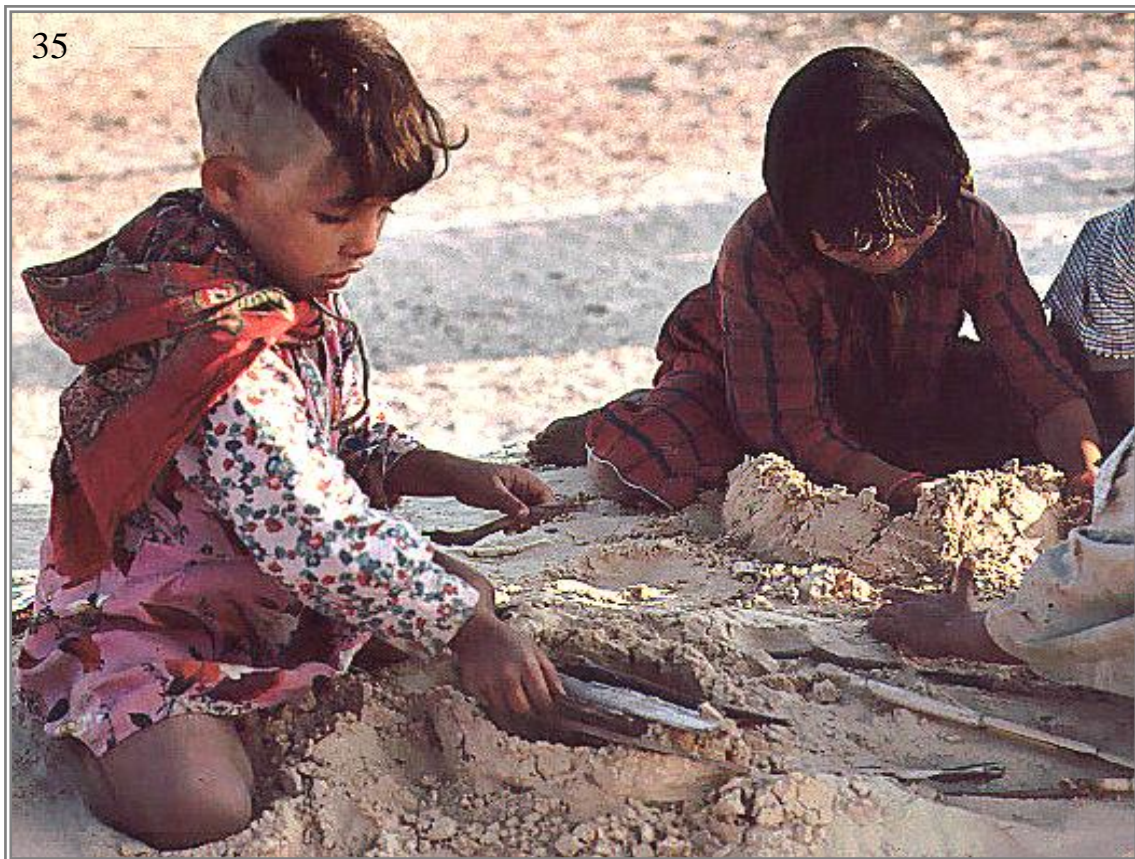
1.3 Dollhouses

Probably influenced by the evolution of their society from a nomadic way of life towards a settled life, the Ghibib girls from the Tunisian Sahara made in the 1970s pretend houses for their doll play, household play and dinner party play. This happened mostly after a rare rain shower as wet sand is needed. The girls make this *dâr eth-thrâ*, sand house, but little boys can participate. It is also a collective game; a single girl constructing a pretend house alone was something very exceptional (fig. 34).

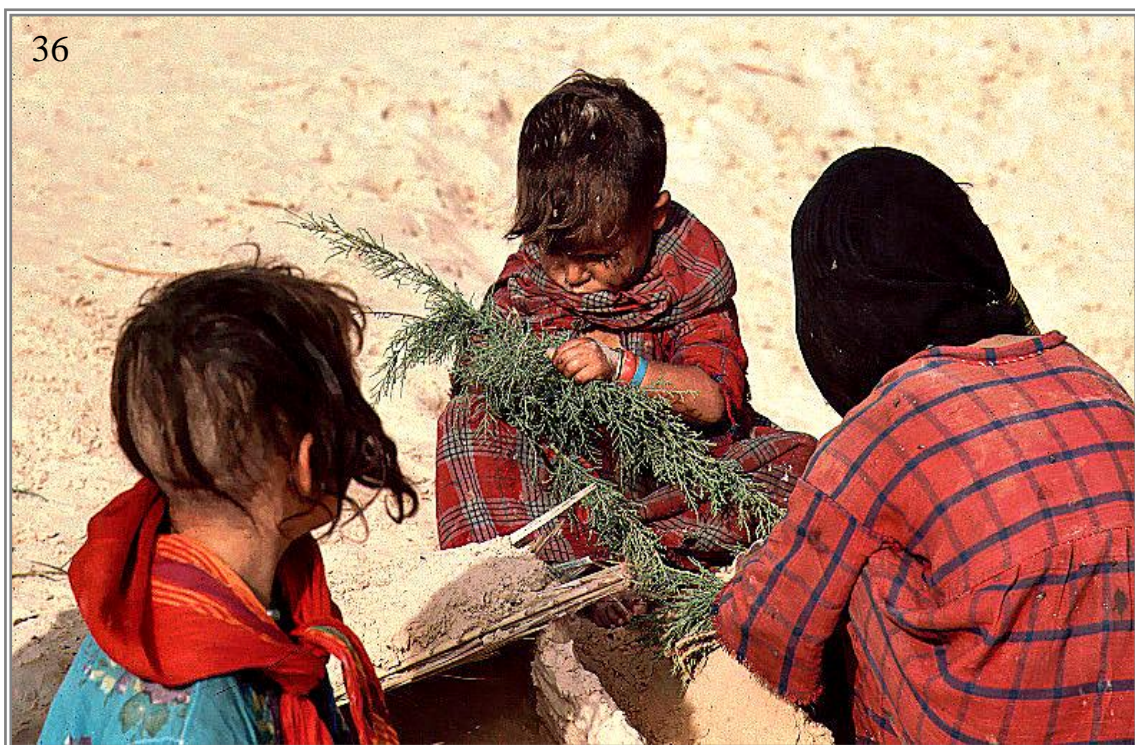


There exist several kinds of pretend houses of sand, houses with a flat roof or a dome and open-air houses.

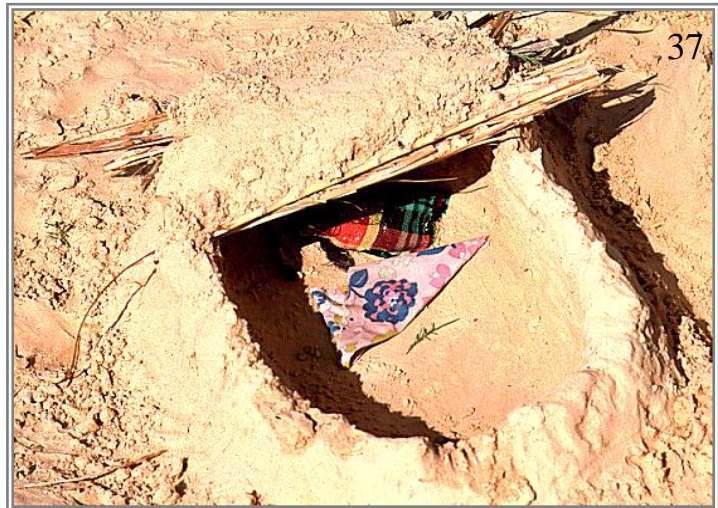
As seen on figure 35 (p. 77), small children of three years start making a dollhouse. Therefore they erect first of all little walls of wet sand to form more or less a square or a rectangle.



Little branches, reed and now and then also pieces of cardboard are put on the walls to make a roof but without covering the whole space (fig. 36).

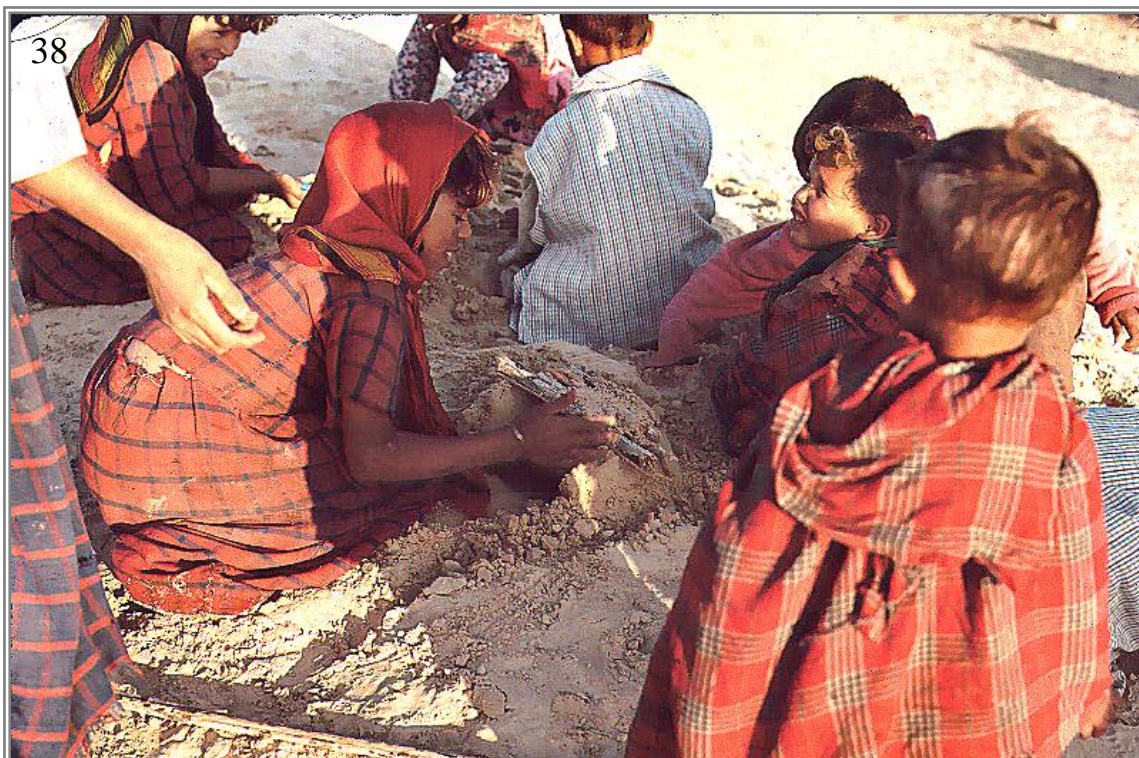


Once the pretend house with its partial roof is finished, rags serving as carpets are put on the floor (fig. 37). Such pretend houses are possibly used instead of doll tents. A description of the dolls and the doll play of Ghib girls can be found in my book



Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play (2005: 70, 87-90).

Older girls supervising the little ones play along and sometimes help a toddler to make a dollhouse (fig. 38).



Another pretend house with a dome roof necessitates know-how that only older girls have. To construct this type of house one must be able to make a nice round dome with wet sand (fig. 39, p. 79). As it is difficult to use the interior of such a pretend house with its small opening as entrance, the goal of the game is more or less limited to its construction.



In the small town of Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara female servants, female potters and sometimes mothers make very fine dollhouses of clay being a realistic copy of the Oualata houses. The collection of the Musée du Quai Branly possesses a few examples made by black female servants and collected in 1936 (fig. 40).



According to the index card of these dollhouses they are called 'louzar' but Jean Gabus calls them 'dar el adzmat' (1958: 163). The index card gives a detailed description of these dollhouses of clay. They are of different shape, size and ornamentation. To be able to model a house the clay is mixed with fine straw. These houses have no roof but partition walls pierced by door openings divide the interior, just as for real houses in a *ksar* or fortified village. There are two interior yards with brown walls and white or blue motifs and framings, three rooms with white walls and brown and blue decoration, two storerooms with white walls and a kitchen with black walls. In the courtyards the seats are surmounted by a clay domed structure serving to hold the mosquito nets.

The dollhouse of figure 40 (p. 79) measures 7.5 cm in height at most, 25 cm in length and 20 cm in width. It also has at one of the sides a room protruding by 1.5 cm (71.1938.48.98). The dollhouse of figure 41 measures 5.5 cm in height, 29 cm in length and 25 cm in width (71.1938.48.88).



41

Figure 42 shows five little mats made by a black female servant and intended to be used with such dollhouses (71.1938.48.97. 1-5, H = between 3.5 cm and 5 cm, L = between 5 cm and 10 cm). For these toy mats graminaceous stalks have been used to make the warp on which cotton threads are woven to create multicolored stripes. These toy mats reproduce the real mats made with fine skin straps.

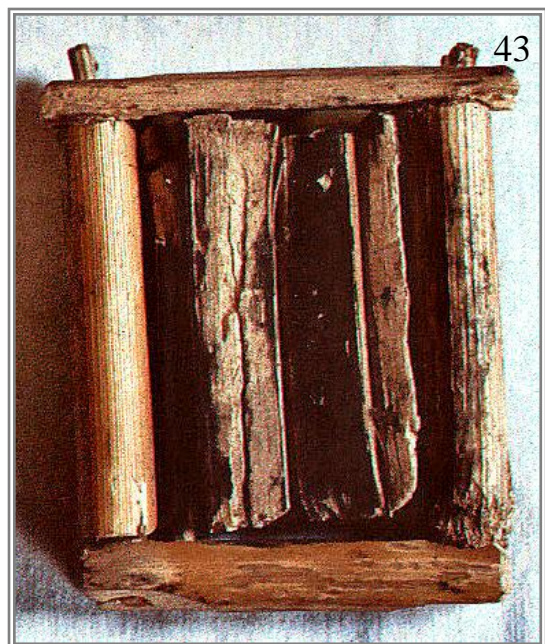


Jean Gabus offers detailed information on these dollhouses and shows a design of four pretend houses in his book *Au Sahara. Arts et Symboles* (1958: 163-164). This author also describes the symbols of the mural decorations of the houses of the Oualata Moors. On the dollhouses he writes that it is a special model in the Sahara only found at Oualata. They are made by female potters to be used in children's games and are called 'dar el adzmat' or dollhouse. These houses are made of crude clay and painted in the same way as the real houses of which they are good models resembling them in most details. In these miniature houses the female potters put the 'ghash el adzmat', the doll's furniture, with figures resembling those of everyday life. A yellow sitting figure is the 'chrifa', a noble woman of 'chorfa' descent. A red figurine is the 'hartania', the female servant or slave. A stick represents the 'rajel' or man. Following the length of the stick, the man has more or less social importance. On the terraces and the courtyards of these dollhouses the children make carpets by letting very fine sand flow between their fingers, carpets called 'trâb Mâma', 'Mâma's sand', in memory of the one who did this first. Another multicolored clay object often found in these houses is the 'gdahb-khour' or perfume burner used to remove evil spirits, probably of Moroccan origin (1958: 163-164).

Next to the female and male dolls from Oualata, described in *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's Dolls and Doll Play* (2005: 94-95), the pretend houses also contain clay toy animals representing the dromedary, horse, zebu and ostrich as mentioned in *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* (2005: 75, 90, 102, 124).

A book published in 1999, *Juegos Saharauis para Jugar en la Arena. Juegos y Juguetes Tradicionales del Sáhara*, shows the Oualata dollhouse, called 'dar owzar', together with the real house and a dressed doll to be used in such a dollhouse (Fernando Pinto, p. 111-113). One also reads that nowadays there are dollhouses of cardboard boxes with windows and doors cut out in such a way that they can open and close. The children also make a market, palm trees and animals in miniature, the whole representing a small village (p. 111).

The collection of the Musée du Quai Branly possesses a little wooden door whose frame consists of four pieces of wood. It was collected among the Chaouïa of the Aurès in Northeast Algeria. The two round uprights have been fixed into the lintel and the doorstep with wooden pins. The door itself is a rectangular piece of wood and it cannot be opened (fig. 43, H = 9,5 cm, 71.1936.2.205). Although this little door probably belonged to a dollhouse, I have not found any trace



of such a dollhouse in the bibliography or in the card index of the collection.

In relation to the population of the Djebel Amour and Djebel Ksel in Algeria, Mathéa Gaudry mentions that the girls sometimes meet to construct for their dolls a house with stones or sand. On plate XL she shows some girls from Chellala constructing open-air houses delimited with stones and in which the girls can sit down (1961: 133).

A.M. Goichon writes in 1927 that among the Mozabites, a population settled in the Algerian Sahara, it are the girls' brothers who make in clay a

miniature model of a local house used by their sisters for their doll play (1927: 58). For a description of the dolls and the doll play among the Mozabites see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* (2005: 105-106).

Moroccan girls make pretend houses most often delimited by stones and having one or more rooms. Hereafter one will find the data pertaining to the dollhouses and their furniture. Except for the dollhouses of Anti-Atlas children found from 2005 onwards, the doll play and the dolls of Moroccan children are described more in detail in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* (2005: 111-181).

Information of 1917 reveals that a doll's room is made in a hole of one of the walls of a house. This hole is transformed into a dollhouse by covering it with rags and closing it with a little door. A small chair is used to put the doll on ("La poupée iblisa", p. 39). The use of a hole in the wall of a house, this time a wall of the courtyard, was mentioned to me in 1992 by an Amazigh woman of about fifty years from the village El Tizal near El Khemis situated at 60 km from Marrakech on the road to Ouarzazate.

Madame Soulé writes in 1933, but without telling how the dollhouse is made by the girls of Fès, that a kitchen and a doll's room are prepared and that the doll is put on cushions in this room. A little curtain put over a rope closes part of the doll's room so that the bride doll and the bridegroom doll can lay down behind it.

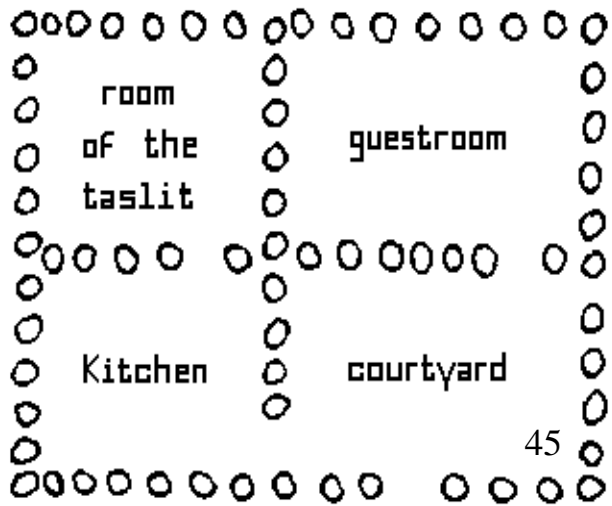
The following information on Moroccan children's dollhouses is based on my own research and on data and photos provided by Khalija Jariaa in 2006. The examples first come from Amazigh-speaking children. Then come those referring to Arabic-speaking children

Hesna Ourèra, a girl of about eight years belonging to the Khabliîn Amazighs, uses for her doll play rudimentary bride dolls and bridegroom dolls. With one or a few girls she always plays at wedding. Hesna lives in the small village Aït Hmed ou Yacoub situated at 4 km from Khemisset near the road to Sidi Slimane. When I met Hesna for the first time in October 1996 she stood near her dollhouse. In this dollhouse, with an elliptic shape of 70 cm by 50 cm and made with two layers of stones, three dolls were laying down (fig. 44, p. 84).



This dollhouse is build against the wall of her paternal home. As one sees in the photograph, a photograph in which Hesna did not want to appear, the dollhouse contains a rag serving as carpet, pieces of glass as teacups and a sardine tin as plate. A tuft of herbs represents a bunch of flowers.

The Amazigh girls from Imi-n-Tanoute, on the road from Marrakech to Agadir, used about 1980 a dollhouse made according to a quite uniform scheme but of changing size and number of rooms (fig. 45, copy of the drawing by Zohra Bamoussa, nineteen years old in 1992). This dollhouse is composed of an inner yard, a



guest room with rags and a little box serving as cushions and table. There also is a bedroom for the *taslit* or bride with a large sardine tin as bed and rags as sheets, and a kitchen with toy utensils.

In September 1999, I have found at Aït Slimane, a small village near Amellago in the Haut Atlas, a playgroup of five children between six and seven years, four girls and one boy, playing in their dollhouse (fig. 46).



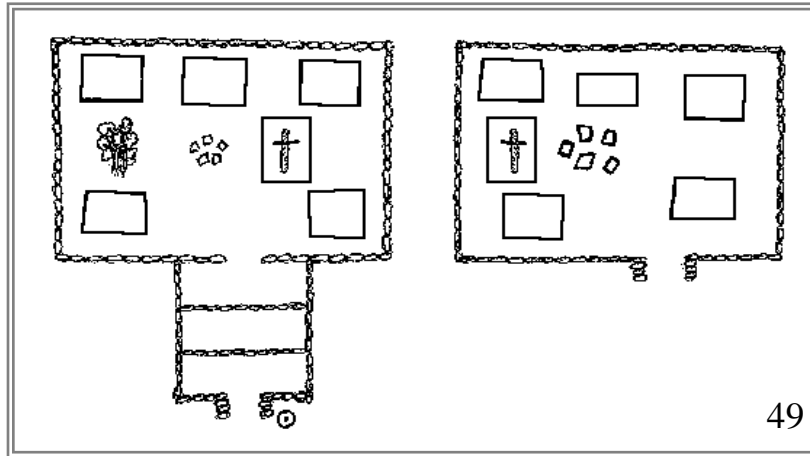
It is clearly a dollhouse as these children also have a *tislit* or bride doll (fig. 47) and an *isli* or bridegroom doll.



This pretend house leans against the wall of a house and it is delimited by walls made with two rows of stones put one above the other. It measures 2 m by 3 m and has a large room serving as sitting room. Two little rooms have been constructed on the left side of the sitting room (fig. 48). Narrow openings represent the door openings and the one at the entrance of the sitting room can be closed with a piece of yellow plastic from an oilcan. The children use pieces of cardboard as carpets and all sorts of plastic containers and bottle stoppers represent kitchen utensils.



In Ksar Assaka, a small village at 4 km from Midelt in the direction of the Jbel Ayachi, I obtained at the end of 1996 and the beginning of 1997 precise information on the doll play of the girls. This information comes from three sisters - Souad, Najat and Sabah Laabib - who played with dolls between 1975 and 1985. According to Souad, two pretend houses are made for this doll play that always represents the wedding ceremonies. The rectangular plan of these open-air houses, one for the bride doll and another for the bridegroom doll, is delimited with little stones (fig. 49, p. 87). A stair with three steps, represented by three rectangles of stones put before the house, and the doorknocker, a little stone on a large stone placed before the stairs, distinguish the pretend house of the bride doll from the one of the bridegroom doll. In each pretend house six pieces of cardboard replace the carpets, pieces of glass become teacups and some herbs, or if they are available wild flowers, make a bunch of flowers. A piece of cardboard serves as the nuptial bed.

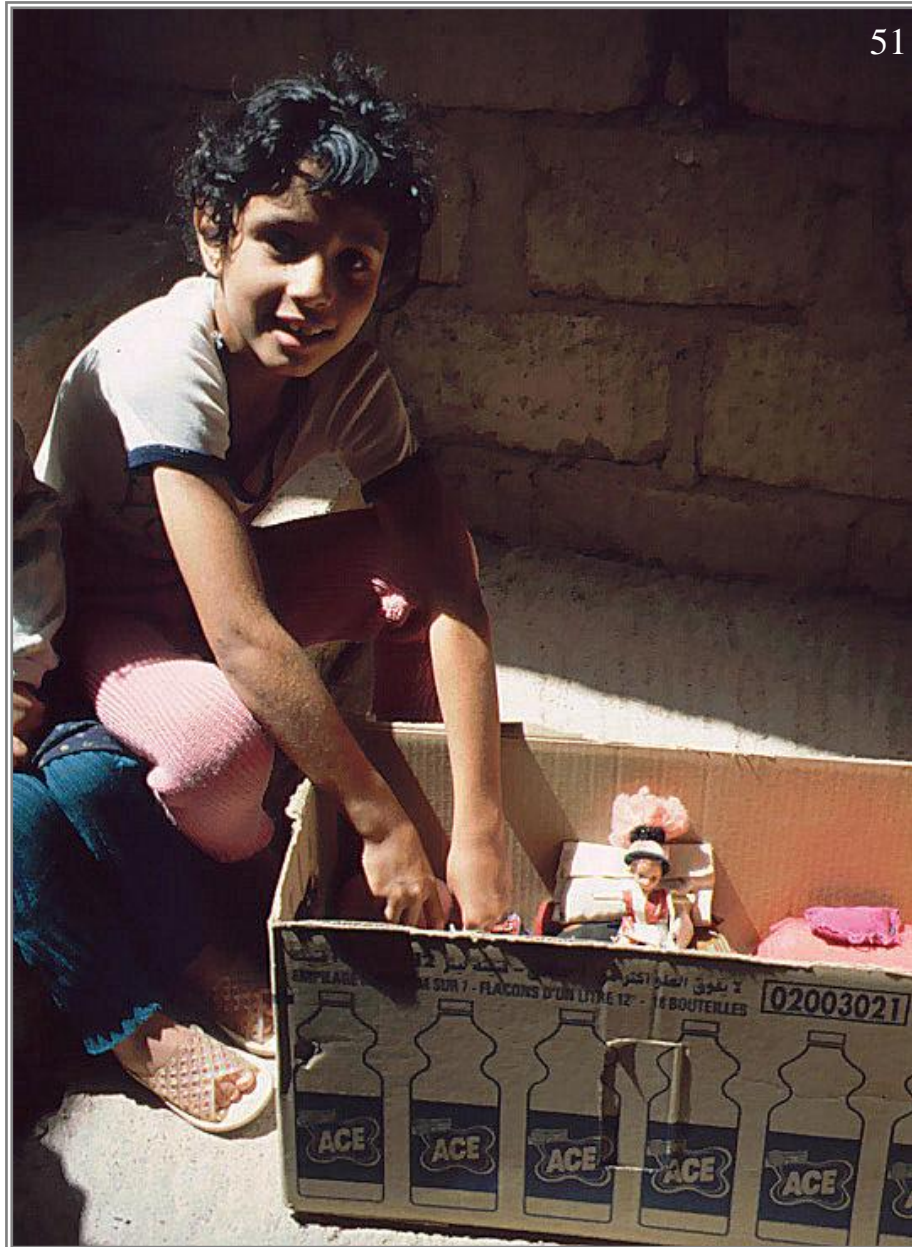


Najat, Souad's younger sister, says that the doll play starts with the construction or reparation of the dollhouse. This pretend house was situated in the garden of her paternal home, always at the same spot. It is a quite large rectangular dollhouse of about 1 m by 2 m with a room in each corner in which the girls can easily be seated. The house and the rooms are delimited by a row of clean and slightly shining stones, supplemented with pieces of white and green glass from broken bottles. A small staircase, made with two parallel reeds and a few pieces of a wooden plank attached in between with ribbons, is placed at the upper right room and leads to the virtual terrace. Once this dollhouse is finished it is cleaned with some water, and herbs or wild flowers create a garden.

Amal Boukrit, an eight-year-old girl living in September 1999 in Zaïda, a village on the road from Meknès to Midelt and at 40 km before this last town, only rarely constructs a dollhouse with stones and sand. Before starting she cleans the chosen spot (fig. 50).



That she only rarely makes such a dollhouse with stones and sand is due to the fact that her mother, the wife of a primary school teacher, forbids her to play in the 'dirt'. This interdiction probably lies at the basis of Amal's invention of a dollhouse that bypasses her mother's objections by using a cardboard box (fig. 51).



This box measures 26 cm by 43 cm and is 25 cm high. Once the upper side of the box is cut off, windows and a door are made in the vertical sides in such a way that they can open and close. The interior side of the windows and the door are decorated with a curtain.

Amal also made a few cushions and she uses large or small rags as carpets and blankets (fig. 52).



Leila, a nine-year-old friend and neighbor of Amal, has the same dollhouse and together they play at the wedding of their bride doll. This bride doll is as special as is the dollhouse. It is a Barbie-like imported plastic doll one can buy in local shops but that normally is only used as a decorative object once an older girl or a woman has crocheted an Andalusian dress for it (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's Dolls and Doll Play*, 2005: 139, fig. 95). The two girls both have the same doll and they have sewed a dress for it. Looking more closely at Amal's doll, shown at figure 52, one will see the inventive way in which she has replaced the missing arms by using a piece of reed.

In 2006 Khalija Jariaa collected information and made photos of Amazigh children's games and toys in the villages Douar Ouaraben, Ikenwèn and Idoubahman-Imjâd in the province of Tiznit; in the urban center Ifrane a/s in the province of Guelmim; and in the village Terloulou near Tafraoute.

Douar Ouaraben becomes more and more an urbanized village just at the outskirts of Tiznit along the road to Sidi Ifni (fig. 53, p. 90).



A construction site between the houses is the chosen play area of the girls living in the neighborhood. There a group of girls regularly devote themselves to games of make-believe. In this photo taken at the end of July 2006 one can see on the left and on the right what is left of their pretend houses (fig. 54).



As this site runs alongside a street with some traffic the mothers ask the older girls of about ten to supervise the smaller children. Particularly on Saturday and Sunday there are some bigger boys who join the group to play. Sometimes there are more than twenty children between the ages of two and thirteen.



The figure 55 above and 56 (p. 92) show some very elaborate play houses used for wedding-games, games of dining and of housekeeping which combine easily. The pretend house above is the home of the *isli* or bridegroom. For the wedding-game which took place on the 11th of August 2006 from 14.00 h to about 19.30 h, a five-year-old boy acts as newly-wed. Against the wall on the left is the kitchen, and on the right with the cardboard box there is the throne of the bridegroom. In the dining room are located two big bricks that will serve as a table. The room at the front of the house is the one that the bride will be settled in. It is also the place where the women sing and dance for the wedding ceremony. Beside the red and white plastic bottles which are the cushions is placed the throne for the bride. This throne is made out of a round box on which a sardine box decorated with a white cloth is put. The pot with a yellow lid represents the water reserve. The cardboard serves as carpet for the guests.

The pretend house of figure 56 is the home of the *tislit* or bride played by a girl of four. The entrance to the house, on the left in the figure below, is decorated with flowers represented by weeds planted in yogurt pots. This play house represents the house of a rich family the father of which is working in France. To the right of the entrance and at the side of the street where the loudspeaker is placed, there is first the reception room for visitors then the hall. Between the hall and the living room there is a garden indicated by some weeds picked on the spot. All along the wall to the right is the room with a large table and a television in the corner. On returning towards the left one finds the sink for washing-up, then a large kitchen with a set of drawers against the wall.



On these photos of two kitchens it can easily be seen how the children make use of everything that they find discarded by adults or among their mothers' housekeeping equipment. (fig. 57-58, p. 93).



Two cans of paint, one near to the throne of the bridegroom and another at the entrance to the house of the bride (fig. 55-56, p. 91-92), represent loudspeakers. These loudspeakers will serve for the orchestra of the big boys who at the evening wedding party play on a drum and tambourine, of empty cans, and on a guitar made of recycled material. Three big girls perform local dances while the orchestra plays popular tunes. When the music stops the children applaud and shout the typical 'youyous', the vibrating high tone the North African women perform with their mouth hidden behind their hand or veil to express joy and admiration. Then time for dinner comes. When all the players think they have had enough, they must bring the bride to the house of her future husband. The four-year-old newly-wed has her face veiled and under the veil she pretends to cry because she must leave her home and family. Once arrived at the house of the groom his young spouse is placed on the pretend pillows in her room at the front of the play house. The groom's throne then changes to a honeymoon bed. A boy of thirteen who plays the role of grandfather of the young groom invites the people who brought the bride to the feast into her home.

After all this it is necessary to go to sleep, which all the children pretend to do. After a night of five minutes they rise happily. Now it is the day to visit the young bride who is waiting in her room. All the family members and the guests come to pay their respects to her and receive from her hands dates, sugar, sweets and henna which are represented by date-stones, saw-dust, small pebbles in sweet wrappings, and petals from an olive flower. They dance, they pretend to eat and the wedding-game draws to a close.

In the same village Douar Ouaraben eight-year-old Sadiya and her brother Smail aged six play together with a cousin of thirteen in October 2006. On the pavement they all get ready to play at a wedding-feast with other children of the neighborhood, a wedding-feast which begins once the children return from school. In the house of the groom Sadiya has already set the chairs around the table, from oddments of material found here or there. Now she is busy arranging the bottles of perfume (fig. 59). Behind these bottles is found a video camera represented by an old cassette.

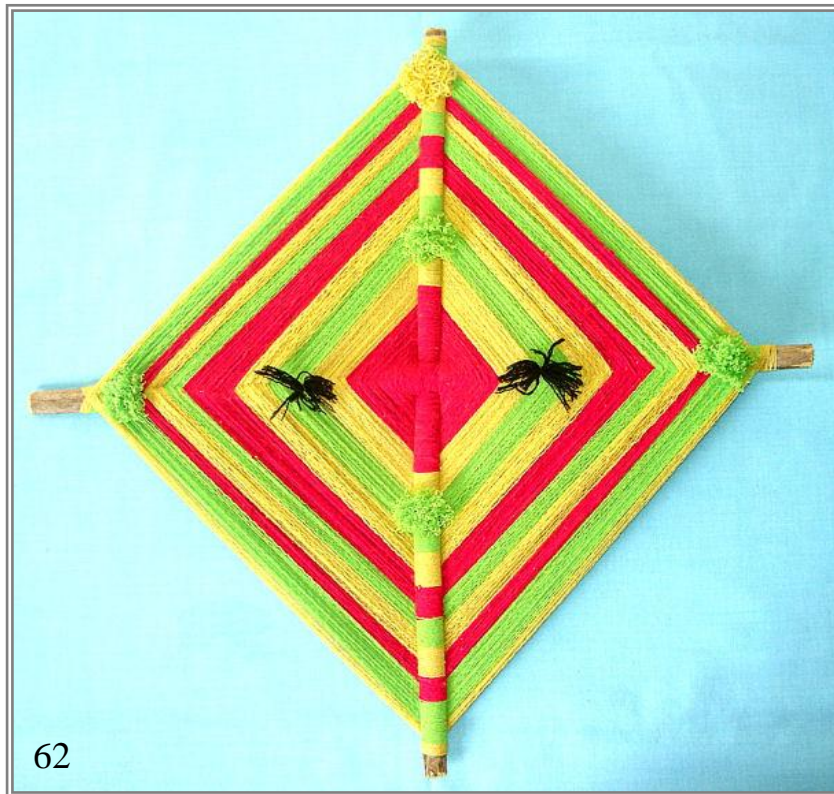


A small child's toy has become a shelf. Once she has finished her work Sadiya goes to help her brother and her niece to arrange the kitchen. They take out all the toy utensils from the cardboard boxes (fig. 60, p. 95).



This box contains also five carpets made by the two girls in the way as described on page 56. The four small carpets (fig. 61, $H+ = 21$ cm) and the big carpet (fig. 62, p. 96, $H = 45$ cm) are placed in between the armchairs of figure 59 (p. 94). For the small yellow carpet the girls used two pieces of electric wire instead of sticks.





At about 5 o'clock the children have returned from school and participate in the game which was prepared by the three friends. Some girls as well as some boys joined the playgroup. All help to organize the final preparations. The girls in figure 63 arrange the home of the bride while the boys have, as they say, gone to the market to buy meat, vegetables and drinks.



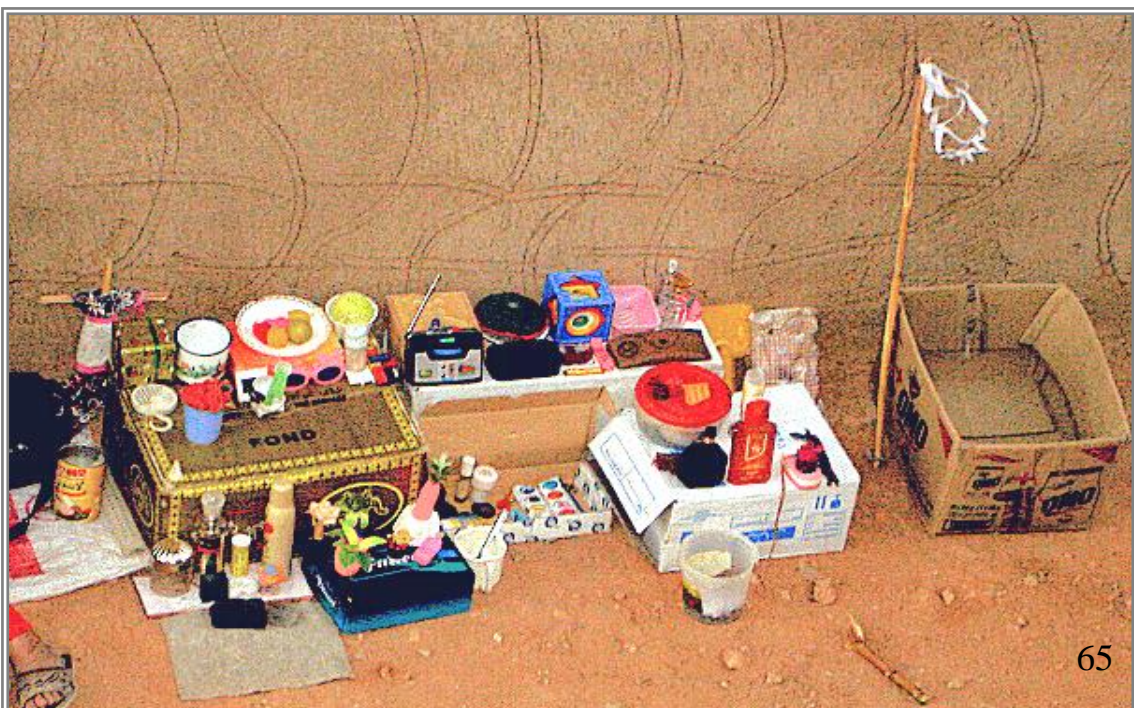
When all is prepared the wedding feast dinner is served. Dolls put on a cardboard box represent the bride and bridegroom.

The following day some girls between six and eight-year-old of the same playgroup start playing another doll game using a pretend house. This time it is a rich woman's house (fig. 64).



The girl in the middle prepares coffee. To her left sits a sister who is on visit with her little child. At right there is a girl playing the role of an old poor woman well-known in Tiznit.

The doll representing a rich woman is seen left of the cardboards on which the household objects are placed (fig. 65). This house of a wealthy family has its own well, the cardboard to the right of the house. The piece of paper that has been cut up and was placed on top of a reed represents the well's pulley.



Souq ou fella is an old part of the rural center Ifrane a/s in the Anti-Atlas at 25 km from Bouizakarne on the road from Tiznit to Guelmim (fig. 66).



In October 2006 Khalija Jariaa saw there two boys constructing a house for the *isli* or bridegroom on the spot where a mason's aid sifts sand (fig. 67).



Later on these two boys make a house for the *tislit* or bride at some distance from the house of the bridegroom (fig. 68).



This morning these two boys who attend the first year of primary school do not have to be in class. So they are preparing these pretend houses for a game of wedding that will take place in the afternoon when other children from the neighborhood finish school. Thirteen girls between three and twelve years old and six boys between five and ten years old will participate in this game which was inspired by a wedding held the foregoing month. The girls will make female dolls and the boys make male dolls. These dolls represent the bride, the bridegroom, their family members and the guests.

In May 2006 five neighbor girls play at the wedding of their bride doll and bridegroom doll in the village Terloulou near Tafraoute in the Anti-Atlas (fig. 69, p. 100).



Khadija aged twelve, Malika aged ten, Latifa aged eight and two other girls often play together. Khadija who is normally the leader of the games makes a more or less luxurious house like the ones built by people from the village who live in Europe. This is the house indicated by the circle of pieces of tile (fig. 70).



Above and to the left of the house of rich people Latifa made a house for ordinary people. At the opposite side where a piece of red plastic can be seen Malika made a house for fairly poor people. The other two girls have no house, as they are really poor. Now the moment has come to make the dolls. Khadija and Fatiha are searching in the vicinity for all that is needed. There they create the two dolls with an armature of reed (fig. 71).



To the left of the next photograph stands the bridegroom or *isli* (fig. 72, p. 102). A piece of the *leh'bak* plant, possibly basil, is placed on the head of the bride or *tisliit*. As well as its nice smell this plant according to local belief originates from Mecca which gives it a certain power to prevent misfortune and to bring happiness in a marriage. At the bottom in the photograph a table with lemonade bottles represented by stoppers and yogurt pots can be seen. In addition there is a desert plate (big yellow lid) with cake and biscuits represented by smaller blue lid and leaves.



Once the sweets have been eaten two girls start to prepare the couscous. Onion leaves become vegetables that are cooked in a sardine tin (fig. 73). The imaginary couscous is mixed in another sardine tin and then placed on top of the vegetables (fig. 74).

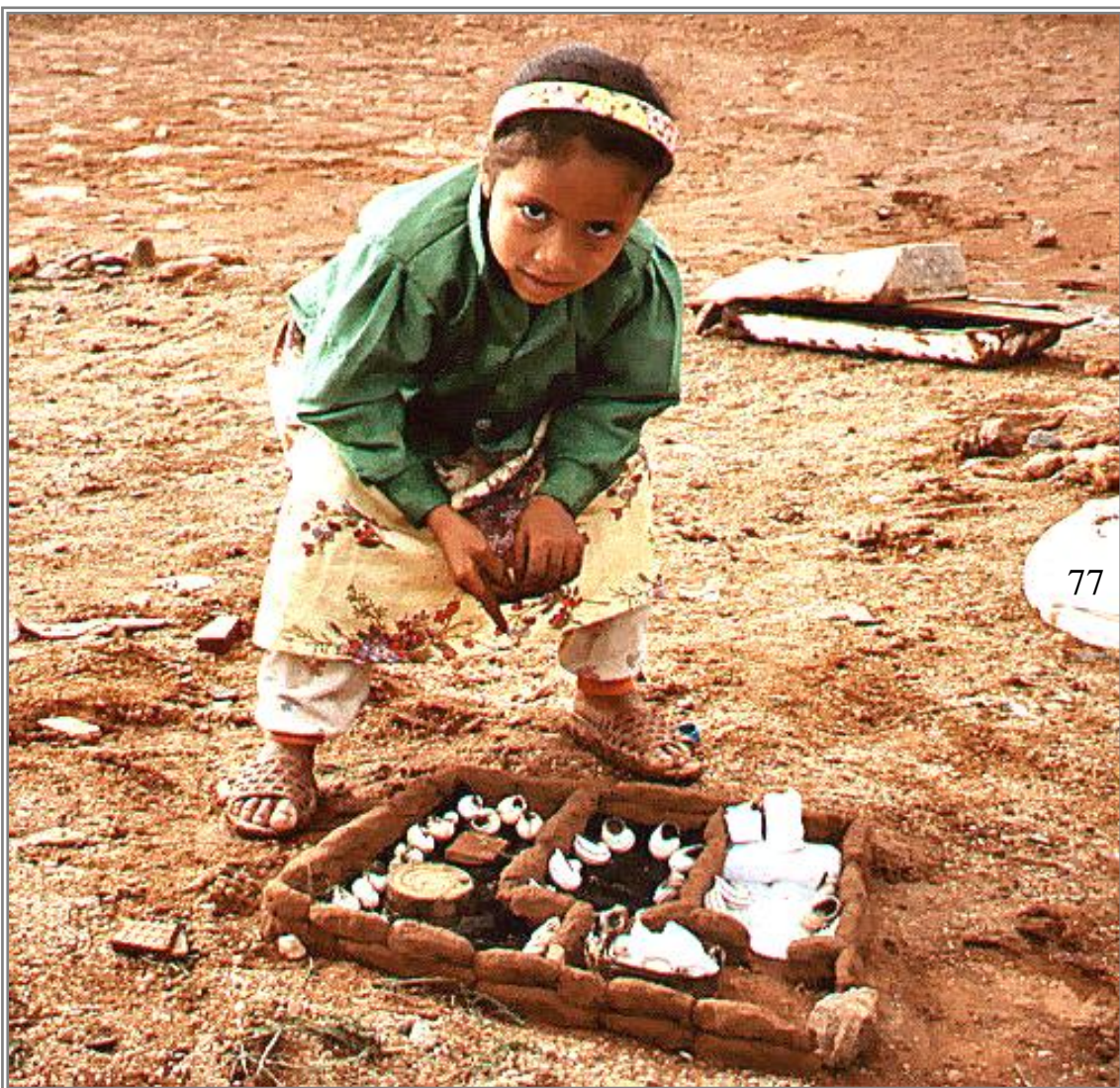


In the beginning of 2002 I made acquaintance with an Amazigh-speaking family living in an isolated house built in the traditional way near the asphalt road in the Lagzira area at 9 km before Sidi Ifni when coming from Tiznit (fig. 75).



Together with Boubaker Daoumani I was able to film the house construction and doll play of Halima, a six-year-old girl, and Fadil, her nine-year-old brother on March 4th 2002. The protocol with a detailed description of this video is available on www.sanatoypplay.org (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 4). The often used playground of these siblings lies in front of their house (fig. 76, p. 103).

Figure 77 shows Halima near the dollhouse she has constructed. She is placing the empty snail shells used as dolls in the correct position, with the opening of the shell representing the head on top.



The bride, bridegroom, family members and visitors are all represented by snail shells, but the bride and bridegroom have been distinguished by wrapping the shell in a piece of white gauze. This dollhouse and the others made by herself or her brother are well elaborated. The walls are mostly

constructed with two layers of mud bricks. Two rooms serve as women's room and men's room (fig. 78).



The door openings are closed with stones and the dolls are seated on mats. The bridal room is nicely equipped (fig. 79).



There even is a garage in which the wedding-car is parked. This wedding-car, represented by an old sardine tin, is used in the beginning of the wedding play when the bride, bridegroom and some family members are driven around the playground before arriving at the houses (fig. 80).



Household and dinner play are integrated in this doll play as shown by the toys and play objects made and used by Halima and Fadil (fig. 81). Right of a dollhouse one sees two hand mills and left of it there is a bread plank with several earthen loaves and a bread oven. Within the walls of the pretend house one sees also a cooking pot and some shells serving as dolls.



These complex play activities last for days and the children then cover their precious belongings in the evening. However sometimes donkeys or dogs destroy the dollhouses and toys, as happened a few days after the video was made.

Like Halima, Fadil already had a dollhouse before he drove around his wedding-car. Both players constructed another pretend house with stones and mud somewhat later.

On figure 82 Fadil proudly shows his pretend house with two wedding cars in the top left room. From the observation of the play activities it is obvious that Fadil is more interested in construction play than in doll play. Near one of the pretend houses I found a particular toy. This toy shows how these children, growing up in a poor and quite traditional household, introduce in their play activity the latest high tech item only available in Sidi Ifni since about 2000, namely the mobile telephone represented by a piece of an old remote control handset.



Some hundred meters from the home of Halima and Fadil and at the crossing of the main asphalt road with the trail going up the mountain slope to the village Lahfart there is a big house. At the back of this house and in the beginning of March 2002 I found a complex of pretend houses made with stones. Two walls border the large entrance of this miniature village measuring about 1 m by 1.5 m (fig. 83, p. 108).



The different houses lay one against the other, like in a traditional *ighrem* or fortified village. Colored rags cover the house floors (fig. 84). In a few rooms one can distinguish shells. The presence of these shells suggests that the miniature village served among other purposes for doll play.

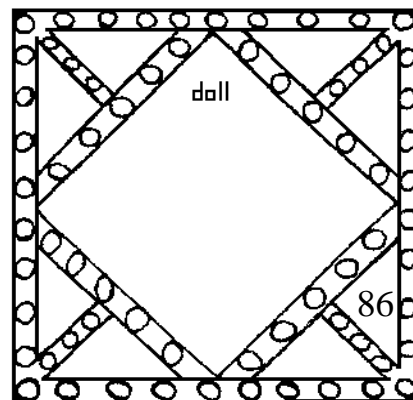


An older boy living in the big house told me that such miniature villages are made by mountain village shepherdesses when coming down the hill to seek food for the sheep and goats. A dollhouse lying beside the miniature village is very well equipped with furniture and utensils (fig. 85).



In the Daoudiyât quarter of Marrakech the Arabic-speaking girls between six and twelve years made during the 1970s dollhouses whose walls were erected with sardine tins not stones. Three layers of these tins were put against the wall of a house to form the rooms of an urban house in miniature. One tin laid on the floor serves as a doll's bed. A small round tin represents the dish plate or the laundry vat.

In the Douar Akioud quarter of Marrakech and about 1980 the girls' playgroups go to the vegetable gardens at some distance from the houses where they put on the ground the plan of a house with little pebbles for the *taslit* or bride. Once the walls are erected they are covered with wet sand. According to Fatima Kader, who made the design of figure 86, this kind of dollhouse was still made in 1992.

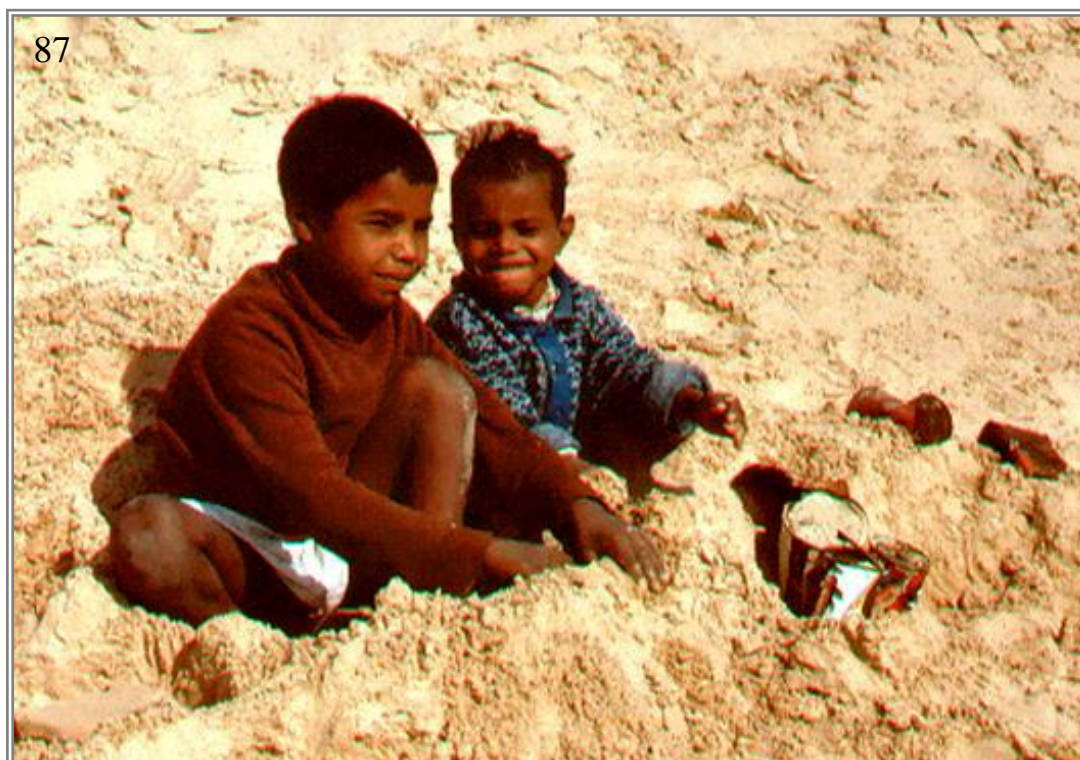


In Taroudannt, a small town of the Moroccan Anti Atlas, the girls construct for the marriage of their bride doll and bridegroom doll a dollhouse with walls of stones covered with wet sand.

Although a dollhouse sometimes serves for playing household or dinner party, other pretend houses are especially made for that purpose.

1.4 Pretend houses for dinner and household play

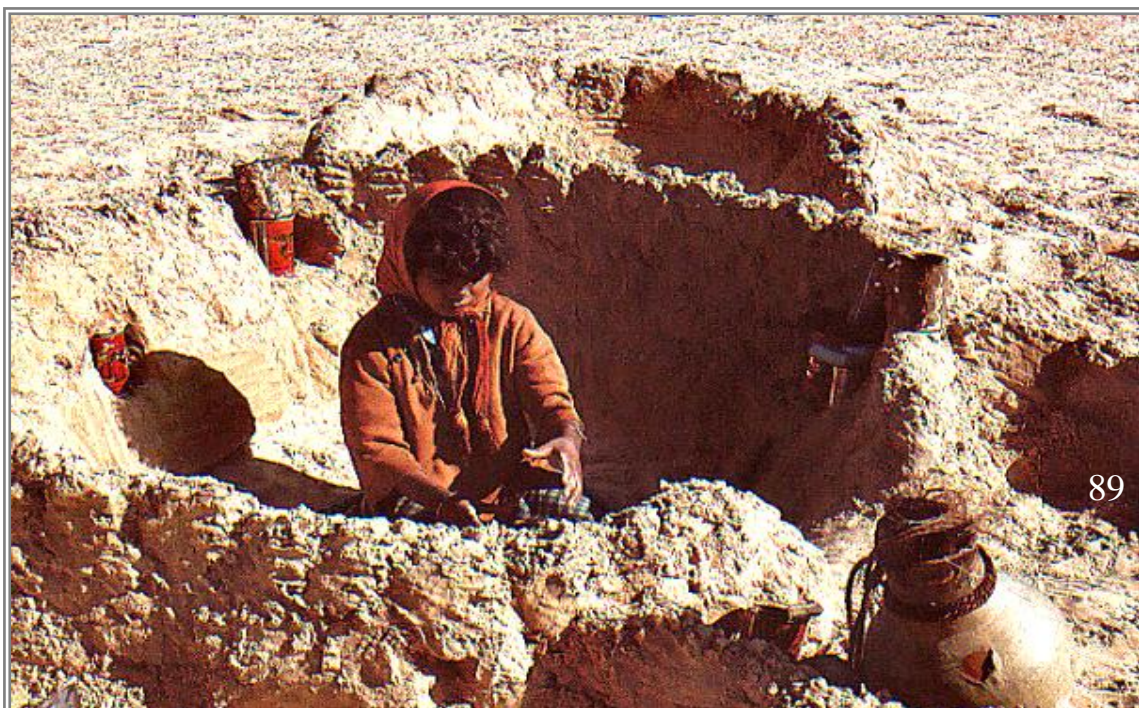
The Ghib girls of the Tunisian Sahara make pretend houses for dinner party and household play. These pretend houses are larger than the dollhouses and they measure about 1m². The little girls still lack the experience one needs to make nice pretend houses (fig. 87).



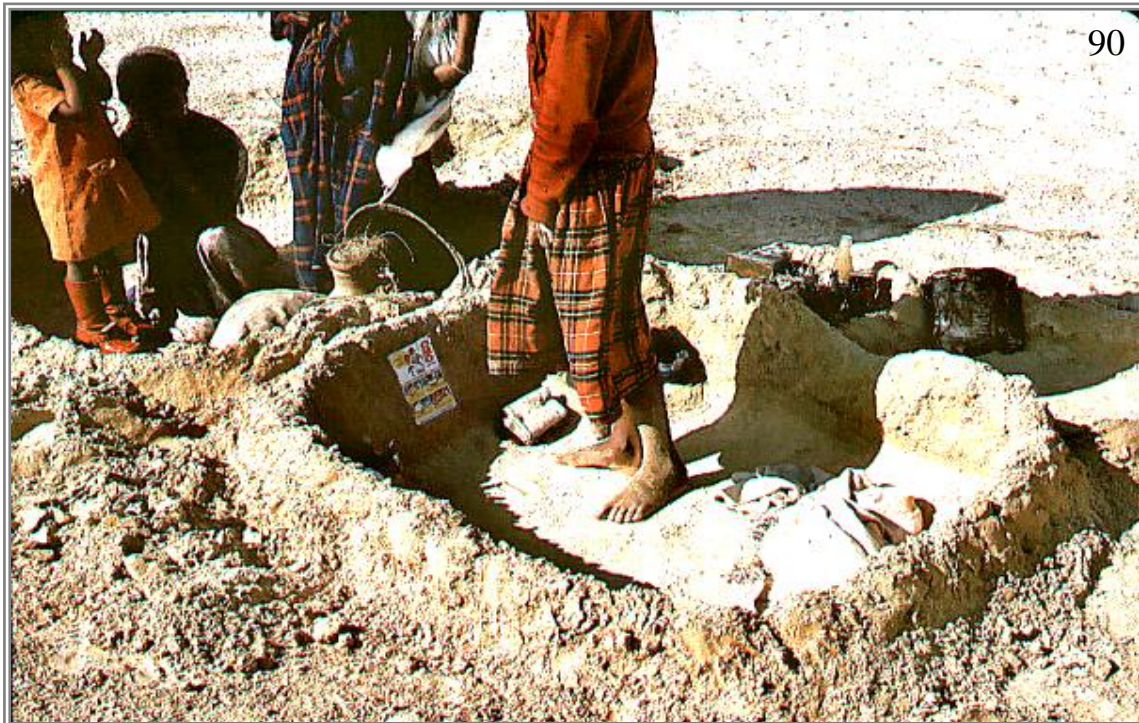
The pretend houses of the older girls are well elaborated as they have side rooms and contain a series of objects representing utensils and other household items (fig. 88). On this figure one sees the Ghrif village and the border of the El-Faouar oasis in 1975.



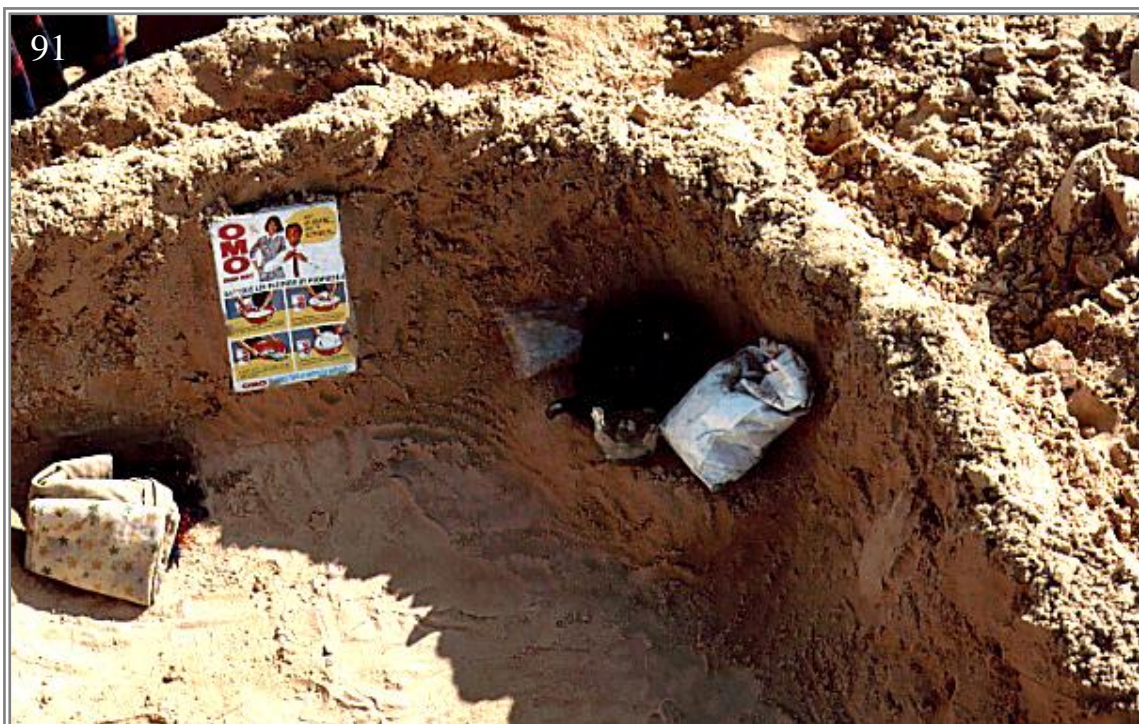
To make such pretend houses the girls take advantage of a slight decline in the sand or they dig themselves a shallow hole. During rainy weather they construct around this hole walls of wet sand about 50 cm high but when necessary stones can also be used (fig. 89).



Another kind of pretend houses is also made. The Ghib girls outline these on a flat surface and surround them with walls of wet sand about 25 cm high (fig. 90).



Again stones can be used when wet sand is lacking. As with the foregoing type of pretend house, this kind of house is often well elaborated. They have annexes and contain all kinds of waste objects and vegetal material the girls use for playing household. (fig. 91, 92, p. 113).





Dominique Champault describes in relation to the Belbala children the pretend houses for playing dinner party and the game itself. She writes in 1969 that the children guarding the animals on the pastureland, girls as well as boys, compensate their being so far away from home by recreating a village on their own scale, called 'gayu n-hayu'. The ordinary way consists in placing little stones according to a fanciful plan of a village with each house covering maximally one square meter but having more sumptuous arrangements than real houses. This village also has its mosque and several wells dug out in the ground. The dexterity of the children is most prominent when they furnish these houses. The boys have to equip the wells, to dig the drinking places, to plait the buckets. The girls will provide receptacles; make shops, ovens and bread. The materials used are in order of frequency pieces of old pottery, sometimes of Neolithic origin (the children say that the pottery of the female potter Kuku Ayas is worthless), fragments of ostrich eggshells, fragments of wood, and graminaceous sticks to make miniature basketry. After being perforated in their middle some disks represent loaves. The same disks become a well's pulley rotating on an axle made with a piece of wood and put on two posts of wood or pottery. Making bread is the most common activity, probably because of the children's permanent worrying as they leave home in the

morning with an empty stomach only having some dates and exceptionally a little bread with onions to eat for a whole day. Several loaves are made from ostrich eggshells. A fragment of the shell is placed on a flat stone with the convex side down, and then the edges are crushed with a pointed stone. A flat stone is used to regularize the edges. When the children go to pasture land at the feet of sand dunes, the loaves are simply perfectly spherical balls. The house furniture, cooking pots, plates, glasses and all other objects necessary for playing dinner party are represented by pieces of bottles or pottery. The pretend houses and their furniture are abandoned by their owners who will find them undisturbed when they come back some months later. Conscientious owners take the precaution to surround their pretend house with a circle drawn with their foot, just as adults do to attest their property rights on an object left temporarily in the desert so that it will not be seen as something lost. In the Tachengit region where the spring pasturelands have a special attraction to local people, the availability of 'tafza' blocks gives rise to a particular type of pretend house. Two herdsboys, Mohamet and Tahar ben Larbi, have explained how they were made. One only has to dig out in the 'tafza' some series of cups. These at first sight enigmatic cups are just a well and its drinking place, all kinds of cooking pots, several shops and ovens for baking bread. The cup is roughly shaped with a pointed stone (at Tachengit a little Paleolithic axe is used), and then regularized with a silex hammer that through rotation produces quite hemispheric cups in this soft rock (1969: 348-349).

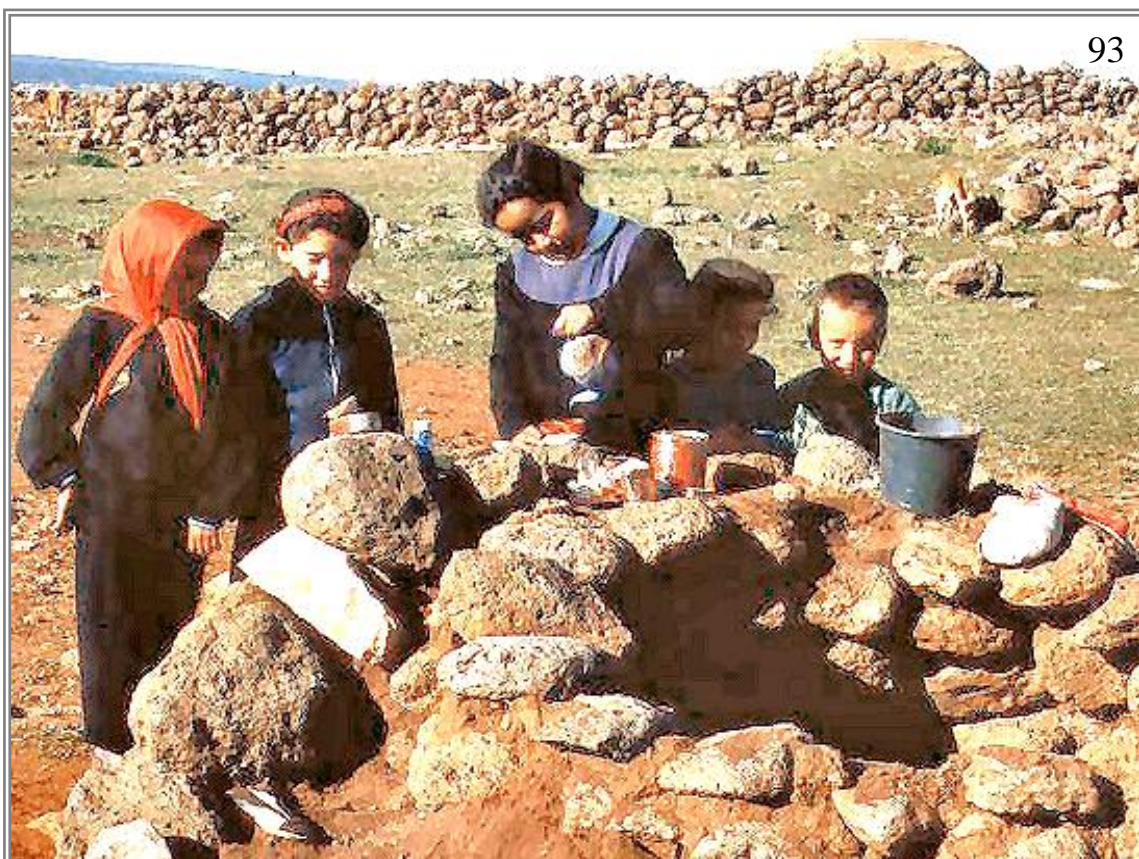
According to Germaine Laoust-Chantréaux, the girls of the Kabyles made nice pretend houses in the 1930s. During the good season, they create admirable 'ti°cucin' or 'little nests'. Copying their own house, they made a stable at one side of the pretend house and a dwelling house at the other side. A few pebbles put here and there represented the 'ikufan', two sticks became the rollers of the weaving loom, three little stones around a pit were the 'iniyen', and then the children gave free rein to their imagination. Close to the pretend house the girls arranged little gardens, called 'tibhirin', in which small branches are watered with water flowing from an earthen basin (1990: 167).

The Fulani, Bambara and Songhai children of Mopti on the Niger River create pretend houses and mosques of dried or fired clay (Mandel et Brenier-Estrine, 1977: 10, photos: 9, 11, 13).

Except one photograph the data on Moroccan pretend houses for playing household and dinner party come from my own research. This photograph of Mohamed Sijelmassi, published in his book *Enfants du Maghreb entre hier et aujourd'hui* (1984: 94), shows a more or less square pretend house delimited by stones of varying dimension with two little openings for an entrance door and a back door. In the created space a series of empty boxes and two rags represent the furniture and utensils.

The reader is first confronted with information about the Amazigh children from the Moyen Atlas, the Haut Atlas and the Anti-Atlas. Then follows information on Arabic-speaking children.

In the village Sidi Brahim near the tourist town of Ifrane in the Moyen Atlas girls use a specific site to play household and dinner party in March 1994. It is a disused mechoui oven for grilling sheep just near their home (fig. 93).



On the edge of this stone oven they have placed all kinds of toy utensils to make dinner or to set tea such as tins, bottle stoppers serving as glasses, bottles, an old bucket and other waste objects (fig. 94, p. 116).



In October 1992, I observed some boys of Aït Ighemour, a little village of the Haut Atlas, constructing a three-dimensional pretend house with clay and stones. In the same way they also make a cowshed or a garage (fig. 126, p. 134).

Near Goulmima and in November 1994, I found in the village Ighrem-n-Cherif two sisters of 18 months and three years playing together in their pretend house leaning against the wall of their home (fig. 95). Some big stones delimit more or less the play area. Sardine tins, cans of tin, plastic bottles and other waste objects make up the improvised utensils. According to information obtained at that time in the town of Goulmima the girls construct a pretend house with several rooms delimited by stones.



In the village of Tiffoultoute near Ouarzazate, I saw in November 1996 the same kind of pretend house at the base of the outer wall of a restored ksar or old fortified quarter. In this pretend house a large box of Tide serves as table, sardine tins become pottery cookers and herbs represent the food.

The girls of the popular quarters of Midelt also make pretend houses but as I found out in November 1997 these are more elaborated when made by older girls. In the Aït Mansour quarter three girls of about seven years built their house against the wall of their home (fig. 96). The walls of this pretend house are made with stony sand but for the inside walls only stones have been used. There are four rooms and a narrow space without stones represents the door opening. Bottle caps, stoppers, tin cans and the like change into utensils. The girls also use an old teapot. They play at preparing food with sand and water, at making tea and at other household tasks.



In the same quarter and at the same time girls of about eleven years constructed a quite large pretend house for their household games. They made this pretend house near their homes on a waste ground serving as playground and as grazing area. This pretend house consists of three rooms whose space is delimited with stones. Two plastic receptacles filled with herbs as flowers together with a mop mark the doorstep. The girls sit in the kitchen.

All sorts of bottles, cans and receptacles represent the household utensils. They also use cardboard egg trays. A large stone on top of three little stones represents a low table and an old paint container put on a large stone at the back of the large room serves as an oven (fig. 97).



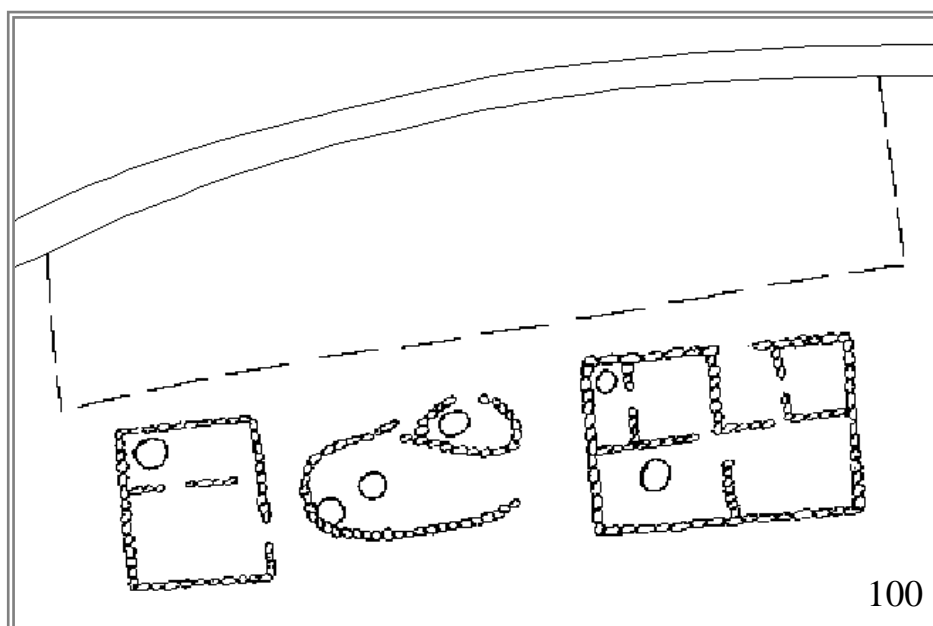
Girls of about three years already make pretend houses as in the rural center Amellago in the Haut Atlas in September 1999 (fig. 98).



Well-arranged stones delimit the play area where some waste objects have changed into utensils. A little girl of just two years plays at preparing food in a small plastic yogurt jar (fig. 99).



Three girls and two boys of about seven years have constructed one of the most elaborate pretend houses I have seen till today down below the track passing through Imîder, a village near Amellago. Unfortunately, I have no photograph of this pretend house due to a technical problem with my camera but I made the design of figure 100 instead.



The group of rooms, situated between the track and the gardens bordering the dry river, is delimited with low walls made of stones. There is the big house (*taddert*, about 2 m by 3 m), the space in the middle (*taddert tènèmèst*, about 1 m by 2 m) with a piece of wood as door, and a smaller house with a pantry (*el ghezîn*, about 1.5 m by 2.5 m). The openings between the stones represent the door openings. In the pantry, the upper room in the little house on the left, I have found in an old black can for twenty liters of water and hidden under its lid a whole series of toy utensils made of clay by the girls and boys (fig. 198, p. 180). The space in the middle contains in the inferior left corner a plastic pot with bones representing meat according to the players. Besides there is a big stone to crack almonds and an annex with the oven (*èlmsi*) represented by a large tin for tomatoes on which a clay disk represents the baking bread. In the room of the upper right corner of the big house I found a small cooking pot with its lid and in the lower left corner a big stone serves as table.

Khalija Jariaa contributed information and photographs on the games and toys of Anti-Atlas children. Her contribution refers to children from the villages Douar Ouaraben, Ikenwèn, Idoubahman-Imjâd, Ifrane a/s and Terloulou and from the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni. On the photo 101 made in Idoubahman-Imjâd in August 2006 Khalija stands to the left.



Concerning the children of the same region Boubaker Daoumani helped me to make a video on the doll and construction play of two children from a family of the village Lagzira near Sidi Ifni and on a boy creating toys in this city. He has also given information on the games and toys of the children of the village Lahfart especially of his pupils from the first and second year (fig. 102).



A special way to build walls for a play house is based on the use of branches. This is what children from the village Douar Ouaraben near Tiznit have done in December 2006. To do so they went to the trees seen at the top of the photo. As there had been some rain the foregoing day they could pull out small bushes. Below in the photo the wall of this pretend house for dinner play has already been made with stones and cardboard boxes (fig. 103, p.122).



Imjâd is a group of villages of about 4000 inhabitants. Figure 104 shows the village Idoubahman, situated at 24 km from Ifrane a/s and 72 km from Tafraoute, where Khalija Jariaa observed and photographed games in August 2006.



Some afternoons two two and a half-year-old cousins and a five-year-old brother play together at household and farm activities. On the photo one sees two houses side by side and a goat shed to the right that are temporarily unused (fig. 105).



When playing the small girls pretend to make food and to do household work. The boy goes to the mountain with his living cat and his imaginary goats. There he plays with another boy of his age. When he returns he puts the goats in the shed where the girls feed them with dry herbs they picked up in the vicinity.

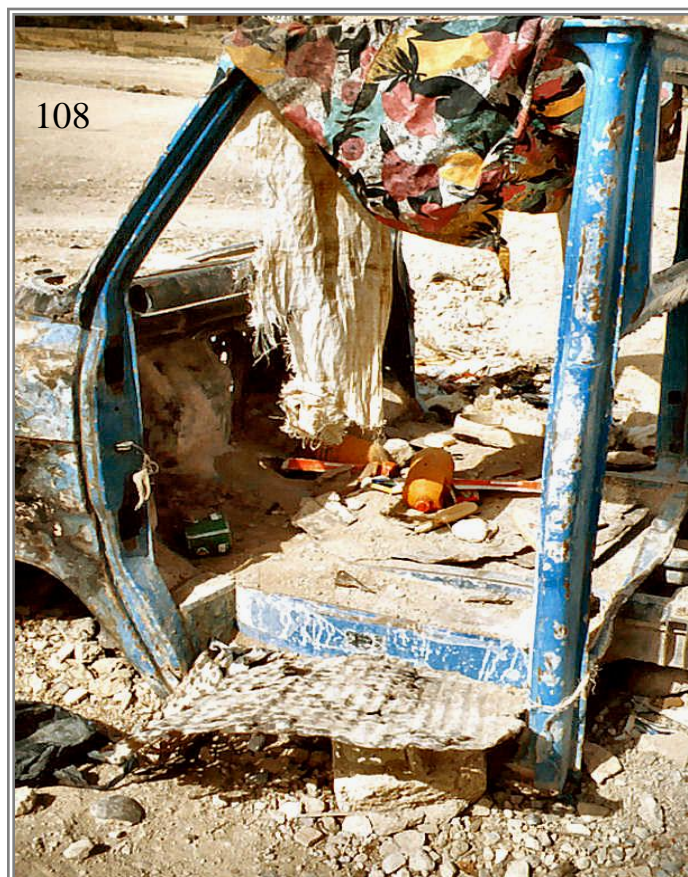
Children do not need always to construct a pretend house to play dinner party or household as in the case of the children of the Aït Mansour quarter in Midelt transforming in August 1999 a demolished van placed before their home into their pretend house (fig. 106).



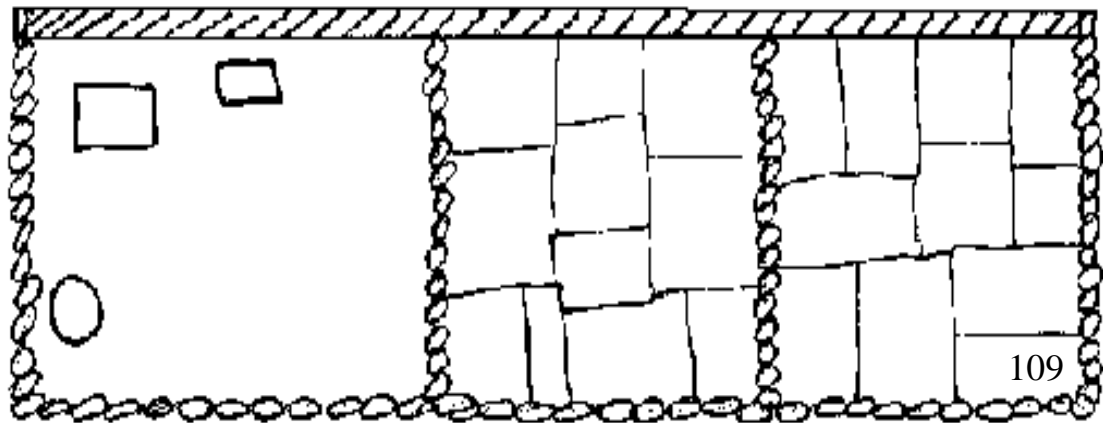
Two boys and a girl between six and eight years are playing together. On the next photograph one of the boys is trying to put a large piece of textile before the openings (fig. 107).



That the remains of this van really serve to play dinner or household is shown by the fact that these children have equipped their pretend house with waste objects representing utensils (fig. 108).



Up to now I spoke about pretend houses for dinner and household play made by Amazigh children. In Marrakech Arabic-speaking girls make for the same games pretend houses delimited by two layers of stones. The one I saw beside the track in the quarter Hay Jnanate, in November 1993 a quickly urbanized village near the Faculté des Lettres of the Cadi Ayyad University, is a pretend house of 3.5 m by 1 m leaning against a house (fig. 109). It has three rooms of more or less the same size. A girl of seven years and one of nine years put some newspaper sheets to cover the floor of the two rooms to the left. In the other room with its well-cleaned floor there are two cardboard boxes, a tin box and some other waste objects, all used as utensils.



Near the water spring of the village Aïn Taoujdate, between Meknès and Fès, I saw in September 2003 two pretend houses delimited by stones. One pretend house with two rooms was intact but the other was disturbed.

In a village situated at 3 km before Midelt near the road coming from Meknès, the girls make pretend houses delimited by stones. These are girls from the Oulad Khawa, Ikhawîn in Amazigh, of the village She^oba, an Arabic-speaking island in an Amazigh-speaking region. There I have seen in 1996 how part of a wall is used as the kitchen of a pretend house leaning against the wall of the girls' paternal home (fig. 110, p. 126). As one can see in figure 111 (p. 126), all kinds of plastic or tin waste objects are being used. In the black cooker a girl prepares bread with real flour. There is also a brush made with little branches.



1.5 Other constructions

One day in 1975, I saw Ghib boys from the Tunisian Sahara making a three-dimensional pretend house but I was told that girls sometimes do this also. To do this the boys took advantage of the different qualities of wet sand and very fine sand. When constructing such a house walls of wet sand are made in a square, the walls measuring about 20 cm in height and 8 cm in breadth (fig. 112).



At one side a small opening is left in the wall. The space delimited by the walls is then filled with very fine dry sand (fig. 113).



Then the fine sand is flattened and the roof constructed with wet sand. The wet sand must be tamped with a flat hand in the proper way (fig. 114).



The sand before the door opening is dug away a little bit so that the very fine sand can slide out through the opening in the front wall of the house. If all this is done in a correct way the flat roof will not collapse (fig. 115).



Another pretend house of sand is made in the same way but with a roof in the shape of a dome and two entrances (fig. 116). It is called *gurbi eth-thrâ* as it imitates the old underground house dug out in the limy ground found near the Ghib village of El-Faouar where it is used as a stable for the goats.



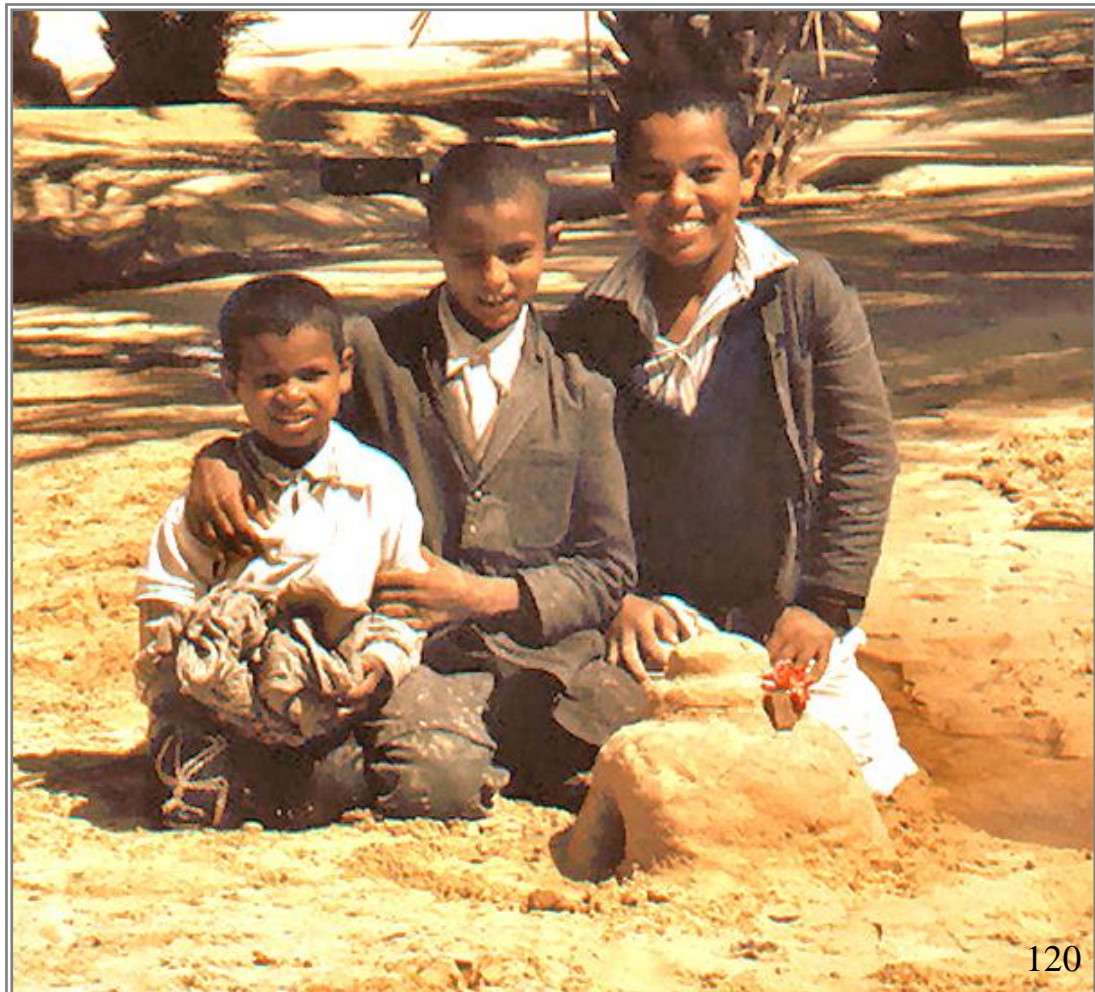
At the water spring of El Faouar in the Tunisian Sahara, the boys between six and thirteen years played at making different constructions with wet sand in May 1975. Normally this is done after a rare rain shower but the wet sand at this source can also be used (fig. 117).



Two of these sand constructions represent a cattle fold (fig. 118) and a market according to the makers although they look quite similar with their high walls surrounding a space (fig. 119).



Another construction, created by a boy of about twelve years sitting behind his building, shows the tomb of a marabout or local saint (fig. 120).



This time the miniature tomb has been decorated with a wild rose (fig. 121).



At the same place and the same time a thirteen-year-old boy built with a remarkable aesthetic sense a fine sand mosque (fig. 122).



This sand mosque has an interior yard and an elaborate minaret (fig.123).



The construction of a little mosque of dried or fired clay was mentioned for the children of Mopti along the Niger River (Mandel et Brenier-Estrine, 1977: 10, photos: 9, 11, 13).

As described above, the Belbala children of the Algerian Sahara sometimes outline the plan of a village with pebbles, a village also having a miniature mosque (Champault, 1969: 348).

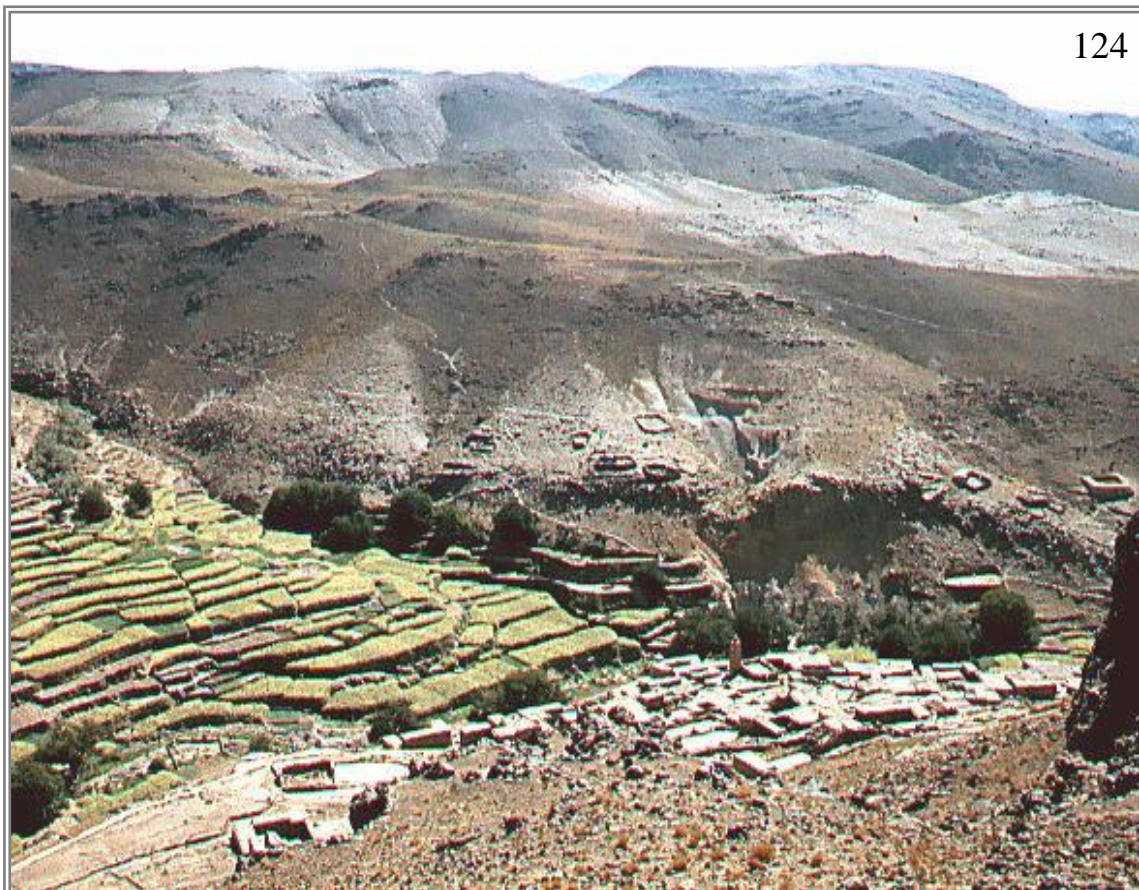
A play activity of small Moroccan children is the imitation of preparing construction work. I saw this in August 1999 during observation walks on a waste ground in Midelt. This space serves among other things as playground for the children of the adjacent popular quarters Aït Mansour and Taddawt. In an alley a boy of about three years enjoys filling a sardine tin with little stones and then emptying it. Somewhat later another boy of four or five years plays at separating the stones from the sand with a tin box having its bottom full of holes. This way he imitates the work of a bricklayer's mate filtering the sand by throwing it through a grate. Half an hour later this boy still continues this activity, this time filling a cardboard box. He also puts little stones into a small plastic pot, throws them in a large box to transport the load to his construction area a few steps away.

The great number of sardine tins with holes in the bottom found in Midelt as well as in Zaïda suggests that little children like this play activity a lot.

On the same spot in Midelt but in November 1997, I found at the base of a house in construction a quite large playhouse delimited with stones and measuring about 3 m by 5 m. Nearby two boys of more or less six years are playing with a piece of plastic tube, a piece of iron for reinforced concrete and some plastic pots and bottles. A somewhat older boy soon joins them and together they construct a wall around a well-cleaned small square.

As for the other sections describing pretend houses, most information mentioned in this chapter refers to Amazigh children. At the end of this chapter one finds the information on Arabic-speaking children.

In 1992 Nour-Eddine Ihbous, a primary school teacher, invited me to the first Amazigh village I could visit. This was the village Aït Ighemour in the Haut Atlas located at 8 km from the Jbel Siroua Mountain (fig. 124).



On the slopes around the village a few boys made with clay and stones a cowshed and a garage (fig. 125).



The two miniature buildings with a flat roof are distinguished by a larger opening for the garage and an enclosure of stones made before the cowshed (fig. 126). These elaborated constructions serve for make-believe games related to male occupations.



In Amellago, a Haut Atlas village, a three-year-old boy chose a small temporarily dry irrigation canal to make his garage in November 1999. Earthen bricks cut out in the irrigation canal delimit its walls of about 40 cm by 50 cm. One brick closes the door opening and an old sandal placed near the entrance is the truck (fig. 127).



In December 2006 in Tiznit a twelve-year-old boy is playing taxi driver with his friends. To the right of the photo one sees the taxi driver pushing his car. As he says, he is just leaving his bachelor's home that he closed because there is no woman to look after it (fig. 128, p. 136).



Boys of the village Ikenwèn also make pretend houses and therefore imitate the traditional way of building houses in adobe. This is mostly done when the boys are able to watch men constructing or repairing a house. In December 2006 when the mosque was being repaired several boys play at building houses in adobe. As clay mould Saïd, an eight-year-old boy, uses two planks he fills with humidified earth (fig. 129).



Once the mould is filled with earth he presses it with a pestle, the piece of wood lying between his feet on the foregoing photograph (fig. 130).



This way he constructs the different walls of a playhouse having several rooms, a kitchen and a garage. Once the work is done Saïd prepares dinner for himself as he plays the role of a bachelor (fig. 131, p. 138). On the stove he put a tajine of vegetables and dromedary meat. To the side there is a cooking pot with *el harira*, the Moroccan soup that is made during cold or rainy weather.



While the tajine is cooking, Saïd returns to his work. Now he is busy making the road leading to the garage. In this garage Saïd has put the truck he made before. This truck already served to transport the earth needed for constructing the walls (fig. 132).



Saïd decides that the situation in which he must do all the household jobs himself cannot continue as he has much too much work. Thus he engages a domestic help, the doll he created in no time at all.



He puts this doll near the stove so that she will prepare his dinner for when he comes home at night. However, when he returns his dinner is not yet ready. He is angry and says: “Why is there nothing to eat? You go to gossip with the women instead of doing your job although I told you that I come home at nine o’clock in the evening”. Once the scolding is finished, he acts as if he hits the woman (fig. 134, p. 140).



The same month some about seven-year-old boys and girls are making a series of playhouses with cardboard boxes. The houses represent a restaurant, a hotel, a cinema, a billiard room, a garage and the house of a bride. The girls play at wedding and then at the birth of a baby with dolls they made themselves. In the context of a baby's birth one of the boys pretends to be the doctor. The whole day these boys and girls act out scenes from the life in their village. However, this is not about the reality of their village of today but much more about their dreams about its future. The cardboard house of figure 135 shows the garage.



The small mountain village Lahfart in the Sidi Ifni region is located at about 20 minutes uphill walking along a track starting at 9 kilometers along the asphalt road going from Sidi Ifni to Tiznit. The school is seen on the left of the photo taken in the direction of the ocean (fig. 136).



When visiting this village a family invited me to stay overnight in January 2002. Walking around Lahfart next morning I found some older primary schoolboys playing at constructing pretend houses (fig. 137). These buildings represent farms or houses. They are used for make-believe play related to the life of men, to agriculture and breeding.



These pretend houses are delimited by mud walls, mud made with water taken from a nearby almost dried up well. The boys use little rectangular pieces of wood or cardboard to make straight walls (fig. 138).



There are several types of pretend houses. They have several rooms and annexes, and the space around the house can be delimited by stones or by an enclosure as seen in figure 139. These games are not limited to traditional activities. The boys also integrate into their make-believe play, situations that refer to urban centers which have transport facilities like regular bus services.



The following photograph illustrates such a situation whereby a plastic toy bus, driving on a road delimited with stones, arrives at the farm (fig. 140). This farm must be the property of a wealthy man as a toy lorry is parked at the farm's entrance.



The same day I found two about nine-year-old boys finishing the construction of a larger farm of about one by two meter (fig. 141). Here modern technology is represented by the same kind of plastic lorry serving as tractor, bulldozer or truck according to necessities.



The information below on the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni also refers to Amazigh-speaking children. Yet a few more often speak Moroccan Arabic because their parents prefer to speak this language with them and because of school influence where Arabic is the language of teaching.

The next photograph shows the upper part of the Boulalem quarter (fig. 142). To the right is Tagragra Street with at the front the empty space where children sometimes play. Khalija Jariaa and Boubaker Daoumani are standing before the house where the author lives.



In April 2005, a five-year-old girl from the Boulalem quarter in Sidi Ifni explains that she is preparing tamped earth as when constructing a house following old techniques (fig. 143, p. 145). At the same time she explains the function of her neighbor girl's water gun and her own pistol seen near the wall. The girl received the pistol for the Mûlûd or Prophet's birthday. Her mother bought it at the local market for 8 dirhams or 0.8 €.



143

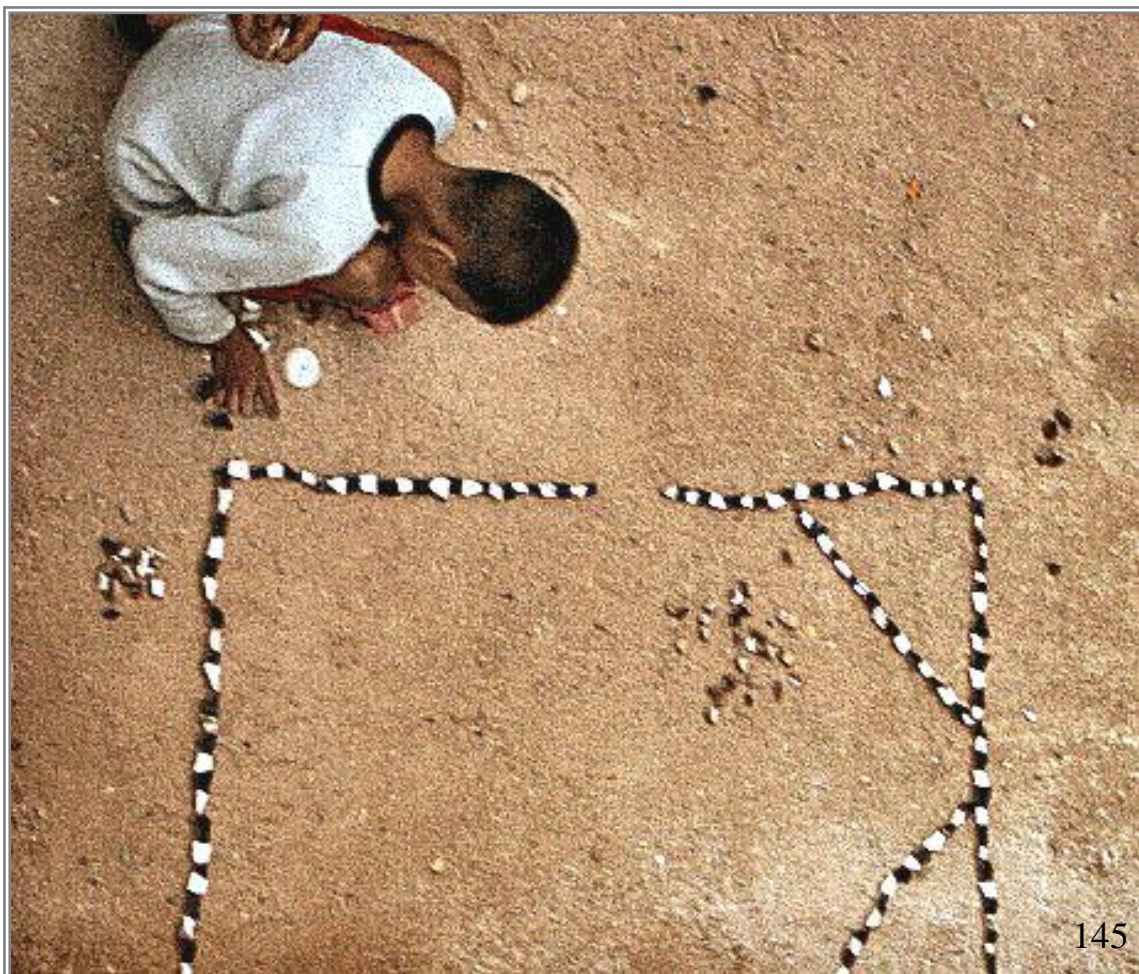
The little girl says: "whenever the Palestine and Iraq war come over to here, our gun and pistol will serve to protect us" (fig. 144).



144

This photo in which one sees the girl and her neighbor handling the gun and pistol was taken a few minutes before the photo of figure 143 (p. 145) and without them noticing. These play moments show how images and messages communicated by TV and related to adult realities infiltrate little girls' play activities. A play activity that for the rest is based on the ancient theme of children's construction play related to traditional building techniques.

From the window of my apartment on the first floor in the same quarter I saw at the end of July 2005 two boys collaborating to make a pretend house. Using a stone seven-year-old Mohamed breaks off small pieces of thrown away white or black tiles. Lahoucine, his nine-year-old neighbor, uses these pieces to outline a rectangle of about one by two meters. At the front of the house he left an opening for the entrance. Somewhat later he delimits rooms at the right side of the house by making two oblique lines with the same white and black pieces (fig. 145).



On the photo above Lahoucine is using a plastic engine he calls *traks*, a term referring to a tractor or bulldozer. As this boy explains he is constructing a road with his bulldozer. At the front of his engine Lahoucine put an empty sardine tin representing the lifting tray. By pulling a string the stones or sand accumulated in the tray are lifted or dropped (fig. 146).

This particular bulldozer highlights the combination of traditional techniques to make toy-cars with imported plastic toys. When the boy's father, a house builder, bought this truck for 20 dirhams (2 €) as a present for his son during the Sidi Ifni Mussem of July 2004 this truck did not ride well. Quickly annoyed by this malfunctioning the boy gave his truck new axles, two 10 cm long nails, and new wheels, two metal jam pot covers at the back and two large plastic covers at the front.



During the New Year holidays and at the beginning of January 2006 several children of the Boulalem quarter in Sidi Ifni play the whole day on the waste ground at the end of Tagragra Street. A first play period takes place in the morning. A boy plays with a ball while another walks around with a gun. A few playgroups of boys start to make a pretend house along the wall of the facade closing a construction site next to the apartment where I live (fig. 147).



The boy with the yellow jacket threatens with his reed gun the one who sits on his ground while asking "What are you doing?" The latter replies "I am only taking some sand to build my house". The owner of the site answers "It's all right but do not take too much".

For one of the play houses a boy mixes sand with water in a bucket in order to make mortar to cover the roof so that it will become waterproof (fig. 148).



For another pretend house made in the morning waste material is mostly used (fig. 149).



In the afternoon the number of boys becomes bigger and some girls join them. A group of boys outline a space representing their big house with its fence made out of a rope on which they hang some advertisings, flags and pieces of cardboard (fig. 150).



The girl standing near the wall on the foregoing photograph wants to join the boys' playgroup but she is not allowed to do so. However, when she proposes to clean the house she can participate. The boys are discussing what kind of New Year feast they want to organize (fig. 151).



A small girl and boy playing alongside, seen on 150 (p. 150), join the New Year feast during which the children sing and play drums on an old plastic basin. This feast quickly comes to an end and the place is left to the little ones.

In the evening playgroups composed of the same boys make more play houses. The pretend house lying against the wall on the above photograph is totally made with waste material the players found in the vicinity (fig. 152, p. 152) Some boys have created their sweets selling shop to the left of the house made with two pieces of a gas cooker and cardboard. The sweets they sell are sweet wrappings filled with stones (fig. 153, p. 152)



Somewhat later these boys destroy their house and come to sit on and near the sidewalk below my apartment. There they organize their own percussion group using the pieces that served to construct the house as drums (fig. 154).



Three months later, in April 2006, some of these boys become masons or masons' aids in order to construct a house. They make mortar by mixing water and earth with a shovel (fig. 155, p. 154).



155

The walls consist of one or two layers of big stones and here and there the wall is covered with mortar. As the shovel must be brought back home a mason's aid cleans it (fig. 156).



156

The house is divided into three parts with a living room at the left, a bedroom and a kitchen at the right; At both sides of the entry a tree is planted represented by reeds on top of which sticks are inserted taken from a broom made with palm leaves(fig. 157). The kitchen is equipped with plastic utensils and a salt bag filled with sand. A tea box lies in front of the house. The kitchen and the bedroom have been whitened with the white powder found on the ground at the frontage of a nearby recently painted house.



To get waste objects to decorate their house the boys ask two girls to look for useful things on the spot where the households drop their garbage sacs (fig. 158).



A Sunday of July 2006 Khalija Jariaa observed and photographed three boys of about eight years playing together in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni. First they make a pretend house with many rooms and a kitchen (fig. 159). An upstanding sardine tin serves as the door of their elaborated house. In the kitchen, at the bottom of the photograph, there is a table with a gas-cooker on top.



On figure 160 the boy seen below is the cook. The boy in the middle is an invited friend. He excuses himself for being late because his wife is pregnant and feels uncomfortable. After the greetings the boy on top, who is the master of the house, discusses with his friend the daily affairs, the prices at Sidi Ifni's Sunday market and so on. Then he asks the



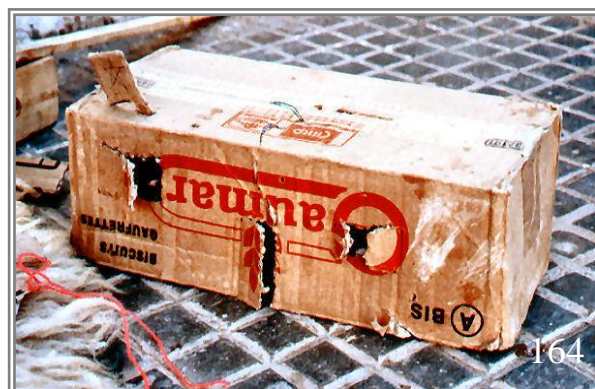
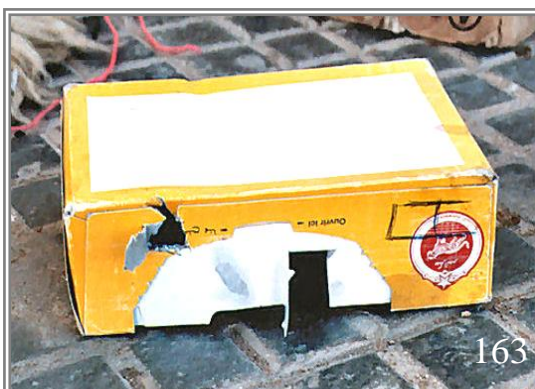
cook about dinner. The cook replies that he will first serve tea and biscuits and later on there is a tajine and salad. The master asks if there is also a desert but the cook answers no. The master says he wants desert and also lemonade for his friend. The cook argues he does not know if the master is poor or rich and that for the poor a tajine and salad is enough. So if the master is rich he should have said this and therefore it is he and not the cook who is to blame for a lack of food. Now the master tells the cook to go and buy lemonade. The cook comes back saying that the shop is closed. The master is upset but the guest says that it is no problem and he will have desert and lemonade another time. Now the three boys have some cups of tea and then they eat the tajine and salad. The guest says it is a fine cup of tea and later on he asks if the tajine was cooked on charcoal or on gas. The cook answers to this that it was made on a charcoal fire. The guest says goodbye because he wants to look for his pregnant wife. The master of the house asks his friend when the baby will come to which his friend replies that it is expected at the end of the month Ramadan. The game ends with the guest taking leave (fig. 161).



One of the four videos filmed in Sidi Ifni and its region in 2002 shows a six-year-old boy looking at his ten-year-old brother creating toys such as a pretend house, a truck, a car and a device to move this car (fig. 162).



The two cardboard houses he made are seen below (fig. 163-164). He does not make such pretend houses or the other toys for his own games but to offer them to his brother and other children so that they can use them in their make-believe play. A detailed protocol of this video made with Boubaker Daoumani's help is available on www.sanatoypplay.org (Rossie and Daoumani, 2007, Video 2).).



2 Dinner party play and toy utensils

2.1 Summary

The information on dinner party play and toy utensils covers the period from the beginning of the 1900s till the end of 2006. It refers to games of the children from the Tuareg, Ghrib, Moors, Sahrawi, Teda, Zaghawa, Belbala, Mozabites, Chaouïa and the Kabyles, from the Djebel Amour and Djebel Ksel, from Tlemcen, Morocco and Tunisia.

The play activities are in the first place centered on preparing and enjoying meals, but also on serving and drinking tea or coffee and in one instance on making fruit juice. Often the food is imaginary and replaced with sand, clay, white stones, pebbles, herbs, and pieces of orange skin or of an ear of maize. It also happens, especially among the girls of more or less wealthy families, that real food is used such as bread, biscuits, tea, coffee, mint, sugar, flour, tomatoes, eggs and even meat. Here and there a fire is lit to prepare the meal.

The toy utensils made or used for these dinner parties show a great variety. Many of them are portable stoves called *kanûn*, mortars and pestles, all kind of containers, bowls, cups, plates, frying pans, couscous pots and tajines. A *tajine* is a pottery cooker put on a soft fire to stew meat or fish together with vegetables. It has on top a typical lid with an elongated point (fig. 225, p. 192). Although less often mentioned, other toys are copies of stools, forms, lw tables, tea or coffee sets, ladles, funnels and even of candlesticks, perfume burners, pressure cookers or pipes. These imitations of utensils are made with mud, clay, gypsum, wood, esparto grass and cardboard. The utensils modeled with clay are dried out of the sun or fired. When they are dried they remain monochrome with among the girls of the Djebel Amour and Djebel Ksel from the beginning of the 20th century a decoration in relief. The fired utensils sometimes have a painted decoration. Next to the self-made toy utensils, the children also use old potteries, cardboard and tin boxes, plastic and glass bottles.

Although playing at dinner party and making toy utensils specifically belongs to the play world of the girls, it should be noted that little boys up to seven years wholeheartedly participate in these activities. Among a few populations older boys, female servants or female and male artisans also

make miniature utensils. Moreover, copies of utensils in plastic made by the European or Asian toy industry have for a long time been given to the girls. Plastic toy utensils made in China are nowadays sold in Morocco, a so-called 'Kitchen Set' with about fifteen pieces sold for 10 dirhams (1 €) in 2000.

2.2 Dinner party play and toy utensils

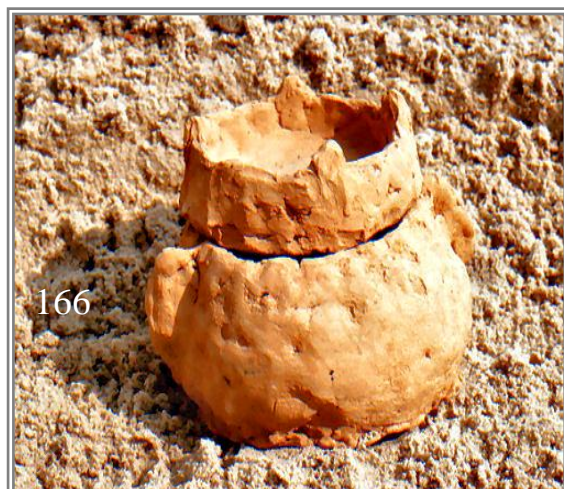
The document "Vie des Touaregs. Enfance et Jeux" (p. 94), written by an anonymous author probably in the 1950s and extensively quoted in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* (2005: 54-55), mentions the making of carpets and water bags by Tuareg children in the Sahara to be used in dinner party during the game of nomadic settlements.

The collection of the Musée de l'Homme had since 1937 a miniature bowl and pipe that belonged to Tuareg children (fig. 165). These toys are made with crude clay and have no decoration. The toy pipe measures 13 cm in length (71.1937.21.100) and the diameter of the bowl is 10.5cm (71.1937.21.101).



In the pretend houses made by the Ghrib girls from the Tunisian Sahara they enjoyed the game of dinner party, called *el-khellît'a*, about 1975 (fig. 87-92, p. 110-113). In these enclosures the girls wholeheartedly imitate household tasks. They go to draw water from the well, to fetch wood and if they brought along some food they prepare it.

In these games the girls use a whole series of toy utensils. Most of these toys have been recuperated such as old potteries and utensils, tin boxes, bottles, etc. Other miniature utensils have been made



by the girls themselves such as the cooker, *el-burma*, or the frying pan to make bread, *t-ta°jîn* (fig. 166, p. 160). The cooker and the frying pan are modeled by the older girls, possibly also by a mother, with gypsum and fine sand and then put into the sun to dry. The small cooker has a diameter of 14 cm and its height is 8 cm.

With the cooker, used by the women for cooking meat, preparing sauces and vegetables, the girls from the age of four years onwards imitate the preparation of the meals. The diameter of the frying pan measures 11 cm and its height 4 cm. It serves to make flat bread called *khubz t-ta°jîn* and this is what the girls imitate.

Sometimes real utensils are used by children and serve as toys as shown at figure 167 where a three-year-old boy plays with a big wooden ladle.



In a game of strength adolescents transport a young child as a sac in the way women transport loads. They put a band under the child's shoulders, tie both ends of the band together, lift up the child and put the knot on their forehead (fig. 168).



Among the Marazig, an Arabic speaking population living near the Ghib in the Tunisian Nefzaoua, the girls also play at dinner party, called 'khellêta' ou 'fard'a'. The author mentioning this game does not give more information (Boris, 1958: 153, 460).

Between 1936 and 1938 the Puigaudeau-Senones Mission collected three wooden toy utensils used by the children of the Moors from the Tidjikdja region. The miniature mortar (catalogue p. 420, 71.1938.48.48), the pestle (idem, 71.1938.48.49) and the bowl belong to the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly. Such toys are made by herd boys as well as by artisans.

In the same collection one finds several sets of toy utensils used for the children of the Moors from Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara. These toys have been modeled in clay by black female servants to be used together with the pretend houses made by the same servants in the 1930s (fig. 40-41 p. 80-81).

All these very small toys represent household utensils such as cookers, bowls, plates, round or pointed lids, spoons, bottles, flasks, jars, jugs, portable stoves, couscous pots, mortars and pestles, supports, perfume burners and also a stool and a candlestick.

The four sets of toy utensils collected in 1936-1938 by the Puigaudeau-Senones Mission have been modeled in crude clay. Those with the numbers 71.1938.48.93.1-15 are painted black with charcoal and embellished with white lines. Their maximum diameter is 1.5 cm and their maximum height 5 cm (fig. 169).



The toy utensils bearing the numbers 71.1938.48.94.1-22 have a white coating decorated with blue, brown and yellow designs. Their maximum diameter is 2.4 cm and their maximum height 2.5 cm (fig. 170).



The other set with the numbers 71.1938.48.95.1-10 is painted in brown and red ochre, and decorated with white streaks and edgings. Their maximum



diameter and height is 1.5 cm (fig. 171). The toy utensils bearing the numbers 71.1938.48.96.1-18 are decorated with black, white, ochre and red designs on a yellow background (fig. 172). More details are given in the catalogue p. 421. The other toy utensils of the Oualata children kept in the Musée du Quai Branly together with those described in the bibliography confirm the above-mentioned information.



In his book Charles Béart mentions the teapot as a Moorish child's first toy. One also reads there how children initiate themselves at making tea. When assisting at the preparation of the tea, the little child begs for a piece of sugar and if it does not receive it, it goes lying on the hot sand knowing that the adult will then give in. Later on the child will be in charge of cleaning the cups and plates and it should receive some tea and sugar so that it can learn how to make tea, but it is still too young to do so. Yet, the child can grasp the teapot whenever it remains unused, trying to pour water in a cup from as high as possible. The child offers the beverage it made to the family circle and every polite adult should utter the usual shouts of joy. The child may play for hours until it starts to hit the teapot with a cup or tries to crush a stone with it. This, according to the child's age, will result in breastfeeding or spanking (1955: 145).

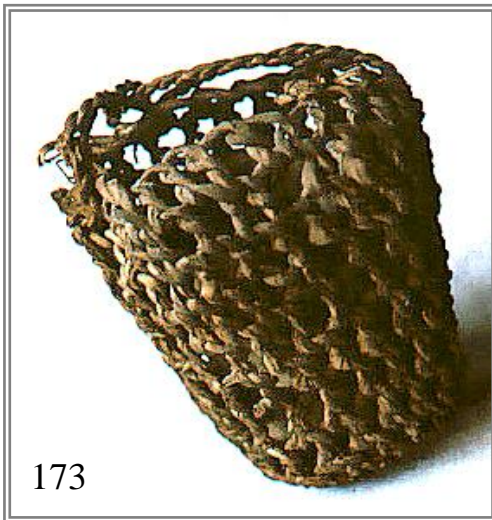
According to Fernando Pinto Cebrián the Sahrawi girls have all kinds of miniaturized objects such as kitchen utensils, cushions and mats. There are also small copies of the female attributes and personal effects. As great imitators of their mother these girls use all this material in their household play. They cook couscous using sand, clean the toy tent, serve an imaginary tea to the girls visiting them, look after their 'children', sing and dance. They continue until their mothers call them either because of the great heat, or it is time to eat or to sleep (1999: 105, 108).

The analyzed collection contains two little basketworks used as toys by little girls and collected by the Mission Le Cœur among the Teda from Tibesti in Chad in 1934. The one bearing number 71.1935.50.169 measures 8 cm in height and is carried in a leather case. A young girl delicately wove the other basket with number 71.1935.50.172. She also covered the board and the bottom with leather decorated with lines painted in green with a Fezzan dye. This basket measures 9 cm in height and can be closed with a lid attached by a leather string.

The Le Cœur Mission also collected two small potteries and a little wooden mortar that served as girls' toys. The mortar, cut out in a piece of wood and with one handle at its foot, measures 18 cm in height and 13 cm in diameter (71.1935.50.173). The small potteries represent perfume burners. One perfume burner consists of a cup of 4.5 cm diameter standing on four feet. It has a suspension hole and is decorated with engraved geometric designs (71.1935.50.170). A second perfume burner has a cup of 2 cm in diameter standing on a round foot (71.1935.50.171).

Oleg Lopatinsky who has given to the Musée de l'Homme a beautiful series of forty dolls of the Teda girls also collected other toys from Teda children living in the Bardaï and Tibesti regions in the Chadian Sahara in 1962. These toys are three miniaturized copies of the mortar, made with clay. The first mortar is placed in basketwork with a suspension rope of palm nervures (fig. 173, p. 166, 71.1965.3.1). A small boy made it and it measures 5.5 cm in height. Its bowl has a diameter of about 5 cm and the height of the basketwork measures about 8 cm. The second mortar resembles the first one and measures 5 cm in height with a diameter of the bowl of 5 cm (fig. 174 right, p. 166, 71.1965.3.2). The third mortar represents the wooden mortar on three feet. It measures 3.5 cm in height and the diameter of the bowl is 3 cm (fig. 174 left, p. 166, 71.1965.3.5).

Oleg Lopatinsky received a dried clay toy representing the wooden seat used by Teda women (fig. 174, p. 166 bottom right, 71.1965.3.4). It has a rectangular shape with on both sides a handle and six round feet fixed to a flat base. The height of this toy seat measures 2.3 cm and its length 7.7 cm.



A Zaghawa child of the school of Hiriba in Ouaddaï in Chad modeled with crude gray clay taken from the pond a copy of the mortar with three handles (fig. 175 right, 71.1957.82.130, H = 5.4 cm, D = 6 cm) and of the mortar without a handle (fig. 175 left, 71.1957.82.131, H = 6.4 cm, D = 7 cm; pestle: H = 5.5 cm, D = 1.5 cm). The same child also modeled with red clay a mortar with two handles (71.1957.82.132, H = 6.5 cm, D = 7 cm).



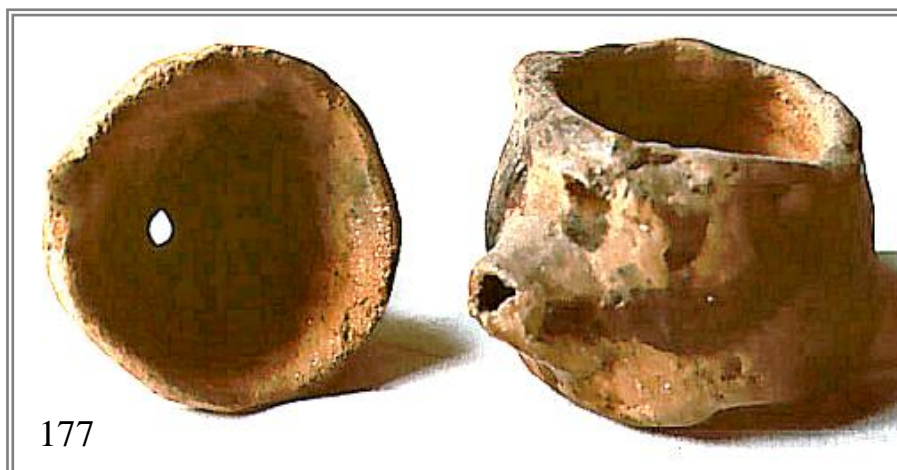
As already mentioned in the extensive quotation from Dominique Champault's book describing the pretend houses used for playing dinner party, the Belbala children from the Algerian Sahara create house furniture, cooking pots, plates, glasses and all other objects necessary for playing dinner party with pieces of bottles or pottery (1969: 348-349). This author also speaks of containers and basketworks made by the girls and buckets woven by the boys. For a description of this game see page 113-114.

Although the information on the toy utensils of the girls of the Mozabites from the Algerian Sahara is limited to a few lines, it remains very useful as it mentions the European influence in the 1920s. A.-M. Goichon writes that the girls play at the wedding of their doll and therefore also make a dinner with some pieces of 'rfîs', etc. But there are also little households imported from Europe or locally made. The most common are the sets with a plate, a teapot and five cups all made from woven esparto grass (1927: 59).

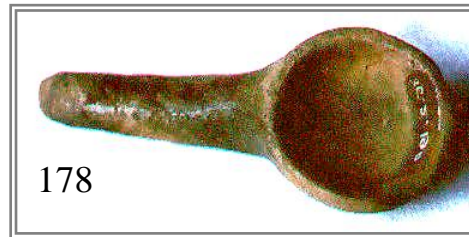
The girls and possibly also the boys of the Chaouïa from the Aurès in Algeria play at dinner party and at household with toy utensils modeled in clay. The Thérèse Rivière Mission collected a whole series of these toy utensils of the Ouled Abderrahman children from Kebech in the Djebel Tadjmout Mountains in 1936. This set consists of thirteen pieces of pottery, eleven of fired clay and two of crude clay. Among the eleven of fired clay, nine have a geometric decoration in 'llukk' glaze with strokes, crosses, points, blocks and circles of red, orange, brown and black color.



These miniature utensils measure between 1.8 cm and 12 cm in height and their diameter varies between 6 cm and 13 cm. Three toys represent the bowl on a tripod foot used to serve couscous (fig. 176, 71.1936.2.179, H = 12 cm, D = 12 cm); two others represent the couscous cooker (71.1936.2.180, H = 12 cm, D = 7.5 cm; 71.1936.2.269bis-270bis, H = 10 cm, D = 8 cm). Two toy utensils represent a pot with a neck used for butter and a funnel to fill the water bag (fig. 177, 71.1936.2.187bis, H = 4 cm, D = 6.5 cm; 71.1936.2.824, H = 6.5 cm, D = 6 cm).



There also is a small ladle (fig. 178, 71.1936.2.190, L = 9 cm, D = 3.5 cm).



Other toys represent a plate to bake bread (fig. 179 bottom right, 71.1936.2.826, H = 1.8 cm, D 13 cm), a little plate that could be used for a child (fig. 179 top left, 71.1936.2.181, H = 3 cm, D = 10.5 cm) and another plate with a pierced ear (fig. 179 bottom left, 71.1936.2.691, H = 3.5 cm, D = 12 cm). More details on these toy utensils are given in the catalogue p. 423-424.



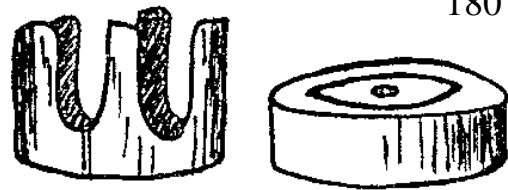
In the collection one also finds two toy utensils, a plate with a foot and a simple one, in decorated fired clay from Chaouïa children living at Aïn Kerma (71.1937.9.61-62).

In the 1930s, one of the favorite games of the girls of the Kabyles is the dinner play, called 'timniwelt'. However, the children did not use real food as this was too precious. This way they learned how to prepare food and initiated themselves into cooking (Laoust-Chantréaux, 1990: 167).

The girls of the Djebel Amour and Djebel Ksel Mountains near Aflou and El Bayadh in Algeria make little tajines decorated with big reliefs and whose bottom they scratch with their nails, cookers having a lid with a big button, and also little portable stoves, all skillfully imitating the utensils

modeled by female potters. One could find in the streets little girls squatting on the ground, their heads touching one another and being very absorbed. What are they doing? They are lighting a fire in their little stove and on top of it they put an old round tin can filled with water. Above that a self-made couscous pot filled with sand representing the couscous is placed. After a while the couscous pot is emptied on a flat stone, the sand spread open and kneaded after which it is put back in the couscous pot (Gaudry, 1961: 133).

The two designs of figure 180 show these miniature potteries. However, the design on the left does not show a tajine as mentioned in Mathéa Gaudry's book but a portable stove. The other design represents the cooker having a lid with a button.



180

Among the little girls of the Tlemcen region near the Algerian-Moroccan border, the game most often played during the 1960's was dinner party. A dinner, seldom a feast dinner, is imitated by using pebbles, herbs, fine sand and clay (Zerdoumi, 1982: 227).

In Morocco the Arabic-speaking, the Amazigh-speaking as well as the Jewish children play at dinner party and make toy utensils. Yet, the information given in this book is more elaborated in relation to the Amazigh girls. My data on the Arabic-speaking girls refer to the cities of Fès, Kénitra, Marrakech and Tangier as well as to the villages Aïn Taoujdate between Fès and Meknès, She°ba near Midelt and Hmar near Taroudannt. The data on Amazigh communities refer to the mountainous regions of the Rif, the Moyen Atlas, the Haut Atlas, the Jbel Ayachi, and the Anti-Atlas as well as to the towns of Goulmima, Ouarzazate, Taza, Khemisset and Sidi Ifni. The data on the Jewish children refer to the former Mellahs of South Morocco. The information spans the period between the beginning of the 1900's and the end of 2006.

Two authors mention the game of dinner party for the cities of Fès and Tangier. Madame Soulé speaks in 1933 of dinner party integrated in the game representing the wedding of the dolls. For this purpose the girls take the small utensils of their dolls, such as a portable stove, plates, glasses, a teapot, tea and sugar boxes, etc. They also bring with them food for festivities, such as tea, mint, sugar and semolina. The kitchen is constructed and a little black girl plays the role of the female servant doing

household work. After the presentation of the bride doll it is time to start dinner for which the black girl has prepared tea, biscuits and couscous, and which the girls now divide between them and their dolls (p. 155).

The analyzed collection possesses since 1933 two little tables with round wooden bases and cardboard edges placed on two crosspieces (fig. 181, 71.1933.77.50-51, H+ = 18 cm, D+ = 11 cm). The conical lid (H = 6.5 cm) is missing. During a talk on July 17th, 1981 with Jeanne Jouin who collected these toy tables, she explained to me that the girls from Fès used them for their dinner party play putting little biscuits or pieces of bread on the toy tables.



For Tangier W. Marçais' book (1911: 205) mentions that for the feast of °Arafa at the beginning of the 1900s children beg their parents to buy them little portable stoves, cookers and other toy utensils to prepare a dinner. The second day of the feast they prepare dinner and before eating they say:

Dinner! Dinner!
The dinner is easy to prepare,
But we are waiting till the Gnâwa arrive (black musicians)
The Gnâwa will not come!
And we, we will have no dinner!

This about one hundred year old text shows that in the larger Moroccan cities of that time it was common to buy toys for the children, probably children from well to do families and at specific yet rare moments.

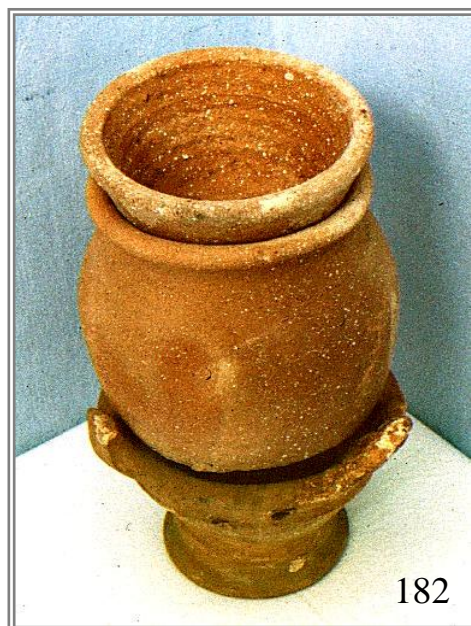
My own information on dinner party play and toy utensils of Arabic-speaking Moroccan children is limited to four examples. On top of a small

hill and some hundred meters from the Arabic-speaking village She°ba I found in November 1996 several pretend houses used by little girls for their household play lying the one next to the other. On this rocky hill lie numerous fragments of pottery, tiles and bottles together with empty tin cans and other waste objects. Using the unevenness of the surface the girls create pretend houses of less than one square meter. In these spaces they range their household utensils, things to eat or drink, all salvaged among the waste objects found on the spot. One pretend house integrates the remains of a wall corner of about 40 cm high by 60 and 50 cm. On the ground between the two parts of the wall a piece of cardboard serves as carpet. Another pretend house leans against a ruined wall. Next to the commonly used objects, this pretend house also contains little Danone pots and plastic bottle stoppers. In one of the pretend houses four girls and one boy between five and seven years are playing. One of the girls arranges on a metal plate some bottle bottoms and other pieces of glass. Besides lies the lid of a polish tin, an old sardine tin and a few pieces of pottery or tiles. Another girl fixes with some stones a dry little branch upright on the ground.

The girls of the village Aïn Taoujdate, halfway between Meknès and Fès, use for their dinner party miniaturized utensils modeled with gypsum. As a fifteen-year-old girl explained to me in 1993, the girls between four and seven years leave the gypsum white but the older girls up to thirteen years sometimes cover it with paint. The toy utensils modeled most often are the tajine, cooker, bowl and little table.

When in 1992 the girls of the village Hmar near Taroudannt play at the giving birth of their doll, they celebrate this happy event by singing and having a dinner party. The girls of the Daoudiyât quarter in Marrakech use during the 1970s empty tin cans as plates or bowls in their dollhouses (*Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play*, 2005: 158-159).

In Kénitra, a coastal town 40 km North of Rabat, I found in 1994 a portable stove and a couscous pot (fig. 182). A potter



made this portable stove and couscous pot in lacquer fired clay to be used as a toy (total H = 26 cm, D = 16.5 cm).

The first data on toy utensils from Moroccan Amazigh children date back to 1908. The toys were given to the Musée de l'Homme and come from the Rif Mountains of North Morocco (fig. 183-184). These old toy utensils are copies of teapots with a transverse handle (71.1908.15.74-81), teacups (71.1908.15.24-32) and tea beakers (71.1908.15.82-90) all of fired clay decorated with brown color and black designs. The teapots have at their bottom designs in the shape of stars, crosses or little traits. The smallest teapot measures 5.5 cm in height and 6.4 cm in length (71.1908.15.78), the biggest one 7.3 cm and 9.4 cm (71.1908.15.75). The little cups measure about 4 cm in height with a maximum diameter of 3 cm.



The collection possesses another tea set of the same type (71.1959.52.9-11) and a small table (71.1959.52.29, H = 10 cm).

About the Aït Ouirra girls of the El Ksiba region in the Moyen Atlas, Lahcen Oubahammou tells in 1987 that they learn through their play activities to prepare couscous and to make pasta called 'ahrir' (p. 51). On the same page this author gives some interesting details on the girls' games in this Amazigh population. He writes that the female games only refer to little girls and that the reason for this lies in the girls' very young marriage age, when they are about twelve or thirteen years. Moreover, the girls' games are really limited in contrast to the boys' games, their action radius being narrow as they should not go too far away from their home because they need to be available to help their mother with household tasks or for looking after the little ones.

The information on the toy utensils and on the dinner and household play of the Moroccan Amazigh children mentioned hereafter are based on my own research.

In the Haut Atlas at an altitude of 1600 m and at 15 km from the rural center of Taliouine when coming from Tazenakht, lies the village Ignern with some sixty houses. A 4 km long track starting from the road between Tazenakht and Taroudannt offers access to this village. There the girls like to play at dinner party and therefore they model miniature utensils with clay. Zeina, a twelve-year-old girl offered me in November 1998 a whole series of toy utensils modeled in crude clay as shown on the following figures.

Figure 185 shows a teapot standing on a table (*marfèh*). There also is a big plate (*azlèf*) with its lid and a cup (*tibriz*) (fig. 186).



The girls also make cookers without handles (*tigint*) but with a lid (fig. 187, p. 174). One cooker contains white stones representing food. Figure 188 (p. 174) shows a cooker with two handles, a lid and a ladle (*aranja*).



In figure 189 one sees a ladle and a small cooker (*tenjra* ou *gamela*), and in figure 190 a mortar (*lèmgrèz*) with a pestle and two bowls (*tibriz*).



The next figures present a cooker with its lid (fig. 191), a teapot (*bèrrêd*) (fig. 192), and some cups or bowls (*tibriz*) (fig. 193). Zeina also mentioned two other utensils that are copied in clay, namely the plate (*tabsil*) and the pressure cooker (*cocotte minute*).



Hamid, Zeina's thirteen-year-old brother, told me that the boys sometimes model such utensils in clay. He himself also made copies of the big jar to keep oil (*ghibit*).

That boys model toy utensils is confirmed by what I saw in October 1992 in the village Aït Ighemour located at 8 km from the Jbel Siroua Mountain at an altitude of 2600 m and at the end of a 36 km long track starting from the village Anezal on the road from Amerzgane to Tazenakht in the Ouarzazate province in October 1992. In that village the boys between the age of six and ten years model miniature utensils with clay they find on a hillside (fig. 194).



To stick together some pieces of clay, the clay is moistened with saliva if necessary. Figure 195 (p. 176) presents a three-legged table with on top a tajine and its lid. Next to it stands a glass and in front there is a ladle. In front of the table lies a plate used to serve couscous and a teapot. The diameter of the table is about 20 cm and the height of the teapot 19 cm. These toy utensils have been modeled at the same time as a mule driver

and his mule (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal in play, games and toys*, 2005: 93, fig. 50).



On the southern slope of the Haut Atlas I have seen in the old *ighrem* or fortified quarter of Taourirt in the city of Ouarzazate how a little girl and boy were cleaning their toy utensils, such as two empty sardine tins, at the public tap. This happened in November 1996 but a woman living nearby quite quickly interrupted their cleaning job.

At some eight kilometers from Ouarzazate lies the restored *ighrem* of Tiffoultoute. At the foot of its walls I found a pretend house in November 1996. It contained a large Tide box serving as table, sardines tins as plates and herbs as food.

On the road from Ouarzazate to Errachidia one comes upon the small town of Goulmima (fig. 196, p. 177). There some adolescents showed me in September 1994 how they modeled toys during the game *anhader swalut*, playing with clay.

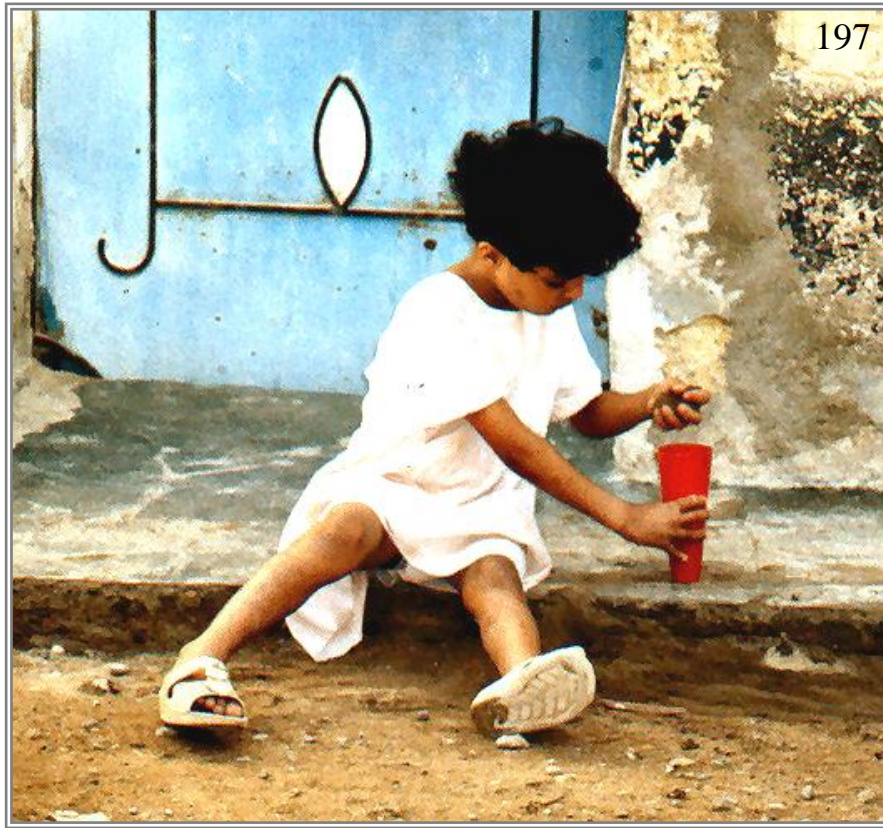


These toys were not only some animals but also utensils in miniature, such as a cup (*tiberna*), a tajine with its lid (*terughut*) and a mortar (*taferdut*).

The description of this playing with clay is given in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* (2005: 111). These adolescents nevertheless underlined that it is more often the girls than the boys who model toy utensils. The girls use these clay utensils in a pretend house delimited by stones and in which they sometimes make fire. This way they imitate the household tasks their mothers perform.

In the *ighrem* or old fortified quarter of the same town, I observed how three little girls were modeling with mud some objects resembling utensils in front of their house in December 1996.

After a rain shower and in front of her house door in the popular quarter of Aït Mansour in Midelt, Sarah, a little five-year-old girl, plays with wet sand and a plastic kitchen utensil in September 1999 (fig. 197, p. 178). When asked what she is doing, she says that she is making biscuits just as her mother does.



At the foot of the Jbel Ayachi in the village Ksar Assaka at 4 km from Midelt and at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, dinner party play, called *tismerit*, is played in a pretend house delimited with stones (fig. 49, p. 88). They are the same girls' playgroups that enjoy playing at the wedding of their dolls (*Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play*, 2005: 124-136). For their dinner party play the girls of the playgroup of Souad Laabib modeled with clay found near their parental home several utensils, such as a tajine, a cooker with two handles and a lid, a portable stove and a ladle. The food consists of herbs. Sometimes the girls bring along tomatoes to be eaten with salt. From time to time they could take a few pieces of sugar but when their mother notices it they are rebuked. Once the delicious dishes are ready, the girls organize a feast dinner. According to Souad, born in 1968, dinner party play of the six to ten-year-old girls was clearly distinct from the doll play during which a simple dinner takes place. Preparing brochettes is also imitated. To do so, pieces of orange skin should be pushed over a spit of a fine reed. Then the brochettes are kept above an imaginary fire and after a while the pieces of orange skin are eaten. When the children receive an orange, they like to put the pieces of its skin on a

real spit and keep it over a fire but in that case the pieces of orange skin are not eaten. During the fig season, figs are put on a herb stem to make a string and they are eaten during dinner party.

At that time as well as about the year 2000, little boys may participate in this dinner party. Ali, a ten-year-old boy in September 1999, explained to me that together with a girls' playgroup and when he was five or six-years-old, he modeled clay utensils such as the mortar and its pestle, the tajine with its lid, the portable stove, the kettle, the bottle and the drinking glass.

A specific way to obtain delicatessen, as imaginary as rare, proves the children's inventiveness. The girls of the same village had the habit of offering one another chocolate. After a heavy rain shower the earth's surface cracks when drying in the sun. The little girls as well as the older ones then take pieces of earth that at once become pieces of chocolate.

Halfway between Ksar Assaka and Midelt lays the village Taäkit. There I saw in May 2000 on an open stretch of rocky land several temporarily vacant pretend houses lying a few meters the one from the other and containing all the material used to play dinner party or household. This plot is well suited for these games as even if the girls are out of the direct observation of the adults they still remain under their control. Moreover, the girls find there all that they need: stones, cardboard and tin boxes, stoppers, flasks, plastic bottles and cans, pieces of pottery and glass, old brushes, pieces of wood and reed, etc.

In the Haut Atlas region of Amellago girls also play dinner party and therefore they use a lot of toy utensils. At Imîder, a little village near Amellago, I found in October 1999 one of the most elaborated pretend houses I have seen until now. It consists of a large house, a middle house and a pretend house with a provision room as shown on the design of figure 100 (p. 119). This house is delimited by stones and used for playing dinner party and household by a group of three girls and two boys six to eight-year-old. In the provision room, *el ghezîn*, the upper room in the little house at the extreme left, I found in an old 20 liter water carrier, hidden under its lid, a whole series of miniaturized clay utensils modeled by the girls and the boys. These copies of household utensils, willingly handed over to me by these children, are shown at figure 198 (p. 180).



From left to right, the copies represent a three-legged table (*tabla*, H = 4 cm, D = 9 cm) on which lies a plate in esparto grass to serve bread (*tiswit*, H = 2 cm, L = 7.5 cm, B = 4.5 cm) with bread on it (D = 3 cm, T = 1 cm), another small three-legged table, a pottery plate used to light fire (*elmsi*, H = 2 cm, D = 9 cm) containing three stones to support a cooker with its lid (*teruhût*, H = 5 cm, D = 7.5 cm), an iron plate with handles (*tumlilt*, H = 1 cm, D = 4.5 cm), and a cooker with ladle (*technjawt*, L = 5 cm, B = 2 cm).

Among the toy utensils made by these children there also is a copy of a tajine and its lid (H = 3.5 cm, D = 5.5 cm) containing little pieces of a grilled maize ear, and of a large plate (*tebsîl*). The middle house, *taddert tènèmèst*, contains in its lower left corner a plastic pot with bones representing meat according to the players. Near it lies a large stone to crush almonds. In the upper right corner of the large house there is a cooker with its lid (D = 8 cm) and in the lower left corner a large stone serving as table.

The girls from Douar Ouaraben make a whole series of toy utensils for their dinner and household play like those made in July 2006. They model these toys with clay then put them in an oven the girls build for this purpose (fig. 199, p. 181).



The above figure shows the great diversity of utensils and other objects for household play modelled by four girls between five and ten-years-old. These toys are a coffee pot, a handmill, tajines, plates, receptacles, cups, a mortar with a pestle, a spoon, a basket for cakes and below on the photograph four big loaves of bread. The same girls also create date palms (fig. 200).



Often people drink buttermilk while eating couscous. In villages this buttermilk is sometimes made in the old fashion. For her game a girl of the village Terloulou made a miniaturized copy of the *tagshult* in May 2006 (fig. 201).



The girl takes both threads at the back of the bottle in her hands and so she balances it forwards and backwards as the women do. She has put some sand and small stones in the bottle. After balancing the bottle for some time the girl takes out some sand and adds a few small stones representing the first stage of making butter. This process is continued several times till finally the buttermilk is separated from the butter.

During the 1980s and still today the girls of the village Ikenwèn in the Tiznit region wholeheartedly play dinner parties. A group of girls, possibly up to thirty, play together. For this play they outline pretend houses with stones and model different kinds of utensils with clay. Khalija Jariaa remade the examples of such utensils of in September 2005.



The photo above shows at the left a portable stove, *facher*, with a tajine on top (stove: H = 4.5 cm, D = 5.5 cm; tajine: H = 4.5 cm, D = 5 cm) and at right a small portable stove with on top a water cooker, *l mokraj* (stove: H = 3 cm, D = 3.5 cm; water cooker: H = 4.5 cm, D = 3 cm). On the photo beneath one sees from left to right a bread basket, *arbaèy* (H = 2 cm, D = 7.5 cm); a tajine (H = 4.5 cm, D = 5 cm) and two loaves (D+ = 4 cm) on a table, *l marfa* (H = 3 cm, D = 10.5 cm), a tea set, *tabla wa tèy* (total H = 4 cm, D+ = 8 cm), and a plate with cakes, *tabsil l gato* (plate: H = 2.5 cm, D = 8 cm; cakes: D+ = 1.5 cm).



Around this preparation of food a whole make-believe play activity is created to which some boys are associated. This takes place in the common area near the mosque. The girls prepare the food not for themselves but for

the *fqih*, a person responsible for religious matters, and for the herdsman. Both these figures are played by a boy. There are also the students of the *fqih*, some more boys.

The girl in charge of preparing the food sends her 'son' to buy meat in the nearby village. The boy starts walking and after going some distance returns with meat in a plastic bag. Dung-beetles whose legs are pulled out serve as meat in the *tajine* modeled with clay. The cook adds spices and vegetables prepared by other girls: herbs and plants collected on the spot. Snail shells serve as eggs for the *tajine*.

When the food is read the cook brings it to the *fqih*. She tells him: "Oh *fqih* here is your lunch". The *fqih* pretends to eat, then gives what is left over to his pupils. Soon it is the turn of *amksa*, the herdsman. He receives a dinner because he is away the whole day with the herd. Next to the *tajine* he receives what is needed to make tea the next morning: grains of earth that are found around an ants nest is the tea and stones wrapped up in white paper are pieces of sugar.

Khalija Jariaa said in September 2005 that the finest toy utensils and toys for household play are made with argan paste as one can finely model such toys with this material that is better than mud or clay. These toys must be dried out of the sun.



To show me these toys Khalija remade them on a smaller scale; but when she played with such toys in the 1980s they were about three times larger (fig. 204, p. 184, H+ = 6 cm, L+ = 13 cm, D+ = 8 cm). The roof of the three-dimensional house is removable. When playing with the normal sized house the girls put female dolls on the roof who were supposed to be looking at the male dolls performing the local dance *ahwash* during a pretend wedding. On the left in the photograph there is a small bread oven and an oven with a water cooker on top. Below one sees a portable stove and a tajine and to the right a tool for carding wool. Then above there is a receptacle for argan oil and at the top a mill for crushing argan nuts. This mill is decorated with nail varnish but normally red paint was used. In the center of the photograph stands a tea set.

In the village Idoubahman-Imjâd really small girls already play at dinner in August 2006 (fig. 205). The two girls on the photograph are about two and a half-year-old. They make a meal with some pieces of vegetables and bread they keep in a plastic bag. The pottery used as tajine was made for them by their grandfather who is a potter. The five-year-old boy who was making a little bicycle with iron wire eats the piece of bread he just received.



Before I settled in Sidi Ifni in 2002 Boubaker Daoumani already collected toys from his pupils of the Lahfart mountain village primary school to put them in a small exhibition room. When talking about my donation of Moroccan toys to the Musée du Jouet of Moirans-en-Montagne in France, he proposed to integrate the toys he collected about 2001. Several utensils modeled with rough clay are found among these toys. The children use some of these for their games of preparing dinner, for example the mortar with pestle (fig. 206, H = 4 cm, D = 7.5 cm; pestle: L = 8.5 cm), the water jars (fig. 207, H+ = 5 cm, D+ = 4 cm), the cookers and tajines (fig. 208, H+ = 6 cm, D+ = 5 cm), and the spoons (fig. 209, LO+ = 11 cm, LA+ = 3 cm).



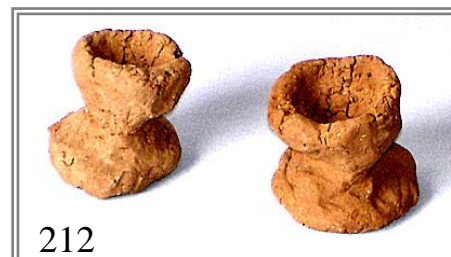
Other clay utensils and some clay furniture are used for playing at having dinner. Among the toys made by the pupils of the first and second year of the Lahfart primary school about 2001 I found an example of tables (fig. 210, H+ = 5 cm, D+ = 11 cm), stools (fig. 211, H+ = 6.5 cm, LO+ = 5.5 cm, LA = 5.5 cm), goblets (fig. 212, H+ = 3.5 cm, D+ = 3.5 cm), plates with cake, (fig. 213, H+ = 2 cm, D+ = 4.5 cm), plates with loaf rolls (fig. 214, H+ = 2 cm, D+ = 6 cm) and a loaf basket (fig. 215, H+ = 6 cm, D+ = 6.5 cm).



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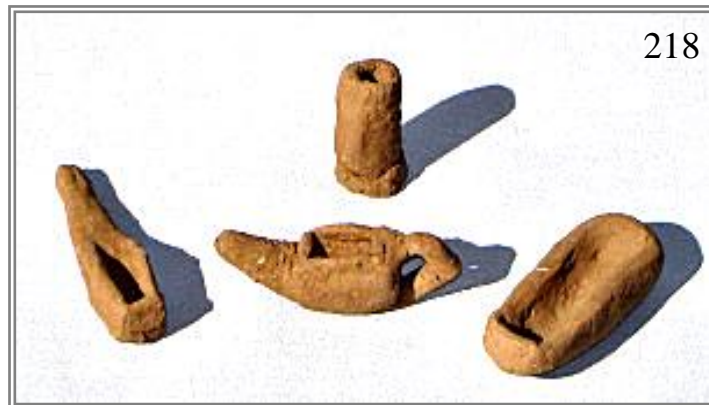


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These children also made tea sets. The one of figure 216 contains next to the teapot a sugar pot, three cups and a spoon (H+ = 4 cm, D+ = 3.5 cm). The teapot of the second set is interesting because of its reversed spout (fig. 217, H+ = 4 cm, D+ = 3 cm).

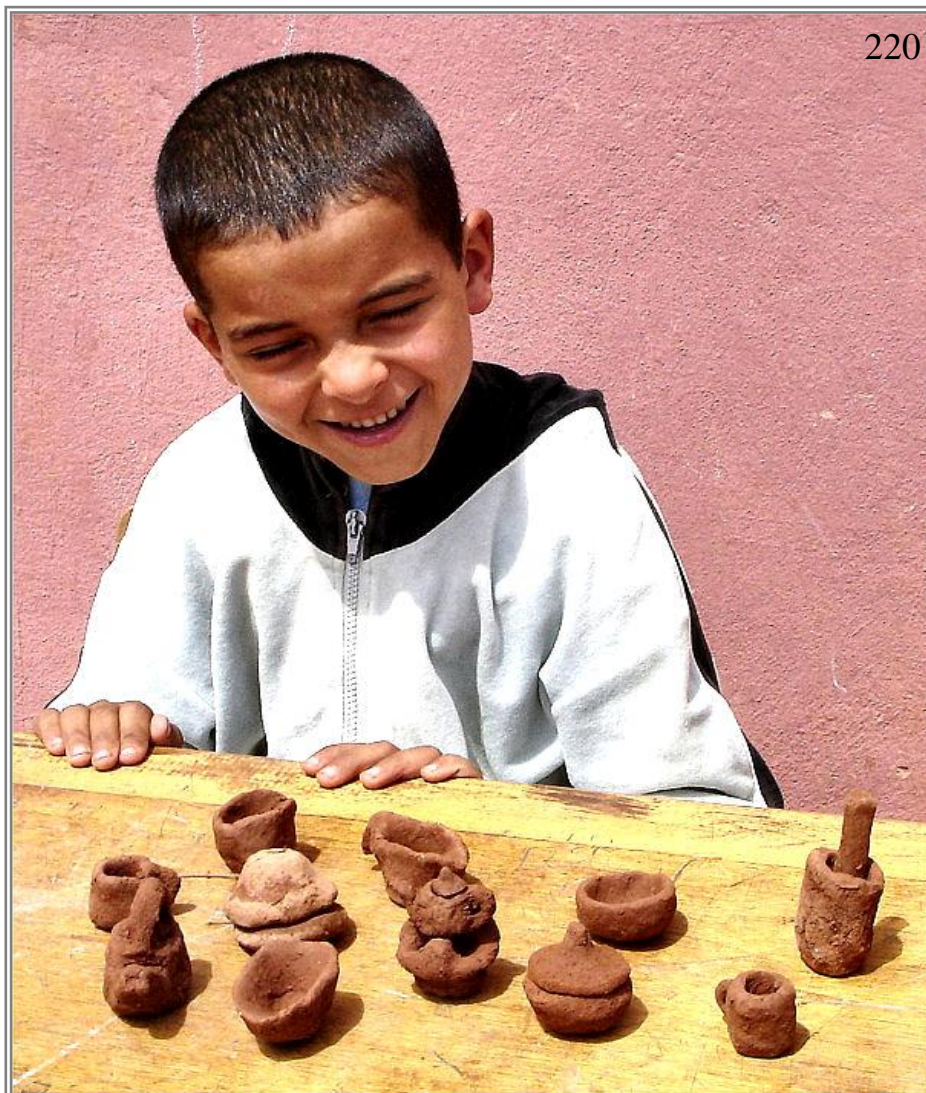


A different style of modeling clay utensils is shown in a last set made by a pupil from Lahfart primary school about 2001 containing a teapot, a mortar, a spoon and a drinking trough (fig. 218, H+ = 2.5 cm, LO+ = 6 cm). The child's modeling has produced really miniaturized utensils with a smooth surface.



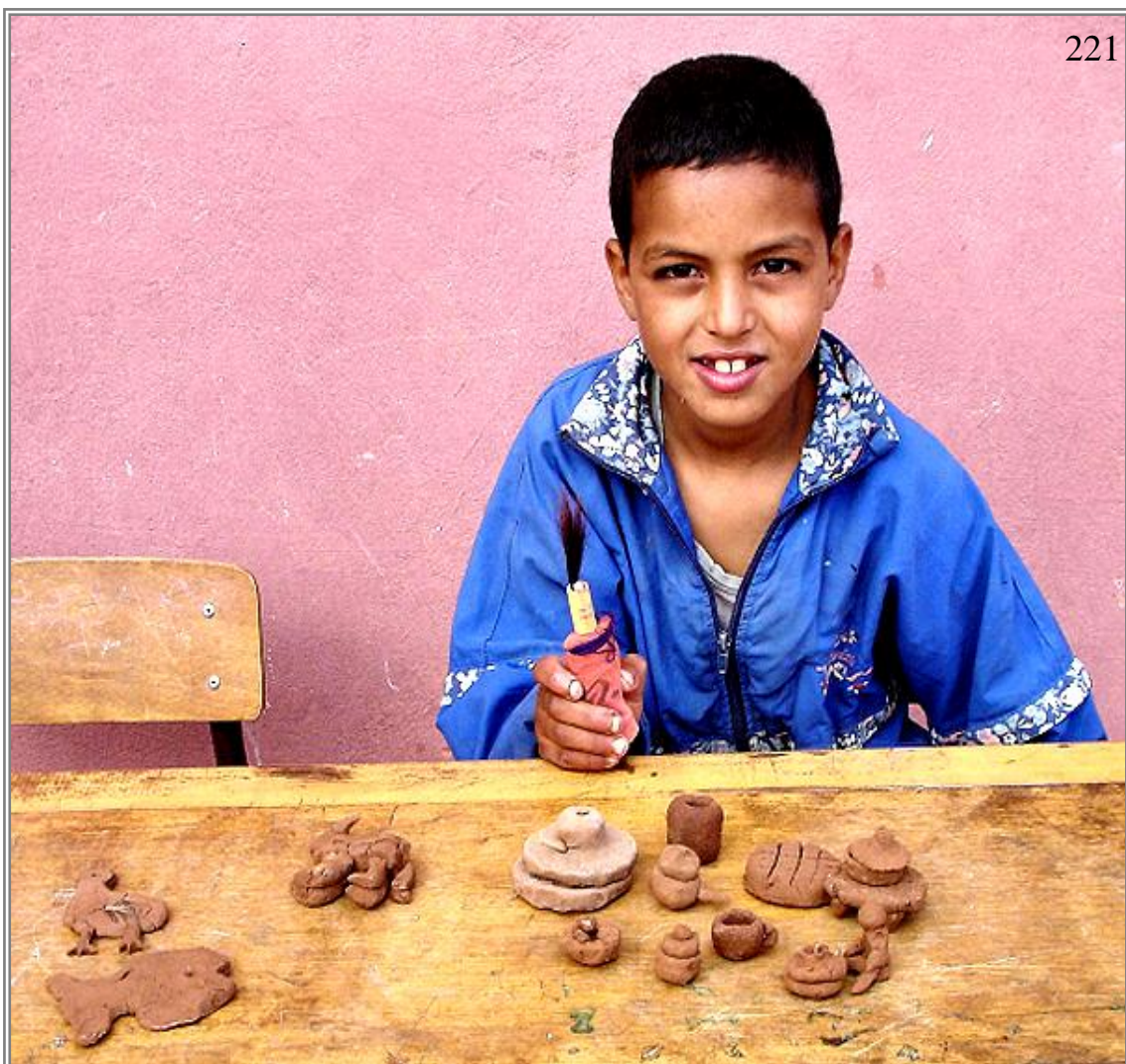
When children from the first and second class of the Lahfart primary school were asked to make toys in May 2005 it was especially the boys who modeled toys with rough clay. These toys are dried out of the sun. Six boys modeled a series of toy utensils and what is needed to make bread. Mohamed, Youssef and Yasin, three six-year-old boys, and seven-year-old Brahim made them (fig. 219, p. 189). From left to right one sees a hand mill, a tajine, a hand mill, two bowls, an oven to bake one or two loaves, a

hand mill, a plate put on a three legged table, two plates for bread, a hand mill, a small portable stove, a big oven for baking about 30 loaves and a shovel to put the loaves in it (H+ = 8 cm, D+ = 9 cm).



Saïd, a seven-year-old boy, modeled the following series of utensils: a water cooker, a teapot on a portable stove, a milk jug with a handle and a spout, two cups, three bowls, a tajine and a mortar. There also is a hand mill (fig. 220, p. 189, H+ = 7 cm, D+ = 6 cm).

Nine-year-old Ali shows the toys he created with clay (fig. 221). The toys he modeled are a table, two tajines, three bowls, a teapot, a big loaf and two hand mills (H+ = 5 cm, D+ = 7 cm). Before one of the hand mills he put a woman (H+ = 3.5 cm, LO = 3 cm). There also is a fish, a chicken, a goat (H+ = 8 cm, LO+ = 9 cm) and a doll made with a frame of reed (H = 14 cm).



The following toy made by Hafid, a seven-year-old pupil, represents the pottery utensil used to churn buttermilk (fig. 222, H = 4 cm, LO = 6.5 cm).



The two girls who modeled toys with clay are six-year-old Aïcha and seven-year-old Mina. Aïcha made a tajine and eight bowls for oil, jam and honey (fig. 223, H+ = 3.5 cm, D+ = 3.5 cm).



Mina modeled a teapot, two cups and two bolls, a tajine and a cooker with its cover (fig. 224, H+ = 4 cm, D+ = 3.5 cm).



In 2004, a few girls made with clay toy utensils such as the tajine, the three-legged water jar and the cooking pot with its lid. One of them also made a three-legged table (fig. 225, H+ = 7 cm, D+ = 8 cm).



At the foot of the Anti-Atlas Mountains lies the small coastal town Sidi Ifni. In the up hill Boulalem quarter, Zahira, a seven-year-old girl, and another five-year-old girl amuse themselves by preparing couscous as part of their dinner and household play one day in April 2005 (fig. 226). Fine sand found near their homes replaces the couscous and the couscous steamer is an empty small yoghurt pot. Before filling their couscous pot they mould the sand with their hands just as their mother does when making couscous, a handling that should take place three times during the steaming process. As the game started in the evening, Zahira decides to continue the next day.



Next morning Zahira, continues alone her dinner play. After she putted the toy utensils in place she prepares *el harira*, the Moroccan soup, arguing that she does so because it is rather chilly that day. In figure 227 (p. 194) Zahira carries her plate of soup. Meanwhile two neighborhood girls have joined her game. Two boys of the same age come along with their small bicycle and try to join the game.



Zahira engages in a discussion with one of the two boys who disturb the game and soon both boys leave the scene (fig. 228).



In April 2006 on the open space before my home in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni a boy is making a mask and a gun for playing *Filistîn* or Palestine war (fig. 229). A six-year-old girl arrives and says: "when your work is finished come to my restaurant and I shall serve you some *el harira* soup. Nearby the girl then starts to filter sand using a sardine tin with a bottom like a sieve (fig. 230).



Once she has enough soup she pours it into the bottle stoppers and brings the cups of soup to the boy and his playmates (fig. 231, p. 196). Somewhat later, at nightfall, the girl pretends to make dinner for the same boys.



A few times I have mentioned Moroccan boys making toy utensils but I have little information on such boys pretending to make dinner. This is what happened in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni at the end of August 2005 when three young boys prepared food with herbs and sand (fig. 232). However, this food making was not part of some dinner play. The boy with the white T-shirt is the boss of the road workers (fig. 233, p. 197) and he said they should take a break and eat, as it is midday already.





In his book *Quelques manifestations de l'esprit populaire dans les juiveries du sud-marocain (Marrakech-Casablanca 1948-1958)*, Pierre Flamand describes in detail dinner party play related to the Jewish Easter feast. He writes that the children play dinner party all over the world. For the Jewish girls this game is the second in importance after their doll play. However, some boys also like to join in. This game gains great prestige because of its relation to Easter and its close correspondence to an Islamic custom during which the children join to prepare couscous in little earthen cookers at the occasion of the °Aïd el kebir feast (the sacrifice of sheep in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice). The children's Easter dinner party is prepared a long time in advance. The gifts of money, exceptionally received by the Jewish children for Pourim, are used to buy the material. Until 1945, the artisans made the specific pottery, such as miniaturized cookers and receptacles that progressively have been replaced by toy kitchens in aluminum or tin. The pottery is only bought by rural children and poor urban children, the last ones being more interested in buying the locally made copies of the modern material made by the artisans out of material from old tin cans. The youth from Safi, the Jewish as well as the Muslim children, stick to the local pottery of the Safi potters. 25 % of the Jewish schoolchildren from this coastal Moroccan town saw the making of this toy pottery as their preferred occupation. They prepared the clay powder they received for free from the potters who even agreed to fire this toy pottery made by the children themselves. The last day of the Easter festivities the girls come together. Each one has asked for some food. The

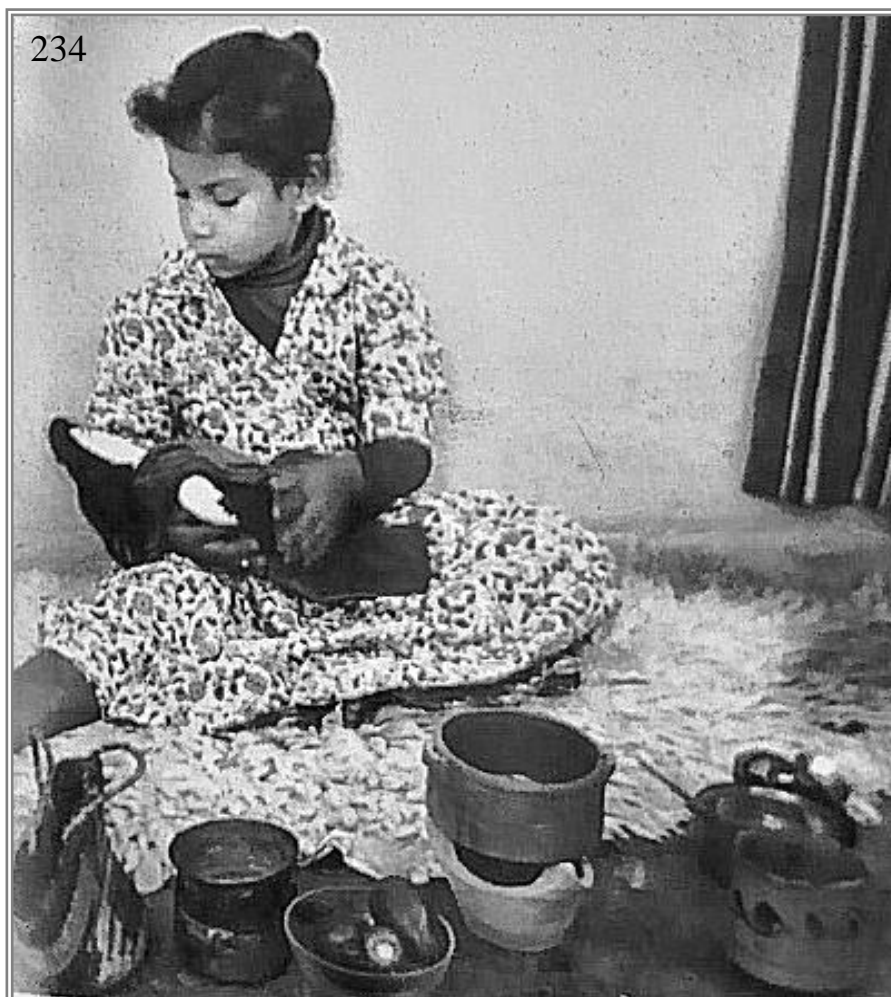
rich girls stay together and have at their disposal meat, oil, flour, eggs and sugar. The menu is seriously discussed by the girls after which the tasks are divided: "I peel the vegetables, I shall wash them, I am doing the cooking, my sister will wash the dishes, clean the floor, my other sister will arrange the table". Problems arise because of the variety of the supplies: "Mimy has brought meat, I shall ask my mother how to make meatballs, Rachel cleans the meat and I shall light fire in the miniature stoves". Finally the girls sit down in a circle with their legs crossed. A brother says the 'kidouch' or benediction and all taste the blessed wine. Sometimes the food is overcooked (mlisda), another time it is only half cooked (mgezma), often our food looks awful; however this does not prevent the girls from calling them delicious (note 42: extracts from the school tasks made by Janine and Jacqueline Ohayon and Mimy Oussadam of the Ecole de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle d'Imint-Anout (Imi-n-Tanoute), Suzanne Mahemany and Fiby Aflalo of the A.I.U. J. Bigart school in Marrakech). The girls try to continue this game after Easter but only the days without school are convenient. Moreover, on Saturdays they can only imitate the Sabbath. Finally the provisions become rare because of the scarcity of family supplies after the Easter festivities. Therefore the girls' enthusiasm for playing dinner party does not last much longer than Easter itself. The adults and especially the mothers like these play activities as the girls prepare for their future household tasks and at the same time tradition is continued by some charming children's practices. Each time new utensils are used, yet the general poverty is shown by the fact that the invited outsiders should pay something (p. 183-184).

This author also mentions the making of juice by the girls as well as the boys. The 'limone' is obtained by putting 'habsouss', a sweet vegetal, in slightly sweeten water colored with 'ellouana', a powder available in different colors specially made for this case. The mixture is made by tasting and there are no fixed proportions. After shaking it vigorously, the juice is put into some receptacles like old Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola and other bottles. In most families this juice is made for the Chabouoth feast. In the well-to-do families the children receive the necessary material to make it themselves. The children view it's making as a playful activity. To the pleasure of making and tasting this juice the clever ones add also their profit as they sell part of their production to their friends or exchange it with them (p. 209).

One should note that the doll play, especially when a wedding is acted out, often contains a dinner party. A description of the games representing the wedding of a bride doll is given in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play*.

The collection of the Musée du Quai Branly contains several toy utensils in clay most often glazed, made by Tunisian male and female artisans, and used by Muslim as well as Jewish children. These toys collected in 1933 (71.1933.77.150.1-3, 71.1933.77.160) and in 1934 (71.1934.23.1-4) represent the portable stove, the couscous pot, the cooker, the plate and the cup (see catalogue p. 426). Aimé Dupuy mentions the same toy utensils adding to them copies of the earthenware water jug, all modeled in Nabeul as well as in Guelalla on the Island of Djerba (1933: 317).

During a trip to Tunisia in 1987, I saw in the Museum of Sousse this photo showing a young girl sitting in a room in an urban setting (fig. 234). Her doll is visibly made locally, probably by the girl herself. At that moment the photograph looked already old. A series of clay and tin toy utensils are put in place before the girl. At the extreme left there also is a bag. This scene makes one think of doll play combined with dinner play often enjoyed by North African girls.



During the same trip I bought in a shop of the town Nabeul a small glazed coffee set with a coffeepot, a sugar bowl, a milk jug, six cups and under-plates having a blue geometric or floral decoration on a white background (fig. 235, H+ = 6.5 cm, D+ = 6 cm). I also bought the same coffee set of unglazed fired clay (H+ = 6 cm, D+ = 5 cm).



A first example of a toy pipe modeled in clay has been mentioned for the Tuareg children (fig. 165, p. 160). A second kind of toy pipe is made in the small town Imzouren in the Moroccan oriental Rif made by putting one acorn cup into the other. A last example comes from the village Ikenwèn in the Tiznit region. It has been made in June 2006 by a nine-year-old boy who put a lost head of a pipe on a reed (fig. 236).



3 Household tasks in play, games and toys

3.1 Summary

The oldest reference in relation to household tasks in play, games and toys dates back to 1889 and the youngest one refers to 2006. The information speaks of the playful acting out of household tasks by children from the Tuareg, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Mozabites, the North Western Sahara, the Teda, the Chaouïa, the Belbala and Morocco.

Under this heading the children's interpretation of different household tasks and the utensils used for them is described. These household tasks are collecting firewood, fetching water, molding corn, baking bread, preparing oil, washing linen, spinning, weaving, and also dressing up. The toy utensils made by the children themselves, especially with clay, gypsum or mud, by adults or by the toy industry represent different kinds of water receptacles and wells, ovens, washing boards, mills, spindles, looms and make-up material.

Representing all kinds of household occupations in their games certainly belongs more to the play world of the girls. Yet, boys also play such games and/or make the necessary utensils. Boys seem to be especially interested in games for which wells, hand mills and ovens must be made.

3.2 Collecting firewood

The children may enact this occupation, a daily duty in rural areas. However, I have only seen this once as a playful activity and it has not been mentioned in the consulted bibliography. This unique observation happened in the oasis of El Faouar in the Tunisian Sahara when a three-year-old Ghrib boy tried to move a load of branches he picked up near his home in October 1975 (fig. 237, p. 201).



During a research visit to Zaïda, an Amazigh village along the road from Meknès to Midelt and at 30 km before this last town, I observed in September 1999 three girls of six or seven years and a six-year-old boy pulling out with a pickaxe some bushes used to bake bread (fig. 238). This looks like an amusing duty but it is certainly not a game of imitation.



3.3 Fetching water

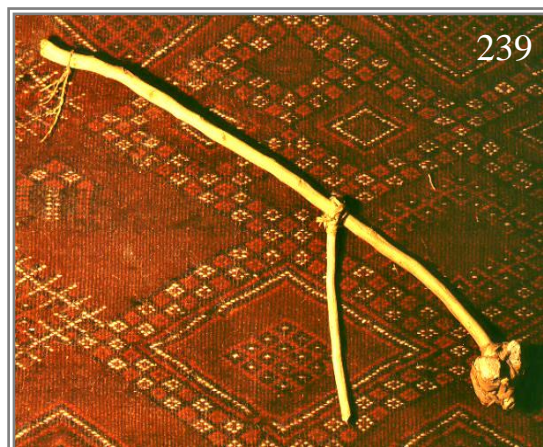
In contrast to the unique example of the game of imitating the collecting of firewood, there exist several small objects linked to the important task of fetching water. These toys represent wells, jars, a receptacle for water and a tripod for a water skin.

Children from several Saharan regions create imitations of wells. Dominique Champault writes that the Belbala boys make a well and a drinking trough when creating pretend houses for their play activities (see p. 113-114). She also collected in June 1951 a miniaturized pulley well consisting of a piece of pottery worked out as a perforated disk placed on a little branch, serving as crossbar, lying horizontally on two vertical mortise supports. The supports are 12 cm high and the diameter of the disk is 4 cm. This pulley well is a necessary part of the game with a pretend house called 'ga negneyu' (index card, D. Champault, 71.1952.27.44).

Toy wells were also used in the household or breeding play of the Tuareg children as shown by the miniature well collected by the Mission René Pottier among the Tuareg Kel Djanet of the Tuareg Kel Ajjer from Ghât in the Libyan Sahara in 1934 (71.1937.21.112, H = 80 cm). This toy resembles the Teda toy well described hereafter.

Among the toy utensils made by the black female servants of the Moors from Oualata there are some receptacles for water (p. 161). Charles Béart mentions eleven short songs the girls of the Moors sing when imitating the task of fetching water (1955: 146-148).

In 1934 the Le Cœur Mission brought back from the Teda of Tibesti in the Chadian Sahara a little toy well with a balancing pole or lever made by a child and to be used in its play (fig. 239, 71.1935.50.183). This toy consists of two wooden supports, of about 30 cm in height, ending in two closed forks through whose holes a transversal stick serving as crossbar (L = 27 cm) is put to bear the lever (L = 46 cm). To the end of this lever's longer arm a rope for a vessel has been fixed and at the end of the



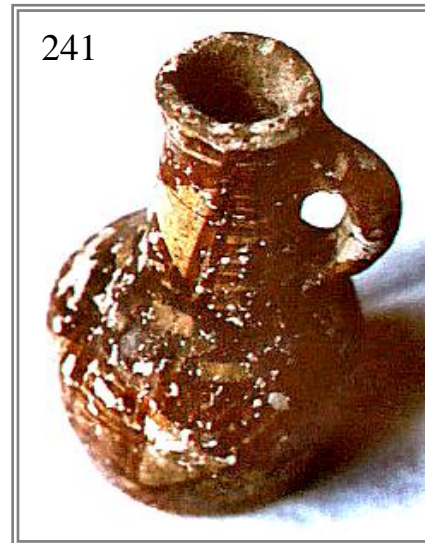
shorter arm hangs a stone as weight. The different parts are fixed with straps of palm, leather and rags.

Corneille Jest gave to the Musée de l'Homme a little well from Tindouf in the Saoura Valley (Northwestern Sahara), but this seems to have been lost (71.1962.51.4). However, the Photothèque possesses a photograph from Corneille Jest showing how children from the Saoura Valley made near an irrigated palm tree an imitation of a well in the wet sand in 1960 (fig. 240).



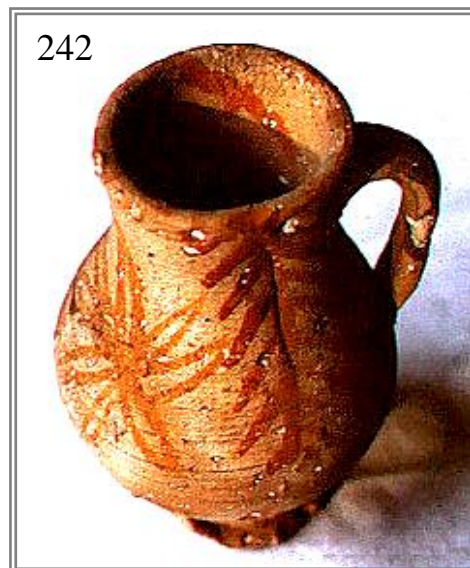
In the 1920s, the children of the Mozabites made little wells resembling the typical wells of the region. Therefore they made a quite deep hole to be able to pour water in it and then a high coping of earth. On top of the earthen supports there is a pulley cut out in a plank with a knife and fixed with a string to a little 'delû' or vessel in leather. With this device some water is drawn to water a few mint plants in the garden (Goichon, 1927: 58).

The oldest toy utensil of the analyzed collection also refers to the activity of fetching water. It is a small glazed jug given to the Musée de l'Homme by the Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie in 1889 (fig. 241, 71.1889.120.66, H = 11 cm). This jug is made of fired clay and has a reddish decoration on a white background. The origin of this toy jug has not been revealed but it could come from Kabylie.



This museum also possesses a tripod for a water skin made by a Chaouïa child of the Algerian Aurès in 1936. It is made with three sticks of the oleander tree 23 cm long bound together at the top with a red rag (71.1936.2.273).

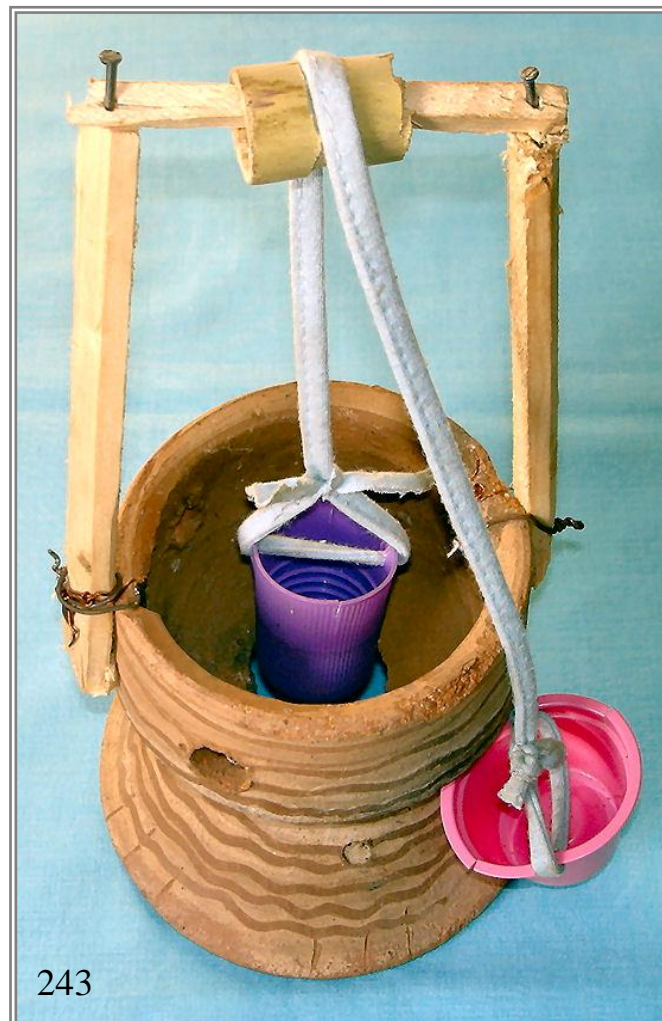
Another toy jug of fired clay has a handle and a decoration in the shape of a fishbone and a flower. Mister Herber collected it from Amazigh children in the village Achouia, Souk Taza in Northern Morocco and he gave it to the Musée de l'Homme in 1933 (fig. 242, 71.1933.74.1, H = 13 cm).



One of the toys that children from the Aït Ouirra from the El Ksiba region in the Moroccan Moyen Atlas receive for the °Ashûra feast is the earthenware water jug called 'tikallaline' (Oubahammou, 1987: 85).

In another Moroccan village the girls play at doing farm work. This is the case in Ifrane a/s situated at about 25 km from Bouizakarne on the road from Tiznit to Guelmim. For this game they have cows represented by dry palm branches for the big cows and green branches for the calves. The goats and sheep are pieces of a palm branch. The farm is outlined with stones. To water the animals, one of the girls pretends to take water from a well near the farm. The model of a well shown at figure 243 (p. 206) was made in August 2006 by Khadija an eighteen-year-old bride. When there

are no small plastic recipients small tin cans are used. The well is filled with sand serving as water.

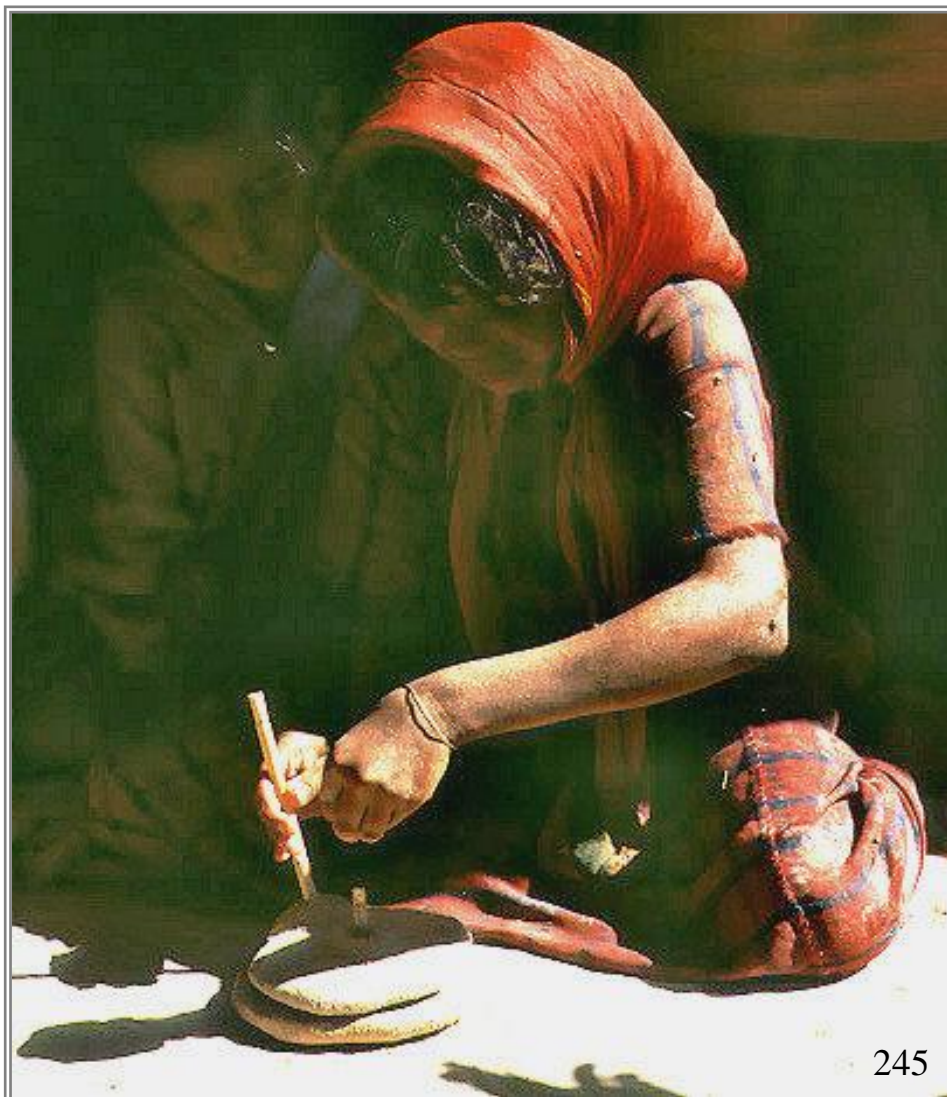
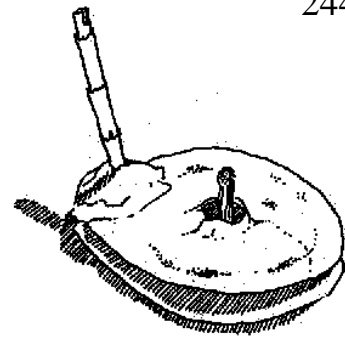


3.4 Grinding corn

Several miniature hand mills, found among Ghrib children from the Tunisian Sahara, Teda children from the Chadian Sahara and Moroccan Amazigh children, indicate that the game of grinding corn must be quite common. This is especially a girl's game but possibly little boys can play it also.

In the 1970s, Ghrib girls exercised themselves by playing at grinding corn using a hand mill called *rh'aia*, the diminutive of *rh'â* the hand mill used by women. Girls from the age of about ten make copies of this hand mill with gypsum (fig. 244). To make a little hand mill a girl, or possibly her mother or older sister acts as follows: two disks of about fifteen centimeters are modeled with gypsum and in the disk serving as base a stick is fixed in its center. Near the border of the other disk a stick somewhat longer than the breadth of a hand is fixed and in the center of this disk a hole is made. Both disks are then sprinkled with powder sand and dried. When the disk is hard the girl can use her hand mill by putting the disk with a hole over the disk with a stick in its center. Sand serves as corn but occasionally corn grains are used (fig. 245).

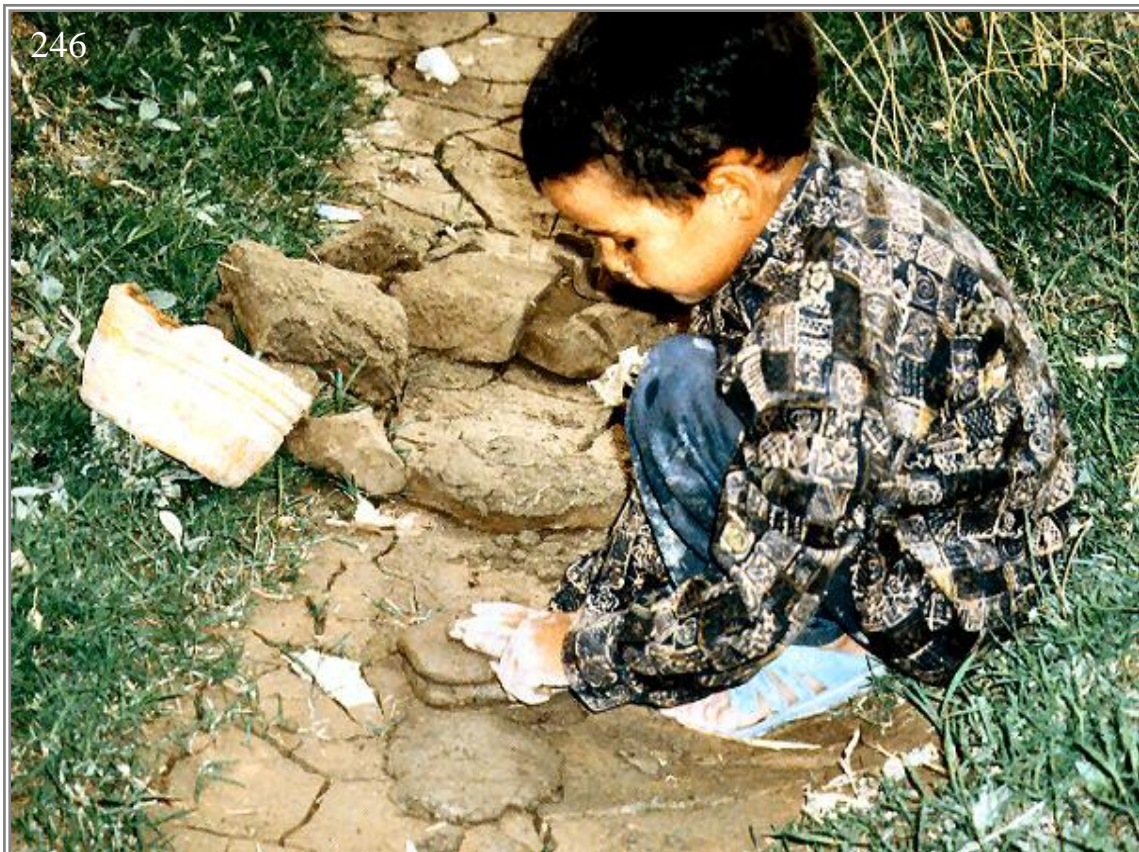
244



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The game of grinding corn of the Teda children consists in crushing sand grains on a flat stone (Béart, 1955: 129).

In the Haut Atlas Amazigh village Amellago, Hakim, a three-year-old boy models a hand mill with mud (fig. 246), taken from the little irrigation canal where he is playing.



This mill called *tigrit*, has two pieces, a first disk with a stick in its center and a second one with a hole in its center and a stick near its border. By assembling both disks Hakim can start to produce his imaginary flour.

During the 1940s in the Moyen Atlas region, in the village Arhbalou-n-Serdane on the road from Khénifra to Boumia, the girls between four and eleven years modeled a hand mill or *takrût* used for dinner party during the game of celebrating the wedding of their bride doll (*Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's Dolls and Doll Play*, 2005: 121).

Among the Aït Ouirra of the El Ksiba region in the same Moyen Atlas little girls learn through their sand games how to make small hand mills to grind corn (Oubahammou, 1987: 51).

The adolescents of the small town Goulmima, situated at 40 km from Errachidia on the road to Ouarzazate also made a miniature hand mill with clay during their game *anhader swalut* in 1994. They told me that girls make these toy hand mills but rarely also some boys. A description of this game with clay is given in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* (2005: 112).

That boys make toy hand mills is once more attested by what I observed in the Amazigh village Aït Ighemour at the foot of the Jbel Siroua in the Haut Atlas in October 1994. A boy made a nice copy of a hand mill (fig. 247, H = 9 cm, D = 11 cm). This hand-mill goes together with the toy utensils of figure 195 (p. 176).



In 2001 Boubaker Daoumani received a large number of clay toys from his pupils of the Lahfart mountain village primary school in the Sidi Ifni region. Among these toys there are not less than 22 hand-mills (fig. 248-249, H+ = 8 cm, D+ = 11 cm).



The diversity in the shape and design of these hand-mills is quite remarkable. As seen on the hand-mill in the center the children may use real grains to imitate the grinding of corn (fig. 249, p. 210).



As mentioned in the chapter Dinner party play and toy utensils Boubaker Daoumani collected from his pupils a second series of toys in May 2005. Among the toys made with clay there is a remarkable one I never saw before. It is a woman sitting before a hand-mill to grind corn (fig. 250). The fact that Ali, a nine-year-old boy, modeled this toy makes it all the more exceptional. At that time other pupils from the first and second class modeled toys with clay. Among them there were six boys and two girls. All the boys made a hand-mill but only one of the girls (see fig. 219-224, p. 189-192).



Visiting the village Igîsel at about 3 km from the hot water spring Abaynou near Guelmim in the Pre-Sahara in September 2005, nine-year-old Sarah showed me the toys she makes with clay for her dinner and household play (fig. 251, p. 211). Among these toys there are two hand-mills for grinding corn and one for making argan oil. The fireplace on the left is an exact copy of the real fireplace as seen to the left of figure 257 (p. 215).



3.5 Making bread

Dominique Champault writes that the Belbala girls construct ovens and make loaves (1969: 348-349). Pieces of an ostrich egg's shell are used to make loaves. A piece of the shell is put on a pebble with the convex side down, then its edge is crushed by hitting it with a pointed stone. After each hit the child checks it with her thumb. The straightening of the edges is done with a flat stone. When the children go to the pastureland at the foot of a sand dune in the Naba region, the loaves will just be perfectly spherical balls of wet sand. One of the little holes carved in the soft rock to create a pretend house represents the oven for baking bread.

The Aït Ouirra girls of the Moyen Atlas construct some ovens and make bread during their games with sand (Oubahammou, 1987: 51, 127).

The large pretend house made by three girls and two boys of six or seven years in the Amazigh village Imîder in the Haut Atlas in September 1999 (fig. 100, p. 119), contains a middle house with a side room having an oven consisting of a large tomato tin on which a loaf, represented by a pierced clay disk, is baking. Among the toy utensils modeled by these children one also remarks a breadboard and a plate to bake bread on, both with an imitation of bread (fig. 198, p. 180).

At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the girls of the Amazigh village Ksar Assaka, near Midelt, enjoyed making a small bread oven. To construct the oven the girls first of all made a dome with twigs from dry herbs to which clay was applied. The oven measuring about 20 cm in height and 30 cm in diameter has a large entrance opening and a hole on top. Through the entrance opening a few pieces of firewood are placed at one side of the oven and at the other side the dried clay loaves are laid. After the loaves are baked, the glowing embers are spread out in front of the oven so that a tea of bush leaves can be cooked. A tea the girls do not drink. These girls form a playgroup rarely consisting of more than six girls and they play in the garden of one of the girls' homes. A boy of this village told me in 1999 that he participated in this game when he was five or six years. He added to the description given above that the wooden shovel to put the loaves in the oven is also copied.

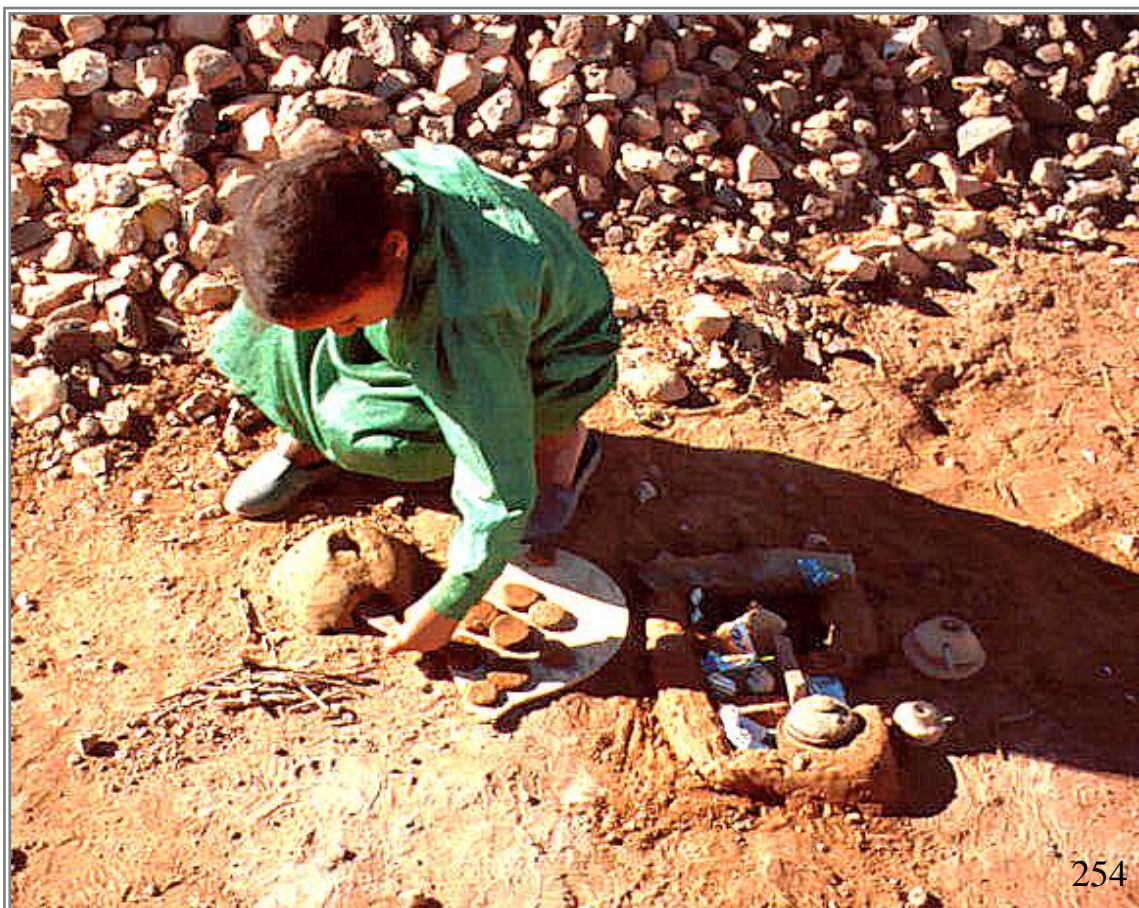
In the popular quarter Taddawt of the central Moroccan town Midelt and in August 1999, four girls between four and eight years are making round loaves with mud by flattening some disks with their hands and baking these in the sun. In November 1996, an eight-year-old girl of the Arabic-speaking village She°ba just outside Midelt has prepared in a black pan some dough with real flour (fig. 111, p. 126). With this dough bread or biscuits can be baked on a fire. This girl and her playmate told me that they also use clay to represent flour.

In the small Amazigh village Ikenwèn, located at 30 km from Tiznit along the road to Tafraoute, the girls of today like to imitate the making of bread as was done when their mothers were young. Older girls sometimes make nice copies of small and big ovens and of other necessary utensils. The big oven is used for baking as much as twenty loaves at one time (fig. 252, p. 213, H = 12 cm, D = 15 cm). Before this oven lays a copy of the wooden spatula with a loaf on top. To heat water a water cooker is put on top of the small oven that contains a big loaf (fig. 253, p. 213, total H = 13

cm, D = 7cm). Khaliya Jariaa used this play material about 1985. She made the shown examples in 2005.



In their elaborated construction and doll play (p. 103-107), the girl and her brother living in the isolated house at Lagzira near Sidi Ifni develop several themes. One such theme played by six-year-old girl Halima is baking bread (fig. 254).



Among the clay toys Boubaker Daoumani collected from his pupils of the Lahfart Anti-Atlas Mountain village in 2001 there are five ovens for baking bread (fig. 255, H+ = 6 cm, D+ = 16 cm). To create the dome of the middle oven the child used a plastic bag filled with earth.



The girl of the village Igîsel near Guelmim in the Pre-Sahara, seen on figure 251 (p. 211), also made a big bread oven with an opening on top (fig. 256, H = 8 cm, D = 19 cm). In the entrance lies a loaf.



The girl made a fine copy of the bread oven found in her home as one can see on the next photograph (fig. 257, p. 215).



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In the small coastal town Sidi Ifni, in November 1998 I saw three Arabic-speaking brothers between eight and twelve years playing in the garden of their house on the border of the cliff overhanging the beach (fig. 258).



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Together they collect material, such as wood, stones and clay, for constructing a copy of the large bread oven (fig. 259, p. 216).



In the lower part of the garden they construct with three stones a *ferrân* or oven about 40 cm long and 30 cm high (fig. 260).



On top of the stones lie a piece of black plastic, a piece of cardboard and finally a thick piece of wood, and above lie the ‘loaves’, balls of wet sand (fig. 261). After some time these loaves become projectiles for fighting one another.



3.6 Preparing oil

The girls of the small Amazigh village Ikenwèn, located at 30 km from Tiznit along the road to Tafraoute, play the game of make-believe of producing *argan* oil well known for its exceptional qualities. This game can be played throughout the year but preferably on a rainy day, as it is then easy to make the necessary toys. This game has been played here for a long time and is still played today.

Khalija Jariaa, a thirty-year-old woman, gave the description of this game imitating women's work. This make-believe play of a group of six to

eight-year-old girls belongs to a series of household games, like searching for firewood, making dinner and playing at looking after the cows, all taking place at the same moment.

Khalija made a copy of the toys she and the other girls created in the 1980s but are still made today. Mixing the mud with straw ensures that the toys don't fall apart so easily. The first toy is related to breaking the nutshells. An earthen plate of about 20 cm diameter is placed on a piece of cardboard or a table mat. Several argan nuts collected from an argan tree and a few lighter inner shells lie on this *tisseguiz* plate. Once the bolster is taken away, the girls use a stone to open the inner shell by hitting it in a specific way just as adult women do (fig. 262).



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During the second stage in the process of making argan oil the seeds must be grilled. A small *inkèn* or three-legged fireplace and an *afellun* plate are modeled (fig. 263, D = 8.5 cm, H = 7 cm). Khalija insists that she made a little fire between the three poles of the fireplace but adds that the real



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grilling of the seeds was done on a bigger fire using some thrown away pottery plate put on three stones. Once the argan seeds are grilled the girl pulverizes a few seeds and puts this in the opening on top of the oil mill, called *azerg*, but often sand is used instead (fig. 264, L = 22 cm, B = 14 cm).



After turning the mill the substance is shoved into the *tikins* receptacle where it is worked to become imitation *amelu* paste that will give oil. The girls mix water with sand to make paste and some salt is added as when real *amelu* is made. Khalija says she closely observed an older woman preparing argan oil for some time and then imitated her during this play activity. One day Khalija's mother observed her about fourteen-year-old daughter without her knowing. Seeing she had become skilled in making *amelu* through playing, she told her daughter to help with making real *amelu*. Khalija clearly remembers regretting this, as she wanted to play with the other girls. Because of this, she says, that older girls are careful to play this and other household games outside the view of their mothers. They fear their mother will say “you know how to keep a household so you must help me in the house instead of amusing yourself with the other girls”.

Another set of toy-utensils to make argan oil from Ikenwèn is seen on the next photograph (fig. 265, H+ = 6 cm, D+ = 16 cm). It was also made by Khalija Jariaa in September 2005 and consists of the large mill with its typical lip supported by three legs, a basin with a lip and two handles, a cup with one handle for pouring water, another cup and a small chair with three legs.



The girls of Douar Ouaraben near Tiznit whose toy utensils have been described before (p. 178-179) also model the mill to crush argan nuts (fig. 266). This mill stands on three stones. On the photograph one sees a receptacle for the argan paste and a cup for the water needed to work the paste. To the right of the mill there is a small stool like the ones used by women when making argan paste. The utensils are modelled with clay and baked in an oven made by the girls. The girls made these toys and the female doll with its reed structure for their dinner play in July 2006.



In 2001 Boubaker Daoumani collected a large set of toy utensils made with clay by children from the first two years of the primary school of the Anti-Atlas village Lahfart. Among these toys I found three argan oil mills also having a lip (fig. 267, H+ = 5 cm, D+ = 7 cm).

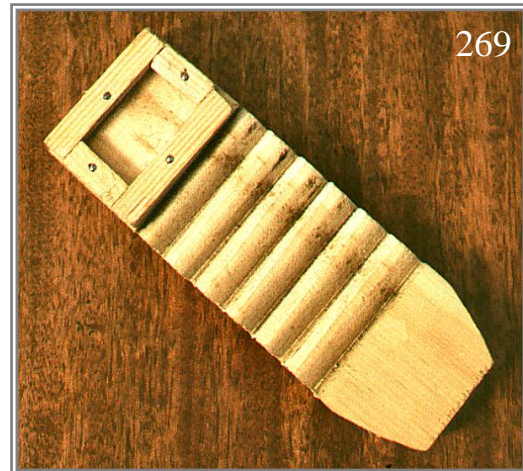


Sarah, the girl seen on figure 251 (p. 211) and living in the village Igîsel near Guelmim, also made an argan oil mill and a basin. Just like the other argan oil mills it has a lip. On the next figure one sees this argan oil mill and its basin on the right together with a plate with a few grilled argan seeds. There also are two corn mills, a plate with some grains, two tajines, a portable stove and a basin (fig. 268, H+ = 6 cm, D+ = 9.5 cm).



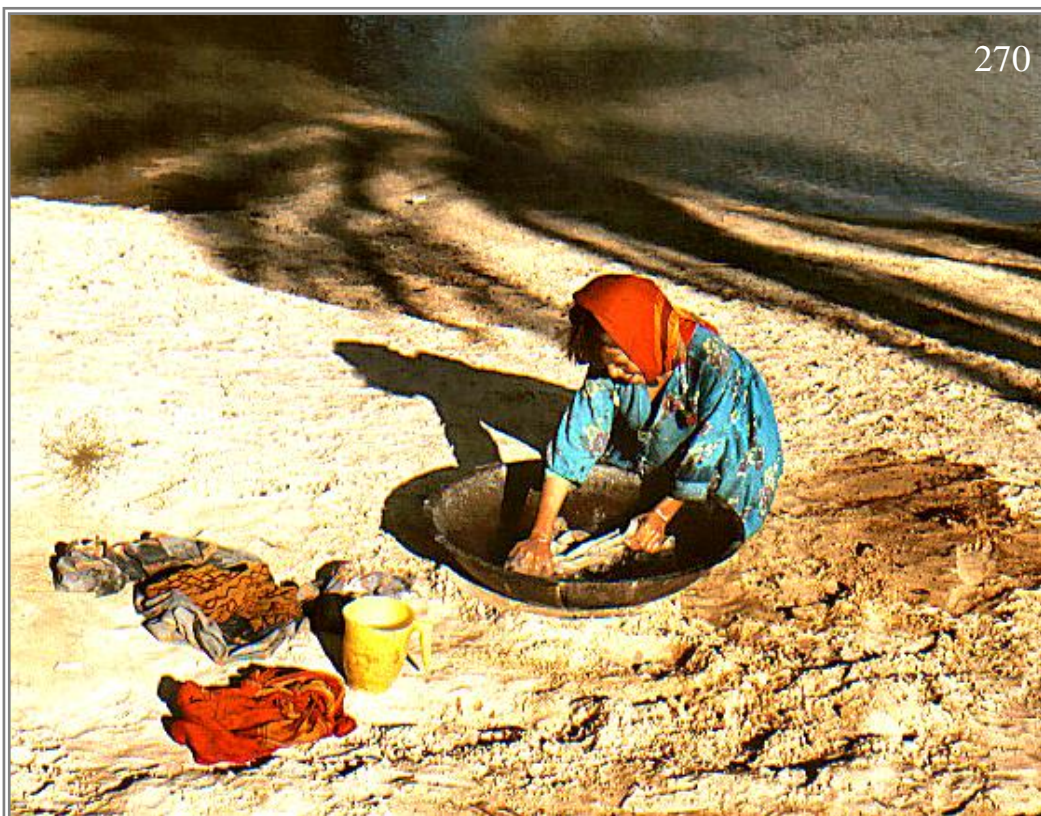
3.7 Washing the linen

In a little shop of the Medina of Rabat I have found during the Spring of 1993 one of the rare wooden toys still made by some artisans. It is a small washboard to be used by little girls. The largest washboard of the two washboards I bought has at its top a rectangle made with wooden strips (fig. 269, L = 19 cm, B = 6.5 cm). The smallest washboard misses such a risen rectangle (L = 15 cm, B = 4.5cm).



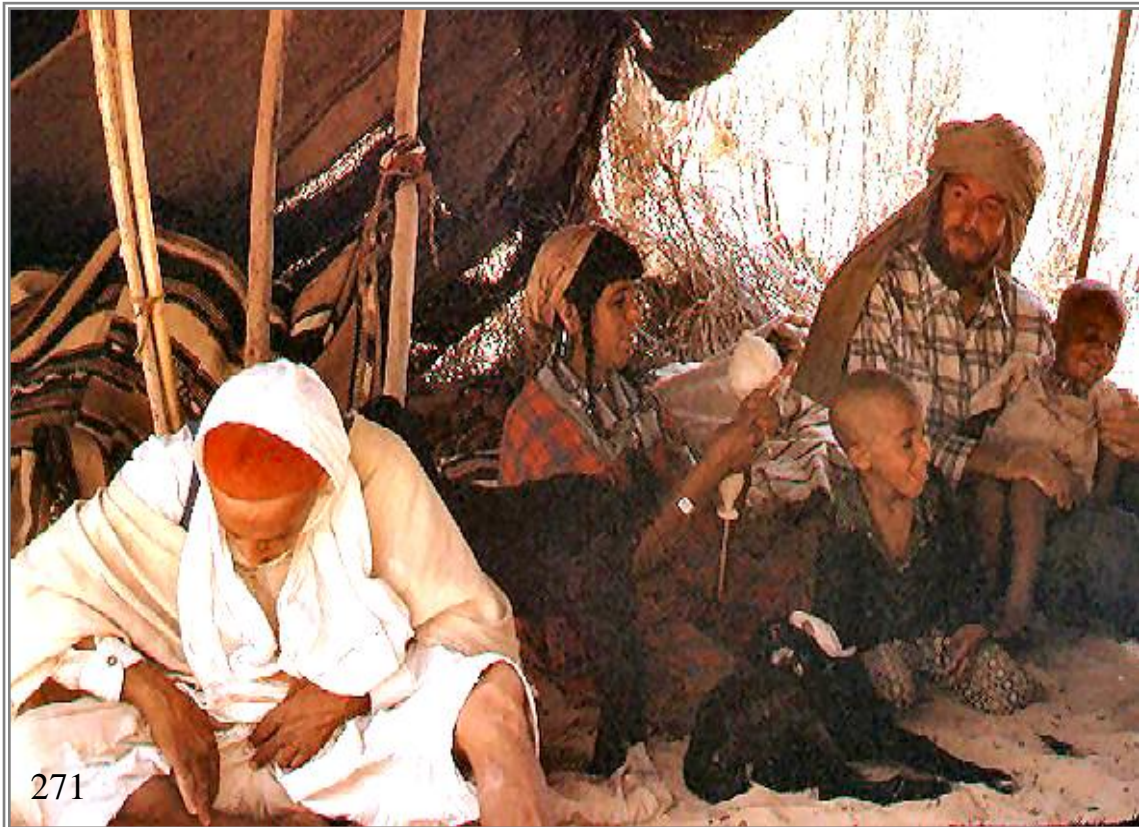
A second reference to the game of imitating the washing of the linen is found in the description of the pretend house of the Moroccan girls of the Daoudiyât quarter in Marrakech. These girls use a little round tin can serving as laundry vat (see p. 109).

The information on games referring to washing the linen is extremely limited. Among the Ghrib girls in 1975 and 1977 I have found no play activity related to this task. Maybe the fact that young girls are helping in washing the linen of their family can partially explain this (fig. 270).

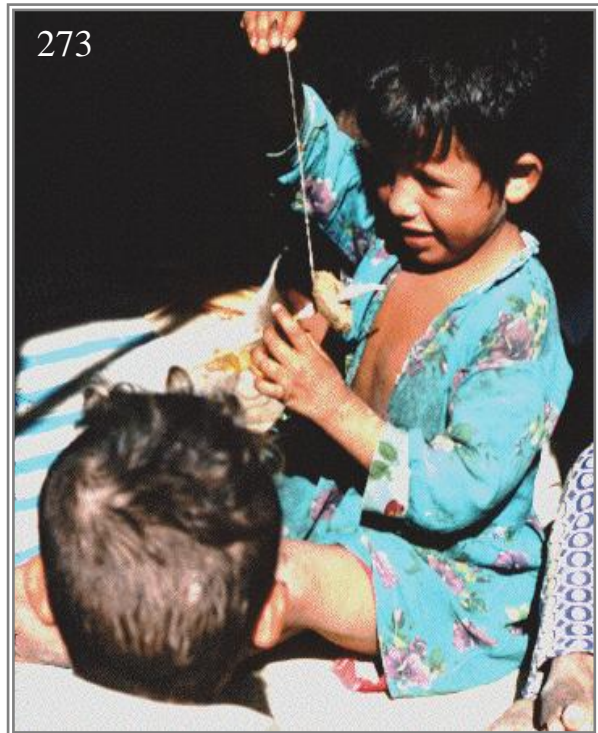
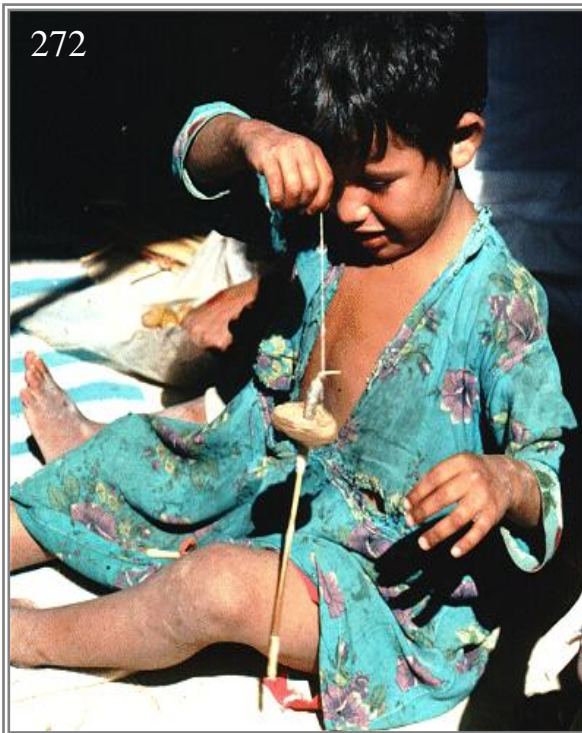


3.8 Spinning

Among the Ghrib from the Tunisian Sahara spinning wool was a regular occupation of the women in the 1970s (fig. 271).



So, it is not surprising at all that the girls from the age of about four years onwards train to do so with a copy of a spindle (fig. 272, p. 224). Making such a toy spindle, called *mughzel jella* meaning the spindle (*el mughzel*) with a piece of dromedary droppings, starts at the age of seven or eight years. It is made with a stick of about 25 cm length of which one end has been bent. The piece of dromedary droppings is fixed near this bent part. To spin wool, the girl turns her spindle by rotating the lower part of the stick on her thigh while tearing the wool thread. Each piece of thread is then wound around the spindle beneath the piece of dromedary droppings (fig. 273, p. 224). Although the girls view this activity as a game, the mothers see it as training and stimulate their girls to do the best they can.



An observation made in a nomadic encampment of the Tunisian Sahara in March 1975 shows that really young children are interested in spinning and that a Ghrib father may encourage a child to exercise skills while playing. So, Najiya, a two-year-old girl, starts to play with a thread. Then she takes a spindle and holds it between her extended arms. Her father sitting under the same tent talks to her and clearly stimulates his daughter to try to spin.

During the first part of the 1980s girls between seven and fourteen years old from the Ikenwèn village near Tiznit in the Anti-Atlas made a spindle, called *tabrams*. To do so they push a small branch of the argan tree through a wheel of argan oil paste and put it to dry in the shadow. A bit of sheep's wool taken from their mother is used to make threads. Khalija Jariaa made the shown spindle in September 2005 (fig. 274, p. 225, H = 5 cm, D = 6 cm). Khalija remembers that the first time she took some wool, her mother was angry because she had only a little. Later on her mother encouraged this play activity as she saw it as training in this important task of a woman. The threads were used as hair or belt for the bride doll or to wrap up the legs of a doll baby.



Today's girls still enjoy this play activity and make the same kind of toy spindle. However they mix the argan paste with clay because there is not enough paste anymore and instead of a branch they use the stick of a thrown away ladle.

That this playful activity, preparing the girls for one of the women's tasks, also exists in other regions is shown by the toy spindle *Corneille Jest* collected at *Tinerkouch (Touat-Gourara)* in the North-Western Sahara and gave to the *Musée de l'Homme* in 1962 (71.1962.51.3, H = 35,5 cm). Moreover, *Charles Béart* mentions that *Madame Le Cœur* has seen that the little *Teda* girls make a toy spindle by putting a stick in a piece of dry donkey droppings. To imitate spinning the girls put cotton flocks on their spindle (1955: 126).

3.9 Weaving

With woolen threads a Ghrib girl has spun herself or that she received from her mother, the girl amuses herself with a utilitarian game, the imitation of the weaving on a horizontal loom *el minsez*, a word also referring to the toy loom. From the age of about ten years the girls start making a miniature loom. Possibly with a pestle the girl drives in the ground four little branches in such a way as to form the corners of a rectangle (fig. 275).



At about one fifth of the loom's length, measured from the front sticks, two forked little branches are driven in the ground and on top of the forked sticks another little branch serving as beam is put. Now the girl must fix the threads of the warp around the rollers of the loom made with two little branches placed level with the ground and held in place by the two front and the two rear sticks (fig. 276, p. 227).

Then, using a woolen thread forming a noose, the lower part of each warp thread is fixed to the stick serving as beam. After that the girl puts a little branch used as shed-rod between the lower and the upper part of the warp threads but beyond the beam.



Finally, to weave a piece the girl enters the weft thread through the warp threads. To alternate the warp threads she removes the shed-rod. With her fingers she pushes down four upper warp threads each time introducing the shed-rod in the opening made in front of the beam. Once the girl has put the weft thread through the warp threads she must place again the shed-rod beyond the beam and so on (fig. 277). Before the girl could start to weave her mother came to verify the place of the threads and she needed to adjust a few threads. Figure 2 (p. 55) shows that this weaving loom was made near a little tent so that this game is integrated into a more global acting out of a nomadic woman's life.



As observed by Khalija Jariaa in March 2006, the Moroccan girls of Terloulou near Tafraoute in the Anti-Atlas also use a weaving loom to make the shawl with white and black stripes typical for this region and called *tahèykt*.

Another more simple type of weaving loom has been mentioned for southern Morocco about 1950 and this for Jewish as well as Muslim children. This loom consists of one piece: a reed or bamboo tube open at both ends. With a knife one of the ends is cut out in a crenellated shape and around it the woolen threads are intertwined and woven. Most Muslim children made their little round hats in this way, just as the Jewish children made their scarves. This weaving offers at the same time an amusement as well as a possibility to create some useful items of clothing. These kinds of utilitarian games are known all over North Africa and in southern Spain according to Pierre Flamand (p. 150).

3.10 Dressing up

In the Amazigh village Ksar Assaka near Midelt, the girls like to imitate the way women make themselves look beautiful. About 1980, the girls put on their lips some red lipstick with the red seal sealing the wrapping of the sugar loaf. The same red seal is also used to give oneself red cheeks as the Amazigh songs often glorify the nice girls with cheeks like red apples. Because the fashion was to have silver or golden teeth the same girls used silver paper to give them a silver tooth. Moreover, girls from about eleven years put oranges or tomatoes under their blouse to offer themselves nice breasts.

In this village as elsewhere in Morocco, adults give to their small daughters a set of plastic toys with a mirror, a comb, etc., mostly made in China. This is commonly bought during the °Ashûra festivities. The buying of little mirrors, necklaces, rings, watches and other objects of this kind was already mentioned for the Purim feast of Jewish children in 1939 (Brunot et Malka, p. 263-264).

I have found bracelets made by children with acorn cups in Imzouren near El Hoceima in the Rif in 1993 (fig. 278), with *berwal* herbs in the Oulmès region in the Moyen Atlas in 1996, and with a small tin strip made by a six-year-old girl of the Aït Mansour quarter in Midelt in August 1999.



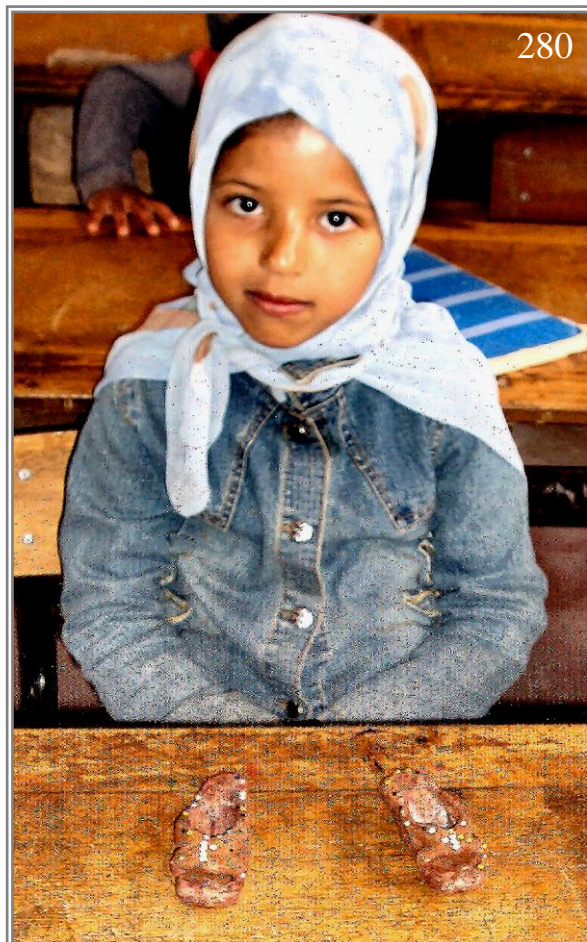
The Aït Ouirra girls of the El Ksiba region in the Moyen Atlas learn to tattoo them with the juice of a fruit called 'tabgha', a kind of wild strawberries (Oubahammou, 1987: 51).

The Henna plays an important role in a woman's life for aesthetic as well as prophylactic reasons. Ikenwèn is one of the villages where henna is cultivated. With the leaves a woman prepares the henna paste that is applied on hands and feet. Halima, a five-year-old girl, closely observed the way in which henna paste is prepared. Wet sand replaces the henna leaves. A cardboard box and a large pebble become the mortar and the pestle. First of all Halima crushes the imaginary henna leaves with the pebble seen besides the cardboard box. In the photo made in December 2006 she is cleaning the henna (fig. 279, p. 230). She asks some girls who participate in the game to look for a syringe which the doctor from Tiznit uses for one of his Ikenwèn patients when he visits him on Thursday. The washed henna is put in a bowl and mixed with water until the paste becomes liquid enough to make it applicable with a syringe whose point had been broken. Once all is ready Halima plays the part of the *nqasha*, the specialist in henna. Now she creates geometrical or floral drawings on the hands of her girlfriends as it is done downtown, not as it is done traditionally in the village where the palm of the hand is coated in henna paste.



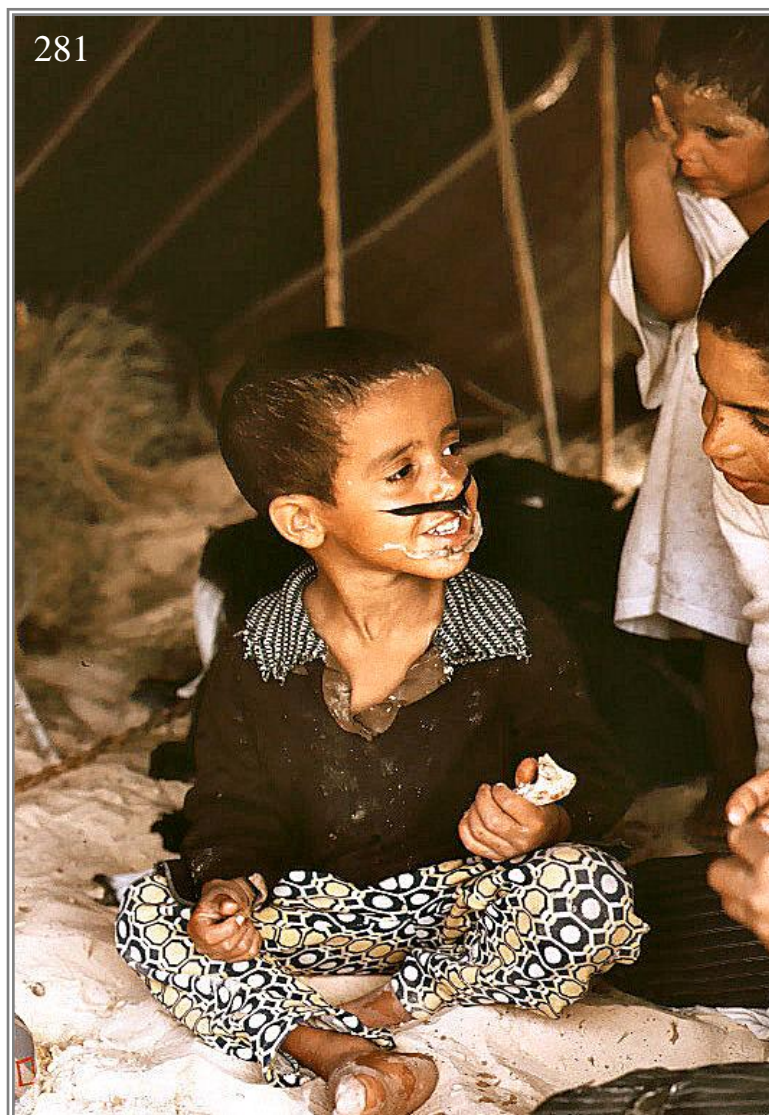
In May 2006 an Amazigh girl from the mountain village Lahfart near Sidi Ifni made with clay a copy of nice sandals. She used little pearls of different colors to embellish them (fig. 280).

Since Moroccan groceries sell lemonade in tin cans the children use empty cans to create shoes they call *sabat sîn* or Chinese shoes. When pushing one's heel into the tin can, it flattens and the edges fold back around the heel. A Midelt boy explained to me that this way the children are imitating Chinese shoes as they watch them on television. In that town boys as

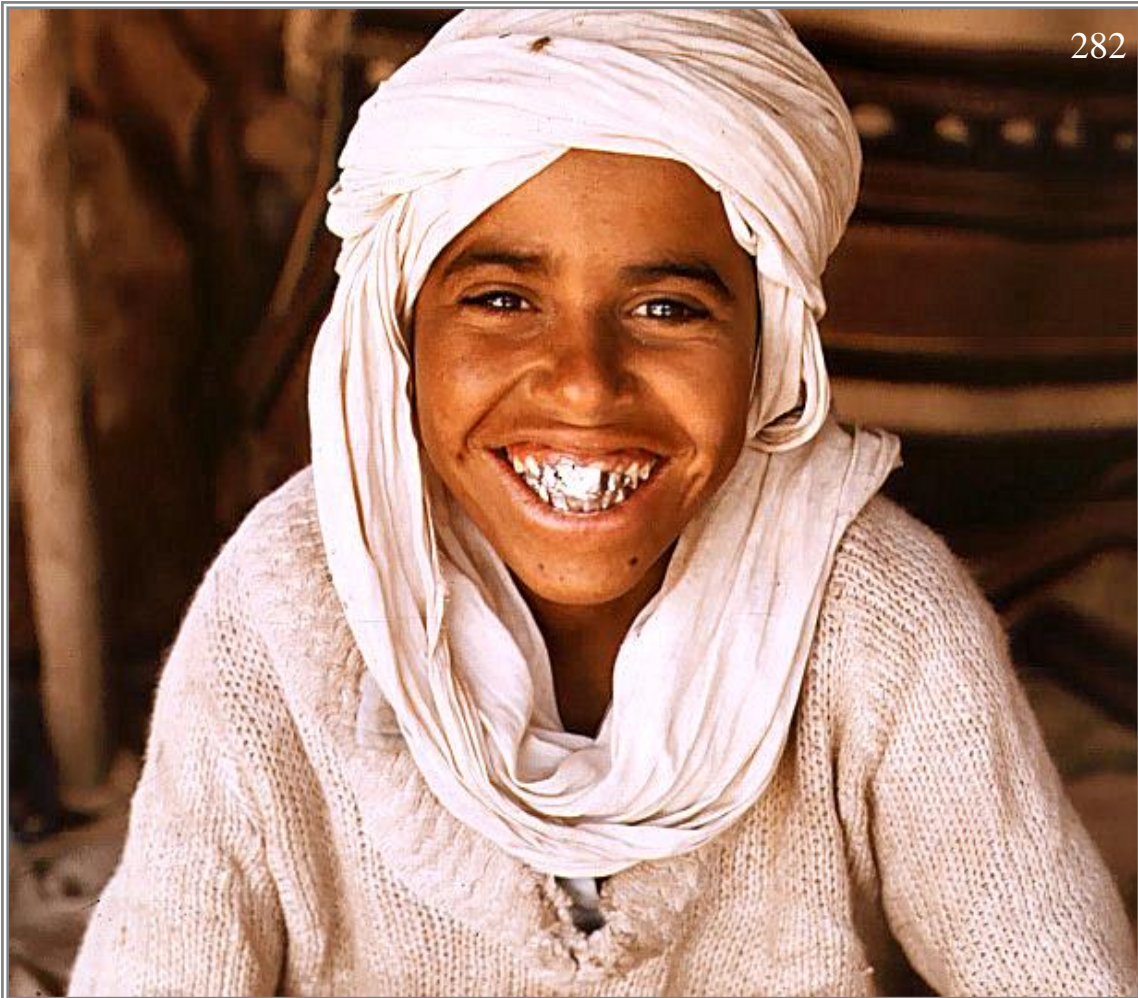


well as girls can be observed walking with this kind of shoes as a seven-year-old girl in the Aït Mansour quarter did in the beginning of 2001.

Although it is mostly the girls who like to dress up, boys sometimes also enjoy themselves by putting on specific items or by imitating certain fashions. This was the case among the Ghrib boys in the 1970's who sometimes put on a beard of wool threads and a moustache made with a pluck of goat hair (fig. 281). It happens that such disguise is used to act out some situation but on the photograph it is the boy on the right who gives a moustache and beard to his younger brother and this to the enjoyment of other family members sitting in the tent. The boy in the right top corner is the youngest brother of the other two boys and he weeps because he wants to wear this moustache and beard.



Another example I found among the same Ghib boys and in the same year, imitates the custom of having golden teeth. To obtain this effect boys put silver paper on their front teeth and so doing become a man of importance (fig. 282).



A Moroccan boy from Midelt showed me in 2000 the sunglasses he made for himself. These sunglasses are made of a wooden and iron wire structure, entwined with colored woolen threads (fig. 283).



In 2006 Mohamed, a five-year-old boy living in Idoubahman-Imjâd in the Anti-Atlas, already makes his own glasses with wire (fig. 284).



After a few try-outs he succeeds in making glasses he can wear (fig. 285, p. 234). The small boy told that he will use these glasses to protect his eyes. He will need them for his herdsboy game when pretending that there is too much wind in the mountains.



According to Marie-Rose Rabaté girls from the Dra Valley in the Ouarzazate region make themselves bracelets, rings and hair embellishments. The boys make small hats. All this attire is made with very young palm leaves for the °Ashûra feast (1970: 248, 260; photos p. 248-250). Dominique Champault mentions that young girls create for the °Ashûra feast in Tabelbala the same kind of embellishments with white leaves taken from fresh palm hearts (1969: 147).

4 Subsistence activities in play, games and toys

4.1 Summary

The games and toys related to subsistence activities are underrepresented in the corpus of Saharan and North African games and toys. But I have the impression that this could be due more to those who described the games and toys than to the play activities of the children from these regions. At least that is what recent information on the Anti-Atlas children suggests. The data cover the period between the 1930s and 2006. The information concerns the children of the Tuareg, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Chaamba and the Belbala, those from the Hoggar-Tidikelt and the Souf regions, children all living in the Sahara, and also the Chaouiïa children, the Kabyles children and those from some Moroccan regions.

These games and toys refer to hunting and fishing, breeding dromedaries, horses and cattle, gardening in the oases, working in the fields and trading in caravan expeditions, market places and shops.

For some games described in this section the children do not use toys. For other play activities they make fishing lines, toy animals, toys related to breeding and a pair of scales for a shop. They also imitate some constructions delimiting them with sand or stones, constructions such as a cattle enclosure, a restaurant or a shop. Finally, there is also the oasis garden. In the collection of the Musée de Quai Branly I found some toy swing ploughs but it is not clear if they were made by children or by adults.

Unlike in the case of dinner play, of toy utensils and of games related to household tasks that more often are part of the play activities of girls, the games referring to subsistence activities most often belong to the play activities of boys.

4.2 Hunting and fishing

The play activities and the toys referring to hunting are not analyzed here as they will be described in the volume on technical activities in play, games and toys. Nevertheless, some games and toys referring to hunting and especially to trapping have been mentioned in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* (2005: 116-118). It is a matter of trapping little animals, scorpions, lizards, insects and birds by Tuareg, Ghrib, Belbala and Moroccan children.

Contrary to the games of hunting and trapping, I did not find in the bibliography any reference to fishing as a children's play activity. Myself I have observed a girl of about eleven years trying to fish with a quickly arranged line in the Moroccan harbor of Essaouira in June 1994. Some years later, in September 1999, a ten-year-old boy living in Midelt in Central Morocco showed me the fishing rod and line he himself made. The rod consists of a 107 cm long reed. At 18 cm from one end an iron wire is put through the reed. On one point of the iron wire a plastic stopper has been fixed. The other end of this iron wire is bent in the form of a starting handle. At this starting handle the boy fixed the beginning of a long rope that he then wound twice around the reed before putting it through a buckle made at the other end of the reed by winding a piece of iron wire around it. A part of the rope longer than the reed hangs freely and ends in a little hook of iron wire. This fishing rod and line is used during the rainy season in a small valley called Elmu bordering the popular quarter of Aït Mansour. As one only finds there very little fishes, the game seems more like an enactment of fishing than real fishing.

4.3 Breeding

As expected most of the information on the games and toys referring to breeding dromedaries, horses and cattle comes from nomadic or seminomadic populations living in the Sahara, the only exceptions being two Moroccan games of herding.

Among the Tuareg as well as the Ghrib, the Moors and the Chaamba the children familiarize themselves through their games with different aspects of the herding, breeding and utilization of dromedaries as described in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* (2005: 47). Yet, the data on the games and toys related to horses only mention the staging of horse races. However, the description of the games and toys referring to cattle, given in the same book, offers three games of herding (p. 108) for which goats or sheep are represented by little stones or dromedary droppings (Ghrib, Tunisian Sahara), empty maize corncobs (Aït Ighemour, Morocco), and snail-shells (Oulad ben Sbaa, Morocco).

The Ghrib boys, living in the Tunisian Sahara during the 1970s, were still strongly interested in many aspects of the life of a shepherd. For one of their games of herding they used little white stones as lambs and dromedary droppings as sheep. The dromedary was represented in several ways. Sometimes a large cylindrical stone represented the shepherd and a smaller one his dog (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys*, 2005: 61, fig. 16). They also enjoyed performing the typical herdsman's dance described below (fig. 341, p. 273). When the same boys made some constructions with wet sand one of these constructions was a cattle enclosure (fig. 118, p. 128).

According to Charles Béart (1955: 145) the adult Moors show their interest for the games of the young boys in which these imitate the breeding of dromedaries (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys*, 2005: 77). Furthermore, a few objects used for cattle breeding are copied by children of the Moors or by an artisan from Tidjikdja in the Mauritanian Sahara and used as toys. These toys have been collected by the Mission Puigau-deau-Sénones between 1936 and 1938. They copy the bowl used for milking cows and the stand for goatskin (see catalogue p. 429-430, 71.1938.48.47, 71.1938.48.36-37).

4.4 Gardening

As a result of the changes occurring during the 20th century, the Ghrib of the Tunisian Sahara transformed from a nomadic population into a sedentary population. This sedentarization in the oases however was hampered by the men's aversion for working in the oasis gardens, a task being incumbent on the black servants. Although this aversion still existed more or less in the 1970s, the evolution towards a more positive attitude was already reflected in the boys' games. So, among the boys making constructions with wet sand near the water spring of El Faouar in May 1975, some made a copy of an oasis garden (fig. 286).



As seen on the above figure, the about ten-year-old boys have divided up their miniature garden in equal parts with little sand walls as is done with a real garden. Another boy put some wild roses in his garden and irrigated it with water from the water spring (fig. 287, p. 239).



Bellin writes in 1963 that the black children from the Hoggar-Tidikelt in the Algerian Sahara also like to play at this game of gardening but that the water to irrigate their garden only exists in their imagination (p. 77).

As said when describing the pretend houses built by the girls of the Kabyles during the 1930s, these girls created little gardens, called 'tibhirin', close to their pretend houses in which small branches were watered with water flowing from an earthen basin (Laoust-Chantréaux, 1990: 167).

In the oasis of Meski near Errachidia in Morocco, in 1992 according to the memory of a seventy-year-old man, playgroups of four to five-year-old boys or older created a miniature garden and irrigated it. It is in this context that the boys weaved dromedaries, mules and gazelles with palm-leaves (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys*, 2005: 63, 100, 122, fig. 18, 57, 81).

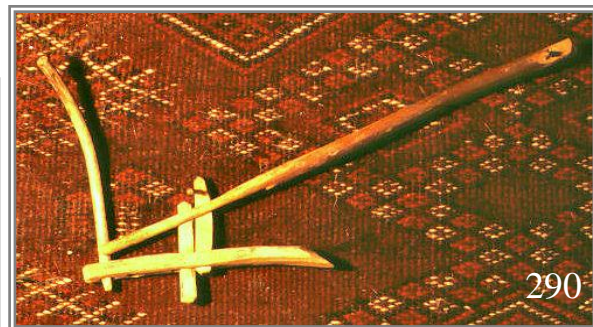
In August 1994, I found a miniature garden outlined by little earthen walls and planted with some herbs and wild flowers. Such copies of a garden are created by young boys herding cows that graze near the *merja*, a kind of swamp, of the village Zhana located at 10 km from Kénitra, a Moroccan coastal town (fig. 288, p. 240). To irrigate their garden these boys catch the bit of water, surfacing on the edge of the dry land, with a plastic bottle having its bottom cut off. The bottle, with its opening in the direction of the *merja*, is placed horizontally and in such a way that the

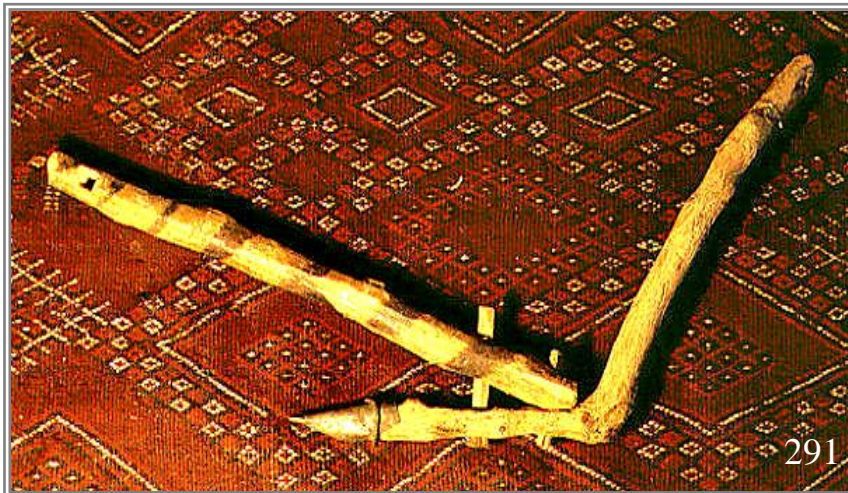
water slowly enters the bottle along the descending slope created by the bottle's neck.



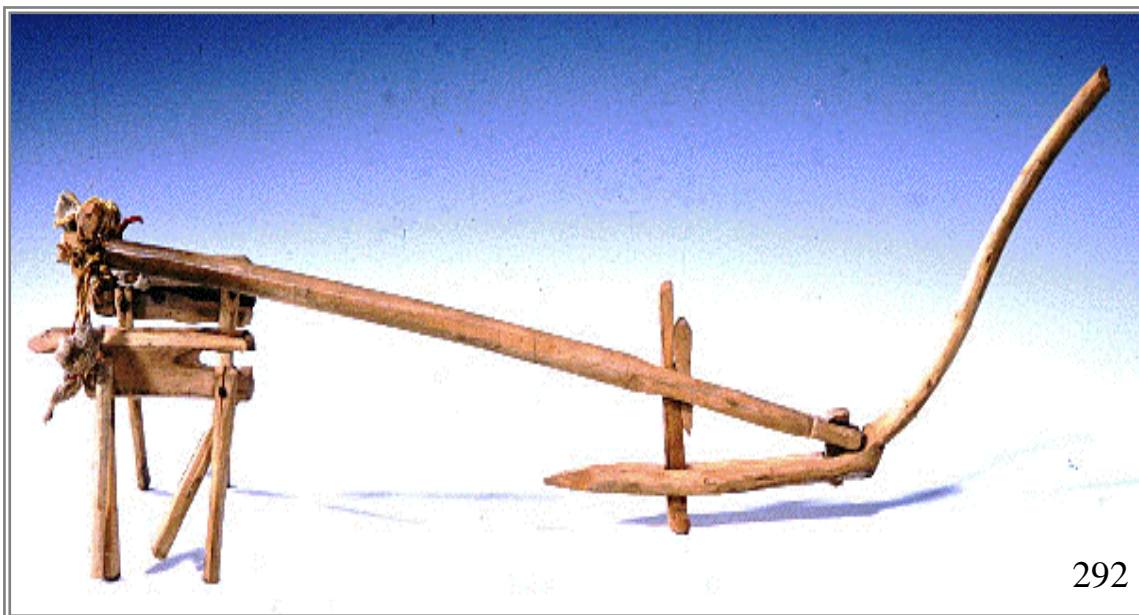
4.5 Working in the fields

The only reference to children's play activities linked to working in the fields refers to eight toy swing ploughs collected in 1936-1937. I found them in the reserves of the Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l'Homme. Some Ouled Abderrahman boys from the Chaouïa of the Aurès in Algeria played with them but the play activity itself has not been described. These toys copy in a more or less detailed way the swing ploughs used by the ploughmen (fig. 289, 71.1936.2.261, H = 3.5 cm, LO = 15.5 cm; fig. 290, 71.1936.2.257, H = 14 cm, LO = 26 cm; fig. 291, p. 241, 71.1936.2.255, H = 36 cm, LO = 45 cm).





A few toy swing ploughs are pulled by one or two mules made of wood. The example of figure 292 shows two mules pulling the swing plough. The wood comes from an oleander tree (71.1936.2.256, swing plough: H = 12.5 cm, L = 42 cm; mules: H = 8 cm, LO = 9.5 cm).



The boys imitate the traditional way of ploughing as shown on the next photograph I made near Imi-n-Tanoute in the Haut Atlas in February 1992 (fig. 293, p. 242).



In February 2007 in the dry river close to the village Douar, situated near Tan-Tan, Sidi Ahmed, an eleven-year-old boy, found a long t-shaped branch. Once he has broken off a long piece from the vertical branch what is left becomes a swing plough (fig. 294). With this swing plough he starts ploughing an imaginary field in front of his home (fig. 295, p. 243).

Meticulously he directs the swing plough pulled by a donkey, his three-year-old cousin Souquaina.



Souquaina does not like that much what Sidi Ahmed asks her to do and says to him: "normally ploughing is done with a male donkey not with a female donkey". Sidi Ahmed answers: "No, ploughing is done with a female donkey as well as with a male donkey".



In the Anti-Atlas Mountain village Lahfart a boy of about seven years made in 2001 four ploughs with clay, called *askerz* like the real ploughs (fig. 296, H+ = 4 cm, L = 4 cm). To imitate ploughing he takes the top of the long end in hand and drives his plough through the sand.



In July 2006 two boys of about six years old pretend to be farm laborers in their field in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni. The farmer holds the plough in his hand (fig. 297, p. 244). A donkey played by the second boy pulls this plough. As seen in the photo on the right, work is stopped to give the donkey time to eat (fig. 298, p. 244).



4.6 Trading

Even if the caravan trade was of great importance to the Saharan populations, I have only found in the bibliography two examples of games related to it. Concerning the children of the Moors from the Mauritanian Sahara, Charles Béart wrote that these children organize a caravan trade without using toys, some children playing the role of dromedaries. All the incidents happening during a real caravan trade are imitated (1955: 598). Lieutenant Denis mentions that the young Chaamba shepherds from the Algerian Sahara play with toy dromedaries and sometimes organize a caravan expedition (1952: 36).

Among the Ghrib children from the Tunisian Sahara I did not observe such a game of the caravan trade. Instead in 1975 I saw among the boys of the oasis of El Faouar three games imitating tradesmen with their clients. In the first game, in which small boys can participate, a cattle trader who may also sell other products plays the leading role. Some boys represent goats, sheep or dromedaries. Sand becomes tea or sugar and droppings can be vegetables. Like on the marketplace, the trader shows his cattle and other merchandise, vaunting them to his clients represented by some other boys. These buyers do not hesitate to bargain on the price and they pay with money symbolized by pieces of cardboard, tin or aluminum.

In another open-air game the same boys imitate one of their regular tasks, namely to do errands in the shop of the oasis. For this game a 'shop' is created in a small place, possibly delimited with little walls of sand or stones. All kinds of cardboard or tin packages together with waste objects represent different kinds of merchandise but there are no cattle (fig. 299, p. 246). To make this shop more conform to the one of the oasis of El Faouar, the shopkeeper makes a pair of scales on top of a small earthen mound, the pair of scales being a stick with at both ends a tin can (fig. 300, p. 246). The money is the same as that in the foregoing game.



The third game referring to commercial activities is about selling watermelons. For this game some boys lie on the ground on their back, the one next to the other and in one line. They are the watermelons. While the salesman and a buyer walk around the watermelons, the salesman says to the buyer:

°at'înî flûs yâ chîkh.

Give me some money oh sheikh.

The buyer replies:

Lin ît'îb l-bat't'îkh.

Wait till the watermelon is ripe.

Then the salesman and the buyer feel at the boys' bellies (fig. 301).

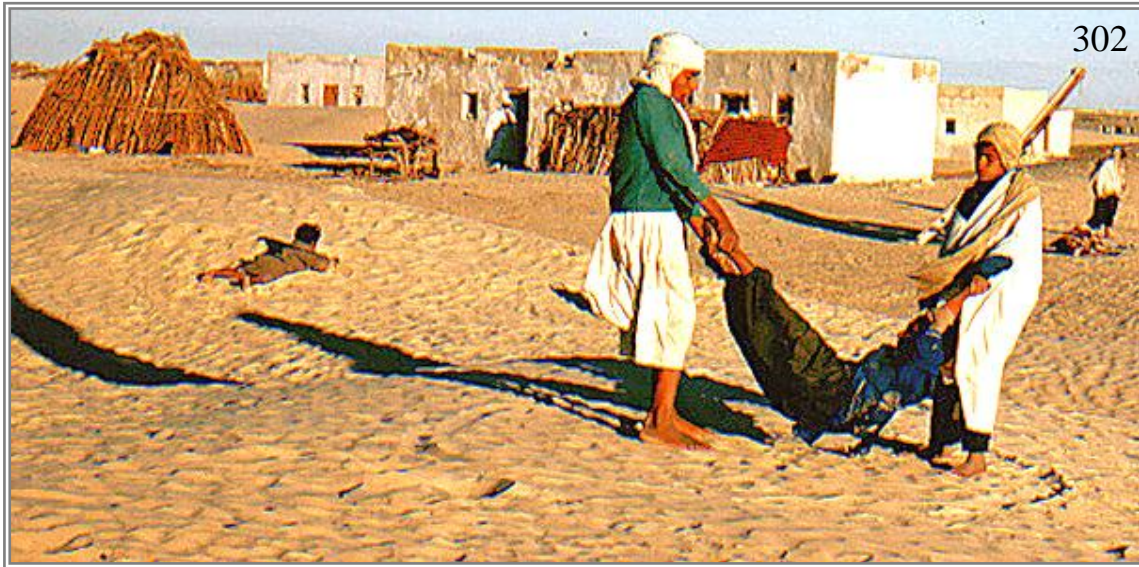


When the belly stays flat the watermelon is left on the ground because it is unripe. But when a boy has his belly blown-out this ripe watermelon is sold. The buyer and the salesman take the boy by his hands and feet and transport him nearby. There he is swung from left to right (fig. 302, p. 248) and those holding him ask:

Ammâ khîrlek °açâbat 'ummek wa illâ kabbûs sîdek?

Do you choose the turban of your mother or the hat of your father?

When the 'watermelon' answers "the turban of my mother", it is gently put on the ground. But if the boy answers "the hat of my father" the buyer and the salesman let him fall on the ground. Then the salesman and the buyer start all over again until all the watermelons are sold.



The children from the Souf region in the Algerian Sahara play a similar game in which the first two expressions are almost identical. Yet, the outcome of the game is different. According to Bellin, the 'watermelons' are divided in two camps, a red camp and a green camp. After that the salesman and the buyer decide which camp will be 'paradise' and which one will be inhabited by 'demons'. Then both camps start fighting by throwing sand at one another. To this description Bellin adds that the children imitate the adults, that they ape adult society by saying things like "Give me my money!", "Wait...I have some difficulties at present". This game also starts with the boys making a circle and holding a dialogue (1963: 63, n° 8). Neither this opening circle and dialogue nor the division in two camps was seen among the Ghrib boys and my informants did not mention them.

Belbala girls and Moroccan girls and boys set up small shops. The Belbala girls from the Algerian Sahara make such an imitation of shops when engaged in their house play (p. 113-114).

In Kénitra I saw a playgroup of four girls between six and eight-years-old, one of them playing the role of a shopkeeper in March 1994. Her shop is a large piece of plastic put on the ground on which the merchandise is represented by all kinds of tin cans, cardboard boxes and plastic containers. Another girl acts as costumer, holding in her hand a pretend purse made out of the plastic packaging used to sell half liters of milk.

The information about games and toys referring to trade mentioned hereafter comes from Moroccan Amazigh children. The boys from the

village Ignern in the Haut Atlas use stones to outline small shops where their sisters come to buy things when playing with their dolls (*Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's Dolls and Doll Play*, 2005: 152).

In the village Ouirgane, situated at 60 km from Marrakech on the Tizi-n-Test road, a six-year-old boy created a well-equipped shop on the edge of the small irrigation canal (fig. 303). Seemingly he was playing alone that day in July 2006.



In October 2006 Khalija Jariaa saw children playing shopkeeper in Douar Ouaraben just outside Tiznit. During the evening of the day they played the rich doll's household (fig. 64, p. 98), this house changed into a copy of the first supermarket of Tiznit. The cashier sits to the left and the owner sitting to the right is doing the accounts. The other girl is one of the customers (fig. 304).



One week later the girl on the left made her own shop. It represents a big shop in the Tiznit medina located besides the cake shop Bicha at Bab Aglou, one of the town's entrances. A married couple sits at both sides of the shopkeeper. The small boy plays the role of a soldier coming home for leave. He got his inspiration for this role from the soldiers having their barrack buildings close to Douar Ouaraben. When he comes home he asks his wife, the small girl, if she has everything she needs in the house. When she replies that certain things are missing he proposes to go to the town to do some shopping (fig. 305, p. 251).

The recovered packages filled with sand represent the real product. The bottle stoppers are tea or coffee sets. At the bottom right of the photo are found products for body care. For the moment the couple is discussing the price for the fruit juice (fig. 306, p. 251).



Rachid, a seven-year-old boy, and his six-year-old sister Halima play together in front of their house in the village Ikenwèn in December 2006. Rachid who is the leader of the game builds a pretend house in three dimensions. The walls are made of bricks and one opening is kept in the left corner. To build the roof Rachid puts sticks on the bricks then covers them with mud (fig. 307). It is Halima's job to prepare and bring the mud.



Beside the house and indicated by a cardboard plate for eggs there is the poultry shop where chicken meat and eggs are sold. The chickens are created using a plastic bag filled with paper and some feathers (fig. 308, p. 353). The small puddle filled with water is a well. There the players water their goats, sheep and cows represented by pieces of succulents growing in the vicinity.



This game that lasts for the whole day contains also the preparation of a dinner by Halima. On the next photograph Halima plays the role of someone wanting to buy the house (fig. 309, p. 254). At first Rachid refuses telling her that a man has already asked to buy the house. When Halima replies that she will pay the whole sum at once Rachid agrees. He explains his changed attitude by saying: “men always have to pay outstanding bills for the telephone, at the butcher and the groceries therefore there will be no money to pay the loan for the house regularly”.



Later on starts he to build a miniaturized version of the fortified house in the village with its tower having several floors and called *l borj n jbella*. According to the people living in this house the construction of this tower dates back to about 300 years ago (fig. 310, p. 255). The walls are made from stones and mud. To cover the space at the entrance a small plank is used (fig. 311, p. 255).



Another day in December 2006 and on the same spot these two children again play at being traders. Halima is busy with the chicken shop and Rachid with the TV repair shop. Figure 312 shows Rachid asking how much a kilogram of chicken meat costs. Halima tries to fix a price that finally is 10 dirhams for a kilogram (1 €). Against the wall two pretend houses are vaguely outlined, one for each trader. The shop of the TV technician is indicated by a piece of an old radio and the chicken shop with a cardboard plate for eggs. In front a well has been made with the bottom of a plastic bottle.



In the village Idoubahman-Imjâd in the Tafraoute region a five-year-old boy sometimes plays at being a merchant in the market. For this game his thirteen-year-old brother makes him a pair of scales in August 2006 (fig. 313, p. 257).



One afternoon and evening in April 2006 some boys and girls play in the open space before my house in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni. One of the boys was very active in making toys such as a mask and gun (fig. 229, p. 195). After playing a combat game with some of the other boys he later pretended to be a market trader and made a pair of weighing scales using two sardine tins attached together by a piece of elastic (fig. 314, p. 258).

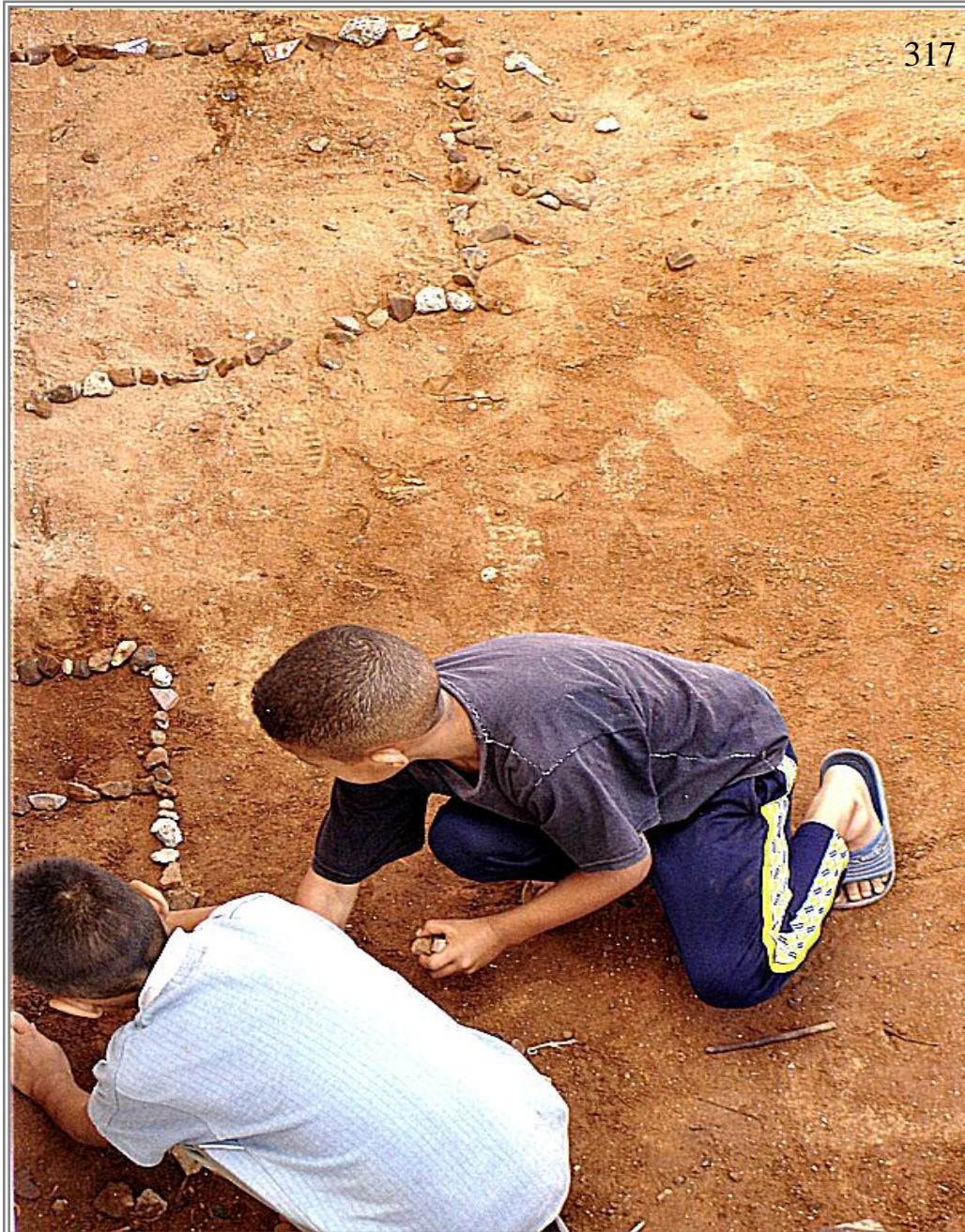
The pair of scales can be used once the middle of the elastic is put over a piece of wood serving as a support as seen on the photo below. This photo shows the market vendor looking at his client (fig. 315, p. 258). The discussion is about what kind of vegetables this one wants to buy, if he needs one or two kilos and the price.



On the same spot but in July 2006 two boys of the Boulalem quarter in Sidi Ifni have decided to make their own tailor's shop. They start to outline the shop with stones, then put an old cloth representing the merchandise on the ground (fig. 316). On the photograph the about seven-year-old boys are discussing where to make the kitchen. Later on when the shop and house is finished there are two rooms for the shop and four rooms for the house. There is also a separate entrance for the shop and the house. The boy with the yellow shirt tells the other one that he will make clothes for men and women, especially for women as they regularly buy clothes whereas a man buys a shirt and a trouser only once a year. The second boy is responsible for the kitchen and for preparing food as the tailor according to his own words has too much work to do it himself. The boys continue their play for some hours until it is time to have dinner.



Other play themes for which boys make pretend buildings are the cake shop and restaurant. These play activities took place besides my apartment in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni on 6 and 11 July 2006 at the beginning of the school holidays. Six Amazigh-speaking boys of about ten years play together. In figure 317 the owner of the cake shop in a bright shirt and his helper in a dark shirt are outlining the walls of the shop. At the top of this figure one can see a corner of the helper's house he made for himself.



Once the big cake is made three boys bring it to the cake shop. It is an anniversary cake. The telephone cards on top of the cake represent the spoons (fig. 318). The boys pretend to celebrate the birthday of their friend Mohamed. They make music with makeshift instruments or self-made instruments. A large milk powder can becomes a drum, a pierced red tube is a flute and another boy plays on a self-made guitar. They also sing a few birthday songs. After singing comes the time to taste the cake. The friends say they want to buy bottles of lemonade, represented by empty cans, but Mohamed replies that this is not necessary as there is water to drink.



Other kinds of cakes are also made like those for one person seen at the front of the plate (fig. 319, p. 262).



The cake shop has a cashbox kept by the pastry cook's aid. The boy to his right pays for the cake he is eating (fig. 320). The different cakes are put in the window. The boss does not take care of the cake shop directly but he gives orders to another boy who also works in the cake shop. Now and then he comes to ask how much money there already is in the cash box.

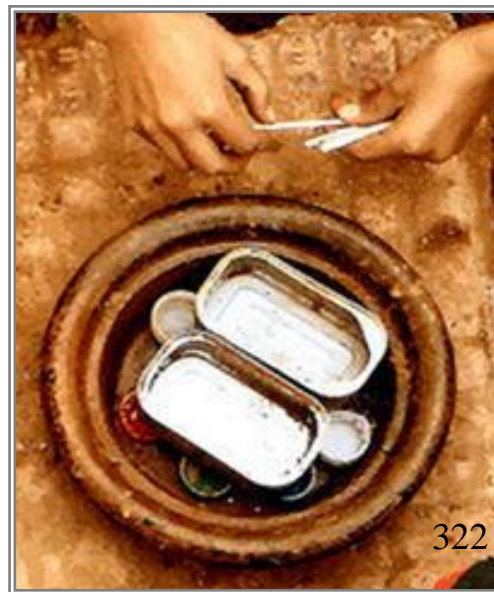


Three boys of Boulalem quarter decided on July 11th, 2006 to become shopkeepers along the busy road from Guelmim to the Sahara. While eleven-year-old Lahoucine, the boss of the restaurant, prepares the kitchen, ten-year-old Mohamed is looking for the needed material in the center of the empty space at the end of Tagragra Street. He has gone there with his own truck, a tricycle his father brought along from France but whose back wheels are lacking. Mohamed brings the plate of an old tajine and a thrown away teapot to the restaurant (fig. 321).



On the plate of the tajine Lahoucine prepares a *kefta* of sardines, a mixture of crushed sardines, tomatoes, carrots and spices, and represented by lemonade bottle stoppers. The white lolly sticks are carrots the cook adds to his plate (fig. 323, p. 264). Later on he also adds salt: dust taken from the ground.

While cooking Lahoucine asks Mohamed to go after sand and stones with his truck so that a building can be constructed. Mohamed agrees but discusses the price to be paid. He proposes that the whole sum is paid or only half of the sum but with a dinner on top. Once they agree on the second proposal Mohamed goes after a load of sand. When the sand is brought back he has his meal, a meal to which Lahoucine added two big grilled fish: two empty sardine tins put on top of the pieces of kefta (fig. 322).



After lunch and putting the dishes aside, Lahoucine starts to construct his miniature restaurant and the road leading to it (fig. 324).



Meanwhile Mohamed goes to load his truck with stones found on the waste ground. He brings back a heavy loaded truck and tips out the stones besides the miniature restaurant (fig. 325).



As agreed upon Mohamed starts constructing a building for Lahoucine. Eight-year-old Miloud is a TV technician. He points to the central table of the restaurant and says that it is made wrongly as the plates are missing (fig. 326).



Lahoucine immediately complies and puts four sweet wrappings serving as plates on the table. Then he continues to mark out the road leading to his restaurant. Lahoucine complains to Miloud about the TV which is not working well, a TV represented by a piece of an old radio as seen at figure 328 (p. 267). Miloud now takes the TV to repair it and once it is repaired he brings it back to the restaurant. Lahoucine pays him with a few bills using more sweet wrappings (fig. 327, p. 267).



This game which lasts for about two hours ends with the preparation and drinking of a last cup of tea (fig. 328).



With their parents seven-year-old Meryem and three-years-old Zouqaina live in Tan-Tan a town located at the northern border of the Western Sahara. One evening in August 2006 they went to the beach. Khalija Jariaa photographed there the play of her small niece. Zouqaina creates her beach shop. She explains that she has put in the middle of her shop lemonade bottles, sprinkling water bottles and a small yogurt bottle (fig. 329). The bottle stop in the center represents a flask of liquid soap. In her shop she also sells yogurt pots and cakes represented by a small box and a sardine tin filled with sand but also telephone cards. The piece of white polystyrene is the refrigerator. Zouqaina says she also sells charcoal to grill fish.



Zouqaina invites her sister to buy something in her shop and Meryem accepting to do so goes to buy a bottle of lemonade (fig. 330, p. 269). Before making her shop Zouqaina builds a small sand hill on top of which she placed a fluffy mouse one needs to keep an eye on as it comes to the shop to eat cheese and sweets.



Somewhat later Zouqaina decides to make ice-lollies to sell these in her shop the next day. Some stoppers become lollies she then puts in the refrigerator (fig. 331).



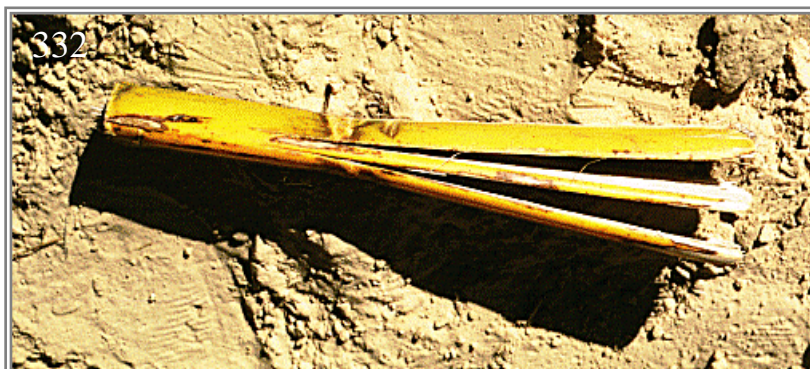
5 Music and dance in play, games and toys

Among the Saharan and North African children singing, dancing and playing rudimentary or more sophisticated musical instruments often belong to the same playful activity. However, only a few authors have described children's musical games, songs and dances. Above all I shall analyze in this section the musical instruments and the sound making toys created by children for their amusement or given to them by adults. Among these sound making toys and musical instruments one finds rattles, clappers, percussion instruments, wind instruments and string instruments. As the musical notation is lacking, only the text of the songs is given and in this case the text is mentioned where the game is described, as for example in doll play (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's Dolls and Doll Play*, 2005). In the same book a few data on children's dances can be found.

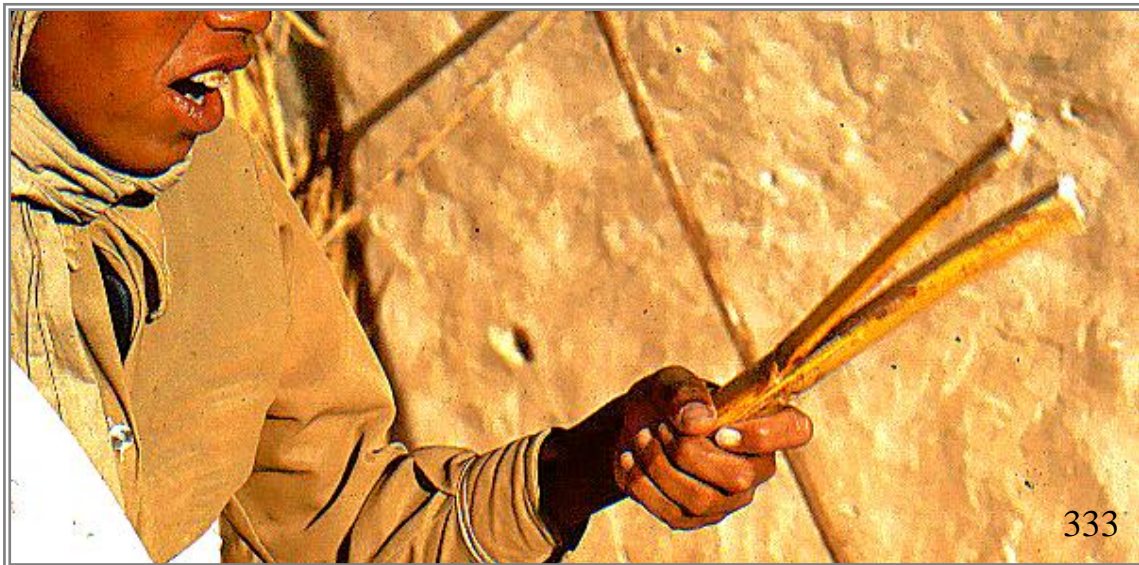
With the exception of some musical instruments of the Chaouïa children from the Aurès conserved at the Musée du Quai Branly, the data in this section come from my own research in the Tunisian Sahara and in Morocco. Yet, I have found some additional data concerning Morocco in the consulted bibliography and in the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly. In relation to this information the oldest found reference dates back to 1908 and the most recent one was collected in the beginning of 2007.

The Ghib children from the Tunisian Sahara in the 1970s liked to form a small orchestra to play wedding or to dance the herdsman dance. As musical instruments they used the flute, the bagpipes and the drum. All these instruments are made by children from the age of about ten years onwards but more especially by the boys. The drum, called *et' t'abâla*, is often replaced by an old plastic oil can that the children hit with two sticks, a long one and a shorter one. Those children who do not play on a drum or a flute clap their hands or shake a clapper to give the rhythm.

The clapper, *et' t'arbâga*, is cut out in a piece of palm branch bearing a date cluster (fig. 332). With a sickle the piece of palm



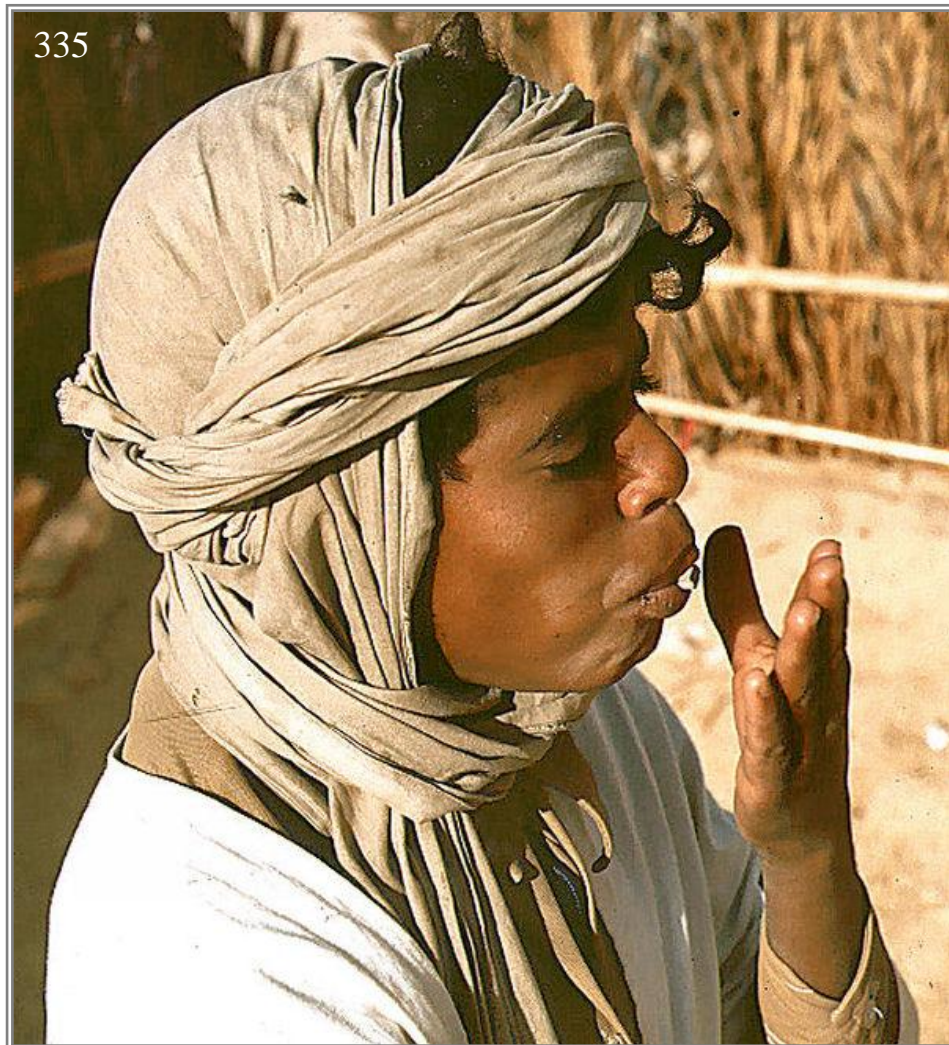
branch should be cut in two or three strips from one end up to the two thirds of its length. The sides of the strips must be thinned. There where the split ends, one has to hit the fold with the blunt side of the sickle to soften it. By shaking this clapper loud sounds are heard (fig 333).



As Charles Béart stresses, the fingers are the first wind instruments making it possible to whistle or to produce more or less modulated sounds (1955: 689), and the Ghrib or the Moroccan children also use this method. Moreover, I saw in the 1970s how Ghrib boys made whistles and flutes. Making such a whistle or *el ghît'a* asks for much precision. A reed with a small diameter is cut off at a knot so that this side of the reed remains closed. At a distance from the knot of the breadth of four fingers, the reed is cut again and there the reed remains open. Then a cut is made breadth wise on the upper half of the diameter and at the distance from the open end of the breadth of one finger. At both sides of this cut the piece of reed is cut lengthwise up to the knot. Now the little strip that has been cut at three sides can be lifted. Finally, the lengthwise edges of the strip must be thinned. All this should be done with great care as otherwise the reed will split (fig. 334). When introducing this whistle, with the closed end forwards, almost



completely in ones mouth, by putting ones teeth on the edge of the open side and by placing ones lips around this edge, it is possible while blowing to vibrate the strip and to produce a sharp sound (fig. 335).



Such a whistle can be used alone but often it is part of a flute with a vibrating mouthpiece that is called *el magrûna* (fig. 336). Next to the whistle one



needs a piece of reed of about 15 cm length and its diameter must be just big enough to let the whistle enter. In this reed tube, open at both sides, four holes are burned at a distance of about 3.5/5/6.5/8.5 cm measured

from one of the ends. By its open side the whistle is introduced in the flute for about 2 cm. To be able to play this kind of flute one should first of all verify that the strip of the whistle lies on one line with the holes of the flute. Then one introduces the whistle completely in the mouth until ones teeth and lips can be placed on the edge of the flute (fig. 337). By blowing correctly and using the holes of the flute the young Ghibi play their favorite tunes.



Children can exercise themselves occasionally on a flute for adults, for example when a man is playing the flute or when a little child has been able to lay hands on it (fig. 338, p. 274). In my observation notes related to this photograph taken among the Ghibi in 1975, I wrote that it is the older

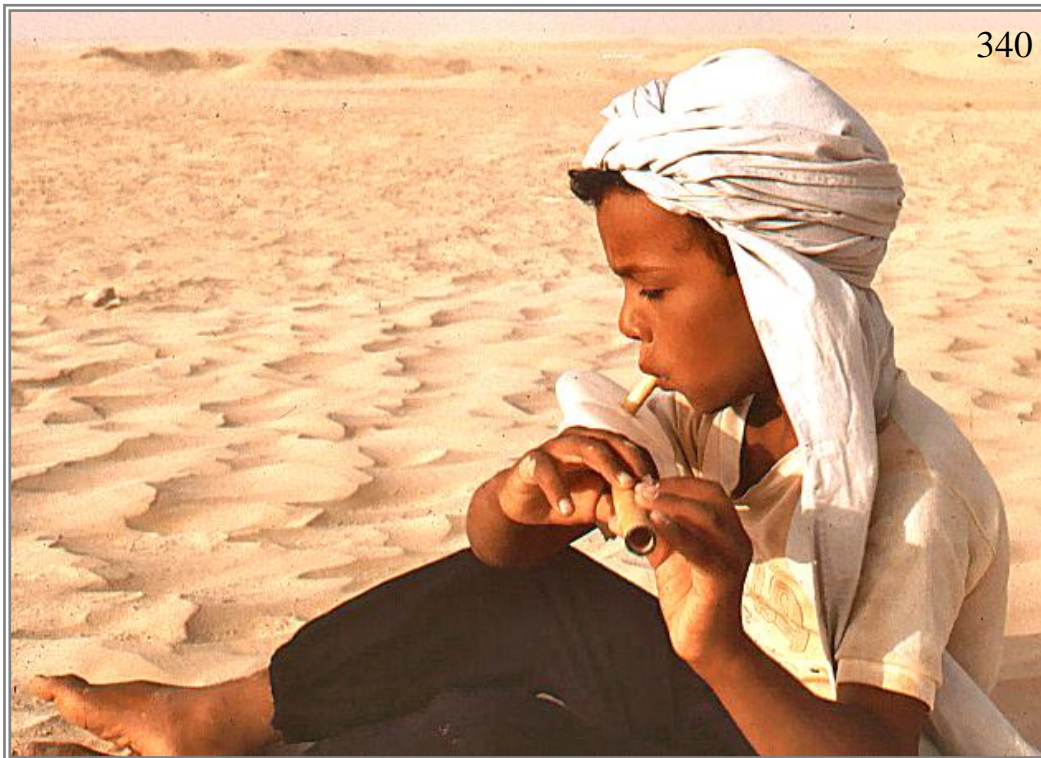
brother who called for the three-year-old boy so that he tries to play the flute.



Another wind instrument sometimes used by the Ghib boys in their orchestra playing tunes from the marriage festivities, is the *mizwad* or bagpipes. The bagpipes shown at figure 339 have been made by a seven-year-old boy living in the oasis of El Faouar in 1987. In the center of one of the sides of a large plastic flask a small reed serving as mouth-tube is put and in the opening a larger reed in which five holes have been burned is pushed. The diameter of the reed tubes should be of such a size as to fit exactly into their opening. The boy blows air through the mouth-tube and with the

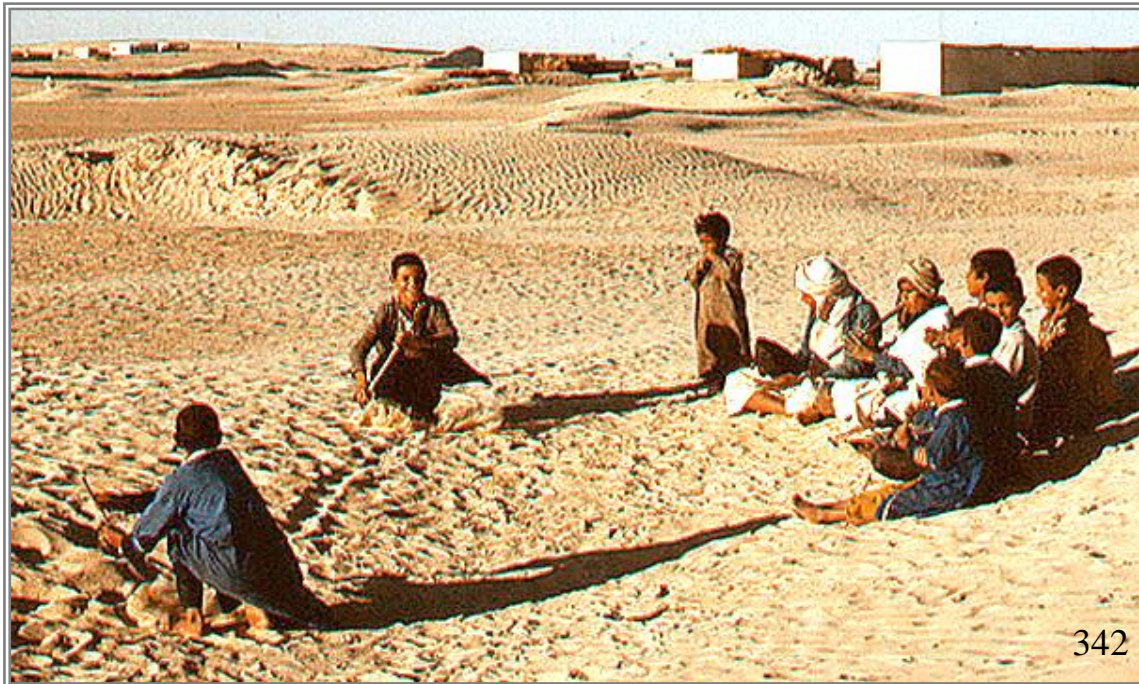


fingers of both hands he opens or closes the holes in the pipe (fig. 340, p. 275).



The Ghrib boys also exercise themselves in one of the special dances executed while hopping. Accompanied by their small orchestra playing a specific tune, two boys facing each other dance the herdsmen dance called *jilwâlî* (fig. 341, 342 p. 276).





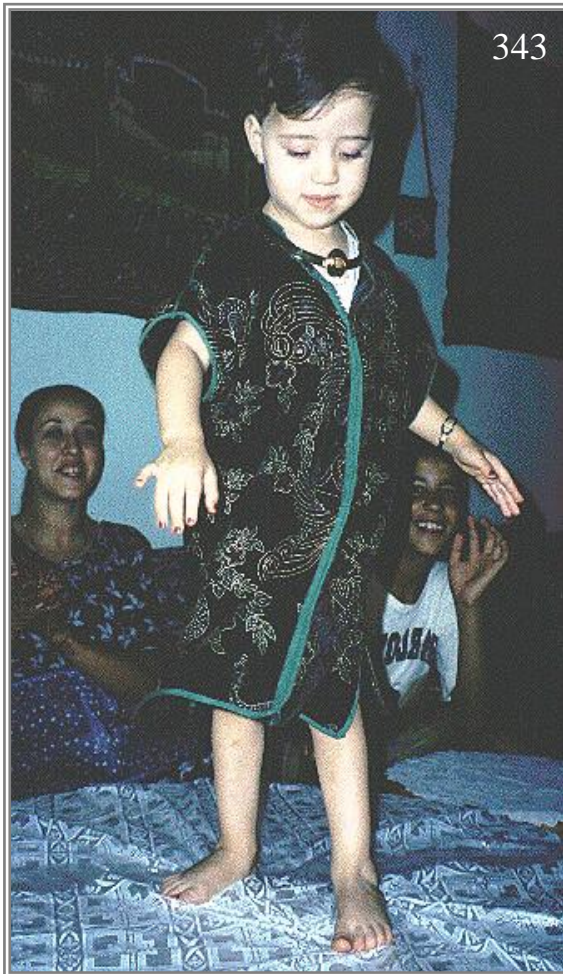
The Chaouïa boys living in the Djebel Menaâ in the Algerian Aurès during the 1930s also played a flute with a vibrating mouthpiece called 'hazmamart'. It resembles the flute of the Ghrib boys (fig. 336, p. 272). The mouthpiece is a little reed tube with a tongue cut out. The flute of the Chaouïa boys from Menaâ belonging to the Musée du Quai Branly is 24 cm long with a diameter of 1.2 cm and it has five holes (71.1936.2.212).

The Mission Thérèse Rivière who collected this flute in 1936 obtained at the same time some clappers of the Chaouïa children from Amentane in the Djebel Menaâ. The five clappers of the Musée du Quai Branly are made from a piece of palm tree of 20 to 30 cm in length and about 1 cm in breadth. Three strips have been cut up to the middle of this piece of wood (71.1936.2.207-211). The Ghrib children of the 1970s used the same type of clappers (fig. 332, p. 270).

Playing music, singing and dancing can be part of other play activities. Yet, the play activity can also be limited to playing tunes accompanied by singing and/or dancing as it happened in Goulmima in Central Morocco in November 1994, when five boys sitting in front of the *imi n ighrem* or old fortified quarter's entrance formed a small orchestra using oil cans as drums to accompany their singing.

An evening of August 1999, I observed in a small street of the Aït Mansour quarter of Midelt how several little girls were learning under the guidance of an older girl how to clap hands in the correct rhythm by imitating her clapping again and again. A day later in the same street, some fifteen girls between three and twelve years are passing the warm summer night at about 21 hours by clapping hands and singing wedding songs in Amazigh as well as in Arabic, now and then shouting the typical 'youyous', the vibrating high tone the North African women perform with their mouth hidden behind their hand or veil to express joy and admiration. There is also an about eight-years-old bride wearing a headscarf. When needed a four-year-old boy serves as bridegroom. At a street crossing of Aït Mansour and at about the same time, nine girls and two small boys execute the *d'awira* dancing round while singing some school songs. They hold each other's hands and turn around. At a given time the children step forward to the center of the circle and bend their arms until they touch one another with their forearms. Then they sit down, get up and the round starts again. A few days later at sunset and in the small Elmu valley bordering this quarter, six girls between three and ten years turn around another girl standing in the middle, and this while singing and clapping hands.

That girls as young as two-years-old want to dance like adults and are stimulated by their relatives to do so, is shown by the two and a half-year-old Selma (fig. 343, p. 278). On a Sunday afternoon in August 1999 this girl spontaneously started dancing in the home of her maternal grandmother in Midelt, enthusiastically supported by the onlookers. Selma shows already some specific dance movements like those of the head, the hands and the hair. After a while Selma went looking for some adequate outfit and tried to put on something resembling the typical belt. With a little help from her mother, this worked out and Selma continued dancing (fig. 344, p. 278).



Lahcen Oubahammou writes that the small Aït Ouirra girls of the El Ksiba region in the Moyen Atlas learn to sing, to dance and to play the tambourine named 'tellount' (1987: 51).

Here and there in Morocco I have seen in children's hands percussion instruments as well as wind instruments and string instruments. Many musical instruments played by the children are made by themselves but sometimes they receive them from their parents or other adults especially for the °Ashûra feast.

The oldest reference to these musical instruments that I have found comes from Edmond Doutté and dates back to 1908 (p. 534). It mentions a tambourine and a rattle for babies. According to this author the children from Constantine in the northeast of Algeria buy for °Ashûra a 'tchekâtchek', a rattle made of painted tin or wood. It is a small box with a handle and containing a little stone that makes noise when the toy is shaken.

For this feast the same kind of rattle was given to the children from Fès in Morocco during the 1930s. Jeanne Jouin collected for the Musée de l'Homme two of these rattles in 1933. The tin used for the rattles came from old tin cans. A Jewish tinsmith made a hollow cylinder with some lead shot inside and to which he attached a handle (71.1933.77.47-48, H = 7 cm, D = 2.8 cm). Marie Mas describes the same rattle for babies some thirty years later. She notes that a tinsmith makes a rattle called 'jenjel' (Fès) or 'kharkhâcha' (Rabat). It consists of a closed cylinder of tin into which some little stones have been put. It has a handle of the same metal, a handle that sometimes finishes in a 'zemmâra', a reed that is vibrated to amuse the baby. Already in the 1930s, celluloid rattles made in Europe and called 'kâfûr' could also be bought (1960-1961: 225).

In his book *Quelques manifestations de l'esprit populaire dans les juiveries du Sud-Marocain*, based on research between 1948 and 1958, Pierre Flamand writes the following on these rattles for babies. In the Mellah one finds a lot of variety of rattles inspired by two types. The simple rattle is made with five or six tin disks put one above the other on a reed while remaining movable. When the child shakes the rattle it tinkles. Such a rattle is sold for five francs or more by the Jewish tinsmith. The other type of rattle contains two chickpeas in a small tin cylinder of two to four centimeters of diameter closed at both sides and with a handle twelve centimeter long. The Jewish tinsmith makes them like the foregoing type from old tin cans and sells them for ten to twenty francs according to their size. Rattles are given to children especially for the Purim feast (p. 157).

The same author describes two other sound makers, the castanets and the rattle for children. He writes that the castanets are found in every Mellah but only in small numbers. In the urban Mellahs the toyshops sell them for 1,500 francs. In the mountains children make them by cutting and making round cupules of walnut wood with a knife, and then hold them over a flame to obtain a better tone. Only children use the castanets in the Mellahs, without reaching the level of virtuosity, however, and without using them to give rhythm while dancing, this in contrast to the dancers of some Amazigh regions (p. 157). With the scraps of the lanterns, the local tinsmiths make a mechanism roughly resembling the rattles offered by the shops selling European toys. They consist of a flexible strip fixed at one end and whose free end hits a cogwheel. A perpendicular handle makes it possible to turn the cogwheel. Most girls and boys have such a rattle at

least in urban Mellahs. Because of the harsh noise they produce, they are called 'headache' by the adult Jews (p. 158).

A last sound maker, that nonetheless serves to give rhythm, is the clapper already described above for the Ghrib children (fig. 332, p. 270). In November 1994, I saw such a clapper with three strips named *shbakala* and made by the Amazigh boys and girls from Goulmima in Central Morocco with a piece of palm branch bearing a date cluster. Normally several boys or girls create together a rhythm with their clappers and sometimes they sing at the same time.

One also finds real musical instruments in the hands of Moroccan children such as tambourines and drums. My female informants from the Midelt region in Central Morocco described a small tambourine, *kherkhasha* in Amazigh, given to the girls for the °Ashûra feast. On one side of a wooden hoop of a few centimeters in diameter, a piece of goatskin is braced. In a few openings specially made in the wooden hoop some tin disks are fixed in pairs with a little nail. I bought an example of such a tambourine in Marrakech in 1992. Its skin is

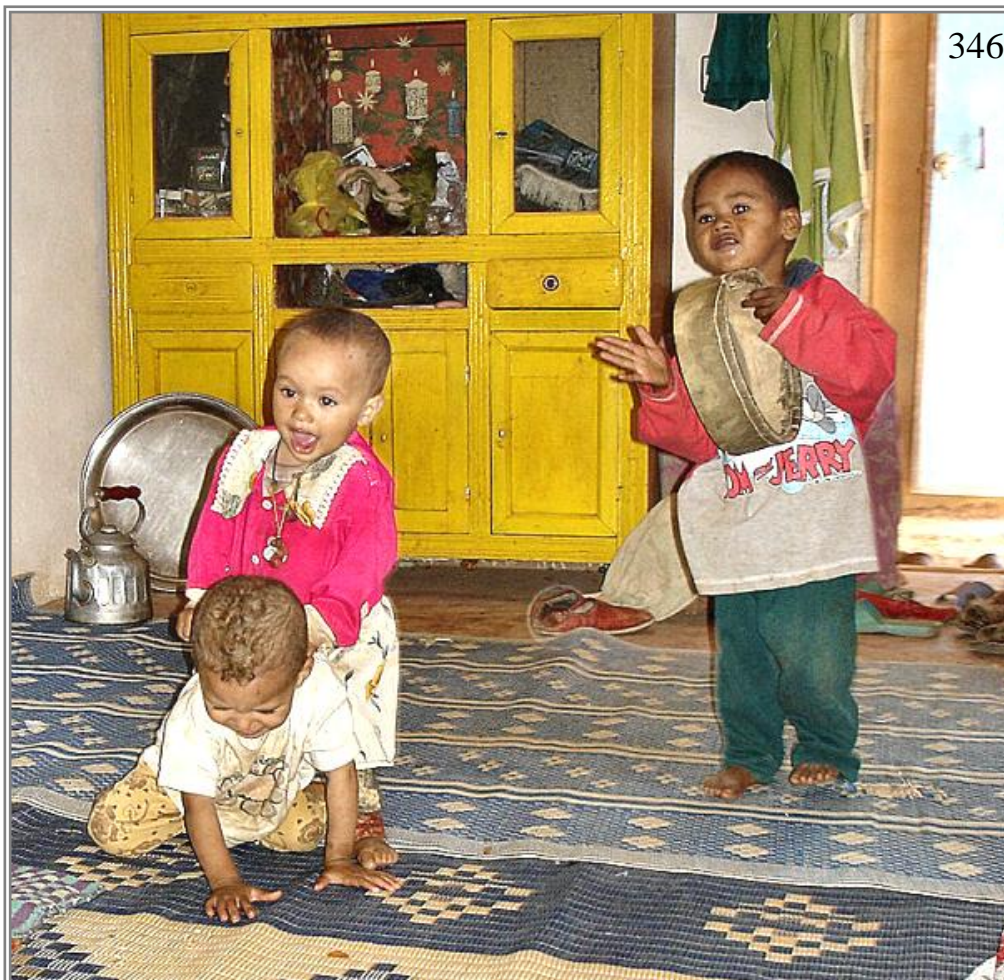


glued to a cardboard hoop (fig. 345 left, H = 3.5 cm, D = 8.5 cm, D of the disks = 3.5 cm). Moreover, I have seen some girls in the village Zhana near Kénitra playing this kind of tambourine a few days before the °Ashûra feast of 1993. According to the information I got in the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt, it also happens that the skin is lacking and only the little tin disks are put in the wooden hoop. Normally girls in this village exclusively use the tambourines. They use it particularly for the °Ashûra feast when they go begging from door to door, but little girls can already amuse themselves with a tambourine.

A tambourine with a skin braced on a wooden hoop but without tin disks is called *tellunt* in Central Moroccan Amazigh and *bendir* in Moroccan Arabic. It is an important instrument of popular music that is played with

both hands. Yet, information coming from the village Ksar Assaka shows that a reduced model can be made for girls. In the first instance, during the 1970s, a mother usually made a tellunt with the skin of a small sheep, sacrificed for the °Aïd el kebir feast, to give it to her daughters. In the second instance, a father made a little tellunt for Selma, his only daughter of two and a half years, at the occasion of the °Aïd el kebir of the year 2000. The girls use this tambourine when singing and dancing. Pierre Flamand notes in this context that the children of wealthy families take part in the musical entertainments of the adults using reduced copies of the tambourines, made for them by local artisans, and this among the Jewish as well as the Amazigh population (research from 1948 to 1958, p. 150).

The next photograph shows the same small children from Idoubahman-Imjâd who were playing dinner (fig. 205, p. 185). In August 2006 five-year-old Mohamed enjoys making music. He manages quite well to play the *tellunt*, a drum made by his father (fig. 346). Next to Mohamed is his little sister and a cousin of the same age. The two girls take it in turns to chase each other. Once the girl with the red blouse catches her cousin this one must be her donkey. The first girl feels happy to sit on her donkey's back but the other girl does not like this as one sees on her face.



Another type of tambourine in pottery is particularly given to the boys for the °Ashûra feast (fig. 345 right, p. 280, H = 25 cm, D = 11 cm). But according to information from the village Ksar Assaka, the smallest model can be found in the hands of two or three-year-old girls because at this age sexual differentiation is not yet relevant.

This tambourine is called *ta°rija*, a name already mentioned by Jeanne Jouin who described the one she bought in Fès in 1933 and that she gave to the Musée de l'Homme, as follows: a skin tightened on an earthenware cylinder. The cylinder is covered with blue flowers on a pink background (71.1933.77.49, H = 17.5 cm, D = 6 cm). Jeanne Jouin added to this that it is a reduced model given to children especially for the °Ashûra feast. F. Castells mentions such tambourines in his description of °Ashûra in Rabat already in 1915. He writes about the 'agouals' that they are oblong tambourines of ordinary earthenware. Their shape is almost like a cylinder becoming thinner in the middle of its height and ending in a slightly widened cone. At this place a goatskin is fixed on which one beats after warming it up slightly to tighten the skin so that the tambourine becomes more resonant. These 'agouals' can be of crude earthenware or are painted in red and decorated with crossed lines. In this case they are also called 'taârija'. There exist some very small ones bought for the children, and some very large ones that are carefully kept until the next °Ashûra. The normal dimension is 33 cm by 12 cm (p. 342).

I bought a series of tambourines of different height in the coastal town Kénitra during the °Ashûra feast of 1994 (fig. 347).



The smallest tambourine with a brown decoration on a green background costs 2 dirhams or 0.2 € (H = 7.5 cm, D = 4 cm). The one with red, blue and black stripes was the same price (H = 12.5 cm, D = 8 cm). There is also another small enameled earthenware tambourine with a brown and gray decoration (H = 12.5 cm, D = 6.5 cm) and a larger tambourine of ochre color (H = 21 cm, D = 10 cm). The larger tambourine is heavily decorated with a tree, a palm tree, birds and a design resembling a gazelle on a rock, painted in brown and green on a yellow background and with black circles on the top and at the bottom (H = 24.5 cm, D = 12 cm). The children take this instrument in one hand and hit it with the other.

In Midelt I obtained two other tambourines heavily decorated with bright colors and a geometric design of white lines at the time of the °Ashûra feast of 1999 (H = 20.5/21.5 cm, D = 10/11.5 cm). In Sidi Ifni during the °Ashûra feast of March 2003 the same kind of tambourines also named *ta°rija* are largely available in the stalls of some ambulant merchants. In this town I saw them often in the hands of girls using them to accompany their singing. In Sidi Ifni during °Ashûra at the end of January 2007 ambulant merchants sold very small tambourines (H = 10 cm) for 1 dirham or 0.1 € and medium sized tambourines (H = 18 cm) for 5 dirhams or 0.5 € (fig. 348).



Such tambourines are also given to the Aït Ouirra children of the El Ksiba region in the Moyen Atlas. There a tambourine is called 'tikazdoumma'. It is an earthenware cylinder covered with a tightened goatskin (Oubahammou, 1987: 85).

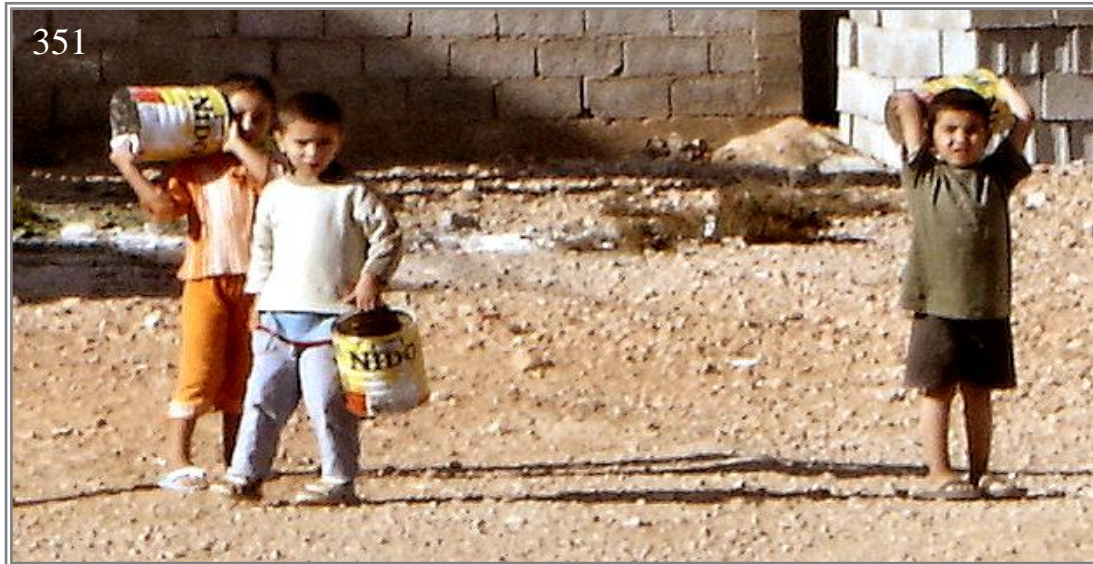
The *t'bal* is a percussion instrument with a skin tightened at both sides of a cylinder. This drum is normally given to boys for °Ashûra. The one I received in Midelt in 1999 hangs at a child's neck by a blue string attached at two hooks (fig. 349, H = 7 cm, D = 10 cm). On top and at the bottom of the cardboard cylinder a shiny yellow ribbon is fixed with nails. The little drum is played with two sticks cut out of a tomato crate because this wood is hard and therefore produces a clear sound.



An old plastic oilcan also called *t'bal* worn at the neck or the shoulder adequately replaces such a drum. Boys traditionally use it for the °Ashûra feast. Figure 350 taken at Goulmima in Central Morocco at the time of the 'fête du trône', the feast of the dynasty, shows that pupils also use it during the participation of the schools in this feast in 1996.



Children like to use a milk powder can as drum and these small boys from the village Ikenwèn in the Tiznit region have been lucky to find one in December 2006 (fig. 351).



A Sunday in May 2005 before sunset, a group of six boys between seven and nine years form a percussion orchestra in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni. They do this for the second day and play for about an hour. They play local rhythms and sing Moroccan Arabic songs. As instruments they use all kinds of plastic and metal cans and a plastic bottle that they hit with two sticks or metal bars (fig. 352).



Boys having a drumming session can be seen here and there in Morocco and they enjoy themselves a lot like these Sidi Ifni boys in August 2005. They just sat in the shadow of a tree on the sidewalk of the road to the harbor of Sidi Ifni when I passed by. Small and large tin cans together with plastic bottles serve as drums. With reed sticks they created microphones standing in front of their drums. The smallest boy in particular performed as singer and dancer to the great laughter of the others (fig. 353).



August 2005 seems to be a month of music making for the boys of the Boulalem quarter in Sidi Ifni as a few days later several groups of boys were playing on their would-be drums at the beginning of the night. At that occasion I found Zakaria, a twelve-year-old boy, playing on a drum kit in the presence of his friends. He made his drum kit with three milk powder boxes and their tin lids. He used pieces of a wooden broom handle to make the supporting structure and black adhesive to fix it. Two cymbals complete the drum kit. For the first cymbal a long nail is driven through the lid onto the wooden handle but after a plastic thread's spool has been

put under the lid. For the second cymbal another long nail has been driven through a first lid, through a bottle stopper, then through a second lid and finally through the side of the lower drum. To keep the nail in place a bottle stopper is put over it at the inside of the lower drum. A few big stones are put inside the lower drum to keep the whole structure in balance (fig. 354, H = 44 cm, L = 36 cm). Two sticks taken from a branch serve as drumsticks.



Zakaria said he found his inspiration in watching an orchestra performing during one of the summer weddings taking place in the quarter where he lives. Yet, it is the first time he has made such a drum kit.

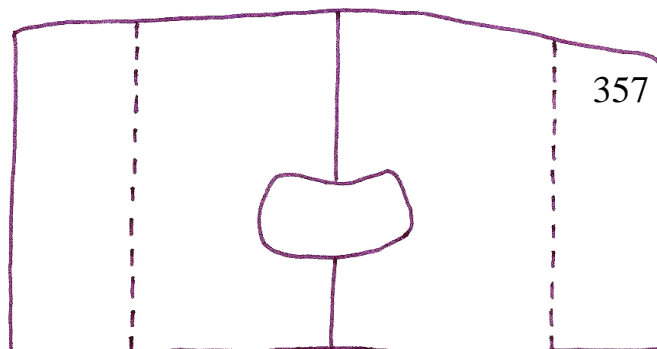
In cities as well as in villages milk powder tin boxes are ideal objects to be changed into drums. Mostly the bottom of a box is hit with sticks or hand but the more elaborated drums of this kind have a skin in the place of the tin bottom (fig. 355). The drums shown below were made by Abderrahim, a sixteen-year-old boy of the village Igîsel at about 3 km from the hot water spring Abaynou near Guelmim in the Pre-Sahara. He used pieces of goatskin as membrane. Once the bottom of the tin box has been removed they must be tightened over the tin box when wet. Once dry they remain in place without any glue. Abderrahim made these drums for the °Ashûra festivities and other festive occasions.



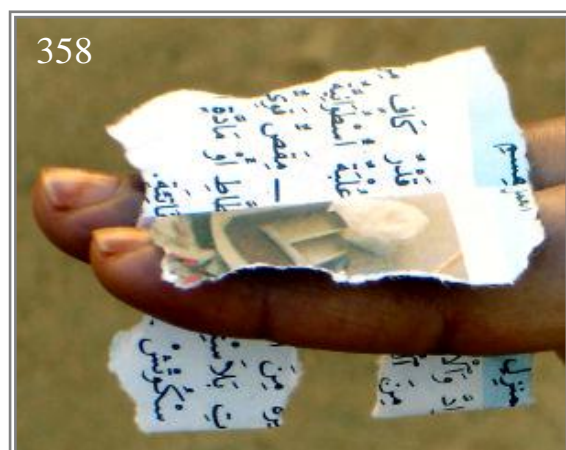
An eleven-year-old boy from Midelt told me in June 2002 that he makes a copy of a typical Gnâwa (black musicians) metallic percussion instrument called *qerbshèlla* (fig. 356). The boy holds it with a thread around his thumb and another turned around his medium finger and the index. It is used especially during °Ashûra while other boys play a drum or a flute.



In Morocco I have seen several ways to make whistles with vegetal material, with paper or with a piece of a tin can. Girls and boys from the Midelt region use the top of a fresh green reed where the leaf remains rolled up. This rolled up leaf should be pulled out and put in the mouth with the open end first. Then the lips must slightly press on the opening. When blowing in the correct way a sharp tone is produced. A piece of paper can be used instead. Out of an exercise book's sheet for example, one cuts a rectangle and folds it in two lengthwise. At both sides a strip should be folded over. Then a hole is made in the middle of the central fold. A nine-year-old boy made a paper whistle of about 6 cm by 5 cm. A second paper whistle of about 11 cm by 5.5 cm was made by an eleven-year-old boy (fig. 357).

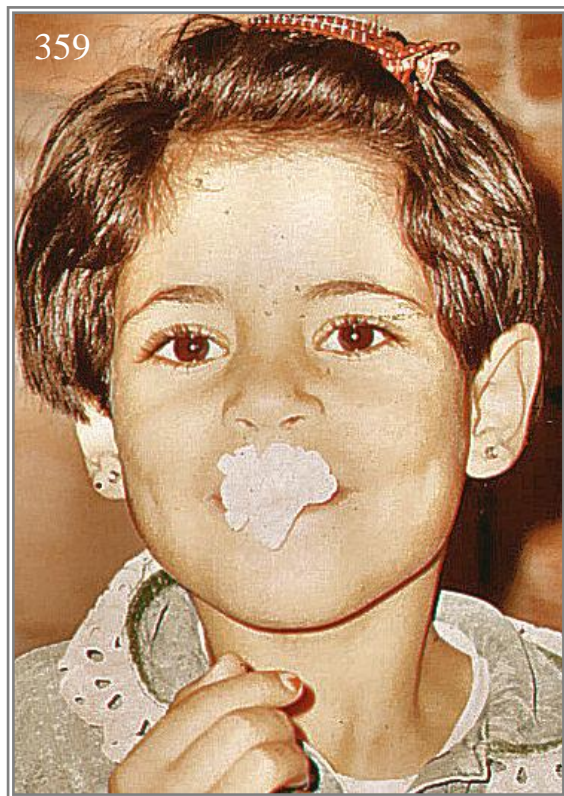


These whistles have been made in Midelt in October 1998. To whistle the folded piece of paper, with the hole down, should be put between two fingers so that the two strips rest on the fingers (fig. 358). When the child slightly opens the fingers and blows in an adequate manner, whistling is produced. The reed leaf whistle as well as the paper whistle is called *t'azemart* in local Amazigh.



In the village Zaïda, 30 km before Midelt when coming from Meknès, a girl showed me how a flower becomes a whistle (fig. 359). The girl took the chalice shaped petals and extracted the stamens. Then she putted the petals in her mouth with the little opening at the base first. Pressing her lips slightly on this opening and blowing correctly, she was able to produce a whistling sound.

Pierre Flamand talks about the whistles used by the children of southern Morocco during the 1950s. He writes that the children, with a piece of reed, as well as the local



artisans, with some fragments of tin cans, make the two universally known types of whistles: the long whistle and the round whistle. They also make a water whistle. This toy has as little water tank a hollow reed closed at both ends of about 20 cm in length and one centimeter in diameter. Near one of the closed ends a cylindrical hole is made into which fits a short hollow stalk to fill the tank. Another short stalk cut in a chamfered way is symmetrically placed near the other end. Blowing into this stalk produces sonorous gurgling that pleases the children. Sometimes the water whistle is only an emptied pomegranate pierced by two holes. In Spain, an earthenware water jug is used (p. 158).

Like the artisans mentioned by Pierre Flamand, boys from the village Ikenwèn in the Tiznit region make tin whistles in July 2006 (fig. 360-361, p. 291, H+ = 2 cm, L+ = 4 cm). They are created out of a tin lemonade can. Mostly the curved part is left open but it can also be closed. The simple mouthpiece is the flat part of the piece of tin. More often a folded piece of tin is pushed over the flat part. To blow the whistle one must take the curved part between thumb and index and take care that it stays horizontal and in line with the mouthpiece. These whistles blow really hard and when a little plastic pearl is put inside the curved part the whistle sounds like a

police whistle. This kind of whistle is especially used for playing police and thieves.



Jeanne Jouin has given to the Musée de l'Homme in 1931 a flute coming from Rabat and played by young herdsboys and other children, (71.1931.45.29, H = 24 cm). According to the information on the index card, it is a hollow cylinder with a chamfered mouthpiece and a chamfered opening near this mouthpiece. The reed is pierced by eight holes, seven holes on the upper side and one at the lower side. The mouthpiece is painted red.

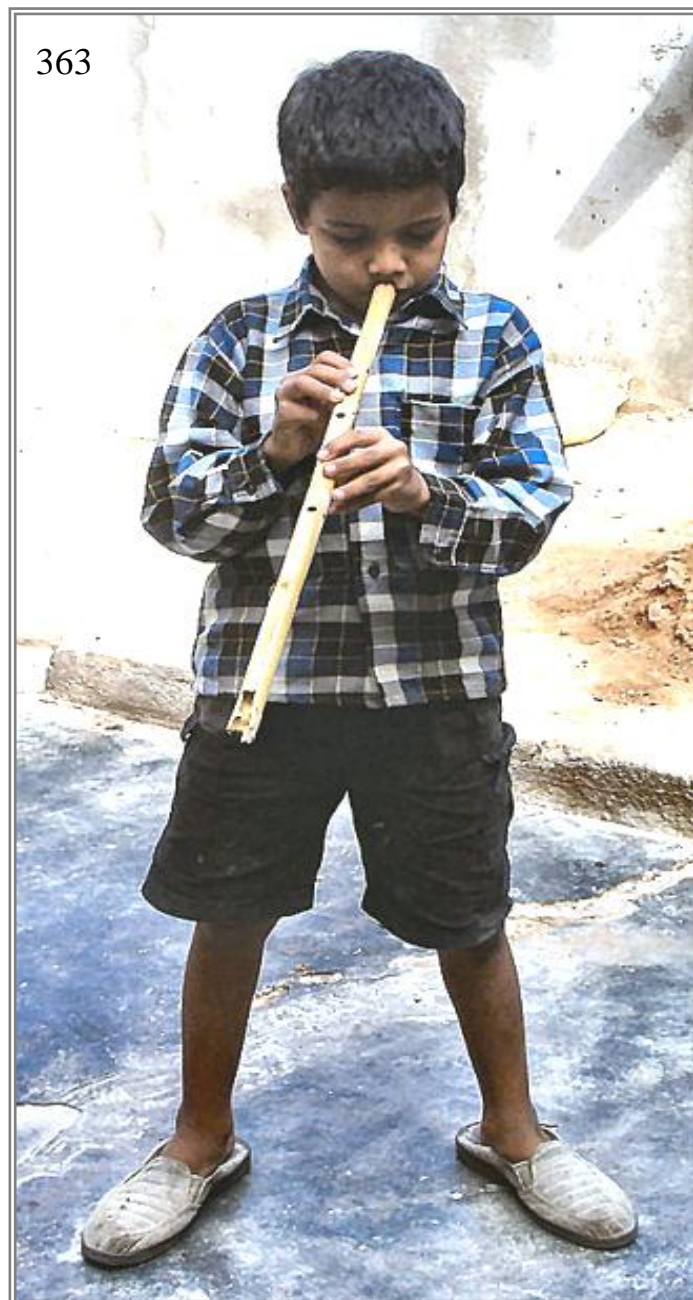
I bought the same kind of reed flute with an equal number of holes in Marrakech in 1992 (fig. 362). At the opposite end of the mouth piece the reed is cut at a knot so that it remains closed there. The same flute is sold to those visiting the Aïn Vittel source of Ifrane in the Moyen Atlas. There I saw such a flute being given to a not yet two-year-old girl in August 1999.



In the southern Moroccan Mellahs during the 1950s, a similar flute was played. The children make themselves a flute with a 20 to 30 cm long and about 1 cm diameter reed tube. At one of both ends the reed is cut in a chamfered way with an intake of air opening nearby. This simple musical instrument offers limited possibilities for sound modulation. This toy belongs to the Jewish popular tradition because of its association with the Purim feast. The parents and their friends give these to the children so that they may participate loudly in the glorification of Esther and her people.

The shops sell such flutes with six holes, made of plastic by European factories, for 200 to 300 francs. Only few are sold, as the local flutes are still wanted for their cheap price of 10 to 20 francs. In the large agglomerations the shopkeepers selling birdcages provide these flutes. In the southern Moroccan countryside where the children find reed, they make the flutes themselves (Flamand, p. 158).

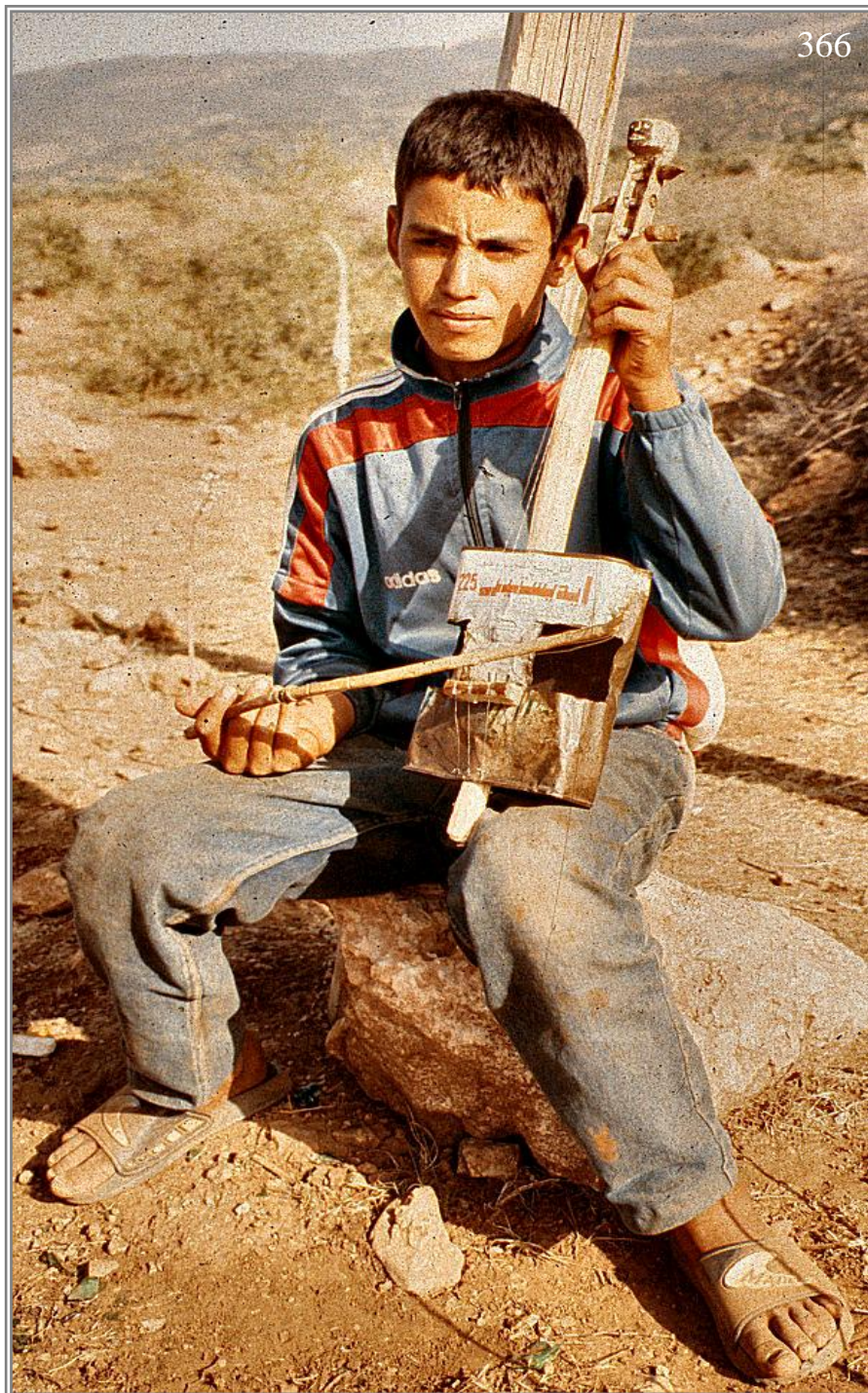
In February 2007 eleven-year-old Sidi Ahmed living in the village Douar near Tan-Tan received from his paternal grandfather the long reed flute he used to play. Sidi Ahmed liked to have one after he saw it during a marriage feast. On this flute he tries to play a herdsman tune (fig. 363).



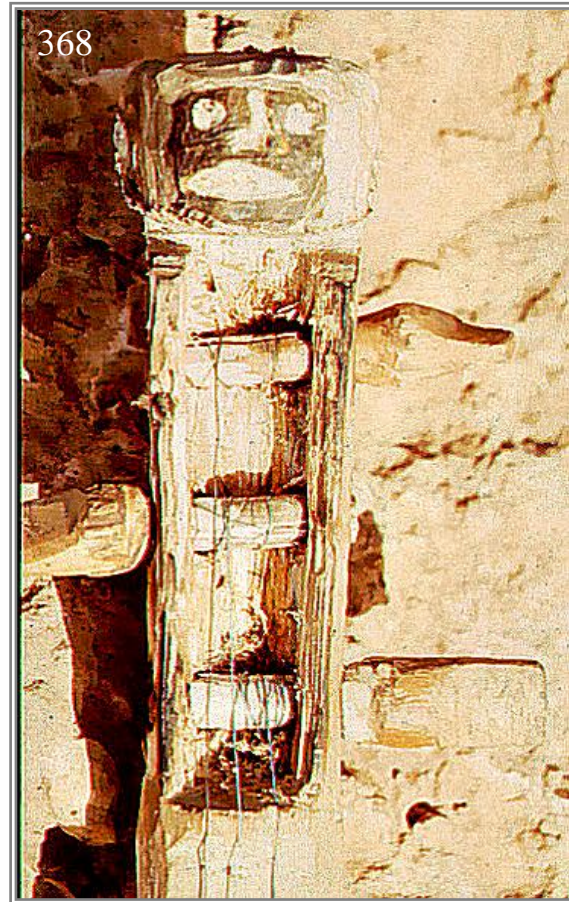
An eleven-year-old boy from Midelt in Central Morocco gave me a rather special kind of flute he totally made of waste plastic objects in September 1999. It is a copy of the local flute, called *el ghêta*, resembling an oboe and having five holes at the upper side and one at the lower side. To create a mouthpiece the boy put a plastic stopper of an oil bottle over one end of the tube. Then he stuck a plastic straw, found in small lemonade boxes, through an opening in the center of the stopper (fig. 364). At the other end of the tube he fixed a bell cut out from the upper part of a lemonade bottle and with a diameter of maximum 8 cm. With the opening first, the bell is attached to the tube with a few plastic strips coming from the same bottle (fig. 365, L = 30 cm, D of the tube = 2 cm).



On the side of the road from Kasba Tadla to Khénifra at the village Tighboula near El Ksiba in the Moyen Atlas, I met Khalef, a young herdsboy of thirteen years, playing on his self-made violin one day in September 1999 (fig. 366, p. 294). This violin bears the name *kamanja*.



An old tin can of about 20 by 17 by 6.5 cm serves as resonance chamber. A stick of about 65 cm length and a maximum diameter of 4 cm is piercing the can through top and bottom. This stick is a branch of an olive tree that has been totally barked except for two squares of bark. One square lies just below the scroll in which a face - with nose, mouth, eyes and ears - has been incised in the bark (fig. 367-368, p. 295).



Another square lies at the back below the pegs where one sees an incised X. Below the scroll the boy hollowed out the stick for 8 cm in length, 2 cm in breadth and 1.5 cm in depth. At both sides of this hollowing he burned three holes in which are driven three pegs of about 5 cm length made from the same wood. Two rectangular openings cut out on the upper side of the can replace the violin's sound holes. This rectangle measures about 6 by 7 cm. The bridge, placed in the middle just below these sound holes, is cut from a piece of light and soft wood probably taken from a cacao tree. In the folded edge at the bottom of the can three little holes are pierced to attach three metallic strings made with drawled spirals from exercise books. Once the strings are attached to the pegs it is possible to tighten them by turning the pegs, this way obtaining the wanted tone. The herdsboy uses as bow a piece of a barked olive tree branch of 52 cm length kept bent by five nylon threads bought in a shop. At the top of the bow the threads pass in a notch before being tied together. At the bottom of the bow these strings are kept in place with a piece of wool yarn.

The middle of the bow is decorated with three circular incisions about 4 cm distanced from each other (fig. 369).



According to Khalef's neighbors other herdsboys of the region do not make such a violin adding to this that Khalef who had lived for some years in the Tighboula region comes from the Aït Haddidou population of Imilchil in the heart of the Haut Atlas.

The making of such violins seems to be rare. Yet, two of my informants from the Midelt region told me they made such a violin as young boys.

Moreover, I saw a violin made by seven-year-old Hafid from the mountain village Lahfart in the Sidi Ifni region in May 2005 (fig. 370). Hafid explained that his ten-year-old brother helped him to create this musical instrument on which it is possible to play tunes.

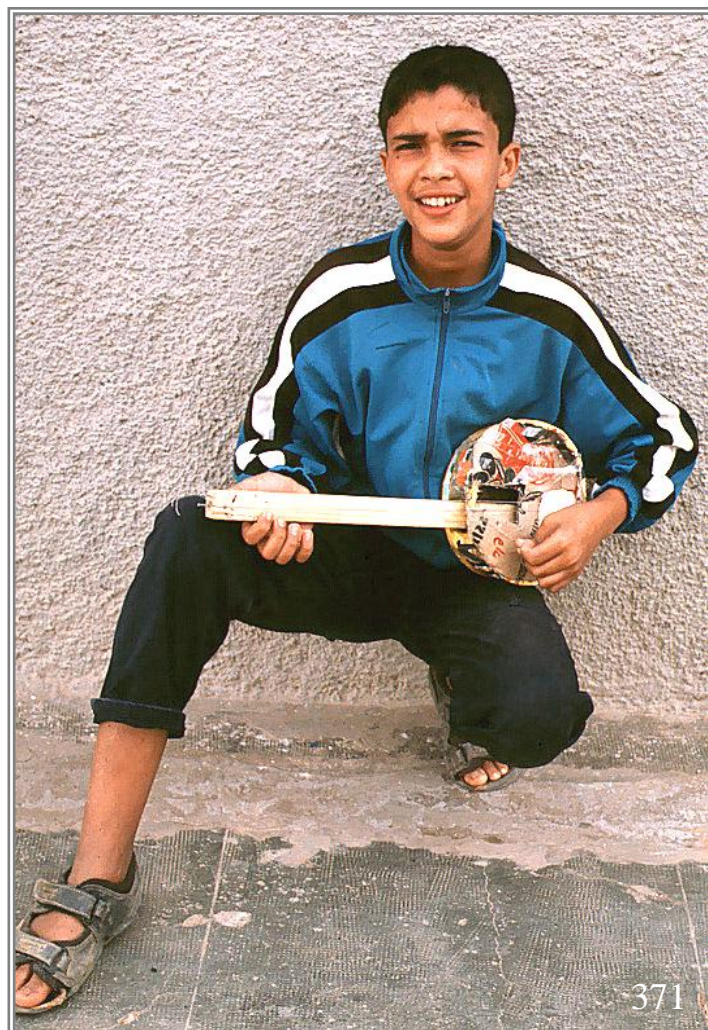


As resonance chamber an old pan with handle is used ($D = 18$ cm, $H = 9$ cm). In the opening of the handle a wooden lath has been fixed ($L = 58$ cm, $B = 4$ cm). A piece of wood of 12 cm by 5 cm, nailed at the upper part of the lath, creates the scroll in which three wood screws are screwed. At the bottom end the strings are attached to the nail fixing the lath to the pan and

at the other side to the openings of the screws. Hafid received the nylon strings from a neighbor who got them from a family member fishing with a rod. A thin piece of wood of 16 cm by 10 cm is nailed to lower end of the lath. This piece of wood starts slightly above the upper end of the pan and stops at about 3 cm from the pan's lower edge. At that place the bridge, a rectangular piece of wood has been pushed under the strings. The bow is a curved branch of about 30 cm with a piece of copper wire stretched between its ends.

In the hands of a six-year-old boy living in the small town Goulmima in Central Morocco, I found in November 1994 a guitar with three strings, old reused strings from a string instrument. The resonance chamber is a plastic lemonade bottle with a maximum breadth of 8 cm pushed over an about 80 cm long stick. Two nails and a notch on top of the stick serve to attach the string that turns around a point cut out at the bottom of the stick.

In February 2003 I was able to photograph a thirteen-year-old boy who played his self-made guitar in an uphill street of the Boulalem quarter in Sidi Ifni (fig. 371). This guitar is made with a round tin can, a wooden lath, some nails and real strings. The boy also told me that his father helped him to finish this guitar.



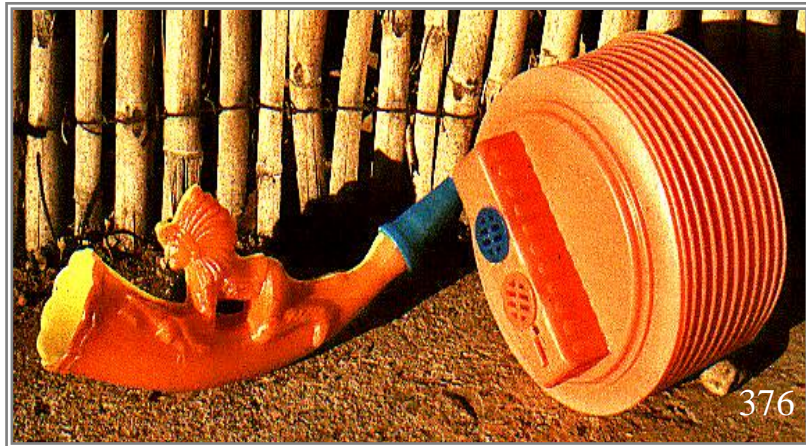
Another guitar of the same type comes from the village Igîsel near Guelmim in the Pre-Sahara (fig. 372, p. 298, H = 58, LO = 15). In 2005 it was made by a fourteen-year-old boy with a glue can, a plank, nylon strings and screws. For the bridge he used a piece of broomstick. Below the bridge the three strings have been attached to the nails fixing the plank to the resonance chamber and on top of the plank to the three screws.

Mohamed Sijelmassi shows a color photograph of a boy with his guitar: oil can, some metal strings and a piece of wood (1984: 88).

The competition between the noisemakers and the musical instruments locally made by children or adults, and the imported ones often made of plastic is not new at all as F. Castells already talks of trumpets and drums made in Europe and sold for the °Ashûra feast in Rabat in 1915 (p. 342). Seventy-six years later, I bought a series of such cheap musical instruments in Marrakech in 1992. I gave the rattle (fig. 373) and the trumpet (fig. 374) to the children of a woman who told me about the dolls of her childhood.



At the same time I also bought a whistle (fig. 375), an accordion and a second trumpet (fig. 376). These musical instruments made in South-East Asia are sold among other toys by salesmen at markets and in tiny shops especially for °Ashûra.



6 Rituals and feasts in play, games and toys

As with most aspects of family life, the social, religious and magic rituals and the feasts can be claimed by the Saharan and North African children to create play activities. But sometimes the distinction between play and ritual becomes indistinct and the children are directly integrated into ritual life. Then the children really perform a ritual, yet in such cases ritual and play easily mix.

Speaking of the links between play activities and toys, on one side, and of rituals and feasts, on the other side, I should first of all stipulate that this chapter deals much more with play activities in which children interpret certain rituals and some aspects of festivities than with real ritual games. An example is offered by the two and a half-year-old girl Selma, already mentioned when speaking of dancing as a child's activity (p. 343, p. 278), who with the same spontaneity imitates prayer (fig. 377).



Charles Béart offers in his book *Jeux et Jouets de l'Ouest Africain* a chapter on magic and conjuring in play activities (p. 565-569), on ritual play (p. 571-578) and on the link between games and festivities (p. 578-590). In opposition to other chapters in this book, there is no information on the children of the Tuareg and the Moors. Moreover, only few data could be gathered through my fieldwork.

During my research among the Ghib of the Tunisian Sahara I found some games related to magical and religious life. So, when the Ghib children of the 1970s needed to trace a circle for one of their collective games, e.g. the game of hide and seek, they often imitated a magic ritual for the protection of goods (fig. 378, p. 302).



378

The girls or the boys stay in one line. While walking they trace a circle in the sand with one foot (fig. 379) while singing:

Khot'a khot'a,
Illi mê ikhawutesh, ommah mangûta.
Step by step (we make a circle),
The one who does not trace the circle, his mother will become ill.



379

When the circle is traced, the one in front of the line starts to run fast along the interior side of the circle. Everybody must try to catch the one in front while screaming:

Illi yalh'ag khûh, igerres khûh.

The one who catches a playmate, must pinch this playmate.

If a child pinches the playmate too strongly this can provoke a fight. A direct link exists between this way of tracing a circle and the beliefs. Tracing a circle around one's goods to protect them is done by children as well as by adults (fig. 378, p. 302). An observation I made in El Faouar in November 1975 shows how a little Ghrib girl traces a protecting circle. In the morning Jamila, a four-year-old girl, and her neighbor Fatna of about seven years, are looking at some men of their family building a house. Without apparent reason Jamila starts to trace a circle with her foot as is done for the hide and seek game. At the same time she sings the magic formula to protect goods. Immediately, Fatna follows her in the same tracing. However, the girls do not continue a game but sit down playing in the sand.

Dominique Champault mentions the use of this protecting circle by Belbala children in relation to their household play. She writes that the pretend houses and their furniture are abandoned by their young owners who will find them undisturbed when they come back some months later. Conscientious owners take the precaution to surround their pretend house with a circle drawn with their foot, just as adults do to attest their property rights on an object left temporary in the desert so that it will not be seen as something lost (1969: 349).

In a game called *ed desh ed desh*, carry from door to door, the Ghrib children imitate a ritual accomplished when a child takes a long time to start walking (fig. 380, p. 304). Two older children carry a little child put in a basket from house or tent to the other houses or tents saying before each entrance when it is a boy:

Ed desh ed desh yâ hebshî,

Inshâllah içbay îwâli yimshî.

Carry from door to door, oh my beloved,

If it is God's will, he will walk.

When it is a girl they say:

Dê desh,

Inshâllah th'at't'ab el geshgêsh.

Carry from door to door,

If it is God's will, she will collect firewood.



There is also the Ghib children's divination, called *tetgîz edh dhir*. A boy or a girl playing the role of the male or female *teggêz*, the soothsayer, rolls up a piece of woolen yarn between both hand palms as when making a little ball of clay. If one of the players asked information about an adult of his family then once the yarn is well rolled up, the soothsayer says:

Ya khuyat yâ mlît yimtah îrawwah mula el bît?

Oh little yarn, oh frizzy, when will the master of the house come home?

The soothsayer, depending on what his or her client wants to know, asks other questions. Then, the soothsayer puts the rolled up yarn on the ground to unroll. If the yarn's end points to the east this is interpreted as an indication that the concerned adult will come home the same day. But if the yarn's end points to another direction this means that this adult will stay away for some time. The players can agree to give to the other directions a specific meaning, for example in relation to the time of return.

While making some constructions with wet sand in April 1975, the Ghrib boys from the oasis of El Faouar refer to the religious life and the magic beliefs of their community when building a mosque and a saint's tomb (fig. 120-123, p. 130-132).

The children from Mopti on the Niger River in Mali also build mosques with clay. Jean-Jacques Mandel and Armelle Brenier-Estrine write that these toys are vital symbols written in clay that record the collective memory of the children. The old mosques from that region, reflecting centuries of scholarship, are not made anymore except in clay by the children (1977: 10).

A game played by the Ghrib adolescents and adults of the 1970s, but not by the children, refers to the burial rites. This game is called *mayt mât*, the one who is dead is really dead. An adolescent lies stiff on the ground. Four other adolescents must lift him under the shoulders and at the feet but only with their index fingers. Before lifting the dead one, they softly say:

Mayt mât, bêsh nghasselûh?

Nghasselûh bûl el bhaym!

The one who is dead is really dead, how are we going to wash him?

We will wash him with the urine of the donkeys!

After these words they try to lift him as high as possible.

Yet, a similar burial rite can also arise all of a sudden in the imagination of Moroccan children, as I witnessed in a street of a popular quarter of Kénitra in August 1993. There I saw how a little child taken by four girls

suddenly transformed into a dead child that is transported by hands and feet, put on the ground and mourned by the girls shouting Allah, Allah!

The data I collected in Morocco or those found in the consulted bibliography offer little information on the relationship between rituals and children's play activities. The reader will find some information in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's Dolls and Doll Play* (2005: 114-195). In that book I discuss children's make-believe play in which they imitate certain marriage rites, but also rites in relation to delivery, birth, circumcision, funerals and asking for rain. Some games of skill such as ball games and swing games were related to rites of attracting rain (Westermarck, 1926).

In my above-mentioned book I describe how about 1982 the girls from the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt ask for rain during a period of draught using a doll made with a wooden ladle and called *telghenja* (2005: 190-191). On July 9th 2006, Khalija Jariaa observed how twenty-three girls and four boys between 3 and 13 years represent in a playful way the same ritual for obtaining rain. This took place in the village Douar Ouaraben on the outskirts of the town Tiznit near the road to Sidi Ifni.

Fatiha, a thirteen-year-old girl and the leader of the play activity, has created the *belghenja* doll (fig. 381). This doll is made with an armature of two cross-shaped reeds enveloped in a few rags and dressed in a dress taken from a doll brought along from France (H = 35 cm, span of the arms = 19 cm).

The doll's headgear is a flower that decorated a dress of Fatiha's mother. *Belghenja's* necklace is made with *tiznin ndlah*, the pits of a watermelon,



and a kind of necklace the girls make for themselves during the watermelon period. The big red ball is called *aqā limqurn*. It is bought during the Mussem or yearly feast and is a typical gift to a girl (fig. 382).



The first part of the enactment of *belghenja* takes place on these children's playground, an empty space between the constructions where pretend houses are marked out with stones (fig. 54, p. 90). *Fatiha* carries *belghenja* with both hands at the height of her forehead. Another thirteen-year-old girl bears the sac in which the gifts are to be put and a third one of the same age will knock at the doors. Now they start making a turn of the pretend houses. The three girls sing and one of them will knock on the door when the third verse is sung:

Belghenja, belghenja,
Addig Rabbi aman onzar,
Aisu wakar tili tuga,
Ad shin tfunasin,

Shin ihray sun ifullusen sun tazzanin.
Belghenja, belghenja,
May God send us rainwater,
So that the earth can drink and flower,
And that the cows and sheep can eat,
So that the chickens and the babies may drink.

The girls add in a speaking manner:

Aman onzar ar tnid itga Rabbi,
Ilkhalaiq lur sawalnin,
Mauri sawaln ifullusen, difunnasen, idan, tazzanin,
Urd nekni limqornin.
Rainwater may God send it,
To those who do not speak,
The chickens, cows, dogs and babies,
Not to those who are grownups.

These verses refer to the popular belief in the Tiznit region that God will have mercy on animals and babies who are not able to speak and therefore do not gossip or commit evil actions. With the grown ups God will have no mercy and if it was not for the sake of those who do not speak God would give no rain and the adults would die.

The children who are in each pretend house offer something to belghenja: sweets or sugar (stones wrapped up in a piece of plastic bag), bread (an old rubber sandal sole), tea (leaves from the *essay* tree bearing leaves resembling tea leaves), and *turufin* (grilled wheat). The girl who makes the grilled wheat answers when belghenja knocks at the door: "I know it is belghenja, wait till I have prepared something to eat", then she acts as if she is grilling wheat before offering it.

Once the round of the pretend houses is finished all the children go out in the street with belghenja. They walk solemnly to the nearby shop where the vendor gives them sweets. After that they walk to the small river *asif n aït jerrar*. There each child must throw into the river some stones. This must be done by throwing the stones under ones arm and while turning ones back to the river. According to the children these stones represent

mice that threaten the harvest, cockroaches that make oil, honey and other food dirty, and fleas that are a symbol of famine.

After returning to the playground *belghenja* is put in a corner as a place of honor. The children sing and pretend to eat what has been given to *belghenja*. Once the game is over *belghenja* is placed in the room serving as loft and where the wheat and barley are kept. As Fatiha explained the children from Douar Ouaraben like to play this game a lot. It is normally played every Monday because in their play world a week counts for a year. The doll is used again for other enactments of the *belghenja* ritual but its dress is changed.

One day in May 2006 at about 11 o'clock a group of ten girls between four and thirteen years and five boys between five and eight years enjoy celebrating the ritual for obtaining rain. Khalija Jariaa observed this in the village Idoubahman-Imjâd at 24 km from Ifrane a/s and 72 km from Tafraoute. As performed by the women of this region with the big *belghenja* doll, the children enact their door-to-door quest through the village asking for small presents in kind or in money. Milouda, a sixty-seven-year old woman, guards this *belghenja* of about one meter in height which is used by the women. According to her it is about a hundred years old.

The children's *belghenja* made by nine-year-old Fatima measures 45 cm in height and the ladle serving as structure is more than thirty years old (fig. 383). The name of the



doll comes from the name of the wooden ladle called *aghenja*.

Around the handle of the ladle a piece of foam rubber is wrapped to give fullness to the dress. A white hooded upper garment covers the yellow undergarment. A crocheted hooded coat made for a baby completes the dress. The top of the ladle is covered with a black scarf, a piece of a plastic bag, and then with a red scarf. At the front of the red scarf a girl has sewn a decoration with pearls and sequins taken from a festive dress. Around the neck hangs a white necklace, a piece of the same dress with sequins and pearls, and a small necklace made with white and black pearls. Two black tresses made with a piece of a plastic bag hang over the shoulders. On the rounded side of the ladle one sees the facial features designed with *legedrân* or natural tar. These features show the eyes with eyelashes and eyebrows, a triangular nose and an oval mouth.

Several pretend houses outlined with stones lay next to one another on the play area behind the houses on the climbing slope of the mountain. There are about ten play houses used for doll play, dinner play and household play. Malika, the thirteen-year-old sister of Fatima, takes the children's *belghenja*, dressed like a *tislit* or bride of years ago, from door to door. Zeina, her twin sister, bears a woven basket holding its two long handles on her forehead with both hands. Both girls pretend to knock on each door while singing *Belghenja's* song, a shortened version of the women's song. This song is the same as the one sung by the Douar Ouaraben girls (p. 307-308).

In each play house there is a would-be mother who offers an egg, bread, an orange, an apple, sugar or tea she took from her home. Once the girl of the first pretend house has put her gift in the basket she accompanies Malika and Zeina to the second house where the same playful ritual takes place after which this girl also joins the procession. This continues till the last house is reached where the five boys playing the role of single men live. They offer money represented by sweet wrappings. These boys pretend to be rich men looking at the passing girls hiding their faces. They do this with their hands on their back and by holding their head upright. The girls go to the house of Malika and Zeina where they eat the gifts. When after an hour or so the game comes to an end the dresses of the children's *belghenja* are taken off. Then the ladle is given back to Milouda, the guardian of the big *belghenja*.

Concerning the link between festivities, games and toys, the °Ashûra feast comes to the foreground but the °Aïd el kebir, the feast of the sacrifice, and the Mûlûd, the commemoration of the birth of the Prophet, also play a role.

In Morocco the °Ashûra feast is the most important one in this context and it is then customary to give sweets and presents to the children. °Ashûra falls on the tenth day of the month Muharram, the first month of the Muslim lunar calendar, and the festivities last for ten days starting at the beginning of the month. In several places, adults used to perform some rites and they eventually participated in carnivalesque amusements, as nowadays still is done in Goulmima in Central Morocco and in Tiznit near Agadir. The data on the °Ashûra dolls is found in my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play* (2005: 49, 187-190).

As far as I know, the first mention of adults giving toys to children was written down by F. Castells in 1915 in relation to the °Ashûra feast in Rabat (p. 342). Westermarck confirms this for Fès in 1926. The Aït Ouirra adults of the Moyen Atlas buy gifts for their children at the occasion of °Ashûra (Oubahammou, 1987: 85). In *Enfances Maghrébines* Mohamed Dernouny states that the °Ashûra feast gives adults the possibility to offer something to children, an occasion for a respite between them for as long as the festivities last (1987: 27). That this custom is not limited to Morocco is proven by Dominique Champault who writes about the Belbala from the Algerian Sahara in the 1960s that the children receive little presents for °Ashûra (1969: 147).

Today in Morocco, the parents and sometimes other members of the family buy toys for the children or give them some money. When I was in Morocco during the °Ashûra feast of 1994, the markets in the popular quarters of Rabat, Kénitra, Marrakech or Midelt were overflowing with toys, often plastic toys. Water pistols and guns for boys and beauty sets for girls seemed to be in fashion. Most of these quite cheap toys come from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. But as the previous chapter has shown, there still are next to the plastic musical instruments (fig. 384) also those made locally. The boys and the girls use these musical instruments especially for their door-to-door quests organized during °Ashûra. In Sidi Ifni during the

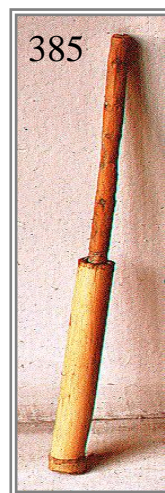


°Ashûra feast of March 2003 I have nevertheless observed that the children give rhythm to their singing by hitting small pottery drums, yet this is often done without begging for sweets or pennies. Especially the girls sing in small groups while clapping hands and shouting the typical 'youyous'. In this town it certainly was the most common play activity during the whole °Ashûra period.

Information from the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt in Central Morocco and referring to the 1970s tells us that girls and boys go in separate groups from door to door asking for small presents in kind or in money. Each group forms a small orchestra to accompany the songs sung for °Ashûra. The children try to enter quietly into a home to surprise the occupants with an unexpected and noisy appearance. A man from this village born in 1968 adds to this in May 2000 that in his youth a group of boys between eight and twelve years form a small orchestra - with a violin or guitar player, and tambourine players using as a tambourine a rabbit skin stretched on a tin can and kept in place with a piece of iron wire - and that one of them becomes a masked figure. One of the boys wears a beard cut from a sheep or goatskin and puts a cushion or a blanket under his clothes to have a protruded belly. The boys' group goes from home to home to sing and perform a masquerade, this way obtaining wheat, sugar, etc. Then they sell these foodstuffs to the grocer to have the money to go to the Cinema Rex in Midelt, closed years ago, or to buy something to eat.

Another play activity directly linked to the °Ashûra feast is the spraying of water. Pierre Flamand confirms this for southern Morocco in the 1950s when writing that the adults and even more the children spray each other in the streets and also in the houses hiding their water-sprayer behind their back. Almost half of the children possess such a water-sprayer. They use it for Pentecost among the Jews and for °Ashûra among the Muslims (Flamand, research 1948 till 1958, p. 151).

Pierre Flamand describes these water sprayers. The common model measures between 8 and 15 cm in length and 2 or 3 cm in diameter. It is made with three pieces of reed: the first piece serving as the body of the pump, the second one being the piston rod and the third piece is used as the stopper closing the cylinder but with an opening for the piston. The tinsmiths sold sprayers made of tin cans for ten francs (research from 1948 till 1958, p. 151).



Three such water sprayers belong to the collection of Saharan and North African toys of the Musée du Quai Branly (fig. 385, 71.1936.2.234). They belonged to Chaouïa children from Ménâa in the Algerian Aurès. Thérèse Rivière collected these toys in 1936 but the index card contains no reference to the °Ashûra feast (71.1936.2.234-236).

The water sprayer is made with two pieces of reed. The body of the pump is a hollow reed open at one side and with a diameter of about 2 cm. The length of the three bodies of the pump is respectively 17.5 cm (234), 24 cm (235), and 24.5 cm (236). A little hole is made in the closed side of the reed serving as the body of the pump. The second piece of reed used as the piston is about 1 cm in diameter and its length is 32.5 cm (234), 61 cm (235), and 30.5 cm (236). The piston must be entwined with cotton thread so that it will fit accurately in the diameter of the body of the pump. When pushing the piston quickly forward, the aspirated water sprays out strongly.

The same type of water sprayer, called *tesdamèn*, was used by Mohamed Jariaa and other boys for the °Ashûra feast around 1990 in the village Ikenwèn in the Anti-Atlas. It is still used today when a boy does not receive a water-pistol or water-gun from his father or another family member. Mohamed reproduced this example in 2006 (fig. 386, L = 32 cm). Instead of thread a piece of fine plastic is used to make the piston fit accurately.



Already in the 1950s, Pierre Flamand noted that this play activity was regressing. He writes that the spraying of water for the Pentecost as done by adults and children has almost disappeared from the urban Mellahs. Yet, it remained well alive in the Mellahs of the Berber mountains where it was seen as a game with water, inspired by the climate. Its religious meaning as a feast of the water, an important moment in the rituals of former Berber paganism, does not appear to the Jews living there (p. 151). This play activity is also mentioned for the Aït Ouirra of the Moyen Atlas by Lahcen Oubahammou who notes that there exists among the games for °Ashûra, the 'ilihane n'âchour', also the game called 'zem-zem' in which people throw water at each other without taking care of wasting water

(1987: 87-88). In 1970 Marie-Rose Rabaté writes about this spraying of water in reference to children of the Dra Valley in the Ouarzazate region (p. 252-253). She also mentions that a boy made a water sprayer.

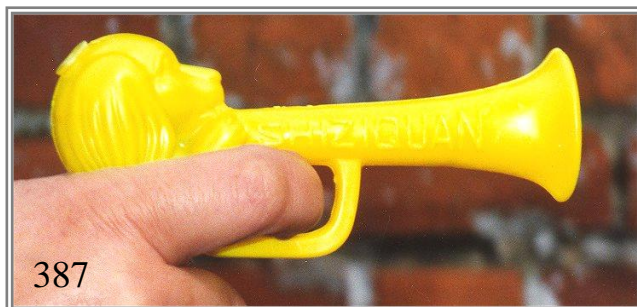
With the exception of Pierre Flamand, Marie-Rose Rabaté and Lahcen Oubahammou, the other authors describing the °Ashûra feast do not mention this spraying of water (Doutté, 1905, 1908; Castells, 1915; Westermarck, 1926; Servier, 1962; Jemma-Gouzon, 1976). However, in most of these studies the custom of pouring water on the graves during °Ashûra is described.

The data I was able to collect on the spraying of water during °Ashûra in the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt refer to three successive generations, that is to say the generation of the grandparents, their children and their grandchildren. The concerned children are those of the 1950s and the 1970s together with the children of today. The children from the 1950s as well as those of the 1970s could permit themselves a lot of liberties when throwing water on children and adults. Two anecdotes are revealing in this respect. About 1950, during °Ashûra, roughly ten-year-old girls took an older woman and together simply plunged her into the water of a small irrigation canal. This woman did not protest against this treatment and other adults did not show any reprobation. About thirty years later, during the °Ashûra of 1979 or 1980, a group of girls and boys of about eleven years entered the mosque, took the pots filled with water serving to perform the ablutions before praying and went on the flat roof. There they waited until someone passed by. A few minutes later, a man arrived with his mule loaded with a huge pack of herbs. The moment he passed before the mosque, the girls and the boys throw all the water on him and his mule. As the man lost control over his mule, the pack of herbs fell on the ground. In this case also, the man did not show bad feelings and the children came down from the roof to help him to put all the herbs back on the mule. Those who told me these two anecdotes said they thought adults would not tolerate such behavior today or that they would react angrily. In Midelt during the °Ashûra of April 2001, the children's spraying of water has changed into spraying water with a water-pistol or a water-gun bought in the market or in a local shop. Although such water-pistols and water-guns were sold during the °Ashûra of March 2003 in Sidi Ifni boys and girls from the Boulalem quarter as well as the town center more often used

plastic bottles and especially plastic bags filled with water used as water bombs during their water fights from nightfall at about 19 h till about 22 h.

10 Muharrem 1424, the last evening of °Ashûra on 14 March 2003, is without any doubt the climax when at nightfall bands of children engage in a real water battle. The following day everything returns to normal and one only hears now and then some children accompanying their singing with the sound of the small drum.

In Morocco, the toy industry has found in the °Ashûra festivities a gap in the market to sell toys. These last years, water-pistols and water-guns have been added to the musical



toys, toy beauty sets, toy utensils and toy weapons. Moreover, the selling of water-pistols is not limited to the °Ashûra period as I have seen a twenty-eight-year-old mother from Ksar Assaka buying for her three-year-old daughter such a plastic water-pistol in the Midelt market for the occasion of the °Aïd el kebir feast of March 2000 (fig. 387).

°Ashûra also incorporates rites of fire as indicated by Dominique Champault about the Belbala children of the Algerian Sahara in the 1960s. She says that during the °Ashûra feast the children wildly run around some time before sunset dragging a bundle of firewood kept together with palm-leaflets. This bundle, called 'tazewit', is lit by a child who drags it for a moment, then hands it over to another child and so on until the bundle is completely burned. Normally, only boys do this but little girls below the age of ten may take over the bundle. To stimulate themselves to run faster, the children shout 'ay, ay, ashur'. The adults also stimulate the children to run as far as possible but while keeping out of the trails. The adults view this play activity as a rite of purification of the whole oasis, yet the children must be careful not to drop ashes on the paths where people walk because ashes attract the 'jnun' or spirits (1969: 147).

Three authors mention that rites of fire also existed in Morocco. F. Castells in his "Note sur la fête de Achoura à Rabat" published in 1915, writes that at nightfall and before eating couscous a straw fire is lighted in the middle of the yard of each house. Around this fire lighted candles are placed and the women and children sing around the fire while playing the 'agoual', a small oblong drum. Everyone, but the children especially,

joyfully jump through the smoke. The ashes of the sacred fire confer many blessings. They are rubbed on the eyes of the children to protect them against illnesses (p. 334). In the beginning of the 1920s and in the valley of the Oued Sebou, one of the important Moroccan rivers passing north of Fès and Sidi Kacem and flowing into the Atlantic near Kénitra, the children took firebrands smeared with tallow that once lighted are thrown from one child to the other child in some places outside the village. According to Biarnay, this game causes many accidents (1924: 84). Marie-Rose Rabaté offers detailed information and some photos on the games with fire from children of the Dra Valley in the Ouarzazate region during °Ashûra in the 1960s (1970: 241-244).

I did not find in the consulted bibliography or in my own data any other reference on Moroccan games linked to fire. Yet, my observations in Sidi Ifni in March 2003 show that this link between °Ashûra and games referring to fire still exists in the Ant-Atlas and this was confirmed by Khalija Jariaa's information about °Ashûra in Tiznit (fig. 393, p. 321).

Around 20 h during the first day of the Muslim new year corresponding to 5 March 2003, I saw in Sidi Ifni a group of about ten children between five and ten years and with almost as many girls as boys standing around a small fire encircled with stones. This happening was observed by a mother standing on her doorstep in a street of the Boulalem quarter. In this fire kept burning by the children with newspaper pages they set fire to their own long piece of Jex, being steel wool used to clean pots. Once the end of the piece becomes red hot the child turns it around quickly using his arm like a mill's sail. When everything goes well, numerous sparks flow around like during fireworks and all those too close jump away. Sometimes a child takes one of the newspaper pages that just starts to burn and runs around with it. I have seen children playing this game of fire in other parts of the city but certainly less than in the Boulalem quarter. In the Colomina quarter at the entrance of Sidi Ifni, I observed the last but one day of °Ashûra how a group of children, mostly boys, amused themselves around a big fire. Some children lit their long pieces of steel wool and threw the sparks around them.

I looked forward to more observations of the Sidi Ifni children during °Ashûra in March 2004. However, I was astonished then to find there were no children throwing water bags or lighting fires in the streets but only children playing drums and singing. Asking a few adults what happened I

was told that the local authorities have forbidden the throwing of water bags and the lighting of fires because some adults complained about the nuisance. Yet, during °Ashûra 2005 both play activities resumed timidly. During °Ashûra of February 2006 these two play activities went on more intensely but only during the first two days. It seemed to me that during °Ashûra at the end of January and the beginning of February 2007 the children of the Boulalem quarter had left aside these play activities. One only heard here or there some children singing and playing a drum. Yet, their songs were not linked to °Ashûra but belonged to the repertoire of the artists in fashion.

Marie-Rose Rabaté describes in 1970 the apparition of a masqued figure during °Ashûra in the Dra Valley in the Ouarzazate region. An adolescent plays this role and two friends help him (p. 246-249, 252, 258).

Khalija Jariaa told me about °Ashûra in Tiznit. During the festivities in February 2006 she made photographs. In that town during the same period a parade called *imashar* goes on for one week. Local adolescents and men, but sometimes also boys in their early teens, perform as musicians, singers, dancers and masked figures (fig. 388).



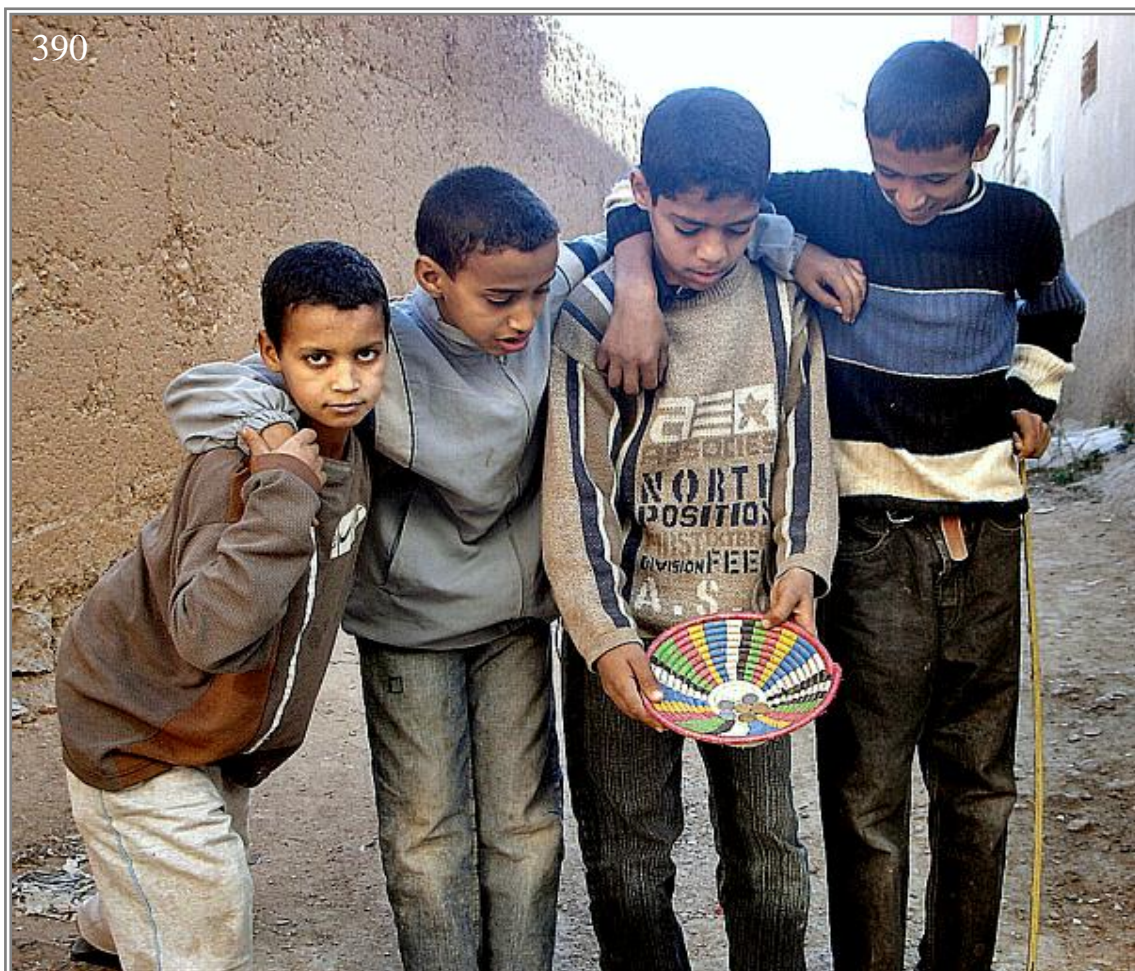
Two or three lads walk around large animals such as a giraffe with a very long neck, a camel or an elephant. Girls participate by chanting and acclaiming the parade.

Already at the age of ten years boys participate in the nightly masquerade as seen on the next photograph made during *imashar* at the beginning of February 2007 (fig. 389). A ten-year-old boy wears a white masque he made with a piece of sheepskin. An eleven-year-old boy wears a black mask bought in a shop. A large plastic container serves as his drum. A twelve-year-old boy dressed in white tried to represent a dromedary with a structure of branches covered with pieces of fabric from large sacks in which sugar loaves are transported.



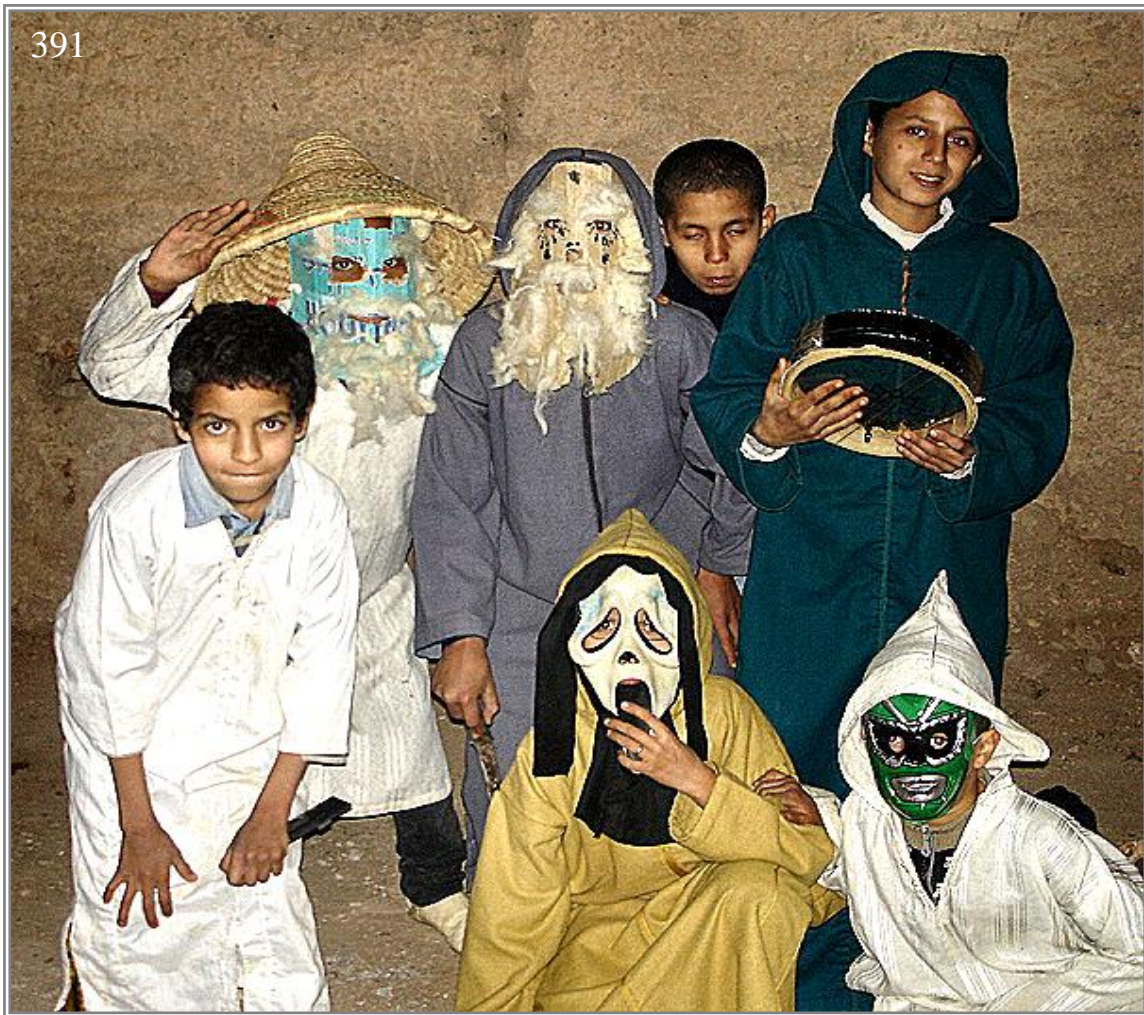
In Tiznit other boys participate in the °Ashûra festivities at the end of January and the beginning of February 2007 as shown on the photo taken by Khalija Jariaa at the end of January 2007. This photo shows a group of friends with the proceeds of an Ashûra collection in their neighborhood (fig. 390, p. 319). Such a collection consists of going from door to door

while singing relevant songs, beating drums and possibly playing on flutes. This time the collected money served to buy paint to create masks.



A group of friends participates in this Tiznit masquerade (fig. 391, p. 320). Self-made masks and bought masks are found together. Accompanied by a drum player and singers, the masked personages walk through town collecting sweets, oranges, sugar and money. The sugar is sold in a shop. This parade mostly takes place in the afternoon but also in the evening and sometimes even until midnight. During this Ashûra period Khalija Jariaa counted in one afternoon twenty-seven of such boys' groups walking through Tiznit.

The mask based on Edvard Munch's painting "the cry" was brought along from France by the father of the boy wearing this mask. The other mask bought locally for 5 dirhams (0.5 €) represents a monster.



The self-made masks are the most current ones. They are often cut out of a piece of cardboard to which sheep's wool is stuck to represent older people. A masked boy wears his mother's traditional hat (fig. 392, p. 321).

After finishing this book I heard that the website of the Amazigh association Asays contains a document of Abderrahmane Lakhsassi called *Réflexions sur la mascarade de Achoura*. This interesting analysis refers to Tiznit in the 1960s and 1970s. The mentioned concrete information is similar to the one given here.

In Tiznit during the °Ashûra feast of 2006 a thirteen-year-old boy is turning his burning piece of steel wool so that sparks fly around (fig. 393, p. 321). Making sparks and spraying water is done by children during the day as well as by night. Adults and even older men and women do this when it is dark.



An eleven-year-old girl from Rissani but living in Midelt told me in June 2000 that, during °Ashûra and only then, the girls play there the game of knucklebones with five sheep bones. This game is called *lèka°ib*.

The same playgroup of Douar Ouaraben which enjoyed pretending to have a wedding feast (p. 91-93) decides somewhat later to enact the celebration of Lilt el Qadr, the commemoration of the night when the first verses of the Koran were given to the Prophet Muhammad. The play activity takes place in the afternoon of this feast at the end of Ramadan in October 2006. The girls are going to get dressed up at the hairdresser, the girl with the white dress (fig. 394). The boys will carry on a cardboard throne two dolls hidden in the cardboard box. These dolls are dressed and made up like a bride. The two boys on the left become a team of the Moroccan television 2M. The cameraman with an old cassette in his hand serving as camera sits down. His helper bears the cable. When the other boy asks "and I?", the older girl tells him "you will sacrifice the sheep", a role the boy gladly accepts.

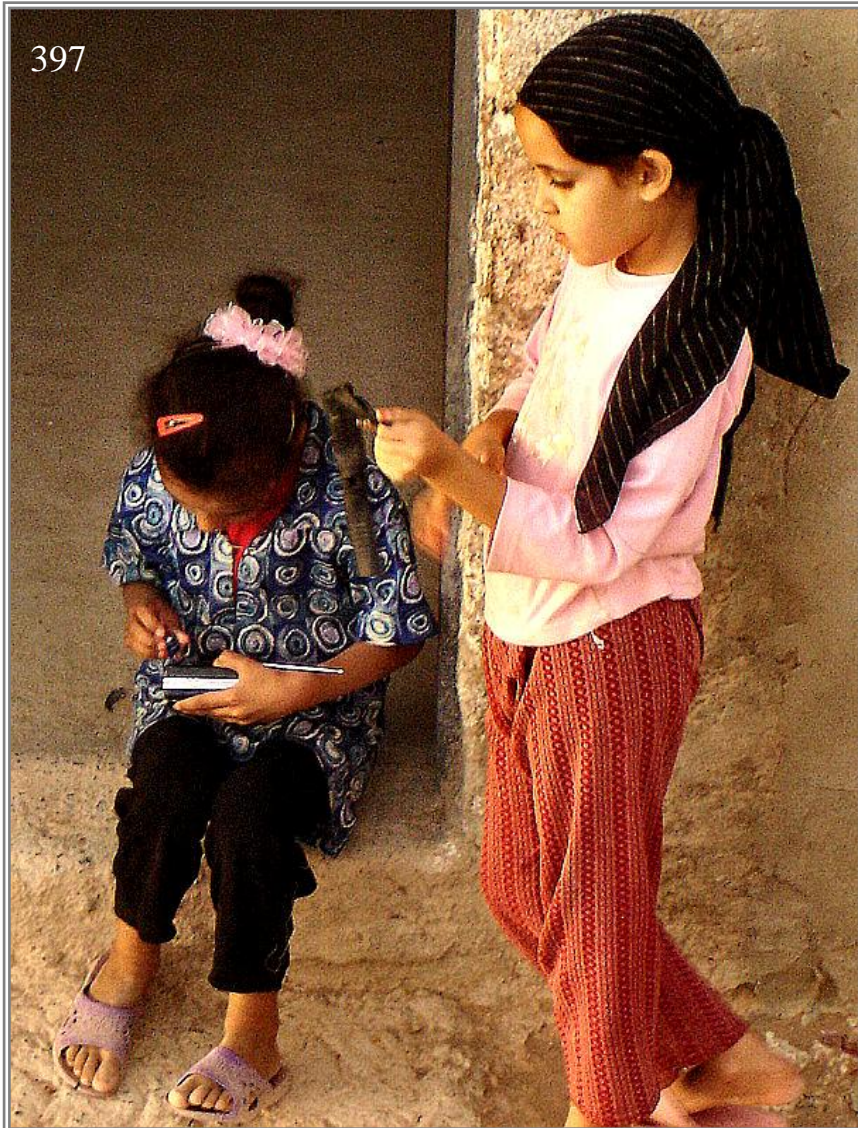
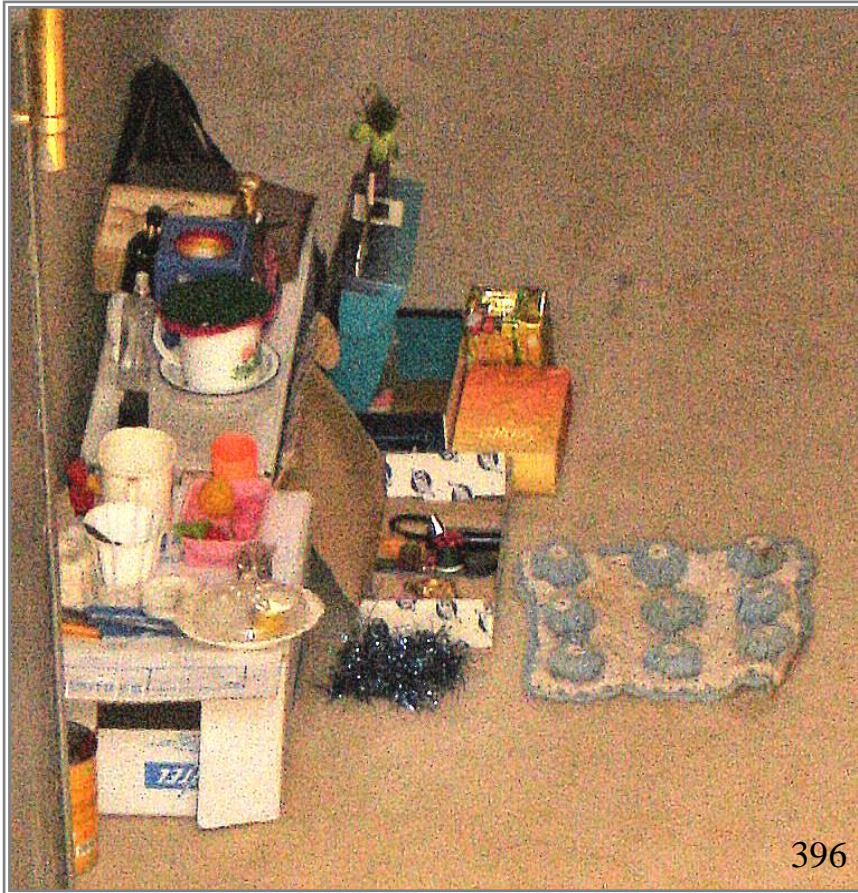


Each girl takes a doll through which the different household tasks will be performed: cleaning the house, preparing dinner, washing the linen, taking care of the cows, etc. The thirteen-year-old girl who plays the role of the grandmother runs the household. Meanwhile the boys go to the market to buy four sticks of French bread (plastic bottles), sheep meat (a horn), a turkey (a plastic duck) and some vegetables (leftovers of vegetables). When the boys return from the market it is time to light several fires to prepare the couscous, a tajine, soup and tea. Two boys and two girls light these fires in the open air as the village women do on this day (fig. 395). Where one sees the flames and on the top right of the photo one can distinguish a container put on the fire, frequently a tin box.



Figure 396 (p. 324) shows the kitchen along the wall with above it a bedroom where the doll is resting. On top in the center of the photograph there is the living room with a television (the golden box). A cupboard and several armchairs are found below. To the right one sees a crocheted decoration serving as table.

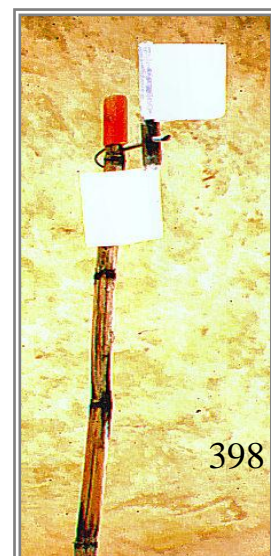
The two girls who prepared the house now become photographers in imitation of Khalija Jariaa. An old radio is their digital camera (fig. 397, p. 324). As Khalija told them that her camera comes from Belgium they say their camera comes from France where some family members are living.



The Mûlûd is the feast of the commemoration of the Prophet's birth. Especially for this feast the boys of the small towns of Goulmima and Tinejdad in Central Morocco make little windmills. Normally this is only done at this occasion. Sometimes boys make these windmills to sell them for about 1 dirham or 0.1 €. So, I bought a windmill made by a six-year-old boy at Tinejdad in August 1994. The simple windmill has one sail, but I also saw in the same town some windmills with two parallel sails turning in opposite directions. According to my information these windmills are called *harrwadi* in Goulmima and *ferrwadi* in Midelt. I was told that *ferr* means 'what is flying'. This word is also used when speaking of a cloth that is taken away by the wind or when an airplane passes over. *Wadi* refers to something that turns. An informant from Goulmima told me that in Ouarzazate the word *ifer wadu* is used, literally meaning 'leaf (of the) wind'.

A fifty-nine-year old woman from Ksar Assaka near Midelt told me in June 2000 that when she was young a short phrase was pronounced when the children ran with their windmill, namely *ferrwadi jawâdô* meaning something like 'windmill (of the) good air'. The same woman refers in the context of the *ferrwadi* to a custom linked to the sun, an act that she performed in the village but has dropped when moving into Midelt for fear of being laughed at by some neighbors. For the Mûlûd the women in the 1950s still went on the flat roof of their house to wait for the sun rising. The evening before or at least before sunrise, they suspended some headscarves decorated with sequins. At the time the sun appears they marvel at how it seems to 'dance' (impression due to the vibration of the air) and start to welcome it by shouting the typical 'youyous'.

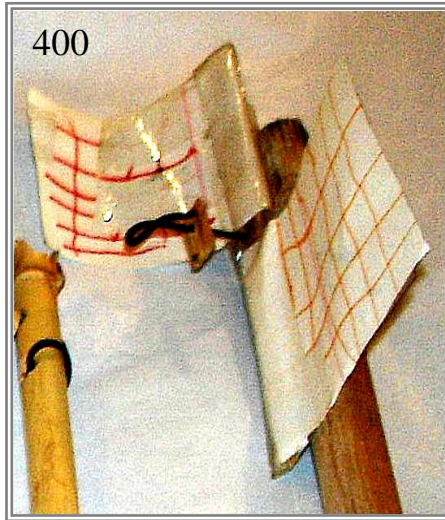
As I noticed in Midelt and surrounding villages, the boys still made windmills. At the time of the Mûlûd of June 2000, I observed at Aït Mamoussa, a village just outside Midelt in the direction of the Jbel Ayachi, a boy of about ten years making such a *ferrwadi*. However, I did not see then any *ferrwadi* in the neighboring village Taäkit and a few adults told me that the children did not play with them anymore. Yet, a ten-year-old boy from the Aït Mansour quarter in Midelt who lived until his eight years in the village Ksar Assaka showed me how these windmills are made (fig. 398).



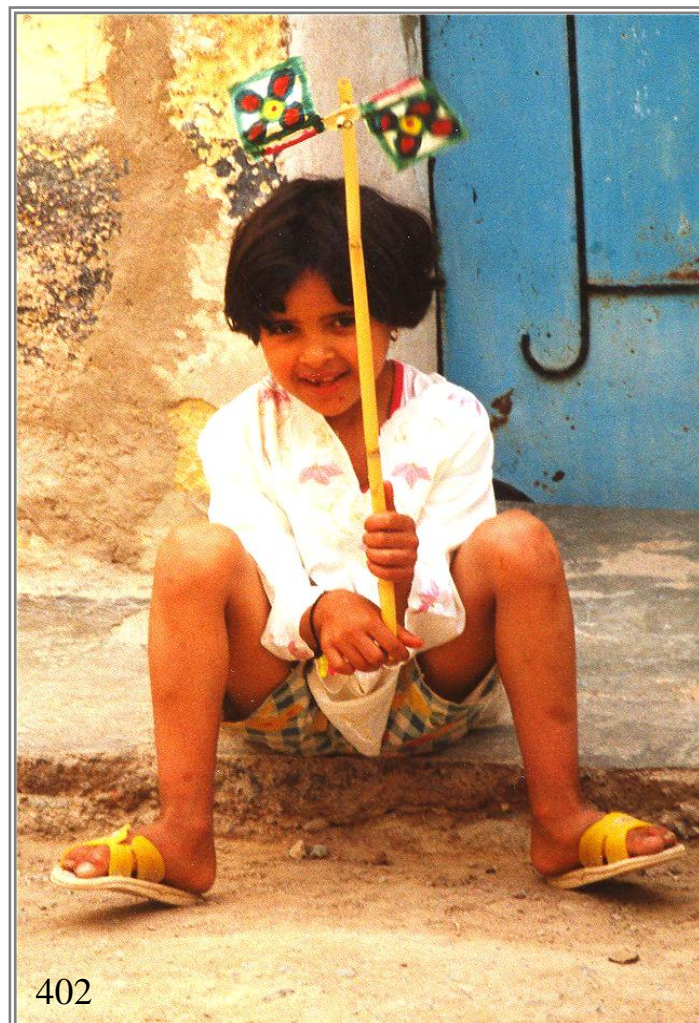
The description of this type of small windmills is based on several windmills made by some boys from Midelt and Goulmima. An iron wire serving as axle pierces the top of a reed of about 60 cm length but with a variable diameter. To fix this iron wire the end sticking out at the back of the reed is bent and reintroduced into the reed a bit lower. At the front side of the reed the iron wire sticks out for about 6 cm. To make the windmill's sail, one takes the half of a reed of 10 to 20 cm length cut length-ways, and then makes a little hole in its center. At both sides of the hole a rectangular piece of paper is attached by turning a side of the paper once or twice around the reed. Then this piece of paper is glued with glue prepared from fig tree sap, dates or flour, but today adhesive tape or glue bought in a local shop are more often used. One or two sails should now be put on the axle through the little hole in the center of the sail. To keep the sail in such a position that it will turn really fast, a small piece of hollow reed with a very small diameter is inserted on the axle in front and behind the sail. A small flat rectangular piece of reed with a hole in its center or a small plastic tube can be used instead. To keep everything in place, the end of the iron wire sticking out in front of the sail must be folded back. A man of about sixty years stressed that until some thirty years ago long thorns often served as axle. In order to make the sail turn the boys run with it very fast (fig. 399).



Contrary to the blank windmill's sails seen on the foregoing photographs, the paper leaves are normally decorated with geometric designs (fig. 400-401).



Finding girls playing with a ferrwadi is not exceptional but as far as I know they do not make these toys themselves. Figure 402 shows a girl from the Aït Mansour quarter of Midelt with her ferrwadi in front of her home.



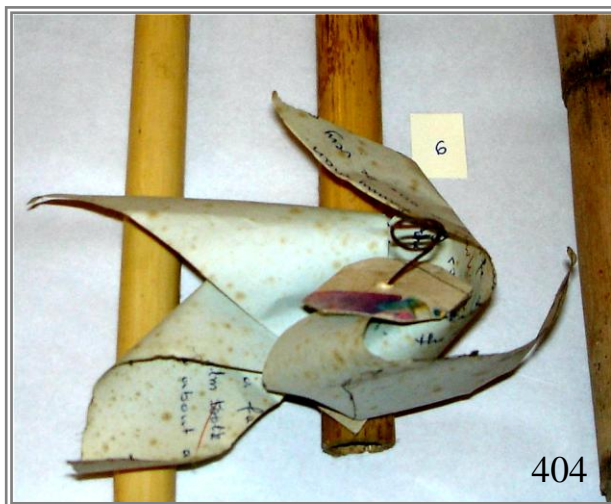
Souad Laabib, who at that time lived in the small village Ksar Assaka near Midelt, told me that her father made such windmills for her and her sisters when they were little girls about 1975. During the Mussem or feast in honor of Sidi Othman and Lalla Khadija taking place at the time of the Mûlûd and the other religious feasts, the girls from Ksar Assaka followed the custom of running with their ferrwadi the distance of about one kilometer between their village and the tomb of these venerated ancestors and back. While running the girls shouted *ferrwadi jawadi*, mill (of the) good air.

An afternoon of the Mûlûd of June 2000, some children from Midelt were running around with a ferrwadi bought from one or the other hawker. One of these hawkers told me that an old man made his windmills. During the same period and at the *suq r-rbè*, the Wednesday market of this town, such windmills were sold for 1 dirham or 0.1 €.

I photographed four toy windmills of another type but also used for the Mûlûd feast in a little shop of Kénitra in October 1993 (fig. 403). A twelve-year-old boy from Midelt naming it a 'modern' toy windmill in September 1999 told me that boys make such windmills called *ferrwadi nejma*, the 'star windmill'. I already obtained two of these little windmills from two Goulmima boys in August 1994. Moreover, I saw some hawkers selling this type of windmills in Midelt in June 2000.



The star of such a windmill is made with a rectangular piece of paper or an exercise book's cover. The paper or the cover is cut up to 1 cm from the center to form eight triangles. Then four of the eight triangles are folded over towards the center. The center of this star together with the four folded triangles is then put over an iron wire serving as



axle The star and the axle are fixed to a reed, whose length varies from 32 to 71 cm, in the same way as for the first type of toy windmill (fig. 404).

The impression prevails that today fewer children run with a windmill than ten years ago. As happens with other traditional toys, the self-made windmill or the one made by adults seems to be replaced by small plastic windmills whose handle is filled with sweets. It is such a toy windmill held by a seven-year-old boy that I saw first during the Mûlûd in June 2000. These plastic toy windmills were also sold by a hawker having a lot of them in a large basket on his bicycle at Mohammedia but this time during the °Ashûra festivities of June 1994.

For the Mûlûd, during the 1960s, the boys from the Tlemcen region near the Algerian-Moroccan border play a masquerade. According to Nefissa Zerdoumi, a boy is disguised with a mask of sheepskin with holes at the place of the eyes and the mouth, and with a cushion on his back to look like a hunchbacked person. This masked figure is called 'Bou Chikha'. Singing children playing on improvised drums accompany this figure on its walks through the streets. It is a custom for the Mûlûd's evening (1970: 226-227).

The same hunchbacked Bou Chikha performed by the boys for the Mûlûd feast was already described in 1905 by J. Desparmet for the Blida region in the north of Algeria (p. 73-75). In 2006 information from the Tiznit region indicates that there this is not done for the Mûlûd but instead for the °Ashûra parade. A hunchbacked person is created with a cushion on the back and a mask of sheepskin with three holes for eyes and mouth. The name given to this figure is *bu tukturîn*.

Mohamed Oubouhane, born in 1964, told me about another masquerade for the °Aïd el kebir feast. He lived some time in Bertèt, an area with a few Amazigh hamlets and situated at about 50 km north-east of Midelt. Although based on one informant only, I write down this quite detailed information to keep trace of it. This man says that he assisted three times at this masquerade between 1974 and 1976 before he went to live in Midelt. It is called *taserdunt niyid*, the 'mule of the night'. The evening before the °Aïd el kebir, after the people cut the throat of the sheep and had dinner, the feast begins at sunset. The inhabitants of the different hamlets assemble at the usual place in front of the *ksar el kbir*, the big ksar. The beginning of the feast is called *bay hadish*. A fire is lit and everyone comes there. Some adolescents perform small entertainments to amuse the onlookers, such as carrying a saddle on ones back and imitating the animal's walking and braying or playing the *derbuka* or tambourine etc. After this prelude and once it becomes really dark, two adolescents execute the masquerade. A well-preserved mule's skull is put on top of a stick and inclined as in the case of a living mule. While one youngster bears the skull, another one carries a long stick from an olive tree to hit the onlookers. Both adolescents are covered with a black blanket so that only their eyes and feet remain visible. This blanket is especially made for this occasion and it is kept to serve again the following years. In order not to be recognized by the onlookers, the youngsters keep silent and use gestures to make clear what they want. All of a sudden *taserdunt niyid* appears amid the onlookers. He stamps the ashes and the onlookers run away shouting *taserdunt*. The girls and the boys run fast so that *taserdunt niyid* cannot catch them, otherwise the one with the stick will beat those he catches. Still, the children try to attract *taserdunt niyid*'s attention by shouting or throwing a piece of wood or another object at him from some distance. *Taserdunt niyid* can also enter houses to ask for a piece of meat, a glass of tea or a cigarette that cannot be refused under the threat of being beaten. When *taserdunt niyid* appears in a home, the little children hide themselves immediately. As the identity of the two adolescents playing *taserdunt niyid* must remain secret, they hide to eat and smoke. After about three hours the game ends. Then both adolescents go to hide the skull and the blanket. The next day, the two other adolescents wanting to perform the masquerade must discuss this with those who were *taserdunt niyid* the night before to hear where they hid the costume. As each night two other adolescents

perform the masquerade, some changes occur and other houses are visited. After the last night, the names of those who played *taserdunt niyid* are revealed. According to the informant who told me all this at the end of 1993, the *taserdunt niyid* masquerade does not exist anymore because a lot of people have left Bertèt and because three years in a row the °Aïd el kebir festivities were suspended by the authorities because of severe draught.

Another informant told me in February 1997 that the masquerade of *taserdunt niyid* was also performed during the °Aïd el kebir feast in the Amazigh village Aït Brahim at some 14 km from Ifrane in the Moyen Atlas.

In the foregoing chapter *Music and dance in children's play, games and toys*, I describe how a mother and a father make a little tambourine to give it to a girl on the occasion of the °Aïd el kebir feast (p. 280-281).

At the end of this chapter, I should mention that Pierre Flamand describes in detail some games and toys linked to Jewish religious life in the 1950s. These games and toys mostly refer to children's play activities in the Jewish Mellahs of southern Morocco for the Purim feast (Flamand, research from 1948 to 1958, p. 201-204).

Conclusion

In this section I shall first of all give a synthesis of the gathered information on the domestic life in the play activities, games and toys of Saharan and North African children. This is followed by a conclusion referring to environmental, economic and especially sociocultural aspects as well as to the evolution of the children's play activities and toys in these societies. For the first time in this collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures* I wrote a chapter on children's creativity.

1 Synthesis

The playful acting out of the adult world is strongly represented in the games and toys of Saharan and North African children. There are not only games referring to household duties and subsistence activities but also to entertainments, rituals and feasts. Of course it is not a straightforward imitation that is taking place but an appropriation and interpretation of the adults' relationships, activities, obligations, entertainments and beliefs the children are more or less acquainted with. The children's creative acting out is not limited to everyday existence but sometimes refers also to the exceptional.

The dinner play and the games linked to household tasks are girls' games in which small boys can participate. Some examples from mountain areas in Morocco show that there are places where boys like to model toy utensils and hand mills. Games referring to male subsistence activities naturally belong to the boys' games, yet girls sometimes play them. The play activities linked to music, dance, rituals and feasts belong to the girls as well as to the boys. My data on the games and toys of Moroccan children seem to indicate that the girls more easily take over boys' play activities than boys do with girls' play activities.

As said in relation to doll play and games referring to the animal world, the play activities linked to domestic life are very often collective games and open air games bringing together children from the same family and neighborhood in girls' or boys' playgroups, seldom in mixed playgroups.

These games in which the children recreate the life of their parents or other members of their family and community, offer them possibilities to become familiar with non-verbal and verbal communication, social relationships, domestic and economic activities, customs and beliefs of

their social group. So, the importance of play activities and toys as an effective means of socializing children should be stressed. Yet, this socialization largely takes place through the children's own effort. Such play activities also offer a favorable ground for the children's understanding of reality and its symbolization.

Most play houses show the plan of a house often with several rooms. These pretend houses outlined with stones, sand walls and sometimes with waste material are made by girls and by boys but normally for different functions. The girls mostly use these open-air houses for doll play, dinner play and household play. The boys use these for games linked to male occupations. Some play houses are three-dimensional but then the children do not play inside the delimited space.

The children's interpretation of the household occupations and the subsistence activities is directly inspired by the real life of the women and men of their families. But sometimes these children dream of other situations uncommon or non-existent in their community. This is for example the case when girls create a supermarket (p. 250) or when boys establish a trade along an important road (p. 263).

Saharan and North African children like music and dance. This is among other things exemplified by the musical instruments made by boys. The available information seems to indicate that girls make few musical instruments.

The feasts and rituals offer the children themes for play activities but sometimes these children also participate directly in these specific occasions. In Morocco the °Ashûra feast is a privileged moment during which adults give sweets and presents to children.

For their games the Saharan and North African children use a lot of toys and other instruments of play. Sometimes the children use no toys or only adults' objects. The toys usually copy in a realistic manner and seldom in a fanciful way the objects used by men or women.

The oldest toy, described in this book, belongs to the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly. It is a little painted earthenware jug collected before 1889. Most toys are made by children, some by adults, possibly artisans. They are made with vegetal and mineral material but waste material is also used. The influence of the toy industry is felt more and more because of the massive import of cheap plastic toys from South-East Asia and especially China. This influence is not something new as F.

Castells already speaks of the selling of toys made in Europe for the °Ashûra feast in Rabat in 1915. A.M. Goichon confirms this influence when writing in 1927 that the girls of the Mozabites use small toy household items imported from Europe.

The data on domestic life in the games and toys of Saharan and North African children only give an incomplete view of these children's play activities. This is due to the limited and sometimes superficial analyses found in the related bibliography. For the toys from the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly the description of the games in which these toys are used often is lacking or remains very brief. Moreover, my fieldwork is limited to the Ghib children of the second half of the 1970s and the children of some Moroccan communities from 1992 onwards. Because I see the play activity and not the toy as essential, I try to integrate the description of a toy in the analysis of the play activity. Yet, I have not always been able to reach this goal.

2 Environmental and economic aspects

The Saharan and North African children's play activities and toys related to domestic and family life surely are under the direct influence of the physical and human environment specific for the habitat and the community in which these children grow up. However, the influence of the habitat and of the economic organization is more important for the games and toys described in the chapters *Dwellings in play, games and toys*, and *Subsistence activities in play, games and toys*. It certainly is logical that children living in a nomadic settlement wandering around in the desert recreate in their games of make-believe their experiences in this environment and this way of life. The same holds for the toys they create in this context. This is also true for sedentary children. On the other hand, the games and toys described in the chapters *Dinner party play and toy utensils*; *Household tasks in play, games and toys*; *Music and dance in play, games and toys* and *Rituals and feasts in play, games and toys* seem to be less directly under the influence of these factors.

The mineral or vegetal material, used by children to make the toys described in this book, are also directly linked to the physical milieu. But the Saharan and North African children also have at their disposal a lot of waste objects that they partly or entirely recuperate to make toys. Even if there is no doubt that the number and the variety of these waste objects increased during the 20th century, especially with the supply of plastic objects, their use is not at all recent. For example, the use of tin cans for making toys, among others rattles, has already been mentioned in 1933. A tin can still used in September 2005 by a thirteen-year-old boy from the village Igîsel in the Guelmim region to make a rattle (fig. 405, H = 12.5 cm).



Once more, the data on the games and the toys mentioned here do not offer much information on the temporal aspect. However, this time there is an exception to this lack of information. This exception is given by the games and toys related to certain festivities: °Ashûra, °Aïd el kebir and

Mûlûd. Among the children of the Jews of southern Morocco it was especially the Purim feast that contained a playful aspect.

The economic aspects of the communities of the Saharan and North African children this book is talking about are well documented in their games and toys linked to household tasks and subsistence activities. Normally girls playfully act out female tasks just as boys do with male tasks but exceptions to this sex distinction have been found.

Children made the great majority of the toys talked about in this book and adults made a few. Thus all these toys remain outside commercial circulation. Some toys were made by artisans such as the rattles and tambourines bought by children of Constantine in northeastern Algeria in the beginning of the 20th century (Doutté, 1908: 534). So, it should be stressed that a small local toy industry has existed for a long time. The toys Moroccan parents and other adults nowadays give to children, especially for the °Ashûra feast, show the growing importance of the toy industry, primarily from South-East Asia. These toys are dolls, toy animals, noisemakers, musical instruments, toy weapons, cars, etc.

3 Sociocultural aspects

The first section of this chapter looks at some general aspects of the link between Saharan and North African children's play activities and toys and the culture and social organization of their communities. The following sections discuss the relationship between play, games and toys on the one hand and children's socialization, the relations between children and between children and adults on the other hand. After analyzing the sexual differentiation in play and toys, a historical perspective is introduced by discussing the topic of change and evolution.

3.1 Play, toys, culture and society

This title tries to express the fact that the play activities and toys reflect the culture and the society of the concerned children as well as the idea that a given culture and social system can be analyzed through its children's games and toys.

The play activities and toys are indissolubly linked to the cultural and social context in which Saharan and North African children grow up. This is so perfectly evident that a long list of examples surely is unnecessary. The cultural life and social organization of the family and community influences, among others, the verbal and non-verbal components of the play activities, the developed themes, the time and space of their realization as well as the composition and organization of the playgroups. So it is an obvious statement that the play activities and the toys used in them are strongly imbued with the way of life of the family and the internal and external influences it undergoes. This close link makes it possible to learn a lot about the culture and social organization of a community through its children's play activities and toys.

When skimming through the different chapters of this book, and those of the books *Children's dolls and doll play* and *The animal world in play, games and toys*, one notices that many games are inspired by adult activities, stage family life and/or reflect children's participation in the real world. Nevertheless, I certainly do not want to insinuate that the children passively undergo, imitate and copy what the adults propose or that the

distinction between children's play and children's work is vague. The children's conformity or non-conformity in relation to adult models varies from one playgroup to the other, from one play activity to the other and even from one child to the other. Still, the data show that the games and toys of rural children just as those of children from popular town quarters are often directly linked to familial and domestic realities. In this context Gary Cross writes that a similar situation existed in Northern America and Western Europe until about 1950. Especially from 1960 onwards and following the growing popularity of Barbie and G. I. Joe, the new dolls stimulated play forms totally dissociated from the real world of family life and domestic responsibilities (1998: 26). A few pages later, this author stresses that toys seen as a repetition of the father's activities or the female tasks of nourishing and nursing children nowadays embarrass many adults (1998: 30). This adult embarrassment in post-industrial societies clearly contrasts with the general adult attitude described in the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures*. However, the influence of the introduction of Barbie dolls and their imitations, on Moroccan girls for example, remains an open question. The doll play of a seven-year-old popular family girl from the small coastal town Sidi Ifni in Southern Morocco offers us a concrete example. This girl whose doll play I was allowed to videotape in January 2002, uses two imitations of the Barbie doll similar to the one of figure 52 (p. 89). At the same time she creates dolls of the traditional type with a cross-shaped frame of sticks dressed in rags. These dolls of clearly different types nevertheless serve indistinctly as children, children for which the girl plays the mother role (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 1). Another video made in the same town in February 2002, shows how three girls between seven and nine years use original Barbie dolls belonging to two girls living in a middle class family. These Barbie dolls also represent children in situations referring to real life in a Moroccan middle class family (Rossie and Daoumani, 2007, Video 3). In both cases these original or imitation Barbie dolls in no way represent adolescents or young women living in an idealized world.

Speaking of middle class and popular class in Sidi Ifni, I need to mention that my information on Saharan and North African children's play and toys offers no data referring to the influence of social stratification. This is caused by the lack of relevant bibliographical and museographical documents. Concerning my own research distinction must be made

between my research among Ghrib families from the Tunisian Sahara in 1975 and 1977 and my research in Morocco since 1992. Among the Ghrib of the 1970s differentiating between social classes made no sense. My research in Morocco on the other hand has been widely directed to popular rural and urban families. It is therefore impossible to verify in this context the eventual role of social stratification. Yet, my first video recordings of pretend play with dolls in Sidi Ifni and surroundings in the first quarter of 2002 shows that a difference between children belonging to popular or middle class families does exist.

There exists in the regions under discussion an exception to the silence on the role of the players' social class. It concerns a tea party integrated in the doll play of girls from Fès in Morocco about 1933. Madame Soulé wrote that a little kitchen is prepared in which a small black girl playing the role of maidservant looks after the utensils. After the exposition of the bride doll it is the moment to have a dinner, a dinner for which the black girl prepares tea, biscuits and couscous and that the other girls share with their dolls (p. 155; see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's dolls and doll play*, 2005: 115). This game clearly shows how the former Moroccan social stratification imposing a subordinate role on the black population is reflected in this pretend play of the non-black girls through the maidservant's role of the only black girl participating in this game.

In different parts of North Africa and the Sahara a specific aspect of social and cultural life is clearly related to children's play activities and toys, namely the rites and festivities. The children sometimes use a given ritual or festive aspect for playful purposes. Some toys also are linked to certain rituals and feasts. Seldom a real ritual game is at stake. The link between toys and feasts exists also in other societies. Referring to France, Gilles Brougère writes in "Rituel social et projet éducatif dans la constitution du parc à jouet du jeune enfant" that toys are strongly marked by their status as gift. A toy is a gift, so it is not bought every day. This becomes evident first of all in the relationship between toys and the ritual donation of presents at Christmas and anniversaries. Christmas with about 60 % of the value of purchases strongly dominates, followed by the anniversary with about 20 %. There only remains 20 % of the value of purchased gifts at other occasions or without occasion (1999: 12-13). My data show that among Moroccan families the °Ashûra feast is the specific

but not unique period during which adults offer toys and sweets to children. Another period when children receive gifts, among others toys, is the Mussem, this yearly feast with its fair and popular festivities often related to the veneration of a saint. Yet, the role of the Mussem in this context has not been mentioned either in the consulted bibliography or until recently in the information gathered by myself. A six-year-old girl and her about forty-year-old mother indicated the influence of the Mussem in the adults' buying of toys and other gifts. This happened when questioning them after recording on video the girl's doll play in Sidi Ifni on January 31st 2002 (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 1). Another occasion on which adults sometimes buy toys for children is when visiting the local market or probably more often when visiting the market of another urban center. Children's anniversaries as well as adults' anniversaries however often pass quite unnoticed and thus they are not used as gift-giving occasions at least among popular class families. For the °Aïd el kebir, the feast of sacrifice, or the °Aïd el fitr, at the end of the Ramadan, parents normally buy new clothes for their children and the ambulant toy sellers found at °Ashûra or at the Mussem are then absent.

3.2 Play, toys and socialization

A community's play culture is part of the communication system by which the community transfers to new generations its worldview and its way to organize life. At the same time it offers its children a means to relate to and to interpret in their own way these views on the world and on human relations. Yet, the basic role in this intense communication does not belong to adults but lies in the hands of the children themselves, especially older children and peers as adults are only seldom directly involved in children's play.

This communication between those who know and know how to do and those who do not extends to every domain such as the non-verbal and verbal transmission of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, behavior, skills, sensibilities and emotions. However, it is not only this transfer that is at stake but also the need to relate oneself to this ongoing process. Non-verbal communication undoubtedly is primary, both regarding the temporal aspect, i.e. from the beginning of a child's life, as well as regarding the

quantitative and qualitative importance of what is transmitted. Nevertheless, the role of language and oral transmission can rightly be stressed as J.D.A. Widdowson does in his article “Rhythm, repetition and rhetoric: learning language in the school playground”. This author writes (2001: 139):

As in the informal learning in early childhood, linguistic knowledge and skills are largely acquired in the context of play as part of the socialization process within the group. The learning ranges across the whole field of language, contributing to knowledge and performance skills at all five analytical levels: phonology, lexis, grammar, syntax and semantics, and beyond these to at least a basic familiarity with spelling and even punctuation, as well as certain essential features of literature, storytelling, role-play and humour.

According to Brian Sutton-Smith play is an act of cultural appropriation with a socializing potentiality. Marie E. Bathiche and Jeffrey L. Derevensky (1995) wrote: “Both children’s preferences for toys/games and parental attitudes toward play behavior, develop within a societal and cultural context” (p. 53). They add to this that the family values and the ways children are raised influence children’s toys and games (p. 54).

Many authors have stressed the usefulness and functionality of children’s play for their socialization and informal or formal training. Most often this influence of children's games and toys is seen as directly linked to their integration into the family and community. In this context have been mentioned learning future tasks, anticipating adult life or preparing for life in society. The great educational value of play and toys has also been put forward. My information on the relation between toys and games on the one hand and domestic life in different Saharan and North African communities on the other hand certainly sustains this. Anyhow it would be difficult for me to offer examples of Saharan and North African children’s play and toymaking activities that are unrelated to real life situations or even to the adult world. Just as Mario Aguilar writes about the Waso Boorana children of Kenya, the children described in this book play all kinds of roles usual in their own family and community thus creating a microcosmic society (1994: 34-35). The games with pretend houses and dinner play, and the games related to household and subsistence activities,

music, ritual and festivities clearly demonstrate this. As already pointed out in the foregoing volumes of the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures*, positive and locally valorized roles and models to which the child is expected to conform are presented through games and toys. Concerning the Jewish children of Southern Morocco during the 1950s Pierre Flamand writes that the games related to crafts, the doll play etc. announce and foreshadow adult activities and that only few societies to the same extent as this one use children's amusements to influence their mind with certain concepts and to perpetuate certain practices (p. 111-112).

All these socializing and pedagogical advantages of children's play and toy-making activities should not hide the fact that these are only secondary results put forward from an adult point of view even though adults in the concerned regions hardly seem to be preoccupied with such ideas. In any case, the children whose games and toys I discuss neither play to become socially adapted nor to train their skills. They play for the well being it procures them. I use the word well being in order to voice the idea that it is not only amusement that is at stake but also the child's appropriation of physical and human environments and its confrontation with material and techniques. Creating toys, for example, is often done with great seriousness, sometimes with hardship and difficulty yet this more or less painstaking creation is freely done to amuse oneself.

During a congress of the International Council for Children's Play (ICCP), Dieter Spanhel stressed the importance of play for the child's mastery of an unknown future. Adopting this point of view I think that on the basis of my own research in Morocco I can add to this mastering of the future the mastering of the present and even of the past. Some games, like play-acting a wedding, often played with a pretend house, bridge these three dimensions. This kind of pretend play refers to a future life as bride, yet it is based on the girl's actual knowledge and experience of weddings and it incorporates ancestral customs. As shown by the two doll games videos filmed in Sidi Ifni and its region at the beginning of 2002, the used material and the toys relate to two or even all three temporal dimensions. A seven-year-old girl playing with her four-year-old cousin in front of the boy's house on January 31st 2002 uses dolls with a cross-shaped frame of wooden sticks which she dresses herself following a model attested for at least a hundred years but that certainly is much older. This girl also uses

objects, among others Barbie-like dolls made in China, that are linked to the world of today as the boy's mother did not play with such commercial dolls some thirty years ago. In the case of the wedding play of a six-year-old girl and her nine-year-old brother in front of their house at Lagzira near Sidi Ifni on March 4th 2002, the pretend houses built with mud and stones copy the ancient model. But this type of an old house also is part of these children's actual experience as the house in which they live is a traditional rural construction made with stones and hard-packed earth. Yet, a toy representing a mobile telephone foreshadows these children's future life as a young woman and a young man as well as the technological evolution of their community in the forthcoming years (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003: Video 1, Video 4).

Several researchers offer an approach to children's play and toys on the one hand and socialization and learning on the other hand. Their approach discusses the acquisition and transmission of information and skills through means and methods such as observation, imitation, interpretation, trial and error, participation, training, and tuition. These are aspects I noticed when reading one or more publications of scholars who among others influenced me directly these last years. I should mention here Brian Sutton-Smith (1986-), Mario Aguilar (1994), Gilles Brougère (1987-), Frank and Virginia Salamone (1991), David Lancy (1996), the group of cultural psychologists around Barbara Rogoff and Artin Göncü (1993-), Shlomo Ariel (1980-), Julie Delalande (2001), and the authors of the book edited by Julia Bishop and Mavis Curtis (2001). The order of these authors only reflects the sequence of my becoming acquainted with their work. I should also mention the review *Early Childhood Matters* of the Bernard van Leer Foundation.

One can also refer to the role of the child's own motivation and initiative versus the role of peers, older children or adults, and that is the way in which I have been looking at my research results. So, I shall discuss the children's active involvement and personal management in the chapter *Children's creativity*. The role of other children and of adults is discussed in the next chapter on interpersonal relations. Activities such as observation, imitation, trial and error did not receive specific attention in my fieldwork nor in the concerned bibliographical documents, so I can only mention the same general statements already found in the two foregoing volumes. It therefore suffices to say that the information

gathered here stresses once more the importance of these activities in the growing up of Saharan and North African children.

The aesthetical development of children through their play and toymaking activities is a neglected topic. Yet, these activities constitute a real contribution to the elaboration of the aesthetic codes, norms, experiences and performances typical for the child's milieu. This is attested by different games and toys described in this book and this not only in the chapters *Music and dance in play, games and toys* or *Rituals and feasts in play, games and toys*. Some play activities of Saharan and North African children have a direct influence on the elaboration of corporal, pictorial, plastic, musical and architectural aesthetics. Sometimes I would prefer to speak of a preparation for artistic creativity as in the case of the dance and the orchestra of the Ghib children or those of some Moroccan girls and boys. In Morocco a remarkable event occurs when a violin is made as in the case of a thirteen-year-old herdsboy from the Moyen Atlas who played on his self-made instrument (fig. 366, p. 294) or a seven-year-old boy from the Anti-Atlas who did the same (fig. 370, p. 297). Sometimes it is a guitar that is made as in the case of a thirteen-year-old Sidi Ifni boy (fig. 371, p. 298). Moroccan storytellers and singers use such string instruments especially in rural areas.

3.3 Play, toys and interpersonal relations

This section on interpersonal relations in children's' play activities analyzes first of all the relations between children of the same age and different age, then the relations between children and adults. Solitary play will be discussed in the chapter *Children's creativity*.

3.3.1 The relations between children

Adults are not the only ones to influence their offspring in order to make social beings out of them. The children themselves are also engaged in realizing their socialization and participate in conquering a place in their family and their peer groups. This statement made by Julie Delalande in

her remarkable book on the school playground (2001: 37) is very appropriate to open this chapter.

Observing Ghrib children in the mid 1970s and Moroccan children from 1992 onwards, I have been able to notice the prime importance of peers and of older children in the transmission of games' non-verbal and verbal content, of the way a game is played and of the related behavior. My chance contacts with playgroups in the Tunisian Sahara and in Morocco allow me to put forward some simple statements that however are unrepresentative as they are not based on elaborate research. However, they can serve as indices to formulate hypotheses.

In all the examples mentioned hereafter the playgroups have been formed spontaneously and I have met the children while they were playing. Yet, one sees sometimes on a photo that it's shooting has influenced the players' behavior. Figures 2 (p. 55), 17 (p. 65), 19 (p. 65) and 20 (p. 66) show that the three to four-year-old Ghrib children formed quite important playgroups to play in the sand when they made pretend houses in 1975. In this instance it is more a parallel play activity. Figure 19 (p. 65) shows that an older girl plays along with the little ones, being more or less their guardian. This volume also includes photographs of playgroups consisting of two Ghrib girls of about the same age (fig. 3 p. 56, 46-47 p. 85). In all these playgroups the players belong to the same family or are close neighbors. This close relation between players of such playgroups based on a family or neighborhood relationship is also found in my observations carried out in Morocco. As seen on figure 57 (p. 93) a three-year-old girl integrates her eighteen-month-old sister in her household play. Another example shows three brothers between eight and twelve years (fig. 142, p. 144). Other photos (fig. 29 p. 72, 30 p. 73, 58 p. 93, 59 p. 94, 64 p. 97, 67 p. 98, 71 p. 101) and some written data indicate that the players who are always close kin or neighbors have about the same age.

Within the context of playgroups Julie Delalande (2001) stresses the relationships between related children (p. 76), the role of time and prolonged relations for elaborating cultural practices (p. 72), of opportunity and availability in the creation of relations (p. 86) and of relations external to the play activities (p. 91). Even without detailed analyses it is possible to say that all these factors must have a special importance in communities where children normally have at their disposal a great number of potential players. This is so because of the great number

of children in the families or in the neighborhood. This way the number of children living on a reduced space offers a multitude of players of an equal and different age among whom a given child can detect and choose play companions or be detected and chosen as such. A child can also be integrated in a multitude of playgroups. Popular quarter streets of towns and play areas in villages are real laboratories for interaction and creativity. It is there that small children once liberated from the direct control of their mother daily mix with children of their own age, older children and adolescents. My observations of children's interactions in some streets of Kénitra, Khemisset, Midelt and Sidi Ifni show that older children play an important role in the transmission of games and of the techniques for creating toys.

Concerning the playful relation between two to five-year-old children I can stress the role played by older girls and sometimes also older boys. One of the common tasks of girls from the age of about seven years onwards is to look after the little ones, often to give the mother the possibility to fulfill some other task. To do so the girls among other things amuse the little child and play with it. When the girl looks after several little ones she may organize a playgroup, the children engaging in parallel or collaborative play. It also happens that a girl or a boy makes a toy for a small child whereby this child often is a sister or a brother.

Once they are about six-years-old the children progressively free themselves from this supervision and learn to constitute their own playgroups mostly with peers and often although not exclusively with children of the same sex. From this time on the role of peers becomes an important factor in learning how to play and to make toys. This becomes evident in the play activity of a few Sidi Ifni boys at the end of October 2002. On the sidewalk of a descending street I saw in the evening two about thirteen-year-old boys repairing their skateboard with three wheels made of ball bearings. Then they sat down on it to run down the slope at great speed. The next day and the day after four other boys of the same age joined them. In this playgroup the first two boys helped their friends not only to make such a skateboard but sometimes also to steer it. A week later this playgroup had disappeared from the scene but on the opposite sidewalk I noticed two seven-year-old boys using the front part of these skateboards. Bending their back and holding the two extremities of the plank with their hands these young boys tried to run as fast as possible.

Situations of informal learning regularly occurred when I made observations but I have no examples to offer as this did not retain my attention. However, since I read the publications of Barbara Rogoff and Artin Göncü on the active participation of children in their environment and in the adult world I became more aware of this aspect. One of the four videos filmed in Sidi Ifni in the beginning of 2002 shows a six-year-old boy looking at his ten-year-old brother creating with cardboard a few toys such as a truck, a pretend house and a device to move a little car. Not only does the younger brother attentively observe and occasionally help the toy maker, but the latter regularly directs his brother's attention to the making of a specific part of the toys (Rossie and Daoumani, 2007, Video 2).

Two books on playgrounds in Western schools discuss certain aspects of major importance for the organization and functioning of playgroups (Delalande, 2001; Bishop and Curtis, 2001). These aspects refer among others to age, sex, the role of leaders and followers, and the relation between peers. Unfortunately I cannot take up these aspects as the necessary information is totally lacking. Yet, it would be very useful to acquire such information first of all to better understand children's culture and children's development in North Africa and the Sahara but also to compare such data with those on children from other regions.

In relation to the influence of the friendships between pupils of the same class or the same school on the formation of playgroups and the players' behavior, so well analyzed by Julie Delalande (2001), there is also no information for the regions under discussion.

3.3.2 The relations between adults and children

The first adults creating a playful relation with a newborn child naturally are its mother, father, an older sister or brother, a grandparent. However, my own observations and the information found in the consulted bibliography refer only exceptionally to Saharan and North African children younger than two or three years. So, this period of early childhood during which mothers and other adult members of the family or neighborhood willingly play with a baby or a small child cannot be discussed.



As explained in the introduction it is difficult for a male researcher to obtain information on the relationship between women and babies. So I asked Khalija Jariaa to look for information on playful activities between mothers and babies. When coming back to Sidi Ifni in April 2006 she showed me a rattle which is currently used in her native village Ikenwèn near Tiznit (fig. 406, p. 350).

Such rattles are especially made during the *tamgra*, the harvesting of corn in April, and the *èrngru èrgèn*, the collecting of the argan nuts in May. When a mother has to leave her child alone to work she gives it a rattle to amuse itself or she uses it to calm the baby. The rattle is made with a transparent round bottle that contained water from the Zem-zem well of the Great Mosque in Mecca. These small bottles are welded once filled with water. The pilgrims take these along to give them to the households of their family and friends. After cutting the top of the bottleneck each one drinks a little bit of this water. The Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de l'islam says that pilgrims bring this water all over the Muslim world. Everybody drinks it to obtain a blessing and it is given to the sick (1991: 420).

To make the rattle a few small stones are put through the opening. A reed of adequate dimension is introduced into this opening. A small opening is then made through the center of both sides of the bottle and a strong string of about 15 cm is passed through these holes. At both ends of the string a big wooden bead is fixed. In Ikenwèn such big beads are also attached to the hair of a baby as protection. The eighty-five-year-old R'quia Mbarek, the oldest person of the village in March 2006 who is respectfully referred to as *°amtirquia* or Aunt R'quia, keeps these big wooden beads. According to the villagers this confers to the beads a certain power of *baraka*, a power of blessing and protection.

Some fifty years ago the rattle was made with rabbit skin. The Ikenwèn mothers prefer the local rattle to the rattles made in China because these imported plastic rattles break too easily.

My data confirm that the playful relation between children and adults does not stop at the age of three years. Yet, the older a child becomes the less such a relation seems to occur. This book contains a few examples showing that a playful relation between adults and children of two years or more is not that rare. There is for example the Ghrib father entering the play of his two-year-old daughter (p. 224), a Moroccan mother or father making a musical toy for a girl (p. 281), another Moroccan father making

windmills for his daughters at the occasion of the Mûlûd feast (p. 328) or a young Ghrib man amusing his little brother by letting him play the flute (fig. 338, p. 274).

A simple reason why adults' interference with children's play diminishes is linked to the progressive moving away of the child from its mother and the house. If the two or three-year-old child often plays near the tent or in front of the house and that of the neighbors, this way remaining under adult control, older children go to play further away using open spaces and larger streets. In any case the older children prefer to play there where they more easily escape adult control, especially the control of those who know them well. A quite clear distinction must be made here between boys and girls as boys surely enjoy more freedom and time to play than girls. The play environment of little boys and girls normally is limited to the space adults can oversee. The play environment of the boys widens when they become older and they can more easily escape adult control. Although adults and adolescents have the power to disturb or stop children's play my observations show that children find the time they need to play and to make toys but the same distinction between girls and boys must be made here.

Among the Ghrib semi-nomads of the 1970s but also among the rural and popular Moroccan population of today I noticed a certain indifference for children's play from the part of adults. A lack of interest based on the point of view that play and toymaking activities are something that is proper to children. Adults should only interfere in case of real danger, of risk of causing damage and discomfort or when rules and values are clearly transgressed. Suzanne Gaskins describes such an attitude for the children of the Mayan villages of Yucatan in Mexico. She writes that when Mayan children play, they play following their own will and with almost no interference from adults except the taking away of household items used to play or to insist on physical security. Mayan children's play certainly is personally motivated. It is not based on a structure or motivation induced by adults nor used to attract adults' attention (1999: 49).

This author also stresses that Mayan children only play during a small part of the day and that they only use little of the available time for symbolic or make-believe play (1999: 47). My observations of Ghrib and Moroccan children's play however seems more to support the hypothesis that symbolic and make-believe games play an important role in these

children's development. Moreover, this pretend play is very often in relation to the adult world.

Pierre Flamand writes on the intergenerational playful activities among the South Moroccan Jews from the 1950s that not one child indicates its father as the initiator of its games. Some girls attribute this role to their mother but many attribute it to their grandmother. Sometimes the influence of the family living in the countryside is mentioned. Most adults have no interest in the play activities of their offspring. They think it suffices when they give them some money at the feasts (p. 213).

The few toys made by a father or a mother mentioned in this volume show that they are made for special occasions such as the °Ashûra and the Mûlûd feasts. Some Sidi Ifni teachers, members of the Isni Culture and Art Association, whom I asked in December 2002 if their father, mother or another adult has made a toy for them when they were children stated that this was not the case. Nevertheless, only a more detailed analysis could clarify this topic. Still, I think I can endorse what Elisa Lwakatare says in this context when writing about Tanzanian adults that they make few toys for their children (1999: 4). Buying a toy for one's own child or for a child of one's family probably is a more common although limited behavior.

In contrast to the just described situation, one would think that adults in technically highly developed countries who buy so many toys for children would be particularly interested in children's play. However, research in Australia indicates the opposite. In her article June Factor notes that a useful consequence of the myth of the insignificance of play lore has been the relative absence of adult interference in children's games. This permits children to organize themselves as they like and to be free from the common ideas of adults on how to play and what to play (2001: 33).

Julie Delalande stresses in her analysis of playing with sand at the French preschool that already at a very young age of the children their parents put into their hands buckets, spades, sifters and moulds, often teaching them to make sand pies and sand castles (2001: 187). Such an attitude to teaching children how to create forms and buildings with sand, and to investing oneself as an adult in children's play did not appear in my observations in the Tunisian desert nor on the beaches near Kénitra nor at Sidi Ifni in Morocco. The information gained from the bibliography does not attest such attitudes either. However, this statement must be qualified as Boubaker Daoumani directed my attention to the fact that at the Sidi Ifni

beach some popular class mothers with little children sometimes help their little ones to make forms and constructions with sand but without using material specially made for this purpose.

The indifference for children's play mentioned in relation to adults in general is also found among primary school teachers and those working in preschools. For example the schedule in preschool classes offers no or almost no time to play. This is the case for the expensive private preschools as well as for one-class schools asking small fees from parents. Such a class is held in a garage or in a home and a young woman who partially or completely followed secondary education often runs it. Next to a pedagogical approach with no or little attention to play there also is the fact that parents do not really appreciate attempts to introduce play activities and toys in the class. The few preschool teachers I could discuss this topic with told me each time that the parents strongly emphasize the early learning of reading, writing and learning by heart.

The authors of the book *Guided Participation in Cultural Activity by Toddlers and Caregivers* stress the importance of children's participation in adult activities for their development and their cultural and social integration into the family and community (Rogoff e.a., 1993). In this context I want to point out that most North African and Saharan children live in families where they are not or are only slightly isolated from adult activities. Consequently they refer in their games to what they learn by observing adult life and by their participation in adult activities. A recent example was offered to me at the end of October 2002 in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni. On that occasion I observed how a three-year-old girl amused herself by cleaning with a brush of reduced size the sidewalk before her house while her seven-year-old sister and their mother were cleaning the same sidewalk.

A difference with the attitude common among United States adults in relation to toys referring to household tasks or male occupations must be stressed. Gary Cross writes "The toys as a re-enactment of the 'deeds' of the father or as a rehearsal of the womanly crafts of cooking and child care embarrass many adults today" (1988: 30). Examples described in this book show that North African and Saharan adults normally view the proposition that such toys might embarrass parents as inconceivable. On the contrary one regularly finds nowadays among the toys bought for Moroccan children plastic imitations of objects to prepare food, to eat, to clean the

house and to put on make-up, given to girls, and small cars and trucks given to boys, all objects referring to adult female and male activities.

Another point is that the giving of toys, mentioned as typical for parents of Western countries, only occurs in a really limited way among Saharan and North African parents. At least, this toy-giving bears no relation to the number of toys that Swedish children possess (Nelson and Nilsson, 2002).

Gilles Brougère writes that to understand a toy it must be situated within the social and affective relations between parents and children (1999: 4). Except among the westernized families, this statement made for France cannot be applied to the situation in North Africa and the Sahara.

I have mentioned the rare occasions on which adults normally buy toys for Moroccan children. Yet, giving toys certainly is not something new especially in urban milieus. F. Castels notes already in 1915, in Rabat, the existence of merchants selling local toys and toys imported from Europe and Westermarck declares in 1926 that Moroccan artisans make toys.

Julie Delalande (2001) as well as the authors of the book edited by Julia Bishop and Mavis Curtis (2001) discuss in detail the influence of the preschool and primary school and particularly of the playground on the relations between children, their play activities and children's culture. Without wanting to diminish the role of the school environment on North African children between three and twelve years, I think I can affirm that the role of this environment on children's play activities and toys is less important in for example Morocco than in France or in Great Britain. This probably is not due to a less important schooling but because of a different attitude towards children's play at school. As indicated a few paragraphs earlier, the role of the nuclear and extended family and of the neighborhood on children's relationships and on their play activities appears to exceed by far the role of the school. Yet, I have tried to learn a bit more about what happens in some primary schools of the Sidi Ifni region during recreation time. To do so I have questioned three teachers, members of the Isni Culture and Art Association. These teachers have taught for about eight years in three schools in different villages, one situated in a quite urbanized village at 2 km from Sidi Ifni, another one located in the mountains at 11 km from this town and the third one to be found in an isolated place at 35 km from Sidi Ifni. The primary school courses that last for four and a half hours per day are interrupted by a recreation period of fifteen minutes. If one deducts the time to go to the

toilet and for assembling the pupils, some ten minutes are left for recreation. According to these three teachers the pupils often form small groups of three to four children. The groups consist of pupils of more or less the same age and are based on family or neighborhood relations. In these small groups the children play together or divide among them an orange, some biscuits or whatever one of them has brought along to eat. Mixed groups of girls and boys become rare from the second class onwards and are as good as non-existent from the fourth class onwards. The boys often play physical games. Girls also play such games, like in December 2002 when the game of elastics was much in favor, but it is also common to find the girls talking in small groups.

In Morocco other structures directed by adults and intended for children do not seem to integrate children's play culture in their activities. First of all it must be said that youth movements are not much developed outside larger towns. The scout movement does exist in Morocco but as in Rabat this is more the case among the wealthier class. On the contrary, the *dâr shebâb* or youth house, is found even in little towns like Midelt and Sidi Ifni but not in the villages. In these youth houses volunteers sometimes organize children's workshops (fig. 407). Being present at a few meetings of such a children's workshop in Kénitra in 1993, I noticed that the activities were limited to singing and playing indoor games like those common among youth movements, for example 'musical chairs' whereby the players turn around some stools whose number is one less than the number of players. When questioning the volunteers, aged between about seventeen and twenty-five years and quite often being teachers, it became evident that the local play culture is not or only seldom used.



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Concerning the influence of the media and the publicity campaigns there is no doubt that the standard of living of popular and rural families is too low to permit adults or children to indulge themselves in luxury spending. This is not to say that no toys are bought for example during the °Ashûra or the Mussem but that the amount of this spending remains limited and that the bought toys are often of a lesser quality or second hand toys. Yet, the influence of television can already be decisive for the spreading of a play trend as happened with the craze of Moroccan children for all that refers to Pokemon. This craze quickly developed among others in Midelt and Sidi Ifni following the broadcasting by Moroccan television during the year 2000 of a series of Pokemon cartoons translated in Arabic. Once it stopped being broadcast, Pokemon was forgotten as quickly as it became a fashion.

3.4 Play, toys, girls and boys

The title of this book *Domestic life in play, games and toys* probably makes one think first of all of girls' games and toys. Yet, this is only partially so. When looking at the described play activities it is obvious that some games and toys as dinner play and toy utensils or those related to household duties are mostly played or used by girls. On the other hand the games and toys linked to subsistence activities often are boys' games and toys. This is not surprising as in these games and toys the typical female and male occupations of North African and Saharan families are being enacted. Yet, the games and toys related to dwellings, to music and dance, and to rituals and festivities, belong to the play activities of boys as well as girls.

Referring to the information on sexual differentiation in games and toys mentioned in this volume it is possible to see what kind of play activities belong to one sex only or to both. Nevertheless, I should warn of the fact that neither my personal observation nor those of the other mentioned authors are representative. So these data on Saharan and North African children's play, games and toys do not permit us to formulate any denial of the existence of a particular game or toy among girls or boys. It is only possible to put forward some findings that are not infallible. Much more research in these regions will be necessary before a representative overview can be given on this topic. My own data are largely based on

observations of play activities and the fabrication and utilization of toys by boys or girls and by both sexes, together with what children themselves told me on this subject. The point of view of adults has only seldom been taken into consideration. I agree here with Greta Pennell when she writes that taking the responses of adults as the norm for judging children's answers hides the extent to which the children can be the real experts. Taking into account the importance of toys in the daily lives of children it seems reasonable that the opinions of children on who – boys or girls or older or younger children – likes to play with a toy are more adequate than those of adults (1996: 3).

The information on playing with miniature tents refers to girls' play and this is also the case with dinner play. Only for the Chaouïa was it said that boys might participate in dinner play or engage in it themselves. For their dinner play or household play the girls make a lot of toy utensils but it happens that boys also make them as among the Moors, the Belbala and in Morocco. Play activities such as those described in the chapter *Household tasks in play, games and toys* are typical for girls although boys occasionally engage in these. This book offers an example from among the Belbala where boys for their game make a well or from Morocco where boys make an oven to bake bread. On the other hand, games and toys related to subsistence activities such as breeding, gardening, agriculture and trade are mostly boys' games.

Some games belong to the play activities of girls as well as those of boys but both sexes play them separately as for example in the case of games for which a pretend house is constructed. Concerning the pretend houses those made by boys or by girls sometimes belong to different types of pretend houses. The same happens with musical games, dances and certain play activities linked to feasts and rituals. For example the percussion instruments typical for the °Ashûra festivities traditionally are not the same for girls and for boys. It also happens that girls play games normally reserved for boys or that girls use toys made by boys although they do not make these toys themselves as in the case of the toy windmills for the Mûlûd feast in Central Morocco. Examples of boys above eight years playing girls' games or using toys made or played with by girls seem to be much more difficult to find.

Sexual differentiation is unimportant for small children so it is common that an older girl supervises a small group of girls and boys whom she

engages in a game or who play separately. From the age of about six years the sexual differentiation in play activities becomes very clear, an age also put forward by the authors of a short article on the segregation of boys and girls in rural areas (Belghiti e.a., 1971: 102). At this age boys leave the playgroups more or less controlled by older girls to form their own playgroup from which the girls are excluded. Within their playgroups boys certainly enjoy more freedom than girls in their playgroups, at least as long as the boys do not disturb adults or do not overtly transgress the norms. Boys can also go much further away than the girls, this way escaping the direct control of their parents and other adults. Girls on the contrary often must stay in the vicinity of their home among others to be available to help in the household or to be in charge of the little ones, but also to remain under a stricter supervision. When the girls look after little children they certainly can find occasions to play but in this case it is difficult to separate the task of caring for the children from the possibility to amuse oneself.

Here and there observation indicates that girls and boys of six years or more form mixed playgroups as in the village Imîder in the Haut Atlas where the playgroup consists of two boys and three girls (p. 119), in Aït Slimane in the same mountain chain where four girls and one boy play together (p. 85), in the small town Midelt in Central Morocco where the playgroup is composed of one girl and two boys (p. 124) and in the village Lagzira in the Anti-Atlas where a brother and a sister regularly play together (p. 104). In all these cases the children are about seven-year-old and they belong to the same family or are close neighbors. In 2006 Khalija Jariaa has seen in the Anti-Atlas other examples of mixed playgroups with children of six year or more. These are a playgroup of five girls and three boys (p. 94, 122) or twenty-three girls and four boys (p. 306) of the village Douar Ouaraben, a playgroup of a girl and a boy (p. 252) of the village Ikenwèn, a playgroup of ten girls and five boys (p. 309) of the village Idoubahman-Imjâd, a playgroup of thirteen girls and six boys (p. 99) of the rural center Ifrane a/s, and a playgroup of five boys and one girl (p. 151) or one girl and one boy (p. 195) of the Boulalem quarter in Sidi Ifni. As with the first series of examples the children are siblings, cousins and/or neighbors but sometimes they are older.

That sexual differentiation appears already at an early age is clearly demonstrated by the reaction of a boy just three-year-old being engaged with his six-year-old niece in doll play in front of a house in Sidi Ifni in

January 2002. When the niece orders the small boy to make dolls or to perform female tasks he flatly refuses to do so stating loudly that he is a man (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 1).

A marked difference between girls and boys exists in relation to the time available to play and this because of the greater integration of girls in household tasks. A striking example of this restricted time to play and more frequent duties of girls came to my attention when observing during one hour and a half children's doings in a small valley serving among other things as playground and situated between to popular quarters of Midelt. One morning of August 1999 I saw three groups of a few boys playing together for some fifteen to thirty minutes. During the same observation period I have found not one girl playing. On the contrary I saw a six-year-old girl cleaning the space in front of her house, another somewhat older girl passing by with a plate of biscuits on her head to bring these to the public oven and also two girls doing errands. A fifth girl of about six years was taking care of a group of small boys and girls.

In 1987 Lahcen Oubahammou describes this difference between girls and boys in the following way: first of all the Aït Ouirra girl (Moyen Atlas) is less favored than the small Ouirra boy because still very young she has to dedicate herself to household tasks and so she cannot enjoy childhood pleasures as much as a boy. The situation of female adolescents is even worse as they are married from the age of twelve or thirteen year onwards entering fully adult life with all its responsibilities and obligations (p. 126-127). All this clearly shows that the viewpoint of Saharan and North African adults on children's play activities is quite different according to the sex of the child.

Two reports from Algeria, one on Mozabite children and another on Belbala children, show that a real collaboration between girls and boys can exist for example when constructing pretend houses or a complete miniature village. In the first example the brothers made dollhouses for their sisters during the 1920's and in the second example Belbala girls and boys played together to make a miniature village about 1960 although executing different tasks.

Julie Delalande analyzes the opposition between French boys and girls stating that it is the boys in particular who disturb girls' games in order to make the girls take notice of them (2001: 162-164). Fernando Pinto Cebrià observed the same behavior among Sahrawi children where it

happens that boys destroy the girls' miniature tents so that they will not ignore their presence (1999: 105). A Moroccan example comes from Sidi Ifni where two boys disturb a girls' game for the same reason (p. 194).

One should always be cautious with generalizing statements such as the strict separation of older girls and boys because there are indications that this separation can be surmounted. Moreover, some of my Moroccan female informants declared that being children they liked to play together with their brothers, cousins and other boys of the neighborhood for example to play football or to climb in trees. This shows that a population's cultural norms are not the sole determinant criteria in children's play activities but that the players' intentions must be taken into account. Yet, it is only a more detailed study based on observing children's actual play activities that can foster a better understanding of all this.

The recent research results of scholars studying children's play in Western communities made me realize that notwithstanding important differences between communities in Western countries and Saharan and North African countries, the influence of sexual differentiation on play, games and toys remains truly similar.

3.5 The evolution of play and toys

Studying children's play and toys one should take account of change as well as continuity. This is evident for this book as the information refers to a period going from the beginning of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century. Just as in other fields, an evolution took place in the play activities of the Saharan and North African children. Yet, it remains hazardous to make an historical analysis because of the scarcity of data.

These changes are due to internal and external influences but it is difficult or even impossible to define their role. To classify an influence as internal or external therefore remains arbitrary. For example the influence of the Moroccan school and of television can be classified as internal influences although their origin and development are related to European realities. Hereafter I mention some influences on the games and toys of Saharan and North African children linked to domestic life that came forward during the 20th century but especially after the Second World War.

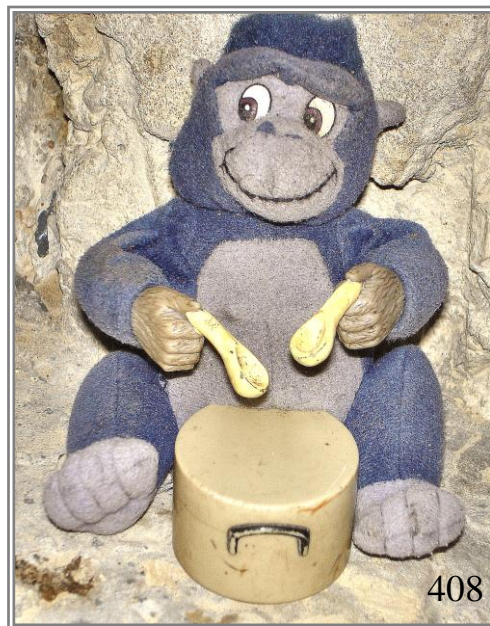
The changes in the way of life and the habitat of a nomadic population following sedentarization are directly reflected in the play activities and toys of their children. Several examples from the Ghib children in the Tunisian Sahara testify this (p. 76-78, 238-239). However, information is lacking for the other Saharan nomadic populations. A comparable change in habitat and way of life exists when a family leaves its village to move into town or when a town enlarges its area by urbanizing surrounding villages. In those cases the exploration and play area and the material and objects the children have at their disposal change in an important way.

At first sight school does not seem to be a real factor of change for the play culture of the children of the concerned regions. In any case I did not notice a direct influence of school on the games and toys of the Ghib children nor the Moroccan children and the theme of school appeared only very exceptionally in their pretend play. Moreover, the bibliographical and museographical data do not offer any supplementary information on this subject. However, school directly influences the playtime of the scholarized children; a playtime that is concentrated on Sundays and the vacation period.

There is no doubt that the new means of communication of the last decades had an influence on the play culture of the children this book speaks about. *A girls' game and a boys' game in the Boulalem quarter in Sidi Ifni show the influence of television programs and especially the news programs. In both cases it is the Palestine war that infiltrates pretend play* (p. 145, 195). The television program featuring Pokemon had such a success that Moroccan children became fascinated with everything linked to this character although this fascination seems to have lasted for a short time only (p. 357). There are also boys who play the role of television technician (p. 256, 266). and the growing use of digital video impresses children so that two boys become a crew of the Moroccan television station 2M during the staging of a feast (p. 322). For the same game the play house made by some girls has a television set and two girls use a would-be digital photo camera (p. 323). Other examples of a pretend houses with a television set are seen in figure 56 (p. 92) and figure 396 (p. 324). There also is the tent with satellite antenna (fig. 31, p. 73). Recently the mobile phone made by children themselves appears as a toy in boys' and girls' games (p. 107).

In Morocco and probably in the other North African and Saharan countries children and parents of today like and buy toys produced by the toy industry. These toys are second hand toys (fig. 408) as well as new toys. However, this situation has already been noted in 1915 in relation to the European toy industry (Castells, p. 342).

In Morocco on markets and small shops one sees in recent years a great number of toys made in China, toys such as those I bought in Tan-Tan in September 2005 (fig. 409).



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As mentioned in *Children's dolls and doll play* and in *The animal world in play, games and toys* (Rossie, 2005) the role of the family members living in Europe is also felt in the toys linked to domestic life belonging to the Moroccan children this book is speaking about. One can even find fantastic figurines which otherwise are lacking among these children's toys. A child's father of the village Terloulou in the Anti-Atlas brought the example of figure 410 from France in 2005.



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The influence of the emigrated family is also seen in the pretend play of four girls from the same village. One of the play houses represents the relatively luxurious house built by people originally from this village living in Europe (fig. 70, p. 100).

In contrast to the two books mentioned above I did not find any examples of games or toys having to do with domestic life which reflect a possible influence from tourists. A more general discussion of the topic of change in childhood and in North African and Saharan play activities and toys is found in a chapter of my book *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An Anthropological Approach with Reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (Rossie, 2005: 149-182).

4 Children's creativity

In its play activities a child finds ways to develop his or her personality among other ways through exploring the possible limits and constraints imposed by the natural and human environment. But just as all children have their own individuality differentiating them from other children, all families and neighborhoods have their own specific values and attitudes differentiating them more or less from other similar groups. Looking at North African and Saharan social groups as uniform and undifferentiated entities would therefore be a mistake, and forgetting to mention the role of the individuality and personal creativity of the children from these regions is at least a regrettable omission.

Every toy made by a child and every play activity although taking place in a given ecological and sociocultural context certainly also is a manifestation of the child's individuality. It therefore should be regarded as an original creation based on an interaction between the child's personality and the physical and human environment in which the child lives. However, being a sociocultural anthropologist, I must say that my research offers little information on the development of children's personality or on individual differences between them.

I can easily refer to for example children's creativity in playing and making toys. When looking at it from this angle Saharan and North African girls and boys show much creativity, for example when making toys such as pretend houses, toy utensils, toy windmills or musical toys.

Still, I think it is necessary to try to specify this simple yet valid statement. Trying to do so, a good start might be to clearly define the general term 'creation' to which the concept of creativity refers. The Shorter Oxford Dictionary mentions two aspects directly related to the theme of toys and play: "2. The action of making, forming, producing, or bringing into existence" and "5. An original production of human intelligence or power" (1973: 452). 'Original' being defined as "A3. Produced by or proceeding from some thing or a person directly; underived, independent" and "A4. Such as has not been done or produced before; novel or fresh in character or style" (1973: 1464).

My own view on the concept of creativity in relation to toys and play refers to the idea of making something, for example a toy, or working out a play, possibly a pretend play. I would also include the idea of doing something unusual, something original or even something classified as aesthetic and artistic. However, by including these ideas I am provoking a real difficulty because it will be necessary to oppose the viewpoint of insiders, the members of a given child's community, to the viewpoint of outsiders, the non-members of a given child's community, something I am unable to do. Yet, it must be stressed that such labels refer to classifications made up by adults and not by the toymaking and playing children themselves who first of all think of enjoying themselves.

In a discussion that took place during the '1^a Biennale del Gioco e del Giocattolo. La Creativita' in Torino, Italy (1.11.1988), Gilles Brougère said that being creative does not mean to change to the unreal or to the imaginary, as being creative can be very well related to everyday life and thus a child can be creative without being original because thousands of children have found the same solutions. I have found an outstanding example of this when a hardly ten-year-old boy from Sidi Ifni was indicated to me as being a toy creator in February 2002. His own parents, who gave me permission to film their son, described him as someone whose play activity and pleasure lay in making toys and even inventing play tools (Rossie and Daoumani, 2007, Video 2). However, this boy normally does not play with these toys himself but gives them away to his younger brother or some other children. So, one sees that in communities easily labeled as 'collectivist' children can choose to develop specific tendencies and to play certain roles particular to themselves distinguishing them from their peers and other children. In this case the boy even acquired

a certain prestige and was viewed as a toy designer by the children as well as by his own parents and some adult neighbors. I have been struck by the young age at which this boy developed such a pronounced individuality. It certainly would be interesting to find out if other examples are difficult or easy to find.

In a Newsletter of the Bernard van Leer Foundation it is stressed that this creativity is rooted in the children's ongoing activity of "experiencing, experimenting, reflecting, then experimenting again" (1997, n° 86, p. 2). This personal experience combined with the information transmitted by siblings and neighbor children, underlines the statement that "the idea that there is a body of knowledge which most children share does not appear to be true" (Curtis, 2001: 66). Wanting to verify this statement by Mavis Curtis I questioned a few primary school teachers about a game of strategy I saw being played in a street of Sidi Ifni in December 2002. The first teacher I questioned declared he had never played this kind of three-in-a-row game and had not seen it being played in this town. Yet, when questioning two other teachers, friends of the first teacher, having lived in other neighborhoods of Sidi Ifni, they immediately recognized this game and told me they had played it when being young boys, a statement that clearly astonished the first teacher. This information shows once more how important it is to acknowledge differences between children and between playgroups.

One could define solitary creativity in children's play and toymaking activities as making a toy or realizing a play event not only alone but also in an original way. In that case it will be difficult for me and probably also for other researchers to find instances of this among North African and Saharan children. However, this does not mean that I have not seen any such original creativity as illustrated by the following three examples. In 1999, I saw Khalef, a thirteen-year-old herdsboy, sitting at the side of a road in the Moyen Atlas while playing on a self-made violin (fig. 366-369, p. 294-296), something that according to his parents and neighbors really is exceptional there. Another original play activity was performed by Amal, an eight-year-old girl living in a Central Moroccan village also in 1999. As Amal's mother forbids her daughter to play outside in the 'dirt', this girl created a dollhouse out of a cardboard box (fig. 51-52, p. 88-89), something I never witnessed before. My third example comes from Sidi

Ifni where in 2002 a ten-year-old boy amuses himself by making toys and giving them away (fig. 162, p. 158).

I think that such a solitary individual creativity is only one of the possible forms of creativity. After all, it could be that it is not important or even impossible to know if and to what extent a child has invented a toy. Let us look at another example from 1999, namely the creation by an eleven-year-old Central Moroccan boy of his own copy of a local musical instrument completely made with waste material (fig. 364-365, p. 293). Although it is not impossible that this is a personal invention of this boy it is more likely that he has been indirectly or directly influenced by other examples.

Let us go back to the situation of solitary play. I have now and then been able to observe a toddler or young child playing on its own and this in the Tunisian Sahara as well as in Morocco (fig. 127 p. 135, 197 p. 178, 237 p. 202, 246 p. 208). I am also convinced that when looking closely for this situation of solitary play it will prove to be not that exceptional. Still, in the communities I am studying, playing alone seems a more or less rare event. One might expect this to be so in situations where playmates are abundant but the same has been said about children in French school playgrounds by Julie Delalande who writes that she learned during her first weeks of observation that children rarely play alone (2001: 73).

A group of cultural psychologists stresses the idea that a child's development as embedded in its own community and environment should be seen as a creative process by which the child becomes, through participating in the practices of a particular community, a responsible participant in that community (Rogoff, 1993: 6). When transposing this viewpoint to the important role of pretend play in children's development Wendy L. Haight, one of the cultural psychologists belonging to the mentioned group, wrote:

Future, more extended, longitudinal research should consider longer-term developmental outcomes of caregiver-child pretend play. In particular, cultural context is important not only to understanding the development of pretend play but to understanding the development of other culturally valued activities of which pretend play may be a precursor. For example, a number of developmentalists have argued that pretend play is an early childhood precursor to creativity... Like

more mature forms of creativity, pretend play requires individuals to imagine “what if” - to mentally explore, change, comment upon, exaggerate, elaborate, and poke fun at the “real” world. Like other forms of creativity, pretend play also has a particular structure - for example, communicative conventions for marking the activity as nonliteral and negotiating transformations. Thus, variation in the ways caregivers pretend with their young children may have implications for both the immediate development of play and the longer-term development of related activities involving creativity. (1999: 143).

This statement has been made in the context of adult caregiver-child pretend play, but it probably can be extended to older child caregiver-younger child pretend play.

Although making toys and using them only makes sense within a play activity, I shall more often look for children's inventiveness in making toys. One of the reasons to do so refers to the greater facility in finding such creativity in self-made toys than to detect it in children's play. Yet, the transformation of empty sardine tins into a table, a bed, a sand filter or a percussion instrument makes it undoubtedly clear that the intention of the player is fundamental and that the material used as play object remains secondary. The object can represent whatever the child chooses or several other objects signifying the same thing can replace it.

This book shows once more that children's inventiveness in the use of material is omnipresent in North Africa and the Sahara. At the same time one sees how specific material is chosen to serve specific purposes as when different kinds of sand and clay are used to make pretend houses and toy utensils, when specific parts of plastic bottles are used to drain water for the irrigation of a miniature garden or for making the bell of a flute. This book also exemplifies abundantly children's creative use of waste material, more than once combining it with natural material. Some children use imported material produced by the toy industry or other industries, as when imported dolls are adapted to the needs of local girls, lemonade tin cans become shoes or an old van serves as pretend house. Children's creativity in making toys can be attested through simplicity, for example when after a rain-shower some pieces of sun dried mud become chocolates or a cup-shaped flower a whistle, as well as through complexity, a complexity regularly found in self-made toys.

Even though my examples of children's creativity mostly refer to self-made toys, the reader should not conclude that these children could not be creative in play activities such as pretend play and narrative action play. The reason for this simply is that I am missing the adequate information. Future research will possibly provide the necessary data to find out if and how these children also are creative in such play activities. The detailed protocols of the four videos on children's play in Sidi Ifni and its region realized in the beginning of 2002 seem already to offer some examples (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003/2007).

One could wonder how it comes about that Moroccan children from the 1990s and Tunisian Sahara children from the 1970s, living in non-industrial communities and making toys that quite often reflect tradition, are so creative, creativity being defined here as to do something personally and independently from adult interference. Referring to the way in which these children grow up to become responsible members of their family and community, I want to stress the role of children's initiative in observing and playing. However, I am proposing this as a research hypothesis and not as a fact as it is only based on personal observation. In this context I have directly been influenced by Barbara Rogoff et al. writing:

We examine the idea that a key cultural difference entails who is responsible for learning - whether adults take this responsibility by structuring teaching situations or whether children take the responsibility for learning through observation and through participating in adult activities with caregivers' support... Children in communities that allow or promote observation of adult activities may develop largely through their own initiative, through active observation and gradually increasing participation... Hence, a major cultural difference may lie in the extent to which caregivers adjust their activities to children as opposed to the extent to which children are responsible for adjusting to and making sense of the adult world. (1993: V, 9).

A pioneer analysis of how communities vary in the role of adults in children's play versus the role of children themselves can be found in the book *Children's Engagement in the World. Sociocultural Perspectives* edited by Artin Göncü (1999: 15-16, 46-50, 99-170).

Here I can put forward the role of the ten-year-old Sidi Ifni toy maker in the informal learning of his younger brother in 2002. This older brother not only is a creator of toys but at the same time he serves as example for his six-year-old brother. As seen on the video, this young boy watches almost the whole time how his brother proceeds, meanwhile receiving almost no direct instructions as the older brother limits his intervention to stimulate now and then his 'apprentice' to pay close attention to a particular action or to be more attentive. So it remains under the young boy's own initiative and responsibility to learn how to make a toy by observing his older brother. This certainly should not be seen as a unique event as I here and there observed this process whereby younger children must manage their own learning in playful situations and have an active role instead of being passive receivers of some training. Self-motivation seems thus to be an important motor for North African and Saharan children's development and their play and toymaking activities offer very propitious circumstances for autonomous action. The children from these regions are largely in charge of amusing themselves, of making their own toys and of transmitting their play culture to younger children. Adults interfere seldom in all this and they do not play the important role adults have in consumption oriented societies where the toy and entertainment industries dominate children's play, games and toys.

I think it is not exaggerating to say that Saharan and North African children regularly show themselves to be creative toy makers. One can find examples of creativity in all types of these children's playful behavior such as motor, visual, non-verbal, verbal and musical expressions, alone or in combination as in pretend play, games of skill, singing and dancing. Concerning the verbal expressions it is only in the videos made in the Sidi Ifni region in the beginning of 2002 that some examples can be found. I therefore refer those interested to the detailed protocols of these videos (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003/2007).

Scholars like Mario L. Aguilar, David F. Lancy and Gerhard Kubik have stressed African children's creativity in play. Mario L. Aguilar wrote about the Waso Boorana of Kenya "Children exercise a tremendous creativity as their playing is not repeated but recreated once and again. Nevertheless, they always go back to the rules attached to the adults' world and that particular adult system." (1994: 34). In his study on childhood among the Kpelle of Liberia, David F. Lancy notes "we have much evidence that

children and adolescents in play can be quite innovative." (1996: 178), and Gerhard Kubik concludes in his article "Children, Child Education and Children's Furniture in the Cultures of sub-Saharan Africa" that these children "have their own creative world, to which adults have no access at all" (1997: 113). Finally, I certainly can apply to Saharan and North African children Julie Delalande's statement about the dynamic participation of children in their society, a society in which children must be seen as producers of culture and not only as receivers of culture induced from the global society (2001: 42).

I would like to direct the reader's attention to the fact that my foregoing book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* contains a chapter on socio-semiotic analysis (p. 147-162). Following Theo van Leeuwen's remarks given hereafter, I have not reconducted such an analysis too limited to the descriptive level. Moreover, the data on Saharan and North African children's games and toys linked to domestic life bring practically no new information in this respect.

As for the section on semiotics, it is a little difficult to know what to say. You actually use semiotic terminology only intermittently, and in ways that I have no problem with at all, but you seem to have a certain hesitation about generalising, and semiotics aims of course at a general theoretical framework within which to make interpretations (the bit on schematised representation [of toy animals] is an example of introducing some generalisation). If there had been no mention of semiotics in it, it would still be a pretty good chapter, recapitulating aspects from the book, and commenting on how meaning is made in individual cases, without generalising about processes of meaning making. Perhaps this is as it should be. Some people are generalisers, others provide the detail. Both important (e-mail from Theo van Leeuwen to the author, 29.1.2002).

List of transcriptions

Conventional signs have replaced some Arabic letters:

th = ث

j = ج

h' = ح

kh = خ

dh = ذ

sh = ش

ç = ص

d' = ض

t' = ط

z' = ظ

° = ع

gh = غ

q = ق

^ = indicates a long vowel

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Appendix

Catalogue des Jouets Sahariens et Nord-Africains du Musée du Quai Branly liés à la Vie Domestique

1 Introduction

En 2004 la collection de jouets sahariens et nord-africains de l'ancien Musée de l'Homme a été transférée au nouveau Musée du Quai Branly où elle fait partie des collections de l'Unité Patrimoniale Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient (<http://www.quaibranly.fr>, hana.chidiac@quaibranly.fr). La photothèque du Musée de l'Homme a aussi été intégrée dans le Musée du Quai Branly.

Sans l'existence du fichier signalétique de la collection des jouets sahariens et nord-africains du Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient de l'ancien Musée de l'Homme, l'étude de cette collection aurait été impossible. La majorité des renseignements mentionnés dans ce catalogue a dès lors été puisée dans ce fichier.

Les jouets dont la provenance était mentionnée dans la liste des objets déposés dans les réserves de ce département mais pour lesquels une fiche signalétique n'a pas été rédigée sont décrits par l'auteur de ce livre, qui a aussi complété les renseignements du fichier si nécessaire.

Les jouets décrits dans le catalogue ci-dessous sont, à l'intérieur de chaque section, classés suivant la population dont ils proviennent.

En ce qui concerne le jouet, d'abord son origine est indiquée : provenance géographique, provenance ethnique, collectionneur et/ou donateur, suivie par la description du jouet et si possible la référence au constructeur du jouet.

Après ces données, j'ai mentionné des renseignements sur les joueurs et sur d'éventuels dessins ou photos retrouvés dans la bibliographie. S'il existait dans le Service de la Photothèque de l'ancien Musée de l'Homme des photos de jouets liés à la vie domestique, non reproduit dans ce livre, cela est indiqué.

Les mesures sont mentionnées en centimètres : B = base, H = hauteur, LO = longueur, LA = largeur, E = épaisseur, D = diamètre, + = maximum, - = minimum.

En réponse au transfert des objets de l'ancien Musée de l'Homme au Musée du Quai Branly les anciens numéros d'objets ont été adaptés. Devant l'ancien numéro le chiffre 71 a été mis, suivie de la date complète de l'année d'entrée, par exemple l'ancien numéro 30.61.617 a été changé en 71.1930.61.617. Après le transfert des objets Marie-France Vivier a vérifié les références de ce catalogue en août 2005.

2 Le matériel de campement

2.1 Les arceaux de tente

Touaregs: sans numéro d'objet (fig. 11, p. 59)

Origine: Sahara. Touaregs, nomades.

Description: voir p. 59.

2.2 Les piquets de la natte d'entourage

Touaregs du Niger: 71.1930.61.617-618 (fig. 12, p. 60)

Origine: Tombouctou, Mali. Touaregs du Niger, nomades.
Don François de Zeltner, avant 1931.

Description: voir p. 60.

2.3 Les nattes d'entourage et de clôture

Touaregs Kel Ahaggar: 71.1941.19.117-119

Origine: In Amedgel, Ahaggar, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Rela,
Touaregs Kel Ahaggar, nomades.
Mission Henri Lhote, 3.10.1938

Description: voir p. 60.

Constructeur: une fille Kel Rela d'In Amedgel, il s'agit de la même fille de douze ans qui a confectionné plusieurs poupées.

Référence: Jean Gabus donne dans son livre *Au Sahara. Arts et Symboles* une description détaillée et des croquis des différentes nattes chez les Touaregs (1958: 278-281).

Touaregs Kel Oullimenden: 71.1941.19.1313 (fig. 13, p. 60)

Origine: Ménaka, Sahara, Mali. Touaregs Kel Oullimenden, nomades. Mission Henri Lhote, 13.2.1939.

Description: voir p. 61.

2.4 Les nattes de repos et nattes de lit

Touaregs Kel Oullimenden: 71.1941.19.1307-1312 (fig. 14, p. 61 - 71.1941.19.1307/1309/1310/1311)

Origine: Ménaka, Sahara, Mali. Touaregs Kel Oullimenden, nomades. Mission Henri Lhote, 13.2.1939.

Description: voir p. 61.

Remarque: ces nattes en miniature sont des copies des nattes. Il s'agit des nattes "taousit: natte d'afezou (tiges de paille), se plaçant horizontalement et servant de tapis pour s'asseoir ou se coucher... nattes d'afezou de toutes dimensions faites pour être étendues horizontalement sur le sol, sur des lits, ou sur des bancs." (de Foucauld, 1951-1952: 1533).

2.5 Les traverses de lit

Touaregs Kel Oullimenden: 71.1941.19.1306 (fig. 13, p. 60)

Origine: Ménaka, Sahara, Mali. Touaregs Kel Oullimenden, nomades. Mission Henri Lhote, 13.2.1939.

Description: voir p. 61.

Constructeur: un artisan des Kel Teguioualt de Ménaka.

2.6 Les tapis et coussins de tente

Touaregs Kel Ahaggar: 71.1941.19.120

Origine: In Amedgel, Ahaggar, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Rela, Touaregs Kel Ahaggar, nomades.
Mission Henri Lhote, 3.10.1938.

Description: voir p. 60.

Remarque: ce jouet a disparu de la collection en 1968.

Maures: 71.1938.48.34-35 (fig. 15, p. 62 - 71.1938.48.34)

Origine: Tidjikdja, Tagant, Mauritanie. Maures Idéichilli, nomades.
Mission Puigauveau-Sénones, 1936-1938.

Description: voir p. 62.

Constructeurs: les artisanes locales.

Référence: Jean Gabus montre un croquis d'un grand tapis de tente des Maures (1958: 81).

3 Les maisonnettes

3.1 Les maisonnettes

Maures: 71.1938.48.88, 71.1938.48.98 (fig. 40-41, p. 79-80)

Origine: Oualata, Hodh Oriental, Sahara, Mauritanie. Maures, nomades.
Mission Puigauveau-Sénones, 1936.

Description: voir p. 80.

3.2 Les nattes pour maisonnettes

Maures: 71.1983.52.6-9, 71.1938.48.97.1-5

71.1983.52.6-9

Origine: Oualata, Hodh Oriental, Sahara, Mauritanie. Maures, nomades.
Don de Georges Duchemin en 1983.

Description: il s'agit de petites nattes multicolores utilisées dans les maisons de poupées de Oualata. Les mesures varient entre 6 cm et 10 cm de longueur ou 4 cm et 6,5 cm de largeur. Il y a avec cette série de nattes en miniature aussi un tout petit sac bleu en jute.

71.1938.48.97.1-5 (fig. 42, p. 81)

Origine: Oualata, Hodh Oriental, Sahara, Mauritanie. Maures, nomades.
Mission Puigauveau-Sénones, 1937.

Description: voir p. 82.

3.3 La porte de maisonnette

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.205 (fig. 43, p. 82)

Origine: Kebech, Tadjmout Kerma, Aurès, Algérie. Chaouïa, sédentaires.
Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: voir p. 83. H = 9,5 cm, LA = 8,5 cm.

4 Les ustensiles

Touaregs: 71.1937.21.100, 71.1937.21.101 (fig. 165, p. 160)

Origine: Sahara. Touaregs, nomades.
Mission René Pottier, 1937.

Description: pipe et écuelle en argile non cuite, voir p. 160.

Maures: 71.1938.48.48-49, 71.1938.48.93-96

71.1938.48.48-49

Origine: Tidjikdja, Tagant, Sahara, Mauritanie. Maures Idéichilli,
nomades.

Mission Puigauveau-Sénones, 1936-1938.

Description:

71.1938.48.48: un mortier à mil en miniature (mohraz) à fond rond et pied subcônique en bois de 'adress'. De chaque côté, à la partie inférieure, deux reliefs anguleux simulent des amorces d'anses. H = 18,6 cm. D ouverture = 10,5 cm.

71.1938.48.49: jouet d'enfant reproduisant l'ustensile d'usage courant qu'est le pilon à mil 'meddegg', une pièce de bois d'adress cylindrique, renflée aux deux bouts, ornée de deux cannelures transversales. L = 46 cm.

Constructeurs: fait par les bergers et les artisans.

71.1938.48.93.1-15, 71.1938.48.94.1-22

71.1938.48.95.1-10, 71.1938.48.96.1-18

Origine: Oualata, Sahara, Mauritanie. Maures, nomades.

Mission Puigauveau-Senones, 1936-1938.

Description:

71.1938.48.93.1-15 (fig. 169, p. 163): ustensiles de ménage très réduits en terre crue teinte en noir avec du charbon pilé, rehaussé de lignes blanches. Les socles des supports de Calebasses sont blancs. Il s'agit d'une bouteille (1), d'une gourde (7), de supports de Calebasses (2-5, 13-14), d'un socle pour ces supports (15), d'une marmite à deux anses (9) avec son couvercle (12), et d'écuelles (6, 8, 10-11). H+ = 5 cm, D = 1,5 cm.

71.1938.48.94.1-22 (fig. 170, p. 163): ustensiles ménagers en miniature en terre crue brunie mélangée d'ocre rouge, ornée de stries et de liserés blancs. Il s'agit d'assiettes (1-2, 15), d'écuelles (7, 9-12), de canaris à anse (8, 19), de jarres (4-5), de couvercles à pommeau arrondi (16-17), ou pointus (13, 15), de cuillers (3, 21) et de brûle-parfums (6, 17, 22). H+ = 2,5 cm, D = 2,4 cm.

71.1938.48.95.1-10 (fig. 171, p. 164): ustensiles ménagers en miniature en terre crue brunie mélangée d'ocre rouge, ornée de stries et de liserés blancs. Il s'agit d'un kanûn ou réchaud (10), d'une marmite (1), d'un keskes ou marmite pour la cuisson du couscous (4), d'un mortier à deux anses (8), d'un pilon à mil (7), d'une gargoulette à anse transversale et à bec (6), et d'écuelles (2-3, 5, 9). D 1,5 cm.

71.1938.48.96.1-18 (fig. 172, p. 164): ustensiles de ménage très réduit en terre crue décorée de dessins noirs, blancs, ocres et rouges, sur fond jaune. Il s'agit d'une jatte (1), de canari ou récipients à eau (17-18), d'une marmite (17), de couvercles (15-16), de pilons à mil (4-5), d'un support de Calebasse et le socle de ce support (5-6), d'un tabouret (11), et d'un chandelier (9).

Constructeurs: les servantes noires des Maures Ouled Daoud, Laghlall, Chorfa, etc. pour amuser les enfants. L'argile de ces jouets provient de la montagne au sud du ksar de Oualata.

Référence: Jean Gabus mentionne ces jouets qui sont le mobilier des poupées (1958: 163-164). Un croquis d'un brûle-parfum en miniature se trouve dans le livre de cet auteur (1958: 168) qui décrit en détail les poteries de Oualata ainsi que le porte-calebasse à trois bras en bois tendre (p. 141-151).

Teda : 71.1935.169-173, 71.1965.3.1/2/4/5

71.1935.169-173

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda.
Mission Le Cœur, 1934.

Description: petits paniers en vannerie (71.1935.50.169/172), deux brûle-parfums (71.1935.50.170-171), un mortier (71.1935.50.173), voir p. 166.

71.1965.3.1/2/4/5 (fig. 173-174, p. 166)

Origine: Bardai, Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Recueilli par Oleg Lopatinsky, 1962.

Description: trois mortiers en miniature dont un dans un filet de vannerie et un jouet représentant le banc en bois des femmes, voir p. 166.

Zaghawa: 71.1957.82.130-132 (fig. 175, p. 166 - 71.1957.82.130-131)

Origine: Hiriba, Dar Zaghawa, Ouaddai, Tchad. Zaghawa.
Mission des Confins du Tchad, M.J. Tubiana, novembre 1956.

Description: mortier à trois anses, mortier sans anses, voir p. 166.

Remarques: toutes les femmes zaghawa savent faire de la poterie crue, mais se sont les femmes des forgerons qui fabriquent la poterie cuite (Tubiana, 1973: 258; Tubiana, 1977: 7).

Chaouïa:

71.1936.2.178-181/187-188/190/268/269bis/270bis/272/691/824/826,
71.1937.9.61-62

71.1936.2.178-181/187-188/190/268/269bis/270bis/272/691/824/826

Origine: Aïn Kerma (71.1936.2.178/179/181/190/268/ 272/691/826),
Kebech (71.1936.2.180/187/188/269bis/270bis/824), Djebel Tadjmout,
Aurès, Algérie. Chaouïa, Ouled Abderrahman.
Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description:

71.1936.2.178

Ecuelle en terre cuite montée sur un pied se divisant en trois, oreille perforée. Décor laqué 'llukk' fait de croix à cinq branches, trois pastilles intercalaires, ligne cernant le bord, six traits équidistants sur le pied. D = 14 cm, H = 10 cm. Ce jouet représente la coupe à trépied pour servir le couscous aux invités.

71.1936.2.179 (fig. 176, p. 167)

Ecuelle en terre cuite montée sur un pied cylindrique se divisant en trois, trou percé à travers le pied. Saillie en bordure. Décor laqué cruciforme et points intercalaires dans la coupe, cinq lignes rayonnantes sur le pied et la pense. D = 12 cm, H = 12 cm. Ce jouet représente la coupe à trépied pour servir le couscous aux invités.

71.1936.2.180

Marmite en terre cuite à fond plat et de forme sphérique, quatre tenons dont deux petits, au sommet de la panse. D = 7, H = 6 cm. Couscoussier en terre cuite à fond en calotte perforé de cinq trous, panse tronconique, tenons triangulaires sur le bord. D = 7,5 cm, H = 6 cm.

71.1936.2.181 (fig. 179, p. 168)

Plat à fond plat en terre cuite, forme calotte, anse verticale perforée. A l'intérieur décor cruciforme et ponctué à la laque 'llukk' rouge orangé et noir. Ligne noire sur le bord. D = 10,5, H = 3 cm. Ce plat-jouet pouvait servir d'assiette pour enfant.

71.1936.2.187bis (fig. 177, p. 167)

Pot à goulot pour le beurre en terre cuite. Fond plat, forme cylindrique, goulot oblique à mi-hauteur. Laque 'llukk' brun sur le bord. Quelques lignes ou taches sur la panse. D = 6,5 cm, H = 4 cm.

71.1936.2.188

Plat à fond plat en terre cuite avec panse droite, servant à cuire la galette, D = 9 cm, H = 2 cm.

71.1936.2.190 (fig. 178, p. 168)

Louche hémisphérique en terre cuite, manche à coupe circulaire se terminant par un crochet à peine esquissé, L = 9 cm, D = 3,5 cm.

71.1936.2.268

Ecuelle en terre cuite montée sur pied cylindrique légèrement évasé à la base. Pied perforé avec brin de fixation en laine. Décor au 'llukk' avec à l'intérieur de la coupe croix et pastilles intercalaires. Sur la panse et le pied quatre lignes rayonnantes et cercles et pastilles alternant. D = 11 cm, H = 11 cm. Ce jouet représente la coupe à trépied pour servir le couscous aux invités.

71.1936.2.269bis/270bis

Marmite en terre non cuite avec fond plat et de forme ovoïde, quatre tenons dont deux petits au tiers supérieur de la panse. D = 8 cm, H = 6,5 cm. Couscoussier en terre non-cuite à fond plat à cinq perforations, panse tronconique avec trois tenons triangulaires sur le bord. D = 8 cm, H = 4,5 cm.

71.1936.2.272

Ecuelle en terre cuite à fond plat, panse légèrement évasée. Oreille perforée avec un chiffon de suspension. Fond orné d'un décor cruciforme à la laque 'llukk' rouge et noire et de cercles concentriques. D = 11 cm, H = 2,5 cm.

71.1936.2.691 (fig. 179, p. 168)

Ecuelle à fond plat en terre cuite, panse légèrement évasée, oreille perforée, bord extérieur incisé. Dans le fond lignes rayonnantes noires et rouges faites à la laque 'llukk'. D = 12 cm, H = 3,5 cm.

71.1936.2.824 (fig. 177, p. 167)

Entonnoir en terre cuite de forme tronconique avec saillie en bordure. D = 6 cm, H = 6,5 cm. Imitation de l'entonnoir servant à remplir l'outre à eau.

71.1936.2.826 (fig. 179, p. 168)

Disque au bord très légèrement relevé en terre cuite. Décor peu apparent avec croix et cercles faits à la laque 'llukk'. D = 13 cm, H = 1,8 cm.

Imitation du plat servant à cuire la galette.

Remarques: Mathéa Gaudry décrit en détail les poteries dont ces jouets sont une imitation, la fabrication de ces poteries par les femmes ainsi que leur imperméabilisation et décoration (1929: 141, 147, 200-217).

71.1937.9.61-62

Origine: Aïn Kerma, Djebel Tadjmout, Aurès, Algérie. Chaouïa, Ouled Abderrahman.

Mission Germaine Tillion, 1937.

Description: voir p. 168.

Maroc: 71.1908.15.24-32/74-90, 71.1959.52.9-11/29, 71.1933.77.50-51

71.1908.15.24-32/74-90 (fig. 183-184, p. 172)

Origine: tous ces jouets furent récoltés chez les Aït Ouriaghel sauf le 15.78 et le 15.80 qui furent récoltés chez les Tsoul, Rif, Maroc.

Don Gaston Buchet, avant 1908.

Description: voir p. 172.

71.1959.52.9-11

Origine: 52.10-11 furent récoltés chez les Aït Ouriaghel, 52.9 fut récolté chez les Tsoul, Rif, Maroc.

Don du Musée du Louvre (Don de Mm E. de Billy), 1916 (?).

Description: petite bouilloire à anse et couvercle (9), petite théière à anse et couvercle (10), petits verres (11.1-4), tous en poterie, mesures semblables à celles de la série précédente.

71.1959.52.29

Origine: Rif, Beqqouïa, Maroc.

Don du Musée du Louvre (Don de Mm E. de Billy), 1916 (?).

Description: petite table en terre cuite, H = 10 cm.

71.1933.77.50-51 (fig. 181, p. 170)

Origine: Fès, Maroc.

Recueilli par Jeanne Jouin, 1933.

Description: petites tables, voir p. 170.

Tunisie: 71.1933.77.150/160, 71.1934.23.1-4

71.1933.77.150/160

Origine: Nabeul, Tunisie (150); Sejnane, Tunisie (160).

Recueilli par Jeanne Jouin, novembre 1933.

Description:

71.1933.77.150.1-3: ce jouet est composé de trois pièces: un réchaud à braises, le kanûn ou réchaud, à fond circulaire et bord évasé s'achevant en trois pointes, en poterie non vernissée, H = 10 cm, D = 11,5 cm; une marmite à deux anses en poterie vernissée à l'intérieur, H = 8,5 cm, D = 10 cm; un couscoussier, le keskes, à fond semé de trous et avec deux anses, en poterie vernissée vert foncé, H = 6,5 cm, D = 9 cm.

71.1933.77.160: bol à anse en terre grisâtre avec décor de lignes concentriques et de chevrons, H = 4 cm, D = 6,2 cm.

71.1934.23.1-4

Origine: Tunisie (1), Nabeul, Tunisie (2-4). Bédouins, nomades.

Acheté par Marcelle Bouteiller chez un marchand de poterie à Tunis, février 1934.

Description: ce jouet est composé de cinq pièces: le réchaud ou kanûn a un fond circulaire avec un trou et un bord évasé s'achevant en trois pointes, il est en poterie rougeâtre non vernissée avec un décor en creux d'une pointe à l'autre, H = 9 cm (1); une marmite cylindrique à deux anses, non vernissée à l'extérieur mais vernissée à l'intérieur, vernis jaunâtre, H = 7,5 cm, D = 8 cm (2.1); sur cette marmite se pose un couscoussier, une poterie circulaire à fond percé de trous et avec deux anses, vernissée en vert foncé, H = 4 cm, D = 8,5 cm (2.2); un plat à fond circulaire et bord évasé, vernissé mi-partie jaune et mi-partie verte, D = 19 cm (3); un autre plat à fond circulaire et bord évasé, vernissé en vert à l'intérieur et non vernissé à l'extérieur, D = 13 cm (4);

5 Les jouets liés aux tâches ménagères

5.1 Les puits

Touaregs: 71.1937.21.112

Origine: Ghât, Assouar, Sahara, Libye. Touaregs Kel Djanet, Touaregs Kel Ajjer, nomades.

Mission René Pottier, 1934.

Description: imitation du puits à balancier touareg, H = 80 cm. Ce puits-jouet est fait selon le modèle teda décrit p. 203.

Teda: 71.1935.50.183 (fig. 239, p 203)

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda.

Mission Le Cœur, 1934.

Description: voir p. 203.

Remarques: dans la collection ne subsiste que la perche avec la pierre, la traverse est brisée et le reste a disparu. Le puits à balancier se retrouve aussi bien au Fezzan, au Ahaggar, au Adrar qu'au Tibesti ainsi qu'au Soudan et en Egypte (Tubiana, 1977, p. 89).

Belbala: 71.1952.27.44

Origine: Tabelbala, Sahara, Algérie. Belbala.
Collectionné par Dominique Champault, juin 1951.

Description: voir p. 203.

5.2 Les récipients d'eau

Algérie: 71.1936.2.273, 71.1889.120.66

71.1936.2.273

Origine: Tadjmout Kebech, Aurès, Algérie. Chaouïa.
Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: trépied à outre en miniature, voir p. 205.

71.1889.120.66 (fig. 241, p. 205)

Origine: Grande Kabylie (?), Algérie. Kabyles (?).
Don du Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, 1889.

Description: ce jouet est une petite cruche en terre cuite à fond plat; à panse tendant à être sphérique avec col élevé et anse allant du bas au haut du col. Au sommet de la cruche il y a un décor rougeâtre sur fond blanc avec des traits en échelle et des triangles hachurés opposés par le sommet. Cette cruche d'une hauteur de 11 cm est vernissée.

Maroc: 71.1933.74.1 (fig. 242, p. 205)

Origine: Achouia, Souk Taza, Nord du Maroc.
Don de Herber, 1933.

Description: voir p. 205.

5.3 Les fuseaux

Algérie: 71.1962.51.3

Origine: Tinerkouch, Touat-Gourara, Sahara Nord-occidental.
Don de Corneille Jest, 1962.

Description: fuseau-jouet en bois, H = 35,5 cm, voir p. 225.

6 Les jouets liés aux activités de subsistances

6.1 Les jouets liés à l'élevage

Maures: 71.1938.48.36-37, 71.1938.48.47

71.1938.48.36-37

Origine: Tidjikdja, Tagant, Sahara, Mauritanie. Maures Idéïchilli Ghoudf, nomades.
Mission Puigauveau-Sénones, 1936-1938.

Description: Il s'agit d'une réduction d'un objet d'usage courant, le support de peau de bouc ou 'arahal el-greb'. Ce jouet est fabriqué par un artisan local. De chaque côté d'une traverse sont fixés par des lanières de cuir deux bâtonnets croisés en X et deux autres formant pieds. Les deux ensembles s'écartent vers la base pour former un chevalet. Entre eux, la peau de bouc est suspendue à la traverse horizontale.

71.1938.48.36: H = 36 cm, L = 45 cm.

71.1938.48.37: fait en bois de cactropis, teinté en jaune. H = 18 cm, L = 28 cm.

71.1938.48.47

Origine: Tidjikdja, Tagant, Sahara, Mauritanie. Maures Idéïchilli, nomades.

Mission Puigauveau-Sénones, 1936-1938.

Description: ce jouet fait par un berger et reproduisant l'ustensile courant pour traire les vaches est une coupe à fond rond, munie d'une manche en bois plein, en bois grossièrement noirci au feu. La manche est percée d'un petit trou par lequel on a enfilé une lanière de cuir rouge nouée. D = 7,5 cm.

6.2 Les jouets liés au travail des champs

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.255-263

Origine: Aïn Kerma (256-262) ou Kebech (255 et 263), Djebel Tadjmout, Aurès, Algérie. Chaouïa, Ouled Abderrahman.

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: l'araire le plus simple 71.1936.2.261 (fig. 289, p. 240) est fait d'une baguette écorcée avec crochet en bois de genévrier. Le timon est ajusté à la semelle par un bout de fil. Il s'agit d'un araire à un mulet comme c'est le cas pour l'araire n° 71.1936.2.262. 71.1936.2.261: H = 3,5 cm, LO = 15,5 cm. 71.1936.2.262: H = 3 cm, LO = 21 cm.

L'araire 71.1936.2.255 (fig. 291, p. 241) est fait d'une semelle et d'un mancheron en une pièce de bois et d'un age oblique en bois. Le soc est en métal. Le dispositif qui permet de régler le soc a été mis en place. H = 36 cm, LO = 45 cm.

L'araire 71.1936.2.256 (fig. 292, p. 241) est du même type que le précédant mais le soc n'a pas de pointe en métal. H = 19 cm, LO = 35 cm. Cet araire est tiré par deux mulets. H = 8 cm, LO = 9,5 cm. Le mulet est fait de quatre

bâtonnets, les pattes, fixés à un morceau de bois servant de corps.
L'ensemble a été fait en bois de laurier rose. H totale = 12,5 cm, LO totale = 42 cm.

L'araire 71.1936.2.257 (fig. 290, p. 240) en bois d'asphodèle est une autre reconstruction de l'araire à deux mulets. Il est composé d'un soc appointé auquel est ajusté un age oblique ainsi qu'un mancheron qui cependant rappelle le type d'araire à un mulet. Entre l'age et le soc se trouvent les pièces de réglage. H = 14 cm, LO = 26 cm.

Remarques: concernant l'araire Chaouïa Mathéa Gaudry note qu'il est fait "d'un morceau de bois coudé, dont les deux branches constituent le soc et la manche; un timon est attaché au sommet de l'angle ainsi formé... (il) est presque toujours traîné par des mulets, quelquefois par des ânes, rarement par des chevaux, jamais par des bœufs. Il ne remue que très superficiellement la terre, en sorte que le grain semé se trouve enfoui à une très faible profondeur. L'homme guide les bêtes." (1929: 156).

7 Les instruments de musique et les bruiteurs

7.1 Les flûtes

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.212

Origine: Djebel Menaâ, Aurès, Algérie. Chaouïa.
Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: voir p. 276.

Maroc: 71.1931.45.29

Origine: Rabat, Maroc.
Don de Jeanne Jouin, 1931.

Description: voir p. 291.

7.2 Les claquettes

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.207-211

Origine: Amentane, Djebel Menaâ, Aurès, Algérie. Chaouïa.
Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: voir p. 276.

7.3 Les tambourins

Maroc: 71.1933.77.49

Origine: Fès, Maroc.
Collectionné par Jeanne Jouin, 1933.

Description: voir p. 282.

7.4 Les hochets

Maroc: 71.1933.77.47-48

Origine: Fès, Maroc.
Collectionné par Jeanne Jouin, 1933.

Description: voir p. 279.

8 Les lances-eau

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.234-236 (fig. 385, p. 312)

Origine: Ménâa, Aurès, Algérie. Chaouïa. Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.
Description: voir p. 312.

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