Children's dolls and doll play

SAHARAN AND NORTH AFRICAN TOY AND PLAY CULTURES

Jean-Pierre Rossie

Foreword by Dominique Champault

Stockholm International Toy Research Centre, KTH
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2005
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

Cover photograph:
Ghrib girls' doll play
Tunisian Sahara, 1975, taken by the author

Cover design: Johnny Friberg

With 163 photographic and other illustrations

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The 144 original color photos and other illustrations of *Toys, play, culture and society. An anthropological approach with reference to North Africa and the Sahara*

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.

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- L’animal dans les jeux et jouets, 2005, 229 p., 107 ill.
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 socio-cultural 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.
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Abstract

This book presents the reader a detailed analysis of the dolls and the doll play of Saharan and North African children. To begin with, the male dolls are described, then the female dolls and finally the child dolls. Each of the three subdivisions starts with a summary putting forward the main characteristics of the group of dolls concerned. In the chapter Conclusion, a synthesis is proposed, together with a discussion of some environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects of the dolls and doll play, followed by a final chapter in which I try to offer suggestions for the practical use of this toy and play culture. In appendix 1 a detailed and systematic description, in French, of the Saharan and North African dolls of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme can be consulted. Appendix 2 gives a scheme for a detailed description of play activities and toys. In appendix 3 the interested reader can find some autobiographical notes. In North Africa and the Sahara one finds male dolls as well as female dolls and child dolls. However, the female dolls are largely predominant. With the exception of Morocco, I have only noted the existence of male dolls among the children of families living in the Sahara. These male dolls and female dolls are adults, often bridegrooms and brides. The child dolls represent girls or boys of some age. Baby dolls seem to be seldom.

Most of the time Saharan and North African children make their dolls themselves. However it happens that an adult woman of the family, a female or male artisan make them. So these dolls have, with very few exceptions, been locally made. As more or less all over the world it is the girls who play most with dolls and to a much lesser extent the boys, and then they almost always play with male dolls.

Although the bibliographical documents too rarely talk about this, the dolls described in this book have no meaning except within the children's doll play. Most often this is a doll play for which children of the same family and/or neighborhood come together. In this collective doll play the children use a lot of other toys or objects. Moreover, they may sing, dance, tell riddles or stories and engage in linguistic games during their doll play.
Following all the information I have at my disposal, the children enact in their doll play the life of the adults. In the sphere of the masculine world, the doll becomes a dromedarist, a horseman, a mule driver, a herdsman, a warrior or a nobleman. In the sphere of the female world, doll play mostly refers to playing household, to enacting festivities, especially weddings, and other important reunions, to representing pregnancy, childbirth or a burial. With the exception of the imitation of weddings, in which the female and male worlds mix, the distinction between female and male activities remains strong in doll play.

In the creation of the dolls a great variety of natural and waste materials are used. Almost always these materials are of local or domestic origin: mineral material such as stones or clay; animal material such as dried dung, bones, hair, leather and wool; vegetal material such as leaves, reed, branches, dates and ear of maize (Indian Corncob); textile material such as rags and threads; metallic material such as wires and sheets; plastic material such as flasks, threads and ornaments. The part of the material of non-environmental or non-domestic origin is insignificant.

The children of each population seem to have held to one or sometimes a few clearly defined types of dolls. As within each community the children play with the same kind of dolls, their similarity facilitates the elaboration and communication of shared signification. This elaboration and communication of shared signification being strengthened by the fact that most of the children make themselves their dolls. This way, the dolls and doll play can be viewed as an efficient communicative tool for keeping up the socio-cultural system.

If one takes into account the whole geographic area an interesting variety can be detected in the form, height, face, hair and garments of the dolls. With few exceptions, the dolls are figurative and realistic representations at least in the global appearance and the clothing aspect. Except among the upper classes, the ideal female model is a decently dressed well-fed or even corpulent young woman as symbolized in the female dolls of these regions.

Among many North African and Saharan populations the facial traits are not indicated on local dolls or possibly in a fanciful manner. I only found facial features among the female dolls of Belbala, Mozabite, Moroccan and Tunisian girls, as well as the Ghrib girls where it is a
recent evolution influenced by the school, an evolution that also comes to
the foreground in certain Moroccan communities.

The information I could gather since the first French edition of this
book in 1993, confirms the use of local or traditional dolls made by girls
and only seldom by boys, in the villages of Central and South Morocco.
At the same time, their disappearance and replacement by plastic dolls
imported from China or elsewhere can be noticed in the towns and small
urbanized centers, now or then even in a village. Some information
shows that the plastic doll has slowly infiltrated the children's playgroup
and that for some time both types of dolls have coexisted and still
coexist. Within this context, the influence of the upper class on the
middle and lower class city dwellers and rural residents should be
stressed.
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 Centre 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 reworked HTML version of these books and the first English and French HTML version of The Animal World in Play, Games and Toys were published by the Stockholm International Toy Research Center on its website in 2003.

The writing of the fourth volume Domestic Life in Play, Games and Toys is nearly finished. Two more volumes on Games of Skill and on Traditional and Modern Techniques in Play, Games and Toys are planned.

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.


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Foreword by Dominique Champault

Up to now, the games of North African children have not been the object of a comprehensive study. So, straight away, one should thank Jean-Pierre Rossie to have got to a delicate task: finding scattered data in more or less dated monographs, confronting them first of all with his own research and then with an important museum collection, all this in order to present an exhaustive study and filling a gap.

By devoting himself to research on dolls, he does not fear to tackle a most short-living game in this geographic area. The girls of the Arab-speaking and Amazigh-speaking traditional world do not play much with dolls, probably because they lack opportunities for it. From a very young age they must help their mother with her household duties and the care for toddlers is often overwhelming. Moreover, early marriage prematurely ends their childhood. Nevertheless, while herding or supervising the kitchen or the little ones, the girls always have fashioned dolls with which they play just as every little girl from all over the world. As material everything they can lay hand on is used: sticks, bone, rags, goat’s hair... The bone of a sheep transformed in a way similar to what was done by a Syrian child in the Roman period, and nowadays by a girl living in an oasis, attests the same inventive genius, compensating for the poorness of materials. An attentive mother, or a female servant in more fortunate families, can make the same dolls with the same material, only the making up being more elaborate and more solid.

The female dolls have one thing in common, they are designated as ‘brides’ by terms used, according to the regions, for the bride from the first till the seventh day of her marriage. A little baby of a more or less defined sex is never fashioned but always a woman at the moment when, invested with the sacred force of the baraka, she is potentially most fertile.

However, it is not harmless to create an image with an, even remote, resemblance to a human being. Without repeating the exegesis devoted to the more or less formal interdictions enacted by Judaism and later on by Islam, it must be noted that adults, and especially men, do feel an ambiguous suspicion towards images. An operational force is always
acknowledged to dolls. A most evident one is the force of provoking rain (probably in analogy with ancient dolls of rogation). That’s why in some regions parents forbid their children to manipulate dolls at times when rainfall would harm the cultures: the harvesting of the grain, the ripening of the dates, etc.

It seems justified to believe that originally, in the Near East as well as in North Africa, the first figurines resembling a human being were related to rural rites, as if the fertile woman could communicate her virtue to nature as a whole. In ancient Egypt, the girls expected from their dolls a promise of fertility, while the adults threwed dolls into the Nile to initiate the floods; a rite still conformed to until a few decades ago with dolls made of sweets. In rural regions of the Maghreb and till recently, the last harvested sheaf, designated as the ‘bride of the field’, could be dressed in female rags before being threshed separately. Its grains, mixed to the preserved seeds, communicated to these seeds an exceptional capacity of germination.

Rites become blurred because of new techniques and in the mind of people only remain a vague suspicion for ‘fetish’ dolls of which some could serve for bewitchment and the identification of the evil or the magic spell. The, too naturalistic, Western dolls that some decades ago were judged as a blameful innovation, are found everywhere nowadays.

Finally, it must be emphasized how much the research of Jean-Pierre Rossie illustrates the complementarities between researchers and museums: the collections do not rest forever in the reserves; well documented, they are ready to come to life by an attentive look, to bear witness of more or less remote times and of original cultures that do not give way to the monotony of the Occident: “... it depends on the one passing by wether I become a grave or a treasure...”

Dominique Champault,
Département d’Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient,
Introduction
This book is the second volume of a series of publications on the play and toy culture of Saharan and North African children; a theme 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 these toy and play cultures, having participated in full in the molding of the identity of the individuals and communities concerned, are threatened with disappearance. This could in the long run become really detrimental to 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 adapted pedagogic and didactic actions that are urgently needed according to international organizations such as UNESCO and the International Federation for Parent Education as well as some national authorities also (see chapter Using North African and Saharan toy and play culture, p. 219).

This overview of dolls and doll play 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.

As seen in the title, only children’s dolls are described in this book. Ritual dolls with curative or prophylactic functions, to threaten or throw a spell, for obtaining rain or promoting fertility have been left aside. For an initial approach to such dolls, I refer the interested reader to an early analysis “Poupées marocaines” published by J. Herber in 1918, to an article by Dominique Champault “Du rituel agraire aux jeux” in the catalogue of the doll exposition held at the Musée de l’Homme in Paris in 1983, to Jean Servier’s book of 1962 Les portes de l’année and to a much older publication by Edward Westermarck Ritual and Belief in Morocco published in 1926 (volume 1: 79, 330-335, 340-343, 596). Moreover,
souvenir dolls and dolls in national or folkloristic dress have not been covered.

With an exception for the Ghrib population and for Morocco, the analysis of the dolls and doll play covers a period lasting from the beginning of this century up to the end of the 1960s. More precisely and within the limits of this book, the oldest bibliographical reference dates from 1905 and the oldest doll of the collection of the Département d’Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l’Homme in Paris has been collected in 1934. 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 semi-nomadism, 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 dolls and doll play in the second half of the twentieth century and the very beginning of the twenty-first century. There also exists 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 games and toys described 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 refer to children, who received no or little schooling and were living among nomadic, semi-nomadic or rural communities, but one will search in vain for information on schoolgoing children from Algiers or other important Algerian cities. With the exception of Moroccan cities, this volume analyses thus the dolls and the doll play of children and communities belonging to more or less traditional societies. Societies however, who were and still are on their way to modernity and to their incorporation in modern states.
Moreover, the information gathered here speaks of children between three and thirteen years, for boys possibly a somewhat older age. So one will look in vain for information on infants. The reasons for this are multiple: it is difficult for a male researcher to enter the indoor female domestic world in which the very young child grows up, outdoor play is an activity of the already somewhat older child, little children in need of a toy often transform an object into a representative toy whereas making oneself a toy comes later. In the case of doll play it is also due to the child’s own development as Gilles Brougère writes: there cannot be real doll play before the third year of the child and even then it still is very limited. Consequently, the first play is motoric play (manipulation, walking around) or it refers to ‘games’ of affective relationship of the type of transitional objects (1993: 181).

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 will be transferred to a new museum that opens in 2006 one should contact the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris (http://www.quaibranly.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.
Every population on which I could find information has been incorporated in this book. These populations are different Tuareg groups, the Ghrib, the Chaamba, the Moors, the Sahrawi, the Regeybat, the Teda, the Belbala, the Chaouia, the Kabyles, the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley and these of the Mzab region, as well as some Algerian or Tunisian and several Moroccan communities.

Up to now, I used the term *Berber* 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, still live there and continue to speak their own languages. Due to the pejorative meaning of the term *Berber*, related to the word barbarian, the concerned North African cultural movements put forward the local term *Amazigh*, a term I shall use in my scientific publications henceforth. Yet, I continue to use the term *Arab-Berber* for the descendants of these populations who have 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 semi-nomadic Saharan populations, followed by the Saharan sedentary populations and finally the North African sedentary populations.

The geographic and ethnic terms given in the text have been indicated on two maps, one of North Africa and the Sahara and one of Morocco.

In order to fit the play and toys cultures into their geographic, economic and social context, it is necessary to include a short description of the peoples concerned. This description refers to the same period as the one to which the data on play, games and toys belong.
**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 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).

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

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 Iullemeden: Sahelian plains of the Niger winding (Mali).

The Ghrib

The territory of the Ghrib extends from the southern limit of the Chot 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 Arabized 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, caravaneers, 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, 1976: 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”
The Regeybat

The Regeybat wander over a vast territory in the North Western Sahara from the Atlantic to the Erg Iguidi and Assa in the Tiris region, ignoring the borders between Morocco, the former Spanish Sahara, Mauritania and Algeria.

The only slightly elevated and quite flat territory is scarcely populated. The population of the Western Sahara, a region dominated by the Regeybat till the beginning of the twentieth century, numbered some 60,000 individuals around 1970 (Grand Atlas du Continent Africain, 1973: 105). In July 1999, the population of the Western Sahara was estimated at 239,333 inhabitants (E-Conflict™ World Encyclopedia).
The Arabic-speaking Regeybat are Arab-Berbers who, linguistically and culturally, are the one most related to the Bedouin Arabs (Camps, 1984: 9).

These nomads have been dromedary-breeders and goat-breeders and, where this was possible, they also held sheep. Furthermore, and until a quite recent period, they played a role in the transsaharan trade, a trade that has lost almost all its economic signification.

The decolonization of the Spanish Sahara in the beginning of the 1970s and the claims of the neighbor countries have given rise to a movement for independence, the Polisario. It was said that the Regeybat had a spearhead function in its military actions. However, little seems to be known about the actual situation of the Regeybat.

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.

Just as the Regeybat, 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 (Bradily, 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 (Bradily, 1980: 141). The girls reveal the importance of the dates for the Teda in the making of dolls.
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 Tabebala 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 herdsmen. Moreover, Tabebala 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 Tabebala was described by Dominique Champault as follows in 1969: as it is probable that Tabebala 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 Mzab. 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. Actually they would be with some 200,000 (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 lies 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 were 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, p. 143). The Kabyle language belongs to the large family of Amazigh languages.

In 1931, the Larousse du 20e 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 Chaouia

The Aurès, the territory of the Chaouia, is a mountainous massif of about 11,000 km² situated in between the northeastern Algerian plateaus and the Sahara. The Chaouia, meaning 'herdsmen' in Arabic, are Amazigh-speaking people. Ethnologue: Languages of the World mentions 1,400,000 Chaouia 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 Chaouia of the north of the Aurès are settled in fertile valleys where an intensive cultivation of gardens and palm-groves is possible. The Chaouia 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 Chaouia 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, loose 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 since February 1992 ongoing research in Morocco gives me the possibility to collect information on the dolls and doll play of the children of Arab-Berber and Amazigh communities living in the villages or small towns of Moroccan rural areas.

The information gathered in February 1992 concerns, on the one hand, families of the village Hmar and of the Oulad Yahya, both in the Taroudannt area and speaking Moroccan Arabic, and, on the other hand, Amazigh-speaking families of the village Tizal in the El Khemis region, as well as of the rural town of Imi-n-Tanoute.

The small town of Taroudannt is located in the valley between the Haut Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, at a height of some 250 meters, and along the Oued Sous, a river flowing into the Atlantic at Agadir. The other small town of Imi-n-Tanoute lies at the foot of the Haut Atlas, at a height of about 900 meters, on the road from Marrakech to Agadir.

Both these urban centers have a population in between 25,000 and 40,000 inhabitants. There one finds Amazigh-speaking and Arabic-speaking people and it happens that in one and the same family both languages are used when necessary.

Since September 1992, I collected data on the following rural areas:

- The village Ignern, situated at an altitude of 1600 meters along the road from Taroudannt to Tazenakht near Taliouine, and the village Aït Ighemour, located at an altitude of 2600 meters near the road from Tazenakht to Amerzgane, two Amazigh villages at the foot of the Jbel Siroua mountain in the Haut Atlas;
- The small town Goulmima, on the road from Ouarzazate to Errachidia, and two adjacent villages, Magaman and Ighrem-n-Cherif, all Amazigh-speaking areas located near the Oued Gheris at the eastern side of the Haut Atlas;
- The Amazigh village Ksar Hasni Biad, near Merzouga and at the foot of the sand dunes of the Erg Chebbi;
• The small town of Midelt, located at an altitude of 1500 meters at the foot of the Jbel Ayachi mountain, on the road from Errachidia to Meknès and five adjacent villages, Ksar Assaka, Tabenatout, Tataouine and Aït Sidi Amar with Amazigh-speaking populations, and Sheba with an Arabic-speaking population;

• The Amazigh village Zaïda at 40 km from Midelt when coming from the Moyen Atlas;

• Two Amazigh areas in the Moyen Atlas: the village Arhbalou-n-Serdane near Boumia and the area of the Aït Ouirra population in the El Ksiba region, situated at an altitude of about 1100 meters near the city Kasba Tadla;

• Three Amazigh villages: Aït Hmed ou Yacoub near Khemisset, Tiddas and Oulmès on the road from Khemisset to Khenifra;

• The small coastal town Sidi Ifni and the Anti-Atlas Amazigh villages Ergoub, Imou Ergen, Lahfart and Tafraoute.

• The Arabic-speaking village Aïn Toujdate on the road from El Hajeb to Fès;

• The Arabic-speaking village Oulad ben Sbaa near Sidi Mokhtar on the road from Marrakech to Essaouira.

As mentioned for Taroudannt and Imi-n-Tanoute, Amazigh-speaking and Arabic-speaking people are also mixed in Khemisset, Midelt, Goulmima and Sidi Ifni. In the villages the population is more homogeneous. Subsistence is based on agriculture, often according to age-old methods, on olive, ergen, apple or other fruit trees and livestock, the livestock often being herded by the boys or the 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.

Sometimes I have mentioned the ‘tribe’ or ethnic group to which belong the children. 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. Within the limits of this analysis are 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 recently could gather information, are nowadays cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. Khouribga is a phosphate-mining town. They are cities with multiple appearances, showing a very Western behavior, as well as a really traditional behavior and 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 children's dolls and doll play 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 have 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).

This book presents to the reader a general analysis of the dolls and the doll play of Saharan and North African children. To begin with, the male dolls are described, then the female dolls and finally the child dolls. These last two parts have been grouped following the populations where they originated. To obtain a clear overview however, the male dolls are grouped according to the model they represent. A description based on the ethnic sequence would have caused a cutting up of the data. Each of the three subdivisions starts with a synthesis putting forward the main characteristics of the group of dolls concerned.
In the section Conclusion a general synthesis is proposed, together with a discussion of some environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects of the dolls and doll play. The following section offers suggestions for the practical use of this toy and play culture. Although this section also exists in my book Toys, Play, Culture and Society (2005) it has been retained here because the French version is given in Cultures Ludiques Sahariennes et Nord-Africaines. Poupées d’Enfants et Jeux de Poupées (2005).

In this volume I also give a summary of the five videos on Moroccan children’s dolls and doll play made in relation to my research. A first appendix contains a detailed and systematic description, in French, of the Saharan and North African dolls of the Musée de l’Homme’s collection. A second appendix offers a scheme for a detailed description of play activities and toys (p. 311).

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. 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 often 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.

This book clearly shows the importance of the dolls and the doll play of the Saharan and North African children, this way refuting the negative point of view of a former administrator of a mixed community who wrote in 1921 in an article on the games and toys of the Algerian children the following statement: thus, the dolls of our little girls and the common toys of the little boys are very seldom and so to say do not exist in Arab territory... (Robert, p. 155). Anyway, Paul Bellin already refuted this in his remarkable study on the Saharan child seen through its games. In
1963 he wrote that one might expect to find there an idle and listless youth, however this is truly not so, the Saharan youth plays. It plays as much, if not more, than any other youth, with spontaneity, with plenty of drive, with the seriousness typical of children’s activities. It must therefore be agreed on, that notwithstanding the precarious conditions of life of the Saharan child, it is a healthy childhood (p. 48).

Before describing Saharan and North African children’s dolls and doll play, I must pay attention to the limits of this research caused among others by the problem of the bibliographical sources and of the museum collection. The authors and collectors did not always proceed with a scientific point of view. Sometimes the ethnic or geographic indications are vague. Another much unfortunate restriction is that the dolls are often described as objects and not as instruments of play. This way, the doll play is not described as well as the doll itself. Finally, one finds sometimes a terminological inaccuracy as to the expressions used for the dolls and in the doll play.

Taking these limitations into account, what I attempted to do by assembling in a systematic and critical manner all the information at my disposal, is to elaborate an analysis that at least can serve two purposes: on the one hand, to stimulate fieldwork on these topics in the region under study and, on the other hand, to relate this part of Saharan and North African children’s culture to the dolls and doll play of other socio-cultural areas as well as in a global perspective. For if certain roles of the dolls and some behavior in the doll play surely are particular to a given area, to a community, a family or a child, other roles and behaviors definitely appear to be universal.

June Factor in “Three myths about children’s folklore” rightly links her research to her personal experience (2001: 24-26). She starts her autobiographic description by quoting Paul Valéry who wrote in one of his essays:

*I apologize for thus revealing myself to you; but in my opinion it is more useful to speak of what one has experienced than to pretend to a knowledge that is entirely impersonal, an observation with no observer. In fact there is no theory that is not a fragment, carefully prepared, of some autobiography.*
Being convinced that my work on Saharan and North African children’s play, games and toys surely is influenced by my own life, I thought it could be useful for the interested reader to be able to trace it back to my own development. I therefore added some autobiographical notes in a third appendix (p. 315). That these autobiographical notes figure here as well as in *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An Anthropological Approach with Reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (2005) is again due to the fact that the French version is mentioned in *Cultures Ludiques Sahariennes et Nord-Africaines. Poupées d’Enfants et Jeux de Poupées* (2005).

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 the involved children for their 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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Saharan and North African Children's Dolls and Doll Play
1 Male dolls

1.1 Summary

The collection of Saharan and North African dolls of the Musée de l’Homme possesses only male dolls coming from Saharan populations. This situation cannot be imputed to the collectors, as the authors mentioned in the bibliography do not reveal male dolls from outside the Sahara. One exception, however, must be made. An article published in 1917 in the periodical France-Maroc informs of a Moroccan male doll representing the bridegroom. In 1921 Laoust confirms the existence of bridegroom dolls among the Amazigh of the Haut Atlas and the Anti-Atlas Mountains in Morocco. He relates this doll to the rituals for the °Ashûra festivities at the beginning of the Islamic year. So this doll is to be seen more as a ritual doll than as a doll for children’s play. A Moroccan author, Mohammad Ibn Azzuz Hakim, mentions also, this time in 1959, that the girls of Ghomara (Gumara el Haila) in the north of Morocco, make, next to their female dolls, dolls dressed as a man. A description of this male doll is given in the chapter on the Moroccan female dolls. Nevertheless, it is a fact that male dolls are rarely found among Moroccan girls. On the basis of her observations between 1930 and 1940, Jeanne Jouin assured me during a conversation that took place at the Musée de l’Homme on July 30th, 1980, that she never had seen a male doll in Morocco, more precisely in the region of Rabat. She explained this by stressing that the world of the women is strongly separated from the world of the men.

However, the information gathered during my research in Morocco shows that this statement should be relativized as the girls of some regions use a bridegroom doll for their wedding game. But in these cases the bridegroom doll is less elaborated than the bride doll. On very few occasions I also saw a Moroccan boy playing with a male doll.

Most of the male dolls of the collection of the Musée de l’Homme have been found among Tuareg children, boys as well as girls. Children or female servants of the Moors, a child living in the Saoura Valley or Chaamba girls made the other ones. To this the bibliography adds information on male dolls from Tuareg girls and boys, Regeybat children,
Teda boys, children from the city of Mopti, little Belbala girls, Amazigh girls from the Haut Atlas and the Anti-Atlas and girls from the Ghomara region. Among the Ghrib boys and girls and in some Moroccan communities male dolls are also found.

The oldest male doll of the collection dates back to 1934 and was bought from a young boy of the Tuareg Kel Djanet (Tuareg Kel Ajjer). However, in the collection of the Département d’Afrique Noire of the Musée de l’Homme can be seen two Tuareg horseman dolls or dromedarist dolls collected near Rhergo on the Niger in 1904. The first bibliographical reference goes back to 1907 and talks about male dolls of the Tuareg Kel Iforas children.

According to the information I have at my disposal, only Tuareg, Ghrib, and Teda boys and those of the Aït Ighemour village in Morocco seem to have made male dolls and to have played with them. The girls of the Tuareg, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Regeybat, the Chaamba, the Teda, the Belbala, and in certain Moroccan communities make male dolls. With the exception of the male dolls modeled by the female servants of the Moors in the small city of Ouualata, children have made all the male dolls.

These male dolls belong to different categories representing dromedarists, horsemen, herdsman, mule-drivers, warriors, noblemen or bridegrooms. They are used for games representing scenes of adult life. Bridegroom dolls are found among the Tuareg, the Ghrib, the Chaamba, some Moroccan communities and probably also among the Belbala.

The frame of the male dolls of the Tuareg, Ghrib, Moors, Chaamba, Belbala and Aït Ighemour children is often made from vegetal material and in the shape of a cross, covered with rags. Tuareg children also play with dromedarist and horseman dolls modeled in clay, just as the children of the Moors, the Teda and the black children from Mopti do. The boys from Aït Ighemour model a mule-driver and his mule with clay but they also use summer squash and pieces of unpeeled potatoes.

Even though in most cases the male dolls have been elaborated with vegetal material and textile fabrics or with sun dried or burned clay, one also finds male dolls made of a flat stone (Tuareg, Regeybat), of a cylindrical stone (Ghrib), of a pluck of goat hair (Ghrib) or of plastic coated electric wire (Saoura Valley).
The shape of the male dolls varies from very schematic, as in the case of those made of stone or with a goat’s pluck of hair, to a detailed representation of the typical attributes of Saharan men, as in the case of the Tuareg dromedarist, warrior and nobleman dolls made with vegetal material and textile fabrics.

The smallest male doll measures 5 cm and represents a horseman on his horse modeled out of clay in one piece. The tallest one is a male doll of about 100 cm made by a boy of the village Aït Ighemour in the Moroccan Haut Atlas.

The dress and the attire of the dolls either show only few colors, if not one color, or are multicolored. With the exception of the three male dolls made by boys of Aït Ighemour, none of the male dolls has facial features and when they are dressed they wear the cloth of adult men.

1.2 Dromedarist dolls

Dromedarist dolls are without any doubt one of the toys preferred by the Saharan boys. Nevertheless, it could be that the economic and social changes in the last twenty or thirty years, especially the transition to sedentariness of the nomadic and seminomadic Saharan populations will push the children of these regions to leave dromedarist dolls and toy dromedaries in favor of toys representing modern transport facilities. Such an evolution was already on its way among the Ghrib children between 1975 and 1977.

Dromedarist dolls have been observed among different Tuareg groups, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Regeybat, the Teda and the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley.

In 1975, I have seen in the hands of a Ghrib boy from the Tunisian Sahara the simplest form of a dromedarist doll. This dromedarist, who sits on a saddle made with little branches put upon the jawbone of a goat, consists only of a pluck of goat’s hair (fig. 2).
According to Charles de Foucauld, there do exist other dromedarists of rudimentary shape cut out of stone by children of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar of the Algerian Sahara.

Although Captain Archier (1953: 39) declares that among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar the word ‘tifersîtîn (sing. téfersit)’ is only used for dromedaries cut out of stone, Charles de Foucauld writes in his *Dictionnaire Touareg-Français* (1951-1952: 358) that this word signifies an animal or a person cut out of stone and serving as a toy. As far as I know, Charles de Foucauld is the only author who has declared that the children of the Tuareg Ahaggar roughly cut flat stones in the shape of dromedaries, horses, men, women and so on. Usually, the young boys, especially the shepherd’s boys, are the ones who make toy dromedaries and dromedarist dolls of stone.

With respect to the Regeybat of the Algerian Sahara, Denis mentions that the children play with dromedarist dolls of stone (1952: 32-37). Moreover, an informant of the Saoura Valley, also in the Algerian Sahara, interpreted two objects of the collection gathered by Denis as being dromedarist dolls meanwhile placing them on a dromedary of stone.

In the volume *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The Animal World in Play, Games and Toys* the interested reader can find detailed information on these toys in stone (p. 52, 98).

Among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar of the Algerian Sahara and the Tuareg Kel Ajjer of the Algerian and Libyan Sahara, the boys and girls make dromedaries with the jawbone of a goat or a sheep. These toy dromedaries are often saddled and mounted by a dromedarist doll. Figure 3 (p. 53) shows a magnificent toy dromedary of 27 cm high, mounted by a dromedarist of 16 cm high (catalogue 2.1, 41.19.113, p. 284). Another example can be found on plate 28 of *La Vie du Sahara*.

An information from the index cards of the collection tells about the same kind of saddled and mounted jawbone dromedaries from El Oued in the Algerian Sahara near the Tunisian border, and, as mentioned already, also the Ghrib boys do play with saddled and mounted jawbone dromedaries.
The frame of these Tuareg dromedarists mounting a jawbone dromedary is made of 'tamarix' wood, 'mrokba' twigs or reed. The upper clothes of the Tuareg dromedarist doll with vegetal frame are monochrome, with a preference for white and indigo-blue. The bandoleer or shoulder belt and the girdle are made with mercerized cotton threads. Some dromedarists wear a long white pair of trousers. The neck and head have been wrapped
round with varicolored woolen yarn. A more detailed description of these Tuareg dromedarist dolls is given in the chapter on the warrior and nobleman dolls.

Using these jawbone dromedaries and dromedarist dolls, Tuareg children act out a carrousel or other scenes of a nomadic life.

The Kel Air Tuareg children (Sahara of Niger) make dromedarists with a frame of twisted palm-fibers or palm-leaves. The dromedaries mounted by such dromedarists have a frame consisting of a cushion stuffed with rags in which stick four twigs serving as legs. The neck and head are of twisted palm-fibers or palm-leaves.

The 15.5 cm high dromedarist, shown on figure 4, wears a black hairdo with red and green woolen yarn fixed by a safety-pin (total H = 48 cm; dromedary: H = 35 cm, L = 20 cm; catalogue 2.1, 74.107.6, p. 284).

In the document ‘Vie des Touaregs. Enfance et Jeux’, written by an unknown author probably during the 1950s, an excellent description is given of the toy dromedaries with a vegetal frame as well as of the play in which they are used. In this play activity but also for making these toys, girls and boys collaborate.

The most important figure, to whom all the other figures are related, is the dromedary, the object of the desire of every young nomad and so equivalent to the car for the French children. Its frame of pliable branches, preferably of the acacia or *Mærua crassifolia*, is made by the boys, it is then dressed with rags by the little girls who finally cover it with a nice piece of white textile to give it the appearance of a chief’s mount. Sometimes, when the sewing of this small masterpiece becomes too difficult for the little inexperienced fingers, the help of a woman of
the family is sought after, a woman who does not consider it beneath her dignity to give help in making such a toy. Every detail of the animal is scrupulously represented: the head is well designed with little pieces of wood, carved and carved again by the artist of the children’s group: eyes, ears, mouth, nothing is missing. The form of the hump is often well executed. However, seen in profile, the dromedary only has two legs that are stuck into the sand to keep it upright. It is another boy who carves the saddle from a piece of softwood, preferably tamaris, so that it totally resembles the 'rahla tamzak', decorated by burning the wood with red-hot needles. Then the saddle has to be attached to the animal by means of a little girth and its pompom, just as with the normal harness. Later on, the whole group starts to cut out of pieces of skin: the bridle, the 'dabias', the 'areg', the whip and the saddle carpet. Once the dromedary is finished, the meharist must be made. Therefore the girls put onto a frame of wood the luxurious gandouras while the boys make the two 'chechs' and the bandoleers of nobility. Finally, the artist of the group takes a tin can and cuts out the 'takuba' or sword without which no Tuareg nobleman can travel. Now, bit by bit the rest of the family is put in place around the toy dromedary: the mother, with her large dresses and whose feet of wood are strangely fixed into a clay ball so that when put on the ground and pushed the doll swings what should represent the walking, the children of every size and also the black servants. To these figures are added the animals and objects commonly found in a camp: pack-dromedaries, goats, dogs, mules, carpets, cooking-pots, water-skins and also the tent cut out of a piece of skin. Once all the figures and objects have been made, the children play at 'tribal life'. While the boys, with the head of the family sitting on his white dromedary and the pack-dromedaries loaded with sand sacks, follow the trails designed in the sand, turn around the hills of little stones and water their convoy at imaginary wells, this way covering thousands of kilometers on a strange relief map where the proportions are far from being respected, the little girls, who remained at the camp, mount the tent, send the rag black servants to herd the clay goats, simulate a tasty and time consuming cooking and finally realize an excellent dinner with three dates. When the boys, after a long journey of a hundred meters, come back to the camp, the whole group of children plays at the joyful festivities that welcome the caravans coming back from Sudan (p. 93-94).
The Saharan children of the Tuareg, the Moors and the Teda model dromedaries in clay, sometimes sun dried and sometimes burnt, mounted by a dromedarist made in the same way.

One of the sun dried clay dromedarists collected from the Tuareg Kel Ajjer children (Algerian Sahara) is being mounted by a dromedarist also modeled in sun dried clay (fig. 5, total H = 14.5 cm; dromedary: H = 9 cm, L = 9.5 cm; catalogue 2.1, 37.21.104. 1/2, p. 284). The arms of the 7.2 cm high dromedarist form a cross with the corps and the head that is just a tip. Two short legs make it possible to saddle the dromedarist doll.

Two 10 cm high Tuareg of similar shape, modeled with clay and dried in the sun were used to mount a dromedary or a horse (see 1.3 Horseman dolls, p. 58). An eleven-year-old Hartani boy, living among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar at Tamanrasset (Algerian Sahara) has made them.

In the Sahelian region of Tahoua in Niger, the children of the Tuareg Iullemeden also model clay dromedarists which they mount on clay dromedaries often decorated with colorful rags and herbal sprigs representing the sacs or the harness (Nicolas, 1950: 186).

The children of the Moors in the North Western Sahara (Algerian-Moroccan border) play with four-legged dromedaries that are saddled and mounted by a dromedarist doll. All the pieces are in reddish burnt clay. The dromedarist is of the same type as the horseman doll of the Moors children described below and showed on figure 8 (p. 59).

The Teda children living in the Tibesti massif in the Sahara of Chad model themselves clay dromedaries. Peter Fuchs declares that these figurines are the favorite toys of the Teda boys. They put their
dromedarist dolls in saddle and make razzias upon one another (1961: 47).

In 1956 Dominique Champault collected among the children of the Saoura Valley in the North Western Sahara in Algeria, a dromedary mounted by a 6.5 cm high dromedarist, both made out of plastic coated electric wire, yellow for the dromedary and red for the dromedarist. The dromedarist has a span between both hands of 11 cm (fig. 6, total H = 15.5 cm; dromedary: H = 11 cm, L = 6.5 cm; catalogue 2.2, 62.60.29/30, p. 287). The dromedarist is retained on the saddle with a bridle of red plastic coated electric wire that ties him to the dromedary’s head.

This example shows that although the used material is influenced by modernity, the representation of the dromedary and the dromedarist remained vivid in the games of the children. The toy dromedaries and dromedarist dolls still found among the Ghrib children in 1977 confirm this.
1.3 Horseman dolls

Among the Tuareg and the Moors of the North Western Sahara the toy horses wear most of the time a saddle and are mounted by a rider. The horse, the saddle and the rider have been modeled out of clay. They form three separated pieces in contrast with the mounted toy horses of the Moors of Oualata made in one piece.

Three saddled horses mounted by a Tuareg horseman were modeled in clay and then dried in the sun. Two of these horses, however, could as well figure dromedaries (catalogue 2.2, 41.19.152-154, p. 287). These toys, named 'aknar', have been made by three different boys from the Hartani, the black servants of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar, aging between eight and twelve years. Unfortunately, these objects are missing in the Musée de l’Homme. The height of one of the horses was 8 cm as indicated on the index card of this object.

One of the horse-riders figures, according to the maker of the toy, the son of the amenokal or 'king' of the Ahaggar.

These are boys’ toys. Mounting horses was exclusively reserved to men, and although the Ahaggar women mounted on dromedaries not one mounted a horse (de Foucauld, 1951-1952: 1034).

In 1904 Desplagnes has seen figures in burnt clay found on the ground of the Sahel plain near Rhergo on the Niger river in Mali, where the Tuareg Iullemeden were wandering about (fig. 7).

They represent horsemen in a sitting position. Their legs are oblong and the slightly backward inclined trunk is provided with two lateral protuberances serving as arms. The head is modeled out of a vertical protuberance and wears on one of the specimens a helmet-like covering going down to its neck. Two lateral points mark the eyes and traces of white and brown paint are still visible. The tallest figurine measures 8.6 cm, the smallest one, wearing as a necklace a simple green cotton thread,
measures 5.7 cm (Lebeuf et Pâques, 1970: 53). These horseman dolls could as well be dromedarist dolls, as the Desplagnes collection only possesses one horse-saddle and no horses but one dromedary and two dromedary-saddles.

The children of the Moors living in the North Western Sahara also play with saddled and mounted horses modeled in clay. The mounted horse of figure 8 is 26 cm high and consists of four pieces, all in reddish burnt clay: the horse (H = 16 cm, L = 17.5 cm), the saddle (L = 6 cm), the rider (H = 12 cm) and his hat (H = 3.5 cm). With the exception of the horse, the whole toy has been painted in red ochre (catalogue 2.2, 38.141.83, p. 287).

The neck of this four-legged horse bends forward and the ears are modeled on a little head. The tail is clearly delineated. The saddle imitates the type of saddle with rounded pommel. The horseman remains in the saddle with his spread legs. His arms are wide open and he wears a hat. As with all the other male dolls, except those of the Moroccan village Aït Ighemour, there are no facial features.

The black children of Mopti on the Niger river in Mali, model in clay horsemen and horses that in no way resemble those found near Rhergo but very well those of the children of the Moors of the North Western Sahara. These clay figurines are either sun dried or burnt. J. J. Mandel and A. Brenier-Estrine show us two saddled and mounted toy horses in their article “Clay Toys of Mopti” (1977: 11-12).
Little sun dried clay horses serve as toys for the children of the Moors from Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara (catalogue 2.2, 38.48.81-83, p. 287). Black female servants model them. The horse, saddle and possibly the horseman are modeled in one piece. These toys, already remarkable for their coloring, have moreover the front legs assembled in one trunk. One of the horseman dolls of the collection wears a colonial helmet.

The native horseman of Oualata, shown on figure 9, rides a saddled horse. The neck of the horse bends forward and the head is being almost unmarked. The two front legs are joined into one protuberance. As tail serves a little cotton string. The toy was covered with a white coat. The hoofs and the saddle have been painted in ochre. The saddle-girth is also in ochre decorated with yellow and black designs. The rider is painted in yellow. Ochre and blue lines indicate the harness. In front of the breast of the horse a semi-cylindrical protuberance has been embellished with a composed cross in ochre and black paint (H = 7 cm, L = 6.7 cm, B = 3.3 cm; catalogue 2.2, 38.48.82, p. 287).

The smallest toy of this series of horsemen measures 5 cm of height on 4 cm of length. The tallest one measures 8.3 cm on 9.5 cm.

The way in which the children play with these toy horses and horseman dolls has not been revealed. However, it is clear that they use them to interpret the life of the adults and the behavior of the animals, just as they do it with toy dromedaries and dromedarist dolls.
1.4 Herdsman dolls

In contrast to what one would suppose as it concerns populations living in a socio-economic context where cattle play an important role, I have found very little information on herdsman dolls in North Africa and the Sahara.

Denis writes that the Regeybat children living in the Algerian Sahara also represent the black herdsman by sticking into the sand Y-shaped stones that abound in Mauritania, the fork in the “Y” serving as the man’s arms (1952: 32-33).

Personally, I have noted in the second half of the 1970s that Ghrib boys of the Tunisian Sahara play in their cattle game with a cylindrical stone of about 10 cm high that becomes the herdsman, a smaller cylindrical stone serving as the herdsman’s dog and goat excrements representing the animals (see Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The Animal World in Play, Games and Toys, fig. 16, p. 61).

1.5 Mule-driver dolls

Although the mule plays an important role in the whole area and mule-driving is done by youngsters, I never found reference to a mule-driver doll until I found some boys of the village Aït Ighemour in the province of Ouarzazate in Morocco who made two mule-driver dolls in October 1992.

In Aït Ighemour, a village of the Haut Atlas, Amazigh boys between six and about ten years are looking for clay on a mountain slope to model several toys (fig. 10, p. 62). If necessary, the clay is somewhat moistened with saliva so that the different parts of the figurine adhere well. These mule-drivers and mules are dried in the sun. With such rather crude toys the boys represent scenes of breeding and transport.

One of these toys is a mule-driver with a cap, holding between his fat legs a mule without a saddle (fig. 11, p. 62, total H = 12 cm). In the oblong head of the mule, with its two well marked ears, the boy indicated the eyes.
A boy of the same village made another type of mule-driver and mule with little branches and summer squash or courgettes (fig. 12, p. 63, mule-driver: H = 32 cm, mule: H = 21 cm, L = 20 cm). To shape the mule-driver the boy sticks a summer squash at both ends of a little branch, one summer squash being the head and the other one the pelvis. The two little branches that have been stuck into this pelvis represent the legs and end in a piece of potato being the feet. In the summer squash, serving as head, small pieces of potatoes, with the skin turned outside, indicate the mouth and the eyes.

The mule is composed of a larger summer squash, the trunk, in which five little branches are fixed, four for the legs and one for the neck. A smaller summer squash, stuck onto the little branch serving as neck, representing the head of the mule.
1.6 Warrior dolls and nobleman dolls

The collection of the Musée de l’Homme possesses toys representing a Tuareg warrior or nobleman used by children of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and Kel Ajjer (Algerian Sahara), the Tuareg Kel Air (Sahara of Niger) and the Tuareg Kel Iforas (Sahara of Mali) (see catalogue 2.3, p. 289).

The oldest specimen dates back to 1935 but Maurice Cortier noted their existence among the Tuareg Kel Iforas already in 1907 (1908: 310).

According to this author, the male dolls are one of the most important toys of the Kel Iforas boys. Nevertheless, a girl made the two specimens of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme representing two Tuareg Kel Iforas men in their finest dress.

Among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar girls as well as boys make and play with male dolls using them to act out scenes of the life of adults, for dromedary carrousels, for the 'ahâl', etc. The word ahâl stands for a reunion, a conversation, a gallant meeting (see p. 85). Bellin affirms that the young boys from the Tuareg nobility are less interested in playing with these dolls than in making them. This author writes: what is at stake
is a creative action; the young Targui sets up representations with a
turning millstone or with a burning branch. He cuts out and models
figurines, men and dromedaries. In their sense for performance and in
their artistic creativity dreaming holds an important place (1963: 100).

Foley (1930: 47) concerning the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and Cortier
(1908: 310) concerning the Tuareg Kel Iforas, mention that the male
dolls made by the boys are married to the girls’ female dolls in the
customary way.

An interesting photograph taken by Henri Lhote shows a young Tuareg
Kel Ahaggar girl playing in the sand with some male dolls dressed as
warriors (fig. 13). On the same picture one can also see a saddled
dromedary carrying saddle-sacs (1944: 113, plate VIII).

Figures 14 and 15 (p. 65) show a doll of 20 cm and 33 cm high
representing men of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar (catalogue 2.3, 41.19.104-
105, p. 290). These warrior or nobleman dolls resemble the dromedarist
doll mounting a toy dromedary made of a jawbone of a goat or a sheep
(fig. 3, p. 53).
The frame in the shape of a cross of most of the male dolls is made of vegetal material: twigs of graminaceous plants, pieces of wood, reeds, twisted palm-fibers or woven palm-leaves. For the frame of two male dolls a bone has been used.

Figure 16 gives an overview of the different shapes of the frames used in the elaboration of the miniature warriors or noblemen. The first type of frame is made of a branch or a bone to which a little piece of wood has been tied up to shape a cross, in which the horizontal piece represents the arms.
The second type of frame is made with a reed cut out, up to the two thirds of it, in order to form the legs. A little stick is horizontally introduced in the reed to give arms to the doll. The third type of frame consists vertically of two, three or five graminaceous twigs. Two or three twigs are horizontally fastened to the vertical ones in order to represent the arms. The vertical twig in the middle reaches only to the waist, while the two or four other twigs go further down to make the legs. The twigs are fastened together with cotton threads. The fourth type of frame is made with three or four graminaceous twigs, the one(s) in the middle only reaching to the waist. A twig is horizontally fastened to the vertical ones by fending it and putting it over the vertical twigs, this way representing the arms. The twigs are fastened together with cotton threads. The last type of frame is manufactured with woven palm-leaves or twisted palm-fibers, sometimes strengthened with an iron wire.

The minimal height of the Tuareg warrior and nobleman dolls is 7.5 cm, the maximum height 40 cm.

In addition to the warrior or nobleman dolls with an armature of vegetal origin, the bibliography refers to male figurines in burnt clay, dressed and armed by the Tuareg Kel Iforas boys of the Sahara in Mali (Cortier, 1908: 310).

The clothes and the ornaments of all these male dolls imitate, sometimes modestly but most of the time very completely, the dress and ornaments of a Tuareg warrior or nobleman. This dress consists of white or indigo trousers, taken in at waist level and narrowed at the ankles, and of one or two long blouses, even three in the case of rich people. On the top of this blouse an opening is left in the seam to pass the head through. Following Tuareg customs, the undermost blouse should be white and the one on top blue. A detailed description of the Tuareg male dress can be found in Cortier (1908: 317), Foley (1930: 23-26), de Foucauld (1951-1952: 73-74, 98, 439, 995), Gabus (1958: 282-289). For photographs or sketches of Tuareg men see Foley (1930: pl. XVI-XVIII) and Gabus (1958: 282).

The Tuareg male dolls of the collection of the Musée de l’Homme wear more often than not a white trouser (fig. 17, p. 67, H = 17 cm), once also a beige, indigo blue or multicolored trouser.
Their upper dress consists of one, two or three long blouses; it can be that there even are four or five. Normally, the undermost blouse is white and the upper one blue, as seen on the doll of figure 18, the dressed frame of figure 17 (catalogue 2.3, X.66.1.42, p. 289). However, a blouse could be of another color too. One of the male dolls wears a beige cloak with a cape. The children have used as fabrics cottons as well as mercerized silk and white gauze.

Just as the Tuareg noblemen who wear a bandoleer of nobility, most of the male dolls are decorated with woolen or cotton threads crossed on the chest. These woolen or cotton threads are white, red, blue, green, and yellow. When these dolls have a belt, it is made with the same threads (fig. 3, p. 53). The bandoleer and the belt are rarely made of gauze (fig 19, p. 68, H = 23 cm; catalogue 2.3, 34.52.43, p. 293).

A male doll of a Tuareg Kel Iforas child wears a multicolored trouser, an indigo blue blouse, a bandoleer and a belt of green, red and white woolen threads. Its neck has been embroidered with white, indigo, red, yellow and green cotton threads.
For the hair a little skein of indigo cotton threads has been used (fig. 20, H = 17 cm; catalogue 2.3, 38.16.43, p. 293).

This fashion of embroiding the neck with varicolored cotton or woolen threads is found on many male dolls. Other dolls have the neck and the head enveloped with monochrome fabric. Some miniature Tuareg wear a turban, others have their head wrapped in cotton or woolen threads of different colors as shown on figures 3 (p. 53), 14 and 15 (p. 65). By winding the threads around the heads of the male dolls in this typical way, the children imitate the specific hairdo of the Tuareg men with its plaited hair brought back. For such a hairdo see Lhote (1944: 289, pl. XIV).

Two Tuareg Kel Ahaggar male dolls have their head wrapped with silver paper surmounted by an imitation of the hairdo (catalogue 2.3, 41.19.106/107, p. 290).
None of these Tuareg male dolls has facial features, in this way following the general rule for the Saharan and North African male dolls.

A few of the male dolls carry a sword. The importance the ‘takuba’, as the Tuareg sword is named, bears in the mind of the boy who made the doll of figure 14 (p. 65) can be easily deduced from its length. Dominique Champault (1980) gives a detailed description of the 'takuba'.

There also exist male dolls that represent the warriors of the Moors. Two male dolls of 7 cm high, offered by G. Duchemin to the Musée de l’Homme, are mentioned in the catalogue *Poupées-jouets. Poupées reflets* (1983: 74). These dolls have been manufactured by children of the Moors living in Oualata (Mauritanian Sahara) with graminaceous twigs covered by the tunic and the turban of a warrior.

Jean Gabus also talks about a male doll when he discusses the dollhouse of Oualata. This doll is a stick wrapped in textile fabric, in which the length of the stick indicates the fact that the man plays a more or less important social role (1958: 163).

Because the two male dolls given by G. Duchemin to the Musée de l’Homme have disappeared, a copy on a reduced scale of the two designs shown in Jean Gabus’ book (1958: 163, designs: 134) has been reproduced on figure 21.
1.7 Bridegroom dolls

Speaking of the warrior dolls, I mentioned that according to certain authors the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and Kel Iforas children marry the male dolls made by the boys to the female dolls made by the girls and this following the customary ceremonials.

Moreover, Francis Nicolas gives information on male dolls in clay named 'ashlu', the bridegroom, and played with by the children of the Tuareg Iullemeden of the Sahara and Sahel of Niger (1950: 186).

Although rather exceptionally in the second half of the 1970s, the Ghrib girls made from the age of roughly seven years onwards a bridegroom of about 15 cm high with a frame consisting of two sticks tied together in the form of a cross (fig. 22).

![Image of bridegroom doll](image)

The girls dress this bridegroom, who lacks facial features, with white and colored fabrics serving as male underwear and outerwear. On top of the head he wears the *kabbûs*, a typical little red cap, and possibly a piece of white or khaki fabric as a turban. More often than not, the girls put in his belt a little pointed stick, representing the sword, this distinctive object that the bridegroom wears all through the wedding ceremonies.
The little girls of the nomadic Chaamba from the North Western Sahara make a somewhat similar bridegroom doll (fig. 23), named 'asri' just as the real bridegroom (catalogue 2.4, p. 294). On a vertical bone a little stick is fastened to form a cross, in this way shaping the arms. This doll is dressed with a long blouse, a turban and a man’s overcoat all in white fabrics. The belt and the bandoleer are done with red and green woolen threads. The facial features are not indicated.

Dominique Champault notes in relation to the dolls of the Belbala girls from the Algerian Sahara that very few dolls are male and in these cases wear the 'burnus', a male overcoat, the turban and a little wooden sword in their belt (1969: 345). In November 1991, Dominique Champault explained to me that these Belbala male dolls are made with a frame of a single bone and not in the shape of a cross.

It is probably not too speculative to relate these Belbala male dolls to the bridegroom dolls of the Ghrib and the Chaamba girls.
The scarce information on the spatial-temporal aspects of games and toys in North Africa and the Sahara indicates that the Belbala believe that the manipulation of dolls bring about rain and that therefore one should only play in principle with dolls during autumn when rain is wished for (Champault, 1969: 140).

In Morocco where the Arabic-speaking and Amazigh-speaking girls often play at marriage, some girls and women say that a bridegroom doll is made. However, others claim that this is not the case.

In the 1960s and according to the family Skouri, a family of teachers, the girls of the popular milieu of the Kbour Chou neighborhood in the city of Marrakech played with a male doll, the arîs or bridegroom, made with two pieces of reed assembled in the shape of a cross and dressed in the male fashion. A woman born in Marrakech some sixty years ago confirms the existence of such a bridegroom doll. This woman says that, in the 1940s, she and the girls of her generation, made a bridegroom with reed to marry him to their bride dolls. Such a bridegroom was dressed with an erza, a turban, a jellaba and a selhâm, the overcoat.

In contrast to the above statements, young women from Douar Akioud, a really poor outlying quarter of Marrakech, told me that they themselves and their friends did not use a male doll to play at marriage. The bridegroom of their bride doll only existed in their imagination. Around the same period, the beginning of the 1980s, and in the Amazigh families of the little town of Imi-n-Tanoute the same situation existed. The wedding of the bride doll is played without a bridegroom doll.

But in the countryside surrounding Taroudannt, another small town in the South of Morocco, the Arabic-speaking girls really did play at the marriage of their bride doll with her bridegroom, the arîs, represented by a doll dressed as a man. This information refers to the girls of the Oulad Yahya of Taroudannt in the 1940s and the girls of today of the Hmar rural area at some 10 km from Taroudannt. The bridegroom doll of the girls of Hmar is dressed with a long pair of trousers and a white hooded jellaba tightened with a belt. The Arabic-speaking girls of Ain Toujdate on the road from El Hajeb to Meknès also created bridegroom dolls about 1987.
An unschooled Amazigh girl of about eight years, living in the village Aït Hmed ou Yacoub near the town of Khemisset, made in October 1996 a bridegroom doll or isli and a bride doll. With these dolls she plays with one or several playmates at representing a wedding. Between 1975 and 1985 Amazigh girls from the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt used a bridegroom doll in their doll play staging wedding ceremonies just as the Amazigh girls of the village Magaman near Goulmima did in 1996. One of the dolls created by the girls of this village represents the bridegroom. It only is a hastily made small frame of two pieces of wood covered with a transparent rag (fig. 101 bottom right, p. 144).

A detailed description of these games of marrying a male doll to a female doll in Morocco is given in the chapter Female dolls of Morocco.

The possibly exceptional male doll of figure 24 was shown to me by a ten-year-old boy going to the local primary school of the little Amazigh village Aït Ighemour, located at 8 km of the Jbel Siroua Mountain in the Haut Atlas. This village lies at 2600m of height and at the end of a track of 36 km starting in the village Anezal on the road from Amerzgane to Tazenakht in the Ouarzazate province.
The following notes and the information on the children were collected in October 1992 with the help of an Amazigh teacher from Essaouira, Ihbous Nour-Eddine born in 1967, who at that time was teaching at Aït Ighemour for two years.

The male doll in question not only is remarkable because of its height and its head of summer squash but also for the play activities in which it is used. According to the boy who created this male doll, the boys use it to represent the young men who assist together with the young women at the nocturnal ahwash dance. The boys would also celebrate the wedding of this male doll, called isli or bridegroom, with a tall female doll, named tislit or bride. However, I mention this doll play with some reserve, as it remains necessary to confirm and complete the information with that given by other boys and girls of Aït Ighemour.

The frame of this male doll consists of a branch of about 1 m to which is fixed in the shape of a cross a reed of about 40 cm. Then a big summer squash, a takhsait, is put on top of the vertical branch. In the summer squash the boy cuts incisions for the eyebrows and little holes for the eyes, nose and mouth. The incisions for the eyebrows and the hole for the mouth are blackened with kohl, a beauty product. In the holes for the nose a yellow piece of the fruit of the iqurran tree is placed. A red plastic round, used for counting at school, is stuck into the mouth as tongue.

This male doll wears a red undergarment and a white hooded upper garment that in other situations is worn by a boy. A long rag envelopes the head and the neck. So dressed the male doll represents a bridegroom or a young man participating in the ahwash dances typical for the Ouarzazate region. Such dolls are made during autumn, the period for harvesting summer squash and potatoes.

The existence in the beginning of the 1970s of male dolls with a head of a summer squash made by boys has been confirmed for Guelmim, a town in Southern Morocco that at that time still was a village. But according to an informant native of Guelmim this male doll was used as a scarecrow in the fields.
2 Female dolls

2.1 Summary

Female dolls are found in North Africa and the Sahara a lot more than male dolls. They play an important role in the life of the children, especially the girls, among nomadic as well as among sedentary populations.

The collection of the Musée de l’Homme possesses female dolls coming from the following nomadic populations: the Tuareg, the Moors and the Regeybat. Myself, I have found them among the Ghrib. The collection also has female dolls coming from Saharan and North African sedentary populations, such as the Belbala, the Teda, the Chaouia, the Mozabites, the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley and of some Moroccan and Tunisian urban centers.

The bibliography confirms the existence of female dolls among these populations, but does not mention them among other populations except among the Sahrawi, the Beni Snous Amazigh of the region of Tlemcen and the inhabitants of this Algerian town.

My research in Central and South Morocco, from 1992 till today, has yielded a lot of information on the female dolls of Arabic-speaking and Amazigh-speaking girls, and exceptionally also of a few Amazigh-speaking boys.

The oldest female doll of the collection of the Musée de l’Homme dates from 1934 and belonged to a Tuareg Kel Ajjer girl. The oldest data in the bibliography go back to 1905 for the Moroccan Amazigh, 1906 for the Chaouia and 1908 for the Tuareg.

The female dolls are most of the time made by the girls themselves, sometimes also by a boy, a mother, an older sister, a female servant or a female leather-worker. Boys play or make female dolls only among the Tuareg and the Chaouia, two Amazigh populations. However, the information I gathered in Morocco since 1993 shows that one can find there places where boys make a female doll.

The majority of these dolls represent brides. However, they also may represent married women, mothers, girls and exceptionally an old or a divorced woman. They are used in games enacting adult life, evoking
household, festivities or other important reunions, pregnancy, childbirth, funerals and weddings in which sometimes a young boy instead of a bridegroom doll serves as bridegroom.

A lot of material can be used when making these female dolls. For the frame flat stones, clay, sand, vegetal material such as sticks, reed, ear of maize (corncob), leaves or fibers, straw, dates and gummy dough, textile fabrics, leather and even excrements of goats, sheep, donkeys and dromedaries are used. The other attributes of the dolls are made of the same vegetal material together with rags, cotton or woolen threads, pieces of leather, human hair or hair of goats, pearls, kauris or other shells, white iron, copper, silver-paper, coins, paint, kohl, tar, ink and ball-point. The catalogue of the exposition *La Vie du Sahara* mentions the existence of some little dolls in basket-ware serving as toys for the children of the Saoura Valley and the region of Ouargla in Algeria (1960: 74). However, I have found no trace of these dolls in the collection of the Musée de l’Homme.

The basic form of the female dolls is limited to three types as one can see on figure 25. First of all, there is the standing doll with a vertical frame made of a bone or one or more sticks, to which a stick can be horizontally tightened to represent the arms. Sometimes two sticks have been fastened to the vertical bone or stick to represent the legs. This type of dolls is found among the nomadic populations as well as among the settled ones. To the same type of dolls belongs the doll made with a wooden spoon, a doll that although originally being a ritual doll also serves as a child’s doll (see 2.15 Female dolls of Tunisia, p. 192; Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 1).
Secondly, there exists the sitting doll, found only among nomadic populations. It is made in the same way as the foregoing type of dolls but this time with a vertical piece of bone or wood fixed into a base representing the buttocks. One also finds dolls of the same shape modeled in clay.

Thirdly, there is another type of standing dolls made out of textile fabrics stuffed with straw or rags that is only mentioned among sedentary populations, mostly town-dwellers. The head, body, arms, and possibly the legs, form separated pieces. The plastic doll, sometimes used in Morocco as a frame, has the same shape. Among the Mozabites the imported head of the doll is made of pasteboard.

However, Sigrid Paul shows us an Algerian doll of a completely different shape than those described above (1970: 118, 208: fig. 96). This very stylized doll has been carved in a piece of wood, with the exception of the legs consisting of two sticks fixed to the trunk. Regrettably the author offers no ethnic or geographic specifications, although he relates these female dolls to the ones of North East Africa.

The smallest female doll on which I have found information measures 2 cm (Moors of Oualata), the tallest one 58.5 cm (Mozabites).

The dresses and ornaments of the Saharan and North African female dolls are an imitation of those of adult women. The hairdo is really important and now and then made with a girl’s hair.

Although these dolls remain quite simple, some details can be worked out, as is the case with the breasts, the buttocks and the heads. Most of the time, there is question of a realistic figuration of a woman but rarely also of a fancy approach.

In contrast to almost all male dolls, several female dolls do have facial features and sometimes also tattoos. Nevertheless, the female dolls of the children of the Tuareg, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Regeybat, the Teda, the Chaouia and those of the Saoura Valley do not have facial features. Among the Moors, the Regeybat and especially the Teda, little pearls are put in a geometric or fancy pattern in the face of the doll. Only the Belbala and Mozabite dolls and some Moroccan and Tunisian dolls have an indication of the eyes, eyebrows, nose and mouth and possibly of the facial tattoos. In 1975 it happened that Ghrib school going brothers designed facial features on the doll of their sisters who out of tradition did not do this themselves. I am wondering if this disruption of tradition
caused by the modern school could also explain the existence of female
dolls with designed facial features among the Moors of Boutilimit in the
southwest of Mauritania as signalized by Jean Gabus in 1958.

The female dolls certainly are more colorful than the male dolls,
monochrome female dolls being rare. The majority of the female dolls
show a lot of colors and some are abundantly colored because of their
varicolored dresses and ornaments.

2.2 Female dolls of the Tuareg

In the collection of the Musée de l’Homme can be found female dolls of
children of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar (Algerian Sahara), Kel Ajjer (Libyan
Sahara), Kel Aïr (Sahara of Niger) and Kel Iforas (Sahara of Mali).
According to Nicolas there also exist dolls of clay representing the
fiancée or the bride among the Tuareg Iullemeden children (Sahara of

The oldest Tuareg female doll of the collection is from 1934 but
Cortier mentions, already in 1908, that the little Tuareg Kel Iforas girls
make dolls dressed as women or girls (p. 310).

Not only the Tuareg girls but also the Tuareg boys make female dolls.
This fact is not only attested by the data from the index cards of the
collection and the bibliography, but also proved by the female doll made
by a Kel Ahaggar boy and collected by Henri Lhote. Moreover the same
author describes a flat stone painted, following the example of European
painters copying the cave-paintings of the Tassili N’Ajjer, to represent a
sitting and ceremonially dressed woman. A Tuareg boy did this around
1960.

Balout writes that next to the children, the Tuareg women and the

All these female dolls of the Tuareg children are characterized by a
sitting position and thus are missing legs, as Cortier already noticed in
1908 (p. 310). As traditionally the women always sit under the tent, the
female doll is represented sitting, never standing up, in contrast with the
male dolls that are always in an upright position and standing near their
dromedary (Balout, 1959: pl. LXVII).
The female dolls have very developed buttocks, as this is a sign of beauty and wealth (fig. 26, catalogue 3.1, 36.44.73, p. 295). This way the doll becomes a means to inculcate on the mind of the Tuareg child the ideal of female beauty. An ideal that was realized in rich young Kel Iforas girls by submitting them to a special diet based on rest and on plentiful nourishment from their twelve or fifteen years onwards (Cortier, 1908: 310).

Notwithstanding the information given by Charles de Foucauld that the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar children roughly cut stones in the shape of women and use them as toys (1951-1952: 350) and with the exception of the female dolls modeled in clay by the Tuareg Kel Ajjer and Iullemeden children, the frame of the female dolls reflects a quite uniform shape (fig. 27).

Following the bibliographical data and those gained from an examination of the dolls of the collection, the body of the doll consists of a protruding base in which a thorn, a twig, a piece of wood, a bone of a sheep, goat or gazelle has been put. The massive base consists of a little bag filled with sand, straw, rags or excrements of a dromedary or a donkey.
This base can also be made with one to five balls of clay, two for the buttocks, two for the breasts and one for the waist. One or two twigs form the arms, though the arms are sometimes lacking (fig. 28).

The minimum height of these dolls is 6.5 cm and the maximum height 16.5 cm.

The dress of the dolls imitates the one of the Tuareg women. Tuareg women do not wear trousers but a long petticoat of white fabric bound about the loin. Those of the Ahaggar wear on top of it a large white blouse, resembling the one of the men but closed on both sides. Wealthy women do wear another blouse of indigo fabric on top. They do not veil their face as the men do but put on a little mantilla made of one or two 'toukourdi' that they wrap around the head and the face when they wish to hide it for strangers (Lhote, 1944: 268-269). A detailed description of the dresses and ornaments of Tuareg women can be found in Foley (1930: 3-29) and de Foucauld (1951-1952: 867, 995). This last author also describes the female hairdo (p. 1241-1242). A nice photograph of a Tuareg woman is shown in La Vie du Sahara (1960: pl. 5).

The frame of the female doll is wrapped in one or more pieces of textile fabrics, preferably white or indigo. One of the dolls wears four long blouses of white, indigo, white and indigo color (catalogue 3.1, 41.19.128, p. 296). Some dolls have a mantilla (fig. 29: H =
13.7 cm; catalogue 3.1, 41.19.123, p. 293) but the head of others is uncovered (fig. 30: H = 15 cm; catalogue 3.1, 41.19.122, p. 295).

The hair of the doll shown on figure 30 consists of plaited blue threads. The hair of the other dolls has been made with cotton or woolen threads or ribbons. It can also be that a girl uses a bit of her own hair. Some dolls have their neck entwined with green, blue, red, white or yellow threads as one can see on the doll of figure 30.

Just as the male dolls of the Tuareg children, the female dolls never have facial features.

There are dolls that wear as jewels a necklace of pearls and a little chain. Indeed, Charles de Foucauld refers to this in his *Dictionnaire Touareg-Français* at the word 'loullou': a little jewel, a children’s word; the very small children who begin to speak call loullou all that they view as precious things, the little necklaces that are put on them or that they put on their dolls (1951-1952: 1067). A Tuareg Kel Ajjer doll, collected at Ghât in Libya in 1934, wears as earrings two medallions with on one face the Sacred Hart and on the opposing face the Holy Virgin (fig. 31: H = 10 cm; catalogue 3.1,
Concerning the use of this Catholic medallion, it should be noted that there were no White Fathers in this region.

The description of the female dolls of the Tuareg Kel Iforas girls given by Maurice Cortier in 1908 resembles in all details the one given above. He writes that the girls take a well-cleaned white bone as big as a pencil and some 10 cm long. A piece of wood crossed at medium height represents the arms. Some kind of a sack stuffed with rags gives shape to the body of the doll, whereby the legs are lacking. The part of the bone serving as the head is entwined with threads of different colors between which appears the white surface of the bone. The doll’s dress normally consists of an 'ikerchei' or a 'tamengout' (veil) put on the head and a 'gandourah' (long blouse) covering the body (p. 310).

In her book published in 1934 E. Steinilber-Oberlin writes about Tuareg Kel Ahaggar children's doll play. She says that these children excel in making with sticks, goat bones and rags small dolls called 'isounar'. The girls make female isounar and the boys make male isounar. Pieces of textile fabric quickly simulate the male 'takemmist' or the female 'ekerhei'. The doll's face is only a cotton plug. As the men always are veiled so their representation is simplified. A rag falling down from the head of the doll till its extremity suffices to characterize a female doll. The dolls therefore are limited to the essential lines. It is common that a boy and a girl play at marrying their respective dolls and from then the male doll and the female doll always stay together. They sleep together under rags symbolizing the tent and they quarrel all the time, this way showing they certainly are married (p. 83-84).

A doll, collected from a Tuareg Kel Iforas girl in 1938 and of which only a design subsists in the index cards, was made with a piece of blue fabric wrapped around an excrement of a dromedary, representing the body and especially the breasts of a woman. A 'talha' thorn pricked in the excrement supports two long plaits of blue cotton serving as hairdo (fig. 32).
Ekhya Ag-Sidiyene, a Tuareg Kel Iforas researcher born in 1952 in a camp some 100 km from the urban center of Kidal in the Sahara of Mali and correspondent of the Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle de Paris, whom I met at the Département d’Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l’Homme on July 7th 1981, gave me some specific information on these typical dolls. The tamet n-meshlân dolls, meaning toy woman, have a body made with excrement of a donkey wrapped in a piece of fabric. This excrement represents the obese buttocks of a wealthy woman. Two thorns, entwined with varicolored mercerized cotton threads, are fixed in the excrement.

This doll wears clothes of indigo fabrics, in which the veil does not cover the face. In former times, also pieces of skin or large leaves were used as a dress for these dolls. The hairdo is composed of cotton plaits fixed in the way showed on the design of figure 32 (p. 82). Sometimes one or more pearls embellish the upper part of the head. Well-elaborated dolls have stylized patterns representing the breasts. These patterns are done with varicolored cotton threads entwined around little thorns put in the excrement. Ekhya Ag-Sidiyene designed the example seen on figure 33. According to this researcher, the geometric patterns on the design of figure 32 (p. 82) have also been realized to represent the breasts.

The simplest form of this type of dolls, consisting of a thorn pricked in a piece of excrement but without clothes or geometric patterns representing the breasts, represents a young girl.
On the photograph of a Tuareg female doll, belonging to the collection of the Musée de l'Homme and shown on figure 34 (p. 83), one can remark the geometric pattern indicating the breasts (H = 13.5 cm).

Female dolls of clay are found among the Tuareg Kel Ajjer and Iüllemeden children. Among the Tuareg Kel Dinnik of the Tuareg Iüllemeden (Sahelian region of Tahoua, Niger) the children also model female dolls of clay, called 'tashut', the bride (Nicolas, 1950: 186).

René Potti collected, during a mission among the Tuareg Kel Ajjer in 1934, a grayish mother doll (fig. 35, H = 13 cm, D base = 6.5 cm) and its brownish child (H = 7 cm, D base = 3.5 cm) both in burnt clay (catalogue 3.1, 37.21.102.1/2, p. 297). The typical form of these dolls consists of a massif base with two conical protuberances serving as arms but without legs, in this way corresponding to the shape of the other Tuareg female dolls. The head and the neck form an extension of the base for one third of the total height of the doll. On top of the head, especially of the mother doll, two hair plaits have been modeled, at least as far as I can imagine though the long elevation in the middle of the face makes me thinking of a nose.

These Tuareg female dolls, for which the following names have been proposed: 'aknar' among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar, 'taknart' among the Tuareg Kel Ajjer and Kel Air, tanet n-meshlân among the Tuareg Kel Iforas, are married to male dolls (Cortier, 1908: 310; Foley, 1930: 47). However, it occurs that, as in the Timbuktu region where the Tuareg Iüllemeden Kel Tademekkat wander around, the female doll is married to a little boy (Gabus, 1967: 112).
The female dolls together with the male dolls and the toy animals of the Tuareg children form, once they are put in the desert sand, the actors of a little theatrical performance through which the children initiate themselves into adult life.

A female doll can also be put on a toy dromedary (Balout, 1959: pl. LXXI; Paul, 1970: 110, 207 - fig. 95).

Sometimes these female dolls represent women participating in the 'ahâl', in which boys and girls can join from the age of about sixteen years onwards. The word ahâl stands for a reunion, a conversation, a gallant meeting. These musical or literary reunions have a more or less specific character depending of their being mixed with 'asri' or not. Asri, meaning literally running with loose reins, indicates a way of living based on very loose manners. The ones who can be in a situation of asri are the nubile girls and boys, the widows and widowers and the divorced ones of both sexes (Lhote, 1944: 288; see also Claudot-Hawad, 1986).

As mentioned, Henri Lhote describes a female doll painted on a stone by a Tuareg boy somewhere about 1960 (fig. 36). Like some others, this boy was stimulated by the techniques of the European painters copying the cave paintings of the Tassili N’Ajjer. This doll clearly demonstrates the continuity and the intergenerational transmission of forms and values through games and toys.

Hereafter follows in translation what Henri Lhote wrote about these dolls in 1975 (p. 407-408).
Our guide Djébrine brought three painted stones telling me that they had been painted by children from his camp, children he could not indicate because these objects were left behind in a shelter, as most of the toys are. One of the stones was an almost triangular cobble-sandstone of 4.5 cm high, 4.3 cm at the base and 8 to 10 mm thick. The surfaces were quite flat, the edges had been made even and polished, except the one forming the base of which the angles had been rounded off. With a bit of imagination, the profile suggested a sitting woman; the legs folded beneath her in the way Tuareg women sit in the tent or during the famous musical or literary reunions called the ahâl. It is in this posture that the dolls are made representing women, dolls with a base elaborated with two excrements of a dromedary covered with a piece of rag, this way evoking the buttocks of a Tuareg woman. The young artist, limited by the surface at his disposal, situated the head of the doll on top of the triangle. He worked this head out with two points representing the eyebrows, a third point for the nose and an oval for the mouth, all this drawn with black gouache taken from one of our almost empty tubes. The hair had also been painted in black. Two lateral plaits characterize the hairdo of the Tuareg women of the Ahaggar and the Tassili, one on each side of the head. These plaits are indicated with two large black lines, marked in the interspaces with red ochre points in order to show the little silver chains at the end of which are suspended the little pendants of hair, normally triangular of shape but sometimes also semi-oval as the ones of the women of Rhat (Ghât), quite often imitated by those of the Tassili. On the doll they are roughly rounded and painted with red ochre. The young artist wanted to represent a woman in her festal dress. Therefore, he has depicted the heavy silver earrings that do not pass through the ear lobe but are held in place with a strap of skin put on top of the head. These earrings are drawn in the shape of a semicircle, doubled by a red ochre point in the middle and a series of little black points. Finally, on the chest there is a triangular pendant, as worn by all the Tuareg women of the Ahaggar and the Tassili, painted in black with red ochre doubling of the black line and a series of black points just as for the earrings. A little black zigzag line, surrounded by three red ochre points placed as a triangle, could represent an amulet or a pendant. To complete the
picture, the long plait of a woman has been drawn with a heavy black line on the backside of the stone. At the end of this plait a pendant of hair was drawn in red ochre. The doll is very suggestive, even if it does not reflect high artistry. This figuration of a woman, in ceremonial dress and seated to receive the homage of the young men, gives evidence of the preoccupations of the boys, some of whom - and we have known a few - already are capable of making rhymes, either to praise certain women or to mock at those who do not pay them enough attention or treat them as children.

2.3 Female dolls of the Ghrib

The Ghrib girls play from the age of about three years with female dolls called el °arûsa, the bride, and made by a mother, an older sister or an aunt. However, an eight-year-old girl showed me a little doll that, as she said, represents an old woman.

From the age of six years onwards, the girls start to make themselves their dolls. This remains an individual activity whereas for playing with dolls normally one or more girls join in.

They also play with these dolls outside. In these games the girls make use of a lot of other toys of their own making, such as miniature tents (fig. 1, photo on cover), a miniature weaving loom, reduced models of the household utensils, the hand mill, the mats, etc. (see Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic Life in Play, Games and Toys). When the girls have a bridegroom doll and a bride doll they can celebrate their wedding.

To make a female doll, the girls take a stick with a diameter of about 2 cm, a little stick, pieces of textile fabric and varicolored threads, goat’s hair, iron wire, safety pins, pieces of white iron and aluminum...

The upper part of the round stick is split and then one part is cut of at a height of about two fingers. This way the top of the stick receives a flat surface that, once it is enveloped with white fabric, serves as the doll’s head. Beneath this head, but before it is enveloped with the white fabric, the girl fixes with a ribbon the little stick horizontally on the vertical stick to give ‘shoulders’ to her doll.
The shoulders and the body of the doll are enveloped with varicolored rags representing the underwear and the outerwear of a married woman. The hair of the bride doll consists of goat’s hair plaited as a married woman’s hair, that is to say with two long plaits in front of the ears. One or more rags, becoming a mantilla, cover the head of the doll. On figure 37 and 38 one sees a very nice doll and the girl who made it.

Lastly, she is embellished with jewels imitating the jewels a bride receives from her bridegroom. The girls make these jewels with iron wire, pieces of white iron or aluminum, buttons and other such things (fig. 39, p. 89). Just as many female dolls of the Tuareg girls, the female dolls of the Ghrib girls often have their neck entwined with varicolored threads (fig. 40 p. 89 42 p. 90).
The height of the female dolls varies between 15 and 25 cm, the male doll normally being somewhat shorter than the female doll.

Traditionally these dolls did not have facial features (fig. 37 p. 88, 39, 40 right), but in the second half of the 1970s it happened that primary school going brothers used a pencil or a ball point to give eyes, eyebrows, a nose and/or a mouth to their sister’s dolls (fig. 41, 42 p. 90).

The doll on the left side of figure 40 shows how a girl tried to give a face to her doll just as the boys did.
About 1990, an innovation in the making of female dolls has arisen. Now the girls make use of one of the waste products of the consumer society, a consumer society that has succeeded in integrating the Ghrib community to an increasing extent. This waste product is an empty plastic flask that serves as the doll’s head by putting it over a vertical stick (fig. 43). The girl who made this doll has designed an elaborated face on the flask head of the doll. Gilbert J. M. Claus, who took this photograph in August 1991, told me that the Ghrib girls also make a doll’s head in pasteboard or a whole doll of stuffed rags.

The Ghrib girls can create their dolls at all times, this in contrast with the Belbala girls of the Algerian Sahara who should make dolls only in Spring or in Autumn because the making of a doll would cause a rain-shower in the other seasons and so harm the crops and fruits (Champault, 1969: 345). Among the Ghrib the connection between making dolls and raining was never mentioned.
Bellin observed among the Kel Rela, the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar noblemen of the Algerian Sahara, that not only the girls but also the boys make female dolls (1963: 99, game n° 70). Although the Ghrib have been in regular contact with the Tuareg, my informants have stated that Ghrib boys do not make female dolls nor play with them.

2.4 Female dolls of the Moors

Among the Moors of Tidjikdja in the Mauritanian Sahara the girls and the women make two types of female dolls. The first type, resembling the female dolls of the Tuareg, has a frame consisting of a sheep’s paw or a stick fastened in a bundle of rags.

A doll of the collection of the Musée de l’Homme (fig. 44, H = 15 cm; catalogue 3.2, 69.70.7.5, p. 298) has the upper part of the bone entwined with threads forming varicolored bands successively of red, yellow, red, yellow and red color. For the abundant hair has been used black cotton threads. This doll contrasts with four other female dolls of the same series. Two of these four dolls have their head modeled with gummy dough and pulverized coal (fig. 45, p. 92, H = 14.5 cm; catalogue 3.2, 69.70.7.1, p. 298). The other two dolls only have a hairdo modeled with the same material (fig. 44, H = 16 cm; catalogue 3.2, 69.70.7.4, p. 298).

When a doll’s head is modeled it presents a particular shape, in which the facial features are indicated in a fancy manner with little pearls. The other dolls do not have facial features.
With the exception of the doll on figure 44 (p. 91) these dolls have long plaits of cotton or woolen threads onto which varicolored pearls are strunged. Normally they wear indigo upper clothes, but the doll of figure 44 (p. 91) wears upper clothes of white gauze. The doll of figure 45 has a white mantilla.

The beautiful doll of figure 46 realizes in a perfect way the garment and the hairdo of the women of the Moors as described in *La Vie du Sahara*. The dress consists of an indigo cotton fabric, skillfully wrapped and draped round the body and on the head but normally leaving the face free. The mantilla covers the hairdo of elaborated plaits and curled locks of hair embellished with pearls, shells, little jewels and talismans enclosed in small leather bags (1960: 38).

Three of the five dolls of the collection represent women and the two others are girls, probably the numbers 69.70.7.1 (fig. 45) and 69.70.7.2, as they lack the hairdo and the jewels of the women (fig. 46).
One can imagine how the girls of the Moors play with these sitting dolls, called 'amtsal' (*La Vie du Sahara*, 1960: 72), when looking at figure 47 where two female dolls are sitting on a dromedary-saddle with a baldachin.

Fernando Pinto Cebrián speaks in 1999 of the dolls created by these girls, female dolls called 'mint owzar' as well as male dolls called 'ould owzar'. They have a schematic shape because, as this author stresses, there is the impossibility to represent the human figure in Islam. The doll is then made more or less realistic by adjoining some material. The doll shown on the color photograph reproduced in this book has a central axis representing the torso of the always-sitting doll. It consists of a goat’s bone on which hang black and white rags serving as clothes. The doll’s head is embellished with jewels just as is done for a bride or 'aaris' (p. 113, photo n° 25).
The second type of female dolls, shown on figures 48 (H = 3.5/4 cm; catalogue 3.2, 38.48.50/51, p. 299) and 49 (H = 4/4 cm: catalogue 3.2, 983.52.1/2, p. 299), is found among the children of the Moors of Tidjikdja and Oualata in Mauritania.

They represent on a miniaturized scale a sitting woman or girl. These dolls are modeled in clay dried in the sun, painted and sometimes dressed.

According to Jean Gabus, the one painted in yellow is a lady of the nobility or a Marabout woman; the one painted in red is a female servant (1958: 163). Charles Béart adds to this that this type of dolls can represent children of the Beïdanes when painted in white or children of the servants when painted in ochre. Moreover, he indicates that these dolls, only slightly resembling women, have the female sex clearly indicated at the base. The design of figure 50, reproducing the one found in the book of Charles Béart, shows the base of this type of female dolls.
This custom does not seem to have been followed everywhere, as the representation of the sexual organs is not found on the same type of dolls from the collection of the Musée de l’Homme.

In Oualata the girls play with these miniaturized sitting dolls in dollhouses made by the female potters. Such a dollhouse is shown on figure 51 (H = 9.5 cm, L = 26 cm, B = 22 cm). Other examples of such dollhouses are presented by Jean Gabus (1958: 163-167) together with a description of the real houses of Oualata and the explication of the symbolism of its ornamentation (1958: 118-133; see also Centre d’Etudes sur les Sociétés Méditerranéennes, 1979: 143, fig. 12).

Outside the Oualata region, for example at Kaédi and Nouakchott a doll’s tent is used in the same way as the Ghrib girls do it.

A third type of dolls, called 'atme' and made at Boutilimit in the southwest of Mauritania, has been revealed by Jean Gabus (1958: 136, design n° 103a). This type of female dolls differs from the above-mentioned ones because of its body made of stuffed rags and the designed facial features with a triangular mouth, a nose, eyes and eyebrows. Its hairdo consists of long plaits with here and there a pearl stringed to it.
As I did not find such a doll in the collection of the Musée de l’Homme, the design in the book of Jean Gabus is reproduced at figure 52.

Just as the female doll of the Tuareg, the female doll of the Moors normally represents a fat lady of the nobility. Jean Gabus writes on this topic that the young girl who becomes fat and thus like the steatopygous matron is a common symbol in the Sahara, probably of Amazigh inspiration through captives and residuary elements of the ancient Black population (1958: 119).

Finally it should be noted that Charles Béart also speaks of leather dolls played with by the children of the Moors. These dolls can be made by the children themselves or by their mothers but most of the time they are created by female leather-workers (1955: 95). According to the same author, one finds in Mauritania a rag doll fixed on a tin can covered with a piece of cloth as is done in Senegal and also dolls of wax (1955: 97, 836). However, I have found no trace of these kinds of dolls.

With their dolls, dollhouses or doll tents and a whole series of miniature household items, of which a detailed description will be given in Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic Life in Play, Games and Toys, the girls of the Moors interpret the life of adult women in their play.
2.5 Female dolls of the Sahrawi

Fernando Pinto Cebrián shows in his book a design of the doll used by the Sahrawi girls for their doll play or household play (1999:103). These dolls are called 'owzar'. For these play activities the girls also use miniature tents, beds, mats and utensils (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic Life in Play, Games and Toys*).

This author writes that the girls, as soon as they are able to do it, play throughout 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. The girls also organize feasts and meetings like those they watch in reality.

One not only finds traditional dolls resembling those of the Moors, but also imported plastic dolls: among others the Indians and Cowboys given to the little boys (1999: 105, 109).

2.6 Female dolls of the Regeybat

Among the Regeybat who wander about in the North Western Sahara in Algeria the children play with dolls representing a woman and called 'rendja'.

A little girl has made the doll of the collection of the Musée de l’Homme, a sitting doll of 16 cm high.

It consists of a bone stuck in a little cushion of blue rags. A white piece of cotton fabric serves as a veil and a blue one is the robe. A decoration of shells and pearls replaces the head.

This doll has disappeared from the collection, but it resembles the other sitting dolls from the Sahara.
2.7 Female dolls of the Teda

In 1963, Oleg Lopatinsky has collected among the Teda of Tibesti in the Chadian Sahara a beautiful series of some forty dolls. That this type of doll belongs to an older tradition is proved by the doll, with a head modeled in gum, collected by G. Moberg before 1935 and the one collected by the Le Cœur mission in 1934, having a head made with a date.

These two legged dolls, varying in height between 17 and 38 cm, are created by girls between the age of ten and sixteen years and, according to Fuchs, sometimes also by a mother or an older sister (1961: 46). Some dolls of the collection represent countrywomen in daily dress or dressed for dancing. There is also a wealthy countrywoman with plaited hair, kauris and a cross of Agadez (fig. 53, H = 27 cm; catalogue 3.4, 65.3.14, p. 301) and an old countrywoman (fig. 54, H = 26 cm; catalogue 3.4,
The other dolls represent poor urban women, without kauris or cross of Agadez (fig. 55, H = 22.5 cm; catalogue 3.4, 65.3.46, p. 301) or wealthy ones in their festive attire (fig. 56, H = 26 cm; catalogue 3.4, 65.3.29, p. 301).

There even are ordinary urban women in daily dress (fig. 57, p. 100, H = 33 cm; catalogue 3.4, 65.3.31, p. 301) or in the kind of dress worn inside the house. The doll of figure 58 wears a festal dress (p.100, H = 24 cm; catalogue 3.4, 65.3.32, p. 301).

This rich variety of female dolls exemplifies the inventive imagination of the Teda girls.
These dolls were, at least in 1963, quite seldom in the countryside as well as in the urban centers like Aouzou, Bordaï, Yebbi Bou, Wour and Zouar. They became more common especially in Bordaï where the Europeans bought a lot of them.

The body and the limbs of these dolls are made with little acacia branches, two forming the legs and the body and another one for the arms, fixed in the shape of a cross with a vegetal thread from palm leaves. Once everything has been fixed, the frame is rubbed with sap of the acacia, called 'gourmay'. The buttocks are modeled with gourmay and then covered with rags. The breasts are made with an unpitted date cut in two, the two halves being heated before they are modeled and sometimes fixed with threads on the part of the branch serving as chest. The head is an unpitted date that sticks on the upper part of the two branches forming
the body and the neck. The base of this date should be rubbed with gourmay so that the head sticks well to the neck. The dates used need to be fresh. Figure 59 shows the frame of such dolls.

The facial features of these dolls are elaborated with little varicolored pearls encrusted in the heated date and representing in a very fancy way the eyes, mouth and nose. Sometimes the doll’s face has a varnished appearance because the date was rubbed with fat before and after it was heated.

The hair is made with hair of a goat or wool of a sheep, or sometimes with ribbons of black fabric, plaits in the shape of the little hair plaits characteristic of the Teda hairdo, and then fixed with gourmay on the doll’s head by means of a thorn or the point of a knife. Many dolls have kauris in their hair.

As jewels are used little pearls or minuscule pieces of white iron. Quite often the nose-ring has been added as on the doll of figure 57 (p. 100). Now and then the dolls wear a necklace of little pearls (fig. 53, p. 98). The imitations of the bracelets, the anklets and the cross of Agadez are true copies of the original ones. They are attached on the dolls with thorns if necessary.

The dresses are as varied as the fabrics the girls have been able to lay hold of. The fashion and the draping of the Teda dress are faithfully respected. By prudery all the dolls wear trousers and no girl ever lets trousers be put on her doll in the presence of a boy or a man.

A detailed description of the dresses and garments of the Teda women can be found in Oleg Lopatinsky’s dissertation Vêtements, parure, parfums et coiffure chez les Teda. For photographs of Teda women see Kronenberg Die Teda von Tibesti (ph. 15, 19) and Charles Le Cœur Carnets de Route (1969, pl. VII-2, XV, XVI).

In La Vie du Sahara (1960: 72) the name of ‘davi-jidi’ is given to the Teda dolls and Peter Fuchs writes about the way the girls play with these dolls: that they make a miniature woman’s saddle for their doll (1961: 47).
2.8 Female dolls of the Belbala

Female dolls named 'tamames', a word meaning the bride before the marriage is consummated, are made by the Belbala girls living in the oasis of Tabelbala in the North Western Sahara in Algeria (fig. 60, 61 p. 103, H = 23 cm; catalogue 3.5, 54.74.7, p. 302).

The frame of these dolls consists vertically of a bone of a sheep or a goat, possibly a piece of reed, and horizontally of a stick fixed in the shape of a cross, the horizontal stick representing the shoulders and the arms. However, one of the five dolls of the collection of the Musée de l’Homme has arms and legs modeled with clay.
These female dolls stand upright as the dolls of the Ghrib and the Teda girls do but in contrast with those of the Tuareg, the Moors and the Regeybat who are in a sitting position.

The facial features and tattoos of three dolls of the collection are painted on the bone. The dolls wear the ‘izar’, a long rectangular piece of blue cotton fabric enveloping the body. A mantilla covers the head. Two long plaits of goat’s hair shape the hairdo (fig. 61). The dolls wear garments, but not always as elaborated as the jewels worn by the doll seen on figure 60 (p. 102).

It happens that herbal necklaces must suffice (Champault, 1969: 345). A detailed description of the dress, the jewels, the facial painting and the tattoos of the Belbala women is given by Dominique Champault (1969: 178-181, 189-192, 195-202).

A fifth doll, modeled with kaolin, has been made by a little girl. This doll has slightly atrophied legs and arms, some brown dots on its face and it is enveloped in a few rags. However, such a clay doll did not represent the common type of dolls as the index card of this doll mentions that it was an aberrant doll and that parents and friends saw it as ridiculous and improper.

According to Dominique Champault, who collected the five dolls, one does not play with dolls at just any time of the year but only in autumn and spring, at least in traditional families. She affirms to have seen fathers becoming furious because girls made or embellished a doll in summer. The doll causes rain-shower, so say these fathers, and rain in summer harms the conservation of the dates as well as their maturation (1969: 345).

Among the Belbala it is only the girls who play with dolls, this until the age of six or seven years. After that they will have to take care of a little brother or sister and the doll play will have prepared them to this
task because, although each girl plays with her doll following her own temperament, her play always refers to being a mother, to carrying one’s child on the back, breastfeeding it, making it to dance on one’s knees (Champault, 1969: 345).

Although the doll play staging a wedding is not explicitly mentioned by Dominique Champault, the name ‘tamames’ or bride given to these dolls relate them to many other Saharan and North African dolls also named the bride and with whom the girls play at wedding.

2.9 Female dolls of the Saoura Valley

A female doll was collected among the urbanized people of El Ouata in the Saoura Valley in the Algerian North Western Sahara (fig. 62, H = 22.5 cm; catalogue 3.6, 62.51.1, p. 299).

This doll has a frame of a vertical reed and a horizontal reed forming the shoulders and the arms. The lower part of the vertical reed is enveloped with rags to give volume to the doll’s body. The dress of the doll is composed of a red robe on top of which another red robe and a green belt are placed. Two long plaits, plaied with a girl’s black hair, form the doll’s hairdo. As often the facial features are lacking.

The description of this doll on the index card mentions that the head was enveloped with silver paper, a black turban and a multicolored mantilla. However, these attributes are lacking on the photograph, as they were not found in the collection.
2.10 Female dolls of the Mozabites

Among the girls of the Mozabites in the Algerian Sahara three types of dolls are found. There are the dolls with a head of pasteboard, the ones made with a frame of sticks covered with rags and those made with a bone.

A doll with a pasteboard head, a head imported by a father from the North of Algeria, and dressed at Ghardaïa in the Mzab region is shown on figure 63 (H = 58.5 cm; catalogue 3.7, 34.49.37, p. 304). For a long time the fathers, almost all tradesmen in North Algeria, have brought with them such doll heads for their daughters. Already in 1927, A.M. Goichon notes that in the Mzab the dolls can be of European origin (p. 59). The doll of the collection, bought in 1934 for the exposition on the Sahara held at the Musée de l’Homme, wears the dress and the jewels of Ghardaïa women. It is a mother who dressed the doll in this manner to give it to her daughter. As written on the index card, the girls of the Mozabites really like their dolls. The dolls are named 'teslet' or bride in the Amazigh language of the Mozabites.

The female make-up and tattoos have been painted on the face of the doll. On the coins of the necklace the date of 1870 is inscribed in Arabic. On its forehead is hanging a little metallic Fatima hand. This hand of Fatima, a daughter of the Prophet Mohammed, returns the evil spell to
the person who throws it upon you. Remark also the earrings and the chain with two fibulas. These dolls wear metallic anklets and leather shoes.

Less fortunate girls make themselves rag-dolls with hair of goats as hairdo or ask their mother to make one. A.M. Goichon gives in her book *La vie féminine au Mzab*, published in 1927, some information on the female dolls (p. 58-59). The girls of the Mzab play at marriage with dolls of their own making, having a cross-shaped frame of two sticks dressed with textile fabric, and most of the time resembling a bride. The doll’s head is a clean white rag on which a face is designed with charcoal and the hairdo is made of the hair of a goat.

The same author tells that the girls make another type of dolls when the rags, being rare and very much wanted, are lacking. Then the girls take a bone on which eyes, nose and mouth are designed once it has been well cleaned and washed.

Sometimes brothers make a dollhouse, resembling the houses in the Mzab, for the doll play of their sisters.

In contrast with what happens among other Amazigh populations, the dolls never play a religious role in the Mzab. They belong exclusively to the sphere of private life and are never used in popular festivities (Goichon, 1927: 58-59).

### 2.11 Female dolls of the Kabyles

Up to now I have only found one reference to dolls among the Kabyles, namely what Germaine Laoust-Chanteraux writes about them based on her research in the region of Aït Hichem between 1937 and 1939. She refers to a doll representing the bride and to another one representing the baby. This doll representing a baby is described in the section on child dolls.

The anthropomorphic form of the 'tislit' or bride doll is more precise than the one of the dolls representing a baby. This bride doll is made with two sticks fixed cross-wise and covered with a piece of textile fabric. The girls play during many hours with their bride doll but they afterwards loose or destroy it without regret (1990: 167).
2.12 Female dolls of the Chaouia

In the mountainous region of the Aurès in Algeria, the children of the Chaouia Amazigh play with female dolls and the boys as well as the girls create these dolls.

All the dolls of the collection of the Musée de l’Homme were acquired in 1936 and 1937, but Huughe already mentions such dolls, called 'taslit', in 1906 (p. 519). According to G. Tillion, the female dolls of the Chaouia are called 'haslit', meaning fiancée or bride. The same word is used for the little female hero of the agricultural festivities of ploughing and also for the ladle that is dressed as a woman and solemnly led about to provoke rain (1938: 54).

The frame of the dolls, some 7 to 28 cm of height, is made with a unique stick or bone, or with two sticks or a bone and a stick bound together in the shape of a cross (fig. 64). The arms of certain dolls are represented by a stick broken in its middle (fig. 65, H = 18 cm; catalogue 3.8, 36.2.279, p. 304).

The dolls are dressed like local women. They often wear one or more reddish robes, although it can be white, black, green or orange. A lot of dolls also have a belt of cotton or woolen threads to tie up their robe. A white or black cape is often put over the robe. According to Mathéa Gaudry, the red robe is typical for the southern valleys due to Saharan influence. The white cape is a winter cape whereas the black one is a summer cape (1929: 34-35). Some dolls wear a turban and/or a mantilla and their hair can be made with a girl’s hair.
Some dolls have a necklace or a little chain (fig. 66, H = 17.5 cm; catalogue 3.8, 36.2.314, p. 304).

A photograph of countrywomen in festal dress can be seen in Catalogue des collections de l’Aurès (1943: 1). The doll’s dress can relate to a special situation. Thus one of the dolls was declared to be a divorced woman.

Remarkable is the fact that some Chaouia dolls carry a baby or a little child on their back (fig. 67, p. 109, H = 21 cm; catalogue 3.8, 37.9.33, p. 304). On the basis of all the information at my disposal, it should be stressed that this is quite exceptional among the Saharan and North African dolls. The frame of the baby doll consists of a piece of reed (fig. 68, H = 6 cm).
For the girls as well as for the boys, these dolls represent women, which they give proper names. G. Tillion writes that each doll has her own name, sometimes an arbitrary name the child liked, but most of the time the name of a girl known and admired by the child. When a girl’s name is given to the doll, the children take care of the filiations. Thus, a six year old boy was furious because a four year old boy belonging to another lineage had given to his doll the name of a girl of the lineage of the first boy who argued that the four year old boy could as well choose a name from his own lineage as there were enough girls in it (1938: 54).
2.13 Female dolls of North West Algeria

Among another Amazigh group, the Beni Snous of the region of the village Kef in Algeria near the Algerian-Moroccan border not far away from Tlemcen, Edmond Destaign has observed in 1905 a doll play during the festivities of 'ennayer', the New Year of the Amazigh. Sometimes the girls go to the cave of the Ath Moumen near the village Kef. With a stick the girls make a doll, dress it as a bride and while singing play with it till evening (p. 64).

On the basis of her research in the beginning of the 1960s, Nefissa Zerdoumi informs us of the dolls of the girls of Tlemcen, her native town in North West Algeria.

In the countryside as well as in the urban centers the only dolls one sometimes finds are quite modest and called 'blisa', the feminine of 'blis' meaning Satan. Their adoptive mothers make them more or less in secret. Two reeds tied together cross-wise and covered with rags create the body and the limbs of the doll. On its head, roughly shaped, are designed, mostly with ink, the eyes, the nose and the mouth. It happens that a girl’s hair is used for the hairdo that is covered with a piece of fabric serving as mantilla.

In the girl’s imagination this female doll can become a baby. However, it can also be used for more daring games such as celebrating the marriage of the doll or representing its giving birth, in which case the girls imitate the gestures of the 'qâbla' or mid-wife.

Yet, the age of doll playing is quickly succeeded by the age of taking care of a real baby. This transition should be emphasized, writes Nefissa Zerdoumi, as it probably is the core of the social condition of the women (1982: 228).
2.14 Female dolls of Morocco

The data on the female dolls of Morocco refer to the dolls of girls, and rarely those of boys, of the towns of Fès, Moulay Idriss, Rabat, Settat, Khouribga, Marrakech and Imi-n-Tanoute, of the Ghomara, Zerhoun, Khemisset, Middelt, Goulmima, Merzouga, Ouarzazate, Taroudannt and Sidi Ifni regions, of some Moyen, Haut and Anti-Atlas regions and of the girls of the former Southern Moroccan ‘mellahs’ or Jewish quarters.

The oldest female doll found in the collection of the Musée de l’Homme was made by a girl of Fès and offered to this museum in 1931 (fig. 69). This museum possesses three other Moroccan female dolls having the same frame with a vertical bone. The height of these dolls varies between 21 and 28 cm. But in 1915 the Mission Scientifique du Maroc mentions already a female doll of Settat made with a bone dressed in rags.

Three types of frame can be distinguished for the Moroccan dolls. The most common type of frame consists of a bone, a reed, a little branch, a stick or even a fibrous plant to which, most of the time, has been fixed
cross-wise a little reed or stick to represent the shoulders and arms, as in
the case of the doll of figure 69 (p. 111, H = 28 cm, catalogue 3.9,
31.45.59, p. 306). The second type of frame up to now only found in the
Musée de l’Homme’s collection has a square body made out of a piece of
textile fabric stuffed with rags to which have been sewed a head and four
limbs also made of pieces of textile fabric stuffed with rags as can be
seen in figure 70 (p. 111, H = 29 cm, catalogue 3.9, 34.123.1/2, p. 307).
The eyes, nose, mouth and tattoos have been sewed. The third type of
frame is modeled in clay (fig. 149, p. 177).

The female dolls of Morocco described in the bibliography, those of
the collection and some of those I found in Morocco have elaborated
facial features. These features are made with soot, tar, ink, a ballpoint, a
pencil, a red-hot iron or a knife. In the case of the Moroccan dolls of the
Musée de l’Homme the facial traits are possibly executed in needlework.
I have found one example of sewed eyes on the doll remade by a sixteen-
year-old girl from the village Aïn Toujdate in 1993 (fig. 72, p. 117).

A particular way to give a face and a frame to a doll is described by J.
Herber in 1918: a doll of Sidi Kacem has its facial features cut in the
reed, an oval trait limits the chin, little traits, a bit of black and red color
finish the face; the inferior crossing, which is exceptional, keeps some
rags in place and forms the widening of the hips (p. 66). Until now, I
have not seen again this manner of creating a face or widening the hips.
As this type of doll frame seems to be really rare, I have made the design
of figure 71 based on the photograph shown in Herber’s article (p. 67).
In the Zerhoun region near Moulay Idriss (Herber, 1918: 66) and in Fès (Soulé, 1933: 355) a barleycorn is sometimes shoved under the fabric covering the head giving a slight relief to the nose.

The dolls’ hair consists of raveled out silk, cotton threads, woolen yarn, hemp, leaves of reed, the beard of a maize cob (Indian corncob), pieces of a date wrapped in a rag or a girl’s own hair.

The dolls wear the dress of adult urban or rural women, a dress being more or less luxurious depending on the means the girls dispose of. A mantilla and jewels can complete the doll’s garments. Let us see how Herber describes in 1918 the outfit of the dolls: the doll most often has natural hair that is held in place with a headscarf or a headband. It is dressed with a series of rags of all colors probably representing the superposing of polychrome caftans worn by the Arab women. These rags have a hole in their center so that the doll’s head can pass through and fall down forwards and backwards just as a very large robe whose edges then fold back at the alignment of the shoulders. A belt of a piece of rag completes these garments. Sometimes the doll is embellished with jewels and pearls (p.66-68).

The authors have mentioned different names for the Moroccan female dolls. Doutté (1905: 328) mentions the Amazigh word 'tîsîlit', or 'taslit' according to Westermarck (1926: 269). Doutté (1905: 328), Herber (1918: 68) and madam Soulé (1933: 355) mention the name 'arousa' in Arabic. Destaign (1920: LVI) refers to these three words in his book on the Amazigh of the Moroccan Moyen Atlas. All these terms signify the fiancée or the bride. Moreover madam Soulé proposes the word 'çouira' and an article of the periodical France-Maroc (1917: 39) bears the title “la poupée iblisa”. Destaing (1905: 64) speaks of the 'blisa’ dolls of the girls of Tlemcen near the Algerian-Moroccan border in Algeria, a name confirmed by Zerdoumi (1982: 228). Flamand who did research in Morocco from 1948 till 1958 mentions a more recent name. He gives the name 'mounica', a word coming from the Spanish 'muñeca' and referring to the doll in all Moroccan milieus (p. 182). This name however is not so recent as one might think as J. Herber already gives this name for Tanger, Larache and the mellah or Jewish quarter of Rabat in 1918, adding that the Spanish merchants influence its use (p. 81). The information I gathered since 1992, gives the Arab word °arûsa and the Amazigh words tîsîlit, têsîlit or taslît, all meaning the bride, to signify the traditional
female doll. The term 'mounica' refers to the plastic doll dressed by the girl herself or to the imported European or Asian doll. As in certain milieus, as for example in Marrakech, the doll with an armature of reed has been left behind, the term mounica is used for all kinds of dolls. Nowadays, one hears also the words 'poupiya' or 'poupouya' derived from the French 'poupée'. Here also there is nothing new about this name as J. Herber wrote in 1918 that the name 'poupéia' enters Morocco with the French dolls (p. 81).

The doll play enacts different themes: wedding, pregnancy and childbirth, mother-child relation, household life and funeral. J. Herber already mentions the first two themes of wedding and childbirth in 1918 (p. 68). The games of household life in which dolls are used will be described in *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic Life in Play, Games and Toys*.

Among the publications mentioned in the bibliography, the most detailed description of the wedding ceremonies the girls offer their female dolls was written in French by madam Soulé and published in 1933 (p. 355-357, 360-361). She writes about the girls of the city of Fès: whenever possible, some girls bring their doll with them and the nicest doll will be the bride. At the same time, the girls have also brought with them the little accoutrements, such as the small 'kanun' (earthen furnace), plates, glasses, tea-pot, tea-box, sugar-box etc. and even the provisions for the festivities: tea, sugar, mint, semolina. Once a doll’s kitchen and a doll’s room have been prepared, the bride doll is seated on a cushion surrounded by the other dolls serving as guard of honor. Two older girls lead the game as mistresses of ceremony. A third girl dresses the bride and a young black girl is the servant in charge of the household utensils. The other girls sit around the dolls and represent the relatives and friends of the bride. While the bride is dressed up behind a curtain tightened to a rope, the mistresses of ceremony sing: “Ohe! Lady the bride! Come out, that we can admire you! Are you really beautiful or only supposed to be so! Oh, roses in the basket, call for your brother!”

Some of the female relatives and friends sing the phrases once more while the other girls impatiently 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. Once the dressing up is finished, the bride doll is exposed sitting on a cushion.
Then the mistresses of ceremony start singing, while clapping their hands, the song in honor of the bride and the other girls repeat this song phrase by phrase:

*May the benediction of the Prophet be upon you!*
*There is no glory other than the one of our Lord Mohammed!*
*God is extremely merciful!*
*There is no glory other than the one of our Lord Mohammed!*
*See this pure beauty! (without wrappings).*
*See this beauty of Fès! (Moulay Idriss).*
*Look! May God bless you, oh Lady!*
*See that His protection rests on you, oh Lady!*
*May the Divine blessing rest on you, oh Lady!*
*See the honey on the needle’s point, see it!*
*May the Divine blessing rest on you, oh Lady!*
*May his patronage rest on you, oh standard of the bridegroom!*
*See! The bride is turning like a bowl of soup (bis).*
*Oh God, it is with the real ones (pieces of money) that we took her away (allusion to the dowry).*
*She is welcome, the beautiful bride, together with those accompanying her!*
*He has taken her away! He has abducted her, the master of the men!*
*May God assure him enduring fortune!*
*He did take her away! He took her away! He took her away!*
*Thanks to his fortune!*

After the exposing of the bride it is time for dinner for which the black girl prepared the tea, the cakes and the couscous, and which the girls now share with their dolls. At the end of the feast, the bride doll is put again in her room behind the curtain where the bridegroom can join her. At that moment the girls sing:

*May she be happy, very happy at home!*
*We praise God for this moment, oh Lady!*
*It is only our Lord who disposes of everything!*
*We praise our Lord in this moment!*
Ohe Madam! Take me with you, take me with you, and do not leave me behind as the women’s talk tires me.
Ohe Madam! The apple hurts him!
Ohe Madam! Attend him with a licentious woman!
Ohe Madam! El Glaoui! El Glaoui!
Ohe Madam! Attend him with the allusions!
Ohe Madam! He is hurt and the blood is flowing!
Ohe Madam! Attend him, oh commissioner!
Ohe Madam! He is hurt at the house door!
Ohe Madam! Attend him, oh commissioner!
Ohe Madam! The orange hurts him!
Ohe Madam! Attend him, oh Bitina! (a movie star).
Ohe Madam! The lemon hurts him!
Ohe Madam! Attend him, oh Mimouna!
Ohe Madam! The dagger hurts him!
Ohe Madam! Attend him, oh young lady!
Ohe Madam! Lord Abdelqadir Jilani you will help us!

The article “La poupée iblisa” in the periodical France-Maroc of 1917 also mentions the doll play in which Moroccan girls represent the wedding festivities. Here the doll’s room is a hole in the wall covered with rags and closed with a door-curtain. A little chair is made for the doll and she is put on it. Then a second doll is brought in. It is the future husband of the bride. The girls shout at him: “we welcome you, we have found you a bride that you will like and who will give you satisfaction”. The bridegroom is placed next to the bride in the midst of a lot of youyous and applause (p. 39).

The use of a male doll among the Moroccan girls is also attested by the Moroccan author Mohammad Ibn Azzuz Hakim (1959: 32) and this among the girls of the Ghomara district (Gumara el Haila). According to the Encyclopédie Berbère the Ghomara region corresponds to the western part of the Central Rif where a group of nine tribes lived (1998: 3110-3111). Moreover, he notes that a little boy often replaces the male doll. This author also mentions a few data not given by other authors. So a newly born kitten enveloped in a rag sometimes replaces the female doll. For their doll play the girls visit one another with their dolls and hold conversations just as if they were talking, or they sing to their dolls so
that they do not weep. Mohammad Ibn Azzuz Hakim mentions not only the celebration of the wedding but also of the circumcision and even of a baptism, although this term, given without any further explanation, remains too vague to explain an Islamic reality, but maybe it refers to the ceremony of name-giving on the fortieth day after birth as was suggested to me by some Marrakech people. Another doll play representing circumcision is mentioned at the end of the chapter on Moroccan child dolls (p. 201).

With the exception of some bibliographical notes on the dolls and doll play of the Aït Ouirra girls, of girls in Marrakech, in a few other cities and in the former mellahs or Jewish quarters of Southern Morocco, the following description of Moroccan dolls and doll play is based on my own research in that country, research that started in 1992. This information is presented in a geographical order starting with the data on children from the regions of El Hajeb and Khemisset in Northern Morocco. Then follows the information on children from the Moyen Atlas, the regions of Midelt, Goulmima and Merzouga, those of the Jbel Siroua Mountain region in the Haut Atlas, of the regions of Marrakech, Imi-n-Tanoute and Taroudannt, of the Anti-Atlas region near Sidi Ifni and of Sidi Ifni itself. Finally, the data on the former Jewish mellahs of Southern Morocco are mentioned.

A sixteen year old girl, Souad Ouazzani, living at Aïn Toujdate an Arabic speaking village on the road from El-Hajeb to Fès, has remade in August 1993 the bride doll or ḍarūsa she used to make when she was about
ten, that is towards 1987 (fig. 72, H = 23 cm, B = 12.5 cm).

She and other girls played with their °arûsa doll at enacting wedding ceremonies, possibly using a bridegroom doll or °arîs. The doll shown on the foregoing page is made in the following way. To a piece of wood a little branch is tied cross-wise with a ribbon. Three different pieces of clothes wrap up this frame. A ribbon, passing behind the neck and at the front under the arms, accentuates the breasts of the doll. A red caftan with black patterns covers the whole. A scarf covers the head. A brown izâr, a large scarf or sheet, covers the doll from the head to the feet and is hold in place at the waist by a varicolored ribbon. The doll’s head is made out of a white fabric, something like gauze, stuffed with small rags, the whole being sewed at the back with a cotton thread. The face shows big eyes sewed with a black cotton thread, eyebrows, a nose and an oval mouth designed with a ballpoint.

One day, during the °Ashûra festivities, Souad and her sister were allowed to buy a small gift by their older brother. Souad chose a female doll and her sister a male doll both of plastic material. Together they then played at the wedding of this °arûsa and °arîs by covering them with a piece of cloth and dancing and singing around them.

For her doll play a girl of the Kabliîn Amazigh of about eight years, Hesna Ourèra, uses some rudimentary female and male dolls. With one or several playmates, she always plays at celebrating the wedding of her dolls. Hesna lives in the small village Aït Hmed ou Yacoub located at 4 km from Khemisset near the road to Sidi Slimane. When I met Hesna in October 1996 she stood near her dollhouse. In this dollhouse, of a more or less elliptical shape and constructed with two layers of stones, three dolls where lying down (fig. 73).
The dollhouse leans against the wall of the parental home. As one can see on that figure, a photograph in which Hesna did not want to appear, there lies in the middle of the house a carpet, a piece of fabric, pieces of glass representing the cups and a can of sardines serving as a tray. A clump of herbs has changed into a cluster of flowers.

According to Hesna, the dolls represent two tislit or bride dolls and one isli or bridegroom doll (fig. 74, see also Rossie e.a., 1998, video). Her dolls are made with the half of a piece of reed completely wrapped in a rag. The dress is fixed by sticking one end of the rag in the previous turn of it or with a little belt made out of the same fabric. These dolls have no arms, no face, no hair and no jewels. The distinction made by Hesna between a male and a female doll is based for the male doll on the insertion of a small stone on top of the reed, a stone yet invisible as it is entirely covered by the rag. Among the three dolls given to me by Hesna, the tallest one (17 cm) and the shortest one (13 cm) are female dolls, the one with a stone measuring 16 cm is the male doll.

Even if all the information gathered in the middle sized town of Khemisset, the county town of the Province of Khemisset, underline that there the girls nowadays only play with plastic dolls, the above mentioned dolls of Hesna show that local dolls made by the girls themselves can survive in villages just outside such towns. The same situation occurs in Midelt a small town at the foot of the Jbel Ayachi, in Taroudannt a small town in the valley between the Haut Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, and in Sidi Ifni another small town on the Atlantic coast south of Agadir.
In Tiddas, an Amazigh village some 45 km from Khemisset on the road from this town to Khenifra, Malika and Thuriya Bannour, two sisters of respectively seventeen and twenty two years in October 1996, told me that they made bride and bridegroom dolls when they were children. These *tislit* and *isli* had a frame of two pieces of reed fixed cross-wise with a ribbon. The dolls were dressed as a woman or a man and a face with mouth, nose, eyes and eyebrows was designed with a ballpoint. They played together with other girls at celebrating a wedding and singing the appropriated songs. However, Malika and Thuriya stress that these self-made dolls, still made around 1990, do not exist anymore in their village situated along the road. The local doll being replaced by a plastic doll, with hair and a dress, bought in the small shops or at the market.

At the foot of the Moyen Atlas on the road from Khenifra to Khemisset lays Oulmès, well known for its spring whose water is commercialized under this name. In 1996, concordant information from the seventy-seven-year-old Fatima Boutouil, from two other women of her family of about seventy years and from two boys of about ten years I met on the way to the Oulmès spring, all being born in this region, attest the use of a fibrous plant with long small leaves called *bèrwèl* as the frame of a female doll. This plant that grows in the rainy season is also used to make a bracelet or a necklace and even to pour some goat milk into it once it has been inflated, milk that becomes butter when the filled *bèrwèl* is warmed up.

To make a doll the plant is cut at level with the ground, and then turned upside down so that the white part of the stalk comes on top. Through this stalk a little branch is put right through, so giving arms to the doll (fig. 75). According to the two boys, the girls hang some rags over the arms of this frame to give it a garment.
In the 1940s and according to Sfia Gharîb, a woman born in the Amazigh village of Arhbalou-n-Serdane on the road from Khenifra to Boumia but living in Midelt, she and other girls between four and eleven years made themselves their bride doll or *tislit* to play together with some four girls or sometimes alone at wedding, almost always at wedding. For this game they used a small dollhouse delimited by stones. During this doll play they prepared a dinner using for its preparation a little hand mill or *takkerût*. This doll play could be played all through the year and nothing prevented the girls from playing with their dolls at home.

Figure 76 shows the kind of bride dolls Sfia used as a child and that she remade in January 1997. Always using a bone of a sheep’s leg, part of a half reed is fixed cross-wise to this bone with a ribbon. Four or five rectangular rags, at the center of which a little hole is made to pass them over the doll’s head, serve as garments. The colors of the rags are white or rose; once it is black. The upper garment or *tfina* is for both dolls a white transparent cotton fabric as is the large cape or *ternèst* the dolls wear on their shoulders. The head is covered with a black or a rose scarf held in place with a white ribbon. There are no facial features on the part of the bone that remains visible. This doll is 29 cm high and the arm-span measures 9 cm.
A Moroccan professor of physical education, Lahcen Oubahammou, obtained in June 1987 his master’s degree in physical sciences at the Canadian University of Laval with a thesis on the ethnography of the traditional games of the Aït Ouirra. In his thesis, the only one of its kind in Morocco as far as I know, the author describes 53 games with many variants. These games most often are games of dexterity and sportive games. However, he also mentions the doll play of the Aït Ouirra girls. The Aït Ouirra are a population of 24,019 people, according to the census of 1971, living in the hilly and forested region of El Ksiba at an altitude of about 1100 m and 27 km from the city of Kasba-Tadla.

Lahcen Oubahammou describes the doll play of the bride, 'ihilane ntislit', as follows. The girls take a piece of reed, 'aghanim', to which they tie in the shape of a cross another piece of reed representing the arms. A bone of a sheep's leg, the tibia called 'taâjijt', can replace the vertical reed. The facial traits are designed with soot, 'ayffouss', and the doll is dressed with old rags. The girls walk around their 'tislit' while singing:

_Yim takhen a brid. A ikhamen makkourrine._
_A youchen ghedd tamlatt. A yifigher noubrid_
_A lamoun mech immouth._

Do open the way for us. Oh big families.
Oh snake of the road. Oh jackal, Oh gazelle.
Especially when it is dead.

The group of girls who is receiving the other group answers:

_Nsayakhount ahrir. A ikhamen mekkourine._
_We present you ahrir. Oh big families._

Crossing the Moyen Atlas and continuing in the direction of Errachidia one arrives at the small town Midelt situated at the foot of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain at an altitude of about 1500 m. As in other places, the self-made doll seems to have disappeared here. In any case I only saw girls playing with plastic dolls. Occasionally, though, I saw them dress their plastic dolls in self-made clothes. Yet, at 3 km before Midelt when coming from Meknès, many girls still make the traditional doll. They are
girls from the Oulad Khawa - Ikhawîn in Amazigh - of the village Sheba, an Arabic-speaking village in an Amazigh-speaking region.

In November 1996, Bouchra, a school going girl of about eight years showed how to make an arûsa doll (fig. 77, H = 15 cm, arm-span = 6.5 cm). Two pieces of wood are fixed in the shape of a cross with a shoelace. Then she dresses this frame with a rectangular piece of an old plastic tablecloth. On top follows a caftan of transparent fabric with shining designs tightened at the waist with a belt made out of the same fabric. To have the possibility to pass the head trough the dresses the girl makes a fissure in the center of the rectangular clothes with her teeth or if necessary by hitting the right place with a stone. The headscarf is a large black ribbon that covers the face completely. Bouchra asks another girl to put on this headscarf. As some other girls present explain, the headscarf is sometimes missing on the doll especially when the girl making the doll cannot do it.

With such a bride doll several girls play together at celebrating a wedding. Once the game is over the doll is thrown away to be made once more when the time comes. Neither is there a particular moment of the year to play with the °arûsa. The girls say that at one time they play with such dolls, another time they play household, then at hopscotch and so on, just as they like.

In this village some girls receive now or then a plastic doll bought in a local shop or at the market of Midelt. Such a doll is quickly broken but nevertheless it probably will continue to serve as a bride doll even if the arms and legs are missing. When the original dress is lost, the girl can
At the end of 1996 and the beginning of 1997 I had the possibility to get detailed information on the doll play and the dolls in the village Ksar Assaka situated at 4 km from Midelt in the direction of the Jbel Ayachi. This information comes from three sisters, Souad, Najat and Sabah Laabib, who played with their self-made dolls between 1975 and 1985 and from their mother, Aïcha Aït Mamou, who did the same some twenty-five years earlier. This family belongs to the Aït Merghad Amazigh. Nowadays, the traditional doll has become very rare in this village, if not nonexistent, and has been replaced by plastic dolls.

Souad Laabib, born at Ksar Assaka in 1968, describes with great precision the doll play of her childhood, which she engaged in between the age of six and twelve years. She enjoyed this doll play within a very stable playgroup consisting of herself, two cousins and two girls from the neighborhood. The place also was a fixed one, namely at the sunny side of Souad’s paternal house where there were neither houses nor fields.
These girls played with their dolls throughout the year alternating the
doll play with hopscotch, knucklebones, hiding and seek and even
playing football with the boys. The doll play, representing always a
wedding or *tangra*, was played almost once a week. The favorable
moment of the day is the afternoon while the parents take a nap.

The playgroup splits into two parts, Souad and two girls play the role
of the bride’s family and Zhor, a girl friend, with another girl the role of
the bridegroom’s family. Each girl chooses an old name, e.g. Aïcha,
Ettou, Bida, Fadma etc.

The first thing to do is to control the state of the dollhouses, that of the
bride and that of the bridegroom, to repair them if necessary and to clean
the houses with some water and a brush. Both dollhouses are rectangular
and similar in surface, the walls of more or less one meter long being
delimited with stones (fig. 79). The small house is called *taddert n tislit*,
the house of the bride.

What distinguishes the house of the bride doll is its staircase with three
steps, three little rectangles of stones placed before the entrance and a
large stone with a small one on top put in front of the staircase to serve as
a door-knocker. In each dollhouse six pieces of cardboard replace the
carpets, pieces of glass become teacups and some herbs, or if they are
available some wild flowers, create a bunch of flowers. While the other
girls clean up the houses, Souad makes the bride doll or tislit and Zhor
the bridegroom doll or isli, the latter resembling the one of figure 83 left, p. 129.

Once all this is finished, Zhor, the mother of the bridegroom, and her
companion arrive before the house of the bride, they knock at the door
and are invited to come in with the necessary courtesy. Tea is served and
after an exchange of the latest news, the real purpose of the visit is
declared, the mother asking the girl of the house as bride for her son.
While praising the virtues of the one and the other, a discussion
according to the established rules is engaged in and once an agreement
has been reached the date of the marriage is fixed. At this moment the
doll play, which lasts already for about two hours, is stopped, to be
continued on the following afternoon or even later.

The second part starts with the inspection of the houses and the dolls
that remained there, as the girls did not bring their dolls with them at
home. Souad states that she never brought a doll into her home but she
has no reason to offer for this behavior, it just was not done. Once the
repair is done, the mother of the bridegroom and her companion return to
the bride’s home with the usual gifts such as garments, shoes, flour, sugar
symbolized by rags, old shoes, an empty can, a great stone. Then
everybody sings and dances as in a true wedding marking the rhythm
with a real little bendir or hand drum. When the singing and dancing
stop, they go to get the bridegroom at his home where the songs and
dances start once more. After a while the mother of the bridegroom takes
the isli doll in her arms and in procession they all go back to the home
where the tislit doll is waiting.

The isli is put beside the tislit and everybody sits around them. At this
moment the ceremony of the application of the henna, replaced by wet
sand, on the hands and feet of the newly-weds is symbolically applied
while singing the right songs. Now follows a real meal with bread and
tomatoes. After the dinner the newly-weds are taken to the paternal home
of the husband. When the tislit leaves her home, the girls sing a sad
farewell song but when they arrive at the home of the isli the song is
joyful. In this home the bride and bridegroom are then laid down side by
side on a cardboard bed. The really short wedding night ends with the
return of the mothers and relatives who come to verify the proof of the
bride’s virginity, a white rag on which some red saffron has created
bloodstains. The doll play comes to an end when the songs in honor of the virginity of the bride have been sung. The newly wed couple stays in the dollhouse and everything is abandoned until the next doll play.

When Souad made once more her bride doll she stressed that it was of an unchanging type (fig. 80). The frame is made with a reed at the back of which a piece of a half reed is fixed cross-wise with a ribbon. Over the arms hang two garments made with long rectangular pieces of fabric that have in their center a fissure for passing them over the head. This fissure is obtained by hitting the rag placed on a flat stone with another stone or sometimes with scissors. The first garment, representing the tshamir, is a multi-colored rag with floral designs. The upper garment or tfina should always be a fabric with shining designs. Souad's mother brought these precious rags from a tailor's shop when she went to the Sunday market at Midelt. For the doll of figure 80 a fabric with a black transparent background with red flowers and leaves bordered with a golden stroke is used. A belt of the same fabric is tied around the waist. The part of the reed above the arms is completely wrapped in two headscarves or tèh 'nebusht, a blue one and another one of the same fabric as upper garment. This way nothing is visible of the doll’s face that never had facial features. The bride doll measures 29 cm of height and the arm-span is 14 cm.

Najat Laabib, Souad’s sister born at Midelt in 1971 but living at Ksar Assaka in 1996, engaged in doll play till the age of twelve or thirteen years. The playgroup consisted of herself, a younger sister, Sabah, and two female cousins living next-door. As in the case of Souad’s playgroup, it is always and only the wedding ceremonies that are staged. According to Najat, they liked this doll play very much. It always was
something special. At the beginning of the 1980s they played it often except when it was too cold.

The doll play starts by constructing or repairing the dollhouse in the garden of Najat’s paternal house, always at the same place. It is a quite large rectangular dollhouse, of about 2 m by 1 m, with four rooms in the angles where each girl can easily sit. The house and rooms are delimited by a row of clean and shining stones of the size of a fist supplemented at some places with pieces of white and green glass from broken bottles. In the room of the upper right angle a little stair, two pieces of reed onto which wooden fragments are attached with a ribbon, leads to the virtual terrace. Once the dollhouse is finished, it is cleaned with some water. A few herbs or wild flowers create a garden.

Then each girl starts to make her bride doll or *tislit*. They competed to make a beautiful doll and if a doll is not considered nice enough it is immediately remade. The girls make also their own bridegroom doll or *isli*. So the wedding ceremonies will be celebrated for the four couples by singing and dancing as for a real wedding. Two girls use a *tellunt* or bendir hand drum and two others a *tèbja* or flute made with the horn of a sheep. Two scenes are enacted during this wedding. The first one is the mounting of the *tislit* on a sheep doll and in the second one the bridegroom welcomes his bride. During this ceremony the *isli* wears a stick, proof of his marital authority, held in her hand by the girl who manipulates this doll. There is also a dinner with tomatoes and bread.

The sheep doll represents the sheep brought by the bridegroom’s family to the home of the bride who mounts this sheep in order to have a good life (fig. 81).
To enact this ritual, the doll is laid on the back of the sheep and walked around for a while. The sheep doll is made with an old plastic oilcan around which a piece of a used sheepskin is tied. Two sheep horns are pierced into the can at the right spot. Four used batteries serve as legs on top of which the doll sheep is placed.

This doll play lasts for several hours but it can also be interrupted to be continued later on. In this case Najat possibly brought her doll into her home and she insists that her mother never had any objection against this. Once the wedding of their dolls is over, the girls enjoy a new game, namely to destroy under great laughter the dolls and the dollhouse.

When I asked Najat in September 1996 if she wanted to recreate as faithfully as possible the bride doll of her childhood she offered me on a next visit three bride dolls.

The first tislit (fig. 82) has a frame of two whole reeds fixed together with a ribbon in the shape of a cross. In the center of a blue rag a fissure has been made to hang the upper garment or tfina over the arms of the doll. The only garment is tightened at the waist with a yellow ribbon. This bride wears her hair in two long plaits in front of the arms, the hair being replaced by brown woolen yarn taken from an old carpet.
The headscarf, a red rag, is fixed with a white ribbon. Two big earrings, each one having three pearls, hang into the headscarf. This bride doll without facial features measures 28 cm of height and the span of the arms is 21 cm.

The second *tislit* (fig. 83 right, p. 129) has the same frame as the first one but a piece of a half reed is used for the arms. It wears one garment, a long rose rectangular rag with shining designs tightened at the waist with a ribbon of the same fabric. Another rag of the same fabric serves as a headscarf. From under this scarf and before the arms hang two long plaits of hair. These plaits are made with woolen yarn from an old carpet. Just as the first doll, this doll has no facial features. The height of the doll is 28 cm and the arm-span 13.5 cm.

For the third *tislit* (fig. 84) the same frame is used once more, except that the piece of a half reed goes right through the vertical reed, a ribbon tightening the whole. The garment is a rectangular rag that is somewhat fissured in its center so that the head can pass through. The belt consists of a few black and red woolen yarns. A white rag serves as the headscarf. In opposition to the two other dolls of Najat or those made by her sisters, this doll has facial features designed with a black ballpoint for the eyes and eyebrows and a red one for the mouth and the make-up on the cheeks. The hair also made with woolen yarn of an old carpet, hangs at the back in one big plait. The headscarf is held in place at the neck with a ribbon. The scarf and ribbon come from the same fabric as the dress. This doll is 22.5 cm tall and the span of the arms measures 10 cm.
The *isli* doll or bridegroom is very simple (fig. 83 left, p. 129). The cross-shaped frame, with the arms consisting of a piece of a half reed put into a fissure on top of the vertical reed, is strengthened with a ribbon. This male doll wears a jellaba and a turban of the same mauve fabric and measures 19.5 cm of height with an arm-span of 8.5 cm.

The youngest of the Laabib girls, Sabah, was born in Midelt in 1973. When living at Ksar Assaka about 1983 she played together with her sister Najat at the wedding of their dolls. When I asked Sabah at the end of 1996 if she wanted to make once more her doll, she also made three bride dolls just as Najat did. Twice she used pieces of reed and once an ear of maize (Indian corncob). The doll for which an ear of maize has been used is made as follows (fig. 85, H = 19 cm, arm-span = 11.5 cm). At 5 cm from the top of the ear a piece of a half reed is put right through it, this way giving arms to the doll. The long reddish-brown hair is just the beard of the ear. The unique garment of this *tislit* is a rag flannelette fabric taken from an old baby dress, green at the outside and white at the inside. Through a small hole in the center of the rag the head of the doll can pass through. A rag of the same fabric, with the inside on top, covers the arms. A small blue ribbon is tightened around the waist. At the back, the garment is fixed by piercing the end of the stalk through the rag. The top of the ear of maize represents the head, but there are no facial features. The use of an ear of maize to make a female doll is also attested for the village of Tizal near El Khemis.

![Image of an isli doll](image-url)
For her second doll (fig. 86 left, H = 23 cm, arm-span = 18.5 cm) Sabah uses two parts of a half reed fixed with a ribbon into the shape of a cross. The abundant hair of this doll consists of hemp and envelops completely the top of the vertical reed hiding the whole of the face without facial features. The part of the hair falling down in front of the arms has been plaited at the bottom. For garment it wears a red rag with black dots cut out of an old jellaba. A fissure in the center of this rectangular piece of fabric makes it possible to drape it over the arms and torso, a large mauve and black belt tightening the waist. In front, the bottom part of the garment is held tight by the end of the reed.

The third and tallest doll (fig. 86 right, H = 35 cm, arm-span = 18 cm) has a frame of a whole reed with part of a half reed going right through it at 6 cm from the top. This doll wears a fine transparent garment with square designs of golden threads, a ribbon of the same fabric making the
belt. A shell attached with a safety pin forms the doll’s only jewel. The most remarkable is its green hairdo plaited out of reed leaves. At both sides of the head these plaits form two big curls fixed at top of the reed with a multi-colored headscarf enveloping the whole head so that nothing of the face is seen. This hair imitates the typical woman’s hairdo of the region, called ikherbèn, still worn by Sabah’s grandmother but no more by her mother.

Souad as well as Najat and Sabah Laabib stressed that an individual name was not given to the tislit or the isli. This habit of not giving a first name to a doll has been confirmed in September 1999 by two girls of eight and nine years living in Zaïda, a village on the road from Meknès to Midelt and at 30 km before this last town. A discussion of giving an individual name to a doll can be found in my book *Toys, Play, Culture and Society*, p. 79-80.

Aïcha Aït Mamou, born in 1941 in Ksar Assaka where she lived during childhood and the mother of the three above-mentioned sisters, remade in October 1998 the tislit or bride doll she played with as a young girl about 1950. The doll's frame consists of a whole reed and half of a reed fixed together crosswise (fig. 87, H = 29 cm, arm-span = 11 cm). The doll’s underwear consists of three rags and an upper dress of varicolored textile fabric with vegetal motives and vertical parallel golden lines. In the center of these rags a hole has been made to
pass them over the doll’s head. The scarf is a long piece of the same textile fabric as for the upper dress. Both ends of this scarf are attached to the upper dress with a needle. The top of the vertical reed is wrapped in a black rag representing the hair and kept in place with a ribbon. This ribbon and the headscarf knotted at the back come from the same textile fabric as the upper dress. Black eyes and eyebrows, a red nose and mouth and red cheeks compose the doll’s facial traits. The mirror hidden in a tin box singularizes this bride doll. Until the early 1990s such a tin box with mirror attached to the red scarf hiding the bride’s face was used during wedding ceremonies and although one could still buy them on the local market in October 1998 I was told that this part of the bride’s wedding dress was not seen anymore. Aïcha Aït Mamou explained that a specific belief linked to pregnancy was connected to this mirror. A belief stating that the bride will not get pregnant as long as the tin box is not opened but that if she wants to have a baby she will look at her image reflected by the mirror.

Aïcha Merghad, an about sixty-year-old woman in 1998, born in the village Aït Sidi Amar of the El Ayachi apple producing region about 20 km before Midelt when coming from the Moyen Atlas, also remade the dolls of her girlhood.

The frame of the tislit or bride doll she remade in October 1998 consists of a piece of reed and a little stick fixed cross-wise. The facial traits resemble those of the foregoing doll. This doll received breasts by putting two little stones under its dresses consisting of an under dress, an upper dress, a belt and a scarf of the same white textile fabric decorated with varicolored spots (fig. 88, p. 135, H = 25 cm, arm-span = 14 cm).

Already in November 1997 Aïcha Merghad remade two examples of the dolls she played with at the end of the 1940s but this time the vertical part of the frame is a bone. The first doll’s frame is an 11 cm long bone to which a piece of a half reed is attached cross-wise with a ribbon (fig. 89 right, p. 136, H = 33 cm, arm-span = 12 cm). The face of the doll being hidden by a veil one cannot see the bone. This frame is wrapped in a green under dress with white dots, a blue tshamir or long blouse with white stripes and a white tfina or upper dress spotted with blue, red and brown dots. Three pieces of the same fabric create the belt, the large scarf and the ribbon keeping the scarf in place on the doll’s head.
As I observed in November 1997, the bride wears such a large scarf when conducted to her husband’s house. The second doll, closely resembling the first one, has the top of the bone wrapped in a red rag that keeps the long hair in place. She also wears a little necklace with white pearls and a large yellow scarf with gray and brown geometric designs covering the whole doll (fig. 89 left, p. 136, H = 23 cm, arm-span = 8.5 cm).

Kemal Laabib, born at Ksar Assaka in 1979 and the last born of Aïcha Aït Mamou, told me that he played at wedding together with some girls using a bride doll but with a little boy as bridegroom. This happened between his four and six years. Once the children had become six or seven years it was not proper anymore for boys and girls to play together. He also remembers having made a bride doll but this was exceptional.
Mhamed Bellamine, a man born in Ksar Assaka in 1968 told me in May 2000 that when he was a child the Ksar Assaka girls and boys between six and ten years played together at marriage. A nice girl was chosen to be the bride and her make up was done with khol and red lipstick. A boy was designated in turn to be the bridegroom. With stones the plan of a small house was created and waste material such as sardine tins and old radio batteries serves as kitchen utensils. Then the girls shout youyous while the bride and the bridegroom are guided to the house where the henna decorations are applied by using mud. Finally, the children kiss them farewell and wish them good luck. This wedding game also contained a dinner play for which the children possibly received some oil and vegetables from an adult. Yet, Mhamed stressed that these vegetables were only prepared but not eaten. The same happened with the tea when it was prepared.
At Tataouine, situated along the road to the Jbel Ayachi Mountain at 11 km from Midelt, and with the help of Hammioui Mohamed, a local primary school teacher, I received in September 1999 eight dolls, four made by girls (fig. 90) and four dolls made by a mother (fig. 91).
With such a *tislit* or bride doll and sometimes also an *isli* or bridegroom doll, the girls normally play at wedding in small houses delimited by stones. The frame of these dolls consists of a vertical reed or bone with a stick attached cross-wise. Some dolls have facial traits possibly incrusted on the reed with a heated pin. The hair of one of the dolls is the beard of a maize corncob but otherwise the girl’s own hair is used. One little doll is a copy of the telghenja doll used to ask for rain.

In the village Tabenatout at 4 km from Midelt along the road to Tataouine I saw how girls give very long hair to their *tislit* or bride doll in November 1997. To create this highly valued hair three to four times as long as the doll itself the girls look for the upper part of a young reed with long green leaves. With her fingernails Imane Bâalil, the thirteen-year-old girl seen on the photo, splits two or three leaves into small strips (fig. 92, p. 137, $H = 16$ cm, length of the hair = 49 cm). These leaf strips are attached to the top of the vertical reed of the doll’s frame with another leaf strip or with a thread. At about 5 cm from the top of this reed a stick is put through it to form the arms. Then one or more rags are put over the arms and tightened at the waist with a ribbon serving as belt. The facial features are sometimes designed on the reed with a black felt pen and the hair can be plaited.

A real novelty for rural Morocco are, as far as I know, the dollhouse and the *šarūsa* or bride doll with which two eight-year-old girls from the village Zaïda, on the road from Meknès to Midelt and at 40 km from this last town, were playing in September 1999. The mother of one of the girls, whose husband is a primary school teacher, clearly stated that she does not want her daughter to play outside in the dirt. Probably because of this interdiction, the girl invented a dollhouse that overcomes her mother’s objections. The dollhouse is a cardboard box with four little windows and a door, cut out in the four sides, decorated with curtains at the inside (fig. 93, p. 139). It also contains a few self-made cushions and some rags serving as carpets or blankets. This girl, together with a girl living next door and having the same kind of dollhouse, often plays at marriage with such a dollhouse and a bride doll (fig. 94, p. 139, $H = 21$ cm). The bride doll is as peculiar as the dollhouse. It is an imported plastic doll of the Barbie type sold in local shops but normally serving as a decorative object for which a woman or an older girl crochets an Andalusian dress (fig. 95, p. 139).
With some rags both girls create a dress for their plastic doll. In the center of these rags a hole is made to put it over the doll’s neck after the head has been removed. The sides of the dress are then sewed together. According to these two girls a first name is not given to the bride doll. There can also be an arîs or bridegroom doll possibly represented by a plastic Father Christmas as the one held by a two-year-old girl from the village Ignern and that her mother bought at the market of Taliouine for 5 dirham (0.5 Euro). When I photographed this little girl in November 1998 I was told that the local name for this plastic doll is afkir or old man (fig. 96). The wedding ceremonies most often enacted are the day of the arrival of the clothes and other gifts at the bride’s home and the day when the bride leaves her home to be conducted to her husband’s house. During their doll play these girls sing and dance as for a real wedding and a virtual dinner is also enacted although nuts are sometimes available. When playing with such foreign plastic dolls local doll-making skills can still be useful. Looking more closely at the doll of figure 94 (p. 139) I noticed the original way in which one of the girls replaced the missing arms of her plastic doll with a piece of reed in the way arms are given to traditional dolls.
At Aït Slimane, a small village near Amellago in the Haut Atlas some 50 km to the north of Goulmima, I found in September 1999 a group of five six to seven-year-old children playing in their dollhouse (fig. 97). Two girls accepted to be photographed with their *tislit* or bride doll (fig. 98). The children said that they always play at *tamgra* or wedding in which they also use an *isli* or bridegroom doll.
Whereas in Goulmima, a little town of the Aït Merghad Amazigh along the road from Errachidia to Ouarzazate and at 60 km from the first town, the plastic doll - the ‘poupïya’ - seems to have replaced the indigenous doll - the *tislit* - this was not the case around 1980 or even 1985. The change has been gradual, as within the Lihi family where Aïcha only played with the *tislit* doll but Rachida, her younger sister, played with both a self-made doll and an imported plastic doll her mother gave her.

In Magaman, a village just outside Goulmima on the road to Tadirhoust, the Amazigh girls of the second year of the primary school still make bride dolls. On the photograph these seven-year-old girls hold their dolls (fig. 99). I obtained these dolls and the following information thanks to the teacher of this class, my friend the poet Omar Taous of Goulmima, in November 1996.

Among the eight dolls, seven represent a *tislit* or bride and one an *isli* or bridegroom (fig. 100-101, p. 143-144, see also Rossie e.a., 1998, video). The cross-shaped frame is the same for all the dolls. Four dolls have a frame of reed, two of little branches and one of two pieces of wood, the arms being attached with a ribbon. For the last doll the reed has been replaced by a piece of a red plastic tube pierced by a little branch. None of these dolls has facial traits. They are dressed quite rudimentarily with
one or maximum two garments, rags in the center of which a little fissure is made to put them over the head. The upper garment is white, white with green geometric designs, red with black stripes, transparent black and multi-colored in two cases. The doll with the plastic tube frame wears a transparent upper garment with green and golden floral designs, its belt being made from the same fabric. This doll also wears a green plastic necklace. The other dolls have no jewels and with only one exception they have a ribbon belt. One doll differs from the others through her upper garment as it is made out of a large strip of whitish fabric with green designs that is several times wound around the trunk beneath the arms. Although not one doll wears a headscarf, the girls say that they sometimes do. The bridegroom doll is very slightly dressed with a transparent rag but normally it should also wear an upper garment. The maximum height of these dolls is 18 cm and the minimum height 13 cm.
Even if these dolls have been brought to the classroom at the demand of their teacher, the girls claim that they still play with them at home. Following my question whether they also have plastic dolls, their answer shows that they would prefer these imported dolls if they could obtain them, but when a boy reacts by saying that the self-made dolls are better
as they cost nothing, several girls change their opinion. This change in opinion reflects the difference between the reality and the dreams of these village girls.

With their dolls these girls play at wedding. One girl explained that therefore she makes a *tislit* doll and her sister an *isli* doll. Both are laid down on two flat stones and then they start the appropriate songs. Sometimes, the girls also play at representing with their dolls the typical Amazigh *ahidûs* dance, using a small bucket as a drum to give rhythm to their songs. The whole class agrees to say that boys do not make such dolls and the girls add to this that sometimes a girl makes a doll for her little sister to play together while singing.

In a small village, Ighrem-n-Cherif, near Goulimima but on the other side of the Oued Gheris, girls also make bride dolls of the same type. Hesna Midouan, an unschooled Amazigh girl of six years, elaborated the *tislit* doll of figure 102 in November 1994. This 21.5 cm high doll with an arm-span of 6.5 cm wears on a cross-shaped frame one long garment of cotton fabric with multi-colored flowers and a small belt of the same fabric tightens the waist. On top of the reed a headscarf, of the same fabric, is put. This doll also lacks facial features.

To the East of Goulimima, some 50 km from Erfoud and near Merzouga at the edge of the Erg Chebbi sand dunes, the Amazigh girls of the little village Ksar Hasni Biad propose to the tourists some traditional female dolls.

There, about ten girls proposed me their dolls in February 1997. I bought three dolls showing some variety for ten dirhams each (1 Euro).
The frame of the three dolls consists of a vertical quite big reed to which has been tightened a piece of a half reed. One doll (fig. 103), bought from a girl of about five years, has much faded facial features with eyes and eyebrows, nose, mouth and tattoos. The mouth is a little straight line. The arms and body are wrapped with three rags giving fullness to the doll. On top it wears two rectangular pieces of fabric, one of rose color and the other of blue color. The garments are held tight with a yellow ribbon crossed before the arms and a belt of orange woolen yarn. A large red headscarf is held in place with a red ribbon. A little necklace of white plastic pearls embellishes the doll. At both edges of this necklace hanging from one shoulder to the other, a ribbon is attached so that the girl can carry her doll or walk it around. This doll measures 23 cm of height and the arm-span is 9.5 cm.

Another doll (fig. 104), bought from a seven-year-old girl, has clearer facial features but at the same time faded features at one of the sides of the reed, as if the doll received a new face. On top of the eyes and
eyebrows one sees a tattoo in the form of a reversed V and there are two dots on the cheeks. The crescent-shaped mouth is continued in its middle by a line with three dots at each side of the line. On top of the head a large red scarf is fixed with a red-gray ribbon. Beneath the arms a piece of the same fabric is wrapped several times around the reed to give fullness to the doll’s body. The upper garment, a rectangular white cotton fabric, has a fissure in its center to pass it over the head. A green-gray ribbon crossed between the breast and two green threads at the wrist keep the garments in place. Just beneath the arms sequins are sewed on the upper garment in the form of an oval. This upper garment still white at the inside but already dirty at the outside together with the two faces support the information given by a carpet merchant of the village that the girls play with these dolls before selling them to tourists when the occasion occurs. The height of the doll is 22 cm and the arm-span 9 cm.

The last doll seems to be more recent (fig. 105-106). Yet it is at the same time the most typical doll of the three. It belonged to a girl of seven years. The face has black eyes with black eyebrows, two dots for the nose painted black, a straight red line as mouth and two red dots on the cheeks.
On the forehead a tattoo of four red dots has been painted in the form of a lozenge. All this has been painted with a kind of black tar or red nail varnish. The hairdo, called *ikherbèn* as in Ksar Assaka, consists of two big curls made with a piece of a date wrapped in a black rag and stuck on both sides of the reed. A red and a green woolen yarn tighten a large dark green headscarf. A rag has been turned several times around the reed beneath the arms to make the doll big-bellied (fig. 106, p. 147). On top there is a folded large yellow rag and another orange piece of fabric of rectangular shape. To put the garments over the head a fissure is made in the center of the rags. Two little balls of fabric have been put under the garments to give breasts to the doll, moreover a green ribbon is crossed between the breasts to accentuate the form. With its 25 cm this is the tallest doll of the three, the span of the arms being 11 cm.

Luc Lauras bought in 2001 some forty dolls from young nomadic women living in the tents that their families had recently set up along the trail to Merzouga. He bought these dolls made for tourists but resembling those of the girls of Ksar Hasni Biad to be shown at an exposition of the Musée International des Arts Modestes in Sète at the French Mediterranean coast (November 2001-February 2002). When Luc Lauras invited me to participate in what was called the exposition "Modesties Exotiques", I exhibited my collection of Amazigh children’s dolls from the Moroccan Atlas and Pre-Saharan (Rossie et Lauras, 2002, Vidéo: Poupées de l’Atlas et du Pré-Sahara
Marocains). As the catalogue of this exposition was not printed, I used the concerned article for the number on Amazigh populations edited by the intercultural review Passerelles in 2002 (Rossie, 2002).

In the little Amazigh 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, I could collect in October 1992 ten dolls made by girls between six and twelve years (fig. 108-109).

This has been possible through the help of Nour-Eddine Ihbous, an Amazigh schoolmaster from Essaouira who had been teaching there for two years. Such dolls, already made by three year old girls, function in the interpretation of wedding ceremonies, especially...
those celebrated before the entrance of the bride in her husband’s home. To enact this, the girls sit behind the doll, the \textit{tislit}, and clap their hands while singing the appropriate song.

The frame of all these dolls consists of a vertical reed onto which a little branch is fixed horizontally with a ribbon. This frame wears three or four garments. In order to have the possibility to put these dresses over the doll’s head, the girl makes a small fissure in the middle of the fabric. The garments are tied with a belt of fabric. The ‘tshamir’ or upper garment is most of the time a piece of fabric with shining designs. One doll wears on top of this shining garment another one of white color. However this doll does not wear the black headscarf, a distinctive feature of married women, worn by all the other dolls. This doll should therefore be seen as a young girl. Most of the dolls also wear the \textit{khèrraif}, a shoulder belt used on top of the garments to attach the rolled up sleeves while working but which is also worn on other occasions. The shoulder belts of the dolls are made with mercerized cotton threads, although one doll has a \textit{khèrraif} of gold colored threads, this way imitating the women’s \textit{khèrraif} for festivities that also has a shining color.

Seven of the ten dolls show the reed’s surface at the place of the face but facial features are never designed. A red, blue or white turban covers the head without hair. These dolls do not have any jewels. This according to the girls is always the case. The height of the dolls varies between 9.5 cm and 16 cm and the span of the arms between 5.5 cm and 7 cm.

In this village, where I found a male doll with a head of a summer squash made by a ten year old boy (fig. 24, p. 73), another boy of more or less the same age made a female doll of some 50 cm height whose head is a potato in which the nose, mouth and eyes have been carved. The armature is a vertical stick pierced by a metal bar representing the arms. The doll’s head is covered with a red scarf. The red upper garment is centered on the waist with a belt of the same color and the \textit{khèrraif} is made with green threads. Unfortunately, I have not been able to photograph this doll.

Ignern is an Amazigh village of some sixty houses, situated at an altitude of 1600 m and 15 km from the rural center of Taliouine when coming from Tazenakht. A 4 km long track relays the village to the road from Tazenakht to Taroudannt. In this village the girls still make in November 1996 a female doll called \textit{tèslit} or bride. Such a bride doll
made by an about ten-year-old girl has a frame of a vertical reed horizontally pierced by a little branch (fig. 110, see also Rossie e.a., 1998, video). Through a little fissure three garments have been put over the doll’s head: a piece of a sweater with stripes going from brown to beige, then a piece of cotton fabric with white and blue stripes and on top a piece of a red sweater going down to the waist only. Finally a piece of transparent white textile is folded over the belt made with a red plastic thread. The beard of an ear of maize gives locks of hair to this doll. The hair is kept in its place with a ribbon from the same fabric as the cotton garment. The piece of reed seen under the ribbon has no facial features. This doll measures 20 cm of height with an arm span of 12 cm.

Ennèya, a thirty five-year-old mother from the same village also made a doll for me. The frame of the doll is a vertical reed into which a little branch is pierced to form the arms (fig. 111, see also Rossie e.a., 1998, video). To design on the face eyes, nose and mouth she uses a decoction of herbs called èktran, a kind of tar used for the preparation of a sheep’s skin. Three layers of garments, two whitish and a third one with a red
background, are put over the head through a little fissure in the middle of the fabric. A blue ribbon with white designs tightens the waist. The zîf, a large blue headscarf with black designs, is held in place with an amelul, a red ribbon. Finally a white blanket envelops the doll. This doll measures 16 cm of height and the span of the arms is 9.5 cm.

According to Ennèya, the boys do not make such dolls and they do not participate directly in the doll play of the girls. What could happen is that the girls buy in the little shops, constructed with stones by the boys, all they need for their doll play and pay with pebbles.

At Ignern plastic dolls are now found together with the traditional dolls. An eight-year-old girl explains that the girls get together in the house of one of them with the purpose to sew by hand trousers and a long shirt for their dolls. The doll of 43 cm height shown at figure 112 belongs to a girl of nine years.

The girls of another Amazigh region, the village of Tizal near El Khemis, located at 60 km from Marrakech near the road to Ouarzazate, still played at the beginning of the 1980s with dolls having a cross-shaped frame of reed they dressed as brides using brilliant cloth for the upper garment. Sometimes the taslit was made with an ear of maize (Indian corncob) through which the girl pricked a short stick to give it arms. The plaited or non-plaited beard serves as the doll’s hair. As jewels the doll wears a necklace of pearls. A hole in the wall of the inner yard serves as the dollhouse. According to information given by a nearly fifty-year-old woman of Tizal the reed doll of her childhood was between 10 and 15 cm long and it had a cross-shaped frame. Around 1950, her doll
play represented the henna ceremony in preparation of the wedding and the wedding itself. When playing the henna ceremony the girls gathered around the doll. One of the girls took the role of the bride’s mother and another one was speaking for the doll. When the ‘mother’ applies the henna on her ‘daughter’s’ hand, both start to ‘cry’ while the other girls sing in Amazigh: “In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate; God we submit to you, be with us. God will be with you my daughter and with us”. Later on the wedding of the taslit is celebrated and on that occasion the girls sing: “The taslit is like an almond flower of the Ihîhî region, when the flower opens, it attracts the bees”.

Dr. Guichard, speaking of the toys of Marrakech in the periodical France-Maroc (1921: 162-163), describes and shows a little chapel and a miniaturized chair used when playing with dolls. The design of figures 113 and 114 copies the toy chapel and the toy chair seen on the photograph of Guichard. Sitting in a chapel or 'ammaria' carved out in wood, the bride receives the evening of her wedding the homage of the guests and of the bridegroom. The bridegroom has his own 'chilia' chair on which he is sitting when confronted with the pleasantry and the jokes of the guests who on turn stick to his forehead a piece of money with their saliva. The little chair as well as the little chapel is painted in bright colors and embellished with multicolored arabesques. The woodworkers make these toys. The parents buy them for their little daughters,
especially for the ʿAshūra festivities on the tenth day of the Muslim year, and for the Aïd es-seghîr, the feast at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan. Today such attributes are still used for a real marriage, but all my female informants of Marrakech told me that they never played with such a chapel or chair in miniature and, according to them, these must have been toys of children of wealthy families.

At the beginning of the 1940s, the young girls of this city made dolls with a frame of two reeds assembled in the shape of a cross. For modeling the head and face they sometimes used leaven. The facial features were designed with local make-up products. This ʿarûsa was married to her ʿarîs, the bridegroom doll, following the ceremonial of that time.

Madam Skouri, director of the school Kbour Chou Filles (Essmara) in Marrakech, has given me the ʿarûsa or bride doll of figure 115. A girl born in 1954 and going to this school made this doll. It is a doll of 24 cm of height with a frame made with a whole reed onto which a piece of a half reed of about 10 cm has been tied cross-wise. To give some volume to the doll the crossing of the reeds and a part beneath them have been wrapped with rags. Of a rectangular piece of fabric hanging on the back of the armature only a small part is seen at the neck because it is hidden under a white dress. Above this white dress the doll wears a tunic open at both sides and made out of a very brilliant cloth of silvery color. All these dresses are tied with a small textile binder. As upper cloth there is a transparent
mantilla fixed with a pin. This doll has no facial features, but Madam Skouri is sure that other dolls had a face.

Although some young women of the Daoudiyât quarter and of Douar Akioud in Marrakech believe that the traditional doll is not made anymore, Youssef Aït Ammou of the University of Marrakech states in 1992 that one can still see here and there in certain popular quarters of the town young girls playing with a female doll having an armature of reed.

Nevertheless, the evolution from the traditional doll, with an armature of reed and made by the girls themselves, towards the plastic doll, bought in the local market in 1992 for about 3 dirhams (0.3 Euro) (fig. 117, p. 156) seems to have started several decades ago, probably after World War II at least in the major cities. This evolution might begin even a lot earlier, at the beginning of 1900, as I found in an article of F. Castells, “Note sur la fête de Achoura à Rabat” (1915: 342) the following translated statement:

Some shops besieged by the children sell toys imported from Europe, e.g. rifles, balls, dolls, drums, bugles etc... The most shining objects are those most wanted. Next to this shop sits in front of his merchandise an old representative of the tradition selling with little success humble small toys made locally.
In the more or less well-to-do milieus of Marrakech, for example in the family of Madam Skouri, the traditional doll was not used anymore around 1950, neither by herself nor her nieces or friends. Moreover, her daughters played in the beginning of the 1970s with large imported dolls (fig. 116, p. 155). They dressed these dolls with baby clothes or clothes they made themselves or their mother made. The jewels of the doll were those the girl had. According to the necessities of their imaginative play this doll, named Sofia or Yasmina, was dressed as a baby, a girl or a young woman.

In the popular quarters of Marrakech the doll with an armature of reed survived longer. In the poor district of Douar Akioud most girls still played with this traditional doll about 1980. However, Fatima Kader, a woman born in 1971 and living in this district, then already played with a plastic doll she whole-heartedly dressed and putted on a make-up. Fatima was so kind to make for me in 1992 a copy, as truthful as possible, of the doll she played with at the age of about nine years. Before describing this doll, I have to stress the fact that this young woman had from a young age a great skill for decoration and make-up. This is confirmed by the fact that she developed from a girl creating remarkable dolls to a woman who excels in applying complex figures with henna on hands and feet.

The plastic doll (fig. 117), mass-produced in China or elsewhere, was transformed under my eyes into a real bride from Marrakech (fig. 118, p. 157). To do this Fatima has first of all given breasts to her doll by putting two pieces of rag rolled into small balls under the dress the doll wears already. Then she sewed underpants from the same old cloth serving later on for the dress and the long veil. In a rectangular piece of this somewhat transparent white fabric, a hole for the head and two smaller holes for the arms are cut out. Once the dress is in its proper place, the sides are sewn. Then comes the moment to fix the hair that consists of natural dark-colored wool. The long hair is fixed on the head with some glue, bought in the nearest little shop, and plaited into two braids at the
end of which Fatima fixed an elastic with plastic ornaments, an elastic often used for little girls’ hair. With the same wool and glue the doll gets eyebrows and forelocks. In order to stress the lips and cheeks a red nail varnish is used to design geometric patterns on the chin and above the nose and the tache de beauté on the left cheek. The nails of the hands and feet have been lacquered in red. Just above the forelocks the kherîr, a decoration of red mercerized cotton threads, is fixed. This decoration, also worn by the brides, has a lozenge-shape with in its middle a vertical shaft of gilded threads. On both sides of the lozenge hang long plaits made with the same red cotton threads used for the lozenge. With these two plaits the lozenge is tied to the head. A mauve kherîr fixes the veil, cut out of the same textile as the dress, on the hairdo. Two girdles, one with red mercerized cotton threads and another with green and white threads, encircle the waist. The necklace and the two bracelets of the doll are made with a child’s necklace having big green pearls and small yellow pearls with green strokes. Finally, Fatima introduced into the doll’s head two earrings for little girls. These are made of a piece of yellow metal with three small pendants of green and orange pearls.

The two kherîr, the earrings, the necklace, the two elastics with plastic ornaments, the nail varnish and the eye-liner used to decorate the doll have been bought by Fatima at the medina of Marrakech in order to
create the doll. However, when she was a child she used her own jewels or those she could obtain from her grandmother, mother or other female relatives together with their make-up products.

For celebrating the wedding of their bride doll - but without using a bridegroom doll or a little boy instead - the girls of Fatima’s generation in Douar Akioud, gathered together in small groups of four or five girls between five and ten years old. In the vegetable gardens in the vicinity of the houses they erected a dollhouse with little stone walls covered with wet sand, the doll being placed in one of the corners (fig. 119, copy of the design made by Fatima). Such dollhouses were still made in 1992. Once everything is ready, the girls dance and sing as during a real wedding and when the wedding party is over the girls give each other a kiss and return home.

A photograph of a more or less rectangular play-house can be seen in the book of Mohamed Sijelmassi Enfants du Maghreb entre hier et aujourd’hui in which this pediatrician of Marrakech recounts memories of his childhood. The photograph shows a playhouse with walls made with stones of different sizes. There are two doorways, one at the front and one at the back, and on the floor are laying empty tins and rectangular pieces of cloth representing the furniture and utensils (1984: 94).

According to the restricted information I got from the quarter Daoudiyât in Marrakech, the girls who were between six and twelve years during the 1960s also played at wedding ceremonies. But here children, not dolls, played the role of the bride and the bridegroom. The same kind of plastic dolls as the one from Douar Akioud, dressed and given some make-up by the girls, have been used to represent babies or young children to carry on the back, to feed or to coddle. For this doll another type of dollhouse was erected. Three walls are made with three layers of sardine cans, the fourth wall being the wall of a house. A can
placed on the ground is the doll’s bed and another round can is the dish or the washtub.

A female student of the French Department of the Cadi Ayyad University of Marrakech told me in November 1993 that she played at staging wedding ceremonies at the town of Ouarzazate around 1980 and this with dolls with a frame of reed, made by herself just as the other girls did, as well as with a nicely dressed European doll. Since about 1990 the local doll has disappeared in the city itself but would still survive in the surrounding villages. The dolls could also serve for a game of baby and mother, the girl being the mother.

In the little town of Imi-n-Tanoute on the road from Marrakech to Agadir, the Amazigh girls still dressed around 1982 a frame of reed to become their *taslit*. The frame of this bride doll was constructed in the following way: a reed of about 15 cm is split into two halves, then one half shortened to about 8 cm is fixed onto the upper part of the longer half to form a cross, the vertical half reed showing the concave side as the front view of the doll. By wrapping the intersection and a part beneath it with rags some fullness is given to the doll’s body. Rabbit droppings are often put under the piece of cloth to form the breasts. The hair is of sheep wool, possibly colored with henna, and fixed with chewing gum or a little ribbon. Several rectangular pieces of fabric, with a hole in the middle to pass them over the doll’s head and not sewed together at the sides, are superposed on the doll’s body. They represent two undergarments and the traditional long and large Amazigh dress. The undergarments have a uniform color and they are fixed with an elastic cord crossed over the chest, just as the older Amazigh women still do. The upper garments should be made out of brilliant fabric with designs of golden or silver color. A piece of textile fabric imitates the large woolen cape the women put on their shoulders. Finally, a textile belt tightens the waist and a headscarf is knotted on the head. A little necklace and possibly a brooch serve as the doll’s jewels.

The information gathered locally on the facial traits of the dolls is more or less ambiguous. All things considered, each girl seems to decide herself if she wants to give her doll a face or not. If a face - with eyes, eyebrows, nose and mouth - is designed it is done, during the second half of the 1970s, with a ballpoint. A housewife from Imi-n-Tanoute, who
played with a doll around 1950, affirms that the facial features were indicated with charcoal.

Melika Bamoussa of the same town, a young mother of 21 years in 1992, married to Smaïl Khettou and speaking Amazigh with her husband, gently offered to make once again the taslit of her childhood (fig. 120).

This bride doll conforms totally to the description given above except that it is 25 cm tall with 12.5 cm of arm-span. White wool is used for the hair that is plaited into one very long plait and attached with chewing gum (fig. 121).

The undergarments are khaki and white, the upper garment is transparent with printed floral and geometric patterns where the white, black, mauve and green alternate but where the outlines are marked with lines of gold color. As woolen cape serves a red transparent rag draped over the
shoulders and held together at the front with a safety pin at which is hanging a big white pearl. The waist is girded with a strip of white cloth and on top of a twisted belt, composed of three plastic coated iron wires around which golden strings, used with wrapping paper for presents, are twisted. A brooch, a big flower with golden petals, sticks onto the chest and a red-mauve kerchief finishes the costume of this taslit with her face designed with a ballpoint.

The rags used for making the doll’s dresses were found in the garbage can of the tailors. These years, however, this has become impossible as these rags are used for weaving carpets. In the search for the rags, especially the brilliant ones, the services of young brothers were sometimes called upon as Smaïl Khettou remembers very well.

The girls do not give a first name to their taslit, as this would belittle her to the level of a young girl, she who is a bride.

Melika and the girls of her generation played at celebrating the wedding of their bride doll without making a bridegroom doll. This doll play was really popular during summer, the wedding period after harvest. A dollhouse with a quite uniform scheme is constructed with stones. However, the size and the arrangement of the rooms vary (fig. 122, copy of the design of Zohra Bamoussa, 19 years in 1992). Such a dollhouse includes an inner yard, a guest room, where rags and a little can replace the cushions and the table, the taslit’s bedroom, with a bed consisting of an empty sardines tin covered with rags, and the kitchen containing imitations of household utensils.
The doll play was sometimes played in the courtyard but the terrace on the flat roof was preferred. Nevertheless, the home was not the best place for these play activities as parents did not view doll play favorably arguing that little girls should not be preoccupied with matters related to sexuality and men-women relationships. In order to overcome these objections, Melika and her female cousins went playing at their grandmother’s place when their mothers gathered at the home of one of them. Before returning to their own house, the girls hid all the material they used for their doll play.

In 1992 and in the same social background where ten years ago girls still made the traditional bride doll and where their brothers and husbands became teachers or have jobs at the same level, Melika and Smaïl showed me with some pride the teddies and dolls common in France given to their baby girl by one of the family members living in that country.

In the region of Taroudannt and around 1945, the girls of the Oulad Yahya used to make an ʿarûsa or bride doll as well as an ʿarîs or bridegroom doll. For this purpose they took two pieces of reed tied together in the shape of a cross. According to Abdellatif Aït Hedda’s mother who gave this information, the ankle bone of a sheep was not used to serve as the vertical frame of the children’s bride and bridegroom dolls as was common at that time in other Moroccan regions. The height of such a doll was about 50 cm and the span of the arms some 40 cm. Wool was used for the hair of the bride doll but also the beard of Indian corn could do. The face - with eyebrows, eyes, nose and mouth - was painted with charcoal on the reed. At least one necklace beautified the bride doll that resembled as much as possible a real bride. The bridegroom doll was dressed as a bridegroom. The doll play preferred by the girls was the staging of a wedding and for their couple of dolls they erected a dolls’ house with walls made with little stones covered by mud.

Some parents of the Oulad Yahya accepted that their daughters entered the house with their dolls but others refused this arguing that young girls have more serious things to do.
About 1992, the girls of the Oulad Yahya of Taroudannt hardly play anymore with dolls with a frame of reed. They receive Barbie-like plastic dolls for which the girls themselves or their mothers make dresses or, as is the case at the end of 1996, a little doll dressed as a young girl, made in China, bought for ten dirhams (1 Euro) (fig. 123). According to the owner of the small toyshop in the Medina of Taroudannt, the girls also like very much the baby doll with its feeding bottle.

Unlike the substitution of the doll with a frame of reed by a plastic doll, the Arabic-speaking girls from the rural area of Hmar, at some 15 km from Taroudannt, still play with the traditional doll. According to Latifa, the eleven year old girl who gave me this information at the home of Abdellatif Aït Hedda in February 1992, the frame of this doll consists of a vertical stick for which is used a strong hollow branch of the bûsûsû plant that must be dried first. The girl chooses a branch with a fork, the fork serving as the legs. For the arms a reed is cut in two halves before one part of it is being fixed in the shape of a cross to the vertical stick (fig. 124).

Once the frame is ready it is wrapped in rags to give volume to the doll’s body. Its hair is made with some hair of the girl herself, of a horse or with woolen yarn. The girl fixes this hairdo with a thorn on top of the branch. The hair should be very well combed and according to the mood of the girl she will plait the hair or leave it non-plaited. In the branch two little holes are made for the eyes with a sharp object, another opening for the nose and one for the mouth. Then the
eyes, nose and mouth are marked with charcoal. With pieces of old clothes the girl makes female clothes for her bride doll and male clothes for her bridegroom doll. The bride doll’s upper dress normally should be a piece of textile with a brilliant design to make it festive attire. It can also be decorated with a necklace of snail-shells of various colors and sizes.

The girls mostly play at celebrating the wedding of their dolls. Therefore they erect a dollhouse delimited by stones. In one of the corners of this miniature house the bride doll is laid down on the slightly elevated soil. The girls of Hmar play with their dolls as soon as they are able to herd the sheep, thus from the age of five years, until they are ten or twelve years and during all seasons. At dusk, the little shepherdesses return home with their doll on their back. However, they do not enter the house with it. The doll is hidden in the vicinity and picked up in the morning by the shepherdess when she returns with the sheep to the pasture. Doll play comes to an end when the girl starts helping at home. At that time she will give her unique "arûsa, that she always has surrounded with much care and tenderness, to a younger sister or cousin. Latifa added to this that the Barbie-like plastic dolls, dressed as an Andalusian or otherwise by the women, only have a decorative function in her village (fig. 95, p. 139).

On a third visit to Abdellatif Aït Hedda in November 1998 he gave me two dolls made by girls and brought from the village Hmar by Latifa’s mother. The first doll is made with a piece of the bûsûsû plant from which a thickening of the stalk serves as head, a head without facial traits, hair or scarf (fig. 125, H = 17cm, arm-span = 11 cm).
This doll is dressed in four rags wrapped around the stalk below the arms. These rags serve as underwear, the third one being a piece of white gauze. The upper dress consists of a textile fabric with red, green and silver designs tightened around the waist with a belt of the same fabric.

The second doll is remarkable because it offers one of the exceptional examples I have found of a doll representing a mother carrying a baby on her back. The cross-shaped frame is made with a piece of reed and a little stick for the arms (fig. 126, H = 21 cm, arm-span = 8 cm). This mother doll wears an undergarment and its upper garment is a piece of mauve gauze decorated with golden flowers. The baby doll is held in place with a rag. The hair of a horse has been used for the hair of the mother as well as the baby. After one extremity of the hairdo has been wrapped in a little rag this end is pushed into the upper opening of the reed. A black rag with white geometric patterns serves as headscarf. To give breasts to the mother doll two little rag balls are pushed under the dresses. This mother doll has as facial features an opening for the mouth colored red and eyes represented by two little holes made with an iron pin and colored black. The nose is lacking. Its eyebrows are indicated with two black oblique lines. The frame, hair, and eyes of the baby are the same as for the mother doll but the mouth and nose are lacking (fig. 126, H = 9.5 cm,
arm-span = 5.5 cm). White rags have been used for the baby’s under dress and upper dress. This mother and baby doll is completed with a small bag made with a rag and containing some pieces of textile to represent the baby’s clothes and necessaries.

The following examples of dolls and doll play enacting weddings come from a few Anti-Atlas villages of the Sidi Ifni region and from this Southern Moroccan coastal town itself.

With the help of Said Bari, a teacher at the primary school of Imou Ergen located at about 10 km from Sidi Ifni, I received in November 1998 a series of eleven dolls, nine dolls created by girls between ten and fourteen years and two dolls made by a boy of twelve years and another boy of thirteen years (fig. 127). Of these eleven dolls, ten represent the tislit or bride and one the isli or bridegroom. The boys as well as the girls play with these dolls to enact a tamgra or wedding using small houses delimited with stones. The children stressed that the boys play at wedding with these dolls when herding the livestock in the mountains but they play separated from the girls.
The smallest doll representing the *isli* or bridegroom is less elaborated than the female dolls, as it neither has facial traits nor hair (fig. 128, $H = 6.5$ cm, arm-span = 2.5 cm). It only has an under dress cut out of a piece of paper from an exercise book and an upper dress for which a candy’s orange transparent wrapping is used and that is tightened with a strip of a black plastic bag. Its frame is made with a piece of a half reed to which a stick has been fixed cross-wise, the rounded side of the reed serving as the doll’s front.

The frame of the ten *tislit* or bride dolls consists of a vertical piece of reed (fig. 129-138, p. 167-169). In nine of the ten cases, a stick of wood or reed has been pushed through the reed to represent the arms. Except one doll, they all have facial features showing eyes, eyebrows and mouth, eventually also a nose, designed with a black, blue or red ballpoint.

Two dolls have a smiling mouth, the other seven dolls having a straight line as mouth. The facial traits of three dolls are much effaced. The hair of eight bride dolls is made with black hair of a goat. For one doll a girl’s hair has been used but cotton or woolen threads could also serve. The
doll’s hairdo is pushed into the opening of the reed and held in place with a ribbon. The underwear of these dolls consists mostly of two rags. In one case the doll has three under dresses, only one under dress or no under dress at all. In the center of the rags a fissure is made to be able to put them over the doll’s head. The upper dress of eight dolls is a varicolored piece of textile fabric with designs. The dresses are tightened at the waist with a rag ribbon, once with white cotton threads.

For the upper dress of one doll a girl has chosen a piece of transparent red plastic cut out from a plastic bag (fig. 135). This is also the doll for which the girl used her own hair as hair for her doll. The dolls’ garment is completed with a large scarf, once even two scarves, but it happens that a piece of the upper dress is used as scarf. The height of the bride dolls varies between 7.5 cm and 20 cm and the arm-span between 2.3 cm and 5 cm.
The tallest doll has no facial traits and no hair but a strip of textile fabric representing the scarf surrounds the upper part of the reed while a piece of Scotch tape is used to keep it in place (fig. 136, H = 20 cm, arm-span = 4.5 cm). A long rag is wrapped several times around the reed and represents the underwear, the upper dress being dressed over the doll’s arms and body and tightened by a ribbon belt. The piece of reed representing the arms is not pushed through the reed but a fissure was cut on top of the reed to be able to place the arms at the right place. One of the two smallest dolls is singularized because of its two under dresses for which the girl used candy wrappings (fig. 137, H = 7.5 cm, arm-span = 2.3 cm). Its upper dress is a piece of green gauze tightened with a ribbon, the same gauze serving as scarf. The doll’s black hair comes from a goat.

The second smallest doll is the one with only one dress, a piece of textile fabric with a white background. It is tightened at the waist with a red ribbon. The hair of this doll is also made with the hair of a goat (fig. 129, p. 167, H = 7.5 cm, arm-span = 3 cm). Both these small bride dolls have facial traits without an indication for the nose.

In Ergoub, located at 9 km from Sidi Ifni at the end of the asphalt road and before Imou Ergen, the seventeen-year-old bride Aïcha who just married Mohamed ou Hamouche explained in November 1998 that there the girls do not make the traditional doll for about ten years but instead use plastic dolls. She stressed that nowadays the Ergoub girls view the self-made doll as ‘dirt’.
It happens that the type of doll is so representative of the milieu where it originated that it is possible to locate it at first sight. This is the case with a doll made by a girl of the primary school at Imou Ergen in November 1998, a girl coming from the Tafraoute region in the Anti-Atlas. The frame of this doll is a unique vertical reed (fig. 139). The top of this reed is wrapped in a white rag fixed with a cotton thread and on which round eyes, eyebrows and a nose have been designed in black, the mouth being indicated in red. A dark blue rag is draped over the doll’s head and body. At the level of the chin both sides of the dress are sewed together with a white thread. A second rag of the same textile fabric surrounds the lower part of the doll and is held in place with a string, the upper part of this dress being folded down over the belt.

The doll’s garments totally resemble the way Tafraoute women are dressed as I noticed when visiting this small town at the end of the same year. In February 2002, one girl among the girls of the village Lahfart who made the next series of dolls also made a doll resembling the Tafraoute women (fig. 140, H = 18 cm). The frame of this doll is a cone used to spoon mercerized cotton threads but without arms. The doll’s
face and facial traits are like those of the other doll but its nose is a red V. It is dressed with a black dress wrapped around the cone and hiding the doll’s mouth. A very large black scarf of the same textile fabric covers the head and the whole body. This scarf is sewed together in one point at the front of the doll.

When I settled down in the Southern Moroccan coastal town Sidi Ifni in the beginning of 2002, the primary school teacher and co-founder of the Isni Culture and Art Association, Boubaker Daoumani, contacted me after seeing my 1993 book on dolls and doll play that I had just given to his colleague Said Bari. Boubaker Daoumani teaches the first two years of the primary school at Lahfart, a small village located in the coastal slopes of the Anti-Atlas. To reach this village one has to walk on a climbing track for some twenty minutes, a track starting from the road leading to Sidi Ifni and at 9 km before this town when coming from Tiznit. In February 2002 and with the help of his colleagues he collected several dolls and a few toy animals created by the pupils.

Several about ten-year-old girls made twelve tislit dolls or brides. One of these girls made three brides resembling each other very well (fig. 141, H = ± 25 cm, arm-span = ± 8 cm). The frame of these dolls is composed of a vertical reed transpierced by a reed stick. The facial traits are slightly incrusted into the reed and colored with a black ballpoint. Their hair is made with wool plaited into a long hairdo hanging down at the dolls’ back and fixed in the belt. To fix this hair on top of the reed it has been pushed into a small fissure. The underwear of
the dolls consists of a multi-colored rag open at both sides. The girl gave her three dolls a skirt made from the same yellow textile fabric with shining green, rose and white floral motives also used for the scarves. The sides of the skirt are sewed at the back of the doll. The large scarf covers the head and shoulders. It is crossed at the doll’s front and put into the skirt’s belt for which elastic is used.

A small doll with the same type of frame has the faded remains of facial features previously drawn on the reed (fig. 142 right, H = 12 cm, arm-span = 5.5 cm). Its hair is made with the hair of the girl who made it. One end of the hairdo is wrapped in a ribbon and pushed in the opening on top of the reed where it is held in place with a little stone of adequate size. This doll wears two multi-colored dresses pushed over the head through a large fissure and hanging over the arms. These dresses are tightened under the arms with a white thread. White gauze is used for the large scarf covering the head and the whole body and it is tightened with a mauve thread. For the underwear of this doll and the next doll the girls used a textile fabric with shining motives, a kind of textile fabric normally used for the dolls’ upper wear. With the exception of the above-mentioned three bride dolls made by the same girl, the bride dolls of the Lahfart girls have upper dresses without shining motives.

The other small doll with shining underwear is peculiar for other reasons also (fig. 142 left, H = 10.5 cm, arm-span = 4 cm). The vertical part of
it’s frame is not a reed but a cardboard tube used to spool mercerized cotton threads, the arms being represented by a piece of reed pierced through the tube. At the top of the tube the upper layer of the cardboard has been cut off. This part is whitened with nail varnish and oval eyes with pupils, eyebrows, nose and smiling mouth form the facial traits designed with a blue ballpoint. One extremity of the woolen hairdo is pushed into the tube’s opening and held in place with a reddish ribbon. Two multi-colored skirts wrapped around the cardboard tube are fixed below the arms with a ribbon, the upper skirt having shining designs. A large rose scarf covers the head and the arms of the doll, a scarf held in place by the green upper dress with black flower designs, a dress put over the head through a fissure and sewed at both sides below the arms.

Six bride dolls have the lower part of the vertical reed cut out to form two sticks representing the legs, a way of giving legs to dolls I have found only very seldom up to now.

On five dolls these legs are hidden by the dresses but on one doll these legs remain visible (fig. 143, H = 20 cm, arm-span = 5 cm). The eyes and eyebrows are straight lines made with a blue ballpoint. A straight line drawn with a red ballpoint represents the mouth.

A multi-colored rag wrapped around the reed serves as underwear. The upper dress with a central fissure is put over the head and shoulders and sewed together at both sides as is done for some other dolls. A scarf of the same textile fabric as the dress covers the hair made of black plastic strips, hair fixed into the opening of the reed with a little stone. A large scarf of white gauze tightened below the arms with a thread covers the head and body.
For two of these six dolls the girl’s own hair has been used, fixed into the opening of the reed with a little stone (fig. 144, H = 16/19 cm, arm-span = 5/6 cm). Their facial traits are alike but one doll also has a red nose. Both dolls have two multi-colored rags wrapped around the reed representing the underwear but the doll without a nose also wears an under dress cut out of a green transparent plastic bag. A large skirt of white gauze held in place with elastic over which it is folded down forms the upper wear. Both dolls have two scarves, a smaller one holding the hair in place and another really large one wrapped around the whole doll. The smallest doll wears a belt of white cotton threads.

Two other dolls of the series with cut out legs have the same kind of facial features designed with a blue and red ballpoint. The long hair is lacking and only a few short lines drawn on the forehead with a blue ballpoint suggest the hair (fig. 145, p. 175, H = 12 cm, arm-span = 6 cm). As usual two under dresses, an upper dress and a large scarf tightened with a ribbon constitute the dolls’ garment.
The last doll of this series also lacks hair but its face shows a different facial design with round eyes and pupils, eyebrows, a round nose and a big smiling mouth all designed with a blue ball-point (fig. 146, H = 12 cm, arm-span = 7.5 cm). This doll has three multi-colored under dresses, an upper dress with rose background and vegetal designs, and a large scarf with stars and dots covering the head, the arms and the whole body.
The smallest of the twelve Lahfart bride dolls offers a quite unique appearance (fig. 147, H = 10.5 cm, arm-span = 4 cm). Its frame is made with a short piece of reed transpierced by a stick to form the arms. The facial traits are slightly indicated, two straight lines made with a blue ballpoint for the eyes and a little straight red line for the mouth. A piece of a cake’s aluminum wrapping in whose center a large fissure is made to put it over the head hangs over the arms and represents the upper dress. One end of the doll’s long hairdo made of wool has been pushed into the reed’s opening, a black ribbon keeping it in place on the forehead. A piece of an elastic with little white and blue pearls as used for a little girl’s hair decorates this forehead. The doll’s hair hangs down in three strings, two on the doll’s front and one at its back. The belt, a piece of the same elastic with pearls, tightens the dress and the hair strings.

A doll made by Mina, a thirteen-year-old girl and pupil of Said Bari who in February 2002 was teaching at the Lahfart primary school, has a kind of frame I never saw before, this frame being cut out in a piece of Isomo (polystyrene) protecting electronic or household appliances (fig. 148, H = 17 cm, arm-span = 10.5 cm). This tislit or bride doll has its whole body - head, arms and legs - cut out in one piece of Isomo. The eyes, eyebrows, nose
and hair are designed with a blue ballpoint, the mouth with a red one. With the blue ballpoint the girl also designed toes on her doll’s feet and three dots on the doll’s forehead and cheeks to represent the traditional color designs. A dress is put over the head through a central fissure, sewn together at one side and tightened with a blue ribbon below the arms. An about 3 cm large ribbon of the same blue textile fabric surrounds the dress below the belt, its upper edging being sewed to the dress. Finally, a large piece of white gauze covers the head and shoulders. One of the two mother dolls carrying a baby on its back I have found up to now has been modeled in clay by a fourteen-year-old girl. This mother and baby doll was also collected by Boubaker Daoumani in the village Lahfart in January 2002 (fig. 149, H =12.5 cm, arm-span = 10 cm; baby H = 6 cm, arm-span = 3 cm). Through the massive clay body with a large head but no neck, short legs and feet, a stick has been pierced to give it shoulders and arms. The facial traits, two straight lines for the eyebrows, another one for the mouth, and little holes for the eyes and nose are slightly incrusted in the clay. Fine lines suggest the hair with the hairdo ending in a bun. The baby carried at its mother’s back is an exact miniaturized copy of the mother doll with the same frame and face, the only difference being that the fine lines indicating the hair are lacking. The mother doll is clothed with a multicolored dress sewed together at one side, hanging over the arms and reaching the beginning of
the legs. A large scarf of the same textile fabric knotted at the mother
doll’s front keeps the baby in place.

The two following dolls also made by Said’s pupils are not to be seen
as dolls used for doll play but as decorations. I nevertheless want to
describe them because one of them offers an example of the rare female
dolls made by boys and because both show children’s creativity. The
bride doll made by Lahoucein Idouhna, a twelve-year-old boy, has a
frame consisting of a vertical reed through which a long piece of iron
wire has been pushed to create its long curved shoulders and arms (fig.
150, H = 24 cm). The upper part of the reed is wrapped in white cotton
on which big eyes with pupils and eyebrows are designed with a black
ballpoint, a nose, cheeks and mouth with a red ballpoint. The head
without hair and the shoulders are covered with a large transparent veil as
usual for a European bride. This doll wears as upper garment a white
wedding-dress inspired by the European wedding-dress that eventually
also is one of the dresses Moroccan brides wear during the wedding
ceremonies. The boy who made this doll said his mother helped him to
make the veil.
The other doll representing a man and made by a seventeen-year-old boy who started primary school really late, has a unique frame (fig. 151, p. 178, H = 22 cm). A head and neck cut out in a piece of Isomo is put into the opening of a reed with a diameter of 3.5 cm to which in the other opening have been fixed two long legs made with two reeds of 1 cm in diameter. At the end of these legs two pieces of a half reed have been glued to represent the feet. This doll’s arms are created by pushing a small strip of metal through the reed and curving it down at both sides. The neck, body and arms are wrapped with ribbons and a large cape hangs over the shoulder and arms, a cape sewed together in one point at the throat. The hair of this doll is made with a piece of sheepskin and its wool glued to the head. Its facial features with round eyes and pupils, eyebrows, triangular nose, ears and a smiling mouth are designed with a blue ball-point.

Shortly after receiving the two dolls with a total or partial Isomo frame, the use of Isomo to make toys was confirmed when I saw a young boy scratching with a flat piece of iron a piece of Isomo to create the form he wanted, this while sitting in his house’s doorstep in a popular quarter of Sidi Ifni.
The video filmed in the Sidi Ifni region on March 4th 2002 shows the house construction and doll play of Halima, a six-year-old girl, and Fadil, her nine-year-old brother, living in an isolated house built in the traditional way near the asphalt road in the Lagzira area at 10 km before Sidi Ifni when coming from Tiznit. The type of dolls used by these Amazigh-speaking children is unique as far as I have been able to observe it in Morocco, yet it has been mentioned once or twice by a bibliographical source. The bride, bridegroom, family members and visitors are all represented by snail shells, whereby the bride and bridegroom have been distinguished by wrapping the shell in a piece of white gauze (fig. 152, p. 179).

The wedding play starts with driving around the bride, bridegroom and some family members in the wedding-car represented by an old sardine tin (fig. 153). After a really long trip across the play area in front of the house, the bridal procession arrives at the village with its small houses.

Once Halima arrives with her wedding-car at one of the dollhouses she starts to put the dolls in the correct position with the opening of the shell representing the head on top (fig. 154, p. 181).

When Fadil has finished driving around his wedding-car both players construct another small house with stones and mud. A detail shows how Halima and Fadil, 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 portable telephone represented by a piece of an old remote control handset. The protocol with a detailed description of this video is available on SITREC's website (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 4).
When visiting Sidi Ifni, a town of about 25,000 inhabitants on the Atlantic Coast south of Agadir, for the first time in November 1998, Malika, a then twenty-three-year-old member of the family running the local hotel-restaurant Suerte Loca, told me that one could find in Sidi Ifni the self-made doll with a reed frame until the beginning of the 1980s and that nowadays the girls play with imported plastic dolls.

The use of an imported plastic doll was at that moment confirmed by observing a six-year-old girl playing with her cheap plastic doll at the doorstep of her house located near the mentioned hotel-restaurant. But even if a plastic doll has replaced the self-made doll, the other items used by this girl for her doll play are found or made locally. So, this girl placed her plastic doll in a dollhouse, the little square of paving stones on top of the stairs leading to the door, and as utensils she used a miniature wooden
table with on top a few oil can stoppers filled with water and representing cups of tea.

As some other Sidi Ifni informants also stated that self-made dolls have disappeared there, I was really surprised when making there the first video on children’s doll and construction play in collaboration with Boubaker Daoumani on 31 January 2002 to see that self-made dolls could still be found in this town. Coming into contact with an Arabic-speaking popular class family through grown up girls standing in front of their house on the Barandilla or beach boarding stairs, it was possible to get with parental permission the collaboration of Fatiha and Yasin, a six-year-old girl and her four-year-old cousin with whom she often plays. Starting to play without any other indication than the one given the day before and explaining that we liked to film her doll play, the first thing Fatiha does is to create a doll with a wooden spoon as vertical part of the frame, a spoon linking somehow this doll to the dolls used to ask for rain. To this spoon Fatiha attaches cross-wise a little stick to form the doll’s shoulders and arms. After designing a face on the inner side of the spoon, she gives her doll a dress tightening it with a belt. Later on Fatiha makes several other dolls of the same type but with a stick as vertical part of the frame. On a few occasions and more or less pressed by his niece, Yasin starts to make a doll. Yet, it looks like he only pretends to make a doll and he never finishes making the frame. During the whole doll play the attitude of this just four-year-old boy expresses his refusal to do a girl’s job, not only in making a doll but also in executing some other female task such as preparing a meal. Finally, Yasin very strongly expresses his refusal by shouting at his niece who asks and even orders him to prepare the breakfast or dinner: “go yourself. I am a man not a woman! I, I am a man not a woman!” Exasperated by Yasin’s refusal Fatiha decides to go to prepare the meal herself.

After some eight minutes of creating dolls, the doll play really starts with preparing the children’s breakfast, children represented by the self-made dolls as well as by two Barbie-like plastic dolls which Fatiha placed against the house wall so they might be used at will. The enacting of this food preparation is followed by the children’s waking up, having breakfast and being brought to school. Although reference is made to the school and the classroom the enacting of one or the other event linked to them is lacking. Yasin is collaborating in this sequence of the doll play
by surrounding with four sticks, sticks he could have used to make a doll, a rectangular space representing the school. At the end of the play activity the children are to be brought back from school but then Fatiha proposes to bring the meal to the classroom. A detailed description of this video can be found in the protocol available on SITREC's website (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 1).

Another example of doll play filmed on the flat roof serving as terrace of the hotel-restaurant Suerte Loca in Sidi Ifni on 10 February 2002 shows two sisters of an Arabic-speaking middle class household whose maternal grandparents are the owners of this establishment. The third player is nine-year-old Malika, a neighborhood girl from a popular class household who a year earlier asked the two sisters if she could play with them and so doing became their friend. Malika speaks Moroccan Arabic when playing with the nine-year-old Jalila and the seven-year-old Awatif but at home she speaks the local Amazigh language.

These girls use original Barbie dolls, one of them in a Hawaiian outfit but dancing on Algerian rai or other modern Arabic music, a baby doll, and several anthropomorphic and zoomorphic soft or plastic dolls and miniaturized figurines.

The play activities lasting for thirty-nine minutes presents several themes mostly linked to mother-child roles, the mother role being played by Malika. The two sisters play at helping the mother or they engage in additional roles such as phoning with toy mobile phones, going to shop, bringing the children to school, roles also staged by Malika. At one moment both sisters start to enact traveling in Morocco and abroad but they also engage in a personal playful activity for a while. Next to the dolls, the available play material such as a toy beauty set, children’s earrings, toy keys, toy telephones, a wind up music box, fake Euro banknotes, different kinds of bags, a suitcase, and some hotel furniture e.g. little chairs, benches, plastic tables and chairs, clearly refer to the standard of living and the multicultural situation in which Awatif and Jalila grow up and to which Malika who performs the more traditional mother role easily adapts when playing in this environment. The detailed protocol of this video is soon available on SITREC’s website (Rossie and Daoumani, forthcoming, Video 3).
An example of doll play with the Chinese made Little Miss doll (fig. 123, p. 163) was mentioned to me in September 2003. A young Amazigh mother, Fatima Moutaouakil, who had lived in Tiznit since she was three, had played at dolls in that town with two somewhat older girls of her neighborhood and her younger brother from about the age of seven to twelve. In the beginning of the 1980s, Fatima made clothes for her doll that was the only doll of this kind in the playgroup. The doll was dressed as an adult woman and one favorite game was to give make-up to the doll by using artificial saffron and a then largely available red chewing gum that after moistening it with saliva served as lipstick.

Fatima together with the same two girls and three boys, mostly cousins, liked to play at wedding ceremonies, at household or at father and mother. However, they then played without using dolls, the different characters such as the tislit or bride, the isli or bridegroom, the mother and father of both families and sometimes also a female or male servant being represented by the players. Small cushions represented the children. This game was played in the house of one of the players but only during the absence of the parents. As play material the utensils and other material in the house were used and the different rooms served as play area. When they played household somebody was send off to do some shopping. When talking about people, as is done by adults in such circumstances, they always talked about imaginary ones. Other play themes could be going to the doctor or to the market. Sometimes the play theme was more fantastic like playing at tarzent or the monsters of the local tales. It also happened that they created a beach by letting some water flow over the pavement to be able to slide on it. According to Fatima, the richness of the play themes was mostly due to the somewhat older boys who always invented new ones. Of course everything needed to be put in order in the house before the mother came back because otherwise they would be beaten, something that did sometimes happen.

According to Pierre Flamand the girls of the former mellahs or Jewish quarters in Southern Morocco played at the wedding of their bride doll but as bridegroom served a little boy sitting next to the bride doll. This author writes that the game consists of dressing the doll with the traditional accessories and enacting with her the behavior of a Jewish bride. The girls try to reproduce the ceremonial and the ritual gestures of the wedding festivities. They invite a lot of girls. The doll dressed in a
white dress with a tulle veil framing its face is placed in the middle of the dining room in a chair surrounded with white flowers. The bridegroom, a little boy brought along with a sister or another girl, sits next to the bride doll. When arriving, each guest kisses the bride and the bridegroom and congratulates their 'parents'. These offer wine, liqueur and sweets that are as real as the household resources and the contributions of the guests permit to do (research from 1948 till 1959, p. 183).

A second theme for doll play is pregnancy and childbirth of which two authors speak and that is confirmed by recent information.

The already mentioned article “la poupée Iblisa” from 1917 describes the representation of childbirth as follows: and soon it is said that the mother will give birth. Quickly a girl makes a doll resembling the mother doll but being smaller. Another girl playing the role of midwife down before the mother doll while all the girls say “Oh Sidi Bou Serrhine (a marabout buried near Sefrou), oh bird with the legs colored with henna, help this woman to give birth soon. Do not leave her in pain”. Then the midwife puts her hand under the mother doll's dress and pulls out the small doll shouting, “she has given birth”. The dancing, shouting youyous and clapping hands start all over again and the children say: “praise to God and the great dispenser who is our master” (p. 39).

Already in 1908 Maurice Cortier described this game of giving birth (p. 310). Once more a girl plays the role of midwife while her playmates sing: “Oh father of the little ones, bird with the feet colored with henna, give that the child is immediately born and that the mother has no pain, etc.”

The information on female dolls I gathered in Morocco also refers to pregnancy and childbirth.

Latifa, a young girl of about eleven years in 1992 and from the rural area of Hmar near Taroudannt, explained the relationship between the different kinds of doll play that exists among the girls of her village at the beginning of the 1990s. After the doll play in which the arūsa or bride doll and the arīs or bridegroom doll are being married as described above, and after they have been a couple for some time, the arūsa is given a protruding belly. She is pregnant! At this stage, the doll play integrates what the girls already know of the customs, rules and protective measures related to pregnancy. Later on the arūsa will give
birth to a little boy or girl, a miniature male or female doll. When it is
time to celebrate the birth, all the dolls are invited to join the feast, to
sing and to sit at the doll’s tea party.

During the 1940’s, the same series of doll play was enacted by the girls
of the Oulad Yahya of the rural areas around Taroudannt. This triple doll
play also exists among the Amazigh population of Imi-n-Tanoute at least
about 1980. To give to the female doll a protruding belly a little cushion
or some rags were put under her clothes. The baby doll is here also a
small copy of the adult doll but it is dressed more simply. The mother
doll will give birth to a boy doll, *iwis*, or a girl doll, *illis*, just as the girls
agree upon.

According to Sfia Gharîb, an Amazigh woman born in 1938 at
Arhbalou-n-Serdane in the Moyen Atlas, the already described bride doll
(fig. 76, p. 121) could also serve as a pregnant woman delivering her
baby represented by a really small doll of the same type.

The collection of the Musée de l’Homme possesses a toy cradle from
Sfax collected about 1933 (33.70.10), a toy cradle mentioned by F.
Castells in 1915.

Until I made in collaboration with Boubaker Daoumani the videos on
doll play in the Sidi Ifni region in the beginning of 2002, I only had three
references talking about doll play staging mother-child relations or of
dolls representing little or young children. These references concern the
girls from Ouarzazate, the Oulad ben Sbaa girls and the Jewish girls of
the former mellahs or Jewish quarters of Southern Morocco.

As mentioned at the end of the information on the female dolls of
Marrakech, the relationship between a girl representing the mother and a
doll representing the baby was playfully enacted at Ouarzazate around
1980.

At Oulad ben Sbaa, near Sidi Mokhtar on the road from Marrakech to
Essaouira, the girls between six and twelve years use their dolls, as
Abdellahalek Naseh says, especially as babies. This doll play is done alone
or with one or more girls from the same family or neighborhood in the
courtyard of the house. It is a common game played all the year round.
This doll, nevertheless called *arûsa* or bride, has a cross-shaped frame
of reed or little branches dressed with rags. The basic form of the dolls
remains the same although certain details of the bride doll can be accentuated as for example the breasts, head or buttocks (1993: 30-31).

Pierre Flamand speaking of Jewish girls in the Southern Moroccan mellahs writes: two children place a doll between them or in a vehicle to suit its stature - a baby carriage, a push chair or a cardboard box pulled with a rope. Different occupations of the parents are enacted: preparing the dinner of their 'child', discussing its future, bringing the child to the school, paying or receiving visits in its company, etc. (research 1948-1958, p. 183).

So I thought that using dolls as children to enact mother and child roles was quite exceptional among Moroccan girls. I therefore was surprised to see that the first two playgroups engaged in doll play and filmed in Sidi Ifni freely choose to partially or largely enact child-mother and child-school relations. In the first case these dolls representing children were self-made dolls and Barbie-like dolls made by or belonging to a six-year-old girl of a popular class family and in the second case real Barbie dolls and soft dolls belonging to two sisters of a middle class family were used (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, video 1 and 3). For the description of these dolls and doll play see page 182-183.

The burial of the doll is another theme in the doll play of the Moroccan girls. The first mention of this game in the bibliography dates from 1915. On the tenth day of the Muslim year, that is to say during the ʿAshûra feast, the children of Settat and other places enact a burial by making a grave in order to bury with the usual ceremony a doll made with a bone wrapped in rags (Mission Scientifique au Maroc, p. 302).

A young woman, Naïma Tadili, of the town of Khouribga, I met at the Centre d’Etudes des Problèmes du Monde Musulman Contemporain at Brussels in 1981, spontaneously spoke to me of these burials of dolls. Her memories, and those of her mother-in-law who was on a visit in Belgium, have given the following information.

A bone of the leg of a sheep killed at the Aïd el-kebir, that is to say the tenth day of the month el-hijjaj (the last month of the Muslim calendar and the month of the pilgrimage), is used by girls of the region of Khouribga, near Settat and not so far away from Casablanca, to make a doll called ʿAshûra. A stick is fixed cross-wise to this bone to represent the arms and then the frame is dressed as a Moroccan woman. On the
head of this doll the girls put henna. The facial features are not indicated. During a whole lunar month, these dolls are at the center of the girls’ play activities. With their doll they walk around in the vicinity and ask for gifts from the family and the neighbors. These give them some money and food. Then comes the day of "Ashûra, the tenth day of the first month of the Muslim year. In North Africa in general and in the given region in particular, the "Ashûra feast gives rise to rites and customs that are related to the birth of a new year and the death of the last year. A recent description of the "Ashûra festivities in the city of Marrakech has been published in 1976 by Jemma-Gouzon. During "Ashûra the dead are remembered. Moreover, it really is children’s day during which they get sweets and toys. It is in this context that the girls enact the death and burial of their doll. As mentioned on the foregoing page in a reference from 1915 and as it still was common among several families of Khouribga during the second half of the 1960s, the doll dies at "Ashûra and is buried by the girl herself. The girls of the same family and vicinity bury their dolls together while acting out the burial rites for the doll that has been a whole month a beloved one they are now loosing at "Ashûra. The seventh day after the burial, the girls return to their dolls’ cemetery to complete the appropriate rites as is done for human beings. According to my informant, Naïma Tadili, all parents did not tolerate this traditional game. She herself did not participate in this doll play but she has witnessed it when the girls of her neighborhood engaged in it. Among certain families this doll play would still be played nowadays especially in rural areas but less and less in urban centers. Another Moroccan woman, Rhimo Bijat Laraïchi born in 1942 at Larache but living in Ghent in Belgium, told me in July 1982 that she saw this burial game of the dolls in Settat, on the road from Casablanca to Marrakech, but that this custom did not exist in Tanger, Tetouan nor Larache.

Laoust, in his Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l’Anti-Atlas, speaks in 1921 of the burial by little girls of the doll called "ashûr, also called 'my Brother Achour' or 'my Uncle Achour' (p. 31). This terminology clearly states the sex of the doll. It is a male doll from a region outside the Sahara, other Moroccan examples of non-Saharan male dolls being described in the chapter on male dolls. According to this author, in Tanant, near the Cascades d’Ouzoud in the Marrakech region,
this male doll is made of a reed covered with blouses and a burnous overcoat, but a bone can be used as well. Laoust’s description of this ritual (1921: 30-31) is given here in translation:

Some days before the appearance of the new moon of °Ashûra, the girls walk with the doll on the road going to the market of the Aît Majjen and the mausoleum of Sidi Sâid. They put it upright at the foot of the big terebinth tree whose shadow protects the tomb of the agourram and stop all those who by chance are passing there, saying: “give us the offering of °ashûr, “aqarid n-°ashûr”. When the moharrem moon rises, they get dates, nuts, raisins of which all families build up a large stock for °Ashûra. Then, at the evening of the feast, they go from house to house with their doll, asking for little presents. It is customary to give them eggs and small pieces of meat. After dinner the girls meet under a fig tree and standing around the doll lying on the ground they show great pain. They undo their plaits, scratch their face, cry noisily and sing such mournful lamentations as one hears in families where there has been a death. This night really is the one of the death of °ashûr, of the enigmatic character personified by the doll. Once this ritual is accomplished, the girls separate but meet again at the same spot at sunrise, the precise moment of the death of °ashûr, to carry out the funeral. Dates and eggs are put on the little tomb where the doll is laid. When the girls have left the scene, the boys arrive. They rush to the tomb, take the dates and eggs, unearth the doll, strip its clothes and throw it naked on the ground so that it will call for rain. Maybe they believe that the enlivening and fertilizing rain directs the revival of the weakened or dying spirit of the vegetation probably personified by this doll.

In February 1992, this information from 1921 has been confirmed for the second half of the 1970s by a young Amazigh woman of 24 years who lived her whole youth in the region of Beni Mellal in the Moyen Atlas. She also said that the young girls see the feast of °Ashûra as their own feast and that they sing each time while going from house to house:
Now it is ʻashûr, we are free!

It is at the Aïd el-mulud (the feast of the birth of the Prophet) that the men rule!

I found a new confirmation of the burial at the cemetery of a small doll, the 'bride of ʻashûr', by the girls of the Ait Ouirra of the El-Ksiba region in the Moyen Atlas. This ritual play marks the end of the ʻAshûra festivities (Oubahammou, 1987: 88). In Enfances Maghrebines M. Dernouny also talks about the burial of a doll, a male doll called 'Sidi Achour' carefully made with a bone frame by young girls a month beforehand and buried on the day of ʻAshûra (1987: 26-27). In an article published in 1971 it is written that the evening before ʻAshûra rural girls make dolls they call 'Achour' and that they bury in old deserted tombs dolls the boys are searching after the next morning in order to destroy them (Belghiti, p. 102).

This doll play simulating a burial is clearly connected to the rituals in relation to agriculture just as the doll play asking for rain. Although the ritual dolls remain outside the scope of this book, it should be stressed that the difference between ritual dolls and dolls for children’s play sometimes becomes indistinct as in the case of the doll used for enacting a burial or the doll made with a wooden spoon used to ask for rain and of whom a Moroccan example is given below and a Tunisian example with the female dolls of Tunisia (p. 192).

Souad Laabib of the Amazigh village Ksar Assaka near Midelt remembers that she made a doll with a wooden spoon, called telghenja, dressed as an older woman but never as a bride. She did this until the age of fourteen years, that is to say till about 1982. This was done together with the other girls of her village and during periods of drought. To make it a stick is fixed cross-wise to the spoon of some 50 cm high in order to give arms to the doll. Rags, serving as dresses, are draped over this frame after a hole has been made in their center so that the head can pass through. This head is then wrapped with rags, representing the headscarves, so that nothing of the wooden spoon remains visible. A belt tightens the waist of telghenja who this way always looks like a skinny woman so much that when people want to say of a woman that she really is skinny they say that she is like telghenja.
Once the doll is finished and in the afternoon, a group of some ten girls of more or less the same age go in procession, singing and playing the bendir or hand-drum, to the er-rûd or covered tomb of Sidi Bûnwâr at the cemetery of the village. On their arrival the girls sing:

*Sîdî Bûnwâr jînâ, er-Rabbî tʾafia alînâ.*
Sidi Bûnwâr we have come, may God cure us.

Then the girls take off their shoes and, taking with them telghenja, enter one after the other the covered tomb, kissing the door-post and walking three times around the tomb while kissing it several times. The whole group remains inside while a fake *tahʾérît* soup is made with cold water and some flour. The girls leave the covered tomb and one of them climbs on the roof to pour the soup in the gutter so that it runs along the wall.

During the procession and during the rituals the girls hold in turn telghenja upright above their head but once the tea party starts telghenja is laid on the ground. For their tea party the girls have brought with them bread, tomatoes, pieces of sugar and the tea prepared at home. After their tea party the girls sing again. However, the songs are those sung during sessions of possession by spirits and the hair dance related to it is also done. After that the procession gets moving again, singing and with telghenja well exposed, to make a tour of the houses of the village, but without asking for something or entering the houses. While telghenja is walked around in the village, the girls sing one or both songs:

*A telghenja asî úrâwînnem siginnâ, gher er-Rabbi enzâr atkertûga.*
Oh telghenja raise your hands to the sky, and pray God so that the rain makes the grass grow.

*A telghenja marja wunna wurdifighen, isîʾmâ ghed isîmût.*
Oh telghenja marja, those who did not come out of the house to see you, they are blind or dead.

When the girls are tired of walking around with telghenja, they sit down and talk about the rain that should come or other things and laugh a lot. After some time telghenja is stripped of her clothes, these clothes are thrown away and the girl who got it from her mother takes the wooden
spoon back home. Once the mother of Souad, finding an old big wooden spoon in her house, made herself the telghenja that Souad and her girl friends used for this play.

2.15 Female dolls of Tunisia

The collection of the Musée de l’Homme contains two Tunisian female dolls from two cities, made before 1931. These dolls of about 30 cm height have a body, a head and the members consisting of a piece of textile stuffed with straw and rags. Their face, with a mouth, nose, eyes and eyebrows, is designed and embroidered. To mark the nose a grain has been put at that place under the fabric, as is done with some Moroccan dolls. One doll wears a dress of an Arabic woman (fig. 155: H = 36 cm; catalogue 3.10, 30.54.891, p. 307) and the other is dressed like a Jewish woman (fig. 156, p. 193, H: 33 cm; catalogue 3.10, 30.54.888, p. 308). These dolls wear several dresses and the one with an Arabic dress also wears many jewels.
Sigrid Paul describes and shows in his book *Afrikanische Puppen* (1970: 118, 208 - Abb. 97) a Tunisian doll of 28 cm height, collected by Moberg in 1950. Unlike the Tunisian female dolls of the Musée de l’Homme, this doll has a rectangular wooden head covered with white fabric. However, the facial traits of this doll, with its mouth embroidered with a red thread and designed eyes, eyebrows and nose, resemble the facial features of the other two Tunisian dolls.

Aimé Dupuy informs us about the Tunisian dolls in 1933. He writes: surely, the doll forms part of the girls’ toys. A student following the training to become a primary school teacher (mouderrès) of Agareb (Caïdat of Sfax) declares however that the Arab woman of the villages holds herself aloof of luxury. She does not buy a doll for her daughter from a toy merchant she makes it herself... The girl continues this game that shows her attachment to indoor life, until the age of eight or ten
years. The same author also describes the doll play: the girl sees her doll as a living companion. She loves her passionately, prepares meals for her consisting only of some earth and ground herbs, takes her for a walk, often sleeps with her and does everything she can do to make her better dressed and more beautiful than those of her neighbors (p. 309).

In Tunisia the doll consisting of a wooden spoon, but dressed as a bride, used for rain rituals at the beginning of the year is mentioned by Jean Servier (1962: 294). Moreover, this doll, shown in Servier’s book (photo 12), resembles not only in general but also more specifically in its facial traits the two Tunisian dolls of figures 155 (p. 192) and 156 (p. 193).

In his *Mots et choses berbères*, E. Laoust (1920: 225-226) describes the spoon-doll of the Tunisian children, a description given here in translation:

*Umm Tangi or Tango, the “mother Tangui” is, in Tunis, the little doll walked around by the children in times of drought, while they sing: “Your mother Tango, oh women, ask God for rain! Your mother Tango, with her necklace, implore God, so that He will not turn her down”.*

*In the island of Djerba, the name of Tango is given to the little spoon children receive as a toy at the major religious festivities and especially at the approach of Ramadan. This spoon is decorated by the merchants in a really strange way, the rounded part of the spoon showing the head of a young girl whose facial features - eyes, nose and mouth - have been designed with black paint and whose hair “à la chien” is also painted and decorates the forehead in the way of the brides.*

*In Tunis, where the same custom is followed, the decoration of the spoon is done in each family and not, as in Djerba, by the merchant. The children eat with this spoon during the whole fasting month. Then the girls play with it as a doll. The custom is observed among families of a certain standing and not, as one might think, among the popular classes.*

*Totally curious is the fact that this special spoon is not given the usual Arabic name, mgerfa, but the Amazigh name gonjaia. In the oldest Islamized parts of the Maghreb, the hardly modified name of the great*
African divinity Tlghenja continues to be applied to its symbolic representation, the spoon that became a child’s little doll. This doll, however, is different from the other dolls because of its ritual aspect, as it is only during the Muslim festivities that it is played with.

In the region of Sousse, the children also walked a doll around from door to door to ask for rain. This doll was not made with a spoon but with two sticks, nailed cross-wise, covered with colorful fabrics. People poured water onto the doll at each house (Dupuy, 1933: 316).

An overview of the information on the personalization of the rain in the Maghreb is given by Gabriel Camps in the Encyclopédie Berbère under the item “anzar” (1989: 795-797).
3 Child dolls

3.1 Summary

Child dolls seem to be rare in the Sahara and North Africa and they are only slightly different from the adult dolls. In the collection of the Musée de l’Homme, I found trace of child dolls among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and Kel Ajjer. The existence of child dolls among the Tuareg Kel Iforas is attested in one text and by personal information. Two girl dolls have also been collected among the Moors of Tidjikdja.

With the exception of a doll dressed as a Negro child, collected somewhere in Algeria and given to the Musée de l’Homme by the Gouvernement Général de l’Algérie in 1889, but that unfortunately has been lost (index card: 89.79.127), the collection only contains those child dolls coming from outside the Sahara that some Chaouia female dolls carry on their back.

Nevertheless, the magazine France-Maroc of 1917 mentions the use of a Moroccan baby doll when describing the game of childbirth by a mother doll. The practice of this game has already been confirmed for Southern Morocco during my first research trip in this region in February 1992. Since then I found a baby doll among Moroccan girls from the villages Arhbalou-n-Serdane in the Moyen Atlas, Hmar and Lahfart in the Anti-Atlas. In a popular quarter of Sidi Ifni I saw in February 2002 a four-year-old girl with a quite big plastic baby doll in her arms sitting in the entrance of her home and in Taroudannt I was told by the owner of a small toy shop that there a plastic baby with its feeding bottle, made in China and sold for 10 dirham (1 Euro), has become popular among the girls in November 1996.
3.2 Child dolls of the Tuareg

Three dolls, representing children, have been collected among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar (Algerian Sahara). Two dolls represent boys (catalogue 4.1, 41.19. 133/157, p. 309) and the other doll is a sitting girl of 5.5 cm height and resembling the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar female doll described in chapter 2.2 (p. 80-81). A boy made this doll (catalogue 4.1, 14.19.129, p. 309).

A Tuareg Kel Ahaggar boy in ceremonial dress is represented by a doll that differs only from the Tuareg warrior dolls and nobleman dolls by a shorter size of 11 cm (fig. 157; see catalogue 4.1, 41.19.157, p. 309). The frame of graminaceous twigs consists of two vertical twigs to which two other twigs have been horizontally fastened in a cross-shaped form. This doll wears as underwear a khaki blouse and as outerwear a black blouse. It has a bandoleer and a belt made out of yellow, red and green cotton threads. A black fabric covers the head and above this cotton threads of the same yellow, red and green color but also of white color are entwined.

Maurice Cortier mentions, in 1908, dolls representing little children made by the girls of the Tuareg Kel Iforas of the Sahara in Mali (p. 310). According to Ekhya Ag-Sidiyene who informed me about the female dolls of the Tuareg Kel Iforas, there are girl dolls made with a piece of excrement of a donkey in which a thorn is fixed. These girl dolls do not have clothes or designed geometric patterns representing the breasts (fig. 32, p. 82; 34, p. 83).
Among the Tuareg Kel Ajjer (Libyan Sahara) a mother doll and her child doll, both in burnt clay, have been collected in 1934. This mother doll is shown at figure 35 (p. 84). The child doll, with its massive body without legs, fully resembles the mother doll. Its height is 7 cm and the diameter of the base 3.5 cm.

3.3 Child dolls of the Moors

Two dolls from the Moors of Tidjikdja in the Mauritanian Sahara represent girls (catalogue 4.2, 69.70.7.1/2, p. 309). They were created by the girls following the model used for the female dolls of this region. Charles Béart also mentions child dolls that are painted in ochre just as the servant dolls (see 2.4 Female dolls of the Moors, p. 91).

3.4 Child dolls of the Kabyles

One of the two types of dolls mentioned by Germaine Laoust-Chantréaux is a doll representing a baby. According to this author the girls easily recreate at their level the environment in which they live, for example they make small cradles with some sticks covering them with rags. In this cradle lies the 'tigsett' or doll of the small Aït Hichem girls. It is just what its name meaning 'small bone' suggests, a leg's bone nicely dressed with rags. The bulging of the bone represents the head on which facial features are etched with soot; a tiny scarf covering the naked head. Made like that this type of doll satisfies the most demanding child, writes the author.

3.5 Child dolls of the Chaouia

As shown on figure 67 (p. 109), some Chaouia female dolls, described in chapter 2.12 Female dolls of the Chaouia (p. 107), carry a baby or a little child on their back.
3.6 Child dolls of Morocco

As already mentioned in the synthesis, a bibliographical information of 1917 describes the childbirth of the female doll as follows: in a twinkling a little girl makes a doll, just like the first one (the mother doll) but smaller (“La poupée Iblisa”, p. 39). It is the only bibliographical reference concerning Moroccan child dolls I have found. Nevertheless, the information I could gather in Morocco confirms the existence of this doll play among Amazigh as well as among Arabic speaking girls.

In the 1940s Oulad Yahya girls from the rural area of Taroudannt and those of today of Hmar in the same region play with their °arûsa at the birth of her baby, a miniaturized female or male doll whichever the girls prefer. The Amazigh girls of Imi-n-Tanoute played during the 1970s with a pregnant taslit and they staged the birth of the baby, a small copy of the mother doll. This was what the Amazigh girls of Arhbalou-n-Serdane in the Moyen Atlas also did around 1950.

Up to now I received two mother dolls carrying a baby doll on their back, one made with a cross shaped frame of wood by a girl of the village Hmar near Taroudannt in 1997 (fig. 126, p.165) and the other modeled in clay by a girl of the village Lahfart near Sidi Ifni in 2002 (fig. 149, p. 177). These baby dolls having facial traits are described together with the mother dolls (see 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco, p. 111).

In the popular Arabic-speaking milieu of Marrakech, in the quarter of Daoudiyât, a little plastic doll served around 1975 as a little child or baby. The girls took this little one on their back, nourished and coddled it. Such a small plastic doll with its feeding bottle is in 1996 one of the favored toys of the Taroudannt girls.

For an analysis of the play with a pregnant doll, the one who gives birth or a child doll the reader is referred to the latter part of chapter 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco (p. 185-187).

At the end of this analysis of the Saharan and North African dolls and although based on only one source, I have to mention the doll play in which Amazigh girls of the village of Tizal near El Khemis, play at circumcision. I received this information from Fatima Outizal, born at Tizal, who got it from a fifty-five-year-old woman in 1992 who passed her whole youth in this village. This woman tells that in the 1950s one of the doll play themes was the circumcision of a boy doll. A girl makes a
small doll of some 7 cm height. Its frame consists of two pieces of reed assembled cross-wise. This is the little boy to be circumcised. At the moment of the circumcision the girl playing the role of the mother stands right up holding a stick in her hand. She looks into a mirror while the other girls sing: “Why is the boy weeping? It is at circumcision that he weeps”. The existence of this doll play enacting circumcision is confirmed by a short note in the book of Mohammad Ibn Azzuz Hakim (1959: 32, see 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco, p. 117).
Conclusion
In this chapter, I present first of all a synthesis of the foregoing study on Saharan and North African dolls and doll play, followed by an analysis referring to some environmental, spatial-temporal, economic, social and cultural aspects, as well as to societal evolution.

1 Synthesis

In North Africa and the Sahara one finds male dolls as well as female dolls and child dolls. However, the female dolls are largely predominant. With the exception of Morocco, I have only noticed the existence of male dolls among the children of families living in the Sahara. These male dolls and female dolls are mostly young adults, often bridegrooms and brides. The child dolls represent girls or boys of some age. Baby dolls seem to be seldom, this in contrast to the situation in Western and Southern Europe where until recently and since the beginning of the twentieth century children most of the time played with dolls representing little children or babies.

Saharan and North African children of rural areas often make their dolls themselves. However, it sometimes happens that an adult woman of the family, or a female or male artisan makes them.

So many dolls have been locally produced although it should be stressed that the head of some Mozabite dolls were of European origin, that imported plastic dolls can serve as a doll’s frame and that according to F. Castells (1915: 342) and Sigrid Paul (1970: 113) European dolls were already accepted in North African urban culture around 1914. As more or less all over the world girls often play with dolls. Boys also play with dolls but to a much lesser extent and if they do so they almost always play with male dolls.

Although the bibliographical documents rarely discuss doll play, the dolls described in this book have no meaning except within the children’s doll play. Most often it is a doll play for which children of the same family and/or neighborhood come together. In this collective doll play children use a lot of other toys and objects. Moreover, they can sing, dance, tell riddles or stories and engage in linguistic games during their doll play.
Following the information I have at my disposal, Saharan and North-African children enact adult life in their doll play. In the sphere of the male world, the doll becomes a dromedarist, a horseman, a mule-driver, a herdsman, a warrior or a nobleman. In the sphere of the female world, doll play refers to playing household roles, to enacting festivities, especially weddings, and other important reunions, to staging a pregnancy, childbirth or a burial. With the exception of wedding play, in which the female and male worlds mix, there is a clear distinction between female and male activities in children’s doll play.

In self-made dolls a great variety of natural and waste material is used. Almost always this material is of local or domestic origin: mineral material such as stones or clay; animal material such as dried dung, bones, hair, leather and wool; vegetal material such as leaves, reed, branches, dates and ear of maize (Indian corncob); textile material such as rags and gauze threads; metallic material such as wires and sheets; plastic material such as flasks, threads and ornaments. The material of non-local or non-domestic origin is insignificant, the only noteworthy cases being the pasteboard head of one type of Mozabite doll, the use of plastic coated electric wire by children of the Souara Valley, the plastic flask head of the recent Ghrib girls’ doll and the plastic doll imported in Morocco and certainly also in the other countries of the region.

The children of each population seem to have held to one or sometimes a few clearly defined types of dolls. As within each community the children play with the same kind of dolls, their similarity facilitates the elaboration and communication of shared signification; this elaboration and communication of shared signification being strengthened by the fact that most of the children make their dolls themselves. This way, the dolls and the doll play can be viewed as an efficient communicative tool for keeping up the socio-cultural system. Yet, there is also proof of individual creativity in making dolls.

If one takes into account the whole geographic area an interesting variety can be detected in the form, height, face, hair and garments of the dolls. With few exceptions, the dolls are realistic representations at least in their global appearance and in their clothing. Except maybe among the upper classes, the ideal female model is a decently dressed well-fed or even corpulent young woman as symbolized in several female dolls of these regions.
Among many North African and Saharan populations facial features are not indicated on local dolls or possibly only in a stylized or non-naturalistic manner. I only find facial features among the female dolls of Belbala, Mozabite, Moroccan and Tunisian girls, as well as the Ghrib girls where it is a recent evolution influenced by the schools, an evolution that also comes to the foreground in certain Moroccan communities. However, many dolls I found among Moroccan children since 1998 do have facial traits; though often it happens that a doll made by a mother has facial features and the one made by a girl has not. So, the idea that dolls without facial features are more ancient, original or authentic than those with facial traits cannot be upheld at this moment.

The gathered information confirms the use of local or traditional dolls in the villages of Central and South Morocco, dolls made by girls and only seldom by boys. At the same time, their disappearance and replacement by plastic dolls imported from China or elsewhere can be noticed in towns and small urbanized centers, now or then even in a village. My information on rural Morocco shows that the plastic doll slowly infiltrates the children’s playgroups and that for some time both types of dolls coexisted or still coexist. Within this context, the possible influence of the upper class on middle and lower class city dwellers and villagers should be stressed. A special number of the Moroccan review Enjeux on the toy trade, published in 1993, shows that this upper class, stimulated by the audio-visual media, undoubtedly follows whatever is the fashion in Europe. One reads in this review that a contagion similar to a cultural transfer exists of which the best example is that of the famous Barbie doll. Nowadays, a little Moroccan girl of good family needs to have the whole outfit, the Barbie house with its furniture, the complete set of Barbie dresses, Barbie’s Ferrari and her fiancé; something with which to create a world conforming to the Occidental cultural stereotypes. The same phenomenon exists among the boys but the fashions are different. At this moment, robots of the Terminator kind are the best sold (“le Marché du Jouet”, 1993: 35-36). The first “Salon de l’Enfant” held between 16 and 26 December 1993 was also aimed at the parents and children of the more fortunate urban families.

The intrusion of Barbie dolls in the playworlds of upper class girls indicates a fundamental shift in the traditional North African attitude towards the ideal female model, namely a decently dressed more or less
corpulent woman. The Barbie-like type is in real life associated with what is called in Morocco ‘un squelette vivant’, a ‘living skeleton’. A woman with such a figure is even today viewed as a very lean woman whose appearance is to be attributed to one of the following pitiful conditions: poverty, sickness, having social or emotional problems, if not a combination of these. So it is not surprising that at the end of the 1990s some Moroccan women take pills to put on weight, just as some Western women do this to grow lean.

Nevertheless, a thin female doll with a locally crocheted Andalusian flamenco dress is finding its way into the Moroccan houses (fig. 95, p. 139). But according to several female informants, these dolls do not function as children’s dolls. They are used as house decorations and found especially on television sets. However, it is possible that in a more or less near future the Barbie model will surpass the traditional model as it has already succeeded in doing among the upper class. An example of this infiltration of these Barbie-like plastic dolls in recent years in Morocco is shown in the doll play of Zaïda girls in Central Morocco (fig. 94, p. 139) and of a Sidi Ifni girl in Southern Morocco (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 1). An inquiry during the July 2003 Sidi Ifni moussem or fair also shows that this type of plastic doll is commonly sold although toy sellers say that the Little Miss doll, imported from China, with its rounder forms is the one most popular among girls of this city (fig. 123, p. 163).

Before concluding this synthesis, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the scope of the analysis of Saharan and North African dolls and doll play is limited by the sources at my disposal. The dolls and doll plays mentioned in this book therefore do not exclude the existence of other types of dolls and other themes of doll play in these regions. So, I can only hope that others will complete and, if necessary, correct the information given here. This is the more necessary as the bibliographical sources were not always based on detailed analysis and that the information gathered by my fieldwork remains limited to a small number of children and communities.
2 Environmental and economic aspects

In North Africa and the Sahara, and within the limits of this analysis, the doll is almost always an elaborated object onto which the child, the adult and the society confer the status of a toy. It is not just an object taken from the environment and that by chance and through the child’s imagination becomes a doll.

In the area under discussion, there is a close relationship between the physical environment and the local dolls. This is due in the first place to the use of local material of mineral or vegetal origin as well as material used in the household. I only found two exceptions namely the use of a pasteboard head of European fabrication for one type of the Mozabite dolls and that of the imported plastic dolls, used as a frame to be dressed or as a finished doll.

The dolls and other objects, such as a doll’s tent, a dollhouse and the toy utensils, used in doll play directly reflect the reality of daily life. They are, as Brian Sutton-Smith says in relation to the play-objects of the nineteenth century, a simulation of the objects of the real world (1987: 20).

Concerning the spatial aspect of the toy play, it is clear that in almost all of the cases these play activities take place outside the home and certainly not in a children’s room, for that does not exist in the communities this book is speaking of.

On the temporal aspect very little has been said. The only bibliographical mention refers to the Belbala where doll play was not allowed or at least less encouraged outside autumn and spring, the seasons when rain is wanted. Jean Servier, who studied the relationship between children’s games and the symbols of the agricultural year in Algeria, speaks within this context of the game with tops, the swing, the flyover and the battle with stones but not of doll play (1962: 277-280). Among the Ghrib, so they told me, there was no special time of the year when playing with dolls or making them was either disallowed or encouraged. The same attitude was mentioned whenever I got a reaction on this topic from a Moroccan adult or child.

Regarding the economic aspect, one can claim that the self-made dolls never become objects of a commercial trade. They are dolls made by the children themselves or possibly a family member or a local artisan. The
increase in passing by tourists, however, has pushed the girls from the Moroccan village Ksar Hasni Biad near the Merzouga sand dunes to sell their self-made dolls for some dirhams. Yet, this is the only example of a beginning commercialization of dolls I know of. In this context, I can mention websites where African dolls probably made by adults can be purchased (viewed 7.9.2004: http://www.africaguide.com/shop/dolls.htm or http://www.over2u.com/shop/african_dolls.html).

The dolls' garments and finery consist of reprocessed material: rags, old pearls, metal wire, pieces of aluminum... As the frame of the dolls remains simple, the needed technology remains rudimentary. Moreover, the form of the doll remains stable in each population, even if there is sometimes more than one type of doll.

All this is quite different with the plastic doll bought in shops or at the market. This doll is, as far as I know, always imported: the cheap dolls from China or a South East Asian country and the more expensive dolls from Europe. There is a small production of cheap plastic toys in Morocco but these are not sold so well at least among the middle class; too poor a quality for customers such as employees working in the private sector and civil servants (“le Marché du Jouet”, 1993: 34, 38).
3 Socio-cultural aspects

In the more or less popular milieus mostly spoken about in this book, the dolls and doll play reflect the social and cultural realities of the community in which the children grow up. As far as I have been able to verify this, they only refer to adult life, a few exceptions left aside. The girls’ dolls and those of the boys are not isolated objects but serve mostly for games in which an interpretation of female or male adult life is enacted. The female doll becomes a bride, a spouse, a mother, even a divorced or an old woman, but rarely a girl or a baby. The male doll becomes a bridegroom, a herdsman, a nobleman, a warrior, a horseman, a dromedarist, a mule-driver. Only one Tuareg male doll of the Musée de l’Homme’s collection represents a boy.

In its doll play the child very often anticipates the life it will have as an adult, at least in those communities where the lifestyle only changed slowly from one generation to the next; a stability that one can find nowhere in the Sahara or in North Africa for the last two or three decades. Nevertheless, the question must be asked if nowadays doll play still projects the familial reality according to the values and roles dictated by the collectivity and if it is not more often a way of liberating oneself from the social constraints as in the Occident where doll play is not an imitation of the behavior of adults but a means of escape from their ascendancy, as Michel Manson defines it (1985: 54). Still, it can be easily stated that, for the regions and the period covered by this book, the doll and doll play present a mirror of adult life, more especially of an idealized adult life. With few exceptions, the dolls themselves and the play activities in which they figure, represent socially valued characters and activities. Thus, when analyzing these dolls and doll play, it becomes clear that both the male and female dolls of this region almost exclusively symbolize an idealized status of an adult man or woman, a man or a woman in a locally enviable situation. Reference is constantly made to the positive, worthy model with which the child should identify.

This clearly contrasts with the Western European doll since the beginning of the twentieth century. Gilles Brougère's description of this Western European doll (1985: 134-135) is here given in translation:
The strict ‘païdomorphisme’ cannot explain everything that today is made and sold as a doll. Beyond the purely childlike forms, a world for and by the child is proposed, a world only existing in function of the representations and desires attributed to the child. It is the trace of the interpretation adults make of the imagination and aspirations of the children... The doll thus becomes the mirror of an ideal, idealized, childhood, but intended for the child and this by several ways, be it a matter of the direct representation of the child, of the aspirations attributed to it, of the withdrawal into a reassuring fantasy world, reassuring because strictly childlike or seen as that (Kiki, the Walt Disney figures).

Another important distinction is the one between a collective and somewhat standardized way of playing with dolls in the Saharan and North African children’s groups and a singular and individualized way. Generally speaking, one would feel inclined to stress the collective and standardized aspect of doll play in these regions, a viewpoint I easily can agree with. However, the more I have the possibility to observe and to be informed on doll play in Morocco, the more I become aware of the possibility that, beneath this apparent uniformity of the types of dolls and of the themes in the doll play particular to each ethnic group or region, individual variations proper to each child or small playgroup are hidden. A striking example is given through the analysis of the dolls and doll play of the three Laabib sisters from Ksar Assaka who played within a small playgroup and with some years of difference between 1975 and 1985 near the same paternal home. I discuss this topic in the chapter “Toys, Play and Creativity” of my book Toys, Play, Culture and Society (p. 93).

Concerning the adult-child relationship through a gift of a doll, so common in other societies more directed towards consumer goods, it seems that such a gift was exceptional in the Saharan and North African societies as the children in most cases made their dolls themselves as they often still do in rural areas. If it is not the child itself, then it is a sister or brother, a female or male cousin who does it. Even if the doll is made by a mother, an aunt, a female servant or whatever person, it does not form part of a system of rewarding or tokens of affection. Until recently only exceptionally did the doll become an object to be given as a present. This
situation contrasts with Western societies as described by Brian Sutton-Smith (1992: 7) in this way:

*The toys are given as a token of the family ties. The parent says “I give you this present to bind you to me, now go to play alone”. In order to fill this impression of solitude, some of these presents are soft toys, animals and dolls that the child will treat as imaginary companions.*

I had the opportunity to explain in an article “Children's play, generations and gender with special reference to the Ghrib” (1993) that playful relationships between adults and children are not at all exceptional among the Ghrib. It can also be argued that this is probably the same for the other populations mentioned here (see the chapter “Toys, Play and Generations” in my book *Toys, Play, Culture and Society*, p.117). Yet in the context of doll play this relationship seems to be quite exceptional. But the relationships between children of successive generations are more common.

Doll play offers more possibilities for child-to-child relationships, as it is almost always a collective game in which a group of little and young children play together. These children belong to the same family or are neighbors. Well away from the adults, at least from the age of six years onwards, they engage in their interpretation of feminine or masculine occupations. Gilles Brougère stresses, for France, the major importance of the playgroup in the course of a game when he analyses the game with the Power Rangers, stemming from a television series. He writes that it surely is within a complex relationship with others that the game is elaborated in the context of a reference that functions as a rule, a rule imposing itself so that the game can exist and be shared. To do this the collective functioning must be organized and this implies the solving of the problems needed to adapt the material and social situation to the play objective (1996: 7). This statement, I think, applies to children’s groups playing with dolls in communities where individualism is less developed. Following this line of ideas, it might be said that creativity manifests itself not only in the content of the game but also in the organization of the game.
The Saharan and North African dolls are not intended for the little ones. They are not the kind of dolls that serve as an emotional support for a baby or a small child. Besides they did not need this so much as they lived in symbiosis with their mother or if she could not take care of a baby or a little child for a moment there was always an older sister or cousin, a grandmother or aunt to do so.

I wrote that what is at stake is the interpretation by the children of the adult world through their doll play, not just a simple and clear imitation of it. Jürgen Jensen stresses in his article on games of imitation in the island Buvuma in Uganda that these games do not serve in the first place for the learning of skills, techniques, behaviors and roles as the children have in such environments the possibility and even the duty to practice them in their everyday life while progressively becoming integrated in the tasks of their mother, father or other family members (1971: 208-209).

There is no doubt that the doll play analyzed here plays an important role in the development of the personality of the girls, sometimes also of the boys, as well as in learning about the natural, social and cultural milieus. This is even more so as in the rural milieus, to which most of the dolls described here refer, school education of a modern type is not a daily reality, especially for girls.

Through doll play, in which younger children sometimes mix with older ones, a lot of information on the physical and social environment, of attitudes, know-how, knowledge, symbols, signification, ideas, aesthetic, social and moral values are transmitted from one generation to the next and are interiorized in a playful way by the children. This brings us to consider some cultural aspects of children’s play. Or as Walter Ferrarotti formulates it in my translation from the French original: “culture as a matter of play and culture as an element conditioning the playful choices and the direction of the development of the experience” (1987: 31).

Dolls relate the children to a cultural background, with its plastic signification proper to the community in which the child lives. As the dolls are intimately connected to the socio-cultural realities in which they function, they directly participate in the visual communication system of each community whereby, through conventionalized signs, an exchange between the child and its environment is elaborated. However, it is not
just a passive relationship to this culture but an active appropriation of it. According to Gilles Brougère, the ludic value strengthens the symbolic effectiveness of the toy and that is the specificity of the toy compared with other cultural media: the active relationship the child connects to it (1987: 56). In the case of the Saharan and North African dolls the cultural immersion must be stronger because of the fact that the children make their dolls themselves most of the time.

Doll play is not limited to visual communication through the dolls as other forms of non-verbal communication, through gestures and dances, have their place in all this. Verbal communication is also present through dialogues and songs. Doll play includes a linguistic aspect as is clearly demonstrated in the chapter on the female dolls of Morocco, a linguistic aspect that is very important in oral cultures.

Although doll play offers many positive aspects promoting an efficient socialization of children, the attitude towards the dolls is not always favorable in the regions in question. More than once, there exists an ambivalent attitude towards the dolls among adults, at least in former times. This ambivalent attitude seems to be imputed to the relationship between the children’s dolls at the one side and the ritual or magic dolls at the other side.

As one can realize when reading the chapter on the female dolls of Morocco where some girls enact the burial of their doll or when they engage in a ritual play to provoke rain, the distinction between children’s play and ritual play is sometimes very vague. For the catalogue of the remarkable exposition on dolls, held at the Musée de l’Homme in 1983-1984, Dominique Champault wrote an article with the revealing title “du rituel agraire au jeu”, from agricultural rites to play (1983: 79-81). The interested reader will find an overview of the information on North African ritual dolls in Sigrid Paul’s *Afrikanische Puppen* (1970: 110-118) or directly in the original documents of which the most important are: Doutté (1905: 328-329), Herber (1918: 70-72), Hardy et Brunot (1925: 48) and Flamand (182-183). See also chapter “Toys, Play, Rituals and Festivities” in my book *Toys, Play, Culture and Society* (p. 139).

This suspicion of the dolls had not totally disappeared at the end of the 1960s as stated by Nefissa Zerdoumi when speaking of the region of Tlemcen in Algeria near the Moroccan border. She explains that Islam, by positively prohibiting representations giving shade, that is to say
statues, has created suspicion in the minds of some families towards the presence of dolls in the home. When tolerated, they are often suspect as jnûn, the spirits, willingly dwell in them. So it is foolish to leave a doll near a baby when it sleeps, especially at night (1982: 225). This suspicion, based on the same arguments, also existed in the South of Morocco. According to Fatima Outizal it was still said in her childhood, around 1950, that if a doll stays at night with a girl her hair would not grow. She moreover made it clear that if this belief weakens with each generation it was still very much alive in her grandmother’s generation.

According to Juliette Grange, every game and every custom of children obeys a law of retention; they have inertia against change and keep up ancient customs (1979: 234). This seems also to be true for the Saharan and North African doll play, at least up to a certain level, as it is nonetheless true that the technologic, economic and socio-cultural evolution of these societies have influenced the toy and play culture. Jean Gabus gives already in 1967 an interesting example of this evolution (p. 118). His translated statement reads as follows:

*The disruption of Mauritanian society, although mitigated (but for how long?) at Oualata, has an impact on the objects intended for children’s play. In the future, less distant than one might think, the dollhouses of Oualata will become souvenirs intended for tourists. Two years ago they were already one of the finest objects of the national craftsmanship shown at an exhibition in Nouakchott. These objects however had nothing to do anymore with the traditional little houses with two or three rooms. The dimension had doubled. Moreover, one can see that at Oualata the dollhouses have possibly become more flashy as in the past but also more fragile. Dollhouses in metal have appeared, intended as they are for tourists who need something that withstands transport. They are ugly, the children do not play with them and their function has completely changed.*

This influence of modernity on toys in North Africa and the Sahara traces back at least to the beginning of the twentieth century, for Herber mentions in 1918 the selling of European dolls in Moroccan towns (p. 80) and Dupuy writes in 1933 that German toys are sold in Tunisia during the Ashûra festivities.
More recently, in 1975, the influence of school on the Ghrib boys brought them to design facial features on their sisters’ dolls that by tradition did not have such features. And what to say of the very recent innovation whereby the doll’s head is made with a flask, a product of a consumer society, an innovation used in July 1991 by a Ghrib girl to create her, for the most part traditional, doll (fig. 43, p. 90).

Within this context, it is to be noticed that the girls’ play activities remain much longer within the sphere of tradition than those of the boys who willingly find inspiration in technological innovation and socio-cultural change. An example is found in my observations in Morocco and those of my friend and colleague Gilbert J. M. Claus among the Ghrib of Southern Tunisia. In both cases it is permitted to state that football reigns over boys’ games whereas the girls remain attached to their doll play. Nevertheless, it is right to question what the influence of television on the girls will be in the short and the long run, a television that has conquered the most isolated communities, as is the case with the Ghrib and nearly all Moroccan villages. Moreover, the television enters directly into the home, the female sphere par excellence in these regions.

As I could observe in Imi-n-Tanoute and other Moroccan places, another influence as direct and penetrating as television, is felt through the teddies, the dolls and other sophisticated toys given as a present to the children by the emigrated members of the family returning to their homeland or by those who remained at home but have been visiting their emigrated family in Europe.

For a detailed analysis of the aspect of signs, meanings and communication in children’s dolls and doll play and of the influence of evolution and change see my book Toys, Play, Culture and Society for the relevant chapters (p. 43, 149).
Using North African and Saharan Toy and Play Culture
I am convinced that it should be out of the question to consider this research on children’s play activities of past and present times as a purely academic or folkloristic occupation, however praiseworthy that might be. Much to the contrary, this research should bear concrete results. I am thinking here of the fields of child welfare, formal and informal education, the adaptation of the school to local conditions, the relationships between parents and children, between parents and teachers, of community development and the promotion of intercultural understanding. In a book, *Games and Toys: Anthropological Research on their Practical Contribution to Child Development. Aids to Programming Unicef Assistance to Education*, published by the Unit for Co-operation with UNICEF and the World Food Program of the UNESCO in 1984, I already had the opportunity to propose the use of local play and toy cultures as a source of insight into the child and the society (p. 19-24), for relating school education to the real life and environment of the children, for stimulating the interest and participation of parents in the school, for the elaboration of pedagogical material anchored in local culture, for the training of para-professional and professional personnel of day-care centers, pre-schools and primary schools and for activities in youth movements (p. 24-32).

My ideas about an eventual use of North African and Saharan children’s play and toy cultures for local pedagogical and cultural action are restricted to a theoretical and wishful level as the development of such actions belongs to professionals and other cultural agents from these regions. Yet, I can point to a recent development linked to the creation of Amazigh cultural associations in Moroccan cities with an important Amazigh-speaking population. So, when invited by the *Association de l’Université d’Eté Agadir* to give a talk during the seventh session on *Amazigh culture and the question of development* held from 25th to 27th July, 2003, a change of attitude towards children’s play and toy culture could be detected. For my talk I chose the title *Moroccan Amazigh children’s play and toy culture and the questions of development* whereby I stressed the possibilities for using Amazigh children’s toy-making and play activities in preschool and primary school education, in the training of professionals for these schools or of volunteers for youth houses and vacation colonies, in socio-cultural action, in programs for promoting Amazigh language, in the development of child literature
based on local realities, etc. As afterwards different persons wanting to hear more or eventually to test these possibilities in practice approached me, I have the impression that there is a growing interest in using local play and toy culture. The coming years will show if this interest has been more than a passing enthusiasm.

The proposals for using my data in the sphere of intercultural or peace education in a Western context on the contrary are based on personal experience. In this context, the following words of Claude Lévi-Strauss: *the discovery of others is the discovery of a relationship, not of a barrier* are particularly pertinent.
1 Pedagogical and cultural action in developing countries

As it is accepted that there is a close relationship between the quality of stimulation at home during the first years of life of a child and the results in the primary school (Groupe Consultatif... Unicef, 1991: 10-11), it is very relevant to give special attention to children’s games and toys and to the attitudes of adults towards them. In the just mentioned publication on preparing children for the school system and adapting the school to the children, it is written that it is necessary to take the responsibility for the adaptation of the schools to the needs of the children and not any longer to ask of the children to adapt to the system. Halpern and Meyers conclude by stressing that an integrated child-primary school program would permit the elaboration of a link between the interests of the family and those of the community and the reinforcement of the formal school system. It would for example be possible to integrate the values and contents of the local culture in the school program, first of all in the preschool, then in the primary school (1985). (Groupe Consultatif... Unicef, 1991: 22).

One of the contents of the local culture that perfectly fits into formal school programs is the play activities and toys of children. Seen from this angle, it would really be harmful if those in charge of the education in North African and Saharan countries were to neglect the play and toy culture of their societies and give way to the overwhelming influence of the play culture proposed by the consumer society and Western media, of the standardized European or American pedagogical toys and games and of the mass-produced plastic toys that more often than not are of poor quality and sometimes even dangerous. David F. Lancy discusses the problem of using local culture and play activities in education in his book on Kpelle childhood in Liberia (1996: 197-198).

When one reviews all these toys made by children with natural and waste material one can only be astonished by its creative use, a creative use that contains a real learning process. In a short note on “Zambia: the environment, mess and the joys of recycled and natural play materials”, written for the Newsletter of the Bernard van Leer Foundation by Bernadette Luwaile Mwamba of the Salvation Army Pre-school in Lusaka (1996: 21), one reads:
For generations children have played with sand, water, soil, mud, clay, stones, sticks, twigs, corn husks, nuts, fruit, leaves and flowers. But today, shop-bought toys predominate. Yet it is more important than ever for our children to value the Earth’s resources. If we can foster their awareness from their earliest days, their future will be more secure. To occupy, amuse and educate young children it isn’t necessary to buy expensive toys - an important consideration in these difficult times. Masses of cheap play materials are readily available if you have a bit of imagination, a lot of patience and the readiness to allow children to play ‘messily’.

One could also think of promoting the interaction between traditional games and toys and modern pedagogical games and toys of Western origin to develop an adapted pedagogy. An example of this interaction is found in the study of Chantal Lombard on the toys of the Baoule children in a rural African society. Her research was related to a program of the government of the Ivory Coast to develop the educational system based on a redefinition of the pedagogical values. Chantal Lombard notes that her analysis is based on two statements. First, so that the traditional creativity can be integrated into the school system as ferment for the development of the children, it is necessary to open the school so that it becomes a place of encounter between traditional culture and modern scientific knowledge instead of being a place of disruption. Second, so that the traditional creativity acquires a new dimension and enriches modern thinking it is necessary that the school brings the children to another level of mastering the material environment and that it reconciles technology with creative imagination (1978: 209).

As far as I know, it is in Algeria and Morocco that there seems to exist an attempt to integrate some local play culture in the school, although at a different level.

In Algeria there has been an attempt to integrate some traditional games in the field of physical education. Youssef Fates, who defended a thesis at the Univesité Paris 1 on the topic of sports in Algeria, writes that the Direction of Studies, Research and Coordination of the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Algeria has organized a national inquiry with questionnaires throughout the country in order to receive information on the games and those who play them. Besides the fact that this inquiry
should have lead to the elaboration of a reliable document related to the realities of the region, the Ministry wanted to start a project for the animation of youngsters based on the use of traditional games and sports. Moreover, these traditional games and sports should become a means of mobilizing the popular masses in general and the youth in particular. Unfortunately, Youssef Fates had to note in 1987 that the results of this inquiry had not been analyzed so far (p. 18). So one can assume that this attempt to integrate local games in physical education and in the animation of youngsters has not gone beyond the level of good intentions.

In Morocco another attempt to valorize the play and toy culture could become a reality through the collaboration of two projects receiving support from the Bernard van Leer Foundation, an international foundation that centers its efforts on the development of low cost initiatives based on the participation of local communities and directed towards the welfare and education of socially and culturally disadvantaged children between 0 and 8 years. The two organizations are the Alliance de Travail dans la Formation et de l’Action pour l’Enfance, ATFALE or child in Arabic, based at the Mohamed V University in Rabat, and the Ministry of Education whose project is directed towards the 36,117 kuttab or Koranic preschools who care for some 800,000 children between two and six years in 1994-95 (Bouzoubaâ, 1998: 5).

Those two projects work together to give training to the personnel of these kuttab, untrained as they are to work with this age group and for whom no on the job training existed. During the training attention is paid to different topics such as language, health, arithmetic, methods and organization of the school, but also to the topic of games and toys. For this Brigitte El Andaloussi made an activity guide on play in the preschool, a first version published by ATFALE in 1990 and reprinted in 1992, and a reworked version published by Gaëtan Morin éditeur - Maghreb in 1997 (El Andaloussi, 1997). In the first version one found the following direct reference to Moroccan traditional games quoted here in a translation based on the French original (ATFALE, 1992: 10):

*It is important that the teacher knows the traditional games of the region where she is working and that she stimulates their expression in her institution as these games present a real interest on several levels.*
The more the children will be provided with schooling, the less the traditional games learned in the family, in the streets or the fields will be transmitted to the young child notwithstanding their indisputable value for the child’s development. Indeed, these traditional games partially contain the collective memory of a country; they promote children’s creativity and initiative and offer possibilities to maintain relationships between children of different age groups.

Although I regret that this important paragraph, being the only one on this topic, has been left out in the 1997 version - whereas the other advices found in the short 1992 chapter “Jeux traditionnels” remained in the new chapter “Quelques conseils pratiques” (El Andaloussi, 1997: 10) - it must be said that the preschool teachers' interest in the local child culture is now stimulated in relation to the “comptines”, the counting and nursery rhymes and songs (El Andaloussi, 1997: 9). Discussing what the teacher can do to develop the practice of the counting and nursery rhymes and songs, one reads that she or he should look for all that exist in her/his cultural patrimony. Therefore the teacher should make a collection, enriching it through exchange with other colleagues and by asking mothers for the little songs they sing to their children (El Andaloussi, 1997: 9).

A conversation at the Reeducation Center of the Save the Children Fund of Marrakech in February 1992, with Amina Drissi who participated in an information seminar of this preschool project showed that the Moroccan play and toy heritage was somehow integrated in the training. But I found a more precise indication for this when visiting the Preschool Resource Center in Kénitra. This center, located in November 1993 in a classroom of the Shuhada primary school of this city, showed how a preschool class could be organized as to better adapt to modern pedagogy. In the dolls’ corner I not only saw imported plastic dolls but also dolls with a frame of reed dressed in the local fashion and made by participants in the training proposed by ATFALE (fig. 158, p. 227). For the promotion of pedagogic innovations the working out of activity corners in the kuttab is of great importance. “Setting up activity corners where children participated by bringing recycled materials also mobilized teachers, children and parents. The ‘food store’, ‘dolls’ and ‘health’ corners were among the most popular and most frequently found
corners”. Moreover, the meetings at a Resource Center also served the purpose to stimulate the making of low-cost educational games and toys (Bouzoubaâ, 1998: 10, 12). So, although the direct reference to using Moroccan children's play culture disappeared from the 1997 activity guide for the preschool it is to be hoped that stimulation to use this heritage still continues in the training programs.

No doubt the local children's own toy and play culture should play an important role in the preschool. A role the more important as the participation of parents in the preschool forms an integral part of these projects. These parents might be stimulated to participate for example by asking them to help with making and repairing toys, as this has been done in other developing countries (Bernard van Leer Foundation Newsletter, 1991: 14). The 1997 activity guide mentioned above now offers a response to this possibility. Under the heading promoting the making of traditional toys by parents so that they may transmit these toys to their children, it is said that as the toy industry has ruled out all traditional techniques of toy production the preschool should use the mothers' knowledge to make dolls or the fathers' knowledge to make carts using natural and waste material. The low cost aspect of self-made toys is also mentioned. Agreeing strongly with this viewpoint I want nevertheless to
stress that the dominance of the toy industry is not as strong in Moroccan villages, rural centers and popular quarters of big cities as it is claimed for the Moroccan children of the wealthier classes. First of all many Moroccan children still live in rural areas where making toys even by children from preschool age remains a common activity and where the creation of the traditional doll and of animal figurines still exists sometimes even in the first village outside a small town. Secondly, research in small towns like Goulmima, Khemisset, Midelt and Sidi Ifni shows that although some types of self-made toys and especially the traditional dolls have disappeared other toys, e.g. the self-made vehicles, still exist today. In relation to the dolls made by girls it is true that I only saw once in a town, namely Sidi Ifni, a six-year-old girl spontaneously using the traditional cross-shaped frame of reed or sticks then dressing it with rags (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Video 1). However, a common procedure is the replacement of the traditional frame by a cheap plastic doll but dressed with rags by the girls. Thirdly, even in the popular quarters of cities like Agadir, Kénitra or Marrakech I have found children, more often boys than girls, making some toys themselves.

Witnessing the children's skills in making toys it would be really useful that a preschool teacher try to find out what the children already know and can do. This way an important pedagogical rule can be applied, namely starting from the child's own experience in his own milieu. Next to the parents one should also build on the older children's experience and interest in making toys. A preschool teacher could even find useful help in creating pedagogical and other toys for her practice by integrating older children, who are the real toy-making experts, in this effort.

Reading some observations on the kuttab made by members of ATFALE, one measures the importance of the obstacles that must be overcome before these preschool institutions can make profit of the creativity that Moroccan children show in their playful activities. “Cramped on benches behind their desks, facing an imagined blackboard in semi-darkness, they are unable to move about and fulfill their need for play. Nor is there any playground” (Bouzoubaâ, 1998: 6). Introducing a new pedagogy that takes into account the specificity of the child and its playful creativity is made still more difficult in view of the following statement by Khadija Bouzoubaâ (1998: 12):
Parents sometimes expressed reluctance at ‘paying for their children to play in the kuttab’. They looked for an immediate return on their investment such as seeing their children write a few letters of the alphabet and recite Surats from the Koran.

Returning to ATFALE’s activity guide on play in the preschool and especially to the concrete examples of games played inside, games played outside, language games and team games mentioned in the technical sheets (El Andaloussi, 1997: 53-78), these examples could serve very well for trying to find among the games played today by Moroccan Amazigh-speaking and Arabic-speaking children games that match the pedagogical objectives mentioned for the games proposed in this guide. Actually the mentioned games do not seem to refer to the play experience of most Moroccan children and it is wishful thinking to believe that many preschool teachers will be able to find and use local children’s games. The making of a supplementary guide filling the gap would be a real help to preschool teachers but also to primary school teachers teaching the first years and even for volunteers working with children in vacation colonies and youth houses. Although certainly more difficult one could also try to find among Moroccan children's games or inspired by these, activities and themes to develop pedagogical games as those presented by Brigitte El Andaloussi (1997: 13-51). The same can be said of another activity guide for the preschool, namely the one on the physical activity of the small child. Alain Léonetti who wrote this interesting guide says in the context of a physical education centered on the child’s needs that to be able to do so the spontaneous play activity of the child must be favored (1997: 3). Yet, the proposed examples do not reflect the Moroccan children's play experience but are linked to a European background. The use of physical activities and games from such a background certainly has its value but supplementing it with examples based on the local play and toy culture would make possible the integration of children's spontaneous play in the Moroccan preschool.

According to Harinder Kohli, director of the World Bank for the Maghreb, the most urgent needs in the social sphere are to be found among the rural populations, especially the women and children (the Casablanca’s weekly paper l’Economiste, 1993: 30). Any social policy for the children and their mothers can only succeed when it takes into
account the socio-cultural reality in which they live. One modest but effective means to do this is to relate to the playful experiences of rural children in the social and pedagogical activities set up for them. At the level of the rural school this could help this institution to be less an agent of uprooting, as Moroccan scholars including Haddiya El Mostafa (1988) qualified it, and to become a link between the rural community and its development.

In the study *Child Survival and Development in Africa*, Ibinabo S. Agiobu-Kemmer (1992: 7-8) writes:

*Can we not build upon the traditional system’s emphasis on early development of vocational and life skills? Is it not possible to incorporate culturally relevant experiences and traditions into the curriculum alongside the conventional subjects for all the levels of the school system? The mothers of the Ntataise project in South Africa may not have found the preschool so difficult to understand if they saw project workers helping their children to construct models of houses, trucks and familiar animals, or perhaps teaching them to make clay pots and pans... (many) practical skills can be taught to children within the context of play. Natural objects such as sand, clay, water, sticks, straw, seeds, bottle tops, empty packets and tins are easily available in most communities. Children need to play with toys and objects they can destroy and put together again in the process of playing with them. When we donate expensive toys to community preschool centres in order to encourage cognitive stimulation of the children, mothers and project workers are afraid to allow the children to play with them because they do not want the toys to get spoilt. Children gain a lot from constructing their own toys using discarded packets, containers, tires and so on. Many of us have been impressed by the model trucks, cars and aeroplanes which African children, especially in rural areas, construct on their own without much guidance from adults.*

In another country and continent, e.g. India, a project supported by the Aga Khan Foundation teaches day care workers “how to use creative but low cost materials to stimulate a child’s thirst for discovery” (*Bernard van Leer Foundation Newsletter*, 1993: 3).
The analysis of the traditional toys of India and the efforts to use these toys for therapies for handicapped children elaborated a.o. by Sudarshan Khanna of the National Institute of Design at Paldi Ahmedabad, India, have roused my admiration and clearly show yet another way to use local toys and games. In two books *Dynamic Folk Toys* (1983) and *Joy of Making Indian Toys* (1992) Sudarshan Khanna presents toys made by Indian children or other toy makers. Just as for the Saharan and North African toys, some of these Indian toys are peculiar to their region of origin and others are variants of universal types of toys. As a professor at the Faculty of Industrial Design, this scholar stresses the elements of technology and the scientific principles that are at work in the elaboration of and playing with these toys. Another Indian scholar, Arvind Gupta, has written several remarkable booklets on using local toys and the way in which they are made and function to promote innovative experiments for learning science and mathematics.

About the actual situation and the future of these traditional Indian toys Sudarshan Khanna (1987: 13-14) writes:

*The earnings of most dynamic folk toymakers are very low. Their clients come from poor communities for whom they have to keep the price to a minimum. Low economic returns are one of the reasons for massive dropouts. The other factor is the inroads made by the mass-produced, factory-made plastic toys. Despite the low returns and the absence of any institutional support, dynamic folk toymaking is still alive but flickering. At present, there is hardly any design development but a lot of toymakers are aware of the importance of creativity and innovation in their profession. The dynamic folk toys are of such importance, it is sad that these have been neglected by society. But in recent times, some realisation has dawned among educationists and child development experts that factory-made toys cannot replace the artisans’ toys which express our cultural roots. Our society will have to accept that toymakers have a much wider role than merely being producers of playthings. It is now high time that the artisan is recognised as a professional in his own right. A lot needs to be done to heal the damage done to the field of artisan-made toys. Some years ago, the Development Commissioner of Handicrafts, in collaboration with the National Institute of Design, had formulated proposals which*
would revitalise the sector. It is necessary to build toy museums, training centres and marketing tie-ups at the state as well as national level. It is essential to create ways and means by which talented toymakers, innovative educationists and committed designers team up to salvage this sector of our design heritage.

Since then Sudarshan Khanna has succeeded in establishing within the National Institute of Design a specialized center for research on toys and for the development of local craftship in this field.

This scholar also participated in the Unesco-Workshops organized by the German non-profit making association Fördern durch Spielmittel - Spielzeug für behinderte Kinder, in translation: Stimulation through Play - Toys for Handicapped Children (website: http://www.spielmittel.de, consulted on 13.10.2004). The aim of this project is to develop toys for children’s rehabilitation. From the letter of invitation to the fourth UNESCO Symposium, Workshop and Exhibition in the fall of 1996, I quote the following about the background and aim of this project:

*There are so many handicapped children on the planet that we feel it necessary to create a framework whereby the conditions for these children can be improved continually and more effectively. It is particularly important that handicaps are detected at an early stage, and considered. In this way, the children’s mental and physical development can be encouraged from the beginning and their integration can be supported. Toys and learning aids play an important role in early childhood. Only good and suitable toys are needed which encourage to play as well as meet the highly functional and structural requirements of this task. With these ideas as a starting point, the Project Toys for Children’s Rehabilitation was proposed in 1989 to be a contribution to the World Decade for Cultural Development and was recognized as a “World Decade Activity” by Unesco (registration No 079). Within the framework of this Project, three Unesco Workshops have already been held. The participants of these Workshops developed a variety of designs for toys and created several prototypes. These drawings and models have been exhibited on various occasions in Germany and abroad. Many seminar results were published in 1992 and 1995 in a two-volume handbook Toy*
Workshop/Toys you can make yourself for handicapped and non-handicapped children. The fourth Unesco Workshop will continue this interdisciplinary experience. Again, new ideas and prototypes of toys and learning aids will be developed. This workshop will also make the results available to the parents of handicapped children and the teachers and staff of institutions where handicapped people work. The toy designs will be published, after having them carefully tested, in one or more handbooks with building instructions. Thus, great attention will be attached to turning designs into toys without using excessive amounts of materials or complicated techniques. We would like this Workshop to offer practical and theoretical help, but also moral support to specialists from countries having only small resources available for the development of toys.

Through this UNESCO project it becomes possible to develop new and interesting ways to use traditional and self-made toys. I hope that one day some Saharan and North African toys will come to serve the purpose of creating culturally and socially adapted toys that can be used in the rehabilitation of handicapped children and the development of other children as well.

I have yet to mention a Tunisian initiative. When I revisited Tunisia in 1987, I talked with some officials of the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Tunis and the Musée du Bardo in Carthage, this after I noticed that in these museums and that of Sousse one saw nothing or almost nothing that referred to childhood or toy and play culture. At that moment a growing interest in these topics was revealed, which resulted in the creation of a research group on Tunisian games and toys from their origins till today. Although I have had no further news of this research group after the organization of a conference in Carthage in 1989 and the publication of the results of this conference (Jeu et Sports en Méditerranée, 1991), it is to be hoped that its ambitious aims will materialize.

In a document called The Education Revolution, published by UNICEF in 1999, it is stated that a comprehensive approach of learning for life necessitates that “children must be able to express their views, thoughts and ideas; they need opportunities for joy and play; they need to be
comfortable with themselves and with others; and they should be treated with respect” (p. 22). This learning for life is described as follows (p. 18):

This is the basis of a series of new approaches to teaching and learning that are designed to make the classroom experience more fulfilling and relevant... What will be required are more fundamental changes in education policies and processes to instill and stimulate a lifelong love for learning. This will enable people to supplement or even replace the skills they learned in childhood to respond to new needs over the course of their lives.

How could one formulate a better statement for using children's creativity in making toys and in playing or even inventing games? A lot of skills learned in childhood are learned and exercised in play and toy-making activities involving peers, older children and sometimes also adults. If adults want to make the classroom experience more fulfilling and relevant, then isn't taking into account children's play and toy making experiences one of the best possible ways to achieve this? At least, if these adults do not control the children’s spontaneous play activities too much, and do not change them into merely didactic exercises. In the UNICEF website Teachers Talking about Learning (www.unicef.org/teachers, consulted December 2004) the following is said in a section based on the Vietnamese Multigrade Teacher's Handbook:

Children love to play games. Given the opportunity, they'll make up rules for new games, using balls, bottle caps, or whatever's available as the raw materials. Games that involve role-playing, solving simulated problems, or using specific skills and information can interest children in the curriculum and in learning. Games can be structured to lead to active learning. And this learning can go right to the development of communication, analysis, decision-making, and other thinking skills (www.unicef.org/teachers see section 'Explore Ideas', then section 'Games from around the World').

In the next section 'Journal activity: Games for learning' teachers are stimulated to "create learning activities based on the games that children play".
Three examples from sub-Saharan Africa show that it is possible to use games and toys for a development better adapted to children’s needs and to the context in which they grow up. The first example refers to a program using play and toy-making activities in order to make the children aware of their rights and responsibilities in Zimbabwe (“We are also human beings…”, 2001). Elisa K. Lwakatare of the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Culture presented the next example during the 2nd International Toy Research Conference organized by the Nordic Center for Research on Toys and Educational Media in June 1999. This preschool education coordinator spoke among other things about the necessity to make educational toys locally. This necessity was during the same congress also stressed by Arvind Kumar Gupta in relation to India. In his conference text Elisa K. Lwakatare (1999: 7-8) writes:

*Toys serve an important part in human life in the socialization process through the activity of play. In other words, the use of imported toys encourages the development of cultural norms and values that are foreign to Tanzania. While some toys are suitable and could be adopted into Tanzanian culture, the accessibility is still limited due to low purchasing power of many Tanzanian families. The thrust of Education and Training policy in Tanzania as spelt out in the current education reform is to promote equitable access to quality education and training. This means equitable access to toys as educational materials. In other words making the use of toys as an integrated aspect of the educational communicative process. This can only come about by promoting local design and manufacture of toys, preferably, using local materials. The need for educational play materials, therefore, is enormous due to the promotion of pre-school education in this reform. The number of pre-schools in the country is growing rapidly. While they were only 247 in 1993, the number has risen to 3667 to date (1999). The rising in demand calls for an equal rise in supply of play materials if this level of education has to be adequately supported. This provision of educational materials (toys) must be backed with a thorough research in order to come out with the most suitable designs and economic use of materials.*
Even though this Tanzanian policy of developing locally educational toys adapted to local socio-cultural and material conditions is in its beginning, it is already of great importance because it puts forward the problem and develops means to resolve it.

The third and up to now best example I know of, using local toy and play culture is described in Early Childhood Matters (Bouma, 2000). This program for early childhood development is initiated, controlled and operated by Samburu parents of the Samburu District in Northern Kenya following societal changes linked to their semi-pastoral way of life. Traditionally the children where looked after and educated by grandmothers during the absence of the parents. These grandmothers care for the little children but at the same time they play with them and teach them poems, stories and songs. This is called the lmwate system, lmwate meaning enclosure. Although “this system of childcare has worked for countless generations” it fell into disuse till the parents realized something had to be done for their little children looked after by only somewhat older siblings or remaining alone. After discussion within the community and with the grandmothers still knowing well the lmwate, they decided to create a modern lmwate. The parents made an enclosure with a big house for the little ones serving as rest place and refuge.

*Based on the advice from the elderly, they made a number of toys, collected a number of songs, stories, riddles and poems, and designed and built play equipment. The toys included wooden and leather dolls and balls, clay and rattan animals, slings, rattles, catapults. The play equipment included climbing frames, raised platforms, miniature houses, swings, see-saws, hoops, crawling tunnels and so on... The programme is open every morning and can only be sustained by the input of parents. All the mothers take turns to work in the programme.* (p. 32-34)

Soon the community-based Samburu Early Childhood Development Project, a joint project of the Kenya Institute of Education and the Christian Children's Fund, was supporting this modern lmwate system. This project not only offered training on early childhood development activities but also on health, nutrition and hygiene. Moreover, Lmwate Committee received basic medicines and supplementary porridge for the
children's midday meal, including enriched porridge for those who suffer from malnutrition. Once the Lmwate system functioned the project stepped back and confined its involvement to being available when the Lmwate Committee wanted some help (p. 34).

There is no doubt that this need for educational toys exists in North Africa and the Sahara and when I see all the toys made by Moroccan children still today it cannot be that difficult to find models for adapted educational toys that are cheap to produce and useful for preschools and primary schools. The remarkable development of preschool classes, for example in Morocco, could well make this necessary once school practice takes into account the value of children’s play and toys, and this simply because Western educational toys are so expensive that most schools of the concerned regions have no means to buy them.

Whatever program that wishes to promote the well being, the development and the education of children could ameliorate its efficiency by using strategies that urges adults to listen to the targeted children and stimulate the participation of these children in the elaboration of the program. In a number of Early Childhood Matters, edited by the Bernard van Leer Foundation in February 1999, this foundation stresses: “In line with their age, cultural background and development opportunities, children are shown to be resourceful and valuable partners” (nr. 91, p. 4).

In an article published in the same number, David Tolfree and Martin Woodhead strongly “argue for practitioners, researchers and policy makers in early childhood development to listen to children” (nr. 91, p. 19). In this context, the taking into account of children's play and toy-making activities seems to be a very valuable way to listen to these children.

Following Flemming Mouritsen of the Danish Odense University in his working paper Child Culture - Play Culture the importance of research on children's play, games and toys clearly comes to the foreground. This scholar stresses the necessary shift from an adult perspective towards a child perspective: “Pedagogy has been based in theory and practice on what children are to become, before anyone has taken an interest in knowledge of what children and children's lives are”. I think that the development of such a children's perspective really can be stimulated by observing and analyzing the play activities, games and toys of children with as few adult presuppositions as possible.
Finally, I want to direct the attention of researchers and research institutes studying Third World societies towards children and their culture in rural areas and popular quarters of cities as I have the impression that little effort is invested in research on these topics. Yet, if the situation of children is to improve in these areas and if the desertion of villages is to diminish, a better understanding of the children, their culture and environment and of the changes that affect them will be indispensable.
2 Intercultural and peace education in a western context

The usefulness of the Saharan and North African play and toy heritage is not limited to North Africa and the Sahara or to the Third World as it is quite possible to integrate it in what is called intercultural or peace education, for example in Western Europe where many immigrants from these regions settled down decades ago.

As a volunteer of the Ghent Committee for UNICEF in Belgium, I worked out a small project I like to entitle "the world at play: intercultural education through toys and play". Within this project I started in 1989 to work with a preschool group of children of about five years. I showed them a short series of slides referring to the games of make believe of the Ghrib girls and boys of the Tunisian Sahara.

In this series of slides the reality of the children's daily lives is portrayed as well as the interpretation of this reality in the children's play and toy making activities. The themes evoked are: life in the desert; the oasis; animals; the household; spinning; weaving; and the modernization of nomadic life. After the children have seen and commented on the slides, I asked them to look for some advantages of living in the desert and some disadvantages of life where they grow up as well as for some inconveniences of life in the desert and some pleasant aspects of life in their homes. The children spoke, for example, of the sunny weather, the
free space, the availability of play-mates in the desert in contrast to the rainy weather, the danger of playing outside, the loneliness of a lot of children in Belgium or the scarcity of water, food, toys and luxury goods in the desert versus the abundance of all this in Belgium. After playtime, the girls and boys were divided in several small groups. Each group made something to create an oasis village (fig. 159, p. 239). Some children made a copy of the houses they did see on the slides, others made a palm tree, a well, a dromedary and so on. The materials at their disposal were waste material, plasticine, building blocs, green pipe cleaners and cardboard tubes of kitchen rolls.

As I mentioned at the beginning of the session the relationship between the transhumance of Saharan nomads and that of the modern nomads of circuses and fairs, some children created with Lego blocks a caravan like that of figure 160. Another task was to find among plastic animals those who can live in the desert and the oasis. At the end, the children learned a little song with a more or less known repetitive simple melody but with adapted words. Then they walked around their oasis village while singing and imitating the walking of a dromedary as seen on figure 161.
Since this experience, I used the same approach to the intercultural from the first to the sixth year of the primary school, each time during one hour. In the class I use a video of twenty minutes on the way children from Kenya in East Africa live and play, a video realized for the Dutch Committee for UNICEF. This way some Ghent children were confronted with a quite different material situation and family life but they also saw that the Kenyan children are creative in making their toys. This brought more than one primary school child to express spontaneously its admiration for this creativity and know-how. After the video, the same way of opposing what the pupils like or dislike in their own life and that of the African children is worked through. As I give this intercultural program in the lessons of religion or lay ethics, the teacher often continues this approach in a subsequent lesson and/or gives the children the possibility to make toys with waste material they bring from their homes. So doing a small pedagogical project is elaborated possibly giving rise to an exposition of the toys, designs and stories realized during this intercultural education program. It also occurred that I was asked to enter a pedagogical project related to a specific theme such as ‘water’, ‘waste and recycling’, ‘environmental protection’, ‘children’s creativity’. In these cases I select a series of slides on play activities and toys from the Tunisian Sahara and Morocco to exemplify certain topics linked to these themes.

Another experience, I have lived through in April 1992, brought me into contact with two groups of completely or partially deaf children. The program lasted for half a day. As the possibilities of verbal expression are limited, I stressed the visual aspect by showing first the already mentioned video followed by a series of 50 slides on the life and the games of the Ghrib children. Afterwards the pupils of the specialized primary school made toys with waste material, musical instruments and so on, just as they had seen on the video and the slides. This first attempt clearly shows the usefulness of such an approach, although it would be necessary in order to be more efficient to insert in the pedagogical process an introduction of at least one hour to transmit to such deaf children the verbal information that makes the visual information more easily understood.
In the context of a UNICEF-day, organized by the Ghent Committee for UNICEF on May 10th, 1998, it became once more clear that children are easily stimulated by examples of toys made by Moroccan children to create for themselves toys with waste material (fig. 162, 163 p. 243).

What I found very stimulating and useful in such playful approaches to intercultural education is, next to the stimulation of the creativity and personal effort of these Ghent children, the promotion of a more positive image of Third World children, an image that very often is unilaterally negative and based on images of children who are sick, miserable or dying from hunger, images one regularly sees on television, as if this is the only reality of Third World children.

The results of these pedagogical actions have convinced me of the certainly limited but creative possibility to use play activities and toys for an intercultural purpose. By doing this it may be feasible to prepare young children to become adolescents and adults less prejudiced towards the social, cultural or ethnic minorities or majorities living with them, on the one hand, and towards peoples and societies of foreign countries on the other hand.
Lazarine Bergeret of the International Federation for the Education of Parents shares this idea. In her article on dolls in the toy library she writes that the curiosity of those working there extends from the toys to all cultures, all latitudes, all periods, all civilizations and the enrichment of their information brings them slowly to look for a common message of humanity for which play could be a common language. Maybe then dolls might be, if not lent in a toy library, at least be exhibited there, just as it could be done in a school. Lazarine Bergeret continues by saying: often the teachers I could inform or stimulate to take advantage of the workshops organized within the exposition on dolls of the world in the Musée de l’Homme (in 1983), telephoned to tell me of their observation of an enrichment in the children’s improvisations but also of a better understanding between children of different ethnic groups. It was not the anticipating choice of the parents that determined the style of the dolls but a first step towards a possible empathy through the sole confrontation with the dolls of the others. I cannot affirm or deny that it is necessary to have dolls in a toy library. Each team of toy library workers has to think about its own choices; however I know that each child writes its own history through the changing succession of its choices. And perhaps this history would be less violent if already during childhood the dolls of the others were known and accepted (1985: 164, 166).
Lazarine Bergeret and myself, we find ourselves in good company in this field as already in 1989, the European Council’s Workgroup for the Encounter of Cultures, Division of Education of the Council for Cultural Cooperation, included in its recommendations for intercultural pedagogical activities the theme of play and toys (p. 9-10).

Therefore it is necessary to link an intercultural approach to play, into which my research fits, to a playful approach to the intercultural. This is essential as the individual of today, and surely the one of tomorrow, will find it difficult to survive in a local and world-wide environment, more and more multicultural and interdependent, if he or she has not learnt to develop a personality able to understand both the universality and the specificity of the living conditions of his own group and of other societies all over the world. I hope that this way youngsters and adults can function in a more appropriate manner in the multicultural societies that have developed recently in today’s cities.
List of transcriptions

Conventional signs have replaced some Arabic letters:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{th} &= \text{ث} \\
\text{j} &= \text{ج} \\
\text{h}' &= \text{ح} \\
\text{kh} &= \text{خ} \\
\text{dh} &= \text{ذ} \\
\text{sh} &= \text{ش} \\
\text{z} &= \text{ز} \\
\text{d} &= \text{س} \\
\text{t} &= \text{ط} \\
\text{z} &= \text{ظ} \\
\text{o} &= \text{ع} \\
\text{gh} &= \text{غ} \\
\text{q} &= \text{ق} \\
\wedge &= \text{indicates a long vowel}
\end{align*}
\]
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5. Toy dromedary and dromedarist doll, p. 56, Tuareg, Collection of the Musée de l'Homme n° 37.21.104.1/2, photo M. Delaplanche.
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Rossie, J.-P. & Daoumani, B. (2003). *Protocol of Video 1: Doll Play and Construction Play in Sidi Ifni, Morocco, 31.1.2002.* Stockholm International Toy Research Centre, Stockholm: Royal Institute of Technology, 12. - Detailed description of 19 minutes doll play by a 6-year-old girl and a 4-year-old boy with dolls made by the girl and bought dolls, and also of the 26 minutes interview with the players and the boy’s mother. Video placed in the video library of SITREC. This publication is available on the Internet: http://www.sitrec.kth.se

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Rossie, J.-P. & Daoumani, B. (2005). *Protocol of Video 3: Doll Play in Sidi Ifni, Morocco, 10.2.2002.* Stockholm International Toy Research Centre, Stockholm: Royal Institute of Technology. - Detailed description of 39 minutes doll play by two girls of 9 years and one girl of 6 years with Barbie and other dolls, and also of the interview with the players recorded on audiocassette. Video and audiocassette placed in the video library of SITREC. This publication is available on the Internet: http://www.sitrec.kth.se


Videos: Moroccan dolls and doll play

Video: home-made dolls from Morocco

Rossie, Jean-Pierre, Laabib, Souad & Sterner, Björn (1998). *Video: Home-made Dolls from Morocco.* Filmed by Björn Sterner, NCFL-Nordic Center for Research on Toys and Educational Media, University of Halmstad, Halmstad, 18 minutes. This video is available in SITREC’s video library.

For a description of these dolls and the doll play in which they are used see chapter 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco, p. 111.

In the first part of the video, Souad Laabib shows how different dolls are made with natural and waste materials. These dolls are:

1. Bride doll (1’-5’30”): remake in January 1997 of a doll made in the 1940s by Sfia Gharîb, a woman born and living during her childhood in the village Arhbalou-n-Serdane along the road from Khenifra to Boumia, Moyen Atlas Mountains (fig. 76, p. 121).

In the second part of this video Jean-Pierre Rossie shows a few more Moroccan dolls and gives some additional information.


10. Seven bride dolls and one bridegroom doll (14’40’’-16’40’’): made in November 1996 by girls of the second year of the primary school in the village Magaman near Goulmima (fig. 101-102, p. 143-144).

11. Bride doll and bridegroom doll (16’40’’-18’): made in October 1996 by Hesna Ourèra, a girl of about eight years from the village Aït Hmed ou Yacoub near Khemisset (fig. 73-74, p. 118-119).
Vidéo:
Poupées de l'Atlas et du Pré-Sahara marocains


For a description of these dolls and the doll play in which they are used see chapter 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco, p. 111.

The video starts with an overview of all the dolls commented by Jean-Pierre Rossie in French, followed by:

1. The frames of the self-made dolls (1’30”-3.40).
2. Seven bride dolls and one bridegroom doll (3’40”-6’): dolls made by about seven-year-old girls of the village Magaman (Goulmima), Pre-Sahara, in 1996 (fig. 99-101, p.142-144), and model of a dollhouse.
3. A bride doll (6’-7’): made in 1994 by a six-year-old girl of the village Ighrem-n-Cherif (Goulmima), Pre-Sahara (fig. 102, p. 145).
4. Ten bride dolls (7’-11’): made by six to twelve-year-old girls of the village Aît Ighemour, Jbel Siroua Mountain, Haut Atlas Mountains, and series of toy utensils made by boys of this village, 1992 (fig. 108-109, p. 149).
5. Four bride dolls (11’-14’50’’): three bride dolls made by young girls and one by an about forty-year-old mother of the village Ignern, Jbel Siroua Mountain, Haut Atlas Mountains, and series of toy utensils made by the same girls, 1996 (fig. 110-111, p. 151).
6. Seven bride dolls, a bridegroom doll and a sheep doll (14’50”-24’30’’): remade in 1997 by three sisters between twenty and twenty-six-year-old and their fifty-five-year-old mother of the village Ksar Assaka (Midelt), Jbel Ayachi Mountain, Haut Atlas Mountains (fig. 80-86, p. 127-132), and a model of a dollhouse (fig. 79, p. 125).
8. Female doll (26’-27’50”): doll made by an about nine-year-old girl of the Tafroute region, Anti-Atlas Mountains, in 1998 (fig. 131, p. 167).
9. Ten bride dolls and one bridegroom doll (27’50”-31’): eight bride dolls and a bridegroom doll made in 1998 by girls between ten and fourteen years and one bride doll made by a boy of twelve years, all pupils of the school in the village Imou Ergen near Ergoub (Sidi Ifni), Anti-Atlas Mountains (fig. 127-138, p. 166-169).
10. Three bride dolls (31’-37’40”): made by girls of the village Ksar Hasni Biad (Merzouga), Pre-Sahara, in 1997 (fig. 103-106, p. 146-147).
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16. Cardboard dollhouse and bride doll with arms repaired in the traditional way (52’-55’): made by a nine-year-old girl of the village Zaïda (Midelt) in 1999 (fig. 93-94, p. 139).
Video: doll and construction play in Sidi Ifni


This video shows 19 minutes doll play by a six-year-old girl and a four-year-old boy with dolls made by the girl, two Barbie-like dolls and other play material, followed by Boubaker Daoumani’s interview of the players and the boy’s mother during 26 minutes. The dolls represent children. Parental permission is given on the video.

The detailed protocol of this video is available on the Internet: http://www.sitrec.kth.se

For a description of these dolls and the doll play in which they are used see chapter 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco, p. 182-183.

Video: doll play in Sidi Ifni


This video shows 39 minutes doll play by two girls of nine years and one girl of six years with Barbie or other dolls and several play objects, whereby the dolls represent children. Boubaker Daoumani’s interview of the players has been recorded on audiocassette.

The detailed protocol of this video will become available on the Internet: http://www.sitrec.kth.se
For a description of these dolls and the doll play in which they are used see chapter 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco, p. 183.

Video: doll and construction play in Lagzira

Rossie, Jean-Pierre & Daoumani, Boubaker (2002). *Video 4: Doll Play and Construction Play in Lagzira (Sidi Ifni), Morocco, 31.01.2002.* Filmed by Jean-Pierre Rossie, SITREC-Stockholm International Toy Research Centre, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm The video and audiocassette have been placed in the video library of SITREC.

This video shows 43 minutes wedding play and dollhouse construction by a six-year-old girl and her nine-year-old brother in which empty snail shells are used as dolls. The dolls represent a bride or a bridegroom when they are wrapped in a white piece of gauze, otherwise they represent their family members and the guests. Boubaker Daoumani’s interview of the players and the father, with parental permission, has been recorded on audiocassette.

The detailed protocol of this video is available on the Internet: http://www.sitrec.kth.se

For a description of these dolls and the doll play in which they are used see chapter 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco, p. 179-181.
Appendix 1

Catalogue des Poupées Sahariennes et Nord-Africaines du Musée de l'Homme
1 Introduction


La grande majorité des renseignements mentionnés dans ce catalogue a dès lors été puisée dans ce fichier.

Les jouets dont la provenance est mentionnée dans la liste des objets déposés au Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient 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 ce catalogue sont, à l'intérieur de chaque section, classés suivant la population dont ils proviennent.

En ce qui concerne la poupée elle-même, d'abord son origine est indiquée - provenance géographique, provenance ethnique plus spécifique, collectionneur et/ou donateur - suivie par la description et si possible le constructeur du jouet.

Après ces données ont été mentionnés des renseignements sur les joueurs et sur d'éventuels dessins ou photos retrouvés dans la bibliographie. S'il existe dans le Service de la Photothèque du Musée de l'Homme des photos de poupées, non reproduites 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.

2 Les poupées-hommes

2.1 Les poupées-méharistes

Touareg Kel Ahaggar:
41.19.110/112/113/115/137 (fig. 3 - 41.19.113, p. 53)


Description:
41.19.110: dromadaire de mandibule de chèvre, méhariste en armature de roseau, tissu bleu indigo comme vêtement, baudrier en fils de coton blancs; la selle est figurée par des tiges de mrokba entourées de coton mercerisé, et une étoffe bariolée, ficelée, représente la couverture que les Touaregs accrochent généralement sur la croupe du dromadaire. H = 27.
41.19.112 et 113: dromadaire de mandibule de chèvre, selle en tiges de mrokba couvertes de coton mercerisé; des morceaux de peau brodée figurent les sacs de selle. Méhariste en armature de tiges de mrokba, tissu blanc et bleu indigo comme vêtements, baudrier et ceinture en fils de coton mercerisé multicolores; ces fils entourent aussi le cou et la tête. H = 28 et 29.
41.19.115: dromadaire de mandibule de chèvre, selle en tiges entourées de fils rouges, bleus et blancs. Méhariste en armature de bois de tamarix, tissu bleu indigo comme vêtement, baudrier en fils de coton blancs, verts et rouges; la tête est enveloppée des mêmes fils figurant la coiffure des hommes. Le cou est entouré de fils blancs, verts et jaunes. H = 27.
41.19.137: dromadaire de mandibule de mouton, la selle - entourée d'étoffe bleue indigo et le méhariste ont une armature en tiges. Le méhariste, aux jambes entourées d'étoffe bleue indigo, porte comme vêtements cinq gandouras de couleur kaki, multicolore, blanche, indigo et rouge. La tête est entourée de fils de laine bleus et jaunes et fils de coton blancs et rouges. H = 28.
Constructeurs: garçons et filles, ces jouets ont été faits par un garçon de 12 ans (112-113), un autre garçon (137) et une fille de 12 ans (110/115).

Touareg Kel Ajjer: 37.21.28


Description: le dromadaire est une mandibule de mouton; pour le méhariste ont été utilisées quatre brindilles, deux pour le corps et deux, ligaturées en forme de croix, pour les bras. Ces brindilles sont enveloppées de chiffons faisant figure de vêtements. H = 27,5. Ce jouet n'a pas été retrouvé dans la collection du Musée de l'Homme, mais une photo figure dans le fichier signalétique, ainsi que dans La Vie du Sahara.

Figures dans la bibliographie:
la planche 28 du catalogue "La vie du Sahara" montre ce méhariste-jouet touareg et sa monture faite d'une mandibule de chèvre. La planche 4 de ce livre présente une belle photo d'un dromadaire sellé des Touaregs, dont ces jouets donnent une représentation fidèle.

Touareg Kel Air: 69.108.1, 74.107.6/7 (fig. 4 - 74.107.6, p. 54)

69.108.1


Description: l'armature du dromadaire et du méhariste est en feuilles de latanier torsadées, enroulées autour d'un fil de fer. Cette structure est enveloppée de tissu. La selle à pommeau en forme de croix est du type dit d'Agadez. Le tapis de selle a été découpé dans un galon. Les sacs de selle en cotonnade à rayures jaunes et blanches sont ornés de floches en

74.107.6/7

Origine: Talat, Air, Sahara, Niger. Touareg Kel Owey et Touareg Kel Timili, nomades.
Recueilli par A. Bourgeot en mars 1974.

Description:
74.107.6 (fig. 4, p. 54): le dromadaire est fait de quatre brindilles de bois pour les pattes, fixées dans un coussin de chiffons servant de tronc. Le cou et la tête sont en fibres de palmier torsadées. La selle en bois pyrogravé fut ornée de floches en cuir et en laine rouge. Le méhariste a un corps en fibres de palmier torsadées recouvert d'un vêtement en étoffe blanche. Il a une coiffure noire avec floches de laine rouge et verte maintenues par une épingle double. Dromadaire: H = 35; LO = 20. Méhariste: H = 15,5. H totale = 48.
74.107.7: le dromadaire a le tronc en chiffons, les pattes en brindilles de bois, la tête et le cou en fibres de palmier torsadées. Sauf les pattes, le dromadaire est enveloppé d'un tissu noir. On a découpé la selle dans un morceau de fer blanc et des deux côtés pendent un sac de selle en cuir et de longues floches de laine rouge. Le méhariste en corps de fibres de palmier torsadées porte un vêtement de dessus noir. H totale = 32, LO = 17.

Touareg Kel Ajjer: 37.21.104.1/2 (fig. 5, p. 56)

Description: voir 1.2 Dromedarist dolls, p. 51.

Maures: 38.141.82


Vallée de la Saoura: 62.60.29/30 (fig. 6, p. 57)


Description: voir 1.2 Dromedarist dolls, p. 51.

2.2 Les poupées-cavaliers

Touareg Kel Ahaggar: 41.19.152-154


Description et constructeur: voir 1.3 Horseman dolls, p. 58.
Maures: 38.141.83/84, 38.48.81-83 (fig. 8 - 38.141.83, fig. 9 - 38.48.82)

Origine:
38.141.83/84: Sahara nord-occidental, frontière algéro-marocaine. Maures, nomades.
Recueilli par le commandement militaire des confins algéro-marocains en 1938.

Description:
38.141.83 (fig. 8, p. 59): voir 1.3 Horseman dolls, p. 58.
38.48.82 (fig. 9, p. 60): voir 1.3 Horseman dolls, p. 58.
36.48.83: figurine en terre crue représentant grossièrement un cheval et un cavalier portant la casque colonial (le cavalier manque). Les deux pattes antérieures sont réunies en un seul tronc. Une plume représente la queue du cheval. L'objet est recouvert d'un enduit blanc orné de lignes et de points bleus, ocre et jaunes. Le sabot antérieur est de couleur ocre, l'un des postérieurs de couleur jaune et l'autre de couleur bleue. Sur le poitrail une protubérance est ornée de lignes coloriées. Une petite gourde peinte en bleu indigo complète ce jouet. Un fil de coton bleu de 4 cm permet de le pendre à l'épaule du cavalier. H = 5. LO = 4. LA = 2. La gourde: H = 1,8; LO = 1,5.
Constructeurs des nos. 38.48.81-83: les servantes noires des Maures de Oualata.

2.3 Les poupées-guerriers et poupées-notables

Touareg: X.66.1.42 et 44-55 (fig. 17 et 18 - X.66.1.42, p. 67)

Origine: Touareg sans spécification plus précise, nomades.

Description:

Le Touareg n° 54 porte deux blouses bleues et un turban en gaze blanche. Ces trois poupées-hommes ne portent pas de culotte.

X.65.1.44/46/49/53/55: l'armature consiste en un morceau de bois (44/46/53) ou d'os (49/55) auquel est ligaturé en croix un petit morceau de bois pour figurer les bras. Le dessous de l'armature des nos. 46, 53 et 55 est entouré de tissu ou de gaze, mais aucune de ces cinq poupées porte une culotte.

Les blouses que portent ces Touaregs sont une blouse blanche et indigo (44), une blouse blanche, rouge bariolée et indigo (45), une blouse en gaze blanche et en indigo (49/55), une blouse en gaze blanche (53). Deux poupées portent leurs blouses non cintrées (53/55), les trois autres sont ornées du baudrier et de la ceinture en fils de coton vert (44/49) ou jaune, vert, rouge et blanc (46).

Parfois le cou est entouré de fils rouges (46) ou verts et bleus (53).

La tête du n° 46 est coiffée de fils blancs, jaunes et rouges. Un turban blanc coiffe les n°. 44 et 49.
La hauteur de ces poupées est successivement 16, 13, 9, 14,5 et 7,5 cm.
X.66.1.52: avec quatre branchettes, reliées deux par deux, une croix est confectionnée, servant d'armature pour un Touareg vêtu d'une blouse indigo. Il ne porte ni ceinture, ni baudrier, ni culotte. Le cou et la tête sont entourés de tissu blanc et indigo. H = 15.
X.66.1.42/51: l'armature se compose verticalement de cinq tiges de graminées dont la tige du milieu ne va qua la taille. Ces tiges sont reliées entre elles, deux par deux, avec du fil de coton. Deux tiges de graminées y ont été ligaturées en croix.
Ces Touaregs portent une culotte longue en tissu blanc et deux blouses, une blanche et une indigo. Le n°. 42 porte ses blouses non cintrées, mais le n°. 51 a une ceinture en fils de laine vert et rouge. Le cou de ces poupées-hommes est entouré de fils de blanc, rouge et vert (42) ou blanc (51). H = 17 et 15,5.
X.66.1.50: le type d'armature est le même que pour les Touaregs précédents, sauf que les bras sont formés par trois tiges. Les vêtements se composent d'une culotte blanche et de deux blouses non cintrées, une blanche et une indigo. H = 18,5.
X.66.1.45: ce Touareg a une armature en feuilles de palmier tressées, les bras et les jambes sont représentés. Les vêtements se composent d'une culotte longue, en tissu indigo, et de deux blouses, une en kaki et une en indigo. Le baudrier et le turban sont en tissu indigo. H = 16.

Constructeurs et joueurs: les enfants touaregs.


41.19.103-108/125/126

Origine: In Amedgel, Ahaggar, Sahara, Algérie. Touareg Kel Rela, Touareg Kel Ahaggar, nomades.

Description: l'armature des n°. 105, 107 et 108 consiste en deux tiges verticales auxquelles ont été ligaturées en croix deux autres tiges
figurants les bras. L’armature des n°. 103, 104, 106, 125 et 126 comporte verticalement trois tiges dont celle du milieu ne va qu'à la hauteur de la taille, les deux tiges extérieures se prolongeant pour former les jambes. Deux tiges y sont ligaturées en croix.

Les vêtements du n°. 104 sont formés de deux blouses longues, une blanche et une violacée à bandes blanches et noires. La ceinture et le baudrier sont en fils blancs et violets. Le cou est enveloppé de tissu noir. La tête est enveloppée de tissu vert entouré de fils blancs et rougeâtres. Ce Touareg porte une épée en forme de croix, faite de deux bouts de roseau et entourée d’étoffe rougeâtre.

Les jambes du n°. 105 sont entourées de tissu indigo. Ce Touareg porte deux gandoura ou blouses longues, une verte et une rouge à rayures au-dessus. La tête et le cou sont entourés de fils blancs, jaunes, verts, bleus et rouges. La ceinture et le baudrier sont faits de fils aux mêmes couleurs. Une tige verticale entourée de fils jaunes et rouges, à laquelle se trouve ligaturée une petite tige entourée de fils verts, est l'épée.

Le n°. 106 porte trois gandoura, en tissu multicolore, blanc et indigo. La ceinture et le baudrier sont en fils blancs, rouges et violets. La tête est enveloppée de papier d'argent et de fils bleus, jaunes et rouges. Les jambes du n°. 107 sont entourées de tissu. Le baudrier et la ceinture sont en fils blancs, verts et rouges. La tête est, comme chez la poupée précédente, enveloppée de papier d'argent. La tête et le cou sont entourés de fils blancs et rouges.

Le n°. 108 porte une culotte blanche et cinq gandouras, en tissu rouge, blanc, indigo, blanc, indigo. La ceinture et le baudrier sont en fils jaunes, verts, oranges, rouges et bleus. Le cou et la tête sont enveloppés de tissu indigo et de fils jaunes pour le cou, fils jaunes et blancs pour la tête.

Les jambes du n°. 125 sont enveloppées de tissu kaki. Il porte une gandoura blanche et une indigo au-dessus. Le baudrier et la ceinture sont en fils blancs et rouges. Le cou et la tête sont enveloppés de tissu indigo et la tête est, en plus, entourée de fils blancs et rouges.

Les jambes du n°. 126 sont aussi entourées de tissu kaki. Ce Touareg porte quatre gandoura, en tissu indigo, blanc, blanc et indigo. La ceinture et le baudrier sont en fils blancs et rouges. La tête et le cou sont enveloppés de tissu indigo et entourés de fils blancs et rouges.

Constructeurs et joueurs: les n°. 103-106 et 125/126 furent confectionnés par un garçon, un jeune akli du campement de Bilbil ag Aganguéroubou des Kel Rela, le n°. 106 fut fait par une fille Kel Rela d’environ treize ans. Avec ces poupées-hommes jouent aussi bien les filles que les garçons Kel Rela.


41.19.130/132/133

Origine: Tamanrasset, Ahaggar, Sahara, Algérie. Touareg Kel Ahaggar, nomades.
Mission Henri Lhote, 5.10.1938.

Description: l'armature des n°. 132 et 133 est faite d'un morceau de roseau dont la partie inférieure a été découpée afin de représenter deux jambes. Une tige traversant le roseau figure les bras. L'armature du n°. 130 comporte verticalement trois tiges dont celle du milieu ne va qu'à la hauteur de la taille. Deux tiges y sont ligaturées en croix.
Ces poupées-hommes sont vêtues comme des guerriers touaregs en grande tenue, avec deux longues blouses, une blanche ou jaunâtre et une indigo au-dessus. Le n°. 130 porte en plus une culotte longue.
Le n°. 133 n'a qu'une ceinture en fils bleus, mais les deux autres portent un baudrier et une ceinture, en fils de laine bleue, verte, rouge et jaune (130) ou en fils blancs (132). La tête et le cou sont enveloppés de tissu indigo. En plus la tête du n°. 130 est entourée de fils blancs.
H- = 10,3 (133). H+ = 20 (130).

Constructeur et joueurs: ces trois poupées-hommes ont été faites par un garçon touareg de Tamanrasset. Tous les enfants de Tamanrasset jouent avec ce genre de poupées.
Touareg Kel Ajjer: 34.52.43 (fig. 19, p. 68)


Description: ce Touareg, en tenue de guerrier, a une armature en fibres de palmier torsadées entourée d'étoffe bleue. Il porte quatre gandouras ou blouses longues, une blanche, bleue, noire et bleue; une ceinture et un baudrier en gaze. H = 23.

Constructeur et joueurs: le fils du cheikh de Djanet a réalisé cette poupée mais les enfants touaregs Kel Ajjer jouent tous avec des poupées-hommes du même genre.

Touareg Kel Air: 36.44.82/83


Description: l'armature est en feuilles ou fibres torsadées, avec bras et jambes. Le n°. 82 n'est qu'une armature (H = 12,5) mais la poupée n°. 83 (H = 22) porte des vêtements d'homme touareg avec une longue culotte beige, deux blouses longues, beige et indigo, une ceinture en fils de coton bleu et un manteau beige avec capuchon.

Constructeur et joueurs: avec pareille poupée-homme, fabriquée par un enfant d'Agadez, jouent tous les enfants touaregs Kel Aïr.

Touareg Kel Iforas: 38.16.43/44 (fig. 20 - 38.16.43, p. 69)


Description: la description du n°. 38.16.43 se trouve au chapitre 1.6 Les poupées-guerriers et les poupées-notables. L'armature du n°. 38.16.44 est
faite de trois tiges de graminées, dont celle du milieu ne va qu'à la taille, sur lesquelles une tige de graminée a été ligaturée en croix pour figurer les bras. La tige servant de bras est fendue au milieu et glissée au-dessus des tiges verticales. Le cou et la tête sont brodés de coton blanc, vert, rouge et indigo. Un petit écheveau de coton indigo imite la chevelure. Ce Touareg en miniature porte une longue blouse blanche et un baudrier d'écheveaux de coton blanc, rouge et indigo. H = 15.

Constructeur: une fille des Touaregs Kel Iforas de Kidal.

2.4 Les poupées jeunes mariés

54.74.10 (fig. 23, p. 71)


Description: voir 1.7 Bridegroom dolls, p. 70.

Constructeur: une fillette chaamba.
3 Les poupées-femmes

3.1 Les poupées-femmes touarègues

Touareg Kel Ahaggar:


Origine: In Amedgel, Ahaggar, Sahara, Algérie. Touareg Kel Rela, Touareg Kel Ahaggar, nomades.
Mission Henri Lhote, 3.10.1938.

Description: dans un chiffon bourré de paille (122/123/1967) au d'une (129) ou de deux (1964/1965) crottes de dromadaire ou boules de terre, un morceau d'os de mouton (122/123/129/1965/1967) ou de bois (1964) est fixé pour servir d'âme à la poupée. Une tige (122/129/1965) ou deux tiges (123/1964) ou bien un morceau d'os (1967) y sont ligaturés en croix afin de figurer les bras. Les jambes ne sont pas indiquées comme il s'agit de femmes assises. La partie supérieure du morceau de bois ou d'os de mouton est enroulée de fils de coton mercerisé mais le visage n'est pas indiqué.

41.19.1967: cou enroulé de fils rouges, jaunes, verts et blancs; tête entourée de tissu indigo; cheveux en fils bleus tressés avec un morceau de tissu rouge fixé à l'extrémité; pas de vêtements. H = 11,2.
Ces poupées portent souvent une mantille mais parfois la tête est découverte comme chez les n°. 122 et 1967.

Constructeurs et joueurs: ces poupées ont été faites par les filles Kel Rela d'In Amedgel, les n°. 122 et 123 par une fille de douze ans. Les filles et les garçons Kel Rela jouent avec ces poupées-femmes.

41.19.128/164-166

Origine: Tamanrasset, Ahaggar, Sahara, Algérie. Touareg Kel Ahaggar, nomades.
Mission Henri Lhote, 5.10.1938 (128) et 11.10.1938 (164-166)

Description: dans une boule d'argile recouverte d'étoffe ou dans une pelote de chiffons, un os est fixé auquel sont ligaturées en croix deux branchettes servant de bras.
41.19.165: cette poupée porte le costume des femmes d'In Salah, ainsi que leurs bijoux figurés par une chaînette et des perles. Des mèches de laine figurent les cheveux.
41.19.166: ce jouet représente une femme en costume arabe. Elle a des cheveux véritables appartenant à la fillette qui a confectionné la poupée. H = 10.
Les poupées 41.19.164-166 n'ont pas été retrouvées.

Constructeurs et joueurs: le n° 128 fut fabriqué par un garçon, le n°. 165 par une fille hartania de dix ans, les n°. 164 et 166 par deux autres filles. Garçons et filles jouent avec ces poupées.

Figures dans la bibliographie: Foley montre deux poupées-femmes touarègues Kel Ahaggar (1930: 46, fig. 44) et Gabus en montre une autre (1958: 135). Une photo de cinq poupées-femmes du même genre est reproduite dans l'Album du Musée du Bardo concernant les Kel Ahaggar (Balout, 1959: planche LXVII). Le même type de poupée est à voir dans

Touareg Kel Ajjer: 37.21.29 (fig. 31, p. 81), 37.21.102.1/2 (fig. 35, p. 84)


Description:
37.21.29: l'armature de la poupée est constituée par une baguette de bois enfoncée dans une crotte d'âne enveloppée d'un morceau de tissu. Le vêtement de dessus enveloppant la poupée est de couleur blanche. Les cheveux sont des écheveaux de coton mercerisé rouge et brun. Les boucles d'oreilles sont des médailles avec d'une face le Sacré-Cœur et à la face opposée la Vierge. H = 10.
37.21.102.1/2: voir 2.2 Female dolls of the Tuareg, p. 78.

Touareg Kel Aïr: 36.44.72-77 (fig. 26 - 36.44.73, p. 79)


Description: dans le corps de la poupée un morceau d'os (77) ou un bâtonnet (72-75) est enfoncé pour servir de cou et de tête. Eventuellement un (75) ou deux (72) bâtonnets sont ligaturés en croix pour figurer les bras.
36.44.72: corps fait de deux boules de terre pour les fesses, une boule de terre pour la taille et deux boules d'étoffe pour les seins; cheveux en bandelettes de tissu indigo tressées; vêtement indigo. H = 12,5.
36.44.73: corps fait de cinq boules de terre, deux pour les fesses, une pour la taille et deux pour les seins; cheveux en ruban indigo noués par une lanière de cuir; vêtement indigo. H = 16,5.
36.44.74: corps fait de quatre crottes et de chiffons; cheveux en écheveaux de fils de coton indigo; vêtement indigo. On a utilisé des
épines pour fixer le vêtement. H = 8,3.
36.44.75: corps fait de quatre boules de terre et de chiffons; cheveux en écheveaux de fils de coton indigo; vêtement indigo. H = 12.
36.44.76: corps fait de quatre boules de terre pour les fesses et de deux crottes pour les seins; cheveux en écheveaux de fils de coton indigo; vêtement indigo. H = 11.
36.44.77: corps fait de deux boules de terre pour les fesses; vêtement indigo. H = 11,6.

Touareg Kel Iforas: 38.16.45 (fig. 32, p. 82)

Origine: Kidal, Adrar des Iforas, Sahara, Mali. Touareg Kel Iforas, nomades.
Recueilli par O. Schultz, juillet 1938.

Description: voir 2.2 Female dolls of the Tuareg, p. 78.
Constructeur: une fille Kel Iforas de Kidal, probablement la fille qui a confectionné les poupées-guerriers ou poupées-notables n°. 38.16.43/44.

3.2 Les poupées-femmes maures

38.180.77 (fig. 47, p. 93)

Deux poupées-femmes maures en armature d'os se trouvent sous le baldaquin de la selle portant le même numéro (voir 2.4 Female dolls of the Moors, p. 91).

69.70.7.1-5 (fig. 44 - 69.70.7.5, fig. 45 - 69.70.7.1, fig. 46 - 69.70.7.4, p. 91-92).

Origine: Tidjikdja, Tagant, Sahara, Mauritanie. Maures, nomades et sédentaires.
Description: voir 2.4 Female dolls of the Moors. p. 91, H = 14,5 (1), 19,5 (2), 22 (3), 16 (4), 15 (5).

Constructeurs: pareilles poupées-femmes sont faites par les filles et les femmes de Tidjikdja.

Figure dans la bibliographie: une photo de la poupée 69.70.7.4 se trouve dans "Poupée-jouet. Poupée-reflet", 1983: 96.

38.48.50/51 (fig. 48, p. 94)


Description: ces petites poupées en terre crue reproduisent une jeune fille (50) ou une femme (51) bien grosse en position assise. Des petites perles ornent le dessus de la tête du n°. 51. La chevelure des poupées est en nattes noires. Le corps de la poupée n°. 50 est peinte en ocre et celui du n°. 51 en couleur bleuâtre. Des dessins géométriques ornent les poupées. 50: H = 3,5; B = 2. 51: H = 4; B = 2,3.

Figure dans la bibliographie: un croquis de pareille poupée nous montre Gabus, 1956: 134.

983.52.1-3 (fig. 49 - 983.52.1/2, p. 94)


Constructeurs: les servantes.

Description: ces trois poupées en argile représentent des femmes maures assises. 983.52.1: corps de couleur grise, sans marques ni traits, enrobé de gaze blanche. Dans la coiffure à multiples nattes noires en cire sont incrustées trois petites perles jaunes et une rouge. La poupée porte un collier en

983.52.2: corps de couleur brune avec au milieu du devant trois rayures horizontales parallèles et un petit trou (le nombril ?). Coiffure à nattes noires dans laquelle furent incrustées à quelques endroits des petites perles bleues, jaunes, rouges et noires. La poupée est vêtue de gaze noire. H = 4. B = 2,5.

983.52.3: corps blanc avec au milieu du devant deux rayures horizontales parallèles et un petit trou (le nombril ?) et trois rayures obliques parallèles se dirigeants des côtés vers le milieu de la base. H = 2. B = 1,4.

3.3 Les poupées-femmes regeybat

54.74.9

Origine: Regeybat nomadisant à l'ouest de Tabelbala, Sahara nord-occidental, Algérie. Nomades.
Dominique Champault, 1954.

Description: voir 2.6 Female dolls of the Regeybat, p. 97.

3.4 Les poupées-femmes teda

54.51.75

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Recueilli par G. Moberg, avant 1935.

Description: à une branchette fourchue, dont les deux éléments figurent les jambes, un bâtonnet est ligaturé en croix pour former les bras. La tête est surmodelée en gomme avec, comme visage, des petites perles rouges incrustées. La coiffure est faite de deux enfilades de petites perles
rouges. Comme vêtements la poupée porte des chiffons de cotonnade bleue, usagés et souillés, ceinturés d'une ficelle. H = 25.

35.50.174/175

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Mission Le Cœur, 1934.
La fiche signalétique du Musée de l'Homme indique que la poupée n°. 175 fut recueillie chez les Touaregs. Probablement s'agit-il d'une erreur car pareilles poupées ne nous sont connues que chez les Teda et parce que la Mission Le Cœur avait pour but des recherches chez les Teda. En plus la poupée n°. 174, recueillie en même temps que le n°. 175, est attribuée au Teda dans le catalogue "Poupée-jouet. Poupée-reflet" (1983: 92). Finalement je n'ai retrouvé trace de poupées à tête en datte dans la bibliographie concernant les Touaregs.

Description:
35.50.175: l'âme de la poupée est un bâton fourchu auquel est ligaturé en croix un bâtonnet. Des tresses ornent la tête en datte. H = 22.5.

65.3.9-49 (fig. 53 - 65.3.14, fig. 54 - 65.3.15, fig. 55 - 65.3.46, fig. 56 - 65.3.29, fig. 57 - 65.3.31, fig. 58 - 65.3.32, p. 98-100)

Origine: Bardaï, Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Recueilli par Oleg Lopatinsky, 1963.

Description: voir 2.7 Female dolls of the Teda, p. 98.
Ces poupées représentent: des femmes de brousse en costume quotidien (10/27/28/40/47), une femme de brousse aisée (14), des femmes de brousse parées pour la danse (9/11/25/34/44), une vieille femme de brousse (15), des citadines pauvres (12/45), des citadines en costume quotidien (23/26/31/33/35), des citadines en costume de citadine (17-19/21/22/24/30/36), des citadines en costume d'intérieur (43/48), des citadines riches (20/37/41/45), des citadines parées pour la fête (42/49),
des riches citadines en costume de fête (16/29/32/38) et une femme parée pour la fête (39).

Constructeurs et joueurs: les filles teda de dix à seize ans.

Photothèque du Musée de l'Homme: photo des poupées 65.3.21/22/24/43.

### 3.5 Les poupées-femmes belbala

54.74.7/8/11 (fig. 60 et 61 - 54.74.7, p. 102-103)

Recueilli par Dominique Champault en 1954.

Données spatio-temporelles: voir 2.8 Female dolls of the Belbala, p. 102.

Description: voir 2.8 Female dolls of the Belbala, p. 102.
La face de la poupée n°. 7 est peinte en kohl dilué à l'huile. Avec cette peinture la fillette a indiqué les yeux, les sourcils, la bouche et le tatouage de danse dit 'sérafin'. La face de la poupée n°. 8 est aussi peinte en kohl dilué à l'huile mais le tatouage est fait au safran. Les traits du visage de la poupée n°. 11 sont esquissés à l'encre.
Un voile rouge, maintenu par un bandeau de fils de laine, et un grand voile blanc coiffent la poupée n°. 8. Les poupées n°. 7 et 11 portent un mendil de tête rouge.
Comme bijoux elles portent un collier de perles de Briare (8) ou une chaînette terminée par un pendentif et deux pendentifs dans les cheveux (7). La poupée n°. 11 ne porte pas de bijoux. H = 23 (7), 22 (8), 21 (11).

Constructeurs et joueurs: les fillettes belbala.
52.27.35

Collectionné par Dominique Champault en mars 1951.

Données spatio-temporelles: poupées faites au printemps et en automne.

Description: cette poupée, représentant la jeune mariée et appelée 'tamames' est construite à partir d'un tibia de chèvre emmailloté de chiffons rouges figurant l'izar. La tête, qui est figurée par la partie distale de l'os, fut recouverte de cheveux de femme disposés en deux tresses latérales et une tresse arrière, tout comme une coiffure simplifiée de femmes mariées. Les bras sont faits de chiffons mais la poupée n'a ni mains ni pieds. H = 18.

Constructeurs et joueurs: les fillettes belbala.

54.74.51


Description: voir 2.8 Female dolls of the Belbala, p. 102.

3.6 Les poupées-femmes de la Vallée de la Saoura

62.51.1 (fig. 62, p. 104)

Don de Corneille Jest, avant 1963.

Description: voir 2.9 Female dolls of the Saoura Valley, p. 104.
3.7 Les poupées-femmes mozabites

34.49.37 (fig. 63, p. 105)


Description: le corps est en chiffons bourrés de son et la tête est en papier cartonné. Les cheveux naturels sont faits en tresses et en chignon. Sur le visage on a peint les tatouages typiques. Les vêtements se composent d'un sous-vêtement jaune et d'un survêtement rougeâtre cintré par une ceinture rouge. La poupée ne porte pas le voile en laine que les femmes mozabites utilisent pour se voiler dans la rue. Aux pieds elle porte deux petits souliers de cuir bordés d'un gallon vert et embellis d'un pompon. Beaucoup de bijoux ornent la poupée. A ses pieds elle a un chevillier en métal et à ses bras un bracelet avec fermeture de bâtonnet. Deux fibules de type traditionnel ferment la robe de dessus. Celles-ci sont reliées par une chaînette. La poupée porte aussi des boucles d'oreilles à croissant de lune et une broche à perle rouge dans les cheveux. Sur le front pend une petite main de Fatima en métal. Enfin, elle est ornée d'un collier en pièces de monnaie portant la date de 1870 en caractères arabes. H = 58,5.

Constructeur et joueurs: voir 2.10 Female dolls of the Mozabites, p. 105.

3.8 Les poupées-femmes chaouia

36.2.182-184/189/274-321/322bis-329 (fig. 65 - 36.2.279, p. 105, fig. 66 - 36.2.314, p. 107)

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.
Description: voir 2.12 Female dolls of the Chaouia, p. 107.

36.2.183: le corps est un bâtonnet unique entouré de tissu. Les vêtements comportent une robe rouge maintenue par une cordelière croisée, une mante blanche attachée avec une épine et une mante noire par-dessus, un turban rose et un foulard rouge. H = 19.

36.2.184: un bâtonnet unique représente le corps. La poupée porte deux robes rouges, deux mantes superposées, une blanche et une noire, attachées avec une épine, un turban noir et un foulard orange. H = 17.

36.2.279: l’âme de la poupée est un morceau de roseau fendu, auquel est ligaturé un bâtonnet brisé en son milieu. Les vêtements sont une robe verte, une mante blanche et un turban vert. Cette poupée porte une poupée-enfant dans le dos. Ce dernier est fait d'un morceau de roseau fendu, avec le haut et le bas découpés en pointe, entouré de tissu noir et avec une ceinture rouge. H = 17,5. H de l'enfant = 6. La poupée n°. 277 porte aussi un petit dans le dos.


36.2.314: sur une âme d'os un bâtonnet est ligaturé en croix. La poupée porte une robe de cotonnade grenat imprimée et une mante blanche au-dessus, ainsi qu'un foulard jaune et un turban noir. Elle est ornée d'un collier de perles rouges et de piécettes dorées. H = 18. La poupée n° 318 porte une chaînette terminée par un bouton rouge.

Constructeurs et joueurs: les filles et garçons chaouia.

37.9.8bis/17-52 (fig. 67 - 37.9.33, p. 109, fig. 68 - armature bébé, p. 108)


Description: voir 2.12 Female dolls of the Chaouia, p. 107.
L'armature des poupées consiste en un bâtonnet ou un os unique (8bis/18-51) ou en un os auquel est ligaturé en croix un bâtonnet (17/52). Certaines poupées portent un petit dans le dos (23/30/32/33/37). La poupée n°. 35 avec son manteau noir est une divorcée. H- = 7 (45). H+ = 28 (17).
Constructeurs et joueurs: les fillettes chaouia.

Figure dans la bibliographie: Gaudry (1961: pl. XXXIX) nous montre une petite fille chaouia du Djebel Amour en Algérie qui tient tendrement une poupée de chiffons dans ses bras.

3.9 Les poupées-femmes marocaines

31.45.59 (fig. 69, p. 111)

Origine: Fès, Maroc. Sédentaires.
Don de Jeanne Jouin, avant 1932.

Description: sur un morceau de roseau entier, servant d'âme, est ligaturé un morceau de roseau fendu pour servir de bras. A la hauteur de la tête, un morceau de tissu blanc entoure le roseau. Sur ce fond blanc a été dessiné un visage sans nez mais avec une bouche et des yeux noirs et avec le tatouage typique en noir sur le front et le menton. Les cheveux sont en soie noire effilée. Le vêtement figure celui de la citadine marocaine. La poupée porte une chemise blanche, un caftan orange et un caftan jaune à manches, une tunique transparente blanche, une ceinture blanche à rayures bleues et jaunes, une cordelière, pour retrousser les manches, en fils de coton bleus et noirs et un foulard blanc à dessins roses. Elle porte un collier de perles jaunes et grises et avec une grosse perle blanche au milieu. La plaque frontale est représentée par un bouton avec une étoile et un croissant de lune. H = 28.

Constructeur et joueurs: cette poupée fut faite par une fillette de Fès. Toutes les fillettes de Fès jouaient avec ces poupées.

42.28.1

Description: le corps de la poupée est constitué par deux bâtonnets de roseau disposés en croix; un morceau de tissu blanc, enveloppant le sommet de la croix, forme le visage. Les yeux et la bouche sont dessinés à l'encre rouge, le tatouage est en encre noire. La poupée est vêtue d'une chemise blanche, d'un caftan rougeâtre, d'un autre caftan bleu à rayures blanches et d'un survêtement transparant serré à la taille par une ceinture verte. Sur la tête un chiffon blanc représente le mouchoir de soie porté par les femmes. Cette mariée porte un collier et des pendeloques en verroterie. H = 21.

34.123.1/2 (fig. 70 - 34.123.1, p. 111)


Description: les corps, têtes et membres de ces poupées sont faits de chiffons bourrés. 34.123.1: les yeux carrés, le nez, la bouche et les tatouages ont été cousus en fil noir. Sur les côtés de la tête chauve pendent quelques fils noirs en guise de cheveux. Comme vêtements la poupée porte une culotte en écru, un sous-vêtement violet et un survêtement blanc transparent avec broderie. H = 29.

34.123.2: les yeux, le nez et la bouche sont noirs, les tatouages rouges. Les cheveux sont des écheveaux de coton noir. H = 18,5.

3.10 Les poupées-femmes tunisiennes

30.54.888/891 (fig. 155 - 30.54.891, p. 192, fig. 156 - 30.54.888, p. 193)


Description: le corps, la tête et les membres furent confectionnés de pièces de tissu bourrées de paille et de chiffons.
30.54.888: les pupilles des yeux, les sourcils et la bouche sont indiqués. Le nez est mis un peu en relief en posant une graine au bon endroit comme cela pouvait être le cas pour une poupée marocaine de Fès. Cette poupée est en costume juive. Elle porte une robe longue bicolore, verte et rouge, avec au-dessus une robe rouge brodée à manches en dentelle. Un grand voile rouge coiffe la tête et des souliers en tissu bleu ornent les pieds. H = 36.

30.54.891: le nez, lui aussi en relief, et la bouche de cette poupée sont brodés mais les yeux et les sourcils ont été dessinés. Les cheveux, en tissu noir tressé, sont cousus sur la tête. La poupée porte une robe blanche avec, à l'ouverture, six galons de couleur rouge-ocre-rouge-ocre-rouge-ocre-rouge. Les manches de cette robe sont multicolores. Au-dessus de cette robe, elle en porte une autre, sans manches, de couleur bleue et avec un galon rose des deux côtés de l'ouverture. Les bijoux comportent deux boucles d'oreilles à perles, un collier de perles et un autre de perles et de piécettes de cuivre jaune, deux fibules liées par une chaînette à perles et un anneau en métal jaune au bras droit. H = 33.
4 Les poupées-enfants

4.1 Les poupées-enfants touarègues

Touareg Kel Ahaggar: 41.19.129/133/157 (fig. 157 - 41.19.157, p. 198)

41.19.129
Voir catalogue 3.1 Les poupées-femmes touarègues, p. 295.

41.19.133
Voir catalogue 2.3 Les poupées-guerriers et les poupées-notables, p. 290.

41.19.157

Origine: Tamanrasset, Ahaggar, Sahara, Algérie. Touareg Kel Ahaggar, nomades.
Mission Henri Lhote, 5.10.1938.

Description: voir 3.2 Child dolls of the Tuareg, p. 198.

Touareg Kel Ajjer: 37.21.102.2

Voir 2.2 Female dolls of the Tuareg, p. 78 et catalogue 3.1 Les poupées-femmes touarègues, p. 295.

4.2 Les poupées-enfants maures

69.70.7.1/2 (fig. 45 - 69.70.7.1, p. 92)

Voir 2.4 Female dolls of the Moors, p. 91 et catalogue 3.2 Les poupées-femmes maures, p. 298.
4.3 Les poupées-enfants chaouia

37.9.23/30/32/33/37 (fig. 67- 37.9.33, p. 109, fig. 68 - armature du bébé, p. 108)

Voir 2.12 Female dolls of the Chaouia, p. 107 et catalogue 3.8 Les poupées-femmes chaouia, p. 304.
Appendix 2:
Scheme for a detailed description of play activities and toys

This scheme for a detailed description of play activities, games and toys is only intended as an aid for doing research, not as an exhaustive analysis of all aspects of these playful activities. Possible remarks and suggestions are welcome.

1 Name of the play activity (1)

1.1 Name in the local language in its original alphabet
1.2 Transcription
1.3 Translation

2 Origin of the play activity (2)

2.1 Indigenous, foreign
2.2 Ancient, recent
2.3 Recent variant of older game

3 Player(s)

3.1 Number of players
3.2 Sex (3)
3.3 Age (4)
3.4 Formal education
3.5 Reason for co-option into playgroup (age, sex, sibling, family member, neighbor, friend, school class member...) (5)
3.6 Structure of playgroup (according to age, sex, leadership, role distribution, cooperation, confrontation...) (5)
4 Spatial-temporal data

4.1 Place (interior, exterior; countryside, town; relief; field, wood, waterside, street, playground...)
4.2 Time of the year and/or of the day
4.3 Duration of the activity (6)
4.4 Frequency (exceptional, rare, common, very common)

5 Idioms (7)

5.1 Play activity without a narrative component
5.2 Play activity with a narrative component (corporal, musical, verbal expression; e.g. specific gestures, terminology, oral literature, songs)

6 Object(s) used for the play activity (8)

6.1 Name of object(s) (e.g. materials, tools, toys) (1)
6.2 Origin of object(s) (9)
6.3 Description of material(s) and tool(s) used (10)
6.4 Description of toy(s) and toy making process (10)
6.5 Maker(s) of toy(s) (11)
6.6 User(s) of toy(s)

7 Description of the play activity (12)

7.1 Start of the play activity
7.2 Rules
7.3 Stake
7.4 Process
7.5 Reward and/or sanction
7.6 Reaction of the player(s) and/or onlooker(s)

8 Remarks (13)

9 Audio-visual data

Design, photo, slide, film, video, sound recording
NOTES

1 As the transcription in Latin is only approximate of the local pronunciation, it is recommendable to make a recording of the names and other linguistic data related to the play activity. Next to a literal translation a free translation can be given. This free translation is based on the activity itself or on its resemblance with another (European) play activity.

2 This is not about discovering the origin of the play activity or toy as this is often plunged in the darkness of time but to determine if a play activity or toy belongs to tradition (grandparents generation or before) or is recent, local or imported.

3 Girls’ or boys’ play or toy only means that according to the children or adults the play activity or toy is for girls, boys or both sexes. If it is only for one sex this does not mean that occasionally a child of the other sex cannot engage in it.

4 The information on the age of the players is often approximate.

5 The factors determining the choice of the players and the structure of the playgroup are in North Africa and the Sahara determined by the residential and family structure. So most of the time children of the same paternal family or of the neighborhood play together, especially in rural areas. In the urbanized villages, the small and big towns the importance of kinship decreases and the importance of neighborhood, school relations and friendship rises. Age and sex as factors of co-optation and playgroup structure become more important from the age of about six years. To analyze the playgroup structure aspects such as playgroup without or with leader(s) and (follower(s), way of decision-making (agreement between players, imposed by a leader), way of inclusion or exclusion of a player can be looked for.

6 The duration of a play activity is difficult to determine as there sometimes exists a simple and more elaborate version. This information should give an idea of the average time as the length of the same play activity played at different times or by different children is quite variable.

7 Terminology, expressions, riddles, proverbs, stories, songs used in the play activity. If possible make recordings. They can also be of value for linguists and other researchers.
8 Play objects and toys are part of the play activities in which they are used, not separate items. So, even if a research concentrates on toys and the process of toy making, a (short) description of the concerned play activity should not be overlooked.

9 In relation to the origin of a toy, a difference can be made between the origin of the toy itself (locally made, made by national industry, imported) and the local or foreign origin of the model that inspired the making of the toy.

10 The description, use and role of the toys and other objects are normally given in the description of the play activity.

11 When a child or an adult (outside the commercial circuit) makes a toy reference is made to the age, the sex and the social situation of the maker, and possibly also to the relationship between the toy maker(s) and the child using the toy.

12 Mention if the complete version of the play activity is described or a simple version. It happens for example that the same game is played by younger children and by older children but according to more simple and more complex versions.

13 Here information can be given on the eventual relationship between the play activity/toy and the physical, economic, social and cultural environment in which the players live (e.g. the relation to the place of residence, way of subsistence, economic activities, family organization, customs, rites and feasts).

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Appendix 3:  
Autobiographical notes

Born on August 16th 1940 in the historical city of Ghent in Flanders, Belgium, I was raised in a middle class family together with four older brothers. It might be that my interest in children and youngsters, already present during my studies for social worker, is linked to my involvement in the scout movement first as child and youngsters then as scoutmaster. Another line of interest already present at the age of about fifteen years has been Africa, especially Black Africa. So, I saw my studies for social worker from 1958 onwards as a preparation for entering the social services of what still then was called the Belgian Congo. However, the independence of the République Démocratique du Congo in 1961, the year I got my diploma, brought a quick end to this project. Wanting to go to Africa anyhow, I wrote to the embassy of many African countries and to some international institutions. One of the rare answers came from the UNESCO specifying that one needed a university degree. It is this letter that drove me to start studies at the ethnological section of the department of African Studies of the State University of Ghent in 1963, the year also that my first child out of four was born. Although the professor in charge of my end of studies dissertation warned me of the, according to him, lack of ethnological information on childhood, I was convinced of the contrary and wrote a study on traditional childhood in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1968. Once finished, these culture-oriented studies did not offer much possibility to go to Africa either and so I decided to try to engage in scientific research. I was fortunate to be accepted by the Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research with a research proposal on the Islamisation of the Wolof kingdoms in Senegal. However, financial problems made an early end to my research stay in that country in 1969.

Back in Ghent, I worked for two years as an educator of youngsters in problematic situations. It is during that period that I began to think of continuing my earlier research on African childhood. Accepted once more as a researcher by the Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research I completed my doctoral thesis in Dutch on “Child and Society.
The Process of Socialization in Patrilineal Central Africa” in 1973. As this research was based on an extensive use of documents, I strongly felt the need to do fieldwork. Due to familial, financial and political reasons doing research in Central Africa did not seem feasible to me, so I asked my friend and colleague Gilbert J. M. Claus who was preparing his thesis on the Ghrib semi-nomads from the Tunisian Sahara if I could join him. When he agreed, I proposed to the same research foundation a research on children’s socialization among the Ghrib. My first research period of three months started in March 1975 and was followed by two other periods in the autumn of the same year and the spring of 1977. It is during my first stay among the Ghrib that I came to realize the importance of children’s play and playgroups not only to gain information on childhood but also to become accepted by the children and their families. So, I concentrated on this aspect of the Ghrib children’s culture making a detailed description of their play activities and toys, illustrating these with many slides and some filming.

After these eight years as researcher (1970-1978), I had to redirect my professional life. I was lucky to find in 1980 a suitable new field of activity in establishing, together with a Turkish colleague, the first municipal social service for Turkish and North African migrants of the City of Ghent. Because of this change of work environment, my corpus of games and toys of the Ghrib children was at risk to remain unused. It is then that I started to search in the bibliography on North Africa and the Sahara for information on children’s games and toys. This search resulted in a commented bibliography. When visiting in 1982 the Musée de l’Homme in Paris a few exposed toys from Tuareg children and from some North African populations struck my attention. Knowing that in old museums the reserves contain much more than is exposed, I contacted the concerned department and found in the reserves a large collection of toys from North Africa and the Sahara bridging a period from the end of the nineteenth century till about 1960. Having obtained the permission of Dominique Champault, the head of the Département d’Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient, I analyzed this collection in detail during my vacation periods.
In the middle of the 1970s an important change in my scientific affiliation gradually took place. Up to then I related myself to the field of African and Oriental studies, talking on a few occasion of childhood in Central Africa and then on Ghrib children’s play. Yet, as I felt isolated with my research topic I looked for new contacts. My first attempt to overcome this isolation was by participating in the OMEP World Congress in Copenhagen in 1975 where I presented a paper on “Children in Exceptional Situations in Africa” (Rossie, 1982). The same year I gave two lectures at the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Geneva, one on the same topic and another on children’s socialization in Central Africa. Moreover, I visited Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt of the Arbeitsstelle fur Humanethologie of the Max Planck Institut fur Verhaltenswissenschaft in Percha bei Starnberg near Munich. This professor introduced me to filming according to his human ethological method what resulted in 1977 in an unpublished film of about one hour on relations between children and between adults and children among the Ghrib of the Tunisian Sahara (film placed in the video library of SITREC).

Meeting André Michelet in 1987, then president of the International Council for Children’s Play (ICCP), introduced me to the world of play and toys. It is within this association that I really started to discuss my research results and that I was able to publish in French my first book on Saharan and North African children’s dolls and doll play. It is also in this association that I met Brian Sutton-Smith who proposed me in 1993 to become a founding member of the International Toy Research Association (ITRA). When I came into contact with Krister Svensson at the first International Toy Research Conference in 1996 I finally found a scientific haven first within the Nordic Center for Research on Toys and Educational Media (NCFL) at Halmstad University in Sweden and from 2002 onwards in the Stockholm International Toy Research Centre (SITREC) at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm. It is only with the help of these two centers that I have been able to make available my information on Saharan and North African children’s play and toys.

No doubt this change in scientific references and contacts with associations and researchers from the fields of African studies and ethnology to the fields of child and play studies is clearly reflected in my work. It also has stimulated my endeavor to relate the play and toy
worlds of Saharan and North African children to the theoretical and pragmatic approaches of Western and non-Western play and toy scholars. For example more than one aspect has come to my attention and was worked out because of my participation in thematic congresses.

In 1990 I left the social service for migrants with the intention to devote my time more directly to write a series of books on Saharan and North African children’s toy and play cultures and to engage in fieldwork. Looking for a new research field I chose Morocco among other reasons because I could rely on my friendly connections with a Moroccan family living in Ghent and having among its relatives a primary school headmistress in Marrakech. With the remaining money of a second research grant from the Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research I went for a three weeks research trip to Marrakech in February 1992. The gathered information and the elaborated contacts as well with families in Marrakech and Imi-n-Tanoute as well as with the Faculty of Literature and Human Sciences of the Cadi Ayyad University of Marrakech seemed promising. So I decided to do research in Morocco through periods of more or less two months twice or three times a year. Except in the year 2001 that is what happened. Returning to Marrakech in October 1992, I was proposed the role of an extra in a movie to be filmed in the high dunes near Kénitra. Seizing this occasion to be near Rabat, I stayed after this experience in the Medina of Kénitra for about three years. Afterwards I moved to Khemisset and later on to Midelt. Returning to Morocco after a year of absence, I went in the beginning of 2002 for three months to Sidi Ifni, a small coastal town south of Agadir, where I already had made superficial contact with a few primary school teachers. Visiting one of these teachers in his mountain village school, I was contacted by a teacher of the first grade, Boubaker Daoumani, who expressed his interest in my research and wanted to collaborate. Returning to Sidi Ifni for a second period of three months in October of the same year, I settled down in a popular quarter situated on the slope of a hill facing the Atlantic Ocean.

Advancing in age steadily I see the end of this research and writing activities approaching too quickly, an end I nevertheless hope to be still years away. Pushed by this feeling and while commenting on the book of Shlomo Ariel (2003) or studying the book of Julie Delalande (2001) and the articles in the book of Julia Bishop and Mavis Curtis (2001), all
analyzing different linguistic, cultural and social aspects of children’s play activities, I sometimes feel sorry to have to notice the little my work offers in comparison to all that needs to be done. Nevertheless, I feel comforted by the certitude that everything comes in its proper time and that one-day the past and contemporary toy and play cultures of the Saharan and North African children will be recognized as of major importance by the scientific, cultural and educational institutes of their countries. If I have been able to contribute to this for even a tiny part I shall feel gratified. Meanwhile, I feel supported by the interest shown by some colleagues for my research and its results. Yet, I also hope that play and toy scholars will try to integrate in their analyses and theoretical elaboration the available information on Saharan and North African children’s play, games and toys.

Having stayed somehow a social worker and being since long a volunteer of the Ghent Committee for UNICEF I am concerned to find ways in which to make my information, photographs and toy collection useful on a social and pedagogical level. This resulted in the elaboration of what I like to call a playful approach to the intercultural. This concern also stimulated me to work out two temporary expositions one within the Ghent public school system (December 1982), the other in the Musée International des Arts Modestes in Sète, France (November 2001 – February 2002) and a permanent exposition of my collection of Ghrib toys in the Toy Museum in Mechelen, Belgium (1983- ). Since my participation in the Agadir Summer University in 2003 new opportunities for action oriented research and practice in Morocco seem to come to the foreground but it certainly is too early to know if something will be realized through the established contacts.

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Sidi Ifni, January 15, 2005
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