The animal world in play, games and toys

SAHARAN AND NORTH AFRICAN TOY AND PLAY CULTURES

Jean-Pierre Rossie

Foreword by Theo van Leeuwen

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:
Mule and driver of summer squash and sticks
Aït Ighemour, Morocco, 1992, taken by the author

Cover design: Johnny Friberg

With 107 photographic and other illustrations

ISBN 91-974811-7-3


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Contents of the CD

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.

The volumes of the collection:

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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 animal world in relation to Saharan and North African children's toys and play activities. To begin with, the toy dromedaries are described, then the toys referring to horses, mules and donkeys, cattle and livestock, other domestic animals, and non-domestic animals. Each of the subdivisions starts with a summary putting forward the main characteristics of the group of toys and games concerned. In 'Conclusion and Perspectives', a synthesis is proposed, together with a discussion of some environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects, and a socio-semiotic analysis. Then follows the chapter 'Perspectives' in which I have tried to offer some suggestions for the practical use of this play and toy culture. In an appendix a detailed and systematic description, in French, of the Saharan and North African toy animals of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme can be consulted.

For their play activities referring to the animal world the Saharan and North African children use certain animals as living toys as well as playing with toy animals. Yet, the child's body can be enough to imitate an animal such as a dromedary or a horse. The animals used as living toys are little dromedaries, donkeys, mules, sheep, turkeys, cats, sandmice, jerboas, fennecs, lizards, salamanders, tortoises, insects and even scorpions. However, I have not found any reference to rabbits or dogs serving as living toys, except a Ghrib boy playing in 1975 with a herd dog.

The described toy animals represent dromedaries, horses, mules, donkeys, cows, zebus, sheep, rams, goats, dogs, cats, rabbits, hedgehogs, chickens, gazelles, antelopes, ostriches, birds, rats, snakes, monkeys and scorpions. The omnipresence of the dromedary is not amazing at all. Just as Jan Bujak notices for the horse in Poland where its economic and cultural importance is reflected in the little horse and the 'lajkonik', two popular Polish toys, the importance of dromedaries in North Africa and the Sahara explains its popularity in the play activities of the children from these regions.
From the gathered information as well as my personal observations in Morocco and Tunisia, I think one can conclude that the games and toys related to the animal world are more limited in the cities than in the countryside. This can be explained by the greater familiarity of rural children with animals. The boys are the ones most often playing games referring to animals or to the relationship between humans and animals. According to all the information at my disposal, these games are less current among girls. Although my own observations confirm this remark, one should bear in mind that the consulted authors mostly are men, that the children's sex is not always specified and that most of my informants on these kinds of play activities are boys or men. Among the Tuareg, boys and girls play together with their toy dromedaries and they divide the tasks when making them.

Although the data rarely reveal this, the toy animals described here only make sense in the context of the children's games which are most of the time collective and open-air play activities involving children of the same family or neighborhood. For these games the children use a good number of toys or other objects. Moreover, the way of communicating with domestic animals and the whole language referring to the animal world is practiced in these play activities.

If some games directly refer to the life of the animals and their behavior, many other games find inspiration in the way adults use these animals. The children play at organizing a nomadic encampment, at being a shepherd, a dromedarist, a horseman, a mule driver, a caravaneer, a hunter, a cattle-breeder, a farmer, and almost all male occupations.

Leaving aside the psychological, pedagogical and socialization aspects, the least one can stress is that a comprehensive learning of the physical, vegetal and animal environment is achieved through these play activities.

Toys representing animals can be very simple, necessitating no work at all. A stone becomes a goat, a sheep or a dromedary. A long reed or stick is transformed into a horse. The majority of the toys representing animals made by Saharan and North African children, from the simplest ones to the most elaborated ones, are hand-made. With few exceptions these toys remain figurative and realistic representations regarding the overall appearance and sometimes also the details.
The Saharan and North African children themselves have made almost all these animals in miniature. Therefore they use a lot of material of mineral, vegetal, animal and waste origin. Only rarely adults make such toys, like the servants and artisans of the Moors or the artisans from Rabat and Marrakech. With only few exceptions of former as well as recent times, the toy animals are made locally. Yet, the importation in these regions of European toys exists already for a long time.

The oldest toy animal described in this book is a ram of painted clay made before 1889. The other toy animals of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme have been made between the 1930s and the 1960s. The toy animals I saw myself were made between 1975 and 1977 for those of the Ghrib children or between 1992 and 2002 for those of the Moroccan children.
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'Études 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'Études 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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I first met Jean-Pierre Rossie in Halmstad, at a conference on the subject of toys, where he presented a paper on Saharan and North African dolls, and I was immediately impressed by the richness of his collection of slides of North African toys and by the scholarly thoroughness with which he had documented them.

Toy research is a relatively new field. Most books are either glossy coffee table books for collectors or educationalist pamphlets on choosing the best toys for the kindergarten or preschool. The handful of books that try to give some theoretical underpinning to toy research, use, perhaps by necessity, a rather broad brush, and try to encompass the whole field. In Halmstad there were many papers on play (a much more established area of research), and some good papers criticising such things as gender stereotypes in dolls etc, but, overall, few papers taking a material culture approach to toys and playing.

Jean-Pierre Rossie's work is different in this respect. He entered the field as an anthropologist, and, over the years, has photographed countless Saharan and North African toys and built up an extensive documentation on these toys and the way they are played with, thus creating an unusual comprehensive archive of what he calls the Saharan and North African toy and play cultures. This is immensely valuable in itself, but the value of his work goes further. It can provide new insights and unlock doors to new perspectives on toys and playing, not only in that particular region, but also more generally.

In our own culture we have created rigorous demarcations between the worlds of childhood and adulthood, and between the material objects belonging to each. In the cultures whose toys Rossie has documented, such demarcations are much less pronounced. Children play with toys just as much, but the toys, and the way they are played with, connect them more clearly with the adult world, and, rather than confining them to a world of fantasy and make believe, help prepare them for their future role as adult camel herds, hunters, brides and bridegrooms, and so on.
The toys themselves are rarely ready-made and often produced by the children themselves, from an astonishing variety of materials. Even when ready-made toys are used, for instance cheap mass-produced dolls, they are entirely transformed. This means that, not only playing with toys, but also making toys is a learning process. Through making toys, children gain experience with a wide variety of materials and construction processes. By making animals they gain insight in the anatomy of these animals, and by playing with them they learn about looking after animals, working with them, hunting them, and so on. Above all, in making toys that represent their physical and cultural world, and in playfully enacting adult activities, they actively construe the cultural meanings that are important in their world, rather than that they passively consume them, as is sometimes the case with our all-too sophisticated toys, or, for that matter, with television.

These Saharan and North African children, meanwhile, do not live in a static world, and Rossie also documents the history of their toys, in part through his intimate familiarity with the collection of the Musée de l'Homme, and in part from his own experience, as he has known the region for more than 30 years now, and still returns there every year for further research trips.

All in all, this book stands out because of the unique richness of its collection of examples, because of its thorough scholarly documentation, and because it can be a valuable resource for toy researchers, and, more generally, for anyone interested in the role of toys and play in childhood.

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

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

In an environment in which animals played, and sometimes still play, a fundamental role in the survival and the economic system of the Saharan and North African populations, it cannot be otherwise than that the animal world also plays an important role in the toy and play culture of these regions. Thus, the relationship between children and animals and the children's interpretation of the relationship between adults and animals is directly or indirectly reflected in their play activities, games and toys.

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

With an exception for the Ghrib population and for Morocco, the analysis of the animal world in play, games and toys covers a period lasting from the beginning of the 20th century up to the end of the 1960s.
More precisely and within the limits of this book, the oldest bibliographical reference dates from 1905 but the oldest toy animal, a ram of painted clay, from the collection of the Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris has been collected before 1889, making it the oldest toy of the collection. The most recent information comes from my own research in 1975 and 1977 among the Ghrib of the Tunisian Sahara who lived at that time their last years of seminomadism, supplemented by some information on the evolution of the toy and play culture of this population which has been given to me by my friend and colleague Gilbert J.M. Claus. My ongoing research since 1992 on children's games and toys in Morocco provides new information on the second half of the twentieth 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 described games and toys belonged to children living in communities that, although influenced by modernity and the European way of life, still honored ancestral tradition, especially in the fields of childhood and womanhood and in the spheres of socialization and the intergenerational transmission of norms and values. When making abstraction of what is said about children from some Moroccan cities, the information on children living in urbanized, industrialized and/or occidentalized centers is lacking. Taking Algeria as an example, the data refer to children, who received no or little schooling and were living among nomadic, seminomadic or rural communities, but one will search in vain for information on schoolgoing children from Algiers or other important Algerian cities.

With the exception of Moroccan cities, this volume analyses the play activities, games and toys related to the animal world 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.

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.

Yet, an important remark should be made. Due to the unequal value of the data and especially its incomplete and unrepresentative characteristics, one should be careful in linking the specific information written down here to general deductions or conclusions. For example, the fact that a given play activity or toy has been reported in a given population or area for boys only, gives no validity to the conclusion that only boys engage in such a play activity or use such a toy. The data in this book, as well as in the foregoing volume on Saharan and North African children's doll play, are not based on a representative sample taken from the children of whatever population. They mostly became available through fortuitous contacts and momentary interests in the
topics of play, games and toys. Only few authors have shown a genuine interest in Saharan and North African children's games and toys, and only a handful have done a partial or more comprehensive research in this field. Referring to the same distinction between boys and girls, I have always tried to know if a game or a toy is for girls, for boys or for both. Nevertheless, the information I gathered always results from observing and talking to particular children and adults. Therefore, also the data I gathered personally only offer a partial image of past and actual realities.

Every population on which I could find information has been incorporated in this book. These populations are different Tuareg groups, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Sahrawi, the Regeybat, the Chaamba, the Teda, the Zaghawa, the Belbala, the Mozabites, the Chaouia, the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley 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 these populations runs as follows: first one finds the data on the nomadic or seminomadic Saharan populations, followed by the Saharan sedentary populations and finally the North African sedentary populations.

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

As the different volumes of the collection: Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures are separate publications and in order to fit the toy and play cultures into their geographic, economic and social context, I think it is necessary to include each time a short description of the peoples concerned. This description refers to the same period as the one to which the data on the games and toys belong. Moreover, from one volume to the other there are some changes in the populations whose children's games and toys are described.
Description of the populations

The Tuareg

Although the Tuareg certainly are not the most numerous population of the region covered in this book, they are at least the best documented upon in the bibliography and in the analyzed 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 seminomadic life, at least up to the first third of the twentieth century. In the case of a seminomadic way of life they temporarily became sedentarized in an oasis.

The Tuareg were in the first place dromedary-breeders, living however around 1960 essentially from the breeding of sheep and goats and in the south also of oxen (La Vie du Sahara, 1960: 7).

From the 1950s onwards, the traditional way of life of the Tuareg is disappearing. First of all because of the influence of the French colonization, then through the integration into five different independent states and finally following the extreme draught in the Sahel during the
1970s that had dramatic consequences for the Sahelian Tuareg (Leupen, 1983: 58; Claudot-Hawad, 1992: 222). Actually many Tuareg live in houses with television and satellite antenna. From the ethnic and linguistic point of view, the Tuareg are Amazigh-speaking people, but they do not form a 'race' or a 'nation'. Their common denominator is to be found in a similar culture, language and behavior (Bernus, 1983: 6).

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

- the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar: Ahaggar massif (Algeria);
- the Tuareg Kel Ajjer: Tassili n'Ajjer (Algeria), region of Ghât (Libya);
- the Tuareg Kel Aïr: Aïr massif (Niger);
- the Tuareg Kel Iforas: Adrar des Iforas (Algeria/Mali);
- the Tuareg 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 seminomadism, 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.
During the 1970s, the transition from nomadism to sedentariness took place in the oases on the border of the Chott l-Djerid. Nowadays, the Ghrib have almost completely settled down in the oases of Ghidma, Hezwa, Redjem Matoug and especially in the oasis of El Faouar, an oasis that has grown to an important urban center, the principal center of a Tunisian delegation. This way the Ghrib have lost everything of their renown as dromedary-breeders, although the interest in this breeding increases slowly because of the promotion of Saharan tourism in the region of El Faouar where a transit hotel functions now.

The Moors

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

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

The Moors have been estimated at 600,000 in 1960 with 77 % nomads (La Vie du Sahara: XXIV; Belgisch Comité voor UNICEF, 1996: 57). In contrast with the Tuareg who live very dispersed over different states, the Moors have been able to organize themselves into a state, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. In 1996 there are 2.4 million inhabitants in Mauritania of whom 52 % live in towns and only 12 % are still nomads. One third of the population lives in the capital Nouakchott and the surrounding slums (UNICEF-Information). With 30 % the Moors only form part of the total population. 40 % are mixed groups of Moors and Black African origin and another 30 % are Black Africans. Of the estimated population of 2,581,738 inhabitants in July 1999, 47 % are younger than fifteen years (E-Conflict™ World Encyclopedia).

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

The Moors have been, certainly during the period covered for the analysis of the games and toys of the children of this population, nomadic dromedary-breederers, caravaneers, merchants and, in the Sahelian zone, ox-breederers. 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” (Report of the Secretary-General on the situation concerning the Western

The old economic system relying on nomadism and Saharan trade is largely replaced by an economy based on the fishing industry and on the exploitation of phosphate and iron mines (consulted on 11.01.2001, http://www.medea.be/fr/index250.htm).

The Regeybat

The Regeybat wander over a vast territory in the Northwestern 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 sparsely 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.

Seminomadism 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 Zaghawa

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

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

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

The Belbala

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

Belbala, situated at 500 meters above sea-level, is a very isolated oasis at the foot of the Erg er Raoui, in between this zone of sand dunes and a little mountainous region of about 700 meters high.
According to Dominique Champault, the Belbala were some 1600 individuals around 1960 and they speak a language of their own, completely different from the languages of the surrounding nomadic or settled Saharan populations. Their language is of Black African origin but influenced by Amazigh and Arabic languages.

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

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

The inhabitants of the Saoura Valley

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

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

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

According to Dominique Champault, the alimentary situation was even worse in the small oases of the Saoura Valley than it was in Tabelbala. Although 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 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 'herdmen' 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, seminomadic 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, see also Ballais, 1989).

The populations of the Moroccan countryside

My since February 1992 ongoing research in Morocco gives me the possibility to collect information on the animal world in the play activities, games and toys of the children of Arab-Berber and Amazigh communities living in the villages or small towns of rural areas of Morocco. In the context of this book it concerns the population of the Aït Ouirra (Moyen Atlas), of the small towns Imouzzer-Kandar (Moyen Atlas), Goulmima, Tinerhir and Zagora (pre-Sahara), and of the villages Zhana (Kénitra), Ain Cheggag (Fès), Ksar Assaka (Midelt), Meski (Errachidia), Aït Ighemour (Haut Atlas) and Ignern (Haut Atlas).

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

The little town of Imouzzer-Kandar is also situated in the Moyen Atlas at an altitude of 1350 m. It lies along the road from Fès to Ifrane. This regional center with a population of about 50,000 inhabitants sees its population much extended during summer with Moroccan tourists trying to escape the great heat. It is an Amazigh-speaking town where nowadays more Arabic than Amazigh is spoken especially by the younger generations.

The small town of Goulmima, on the road from Ouarzazate to Errachidia, is located on the border of the Moroccan pre-Sahara and the eastern side of the Haut Atlas. This Amazigh-speaking urban center with its big Ksar, or fortified village, and its important oasis is only slightly touched by tourism.

This cannot be said of Tinerhir, situated at 80 km from Goulmima on the road from Ouarzazate to Erfoud, because of the nearby Gorges du Todra, hollowed out by the river with the same name, and one of the most important tourist places in Morocco. Tinerhir is a regional center with an Amazigh-speaking population of about 15,000 people.

Zagora, the last town before the Moroccan Sahara, lies near the Dra River that disappears into the sand at some distance and only very occasionally reaches the ocean. Just as Goulmima and Tinerhir, Zagora has an important oasis and its inhabitants speak Moroccan Arabic.

With more than 20,000 inhabitants Aïn Cheggag is a big urbanized village at 20 km from Fès. To the contrary, Zhana, at 10 km from Kénitra, is only a really small village. The village of Meski, near the very touristic Source Bleue de Meski, is located at 20 km from Errachidia on the border of the pre-Sahara. It has a big oasis and is a rural center of some importance. In Aïn Cheggag as well as in Zhana and Meski Moroccan Arabic is spoken.

On the contrary Amazigh is spoken in Aït Ighemour, a very small and traditional village in the Haut Atlas. This village with its more or less hundred families lies hidden at an altitude of 2600 meters in the province of Ouarzazate. To reach it a track of 38 km starting from the village Anezal on the road from Tazenakht to Amerzgane must be followed. Aït Ighemour is only 8 km away from the Jbel Siroua Mountain. Agriculture
is possible in the gardens next to the brook in which water runs the whole year.

Two other small Amazigh-speaking villages are Ignern and Ksar Assaka. Ignern is situated at an altitude of 1600 meters along the road from Taroudannt to Tazenakht and near Taliouine. It also lies at the foot of the Jbel Siroua Mountain in the Haut Atlas. Although a small village it is less isolated than Aït Ighemour. The collecting of natural saffron provides some money-generating activity in the region.

Ksar Assaka is a village with about 50 families only and at a distance of 4 km from Midelt, a little town located at an altitude of 1500 meters at the foot of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain, on the road from Errachidia to Meknès. More and more the influence of the town becomes visible and several inhabitants of this village have left their village for Midelt.

In the villages the population is more homogeneous. Subsistence is based on agriculture, often according to age-old methods, on olive, apple or other fruit trees and livestock, 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. Where in 1960, the rural population still represented 71 % of the total Moroccan population, it actually only represents some 50 % of this population.

By the way modernization does not leave the Moroccan rural towns and villages on the left as it certainly also is the case in the whole of North Africa and the Sahara. After the craze for the satellite antenna, the mobile phone is on its way to conquer the rural world and especially the young men and the young women. So, the mobile phone became at the end of 1999 the very latest fashion and a prestigious item in the small Moroccan town Midelt, and during the year 2000 the mobile phone infiltrated already the little village Ksar Assaka near Midelt. In January 2002 one can use in Moroccan towns, even the really small ones, the Internet in some shops much frequented by adolescents and young adults. In the little coastal town Sidi Ifni I have even seen six to ten-year-old children making their puzzles and designs on the computer.

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

In the big, middle and even small cities of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, situated along or nearby the coast, live non-ethnic or multi-ethnic communities. 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, a really traditional behavior as well as a strict Islamic behavior. This is most visible among the female population as one can see in the streets some women wearing veils and others following the mini-length fashion.

The information on the play activities and toys related to the animal world 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, is, it seems to me, to listen to what Néfissa 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 appearances but with a common basis founded on resembling family units (1970/1982: 35-36).

In this book the reader will find an analysis of the play activities and toys of Saharan and North African children related to the animal world. First the play activities and toys related to dromedaries have been discussed, then those related to horses, mules and donkeys, to cattle and livestock, to other domestic animals and finally to non-domestic animals. Each of these subdivisions starts with a summary putting forward the main characteristics of the concerned group of play activities and toys.
In the section 'Conclusion and Perspectives', a synthesis is proposed, together with a discussion of some environmental, economic, socio-cultural and social semiotic aspects of the described play activities, games and toys, followed by some perspectives.

In an appendix a detailed and systematic description, in French, of the Saharan and North African toy animals of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme can be consulted.

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 regularly use Arabic letters to write their language. These Amazigh words are also written in *italics*.

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

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

Before introducing the reader to the treasure of the Saharan and North African toy and play cultures inspired by the animal world, I wish to thank all those who have in one way or another contributed to the realization of this book, especially:

- The Ghrib families, in particular the children of the 1970s, and Gilbert J.M. Claus of the Department of African Languages and Cultures of the University of Ghent for their friendliness and help during my research on the Ghrib games and toys.
- Aïcha Ouazzani and Mustafa Trifa for their help in Kénitra, Driss Bousalham and Ibrahim of Kénitra for their information on Fès and Khouribga.
- Fatima Zohra Mdarhri of Rabat who gave me some data on Aïn Cheggag and introduced me to her family of Imouzzer-Kandar where Driss et Abderrahim Lakhdar offered me their hospitality and their information.
- Hamid Amhal, Omar Derouich, Ali Harcherras, Hamid Lihi, Lahbib Oubbi, Mbarek and Omar Taous together with other members of the socio-cultural association Tilelli, who guided and informed me during several sojourns in their small town of Goulmima, to whom should be added Rachida Lihi.
- The boys and the girls of the village Aït Ighemour together with their teachers, especially Ihbous Noureddine, an Amazigh from Essaouira, who invited me twice at Aït Ighemour and served as interpreter.
- The boys and the girls of the village Ignern and especially Hamid, Zeina and the family Mohamed ou Ali.
- Together with several other Moroccan male and female informants who contributed in gathering the data on the play, games and toys of Moroccan children.
- Souad Laabib of Ksar Assaka for her support and help as interpreter for Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic from 1995 till 2000.
• Dominique Champault and Jean Lambert of the Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l'Homme, together with their collaborators for their help and kindness.
• The photographers of the Laboratoire de Photographie of the same museum, who made almost all the photographs of the toys of the Musée de l'Homme's collection, together with those in charge of the Photothèque.
• Gareth Whittaker for his help with improving the English text.
• Ruben Rossie for his advice and help in using the computer.
• Krister Svensson, Eva Petersson, Anders Nelson and Mattias Nilsson of the former Nordic Center for Research on Toys and Educational Media (NCFL), and Krister Svensson, Anders Nelson, Mattias Nilsson and Johnny Friberg of the Stockholm International Toy Research Centre (SITREC) for their friendship and help.
The Animal World
in Saharan and North African
Children's Play, Games and Toys
1 Dromedaries

1.1 Summary

The dromedary, so well adapted to the desert, has naturally brainstormed the imagination of the Saharan children. Therefore, it is normal that this animal is referred to in quite a number of these children's games as well as in their toys.

Tuareg children play with little animals, especially little dromedaries. About this play Edmond and Suzanne Bernus write that the herds join the encampment in the evening. The shepherds lead the goats and ewes, while the cows and she-dromedaries are attracted by the presence of little dromedaries and calves. The young animals should be tied so that they will not join their mother before milking time. The young boys enjoy their daily corrida of chasing young calves caracoling between the tents. Nonetheless, it is the young dromedaries that animate the late afternoons of the Tuareg encampments. Owing to their number, the operation has to be often repeated. Some of these nimble and cunning young dromedaries swerve around in a game in which both the child and the animal compete in skillfulness. Hiding behind small shrub and tents the child pretending indifference moves forward nonchalantly till the right moment comes to jump at the tail of the young dromedary in order to get it to its stake (1983: 46).

That it is possible to play a game of dromedary without toys is shown on the first four figures. These photographs have been taken among the Ghrib children (Tunisian Sahara) in 1975 or 1977. It is mainly a game for boys but girls also play it from time to time. Figure 1 shows a fourteen-year-old boy on all fours walking around his
little brother sitting on his back. The second photograph shows some other boys in a more complicated situation (fig. 2).

These games are simply called 'ej-jmel', the dromedary, sometimes also el-°akkêri, the saddle-cushion, as it happens that a cushion is put on the back of the boy serving as dromedary. There is also the dromedary guided by his shepherd (fig. 3) and the dromedary with tied legs that is
then called *gid ej-jmel*, the hobble for the anterior legs of a dromedary (fig. 4).

This leg-tied child acting as a dromedary is possibly guided by a shepherd who feeds and waters him. When there are two dromedaries of this kind they sometimes are allowed to fight one another. Their shepherds shout *arfa arfa arfa* or *khûdha khûdha*, meaning go on, go on. They beat their dromedary with a stick and they whistle as real shepherds do. Nevertheless, this fight between dromedaries has to be simulated and seldom leads to a real scuffle. A race between leg-tied dromedaries can be organized. Finally the older boys taking a little child on their shoulders can hold a dromedary race.

Also in southern Tunisia at Gallala on the island of Jerba, young girls imitating domestic animals like dromedaries or cows carry out a play activity. This game is part of the rituals of the 'bû Harrûs' festivities. These festivities are, according to Abderrahman Ayoub, possibly related to the Egyptian tradition of Horus and take place during the ۰ashûra period or the beginning of the month of May as this is the case at Nefta and Tozeur (1991: 27-28).

Charles Béart writes that the children of the Moors organize caravans without any toys, some of the children playing the role of dromedaries, and imitate all the incidents that can happen during a real caravan trip (1955: 598).
The collection of the Musée de l'Homme includes a large series of toy dromedaries in miniature with or without a harness and possibly ridden by a man or even a woman. These toys collected between 1934 and 1974, come from the Tuareg (Sahara), the Moors (Sahara), Zagora (Moroccan pre-Sahara), the oasis of Tabelbala (Algerian Sahara), the Saoura Valley (Algerian Sahara), the Teda (Chadian Sahara) and the Zaghawa (Chadian Sahara). Personally, I have seen toy dromedaries among the Ghrib (Tunisian Sahara) in 1975 and 1977, and in the Moroccan pre-Sahara in 1993, 1997 and 1998.

Outside the Sahara or the pre-Saharan region, samples of toy dromedaries are only found among the children of the Chaouia, an Amazigh population living in the mountains of the Aurès in northeastern Algeria, and at Ignern, an Amazigh village in Morocco.

The shape of these toy dromedaries varies from a purely schematic to a very life-like one, with sometimes much focus on details. The harness itself may be symbolized or it may be a detailed reproduction of the real model.

In 1975, a three-year-old boy sitting in the tent only used a log of wood to turn himself into a race-dromedary as shown on figure 5.
Gilbert J.M. Claus photographed a dromedary made with a piece of a skin sack, used for making butter, in 1973. This toy belongs to a boy of the Sabria, a population living next to the Ghrib at the oasis of El Faouar in the Tunisian Sahara. This dromedary, in the boy's hands, and a reptile, at the boy's feet, where made by an older brother (fig. 6).

The materials used to make toy dromedaries are pieces of stones, jawbones of goats or sheep, clay, various objects of vegetal origin (mushrooms, palm leaves, little branches, pieces of wood) and plastic coated electric wires. A toy dromedary can also be made with dromedary or cow dung. Furthermore, a dromedary cut out of an tin foil is mentioned. In the bibliographical information but not in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme, one finds dromedaries made of leather played with by the children of the Moors (Béart, 1955: 597).

According to Fernando Pinto Cebrián, the Sahrawi children use snail shells representing a herd of dromedaries in two games (1999: 116, fig. 27). One game consists in asking the hand of a girl and discussing the number of dromedaries to be given as bride wealth, and the other game enacts the buying and selling of dromedaries. This author writes, in 1999, that to play these games well the children need dromedaries as each dromedary receives a particular name according to its sex, age, color and skin. For example the name of 'naga' should be used for the female dromedary, 'hegge' for the two to four-year-old female dromedary, 'seydah' for the riding dromedary, 'iagha' for the female dromedary that has given birth recently, 'yemel' for the male dromedary, 'vatri' for the male dromedary having all its teeth, 'azouzal' for the castrated dromedary, 'lekhal' or 'amxawwel' for the male dromedary used for reproduction, 'markub' for the pack dromedary, 'lahouar' for the little dromedary, 'hegg' for the two to four-year-old male dromedary, 'yedaa' for the small
dromedary, 'edariv' for the uncastrated young dromedary, 'abiad' for the white dromedary, 'ajmar' for the red one, 'sgar' for the light red one, 'ajadar' for the strong red one, 'azaraik' for the one with a red and white skin (1999: 115).

The saddles and dromedary riders have a frame made either of vegetable material or of clay. Yet, one can find some saddles made of white iron and riders made of plastic coated electric wire. Other pieces of harness such as saddlecloths, saddlebags, bridle and so on are made of textile fabric, wool or leather.

1.2 Dromedaries of carved stone

Henri Lhote, who has brought nearly all the toy dromedaries of carved stone to the Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient, mentions in one of the index cards that these toys are used for a very old game played in a geographical area extending from Mauritania to Somalia. More precisely, such toy dromedaries have been mentioned for the following populations: the nomadic Chaamba, Regeybat, Tuareg and Moors, and also for the inhabitants of the oasis of Tabelbala. Yet, the collection shows only some specimens made by the children of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and Kel Ajjer of the Algerian Sahara and the Tuareg Kel Aïr of the Sahara of Niger.

Three authors, Henri Lhote (1952) for the Tuareg, Denis (1952) and Dominique Champault (1969) for the Chaamba, give us a description of how these toys are made and used. Four photographs of R. Mauny show the making of stone dromedaries by young children from the Moors of Atar (Adrar, Mauritania) and how they use them (Béart, 1955: 141-142).

These toy dromedaries are, in general, the work of young boys, especially shepherds. However, one of the informants of Denis, a Chaamba of El Golea in the Algerian Sahara, told him that girls also make toy dromedaries just as boys do, but they add to them pack-saddles and a woman of wood (1952: 34).

Children carve these stones in plates of flint and crystalline, ochre’s or slaty schist, in plates of mica-schist and milky quartz, in sandstone of different color and shape, in Acheulean bifacials and even in a plate of plaster. Additionally, Captain Archier (1953: 38) mentions the use of a
piece of pottery. The carving is done on an anvil of stone by means of another stone used as a striker. It is precisely the hump but also the neck and the hindquarters that are represented, as can be seen on figure 7 (H+ = 9 cm, H- = 1.7 cm; catalogue 2.1, 71.39.5.1-40, p. 192).

While cutting out the shape, the Chaamba shepherds and those of the oasis of Tabelbala sing a short song. When cutting a male dromedary they sing 'strike, strike children, my female dromedary is beautiful, my male dromedary is ugly' and when cutting a female dromedary they sing 'strike, strike children, my male dromedary is beautiful, my female dromedary is ugly'. Dominique Champault adds to this that these children do not ignore the prophylactic pretence and so declare the opposite of their secret wishes hoping that nothing may disturb the realization of their dreams (1969: 347; see also Denis, 1952: 31).

Although one could think at first sight that most of these dromedaries are uniform, the nomadic children give a precise signification to these toys following their shape. For them they really represent a male dromedary, with a deep notch in the middle of the base, a female dromedary lying on her gravid belly, with a thick base, or a little dromedary, the small stones (for a detailed description of the shapes see Denis, 1952).
In addition to these very schematic toy dromedaries there also are some more elaborated ones as shown on figure 8 (H = 7 cm, L = 9.5 cm) and 9 (p. 55, H = 27.2 cm, B = 20 cm; catalogue 2.1, 62.128.3/4, p. 191).

The index card of the dromedary on figure 8 mentions that this dromedary was carved by a child from the Tuareg Kel Ajjer, probably a boy as in the case of the one on figure 9 (p. 55). This dromedary, probably a male because of the notch in its base, carries a leading-string but the other specimens of the collection lack all accessories. However, it has been noted that Chaamba boys and those of the oasis of Tabelbala put a saddle of herbs or iron wire on the back of their dromedary on which they place a rider of graminaceous plants dressed with rags and pearls that the girls give them (Denis, 1952: 35; Champault, 1969: 347; Rossie, 2005, Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children’s Dolls and Doll Play, 1.2 Dromedarist dolls, p. 51).
Henri Lhote (1975: 410) shows a dromedary painted by a Tuareg child on an ovular pebble with a maximum diameter of 7.8 cm. These paintings on pebbles made about 1960 have been executed in the manner of the European painters copying the cave paintings decorating some under rock shelters in the Tassili.

Lieutenant Denis offers detailed information on how the Chaamba shepherds play with dromedaries of stone. They carve a whole herd of dromedaries among which are stallion-dromedaries, pregnant and non-pregnant female dromedaries, and little dromedaries. The best pieces are sometimes harnessed. The children bring their toy dromedaries to the pasture and watering place, organize a caravan, and mime the gestures and the cries of dromedaries and shepherds. A watering place is made in the sand, with a quite big hole as water point and a smaller hole, in which water from an imaginary well is poured, as water trough where the animals drink.

Denis published in 1955 two interesting photographs showing a Chaamba boy cutting a dromedary in a stone and another Chaamba boy watering his toy dromedaries. Unfortunately it is not possible to reproduce these photographs because of author’s rights but the revue
Bulletin de Liaison Saharienne in which these photographs were published can be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (code 8°03 1743, http://www.bnf.fr).

The giving birth to a little dromedary is represented in the following way. To the side of a pregnant she-dromedary, a stone with a thick and flat base, a small stone being the little dromedary is stuck with saliva and sand. When this little dromedary is separated from its mother, the she-dromedary gives birth.

To recreate an encampment and nomadic life the children sometimes add to their dromedaries, palm-trees, men, and tents made with rags and small sticks. They also compete for the nicest specimen or the biggest herd. Often races are organized with well-elaborated toy dromedaries. Each child holds its toy dromedary with two fingers at the place of the saddle runs around and simulates the movements of shortening and lengthening the neck of his dromedary. At the same time imitating the cries of excitement, of command, and of the animals themselves (Denis, 1952: 35-36; see also Champault, 1969: 346).

The Tuareg children set up their dromedaries of carved stone in the sand and rank them in a line or a circle meanwhile using the everyday vocabulary of the real herdsmen (Lhote, 1952: 278; Archier, 1953: 39). The Tuareg children abandon most of these toys when they leave for another place. Only the best-carved ones are taken with them.

According to Captain Archier and among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar in the Algerian Sahara the term 'tifersitin (sing. téfersit)' signifies only dromedaries of carved stone (1953: 39). Yet, Charles de Foucauld writes in his Dictionnaire Touareg-Français that this word signifies an animal or a person of carved stone used as a toy: the children of the Ahaggar roughly carve in flat stones a dromedary, a horse, a man or a woman, etc. (1951-1952: 238).

It should be noted that these dromedaries of carved stone are mostly bidimensional this in contrast to most of the other toys made by Saharan and North African children.
1.3 Dromedaries of jawbone

Among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar of the Algerian Sahara and the Tuareg Kel Ajjer of the Algerian and Libyan Sahara, the boys and the girls often make saddled and mounted dromedaries with the jawbone of a goat or a sheep. According to information from the index card of the collection one finds the same saddled and mounted dromedaries of jawbone at El Oued in the Algerian Sahara near the Tunisian border. I saw these dromedaries of jawbone in the hands of the boys of the seminomadic Ghrib (Tunisian Sahara) in 1975.

The collection of the Musée de l'Homme offers some examples collected among the Tuareg before 1939. As far as the age of the makers is indicated, it varies between ten and twelve years. Some dromedaries have been made by boys while others where made by a twelve-year-old girl.

These toy dromedaries called 'aknar' among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar from Idèles in Algeria, have the same name among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar from Ghât in Libya. For the Tuareg Kel Ajjer of Djanet in Algeria the word 'amajor' has been mentioned (Duprez, index card 34.52.42).

On top of a jawbone of a goat or a sheep a little saddle has been fixed. This saddle consists of graminaceous twigs covered by varicolored mercerized cotton. The design of figure 10 shows the different frames of the saddles.

Sometimes a blanket and a saddlecloth, both of textile fabric, form part of the miniature harness. Pieces of embroidered skin or some old leather strings represent the saddlebags. Often a dromedarist doll sits on the saddle as this is the case with the dromedary of figure 11 (p. 58, H = 29 cm; catalogue 2.2, 41.19.113, p. 193; see also Rossie, 2005, Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children’s Dolls and Doll Play, 1.2 Dromedarist dolls, p. 53).

The minimum height of these toy dromedaries is 19.5 cm and the maximum height 37 cm.
As seen on figure 12 this toy dromedary has a very elaborated shape (p. 59, H = 34 cm, L = 17 cm; catalogue 2.2, 34.52.42, p. 194). Captain Duprez received it from its maker, the son of the sheik of Djanet (Tuareg Kel Djanet) in the Algerian Sahara before 1935.

The jawbone lapped in a khaki rag represents the hindquarters of the dromedary. The front legs, the neck and the head are made of interwoven palm-stems or palm leaves covered with the same khaki rag. A piece of
wood and two little twigs represent the saddle with a cross-shaped pommel, the whole being wrapped up in white cotton. The pommel is also covered with a piece of aluminum. A red saddlecloth with white stripes is placed under the saddle. A big saddlebag of black and white cotton strips hangs to the side of the dromedary. Its neck is decorated with plaited threads of wool in white, yellow, green, blue and red colors and a leading-string of gauze is also attached to it.

With these toy dromedaries of jawbone the children enjoy playing a carrousel of dromedaries and other scenes related to nomadic life.
In the 1970s, the young Ghrib boys liked to make toy dromedaries with a goat's jawbone. A small saddle-cushion and a saddle cut out of a flattened tin can are often fixed on the back of these dromedaries (fig. 13, H = 15 cm).

The saddle-pommel is in the form of a cross, indicating that it is a race-saddle not a packsaddle. A woolen leading-string completes the harness. Sometimes, the saddle is only a broken twig (fig. 14, H = 17 cm) and the dromedarist a tuft of goat hair (fig. 15, H = 15 cm).

While playing with these toys the boys initiate themselves to guarding, breeding and using dromedaries, the most important animal for the Ghrib at least until the beginning of the 1980s.
1.4 Dromedaries of dung

As shown on figure 16 (H = 9 cm) it happens that the Ghrib boys cut out for their herdsman game the shape of a dromedary in dromedary dung. It is also one of the rare bidimensional toys made by North African and Saharan children. The long cylindrical stone represents the herdsman and the small one his dog.

For the Chaamba of the Algerian Sahara, Denis (1952: 34) describes this dromedary as follows: I saw the Chaamba dromedarist Djelloul harness a figure, which he had cut in the dung of a dromedary. A strip of rags represented the 'rzama' (a kind of reins), another one the tail-rope and a third one fixed at the rahla or saddle the girth. This saddle was made of 'sbott'. The two ends of the strand, linked at the front to the top of the cross, were spreading downwards to make the underside of the saddle. Then the buckle came back up to make the 'guerbous' (the back of the saddle). A flint made the seat and a twig finished the cross. The whole was covered and strengthened with strips of rags. A rag placed under the seat served as the 'iouich' (saddlecloth) and on top another rag represented the saddlecloth of this well build and realistic saddle.
Quickly sewn rags created the dromedarist's containers of skin or textile fabric ('ghrair', 'tassoufra' and 'dabia') and a little twig maintained by a rag sling served as the carbin. The game, for which this kind of dromedaries is used, has been described with Dromedaries of carved stone (see 1.2, p. 52).

Among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar of the Algerian Sahara the children make toy dromedaries by sticking acacia thorns into a piece of dromedary dung, a double thorn for both the head and the neck and a single thorn for each leg and for the tail (Bellin, 1963: 99-100).

Edmond Bernus shows a beautiful photograph of a young Tuareg Iullemeden Kel Dinnik child (Malian Sahara) with its dromedary made of dromedary dung and thorns of the 'tiboraq' (*balanites ægyptiaca*) (1975: 174).

1.5 Dromedaries with frames of vegetal material

Other toy dromedaries have a frame of vegetal material: leaves, little branches, and mushrooms. Most of these toys are the works of nomadic children.

A child of the Tabelbala oasis in the Algerian Sahara made this dromedary with a mushroom as trunk. The children of this oasis also weave dromedaries of palm leaves (Champault, 1969: 346). This type of dromedary is also made in the Moroccan pre-Sahara.

If the dromedary collected in 1954 with a mushroom as trunk and little branches as legs (fig. 17, H = 5.5 cm, L = 3 cm) remains schematic, then the dromedary of palm leaves shows a remarkable esthetic sense. All these dromedaries of woven palm leaves have a bidimensional shape.
A dromedary of palm leaves is found in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme. A boy of Zagora in the Moroccan pre-Sahara wove it about 1970. I came across identical toy dromedaries woven by some young boys in the same Moroccan pre-Sahara, near the Gorges du Todra in the region of Tinerhir and also at the Source Bleue de Meski near Errachidia, between the end of 1993 and the beginning of 1997 (fig. 18, H = 15 cm, L = 13.5 cm, total H = 33 cm). From the age of five years onwards the boys practice this skill with four palm-leaf strips obtained by splitting two palm leaves. These toys are nowadays sold to tourists for about 4 dirhams or 0.4 Euro. During a visit to the Source Bleue de Meski in 1994 a man born in the village of Meski at the beginning of the 1920s told me some details about how he and the other boys of his generation played with these toy dromedaries and also with similar gazelles and mules. Four or five boys make a miniature oasis garden, they irrigate it and play around it with their dromedaries or mules of palm leaves. They pull them along with a long palm-leaf strip fixed to the front of the animal. Two long strips of palm-leaf knotted up at their ends make it possible to hang the toy dromedary and the other similar toy animals around ones neck like it is still done today. According to this informant and the boys who sold me the toy animals these games have fallen into disuse.
Near Tinerhir where the tourists visit the Gorges du Todra I found in November 1996 several dromedaries and mules of woven palm leaves on the ground. As there were at that moment no boys selling these toys I looked for some information in a nearby primary school. There it was explained to me that it is only during the holidays and especially in summer during the tourist season that the boys weave these toy animals.

A twelve-year-old Tuareg Kel Ahaggar girl created in 1938 the unique dromedary in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme coming from this population and made with a frame of little branches covered with rags (fig. 19, H = 25 cm, L = 27 cm; catalogue 2.3, 41.19.124, p. 195). Moreover, this girl has made the saddle and saddlebags that offer a faithful imitation of a woman's harness.
An interesting photograph of Henri Lhote, reproduced at figure 20 (p. 65), shows a Tuareg girl sitting on the sand with this kind of toy dromedaries and also some dromedarists and warriors in miniature (1944: 113, planche VIII).

On their saddled dromedaries the girls possibly place a female doll. These harnessed dromedaries would have been very rare (Balout, 1959: planche LXXI), a statement that needs to be relativized as one will read further on.

According to the bibliographical information on the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar, the creation by the children of dromedaries with a frame of little branches is done in the following way. Two fresh little branches, one forming the legs - one front and one rear leg - the other representing the neck and the head, are tied together to get the desired curvature. When the wood is esteemed dry, the frame is unfastened and the little branches keep to their forced curvature (Balout, 1959: planche LXVIII; Bellin, 1963: 100). Balout, Bovis and Gast specify that with the two branches wrapped up in miserable rags the nomadic child recreates with
precision the archaic silhouette of a dromedary. This child sometimes reproduces in minute detail the decorations incised with a knife on the nose of the dromedary, its tail or the hair on its hump indicating good health (1959, planche LXVII).

The text of an anonymous author published under the title *Vie des Touaregs. Enfance et Jeux* and probably written in the 1950s, gives an excellent description of the toy dromedaries with frames of vegetal material and the game they are used for. For the creation of these toys as well as in the related play activities boys and girls cooperate.

The main figure, around which all the other figures revolve, is the dromedary that object of desire for all nomadic children and the equivalent of the car for the French children. The boys make the frame with supple wood, preferably acacia or *Mœrua crassifiola*. Then the little girls dress it with rags and cover the whole with a nice white piece of cloth to create the mount of a chief. Sometimes, when sewing this small masterpiece proves too delicate for the inexperienced little fingers, the help of a woman of the family is sought after, a woman who willingly gives her help. All the details are scrupulously respected. The head is well designed with tiny pieces of wood, carefully cut by the artist of the band: the eyes, the ears, the mouth, nothing is missing. The form of the hump is often well executed. However, the dromedary seen in profile only has two legs to be stuck into the sand to keep it upright. Once again, it is a boy who sculptures the saddle in a piece of supple wood, preferably saddle in a piece of supple wood, tamarisk. It is an exact copy of the 'rahla tamzak', branded by means of a needlepoint and fixed unto the dromedary by a little girth. This girth with its pompom looks just like a real harness. Later on, all the members of the playgroup start to cut out of some remainders of leather the bridle, the 'dabias', the 'areg' and even the whip and saddlecloth. Once the dromedary is finished its rider is made with a wooden frame. The girls cover this frame with luxurious gandouras (upper clothes) while the boys put in place the two 'chechs' and the bandoleer of nobility. Finally, the artist among the boys carves out of a tin can the 'takouba' or Tuareg sword without which no man of nobility can travel. Around this central figure all the other figures are slowly put in place. First of all there is the mother, dressed in large clothes and whose wooden feet curiously stick into a larger clay ball that gives a balancing movement to this doll representing it's walking. Then
come the children of every height and the black servants. To all these dolls are added the other animals and familiar objects of the camp such as pack-dromedaries, goats, dogs, donkeys, carpets, pots and water-skins. Finally the tents are cut out of a piece of skin. When all these toys are finished, all the children participate in the game called the 'tribe'. The boys, with the chief of the family riding his white dromedary and the pack-dromedaries burdened with bags of sand, travel along trails designed on the ground, walk around mountains of stones to water their animals at imaginary water-places and so doing cover thousands of miles on a strange relief map whose proportions are far from being respected. The young girls staying at the camp build the tents, send the black rag dolls to look after the goats of clay, simulate a time-consuming and tasty cooking and succeed in preparing a succulent dish with three dates. When the boys return from a long journey of hundred meters everyone plays the great feasts that welcome the caravans returning from Sudan (p. 93-94).

Bellin adds to this description that the young Tuareg creates a show with a turning stack or a burning twig. In his taste for shows, in his artistic creation dreaming plays a big role, a place that dreaming also seems to have in the life of the Tuareg (1963: 100).

Some toy dromedaries of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme have two front legs and two rear legs as is the case with a toy dromedary bearing a small saddle belonging to the collection of the Musée du Bardo (Balout, 1959, planche LXVIII).

The toy dromedary shown on figure 21 has its legs tied as is done to prevent a dromedary from running too far (H = 38 cm, L = 22 cm; catalogue 2.3, X.61.2.1, p. 195).
The toy dromedaries of the Tuareg Kel Aïr children (Sahara of Niger) show that it is also possible to use leaves. Among the toy dromedaries kept at the Musée de l'Homme there is a beautiful one of this kind made by a boy in 1960 (fig. 22, total H = 46 cm; dromedary H = 40 cm, L = 34 cm; dromedarist H = 24 cm).

The frame of the dromedary and the rider is made of leaves twisted and rolled up around an iron wire. The saddle with a cross-shaped pommel is called the Agadez type, the saddlecloth being cut out of a piece of braid. The saddlebags of yellow and white striped cotton are decorated with tassels and leather strips to which yellow pearls are attached. Some threads of red wool decorate the neck of the dromedary and its tail is made with cotton strips. The dromedarist is dressed in the usual dress: white underwear and indigo outerwear. The waist is tightened with a strap and fastened with an iron buckle. The head's veil is fixed with a
thorn. The clothes of the dromedarist have been made with rags from men’s cloths.
Another type of a toy dromedary frame in this region has a cushion of rags as trunk with four twigs fixed in it as legs (fig. 23, total H = 48 cm; dromedary H = 35 cm, L = 20 cm; dromedarist H = 15.5 cm; catalogue 2.3, 74.107.6, p. 196). The neck and head of the dromedary are made of twisted fibers or leaves. The dromedary is made of twisted palm-fibers (Rossie, 2005, *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children’s Dolls and Doll Play*, 1.2 Dromedarist dolls, p. 54).
A very beautiful saddlebag in miniature, belonging to a Tuareg Iullemeden girl of Gao in Mali, was made by a local female artisan in 1939 (fig. 24, L = 9.5 cm, B = 14 cm; straps L = 11 cm). This woman's traveling bag in miniature is made of goatskin. It has a rectangular shape and a large collar at the top. Small embroideries decorate the upper part. At the lower part there are large bands of decorated skin with several strips (L = 11 cm). The fastening rings at both sides are from plaited skin.
1.6 Dromedaries of wood

According to Jean-Philippe Arm, harnessed and loaded dromedaries of carved wood are used as toys by the children of the Moors from Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara (1976: 118, 122).

The children of the Moors from Assa in the Moroccan Sahara also play with wooden dromedaries. The specimen of the collection has been made by an artisan in 1938 (fig. 25, H = 39 cm, L = 45 cm; catalogue 2.4, 38.156.33, p. 198). The different parts of the toy, painted red and orange, are linked together with nails. The 'rahla', a man's saddle with a cross-shaped pommel, is made of wood covered with red leather and placed on a cotton saddlecloth. This man's saddle is a detailed imitation of the dromedary saddle commonly used by men in part of the north and the whole center and south of the Sahara of the Moors.
A miniature woman's saddle with a baldachin belonging to the collection of the Musée de l'Homme comes from the same region (fig. 26, \(H = 33 \text{ cm}, \ L = 22 \text{ cm}\)). Two dolls are sitting under the baldachin. The pack saddle is constructed with some red painted twigs linked together with braids of hair. The litter consists of a piece of black goatskin spread on a wooden rectangular frame. The baldachin is covered with a white cotton rag (catalogue 2.4, 38.180.77, p. 198).

Some toys, representing another type of a woman's saddle, a pair of bags for women's clothes together with their support and a man's saddle, have been collected among the children of the Moors from Tidjikdja in the Tagant (Mauritanian Sahara) between 1936 and 1938. Local artisans made the iron and wooden parts and female artisans the skin parts. This kind of a woman's saddle is made with uncovered wood or with wood covered with red and yellow leather (fig. 27, p. 73, \(H = 11 \text{ cm}, \ L = 22 \text{ cm}\); catalogue 2.4, 38.48.39, p. 199).
The wooden support and the bags, attached to the frame with cords, are placed at both sides of the saddle. This pair of bags decorated with red, green and yellow drawings reproduces exactly the big bags used by women for their travels. In the tent this wooden support becomes a luggage rack (total H = 23 cm; catalogue 2.4, 38.48.38/43, p. 199).

*La vie du Sahara* (1960: 73) describes a small travel bag as a toy among the Moors of Tagant. It is a very fine object made by a female artisan.

The Sahrawi girls use representations of dromedaries and of male or female saddles. Fernando Pinto Cebrián shows several photographs of these dromedaries and saddles (1999: 106-108, 114; fig. 16-20/26). Dromedaries are made of wood sometimes covered with skin. The uncovered dromedary shown by this author seems to be made of several parts, the hump, the legs and the tail being separate pieces. There is also an indication of the ears, eyes, nose and mouth. These dromedaries and saddles, resembling those of the Moors (fig. 25, p. 71; 27), are used in girls' games representing the family camp (see *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic Life in Play, Games and Toys*, 1.2 The nomadic settlement). According to this author, the older toy dromedaries were not as perfect as they are today as they were made with pieces of skin fixed together and filled with sand (1999: 105).
1.7 Dromedaries of clay

The Saharan children of the Tuareg, the Moors, the Teda and the Zaghawa, and the children of the settled Chaouia wholeheartedly mould dromedaries. These dromedaries of crude or fired clay can be completed with a harness and a dromedarist. Moreover, the girls of the Moroccan Amazigh village Ignern sometimes fashion a dromedary with clay.

Dromedaries of this kind belonging to the children of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and Kel Ajjer of the Algerian Sahara are made of clay and dried in the sun. The toy dromedary, called 'aknar', modeled by a young Tuareg Kel Ahaggar boy wears a clay saddle.

Benhazera mentions in 1908 that the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar children model dromedaries and horses of clay. He writes that these children model a dromedary with its saddle but also a she-dromedary with its little dromedaries, a horse, etc. They also make a dromedary mounted by a man, called 'aknar', or mounted by a women, called 'taknart'. These represent the bridegroom and the bride. Benhazera specifies that the young clay modelers are known to be very skillful (p. 21).

According to H. Foley (1930: 47) the young boys of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and according to F. Nicolas (1950: 186) also the children of the Tuareg Iullemeden (Tuareg Kel Dinnik, Sahara of Niger) mould in clay not only dromedaries but horses and oxen as well. The two dromedaries of sun-dried clay collected among the children of the Tuareg Kel Ajjer (Algerian Sahara) have a massive appearance.
One of them is mounted by a dromedarist also made of clay (fig. 28, p. 74, total H = 14.5 cm; catalogue 2.5, 37.21.104, p. 201).

The dromedary saddle without an object number found in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme belonged very probably to a Tuareg child. It is a saddle with a round pommel cut and folded in a piece of white iron. This white iron has been surrounded with thin brownish and reddish leather. This saddle has black drawings on the pommel and the back (fig. 29, H = 5.3 cm, L = 3 cm).

Jean Gabus mentions that the Tuareg children of Timbuktu and Goundam, two cities along the Niger River in Mali, play with clay dromedaries and other clay animals with three legs, the fore legs being one trunk (1958: 164).

The collection of Saharan and North African toys of the Musée de l'Homme contains a series of miniaturized three-legged toy animals coming from the little town of Oualata in Mauritania and made by the black female servants of the Moors. Among these Oualata toy animals there is also a dromedary or a horse in painted clay of 4 cm height and 5 cm length (fig. 30, catalogue 3.1, 38.48.80, p. 206).

In contrast to the three-legged animals of the Timbuktu and Goundam Tuareg children that are monochrome, those of the children of the Oualata Moors are polychrome (see 2.2, p. 88).
In his book Jean Gabus (1958: 168) reproduces a sketch of a 15 cm high saddled three-legged dromedary of fired clay as found among the Oualata Moors (fig. 97, p. 000). This three-legged dromedary has a geometric pattern on its neck and below the saddle, this way relating it to a fragment of probably a horse dating back to between the year 400 and 900 (fig. 104, p. 000). An analysis of this remarkable continuity over two thousand years or more of the three-legged toy animals in the southern Sahara is given in Rossie, 2005, *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An Anthropological Approach with Reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (p. 82).
The Children of the Moors from the Northwestern Sahara (Algerian-Moroccan border) play with four-legged dromedaries of fired reddish clay. These dromedaries carry a saddle and a dromedarist also of fired clay. The saddle is decorated with incised streaks and dots (fig. 31, p. 76, total H = 23 cm, L = 16.2 cm).

Charles Béart writes on toy dromedaries that the children of the Moors start imitating dromedary herdsmen as soon as they can walk. Every object, especially wood but if necessary also a string lying around on the ground becomes a dromedary. The child talks to it, tries to imitate the traditional shouting, and the adults show their interest in its play. At Agueilat (Gorgol) the almost four-year-old son of the chief leads by its leading-string a real dromedary to the pasture while his father leads another one. The boy sits on a toy saddle, takes a stick and organizes races. Later on he will sit on the real saddles placed in the tent until the day comes he finally is allowed to mount a dromedary (1955: 145).

According to Denis, the Chaamba children model their toy dromedaries with mud (1952: 32).

Dominique Champault notes that the children from the oasis of Tabelbala in the Northwestern Sahara make wonderful and very naturalistic dromedaries of white and ochre kaolin (1969: 346).

The Teda children of Tibesti (Chadian Sahara) model dromedaries of clay. Moreover, they make wooden riding saddles or packsaddles (fig. 32, H = 14.5, L = 19 cm; catalogue 2.5, 35.50.184, p. 202; fig. 33, H = 19.5 cm, L = 20 cm; catalogue 2.5, 54.51.32, p. 205).
These children also prepare saddlecloths and saddlebags of leather or rags. All these saddles, cloths and bags closely resemble the real objects. The wooden parts of the toy saddles are fastened with leather strips or braids of camel hair. On the complete toy saddle of figure 34, twelve rectangles of various and multicolored rags constitute the saddlecloth (H = 9 cm, L = 11 cm; catalogue 2.5, 65.3.51, p. 203).

The small saddlebags of figures 35 and 36 are made of untreated skin. The bag with the narrowest opening is embellished with a blue square decoration (L = 22/31 cm, B = 8.5/11 cm; catalogue 2.5, 65.3.52/53, p. 203).
The Teda place the saddle on the dromedary's hump, this in opposition to the Tuareg, the Ghrib, the Moors and the Chaamba who place it on the withers of the animal. Peter Fuchs declares that these figures are the favorite toys of the Teda children, that a clay dromedarist is put on the saddle and that they organize razzias with these mounted dromedaries (1961: 47). As shown in the photograph of Peter Fuchs, reproduced at figure 37 it is the boys who most of all play with saddled and mounted dromedaries. Yet, a little saddle for women, made by a small girl (fig. 33, p. 77), prove that Teda girls also play with toy dromedaries. Moreover, this author notices that some girls are successful in making a women's saddle for their dolls.

Figure 38 (p. 80) shows a dromedary with a well-marked neck, hump and tail modeled in clay by a Zaghawa boy (Ouaddaï, Chad). This sun dried animal stands on four solid legs (H = 10 cm, L = 11 cm; catalogue 2.5, 57.82.127, p. 204). All the Zaghawa children make similar toys which they call 'di', dromedary.
An eleven-year-old Amazigh boy of the Chaouia (Aurès, Algeria) created a dromedary in fired clay using a quite different design (fig. 39, H = 9.5 cm, L = 14 cm; catalogue 2.5, 36.2.707, p. 204). This dromedary has a raised head and a hump thrown back above the tail. The front legs and the rear legs are both united into a single trunk. The ears and the lips have been indicated. This toy dromedary shows for some ten-year-old boys a know how with an artistic sense and a remarkable freedom of modeling.
In Ignern, an Amazigh village located at the foot of the Jbel Siroua in the Moroccan Haut Atlas, girls sometimes model a she-dromedary in clay that is dried in the sun (fig. 40, H = 8 cm, L = 9.5 cm). This toy dromedary is called 'telrumt' just as the she-dromedary itself.

1.8 Dromedaries of plastic coated wire and tin foil

Figure 41 shows a dromedary with its dromedarist made with plastic coated electric wire, yellow for the dromedary and red for the rider (total H = 15.5 cm, catalogue 2.6, 62.60.29 p. 205). Dominique Champault collected this toy among children from the Saoura Valley in the northwestern Sahara (Algeria) in 1956.

From the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar, Algerian Sahara, the Album of the Collection of the Musée du Bardo, published by Balout, Bovis and Gast,
shows a dromedary made with a piece of tin foil.

This dromedary cut out with shears has a realistic design whereby the legs, the neck, the head, the ears, the hump and the tail are indicated (fig. 42). Moreover, the toy dromedary has a saddlecloth in front of the hump where the saddle should be placed. In 1959 Balout writes that such dromedaries of tin foil made by children of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar are quite recent (Planche LXVIII).

These two examples demonstrate that the Saharan children, even when they use imported material, kept to the representation of the dromedary as one of their favorite toys until recently. It remains to be seen if this is still so today.
2 Horses, mules and donkeys

2.1 Summary

As for dromedaries, most horses, mules and donkeys serving as toys have been collected among Saharan populations and the bibliographical data confirm this. Once more it is among the Amazigh children of the Chaouia in the Aurès (North Algeria) that these toy animals coming from outside the Sahara have been collected. Myself, I have found them in the center and south of Morocco.

All these toy animals have been made in the 1930s, with the exception of the horse in clay made by a Zaghawa child in 1956, the horses and mules modeled by the Ghrib children in 1975-1977, and the Moroccan toy animals made since 1992.

Doctor Guichard in a short article on the toys made by the woodcarvers in Marrakech, mentions horses mounted by children. These are mares called 'aouda' and they are carved out of a plank of wood. The saddle is the Arabic saddle with a pommel and a cantle. The mare has a long neck, a small head and two long ears. A dozen hairs make the tail. This toy horse is fastened onto another flat piece of wood having four wheels, more square than round, and it is pulled by a string. The colors are very particular, lizard green dappled with white and reddish-brown (1921: 162). Parents gave such toy horses to their children during the ʻashûra and ʻaïd es-seghîr festivities, probably in wealthy families.

One can distinguish several types of horses, mules and donkeys. There are the very schematic ones of the Ghrib children and the naturalistic ones, with four legs, of the Tuareg, the Moors, and the Zaghawa and from southern Morocco.

The children of the Moors living in Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara play with miniature horses, having only three legs, modeled by the black female servants. Among the Chaouia, the two front legs and the two rear legs are united into one trunk. These two legs support a voluminous body, so giving a sturdily build appearance to these animals.
The horses of the Tuareg children and of the children of the Moors in the Northwestern Sahara have a saddle and often a rider is sitting on it. Horse, saddle and rider are separate pieces. The saddled and mounted horses of the children of the Oualata Moors are modeled in a single piece of clay.

The horses of the children of the Moors are polychrome. The other horses mentioned here have retained their natural patina. However, a mule of burned clay collected from a Chaouia child has a lacquer line marking the mane and the breast.

Stone, clay and wood, but also palm leaves and summer squash, have been used as material. The Musée du Bardo possesses horses of rags made by a young pupil from the nomads' school of the Kel Rela in 1953 (Balout, 1959, planches LXVI and LXIX, photographs of two horses).

All these toy animals used for games of make believe inspired by the behavior of horses, mules and donkeys should not make one forget that the children also can play horse without a toy. As for the imitation of dromedaries, the Ghrib children here also use their own body. As I have noticed in the oasis of El Faouar (Tunisian Sahara) in 1975 and 1977, one way to proceed is carried out by two boys. One boy stands upright while the other boy bends his head forward at the level of the waistline of the boy standing before him and puts his arms round this boy's waist. This 'horse', with or without a rider, then engages in a race (fig. 2, p. 48).

Although I have witnessed the same game in Morocco, in a popular quarter of Kénitra in 1994, I did not find any reference to it in the consulted bibliography except the one by A.M. Goichon. Moreover, I observed in Midelt in August 1999 three boys of about seven years running through an open space serving as playground but also for grazing sheep. Two boys, being the horses, are surrounded at their waist by a rope and guided by the third one holding the same rope.

A.M. Goichon writes in her book *La Vie Féminine au Mzab*, published in 1927, about the girls of the Mozabites from the Algerian Sahara that they also play at horses. Two girls, the 'horses', join their hands behind their back and a third girl, the 'rider', stands on the hands while holding the shoulders of her mount. Successively or together several mounts walk quickly towards a given place but without competing in speed. Meanwhile, the girls sing Arabic or Amazigh songs. The horse has also inspired another game. There are two 'horses' holding their hands on their
knees and two 'riders' sitting on the back of the horses. One rider throws a veil and sings 'go away, go away, oh Bûnâdam' and the other replies 'stay, stay, oh Bûnâdam' while trying to catch the veil. When this rider misses the veil she has to change roles and must be the horse (Bûnâdam comes from Buna Adam, our father Adam) (p. 67-68).

There are, as far as I know, almost no data on children playing with live domestic animals, except the utilitarian game of attaching the little dromedaries to a rope played by the Tuareg children (see 1.1, p. 47). However, playing with domestic animals should be a common play activity as I could observe in Midelt in November 1998 when six young Moroccan boys were enjoying themselves by trying to jump on the back of two donkeys and sometimes even succeeded in making a little trip on their back. Moreover, I saw in the same town but in August 1999, two boys enjoying themselves by riding a big sheep from among the small group of sheep they were herding (see 3, p. 101).

During the 1980s and in Ksar Assaka, a village near Midelt, the girls of ten or more years used to jump on the back of a donkey by approaching it from behind. The boys, however, jumped on the back of a mule. Little children are really fond of riding on a donkey, for example when their mother goes cutting herbs for the sheep or the cows. It also sometimes happens that a young child is put in the large sac hanging on both sides of the mule when going to a nearby wadi to take sand.

Aimé Dupuy is one of the three authors speaking about children playing with domestic animals. In relation to the Tunisian children he writes in 1933 that once their father has bought the sheep to be sacrificed for the Aïd el Kebir, they walk it around proudly showing how nicely they decorated it. They collect for this sheep the most tender and perfumed herbs but they also make their sheep fight each other, inciting them with their cries and songs (p. 317).

For the Aït Ouirra of the Moroccan Moyen Atlas, Lahcen Oubahammou mentions a game of skill practiced during the first rains of spring or autumn, as then the ground is less hard. This game is called 'toucharf n'oughyoul' or jumping over a donkey. The jumpers standing before a donkey try to jump over it width-wise. This author specifies that his informant stressed the fact that it is a difficult exercise but yet some can do it (1987: 83-84).
Another animal, a cow, is used among the same population for a ritual to obtain rain, a ritual classified as a games, one of the 'ilihane n'ounzar' or the rain games, by the Aït Ouirra informants of Lahcen Oubahammou. The rain games are ritual games played whenever drought persists, this way disturbing the season for ploughing, or when rain is lacking in spring and the grains dry out in the fields. This ritual game is called 'tirghist tabakhant' or the black cow. The girls decide to walk a black cow around in the fields, asking God for rain. A little girl with a black skin pulls the cow with a black string (according to Doutté, 1905: 385, the black color is seen as the color of the clouds that bring rain). The other girls walk along with the cow while singing: “Al bagra am Labgar. Ya rabbi ōátina lamtar”. “Oh cow, mother of cattle. Oh God, give us rain” (1987: 61).

During a close observation of the activities of some Ghrib children in and around their home in El Faouar one day of November 1975 between four and six o’clock in the afternoon, I saw how Bechir, a small boy of just three years, gives free rein to his imagination and shows his interest in donkeys by creating his own donkey and integrating several persons in his play. This play activity goes on for about one hour but with a few interruptions. Bechir starts to play by walking to a large basin placed against the zriba, the hut serving as kitchen. He climbs on the basin and transforms it into a donkey by calling it his bhim or donkey. Immediately he steps off his donkey and takes a drinking cup lying nearby to put it on the basin. Then he wants to take a cushion in the house. Mohammed, his twenty-four-year-old brother, holds him back and Bechir hurts his hand against the door. As he starts crying, Mohammed consoles him and lets him take a cushion. Bechir returns to his donkey and sees that the basin has been placed elsewhere. He starts crying once more and his mother puts the basin again against the hut, making her little son laugh. Bechir puts the cushion on the basin, takes a plastic bag lying on the ground and fills it with a drinking cup and some other small plastic cups. He also wants to put a metallic cup in the bag but as he does not succeed, he puts the metallic cup next to the plastic bag on his donkey’s back. Some minutes later, Bechir goes in the hut looking for some other objects to charge his donkey with. Meanwhile, two sheep have managed to pull the plastic bag and the metallic cup off the basin. When Bechir sees this, he chases the sheep away with a burnus overcoat while shouting haluf or pig. Once he has put everything in place, he drives the sheep further.
away. He folds the overcoat and puts it on the donkey. Bechir now takes a small plank, tells us that it is his radio and starts talking about his donkey. His mother, father and oldest brother answer him and accept to be integrated into the play activity. They tell Bechir to mount his donkey but he cannot. He talks again about his donkey and tells them that he will go with it to the shop. He tries to climb on the basin several times but his feet always slip on the rounded side of the basin. Mohammed el Hedi, an older cousin boy, tells Bechir to hold on to the large cushion lying on the basin and this way Bechir succeeds to mount his donkey. With a little stick he now beats the donkey imitating at the same time the movements of the donkey and the cart. He then sees a green palm-branch lying on the ground, he wants to have it and Mohammed el Hedi gives it to him. Suddenly, Bechir slides from his donkey and pulls everything down. Mohammed el Hedi puts the cushion back on the basin, places Bechir on his donkey and starts playing with him. Together they discuss the road to follow. This cousin tells Bechir that he must stimulate his donkey to run faster and Bechir hits his donkey with the stick. Both step down from the basin and Bechir places back the plastic bag and the metallic cup. Then he goes to the hut where he picks up a tea glass but his father forbids him to take it away saying that it will break. Bechir puts the glass on the ground and walks back to his donkey. When a member of the family comes by with a mule pulling a cart, Bechir runs to him. The young man talks a moment about the mule with Bechir. A few minutes later, Hinda, the eighteen-year-old sister of Bechir, comes to take him in her arms, but shortly afterwards he returns to his own donkey. He mounts and steps off his donkey several times. Seeing some boys playing at a little distance, he joins them. He tells them about his donkey, returns to the house and continues talking about his donkey to his sister Hinda. Finally, Bechir goes to play with some boys lying on top of a sand dune where they make holes, supposedly to search for desert mice.

Bechir's fascination for donkeys and mules already expressed itself on an afternoon eleven days earlier when he and his five-year-old brother Ali alternated at pretending to be a mule pulling a cardboard box which served as a cart. First it is Bechir who walks beside this mule and cart, he moves a rope serving as whip to stimulate his mule. When roles change, Bechir becomes the mule and Ali joyfully whips him. The play activity ends when Bechir stops, takes Ali's hand and pretends to bite it.
2.2 Horses, mules and donkeys of clay

The Musée de l’Homme’s collection of horses, mules and donkeys in crude or fired clay comes from Saharan populations: the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and Kel Ajjer of the Algerian Sahara, the Moors of the Northwestern Sahara (the Algerian-Moroccan border), the Moors of Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara and the Zaghawa of Ouaddaï in Chad. The bibliographical data do not mention any other population of the covered region where the modeling of these animals is executed. Yet, I have seen that in the Amazigh villages Aït Ighemour and Ignern in the Moroccan Haut Atlas some boys make a mule and a mule-driver with clay. These horses and mules are modeled by hand by the children themselves, with the exception of those made by the black female servants or the female potters among the Moors of Oualata.

A donkey with a slender body and very big ears has been made by a Tuareg Kel Ajjer child of Djanet in the Algerian Sahara (fig. 43, H = 8.5 cm, L = 9.2 cm; catalogue 3.1, 37.21.94, p. 205).

Three saddled and mounted horses are modeled in clay and then dried in the sun. These toys, named 'aknar', were made by three boys between eight and twelve years old from the Hartani group, the black servants of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar (catalogue 3.1, 41.19.152-154, p. 205). Unfortunately, these objects are missing. According to its maker, one of the riders represents the son of the 'amenokal' or king of the Ahaggar. The height of one of the horses is 8 cm and its saddle-cloth is a white rag.

Benhazera has already mentioned the modeling of clay horses by the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar children in 1908 (p. 21).

All these toys are boys' toys, riding a horse being a male prerogative. And although some women of the Ahaggar did ride on a dromedary, none was riding a horse (de Foucauld, 1951-1952: 1034).
Balout, Bovis and Gast wrote in 1959 that there only existed two or three horses in the Ahaggar anymore. So the outline of these horses seen on rare occasions stimulated the imagination of the children who are always fascinated by animals and by mounting them. The two toy horses shown in their book have been made by a pupil of the nomads' school, Chemani Ag Mostapha, of the Kel Rela tribe, following a suggestion of his teacher. The structure of the toy horse is wound with a piece of gandoura cloth and for the mane real mane hair is used (planche LXIX).

The children of the Moors from the Northwestern Sahara also play with saddled and mounted horses but they are made with clay (fig. 44, H = 26 cm, L = 19 cm; catalogue 3.1, 38.141. 83, p. 206). These horses resemble the mounted dromedary in clay from the same region (fig. 31, H = 23 cm, L = 16.2 cm). The horse with its forward curved neck, its quite massive body and its small head with modeled ears, is supported by four legs, this in contrast to the three-legged horses from Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara.

The black children from Mopti, on the Niger River in Mali, make clay horses and riders resembling closely those of the children of the Moors from the Northwestern Sahara. J.J. Mandel and A. Brenier-Estrine show two saddled and mounted horses in their article “Clay Toys of Mopti” (1977: 11-12).
The children of the Moors living in the little town of Oualata (Mauritanian Sahara) use smaller clay horses made by black female servants as toys (fig. 45, H = 7 cm, L = 6.7 cm). The horse, the saddle and possibly the rider are made in one piece. These toys, already remarkable for their coloring, also have the two front legs united into one trunk. The smallest one of this series of clay horses measures 5 cm in height and 4 cm in length. The tallest one measures 8.3 cm by 9.5 cm (catalogue 3.1, 38.48.79-83, p. 206).

Miniaturized horses or other toy animals in clay having the front legs united into one trunk seem to be peculiar to the southern part of the Sahara and the northern border of the Niger river. Moreover, the existence of such toys has been confirmed for at least two thousand years. A detailed analysis of the remarkable continuity in the making of these toy animals with three legs is given at page 000.

A marvelous little horse, made by a black female servant of the Moors of Oualata, has a feather as its tail (fig. 46, H = 5 cm, L = 4 cm). A small gourd normally hanging at the saddle also exists in the collection. The rider wearing a colonial helmet has disappeared.
In the book *Introduction à la Mauritanie* one finds the following specifications: In Oualata there are female potters making delightful little animals serving as checkers in the 'sig' boardgame. There are a camel and its rider, an ostrich, a cow with a hump, a sheep, and also a hedgehog. The female potter decorates these objects with the same white earth used for the decoration of the houses and called 'tin-l-imâm-Hadrami'. She dips a very fine twig in her paint and, while turning the object, applies the white strokes creating charming geometric motifs. She also uses a black, dark gray or blue color (Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes sur les Sociétés Méditerranéennes/ Centre d'Etudes d'Afrique Noire, 1979: 142-143).

A Zaghawa child from the school in Iriba in the Ouaddaï region of Chad made a nice horse with red clay (fig. 47, H = 13.5 cm, L = 12.5 cm). M.J. Tubiana, who collected this toy in November 1956, mentions that all the Zaghawa children make horses with crude earth. A string as bridle and silver paper as saddle complete this toy.

Among the sedentary Chaouia of the Aurès in northern Algeria the boys play with mules and horses whose front legs and rear legs are united into one trunk each. The two horses of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme contrast by their massive shape with the elegance of the
foregoing horse. The mule of figure 48 gives a good idea of the corpulence of these toy animals (H = 9 cm, L = 14.2 cm; catalogue 3.1, 36.2.696, p. 208).

In the really small Moroccan mountain village of Aït Ighemour (Ouarzazate region, Haut Atlas) the Amazigh boys look for clay on the mountain slopes (fig. 49).
With this clay they model several toys, for example a mule possibly with a driver on its back (fig. 50, total H = 12 cm). The boy who made this toy animal modeled two well-marked ears on the elongated head and he also indicated the eyes. The driver grips between his heavy legs his unsaddled mule.

These mules and mule-drivers are dried in the sun and with these crude toys the boys represent scenes based on the mule's behavior, its breeding or its use for transportation.

In Ignern, another Amazigh village of the Haut Atlas, a mule and his rider is sometimes modeled with clay and then dried in the sun. According to a thirteen-year-old boy I met in this village in November 1998, he eventually put wheels under this mount and pulled it with a little rope.
2.3 Horses and mules of wood

Wooden mules and one wooden horse were collected among the Chaouia (Aurès, Algeria). The little mare, with its horizontal head and neck, has been cut by a child from a piece of wood and shows a bidimensional shape. The front and the rear legs of these toy horses are united into one trunk (fig. 51, H = 5 cm, L = 12.8 cm; catalogue 3.2, 37.9.56, p. 209).

Some other mules are pulling swing ploughs. The example of figure 52 shows two mules pulling such a swing plough. The animal is constructed with four sticks, serving as legs, fixed to a piece of wood, being the body. The sticks and the piece of wood come from an oleander tree (H = 12.5 cm, L = 42 cm; mules: H = 8 cm, L = 9.5 cm; catalogue 3.2, 36.2.256, p. 209).
The way the children use these wooden toy animals in their play activities has not been revealed but it is evident that they used them to represent adult life or the behavior of the animals, just as they do with their toy dromedaries.

Among the Ghrib children (Tunisian Sahara), I observed during the second half of the 1970s a rudimentary yet very efficient racehorse. As seems to be done all over the world, the Ghrib boys, and rarely the girls also, are sitting down astride their horse, a horse represented by a branch of a palm tree or another tree or by a reed (fig. 53). Sometimes the top of the reed is wrapped with one or more rags to represent the head or the mane of a horse.

From the age of four years onwards the children run over the sand dunes shouting *rrr, rrr* or *zîd guddâm, zîd guddâm*, 'move on, move on'. To stop its horse, the child shouts *îs, îs*. The children also organize a horserace between them.

Nowadays and completely in the same manner four to five-year-old boys from the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt in Morocco create themselves a mount, this time representing a mule and not a horse. Normally a reed is used but a more or less long stick can do. A black plastic bag or some strings wound around the reed possibly represent the head. To spur their mule the boys shout *rra, rra* while hitting themselves with a stick and to stop they shout *sha, sha* just as is done with a real
mule. In Midelt, I witnessed the same reed horses mounted by some six-year-old boys in September 1999.

In September 1994 in the small streets of the Ksar of Goulmima, two four-year-old boys and a three-year-old girl were sitting down astride a palm branch serving as their horse or mule. According to Rachidi Lihi, born in Goulmima's Ksar in 1970 the horse could also be a reed, whereby the reed-beard represents the mane of the horse. Moreover, the children used a little stick to spur themselves.

Near Taliouine, on the road from Tazenakht to Taroudannt, a boy of about six years was galloping with his reed-horse along this road in the beginning of November 1996. His horse was a long reed with a piece of reed fixed at right angle suggesting the horse’s head. In order to make this horse run faster he whipped himself with a long strap of rubber.

But also in larger towns this toy horse is being used. For instance in February 1994 during the fasting month of Ramadan I saw three boys of about six years riding on a long branch or reed while holding it with one hand. With a little branch held in the other hand they spurred their 'horse' and held a wild race through the streets of a popular quarter of Kénitra.

Although this kind of horse races seems to be common in Northern Africa, only three authors of the analyzed bibliography mention this simple way to get a 'horse'.

J. Desparmet, who wrote the first edition of his book in local Arabic in 1905, describes the song Algerian children sing while riding on their reed horses. The English version I made of this song is based on the French translation by Pérès and Bousquet (1948: 63).

*Quiet, my horse, quiet!*
*The army is arriving,*
*A rider has brought it along.*
*From Bab-el-Oued.*
*Quiet, my horse, may they not be able to ride you!*
*They would give you a bad blow that will carry you along!*
*Quiet, my horse, horse with a nice bridle,*
*Kick out backwards and forwards.*
*Quiet, my horse, horse with the nice guides,*
*You are galloping in the Sahara and over the plains.*
Quiet, my horse, racehorse,
You are galloping in the Sahel and over the fallow lands.
Quiet, my horse, my four-year-old stallion.
Thanks to its gallop, my enemy has been unhorsed.

In his thesis on the games of the Aït Ouirra from the Moyen Atlas mountains, Lahcen Oubahammou writes that the young boys of this population run in all directions while mounting a stalk of the giant fennel or a reed and imitating the neighing of a horse. As this author explains, the child plays at being a horse-rider and learns to communicate with a horse. When this horse is a stalk of the giant fennel it is called 'ayis n'ouffal' and when it is a reed 'ayis n'aghanim' (1987: 51, 61).

The Moroccan pediatrician Mohamed Sijelmassi shows in his book *Enfants du Maghreb entre hier et aujourd'hui* the same kind of horses (1984: 85). One sees there a photo of two boys of primary school age sitting down astride a long reed serving as their horse.

### 2.4 Horses of a fibrous plant

At the foot of the Moyen Atlas on the road from Khénifra to Khemisset lies Oulmès, well known for its spring that is commercialized under this name. In 1996, concordant information from the fifty-seven year old Fatima Boutouil and from two other women, all born in this region and about the same age, I met on the way to the Oulmès spring, attest the use of a fibrous plant with long small leaves called bèrwèl to make a little horse. This plant that grows in the rainy season, is also used to make a frame for a doll, 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 little horse the plant is cut to form three branches, two for the legs and one for the neck and head. With a piece of this plant a saddle is made and then the toy horse is pulled with a string.
2.5 Mules of stone

From the age of about six years, the Ghrib boys play mule-driver and merchant using stone mules pulling a cart made of tin cans. The first type of cart, the simplest one, is pulled by a mule in sand stone having a packsaddle on its back (fig. 54, mule: H = 11 cm, L = 14 cm, total L = 25 cm, B = 7.5 cm). A rag and a piece of plastic make the packsaddle-cloth. The cart is made with a tomato tin can flattened at one end. Two sticks create the yoke that is held in place with a little string just in front of the packsaddle.

The second type of cart is somewhat more elaborated. The mule is a quite hard rectangular sandstone (fig. 55, p. 99, mule: H = 5 cm, L = 7.5 cm, total L = 20 cm, B+ = 8 cm). The packsaddle is made with a folded piece of white iron put on a rag, and a piece of cardboard, the whole being fixed with a bit of string. The wheels of the cart are two small tins of tomato pasta. A little stick, held in place with a piece of wood or sandstone, forms the axle. The truck, having folded up sides and two long bands serving as yoke, is attached to the packsaddle with a string.
Although the animal in sandstone of figure 55 resembles the stone dromedaries of the Tuareg children, it is meant to be a mule, as I was told by the Ghrib boy who gave me this toy.

2.6 Mules of summer squash and sticks

In October 1992, an Amazigh boy of about eleven years living in the village Aït Ighemour in the Moroccan Haut Atlas mountains, modeled in a twinkling a mule and a mule-driver with some summer squash and sticks (fig. 56, p. 100, mule: H = 21 cm, L = 20 cm; mule-driver: H = 32 cm).

For modeling the mule, a big summer squash has been used as body in which five sticks are put, four for the legs and one for the neck. A smaller summer squash representing the head is stuck on the stick serving as neck. For modeling the mule-driver, the boy has fixed at both ends of a little stick a small summer squash, one summer squash being the head and the other the trunk. The two sticks that have been put into the trunk and represent the legs have at their end a piece of potato figuring for feet. In the summer squash representing the head little pieces of potatoes, with the skin turned outside, represent the eyes and the mouth.
2.7 Mules of palm leaves

At the Source Bleue of Meski, near the city of Errachidia in Morocco, I bought for a few dirhams a toy mule with its sacks from a boy of about twelve years (fig. 57, H = 21 cm, L = 10.5 cm, B = 12 cm). This mule is made in the same way as the dromedaries of palm leaves. The mule's sacks are made separately and fixed into the weave of the mule. Two 42 cm long leaves make it possible to hang it on one's neck. The way in which the boys formerly played with this kind of mules has been described when talking about the dromedaries of palm leaves (see 1.5, p. 62).
3 Cattle and the livestock

As when playing at being a dromedary, a horse or a mule, the body of the child can itself be sufficient for imitating cattle. So, a game of the youngsters of Nefta, in southern Tunisia between Tozeur and the Algerian border, consists in disguising themselves as a herd of cows driven by a herdsman while singing: 'diz el-bagrât ya hnayyin wes-sahra hlât', 'Drive the cows, oh you with the sweet heart, our evening will become more agreeable' (Ayoub, 1991: 31). This game, played during the ʿashūra festivities, resembles the game of the girls of South Tunisia during which they imitate domestic animals such as cows and dromedaries (see 1.1, p. 49).

But sometimes an animal, for example a sheep or a goat, is used directly by the children. In March 1975, I observed in the Ghrib nomad camps of the Tunisian Sahara a two-year-old boy and also a girl of the same age amusing themselves with the goats, trying to attach one of them by putting the noose of a rope over its head, running after some goats and imitating their bleating. In the Saharan village El Faouar, in November 1975, a little boy of eleven months showed much interest in the barley peels that are given as food to the goats. He approaches the goats, tastes their food, and pulls their ears, horns and skin. On another occasion the same little child approaches the sheep and pulls their fleece.

In Midelt in Central Morocco, in August 1999, I saw how two boys of about twelve years were riding on a big sheep from among the small group of sheep they were herding. A playful custom related to the sheep that will be sacrificed for the Aid el Kebir is mentioned by Aimé Dupuy in 1933. The Tunisian children walked around their nicely decorated sheep and gave it the best herbs, but they also enjoyed making it fight with the other sheep (see 2.1, p. 85).

Just as the Saharan children make dromedaries, horses, mules and donkeys, they also create toys representing cattle. Some of these toy animals are zebus, others are oxen, rams and goats, all collected among the children of the Tuareg Kel Ajjer and Kel Ahaggar (Algerian Sahara), of the Moors (Northwest Sahara and Mauritanian Sahara) and of the Zaghawa (Chadian Sahara).
Three games of herdsmen - of the Ghrib boys from the Tunisian Sahara, of the children of the Oulad Ben Sbaa and of the children of the village Aït Ighemour in Morocco - show that still today little stones, snail shells and empty maize corncobs represent goats and sheep.

A goat or an ox carved in a flat stone is part of the series of dromedaries in carved stone coming from the Tuareg Kel Ajjer. This toy is shown at figure 58 (H = 2.3 cm, catalogue 4, 62.128.8, p. 210).

The other animals have been modeled with clay and dried in the sun with the exception, however, of a ram, a goat and another four-legged animal all three in fired clay.

The toy animals representing cattle and livestock measure between 1.5 cm and 12 cm of height and have four legs, except those made by the black female servants of the Moors of Oualata (Mauritanian Sahara) that have three legs and share this particularity with the horses and mules modeled by the same female servants.

Figures 59-60 show two zebus with their front legs united into one big trunk that at the same time gives form to the animal's head, this way creating an exceptional design. According to the index card, these toy animals are a zebu calf with a white background (fig. 59, H = 2.3 cm) and a zebu cow with a brownish ochre background (fig. 60, p. 103, H = 6 cm), both with horns and
humps. Brown and blue spots on the calf and white spots on the cow have been used as decoration.

The cow's udder is well developed (catalogue 4, 38.48.74/77, p. 210). These toy animals were collected among the Moors of Oualata in the 1930s.

A photograph of the old and remarkable toy ram of fired clay with its quite stylized design can be seen at figure 61 (H = 10 cm, L = 8.5 cm). It has been collected in Algeria before 1889. The head and horns are finely modeled and harmoniously contrast with the massive trunk on short legs. A little straight tail completes the animal. There is a perforation at the bottom of the belly and at the anus. Except at the bottom of the belly, the ram is covered with red strokes shaping a decoration of triangles on its body. The toy has also been varnished.
Some hundred and four years later, in 1993, and in the Medina of Kénitra a Moroccan boy also plays with a toy ram but this time it is a ram in red plastic that has lost its small wheels.

One sees some cattle in crude clay, varying in height between 3 cm and 8 cm, at figures 62-64 (catalogue 4, 37.21.96-98, p. 210). Tuareg Kel Ajjer children from Djanet in the Algerian Sahara modeled those three animals with four legs and one having a hump. They resemble the donkey of figure 43 (p. 88) modeled by the same children.
The way in which the boys and girls of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar and Kel Ajjer from the Algerian Sahara play with these toy animals has already been described when analyzing the dromedaries with frames of vegetal material (see 1.5, p. 65-67).

An ox with four legs and a hump made with mud and collected among the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar children is shown at plate LXX of the *Album du Musée du Bardo* (Balout, 1959). This toy animal resembles those described above and shown at figures 62-64 (p. 104).

The same plate shows a humped ox made of a crammed textile fabric. It was made by a Kel Rela boy of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar in 1953 and following the same technique used by this boy to model a horse. As this type of toy animal seems to be exceptional, I have reproduced this ox of the collection of the Musée du Bardo at figure 65.

The Ahaggar children rarely model an ox as a toy animal; this in contrast with the children from Tamesna who see vast herds of oxen with horns in the form of a lyre and therefore model such oxen with mud (Balout, 1959: planche LXX).
Figure 66 shows a goat of fired clay (H = 6 cm, L = 9 cm) and figure 67 an unspecified four-legged animal (H = 7.5 cm, L = 15.3 cm). Both served as toys for the children of the Moors of the North-West Sahara. They have a massive body supported by four little legs (catalogue 4, 38.141.85/86, p. 210). These legs are like those of the ram collected before 1899 (fig. 61, p. 103) and they have been painted in red and brown ochre.

Among the series of miniaturized toy animals made by the female potters of Oualata one can also find sheep and cows with a hump. The way in which they are made and used is given with the description of the horses in clay (see 2.2, p. 90-91).
The zebu of clay modeled by a Zaghawa child (Chadian Sahara) has a slender body supported by four long legs (fig. 68, H = 12 cm, L = 13.8 cm; catalogue 4, 57.82.129, p. 212). The hump and dewlap have been finely modeled, probably because of the importance of the zebu in the economy and social institutions of this population. Tubiana states in this context that the Zaghawa are first of all cattle-breeders and have a very rich vocabulary for describing each individual animal following the color of its skin or the form of its horns (1977: 42).

Zebus in clay, modeled and painted by the children of Mopti on the Niger River in Mali are described in an article of J.J. Mandel and A. Brenier-Estrine (1977: 9, 11, 13). As seen on the photographs in this article, the front legs are united into one trunk, as is the case with the toy animals made since ancient times by children from Jenné-Jeno on the Niger and by the black female servants of the Moors of Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara.
All these toys representing livestock and cattle have been made some time ago. The oldest one was collected in 1889 and the most recent one in 1962. Personally, I noted in 1977 that Ghrib boys used little stones as goats in their game representing the herdsman's work. That the game of the herdsman continues to strike the imagination of young village boys is revealed by the fact that children of the Amazigh village Aït Ighemour in the Moroccan Haut Atlas play, in 1992, at being a herdsman with empty maize corncobs as sheep. Abdelhalek Naseh also mentions the game of the herdsman among the six to twelve-year-old boys of the Oulad ben Sbaa of Sidi-Moktar, located at 98 km from Marrakech on the road to Essaouira. In his dissertation, this author describes how the boys make an enclosure with mud in which they put their sheep and lambs, being just snail-shells. This game is a very common collective game, called 'es sâreh', the herdsman, and it consists of guarding and moving the sheep and of learning the herdsman's work (1993: 43-44).

In their doll play the Amazigh girls of the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt in the center of Morocco sometimes used about 1980 a toy sheep in one of the two scenes acted out during the wedding of the bride doll. The toy sheep 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. To enact this ritual, the doll is laid on the back of the sheep and somewhat walked around. The toy sheep 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. As legs serve four used batteries, put on the ground, on top of which the toy sheep is placed (Rossie, 2005, *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children’s Dolls and Doll Play*, see 2.14 Female dolls of Morocco, fig. 81, p. 128).

Before describing the role of the other domestic animals in the play activities, games and toys, I want to recall to the reader's attention the role a living black cow plays in the ritual game played for obtaining rain by the Aït Ouirra girls in the Moroccan Moyen Atlas as described at the end of the summary on games and toys in relation to horses, mules and donkeys (see 2.1, p. 86).
4 Other domestic animals

The other domestic animals found in the analyzed collection of the Musée de l'Homme are some dogs and one rabbit. They served as toys for the Tuareg Kel Ajjer children (Algerian Sahara) and the Zaghawa children (Chadian Sahara).

Among the Tuareg Kel Ajjer of Djanet some children model a whole set of clay animals. One of them probably represents a dog. This toy animal belongs to the series of horses, mules and other cattle of clay made by the same children (see 2.2, p. 88). The body of the dog with its horizontal head and long horizontal tail rests on four solid legs (H = 5 cm, L = 9.3 cm).

A dog with a long curved tail (fig. 69) and a rabbit (fig. 70, p. 110) were modeled by a Zaghawa boy (H = 10.8/10 cm, L = 9/8.2 cm; catalogue 5, 57.82.125/126, p. 212). These animals of crude clay have their body supported by four long legs. The rabbit's eyes are made of seed but its mouth and nostrils are incised. The dog has eyes incised in the form of a circle.
More often in the Moroccan cities than in the countryside, these dogs and rabbits made by the children themselves are replaced by plastic dogs and rabbits, available for a reasonable price but at the same time of poor quality.

Figure 71 shows a little boy from the Daoudiate quarter of Marrakech playing with a wheeled rabbit bought at the Medina in the Spring of 1992 for 5 dirhams or 0.5 Euro (H = 26 cm, L = 14 cm).

The wheeled dog of figure 72 (p. 111), I photographed in a shop of the Medina of Marrakech at the same time, is more expensive and costs about 40 dirhams or 4 Euro (H = 50 cm, L = 60 cm).
In an article about the ṣawṣār feast in Rabat published in 1915, F. Castells writes about a hen with a monstrous shape pecking at its plank when someone swings it. Such toys were sold at the 'Souq el Achour', the market in front of the Qasbah of the Oudaïa in Rabat. This author also offers really important information when mentioning that an old representative of the tradition was selling the traditional toys with little success seriously challenged as he was by those selling toys imported from Europe. These European toys were rifles, balls, dolls, drums, bugles and so on (p. 342).

Something that really surprises me is the fact that I have not found either in the analyzed collection, in the bibliography, or during my own research any toy representing a cat. Yet, cats are familiar to the North-African children who willingly enjoy to caress a cat, or to pull its tail, ears and fur. However, this statement made in 1993 has up to now been invalidated twice. The first time happened during one of my visits to Goulmima in the Moroccan pre-Sahara in September 1994. With the help of Mbarek Taous, a professor of French at Goulmima's high school and born in the Ksar of this little town in 1966, several adolescents offered to show me how they played with clay ten years earlier. While these
adolescents prepared the clay, three boys between five and eight years spontaneously joined the play activity (fig. 73).

Anhader swalut, meaning to play with clay in the local Amazigh language, is a collective play activity of the boys or the girls. This play activity develops along three stages. The preparation of the clay is the first stage. It starts with searching some good clay in the oasis, for example in a small irrigation canal. This clay is made somewhat dryer by mixing it with fine sand. Once the clay can be handled easily, a little game called tishbua is played in order to knead the clay well. For this some bowls with a slightly raised edge are modeled. When the clay bowls are finished everyone throws his bowls more or less vigorously on the ground. The hoped for result of this action is, next to the sound of an explosion, the bursting of the bowl's bottom so that a more or less big hole appears (fig. 74).
Laughter and shouting accompany the analysis of the results. To ameliorate the result and to obtain a nice hole one should spit some saliva on the bottom of the bowl and rub well this saliva into the clay with a finger. Those of the players who did not obtain a hole in their bowl must throw some of their clay in the biggest hole. After several times the clay is ready for making toys.

The modeling of toy animals or other toys such as utensils makes up the second stage of the game. Before modeling the toys but only if necessary some humus or fine sand is mixed with the clay. With this well prepared clay several toy animals are made. It is during this modeling that an eight-year-old boy made a cat (fig. 75, p. 112, H = 11 cm, L = 13 cm). A little later an adolescent started to make a cat as he remembered doing it when he was a child.

The other toy animals that were modeled at this occasion are a mastigure, a snake, a scorpion and a bird as described in the next section on the non-domestic animals.

The final stage of the *anhader swalut* game consists in manipulating the clay toys and putting them in a scene in which the toy makers engage in role-play. In the case of these sun dried clay animals they imitate the movements and behavior of the animals, use the related vocabulary and play at being a herdsman, a cattle breeder, a hunter, a trapper or whatever person related to the represented animal.

The second time I have been told about a toy cat was by the pupils of the third class of the Imou Ergen village’s school near Sidi Ifni, a little coastal town in the South of Morocco, in November 1998. These pupils said that they play with clay when it rains and that one of the toys they then possibly model is a cat.

The toy cat, this time a plastic cat, appears also in the memories of Souad Laabib, an Amazigh woman born in the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt in central Morocco. She remembers that for the ʿashūra feast of 1977 her father bought for her and her younger sister a wheeled plastic cat whose head could turn and even be taken of.

With a little song the boys and girls up to ten years living in the Midelt region playfully try to provoke a turkey so that it will attack them. To provoke this turkey, called Bibi, they sing the following phrases in Amazigh:
A Bibi temmūt Aïcha.
Oh Bibi, Aïcha (your wife) is dead.

Or they sing in Arabic:

A Bibi, tellakhnuntu, Aïcha li mètlu.
Oh Bibi, your nose is wet, Aïcha (your wife) is dead.
5 Non-domestic animals

The non-domestic animals in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme come from the Moors of the northwest Sahara, the Moors from Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara, the Zaghawa of the Chadian Sahara and from Rabat in Morocco. These toy animals represent a gazelle, an antelope, an ostrich, and a pair of birds. They were all collected in the 1930s. Some toys representing a mouse, a snake and a monkey have been mentioned in the bibliography.

Yet, children sometimes play with living non-domestic animals. This is so for the Ghrib children. On the photograph of figure 76, taken in the Tunisian Sahara in 1975, a three-year-old boy holds in his hand a string to which a jerboa is attached.

Other wild animals which sometimes serve as living toys are the sand mouse, the jerboa, the little lizard and the very small desert hare of maximum one month as it becomes impossible to catch the older ones. When someone catches one of these small animals he may give it to a little child as a temporary toy before it is eaten. The lizard, however, is
not eaten. One of the animal's legs is attached to a string and then the child makes it run.

The Belbala children of the Algerian Sahara also know living toys, such as medicinal skinks, lizards and fennecs. As among the Ghrib children, most of these little animals will serve as a meal for the children themselves (Champault, 1969: 349).

Henri Lhote writes that the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar children who guard the goats catch lizards, uromatix, jerboa and small rodent to cook and eat them (1984: 61).

According to some Moroccan informants from the region of Fès I have questioned in 1993 and 1994, young boys compete to drive more or less poisonous scorpions out of their holes. Driss Bousalham, born in Fès in 1950 and a high school teacher, said that this was done in the beginning of the 1960s. This game was practiced at a place where the prayers of the °Aïd el Kebir feast are done, named Messalah and near the Bab Ftouh, especially at summer. To be successful the boy introduces an herb, the njem or el kort'al, the couch grass or a similar herb into the hole of the scorpion. Before introducing this herb in the hole the ear of the grass is covered with saliva and then rolled up to get a long rod. One should take out the herb slowly so that the scorpion hangs on to it but at the end one must draw back the herb at once hoping that the scorpion comes out with it. It happens that the boys surround the scorpion with fire to watch how it commits suicide by pricking itself. In the same manner the boys try to get out of their hole a kind of spiders called rtilah in Moroccan Arabic or °aïn kabbût in Standard Arabic.

A young librarian, Fatima Zohra Mdarhri, confirms the occurrence of this game among the boys of Aïn Cheggag, an urbanized village in the plain of Saïss and some 20 km away from Fès. Her information refers to the beginning of the 1970s. She specifies that the boys of about ten-years-old are well aware of the danger that the tail of the scorpion represents but she adds that this gives the game an aspect of excitement.

Brahim Mouss, another informant of thirty years in 1993, described to me the same game played in the town of Khouribga in Central Morocco. This time a yellow scorpion is looked for in a small forest between the marketplace and the town-center by the boys of about eleven years.
One of my informants from Goulmima, an important Amazigh center with a still inhabited Ksar and situated on the border of the Moroccan pre-Sahara, had his own way to catch scorpions. Ali Harcherras, born in Goulmima in 1962 and teacher at the local high school, used to catch at the age of about ten years a scorpion whose bite remains painful for some twenty days. This scorpion is found here and there cooling off at the entrance of its hole. When someone approaches, the scorpion stands still and at that moment Ali pricked the scorpion in the neck with a palm-thorn.

In Saknia, a popular quarter of Kénitra, and according to Mustafa Trifa, born in this quarter in 1963, he and the boys of his age were hunting scorpions or lizards using an insect these children called antara. This is the mole cricket having two pincers. To one of this insect's legs the boy fixes a string. When he has found the hole of a scorpion or a lizard he puts his hunter-insect in the hole hoping that it will catch the scorpion or the lizard with its pincers. When the boy believes that this has happened he slowly pulls the mole cricket to take the scorpion or the lizard out of its hole.

In Imouzzer-Kandar, a small town of the Moyen Atlas situated at an altitude of 1350 m on the road from Fès to Ifrane, the boys tried to get out of the ground an insect called kelb bil ma°, literally translated as 'water dog'. The twenty four-year-old Driss Lakhdar and his twenty-year-old brother Brahim declare in 1993 that for this game the three to five boys who play together must first of all find the ecological niche of the insect that is often found near a brook. This playgroup sometimes competes with other playgroups to be the first in getting the insect out. The favorite place for this play activity is the small valley that separates the old quarter of Imouzzer, called Kelâa, and the forest, there where a nowadays dried up brook was found. The kelb bil ma° could also be looked for at the edges of little cornfields on the slopes. According to Driss, he and his friends started this game at the age of eleven years, but his brother Brahim gives the age of seven years. The game consists of finding and following the tunnel that the insect has dug. When the niche is found two holes of 25 cm deep and about 70 cm in between them are made with a stick. During an hour or two, water is regularly poured in one of the two holes to force the insect to come out through the other
hole. To be able to catch the kelb bil ma° one should know its habits and especially be patient.

Ali Harcherras, already mentioned for his way to catch scorpions, described a more or less similar procedure used by the boys of Goulmima to capture the insect called aëeffar, the 'digger', being the ordinary mole cricket. In the oasis, on the side of an irrigation canal, the boys look for the tunnel dug by the insect. They follow this tunnel and open it here and there to find the hole. They widen the hole's entry a little bit and build with mud a small wall around it. Once these preparations are finished water is poured in the hole. Then they start to disturb the insect with a rod or a long palm-leaf to drive the insect out of its hole. One must try to excite the insect by pricking its sides but not its head as it may cut the tip of the leaf or rod. In addition to this description a nine-year-old boy met in the oasis of this town in March 1994, said that it is more efficient to add some washing-powder to the water poured in the hole or to urinate in the hole of the insect. When the ordinary mole cricket is caught it serves as bait in a trap used to capture two kinds of migratory birds passing over Goulmima in spring. That this method is still practiced nowadays is proven by the fact that at the end of March 1994, on the borders of an oasis garden, I have seen this insect attached with a palm leaf to a trap. The mentioned birds are the usbihh, the woodchat shrike, and the amejjudd, the red backed shrike. In the case of the woodchat shrike it is necessary to cover up the trap of wire called lbex, but not so for the other bird as it jumps immediately on the bait.

The boys of Goulmima also catch another very colorful migratory bird kept for its beauty. This bird called gurru is the European bee-eater and it is captured with a wasp tied by a leg with a nylon string.

With other traps these boys also try to catch a kind of salamander called ahherda. To avoid its very powerful bite the boys sew its mouth. This animal is used in popular medicine but nowadays some boys stay on the road running down to Goulmima and show it to tourists so that they take a photograph or buy it for a few dirhams.

A young man told me in June 2000 that some fifteen years ago, in his village Ksar Assaka near Midelt, he and his friends pulled water into the hole of a big black beetle, called zarri, and used it as bait in a trap to catch birds. These birds where eaten or kept for their beauty.
Among other populations, such as the Teda (Chadian Sahara), the Tuareg (Sahara), the Aït Ouïrra (Moroccan Moyen Atlas), hunting and trapping especially of birds is a utilitarian activity yet it is also seen as a game. These hunting and trapping games will be described in the sixth volume of the collection: *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures* on traditional and modern techniques in play, games and toys. What is said here about this topic only serves as an example.

Along the edge of the Aït Mansour quarter of Midelt a river runs through the small valley after heavy rains. There the children sometimes find little tortoises. A friend has given the tortoise of figure 77 to a ten-year-old boy who took care of it for several weeks in September 1999.

The boys of Goulmima enjoy organizing a race between fresh-water tortoises especially in spring, as then there are plenty of them. The players show deep respect to the winning tortoise.
The children of Zhana, a Moroccan village 10 km away from Kénitra, sometimes enjoy playing with a tortoise that ventured too far away from the brook. They take the tortoise in their hands and observe how it protects itself by withdrawing its head and legs into its shell.

In the region of Midelt the children place in their hand a snail-shell, called bèlbûsh in Amazigh, and sing a little song for as long as necessary to make the snail show its head. Thus they sing in Amazigh:

_Ferd a bèlbûsh,

turuw mainsh ilughmân._

Come out oh bèlbûsh,
your mother has given birth to dromedaries.

Desparmet mentions the same little game with a snail, called ‘bèbbûsh’ in local Arabic, for the Algerian children in 1905. This author writes that if a child finds a snail it takes it into its hands and sings the following song for it: “Oh boûboû (meaning bebboûch or snail), show your ears or I shall go to your house' or also 'I shall eat the ears of your donkey” (p. 71).

The material used to represent an animal, for example a snake, may be one of the simplest as in the case of the Ghrib boys and girls from the Tunisian Sahara (fig. 78).
From the age of about five years the game *el h'anesh*, the snake, is played with a long rope. The child imitates the movements of a big snake by agitating the rope to make undulating movements on the sand. Sometimes two children play together holding each one an end of the rope. Other children may hit the snake with a stick. While agitating or hitting the snake the children shout:

\[ Jâk h'anesh fûg ed-debesh, \]
\[ el-yûm °amânâ u ghudwa fîj-jebbâna. \]
The snake came on the furniture,
today it still is with us but tomorrow it will be buried at the cemetery.

The girls often play this game of dexterity, as they are the ones going to collect firewood taking with them long ropes. During spring 1977 I saw how some boys hit to death a big non-poisonous snake they had found in the oasis.

In the same community children use another simple way to make a snake by blowing slightly a long piece of a goat's or sheep's intestine and knotting its ends. This toy is used from the age of two years onwards but it is only made from the age of about six years (fig. 79).
Palm leaves suffice for boys of the oasis near the Source Bleue de Meski (Errachidia, Morocco) to skillfully weave scorpions (fig. 80, $L = 14.5$ cm, $B+ = 11.5$ cm).

According to the elderly informant who gave me some details on the toy animals of woven palm leaves, the making of this scorpion is of a recent date and it is sold to the tourists for a few dirhams. However, the weaving with palm leaves of a gazelle belongs to an older tradition as this informant used to make them about 1930. The bidimensional gazelles I received from three different boys measure 7 cm in height by 8 cm of length, 11.5 cm by 13 cm and 14 cm by 15.5 cm (fig. 81). To be able to pull along such a gazelle a long palm leaf string of 35 cm can be attached to it with a knot.

Among the more elaborated toys representing non-domestic animals there is first of all the horned toy antelope of an unspecified North African origin. It is made of brownish textile fabric on a frame of graminaceous twigs (fig. 82, p. 123, $H = 12$ cm, $L = 18$ cm, $L$ of the horn 7 cm).
In Assa, a Moroccan town in the Northwestern Sahara, an artisan of the Moors made about 1935 a wooden gazelle with spiral horns (fig. 83).
This gazelle is painted in red and yellow colors. Onto the body, with a neck and a head, four long legs and to spiral horns have been nailed. The ears are in relief but the eyes and the nostril have been marked with a red-hot iron. The mouth is incised and the tail is made of black sheepskin (H = 37.5 cm, L = 31.5 cm; catalogue 6, 38.156.34, p. 213).

The series of toy animals modeled by the black servants of the Oualata Moors (Mauritanian Sahara) contains also a tiny ostrich in painted crude clay. Its legs have been replaced by a cone-shaped base (H = 3 cm, catalogue 6, 38.48.73, p. 213). The way these ostriches and hedgehogs of the same type are used is mentioned where the tiny toy horses from the same town are described (see 2.2, p. 90-91).

During the anhader swalut game whose different stages have been described in the foregoing chapter, the adolescents and the boys of the Moroccan town Goulmima modeled a snake (fig. 84, L = 30 cm), a scorpion (fig. 85, L = 24 cm) and a turtledove. A mastigure was made independently by a boy as well as by an adolescent (fig. 86, L = 25 cm).
In Morocco parents are in the habit of offering their children some toys for the °ashûra feast at the beginning of the Islamic year. One of these toys dating back to 1932 but of European imitation represents two birds that come down alternatively to peck when the laths are moved to and fro. This toy is cut out of a plank and fixed with nails to the small laths, the one above the other. The toy is painted black except the heads of the birds in which black circles with a spot in the middle represent the eyes. This toy was made by a woodcarver and bought in Rabat (fig. 87, H = 6 cm, L = 23.5 cm).

In his short article “Joujoux Marrakchiss”, published in 1921, dr. Guichard writes that the parents in that city used to buy on the °ashûra feast, but also on the °aïd es-seghrîr, toy animals in the form of rats, rabbits, birds, snakes and monkeys to offer them to their children. All these animals were painted in vivid colors. Because Dr. Guichard's article is really important and difficult to find, I give an English translation of his detailed description meanwhile reproducing as designs the photographs shown in it (fig. 88-92).
Dr. Guichard describes these wooden toy animals as follows:

The 'far', the rat, more or less roughly cut in a piece of wood has sharp ears and a sharp nose, and a tuft of hair as tail. It is fixed with a peg to a plank without castors. It costs 0.50 FrF (fig. 88, p. 125). The 'gounina', the rabbit, made of a conic piece of wood has two long green ears and a red belly. This rabbit is placed on four castors and is sold for 0.50 FrF (fig. 89, p. 125). The 'bou mbçiçi' also named 'bellarje', the stork, is one of the most ingenious toys. A triangle of wood makes the body of the bird. A long neck ending with a long beak is found at one extremity while at the other extremity there is a long tail. The whole is fixed with a peg, representing the legs, to a plank with two holes. Two strings, one attached to the base of the neck and the other to the base of the tail, go through the openings in the plank and are fixed to a little wooden billet making the pendulum. When swinging the pendulum the two strings are tightened alternately and make the head and the tail to rise and lower in turn. This way the bird starts pecking while moving its tail. Its intense blue feathers with red and white spots give this toy animal an amazing and extraordinary appearance. The toy costs 1.50 FrF (fig. 90, p. 125). The 'anecha', the snake, is composed of ten cylindrical pieces of wood cut at one end in a chamfered shape and put together like the beads of a rosary onto a double string used to move them like the segments of a scorpion's tail. The head segment has a notch representing the mouth. The tail segment is conical. As usual everything is painted in wonderful colors and decorated with arabesques of vivid and varied colors to imitate the reptile's scales. It is sold for 1.50 FrF (fig. 91). Another 'anecha',
quite different from the previous one, is formed of small strips of wood
joined together like scissors and composed of three or four
parallelograms. The two posterior segments of this toy snake are
extended by handles that when moved together or apart cause the
snake to lengthen or to shorter. One of the frontal segments ends in a
triangle shaping the head of the snake. The whole is painted according
to the local artist's fantasy in order to imitate the multicolored
appearance of an exotic reptile. The price is 2.50 FrF. The 'guerd', the
monkey, recalls the articulated monkeys of our small (French) shops,
climbing up a stick. A roughly cut log makes the head and the trunk of
the animal. Four sticks joined to the body by pegs give it arms and
legs. The arms are attached to a stick and the legs to another stick.
Both sticks slide over one another by means of a wooden disc. The up
and down movements of this disc cause this extraordinary colorful
monkey to execute endless acrobatic movements. This toy is sold for
2.50 FrF (fig. 92, p. 126).

All these wooden toy animals, locally
made in for example Marrakech or
Rabat, seem to have disappeared
years ago. When I paid a visit in
February 1992 to a lot of elderly
woodcarvers in the Medina of
Marrakech it became obvious that
even if they remembered such
wooden toys they had not made them
for a long time. In that area these
woodcarvers have been outmatched
by plastic and white iron toys as the
one of the figure 93 showing a cock
of plastic and tin made in China which can be wound up to make it peck
(H = 9 cm, L = 8 cm). Strikingly similar to the 1921 wooden monkey of
Marrakech is a plastic acrobat also made in China (H = 26.5 cm).

Before rounding off this chapter I would like to direct the readers'
attention to the pages written by Julie Delalande on games constructed
around insects found in the playground by children of French preschools
Conclusion and Perspectives
In this section I shall first of all give a synthesis of the gathered information on the animal world in the play activities, games and toys of Saharan and North African children. This will be followed by a conclusion based on the foregoing analysis and referring to environmental, spatial temporal, economic, socio-cultural and socio-semiotic aspects as well as to the evolution of these societies. Finally and by way of perspectives, I offer some methodological reflections and refer to possibilities for a practical use of this toy and play culture.

1 Synthesis

For their play activities referring to the animal world the Saharan and North African children use certain animals as living toys as well as using toy animals. Yet, the child's body can be enough to represent an animal such as a dromedary or a horse.

The animals used as living toys are little dromedaries, donkeys, mules, sheep, turkeys, cats, sandmices, jerboas, fennecs, lizards, salamanders, tortoises, insects and even scorpions. However, I have not found any reference to rabbits or dogs serving as living toys or companions, except a Ghrib boy playing in 1975 with a herdsdog (fig. 94).
The described toy animals represent dromedaries, horses, mules, donkeys, cows, zebus, sheep, rams, goats, dogs, cats, rabbits, hedgehogs, chickens, gazelles, antelopes, ostriches, birds, rats, snakes, monkeys and scorpions.

The omnipresence of the dromedary is not amazing at all. Just as Jan Bujak notices for the horse in Poland where its economic and cultural importance is reflected in the little horse and the 'lajkonik', two popular Polish toys, the importance of dromedaries in North Africa and the Sahara explains its popularity in the play activities of the children from these regions.

From the gathered information as well as my personal observations in Morocco and Tunisia, I think one can conclude that the games and toys related to the animal world are more limited in the cities than in the countryside. This can be explained by the greater familiarity of rural children with animals.

The boys are the ones most often playing games referring to animals or to the relationship between humans and animals. According to all the information at my disposal, these games are less current among girls. Although my own observations confirm this remark, one should bear in mind that the consulted authors mostly are men, that the children's sex is not always specified and that most of my informants on these kinds of play activities are boys or men. Among the Tuareg, boys and girls play together with their toy dromedaries and they divide the tasks when making them.

It has often been argued that children, especially girls were and, except in the better off milieus, still are asked to help with the domestic tasks from the age of about seven years onwards. So they have not much time for play. Even though this observation reflects the reality quite well it does not mean that these children lack a developed toy and play culture.

Although the data rarely reveal this, the toy animals described here only make sense in the context of children's games which are most of the time collective and open-air play activities grouping together children of the same family or neighborhood. For these games the children use a good number of toys or other objects. Moreover, the way of communicating with domestic animals and the whole language referring to the animal world is practiced in these play activities.
If some games directly refer to the life of the animals and their behavior, many other games find inspiration in the way adults use these animals. The children play at organizing a nomadic encampment, at being a shepherd, a dromedarist, a horseman, a mule driver, a caravaneer, a hunter, a cattle-breeder, a farmer, and almost all male occupations.

Leaving aside the psychological, pedagogical and socialization aspects, the least one can stress is that a comprehensive learning of the physical, vegetal and animal environment is achieved through these play activities.

Toys representing animals can be very simple, necessitating no work at all. A stone becomes a goat, a sheep or a dromedary. A long reed or stick is transformed into a horse. Jacques Henriot stresses the usefulness of these objects changed into toys when writing that almost anything can become an object for play. The essence of an object for play is not its use as decided by adults but its use as decided by the player. The most efficient and the most playful toys are those objects that function in a really different way than that of resemblance or imitation (1989: 102).

The majority of the toys representing animals made by Saharan and North African children, from the simplest ones to the most elaborated ones, are hand-made. With few exceptions these toys remain figurative and realistic representations regarding the general appearance and sometimes also the details.

The Saharan and North African children themselves have made almost all these animals in miniature. Therefore they use a lot of material of mineral, vegetal, animal and waste origin. Only rarely do adults make such toys, like the servants and artisans of the Moors or the artisans from Rabat and Marrakech.

With only few exceptions of former as well as recent times, the toy animals are made locally. Yet, the importation in these regions of European toys has existed for a long time. F. Castells writes in 1915 that those selling imported European toys very successfully compete with those selling traditional toys in the market of the ʿāshūra feast in Rabat. Everywhere in Morocco but especially in the cities I have seen plastic toy animals imported from China, Hong Kong or Taiwan that replace the toy animals made by the children themselves and eventually by an artisan.
So, a girl from Sidi Ifni, a small coastal town in southern Morocco, was playing with such a dog and unicorn in November 1998 (fig. 95).

The oldest toy animal described in this book is a ram of painted clay made before 1889. The other toy animals of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme have been made between the 1930s and the 1960s. The toy animals I saw myself were made between 1975 and 1977 for those of the Ghrib children or between 1992 and 2002 for those of the Moroccan children.

Before concluding this synthesis I have to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the significance of this analysis is limited by the available sources of information. Therefore the analyzed games and toys by no means exclude the existence in North Africa and the Sahara of other types of games and toys related to the animal world. Thus, I can only hope that others will complete and if necessary correct the information presented in this book. This completion or correction is the more necessary, as the bibliographical data were not always the result of a searching inquiry.
2 Environmental and economic aspects

In the Saharan and North African regions a fundamental characteristic of the play activities and toys referring to the animal world and to the relationship between humans and animals is the close relation that exists between these play activities and toys on the one hand and the ecological environment on the other hand.

All the mineral, vegetal and domestic material the children use is taken from this environment. The domestic material, even if it is imported such as plastic coated electric wires or tin foil, is found on the spot. The growing importation of plastic toys furnishes the exception for this feature.

The reality as experienced by the children lies at the basis of the games and toys described in this book. It is their interpretation of the animal world and of the adult world that is at stake and their play activities are directly connected to a simulation of the real world. Furthermore, these games do not happen within the limits of a room but before everyone or at least before the playgroup members as these games are almost always open-air collective games.

The data that inform us on the temporal aspect of the play activities is greatly lacking. Therefore, it is impossible to specify if they are linked to specific seasons. However, such a link is very probable at least for some games, as it has been stated for the capture of migrant birds in Goulmima in the Moroccan pre-Sahara.

With the exception of some imported toy animals, rarely bought in rural areas or by parents from poorer quarters of town, the analyzed toy animals do not belong to the commercial sphere. On the contrary they are made by the children themselves and possibly by a female servant or a male or female artisan. When an artisan made the toy it is often not specified whether the toy was made for a child of the artisan's family, following an order or as a toy to be sold commercially as in the case of the woodworkers of Marrakech and Rabat.

However, a beginning of commercialization can be noted near the sand dunes of Merzouga in the Moroccan Sahara with the selling of their dolls by some village girls or at the Source Bleue de Meski and the Gorges de Tinerhir in the Moroccan pre-Sahara with the selling of toy animals of palm leaves by the boys who make them.
3 Socio-cultural aspects

The games and toys dealt with in this book refer directly to the economic, social and cultural life of the communities to whom the children belong. These play activities most frequently stage adult activities, especially those of the men. At the same time the children, particularly the boys, train for tasks they soon will have to carry out. Nevertheless, it is not a pure and simple imitation that is at stake but an interpretation of adult behavior.

In many games a specific type of toy animals is not used in isolation but together with toys representing other animals, persons or utensils. This is what happens when children play the game of the nomadic camp, the shepherd, the caravan and also when they engage in doll play (see Rossié, 2005, Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children's Dolls and Doll Play).


As already stressed when analyzing children's dolls in North Africa and the Sahara, the adult-child relationship through a gift of a toy, so common in other societies more oriented towards consumer goods, seems to be really exceptional in these regions as the children make most of the toys themselves. When it is not the child itself that makes the toy it can be its brother, sister or cousin. And even when adults make toys, these toys do not seem to fit into a system of rewards and tokens of affection. It remains exceptional that a toy becomes a gift at least in more or less traditional situations. Moreover, these toy animals are definitely not the type of toys suitable for an affective support for babies and small children in the same way the teddy and other soft toy animals do for the European and North American children. Though it should be pointed out that in the North African and Saharan cities and the urbanized villages the custom of giving toys to children is spreading in all social milieus of course according to each family's possibilities.
With respect to the teddies, I have seen one in a Moroccan house in the small city of Midelt in November 1994. This teddy was bought in the Souk Melilla of Nador, a market with smuggled goods in the northeast of Morocco. It certainly was not intended for a baby or toddler but exposed on the television set as a decorative object. Nevertheless, a girl of about three-years-old standing in front of her house in the same town of Midelt in November 1998 held a teddy in her arms. In February 2002 and in a popular quarter of the southern coastal rural center Sidi Ifni, I observed a five-year-old girl playing for some time with a big soft Donald Duck belonging to a little neighbor girl of about two years. In October of the same year and in the same town, I saw a three-year-old boy walking around with his teddy in a street of the quarter where I live. Talking with him he told me that it is he who bought this teddy at the local market, that his teddy has no name and that his teddy cannot speak, as he has no indication of the mouth. In this case the boy has a personal relation with his teddy. The word used for speaking of this teddy is *muliko*. Others use *muniko*, the masculine of *munika* designating a doll in general. According to a last year secondary school student such teddies are made in Agadir.

The play activities described in this book very often take place in playgroups and as such offer great help for the socialization and training of children. Older girls, less frequently older boys, supervise playgroups of children up to seven years. Such playgroups are composed of children of the same family and neighborhood.

Nefissa Zerdoumi writes that in traditional Algeria the parents are not interested in the games of their children except when occasionally smiling at them or punishing abuses. However, once the children are no longer babies they do not need their parents anymore to amuse themselves as the ways of playing are handed down between the children through imitation or just by contact (1982: 224).

From the age of seven years, the boys leave the playgroups under the supervision of the older girls to make their own playgroups of which the girls are excluded. In these groups the boys regularly meet and enjoy some freedom as long as norms are not too overtly transgressed. They also have the opportunity to go further away from their homes and so doing to escape from direct control by their parents or other adults.
The girls on the contrary are not allowed to go far away as they must stay near their mothers to help them in the household or because they have to look after some small children. When looking after the small children the girls certainly find occasions to play. Yet, the boundary between the task of amusing the little ones and the possibility to amuse oneself is difficult to draw.

The analyzed play activities and toys surely have a real importance for the socialization and education of the Saharan and North African children as they provide learning related to the natural, social and cultural environment. This is the more so because in the rural milieus, where most of the described games and toys are found, the modern school system was not a daily reality until recently.

As far as this can be verified in the data, the play activities inspired by the animal world and the relationship between humans and animals only present locally valued situations and characters the child should identify with. Through this type of game in which younger children mix with older ones, a great deal of non-verbal behavior, language, information on the natural and social environment, skills, ideas, symbols, norms and values are acquired and developed.

As in each community of these regions the toys and games seem to be shared by all the children, this similitude of play experiences facilitates the elaboration and communication of shared signification. This elaboration and communication of shared signification being strengthened by the fact that the children make their toy animals themselves in most cases. Thus these toy animals and the play activities in which they are used can be seen as an efficient means of communication for maintaining the socio-cultural system.

The behavior, the objects and the toys related to these games of make believe belong to the visual communication system of the community in which the child grows up. Through conventional signs this visual communication system allows an exchange between the child and its environment. Yet, visual communication is not the only means of communication used in play activities as other forms of non-verbal communication like tactile communication, and verbal communication also are of crucial importance in children's play activities. So the toy animals and the games in which they are used can be seen as a “set of
significant sign elements used to communicate between members of a society” (Clarke, 1987: 96).

However, to see the children rigidly set to passive attitudes regarding the models of adult life would be erroneous. On the contrary, they appropriate, adapt and change these models according to their own needs.

Besides, the societies whose play activities, games and toys have been analyzed are not static at all as they have evolved more or less quickly during the twentieth century. Already in 1915, F. Castells mentions the growing influence of European toys on the Moroccan children of Rabat. And what to say of the importation of toys made in China, Hong Kong or Thailand? Cheap toys can be seen more and more in the hands of Moroccan children, especially in the cities. According to the newspaper *l’Economiste* of October the 21st, 1993 the Spanish toy industry is trying to penetrate the Moroccan market (p. 4). As is the case with household utensils, plastic has sometimes replaced the local materials used for making toy animals especially in urban families (fig. 96).

Nevertheless, the relationship between modernity and tradition should not be conceived as contradictory. I think the children do not face a heartbreaking choice between tradition and modernity as tradition and
modernity continuously influences each other. Tradition is slowly infiltrated by modernity but tradition sometimes also reappears in modernity. Nowadays, one can see in the same playgroup children playing with self-made toy animals and others playing with plastic toy animals bought in local shops.

The availability of new material, in this instance Plasticine, can stimulate creativity. Thus, an eight-year-old Moroccan boy from the small town of Midelt created his own dinosaur with some Plasticine one can now and then buy in grocery shops (fig. 97). This happened at the end of 1997. The boy's interest for dinosaurs is probably linked to the find of dinosaur bones near Midelt, something that remained a major theme of conversation for some time. The design of this dinosaur was certainly influenced by images seen at school or on television.

A remarkable African example of continuity in toy design based on the spatial and temporal distribution of toy animals in clay, especially a type of toy animal modeled with the two front legs assembled in one leg, proves that next to modernity there also exist permanent features lasting for centuries or even thousands of years.

In the collection of Saharan and North African toys of the Musée de l'Homme, I found some three-legged toy animals made in the 1930s by the female servants of the Moors of Oualata, a small town in the Mauritanian Sahara. They are made of clay and represent miniature toy dromedaries, toy horses and other toy animals (fig. 31 p. 76, 45-46 p. 90). Figure 98 reproduces the design of a three-legged toy dromedary shown by
Jean Gabus (1958: 168). The same author mentions that the Tuareg children from Timbuktu and Goundam, two cities situated along the Niger River in Mali, play with three-legged toy dromedaries or other toy animals (1958: 164).

In a publication describing another collection of the Musée de l'Homme on archeological objects found in 1904 at the borders of the Niger River in Mali, I found the same type of toy animals (Lebeuf et Pâques, 1970: 53-54). These clay animals, with two posterior legs and one front leg, represent a dromedary (fig. 99) and five sheep (fig. 100).

Yet, in two articles on the archeological excavations of the oldest West African city, the ancient town of Jenné-Jeno in the Inland Niger Delta in Mali, are shown some toy animals, once more in clay, that date back to more or less two thousand years ago. Susan and Roderick McIntosh, the archeologists leading these excavations, wrote:

_Toys made from river mud, miniature clay animals and cattle are a common sight in modern Jenné. Broken pieces of clay - still recognizable as cows, sheep and a Niger-dwelling manatee - found at the ancient Jenné were immediately identified by the workmen as toys._

To this they added that one of the two thousand year old children's clay toys, that have been made in great numbers, was a bull (fig. 101) (1982: 407, 410, 413).

When looking closely at one of these toy animals (fig. 102), once used by the children of ancient Jenné and representing among other toy animals from the same excavation on the cover of The UNESCO Courier of May 1984, I thought it could have only one front leg. Meanwhile, email
correspondence with Susan Keech McIntosh, professor of anthropology at Rice University, Houston, Texas, has confirmed the fact that it indeed is a toy animal with a single front leg. In an email of March 21st, 1998, she wrote to me “Of the toys on the UNESCO Courier cover, the two on the top right have a single front leg”.

The three-legged toy animals from along the Niger River in Mali - those from Jenné-Jeno, found in 1904 or made by Tuareg children in the 1950s, together with those of the children of the Moors of Oualata in the Mauritanian Sahara belong to the same toy design tradition. In the just mentioned email, Susan Keech McIntosh writes: “I agree that the continuity in subject and style across the centuries in (these) clay toys is very striking”.

Moreover, I suspect that one of the toy animals in clay, made at the end of the 1970s or the beginning of the 1980s and that two young boys from modern Jenné show on a photograph in the article of Susan and Roderich McIntosh, also has the two front legs united in one leg (1982: 410). It is a toy dromedary apparently being mounted by a dromedarist (fig. 103).

As information on very ancient toys of African children must be very exceptional, as is this well documented continuity in toy design, it certainly is profitable to study the Jenné-Jeno clay toy animals more in detail.

In 1995, Susan Keech McIntosh edited the book *Excavations at Jenné-Jeno, Hambarketolo, and Kaniana (Inland Niger Delta, Mali), the 1981 Season*. When analyzing the list of statuettes and animal figurines in clay (p. 219-221), one remarks that the vast majority of the animal figurines, showing indications of their legs, have a single front leg. Out of the twenty-six toy animals, twenty-four are three-legged and two are four-legged. These twenty-four three-legged toy animals from Jenné-Jeno have the following SF (small find) numbers, in order of appearance on the list of statuettes and animal figurines (Table 4.1) in McIntosh, 1995: 219-221: 1474, 1552, 385, 507, 817, 23, 916, 917, 1039, 1092, 1024, 1194, 1331, 1401, 1435, 803, 801, 729A, 737, 1028A, 1165, 1204, 497, 236. The other two animal figurines have both been identified as a fragment of a four-legged cow: SF numbers 1477 and 1554.
Among the twenty-four three-legged animal figurines, thirteen have been identified as cows, six as probably cows and one as probably a sheep (fig. 104). However, there is no mention of a three-legged toy dromedary as among the other toy animals of this type found in 1904 or made between the 1930s and the 1950s.

For twenty-three three-legged animal figurines an accurate dating was possible. The oldest one has been dated back to about 100 BC, four others between that time and AD 400, nine between AD 400 and AD 900, three about AD 900 and six between AD 900 and AD 1400. So, these archeological finds alone already attest a continuity in material, technique, shape, subject, toy and play tradition for at least 1500 years.

As mentioned, I have found four groups of three-legged toy animals in clay, three located along the Niger river in Mali and one from the Mauritanian Sahara: the archeological finds at Jenné-Jeno (100 BC - AD 1400, McIntosh, 1995: 219-221, ill. 237-241, plate 36, and McIntosh, 1982: 407-413), the archeological finds in 1904 from the Rhergo area (no date, Lebeuf et Pâques, 1970: 53-54), the toy animals of the Tuareg children from Timbuktu and Goundam (1950s, Gabus, 1958: 164) and the toy animals from Oualata (1930s-1950s; collection of the Musée de l'Homme, Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient, 38.48.79-83; Gabus, 1958: 164, ill. 168).

A comparative analysis of these four groups has given some interesting information:

1. As far as measures are given, these toy animals are miniaturized representations, mostly varying in height between about 4 cm and 9 cm, in length between about 4.5 cm and 10 cm.

   The measures found for the different groups of three-legged animals in clay are:
   - the archeological finds in the Rhergo area: dromedary H = 5.2 cm, L = 4.8 cm;
the archeological finds at Jenné-Jeno: for the toy animals found complete enough to give a good idea of real height and length, the height varies between 4.3 cm and 11 cm and the length between 4.6 cm and 11.5 cm, there are two whole figurines measuring 4.3 cm in height and 5 cm in length or 5.1 cm in height and 4.6 cm in length;

- the Oualata toy animals: those of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme measure between 5 cm and 9 cm in height, 4 cm and 9.5 cm in length; the height and length of the Oualata toy dromedary shown by Gabus (1958: 168) is about 13 cm;
- for the toy animals made by Tuareg children of Timbuktu and Goundam no measures have been given.

2. Whereas the three-legged toy animals from Oualata and of the Tuareg children along the Niger river are of unfired clay, the ones found in 1904 along the same river are of fired clay, the clay toy animals from Jenné-Jeno being unfired as well as fired.

3. The toy animals of the Tuareg children of the 1950s, these found in 1904 and a lot of the ones found at Jenné-Jeno seem to be monochrome, this in clear contrast with the colorful ones from Oualata. However, two or three of the Jenné-Jeno toy animals show some traces of paint and the rider on the clay dromedary found in 1904 was undoubtedly painted.

4. When looking at all these three-legged toy animals I was struck by two aspects: on the one hand, the generally quite rough elaboration of the whole and, on the other hand, the attention paid to details. All the examples of the collection of the Musée de l'Homme, those found in 1904, the ones of the Tuareg children and many of Jenné-Jeno have been described as roughly modeled. Several Oualata toy animals have an elongated neck and head, a description that has been used also for several Jenné-Jeno toy animals. The Oualata toy animals from the Musée de l'Homme collection and those in Gabus’ book have a worked out tail as have all those found in 1904 and some of those found at Jenné-Jeno. Other details are found in the four groups or at least in three of them, details such as the indication of eyes, ears and saddle. But only in the case of the Jenné-Jeno toy animals have the modeling of horns or of an udder been mentioned.
5. A last remarkable detail is found on two of the Jenné-Jeno three-legged toy animals, namely on a “fragment fired black clay cow figurine; incised "ladder" pattern on right side" (SF 758, 10th century) and on the one, reproduced at figure 105, described as a “fragment animal figurine, possibly horse; incised cross-hatching over body” (SF 1537, 8th century) (McIntosh, 1995: 219-220). When one looks at the incisions on the Jenné-Jeno toy animal of figure 105, takes into account the mention of a ladder pattern on another one, and compares this with the zigzag-like lines on the three-legged toy dromedary from Oualata (1950s) shown at figure 98 (p. 141), the resemblance is indeed intriguing.

Although probably few people will have expected to find such a two thousand year old, and probably much older, toy tradition in the southern part of the Sahara, this continuity in toy design and in the material used to create such toy animals is not so surprising if one bears in mind the striking similarity between some ancient Chinese, Egyptian, Greek or Indian toys and some modern toys such as dolls, toy animals, knucklebones, marbles, spinning tops, spinning wheels, kites, swings, rattles... (Beaumont, 1994; Durand, 1992; Eady, 1989-1990; Schofield, 1978).
4 Socio-semiotic analysis

My knowledge of social semiotics comes from the publications of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1995-1999) and from personal communication with Theo van Leeuwen. According to these authors (1996: 264):

*Social semiotics is an attempt to describe and understand how people produce and communicate meaning in specific social settings, be they ‘micro’ settings such as the family or settings in which sign-making is well institutionalized and hemmed in by habits, conventions and rules... social semiotics (is) sign-making in society.*

In this context toys can be seen as semiotic resources used to produce meanings, meaning being understood “as cognitive and affective, as a matter of the mind and the body” (van Leeuwen and Caldas-Coulthard, 1999: 1).

The proposed social semiotic analysis of Saharan and North African toy animals and the play activities for which they are made, discusses some material, technical, cognitive and relational aspects. I hereby want to stress that my socio-semiotic analysis is limited to the descriptive level without an attempt to reach a more theory building level. Referring to this Theo van Leeuwen wrote to me:

*You actually use semiotic terminology only intermittently, and in ways I have no problem with at all, but you seem to have a certain hesitation about generalising, and semiotics aims of course at a general theoretical framework within which to make interpretations (the bit on schematised representation is an example of introducing some generalisation).*

There are two main reasons for my hesitation about generalizing, first, I have not been trained as a theoretician and, secondly, I have seen several theories build too hastily or based on too one-sided information. But maybe one day, after having analyzed the whole documentation on these children's toys and play, I might be able to offer a more generalizing theoretical approach. Or others will be able to do this better than I can.
4.1 Material aspect

Within a semiotic analysis of cultural objects like toys materiality remains a fundamental aspect. Therefore, it is not surprising that it is this aspect of the toys made by Saharan and North African boys and girls that came first of all to my mind.

Four topics will be developed, one related to the material used by these children to make toy animals, another to the use of specific material in relation to particular representational meanings, a third one to color and a final one to non-durability versus durability.

I start the presentation of the material used to represent toy animals with the child's body although treating the body as an object can be subjected to discussion. It is common to say that the child's body is one of its first toys, and this body continues to be used for later playful activities such as imitating animals. The data refer to the imitation of dromedaries by Ghrib boys and rarely girls (fig. 1-4, p. 47-49) or by children of the Moors (see 1.1, p. 49). Children of the Ghrib and the Mozabites or from Morocco use their body to transform themselves into horses or mules (see 2.1, p. 84-85). For the south of Tunisia an author mentioned that girls and boys disguise as cows during the °ashûra festivities (see 3, p. 101).

Of course the most realistic 'toys' are the animals themselves, small as well as big animals or domestic as non-domestic animals. The living animals used as 'toys' mentioned in this book are the donkey, the mule, the small dromedary, the sheep, the turkey, the cat, the fennec, the tortoise, the snail, the jerboa, the desert mouse (fig. 76, p. 115), the lizard, the scorpion and some insects. In certain cases as with the fennec, the jerboa and some insects the border between play and utilitarian occupation is difficult to draw as the playful activity becomes more like hunting, a hunting activity in which the play element still can be in the foreground (see 5, p. 115).

To create their toy animals the Saharan and North African children use a large variety of material of animal, mineral and vegetal origin as well as waste material of domestic origin. As mineral material there are different kinds of stones to make dromedaries (fig. 7-9, p. 53-55), mules (fig. 54-55, p. 98-99), dogs (fig. 16, p. 61), cattle (fig. 58, p. 102). Clay is an often used material to model dromedaries (fig. 28 p. 74, 30-31 p. 75-76,
37-40, p. 79-81), horses, mules and donkeys (fig. 43-48, 50, p. 88-93),
cattle (fig. 59-64 p. 102-104, 66-68, p. 106-107), dogs (fig. 69, p. 109),
cats (fig. 75, p. 112), snakes (fig. 84, p. 124), scorpions (fig. 85, p. 124)
and mastigures (fig. 86, p. 124). Although rarely mentioned mud is also
used to model animals such as a dromedary or an ox.

Certain parts of an animal can be used to represent an animal,
especially the jawbone of a goat or a sheep changing in the hands of a
Saharan child into a dromedary (fig. 11-15, p. 58-60). Dried dromedary
dung serves to cut out the shape of a dromedary (fig. 16, p. 61), but
dromedary droppings can also be used. Once I observed some Ghrib
children using a piece of intestine of a goat to represent a snake (fig 79, p.
121). When playing at being a herdsman snail shells have been used as
dromedaries or small cattle (see p. 51, 157). Treated or untreated skin is
sometimes used to create a toy animal but more often to make accessories
like bags, sacs or saddles.

However, it is the vegetal domain that offers most material to the
children wanting to make a toy animal for their games. To create
dromedaries the children use leaves (fig. 18 p. 63, 22 p. 68), fibers (fig.
23, p. 69), pieces of wood (fig. 25, p. 71), little branches (fig. 19 p. 64,
21-22 p.67-68), mushrooms (fig. 17, p. 62). Horses and mules are made
with leaves (fig. 57, p. 100, ), pieces of wood (fig. 51-52 p. 94), reed (fig.
53, p. 95), summer squash (fig. 56, p. 100). Once I found the use of a
fibrous plant to create a horse (see 2.4, p. 97). There also exist sheep of
an ear of maize (see 3, p. 102), gazelles and scorpions of palm leaves
(fig. 80-81, p. 122), as well as gazelles (fig. 83, p.123), pairs of birds (fig.
87, p. 125), storks (fig. 90, p. 125), rats (fig. 88, p. 125), rabbits (fig. 89,
p. 125), monkeys (fig. 92, p. 126) and snakes (fig. 91, p. 126) of wood.

Saharan and North African children excel in re-utilizing waste material
they find on the spot. So a dromedary is made out of an old butter bag
(fig. 6, p. 51), rags (fig. 19-22, p. 64-68), plastic coated electric wire (fig.
41, p. 81), or a piece of tin foil (fig. 42, p. 82). The consulted
bibliography mentions an ox of rags (fig. 65, p. 105) and the Musée de
l'Homme has an antelope also of rags (fig. 82, p. 123).

The use of new material like plastic coated electric wire shows that
toys can be renewed and adapted to changing socio-economic situations
while transmitting old meanings through a new design.
All this material of animal, mineral, vegetal or waste origin is often used in combination for making toy animals and their accessories. Finally, I should mention the replacement of self-made toy animals by imported plastic animals such as dogs (fig. 72 p. 111, 95 p. 134), rabbits (fig. 71, p. 110), cats (see 4, p. 113), cocks (fig. 93, p. 127) and unicorns (fig. 95, p. 134).

No doubt exists on the importance of the material aspect in the creation of toys or for a social semiotic analysis of these toys. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to give a semiotic meaning to the children's choice of one or the other material, except the one of conformity with the ecological and sociocultural environment in which they live.

Trying to analyze the reasons for the choices of material made by Saharan and North African children when creating toys, the first aspect coming to my mind was shape. When one looks at the shape of the jawbone of a goat or a sheep it is not so difficult to imagine the appeal this object can have for a child when wanting to represent a dromedary (fig. 11-15, p. 58-60). Moreover, the possibility of holding this 'dromedary' in the hand by the elongated part of the jawbone makes it easier to imitate the movements of a dromedary. There is also the hollow on top of the jawbone that is very useful to put a toy saddle and a rider on. Another example is given by the dromedaries of stone, stones often chosen because of their shape and serving after a possible carving to represent a dromedary, a she-dromedary, a pregnant she-dromedary or a little dromedary (fig. 7, p. 53). The oval shape of a summer squash fits nicely to give a body and a head to a mule (fig. 56, p. 100).

Another aspect that can be stressed is the ease of manipulation of the material chosen to make toys, as when clay, mud, dried excrement, leaves, fibers or plastic coated electric wires are used.

Sometimes it is the specificity of the object or part of the object that provokes the child's choice as when it takes a reed with a well-developed beard to represent the horse's mane. The choice of a little feather as tail for a horse made by a female servant of the Moors supports this point of view (fig. 46, p. 90). For the eyes of his clay rabbit a boy has purposefully chosen two grains (fig. 70, p. 110).

Although it seems sometimes possible to link the choice of a specific material or object to a specific representational meaning as shown in the above mentioned examples, it will be much more difficult if not
impossible to do so in other cases. Asking the children about their choices of material and objects to create toys would also be interesting, but often they will find such questions stupid or senseless. So, the answer to Theo van Leeuwen’s question “What kind of things would they say, if anything, when asked why they have chosen this or that material?” (e-mail, June 14th, 1998) could just be ‘it was always like that’, ‘everybody does it this way’, ‘that is the way we learned to do it’ or ‘that is what we can use’. But even such general and evasive answers can be revealing.

The meaning of color is often studied in a semiotic analysis but as the Saharan and North African children use a great diversity of natural and artificial material when making their toy animals and as most toy animals are created out of more than one material, these toys show a lot of colors. Moreover, almost all toy animals of these regions have not been painted. The most important exception to this permanent feature comes from the female servants of the Moors of Oualata, a small town in the Mauritanian Sahara (fig. 31 p. 76, 45 p. 90, 46 p. 90, 59-60 p. 102-103). Figures 66 and 67 (p. 106) show that the children's clay toy animals among the Moors of the Northwestern Sahara were sometimes painted, as were some of those of the children of Mopti on the Niger river (see 4, p. 107). Nevertheless, painting toy animals is not new as the toy ram collected before 1889 shows (fig. 61, p. 103). The toy animals made by some woodworkers have also been painted, often in vivid colors (fig. 25 p. 71, 83 p. 123, see also the description of the non-realistic colors of the toy animals of figures 88 to 92, p. 125-126).

I have not been able to give a social and cultural meaning to the colors of the toy animals described in this book. Yet, an author has mentioned that the use of a clean white rag can give a toy dromedary the look of a Tuareg chief's mount (see 1.5, p. 66). One should also notice that the imported plastic toy animals only have one or very few colors (fig. 71-72 p. 110-111, 93 p. 127, 95 p. 134).

4.2 Technical aspect

Making toys necessitates material but also technical know-how. From a technical point of view I can put forward the use of the technologies of the hand and the aspect of movement.

The Saharan and North African children are limited by what Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen call the “technologies of the hand, technologies in which representations are, in all their aspects, articulated by the human hand, aided by hand tools” (1996: 233). For the children of these regions the hand tools are more often than not objects they find themselves, not tools of adults, such as stones or other heavy objects to hit, the child’s own teeth or other sharp objects to cut or make holes, etc.

One technical aspect to be solved by toy-making children is movement, movement of parts of the toy or movement of the whole toy. Some North African and Saharan toys such as windmills and toy weapons have movable parts. Nevertheless, I found until now only one example of a toy animal with movable legs, the mule pulling a plough (fig. 52, p. 94), and two records speaking of small wheels put under a toy animal to make its movement possible. The first wheeled toy animal, a horse, was made by woodworkers from Marrakech in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The second wheeled toy animal, a mule, was described to me by a Moroccan boy (see 2.1 p. 83 and 2.2 p. 93).

The fact that I cannot give other examples should not be interpreted as an indication of the Saharan and North African children's lack of technical know-how as they undoubtedly demonstrate this know-how when making all kinds of toy vehicles. A simple explanation would possibly stress the fact that there is no need for moving features as the children create this movement themselves when they take a toy animal into their hands but also that they are only very short living toys. An ideological explanation might be found in the Koranic interdiction of representing living beings (Rosenthal, 1982: 616) and whereby toy animals with movable parts more strongly resemble living animals than rigid ones.

The movement of the rigid toy animal is under the direct control of the child who manipulates it. The toy animal's movements are not naturalistic but conventional and based on a simplification of reality, on movements that the playgroup members find adequate to symbolize the necessary
spatial displacement. What is important is the meaningfulness of the movements not their realism.

The technical inventiveness of these children is more to be found in the ingenious use of all kinds of material with which they make toy animals and their accessories. According to all my information, the Saharan and North African toy animals made by adults are seldom found. However, the few toy animals made by adults show a more elaborate technical skill and the use of material means not available to children.

4.3 Cognitive and relational aspect

As far as data are available it is clear that the Saharan and North African children use their toy animals for play activities representing the use of animals by people. Play activities such as the imitation of herding, giving water, taking to graze, organizing a camp or a razzia, being a warrior, engaging a race, going to hunt, setting traps, starting to plough and organizing transport are prevalent. Sometimes these children create a play area in which they build an encampment or a farm and manipulate toy animals such as dromedaries, horses, mules and cattle.

The manipulation of toy animals and the play activities for which they are used often involve a linguistic aspect. The imitation of the animals' calls and the use of the vocabulary related to animals not only have their importance for the cognitive development of the child, but they also are an integral part of the transmission of the meanings embedded in these toys and games.

Toys made by Saharan and North African children are almost always three-dimensional objects. It is among the toy animals that I have found the first examples of bidimensional toys such as the animals of stone (fig. 7-9 p. 53-55, 58 p. 102), of dung (fig. 16, p. 61), of tin foil (fig. 42, p. 82) or of leaves (fig. 18 p. 63, 57 p. 100, 81 p. 122).

Often some meaningful parts of the animal's body are emphasized such as the hump of the dromedary (fig. 7-9 p. 53-55, 16 p. 61, 18-19 p. 63-64, 21-22 p. 67-68, 38-39 p. 80, 42 p. 82) or of the ox (fig. 59-60 p. 102-103, 62-64 p. 104, 68 p. 107). Other examples can be found in the horse's mane, the donkey's ears (fig. 43 p. 88, 50 p. 93), the horse's tail (fig. 46, p. 90), the dog's tail (fig. 69, p. 109), the ram's horns (fig. 61, p. 103).
The Chaamba children distinguish between their dromedaries of stone, looking at first sight quite uniform: the male dromedary marked by a deep notch in the middle of its base, the female dromedary marked by a large base representing a gravid belly and the little dromedary represented by a small stone (see 1.2, p. 53).

Although regularly based on an arbitrary choice, I think that it is useful to make a distinction between the toy animals with a very simple shape, a schematic shape and an elaborated shape. I hope the examples given below will clarify the differences between these three categories.

For the group of toy animals having a very simple shape, with no clear resemblance to the represented animal, I can only present the dromedaries of figures 5 (p. 50), 7 (p. 53), 11 (p. 58), 13-15 (p. 60), the horse of figure 53 (p. 95), the mules of figures 54-55 (p. 98-99), and the snakes of figures 78-79 (p. 120-121).

Compared to the few toy animals with a very simple shape there are many more to be classified in the group of toy animals with a schematic shape, a schematic shape I would define as simplified models lacking one or more parts of the animal’s body and with no or only few indications of the features of the head. I have also classified the toy animals with two or three legs in this category. These toy animals are the dromedaries of figures 6 (p. 51), 8-9 (p. 54-55), 16-19 (p. 61-64), 25 (p. 71), 28 (p. 74), 30-31 (p. 75-76), 38-42 (p. 80-82), 98-99 (p. 141-142), 102-103 (p. 142-143) and 106 (p. 163); the horses, mules and donkeys of figures 43 (p. 90), 45-46 (p. 90-91), 48 (p. 92), 50-52 (p. 93-94), 56-57 (p. 100), 105 (p. 146) and 106 (p. 163); the other domestic animals of figures 58-64 (p. 102-104), 66 (p. 106), 69 (p. 109), 100-102 (p. 142); the non-domestic animals of figures 6 (p. 51), 76-77 (p. 115, 119), 85-92 (p. 124-126), 101 (p. 142).

The toy animals of the third group have an elaborated shape often showing a sense of detail. All parts of the animal’s body are represented together with most or all features of the head. Yet, this does not mean that it is a realistic copy of an animal. In this category I have classified the dromedaries of figures 12 (p. 59), 21-23 (p. 67-69), the horse of figure 44 (p. 89) and 47 (p. 91); the other domestic animals of figures 65 (p. 105), 67-68 (p. 106-107), 70 (p. 110), 74 (p. 112); the non-domestic animals of figures 82-83 (p. 123).
An overview of the toy animals with a simple, schematic or elaborated shape is given in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shape of Toy animal</th>
<th>Dromedary</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Domestic Animals</th>
<th>Non-domestic Animals</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple Shape</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schematic Shape</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaborated Shape</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No doubt it would be interesting to try to match these differences in number between the simple, schematic and elaborate shapes of the Saharan and North African toy animals with differences in the ethnic, environmental, economic, social, cultural and possibly other situations in which the children making these toys live. However, I am convinced that this is yet impossible or at least would create misinterpretations because of the insufficient and unequal quality of the available data. The only thing that can be stated is that, generally speaking, the three to twelve-year-old Saharan and North African children prefer to make toy animals with a schematic shape. But in this case also, age and gender differences will play a role and the data on the age and gender of the toy-making children are not always available. In relation to the toy animals with an elaborated shape one should keep in mind that a few of these toy animals have been made by adults.

Each time a child creates a toy animal it has been looking for a particular shape that for him represents the animal of his choice. Sometimes it is even possible to find examples showing a real effort to create a specific shape, as when making dromedaries with a frame of little branches (fig. 21, p. 67). These little branches, one for the legs and another for the neck and the head, are tied up to give them the necessary curve. The bonds are removed once the branches are dry, this way keeping their forced curve (Balout, 1959: planche LXVIII; Bellin, 1963: 100). Some other examples can be found among the toy animals made with palm leaves and those modeled with clay.
The analysis of the toy animals reveals a certain traditionalism of the Saharan and North African children in choosing material and design. However, this should not lead to the conclusion that creativity is completely lacking, creativity that I describe in the chapter Toys, play and creativity of my book *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An Anthropological Approach with Reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (2005: 93).

Further to the above mentioned description of the shapes of toy animals and in reference to the remark of Theo van Leeuwen and Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard concerning toy vehicles (1999: 7), I should try to define the “minimum features” each toy must have to be recognized as the representation of an animal.

Scrutinizing the data and the figures of this book, I first felt at a deadlock as some toy animals have such a simplified shape that I could not determine the minimum features making it a toy animal, as in the case of the little boy manipulating his wooden dromedary (fig. 5, p. 50), of the mules of stone (fig. 54-55, p. 98-99), and of the snakes of rope or a piece of intestine (fig. 78-79, p. 120-121). I was only able to progress when I thought of making a distinction between the point of view of the child using an object chosen or made by him, the point of view of the other players, and the point of view of other children and adults not participating in the play activity.

When an isolated player is concerned such as the three-year-old boy manipulating a rectangular piece of wood as if it is a dromedary (fig. 5, p. 50), it seems to me that whatever object could do. What makes this piece of wood a dromedary is only very vaguely related to its shape but owes everything to the intentions, the 'vision', of the boy and the way he manipulates it. The same can be said of the reed becoming a horse (fig. 53, p. 95) and all the more so when a child only uses its own body to become a dromedary (fig. 1-4, p. 47-49).

When it concerns a playgroup each player must recognize in a given object the minimum features that makes it a toy, in this case a toy animal. When the playgroup uses the players' body to create a dromedary (fig. 2, p. 48) it is I think the representational meaning that lays at the basis of this transformation not the body as 'object'. But even if it concerns objects chosen by a playgroup to represent an animal, the shape of this object is not sufficient to explain the choice. I suppose this is the case for
the rectangular stones serving as mules (fig. 54-55, p. 98-99) or the rope serving as snake (fig. 78, p. 120). In the case of mules of stone, the stones taken apart do not represent an animal at all. But these stones serve perfectly this purpose once they are assembled to a toy cart designed to look like a realistic image of a real cart. Even outside the play situation this toy cart with its mules of stone will be seen by the playgroup members, but also by other children and adults, as a cart pulled by a draught animal. A rope with its tubular shape, its suppleness and its length may easily bring children to the idea of using it as a snake, but it still needs to be manipulated in a play activity to change into a snake. A rigid rope is not a snake, it only has the potentiality to become a snake and will become one when the playgroup decides so. The same statement can be made for the little stones, the snail shells and the ears of maize used by children to represent small cattle while playing a game of herding (see 3, p. 102)

All this shows that the toy animals created by Saharan and North African children are, in Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's terminology (1996: 249-260), “analytical structures” not “naturalistic structures”, this way confirming what I wrote about girls' dolls in these regions (see Rossie, 2005, Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An Anthropological Approach with Reference to North Africa and the Sahara, p. 61-72, 76).

Although the relational aspects of the play activities and the self-made toys of the Saharan and North African children have a major importance, I unfortunately must admit that due to a lack of studies little is known about this topic and that what I can say in this respect remains quite vague.

The relationship between the members of a playgroup is one of near closeness. This can be expected, as the playmates are siblings, close relatives and/or neighbors, in every case children who are part of a daily interacting microcosmic social group.

The child's affective relation seems to be directed towards the representational concept, the represented model, rather than to the material realization of the concept or model that is used as a means and only valuable as long as the play activity goes on. One might say that the function of such a toy animal is limited to the game, it only comes to ‘life’ when the player manipulates it, when it becomes part of a series of
interactive relations mutually accepted and enacted by the members of the playgroup. When the play activity is interrupted or stopped, the toy becomes an object, a material item that can be left on the spot or thrown away. Once more however a general statement should be relativized as an author writes about the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar children that even if most toy animals are left behind when moving camp, those best executed are kept (see 1.2, p. 56). Nevertheless, the toy animals of these children do not play the role the teddies do for European and North American children.

The Saharan and North African children mostly use their self-made toy animals to enact stories related to hunting, breeding, transhumance, racing, agriculture, transport, trade, razzia and warfare. An assumption based on the available data, makes me say that the games and the toy animals used for them show the children's strong interest in the nearby domestic reality. The historic dimension directed towards the past or the future has not been revealed, a historic dimension typical for certain artisanal or industrial toys. I also did not find trace of toys representing imaginary animal figures. Nevertheless, such imaginary models slowly find their way into the toys and the minds of the North African children through imported toy animals such as the hat wearing dog and the unicorn of figure 95 (p. 134) or the wheeled hybrid animal and the wheeled turtle of figure 96 (p. 140). An imaginative approach was clearly at work when an eight-year-old Moroccan boy created his own dinosaur with some Plasticine in 1997 (fig. 97, p. 141).

According to the bibliographical data and to my own research, adults do not use these children's toy animals for informal or formal education. It is much more through the active imitation of the adults that the children learn about the activities and responsibilities related to the use of animals for needs of subsistence and transport.

Theo van Leeuwen and Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard put forward the way semiotic resources are used in specific contexts as one of the three basic aspects for the study of semiotic resources (1999: 1).

Undoubtedly the toy animals and the related play activities described in this book belong to specific environments mostly situated in a desert or rural habitat, seldom in an urban habitat. The past and actual living conditions in the desert or in the countryside influence the choice of material and technique as well as the conception and the realization of the
toys. A quite well documented example of the relation between a nomadic life on its way to sedentarization and children's toys can be found among the toy animals made by the Ghrib children between 1975 and 1977. These toy animals show through the representation of dromedaries an attachment to transhumance and life in the desert (fig. 13-16, p. 60-61) but through the representation of cart-mules a looking out for the evolution towards a settled agricultural life in an oasis (fig. 54-55, p. 98-99).

The populations living in the desert or in the countryside certainly are not static entities so new meanings can be attached to old toys. As proof I can give the re-contextualization or reinterpretation of the toy animals of palm leaves serving during the first half of the twentieth century in the games of boys from the Moroccan pre-Sahara that have been transformed in the 1990s into touristic objects made by the boys of the same regions to be sold to passing tourists (fig. 18 p. 63, 57 p. 100, 80-81 p. 122).

Following the importation of industrial toys in Saharan and North African countries a reinterpretation of the children's self-made toys imposes itself upon them. The influence of industrial toys dates back a century or so. As F. Castells writes, in 1915 in Rabat: an old representative of tradition offers children some traditional toys, but with little success because he is in competition with those selling imported European toys such as guns, balls, dolls, drums, bugles, etc. (p. 342). Nevertheless, the industrial toys remain quite rare outside the cities. Where the imported toys replace the self-made toys fundamental changes are inescapable. This way the personal creation of a toy is replaced by an external input creating a dependency from a purchased toy and from the one purchasing it, an adult, and provoking at the same time a devalorization of the self-made toy. It will also provoke a change in the children's attitude towards the material they normally use, artificial material dethroning the material of animal, mineral and vegetal origin. This is particularly visible in the cities where plastic rabbits, dogs and other animals are found much more than in the countryside (fig. 71-72 p. 110-111, 95-96 p. 134, 140).

The influence of the industrial world on self-made toys is not limited to the importation of industrial toys. Indirectly the self-made toys of the Saharan and North African children also change because of the growing use of waste objects from industrial production, such as tins, cans,
cardboard boxes, wires, plastic stoppers, plastic containers, used spare parts of vehicles. Another fundamental influence on self-made toys and on the play activities in which they are used comes from the mass media, especially television, and from the Western school system. Those powerful agents of change are introducing new models of play and toys. However, the use of imported material like plastic coated electric wires to create a dromedary shows that the opposite also happens and that material from an industrial origin can give in to the elaboration of an ancestral concept and design (fig. 41, p. 81).
5 Perspectives

The information on the play activities, games and toys related to the animal world and the relationship between humans and animals analyzed in this book brings to the foreground a wealth of play activities among the Saharan and North African children although the shortage of data makes it impossible to do justice to this toy and play culture.

Even if the idea seems to prevail that the children of these regions have few toys, I think the reader can see that the collected data refute or at least qualify this belief. Of course one should not take as criterion the number of toys children receive in most families living in consumer societies.

Before rounding off this book it is necessary to draw the reader's attention to some limits and problems that hinder the analysis of the data on North African and Saharan play activities, games and toys.

The first problem is related to the bibliographic and museographic sources as the authors and collectors not always proceeded with the same scientific attitude. Precision at the ethnic and geographic level is sometimes lacking when an author or collector attributes his information to a certain population or region. Another unfortunate restriction lies in the fact that the toy animals are too frequently described as objects and not as instruments of play. So, the play activity is not analyzed with the same care as the toy animal itself. Finally, one notices here and there terminological inaccuracies regarding the terms and expressions describing the toy animals and the games in which they are used.

Taking into account these limits, my purpose in collecting all the data at my disposal in a systematic and critical way, has been to elaborate a basic analysis that should stimulate both fieldwork to detect the specificity of local games or toys, as well as research to integrate the Saharan and North African toy and play culture in the play activities, games and toys inspired by the animal world existing in other socio-cultural areas in a world-wide perspective. For if some aspects of the toy animals and some behavior in the related play activities seem to be specific to a given socio-cultural area, indeed even to a given community, family or child, other toys, roles and behavior seem to be universal.
So much more remains to be done than is achieved here, even if I have tried in my book *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An Anthropological Approach with Reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (2005) to integrate some information on Saharan and North African children’s play, games and toys in the more general and theoretical debate on toys and play.

I would like to direct the reader’s attention to a UNICEF website, *Teachers Talking about Learning* created to exchange ideas, opinions and research about teaching and learning especially between teachers themselves (www.unicef.org/teachers, consulted December 2004). In a section based on the *Vietnamese Multigrade Teacher's Handbook*, it is said:

*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 line with this statement I am convinced that it is practicable to use local children's toy and play culture for developmental, cultural, social and pedagogic activities. The interested reader will find my ideas and experiments in this context in the chapter Using North African and Saharan toy and play culture: Pedagogical and cultural action in developing countries, and Intercultural and peace education in a Western context in my book *Toys, play, culture and society. An anthropological approach with reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (2005: 187-209).

Finally, I want to mention a really pragmatic use of making toys I observed at the market place Jemaa El Fna in Marrakech in October 1993. To make a living a man of about sixty years, born in the region of Ben Slimane at 58 km from Casablanca, tried to sell little horses and dromedaries of palm leaves to passing tourists (fig. 106, p. 163, dromedary: \(H = 15.5 \text{ cm}, L = 20 \text{ cm}\); horse: \(H = 12 \text{ cm}, L = 14.5 \text{ cm}\) ).
Before coming to sell these toy animals in Marrakech about six months before we met he had sold them to tourists visiting Casablanca for the previous eight years. During our conversation he made in front of me these toy animals that were toys of his childhood (fig. 107). He explained that he made such toy animals as a child but also that he did not use them in games of make believe. Moreover, the other children of his neighborhood did not make such toy animals at all. The way this man makes such toy animals differs from the technique used by children from the Moroccan pre-Sahara when making toy animals of palm leaves (fig. 18 p. 63, 57 p. 100, 80-81 p. 122).
List of transcriptions

Conventional signs have replaced some Arabic letters:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{th} &= ة \\
\text{j} &= ج \\
\text{h'} &= ح \\
\text{kh} &= خ \\
\text{dh} &= ذ \\
\text{sh} &= ش \\
\text{ç} &= ص \\
\text{d'} &= ض \\
\text{t'} &= ط \\
\text{z'} &= ز \\
\text{o} &= ع \\
\text{gh} &= غ \\
\text{q} &= ق \\
\wedge &= \text{indicates a long vowel}
\end{align*}
\]
List of illustrations

All the photographs of the toy animals of the collection of the Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l'Homme have been made by M. Delaplanche and D. Ponsard of the Laboratoire de Photographie of the Musée de l'Homme, except three photographs made by the author and reproduced with the permission of Jean Lambert, head of the Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient.

2. Boy-dromedary guided and mounted by other boys, Ghrib, 1975, p. 48, photo by the author.
5. Three-year-old boy moving his dromedary, Ghrib, 1975, p. 50, photo by the author.
15. Dromedary of jawbone with dromedarist doll, Ghrib, 1975, p. 60, photo by the author.
16. Dromedary cut out of excrement flanked by a herdsman and a dog, Ghrib, 1975, p. 61, photo by the author.

29. Toy saddle without a number, Collection of the Musée de l'Homme, p. 75, photo by the author.

30. Dromedary or horse of clay, Moors, Collection of the Musée de l'Homme, n° 38.48.80, 1938, p. 75, photo D. Ponsard.

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41. Dromedary and dromedarist doll, Saoura Valley, Collection of the Musée de l'Homme, n° 62.60.29/30, 1956, p. 81, photo M. Delaplanche.

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69. Dog of clay, Zaghawa, Collection of the Musée de l'Homme, n° 57.82.126, 1956, p. 109, photo D. Ponsard.
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106. Dromedary and horse of palm leaves, Marrakech, 1993, p. 163, photo by the author.

107. The maker of the animals of palm leaves shown on figure 102 while making a dromedary, Marrakech, 1993, p. 163, photo by the author.
References


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Appendix

Catalogue des Animaux-Jouets Sahariens et Nord-Africains 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 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 l'animal jouet lui-même, d'abord l'origine est indiquée - provenance géographique, provenance ethnique, 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 d'animaux jouets 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 dromadaires

2.1 Les dromadaires en pierre taillée

Touaregs Kel Ahaggar: 65.2.20/21

Mission G. de Beauchêne, décembre 1964.

Description: ces deux dromadaires-jouets ont été taillés grossièrement dans une plaque de schiste. Une protubérance centrale peu accusée représente la bosse du dromadaire n° 20, tandis qu'une protubérance très accusée représente celle du n° 21.

Touaregs Kel Ajjer: 62.128.1-21 (sauf 8) (fig. 8-9 - 62.128.3/4, p. 54-55)

Origine: Tassili n’Ajjer, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Ajjer, nomades.
Touaregs Idjeradjirouen: les n° 1, 6, 9, 13, 15 ont été trouvés à l’Oued Djerat, le n° 7 à Ouan Arab et le n° 11 à Titerast n’Elías; tous sur l'emplacement d'un ancien campement.
Touaregs Kel Medak: les n° 7, 16-18, 20 furent trouvés à Ouan Arab sur l'emplacement d'un ancien campement, terrain de parcours des Touaregs Kel Medak; les n° 19, 21 à Titerast n’Elías.

Description: la pierre utilisée est une plaque de schiste ocreux (1, 2, 4, 6, 9), une plaque de schiste ardoisier (18) ou une plaque de grès (7, 10-17, 19-21). Une protubérance centrale représente la bosse, avec une avancée antérieure schématisant le cou. La base rectiligne, avec évidement central, figure les membres antérieurs et postérieurs lorsque l'animal s'est accroupi.
B+ = 20 (4: H = 27,2; E = 0,4). B- = 5,4 (9: H = 3,1; E = 0,4). H+ = 27,2 (4). H- = 3,1 (9). E+ = 2,1 (16: H = 11,8; B = 14,7). E- = 0,3 (6: H = 3,6; B = 5,8). 62.128.4: B = 20, H = 27,2, E = 0,4.

Constructeurs: les n° 2 et 4 ont été taillés par un garçon, pour les autres numéros le sexe de l'enfant qui a fait le travail de taille n'est pas mentionné.

Remarques: Henri Lhote a aussi fait don à la collection d'une autre série de dromadaires en pierre taillée (56.27.1-7) faits dans des bifaces paléolithiques, pièces archéologiques de gisements de surface ou plaquettes naturelles. De ces jouets sahariens manquent les références géographiques et ethniques.

B+ = 12,1 (2: H = 9,2; E = 1,2). B- = 6,2 (7: H = 5,4; E = 1,3). H+ = 9,2 (2). H- = 5,4 (7). E+ = 1,9 (3: B = 10,7; H = 7). E- = 1,2 (2).

Photothèque du Musée de l'Homme: photo du n° 56.27.1.

Touaregs Kel Aïr: 71.39.5.1-40
(fig. 7 - 71.39.5.2/3/5/6/8/27/29/36, p. 53)

Origine: Oued Mammamet, Air, Niger. Recueilli dans le lit de l'Oued Mammamet près des stations de gravures rupestres du même oued, dans lequel il y a de nombreux dromadaire (plus de 250) représentés. Touaregs Kel Aïr, nomades.

Description: ces pièces furent taillées dans des plaques de grès de teinte et de taille variées ou d'autres matériaux lithiques trouvés sur place. Une série de percussions à la diagonale du triangle indique généralement un mâle, la gravidité des femelles se marquant par un bord sans retouches. La stylisation triangulaire très poussée ne laisse apparente que la bosse.
B+ = 9,5 (1: H = 9; E = 2,2). B- = 2,7 (40: H = 1,7; E = 0,3). H+ 9 (1). H- = 1,7 (40). E+ = 2,2 (1). E- = 0,25 (35: B = 4; H = 3).
Figures de dromadaires en pierre taillée dans la bibliographie: Lhote, 1952, croquis de quatre dromadaires-jouets d'enfants touaregs, dont deux étalons, une chamelle pleine et un chamelon. Denis, 1952: photos de deux séries de dromadaires en pierre taillée des Touaregs Kel Ahaggar (p. 26), d'un garçon pendant la taille de ces jouets (p. 26) et d'un autre garçon jouant avec son troupeau de dromadaires en pierre taillée à l'abreuvoir imaginaire (p. 35).

2.2 Les dromadaires de mandibule

Touaregs Kel Ahaggar: 41.19.101/109-115/137 (fig. 10 - armatures de selles: 41.19.112/115/137, fig. 11 - 41.19.113, p. 57-58)

Mission Henri Lhote, 28 septembre 1938 et les jours suivants.

Description de quelques jouets:
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 de leur dromadaire. H = 27.
41.19.112/113: dromadaire de mandibule de chèvre, selle en tiges de mrokba couvertes de coton mercerisé; des morceaux de peau brodée figurant 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 multicolore; 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 typique 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 indigo - et le méhariste ont une armature en tiges. Le méhariste, aux jambes entourées d'étoffe indigo, porte comme vêtements cinq gandouras de couleur kaki, multicolore, blanche, indigo et rouge. Son baudrier est en fils de laine bleue et verte et en fils de coton blanc et rouge. La tête est entourée de fils de laine bleue et jaune et de fils de coton blanc et rouge. H = 28.

Constructeurs: garçons et filles, ces jouets ont été faits par un garçon Kel Azi de onze ans (101), un garçon Kel Rela de douze ans (112/113), un autre garçon (137) et par une fille Kel Rela de douze ans (110/115).

Touaregs Kel Ajjer: 37.21.28, 34.52.42 (fig. 12 - 34.52.42, p. 59)

Origine: Ghât, Sahara, Libye (37.21.28); Djanet, Ajjer, Sahara, Algérie (34.52.42). Touaregs Kel Djanet, nomades.
Acheté par René Pottier le 14 décembre 1934 à un jeune garçon d'environ dix ans (37.21.28) ou recueilli par le capitaine Duprez avant 1935 (34.52.42).

Description: le dromadaire 37.21.28 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, ainsi que dans 'La Vie du Sahara'. La description du dromadaire 34.52.42 est donnée dans la première partie (1.3 Dromedaries of jawbone, fig. 12, p. 59).

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

2.3 Les dromadaires avec armature en matière végétale

Touaregs: X.61.2.1 (fig. 21, p. 67)

Ce dromadaire aux pattes liées, d'origine nord-africaine non spécifiée, est construit de la même manière que le dromadaire précédent, sauf qu'il est entièrement recouvert d'étoffe kaki. Sous la selle pour homme, à pommeau en forme de croix particulière aux Touaregs, se trouve le coussin de selle. A la selle est accrochée une imitation du sac de selle.

Touaregs Kel Ahaggar: 41.19.124 (fig. 19, p. 64)


Description: l'armature du dromadaire est en branchettes de tamarix entourées d'étoffe bleue sauf les pattes antérieures qui sont entourées d'étoffe couleur kaki. La lisière et les franges ornant l'animal sont en lanières de cuir brun. L'armature en branchettes de la selle est entourée d'étoffe kaki. Le harnachement féminin est complété par un sac de selle en cuir. Un autre sac de selle en miniature fait par la même fille est en toile bleue et blanche, avec des floches de laine violette, et représente les sacs en peau que les femmes fixent à la selle de leur dromadaire lorsqu'elles se déplacent (41.19.116).

Constructeur: une fille Kel Rela de douze ans.

Touaregs Kel Aïr: 69.108.1, 36.44.89, 74.107.6/7

69.108.1 (fig. 22, p. 68)


Description: voir première partie (1.5 Dromedaries with frames of vegetal material, fig. 22, p. 68).

Description: le corps du dromadaire est fait d'un morceau d'étoffe kaki bourré de vieux chiffons. On y a introduit quatre branchettes servant de pattes. Le cou et la tête, en feuilles torsadées enveloppées d'étoffe kaki, ont été cousus au corps. Une petite selle en bois, à pommeau en forme de croix, recouverte de peau ornée de traits noirs est fixée en avant de la bosse. H = 32. LO = 18.

74.107.6/7

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

Description:
74.107.6 (fig. 23, p. 69): 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.
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. Excepté 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 = 32. LO = 17.
Touaregs Ioulleden: 41.19.1364 (fig. 24, p. 70)

Origine: Gao, Sahara, Mali. Touaregs Ioulleden, nomades.
Mission Henri Lhote, 10 mars 1939.

Description: voir première partie (1.5 Dromedaries with frames of vegetal material, fig. 24, p. 70).

Figures dans la bibliographie: Balout, 1959: photo d'un dromadaire à branchettes avec quatre pattes (planche LXVIII); une selle de femme-jouet, non enveloppée d'étoffe, fabriquée par une fille touarègue Kel Rela se trouve dans le même album (planche LXXI). Ces deux jouets viennent des Touaregs Kel Ahaggar. Gabus, 1958: le modèle réel d'un sac à effets avec un col au sommet des Touaregs Icherifen de la région de Gao (208).

Belbala: 54.74.38 (fig. 17, p. 62)

Recueilli par Dominique Champault en 1954.

Description: le corps du dromadaire est fait dans un champignon. Quatre bâtonnets tiennent lieu de pattes. L'exemplaire de la collection a deux pattes brisées.

Maroc: 70.87.4

Origine: Zaghora, Pré-Sahara, Maroc. Sédentaires.
Don de T. de Bollardière, avant 1971.

Description: ce dromadaire fut tressé avec trois folioles de palmier. La partie figurant le cou et la tête de l'animal présente un tressage plus serré que le reste du corps. Une foliole divisée en deux prolonge verticalement la bosse sur 24 cm. H = 12 (l'animal). LO = 13.

Constructeur: un garçon d'une dizaine d'années.
2.4 Les dromadaires en bois

Maures: 38.156.33, 38.180.77, 38.48.39/43/44, 38.48.45

38.156.33 (fig. 25, p. 71)

Origine: Assa, Sahara Nord-occidental, Maroc. Maures, nomades et sédentaires.
Recueilli par le commandement militaire des confins algéro-marocains en 1938, achat pour l'exposition temporaire du Sahara maure de 1939.


Constructeur: un artisan d'Assa.

38.180.77 (fig. 26, p. 72)

Recueilli par le commandement militaire des confins algéro-marocains en 1938.

Description: le bât est formé de baguettes de bois peinte en rouge, assemblées au moyen de cordonnets de poils. La litière se compose d'un morceau de peau de chèvre noire tendu sur un cadre rectangulaire en bois. Le baldaquin est recouvert d'une cotonnade blanche. Sous le baldaquin se trouvent deux poupées. Le corps des poupées est formé par...
un os barbouillé de rouge à l'endroit du visage. Les cheveux sont nattés en crin. Ces poupées portent des robes de cotonnade blanche et bleue indigo et une parure en perles et chaînettes.

38.48.39 (fig. 27, p. 73)


Description: cette selle de femme en miniature se compose de deux supports de bois gainés de cuir jaune, en forme d'étriers, la fourche de l'un emboîtant la garrot, l'autre les côtés de la bosse du dromadaire. Les deux pièces sont réunies de chaque côté par deux bâtons incurvés fixés aux palettes des supports, se croisant, solidement amarrés sous la gaine de cuir aux dosriers des supports et pointant deux à deux en avant et en arrière de l'ensemble. La fourche antérieure est garnie de deux coussins rectangulaires en cuir jaune bourrés de chiffons; la fourche postérieure plus large est garnie d'un coussin ovale en cuir jaune liseré de cuir rouge, plié en deux. Un bâti léger posé sur les X entre les dosiers des supports et garni de couvertures et de coussins recevra la voyageuse. Selle: LO = 22. Supports: H = 11. Ecartement des dosiers 10.

Constructeur: un artisan local.

38.48.38/43/44


Description: Il s'agit d'une paire de sacs à vêtements pour femmes (43) et de leur support (38), ainsi que d'un autre sac à vêtements de femmes (44). 38.48.38/43/44: cette paire de sacs reproduit exactement les grands sacs utilisés par les femmes pendant leurs voyages. Le support en bois et les sacs qui y sont accrochés par leurs cordelières sont placés de chaque côté de la selle précédente. Les sacs à fond rectangulaire (LO = 13. LA = 16)
sont en basane mince, naturelle. Les petits côtés sont faits de pièces trapézoïdales sur lesquelles les côtés larges sont rabattus par des coutures d'angle en biais, retournées à l'intérieur. Une quatrième pièce de cuir cousue autour du sac, forme goulot souple (H = 9,5. LO = 29,5). Cette bande est en peau d'agneau mince, ornée de dessins rouges, verts et jaunes. A deux centimètres du goulot, de chaque petit côté, une cordelière ronde en lanières fines (LO = 14 et 23) est prise par ses deux extrémités dans les coutures d'angle. Dans la couture réunissant chaque petit côté au fond est pris un demi-anneau de cordelière. A chacun de ces anneaux est nouée une cordelière de cuir rouge dont l'autre extrémité reste libre. Les sacs sont bourrés de paille. Le support de ces sacs est la réduction du modèle courant. Sous la tente, il se retourne pour servir de porte-bagages. 

H = 23. LO = 36. LA = 17.

38.48.44: ce sac qui se place sur le dromadaire au-dessus des sacs précédents, est à fond rectangulaire (LO = 14. LA = 10). La partie formant sac est en peau d'agneau mort-né noir. Chaque petit côté est orné de trois rubans de cuir à dessins rouges, jaunes et verts. Le bord de la bande formant goulot est muni de quatre demi-anneaux en cordelière de cuir.

Constructeurs: le support est fait par un artisan local, les sacs sont faits par une artisane locale.

38.48.45


Description: la selle d'homme en bois est recouverte de peau de mouton teinte en rouge, serti de noir. Une housse en peau de gazelle bordée d'une bande de cuir rouge à sa partie inférieure recouvre cette selle. Quatre ouvertures laissent passer des anneaux de fer rivés, par deux, de chaque côté de la selle. La partie inférieure de la selle est doublée d'un tapis triangulaire, évidé en son centre, fait en peau de mouton noir, bordé d'un gros bourrelet de cuir rouge, bourré de paille. Une sangle de poil de chèvre tressé (LO = 40) est attachée aux deux anneaux de fer du côté.
gauge de la selle par une petite cordelière de cuir rouge à deux brins. Son extrémité libre, terminée en fanges, est repliée dans une boucle de cuivre guilloché à laquelle elle est retenue par une lanière de cuir rouge formant broderie. Deux lanières de cuir vert formant contre-sanglons sont passées dans les anneaux de fer du côté droit de la selle (H = 11,5. LO = 14. LA = 11).

Constructeur: un artisan local pour la partie bois et fer, une artisane locale pour la partie peau.

2.5 Les dromadaires en argile

Touaregs Kel Ahaggar: 41.19.151

Origine: Tamanrasset, Ahaggar, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Ahaggar, nomades.
Mission Henri Lhote, 10.10.1938.

Description: H = 8,5. Ce jouet manque dans la collection.

Constructeur: un jeune garçon hartani (descendant d'esclaves noirs) de Tamanrasset.

Touaregs Kel Ajjer: 37.21.99/104

Origine: Djanet, Tassili n' Ajjer, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Ajjer, nomades.

Description:
37.21.104.1/2 (fig. 28, p. 74): dromadaire et méhariste modelés en argile séché au soleil. Les bras du méhariste forment une croix avec le tronc et

Maures: 38.141.82 (fig. 31, p. 76)


Teda: 35.50.184-186, 54.51.32, 65.3.50-53


Description: 35.50.185: il s'agit d'une chameelle modelée à la main dans de la terre rouge pétrie. H = 14,5. LO = 18. LA = 6. 35.50.186: ce dromadaire modelée à la main dans de la terre blanche pétrie porte une petite selle d'homme avec coussinet d'étoffe à laquelle est accrochée un modèle de sac figurant le sac de selle mala mala et sur laquelle est posée une couverture (manque dans la collection).
35.50.184 (fig. 32, p. 77): bât de monte formé de deux fourches reliées par des traverses ligaturées avec des lanières de cuir. La fourche arrière forme un coude dirigé vers l'arrière. H = 14,5. LO = 19. LA = 10,4.

Constructeur: un petit garçon teda.

54.51.32 (fig. 33, p. 77): deux fourches de bois tendre sont reliées par quatre traverses. Les deux traverses supérieures sont fixées à l'extérieur des fourches, les deux traverses inférieures sont fixées à la base et à l'intérieur de chaque fourche. Elles sont fixées avec des lanières. Il s'agit d'un modèle reproduisant les selles ordinaires des femmes. H = 19,5. LO = 20. LA = 18.

Constructeur: une petite fille teda.

65.3.50: dromadaire en terre non cuite, pattes et tête cassées. La selle est une réduction exacte du terké, à la fois selle et bât de charge. À droite et à gauche du bat sont fixés deux sacs rectangulaires en tissu, imitation des sacs en peau, sougoumbi. Le bride et le mors ne manquent pas. Trois pièces de cotonnade imprimée tiennent lieu de tapis de selle sous lesquelles sont fixés, à droite et à gauche, deux sacs de cotonnade à franges, reproduction de la mala mala en peau de mouflon. H et LO = 14.

65.3.51 (fig. 34, p. 78): cette selle ou bât de charge, en armature en bois est composée de deux fourches qui sont réunies par des traverses. Les traverses qui réunissent les fourches sont ligaturées avec des lanières de cuir ou des cordonnets en poils de chameau. Douze rectangles de cotonnade variée et multicolore constituent le tapis de selle.

65.3.52/53 (fig. 35-36, p. 78): le sac de selle, mala mala, en miniature (52) est un petit étui en peau brute avec base rapportée semi-circulaire constituée par quatre éléments triangulaires pointes en bas. De la couture pendent de longue bandes de cuir de 11 cm, formant floche. Un décor quadrillé peint en blue orne le sac. Une pièce est posée à mi-hauteur à l'aide d'une lanière de cuir. LO = 22. LA = 8,5. LA à l'ouverture = 6,5.

Le deuxième sac de selle, mala mala, en miniature (53) est un étui de cuir brut en plusieurs pièces inégales cousues et effrangées à la base, fermée par une couture en lanière de cuir apparente. Quelques franges sont
cousues à mi-hauteur. Des trous sont découpés le long de l'ouverture pour le passage de la lanière de fermeture. LO = 31. LA = 11.

Constructeurs: des enfants teda, les sacs de selles (52/53) furent faits par des petits garçons.

Zaghawa: 57.82.127 (fig. 38, p. 80)

Origine: Iriba (Hiriba), Dar Zaghawa, Ouaddaï, Sahara, Tchad. Zaghawa, nomades et sédentaires.

Description voir première partie (1.7 Dromedaries of clay, fig. 38, p. 80).

Constructeur: un garçon zaghawa de l'école d'Iriba.

Chaouia: 36.2.707 (fig. 39, p. 80)


Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: ce dromadaire en terre cuite a la tête levée et la bosse rejetée en arrière au-dessus de la queue. Les pattes avant, de même que les pattes arrières, sont réunies en une seule patte. Les oreilles et les lèvres ont été indiquées.

Constructeur: un jeune garçon chaouia de onze ans.

Figures dans la bibliographie: Balout (1959: planche LXX) a reproduit le bœuf à bosse en terre crue des enfants touaregs du Tamesna. Fuchs (1961: 48) montre une photo d'un garçon teda en train de jouer dans le sable avec des dromadaires en argile (fig. 37, p. 79).
2.6 Le dromadaire en fils électriques plastifiés

Vallée de la Saoura: 62.60.29/30 (fig. 41, p. 81)


3 Les chevaux, mulets et ânes

3.1 Les chevaux, mulets et ânes en argile

Touaregs Kel Ajjer: 37.21.94 (fig. 43, p. 88)


Description: âne en terre cuite à corps svelte sur quatre pattes, tête avec deux oreilles énormes, courte queue dressée.

Touaregs Kel Ahaggar: 41.19.152-154


Description et constructeur: voir première partie (2.2 Horses, mules and donkeys of clay, p. 88).
Maures: 38.141.83/84, 38.48.79-83

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:
38.48.79: figurine en terre crue représentant grossièrement un cheval sellé. Le cou est incurvé en avant et les deux pattes antérieures sont réunies en une seule. Un cordonnet de coton de 6 cm pris dans la terre, représente la queue de l'animal. L'objet est recouvert d'un enduit blanc pointillé d'ocre. La selle, la sangle, les sabots sont peints en ocre. En avant du poitrail une protubérance est ornée d'une ligne ocre. H = 8,3. LO = 9,5. LA = 5.
38.48.80 (fig. 30, p. 75): un cheval ou bien un dromadaire sellé. Le cou de la figurine en terre crue est tendu en avant. La tête est indiquée par de légers reliefs au museau et aux deux oreilles. Les pattes antérieures sont réunies en une seule peinte en bleu. Le corps est recouvert d'un enduit blanc. La patte postérieure gauche est brune, la droite est jaune. La crinière est indiquée par une ligne brune et une bleue. Le front et la
croupe sont marqués de traits jaunes. La selle et sa sangle sont brunes. H = 4. LO = 5. LA = 2,2.


38.48.83 (fig. 46, p. 90): figurine en terre crue représentant grossièrement un cheval et un cavalier portant le casque colonial (le cavalier manque). Les deux pattes antérieures sont réunies en une seule. Une plume représente la queue de l'animal. L'objet est recouvert d'un enduit blanc orné de lignes et de points bleus, ocres et jaunes. Le sabot antérieur est ocre, l'un des postérieurs jaune et l'autre bleu. Sur le poitrail une protubérance est ornée de lignes de couleur. Une petite gourde peinte à l'indigo complète ce jouet. Un fil de coton bleu de 4 cm permet de la pendre à l'épaule du personnage. H = 5. LO = 4. LA = 2. La gourde: H = 1,8; LO = 1,5.

Constructeurs des nos. 38.48.79-83: les servantes noires des Maures de Oualata.

Photothèque du Musée de l'Homme: photo du n° 38.48.79 (se trouve dans le fichier signalétique).

Zaghawa: 57.82.128 (fig. 47, p. 91)


Description et constructeur: voir première partie (2.2 Horses, mules and donkeys of clay, fig. 47, p. 91).

Chaouia: 36.2.696/706, 37.9.126

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936 (36.2.696/706).

Description:
37.9.126: cheval à deux pattes en terre crue. La tête est horizontale et la queue a été légèrement indiquée ainsi que le poitrail. H = 7. LO = 10,5.

Constructeurs: des jeunes garçons chaouia; le n° 36.2.696 est l'œuvre d'un garçon chaouia des Ouled Khallaf de onze ans.
3.2 Les chevaux et mulets en bois

Chaouia: 36.2.256, 37.9.56

36.2.256 (fig. 52, p. 94)

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: voir première partie (2.3 Horses and mules of wood, fig. 52, p. 94).

37.9.56 (fig. 51, p. 94)


Description: voir première partie (2.3 Horses and mules of wood, 51, p. 94).

4 Le gros bétail et le petit bétail

Touaregs Kel Ajjer: 62.128.8, 37.21.96-98

Origine:
62.128.8: Oued Djerat, sur l'emplacement d'un ancien campement, Tassili n' Ajjer, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Idjeradjirouen, nomades.
37.21.96-98: Djanet, Tassili n' Ajjer, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Djanet.

Description:
62.128.8 (fig. 58, p. 102): une petite plaque de schiste ocreux est taillé par l'enfant afin de figurer un mammifère, une chèvre ou un bœuf. La plaque est découpée à la base, en dents de scie, de façon à schématiser les pattes de l'animal. Le dos est rectiligne, la tête manque. H = 2,3. B = 5,4. E = 0,4.
37.21.96-98 (fig. 62-64, p. 104): animaux-jouets en terre crue, à quatre pattes figurant du gros ou du petit bétail. Un d'eux (96) avec une protubérance sur le dos représente peut être un zébu. H = 7,8 (96); 7,2 (97); 3,1 (98). LO = 9,6 (96); 10,2 (97); 5,8 (98).

Maures: 38.48.74-77, 38.141.85/86

Origine:
38.141.85/86: Sahara Nord-occidental, frontière algéro-marocaine.
Maures, nomades.
Recueilli par le commandement militaire des confins algéro-marocains en 1938, achat pour l'exposition temporaire du Sahara maure.
38.48.74-77: Oualata, Hodh oriental, Sahara, Mauritanie.

Description:
38.141.85 (fig. 67, p. 106): il s'agit d'un quadrupède à bosse en terre cuite recouverte d'ocre rouge. Le corps est soutenu par quatre pattes courtes.
Le cou et la tête à cornes sont incurvés en avant. Les sabots sont peints en ocre brune. La tête porte une ligne de la même couleur. H = 7,5. LO = 15,3.


38.48.74 (fig. 59, p. 102): la vache zébu en argile séchée au soleil a la tête à peine indiquée. Les pattes antérieures sont réunies en une seule et les mamelles sont très développées. Elle porte deux cornes incurvées. Le corps peint en ocre brune est décoré d'un trait blanc sur la bosse et de points blancs. H = 2,8. LO = 3.

38.48.76: la tête de ce veau zébu en argile séchée au soleil n'est indiquée que par les cornes courtes qu'elle porte. Les pattes antérieures sont réunies en une seule. Le corps, peint en ocre brune, est décoré de taches blanches. La bosse est blanche. H = 1,5. LO = 1,2.

38.48.77 (fig. 60, p. 103): la tête de ce veau zébu en argile séchée au soleil n'est indiquée que par les deux cornes. Les pattes antérieures sont réunies en une seule. Le corps, peint en blanc, est parsemé de taches brunes et noires. Le museau et le museau sont peints en noir. H = 2,3. LO = 2.

38.48.78: la tête de ce veau zébu en argile séchée au soleil n'est indiquée que par les deux cornes. Les pattes antérieures sont réunies en une seule. Le corps est peint en blanc parsemé de taches brunes et bleues. La corne droite est bleue, la corne gauche est brune et la bosse est blanche. H = 2,3. LO = 1,8.

Constructeurs des nos. 38.48.74-77: les servantes noires des Maures de Oualata.

Algérie: 89.120.67 (fig. 61, p. 103)

Origine:Algérie.
Don du Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, avant 1889.

Description: voir première partie (3 Cattle and livestock, fig. 61, p. 103). H = 10. LO = 8,5.
Zaghawa: 57.82.129 (fig. 68, p. 107)


Description: voir première partie (3 Cattle and livestock, fig. 68, p. 107).

Constructeur: un enfant zaghawa de l'école de Hiriba.

Figures dans la bibliographie: Balout montre un zébu en argile et un autre zébu en étoffe bourrée, confectionnés par des enfants touaregs Kel Ahaggar (1959, planche LXX) (fig. 65, p. 105).

5 Les autres animaux domestiques

Touaregs Kel Ajjer: 37.21.93

Origine: Djanet, Tassili n'Ajjer, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Djanet, nomades.

Description: voir première partie (4 Other domestic animals, p. 109).

Zaghawa: 57.82.125/126 (fig. 69-70, p. 109-110)


Description:
57.82.125 (fig. 70, p. 110): voir première partie (4 Other domestic animals, fig. 70, p. 110). H = 10. LO = 8,2.
57.82.126 (fig. 69, p. 109): voir première partie (4 Other domestic animals, fig. 69, p. 109). H = 10,8. LO = 9.
Constructeurs: des jeunes garçons zaghawa.

6 Les animaux non-domestiques

Afrique du Nord: X.66.1.56 (fig. 82, p. 123)

Description: voir première partie (5 Non-domestic animals, fig. 82, p. 123).

Maures: 38.156.34, 38.48.73

Origine:

Description:
38.156.34 (fig. 83, p. 123): voir première partie (5 Non-domestic animals, fig. 83, p. 123). H = 37,5. LO = 31,5.
38.48.73: la figurine modelée en argile crue séchée représente grossièrement une autruche. Les pattes sont remplacées par un socle en tronc de cône. L'objet est recouvert d'un enduit blanc. Un large trait bleu entoure le socle. Les ailes et le cou sont ornés de lignes bleues, jaunes et ocres. La tête est peinte en bleu d'un côté et en ocre de l'autre côté. H = 2,9. LO = 4,2. LA = 2,2. Cet objet n'a pas été retrouvé dans la collection. Constructeurs:
38.156.34: l'artisan maure Ait Oussa de Assa.
38.48.73: une servante noire des Maures de Oualata.
Maroc: 31.45.76 (fig. 87, p. 125)

Origine: Rabat, sédentaires.
Don de Jeanne Jouin, avant 1932.

Données spatio-temporelles:
Acheté au marché le jour de la fête de l’ashûra.

Description: voir première partie (5 Non-domestic animals, fig. 87, p. 125).

Figures dans la bibliographie:
Guichard, 1921: 163-164, photos d'animaux jouets en bois de Marrakech: le rat (fig. 88), le lapin (fig. 89), l'oiseau branle-queue (fig. 90), le serpent (fig. 91), le singe (fig. 92) (p. 125-126).
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