Technical activities in play, games and toys

SAHARAN AND NORTH AFRICAN TOY AND PLAY CULTURES

Jean-Pierre Rossi

Foreword by Sudarshan Khanna

Centre for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies
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
Technical activities in play, games and toys

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Centro de Estudos Filosóficos e Humanísticos
Centre for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies
Braga, Portugal
2013
Cover photograph:

small Bechir photographing the author with his toy camera
Ghrib, Tunisian Sahara, 1975, photo by the author

With 333 color photographs and 17 other illustrations

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Centre for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies
Faculty of Philosophy, Braga, Portugal
Catholic University of Portugal
Internet: http://www.cefh.com.pt

Jean-Pierre Rossie
E-mail: sanatoyplay@gmail.com
Internet: http://www.sanatoyplay.org

The books of the collection
Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures are available on
Scribd http://www.scribd.com (search Jean-Pierre Rossie),
on the website of the Centre for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies
http://www.cefh.com.pt and on the personal website of the author
http://www.sanatoyplay.org
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Abstract

Once again, this new book describes the pretend play of Saharan and North African children and the toys they use in it. Under the heading *technical activities in play, games and toys* I have grouped a series of play and toy-making activities that relate to hunting and fighting, to transport and to communication. Grouping all this under the term ‘technical activities’ is certainly arbitrary, but I could not find a better title.

After the introduction this book is divided into three parts: toy weapons for hunting and fighting games, toys for play related to transport and toys for play related to communication. The play and toy-making activities described in this book are most often part of boys’ play world. But occasionally girls are also engage therein.

The conclusion is limited to a synthesis and an overview of how I used the North African play and toy cultures for educational and sociocultural purposes in recent years.

As usual, the reader will find thereafter a catalogue of Saharan and North African toys that were kept at the Musée de l’Homme but are now found at the Musée du Quai Branly, both in Paris. However, this catalogue only exists in French.

The Saharan populations whose children’s play and toy-making activities the reader will discover are: the Tuareg, the Ghrib, the Moors, the Sahrawi, the Chaamba, the Teda, the Zaghawa, the Belbala, the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley and the Mozabite. Except the Belbala, the inhabitants of the Saoura Valley and the Mozabite, these populations were nomadic or semi-nomadic but for some time now they have become partially or fully settled.

The sedentary populations this book is talking about are the Kabyle and the Chaouïa of Algeria, several communities from the Moroccan countryside and the inhabitants of some cities in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

The games and toys related to ‘technical activities’ of the Saharan and North African children are directly inspired by the adult world but these children surely add to it their own interpretation. Some of these play and
toy-making activities undoubtedly help to prepare growing children for adulthood and professional life.

The creativity of Saharan and North African children is among other ways clearly expressed in the manufacture of toys that most of the time copy real objects. To create these toys the children use a variety of natural and waste material found locally. The toys described in this book range from very simple to very elaborate.

The role of the toy industry, especially from China, and of the recent communication technology becomes more and more prominent in the evolution of children’s play and toy culture.

I would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that, since 2005, Khalija Jariaa has offered important assistance in gathering information and photos on the toys and games of Anti-Atlas children. Her family and friendship relations, her knowledge of local customs and languages as well as her gradually developing interest in children's culture have made possible, among other things, a better understanding of the dialogues between players.
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 until 1992.

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

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

In 1993 he was one of the founding members of the International Toy Research Association (ITRA), from 1997 till 2001 he was a member of the Nordic Center for Research on Toys and Educational Media (NCFL), and from the start in 2002 till the closing in 2011 he was a member of the Stockholm International Toy Research Centre (SITREC).

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

In July 2005 he became an associated researcher of the Musée du Jouet, Moirans-en-Montagne, France (http://www.musee-du-jouet.com). The author is donating to this museum all the visual and written documents he has gathered on Saharan, North African and Amazigh (Berber) children’s toy and play cultures.

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

In July 2008 he was elected as a member of the executive board of the International Toy Research Association (ITRA).
In October 2013, he became a member of the ‘Centre for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies’ of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of Portugal located at Braga and affiliated to the Foundation for Science and Technology of Lisbon. This center is also the editor of this new book in the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures.*
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 humanity, just as the masterpieces of art and architecture.

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

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

In 2008 the volume Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys, and the French version of this book, have been published on the Internet.

As the Stockholm International Toy Research Center which edited my books beforehand has been closed in 2011, this new book Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Technical activities in play, games and toys is edited by the Centre for Philosophical and Humanistic Studies of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of Portugal.
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.


The volumes of the collection:

Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures

- Children’s dolls and doll play, 2005, 328 p., 163 ill.
- The animal world in play, games and toys, 2005, 219 p., 107 ill.
- Domestic life in play, games and toys, 2008, 438 p., 410 ill.
- Commented bibliography on play, games and toys, 2011, 72 p.
- Technical activities in play, games and toys, 2013, 360 p., 350 ill.

The volumes of the collection:

Cultures Ludiques Sahariennes et Nord-Africaines

- Poupées d’enfants et jeux de poupées, 2005, 344 p., 163 ill.
- L’animal dans les jeux et jouets, 2005, 229 p., 107 ill.
Foreword by Sudarshan Khanna

This book about Saharan and North African children’s technical activities in play, games and toys is of great significance. It is also a well-crafted publication about the socio-cultural context of toys and playthings. The very first look at this work cast a gentle spell on me. With amazing photographs, simple and neat text Jean-Pierre Rossie has been able to share with us the elements of wonder and joy experienced by him and by children he met in the course of his research.

Rossie writes “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”. These playthings are created mainly in less urbanized and non-industrial societies by young children in the age group of 3 to 13 and mainly boys. Some of these toys may be difficult to be constructed by children or even by some adults from urban societies because making these toys would need a high level of integrated education dealing with technical and social aspects.

How did children with little or no formal education create a range of ideas with innovative and technical results? What motivated these young learners to quietly plan, develop and make ‘quality’ play products out of nothing or almost nothing? Most of these play products are outstanding examples of creating ‘More from Less’. Many of the toys documented in the book are simply poetic design of the tiny constructions made by small, nimble fingers. Such processes and experiences would be relevant to children in any society at any point of time.

Long ago, Rossie decided not to travel by the highways of academia and research. Instead, he moved through the foothills and tiny pathways leading to ingenious design and local cultural activities. Over the years, his work became his mission, touching new ideas, fresh perceptions and interactions with many young people.

This book clearly brings out the value of child initiated technical and cultural activities for early education. It also reaffirms the significance of the ‘pedagogy of the oppressed’ in a very authentic and emphatic way. The medium of toys and playthings provides direct and insightful experiences of this ingenious process of learning and creating. This particular
publication is a celebration of the innovative and inspiring work of children. As we go through the pages of this book we realize the significance of the process of developing games and playthings as part of special learning labs – labs without roof, walls or specific address – a lab well managed by intimate groups of motivated children. But such no-cost learning labs don’t fit in the market driven, consumerist cultures and societies.

Many of us in the field of education, culture, design and development are aware of the significance of informal, self-organized and playful learning. Tradition and modernity should co-exist and contribute to new perceptions and understandings. It is heartening to see that this book illustrates the significance of design development processes at the grass root level in non-industrial communities. The process involves a well-orchestrated symphony of hands, heart and head. This process is now being viewed as a critical part of education and development. Local toys and play culture ideas and practices are highly valuable and need to be appreciated as a part of integrated early education in all societies.

Rossie’s work is also a celebration of austerity with elegance, as it were. The text and illustrations are precise and purposeful. This goes well with the nature of games and playthings conceived and made by the children in question. These toys seem to internalize the concept of conviviality and economy of effort to unleash unbounded playful joy. Those who make the mistake of associating these creative expressions with poverty or backwardness and consider them being anti-development simply miss the essence of these toys representing the very foundation of responsible education and intimate development.

Jean-Pierre Rossie has devoted most part of his adult life to the research and documentation of the toy and play cultures of Saharan and North African children. This is not just about publishing a set of books or traveling around in diverse and sometimes difficult locations. What made him deeply interested and disciplined to do this work, single handedly for many years? What sustained his interest all these years working far away from family and friends in a different socio-cultural setting? If I may hazard a guess: I think, he must have clearly perceived the importance and value of indigenous forms of learning and creativity by children embedded in authentic socio-cultural contexts. Secondly, he may also have realized what children in the industrially developed societies have been missing,
mainly due to over-standardization of educational activities and over-sanitization of heritage in consumer societies. The following sentence, subtended to all of his emails, clarifies his ideas in this context: “While sometimes suffering under poverty, sickness and oppression children are at the same time active participants in creating the society and culture in which they grow up. Therefore, children's culture should be rightly recognized as an integral part of the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity.”

Institutions, particularly the design schools, can play a significant role for developing projects and activities based on such local design and socio-cultural heritages. Rossie’s work is an inspiration for interweaving play-related traditions and heritages in the contemporary contexts of integrated education dealing with technical and social aspects. It can be an invaluable resource material for educationists as well as design innovators.

**Sudarshan Khanna**
Past President of the International Toy Research Association
Former Chair Education and Research at National Institute of Design, India – http://www.sudarshankhanna.com
Introduction
This book is the fifth volume of a series of publications on the toy and play cultures of Saharan and North African children. The book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Technical activities in play, games and toys* groups together, in a quite arbitrary way, the play and toy making activities related to hunting, fighting, transportation and communication. Other activities such as weaving and house construction, as interpreted by children in their games have been analyzed in the previous book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys* (2008).

With an exception for the Ghrib and the Sahrawi populations and for Morocco, the analysis covers a period lasting from the beginning of the 20th century up to the end of the 1960s. More precisely and within the limits of this book, the oldest bibliographical reference dates from 1908 (Cortier) and the oldest toys related to technical activities from the collection of the Département d’Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l’Homme in Paris were collected in 1934. The most recent information comes from my own research in 1975 and 1977 among the Ghrib of the Tunisian Sahara who lived at that time their last years of seminomadism, supplemented by some information on the evolution of the toy and play culture of this population which has been given to me by my friend and colleague Gilbert J. M. Claus. My ongoing research since 1992 on children’s games and toys in Morocco provides new information on the second half of the 20th century and the very beginning of the 21st century. There also exist a book on Sahrawi games and toys published in 1999.

Thus, when the present tense is used in the text it refers to the period in which the data originated and not to the present-day.

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

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

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

- The collection of Saharan and North African toys of the Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, supplemented with data from the index cards and through a personal analysis of the toys. As this collection has been transferred to the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, inaugurated in 2006, one should contact the Unité Patrimoniale Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient of this museum (http://www.quaibranly.fr, hana.chidiac@quaibranly.fr). On the website of the Musée du Quai Branly one finds a photo of the preserved objects (see the introduction of the catalogue in this book).
- 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, in which Khalija Jariaa and Boubaker Daoumani have participated from 2002 onwards.
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 guarantees the veracity of the data.

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

- To assemble the information found in disparate bibliographical and museographical sources and to engage in fieldwork on Saharan and North African children’s play activities and toys, several of these quite quickly becoming obsolete or forgotten especially in urban areas.
- To make this information on play and toys and the sociocultural context in which they occur available to those interested in the field of childhood and children’s culture from a scientific and/or a pragmatic perspective.
- To create a bibliographical, visual and museographical documentation on Saharan and North African children’s play and toys.
- To promote an interest in children’s culture, especially the play and toy culture, in Saharan and North African countries.

The interest in children’s play, games and toys seems to be lacking in North Africa and the Sahara. At least I have found almost nobody working or writing in this field with the exception of a cultural week organized by the Center in Safi of the Fondation Orient-Occident in December 2009. However, I should mention three exceptions. First, I met Mohamed Lihi, a teacher at the training center for teachers of physical education in Taza
who wrote his dissertation on the use of some traditional games of his own town Goulmima in teaching physical education. He brought me in contact with the unpublished thesis of Oubahammou Lahcen, professor at the national training center for teachers of physical education in Casablanca. This study on some traditional games, mostly games of skill, of his own population the Aït Ouirra in the Moroccan Moyen Atlas was defended at a Canadian University in 1987. Moreover, my contacts with students of the Département de Langues et Littératures Françaises of the University of Marrakech in 1992-1993 has led some of them to write their end of studies dissertation on the subject of games and toys. These dissertations are mentioned in my commented bibliography. My efforts to stimulate interest in children’s games and toys through lectures given at suitable departments of the universities of Rabat, Kénitra and Casablanca, and at the Institut de Recherche sur le Maghreb Contemporain (IRMC) at Rabat between 1993 and 1996 remained without tangible results. Thus, I stopped this when living at Midelt, a small Central Moroccan town at great distance from these universities. On a more structural level I can only refer to the interest shown in Algeria by the authority responsible for youth in the 1980s. This ministry organized a questioning of local authorities to prepare the use of local games in promoting more positive attitudes among adolescents and older children (see Fates Youssef, 1987). In Tunisia my discussions with Abderrahman Ayoub during a three weeks’ visit to northern Tunisia in 1987 lead him to organize a congress in Carthage and publish its results in the collective book Jeu et Sports en Méditerranée. As far as I know this promising effort has not survived the congress and the book. Yet, I know of a Moroccan organization with an interest in children’s play within preschool, namely the action-research group ATFALE, Alliance de Travail dans la Formation et l’Action pour l’Enfance. The Bernard van Leer Foundation in The Hague supported this organization for many years.

One of its members El Andaloussi Brigitte wrote a practice-oriented book to be used in the organization’s training sessions for preschool personnel (see Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children’s dolls and doll play (2005: 225-227).
My research in Morocco between 1992 and 2000 stood in direct relation to the macro approach. The change of living places and my many trips around the country served to verify and complement the data I already had collected. The decision to settle down in a particular Moroccan region is related to my wish of returning to the micro level. That I chose to do this in Sidi Ifni is based on its interesting sociocultural and historical situation but also on the collaboration I could establish with Boubaker Daoumani and some of his friends and colleagues. Moreover, I should not hide that its fine climate the year over played a role. The interested reader can find an autobiographical note linking my research to my personal situation in an appendix of *Toys, Play, Culture and Society. An anthropological approach with reference to North Africa and the Sahara* (2005/2013: 243-247). The same autobiographical note is mentioned in *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children’s dolls and doll play* (2005: 315-319).

Influenced by the work of Shlomo Ariel (play theory), Artin Göncü (cultural psychology) and Theo van Leeuwen (social semiotics) from 1998 onwards, I felt more and more the need to leave the macro approach and to return to a detailed description and in depth analysis of specific play activities. In view of such an analysis and in collaboration with Boubaker Daoumani, I was able to make four videos on pretend and/or construction play of some children from Sidi Ifni and the nearby region of Lagzira during the first quarter of 2002. I used a tentative analysis of three of these videos showing pretend play with dolls when I was invited by Artin Göncü to give a lecture at the Symposium “Studying Children’s Play, Development and Education in Bicultural Contexts” at the College of Education, University of Illinois at Chicago on April 18th 2002. Afterwards I wrote a more developed version of this lecture (Rossie, 2003) and started to write out the video protocols. In these protocols the language used by the Amazigh-speaking or Arabic-speaking children was translated in close collaboration with Boubaker Daoumani (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003/2007). No doubt the analysis of videotaped play and toy making activities of children from the Sidi Ifni region offers a new dimension. Finally, I think it is useful, on the one hand, to situate microanalyses in a broader sociocultural context and, on the other hand, to make a general discussion more precise by the analysis of concrete examples.
Another person from the Tiznit region has become particularly important for my research these last years. This is Khalija Jariaa who developed since 2002 from being a housekeeper to being an informant and an ethnographic research assistant. About 2007 she became a trained observer and since then does this independently, making photographs and sometimes short videos with a digital photo camera. As one can note when reading information about Anti-Atlas children’s play and toy making activities gathered since 2008 I personally have done no fieldwork anymore since then.

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

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

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

The geographic and ethnic terms have been indicated on two maps, one of North Africa and the Sahara (p. 48) and one of Morocco (p. 49).

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

The Tuareg

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

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

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

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

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

On the website Temoust, in the section ‘coutumes’ (customs), the current situation of the Tuareg is described as follows. Today the Tuareg develop economic activities that are less subject to weather conditions, such as agriculture, gardening, crafts, tourism, etc. The diverse crafts have grown especially in recent years thanks to the development of tourism. In some Saharan regions tourism has become the most important economic activity. The attraction of the Sahara desert has fostered the birth of hundreds of travel agencies, which employ thousands of people (guides, drivers, camel drivers, etc.) (http://membres.lycos.fr/temoust/lepeuple.htm, retrieved 24.3.2009).

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

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

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

The Ghrib

The territory of the Ghrib extends from the southern limit of the Chott 1-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.

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

The Moors

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Sahrawi

The Sahrawi wandered all over a vast Saharan space they call 'Trab el Bidan', the 'Land of the Whites'. This region stretches from the Senegal River to the Oued Drâa running along the southern slopes of the Jbel Bani and the Anti-Atlas passing near the town of Assa in southern Morocco. This area comprises Mauritania, the Western Sahara, part of the northwest of Mali and the southwest of Algeria. The language of the Sahrawi is a local form of Arabic called 'Hassaniya' (Pinto Cebrián, 1999: 9).
As with the Tuareg, the Ghrib and the Moors, a process of sedentarization developed among the Sahrawi, a process of sedentarization becoming more important from the 1970s onwards.

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

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

The Chaamba

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

The Arabic-speaking Chaamba are Arab-Berbers whose origin clearly shows the interpenetrating of the autochthonous Amazigh populations and the Arab tribes who came from the Arab Peninsula. According to some estimation, the total population was about 20,000 at the beginning of the 1950s (Cabot Briggs, 1958: 111).
The Chaamba found their means of subsistence, and up to a certain point still find it, in the breeding of dromedaries and, in the north of their habitat, also of sheep. They were famous dromedarists who partially entered the French colonial army and the Algerian army later on. In the oases they also cultivated gardens and palm-trees.

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

The Teda

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

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

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

For a very long time, the Teda remained attached to the ancestral way of life and conserved a cultural particularism that reflects the imperatives of their living conditions, this still in 1980 (Brandily, 1980: 141). Indeed, the influence of the French colonialization, with an effective occupation of the area from 1930 only, has been low until World War II.
Semi-nomadism was the socio-economic system making possible the survival of the Teda. In this system, part of the family unit remains in the oasis, Bardaï for example, and keeps the gardens - a task felt as a servant’s job - and cares for the palm-trees. Meanwhile the other part goes searching for grassland to feed the goats, sheep, donkeys and dromedaries, holding at the same time a small ambulant trade (Lopatinsky, *Les Teda du Tibesti*: 10, 15, 285, 288; Le Cœur, 1950: 198; Kronenberg, 1958: 3-5).

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

The Zaghawa

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

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

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

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

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

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

The inhabitants of Tabelbala have survived through an oasis economy based on date palms. There were also gardens, goats, donkeys, some sheep and a few dromedaries cared for by Chaamba 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. Even if there always and quite regularly passed through the Saoura Valley small caravans, at least up to the 1950s (1969: 176, 269).

The Mozabites

The Mozabites, being Muslims of a puritanical non-orthodox sect, sought refuge during the XI\textsuperscript{th} 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 XVII\textsuperscript{th} century they founded two more cities. The relief resembles the one of a high plateau, generally situated at about 700 meters and with often large and profound valleys (Naval Intelligence, 1943-1944: 69).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

Danielle Jemma-Gouzon has described the recent situation in the Aures: 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 Aures mountains and together with it history. The family is opening but becomes fragmented thereby, being satisfied with a less precarious but also less communitarian economy, new aspirations and new models (1989: 7-8).
The populations of the Moroccan countryside

My ongoing research in Morocco since February 1992 gives me the possibility to collect information on the play activities, games and toys in relation to domestic life of the children of Arab-Berber and Amazigh communities living in the villages or small towns of Moroccan rural areas. In the context of this book it concerns the population of the Aït Ouirra (Moyen Atlas), of the towns Goulmima, Midelt, Ouarzazate and Taroudannt (Central Morocco), Tiznit and Sidi Ifni (Southern Morocco), and of the villages Douar Fzara (Kénitra), Aïn Toujdate (Fès), Had Soualm (Souk-el-Had des Soualem-Trifia), Ksar Assaka and Zaida (Midelt), Meski (Errachidia), Aït Ighemour, Amellago and Ignern (Haut Atlas), Douar Ouaraben, Ikenwèn and Timgrad (Tiznit), Idoubahman-Imjâd, Ifrane of the Anti-Atlas, Terloulou (Tafraoute), Lahfart, Lagzira and Bifourna (Sidi Ifni), Igîsel (Guelmim) and Douar (Tan-Tan).

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

Midelt is the center of a region where apples grow. It is situated along the road going from Meknès to Errachidia at a height of 1500 m and at the foot of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain forming the northern part of the Haut Atlas. This Amazigh town where more and more youngsters speak Arabic has about 25,000 inhabitants.

The small town of Goulmima, on the road from Ouarzazate to Errachidia and near the Oued Gheris, is located at the border of the Moroccan Pre-Sahara and the eastern side of the Haut Atlas. This Amazigh-speaking urban center with its big ighrem or fortified quarter, and its important oasis is only slightly touched by tourism. According to local informants Goulmima also has about 25,000 inhabitants.

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.

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

The town of Taroudannt lies in the valley between the Haut Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, at an altitude of about 250 meters and along the Oued Sous flowing into the Atlantic in Agadir. Both centers have a population between 25,000 and 40,000 inhabitants. There Arabic-speaking and Amazigh-speaking people mix and it sometimes happens that even within one family both languages are used at the same time.

Sidi Ifni, since 2010 the capital of the province with the same name, is a small coastal town in Southern Morocco and 160 km from Agadir. There one hears people speak Amazigh as well as Moroccan Arabic. Tourism is of some importance, with tourists coming from Europe especially during winter and local tourists or Moroccans living in Europe during summer.

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

Aïn Toujdate, between Meknès and Fès, being only a village at the beginning of the 1990s is developing fast into a larger urban center.

Had Soualm, officially named Souk-el-Had des Soualem-Trifia, is an urbanized village situated at about 25 km along the road from Casablanca to El-Jadida.

The village of Meski, near the very tourist Source Bleue de Meski, is located at 20 km from Errachidia on the border of the Pre-Sahara. It has a big oasis and is a rural center of some importance. In Aïn Toujdate, Souk-el-Had and Meski Moroccan Arabic is spoken.

I received some information on the games and toys of children living in the rural center Amellago situated in the Haut Atlas not that far from Goulmima. In this village Amazigh is spoken.

At Aït Ighemour, a small ‘traditional’ Haut Atlas village, Amazigh is also spoken. This village with its roughly a hundred families lies hidden at an altitude of 1600 meters in the province of Ouarzazate. To reach it a track of 36 km starting from the village Anezal on the road from Tazenakht.
to Amerzgane must be followed. Aït Ighemour is only 8 km away from the Jbel Siroua Mountain. Agriculture is possible in the gardens next to the brook in which water runs the whole year.

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

Ksar Assaka is a little village with about 50 families situated at about 4 km from Midelt. Zaïda is found along the road coming from Meknès and at 30 km before Midelt. It lives largely through the road traffic. People in these villages speak Amazigh. The influence from the urban center is growing and quite some inhabitants have left their village to live in town.

Douar Ouaraben just outside Tiznit, Ikenwèn at 29 km from Tiznit along the road to Tafraoute, Timgrad at 35 km from Tiznit on the road from Asaka to Anezi, Ifrane of the Anti-Atlas at about 25 km from Bouizakarne on the road from Tiznit to Guelmim, Idoubahman-Imjâd at 24 km from Ifrane of the Anti-Atlas in the direction of Tafraoute and Terloulou at 26 km from Tafraoute in the direction of the high mountains are Amazigh-speaking. The same holds for the population of the coastal village Lagzira, the mountain village Lahfart, both located near Sidi Ifni, the village Bifourna at about 30 km from Sidi Ifni and the village Igîsel near the hot water springs of Abaynou close to Guelmim. All these village of the Anti-Atlas are really small except Ifrane of the Anti-Atlas with about 15,000 inhabitants. Ifrane of the Anti-Atlas is an important rural center with a secondary school and a quite big grove.

In the small village Douar near Tan-Tan Hassaniya Arabic, the language of the Sahrawi, is spoken.

In the villages subsistence is based on agriculture, often according to age-old methods, on olive, apple or other fruit trees and livestock, the livestock often being herded by boys or girls. In the small towns, casual labor, craft industry, commerce, transport and public service create additional opportunities, this way causing a more or less important rural desertion. Where in 1960, the Moroccan rural population still represented 71% of the total Moroccan population; it now only represents some 50% of this population.
By the way, modernization has not left the Moroccan rural towns and villages unaffected, as is certainly also the case in the whole of North Africa and the Sahara. After the craze for the satellite antenna, the cell phone or mobile phone has conquered the rural world, and especially the young men and young women. The cell 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 cell phone infiltrated already the little village Ksar Assaka near Midelt. In this town several shops started to offer the possibility of using computers and communicating through the Internet in 2000. This is also the case in Sidi Ifni and other Moroccan rural centers.

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

The town-dwellers of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia

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

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

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

Fès, Marrakech and Rabat, where I gathered information, are cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. Kénitra, 40 km to the North from Rabat, is a regional center with more than 200,000 inhabitants and a satellite town of the capital Rabat. Essaouira, Safi and Tan-Tan are towns situated on the border of the Atlantic Ocean and they have important harbors. Essaouira
and Safi are also touristic towns. Guelmim is a town along the road from Agadir to Tan-Tan and as ‘door to the desert’ it attracts a good number of tourists.

They are cities with multiple appearances, showing a very Western behavior, a really traditional behavior as well as a strict Islamic behavior. About 2005 this is most visible among the female population as one can see in the streets some women wearing the hijab and others following the mini-length fashion, although wearing the hijab becomes more common these last years.

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

The language spoken in all these centers is the local form of Arabic spoken in the Maghreb. Ethnically, these populations consist largely of Amazighs, Arabicized since a longer or shorter period. Gabriel Camps writes about this situation: in the Islamic North African and Saharan society one finds Arabic-speaking or Arab-Berber people and Berber-speaking people who conserve the name of Berbers that the Arabs gave them. Among the Arab-Berbers, who do not form a sociological entity just like the Berbers, one can distinguish an ancient urban group of very mixed origin because of the pre-Islamic demographic contributions in the cities, the Andalusian Moslem refugees and the newcomers generally grouped under the term of Turks, though they mostly were people from the Balkan and the Greek Archipelago (1984: 9).

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

Pierre Flamand describes in detail the games and toys of Jewish children from South Morocco. This author speaks of the Mellahs in large and small towns, the neighborhoods that were once inhabited by Moroccan Jews and which are still found today in urban as well as rural areas. In 1958 he wrote that the rural Jewish neighborhoods are emptying particularly in favor of Casablanca which was home to half of the Moroccan Jews in 1958, whereas the urban Mellahs of the South disperse their elites (p. 12). According to Le Net des Juifs du Maroc more than 400,000 Jews lived in Morocco in the middle of last century. Today they are less than 3000 (www.difana.net, accessed 11.7.2009).

Already for Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children’s dolls and doll play I had the intention to give in the introduction an overview of the family organization and of children’s socialization among the mentioned populations. However, my efforts remained without success. I think that in the actual state of knowledge it is impossible to write such an overview, impossible due to the diversity of the physical and human environment. There is a big difference between a popular quarter of Casablanca and a small Amazigh village hidden in the Haut Atlas, or a nomadic Saharan settlement. Secondly, the covered period extends through the whole 20th century, a period marked by important technological, economic, social and political changes. Thirdly, the basic information is often lacking especially concerning childhood. So if I could have written such a synthesis it would have been too generalizing. I therefore dropped this idea and refer the reader to some rare books describing family and childhood in different areas and periods.

In this book the reader will find an analysis of the play activities, games and toys of Saharan and North African children that are related to the technical activities of adults. First the toy weapons for hunting and fighting games have been discussed, followed by the toys for play related to transport and the toys for play related to communication. Each of these subdivisions starts with a summary putting forward the main characteristics of the concerned group of play activities and toys. In the section *Conclusion* a synthesis is proposed, together with a discussion of some ways of using North African children’s play culture for pedagogical and sociocultural applications.

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

Just before introducing the reader to the treasure of the Saharan and North African toy and play cultures, 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, now retired from 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.
- Several families from Midelt and Ksar Assaka, among others the families Blali, Bellamine, Kirch, Laabib and Ouhdada.
- The family Boukhrit of Zaïda.
- The family Boutouil of Khemisset.
- Zaid Ouhdada and his family from Amellago.
- Hamid Amhal, Omar Derouich, Ali Harcherras, Hamid Lihi, Lahbib Oubbi, Mbarek and Omar Taous together with other members of the sociocultural association Tilelli, who guided and informed me during several sojourns in their town of Goulmia, to whom should be added Rachida Lihi.
• The families Eloula of Daoudiyât and Kader of Douar Akioud in Marrakech; Youssef Aït Ammou, lecturer, and Fatima Outizal, student, of the Faculty of Literature and Human Sciences of the Cadi Ayyad University of Marrakech.

• 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 to Aït Ighemour and served as interpreter.

• The boys and the girls of the village Igner and especially Hamid, Zeina and the family Mohamed ou Ali.

• The family Ait Heda of Taroudannt.

• Mustapha Daoumani and his family from Igîsel.

• The family Jariaa from Ikenwèn and Tiznit, especially Mohamed Jariaa.

• The family Daoumani from Guelmim.

• Sâdiya, Fatihâ, Latifa, Smaïl and the other children of Douar Ouaraben.

• The children of Idoubahman-Imjâd and Ifrane of the Anti-Atlas (quarter Souk ou Fella) together with their families.

• The children of the family Idouhna from Lagzira and Atbib from Sidi Ifni who accepted the filming of their doll play, together with their parents who gave their agreement.

• Boubaker Daoumani, Mhand Naanaa and Lahoucine Oublih of the Isni Culture and Art Association of Sidi Ifni.

• 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.

• Boubaker Daoumani of Sidi Ifni for his help as interpreter for Tashelhit and Moroccan Arabic and his collaboration in making videos on children’s play and toy-making activities since 2002.

• Khalija Jariaa who first talked about her own childhood games and toys from Ikenwèn and Tiznit, and from 2005 onwards participated in the collection of information in these places, in Douar Ouaraben, Idoubahman-Imjâd, Ifrane of the Anti-Atlas, Terloulou, Sidi Ifni and Ain Toujdate. From 2006 onwards she also contributed photographs.

• Mustapha Jarih of Aïn Toujdate for his manuscript on the games and toys of his childhood.
• The Nationaal Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research), Brussels, which supported my research and publications from 1970 till 1992.
• The photographers of the Laboratoire de Photographie of the same museum, who made some photographs of the toys of the Musée de l’Homme’s collection, together with those in charge of the Photothèque.
• Marie-France Vivier and Hana Chidiac, the foregoing and actual persons in charge of the Unité Patrimoniale Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient of the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, who controlled my information on certain toys and gave me the possibility to revisit the toy collection of the former Musée de l'Homme from 2005 onwards.
• Thierry Haag, Magali Bovet, Mickaël Roze, Mélanie Bessard and the collaborators of the Musée du Jouet of Moirans-en-Montagne for their help and friendship.
• Gareth Whittaker for his help with improving the English text, his useful comments and his friendship.
• Roos Van Wassenhove and Marleen Lippens for the designs they made.
• Krister Svensson of the former Stockholm International Toy Research Centre for his help and friendship.
• Giorgio Bartolucci for his longstanding collaboration, help and friendship.
• Luisa Magalhães for her help, collaboration and friendship.
• Renzo Laporta for his collaboration and friendship.
• Stela Maris Ferrarese Capettini for her collaboration and friendship.
• Sudarshan Khanna for accepting to write the preface of this book.
• My son Ruben Rossie for his advice and help in using the computer.
• My brother Joseph Rossie for his financial support.
Technical activities
in Saharan and North African
Children's Play, Games and Toys
1 Toy-weapons for hunting and fighting games

1.1 Summary

This section presents the toy weapons Saharan and North African children create and use. I have grouped these toy weapons in two broad categories, toys for hunting games: throwing-sticks, slings, slingshots, bullet or arrow shooters, arrow throwers, bows and crossbows, and toy weapons for fighting games: sticks, knives and daggers, swords, spears and guns. Although this division is somewhat arbitrary it reflects closely the use of these toys in the play activities noted by the authors referred to in this chapter as well as by myself during contacts with Moroccan and Tunisian children and adults and during observations of games in both countries. However, it must be stressed that the slingshots, bullet shooters, arrow throwers and bows are possibly also used for fighting games.

The earliest information on toy weapons dates back to 1908 and the most recent to 2009. The data refer to children of the Tuareg, Ghrib, Moors, Sahrawi, Teda, Zaghawa, Belbala, Kabyle, Chaouïa, Morocco and Tunisia.

All these toys are used for games of make-believe whereby children, especially boys, depict male activities. My research shows that Moroccan girls use toy weapons such as slings, slingshots, bombs and plastic guns. The only mention of girls creating weapons refers to the village Ikenwën in the Anti-Atlas where they make a slingshot and a bomb.

The boys have created almost all weapons except the daggers, swords and spears in iron made by blacksmiths. According to Pierre Flamand the Jewish artisans eventually made slingshots and guns for boys of the mellahs in Southern Morocco. In the Tunisian Sahara, I saw a Ghrib boy playing with a gun made by his father.

Some toy weapons from before 1960 do not seem to be used today or only exceptionally. These are the throwing stick, the bullet or arrow shooter, the crossbow and the spear. On the contrary toys like the sling, slingshot, arrow thrower, bow, stick, knife, sword and gun are still popular among Saharan and North African children.
To create toy weapons natural material such as clay, alfa, reed, parts of trees and grasses, wool, goat hair and bones are used. A lot of waste material is also included in the composition of toy guns: pieces of lead, iron, tin, aluminum, leather, rubber, plastic, polystyrene together with ropes and rags, matches and gunpowder. As projectiles one finds stones, pieces of wood and paper, wild berries, date pits and small rounds of orange peel.

As with the dolls, utensils, musical instruments and other toys, the toy weapons created by children or adults are increasingly being replaced by those produced by the toy industry, especially those imported from China. Yet, the influence of the toy industry is already mentioned in 1916 by an author who speaks of toy guns manufactured in Europe sold to children of Rabat.

1.2 Toy weapons for hunting games

Some information about the capture, trapping and hunting of animals by children has been given in Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys (Rossie, 2005: p. 121-126). For these games toy weapons are not used.

Here it is about games of hunting for which toys are made by children: throwing stick, slings, slingshots, bullet or arrow shooters, arrow throwers, bows and crossbows. Sometimes some of these children's toys also have a utilitarian function for example to direct the small livestock or to protect the fields against birds.

1.2.1 Throwing sticks

The throwing stick to the right of the figure below belonged to a Zaghawa child from the school in Iriba and was collected in 1957. It was cut out of a piece of wood (fig. 1, 71.1957.82.23, H = 35 cm, L = 14 cm, catalogue p. 329). J. Tubiana, the collector of the object, notes in his book that young Zaghawa herdsmen are armed with a stick or a throwing stick (1971: 162).
1.2.2 Slings

Saharan and North Africa children also use slings for fun or to direct small animals, as described by H. J. Arripe Chaouïa for the Chaouïa children of the Aures in 1911. This author notes that the sling is one of the favorite toys of these children. The Ouled Daoud in particular have a special skill in using slings. This primitive and dangerous weapon offers the greatest services to the shepherds who, without moving, direct their herds from a distance. They throw a stone to the right of their goats, when they want as they these to go left, and proceed in the opposite direction when the goats must go right (p. 466).

The Belbala children make a sling with palm leaves. The sling is called ‘ird’. The broad piece is basketwork of crossed palm leaves (71.1950.2.10, fig. 2, L = 96 cm, catalogue p. 329). Dominique Champault tells that the children use a sling to chase the birds out of the plantations.
Charles Le Cœur notes that in 1934 Teda boys of the Tibesti in the Chadian Sahara use a sling to protect crops from birds (1969: 110).

Thérèse Rivière bought from a Chaouia boy in the Aures a sling called ‘ildeg’ or ‘ildi’. A braid with three strands is made from alfa grass. It is doubled in the middle at about 14 cm and has a ring at one end. (71.1936.2.74, L = 32 cm, catalogue p. 329). According to the object's label at the Musée de l'Homme the sling is used by shepherds hunting jackal. However, they must as children have used it as a toy to practice their skill. The ring is passed around the second joint of the first finger of the throwing hand. The other end is placed between the thumb and forefinger with the hand closed. Once the stone is in the bag one makes a clockwise rotating movement, after which the free strand is left to fly.

In Morocco I saw how a sling is made or used in the region of Midelt and Tiznit. Ali, a boy of 8 years of Ksar Assaka, a village located at 4 km from Midelt in the direction of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain, made a simple slingshot in 1997 (fig. 3). With this sling he trains to reach a target at about twenty meters away.

In 2007 a boy of 8 years of the village Ikenwèn, at 29 km of Tiznit on the road to Tafraoute, made the sling of figure 4 (p. 57) with a piece of inner tube of a motorbike and two strings made of strips from a plastic bag (L = 80 cm). To start this sling one turns a piece of the string around the index finger. The other end of the rope is held in the closed hand and released at the right time. Although girls did not make slings they use them if a boy gives them one. On the other hand both girls and boys make the simple slingshot shown in figure 3. Children practice by trying to reach a plastic bottle or another target put at a distance of about 50 meters. The sling, called tèzina serves the shepherds and sometimes the shepherdess for directing the goats and sheep in their care.
The traditional sling of Ikenwèn children is made with twisted palm leaves (fig. 5, L = 65 cm). In 2007 a man about 60 years remade this sling he used in his youth.

Lahcen Oubahammou describes in 1987 the slings of the Aït Ouirra children in the Middle Atlas, called ‘alliyoune’ (singular ‘illy’) as follows. Although they are used for utilitarian purposes (chasing birds from the fields, scare the wolf by throwing stones) the Aït Ouirra consider these activities as part of their games. There are two kinds of fronds: those made with spun wool and goat hair or those made with dwarf palm. The fronds of wool and hair are called “alliyoune n'chaâr or n'tadot”. The bag that houses the stone is the size of a hand palm and the cords are about one meter fifty. The fronds of dwarf palm fibers are called “alliyoune n'tiyzdamt” and they are of two kinds depending on the pocket being braided with fiber or with cords (p. 91).
Mustapha Jarih born in 1973 in Aïn Toujdate a village between Fez and Meknes, wrote in July 2004 a manuscript of 17 pages on the games of his childhood. He writes that in the 1980s boys made fronds with a ring at one end, called el maqlâ° (p. 4). This sling is used according to the manner described for Belbala children (p. 55).

1.2.3 Slingshots

In this book I use the American English term ‘slingshot’ to refer to the Y-shaped children’s toy usually referred to as a catapult in British English.

Figure 1 (p. 55) shows a slingshot of a Chaouïa child in the Aures (71.1936.2.243, L = 23 cm). This toy and some quite similar have been collected by the Thérèse Rivière in 1936 (catalogue p. 330).

In 1920 Edmond Destaign talks about the slingshot used by Aït Seghrouchen children of the Moyen Atlas in Morocco (p. LVI). Lahcen Oubahammou mentions this toy for the Aït Ouirra children of the Moyen Atlas. He writes: children also use a slingshot called ‘al mouklâ’ for hunting birds and doves. They cut an olive branch in the form of a fork and take the bark off. They cut two rubber strips from a tire’s inner tube. The strips, called ‘al aâsbat’, are attached to both ends of the fork and a piece of leather, which serves as a pocket to accommodate the stone is attached at the other end of the strips. This piece of leather is called ‘ajjalda’ (1987: 125).

In February 1993 I saw on the Place de la Fontaine in the Medina of Kénitra boys about ten years shooting with their slingshot at birds sitting in the trees at dusk. At the same time I saw that the forked branch is sometimes replaced by the upper part of a plastic bottle, the rubber band being attached to bottle’s neck.

In his manuscript Jarih Mohamed of Aïn Toujdate mentions about the 1980s both the slingshot of a forked branch as well as that with a piece of a plastic bottle. These slingshots are called el jbad and as in Kénitra they are used to shoot birds (2004: 4).

A boy of eight years from the village Ksar Assaka but living in Midelt showed me in November 1997 how he used his very well made slingshot (fig. 6, p. 59, H = 11 cm). The bag is made with a piece of an old plastic sandal but the two rubber strips were purchased at the store. To attach the
rubber to the fork and the bag strips cut from a bicycle’s inner tube is used. The slingshot, according to these boys known as tëzberrejt in Tamazight, is a weapon of young shepherds. It is also used to hunt birds.

Sometimes a group of boys plays Filistin or Palestinians and attack with slingshots another group of boys being the enemy and using the same weapon; eventually causing injury. To train boys and girls shoot at bottles or tin cans. A boy's mother says that girls compete in shooting over the greatest distance.

In 2009 the slingshot is still a weapon of choice for boys in the village Ikenwên in the region of Tiznit. With their slingshots boys hold shooting competitions on bottles or other targets (fig. 7). They use it when they look after the goats and sheep or when protecting the argan trees against birds.

Like the boys of Midelt, those of Ikenwên also play at the Filistin war with their slings and slingshots. In 2007 the boy of figure 7 made a slingshot with an unpeeled forked branch of an argan tree (fig. 8, p. 60, H = 53 cm).
In 2006 Mohamed Jariaa remade the slingshot of his childhood (fig. 9, H = 36 cm). For this he used a well peeled olive branch. One meter square elastic is bought at the store for 10 dirhams (€ 1) and the piece used as bag holding the stone comes from a leather sandal.

Ikenwèn girls do not make this kind of slingshot but sometimes they get it from a boy by offering him some candy. They receive these candies from their mothers or other adults for the assistance they provide to the household. The girls use the slingshot as boys do but they don’t play the Palestine war.

Around 1950 the small Jewish children of southern Morocco make slingshots with a forked branch, two equal lengths of rubber and a small square of rag to hold the projectile. Pierre Flamand adds that this toy is not widespread, perhaps due to the relative scarcity of materials needed to make it, and the few opportunities to use it, especially in the urban Mellahs. Sometimes artisans sell slingshots of their own manufacture (research from 1948 to 1958, p. 155).

Like many other toys, plastic slingshots are now sold in Moroccan shops and markets. I bought the one of figure 10 at Tan-Tan in September 2005, but it shoots an arrow instead of a stone (L = 12 cm).
1.2.4 Bullet or arrow shooters

Another weapon that launches stones or other projectiles is called bullet shooter, dart pistol or gun. I will use the term bullet or arrow shooter to describe the weapon made by children with a hollow tube as a barrel and a branch or palm strip as trigger. By releasing the trigger a stone or arrow is propelled. This kind of toy gun was collected in 1934 from a Tuareg Kel Djanet child of the Tuareg Kel Ajjer in the Algerian Sahara (71.1937.21.22, catalogue, p. 330) and among Teda boys from the Tibesti in the Chadian Sahara, in 1936 from Chaouïa boys in the Aures and in 1950 from Belbala children of the Algerian Sahara.

A nice example collected by the Mission Le Cœur in 1934 belonged to a Teda boy (fig. 11, 71.1935.50.192.1-2, catalogue, p. 331, L = 25 cm, H = 10.5, D = 1.7). The decoration is done with poker-work. The traces made with a red-hot iron represent clan marks.

In the 1930s the Chaouïa boys of the Aures also used the bullet shooter. The example kept at the Musée du Quai Branly is composed of a hollow reed forming the barrel and the butt. At the top and the middle of the reed, an indentation in the form of a basin is cut. At the rear of the indentation a vertical perforation has been made. The two vertical holes in the reed serve to retain the tamarind branch used as trigger (fig. 12, p. 62, 71.1936.2.185, catalogue, p. 331, L = 38 cm, H = 18 cm). After putting a small stone in the indentation, one pushes the trigger with the index out of the hole holding it. Thus the trigger is released in the indentation and the projectile runs through the barrel.
Three arrow shooters of the Chaouïa boys kept at the Musée du Quai Branly are manufactured and used in the same manner as the bullet shooters above but the projectile is an arrow (catalogue, p. 332).

In 1950 Belbala children of the Algerian Sahara use a bullet shooter called ‘tag n’bundu’. The spring cut out in the wood of a date cluster is stretched between the two holes in the reed. When a finger triggers the spring it bangs against the side of the reed’s notch and propels a ball of clay or a small pebble (71.1950.2.8, catalogue, p. 331, L = 48 cm, H = 15 cm). According to Dominique Champault children shoot the bullet at flies and possibly kill some used to feed the birds caught with a trap.

About the Aït Ouirra adolescents of the Moyen Atlas in Morocco Lahcen Oubahammou describes in 1987 the manufacture of ‘al madfaâ n’tikki’ or tikki pistol. According to the author, who relied on memories of childhood, teenagers organize fights with this weapon. They take a stick of the ‘chidkou’ (a sort of wild tree) 30 cm long and roughly cut them into two tubes of 10 cm and 20 cm long. They empty the two tubes of their pith. On the tube of 10 cm they set a plunger (a 20 cm long thin stick of an olive or pomegranate tree). On the lower end of the 20 cm long tube, which will come into contact with the piston, they put a small wad (piece of cloth). On the upper end of the tube they fix a projectile, which is a small wild fruit as big as a jujube and called ‘tikki’. With the piston fixed in the small tube they push forward the wad being moistened with saliva. Under the pressure of compressed air in the tube the projectile is shot out (p. 97).
Pierre Flamand described a bullet shooter that in the popular milieus of South Morocco is called ‘kabus’ or rifle and fires date stones. A groove cut into a shaft of reed receives an arched slat fixed in the body of the reed. The simplicity of operation of this device matches the simplicity of its construction. One introduces a date stone in the tube’s opening, folds on the movable end of the bamboo strip arched toward the fixed part and then suddenly releases it. So doing the arched strip unfolds and hits the date stone. The bullet is projected through the hollow tube that guides its short trajectory (research from 1948 to 1958, p. 150).

1.2.5 Arrow throwers

The arrow thrower called nashība, which I saw in the hands of Ghrib children in the Tunisian Sahara in the mid 1970’s, works in another way (fig. 13, L = 15 cm). At the back of a short tube cut from a hollow reed an elastic band is fixed in a loop. By pulling back the rubber band a long palm spine, used as a projectile, is shot towards at a target. For example a child shoots towards a circle drawn in the sand at a distance of about three meters. Eventually a large insect, mouse or lizard is aimed at. However, it seemed to me to be rather a toy for a game of skill than a hunting weapon because of its doubtful effectiveness.
According to Moustapha Jarih in the 1980’s children of the Aïn Toujdate village in Northern Morocco enjoyed shooting at a target with an arrow thrower. To make such an arrow thrower they use a tube of reed and flat elastic taken from old clothing. The projectiles are short reeds sharpened at one end (2004: 1).

In July 2006 in the village Ikenwèn in the Anti-Atlas the same type of arrow thrower is still used (fig. 14, L = 18 cm, D = 2.5 cm). The boys train by shooting at tin cans. They use their arrow thrower when playing games of police and thieves or games of the Mafia. The toy gun also has a utilitarian function, for example when chasing birds from the fields. When using a rubber cut out of a bicycle’s inner tube the force of propulsion is greater than when using a flat elastic.

1.2.6 Bows

Few authors refer to the manufacture and use of small bows by boys. Charles Le Cœur wrote in Mission au Tibesti. Carnets de route 1933-1934: a boy practices firing a bow... small boys kill birds with the bow, with the sling ‘zozoe’, which they use to shoo away birds from the crops, and with traps: a stick, a noose (‘yudugusu’). They cut the neck of the birds and after being cooked in the ashes, eat them with their brothers, their sisters and their friends. They do not eat crow. They do not take rabbits as this is an affair of men. Sometimes small girls also set traps, but only seldom (1969: 109-110). In his dictionary the same author adds to this data: ‘kindige’ or ‘kinige’: bow ... which among the Teda is only a toy for small boys to hunt birds – ‘kinige mia’: arrows (Le Cœur, 1950: 124).
The collection of the Musée de l’Homme had the same bow of a Teda boy (fig. 1, p. 55, 71.1935.50.191.1-2) but I did not find it in the ‘artefacts catalogue’ of the Musée du Quai Branly. According to my notes this bow is made as follows: to the two ends of a palm vein of approximately 50 cm, a string of palm fiber of 40 cm is fixed. A reed of about 40 cm is used as an arrow with at one end a dried date in which a thorn has been fixed (catalogue p. 333).

Three bows made by Tuareg children are found in the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly (catalogue p. 332-333). A miniaturized bow of 14 cm in height is made with a grass stalk and a cotton string (71.1966.0.1.60 X). Apart from an indication that it is a Tuareg toy nothing is known about this very small bow. The other toy bows of about 75 cm in height were made by Tuareg Kel Djanet children from the Algerian Sahara and once the name Moussa is mentioned for a boy. Moussa made his bow with a palm rib and the string is of palm fiber (71.1937.21.25). The arrows are of talha or acacia wood. The third bow (71.1936.44.63) is accompanied by eight arrows of reed slightly tapered at one end and with an average length of 65 cm (71.1936.44.64.1-8).

Thérèse Rivière in 1936 and Germaine Tillion in 1937 brought to the Musée de l’Homme respectively three and two bows with arrows from Chaouïa children in the Aures. The first three bows are made with oleander wood (71.1936.2.227.1-3/229/230), the last two bows with bamboo (71.1937.9.57/58). The height of the bows varies between 15 cm and 30 cm (catalogue p. 333). I did not find any information on the use of bows by Chaouïa children in the publications of these authors.

In 2006, a Moroccan boy of eight years from the village Ikenwène in the Anti-Atlas made a bow. The arrow is 44 cm long (fig. 15). Mohamed Jariaa, a twenty-four year old man of the same village, told me that this bow is made with a branch of the temmayt shrub that grows along the Oued Assaka River. To bend the branch it must be kept in a bended shape between two large
stones and exposed to the sun for about a week. A strip cut out of an inner tube is used for the string. With this bow boys hunt mice. When they captured one they sometimes simulate the ritual offering of a sheep or some girls ‘buy’ meat for their dinner play. The boys also pursue cats and dogs.

For boys of the village Aïn Toujdate, halfway between Meknès and Fès, Mustapha Jarih mentions in his manuscript on games and toys of the 1980s the bow called *tushiba*. This bow is made with *alili* (oleander) wood. When the branch is still green it can be fixed in a bent state by leaving it wedged between a wall and a heavy brick. The string is cut from an inner tube. The arrow cut from a reed can have no point being hollow but if it is in oleander wood its end can be sharpened. Such a bow is not used for hunting games. Mustapha Jarih told me that the bow is used for a game in which four or more boys hide individually and try to shoot at their friends’ legs by surprise.

In the early 1970s Ghrib boys in the Tunisian Sahara made a bow of about 40 cm in height with a stick and a twine, and used it to shoot at targets. However, such a toy bow seemed to be quite rare.

Writing this chapter I wondered at the lack of toy weapons among Ghrib children. I can give only two examples, shooting bows and creating the noise of a gun (p. 83). Although I did not pay attention to this during my research in the Tunisian Sahara in 1975 and 1977, it is unlikely that toy weapons were common because the boys hardly ever mentioned them and I did not observe their usage. However, Gilbert J. M. Claus referred to toy weapons when he told me about the introduction in 1980 of the first television sets in five Ghrib families at El Faouar. When boys saw a series of programs on the Crusades during the month of Ramadan in July-August 1980, they began to make war with bows and arrows, wooden swords and spears made of reed.
1.2.7 Crossbows

The Tuareg, Belbala and Chaouïa children trained at shooting with a crossbow. In 1934 among the Tuareg Kel Ajjer in the Algerian Sahara René Pottier collected a child’s crossbow, called ‘el qaharaz’ according to the artefacts catalogue of the Musée du Quai Branly (71.1937.21.24, fig. 1, p. 55). The index card of the Musée de l’Homme provides a description of this crossbow.

A 90 cm wide bow of palm rib is attached with a rag taken from a woman's dress onto the 60 cm long stick. The bowstring of palm fiber is held in place by a 10 cm wooden nut, fixed to the middle of the stick. The arrows are about 56 cm long and made of reed.

Yet, Henri Lhote describes a crossbow trap used by children to catch birds. According to this author the measurements of the birds’ trap collected in the Ahaggar are as follows: length of the stick supporting the hoop 48 cm; diameter of the bow (made with the rib of an animal) 39 cm; diameter of the hoop 9 cm (1951: 40-41).

The index card of the crossbow Dominique Champault received from a Belbala child in 1950, mentions that the crossbows are used in spring to chase small birds away from the plantations. The toy crossbow is named ‘sabat’. The stick made from the wood of a palm tree is perforated for threading the bow through and has two notches for the string, for which goat hair has been used. (71.1950.2.9, stick: H = 66 cm, bow relaxed: L = 55 cm, catalogue p. 334).

Figure 16 shows the crossbow collected by Thérèse Rivière during her mission among the Chaouïa in 1936. On top of the stick made from the wood of a palm tree there is a hole for passing through the bow of iron wire. The string is a piece of rubber attached to both ends of the wire with a short ribbon. In the middle of the stick there is a shallow horizontal slit (71.1936.2.223, stick: H = 60 cm, bow relaxed: L = 30 cm, catalogue p. 335). The use of this toy crossbow has not been revealed.
1.3 Toy weapons for fighting games

My research in Morocco shows that children, especially boys, make ‘weapons’ for their games of make believe or games of skill. Since 1992 I found in that country toy weapons for fighting games such as sticks, knives, swords, revolvers, rifles and machine guns. As written at the end of the previous chapter, a bow used for a fighting game has been mentioned for Aïn Toujdate.

Toy weapons from North Africa and the Sahara are well represented among the toys stored in the Musée du Quai Branly. Several authors mention them also. These bibliographic and muséographic data on toy weapons refer to sticks, knives, daggers, spears, shields, swords, revolvers, rifles and machine guns. Sometimes the simulation of a weapon is at stake but it happens that the toy can also be used as a real weapon.

1.3.1 Sticks

Although rarely mentioned, sticks are used by children. This was the case for a small group of four Moroccan boys from six to eight years I observed in Marrakech near the Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines in February 1992. The interaction of these boys sometimes resembled fencing (un combat d’escrime) (fig. 17-18).
In 1926 Edward Westermarck noted that Moroccan children engaged in fighting with sticks (p. 601).

About Teda boys from the Tibesti in the Chadian Sahara, Jean Chapel wrote in 1957 that they trained to handle a stick, a spear and a dagger, and that one saw very young children playing dangerously with weapons under the indifferent eye of their mother (p. 268).

1.3.2 Knives and daggers

In the foregoing quote Jean Chapelle talks about Teda boys handling a dagger. Already in 1920 P. Noël noted that these boys sometimes wear a weapon of their own. He describes this weapon as follows. It is called ‘yérenka’ and has the shape of an S. One of the curves is large and double-edged. The other curve, topped with a cord of goat hair, is used as a handle. It is held in the hand like a dagger, with the blade going out
from the inner palm and with the concave edge turned toward the elbow. This weapon is about 14 cm long in a straight line and 19 cm along the bends (p. 117).

In 1950 Walter Cline writes that many Teda boys wear this dagger. The description he gives is similar to that offered by Jean Chapelle (p. 41). The collection of the Musée du Quai Branly possesses such a Teda boy’s dagger collected by Dr. Noël (71.1934.62.9 D, fig. 19, catalogue p. 335).

In 1936 Henri Lhote gave to the Musée de l’Homme an iron dagger in its leather sheath manufactured by a blacksmith’s son of the black Enaden (or Idanen) population group, a specific social class among the Tuareg Kel Aïr of the Sahara in Niger. It is a 14 cm long dagger attached to the forearm being classified as a toy (71.1936.44.85, fig. 21 in the middle, p. 71, catalogue p. 335). It resembles the ‘takuba’ sword described along with the Tuareg toy swords (p. 71).

In 1995 Simo, a boy of nine, showed me how the boys from the Midelt region in central Morocco make a knife called el mús (fig. 20). This knife is made from two parts of a piece of reed of unequal length (about 5 cm and 20 cm). The blade is cut to a point. An elastic holds the two pieces together. The blade must be folded back to the handle. When one releases the blade it jumps forward like a folding knife.

Pierre Flamand describes the small knife or dagger of the South-Moroccan boys as follows. The dagger consists of two reeds fixed in the shape of a cross, possibly with a sprig of vine. Muslim children wear it from their early years, especially if they are of good extraction, and to them the dagger seemed less like a toy than as a necessary sign of their ethnic and male identity. The Mellah, that poorly appreciates all weapons, severely reprimands those of the boys who innocently brandish a reed to imitate Tarzan fighting against the wild beasts or the Indians (research from 1948 to 1958, p. 152).
1.3.3 Swords

In 1934 M. H. Morel notes in his study of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar sword in the Algerian Sahara that among the *Ihaggaren* and elsewhere among the families of chiefs, it is fashionable to familiarize small children with miniature swords used for playing in the tents and that such toy swords are seriously displayed by five to eight year old kids on festive days (p. 155).

The collection of the Musée du Quai Branly possesses two examples of this iron sword with its leather scabbard that belonged to a Tuareg boy. The one on the left of figure 21 is 14 cm long (71.1966.0.1.61 X) and the one on the right of figure 21 is 19 cm long (71.1936.44.87). Following the object’s index card of the Musée de l’Homme and like the dagger described above (p. 70), this last swords was made by a blacksmith’s son of the black Enaden (or Idanen) population group, a specific social class among the Tuareg Kel Air of the Sahara in Niger. Henri Lhote donated it to the Musée de l’Homme in 1936.

H. Foley mentions in 1930 with regard to young boys of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar that they shape wooden swords from pieces of wood and scabbards from pieces of skin (p. 47).

In 1908 Maurice Cortier notes that one of the favorite games of the Tuareg Kel Iforas in the Algerian or Malian Sahara is a kind of fencing with swords made from small strips of ‘merkba’ stems. The fighters mimic an attack with the sword but do not have shields (p. 310).

Unlike the iron swords of the Tuareg boys, which are toys as well as weapons, the swords of the Teda boys from the Tibesti in the Chadian Sahara are cut out of a palm rib. This toy sword is called ‘agaso’. Such a sword collected by the Mission Charles Le Cœur in 1934 is found in the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly. This sword with a cut out grip and two red rectangles on the blade is 54 cm long and the blade is 2.5 cm in width (71.1935.50.190, fig. 22, p. 72, catalogue p. 336, see also fig. 1, p. 55).
In the object’s note of the Musée de l’Homme written by Marie-José Tubiana one reads that uncircumcised Zaghawa children in Chad make a sword and its scabbard. They take it along when they go into the bush to herd the small animals and use it for fighting. When the children are circumcised, they give their sword to a small brother. During his Mission des Confins du Tchad, Tubiana purchased in 1957 the sword of two boys (71.1957.82.31.1-2, total H = 90 cm, 71.1957.82.32.1-2, total H = 97 cm, catalogue p. 336). The child’s sword, called ‘sèlí òrúki’ or ‘òrú sèlî’, is made of wood and the scabbard with shoulder strap and decorations is made of sheep hair. The blade and the handle have been carved from a single piece of green acacia wood. Drawings, which are mostly clan marks, are found on the blade of one of the two swords (71.1957.82.31.1, fig. 23).

For a picture of these swords in their scabbard see the artifacts catalogue of the Musée du Quai Branly (71.1957.82.31.1-2, 71.1957.82.32.1-2).

Among the Chaouïa of the Aures Mountains Thérèse Rivière collected in 1936 a toy sword in wood with the blade and the grip carved from a single piece of wood (71.1936.2.247, H = 59 cm, fig. 24, p. 73, catalogue p. 337).
Here and there in Morocco boys make a wooden sword for fencing or fighting. The first times I saw such a sword with a cross-guard a boy about seven years old waved it in a street of Kénitra in November 1992 and at the Place de la Fontaine in the Medina of the same city in March 1993. In September 1994 a ten year old boy living in Goulimima in Central Morocco showed me his sword called sîf in Arabic. The grip and the blade were cut out of a date palm branch. It resembles more or less the sword of a Zaghawa boy.

In November 1997, Ali and Simo, two brothers respectively eight and ten years old and coming from the village Ksar Assaka, showed me how they use the cross-guard sword for a game of fencing (fig. 25).
Simo holds a sword made with two pieces of the round iron handle of an old brush (L = 59 cm, B = 3 cm). Both the piece serving as a blade and the other piece used as a cross-guard have been flattened with a stone. The plastic part on top of the brush with a hole for hanging it serves as a grip (L = 8.5 cm). The cross-guard (L = 14 cm) is attached to the blade with tape.

Ali made his sword with carpentry wood (L = 48 cm, B = 2.5 cm). The piece of wood to protect the hand (L = 14.5 cm) is nailed to the blade in the form of a cross. The cross-guard is wrapped with adhesive tape. In September 1997 Ali had previously made a sword of reed (fig. 26, L = 47 cm). On the reed used as blade and grip he stuck a small piece of reed of 10 cm in length. This piece of reed and the metallic wire loop fixed at the beginning and the end of the grip form the guard.

At about 5 km from Tan-Tan in Southern Morocco, on the other side of the Oued Dra River, lies the village Douar. Sahrawi families live in this village of about a hundred houses. Here in February 2007 Sidi Ahmed, a boy of eleven years playfully attacks a small girl with the wooden sword he made (fig. 27, p. 75). The guard is attached by wire.

Mohamed Ibn Azzuz Hakim wrote in 1959 that the boys of the Ghomara region in North Morocco play fencing with a reed stick and in the presence of many spectators. The winner is the one who most often touched with his sword his opponent’s body (p. 22).
1.3.4 Spears

Among the Tuareg Icheriffen or Kel Fellen of the Gao region in Mali boys had their own spear made by a blacksmith as attested by the one Henri Lhote collected on December 12th, 1938 (71.1941.19.472, fig. 28, catalogue p. 337). This spear named ‘agor’, purchased from the young boy Assalane ag Atama, measures 155 cm in length. The cylindrical shaft is in ‘tékéouit’ wood. The iron creating the head and the part into which the shaft enters measures 43.5 cm. Below the iron head the metal is decorated with geometric designs. The iron heel measures 34 cm.
Together with the dagger (71.1936.44.85, p. 70) and the sword (71.1936.44.87, p. 71) Henri Lhote gave the Musée de l'Homme a spear made by a blacksmith’s son of the black Enaden (or Idanen) population group, a specific social class among the Tuareg Kel Aïr of the Sahara in Niger. (71.1936.44.87). This boy’s spear was missing in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme.

Charles Le Cœur mentions in his *Carnets de route* of 1934 that during wedding feasts the small Teda boys use palm stalks which they pretend to brandish as spears (1969, p. 152). This author donated such a boy’s spear called ‘ašibi’ to the Musée de l'Homme in 1935. It is a wooden stick decorated with geometric designs burnt into the shaft below the tip. The spear whose heel is broken measures 105 cm in length with a diameter of about 1.5 cm (71.1935.50.195, catalogue p. 338).

1.3.5 Guns

Until now the subtitles in the chapters ‘toys for hunting games’ and ‘toys for fighting games’ have been based on the name of the weapon. To describe toy guns it seems more interesting and functional to change the type of classification because the difference between a toy pistol, a toy rifle and a toy machine gun is not always clear. I therefore preferred to divide the firearms according to their operating system: guns without detonation or a projectile, guns with detonation but without a projectile, guns with a projectile but without detonation and finally guns with a projectile and detonation.

1.3.5.1 Guns without detonation or firing of a projectile

Concerning toy guns that do not make a detonation noise it should be noted that children often imitate this noise by shouting.

In 1938 several guns of fired clay were collected by the Military Command of the Algero-Moroccan Border (Commandement militaire des Confins algéro-marocains) in the northwestern Sahara and purchased for the exhibition of the Moorish Sahara. These guns, modeled to serve as children’s toys among the Moors, do not fire projectiles. Although there is
a hole in the priming cap the index card of the Musée de l’Homme does not mention that a detonation is produced or that powder or matches were used with this toy gun. The sausage-shaped barrel is hollow and ends in a flat butt with a suspension hole. The barrel is decorated with red ocher and brown dots (fig. 29, 71.1938.141.35, L = 20 cm, barrel D = 3.5 cm). The length of these rifles varies between 20 and 23 cm and the diameter of the barrel is 3 to 4 cm (71.1938.141.34-39, catalogue p. 338).

A last toy gun in fired clay collected at the same time has a more simple shape and is much shorter. The butt and the barrel form a cylinder flattened at the side of the butt. The suspension hole and the dots are lacking (71.1938.141.87, fig. 30, L = 9.5 cm, D + = 1.5 cm, catalogue p. 339).

According to H. Foley the young boys of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg in the Algerian Sahara made rifles with clay in the 1920s (1930: p. 47).

One of the toys of the small Teda boys living in the 1930s in the Tibesti desert of the Chadian Sahara was a piece of wood roughly shaped as a rifle. The tip mounted on this rifle represents a bayonet. The gun kept at the Musée du Quai Branly is decorated with tufts of leather and a pouch containing a stone as a talisman. (71.1935.50.189, fig. 31, L = 46 cm, D = 5 cm, catalogue p. 339).
The series of toy weapons of the Chaouïa children in the Aures Mountains collected by the Mission Thérèse Rivière in 1936 contains various lengths of stalks of the asphodel or the oleander representing pistols (71.1936.2.186/187) or rifles (71.1936.2.238/239). A pistol is a short straight stick (186) but the other guns are slightly bent. The length varies between 18.5 and 48 cm and the diameter between 1.5 and 2.5 cm (catalogue p. 339).

In Morocco I found two unusual toy revolvers. In 1996 I was told in the Ksar Assaka village near Midelt in Central Morocco, that children used as a revolver a chipped off and well-cleaned sheep’s rib left over from a couscous dish. In October 1992 a Moroccan boy held a gun made with part of an old bag used to churn milk, the handle of this bag serving as barrel (fig. 32, H = 13 cm, L = 14 cm). This happened in the village Aït Ighemour located 8 km from the Jbel Siroua Mountain, at 2600 m altitude and at the end of a track of 36 km starting from the village Anezal on the road from Amerzgane to Tazenakht in the Ouarzazate province.

Much more common are guns made from a reed, a stick or a plank. The small Aït Ouirra children from the Moyen Atlas bear the imitation of a rifle on their shoulder as the men are doing with their rifles. This toy gun is made with the stems of the ‘salbou’ plant that grows in water. The name of this rifle is ‘al madfaâ n’salbou’ (Oubahammmou, 1987: 98).

In the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni, Khaliža Jariaa observed and photographed some boys playing the Palestine war in April 2005. Lahoucine, a boy of ten years made a gun with two pieces of wood and also a paper mask (fig. 33, p. 79). Sometimes he points his gun at a friend shouting ‘hands up’ then brings him to prison (fig. 34, p. 79). This game shows how television images and messages related to the realities of the adult world infiltrate into children’s play.
In September 2005 Mustafa, a boy of thirteen years from the village Igîsel situated about 3 km from the hot spring Abaynou near Guelmim in the Moroccan Pre-Saharan, manufactured with a reed and some pieces of plastic a rifle for the Fantasia, the equestrian performance during which traditional rifles are fired. This rifle hangs on the shoulder with a ribbon (fig. 35, L = 63 cm, barrel D + = 1.5 cm and is proof of the growing use of waste material in the creation of toys by Moroccan children.
A game of police and thieves played by four boys, about eight years old living in the Tagrgra street in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni, shows the use of polystyrene guns. These firearms and the game in which they are used were observed and photographed by Boubaker Daoumani in January 2006. A bandit created a machine gun, *sharshura*, the long piece of polystyrene. Two policemen are seated and make a revolver, *ferdi* (fig. 36).

Once everything is ready, they decide who will be policeman or thief. One policeman, the boy in white, begins to run after the thieves (fig. 37).
The other policeman brandishing two guns (fig. 38) tries to take the thief who prepares to throw a bomb, a plastic bag filled with stones (fig. 39).

Pierre Flamand describes a game of hide and seeks with use of revolvers in the Mellahs of southern Morocco. The boys armed with a revolver are divided into two teams. Once the players of a team are hidden, those of the other team search for them while shouting. Each discovered hidden player is immediately stripped of his weapon and imprisoned with great cries of ‘hands up’. Sometimes the hidden players reverse the roles and attack their persecutors. The team that captures most players of the opposing team sees itself as winner (research from 1948 to 1958: 191).

As observed and photographed by Khalija Jariaa, another policeman game is played in the village Douar Ouaraben in the nearby suburb of Tiznit in August 2007. Smail, a boy of eight years who changed into a police officer, uses springs of a mattress to put handcuffs on his ten year old sister Sâdiya (fig. 40, p. 82). Sâdiya plays the role of an adulterous woman of the village put in jail for three months. The children enact the real life situation that occurred that same month. A neighbor girl assumes the role of making a video for the Moroccan television channel 2M, and therefore Sâdiya hides her face as shown in figure 41 (p. 82).
1.3.5.2 Guns that detonate but don’t fire projectiles

In early 1970 the Ghrib boys of the Tunisian Sahara imitated the sound of a firing gun in two ways. One way is to wrap the head of a match in a piece of paper. The wrapped match head is placed on a stone and the boy strongly hits it with another stone. The sound of the explosion of this Arab gun, called *el-mukhla*, is weaker than that produced with the following toy, called *el-makîna*. I found this gun in the hands of a fourteen year old boy but his father made it with an iron tube closed at one end, a nail and plastic covered electric wire. One end of the wire is fixed around the tube near the closed end and the other one to the nail. One puts three heads of matches in the tube and then introduces the nail (fig. 42, H = 19 cm). By strongly hitting the nail on a stone the detonation is produced.

In the 1950s Teda children, mostly boys, of the Tibesti in the Chadian Sahara used a way of imitating a gun’s shot similar to that of the Ghrib boys. Oleg Lopatinsky describes a toy called ‘bünduk’, gun, on the index card of the Musée de l’Homme (71.1965.3.80, fig. 43, H = 7 cm, L = 8 cm, bullet H = 2.5 cm, catalogue p. 340). This gun is made with lead from old bullets cast in a clay mould. It has a cylindrical body with a rounded base. A handle extends the upper surface and on the opposite side an appendix creates a beak. In the center a small hole remains open in which fits a copper bullet tied to the handle with iron wire. To create a quite strong blast three or four heads of matches are put into the hole. After inserting the bullet in the hole it is hit with a heavy object such as a stone.
In the mid-1930s Thérèse Rivière collected three types of pistols or rifles used by Chaouïa boys from the Aures in Algeria. These guns are used to create a more or less strong detonation but they do not fire a projectile. She describes the first type and the way to play with it on the index card of a pistol of the Musée de l’Homme (fig. 44, 71.1936.2.253, L = 20 cm, D = 2.5 cm, catalogue p. 340). This pistol is made from the stem of an umbelliferous plant. The flat grip has been cut behind a node with a square hole representing the trigger. The barrel is scraped out and a vertical hole near the trigger for igniting the powder is burnt out using fire. The peeled parts of the wood are covered with red paint. Such guns were used during the parade of the men at the circumcision festivities. The powder is stuffed in the barrel with a stick and a torch held at the hole ignites the powder. Some guns are made of reed. The better guns have a vertical butt and a barrel made from a metal case.

Thérèse Rivière donated to the Musée de l’Homme four firearms of the same type as the one described above (catalogue p. 340). The revolvers are 15 or 20 cm long and the rifles about 39 cm.

Two guns that she gave at the same time are somewhat different. The first is a rifle, made from an asphodel stem, with at one end a hole in which fits a small stick and at the opposite end an iron chain (71.1936.2.246, fig. 45, L = 51 cm). Fabric surrounds the small stick and its bottom is fixed in a copper cone.
The second rifle resembles the previous one but according to the index card of the Musée de l’Homme a double-barreled rifle (or shot-gun) (71.1936.2.248, fig. 46, L = 31.5 cm). The sticks are tied in the middle with a red ribbon and at the rear with a red thread.

As mentioned in the quotation above (p. 84) the same Chaouïa boys had a more sophisticated revolver to produce the sound of a gun. The pistol 71.1936.2.250 is the one Thérèse Rivière describes best (fig. 47, total L = 22.5 cm, barrel L = 6.8 cm, catalogue p. 341). On the index card of the Musée de l’Homme she noted that this revolver of an eleven year old boy has a grip and a stock of oleander wood. The barrel is an aluminum can fixed with a woolen thread and goat hair. To fire the revolver the barrel is filled with powder, a piece of match lodged in the hole located behind the barrel acts as cap and with a torch it is ignited. Children fire such pistols at circumcision and marriage feasts.

A second revolver has a straight grip and stock of oleander wood. The barrel is also an aluminum can fixed with string (71.1936.2.252, total L = 23.5 cm, barrel L = 5.5 cm).
Germaine Laoust-Chantéaux describes the Kabyle boys’ guns used in Algeria in the 1930s to imitate the sound of detonation and called ‘tamekhalt ughanim’, gun of reed (fig. 48).

The reed must be large enough and be about 60 to 120 cm in length. At about 20 cm from one end, the child incises the reed to a length of about 15 cm so that the cut can be raised without completely detaching it (A). To keep the cut in this position one cuts a moving part (B) of 8 to 10 cm in length. Both ends are made smaller, one of which is carved like a whistle. Two holes are drilled: a hole in the raised mobile cut (A) and another hole that is diametrically opposed (C). Part (B) is slipped under the cut (A) by inserting its ends in the holes, the beveled edge being at the top. A little stick is transversely pierced through the reed and part (B). By pulling the lower part (C) in the direction of the arrow, the cut (A) is no longer supported and shuts down with a short clatter. The most skilful children create two or three identical systems on a single reed. They link the triggers (C) by a tight enough string so that when pulling the first trigger the two other triggers also move and all the cuts shut down at once with a louder noise. The child who has a gun like this is very proud, dares to mingle with the men during feasts and fires his gun just like them (1990: 168-169).
1.3.5.3 Guns that don’t detonate but fire projectiles

In the second half of 1970 Ghrib boys of about eight years in the Tunisian Sahara sometimes fought with one another using a toy gun called *el masharkha*. It is a stick of reed about 30 cm long split to half length to make two flexible strips. The projectile is a piece of reed about ten centimeters long cut to a point at both ends and placed between the two strips. By softly pushing the two flexible strips below the projectile, it is thrown forward (fig. 49).

According to Mustafa Jarih children of the village Aïn Toujdate in northern Morocco in the 1980s had a lot of fun by shooting at targets with a revolver or rifle called *el ferdi* (2004: 1). The projectile is a sharpened reed with at one end a small hole into which fits the trigger. By introducing the arrow in the barrel an elastic band, attached to the opening of the barrel, is drawn tight. An iron wire attached to the trigger and the rear of the gun makes it possible to pull the trigger so that it comes out of the small hole in the back of the arrow (fig. 50). Once the arrow is released the elastic expands and propels the projectile.

The same gun of reed is used in September 2005 in Ikenwèn, a village in the Anti-Atlas at 29 km from Tiznit (fig. 51, total L = 25.5 cm, barrel D = 2.5 cm). This toy gun is used in the same way as the arrow throwers of the boys from the same village (p. 64).

I found the same system with a flat piece of elastic as propellant in Igîsel, a village in the region of Guelmim, but the butt and the barrel is a plastic pipe (fig. 52, p. 88, total L = 26/32 cm, D = 2 cm).
1.3.5.4 Guns that detonate and fire projectiles

In the early 1950s the Belbala boys of the Tabelbala oasis in the Algerian Sahara played with a toy gun called ‘fighting wood’, ‘l barud azuwer wani’ (fig. 53, 71.1952.27.36.1-2, L = 51.5 cm, catalogue p. 341). Dominique Champault who gave this toy to the Musée de l’Homme described it as follows on the index card:
Wood of a date cluster, split in half lengthwise. Segment of the same wood, used as a projectile, attached to the base of the toy by a string of rags. The projectile is placed perpendicular to the two sections of the split stick. A slight tension on the cord causes the relaxation: the projectile is launched; the two sections slam when closing. To stretch the upper lath of the date cluster a cut is made in the projectile near the side where the rope is attached.
In the second half of the 1930s, the boys of Kabylie in Algeria created next to a first type of gun (p. 86) a second type of gun used to propel a projectile, also called ‘timkehlin’. The boy chooses a branch of elder (awruri) and by a sub-cortical incision detaches the bark without breaking it. The pith can then play freely like a piston. When closing the tube’s end with a stopper and quickly pushing the central part the air forcefully projects the stopper, making a short crack (Laoust-Chantréaux, 1990: 168). Among the Chaouïa of the Aures in Algeria boys used the same system in the 1930s. Two of these airguns are found in the Musée du Quai Branly collection. A firearm of oleander is classified as air pistol (fig. 54 top, 71.1936.2.237, L = 30 cm, D = 1.4 cm, catalogue p. 341) and the other as airgun (fig. 54 bottom, 71.1936.2.219, L = 32 cm, D = 1.3 cm, catalogue p. 341). The bark in which the piston must slide is missing.

According Aime Dupuy the Tunisian children of the 1930s also create this type of airgun. Using sticks of oleander, which grow on the banks of a river, they make bullet shooters. They gently separate the bark from the wood so that the bark forms a long hollow tube. A small paper ball is introduced in the tube and the stick is pushed through the tube as with a bicycle pump (1933: 315-316).

In his thesis published in 1987 (p. 97), Lahcen Oubahammou wrote that Ait Ouirra adolescents from the El Ksiba region in the Moyen Atlas make a compression rifle called ‘al madfââ n’tikki’. Although he does not notice the noise of the detonation, this airgun is mentioned here because it resembles well those used by Kabyle and Chaouïa boys.

They take a stick of ‘chidkou’ (a sort of wild tree) about 30 cm long and cut it into two tubes of 6 cm and 20 cm, then empty the two tubes of their pith. On the tube of 6 cm they fix a piston (a 20 cm long thin stick of an olive or pomegranate tree). On the lower end of the 20 cm long tube, the end that will come into contact with the piston, they put a small wad (piece
of cloth). At the upper end they insert a projectile, a small wild fruit as big as a jujube, called ‘tikki’. Using the piston they push forward the wad of cloth moistened with saliva and the air compressed in the tube pushes the tikki out as a projectile. Fights are held with such compression rifles.

Regarding the Jewish boys of the South Moroccan mellahs between 1948 and 1958, Pierre Flamand speaks of a machine gun. The boys make this kind of popgun with two pieces of bamboo or reed, one of about 2 cm long and 1 cm in diameter, the other slightly smaller in diameter and about 15 cm in length. The child hollows the first piece along its entire length to become a tube and makes a conical shape at one end so that it “looks like a big color pencil from which the lead has been withdrawn” (Elise Perez, 11 years, Boys’ School J. Bigart in Marrakech). The other branch is cut so as to slide freely within the previous tube. One end remains outside the tube and retains a bulge (a node of the stem) to serve as a handle for operating the piston. The projectiles are cut from the skin of an orange by pushing this skin against the beveled end of the toy. The projectile is placed inside the tube to seal it. One inserts the piston into the slot and pushes with a sharp blow to the handle. So doing the piece of orange peel is expelled, producing the noise that has brought his name to the instrument because of its vague resemblance to the crackle of machine guns. Some believe this toy was recently introduced, while others see it as traditional. In any event, it was then extremely common in the mellahs. Most boys aged 8 to 12 had it. The Muslim boys ignored it or at least used it much less (p. 205).

The same author also mentions that these Jewish boys occasionally have a gun with a butt of yellow wood, a barrel of white or black iron and a mechanism consisting of a spring whose expansion shoots a wooden dart armed with a rubber sucker, called a ‘Mhakhla’ gun (p. 155). Of 650 students surveyed, 21 designate these guns as their favorite toy and this number corresponds more or less to the number of children possessing this toy. Its scarcity in the mellahs is due to the difficulty of its creation by children or local artisans, by its expensive price in stores (400 to 500 francs) and especially by the marked objection of adult Jews towards war toys. Parents never offered a gun but children sometimes acquired it with money received during the Purim feast or at their birthday. The few Jewish children possessing guns exploited this privilege by selling their comrades the right to use this weapon at a franc a shot fired (research from 1948 to 1958, p. 155).
In Ikenwèn, a village in the region of Tiznit, a small group of boys about ten years old makes *l-bomba*. This bomb is used in a game named ‘attention to the bomb’. It is made with a large tin can of which one lid is removed. In the other lid a hole is made with a nail. While a boy prepares the box, another boy digs a hole and a third boy buys some *carbon* (carbide) at the market or in a store. In the hole some water is poured and a few pieces of carbide are put in it. With the opening down the box is placed above the carbide. Now the bomb must be fixed in the surrounding soil (fig. 55). The boys who prepared the bomb then scream “attention to the bomb” and the children playing nearby approach. Once the carbide mixing with the water produces gas, a boy lights a match and holds it near the hole at the top of the can. The bomb explodes and flies off vigorously. Igniting the bomb is quite dangerous and the boy must take care to remove his face as far as possible when he stretches his arm toward the hole. When a wild boar descends from the mountains and approaches the river near the village the boys use the same type of bomb to chase it away.
Khalija Jariaa photographed the putting in place of the bomb in February 2007. She says that during her childhood in the 1980s this game existed in Ikenwèn but there was no wire to prevent the bomb from flying too high. Some ten years ago such an unattached bomb injured a girl. Then the girls invented the system of attaching the bomb with a wire (fig. 56). However, the boys do not take this precaution when they ignite the bomb in the absence of girls or small children.

The sale of rifles imported from Europe has already been mentioned for children of Rabat in 1916 (Castells, p. 342). Already during my first research period in Morocco in 1992 I noted that plastic rifles increasingly replaced the firearms created by the children themselves. In February 1992 I photographed a gun and a sword sold in a small shop in the Medina near the Jemaa el Fna square of Marrakech (fig. 57, p. 93).
Near Zaïda in Central Morocco, in the small village Tesserrut (Aït Allah ou Mimoun) I saw in September 1999 a father pushing his daughter to play with a gun making the crackling noise of machine guns and with flashing lights (fig. 58). The father bought it in the market during the Ashura feast for 12 dirhams (1.2 €).

In the Medina of Kenitra I observed in November 1993 a small group of boys. One boy of six years was pointing towards his comrades a conquest-of-space-like machine gun with lots of flashing lights and detonation noise.

Normally boys are seen carrying toy guns, but in April 2005 a five year old girl of the Boulalem quarter in Sidi Ifni explains why she and her neighbor are brandishing plastic guns (fig. 59, p. 94). The little girl said: “if the war in Palestine and Iraq come here, the rifle and pistol serve to shoot”. On the occasion of the Mulud or the Prophet's birthday feast, the mother of one of the girls bought the revolver at the local market for 8 dirhams (0.8 €).
At the same time and place one could buy in the market sets of weapons to play policeman (fig. 60).

In Douar Ouaraben, a village now almost integrated in the urbanization of the town Tiznit, a boy plays with a plastic revolver and points a rifle to his sister in April 2007 (fig. 61, p. 95).
At the end of this description of toy firearms I should mention the water revolvers and water guns normally used during the Ashura feast (Rossie, 2008, *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys*, p. 320-323). However, these water revolvers and water guns are also seen outside this festive period. A child of the village Lahfart in the Sidi Ifni region was the proud owner of such a water pistol during Ashura in 2001 (fig. 62, H = 14 cm, L = 17 cm).

In the beginning of April 2007 and three months after the Ashura feast, this was also the case with a boy of the village Douar Ouaraben near Tiznit (fig. 63, p. 96).
In November 2007 in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni a three year old boy and his five year old sister share a high volume water gun an uncle living in Spain gave them (fig. 64, 65 p. 97).
In August 2009 in the village Ikenwèn at 29 km from Tiznit on the road to Tafraoute four friends are playing at being policemen investigating a smuggling of hashish. The would-be policemen are looking for drugs in the small riverbed near the road and the police inspector is armed with a water revolver (fig. 66, p. 97, fig. 150, p. 147). To chase the traffickers, the policemen use police cars like that seen in figure 67 and 146-150 (p. 145-147).
2 Toys for play related to transport

2.1 Summary

The second part of this book is about play activities and toys of Saharan and North African children related to techniques of transport by land, water and air. These toys are the cart, the wheelchair, the skateboard, the bicycle, scooter and tricycle, the motorcycle, the car, the truck, tractor and bulldozer, the train, the ship, the airplane and helicopter. Nevertheless, one can see children becoming human cars and imitating the sound of that vehicle without the need of a toy.

The first toys related to transport mentioned in the consulted bibliography are cars and locomotives made by Jewish tinsmiths in Marrakesh in 1921, followed in 1927 by carts made and played with by Mozabite children. Yet, most of the information in this section comes from my research in Tunisia and Morocco or was collected by Khalija Jariaa in the Moroccan Anti-Atlas.

The data refer to children of the Tuareg, Ghrib, Sahrawi, Chaamba, Teda, Zaghawa, Belbala, Mozabites and Kabyles, as well as those of the Saoura Valley and Tindouf in Algeria, Mopti in Mali, Morocco and Tunisia.

As in the case of toys for hunting and fighting games these toys are used in pretend games representing male occupations. In most cases boys create and play with these toys related to transport, rarely girls.

Some toys related to transport described in this section are under-represented such as the skateboard, bicycle, child’s scooter, tricycle, motorcycle, train, boat and helicopter. But in all these cases it is likely their being rare is rather due to the lack of information than to the reality of Saharan and North African children’s toy and play cultures. What on the contrary can be said without hesitation is that toy cars and toy trucks are very popular with boys from these regions.

Natural material such as clay or clayish earth, reed, cactus, etc., is still used for making such toys but it is indisputable that waste material recovered by children increasingly replaces the natural material. This can be seen clearly in the chapters on motorized vehicles.
Adults have very seldom been mentioned as making toy vehicles for Saharan and North African children.

In recent years transport-related toys manufactured by the toy industry, imported from China or brought by Moroccans living in Europe or European tourists, start to replace toys made by children themselves.

Recent data from the Moroccan Anti-Atlas suggest that boys are nowadays strongly interested in high technology vehicles such as airplanes and helicopters which they see on television and try to recreate as toys.

2.2 Carts

In 1975 I saw Ghrib boys in the Tunisian Sahara having fun by carrying a small child with a cart of their own manufacture. The big boys use such carts to transport for example branches from the oasis to their home. Boys from the age of about seven years make these carts that are pulled or pushed. On two long palm branches they attach several palm twigs parallel to one another. Normally this is done with strings, but occasionally also with nails (fig. 68).

In *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* one finds two carts made by Ghrib boys with tin cans and pulled by stone mules (p. 103-104).

William Marçais wrote in 1927 that Mozabite Children pull toy carts. They make small carts by fitting planks. Then they put the bodywork on wheels carved with a knife and some coarsely arranged sticks form the axles. This simple car is pulled with a string. Where does the model come from, as such carts do not exist in the Mzab? Perhaps copied from a toy of Algiers or from some pages torn from a catalogue of the Bon Marché (p. 58).
Black children of Mopti on the Niger in Mali, use clay to model animals pulling carts as you can see in the article "Clay Toys of Mopti" by J. J. Mandel and A. Brenier-Estrine (1977: 9, 11, 13).

According to Mustafa Trifa, who was born in this neighborhood in 1963, in their childhood he and boys his age from the popular Saknia quarter of Kenitra in Morocco used a dung beetle to pull a cart made of a matchbox attached to the legs of the insect with a string. Some boys organized races with these horses and carts. My informant told me that this game still existed when we met in 1995.

In the village Ifrane of the Anti-Atlas, I found in 2006 a six year old girl playing with a mule pulling a cart. The body of the mule is a piece of wood and four nails fixed in it represent the legs. The saddlebag of the donkey hangs on both sides and is represented by a rag. The cart, a sardine can with wheels of plastic caps, is attached to the mule with a string (fig. 69).

In 1994 on the Place Moulay Hassan in Essaouira I photographed four boys who use a plastic tray as a cart (fig. 70).
2.3 Wheelchairs

In September 2005 Mustapha Daoumani, a boy of fourteen from the village Igīsel near Guelmim in the Moroccan Pre-Sahara, showed me how he made toys a few years earlier (fig. 71).

One of these toys is a wheelchair made with a sardine box, two lids for the large wheels and two plastic caps for the small wheel in front (H = 14 cm, L = 16 cm, B = 10 cm). A second hand plastic doll represents a paralyzed girl (fig. 72, p. 103).
2.4 Skateboards

The first skateboard I saw made by a Moroccan boy was in Kenitra in 1993. It had three wheels like those shown below built in Sidi Ifni and Igisel. The boy who sits on the board places the feet of his folded legs on both sides of the steering bar. Another boy pushes him from the back as quickly as possible. His friends whoop with laughter if he who sits on the skateboard falls. A photograph taken in the same year shows boys from Marrakech with their four wheeled skateboards directed by string attached to the steering bar (fig. 73, p. 104). In one of his books Mohamed Sijelmassi shows a photo of a young boy on a skateboard with four wheels (1993: 173).
One evening in October 2002, I observed two boys of about thirteen years on the sidewalk of a sloping street in Sidi Ifni adjusting their skateboard made with ball bearings. Once the board is fixed, they sit on it to go down the slope at full speed. The next day and the day after four boys the same age joined them. In this group the two initiators of the game have not only helped their buddies to make a board but sometimes also to drive it. A good week later I noticed on the opposite sidewalk two boys of about seven years using the front part of these skateboards with three wheels. Bending their backs and holding both ends of the steering plank the small boys try to move as quickly as possible.

In August 2005 a boy of Sidi Ifni, a coastal town 170 km south of Agadir, showed me how to make a skateboard. He only uses recycled materials such as pieces of wood, a metal bar and a few nails. To drive a nail into the steering Mohamed, a boy of ten years, uses a stone (fig. 74, p. 105). On the ground one sees the board with the rear axle in metal already fixed.
The wheels are ball bearings called *lorma* that come from used mopeds (fig. 75). It is possible to buy such a ball bearing in a repair shop for one dirham (0.1 €).
The nails which the boys use are second-hand and are often bent. Therefore they must make them straight as shown in figure 76. Making the steering rod is delicate work that requires technical knowledge and skill (fig. 77, skateboard: L = 56 cm, B = 53 cm).
The steering bar of this skateboard and that of a second example made by another Sidi Ifni boy is fixed underneath the plank on which one sits (fig. 78). These skateboards can be driven in several ways: among others by sitting on the board and holding the steering bar with both hands (fig. 79). Other ways of driving are seen in figure 85 (p. 110) and 86 (p. 111).

Also in August 2005, I asked Mustapha Daoumani, a fourteen year old boy of the village Igîsel, situated about 50 km from Sidi Ifni and near Guelmim, to make his skateboard for me. To do so, he used the same materials as in the previous example except that the metal bar is replaced by a piece of wood. A hammer instead of a stone and a knife are the tools he uses (fig. 80, p. 108). The technical solution for attaching the steering rod which is now placed at the top of the board is more complex. A wire runs through the steering bar and then through the board to sit on. Moreover, the wire is folded in such a way as to create a noose at the top of the steering bar (fig. 81, p. 108).
Both ends of the wire are pushed through the wooden axle carrying the front wheel (fig. 80). Then they are bent around the axle and secured with a hammer (fig. 82-83, p. 109).
Finally, the front wheel is held in place by pushing a wooden skewer in the noose (fig. 84, p. 110, skateboard: L = 52 cm, B = 47 cm).
Youssef shows how you can ride with the skateboard which he says is called *tomobil*. The first way is to kneel on the board and guide the steering bar with the hands (fig. 85).
The second way that seems more dangerous is to stand up on the board and guide the steering bar with the foot (fig. 86).

In May 2007 during a visit to the village Bifourna at about 30 km from Sidi Ifni, Khalija Jariaa photographed a six year old boy who claims to create roller skates with bits of cactus and yogurt pots as wheels. The boy saw such roller skates at the local market where they were sold by a Moroccan man living in France. The little sisters of the boy discuss with him the number of wheels of roller skates, but they finally agree that there must be four (fig. 87, p. 112).
2.5 Bicycles, child’s scooters and tricycles

The first vehicle mentioned here is nothing like a bicycle but it is integrated into this chapter because the children called it a bicycle.

In 1975 both Ghrib girls and Ghrib boys from the age of about six years were running with two curved palm branches being wider at the curved end and connected as shown in figure 88 (p. 113). Sometimes there was only one palm branch. These children gave the name *el bisiklet* to the vehicle they were running mainly through the dunes. It happened that several children engage in a bicycle race. When running the children sang the following song they heard on a portable radio or learned at school.
Bicycle, bicycle, we are racing to be first; it has two large wheels, I take it by the handlebars and I ride with it.

The oldest toy in the surveyed area resembling a real bicycle comes from the Algerian town of Tindouf in the northwestern Sahara. It was given by Corneille Jest to the Musée de l’Homme in 1962. This bicycle whose maker is unknown was made with yellow and red plasticized electric wire (fig. 89, p. 114, 71.1962.51.2, H = 8.5 cm, L = 17.5 cm, D wheel = 6 cm, catalogue p. 342). In addition to wheels without spokes, a frame with handlebars and a saddle rack there are also lights, brakes with brake cables and a side stand.
I regularly saw in Morocco big boys, but rarely big girls, ride a bicycle and sometimes an older boy helping a younger one to learn riding it. Still, I can only show a toy bicycle created by a five year old boy from the village Idoubahman-Imjâd in the Anti-Atlas. In August 2006 his father gave him the toy bicycle to the right of figure 90 (H = 5 cm, L = 9.5 cm) and after some try outs the boy was able to make the one shown to the left of that figure (H = 10 cm, L = 13 cm).
The small boy was so proud of this achievement that he showed his creation to all those present in the house (fig. 91). Then he began to play outside next to his two younger sisters (fig. 92).
As soon as they have the opportunity children train to ride a bicycle as shown in the following photo taken in Douar Ouaraben on the outskirts of Tiznit in 2006 (fig. 93).

Moulay Mohamed Bellamine born in 1968 in the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt, told me in May 2000 that in his youth the boys who did not have a bicycle rented that of a friend for a little bit of money to have the chance to ride a few laps and this especially during a religious feast.

Pierre Flamand notes in his book based on research from 1948 to 1958 that very few Jewish children in South Moroccan urban mellahs have a bicycle and that he has never seen one in rural mellahs. On the other hand, there were slightly more in medina and in the European quarters many children were using them. For Jewish children, the author also mentions the child’s scooter and the tricycle (p. 155).

During my stays in Morocco since 1992 I have not seen a child’s scooter of the old model but in recent years the miniature scooter of the type I photographed in Safi in December 2009 appears more and more (fig. 94, p. 117).
Since 2002, in Sidi Ifni, I have quite regularly seen such scooters that one can buy for around 200 dirhams (20 €).

The tricycle imported or manufactured locally is sometimes found in the hands of small Moroccan children. In March 2009, a three year old boy walks with his tricycle near his home in Douar Ouaraben near Tiznit (fig. 95, p. 118). He received this tricycle from his maternal aunt living in Agadir because her daughters no longer need it. In the luggage rack are some of his treasures, including a small sardine can car with wheels of plastic caps and a Donald Duck (fig. 96, p. 118).
Ilyas, the three year old eldest son of Khalija Jariaa, rides a tricycle manufactured in Tiznit’s plastic factory and bought in this city in November 2009 by his aunt living in France for 100 dirhams (10 €). This factory now produces also bicycles and plastic toys such as water-revolvers and small windmills.
2.6 Motorbikes

A toy made by Moroccan boys is sometimes called *moto ramadan* because it is used especially during the evenings of the fasting month. Of this motorbike only the light is created with a large tin can in whose lid holes are made, a reed and a candle. Simo, a boy of eight years in 1995 from Ksar Assaka a village near Midelt in central Morocco, has shown it to me (fig. 98, L = 41 cm, D = 12 cm). Once the candle has been lighted, holding the rod with both hands and tilting the light towards the earth a light ray beam is seen on the ground. Such a run can be dangerous as shown by the wound on Simo’s forehead, a wound he got when falling during a nightly race with this motorbike. During my first visit to Morocco in early 1992 I saw already two Kenitra boys of about ten years old holding this toy but without knowing its name or its use.

When in February 1999 Ali Boukhris, a teacher of the Zaïda village school along the road from Midelt to Meknes and 30 km before the latter town, invited me to his class I found there a beautiful motorbike with biker.
One of his students in the second year, a boy of eight years, created it and brought it to the school spontaneously. The frame is constructed with iron wire that also forms the handle and with black plasticized electric wire. The same electric wire is used for both axles. Four loops, two in front and two at the rear, have been planned to hold the axles. Two plastic caps placed into one another create the wheel. The biker of yellow wire is put in place in an ingenious way (fig. 99, H = 10 cm, L = 16 cm, B = 6 cm).

The article “Clay toys of Mopti” shows a Vespa scooter ridden by two children, all modeled in clay by a child (Mandel & Brenier-Estrine, 1977: 10). The design of figure 100 shows a copy of this photo.
2.7 Cars

In the consulted bibliography I found no references to toy cars created by Saharan children except for what Lieutenant Denis wrote in 1952. Speaking of changes in children's games among the Chaamba nomads of the Algerian Sahara, he mentions that children from Tindouf make cars and airplanes with tin cans and iron or telephone wires (p. 37).

Moreover, when I analyzed the collection of Saharan toys of the Musée de l’Homme I only found one car made by a Kel Djanet boy from the Tuareg Kel Ajjer in the Algerian Sahara. This car, the children called ‘caraba’, was collected by Rene Pottier in February 1935. It is constructed with a piece of wood and four round cans used as wheels. Two keys to open these cans are used as axles and champagne corks pushed on the axle fixes the wheels. A string is used to pull the car (fig. 101, 71.1937.21.26, H = 9 cm, SO = 24 cm, catalogue p. 342). According to the index card children between six and twelve years old built such cars.

![Caraba](image)

Nevertheless, the Ghrib boys of the Tunisian Sahara in the 1970s liked to play the role of driver very much and they did not even need a car to do so. From the age of about five years, two boys had great fun running behind each other simulating a car and its driver. Although this was done preferably in the sand dunes one could also observe this in the village (fig. 102, p. 123). A car race was sometimes organized and the engine’s and horn’s noises were heartily imitated.
In 1975 the Ghrib boys create different cars from the age of about six years but children sometimes use toy cars from three years onwards. To construct such cars they use natural and waste material. A rarely made car is the one modeled with wet sand representing a taxi with luggage and an antenna that is pushed through the dunes (fig. 103-104).
Much more commonly, boys were seen running and pushing in front of them a car with one wheel. This model is made with a tin can for sweets or canned foods serving as wheel. In the center of the caps a hole is drilled and the axle, a wooden rod, is pushed through the holes. Then a long reed is split at one end and the axle is placed between both legs. Eventually a piece of rope surrounds the reed just above the split to prevent the reed splitting more than necessary and to secure the axle in between the legs (fig. 105).

If a tin can is used for the wheel boys like to produce an engine noise when running with their car. To do this one must make some dents in the can and bring closer to the wheel the rope that tightens both legs of the reed. By introducing a stick in the middle of the rope is wound up so that the stick is tight against the wheel (fig. 106). A more complicated wheel is constructed with a can and twenty sardine tins. The sardine tins must be placed around the can driving them in one another at one side. Then everything is held in place with a piece of rope or wire (fig. 107).
As steering wheel the boys fix a flattened tin can with a nail on top of the reed. In the evening a piece of rubber is sometimes fixed in the middle of the reed. Then they set fire to the so-called ‘red light’ to avoid collisions. Such cars are called *el karhaba or es siyâra*.

In the dunes surrounding the Ghrib village in the oasis of El Faouar boys from the age of about seven years organized the driver’s license exam: *el bermi*. With a car like the ones shown in the three previous figures, with a barrel or even a bicycle (fig. 88, p. 113) the candidate had to drive a tortuous course delimited by stones or cans (fig. 108-109). Those who succeeded in the exam were loudly commended and possibly received as diploma a piece of paper with their name.
Jean Servier mentions in 1962 that Kabyle children play in early fall with a car of their manufacture. A photograph of such a car is shown between pages 14 and 15 of his book. The toy is made by pushing a mobile cork disc over an axle placed in the fork of a split reed. This car is called ‘takarrust’ in Great Kabylia and ‘tumibilet’ (automobile) in West Kabylia (p. 278).

In Kénitra, a Moroccan city on the edge of the Mamora forest full of cork oak (fig. 110), I saw in February 1994 a car similar to that of Kabylia children. A stick transpiercing the bottom of a cane is used as axle supporting two wheels of about 20 cm in diameter cut from a piece of cork (fig. 111).

Since 1992 I have all over Morocco seen boys, but occasionally girls, make and play with toys they define as cars. Two types of toy cars are common, the car with one or two wheels driven by a long stick and the four-wheel car pushed by a stick or pulled by a string.

In northern Morocco mid-way between Meknes and Fez lays the urbanized village Aïn Toujdate. There, around 1980, Jarih Mustafa and his friends built cars with two wheels mounted on a reed axle fixed at the base of a long reed. Round cans served as wheels and these cars were pushed by a steering wheel made of wire and attached at the top of the reed (2004: 5). At the same place but in November 1993 I noticed a group of boys between nine and twelve running with cars. These cars resemble closely those described by Mustafa Jarih except that some cars have wheels made of iron wire. The boys run on a hard-packed surface imitating the noise of engines and horns. Moroccan boys commonly create such toy cars of which pictures will be shown a little further.
In October 1996 a boy of seven living in Tiddas, a village 46 km south of Khemisset, was driving his car with two wheels made of plastic bottles. To make the wheel the boy cut off two bottle bottoms and placed these into one another. Once the axle is attached with wire at the basis of an about 1.5 m long reed, a plastic cap is pushed onto the axle on both sides of the reed. Then the two wheels are placed on the axle and held in position by two other caps. The steering wheel of wire surrounded by pieces of a black plastic bag is attached to the top of the long reed with a piece of wire.

In the spring of 1994 on a trip to Essaouira when riding a bicycle on the road from to Agadir, I met a young shepherd pushing his long car with two wheels (fig. 112). At one end of a reed the boy fixed through a hole in its center a plastic lid serving as steering wheel. In a hole at the other end of the reed he introduced a piece of reed used as axle on which two floats of a fishing net serve as wheels. It is the only time that I saw a car with floats of a fishing net serving as wheels.
In September 2003 I saw in Had Soualm, an urbanized village about 25 km from Casablanca, a six year old boy riding with his carrosa, a car with one wheel fixed at the bottom of a reed like that of figure 124 (p. 134); nothing special except that it was not the boy who made it but his paternal grandmother.

At the foot of the Jbel Ayachi in the city of Midelt two brothers, Ali of eleven years and Simo of twelve years, created in August 1999 cars with one, two and four wheels. This happens on the roof of their house, starts in the evening and continues the next day. All these cars, called tomobil, are pushed with a long reed. In the evening Ali gathers the necessary equipment: long reeds, empty sardine cans, iron wire and plastic bottle stoppers (fig. 113).
The next morning he gets hold of a knife and pincers. With a nail, he makes two holes in one of the long edges of a sardine can just above the bottom and in the opposite edge two more holes in front of the first two holes (fig. 114).

In the center of a plastic bottle stopper he makes a small incision with a knife. To pierce the center of the other three bottle stoppers, however, he prefers to use a nail that he hit with a sardine can instead of doing this with the pincers. Then he pushes a wire through the hole of a bottle stopper and folds the piece of wire to prevent the stopper slipping off. This wire serving as axle is inserted into two opposite holes and another stopper is put in place in the same way as before. Proceeding in the same way a second axle with wheels is created (fig. 115).

Once the car is built Ali constructs with iron wire a second chassis with four wheels (fig. 116, p. 130). The rear axle of the chassis is attached to the car by connecting it with a small wire to the hole made at the top of the front of the car.
To drive this car a long reed is fixed to the front axle of the chassis. However, Ali was unable to drive this double car because the wheels of the chassis are not turning adequately (fig. 117).

Summiya, an eleven year old niece, is looking to see if she can do better but she cannot solve the problem. Simo, the twelve year old boy, comes to help and after some tests he is able to move the car more or less. After a break the three go back to work (fig. 118).
A bit discouraged by his failure Ali, seated to the left of the picture above, decides to make a simpler car. Once the hole at the bottom of the reed is pierced, he makes a hole in the center of two lids of jam jars. Then he puts the axle, a piece of wire, in the hole in the reed and puts the two wheels in place as shown in figure 119 (H = 90 cm, D wheel = 5 cm. As for his four wheel car, he folds the end of the wire in order to fix the lids.

Summiya, the eleven year old girl, starts to make an iron wire frame with two wheels in the front and one wheel at the back (fig. 120). She attaches a thread to pull her car (fig. 121). As the wheels do not turn well she adds a stopper to each wheel, but as this does not improve the result she gives up.

Summiya told me she is not used to making cars as boys do. Moreover my information and observations clearly confirm that creating vehicles is an activity of Saharan and North African boys but seldom that of the girls in these regions. Nevertheless, I can report some instances where other Moroccan girls played games with toys related to transport, but their cars were always very simple.
My first example dates back to August 1994 and is located in the city Goulmima along the Moroccan Pre-Sahara. It concerns a girl of about four years pulling with a string a sardines can just as do boys of the same age. The noise produced by these running children shows that they indeed become car drivers.

In Lagzira near the tarred road 9 km before Sidi Ifni when coming from Tiznit, a simple sardine can has been transformed into a wedding car in the small house construction game and the doll house play of Halima, a girl of six years, and Fadil, her nine year old brother. This game, filmed on March 4, 2002, is described in Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys (Rossie, 2008: 105-108, photo of the wedding car: fig. 80). At the beginning of the video one sees Halima and Fadil pulling this would-be car through the playground. It is filled with snail shells representing the bride, the groom and family members that are driven to the small houses (Rossie and Daoumani, 2003, Protocol of video 4, p. 2).

The third example comes from the small village Igern located at the end of a 4 km trail leaving the road from Tazenakht to Taroudannt. During my visit to this village in November 1996 young girls created a tomobil with a piece of wood to which plastic bottle stoppers are fixed as wheels. The last example is a car made by a girl of the village Lahfart as mentioned further on (p. 164, fig. 180).

Although cars made by Moroccan girls seem to be exceptional this does not mean that they do not dream of traveling. For example in 1995 Souad Laabib of the village Ksar Assaka near Midelt stated that she and her friends imagined in the early 1980s travelling far away with an old Renault car abandoned near the houses.

Let us return after this digression on girls and their games and toys related to transport to the construction of toy cars by Ali (p. 128). Another day in August 1999 but at the same place, Ali and his twelve year old friend Abderrahim each were making the same type of car with a trailer.

The way to create the axles and the wheels is the same as for the previous cars but a smaller bottle stopper has been introduced in the stopper forming the wheel and before folding the iron wire. This
time the result is good and the wheels turn better. The trailer with two wheels, a tuna can, is attached to the car and a reed of about one meter long is fixed to the front of the car with a piece of iron wire (fig. 122, p. 132, L+ = 19 cm, B+ = 12 cm). A steering wheel, *el bola* is created with iron wire and attached to the top of the reed with this wire (D = 16 cm). To run with this car and trailer the driver pushes it in front of him (fig. 123).

This car model is not unique to Ali and Simo as I had already seen in November 1997 in the same Aït Mansour neighborhood one of their neighbors about eleven years old pushing such a car. This car of about the same size was also guided by a steering wheel of iron wire but it did not draw a trailer.
Also in August 1999 Simo, already mentioned above (p. 128), built a car with one wheel. A piece of tube pushed on the bottom of a reed is holed to receive the axle, a plastic stick. The lid of a pot of paint with a hole in its center is placed on the axle and secured by two plastic bottle stoppers (fig. 124). A piece of the same tube decorates the long reed used for pushing the car (fig. 125, L = 130 cm, D = 10 cm).

That same month outside Midelt on the road to the Jbel Ayachi mountain a boy about eight years was running with his two-wheeled car pushed by a long reed. The wheels are built in a different way than the car of figure 119 (p. 131). With a piece of thick iron wire bent in two, the boy has created a loop with two long stems. Then he introduced the two legs of the loop in the bottom of the reed.
A long nail is used as axle together with five bottle stoppers which have holes in their centers. As the first wheel the boy pushed a big black stopper on the axle with the inside of the stopper facing the head of the nail serving as stop. This wheel is kept in place with a small red stopper. Once the axle is placed through the loop at the end of the pushing rod, a small red stopper is pushed on the axle followed by a larger blue stopper, the second wheel, and another small stopper (fig. 126, L = 12 cm). To create the steering wheel the boy cut off the upper part of a can of oil and pushed the other end of the reed in the opening (fig. 127, H = 136 cm, D = 16 cm steering wheel).

In September 1999 I met the teacher Mohamed Hammioui who invited me to the primary school in the small village Tataouine at 11 km from Midelt and located along the trail to the Jbel Ayachi Mountain. The school where he taught for six years then had two classes and 31 students. In preparation for my visit he had asked his students to bring their toys. The day I visited the girls came with their dolls (Rossie, 2005, Dolls: 145, fig. 90) and boys came with their cars (fig. 128, p. 136). The boys push their cars on winding roads delineated on the ground with stones. One boy plays the role of policeman and gives fines to those who do not follow the rules of conduct.
The general aspect of these cars, called kurrisa, remains the same but a difference in material and construction technique stands out. A first model of car is pushed ahead by a long metal bar whose upper end is eventually turned like a spiral in order to create a steering wheel. The other end is folded like a loop in which a twig is introduced to serve as an axle. The wheels, two more or less round pieces of rubber with a hole in their center made with a nail, are fixed to the ends of the twig (fig. 129-130, p. 137). A seven year old boy built this car without a steering wheel (H = 86 cm, L axle = 19 cm, D wheels = 5 cm) and another boy the same age the one with a steering wheel (H = 122 cm, L axle = 16 cm, D wheels = 6.5 cm).

The second model of car is pushed with a long reed (fig. 131-132, p. 137). Most boys in figure 128 brought to school this model without a steering wheel. With a nail a hole is made down the reed to let the axle pass through and that, like the wheels, is similar to the first model. A six year old boy made the car on the right in figures 131 and 132 (H = 104 cm, L axle = 15 cm, D wheels = 7 cm) and a five year old boy the one to the left of these figures (H = 105 cm, L axle = 15 cm, D wheels = 5 cm). Since the end of the reed forks below the hole in which the axle would normally fit the boy attached the axle to the reed with a piece of wire.
During another visit in August 1999 to Zaïda, a village located along the road from Meknes to Midelt and 30 km before the latter city, the teacher Ali Boukhrit gave me a car with four wheels. An about seven year old pupil of his school made it with pieces of wood, cans of oil, caps and nails. After the board of the caps is cut to better simulate a wheel, the wheels are attached to the frame with a small nail. In the bottom center of the small piece of wood forming the superstructure of his car the boy fixed a nail and then attached the superstructure to the frame (fig. 133, H = 6.5 cm, L = 13 cm, B = 4 cm; D wheels = 3 cm).

Like the girls of the village Ignern in the Haut Atlas (p. 132), the boys give their four wheeled cars modeled with clay the name *tomobil*, a name that boys in Midelt also use to indicate their cars (p. 128).

In September 2005 I accompanied Boubaker Daoumani to visit his family living in the small village Igîsel about 3 km from the hot spring Abaynou near Guelmim in the Moroccan Pre-Sahara. There I found a car also called *tomobil* by the boy who built it (fig. 134-136, p. 139). The really long reed is decorated by several bottle caps of different colors (fig. 134, H = 163 cm). The steering wheel is a disk perforated in the center so it can be fixed on the reed. Below the steering wheel the boy tied a so-called horn (fig. 135, D = 17 cm).
The two wheels of this car are tin cans mounted on an axle, a metal skewer, pushed through a hole in the reed. At the bottom of the axle the boy has set a cap and a wrapped metal foil (fig. 136, B = 21 cm, D wheels = 7 cm).

From 2005 onwards, Khalija Jariaa contributed substantially to the research on children's toys and games in the province of Tiznit and the province of Sidi Ifni.
Douar Ouaraben is a village increasingly urbanized, located at the border of Tiznit near the road to Sidi Ifni. There the boys are building cars with two and four wheels. In October 2007 Khalija Jariaa photographed a small group of three boys all playing with their respective toys (fig. 137). One such toy is a car with two wheels driven by seven year old Smaïl. This car was made by a boy of ten years. The wheels are from a used stroller. They are introduced into the opening at the bottom of a long plasticized metal tube used for brushes. The steering wheel is made with a wire and it is wrapped with a green plastic ribbon that the manufacturer continued to wrap around the top of the tube. The end of this ribbon is attached with tape (fig. 138, H = 89 cm, D steering wheel = 12 cm).
In November 2009 an example of an unusual four-wheeler car was created by an eight year old boy from the village Douar Ouaraben (fig. 139, L = 14 cm). As chassis he used a carton of a drug instead of the commonly used sardine can. The wheels of bottle caps and the axle of wire remain the same as in the sardine can version. According to this boy it is a race car. One way to play with cars made by children themselves is to drive them over a winding road like the one constructed in Sidi Ifni in August 2009 by eight year old Smaïl and his nine year old sister Latifa. Smaïl begins to delineate the garage with stones and then he builds the road from the garage onwards. Meanwhile Latifa delimits their house situated before the wall in the upper right of the picture, a small house where she will prepare the meal. As Smaïl has not completed the road Latifa comes to help (fig. 140). Once the road is finished Smaïl drives on it with a car whose two wheels consist of paint box covers. Latifa uses a car with trailer like the one in figure 151. In the car she puts a doll made with a reed frame and in the trailer the doll’s clothes.
During a walk in Douar Ouaraben in May 2010 I met on the track a boy about four years old pulling his car, a cardboard box without wheels (fig. 141).

In December 2006 Khalija Jariaa photographed Saïd, a boy of eight years, creating a car with two wheels in her native village Ikenwên at 29 km from Tiznit. The wheels are made with two slices of timber attached to both sides of a piece of wire serving as axle (fig. 142). The axle is introduced into a hole made in the bottom of a long branch. To set up the steering wheel the boy pushed the top of the branch into a hole made in the center of a small wheel. Saïd enjoys transporting things in his car; among other items a small bundle of herbs (fig. 143, p. 143).
Also in December 2006 and in Ikenwèn a boy of seven years rides with a car with two wheels (L = 85 cm, B = 34 cm). Through a plastic tube he pushed a metal rod and a piece of a transparent bottle and then of a white container on both sides of the axle. Both wheels are held in place with a bottle stopper. In the upper opening of the tube the boy has set a long branch to direct his car lacking a steering wheel (fig. 144, p. 144). This boy uses the same type of steering bar to create cars with one wheel. The car to on the left in fig. 145 has a wheel made with a metal lid (L = 70 cm, D = 6.5 cm). That on right has a wheel made with a plastic lid (L = 80 cm, D = 10 cm). These wheels are attached with a nail struck through the plastic tube (fig. 145, p. 144).
On August 15, 2009 a group of Ikenwèn boys are playing in the evening in front of a house with an old tower situated near the tar road (fig. 146).
The next day Khalija Jariaa asked the boys to show the two-wheeled vehicles they created (fig. 147, p. 145). With her photo camera Khalija made a short digital video showing the boys with their cars and that is available on the Internet (Jariaa, 2009). These cars with a steering wheel are built in the same way as the two-wheeled cars of the villages Igîsel and Ikenwèn mentioned above.

That day and as mentioned in the chapter “Guns that detonate and fire objects” (p. 98), four friends of Ikenwèn play at being policemen investigating a case of smuggling hashish. For the prosecution of the traffickers the policemen use cars with two wheels (fig. 148). The detailed description of this game inspired by a television program is given as an appendix. The axle for which the boys often use a twig or a plastic tube is attached at the bottom of a long cane with a plastic tape or rubber (fig. 147, p. 145; 149, p. 147). The use of an axle of wire is less common in the construction of these cars (fig. 150, p. 147).
In the village Ikenwèn boys also create cars with four wheels. In September 2005 I found there a car with caravan built with two cans of sardines. A boy pushed four axles through holes made with a nail in the sides of the sardines can. Then he pushed plastic bottle stoppers with a hole in their center on the axles. The stoppers are held in place by bending the end of the axle towards the inside. The ribbon to pull this car is decorated with pieces of plastic bags and ends with another bottle stopper (fig. 151, total L = 72 cm).

One of these cars with four wheels was made in 2006 by an eight year old boy with cardboard, sticking tape and blue paint (fig. 152, H = 10 cm, L = 19 cm, B = 13 cm). On the axles, a pencil on the back and a plastic rod in front, he put respectively two rounds cut from a piece of rubber and two caps. According to the boy the vehicle is a European tourist car.
The fairly recent use of polystyrene packaging in southern Morocco was mentioned for the manufacture of toy guns by boys of Sidi Ifni in 2006 (p. 80-81, fig. 36-39). Another example was created in March 2006 by Mohamed, a nine year old boy born in the village Ikenwèn but living in Italy since the age of one year. This car is a 4x4 all-terrain (fig. 153-154, H = 15 cm, L = 21 cm, B = 19 cm). Mohamed plays with his friends pushing the jeep on a road with many curves and red lights etched out in the sand.
A long piece of plasticized wire pushed through two projections of the polystyrene foam packaging is used as axle and four bottle stoppers form the wheels. The roof of this car is a transparent plastic box held in place by a wire that pierces the polystyrene and is covered at the inside with silver paper. The seats are cut out of a piece of cardboard (H = 15 cm, L = 21 cm, B = 19 cm).

During the winter holidays in early January 2011 two boys from Ikenwèn have created a few cars with four wheels using cans of sardines as chassis. Three cars made by Smail, a boy of ten, are rather simple (fig. 155, H = ± 4 cm, L = ± 10 cm, B = ± 9 cm).

A car made by his friend Said, an eleven year old boy, is remarkable for its greater complexity (fig. 156, H = 7 cm, L = 13 cm, B = 9 cm). A fifth car also made by Said with a piece of joinery, that became available in 2010
due to the installation of a carpenter in Ikenwèn, demonstrates how children integrate into their toy making lots of new materials (fig. 157, p. 150, H = 10 cm, L = 15 cm, B = 12 cm).

In May 2007 in Bifourna, a small village in the Anti-Atlas near Tiourhza located land inwards about 30 km from Sidi Ifni, a six year old boy wanted to make a 4x4 car that transports people to the villages and rolling even when the road is bad in the rainy season (fig. 158).

First he places a piece of wood found on site on top of four pots of yogurt but he does not seem satisfied. Then he returns the piece of wood and decides for the following model (fig. 159, p.000).
With his sisters and another boy the fare is fixed at five dirhams but a pregnant woman must pay ten dirhams because there are two to transport (fig. 160). The older sister puts a garment under her sweater as if she is pregnant and refuses to pay ten dirhams saying she only occupies one place. Her brother states that there is a new regulation of King Mohamed VI, which states that from now on it is permitted to ask payment for two places in this case.
On the photo above the 4x4 car has already become a truck which according to the boy is indicated by the long exhaust pipe represented by an old wooden candle.

This six year old boy also has a remote control car he found in the trash in Tiznit when he accompanied his father to this town. On the remote control he put his ‘Egyptian water pipe’ made with the candle and a piece of reed, a water pipe he saw on television (fig. 161).
Deeper into the country but at about the same latitude as Tiourhza and Sidi Ifni is found the village Idoubahman-Imjâd. It is located at 24 km from Ifrane in the Anti-Atlas in the direction of Tafraoute. In August 2006 a five year old boy plays there with a one-wheeled car built by his father. This is the same boy as the one of whom Khalija Jariaa has documented and photographed several games as mentioned in Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys (Rossie, 2008), among others in figure 313 (p. 263) where we see an older brother making a scale for him. In the photo below showing the car with one wheel, the little boy is playing with the balance (fig. 162).

This car is built by attaching a wheel from a bicycle for children down a long metal rod where it is held in place by a small wheel. The upper part has been folded in a spiral to form the steering wheel. Two pieces of plastic tube are placed on this rod, one on the steering wheel and the other towards the bottom of the rod. At the steering wheel hangs a wire with a piece of plastic bottle representing the horn (fig. 163). Figure 164 shows this boy driving his car on the track leading to the asphalt road (p. 155).
In April 2006 three boys are having fun in front of the house where I live in the Boulalem neighborhood of Sidi Ifni. A nine year old boy decides to build a car. As wheel he uses a round tin can and to steer the car a flat iron rod and iron wire. At the bottom of the flat rod he ties a long iron wire that passes through a hole made with a nail in the center of both covers of the can. Then the tip of the wire is wound around the other wire. To create the steering wheel the boy makes a hole in two metal lids. Then he pushes them on the top of the rod (fig. 165, p. 155, $L = 72$ cm, $B = 10$ cm).
This car is easier to drive than the foregoing cars with one wheel because by turning the steering wheel left or right the wheel tracks the movement (fig. 166, p. 156).

In the same area of Sidi Ifni but in November 2007 Khaliжа Jariaa photographed a boy of twelve with a car whose wheel is a double wheel of a stroller as is the case for the car in figure 138 (p. 140) but this time the boy made no steering wheel (fig. 167-168).

In December 2007 and again in the same place Khaliжа Jariaa also photographed a four year old boy with his sardine can car that, however, only has two bottle stopper wheels at the rear and is pulled by a string. The border of the newly built sidewalk serves as highway (fig. 169, p. 158). According to the little boy his car lacks front wheels because he did not find any other bottle stoppers.

A tin can car with four bottle stopper wheels is used by another boy of about eight years to take the exam for a driver's license by traversing a narrow winding road starting from the small house he has delineated with stones. This happens in January 2007 in the same Boulalem quarter (fig. 170, p. 158).
In Sidi Ifni a ten year old boy built a car in October 2007 pulling a caravan, made with two sardines cans and bottle stoppers as wheels, similar to the one on figure 151 (p. 148) but without decorations.

One of four videos filmed in and around Sidi Ifni in 2002 shows a ten year old boy that I called the Sidi Ifni toymaker already mentioned in Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys (p. 160, 376). He creates toys as gifts for other children using them in their pretend play. One of his creations is a cardboard car he tries to move with the system shown in figure 171. The detailed protocol of this video made with the help of Boubaker Daoumani is available in English on the Internet (Rossie and Daoumani, 2007, Video 2).

Another model of cardboard car built by this boy rolls on four wheels for which he used halves of large boxes of cheese (fig. 172, p. 160).
The small mountain village Lahfart is about 20 minutes walking on the climbing track that starts at km 8 on the tar road from Sidi Ifni to Tiznit. Figure 173 shows part of Lahfart in 2005.
In 2001 Daoumani Boubaker, a teacher of the primary school Lahfart, collected several toys from his pupils of the first and second year, including some cars. These are cars with two and four wheels. Two cars on two wheels are quite small (fig. 174, car left: \( H = 25 \text{ cm}, B = 6 \text{ cm} \); car right: \( H = 4.5 \text{ cm}, B = 13 \text{ cm} \)).

Another bigger car with two wheels has been build following the most common model (fig. 175, \( H = 148 \text{ cm} \)). The steering wheel is made with a large metal hoop and iron wire (fig. 176, \( D = 18 \text{ cm} \)). The axle of reed is attached with wire to the long reed used for pushing the car. The wheels are cut from a can of oil and for each wheel two can bottoms have been put into each other (fig. 177, p. 162, \( B = 25 \text{ cm}, D = 8 \text{ cm} \)).
Two cars with four wheels were collected at the same time. They were created by boys from the rural school Lahfart. The frames are sardines cans, the axles are twigs and the wheels are bottle stoppers. The interior of the car to the left of the figure 178 is made from a piece of plastic and silver paper. The steering wheel of the other car is represented by a bottle stopper fixed on a sprig which crosses the edge of the sardines can (H = 3.5 cm, L = 10.5 cm, B = 9 cm).

During a visit to this Lahfart School in May 2005 I again found Boubaker Daoumani. On this occasion the pupils of the first and second year had brought to class toys they created recently. Moustapha, a boy of six years, made a series of cars and one truck.
As with the two previous cars of 2001, the same materials were used by Moustapha. The interior of one of these four cars, all of which were made with sardines cans, is a piece of cardboard. The truck is built with three boxes of superimposed sardines cans (fig. 179, cars: L = 11 cm, B = 10 cm).

I noted above that according to my information Moroccan girls rarely build cars (p. 131-132). The fourth example of cars made by these girls comes from the Lahfart village primary school. Meriem, a student of seven years of Boubaker Daoumani’s class, made it. The car she made is similar to those built by Moustapha and described above but it is equipped with a steering wheel and a spare tire made with bottle stoppers just like the wheels (fig. 180, p. 164, L = 13 cm, B = 9.5 cm).
Boys of the village Lahfart also shape cars with clay like the one I received in 2002 (fig. 181). In 2005 a six year old child shaped two racecars in clay (fig. 182, left: H = 2.5 cm, L = 6.5 cm, B = 4.5 cm, right: H = 3 cm, L = 6 cm, B = 4 cm).
In 2006 an eleven year old boy from the same village has made a car with a piece of wood. All four wheels are bottle stoppers fixed with a screw, and a stopper fixed in the same way at the rear of the car is the spare wheel (fig. 183, p. 164, $L = 11$ cm, $B = 9.5$ cm).

In the Sbouya region at about 10 km from Sidi Ifni on the road to Mesti I met in September 2005 two boys, Brahim aged eight and Abdelkader aged seven trying to sell on the roadside fruit of the *aknari*, the prickly pear. Brahim had put his car, he calls *tomobil*, against the front of a house (fig. 184, $H = 120$ cm). Down the long reed he pushed the black plastic piece used to hang a broom. The axle is a thin reed inserted into the hole of this piece. Two bottoms cut from cans of oil are placed one inside the other to form a wheel (fig. 185, $L = 40$ cm, $D_{\text{wheel}} = 9$ cm).
Once holes are made in the center of the wheels and the bottle stoppers serving as lock washers, the washers and wheels are installed on the axle. The piece of reed attached diagonally to the long reed represents the gear. The steering wheel is constructed of wire surrounded by plasticized electric wire of yellow, green, blue and red color and tied at the top of the long reed by another wire (fig. 186, p. 165, D = 19 cm). At the end of the latter wire there is a plastic handle representing the horn. Below the steering wheel the long reed is decorated with a piece of colorful packaging and above the axle with a red plastic tube and the packaging of a lolly.

One of the play activities for which self-made cars are possibly used is the gas station as it is build by two sisters, eight year old Meryem and three year old Souquaina, and Sidi Ahmed, an eleven year old boy (fig. 187). Khali ja Jariaa observed this game in March 2007 in the village Douar located about 5 km from Tan-Tan in southern Morocco and on the opposite bank of the river Oued Dra.
While Sidi Ahmed takes care of the store, Meryem prepares dinner and Souquaina closes the can of oil she had filled it with sand (fig. 188).

In 1921 Dr. Guichard mentions the following regarding the manufacture of toy cars by artisans: for the first time this year scale models of cars and trains appeared on the toy market since the railway now reaches Marrakech. These are made of tinplate and promoted by Jewish tinsmiths of the Mellah. But what a rough imitation! And without much success among the Muslim children who rightly remain attached to their native toys some of which have such a quaint local style (p. 164).

Almost twenty years later in 1939 Louis Brunot and Elie Malka Elijah give an incomplete list of the main toys sold during the Jewish holiday of Purim in Fez, including small cars, called 'tomobilât' (p. 263).

For fifty years or more plastic cars produced by the toy industry have competed with toy cars created by North African and Saharan children. However, I have not found a written reference to the import of plastic cars in these areas. Yet, during my first visit to Marrakech in February 1992 I found that small stores in the Medina sold a lot of these for a few dirhams (fig. 189, p. 168). I bought some plastic cars when visiting the Medina
together with the parents of the boy to whom I gave the yellow car and the red rabbit with wheels (fig. 190).

In October 1993 in Kenitra a little boy pulls by a string a tiny plastic car such as the ones to the left in figure 189 which are sold everywhere.

Occasionally in Anti-Atlas villages Khalija Jariaa and I have seen boys playing with simple or sophisticated plastic cars. This was the case in May 2006 with the racecar of a boy from Terloulou (fig. 191, p. 169) and in July 2006 with a car with Bunnies of a girl in Ikenwèn (fig. 192, p. 169), cars brought from France. In May 2007 the six year old boy of figure 161 (p. 153) played with a used remote control car found in the trash in Tiznit.
When playing with toys like a plastic toy car becomes predominant, the skills acquired by making toys oneself may still be important as in the case of a toy vehicle with a broken axle that a six year old boy from the Tabenattoute village near Midelt replaced by a stick in November 1997.

A specific contextual change happened in the region of Tinerhir and of the Source Bleue de Meski, near Er Rachidia, to cars built with woven palm leaflets which, like the animals made in the same way, have been sold to tourists for decades. These animals also created with woven palm leaflets are described in *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* (Rossie, 2005: 65-66, 105, 128).

While riding in a popular bus in southern Morocco in 1993, I saw a car in palm leaflets placed between the steering wheel and the windshield. During a stop the driver told me, he bought this car for a few dirhams from a boy in the Pre-Sahara. When I asked him if I could take a photo of it, the driver gave it to me. This car carries luggage on the roof and is equipped with large headlights. The door at the back opens and closes with a stick locked at the upper end by a fig. Figs also serve as wheels (fig. 193, p. 170).
Omar Taous from Goulmima told me in 1994 he saw many cars in palm leaflets when he was a teacher for five years in the region of Tinerhir during the 1980s. He told me the wheels are made with a male fruit of the fig tree which remains hard.

In March 25, 2004 I received an email from David Rodger telling me he had bought during his visit to Tinerhir a jeep of palm leaflets offered to him by two boys about 14 years old. He told me this jeep is a bit more elaborate than that of figure 193. In his email David also speaks of a Land Rover in woven palm leaflets, purchased in the Gorges du Todra by James Ferguson as mentioned in his diary of spring 2002, a travel journal that is no longer available on the Internet.
2.8 Buses

Toy buses are not lacking in Moroccan children’s pretend play although I know of only a few examples. In the village Douar Ouaraben where Khalija Jariaa lives she photographed in March 2007 Smaïl, a boy of seven years, starting a game of the *tobus*, the popular bus which serves the villages more or less like a regular bus line. He creates the bus with an abandoned tube found on a construction site near his home and a piece of reed. The wooden circle of a broken drum serves as steering wheel (fig. 194).

Two of his sisters and a neighbor become the passengers (fig. 195, p. 172). A younger boy living next door becomes the *grison*, the man who gives the tickets and collects the money on the bus. They claim that their bus serves on the line from Tiznit to Mirleft on the road to Sidi Ifni (fig. 196, p. 172).
In September 2005 a seven year old boy of the village Ikenwèn in the Tiznit province has cut out a tourist bus in a piece of polystyrene. The axles are pieces of wire, the wheels and spare wheel bottle stoppers. The steering wheel is made with a plasticized piece of wire (fig. 197, H = 6 cm, L = 38 cm, B = 4 cm). According to Khalija Jariaa this model is today still made by the boys of Ikenwèn.

In 2001 in the village Lahfart near Sidi Ifni a child about six years old modeled in clay what it described as being a bus shelter (fig. 198, H = 3.8 cm, L = 2.7 cm, B = 3.3 cm).
2.9 Trucks

The earliest mention of toy trucks that I found is in the publication of Paul Bellin on Saharan children’s play and refers to the 1950s. The first type of toy truck made by “black children” in the Ahaggar-Tidikelt is made with an empty tin can. This can is given wheels of packed and hardened *t‘în* that is then smoothed by friction to become beautifully round. According to Bellin these trucks roll well (1963: 91). I have no information about what kind of material this *t‘în* is but according to the description of how it is used and in relation to what other children of the region sometimes use (fig. 206, p. 179) I would propose that it is clay or clayish earth.

Speaking of the Tuareg Kel Ahaggar (Kel Rela) children Bellin goes on to describe a second type of toy truck (1963: 101), a description in French I translated hereafter quite literally. An empty flat tin is set between and on top of two pieces of cardboard fixed upright (in the sand) and held slightly oblique to the flat tin. The dumpster is loaded heavily with crushed stone which has the effect of pushing the free lower half of the pieces of cardboard deep into the sand. Pulled with a string the truck leaves two parallel deep furrows in the sand imitating vehicle tracks really well. The children cross high dunes and play at making tracks. This toy does not roll like that of the black children and it barely resembles its model. But never mind the bumpy machine which passes and disappears into the dust. It is only the traces that count, beautiful arabesques, fantastic snakes.

When I analyzed the collection of Saharan and North African toys of the Musée de l’Homme I found the toy truck made by a boy of the Saoura Valley offered to the museum by Corneille Jest (fig. 199-200, p. 175) and described as follows in *La Vie du Sahara*. Such trucks are called *Berliet* by the children. It is a game of small boys, who all dream of being a truck driver. The truck is made from an old oil drum and has wheels of pottery. It even has a spare wheel (1960: 74). The bottom of the oil drum is cut to the middle and bent inwards. The wheels have a surface that mimics that of a truck tire. Two pieces of wire are used as axles and a piece of rubber holds each wheel in place (71.1960.54.1 catalogue, p. 342, H = 15 cm, L = 34 cm, B = 12 cm, D wheels = 10 cm).
Dominique Champault speaks in her book *Une oasis du Sahara nord-occidental : Tabelbala* first of the same type of toy truck, then of a second type of toy truck. She also mentions how the Belbala boys used these trucks in the 1960s (1969: 348). All boys dream of the exceptional social promotion of being a truck driver. The power of the driver on his machine carries such prestige with the children that the truck became high fashion among their toys. The boys especially like two types of trucks. The first type is made with a used petrol drum. It has four wheels of roughly fired pottery and a spare wheel. The second type of truck is made by the boys with empty bottles of Evian water. Holes are made on both sides of the plastic bottle, on its upper part as well as at the bottom. Through these holes two iron wires are pushed to respectively become the front axle and rear axle. The boys use iron wire to create a complex superstructure representing the truck’s body. Both types of trucks are used for the same play activity of driving these vehicles, be it over stones to make as much noise as possible or over sand to create the greatest number and fanciest of tracks.

In 1975 Ghrib boys of the Tunisian Sahara often called one model of their toy vehicles *el-kamiûna* or the truck (p. 124, fig. 107). At that time a nine year old boy also built a truck with a rectangular cardboard box. A stick serving as axle transpierced the cardboard box at its front and back. The four wheels were round sardine tins.
In Morocco I only once saw a girl who built a vehicle she claimed was her truck. It was a simple model with a steering wheel and two wheels completely made of iron wire. The creator of this truck was a five year old Moroccan girl born in Tan-Tan but living in March 2008 in Bir Gandouz Jdid, a new coastal town near the Mauritanian border (fig. 201, H = 15 cm, L = 10 cm).

Moroccan boys’ trucks range from very simple models to really complicated ones. A most simple example is seen in Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys (p. 135, fig. 127). In his garage build with mud bricks in November 1999, Hakim, a three year old Moroccan boy from Amellago village in the High Atlas, parked his truck: an old sandal!

One morning in August 1999, another example of a very simple truck, an empty sardine tin without wheels, was filled with sand and small stones by a five year old boy living in a poor neighborhood of Midelt. After filling his truck the boy pulled it with a long string.

In 1993 I observed in the suburbs of Kenitra, a little farther than the neighborhood Souk et Tnîn, a boy of about six years playing with his toy truck rolling on four-wheel discs of cork, cork discs also used to give wheels to toy cars (fig. 110-111, p. 126). These wheels are held in place on the axles by plastic bottle stoppers. A piece of a can of oil represents the dumpster. There is no picture of this truck because the boy refused to be photographed.

In July 1993 in the village Douar Fzara, located a few kilometers from Kenitra and about an hour's walk from the coast, a twelve year old boy has created a truck and trailer with reed and a lot of waste material (fig. 202-203, p. 177).
The four wheels of this outstanding truck are used air filters of a truck put on a piece of reed serving as axle and kept in place with plastic caps. These axles are secured to a plastic tube with strips from a bicycle air tube and iron wire. The truck runs forward by pushing a long reed introduced into the plastic tube supporting the axles. On top of the long reed the boy has fixed a steering wheel cut out from the bottom of a red bottle. Somewhat lower on the reed he attached a piece of wood with a rubber end used to change gear. The trailer is an old oil container transpierced through the back by a reed on which two plastic washers with a hole in the middle are placed and secured by a bottle stopper. The neck of the bottle is attached to the long reed with iron wire. The top of the bottle is cut out so that it can be filled with a load of sand or stones.

In August 1999 on the road from El Hajeb to Ifrane in the center of Morocco I found near the road a ten year old Amazigh shepherd keeping sheep who at the same time amused himself by pushing before him a large truck with eight wheels and a dumpster made of a cardboard box. He was accompanied by a slightly older sister and a girl about four years old. Two reeds are attached to the front of the truck with a long wire which was also wound around the two reeds. Arriving with this wire on top of the two reeds, the boy finally shaped it into a steering wheel with a diameter of 25 cm (fig. 204, total H = about 1 m, total L of the truck = 65 cm, B of the truck = 26 cm).
The truck is built on a chassis made of a rectangular piece of wood to which four axles of reed or twigs are attached (fig. 205). As I could not take in my hands this rather exceptional truck, I cannot offer better specifications concerning its construction.

During my first research period in Morocco in autumn 1992 a teacher from Essaouira invited me to Aït Ighemour, an Amazigh village in the High Atlas near the summit of Jbel Siroua, where he was working.
There I met two boys about ten years old both with their own truck of a very different type. The first type of truck was almost entirely made of dried clay. This truck has well rounded wheels and a superstructure made of clay rectangles that have been stacked up on top of the large frame, another rectangle of clay. A clay chimney caps the truck. Only the two axles are small twigs (fig. 206, p. 179).

The second type of truck I then saw in Aït Ighemour was created with tin cans by another ten year old boy (fig. 207). The boy uses this truck to transport stones to the construction site of a would-be house or road.

As axle the boy used a hard wire driven through a box of sardines. At both sides of the sardine tin a round tin is placed on the wire through a hole made in the center of the lid. The other side of this tin can remains open. The boy blocks the axle by surrounding it with plastic caps made malleable by heating. A can of oil is used as chassis and the cabin is made from another tin can. A large can with one long side cut out is the dumpster filled with stones. All these parts are attached with wire (fig. 208, p. 181).
From 1995 to 1999 my research has focused on the town of Midelt, on the road from Meknes to Er-Rachidia and situated at a height of 1500 m at the foot of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain on the northern end of the High Atlas, as well as on some Amazigh villages in this region.

In the village Ksar Assaka, located at 4 km from Midelt in the direction of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain, I witnessed in 1995 how toys can change in response to new experiences. Up to then, the boys made a truck with a can of oil, four wheels cut out of a tire, a steering wheel of wire and so on. However, as they observed during the reconstruction of the irrigation system how a concrete mixer was filled with a lifting tray attached to the mixer, they invented a way to attach a lifting tray to their toy truck using a small tin can as tray and a long wire attached to the steering wheel. When pulling the wire, the sand or stones accumulated in the tray are thrown into the truck. This example of a bucket truck was built by a boy of ten years (fig. 209, p. 182). To do this he used a small tin box flattened on one side and tied it to the structure of iron wire forming the rear wheels as well as to the system with which he pushes the truck forward. A long flexible wire attached at one side to the steering wheel (fig. 210, p. 182) and at the other side to the bucket makes it possible to incline the bucket. When pulling the wire, sand or stones accumulated in the bucket are thrown into the truck (fig. 211, p. 182).
In November 1997 in the village Aït Mamouusa, located 2 km from Midelt in the direction of Birram and just after the river, a boy created a truck that shows a change in the usual model. Down a long reed and through a hole he put an axle on which two wheels are driven. The axle and the two wheels come from a plastic car. At the top of the reed a steering wheel, the bottom of a white plastic can, is tied with plastic wire. More special is the way this boy built the dumpster for which he used a plastic box in which soap is kept. A little above the wheels he attached this box to the reed with plastic wire. In the bottom of the box two holes were made with a nail to allow the wire to pass. In front of the dumpster the reed is pierced by a small axle on which two little wheels are fixed. However, these little wheels do not touch the ground when the truck is pushed ahead. I could not take a picture of this truck but was able to make a drawing (fig. 212, L = 96 cm, B = 8 cm, dumpster = 10 on 6 cm, D steering wheel = 6 cm).

In the Midelt region and elsewhere empty tins of sardines are often used to make cars and trucks. Two ten and eight year old brothers, from Ksar Assaka but living for a short while in November 1997 in the popular quarter Aït Mansour of Midelt, built a truck with a tin of sardines and two lemonade bottle caps as rear wheels. What is peculiar to this type of truck is the bobbin attached to the front of sardine tin with a piece of iron wire. A long reed with its lower tip pushed into a plug connected to the sardine can with iron wire is used to push the truck. Si Mohamed, the elder brother, did not fix a steering wheel to the truck of figure 213 (p. 184, H = 108 cm, L = 13 cm, B = 7 cm).
Two years later the same Si Mohamed built another truck with a sardine tin but now with six wheels (fig. 214, $H = 1 \text{ m}$, $L = 14 \text{ cm}$, $B = 15 \text{ cm}$). Four bottle stoppers are placed on two axles of iron wire introduced into the sardine tin representing a dumpster. Two larger wheels cut from a piece of rubber are pushed onto a large nail. This axle is put through a stick used to push the truck, a stick attached to the tin of sardines with an iron wire.
In September 1999 in the afternoon a boy of ten years runs over the streets of a popular quarter of Midelt pushing before him a truck he calls *kamiûn*. This is a truck model that I have not encountered elsewhere. This very long three-axle truck is made of two flattened tins with three edges being raised. The two edges that have not been raised overlap in the middle of the dumpster over a length of 6 cm and are fixed to each other with iron wire. The boy used twigs as axles. The axles supporting the dumpster are attached thereto with an iron wire passing through holes made in the bottom of the raised edges and turned around the twig (fig. 215, truck: H = 8 cm, L = 56 cm, B = 18 cm; reed: L = 130 cm).

The way the wheels are kept in place on the three axles is also special. For each wheel of the dumpster the boy has made a hole in the center of three plastic stoppers of decreasing diameter and then put them on the twig axle one in the other. For the wheels below the reed to push the truck only two stoppers are used. When pushing this truck the axles rotate together with the two wheels. The long reed used to drive the truck is attached to the free axle with a large piece of a bicycle inner tube. This axle is connected to the front of the dumpster with a single wire so that when turning the reed one can rotate the front of the truck left or right (fig. 216, p. 186). The boy played with his truck to transport stones and sand but I could not check if he used this transported material for one or the other playful construction activity.
In October 1999 in the quarter Rbe of Midelt a boy of eight years, seen to the right of figure 217 (p. 186), built with the help of an older brother a nice toy truck to transport stones and sand. On the rear part of a piece of wood a paint container from which two sides have been cut, is fixed with iron wire. The wheels, cut out of used rubber sandal soles, are pushed onto a large nail serving as axle. These wheels are held in place by a plastic stopper placed on both sides of the wheel (fig. 218). A long iron wire passes through a large plastic cover and through the plank and is attached to the axle at the front of the truck with plasticized electric wire. The upper end of the iron wire for pushing ahead the truck is folded like a steering wheel.

As mentioned in the chapter on toy cars the teacher Mohamed Hammouini invited me in September 1999 to the small primary school of the village Tataouine situated at 11 km from Midelt and located along the trail to the Jbel Ayachi Mountain. When I visited that place, the boys had brought with them the vehicles they built: cars with two wheels (fig. 128-132, p. 136-137). However, two boys had created a truck they called labenne and used to transport sand and small stones for their construction games.

An eleven year old boy used as wheels what seemed to be wheels from a plastic truck. Once a hole was made in their center with a nail the wheels were put in place on the axle, a little branch at the front of the truck and a large nail at its rear. By bending a quite strong iron wire the chassis was created. Both ends of the wire are turned around the rear axle after the middle part of this wire has been turned around the reed at the place where the lower end of the reed touches the front axle. This axle passes through a hole in the long reed pushing the truck. The axle as well as the iron wire is firmly attached with a plastic wire.
To create the dumpster a partially cut out plastic bottle is driven by its neck on the reed used to push the truck (fig. 219, $H = 104$ cm, $L = 35$ cm, $B = 16$ cm).
An eight year old boy from the same school made a truck similar to the previous but the dumpster is placed on the chassis in a different way and both axles are nails. The dumpster is a plastic bottle pierced by a long reed through a hole made at the front of the bottle. At this place and at the lower part of the bottle the wire and the bottle are attached to the reed with plastic wire. Two small pieces of the same thread are used to attach the back of the bottle to two iron wires forming the chassis. The front axle passes through a hole made in the reed (fig. 220, p. 188, \(H = 146\) cm, \(L = 33\) cm, \(B = 17\) cm).

Some toy trucks described by Khalija Jariaa come from Amazigh villages in the Anti-Atlas. These villages are Ikenwèn (Tiznit), Bifourna (Sidi Ifni) and Terloulou (Tafraoute).

In October 2007 in the village Ikenwèn where she was born, Khalija Jariaa saw how what remained of a plastic car was changed by Saïd, a boy of nine, into the chassis of a truck. As cabin he fixed on it a cardboard box, the packaging of some henna (fig. 221, \(H = 9\) cm, \(L = 16\) cm). Two friends of Saïd call him because they want to go with this truck to Tighmi, village a few kilometers away from Ikenwèn. Said replied “wait a minute so that I can add the dumpster first”. Then he fixed a red cardboard box, the wrapping of a piece of soap, over the wheels and then pushes his truck up to the two 'travelers' who are waiting for him.
In January 2011 and in the same village, another Saïd, who then was eleven years old, built a truck with a box of orange juice. It represents the truck transporting boxes of orange juice, \textit{l-kami{	extbar}n acer}, to the Tafraoute stores and passes through Ikenwèn. Khalija Jariaa reports that if the truck is done with a carton of milk, it represents the same type of truck bringing milk in cartons to Tafraoute. Also represented is the truck carrying \textit{Danone} pots and bottled mineral water.

At the front of the cardboard box the cabin roof is covered with the bottom of a tin which, when folded in two, is fixed in an oblique slot cut in the box. The front axle and wheels have been salvaged from a plastic car. The rear axle and one wheel come from another plastic car but as the other wheel was missing it has been replaced by a large spool of a sewing machine. The axles are simply pushed through the cardboard box (fig. 222, \(H = 10.5\ \text{cm}, L = 22\ \text{cm}, B = 11.5\ \text{cm}\)).

Khalija Jariaa added to the description of this game that especially during the school holidays many boys play together. With stones they mark out a long road in the sand not far away from the houses. These boys drive the truck they made along this road. Girls who have delineated houses along the boys’ road ask to buy juice boxes, milk, etc. transported by the trucks. They pay with candy wrappers (fig. 223) worth 20 dirhams (€ 2) or round pieces, cut from the foil covering the boxes of milk powder, representing
half a dirham, a dirham, five or ten dirhams depending on the size of the piece that is more or less consistent with the corresponding coin. The boys give the change with the same pieces. A box of orange juice costs for example 3.5 dirhams, a little less than € 0.35.

Mohamed Jariaa, a brother of Khalija and born in 1983, showed me how in July 2006 he built as a child a type of truck with joinery and possibly pieces of tin. It is a kamiûn he created in Ikenwèn when he was about nine in the early 1990s.

The simplest truck is made entirely with pieces of wood partially decorated with geometric shapes in green paint. On axles of wood or metal, circles of wood serving as wheels are put in place. A nail in the front of the truck is used to attach a wire to pull the truck once it is filled with sand and stones. According to Mohamed such toy trucks are a copy of the trucks used to work on dam construction (fig. 224, L = 28 cm, B = 14 cm).
The second toy truck Mohamed Jariaa gave me at that time is made of wood carpentry and tin. It is more detailed with a front axle that can rotate, a tin cabin cut out of a used Baygon aerosol and surmounted by a wooden platform. The axles are pieces of iron rods (fig. 225, p. 193, \( H = 17 \text{ cm}, L = 35 \text{ cm}, B = 15 \text{ cm} \)). This truck is equipped with a rear spare tire and a mudguard that is nothing but a chicken feather (fig. 226, p. 193). Mohamed specified that it is the imitation of a truck to transport vegetables and fruits. He told me that the boys used such toy trucks for, among other things, playing smuggling games with roles of traffickers and police. According to him these models of toy trucks were still built in 2006.
A few years later, in December 2009, Mohamed Jariaa showed me another truck belonging to the series of previous toy trucks. It was built with pieces of plywood from an old wardrobe. The cabin is a cardboard box for tea with windows cut out. The axles are two pieces of wood like those fixed on top of the cabin. The wheels, bottoms cut out of cans of lemonade, are nailed to the axle, taking care to put a washer on both sides of the wheel, the washer being a ring cut from a red plastic bottle (fig. 227). This toy represents the truck carrying material and animals of the Sahrawi who settle with their tents in the Ikenwèn region.

Still in Ikenwèn but in December 2006 Khalija Jariaa photographed an eight year old boy trying to build a small house as shown in the book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys* (2008: 137-142, fig. 129-134). In the last three pictures of those pages one sees the boy’s truck, a large tin can with four wheels filled with sand.

During my first visit to the city of Sidi Ifni in November 1998 and as described in the book mentioned above (2008: 220-222, fig. 258-261) three brothers built an oven on the cliff by the sea. During their play activity they used a truck, a simple box of sardines they pulled through the
garden with a long wire after having packed it with sand. In the evening they pulled their truck on the big Spanish staircase that leads to the beach.

In the chapter on cars one can see a series of cars and one truck created by Mustafa, a six year old pupil of the primary school in the Lahfart mountain village located about ten kilometers from Sidi Ifni in the direction of Tiznit. This truck is build with three superimposed cans of sardines tied together with a thread. The wheels are large plastic caps fixed on a nail serving as axle. The two front wheels of the truck are held in place with a small cap pushed onto the axle (fig. 179, p. 163, H = 11.5 cm, L+ = 12 cm, B+ = 12 cm).

Terloulou is a village that is situated at 26 km from Tafraoute in the direction of the high mountain. In December 2005, ten year old Ahmed made a tanker truck for transporting water by attaching a plastic bottle on a tin of sardines with a thread taken from a flour sack. Amazigh children call this truck siterna w-amein, literally the tanker for water. Four stoppers pushed on axles of iron wire give it wheels (fig. 228). This vehicle represents the tanker truck that brings water to houses in Terloulou where the wells are dry and in the way children observe this in their village. Girls who created small houses ask for water from the boys’ tanker trucks and they pay with candy wrappers that become banknotes.
Igîsel is a small village near the Abaynou hot springs not far from Guelmim in the Pre-Sahara. In November 2007 a big boy created a tanker truck to transport water. The chassis is a small plank and the axles iron wires on which bottle stoppers have been pushed. To keep these wheels in place a smaller stopper is pushed into the larger one. The headlights and the steering wheel are also bottle stoppers. The cabin is a piece of water pipe with on the roof a horn attached with iron wire. Inside the cabin, there are two seats cut out of a tin. As water tank a sprayer placed on a piece of plastic is used. The various parts which form this water tanker are attached to the chassis with iron wire (fig. 229-230, H = 12 cm, L = 25 cm, B = 11 cm).
As with the plastic cars, plastic trucks are fashionable in recent years. Three examples photographed by Khalija Jariaa in the Anti-Atlas attest this. In January 2008 in the village Loklëïa of the Aït Melloul region (Agadir) she photographed a toy truck brought from France by a Moroccan living in Paris since 2001. It was a gift for his brother's son (fig. 231). Seven year old Amin played with this plastic truck to move material between the small houses built by his sister and her girl friends.
The second example of a plastic truck is seen in the hands of Anas, the youngest son of Khalija Jariaa, who tried to play with it when he was eight months old in October 2010. This truck was brought to Morocco by an uncle living in Paris for another child, but later on it was given to Anas (fig. 232).

The third example seen in 2005 in Sidi Ifni is described at the end of the next section because it is used in conjunction with a bulldozer for a construction play activity (p. 210, fig. 249).
2.10 Tractors and other equipment

All tractors and other machinery created by children, seen by myself or observed by Khalija Jariaa, comes from Morocco. The first toy tractor I noticed was that of a boy from the village Ignern located in the High Atlas Mountains at the foot of the Jbel Siroua Mountain at an altitude of 1600 m and 15 km from the rural center Taliouine. In November 1996, I was driving my car on the road from Tazenakht to Taliouine. Along this road a man was hitchhiking with his son. I took them on board and after exchanging a few polite phrases I asked the son if he made toys. This way a small conversation started in which the father sometimes intervened. Arriving at the place where the trail to Ignern starts, the father invited me to his house, an invitation which I accepted immediately. So doing I had the opportunity to learn about some play activities and toys of children in Ignern as described in this book and the previous books.

The tractor in question is remarkable for the natural materials used for its manufacture, that is to say, pieces of cactus that form the frame, the seat and the front of the cabin (fig. 233).
In the small piece of cactus forming the front of the cabin Khalid, a boy of twelve years, pushed a piece of reed on which he fixed a plastic bottle stopper as steering wheel. Two other stoppers serving as headlights were introduced in the same way in the large piece of cactus used as chassis. The wheels were cut from soles or other pieces of rubber. They are fixed on two reed axles passing through the chassis. Other caps keep the wheels in place. The exhaust is a long piece of water tube that is pushed in the chassis. According to the man I transported in my car such tractors made with cactus pieces have already been made locally for about forty years.

December 7, 2008 I arrived at the village Sidi Bou Nakhla located near the rural center Sbouya near the road from Sidi Ifni to Guelmim. Khalija Jariaa had proposed to visit a cousin of her husband living in that village. During our visit to that family a son was playing near an old tree (fig. 234).
This eight year old boy played with what he called his tractor, a very simple model consisting of a piece of wood topped with a small rectangle of wood representing the tractor’s cabin (fig. 235).

In October 2007 in the village Douar Ouaraben Khalija Jariaa watched the game of farming played by Saïd a boy of seven years. Besides Said stands his friend Smaïl of the same age. Behind Smaïl with his red jacket one can see stones delimitating the small house he built and now has become a peasant's house (fig. 236).

Said who made this tractor has pierced a can in the places where the axles consisting of two long pieces of iron wires must pass through. Once the axle has been pushed through the holes he folded and turned the two ends of the wire to form the wheels. Then he surrounded the wire ribbons from
an old bicycle inner tube. The tractor’s cabin is a small cardboard box held in place with the same type of ribbon (H = 10 cm, L = 16 cm, B = 9 cm, wheels D + = 7 cm). With a kind of shovel made with a twig and a piece of tin Saïd turns the earth to prepare his field (fig. 237). He does this in such a way because when he tried to fix the shovel in front of the tractor it did not work.

When the work of preparing the field is completed Saïd replaces the shovel on the front of the tractor by a sardine tin with holes in its bottom and attaches it to the tractor with a wire. Once small goat droppings representing maize seeds have been placed in the tin, the tractor is ready for sowing (fig. 238, p. 203).
Rachid, an eight year old boy from the village Douar Ouaraben, built in December 2009 a *traks*, tractor or bulldozer, with what remains of a plastic toy brought from Brussels by a Belgian woman married to a Moroccan man and living in this village during the summer holidays. A small girl broke this toy she received as a gift and her grandmother threw it in the trash. Rachid recovered this broken toy and repaired it (fig. 239).

Smaïl, a seven year old boy from the same village, created a vehicle for working at heights as do the firefighters which the boys call *bombia* (fig. 240). The chassis is an old box of motor grease for fishing boats on which
he mounted a tin of sardines and the front of another tractor toy brought by the couple mentioned above. Rachid, Smaïl and some friends form a play group which attempts to build a tarred road. Rachid uses his tractor for the construction of the road and Smaïl uses his vehicle working at heights to install lighting along this road.

In January 2011 at the village Ikenwèn in the region of Tiznit Smaïl, a boy of nine years, has created a fine tractor that runs well (fig. 241, H = 13.5, L+ = 26 cm, B+ = 15 cm). This Smaïl is not the ten year old Smaïl who made three cars in Ikenwèn as described above (p. 150, fig. 155). The tractor in question is entirely made with recycled material together with some carpenter wood that became available in 2010 following the installation of a carpenter in the village.
As seen on the picture of the underside of the tractor (fig. 242) the chassis consists of a sardine tin, a small rectangle of wood and a long rectangle of wood. At the front and rear of the chassis an axle, another rectangular piece of wood, has been fixed with nails. On the axles which cannot rotate two rounds of wood form the front wheels and two cut out bottoms of tin cans those at the rear. These wheels are attached to the axles with Parker screws.

To imitate the engine hood Smaïl has put another sardine tin above that which forms the front of the chassis. In the middle of the two short edges of the tin he pierced a hole. At the front the upper tin is attached to the other tin with a small iron wire. At the back the boy first hit a small nail into the chassis and then put a wire through the hole in the sardine tin. Turning the iron wire around the folded nail the cover is held in place. What remains of the iron wire is used to create the running board of the tractor (fig. 243, p. 206). Both sides of the tractor, the driver's seat and the passenger seats are beautifully made by fixing tinplate from beer cans on pieces of joinery. The agricultural implement, a long iron wire folded in a zigzag, is attached by pushing one end of this wire under the seat and up to the chassis where it is fixed with a nail as shown in the photo above (fig. 242).
Another vehicle reproduced as a toy for games of road construction is the steamroller called *dkâka*. In 2005 Mohamed Jariaa from the same village Ikenwên showed me how he built a copy of the steamroller when he was about nine years old around 1990 following his observation of the construction of the asphalt road from Tiznit to Tafraoute.
It is a simple but adequate model: two pieces of reed bound by a plasticized electric wire (fig. 244, p. 206, $H = 2.5 \text{ cm}$, $L = 8.5 \text{ cm}$, $B = 4.5 \text{ cm}$).

When Khalija Jariaa visited the village Terloulou near Tafraoute in March 2006 she photographed the traks or bulldozer created by Faysal, a boy of six years, with the help of eleven year old Ahmed. Faysal used five sardine tins, a piece of plastic from the packaging of a cable for a satellite dish, iron wire and bottle stoppers. Four tins are pushed one inside the other whereby only the tin on top is attached with a piece of iron wire. The bucket of the toy bulldozer is another sardine tin, being flattened on one side. Two axles of iron wire pass through the sardine tin serving as the chassis and also through the wheels that are plastic bottle stoppers.

This toy bulldozer toy is inspired by the engines that boys observe working in the phosphate mine near Terloulou (fig. 245, $H = 13 \text{ cm}$, $L = 20 \text{ cm}$). Five year old Ayoub also belongs to this small playgroup and drives a store-bought big plastic truck. The bulldozer is used to fill this large truck with sand.
End of July 2005 a small group of boys was playing together in front of the apartment where I live in the neighborhood Boualem of Sidi Ifni. They are playing a house construction game photographed by Khalija Jariaa. Two brothers play the role of master mason and they ask Lahoucine with his bulldozer and Mohamed with his big truck to get two loads of stones (fig. 246).

Nine year old Lahoucine uses an engine he calls *traks*, a term referring to a tractor or bulldozer. Figure 247 (p. 209) shows Lahoucine repairing a plastic bulldozer bought by his father, a house constructor, for 20 dirhams (€ 2) who gave it to his son during the Sidi Ifni Moussem, the annual
festival of this city in July 2004. However, after a while the bulldozer’s wheels did not turn anymore as they should.

Quickly bored by this malfunction Lahoucine gave his bulldozer two new axles, 10 cm long nails, and new wheels, two jam covers at the back and two large plastic covers at the front all held in place by lemonade bottle stoppers. At the front of his bulldozer Lahoucine put an empty sardine tin representing the bucket. Even the key of the vehicle has not been forgotten. The crank to run the bucket is a plastic stick from a lollipop. The string is attached to the crank to hold up the bucket filled with stones or sand (fig. 248, p. 210).
Mohamed, a friend of Lahoucine and about the same age, uses in this game a large plastic truck with eight wheels his father brought back from Spain (fig. 249). This figure shows the construction site on the sidewalk and the big truck that has tipped a load of sand.
In 2005 Mustapha Daoumani, a boy of fourteen, from the village Igîsel near Guelmim in the Moroccan Pre-Sahara remade some toys, among others a wheelchair and a skateboard, which he first made around the year 2000 (p. 102-103, fig. 72; p. 107-114, fig. 80-84). Mustapha also showed me then a toy harvester he created entirely from recycled materials. A sardine tin is mounted on a cylindrical piece of plastic. On the right side of the sardine tin Mustapha put the stopper of a perfume bottle with its opening facing outwards. He then introduced into this stopper two thin plates with holes at the end. A piece of plastic with the shape of a funnel is placed between these two holes. This funnel is kept in place by a metal rod passing through the holes in the plates and two holes made in the funnel. Two smaller holes were also made in the plates near the perfume bottle stopper to be able to introduce a wire. A red thread fixed at both ends of the iron wire passing through the plates and running under the plastic support secures the whole. A bag hanging at the end of the harvester was sewn by Mustapha who also put wheat seeds on top of the funnel to create a good copy of a harvester (fig. 250, H = 13 cm, L = 11 cm, B = 6 cm).
2.11 Trains

Toys representing trains built by Saharan and North Africa children seem to be rare. In any case I only know few examples. Moreover, I have found in the consulted bibliography just one reference to a toy locomotive for children. This information comes from Dr. Guichard who mentions in 1921 that Jewish tinsmiths from the *Mellah* or Jewish quarter of Marrakesh made such a locomotive for the first time. The translation of the French quotation can be read in the chapter on toy cars (p. 167).
The other four toy trains described in this chapter were all observed and photographed by Khalija Jariaa. Two of these examples come from boys living in Sidi Ifni and the other two from boys living in Ikenwèn.

The first toy train which Khalija talked to me about is a good example of how Moroccan children repair toys from the toy industry. She saw it in April 2007 in Sidi Ifni when a boy pulled with a string a carriage carrying coal for a steam locomotive (fig. 251, p. 212). This carriage belonged to a miniature train but as the wheels were lacking the boy gave it wheels in the same way as is done with a sardine tin representing a car (fig. 252, H = 7.5 cm, L = 13 cm).

A few months later, in December 2007, Khalija Jariaa observed Mohamed, an eleven year old boy, who organized his train of phosphates in an open space in Sidi Ifni. This train of phosphates, called tròn Ifasfate by children, consists of fifteen sardine tins connected by a long wire. A piece of a radio serves as control panel (fig. 253, p. 214, total L = 236 cm).
Figures 254 and 255 (p. 215) show Mohamed filling his phosphate train with sand in the place of phosphate. Mohamed and two younger boys, to whom he explains some aspects of the phosphate train which is going from Marrakech to Oujda, are neighbors. After a while the two boys are allowed to help filling the carriages. One of the small boys tells Mohamed that his train has no signal at the rear but Mohamed replies that all signals are on the control panel.
Khaliya Jariaa received the next toy train when visiting her parents in Ikenwèn in October 2007. It was built by Saïd aged nine. Back in Douar Ouaraben, the village where Khalija has lived since her marriage, she took some photos of how boys play with this type of train. The train is only represented by its lights, a tin in which a candle burns. This is the same toy as boys from Midelt use, but then it was the light of a motorcycle (fig. 98, p. 120). The tin is attached to a piece of wood with iron wire. A long
thread attached to the piece of wood and at both sides of the tin forms a loop (fig. 256, \( L = 38 \text{ cm} \), \( B = 15 \text{ cm} \), \( D \text{ light} = 11 \text{ cm} \)).

The train conductor holds the piece of wood in his hands to transport the passengers who have settled in the carriage (fig. 257). The train leaves necessarily from Marrakesh as this is the final railway station in the south of Morocco.
One only needs to turn on the train’s light for this pretend game of the Marrakesh train to start (fig. 258).

In December 2007 in the coastal village Aourir, located near Agadir on the road to Essaouira, Khalija Jariaa observed how three boys and two girls play together with the tourist train of Agadir. The boys built three trains, one with a cardboard chassis, a second one with a chassis of a tin and a third one with of a piece of cactus as chassis.
The tourist train of the figure above has two benches and a dashboard, also made with pieces of cactus (fig. 259, p. 217, L = 27 cm, B = 12.5 cm). The axles, bits of reed, are pushed through the chassis and plastic caps with holes in their center have been used as wheels. The girls of this playgroup created the driver (H = 12 cm) and the two tourists (H = 11 cm) with two pieces of reed bound together in the shape of a cross as is done for traditional dolls. The clothing of these dolls is cut from shiny wrapping paper. The dolls of the other two tourist trains have been made by the same girls.

In 2003 I proposed to Mohamed Jarih to help me in gathering information about the games of his youth and in 2004 he gave me a document mentioned in the bibliography. In this paper describing games of the 1980s there is a drawing and a few explanatory lines on the pretend game of driving a train played by children between three and five years from the village Aïn Toujdate located halfway between Meknes and Fez. These toddlers used cardboard boxes, one for each child, placing them one behind the other. Once seated in their cardboard box they became both the driver and the passenger of the train (2004: 10).
2.12 Boats

Neither in the toy collection of the Musée de l’Homme nor in the consulted bibliography have I found a reference to toy boats used and made by Saharan and North African children. However, I can offer several examples from Moroccan children observed by Khalija Jariaa and myself.

In March 1993 I saw in the coastal town Kenitra, for the first time in Morocco, toy boats used by children for a play activity typical of the rainy season. The streets of popular quarters were then transformed into pools and islands. For the children, in the observed situation boys about seven years old, one of these pools became the Atlantic Ocean and their paper boats cargo ships they can see in the port of Kenitra. Sometimes a piece of wood was also used as a cargo ship.

This type of paper boats is also found in the collection of toys assembled in 2001 by Boubaker Daoumani, a teacher in a primary school of the mountain village Lahfart located about 10 km from Sidi Ifni. These are boats of folded paper made by both boys and girls between six and eight years old (fig. 260, the smallest boat: H = 1 cm, L = 3 cm, B = 1.5 cm; the largest boat: H = 3 cm, L = 12 cm, B = 4 cm).

In December 2009 Smaïl, a nine year old boy from the village Douar Ouararben near Tiznit, showed to Khalija Jariaa how he plays with a boat
made of a plastic bag for half a liter of milk. He explains that this is the ferry sailing between Morocco and Spain (fig. 261).

Smaïl stresses that it is a European ship and not a Moroccan one because its name Silda is written in French on the front of the ferry (fig. 262, p. 221).
Mohamed Jariaa, from the village Ikenwèn in the Tiznit region and a brother of Khalija Jariaa, remade several toys of his childhood. This time it is a boat with propeller he made in July 2006 when he was twenty-four years old. Such boats are cut from a piece of plywood. A small piece of the same wood is fixed by an elastic band to the back of the boat. When winding the elastic with the propeller and then releasing it the boat is propelled forward (fig. 263, \( L = 19 \) cm, \( B = 11 \) cm). The boys used such boats on a large pool in the almost dried up river bed and sometimes organized a boat race.
In December 2009, ten year old Saïd living in Ikenwèn created a fishing boat with pieces of wood fixed together with nails. The mast is a reed and the sail a piece of plastic held in place with a plasticized electric wire (fig. 264). To play with his boat the boy puts it into the sea, a pool of water remaining in a hollow after a heavy rain. A small yoghurt pot attached to a wire serves as fishing line. Saïd easily find fish to be caught in his sea as they are represented by dung beetles found nearby.

In January 2011 the same Saïd who built the above mentioned fishing boat created with pieces of wood salvaged from the local carpenter a racing yacht inspired by those Moroccan television showed in the news program (fig. 265, p. 223, H = 25 cm, L = 23.5, B = 18.5 cm). These Spanish yachts sailed to Dakhla for some celebration.
Khalija Jariaa described this Smaïl from Ikenwèn as a designer of toys, making these not only for himself but also for other children of his village. Next to the fishing boat and the yachts he also made four cars (p. 142-143, fig. 142-143; p. 150, fig. 155, 157), a truck (p. 190-191, fig. 222-223) and a train (p. 216-218, fig. 256-258).
Mohamed, a 10 year old boy living in Agadir, visited his paternal grandmother in January 2011 during the school holidays in the village Ikenwên. There he made the cruise ship of figure 266 (H = 22 cm, L = 10.5 cm, B + = 8 cm). In early January 2011 Mohamed saw on television the first cruise ship that docked in Agadir, and then went to see it in the harbor with his father.

Once in Ikenwên he spoke about this to his friends and told them he was going to build the big ship that came to Agadir. The hull is a sardine tin in the middle of which the boy fixed the leg of a small plastic chair representing the mast. A plastic thread spool is put on top of the mast. A T-shaped plastic water pipe represents the ship’s radar. Everything is held in place by bonding the top of the mast and the hull of the boat with plastic tape that is used for gas connections.

During the same period of January 2011 and in the same village Ikenwên Ahmed created a pedalo when he was eight years old with pieces of wood recovered from the local carpenter’s shop (fig. 267, p. 225, H = 7 cm, L = 33 cm, B = 26.5 cm). To attach the different pieces he used left over’s of mastic.
Beside a well there is a large trough in which another boy pours water. In this trough Ahmed pulls his pedalo with a wire while singing a love song as in films from India. This is explained by the fact that children see this type of pedalo pushed by young couples in Indian movies played on television. At the same time five year old Smail pushes the previously mentioned boat he made from a plastic bag in the water of the same large trough.

As mentioned in the case of toy weapons, toy cars or toy trucks, shop-bought plastic boats sometimes replace boats built by Moroccan children. Already in May 2000 I saw some plastic boats from the Chinese toy industry in Souk el Had, the Sunday market of Midelt. It was a small boat from which emerged a figure that could be recognized as the captain.

In a game observed and photographed by Khalija Jariaa in December 2007 in front of the house in Sidi Ifni where I live during my stays in Morocco, a boy of about five years called Osama used a plastic boat brought from Spain by his uncle. With this boat he enacts an accident at sea. His sister Souhaila filled a plastic seahorse with sand (fig. 268, p. 226) and proposes to her small brother to pour the sand in his boat. Osama refuses saying that this will make his nice cruise ship dirty.
Soon he begins to make up-and-down movements with his boat as if it is taken in the high waves of a sea storm till the cruise ship breaks and someone falls in the sea (fig. 269).
2.13 Airplanes and helicopters

With the exception of Denis mentioning in 1952 that children of Tindouf in the Algerian Sahara manufacture airplanes with tin cans and iron wire or telephone wire (p. 37), I found in the consulted bibliography no other data on the toys described in this chapter.

In the Collection of Saharan toys in the Musée de l’Homme there was a toy airplane made by a Belbala child from the Algerian Sahara with three strips of palm leaves. On a vertical strip two other strips were arranged horizontally in the middle of the vertical strip and with a small distance between them (71.1952.24.42, H = 14 cm, L = 10 cm, catalogue p. 342). A second airplane consists of two strips of a palm leaf shaped as a cross (71.1952.24.43, catalogue p. 342). Children call their toy airplane *tayara*, a word also used for a real plane. The reader will find a picture of these airplanes in the artefacts catalogue of the Musée du Quai Branly.

Dominique Champault offered these two toy airplanes to the Musée de l’Homme in 1952. However I could not find in the section “Jeux” of her book *Une oasis du Sahara nord-occidental : Tabélbala* a description of these aircrafts (1969: 343-358).

The first toy aircrafts I saw in Morocco was in 1997 in Midelt, a town at the foot of the Jbel Ayachi Mountain. It was a folded paper airplane made by an eight year old boy (fig. 270). He competed with his friends to see who was best at flying their paper airplanes.

In August 1993 boys from Kenitra and in April 2010 boys from Sidi Ifni did the same.

On 8 January 2011 in the village Ikenwèn at the foot of the Anti-Atlas Mountains in the Tiznit region, Khalija Jariaa observed and photographed a play activity based on the news program of the Moroccan 2M television channel broadcast on 5 January.
In this program televising an airplane acrobatic show in Dakhla, a coastal town about 300 km from the Mauritanian border, the children saw old propeller driven planes. An older man, who had flown such airplanes between Sidi Ifni and Dakhla when it was Spanish territory (until 1969), provided a commentary which was translated in Arabic.

Based on what he saw eleven year old Saïd is the first one to make a copy of these airplanes. He stresses that these are old airplanes like those seen on TV because they have propellers whereas today’s airplanes don’t have propellers. When his six to twelve year old friends see how Saïd makes airplanes they also start to make one. With their self-made airplanes the boys execute the airplane movements seen on TV: take off, make acrobatic figures in the sky, and land.

Saïd makes airplanes with pieces of wood the local carpenter lets him take away. The three toy airplanes shown below offer variations on a common type: a fuselage with wings fixed more or less in its middle and a propeller at the front and the back of the airplane. The first airplane is decorated with a flag (fig. 271, H = 9.5 cm, L = 26 cm, B = 24 cm). The second airplane has two pieces of wood as wings. However, the front propeller has been lost (fig. 272, H = 6.5 cm, L = 24.5 cm, B = 23 cm).
The third plane is somewhat more elaborated as it has, next to a wooden propeller at the back and a propeller made with pieces of plastic at the front, a small yellow plastic cup representing the lights and a sardine tin as landing gear (fig. 273, H = 8 cm, L = 40 cm, B = 28 cm). Saïd used nails to fix together the different parts of these airplanes.

Saïd also found a way to imitate the colored stripes the airplanes made in the Dakhla sky. For this he used leftovers of paints made with colored powder he recovered from the trash. This powder had been used to paint the house of a rich man of the village Ikenwèn. Saïd took the dried and hardened powder of one color, crushed it and so doing made colored powder again. When his friends saw how Said produced colored powder, they helped him to make powder with other colors. This way they obtained white, green, yellow and red powder. Each boy chose a color and put the colored powder in a plastic bag. Then they attached the bag to an airplane. Once a little hole was made into the bottom of the plastic bag, the boys ran with their airplane so that the color powder flew in the air.
In May 2011 Smaïl, a boy of eleven years from Douar Ouaraben, a village that recently became a new quarter of Tiznit, built a passenger airplane with a large white bottle of shampoo as fuselage. A blue bottle cap represents the cockpit and parts of a clothespin are the wings: two on the sides and one at the rear of the bottle (fig. 274, H = 12 cm, L = 33 cm, B = 19 cm). The landing gear is a wheel of a gas lighter fixed in a hole in the center of the bottle’s underside (fig. 275).
Smaïl also created a military fighter airplane. A small bottle of shampoo is the fuselage, the cockpit a piece of polystyrene with a stick as the pilot who is protected by safety glass, a piece of clear tape. The two pieces of reed driven into the sides of the cockpit represent the doors. Two parts of a clothespin form the lateral wings. In front of the rear wing part of another pin is inserted into a hole in the bottle. In the same hole Smaïl put a small piece of wood: the gunner. This character holds in ‘his hands’ a gun, the orange wire that runs through a loop on top of the fuselage and is fixed with a small stick in a hole on its underside, a stick serving at the same time as landing gear. The black wire attached to the orange wire is the gun’s ammunition feed (fig. 276, H = 12 cm, L = 17 cm, B = 15 cm). That this toy represents a Moroccan fighter airplane is indicated by the Moroccan flag flying on it.
Ahmed, an eleven year old boy belonging to the same playgroup as Smaïl, made two other fighter airplanes in the same manner as Smaïl did. His toy airplane with the Moroccan flag is equipped with a machine gun, a small piece of wood, but it lost its landing gear. This airplane also had a cockpit as the one Smaïl made but it did not survived transportation (fig. 277, H = 11 cm, L = 14 cm, B = 13 cm). According to Ahmed the airplane made with a blue bottle is no longer operational, but is used for its spare parts (fig. 278, H = 9 cm, L = 13.5 cm, B = 17 cm).

Smaïl, Ahmed and the other boys in their playgroup use these fighter airplanes for fighting scenes as shown on television. The passenger airplane, however, is not used in these war games but for pretending to transport tourists to Agadir airport.

In August 2006 I received a series of toys based on the continual movement of one or both wings that the children have recently come to call élikoptèr. Mohamed Jariaa from the village Ikenwèn in the province of Tiznit made these as he did when he was a boy. Three models built following the same basic type are shown in the next pictures. This basic type consists of a piece of a hollow reed in which a wooden rod is slid. A thread is wound around the rod and then passed through a hole down the
reed. By pulling on the thread, a continual movement is transmitted to the rod as well as to the single wing or the two wings. When slowly releasing the thread, it is wound back on the rod. So doing one can make the wings rotate continuously. The model in the first picture only has one wing (fig. 279, H = 20 cm, L wing = 14 cm).

The second model is more similar to a helicopter because of the two cross-shaped wings (fig. 280, H = 15 cm, L wing = 13.5 cm). The third model has a wing on both sides of the rod (fig. 281, H = 22 cm, L wing = 13 cm). A piece of reed or a pen is attached to the thread to facilitate its pulling.

In the same village but in January 2011 Saïd, the boy who built the airplanes of figures 271-273 (p. 228-229), has created a rescue helicopter. This helicopter is inspired by what the children saw on television about the rescue of people caught in the floods in Casablanca the same month. With their rescue helicopter the boys play almost immediately to save dolls they received from some neighbor girls. This helicopter is a round piece of plastic taken from a waste light that is fixed between two plates for attaching a water pipe. A small plastic bag is tied with a rubber band by securing it between the two plates. The rescued dolls are airlifted in this plastic bag (fig. 282, p. 234, H = 5 cm, L propeller = 18 cm).
Smaïl, the boy from the village Douar Ouaraben who made the airplanes of figures 271-273 (p. 228-229) in 2011, created another type of helicopter in 2006, when he was about six years old. In the centers of a piece of reed, a small cap, a piece of plastic and a large cap he pierced a hole, then pushed a large nail through all these parts before fixing the nail in a seedless dried ear of corn. Once he has wound a long thread around the nail just below the piece of reed held between his two fingers, Smaïl just has to pull and release the thread to instill a continuous movement to the whole (fig. 283, p. 235, H = 22 cm, B = 5.5 cm). Yet, the game does not stop there because while holding the thread in one’s hands and dropping the toy on the ground one must be able to make it continue to turn like a top.
3 Toys for play related to communication

3.1 Summary

Information on toys for play related to communication is much more limited than on toys for hunting and fighting games or on toys for play related to transport.

The period covered by these data is also limited. Apart from the unique information from the 1950s related to the Quranic tablet, the ink, the telephone and the cinema, and the information I collected from Ghrib children in 1975, the other descriptions refer to the period between 1993 and 2007.

From a geographical point of view, the regions referred to in this part are the Aures Mountains in Algeria, Tindouf in the Algerian Sahara, El-Faouar in the Tunisian Sahara, Dar Zaghawa in Chad and especially central and southern Morocco.

Some toys and play activities refer to older types of communication such as writing, telephone, radio and film but others relate to recent technology such as digital cameras, cell or mobile phones, recording devices, television and electronic toys.

In the case of toys for play related to communication among Saharan and North African children there are two distinctions which lack of data prevents us from making: that between toys used often and toys used rarely; and that between toys used by nomadic children and those used by sedentary children. However, it is possible to underline that in the Anti-Atlas region children in their play and toy-making activities closely follow technological developments.

Besides the use of sand, clayish earth, clay and reed, children especially use waste material when making the toys spoken about in this part of the book.

Although girls create toys and play make believe games related to communication activities, the gathered information shows that boys are more likely to do so. Yet, proposing conclusions about this based on too limited data is not adequate.

Finally, it should be stressed that in this area also the toy industry is increasingly supplanting children’s toy creation.
3.2 Measuring time

Personally, I have never seen children using in their games a means for measuring time although the duration in time regularly is an important aspect of their play activities. Even what Khalija Jariaa told me in this context is limited to a toy hourglass a Sidi Ifni boy showed her in June 2007. This hourglass is made with two glass jam jars partially filled with fine sand. In the center of the covers a hole is made with a nail and one pot is put on top of the other. Then the two pots are fastened together with translucent tape (fig. 284). The construction of this hourglass, called sa°a ramliya hour of sand, is based on what the boy’s grandmother told him about its use when watches were rare. This toy is used to measure time when playing scenes narrated by the grandmother, but also to define the duration of a race, the time to perform a task or the time one could play football.
3.3 Writing

Very little can be said about the role of writing in Saharan and North African children's play as I only have three pieces of information at my disposal.

The first information refers to the toy of a Chaouïa child from Ain Kerma and Kebech in the Aures Mountains of Algeria that mimics the Quranic tablet used to learn to write. Two copies of the toy tablet were brought by the Mission Thérèse Rivière to the Musée de l'Homme in 1936. These wooden tablets were made by an eleven year old boy. According to the notes written by Thérèse Rivière the tablet on the left of figure 285 is coated with clay dissolved in water. On one side there is a drawing executed with ink made from burned wool and reminiscent of the designs made on the occasion of the Aïd es-seghir on the Koranic school tablets. This drawing shows a plan view of a mosque with squares representing rooms and diagonals representing vaults. In one of the squares one sees the representation of the Saint’s tomb. Grids indicate two Koranic school classes. Along the central design a triangle represents the beginning of a minaret which is surrounded by a horse-rider, a snake, a whip and a mule. Some numbers are written at the upper part. The suspension cord consists of pink cotton (71.1936.2.265, L = 14.5 cm, B = 9.5 cm). The other tablet was made from the side of an old wooden box. It has a suspension hole and is coated with clay diluted in water. The design shows also a mosque and was like those made at the same religious feast. On the side visible on figure 285 there are rectangles divided into squares and diagonals. On the other side two checkered patterns were drawn with a grid designed with a purple pencil and orange and red filling. These
patterns represent the Koranic school. A rectangle with squares and
diagonals represents the mosque (71.1936.2.266, L = 20 cm, B = 7 cm).
Thérèse Rivière added that this toy for boys was used to teach younger
brothers what is done in the Koranic school.

The second information also comes from the collections of the Musée de
l’Homme. It is a small toy inkwell of unbaked clay from a Zaghawa child
in Chad collected by the Mission Marie-José Tubiana and cataloged in
1957 (71.1957.82.133). As far as I know there is no information about the
play activities in which these tablets and this inkwell were used. A better
picture of the tablets and a photo of the inkwell are shown in the ‘artefacts
catalogue’ of the Musée du Quai Branly.

Another situation in which children from the village Douar Ouaraben
near Tiznit in Morocco used some writing in a pretend game is well
described, in October 2007, thanks to Khalija Jariaa’s observation and
photos.

Sâdiya, a ten year old girl, plays the role of mualimati, ‘my teacher’, as
the players call her. The three pupils in her class are Smaïl, Sâdiya’s
brother of seven years, Sâdiya’s sister Latifa who is nine and wears a
colored headscarf and a neighbor girl of seven years named Atika (fig.
286). The large stone is the seat of the teacher.
These children play school whereby a course of Arabic is staged. Sâdiya begins to write a word on the inclined surface at the basis of a lamp post. Smaîl raises his hand to ask leave to speak and says “mualimati you must first write the month and day on the board”. Sâdiya replies “I am the teacher, you should not talk”. For a moment Sâdiya leaves the scene to find a piece of pipe that she aligns next to the lamp post.

As chalk to write Sâdiya uses a piece of plaster from a ceiling decoration. She prefers to use this piece with a thin layer of dry mud around it found in a riverbed (fig. 287). The reason she does it this way is that she does not get white hands, which happens when using a clean piece such as those found in the orange container.
Somewhat later Sâdiya starts erasing with a piece of sheepskin the second word she wrote on the board (fig. 288).

After the teacher has written other words that the pupils must reproduce she checks what they have written on the paper she gave them (fig. 289, p. 242). Smaîl and Latïfa used a pen to write but not so Atïka who has a small piece of plaster in hand. To avoid possible punishment Atïka explains to the teacher she did not use a pen but a piece of chalk because her father died and her mother does not have the money to buy a pen. This explanation given by Atïka as a playful statement reflects however the actual situation in which Atïka grows up.
The teacher thinks that the pupil Smaïl does not work well at school. She asks: “Why don’t you write well?” Smaïl replies: “Friends came knocking at the door of my house to go play football”. The teacher replies, “First you have to do your homework well, then you have time to play. Now put out your hand”. Smaïl argues saying “Pardon mualimati this hurts”. The teacher states: “No it's fine; if you feel the pain you will think to your school work first of all” (fig. 290, p. 243).
3.4 Telephones

The earliest mention of toy telephones comes from Lieutenant Denis in 1952. These are telephones made with tin cans and iron wire or telephone wire by children of Tindouf in the Algerian Sahara (p. 37).

In November 2007 at the village Douar Ouaraben in southern Morocco Khalija Jariaa saw two boys about eight years old playing with a similar telephone model. However, the material used is more modern: two plastic yoghurt pots and a long nylon thread. Both boys alternately speak and listen and pretend to be in different cities. They share the latest news and talk about the local situation. Khalija Jariaa told me that around 1985 in her native village Ikenwên at 29 km from Tiznit, girls modeled telephones with clayish earth.

In the spring of 1975 when the only telephone of the oasis El Faouar in the Tunisian Sahara was in the police station, Ghrib boys were their own telephone. The first model was made with two empty tin cans and a quite long wire, preferably an iron wire, attached to the center of both covers. For the second type of phone boys used wet sand, twigs and palm padding. In the wet sand a trench about two meters long and one hand width was excavated (fig. 291). The depth of the trench measured about eight centimeters.
Once the trench was dug it was covered with twigs and palm husks and wet sand on top. At both ends of the trench a small square was left open. Two boys played with this telephone by talking and listening alternately (fig. 292).

In my book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. The animal world in play, games and toys* a game with clay called *anhader swalut* is mentioned. Some adolescents of the small town Goulmima in the Moroccan Pre-Saharan showed me this game in September 1994 (2005: 117-119). At that moment three boys between five and eight years spontaneously joined the play activity. One of the boys modeled a telephone with clay and pretended to call his friend (fig. 293).
The five cell phones or mobile phones shown in this chapter come from the mountain village Lahfart near Sidi Ifni and were collected by the teacher Boubaker Daoumani. Neither the name nor the exact age of the one who shaped the first cell phone are known, but it is a male or female pupil of the first or second year of primary school. This toy cell phone in clayish earth was collected in 2001, has small balls as keys and two long antennae with the right one being broken. In the lower side three holes have been made to represent the contact points (fig. 294, H = 8 cm, L = 3 cm).

Two cell phones in clayish earth collected by Boubaker Daoumani in 2001 were obtained from girls who used beads to represent the keys (fig. 295). In May 2005, Hafid, a boy of seven years of Boubaker Daoumani’s class, gave me another cell phone. The keys are stones but Hafid took care to represent realistically the screen using a piece of printed plasticized paper (fig. 296, H = 8 cm, L = 4 cm).
In 2006, a fourteen year old adolescent girl from the village Lahfart redid the cell phone she created in fired clay a few years earlier. The keys are small beads embedded in the clay and surrounded by a grid. The brand name surrounded by a rectangle is found at the top of the cell phone (fig. 297, H = 10 cm, L = 3.5 cm).

In October 2007 at Ikenwèn, a village 29 km from Tiznit, Saïd aged nine has built a Morocco Telecom office with ten prepaid phone cards and translucent tape (fig. 298, H = 16 cm, L = 8.5 cm, B = 5.5 cm). He imagines the period of summer when Moroccan emigrants return to the village and telephone communications are numerous. Said invites his boy and girlfriends to come in his office to buy prepaid cards and cell phones. In other places this Morocco Telecom office is built the same way which is explained by the fact that the children saw how to make it on television.

Many toys created by children are challenged by toys from the toy industry and it is the same for fixed and cell phones. Already in May 2000, I saw a father from Midelt buy two plastic cell phones for 15 dirhams (€ 1.5) each, which he then offered to his five year old daughter Meryem and his two year old son Si Mohamed.
3.5 Radios and recorders

In 1952 in addition to cars, planes and phones Lieutenant Denis also mentions radios that are made with tin cans and iron or telephone wire by children from Tindouf in the Algerian Sahara (p. 37).

During my research in Morocco I saw the radio in figure 299. It was part of a small series of clay toys modeled in 2002 by a girl of about seven years of the primary school Lahfat, a mountain village near Sidi Ifni. This series of toys also contained some toy utensils and dolls.

In 1973 during the first research trip of Gilbert J. M. Claus in the Tunisian Sahara, Ghrib boys were inspired by the small tape recorder he used to make a copy of it on a matchbox or a small cardboard packet of detergent. The example shown in figure 300 was given to me in 1975. In the same way boys imitated the transistor radio becoming then more often available in Ghrib families. Boys played or recorded with their toys the songs they or their friends were singing.

In several places, Moroccan children use toy microphones to broadcast songs as is done in parties such as weddings. My first example shows boys of Sidi Ifni in 2005 with their percussion orchestra and its reed microphones on the edge of the road leading to the harbor (fig. 301, p. 249). The second example shows a girl in the village Douar near Tan-Tan in 2007 singing into her toy microphone (fig. 302, p. 249).
3.6 Cameras

During a research stay among the Ghrib of the Tunisian Sahara in 1975, Bechir, a boy of three years, spontaneously offered me a good example of an imitation game of small children. Sitting in the entrance of his house located in the sand dunes of the oasis of El Faouar, he photographed me with his toy camera during a time long enough so that I could take his photograph (fig. 303).
In *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys* (Rossie, 2008: 324, fig. 397) I describe how in October 2006 two girls from the village Douar Ouaraben, just outside Tiznit, play at being photographers using old radios as digital cameras.

In September 2005 in the town Guelmim in the Moroccan Pre-Sahara Youssef Daoumani made a camera as it is done by both girls and boys in Boujdour, a coastal town about 500 km south of Guelmim. Youssef and his cousin Mustafa Daoumani, who made the next toy camera, said they have never seen such a camera in Guelmim nor in the village Igīsel but only in Boujdour where they live with their families and pursue their studies.

Youssef uses only pieces of wood and nails which he fixes into the wood by using a pebble as hammer (fig. 304).
As soon as his toy camera is ready, Youssef amuses himself by photographing his friends and me (fig. 305, H = 10 cm, L = 9.5 cm, B = 5.5 cm).
A week later in September 2005, Moustapha Daoumani of the village Igîsel near Guelmim has created a well-detailed camera using waste material only (fig. 306, H = 5 cm, L = 9.5 cm, B = 4 cm). According to Moustapha and his cousin Youssef, children from Boujdour make this kind of toy camera.

A boy of about 15 years belonging to the youth association, for which in December 2009 I held a seminar on Moroccan play and toy making activities in the Safi Center of the Foundation Orient-Occident, created another type of toy camera using sheets of a student notebook (fig. 307-308, square 4.5 cm by 4.5 cm).
3.7 Cinema and television

In his book on popular culture in South Moroccan Mellahs Pierre Flamand describes a cinema built by Jewish children in the following way (research from 1948 to 1958, p 156). A square of three inches is cut out in a cardboard box without a lid. Two opposite sides of the box are pierced with two holes through which pass two small cranks made of iron wire. On the lower part of the shaft of the cranks the child winds both ends of a strip of paper bearing images (usually cut from a newspaper). The viewer sees these images when looking through the cut out square and turning one crank and then the other crank. Especially during bad weather South Moroccan Muslim children also make and use this toy, universally appreciated toy for the convenience of its manufacture.

Ali Harcherras told me in March 1994 that when he was about seven years old, a young person called Bouzi had invented a cinema the children called sinema bouzi. This happened in 1968 in the Ksar or fortified center of Goulmima, an important Amazigh town bordering the Moroccan Pre-Sahara. Ali added that the young inventor became a self-made radio and television technician.

To create the cinema in question the young Bouzi used a large cardboard box and a small candle. The rear side of the box remained open and the lighted candle was placed toward the center of the box. In the front side of the box he cut out a rectangle for the screen. Images from newspapers and magazines were passed before the screen. This cinema was placed in a room and visitors pay the entrance with date stones. Other boys from Goulmima copied this type of cinema soon afterwards.

In Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys (Rossie, 2008) television sets are part of girls’ and boys’ small houses. For example, one can see in this book two small houses with a toy television in figure 56 (p. 94) and 396 (p. 332) and a tent with a parabolic antenna (fig. 31, p. 74). There are also boys who play the role of TV technician (p. 262, 271). In the same book and in the staging of a party by a playgroup of the village Douar Ouaban in October 2006 two boys become a team of the Moroccan 2M TV channel (p. 330-331, fig. 394). The boy playing the role of camera operator uses an old music cassette as camera. In the same village and the same month, another group of children played a wedding party. In the book mentioned above, a photo
of the preparation of this game shows the camera represented by an old music cassette (fig. 59, p. 96).

Already around 1993 in the village Ikenwèn at 29 km from Tiznit, Mohamed Jariaa built at the age of about ten a television set with more or less realistic sizes and with waste material (fig. 309, $H = 30 \text{ cm}$, $L = 40 \text{ cm}$, $B = 7 \text{ cm}$). He had forgotten about this TV left in the home of his grandmother. It was only after the death of his grandmother in 2004 that he recovered his toy TV. When Mohamed gave me this television, he told me he had organized film sessions for boys and girls who paid their entry with candy wrappers. The program change was displayed by opening the back of the TV to replace the image.
3.8 Electronic toys

The first time I saw Moroccan children playing with an electronic toy was in the popular quarter Aït Mansour of Midelt, a Central Moroccan town. In September 1999 Mourad, a boy of twelve years, handled a device named 'Apollo' but whose country of manufacture was not mentioned. This electronic toy with twelve games could be bought in the town’s shops for 50 dirhams (€ 5). Mourad willingly shared this electronic toy with his friends who so doing could become acquainted with this novelty (fig. 310).

In November 2007, I photographed a similar electronic toy in the hands of a thirteen year old boy living in the Boulalem quarter of Sidi Ifni in Southern Morocco (fig. 311).
Conclusion
In this section, one finds first a synthesis of the information on technical activities in Saharan and North African children’s play, games and toys.

I will not discuss here the different aspects of these children’s play and toy making activities because I cannot offer anything new compared to the conclusion contained in my previous book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Domestic life in play, games and toys*. There I spoke about environmental and economic aspects and about the following sociocultural aspects: Play, toys, culture and society, Play, toys and socialization, Play, toys and interpersonal relations, Play, toys, girls and boys, Evolution of play activities and toys, and about Children’s creativity. I would therefore ask the reader interested in this discussion to refer to this book (Rossie, 2008: 338-371).

Instead, the second and final part of this conclusion provides a fairly detailed description of the educational and sociocultural applications of North African children’s play and toy cultures that I have developed in Argentina, Belgium, Greece, Italy and Morocco from 2008 until 2012.

1 Synthesis

Like the previous three books in the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures (Children's dolls and doll play, The animal world in play, games and toys, Domestic life in play, games and toys)*, this fourth book also analyzes the pretend play of Saharan and North African children. This time, however, it describes the play activities and the creation of toys inspired by the playful interpretation of the adult world of hunting and combat, transport and communication.

The children in question are by no means limited to an imitation of the activities of the adults in their family, neighborhood, community, or even those they see on television or on videos. Following their observation of men and women they encounter directly or indirectly they stage their interpretation of skills and events related to these adult activities.

Unlike the play activities described in the volume on domestic life, the toys and games analyzed in this new book belong largely to the world of boys although girls sometimes play these games. However, rarer still are the girls who themselves make toys used in these play activities.
The play activities described in *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures*. *Technical activities in play, games and toys* again demonstrate that it is most often a question of outdoor collective games in which children from the same family or neighborhood are playing together in playgroups of boys or girls. Gender mixed playgroups sometimes exist but when it comes to children of about eight years or more it is often a question of parallel play in which girls play female roles and boys male roles.

In the part on “Toy weapons for hunting and fighting games”, “Toys for play related to transport” as well as “Toys for play related to communication” children capture the adult world and enact it in their own way. Although their primary purpose is to amuse themselves, the children experience through these games the physical and human reality around them, they socialize and even learn while playing and manipulating toys skills that can be useful later on. However, I have the impression that the inspiration for their pretend play comes today more than in the past from situations and information that are not solely related to local life, but seep into the child's world through television and tourism.

The games of hunting and fighting and the toys used belong largely to the traditional play heritage but toys for these games made by the toy industry, such as firearms, are sold in markets and stores. The influence of the toy industry, especially from China, is even more striking in respect to toys related to transport and communication. In this context, I think of cars, trucks and boats in plastic, plastic fixed and mobile phones, and electronic toys. Nevertheless, all these toys made by children or by the industry are usually a more or less faithful copy of the real object and I met in the hands of children from popular class backgrounds virtually no toys related to fantasy worlds.

The oldest toys described in this book belong to the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly. They were collected in 1934 in contrast to the small painted clay jug collected before 1889 and described in the previous book. These toys for hunting and fighting games are toy weapons collected by the Mission René Pottier from Tuareg children and the Mission Le Cœur and Dr. Noël from Teda children.
As in the case of the toys described in my previous books, the toys analyzed in this book are very often made by children. To create these toys boys, much less often girls, use vegetal and mineral material together with a lot of waste material. A few toys were handmade by adults, possibly artisans. Once again, I must mention the massive importation of cheap Chinese toys that undoubtedly will result in fewer toys created by children themselves.

The data on technical activities in Saharan and North African children’s play, games and toys only give an incomplete picture of their toy and play cultures. This is due to the limited and sometimes superficial analyzes found in the concerned literature. For the toys found in the collection of the Musée du Quai Branly, the description of the play activities in which they are used is lacking or summary. In addition, my research is limited to the Ghrib children of the second half of the 1970s and the children of Moroccan communities from 1992 onwards. Although I am convinced that the play activity and not the toy is the most important, I have not always been able to integrate the study of a toy into an analysis of the play activity for which it is made.
2 Using North African children’s play culture for pedagogical and sociocultural applications

In the first book of the collection: *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Children’s dolls and doll play*, I described my first experiences in using North African and Saharan play cultures in a chapter called “Intercultural and peace education in a Western context” (2005: 239-244). Since then, I have organized or co-organized other activities in this context such as seminars, workshops for children and/or adults, conferences and exhibitions.

In this chapter I will offer the reader an overview of some workshops for children and/or adults and a few exhibitions I made in Argentina, Belgium, Greece, Italy and Morocco. This is not a scientific analysis of these activities but a demonstration of the practical possibilities of this children's cultural heritage in and outside the school system.

I begin this chapter with an exhibition and a few seminars that I presented in Morocco, namely in the center of Safi of the *Fondation Orient-Occident* (www.fondation.orient-occident.org). I see this opportunity as one of the best I ever had because, after several attempts that failed, I was finally able to use the play and toy making activities of the Anti-Atlas children as a lever for social and cultural development of Moroccan children and adults. I was able to make contact with this center in Safi through the association *Wellouëj: Jeux Traditionnels et Jeux du Monde* in Lille (www.wellouej.com/blog). Khalija Jariaa and Boubaker Daoumani assisted me in organizing this week on “toys and games of Moroccan children”. As the center's director accepted my proposal to hold this cultural week during the Ashura period, it took place from 22 until 26 December 2009.

This event was organized around an exhibition of one hundred toys created by rural Anti-Atlas children I offered at the center. This exhibition and conference illustrated by a PowerPoint dealt with the theme “games and toys of Moroccan children: a creative heritage of great value”. Guided tours of the exhibition were made for youth associations and members of the center. Safi children who do not know traditional toys not only had the opportunity to see these toys but also to handle and play with them (fig. 312, p. 363).
The visit of the exhibition sometimes gave rise to a lively discussion between children and young people who had no idea about the creativity of Moroccan children in other regions (fig. 313).
Halim, the center’s animator quickly became aware of the content and meaning of the exhibition and subsequently guided the young and older ones with the help of Khalija Jariaa who was available to answer questions. The following picture shows two girls who question Halim and Khalija about clay toys used to play ‘house’ and ‘wedding feast’ (fig. 314).

Association leaders and other adults have also shown interest in these toys made by children and sometimes remembered the toys they made themselves in their childhood (fig. 315, p. 265).
The president of the youth association Manar, Halim and I we organized a round table on December 26 with members of that association (fig. 316).
After the demonstration of the working of some toys youngsters of the association showed the younger ones how to make toys from recycled material in the ways they remembered from their childhood (fig. 317-318).
The same day and with language assistance from Halim, I gave a seminar on the possibilities of manipulating traditional toys for parents of motor disabled children (fig. 319). I proposed this seminar after my visit a few days before to the Safi center of the Mohammed VI Foundation for the Disabled.

During my contact with the director of this center, one of the physiotherapists and the woman responsible for the education department, I was told about the problem of continuing at home the therapy of the children treated in the center with specific equipment. They stressed that the parents for lack of means to acquire adequate but expensive equipment did not continue the exercises performed at the center. In my seminar I tried to show that several traditional toys, especially toys for games of skill, could replace the equipment used in the center; toys that parents often knew as a child and so could eventually make themselves without costs.

As parents have shown their interest in this opportunity to help their children at home, I suggested to the director to create a working group with some members of the center and myself to analyze toys for games of skill that could be useful, to develop therapeutic applications with these toys and to test their functionality. Unfortunately, the proposed collaboration did not go beyond the good intentions.
One of the leading officers of the preschool section of the local department of the Ministry of Education in Safi visited the exposition and participated in the seminars. He told me that, inspired by what he saw and heard, he would explore the possibility of creating a module on children's play, among others based on the local play culture, in the training of future teachers of the public preschool sector, a preschool sector that was developing in the primary schools in the area. If these initiatives could materialize, the Moroccan play and toy heritage would not only be safeguarded but also put to profit for the development of children and their communities.

While the adults are just talking about all this, a little girl is already busy exploring some small treasures of Moroccan children's culture (fig. 320).

My educational and sociocultural activities to stimulate the use of children’s play and toy heritage that I analyze and stopped around 1992 when I went to do research in Morocco, resumed sixteen years later in Greece. This event was related to the fifth World Congress of the International Toy Research Association (ITRA) held in Nafplion from 9 to 11 July 2008.
In this context, the Museum of Childhood “Stathmos” of the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation “V. Papantoniou”, located in the National Railway Station Park of Nafplion, invited me to set up from 5 to 8 July an educational program and a few workshops related to Anti-Atlas children’s play and toy making activities in southern Morocco. I called my intervention “Moroccan children’s toys seen through the eyes of Greek children”. For the working out of this program I received assistance from the head of the Department of Educational Programs, the President of the Association of friends of the Museum and of course from the children who participated.

Inspired by toys children of the Anti-Atlas have made, Nafplion children between six and twelve years created their own toys in the course of six workshops. At a first meeting I showed the Greek children two PowerPoint presentations, one on “Ashura: a children's feast in Morocco” and another on “Ashura: the Masquerade in Tiznit”. While showing this second series of photographs I spoke about the masks that adolescents and boys in the region of Tiznit create for this important festivity (fig. 321).
Nafplion children created masks with natural and waste material we searched for in the small park surrounding the museum. We found many objects, mostly leaves, twigs, feathers, pinecones, caps, pieces of cardboard and plastic. These materials were supplemented by pieces of fabric, pencils and colored markers available at the museum (fig. 322-323).
At the beginning of the last workshop, the children watched a PowerPoint presentation on the dolls children of the Anti-Atlas make, and then they created their own male and female dolls (fig. 324-325).

Although the children who participated in the six workshops enjoyed making masks and dolls, I felt sorry that they could not use their masks. I first thought about making a walk in the Museum quarter, but then I got the idea to invade the reception of ITRA’s World Congress with the masked children. Once they were bearing their own masks, just as I did, we all became ‘spirits’ (fig. 326, p. 272).
The spirit children took control of the reception and wholeheartedly shook their noisemakers as is done during the Tiznit masquerade (fig. 327-328).
Then I gave my mask to the President of ITRA, Cleo Gougoulis, so that she would wear it while reading a statement declaring that the International Toy Research Association not only supported the rights of children to play, but also their right to create their own toys (fig. 329).
Since 2006 and during my visits to my friend Giorgio Bartolucci in Florence, he put me in touch with associations, institutions and people of Florence, Turin and Verona interested in toys and games. These contacts gave me the opportunity to develop activities to disseminate in Italy the play and toy culture of Saharan and North African children. In this context, I organized a workshop for children in June 2008 at the Biblioteca delle Oblate, a section of the public library of the city of Florence. As the theme of this workshop I used the Ashura festival and Imachar masquerade (Rossie, 2008 p. 311-321). In the library section for kids, some girls and boys had fun making masks sometimes with the help of a parent (fig. 330).

Following this first workshop enjoyed by both children and parents rejoiced, I was invited in 2009 by the cultural association and the library Libri Liberi to develop a creative activity during the Festival della Creativitá held in Florence every year in October. The same theme of creating masks with natural and waste material was used (fig. 331, p. 275). During the whole day, children and adults passers-by were invited to participate (fig. 332, p. 275).
Masciare fatte dai bambini di Tuxt
In 2008, Giorgio Bartolucci, as director of the Centro Internazionale Ludoteche (CIL) of Florence, asked me if I was interested in a project on the play culture of Moroccan children for the Centro per la Cultura Ludica and the Instituzione Torinese per une Educazione Responsabile (ITER), that is to say for the toy museum of the city of Turin and for the institution in charge of education in this city. An agreement between ITER, CIL and myself was ratified in June 2008. At its basis lays a donation of 200 toys created by children from the Anti-Atlas and the Sahrawi. The agreement also included a series of seminars, the development of a detailed and illustrated list of my donation and my participation in the development of an exhibition in the course of the years 2009-2010. The list of this donation of 268 children's toys finalized in July 2010, a syllabus for the participants in the seminars I organized from 4 till 6 June 2008 and two documents related to the exposition are available in French on the website www.sanatoyplay.org (see publications: articles 2008/2010/2013). This exhibition ‘Rêves d’Enfants’: crescere giocando dal Marocco a qui opened in Turin on November 20, 2010 and ended in December 2012 (fig. 333-335, p. 276-277).
Dovrai fare pum con la bocca, scoprirai che il gioco vale per quello che vi inserisci, non per quel che vi trovi confezionato (...) Ma ti convincerai che distruggere i nemici è una convenzione ludica, un gioco tra i giochi, e imparerai così che è una pratica estranea alla realtà, di cui giocando ben conosci i limiti...

Umberto Eco
During the year 2013, a traveling version of the exhibition is being prepared and its start is scheduled for the end of this year. I had been asked to prepare a richly illustrated brochure for the exposition but it was not published due to the financial problems of the city of Turin. I recently decided to publish it anyway in digital form so that it possibly could be used as part of the traveling exhibition. At the same time, this brochure provides an overview of Anti-Atlas and Saharan children's creativity and highlights some sociocultural aspects of these children’s play and toy making activities (Rossie, 2013).

In October 2010 the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales of Buenos Aires, Programa de Educación Inicial y Primera Infancia invited me to participate in the international seminar Infancias, Juegos y Juguetes (Buenos Aires, 20-22.10.2010). After this event, the Instituto de Formacion Docentes de Bariloche (Rio Negro province) invited me to participate in the training of students and to organize a workshop (26-29.10.2010). At the start of the workshop I showed a PowerPoint with photos of Moroccan adolescents and boys making masks for the Imashar feast in Tiznit and its region and photos of dolls and other toys created by Moroccan children. In this workshop female and male children, students and a few teachers created masks and dolls with natural and waste material (fig. 336).
Bariloche boys as well as girls made masks (fig. 337-338, p. 279), but seemingly more boys than girls. Still, the girls and female students preferred to make dolls (fig. 339). The boys and girls not only showed a lot of creativity in using the available natural and waste material but also in designing their masks and dolls.

Stela Maris Ferrarese Capettini, a teacher of physical education with a longstanding research on the play and toy cultures of the indigenous populations of South America (www.juegosetnicos.com) invited me to stay in her home in the city of Neuquén. During the first two weeks of November 2010, she there organized for me several conferences and workshops in different institutions. One of these institutions is the Universidad Catolica de Salta, sede Neuquén. After giving a conference, some students of the teacher training programs engaged in a creativity workshop as seen in the next photograph (fig. 340, p. 281).
In Neuquén at the primary school n° 1 *Ciudad de Buenos Aires* three workshops took place with pupils of the first and fourth grade (9-11.11.2010). They created masks, dolls and a few other toys like cars and robots. The children of the first grade got help of their mothers and fathers (fig. 341, p. 281). As in Bariloche, the participants viewed a PowerPoint on Moroccan children’s creativity with natural and waste material. These PowerPoints are available on www.sanatoypay.org (see multimedia: 2010).

Again, most of the girls and some boys made dolls but boys preferred to build vehicles such as cars, trucks and airplanes. The next photo attests however that some girls also liked to make a car (fig. 342).
On 12 November 2010, a similar workshop was organized by the Secretaria de la Niñez y Adolescencia de la Secretaria de Derechos Humanos of Neuquén at the Centro de Formación Professional in the Barrio Rural “Nueva Esperanza” at about 20 km from Neuquén. In that workshop 25 boys and girls, mothers and animators participated (fig. 343).

Early 2011 my friend Renzo the Toymaker (fig. 344), proposed that I help working out an important and long-term project in his city of Ravenna.
This project would be carried out in collaboration with the Associazione La Lucertola and the Centro La Lucertola, Gioco Natura e Creatività del Comune di Ravenna (www.lalucertola.org). Renzo Laporta (www.toymakingactivities.com) and I agreed to begin the project by making available about a hundred toys made with natural and waste material by Anti-Atlas children from southern Morocco. As I brought the toys in a suitcase from Morocco, Renzo got the interesting idea to name this project Jean-Pierre Rossie in Ravenna: i giocattoli in valigia (see: http://lalucertola.org/italiano/igiocattolidelmarocco.html). The actual implementation of the project began during my stay in Ravenna from 15 to 27 September 2011. During this time, I conducted a training seminar, two lectures and a workshop for creating dolls and cars with natural and waste material for children and their parents (fig. 345). A four-part document amply illustrated and describing different aspects of this project is available on the website http://lalucertola.org/italiano/jpraravenna.html.

Another important event was arranging the exposition of the toys created by Moroccan girls and boys (fig. 346-347, p. 285).
On his website, Renzo Laporta described the project as follows: “Jean-Pierre Rossie in Ravenna” is a project about childhood, children and their play cultures in the world of today. During the month of September, the project will start by the arrival of Jean-Pierre Rossie and the presentation of the toys he brings from southern Morocco. During winter the project will continue in the schools of Ravenna. At the end of the project, there will be an exhibition of toys made by children of these schools in the windows of some children’s shops in the center of Ravenna. The project will last three years. After the first year the distribution phase will start with an itinerant exhibition of children's toys made in Morocco and in Ravenna and this exhibition will be flanked by creative workshops and training for teachers. The dissemination phase will be planned and carried out in collaboration with national and international organizations.

The reader can consult a document describing the second phase of the project, which started in September 2011 and was carried out through 2012 in the primary school Morelli of Ravenna, on an Internet website (http://lalucertola.org/pdf/progettoMorelli2012.pdf). The objectives of the interventions were pursued through workshops promoting creativity and by bringing the pupils in contact with a different play and toy culture from another continent.

Since the World Play Day organized on May 28, 2011 by the Ludothèque HEB-ULB Ludivine and the Haute École de Bruxelles - Catégorie pédagogique Defré (www.defre.be), I was invited by Michel Van Langendonckt to write a series of short articles on the play culture of Moroccan children. These articles are printed in the magazine Les Cahiers de LUDO published as a supplement to the magazine Artichouette, the organ of the Association of Toy Libraries and Toy Librarians of the French Community of Belgium (http://ludobel.be). At the same time Michel Van Langendonckt proposed that I conduct in the Haute École de Bruxelles workshops inspired by toys made in Morocco. As the theme for these workshops, I used masks made by Moroccan youngsters and boys in the region of Tiznit (fig. 348-349, p. 287). A few students of the preschool teacher training participated in the third workshop held in October 2012. After viewing a PowerPoint presentation on the masquerade of Tiznit and its region, the participants had at their disposal natural and waste material to create their own masks (fig. 350, p. 288).
In addition to seminars and workshops for children and adults, I try to promote the recognition of North African children’s play and toy heritages by donating to museums toys created by Moroccan and Tunisian children. This was the case in 2005 for the Speelgoedmuseum Mechelen (www.speelgoedmuseum.be), the Toy Museum in Mechelen Belgium, for its project “Toys of the World”. In 2011, I donated to the Victoria Museum in Melbourne (museumvictoria.com.au) almost forty toys at the invitation of the editors of Play and Folklore, which is a forum for discussion on children’s play and a review (http://museumvictoria.com.au/about/books-and-journals/journals/ play-and-folklore).
An important event for the safeguarding of my written and visual information on Saharan, North Africana and Amazigh children’s play, games and toys is planned for October 2014. If nothing unexpected happens, I will bring all the printed, visual and audio-visual material that I have collected on this subject to the Musée du Jouet of Moirans-en Montagne in the Jura Mountains (www.musee-du-jouet.com) to be stored by the documentary section.

The digital databank on Saharan, North African and Amazigh toy and play cultures I created will also be integrated into the digital information of this museum. It is planned that an internal server of the museum will provide access to the data directly from a computer station available at the Research Center of the Musée du Jouet.

This databank will facilitate the study and use of this heritage for researchers and other interested persons. To disseminate these children’s cultures I shall offer my digital databank to some museums and research centers around the world under the sole condition that it is made available.

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to draw the reader's attention to a document I believe to be important to stimulate the use of Amazigh children’s toy and play culture for the social, cultural and educational development of this population in Morocco. The origin of this essay relates to the opening of the 2003 session of the Summer University of Agadir on the theme “Amazigh culture and the issue of development”. When friends of Sidi Ifni showed me the program of this session I stressed that it contained no reference to the Amazigh children and this observation led me to participate in these events.

Arriving on the scene, I contacted officials of the association organizing the Summer University of Agadir to say how this exclusion of Amazigh children seemed unfortunate. My comment was approved and I was asked to give a lecture. The book that should have contained my article “La culture ludique de l'enfant amazigh marocain et les questions de développement” has not been published for lack of funds. However, I completed this article in 2010 in order to be published in the book El Sembrador 3: Educación Física Intercultural. Apuntes para una construcción teórica y práctica and this in a Spanish version translated by Stela Maris Ferrarese Cappetini the author of this book. The original version in French and the Spanish translation are available on the Internet (www.sanatoypay.org see Publications: 2011).
The book *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures. Technical activities in play, games and toys* should according to my project about the collection *Saharan and North African Toy and Play Cultures*, have been the latest book on children’s pretend play in this geographical area. A book which is preceded in this collection by my books on *Children's dolls and doll play* (2005), *The animal world in play, games and toys* (2005), and *Domestic life in toys and games* (2008). The last book I had planned was an analysis of the Saharan and North African children’s games of skill and chance. However, the next book will discuss again the pretend play of children but this time geographically limited to the Anti-Atlas. This is because all or almost all of the additional data and images obtained on pretend play since 2004 comes from children living in this region of southern Morocco. The book on Saharan and North African children’s games of skill and chance is therefore postponed.
List of transcriptions

Conventional signs have replaced some Arabic letters:

th = ﺞ
j = ﺟ
h' = ﺢ
kh = ﺥ
dh = ﺨ
sh = ﺣ
ς = ﺱ
d' = ﺡ
t' = ﺡ
z' = ﺢ
o = ﻊ
gh = ﺩ
c = ﻀ
^ = indicates a long vowel
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Appendix 1

Catalogue des Jouets Sahariens et Nord-Africains du Musée du Quai Branly liés aux Activités Techniques
1 Introduction


Sans l'existence du fichier signalétique de la collection des jouets sahariens et nord-africains du Département d'Afrique Blanche et du Proche Orient de l'ancien Musée de l'Homme, l'étude de cette collection aurait été impossible. La majorité des renseignements mentionnés dans ce catalogue a dû être puisée dans ce fichier.

Les jouets dont la provenance était mentionnée dans la liste des objets déposés dans les réserves de ce département mais pour lesquels une fiche signalétique n'a pas été rédigée sont décrits par l'auteur de ce livre, qui a aussi complété les renseignements du fichier si nécessaire.

Les jouets décrits dans le catalogue ci-dessous sont, à l'intérieur de chaque section, classés suivant la population dont ils proviennent.

En ce qui concerne le jouet, d'abord son origine est indiquée : provenance géographique, provenance ethnique, collectionneur et/ou donateur, suivie par la description du jouet et si possible la référence au constructeur du jouet.

Après ces données, j'ai mentionné des renseignements sur les joueurs et sur d'éventuels dessins ou photos retrouvés dans la bibliographie. S'il existait dans le Service de la Photothèque de l'ancien Musée de l'Homme des photos de jouets liés aux activités techniques, non reproduit dans ce livre, cela est indiqué.

Les mesures sont mentionnées en centimètres : B = base, H = hauteur, LO = longueur, LA = largeur, E = épaisseur, D = diamètre, + = maximum, - = minimum.

Suite au transfert des objets de l'ancien Musée de l'Homme au Musée du Quai Branly les anciens numéros d'objets ont été adaptés. Devant l'ancien numéro le chiffre 71 a été mis, suivie de la date complète de l'année d'entrée, par exemple l'ancien numéro 30.61.617 a été changé en 71.1930.61.617.
Le Musée du Quai Branly a rendu disponible sur Internet les données concernant les objets qui y sont conservés. Sous la rubrique Documentation scientifique on trouve le Catalogue des objets :

Les données sur un jouet mentionné ci-dessous ainsi que la photo de ce jouet se trouvent facilement en utilisant la recherche ‘simple’. Puis on choisit comme critère de recherche ‘N° d’inventaire’ et on écrit ce numéro dans ‘saisir la recherche’, par exemple 71.1950.2.10. La notice complète de l’objet s’ouvre en cliquant sur la photo.

2 Les jouets pour jeux de chasse et de combat

2.1 Les crosses de jet

Zaghawa: 71.1957.82.23 (fig. 1, p. 55)


Description: voir p. 54.

2.2 Les frondes

Belbala: 71.1950.2.10 (fig. 2, p. 55)

Don Dominique Champault, 25.1.1950.

Description: voir p. 55.

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.74/196

71.1936.2.74

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: voir p. 56.

71.1936.2.196

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: fronde faite de laine et d’une armure toile, LO = 41 cm.
2.3 Les lance-pierres

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.231/240/242/243 (fig. 1, p. 55 - 71.1936.2.243)

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description:
Ces lance-pierres ont été faits avec une branche fourchue de laurier rose, un morceau de caoutchouc et un morceau de cuir. 
71.1936.2.231, LO = 36 cm. 71.1936.2.240, LO = 23 cm. 71.1936.2.242, LO = 27 cm. 71.1936.2.243: en haut de chaque élément de la fourche on attache un morceau de caoutchouc. Les bouts libres des deux caoutchoucs de longueur égale sont chacun noués dans un trou fait des deux côtés d’un petit morceau de cuir. Une pierre, mise dans le morceau de cuir, est projetée en se servant du caoutchouc comme d’un ressort. LO = 23 cm.

2.4 Les tire-balles

Touaregs Kel Djanet: 71.1937.21.22

Origine: Ouargla, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Djanet, Touaregs Kel Ajjer, nomades. 

Description: ce tire-balles ou tire-boulettes s’appelle alemess. Il s’agit d’un tube de roseau perforé et de fibres de palmier formant ressort. Les enfants placent un petit caillou dans l’embouchure et pressent sur le ressort. Ce jouet fut fabriqué par le fils du caïd d’Adjahil. LO =14 cm, H = 8 cm, D = 2 cm). D’autres tire-balles sont d’une longueur et d’un diamètre variables.
Teda: 71.1935.50.192.1-2/193/194 (fig. 11, p. 61 - 71.1935.50.192.1-2)

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Mission Le Cœur, 1934.

71.1935.50.192.1-2
Description: voir p. 61.

71.1935.50.193.1-2
Description: Il s’agit d’un tube de roseau percé de trois trous réguliers et avec un ressort de palmier. LO = 61 cm, D = 1,5 cm. Ce jouet s’appelle bunduq, ce qui sur d’autres fiches se traduit comme ‘fusil’.

71.1935.50.194
Description: Il s’agit d’un tube de bois percé mais avec cette particularité que le trou de part en part de la gâchette et le demi-trou pour charger sont réunis et qu’il y a un ressort de palmier. LO = 46 cm. Sur la photo dans le Catalogue des objets du Musée du Quai Branly le ressort manque.

Belbala: 71.1950.2.8

Collectionné par Dominique Champault, 1950.

Description: voir p. 62.

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.185 (fig. 12, p. 62)

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: voir p. 61. Comme nom de ce jouet a été mentionné aferzi mais avec un point d’interrogation.
2.5 Les tire-flèches

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.232/233, 71.1937.9.54

71.1936.2.232/233
Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.
Description: arme-jouet composé d’un tube de roseau perforé près des deux extrémités et d’une latte de palmier servant de gâchette. En pressant la gâchette une flèche est lancée. LO = 52 cm (232), 51,5 (233).

71.1937.9.54
Mission Germaine Tillion, 1937.
Description: arme-jouet composé d’un tube de roseau perforé près des deux extrémités et d’une latte de palmier servant de gâchette. En pressant la gâchette une flèche est lancée. H = 17 cm, LO = 36 cm.

2.6 Les arcs

Touaregs: 71.1966.0.1.60 X

Origine: Sahara. Touaregs, nomades.
Description: voir p. 65.

Touaregs Kel Ajjer:

71.1937.21.25

Origine: Djanet, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Djanet, Touaregs Kel Ajjer, nomades.
Recueilli par René Pottier, 12.12.1934.
Description: voir p. 65. H = 76 cm, flèche LO = 58 cm.
L’arc est appelé *el qaharaz* et la flèche *tenasapt*.

71.1936.44.63/64.1-8

Origine: Djanet, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Djanet, Touaregs Kel Ajjer, nomades.
Don d’Henri Lhote, 1936.

Description:
L’arc est une branche de palmier et la corde est en fibre de palmier.
(71.1936.44.63, H = 84 cm). Huit flèches en roseau légèrement effilées à une extrémité et d’une longueur moyenne de 65 cm furent jointes à cet arc (71.1936.44.64.1-8).

Teda: 71.1935.50.191.1-2 (fig. 1, p. 55)

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Mission Le Cœur, 1934.

Description: voir p. 65.

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.227.1-3/229/230, 71.1937.9.57/58

71.1936.2.227/229/230

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description:
71.1936.2.227.1-3
Arc avec flèche en bois de laurier rose. Arc H = 26 cm, flèche LO=18 cm.
71.1936.2.229
Arc avec une flèche en branche de laurier rose. La corde est faite de gaze torsadé. Arc H = 23 cm, flèche LO = 15 cm.
La localité d’origine n’a pas été mentionnée.

71.1936.2.230
Arc avec une flèche en bois de laurier rose. Arc H = 30 cm, flèche LO = 10,5 cm.

71.1937.9.57/58

Mission Germaine Tillion, 1937.

Description:
71.1937.9.57
Arc avec une flèche en bambou. La cordelette est faite de coton bleu. Arc H = 24 cm, fleche LO = 17 cm.
71.1937.9.58
Arc avec une flèche en bambou. La cordelette est faite de coton bleu. Arc H = 16 cm, fleche LO = 12,5 cm.

2.7 Les arbalètes

Touaregs Kel Ajjer: 71.1937.21.24 (fig. 1, p. 55)

Origine: Djanet, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Ajjer, nomades.
Recueilli par René Pottier, 5.12.1934.

Description: p. 67.

Belbala: 71.1950.2.9

Don de Dominique Champault, 25.1.1950.
Description: p. 67.


Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.223 (fig. 16, p. 67)

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: p. 67.

2.8 Les couteaux et les poignards

Touaregs Kel Aïr: 71.1936.44.85 (fig. 21 au milieu, p. 70)

Don Henri Lhote, 1936.

Description: p. 70.
Teda: 71.1934.62.9 D (fig. 19, p. 69)

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Déposé par le Dr. Noël, 1934.

Description: voir p. 69-70.

Remarque: Deux poignards de ce genre figurent dans l’Album du Musée de Bardo sur les Touaregs Kel Ahaggar à la planche III. Cependant les manches en forme de croix diffèrent du manche de ce poignard de bras-jouet dont le manche est comme celui de l’épée de garçon 71.1936.44.87 (p. 71).
2.9 Les épées

Touaregs: 71.1966.0.1.61 X (fig. 21 à gauche, p. 71)

Origine: Sahara. Touaregs, nomades.

Description: voir p. 71.

Touaregs Kel Aïr: 71.1936.44.87 (fig. 21 à droite, p. 71)

Don d’Henri Lhote, 1936.

Description: voir p. 71.


Teda: 71.1935.50.190 (fig. 22, p. 72)

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Mission Le Cœur, 1934.

Description: voir p. 71.

Zaghawa: 71.1957.82.31.1-2/32.1-2

71.1957.82.31.1-2 (fig. 23, p. 72)

Origine: Bakaoré (ba-kawre), Dar Zaghawa, Tchad. Zaghawa, semi-nomades.
Description: les mesures du sabre en bois sont $H = 67,5$ cm, $LA + = 4,5$ cm, ceux du fourreau $H = 81,5$ cm, $LA + = 5,5$ cm. Le fourreau fut fait avec des poils de mouton (noir, brun et blanc) en utilisant une aiguille en bois à chas fendu. Il est garnit de trois floches d’environ 20 cm et la bandoulière mesure environ 80 cm. Ce sabre appartenait à un garçon venu abreuver ses moutons au puits de Bakaoré.

71.1957.82.32.1-2


Description: les mesures du sabre en bois sont $H = 77,5$ cm, $LA + = 4$ cm, ceux du fourreau $H = 88$ cm, $LA + = 4,7$ cm. Il n’y a pas de dessins sur la lame. Le fourreau fut fait avec des poils de mouton (brun et blanc) en utilisant une aiguille en bois à chas fendu. Il est garnit de trois floches d’environ 18 cm et la bandoulière mesure environ 60 cm. Ce sabre appartenait à un garçon venu abreuver ses moutons au puits de Bakaoré.

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.247 (fig. 24, p. 73)

Origine: Douar Menaa, Amentane, Biskra (département), Algérie. Chaouïa, sédentaires.
Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: p. 72.

2.10 Les javelots

Touareg Icheriffen: 71.1941.19.472 (fig. 28, p. 75)

Origine: Gangaber, région de Gao, Sahara, Mali. Touareg Icheriffen ou Kel Fellen, nomades.
Description: p. 75.

Teda: 71.1935.50.195


Description: voir p. 76.

2.11 Armes à feu sans détonation ni tir de projectile

Maures : 71.1938.141.34/35/36/37/38/39/87 (fig. 29-30, p. 77)


Description:
71.1938.141.34
Fusil en terre cuite semblable à 71.1938.141.35. LO = 21 cm, canon: D = 4 cm.
71.1938.141.35 (fig. 29, p. 77)
Description p. 77.
71.1938.141.36
Fusil en terre cuite semblable à 71.1938.141.35. LO = 23 cm, canon: D = 4 cm.
71.1938.141.37
Fusil en terre cuite semblable à 71.1938.141.35. LO = 22 cm, canon D = 3,5 cm.
71.1938.141.38
Fusil en terre cuite semblable à 71.1938.141.35. LO = 22,5 cm, canon D = 4 cm.
71.1938.141.39 Fusil en terre cuite semblable à 71.1938.141.35. LO = 21,5 cm, canon D = 3,5 cm.
71.1938.141.87 (fig. 30, p. 77)

Description p. 77.

Teda: 71.1935.50.189 (fig. 31, p. 77)

Origine: Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires.
Mission Charles Le Cœur, 1934.

Description: voir p. 77.

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.186/187/238/239

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description:
71.1936.2.186
Pistolet droit en bois de la plante asphodèle partiellement entouré d’un fil.
L0 = 18,5 cm, D = 1,5 cm.
71.1936.2.187
Pistolet courbé en bois de la plante asphodèle. L0 = 38 cm, D = 2,5 cm.
71.1936.2.238
Fusil légèrement courbé en bois de la plante asphodèle. L0 = 42,5 cm, D = 2 cm. D’un côté le bâton a été aminci jusqu’à un diamètre d’environ 1,2 cm et sur une longueur de 3,5 cm.
71.1936.2.239
Fusil légèrement courbé en bois de laurier rose. L0 = 48 cm, D = 1,5 cm. D’un côté une entaille est faite autour du bâton pour indiquer la limite de la poignée.
2.12 Armes à feu avec détonation mais sans tir de projectile

Teda: 71.1965.3.80 (fig. 43, p. 83)

Origine: Zouar, Tibesti, Sahara, Tchad. Teda, nomades et sédentaires. Oleg Lopatinsky, 1962 (?)

Description: p. 83.

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.244/245/249/251/253 (fig. 44, p. 84)


Description:
71.1936.2.244
Fusil en bois de la plante asphodèle avec trou d’amorçage, orné vers le milieu de fils de coton blanc, bleu et rouge. LO = 38,5 cm, D = 1,4 cm.
71.1936.2.245
Fusil en bois de la plante asphodèle avec trou d’amorçage, à deux endroits ornés de brins de cheveux de chèvre. LO = 39 cm, D = 1,4 cm.
71.1936.2.249
Pistolet en bois sans trou d’amorçage. LO = 20 cm, D = 2,5 cm.
71.1936.2.251
Pistolet en bois semblable au pistolet 71.1936.2.253 mais avec un trou d’amorçage plus rectangulaire. LO = 15 cm, D = 2 cm.
71.1936.2.253 voir p. 84.

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.246/248

Description:
71.1936.2.246 (fig. 45, p. 84) voir p. 84.
Bâtonnet: H = 6,2 cm, D = 0,6 cm. Cône: H = 2,2 cm, D = 0,9 cm.
71.1936.2.248 (fig. 46, p. 85) voir p. 85.

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.252/250 (fig. 47, p. 85)

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: voir p. 85.

Remarque: l’emploi des coups de feu tirés par les hommes chaouïa lors des différentes fêtes est décrit dans Mathéa Gaudry (1929: 78-83).

2.13 Armes à feu avec détonation et tir de projectile

Belbala: 71.1952.27.36.1-2 (fig. 53, p. 88)

Don de Dominique Champault, 1951

Description: voir p. 88.

Chaouïa : 71.1936.2.219/237 ((fig. 54, p. 89)

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: voir p. 89.
3 Les jouets pour jeux liés au transport

3.1 Les bicyclettes

Tindouf: 71.1962.51.2 (fig. 89, p. 114)

Don de Corneille Jest, avant 1963.

Description: voir p. 113.

3.2 Les voitures

Touaregs Kel Ajjer: 71.1937.21.26 (fig. 101, p. 122)

Origine: Djanet, Sahara, Algérie. Touaregs Kel Djanet, Touaregs Kel Ajjer, nomades.
Recueilli par René Pottier, 28.2.1935.

Description: p. 122.

3.3 Les camions

Vallée de la Saoura: 71.1960.54.1 (fig. 199-200, p. 175)

Origine: Tamtert, Vallée de la Saoura, Sahara nord-occidental, Algérie.
Don de Corneille Jest, avant 1961.

Description: p. 174.

3.4 Les avions

Belbala: 71.1952.24.42/43

Don de Dominique Champault, 1952.
4 Les jouets pour jeux liés à la communication

3.1 Les tablettes coraniques

Chaouïa: 71.1936.2.265/266 (fig. 285, p. 238)

Mission Thérèse Rivière, 1936.

Description: p. 238.

3.2 L’encrier

Zaghawa: 71.1957.82.133


Description: p. 239.
Appendix 2:

Jean-Pierre Rossie and Khalija Jariaa

Moroccan boys’ play inspired by TV ‘the gendarmes and hashish smugglers’

On August 16\textsuperscript{th} 2009, in the village Ikenwèn at 29 km from Tiznit along the road to Tafraoute in southern Morocco (1), Khalija Jariaa (2) observed and photographed this play activity from the flat roof of her parents’ house situated next to where the boys are playing. The play area is situated between the flat roof on which clothes are drying and the old house with a tower seen in front and to the left of the pink colored house in the background (fig. 1).

Khalija doesn’t know who started the play because the boys were already playing when she noticed them. It takes place in the evening and the
observation lasts for about one hour until it becomes too dark to make photographs. The boys decide together what and how they will play. Their pretend play is inspired by the Moroccan TV series barnamaz l buliz, the police investigation, made in Casablanca and broadcast by the channel 2M International on Thursdays at 21h. This channel must be received with a parabolic antenna.

Four friends play at being policemen investigating a case of hashish smuggling or being hashish smugglers. They speak Tashelhit, an Amazigh language spoken in the Anti-Atlas and Souss region. The playmates seen on figure 2 are eight year old Mohamed with a blue sweater holding the steering wheel of his police car, nine year old Ahmed with a cap and white T-shirt, and six year old Smaïl, Ahmed’s brother, wearing a yellow T-shirt with blue sleeves. The fourth player is ten year old Lahoucein who lives in a village about forty km away and came with his father visiting the father’s sister in Ikenwèn. He appears on figure 3 (p. 346) dressed in a red sweater and holding a plastic revolver.

The observation starts when the gendarmes use their police cars (fig. 2).
Lahoucein dressed in a red sweater and holding a plastic revolver, is pretending to be a gendarme. He asks Smaïl, in the role of a youngster, if he didn’t saw one of the smugglers. Smaïl answers “Yes, I saw him running into the canalization under the track”. At that moment Lahoucein drops his car, enters the canalization and becomes a smuggler instead of a gendarme (fig. 3).

Now Mohamed, the inspector with the plastic revolver, pretends to be angry with Lahoucein, the smuggler, and says: “Where is the hashish”? Lahoucein replies as if he is afraid: “I don’t know. It is the others who have hidden it”. Ahmed then threatens Lahoucein “If you don’t give me it I shall hit you till you say where the hashish is, whether you like it or not”. Mohamed, the inspector, tells Ahmed, the gendarme: “Take Lahoucein and
Smaïl to prison”. Meanwhile Smaïl switches roles from being a youngster to being another smuggler.

Lahoucein comes out of the canalization (fig. 4). While shaking with fear he says: “No, I don’t want to go to prison, it is not me but the others like Smaïl, Hassan, Brahim, and Saïd who have smuggled the hashish”. Mohamed becomes angry and tells Lahoucein: “You are bad Lahoucein. Now you must explain everything”. To which Lahoucein, still shivering, replies: “No, no; I shall explain because I don’t want to go to prison”. Smaïl, the other smuggler, interferes and says: “I prefer to go to prison”. Lahoucein answers: “No, prison is not good”. Smaïl continues saying: “In prison there is food, TV, shower, playing football, it is better than the village”. Lahoucein replies: “No the village is better than prison”. Smaïl then says: “Prison is better for me than going each day to the mountains with the goats from eight in the morning till six in the evening”. Smaïl refers here to his and his friends’ more or less regular job of herding the goats when there is no school.
On the next figure Ahmed brought the two smugglers to prison and tells them “You must stay in prison till I return after we have searched for the other smugglers” (fig. 5).

Ahmed returns to Mohamed while Lahoucein and Smaïl stay a while in prison. Mohamed returns with Ahmed and his car to the prison and opens the prison door saying “Come out”. Lahoucein comes out and stretches himself while Smaïl is rubbing his eyes as if the sun blinds him. Mohamed tells the smugglers “Come with us”.

Mohamed and Lahoucein change roles so that Lahoucein becomes the inspector and Mohamed a smuggler. This change comes about because Lahoucein said: “Now I want to change (role) with Ahmed or Mohamed”. Mohamed answers: “I shall be the smuggler” However, before changing roles, Mohamed, still being the inspector, shows Lahoucein, the forthcoming inspector, how the revolver must be used (fig. 6, p. 349).
Mohamed tells Lahoucein: “You must quickly turn the revolver around your finger like an inspector does before shooting” (fig. 7, p. 350). Lahoucein replies: “If I turn the revolver like that the bullet could hit me”. Mohamed answers: “You are crazy, these are not real bullets, they only fall down (on the ground)”. Lahoucein says: “OK, in my village we don’t play like that” and then he turns the revolver.

In the next scene Ahmed with his cap is still playing the role of gendarme. The other players don’t encourage him to change role. Khalija, the observer, explains this by saying that according to the other boys of his village Ahmed is seen as a too serious boy. So his playmates don’t see him playing the character of a smuggler. They tell Ahmed: “You should stay a gendarme because you cannot play the part of a smuggler”.
Inspector Lahoucein and gendarme Ahmed are now searching for the hashish. Mohamed is already sitting down in the canalization and so he is not visible in the next figure. Smaïl, the other smuggler will do so immediately. Mohamed hides a plastic bag containing the imaginary hashish (fig. 8, p. 351).

Lahoucein and Ahmed have found the smugglers in the canalization. Ahmed, the gendarme, orders the smugglers: “You’ll stay here while we search for the hashish” (fig. 9, p. 351).

Smaïl says to Mohamed: “I shall stay here, so that the gendarmes will not give me many years in prison”. Mohamed asks Smaïl: “Why don’t you run away with me?” Smaïl replies: “I am the smaller one, the gendarme can take me quickly”. Mohamed answers to Smaïl: “OK, do as you like! But you must not be afraid and shiver like that, I shall bring you regularly something to eat”. Smaïl reacts by saying: “No, no, there is a very strong guard in this prison”. But Mohamed answers: “Don’t be afraid, I shall talk to the director of the prison”.
A bit later, Mohamed has taken the revolver out of the hands of Lahoucein who held it carelessly. Immediately, he points it at Ahmed, the gendarme, saying: “Hands up, I’ll take you to the prison or I’ll shoot you”. Ahmed replies: “OK don’t shoot me”. Meanwhile Lahoucein shouts: “Attention Mohamed, if you shoot Ahmed I shall kill Smaïl by hitting him in his neck”; whereupon Smaïl immediately reacts by bowing down his head.

The two smugglers change roles now. Mohamed pretends to be also an inspector just as Lahoucein who is holding the revolver. Smaïl becomes a gendarme and Ahmed remains a gendarme, the role he keeps during the whole play. They search the canalization to find hashish. They pretend that the canalization is a dry riverbed closed in on both sides by mountains (fig. 10).
While Khalija is changing the batteries of her digital photo camera Saïd, a friend of the players, approaches them and asks: “What are you playing”. The players answer: “We are the Casablanca gendarmes investigating hashish smuggling”. Saïd replies: “You all are gendarmes, so who will hide the hashish? Close your eyes. I shall hide it and whoever finds it will be the big chief”. Immediately afterwards Saïd’s father calls and tells him he must go to the shop buying washing powder because the washing machine is working. Saïd replies to his father: “No not now, wait a minute” but his father insists. Now Saïd conforms angrily and while weeping leaves his playing friends.

The play activity continues and Lahoucein shouts: “I have found it”. His playmates reply: “OK now you are the big chief”. Then Ahmed gets the car and comes to pick up the big chief (fig. 11). While Lahoucein, the big chief, is waiting for the car brought forward by Ahmed, he and Mohamed are still looking for hashish.

The play continues but Khalija stops observing the boys because it becomes too dark for making photographs.
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Notes

1 The small village Ikenwèn (meaning twins in Tashelhit), where Khalija Jariaa was born in 1975, is part of the village Id Boulhana that belongs to the village Id Baha. Id Baha together with several other villages constitute the rural commune Tighmi. These villages are situated on the lower mountain slopes of the Anti-Atlas. This small village with about 30 inhabited houses and 150 persons lives from agricultural and livestock activities. Almost each house has at least one cow and some have a few
donkeys. Other inhabitants are retired and some persons receive support from their children living in Morocco or in Europe. There is a primary school with six classes but no ‘preschool’. Ikenwên certainly is still more traditional than Douar Ouaraben at the outskirts of Tiznit, but all houses have one or more TVs with eventually two and up to four parabolic antennas. The number of TVs and parabolic antennas in each house is explained by the number of nuclear families living in one house. Tiznit and Tafraoute being touristic places, some tourists driving a camping car or a hired car are passing by on the asphalt road that runs between these two towns. Sometimes the tourists stop in Ikenwên and even stay overnight in their camping car. The children come to see the tourists and regularly receive sweets, pens, balls, soft toys, second hand cloths or something similar. Adults, who are living in important Moroccan towns like Agadir, Marrakech and Casablanca or in Europe but grew up in Ikenwên, and their children, surely influence the adults and children from Ikenwên when visiting their village of origin.

2 Khalija Jariaa developed since 2002 from being a housekeeper to an informant and an ethnographic research assistant. About 2008 she became a trained observer and since then does this independently making photographs and sometimes short videos with a digital photo camera. Her training and the supervision of her fieldwork is the responsibility of Jean-Pierre Rossie. The questioning of Khalija and the writing out of the observation protocol was done by Jean-Pierre Rossie with the help of Boubaker Daoumani. The languages used in this process are Tashelhit (Khalija Jariaa, Boubaker Daoumani), Moroccan Arabic and French (Khalija Jariaa, Boubaker Daoumani, Jean-Pierre Rossie). The final English version has been written by Jean-Pierre Rossie who is also responsible for the research and its results.
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