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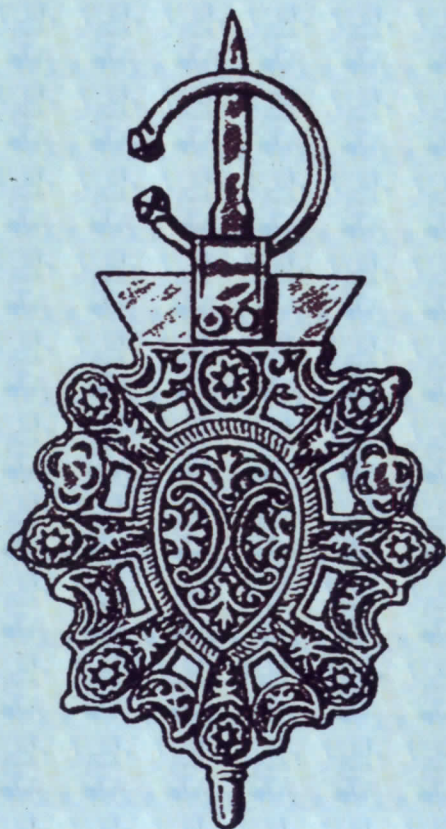
DE LA CULTURE AMAZIGHE

Centre de la Traduction, de la Documentation
de l'Édition et de la Communication

Série : *Traduction* - N° 2 -

Emile LAOUST

Amazigh Words and Things



Translated by : Ahmed CHAABIHI

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and Things*

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Rabat 2004

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Présentation

Amazigh Words and Things est la première traduction de l'amazighe vers l'anglais, que le Centre de la Traduction, de la Documentation, de l'Édition et de la Communication (CTDEC), de l'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM), a le plaisir de présenter au public. Il s'agit d'extraits choisis de l'étude linguistique et ethnographique très importante, intitulée *Mots et choses berbères : notes de linguistique et d'ethnographie*, publiée au début du siècle dernier (1920) par le grand amazighisant Emile Laoust (1876 – 1952) et rééditée en fac-similé au milieu des années 80.

Mots et choses berbères réunit, dans un seul volume comprenant dix chapitres, des textes authentiques en amazighe dictés par des locuteurs natifs, leur traduction française effectuée par l'auteur, et d'amples notes linguistiques et ethnographiques très importantes pour l'intelligence du texte et pour une éventuelle étude comparative, glanées pendant une période de cinq ans. D'un intérêt informatif et scientifique évident, l'étude de Laoust documente une tranche fondamentale de l'ethnographie et de l'histoire de la région de Demnate et offre des indications linguistiques minutieuses sur ses sous-dialectes. Sur le plan ethnographique, elle s'inscrit dans la continuité des études effectuées par des explorateurs comme Doutté (1914), et des ethnologues comme Westermarck (1905) et Biarnay (1917) et nous donne des informations importantes sur l'habitat, le mode de vie, les activités quotidiennes et les croyances des Imazighen de l'époque (deuxième décennie du 20^{ième} siècle). Le volet linguistique s'inspire des études sur la langue amazighe effectuées par, entre autres, Boulifa (1908) et Destaing (1914). La date à laquelle elle a été publiée et les données qu'elle livre font d'elle une étude très importante pour l'approche chronologique, qui est un élément essentiel de notre conception du programme d'étude et de recherche en traductologie. Son choix est donc ni fortuit ni arbitraire.

L'activité de recherche en traductologie et de traduction vers l'arabe et vers d'autres langues (anglais, espagnol, allemand, etc.), dont *Amazigh Words and Things* représente un échantillon, fait partie du volet «Traduction pour le rayonnement» du programme d'action conçu par le

CTDEC - selon une stratégie visant le court, le moyen et le long terme. Ce volet concerne la traduction vers d'autres langues de textes et de travaux d'intérêt général traitant de l'amazighe et de l'amazighité pour les faire connaître (langue, culture, histoire, etc.) et des Imazighen. L'autre volet, «*Traduction pour l'enrichissement*», concerne la traduction d'œuvres et de travaux, faisant partie du patrimoine culturel universel, d'autres langues vers l'amazighe et participe à l'intervention sur la langue et à son enrichissement au niveau du corpus.

Avec la traduction et la publication de ce type de travaux, le CTDEC espère contribuer au rayonnement de la langue et de la culture amazighes. Il estime que la traduction est un des vecteurs essentiels de ce rayonnement, dans la mesure où cette activité académique désenclave l'amazighité, lui offre des ponts de communication et d'échange avec d'autres cultures et d'autres civilisations.

Jilali SAIB
Directeur du CTDEC

Foreword

Mots et choses berbères : notes de linguistique et d'ethnographie (1920) was part of the fruit of the reconnaissance enterprise carried out by the French colonising power during the early days of the Protectorate (which began, officially in 1912). Its author, Emile Laoust (1876-1952) is one of the leading scholars in the study of the Amazigh language and culture (cf. bibliography). He was summoned from Algeria to teach at the newly established "Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines" (the present-day Faculty of Letters) in Rabat. While in Morocco, his fieldwork and research was mainly devoted to the region of Demnat in Central Morocco, particularly to the study of the Ntifi dialect and customs.

As its subtitle indicates, the book is a mixture of ethnographic and linguistic analysis in which Laoust drew on earlier exploratory fieldwork in Moroccan Berber studies, conducted by, inter alia, Westermarck (1905), Doutté (1914). However, he added new elements as he dealt with a region unexplored until then.

Mots et choses berbères comprises original texts in the Amazigh language, together with Laoust's translation, linguistic and ethnographic notes and comments. Its importance lies in the light that it throws on the way of life and daily activities of the Imazighen (i.e. Berbers) of the second decade of the 20th Century. Specifically, the book contains descriptions of different rituals performed by the Imazighen when cultivating the land, harvesting, imploring God for rain in periods of drought, and the like. It also focuses on their habitat, eating habits, clothes, marriage ceremonies, etc. Unfortunately, most of these traditions are vanishing nowadays.

We have deemed it relevant to translate excerpts from *Mots et choses berbères* as a contribution to the Amazigh cultural and linguistic revival, promotion and radiance, which are part of IRCAM's important missions.

Though *Mots et choses berbères* was part and parcel of the French colonizers' enterprise to "know" Moroccans so as to control them ("knowledge and power", to use Michel Foucault's words), it is of a paramount importance for us as an ethnographic and linguistic study on

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Imazighen's way of life. Indeed, it has contributed to the recording and preservation of significant elements of Amazigh cultural heritage.

My thanks go to Prof. Jilali Saib for having read the first draft of this translation, to Zhour Naim for having typed it and to Mustapha El Houdaigui for having prepared it for publication.

Ahmed Chaabihi
Directeur de recherche

Note on the transcription :

For typographical reasons, I have kept Laoust's original transcription of Amazigh words (in spite of its imperfections) but with few modifications. I have used (') for the voiced pharyngeal fricative (ʕain) and (gh) instead of (ghain) for the voiced velar fricative (I.P.A. : ʁ). I have also kept the vowels in their original place.

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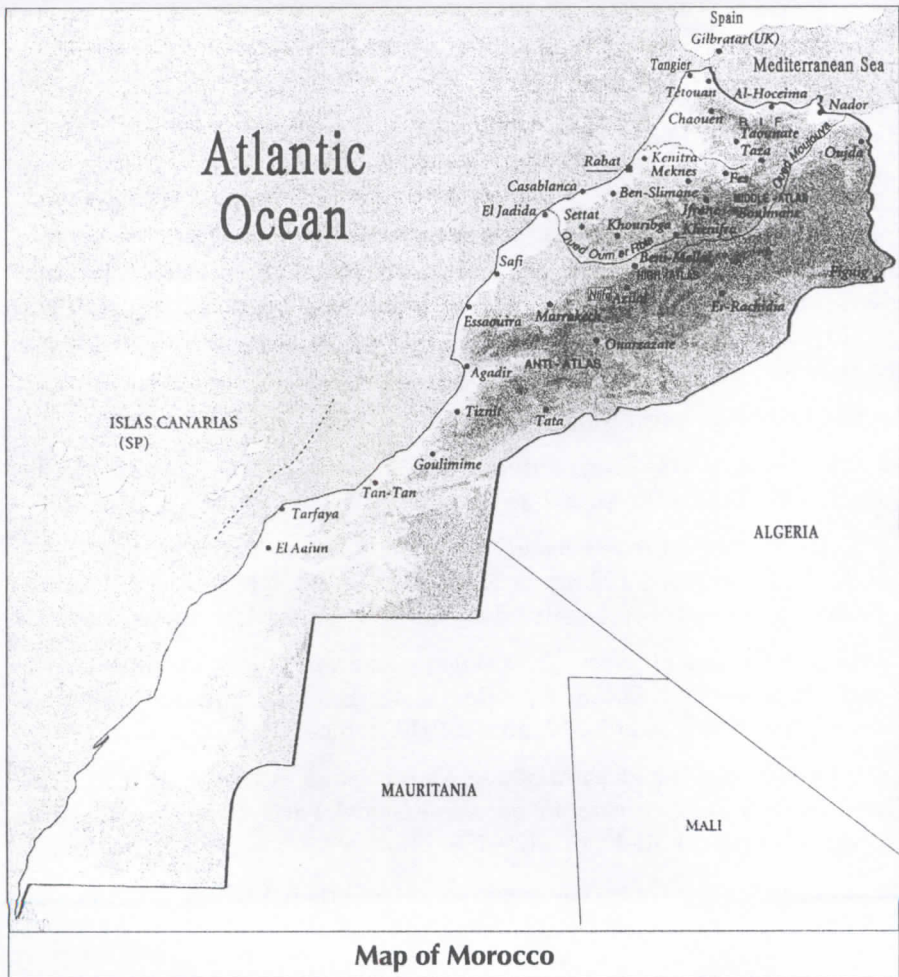
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Chapter I : Habitations

The Façade : For defence purposes, Amazighs generally build their habitations on top of elevated places. *Tighremt* is a large square building, with thick walls made of beaten earth, covered by terraces and flanked by towers at the angles. A single door allows access to it. Narrow loopholes made in the walls of the upper floor are the only external openings in the house.

Tighremt is always isolated. A Berber village contains a number of *tighremts* built on tops of hills and separated from each other by orchards or waste grounds. What is striking at first sight about these habitations, which are of a defensive appearance is the deep excavations which surround them and which have to be dug in order to draw the materials necessary for the building of walls. These excavations serve as a dumping ground for household refuse and dung. Sometimes, a fig tree is planted there as well as squashes when it is the season.

A small countryside oven, where women bake a type of bread (made from barley) called *Lkrun*, is always built outside the house. Wealthy people have another oven in which they roast whole lambs on feast days or when receiving guests.

The Ground Floor : After crossing the threshold, we enter a long and narrow room which serves as a hall. In winter, a fire is kept burning there and family members warm themselves up by it in the company of passing guests. The horse is tethered in the left corner of the room. Towards the right is the tower where straw is stored, and the stairs which lead to *tamesrit* (the best room of the house where guests are received).

In the hall, there is a door which leads to a small courtyard which is surrounded by the different rooms of the house, one of which serves as a kitchen. The fireplace is at one end of the kitchen and the mill is at the other. Women cook in there as they keep their utensils and jugs filled with water. It is in there that women have their meals, while men eat in the hall or in the courtyard.

All the rooms are usually used by the members of the family, and those which are not serve as stores for straw for which there is no room in the tower.

The courtyard is an open air area where rain water is drained off through a hole in the wall.

Above the doors of the ground floor is an *asqif* or a shelter which consists of a roof made of lopped-off branches supported by big poles that are driven into the ground. It is this shelter that women use as a kitchen in summer. At the approach of winter, the rain and the wind force them to take refuge in the kitchen, once again. In the *ixuzam*, put under this shelter or near the doors of the rooms, corn and barley are stored away. These *ixuzam* are bottomless tall round baskets made of reed and bought at low prices in markets ; They are kept upright on the ground by making them stand on their large open end ; they are coated with a mortar made of clay, cow dung and shredded straw.

The Upstairs : If one comes back to the hall and climbs the stairs which are built in one of its corners, one finds rooms which are completely similar to the downstairs ones (same dividing walls but not whitewashed, same floors made of clay, and the same lack of furniture). These rooms are generally used as bedrooms. Some of them contain a bed consisting of

flat bedstead covered by a mat ; a *haik* (a woven cover made of wool) is used as a blanket, cushions filled with rags or bran serve as pillows ; a leather bag, belonging to the mistress of the house, contains all her clothes and things such as aromatic substances, a small glass, a comb, a small reed flask containing *Tazult* (a black substance used for eye make-up) ; some pieces of glass jewellery, cloves and thyme are carefully kept in tied rags.

In a small box, the master of the house keeps his money, but a wealthy man knows how to securely bury it in the ground.

Tamserit is a long and narrow room ; it is the most comfortable place in the house where guests are received. Built on top of the hall, *Tamserit* has the same size.

Daylight comes in through a single and very narrow window which is often made in the wall above the door. Mats cover the floor, and the utensils necessary for making tea are there, too.

The Terrace : a wooden ladder leads to the terrace from which a large horizon can be seen. In summer, the family members, who cannot stand the heat in the ground floor rooms, spend the night at the terrace where women also dry grains which they have washed before grinding them, as well as they dry figs in their season. Chickens manage to climb to the terrace, and in order to prevent them from eating grains or figs, a little boy or girl is posted there. A small hut where the little keeper finds shelter from the scorching rays of the sun is built on one of the towers' platform. Rain water is carried away by gutters made of wood and found in each side of the rooftop.

Daylight : Light comes into the rooms through the doors. Upstairs rooms have sometimes small openings through

which air and light come in, while ground floor rooms do not have such openings. If the latter happen to be there, members of the family take great care to block them with stones. As to smoke, no outlet is made for it ; thus, it goes through the door and whirls around in the courtyard.

Outbuildings : the rooms where the members of the family do not live serve as a cowshed. When the flock of sheep is very small ; it is also kept in these rooms or in the courtyard. But when it is large, a *zriba* (an enclosure) is built near the house. Only the horse of the master of the house is kept in the hall. The hen house is constructed in a corner of the habitation, particularly under the *Asqif* (a type of shelter). Sometimes a single stick fixed above the sewer serves as roost for chickens.

The Door : its frame consists of two vertical posts (*imnaren*) and two horizontal beams (*l'atebat*), one of them is spread on the floor, thus forming the doorstep of the house, and the other is embedded in the masonry of the upper part of the opening. The door is made of badly squared planks that are nailed down to solid crosspieces. The door turns on two pivots embedded in the holes made in the horizontal beams of the frame or two coarse pieces of wood that are perpendicularly driven in the interior part of the wall of the house. The lock is entirely made of wood and held to the internal part of the house. It can be handled only from the interior, but there is a keyhole which facilitates unlocking the door from outside. Not all the doors in the house have a lock, but a stake is used to keep them shut.

Against the Evil Eye : Fearing the evil eye, some house owners nail a horseshoe on their entrance door. They believe that such an act would also protect their family and their animals

from all kinds of bad influence. In the Inketo tribe, for instance, a person whose sheep have been affected by the evil eye hang on the lintel of the door a small round stone with a hole in the middle. By merely passing again and again under this stone, the flock will no longer suffer from the bad effects of the evil eye.

The Cistern : the Ntifi land suffers from a shortage of water. Springs are rare ; the only important ones are found in Tanant, Bzou, Aghbalou and Imi Ljem'a. Everywhere else people dig wells ; others collect rain water in cisterns built either inside or outside habitations. The first showers clean the conduits, and water is not let into the cisterns till it has become clear. When the cisterns are full, the conduits are blocked up.

Moving in and out : a house accommodates two or three families, sometimes more. When a stranger, who is a householder, entreats the owner of a house to offer him a space in the empty part of the habitation, he should give the owner some small gifts such as eggs and hens. If the latter accepts, the stranger brings his family and settles there. He helps the master of the house to cultivate his fields and look after his orchards. This goes on till the stranger no longer gets on well with the master and thus moves out, taking with him his things and services.

Aït Bou Oulli's and Imeghran's Houses

The houses which the Aït Bou Oulli tribe have built at the foot and on the northern slope of the Ghat mountain consist of a ground floor reserved for the animals and a first floor whose bare and dark rooms are shared by one or more families.

The entrance door leads to a hall (*ufddjir*) which serves as a stable. The interior courtyard (*rrhaft*) is reserved for sheep which

spend the bad months of winter in it. It is entirely covered except for a small hole (*aragh*) in the middle which lets in a weak light. The upstairs rooms open onto a small courtyard sheltered by a terrace. They are badly lit by the little light which comes through a hole in the roof called *aragh -n- ufella*. One room serves as a kitchen (*ahanu n-takät*), another as a granary (*ahanu llxezin*), and an other as *tamesrit* where guests are received. We get access to it via steep stairs that are built in a corner of the hall.

On the terrace, a small construction called *amaläl* is sometimes built; in summer turnips are dried up in it and in winter little lambs find shelter there. Narrow loopholes *isunif*, made in the external walls, let in a weak light; gutters called *timuzzar* allow the drainage of rain water from the terrace.

The Aït Bou Oulli's neighbouring tribe, Imeghrans live in a different type of houses which have no interior courtyard. These houses are high and consist of many floors. Usually, the family lives on the top floor. The kitchen (called *tisfri n-isemi*) takes up a whole floor. The ground floor (*taddart*) serves as a sheep pen and stable. Straw as well as corn and lucerne stems are kept in some kind of a barn. In one of the corners of the terrace, there is a small room (*tamalalt*) which seems to have served in former times as a lookout tower.

Like Aït Bou Oulli, Imeghran still give the name of *tighremt* to a large building where they stock their harvests. Built on a hill and flanked by towers which have loopholes and battlements, the building consists sometimes of three, four or even five floors. Each floor contains a *tamesrit* and a long hall (*tasuqt*) where storerooms are lined up. Each householder stocks his crop in one of these rooms which he keeps locked.

Imeghran use this *tighremt* as a real fortress looked after in peacetime by a gatekeeper who is also in charge of putting up strangers and travellers, but in wartime, fighters gather in it, thus turning the place into a fortress capable of a long resistance.

Given various names such as *tighremt*, *agadir* (Sous), *taqliât* (Aures), *temidal* (Djebel Nefousa), these storehouse-castles are found not only in the Middle and High Atlas mountains or on the steep banks of Draa and Ziz rivers, but also in the Aures, southern Tunisia and Libya.

The storage of harvests is sometimes the occasion for scrupulously carrying out certain practices. Among Ida Gounidif people, in particular, the crops are taken from the threshing floor to the storehouse castle by young girls called *timasay* (porters). The baskets are set down at the foot of the building from which they are lifted up to the level of different floors by means of a rope and a pulley ; then their contents are poured into some kind of big chests whose walls are made of earth. When these chests are full, a stick is planted in the middle of the pile, and a comb is put near the stick so as to ward off the evil eye. A small vase which is used to take the needed grains from the stock is put there, too. When the storage is finished, the family of each farmer is accustomed to going on Friday or Sunday to the storehouse so as to eat on the chest containing their cereals a special bread called *tadoghsalt*, which the mistress of the house has prepared with the flour made of the sweepings of the remaining grains in the threshing floor. This act is supposed to keep the "Baraka" or blessedness of the grains in the hope that they never get used up.

Taddart

A *tighremt* is the dwelling of the rich while a *taddart* or an *amazir* is that of the poor. The latter is a hovel made of beaten earth or of stones and covered by terraces. Low and earthy, a *taddart* is distinguished by the dung-hill which stands by it and on which children play. An olive or fig tree covers the house with its shade and provides its sole ornament.

This miserable house contains two or three rooms to which one has access through a low door. Sometimes several families live in these small rooms which are unhealthy, dark and windowless ; people can only sit down in them. A *taddart* has neither floors nor side towers, but, like a *tighremt*, it has a shelter called *asqif*, whose walls are darkened by smoke and under which women fit in a fireplace and a mill.

In front of the hovel is a small courtyard (*asarag*) surrounded by a horseshow shaped fence of dry jujube branches. A hole made in the fence serves as an entrance which is closed at night by means of jujube bush. A fierce dog tied inside the enclosure guards the house, chickens live in it in an abandoned earthen oven; bees are also kept there inside earthenware cooking pots laid on the ground and covered by old mats; the few animals which constitute the whole property of the house owner takes shelter there, too. In the region of Demnat, *taddarts* are scattered in gardens and in the green land, but in the northern part of Ntifa houses are grouped on the slopes of hills.

Berber Tents

The sedentary population of Demnat province do not use tents at all. However, this type of habitation, which is also rare in the

High Atlas, Sous, Dar'a and Dads basins, is almost the only type known by the Berbers of the upper valley of Muluya river, of the Middle Atlas, and of the plateaux south of Meknes and of Ma'amora forest.

The Moroccan tent does not differ much from the type of tent used everywhere else in North Africa, except for the Touareg tent which shows in its general layout, in its orientation and in its grouping style some odd dissimilarities. The tent of a Moroccan Berber is the same wherever he is. The only existing differences are in terms of terminology; however, such differences are only of a phonetic aspect and more apparent than real.

Every tent is supported by a framework consisting of two vertical poles spaced out two metres apart maximum and supporting a horizontal pole to which is given the name of *tirselt*. These poles, which are grossly squared, are made of pinewood or cedar wood depending on the region. Sometimes, they are decorated by curious geometrical ornaments incised into them. A long rectangular piece of fabric, of a black or brown color and made of smaller pieces (called *iflidjen*, pl. of *aflidj*) stitched together, serves as a roof with two slopes which do not reach the ground. Each *aflij* or strip of fabric is 70 cm to 1m wide and of variable length, depending on the nomad's social position and on the importance of the tent that needs to be made. Women weave it with sheep wool or goat hair mixed with palm fluff or asphodel fibers.

The fabric is stretched very high above the ground by means of ropes fastened on one side to wooden hooks sewed in the fabric and on the other side to pegs which are driven in the ground. The empty space between the ground and fabric is

filled in either side with scrub or with long narrow mats made of rush. The front part of the tent, which faces the interior of the douar (a more or less large group of tents) serves as an entrance (*tagurt*). Rain water runs through a canal dug around the tent which is also protected by a small mound of earth. A fence of dry jujube, sometimes, surrounds the tent from the side that is in the outer part of the douar ; it makes a small enclosure where ewes which have come back from pasture are kept so as to be milked.

The interior of the tent is called *agënso*. It is sometimes divided into two parts separated by a stretched fabric. The family generally uses the part called *tissi* (bed) consisting of mats and carpets. Women carry out their tasks in another part where they have a fireplace and keep their kitchen utensils.

A more or less large group of tents arranged in the form of a circle constitute a douar (district) whose Berber name is *asun*. The free space left between two tents makes a passageway called almost everywhere *azîlâl*. At sunset, some activity comes back to the dormant *douar* with the return of flocks; it is confined to this passageway where shepherds keep to the right in order to avoid congestion. The centre of the douar is given different names : *tigemi* by Zemmour and Ichqirn ; *tidjemmi* by Aït Seghrouchen ; *afray* by Aït Warain; *amazir* by Aït Ouirra. Cattle spend the night there.

Finally, a smaller tent, which is at the same time a mosque, a Quranic school and a refuge for guests and passers-by, is often built in the middle of the douar, or completely outside it, as is the case among Aït Seghrouchen.

Moving into a New House

When the building of a new house is finished and the owner wants to move into it, he fills one jug with water, a second with oil and a third with flour; he also chooses an ewe that he will slaughter on this occasion. Women wear their best clothes, and make cries of joy, at sunset, they go to the new house, followed by the Imams of mosques reciting the Holy Quran.

The ewe is slaughtered in the doorway and the lintel is sprinkled with its blood. The three jugs are taken into the house, starting with the one containing water, next the one containing oil, and finally the one containing flour. Women enter the house and visit the different rooms while burning incense. Afterwards, the Imams enter the house and sit on mats which women have spread in the middle of the courtyard; they spend the whole night reciting the Holy Quran, while women sing and dance. At dawn a meal is served to the Imams who later beseech God to bless the family and make them enjoy peace of mind and good health in their new home.

Household Protective Practices

To protect his house against the evil eye, the householder often puts on the top of a wall an empty cooking pot whose outside *is darkened* by the soot. This mode of protection also includes fields of watermelons and of marrows. We know that the practice of fastening to trees' trunks fragments of old pots is common among the Berbers in the whole of North Africa, too.

We have already seen how, in the same spirit, the Berbers of North Ntifa and the Inketo tribe hang a stone with a hole in the middle of it above the door.

Nailing a horseshow on the wall or on the door is a practice which is found all over the Maghreb. This is also the case with the drawing of a hand commonly called "the Hand of Fatma", which is hung on the wall above or near the door. These crude drawings, of a blue, dark or ochre colour, differ, depending on the region. The "hand" drawn in Marrakech is not similar to the one drawn in Tangier.

Chapter II : FOOD

The Manner of Having a Meal :

When the meal, which is prepared by the woman whose turn to cook has come, is ready, she inquires at the moment of serving it about the number of the family members that are present so as to keep the portions of those who are absent. She serves men separately; older boys eat with their father while young girls eat with their mother ; as to the little children, they eat separately. Men eat in the hall ; they first wash their hands with the water which one of them pours on the hands of the others one after another, they thank him for serving them. Next, the dish is brought and put in the middle of the group of men who sit around it and after saying "In the Name of Allah", they start eating Couscous by rolling it into small balls with their right hands. When they finish eating, they lick their fingers one after another, and wipe their right hands by rubbing them against their left ones.

A Reception

When a kaid wants to visit a tribe's chief (*amghar*), he sends him a messenger so that the necessary preparations could be made. The chief immediately convenes the wealthy men and tells them : "the kaid is going to visit us on such a day, it is important that we give him the very reception he deserves". "Everyone of you should prepare a dish that he will be proud of".

Everyone goes back home. Those people who own sheep slaughter an ewe, while those who do not have any, slaughter chickens. Each one does more than he can afford. The chief has to do better than everyone else.

When the kaid comes into view, he is received by the leading tribesmen who say to him : "Welcome to you and to your companions" ; then, they all walk in procession, followed by children; at the chief's house, people from the village hurry to help the horsemen dismount by holding the stirrup for them.

Walking before the kaid, who is followed by his men, the chief leads his guests to *Tamesrit* (the reception room) which is prettier that day than a meadow in spring.

The chief leaves his guests alone for a moment and goes out to give orders. He indicates where the horses are to be tethered so that they would not get entangled and start lashing out. He makes sure that they are given straw and that their saddles are removed when they are relaxed and dry.

When the meal is ready, every family sends the dish it has prepared to the chief's house. If the Kaid is accompanied by a large number of people, the custom is to have two or three sittings. A relative of the chief chooses from among the brought dishes the best ones which are served to the group presided by the Kaid, reserving the less good ones to the others. The village people who are all present sit at a distance, in a corner of the room. One dish after another is served to the guests till they do no longer want any. Then, the village people divide themselves into small groups and eat the leftover. Water, soap a copper basin are brought and presented first to the kaid, who washes his hands, rinses his mouth and wipes them with a towel; the other guests do the same. Next, a tray full of glasses is brought so as to prepare tea.

Sharing out Meat

When village people want to share out meat, they inquire about the individual who will sell them a young bull or a cow

which they buy from him. The seller, thus, states, "you have to provide me with a guarantor". They reply, "Choose from among us the person whom you like." When he has chosen the guarantor whom he trusts, people send someone to fetch the animal from the pasture. When the messenger finds the herdsman, he asks the latter to give him the animal concerned. Having tied a rope around its horns, the messenger takes the animal to people in charge of slaughtering it.

After lunch, when people have nothing to do and while some of them perform their midday prayer and others remain lying on the ground, one of the co-partners goes to look for the others who come slowly one after another. A messenger is sent once again to look for those who have not shown up and makes sure whether they are going to share out the meat or not.

When the number of participants is finally known, the animal is led to the shade of a fig tree where it is slaughtered. Water is brought so as to wash the cut; then, the butcher removes the skin and the entrails. He divides the meat into portions and does the same to the entrails. He puts the parts on a mat. Next, he asks the participants to prepare for drawing lots. So each one of them takes a small piece of wood on which he puts a distinctive mark, while a person stays at a distance. Next, the supervisor of the meat distribution asks the latter to come and proceed to putting each piece of wood on a portion of meat. Thus each one knows his part, and dispute is avoided. The same is done to the distribution of the entrails. Only the hide remains undivided so it is sold at auction. One of the participants acts as an auctioneer, and those interested start bidding. The hide is finally sold to the highest bidder.

When the time for the payment of the share is due, the guarantor calls on those who shared out the meat. Those who have money, pay right away while those who cannot ask him to wait till the following market day so that they could sell something and give him the money. Sometimes, someone may refuse to pay so he is summoned to appear before the chief's court.

Chapter III : CLOTHES

1) Men's Clothes :

The customary garment of men in Ntifa is the *a'aban* (a woollen sheet), which is worn directly on the skin and rarely over a *tsamir*, a long cotton shirt fastened on the shoulders by means of a lace. The *a'aban* is an un-sewed piece of material, whose length is ten to twelve cubits and width three to four. It is wrapped around the body and holds without having recourse to a fastener, a belt, a clip or a pin. It is only logical to say that wearing such a garment must have preceded the use of sewn garments and that its simplicity is even the sign of its antiquity. *Sumger* means to wrap oneself in an *a'aban*, hence the name *tasumgert* given to the external tail of the garment. Putting it on is a simple operation. After adjusting the garment on one's back and putting on the left shoulder its internal tail, one holds under the right arm the part laying on the ground drawing it to the chest by pulling towards the left.

Then one slings one's leather bag, called (*aqrab*) by Aït Bou Oulli, (*taxrit*) by Aït Messad and (*tadghurt*) by Imghran, as well as a long knife *ajnuï* or *lkumit*. One wraps oneself once again and readjusts the *a'aban* behind one's neck, leaving it loose enough around the neck and throwing the *tasumgert* (tail) on the left shoulder. This garment is without pockets, which necessitates the carrying of a leather bag that every Moroccan has. Anyone who does not have one, which is an exception, puts his coins in a knotted corner of the garment at the level of the neck. The tail of an *a'aban* is a practical means of carrying voluminous objects ; it is not unusual to meet a Berber farmer coming back from his garden carrying grass, grains, sheaves or fruits merely wrapped in the tail of his garment.

Wearing an *a'aban* does not necessitate the use of a belt. However, the Ntifa people wear one which they hide under their clothes ; they even sometimes wear it directly on the skin. This belt consists of a mere plaited rope made of dwarf palm tree fibers. They thus wear a belt, thinking that it would help them acquire more strength in carrying out their daily tasks, as well as it would protect them against some diseases.

In the province of Demnat, the *a'aban* is the garment of common people ; however it is not without elegance ; its earliest antiquity cannot be doubted, though to name it Berbers have recourse to foreign terms whose etymology remains mysterious.

Wearing an *a'aban* tends to disappear and it is being displaced by the town dwellers' dress. This is the result of the fact that imported European cotton fabric and ready-made clothes are sold in all markets at prices accessible to everybody. Moreover, weaving an *a'aban* is a long task that is not materially rewarding and that women are turning their back on day after day.

When a Ntifi tribesman does not wear an *a'aban*, he usually dresses as follows: he puts on a long shirt (*tcamir*) or a smock (*âqcab* or *aqidur*) over which he wears a *djellaba*. Wearing a burnoose is common. It is considered as being of African origins. However, the word burnoose is not found in North African dialects. It is known under different names. Wearing trousers is not common. However, every horseman who respects himself should wear one.

More often than not, Berbers go bareheaded. They even mockingly call Bedouins ropes (*izakarèn*) because of the thread they wind up around their heads. However, some people wear a turban, but this turban, whose colour is always white, is

wound in a manner that leaves the top of the head uncovered. In summer, reapers, horsemen and travellers protect themselves against the heat of the sun by means of a hat with large brims, made of braided, dwarf palm tree fibres.

Berbers usually walk bare foot. Nevertheless, they are not insensitive to the comfort of good shoes. We know that on the occasion of a wedding the presents that the bride-groom must offer to his step-parents are a large number of Moroccan shoes. Therefore, when a Berber wants to walk for a long distance, he prefers to wear a type of shoes, consisting of leather soles fastened to the feet by means of straps.

2) Women Clothes

The dress of Ntifi women does not differ greatly from the one usually found in other regions. The main part of the dress consists of a white sheet called *a'aban* when made of wool and *lîzar* when made of cotton.

A woman's *a'aban* is held on the shoulders by means of pins and clasps. Rich women have them in silver while the poor ones use thorn bushes which - though free of charge - play the same role. A tail of this sheet falls on the back, and mothers use it to carry their babies on their back. A large red belt made of wool is worn by women, too.

This sheet hardly comes down to the knees ; it is half-open on one side and reveals, at the least movement, the woman's legs and breasts. In ordinary times, this inconvenience does not make the Berber woman feel uncomfortable. But when she is in the presence of strangers, it is of good taste on her part to modestly hold the folds closed. Besides, she does not wear a veil and goes out freely ; when she meets a stranger on her

way, the most she does is to turn her back to him till he has gone by. She does this less out of modesty than for fear of the evil eye. The woollen sheet (*lizar*), which is the costume not only of Berber women but also of the Bedouin ones, is not known at present among the women of Fez and Marrakech. We know, however, that the latter used to wear it in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A reliable observer, Diego de Torres says about women in Marrakesh, "Over their dress, they wear a long piece of clothing which they call *licares* ; in Granada, it is named "*almasfas*", it is made of silk or wool, it has several figures and patterns on the borders which are pleated in such a way that when women throw it on their body they fasten the borders on the chest by means of some jewels which are made of gold or silver when worn by rich women and of iron when worn by poor ones".¹

Similarly, Marmol says of the women in Fez that "they are extremely beautiful, though they are not very chaste, they dress elegantly and when they go out, they wear rich white clothes made of gold and silk on top of which they put on *mel-hafas* or *lizaras* which are made of rich fabric of the Netherlands and ornamented on the borders with coloured silk. The *mel-hafas* have the length of bed sheets, but not their width. They have on the borders strips of white or coloured silk. After wrapping themselves in these sheets, women fasten them on the chest with big silver or gold rings. In summer, it is the usual costume of noble women."²

It is high time the Berber woman started to give in to the caprices of fashion. The rich clothes of women living in cities have an impact on Berber women's consciousness of their

¹ *Relation des Sheriffs*, p. 86 reported by Dozy, p. 32

² Marmol, *Descripcion de Affrica*. Vol. II.

appearance, and the antique and simple lizar (sheet) should perhaps be replaced in the near future. Many Berber women have already started wearing long dresses which have become a customary part of the presents the bridegroom offers to his bride. However, in spite of the richness of their embroidery and materiel, all these long and wide dresses do not highlight the beauty of the Berber women shapes as does the *haik* (the wrapping sheet).

Despite all the care she takes of her hair, the Ntifi woman does her hair tastelessly. On ordinary days, she wraps her chignon in a white scarf tinged with henna. As this scarf is rarely changed, it takes an indefinable tint with its long use. On feast days, she contents herself with adjusting another scarf of red colour called (*tasebnit*) on top of it.

Insofar as shoes are concerned, when the Berber woman does not walk barefoot, she wears either a type of Moroccan slippers (*sherbil*) which are embroidered and of different colours, or a second type called (*rrihit*) which are not embroidered and are of a red color.

Though this costume is comfortable in summer, it cannot protect women against winter cold. They possess another costume which enables them to face the rigors of the elements.

It is almost a common fashion among mountaineer women to cover their shoulders with some kind of a long mantle, a rectangular piece of material with small coloured strips and red fringes, which they hold under the chin by means of a pin or fasteners. This cloak is called *axummas* by Aït Bou Oulli, or *tabizart* by Aït Messad and *tamizart* by Aït Warrain.

In addition to this dress, they wear soleless stockings which completely cover their legs till the knees. Aït Bou Oulli weave

them into black and white strips, according to a pattern which is very peculiar to them, while Aït Mjild weave them into a pattern made up of vividly coloured lozenges and triangles. Men, too, wear this type of gaiters. This item of clothing, which is obviously very practical, is devoid of elegance. However, the habit of protecting one's legs in this manner seems to be very ancient. The chroniclers of the Canary Islands conquest report that the Quenches wore a "tarmack" and soleless stockings which they called *hirmas*.

3) Jewels³

The degree of a woman's wealth is indicated by her jewels rather than by the difference of her costume. Those which Ntifi women wear are devoid of all artistic character. As in all the other regions, They are made of silver and have a heavy and massive aspect to the point that to make an inventory of Jewels a bride receives, it is customary to merely weigh them- the weight alone is enough and counts.

Berber women wear large bracelets or mere small rings on their wrists, and a heavy necklace ornamented with pearls of amber and coral as well as with shells. They are generally too poor to wear a necklace made of one or more strings of gold or silver pieces, which is the main finery item of women singers and prostitutes who bear around their neck the sign and the price of their dishonour. They also wear a small tiara merely made of some *Reals* (coins) that are pierced and connected with a string. The pins which hold the mantle have a large engraved head and are sometimes joined together by a heavy chain to which is fastened a bizarre pendant at times. The latter is a large silver plate ornamented with five corals ; it seems

³ For Jewels see Eudel, *Dictionnaire des Bijoux de l'Afrique du Nord*.

to be a vague imitation of the protective "Hand of Fatma". Berber women do not wear rings on their feet ; their earnings are long and heavily laden with pendants falling till the shoulders. Finally, their rings are merely made of silver, without a bezel and grossly engraved. It is customary that husbands wear rings on the little finger of their left hand while women wear them on the third finger of the same hand.

Jewels have lost their primitive, magical and religious character among Berbers. Since a long time, they have ceased to be talismans meant for providing the person who wears them with a particular magical power, or for protecting him against certain bad influences.

However, the symbolic character of some jewels has not entirely disappeared. For instance, the ring has the symbolic value of union and is one of the required presents offered by the bridegroom to his bride. In the preliminary ceremonies of the wedding among the Anti-Atlas tribes, this jewel is subjected to some rites whose objective seems to facilitate the future union and to render it fertile. Elsewhere, it is a habit among sterile women to subject their wedding ring to the beneficial action of the '*Achoura* feast during which children sprinkle each other with water, in addition to other rituals observed by Berbers on this occasion.

Jewels are never the property of the woman who wears them. Bought and offered as presents by the husband, they are at his own disposal, and sometimes he strips his wife of them so as to offer them to a concubine. Thus, we can judge the amount of love a wife can still get from her husband by the quantity and the weight of the jewels she wears.

4) Make-up

Ntifi women neglect less their personal hygiene than the majority of Berber women. In the morning, in the spring or the rivulet where they usually fill their jugs, they always perform some ablutions quickly. They carefully keep hidden in their bag, a bar of toilet soap bought from some peddler in exchange for a few eggs, an amount of grains or wool. They take a hot bath on the eves of feasts in a small "bathroom" made of a big basket used for carrying cereals which they overturn and cover with woollen sheets.

For a Berber woman, from all walks of life, dressing herself consists essentially in using make-up in an excessive manner. She wears thick layers of it. She paints her cheeks bright red, colors her lips with a substance called *tswik*, elongates her eyebrows with a large black line, and puts some beauty spots, here and there : on her nose, cheeks, and forehead. With a black substance called *tazult*, which she treasures and keeps in a reed tube, she enhances the sparkle of her eyes. As to the henna, she overuses it, for during feast days, she covers her hands, legs and face with it. Her make-up along with her comb and mirror are kept in a leather bag.

5) Tattooing

It seems that the Moroccan woman gets as much tattooed as her African sisters. Similarly, it is not correct to say that Arab women get tattooed more than Berber ones. It should only be noted that southern women get less tattooed than Berber woman from the Rif and the Atlas mountains; this is, undoubtedly, the result of their difference in terms of complexion. The blue shade of tattoos which enhances the skin's brilliance is hardly apparent in the tanned skin of southern women.

Tattoos are above all ornamental, though some drawings are supposed to have healing properties.

Islamic orthodoxy condemns this practice, and Berbers do not ignore this. A Ntifi man from the village of Addar told me: "the tattooed parts of a woman's body will be burnt in hell except for the tattoos of the legs which are sanctified by the childbirth blood."

It is always a woman who tattoos both men and women. Her art, like her technique, are rudimentary ; she first draws the tattoos with the eye of a needle dipped in a mixture of soot and water, then she pricks with the point the drawing, and in order that the tattoos have a blue shade, she merely rubs them with the juice of a certain herb.

This is how tattooing is commonly done. Sometimes, the soot is replaced by rifle powder or charcoal that has been ground up. Similarly, the type of the plant with which tattoos are rubbed is of little importance, as long as it is green.

Indeed, a woman tattooist is not a sorceress, nor is she the object of the public's regard or contempt. She inherits her technique and drawings from her mother, a tattooist, as well, or from a woman relative or neighbour. Sometimes, she is an old woman, a widow or a female orphan. Her training is usually crowned by her visit to a holy place, as it is done for all trades. The novice takes presents, lights some candles and spends the night in a saint's shrine. The saint appears to her in her dreams, and the following day when she leaves the shrine, she possesses all the secrets of her trade.

In general, tattooing is not practiced in summer, the best time is spring. In the village of Addar, tattooing takes place in March, on a Sunday morning when possible. Among the

Inketto tribe, girls are tattooed during their wedding period while among the Ichqern, boys are tattooed at puberty. This seems to indicate that tattooing has started as an initiation rite. Drawings vary depending not only on the tribe but also on the tattooist, but we can say that the tattoos of the same region bear similarities, to the extent that in a number of cases, we can, with certainty, define the origins of an individual by looking at her tattoos. Moreover, it seems that a certain amount of friendship exists between the tattooist and the persons she has tattooed.

The drawings are combinations of straight lines, and rarely of crosses, of triangles or lozenges, and very seldom of circles. The reason for this is that the type of needles used by tattooists is not suitable for drawing circles.

Among Ntifi people, the tattooed parts of the body are : between the eyebrows, the chin, the wrists to the elbows, the last phalanx of the fingers, the ankles to the calves, the external parts of the right thigh, the throat and the chest between breasts. It is within the order of this list that tattooists operate. Such complete tattooing is found only among married women.

In general, young girls have tattoos on the forehead and chin. Tattooing the groin is not practiced by Ntifi women. It is found not only among prostitutes but also among Berber women in other regions. Men are less tattooed than women. Though not many Berbers from Souss are tattooed, it is very rare to find a Berber without tattoos. Men from Zemmour, the Aït Mjild and the Aït Youssi tribes among others have a tattoo on the end of the nose which makes it easy to distinguish them from the Ichqern, the Aït Seghrouchen, the Aït Iflman and the Aït Atta tribesmen, who do not have one. Among the Ntifis, people

usually have a tattoo on the upper arm, near the shoulder, this tattoo is called *tarramit*, it is, in fact, peculiar to *Rma*, members of a confederacy founded by Sidi Ali Ben Nasser, a saint who comes from Souss. The "Baraka", i.e. blessedness and powers, supposed to be associated with this tattoo are passed on to the rifle when brought to the shoulder. This is the very virtue of this tattoo which makes every member of the sect very good at gun-shooting. Thus, the left-hander gets tattooed on his left upper arm. Another tattoo, which is very peculiar to men, functions as a recognition mark among King Hassan I's policemen.

6) Hair

Children preserve till puberty a hairstyle which varies, depending on the saint under whose protection their parents intend to place them. The head of a boy is never completely shaved, some hair in the form of a crest is left in the middle and a plait on the right. A little girl has two similar plaits and a row of hair on the front which falls on the forehead, thus entirely covering the forehead. More often than not, it is the father who shaves the heads of his children. A good father is expected not only to adequately feed and dress his children but also to take care of their hair.

The hairstyle of little children is the same, with no difference between the sexes till their weaning. Hair grows widely within the circle which a saint has traced around the baby's head the fourth day after his/her birth.

At the age of two, the heads of boys and girls are shaved differently, as indicated above. When a girl reaches puberty, her parents stop shaving parts of her head; her hair grows in complete disorder and with no care whatsoever till it becomes long

enough ; then she can braid it. Towards the age of ten, a boy's head is entirely shaved, and a small ceremony is held to mark this event. This cutting of hair is a purification rite; besides, as it is practiced at the beginning of adolescence, it should be considered as a rite of passage. From then on, male adolescents shave their heads like men. The Ntifi men do not have the long braid near the ear, a practice found among the Rifis and other Berbers. Similarly, only very few Ntifi have at the vertex of their head this kind of pigtail called (*Taqtoit*) by which the Archangel Gabriel will grab the believers destined to go to paradise on the Day of Judgment.

Growing hair on one's temples is less frequent. The Igliwa, like other Berbers, have this type of hair style which lets the two tufts of hair extend beyond the brim of the turban or fez, which gives them a peculiar appearance. This is a warlike hairstyle meant to impress their enemies. Soldiers of the King's Black Guard still keep this hairstyle though the days of pacification wars and brave exploits ceased to exist a long time ago. Berbers grow a narrow beard, and some trim it in the manner of elegant city dwellers. Shaving one's beard is disliked by Berbers, who hate long moustaches which they always keep trimmed.

Dark eyes and a hair tending to be red seem to be the characteristics of feminine beauty, if we take into account the excessive use of *Kohul* (the black substance for eye make-up) and of henna by women. However, Berber women have very dark hair which is rendered shinier and darker by the frequent applications of oil.

In general, the Ntifi married woman keeps the front, thick tuft of hair she had before her marriage and divides the remaining

hair into two parts out of which she makes two braids she folds the latter and ties them up on top of her head. The scarf with which she covers her hair leaves uncovered the end of each braid.

Berbers, themselves, do not know the significance of a very peculiar ceremony called the "night of extinguishing the light", which takes place during all weddings. It consists in the following: women, in turns, extinguish the light of a small lamp put on the head of the bridegroom by shaking their undone hair. This ceremony is witnessed by men who are there to judge the length and thickness of women's hair. The former's flattering murmurs and applause seem to show that they appreciate more the sight of thick hair than the dexterity of their wives.

We now know the reasons which push every bride to let her braids undone and spread on her shoulders during a number of days which vary, depending on the region.

Among the Ntifis, on the third day of wedding, the bride is bathed and for the first time, her hair is done in the manner of the other women.

A widow is not required to have a distinctive hair style ; however, it is customary that during her morning period she completely covers her hair with a small piece of material taken from her husband's shroud.

It is preferably on Friday that Ntifi women take care of their hair more for the purpose of cleanliness than for that of coquetry. When the weather is fine, they spread a mat under an olive tree where they comb each other's hair with a large-toothed comb made of wood.

In the Oases of Dra River, there are women hairdressers who do the hair of girls at home till the latter's wedding day. These hairdressers play an important role during weddings.

Chapter IV : The Weather, the Atmosphere and the Sky.

1) The New Year's Day Celebration :

For the supper of the first night of January, the Ntifa people eat a couscous served with meat and "seven vegetables". After the meal, it is customary that one of the women in the house takes a ball of couscous and presents it in turn to each family member saying: "Take this, and eat it". Each one has to answer: "I am not hungry!" Then the woman puts the ball on the upper post of the house's door. The following day, at daybreak, she examines it and gets presages depending on the kind of hair or of bit of wool or of feather which the wind may have laid on it. This custom is called "the ball of being full".

It is said that anyone who does not satisfy one's hunger on that day will not do it during the whole year. Events which mark the New Year's Day are supposed to have an influence on the whole year. If it rains, the year will be good; more than that, sometimes in order to make sure that the year would be rainy, sprinkling - with - water rites are performed. Thus, among the Amanouz tribe, people go to the rivers banks where they sprinkle each other with water, as it is done on the occasion of " 'Achoura " (the sprinkling - with - water feast).

It is customary to have predictions concerning the current farming year. Among the Ihahan tribe, before going to bed, women put on the terrace of the house three balls of the 'Tagulla' (a meal consisting of the boiled flour of a special kind and other ingredients) which correspond to the three first months of the year: January, February, and March. They throw salt on these balls in the hope of bringing rain. The examination of the balls, the following day, offers them information on the kind of weather that they would have.

On the New Year's Day, people make wishes; men and women eavesdrop on conversations from which they take the auguries. At Timgissin, the young girl who wishes to get married eavesdrops on conversations and, while doing so, she licks the ladle which has been used in stirring the meal of the New Year's Day celebration.

Among other no less curious practices is the custom observed by the Aït Mzal people, before serving the special meal, they usually throw a coin, a date's seed and a piece of Argan skin in the cooking pot. The person who finds the coin in his bowl will be rich, the one who finds the Argan skin will be poor, and the person who finds the date's seed will own many herds of cattle.

During the second night, they eat chickens and eggs. Each family member, young and old, has a whole chicken. The pregnant woman eats one more chicken as a portion for her foetus. Each one keeps the shells of the eggs he has eaten wrapped in the knotted edge of his dress for the whole night. Then he throws them away the following day. It is believed that by doing so, one makes sure not to be in short of money during the whole year. It is also customary to renew the fireplace stones; thus, the mistress of the house throws the old ones on the dunghill saying: "I am changing you, o stones, and I am bringing new ones hoping for peace and prosperity!" While rebuilding her fireplace, she says, "In the name of Allah! May He bless my family and render them happy and prosperous!".

2) Rain Rites

• The Ceremony of the Ladle (*Telghonja*)

The ceremonies known under the name of *Telghonja* are widespread in North Africa. Their goal is to provoke rain when,

after a long drought, harvests are on the verge of being completely destroyed. The appellation given to them in Berber refers to the big ladle used for taking a liquid from a container. Indeed, the ceremony consists in organising a procession during which a ladle, dressed as a bride, is held. Songs, prayers and invocations are part of a procession during which women and children participate and which takes place through villages and outside shrines. The carried doll is sprinkled with water, and alms are collected for the organisation of a ritual banquet. This meal is not served in a mosque, but, significantly enough, in a river bed, in a threshing floor, in a saint sanctuary, or on a hill top. The ceremony ends with a prayer in which the participants beseech the Almighty God to send them rain.

Diverse Types of Ceremonies:

A much reduced ceremony is found among Oulad Yahya. When there is no rain in winter, little girls go from one house to another, holding a ladle filled with water. They chant: "O Telghonja! O mother of hope! We trust in God, our Lord, to send us rain !" They receive small change alms, and some drops of oil are dropped in their ladle by housewives. In fact, by its use and shape, a ladle admirably lends itself to the representation of the watering act, an act which symbolises the desire for rain.

The ladle used by the Igliwa in the same circumstances is fastened to the end of a long reed and taken in procession to the shrine of a saint. Children chant : "O *Telghonja* ! O mother of hope! O God, bring us rain!"

In the time of drought, the Ait Baâmran make some kind of rough doll with a spoon fastened to a ladle in the shape of a

cross. They also fasten a large red belt to the doll and give it to a little girl who carries it through the village at night. Children, boys and girls, walk behind her, chanting : "*Belghonja ! We believe in God who can provide us with rain*". The procession goes inside houses where both the children and the doll are sprinkled with much water.

Among the Ait Bouzemmour tribe, women walk in procession through the village, carrying a ladle fastened in the shape of a cross to a reed with a necklace. They chant: "*O God! Give us rain for Your mercy on Muly Boushta!*" They collect flour which they use for the preparation of a meal to which men are invited. While women are preparing the meal, the good shots (*Rma*) pile up stones which they then demolish by gun shots. This game is supposed to have some influence on the rain. After the meal, wishes are formulated as follows:

"O God! Give us rain!"

The ladle, which is adorned with a woman's necklace or belt, is given a rudimentary human form. The curved part of the ladle is made to look like a head, while the two ends of the reed, which constitute the horizontal part of the cross, are like arms or shoulders. This type of rough representation is an exception. In most cases the ladle is dressed like a bride.

The neighbouring tribes of Marrakesh as well as those of the high Atlas give special care to the making of this doll. In Marrakesh, it is made by a group of women who are of mature years, widows or divorced, and of a pious and virtuous reputation. They gather in the house of the most devout woman among them, either in autumn or spring, when the rain is very much needed. They cover with the new clothes of a bride and with necklaces and earrings a doll made of two big ladles fas-

tened in the shape of a cross to the end of a long reed ; they draw coarse features : eyes, nose and mouth, with a black dye which they apply on the curved part of the ladle ; they paint cheeks red and wrap the head with silk scarves ; then they give it to the most devout woman. Two or three of these women carry baskets meant for collecting offerings; at sunset, this small group of women, carrying the doll, piously visit the main saints of the town, chanting :

Taghonja (the ladle) has uncovered its head !

O Lord ! Soak its earrings !

Taghonja, O mother of hope !

O God! Give us rain !

Women and children soon join the small group which becomes larger and larger; while chanting, they go through the dusty streets of the markets and of the medina. They stop in front of the leading citizens' houses; they are given gifts, and the procession as well as the doll are abundantly sprinkled with water ; the ceremony goes on till late in the night; it is repeated during three consecutive nights, when necessary. Next, the organizing group of women gets together in the house where the doll was dressed so as to share the gifts among themselves.

Before the French conquest, the ceremony was solemn in Marrakesh ; it ended at the shrine of Sidi Bel'Abbas, situated outside the city. It is near its green dome that the traditional meal was served, and God was beseeched to let rain fall abundantly. It is at Sidi Bel'Abbas's shrine that men used to pray during the drought. They used to go there barefoot, displaying a very profound humility. At the head of their procession was a child who carried a ladle fastened to the end of a reed adorned with a piece of cloth.

The ceremony of Marrakesh is the most frequent type in which sprinkling with water plays an important role, for it constitutes the main rite since it is made to look like rain which they seek to provoke. Sometimes, this sprinkling rite gets a clearer signification and is more in agreement with the sought goal, as it is the case among the Aït Chitachen tribe (Demnat) where women put a doll inside a drainpipe while jugs of water are poured into the latter from the top of the roof.

At the end of the ceremony, the doll is stripped and broken up. In very exceptional cases, the doll is kept in normal days in the shrine of the same saint.

In Tafilalt, particularly in the Abouam tribe, after the procession, women gather in front of the house of the old woman who made the doll ; they recite the Opening Surat of the Holy Quran; then they take part in a struggle which ends with the destruction of the doll. Because of its sacredness, its debris are taken by women and kept in the family chest with the most precious objects.

Elsewhere, the doll is buried. At Timgissin, after taking the doll on procession in the alleys of the castle, children go at sunset to an abandoned cemetery where they pompously bury it, saying : "May Allah send the rain which would rot it".

In the regions south of Marrakesh, at Amzmiz and at Imi-n-Tanout, in particular, people are accustomed to drowning their doll in a pond or a river. After having taken it on procession around the local saints, they go to the pond into which the girl who carries it throws it with force while crying up: "May Allah bring us rain!" If the doll dives headlong into water, people say that the year will be rainy, if not they expect a drought. In fact, this ceremony is organised during the ploughing period.

Lyrics, Songs :

Taking the doll on procession is accompanied by rhythmic words, songs and refrains appropriate to the ceremony of bringing rain ; this practice gave birth to a literature which is sometimes reduced to mere incantations such as "get up O ladle ! Your mistress is overwhelmed by housework". (Zemmour). The formula evolved little by little ; thus, among the Ait Chitachen :

O Ladle! Bring rain to us !

O Ladle! Bring rain!

May grass grow on the hill !

And may we have goats!

Among the Aït Sadden and Aït Sri, the ladle is asked to intercede with God so that it may rain : "O Ladle stretch out your arms! And ask God to send rain !

O Ladle may grass grow!" the name of the ladle is often associated with "mother of hope" such as in the following example: "O Ladle, mother of hope! O God, bring us rain !" (Tafilalt).

Moreover, the name of God, or of the Lord, which is often associated with that of the ladle in these formulas, seems strange such as in "O Ladle! Which believes in God Who can provide us with rain!" among (Ihahan), or "O Ladle ! We believe in God Who can give us rain" in (Tlit).

There is another popular formula which is chanted in Souss : "Water, rain water! May God supply water to the Almighty's river." In some Anti - Atlas tribes Ithamed of Wed Noon, Ida ou Brahim, and Imejjad, where it is common to take on procession a lamb and a ladle, young girls chant : "O Ladle! Who believes in God ! Who can help us with rain by the union of the

lamb and the goat !” From the top of houses, women throw water on the doll, the goat, the lamb and the procession; then, they generously distribute grains⁵.

Among the Middle Atlas Berbers, we find a series of songs which are among the most curious of the genre. It is no longer a question of a ladle but of a certain person called “the Hooded Ali”, a legendary character on whom we have no information. The Ichqern call him “Ali son of Ali” while the Izayan call him “the Hooded Hadj”. No matter what the appellation is, the doll is represented by a hood in which are stuffed the panels of the burnoose. A child carries it on his shoulder or in his arms, and it is men who actually take part in the ceremony which consists of a ritual similar to that of the ladle: it includes a procession through the village, stopping before tents, water sprinkling, and the reception of gifts which are used in the preparation of a meal. Only the symbolic character of the doll and the songs are different. It should be noted that among the Ibouhasousen tribe, the song is :

“Ali, ‘Ali, the Hooded’! O rain! Touch him !”

Among Izayan it is :

““The Hooded Ali, ! Rain has driven him away !”

We are submerged by water !

Massoud, bring the Mattock !

And (dig a canal) water is sweeping away our furniture!”

The Hooded Ali appears, according to these words, as an individual who has been surprised by a heavy rain in deep countryside. He has removed his hood and come nearer to the village where the dogs receive him as a stranger. He wanders under the falling rain which has flooded tents and swept away furniture.

⁵ Ceremonies of this type are on the verge of disappearing

The Ladle as the "Bride of the Rain":

The ceremonies, during which a male effigy is taken on procession, as is the case above, appear, for the time being, to be found among Berber populations in the Middle Atlas. On the contrary, it is a female effigy representing a bride that is taken on procession in similar circumstances in all the other regions. However, the framework of this doll which is usually made of a ladle is sometimes made of other objects such as a reed, a funnel, or a spade. The appellation ladle is however used, in certain cases, when referring to this type of doll. Yet it is given a different name such as "the Bride of Rain".

The Aït Seghrouchen tribe use interchangeably the names of "ladle" or "Bride of Rain" to refer to the doll made by their women by means of a funnel which is put upside down on the end of a small stick and covered with a scarf and a necklace. A little girl carries it around the village stopping before each tent. While she is sprinkled with water along with the doll, the women accompanying her continue chanting: "Rain! May ponds be filled so that sheep might drink!" Similarly, the funnel is a substitute of the ladle, and like it, has a symbolic role in the ritual.

The Rifis, like other Berbers of the north, give the same name of the "Bride of Rain" to the spade which they cover with women clothes and solemnly carry around the local saints' shrines in time of drought. It is the spade used for the winnowing of cereals in the threshing floor. Because of its purpose, this instrument is thus marvellously in harmony with the rain thanks to which grains germinate, grow and ripen. The Ibeqqoien tribe take on procession a doll to the shrine of a certain Mohamad Amogran; this doll is made of a spade

dressed as a bride and adorned with jewels. They, then, take it to a spring where they sprinkle it with water while saying: "O God! Have pity on us! Give us rain water!" From there, they take it to each of the two village mosques and go round them three times. After taking off its clothes and jewels, they plant it in a dunghill where it remains till it gets wet in the rain. Thus, in its purpose and means, the Rifi ceremony is similar to the preceding ones in all respects.

The spade is also part of the doll made by the Tsoul tribe when they need rain. It is usually fastened to a ladle; thus the doll has a complete symbolic value, for the spade certainly personifies grains, harvests, in other words, the land which produces them while the ladle represents the desire for rain which fertilizes the land.

It is old women or widows, reputed to be devout, who take the initiative of organizing and leading the ceremonies. It is they who make and dress the doll, and this is not the result of the almost sacred character which their old age confers on them (hence the appellation of *Tafqirt* or *Tagurramt*, i.e. marabou given to them), but it is their psychological condition or their social status which keeps them, too, in a state of sterility similar to that which threatens the land. Moreover, the procession of the doll is done in the manner of a bridal procession. With suitable pomp, the ladle is taken to her bridegroom, the rain. On the way, it is sprinkled with water, as it is done with a real bride.

Anzar, the rain, is a masculine word. In certain dialects where the Arab word has displaced it, the word has, however, prevailed in designating either the vague divinity which presides over rain, or more "the rain par excellence", that of autumn or

that of spring, namely the rain which allows sowing or watering crops in time of drought. However, there exists between the sky and the rain such a relationship that by association the word sky has been used in many regions as a substitute for the rain.

The "Husband of the Ladle" :

In the village of Tasemsit among the Infedouaq, when a prolonged drought threatens crops, an old woman, (a marabou) organises a procession during which two dolls - one representing the traditional ladle and the other its "husband", are carried. The preceding evening, she puts in a marabou's shrine, a ladle which stands for the "bride" and a pestle which represents the "husband". The following day, she gets them back, dresses the ladle as "a bride" and covers the pestle, the "husband", with black rags. The old woman, surrounded by the village women, carries the ladle and rides a donkey ; behind her a woman walks carrying a doll, the "husband". The procession goes to the saint's shrine where the ladle and the pestle were left the night before. Some women chant : "O Ladle who has married you ?" Others say : "It is rain water; they piously go round the shrine three times; then they go to the riverside, where they push the old woman and her donkey into water; next, they sprinkle with water the two dolls which they lay side by side on the ground. Finally they return to the village.

The peculiarity of this ceremony lies in the presence of a male doll beside a ladle. The black rags with which the male doll is covered are very appropriate in that they refer to the dark colour of the sky which is associated with rain.

Similarly, the pestle is reminiscent of the Phallus, the symbol of manly potency.

3) Ashoura Ceremonies

In the small village of Taliza in the Aït Isaffen tribe, the celebration is inaugurated by the sacrifice of a cow in front of a mosque. The blood of the animal is collected and spread outside the village in a threshing floor where the annual fire will be lit ; the meat is divided among the households ; the head, the knuckles and the tail are sold by auction, sometimes attaining a very high price, for these parts are supposed to be blessed as they come from an animal which has been sanctified by the sacrifice.

The same day, young boys also collect snails with which they make necklaces; they cut small sticks of rose laurel which they paint red or green. At dusk, they wear their necklaces and carry sticks ; then they roam throughout the village, stopping by each house; they knock on doors with their sticks, while chanting words whose meaning they don't understand.

As to men, they gather in the mosque where they eat Achoura's meal. After that, they cover their lower part with goats' skins, and go to the house of some Daoud ou Brahim where women, wearing their best clothes, have already arrived. This person has the privilege of lighting the fire, every year, with a brand which he prepares beforehand.

His appearance at the door is received by the cries and jeers of the procession. In fact, the role he plays this night forces him to be naked to the navel. He slips between the two rows of men and women and walks at the head of the procession which goes to the threshing floor where he lights the fire. Next,

women who have a child by the name of Mohamed jump over the fire one by one three times, letting out a savage cry each time.

At the end of this part of the ceremony, the Imam of the mosque goes home to wear his best clothes. In his absence, important preparations are made. One of the leading men of the village gives to a servant the key of the small shrine where the two dolls, which are not shown to the public except on the occasion of these feasts, have been kept.

One of them is called either " 'Achoura's piece of wood " or "*Achoura's* candle".

It is a piece of wood cut from a fig tree and carefully scraped ; it has a cylindrical shape and is about 80 cm long; a small stick is fixed to one of its ends at 45°. They call it "finger", and sterile women come later in the ceremony to slip their ring around it.

The servant takes out the doll which he vigorously rubs with a handful of green barley or with that herb which always grows in the watering canals, when the ceremony falls after harvest time. Then, he lights a small lamp and goes to the threshing floor. On his arrival there, the village people organise a new procession which he leads while carrying the doll on his shoulder and the small lamp in his hand ; behind him is the Imam of the mosque who is clad in white, armed with a gun and holding a lit brand in his right hand ; after him men walk while playing their small drums, women come chanting at the end of the procession which goes to the place where the great fire is to be lit. On arriving there, the Imam of the mosque advances and lights the fire with his sacred brand. He repeats three times the following words :

"There is no god but Allah"

The assistant advances in his turn and puts up the doll in a heap of stones in front of the fire ; then he draws back after he has hang on it the small lamp. Men and women surround the fire and joyfully greet the first smoke which rises from it, chanting :

"No matter which direction you desire to lean towards,
O smoke, show it to us !"

They observe the direction in which the wind is driving it, for they predict that the year will be bad, if it leans westward or northward, and good if it leans eastward. Long flames rise high in the night ; men, women, young and old, start turning round the fire three times, running towards the right ; it is at this moment that spouses who have not given birth to any children yet move forward to slip their ring in the finger of the doll. They leave it for a moment before taking it, and putting it back in their finger, thinking that they would break the spell which keeps them sterile. The fire starts to go out slowly ; one last rite is to be performed ; it is the rite of expelling evil, by which they get rid of bad influences which they throw into the fire. Each one moves forward and throws a handful of the snails which children have collected during the day, saying :
"Go away with your evil !"

The ceremony ends with these words. The assistant takes back the lamp and the doll, and members of the procession come forward to spread ashes on the pile of stones. Then the procession goes back to the village in a sad mood and state of contemplation which completely contrast with the joy and songs of the outward journey.

The festivities start again the following day at dawn. Young men go in groups to some river where they swim and sprinkle each other with water. Thus, after the fire festivities comes the water festivities. On this occasion, a woman by the name of Aïcha enters the small shrine from which she gets the second doll known under the name of *Tislit* "bride". It consists of a stick cut from an almond tree, and is the size of an arm's length. Two small sticks are fastened to it at the top so as to look like legs. The woman washes it in the river where children have swum. There, the doll presides over dancing and chanting activities till the evening ; then, the woman takes it back to the shrine where it is kept till the following year festivities. The celebrations end here.

It is worth mentioning that children keep their small sticks till the end of the month of *'Achoura*. The first day of the following month, they go together to throw them away in the mountain at sunrise. On their way, they keep chanting some vague words, and each one of them throws away his small stick, saying : "Go away with your evil, O stick !"

The description of this old religious celebration, hardly Islamized by the introduction of some rare Islamic formulas shows the survival of some pre - Islamic customs. The importance of this celebration lies in the existence of the two dolls : one, male, presiding over fire rites, the other, female, presiding over water rites. But, not unlike the "ladle", with which it is identified, the second doll does not appear as a rain goddess, for it is a virgin (as its name indicates) which the rain should impregnate.

If we refer to the ceremony in Tasemsit, we can identify the "ladle" and the "rain doll" (its husband) which are used in

asking for rain ceremonies, with the "Bride" and the "piece of wood" used by the Taliza people at 'Achoura. But, while the first two dolls make a united couple which is invoked at the same time in the same song, the second two dolls act in isolation and are separately invoked. In the two cases, it is a phallus which symbolizes the active forces of fecundity. This symbol perfectly suits the physical representation of the forces of the sun and the rain whose action combined with spring regenerate vegetation. The rain rites are, thus, closely associated with the phallic or fertility rites.

Telghonja, "Ladle" is very popular in the Sahara. It is not surprising at all since the drought is to be more feared there than elsewhere, for life is impossible there except on the rivers banks that are fertilised by flooding; hence, the enthusiasm with which the rise in the water level is greeted, for it brings abundance and prosperity. When this flooding takes a long time to occur, people have recourse to the intervention of the "Ladle", which is considered in these poor regions as governing the distribution of water. When the water level in the River Dr' a is low, the Tamgrout people organize a ceremony similar to that of asking for rain. However, their doll is different; they call it *taghonja* (ladle), but it is not the usual doll rapidly made in case of necessity, and then destroyed at the end of the ceremony. It is a doll with arms and legs and a head in the shape of a ladle; it is put up on the top of one of the many shrines which mark out the course of the river. On the day chosen for the procession, a widow dresses it in silk clothes; she carries it through the village, followed by musicians, women and children who sing :

"Ladle, O Mother of Hope ! May Allah assist us with rain water!"

When the procession returns to the shrine from which it has started, the widow puts back the doll there. While the flour collected earlier is being boiled by women, children swim in the river. It is on the river bank that children get their share which they eat. After the meal, they read the opening Surat of the Holy Quran and leave.

Evidence shows that *Telghonja* the "ladle" doll seems to have played an important role in the Amazigh pantheon. The immense popularity of its cult can be judged by the great favour which it enjoys among Amazighs. It is only natural that of all their ancient divinities, the Amazigh people have preserved the memory of the "ladle" if we take into account the climatic conditions of North Africa which suffers from recurrent droughts that have an impact on harvests.

Moreover, the appearance of the "ladle" is too complex. It is not a goddess of rain, but its intervention provokes rain and makes rivers flood. It is the "Bride" of rain and the personification of the Earth, a virgin and a mother, it is the "ladle" which makes crops emerge from the depths of the earth. In brief, the "ladle" is not found either in the Roman pantheon or in the Punic one; it is an Amazigh conception, and thus deserves a special place in the study of rain rites.

4) Rites of the Reed and of the Banner

It is remarkable that the name of *tlghonja* "Ladle" has been given to the rain rites while the spoon rites have been excluded. The Ida Goundif people call "*Belghonjau*" (the "Ladle") the ceremony which they organize in autumn and in March, when they need rain. While chanting a prayer for rain, their children visit the village houses so as to collect flour and oil ; Afterwards, they go to a threshing floor and ask a woman to

prepare for them a meal consisting of boiled flour. When they have eaten, one of them snatches the scarf of the woman which he rolls into a ball and throws to his friends who play with it till the woman starts crying. Her tears seem to be the purpose of such a game.

The Issagen tribe celebrate the ceremony of "*Belghonjau*" during the sowing period. Women prepare a meal for the children gathered in the mosque, after which they sprinkle them with water.

The *Telghonja* of Tadghout tribe is a ceremony similar to the previous one. Women distribute the boiled flour among the boys and girls gathered, not in the mosque, but in a very symbolic place, namely in the dry river bed, so as to provoke the flooding of the river.

The same ceremony takes place among the Illah and Aït Mzal tribes, but in a threshing floor.

In Tanant, the name *Telghonja* is given to the rite of taking on procession a large white banner which two young girls hold stretched. They are followed by other girls. They stop in front of each house, and women empty their water jugs on the banner, the young girls immediately shake the banner in order to throw this water towards the sky. By falling down, the water simulates the rain which they hope to provoke.

It seems that the banner used in these circumstances is endowed with magic power, which it, undoubtedly, gets from the somehow holy person whom it has contacted, hence the important role played, in the ceremonies, to be described in due course, by the scarf of a pious old woman, by the belt of a virgin, by the turbans of Imams and of the Quranic schools' students, and by the wrapping fabric of marabouts (i.e the rich

silk fabric of bright colors which cover the saints' graves).

To go back to the ceremony of Tanant, the fabric taken on procession by young girls is not deprived of the magic power which acts upon the rain. If this interpretation is accepted, it will provide explanation for a large number of practices whose significance has remained very obscure until now.

A fabric of this type fixed to the end of a reed make a banner which has exceptional magic powers: it is first of all the instrument of the rain spell. This spell is, however, very different from the rite of the "ladle", though in terms of practice the two intermingle. We have mentioned above ceremonies during which the "ladle" taken on procession is ornamented with a piece of fabric; the "ladle" here is actually the staff of a magic banner.

A typical ceremony which shows the intermingling of the two rites is organized among the Ida Ou Zikki people. For when they desire rain, a woman goes through the village holding a small ladle, containing flour mixed with oil in one hand, and a banner consisting of a reed to which a scarf is fastened in the other. Children follow her chanting :

"O Ladle! O God, may it rain !"

When the procession comes to an end, they share the flour among them while saying a prayer. Finally, they hoist the banner on the roof of the house of the "*aneflous*" (a person of note who is in charge of solving conflicts among the village people). The banner remains there till it gets wet with rain.

The "ladle" and the "banner" act separately here, but it is evident that the magic power associated with the first reinforces that of the second. The invocation is, however, made in the name of *telghonja* (the "ladle"). Moreover, if the banner is hoisted on

the top of the house of a person of note, it is undoubtedly because he is nearer to God than the common people. This element, together with others, will allow us to consider the "*anaflous*" as the successor of the "Agrarian King".

Besides, it is important to point out that the use of a "reed" as an instrument of rain spells is as common as that of the "ladle". This is certainly due to its mode of growth which is particularly adapted to humid places, hence endowing it with the power of bringing rain. Similarly, it is supposed that the particular sound of its leaves, under the impact of the breeze, "calls" the western wind which brings rain. We have seen that it is used in the making of the doll, either alone or in combination with the "ladle". Dressing a reed in feminine clothes is, in fact, very common.

Let us go back to the banner so as to examine how it works as an instrument of rain spells. In Ras El-Oued, to provoke rain, the village chief hoists a banner on the roof of his house; then he goes from house to house to collect corn. Next, he goes to the mosque where he prepares popcorn and the village men and children come with their spoon with which they eat their share of popcorn. The sound of their jaws is supposed to have an influence on the rain; this indicates the distress of people who have been reduced to the level of crushing dry grains so as to survive.

In Tafilalt, people call "ladle" the ceremony which consists in carrying, from house to house, a reed to the end of which a piece of white fabric has been fastened. They chant :

"O Small Ladle ! O reed! O God ! Save us, give us rain by virtue of Your Blessing and the blessedness of the Quranic school pupils who are dear to You !"

In fact, the Quranic school students and pupils are considered as more or less holy and endowed with some blessedness. It is believed that public ceremonies become efficacious when they are celebrated by people who are supposed to be favoured by God because of their piety and sainthood. Besides, the banner of the people of this country seems to be holy as a result of the magic power with which they endow it. At the end of the ceremony, it is usually put away in the mosque and not taken out again till similar circumstances arise.

The participation of the Quranic School pupils to the performance of the rite is found in many Amazigh villages; particularly those of Illaln. When there is a lack of rain, the Imam of the mosque writes on a plank some words in which he asks for rain. After fixing it to a reed and covering it with his turban, he gives it to the pupils who take it on procession and collect alms.

Among the Ida Ou Zikki (Tasdert), the banner consisting of a reed, a scarf and a bunch of basil is carried around the village by women who have already gathered at a specific place from which they have started their procession, chanting :

"Some rain, some rain, O God !

Boiled flour is preferable to the best dates !"

The ceremony takes place in March when the drought is long and may jeopardise the crops. The banner, whose good effects are desired, is later set down in the mosque, in the large room reserved for prayers.

These words are reminiscent of those chanted by the women of Ida Ou-Zeddout tribe when transplanting is finished. Dressed in their best clothes, the latter go in groups to visit the threshing floors and offer grilled grains to the workers.

They say :

"Some rain! O God !

Grilled grains are better than the best dates !"

But in this case the women's intervention aims at facilitating the resurrection of the grains spirit by demanding the assistance of the fertilizing and revitalizing rain. Besides, it is worth mentioning the ceremonies practiced in many Amazigh regions when the crops are ripe; they are of interest to us because of the rite of the banner which predominates in them.

Among the O.Yahya people, the rite is reminiscent of the Roman Catholic Rogations. When barley is still green, women alone perform this rite; they "give" to the owner of a field a "blessedness" (Baraka) which he has to pay for and from which the whole tribe benefits. At the head of the procession a black woman holding a long banner supposed to be that of Mulay Abdelkader Jilali (the leading saint among Moroccans) ; behind her is a group of women beating their drums; at the end of the procession is another black woman who carries some oil and some flour. When the procession arrives in the fields chanting, they go three times round a field of barely over which they lean the banner. At the end of the procession, dancing and chanting goes on in the field itself for three days. The last day, a mixture is made of the oil and the flour that have been brought there; pieces of this mixture are put in the fences so as to reconcile with the "three genies" (a euphemism for the devils). The black woman, finally, hoists the banner on the shrine of the local saint and gives to the custodian of the place a present consisting of some money. The "blessedness" is thus in the fields and the harvests will be safe. The Ida Ou-Qaïs (Aït Hmad) people organize a similar cere-

mony but at the beginning of the harvest time. All the village people, including men, visit the fields in procession carrying a dozen of long banners taken from a certain saint of the name : Sidi Abderrahman Ou-Mhammed. The interesting aspect of this ceremony resides in the fact that marriage proposals take place on this occasion. Here are the conditions in which the first presents, consisting of butter, henna and clothes, are offered by every suitor to his future bride: the butter and the henna are put in a tray carried by one of his female relatives ; the clothes are used in dressing a young girl whose name is Zaina, who is dressed like a bride ; she goes with a group of women to the future bride's house ; there she takes off the clothes and gives them to their true addressee.

Surprisingly enough, the name of "Ladle", which is that of the rain rite, is given here to a preliminary marriage ceremony. Our data do not allow us to give a satisfactory interpretation to this practice, but we can conjecture that in the past, a bride who personified the goddess "ladle" used to be taken to the field. This conjecture may be justified on the ground that, among the Aït Ougrou tribe, the custom is still preserved, for at the same period a young girl called, for the occasion, "the Bride of the Field" is taken on procession to the fields. It is likely that the young girl, identified for a short time with this goddess, has been penetrated by the "Baraka" (blessedness) which she is supposed to possess. We can, thus, explain the custom of Ida ou-Qaïs people ; the clothes worn by Zaina are blessed since they have been worn by a child who is endowed with exceptional virtues, namely those attributed to the "ladle". We should add that wedding festivities which are started in the Rogation period coincide with harvest festivities, and the bride is taken to her husband's house in the threshing period.

Planting a banner in the pile of grains that are to be winnowed is a widely observed custom. This consists in provoking the wind necessary for winnowing operation. The desired wind is the western one, which is supposed to carry "the baraka" (blessedness), for, in winter, it is this wind which accumulates in the sky the clouds which are loaded with rain. The whole magic action of the banner, thus, appears, for if we take the effect for the cause, we may think that the breeze is produced, mechanically so to speak, by the fabric which a magic force has shaken. Is it not by the same method, i.e. by swaying their tops, that palm trees in oases raise everyday the refreshing breeze of the evening ?

This is how the role of the banner, as instrument of a rain rite, is explained since it triggers the first stage of a series of events – the wind – whose last stage is falling of precious, sudden downpours.

The proof of the close relationship between the rain and the wind which the banner is supposed to raise is further given by the following practice found among the Ida Goundif tribe. If, at the time of proceeding to winnowing, the wind is not blowing, the owner of the threshing floor informs his wife, who immediately sweeps the surrounding area of her mill with the wool fabric reserved for this use. After damping it in a vase full of water, she fastens it to a small stick, cut from a carob tree. Then, she takes an improvised banner to the threshing floor where she hoists it on the pile of grains. The fact of soaking a piece of fabric which is constantly in contact with grains certainly proves the close relationship existing between the rain and the wind which they pretend to trigger by this method.

Being considered as an instrument of a rite suitable for provoking wind and rain, the banner is found not only in practices where the wind or the rain are badly needed, but also, in an enigmatic way, in very diverse ceremonies such as the "death" and "rebirth" of the field, and wedding and circumcision festivities; in other words, in ceremonies which appear to have no relation with rain.

The Mttougga people hoist a banner in the pile of grains that have been cleaned and are ready to be transported to the silos. This is supposed to announce the end of the agricultural campaign. It seems that this is not the actual reason. In this particular case where the wind is no longer the end of the rite, it is not unlikely to think that the emblem acts here as a symbol and that its presence on the pile of grains helps to facilitate the resurrection of the field's spirit. For we know that threshing floors are at this time of year, the stage of ceremonies aiming at ensuring the perpetual life of the soil, and that among the most used practices rain rites are certainly second to none. Thus the banner, as an instrument of rain spells, is mostly adequate for provoking the regeneration of the vegetation forces which the reapers have "killed" when they have cut the last ears.

Is it in order to facilitate the resurrection of this spirit that the women in Tanant still organize, but in particular circumstances, a ceremony whose symbolism is highly significant ? Here is a summary of this ceremony. When the owner of a field asks his neighbors to reap his crops, and when the work is finished, women including his wife and his women relatives go to the field wearing their best clothes and each one of them carrying a reed with a banner ; they stop at the edge of the

field. When they see them, the workers - who have been bending over - stand up for a moment to sing in chorus :

"There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger."

While showing their joy, the women move towards the reapers, they stop in front of each one of them and flutter their banners so as to dry up the latter's sweat. In the evening, women and reapers chanting songs go back to the owner of the field's house, where they eat a copious meal.

It is noticed that among the Infedouaq in the village of tasemsit, a similar ceremony is celebrated on the occasion of *Tiwizi* (work, such as harvesting, carried out by many people for the benefit of one person free of charge). With the same pomp, women present to the workers not a banner but a doll which bears the name of banner. This doll, which has been described many times above, is dressed like a bride, and has many long necklaces of cloves with a penetrating perfume. Surrounded by the most beautiful girls in the tribe who are wearing their best clothes, the wife of the owner of the field carries the doll which is fastened to the end of a reed; the procession go to the field which they enter chanting ; they tilt the doll in front of each one of the reapers so as to let them smell the good perfume that it gives off.

Can we say that the ceremonies of Tanant and of Tasemsit do not appear to be originally meant for paying tribute to a group of men whose help, free of charge, is generously and kindly offered ? We may think that women come to attend "the death of the field" and participate to its resurrection by waving their banners or by taking their doll on procession. These are rites which are very appropriate to provoking rain and through it the regeneration of the sacred forces of the field.

Moreover, a banner is found in the procession which escorts the bride to her husband's house. Among the Imazighen of Chenoua, the bride rides a mare and a woman carrying a small banner consisting of a white fabric walks at the head of the procession. Among the Ichqern and Izayan people, the bride, riding a mare, goes to her husband's home carrying a reed in her hand. At Timgissin, wedding is preceded by the rite of "kidnapping" which takes place at night. The bride and then the bridegroom leave their respective houses so as to preside over the festivities which are organized in their honor. In the middle of the guests who sit round a huge fire, we notice a boy who carries a long banner which he keeps during all the time he escorts the bride in her movements required by the custom ; namely her visit to a threshing floor where the rite of decorating her hands and feet with henna is carried out; her visit to a spring where the bridesmaids wash her right foot ; her visit to the bridegroom's garden which her passing is supposed to fertilize ; and her visit to the conjugal house, the last stage of a journey full of narrow escapes which the bride has anticipated certainly with the help of protective virtues of the banner. The latter is finally put in the newly married couple's room, with that respect which is mixed with fear and is dictated by an object fully impregnated by unknown and dangerous force.

The presence of the banner in the wedding procession can be perfectly elucidated if we consider the latter as a rain spell instrument. In fact, sprinkling the engaged couple with water from consecrated springs and bathing them in rivers that are more or less sacred are common practices that are observed in many parts of North Africa (Tamzgha). Among the Ida Oukensous in the village of Amtedi, the bride who is mysteriously taken to her husband's home at night is pompously

taken to the gardens bordering the canal the following day at dawn. There, the bridegroom plunges his hands into water and gives her to drink, three times; then he sprinkles her bosom with this water, too. The bride does the same to her husband; afterwards, the procession returns to the village, and it is only the following night that the marriage is consumed.

Such practices are common among Imazighen, particularly in this part of the country, and there is no need to insist on this point. However, what testifies to their dating back to time immemorial is the fact that where they have fallen into disuse, they are still associated with the ritual of some religious feasts such as " *Achoura* ". In Tanant, all married couples of the year are thrown into the River Taïnnit, on this occasion. But, this practice is not very specific to the Berbers only; in Ancient Greece, the eve of the wedding was marked by the ceremony of the wedding bath which was a custom practiced differently, depending on the country. In Troy, the engaged couple bathed in the River Scamander and pronounced some kind of ritualistic formula: "Receive, O Scamander River my virginity!"

All these practices can be elucidated if we consider water as a purifying and fertilizing element, par excellence. It seems certain that some of them aimed to celebrate the symbolic union between the bride and water so that the actual union could be prosperous and fecund.

It is thus logical to consider the rite of the "ladle" as the symbolic marriage of the doll, dressed as a bride, and the rain. The procession, organized for the doll and during which it is sprinkled with water, is after all a wedding procession. If the case is as such, the banner - a rain spell instrument - has a distinctive place, as a symbol, in the procession which takes the bride to her husband's house.

The presence of the banner, or other similar objects, in circumcision ceremonies appear to be more enigmatic. A general custom found almost everywhere in Morocco consists in the fact that the child's mother holds a reed at the end of which diverse female objects are hanged such as a scarf, pearl necklaces, a bunch of basil, red threads, amulets, Guinea shells, etc. it seems that this reed possesses exceptional virtues. At the end of the ceremony, it is put in the shrine of a saint, under the roof of the house, between a tent's posts or in the family's chest, for it is supposed to be a blessed object. Elsewhere, it is preserved since it is considered as the "first gun of the child". Sometimes, it is burnt, and its ashes are thrown in the well from which the family draws its water. Sometimes, too, it is hoisted on the child's grave if he dies before getting married. At Tanant, the mother of the circumcised child breaks the reed on the back of the barber who has carried out the circumcision, perhaps in an attempt on her part to show her anger against the individual who has tortured her son.

If we consider circumcision in this country as an initiation rite by which the child leaves the "asexual" society of women to enter the world of men, we will not be surprised to notice during this ceremony obvious signs of the celebration of a symbolic marriage.

Among the Aït Seghrouchen, when a child is taken to the barber who is going to circumcise him, one of the child's female relatives stands up in the circle of the women who sing and dance. She carries a reed to the end of which a reversed funnel that is covered by a fabric and a necklace is fixed. Thus, if we refer to the ceremony, described above, and which is organized by these tribesmen in order to bring rain, we will easily

compare the "doll of circumcision" to the "rain bride" which is taken on procession at other times and for other purposes.

The banner is also used as a "flag"; that is as a mark or a sign. It flies, in this quality, on the roofs of mosques, the domes of saints, the holy piles of stones, the tombs of martyrs who died in a holy war. Though it is considered in these specific cases as an emblem that is supposed to draw attention to the monuments reserved for worship or to places deemed as holy, we cannot automatically deny it any magic power that has an effect on rain.

Let's have a last word on the reed which is used sometimes as a staff for a banner, sometimes as a support for various women objects and sometimes as a skeleton for a doll. Cannot we see this doll as an enlarged model of the children's little doll which Amazigh girls play with, or exactly is not the latter a miniature or an imitation of the former ? We should also remember that a children's doll in the land of Imazighen bears the name of "bride", the same given to the doll which is taken on procession in order to bring about the beginning of wind or of rain.

5) Diverse Rites :

The rites of the "ladle" and of the "banner" are, undoubtedly, the most original and the most curious practices that Imazighen like to perform. Because they are less known, we have decided to talk about them separately and briefly :

1. "Rain Prayer": it is a prayer performed by Muslims so as to ask God for rain when there is a drought.

The Aït Mzal people perform it on a river bank to which they go in profound humility. An old man walks into the river, wets

his clothes and presides over the prayer which is ended by beseeching Allah to send them rain.

Among the Mttougga people, a prayer is performed ten days after the official opening of the plowing season if the progress of work has been hindered by lack of rain. Farmers gather in the mosque where they go accompanied by their families, servants and yokes. After the prayer, they sacrifice a sheep, then women prepare couscous which they serve to men in the mosque. The Imam says a prayer in which he beseeches Allah to send them rain. After that, the farmers take their yokes and return home. If this request for rain is to no avail, they have recourse to the "big sacrifice". They invite Imams and Quranic schools' students and all go to the shrine of Sidi Rahal (a leading saint) where they slaughter some heads of cattle. It is rare that their request for rain is not answered.

The Ida Goundif tribe says a prayer so as to put an end either to the drought or to a locusts' invasion. Men, preceded by a group of Imams and of Quranic schools' students go to a threshing floor which is located outside the village, taking with them a black goat which they slaughter at the end of the ceremony. After completing their ablutions, they enter the threshing floor barefoot and each one of them makes a small pile of stones. An Imam leads the prayer and at the last bow, men repeat after him : "Pray for little and heavy rain !"

This prayer is followed by the "prayer of the Prophet" after which each one demolishes his pile of stones. After this, a final prayer is said : "May Allah send us rain !" Next, they go back to the village, slaughter a goat, and have a meal prepared and served in the mosque.

2. The Ball and Rope Games : ball game is the true national

sport of Imazighen, so to speak. It consists of hitting a ball (made of wool, of rags or of wood) with feet or a stick ; the game is played by two teams, and it is specially played in spring. However, sometimes matches are played during the drought and the game is deemed in many regions as capable of bringing rain.

In Ras el-Ouad, when the drought threatens crops, people gather together in a field where they organize a match. The male players stand in one side of the field and the female ones in the other; the two teams start playing with their feet; the ups and downs in the performance of each team are deemed as changes of fortune that may provoke a change in weather conditions.

At Tajgalt (in the neighborhood of Marrakesh), women play only among themselves in the land surrounding the sanctuary of a certain saint ; then, they distribute grilled grains among children. Men, too, gather on their own in another field where they play the same game.

It is mainly in spring that the ball game is played, only when barely is green. The game has preserved its ritual istic character everywhere. In many regions this game is even practiced by Imams who play it in a particular way. It is worth mentioning that it is not only in the Maghreb that religious men play this game, for in many churches priests, canons and even bishops used to play the ball during Lent. Therefore, this is not a simple sport since the game has a more or less religious character. It seems to have been in the past an important element of a spring feast whose episodes have, after their fragmentation, been incorporated in the rituals of various religions feasts. At Tanant, in particular, the game is practiced at the "Sheep Feast".

The rope game is also supposed to bring rain. At Imi n-Zat (Imesfiwen), if there is no rain during the plowing season, people gather together in the shrine of one of their saints who is significantly called Sidi Ifllah (My Lord Farmer). They slaughter some animals and prepare Couscous. When people have eaten, a long rope is brought to them. Men take one end of the rope while women take the other; each side falls to the ground, people start laughing at each other; then, they tie the two parts of the rope together and repeat the game three times. After this they say a prayer for rain.

Next, they hang the rope in a shrine and leave, expecting to meet together in the same place after the plowing season. It is at this time of the year that the saint's feast is celebrated. If enough rain has fallen meantime, the ceremony is limited to sacrifices followed by a traditional banquet; otherwise, they take back the rope and play the game once again.

The Igliwa people have recourse to the same method. But, while men and women pull the rope, an individual suddenly cuts the rope and women who have not been informed beforehand fall, thus uncovering hidden parts of their bodies. Because of its ritualistic nature, the rope game has also been transformed into a kind of religious practice performed on the occasion of Islamic feasts that are celebrated for mere general rejoicing. In the province of Demnat, and among the Aït Chitachen people in particular, the game has become a necessary element of all religious feasts.

3. Taking a Black Cow on Procession : Taking a black cow on procession round the village or the mosque or a shrine is another kind of ceremony supposed to bring rain, too. This practice is performed all over Morocco and mainly among the pastoral and nomadic tribes of the Middle Atlas where it is

given a great importance.

Among the Aït Immour people, young girls lead, while chanting, a black cow round the shrine of the saint. Then, they go to the mosque where the procession disperses. The black cow is taken back by its owner, and if it rains, a meal is prepared and served to people.

Among the Aït Bou Zemmour tribe, an old woman leads a cow, three times round a tent that serves as a mosque or Quranic School, by pulling at its ear. Women walk behind her imploring God to send them rain.

Among the Zemmour people, it is customary to overturn this tent-mosque first, and then take the cow round the camp; the women who remain in the tents sprinkle with water the woman who leads the cow.

The cow or the bull which the Aït Ouirra tribe takes on procession in similar circumstances is oddly disguised; a basket is hanged between its horns, and a large piece of fabric is fastened round its belly by means of a belt belonging to a virgin. An old and pious woman leads the cow thus dressed up around tents; women and children who make up the procession chant : "O, Ladle! Stretch out your hands to heaven and ask God to send us rain !"

The interpretation of these ceremonies appears easy if we take into account the fact that the cow was in the distant past a sacred animal among Imazighen, and its sacrifice is still practiced in Morocco today in different places: in the field at harvest time, in threshing floors. The chosen cow is usually black because blackness is the color of the clouds that produce rain, and the cow has thus the symbolic virtue of bringing rain. It is for the same reason that the ritual is often performed at night.

4. The Magic Power of Knots in Rain Rites : The magic power of knots is resorted to in rain rites. If at the plowing period, autumn rain does not fall in time, children go from house to house, preferably on a Friday or a Sunday, so as to collect some flour which they give to a pious old woman. In the company of other women, the latter goes to a threshing floor located outside the village in its eastern side. While she prepares a meal with the flour, women sit in a circle around her and undo their small frontal braids. Next, the old woman takes a little girl (who is poor and orphan) to the middle of the threshing floor. She undoes the latter's braids and ties up her hands behind her back with a rag. Immediately after, children who have remained outside the circle start running around the little girl, chanting : "Water! Rain water! May storms bring it to the omnipotent river !" The little girl, who is impressed by all this uproar, starts crying, and the sight of her first tears engenders a surge in the uproar. This scene comes to an end when the meal is ready. The old woman distributes food among the participants and at her signal, the latter say the customary ending prayer. The little girl is finally freed and comforted by the reception of some small presents ; then the procession returns to the village.

Similar ceremonies take place mainly in Souss and in the Anti-Atlas regions. When the Imams of mosques in the Aït Isaffen tribe deem it necessary to perform the "rain prayer", they take with them a little girl to the place where they are going to pray. There, they tie up her hands which they untie at the end of the ceremony. Among the Issaggen tribe, women take on procession around the shrine of a certain saint a little orphan girl to whom they have tied up hands behind her back. They move on chanting : "Water! Rain water, etc."

In all these cases, the girl cries, and it is obvious that tears constitute an important element of the rite. They are supposed to bring rain, as it is the case with cries and noise, too.

Chapter V : AGRICULTURE :

1. An Agrarian Saint : The saint Sidi Sghir ben Lmniar has his mausoleum in Bzou. He protects the crops of the Ntifa tribe from hailstorms. Indeed, hail never damages their crops. Thunder claps can go on for days (till they are tired), clouds are always transformed into rain.

Sidi Sghir also preserves fields from the damage caused by sparrows. Whenever the latter swoop down on crops, they do not cause the same damage as in other regions. The descendants of Sidi Sghir still look after the happy country, and each one of them knows among which group of people he can collect a certain amount of grains at harvest time and a block of butter in spring. Actually, anyone who refuses to give them their due will suffer the destruction of his crops by hail. A festival is organized in the honor of Sidi Sghir the seventh day after the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad.

2. The Agricultural Calendar :

January is still called "the month of frosts"; Amazigh farmers plant all varieties of trees and collect olives.

February is the month when barley is green. They cut it and give it to horses. They continue their planting of trees and start weeding.

In March, "everything is grown"; they finish planting and weeding and cut grass for bulls.

In April, they say, "grind them! O women" (for the harvest time is nearing and grains will not be lacking for the mill). They chase sparrows from their fields.

In May, reaping crops starts.

June is the threshing month.

In July, they finish threshing and collect almonds.

In August, they plant squashes in the excavations surrounding their houses and store straw in caves or in the towers of their castles. They also make stacks of straws which they protect by a jujube fence and which they leave in fields.

In September, They manure the soil and say, "Look at the mountain! Look at the pigeon! Look for a farming partner! Look for manure !" (For the first snow falls on the mountain and the returning pigeon herald the beginning of winter ; it is time to think about farming work, to look for a partner and to carry manure to the fields).

3. Ceremonies of Early Plowing :

Though the beginning of plowing takes place on October 17th of the Julian Year, the autumn plowing cannot be undertaken except immediately after the first rains. Farmers have to postpone the beginning of their work till a later date, i.e. the end of December and at times even the beginning of January. It is usually a Sunday, the first day of the week that Imazighen choose to start plowing, but other specific days, which vary from region to region, are also deemed favorable for their enterprise. When he starts plowing, a farmer has to perform certain acts which are supposed to protect grains, animals and plowing instruments against bad influences and attract the blessing of Heaven on his work and the future harvests. Most of the rites in this respect are surviving remnants of ancient cultural practices, the evidence of a uniform social and religious organization which embraced the Mediterranean World during an ancient period of history.

The cultivation of the land is carried out according to a very detailed ritual which is difficult to describe here. Since they

testify to the survival of superstitious beliefs relative to an ancient wheat cult, these ceremonies allow us to better appreciate the reasons which make Imazighen hold farming profession in high esteem. It is a common belief among Imazighen that a farmer's work pleases God more than an Imam's or Hadji's religious practices.

In many places, the master of the house and his servants go to the field in a state of complete purity, after they have performed their ablutions and said their prayers. In Tafilelt the farmer does not wash himself or shave during the whole period of plowing. To pray, he has recourse to "dry" ablutions performed by means of a stone. The seeds, taken out the silo and piled in a room which only the master of the house can enter bare foot, are mixed with the earth taken from tombs of saints or with grains that have been consecrated on the occasion of religious festivals or of pilgrimages to Mecca. Seeds are enhanced by adding to them ashes taken from the fire of " 'Ashoura " (the Sprinkling with Water Feast), by sprinkling them with the blood of an animal slaughtered for this purpose, or mostly by mixing them with the grains of the first or of the last sheaves of the previous harvest. These grains are supposed to be blessed and to incarnate the living forces of vegetation.

Everywhere on the occasion of sowing, the wife of the farmer prepares a copious meal called "*Tummit*", it is a ritual meal consisting of a simple dough and of grilled grains mixed with salt and water. Among the Ida Goundif tribe, the housewife digs with her fingers holes in the dough and fills them with oil. Each one should eat this meal without cooking it ; otherwise, harvests will not be good. Parts of this meal are distributed to children, to family members, to workers, to passersby and

strangers (Aït Issaffen, Ida Goundif). It is also given to the animals which pull the plow (Indouzal, Ida Goundif) ; moreover, it is used to rub the plowshare as well as the horns'ends of the cows which are used in certain regions to pull the plow.

The Isaggen people add to their "*Tummit*" butter and honey. In Tafilalet it is prepared with wheat and fresh butter. They rub with it the hoofs and forehead of the plowing animals, the remaining part is distributed among workers.

In Masst tribe, people prepare "*Tagulla*" (a special meal consisting of flour boiled in salted water), and as with "*Tummit*", it is distributed among children, beggars, and passersby. "*Tagulla*" is deemed as a blessed food. If this meal is not eaten on the occasion of the first day of plowing, harvests will not be satisfactory. This is why it is customary to eat "*Tummit*" or "*Tagulla*" on this occasion.

The Aït Baâmran people prepare and distribute "*Lebsis*" a meal consisting of perfumed flour resulting from mixing the latter with aromatic plants such as thyme, cumin, mint, etc. the flour is kneaded with butter or oil ; they fill a big vase which they give to the owner of the field. The latter followed by his workers go to their work distributing the "*Lebsis*" among persons whom they find on their way.

A custom which is also widespread among Imazighen is that of distributing dried fruit, dates, nuts and pancakes to poor people, to passersby and mainly to children met on the way to the fields. The Mtouga people distribute and eat "all kinds of sweet things" so that the year might be "sweet", that is prosperous.

Other practices are supposed to turn away from the plow and the animals which pull it the evil eye and all the bad influences

which take refuge in the depths of the soil.

The Isaggen and the Aït Mzal tribes smear their plowshares with melted butter. The Masst people hang on their bull's horns a knotted piece of fabric containing salt and other elements. Thanks to this talisman, the bulls do not fight each other. The Ida Goundif tribe rubs with oil the horns, the back of the ears, the stomach and the feet bends of the bulls. Elsewhere, pancakes and donuts are fastened to the bull's horns.

Before they start plowing, the master and his workers eat, together in the field, a simple meal consisting of grain-based food. Workers in the neighboring fields and strangers that happen to pass by the field at this solemn hour are also invited to share the meal. Next, they all gather around the plow to say a prayer such as "May Allah crown our efforts with an abundant harvest" after which they read the Opening Surat of the Holy Quran.

The farmer or his worker sows the first handful of grains, but before that he crushes one or more pomegranates on the plowshare (Ntifa, Igliwa, Aït Yussi) ; he mixes some of their seeds with grains, eats the remaining part or distributes it among the children who follow the farmers to the fields on that day (Tanant). He also crushes figs, the desired effect is similar in the two cases, for by their structure - a multitude of seeds in one fruit - a fig and a pomegranate, symbolize abundance and fecundity.

The owner of the field, and rarely his worker, sows the first handful of seeds with which he mixes all kinds of grains : wheat, barley, corn, broad beans and peas. He invokes the name of God saying : "In the name of Allah, the Clement and

the Merciful ! May You give us an abundant harvest and help us till the next one !"

There are other practices which are supposed to ensure the good quality of the future harvest. Among the Aït Hassan (Ntifa), it is a woman who sows the first handful of seeds. At Addar, in the same tribe, this act is entrusted to a young girl who has long hair. It is thought that the crops will be as long as her hair. Burying under the first furrow some fruits such as figs, pomegranates and carobs is a frequent custom. In Chenoua, the farmer buries two pomegranates in his field of cereals and two carobs in his field of broad beans. This act is supposed to insure a good harvest.

Asking for rain in these prayers or formulas is there to ensure that it will not be lacking in the critical periods of vegetation. At Imi Ljema (Ntifa), after eating the pomegranates crushed on the plowshare, children say loudly three times : "Rain, O God !" In Masst tribe, the farmer says at the end of his work : "May Allah bring Rain ! May He bring abundance to the next year, O my field !"

On his way to the field, the Zemmouri farmer says to the women he encounters, "What are you doing, O women ?" "We are carrying wheat and barley," they answer. He does this so that it might rain. Among the Indouzal tribe, when the farmer prepares to leave for his work, his wife pours a jarful of water on the plowshare.

Another custom which we have not mentioned till now, is the one which consists in the opening of the farming season by an individual supposed to be blessed with some beneficial influence. He is called "*amazwar*" (the first) or "*anaflus*" (the man of confidence). No farmer sows his field before the latter has

done so. This custom seems to be common among the Ntifa tribes, but it is not peculiar to them.

Thus, at Ras-el-Oued, it is an "*anaflus*" who opens the farming year. He is an old man who is respected for the beneficial influence he has and which ensures the good quality of crops and the falling of rain. If he does not sow first, no farmer dares to embark on an enterprise which is known beforehand to be doomed to failure. The ceremony takes place on a Tuesday or a Saturday; the following day, i.e a Wednesday or a Sunday, each farmer plows his field and sows it as he pleases.

At Timgissin the plowing season is also opened by an "*anaflus*", an individual blessed with a beneficial influence. At Timgicht in the Anti-Atlas, the ceremony is presided over by the guardian of the Zaouia (shrine) of a certain saint. This guardian is a sherif (a descendant of the saint) ; he is supposed to have a "*Baraka*" (a beneficial influence which increases the fertility of the soil) ; he goes to the field where he distributes dates and almonds ; he traces the first furrows and sows seeds; he takes the first handful of grains on which he blows and says some prayers ; then he throws them around.

The Imazighen of this region do not embark on any collective act or expedition without the presence of an "*anaflus*", that is an individual blessed with some "beneficial influence" and the gift of good luck. Thus, when a caravan is being organized so as to leave for Marrakesh, merchants and travelers seek the protection of an "*anaflus*" who guides them and brings them good luck. He gives them the starting and stopping signals. He loads and unloads his animals first, after which the others follow his example. With him travelers are certain of reaching their destination safe and sound, without being attacked by highwaymen.

In time of war, the tribe marches to the battlefield behind its "*anaflous of war*", who is supposed to possess some "*Baraka*" (Blessedness) thanks to which he remains invulnerable to the enemy's shots and protects the fighters. He carries the banner of the tribe and fires the first shots; his presence in the fighting is a gage of victory.

The "*anaflus of chanting*" gives with his small drum the signal of starting singing during the large gatherings organized by friendly tribes ; during these ceremonies bards sing the great deeds of the concerned tribes.

The etymology of the word "*anaflus*" justifies the confidence which Imazighen have in these individuals. It has nothing to do with the word "*flus*" (money), for it is related to the root "*fls*" from which is derived "*efles*" (to believe...; to have confidence in...) ; "*anflest*" (faith) ; "*aneflas*" (a man of confidence), see De Foucault, (p.228) ; c.f "*anfaliz*" ("*ljemaât*", a meeting of leading men of the tribe) in Draa in the south of Morocco.

In addition to ceremonies reported above, it is worth mentioning others whose main episode resides in sacrificing an animal. These ceremonies are, indeed, less observed than the former ones. Here is a description of one ritual which takes place on a Wednesday or a Thursday in the village of Bouâboud among the Mtougga every year.

Early in the morning, the farmer goes to his field in the company of his servants, taking a goat or a lamb which he slaughters there near a hole which has been dug in the parcel to be sowed first. On the pool of blood that has covered the bottom of the hole , the servant who is going to plow the field makes sure not to touch this place which has become sacred. For, it is thought, that remarkable barley is going to grow there. After

the completion of this ritual, the animal is taken to the farmer's house where it is cut into pieces.

This ritual is supposed to restore to the field "the force of the earth". As to the meat, some parts of it are preserved others are cooked and eaten while a dish of couscous is prepared and sent to the mosque on this occasion.

Immediately after the sacrifice, the livestock are taken out of their enclosures and the farm becomes full of life. The farmer sprinkles with "*Lebsis*" (the flour of grilled barley mixed with salt and water) the corners of this stable and of all the rooms of his house. He also sprinkles the members of his family and then his animals. Having said his prayers; he goes to his field colorfully dressed in the company of his servants who drive the livestock ; donkeys carry the seeds and the plowing instruments. The farmer distributes the traditional "*Tummit*" (a certain kind of food) to the children who ran after the servants, as the latter carry plates filled with figs and pancakes meant for the workers. Arriving at the field, the servants and workers unload the plows, fix the plowshares and harness the animals. As to the farmer, he covers with the "*Lebsis*" the hoofs, the forehead, the chest, in other words all the body parts of the animals that will be in contact with the soil, or the different components of the plow which he also smears. Next, he is the first to plow the field which he "marks". Before starting the first furrow, he says : "In the Name of Allah, the Clement and the Merciful". Slinging the bag over his shoulder, he gets a handful of grains which he kisses, then he passes it in front of the nostrils of the oldest plowing animal, sprinkling it with his saliva, he says: "May Allah bless it"; he finally holds it up to heaven stating in the manner of a prayer : "O God, whose Holy Name we invoke, bless our work ! O my field! May we

reap you in time of peace, abundance and prosperity". After this opening ceremony, plowing is continued by the servants for many days.

Undoubtedly, the curious element of this ceremony resides in the sacrifice. Diverse interpretations can be made here. It can be considered as an act capable of driving away from the cultivated land bad influences incarnated by genies who take refuge in the soil. Part of the field is reserved for them and is not cultivated. A similar custom used to be practiced in Brittany and Wales : in the past, some places were not cultivated because they were supposed to serve as a wandering area for fairies. Till these days, Scottish farmers do not cultivate one corner of the field which is supposed to be reserved for Satan. Similarly, in antiquity a space in the field is left uncultivated so as to please divinities.

We may postulate, too, that the purpose of offering a sacrifice is to restore to the soil the vegetation vital forces supposed to be incarnated by this animal sacrifice. It is remarkable that the Mtouga tribesmen affirm that the land will not produce any crops without this ritual. In fact, we have already reported that Imazighen attribute a spirit to the field, and it is thanks to this spirit, this mysterious "force" that crops spring up from the depths of the soil. They think that they "kill" their fields when they reap them, or at least when they cut the last ears. They celebrate this "death" by means of special rites which will be dealt with in due course. But their notion is not limited to the ideas of a death which deprives them, forever, of harvests ; they wait for the coming back to life of the fields, as it is evidenced by the words which they say when they cut the last ears : "Die, Die, O, field !

Allah alone is eternal !

Our Lord can resurrect it !"

To go back to the ceremony of Bouâboud, the lamb which is slaughtered in the field at the sowing season may incarnate the "Baraka" (blessedness) of the field or the spirit of grain and its ritual death can have as objective the restoration of this spirit to the field so that the life of the land might go on. Being somehow sanctified by the sacrifice, the body of the animal is also endowed with exceptional qualities that are attributed to this spirit for which it serves as a refuge. This is what explains the fact of throwing a piece of the animal's meat in the silos so that they would never be empty. Fumigating the livestock with another piece is there to preserve them from all kinds of diseases. Eating the meat of the sacrifice helps people getting sanctified.

Moreover, would it be rash to consider the agrarian sacrifice among the Mtougui tribes as a substitute? In other words, can we think that the being whose ritual death was considered necessary, in the past, for the rebirth of the field was the very person of the farmer himself ? For, it is to him that is given the privilege of cutting the last sheaf in which the life of the field has taken refuge. It seems that because of this act, he is supposed to incarnate the spirit of crops. In any case, he is accused of having "killed" the field. In the study of the reaping rites, which will be dealt with in the coming chapter, we will notice that the idea of death of mourning and of vengeance is associated with the last sheaf. After completing the last rite by which reaping is ended, the farmer with his hands tied up behind his back is immediately led to the mosque as a victim to be sacrificed; there he discusses in a low voice with the Imam the

"purchase" of his own freedom while the assembly remains silent. He does not recover his freedom till he has promised to slaughter a few animals.

It may be concluded that Imazighen have believed or still believe in the incarnation of the spirit of grains or of the sacred forces of the soil in living creatures : animals and human beings, which they celebrate on the occasion of starting plowing as well as on that of reaping, as will be seen later. These ceremonies are similar to those rituals still observed by Celtic, Germanic or Slavic populations, and even by non-Arayan peoples in Oceanic Islands and the New World. "This spreading of similar customs proves that the ideas on which they are founded are not peculiar to any specific race, but are found among all primitive peoples whose life is devoted to agriculture."

Finally, the spirit of grain is conceived of by some people as having human features or animal shape. While others consider it as being an integral part of the grain; that is why the first or the last ear cut in the field is supposed to contain his spirit, and that the grains which come from this ear are mixed with seeds so that they might be returned to the field. The prevailing idea in this respect is that the spirit of grain leaves the first or the last cut ear, that it remains in the farmer's house during summer and the early part of autumn and that in the sowing season it returns to the field where it acts once again so as to produce a new harvest.

This is how we should interpret the practice observed among the Aït Mzal during the plowing season. The day before starting to plow his field, the farmer buries in it the grains coming from the last ear of the previous harvest.

In brief, the ceremonies we have reported and which Amazigh farmers celebrate with more or less pomp at the beginning of plowing seem to respond to a double belief: to restore to the soil its energy, its "Baraka" so that it might be able to yield a new harvest, on the one hand, and to ward off from the field bad influences that might counterbalance or annihilate the effects of the beneficial force, on the other.

4. Tiwizi

"*Tiwizi*" consists in the voluntary help provided by a group of individuals to a member of their clan in order to carry out work that he cannot do on his own. It is through the means of "*Tiwizi*" that a number of farmers carry out farming work that requires either many hands, such as weeding, collecting olives or harvesting, or the use of many beasts of burden, such as in threshing. The community also has recourse to "*Tiwizi*" when building and restoring mosques or building and repairing roads, dams, springs and irrigation canals.

The word "*Tiwizi*" is an Amazigh word. The word "*Twiza*" found in a number of Arabic dialects is borrowed from Amazigh language.

M. Marçais considers "*Tiwiza*" and "*Tausa*" as being parallel forms derived of the same root. "*Tausa*" designates, in Kabylie, the "collection" done with more or less pomp on the occasion of a marriage. This custom, which is observed by both Berbers and Arabs, consists in giving to the bridegroom or to his father a small donation so as to help them cover some of the wedding expenses. This collection usually takes place on the day the henna ceremony is organized, but it can also take place on any other solemn occasion. Though this custom is still practiced during every Berber wedding, the name "*Tausa*" seems to be

an ancient word, for the verb "aus" (to help), from which it is derived, is still found, now and then, only in the two far ends of Tamzgha (the land of Berbers in North Africa), (The land of Berbers), i.e. among the Touaregs of Ghat and the Ida Goundif of the Anti-Atlas in Morocco. We may conclude that both terms "*Twiza*" and "*Tausa*" contain the idea of "Mutual help".

It is important to consider "*Tiwiza*" and "*Tausa*" as forms of fraternal assistance springing from feelings of social solidarity, but are different in one respect: the latter is of compulsory nature, while the latter is not. In other words, "*Tiwizi*" (voluntary work) does not legally require of the person who benefits from it to render the same service to people who have helped him. On the contrary, any person who has benefited from "*Tausa*" has to give to every one of his guests, in similar circumstances, a donation which is superior or at least equal to the one he has received from him. On the other hand, we may assign a very ancient origin to the customs of "*Tiwiza*" and of "*Tausa*", if we take into account the ritualistic way in which they are practiced and requested. Let us now have a look at the way "*Tiwizi*" is practiced.

"*Tiwizi*" is used during the sowing and harvesting seasons. Among the Ntifi tribesmen, the services offered by the carpenter or by the Imam of the mosque are in the form of a "*Tiwiza*", too ; the first, because he repairs the plow free of charge, and the second, because his spiritual tasks exempts him from farming work. A widow's or an orphan's field is, sometimes, plowed by means of "*Tiwizi*" in special situations. Because this type of "*Tiwizi*" takes on a benevolent character, it compels respect.

In addition to these cases, anyone who wants to have recourse to his neighbors' help so as to sow his field has to comply with the practice of slaughtering an animal. The person goes to the mosque at the time of prayer and slaughters a sheep. When the men come out of the mosque, they inquire about who has slaughtered the sheep; the person who has been hiding himself reappears and expresses his desire, saying "May Allah help us !"; to show their assent, they answer, "May Allah help us !", then on the appointed day, they go to his land which they plow.

In Tanant, a nice ceremony closes the "*Tiwizi*" that the owner of a field relies on to harvest his crops. His wife and daughters, wearing their best clothes, come to the field when harvesting nears its end, they greet the workers with their songs and cries of joy; then, they tilt and wave, in front of the men, a banner consisting of a scarf fastened to the end of a reed, saying that this would dry the sweat on the harvesters' forehead. Among the Infedouaq, young girls, well dressed and chosen from among the most beautiful ones in the village, come also to greet the workers. They move forward gathering round a doll covered with a necklace of cloves, one of them carries the doll which she leans forward in front of the workers so that they could "inhale the nice perfume given off by the cloves".

We have already tried to interpret these customs which are being lost and no longer used except on the occasion of works that are of ritualistic nature such as the "*Tiwizi*". It seems to me that the wife and daughters of the owner of the field used to come in pomp not in the hope of thanking the reapers as they pretended but in order to contribute to the rebirth of the field by means of hosting a banner and a doll which are considered as spells capable of bringing rain.

Similarly, we may mention that "*Tiwizi*" practiced for the benefit of individual farmers in the sowing and harvesting seasons are not the only instances of this voluntary help in the land of Berbers. A farmer easily gets enough laborers either from among his servants or from among the large number of day laborers who come to the markets so as to hire their services at the time of big works in the fields. However, he is forced to have recourse to "*Tiwizi*" at harvest time even if he is rich, for the threshing operation necessitates the use of a large number of livestock which rich farmers do not always own. It is also customary to gather the animals of the same village district or of the same castle, and then use them in turn for threshing the crops of each farmer.

Female voluntary work is also part of "*Tiwizi*". Recourse to this practice takes place when carrying out tasks that - though hard- are usually reserved for women, such as weeding, carrying sheaves to the threshing floors or collecting olives. Among the Aït Baâmran, women do wool work such as washing, carding and weaving wool as well as preparing the wrap and setting up the loom by means of a "*Tiwizi*". However, this practice is found throughout North Africa, among Berbers and Arabs alike.

A "*Tiwizi*" never exceeds one day's work, except when it is practiced in wool work, an operation which consists of various stages and requires a longer period of time. Moreover, what is involved here is female labor which is easily and generously offered. On the whole, one day is enough for the performance of a farming "*Tiwizi*" if we take into account the little importance of the required labor and the large number of volunteers who take part in performing it.

The work is carried out with will, but when it starts to slow down and arms become tired, a voice is heard singing strange words that are almost of a religious nature. This appears to boost the energy of the workers who start singing the same words. In the oasis of Tidikelt, a group of musicians playing oboes and drums accompany the workers who raise their mat-tocks in time with the sound of violently rhythmic music that facilitates the workers' task.

Generally, the "*Tiwizi*" workers try to finish work by three o'clock in the afternoon so as to devote the remaining part of the day to games. Dancing and chanting, they get into circles which women and girls who have come to join their husbands and lovers take part in. Marksmen pile up stones which will serve as targets for them; then, they start shooting, which is their favorite leisure. It is with a state of euphoria, with cries of joy and songs that every "*Tiwizi*" ends. The workers are the guests of the person whom they help. The latter has one obligation consisting in offering them the main meals of the day. Dates, figs, a few pancakes, and boiled semolina flavored with olive oil constitute the usual food to which are added a few glasses of mint tea. At the moment of parting, the owner of the field thanks the helpers saying, "May Allah reward you! May He preserve you as well".

Till now, we have focused on the "*Tiwizi*" as voluntary work performed for the benefit of another person. But, it can also be a "chore" in all the sense of the term, required of the countryside people for the benefit of lords of various calibers: laymen and religious men alike, the "*Tiwizi*" thus becomes for some a sign of servitude and for others a suitable means of domination.

5 : Harvest Rites

We will focus here on the way the Mtougga of Bouâboud reap their fields which were sowed according to the detailed ritual described above.

Before starting work, the farmer and his servants eat, in the field, a meal consisting of bread and butter. Putting on their leather aprons and carrying their sickles, they line up at one corner of the field. The farmer, who is at the head of the row, is given the name of "king" for the occasion ; his son, who is immediately after him, is called "viceroy"; then comes the bulk of reapers the last of whom is always the least skilled of the group.

It is to the "king" that the privilege of cutting the first sheaf is given. This sheaf is immediately taken to the farmer's house. After the completion of this first rite, the "king" starts reaping and the others follow suit, making sure to leave, in the middle of the field, a clump of uncut ears. This clump is deemed as the "field's braid". When the work nears its end, the reapers suddenly start competing with each other about who is going to work faster. When they reach the edge of the field with only one sheaf remaining uncut, the "king" moves forward to cut it, but no sooner does he simulate the gesture of cutting it than the other reapers throw themselves at him, bind his hands with a turban and take him to the mosque where the village assembly are waiting for him. On his arrival a complete silence reigns in the place. The reapers go out, leaving the farmer (the "king") to discuss with the Imam the conditions of ransoming him in a low voice. In fact, the farmer does not recover his freedom till he has agreed to pay a ransom consisting of a few honey and butter jars, as well as some sheep which are imme-

diately brought and slaughtered. A meal is prepared and served to the reapers and village people; thus reaping ends with a banquet whose sacred nature does not seem doubtful.

Such customs are not practiced everywhere with the same precision. However, the last cut sheaf is considered by all the Mtougga tribesmen as being the place of refuge for a mysterious and dangerous evil force.

This harvest ceremony would be incomplete and even meaningless if the simulated death of the weakened grain spirit of the current year, personified by "the king" is not followed by its resurrection and its reincarnation in the person of the son ; the latter stands for the young and fertile grain spirit thanks to which the shoots of the following harvest will spring from the depths of the soil. It is on him that falls the duty of cutting the clump of ears left in the middle of the field at the end of reaping.

It is curious that these last ears are still considered by Imazighen as having a sacred character. Consequently, they should be cut according to a very specific ritual. Around three O'clock, the "viceroys" stand before them barefoot and bodily cleaned. While his wife sprinkles them with Henna, he cuts them after saying the "*Shahada*": "There is no god but Allah and Mohammad is His Messenger" the very words that are said immediately before the passing away of a Muslim person. These ears are taken to the farm, the grains serve for the preparation of sort of meal which the "viceroys" will eat every morning for a seven days while the straw is thrown inside a silo so that its "Baraka" (blessedness) could spread to the grains which are preserved in it and will serve as seeds in the following farming year.

It appears from these practices that the grain spirit is represented among the Mttouga by two persons, the father and his son, "the king" and the "viceroy". The first personifies the spirit of ripe wheat which is supposed to be old, weakened or at least of a certain age, the second represents the spirit of the coming crops, young and fertile. The first spirit dies in summer at harvest time. The second one exercises its influence in autumn or in spring when the first shoots appear. This idea of the death and resurrection of a divinity is reminiscent of the Greek myth of Demeter and Persephone, mother and daughter respectively, and goddesses of the harvest.

It is worth mentioning that some of the practices performed during harvest by the Mtougga tribe are not peculiar to them alone. In the following description we will notice that superstitious practices are associated everywhere with the first and the last cut ears, and that the custom of leaving a clump of ears uncut till the end of harvesting operation are found among Imazighen in all parts of North Africa, as it is also the case with the belief in the death and resurrection of the land.

Let us start with how is the first cut sheaf treated. The Imeghran tribe hang it in their attic and preserve it till the next sowing season. Similarly, in Tafilalt it is cut by the reapers' leader who bears the title of "king" on this occasion. It is given to the owner of the field who hangs it in his house; then it is threshed and grains are kept in a well-closed cooking pot. In the sowing season, these grains are mixed with the seeds. The prevailing idea here is that the grain spirit resides in the first cut sheaf, and that this spirit is supposed to exercise a fertilizing influence on the vegetation when seeds are sown in autumn. Similarly, this fertilizing power attributed to the first

cut sheaf can spread to the other sheaf piled up in the threshing floor, as the following practices attest.

In the Inchichen tribe, workers take with them, on the first day of harvest, the most beautiful woman in the village; they go with her three times round the field; then, they give her the first cut sheaf which she takes home and brings it back to the threshing floor where she throws it on the other sheaves ready to be trodden.

At Timgissin, the first sheaf is cut by an individual supposed to have some sort of "Baraka". He makes a big sheaf so that it could have more influence on the new grains. It is fastened to the threshing post where it remains till it is mixed with the other sheaves. The same custom is observed in various places with slight differences.

As to the last cut sheaf, it is associated with the "death" of the field. For when cutting it, they repeat the very religious words said at the moment a person is dying ; that is : "There is no god but Allah and His Messenger is Mohammed."

Among Imeghran, the reaper who cuts the last sheaf says the following : "Die, die o, our field, our Lord can resuscitate you!" In the Rif mountains, when the reapers are on the point of cutting the last sheaf, they think that they are going to "kill" the field saying in a lamenting way, "Die, Die O field, next year, you will come back !". They leave uncut in the middle of the field, a clump of sheaves which they call "the Bride of the Field" and which poor women will uproot with their hands.

This custom, which is observed with slight differences, is found among all Imazighen in Morocco. Depending on the region, this last uncut clump of sheaves is given a name such as : the "Crane of the Field", the "Tail of the Field", the

“Ringlet of the Field”, the “Braid of the Field” or the “Bride of the Field”. These terms allude to the double conception which Imazighen have of the grain spirit which they represent at times in the shape of a “bride” and at others in the shape of an animal. The last sheaves that remain uncut constitute a part of the latter’s body : its crane, its braid, or its tail.

The practices associated with this custom can be explained easily. The “Baraka” of the grain (the devil or genie of the field) is supposed to take refuge in the parcel which the workers leave uncut in the middle of the field. In many regions, the last stems cannot be cut by means of a sickle, which is made of steel, but should be pulled out by hand and mostly by women. The shouts which the latter give and the gun fires with which men sometimes accompany this operation are spells meant for protecting these last stems against bad influences. The sheaf is left in the field for a certain time depending on the region so that the blessedness of its grains could be passed on to the harvest of the following year. Therefore, it is deemed as the “Bride of the Field” which will give birth to the coming harvest, when the field will be resuscitated.

It might be concluded that the “death of the field” symbolises the death of the grain spirit or of the genie of the field supposed to take refuge in the last ears. We have also shown that Imazighen conceive of also this spirit in an animal shape. Thus, the simulated death of the field may be symbolised by the actual death of the animal which personifies or incarnates this spirit or this genie. In Taourirt, at the moment of cutting the last sheaf, the farmer slaughters a sheep and sprinkles the last stems with its blood. The Aït Issaffen equally sacrifice a sheep on the right side of the last parcel of the field ; they sprinkle with blood stems and ears while saying three times : “Here is

the Baraka!" They reap the parcel and make a sheaf which they take to the threshing floor where the harvest is already piled up. In both cases, the grain spirit is symbolised by a sheep. In the ceremony that will follow the spirit appears in the form of a young cow.

Among the Ida Oukensous tribe, when reaping is finished and only the "Braid of the Field" remains uncut, the farmer, followed by his relatives, friends and neighbours pulls into the field a young white cow covered with a white fabric; he pulls it three times round the "Braid"; each one of the workers uproots a few stems so as to have an empty space in the middle of the parcel where the heifer is to be slaughtered ; its blood runs into a hole dug at the foot of the last stems. Then, they throw on it ashes taken from the " *Achoura* " fire and fill the hole with earth so that dogs could not pollute this sacred blood. Next, the reapers cut the last ears while saying prayers ; a meal is served to them ; it is prepared as follows : wheat flour is sprinkled with water and rolled up into very small balls which are boiled and mixed with milk. Having eaten, they say a prayer and recite the first Surat of the Holy Quran so that Allah might bless the next harvest. The slaughtered animal is taken to the sanctuary of a saint where it is divided equally among the district householders. Each one of the latter is given his share of the white fabric with which the back of the heifer was covered. It is customary to burn it in the house in case of disease, for curative virtues are attributed to the smoke rising from it. This ceremony is called the reaping sacrifice, but it is found only in a few places. In the majority of places, the sacrifice of an animal, which personifies the grain spirit or the field's genie, is postponed till the end of harvest when the crops have been taken home.

In brief, it appears from these practices that Berbers attribute the phenomenon of the growing of crops to the spirit, to the devil, or to the genie of the grain or of the field. They also think that this spirit, which is young and fertile at the sowing season, starts to become weaker as the crops continue to grow, and when the latter are ripe it becomes old, so they kill it when they cut the first or the last sheaves in the field. Some Berbers give to this spirit a human or animal shape and represent its death by simulating the killing of a human being or by actually sacrificing an animal. As they cannot conceive of the idea of a final death which would deprive them of a future harvest once for all, they imagine that this spirit comes to life and is reincarnated by a young vigorous body : be it that of the son of the farmer or that of the "King of the Harvest" or that of a young bride. In other words, the notion of the "death" of the field is closely linked to that of its resurrection.

6. Threshing

The reaping season usually ends at the Solstice (i.e. July 7th), as in the south of Morocco, where crops are sometimes piled up in threshing floors or threshed at this period. The Imsfiwen think that the harvest would not be good if crops are threshed before the Solstice. The Aït Baâmran, too, wait till after the celebration of the Solstice to thresh their crops even though their barley gets ripe in May. But in Demnat, threshing is almost finished by this time. A common practice among the Berbers is that of sacrificing a sheep on the Solstice on the pile of grains left for this purpose in the threshing floor, provided that the farmer's financial situation allows him to do so. Threshing grains is carried out by means of making mules or bulls tread on the sheaves. Threshing floors are established either inside

fields or near the houses, depending on the state of security in the region. The number of ceremonies which take place in the threshing floors have one main objective which consists in preserving intact the "Baraka" (abundance) of grains, for like all sacred things, it is particularly sensitive to the effect of bad influences.

Work is inaugurated in many places by a sacrificial banquet followed by a prayer said to bring God's blessing on the enterprise, on the men and on the animals that take part in it. Threshing is started the same day or the following day, and it is done by means of a "*Tiwizi*" - voluntary help offered by the members of the community.

When the threshing operation, which goes through many stages, is finished, the quantity of the harvested grains is measured by a man known for his piety, and it is this man who visits all the threshing floors of the village for the same purpose. He receives a certain amount of grains as a compensation for his work. This same person sometimes happens to be officially in charge of the measurement of grains on market days. Because of his piety, he enjoys the respect of the public. The farmer, himself, can measure his grains provided that he has done his ablutions before, but he usually prefers to have it done by another person, whether he be a worker, a neighbour or a caretaker of the village storehouse. When the measurement is finished, the threshing floor is cleaned. This task is usually carried out by poor women for whom the less clean product of gleaning is left out of charity.

7. Storage of Crops

The storage of crops is done either in a communal storehouse or in a silo. The grains that will be used as seeds the following

years are never mixed with those meant for sale or family consumption ; thus they are put in a special silo or storing place.

Amazigh Words and Things est la première traduction de l'amazighe vers l'anglais, que le Centre de la Traduction, de la Documentation, de l'Édition et de la Communication (CTDEC), de l'Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe (IRCAM), a le plaisir de présenter au public. Il s'agit d'extraits choisis de l'étude linguistique et ethnographique très importante, intitulée *Mots et choses berbères : notes de linguistique et d'ethnographie*, publiée au début du siècle dernier (1920) par le grand amazighisant Emile Laoust (1876 – 1952) et rééditée en fac-similé au milieu des années 80.

D'un intérêt informatif et scientifique évident, l'étude de Laoust documente une tranche fondamentale de l'ethnographie et de l'histoire de la région de Demnate et offre des indications linguistiques minutieuses sur ses sous-dialectes.

La date à laquelle elle a été publiée et les données qu'elle livre font d'elle une étude très importante pour l'approche chronologique, qui est un élément essentiel de notre conception du programme d'étude et de recherche en traductologie comprenant, entre autres, les volets « *Traduction pour le rayonnement* » et « *Traduction pour l'enrichissement* ». (Extraits de la *Présentation* par Jilali Saib)