The Anthropology of Magic and Sorcery in Tunisian society: An Ethnographic study

أنثروبولوجيا السحر والشعوذة في المجتمع التونسي: دراسة اثنوجرافية

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الملخص

يهتم هذا البحث بدراسة ظاهرة السحر والشعوذة في المجتمعات العربية من خلال دراسة ميدانية في المجتمع التونسي شملت عينة من العاملين في مجال السحر والشعوذة. بالإضافة إلى عينة من الأفراد، وزعنا عليهم استمارة بحث تتكون من عدة أسئلة للإجابة عليها. ندرس في هذا البحث العلاقة بين الدين والممارسات السحرية وكذلك تصنيفات السحر والشعوذة.

الكلمات المفتاحية

المعيش اليومي، الدين، الثقافة الشعبية، التصورات الاجتماعية، الروحانيات.

Abstract

This research is concerned with the study of the phenomenon of witchcraft and sorcery in Arab societies through a field study in Tunisian society, which included a sample of workers in the field of witchcraft and witchcraft. In addition to a sample of individuals, we sent them a research form consisting of several questions to answer. In this paper we study the relationship between religion and magical practices as well as the classification of magic. On the other hand, we learned about the most prominent concepts, namely magic and sorcery. This study deals with the approach of magic and witchcraft, from a social and anthropological perspective. Therefore, this study attempts to answer some questions about the phenomenon of magic. This study aimed to study the health phenomenon in the Arab reality and to show its relationship with the most important.

Keywords

Daily living, Religion, popular culture, social perceptions, Spirituality.

1. Research Problem

The practice of magic and sorcery is still present in the behaviors and perceptions of individuals despite the acceleration of modernity. Societies are now undergoing a period of great change in all areas of economic, social and cultural life. This change is good as long as it carries behavioral patterns consistent with those developmental values, without masking some aspects of the ancient heritage that can be limited to the culture of yellow books with metaphysical and mythical content.

Belief in the spirit, the invisible world, and good and evil spirits is an ancient belief among humans,

Hutton (1952)i, This study aims to address the magic phenomenon in Tunisian society as an example for Arab and Islamic societies, by linking it to several variables such as religion, individual perceptions, and achieving goals.

What is the relationship between magical practices, cultural heritage and the aspirations of individuals in Arab societies, through the Tunisian example?

2. Research Aims

This study aims to achieve the following objectives:
− Highlighting the relationship of magic in Arab Islamic societies to the cultural heritage prevailing in society.
− Explaining how magical practices have been present in various societies since ancient times, and how this relates to religion
− Revealing the relationship between realizing the aspirations of individuals in Arab societies, including Tunisia, and the prevailing magical and witchcraft practices.
− Clarifying the justifications for the presence of magic in abundance in the present of Arab societies, despite the fact that Islam prohibited it.

3. Research Questions or Hypotheses

Within the limits of our research, it is worth formulating the sub-problem in light of the main problem as follows:

− what is the relationship between magic and sorcery and the nature of cultural heritage in Tunisian society, including religion?
− what are the most prominent classifications of magic as it is common in Arab societies?
− what are the justifications that can explain the spread of the phenomenon of witchcraft and sorcery in a society such as Tunisian society in general and in the rural community of Sidi Ali Ben Aoun in particular?

4. The Academic and Practical Importance of the Research

The main importance of this research is that it is concerned with a social phenomenon that has not received sufficient in-depth studies, which is magic and sorcery.

This research attempts to answer the reasons for the spread of magic and sorcery in our Arab societies through the Tunisian example.

5. Research Terms
A. magic:

An idiomatic definition of magic can be put as follows: an acquired knowledge practiced by some despicable spirit either by deception and by imagining something else unreal, or by harming the creation of God Almighty and insulting it. This harm, deception and delusion can only be achieved by seeking the help of Satan and getting close to him, by committing ugly words such as spells that contain words of shirk, or working as worshiping planets, observing impurity, and everything else. It also includes immorality, or belief in agreeing to something that entails getting close to and loving Satan, and thus realizing the effect of magic on the bewitched.

Dottier indicated, in this context, that there are several names that the Arabs give to the magician, he is kâhin or arraf and hakim. and he indicated that the people of North Africa repeat the following labels: seh'h'âr ou sâh'ir For those who practice magic and mash'our on whomever the act of magic falls, and these common definitions, in his belief, go back to the influence of the Berber and Arab civilizations. Doutte (1909).ii

Magic is a social phenomenon that characterized ancient societies and is still prevalent in various parts of the world, albeit to varying degrees. However, the precise definition that we would like to offer in the study is the set of practices, perceptions, customs and traditions that are still present in the actors' conscience and behaviors, in their dealings and visions of the world, and in relation to their daily living.

Magic is familiar to individuals, as it is associated with socialization. We feel its effects from childhood. They accompany us in our daily lives, their effects rooted in our perceptions and thoughts, in our consciousness and subconscious...There is an abundance of magical rituals in Tunisian society - including Sidi Ali Ben Aoun - that we have known since childhood. We did not pay attention to the question about it, perhaps because of the inactivity of social institutions based on upbringing, especially the family. This was confirmed by Mustafa Hadiya by saying: "*The individual links his professional, academic or emotional failure, for example, to magic and sorcery as a specific external factor. It deals with magic and sorcery according to the spread of illiteracy, ignorance, poverty, and the absence of reason and sound thinking, which is related to the maturity and progress of society in all political, economic and cultural fields.*" Hadiya(2005).iii

Perhaps the procedural concept of magic, as in the research community, is all practices devised by specialists in conjuring a third force, usually expressed by jinn, spiritualists, and demons. They usually use the old books they have to learn magic rituals.

B. sorcery:

We affirm from the outset that magic is not the same as sorcery, although they both belong to the same circle of magical practices. And our guide is in the Arabic dictionaries that give different definitions of both concepts. Sorcery, although it shares some aspects with magic, does not carry the same connotations. Sorcery is, in our opinion, a form of imagination, deception, delusion, and the claim of blessing (la Baraka) Doutte (1909)iv. It is thus the ability to dodge without relying on the same means as the magician.

What should be noted on this site of research, is that magic meets sorcery, as we have already said, in that they belong to the same circle, which is the magical practices, because the first origin of supernatural practices was with the emergence of magic whose definitions and all situations and events related to it were talked about in most of the previous religions until the emergence of Islam. From magic, all practices similar to it emerged, such as sorcery, talismans, divination, incantations, divination, semiotics, spells and amulets... As for the procedural concept of sorcery, it is just tricks, deception and illusion, and it can be classified under the crime of fraud.

6. Previous Studies

The most important studies that were adopted in our study are the book of magic in North Africa by Edmond Doutté, in which he highlighted the strength of the relationship between treatment, medical fields, and magical practices. As well as a study by Samia Hassan Al-Saati entitled Magic in Egypt, also a study of Badak Shabeha about magical practices in the tribal society in Algeria.

7. Theoretical Framework

We will focus our attention on studying the actors, their interactions and their perceptions of this phenomenon, which is increasingly widespread in Tunisia in general and Sidi Bouzid in particular. On the other hand, our study will focus on analyzing the factors behind the spread of the phenomena of magic and sorcery and their interactive relationship with the rest of the other ideological references, which have long represented a reference to which society appeals to in its movement and changes. This means that there are a set of seemingly heterogeneous and conflicting systems, structures, and functions, but are rooted in society through their relational existence, resulting in a number of scenes that will be part of our diverse and divergent research objectives.

8. Research Methodology

We do not claim that we will use one methodology in approaching the phenomenon of witchcraft and sorcery in the current Tunisian society, as we will mix both the quantitative and qualitative approaches, given the nature of the phenomenon studied, which requires a balanced treatment between them.

A. Quantitative method:

The quantitative approach is able to be at the forefront of our methodological choices, as it is able to collect data on the phenomena of magic and sorcery in the region of Sidi Ali bin Aoun, and elicit some evidence, and for this we have adopted:

The form: In this aspect, we allocated a form for the category of beneficiaries and another for the workers, and this enabled us to read the data and information contained in its text, and thus test it to ensure its credibility, with the aim of reaching its compatibility with theoretical perceptions, and finding explanations for some of the respondents' perceptions of apparent magic and sorcery.

Statistical data: For this purpose, we adopted the SPSS program, which made it easier for us to link several variables, which enabled us to obtain recurring tables accompanied by percentages and graphs, or to convert some qualitative data to quantitative ones, in the form of ratios or a differential arrangement for the choices and positions of the respondents

B. Qualitative method:

Participatory observation: Observation is one of the most prominent methods adopted in this field. We often lived the event and participated in presenting ideas and attitudes towards the phenomenon under study. Boudon (1995)v, as we talk about our visits to witches and charlatans in Sidi Ali Ben Aoun, the town or in the countryside, during the period we devoted to field research and data collection, which lasted for more than a year.

In addition to the empirical quantitative approach, we will use the qualitative descriptive approach that will be useful to understand some special information related to the phenomenon under study - magic and sorcery or in relation to some other aspect, especially the actors, changes and daily living.

Indirect observation: Indirect observation differs from participatory observation in that the researcher is not a participating actor in the research framework, but rather observes and does not participate. In the field of our research, which deals with the study of the magic phenomenon, we sought to take notes and photograph some scenes using the camera.

Interviews: It was necessary for us, and for the methodological and research necessity imposed by the nature of our research, to conduct interviews with the audience of the region in the research space. We made use of in-depth conversations and opinions, questions,

and inquiries to make the respondents list their views about scenes, ideas and perceptions. Some of them even told real stories that happened to them or to others, which fall into the category of magic and sorcery, despite the multiplicity of events and contents.

The quantitative approach enabled us to process the results of the questionnaire using the SPSS statistical program, as this enabled us to realize the causal relationship between variables (such as gender, academic level, level of religiosity, or the nature of problems.) and magical practices.

Through the descriptive approach, we were able to perceive the psychological and interpersonal states associated with the feelings and perceptions of the sample subjects, which are difficult to detect or quantitatively understand. Magical practices are often done in the strictest secrecy.

As for the interviews, we conducted them with witches or warlocks, where I would approach them as a patient, asking for treatment or fulfilling other desires. All the sessions were a clear example to see how magical rituals are done or the tricks and lies that they represent, and they enabled me to know all the features of space and its components.

We used the interview technique to find out some accurate information related to magical and sorcery practices.

9. Data Analysis
I. The history of the magical phenomenon and its relationship to religion:

The magical phenomenon has spatio-historical extensions, and ideological affiliations related to the culture of peoples and their ethnic affiliations. However, this is not a history of it as much as it is essentially an attempt to investigate its historical dimensions in the Tunisian present, in order to try to reconcile the totality of readings in this field, in an attempt to find something that helps us understand the magical practices in Tunisia in all their aspects. This is something that will be clearly evident in the parts in which we will approach the magical practices prevalent in the culture of Tunisians, and this is what justifies the need to investigate the dimensions of the historical phenomenon.

In a more precise sense, all the readings, especially sociological and anthropological ones, that dealt with the magical phenomenon in the study, started from addressing its historical dimensions, symbolic connotations, contexts and social functions. We will conclude later on by reaching its research goals in its multiple cognitive and methodological contexts.

We follow this same methodological approach, but for a purpose imposed by the research vocabulary, which still represents an area of controversy and question, and even a conflict between different sources of knowledge, including religion and science at all levels. Does magic exist? Can it be previewed? What are its harms and benefits? What are its sources? Is it halal or

haram? Then what are the areas of its spread and the reasons for resorting to it, whether by workers or beneficiaries? Is everything that is believed to be magic really magic or just sorcery? Is there a direct or indirect functional relationship between the spread of religious angles and methods and magic in all its manifestations? And what is the position of religion - as represented in Tunisian Islam?vi And the legislator - represented by man-made laws - from all of this...? All these questions and others are common questions in Tunisian society among all social sects, with all their cultural and cognitive levels.

Talking about magical practices in Tunisian society can be classified among topics generally related to the world of the unseen, spirituality, rituals and values stemming from popular religiosity, which Tunisians are still attached to. It represents a source of their inspiration and an outlet through which they cross to the world of blessings, drawing close to the saints, searching for escape from life's difficulties, and resorting to witches and charlatans to achieve their goals. It is that aspect of the hidden world that links the actors to the tangible physical world through a set of symbols, rituals and beliefs.

1. Magic and religion: distances of convergence and divergence.

Magical practices, such as religion, are still active in the lives of individuals, which we have already expressed, continue from the past to the present. Wallis Budge was perhaps one of the most prominent researchers in this subject and reached the same conclusion when he declared that "*the study of the remains of primitive religious monuments that we received from ancient Egypt (revealed) this belief in magic: it is the belief in the power of magical names, incantations, shapes, statues, images, or Drawings, loads or inscriptions, and performing some rituals accompanied by reciting words of power that bring miraculous results. ...*" Budge(1998).vii

Hence, we conclude that the extension of magic in our time is an extension of what prevailed in ancient civilizations, but with changes in the level of practice or goals. Perhaps this is what made Wallis Budge seem surprised, wondering about the legitimacy of the persistence of witchcraft, despite the great strides that the Egyptians made in the field of civilization and progress. Hence, our question will also be legitimate: Why is Tunisian society, despite its adherence to the values of modernity and its openness to all the features of technical and cultural development, still attached to magical practices, albeit to varying degrees between its geographical sides, as well as between the different groups of society, which are fueled by class differences that will have an important impact? This is what we will reveal later through the statistics that we will read according to this approach in theorizing, analysis, conclusion and perhaps a question again.

The history of magic goes back to ancient civilizations, but in our opinion it is predating religion. Because

most of the religions that were revealed, including Islam, which came to correct and seal them, talked about magic in more than one place and prohibited all magical practices, like the rest of the heavenly religions that preceded it. This indicates that magic is a pre-existing phenomenon.

Therefore, it is necessary to deal with the magic phenomenon with its religious counterpart, and we only intentionally introduced this approach because we were aware through our field research that we had adopted multiple research methods, such as interviews, observations, solar imaging as well as the readings we touched on, all that prompted us to something. One very important thing is that magic phenomena in all their branches, including witchcraft, stem from or share many characteristics with religion.[viii]

It should be noted in this regard that it is not possible to judge a religion as wrong or to say that it is an illusion and a myth. The case is that we are facing a study of a social phenomenon, which calls for objectivity, which is one of its conditions of impartiality, and to focus only on the essence of the phenomenon, regardless of side positions, whether they are personal or ideological, driven by the conscience of the researcher or his affiliation to a particular religion or intellectual current.

It is true that the position of religions on magic is far apart to the point of dissonance and inconsistency. For example, Islam, as the last of these heavenly religions, forbids magic and orders the killing of witches, because that is an abomination from the work of Satan. Bousquet (1949)[ix]. In some human-made religions, the priest is the magician himself, who performs a number of magical rituals and performs certain spells and rituals to help achieve certain goals. Whatever it was, religion and magic grew and developed side by side, regardless of where they were from the other. Budge(1998).[x]

The approach of religion to magic was and still is a conceptual and methodological duality at the same time. All the studies that dealt with the magical phenomenon share their exposure to the religious phenomenon and its comparison with magic. The reason, we believe, is that magic, as well as religion, is a vision of the world. Man always seeks to find peace and get rid of his illusions and everything that confuses him. He is not satisfied with what is material and tangible, but seeks to transcend his material world, which he himself formed, trying to embrace the forces behind it that he believes are the way to his stability and the search for an answer to all his questions and places of confusion.

The convergence between religion and magic is evident, in that both are a means by which man crosses to the supernatural world, which cannot be communicated with or understand its features and secrets except through the mediums of religion and magic, despite the disagreement in the readings between scholars in determining the distance between them. This is what

Robertson Smith said, that religion is different from magic.

The history of magic, then, goes back to ancient civilizations, some of which are even banned in our current time for being famous for magic, including the Pharaonic, Babylonian and Mesopotamian civilizations. Human history abounds with many tales and legends of a magical nature. Indeed, some of these facts were addressed by religions. And the Qur'an, which is the most prominent and widespread religious book and the most resolute in rejecting witchcraft, has dealt with the issue of witchcraft in more than one place. And this is what we will reveal through the conflict that took place between the Prophet Moses and Pharaoh, that is, between magic and the divine miracle, which God singled out for his prophets to establish proof for the servants, who commands them to be moderate and to comply with its provisions. Note that Islam as a heavenly religion brought by the Prophet and Messenger Muhammad, peace and blessings be upon him, was revealed during a period of tension and social chaos.[xi]

2. History of Magic.

A. Magic in Primitive Societies

The primitive mentality reduces all mysterious events

to magical beliefs, meaning that everything unusual is returned to the presence of hidden forces that the primitive mind does not realize,as they are natural laws, so it reduces them directly to the magic factor. Levy-Bruhl (1922).[xii]

These mentioned situations confirm that magic with primitive man is done with the help of hidden forces that exist in nature, or those that man imagines in his imagination from his excessive fear and his quest to achieve salvation from his fears and obsessions. Where "*the mental life of the primitives and therefore (their intuitions) depends on an essential primitive truth, which is that the sensible world and the other world are in their perceptions only one thing. The totality of the invisible beings is not separated for them from the sum of the visible beings. visible objects. Rather, it is more influential and intimidating than others, and therefore it preoccupies them more than others, and distracts their minds from thinking about what we call objective perceptions. In general, we can divide the invisible influences that constantly operate the primitive mind into three categories, although they often overlap each other. These sections are: spirits of the dead, spirits in the most general sense of the word, that is, those influences that make life come to life in natural things such as animals, plants, inanimate objects (rivers and rocks, seas, mountains, made tools, etc.) witches.* ". Al-Saati (1983).[xiii]

A person who is haunted by an obsession with invisible beings, which is still present in his fertile imagination, remains active in all areas of his life, and is often present in such situations. This is what we read from the attached table and graph, as the majority of the respondents believe in the existence of invisible creatures

that inhabit this universe, knowing that the social upbringing, especially that which he acquired in his childhood, of the type of superstitions and habits that his family taught him, as well as the perceptions he holds about the world in which he lives, are the reason for their survival. This is well-rooted and effective in his view of the world. It is sufficient for him to walk in a wasteland, or in a place related to these matters, in order for him to feel fear. Among the prevailing beliefs in Sidi Ali Ben Aoun, for example, are the existence of the jinn who live in ashes, places where blood has been spilled, and ruined buildings that are generally far from populated areas. Therefore, we see a high percentage of those who answered yes, regarding the question related to whether this universe is inhabited by invisible beings, and this percentage rises, especially among females, because women are more afraid than men, and this justifies their excessive belief in the interference of invisible beings in the course of events. We have noticed that the religious factor is the only one capable of instilling tranquility in the souls of these people, wary of harming the jinn and spirituality. As soon as they get afraid of horrific places or feel something strange, even in the houses in which they live, they read the Qur'an, especially Al-Fatihah and the two dates, because the prevailing belief is that the jinn are afraid and deterred from hearing the Qur'an. In the perception of Al-Tunisi in general, and the people of Sidi Ali bin Aoun in particular, demons and jinn are among these invisible creatures that he fears harming, as evidenced by the results of the field study. There are narrations that we extracted from our field research that reflect people's belief in these beings, and there are those who told us that they saw the jinn. Neanderthals live in a world of symbols and seek to resist the forces of nature and obtain their approval. Everything in his consciousness has deep spiritual and symbolic meanings and connections in abstraction. This is what Jan Bran noted: "From that time on, the meaning of this world emerged from the symbols in which the ancient man lived. Bran (1999).

Perhaps here, we clearly see how magic is an urgent need for primitive man to understand himself and his surroundings. No wonder, then, that the life of primitive man is characterized by its excessive symbolism. In our opinion, this life floating in symbolism to the point of symmetry, is characteristic of the magic phenomenon. Therefore, our conclusion is premature, since there is no magic without symbols. Magic is a realm of the subconscious, seeking to understand the natural world of matter, in view of the inability of thought at that time to decipher the many mysteries and complex conditions of life.

In a more precise sense, the most obvious manifestations of magic are those that prevailed in the primitive stage of human history, when man was in an eternal longing to touch all the beings around him. He has no choice but to contend with it except to shorten it in a theoretical, abstract language or through material means that are made by his imagination or through the experiences he took from his ancestors, especially

those he took from the hidden world, which is the result of the relationship of the symbol with the symbol, a dialectical relationship that is still Existing until now among some peoples that have been preserving their heritage in the world of modernity and progress.

B. Magic among the ancient Egyptians:

There is a closeness to the extent of overlap between religion and magic in ancient Egypt, as it is closely related to the lives of individuals and is effective in organizing the wheels of society. This is what was revealed by the religious books that are still preserved until now, such as the books of the dead and religious texts. In other words, "*witchcraft for the ancient Egyptians was just an applied religion, as the senior clerics used to work on it.*" Al-Saati (1983) [xiv].Several studies have also shown the progress of making magical artifacts in ancient societies, including the ancient Egyptian society, some of whose art is still recorded on the found papyrus. Graf (1994).[xv]

The archaeologist Salim Hassan said about the penetration of magic into the priesthood in ancient Egypt, "It is absurd to search if magic is the result of religion or religion is the result of magic, for the two sciences appeared in one field, dictated by the appearance of the world and the phenomena of nature. *Since its inception, magic has been linked to the myths of creation, the creation of life and existence, the factors constituting them, and the driving and controlling forces over them. The ancient Egyptians attributed magic and its descent on earth to the god Thoth, the god of knowledge and knowledge, the bearer of divine signs, and the lunar deity of the city of Hermopolis. He was the first to bring down the sacred books of magic, put his wonderful incantations, and taught his creatures the pronunciation of acquaintance, speech, letter, symbol or image."* Karim (1975)[xvi].

What distinguishes Egyptian magic is that it is very intertwined with religion, it is the religion itself in many cases, as well as being closely related to daily living. The conditions of their lives, and magicians practiced all kinds of magic in its various forms that the ancient world knew or circulated from it until now, starting with magical rituals, spirituality, incantation and magic amulets.

One of the beliefs of magic among the ancient Egyptians is that every human being has ajinn who accompanies him in life and follows him in death, which is the same idea that is still stable in the popular conscience to this day. A person must abstain from the various types of evil he fears as much as he can, i.e., by the strength of his faith and his immunity, or with the help of others in resisting and chasing after what threatens him or befalls him. Saad (2009)[xvii].

Ibn Khaldun mentioned in his introduction: "Sorcery in Babylon and Egypt at the time of Moses' mission had popular markets, and for this reason the miracle of Moses was of the kind that they claim and dispute about,

and the traces of that remained in the prairies of Upper Egypt, evidence of that." Ibn Khaldun (1990).[xviii]

As for daily life, "magic played an important role in daily life in ancient Egypt. It was generally defensive and hostile in rare cases. It was used in the interest of the state and temples, and for the benefit of the sick and those who were afraid of disease. It was a protection against ghosts and accidents. It protected the dead from the evil of demons" in the underworld, and spares them death a second time and saves them from starvation if their living relatives neglected to provide them with offerings. In some cases, he guaranteed victory in war positions, and good fortune, and they crowned the king's crown with magic, he was the "great magic" spell and people, in scattered places They worship a deity called "magic." It is a representation of the power of movement that the first deity made work at the beginning of creation. A group of authors (1990)[xix]

C. Magic in the time of the Prophet Moses:

The Holy Qur'an mentions the issue of the conflict between the Prophet Moses and his brother Aaron, peace be upon them, with Pharaoh and his minister Haman, in the context of the struggle between truth and falsehood. Where a battle took place, the end of which was in the tenth month of the month of Muharram, which is a battle according to the interpretive readings of the Qur'an between the forces of polytheism and idols and the forces of faith and monotheism. God sent His Prophet Moses, peace be upon him, to Pharaoh, who went too far in his tyranny and refused to comply with God's command by surrendering to him, uniting him and refraining from his disobedience. And that is what we read in the Almighty's saying through the call of the command: "*Go to Pharaoh, for he has transgressed.*" The Noble Qur'an[xx]. The case is that Moses was calling his people by all means, forcibly or voluntarily, to deify and worship him, and not to listen to Moses, to the extent that he stood as a preacher to his people, saying: "*Oh people, I have not known to you of a god besides me*." The Noble Qur'an[xxi] As he says, "*I am yours Lord the Most High*." The Noble Qur'an [xxii]

The employment of pharaonic magic will appear in this general framework, in which there was a challenge to the miracles of Moses. Here, magic has a functional role in trying to prove the Lordship, while the miracles of Moses have a decisive role in ending this intense conflict. By magic, the Almighty, Pharaoh attacked Moses and his brother Aaron and underestimated them, and he seemed to warn his people against following them, mocking Moses and being indifferent to him and his advice. This is what the verse indicates "*Or am I better than this who is insulting and hardly makes himself visible*" The Noble Qur'an[xxiii]

Ⅱ .Classifications of magic from an anthropological-sociological perspective:

The magical phenomenon has several binary classifications that differ from one society to another. Magic is a social phenomenon, which leads us to conclude in principle that it is inevitably formed according to the needs, beliefs and perceptions of society. Like religion, it represents the intermediary between individuals and the goals they seek according to their needs and aspirations. However, when we say binary classifications, that means - and according to what we have deduced from most of the readings, especially Marcel Moss, Fraser and Dottie - that it involves many different intents, as we say negative and positive, good and evil.

In this way, the functional dimension of magic appears within the social structure, because it is a response to the aspirations of the actors within the community with all its ideological and cultural components that control it. .Here it seems logical to note the impossibility of realizing these magical classifications unless we carefully consider the peculiarities of society and its perceptions of the magical phenomenon, To prove this, Doughty, with his in-depth research on the same topic in North Africa, dedicated an entire chapter entitled "Magic Rituals".Doutte (1909)[xxiv].Then he immediately began to transmit the most important practices, rituals and magic that are used for many purposes "sympathetic magic", "Demonic magic", "The magic of scents", while James Fraser focused. Frazer (1903)[xxv]. on the duality of "communicative magic" and "morphological magic", But in Arab societies in general and Tunisians in particular, we stand at several classifications similar to magic, where we find official magic, popular magic, white magic, black magic, positive magic and negative magic. And all these classifications, as we have said from the beginning, can only be achieved and distinguished by looking into the peculiarities of society for the realization of its magical rites. This means that magic ratings are multiple.

Many researchers in this field have distinguished between two main types of magic, namely white magic and black magic. In this context, it should be noted that many anthropological studies have been conducted in this regard since early time. Fraser, like Marcel Moss and Edmund Doty, is among the most prominent anthropologists and sociologists who have made readings in this regard, although the methods of study differ. Since Marcel Mauss deliberately studied and analyzed some manuscripts and readings on the phenomenon of witchcraft, his work was primarily in the office, while Fraser and Dottie were closer to the

field to witness and live the concerns and movements of society.

What concerns us as far as the topic of our research is concerned, is to research the patterns of magic that are prevalent in Tunisian society through a difference between previous studies that dealt with the magical phenomenon in other societies and what is popular in Tunisian society originally, and we investigated its implications and manifestations through the research methods that we adopted.

1. White magic that is used for positive purposes:

White magic is one of the most common types of magic in Tunisian society, although the general public does not know it by that name. It is hidden under many names to impart holiness and legitimacy to it, so that they can escape from some of the consequences of the religious and moral ostracism practiced towards them by some sectors of Tunisian society.

The classification of magic into black and white is the most famous binary classification ever. White magic fulfills purposes that benefit the individual and society, without causing harm to anyone or contradicting the norms and laws of society. "*Scholars unanimously agreed that the two most important types of white magic, all over the world, are magic related to predicting the future or predicting the unseen, and magic related to treatment or medicine and medicine.*" Waarab (2003).[xxvi]

What should be noted in this context is that individuals often use witches in secret or under the pretext of medicines, while magicians and sorcerers practice their activities under several names. In the research community, Sidi Ali bin Aoun is known mostly as "Elkattab," "The Muddab," "Good Man," "Mabrouk," or "Dajjal." If he reveals that he does not know anything about the supernatural, blessings and skill of magical practices that he claims, then we will be faced with the so-called sorcery, In terms of effectiveness, it is more dangerous than magic, because the sorcerer, by virtue of his ability to lie and deceive, Affects people's cognition especially since these individuals, because of their problems, go to these charlatans with a desire to solve their problems.

So, white magic is what is used in many areas, such as medication, looking to the future and solving some of life's difficulties, among which we mention: predicting the fate of absentees and lost goods, opening the door to livelihood and facilitating commercial operations, these are his most common intentions in Tunisian society, from which is Sidi Ali Ben Aoun from the Wilayat of Sidi Bouzid. This is what the survey results revealed, since a good percentage of the respondents still believed in the role of magic in several issues such as those mentioned in Table 2.

This largely explains the failure of modernity to achieve the goals of individuals. For example, we noticed in Sidi Ali Ben Aoun that the security services were not able on many occasions to catch thieves and know the fate of the stolen goods. This leads some perpetrators to seek help from magicians in order to find out, as 34.66 percent of respondents reported being able to discover absentee locations and lost goods.

2. Black magic for destructive purposes:

Black magic is harmful magic for malicious, vengeful purposes, intended to harm others, and is usually resorted to settle certain accounts between the conflicting parties. "*In order to achieve a personal interest, it harms others, and one of its most important forms is revenge magic, and this type is what is called aggressive magic.*" Waarab (2003).[xxvii]

It must be emphasized in this regard, that we have come across very strange facts in this field, as some of the charlatans in Sidi Ali bin Aoun, claim their wonderful magical abilities, which in the end are no more than sorcery. Any ability to deceive, mislead and drag the perpetrator into the trap of this sorcerer is called sorcery. To clarify this idea, it was necessary to mention that Fraser, and like many anthropologists such as Marcel Mauss and Malinowski, who spoke about the types of magic and analyzed his beliefs and rituals, did not speak about the types of magic and analyze its beliefs and rituals... he did not stop at the idea that some classifications of magic are like sorcery, and this was mentioned in a previous section of our research, where many studies confused the two concepts: magic and sorcery.

Accordingly, we conclude that just as there is black magic that is based on incantations and harnessing invisible forces for negative ends, there is black sorcery which is more dangerous than black magic, because it takes effect immediately, unlike the magic recipe that requires some practices.

3. Sympathetic magic:

It is worth asking in this regard how the magic formulais applied as is common in peoples' beliefs, is it because of the magician's intrinsic abilities, or according to his external abilities such as those popular in Tunisian society, from the fact that the magician has servants from the jinn, demons, spirits or angels, or is that by virtue of a divine gift?

Through his in-depth field research into the magical phenomenon, Fraser tried to answer this question by considering that the general principle of magic is based on two principles: "*The first: that the similar produces a resemblance, and the second that things that were related to each other at one time continue to influence each other from afar after they are physically separated. We can call the first principle the law of similarity, and we can call the second principle the law of communication. From the first principle, the law of similarity, the magician concludes that he can achieve the goals and results he wants to imitate. From the second principle he concludes that whatever he does in relation to any material object will have a similar effect on the person with whom the object was at one time connected.*" Frazer (1903).

10. Results Discussions and Recommendations

Various anthropological and sociological studies have dealt with the magical phenomenon without distinguishing between the concept of magic and sorcery . Such a matter we focused on in our studies, where we showed on the conceptual side as well as through the examples we provided from the Tunisian reality, how magic differs from sorcery. Such a matter was neglect-

ed by the various studies that we mentioned, except for Ibn Khaldun, who referred to this issue by considering that there was a kind of magic that turned into sorcery.

The various studies referred to, especially Western ones, have used the concept of religion in their general context without focusing on the difference between religions. Islam considers magic a crime and condemns the magician and orders his killing. Western studies of anthropologists have used the concept of religion without distinguishing between the nature of heavenly religions and man-made religions.

Despite the nature of the changes that Arab societies have witnessed, especially the development of education and services, magical practices still exist and mimic the aspirations of individuals to achieve their goals. Magical practices and sorcery have become an industry for financial profit

− There is a strong relationship between magic and religion in Arab Islamic societies. The
Islamic religion forbids magic, and at the same time uses religion to promote magical practices. Rather, at other times it is a component of the magical process, such as using Quranic verses or the magician imitating the role of a religious person in order to deceive.
− Despite the multiple classifications of magic, it is generally classified in Arab civilization into two main types, namely white magic and black magic, i.e. beneficial magic and harmful magic.
− The belief still exists in Arab societies, including Tunisia, that it is possible to achieve the goals of individuals through magical and sorcery practices.
− Through fieldwork and the results of interviews, it became clear to us that the charlatans and the category of deceivers engage in activities that amount to serious crimes, such as practicing debauchery and having sex with women in order to influence them.
− At the level of field results, it was found that social tensions and individuals' pursuit of achieving their goals quickly and with minimal effort lead them to resort to magical practices.

Through this research, we reached a number of results as follows:

− Magical practices still exist in Arab societies despite the values of modernity and Islam's prohibition of them
− The existence of magical practices in society is a matter that has several justifications related to the needs of individuals to achieve their goals
− Despite the prohibition of witchcraft in Islam, there is an interrelated relationship between witchcraft and religion through the use of the Qur'an by magicians in magic in a distorted way or by deception that they are religious.
− There is a difference between the concept of magic and sorcery, and this is something we have confirmed through our field study.
− The classifications of magic to which we have referred are the products of the society that created those

labels. That is, in general, harmful magic and beneficial magic, and sorcery is nothing but tricks and deceptions.
− Magicians use tricks, lies and camouflage in order to make money.

Authors Contribution

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[i] Webster Hutton 1952, *Magic in primitive societies*, Translation by Jean Gouillard, Paris, Payot, p.375.

[ii] Doutte Edmond 1909, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord: La société musulmane du Maghrib, Alger*, Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, 1909,from< Livre numérisé en mode texte par : Alain Spenatto, www.algerie-ancienne.com> (Retrieved on 20 March 2007), pp.29-33.

[iii] Mustafa Hadiya, Moroccan events file on witchcraft and sorcery, "Resorting to witchcraft and sorcery is a method linked to the spread of illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and absence of reason", Al-Ahdath Moroccan newspaper, January 1, 2005.

[iv] Doutte (Edmond), Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord: La société musulmane du Maghrib, Alger, Typographie Adolphe Jourdan Imprimeur-Libraire-éditeur 9, Place de la Régence, 1909, Livre numérisé en mode texte par: Alain Spenatto, www.algerie-ancienne.com, p.603.

[v] Boudon Raymond 1995, *Methods in sociology*, 10th editions, Paris, PUF, pp.86-96.

[vi] Since the Bourguiba period, the state has kept religion away from interfering in political life and in most of its private legislation. On the other hand, it intervenes in religion and seeks to reinterpret and employ it, in order to respond to its plans and programmes. Until today, in present-day Tunisia, we hear the Tunisian political discourse calling the name Tunisian Islam or Mediterranean Islam, which is the religion of moderation and the religion of dialogue. This was an example of calculating the basic principles that Islam brought. As evidence of the state's early fight against the constants of the Islamic religion, it neutralized the Zitouna Mosque from the process of modernization and considered it a traditional institution that ended by closing it and suspending lessons in its schools, which Bourguiba boasted about in his letter. He said in a statement to the French newspaper "Le Monde", issued on March 21, 1976 : "I am proud of three cases, the closure of the Zitouna Mosque, the emancipation of women, and the issuance of a personal status law that cut off the family's relationship with Islam.

For more in-depth study of the relationship between religion and the state in the context of secular Tunisia, please refer to Al-Monsef Wanas, The State and the Cultural Issue in Tunisia, Dar Al-Mitaq for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Tunis 1988.

[vii] Wallis Budge 1998, *Magic in Ancient Egypt, The Arab Diffusion Foundation*, Beirut, Arabic Edition, p. 23.

[viii] This does not mean that religion encourages witchcraft. Rather, what is meant by this is that those who are ignited in

this area often resort to the employment of religion. Perhaps we are here regarding what is termed popular religion, which is contrary to the official religion, which in most of its manifestations contradicts the popular religion.

[ix] Bousquet G. H.1949-1950, Fiqh and witchcraft, *Annals of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Algiers, VIII*, pp. 230-234.

[x] Wallis Budge 1998, *Magic in Ancient Egypt, The Arab Diffusion Foundation*, Beirut, Arabic Edition, p. 24.

[xi] The spread of adultery, consanguineous marriage, alcohol, gambling, cheating, oppression, eating dead meat, witchcraft, and fortune-telling... all of them are considered social tensions that require the intervention of an authority that has the power to change and correct. Islam was that divine text - the wise, and Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, was a messenger who would deliver this revelation and translate it to people.

[xii] Lucien Levy-Bruhl 1922, *The primitive mentality,* Paris, Center for Research in History and Comparative Epistemology of Central and Eastern European Linguistics (CRECLECO), University of Lausanne.

[xiii] Samia Hassan Al-Saati 1983, *Magic and Society: A Theoretical Study and Field Research*, Beirut, second edition, Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya for Printing and Publishing, p. 22.

[xiv] Samia Hassan Al-Saati 1983, *Magic and Society: A Theoretical Study and Field Research*, Beirut, second edition, Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya for Printing and Publishing, p. 31.

[xv] Fritz Graf 1994, *Magic in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, Paris, Beautiful letters.

[xvi] Syed Karim 1975, Magic and Magicians of the Ancient Egyptians, *Al-Hila,*1 January, p. 48.

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[xix] A group of authors1996, *Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian Civilization,* second edition, Cairo, *General* Egyptian Book Organization, p. 86.

[xx] The Noble Qur'an, Surah Taha, Verse 24.

[xxi] The Noble Qur'an, Surat Al-Qasas, Verse 38.

[xxii] The Noble Qur'an, Surah An-Naza'at, Verse 24

[xxiii] The Noble Qur'an, Surat Al-Zukhruf, Verse 52.

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[xxv] Frazer Sir James George1903, The Golden Bough, a study in magic and religion, Paris, Éd. Schleicher brothers.

[xxvi] Mustafa waarab 2003, Magical Beliefs in Morocco, Casablanca, Moroccan Events Publications, p. 12.

[xxvii] Mustafa waarab 2003, Magical Beliefs in Morocco, Casablanca, Moroccan Events Publications, p.12.