

DAVID M. HART

Tribe and
Society in
**RURAL
MOROCCO**

Tribe and Society in Rural Morocco

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David M. Hart

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Introduction

This collection of articles, most of which have been written since 1985, represents, in point of elapsed time, the residue of 11 years, not all continuous, between 1953 and 1967, of residence and fieldwork in Berber-speaking areas of Morocco. The latter was conducted, in particular, among the Aith Waryaghar in the Rif mountains in the north and among the Ait 'Atta of the Central Atlas range, the Saghru massif and the pre-Saharan oases in the centre and south of the country. I have spent, as well, at least one full year in periodic return visits to both areas since then. The material assembled here also represents certain aspects of Berber tribal ethnography to which I felt I had not given adequate coverage in previous publications (as in Hart 1976, 1981 and 1984), but also to some extent a rethinking of certain problems that seemed to me to require further investigation and analysis, particularly in the light of more recent research by other scholars.

I should also add that the great majority of the articles in this volume were written after my disillusionment over the value, for Muslim societies in North Africa and the Middle East generally, of segmentary lineage theory as originally expounded by Evans-Pritchard for the Nuer of the southern Sudan and the Bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1940, 1949). My estrangement stemmed largely but by no means entirely from my debate on this subject with Henry Munson, Jr., with respect to my work on the Rif, in the pages of the *American Anthropologist* for 1989 (Munson 1989; Hart 1989). It will probably be noticed that I make few if any references to it in these articles. I have not abandoned it completely, but I no longer give it the primacy that I did in my earlier work, which was also influenced by that of the late Ernest Gellner (1969), with whom Munson also had a subsequent debate, with respect to his own work, as well as, to a lesser extent, my own, on the Ait 'Atta (cf. Munson 1993, 1995; Gellner 1996; Hart 1996). For the value of segmentary lineage theory in terms of what it actually explains now seems to me to be slight at best, especially as it is far more restrictive than it is inclusive. I should also add that, in more general terms, I have now come to turn more frequently to social history than to social anthropology as a disciplinary medium of expression.

It will be noticed too that these articles fall into two discrete sections – the first dealing entirely with the Rif, where I did my initial fieldwork and where I spent the most time, and the larger second one both on the Rif and on the higher Atlas mountains and the Saharan fringe below it in the southern part of Morocco. In the latter I compare specific institutions and

sociocultural landmarks among Rifians on the one hand, with those among the Ait 'Atta and other southern Berber-speaking groups on the other. It had occurred to me as early as the late 1960s that what has been termed the 'controlled comparison' in anthropology (i.e. the comparison of what is truly comparable between one human group or region and another, even though they may in fact be widely separated spatially) can produce worthwhile analytical results, particularly if the groups or regions concerned are also culturally and structurally comparable and compatible.

Furthermore, although all Moroccans are Sunni Muslims of the Maliki rite, irrespective of whether their native language or speech happens to be Arabic or Berber, I should stress that my own work (with the exception of a brief sojourn among the Arabic-speaking camel pastoralists of the Rgaybat in the Western Sahara) was conducted almost exclusively among tribal groups whose members speak, natively, dialects of Berber rather than Arabic. These dialects are, in general, not mutually intelligible owing to millennia, rather than merely centuries, in spatial separation and independent development from each other. It is also worth noting that Berber, although not yet granted official status by the national authorities of either Morocco or Algeria, is nonetheless the 'aboriginal' language, so to speak, of both countries, as it is, indeed of much of the remainder of the Maghrib, of North Africa. Thus a shared, and dual, linguistic heritage (as well as treble, if French is also included, as a legacy of colonialism) and a shared Islamic institutional outlook and value system have also helped greatly to facilitate the limited comparisons of the sort I have attempted to make here.

Finally, a word should be said about the concepts of 'tribe' and 'society' as embodied in the book's title. The latter, as used here in the singular, is generally intended to refer to the national Moroccan society at large, while although there are probably almost as many definitions of 'tribe' as there are anthropologists who have tried to make them, the term as employed here must remain flexible and loose. It refers merely to the named human group of maximum size within a given region which is generally perceived to be such, both by its own members and by others, its neighbours of equal status and which is therefore recognised by all of them as having a distinct name and a distinct territory. As it happens, common territoriality is often larger and more significant than descent from a common ancestor in the patriline. Its various subgroups, all equally named and located at one level or removed further down are referred to as 'sections', while at two or more levels further down, these become 'subsections'. On the other hand, 'agnatic lineage' or 'patrilineage' refers, here as elsewhere, to the largest and most widely embracing unilineal (and here, patrilineal) descent group in which descent from a common patrilineal or agnatic ancestor can actually be traced, genealogically and on a step-by-step basis, by its living members.

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NOTE

1. Berber languages have now been granted official status in Morocco.

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Part I

Tribalism and Berber Identity

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I. Michael Peyron has noted that during the attack on the Affaires Indigenes outpost at Immuzar n-Imarmushen (Immouzer-des-Marmoucha) in the eastern Middle Atlas in the winter of 1955-56, the Imarmushen attempted a push northwards to bring their neighbours of the Ait Warayin into the fray, because the then custodian of the Taffert mountain-hut, on the northwestern slopes of the Jbil Bu

Iblan , was in volved in an amusing episode in connection with this. In a truly remarkable attempt \0 hedge hi s bets, he deliberately set fire to the hut at the time it was under thr eat from Imarmushen raiders (and siding with them, so to speak), but as soon as they withdrew he actually fought the flames and proceeded to put out the blaze, so as not to be seen by the French authorities at Aharmumu (Ahermoumou) as having aided the ' rebe l s' This notwithstanding, Peyron reports that this man has been applying, unsuccessfully, to acquire a/lcient resisTaIll status ever since Independence, and even though he has no hope of ever doing so, his son, the present custodian, continues to badger Peyron whenever the latter goes there by insisting that he put in a good word for his father 'with the Ministry in Rabat' (Michael Peyron, personal communication , 23 May 1995). Part II Northern Morocco
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