

Encounters with American Anthropologists in Morocco

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Abstract: In the sixties, seventies and eighties of the last century, I had the chance and the honor to meet the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz and his team while they were doing their research on the bazaar economy in Sefrou: “*Meaning and order in Moroccan society: three essays in cultural analysis*,” while my English was still at the babbling stage. I felt frustrated that I could only communicate with them in smiles and not words, but on the other hand I was ecstatic that my father, then senior Ministry of Interior official, was responsible for their safety and well-being. In the seventies I met Carleton Stevens Coon Jr. In Rabat, Morocco and later on went to the US to meet his father who worked on the Gzennaya tribe (“*Tribes of the Rif*”) in the twenties of the twentieth century. Carleton Stevens Coon was the protégé of my grandfather Haj Abdeslam Chtatou known as Haj Abdeslam Agzennay, Caid of part of Gzennaya, who built him a house and provided him with a guide and bodyguard Lemnebhi and informants to do his work within the limits of his jurisdiction. In 1980, I met with David Hart, a student of Carleton Coon in London after the publication of his work on the Rifi tribe of Aith Waryaghar (“*The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif*,”) and corresponded with him afterwards for years.

Keywords: Morocco, Sefrou, Rif, Carleton Coon, David Hart, Clifford Geertz.

Encounter with Geertz his Wife Hildred and Rosen Lawrence

Sefrou is located at the foot of the Middle Atlas Mountains, 28 kilometers south of Fez. It is crossed by Oued Aggay (meaning in Amazigh/Berber “cheeks”) which takes the name of Oued Lihoudi when it exceeds the Mellah of the town. Sefrou is renowned for its waterfall, its patron saint Sidi Ali Bousserghine, its yearly cherry festival *mawsim hab al mellouk*, almost a hundred years old, its spirit of tolerance, its cultural heritage and the natural wealth of its surroundings.

Sefrou is more than thousand years old. Moulay Driss II stayed there in 806 before the foundation of the city of Fez. He lived in a place called Habouna (from Arabic “they loved us”) which is now a quarter of the city.

Sefrou was born of the regrouping, for security reasons, of the inhabitants who settled along Oued Aggay in a walled settlement. The Mellah, Jewish district, for the same security reasons, occupies a central position inside the Muslim neighborhoods that form the old medina and that shows quite clearly that Muslim population cared so much about the safety of their Jewish brethren, so they placed them in the center of the city. Dominating the wadi,

stands the suburb of Al Qalâa, detachment from the city, as to remind visitors of its refractory past.

Surrounded by ramparts pierced by seven gates dating from the 18th Century, Sefrou was an important stage of the caravan trade as evidenced by the many *fondouks* (caravanserais) of the city. Its zaouïas, mosques and shops relate, in turn, its influence in the region. Sefrou has always been a place of human confluence (from different regions of Morocco and Andalusia) and confessional brewing (Muslim and Jewish) and ethnic communion (Arab and Amazigh/Berber).

In 1967, Sefrou this quiet beautiful city situated in the lap of the Middle Atlas was loosing its last Jewish inhabitants in the wake of the six-day war in the Middle East.¹ The Jews have lived in Sefrou since their arrival in Morocco on the year 70 AD, after the destruction of their second temple of Jerusalem by the Romans. Sefrou was for centuries the capital of Moroccan coexistence and tolerance. In the limits of the small city lived Amazighs, Arabs and Jews in total harmony. The Amazigh practised agriculture and cattle-raising, the Arabs some agriculture and petty trade and the Jews banking services and Saharan caravan trade whereby the “Sitting Jew” was a banker and shopkeeper and the “Walking Jew,” itinerant peddler and caravan guide known as “*azeṭṭāt*.”

In 1965, the world-famed American anthropologist Clifford Geertz² his wife Hildred and Rosen Lawrence³ and the photographer Paul Hyman came to Sefrou to do research on the bazaar economy of this millennial city: a very horrendous task given the difficulty of getting access to the information for three basic reasons.

Firstly, the unjustified fear of the population to talk freely to *nṣārā* (Christians) about a Muslim city and its affairs given that for many pious people these *nṣārā* come only to spy on Muslims and write about them in derogatory terms to downgrade Islamic religion and civilization. Indeed, in the sermon of the Friday prayer of the main mosque, the Imam Abdoulaziz T. stated the following:

“It was reported to me that some American *nṣārā* (Christians) were seen lately in our city talking to people about a book of theirs on Sefrou.

1. Mohamed Chtatou, “Emigration of Moroccan Jews to Israel in the 20th Century,” *Eurasia Review* March 5, (2018): <https://www.eurasiareview.com/05032018-emigration-of-jews-of-morocco-to-israel-in-20th-century-analysis/>.

2. Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

3. Lawrence Rosen, *Bargaining for Reality: The Construction of Social Relations in a Muslim Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

Beware and do not talk to them, remember *nşara* only want harm to Muslims. We were colonized by the French who tried to convert our Amazigh brethren to Christianity directly or indirectly by making them abandon *shari'a* law for tribal pre-Islamic *'azref*. A proof of that is the fact that Americans manage today an orphanage in the outskirts of Azrou where Muslim orphans are brought up in Christian traditions. So please avoid them and do not disclose any information to them. Remember that al-Andalus was lost when Muslims started cooperating and believing into the promises of *nşara*. These American *nşara* are the spearhead of new wave of cultural colonization. Some of them calling themselves volunteers of Peace Corps live among us in the Medina, dress in *djellabas* and eat like us and work insidiously to destroy Islam from within."⁴

At the time there was no potential threat of political Islam but the political situation in the Middle East was coarse and it became very dangerous and explosive after the Arab defeat in the six-day war of 1967 and had repercussions all over the Muslim world and the Americans because of their indefatigable support of Israel were not welcome, though somewhat this was not true in Morocco but there was still resistance to talking to Americans about social or religious matters.

The Moroccan intelligence community of *moqaddems* reported the speech of the Imam that has been copied by other Imams and the Ministry of the Interior alarmed by this hate speech, in a city known for its proverbial tolerance, removed the Imam and replaced him by another and instructed my father, who was prior to that a Khalifa in Bhalil, a village, few miles away from Sefrou, to indirectly and secretly "protect" the American anthropologists from any future threat verbal or physical.

Secondly, Moroccans generally feared people who ask questions especially about their income and economic status. At the back of their mind these people are sent by the Ministry of Finance to collect information about them in order to tax them unfairly and thus threaten their livelihood, it is reminiscent for them of the French infamous *tertib* tax. The Ministry makes use of foreigners because they are expert on collecting information on individuals especially on their income by indirect questions that concern belief, culture and way of life.

Thirdly, foreigners collect information on Muslims to mock their way of life and show to the world their backwardness. Most of the books written about Moroccan Muslims portray their culture in injurious, downgrading and hurtful manner.

4. Personal communication, July 25, 2000, Mohammed A., (Quranic school teacher, Sefrou).

My father invited the anthropologists to our house one Friday for an Amazigh/Berber Couscous and it was my first encounter with them at the age of fourteen, I spoke French but no English. They brought chocolate, biscuits and sweets and were all smiles when they arrived at our house. Unlike the French, they were aware of the social etiquette and took off the shoes, out of respect to the painstakingly woven carpets of my mother. I run to the kitchen and told her that they showed much respect and admiration to her artistic work and because of that I held them in high respect. When couscous was served they uttered “*bismillāh*” to the satisfaction of my father and the other two Moroccan guests. During the tea ceremony, Clifford spoke about his experience in other Muslim countries mainly Indonesia with much delight and respect. My father overwhelmed by the talk nodded his head in show of appreciation of his words and said to the other Moroccan guest in Amazigh: “This man is a good Muslim at heart we must help him in his work.” He did not give any translation but I believe that Clifford understood from his smile and acquiesced. The rest of the Americans, quiet throughout the lunch sipped the tea with much noise to express satisfaction and as a result triggered the laughter of everyone.

As a result of this encounter, I decided that I will later on learn English to talk to these people in their own tongue, to sense their feelings and understand their sentiments and maybe do their work. In the year 2000, thirty-five years after my first encounter with the anthropologists, the local council of the city of Sefrou organized a conference in honor of Geertz and his team, to which I was invited and I met again with Clifford Geertz and Rosen Lawrence, but, this time, I spoke to them in English and my dream came true, at long last.

The opus “*Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society*”⁵ provides the elements of analysis of disruptive trends and contradictions that modernity introduced into Moroccan society. The problems of nation-building and the founding of a new social bond are intact, but it must be acknowledged that this work has not been sufficiently exploited to overcome them and open other perspectives.

Bourdieu⁶ as much as Geertz, unlike Gellner and Berque,⁷ disappointed

5. Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz, and Lawrence Rosen, *Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society: Three Essays in Cultural Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

6. Pierre Bourdieu, *Travail et travailleurs en Algérie* (Paris: Mouton & Co, 1964).

7. Jacques Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas* (Paris: PUF, 1955). The six years spent by Jacques Berque in the High Atlas coincided with the end of an era. Questioning in many respects the contribution of colonial ethnography, his study spontaneously found on the ground some of the themes that announced, then, a renewal of social sciences in France. Stubbornly stuck to the country, he challenged the supposed isolation of the people he was studying. He was trying to reintegrate a thousand-year-old people into the dynamism of Mediterranean Islam. History seemed to him alone capable of supplying the system with matter and movement. A quarter of a century after a stay that has

the students of 1960s and 1970s because their works did not open on the enchanted world of the revolution for the people and by the state of the people. Not that Gellner and Berque conversely prompted the revolution, but their work gave rise to optimism that comforted the elites. The first was confident in the construction of the Maghreb State on the basis of criteria of cultural identity freed by the *salafiya* from the archaism of maraboutism; the second professed that the independence of the Maghreb states would finally allow these peoples to “renaturalize their culture and reculturate their nature.”

Gellner⁸ and Geertz in Morocco, this is the shock of methodologies in the social sciences, it is the choice between the analysis of the All through the One and the All through the All. Rediscovering segmentarity in the Maghreb, Gellner makes of it the regulator of a functional model whose constituent elements are provided by Ibn Khaldoun, Hobbes, Hume, Montagne and Evans-Pritchard. He, thus, draws a theoretical model pure and perfect where the constituent parts articulate harmoniously: holiness, tribal groups, conflict, social peace, rural Islam, urban Islam, *ulemas*, etc. The only problem is that neither historical analysis nor field studies confirm the purity of the model.⁹ For example, there are educated *ulemas* in the rural world and there are also *marabouts* in the cities. All Maghreb cities have a patron saint who protects them according to the popular belief. Marrakesh, the blessed city of all time has seven and its people believe that that is why it is a world-famed destination today.

The explanatory durkheimian approach is present in the Maghreb through the works of Ernest Gellner who is an anti-Geertz in every way. They

counted so much in his life, Jacques Berque asked a Moroccan sociologist, Paul Pascon, to re-read the book on the spot and report changes in this society since independence. He himself, in the light of a wider experience, inscribed his own contribution in new perspectives.

8. Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), xxiii, 317. A discussion of the social and political organization of Amazigh/Berber tribes in the Middle East and North Africa.

“[Ernest Gellner] began the association with Morocco and the Berbers of the Central High Atlas that resulted in *Saints of the Atlas*. It was a study of how holy men kept a fragile and broken peace among the shepherds who moved each spring from the plains of the ante-Atlas into the high pastures, and back again each autumn: a hundred thousand people, a million or so sheep traversing the bottle-necks of the mountain passes twice each year. It was an ideal opportunity for theft and rustling, and the Saints were there to maintain the peace without establishing any acceptable claim to political control. His book, criticised by scholars who have worked on Moroccan archives, remains an important reading because it analyses so clearly the ways in which pastoral peoples, who had been in contact with states for a couple of millennia, maintained an ideology of total rejection of the Moroccan state, and a determination not to make anything of the kind themselves. Their practice was more often than not in accord with the ideology.” Quoted in: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/gellner/JDavisObit.html> (February 23, 2011).

9. Paul Pascon taught his students that it is up to the model to bend to reality and not the reverse. But how many did listen to him at a time when the Marxist and Gellnerian vulgates were scientific explanations?

have only one thing in common: Morocco. Their theoretical divergences refer to those which oppose the respective methodologies of Durkheim and Weber. They almost ignored each other, dispensing with comment publicly, with a few exceptions.¹⁰

The description of the *sūq* of Sefrou (like that of the fight of roosters in Bali) are anthology pieces that mark a turning point in the discipline by the wealth of methodological approach. The analysis of the *sūq* Sefrou is so fine and so detailed – through the *suwwāq* (people accustomed to the *sūq*) and also through the wealth of language helped by the polysemy of words (*sadq*, *ḥaq*, *sah* ...) – that the reader wonders what is the object studied by Geertz, the souq or the Moroccan society.

Representative of symbolic anthropology, Geertz is the author who has honored Max Weber's discipline, dominated until, then, by social anthropology from Durkheim, which favors explanatory description to the detriment of comprehensive analysis. The individual, expressing values that are meaningful to him and to whom he communicates them, is not locked into a lineage group that dictates his conduct. He is connected to different home identity groups by the *nisba*, a mechanism of social identification participating in the expression of one's will and personality.

The definition he gives of culture as comparable to a spider's web, and by following his analysis as not falling under an experimental science seeking law but an interpretive science in search of meaning¹¹ – a whole program – that is built on the basis of his fieldwork in Morocco and Indonesia¹² where the political and social significance of Islam is not the same. This finding alone undermines the orientalist approaches to a dogmatic Islam spreading cultural norms to supposedly passive social groups.

Encounter with Carleton S. Coon

The story of Carleton S. Coon¹³ in the Rif was well-known all over the

10. Geertz published a very critical review of Gellner's *Saints of the Atlas*, see "In Search of North Africa," *The New York Review of Books* 16, 7 (1971): <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1971/04/22/in-search-of-north-africa/>. Gellner replied by attacking the "marabout Geertz" through the review of Paul Rabinow's book, *Symbolic Domination* (Chicago, London: Chicago University Press, 1977), see, Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 108. Gellner will return later to the critique of interpretive anthropology, equated with a post-modernist manifestation, in *Post-Modernism, Reason and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1992).

11. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

12. Geertz, *Islam Observed*.

13. Carleton Stevens Coon (June 23, 1904-June 3, 1981) was an American physical anthropologist, professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, lecturer and professor at Harvard University, and president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. Coon's theories on race are widely rejected by modern anthropologists for unsubstantiated claims of European superiority

Gzennaya tribe to the extent that it became a Rifi fable. It was an epic story of an American blond young man of Cornish descent who dared the harsh elements of the end of the Rif War (1921-1926,) to venture boldly into this area attracted by the exploits of Ben Abdelkrim al-Khattabi that were widely covered by the American press, with much euphoria and much expression of appreciation. Ben Abdelkrim was a tribal man who defied and vanquished a European colonial power with a handful of tribesmen. For most of the American intelligentsia Ben Abdelkrim was a “tribesman with a high IQ.”

Coon, a young enterprising man from upper middle class of the New England elite saw in Ben Abdelkrim an inspiring hero for the following reasons:

1. High level of intelligence (IQ):
2. A noble representative of the “White Tribes of Africa,” a phrase Coon will use a lot in his writings on race later on in his career;
3. His sense of honor, insurgency and rebellion which is one of the traits of the Cornish people from whom Coon traces his descendency;
4. His proverbial “pigheadedness” equated with courage and known among the Rifis as: *thuri, thuri*; and
5. The notion of taking risks stated in one of the two fiction books (local Riffi stories) Coon wrote: “*The Riffian*”¹⁴ and “*Flesh of the Wild Ox. A Riffian Chronicle of High Valleys and Long Rifles.*”¹⁵ Indeed, while in the Rif, he

to all other races. Carleton Coon was born in Wakefield, Massachusetts, to a Cornish American family. He developed an interest in prehistory, and attended Phillips Academy, Andover. Coon matriculated to Harvard University, where he was attracted to the relatively new field of anthropology by Earnest Hooton and he graduated *magna cum laude* in 1925. He became the Curator of Ethnology at the University Museum of Philadelphia. Coon continued with coursework at Harvard. He conducted fieldwork in the Rif area of Morocco in 1925, which was politically unsettled after a rebellion of the local populace against the Spanish. He earned his PhD in 1928 and returned to Harvard as a lecturer and later as a professor. Coon’s interest was in attempting to use Darwin’s theory of natural selection to explain the differing physical characteristics of races. Coon studied Albanians from 1920 to 1930; he traveled to Ethiopia in 1933; and in Arabia, North Africa and the Balkans, he worked on sites from 1925 to 1939, where he discovered a Neanderthal in 1939. Coon rewrote William Z. Ripley’s *The Races of Europe* in 1939. Coon wrote widely for a general audience like his mentor Earnest Hooton. Coon published *The Riffians, Flesh of the Wild Ox, Measuring Ethiopia*, and *A North Africa Story: The Anthropologist as OSS Agent. A North Africa Story* was an account of his work in North Africa during World War II, which involved espionage and the smuggling of arms to French resistance groups in German-occupied Morocco under the guise of anthropological fieldwork. During that time, Coon was affiliated with the United States Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner to the Central Intelligence Agency.

14. Carleton S. Coon, *The Riffian* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1933).

15. Carleton S. Coon, *Flesh of the Wild Ox. A Riffian Chronicle of High Valleys and Long Rifles* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1932).

“In 1926-27 and again in 1928, Coon visited the Berber natives of the Moroccan Rif for the purpose of studying their physical anthropology and customs. The results are embodied in Volume IX of the Harvard African Studies (reviewed pages 373-7 of this issue). The present book is described by Professor Hooton as “a literary by-product of Dr. Coon’s intimate knowledge of these magnificent barbarians.”

narrates the story of a feud between two clans of the Gzennaya tribe. During the fighting two clansmen spotted a warrior on the enemy side with oblong-shaped head (*bu-shaqor*) and one of the two wanted to know what is inside his big skull, so he shot him dead and crawled to the foxhole of the dead man cut off his head and brought it to his friend to satisfy their curiosity by dipping their fingers into his brain and tasting the content.

Magnetically attracted by the Rif, Coon made a trip to the area in 1925. On his way from Taza to Tizi n-Dighza (known as Ajdir today) in the Ihrassen clan territory of Gzennaya, he traveled on a mule accompanied by a local guide and body guard. On a pass outside of the village of Aknoul, Gzennaya tribesmen arrested him thinking he was a Spanish spy. While they were about to slaughter him, he recited the *al-fātiḥa* verse of the Koran and they interpreted his action as a symbol of peace and good intentions and a profession of *amān* (good faith, peace and security). They took him to Aknoul to my grand father Caid Abdeslam Agzennay, initially appointed by Ben Abdelkrim and, after the Rif war, confirmed in his official position by the French colonial power. He treated him well: fed him and gave him Amazigh clothing to look local. After few weeks in my grand father's home and hospitality and after long discussions on what he wanted to do in the area: the two men agreed. Coon was to go back to the US to get a grant from his university in Boston, get married (indeed, he married Mary Goodale) and come back to the Rif in 1926 with his wife with the intention to reside for several years to conduct a doctoral research on physical anthropology on the Tribes of the Rif. My grandfather agreed to place him with a friend of his in a clan of Ihrushen of the Gzennaya tribe, who will build him a house, guarantee his safety and be his guide. On his return from America, my father placed him with the Lamnabhi Family. Lamnabhi was to become his main informant, protector, guide, friend and local reference between 1926-1927 and went to visit him in the US during the period 1928-1929 and came back home in 1929 to his death.

Based on oral tradition of Riffian history, it is to be read as an essentially authentic delineation of aboriginal usage, minor liberties having been taken with the names of personages-presumably in the interest of concentrating attention upon the fortunes of a single family or lineage from the time of its establishment in the country to the disorganization of Riffian life by European conquest. Dr. Coon enjoyed the advantage of a fresh subject and has produced a very attractive book. The Riffians differ from most of the primitive peoples who have received literary treatment in their long exposure to a literate civilization-that of Mohammedanism. Their attitude, however, is but moderately tintured with the sophistications of a higher culture. Their feuds, their code of honor, their tenacity of purpose recall the traits of many of the simpler warlike groups the world over. Inevitably the earlier portions of the history make a stronger appeal than the closing narrative of foreordained subjection to Caucasian superiority in mechanical means of warfare. But a measure of interest in the characters is maintained to the bitter end, and by the way the reader learns a good deal about Riffian ethnography." Robert H. Lowie.

In 1928, Coon graduated *magna cum laude* actually six months ahead of his classmates. His thesis on the physical anthropology of the *Tribes of the Rif* was published in 1931.¹⁶ The book studied the Rifi Amazighs/Berbers and in its initial part covered their history, beliefs, cultural practices and material and then concentrated, in its main part on their physical properties: shape of head, eyes, nose, mouth, etc.

On a learned review of this work, Melville J. Herskovit writes:

“After an introductory section describing the habitat and giving traditions of origin and an abstract of what recorded history tells us, the author discusses material culture, detailing the manner of getting a living and describing crafts and techniques—ranging from metal, leather and wood-working to the method of tattooing. A brief account of social organization is followed by a somewhat fuller description of the political system and of warfare, a consideration of markets, public buildings and types of public instruction, of the officers administering the laws, and of the rules of inheritance. A chapter devoted to the “crises” of life follows, and here tribute must be paid to the work of Mrs. Coon, who accompanied her husband into the field, and who, one imagines, is responsible for the material on birth customs and the life of the children. The description of the culture closes with a discussion of religion and magic, and the data in the entire section are then subjected to analysis in the interest of historical reconstructions.”¹⁷

On the physical anthropology part, he goes on to say:

“The presentation of the physical anthropology is more complete, and one feels that Dr. Coon is more at home in this section. Particular cognizance must be taken of the vast amount of labor that has gone into this study—into the initial measuring and observing, and into the statistical treatment of the data. Body and head measurements were gathered, indices computed, and observations made of pigmentation of hair, eye, and skin, as well as of such morphological traits as hair form and texture, thickness of body and facial hair, of musculature, and of proportions of nose, mouth, and ear. Even pathological data were gathered. Finally, there are over thirty plates of excellent photographs of subjects, full-face and profile.”¹⁸

16. Carleton S. Coon, *Tribes of the Rif* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1931).

17. Melville J. Herskovit, ““Review of *Tribes of the Rif*,” by Carleton S. Coon,” *American Anthropologist* 35 (1933): 373-4.

18. Herskovit, *Review of Tribes of the Rif*.

Carelon S. Coon's final paragraphs of the book summarize beautifully his work and open the gates for his future work on race, not to say of course some sort of scientific obsession that might indirectly verge on a form of intellectual racism: the superiority of the white race over other races because of almost innate intelligence and intellectual capacities:

“The history of North Africa has been a succession of cultural and racial whitewashings from the south and east. A people Hamitic or Saharan, call them what you will, swept over it at some early period and brought Berber speech, desert culture, and a refined brunet racial type. Arabs have swept over it, bringing in Islam and the concurrent pattern of culture. Saharan peoples have continued their northward drive well into modern Meknes; the Zenata are a relatively late branch of them. Negroes have come or been brought in, broadening the noses, darkening the skins, forging iron, and brutalizing the lower religious sects of the people. Finally, the French and Spanish have entered, bringing modern civilization which will inevitably stir and ferment the racial and cultural orders, causing changes; destruction, growth, the breakdown of regional isolation, and so great an eventual homogeneity that the curious facts recorded in this volume will become legends, and finally linger in the attic of distorted human memories.

Searching beneath the Berber and Arab blankets, beneath the Negroid seepings and the European scaldings, it is still possible to discern the relics of a long bygone age, a time when northern Morocco was nearer to Europe culturally, and a still dimmer time when the races of North Africa and of Europe were the same. The old elements, a Nordic, an early pre-Alpine brachycephal, and a the use Negroid which evolved into the Mediterranean, disharmonic mixtures of several of these; the roster of old North African races reminds one of the Europe of the late Palaeolithic and early Neolithic, and especially of the periods in between. Had this welter of early types been allowed to work out its destiny undisturbed, our work would have been easier; as it is, early North African skeletal material is needed before our problem may be solved.”¹⁹

Following his work on the Rif, Coon travelled world-wide and produced a number of works with *The Origin of Races* (1962) being his opus.²⁰

19. Hershkovitis, “Review of Tribes of the Rif,” 374-5.

20. Publications of Carleton Coon include: *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (Milton Keynes, UK: Lightning Source, 1958); *Cave Explorations in Iran* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1951); *Climate and Race* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1954); *The Hunting peoples* (New York: N. Lyons Books, 1971); *Mountains of Giants: A Racial and Cultural Study of the North Albanian*

In 1974 while a student in the English Department at the Faculty of Humanities of Mohammed V University in Rabat, I was tutoring American Peace Corps Volunteers, to make some money. One of my students, Danny Kolker, who was friends with the Deputy Chief Mission of the American Embassy told me one day that this American official wanted to invite me for dinner, it turned out that he was Carleton S. Coon Jr., the son of the famous anthropologist. After this first meeting we became friends and I often went to his house to read his fathers' books on the Rif, the fictional and scientific works. During these visits I met his daughter Catherine Coon and we became good friends. The Coon Jr. was very proud of his Rifi "origins" and culture he lived with at home; he remembers his father speaking to him and his family in Rifi Tamazight and shouting at them when they were too noisy: *stusem* "shut up." With much pride, he used the same word and order with his children, with a loud childish giggle.

In 1976, he wanted to visit the clan of Iharushen where his father lived in Gzennaya to touch base with the Lamnabhi family. I spoke to my father and he agreed to the visit. He preceded us to Taza and in an April day I left Rabat with the Coon Jr., his wife and his two children in an embassey Chevrolet four-wheel drive. We arrived in Taza towards noon, met my father, had lunch at a family member's house and left for Ajdir in Gzennaya. It had rained hard in the morning. After twenty kilometers trip, we arrived in a small souk in a village situated on the linguistic border of the true Amazigh Rif. The river was in flood and cars and trucks were waiting for the flood water to subside; Coon Jr. did not want to wait pretexting that his car is a four-wheel drive and has enough power to make it to the other side safely. My father was furiously against the idea, but Coon Jr. refused to give in and my father said: "Ok fine, do it but let the wife the and children get off and stay on the safe side. Die on your own majestically." Coon, pigheaded as he was, set out to ford the

Mountain Ghags (New York: Kraus Reprint Co, 1970); *The Origin of Races* (New York: Knopf, 1962); *The Races of Europe* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1939); *Racial Adaptations* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982); *The Seven Caves* (New York: Knopf, 1957); *Seven Caves: Archaeological Exploration in the Middle East* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1956); *The Story of Man: From the First Human to Primitive Culture and Beyond* (New York: Knopf, 1962). He also co-authored the following books with Harvey M. Bricker, Frederick Johnson, and Clifford C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Yengema Cave Report* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1968); Edward E. Hunt. *Anthropology A to Z* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1963) and Stanley M. Garn and Joseph B. BerdSELL, *Races: A Study of the Problems of Race Formation in Man* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981). Coon also wrote a few memoir and works of fiction: *Adventures and Discoveries: the Autobiography of Carleton S. Coon* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981); *A North African Story: The Anthropologist As OSS Agent, 1941-1943* (Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1980); *Flesh of the Wild Ox: A Riffian Chronicle of High Valleys and Long Rifles* (New York: W. Morrow & Co, 1932); *The Riffian* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1933); *Measuring Ethiopia and Flight into Arabia* (London: J. Cape, 1936); and *Adventures and Discoveries: The Autobiography of Carleton S. Coon* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981).

furious waters, in the middle of the river the car started drifting and giving in to the untamable force of the water. Realizing that the waters will submerge the car, my father ordered some sturdy young men to swim to the car with ropes tied around their waste, tie cables to the car and swim back. In no time they did what they were asked to do and everyone on the bank started pulling on the cables and the car was brought back to safety. Coon Jr. Was thankful to my father and everyone who saved his life. The inhabitants of the village relieved, brought tea and cookies to everyone, to celebrate. After few hours the waters subsided and we set out to Ajdir where we arrived in the evening and spent the night at my uncle's. The rain fell all night ferociously, the next morning there was a beautiful sun but the soil was extremely muddy. Coon Jr. wanted to travel to the Ihrushen Gzennaya clan where his father lived and worked, my father was again against the idea because the dirty road to the mountainous village was impracticable. Again, Coon Jr. thought that his car will make it to the village, but few minutes later the car was unable to move: and that was the end of the dream for junior.

In 1979, I was doing my PhD at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London in London. At the same time Catherine Coon, Coon Jr. daughter, was living in London and we used to meet quite often for dinner. One evening, she informed me that her grand father would be delighted and honored to receive me in his home in Massachusetts. I accepted the invitation, we flew to Whashington DC where we stayed at her father's house, later on we flew to Boston and drove to West Gloucester where her grandfather owned a big estate in the forest on a small lake. Coon Sr. met us at the gate; he was all smiles. He said to me: "Having met you today, I can die peacefully tomorrow. I am ever grateful to your grandfather Caid Abdesslam Agzennay for all he did to me. Without his advice and help, I would not have undertaken my work successfully."

He showed me around his estate: he had two big houses one close to the lake called: *thaddâth n-wadday*, the downhill house where he kept his big library and *thaddâth n-sennej* the uphill house where he lived. He spoke to me all evening in Rifi Tamazight and shared with me dozens of stories and adventures when he lived in the Rif. In 1981, Carleton S. Coon died and with him went away, forever, an era of hard work, field research and adventure.

On 8-16 November 1942, Operation Torch, an Anglo-American invasion of North Africa took place to relieve pressure on the Soviets in the eastern front, check the Rommel's Afrika Corps advance in eastern North Africa and gather intelligence information on the Nazi forces in Europe in preparation of

the D-Day disembarkment. Coon Sr. who was cooperating actively with the American intelligence community for quite some time, was sent to Morocco to eavesdrop on German forces and write briefs on their strength and movements. Coon Sr. and other American and European spies were housed in the American Legation in the *medina* of Tangier and used the Secret Room in the top floor to conduct their spying work.

In Reference to this period, Coon Sr. told me when I visited him that he felt energized by his spy work for two reasons. Firstly, he was rendering a service to his country that is the beacon of democracy in the world. Secondly, he was an admirer of spy novels and their heroes, a kind of literature he finds “romantic” and quite *rocambollesque*.

As a result of this interesting episode of his life, Coon Sr. wrote a book entitled: *A North Africa Story: Story of an Anthropologist as OSS Agent* in 1980.²¹ This work was reviewed by Gaddis Smith in *Foreign Affairs* in the following terms:

“Carleton Coon, the Harvard anthropologist, was an OSS cloak-and-dagger man in North Africa during World War II. Immediately after the events he dictated his recollections, here printed. The material is rough, sometimes confusing, and yet interesting as a picture of the romantic and unconventional character of the OSS.”²²

Encounter with David Hart

After my meeting with Carleton S. Coon Sr. in his “American-Rifi estate” *dhamorth narif dhi mirican* as he called it, with much delight, he wrote a letter to his disciple David Hart in the following terms:

“My last encounter with a Riffian was with my dear friend, guide and informant Limnibhy in 1928 here in the US after which he went home to die and since I met with several Moroccans none of whom were interesting for my eternal love for the Rif. Recently my son Coon Jr. in post in the embassy in Rabat, Morocco made acquaintance with a Riffian from Gzennaya and it turned out, to my great delight, that he was the son of Caid Abdeslam Agzennay who initially helped me out settle with a family in Gzennaya and offered me much needed protection. His grandson Mohamed Chtatou visited me recently in West Gloucester with my grand daughter, beloved Catherine, and we had most enjoyable

21. Coon, *A North Africa Story*.

22. Gaddis Smith, Review of *A North Africa Story: The Anthropologist as OSS Agent, 1941-1943*, by Carleton S. Coon, *Foreign Affairs*, Winter (1981-1982): <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/capsule-review/1981-12-01/north-africa-story-anthropologist-oss-agent-1941-1943>.

intellectual discussions. He is doing a PhD at the University of London on Amazigh language and culture. I strongly advise you to meet with him and I am sure he will be of much help to you in your work on the Rif and the Ait Atta of southern Morocco.”²³

In early 1980, I was contacted, through my department of Berber Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies by George Joffé, who happened to be a lecturer at my school and a close friend of David Hart. When we met, he said to me that David Hart wanted to meet with me during his next visit to England. Two months later he came with his wife and we had dinner at George Joffé’s house. He was jovial, friendly and loud. He has a wonderful personality and had an incredible laughter that reverberates through the house. Few months later, George Joffé offered me to help him in the editing of several of Hart’s books his company MENAS (Middle East and North Africa Studies) was about to publish, chief among them: *Dadda ‘Atta and His Forty Grandsons: The Socio-political Organisation of the Ait ‘Atta of Southern Morocco*.²⁴

Since then, David Hart and I were in touch through correspondance, conferences and meetings in Morocco. In one of his visits to Rabat, I invited him for a couscous at my house and introduced him to the young aspiring Rifi anthropologist and Amazigh activist Rachid Raha and since Rachid and him became good friends, they had in common the love for anthropology, knowledge of the Spanish language and residence in Spain. In 2000, Rachid Raha organized a conference in Alhoceima in honor of David Hart which was a tremendous success and it was the latter’s last visit to Morocco. On May 22, 2001, he died in Garrucha, Spain.

Even with his complexion and his North American build, David Montgomery Hart remains an innate Rifi in his jerky laugh, his generous gestures and sense of duty. He is a man so courageous and reckless, and sometimes as mad as the majority of the Rifis he lived with, studied, and loved.

He remains a living legend in this rebellious and forgotten land of the gods, especially since his opus of always: *The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History*,²⁵ published in English in the United States in 1976, has been brilliantly translated into Arabic by a group

23. Letter sent on September 1, 1979.

24. David Montgomery Hart, *Dadda ‘Atta and His Forty Grandsons: the Socio-political Organisation of the Ait ‘Atta of southern Morocco* (Wisbech: Middle Eastern and Nort African Studies Press, 1981).

25. David Montgomery Hart, *The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976).

of Rifi professionals animated by the grandiose feeling of Rifi nationalism dating back to the time of Ben Abdelkrim: *Aith waryaghar, Qabila mena Rif al-Maghribi: dirāsa ithnogrāfiya wa Tārīkhiya*.²⁶ I sincerely hope that this work, scientifically rigorous in the anthropological and ethnographic contexts, and meticulous in its cultural and historical accounts, will open the door wide for Arabic speakers to learn more about Amazigh anthropology from an American scientific angle and get interested in conducting studies in this promising and rich area of study and research.

David Hart, left us on May 22, 2001 at the age of 74 years in the Andalusian locality of Garrucha near Almeria, where he lived to be close to the Rif, and which is situated on the other side of the Mediterranean in order to “to feel the atypical and endearing perfume of his Rifi rosemary,” as he always complimented himself for his admiration for the Rif, with a childish and very sincere laugh.²⁷

During his lifetime, David Hart was a fan of the Amazigh peoples and their cultures and during his long stay among the proud warriors of the mythical tribe of Ben Abdelkrim: the Aith Waryaghar. He liked to go to the souk of the Arba n-Ait Wrir wearing a Rifi Djellaba and riding a donkey, and people, on seeing him, always said lovingly in Tarifit: *aqach arifi n-umarikan yusid gha suq nhara khou ghuriness* “Here is the Rifi of America coming to the souk today on his donkey.” In his day, David Hart was a living legend, known and appreciated by all Rifi people, even those who have never met him.

He was known for his laughter, his generosity and the fact that he was congenitally clumsy. George Joffé, a British expert of the Maghreb and a university professor in Cambridge and a friend of Hart of long date and, also, for a time publisher of his post-Rif books, was pleased to narrate the story, that David told him, in person, about his famous donkey accident. Apparently, Hart once fell to the ground and broke a leg while the donkey was stationary.

David Hart was a profuse writer. He has published dozens of scholarly works about the Amazighs and even sketched comparative work on Rifis and Pashtuns of Pakistan, with the great Pakistani anthropologist Akbar Ahmad and wrote, also, on Middle East tribal systems, as well.²⁸

26. David Montgomery Hart, *Aith waryaghar, Qabila mena Rif al-Maghribi: Dirāsa Ithnogrāfiya wa Tārīkhiya*, vol. 1, trans. M. Ouniba, A. Azouzi and A. Rais (Den Haag: Stem van Marokkaans Democraten-Nederland, 2007).

27. Mohamed Chtatou, “Bin Abd Al-Karim Al-Khattabi in the Rifi Oral Tradition of Gzenneya,” in *Tribe and State: Essays in Honour of David Montgomery Hart*, eds. E. G. H. Joffé and C. R. Pennell (Cambridgeshire, U.K.: Middle East and North Africa Studies Press, 1991), 182-212.

28. David Montgomery Hart, “Faulty models of North African and Middle Eastern tribal structures,” *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 68-69 (1993): 225-38.

After completing his monumental work on the Rif, David Hart was interested in the Amazighs of the South, among others the great tribe of Ait Atta, which is located in the south-east of Morocco and whose leaders of different Amghar clans descend apparently from the same ancestor known as Dadda Atta, who, of course, gave his name to the tribe. Hart was interested in the history and ethnography of this important tribe²⁹ whom he dissected with love and passion, as he is used to do in most of his scholarly research.

For Sarah Barringer Gordon, professor of law and history at the University of Pennsylvania in the USA, who wrote an article in tribute to this great American anthropologist, extolling his great qualities as a researcher, Hart was a traditional researcher; he shared the lives of the people he was studying: their daily lives, their passions and their worries. He was, undoubtedly, an anthropologist of the old school. He relied heavily on his sight and hearing to take minute details of the society he was studying with great interest. The reader smelled the natural perfumes of the village and heard its various sounds and noises:

“David Hart was an anthropologist of the old school, living the day-to-day life of the peoples he studied and relying on exhaustive field observations and interviews to reach his conclusions. Fellow anthropologist and noted Islamic scholar Akbar S. Ahmed wrote ‘Hart’s brand of anthropology reflects the old tradition when an anthropologist relied on his ears and eyes for his notes – the reader smelled the village and heard its noises – and anthropology was still a general all-encompassing description of an entire society. It is a perspective that is dying, and the discipline will be the poorer for its demise.’ As a result of his many years living among rural Berbers, Hart was eminently qualified to describe the society, culture, and history of these peoples. America’s pre-eminent anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton said Hart’s devotion to his subject matter was inspirational to other anthropologists: ‘every cohort that works in Morocco has its romantic image of the place (...) in my image David Hart, the exultant ethnographer, is dead center.’ Hart also did field work in Pakistan and archival research in several European countries. He was fluent in two Berber languages, as well as in Arabic, German, French, and Spanish.”³⁰

29. Hart, *Dadda 'Atta and His Forty Grandsons*.

30. Sarah Barringer Gordon, “David Montgomery Hart: An Obituary,” *The Journal of North African Studies* 6, 2 (2001): 7-8.

It is interesting to mention that his wife, who has been forced to stay several times with Amazigh women, in their private and secret world, tradition obliges, has described this exclusive experience in a very interesting work of her own.³¹

Hart learned a lot from his teacher and master to think, in the Sufi sense of the term, Carleton S. Coon. From 1935 to 1938, Coon, a Harvard professor, was the teacher and the inspiration of a brilliant student named David Hart who devoured ferociously all his works in anthropology and thereby forced him to become his future social science guru. After finishing his studies, David, on the advice of his teacher and master, decided to study another great tribe of the Rif: the Aith Waryaghar. He used the same scientific recipe from his master: living with the native people to study their culture and way of life. The end result was a colossal book and a scientific success as was the case for Coon before.

David Hart's monumental work on the Rif: *The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History* (1977) is an encyclopedic work on the great and mythical tribe of Aith Waryaghar. It comprises the following principal sections:

Introduction: the Tribe in Morocco

The author defines the tribe in both the general and Moroccan contexts of the term, then he strives to study the basics of Moroccan sociology while shedding light on the segmentation in the tribal context. After, he showed interest in the Moroccan tribe during the protectorate phase and the independence period and, then, studied the concepts of the tribe and that of the nation.

Land and Agriculture

In this section, Hart talks about demography, geography and topography without forgetting the fauna and flora, then he deals with agriculture, architecture, clothing, food, utensils and furniture. From there, he goes on to study the division of labor by sex, the annual agricultural cycle and the contractual relations in the field of agriculture and livestock. After he covers the subsidiary activities such as hunting and fishing and finally the economic specializations.

31. Ursula Kingsmill Hart, *Behind the Courtyard Door: The Daily Life of Tribeswomen in Northern Morocco* (Ipswich, Mass.: Ipswich Press, 1994).

Markets and Migrations

He begins this section by studying the tribal souks and their various economic activities and different professions held by both Muslims and Jews, something that has since disappeared, then he evokes the female souks, which exist only in this part of Morocco. Afterwards, he studies the pre and post independence migratory phenomena towards Algeria *ashareq* and Europe *zwa aman*.

Land, Tenure, Succession and Irrigation

In this section, the author takes a close look at the importance of land in the consciousness of the Rifis, as well as, the system of succession and inheritance, and the rights to the use of land water in the irrigation of agricultural fields.

Periodic Rituals: The Cycle of Life

The cycle of Rifi life revolves around birth, baptism, circumcision, weaning, childcare and segregation of the sexes. The book sheds light on the strict segregation of the sexes and the attitude towards sex in general. Then, he looks at the dowry, the wedding celebration and all the accompanying rituals, divorce, widowhood, remarriage, death and burial.

Popular Beliefs, songs and Music

As everywhere in Morocco, belief in witchcraft and magic *shūr* is widespread among the population, as well as its use as a form of medicine and/or means of protection against evil *jnūn*, and others. The researcher has, also, been interested in local legends and fairy tales, not to mention the oral literature in its various variations: proverbs, axioms, sayings, and riddles; then he studied the typical Rifi songs known as *ralla buya* as well as poetry, music and the art of dance.

Islam among the Aith Waryaghar

Hart diligently investigated the importance of Islam in this tribe as well as the concepts of piety, devotion, and orthodoxy, then his interest focused on the importance of mosques and Qur'anic education, in the one hand, and the belief in saints and the rites of their veneration as well as the multiple religious orders that flow from them, in the other.

The Kinship System

This section discusses the kinship system present in the area, as well as, the terminology used by the population to talk about it, then the interest of the

anthropologist turns to the analysis of the system in the tribal context and its importance in the continuity.

Wedding, Family and Household Patterns

This section focuses on the different variations in the marriage model, the role of the woman as well as the models of additional marriages and marriages of members of the same lineage, the complementary filiations, the typologies of households as well as the subject of descent and residence.

Segmentarity and Territorial Systems: Tribe, *Khems*, Clan, Subclan, Lineage and Local Community

Hart is interested in local and foreign lineages and their tribal tradition as well as the tribe as a social and political entity, then the segmentary system and the onomastic factor: dominance and recession of segment names. Then the interest of the researcher focuses on the system of *khems khmās*, as well as, such tribal sub-entities as the clan and the subclan and the local community.

The Political and Legal Systems

In this section, the anthropologist studies social stratification and law in its customary version: *'azref* and its effectiveness and deterrence to put an end to frequent blood crimes and tribal conflicts. He, also, sheds light on the legal arsenal of fines, such as those applied to tribes or weekly market attendance, as well as, the protection systems, tribal pacts and collective oaths used by the Amazighs.

Alliances and Vendettas as Political Institutions

The researcher concentrated in this section on the Rifi system of the *leff*, or conjunctural alliance of political and military natures and, also, on vendettas, very frequent before the Rif war, among the tribes of the region.

Linguistics and Origins Before 1898

Hart investigated the Amazigh languages and the Rifi dialect, without forgetting the relevant and central question of the origin of the Amazighs. He, also, touched upon the arrival of Islam in the Rif and the history of the Kingdom of the Nekkour Valley and dealt briefly with the Amazigh dynasties of the Almoravids, Almohads, Marinids and Wattassids and concludes with the Alawite Arab dynasty.

Politics at Large and the Era of “*Rifublik*” (1898-1921)

The research in this section focused on the piracy of Ibouqouyen and the punishment of their acts by the Makhzen (1890-1898), as well as, the internal

and external salient features of the “*Rifublik*” and the interlude of the revolt of Bou Hmara (1902-1909) against central power.

The Rif War 1921-1926

Hart took a close interest at this war, which shook colonial Europe and attracted the sympathy of the free and democratic world to Ben Abdelkrim and his ephemeral republic. The researcher painted an optimistic picture of Ben Abdelkrim’s political and social reforms and his victories over Spain, then he spoke about the Republic of the Rif and its various political and military structures and the end of the war and the capitulation of the Rif hero known as Moulay Mohand among the population.

The French Protectorate (1912-1956) and Independence

The researcher studied the various stages of this colonial regime and its ups and downs and the emergence of the Liberation Army and the primordial role of the Gzennaya in the war of independence. Then, he dealt with the rise of the Istiqlal Party and its pan-Arab agenda and the subsequent uprising of the Aith Waryaghar (1956-1959) against this party and the Makhzen.

Conclusion: The Individual Aith Waryaghar and His Story

By way of conclusion the anthropologist shed light on the external image of this tribe, its internal concept of democracy and the winds of social change as well as the prospects for the future.

This encyclopaedic work on the Aith Waryaghar, in particular, and the Rif, in general, in addition to the scientific information that it offers to both the researcher and the reader, includes maps, illustrations, tables and a multitude of photos that make it an unequalled work in the annals of modern anthropology on Morocco.

Hart’s monumental work on the Rif has been hailed as a tremendous scientific addition to anthropology, and rightly so, by many scholars and specialists in anthropology and ethnography including those who are against the segmentary approach.³²

The opus of Carleton Coon on the Gzennayas and that of Hart on the Aith Waryaghar have never been translated into French because, somewhat, the anthropological and ethnographic tradition seems to be much stronger among Anglo-Saxons than among the French and the Francophones.

In addition, there is a strong level of criticism of such research among the French and Francophone scientists. Indeed, the work on segmentarity, in

32. David Montgomery Hart, “Segmentary Systems and the Role of “Five ‘Fifths’ ” in tribal Morocco,” *Revue de l’Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 3 (1967): 65-95.

general, has raised much criticism, quite rightly, on the human and scientific scope of this approach, which is almost abandoned today.

Paul Pascon, a Moroccan sociologist of French origin, rightly puts forward a frontal criticism on segmentarity:

“Quelle que soit l’universalité de la notion de segmentarité – en effet on peut toujours diviser un groupe humain et celui-ci trouve toujours à s’organiser d’une certaine manière pour assurer les principales fonctions de survie – il y a des limites inférieures et supérieures indépassables. On ne peut pas fractionner, ou voir se fractionner indéfiniment une société: il y a des cellules étymologiquement atomiques et telles que leur partage empêcherait une existence viable. Il y a des ensembles ou des sociétés humaines telles que le pouvoir politique ne peut y demeurer diffus sans créer de graves conditions d’anomie. Or l’anomie même est une preuve par l’absurde, un état transitoire supposé de l’absence d’organisation, une situation fictive.”³³

Many other researchers have, indeed, expressed their rejection of this approach on two distinct fronts: the empirical front represented by the work of the Moroccan anthropologist Hammoudi on Gellner’s theses³⁴ and indirectly, of course, by ricochet, on the work of one of the segmentarity gurus, Evans Pritchard.³⁵ And the logical aspect supported, of course, by Paul Pascon himself, whose approach has a Marxist scent, in a way.

But although Paul Pascon criticized the segmentary anthropological approach, he is aware of the existence of segmentary relations in Moroccan society and will continue to exist despite the hegemony of the capitalist system in Morocco today:

“Au Maroc, si on peut montrer la disparition probablement irréversible de certains rapports sociaux forts anciens (esclavage, corvée...), si on peut se demander encore si la domination du mode de production capitaliste est en passe de devenir hégémonique, on ne peut pas parler de liquidation de l’ordre segmentaire. Celui-ci reste latent et ressurgit parfois violemment sur le devant de la scène au moment où on l’attend le moins – l’épreuve électorale est un test remarquable de ce point de vue.”³⁶

33. Paul Pascon, “Segmentation et stratification dans la société rurale marocaine,” *SociologieS*: <https://sociologies.revues.org/4326?lang=en>.

34. Abdellah Hammoudi, “Segmentarité, stratification sociale, pouvoir politique et sainteté: réflexions sur les thèses de Gellner,” *Hespéris-Tamuda* 15 (1974): 147-80.

35. Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, *Les Nuer: Description des modes de vie et des institutions politiques d’un peuple nilote* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969).

36. Pascon, “Segmentation et stratification dans la société rurale marocaine.”

Conclusion

All of these encounters with such eminent anthropologists as Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz, Rosen Lawrence, Carleton Coon and David Hart were not by design but mostly by destiny. Probably, one of those things where you happen to be at the right place at the right time, if I may say so.

These encounters changed my life for ever. As I grew older and mature, reading their works over and over and it became almost an obsession because I was discovering the intricacies of my culture of origin, especially in a Moroccan political environment that was ridiculously pan-arabist from 1956 to 1985. During this period, the only reference to the Amazigh people in official school curriculum was: “*al-barābira hom sukān al-maghrīb al-awalūn*” (Berbers are the aboriginal population of Morocco.) and the only official celebration of the Amazigh rich culture was in the context of the Festival of Popular Arts in Marrakesh, to attract foreign tourists to this city.

Honestly, these encounters made me look at my amazigh culture, in particular, and Moroccan culture, in general, with a positive perception. It was a kind of *retour aux sources* which made me write about these cultures since with much vehemence and respect and made me believe that I am, first and foremost, amazigh and proud of it.

Alas, most of these monumental works have not been translated into Amazigh, Arabic or French, the working languages of Morocco, except for the work of Hart translated by an association of Moroccans living in Holland in Arabic. Besides, Moroccan universities do not offer any degree, at all, in anthropology, as a result, the little work done on this subject was undertaken by some Moroccans influenced by Anglo-Saxon tradition in this area while studying in England, Germany or the USA.

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لقاءات مع علماء الأنثروبولوجيا الأمريكيين في المغرب

ملخص: في ستينيات وسبعينيات وثمانينيات القرن الماضي، أتاحت لي الفرصة والشرف لمقابلة عالم الأنثروبولوجيا الأمريكي كليفورد جيرتز وفريقه أثناء قيامهم ببحث عن اقتصاد البازار في صفرو: "المعنى والنظام في المغرب والمجتمع: ثلاث مقالات في التحليل الثقافي"، بينما كانت لغتي الإنجليزية لا تزال في مراحلها الأولية. وقد شعرت وقتئذ بالإحباط لأنني لم أتمكن من التواصل معهم إلا بالابتسامات وليس بالكلمات، لكن من ناحية أخرى كنت سعيداً لأن والدي، الموظف الكبير في وزارة الداخلية، كان مسؤولاً عن سلامتهم ورفاههم. وفي السبعينيات قابلت كارلتون ستيفنز كون جونيور في الرباط بالمغرب. وبعد ذلك ذهبت إلى الولايات المتحدة لمقابلة والده الذي كان يعمل في قبيلة كزناية: "قبائل الريف" في عشرينيات القرن الماضي. وكان كارلتون ستيفنز يحظى بالعناية من قبل جدي الحاج عبد السلام شتاتو المعروف بالحاج عبد السلام أگزناي، قائد جزء من كزناية، الذي بنى له منزلاً ووفر له مرشداً وحارساً شخصياً اسمه المنهي، فضلاً عن مساعدين محبرين لتمكينه من القيام بعمله في الأراضي التابعة لاختصاصته الإدارية. وفي عام 1980، التقيت ديفيد هارت، وهو طالب في كارلتون كون بلندن بعد نشر عمله عن قبيلة ريفي أيت واريغار: "آيت واريغار الريف المغربي"، وتواصلت معه بعد ذلك لسنوات طويلة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المغرب، صفرو، الريف، كارلتون كون، ديفيد هارت، كليفورد جيرتز.

Rencontres avec des anthropologues américains au Maroc

Résumé: Dans les années 60, 70 et 80 du siècle dernier, j'ai eu la chance et l'honneur de rencontrer l'anthropologue américain Clifford Geertz et son équipe alors qu'ils faisaient leurs recherches sur l'économie du bazar à Sefrou: "Signification et ordre au Maroc société: trois essais d'analyse culturelle," alors que mon anglais était encore au stade du babillage. Je me sentais frustré de ne pouvoir communiquer avec eux que par le sourire et non par des mots, mais d'un autre côté, j'étais ravi que mon père, alors haut fonctionnaire du ministère de l'Intérieur, soit responsable de leur sécurité et de leur bien-être. Dans les années soixante-dix,

j'ai rencontré Carleton Stevens Coon Jr. à Rabat, au Maroc, puis je suis allé aux États-Unis pour rencontrer son père qui travaillait sur la tribu Gzennaya: "Tribes of the Rif" dans les années vingt du siècle dernier. Carleton Stevens Coon était le protégé de mon grand-père Ḥaj 'Abdeslam Chtatou connu sous le nom de Ḥaj 'Abdeslam Agzennay, Caid d'une partie de Gzennaya, qui lui a construit une maison et lui a fourni un guide et garde du corps Lemnebhi et des informateurs pour faire son travail dans les limites de sa juridiction. En 1980, j'ai rencontré David Hart, un élève de Carleton Coon à Londres après la publication de son ouvrage sur la tribu Rifi d'Aith Waryaghar: "Les Aith Waryaghar du Rif marocain," et j'ai correspondu avec lui pendant des années.

Mots-clés: Maroc, Sefrou, Rif, Carleton Coon, David Hart, Clifford Geertz.