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Writing Letters and Reading against the Grain of Anthropology's Past

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in Anthropology

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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As a window into what happens when anthropology's published and unpublished writing forms are measured together, this thesis will review the personal correspondence of a mid-twentieth century American anthropologist, David Montgomery Hart, whose letters, totaling over 10,000 pages, were recently entrusted to the National Archives in Morocco. In particular, I highlight what the discussions that occurred in his letters reflect about racialized logics in academic research at the time, collaborations between anthropologists and colonial officials, as well as the dangers Indigenous field assistants could face as a result of their work. Throughout my thesis, I will suggest how conceptualizations of race, particularly notions of whiteness as articulated in Euro-American writing from the nineteenth century forward, have shaped the field of Amazigh studies, as other scholars have noted. In combining analysis of Hart's publications, personal correspondences, and my own interviews with his colleagues, I have two goals: first, to outline the processes by which twentieth-century anthropological research contributed to marking difference on a black-and-white

color line in the region; and second, to suggest that ongoing discussions on the role of reflexivity in anthropology consider the importance of the discipline's inward- as well as outward-facing writing.

This thesis of Jessie Serene Stoolman is approved.

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NOTES ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION:

All original translations from Spanish, French, and Arabic are my own. Arabic words and phrases that are not directly cited from a primary or secondary source are transliterated in Modern Standard Arabic, using the guidelines of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES). When multiple names exist for a single place, most notably, for villages in the Rif that have a different Arabic and Tarifīt name, I have transliterated both original names using IJMES guidelines. For all other place names, such as major cities in Morocco, I use their accepted English spellings, as per IJMES guidelines. Finally, Arabic names of contemporary individuals are provided using their preferred Latinized spelling, if known. If not known, I follow IJMES transliteration guidelines for names.

Part I: Introduction

Where does anthropological writing begin (and end)? Pointedly, *published* writing, be it in the form of an article, essay, or book, only composes one part of the actual writing that anthropologists do. Since the discipline's inception, perhaps the most copious form of its particular writing style is, in fact, the amorphous and infinitely malleable genre of fieldnotes, which depending on whom you ask, could include any combination of letters, daily journals, maps, genealogies, drawings, charts, and transcriptions, to name a few. Perhaps it is unsurprising, that during the height of the reflexive turn in anthropology, some scholars, namely those who contributed to Roger Sanjek's edited volume *Fieldnotes* (1990), began to dig into one of the messier questions regarding disciplinary practice - how can we lessen asymmetrical power dynamics in academic writing without examining that which anthropologists write and then *conceal*?

As a window into what happens when anthropology's published and unpublished writing forms are measured together, this thesis will review the personal correspondence of mid-twentieth century American anthropologist, David Montgomery Hart. Known for being a prolific letter-writer, Hart sent, at times, several letters a day to a single recipient, leading Ernest Gellner in *Tribe and State: Essays in Honor of David Montgomery Hart* (1991), to declare that he "has developed and perfected a distinctive literary form, the long ethnographic letter."[1] I chose Hart's letters, after being introduced to the archive by my advisor, Aomar Boum, for several reasons. First and foremost, his correspondence, mainly with historian, Ross Dunn, but also with other scholars of the mid-twentieth century (like Edmund Burke III and Jacques Vignet Zunz), which totals over 10,000 pages, has recently been entrusted to the Moroccan National Archives, marking one of the

[1] Ernest Gellner, "Preface," in *Tribe and State: Essays in Honour of David Montgomery Hart*, edited by Joffe, E. G. H. and C. R. Pennell (Cambridgeshire: MENAS Press, 1991), 2.

few collections dedicated to the papers of an American scholar publicly available to Moroccan researchers in their home country. Hart's other papers, including extensive photography and book collections are also spread throughout Morocco, including at the recently built "Terra" library in Ayth En-nṣār,[2] a Riffian village on the border with the Spanish colony of Melilla.

Second, Hart has a rather unique trajectory. After beginning his doctoral studies under the supervision of the now infamous, Carleton Coon, perhaps best-known today for his engagement in racial scientism, he was never again based in the U.S. nor did he ever hold an academic faculty position. Nevertheless, Hart published widely in English, French, and Spanish, with nine books and over 30 articles to his name by the end of his life.[3] Third, a testament to his productivity, Hart maintained close working relationships with scholars across countries, disciplines, and ideological divides. His wide network of colleagues may account for the impressive number of international commemorations, in book form and otherwise, dedicated to Hart's work, including most recently, a long-form, high-quality Arabic-language translation of his seminal book on the Ayth Waryāghar[4] by activists and scholars adjacent to the *ḥirāk* movement.

Lastly, Hart's research contributes to continuing reflections in anthropology about the discipline's historic imbrication with colonialism.[5] As Susan Slyomovics succinctly put it in her introduction to the edited volume *Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa: Into a New*

[2] Also referred to as Beni En-nṣār.

[3] Since Hart published widely in English, French, and Spanish, it is difficult to calculate his exact number of publications. As far as my calculations go, which are based on extensive bibliographies of Hart's work that appeared in two books published in his honor, *Tribe and State: Essays in Honor of David Montgomery Hart* (1991) and *Antropología y antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart* (2002), he published at least nine books and over thirty articles between 1954 and 2000.

[4] In my own writing, I transliterate Ayth Waryāghar, Ayth ʻAtta, and Ḥarāṭīn using IJMES transliteration rules. In general, all tribal names and Arabic or Darija words will be transliterated using the IJMES guide. Of course, for proper names of people, IJMES transliteration style-guides recommend dropping diactrics, which I have. You will note, Hart transliterates the names of tribes discussed in this piece as "Ait Waryaghar," "Ait 'Atta," and "Haratin" in English. Finally, for any common Arabic words that IJMES has included in its "Word Chart," I have deferred to the spelling provided on the chart, like *bilād al-makhzan* and *bilād al-sība.*

[5] Talal Asad, "Introduction," in *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter*, edited by Talal Asad, pg. 9-20 (London: Ithaca Press, [1973] 1975); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Susan Slyomovics, "State of the State of the Art Studies: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa," in *Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa: Into a New Millennium,* edited by Sherine Hafez and Susan Slyomovics, pg. 3-22 (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013); See also, Brent Edwards, "Introduction to the English," in Michel Leiris *Phantom African [L'Afrique fantôme]*, 1934, translated with new introduction by Brent Hayes Edwards (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2019). Of course, I only cite here a few titles, mainly ones that pertain to North Africa and Southwest Asia.

Millennium: "We are all pursuing the retrospective in search of the prospective."[6] On the one hand, his correspondence reveals the complex dynamics of his close relationships with two Indigenous research collaborators throughout his life, 'Amar Uzzugwagh and Youssef Hazmaoui. As such, this piece will follow the lead of many anthropologists, including Indigenous scholars Margaret M. Bruchac and Audra Simpson, who have begun their appraisal of anthropology's past by examining the oft-mystified relationships between early Euro-American anthropologists and Indigenous research assistants.[7] On the other hand, the level of archival and broader ethnographic access granted to Hart due to his contact with military officers brings into the fore subtler ways in which anthropologists were (and continue to be) implicated within military systems. Referencing Coon's infamous career as a spy in Morocco, Slyomovics notes that, with anthropology's "current imperative to grapple with militarized anthropology…activities that seemed benign during World War II, but are [now] topics of intense debate as they continue to play out today in Middle Eastern and North African crisis and war zones."[8] This impulse, then, to reexamine anthropological work alongside military apparatuses will frame discussion of both Hart and Coon's research methodologies in the region.

In this thesis, I will examine Hart's living legacy alongside trends in the anthropology of North Africa during Morocco's transition from the colonial period to independence. In particular, I highlight what the discussions that occurred in his letters reflect about racialized logics in academic research at the time, collaborations between anthropologists and colonial officials, as well as the dangers Indigenous field assistants could face as a result of their collaborative labor. Throughout my paper, I will suggest how conceptualizations of race, particularly notions of

[6] Slyomovics, "State," 5.
[7] See specifically Audra Simpson, "Constructing Kahnawà:ka as an 'Out-of-the-Way' Place: Ely S. Parker, Lewis Henry Morgan, and the Writing of the Iroquois Confederacy," in *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*, by Audra Simpson, pg. 67-94 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014) and Margaret M. Bruchac, *Savage Kin: Indigenous Informants and American Anthropologists*, with a foreword by Melissa Fawcett Tantaquidgeon Zobel, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).
[8] Slyomovics, "State of the State," 7.

whiteness as articulated in Euro-American writing from the nineteenth century forward, have shaped the field of Amazigh studies, as other scholars have noted.[9]

Patricia L. M. Lorcin, for example, has detailed how a network of military officials and physicians based in Algeria alongside social scientists based in France, developed the "Kabyle myth," through which Kabyle and more broadly speaking, Amazigh, communities were differentiated from Arabs on racialized terms.[10] Similarly, Abdelmajid Hannoum traces the legend of Kahina through different invocations, finding that "French mythology" created rigid distinctions between Berber, Arab, and Jewish communities, defining everything Amazigh as a "primitive" version of French society.[11] More recently, Ramzi Rouighi elaborates the historical developments which led to diverse Indigenous inhabitants of the Maghrib being referred to under a single umbrella term of 'Berber' - a process he calls "Berberization."[12] Like Lorcin,[13] Rouighi highlights that nineteenth-century scholars relied on philology, physical as well as cultural anthropology, and archaeology - not history - to define "Berbers," enabling, in effect, their racialization under the terms at play during that period (i.e., white, Black, primitive).[14] In combining analysis of Hart's publications, personal correspondences, and my own interviews with his colleagues, I have two goals: first, to outline the processes by which twentieth-century anthropological research contributed to marking difference on a black-and-white color line in the region; and second, to

[9] See "Part One: Race, Gender, and Slavery in the Islamic Discourse," particularly chapter 2 "The Interplay between Slavery and Race and Color Prejudice," subsection "The Berbers' Attitude to Blacks in Morocco," in Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); See chapter two "Colonial Histories" and chapter three "From History to Fiction" in Abdelmajid Hannoum, *Colonial Histories, Post-Colonial Memories: The Legend of the Kahina, A North African Heroine* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2001); Hsain Ilahiane, *Ethnicities, Community Making, and Agrarian Change* (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 2004); Hsain Ilahiane. "The Break-up of the Ksar: Changing Settlement Patterns and Environmental Management in Southern Morocco." *Africa Today* 48, no. 1 (2001): 20-48; See Part II "Social sciences and military men" especially chapter six "Race and scholarship in Algeria: the impact of the military" and chapter seven "Scholarly societies in France: the Kabyle Myth as a racial paradigm" in Patricia M. E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice & Race in Colonial Algeria* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, [1995] 2014); Ramzi Rouighi, *Inventing the Berbers: History and Ideology in the Maghrib* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019); and Paul Silverstein. "Masquerade politics: race, Islam and the scale of Amazigh activism in southeastern Morocco." *Nations and Nationalism* 17, 1 (2011): 65-84.
[10] Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 144-5.
[11] Hannoum, *Colonial Histories*, 188.
[12] Rouighi, *Inventing,* 2.
[13] Lorcin, *Imperial Identities,* 123-4, 131, 136-7, 141-3.
[14] Rouighi, *Inventing*, 6.

suggest that ongoing discussions on the role of reflexivity in anthropology consider the importance of the discipline's inward- as well as outward-facing writing.

Part II: Letter Writing, Fieldnotes, and Anthropology

Before proposing a rough outline of the role letters have played in the discipline, I want to describe, briefly, the relationship of letter writing to the methodological tools of anthropology, including the many other forms of writing central to its practice. As Gupta and Ferguson famously described in their seminal volume on "the field" in anthropology, *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science* (1997), much mystery has historically overlaid what makes anthropologists' work different than that of related disciplines. In their introduction, they note that even at the time of writing, nearly a century after the discipline's institutionalization, anthropologists were receiving practically no formal training in how one should choose a field site and conduct fieldwork.[15] However, paradoxically, it is precisely the field site and fieldwork, writ large, "a specific methodology for uncovering or understanding… difference," upon which anthropology constructs its own differentiation from other disciplines.[16]

Like scholars of reflexivity and positionality before them, Gupta and Ferguson highlight the asymmetrical dynamics between researchers and collaborators that underlie how anthropology and anthropologists operate.[17] For example, Gupta and Ferguson note that choice of field site has much more to do with geopolitics and state-run funding agencies than either a researcher's

[15] Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Discipline and Practice: 'The Field' as Site, Method, and Location in Anthropology," in *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*, ed. by Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 2.
[16] Gupta, and Ferguson, "Discipline," 2.
[17] Some major figures who wrote about reflexivity include Bob Scholte (1969), Paul Rabinow (1977), Vincent Crapanzano (1980), James Clifford (1986), George E. Marcus (1986), Renalto Rosaldo (1989), Ruth Behar (1995), and Deborah A. Gordon (1995).

particular background and/or so-called scientific significance.[18] It could easily be argued that this was true for Hart as well, who despite access to individual family wealth, also received funding from institutions like the Ford Foundation, American Museum of Natural History, Social Science Research Council, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation. During a Zoom interview with Ross Dunn I conducted in the summer of 2020, he even noted, jokingly of course, a sort of American academic imperialism in Morocco during the mid-twentieth century, when different U.S. universities seem to lay claim to regions of the country.[19]

Furthermore, Gupta and Ferguson interrogate assumptions that inform the discipline's appraisal of anthropologists' experience in the field. Although fieldwork as the central tenet of anthropological methodology theoretically privileges researchers' experience in the regions under examination, in reality, anthropologists who have been raised in many communities that are the subject of research find their personal experiences diminished for not being ethnographically valid vis-à-vis those of scholars without the same background. In fact, their comments on this particular issue have important implications for how letter-writing and other forms of field writing should be reexamined. They note that, "[a] discipline in which 'experience' is so central has been surprisingly unfriendly to the notion that 'experience' is constantly reconfigured by memory," which begs the question "[i]f an anthropologist can 'write up' an ethnography based on data collected during doctoral fieldwork twenty or thirty years ago, why should it not be possible for 'natives' to 'write up' an ethnography based on their lives?"[20]

On a similar note, Hassan Rachik in his overview of anthropological studies in Morocco during the last century notes that it was not always clear whether anthropologists took the ideas of

[18] Gupta and Ferguson, "Discipline," 11.
[19] Our interview was conducted over Zoom in July 2020. We were both in Los Angeles.
[20] Gupta and Ferguson, "Discipline," 32.

members in the communities they studied "seriously."[21] Thus, Rachik divides anthropologists' relationships to the communities under review into two - "theoretical" and "actual."[22] Since the latter is frequently "hidden" or "omitted" in anthropological writing, Rachik, when able, relied on texts that describe anthropologists' fieldwork experience to fill in the gaps.[23] For this paper, Hart's letters will serve to demystify his relationship to the subjects he studied, alongside a published talk he prepared wherein he describes his fieldwork experience in detail. Given that conceptualizations of anthropological validity are not singular, yet another underlying methodological anxiety arises – what does it mean to "write up" fieldwork?

To understand the many (malleable) forms of field writing that constitute a large chunk of what anthropologists supposedly *do* in the field, Sanjek, years before Gupta and Ferguson, collected in the edited volume aptly entitled, *Fieldnotes* (1990), perspectives on what it means to write in the field. However, before delving into Sanjek's seminal work, it is important to note that nearly sixty years earlier, in the 1930s, Michel Leiris' *Phantom Africa*, a daily account of the Dakar-Djibouti Mission,[24] for which Leiris served as "secretary-archivist," began to shatter the distinctions between ethnographic, academic writing and the rest.[25] Brent Hayes Edwards, the first to translate Leiris' complete work into English, notes that the journal's genre is hard to define: "it serves, above all, as a sort of counter-writing."[26] This becomes especially clear in the contrasting sentiments shared at times in Leiris' letters to his wife, Zette, to whom he was sending copies of his diary entries to ensure its safekeeping. In posthumously published French editions of Leiris'

[21] Hassan Rachik, *Le Proche et Le Lointain : un siècle d'anthropologie au Maroc [The Near and The Far : A Century of Anthropology in Morocco]* (Marseilles : Éditions Parenthèses, Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme, 2012), 20. All translations in this article, from French, Spanish, and Arabic, are my own.
[22] Rachik, *Le Proche*, 21.
[23] Rachik, *Le Proche*, 21.
[24] The "Mission ethnographique et linguistique Dakar -Djibouti" was organized by the anthropologist Marcel Griaule to populate the collections at Muséum d'Histoire naturelle and Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris with funds from the French parliament, marking it is as the first of its kind for the African colonies controlled by the French. For more information see Edwards, "Introduction," 1-3.
[25] Edwards, "Introduction," 1.
[26] Edwards, "Introduction," 14. Please note that James Clifford did some of the first translations of Leiris' journal, which he published in the journal *Sulfur* (James Clifford, ed., "A Special Section: New Translations of Michel Leiris," trans. by James Clifford, Lydia Davis, Richard Sieburth, Paul Auster, and Michael Haggerty, *Sulfur* 15 (1986): 4-125).

journal, excerpts from his letters to (and from) a few close friends and family were included.[27] Edwards maintains those letters in his translation because they serve as "an illuminating counterpoint to the travel journal."[28] Likewise, the text is enhanced by a series of footnotes and endnotes (added by Leiris for his 1934 and 1951 editions, respectively), as well as translator notes from Edwards.[29] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine thoroughly the nuances that the letters and these translator's notes add to Leiris' diary entries, which are frequently filled with vivid details and his own affective responses to daily life on the mission. Nevertheless, I think a few examples suffice to illuminate the rich texture that a layering of field writings (diaries, letters, and explanatory notes) can provide for the analysis of a scholar's oeuvre.

In his entry on August 12, 1931, Leiris described the Tabaski festival during his stay in Mali as "a ritual orgy," only to amend that statement in an endnote from 1951 stating the designation "is a rather excessive term for an affair probably not so different from some of *our* cocktail parties."[30] Even though a moment like this might give the sensation that Leiris' journal will read like a typical ethnographic text of the period, exoticizing the communities under study without interrogating the role of the observer, in a letter not long after, on August 17th, 1931, he writes to Zette: "[w]e create a totally false notion of Negroes in judging them by what we know of their sculpture or by classic ethnography"[31] – not the only time he would come to question the discipline.[32] Nevertheless, a few months later, in letter dated November 13th, 1931, Leiris unconditionally justifies their looting of sacred objects, writing to Zette "… I have again behaved a bit like an adventurer, but I have no regrets: there are sublime objects that it would be a thousand

[27] Edwards, "A Note on the Text," 56.
[28] Edwards, "A Note on the Text," 56.
[29] Edwards, "A Note on the Text," 54-5.
[30] Leiris, *Phantom Africa,* 137. Emphasis mine. I wanted to highlight the use of 'ours' to illuminate that despite Leiris' apparent retraction (or reflection) on his previous exaggeration, he continues to orient himself within an unmarked 'we,' which surely reads as white, Euro-American, bringing into question the degree of his own recalculation of the distance between his 'us' (or just, 'me') and 'them.'
[31] Leiris, *Phantom Africa*, 139.
[32] See letter to Zette dated April 2, 1932 (Leiris, *Phantom Africa*, 318) and letter to Zette dated August 23, 1932 (Leiris, *Phantom Africa*, 484.)

times more disgraceful to buy than to steal."[33] These unexpected turns characterize the tome, representing as Edwards summarizes, "the common sense of ethnographic practice under colonialism: the moral sense of 'mission'… and the stratagems of self-justification that underlay so much of what went on in the field."[34] On a much smaller scale than *Phantom Africa*, this thesis attempts to demonstrate the unique insights that can *only* be obtained through a multilayered textual analysis of ethnographic practice, under colonialism and beyond.

One might believe that a definition is the place to start when trying to determine what field writing, or in this case of Sanjek's volume, fieldnotes, are. Emblematic of the anxieties that talking about anthropological fieldwork produces, several contributors to *Fieldnotes* mention a reticence from scholars to attempt any definition. However, even when acknowledging the impossibility of a one-size-fits-all definition of fieldnotes, James Clifford outlines the porous borderlands of field writing, which each ethnographer traces to their own liking:

> The community of ethnographers agrees on no common boundaries: diaries and journals are included by some, excluded by others; letters to family, to colleagues, to thesis supervisors are diversely classified; some even rule out transcripts of interviews. The institutions of fieldnotes does exist, of course, widely understood to be a discrete textual corpus in some way produced by fieldwork and constituting a raw or partly cooked, descriptive database for latter generalizations, synthesis, and theoretical elaboration…. Fieldnotes are surrounded by legend and often a certain secrecy. They are intimate records, fully meaningful—we are often told—only to their inscriber.[35]

Thus, letters are certainly a part, perhaps at times contested, of field writing. Furthermore, Clifford highlights, in noting the variety of limits ethnographers place on their running definitions of fieldnotes, that the division between public and private, at least in terms of audience, for field writing is not (and perhaps, should not) be set in stone. In fact, a few pages later in his chapter, Clifford would suggest the ways in which implementing strict distinctions between different forms

[33] Leiris, *Phantom Africa*, 210.
[34] Edwards, "Introduction," 19.
[35] James Clifford, "Notes on (Field)notes," in *Fieldnotes*, ed. by Roger Sanjek (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press: 1990), 52.

of field writing serves mainly to protect a problematic subject/object dichotomy.[36] Perhaps precisely because of the intimate themes that anthropology studies, the equally intimate space of personal correspondence is also fertile ground for anthropological writing. In short, what affective relationships can be unearthed by examining an anthropologist's writing beyond their published work? By affective relationships, I am referring broadly to the emotional experiences and motivations that inform not only the doing of anthropology (whatever that may be), but also the thinking (and writing) about anthropological research topics. For Hart and, I assume most researchers, personal correspondence reveals the uncertainties, ambiguous encounters, and perhaps even conflicts, that, in turn, shape published writing, but are rarely discussed explicitly. Turning to a few examples from anthropology's earliest years will flesh out and historicize this tension further.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, many contributors to *Fieldnotes,* including Sanjek himself, ground their discussion of field writing in a few salient examples from anthropology's past – namely, Bronislaw Malinowski, Franz Boas, and Margaret Mead.[37] For Malinowski and Mead, authors note their use of letters as a pedagogical tool with graduate students.[38] Lutkehaus reflects on her use of Camilla Wedgwood's papers, which included letters from her mentor Malinowksi. Specifically, Lutkehaus highlights the following letter from Malinowksi to sum up the pedagogical value attributed to letter writing in early anthropological fieldwork: "…write up temporary sketches of different activities, rites or ceremonies actually seen to preserve local colour, *emotional feeling*, etc. In particular write up impressions received in [the] first few weeks. This may be done in letters home."[39] Perhaps even more significant than Malinowski suggesting that letters should be used to

[36] Clifford, "Notes," 66.
[37] Roger Sanjek, "The Secret Life of Fieldnotes," in *Fieldnotes*, ed. by Roger Sanjek (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press: 1990), 188.
[38] Roger Sanjek, "A Vocabulary for Fieldnotes," in *Fieldnotes*, ed. by Roger Sanjek, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press: 1990), 111; Nancy Lutkehaus, "Refractions of Reality: On the Use of Other Ethnographers' Fieldnotes," in *Fieldnotes*, ed. by Roger Sanjek, pg. 303-323 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990); and Roger Sanjek, "On Ethnographic Validity," In *Fieldnotes*, ed. by Roger Sanjek, pg. 385-418 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press: 1990).
[39] Lutkehaus, "Refractions," 305. Emphasis mine. I wanted to highlight Malinowski's apparent recognition of letters as a uniquely generative space for discussing affect.

write-up affective states, he also uses the space of personal correspondence to encourage Wedgwood to continue despite difficulties in the field: "… be patient, cheer up and stick to the Functional method, which is only a different name for common sense."[40]

Being a prolific letter writer, like Hart, Margaret Mead's corpus of correspondence reveals more of her relationship to field writing than Malinowski, although they overlap in important ways. Perhaps most notably, like Malinowski, Mead believes letter writing is a necessary respite from the rigors of fieldwork: "Immersing oneself in life in the field is good, but one must be careful not to drown… Letters can be a way of occasionally righting the balance as… one relates… to people who are part of one's other world."[41] More significant for the goal of this thesis in examining letter writing and anthropological practice, Mead's letters reveal significant changes of heart in her approach to work. Having begun as a "problem-oriented" ethnographer focusing on quantitative methods, she shifted greatly towards the end of her career. Her letters, as Sanjek's chapter "Secret Life of Fieldnotes" reveals, give us a glimpse into the *why*: "If you surrender fully enough to the culture, this will itself inform your further choices and provide new problems, home-grown for the fieldworkers' perception."[42]

Unsurprisingly perhaps, Boas, Mead's mentor who encouraged her initial fieldwork methodology, is also much more forthcoming in his letters than in other forms of field writing. Sanjek points out several examples of "vivid ethnographic description" appear only in Boas' personal correspondence, and not his fieldnotes.[43] Other elements that seem to only occupy the pages of letters include Boas' dependency on "informants," which is an element in Hart's letters as well.[44] Relatedly, Boas' letters demystify the deeply transactional relationship of researchers to

[40] Lutkehaus, "Refractions," 306.
[41] Sanjek, "A Vocabulary," 112.
[42] Sanjek, "The Secret," 225.
[43] Sanjek, "The Secret," 197.
[44] Sanjek, "The Secret," 199.

their collaborators. In one particular anecdote that Sanjek highlights, both Boas' dependence on his collaborator and his manipulation of rituals, with money, are unveiled: "Boas's field letters… reveal the circumstances of recording the 1894 Winter Ceremonial sequence. The first day's feast was paid for by Boas: $14.50 for a round of hardtack and molasses for 250 Indians. This netted him a set of reciprocal invitations… when Hunt was not with him, Boas wrote, 'I did not know what was going on.'"[45] Unsurprisingly, in Sanjek's concluding chapter, he states that "there needs to be written as 'Secret History of Assistants'" affirming that "[t]he answer must not be just to append, edit, transcribe, or co-create the writings of informants," but instead "[w]e must break each of the four legs of WMWM [Western, middle-class, white, male or female] anthropology and radically widen the discipline's membership."[46]

Letters, particularly as a contested and certainly, more intimate, part of the field writing corpus that anthropologists leave behind, have constituted, and should continue to serve as, an important primary source for expanding the boundaries of anthropological authority. In fact, it is through Hart's letters that we become aware of just how dependent he was upon his collaborators for research analysis as well as the layers of transaction that characterized their relationships, going far beyond money alone, including the ability to move *out* of Morocco. Hart too, makes significant changes in his orientation to segmentary theory and the idea of a *bilād al-makhzan*/*bilād al-sība* divide, which formed the theoretical backbone of ethnographic analysis for most his career. The

[45] Sanjek, "The Secret," 202.
[46] Sanjek, "On Ethnographic Validity," 407-8.

letters[47] (as well as a talk he prepared towards the end of his life)[48] reveal the tensions which characterized this shift, while his published writing attests to the result. By way of example, writing in June 1989, not long after Henry Munson, Jr. wrote his take-down of segmentary theory in the Rif,[49] Hart writes to Dunn that "[t]ypologizing, model-making, and label-pinning, I may to some extent have been guilty of in the past, but not, I think, to excess, and shy away from all of it even more today."[50]

Nevertheless, years later, mainly in Spanish-language publications, Hart proposed "anti-segmentarity," reaffirming the existence of the "segmentary ideal" in Riffian "minds."[51] This alternative framework argues that all Riffians understand segmentarity as the desired standard for community behavior, but "when other, more important considerations intervene," especially issues around land and women, the rules of such a system are disregarded.[52] In the few pages Hart dedicated to this revised model in his last edited volume, co-authored with Rachid Raha, *Berber Society in the Moroccan Rif: On Segmentary Theory in Morocco* (1999),[53] he does not cite new

[47] *Bilād al-makhzan/bilād al-sība,* in this thesis, refers to the notion that in Morocco, certain areas have historically been under the control of the centralized monarchy or state apparatus (*makhzen*), while others have consistently resisted said control (*sība*). The following letters discuss varying aspects of segmentary theory, including notions of 5/5ths structure and *makhzen/sība*: David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 November 1967, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 February 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 16 March 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 May 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 19 July 1968, Private Collection David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 4 August 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 17 January 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 20 January 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 4 February 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 17 April 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 28 May 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 June 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 8 May 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 September 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 19 November 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 24 April 1989, Private Collection; and David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 25 June 1989, Private Collection. Please note that I consulted these letters through a file share from my advisor Aomar Boum, and not directly from the Archives du Maroc. Thus, I have not cited the Archives du Maroc in this paper, in case their cataloguing system may be slightly different than that of the database I received from Dr. Boum. With the letter's date in all my citations, any subsequent researcher should be able to find these files no matter what the cataloguing system implemented by the Archives du Maroc, where these letters are now housed.

[48] David M. Hart, "Conferencia inaugural del Coloquio 'Antropología y Antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart,' Tánger 18 y 19 de noviembre de 2000. [Inaugural Conference of the Colloquium 'Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco: Homage to David M. Hart, Tangier, November 18 and 19, 2000]," in *Antropología y Antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart [Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco: Homage to David M. Hart]*, eds. Ángeles Ramírez and Bernabé López García (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 77-109.

[49] Henry Munson Jr., "On the Irrelevance of the Segmentary Lineage Model in the Moroccan Rif," *American Anthropologist* 91, no. 2 (1989): 386-400.

[50] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 25 June 1989, Private Collection.

[51] See David M. Hart and Rachid Raha, "Introducción," in *La Sociedad bereber del Rif marroquí: sobre la teoría de la segmentariedad en el Magreb* [*Berber Society in the Moroccan Rif: On Segmentary Theory in Morocco*], eds. by David M. Hart and Rachid Raha (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1999), 8 and Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 99.

[52] Hart and Raha, "Introducción," 8.

[53] Apart from page 8, referenced in footnotes 51 and 52, see also, David Hart "Ibn Jaldún y Evans Pritchard: La solidaridad agnática y la segmentariedad en la teoría y la práctica de la antropología sociocultural del mundo islámico [Ibn Khaldūn and Evans Pritchard: Agnatic solidarity and segmentarity in theory and practice of sociocultural anthropology in the Islamic world]," in *La Sociedad bereber del Rif marroquí: sobre la*

fieldwork, but instead finds that most the cases which Munson Jr. argued do not confirm to segmentary rules were examples of "anti-segmentarity."[54] Furthermore, he affirms that this "anti-segmentarity," alongside "an ideology of abstract segmentarity" and "the syndrome of the *Four F: fines, factions, fratricide and feud*… flourish in an atmosphere of 'institutionalized dissidence' that characterizes the Rif, especially during the period of the *Ripublik* between 1898 and 1921."[55] Without giving examples of instances wherein Riffians affirmed the existence of a segmentary ideal that is aborted under specific circumstances, it is hard to evaluate the claims of Hart's alternative "anti-segmentarity" model. However, it is clear that to analyze Hart's conflicted relationship to segmentary theory, throughout his career, requires a multilayered analysis of his writing that includes inward- and outward-facing forms, across languages and printing presses.

Thus, to recognize the full potential of past and future writing, we should bridge the gaps between field writing and the rest. In particular, we must question why fieldnotes include essential information, like transactional relationships with collaborators and the affective experiences that influence analysis, while other, more deliberately public-facing writing does not. Surely, researchers have included in their analyses the type of intimate details which are requested from collaborators, as exemplified in the work of Zora Neale Hurston, Ghassan Hage, Laurence Ralph, and Haunani-Kay Trask, to name a few.[56] Famously, Hurston's entire book is in narrative form, revealing not only the content of the questions she asked her subject, Kossola, the last known

teoría de la segmentariedad en el Magreb [*Berber Society in the Moroccan Rif: On Segmentary Theory in Morocco*], eds. by David M. Hart and Rachid Raha (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1999), 46-8. Also, see David M. Hart, "¿Luchas hereditarias rifeñas o vendettas rifeñas y segmentación o anti-segmentación?: Datos adicionales sobre los Ait Uriaguel y contestación parcial a Henry Munson, Jr. [Riffian Feud or Riffian Vendetta, and Segmentation or Anti-Segmentation? Additional Materials from the Aith Waryaghar and a Part-Answer to Henry Munson]" in *La Sociedad bereber del Rif marroquí: sobre la teoría de la segmentariedad en el Magreb* [*Berber Society in the Moroccan Rif: On Segmentary Theory in Morocco*], eds. by David M. Hart and Rachid Raha (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1999), 160-1. In total, Hart only speaks about this model in about six pages.

[54] Hart, "Luchas hereditarias," 160.

[55] Hart, Luchas hereditarias," 161.

[56] See specifically, Zora Neale Hurston, *Barracoon: The Story of the Last 'Black Cargo*,' edited by Deborah G. Plant with a foreword by Alice Walker (New York, NY: Amistad, an imprint of HarperCollins, 2018); Ghassan Hage, "Hating Israel in the Field: On Ethnography and Political Emotions," *Anthropological Theory* 9, 1 (2009): 59-79; Laurence Ralph, *Renegade Dreams: Living Through Injury in Gangland Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); and Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, second ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, [1993] 1999).

person to have been enslaved and taken to the U.S. from Africa in the nineteenth century, but also her own emotional responses to their conversations and, at times, the rocky development of their relationship.[57] Similarly, Ralph published his fieldnotes throughout his ethnography, beginning each chapter with a note that relates to section's theme. As is perhaps clear from the title of his work ("Hating Israel in the Field: On Ethnography and Political Emotions"), Hage makes his affective response to research ("anti-Israeli hatred and anger") into the subject of his piece – "I will show how by reflecting on my own political emotions I began refining my analytical conception of what these emotions entail."[58] Likewise, Trask's title (*From a Native Daughter*) and her writing are explicit in defining her relationship to the subject. Take for example a few lines in her introduction: "No matter what Americans believe, most of us in the colonies do not feel grateful that our country was stolen, along with our citizenship, our lands, and our independent place among the family of nations. We are not happy Natives."[59] One of the great advantages of anthropology, in contrast to its sister disciplines, is the importance given to ethnographic encounters in analysis. Nevertheless, to me, it seems that the continued mystification of field writing practices, both within anthropological training as well as published writing, does not lend the discipline to harness, on a structural level, its full potential.

[57] Some may be familiar with accusations of plagiarism in Hurston's work. In the "Afterword" to the recently published edition, Deborah G. Plant explains succinctly: "Although the journal article and the book manuscript have a common subject in Kossola, they are two distinct works. And where the charge of plagiarism may be conceivable with the first, it is unfounded with the second… In her use of Roche's work, as with her use of other secondary materials, Hurston makes a good-faith effort in *Barracoon* to document her sources. She does *paraphrase* passages from *Historical Sketches*, and she place direct quotes within quotation marks, though in the manuscript draft she is inconsistent in this. And some sources are actually documented within the text of the introduction and others are footnoted within the body of the narrative." [Deborah G. Plant, "Afterword," in Zora Neale Hurston, *Barracoon: The Story of the Last 'Black Cargo*,' edited by Deborah G. Plant with a foreword by Alice Walker (New York, NY: Amistad, an imprint of HarperCollins, 2018), 192-3].
[58] Hage, "Hating Israel," 131.
[59] Trask, *Native Daughter*, 2.

Part III: The Archive

Historian Ross Dunn, who first conceived of donating his collection of Hart's letters to an archive, relayed in an interview with me during the summer of 2020 that he began keeping their correspondence from the very first letter, highlighting that those early exchanges contained valuable information which Dunn would later use to write his dissertation.[60] As Dunn began to catalogue his letters around 2016, which span the years from 1967 to 2001 and likely total upwards of 10,000 pages, he composed a list of Hart's potential correspondents, which included scholars from around the world (such as, Larry Rosen, George Joffé, John Waterbury, John Chiapuris, Vincent Crapanzano, Henry Munson, Jr., Youssef Hazmaoui, and Jacques Vignet Zunz). Although none of those who responded appear to have the same number of letters as Dunn, those who did have a sizeable collection (Edmund Burke III and Jacques Vignet Zunz) have also donated theirs to the National Archives in Rabat. The idea for creating a collection at the National Archives materialized after Dunn visited Aomar Boum's office at UCLA to ask for his help in finding a home for Hart's letters in Morocco "where they belong."[61] Not long after contacting Jamâa Baïda,[62] director of the National Archives, and taking care to digitize these letters into approximately 750 files (some containing multiple letters), Boum sent the boxes of original correspondence off to Morocco. Dunn's donation became official in April 2017, when he visited Baïda at the National Archives in Rabat.

Over the past several years, under the direction of Baïda, the National Archives have expanded their collections to include extensive material about the post-independence period in

[60] We spoke via Zoom in July 2020. We were both in Los Angeles, California.
[61] Aomar Boum remembered this moment and shared it with me through personal correspondence.
[62] For Arabic names throughout this piece, I defer to the spelling that I see the individual use for themselves.

Morocco as well as regions historically marginalized in the country (i.e., the Rif and oasis communities in the south). The National Archives' website describes three main categories of collections: public collections about the period of the French protectorate, private collections that have been entrusted to the national archives for safekeeping, and reports from the Center for Advanced Administrative Studies on Modern Africa and Asia[63] as well as the Historical Section on Morocco.[64] Perhaps the most notable recent addition to these collections was in 2017 when the archives of the Equity and Reconciliation Commission[65] were entrusted to the National Archives. Even scholars, like Susan Slyomovics, who have written extensively about human rights in Morocco and Algeria, have been asked to donate their papers to the archive.[66] Likewise, in addition to Hart's letters, the National Archives recently acquired the papers of General José Enrique Varela Iglesias (1891-1951), High Commissioner of Spanish Morocco, thus expanding their holdings that pertain to the Rif and other regions previously under Spanish colonial control. Furthermore, several collections about rural areas in central and southern Morocco have also been sent to the National Archives, such as Francis Gouin's[67] family archive which includes documents on the Center for Rural Instruction and Education[68] and material that Aomar Boum has collected from communities around Tata. Hart's letters, informative about a transitional period in Moroccan history, particularly in a region largely understudied (the Rif), certainly seem to correspond with the archive's current direction – expanding collections to include material from historically marginalized regions and moments in Moroccan history.

[63] Centre des Hautes Etudes Administratives sur l'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes.
[64] Section Historique du Maroc.
[65] Instance de Equité et Réconciliation. Susan Slyomovics describes this Commission as "quasi governmental." Its mandate spans over four decades, from Morocco's independence in 1956 until 1999. Over 22,000 claims of human rights violations were submitted between January 12th and February 13th, 2004. [Susan Slyomovics, "The Moroccan Equity and Reconciliation Commission: The Promises of a Human Rights Archive," *The Arab Studies Journal* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 14-15.]
[66] Confirmed via email in the summer of 2020.
[67] Born in 1936.
[68] Centre d'Instruction et d'Education Rurale.

Part IV: Methodology

When I arrived at UCLA two years ago to begin a doctoral program in anthropology, my advisor, Aomar Boum, recommended I write about this newly created archive, for several reasons, including, perhaps most prominently, my long-term interest in Spanish-colonized Morocco.[69] Hart's unprecedented reappraisal of Spanish military ethnography, which continues to represent some of the only work on the subject in English,[70] highlights the particularities of a colonial apparatus that still endures in North Africa. As such, I happily accepted the project.

Given that Hart's letters (with Dunn alone) total over 10,000 pages of documents, for the purposes of this thesis, I was only able to survey this collection. In an attempt to be as representative as possible, I analyzed letters from every decade of the archive (1960s, 70s, 80s, and 90s). I tried to read letters from both the beginning and end of the year, in hopes of catching a broader picture of important topics during that period.[71] Whenever there was a topic that seemed particularly relevant to the focus of this thesis, such as updates about field assistants, discussions of Ḥarāṭīn communities, or comments on books as well as conferences being organized in Hart's honor, I would concentrate on several subsequent letters rather than jump to another part of the year.

As mentioned above, the content of his letters is analyzed alongside published writing. Of course, it is impossible to cover the entire oeuvre of David Hart in a single research paper.[72] Thus,

[69] Specifically, my dissertation research focuses on the history of racialized enslavement in the region and how processes of race-making shaped Black and Jewish Moroccan relationships over time.
[70] With the notable exceptions of Susan Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008); Eric Calderwood, *Colonial Al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture.* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018); and Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, "Remembering the *tatas*: an oral history of the Tetouan elite about their female domestic slaves," *Middle Eastern Studies* 56, 3 (2020): 438-452.
[71] I am happy to share my notes with anyone interested.
[72] As noted above, since Hart published widely in English, French, and Spanish, it is difficult to calculate his exact number of publications. As far as my calculations go, which are based on extensive bibliographies of Hart's work that appeared in two books published in his honor, *Tribe and State: Essays in Honor of David Montgomery Hart* (Cambridgeshire 1991) and *Antropología y antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart* (Barcelona 2002), he published at least nine books and over thirty articles between 1954 and 2000.

to be as representative as possible, I have surveyed publications that span the almost five decades of Hart's career as well as the three languages in which he published.

Part V: Writing the Rif: From Coon to Hart and Beyond

In their introduction to *Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco: A Tribute to David M. Hart* (2002), Spanish anthropologist Ángeles Ramírez and historian Bernabé López García unequivocally attribute the revitalization of Spanish colonial ethnography to American anthropologist David Hart. They claim that "if there is someone that rescued ethnography of the colony, this person is Hart."[73] Likewise, more recently, in 2016, the Voice of Democratic Moroccans, an association based in the Netherlands, published a two-volume Arabic translation of Hart's most extensive contribution to Moroccan ethnography—his doctoral thesis, written over 40 years ago—*The Ait Waryagher of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History*. In the organization's introduction to the Arabic edition, representatives Farid Awlad Lahsan and Farid ben Qadur wrote from Alhuceima that "whoever reads this book profoundly will be like one who carries a candle in the middle of a storm or in the dark corridors of our contemporary history, and it will greatly elucidate important perspectives from the lives of our ancestors."[74]

Just by looking at the introductions to these two texts, one gets a glimpse of the complexities that Hart's legacy represents and the wide extension of his impact on Amazigh studies, in general, and ethnographic scholarship throughout the Rif, in particular. In the short

[73] Ángeles Ramírez and Bernabé López García, "Introducción [Introduction]," in *Antropología y Antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart*, eds. Ángeles Ramírez and Bernabé López García, (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 17.
[74] Farid Awlad Lahsan and Farid ben Qadur, *taqdīm jam'iyyat ṣawt al-dīmūqrāṭiyīn al-maghāriba b-hūlandā [Introduction of the Voice of Democratic Moroccans Association in the Netherlands],* in *'ayth waryāghar: qabīla men al-rīf al-maghrebī, dirāsa 'ithnūgrāfiya wa tārīkhiya, al-juz' al-'awal* [*The Ait Waryagher of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History, volume I*] by David M. Hart, translated by Mohammad Awniyya, 'Abdel-Majid Al-'Azuzi, and 'Abdel-Hamid Errayis (Netherlands: Stem van Marokkaans Democraten, 2016), VIII.

introduction to *Anthropology and Anthropologists*, Ramírez and López García note that although Hart was not part of what could be considered mainstream Euro-American anthropology of North Africa in the mid-twentieth century, his work is beneficial in many ways, including the fact that from him "[w]e recuperate … some ethnographic literature from the Spanish Protectorate, the 'good' and the less 'good,' but still everything is interesting."[75] It is thus unsurprising that contributors to the volume discussed precisely the issue of knowledge production in the colonial period. For example, Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste writes that the practice of ethnography in the Rif during the colonial period cannot be separated from wider political goals and that "this knowledge of the social structures in rural Morocco (the 'tribes') was conditioned by a clear objective of political control on the part of the *interventores* [Spanish colonial military ethnographers]."[76]

Reading through the corpus of Hart's personal correspondence between the years of 1967 and 2001, one can note changes in opinion that Hart began to consider in private, particularly through communication with Indigenous scholars, regarding any argument that reifies social classifications based on European ethnography. For example, in a letter dated May 23, 1968, Hart notes "Yusif[77] has assured me that in Berber there is <u>no</u> referential or descriptive term for a whole tribe – one simply says, Ait Hadiddu, Ait Mirghad, Ait 'Atta."[78] Here, Hart is referring to Youssef Hazmaoui, who worked as a research assistant and translator for many English-speaking scholars that passed through Morocco during the twentieth century, including Ernest Gellner and Vincent Crapanzano. Eventually, after several high-profile critiques of both Gellner and Hart's

[75] Ramírez and López García, "Introducción," 17.
[76] Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste "La paraetnografía militar colonial: poder y sistemas de clasificación social [Colonial, Military Para-ethnography: Power and Systems of Social Classification]" in *Antropología y Antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart [Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco: Homage to David M. Hart]*, eds. Ángeles Ramírez and Bernabé López García (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 113.
[77] I have maintained the spelling of names as they appear in the letters – sometimes Youssif's name is spelled with one 's', other times, two, and, at times, with or without "u." Hart's penmanship can be difficult to decipher, so I acknowledge that there may be an extra 's' at times that I could not read.
[78] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 23 May 1968, Private Collection.

adherence to segmentary theory from Abdellah Hammoudi[79] and Henry Munson, Jr.,[80] Hart would have a greater change of heart. Not only did he admit that his ethnographic data *did not* actually prove the existence of segmentary lineage theory,[81] but also, he eventually came to consider anthropology, with the influx of Marxist and interpretative frameworks from the 70s onward, an unsuitable home for ethnographic research like his own.[82]

Similarly, in the translators' introductions to Hart's thesis, a spectacle in its own right (nearly 1,000 pages, published on high-quality laminated paper to showcase the extensive photo collection) Mohammed Awniyya, 'Abdel-Majid Al-'Azuzi, and 'Abdel-Hamid Errayis, all university professors based in Morocco, are quick to caution for care when commending Hart's academic footprints. Specifically, they highlight how Hart benefitted from critiques of his work from historians like Germain Ayache, a leader in establishing the discipline of history in post-independence Morocco, who questioned Hart's (and other, mostly foreign, scholars') insistence on the existence of a firm divide between *bilād al-makhzan* and *bilād al-sība.*[83] Advocating for a more nuanced view of the dynamic between different regions of Morocco in pre-colonial times, they note that "we confront colonial historiography and the ethnographic thesis with a narrow, national perspective, however, discourse of 'the Other' must be put in dialogue with self-critique at the same time."[84]

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[79] See Abdellah Hammoudi "Segmentarity, Social Stratification, Political Power, and Sainthood: Reflections on Gellner's Theses." *Economy and Society* 9, 3 (1980): 279-303.

[80] See Henry Munson Jr., "On the Irrelevance of the Segmentary Lineage Model in the Moroccan Rif," *American Anthropologist* 91, no. 2 (1989): 386-400, "Segmentation: Reality or Myth?" *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 1, no. 4 (1995): 821-832, and "Rethinking Gellner's Segmentary Analysis of Morocco's Ait 'Atta," *Man* 28, no.2 (1993): 267-280.

[81] See David M. Hart, "Models in Morocco." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, no. 4 (1996): 721-22.

[82] Hart, "Luchas hereditarias,"166. Here, he says in no uncertain terms "….from our point of view, ethnography is or was the real heart of sociocultural anthropology and, now this heart has stopped beating. Anthropological theory is only a façade…in comparison to the ethnographic facts, particularly if it is proven that, which frequently seems to occur, that it [anthropological theory] does not function in the majority of cases." Sections from this chapter appeared in "Rejoinder to Henry Munson, Jr. 'On the Irrelevance of the Segmentary Lineage Model in the Moroccan Rif.'" *American Anthropologist* 91, no.3 (1989): 765-769, excerpted from a longer article of the same title, as the Spanish-language chapter that was meant to appear in *The Aith Waryaghar and Their Rifian Neighbors* (Menas Press), which appears to have never made it to final publication.

[83] Mohammad Awniyya, 'Abdel-Majid Al-'Azuzi, and 'Abdel-Hamid Errayis, *taqdīm al-mutarjimīn,* in *'ayth waryāghar: qabīla men al-rīf al-maghrebī, dirāsa 'ithnūgrāfiya wa tārīkhiya, al-juz' al-'awal* [*The Ait Waryagher of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History, volume I*] by David M. Hart, translated by Mohammad Awniyya, 'Abdel-Majid Al-'Azuzi, and 'Abdel-Hamid Errayis (Netherlands: Stem van Marokkaans Democraten, 2016), ix.

[84] Awniyya, Al-'Azuzi, and Errayis, *taqdīm al-mutarjimīn,* xii.

Figure 1 Front and back cover of the Arabic-language translation of Hart's seminal volume on the 'Ayth Waryāghar.[85]

In order to better understand the complexities of Hart's legacy, we must first trace his academic career. After completing a degree in modern languages[86] at Princeton University, he worked for a subsidiary of Aramco[87] in Saudi Arabia, an experience that comes up frequently in his letters,[88] especially as a point of comparison with Morocco.[89] Hart would begin his over ten-year residence in Morocco while completing his graduate studies in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, under the guidance of Dr. Carleton Coon, an anthropologist perhaps best known today for racial scientism[90] and funding his fieldwork by working as a spy for the U.S. government

[85] Both photos of this book were taken by me.
[86] I was able to confirm Hart's degree through an obituary on the Princeton University website (https://paw.princeton.edu/memorial/david-montgomery-hart-'48).
[87] Specifically, Tapline, in their Department of Local Governmental Relations.
[88] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 28 October 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, November 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 20 November 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 13 January 1976, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 31 October 1981, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 3 October 1985, Private Collection; and David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 27 September 1988, Private Collection.
[89] Hart "Conferencia inaugural," 77-109.
[90] Racial scientism is a term thrown out frequently but rarely defined. As I understand it, scientism refers to "the belief that the methods of natural science, or the categories and things recognized in natural science, form the only proper elements in any philosophical or other enquiry," as defined by *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* in Simon Blackburn, *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy,* 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1996] 2016), s.v. "scientism." Racial scientism, in my usage, means the application of natural science methods to the study of a category that I understand to be completely socially constructed – race. This appears to be the implicit meaning used in several academic articles on the subject of racial scientism and eugenics, such as, Marius Turda, "'A New Religion'? Eugenics and Racial Scientism in Pre-First World War Hungary," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7, no. 3 (2006): 303-325, and Attila Kund, "'Duties for Her Race and Nation': Scientistic Racist Views on Sexuality and Reproduction in 1920s Hungary," *Sexualities* 19, no. ½ (2016): 190-210.

during World War II.[91] Although there is no evidence that Hart was also employed as an informant, he did work closely with an *interventor* in the Spanish colonial forces, Captain José Rodríguez Erola. Certainly, anthropologists conducting research alongside the military has been a common phenomenon since the discipline's beginning.[92] Additionally, during World War II and immediately after, linguists and other social scientists were frequently embedded with the military.[93]

In *A North Africa Story: The Anthropologist as OSS Agent 1941-1943*, Coon details his covert actions throughout North Africa, which as remembered in his Legion of Merit award, included "smuggl[ing] firearms and explosives to French resistance groups" as well as "w[inning] the native population to the Allied cause."[94] Hart states, in a speech prepared towards the end of his life, that, with the access Captain Erola was able to provide, Hart was able to "fill in" voids within his "ethnographic data."[95] Hart chose the Rif as his field site in March of 1953 after spending two months at the Spanish Protectorate's library in Tetouan, with permission from Tomás García Figueras, then delegate from the Department of Indigenous Affairs.[96] Coon had also advised Hart to pick Spanish-colonized Morocco as he believed that he would have a hard time getting authorization for his work from the French colonial government.[97] After months of scouting the region, Hart received official authorization from the Spanish colonial government to conduct

[91] For more details about his experience as a spy see Carleton Coon, *A North Africa Story: The Anthropologist as OSS Agent 1941-1943* (Ipswich: Gambit Press, 1980).
[92] Susan Slyomovics, "'The Ethnologist-Spy Was Hanged, at That Time We Were a Little Savage': Anthropology in Algeria with Habib Tengour." *b2o* 3, 4 (December 2018): 6 (of downloaded PDF); Lorcin also speaks to the imbrication of military activity and social sciences in Algeria from the beginning of colonization: "Military personnel acted as scouts and gatherers of material, which then found its way into the hands of scholars in France for use for their own ends, or they research and produced works of their own…. The relationship between military men and scholars and academics in France was, therefore, often a close one. The anthropologist Quatre-fages, one of many academics to do so, testified to this effect in 1867… 'The scholar,' he wrote, 'walked alongside thee soldier, and the alliance had been fruitful…'" (Lorcin, *Imperial Identities,* 118).
[93] See Linda Tamura, *Nisei Soldiers Break Their Silence: Coming Home to Hood River* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012); and Mark Solovey and Hamilton Cravens, eds., *Cold War Social Science: Knowledge Production, Liberal Democracy, and Human Nature* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).
[94] Coon, *A North Africa*, 137-8.
[95] Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 96.
[96] Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 85.
[97] Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 85.

fieldwork.[98] Captain Erola, who Hart met while he was working as an *interventor* in another village, then invited Hart to join him at his new posting among the Ayth 'Ammarth tribe to the southwest of the Ayth Waryāghar.[99] It is interesting to consider the type of influence Captain Erola played not only in Hart's securing a young informant, 22 years-old, with extensive family obligations,[100] but also in the participation of others within Hart's study. Since Hart's published writing did not detail a lot about these relationships, his letters serve as an important counterpoint. Lastly, his collaboration with Erola even extended into publishing an article together on "Rifian morals" (although they had intended to write an entire book, too).[101]

Obviously, the degree of collaboration with military systems and authorities varied and varies on an individual basis. Slyomovics highlights, for example, that Pierre Bourdieu used his (previous) experience in the French military to raise awareness about the atrocities that resulted from the "largest colonial resettlement programs [that] occurred in wartime Algeria (1954-62)."[102] Reprisals for Bourdieu's writing began immediately as the book he coauthored with Abdelmalek Sayad on the subject (*The Uprooting*) was banned until after the Algerian War of Independence.[103] Even years later, when Mohammed Seddik Benyahia, then Minister of Higher Education and Research (1971-77), launched his campaign for "decolonizing the social sciences," simultaneous to a "rise of critical reissues of colonial-era ethnography," Bourdieu was "cast…as a key figure."[104]

The degree to which Hart (and Coon's) research collaboration with military officials (or systems) matched anti-colonial or anti-racist agendas in the region is less clear. Certainly, neither had their books banned, but that is not the only way to measure significance for contemporary

[98] Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 88.
[99] Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 88.
[100] Hart reports that Uzzugwagh's father, who had been *qā'id* both before, under 'Abd al-Krim, and during the Spanish Protectorate period, had died and Uzzugwagh already had three wives and at least a few children when they first met. Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 96.
[101] Hart, David and José Rodriguez Erola, "Rifian Morals," in *Encyclopedia of Morals*, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), 481-490.
[102] Slyomovics, "The Ethnologist-Spy," 5.
[103] *Le déracinement.*
[104] Slyomovics, "The Ethnologist-Spy," 6-7.

political movements. For Coon, Slyomovics notes that he explicitly disavowed Moroccan nationalists decades after independence when writing his 1980 memoir: "I came to the conclusion that the Nationalists, however, honorable they might be and however worthy their ambitions and ideals, were not men of action… Therefore we concentrated on our friends in the North and left the dreamers alone."[105]

Similarly, towards the end of his life, Hart began to speak more candidly about his political positions. In his infamously titled article "Scratch a Moroccan, Find a Berber," published in *The Journal of North African Studies* in 1999, Hart wrapped into his argument about North Africa's racial makeup (being more "Berber" than "Arab") support for the burgeoning Amazigh cultural movement:

> Although Arabs and Berbers have lived in juxtaposition in the Maghrib for well over a millennium, it is quite apparent that the Berber element is very much more than just a residue. It is, indeed, the base of the whole North African edifice, and it is still very strongly so today, so much so that one can say: scratch a Moroccan, find a Berber.
> In my view there is nothing political, or nothing avowedly political, about the Berber linguistic and cultural movement, for it is also eminently peaceful in its intentions. Most recently, too, its stance has also become anti-fundamentalist, given the unprecedented rise of Islamism in Algeria and the current state of civil war between it and the government. What the movement wants and what in my opinion it should be accorded is official recognition in both countries, Algeria and Morocco, by virtue of being written into their respective constitutions. These would appear to be fully legitimate aspirations, and one can only hope that they will soon be realised.[106]

In contrast to what is written here, Hart's letters demonstrate that, at least in certain instances, Hart's support for Amazigh rights extended into the more explicitly 'political' territory of sovereignty, noting to Edmund Burke III on November 23, 1995, "I am finally joining the ranks of the Berber regionalists, if not nationalists."[107] What I find interesting about both Coon and Hart is that their "friends in the North" also appear to be the communities each writer sees as relatable.

[105] Carleton Coon, *Adventures and Discoveries: The Autobiography of Carleton S. Coon* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981), **quoted in** Susan Slyomovics, "State of the State," 8.
[106] David Hart, "Scratch a Moroccan, Find a Berber," *The Journal of North African Studies* 4, no. 2 (1999): 26.
[107] David M. Hart to Edmund Burke, III, 23 November 1995, Private Collection.

Both cultivated close relationships with research informants and scholars from (white) Amazigh communities and described these groups as physically and socio-politically similar to the Euro-American societies, as will discussed at length below.

Of course, a certain amount of collaboration with military officials was necessary for any scholar to conduct research in North Africa during the colonial period and, at least, first few decades after independence, given that research permissions were a requirement before even entering the field. However, arguments as to how "benign" or unavoidable these imbrications were, are complicated when special attention is paid to the consequences (and benefits) that Indigenous research collaborators experienced as a result of their work with Euro-American anthropologists. Furthermore, when one considers the racialized theoretical underpinnings in Hart's writing, both private and public, as will be discussed further below, the question of *who* such research serves becomes perhaps slightly less obvious.

Just by surveying his book titles - *The Races of Europe* (1939), *The Origin of Races* (1962), and *Racial Adaptations* (1982) - Coon's belief in race as a biological reality and not a social construct is clear, which is certainly not uncommon considering his focus on physical anthropology throughout his career. Most anthropologists, until rather recently, were trained in physical anthropology,[108] the ideological foundations of which, as Michael L. Blakey notes, were firmly entrenched in notions of racial superiority, finding "biological justifications for social inequality."[109] Even before the institutionalization of physical anthropology, pre-professional practitioners "helped justify slavery and racial inequality by using cranial comparisons that were biased in favor of Euro-American cranial capacity and intelligence."[110] With the advent of

[108] For those who may be more familiar with French fields of research, physical anthropology in the U.S. (and U.K.) sense if frequently considered 'anthropologie' in the French school, whereas, according to Slyomovics, "empirical fieldwork research in the human sciences was 'ethnologie' in France, its analogue in England 'social anthropology' and 'cultural anthropology' in the US" (Slyomovics, "Ethnologist-Spy," 7).
[109] Michael L Blakey., "Skull Doctors: Intrinsic Social and Political Bias in the History of American Physical Anthropology," *Critique of Anthropology* 7, no. 2 (1987): 9.
[110] Blakey, "Skull Doctors," 9.

professional practitioners in the early twentieth century, physical anthropology would reinforce the now debunked notion that social inequalities were biologically determined, considered a result of differing levels of evolution among races.[111] Furthermore, some scholars like Aleš Hrdlička, explicitly merged physical anthropology with eugenics, noting that the latter was only the former applied to daily life.[112] Blakey also finds, perhaps unsurprisingly, that evolutionary geneticists and physical anthropologists were protected institutionally in the U.S., receiving funding and positions on important boards, like the National Research Council, while opponents, namely cultural anthropologists considered to be part of the Boasian school were left without access to financial support from the industrial elite.[113]

Coon's academic focus on race interlaced with his personal convictions, namely, his *close working relationship* with eugenicist organizations and segregationists in the U.S. Through a close reading of Coon's private papers and correspondence, John P. Jackson, Jr. reveals "voluminous correspondence" with, above all, "businessman-turned-segregationist-pamphleteer Carleton Putnam," who also happened to be Coon's cousin.[114] Putnam wrote extensively, both in national news media outlets as well as through national letter writing campaigns, advocating for segregation using racial scientism, including the work of Coon, to justify his racism, while lamenting the rise of sociocultural anthropology, which largely disavowed racial scientism. Putnam's language, lamenting so-called "equalitarianism," for example, was likely a product of his relationship to the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE), an organization created by several scholars, including close colleagues of Coon, who not only practiced racial scientism, but actively advocated for eugenicist policies.[115] In fact, Coon was

[111] Blakey, "Skull Doctors," 10.
[112] Aleš Hrdlička, "Lecture Number 27" (Lecture, American University, May 27, 1921), 16 and "'Physical Anthropology: Its Scope and Aims; Its History and Present Status in America'," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 1, **quoted in** Blakey, "Skull Doctors," 13.
[113] Blakey, "Skull Doctors," 23-4.
[114] Jackson Jr., "'In Ways Unacademical,'" 250.
[115] Jackson Jr., "'In Ways Unacademical,'" 253.

invited to join officially twice, and only declined due to fear of retribution, not, importantly, because he fundamentally disagreed with the racist, sexist, and ableist presumptions of eugenics: "…very glad to get your monographs and also your magazine… to accept membership on your board would be the kiss of death, here in the so-called land of the free…"[116]

Certainly, Hart was not, nor never claimed to be, a physical anthropologist. In an interview with Riffian author Rachid Raha (also a close colleague of Hart's) and the Spanish anthropologist José Antonio González Alcantud, Raha asked Hart directly, "why did you change from physical anthropology to social?"[117] Hart corrects Raha and says he never was 'in' physical anthropology: "I was studying only in the sociocultural sense with Coon, not in the proper sense of physical anthropology."[118] Nevertheless, González Alcantud does not drop the subject, bringing up that "in Berberology [berberología]… physical anthropology plays an important role, in that, it [Berberology] has always wanted to establish physical links between certain European populations, like the Basques, and the Berber world."[119] González Alcantud then asks Hart to comment on the importance of physical anthropology's legacy in a contemporary context. Hart's response reveals that, at the time of the interview in May 1994, he continued to hold some beliefs borne from physical anthropology in its division of the world into biological races: "That the Riffians are the ones that have the highest percentage in all of Morocco of possessing blond hair… and light eyes. These characteristics exist throughout Morocco, but are concentrated in the Rif, and, to a secondary extent, in the Kabyle region of Algeria."[120]

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[116] Coon to Robert Gayre, 6 November 1962, Box 11, Folder "A–G, 1962," and Gayre to Coon, 13 January 1960, Box 9, Folder "E–K, 1960," and Gayre to Coon 29 October 1962, Box 11, Folder "A–G, 1962," Coon Papers, **quoted in** Jackson Jr., "'In Ways Unacademical,'" 254.
[117] José Antonio González Alcantud, "Saber antropológico y resistencias culturales: David Montgomery Hart [Anthropological knowledge and cultural resistance: David Montgomery Hart]" in *Las palabras y las culturas: catorce diálogos humanísticos en clave antropológica* [*Words and cultures: fourteen humanistic dialogues in anthropological code*], ed. by José Antonio González Alcantud, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 94. I highly recommend this volume for anyone interested in Spanish and Moroccan anthropology. It includes an interview with Abdellah Hammoudi as well.
[118] González Alcantud, "Saber antropológico," 94.
[119] González Alcantud, "Saber antropológico," 94.
[120] González Alcantud, "Saber antropológico," 94.

Crucially, Hart never publicly disavowed Coon's beliefs, to my understanding, and continued use of his supervisor's theoretical and ethnographic data without acknowledging racialized assumptions therein throughout his career. In fact, the two maintained a close relationship until Coon's death, as can also be elucidated from Hart's letters.[121] For example, on September 10th, 1973, Hart acknowledges the validity of Coon's argument as to the 'impurity' of Ḥarāṭīn communities, relying on the assumption that the *socially* constructed category of race can be proven by measuring physical markers, similar to his answer for González Alcantud, cited above: "Coon thinks they are the result of mixture between a very old strain and very recent one: proto-Bushman going back probably to the Paleolithic and modern negros… I think we all agree… that the Haratin are by no means pure blacks."[122]

In Hart's published writing, Coon was present in multiple ways. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, given Coon's position as Hart's advisor, he wrote the foreword to *The Ait Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History* (1976), and is thanked in the acknowledgments section of Hart's other ethnography*, Dadda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons: the Socio-Political Organization of the Ait Atta of Southern Morocco* (1981).[123] In the short, one-page foreword, Coon does not comment greatly on either his or Hart's theoretical framework and, instead, situates Hart's book as a much more comprehensive "do over" of Coon's own research, noting that Hart's interest in the Rif began with his reading Coon's work as well as the books of Vincent Sheean.[124]

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[121] See the following letters for discussions both of Coon's work and Hart's continued relationship to Coon and his extended family, including Coon's son who worked for the U.S. Embassy in Rabat. David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 30 November and 1 December 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 19 January 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 24 March 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 7 May 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 25 September 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 January 1971, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 January 1976, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 25 September 1981, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 November 1981, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 26 September 1985, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 November 1990, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 21 May 1995, Private Collection; and David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 12 December 2000, Private Collection.

[122] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 10 September 1973, Private Collection.

[123] Carleton Coon, "Foreword," in *The Ait Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History*, by David Hart with a foreword by Carleton Coon (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1976), xiii and David Hart, *Dadda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons: the Socio-Political Organization of the Ait Atta of Southern Morocco*, (Cambridge: Middle East and North African Studies Press, Ltd., 1981), vii.

[124] Coon, "Foreword," xiii. Specifically, Coon cites Sheean's *Personal History* (1935) and *An American among the Riffi* (1926). Vincent Sheean (1899-1975) was an American author and journalist.

Since, as established, Hart did not do much physical anthropology himself, references to Coon's work sometimes take the shape of orienting the reader regarding the racial-evolutionist profile of the subjects under study. Take for example the following comments that open Hart's section "Problems of Berber Origins" in *The Ait Waryaghar*: "At least one part of the substance of the findings of Carleton S. Coon on Berber origins is that the blue eyes and the occasional freckles, red hair, square jaws and long 'Irish' upper lips of many Central Rifians cannot at all be explained by the arrival of peoples as late in time as the Vandals."[125] He then goes on to quote "*in extenso*" Coon's perspectives on North Africa's ecological environment starting around 10,000 BCE, in which Coon states unconditionally that Amazigh communities are related to (white) Europeans: "At that time [about 10,000 BCE], a new kind of man appeared in North Africa. He was of European type (Caucasoid) and one of the ancestors, perhaps the principal one, of the Berbers."[126] This "type" was differentiated from the "Mediterranean" (read "Arab") and "Hamitic" (read "Black") using phrenologically inspired data: "These skeletons show a tall, bony, muscular people with large braincases, heavy browridges, flat faces and prominent chins. Their type can be seen in Berbers living today."[127] Certainly, Hart does not dwell much more on the physical characteristics of the Berbers with whom he met, only to note greater variability in "blondism" than Coon, however, ultimately agreeing that "with their long heads but wide faces (what Coon calls 'cranial disharmony'), freckles, and long upper lips, many Rifians do undeniably look 'Irish': and like the Irish, Rifians are extremely pragmatic, argumentative and quarrelsome."[128]

There are also examples of Hart adopting Coon's frameworks for Riffian political systems, not just their supposed racial makeup. For example, Hart begins the section "Custom, Law and the

[125] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 342.
[126] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 342.
[127] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 342.
[128] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 343.

System of Superimposed Representative Councils" affirming that his advisor's sketch of the region's political system remains valid: "In accordance with the model established by Coon for the political system of the tribes of the Central Rif in general, the…. representative council was, during the *Republik,* the body politic, a three-tiered institution existing at once at the level of the local community….; at that of the clan or 'fifth,'….; and finally at that of the tribe as a whole."[129] Similarly, many years later, Hart would also reaffirm that Coon's work on Riffian genealogies remained "sound."[130] In particular, Hart highlights the following: "Each [Riffian] tribe was composite, with a greater or lesser number of elements of 'stranger' accretion, but each also had a well-defined local and autochthonous core."[131] Both Hart and Coon appear to agree that Riffian tribes "are unquestionably among the oldest in the country."[132] Lastly, later in life, after becoming disillusioned with anthropology, Hart references Coon directly when arguing that good ethnography could only be conducted among static communities: "…for an investigator to produce a half-decent ethnography a certain stillness is necessary within the society under study, that is, [it needs] to be studied while it is temporarily 'at rest.'"[133] What seems clear throughout Hart's references to Coon's work in published writing is a shared vision of Riffian (and perhaps broader Amazigh) communities as racially, socio-politically, and genealogically uniform.

Importantly, there exists a long genealogy of Euro-American interest in Amazigh communities premised upon perceived social, political, and racial affinities with groups considered

[129] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 283.
[130] David Hart, "Origin myths, autochthonous and 'stranger' elements in lineage and community formation, and the question of onomastic recurrences in the Moroccan Rif," *The Journal of North African Studies* 4, no. 2 (1999): 132.
[131] Hart, "Origin myth," 132.
[132] Hart, "Origin myth," 132.
[133] Hart, "¿Luchas hereditarias…," 165-66. The original passage in Coon's *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* is as follows: "We cannot learn it [Middle Eastern civilization] very well, or very quickly, if we concentrate on the complexities of Rashid Street in Baghdad, or the Gezireh section of Cairo, or the Place de l'Horloge in Casablanca. We must get off the paved street with its honking automobiles and movie theaters and head for the depths of the bazaar, and even better, wander into a rural village away from the road, a tenting ground of shepherds in the high meadows, or a Bedawin camp. But even these have been affected to some extent. We must do more, we must go backward in time. A culture in transition is hard to describe and harder to understand; we must find some period of history when the culture was, relatively speaking, at rest. Then when we know the background we can bring in the automobiles and the movies and the parliaments and the radio broadcasts; and the presence of these bits of plastic and broken glass in our mosaic will no longer obscure the plan of the picture" in Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), 7-8.

white. For practitioners of racial scientism like Coon and his advisor, Earnest Hooten, research on these communities was predicated on a desire to explain theories of racial evolution based on the assumption that race is a biological concept instead of being socially constructed. In the preface to *A North African Story*, Riffians are described as a "scientific" problem for a largely Euro-American audience that racialized the entire African continent as Black: "…in the early twenties… he [Coon] became intrigued, as did Professor Hooten, by reports of supposedly Nordic African tribes... Coon determined that he would solve the scientific problem of the Riffians."[134] In fact, his trend of racializing Amazigh communities as white predates both Coon and Hooten. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Americans began to input a color logic, evocative of the U.S.'s own racially stratified settler society, within North African contexts. Rouighi notes that William Shaler, then American Consul General in Algiers, would claim Berbers as 'white' in his book *Sketches of Algiers* (1826): "…Berbers… are a white race of men,"[135] to which Rouighi adds, "Shaler meant that the Berbers were not Negroes."[136] According to Rouighi, "Khaldunization of the terms of knowledge on the Maghrib" spread this racializing narrative.[137] Essentially, Khaldunization is the process by which Ibn Khaldūn's writing became the sole authoritative texts for the study of medieval North Africa.[138] This began with nineteenth-century translations (first by French orientalists), which domesticated[139] Khaldūn's writing by reducing the complexity of genealogical

[134] Carleton Coon, *A North Africa Story: The Anthropologist as OSS Agent 1941-43* (Ipswich: Gambit, 1980), xi.
[135] Ramzi Rouighi, "Race on the mind: When Europeans colonized North Africa, they imposed their preoccupation with race onto its diverse people and deep past," *Aeon Magazine*, September 18, 2019.
[136] Rouighi, "Race on the mind."
[137] Rouighi, *Inventing,* 135.
[138] Rouighi, *Inventing,* 10-11.
[139] I am using Lawrence Venuti's definition of 'domestication' in translation: "The aim of translation is ot bring back a cultural other as thee same, the recognizable, even the familiar; and this aim always risks a wholesale domestication of the foreign text, often in highly self-conscious projects, where translation serves an imperialist appropriation of foreign cultures for domestic agendas, cultural, economic, political." In Lawrence Venutti, "Translation as cultural politics: Regimes of domestication in English," *Textual Practice* 7, 2 (1993), 209.

terminology used[140] to 'race' and adding translator notes that inserted race where it had not previously existed.[141]

Formal anthropological research in North Africa would reinforce this racialization, upholding the notion that Amazigh, Black, and Arab communities constituted separate races, as Lorcin has also noted. In particular, she traced this racializing process not only through attempts at cataloguing physical distinctions, using phrenology among other methodologies, but also in evaluations of Berber culture through an evolutionary lens. Repeatedly, Berbers were attributed with an "industrious" or "honorable" character which supposedly made them "predisposed" to French civilization in comparison to their Arab (and Black) neighbors.[142] Likewise, scholars (military and otherwise) "were quick to see rudimentary republican democracy" in what were considered uniquely Berber leadership structures.[143] As will be discussed more in detail below, similar patterns - strictly separating Amazigh from Black communities using physical characteristics and positively valorizing sociopolitical organizations considered uniquely Amazigh for their alleged egalitarianism – can be observed in Hart's research.

Instead of focusing on collecting 'physical' data, Hart was more concerned with formulating generalized sociopolitical theories on tribal and state structures across Muslim-

[140] Such as, *ṭabaqa*, *umma*, *jīl*, and *jins.*

[141] For example, arguing that "*ghulām*" refers to "young *white* slave", emphasis mine, Rouighi, *Inventing*, 146-8. Interestingly, Hart himself also noticed the anachronistic translation of one French orientalist, de Slane, who published the first partial translation of *Kitāb al-'ibar* in French (1856), which Hart criticized for his "triangular and pretty arbitrary classification… of all the Berbers in Africa in the 'races' of the Masmuda, Sinhaja and Zanata" in David Hart "Ibn Jaldún y Evans Pritchard: La solidaridad agnática y la segmentariedad en la teoría y la práctica de la antropología sociocultural del mundo islámico [Ibn Khaldūn and Evans Pritchard: Agnatic solidarity and segmentarity in theory and pracitce of sociocultural anthropology in the Islamic world]," in *La Sociedad bereber del Rif marroquí: sobre la teoría de la segmentariedad en el Magreb* [*Berber Society in the Moroccan Rif: On Segmentary Theory in Morocco*], eds. by David M. Hart and Rachid Raha (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1999), 13. Although here, Hart appears to take issue not with the use of the word 'race,' but instead the idea that Berbers were not *one* race.

[142] Lorcin, *Imperial Identities,* 124. By way of example, Dr. Eugène Bodichon argued that "Kabyles had an honour, honesty and integrity unknown among African nations" (Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 122). Regarding physical characteristics, Dr. Gillebert d'Hercourt in his *Etudes anthropologiques sur soixante-seize indegènes de l'Algérie* (1865) argued that "both Kabyles and Arabs were generally dolichocephalic, but… that tribal Arabs were much closer to the blacks than were the Kabyles" (Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 156). Similarly, Lorcin points out that the blondness of certain Berber communities occupied the pages of several different research initiatives (Lorcin, *Imperial Identities,* 133 and 155).

[143] Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 134. For example, speaking about the work of General L. J. Adolphe C. C. Hanoteau, Lorcin notes: "Hanoteau dwelt at length on the Kabyle village, on Kabyle democracy and on Kabyle law (to which he devoted over 400 pages)" and for him, "[t]he political and administrative organization of the Kabyle people was among the most democratic and straightforward imaginable…" (Lorcin, *Imperial Identities,* 139). Similarly, Camille Sabatier, who Lorcin describes as a "colonial administrator who took anthropology seriously," would also argue that "[t]he qualities of freedom, equality, an elevated morality and anticlericalism were embodied in their institutions and were thus inherently Kabyle" (Lorcin, *Imperial Identities*, 160).

majority regions of the world, including, constructing evidence to support segmentary lineage theory. When two critiques of Hart's work were published, that of Henry Munson, Jr. and Abdellah Hammoudi, the former received much more attention from Hart,[144] while the latter, who explicitly critiqued both Gellner and Hart's characterization of the Ayth 'Atta as egalitarian given the exclusion of Ḥarāṭīn communities from any of the tribe's supposedly democratic institutions,[145] received less public attention[146] (although Hart expressed interest in Ayth 'Atta-Ḥarāṭīn dynamics in his letters).[147]

As recent tributes to Hart demonstrate, his legacy in the field is not singular. Ambassador and Professor Akbar Ahmed, who worked closely with Hart in his later years while he was conducting research in Pakistan, noted that Hart's interest in Muslim communities stemmed in part from a feeling of personal connection:

> Perhaps nothing sums David up for me more that his response when he visited me in Granada in 1991, in the midst of the two-day festival being celebrated by the Spanish in celebration of the anniversary of the fall of Grenada. After the first day, he said, "I only attend the first day of the two-day annual festival, when Muslims and Christians are shown battling each other; my side, the Muslims, win on the first day and I leave after that because the next day they will lose.[148]

Many of the Riffian scholars that have engaged with Hart's work (as well as him personally), such as Rachid Raha and the publishers of the Arabic-language translation of his thesis, echoed similar sentiments—seeing Hart as an advocate for Muslim and Amazigh communities, as will be discussed further below. These perspectives of Hart's living legacy are important to highlight

[144] See footnote 53, which details the book chapter Hart published in response.
[145] Abdellah Hammoudi, "Segmentarity, social stratification, political power and sainthood: Reflections on Gellner's theses," *Economy and Society* 9, 3 (1980): 286-7.
[146] Although Hart does not explicitly address Hammoudi's critique, he lends eight pages in a postscript to his book on the Ait 'Atta to discuss Ḥarāṭīn as well as other socially stratified groups like Jews and what he terms "hrar" or "freedmen." See David M. Hart, "The Ait 'Atta and their Socio-Economic Environment – A Postscript," in *Dadda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons: the Socio-Political Organisation of the Ait 'Atta of Southern Morocco,* by David M. Hart, pg. 211-217 (Cambridge: Middle East and North African Studies Press, Ltd., 1981).
[147] See David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 February 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 4 May 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 23 May 1968, Private Collection.
[148] Patrick Burnett, assistant to Ambassador Akbar Ahmed, email to Aomar Boum, October 30, 2016. Hart echoed similar sentiments in Hart, "Conferencia Inaugural," 83-4.

alongside the racialized logics inscribed into Hart's research, which contextualize his place within a longer genealogy of Euro-American anthropology in the region.

Working within an International Network

Not holding an academic position at any institutions may have facilitated Hart's extensive publication in journals and through publishing houses based on both sides of the Atlantic. From Hart's publications[149] and letters,[150] it is clear that despite not completing his Ph.D., Hart was able to obtain funding from academic institutions, such as the Wenner Gren Foundation, Ford Foundation, American Museum of Natural History in New York, and the Social Science Research Council. No matter what the exact amount of financial support was that Hart received, it seems money was not a great obstacle from his letters. Even though Hart, at times, complains of being low on funds,[151] he also mentions his wife, Ursula Kingsmill Hart having property in Morocco (through her family)[152] and both were able to live (including travel) while employing a woman for domestic labor, Hashuma,[153] without any appearance of formal employment except for owning, at one point, an establishment he refers to as a "bar and 'Salon Marocain.'"[154] Ross Dunn noted in our interview that Hart was probably a trust fund kid, although Dunn cautioned that Hart did not seem to come from a family with stupendous wealth. From her international

[149] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, xv; Hart, *Dadda 'Atta*, vii; and Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 94.
[150] See David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 3 October 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 3 August 1973, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 8 February 1976, Private Collection; and David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 10 February 1976, Private Collection.
[151] See David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 19 October 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 17 January 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 8 May 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 10 September 1970, Private Collection; and David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 25 September 1981, Private Collection.
[152] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 June 1967, Private Collection.
[153] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 4 August 1968, private collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 22 April 1970, private collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 19 November 1970, private collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 September 1971, private collection.
[154] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 23 May 1968, private collection.

upbringing, born to British parents in India, raised between France and Tangier, Ursula appears to have also come from, at least, a well-off family.[155]

Hart's subject of choice—describing, cataloguing, and defining Amazigh social structure—reflects his taking up the mantle, so to speak, inherited from his advisor, Coon. However, in contrast to Coon, characterized by writing polemics on North African groups for an American (at times, non-academic) audience,[156] Hart published more extensively for an international (largely, academic) readership.[157] Specifically, Hart used his advanced proficiency in Spanish and French to write for Moroccan, Spanish, and French publications, which may also have been facilitated by his being based in Spain for most of his life after leaving his graduate studies. Vicente Moga Romero in his contribution to *Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco: Homage to David M. Hart,* includes a detailed bibliography of Hart's publications in European and Moroccan presses, citing specifically *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerrannée* (Aix-en-Provence), *Awraq: Estudios sobre el mundo Árabe e Islámico Contemporáneo* (Madrid)*, Aldaba* (Melilia), and *Dossier Amazigh* (Granada).[158] Perhaps a reflection of his status as an independent researcher, Hart also published extensively in the United Kingdom-based publication - *The Journal of North African Studies* (JNAS).

Further indicative of Hart's reputation internationally, Bernabé Lopéz García, one of the editors of the above-mentioned volume, *Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco,* confirmed that the idea for organizing a colloquium in Tangier and publishing, subsequently, a

[155] The only reputable source I found for biographic information on Ursula was the following article by Encarna Cabello, "Ursula Hart y el Rif de las mujeres [Ursula Hart and the Women's Rif]" in *Antropología y Antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart [Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco: Homage to David M. Hart]*, eds. Ángeles Ramírez and Bernabé López García (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 73-76.
[156] For example, Coon's *The Riffian* (1933) and *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (1951). See also, Coon's advisor, Earnest Hooten's *Up from the Ape* (1931) and *Apes, Men, and Morons* (1937).
[157] My calculations are that Hart has 9 books and over 30 articles to his name, in French, English, and Spanish, not counting the recent Arabic translation of his book.
[158] Vicente Moga Romero, "La Obra de David Hart en España [The work of David Hart in Spain]" in *Antropología y Antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart [Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco: Homage to David M. Hart]*, eds. Ángeles Ramírez and Bernabé López García (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 55-7.

book dedicated to Hart began with French scholar Rémy Leveau.[159] Although Lopéz García did not personally engage with Hart's work as a historian, Leveau attested to Hart's significance for the field.[160] Later, with the help of Dale Eickelman, contributors to the colloquium and edited volume were selected. Lopéz García confirmed that "it seemed necessary for us to include in the homage, Moroccan investigators from new generations that have contributed work to the discipline," noting, in particular, the chapters by Mokhtar El Harras and Mohamed Tozy.[161]

Emblematic of his continued relevance in the Western Mediterranean today, Rachid Raha, founder of several international organizations focused on Amazigh studies,[162] journalist for *Amadal Amazigh*, and (co-)editor with Hart on one of the last volumes he published,[163] recently established the Mediterranean Foundation "David M. Hart" for Amazigh and Moroccan Studies. In partnership with BMCE Bank, the Foundation recently opened a brand-new library, named "Terra," in Ayth En-nṣār,[164] on the border between the city of Nador and Melilia, filled with books from Hart's personal library. [165] As further proof of the Moroccan governmental support for this project, several prominent national representatives were in attendance at the library's inauguration in early 2019. The Minister of Culture and Communication, Mohamed Laâraj, stated that the library is part of "efforts… in partnership with the private sector to promote the cultural sector, create cultural centers, and encourage a program of cultural development founded upon the idea of proximity."[166] The Foundation has its own archive as well, which includes Hart's extensive photography collection.[167] Raha met Hart while organizing a conference on the Rif that

[159] Personal communication (in Spanish) by e-mail with Professor Bernabé Lopéz García in August 2020.
[160] Lopéz García is a historian.
[161] Personal communication (in Spanish) by e-mail with Professor Bernabé Lopéz García in August 2020.
[162] Including Congrès Mondial Amazigh (Saint Rome de Dolan, France), the Asociación de Cultura Tamazight (Granada, Spain), and Colectivo de Documentación y Estudios Amazighs (University of Granada, Spain).
[163] *La Sociedad bereber del Rif marroquí: sobre la teoría de la segmentariedad en el Magreb* [*Berber Society in the Moroccan Rif: On Segmentary Theory in Morocco*], eds. by David M. Hart and Rachid Raha (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1999).
[164] Also referred to as Beni En-nṣār.
[165] http://amadalamazigh.press.ma/fr/?p=2113.
[166] http://amadalamazigh.press.ma/fr/?p=2113.
[167] Confirmed in an interview with Raha in the summer of 2019 in Rabat.

was held in Melilla in the early 1990s and their professional relationship continued as Raha began to establish associations on Amazigh culture in Spain and France.[168] Eventually, to show appreciation for Hart's work on the Rif, Raha organized an homage in Nador, which attracted some 700 attendees.[169] Similarly, the idea for the aforementioned foundation in Hart's name was a product of discussions on how best not only to pay homage, but also to disseminate Hart's works.

The Dutch-Moroccan[170] group responsible for publishing David Hart's thesis in Arabic translation, Voice of Democratic Moroccans in the Netherlands, is also heavily engaged in supporting research on the Rif. In the publisher's note introducing the translation, Farid Awlad Lahsan and Farid Ben Qadour conclude by affirming their commitment to using their platform to amplify Riffian perspectives in spite of forces that seek to oppress and silence:

> …we were, in the association and since the very first moment, indeed determined, with full responsibility and resolve, to produce this formidable work by Professor Hart in Arabic… for our goal…was and still is to defend researchers of the Rif, to motivate them to produce more studies on the region, and to work, with all seriousness and sense of responsibility, in the interest of preserving the collective memory of the Rif and to save it from loss, eradication, and distortion. We will not be satisfied in any possible case with being like bamboo shoots that grow each time from new roots, without a sense of belonging, without a past, without memory. Furthermore, even if we are all branches scattered in widely dispersed countries due to the systematic politics of relocation, we have our roots in the Rif, to be found in the deepest depths of this holy land.[171]

This is not the only instance in the introduction that the association's representatives analogize engagement with Hart's work as a form of resistance to contemporary oppressive forces, which include, what they allude to as attempts to erase collective Riffian memory and culture.[172] As such,

[168] The following information I confirmed in an interview with Raha in the summer of 2019 in Rabat.
[169] Confirmed in an interview I conducted with Raha in the summer of 2019 in Rabat.
[170] Perhaps, Riffian, too – I am not sure as the organization does not have an online presence.
[171] Awlad Lahsan and ben Qadur, *taqdīm jam'iyyat,* VIII.
[172] Awlad Lahsan and ben Qadur, *taqdīm jam'iyyat,* VII-VIII.

it is not difficult to see renewed interest in Hart's work as perhaps a complimentary development to contemporary activism in the region, such as the *ḥirāk* movement.

As noted above, Hart was, and remains, relatively outside the American mainstream. Aside from his being based in Spain for most his life, this location was due, in part, to his theoretical orientation within the structural-functionalist school of British anthropology, specifically, as an adherent to segmentary lineage theory, until he concedes, at least partially, its irrelevance,[173] after high profile critiques from Abdellah Hammoudi[174] and Henry Munson, Jr.[175] Furthermore, unlike American contemporaries, such as Clifford Geertz, Hart never moved into using interpretative frameworks. For Hart, the theoretical backbone of segmentary theory can been traced to Ibn Khaldūn for his description of *'aṣabiyya*, which Hart, following Georges Surdon and Leon Bercher,[176] translates as, theoretically and not literally, agnatic solidarity.[177] Following Hart's genealogically mapping, after Ibn Khaldūn, E. E. Evans-Pritchard would solidify the meaning of segmentation, claiming that patrilineal lineage creates "a series of segmentary levels…with balance and opposition between the segments."[178] This idea of balance and opposition, be it through juridical or customary traditions, leads Hart (and others, like Gellner and Evans-Pritchard)[179] to argue that segmentary societies have "a strong ideology of equalitarianism and little or no social stratification" except, as Hart notes only in parenthesis, for "social groups that form [part of] ethnic-occupational categories, that are spurned by the majority."[180] Here, he points out that for the Ayth

[173] See David M. Hart, "Models in Morocco." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2, no. 4 (1996): 721-22.
[174] See Abdellah Hammoudi "Segmentarity, Social Stratification, Political Power, and Sainthood: Reflections on Gellner's Theses," *Economy and Society* 9, 3 (1980): 279-303.
[175] See Henry Munson Jr. "On the Irrelevance of the Segmentary Lineage Model in the Moroccan Rif," *American Anthropologist* 91, no. 2 (1989): 386-400, "Rethinking Gellner's Segmentary Analysis of Morocco's Ait 'Atta." *Man* 28, no.2 (1993): 267-280; and "Segmentation: Reality or Myth?" *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 1, no. 4 (1995): 821-832.
[176] David Hart, "Ibn Jaldún," 16.
[177] Hart, "Ibn Jaldún," 15-7.
[178] Hart, "Ibn Jaldún," 17-8.
[179] Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (Worcester and London: The Trinity Press, 1969), 54-5. See, in particular, footnote 3, where Gellner cites Evans-Pritchard ("The tribal system… is a system of balanced opposition…"). See also where he describes saints as "necessary 'artificial foreigners'" for "many societies, consisting of balanced and mutually jealous parts, need foreigners either to rule them or to arbitrate between them" (Gellner, *Saints*, 299-300).
[180] Hart, "Ibn Jaldún," 39.

'Atta, these 'spurned' groups include "blacksmiths and potters, who are also black, besides the more…numerous Haratin, date cultivators in the oases, who are also black."[181]

I have mentioned before that Hart's letters give insight into his own changing orientation towards segmentary lineage theory. Frequently, Hart's work is considered alongside Ernest Gellner, having both written books on segmentation within Ayth 'Atta communities, and, perhaps most importantly, because each worked closely with Youssef Hazmaoui[182] in Morocco. Certainly, from Hart's letters, we see that he maintained contact with Gellner, particularly during the height of both their careers in Morocco (namely the 1960s).[183] However, as Rachik aptly notes, Hart's comprehensive monographic style, perhaps the last of its kind, means that he does not hesitate to report instances where ethnographic data does not line up with theoretical considerations, unlike Gellner whose data tended to be rather sparse.[184] Henry Munson Jr. also agreed when we spoke by email in June 2020: "Hart's work is full of valuable ethnographic data despite his attempt to force this data to fit the segmentary model. Gellner's not so much."[185] Furthermore, towards the end of his life, Hart concedes that, "I can't share Gellner's opinion… that even a bad model is worth more than none."[186] This aligns with sentiments expressed in a letter from June 1989, also cited above, when Hart writes that he plans to avoid models all together.[187] To a certain extent, Hart agreed with

[181] Hart, "Ibn Jaldún," 39.
[182] I write Youssef's name using the spelling I saw him use. You will note that in Hart's letters his name is spelled in a number of ways including, "Yusif," "Yussif," "Youssif," and "Youssef."
[183] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 8 May 1967, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 31 October 1967, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 25 November 1967, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 December 1967, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 February 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 16 March 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 4 May 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn9 June 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 July 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 1 August 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 August 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 4 August 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 15 August 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 7 May 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 7 May 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 July 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 19 August 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 10 September 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 26 October 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 November 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 25 September 1981, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 21 October 1981, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 November 1981, and Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 10 September 1985, Private Collection.
[184] Rachik, *Le Proche*, 175-177.
[185] Private correspondence via e-mail with Henry Munson Jr. from June 2020.
[186] Hart, "Ibn Jaldún," 47.
[187] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 25 June 1989, Private Collection.

Munson Jr.'s critique of segmentary theory in the Rif, conceding that his own ethnographic data had too many exceptions to the rules of segmentation to confirm its existence.[188] Interestingly, however, Hart wrote much more publicly in response to Munson Jr.[189] than Hammoudi,[190] who specifically highlighted that to claim Ayth 'Atta segmentary egalitarianism ignores the summary exclusion of groups like the Ḥarāṭīn.[191] Furthermore, the degree of Hart's theoretical shift is more difficult to decipher when one considers, as noted above, that years after his response to Munson, Jr., in a piece published in Spanish, Hart proposed "anti-segmentarity," which affirms that the "segmentary ideal" existed in Riffian "minds," but was not always implemented.[192]

Taken as a whole, these diverse links to Hart, the person and the scholar, are impressively broad. What I find particularly significant, is the interest that non-academic or civil society organizations have taken in the work of Hart. A few Spanish academics, including López García,[193] and Gonzaléz Alcantud have noted the same thing, with the latter remarking in the introduction to an interview he conducted with Hart and Raha that, "the Berbers love and respect him [Hart], something that is always notable in an anthropologist."[194] In fact, I only became familiar with Hart's work through a Riffian friend from Nador, who, when I was first in Morocco on a Fulbright grant researching preservation of Andalusian heritage, handed me a copy of his wife, Ursula Kingsmill Hart's book, *Behind the Courtyard Door: The Daily Life of Tribeswomen in Northern*

[188] "We must admit, honestly if grudgingly, that Munson is almost certainly fundamentally correct in his assessment of our analysis of Aith Waryaghar society (though not of their ethnography): the *liff* of faction certainly took precedence of the *dharfiqth* or partrilineage-which, unlike the 'classical' definition was not corporate or even truly segmentary…" [David M. Hart, "Rejoinder to Henry Munson, Jr. 'On the Irrelevance of the Segmentary Lineage Model in the Moroccan Rif,'" *American Anthropologist* 91, no.3 (1989), 768-9].
[189] Hart, "Luchas hereditarias," 166. Here, he says in no uncertain terms "….from our point of view, ethnography is or was the real heart of sociocultural anthropology and, now this heart has stopped beating. Anthropological theory is only a façade…in comparison to the ethnographic facts, particularly if it is proven that, which frequently seems to occur, that it [anthropological theory] does not function in the majority of cases." Sections from this chapter appeared in "Rejoinder to Henry Munson, Jr. 'On the Irrelevance of the Segmentary Lineage Model in the Moroccan Rif.'" *American Anthropologist* 91, no.3 (1989): 765-769, excerpted from a longer article of the same title as the Spanish-language chapter that was meant to appear in *The Aith Waryaghar and Their Rifian Neighbors* (Menas Press), which appears to have never made it to final publication.
[190] Although Hart does not explicitly address Hammoudi's critique, as mentioned above, he lends eight pages in a postscript to his book on the Ayth 'Atta to discuss Ḥarāṭīn as well as other socially stratified groups like Jews and what he terms "hrar" or "freedmen" (Hart, "A Postscript," 211-217).
[191] Hammoudi, "Segmentarity," 288.
[192] Hart and Raha, "Introducción," 99. Also, see discussion earlier on pages 14 and 15.
[193] Specifically, he said the following: "… it is fascinating the interest from civil society foundations and associations in Hart's work - a recognition that Riffians have always had for his [Hart's] contribution to studies of the region."
[194] González Alcantud, "Saber antropológico," 93.

Morocco (1994). It will be fascinating to watch if, and potentially, how, views on his work shift in the Rif among new generations of scholars and activists, especially following the *ḥirāk* movement.

Part VI: Indigenous Research Collaborators

As Rachik has noted, non-Moroccan anthropologists working in Morocco generally had (and may still have) to contract "regular collaborators" in order to conduct their research, for linguistic as well as cultural reasons.[195] Although Hart's linguistic capabilities were perhaps more advanced than some of his peers,[196] he himself notes their limitations on various occasions[197] and thus, was no exception to the general rule. Hart's two closest collaborators, who he refers to interchangeably as "*tarjman*," "informant," and "field assistant," both in his letters and his published writing, are 'Amar Uzzugwagh and Youssef Hazmaoui. As mentioned above, Hart first met Uzzugwagh while conducting preliminary field research in the Rif. In Hart's published writing, he thanks the communities he works with, including his research assistants, regularly mentioning Uzzugwagh by name in his book on the Ayth Waryāghar, although mostly for ethnographic data purposes and sometimes not explicitly referencing his position as a research assistant,[198] whereas Hazmaoui remained anonymous (which was likely his desire) on all accounts.[199]

Most of the time, Hart mentioned in his published writing the work of his field assistants, only in general terms, as in the following instance: "Some 40-odd men showed up for the interview… while the field assistant directed the questioning."[200] From such references, which

[195] Rachik, *Le Proche,* 242.
[196] See Paul Rabinow, "Chicken or glass: in the vicinity of Clifford Geertz and Paul Hyman," *Journal of North African Studies* 14, 3-4 (2009): 467-77.
[197] Hart admits to having studied only two years of classical Arabic before beginning his fieldwork when he began learning Darija and Tarifīt (Hart, "Conferencia Inaugural," 85). Nevertheless, he notes that his attempts to speak Tarifīt were appreciated (Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 87).
[198] See for example Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 87, 105-6, 221 330-332, and 334 -336.
[199] As will be discussed below, Hazmaoui seems to have become especially weary of being named after John Waterbury's book was censored in Morocco.
[200] Hart, *Dadda 'Atta,* 215.

were the norm in anthropological writing of the time, as noted by Rachik earlier in this thesis, it is difficult to know the exact nature of an anthropologist's relationship to research collaborators and their own relationship to the work. Hart's letters, by contrast, highlight the transactional nature that these types of relationships between foreign and Indigenous collaborators frequently took (and perhaps, still take). Unlike with Hazmaoui, Hart sponsored Uzzugwagh's passport application to help him leave Morocco, as detailed in a letter dated August 4, 1968: "I shot my wad getting passports for 'Amar Azzuguragh[201].. and for our maid, so somebody else will have to carry the ball on this. What [Youssef] needs is a sponsor or a work contract to get the passport…He could come over as Gellner's chauffeur, for example, that's how 'Amar came over, in my case![202] As it turns out, Coon had also petitioned for one of his informants, Muhammed l-Mnebhi, to accompany him and his wife back to Cambridge, Massachusetts.[203] Apparently, Coon used the experiences of l-Mnebhi to write one of his first novels.[204] Most tragically, l-Mnebhi was apparently murdered after returning to Morocco "in mysterious circumstances, but as it appears, with the tacit consent of the French authorities," according to Hart.[205] This highlights, to an extreme, the risk which informants who worked with Euro-American anthropologists during, at least the first half of the twentieth century, could face. Considering these cases, questions abound: What are the ethics of (ab)using

[201] I believe he is referring to Uzzugwagh here, but it is difficult to decipher original spelling. As with Youssef's name, that appears in different spelling throughout the letters, I have maintained the variant spelling of Uzzugwagh's name as well in Hart's letters.
[202] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 4 August 1968, Private Collection. The person referenced here as the "maid" is Hashuma, the person who worked for Hart and his wife both in Morocco and Spain.
[203] Hart, "Conferencia Inaugural," 80-1.
[204] In the novel's forward, written by Coon's former advisor Earnest Hooten, he writes, "[Berbers'] sanguinary sociology, blue eyes, blond hair, and scorn for Europeans fired the imagination of at least one young anthropologist seeking for kindred spirits among the wilder whites" [Earnest Hooten, "Foreword," in *Flesh of the Wild Ox: a Riffian Chronicle of High Valleys and Long Rifles*, by Carleton Stevens Coon (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), 9]. Hart would praise Coon's novels years later, saying "they gave quite a bit of life" to his ethnographic work (Hart, "Conferencia Inaugural," 81).
[205] Hart, "Conferencia Inaugural," 81. Coon also confirms L-Mnebhi's murder in his memoir: "Not long after his return Limnibhy was invited to a dinner party in Fez. He shouldn't have gone there, but he did. Someone poisoned him. He barely made it back to his beloved Iherrushen, where he died. Although Gordon Browne and I held many suspicions and heard many rumors, we never found out exactly who did it, although I did learn who had ordered it done. One day during World War II I went to the cartographic office of the protectorate in Rabat to buy some maps. After I had signed my name, the French officer on duty told me quite candidly without my asking that it had been necessary to liquidate Limnibhy because he had been drinking heavily, playing around with other men's wives, and generally creating unrest. Through clenched teeth I thanked the officer for this information and walked out with my temples throbbing. It was not wine nor women that did Limnibhy in, but a heady aftertaste of freedom—with whom but me to blame?" (Coon, *Adventures*, 67).

this power, the ability to help select Moroccans leave the country, in exchange for their (unofficial) labor? How common was this practice?

I was fortunate enough to have met and spent a very brief amount of time[206] with Youssef Hazmaoui before his passing in October 2018.[207] This meeting was made possible by my advisor, Aomar Boum, who had procured Youssef's contact information from Ross Dunn. We agreed that Youssef should be compensated for his time, and thus, I gave him 2000 dirhams before leaving Marrakech, with the intent that Boum would deliver another installment when he was visiting next. Unfortunately, due to difficulty in communicating with Hazmaoui's son, the second installment's delivery has yet to be arranged as of September 2020.

Even in his advanced age,[208] Hazmaoui continued to work every day at his repair shop in Sidi Youssef Ben Ali, an underserved neighborhood in Marrakech, at the exact place where many Euro-American scholars would meet him to begin their research over the years. Having not surveyed Hart's letter archive entirely at that time, I kept my questions pretty vague, asking about how he met Ernest Gellner; what his experiences were working with various scholars (I explicitly asked about Gellner and Hart, however, Dunn, Crapanzano, Burke, and Lourdes Martinez also came up in conversation); and generally, listening to anything he wanted to tell me about his life. Our interview was conducted mostly in Darija, with me speaking northern dialect (which is the only one I know), and Youssef speaking Marrakeshi Darija. At times, a few phrases in French or English were used, but very infrequently on my part, due, largely, to my abhorrent French accent and grammar.

[206] During the summer of 2018 in Marrakech.
[207] I am happy to share notes from these interviews for people who are interested.
[208] I am not certain what his exact age was, but I understand him to have been old-enough for his son to have, during our meetings, mentioned several times his desire for Hazmaoui to stop working so much. If we consider that he met Ernest Gellner on his first research trip to the region in 1954, when Hazmaoui was likely a teenager or a young man in his 20s, then he was probably approaching 80, if not in his 80s by the time I met him. For information about Gellner's research schedule see Gellner, *Saints,* 303-4.

In retrospect, I should have prepared differently for this interview. Although I likely would have felt uncomfortable bringing this up, I wish I had come across the letters in which Hart mentions how much he paid Hazmaoui before our meeting. Likewise, I might have mustered the courage to ask if Hazmaoui knew that Hart had gotten passports for Uzzugwagh and Hashuma. From my vantage point, this differing degree of material compensation for the work of informants reflects troubling ethical quagmires that may arise in the type of ethnographic work which requires such close relationships with Indigenous collaborators due to linguistic and cultural limitations on the researcher's part. However, of course, I cannot speak for the experiences of Hazmaoui, Uzzugwagh, and Hashuma. Furthermore, instead of focusing so greatly on Gellner and Hart, I wish I would have asked more about Hazmaoui's experience with other researchers. As one of my committee members noted to me, I might have done a project centered on him, delving deeper into each relationship with his Euro-American colleagues and conducting interviews with all who he discussed. Even Dunn, in our interview together, joked that another scholar who once worked with Hazmaoui wondered, if one was to examine the writing of all his colleagues would they each reflect the "Hazmaoui thesis"?[209]

During my visit, Youssef shared a few items with me, including some pictures and letters he kept, from Hart as well as Dunn, in addition to his address book, which he said goes back decades. There, the contact information for all his former colleagues was diligently kept. Hazmaoui joked that on one side were foreigners and the other had Moroccans because "he doesn't mix things." Relevant I believe to the discussion here is what he shared about Gellner and Hart as well as the fact that he considered the two, and Dunn, his friends, maintaining contact with them throughout the years. Henry Munson Jr., who also interviewed Hazmaoui in 1990 due to interest

[209] From our interview via skype in July 2020. We were both in Los Angeles, California.

"in his relationship with Hart and Gellner," confirmed to me that he was "struck" by how fond Hazmaoui was of Gellner and argued that "I doubt any other anthropologists were as close to their informants/research assistants as Dave and Ernest were to Hazmaoui."[210]

After finishing all the schooling that was available to him, Hazmaoui began teaching younger children. One day the local bureau chief[211] asked Hazmaoui to follow him. Sitting in his office was Ernest Gellner and his wife, Susan Gellner.[212] Ernest explained he wanted to write a book about Hazmaoui's hometown, Zawiyat Ahansal. Having come prepared, Gellner already possessed the necessary research authorization. Thus, the town's *qā'id* was called, with Hazmaoui serving as a translator between him and the official (not a speaker of Tshilḥīt) to organize the details of Gellner's stay. Specifically, Hazmaoui mentioned the official directing the *qā'id* to find the Gellners a place to live and to answer the questions he asks. I proceeded to ask Hazmaoui if he had prepared at all for this job, he responded, with a laugh, noting "I just started like this." After an initial research trip, Gellner returned a second time because, according to Gellner, his previous work wasn't quite right. At that time, Hart was in the Rif, and when he came to visit Gellner, he told him "leave me, Youssef." Hazmaoui noted that after Gellner's book was released, "the others came running."

When I pressed about methodology, asking how does one who works with anthropologists prepare, Hazmaoui noted that he would, at times, note to his colleagues what was or wasn't correct in the data they collected from (other) "informants." He also remarked that Hart and Gellner would always ask the same type of questions. Additionally, Hazmaoui affirmed that for every job he made sure researchers had the appropriate authorization. I did not ask if this was related to his experience

[210] Henry Munson Jr. answered a series of questions I posed by e-mail in June of 2020.
[211] Youssef referred to him in Arabic as "qubtān" and in French as "chef du cercle." Happy to share the recordings with anyone who is interested.
[212] Susan Gellner is also mentioned in the "Acknowledgements" section of *Saints*, where he notes that when she joined him on fieldwork trips "she did invaluable work as research assistant, secretary, nurse, cook, psychotherapist and PRO" (Gellner, *Saints,* xiv).

working with Waterbury, whose book *The Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan political Elite – A Study in Segmented Politics* (1970), was censored in Morocco.

In his letters, Hart frequently mentions Hazmaoui's ability to complete all the necessary tasks of a researcher, from translation to data collection and analysis. In a letter from May 8, 1967, Hart introduces Hazmaoui to Dunn as "my Berber interpreter… originally trained by Gellner… who is an extremely good man."[213] In that same letter, Hart lays out Hazmaoui's "fee" of 75 dirhams per week in addition to what he calls "fabor," which included foodstuffs.[214] Importantly, the only mention I saw in any of Hart's published writing about the material transactions between himself and informants appeared in the methods' section of his tome on the Ayth Waryāghar. Explicitly, he noted that payment in cigarettes or small presents of tea, sugar, and other necessities to those "whose worth and reliability had already been proven."[215] However, he did note that his top field assistant, Uzzugwagh, I presume, "was merely given larger presents than anyone else."[216]

Throughout the archive, Hart mentions coordinating potential jobs and providing financial as well as other forms of aid for Hazmaoui.[217] Both Hart and Hazmaoui's careers conducting research in Morocco span the period commonly referred to as the years of lead, *sanawāt ar-raṣās*, or the black years, *sanawāt sawda',* generally drawn from independence in 1956 to the beginning of Mohammed VI's rule in 1999.[218] These years were marked by the imprisonment, torture, and

[213] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 8 May 1967, Private Collection.
[214] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 8 May 1967, Private Collection.
[215] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, xx.
[216] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, xx.
[217] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 8 May 1967, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 29 May 1967, Private Collection; David M. Hart, 25 November 1967, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 13 June 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 1 August 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 4 August 1968, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 17 January 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 20 January 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 13 February 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 17 April 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 7 May 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, July 11, 1969, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 September 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 18 August 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 1 September 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 10 September 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 26 October 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 November 1970, Private Collection; David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 6 January 1971, Private Collection; and David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 6 November 1981, Private Collection.
[218] Slyomovics, "The Moroccan Equity," 13-4.

murder of countless Moroccans, viewed by the state as dissidents.[219] Unsurprisingly, state-sanctioned repression also seeped into the sphere of research, particularly during the reign of Hassan II, which began in 1961. Writing - literary, journalistic, or academic – was frequently subject to censorship, including the work of foreign scholars.[220] In letters from the 1970s, Hart's comments on Hazmaoui's precarious situation reveal again the increased dangers for field assistants who worked with foreign scholars, as noted above in the case of l-Mnebhi. For example, in a letter dated September 2nd, 1970, Hart mentions Waterbury's book being banned and concludes, "this I gather is one of the things which has made Yussif so apprehensive."[221] He adds later on, "Yussif just wants out." A day earlier, Hart said clearly that although he wanted Hazmaoui's help on a research matter, "I certainly don't want him to get himself in any danger on my account."[222] Clearly, Hart maintained close contact and attempted to provide assistance to Hazmaoui throughout his life. Nevertheless, it is interesting to consider that even while having knowledge of the extreme danger that can face field assistants, Hart doesn't appear to question, in the personal correspondence and published writing surveyed for this article, the practice of contracting Indigenous research collaborators despite the potential risks.

Like Rachik, cited above, Hart recognizes a certain degree of dependence on contracting, unofficially and without protections for the 'employee,' Indigenous research collaborators: "…yes, one does grow used to Yusif – 'Amar is now out of the tarjman/informant [sic], and for good."[223] By combining "translator" (in Arabic, "tarjman") and "informant" structurally in his sentence, Hart points to the essential role Indigenous research collaborators played in Euro-American

[219] Slyomovics, "The Moroccan Equity," 13-4. Importantly, Hart notes in his prepared speech about his career that he was not in the Rif during the uprisings of October 1958 and instead read about the events from outside the country, returning, it seems, after the situation in the Rif had calmed down in 1959 (Hart, "Conferencia inaugural," 97-100).
[220] See Susan Gilson Miller, "New Voices: The Press, Literature, and the Cinema," in *A History of Modern Morocco* by Susan Gilson Miller, pg. 197-200, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) for a brief overview of notable censorship examples during the years of lead.
[221] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 September 1970, Private Collection.
[222] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 1 September 1970, Private Collection.
[223] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 11 July 1969, Private Collection.

anthropological work, beginning with the primary (and exceeding complex) task of making words understood. Perhaps it is the intensive work relationship borne from this necessity that leads Hart to describe feelings of ownership over his Indigenous collaborators: "Admittedly, one likes to use a guy whom one has trained oneself (as I did with 'Amar – and was rather pissed off when Applegate and Josephy… tried to have in…) and as Gellner originally trained Yusif… Yet I like to think he got most of his [sic] insights from association with me!"[224]

Surely, Hart, and many of his colleagues during the mid-twentieth century, could not conduct research in Morocco without the help of their Indigenous research collaborators. All researchers, it seems, had to acquire research permission, either from colonial authorities or later the independent Moroccan government, which led, in many cases to their being put in contact with local officials, who, like in Gellner's case, may have assigned or suggested research assistants.[225] Subsequently, limitations in linguistic as well as broader cultural knowledge led to the creation of close and intimate relationship with a select number of collaborators. Rachik suggest that, "[h]aving a large and less intense network of relationships, diminishes the tensions and makes moral dilemmas less dramatic."[226] I am inclined to agree, although I wonder what that would mean for someone conducting research on their own community or family. Since the complex intricacies of Hart and other foreign scholars' relationships to Indigenous research collaborators are hardly discussed explicitly within published research, archives like these letters serve as a rare and important eye into this sometimes, uncomfortable, and frequently, unpredictable, legacy of anthropological research in Morocco and beyond.

[224] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 11 July 2019, Private Collection.
[225] It is interesting to consider how this situation may have changed in recent years. Speaking purely from personal experience, while conducting research as a Fulbright grantee, I was never once asked by an official, from the *muqaddim* in the neighborhood where I rented an apartment to the archivists at the libraries I visited, for the research permission I received from the Ministry of Interior six-months after my arrival. Even more recently, while conducting fieldwork for this Master's project and preliminary Ph.D. dissertation work, I asked my advisor if I should procure research permission from the Ministry of Interior before beginning. Neither of us knew how to do it and when I asked former colleagues in the Fulbright program what they have been doing since conducting research from outside the purview of the Fulbright commission, all shared that it was not even clear how we could go about requesting such permission and simply carried out, *sans attestation*.
[226] Rachik, *Le Proche*, 243.

Part VII: Racial Legacies

Hart's published writing, on its own, reflects a racialized worldview in which the communities in North Africa that Hart studied are divided into separates *races*: Berber, Arab, Jewish, and Black. As noted earlier, Rouighi, Lorcin, and Hannoum, trace this way of dividing, particularly as it relates to the whitening of Berbers, in comparison to other North African communities, to travelers and scholars from around the nineteenth century. Thus, Hart was not the only scholar of his generation to adopt this framework. Nevertheless, as his work continues to be reimagined in the field of Amazigh studies (and North African studies, writ large), I do believe it is important to highlight the potential limitations such a view may have had upon his research. In particular, as research trying to situate racialized categories in Morocco continues to grow, I look forward to seeing more work historically contextualizing many of the entanglements that Hart's writing brings to the fore, perhaps most famously, as pertains to Ayth 'Atta-Ḥarāṭīn history.

Hart's "Postscript" in his book on the Ayth 'Atta likely represents one of the few pieces in which he almost exclusively focused on communities in Morocco racialized as Black. In it, he differentiates three groups that composed the "lower social strata" for the Ayth 'Atta – "Jews, the non-Harratin blacks and hrar or freedmen, and, most importantly, the coloured Haratin proper."[227] It is unclear from his chapter, if this differentiation is his own or that of his informants. He further delineates "non-Haratin blacks" as the following:

> pure black slaves, ex-slaves, and occupational specialists (blacksmiths and wheel-potters) here and there in Central Atlas Berber communities; certain other non-white occupational specialists… in the same areas; a fluid and fairly large category of people known as hrar (singular hurr), 'free men', who are nonetheless socially and by extension ranked with Haratin as 'second-class citizens', in the Dra where they tend to be black and as qbala,

[227] Hart, *Dadda*, 211.

> 'southerners,' in the Tafilalt, where they are often white and certain resident lineages of client mrabtin and shurfa…[228]

It seems that Hart's own ability to 'see' difference may have influenced these designations as he adds that the "hrar… have often become assimilated by the Haratin, from whom most of them are physically indistinguishable, at least in the Dra, which is much blacker."[229]

Interestingly, in Hart's letters, he admits that the boundaries between different groups mentioned above are perhaps more porous than what one might believe from just reading the "Postscript." Specifically, he suggests (from discussions with Hazmaoui) that "hrar" might no longer be in use, and more broadly, each term must be contextualized, as their meanings could differ depending on who you ask:

> On hrar or ahrar in the Dra, Yusif said indeed the term was used, but not so much now – and for the Haratin who are not under 'Atta control. Also, like you, I think these things are contextual. Hrar or drawa may be used by all Haratin for themselves, while 'Atta call them Haratin. Indeed you are right: to the 'Atta, anybody, but tribally organized Berbers are 'un peau noir', though there is at least the "desegmented" 'Atta community, the Ait unir of Ben Malu, where there has not only been obvious race mixture, but where their whole old-style qa'ida has gone down the drain.[230]

For me, this claim that all 'Atta view non-"tribally organized Berbers" as different on the basis of color, or degree of blackness, seems to share characteristics with certain trends in colorism that are known in the U.S. as the 'brown paper bag test' and the 'one-drop rule.' Whereas the former refers to an informal way of defining beauty and certain privileges within African-American communities,[231] the latter was codified in law during the Jim Crow era.[232] Of course, to probe

[228] Hart, *Dadda*, 212.
[229] Hart, *Dadda*, 212.
[230] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 10 September 1970, Private Collection.
[231] Ashley A. Jones succinctly summarizes the term: "The brown paper bag test is an unscientific test that was employed by African-Americans by laying a brown bag against a fellow African-American's face or arm. Only individuals with a skin color lighter or the same color as a brown paper bag were seen as beautiful and allowed to have certain privileges. While the test may not be used any longer, the attitudes it exposed are still prevalent within African-American culture." [Ashley A. Jones, "Colorism: Looking Outside the Brown Paper Bag" Master's thesis, (Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2018), iv.]
[232] Danielle C. Heard defines the term as follows: "At different points in history, it was possible to possess a black lineage so 'diluted' by white 'blood' as to be legally insignificant. However, by the twentieth century, the 'one-drop rule' deemed that any evidence whatsoever of Negro ancestry determined black identity." [Danielle C. Heard, "Miscegenation," in *The Jim Crow Encyclopedia: Greenwood Milestones in African American History*, edited by Nikki L. M. Brown and Barry M. Sentiford, vol. 2 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2008), 535.]

further the extent to which colorism exists in ʻAtta communities, future research must make clear what ʻAtta community members say or do. Examples from both Hart's private and public writing, more of which will be discussed below, do not indicate clearly *who* and *how* difference was determined among ʻAtta and Ḥarāṭīn community members.

The use of visual appraisal to determine the relationship of communities to each other and their lineages occurs in several of Hart's letters, as well. In a letter dated, August 18, 1970, he notes that the Ayth Sukhmān "say they're descended from a negro slave of Mulay ʻAbd l-Qadir l-Jilali, and don't look it in the least!" It appears that Hart is operating under two assumptions: (1) that those descending from enslaved Black people should share a particular degree of Blackness; and (2) that an observer can *see and characterize* all manifestations of Blackness. As mentioned above, Hart also commented in his letters about Ḥarāṭīn communities not being "pure blacks" on the basis of their appearance.[233] In a later dated October 3, 1985, Hart would, while questioning the use of skin color as a "criterion" for determining different communities' relatedness, give the following description of Somalis: "I knew quite a few of them in Saudi Arabia, have very Caucasoid Mediterranean features and yet their skin color is almost black! They also have a very lively intelligence, a great sense of humor and terrible tempers when aroused…. Very engaging people and smell wonderful."[234] Certainly, there is no inherent issue in simply noting the skin color of a particular community, but one must interrogate generalizations and biologizing of behaviors, both exemplified in the above-referenced comments by Hart, and naturalizing one group's subjugation of another, which appears in his other writing, discussed below. From my perspective, Hart's over reliance on a visual designation of Blackness may have impacted his analysis, as when, for example, he claims that "hrar" communities are "assimilated by the Haratin." given that, in the

[233] See footnote 122, above.
[234] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 3 October 1985, Private Collection.

same line he remarks on their being "physical indistinguishable," as if to suggest that such is the only basis upon which the two communities could be different. Without the voices of "hrar" and Ḥarāṭīn communities, after reading Hart's work, I am left wondering how community members themselves, imagined, or didn't, shared histories and identities.

As other scholars have noticed,[235] the voices of communities racialized as Black in Morocco are largely missing in scholarship on North African. Certainly, Hart notes speaking to various Ḥarāṭīn informants, both in his "Postscript" and in letters, yet despite his years of research in southern Morocco, he never mentions establishing a close working relationship with a field assistant from the community to assist his project. It is curious, in fact, what may have prevented formation of such a relationship between Hart and a Ḥarāṭīn field assistant, given that, at the time of Hart's writing, the community was large, numerically speaking, by his own estimates.[236] Instead, Hart seems to have conducted most research with Hazmaoui, who, at least for part of his life, held strong biases against Black people. For example, Hart remarks, "I just had a letter from [Hazmaoui] saying… he'd need Uncle Tom's Cabin and had begun to sympathize with the haratin!!"[237] Almost twenty years later, Hart notes "Youssif's attitude about Haratin and blacks seems to have mellowed a lot over the last decade," adding that Hazmaoui claims to be "changing with the times."[238] Given Hart's awareness of Hazmaoui's biases, it seems like a major oversight not to contract a Ḥarāṭīn field assistant. In one of Hart's letters, responding to Gellner's hesitation about any assertion that Ḥarāṭīn communities are not "tribally organized," Hart claims that talking to Ḥarāṭīn community members is a futile exercise:

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[235] Ilahiane, *Ethnicities*, xvi; Maha Marouan, "Incomplete Forgetting," *Islamic Africa* 7, no. 2 (2016): 267-271; *Minorities, Women, and the State in North Africa*. ed by. Moha Ennaji. (Trenton: The Red Sea Pres, 2016); Eve M. Troutt Powell, *Tell This in My Memory: Stories of Enslavement from Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Empire.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); and Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[236] He estimates 430,000 in 1960. Hart, *Dadda,* 213.
[237] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 August 1968, Private Collection.
[238] Dunn also confirmed in an interview with me that Hazmaoui had expressed disparaging views of Haratin communities during the course of their work together.

> Sure the Haratin have lineages…, but I am convinced they must be shallower… than the ‘Atta ones despite the fact that the Haratin unquestionably represent a far older element in the population... (Haratin in any case are hard to interview because of their essentially “subservient mentality”: either they evade the issue entirely, or play dumb, or tell you what they think you want to know).[239]

Instead of positing that difficulty in speaking with Ḥarāṭīn informants might have been due his relationship with the Ayth ‘Atta, who he describes on numerous occasions as despising, at the very least, Ḥarāṭīn communities, Hart makes the racist assumption that it is a generalized behavior (or “mentality”) among Ḥarāṭīn that made fieldwork difficult. Furthermore, given that Hart admits to not succeeding in interviews with Ḥarāṭīn informants, his knowledge of their genealogies seems likely to be too scant to establish any argument on the issue. Moreover, knowing Hart’s views on the inauthenticity of information supplied from interviews with Ḥarāṭīn, I am still left wondering how community members themselves imagined their histories and identities.

Nevertheless, Hart assesses, to some extent, Ayth ‘Atta perceptions of Ḥarāṭīn (and Black) communities. Specifically, Hart designates five “dimensions,” in Tamazight, that define Ḥarāṭīn communities, from a supposedly ‘Atta standpoint, although these designations are not clearly attributed to specific informants: (1) skin color; (2) “‘habitué or frequenter of markets’ implying inferior status both through shamelessness and through lack of ancestry”; (3) patron-client relationship, otherwise known as “ra’aya”; (4) labor status of “sharecropper”; and (5) homeland, i.e., originating in the Dra’ valley.[240] Throughout the book, Hart notes other ways in which Ḥarāṭīn (and other “despised socio-occupational groups”) are marginalized within Ayth ‘Atta political systems, including, not bearing arms,[241] not being able to serve as jurors,[242] and being excluded from delineation of *ra’yān*.[243]

[239] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 July 1970, Private Collection.
[240] Hart, *Dadda*, 213.
[241] Hart, *Dadda,* 202. See also Hart, *Dadda,* 213.
[242] Hart, *Dadda*, 181. See also Hart, *Dadda,* 213.
[243] Hart, *Dadda*, 115-6. See also Hart, *Dadda,* 213.

At this point, I think it is important to examine further one of Hammoudi's central arguments against Hart and Gellner's use of segmentary theory, which is supposedly egalitarian,[244] to describe Ayth 'Atta political structure, contending that no such claim can be made if one considers the exclusion of groups like Haratin communities from political representation. Specifically, Hammoudi argues that the nomination of a chief is intrinsically a practice that reinforces very selective representation since "[a]ll those who are not members of the founding core must be excluded, i.e., clients, descendants of fugitives who were integrated in the accepted manner by sacrifice, haratin, slaves, etc…"[245] Significantly, in the Pakistanti context, Hart would argue that the very existence of communities subjugated by a segmentary society is a marker of the system's structural affinities across the Muslim world: "As with the Ait 'Atta, pakhtun tribes also had their own 'Haratin', under the form of client Sikhs and Hindus, peaceful sharecroppers, called *hamsaya*…"[246]

Few critiques I have seen of segmentary theory refer, like Hammoudi, to the idea that this model was applied selectively, ignoring the social stratification upon which communities like the Ayth 'Atta appear to have been built. How and why was this seemingly obvious inequality not given analytical weight? I imagine, that in some respects, non-Black scholars of the period, especially those from Western Europe and the U.S., were not surprised by the apparent subjugation of communities with darker skin color. Perhaps, it was easier to understand the region through direct analogy, which may in some respects, still be useful, especially when considering, as Chouki

[244] For mentions of Berber egalitarianism in *Dadda 'Atta* see where Hart, on the one hand, mentions that "[i]ndeed, an essential feature of segmentary tribal and Berber societies is that egalitarianism among segments, so stressed in theory (and by the tribesmen themselves, is seldom absolute in fact," while on the next page, through an ethnographic anecdote Hart appears to reaffirm the existence of this egalitarianism: "Not only did Berber egalitarianism limit [the chief], he had to be a natural leader if he were to succeed, for the transience of the chief's office rendered him, as Gellner says, a 'lame duck'" (Hart, *Dadda 'Atta*, 79-80).
[245] Hammoudi, "Segmentarity," 288.
[246] David Hart, "Les Ait 'Atta Du Sud-Centre Marocain: Elements d'analyse comparative avec les pakhtuns (Afridi) du nord-ouest Pakistanais," in *Islam : Société et Communauté : Anthropologies du Maghreb*, edited by Ernest Gellner et al. (Paris : Editions Du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), 68.

El Hamel has, the regional histories of racialized enslavement.[247] Nevertheless, the task of scholars is to contextualize these understandings. Responding to Hart's article title "Scratch a Moroccan, Find a Berber," Rouighi posits, "[p]erhaps, but thinking in this particular way is not natural... Instead, thinking historically about social categories—how they become ordinary, and how people use them to order their world—situates them in relation to both modern and premodern ideologies and scholarly crochets."[248]

In *Dadda 'Atta*, Hart does begin to sketch how Ḥarāṭīn-'Atta relationship came to take the shape. In his introduction, Hart suggests that the Ayth 'Atta entered the Dra' valley around the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.[249] Within the meat of his book, Hart only mentions in passing (as cited above) the differing exclusions Ḥarāṭīn and other "despised" communities experienced. In his "Postscript," Hart argues that all Ayth 'Atta claim to "protect" Ḥarāṭīn[250] and questions not only whether the 'Atta were "invited" into the Dra' Valley, but also whether their relationship to the Ḥarāṭīn is not purely "economic" (i.e., to extract labor).[251] Then, to elucidate Ḥarāṭīn perspectives, Hart provides details of a meeting he appears to have organized between Ayth 'Atta and Ḥarāṭīn community leaders.[252] As he narrates it, when the Ḥarāṭīn sheikh participating affirmed that their community had a chief "elected through rotation and complementarity in the 'Atta manner," the "'Atta mqaddim" denied this claim wholeheartedly.[253] Events continued to worsen when the Ḥarāṭīn sheikh "claimed that they had always been their own masters and that the Ait 'Atta did nothing but sit around and clean their guns."[254] After the Ḥarāṭīn sheikh claimed that they were able to bear arms in the "pre-'pacification' times," the meeting escalated into physical

[247] El Hamel, *Black Morocco*.
[248] Rouighi, *Inventing*, 2.
[249] Hart, *Dadda*, 14.
[250] Hart, *Dadda*, 214.
[251] Hart, *Dadda*, 214.
[252] Hart, *Dadda*, 215.
[253] Hart, *Dadda*, 215.
[254] Hart, *Dadda*, 215.

violence.[255] Hart notes that nothing more came of the meeting and that, subsequently, both the "mkhazni*"* that was present and the "'Atta mqaddim" remarked to Hart in private about "their detestation of Haratin – who in the Taghbalt contest had gradually become more affluent."[256] Hart concludes his chapter (and book), with an almost wistful sentence: " For the guiding hand of ['Atta] Customary Law, admirable though it certainly was in other respects, had not adequately prepared the descendants of Dadda 'Atta's 40 grandsons for post-Independence Moroccan realities." [257]

Even Hart's other texts contain moments like these that beg the question, for me at least, as to what were the historic conditions that could have led to such apparent disdain, at the very least, and perhaps outright subjugation, at the most, between communities considered Amazigh and Black. In his tome on Ayth Waryāghar, Hart begins by noting that because Evans-Pritchard honed his theory of segmentation using fieldwork from "black Africa," it must be modified for the Riffian context, presumably because the population is not Black.[258] However, Hart notes throughout his book the existence of Black people and anti-Blackness among the Ayth Waryāghar, thus bringing into question where "black Africa" begins and ends. For example, in his extensive section on "Marriage Patterns, Family, and Household," he notes a "widespread Berber belief, which has absolutely no foundation whatsoever in the Shari'a, although Rifians nonetheless insist that it has: the notion that a man may have as many wives at a time as he wishes provided that every fifth wife is a black."[259]

Later, Hart also goes into greater detail about Ayth Waryāghar perceptions of Black people and Jews in his section, "Low-Class Specialists and Social Stratification." Given that few are likely to read Hart's almost 500-page work in detail, I highly recommend this short section, at the very

[255] Hart, *Dadda*, 215.
[256] Hart, *Dadda*, 216.
[257] Hart, *Dadda*, 216.
[258] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 7.
[259] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 219.

least, for it sheds light on the ways differences may have been perceived among Hart's informants (and, of course, for himself). As in *Dadda 'Atta*, Hart does not delve into the historical relationship between Ayth Waryāghar and Black people besides noting (without reference to a citation or a particular informant) that they "are all, without exception, the descendants of freed slaves."[260] Likewise, he remarks that Black people (and Jews), "sought safety in humility," thus never bearing arms. [261] Hart also adds, again with no direct citation to another scholarly work or informant, that Ayth Waryāghar hatred towards Black people can be "readily gauged from the fact that the reason the tribe collectively decided to oppose the pretender Bu Hmara…was… because Bu Hmara's general who led the invasion, Jilali Mul l-Wudu', was a black and a slave. This they would not tolerate."[262] Perhaps most interestingly, in his sub-section about lower-class groups, entitled "The Despised Minority from the Axt Tuzin: Occupational Or Racial?," Hart again states unequivocally, that for the Ayth Waryāghar and other neighboring tribes, the Axt Tuzin are disparaged not only due to their association with "base professions" due to "base origins," but also because of their "different and darker-complexioned 'race.'"[263] Hart caveats this latter point saying that he had seen at least two blue-eyed boys (one even red-faced) among the Axt Tuzin, though the latter's complexion "may have been due to his Aith Turirth mother." [264]

These tidbits spark for me, a desire, on the one hand, to hear from those considered Black, and, on the other hand, to understand further the ways in which Ayth Waryāghar and other Riffian communities define Blackness. Certainly, in the way Blackness is sketched by Hart here, so many parallels could be drawn to the U.S. context. However, keeping Rouighi's words in mind, why does Hart not explain under what ideological precepts all Black people in the region were formerly

[260] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 280.
[261] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 281.
[262] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 281.
[263] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar,* 283.
[264] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar,* 283.

enslaved, or, at the very least, why Blackness continues to be disdained by the majority? Furthermore, can he still affirm his central thesis that "a virtually complete egalitarianism" existed in "Berber political systems in the mountainous areas of *siba*"[265] if these communities' marginalization is given analytical weight, or in other words, not considered 'normal'?

In some ways, Hart's letters complicate matters further. Consistent with his written work, Hart affirms that Amazigh belief systems do not consider "minorities" as equals in law: "Berber egalitarianism, always based on principle that the majority (Imazighen) are more equal than the minority (e.g., l'araben and despised occupational groups, blacksmiths, Haratin, whatnot)."[266] Furthermore, Hart's own humor makes light of the subjugation of Black people on various occasions, including when he compares his wife, Ursula, and her sister's preparing their new bar to "working like Haratin."[267] He adds, referencing his theory that the Ait 'Atta, like other Amazigh tribes, utilize a segmentary 5/5ths system to distribute wealth, that "I will of course see to it that they get, between them, no more than 1/5 of the date harvest!"[268] Similarly, in a letter to Emilia Blanco, the daughter of Emilio Blanco Izaga, an *interventor* whose work Hart translated into English,[269] he notes "I am working like a black [man],[270] but the most difficult part has already passed."[271] Also, while admonishing scholars who critique the now infamous divide of *bilād al-makhzan* and *bilād al-sība*, Hart retorts, "they dismiss it as a colonialist intrigue just prior to the Protectorate, which is simply their pot calling Terrasse's kettle a hartani."[272]

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[265] Hart, *Ait Waryaghar*, 12.
[266] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 2 February 1968, Private Collection.
[267] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 23 May 1968, Private Collection.
[268] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 23 May 1968, Private Collection.
[269] Emilio Blanco Izaga, *Emilio Blanco Izaga: Colonel in the Rif,* translated by and with an introduction from David Hart (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1975). See also David Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif," *Tamuda* V, 2 (1958): 171-237.
[270] The original reads "negro" in Spanish and thus, could be translated as "negro" in English, "black," or "black [man]."
[271] Vicente Moga Romero, "La Obra de David Hart en España [The work of David Hart in Spain]" in *Antropología y Antropólogos en Marruecos: Homenaje a David M. Hart [Anthropology and Anthropologists in Morocco: Homage to David M. Hart]*, eds. Ángeles Ramírez and Bernabé López García (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2002), 31
[272] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 November 1967, Private Collection. Hart does not elaborate here on his reasons for referencing Terrasse, specifically, when replacing the proverb's usual "black" with "hartani." Perhaps relatedly, however, Terrassee, in his tome *Histoire du Maroc: des origines à l'établissement du Protectorat français [History of Morocco: The Origins of the Establishment of the French Protectorate]*, firmly divides, on racialized terms, Ḥarāṭīn (and those "of color," more broadly) from Amazigh communities: "However, in the border oases of Morocco,

Relatedly, while he maintained friendly relationships with several Jewish scholars, including Germain Ayache and Ernest Gellner, when his temper flared, prejudices, sometimes, would reveal themselves. For example, when Ayache contacted Hart asking him to contribute to an upcoming journal issue, Hart remarks "being Jewish, he always wants something for nothing."[273] This comment may seem to contrast sharply with Hart's earlier impression of Ayache in 1969, when he wrote, "Ayache is a very pleasant guy… a prodigious worker," mentioning that Ayache is "that rarity, a Jew who returned to Morocco."[274] Sometimes, even, this kind of rhetoric was not only applied to Ayache, but also seen in his analysis of Jews more broadly (as well as other groups.) By way of example, in a letter dated September 27, 1971, Hart complained about, "[t]hese Moroccan Jews… who claim to be Italians! I knew one once…. He insisted he was Italian – with a name like Aflalo?? (In Sephardic contexts Aflalo is as Jewish as Rappaport or Ginsburg is Ashkenazic!) Italian, my ass!"[275] Not only does Hart's denial of the ancestry claims of a swath of individuals based on his own incredulity trivialize the community members' ownership of their histories, but also his generalizing of an experience with one individual to define a whole group is a speculative practice that reinforces racialized logics. Furthermore, Jewish immigration from Italy to North Africa, particularly to modern-day Tunisia, from the early modern period to the nineteenth century was not uncommon and thus, the prospect in it of itself is not completely unfounded.[276] It is possible as well that this outburst comes from Jewish claims to European citizenship, given varying degrees of *protégé* status that were available to Moroccans both before and during the

Berbers were in contact with a very ancient population of color: the Haratin, who, up to the conquest of the desert by the white Berbers and the introduction of numerous blacks, seem to have settled [in] the Saharan oases… It has been asked if these ancient *haratin* come from an old and fixed mix, in which they formed another race….they do seem to form an actual race, even in the physical sense of the word…. Populations of southern Morocco must have contaminated with these elements of color… However, the mass of white Berbers of Morocco were not changed by these initial mixes with a colored race" [Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc: des origines à l'établissement du Protectorat français [History of Morocco: The Origins of the Establishment of the French Protectorate]* (Casablanca: Éditions Atlantides, 1949), 19-20].

[273] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 10 September 1970, Private Collection.

[274] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 12 July 1969, Private Collection.

[275] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 27 September 1971, Private Collection.

[276] Walters, Keith. "Education for Jewish Girls in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Tunis and the Spread of French in Tunisia." In *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa*, ed. by Emily Benichou Gottreich and Daniel J. Schroeter, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011), 259-62.

colonial period.[277] Although Mohammed Kenbib, in his extensive book on protégés, Jewish and otherwise, is quick to point out that such protection was not a universal for Moroccan Jews and depended, most often, on socioeconomic status.[278] He also notes throughout the book that Italian power, in particular, was not always at the same height as other European states present in Morocco (France, Spain, and Great Britain), bringing into question just how common Italian protégé status among any Indigenous group might have been.[279]

I highlight these moments in Hart's letters because, as Boum notes in his research on memory in southern Morocco, humor can reveal "underlying ideologies."[280] Dennis Howitt and Kwame Owusu-Bempah specifically elaborate the relevance of humor to understanding how race functions in society, noting that "[t]he existence of jokes about racial categories is testament to the importance of these categories."[281] Certainly, Hart's worldview was likely not uncommon for the time period and his social milieu. Nevertheless, the racial categorizations that populate the humor in Hart's letters are reinforced in his publications, thus meriting note, at the very least.

Interestingly, Hart repeatedly draws comparisons between Moroccan Jews and Ḥarāṭīn communities throughout his letters. For example, on August 5, 1970, Hart considers "structural affinities" between Ḥarāṭīn and Jewish communities, claiming, as mentioned in other letters cited

[277] Mohammed Kenbib, "Les protégés: contribution à l'histoire contemporaine du Maroc [The protégés : Contribution to the Contemporary History of Morocco]" Ph.D. diss., (Faculté des Leettres et des Sciences Humaines – Rabat, 1996).
[278] Specifically, Kenbib notes, "Diverse factors favored the Europeans' call [for protégés] among Jews. There was, among others, the fact that the latter did not hold towards the former the same prejudices as their Muslim compatriots, that the language obstacle did not pose [a problem] theoretically and one and the other shared the same interest for commercial expansion. The expanse of the relationships that certain Israelites, in their capacity as bankers, possessed within the Makhzen, both at the central and regional as well as local level represented, equally, a non-negligible factor, if not essential" (Kenbib, "Les protégés, 41-2).
[279] See in particular the section entitled "The Amazing Feat of the Italian Minister, 1869," which tells of the attempts, by one Italian official Stéfano Scovasso in 1869, to gain and maintain protégés: "Freshly promoted to minster, ready for all forms of outbidding and personally interested in the reinforcement of his legation's influence, Stéfano Scovasso concentrated all his efforts on the recruitment of protégés, taken essentially from the Jewish community. He disputed French leadership." The section details, in particular, one attempt on Scovasso's part to liberate a Moroccan prisoner who was claimed as an Italian protégé. In the end, Great Britain intervened in order to bring about a compromise. (Kenbib, "Les protégés," 55-7).
[280] Aomar Boum, "Muslims Remember Jews in Southern Morocco: Social Memories, Dialogic Narratives, and the Collective Imagination of Jewishness," Ph.D. diss., (University of Arizona, 2006), 507.
[281] Dennis Howitt and Kwame Owusu-Bempah, "Race and Ethnicity in Popular Humour," in *Beyond a Joke: the Limits of Humour*, ed. by Sharon Lockyer and Michael Pickering (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 62. Similarly, Raúl Pérez has argued that "racist humor and ridicule has long been used… as a discourse that unites interlocutors around racial feelings and racist ideologies," and thus, "works to reinforce… a 'white racial frame'" [Raúl Pérez, "Racism without Hatred? Racist Humor and the Myth of 'Color-blindness'," *Sociological Perspectives* 60, 5 (2017): 957].

above, that the former does not have any tribal structure.[282] The questioning of any tribal structure among Ḥarāṭīn communities also occurs in Hart's published writing.[283] Again on August 18, 1970, Hart brings up the issue, pointing out that "Gellner has made no more noise on the subject of Haratin non-tribalism being a 'stereotype.'"[284] Of course, it is not possible to know exactly what Gellner said to Hart on the issue, but I wonder if he cautioned any assumption that the sociopolitical structure of a community racialized as Black would be any less complex than that of the Ayth 'Atta or other communities associated with whiteness. Hart does concede that "what's needed is good solid fieldwork," yet he affirms that "in the absence of it [fieldwork] and on the basis of available evidence, I stick by my guns on this one."[285] He then says he will consult Hazmaoui for "[c]ould easily be he remembers some crucial point which I forgot to note down."[286] Later in that same letter, he notes that another researcher, Briggs (likely Lloyd Cabot Briggs, Jr.),[287] could shed some "Algerian light" on the "structural parallels" between Ḥarāṭīn and Jewish communities.

Importantly, Hart alludes to the racialized logics that likely impacted why more research has been done on Moroccan Jews than Ḥarāṭīn: "I'd say we are considerably better documented than we are on the Haratin, simply because everyone has always thought of these Jews as 'interesting' whereas the Haratin are just 'there' – if you follow me."[288] Hart seems to be pointing out that white Euro-America was likely surprised to learn that Jews have lived in Africa for centuries due to the following set of assumptions that characterize dominant racialized logics common at the time: (1) that Jews are a Semitic people residing primarily in largely European

[282] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 5 August 1970, Private Collection.
[283] See "Introduction" in *Dadda 'Atta*, where Hart describes "Negroid Haratin oasis cultivators" as "organized in a semi-tribal fashion at best." (Hart, *Dadda 'Atta*, 3); and see also in "Les Ait 'Atta" where he defines Ḥarāṭīn as "very ancient black populations, settled in the desert, calm date cultivators almost without tribal organization" (Hart, "Les Ait 'Atta," 57).
[284] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn 18 August 1970, Private Collection.
[285] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn 18 August 1970, Private Collection.
[286] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn 18 August 1970, Private Collection.
[287] Likely referring specifically to Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norima Lami Guede, "No More Forever: A Saharan Jewish Town," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* 55, no. 1 (1964): 75-88.
[288] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 18 August 1970, Private Collection.

(a.k.a. white) contexts; (2) that Africa, aside from the far north, is home to non-white, non-Semitic, Black communities only; and (3) that Jews are not brown and Black in the same way as African communities. It is thus clear why, as Hart summarized, Ḥarāṭīn communities would be viewed by this Euro-American public as "just 'there'," since these assumptions presume the existence of Black (in a Euro-American perspective) people throughout the African continent. The similar experiences of Moroccan Jewish and Ḥarāṭīn communities would continue to occupy Hart's thoughts long after these letters are written. For example, in "Right and Left in the Atlas Mountains: Dual Symbolic Classifications among Moroccan Berbers," Hart affirms that there are a set of "terms," including "Jew" and "Hartani or black," which "are highly repugnant… to Central Atlas Berber notions of what constitutes 'right thinking' about human behavior."[289] Again, lacking information on exactly what the informant or set of informants from whom Hart gathered these terms specifically said, his comments leave me, and perhaps other scholars, eager to examine further the notion of difference among North African communities, writ large.

I want to conclude this section by offering what I think are directions for future study on race in North Africa that can be gleaned from unfinished conversations in Hart's letters. First, Hart mentions in his letters having heard that Ḥarāṭīn community members tried, at least once, to use legal recourse in their fight for land rights against certain figures in the 'Ait Atta community. Specifically, in a letter dated October 9, 1973, Hart asks Ross Dunn if he knows the address of Patrice Blacque-Belair, then economic advisor to the United Nation's Development Program,[290] because "I just came across a 1964 notation in my notes which came from him to the effect that the Haratin of the Tarnata region (around Zagora) were all set to employ a Casablanca lawyer in order to recuperate land which they claimed the Ait 'Atta had

[289] Hart, David, "Right and Left in the Atlas Mountains: Dual Symbolic Classifications among Moroccan Berbers," *Journal of North Africa Studies* 4, no. 3: 36.
[290] After serving as an advisor to the first prime minister of independent Morocco.

usurped from them before the Protectorate."[291] As far as I know, little to no research has been done about the fight for land rights among the Ḥarāṭīn.

Second, on a related note, I believe much more work should be done on the complex relationships between Amazigh and Black Moroccan communities. The theme of slavery and the slave trade in Morocco runs through several of Hart's letters and he was particularly keen to understand Ayth 'Atta enslavement of Ḥarāṭīn communities as indicated above and in the following note in a letter dated June 6, 1968: "I think both my view and Levreau's are correct: most of the 'Atta, who live outside the Saghru, came over to the French without fighting… once the latter granted them their custom and their overlordship over the Haratin."[292] Certainly, Chouki El Hamel has begun this work with his short sub-section (seven pages,) entitled "The Berbers' Attitude to Blacks in Morocco," in his book *Black Morocco*, but a fully dedicated volume has yet to be written, it appears.[293]

Finally, I believe Hart's astute remarks on the relative lack of research on Black Moroccan communities as compared to Jewish Moroccans should be examined further. More specifically, considering that, especially in southern Morocco, Jewish and Black Moroccans have coexisted for centuries, if not millennia, certainly more research should be done to examine what was the nature of daily entanglements between these communities. In particular, how do we situate the role(s) of Jewish and Ḥarāṭīn communities in practices of racialized enslavement throughout the pre-Saharan region? Certainly, Aomar Boum has opened the path for such research with his book focused on intergenerational beliefs about (and memory of)

[291] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 9 October 1973, Private Collection.
[292] David M. Hart to Ross Dunn, 6 June 1968, Private Collection.
[293] Chouki El Hamel, "The Berbers' Attitude to Blacks in Morocco," in *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* by Chouski El Hamel (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 86-93.

former Jewish neighbors within communities in southern Morocco, *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco* (2013).

Part VIII: Conclusions

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Hart's extensive corpus of published writing and private correspondence sheds important light on numerous unresolved themes in the anthropology of North Africa, such as the need for additional research contextualizing historic entanglements between Amazigh and Black communities in Morocco. As other scholars have noticed,[294] the voices of communities racialized as Black in Morocco are largely missing in contemporary scholarship. Recent publications and conferences offering a critical perspective on race in North Africa certainly bode well for filling this void in the field. [295]

Just as Edwards described Leiris' *Phantom Africa* as a window into "the common sense of ethnographic practice under colonialism,"[296] I consider Hart's entire oeuvre, including his personal correspondence, an important perspective on the common sense of ethnographic practice under transition. Of course, one lone study cannot illuminate the full range of anthropological practice during this period, thus I hope to see additional research on his archive, among others, as they become available. Surely, a multilayered approach to writing, including both its inward- and outward-facing forms, can help broaden our understanding of the changing dynamics in anthropological practice over time.

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[294] Ilahiane, *Ethnicities*, xvi; Maha Marouan, "Incomplete Forgetting." *Islamic Africa* 7, no. 2 (2016): 267-271; Moha Ennaji, ed. *Minorities, Women, and the State in North Africa* (Trenton: The Red Sea Pres, 2016); Eve M. Troutt Powell, *Tell This in My Memory: Stories of Enslavement from Egypt, Sudan, and the Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); and Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[295] Cynthia J. Becker, *Blackness in Morocco: Gnawa Identity through Music and Visual Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020); Rouighi, *Inventing*; Maghrib Conference on Race, Gender, and Migration, organized by the Center for Maghrib Studies at Arizona State University (December 2019; Morocco's International Institute for Languages and Cultures); and "Africa and the Middle East: Beyond the Divides," organized by the Project on Middle East Political Science (June 2020; Columbia University).

[296] Edwards, "Introduction to the English Translation," 19.

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