

ON THE FIRST STEPS OF INSTITUTIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE FORMER PROTECTORATE OF SPAIN IN NORTHERN MOROCCO

Manuel J. Parodi Álvarez

Andalusian Academy of History
mparodi1971@gmail.com

DOI: 10.37935/iha.oan2024.010

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to consider the first steps of the establishment and construction of the management structures of the Archaeological Heritage in the North of Morocco, in the context of the political *status quo* of the Protectorate that emerged after the International Conference of Algeciras (1906). To achieve these objectives throughout our career as researcher we have approached the primary and secondary sources on the subject, taking into account both the archival documentation existing in Spain and Morocco on this issue, the Historiography on the subject and the current publications. Among the main conclusions emerging from the study of Archaeology in Northern Morocco we find that the archaeological discipline does not only have to do with research, since field research is inserted in a higher framework regarding the management, conservation and preservation of the Archaeological Heritage in Northern Morocco throughout the first half of the Twentieth Century, with Cultural Heritage in general and Archaeological Heritage in particular being a matter of entire Moroccan Sovereignty even under the Protectorate regime.

KEYWORDS

Archaeology | North of Morocco | Heritage Management | Spanish Protectorate

In this paper we wish to approach the first steps of the establishment and construction of the management structures of the Archaeological Heritage in the North of Morocco, in the context of the political *status quo* of the Protectorate that emerged after the International Conference of Algeciras (1906). From that time on, Spain would develop in the North-West of Morocco the first archaeological projects outside its own borders, and the North of Morocco would develop the first management, research and conservation structures of the Archaeological Heritage of the Sharifian Empire. In this way, Spain sought to insert itself into an international archaeological research field shared and led until then by the main Western powers, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy or the USA. But Spain would do so, however, in a way quite far from colonial archaeology; In this regard, for example, it should be noted that the ownership of Moroccan Cultural Heritage assets was legally guaranteed from the very beginning of this process, whilst their exit from the country was entirely prohibited; at the same time, Cultural Heritage Institutions such as the Tetouan Archaeological Museum (established in 1923) were created for the conservation, exhibition and safeguarding of those masterpieces of Moroccan Cultural and Historical Heritage.

In 1912, not without difficulty, the Spanish Protectorate was established in northern Morocco. The 1906 Algeciras International Conference guaranteed Spain a "zone of influence" in the North of the Maghreb, soon to become a "Protectorate Zone". This would mark from then on the mistrust between Spain and France: while Spain would consider that there was a dual Protectorate, which required the pooling of important decisions, France would generally look with disdain on what it considered a minor and subsidiary status of Spain (Gozalbes, 2008d; Madariaga, 2000, 2008, 2013; Muñoz, 2001a, 2001b; Núñez, 2001a, 2001b; Pintor and O'Neill, 2008). Tangier and its territory (the *Fahs*, attached according to Spanish "Africanists" to the Spanish Zone) remained outside the Protectorate as an "international city", a status it would maintain except for the period 1940-1945 when it was occupied by Spain (Sueiro, 1994). Other territories remained, such as the areas of the Spanish "Southern Protectorate" in Tarfaya and Cape Juby, as well as the former Spanish Sahara.

The administrative premises of the joint Spanish-Moroccan administration would lay the foundations for the legal nature of the territories subject to Spain's protectorate in northern Morocco, as well as for the relations between Spain and Morocco as subjects (active and passive, respectively) of this protectorate (without forgetting the other "protectorate" power, France). The administrative and legal system of the Spanish-Moroccan protectorate advocated respect for Morocco's international legal personality and Moroccan sovereignty over the "protected" territory (the whole of the French and Spanish zones).

The regime established between the two nations showed the duality of the legal nature of the *status quo*: two sovereign states, with two administrations functioning complementarily. On the one hand, a Moroccan administration headed by His Imperial Highness the *Khalifa* ("representative", "vicar"), the highest Moroccan authority (a member of the sultan's family, with the status of "imperial highness") who exercised his powers as the sovereign's representative (in particular legislative powers), expressing them through decrees (*dahirs*)¹. The *Khalifa* had a governmental apparatus, the *Makhzen*, coordinated by a *vizier*; there was also a consultative council made up of representatives of the territories of the Zone, which was appointed by the Sultan on the basis of a proposal made in this regard by the Spanish authorities (Verdugo and Parodi, 2010).

1. The *Dahirs* were documents directly emanating from the authority of the *Khalifa*, which placed them at the pinnacle of the legal system prevailing in the Spanish Zone of the Protectorate, *i.e.* in Northern Morocco.

From 1912 until 1956 (with Morocco's independence), several issues in Moroccan archaeology should be noted. The two zones were independent and almost watertight. There would be no common organisational, let alone research, plans between the Zones. Archaeologists – or practitioners of archaeology – would develop their activities with little contact and little mutual influence. In the French Zone, the great moment of archaeology would be from 1916 to 1940, while in the Spanish Zone, the role of archaeology would have a modest beginning (not to be forgotten the state of war in the territory from 1913 to 1927), gaining strength after the Spanish Civil War (1939), thanks to the arrival of Pelayo Quintero (Gozalbes, 2014) and the setting up of the new Archaeology Service, and experiencing a greater development between 1949 and 1956 under the direction of Miquel Tarradell. In the end, there was no harmonious archaeological development in Tangier as such (largely due to the internal organisation of the international city) and in fact, in the final decade of the Protectorate (Tangier's return to its international status after the Second World War), archaeology in the city and its countryside was in the hands of the Tangier History and Archaeology Society, a private organisation supported by the international administration (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b), while between 1913 and 1945 the archaeology of the Tangier region did not have a homogeneous direction, as was the case in the territories under Protectorate administration².

In theory this should not have been the case: the colonial powers were to advise and assist the development of a modern organisation in the Maghreb country as a whole (each “protecting” power with responsibilities in its Zone). In fact, in principle, the legislation that was passed for the safeguarding of the Heritage maintained certain premises in common. The Spanish administration was ahead of the French administration in approving the first legal text in this respect (in the French Zone it was approved on 13 February 1914, as opposed to the Khalifian regulations approved in the Spanish Zone in 1913) (Gozalbes and Parodi, 2011; Gozalbes, Parodi and Verdugo, 2013, Parodi, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b; Verdugo and Parodi, 2010). In the Spanish zone, the *dahir* (Royal Order) of 15 *Ramadan* 1331 (18 August 1913), concerning the “conservation of monuments and artistic and historical objects” (published in the *Official Gazette of the Zone*, no. 13, 1913, August, page 467) (Ruiz-Bravo, 1945), augured well for the preservation of the legacy left “by our elders, It is” one of the first and most significant chapters in the management of Cultural Heritage, being the first official document of relevance on Heritage issued by the Moroccan authority under the structures of the Protectorate. Article 1 of this regulation specifically addressed immovable heritage assets, stating that they

“are safeguarded by the Makhzen [i.e. the Khalifa's government]³, which will take care of their preservation, the pre-Islamic buildings, the palaces of our Cherifian ancestors, religious monuments, mosques, kubbas, medarsas, etc., the ruins of the old cities of the Empire, fortresses and walls, and in general all buildings of historical or artistic character, the ruins of the old cities of the Empire, fortresses and walls, and in general all buildings of historical or artistic character”.

Article 2 of this *dahir* stated that the makhzen could carry out all the work necessary for the conservation of monuments at its own expense. And Article 3 explicitly indicated the movable heritage:

“all objects of art or antiquity, such as statues, amphorae, columns, ceramic pieces, mosaics, carved wood, paintings, historical inscriptions and, in general, all objects of an artistic or historical nature, are also under the protection of the makhzen, and their destruction, transfer and sale abroad is forbidden, unless special authorisation is granted”.

2. The role played by César de Montalbán in Tangiers after 1945 (and in general the figure of this pioneer of North African archaeology) has yet to be studied in depth, as this archaeologist resigned from his duties in the Spanish Zone and moved to Tangiers at the end of the Second World War, and from that moment onwards he carried out his archaeological work in that territory. For the figure and work of Montalbán, cf.: Parodi, Díaz and Ghottes, 2013; Bernal, Parodi and Sánchez, 2013; Ramos et al, 2015; Parodi, 2015a, 2015b, 2018, 2019, 2020a, 2021a.
3. In this way, the responsibility of the Moroccan government is clearly established regarding the country's Historical and Cultural Heritage, which is understood as a matter of Moroccan Sovereignty, and therefore directly dependent on the Maghreb authority, regardless of whether the protectorate situation established joint management mechanisms, or even left (in practice) the core of the management of the Archaeological Heritage of the northern territory of Morocco in the hands of the Spanish High Commission of the Zone, through the cultural structures of the same.

Finally, in addition to appealing to the consciences of the faithful (*i.e.* citizens), the competent authorities were entrusted with the enforcement of this Royal Order (Valderrama, 1956).

The introduction of this heritage protection legislation (in the Spanish Zone from 1913, in the French Zone in 1914-1915) was a step forward: In Germany, a state-level instrument of protection would not be created until 1904, in France the Heritage protection law dates from 1913 (Ballart, 1997) and in Spain we find a first regulation, the Law of Archaeological Excavations of 1911, which would be followed in 1915 by the first (and most complete) Law of Historical and Artistic Monuments (Díaz-Andreu, 2002)⁴ [fig.01].

The French authorities, aware of the value of antiquities and heritage as a justification for “protective” action, gave priority to research into the classical world in their zone. Thus, in May 1915, a member of the *Commission de l'Afrique du Nord*, Louis Chatelain, arrived in Morocco, and the French created the *Service des Antiquités, Beaux-Arts et Monuments Historiques*, directed by Chatelain until 1941 (Gozalbes and Parodi, 2011; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011a). Despite the initial precariousness of the Service, installed in Volubilis, Chatelain's work began to produce positive results, especially in Volubilis itself, where German prisoners of the First World War were used in the cleaning and presentation of the ruins, tasks that after August 1916 would be carried out by Moroccan workers (Brouquier-Reddé, 2000; Brouquier-Reddé and Lenoir, 2000).

Chatelain's work was extended to *Sala* (Rabat) and *Banasa*. In 1935 the Service created its own journal, the *Publications du Service des Antiquités du Maroc*. Chatelain was mainly a scholar of Fine Arts, in the French tradition (sculptures, mosaics, buildings), and as an epigrapher, which became evident in his work (Chatelain, 1942, 1944) which had certain technical limitations (ceramics, coins, distinction of levels, working hypotheses...) and which, in the field of historical analysis, remained essentially in the hands of J. Carcopino (Carcopino, 1943). French archaeology in Morocco up to the eve of the Second World War benefited from previous experience in Tunisia and Algeria, with the Gsell school (Gsell, 1913-29), but had more limited results. In the case of Northern Morocco, after the *dahir* of 1913, the Spanish administration for its part focused on the organisation of education, which took up much of its relatively limited resources. This work had appreciable results and involved the best of Spain's official intelligentsia, although it exhausted the forces of Spain's weak administrative apparatus.

In the Spanish Zone, the disastrous action of a German company that, in order to obtain stone for use in the construction of the port of Larache, used (with a licence from the Moroccan authorities) the area of the North necropolis from the Roman period as a quarry (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011a) was stopped in Lixus. Moreover, the cleaning or clearing of the field of ruins was questioned by La Martinière after his visit to the site: *je me me suis représentée qui serait passé si Lixusavait la fortune d'être compris dans le territoire de notre protectorat...*, pointing out that, in his opinion, in the French Zone there was an *administration éclairée* (*sic*) under whose direction work of merit was being carried out (La Martinière, 1919), although this author belonged to the sector of French opinion that was opposed to Spain having its own space in Morocco, as evidenced by his words, which are far from innocent.

After 1913, the structures for the protection of heritage and research in northern Morocco were gradually put in place (Parodi, 2009). In 1916 the *Junta Superior de Historia y de Geografía de Marruecos* (or *Junta Superior de Estudios Históricos y Geográficos de Marruecos*) was created, which in 1919 was replaced by the *Junta Superior de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Marruecos* (JSMHAM), responsible for heritage protection and research, with its headquarters in the capital of the Spanish Protectorate, Tetouan, and with local offices (not very active) in some cities in the North of Morocco (Gozalbes, 2005a, 2012a, 2012b; Parodi, 2013a, 2021c; Díaz-Andreu, 2015). The direction of the JSMHAM would be the responsibility of the main Arabic interpreters, such as Clemente Cerdeira and later Emilio Álvarez Sanz-Tubau.

4. Published in the *Gaceta de Madrid* (predecessor of the BOE) on Friday, 5 March 1915; we take it from its publication in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* no. 66, May 1915, pp. 525-527.

II

LEY RELATIVA Á LOS MONUMENTOS NACIONALES
ARQUITECTÓNICOS ARTÍSTICOS

(BOGOTÁ DE MADRID) DEL TIEMPO 2 DE MARZO DE 1915).

Don Alfonso XIII, por la gracia de Dios y la Constitución, Rey de España;

A todos los que la presente vieren y entendieren, sabed: que las Cortes han decretado y Nos sancionado lo siguiente:

Artículo 1.º Se entiende por monumentos arquitectónicos artísticos, á los efectos de esta ley, los de mérito histórico ó artístico, cualquiera que sea su estilo, que en todo ó en parte sean como tales en los respectivos expedientes, que se incoarán, á petición de cualquier Corporación ó particular, y que habrán de incluirse en el catálogo que ha de formarse por el Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, con arreglo á lo dispuesto en la ley de 7 de Julio de 1911.

Art. 2.º La persona ó entidad que desee derribar un edificio declarado arquitectónico artístico ó respecto del cual esté incoado el expediente para obtener esa declaración, con arreglo al artículo anterior, solicitará el oportuno permiso del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes.

El Municipio, la Provincia y el Estado tendrán el derecho de tanteo para la compra del mismo ó de los elementos artísticos que lo integren, si su derribo no tuviese por objeto la reconstrucción en territorio nacional. Este derecho podrá ser ejercitado por dicho orden de preferencia y durante un período de tres meses para su adquisición, para su desmontaje y reconstrucción donde les convenga, ó para su conservación en los Museos municipales, provinciales ó nacionales.

En el caso de que á ninguna de dichas entidades conviniere su adquisición, el propietario podrá disponer libremente del inmueble.

Art. 3.º En ningún caso podrán exportarse al extranjero el

While the French were carrying out their archaeological work, the Spanish could not show the results of an investigation on the ground that had not yet begun. In April 1919, as mentioned above, the *Higher Board of Historical and Artistic Monuments of Morocco (JSMHAM)* was set up, following the model of the Spanish mainland, to ensure compliance with the *dahir* of 1913. At the same time, the administration undertook the restoration of mosques, which had their own administrative area as Moroccan religious buildings, as well as some city walls, such as those of Arcila and Tetouan. In 1921, the *JSMHAM* undertook its first archaeological initiative: the commissioning of an explorer, César Luis de Montalbán y Mazas, to survey the Tetouan valley (Parodi, 2019, 2020b) [fig.02].

Although César Montalbán had travelled the world since 1904 and his friend from Extremadura (born in Logrosán, in Cáceres), the spiritualist Roso de Luna (a disciple of Madame Blavatsky) had introduced him to archaeology, he was not yet an expert in the archaeological discipline (incipient at the time). Nevertheless, he managed to recognise relevant remains, locating and correctly identifying the ancient city of Tamuda, where he excavated in 1921 and 1922 (Parodi, Díaz and Ghottes, 2013). The atmosphere in which this work took place is narrated by a traveller who spent a few weeks in the Tamuda camp (Cabrera, 1924), reflecting the insecurity of the time (the period of the Annual disaster) with Tetouan beaten by the Rifian artillery and defended by the position of Kudia Tahar, at a short distance from Tamuda.

The relative delay in the organisation and development of research in the Spanish Zone had its roots in budgetary shortages, the lack of competent and adequate personnel, as well as in the serious problems arising from Rifian resistance to the establishment of the Protectorate's structures, with a state of open warfare affecting a large part of the territory entrusted to Spanish "protection", especially in its central and eastern sectors. It was in such a context that the Spanish authority commissioned Montalbán to survey in relation to its archaeological potentialities the Martín river valley, Pliny's *flumen Tamuda* (*Naturalis Historia* V.18) (Ghottes, 2011; Ghottes and Parodi, 2011, Parodi and Ghottes, 2018).



Fig. 02. The press reports on C. Montalbán's trip around the world: The San Antonio Express newspaper (Texas, USA) reports on his visit to Texas in November 1912 (source: Archivo Montalbán).

This Spanish explorer had no academic archaeological training (something completely unusual at the time); he had become interested in Archaeology during his travels and since his friendship with Mario Roso de Luna, an important Spanish esotericist of the time. After the success of his exploration in the Martilense valley (at a time when the structures of the administration of the Spanish Zone were being set up, including those related to the Historical Heritage), Montalbán was appointed in 1922 as “technical advisor” to the Junta, while he left his activities in Tamuda because of the war and went to work in Larache and its region, which was less affected by the war. From 1926, in the organisation chart of the administration of the Spanish Zone, and already with an Archaeological Service in it, we find César Montalbán as “inspector” of Antiquities of the JSMHAM (Parodi, 2009, 2013a). In 1927 that incipient archaeological area would benefit from the survey of Palaeolithic remains carried out by Hugo Obermaier (who identified some fifteen surface stations with materials from the Lower Palaeolithic to the Epipalaeolithic) (Ramos, 1998, 2002, 2008, 2011), from whom Montalbán would receive notions on the typology of flint and quartzite [fig.03,04]⁵.

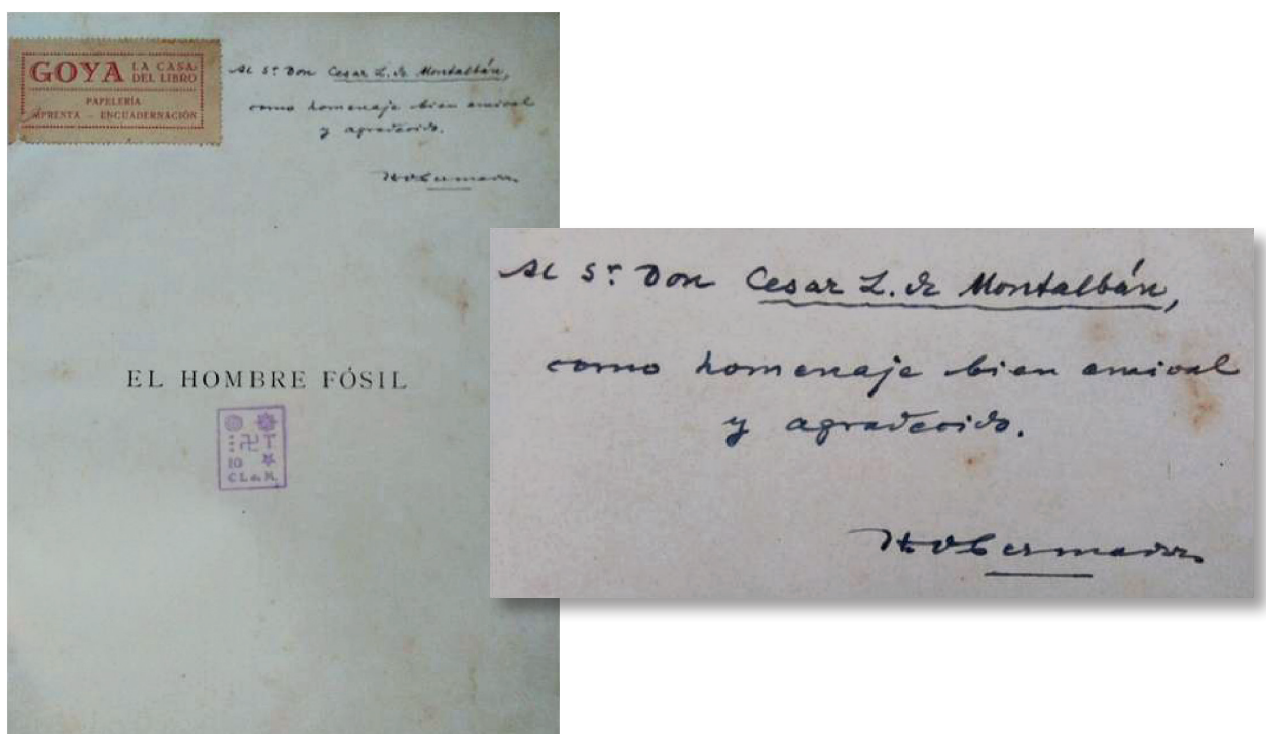


Fig. 03-04 Hugo Obermaier dedicates to César Montalbán, as a very friendly and grateful homage, a copy of The Fossil Man (under the title, stamp with Montalbán's seal, with the inverted swastika, the eight and five-pointed stars and the spiral) (source: Archivo Montalbán).

5. Another foreign scholar in Morocco contemporary of Montalbán was S. Ghirelli (1930, 1931, 1932).



Fig. 05. Materials from Tamuda, from the excavations of César Montalbán (source: Archivo Montalbán).

In Tetouan, the JSMHAM created an Archaeological Museum in 1923⁶. In 1928, on the other hand, the “Moroccan Museum of Ethnology” was also established also in Tetouan, focusing on Moroccan Fine and Traditional Arts, on the initiative of Mariano Bertuchi. The process of consolidation of the Tetouan Archaeological Museum underwent a second phase in November 1931, when it was given its own building (later the headquarters of the Spanish Library in Tetouan, and today the Cervantes Institute in that city) in which both the materials from the excavations at Tamuda [fig.05] and some of the objects found at Lixus were housed; some pieces from this site would form their own section in the Tetouan Museum. César Montalbán would draw up the *Catalogue of the objects in the Archaeological Museum of Tetouan*, a report after 1931, which confirms the heading of the *Central Board of Museums of Morocco*, a relatively imprecise name, but which, due to the reference to “Central”, must indicate the period of the Second Spanish Republic, probably dating from 1932; he would also draw up the *Archaeological Map of the Protectorate Zone* (1933).

In Tangiers (Sueiro, 1994), with its administrative structure in place between 1923 and 1928, the international administration would have had little interest in heritage issues. Thus, of the collection of archaeological objects belonging to the *Mission Scientifique*, part would leave the territory, after passing through different destinations (including its location in Tangier's *Licée Regnault*); The year 1928 must be considered the official date of the creation of the Museum of Tangier, when the collection organised by Michaux-Bellaire was installed in the Palace of the Bajah Ahmad al-Riffi in the Kasbah (Michaux-Bellaire and Buchet, 1908; Michaux-Bellaire and Biarnay, 1912; Michaux-Bellaire, 1921). The Museum languished in the 1930s, receiving materials mainly from private donations as well as from various finds.

6. The JSMHAM set up a first permanent exhibition, known as the Archaeological Museum of Tetouan as early as 1923, based on the work carried out by Montalbán in Tamuda; this first installation (which can already be considered as the Archaeological Museum of Tetouan, in its own premises and beyond a few deposits and a small exhibition), was to undergo a second phase when a new building was inaugurated in November 1931; the National Archaeological Museum of Rabat was created in 1931-1932, following the transfer of the *Service des Antiquités* from *Volubilis*; on the process of founding and consolidation of the Tetouan Archaeological Museum, 100 years old at the time of writing (1923-2023). Cf.: Parodi, 2013a, 2013b, 2018; Zouak and Parodi, 2011, 2012.

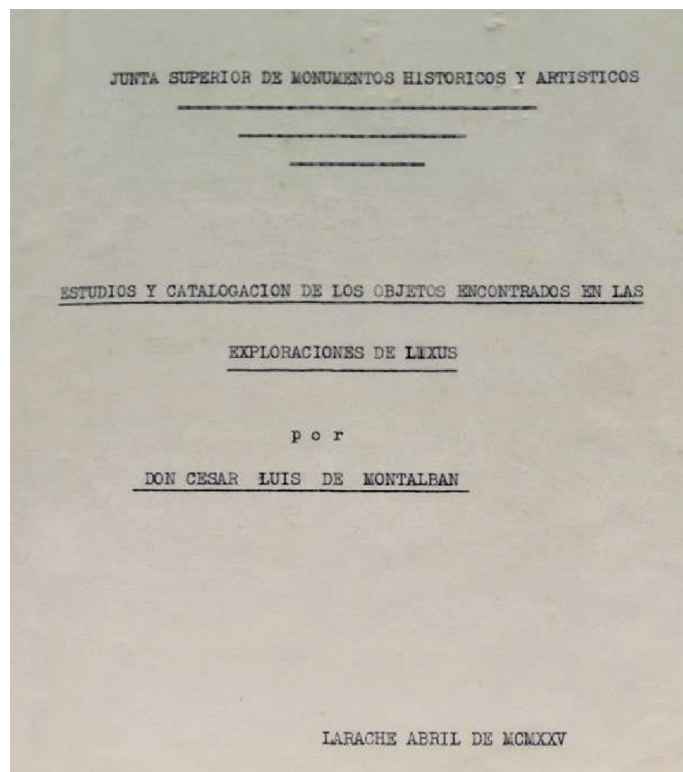


Fig. 06. Front cover of one of the reports by César Luis de Montalbán, destined for the JSMHAM in 1925 (source: Archivo Montalbán).

Returning to the research, different aspects of César Montalbán's contributions, hitherto not entirely well known or studied, have already been considered elsewhere (Gozalbes, 2008a; 2008b; 2008c). In 1921, in the course of his exploration of the Martil valley, he located a Roman site on the coast of Sidi Abdselam del Behar: a square structure measuring 60 metres on each side with a tower at each corner and different areas inside, where he found various materials. On the other hand, in the military position then known as *El Mogote* (Campos et al, 2015; Parodi, 2021d), this researcher identified the existence of the ruins of an ancient city, correctly relating them to Pliny's quote about the navigability of the Tamuda river and the existence on its banks of a city of the same name (*N.H. V.18...flumen Tamuda navigabile, quondam et oppidum...*), and finally he rightly identifies the site with the ancient *castellum* of Tamuda.

Montalbán wrote a *Memoir* on his excavations at Tamuda⁷, without ever publishing it [fig.06]; in it he refers to the necropolis, where he excavated several Punic tombs, two of which were intact; in one he found a coin from Cadiz with Punic characters; on the other hand, another necropolis in the northern area of the site had shaft graves as well as Roman burials made with tiles; the grave goods of some of these tombs had ceramic ointments of Punic type (Bernal, Parodi and Sánchez, 2013).

In 1923 and faced with the need to abandon the work at Tamuda, which had become a war front, Montalbán began excavations at *Lixus*, which in subsequent years he directed in the area of the Roman Forum (later identified by Ponsich as the "temple area"), in the necropolis, and above all, in the industrial complex of the fish salting factories from the Roman period, which he identified as warehouses of the port. The excavation at the Tamudan site in the years 1921-1922 had certain adventure overtones due to the war (Parodi, 2015b).

7. One of the original copies of Montalbán's *Memoria, Estudios sobre la situación de Tamuda y exploraciones realizadas*, is kept in the Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán, as we have noted; another is in the Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), and another in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. For a study of César Luis de Montalbán's *Memoria* in the AGA (Madrid), cf.: Bernal, Parodi and Sánchez, 2013.

Years later, well after the war in Morocco, at the celebration of the “First Archaeological Congress of Spanish Morocco” in 1953, it was pointed out that on more than one occasion those operating in Tamuda were forced to put aside their excavation tools and instead take up their rifles to defend themselves (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b). In this regard, we have the information provided by the account of Ángel Cabrera, one of those travellers in the north of Morocco who spent a couple of weeks at the site and who offers a revealing testimony of the not easy working conditions in “El Mogote” (i.e. Tamuda) in the years of the 19th century, Tamuda)⁸ in the 1920s:

“thanks to the initiative of Colonel Lasquetty and the industriousness and intelligence of the archaeologist Don César Luis de Montalbán, the work was already well advanced, having uncovered numerous houses, a large part of the wall, a large cistern and a swimming pool, and many objects of bronze, iron, glass, interesting pottery products, among them enormous amphorae, and numerous Punic and Roman coins (Cabrera, 1924) [fig.07].

Cabrera tells how they were forced to use rifles, due to the hostile action of bandits from the mountains who came down to the valley to steal cattle (Cabrera, 1924). In addition to these incidents, Cabrera also indicates that *a museum had begun to be set up* in the General Secretariat of the Protectorate, with objects from the work carried out in *Tamuda*, such as a series of liquid measures, a large lead plate, small bronze objects with various figures of gods, clay lamps, ring stones and mortars for grinding perfumes (Cabrera, 1924; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b).

If the Historiography knows with greater precision the state of the question of the first moments of the research at “El Mogote” it is especially thanks to the report by Manuel Gómez Moreno after his visit (who would give it to the press in 1922 and 1924) and subsidiarily, by some details collected by a Portuguese scholar a short time later (Fontes, 1924; Gozalbes, 2008c). Montalbán's archaeological work at Tamuda [fig.08] in 1921 and 1922 (Gozalbes, 2005a, 2005b, 2005d, 2008a; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b; Parodi, 2021d), as noted, were crowned with some success, which led to the visit of Manuel Gómez Moreno, professor at the Central University of Madrid, resulting in the writing of a report by this researcher (Gómez Moreno, 1922, 1924), in which he indicated the existence of the pre-Roman city, destroyed in the conquest of Mauritania by Rome (begun under Caligula and culminated by his uncle and successor, Claudius) (Gozalbes, 1986, 1991, 2002, 2005c, 2009b, 2015b), and the subsequent construction (eccentric with respect to the layout of the destroyed Mauritanian city, on which it was built, which was no coincidence as the change of orientation of the new site with respect to the old one highlighted the triumph of Roman arms and the uprooting of the site with respect to the previous settlement) of the Roman *castellum* which, from ceramics and coins, Gómez Moreno would date to the beginning of the 2nd century, with significant remodelling in the 3rd century. This

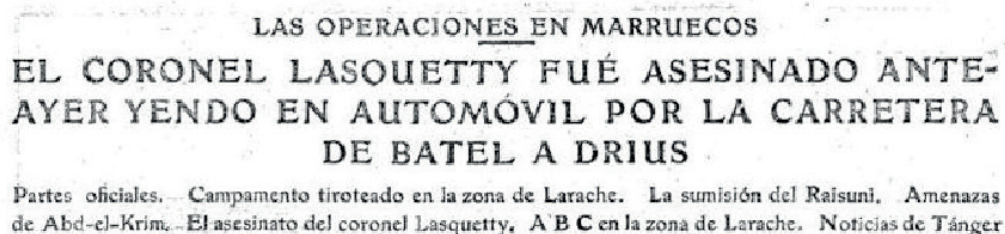


Fig. 07. The death of Colonel Juan Lasquetty (Montalbán's collaborator) in the press of the time, ABC of 15 August 1922 (source: ABC newspaper archive).

8. On the correct identification of Tamuda by Montalbán, and the publication of this identification by Gómez Moreno (as we have pointed out, it was Montalbán who correctly identified the site, while Gómez Moreno was the first to publish this identification, taking the credit for the identification of the ruins of “El Mogote” with Tamuda). Cf.: Parodi, 2015a, 2015b.

researcher correctly identified the coins of the Tamuda mint, erroneously attributed by Müller to *Thamusida*, with the help of the fact that they had appeared in abundance in the excavations at Montalbán (Traidler, 1932a, 1932b; Gozalbes, 1997, 2006b). Thus, the Tamuda mint would be the first to be identified in the territory on the basis of (and thanks to) archaeological field research, and thanks to the combined but not joint efforts of Gómez-Moreno and Montalbán⁹.

As mentioned *above*, Montalbán's excavations in *Lixus* began in September 1923; we have information about them in Montalbán's Memoir on these works, entitled *Studies and excavations carried out in the city of Lixus*, the fifth of the *Memoirs* presented to the *JSMHAM*, preserved in the Museum of Tetouan and almost certainly written in 1927. The excavations at this western site were centred on the highest part of the city (the area of temples around the Roman Forum) and involved a considerable amount of earthmoving. There, Montalbán noted the presence of an important building from the Roman period, a basilica, which he considered to have been built on the remains of an earlier Phoenician temple; Montalbán detected its antiquity and monumentality, considering it to be nothing less than a building of a "Mycenaean" nature and character in its origins.

Montalbán carried out excavations in other areas of *Lixus* in the 1920s, such as in what was understood to be a small Christian basilica, in some baths from the Late Imperial period and especially in the lower part of the city, in the area near the river, in the large industrial installations for salting fish, which at first he was unable to interpret and understand their true nature, considering that they were silos to facilitate the transfer of goods to the port or even their storage. The photographs published of these works from the 1930's show that the excavation campaigns at Montalbán brought to light the most remarkable part of the Roman installations related to the fish salting activity, above all Ensemble no. 10, in which the level of razing (and consequent loss) had been lower, so that the walls were larger.



Fig. 08: Various materials found in the excavations of C. Montalbán in Tamuda (source: Archivo Montalbán).

9. Montalbán was the first archaeologist to correctly identify the ruins of the site with the Plinian city of "Tamuda", although it was Gómez Moreno the first to publish this identification, as we have pointed out above. The work of C. Montalbán and M. Gómez Moreno in the Protectorate -specially regarding the identification of Tamuda- are considered in a greater extent in: Parodi, 2015a, 2019.

The materials collected at Lixus by Montalbán reached a not inconsiderable volume, amounting to some 2,000 pieces, including numerous examples of ceramic material, fragments of unidentified or unclassified *sigillata* pottery (with potter's marks) and a fragment of a marble statue representing the god Apollo. Apart from pieces lost or missing (or in the hands of private collectors), some of the finds were sent to the Tetouan Archaeological Museum, which had only recently been created at the time. Among the coins sent to the Museum were two pieces from Lixus, two from Tamuda (Numidian), an unidentified indigenous coin, nine from Tingi, two from Juba II, two from the *Castulo* coinage, and 188 Roman imperial bronze pieces from the 2nd to 4th centuries AD, with a certain predominance of those of Constantine (Mateu and Llopes, 1949).

Prehistoric archaeology in Morocco at this time in the French and Spanish spheres (Ramos, 1998, 2002, 2008) was initially of little interest to the authorities, as it had less weight in French (and Spanish) colonial propaganda. There were, however, pioneers, such as Louis Siret (who took advantage of a stay as a mining engineer to carry out prospecting) or the aforementioned Obermaier, with occasional activities in the Larache-Arcila and Tétouan areas. It is worth mentioning the work of two promoters, the priest Henry Koehler (who studied Christianity in Morocco) and the entomologist Maurice Antoine, who participated in the creation of the *Société de Préhistoire du Maroc* (1926), which began to publish a Bulletin, making known a number of surface stations. During this first period, the *Société de Préhistoire du Maroc* fell into disrepute, which was only saved after World War II, due to the closeness of many of its members to the Atlantean theories.

Antoine surveyed several regions of Morocco, with the discovery of dozens of prehistoric surface stations, with the studies carried out in the Chaouia (Casablanca region) being particularly important. Koehler also surveyed on the surface, identified industries at a time when his study of the Maghreb was just beginning, and was active in the territory of Rabat, as well as between Tangiers and Larache (where he located 18 stations). Between 1928 and 1932, thanks to his apostolic assignment in Tangier, Henry Koehler carried out surveys at surface stations in northern Morocco, also excavating in a cave at Achacar, where he found examples of Neolithic cordial and decorated pottery, which he identified as such, although the stratigraphy established was not as clear. At the surface stations, he collected materials from the Lower Palaeolithic, in carved quartzite, at Boubana (a neighbourhood near Tangier) and Seguedla, flint pieces of better quality that he classified as Mousterian (many of which were Aterian), especially at *le Fôret Diplomatique* in Tangier, or around Tnin de Sidi lamani and M'zora; Koehler indicated that the best quality pieces of the 18 stations he identified came from the Krimda station.

The relevance of prehistoric finds in Algeria at the time, the dimensions that prehistory was beginning to take on in British-colonised Central Africa and a gradual interest in the discipline would contribute to strengthening research into prehistory, which began to occupy a position of its own within the colonialist disciplines (Robertshaw, 1990). The change was remarkable and the administration of the French Zone decided to recognise and give official status to prehistory in its territorial archaeology, opening the door to the great discoveries of the Maghreb Quaternary. This recognition took place in Morocco in 1932 with the appointment of Armand Ruhlmann as *inspecteur des antiquitéspréhistoriques* of the *Service des Antiquités*, although when he arrived in Morocco as a young man, Ruhlmann had only worked in the protohistoric and Roman world (Antoine, 1951). From his first works in Morocco he would achieve recognition as a specialist in prehistory, signing the first doctoral thesis on Moroccan prehistory (with research on the caves of El Khenzira in the area of Mazagan), published in 1936. He was the first to work with geologists (such as René Neuville, who arrived in 1940 from his consular posting in Gibraltar); he carried out surveys to locate surface stations, systematised for the first time the Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic of Morocco and excavated the caves of El Khenzira and Dar es Soltane, dying in an accident while on duty during the excavation of the cave of El Aouin in eastern Morocco (1948).

On the Spanish side, there is little to compare in the field of prehistory (Gozalbes, 1974, 1975a, 1975b, 1977; Bravo and Bellver, 2004; Bravo, Bellver and Blanco, 2004). The beginnings of prehistoric (structural) research in the Spanish area, as mentioned above, date back to the scientific visit made in 1927 by Hugo Obermaier, a priest of German origin and naturalised Spanish citizen, professor at the Central University of Madrid and academic of History, who was carrying out an intense prospecting campaign (on the Iberian Peninsula),

work which led to the discovery of various Palaeolithic surface sites in Spain. As soon as the Rif War was over (in 1927), which had prevented archaeological fieldwork from being carried out normally, the exploration would come to represent the application in the northern territory of Morocco of the archaeological prospecting technique that Obermaier was then developing in Spain. This author pointed out that one of the most motivating factors (with regard to fieldwork in northern Morocco) was precisely the absolute lack of information and knowledge that had existed until then, a particularly serious issue in an area that must have been a point of convergence of communication and human movements across the Strait of Gibraltar in prehistoric times (Breuil, 1921; Ramos, 2011b). The group of Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic stations (what Obermaier has come to call the "Capsian") stretched from the Lakkus River to the Tahadart River (Zinat and Cuesta Colorada) (Bokbot and Onrubia, 1992; Bouzouggar, Kozłowski and Otte, 2002; Bouzouggar, 2003; Bouzouggar et al, 2006; Bouzouggar and Barton, 2006, 2012), as well as from the Cabo Negro area (Mdiq railway station) to the right bank of the River Martil (in the areas of the Tamuda and Quitzan sites).

In any case, with the Second Republic, after the installation of the Archaeological Museum of Tetouan in its new headquarters in 1931 and the publication of the Archaeological Map of Montalbán (1933), a major project was undertaken: the excavation of the protohistoric monument of M'Zora (Chouahed, in the Arcila area), an activity that closed the previous stage (in terms of results) and opened the next (in terms of objectives). The aim was to explore and make the monument visitable with a view to converting it into a sort of 'archaeological park' as a centre of attraction for tourism and a showcase for the capacity of the Spanish-Moroccan protective administration (Gozalbes 2006a)¹⁰. Its conditions were undeniable: a circle of monoliths of some 54 metres in diameter, with a paved interior corridor, and with an earthen mound inside that reached up to 6 metres in height [fig.09].

Montalbán's intervention (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b) had two distinct phases; the first was quite successful and involved cleaning the outline of the circle, while at the same time uncovering singularities such as the monoliths, the paving and the earth retaining wall. The second phase involved the opening of a first trench, an initiative undertaken in the search for a corridor (which was thought to exist within the site), followed by a second. A cist burial was found inside the site, apparently containing a metal object (a knife, dagger or small sword). The excavation would be abruptly interrupted by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War: Montalbán was arrested by the rebel troops on site, in Mezora, and did not complete the report on his work at the site, which was abandoned, representing the beginning of the process of deterioration of the monument, thanks to the abandonment of the space, and the action of "treasure hunters" (Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b)¹¹. All of this put an end to the project designed for M'zora. After the Civil War, a new phase in the management of archaeological heritage in the Protectorate began (Gozalbes, 2003, 2007, 2009a, 2014, 2015a; Gozalbes and Parodi, 2011b; Parodi and Gozalbes, 2011b; Parodi, 2008c, 2011, 2017a, 2017b, 2020a, 2021a, 2021b, 2022-2023; Ramos et al, 2015).

10. For Tourism policy in the Protectorate at the time, cf. the work of E. Martín Corrales.

11. The archaeological work began in 1932-1933 with the cleaning of the site, which yielded positive results, as it revealed the characteristics of the monument, with its exact number of monoliths, and the existence of the tiling and the earth retaining wall of the tumulus (with a Hellenistic type of rigging). But problems accumulated from the excavation process in the artificial tumulus, which was heavily affected by unexpected results (it was not a corridor tomb as expected); to top it all off, the data was lost (discovery of a cist with a metallic object in the form of a dagger or a small sword, based on various oral testimonies...), in July 1936, the excavation of the burial mound was completed in the year 1936, when the excavation of the burial mound was completed., in July 1936, finally, César Montalbán was arrested at gunpoint by the troops who had taken up arms against the Spanish Republic, after which the archaeological site was looted and severely damaged, all as a result of the search for treasures at the place.



Fig. 09. M'zora, 1920s-30s (source: Archivo Montalbán).

REFERENCES

- ANTOINE, Maurice – “Le développement des études préhistoriques au Maroc”. *Bulletin de la Société de Préhistoire du Maroc*, II, 3-4 (1951), 85-99.
- BALLART, Josep – *El patrimonio histórico y arqueológico: Valor y uso*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1997.
- BERNAL, Darío, PARODI, Manuel Jesús, SÁNCHEZ, Francisco – “La Tamuda de Montalbán en el AGA de Madrid. El Dossier de las excavaciones de 1921-1922”. BERNAL, Darío et al (eds.) – *Tamuda. La cronosecuencia de la ciudad mauritana y del castellum romano: Resultados del Plan de Investigación del PET (2008-2010) - Monografías del Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2013 Cádiz, IV, pp. 89-135.
- BOKBOT, Youssef, ONRUBIA, Jorge – “La basse vallée de l’Oued Loukkos à la fin des temps préhistoriques”. *Lixus - Colection de l’École Française de Rome*, 166 (1992), 17-26.
- BOUZOUGGAR, Abdeljalil – “La fin du Paléolithique Moyen sur la façade atlantique marocaine entre Tánger et Rabat: Perspectives paléogéographiques”. *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie*, 23 (2003), 75-84.
- BOUZOUGGAR, Abdeljalil, BARTON, Nick – “Les cultures préhistoriques du Maroc Nord-Occidentale vers la fin du Pléistocène Supérieur dans leur cadre régional”. BERNAL, Darío et al (eds.) – *Actas del I Seminario Hispano-Marroquí de Especialización en Arqueología*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2006, pp. 121-132.
- _____ – “The identity and Timing of the Aterian in Morocco”. HUBLIN, Jean-Jacques, MCPHERRON, Shannon P. (eds.) – *Modern Origins: A North African Perspective. Vertebrate Paleobiology and Paleoanthropology*. New York: Springer, 2012, pp. 93-105.
- BOUZOUGGAR, Abdeljalil et al – “Le Paléolithique supérieur au Maroc: Apport des sites du Nord-Ouest et de l’Oriental”. SANCHIDRIÁN, José Luis, MÁRQUEZ, Ana María, FULLOLA, Josep Maria (eds.) – *La cuenca mediterránea durante el Paleolítico Superior: IV Simposio Cueva de Nerja*. Málaga: Fundación Cueva de Nerja, 2006, pp. 138-150.
- BOUZOUGGAR, Abdeljalil, KOZLOWSKI, Janusz, OTTE, Marcel – “Étude des ensembles lithiques atériens de la grotte d’El Aliya à Tanger (Maroc)”. *L’Anthropologie*, 106 (2002), 207-248.
- BRAVO, Antonio, BELLVER, Juan Antonio – *Prehistoria del Rif oriental en la obra de Carlos Posac Mon*. Melilla: Instituto de Cultura Mediterránea, 2004.
- BRAVO, Antonio, BELLVER, Juan Antonio, BLANCO, María José – “Aproximación a una bibliografía española sobre la Prehistoria del Norte de África”. BRAVO, Antonio, BELLVER, Juan Antonio (eds.) – *Prehistoria del Rif oriental en la obra de Carlos Posac Mon*. Melilla: Instituto de Cultura Mediterránea, 2004, pp. 15-51.
- BREUIL, Henri – “Nouvelles cavernes ornées Paléolithiques dans la province de Málaga”. *L’Anthropologie*, XX-XXI, 3 (1921), 239-250.
- BROUQUIER-REDDÉ, Véronique – “Les brigades topographiques au Maroc (plaine du Gharb et région de Volubilis)”. *L’Africa Romana*, XIII (2000): 959-989.
- BROUQUIER-REDDÉ, Véronique, LENOIR, Béliane – “Bibliographie du Maroc Antique”. *L’Africa Romana*, XIII (2000) : 991-1072.
- CABRERA, Ángel – *Magreb-el-Aksa: Recuerdos de cuatro viajes por Yebala y por el Rif*. Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1924.
- CAMPOS, Juan Manuel et al – “El blocao del Mogote: El descubrimiento de una ‘nueva’ torre romana del sistema defensivo tamudense”. CAMPOS, Juan Manuel, BERMEJO, Javier (eds.) – *El urbanismo militar del Castellum de Tamuda: La castrametación interior*. Rome: L’Erma di Breschneider, 2015, pp. 141-172.
- CARCOPINO, Jérôme – *Le Maroc Antique*. Paris: Gallimard, 1943.
- CHATELAIN, Louis – *Inscriptions latines du Maroc*. Rabat-Paris: Geuthner, 1942.
- _____ – *Le Maroc des romains. Etude sur les centres antiques de la Maurétanie occidentale*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1944.
- DÍAZ-ANDREU, Margarita – *Historia de la Arqueología: Estudios*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2002.
- _____ – “The Archaeology of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco: A Short History”. *African Archaeology Review*, 32 (2015): 49-69.
- FONTES, Joaquim – “Impressões duma visita a Tamuda e Tetuão”. *Arqueologia e Historia*, 3 (1924): 75-87.
- GHIRELLI, Angelo – *Estudios marroquíes: Tamuda (apuntes históricos sobre las ruinas de Tamuda)*. Ceuta: Imp. Africa, 1930.
- _____ – “El túmulo de Beni Maadan”. *África - Revista de Tropas Coloniales*, 11 (1931): 53-55.
- _____ – “Apuntes de Prehistoria norte-marroquí”. *Notas y comunicaciones del Instituto Geológico y Minero de España*, IV, 4 (1932): 23-97.

GHOTTES, Mustapha – “Le fleuve Tamuda : Le fleuve aux cinq noms”. AA.VV. – *Arqueología y Turismo en el Círculo del Estrecho - Monografías del Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2011, pp. 529-544.

GHOTTES, Mustapha, PARODI, Manuel Jesús – “Le fleuve Tamuda”. PARODI, Manuel Jesús, GOZALBES, Enrique (eds.) – *Pelayo Quintero en el primer centenario de 1912*. Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 2011, pp. 423-454.

GÓMEZ MORENO, Manuel – “Descubrimientos y antigüedades en Tetuán”. *Boletín Oficial de la Zona del Protectorado de España en Marruecos*, 10 (1922): 5-13.

____ – “Descubrimientos y antigüedades de Tetuán”. *Revista Hispano-Africana*, 9 (1924): 9-15.

GOZALBES, Enrique – “Nuevas perspectivas sobre las industrias prehistóricas de Tetuán”. *Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Española de Tetuán*, 11 (1974): 57-86.

____ – “Nuevas perspectivas sobre las industrias prehistóricas de Tetuán”. *Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Española de Tetuán*, 11 (1975a): 57-86.

____ – “Las edades del Cobre y Bronce en el N.O. de Marruecos”. *Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Española de Tetuán*, 12 (1975b): 7-32.

____ – “En torno a las industrias post-paleolíticas del N.O. de Marruecos”. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 34 (1977): 405-416.

____ – “El ejército de ocupación en Mauritania Tingitana en el s. I”. *Hispania Antiqua*, 20 (1986): 253-272.

____ – “La intervención de la Mauritania de Bogud en las guerras civiles romanas en la provincia Hispania Ulterior”. *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*. Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, 1994, pp. 287-294.

____ – “La colección numismática de Tamuda del periodo mauretano”. *Cuadernos del Archivo Municipal de Ceuta*, 11 (1997): 7-22.

____ – “Tumultos y resistencia indígena en Mauritania Tingitana (s. II)”. *Gerión*, 20, I (2002): 451-485.

____ – “África Antigua en la historiografía y arqueología de época franquista”. WULFF, Fernando, ÁLVAREZ, Manuel (eds.) – *Antigüedad y franquismo (1936-1975)*. Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 2003, pp. 135-160.

____ – “Los pioneros de la arqueología española en Marruecos (1880-1921)”. *Archaia*, 3-5 (2005a): 110-117.

____ – “Los inicios de la investigación española sobre Arqueología y Arte árabes en Marruecos (1860-1960)”. *Boletín de la Asociación española de Orientalistas*, XLI, (2005b): 225-246.

____ – “El final del rey Ptolomeo de las *Mauretaniae*”. *Gerión*, XXIII, 1 2005c: 189-204.

____ – “Las excavaciones arqueológicas de 1921-1922 en Tamuda (Tetuán, Marruecos)”, *Cuadernos del Archivo Central de Ceuta* 14, (2005d): 325-342.

____ – “El monumento protohistórico de Mezora (Arcila, Marruecos)”. *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*, XXVI (2006a): 323-348.

____ – “La circulación monetaria alto-imperial en el norte de la Mauretania Tingitana”. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 19-20 (2006b): 211-227.

____ – “Algunos avatares de la arqueología colonial en el Norte de Marruecos (1939-1942)”. *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas*, 43 (2007): 77-96.

____ – “La arqueología española en Marruecos (1921-1936): Memorias y desmemorias”. MORA, Gloria, PAPI, Concha, AYARZAGÜENA, Mariano (eds.) – *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de la Arqueología*. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Historia de la Arqueología, 2008a, pp. 183-195.

____ – “Los primeros pasos de la Arqueología en el Norte de Marruecos”. BERNAL, Darío et al (eds.) – *En la Orilla africana del Círculo del Estrecho: Historiografía y proyectos actuales - Colección de Monografías del Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2008b, pp. 33-61.

____ – “Notas de historiografía arqueológica: la visita de Joaquim Fontes a Tetuán y Tamuda (Marruecos) en 1923”. *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueología*, XXI, 1 (2008c): 285-295.

____ – “Los españoles y las antigüedades de Marruecos: de Ali Bey el Abbasi al inicio del Protectorado (1800-1936)”. BELTRÁN, José, HABIBI, Mohammed (eds.) – *Historia de la Arqueología en el Norte de Marruecos durante el Protectorado y sus referentes en España*. Sevilla: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía / Universidad de Sevilla, 2008d, pp. 63-95.

____ – “El padre César Morán Bardón: la arqueología y la etnografía, de Salamanca a Marruecos”. *Salamanca - Revista de Estudios*, 57 (2009a): 51-63.

____ – “La frontera militar de Tamuda (Mauritania Tingitana)”. *Anejos de Gladius*, 13 (2009b): 1573-1583.

____ – *Tetuán: Arqueología, Historia y Patrimonio*. Tétouan: Publicaciones de la Asociación Tetuán-Asmir, 2012a.

- ____ – *Marruecos y el África Occidental en la Historiografía y Arqueología española*. Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, 2012b.
- ____ – “Arqueología española para un nuevo régimen: Martínez Santa-Olalla y el Norte de Marruecos”. *ONoba*, 3 (2015a): 3-14.
- ____ – “La ciudad mauritana y *castellum* militar romano de Tamuda (Tetuán, Marruecos). Investigaciones recientes”. *Cuadernos de Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*, 20 (2015b): 77-92.
- GOZALBES, Enrique, PARODI, Manuel Jesús – “Miguel Tarradell y la Arqueología del Norte de Marruecos”. AA.VV. – *Arqueología y Turismo en el Círculo del Estrecho - Monografías del Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2011, pp. 198-221.
- ____ – “Pelayo Quintero Atauri: la arqueología entre Cuenca, Cádiz y Marruecos”. GOZALBES, Enrique, PARODI, Manuel Jesús, GÁLVEZ, Ana María – *Pelayo Quintero Atauri (1867-1946): El sabio de Uclés*. Cuenca: Diputación Provincial, 2014, pp. 15-26.
- GOZALBES, Enrique et al – “Algunas notas sobre Arqueología y colonialismo: La Zona española del Protectorado marroquí, 1912-1945”. *ONoba*, 1(2013): 261-272.
- GSELL, Stéphane – *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*. Paris: Hachette, 1913-29.
- MARTINIÈRE, Henri – *Souvenirs du Maroc: Voyages et missions*. Paris: Plon, 1919.
- MADARIAGA, María Rosa – *España y el Rif: Crónica de una historia casi olvidada*. Melilla: Centro Asociado de Melilla, 2000.
- ____ – “La Conferencia de Algeciras de 1906: Una tregua en el reparto de Marruecos”. PINTOR, Pilar, O'NEILL, Rosabel (eds.) – *Actas del Congreso Internacional “La Conferencia Internacional de Algeciras de 1906. Cien años después”*. Algeciras: Fundación Municipal de Cultura José Luis Cano, 2008, pp. 161-182.
- ____ – *Marruecos, ese gran desconocido: Breve Historia del Protectorado Español*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2013.
- MATEU, Felipe – *Monedas de Mauritania: Contribución al estudio de la numismática de la Hispania Ulterior Tingitana según el Monetario del Museo arqueológico de Tetuán*. Tétouan: Publicaciones del Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Árabe, 1949.
- MICHAUX-BELLAIRE, Édouard – *Tanger et sa Zone*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1921.
- MICHAUX-BELLAIRE, Édouard, BUCHET, Gaston. “Fouilles dans la nécropole romaine de Tanger”. *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 6 (1908): 419-432.
- MICHAUX-BELLAIRE, Édouard, BIARNAY, Samuel – “La caverne des Idoles au sud du Cap Spartel”. *Archives Marocaines*, 18 (1912): 391-396.
- MUÑOZ, Roberto – “La Campaña de 1909”. AA.VV. – *Las Campañas de Marruecos, 1909-1927*. Madrid: Almena, 2001a, pp. 8-84.
- ____ – “Operaciones militares (1910-1918)”. AA.VV. – *Las Campañas de Marruecos, 1909-1927*. Madrid: Almena, 2001b, pp. 85-128.
- NÚÑEZ, Jesús Narciso – “La Marina de Guerra en las campañas de Marruecos (1909-1927)”. AA.VV. – *Las Campañas de Marruecos, 1909-1927*. Madrid: Almena, 2001a, pp. 195-256.
- ____ – “La Guardia Civil en las campañas de Marruecos (1909-1927)”. AA.VV. – *Las Campañas de Marruecos, 1909-1927*. Madrid: Almena, 2001b, pp. 257-301.
- PARODI, Manuel Jesús – “Arqueología española en Marruecos, 1939-1946: Pelayo Quintero de tauri”. *Revista de Prehistoria y Arqueología*, 15 (2007): 9-20.
- ____ – “Notas sobre Historiografía Arqueológica Hispano-Marroquí. 1939-1946, Pelayo Quintero”. BERNAL, Darío et al (eds.) – *En la Orilla africana del Círculo del Estrecho: Historiografía y proyectos actuales - Colección de Monografías del Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2008a, pp. 63-92.
- ____ – “Pelayo Quintero de Atauri. Apuntes de Arqueología hispano-marroquí, 1939-1946”. BELTRÁN, José, HABIBI, Mohammed (eds.) – *Historia de la Arqueología en el Norte de Marruecos durante el Protectorado y sus referentes en España*. Sevilla: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía / Universidad de Sevilla, 2008b, pp. 97-119.
- ____ – “Pelayo Quintero: Arqueología en las dos orillas del *Fretum Gaditanum*”. *L'África Romana*, IV (2008c): 2517-2526.
- ____ – “Notas sobre la organización administrativa de las estructuras de gestión del Patrimonio Arqueológico en el Marruecos Septentrional durante el Protectorado (1912-1956)”. *Herakleion*, 2 (2009): 117-141.
- ____ – “Pelayo Quintero. Crepúsculo en Tetuán”. PARODI, Manuel Jesús, GOZALBES, Enrique (eds.) – *Pelayo Quintero en el primer centenario de 1912*. Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 2011, pp. 309-322.

____ – “Tetuán, ciudad pionera en la gestión del Patrimonio Arqueológico en el norte de Marruecos”. CHERIF, Mhammad (ed.) – *De Al-Andalus a Tetuán: Actas del Homenaje al Profesor M. Benaboud*. Tétouan: University Abdelmalek Essaâdi, 2013a, pp. 259-288.

____ – “El Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán, 1923-1948: Algunas notas sobre una Institución del Patrimonio del Norte de África a principios del siglo XX”. JIMÉNEZ, Javier (ed.) – *Actas de los VI Encuentros de Arqueología del Suroeste*. Badajoz: Ayuntamiento de Villafranca de los Barros, 2013b, pp. 24-51.

____ – “La identificación del yacimiento de Tamuda (Tetuán, Marruecos): Algunas notas”. *L’Africa Romana*, XX (2015a): 873-884.

____ – “Arqueología y guerra: *Militaria* en Tamuda (Tetuán) hace cien años”. MEDINA, Nieves (ed.) – *Actas de los VII Encuentros de Arqueología del Suroeste*. Aroche: Ayuntamiento de Aroche, 2015b, pp. 1227-1249.

____ – “Un arqueólogo y gestor de Patrimonio entre las Dos Orillas en la primera mitad del siglo XX: Pelayo Quintero Atauri”. AA.VV. – *Actas de las XIX Jornadas de Historia de Ceuta*. Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, 2017a, pp. 715-736.

____ – “Notas sobre uno de los pioneros de la arqueología española y marroquí: Pelayo Quintero Atauri (1867-1946) en el 150º aniversario de su nacimiento”. *Ligustinus - Revista Digital de Arqueología de Andalucía Occidental*, 6 (2017b): 61-84.

____ – “El Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán (1923-1946) en el 150 aniversario del nacimiento de Pelayo Quintero”. *Anejos de Nailos*, 4 (2018): 165-182.

____ – “En el I Centenario de la Arqueología del Norte de Marruecos: César Luis de Montalbán y Mazas (1876-1971), apuntes biográficos de un pionero de la institucionalización del Patrimonio arqueológico”. *ONoba - Revista de Arqueología y Antigüedad*, 7 (2019): 3-18.

____ – *Arqueología española en el norte de África: Marruecos, 1900-1948*. Cádiz: Editorial UCA, 2020a.

____ – “Notas en el I Centenario de la Arqueología hispano-marroquí: Sobre las actividades arqueológicas en el Norte de África antes de 1936 - César Luis de Montalbán”. PEREA, Sabina, PASTOR, Mauricio (eds.) – *El Norte de África en época romana: Tributum in Memoriam Enrique Gozalbes Cravioto*. Madrid: Signifer Libros, 2020b, pp. 345-369.

____ – *Pelayo Quintero: La aventura de un pionero de la arqueología en España y Marruecos a principios del siglo XX*. Córdoba: Almuzara, 2021a.

____ – “Quintero Atauri y Tarradell: Diarios inéditos de sus excavaciones”. AA.VV. – *Gar Cahal y Tamuda en el archivo Tarradell: Historiografía y arqueología en el norte de África occidental*. Cádiz: Editorial UCA, 2021b, pp. 291-302.

____ – “Sobre los primeros pasos de la tutela del Patrimonio Histórico en el Norte de Marruecos en la primera mitad del siglo XX”. *ONoba - Revista de Arqueología y Antigüedad*, 9 (2021c): 125-142.

____ – “Notas sobre El Mogote: La identificación del sitio de Tamuda, 1921-2021”. *RAMPAS - Revista Atlántica-Mediterránea de Prehistoria y Arqueología Social*, 23 (2021d): 101-115.

____ – “Pelayo Quintero Atauri, un conqense pionero en los estudios de Historia Antigua y de Arqueología en España y Marruecos”. JARA, José Antonio, RUIZ, Juan Francisco (eds.) – *Cuenca: Su historia y sus tierras*. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha / Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 2022-23, pp. 225-243.

PARODI, Manuel Jesús, DÍAZ, Juan José, GHOTTES, Mustapha – “Cartografiando las antiguas excavaciones de Tamuda. De Montalbán al PET BERNAL, Darío et al (eds.) – *Tamuda. La cronosecuencia de la ciudad mauritana y del castellum romano: Resultados del Plan de Investigación del PET (2008-2010) - Monografías del Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2013, IV, pp. 65-88.

PARODI, Manuel Jesús, GHOTTES, Mustapha – “*Tamuda flumen castellumque*: El río Martil como motor del territorio de Tamuda”. MELRO, Samuel, CORREIA, Susana (eds.) – *Actas de los VIII Encuentros de Arqueología del Suroeste Peninsular*. Serpa: Câmara Municipal de Serpa, 2018, pp. 687-706.

PARODI, Manuel Jesús, GOZALBES, Enrique (eds.) – *Pelayo Quintero en el primer centenario de 1912*. Cádiz: Diputación Provincial, 2011a.

____ – “La arqueología del Norte de Marruecos (1900-1945)”. AA.VV. – AA.VV. – *Arqueología y Turismo en el Círculo del Estrecho - Monografías del Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2011b, pp. 137-159.

PINTOR, Pilar, O'NEILL, Rosabel (eds.) – *Actas del Congreso Internacional “La Conferencia Internacional de Algeciras de 1906. Cien años después”*. Algeciras: Fundación Municipal de Cultura José Luis Cano, 2008.

RAMOS, José – “La conexión norteafricana: Panorama del Aterriense y su posible influencia en la conformación del Solutrense en el Sur peninsular”. MARTÍN, Javier, VELÁZQUEZ, Fernando, BUSTAMANTE, Joaquín (eds.) – *Estudios de la Universidad de Cádiz ofrecidos a la Memoria del profesor Braulio Justel*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 1998, pp. 437-445.

____ – “Reflexiones para el estudio de las primeras comunidades de cazadores-recolectores del Norte de África y del Sur de la Península

Ibérica: Medio natural, relaciones y contactos". TILMATINE, Mohand, RAMOS, José, CASTAÑEDA, Vicente (eds.) – *I^{as} Jornadas de Estudios Históricos y Lingüísticos: El Norte de África y el Sur de la Península Ibérica*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2002, pp. 11-70.

_____ – "La investigación de la Prehistoria en el Norte de Marruecos en la primera mitad del siglo XX: Aproximación, contexto histórico y enfoques metodológicos". BELTRÁN, José, HABIBI, Mohammed (eds.) – *Historia de la Arqueología en el Norte de Marruecos durante el Protectorado y sus referentes en España*. Seville: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía / Universidad de Sevilla, 2008, pp. 135-176.

_____ – "Les occupations humaines du Pléistocène et Holocène dans le cadre géographique du Détroit de Gibraltar: Contributions récentes, relations et contacts". AA.VV. – *Actes du Premier Colloque de Préhistoire Maghrébine*. Algiers: CNRPAH, 2011, I, pp. 175-191.

RAMOS, José et al – "Valoración de yacimientos y de registros arqueológicos previos: De Montalbán a Meknassi". RAISSOUNI, Baraka et al (eds.) – *Carta Arqueológica del Norte de Marruecos (2008-2012): Prospección y yacimientos, un primer avance*. Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2015, I, pp. 29-64.

RUIZ-BRAVO, Estanislao – *Índice legislativo de la Zona de Protectorado Español en Marruecos*. Madrid: [s.i.], 1945.

SUEIRO, Susana – "España en Tánger durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial: La consumación de un viejo anhelo". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 7 (1994): 135-163.

TREIDLER, Hans – "Tamuda". *Real-Encyclopädie*, IVa2 (1932a): col. 2150.

_____ – "Thamusida". *Real-Encyclopädie*, IVa2 (1932b): col. 2151.

VALDERRAMA, Fernando – *Historia de la acción cultural de España en Marruecos (1912-1956)*. Tétouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956.

VERDUGO, Javier, PARODI, Manuel Jesús – "La gestión del Patrimonio Arqueológico en el antiguo Protectorado español en el Norte de Marruecos: Gestión, administración, normativas". *Revista de Prehistoria y Arqueología*, 17 (2010): 9-25.

ZOUAK, Mehdi, PARODI, Manuel Jesús – "Pelayo Quintero y el Arqueológico de Tetuán". PARODI, Manuel Jesús, GOZALBES, Enrique (eds.) – *Pelayo Quintero en el primer centenario de 1912*. Cádiz: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 2011, pp. 325-352.

_____ – "Apuntes históricos sobre el Museo Arqueológico de Tetuán". *Almoraima - Revista de Estudios campogibraltareses*, 42 (2011): 47-72.