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The foundation legend of Gades: inventions, interpretations and developments through the ages

Pamina Fernández Camacho

Abstract: This paper contains a study of the tradition of foundation legends concerning the city of Gades (ancient Phoenician colony of Gadir and modern-day Cadiz), from the first ancient testimonies to its reception by historians of subsequent ages. The aim of this study is to show how both the elements established in the original tradition and the way they were understood, developed, or even changed, mirrors the historical and ideological context of each period. This active dialogue of every era with the tale of the origins of a city, which existed and kept a recognizable sense of identity for almost 3,000 years, gives us a privileged insight on how history is made.

Keywords: Gades (Cadiz), foundation legend, Strabo, Justin, Modern and early modern Spanish historians

1. Foundation legends of Gades in Antiquity: the importance of origins in an international 'Far West'.

Migrations often become the subject of legendary discourse, as a foundational event in the imagined history of a given society. For the people of Israel, the origins of their nation were inextricably linked to their flight from Egypt and the forty years of wandering through the desert, and the Romans looked back at the ancestors of their legendary king Romulus to find a shipload of Trojan refugees under the leadership of Aeneas. According to a legend transmitted by several Greek and Roman sources, the Phoenicians were believed to be descended from migrants from the Red Sea.[1] Whether there is any grain of truth in this story or not, their later colonial dispersion throughout the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts is a historical process with plenty of material and source evidence.

It is rare to have recorded foundation legends of colonies founded by Phoenician settlers. The two exceptions to this rule are Carthage, whose mythical founder, the exiled Tyrian princess Elissa (or Dido) became the subject of much romanticising among Greek and Roman authors, and Gades.[2] We are going to focus on the latter, with the aim of illustrating how the foundation legend of this city in the Southwest of Spain was originally established, with what purpose, and its survival and reception throughout the ages. We will describe the many shapes it adopted to fit the different discourses that were in vogue among the intellectual class of each period. As such, this is not the history of a real migration and settlement, reconstructed from archaeological evidence, but the history of the *idea* of this migration and settlement; an idea which was born in a given circumstance, and was developed, re-used and changed to fit new patterns of thought that were directly related to

[1] Hdt., 1.202.4, 7.89; Str., 16.3.4; Plin., *nat.*4.120. Iust., 18.3 states they came from a foreign land, but does not specify which one.

[2] Cf. Ribichini 1988: 568; 2000: 661. The Greek and Roman sources on Phoenician foundations are compiled and studied in Bunnens 1979: 103-254.

different ideological concerns, which often underlay, or were a direct consequence of actual historical events.[3]

The first, and perhaps only written ancient source of this foundation legend is Strabo's book on Iberian geography.[4] There, it is stated that Posidonius, who visited Gades at the start of the first century BCE, was told by the locals that the Tyrians received 'a certain oracle' (χρησμοῦ τινος), ordering them to found a colony by the Pillars of Hercules (ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας). There were three expeditions sent for this purpose: the settlers sent on the first one believed that they could identify those Pillars with the geographical boundaries of the strait of Calpe (actual strait of Gibraltar), while the second advanced beyond the Strait, to an island close to Onoba (Huelva). Both offered sacrifices to Hercules (the Phoenician Ἡρακλῆς ἀρχηγέτης, also known as Melqart, the chief god of Tyre who presided over their colonization process)[5], but those sacrifices did not prove favourable, so they considered the expeditions to have been a failure. In the third voyage they reached the islands of Gadeira (the Greek name for the Phoenician Gadir), where they accomplished the foundation of the city and the god's temple. 'On account of this, Strabo says, 'some think that the promontories of the strait are the Pillars, others that it is Gadeira, and a third group thinks that they are still farther beyond Gadeira.' The whole story is thus connected with the geographical debate about the location of the Pillars of Hercules (Ἡρακλέους στήλαι), a question which was not merely academic in Strabo's time, and which had prompted a rather marked division of opinions.[6] According to Strabo, many of the Greeks believed the Pillars to be close to the strait of Gibraltar, while the locals (Iberians and Libyans) preferred to place them at Gadeira, and rejected the geographical identification with the Strait. There were those who pretended that the Pillars were religious objects, namely 'the brazen pillars eight cubits high (χαλκᾶς ὀκταπήχεις) in the temple of Hercules at Gadeira', which the rumours spread by visitors and pilgrims caused to be regarded as 'the end of land and sea' (γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τὸ πέρας).

This legend can be analysed under two different, complementary perspectives. First, there is the 'Phoenician' perspective, which references elements we can find in the religious lore of Tyre, such as the god's dream oracle to the founders and the foundation of the mother city atop two errant rocks in the middle of the Sea.[7] Those rocks were represented for cult purposes as two betyls, which could be the real identity of the pillars described by Posidonius.[8] A later source, Philostratus, writes about two betyls in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, awarding them a great symbolical significance and a deep connection with the Phoenician god (*VA*.5.5).[9] In Strabo's source, the identification of the island of Gades with the 'Pillars of Hercules' can therefore be interpreted as a way for the Gaditanians to attribute to themselves a foundation legend which mirrored that of Tyre. On the other hand, the shape in which this legend is presented, with the oracle's riddle and the successive expeditions

[3] For this view of historiography as the projection into the past of present concerns, we are indebted to Gehrke's concept of 'intentional history' in Antiquity as 'the projection in time of the elements of subjective, self-conscious self-categorization which construct the identity of a group as a group' (Foxhall, Gehrke, Luraghi 2010: 9).

[4] Str., 3.5.5.

[5] Cf. Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014a: 28-29.

[6] Cf. supr., and Fernández Camacho 2015: 68 ss.

[7] Nonn., *D*.40.360 ss.

[8] Will 1950-1951, López Melero 1988, Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014a.

[9] The Pillars described by Philostratus differ externally from those described by Posidonius. But unlike the latter, Philostratus never visited Gades.

which hinged on different guesses, harkens back to Hellenic tradition of colonization stories and oracle responses. There is an abundance of Greek stories where the oracle of Delphi proposes a riddle to would-be colonizers or conquerors, and the success of the expedition depends on its correct interpretation. Some examples of this can be found in the foundation legends of Rhegium, Ephesus, Byzantium, Acharnania, or indeed Cyrene, a place where a wilful misunderstanding of the indications given also resulted in failed expeditions.[10]

This foundation legend of Gades, presenting Tyrian elements and a Greek structure (whom Posidonius dismisses as ψεῦσμα Φοινικικόν, a 'Phoenician lie'), is therefore recognizable as the product of a complex cultural background. Though we have no chronological indicators, it would be tempting to locate it in the period when Gades began projecting a particularly Hellenized image of itself and its traditions, designed both to support its interests in the area of the Strait and to reach a wider public imbued in Greek culture. This would have been the case at least from the third century BCE onwards, at the time of the city's alliances with Carthage and Rome in the context of the international conflict known as the Second Punic War.[11] The purpose of our legend could have been to establish symbolic ties with a metropolis to which it no longer had any effective political connection, providing a coherent and prestigious tale of the origins in the context of Tyrian tradition, in line with better known endeavours from Carthage at different points of its history.[12] This would have served to claim pre-eminence over fellow Phoenician colonies in both the Iberian and African coasts, or independence from Carthage.[13] On the other hand, the use of the literary tradition of Greek foundation stories made it part of the Greek tradition of colonisation, just as it became part of the worldview of Greek myth through the identification of the Pillars of the Greek hero-god with the location of the city and the betyls of its temple. The success of the story would have been twofold: it established the city's importance and independence in both a local/Phoenician and an international/Hellenized context, a literary counterpart of the function of the effigy of Hercules Gaditanus struck in the city's coins.[14]

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[10] D.S., 8.23.2 (Rhegium), *FGH* 417 Fr. 1= Ath., 8.62 p.361 C-E (Ephesus), Str., 7.6.2 (Byzantium), Th., 2.102.5-6 (Acharnania), Plu., *Pyth.or.*27=*Mor.*408A, Hdt., 4.155-157 (Cyrene). Cf. Domínguez Monedero 2012 and Fernández Camacho 2012: 290-302, 2013a.

[11] Machuca Prieto 2019: 323-324: '¿Qué es lo que ocurre a partir de finales del siglo III a.n.e.? Se produce una adaptación a la nueva situación que impera con la entrada de las comunidades fenicias peninsulares en la órbita de Roma, pero sin que se dé una renuncia a dispositivos de identidad propios, como... su origen tirio y la figura de Melqart... En otras palabras, la atestiguada unión en Estrabón de tradiciones gaditanas y griegas cuando éste habla de la fundación de Gades se justificaría por la emergencia de un proceso de afianzamiento de memoria y de reelaboración del pasado por parte de los grupos dirigentes fenicios desde claves que son comunes y ampliamente reconocibles en el marco helenístico del Mediterráneo.'

[12] Cf. Ribichini's study of the myth of Dido (1988), Bunnens 1979: 136 ss, Bonnet 1988: 165-166.

[13] In this line, it would be interesting to interpret Strabo and Pliny's accounts of Lixus as survivals of local rival traditions of another Phoenician colony which deliberately opposed those of Gades, cf. Fernández Camacho 2013b: 195 ss. Also, see Presedo 1981 (30-31) for an interpretation of the previous colonization attempts in Strabo's story as a way for the Gaditanians to dismiss 'rival' cities, such as Onoba or Sex, or the affirmation of Álvarez Martí-Aguilar and Ferrer Albelda (2009: 191) about the development of ideological discourses certifying the prominence of Gades in the West. The most studied subject, however, concerns Gaditanian attempts to show their independence from Carthage in various ways, from López Castro (2004) to Moreno Pulido (*cf. infr.).* The most up-to date synthesis of this debate can be found in Machuca Prieto 2019: 134-190.

[14] Moreno Pulido (2018: 45-62) provides a fascinating and detailed study of iconography in Gaditanian coins, and its close relationship to the identity which the city wished to project before the rest of the world.

There is also another text, considered as a second source for the foundation of Gades by some, which can be found in Justin's *Epitome* to Trogus Pompey's Philippic History. [15] In it, there is mention of a dream oracle, which fits other testimonies concerning the practice of oneiromancy at the Gaditanian temple of Hercules,[16] telling the Gaditanians to found a city. To do so, they brought the *sacra* (a word designing sacred objects of some sort) of the god from Tyre.[17] The foundation of this city made the natives angry, and it became a cause for a war which would eventually prompt Carthaginian intervention, and end in the dominion of this city state over the Iberian Peninsula. The main problem of this text is the newly-founded city's identity: though it can be identified with Gades itself, which would appear to be supported by the Tyrian origin of the relics, it is doubtful whether the founders would have been called 'Gaditani' if that had been the case. This is why a number of historians, both early modern and contemporary, have preferred to consider it as the foundation of a colony *by* the citizens of Gades, or, in other words, as a colony of the colony.[18] However it may be interpreted, the data provided by this text will be very important to understand later developments.

There are several important elements to be distinguished in each of the two stories: the directions given by the god's oracle, in charge of the colonization process in both versions; the riddle-like directions given by this oracle, resulting in three expeditions which involve trial and error in the first version; and the conflict with the natives, operative only in the second. In Strabo's text, we also have some context, when he mentions the Stoic philosopher and polymath Posidonius as the person this story was told to, on the occasion of his one-month stay at Gades to study the tides (3.5.5-9). Still, neither of the accounts gives any actual motives for the colonization, beyond the orders given by the god through the oracle. Here, we must search for clues in other sources, which mention the acquisition of the fabulous riches of Iberia, or simply the pursuit of an advantageous trade with the region, as the main

This identity was a particular mixture of Western Phoenician and Hellenized traits, symbolized in the image of the Gaditanian Hercules. There are also interesting considerations about the conscious wish of the Gaditanians distance themselves from Carthage, even during the period when its dominion over the Iberian Peninsula was most effective. Cf. also Mora Serrano 2012 and Machuca Prieto 2019: 188-190.

[15] Trogus was roughly a contemporary of Livy, and wrote the main part of his work during the age of Augustus, while Justin's summary belongs to a later period: several dates have been proposed, from the early third to the late fourth century BCE, cf. Yardley 1997.

[16] Suetonius (*Iul.*7) and Cassius Dio (37.52) speak of a prophetic dream had by Caesar after a visit to the Gaditanian temple, while Porphyry (*De abst.*1.25) mentions a dream sent by the god to a priest during the siege of Bocchus II of Mauritania (around 38 BCE). The most interesting notice, however, is, again, provided by Cassius Dio (78.19) who claims that Emperor Caracalla executed a governor of Baetica who consulted the oracle of Gades.

[17] This is the original text, ed. by Seel 1972: *Nam cum Gaditani a Tyro, unde et Karthaginiensibus origo est, sacra Herculis per quietem iussi in Hispaniam transtulissent urbemque ibi condidissent, inuidentibus incrementis nouae urbis finitimis Hispaniae populis ac propterea Gaditanos bello lacessentibus auxilium consanguineis Karthaginienses misere. Ibi felici expeditione et Gaditanos ab iniuria vindicaverunt et maiore iniuria partem provinciae imperio suo adiecerunt*. It needs to be understood that, as an epitome, or summary, of Trogus' work, this text could amalgamate historical events from vastly different periods, which is why there are so many theories as to its correct interpretation.

[18] Cf. Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2014b. As for early modern evidence of this interpretation, cf. the discussion of Florián de Ocampo below.

motives for Phoenician colonization. [19] This idea of economic migration would prove enduring in later traditions.

As for the manner of the colonization itself, the sources seem to imply that it was an official enterprise of the Tyrian state, under the auspices of Melqart, the god of Tyrian expansion. There is no indication of a segment of the population being exiled or seeking a new homeland as a result of inner strife, as in the case of Carthage. Also unlike what we can find in that legend, the expedition has no individual leaders that we know of, and the only orders and directions mentioned are those of the god himself. This comes across so strongly that the Phoenician historian Claudius Iolaus says in his *Phoenician History* that the city was founded by Ἀρχαλεὺς υἱὸς Φοινίκος, or "Archaleus son of Phoinix", probably a deformation of the name of Hercules-Melqart.[20] As for the reaction of the locals to the colonists, there is no mention of the issue in Strabo's story, but it features rather prominently in Justin's *Epitome*, which, regardless of whether the foundation described is that of Gades itself or of its own colony, represents the natives as opposed to the process. In fact, they are so opposed that they go to war, eventually providing a motive for the Carthaginians to intervene in the Iberian Peninsula. This pattern opens the possibility that the source used by Trogus Pompey for this event could have been a pro-Carthaginian historian, perhaps Silenos of Kale Akté, who accompanied Hannibal in his campaigns.[21] Silenos, in his lost work, discussed a phenomenon related to a water source located in the temple of Melqart in Gades, probably after visiting it on occasion of his general's sojourn in the city.[22] The story of how the natives had attacked the Gaditanians because they were envious of the colony's prosperity (*invidentibus incrementis novae urbis*), and the affirmation that the Gaditanians themselves had asked the Carthaginians for help as relatives (*auxilium consanguineis Karthaginienses misere*) could represent the last traces of an original framework designed to justify Carthaginian presence in the area.[23] Be as it may, the implications of this hostility would also enjoy a long life in later interpretations of the legend.

2. The Middle-Ages: Gades as head of a proto-Castilian kingdom.

The end of Antiquity brought a new focus on the foundation legends of cities. In the Middle Ages, many such legends were created, and the old ones were altered to suit new interests and perspectives. Interest in the exaltation of ancient origins survived, but it also became part of a larger phenomenon: the exaltation of the origins of the new kingdoms which emerged after the fragmentation of the Western Empire. Those origins were sought in two key places: Classical Antiquity (including myths and sagas about wandering heroes, such as Hercules and the survivors of the Trojan War), and Biblical tradition.[24]

[19] Diodorus Siculus (5.20, 5.35), and the author of the paradoxograpical catalogue *On Marvels Heard*, falsely attributed to Aristotle (*Mir. Ausc.*135), are paradigmatic examples of sources which focus on the Peninsula's fabulous wealth in precious metals as the reason why the Phoenicians settled there.

[20] *FGH* 788 Fr. 3 =*E.M.* 219.33. An alternative interpretation of the name can be found in Tsirkin 2007.

[21] Cic., *div.*1.49, Nep., *Hann.*13.3. About his role as Hannibal's propagandist, cf. Briquel (2000, 2003, 2004).

[22] Str., 3.5.7.

[23] Antonelli 1997: 125, 131, Fernández Camacho 2013a: 258 ss.

[24] Gloël 2017: 28, Fernández Camacho 2019: 6-9.

In this context, the story of the foundation of Gades by Eastern colonizers took a different shape. Though already implied by Claudius Iolaus, the idea of Hercules as the "face" of the foundation and colonization process became an integral part of the story now. In Christian tradition, this hero had shed all his godly and demigodly attributes to be reimagined as a powerful military leader, a prince, sometimes even a pirate, following the lead of Euhemeristic Greek and Roman historians like Diodorus Siculus or Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[25] His arrival to the Iberian Peninsula was set against the backdrop of the Tenth Labour, in which he was said to have killed the three-bodied giant Geryon in the island of Erytheia and stolen his cattle. The identification of the Iberian Peninsula with the background for this feat was not a new occurrence at all: it began in Antiquity itself, as did the identification of Erytheia, the island where the monster lived, with the island where the city of Gades had been founded.[26] What is new is the addition of the city's foundation to the list of his exploits. In the *Historie de rebus Hispanie* of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo (written in 1243) it is just mentioned in passing that Hercules founded *fortissimae turres* in the spot where he landed, and called them Gades (1.4-5), but about a generation later the *Estoria de España,* compiled and written under the auspices of king Alfonso X of Castile between 1270 and 1274, already told a much more sophisticated story. After building a large tower in the island and giving it the name Gades, the hero also left there one of the ten ships which had accompanied him on his expedition, to settle the city with his own men (as he also proceeded to do later in Barcelona, whose name 'Barcinona' is explained through the false etymology 'barca nona', or 'ninth ship'.)[27] After defeating Geryon, he built a kingdom in Spain, and left it to his nephew Espan (or Hispan), considered by medieval Castilian tradition to be the eponymous king of the country.[28] This Hispan made Gades into his capital, and his daughter Liberia challenged her three princely suitors to accomplish great feats of engineering for the benefit of the city: roads, walls, and a bridge with an aqueduct to keep the population supplied with water. When the king died, he was buried in Gades.[29]

This Castilian version of the legend of Hercules in the Iberian Peninsula not only turns the hero into the legendary ancestor of the monarchy of this kingdom, but also signals his foundation of Gades as the first establishment of a royal capital, where kings had their seat, sponsored important works of masonry and engineering and were buried after their deaths. This privileged status is derived from the fact that the Greek hero disembarked there, turning the small island into a major landmark of the ancient political landscape. As it is so often the case, the ancient political landscape mirrored the contemporary one: the same king who had the *Estoria* compiled, Alfonso X, conquered the city for Castile, established settlers in it, made it into the head of a diocese among other privileges, and harboured the idea of being buried

[25] Cf. D.H., 1.39-44; D.S., 4.17-25 for an Euhemeristic rewriting of the Tenth Labour and its related episodes by those two authors, which inspired medieval sources.

[26] The first to identify Erytheia with Gades was probably Pherekydes, if one believes Strabo's testimony (3.5.4: Ἐρύθειαν δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα ἔοικε λέγειν ὁ Φερεκύδης, ἐν ᾗ τὰ περὶ τὸν Γηρυόνην μυθεύουσιν). Herodotus locates the mythical island πρὸς Γηδείροισι (4.8). Cf. also Apollod., 2.5.10, or Plin., *nat.*4, 120.

[27] Anonymous *c.*1270-1274: 8.

[28] Anonymous *c.* 1270-1274: 11. This 'Espan' (Hispanus) was first mentioned by Isidorus of Seville (quoted in Lucas of Tuy, *Chronicon Mundi* 2.2), probably as a derivation of the 'Hispalus' that gave name to Hispania, mentioned in Justin's *Epitome* (44.1.2). Jiménez de Rada 1243: 17 had already connected him with Hercules as his successor in his own work (*De rebus*, 1.5).

[29] Anonymous *c.* 1270-1274: 11-12.

in its cathedral himself.[30] The foundation of an ancient colony has thus been reimagined into the symbolical origins of a medieval kingdom, with settlers who came from distant lands not as colonists or economic migrants, but as part of a conquering army.

3. Early modern historians and the ambiguity of Gades.

Early modern historians, from the sixteenth century onwards, continued this model of using both Classical and Biblical Antiquity as building blocks for the legendary history of kingdoms. There were, however, several significant differences that set them apart from their predecessors. One was an increase in the direct knowledge of the classical sources, though this did not always translate into a more accurate interpretation of them in the modern philological sense. Another was the scope and characteristics of the political entities which were attributed those legendary origins. After the unification of Castile and Aragon, Spain was on its way to becoming more than a collection of kingdoms, and as such it became the subject of a new genre of national history, where the "Spanish people" -considered as a single entity with historical continuity and a development which parallels that of a human being from childhood to adulthood- has the leading role.[31] Furthermore, it had turned into a powerful empire, whose conquests and influence underwent a fast expansion both in the American and the European continent. The roots for this current prosperity, the reasons behind it, its models and precedents, were sought in records of the ancient times.[32]

The first historian who attempted to cover the history of Spain since its origins was Florián de Ocampo, official chronicler to Charles I and author of a *Crónica General de España*, of which he only managed to write the first five books.[33] His extant work did not even reach the period of Roman domination, but remained steeped in a remote time which was very poor in information and sources. Ocampo, however, managed to transform this wasteland into a true mine of details, taken from a plethora of sources which were taken out of context, reimagined and repurposed in various fantastical ways, or even downright invented.[34]

In this new, reimagined past, the Classical sources about the foundation of Gades remained important, but so were the later medieval stories about Hercules, Hispan, and the origins of Spanish monarchy. Those, moreover, had undergone a transformation, thanks to the famous forger Giovanni Nanni or Annius of Viterbo, whose short opus on the twenty-four legendary kings of Spain (first published in 1498) had used those legends to support his own fabrications. Both Hercules and Gades are depicted as crucial for the earlier stages of the Iberian Peninsula.[35] The first came as leader of an expedition, which was no longer a mere

[30] Castro 1858: 248. At the same time, the tight connection of the realm's foundation to Classical mythology favoured the king's international policies, as he was trying to be elected as Holy Roman Emperor.

[31] Wulff Alonso 2003: 13-63.

[32] *Íbid.* 18, and Fernández Camacho 2021: 129 ss.

[33] On what little information we have about this author's biography, cf. Cirot 1914, and Gimeno Pascual.

[34] On Ocampo's historical method and its (generally) harsh judgement by posterity, cf. Wulff Alonso 2003: 23-29, García Cárcel 2004: 98, 114, Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2005: 27-31, Álvarez Junco and De la Fuente 2017: 70-71, Fernández Camacho 2019: 115-135.

[35] Nanni's forgeries and their influence in the historical traditions of Europe have been studied under many perspectives. Here, we will merely propose some titles of the extensive bibliography dedicated to him: Bizzocchi 2010: 29-51, Stephens 1989: 98–138 and 2004, Ligota 1987: 44-56, Grafton 1991. On the specific case of the Iberian Peninsula, cf. Caro Baroja 1992: 49-96, Caballero López 2002.

cattle raid, but an episode in an international conflict invented by Nanni. The father of Hercules, Osiris, had conquered and civilized the world, but he had been killed as a result of a conspiracy involving various deposed leaders, and Hercules was performing his sacred duty of avenging his father.[36] During his expedition, he founded Gades, and settled it with people from the Red Sea, or 'Erythreans'.[37] After he defeated the "three Geryons" (a rationalization of the three-bodied monster of Greek myth), he established a kingdom, leaving first Hispalus, and then Hispalus' son Hispanus, as kings. When both those monarchs died, he came back to assume the kingship himself, and was buried in Gades after his death. This was inspired by the medieval legend about the first king being buried in this city, but also by a marginal, probably local tradition from Classical Antiquity, according to which Hercules himself was buried in the temple of Gades.[38]

The foundation of the city in the context of Hercules's expedition to Spain, with the hero as personal founder and his men as first settlers, and its important role in the establishment of his legendary dynasty are thus changed in the detail, but remain intact in their essence. A last consequence would also be added: one of the later kings in the list is named Erythreus, an eponymous character of the island and its inhabitants.[39]

Ocampo, however, was also aware of the classical version, which attributed the foundation of the city to the Phoenicians long after the death and apotheosis of the hero. In his vein of squeezing the most out of all his sources in order to build the illusion of a detailed, well-documented ancient history of the Iberian Peninsula, he opted for using both of them. The city had been founded by Hercules and settled by the Erythraeans, but long afterwards, after the collapse of those legendary dynasties, the Phoenicians sailed to the area in search of precious metals and sources of wealth. There, they found the city to be an advantageous location for trade, and strove to earn the goodwill of its inhabitants until they were allowed to settle in a walled separate quarter.[40] Gades thus becomes a kind of double city, with two different populations: the Erythreans and the Phoenicians. The first, the original settlers from the heroic era, ensure that the city can retain the status and significance it acquired through its ancient connection with Hercules and the royal dynasties. This is important, as we shall see, for local histories exalting local glories, but also, in a more general sense, for the history of the nation, for Gades and its classical connection with the Herculean cycle is one of the strongest foundations upon which a history of the Iberian Peninsula based on ancient sources could be built.[41]

Most historical developments detailed in Ocampo's work, however, have the Gaditanian Phoenicians as indisputable protagonists, with their hosts playing the role of mere bystanders. For the bulk of Book II, they play the role of antagonists, deceiving, exploiting, enslaving and taking advantage of the naivety of the native population, who represent the infancy of the Spanish nation. This is an extremely detailed and imaginative development of the passage in Justin's *Epitome* about the war between natives and settlers over the foundation of a city. Ocampo takes this city to be the modern Medina Sidonia, founded by the Gaditanians as spearhead of their expansionist endeavours. After a number of wars, this

[36] Nanni 1552: 297-299.

[37] Thus providing an explanation for Pliny's quote *Erythea dicta est, quoniam Tyri aborigines earum orti ab Erythro mari ferebantur* (*Nat.*4.120).

[38] Mela 3.46, Arnob., *Nat.* 1.36.

[39] Nanni 1552: 306.

[40] Ocampo 1553: 200.

[41] Fernández Camacho 2016: 194.

city is destroyed by the natives, and the Gaditanian Phoenicians send envoys to Carthage asking for aid.[42] Carthage intervenes and conquers the territory for its own benefit, eventually occupying Gades itself, where a revolt of the Erythraeans ended in their defeat and slavery.[43] The city would remain under Carthaginian control until the Romans came to hold sway in the region as a result of the Second Punic War. This period was not covered by Ocampo, who was dead by then, but by his successor as official chronicler, Ambrosio de Morales.

This whole sequence of events proved quite enduring in the collective imagination. As we shall see, the idea of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians as unscrupulous, power- and money-grabbing foreigners who came to take advantage of a less advanced nation remained in place until at least the twentieth century, under slightly different iterations. This means that we have two complementary stories now: a conquering expedition founding the city as proto-capital of a new kingdom, and the arrival of economic migrants from the Middle-East. The first story provides an important basis for the creation of the country's legendary identity, while the second is a negative event, resulting in forceful colonization and exploitation of the surrounding area, and culminating in Carthaginian dominion. The first comes from a Euhemeristic interpretation of ancient mythical sources, and the second from developing Justin's *Epitome* to the *Philippic History.*

What is especially interesting about this 'second settlement', however, is how it is adapted by the new historiographic currents to the requirements of the present. As we have already remarked, 'the Spanish people' becomes a more or less homogenous entity with particular character traits; an entity, furthermore, which keeps a single identity through the different periods of history.[44] This means that anything which happened to this people in the past was relevant for the present to which the author addressed his work, opening the door to interpretations of the colonization of America, or the Italian wars, as 'historical justice' or 'restitution of ancient rights.'[45] Likewise, both the feats and the misfortunes of the Spanish people in its infancy were a prefiguration of the feats and misfortunes of the Spanish people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is therefore not surprising that the story about the Phoenician migrants who are taken in by the unsuspecting Gaditanians into their own city and allowed to build a colony, only to betray their trust and call in their Carthaginian relatives to conquer and enslave the entire territory, becomes immediately relevant to the political situation of that time. The ancient city of Gades had become the modern Cadiz, an important port of trade with the American continent, inhabited by many colonies of foreign merchants whose loyalties often came under suspicion. What made the situation especially controversial was that it was also a major stronghold, which had to be heavily walled and defended to prevent enemy fleets from conquering and sacking it, dealing a terrible blow to royal trade with the Americas.[46] Especially in the seventeenth century, we find abundant evidence of an underlying concern because two thirds of the city's population was composed by subjects of states with which the Spanish Crown was usually at war.[47] There was even a project to build a citadel inside the city so the resident foreigners could be kept out, very

[42] Ocampo 1553: 262-265.

[43] Ocampo 1553: 269-285.

[44] Cf. note 31.

[45] Fernández Camacho 2021: 126 ss.

[46] This happened in two instances: in 1587, with the attack of English corsair Francis Drake, and in 1596, where the city was occupied and sacked by Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex.

[47] Fernández Cano 1973: 21, 63, 82, 84-85.

similar to Ocampo's account of the citadel where the original Gaditanian citizens barricaded themselves once they revolted against the Phoenician and Carthaginian occupants.[48] Chiefly concerned with that issue were of course the local historians, such as Agustín de Horozco, a tax collector who wrote a *Historia de Cádiz* in 1598. Though he used the Ocampo model as basis for the early history of the city, he introduced developments and details of his own, and gave the Carthaginian occupation a 'happy ending' of sorts, stating that, after the city was 'freed' by the Romans, they cleaned it of the hated invaders, and left it populated by 'noble Romans and Spaniards'.[49] In a long digression which he introduces in another part of his history, he complains bitterly about the foreign residents who have settled the city in great numbers, warning that they would always put their self-interest before the interests of the city and kingdom.[50] It seems evident that there is an intentional connection between this particular representation of the city's settlement by Phoenician economic migrants, and a reality where the city was also largely settled by economic migrants from different nations, who, also like the Phoenicians, were solely concerned with their own self-interest and were ready to invoke outside help against their neighbours. The fact that, according to Classical sources, it was the Phoenicians who had founded the city in the first place is obscured to the point of disappearing from this model.[51]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a new history of Spain was written by Juan de Mariana, which became a sort of official history until halfway through the nineteenth century.[52] This work exhibited a more critical approach towards the events of the past, but it was still heavily influenced by its predecessors. That apparent contradiction is made obvious when it comes to the treatment of our episode, for Mariana mentions the arrival of the Erythreans with Hercules as a legendary fact, and their prior foundation, but there is no mention of Erythraeans living side by side with the Phoenicians once those settled in the island, and they play no role in the historical events.[53] As for the rest, the story remains largely the same: same deception, same conquest, same colonization of the surrounding territory, until it comes to war and the Carthaginians are called in to help.[54] The idea of the arrival and settlement of this people as a negative event which brings important repercussions to the whole region, prefigured by the *Epitome* and developed by Ocampo, is now ingrained in the collective subconscious. Of even further help in this endeavour were the various adaptations of Mariana's work into rhymed poetry for school use, especially in the eighteenth century, which ensured that any attempt to challenge this view remained largely unknown outside of a very reduced circle of critical, modern intellectuals, like the Mohedano brothers or the Marquis of Mondéjar.[55]

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[48] Ocampo 1553: 279-285, Fernández Cano 1973: 25, 38-39, 89.

[49] Horozco 1598: 67.

[50] Horozco 1598: 97-98.

[51] A model which, it is true, coexisted with more conservative interpretations of the sources, like the successful *Grandezas y Antiguedades de la ciudad e isla de Cádiz* by Suárez de Salazar, a contemporary of Horozco who did not wish to focus in any sort of inner strife which could throw a shadow upon the glories of the past. Cf. Suárez de Salazar 1610: 15-23.

[52] Cf. the monography by Gómez Martos (2018) for a detailed and updated source of information about Mariana's historical work.

[53] Mariana 1601: 21.

[54] Mariana 1601: 44-53.

[55] Álvarez Junco and De la Fuente 2017: 168-170, Ferrer Albelda 1996: 40-43, 58-61; Wulff Alonso 2003: 65-95. For those 'challengers', who wrote in the eighteenth century, and left works such as the *Anales de la nación Española,* by Luis José Velázquez, the Marquis of Valdeflores (1759), the *Historia literaria de España* by the

3. The nineteenth century: founding Gades in the era of European colonialism.

It was not until 1850 that Modesto Lafuente began the publication of a new national history to challenge the old model, substituting it with a vision adjusted to the new times. This new vision, when it comes to the foundation of the ancient Phoenician colony, presents two interesting particularities. The first is that Lafuente does not merely attribute economic motives to the settlers, though this is mentioned as an important factor for their migration. But he also uses an ancient yet marginal source, the *Liber Generationis Mundi,* a Late Imperial attempt to write a universal chronology of historical events from a Christian point of view.[56] This work claims that Gades and the Balearic Islands were originally colonized by tribes of Canaanites who had fled before the advance of the Israelites.[57] According to Lafuente's version, the conquest of Canaan had caused the displacement of many Canaanites towards their coastal settlements, Tyre and Sidon. This excess population made colonization necessary, so the first settlers of Gades were not merely merchants looking for business opportunities, but also war refugees.[58]

The second difference is that, from Lafuente's point of view, this colonization was essentially a positive event, which brought advantages to the native peoples, depicted as fierce and totally uncivilized. To him, the Phoenicians were businessmen and traders and, therefore, men of peace, who civilized Spain through their entrepreneurial spirit and established alliances with the natives, dazzling them with their trinkets to get more substantial benefits in exchange, 'like those Spaniards themselves, once they became civilized, would later do with the inhabitants of the New World.'[59] This view of Phoenician colonization, which looks remarkably not just like the colonization of America, but like a typical one-sided view of European colonization in the nineteenth century, is also inspired by the spirit of the times. The negative events are less stressed, but they do remain in the narrative sequence: at some point, the natives still rebel against the Phoenicians, and the latter call for the help of the Carthaginians.[60] This could perhaps have happened, Lafuente ventures in the new, euphemistic language, because the settlers grew too proud of their success and forgot to treat the natives nicely, offending them - a circumstance also reminiscent of things taking place in the world Lafuente lived in.[61]

Rodríguez Mohedano brothers (1766-1791), and the *Historia crítica de España y de la Cultura Española* (1783-1805), the Gaditanian Phoenicians are brought to the forefront of the civilizing enterprise, in line with the good reputation enjoyed by this people in eighteenth century Europe (cf. Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2005: 35-45). The 'competition' with France, whose claim as the oldest Western European civilization was derived from the foundation of Marseilles by Phocaeans, also played an important role in this. Still, the shadow of the Ocampian model remains long and persistent, and in those works the conflict is generally solved by duplication (good Phoenicians vs. evil Phoenicians, or good Phoenicians who turn evil).

[56] This source, known as the 'Cronographus anni CCCLIIII', provided a Latin translation of a chronography by Hippolitus of Rome (150-236 AD). Cf. Mommsen 1894: 89-140, Stern 1954: 44, 114.

[57] *LGM.*,1.216.

[58] Lafuente Zamalloa 1887: 13.

[59] Lafuente Zamalloa 1887: 17.

[60] Who are the true invaders for Lafuente, ibid. 20-21.

[61] Cf. Vandervort 2001: 147-162.

4. The Schultenian model: Phoenicians in the age of anti-semitism.

The first decades of the following century brought a significant change to the scholarly view of Spanish ancient history, where archaeology acquired a major role, to the point that it became of paramount importance to find material evidence for the civilizations and events mentioned in the sources. At the forefront of this modernization was Adolf Schulten, a German historian and archaeologist who undertook several ambitious projects in the Iberian Peninsula, both in the field of the edition and interpretation of sources and in the field of archaeological digs.[62] In spite of this, the story of the founding of Gades by Eastern migrants adopted, in Schulten's works, a form which was nothing more but the umpteenth iteration of the 'negative colonization story'. His main contribution was to give more attention to the civilization which had been there before those Eastern settlers arrived. He identified it with the ancient toponym of 'Tartessos', gave it a foreign, Hellenic origin (so its inhabitants were no longer 'the primitive Spaniards'), and imagined it as a brilliant, cultivated and rich society, which inspired Plato's Atlantis story.[63] The redeeming quality that the Phoenicians had retained throughout history and especially in the past century; namely, that they brought civilization with them together with exploitation and conflict, is gone. Their colonization project is no longer a mere economic endeavour, or a migration, but pure imperialism. Though the extraction of riches, especially metals, from the territory is their main purpose, the strategy of the Phoenicians goes beyond that: the final aim is the enslavement of the entire region to their needs, which unravels as they establish an important foothold in Tartessos and the sheep skin comes off. When the Carthaginians arrive to the Peninsula, it is to destroy Tartessos and add its territory to their own empire, something that, for Schulten, happened very early on, around 500 BCE.[64] Already in possession of the whole area, they were able to control Atlantic trade, and prevent all other maritime peoples, such as the Greeks, the Etruscans or, later on, the Romans, from crossing the Strait of Gibraltar.[65]

As we can see, this is merely a rewriting in -yet again- contemporary terms of an older model: Phoenician settlers as interlopers who are allowed to stay by claiming good intentions, but promptly betray their once allies and call in the Carthaginians to enslave the previous inhabitants. Now, however, everything in the story has been elevated, so to speak, to the highest pitch of dramatic intensity. The previous inhabitants are not a simple, 'primitive' folk, but a thriving civilization, an empire, that did not need the Phoenicians for anything. When it comes to war, it does not merely fall under Carthaginian dominion, it is destroyed, and its traces obliterated as if they had never existed (something which went quite well with Schulten's own unsuccessful attempts to find them in El Coto de Doñana).[66] This utter destruction reached the sources themselves, for the Carthaginians forbade

[62] On Schulten, his figure and scholarship in Germany and Spain, cf. Mazza 1980, Cruz Andreotti 1987, 1991, Wulff Alonso 2003: 199-202, Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2005: 87-118.

[63] Cf. Schulten 1979: 159-183.

[64] Schulten 1979: 123-135.

[65] The 'closing of the Strait' by the Carthaginians was a famous theory of Schulten, based on a skewed reading of the Greek and Roman sources (chiefly Avienus), which enjoyed a rather long posterity. Cf. Whittaker 1978: 81, Domínguez Monedero 1988: 716, Wagner 1992: 87, Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2005: 91-92.

[66] The 'romantic' story of the would-be discoverer's unsuccessful efforts was even brought to the screen as a documentary in 2012, with the suggestive title 'The Tartessos of Schulten: the conquest of a lost city', cf. https://www.filmaffinity.com/es/film152810.html (checked 30/04/2021).

everyone else to sail to that part of the world, and so the Greeks lacked information to write in detail about what had happened there.

Still, above all this, there is an underlying issue which did not exist in any of the previous versions, an issue directly inspired by the ideological circumstances of Schulten's present. The wars for control of Tartessos and the Iberian Peninsula, for him, are but part of a much larger conflict: a war of civilizations, of *races*, using the terminology of the time. On one side, there is 'Classical civilization', the Indo-european Greeks and their allies the Etruscans, while the other side is composed by the Semitic peoples: the Carthaginian empire and the other Tyrian colonies, such as Gades, who were their natural allies. This bloc war of sorts reached the Iberian Peninsula: the Tartessians were natural allies of the Greeks, and their legendary king Arganthonios, mentioned by Herodotus,[67] welcomed them to his territory and generously shared his resources with them. By eliminating them, the Carthaginians eliminated the stepping stone of their greatest rivals in the area.[68] This state of things remained unchallenged until the cultural heirs of the Greeks, the Romans, put an end to Semitic presence in the Iberian Peninsula, and soon afterwards defeated them for ever in the field of Zama. According to the racial theories popular at the time, Semitic peoples could not develop the highest markers of civilization: they were little more than merchant societies that lived for profit, so, unlike the Greeks, they could never have had any productive exchanges with the inhabitants of the territories they colonized.[69]

5. Between the twenty and twenty-first centuries. The multicultural model.

The main ingredients of the Schulten model, despite their most unsavoury connotations, remained influential for a time in a Spain which had been left behind by the most recent advances in scholarship.[70] Criticism of his theories, however, existed since a very early date in the international scientific community. One of the aspects which was challenged first was his commentary of the *Ora maritima* poem, written by Rufus Festus Avienus in the fourth century AD. This work, which describes the Spanish coast, had been interpreted by Schulten as a compilation of much older sources, among them a 'Massilian periplous' from the sixth century BCE, which gave genuine information about the state of the region before the Carthaginians blocked the Strait, mixed with less precise data which had circulated later, including supposed Carthaginian fabrications designed to keep people away from their territory.[71] The existence of Greek colonies such as 'Mainake', the Greek concurrent of

[67] Hdt., 1.163, 4.152.

[68] Schulten 1979: 80-122.

[69] Cf. Sánchez Jiménez and Cruz Andreotti 1988: 29. n. 2. for the anti-Semitic portrait of Phoenicians and Carthaginians in Schulten. On anti-Semitism in European scholarship of the time, cf, Bernal 1987: 337-393. As for anti-Semitism in Spanish scholarship of the time, cf. García Bellido 1945: 9, where he calls Phoenician colonization a 'historical interference' which prevented the light of Greek culture from shining in those remote lands of the West.

[70] The Schultenian idea of Tartessos, minus its inconvenient foreign origins, lay at the basis of many ideological constructions of the national-catholicist regime of Franco (Álvarez Martí-Aguilar 2005: 119-139).

[71] Schulten 1955: 123-124. The first serious criticism of this interpretation came from the French Berthelot (1934), to be followed by others, especially González Ponce (1995). Cf Mangas and Plácido 1994: 22-27 for a general overview of the subject.

Phoenician Malaka, was questioned by archaeologists as well[72], and so, little by little, the evidence supporting the entire model collapsed.[73] However, as it is often the case, scholarly refutation did not put an end to what was, essentially, popular fantasy and nationalist propaganda by this point. Even today, the old notions about Phoenicians in the ancient history of Spain and especially the Andalusian region remain in the background, featured in newspaper articles, novels, and even in the fringes of scholarly discourse.[74]

The most recent advances in the latter, however, have diverged from the old line, prioritizing new considerations. In the last thirty years of scholarship, especially, archaeologists and historians have developed models more in consonance with present-day trends. The main elements of those models are:

a) much greater reliance on archaeological evidence, obtained using modern techniques,

b) a fluctuation in the traditional data about the chronology, location, and shape of the city itself, following new interpretations of said evidence which are "freed" from the tyranny of the written text,

c) most relevantly for the subject at hand, a reinterpretation of the whole colonization process, prioritizing the notions of multiculturalism, bi-directional exchanges and mutual cooperation.

Concerning a) and b), much could be said about the need for balance between archaeology and the written sources, considering that archaeological evidence, by its own nature and that of the site, is fragmentary and often lacks a cohesive narrative of its own, leaving too much to the interpretation of contemporary scholars, who are not necessarily better informed than the ancients about certain realities, even allowing that the latter did not engage in 'science' or 'history' as we understand them today.[75]

As for the most recent interpretation of the colonization process, it takes into account more data than any historian belonging to other periods could ever have hoped to have at their disposition, even including mitochondrial DNA tests on corpses from different periods found onsite at the Teatro Cómico dig, and studies on animal remains.[76] But every set of data is in need of a narrative, and therefore, in a certain level, new interpretations are also partly

[72] Niemeyer 1979, Aubet 2005.

[73] In 1958, the influential archaeologist and historian Almagro called Schulten 'a great poet and writer more than an archaeologist or a historian', *apud* Wulff Alonso 2003: 242.

[74] There is an interesting essay, available online, where a number of historical novels, comic books and textbooks published in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries are analyzed in order to highlight ideological patterns perpetuating a nationalistic view of the fabulous 'kingdom of Tartessos' and depicting the Phoenician colonists as villains (cf. Camacho Ortega and Fernández Reina).

[75] The most conspicuous, recent instance of this was the claim that Diego Ruiz Mata, the director of the archaeological dig of Doña Blanca (Puerto de Santa María, Cádiz) upheld in several, widely-publicised papers, that the Phoenician Gades had been located there, and not in the island where the modern city was (cf. for example Ruiz Mata 1999). This claim went against every ancient testimony, as well as against later interpretations, but it was supported by the scarcity of archaeological proof of habitation in the island versus its abundance in the Doña Blanca village. This scarcity, however, was caused by a rather specific problem: the city having been continuously inhabited until the present day, with the buildings concentrated in a rather small area because of lack of space, it was difficult to find an opportunity to dig in the purported location of the oldest settlement. In the end, this opportunity was furnished by the demolition and reconstruction of the Teatro Cómico in the city centre, which became an excuse to start an important digging site with European funds, ending in the discovery of a densely populated segment of the Phoenician city (cf. Gener *et al.* 2014).

[76] Palomo and Arroyo 2011, Estaca Gómez *et al.* 2015.

dependent on the spirit of the times. In this case, the main influences have been those of post-colonialism and globalization.[77] The new models lay a special stress on this type of reading, highlighting the evidence of original settlers mixing with the natives, and on cross-cultural exchanges which were not simply one-directional.[78] The migration narrative becomes that of a colonial enterprise with the purpose of exploiting the resources of this distant region and organizing trade routes through the Atlantic, with the active collaboration and partnership of the natives. The conquering and warlike 'negative' narratives, which had been traditionally connected with other interpretations of events, are excluded or left in the periphery, and the 'positive', one-directional civilization process is questioned as well. In terms of the historical tradition, we could say that Justin has been left by the wayside –or rather, the interpretations built on the implications of his text.

6. Conclusion:

This study of the historical interpretations of the foundation of Gades since Antiquity to our days has offered us a number of interesting insights. Though the outline remains that of a colonization story, we have been able to follow the way in which its circumstances have been constantly re-imagined throughout the ages. Those circumstances, as well as the historian's judgement of them, have often served each period's ideological needs and paralleled its views.

At the basis of all those re-imaginations we can find two texts, included in Strabo's *Geography* and Justin's *Epitome* of Trogus Pompey's *Philippic History,* to which we can add diverse notices about the Phoenicians and their arrival to the Iberian Peninsula looking for riches and resources. This information can be organized into several variants: concerning the motives of the settlers, we have an economic motive (sometimes causing the whole colonization to be depicted as a simple business enterprise, sometimes also leaving space for a refugee theme, adding the element of necessity), alternating with a conquest and dominion one. Concerning the relationship with the native inhabitants, we have one model where the relationship is at least neutral (involving one- or bi-directional cultural exchanges), and another where it is violent and destructive. As for the colonization process in general, there is also a positive and a negative narrative. The positive focuses on the civilization of the territory and the prosperity of the settlers, while the negative focuses on the conflicts with the indigenous people, with a special stress on the motive of deceit. Each of those extremes does not have to exclude the other: often we have a mixture of the positive and the negative, of economy and conquest, or of civilization and violence, like in the medieval theme of Hercules-the-founder, who came to the Iberian Peninsula at the head of a military expedition and made the city into the head of a powerful kingdom, or the Ocampo model, which Lafuente would alter to suit the thinking of the nineteenth century, where the Phoenicians were initially friendly and taught the natives things, but turned into enemies in time. Later, however, Schulten would minimize the positive to the point of eliminating it, claiming that the civilization encountered by the Phoenicians (according to him built by foreigners, later

[77] Machuca Prieto 2019: 64-71.

[78] Cf for example Ferrer Albelda 2010, Arévalo González and Moreno Pulido 2010, Moreno Pulido 2018, Machuca Prieto 2019. All of them coincide in defending indigenous agency and bi-directional influences as crucial to understand the ancient history of the Peninsula, from Phoenician to Roman times, instead of the traditional, one-directional 'imperialist' model.

requalified as natives by those who came after) was already developed and had nothing to learn from their invaders, a view which remained current until it experienced a new, sharp turn in contemporary scholarship.

In most, if not all, of these cases, the historians were influenced by views on migration and colonization that were current in their time: in the thirteenth century, this issue was inseparable from the issue of the origins and foundation of kingdoms, while in the sixteenth, it fell victim to the attempt to create a unified national past where invaders were no longer welcome. This was further influenced by real life concerns about colonies of foreign traders, to the point of building a narrative around it that practically took a life of its own. The eighteenth and, especially, the nineteenth century, which saw the impetus of European colonization, were more friendly to the idea of foreign settlements when they belonged to a 'higher' civilization teaching an inferior one to reach its full potential, but the good reputation the Phoenicians had in that department came under heavy question by the antisemitism of the early twentieth century. In that period, it became common practice to question the extent of the cultural development of Semitic civilizations, to which the Phoenicians belonged, considering them too economically oriented and deeply derivative in major areas such as art, literature and philosophy. As a result, the Phoenicians who settled Gades became mere looters of an ancient civilization who had been there before them. In the modern, postcolonial world, the focus has shifted towards the study of bi-directional exchanges and multiculturalism. In the end, we can claim that there is a colonization story for every era, and that the settlers who left Tyre to build a home at the Western edge of the world became refugees or conquerors, traders or imperialists, depending on what each historian had learned to expect from them.

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