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The Phokaian Sculpture of Obulco in Southern Spain

José Mª Blázquez – J. González Navarrete

Abstract

A remarkable group of sculptures in soft limestone, which may once have formed the decoration of a heroon or tumulus for a local ruler, have been recovered from a secondary context at the ancient city of Obulco (modern Porcuna) in southern Spain. Of the numerous figures, rendered either singly or in groups, 18 are presented here, many of them for the first time. It is suggested that these works, which differ greatly from purely native Iberian statuary, were carved by Phokaian artists, presumably emigrants to ancient Oretania, within the second half of the fifth century B.C. Because of their stylistic unity, the pieces from Obulco can be attributed to the same workshop, some perhaps even to the same hand. Stylistically related pieces from other contexts are also mentioned.

The ancient city of Obulco (present-day Porcuna) in what was once Oretania, in the province of Jaén in the Upper Guadalquivir region (ill. 1), has been the findspot of a group of remarkable sculptures of high artistic quality which in all probability were made by Greek, specifically Phokaian, masters. The discovery was made over ten years ago, and J. González Navarrete, then director of the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes in Jaén, has been able to recover a vast quantity of fragments from which at least 40 figures have been reconstructed, while others await further study. Some of these works are today on display in the Jaén museum, but they have not yet been properly published, and deserve considerably more attention than they have so far received. Some of the better preserved pieces are therefore briefly presented here, for the interest of *AJA* readers.[1]

All the sculptures are made of soft limestone, easy to carve. They are of different sizes, but the majority are approximately half life size, although the Artemis (no. 5), at an estimated 1.60 m. in height, is considerably taller. They seem to have been freestanding, their backs as carefully finished as their fronts, although a few are carved against a background; sphinxes and sirens could have been placed atop pillars. Some figures are carved in one with the base; some perhaps stood singly, others formed groups: soldiers fighting (**no. 12**), two hunters with dogs, one of them carrying partridges (**nos. 13-14**), a Hon attacking a lamb (**no. 16**).

These sculptural fragments (except for bull **no. 8**) were found reused within walls probably erected during the last century. These modern walls stood on a hill where some Attic pottery has been found, indicating the existence of an ancient site. The sculptures may have decorated a heroon, which was presumably destroyed shortly after its construction, as is also suggested by the limited weathering of the pieces. They are quite different from Iberian art found in this same general área, and find their closest affinity in Greek works. On the basis of iconographic details, they can probably be dated within the second half of the fifth century B.C., and are likely to have been destroyed shortly thereafter by the Lusitanians or Celto-Iberians who frequently plundered the Guadalquivir Valley at that time.

1. *Warrior* (pl. 9, fig. 1): head, both forearms, entire left leg and right leg from above the knee broken off

* The following special abbreviations are used:

Blázquez, *Religiones*	J.M. Blázquez, *Primitivas religiones Ibéricas 2. Religiones prerromanas* (Madrid 1983).
Blázquez, *Tartessos*	J.M. Blázquez, *Tartessos y los orígenes de la colonización fenicia en Occidente*[2] (Salamanca 1975).
García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico*	A. García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico en España* (Madrid 1980).

[1] For preliminary publication and illustrations, see: A. Blanco and J. González Navarrete, "Las esculturas de Porcuna (Jaén)", in García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 69-75 (esp. 69, 71, 75), figs. 81 and 179-84; Blázquez, *Religiones* 104-105, figs. 60-64; A. Blanco, *Historia del Arte Hispánico* 1. *La Antigüedad 2* (Madrid 1978) 44-45, figs. 12-13, and "Orientalia II", *ArchEspA* 33 (1960) 37-40; T. Chapa, *La escultura zoomorfa ibérica en piedra* (Diss. Madrid 1980) 480-83; G. Nicolini, *Les Ibères. Art et civilisation* (Paris 1973) 90, fig. 57. See the last two references for the publication of bull no. 8, the first piece found, albeit outside the context of the walls. The Artemis (no. 5), the sphinx (no. 6) and the bull illustrated in pl. 14, fig. 12, as well as the pieces nos. 11-18, are still unpublished, as are many other fragments. A brief presentation of some of these sculptures was made at the XII International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens, September 1983; see the resume of J.M. Blázquez, *Περιληφεις των όμιλων* (Athens 1983) 51.

III. 1. The area discussed in the text

and missing. Both arms were outstretched, and the left, bent at the elbow, may have held a weapon, traces of which are still visible against the chest. The warrior is dressed in a short sleeveless tunic reaching only to the upper thighs and dipping in the center; it is pleated and tied around the waist by two sashes with fringed (tasseled) ends. The upper torso is also covered by a corselet open in front; a wide leather strap encircles the chest, running under the armpits. The most conspicuous feature in the man's armament is a round shield hanging from his neck by means of (leather?) thongs and covering his lower torso from below the pectorals to the top of the thighs. The shield—as seen from the inside—seems formed by three superimposed discs, each larger than the previous one, and with a grip in the center; its concave shape allows it to wrap around the man's body for extra protection. A similar shield appears in the well known reliefs of Osuna (province of Sevilla), dated to the Hellenistic period.[2] It is the famous *caetra* of the Iberians [3] described by Strabo (3.3.6): "Their shield is small, two feet in diameter, and concave on the front side; it is worn suspended in front with straps but when closely examined, no clasps or handles are present. They also proceed armed with a dagger or knife, and the majority wear flaxen armor or a coat of mail." These shields are characteristic of the Lusitanian warriors who fought in the Román campaigns against the Cantabrians and Asturians between 29 and 19 B.G. [4]

2. *Warrior next to his horse* (pl. 9, fig. 2). Man: missing head, right elbow, right leg from mid-thigh, left leg from below the knee; horse: missing muzzle, tail

[2] A. García y Bellido, "Arte Ibérico", in *Historia de España. España Prerromana* 1.3 {Madrid 1954) 555, figs. 481-82; P. Bosch Gimpera and P. Aguado Bleye, "La conquista de España por Roma (218 a 19 a.C.)", in *Historia de España. España Romana 2* (Madrid 1955} 5, fig. 3.

[3] J. Cabré, "La *Caetra* y el *Scutum* en Hispania durante la Segunda Edad del Hierro," *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología* 6 (1939-1940) 57-78.

[1] A. Blanco, "Monumentos romanos de la conquista de Galicia" *Habis* 2 (1971) 223-32; M. Farinha do Santos, *Pre-Historia de Portugal* (Cacém 1972) figs. 139-40.

and all four legs almost entirely. The man seems to be running alongside his horse, which is rearing on its hind legs; he may be holding the animal's bridle in his left hand, together with the strap of his shield which overlaps the wrist. At the juncture of straps, the horse's harness is decorated with rosettes which recall the bridle from Fuente la Higuera (province of Valencia).[5] The mane is stylized into clumps of hair, presumably because the brittle limestone did not al-low more detailed carving; the eye is large and rolling, surrounded by slightly raised lids. The warrior wears the same short tunic as **no. 1**, here more clearly visible below the waist and with a seam down the center. Above the tunic, a similar leather corselet repeats the contour of the skirt, or the tunic is flounced. The same tasseled sash binds the waist and a leather strap runs around the chest. Two short, sheathed daggers dangle from his belt, one lying above the other, as was the custom in Atienza (Guadalajara).[6] In addition, this warrior wears a large bronze disc or phalera, protecting his chest and hanging from two (leather?) straps with circular plates over the shoulders. This rendering recalls Italic armor, as seen, e.g., on the Capestrano Warrior and the stele from Guardiagrele.[7] The Obulco warrior, however, can also be compared to the torso of a soldier from Ilici, [8] also wearing a tunic and a large breastplate decorated with a wolfs head: this disc hangs from straps adorned with acorns. Both warriors also sport a wide belt that could have had amuletic properties. [9] A second fragment from Ilici (perhaps belonging to the above-mentioned torso) preserves a curved dagger, held by the hand at knee level, but although similar in iconography, the Ilici and Obulco sculptures are from difierent schools. [10] An actual bronze phalera most closely resembling the Obulco disc has been found at Aguilar of Anguila, ancient Arcobriga (Guadalajara).[11] Warrior **no. 2** carries a shield like that of **no. 1**, and wears four armlets on each biceps, as known from Cypriot sculpture, [12] but also from examples in Sanchorreja (Avila),[13] and as are usually worn by Lusitanian warriors. Thus all items of our soldier's armament find indigenous parallels; but in contrast, the composition of a man in front of a rearing horse is unknown in Iberian art and can only be compared to Classical sculpture, e.g., some figures on the Parthenon frieze, the Albani relief, and the Dioskouroi from Lokroi. [14]

3. *Man fighting griffin* (pl. 10, figs. 3-4). Man: missing head, central portion of right arm, both legs below the knee; griffin: missing lower portion of three legs, part of wing. This complicated group, carved in one piece, is a masterpiece of technique and stylization. The man wears only a tunic with a V-shaped neckline and elbow-length sleeves. It is fastened at the waist by a belt composed of three thin straps and a large rectangular plaque in front, a type frequently seen on statues of warriors from Iberian sanctuaries near Obulco.[15] With his left hand the man grasps the griffin's left ear; with his right he pries open the monster's beak, gripping its upper jaw. With both knees and torso bent, the man gives the impression of standing braced against the pull of the griffin and exercising great strength. The monster's body is directed to the right, but the man's grasp has forced its head back in a highly twisted position that recalls the Cretan Bull on one of the metopes from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.[16] The griffin's right front paw pushes against the man's thigh, but the beast seems to be losing the struggle, as its long tongue lolls out of its mouth and its eye seems to be rolling in the socket. The fine engraved lines above the eye contrast with the smooth rendering of the side curl, which looks like

[5] García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 72 fig. 94; H. Schubart, "Iberische Halbinsel," in *Frühe Randkulturen des Mittelmeerraumes* (Baden-Baden 1967) 162, 182; Chapa (supra n. 1} 122-24, and 852-89 on the horse in Iberian art.

[6] B. Taracena, "Los pueblos celtibéricos," in *Historia Prerromana* (supra n. 2) 257', fig. 148.

[7] Capestrano Warrior, mid-6th c. B.C., now in the Chieti Museum: R. Bianchi Bandinelli and A. *Giuliano, Etruschi e Italici prima del dominio di Roma*[2] (Milán 1976; Spanish translation, Madrid 1973} 104-107, figs. 117-18; V. Cianfarani, *Antiche civiltà d'Abruzzo* (Rome 1969) 78-80, no. 182, pls. B and 89-93. Stele from Guardiagrele, 6th c. B.C.: Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano, 97, fig. 119; Cianfarani, 76 no. 178, pls. 84-85. This type is different from the large breastplate of the sculpture from Alfedena, late 4th c. B.C.: Bianchi Bandinelli and Giuliano, fig. 428.

[8] García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 44, figs. 52-54; Blanco, *Historia del Arte* (supra n. 1) 50, fig. 11. Note that the Ilici warrior wears the shield in a manner similar to warrior **no. 2**; he differs in having only a tunic, without the corselet of the Obulco figure.

[9] J.M. Blázquez, "Cinturones sagrados en la Península Ibérica," in *Homenaje at Prof. Martín Almagro Basch* (Madrid 1983) 411-20.

[10] For this opinion, cf. Blanco, *Historia del Arte* (supra n. 1) 40-46.

[11] A. García y Bellido, *Ars Hispaniae* 1 (Madrid 1947) 337 fig. 415.

[12] See, e.g., two votive sculptures from the Cesnola Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, ca. 600-500 B.C.: T. Spiteris, *The Art of Cyprus* (London 1970) 130-59.

[13] J. Maluquer, *El Castro de los Castillejos en Sanchorreja* (Salamanca 1958)74-76.

[14] Parthenon frieze: J. Boardman, J. Dörig, W. Fuchs and M. Hirmer, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London 1967) 358, figs. 206-207, esp. N XLII. Albani Relief: R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture* (New York 1960) fig. 179. Lokroi Dioskouroi, late 5th c. B.C.: E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen* (Munich 1963) 44, figs. 122-23.

[15] G. Nicolini, *Bronces ibéricos* (Barcelona 1977) 50, fig. 7; 68, fig. 15; 98, fig. 30; 100, fig. 31.

[16] B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia. The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London 1967) fig. 162.

a flat layer superimposed on head and neck without volume. Other inner markings are also given by incised lines that recall metalwork, while the bodily forms bulge with plastic volume and subtle modeling. The tail is shown as faceted, tucked in between the legs and emerging from under the left hind thigh. The griffin reached the West through the Phoenicians, and the theme of the gryphomachy is attested in Greek literature since the seventh century *Arimaspeia* by Aristeas of Proconnesos (ca. 650-600 B.C.).[17] In Spain the motif of man fighting griffin occurs on the Carmona ivories from the province of Sevilla (ca. 600 B.C.),[18] on a ring from Huelva of the sixth century,[19] and on two imported kraters, one from a necropolis near Obulco.[20] In sculpture, two excellent examples of griffin heads have been found, although in fragmentary condition: one from Ilici and a more ornate one from Redován (province of Alicante).[21] Although both are of high quality and ultimately derived from Greek prototypes, they are quite different from the Obulco monster, and probably represent indigenous adaptations. [22]

4. *Head of warrior* (pl. 11, figs. 5-6). Broken at midneck and on left cheek. The warrior has almond-shaped eyes, the right distinctly larger than the left, with engraved pupils, which lend the face an Oriental appearance and recall Cypriot sculpture. [23] He has thin, straight lips and square jaws. He wears a helmet, probably of leather, with a central flange carrying additional features, now broken off but probably to be understood as metal decoration. There are also circular reinforcements high on the sides, with cavities for additional attachments. This type of helmet does not seem Greek in origin, although a broad-flanged example appears on a Phokaian coin dated ca. 420 B.C.[24] A relief in Osuna (third century B.C.) depicts a Lusitanian warrior whose helmet was surmounted by a quadruped, now too damaged for analysis. [25] A type of horned helmet was introduced between the 8th and the 6th century B.C. and is seen on some stelai [26]; a silver example comes from Caudete (Valencia).[27]

5. *Artemis with two deer* (pl. 12, figs. 7-8). Human figure: missing head, left arm, right upper arm; animals: deer to left of figure: missing part of right hind leg, front left leg, part of head; of a second deer, front left leg preserved, parts of hindquarters visible in relief against human figure. Enough of this complex group of *potnia theron* type is preserved to understand the composition. A draped woman stands not so much between the two deer as encircled by them, for they overlap heraldically behind her as she pulls their forequarters sharply around her from each side, grasping the antlers of one with her left hand and supporting with her right the raised front leg of the other. The animals' preserved forelegs and overlapping hindquarters appear in relief against the human figure; the body of the left-hand deer, with its short tail and stylized head, is an excellent example of animal sculpture nearly in the round. The woman wears a voluminous mantle over a tunic, which is visible only at the V-neckline above the edges of the cloak crossing on the chest; the mantle crosses the back from the right shoulder. This figure may be identified as Artemis, whose attribute is the deer. [28] In Spain, the Greek Artemis was assimilated to the Phoenician Astarte who is sculpturally attested from the second half of the seventh century B.C. [29] The Lusitanians worshipped a

[17] The work of Aristeas was known to Aeschylus, Hecataeus, Pindar, Herodotus, Hellanicus and others. See *EAA* 3.1056-63 s.v. Grifo, esp. 1059-60 (M.G. Marunti). Cf. Blanco, *Historia del Arte* (supra n. 1) 45.

[18] Blázquez, *Tartessos* 157, pl. 56B.

[19] Blázquez, *Tartessos* 383, pl. 14tA; see also Blazquez, *Religiones* 69-70, pls. 36-38.

[20] A.L. Mengod et al., "Materiales de la necrópolis ibérica de Orleyl (Vall d'Uxó, Castellón)," in *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 70 (Valencia 1981) 59-71, pls. 9, 10, 12; see also M. Vidal, "La iconografía del grifo en la Península Ibérica," *Pyrenae* 9 (1973) 7-151.

[21] Both griffins date from the 5th c. B.C. Ilici griffin: Garcia y Bellido, *Arte Iberico* 67, fig. 76; Chapa (supra n. 1) 166-67. Redován griffin: García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 67, fig. 75; cf. also 574-75, figs. 495-97; Chapa 220-23. On the significance and religious origin of the griffin in Iberian art, see also Blázquez, *Religiones* 69-70, 196.

[22] For this opinion see Blanco, *Historia del Arte* (supra n. 1) 43, and references cited there to other provincial works.

[23] V. Karageorghis, *Ancient Cyprus. 7000 Years of Art and Archaeology* (London 1981) 160, fig. 123.

[24] Phokaian coin: C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London 1935) pl. 16.22.

[25] García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 550-51, figs. 475-76; see also 33, figs. 67-69.

[26] M. Almagro, *Las estelas decoradas del Noroeste peninsular* (Madrid 1966) 32 fig. 4; 78 fig. 24; 122 fig. 42.

[27] García y Bellido, *Ars Hispaniae* (supra n. 11) 302, fig. 362.

[28] Cf., e.g., the Artemis holding a deer by the antlers on a Melian amphora: P.E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Greek Vase Painting* (New York 1963) fig. 22; and the Mistress of Animals on the François Vase, fig. 46.

[29] See Blázquez, *Tartessos* 187-92, pls. 75-76A; cf. also J.M. Blázquez, *Arte de la Edad de los Metales. Arte orientalizante, fenicio y cartaginés. Historia del Arte Hispánico. La Antigüedad* 1 (Madrid 1978) 204-207, figs. 1-3. See also the seated goddess from Galera (Granada), second half of 7th c. B.C. and the Astarte from Castulo (Jaen), modelled after that of Kama in Syria, 6th c. B.C.: *Tartessos* 110-12; the Sevillian Astarte, 6th c. B.C.: *Tartessos* 112-14, 110 fig. 35; and that of Santiago de la Espada (Jaén), clearly identifiable with Artemis: Nicolini, *Les Ibères* (supra n. 1) 129 fig. 114.

deity identified with Artemis, and many sculptures of the latter have been found in Hispalis and Emerita Augusta and their regions, dating from the Roman period. [30] It is therefore logical to assume that such statues existed also at an earlier date.

6. *Sphinx* (pl. 13, fig. 9). Headless and missing the rear portion of the body except paws, and sweep of the upper wings. Carved in one with a low plinth. To prevent breakage, the stone between the legs has been left uncut as a recessed surface against which is carved what seems to be a second set of wings pointing downward. From the front, this intermediate stone has been made invisible by prolonging the surface of the chest down to the paws, apron-like, in what may represent overlapping long plumage. Crossing straps fastened by a round brooch form a V-line below the human throat and emerge from two scallop-edged plaques over the shoulders, as if the sphinx wore a harness or some kind of costume. The animal legs are subtly modelled, the upward curving wings indicated only by smooth planes and incisions delimiting broad sections. This superb animal has no true parallel in Greek or Etruscan art, especially for the treatment of the front, which has transformed into long feathers what is commonly rendered as shorter scales, as for instance on the Naxian sphinx at Delphi. [31] Closer are the marble sphinxes from a late eighth century tomb in Cypriot Salamis, which follow Phoenician and ultimately Egyptian prototypes. [32] In Spain, some comparison to the superimposed planes of the plumes is provided by the sphinx from Bogarra (Albacete; fifth century B.C.) and the earlier sphinx from Agost (Alicante; sixth century B.C.). [33] The smooth planes of the wings can also be found on an Etruscan terracotta sphinx from Murlo (Poggio Civitate).[34] The Obulco monster is probably a sphinx, rather than a siren, because of its lion's paws and its tail; this piece is decidedly superior to the siren of Jodar (Jaén) which represents a more provincial type of art. [35]

7. *Lion* (pl. 13, fig. 10). Missing rear part of body, muzzle. The animal is shown with its forelegs and paws on an inverted palmette, head turned in the opposite direction and open snarling mouth. Another creature, probably a snake, is coiled around the lion's chest. Another ridge on the lion's flank may be its own tail. The lion's ruff and mane are treated as smooth surfaces, but the flews of the mouth are striated, and incision sets off the rolling eye and creases the forehead. The ears, not very lion-like, are pointed and alert. Teeth are clearly indicated within the open mouth, which, in its decorative treatment, compares well with the lion-waterspouts from the so-called Temple of Victory at Himera (ca. 480-470 B.C.).[36] The total composition is best paralleled on a Pontic vase in Wiirzburg.[37] On the other hand, the Obulco lion has nothing in common with other Iberian examples, which may have neo-Hittite prototypes.[38] The Obulco lion, because of the palmette, may have served as the finial or as roof-decoration for the heroon.

8. *Reclining Bull* (pl. 14, fig. 11). Missing hind legs with the rear portion of the plinth, and the front of the head. The horns, inserted separately, were not in limestone but from a live animal. The bent front legs are in one with the plinth, but the stomach was carved free and is completely finished. Although not found in the same context, this magnificent piece resembles the other sculptures in its combination of smooth raised planes and engraved details, but the total effect is

[30] A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid 1949) 145-50, pls. 115-21. On the deer in Iberian art and its religious significance, see Chapa (supra n. 1) 890-99. For ancient sources on the cult of Artemis among the Lusitanians, see Plut. *Sert*, 11.20; Ap. l.110; Val. Max. 1.2.4; Front. 1.11.13; and Cell. 25.22.

[31] J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period* (London 1978) fig. 100.

[32] V. Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus: Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman* (London 1969) 82, pl. 5.

[33] García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 575, fig. 498, and 67, fig. 78; Chapa (supra n. 1) 135-38. The Agost sphinx is another eloquent proof of the early hellenization of the Alicante region: Blanco, *Historia del Arte* (supra n. 1) 42. For the sphinx in Iberian art, its significance and origin, see Blázquez, *Religiones* 68-69,196-97; T. Chapa, "Las esfinges en la plástica Ibérica," in *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 37 (1980) 309-39. For the Phoenician introduction of the sphinx to the southern area of the Iberian Peninsula, see Blázquez, *Tartessos* 262-63, pls. 92B, 93A.

[31] Murlo sphinx: M. Fullerton, "The Terracotta Sphinx Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)," *RomMitt* 89 (1982} 1-26, pls. 2-3.

[35] Chapa (supra n. 1) 469-71.

[36] Langlotz and Hirmer (supra n. 14) figs. 77-79.

[37] "Pontic" amphora in Wiirzburg, L 778: *CVA* Würzburg 3 (Germany 51) pl. 28.1. This comparison was first made by Blanco, in Blanco and González Navarrete (supra n. 1) 75.

[3B] Such lions may have been introduced by the Phoenicians. See, e.g., those from Pozo Moro: M. Almagro Gorbea, "Pozo Moro y el influjo fenicio en el periodo orientalizante de la Península Ibérica," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 10 (1982) 231-72; and "Los relieves orientalizantes de Pozo Moro (Albacete)," *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 35 (1971) 251-71; M. Almagro Gorbea, "Pozo Moro. Un monumento funerario ibérico orientalizante, *MadrMitt* 24(1983) 177-293. See also Blanco, *Historia del Arte* (supra n. 1) 34-37; J-M. Blázquez, "Las raíces clásicas de la cultura ibérica. Estado de la cuestión. Ultimas aportaciones," *ArchEspA* 52 (1979) 143-56, and *Religiones* 25-36. See also the lions from the Guadalquivir Valley: Chapa (supra n. 1) 711-94; J.M. Blázquez, "Figuras animalísticas turdetanas," in *Homenaje a D. Pío Bettrán* (Zaragoza 1974) 90-103, and *Religiones* 156-62, 197.

more highly stylized and may suggest a later, fourth century, date. Particularly notable is the rendering of the dewlap in a series of parallel, curving lines which extend from neck to chest. Four grooves mark the ribs over the flank, and three incisions on the rump give a stylized rendering of musculature. Seven lines join to form a tail spread over the haunches. Concentric semicircles are engraved around the large eye. In addition, a trefoil pattern marks the bull's forehead below the striations linking the horns, and two more parallel lines descend on either side from the bull's back onto his shoulders, ending in a lotus bud. This motif may indicate a ribbon of some sort placed over the animal to suggest its sacredness, like the mitered bull from Rojales (Alicante), and that from Azaila (Teruel) which was found in a temple and has a rosette on the forehead. [39] Diodorus (4.12.2) mentions some Iberian cows considered sacred as descendants of the cattle given by Herakles to an Iberian ruler. Or the Obulco bull may represent a Near Eastern deity, like El or Hadad, astral gods whose cult was introduced to southern Iberia by the Phoenicians together with those of Astarte and Reshef. [40] And we are told by Strabo (3.2.4) that the bull was a common cult symbol in southern Spain and in the entire country. Artistically, the linear decoration of the Obulco animal can be paralleled on the ivory bull from Bencarron (Sevilla), today in New York, [41] and on others from the Guadalquivir Valley, at Osuna, [42] and Arjona (Jaen), [43] this last being the closest to ours which, however, is superior in rendering. Ultimate inspiration may derive from Persian animal sculpture, or from animals on Greek vases.[44]

Another fragmentary bull from Obulco (pl. 14, fig. 12), although similar in general stylization, appears more naturalistic and exhibits greater modelling on the body and in between the incisions. Bands surround the horns, now also lost but once added in another medium, and recall the already mentioned bull from Arjona.[45] A third bull from Obulco was carved in high relief against a background, in a walking pose. A bull's head and neck have also been found at Castulo, a few kilometers from Obulco, but the piece is still unpublished. It was unearthed, together with reused material, in a tomb of a necropolis datable to the first half of the fourth century B.C. on the basis of Attic vases. The bull had limestone (?) horns and was entirely coated with stucco, the type of finish found on the "Lady of Baza."[46] Iberian sculpture often exhibits tool marks made by the point, as visible, for instance, on the Dama de Elche [47] and the statues from Cerro de los Santos (Albacete).[48]

9. *Female figure* (pl. 15, fig. 13). Missing head, left forearm, forepart of both feet; traces remain of the right hand. The woman wears a large mantle open at front, revealing the V-shaped neckline of the underlying tunic. Two ridges between neckline and mantle may indicate ornaments or folds. Traces of a large object appear on the woman's left shoulder. The piece is impressive for its elegant simplicity, smooth contours and the suggestion of the body under the drapery. Other draped figures, however, especially among votive bronzes, surpass it in beauty, for instance, the praying girl from Collado de los Jardines (Despeñaperros; sixth century B.C.).[49]

10. *Male figure* (pl. 15, fig. 14). Missing head, right arm, part of left forearm, feet; a large break mars the area of the left knee. The man wears a long mantle which adheres closely to the body, revealing its contours, and falls in linear, wavy folds with little volume. He also wears a necklace with a rounded pendant, and an armlet around the preserved left biceps.

[39] Bull from Rojales: Chapa (supra n. 1) 150-52; García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* figs. 514-16. Bull from Azaila: Blázquez, *Religiones* 198, figs. 125-26. Such bulls, sphinxes, sirens and lions, funerary in character, were probably placed as finials over tombs: M. Almagro Gorbea and M.L. Cruz Pérez, "Los monumentos funerarios ibéricos de Los Nietos (Murcia)," *Saguntum* 16 (1981); *Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia* 137-48; M. Almagro Gorbea, "Arquitectura y sociedad en la cultura Ibérica," in *Architecture et société de I'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République Romaine* (Actes du Colloque international, organise par le Centre National de la Recherche scientifique et l'Ecole franchise de Rome, Rome 2-4 décembre 1980; Paris and Rome 1983) 387-414, and "El 'paisaje' de las necrópolis ibéricas y su interpretación sociocultural," *RStLig* 44 (1983) 199-218.

[40] M. Almagro Basch, "Un tipo de ex voto de bronce ibérico de origen orientalizante," *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 37 (1980) 248-89, and "Über einen Typus iberischer Bronze-Exvotos orientalischen Ursprungs," *MadrMitt* 20 (1979) 175-83; Blázquez, *Religiones* 55-60; I. Gamer-Wallert, "Zwei Statuetten syro-ägyptischer Gottheiten von der 'Barra de Huelva'," *MadrMitt* 23 (1982) 46-61. See also a gem from Ibiza, on which Baal appears in the shape of a bull's head: J.M. Blázquez, "Escarabeos en Ibiza," *RStLig* 33 (1967) 336-37, fig. 13; W. Culican, "Baal on an Ibiza Gem," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 4 (1976) 57-68.

[41] New York Hispanic Society, bull on ivory plaque from Bencarron: Blázquez, *Tartessos* 159-60, pl. 50C; E. Kukahn, "Phönikische und iberische Kunst," in K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Berlin 1967) 305, fig. 362c.

[42] García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 580, figs. 523, 525, 527; *MadrMitt* 24(1983) pl.32c.

[43] García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 70, figs. 82-83.

[44] Persian: Schefold (supra n. 41) figs. 351, 355a. Greek vases: Schefold, col. pl. 14 (Caeretan hydria in the Louvre).

[45] Supra n. 43.

[46] Lady of Baza: García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 52-56, figs. 193-97; F. Presedo, *La necrópolis de Baza* (Madrid 1982) 309-17, 322.

[47] Dama de Elche: Schefold (supra n. 41) fig. 373.

[4B] Sculptures from Cerro de los Santos: García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 483-541; Schefold (supra n. 41) 308, fig. 374.

[49] Nicolini, *Bronces* (supra n. 15) 64-65; see also 144-45, 178-81, 184-85, for other bronzes more roughly executed.

This piece lacks the rigidity of votive bronzes depicting draped men, also found in the Despenaperros sanctuaries.[50]

11. *Male torso* (pl. 16, fig. 15). Missing: head, mid-portion of right arm, fingers of left hand, legs except for a stump of the left thigh. The torso belongs to a figure seemingly in motion, holding his ithyphallic penis in his right hand; the left arm is bent upward, resting on the shoulder. This torso with its modeled anatomical features is the first naked figure of the pre-Roman period to have been found in the Iberian peninsula, and its type is so far unknown in Iberian art. It seems to be by the same hand as the other sculptures here listed, although its anatomical rendering is not as detailed as that found in Greek art by the end of the sixth century B.C.

12. *Group of two fighters* (pl. 16, fig. 16). Left-hand figure: missing most of the head, arms and lower legs, except for feet. Right-hand figure: missing right half of head, portion of torso and arms, mid-portion of left leg. The human bodies are carved in very high relief against a background that has preserved the farther limbs, and in one piece with a base that retains the nearer feet. The two male figures stand facing, knees bent and legs crossing, each man seemingly grasping his opponent by the belt. They wear short-sleeved tunics dipping to a point between the thighs; the left-hand figure may have a round breastplate like no. 2, and the right-hand man wears a helmet, possibly the type mentioned by Strabo (3.3.6) as typical of the Lusitanians. Poses and rendering are quite naturalistic, especially the feet, which resemble some on the Siphnian Treasury frieze at Delphi, ca. 525 B.C.

Groups of fighters are known in Iberian art, and even in funerary contexts, like the reliefs from Osuna,[51] but the Obulco group is two centuries earlier. Perhaps it represents a contest at funerary games held for an important person, as mentioned by Diodorus (33.21) in connection with the burial of Viriatus.

13. *Hunter with dog* (pl. 17, fig. 17). Hunter: missing head, right elbow, left hand, lower right leg. Dog: missing all four legs except paws, top half of head. Both figures are carved against a background and standing on a base. A walking hunter wearing a short-sleeved tunic carries a hare in his right hand and with his left seems to pat a large dog with panting open mouth and lolling tongue. Game was plentiful in the Iberian peninsula, but this is the only hunting scene extant in Iberian art. Deer hunting is shown in a painting at Liria (Valencia), which is, however, as late as the third century B.C.[52]

14. *Hunter with partridges and deer* (pl. 17, fig. 18). Hunter: missing head, right hand, both legs at mid-thighs. Deer: missing head and most of legs. This group, like no. 13, is carved against a background. A hunter in a walking pose, dressed in a belted tunic with short sleeves, carries two partridges hanging from a cord (?), heads up. Two straps carved in relief against the man's body below the belt, and a hole for the attachment of a separate object, presumably in metal, suggest the presence of an additional feature. The deer stands beside and partly behind the man; its long neck indicates that the now missing head was turned sharply back and touched the man's chest; the bent front legs suggest a rampant pose. The sculptor was an expert carver in limestone, as indicated by the realism of the partridges' heads and the complexity of the composition.

15. *Warrior transfixed by a spear* (pl. 18, fig. 19). Upper part of a male figure preserved from above the waist, missing the right forearm and the left hand. A spear has pierced the man, penetrating from the front and exiting above the left shoulder blade, where it is carved in relief against the body, as if bent down. The man wears a corselet and a belt similar to those of nos. 1 and 2. His hair is bound by a band. His arms are held away from the sides, the right forward, the left behind. This type of wounded figure is unknown in Iberian art. All sculptures from Obulco exhibit the same masterly working of the stone, both in the rendering of the costume and in the modeling of human and animal bodies, but they are especially remarkable for the varied compositions and the expression of motion, notably in the groups. Surely all figures are by the same artist.

16. *Lion attacking a lamb* (pl. 19, figs. 21-22). The lion lacks the muzzle, the rear half of its body and all four legs; the lamb is almost entirely preserved except for the legs and the front of its head. This free-standing group is formed by a lion biting a lamb which turns its head sharply back. The lion has a stylized mane treated as a smooth plane ending in a flame pattern; its engraved rolling eye and other facial incisions recall the rendering of other animals among the Obulco sculptures, e.g., nos. 3, 5 and 7. The lion's ears are laid back, as is the lamb's distinctive ear. This group exhibits strong movement and originality of conception; the leaping pose of the lion is unknown in Iberian art, and the total group is a unicum.

17. *Eagle* (pl. 18, fig. 20). Missing head and part of the lower body. The wide-spread wings have a tripartite division, each section bordered by a horizontal

[50] Nicolini, *Bronces* (supra n. 15) 74-79.

[51] See supra n. 2.

[52] J. Maluquer, "Pueblos ibericos," in *Historia de España. España prerromana* 1.3 (supra n. 2) 338 figs. 210-11.

band; the shoulder section is smooth, but feathers are rendered by incision in the other two areas and over the body. This is the only representation of an eagle known so far in Iberian sculpture.

18. *Horse head* (pl. 20, fig. 23). Broken off just below jaw and missing the muzzle. The animal wears trappings decorated with knobbed disks, like the horse head from Fuente la Higuera, [53] which, however, is in a different style and belongs to the fourth century B.C. The bit resembles those of the horses from the Iberian sanctuary at Cigarralejo (Murcia), also from the fourth century. [54] In our horse, the eye and its overarching incisions are identical to those of the lion in **no. 16**.

The high artistic quality and superior craftsmanship of the Obulco sculptures can also be seen in the products of other areas near Oretania, notably the horse found in the Casas de Juan Núnez, in the province of Albacete (pl. 20, fig. 24).[55] Larger in scale than the Obulco statues, this horse, although fragmentary, shows impressive modeling and many finely engraved details. Note in particular the palmettes marking the corners of the saddle/blanket, the square buckle of the fastening strap around the body, the neck-collar and the pectoral band with a fringe. A linen cloth seems to be hanging in front of the horse. This piece of animal sculpture can rank side by side with Greek examples, and is only matched by a horse's head from Ilici. [56] Other horses, votive offerings in the sanctuary of Mula (Murcia) which were destroyed shortly before 400, were made by local craftsmen and cannot be compared.[57]

The Obulco sculptures form a homogeneous stylistic group, of consistent high quality, which must have belonged to a single workshop, and probably to a single monument, despite their great variety in subject matter. They differ considerably from purely native Iberian statuary, like that from Cerro de los Santos.[58] In their rigidity and stylization, those figures resemble Cypriot or Archaic Greek art; by contrast, the Obulco compositions are full of movement and realistic plasticity. Neither do they resemble the smooth Pozo Moro reliefs (seventh century B.C.) carved under North Syrian influence. [59] It is a plausible surmise that the Obulco pieces were made by Phokaian sculptors, a suggestion first advanced by A. Blanco following a theory by E. Langlotz. [60] During the Orientalizing period, corresponding to the Tartessos culture, the Iberian peninsula produced no sculpture; therefore the Phoenicians did not bring sculpture to that area. [61] Greek contacts, however, are attested since the journey from Samos of Kolaios [62] and into the seventh and sixth centuries, when Phokaians—as also mentioned by Herodotus (1.163)—traded directly with the southern part of the region of Huelva, to obtain metals. Vast quantities of Greek pottery, still not fully published, have in fact been found in Huelva, coming from Attica, the Peloponnesos (Lakonia?) and the Aegean islands, at a time (the sixth century B.C.) when Phoenician and Carthaginian influence on southern Iberia seems to have been fading. [63] Greek masters, on the contrary, are amply attested abroad, for instance, in Etruria.[64] Of those who emigrated to the Iberian Peninsula, some penetrated into Oretania, following the Guadalquivir river.[65] In their work, however, they adopted some local iconographic elements, like the weapons and the phalerae, which are native to the

[53] See supra n. 5.

[54] García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* pls. 90-91.

[55] Today in the Museo Provincial de Albacete. See Chapa (supra n. 1)288-90.

[56] Horse from Ilici: García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 44.

[57] Blanco, *Historia del Arte* (supra n. 1) 46-47; Maluquer, "Pueblos ibéricos" (supra n. 52) 327-32.

[58] See supra n. 48,

[59] On the Pozo Moro reliefs, see supra n. 38, especially Blanco.

[60] Blanco, *Historia del Arte* (supra n. 1) 40-46; E. Langlotz, *Die kulturelle und kunstlerische Hellenisierung der Kusten des Mittelmeers durch die Stadt Phokaia* (Cologne-Opladen 1966). See also M. Almagro Gorbea, "La 'colonization' focense en la Península Ibérica. Estado actual de la cuestion," *ParPass* 204-207 (1982) 432-42; and in the same volume, J.P. Morel, "Les Phocéens d'Occident: nouvelles données, nouvelles approches," 479-96, and T. Chapa, "Influences de la colonisation phocéenne sur la sculpture ibérique," 374-91.

[61] See Blázquez, *Tartessos,* and *Antigüedad* (supra n. 29) 201-38; also "Los fenicios en la Península Ibérica (1100-final del siglo IV a.C)," in *Historia de España Antigua* (Madrid 1983) 277-392; and "Panorama general de la presencia fenicia y púnica en España," *Atti I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* 2 (Rome 1983) 311-73. E.G. González Wagner, *Fenicios y Cartagineses en la Península Ibérica. Ensayo de interpretación fundamentada en un análisis de los factores internos* (Diss. Madrid 1983); A.M. Bisi, "L'espansione fenicia in Spagna," *Convegno sul tema "Fenici e Arabi net Mediterraneo"* (Acc. Lincei, Rome 1983) 97-151; H.G. Niemeyer ed., *Phönizier im Westen* (DAI Madrider Beiträge 8, Mainz 1982).

[62] B. Freyer-Schauenburg, "Kolaios und die westphönizischen Elfenbeine," *MadrMitt* 1 (1966) 89-108.

[63] For Greek pottery in southern Spain, see: J.P. Garrido and E.M. Orta, "Las cerámicas griegas de Huelva. Un informe preliminar," *ParPass* 204-207 (1982) 407-16; and in the same volume, R. Olmos Romera, "La cerámica griega en el Sur de la Península Ibérica. La aportación de Huelva," 393-406. See also R. Olmos Romera and J.P. Garrido, "Cerámica griega en Huelva. Un informe preliminar," in *Homenaje a Saenz de Buruaga* (Badajoz 1982) 243-64; B.B. Shefton, "Greeks and Greek Imports in the South of the Iberian Peninsula," in Niemeyer, *Phönizier* (supra n. 61)337-67.

[64] J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*[3] (London 1980) 198-210.

[65] A. Blanco, "Orientalia II" (supra n. 1) 43.

Meseta areas. [66] On their evidence, the Obulco sculptures should be dated within the second half of the fifth century B.C.

The destruction of the complex may have been caused by the Lusitanians or the Celto-Iberians who periodically plundered the Guadalquivir Valley. Two extensive destructions of cities and sanctuaries are documented: one in the latter part of the fifth century, and another at the turn from the fourth into the third century B.C. [67] Thought at first to have been caused by the Carthaginians, this destruction has now been reassessed, in view of the fact that Carthaginian penetration into the interior of the country took place only after the First Punic War. Systematic looting of other Hispanic villages rich in metals, livestock and produce, like those in the South, should also be considered. The situation described by Greek and Latin authors as existing during the Roman conquest [68] had probably existed for many centuries previously. Hannibal's towers along the Sierra Morena defended the rich mining revenues obtained by the natives who sold the minerals to the Carthaginians. The inhabitants of Turdetania (the Romans' *Baetica)* employed Celto-Iberians as mercenaries (Diod. 15; Livy 34); like the Lusitanians, they had serious social and economic difficulties due to the unbalanced distribution of wealth. Most of the livestock and the farmed wealth were in the hands of a few, who eventually fell prey to bandit bands from neighboring towns, as recounted by Diodorus (5.39.6).

One of the local rulers made wealthy by the mineral resources in the area must have been responsible for bringing in the Phokaian masters who made the Obulco sculptures, probably to decorate his heroon, like the Culchas who, at the time of the Roman occupation (Liv. 28.13.3), ruled over 28 cities and is commemorated on the reliefs of Pozo Moro and Osuna.[69] This type of elaborate tomb, like the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos and the heroon at Gjölbaschi-Trysa,[70] may have been introduced in the West by the Greeks.

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[66] W. Schüle, *Die Mesetakulturen der iberischen Halbinset* (Berlin 1969) 79, Tajo Culture, Phase A 2.

[67] See Blázquez, "Los fenicios" (supra n. 61) 435-38, and *Religiones* 201-203.

[68] See J.M. Blázquez, *La romanización* I (Madrid 1974) 191-215.

[69] García y Bellido, *Arte Ibérico* 541-57; M.P. León, "Plásticas ibérica e iberorromana," in *La baja época de la cultura ibérica* (Madrid 1981) 183-99- For the Osuna reliefs, see supra ns. 2 and 42.

[70] Halikarnassos Mausoleum: see, e.g., Schefold (supra n. 41) 190-91, figs. 104-105. Gjölbaschi-Trysa: e.g., Schefold 87, fig. 93.

FIG. 2. Obulco, warrior with horse, no. 2. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

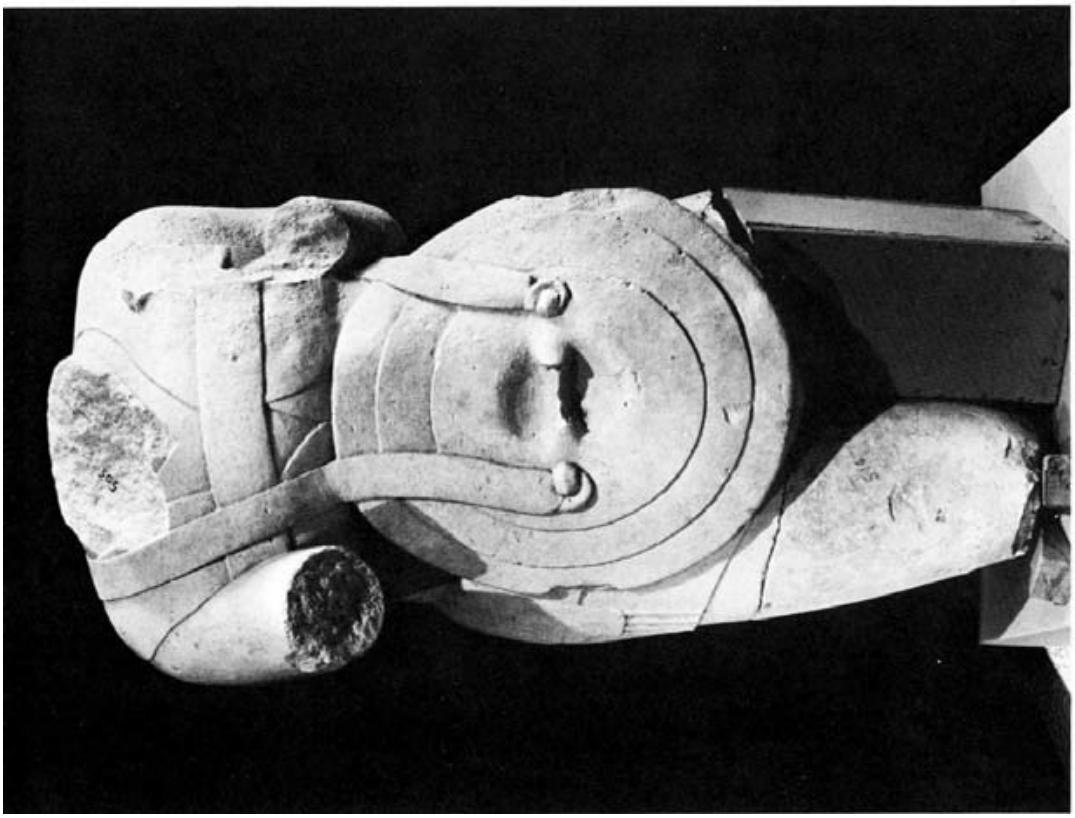

FIG. 1. Obulco, warrior, no. 1. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

FIG. 3. Obulco, man fighting griffin, no. 3. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

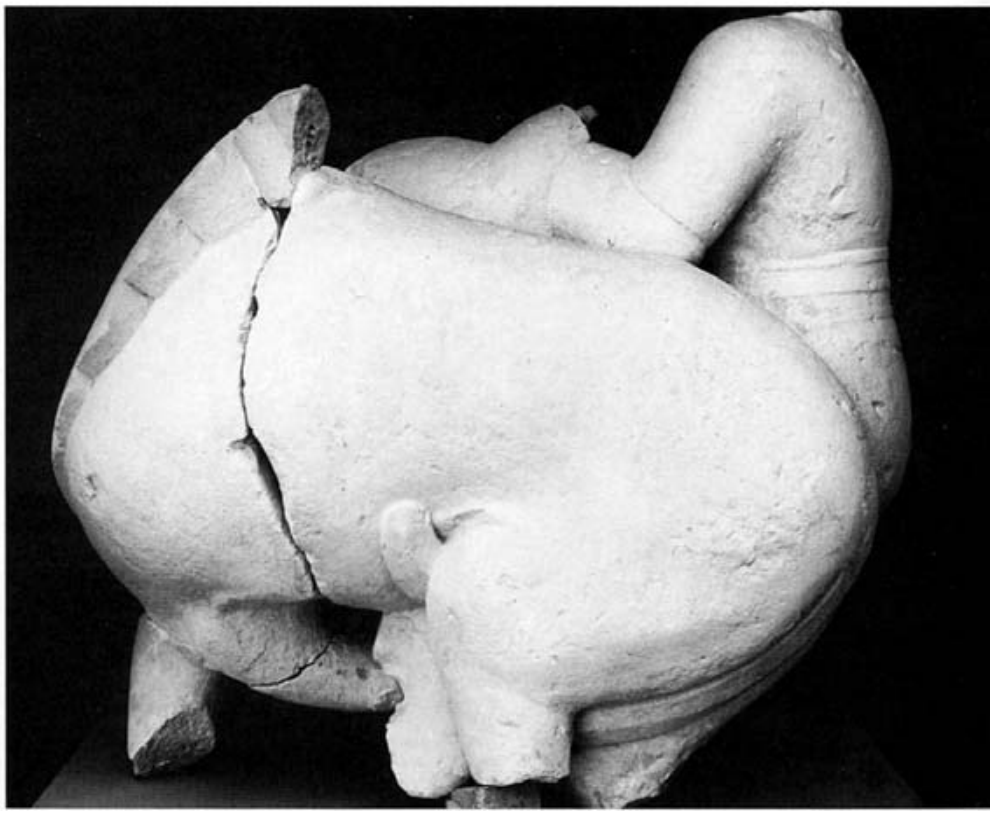

FIG. 4. Obulco, man fighting griffin, no. 3, rear view. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

FIG. 6. Obulco, head of warrior, no. 4, side view. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

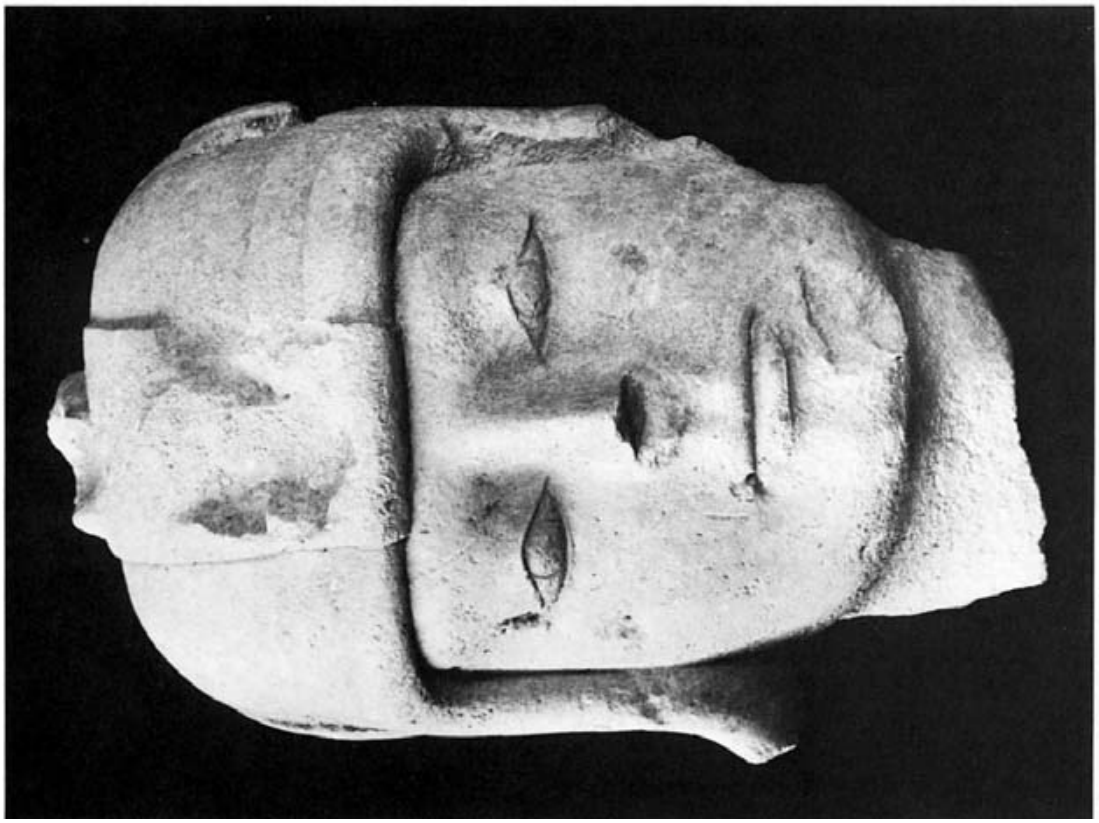

FIG. 5. Obulco, head of warrior, no. 4. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

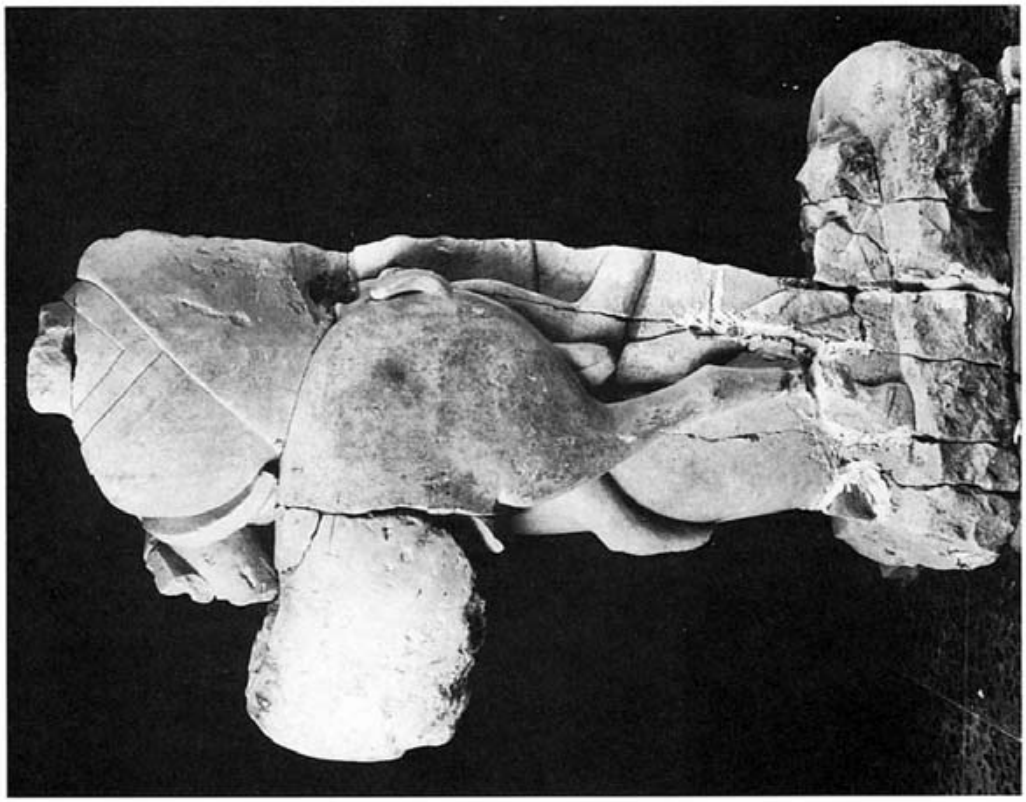

FIG. 8. Obulco, Artemis with two deer, no. 5, rear view. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

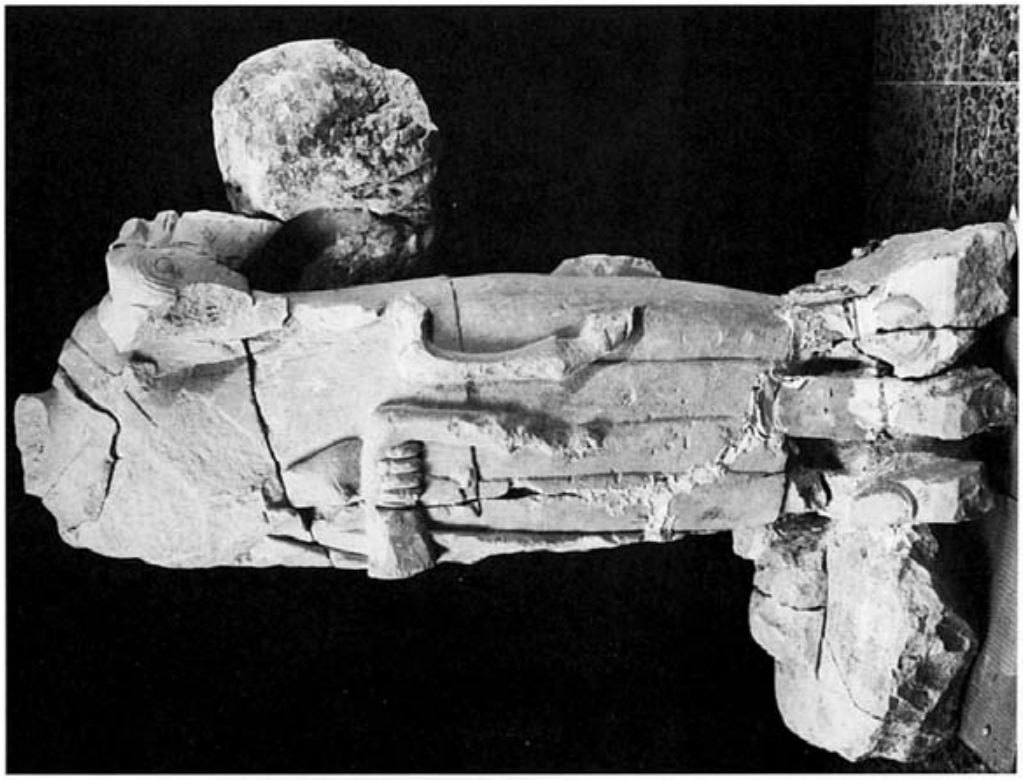

FIG. 7. Obulco, Artemis with two deer, no. 5. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

FIG. 10. Obulco, lion, no. 7. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

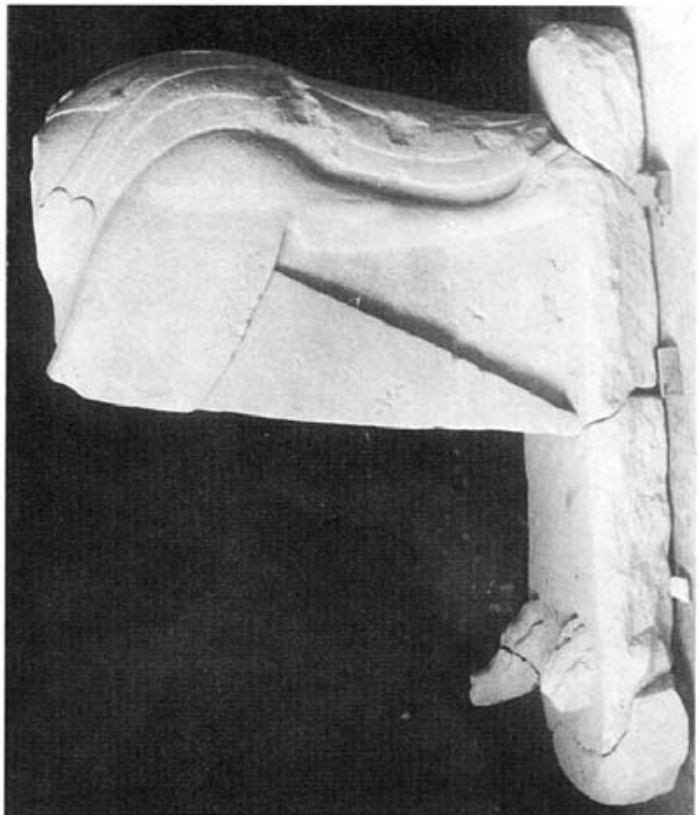

FIG. 9. Obulco, sphinx, no. 6. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

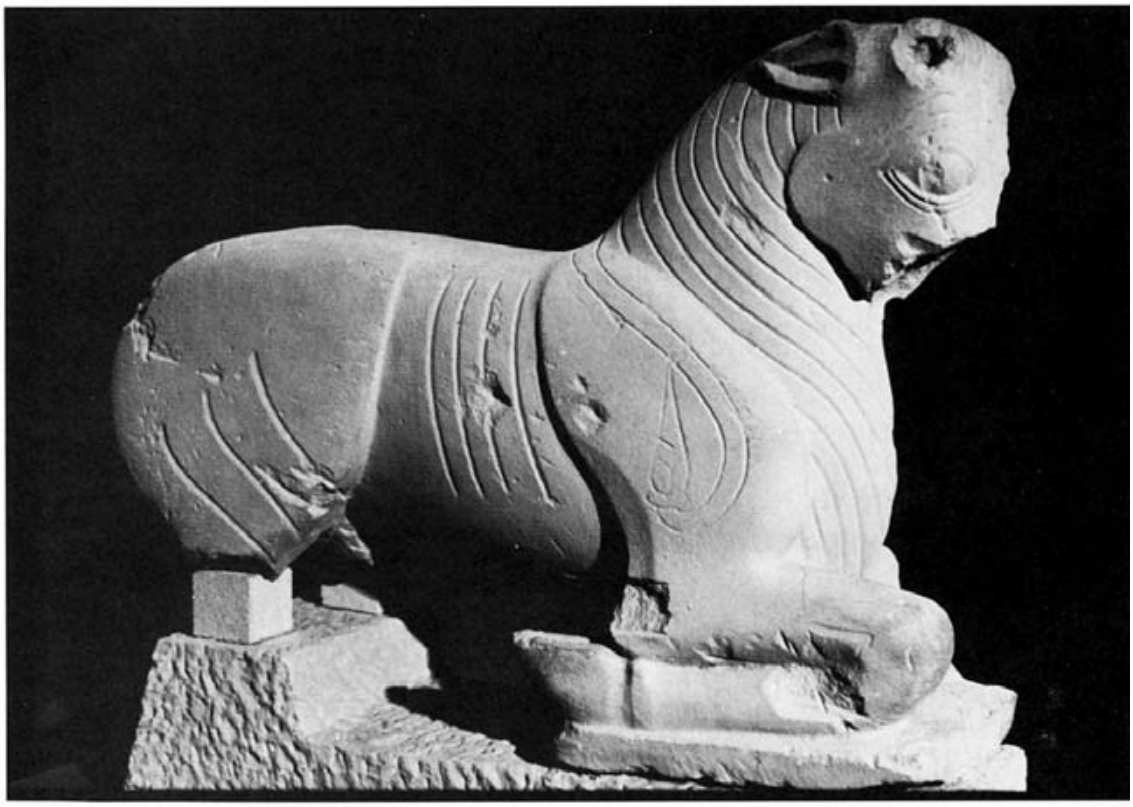

FIG. 11. Obulco, reclining bull, no. 8. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

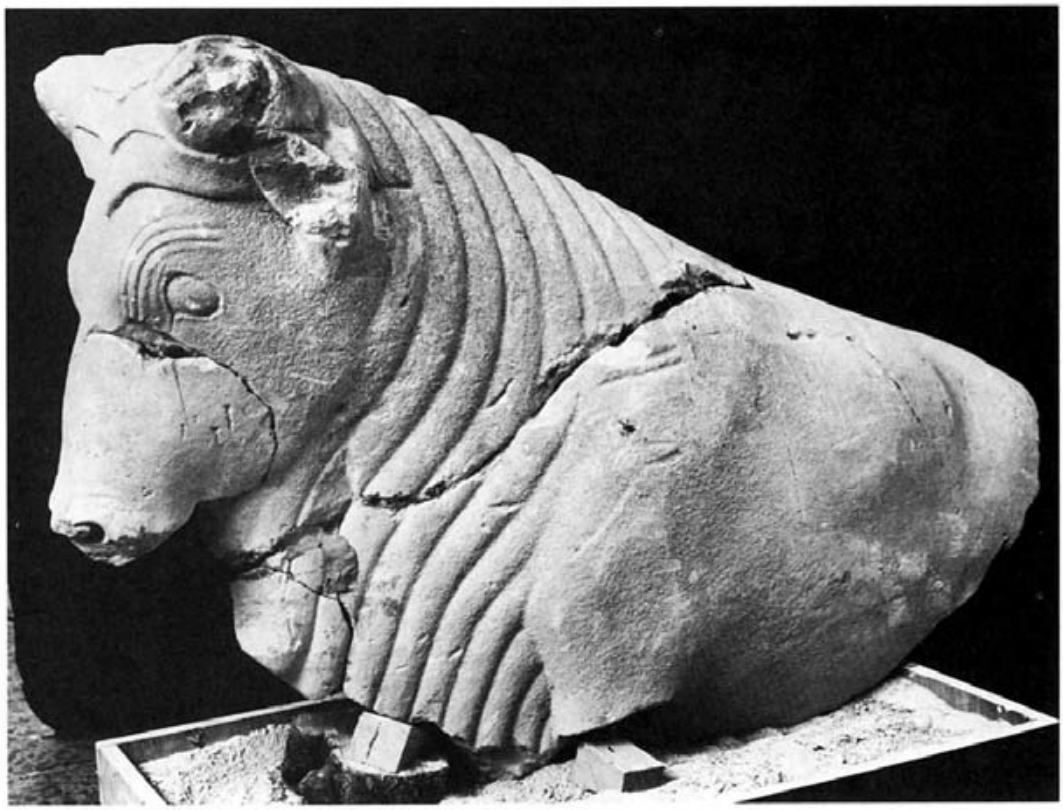

FIG. 12. Obulco, fragmentary bull. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

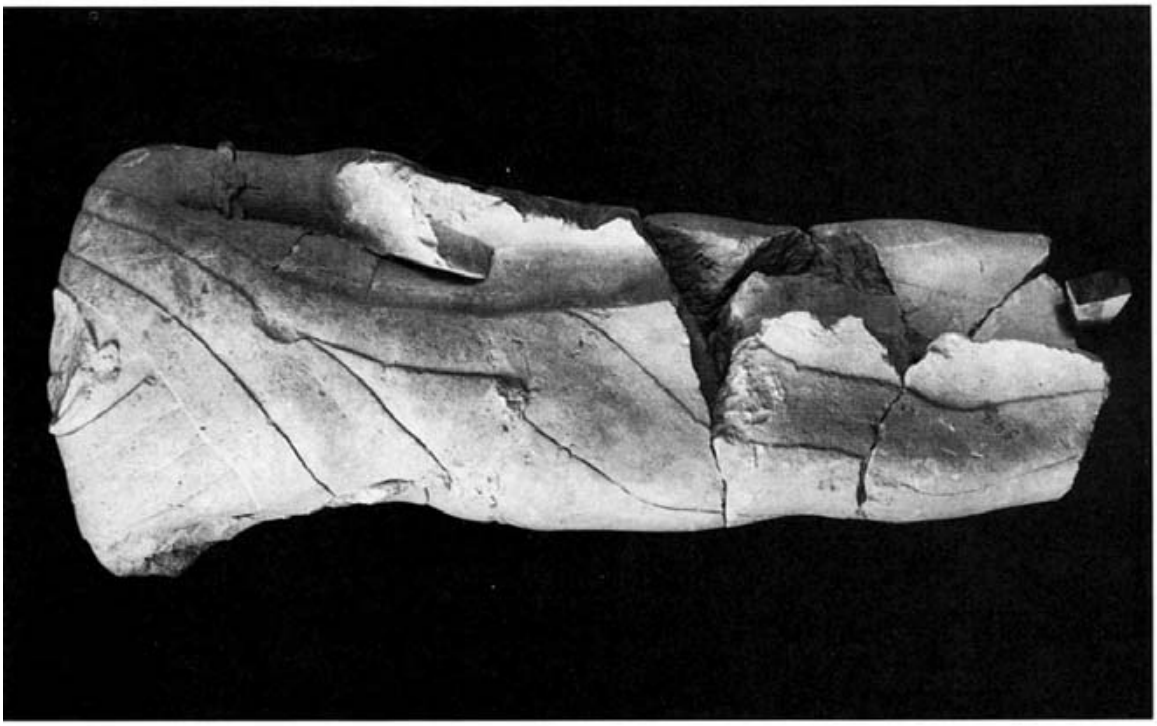

FIG. 14. Obulco, male figure, no. 10. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

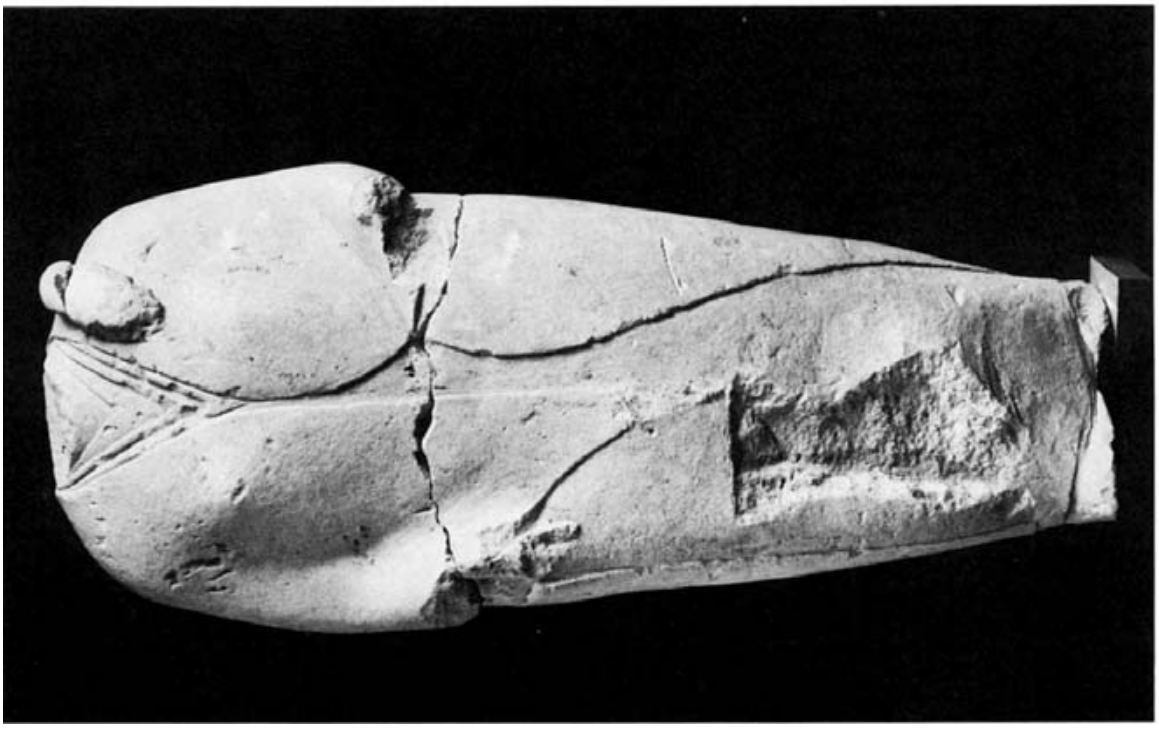

FIG. 13. Obulco, female figure, no. 9. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

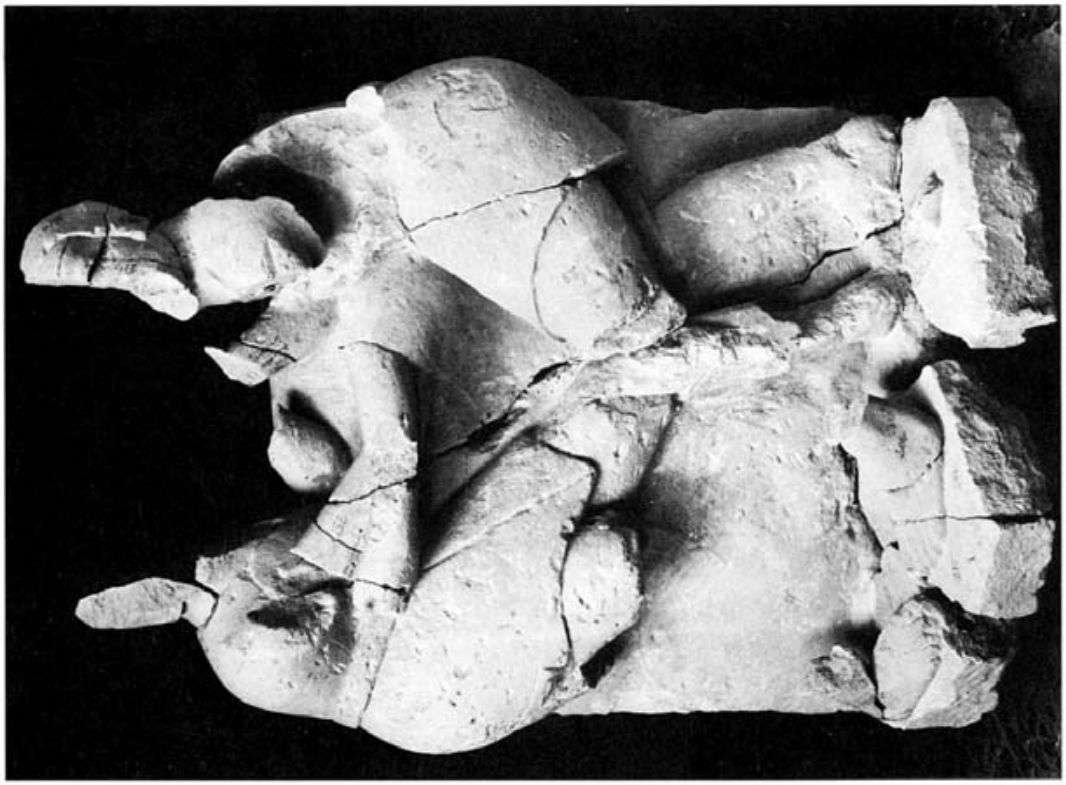

FIG. 16. Obulco, group of two fighters, no. 12. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

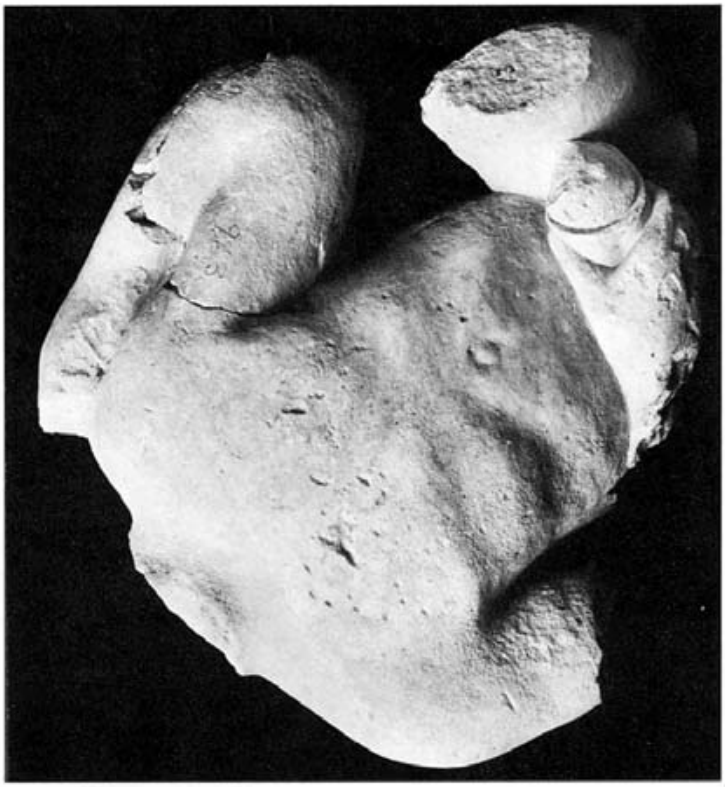

FIG. 15. Obulco, male torso, no. 11. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

FIG. 18. Obulco, hunter with partridges and deer, no. 14. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

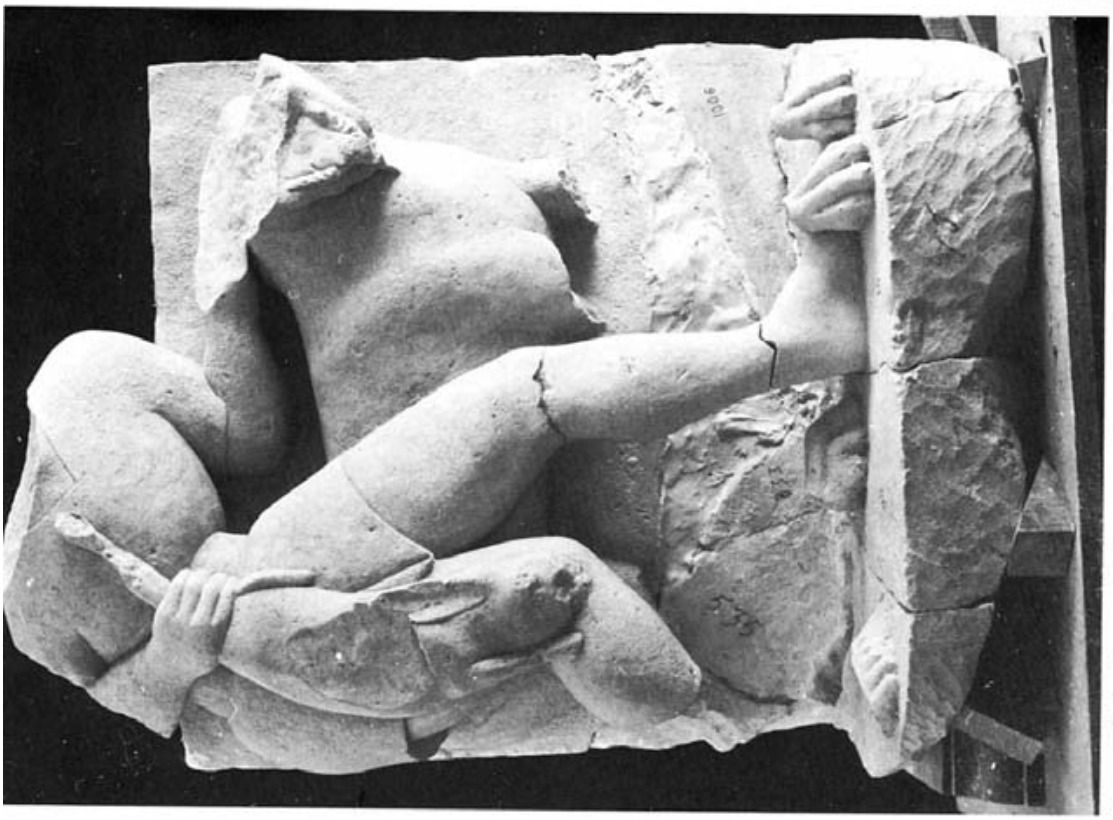

FIG. 17. Obulco, hunter with dog, no. 13. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

FIG. 19. Obulco, wounded warrior, no. 15. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

FIG. 20. Obulco, eagle, no. 17. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

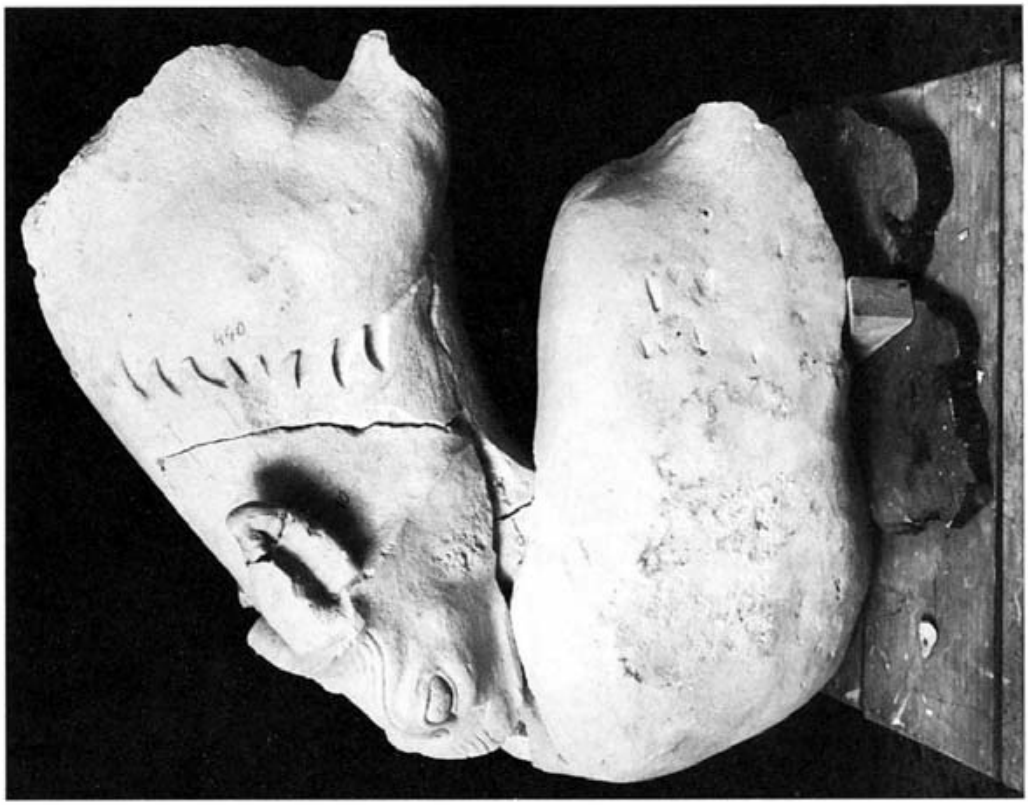

FIG. 22. Obulco, lion attacking lamb, no. 16. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

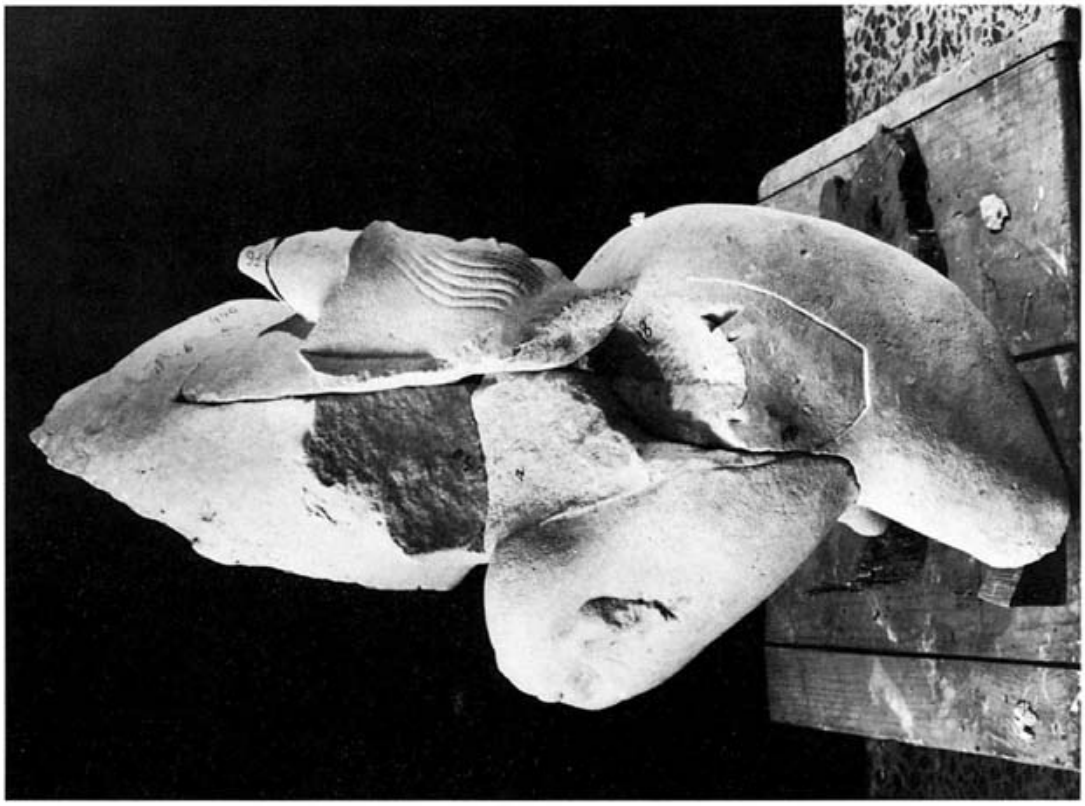

FIG. 21. Obulco, lion attacking lamb, no. 16, side view. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

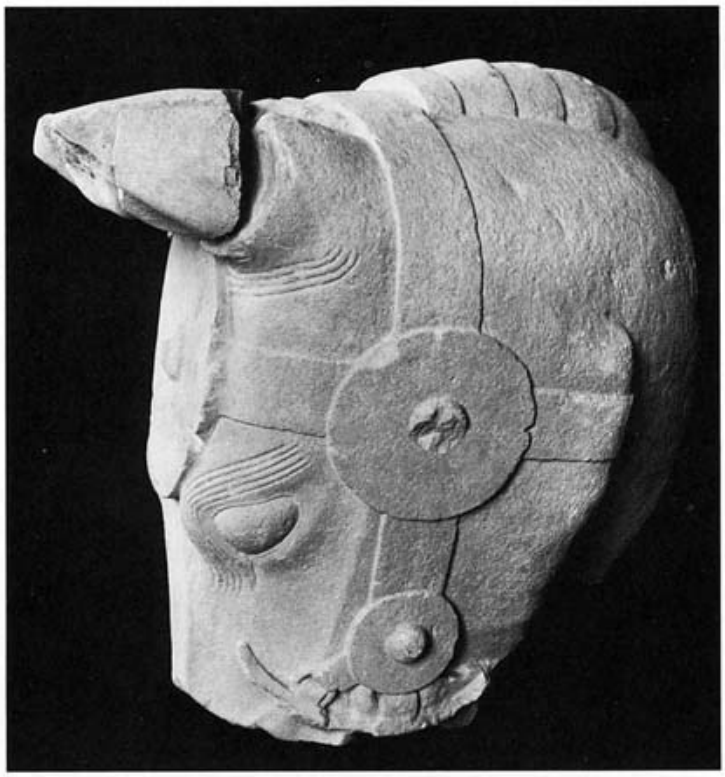

FIG. 23. Obulco, horse head, no. 18. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

FIG. 24. Casas de Juan Nuñez, Albacete, horse