The Phokaian Sculpture of Obulco in Southern Spain

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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 Jaen 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 area, 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

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 Hispanico 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 ομιλίων (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

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.


³ 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 allow 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 phalerum, 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 wolves’ heads: 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 different schools.\(^10\) An actual bronze phalera most closely resembling the Obulco disc has been found at Aguilar of Anguita, an-


6 B. Taracena, “Los pueblos celtíberos,” in *Historia Preromana* (supra n. 2) 257, fig. 148.


8 Garcia 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.


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.


15 The same is true of some figures on the Parthenon frieze, the Albani relief, and the Dioskouroi from Lokroi.\(^14\) 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...
flanged example appears on a Phokaian coin dated ca. 420 B.C. In Spain the motif of man fighting griffin occurs on the Carmona ivories from the province of Sevilla (ca. 600 B.C.), on a ring from Huelva of the sixth century, and on two imported kraters, one from a necropolis near Obulco. 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). 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.

4. Head of warrior (pl. 11, figs. 5-6). Broken at mid-neck 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. 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-


18 Blázquez, Tartessos 157, pl. 56B.

19 Blázquez, Tartessos 383, pl. 14A; see also Blázquez, Religiones 69-70, pls. 36-38.

20 A.L. Mengod et al., "Materiales de la necrópolis ibérica de Ocejá (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," Pyrene 9 (1973) 7-151.

21 Both griffins date from the 5th c. B.C. Ilici griffin: García y Bellido, Arte Ibérico 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. Karageorgis, Ancient Cyprus. 7000 Years of Art and Archaeology (London 1981) 160, fig. 123.
deity identified with Artemis, and many sculptures and many epigraphs of the latter have been found in Hispalis and Emerita Augusta and their regions, dating from the Roman period. 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 subly 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. Closer are the marble sphinxes from a late eighth century tomb in Cypriot Salamis, which follow Phoenician and ultimately Egyptian prototypes. 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.). The smooth planes of the wings can also be found on an Etruscan terracotta sphinx from Murlo (Poggio Civitate). 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.

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 flows 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.). The total composition is best paralleled on a Pontic vase in Würzburg. On the other hand, the Obulco lion has nothing in common with other Iberian examples, which may have neo-Hittite prototypes. 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

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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 Alcante 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.
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 armetlet 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 jardines (Despeñaperros; sixth century B.C.).49


483-541; Schefold (supra n. 41) 308, fig. 374.

46 Lady of Baza: García y Bellido, Arte Ibérico 70, figs. 82-83.


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, midportion 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.
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 knobbled 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 Cigarral de 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 Núñez, 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 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 stylis-

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.
65 A. Blanco, "Orientalia II" (supra n. 1) 43.
Meseta areas. 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. 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 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. This type of elaborate tomb, like the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos and the heroon at Gjöllbaschi-Trysa, may have been introduced in the West by the Greeks.

67 See Blázquez, “Los fenicios” (supra n. 61) 435-38, and Religiones 201-203.
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. Gjöllbaschi-Trysa: e.g., Schefold 87, fig. 93.
Fig. 1. Obado, warrior, no. 1. (Photo D.A.M., Madrid)

Fig. 2. Obado, warrior with horse, no. 2. (Photo D.A.M., Madrid)
FIG. 11. Obulco, reclining bull, no. 8. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

FIG. 12. Obulco, fragmentary bull. (Photo DAI-Madrid)
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Fig. 14. Obsidian male figure, no. 10. (Photo D.A. Madrid)

Fig. 13. Obsidian female figure, no. 9. (Photo D.A. Madrid)
Fig. 18. Chuluc, hunter with partridges and deer, no. 14. (Photo D.M. Madrid)

Fig. 17. Chuluc, hunter with dog, no. 13. (Photo D.M. Madrid)
Fig. 19. Obulco, wounded warrior, no. 15. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

Fig. 20. Obulco, eagle, no. 17. (Photo DAI-Madrid)
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Fig. 23. Obulco, horse head, no. 18. (Photo DAI-Madrid)

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

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