

V.—*Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, in the Sierra Morena, Spain.* By HORACE SANDARS, Esq., F.S.A.

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Read 8th March, 1906.

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BEFORE entering upon the consideration of the subject matter of this paper, I would mention that I found some difficulty in selecting an appropriate title for it. It appeared to me that although a generally descriptive title, perforce composed of several long names strung together, or of compound adjectives made up of such words as Greek, Phœnician, and Iberian, would be more correct, it might, at the same time, and without some previous knowledge of the subjects dealt in during the course of the paper, prove to be confusing. I hesitated between "Iberian" and "Pre-Roman." I think that "Iberian" would, in some respects, have been a more appropriate title, because Iberian influences, both in a geographical and an ethnical sense, undoubtedly predominate, not only in the votive objects themselves, but also in other expressions of that phrase in art with which I am about to deal. "Iberian" is, however, so often and so loosely employed to denote anything and everything that comes from *Hispania*, that I finally decided upon "Pre-Roman." It should, however, not be taken in this instance as the chronological definition of a period which ends with the Roman occupation of Spain in 200 B.C., because it may, and undoubtedly does, extend into several subsequent centuries; but rather as indicating that the influences which predominated in the inception of the offerings in no way derive from the Romans, and that they are traceable to pre-Roman times in the Peninsula.

When I had the privilege of reading a paper before the Society on Roman mining operations in Baetica on the 9th March, 1905, just a year ago, I dealt

generally with that province, the modern Andalusia, and traversed it from north to south, and from east to west. To that province I now return; but only to one small point in it, to a spot not far from, and to the north of, Cástulo, the important Carthaginian and Roman city which stood at the head of the valley of the Baetis, to a spot which is situated in the most romantic part of the Sierra Morena, where a river has cut a deep gorge through the quartzite rocks, and where the Spanish brigand of reality, and not only of romance, held sway until the middle decades of the last century. It is near the *Saltus Castulonensis* in the *Mariani Montes* of the Romans, and it is known to-day as "Despeñaperros," the literal rendering of which would be "fling-the-dogs-over-the-precipice." Here, about half way up the southern slopes of one of the highest of the mountains in this part of the Sierra (it rises 3,000 feet above the level of the sea), which is known as the "Cerro del Castillo" (the Castle Hill), and at a point where, with a steep descent on the one side, the bare face of the mountain rises sheer some 200 feet above on the other, there must have been an ancient and much revered sanctuary or shrine; and it is here that the votive offerings which I deal with were found. But in order to reach the spot with the intelligence requisite for the proper appreciation of the importance of the finds and their archæological significance in all its bearings it will be necessary to pass to that part of the Peninsula where the blue waves of the Mediterranean lap the western shores of the *Mare Internum*, and where the bold adventurers from Greece and Phœnicia first set foot on Iberian soil, and where they subsequently occupied and colonized well-defined zones. The Greeks, who began to settle in the north at Massilia, trended south; while the Phœnicians, who began in the south at Gades, trended north. There is no evidence that either nation penetrated far inland (except, perhaps, in the case of the Phœnicians who pushed up the valley of the Baetis), but they must both have made their civilising influence felt by the Iberians with whom they came into more immediate contact; and that they inspired them with their ideas in art and impressed upon them that degree of culture which is represented by the faithful reproduction of the human form, and which enables the originator to give expression in the works he produces to the sentiments of respect for religion and truth which inspired their inception, there can, I consider, be no possible doubt.

I have had a map of Iberia (fig. 1) specially prepared for the better understanding of this portion of my paper. It is somewhat of the composite order, as it shows not only the Greek and Phœnician Colonies to which I have referred, but also the

geographical position of the various Iberian or Celtiberian tribes, the Roman divisions of the country, the principal Roman towns, and the main Roman roads. I have marked the names of the Greek colonies with a double line thus ==, and those of the Phœnician colonies with a single "hatched" line thus // under the names. The Roman names have, in most cases, no direct bearing upon the subject matter of my paper, but most of them will be familiar and easily recognised.

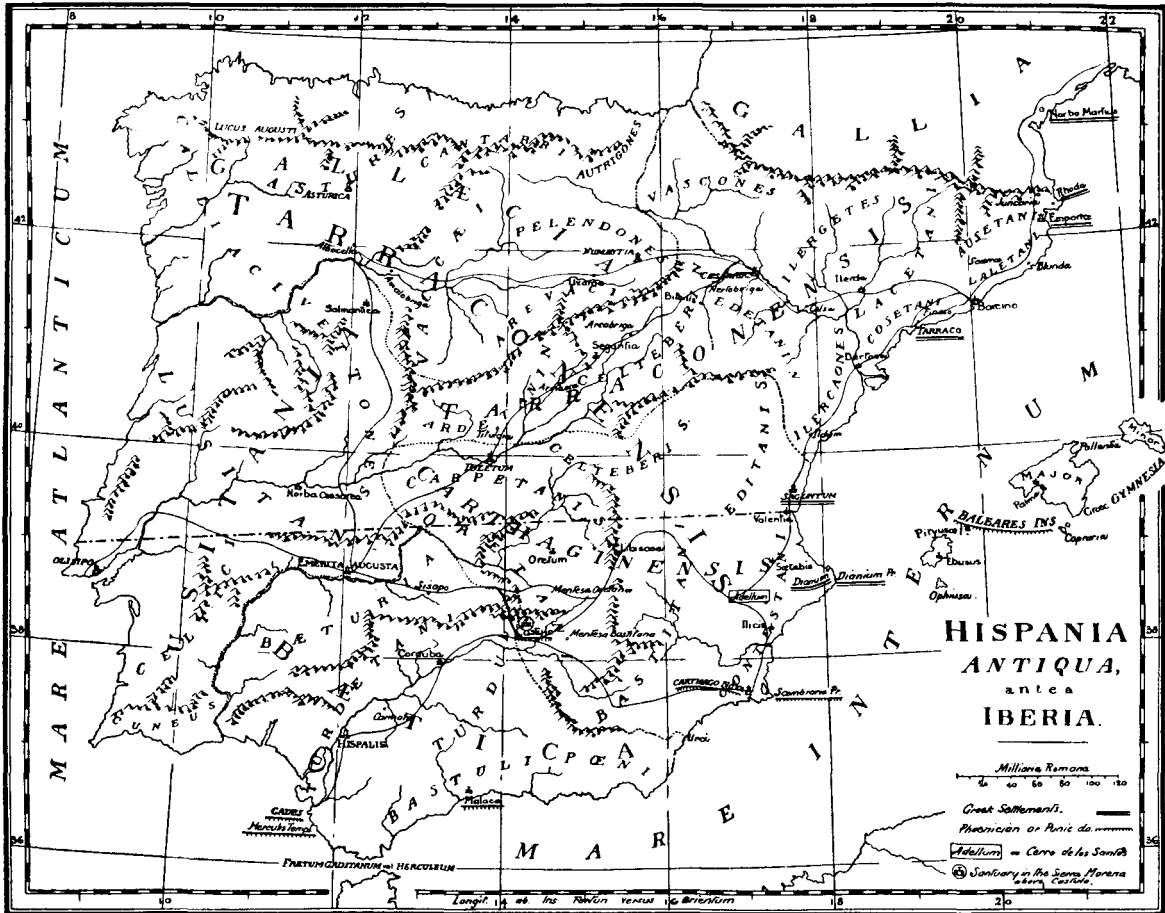


Fig. 1. Map of Iberia.

Before considering the map, however, I would mention that the words "Greek" and "Phœnician" are used as generic terms and as covering all Greek Settlements whether founded by Rhodian, Phœcean, or other Greeks, and all settlements of Syrian origin, whether founded by Phœnicians or Carthaginians. It would be little to my purpose to go closely into the question as to when the

Greeks and Phœnicians first settled in Spain, or as to how far, and when, they respectively penetrated into each other's territories. It is quite possible that there was a flux and reflux of penetration during the earlier centuries of their occupation; and it is historically probable that the Greeks took advantage of Tyrian troubles when Tyre was destroyed in about 585 B.C. to push south as far as Malaga, and that they temporarily founded a settlement (Maenaca) in that neighbourhood. It is also probable that the Carthaginians, after they had inflicted a severe blow upon Greek prestige and expansion in the Mediterranean by their naval victory off Alalia, in Corsica, in 535 B.C., occupied the eastern coast of Iberia; but be that as it may, the point I desire to call attention to is that there was a territory, or perhaps only a district, lying between the Greek colonies along the north and north-east coasts, and the Phœnician colonies on the south and south-east coasts, where there appears to have been a blending of the elements in art of the two nations, and where the indigenous Iberian population absorbed and perpetuated those elements and gave them expression in the statues and offerings which I am about to consider. The map shows that between the Greek colonies of Narbo Martius, Rhoda, Emporiæ, Iluro, Tarraco, Saguntum and Dianium, and the Phœnician settlements of Gades, Malaca, Urci and Cartagena, there is a place marked Adellum. It is in the district I refer to. Elo was a station on the great Roman highway, the Via Augusta, between Cadiz and Rome; it is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, and it lies close to Yecla, a name which will be found in modern maps. In its near neighbourhood there is a low, flat-topped hill which has become celebrated in archæology under the name of the "Cerro de los Santos," or "Hill of the Saints," where a very considerable number of statues have been found, to which many of the bronze statuettes from the sanctuary at Despeñaperros, the site of which is marked above Cástulo, bear a close analogy.

On the northern brow of the Cerro de los Santos plateau there stood, as the plan given in fig. 2 will show, a temple, or sanctuary, from which those statues must have proceeded. It was built of large rectangular blocks of fine grained limestone, some of which measured 7 feet in length, set without mortar, and so accurately faced that the joints could with difficulty be distinguished. The front of the temple was almost due east, and its dimensions were (on the outside of the walls, which were about 3 feet 3 inches thick, and could be quite accurately measured, although there was unfortunately only one course of stone blocks left), in length 51 feet, and in width 22 feet 7 inches. A portico, or *pronaos*, 8 feet 9 inches deep, preceded the *naos* or *cella*. A flight of five steps, also the full

width of the temple, led up to the portico. Two of them, much worn in places by the footsteps of those who visited the sanctuary, could be seen *in situ* when the

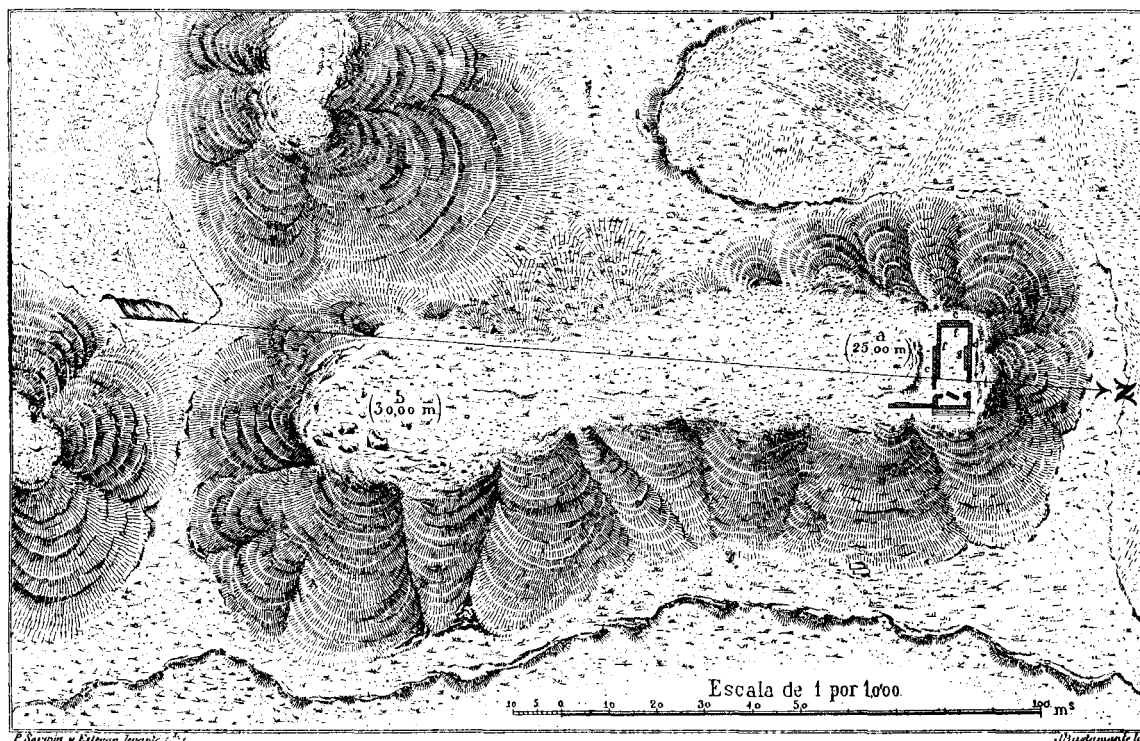


Fig. 2. Plan of the Cerro de los Santos.

first excavations were carried out in 1871. A double line of wall could be traced in parts of the interior of the building, and it has been suggested that it served as a pedestal bench on which the statues were placed. The building was what is known as *Distyle in antis*, and it belonged to a late archaic Greek style. I have made close research for any reference to the finding of architectural remains in connection with the sanctuary, and I have succeeded in tracing the discovery of the two drums of the shaft of a column of sandstone, smooth and round and some 13 inches in diameter; and of the capital of a column (fig. 3)<sup>a</sup> which probably also belonged to the temple. This capital is interesting. Broadly speaking, it belongs to the Ionic order, and it may, I think, be taken to show Græco-Phœnician

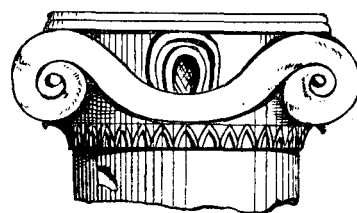


Fig. 3. Capital of a column from the temple on the Cerro de los Santos.

<sup>a</sup> *El arte en España* (Madrid, 1863), ii. 13.

influence. The peculiar carving of the *canalis* points to an early type, as a similar arrangement of volutes and *canalis* is found on the capital from the Bamboula Hill at Larnaca, where the Phœnician inscriptions and the *ex voto* gifts discovered point to there having been a sanctuary there also. The band which encircles the cap below the volute is of the "river plant" or "rais de cœur" pattern.<sup>a</sup>

The temple was paved with a mosaic composed of slabs in black and white stone; and, perhaps at a later date, with small lozenge-shaped bricks.

The history of the Cerro de los Santos may be briefly stated. It is mentioned under that name in the title deeds of the fourteenth century belonging to the Marquis of Motealegre, in whose possession it is now; but no reference is made to it in the report on the enquiry which Philip II. caused to be made into the antiquities existing in Spain in 1575 and in 1579. For centuries it remained covered with a dense forest, which was twice destroyed by fire and regrew more impenetrable than before. The forest was finally cut down in 1830, when the remains of the temple and its statues were laid bare. Attention was first attracted to them in 1860, and in 1871 the Spanish Government sent a Commission of Archæologists to examine and report upon them. The Commission found the ground much disturbed by previous excavators, but they carefully carried out their investigations, and Sr. Saviròn, one of its members, issued an interesting report. The whole ground near the temple, from surface to bed rock, which in no place lay very deep, and from the valley to the plateau, was turned over and examined, and the remains of many statues and objects in bronze and in iron as well as some terra-cotta vases complete, and a great number of potsherds were found, together with fragments of *tegulæ*, of bricks, and of paving tiles. Among the smaller objects discovered were two hundred iron lanceheads which lay together in the hollow of a rock; *ex-votos* in bronze and in stone in the form of bulls, cows, and horses; parts of weapons; and last, but by no means least, two bronze statuettes and four *fibulæ* identical with those found at the Sanctuary at Despeñaperros. The pottery was varied in texture and colour. A great deal of it was composed of sherds from fine, well-shaped vessels of very dark but well-baked clay, similar in shape to those seen in the hands of the statues. Some red-coloured ware was also found, as well as some small terra-cotta vases of great delicacy and workmanship, some Iberian pottery, and a small fragment of "Saguntino." No inscriptions have come to light, but there is a tradition, founded probably upon fact, that part

<sup>a</sup> I am indebted to Mr. R. Phené Spiers, F.S.A., for valuable assistance in describing this temple.

of a large tablet with an inscription in what appeared to be Latin characters was discovered and destroyed many years ago. I can only trace three coins as having been found on the Cerro: two of them were small bronzes of Constantine the Great; the other was an autonomous middle bronze coin struck at Celsa (Colonia Vitrix Julia Lepida) about 45-41 B.C. The greater part of the statuary was found at the foot of the steep slope to the west of the temple, and it appeared to have been deliberately thrown down from the height above. Some of the statues were almost perfect, but most of them were mutilated, or damaged, or destroyed. Their variety is great, and they offer in themselves, from the points of view of history, of art, and ethnology, a subject for careful and interesting study. I will not attempt to minutely describe even the principal features of interest connected with them, but confine myself to illustrating and describing some of the best known and the best studied; those which have the closest parentage, if I may be allowed the expression, with the bronze statuettes of Despeñaperros. I would mention, however, before doing so, that when these statues were first brought to the notice of continental archæologists<sup>a</sup> they raised much scepticism and no little criticism. The scepticism was born of that not uncommon predisposition in those who do not know and in those who have never studied Spain to brand all antiquities that are found in or that come from *Hispania* as open to suspicion, or false, and it may be passed over. The criticism has done good. It has led, during the past thirty years, to a careful study, on the part of many eminent men, of the Cerro de los Santos statuary, and to the winnowing of the chaff from the grain, and to the firm establishment of the great archæological value of the discoveries to which I have just referred. It is not in a boasting spirit that I venture the opinion that I have unquestionably helped to uphold the authenticity of a number, and, indeed, of the most important of the statues, and to elucidate many interesting points connected with them by saving from dispersion or destruction the collection of bronze offerings dealt with in this paper. In the statues are to be found all the elements which constitute that phase in art which is peculiar to the districts of Spain with which I deal, and which was the outcome of Græco-Phœnician influences implanted on a receptive soil; where the peoples with whom the more highly civilised invaders came into contact became imbued with the

<sup>a</sup> I am sorry that I cannot include English archæologists among those who have studied these, but I do not know of a single English archæologist who has ever seen, carefully examined, or written of them.

sentiments and ideas of the master minds, and intuitively evolved that style and method in sculpture which became peculiar to them and which is sometimes known as "Bastitanean" art, from the name of the tribe within whose territory its manifestations are almost exclusively found. I will, however, call it by the better known and, I think, more appropriate name of "Iberian." It may seem that I am labouring the question of the Cerro de los Santos discoveries and neglecting those of Despeñaperros, but I will only illustrate and comment upon statues which have some analogy with the Sierra Morena statuettes, and, as I have indicated above, the longer way round will be the shorter in the end.

There are certain features of interest in connection with the statues which it will be useful to mention. A large number of statues, or fragments of statues, have been found; over two hundred. The statues of women predominate, and they very seldom show signs of workmanship at the back, a peculiarity which has been remarked in regard to similar statues which have been found in Cyprus. They were probably placed with the back to a wall. Relatively few statues but a large number of heads of men have been found, and they are in almost all cases worked at the back. The statues may roughly be classified into two groups, archaic and classic, but by far the larger number belong to the older division. I am indebted to a most learned contribution towards the literature on the subject of these statues which has just been published by Don José Ramon Mélida,<sup>a</sup> one of the leading archæologists in Spain, for some of the photographs and the description of the statues; and for other photographs and much information,<sup>b</sup> to M. Pierre Paris's valuable work, *Essai sur l'Art et l'Industrie de l'Espagne Primitive*, which should be studied by all who take an interest in the history of art, or in the archæology, of Spain.

Fig. 4 represents the head of a statue of a woman, surmounted with a high *calathos*, or cowl, which covers the back of the head and falls over the shoulders. The forehead is adorned with a richly worked *stephané*, or diadem, in metal, while a band of a clearly indicated egg-and-tongue pattern, which is usually connected with architectural adornment and not the adornment of the head, crosses the forehead and follows the line of the cheeks. The characteristic discs or ear-coverings, which took the place of ear-rings, can be seen suspended from a

<sup>a</sup> *Las Esculturas del Cerro de los Santos, Cuestión de Autenticidad.* Por José Ramon Mélida. de la Revista de Archivos. Madrid, 1906.

<sup>b</sup> The initials appended to the titles of the accompanying illustrations, J. R. M. or P. P. as the case may be, denote that they have been borrowed from the one or the other of the works above noted, *Las Esculturas*, etc. or *Essai sur l'Art*, etc.



decorated cord, or band; this in all probability passed over the head. M. Léon Heuzey, of the Louvre Museum, who has devoted much careful study to the Cerro de los Santos statues, mentions that a similar cowl was not rare in the ancient East before Greek influence put an end to such extravagant fashions, and he points out that similar head-dresses can be seen on terra-cotta statuettes from Syria and Rhodes of the sixth century B.C. Artemidorus, who wrote about 100 B.C., calls attention to the extraordinary head-dresses of the Iberian women, and



Fig. 4. Head of the statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos. (P. P.)

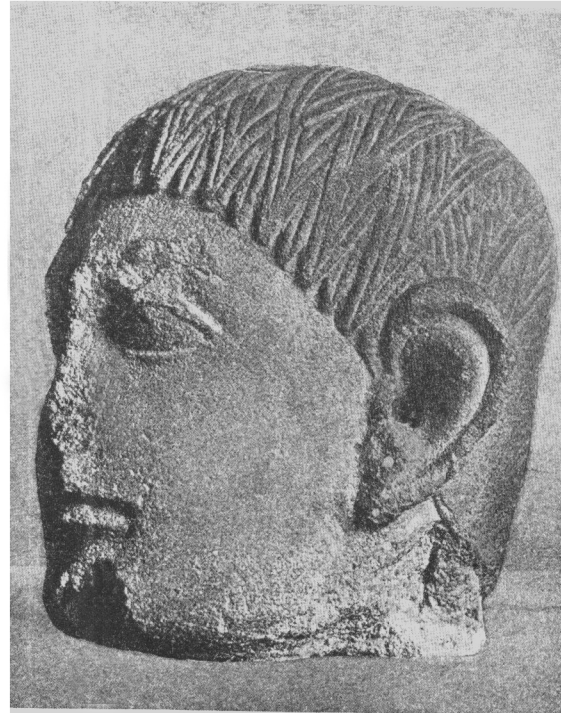


Fig. 5. Head of the statue of a man from the Cerro de los Santos. (P. P.)

asserts that they rolled up their hair until it projected like a small column, a foot high, from their heads, and that they covered hair and head with a black veil or *calyptra*.<sup>a</sup>

As to the head of a man shown on fig. 5, I cannot do better than render M. Heuzey's remarks with regard to it. "The work is much more simple than in the case of the head of the woman. In spite of the barbarism apparent in the

<sup>a</sup> *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* (Paris, 1891), ii. No. iii. 105, "Statues Espagnoles de Style Gréco-Phénicien (Question d'Authenticité)," par Léon Heuzey.

execution, the head recalls the fine Greek sculpture of the fifth and fourth century B.C. The locks of hair, which are short and numerous, are rendered in the metrical and decorative style in accordance with ancient oriental practice. It bears, in short, the inimitable stamp of a high art and suffices to demonstrate and proclaim that there existed among the Iberian populations an ancient local sculpture which was evolved from both Greek and Asiatic associations, as was the case among the Etruscans and in Cyprus; but it had an aspect of its own which



Fig. 6. Two female heads from the Cerro de los Santos. (J. R. M.)

saved it from being confounded with any other.”<sup>a</sup> The two heads in fig. 6 in many respects are similar to the one in fig. 4, and call for but little remark. They have a similar row of “ovolos” around the head, as may be seen in the figure to the right. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether these were merely ornamental or whether they were intended to show undulating tresses of hair, such as they are represented in Greek archaic works, by a rendering borrowed from Chaldo-Assyrian art. That they are tresses of hair, there can be no doubt.

<sup>a</sup> *Op. cit.* 107.

Fig. 7 shows three male heads. I have just referred to the treatment of the hair and need not do so again. I would, however, call particular attention to the head on the left, which has a single undulating tress falling from under the head-dress along the neck and behind the ear. There should be a corresponding tress on the other side. The head is covered with a close-fitting cap or helmet, the border of which is thickened at the back so as to form a projecting band or roll. Both these peculiarities are clearly defined in the Despeñaperros statuettes. The strongly marked physiognomy of the subject, too, finds its analogy in the

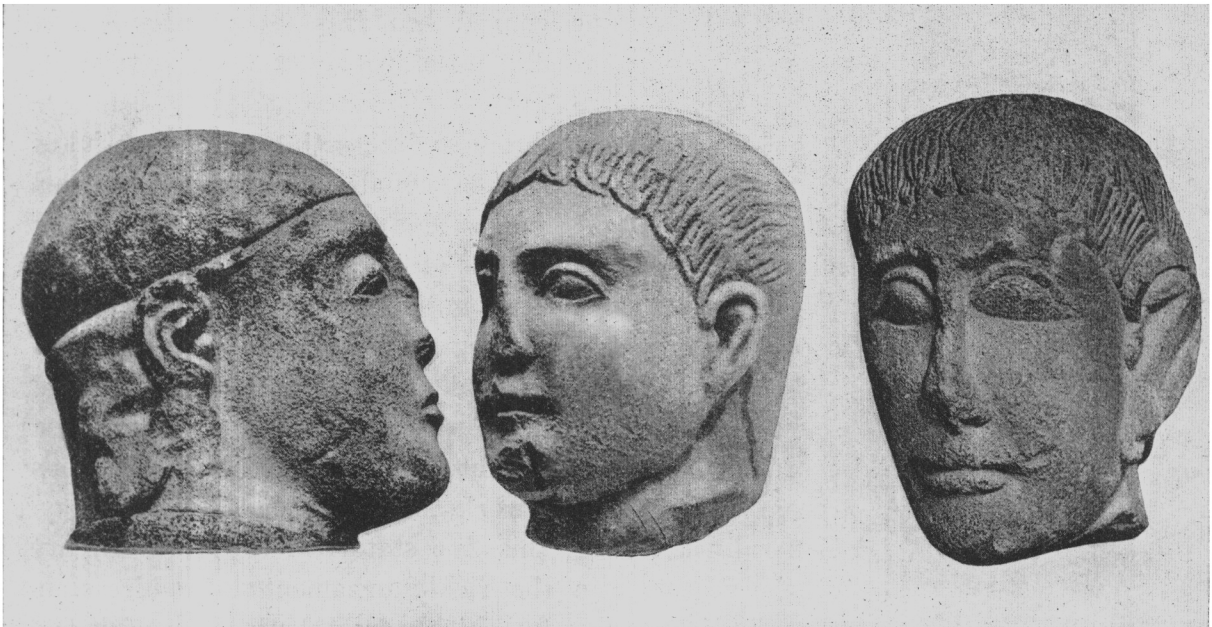


Fig. 7. Three male heads from the Cerro de los Santos. (P. P.)

heads of some of those statuettes, although in a ruder and less artistic form. Señor Melida says of this head that the style is distinctly oriental and allied to the Cypriote, and that he considers it as an example of one of the earlier and better sculptures, executed in Iberia, but under the direct influence of oriental art.<sup>a</sup> There is a further peculiarity in connection with the first and third heads in fig. 7, that they both wear ear ornaments. In the case of the head to the left they appear to be suspended from the ears; in that on the right they traverse the lobe. Pliny states that it was an oriental fashion for men as well as

<sup>a</sup> *Las Esculturas del Cerro de los Santos*, 60.

women to wear ear-rings, and the practice was common among the Persians, the Babylonians, the Lybians, and the Carthaginians, while among the Greek and Roman ear-rings were only worn by females.

Fig. 8 shows a full length statue from the Cerro with a high conical headdress, which appears to be covered with a cowl or capuchin, hiding everything but the face, and falling in mathematically regular and symmetrical folds to the waist. Like all the statues of woman found at the Cerro de los Santos, the votary holds the libation cup with both hands just below the breast. This same conical headdress is represented in almost every imaginable form in the ex-votos from Despeñaperros. (Plate XV.)



Fig. 8. Statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos. (J. R. M.)

I now come to the most interesting and beautiful of all the statues found at the Cerro de los Santos, "the pearl of the collection."<sup>a</sup> (Fig. 9.) The total height of the statue, with the pedestal, is (1.35 m.) 4 feet 5 inches, and without the pedestal (1.15 m.) 3 feet 9 inches. There is a copious literature with regard to this statue, in which every feature and every detail has been critically and scientifically examined. I will not refer to it now, but a short description of the statue, drawn from Señor Melida's recent and valuable work, will not be thrown away. Generally speaking, this fine statue, in the quiet dignity of the features, in the richly ornamented headdress, in the adornments that fall thickly from both sides of it and which support the elaborate ear-discs, in the arrangement of the robes, and in the folds of the cloak, in the attitude of the hands and the form of the cap, convincingly reflect the religious sentiment and the artistic feeling and methods

that inspired the sculptor who produced this *chef d'œuvre*, and of the culture of the people who frequented and made offerings at the sanctuary. The elaborate stephané recalls those of the women of Rhodes and of Cyprus. The T-shaped fibula which closes the tunic at the neck corresponds to an identical form of brooch which has been found at many points of the Iberian Peninsula. The costume in its *ensemble* is Greek, but with peculiarities which impart to it a sort of

<sup>a</sup> *Revue d'Assyriologie, etc.* 99.

oriental colouring. The symmetrical arrangement of the drapery is purely Greek in origin, and goes back to the beginning of the fifth century before our era, and recalls in some of its details the Hera of Samos in the museum at the Louvre. The symmetrical folds of the mantle, or veil, are in conformity with archaic Greek precedents, but M. Heuzey,<sup>a</sup> who has most carefully studied the statue, expresses the opinion that the glands which terminate the corners, as well as the brooch to which I have just referred, were inspired by oriental or barbaric fashions. The cup, which, too, is oriental in form, is interesting, because vessels of similar shape have been found, with the well-known bronze heads of bulls, and in pre-Roman surroundings at Costig, in Majorca.

Fig. 10 shows but the fragment of a statue. It is only 8 inches high, but is of great archæological importance. Its genuineness is quite beyond discussion. It was found, in 1871, by Señor Savirón, some 4 feet 6 inches below the steps of the temple. It shows better workmanship than any of the other statues, fig. 9 excepted. But its

<sup>a</sup> *Op. cit.*



Fig. 9.  
Statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos. (J. R. M.)

importance does not lie in that only. It consists in this, that in the shape and position of the mitre, in the enormous ear-discs, in the fold of the veil at the back of the head, and in the rich jewellery that falls on the breast, you find the same personal adornments that form so striking a feature in the celebrated and beautiful Dame d'Elche.

Fig. 11 reproduces this beautiful bust. It was not found at the Cerro de los Santos, but at Elche, the site of the Iberian city of Ilici, the *Colonia Julia*



Fig. 10. Fragment of the statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos. (J. R. M.)

*Ilici Augusta* of the Romans. It is made of the same fine-grained calcareous stone as the statues from the Cerro, and in the mitre, the discs, the pendants, the necklaces, and the folds of the garment, it distinctly belongs to that group; and as there is direct relationship between some of its peculiarities and those of the bronze ex-votos from the Sierra Morena, I do not hesitate to include it here. It certainly forms, in the repose and dignity of the features, in its fidelity to nature, in the richness of the adornments and in minuteness of detail, in the "technique" shown, and the power of execution, the masterpiece of all the Iberian sculpture which has hitherto been brought to the light of day in Spain. No one can contemplate this bust without becoming imbued with a deep sense of admiration and respect for the art and the artist that produced it, and without feeling that in it there are revealed to him the features and the sentiments, and the tastes and the customs of a race and people, the Iberians, who were perhaps unknown to him as the originators of a new phase in art. The ques-

tion may occur as to how, and where, there can be any relationship between this magnificent work of art and the very crude statuettes from Despeñaperros. It comes in more particularly in the combination of the mitre with the enormous ear-discs, which (a detail to be noted) are suspended by straps or cords passing over the head. It may appear that there is an unusual refinement in the features of the Dame d'Elche which is not to be observed in the other statues

and may therefore seem strange, but I hope to show that that distinction of type has been most carefully preserved and elaborated in some of the statuettes from



Fig. 11. Bust of a lady found at Elche (the *Dame d'Elche*). (P. P.)

Despeñaperros, to which at last I will turn. But before doing so, however, attention must be directed to a collection of bronze images (fig. 12) taken from M. Pierre Paris's book, which form, in some respects, a connecting link

between the Sanctuary at the Cerro de los Santos and the Sanctuary in the

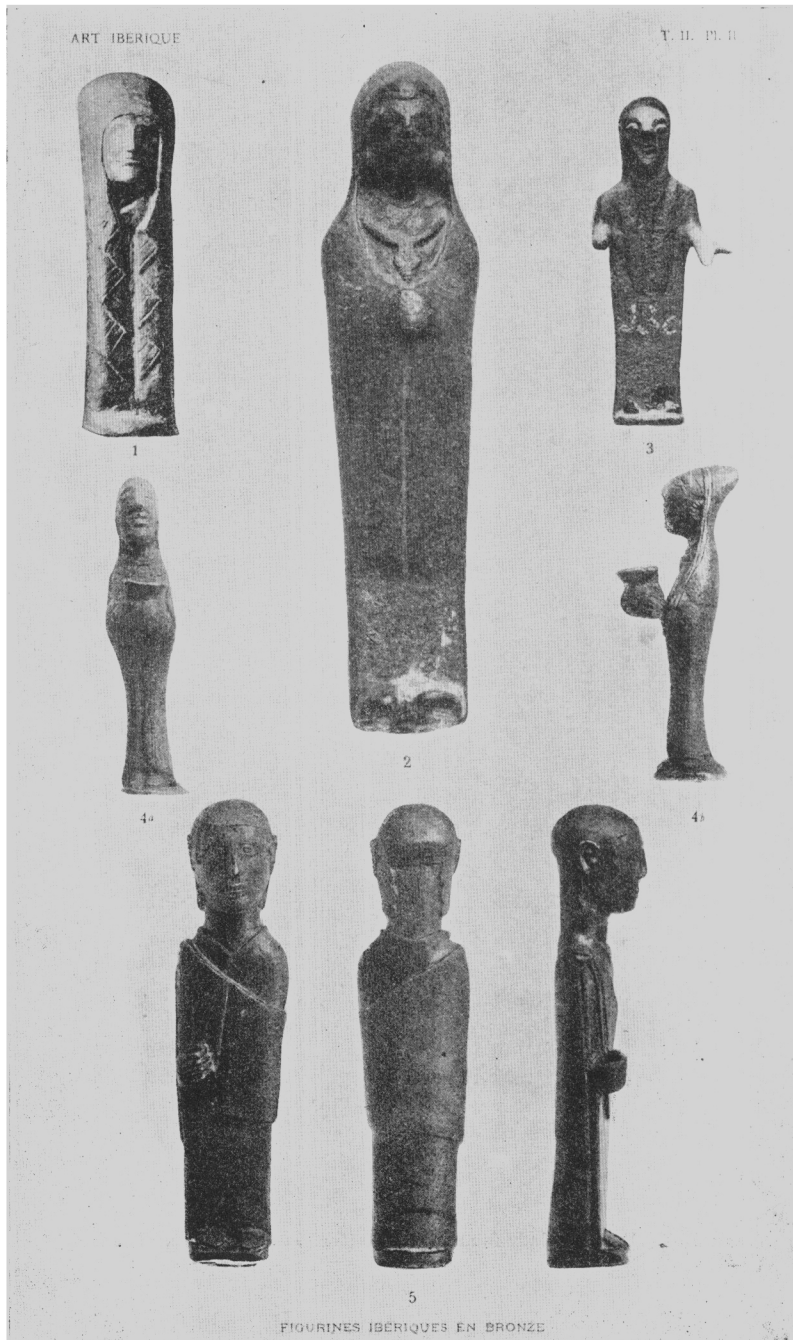
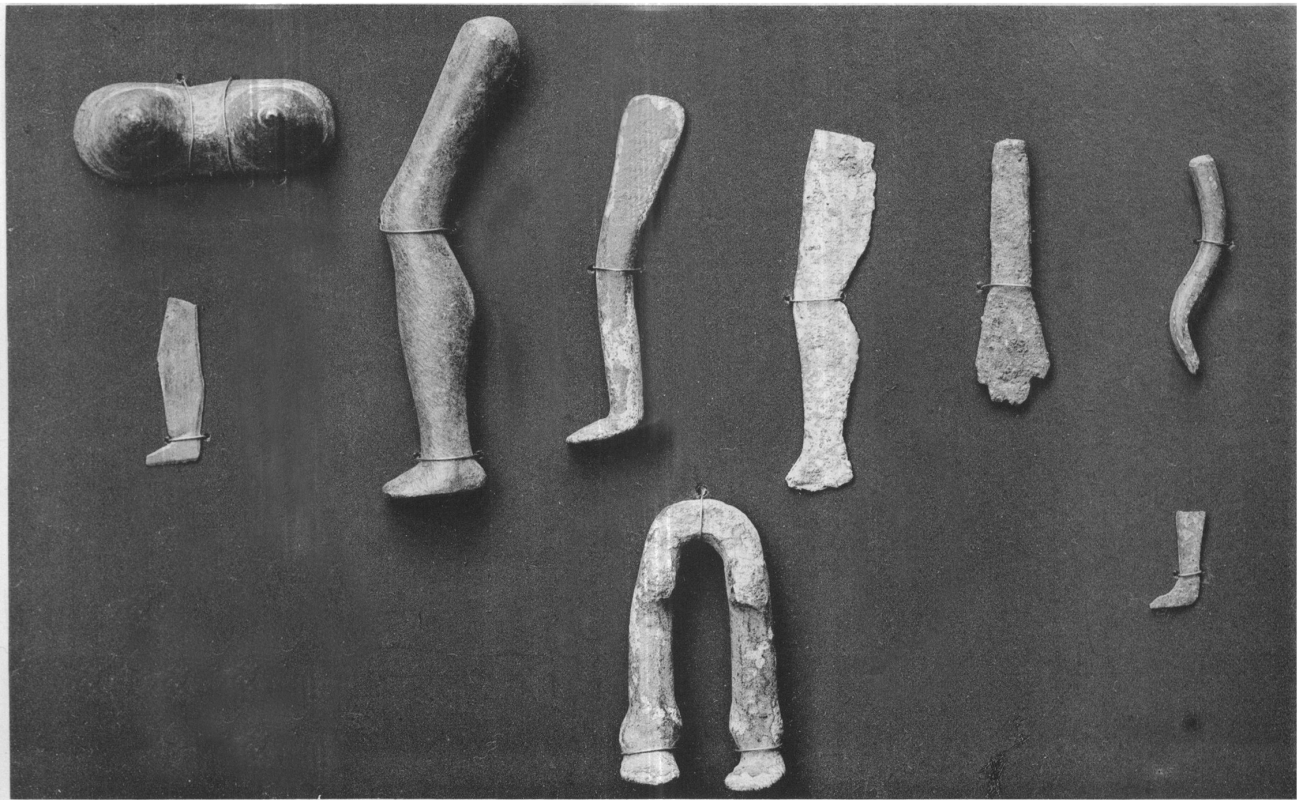
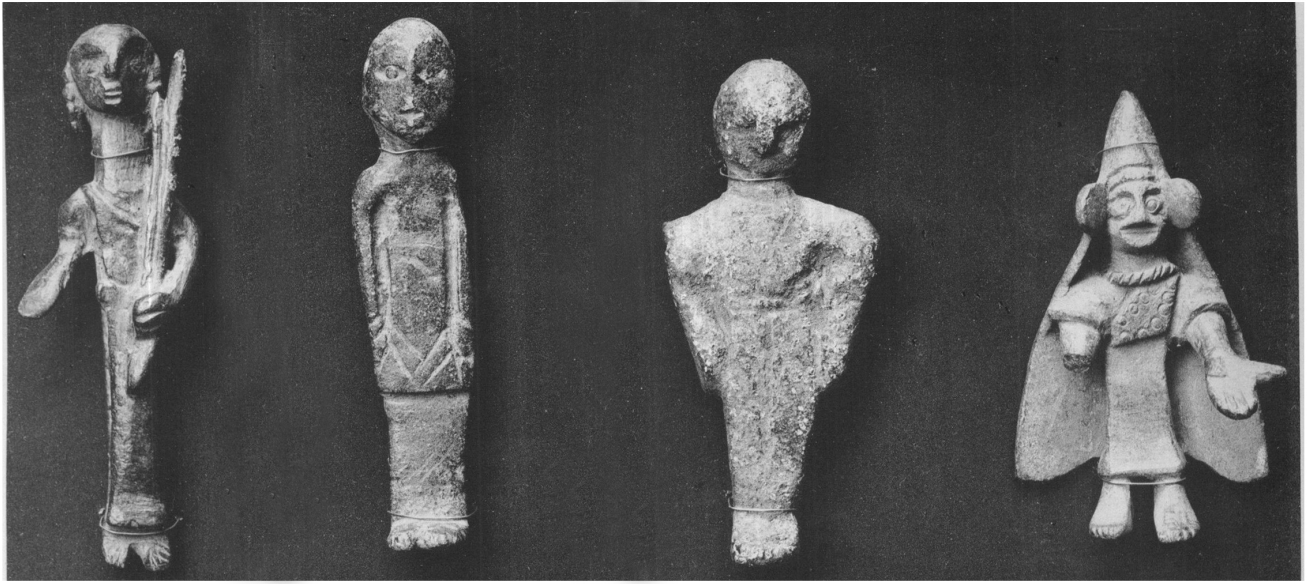


Fig. 12. Bronze images from Southern Spain. (P. P.)





PRE-ROMAN BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM DESPEÑAPERROS, SPAIN (FULL SIZE).

Sierra Morena. They were found in different parts of Southern Spain. In the top left-hand corner (1) is the figure of a woman with a calathos reduced almost to a stephanos. There are many examples of this form of headdress from both sanctuaries. The veil falls in archaic folds to the feet. In the middle figure (2) the large pendent ear-discs and the necklace with a central pendant can be easily distinguished. The small bronze image (4) is remarkable. Here again we have the mitre, the long spreading veil, large metallic discs or earrings, and the libation cup, held in both hands and well detached from the body. In the lowest figure (5), that of a man, we have the close-fitting helmet and the undulating tresses.

And now we will go due west, and through Cástulo to the Sierra Morena and to the pre-Roman Sanctuary there; the map forming fig. 1 will show its position. The "Roman" roads which connect Cástulo with Emerita Augusta and with Adellum, and the one which passes in close proximity to the hallowed spot, are interesting. I have already described the site. An enormous mass of quartzite rock has, in some remote period, become detached from the face of the precipice above, and lies in front of a deep depression in the rock. There is, at present, no sign of a cave or hollow. Below the rock, and covering a small but comparatively level space, is an accumulation of rubbish and rock, and it is here that the ex-votos are found. The objects are usually discovered in layers of dark soil, which is composed of earth, pieces of charcoal, potsherds, and the bones of animals; but this is by no means always the case. I have found them in crevices between the larger stones as well as in the loose ground. The whole place bears the appearance of having been turned over and over again, by treasure hunters, during the course of centuries. They may have cast aside the small bronze objects as being of no value to them. Most of the pottery might be classified as Roman, although among it there is a not inconsiderable quantity of the *débris* of older pottery, coarse in texture and black in colour, with a large admixture of grains of quartz or chalcite. I could discover no trace of a building on the spot itself, but in close proximity to it I found bricks and tiles which show signs of their being of Roman origin; while on the highest point of the mountain there was a fortified post which was, to judge by the pottery I found there, undoubtedly Roman.

Plates XII. to XV. reproduce some of the most interesting of the votive offerings from the Sanctuary at Despeñaperros.

In the upper part of Plate XII. there are four statuettes. The one on the left represents a warrior, with the ringlet on each side of the head which I have

already pointed out in the case of the head from the Cerro de los Santos (fig. 7). He carries the typical round Iberian shield slung at his back and two weapons, probably swords, in the left hand. The next figure is typical of the crude but expressive workmanship of the ex-votos from Despeñaperros. The following statuette is remarkable for the breadth of the shoulders. The fourth represent the type of the Dame d'Elche. Here we have the same form of mitre, the veil, the large ear-discs, the necklace and the elaborate robe.

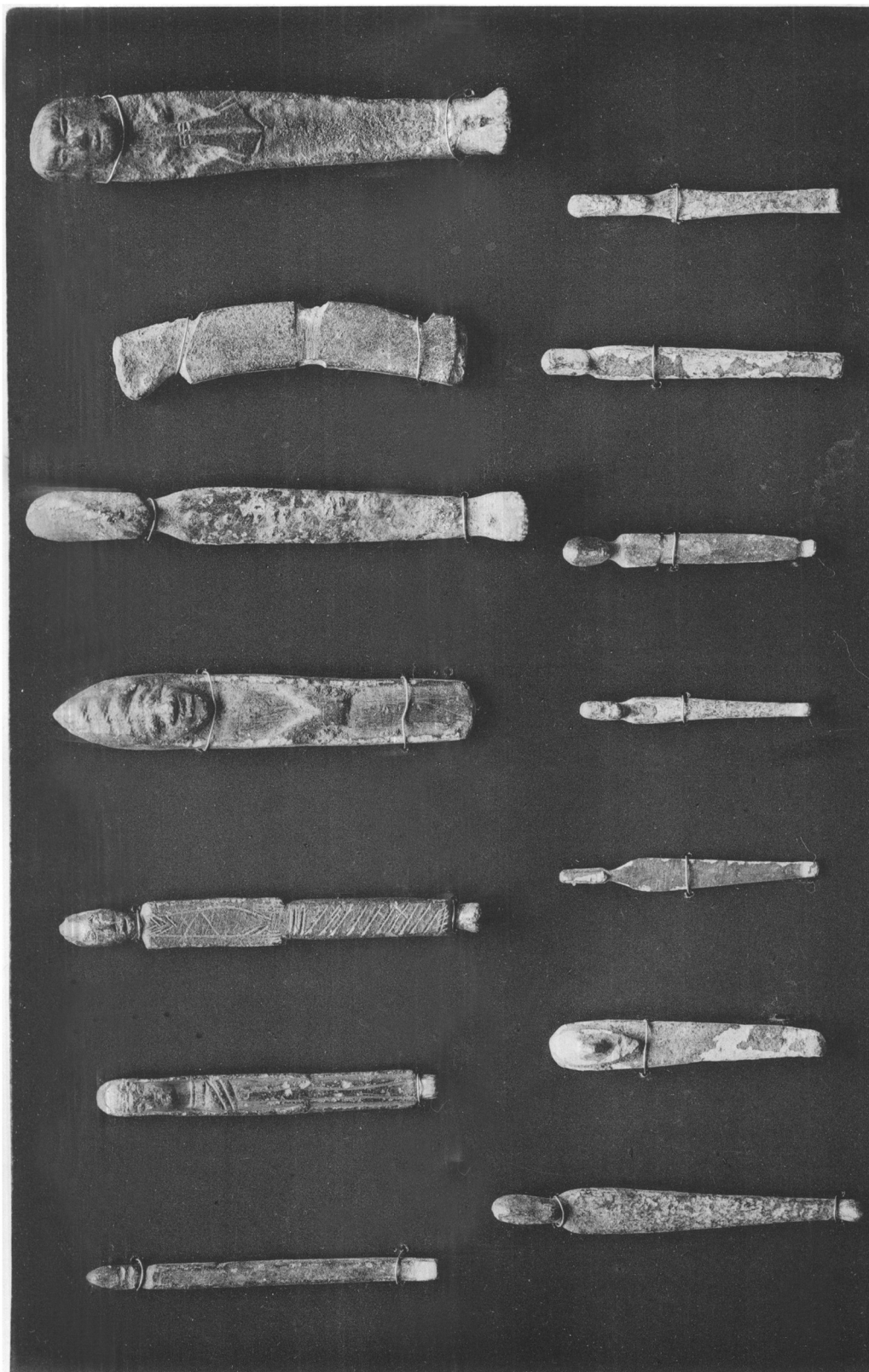
The objects shown in the lower part of Plate XII. are ex-votos in their most conventional and simplest form, such as breasts, an arm, feet, legs, and a pair of legs.

Plate XIII. forms a particularly interesting collection of images, which are varied in composition, in form, and in *technique*. The second figure from the left in the top row was cast by the *cire perdue* process; the third was worked with a file from a small bar of bronze. None other like the sixth in the row has been found in Spain. The seventh image with the bended arms ornamented with bracelets, and the hands outspread on the breast, is also unique. Several figures in the lower row resemble mummies.

Plate XIV., again, shows peculiarities in design and workmanship; and here again the human form is rough-hewn in the crudest manner. It is made out of a thin sheet of bronze or copper, cut to the required length, turned slightly at one end to represent the feet, and twisted at the other end so that the head may be placed at right angles to the body, while the features are marked by notches cut with a file. In a few instances the toes have been marked by file notches on the upturned "feet"; and in one case (second figure from the left in the bottom row) the file has marked out the arms and outspread hands which fall along the body.

Plate XV. shows the headdress of the Iberian woman which so surprised Artemidorus in its many and fanciful forms. The first three images would hardly be accepted as representing the human form were it not that their *provenance* is incontestable, and that they offer points of analogy with clearly indicated statuettes which leave no doubt as to their purpose.

Figs. 13, 14, and 15 represent three mounted Iberian horsemen. They form, perhaps, the most interesting group of objects discovered at the Despeñaperros Sanctuary. The close-fitting helmet and ringlets, to which I have already referred (fig. 7), and the finely cut features can be plainly distinguished in fig. 15, while the care with which the weapons have been designed and worked out, and the



PRE-ROMAN BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM DESPEÑAPERROS, SPAIN (FULL SIZE).

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Fig. 13. Bronze equestrian figure from the Despeñaperros Sanctuary. (†)

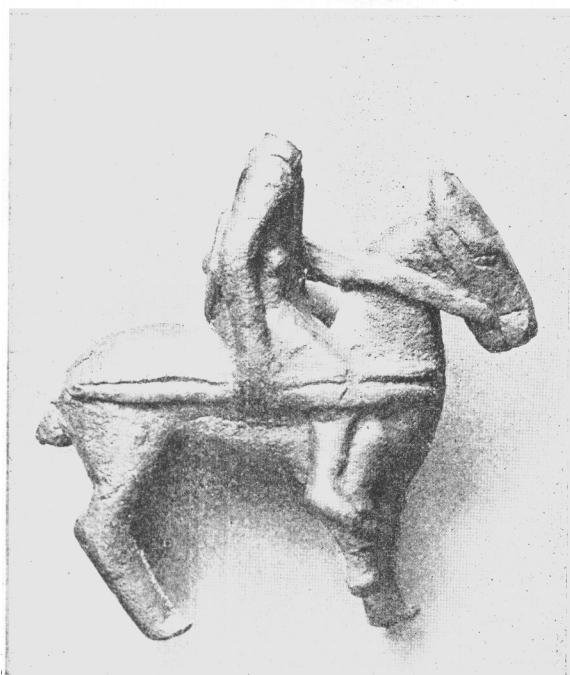


Fig. 14. Bronze equestrian figure from the Despeñaperros Sanctuary. (†)

fidelity with which the bridles and trappings of the horses have been rendered, are truly remarkable.

The group of *fibulæ* or brooches shown in fig. 16 is interesting because brooches of this form have not, so far as I am aware, been found outside the Iberian peninsula, although they are widely distributed there. A very large number of them, amounting to several hundreds in the aggregate, have been discovered at Despeñaperros. They are all of the same pattern, and mostly

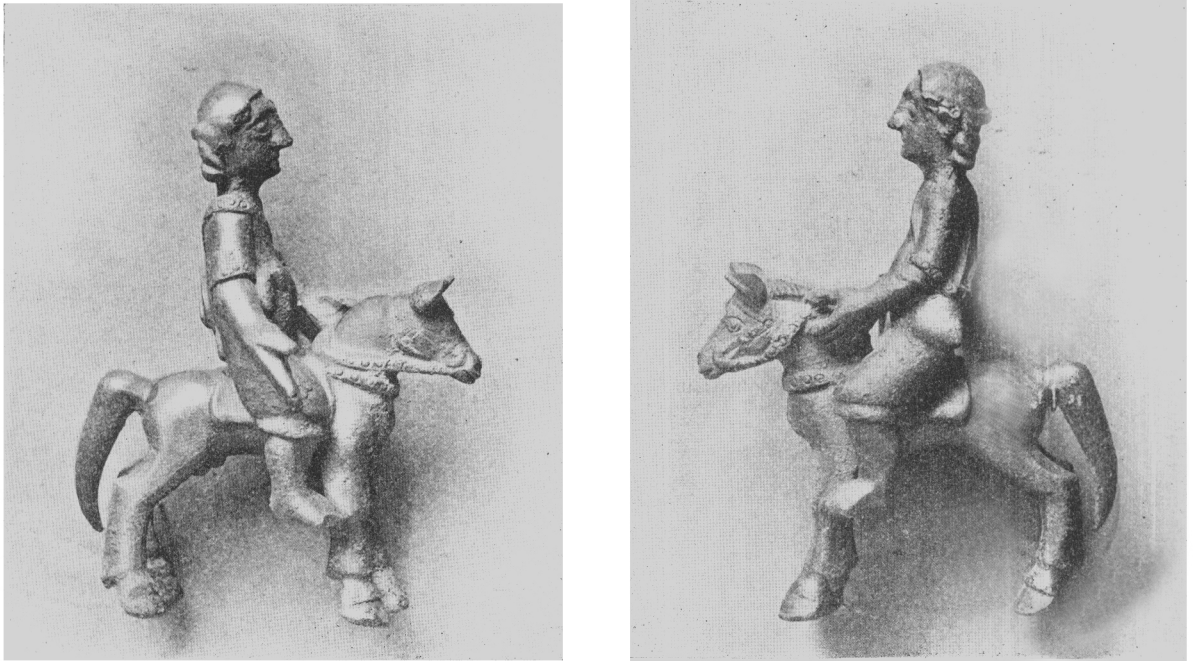
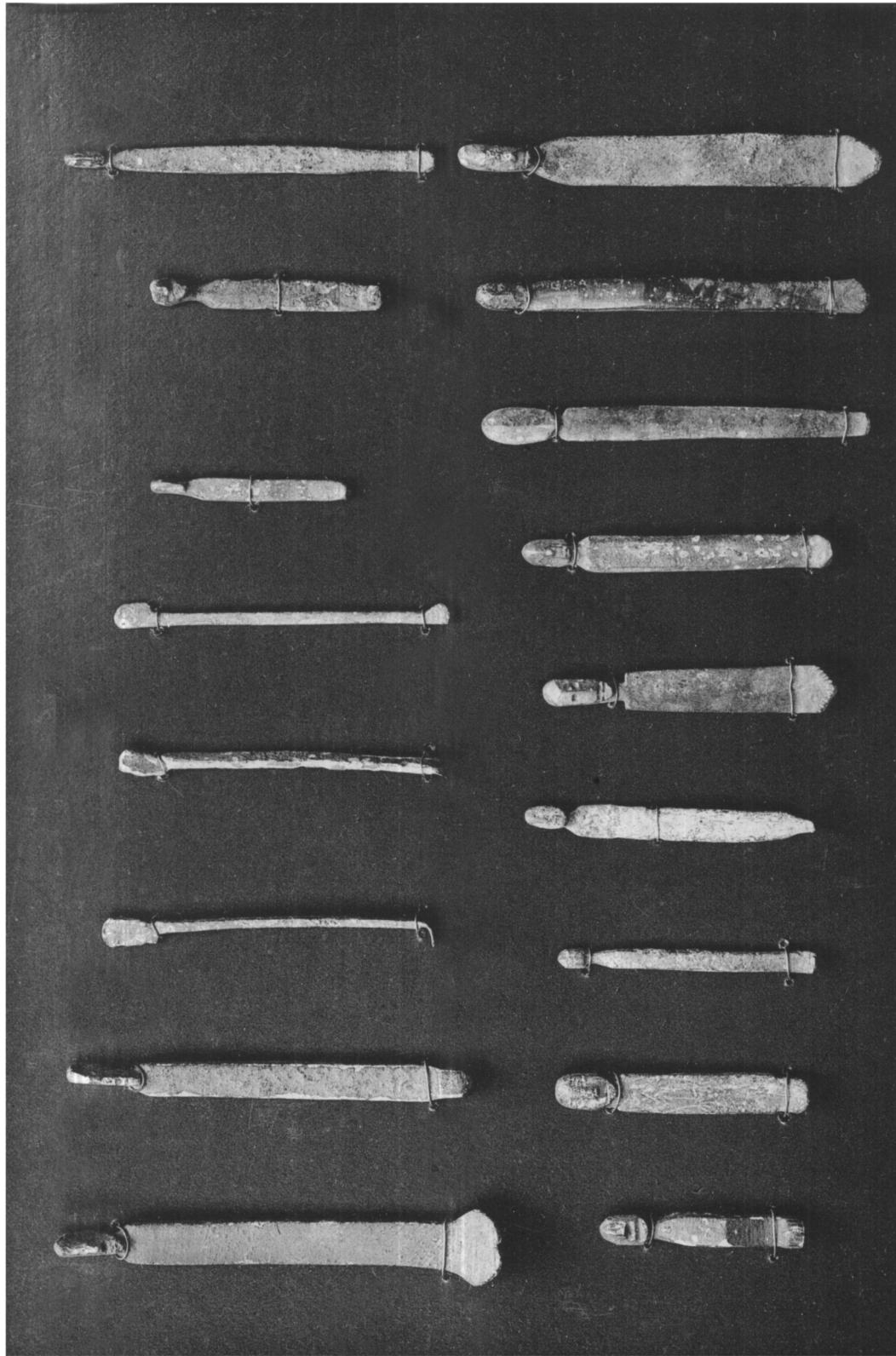


Fig. 15. Bronze equestrian figure from the Despeñaperros Sanctuary. (†)

of the same size. Some are lightly decorated by file notches around the ring and across the bow; but, generally speaking, they are quite plain. They are simple and ingenious in construction, and they formed a practical and I have no doubt an extensively employed method of attaching the garments. Fig. 17 shows an Iberian bronze statuette<sup>a</sup> with one of these very brooches attaching the vestment at the shoulder. In consequence of brooches of this form having been found with other objects which have been identified as

<sup>a</sup> In the possession of Don Antonio Vives, at Madrid.



PRE-ROMAN BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM DESPENAPERROS, SPAIN (FULL SIZE).

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belonging to definite periods, it is possible, in a few cases, to date them. One, of perhaps a somewhat older form, was found near Dianium (Denia), an ancient Greek colony on the east coast of Spain, with sixteen silver coins from Massilia, Rhodes, and Sicily, the latest of which is dated about 360 B.C. Others were found at Mátaro in Catalonia, in an ancient cemetery, with an Iberian sword and Greek vases and other similar pottery. The date of this find is about 240 B.C. Mr. Bonsor has found several in the south of Spain near Carmona in a necropolis

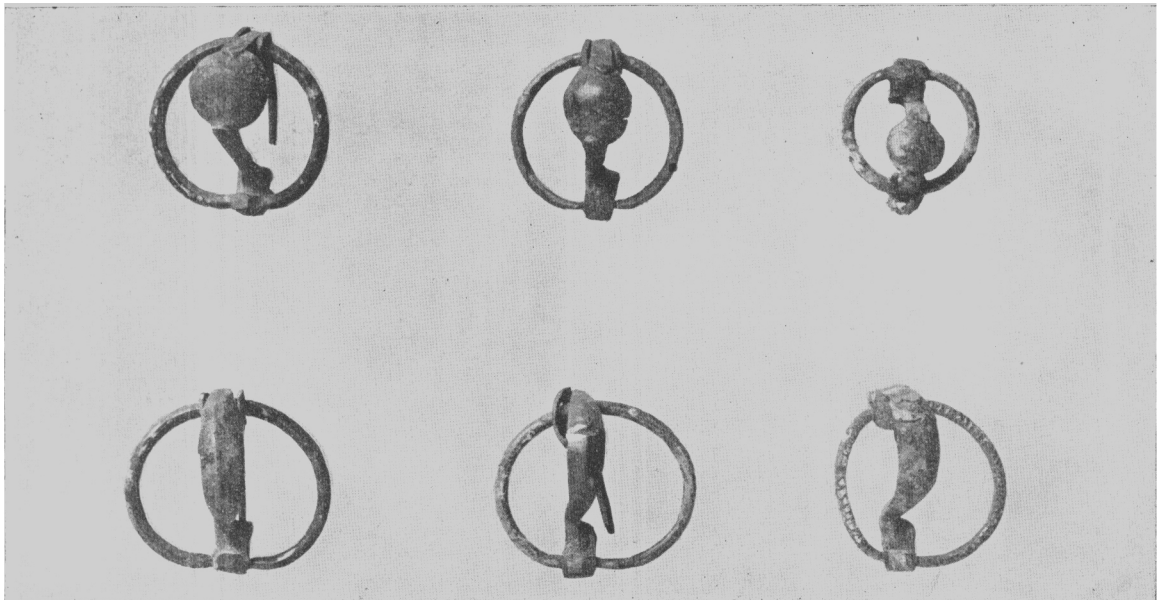


Fig. 16. Bronze brooches from Despeñaperros.

showing Celto-Punic influences, and these he very reservedly dates at between 400 and 200 B.C.

It may be asked how it happened that so large a number of brooches have been found in this sanctuary? To such a question it would be difficult to give a decisive answer. One can only, in this instance, judge by analogy and point to the survival of habits and customs as offering a possible solution of the problem. Herodotus tells us, in Book v. chap. 88, that "it is said further that the Argives and Eginetans made a custom . . . for their women . . . to offer brooches rather than anything else in the temples of these goddesses," and in his



*Book of Brittany* Mr. Baring Gould points out, when speaking of Guingamp, that there “are peculiarities noticeable there. In a side chapel is an image of S<sup>te</sup> Catherine. Unmarried girls resort to this statue and stick pins into it. If the Saint shakes herself free during the night that is a token that she has heard the prayers offered and will obtain husbands for the girls who pricked her.”<sup>a</sup> The same superstition attaches to the statue of St. Guerec, at Ploumanach,

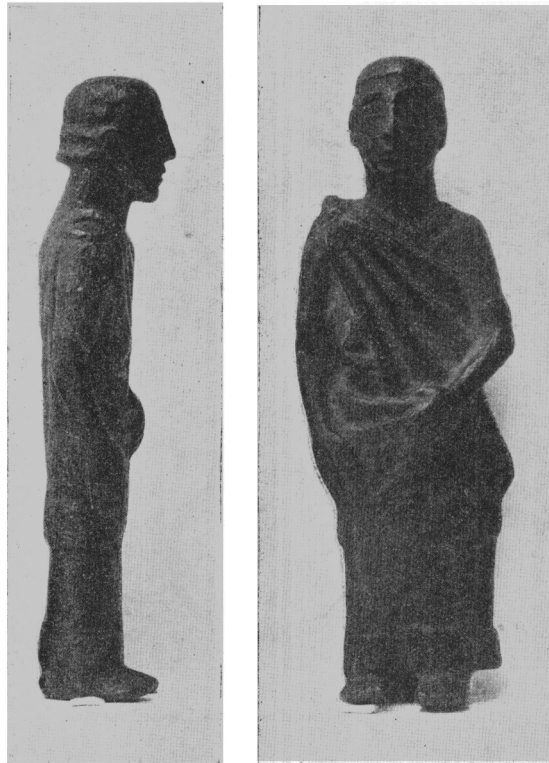
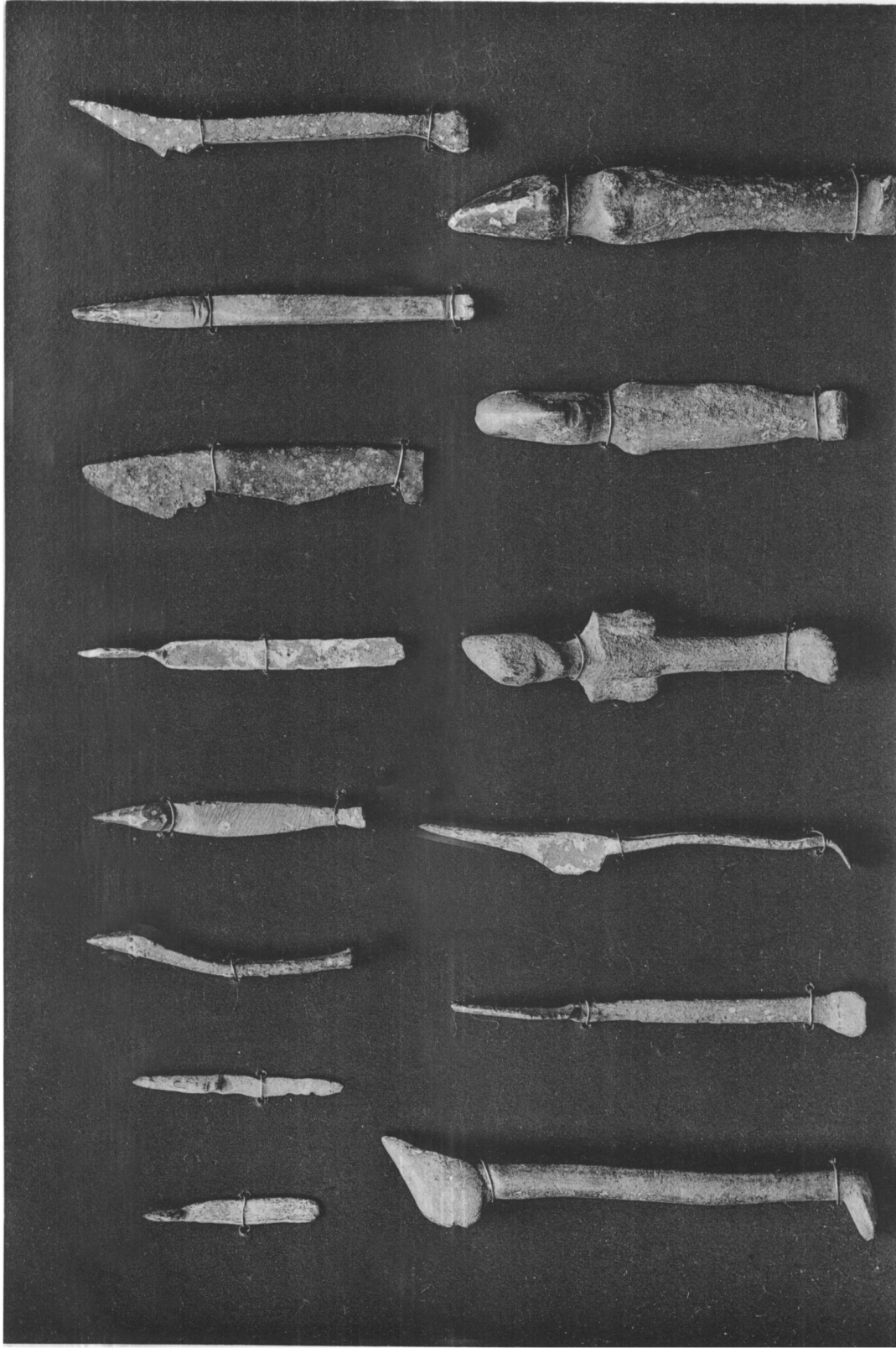


Fig. 17. Iberian bronze statuette.

also in Brittany. At the present day, and to come back to Spain, there is a shrine in Toledo containing an image known as the “Virgen de los Alfileritos” (“the Virgin of the little pins”), where the young Toledanas are wont to offer a pin to the Virgin in the hope of propitiating her, and thus obtaining a *novio*. May not the Iberian women have made their offerings of brooches at the Despeñaperros shrine with the same laudable object?

<sup>a</sup> S. Baring Gould, *A Book of Brittany* (London, 1891), 76.



PRE-ROMAN BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM DESPEÑAPERROS, SPAIN (FULL SIZE).

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There are questions evolved from the study and consideration of the statues, and images, and objects which I have shown to-night, which will naturally and readily suggest themselves, but to which it is difficult in most cases to give decisive answers. I refer more especially to questions as to whether the statues represent divinities or votaries; as to the beginning of the period when this almost unknown phase in art was first developed in Iberia; and, as a corollary, how long it lasted there. Again, there is the question as to whether the works of higher artistic merit were produced at the beginning or at the end of that period, or, in other words, whether there was progression or retrogression in its many and varied forms and phases. With regard to the first question there can be no doubt that the statues represent "votaries" and not divinities. The expression of quiet devotion on many of the faces, the perpetuation of their chief characteristics, the frequent presence of the libation cup in the case of the statues from the Cerro, and the open hands which still hold the gift to the gods in the case of the Despeñaperros Sanctuary, all point to hieratic influence, and to the fact that the statues represented worshippers who were offering to the titular god of the Sanctuary. There is no evidence forthcoming to show who that divinity may have been; and so little is known of the mythology of the Iberians, beyond the names of some of their local gods, that it would be hazardous even to guess at the name. All that one can say is that the divinity was probably a god of their own, indigenous, so to say, and not introduced from abroad.

With regard to the period I will deal with the corollary first. I think that those best able to judge are of the opinion that there was retrogression and not progression in the art, and that the Dame d'Elche may be taken as a guide to the beginning of the period, which may consequently be dated from the end of the fifth century B.C. It is much more difficult to say how long it lasted. Two hundred years would bring it to the Roman occupation of Spain, but it must have lasted longer than that. There are unmistakeable evidences of the presence of the Romans at the Cerro de los Santos, and the same can be said of the Sierra Morena Sanctuary, where sherds of Roman pottery lie intermingled with the images, and where the only monies found are the small copper coins of the later emperors. As to the Cerro I have no personal knowledge. With regard to Despeñaperros I am of the opinion that the country was then very much as it is now; that it was, and that it had long been, an important mining centre where there was a large town, Cástulo, which had unquestionably been Carthaginian, and which remained for a long period in Roman hands, and where

there was a large population which by tradition and in practice looked upon the Sanctuary as a hallowed spot to which, during many centuries, they were wont to resort to make their offerings. I hope some day, and I trust before very long, to clear the site, and to settle, once and for all, the interesting but not unimportant question as to the exact location and the form of the Sanctuary.