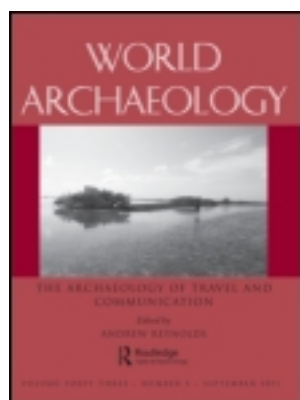


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Music, gender and rituals in the Ancient Mediterranean: revisiting the Punic evidence

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Music, gender and rituals in the Ancient Mediterranean: revisiting the Punic evidence

Mireia López-Bertran and Agnès Garcia-Ventura

Abstract

Music, playing instruments and performing rituals are bodily activities and as such they can be studied stressing their corporeal features. Music and sounds are usually essential elements in rites, and bodies play an essential role in bringing together music and rituals. We explore these issues focusing on Punic terracotta figurines playing musical instruments recovered from the island of Ibiza (fifth to third centuries BC).

Keywords

Punic; music; gender; figurines; mourning.

Reflections on music, gender and Punic figurines

Music is an artistic discipline that is ubiquitous in our lives and we suppose that it was in Antiquity as well. Despite this fact, however, it is one of the least studied topics. As an example, in *World Archaeology* only one special issue published in 1981 (volume 12, issue 3) has been devoted to music. Why? First, music is an ephemeral art, which means that it produces few material remains. Second, a great number of musical instruments are and were made of perishable materials, while others are difficult for us to recognise today as such. To solve this last problem, Cajsa Lund (1981: 246–8) proposed working with a probability-grouping system as an alternative approach to combine, when possible, with the traditional type-classification of musical instruments proposed by Sachs and Hornbostel.

Moreover, any successful study of music in Antiquity should be multidisciplinary in nature. For this reason, most of the researchers dealing with this topic are also trained as

musicians, in addition to their education as archaeologists, historians or philologists. Given the above-mentioned situation, working with ethnology is also a requirement. Bearing all these facts in mind, some decades ago Cajsá Lund (1981) proposed the label of ‘archaeomusicology’ for the discipline, and more recently other scholars like Jesús Salius have proposed the term ‘ethnoarchaeo-musicology’ (Salius 2010). In brief, what is clear is that the study of music based on material culture is still a new field that sparks abundant debate and discussion (see García and Jiménez 2011 for the state of the research, history and genesis of the discipline).

Moving now to gender, we consider the application of some approaches from gender studies to be useful when dealing with music of the past. The corpus of figurines that we will be presenting comprises mostly female specimens. From our point of view, this observation is not accidental. Some of the contexts described here are linked to life cycles (e.g. funerary rituals), allowing us to discuss the relationship between women and music as something related not just to musical performance itself, but also to the role of women in managing birth, care and death of members of society.

Indeed, some scholars have argued that ancient Mediterranean clay figurines are meant to represent divinities rather than people (Ferron 1969: 19 and 23). To test this hypothesis, figurines have been studied from iconographic, technological and typological points of view. The Punic statuettes, for example, have been seen as an expression of so-called popular religion because clay is considered an inferior and more common material compared with others like stone and metals. That is why clay figurines are labelled as popular handicraft. They have also been divided into ‘low styles’ and ‘high styles’. Whereas the former has been connected to local or indigenous ways of representing bodies, the ‘high style’ entails figurines that can be clearly attached to Eastern and Hellenistic iconographies (see López-Bertran 2010: 53–4 for a critical analysis).

These somewhat old-fashioned interpretations assume that figurines are passive representations of divinities and they thus deny them any agency. It is our intention to study these figurines, keeping in mind that they were active materials not only in rituals but also in creating and negotiating visual and bodily identities (Meskell 2007; Nanoglou 2008: 316). Further, we argue that female musician figurines underline that the performance of music in some Punic rituals fell to the expertise of women.

We conclude this introduction with a brief exploration of what ‘Punic’ means and what its cultural and social implications are. The Punic world is considered descendants of the Phoenicians in cultural and social terms; hence, scholars normally use the concept of ‘Phoenician-Punic’ to refer to these cultures. This term designates neither a uniform culture evident in the archaeological record nor the coherent identity of a certain ethnic group. Thus, we broadly speak of a Punic world sharing economic and cultural connections across the western Mediterranean – mainly Ibiza, South Iberia, North Africa, Sicily and Sardinia. The Punic world has traditionally been defined in terms of the colonial influence of Carthage across the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and that is why it is very common to use the labels Punic and Carthaginian synonymously. However, the designation ‘Punic’ is not exclusively related to the citizens of Carthage. It is also related to other peoples, such as the indigenous populations of the areas mentioned, former Phoenician inhabitants of Carthage’s colonies, Carthaginians themselves and people from North Africa (Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008: 1–21).

Blowing and beating: Punic figurines playing drums and pipes

Our corpus of figurines is composed of eighteen figurines recovered from four settlements in Ibiza (Table 1; Fig. 1). All these figurines have previously been studied from a typological point of view by Almagro Gorbea (1980; group II type 3B and type 3E) and San Nicolás (1987; series I, type 4.7 and series II, type 3.4.12.a and b).

The first of the four sites we shall be dealing with is the cemetery of Puig des Molins. The cemetery, which is located on a small hill (51m above sea level) and separated from the Phoenician and Punic city by a riverbed, was in use from the seventh century BC to the thirteenth century AD, but its most intense period of use occurred in the fifth century BC (Fernández 1985, 1992; Gómez Bellard 1984; Gómez Bellard et al. 1990).

The second settlement, Es Culleram, is the best-documented shrine on Ibiza. Located in the north-east of the island, it was used from the fourth century BC to the second century BC and its highest point of activity occurred in the third century BC. Es Culleram is a cave-sanctuary divided into three main spaces, with a cistern at its entrance (Aubert 1982; Ramon 1985). A large number of materials have been found, but the ones that most interest us are their musician terracotta figurines.

The third site, Puig d'en Valls, is also considered a shrine. On top of a small hill close to the bay of Ibiza, it has been the source of several clay figurines. Chronologically, the site has been dated to between the fifth and fourth centuries BC (San Nicolás 2000). Lastly, the other fragment of a musician figurine is from s'Olivar des Mallorquí, a dump associated with a rural farm (Gómez Bellard 1995: 159–60).

Unfortunately, we are not able to determine the exact provenance of the figurines in all these settlements, as they have been found in old excavations. Consequently, in many cases, we cannot associate the figurines with the exact context. For instance, in the Puig des Molins cemetery, we do not know the burials where the figurines were deposited. However, we argue that studying the figurines per se is useful as they provide information about music and rituals in Punic societies.

All the figurines are mould-made and, hence, standardised. Widespread across the Mediterranean, they are typical of the Hellenistic period. Indeed, they are dated to between the fifth and third centuries BC. From a typological point of view, three types of figurines can be identified: the Eastern Mediterranean ones (Greece, Samos, Boeotia), all playing the drum; the Sicilian and Greek South Italian models, playing both drum and pipe; and the local Punic examples, from Ibiza, exclusively represented with drums.

The figurines hold two main kinds of musical instrument: aerophones and membranophones. First, of the figurines with aerophones, eight are playing double pipes (Fig. 2). Of these eight, six are female and two appear more male. The instruments depicted here – the double pipes – were widespread in ancient representations of musicians, such as the well-known examples from Egypt (Roehrig 1996). Often, this instrument is referred to as 'flute' but many scholars think 'pipe' a more suitable label, as this choice identifies the instrument with the Greek *aulos*, a forerunner of our present-day oboe rather than flute (McKinnon n.d.). The instrument was made of wood, reed, bone or even metal and played with a reed, probably a double reed.

Moving now to the membranophones, we have ten examples we propose to identify with hand drums (see Table 1). All ten figurines represent female characters and can be divided

Table 1 Punic musician figurines from Ibiza

<i>Paper no.</i>	<i>Inventory no.</i>	<i>Museum</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Measurements</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Sex</i>
1	1923/6/475	Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid)	Puig des Molins	26cm	Hand-drum 1	Feminine
2	8557/2	Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (Barcelona)	Puig des Molins	22.5cm	Hand-drum 1	Feminine
3	8557/1	Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (Barcelona)	Puig des Molins	28cm	Hand-drum 1	Feminine
4	8543	Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (Barcelona)	Puig des Molins	22cm	Hand-drum 1	Feminine
5	0445	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	Puig des Molins	22.5cm	Hand-drum 1	Feminine
6	148	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	Puig des Molins/ hypogeum 13	32cm	Hand-drum 1	Feminine
7	4567	Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia	Puig des Molins	25cm	Hand-drum 1	Feminine
8	1200-2	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	Puig d'en Valls	–	Hand-drum 1	Feminine
9	4272	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	Puig des Molins	16.5cm	Hand-drum 2	Feminine
10	1923/60/517	Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid)	Es Culleram	16cm	Hand-drum 2	Feminine
11	9319 (1)	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	Puig des Molins/favissa	17.7cm	Double pipe	Feminine
12	1923/60/519	Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid)	Es Culleram	18 cm	Double pipe	Feminine
13	9319 (2)	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	Puig des Molins/favissa	15cm	Double pipe	Feminine
14	9319 (3)	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	Puig des Molins	–	Double pipe	Feminine
15	3883	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	Puig des Molins	14.4cm	Double pipe	Feminine
16	10201_41	Museu Arqueològic d'Eivissa i Formentera	S'olivar des Mallorquí	–	Double pipe	Feminine
17	1923/60/561	Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid)	Unknown	8cm	Double pipe	Masculine
18	8629	Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya (Barcelona)	Puig des Molins	12.9cm	Double pipe	Masculine

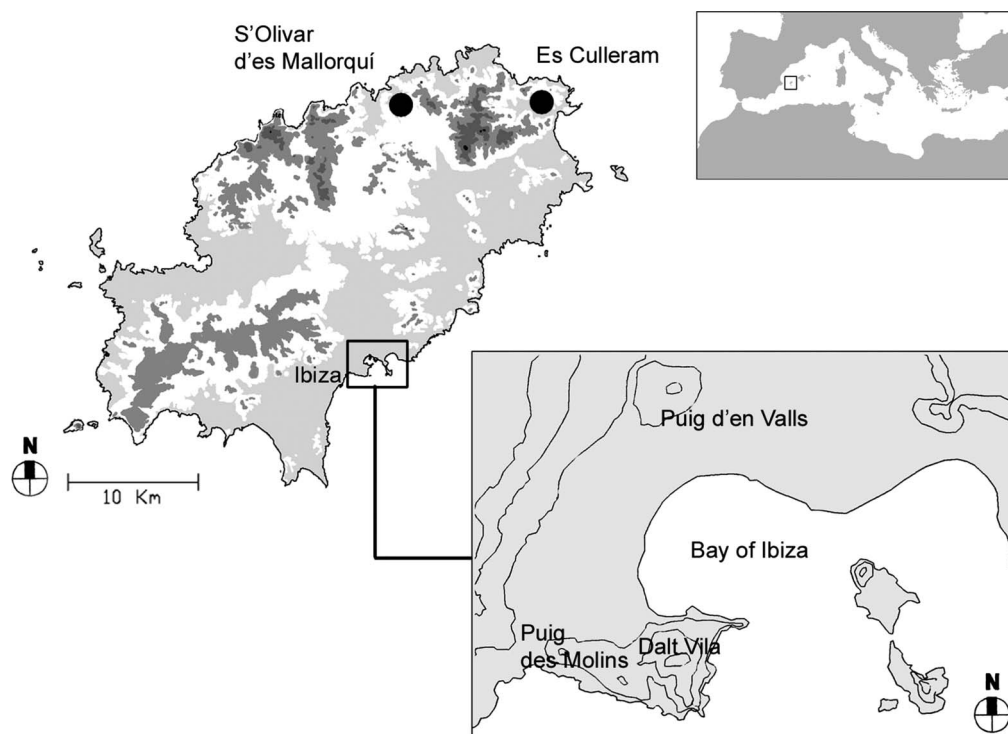


Figure 1 Map of Ibiza showing the sites mentioned.

into two groups based on two kinds of hand drum: eight figurines hold a small drum in front of their body (Fig. 3) and perpendicular to it, while the other two hold a bigger drum beside their body, but not in contact with it (Fig. 4). Thus, we differentiate two kinds of drum based on size and position when played. However, the drum shape and the playing technique are the same for both kinds. For this reason, we propose that they are the same instrument, which is to say a hand drum.

Female figurines: goddesses or real women?

Figurines are considered votives, but before being deposited in tombs or sanctuaries they may first have been used in some kind of ritual performance. The size of the figurines (18–30 cm) makes them easy to hold and touch, but most of them cannot stand upright on their own. Some of the figurines that are hollow have holes in their back, indicating that they might have been attached to some kind of support or amulet (Ferron 1969: 25). They seem to have been designed only for frontal viewing. Also, four figurines (nos 3, 4, 6, 11) present holes in their heads as if they were designed to be hung, perhaps in buildings or tombs. It is feasible, therefore, that the figurines were meant to be seen rather than touched. Numbers 5 and 6 have piercings on their ears and noses to decorate them with jewellery, the so-called *nezem*. This gives us an idea of how the Punics understood the materiality of the figurines: they are more than passive materials and representations and they can be



Figure 2 Figurine playing a double pipe (no. 11 in table 1) (Photograph MAEF).

analysed as living materials which were decorated and which played an active part in rituals, for instance by watching over the afterlife of deceased people, or even as amulets.

Regarding their role as funerary votives, it has been suggested that the figurines playing hand drums represented the Phoenician and Punic goddess Astarte. She might have played the drum to ward off evil spirits, not only because the drum is an attribute of this divinity but also because the sound of percussion instruments might have had purifying properties. This could explain why the instruments themselves were deposited in tombs (Bénichou-Safar 1982: 270; Ferron 1969: 23).

We should, however, avoid automatic identification of female figurines with deities because the available evidence is insufficient to decide whether the images represented goddesses or real women (Goodison and Morris 1999; Knapp 2011: 122). To think of these and other figurines only as divinities is the result of a nineteenth-century trend, when the traditional dual system of man-culture versus woman-nature was applied to most studies. We argue that these either/or dualities perpetuate these preconceptions and overlook the fact that this system of dualities is itself a socio-cultural construct that is



Figure 3 Figurine holding hand drum 1 (no. 6 in table 1) (Photograph MAEF).

unlikely to have been in operation in Punic times. Moreover, the images of gods and goddesses change over time because they are always based on the depictions of real men and women. In sum, we regard the figurines as mortal women, perhaps with a specific role, but in any case people of high rank.

There are good reasons to relate musical education to people of high rank in ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern societies. In Ancient Greece, for example, women of high-status families typically received education in musical skills, although music was also performed by *hetairai* (Touliatos 1993: 114–16). In Mesopotamia, both girls and boys



Figure 4 Figurine holding hand drum 2 (no. 9 in table 1) (Photograph MAEF).

received education and training in musical skills, and their training was multi-instrumental, not highly specialised as it is for us nowadays (Michalowski 2010). Written sources depict musicians in the Ancient Near East performing on a wide array of instruments (cymbals, rattles, bells and clappers) and there are also several names for musicians (professional mourners, solo/group singers and lamentation singers; see, among others, Kilmer 1995). Lastly, in ancient Egypt, music pleased and placated the gods, and musicians often held religious titles. High-status women like members of the royal families played music in temples and palaces, while the tombs of musicians (female or male) lie close to the tombs of the pharaohs (Teeter 1993: 68, 91).

For our case study, written sources mention high-status women from Carthage with musical skills: Sophonisbe, Hasdrubal's daughter, was for instance famous for her beauty and musical skills (Dridi 2006: 225). In Carthage, a tomb containing two cymbals has been identified as the tomb of a priestess, because of the richness of its grave goods (Fantar 1993: 222). In the Puig des Molins cemetery, one of the figurines was found in hypogeum 13 (no. 6), and this kind of tomb is regarded as exclusively belonging to high-ranking individuals (Fernández 1985: 160). A direct reference that connects female musicians to

priesthood is given by two inscriptions on two cymbals found in Carthaginian burials which may be translated as 'client of Astarte' (Fariselli 2007: 34; Ferron 1995: 60–5). Furthermore, as we have explained elsewhere, the player figurines wear body decoration (veils, jewellery, etc.) that might serve to embody their high status (Garcia-Ventura and López-Bertran 2009a, b; López-Bertran and Garcia-Ventura 2008).

In spite of this evidence, however, it is not possible to state with certainty who these figurines represented, that is whether they were priestesses or ordinary people. Any answer is a matter of speculation. What is clear, though, is that we should avoid automatic and uncritical identifications of these instrument-playing figurines as deities. We should instead consider other interpretations, as for instance proposed for female hand-drum players (Averett 2002–4: 14; Meyers 1993: 50; Paz 2007: 76–8 and 118–19).

Engendering processions and mourning

From the evidence described so far, it is clear that music played a key role in Punic rituals. There are clear indications that music was performed in the cave-shrine of Es Culleram, in the shrine of Puig d'en Valls and in the cemetery at Puig des Molins, and that this music might have had multiple meanings. However, we need to draw distinctions between different rituals and ceremonies.

Beginning at Es Culleram, we find two statuettes of musicians: no. 10 with a hand drum and no. 12 with a double pipe. We argue that the presence of musician figurines might indicate the performance of music and dances inside or outside the cave. Indeed, dancing might be linked at Es Culleram not only to women but also to sensory alteration. First, given that some of the figurines hold double pipes, one of the pipes was presumably used to play a *continuo* part. This low and constant sound would help to create a specific mood and ritual atmosphere. Second, the cave at Es Culleram is associated with fertility cults, and the presence of thousands of female figurines underscores its female character. It is worth noting the association at Es Culleram between women, dancing and music, bearing in mind that the shrine, situated high on a mountain slope, may have been approached as part of a pilgrimage or procession during which music and dance created a suitable musical atmosphere (López-Bertran 2011: 98–9).

Additional evidence associating women and dance is offered by literary and iconographical sources. Even if these texts cannot be related directly to Punic Ibiza, both the Old Testament (*Ex.* 32:6 and 19; 2 *Sam.* 6:14–6; 1 *Kings* 18:26; see Burgh 2006: 91–105 for other biblical passages referring to musicians) and Greek and Roman authors such as Lucian (*De Dea Syria* 43) and Apuleius (*Met.* 8.27–8) report sensual and sexual dances performed by women, with percussion instruments inciting ecstatic dancing (Jiménez Flores 2006: 95; Röllig 1992: 127).

Although we are highly sceptical of any exclusive association between sensuality, sexuality and women in light of recent gender and body theories (see López-Bertran and Aranegui 2011 for a review of relevant literature), a connection between dancing and women in general terms does seem clear. In Tharros (Sardinia), for instance, a memorial stone has been found in one of the cemeteries that may be dated to between the fifth and fourth centuries BC and that shows a scene of four dancing individuals. The three women

appear to be naked, while the one man is wearing a skirt and a bull's mask. All of them are dancing around a phallus-like pillar stone (Manfredi 1988). Eastern metal cups dated to between the ninth and sixth centuries BC also depict dances performed mainly by women, while another representation of young female dancers has been carved on the so-called Eshmun platform in the Phoenician sanctuary of Bostan ech-Sheik (Sidon, Lebanon; Fariselli 2010: 14–16).

Turning next to the cemetery at Puig des Molins, one of the most common funerary rituals may well have been a march or procession to transfer the deceased from Ibiza town to the Puig des Molins cemetery. Music, walking and dancing would have been prominent features of such processions, as is suggested by the musician statuettes and written sources. Some classical authors also mention musicians in the Carthaginian *tophet*, which is an open-air sacred place with funerary urns (Fantar 1993: 223, 324), and Herodotus (II.79) mentions the so-called Linus-song, a Phoenician-Cypriot funerary chant (Fariselli 2010: 17).

In situations that involved funerary marches, walking would have offered a means to create a religious or spiritual practice. When walking is accompanied by music, the rhythms of the two activities condition and complement each other. In this way, the physical and material practice of walking allows people to move into a non-material world (Slavin 2003: 9). In addition, the sound of crying would add to the ritual soundscape. The practice is associated above all with mourning women, and the presence of female statuettes reinforces the connection between mourning and women. The specialisation of women as mourners is rooted in their association with activities related to the maintenance, creation and reproduction of life (Picazo 1997). Seeing death as the last stage of life, and bearing in mind that it is women who give birth and who exclusively take care of children in many societies, it is likely that they were responsible for the public ritual of lamenting the dead (Murnaghan 1993: 35).

Mourning is usually in the hands of mature women because they have the most experience in looking after people, but an additional consideration is that they are likely to have already had children, which means that their fertility would not be at risk of contamination by the deceased (Wickett 2010: 108). Because these women are mature and experienced, they would be able to express their feelings and opinions in public ceremonies and mourning would thus become an empowering ritual that challenges and manipulates issues of social importance (Seremitakis 1993: 123; Sultan 1993: 92).

We argue that the Ibiza figurines may shed light on the discussion of the age of Punic mourners. Of particular relevance are the various hair styles of the figurines, some of which have long curly hair, whereas others have their hair tied together. These hair styles may embody age, as wearing hair down tends to indicate young or single women, whereas tied hair is mostly associated with married women (Griño Frontera 1991: 595). For Iberian Iron Age society, it has been suggested that the representation of women with plaited hair in funerary sculptures is associated with the role of young women as being responsible for creating and maintaining genealogies (Izquierdo Peraile 2000: 430–1). We therefore suggest that both young and mature Punic women of Ibiza participated in mourning, although it is well possible that they fulfilled different tasks.

When mourning, women create a pattern of sounds that can be considered music or at least as having some degree of musicality. In addition to proper laments, there are also stylised sobbing and breathing, breathlessness and syllabic prolongation as emotional

intensifiers. In all cases, mourning materialises pain not only through the acoustics of screaming but also through bodily gestures. In many cases, women embody their pain with tears or by pulling at their hair or through other actions (Seremitakis 1993: 135–49; Wickett 2010: 159). The clearest examples of Phoenician mourners are the ones depicted on the sarcophagus of Ahirom, king of Byblos, who tear out their hair and rip their clothes (Cecchini 2006). Their representation seems to follow a rhythmic symmetry in that there is regularity in the depictions of mourners in the two positions (Fariselli 2010: 17).

This clear relationship between women and mourning and their role in funerary rites is also made visible in the instruments held by the figurines. As stated above, drums are only carried by women, while pipers are mainly, but not exclusively, women. Both instruments are associated with mourning (Porter n.d.; Sendrey and Norton 1964: 111–12, 120), and mourning, as we have seen, is mainly associated with women.

Moreover, in Phoenician and Punic societies the presence of women in funerary rituals has been highlighted in relation to purification rites for the deceased and the supply of food, based on perfume bottles and cooking pottery found among the grave goods (Delgado and Ferrer 2007; Prados 2008: 68).

Rituals are however not completely separate from mundane or common activities, and the double-pipe clay figurine found in a dump at the rural site of S'Olivar des Mallorquí (no. 16) is a significant case in point. All finds from the dump are related to domestic contexts and it has therefore been proposed that the figurine had originally been placed inside a house (Gómez Bellard 1995: 161). What meanings could the figurine have had in a countryside house? Answers remain of course speculative, but it is very likely that music was important in daily rural activities, such as harvesting, grinding grain and other activities that involved repetitive and constant rhythms.

We have much ethnographic information that shows us how music was and continues to be used in work places. For example, gospel music and soul are genres born from such a context with strong symbolic and ritual links. In the Basque country (Spain), *txalaparta* is a percussion instrument whose origins are linked to the crushing of apples, a long and tedious stage in the cider-making process. Sometimes, however, the music that accompanied daily activities leaves us no remains, as is the case with singing, for instance, or at least no direct ones. This may also hold true for the Punic society under discussion here.

We finally wish to return to the issue of gender. The figurine from the dump looks exactly the same as the rest of the figurines found in the cemetery of Ibiza town. This is highly significant in our view, because it reinforces our argument that music is associated with high-status women, given the proposal that the countryside of the island was inhabited by rich landowners, who used similar materials in the countryside as in the city – including figurines (Gómez Bellard 2008: 61–2). This figurine might therefore provide material evidence of wealthy people, women and men, living in and exploiting rural areas.

Conclusion

Considering the data discussed, the association between women and music in rituals is clear in Punic Ibiza. The figurines represent women with specific musical skills, such as playing the pipe with the *continuo* technique. As their appearance indicates, these women

would have held a powerful position in Punic society. More specifically, they deployed a kind of musical and ritual mastery in relation to mourning or dancing in funerary marches. The link between women, music and death is doubtless due to the role of women as caretakers in all stages of life. However, as the Es Culleram cave suggests, women also performed music in non-funerary contexts. In this case, we have again emphasised the female aspects of the cave as shown by the hundreds of clay figurines representing Tanit (Phoenician and Punic goddess) and other females.

We conclude by singling out the apparent sexual division of musical performance: only two out of eighteen figurines recovered in Ibiza are male. These are two satyrs playing pipes, which lead us to link playing pipes to both the female and male arenas in different ritual contexts. As for the hand drum, we do not think that this instrument was played exclusively by women, although the depictions only show women playing it. Another possible explanation is that percussion instruments were mainly associated with dancing and this activity would be perceived, at least in funerary rituals, as associated once again with lamentation and consequently with women. In this context, therefore, the drum is also associated with women as a musical instrument connected to fertility and to what may have been fertility rituals (Paz 2007: 86).

An additional avenue of study would be to explore the link between a given musical instrument and a specific sex in terms of the complexity of the musical performance and the specialisation of the performer. Men have been associated with virtuosic interpretation, while women have been associated with performance in groups and with simple music (Leppert 1993: 64–70). From our point of view, when analysing the figurines from Ibiza, it is not possible to establish these relationships, just as it is not possible to determine the degree of complexity involved in the performances in which the musicians took part.

Moreover, in other cultural contexts of the ancient Mediterranean, figurines and paintings of musicians mostly show women playing instruments. This is true for Attic figurative pottery, among which about 80 per cent of depicted chorus members are women (Tick et al. n.d.), and of figurines from Iron Age Israel, among which all drummers and almost all figurines, including those without musical instruments, represent women (Meyers 1993: 50). At this point, we wonder whether the ratio represented in all these contexts is a real one, that is to say, whether the greater number of musicians in the contexts cited here were indeed women. Another possibility would be that women musicians are overrepresented, with the result that this view does not correspond to the reality of past performances.

In any case, just as music and sound surround our lives today, we maintain that the evidence discussed offers proof that, in all likelihood, music also surrounded the lives of the inhabitants of Punic Ibiza. As a consequence, perhaps our figurines should be interpreted not only as proof of music in rituals, but also as a pointer to the performance of music every day and everywhere.

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