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Source: *Egitto e Vicino Oriente*, 2024, Vol. 47 (2024), pp. 129-138

Published by: Pisa University Press S.R.L.

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/27395226>

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## THE MUSICAL LEADERSHIP OF DADA DURING THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR: A REASSESSMENT

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### Abstract

Dada was a gala-priest who worked for the royal court of the Third Dynasty of Ur in Mesopotamia as a music administrator. However, few texts inform us about the total number of artists that could be under his responsibility. By commenting on the text NATN 855, a list of animal horns received by Dada, this paper argues that he could have managed up to 149 nar-musicians, in addition to other gala-priests and performers.

“When (the ram) is alive it possesses one sound,  
but when it is dead its sound is sevenfold”.  
In what way is its sound sevenfold?  
Its two horns (are made into) two trumpets.  
*Mišnah Qinnim 3, 6*<sup>1</sup>

This study focuses on Dada, a prominent personality in the musical life of Mesopotamia under the aegis of the Third Dynasty of Ur (*ca. 2110-2003 BCE*).<sup>2</sup> Starting as a mere gala-priest, he would eventually become an administrator of both gala-priests (*gala-maḥ*)<sup>3</sup> and nar-musicians (*nar-gal*), in addition to other performers.<sup>4</sup> In this way, and by working closely with the royal court, Dada acted as a “music minister” in his state.

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1 Translation from the Sefaria Project with minimal adjustments of mine.

2 On his trajectory, see COHEN 1996, 149; MICHAŁOWSKI 2006, 49-50; PRUZSINSZKY 2007, 335, 338-339, 341 and PRUZSINSZKY 2010b, 34-36; GABBAY 2014, 72-73 (with n. 91), 90 n. 83; HUBER VULLIET 2019, 151, 194-195, 362-363, 411, 418; VERDERAME 2023a, 246 and VERDERAME 2023b, 123.

3 The abbreviations follow the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* and BDTNS (for Neo-Sumerian texts). Sumerian terms and texts are transliterated following the system proposed by ATTINGER (2023, 58-104).

4 *Pace* MICHAŁOWSKI 2006, 49-50, the *gala-maḥ* and *nar-gal* titles were not necessarily synonymous. Wiri received both the titles of *kalā’um* and *nārum*, according to the letters ZA 82, 185 (IM 85455 and IM 85456). Having the support of the royal court, perhaps Dada was free to extra-limit (out of power greed?) his usual functions as *gala(-maḥ)* already in the earlier years of Amar-Su’en’s reign (*e.g.*, AUCT 1, 942: obv. 5 - rev. 4). Interestingly, he would officially assume the *nar-gal* title only at the end of Šū-

Against this background, one may ask how many performers were supervised by Dada. Various texts display him in charge of up to five ma-na ( $\approx 2.5$  kilos) of sheep gut (sa [udu]) to provide (ni $\hat{g}_2$ -ba) the chordophones (geš-gu<sub>3</sub>-di) of the state,<sup>5</sup> although it is hard to decipher from that amount how many instrumentalists were under Dada's supervision. From the few texts providing us with numbers of musicians under his direction, one understands that he was in charge of six musicians and 17 gala-priests.<sup>6</sup> However, one wonders if he could have managed many more performers.

This study argues that NATN 855, an administrative text dating to the reign of Amar-Su'en (*ca.* 2046-2038 BCE), may allude to a much larger number of performers, specifically nar-musicians, under Dada's supervision. The text in question reads as follows:<sup>7</sup>

Obverse	
1 -----	-----
2 53 a <sub>2</sub> tarah	53 horns of wild goats,
3 96 si am	96 aurochs horns,
4 90 si maš-da <sub>3</sub>	(and) 90 gazelle horns
5 ki DIĜIR-ba-ni-ta	from Ilu(m)-bāni
Reverse	
1 Da-da gala	Dada, the gala-priest,
2 šu ba-ti	accepted.
3 -----	-----
4 iti U <sub>5</sub> -bi <sub>2</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub>	Month Ubigu (= Third month in the Nippur calendar)
5 mu <sup>d</sup> Amar- <sup>d</sup> Zuen lugal	Year "Amar-Su'en (became) king" (= First year in Amar-Su'en's reign).

This text has received some attention in previous scholarship,<sup>8</sup> but there is still no agreement on the identity of the users of the horns mentioned therein. Some studies favor their

Su'en's reign (NRVN 1, 184 [ŠS 07-03-00]: seal 1), roughly eighteen years later, perhaps to ensure his power before the increasing political instability (GARFINKLE 2022, 159) and the future king's demise (see Da-da nar-gal in UET 3, 1357 [ŠS 09-00-00]: rev. 17). See PRUZINSZKY 2010a, 106 for further contextualization.

5 VERDERAME 2023a, 236 presents MVN 18, 649 as a *new* addition to the texts describing this action (AnOr 7, 380-7; BPOA 2, 2396; MVN 16, 1429, and Private Collection 170632 = CDLI P313083). However, the five texts had already been considered by GABBAY 2014, 117, n. 339, a publication incidentally not cited by VERDERAME 2023a. On a side note, there is a consensus on the fact that geš-gu<sub>3</sub>-di does not act as a term for "lute" (*pace* VERDERAME 2023a), but as a designation for "chordophones" in general (KRISPIJN 2008, 176-177; GABBAY 2014, 117; ATTINGER 2023, 562 n. 1888).

6 BIN 5, 29 (ŠS 04-01-18): obv. 7-rev. 5 (if the mention of Dada and then six nar-musicians is understood correctly) and MVN 9, 8, obv. 1-4, respectively. CHEU 84, obv. 1-3 only refers to five gala-priests and eight male workers (guruš) paid by Dada. Kyoto 28, rev. 3-4 describes a flour ration for (one or more?) nar-munus under his supervision.

7 Edition: BDTNS 025726. Translations of animal names here follow LLADÓ SANTAEULARIA 2020, 167, 197-199, 201 n. 378. See HILGERT 2002, 425 n. 60 for the unstable mimation in Akkadian names, such as Ilu(m)-bāni, in Neo-Sumerian texts.

8 *E.g.*, ATTINGER 2005, 270; MICHAŁOWSKI 2006, 50 n. 8; HUBER VULLIET 2019, 150, and LLADÓ SAN-

condition as non-musical objects, chiefly vessels for ritual substances,<sup>9</sup> whereas others argue that they were sound tools used by gala-priests or heralds (*niĝir*).<sup>10</sup>

The archaeological context is of little help to solve this debate: NATN 855<sup>11</sup> was found in the fill of TB 206 IV 1, a locus in Nippur that continued to be active until the 19<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>12</sup> In any case, none of the proposals for the horns in NATN 855 mentioned above is fully satisfactory, according to the currently available documentation, for various reasons.

Those who argue against the musical purpose of the horns in NATN 855 have a point in the fact that *Ilu(m)-bāni*, the one who gave the horns to Dada, was in all likelihood a merchant not specialized in the trade of musical instruments.<sup>13</sup> However, Dada is never documented in transactions unrelated to music broadly defined,<sup>14</sup> so a musical purpose for these horns should be preferred. Furthermore, thanks to his professional networks, a merchant like *Ilu(m)-bāni* could gather a large quantity of objects for Dada more easily than other types of workers (e.g., animal handlers, leatherworkers, etc.)

Regarding the proposals in favor of a musical function of the horns mentioned in this text, while Dada himself was a *gala*, there are no mentions of these priests blowing horns.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, even if horns were used as signal sound tools and, therefore, blown by heralds,<sup>16</sup> there are currently no allusions to heralds being supervised by Dada. Even more, they had specific supervisors: the so-called *niĝir-gal*.<sup>17</sup>

If the horns were sound tools, but not belonging to heralds or gala-priests, they could have been used by the musicians (*nar*) under Dada's supervision. This is consistent with the content of the extant texts mentioning *si am*. This word has no further mentions in the Neo-Sumerian written record beyond NATN 855. However, one of its very few allusions in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary production mentions the expression *si am* together with other terms for musical instruments of the *nar*-musicians. The excerpt in question, *Keš Temple Hymn*, 115-117, reads as follows:<sup>18</sup>

TAEULARIA 2020, 216-217.

9 ENGLUND 2003, 6 (drinking goblets, containers, tableware, pins, inlay); VERDERAME 2023b, 125 (vessels).

10 CRISOSTOMO 2019, 371 (gala-priests); VERDERAME 2023b, 123-124 (heralds).

11 In addition to NATN 854, a receipt of barley for a brewer.

12 ZETTLER 2008, 293.

13 An anonymous reviewer referred to me the case of NATN 894, in which *Ilu(m)-bāni* lends silver. See GARFINKLE 2002, 39 and 2008, 68 for broader considerations on *Ilu(m)-bāni* as a (possible) merchant.

14 SACT 1, 23, Dada took (*i<sub>3</sub>-dab<sub>3</sub>*) three bear cubs (*amar az*) for jesters (*nam-u<sub>4</sub>-da-tuš-še<sub>3</sub>*), in theory, under his supervision. See D'AGOSTINO 2012, 92-94 and PRUZSINSZKY 2013, 40 for the relationship between *nar*-musicians and the jesters (*u<sub>4</sub>-da-tuš*).

15 See GABBAY 2014, 84-154 for the musical instruments normally played by the gala-priests.

16 KÜMMEL, 1972-1975, 469; VERDERAME 2023b, 123-124.

17 ASJ 19, 211 n. 32, seal ii 3, 228 n. 74, obv. i 9, ii 19, rev. i 4; BIN 3 608, seal ii 3; MVN 7 260, rev. 2.

18 Edition: Composite lines in DELNERO 2006, 2229-2231, with suggestions from WILCKE 2006, 234.

115	si am-ma-ke <sub>4</sub> gum <sub>2</sub> -ga mi-ni-ib-za	The wild-aurochs horn made there the <i>gumga</i> -noise!
115a	sem <sub>5</sub> <sup>kuš</sup> a <sub>2</sub> -la <sub>2</sub> -e gu <sub>3</sub> -nun mi-ni-ib-be <sub>2</sub>	The cymbals and frame drums <sup>19</sup> resounded there magnificently!
116	<sup>geš</sup> al-ĝar-sur <sub>9</sub> -ra suh <sub>3</sub> -sah <sub>4</sub> mi-ni-ib-za	The small frame drums <sup>20</sup> made there the <i>suh</i> <i>sah</i> -noise!
116a	tigi <sub>2</sub> niĝ <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>10</sub> -ge si ḥa-ba-ni-sa <sub>2</sub>	The sweet tigi <sub>2</sub> -instruments <sup>21</sup> were properly played inside!
117	e <sub>2</sub> al-du <sub>10</sub> giri <sub>17</sub> -zal-bi al-du <sub>10</sub>	The temple is made good, its nobility is made good!

The *tigi*<sub>(2)</sub> was the *balağ*-instrument of the *nar*, according to its spelling with the signs LUL (= *nar*) and *BALAĞ*. Various texts also connect the <sup>kuš</sup>a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> and <sup>geš</sup>al-ĝar-sur<sub>9</sub> with the *nar*-musicians.<sup>22</sup> Finally, the *sem*<sub>5</sub> was often related to the *gala*-priest, but /sem/ instruments for *nar*-musicians also existed.<sup>23</sup> In this context, the *si am* should be seen as an aerophone sounded by the *nar*-musicians.

These considerations solve the ambiguity with the a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* horns referenced in NATN 855, obv. 2. Neo-Sumerian texts often mention a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* as objects from which to obtain a powder for ritual lustrations (a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a).<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary excerpt *Našše A*, 44 says “the chief/adult *nar*-musician plays the wild goat horn for her” (a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* *nar*-gal-e šu mu-na-ab-ta<sub>3</sub>-ge),<sup>25</sup> showing that a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* could be a sound tool to be played by the *nar*-musicians (concretely an aerophone),<sup>26</sup> just as the *si am* horn.

19 There were no giant drums in Mesopotamia from the early second millennium BCE onwards (SHEHATA 2019, 161). Thus, the usual identification of a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> with a large-sized drum (MIRELMAN 2014) cannot be applied here. The Neo-Sumerian text UET 3, 643, obv. 2 already mentions a small (tur) a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-drum.

20 This identification is based on MICHALOWSKI 2010, 225-228 (accepted by GABBAY 2014, 95 n. 133).

21 In addition to a praise song and a musician (MICHALOWSKI 2019), it is still possible to identify *tigi*<sub>(2)</sub> with an instrument in some contexts (ATTINGER 2023, 1043 n. 3287; SÁNCHEZ MUÑOZ 2021, 158-164).

22 Cf. GABBAY 2014, 102 in addition to RIME 3/1.1.7 = *Gudea Statue L*, 41' (*nar* a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>) and *Išmē-Dagān A+V*, 371 (the <sup>geš</sup>al-ĝar-sur<sub>9</sub> is included among the elements of nam-nar, lit. “musicianship”).

23 MIRELMAN 2010, 40, obv. 1-rev. 3. See GABBAY 2014, 147 for further comments.

24 VERDERAME 2023b, 125 argued that a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* were containers for ritual aromatics or resins. However, Neo-Sumerian texts mention a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* and the other ritual products separately (e.g., AnOr 311, rev. i 15-17: ½ ma-na šem ḥi-a / 0.0.1 1 ½ sila<sub>3</sub> sağ ḥirin<sub>x</sub>-[n]a / 6 a<sub>2</sub> *tarah*, “half of a mina of aromatics / 11.5 sila<sub>3</sub> of spikenard / 6 wild goat horns”). For a container, one might want to find a (locative) construction relating the ritual substance to a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* (i.e., \*šem-ḥi-a a<sub>2</sub> *tarah*-ḥa “aromatics inside a wild goat horn”). By drawing on TCL 5, 6040, obv. ii 10'-11' and 22'-23', which explicitly relates a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* with Šara's ritual lustration (a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a), BRUNKE, SALLABERGER 2010, 46 proposed that a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* horns were grated and distilled to make a salty powder that could contribute to a ritual cleansing. Neo-Sumerian cu-neiform texts refer, at most, to six a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* with such a purpose (in addition to AnOr 311, rev. i 15-17, see MVN 15, 127: obv. 19 and TCL 5, 6040, obv. ii 10'-11' and 22'-23'), but NATN 855 refers to 53 a<sub>2</sub> *tarah*! Interestingly, BPOA 7, 1792, obv. 6 refers to a *balağ*-instrument of the a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a rituals (*balağ* a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a). However, HEIMPEL 2015, 618 already suggested that this *balağ* could have been played, not within the very lustration of the divine statue, but during its previous and later manipulation.

25 Edition: ATTINGER 2019, 85. See SHEHATA 2009, 30 for further comments.

26 VERDERAME 2023b, 124 identified a<sub>2</sub> *tarah* with clappers due to the expression šu tag (literally

After these arguments favoring the identification of  $a_2$  tarah and si am with instruments of the nar-musicians, there remains a discussion on the gazelle horns (si maš-da<sub>3</sub>). Sadly, it is difficult to comment on any use of these horns in Mesopotamia during the Third Dynasty of Ur, for the expression si maš-da<sub>3</sub> is currently found only in another Neo-Sumerian text: *Vicino Oriente* 6, 10. Its lines obv. 1-3 relate si maš-da<sub>3</sub> to the people from Ḫabuzatum,<sup>27</sup> a group for which almost no further information is available.<sup>28</sup>

Despite their help in the identification of  $a_2$  tarah and si am, one cannot find supplementary support in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts for si maš-da<sub>3</sub>. In addition to si am,  $a_2$  tarah, and the heralds' standard si-horn,<sup>29</sup> the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary corpus may only refer to another musical horn under the expression si-EZEN in the *Winter and Summer* dialog:<sup>30</sup>

236 sem<sub>5</sub> <sup>kuš</sup>a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> si-EZEN ǵeš-gu<sub>3</sub>-di After the cymbals, frame drums, festive horns,<sup>31</sup>  
ni<sub>2</sub>-ba u<sub>3</sub>-mu-na-du<sub>12</sub> and chordophones *have played* together for  
him,  
237 tigi za-am-za-am niğ<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>3</sub> ǵul<sub>2</sub>-la- he will spend the (whole) day with your heart-  
zu u<sub>4</sub> mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-e gladdening tigi and za-am-za-am songs.

Additionally, a mural painting in the room 220 of the royal palace in the city of Māri shows a man holding a tiny horn that is often considered a musical instrument. Its size is also comparable to a gazelle horn, which measures no more than 50 cm.<sup>32</sup> However, the horn is not

“to play with the hand”) that modifies  $a_2$  tarah and two depictions (IM 14597 and AO 17568), which show curved clappers. However, šu tag is the standard Sumerian expression that describes the playing of any musical instrument, including aerophones (see *Inana's Descent to the Netherworld*, 353 in allusion to the ge-di and ge-su<sub>3</sub> pipes and, perhaps, *Dumuzi-Inana X*, 40 on the ge-di pipes). As for the images mentioned above, at least IM 14597 has a clear parallel with various Early Dynastic curved clappers made of metal sheets (RAŠID 1984, 48-49 fig. 16 and EMERIT *et al.* 2017, 138-139 n. 36).

27 4 si maš-da<sub>3</sub> / Ḫa-bu-za-tu[m]-e-ne / in-be<sub>6</sub>-e-eš<sub>2</sub> (“The Ḫabuzatu[m] people received four gazelle horns as presents”) as edited by BDTNS 203439, which takes *ḥa-bu-za-tu[m]* as a gentilic name (thanks to Manuel Molina for his clarifications).

28 BDTNS 189625 (no inventory number) shows some Ḫabuzatum people (*ḥa-bu-za-tum-me*; obv. 3-4) and musicians (nar-me-eš<sub>2</sub>; obv. 5-6) receiving reed bundles as combustibles with which to bake bread (sa ge inda<sub>3</sub> du<sub>8</sub>). However, this does not suggest any musical occupation for the Ḫabuzatum people.

29 See ATTINGER 2023, 380, 1097, and 1104 for a list of (Old Babylonian) textual sources referring to this horn in the compound expressions si gu<sub>3</sub> ra/ri.

30 Edition according to ETCSL 5.3.3.

31 The sign EZEN could be read here as ezem (“festival”) to present the horn as a festive sound tool. Contrary to *Sulgi C*, 77 (si-EZEN ǵeš-šu-kara<sub>2</sub> gal-gal du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-dam “when making greatly perfect the si-EZEN of the lutes”), the meaning “fret” for si-EZEN proposed by KRISPIJN 1990, 4-5 does not work in *Winter and Summer*, 236 for two reasons. First, the context suggests that si-EZEN denotes a complete musical instrument. Second, ǵeš-gu<sub>3</sub>-di does not denote a lute (GABBAY 2014, 117; ATTINGER 2023, 562-563 n. 1888) and one might expect to find ǵeš-gu<sub>3</sub>-di si-EZEN(-na/ma) for a fretted lute, as opposed to a non-fretted lute like the Arabic ‘ūd. Could si-EZEN in *Sulgi C*, 77 denote lute frets, but with the reading si sir<sub>3</sub>, literally “binding (parts)” or “bound (parts)”, instead?

32 PARROT 1958, 100 and plate XXIII; WRONSKI *et al.* 2010, 404, table 2; VERDERAME 2023b, 125.

blown in this painting, which incidentally occurs in a fragmentary context. Thus, a musical interpretation for this depiction should be considered hypothetical.<sup>33</sup>

The case of *si maš-da<sub>3</sub>* in NATN 855 must therefore remain open because of the scarcity of written allusions to this type of horn. Notwithstanding, the identification of *si maš-da<sub>3</sub>* as a musical instrument could be consistent, at least, from a cross-cultural perspective, as gazelle horns are used to make musical instruments in various cultures.<sup>34</sup>

At this point, it could be argued that Dada supervised roughly<sup>35</sup> 53 nar-musicians<sup>36</sup> using *a<sub>2</sub> tarah* horns and 96 nar-musicians equipped with a *si am*, among other musical instruments.<sup>37</sup> However, how were these horns distributed? In principle, *Našše A*, 44 suggests that the *a<sub>2</sub> tarah* horns have been destined to some chief musicians (nar-gal) under Dada's responsibility. Nevertheless, no allusion to chief musicians under Dada's responsibility is currently at hand. All that we know is that Dada supervised female<sup>38</sup> and, perhaps, male nar-musicians.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the nar-gal did not use to perform, but administrate a group of musicians and instruments.<sup>40</sup> It is safer to argue that the *a<sub>2</sub> tarah* horns were destined for the more experienced nar-musicians managed by Dada, taking gal as "(to be/make) big, great", even "mature."<sup>41</sup> In that case, one might assign the *si am* horns to the lesser-trained nar-musicians under the supervision of Dada.<sup>42</sup>

In favor of this proposal, there are fewer *a<sub>2</sub> tarah* than *si am* horns, and the *a<sub>2</sub> tarah* would be the longest among both aerophones. Musically speaking, the longer a pipe is, the more air it takes to blow through it and produce a proper sound. Blowing large wind instruments is, in principle, easier for those who already have played smaller instruments from the same family. For instance, nowadays, musicians often start playing the alto saxophone before playing the larger tenor saxophone.

33 Thus, STAUDER 1972-1975, 471.

34 MONTAGU 2014, 19, 50.

35 It cannot be excluded that a single musician could have received various horns with different sizes, so that (s)he could change horns if an exemplar could not stay in tune with other melodic instruments.

36 No gender distribution can be established, but horns were not necessarily restricted to men. Female horn players are documented in Hittite Anatolia (SCHUOL 2002, 133).

37 Cases like the one of King Sulgi, who mastered more than ten musical instruments in the words of *Sulgi B*, 154-174, could have been more ideal than real. However, the idea of a musician specialized in a single musical instrument is anyway quite modern.

38 AUCT 1, 942, obv. 5-rev. 1; BCT 2, 98, obv. 1-3; Kyoto 28, rev. 3-4; MVN 14, 450, obv. 1-3.

39 Two texts (BPOA 1, 601, obv. 1-4; Nisaba 15, 539, obv. 1-3) refer to *nar-e-ne* ("musicians"), in general, under his management. Dada sent cymbals (*se-em*) to a musician's house (*e<sub>2</sub>-nar-še<sub>3</sub>*; see NABU 2010, 33, obv. 4-rev. 3).

40 PRUZSINSZKY 2013, 34-35.

41 As said by ZIEGLER 2007, 9-10, the *nar-gal/nargallum* was mainly a music administrator, and not a performer. However, he should have been anyway a competent performer at some point in his life.

42 But not necessarily very young musicians (*nar-tur*). This term only appears in these Neo-Sumerian texts, none informing us about Dada's activities: BBVO 11, p. 217 6N-T190+, obv. iv 29; PPAC 5, 331, obv. ii 14; UET 3, 1113, obv. 2; UET 9, 1012, rev. 9'. The allusions to *nar-tur* in PPAC 5, 302, obv. i 6 and SAT 1, 118, obv. 7 seem to be rather personal names (*i.e.*, *Nar-tur*).

There are two reasons for arguing that the *a<sub>2</sub>* *tarah* would designate a longer musical tube. First, *a<sub>2</sub>* and *si* in Sumerian also mean “arm” and “horn” respectively,<sup>43</sup> so *a<sub>2</sub>* would denote a longer animal protuberance.<sup>44</sup> Second, *tarah* seems to have referred to the wild goat scientifically called *Capra aegagrus*, whose horns measure up to 100 cm. In turn, the Sumerian word *am* stands for the aurochs (*Bos primigenius primigenius*), an animal whose horns could measure between 50 and 80 cm.<sup>45</sup>

From the arguments presented here, it may be concluded that Dada could supervise up to 149 *nar*-musicians (and perhaps 239, if the 90 *si maš-da<sub>3</sub>* horns mentioned by NATN 855, obv. 4 were sound tools as well), to which an uncertain total number of *gala*-priests and other performers (e.g., jesters, *u<sub>4</sub>-da-tuš*) should be added. Indeed, thanks to the royal support, Dada would be a powerful individual in the state built by the rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur. In any case, Michałowski was correct to describe him as “an exceptional figure in the Ur III hierarchy”,<sup>46</sup> and similar cases would no longer be seen in Mesopotamia. From the Early Old Babylonian period onwards,<sup>47</sup> (chief) *nar/nāru(m)*-musicians would be those in charge of the *gala/kalū(m)*-priests, never on the contrary.<sup>48</sup>

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43 ATTINGER 2023, 106 and 1166.

44 This position sides with STEINKELLER 1995, 63 on the fact that *a<sub>2</sub>* and *si* should denote different things, at least, in terms of length or elaboration. Nonetheless, it also sees a point in CRISOSTOMO 2019, 371, as the distinction between a horn and an antler is not based on species or lengths, but rather on the material and shedding of the animal protuberance in question. See MODELL 1969, 114 for further comments.

45 GENOV, GEORGIEV, GEORGIEV 2009, 341; CHIPPING 2014, 9; LLADÓ SANTAEULARIA 2020, 40 n. 101, 44, 186-187, 197-198.

46 MICHAŁOWSKI 2006, 50.

47 ZIEGLER 2013, 67.

48 Thanks to Uri Gabbay for his comments on an earlier draft, to Manuel Molina for his orientations about *Vicino Oriente* 6, 10 and BDTNS 189625, to Jeffrey Charest for editing and offering further remarks to my manuscript before its submission to this journal, and to Jonathan Friedmann for helping me to compose this paper in decent English after implementing the remarks of two anonymous reviewers. I bear sole responsibility for the remaining errors and inaccuracies.

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