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GEOGRAPHY AS AN ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE IN THE IMPERIAL ART OF SHALMANESER III *

By MICHELLE I. MARCUS

The reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) has long been associated with three major monuments: the Bronze Gates from Balawat/Imgur-Enlil; the Throne Base from Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud; and the Black Obelisk also from Nimrud. Each of these works is carved with scenes of historical narrative, arranged in narrow bands, with the subject matter identified in short epigraphs usually at the top of each band. Each monument also preserves a longer inscription, recording the military activities of the king. Although reproductions and descriptions of the relief carvings, and translations of the accompanying inscriptions have been available for some time, art and text have not, as yet, been studied together. Yet these three monuments comprise the primary visual sources available for the reign of Shalmaneser,¹ as we lack any of the large-scale architectural reliefs of historical narrative that characterize the palace decoration of his father, Assurnasirpal II, and later Assyrian kings.² For this reason, it seems particularly

* This study is based on a seminar report presented by the author in 1983 in a course on Neo-Assyrian art taught by Irene J. Winter at the University of Pennsylvania. I am grateful to the other members of the seminar, particularly Nadav Na'aman and John Russell, for their suggestions along the way. I owe special thanks to Dr. Winter for her consistent, unique direction, encouragement and friendship over many years; and to Edith Porada, who taught me about style and how to look at art with a critical eye in an earlier seminar at Columbia University. Thanks also to Peter Evangelides and Philip Marcus for their kind assistance with the charts in Figs. 1 *a* and *b*.

¹ Other works of art of Shalmaneser III are known, but they do not show scenes of historical narrative. For example: fragments of wall paintings from Fort Shalmaneser, preserving a fish-cloaked genius and parts of a sacred tree (D. Oates, "Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1962", *Iraq* 25 (1963), 29–30; it is unclear whether painted fragments of officers in procession belong to the reign of Shalmaneser or, as is more likely, to the period of restoration of the fortress by Esarhaddon: D. Oates, "Fort Shalmaneser—An Interim Report", *Iraq* 21 (1950), 119; see, however, I. J. Winter, "Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs", *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (1981), 23); a glazed brick panel from Fort Shalmaneser (J. E. Reade, "A Glazed Brick Panel from Nimrud", *Iraq* 25 (1963), 38–47, Pl. IX); rock carvings (most recently, on the west bank of the Euphrates in Turkey, in O. A. Taşyürek, "A Rock Relief of Shalmaneser III on the Euphrates", *Iraq* 41 (1979), 47–53, Pls. XV–XVI); and free-standing sculptures of the king (e.g., the Kurkh Monolith (BM 118884, in S. Smith, *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib* (London, 1938), Pl. I); the Kurba'il Statue from Nimrud (IM), in J. V. Kinnier-

Wilson, "The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III", *Iraq* 24 (1962), 90–115).

Further, there are traces of a monumental building, perhaps a palace, built by Shalmaneser in the centre area of the Nimrud citadel, where Layard found part of a pair of winged bull colossi, inscribed with a text of Shalmaneser; the Black Obelisk; and several stone slabs, of which the lower part preserved "sculpted gigantic figures, carrying the usual square vessel and sacred flower (A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, Vol. II (London, 1848), 25). The site, now called Shalmaneser's Building, has since been investigated by a Polish mission, under the direction of R. Sobolewski ("The Shalmaneser Building in the Central Area of the Nimrud Citadel", *AfO*, Beiheft 19 (1982), 329–40). Although other relief carvings of genies, and undecorated stone slabs have been discovered in the new excavations, no findings of orthostats with scenes of historical narrative have been reported.

² See esp. Winter, *Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), 2–38, for a discussion (with definitions) of narrative in general, with special emphasis on the throneroom reliefs from the Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud. Winter's work on Assurnasirpal's reliefs has stimulated many of my ideas on the art of Shalmaneser, and first inspired me to examine his monuments with the question of programme in mind. For a case study of narrative in Sumerian art, now see id., "After the Battle Is Over: The *Stele of the Vultures* and the Beginning of Historical Narrative in the Art of the Ancient Near East", in H. L. Kessler and M. S. Simpson, eds., *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1985), 11–34. Earlier studies of pictorial narrative include H. G. Güterbock, "Narration in Anatolian, Syrian and Assyrian Art", *AJA* 61 (1957), 62–71; and A. Perkins, "Narration in Babylonian Art", *AJA* 61 (1957), 54–62.

worthwhile to reexamine the monuments here. In fact, when all three works are studied as a unit—the images together with their accompanying texts and the many other royal inscriptions available—they become highly valuable sources of information for this period.

Specifically, I intend to examine each work in chronological order of production with the following questions in mind: Was the imagery consciously selected to follow a preconceived visual programme? If so, what were the intended messages of that programme? Can they be tied to contemporary historical events? And, finally, what is the relationship between the artwork and the accompanying text? I aim to demonstrate that the selected imagery of each work responds directly to specific political and economic policies of the king.

* * *

The decorated bronze strips which ornamented the famous Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser, discovered by H. Rassam in 1878 at Balawat, 28 km southeast of Nineveh, were constructed around the eleventh year of the king's rule, 848 B.C. (Plates XVI–XIX).³ Ever since E. Unger's early, convincing reconstruction of the doors in 1912,⁴ scholars have attempted to determine if the narrative follows a chronological or geographical order. To date, no such programme has been determined. Instead, the sequence has been explained from an aesthetic point of view.⁵ However, upon reconsidering the evidence, I would argue for a conscious *geographical* ordering of the narrative bands, assuming, of course, that Unger's original reconstruction is correct.⁶

The present interpretation of the Gate decoration depends first on identifying the scenes carved on bands O and P—both fragmentary strips divided among several

³ Bands I–XIII (BM 12465–124663) publ. in L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria B.C. 860–825* (London, 1915; henceforth *BG*). The remaining bands, N (= *BG*, band IX), O and P, are divided between Istanbul, the Louvre, the British Museum, Boston, Baltimore, and (formerly) the de Clercq collection: illustr. in E. Unger, *Die Wiederherstellung des Bronzetores von Balawat* (*Arch. Inst. des Deutschen Reichs, Ath. Mitt.* 44, 1920), Pls. I, II. (See also: H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod* (New York, 1897), 200–20; W. de Gray Birch and T. G. Pinches, *The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat* (London, 1902); E. Unger, *Zum Bronzetor von Balawat* (Leipzig, 1912); H. G. Güterbock, *AJA* 61 (1957), 67–8, Pl. 22; D. Oates, "Balawat (Imgur Enlil): The Site and its Buildings", *Iraq* 36 (1974), 173–8; and J. E. Reade, "Narrative Composition in Assyrian Sculpture", *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), 64–9, 70–2. The date of the gate is commonly based on the visual reference in band XIII to the campaign in Aštamaku (*BG*, Pls. LXXII–LXXVII), dated in the annals to year 11 (annals inscription IM 54669: G. G. Cameron, "The Annals of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria: A New Text", *Sumer* 6 (1950), col. III.1).

⁴ *Zum Bronzetor von Balawat* and *Ath. Mitt.* 44 (1920), 96, based on the assumption that the door posts, cut from tree trunks, tapered slightly towards the top so that the greater the circumference of that part of the band

encircling the door post, the lower the original placement of the band on the gates. Unger's reconstruction is followed by Güterbock, *AJA* 61 (1957), Pl. 22, and Reade, *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), 71. R. D. Barnett follows another, unexplained scheme (*Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, London, 1960, 25). The present reconstruction in the British Museum, arranged by Barnett, follows still another system (see Reade, loc. cit., 71 note 45). Although Unger's reconstruction is convincing, the problem still needs some future thought, since the post-circumference of some of the damaged bands is not known, especially bands N and P.

⁵ D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. 1 (Chicago, 1927; henceforth, *ARAB*), § 614; Güterbock, *AJA* 61 (1957), Pl. 22; Reade, *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), 71.

⁶ Such a system is especially intriguing in light of Winter's study of the throneroom reliefs of Assurnasirpal II, in which was demonstrated the pre-existence of a highly selective decorative programme (*Studies in Vis. Com.* 7 (1981), 2–38). Winter has even entertained the notion of a geographical arrangement of the reliefs around the throneroom, but the evidence is incomplete (*ibid.*, 19–20). Nonetheless, it is the concept of a conscious decorative programme in the reliefs of Assurnasirpal II, in general, that sets the precedent for a similar situation in the art of Shalmaneser III.

collections, now missing their original epigraphs⁷—with campaigns in the west. While an unexplained diagram by J. E. Reade associates band O with activities in the south,⁸ presumably because the type of trees shown is common in Babylonian scenery (cf. Plate XVI *b*), an equally likely candidate is Bit Adini in northern Syria to judge from correspondences with descriptions in the annals of Shalmaneser.⁹ Specifically, the verbal account mentions crossing the Euphrates, as shown, and cutting down orchards, also depicted since the trees are represented *not* as features in the landscape, but as items being carried away by the Assyrian forces. With regard to band P, the garments worn by the enemy correspond to standard dress for individuals from the west in labelled scenes,¹⁰ and certain typical eastern signifiers are absent, such as mountainous terrain, and Urartian-type shields with bosses and crested helmets (cf. Plate XVII *b*). As for the particular campaign depicted in band P, Reade has suggested the confrontation in Shalmaneser's sixth year (853 B.C.) at Qarqar in Hamath in southern Syria—perhaps because the watercourse represented would suit that site's location on the Orontes River.¹¹ However, as this episode is not associated in the annals with the erection of a stele,¹² also shown, and given Shalmaneser's penchant for recording such an event,¹³ a more likely candidate is the expedition either to Mount Amanus "at the sources of the Saluara River," or to the Mediterranean seacoast, since each event qualifies on both accounts—water and stele.¹⁴

Given the above qualifications, the bronze bands can then be grouped into distinct geographical units. This division is illustrated in Fig. 1 *a*, which shows Unger's arrangement of the bands, and where and when the campaigns they represent took place.¹⁵ It can then be seen that campaigns in Urartu and north-

⁷ De Clercq, Schlumberger, Istanbul: illus. in Unger, *Ash. Mitt.* 44 (1920), Pl. II.

⁸ *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), 71.

⁹ *ARAB*, §§ 608, 620. There are various editions of the annals of Shalmaneser. In general, the most reliable and most complete edition is the one most contemporary to the event recorded; on this, see Olmstead's seminal article, *Assyrian Historiography: A Source Study* (New York, 1916); and now L. D. Levine, "Manuscripts, Texts, and the Study of the Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions", in F. M. Fales, ed., *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in literary, ideological, and historical analysis* (Papers of a symposium held in Cetona (Siena); Rome, 1981), 59–61. The various editions of Shalmaneser's annals are reviewed by Schramm, *EAK* II, 70–90.

It was Winter's argument for correspondence between the reliefs of Assurnasirpal II and the wording of his annals (*Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), 14–15) that inspired me to look at Shalmaneser's annals for clues to identifying bands O and P of the Balawat gate.

¹⁰ E.g., *BG*, Pl. XXXIV = band VI. See also Winter, *Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), 15; M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrischer neassyrischer Darstellungen (Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, No. 26; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975).

¹¹ *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), 71. On the battle at Qarqar, see the references in N. Na'aman, "Two Notes on the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III from Kurkh",

Tell Aviv 3 (1976), note 18, p. 97. To these may be added: W. W. Hallo, "From Qarqar to Carchemish: Assyria and Israel in the Light of New Discoveries", *BA* 23 (1960), 34–41; M. C. Astour, "The Partition of the Confederacy of Mukiš-Nuhašše-Nii by Suppiluliuma: A Study in Political Geography of the Amarna Age", *Or.* 38 (1969), 412; J. A. Brinkman, "A Further Note on the Date of the Battle of Qarqar and Neo-Assyrian Chronology", *JCS* 30 (1978), 173–5. The Assyrian city of Qarqar may now be identified with the site of excavations by the American School of Oriental Research at Tell Qarqar in the Orontes Valley, Syria: J. M. Lunnquist, "Damascus: Iron II Found at Tell Qarqar", *ASOR Newsletter* 35 (1984), 1–3.

¹² Cf., *ARAB*, § 611.

¹³ E.g., *ARAB*, §§ 600, 601, 606. See also Na'aman, *Tell Aviv* 3 (1976), 89–97.

¹⁴ Cf., *ARAB*, § 600.

¹⁵ Unger, *Ath. Mitt.* 44 (1920), 96. Also based on the following, additional sources: tables in King, *BG*, 9 (= *ARAB*, § 613), Güterbock, *AJA* 61 (1957), Pl. 22, and Reade, *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), 91; a map showing the location of ninth century sites in the west, in H. Tadmor, "Azriyau of Yaudi", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1961), 242; discussions of geography in E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920), S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Neukirchen, 1970);

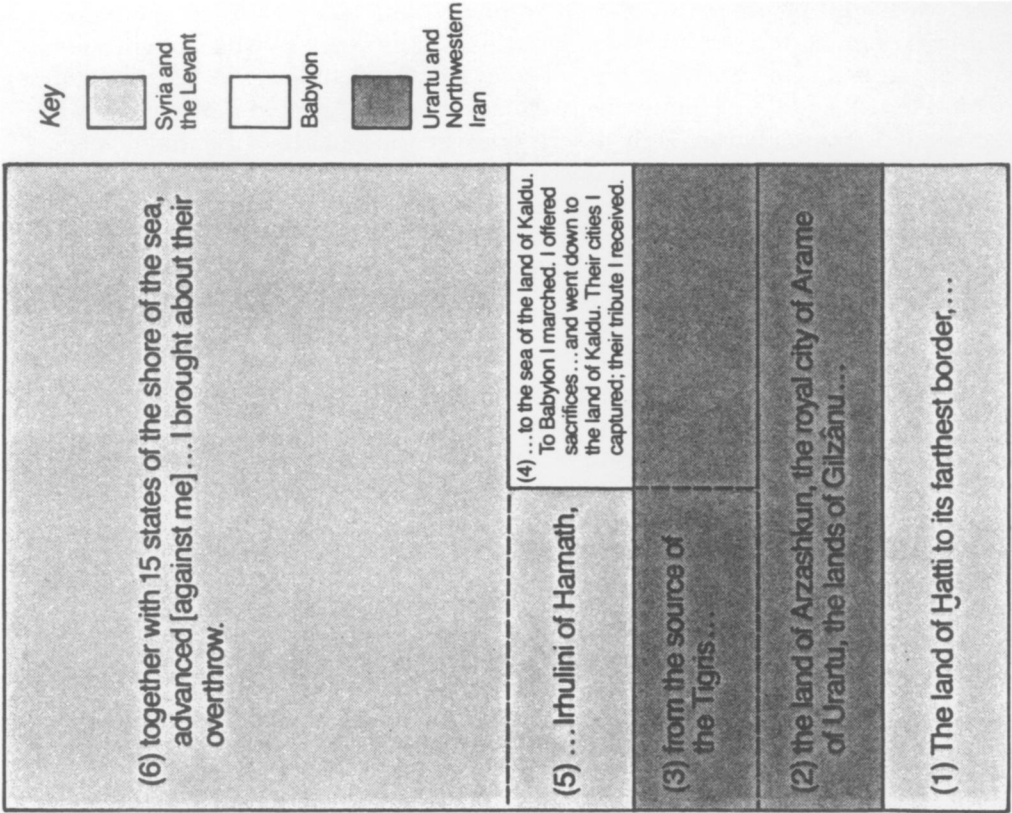


Fig. 1b. Inscription from the Source of the Tigris (from ARAB, par. 686)

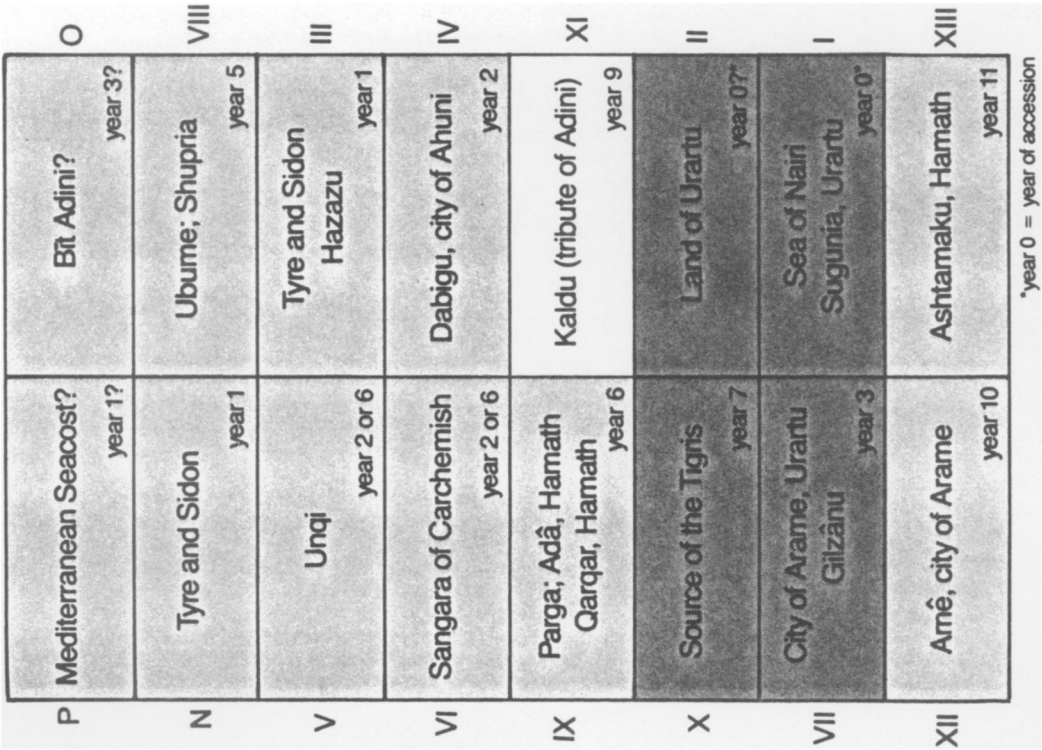


Fig. 1a. Reconstruction of the Bronze Gates (see note 18 above for sources)

western Iran are clustered together near the bottom of the Gate, and most of the campaigns in Syria and the Levant are grouped together in the upper half. One should also note references to expeditions at the extremities of the empire: at Babylon in the south (Plate XVI *b*); at the source of the Tigris in the north (Plate XVII *a*); at Gilzanu (near Lake Urmia) in the east (Plate XVII *b*);¹⁶ and at the Mediterranean seacoast in the west.

In general, this clustering of geographically related campaigns, as well as the interest in delineating borders, brings to mind the basic structure of Assyrian so-called display or summary texts, which are distinguished from annals precisely by their *geographical* rather than *chronological* ordering of military events.¹⁷ More important, the particular sequence of campaigns represented on the Gates, when read from bottom to top, is strikingly similar to that given in the summary inscription of Shalmaneser from the source of the Tigris.¹⁸ These correspondences are shown in Fig. 1 *b*. The structural parallels between image and text illustrated in Fig. 1 *b* suggest that the decoration on the Bronze Gates was consciously designed to serve as a visual summary of the extent of Assyrian control in all four compass directions.

It is further tempting to draw parallels between certain pervasive artistic motifs on the Gate, namely Assyrians crossing mountains in chariots, on horseback, and on foot pulling their horses behind them (e.g., Plate XVIII *a*), and common literary metaphors for the role of the king as extender of the empire—for example, in the introduction of Shalmaneser's Monolith Inscription, in which he is described as the one "who finds (his way among) the most difficult paths, who treads the summits of mountains and highlands far and near, . . . who opens up trails, north and south (above and below)."¹⁹ I would suggest that the visual references to struggling over mountains and crossing difficult paths may have functioned not only as simple devices for telling the story, but also perhaps as highly charged emblems of Assyrian expansion. In this view, the decoration on the Gates may be read on various levels (from that of overall format down to specific visual details) as a conscious statement of the extent of Assyrian power in Shalmaneser's eleventh year.

It is interesting that the examples of parallelism between text and image pertain to the summary inscriptions of Shalmaneser and to selected motifs in an early edition of his annals, but not to the long text which originally accompanied the imagery on the Gate.²⁰ This observation is especially significant in light of I. J. Winter's findings

and for regions in the east, L. Levine, *Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros* (Toronto, 1974); and, finally, the general order of campaigns in the annals, especially in the Monolith Inscription, recording events up to year 6 (*ARAB*, §§ 595–611), and the Bronze Gate inscription (*ARAB*, §§ 616–25; more recently published, with notes in E. Michel, "Die Assur-texte Salmanassars III (858–824); Balawat Inschrift", *WO* 2, 5/6 (1959), 408–17; id., *WO* 4, 1 (1967), 29–37).

¹⁶ On the identification of Gilzanu see: Levine, *Geographical Studies*, 120; Reade, "Hasanlu, Gilzanu and Related Considerations", *AMI* 12 (1979), 175–8.

¹⁷ I am grateful to Nadav Na'aman for reminding me

of this aspect of summary texts. See A. K. Grayson, "History and Historians of the Ancient Near East: Assyria and Babylonia", *Or.* N.S. 49 (1980), 150–5.

¹⁸ *ARAB*, §§ 685–92, esp. 686 and 690; see also C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Berlin, 1907).

¹⁹ *ARAB*, § 596.

²⁰ The text was engraved on two bands which originally ran vertically down the juncture between the two doors: *ARAB*, §§ 616–25, and, more recently: Michel, *WO* 2, 5/6 (1959); *WO* 4, 1 (1967), 29–37.

among the throneroom reliefs from the Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud of a high degree of parallelism between text and image on a single slab.²¹ The puzzling discrepancy on the Bronze Gates may be attributed, I believe, to different intentions behind the creation of the inscription on the one hand, and the sculptural decoration on the other. Specifically, the text is a chronological record of selected events up to Shalmaneser's ninth year, presumably excerpted from an edition of his annals written in that year to commemorate the expedition to Babylon.²² Few of the events mentioned coincide with those in the visual record. And, the annalistic or chronological tradition of record-keeping behind the text contrasts with what has been proposed above to be a summary or geographical tradition behind the art. Far from paralleling each other, the text and image seem to *complement* each other, such that the imagery fills in gaps in the historical account, and brings it more up to date.

In order for the narrative on the Gates to follow truly the order of events given in the summary inscriptions, it should be read from bottom to top. This reading is supported by older narrative traditions in Mesopotamia, such as on the famous Warka Vase, Standard of Ur, and Stele of the Vultures.²³ However, it contrasts with the sequence on some of the slabs from the throneroom of Assurnasirpal, as, for example, in the hunt scenes, where the slaying takes place in the upper register and the subsequent ceremonial libation is depicted below.²⁴

Thus far, I have attempted to demonstrate that the imagery on the Gates was organized geographically, and was read as a summary of the extent of Assyrian power. In addition, one may detect another, more specific message contained in this programme, dealing with Assyrian affairs in Babylon and in the west. By virtue of their central position on the Gate, the campaigns in Hamath and Babylon are especially highlighted (Fig. 1 *a*; Plates XVIII *b*, XVI *b*). However, even greater emphasis is given to campaigns in the west by the sheer number of bands with western settings (ten or eleven out of the sixteen bands), and by their placement in the upper half of the Gate (e.g., Plates XVIII *b*, XIX *a*, *b*). This level of analysis is supported by recent studies in semiotics, especially by M. Schapiro, who has articulated the visual priority of the upper part of a field with superimposed registers.²⁵ And if, as already suggested, the narrative was meant to be read from bottom to top, the western campaigns would have been the final and hence climactic scenes of the narrative, much like the final scenes in images of the life of Christ in the portal sculptures of Medieval churches were placed at the top.²⁶

The intended messages of the Gate decoration suggested above (the overall extent of Assyrian power, with special emphasis on forces in Babylon and in the west) can

²¹ Winter, *Studies in Vis. Comm.*, 7 (1981), 14–21, 34 note 18.

²² *ARAB*, §§ 616–25. See also Cameron, *Sumer* 6 (1950), 7.

²³ While the reading of the Standard of Ur is relatively straight forward, the Warka Vase and the Stele of the Vultures present more difficulty—but they too, have been convincingly read from bottom to top; cf. Winter, “After the Battle is Over . . .”, 19; see also idem, *Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), 11–12. The images are published

in A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (London, 1969): Warka Vase, Pl. 19; Standard, Pl. 260; Stele, Pls. 118–121 = Winter, “After the Battle is Over . . .”, Figs. 1–2.

²⁴ Winter, *Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), figs. 4, 5, slabs 19a, 19b, p. 14.

²⁵ M. Schapiro, “On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image-Signs”, *Semiotica* 1 (1969), 230–1.

²⁶ Ibid, 231.

be correlated directly with Shalmaneser's military activities, especially around his eleventh year (848 B.C.), when the Gates were constructed. In general, his policy was one of indefinite expansion on all fronts, motivated presumably by economic considerations, particularly the desire to control important trade routes east and west.²⁷ It would then seem clear that a decorative programme focusing on Assyrian activities in all directions responds to this specific policy. Further, in order to maintain her monopoly of trade with the east, Assyria depended on good relations with Babylon, who could control the traffic along a southerly route.²⁸ The political importance of Babylon might explain the visual importance given to that band showing tribute from the south; that is, as a sign of Assyrian might in Babylon and, hence, of her access to the eastern trade routes, as well as, presumably, to the southern routes leading to the Persian Gulf. Moreover, as Balawat was situated directly on a major route from Nineveh to Babylon, the latter might have acquired a further level of significance at Balawat.²⁹

In the west, Shalmaneser continued his father's policy of reaching the sea, but his efforts in this direction were met with far greater resistance than those in the east.³⁰ The important western routes, leading to the principle sources of iron and silver in Asia Minor, were in the hands of the powerful states of north and south Syria.³¹ Hence, Shalmaneser concentrated his efforts in the west.³² Similarly, western campaigns dominate the decorative scheme of the Gates. It seems tenable, then, to view the political and visual programmes as highly interrelated. Moreover, just prior to the construction of the Gates in his eleventh year, Shalmaneser was having particular trouble with the south Syrian states, which confronted him repeatedly at Qarqar in Hamath in years 6 (853), 10 (849), and 11 (848).³³ This situation may explain, perhaps, the important placement of the battle scene in Hamath at the centre of the Gate. Still further, as there are historical indications that Shalmaneser may not have been as successful at Qarqar as he claims,³⁴ we should probably view

²⁷ See W. G. Lambert, "The Reigns of Assurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, An Interpretation", *Iraq* 36 (1974), 108; H. Tadmor, "Assyria and the West: The Ninth Century and its Aftermath", in H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts, eds., *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (Baltimore, 1975), 36–40; and L. Levine, "East-West Trade in the Late Iron Age: A View from the Zagros", *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique: leurs relations à la lumière des documents archéologiques* (Colloques internationaux du C. N. R. S., 567, Paris, 1977), 173–6.

²⁸ Levine, "East-West Trade . . .", 176. Assyrian trade with the east along the northerly route seems to have been flourishing in this period, if we can judge by the evidence from Hasanlu IVB in northwestern Iran, excavated by a joint team of the University of Pennsylvania, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Archaeological Service of Iran, under the general direction of R. H. Dyson, Jr. See O. W. Muscarella, *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran* (Philadelphia, 1980), Cat. Nos. 280–293 ("Assyrian Ivories"), pp. 200–2, 210–17. For a general bibliography of the Hasanlu excavations, see R. H. Dyson, "Problems of Protohistoric Iran as Seen

from Hasanlu", *JNES* 24 (1965), 213–17.

²⁹ I owe this observation to an unpublished seminar report by John Russell, given at the University of Pennsylvania, 1981. On the geography of Balawat, see Oates, *Iraq* 36 (1974), 173–4.

³⁰ See Hallo, *BA* 23, (1960), 37–41; Tadmor, *Scr. Hier.* 8 (1961), 239–46; Lambert, *Iraq* 36 (1974), 108; Tadmor, "Assyria and the West . . .", 36–40; Levine, "East-West Trade . . .", 175–6.

³¹ On the political structure of the Syrian states, see especially Tadmor, *Scr. Hier.* 8 (1961), 239–48.

³² See, e.g., the Monolith Inscription: *ARAB*, §§ 600–10, with its concentration on campaigns in the west.

³³ For year 6: Monolith Inscription, *ARAB*, § 611; for years 10 and 11: IM 54669, Cameron, *Sumer* 6 (1950), col. II. 61–7, III. 4–9. See also Brinkman, *JCS* 30 (1978), 173–5, and note 20 above.

³⁴ Including the fact that he fought the same alliance in his tenth (849), eleventh (848), and fourteenth (845) years. See Hallo, *Bibl. Arch.* 23 (1960), 40; M. Elat, "The Campaigns of Shalmaneser against Aram and Israel", *IEJ* 25 (1975), 25–9; Tadmor, "Assyria and the West . . .", 36.

the imagery of victory as propaganda on the part of the king to create an illusion of Assyrian strength in southern Syria.³⁵ In the end, then, it is in the context of Shalmaneser's foreign affairs that we may best understand the decorative programme of the Balawat Gates.³⁶

* * *

Many of the above interpretations of the decoration on the Bronze Gates—particularly the notions of a geographical scheme, and a complementary relationship between image and accompanying text—are supported by what seem to have been similar intentions behind the imagery carved about two years later (year 13, 846 B.C.) on the limestone Throne Base from Fort Shalmaneser, discovered in 1962 in a shallow niche at the east end of the throne room (Plate XX).³⁷ Most important here is the division between tributaries from the western border of the empire (Unqu = Patina, in the 'Amuq)³⁸ on the northern side of the dais, and those from the southern border (Babylon) on the southern side of the Base (Plate XX *b, c*).³⁹ It is this opposition of territorial extremities that allows one to read the Throne Base, like the Gates, as a statement of the extent of imperial power, in this case in only two directions. Further, tribute from Unqi, being situated at the westernmost tip of a corridor leading to northern Syria and southern Anatolia, would have been an especially potent symbol of Assyrian control in the west and of her access to the vital metal resources in Asia Minor.⁴⁰ The visual message would have been reinforced by the physical presence of the king enthroned at the centre of the dais, above and between the reliefs of tributaries advancing towards him from the ends of his empire.

³⁵ In her discussions of both the throneroom reliefs of Assurnasirpal and the Sumerian Stele of the Vultures, Winter has articulated this "affective" property of art, especially state art, whereby monuments are "active agents in projecting particular responses in reception" ("After the Battle is Over . . .", 28); and *Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), esp. 21–22, where the overall message of the battle reliefs of Assurnasirpal (the king's role in maintaining Assyrian power through military conquest and tribute) are described as "propaganda, designed to manipulate social forces." See also, in general, J. E. Reade, "Ideology and Propaganda in Assyrian Art", in M. T. Larsen, ed., *Power and Propaganda* (Copenhagen, 1979), 329–43.

³⁶ Although speculative, it is tempting to consider the intended audience of the gate imagery, and its role in the visual plan. We know from the gate of Assurnasirpal II, also discovered at Balawat, that Shalmaneser's father collected tribute at this site from as far west as Suhi on the middle Euphrates; this is clear from one particular band on which the tributaries and the temple are labelled (J. Oates, "Balawat: Recent Excavations and a New Gate", in P. O. Harper and H. Pittman, eds., *Essays on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in Honor of Charles Kyrle Wilkinson* (New York, 1983), Fig. 5, pp. 44–5). If we may apply this evidence to the reign of Shalmaneser and suggest that he, too, collected tribute from the west at Balawat (despite its location east of Nimrud), it would be tempting to view the decoration

on his Gate, with its concentration on victories in the west, as having been coded specifically for a western audience.

³⁷ Iraq Museum. Excavations were conducted by the British Institute of Archaeology in Iraq under the direction of D. Oates. The major publications include: D. Oates, "The Most Spectacular Discovery to be Made in Fort Shalmaneser: The King's Throne Base and its Vivid Reliefs", *ILN* (Dec. 1, 1962), 879–81, including dimensions and archaeological context; idem, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 10–16, Pls. II–VII; P. Hulin, "The Inscriptions on the Carved Throne-Base of Shalmaneser III", *Iraq* 25 (1963), 48–69; M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, Vol. II (London, 1966; henceforth *N&R II*), 444–50, Figs. 369–71 of base *in situ* and details of relief carvings. Further discussion may be found in J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158–722 B.C.* (Rome, 1968), 196–202. The date of the Base has been derived from the long inscription on the upper surface, which refers to the thirteenth crossing of the Euphrates: Hulin, *op. cit.*, 53, 1.34. Mallowan incorrectly states that the throne base was carved *before* the Bronze Gates (*N&R II*, 450).

³⁸ Patina is the correct reading for Hattina: Tadmor, "Assyria and the West . . .", 45 note 10.

³⁹ The tributaries are identified in epigraphs along the upper edge of each panel: Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 11.48–49.

⁴⁰ Tadmor, "Assyria and the West . . .", 37–8.

With the king (or throne) thus marking the “symbolic centre” of Assyria, the whole package—Base and Throne together—truly becomes, in Winter’s words, “a microcosm of the state”.⁴¹

As on the Balawat Gates, Assyrian affairs in Babylon occupy a central place in the decorative scheme on the Base. In this case, there is shown a meeting between Shalmaneser and Marduk-zakir-šumi, whom the Assyrian king helped to confirm on the throne in Babylon (Plate XXI *a, b*).⁴² While this scene has generally been interpreted in the past as showing the Babylonian king paying homage before Shalmaneser,⁴³ clearly the two rulers should be seen as allies.⁴⁴ They are shown of equal size, clasping hands, each dressed in the particular costume of his state,⁴⁵ and each accompanied by three arms-bearers.⁴⁶ As discussed previously, an alliance with Babylon was vital for Assyrian access to a southerly trade route to the east. In this context, one may best understand why Shalmaneser might have chosen to decorate his Throne Base with a scene which credits him with placing a king friendly to Assyria on the throne in Babylon.

It is possible to identify the narrative scenes on the north and south sides of the Base (tribute from Qalparunda of Unqi/Patina, and from Mušallim-Marduk and Adini of Babylon respectively) with actual *dated* campaigns based on correspondences between the items of tribute represented in the reliefs, and those recorded in tribute lists in the annals. According to the most contemporary editions of his annals, Shalmaneser had taken tribute three times from Unqi/Patina by his thirteenth year: in years 2 (857), 6 (853), and 11 (848).⁴⁷ The tribute items in the relief most closely

⁴¹ Winter, *Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), 20.

⁴² Detail of panel published in *N&R II*, p. 447. The subject is identified in a short, separate inscription (or epigraph) carved along the rear border of the base: Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 55, 11.45–47, where, however, the short text is considered as part of the main inscription (cf. *ibid.*, folding plate opposite p. 69). For a review and interpretation of the historical evidence, see Brinkman, *Political History*, 196–202.

⁴³ E.g., Oates, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 22; *N&R*, 446.

⁴⁴ Also noted by Brinkman (*Political History*, p. 196 note 1199), and Reade (“Ideology and Propaganda in Assyrian Art”, 333). For corroborating, textual evidence of an alliance between Assyria and Babylon in this period, see Brinkman, *loc. cit.*, 193 and note 1198. Also see M. Munn-Rankin, “Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millennium B.C.”, *Iraq* 18 (1956), 86, on the phraseology regarding treaties and the shaking of hands.

The Babylonian king is *not* dressed in Assyrian garb (“to show dependence to Assyria”), as Oates has stated (*ILN* (Dec. 1, 1962), 879). The differences in costume may be summarized as follows:

<i>Babylonian king (facing right)</i>	<i>Assyrian king (facing left)</i>
pointed hat	cylindrical fez with triangular cone on top
waist length(?) hair	shoulder-length hair
plain headband	ribbing along edge of headband

no bands extending down back	bands extending down back
no volutes on scabbard	volutas on scabbard
robe split in front	robe overlaps in front
tabs at edge of robe	fringes at edges
no embroidery at hem or belt	embroidery at hem and belt
hem of outer robe ends above under-tunic	hem of outer robe reaches ankles
—	slightly taller staff (perhaps, in this one case, intended to give Shalmaneser some degree of visual priority)

⁴⁵ The representation of officials in Neo-Assyrian reliefs, including the possible relationship between the rank of an individual and his costume, scale, position before the king, and gesture, among other attributes, is the subject of my M.A. thesis (*A Study of Types of Officials in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs: Their Identifying Attributes and their Possible Relationship to a Bureaucratic Hierarchy*, Columbia University, 1981).

⁴⁷ Hulin has previously compiled this information (*Iraq* 25 (1963), notes to 1.48, p. 65). For years 2 and 6, see the Monolith Inscription: *ARAB*, §§ 600, 610 (for Hattina, now read Patina; see note 38 above). For year 11 see annals IM 54669: Cameron, *Sumer* 6 (1950), col.III.12–15.

match the tribute list for the last occurrence.⁴⁸ The collection of tribute from Babylon can be securely dated to year 9 (850), following Shalmaneser's aid to Marduk-zakir-šumi, in year 8.⁴⁹ It is interesting that these three campaigns represent the last three non-aggressive expeditions conducted by Shalmaneser just prior to the construction of the dais. In these instances, tribute is collected or Assyrian assistance is offered, but no battles are fought. It is tempting to suggest that the more aggressive campaigns of years 10 and 13⁵⁰ were deliberately *edited out* of the decorative programme in order to convey a message of political and economic stability based on easy access to foreign resources, and cooperation with Babylon.⁵¹

The notion that Shalmaneser *deliberately* chose to decorate his dais with tribute scenes instead of battle scenes is supported by evidence in his written records. As H. Tadmor has noted, Shalmaneser's annals are mainly concerned with "economic and material gains: numbers of cities conquered, and quantities of metals and other commodities received as booty and tribute".⁵² This commercial focus contrasts with the accounts of the military exploits of Assurnasirpal II, which "enumerate those massacred, impaled, burnt, and taken captive".⁵³ Similarly, the architectural reliefs of Assurnasirpal concentrate primarily on the sheer military power of the king.⁵⁴ Even the chosen titulature of Assurnasirpal describes his role as "... ferocious predator, conqueror of cities ...,"⁵⁵ as opposed to the epithets employed by Shalmaneser, which, as discussed previously, stress his role as extender of the empire.⁵⁶ There seems, then, to have been a consistent pattern of change in the focus of the historical narratives in art and annals, and in the definition of kingship between the reigns of father and son. Such evidence suggests an actual change in political priorities during the reign of Shalmaneser—from Assurnasirpal's intention (as one of the first to establish Assyria as a territorial empire) to impress his neighbours with his military power, to a new focus on extending Assyria's access to important resources and in acquiring foreign goods.

It is further tempting to relate the focus of the dais reliefs on the collection of tribute to the original context of the monument in Fort Shalmaneser. This building has been identified, albeit on the basis of later evidence, as an *ekal māšarti* or a storehouse for horses, military equipment, and precisely the kind of booty and tribute represented on the Throne Base (cf. Plate XX *b, c*).⁵⁷ The question then

⁴⁸ Silver, gold, tin, horses, cattle, sheep, blue wool, woollen and linen garments.

⁴⁹ Bronze Gate annals inscription: *ARAB*, § 623.

⁵⁰ Cameron, *Sumer* 6 (1950), col.II.55–7, III.21–3.

⁵¹ Cf. the battle scenes decorating the throne base of Sargon II (G. Loud, *Khorsabad I: Excavations in the Palace and at a City Gate* (OIP 38; Chicago, 1936), 66, Figs. 79, 80), conveying a very different message about Assyrian military power.

⁵² "Assyria and the West ...", 36; see, e.g., *ARAB*, § 601.

⁵³ Tadmor, "Assyria and the West ...", 36; see, e.g., A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions 2* (Wiesbaden, 1976), §§ 573, 579.

⁵⁴ E.g., Winter, *Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), Figs. 2, 6, 7, 10, 13, and pp. 2–38, where it is argued that this

development is tied to the expansion of the empire in the ninth century B.C.

⁵⁵ Grayson, *ARI*, 2, § 652. Winter has discussed the extended titulary of Assurnasirpal, noting its parallelism with the roles of the king represented in the throneroom reliefs, and even with the organization of the images (*Studies in Vis. Comm.* 7 (1981), 21–2).

⁵⁶ See p. 81 above.

⁵⁷ Shalmaneser simply refers to the building as an *ekallu* (É.GAL), palace: J. Laessle, "A Statue of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud", *Iraq* 21 (1959), 38, 1.1; Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 52, 1.1). It is called an *ekal* (É.GAL) *māšarti* by Esarhaddon (R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (AfO Beiheft 9; Graz, 1956), 34, 1.42), who records that he rebuilt the *ekal māšarti* of Shalmaneser at Kalah, and also by Sennacherib (D. D.

arises whether the imagery was coded specifically for the building in which the monument stood.

Finally, we find a similar discrepancy between the information presented in the reliefs and that recorded in the main text on the upper surface of the dais, as that observed on the Bronze Gates. The text and imagery each refers to a different set of campaigns, so that they *complement* each other once again. Specifically, the main inscription mentions selected activities of Shalmaneser up to his thirteenth year, but concentrates on the battles in his earlier years; the art, on the other hand, seems to focus on more contemporary events, as argued immediately above. And furthermore, while the collection of tribute is featured in the relief carvings, it is not once mentioned in the long inscription.

It will be noted, in sum, that there are certain consistencies between the decoration on the Throne Base and the Bronze Gates. First, the imagery on both monuments would seem to follow a conscious programme which called for the geographical arrangement of the narrative. And second, in each case, the programme seems to contain more than one message. On one level, the monuments may each be read as summaries of the extent of Assyrian power. This message is correlated with Shalmaneser's military policy of indefinite expansion on all fronts. Other messages seem to be monument-specific: the Gate decoration focuses on power in the west and in Babylon, the dais on access to foreign raw materials and goods. These more specific messages may be tied to particular events just prior to the construction of each work; but may equally be related to the original architectural context of the piece. Finally, for each monument, we have noted a complementary rather than parallel relationship between text and image.

* * *

Interestingly, many of the above observations also pertain to the Black Obelisk, erected in the final years of Shalmaneser's reign⁵⁸ and discovered by A. H. Layard in the mid-nineteenth century in the vicinity of the so-called Shalmaneser Building in the central area of the Nimrud citadel (Plate XXI c).⁵⁹ Most important, perhaps, is the superpositioning in the top two of the five registers of relief carving of tribute from Gilzanu, in northwestern Iran,⁶⁰ and from Jehu of Israel, who submitted to Shalmaneser in 841 (Plate XXII).⁶¹ E. Porada has suggested that this arrangement

Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (OIP 2; Chicago, 1924), 128, 1.48). On the function of the *ekal māšarti*, see CAD, s.v. māšartu, and the description in the Esarhaddon prism from Nineveh (Nebi Yunus): A. Heidl, "A New Hexagonal Prism of Esarhaddon (676 B.C.)," *Sumer* 12 (1956), 27, 1.32. For a discussion and plan of Fort Shalmaneser, see: *N&R II*, 368–456 (esp. p. 376 on the function); D. Oates, "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1961," *Iraq* 24 (1962), 1–25. On the *ekal māšarti* at Nineveh, cf. G. Turner, "Tell Nebi Yunus: The *Ekal Māšarti* of Nineveh," *Iraq* 32 (1970), 68–85.

⁵⁸ BM 118885. The epigraphs and annals inscriptions are published in *ARAB*, §§ 555–93 and, more recently, in Michel, "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III (858–824); Salmanassar Obelisk", *WO* 2,2 (1955), 137–57; id., *WO*

2,3 (1956), 221–33. The monument is dated by the last recorded event in the inscription, in year 31. For the history at the end of the reign, especially the weakening position of the king, the rising power of his *turtan*, Daian-Aššur, and the rebellion within Assyria in year 32, see Lambert, *Iraq* 36 (1974), 108.

⁵⁹ On the history of discovery, and the recent excavations in the central area by the Polish Mission, see R. Sobolewski, "The Shalmaneser III Building in the Central Area of the Nimrud Citadel", *A/O*, Beiheft 19 (1982), 330–40, esp. 336 and Figs. 1–3, 9.

⁶⁰ On the location of Gilzanu, see note 16 above.

⁶¹ See M. Astour, "841 B.C.: The First Assyrian Invasion of Israel", *JAOS* 91 (1971), 383–9; Elat, *IEJ* 25 (1975), 31–5.

refers to the territorial limits of the empire from east to west.⁶² This view would be consistent with what has been observed above concerning the Bronze Gates and Throne Base of Shalmaneser, and even suggests the notion of a “master plan” for public monuments of art in this period based on the geographical ordering of events.⁶³ Further, the visual polarity between east and west correlates with the chosen metaphor in Shalmaneser’s inscriptions for the extent of the empire, in which Assyrian power is proclaimed from “the Lower Sea of the land of Nairi” (Lake Urmia in northwestern Iran)⁶⁴ to the “Great Sea of the Setting Sun” (the Mediterranean).⁶⁵

While the basic notion of a geographical agenda behind the decoration on the Obelisk is most tenable, I believe that it can be expanded so that all five bands are taken into account. To this end, I would first argue that Gilzanu and Israel were consciously selected for the relief decoration not only because they were the farthest east and west that Shalmaneser had advanced, but also because they had important economic implications.

It is clear from historical references that Gilzanu enjoyed a special relationship with Assyria.⁶⁶ While its neighbours are normally devastated, Gilzanu simply pays tribute, mainly in the form of horses, which were an indispensable form of military equipment.⁶⁷ Similarly, the tribute of Jehu of Israel in 841 (year 18) was offered willingly, according to the available records.⁶⁸ More important, Jehu’s submission must have been a particularly powerful symbol of Assyrian control in the west. It meant that Shalmaneser finally succeeded in crossing without resistance the extensive territory of Hamath in central Syria.⁶⁹ This, in turn, meant access to the critical transit trade running through central Syria up to Asia Minor, as well as to the maritime trade across the Mediterranean Sea. Hence, I would suggest that Gilzanu and Israel were chosen symbols in this period not simply of Assyria’s territorial expansion or military dominance, but more specifically, perhaps, of the extent of her commercial (trade) network.⁷⁰

⁶² E. Porada, “Remarks About Some Assyrian Reliefs”, *An. St.* 33 (1983), 15–16.

⁶³ There are some indications that a similar, geographical agenda may have operated in other reigns, as well; see, for example, Sargon II’s throne base (note 51 above). However, in general, we are forced to compare the free standing monuments of Shalmaneser with the large scale palace orthostats of other Assyrian rulers, which may not be a valid comparison. What is needed is the complete publication and an analysis of the bronze gates of Assurnasirpal II from Balawat (see Oates, “Balawat: Recent Excavations and a New Gate”, 40–7).

⁶⁴ For this identification of the Sea of Nairi, see Levine, *Geographical Studies*, 20.

⁶⁵ *ARAB*, § 685.

⁶⁶ *ARAB*, § 607, 588. See Reade, *AMI* 12 (1979), 175.

⁶⁷ Reade, *AMI*, 175. For evidence of the importance of horses in the Assyrian empire, see the “Horse Reports” from the Kuyunjik archive, compiled by J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (*Studia Pohl*, Series Maior 3; Rome, 1974), 7–18; and Fales, *Notes on Some Nineveh Horse Lists* (*Assur* I,3; Malibu, 1974).

⁶⁸ Annals from Assur: F. Safar, “A Further Text of Shalmaneser III, from Assur”, *Sumer* 7 (1951), 19, col.III.45–IV.15); and comments by Elat: *IEJ* 25 (1975), 31–4.

⁶⁹ See Astour, *JAOs* 91 (1971), 384; Tadmor, *Scr. Hier.*, 249.

⁷⁰ The issue of trade in the Neo-Assyrian empire is complex, especially because there is a lack of specific references to trade in the Assyrian royal inscriptions (A. L. Oppenheim, “Trade in the Ancient Near East”, *V International Congress of Economic History, Leningrad, August, 1970*, Moscow, 1970, 1–36). Oates even argues that Assyria did not support itself by trade in this period, but rather by the collection of tribute from subject territories (*Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, London, 1968, 52). However, as Winter points out, the receipt of tribute and the practice of trade are not mutually exclusive: *North Syria in the Early First Millennium B.C., with special reference to ivory carving* (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1973), 435, where she reviews the evidence supporting Assyrian trade with North Syria in this period (pp. 432–7). For

The rest of the imagery on the Obelisk may, similarly, be understood in terms of commerce. Of the three remaining tribute-bearing regions represented, Mušri (in band III, Plate XXII) is the most problematic, having been associated in the past with Egypt, Cappadocia, and with a region to the northeast of Assyria.⁷¹ To date, the latter identification is most widely accepted for the ninth century B.C. Suhi, from where tribute is brought in band IV, can be securely identified with modern Ana on the middle Euphrates.⁷² It was strategically situated near the northwestern border of Babylon and along an important trade route to sources of ivory and cloth. Neither Mušri nor Suhi can be associated with any dated campaigns in the annals of Shalmaneser, the implication being that they were less important to Assyria as military targets and more important, perhaps, for purposes of routine trade. Lastly, Patina or Unqi (in the lowest band), as already discussed, was situated in the far west, also on an important trade road—a land route leading south to the cities of the Phoenician seacoast and northwest to the principal metal sources in Asia Minor. Unlike Mušri and Suhi, Patina can be associated with several dated campaigns.⁷³ The tribute items carved on the Obelisk best correspond with the tribute list for Patina in year 28 (831), as given in the long inscription on the monument, a terse edition of the annals up to year 31.⁷⁴ In this account, tribute is again collected without any prior military confrontation.

We have indicated that the images on the Obelisk refer to particularly important commercial centres along land, river, and sea routes—in the near and far west (Suhi, Patina and Israel), and the near(?) and far east (Mušri? and Gilzanu), if we place Mušri just northeast of Assyria following the latest opinions. The whole Obelisk may then be read as a statement of the expansion of Assyria's commercial network under Shalmaneser, and of the maintenance of economic prosperity through access to a wide range of foreign raw materials and goods. The selection of tribute scenes over battle scenes is perfectly understandable if, as suggested, we are dealing with a message about economic power, not just sheer military power. The proposed programme is correlated with Shalmaneser's policy of indefinite expansion on all fronts, motivated presumably by a desire to control major trade routes east and west. This interpretation supports our earlier notions about the Throne Base, also seen as a statement of Assyrian economic stability.

Finally, if the present understanding of the decoration of the Obelisk is correct, then once again a geographical ordering of events in the imagery opposes a chronological ordering in the accompanying text. As discussed above,⁷⁵ this discrepancy parallels that which exists between summary or display inscriptions, and

further discussion, see Tadmor, "Assyria and the West . . .", 36–40; I. J. Winter, "Carchemish *ša Kišad Puratti*", *An. St.* 33 (1983), especially 186–90. As to the east, Levine attributes Assyrian military activity in the Zagros to the protection of important trade routes ("East-West Trade in the Late Iron Age . . .", 171–84).

⁷¹ See B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. tafel der serie HAR-ra = Hubullu* (Leipzig, 1934), 143; Michel, *WO* 2,3 (1956), 141, note 5; P. Garelli, "Mušur", in L. Pirot *et al.*, eds., *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, supp. 5 (Paris, 1957), cols.1468–74; H. Tadmor, "Que

and Mušri", *IEJ* 11 (1961), 143–50; Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrischer neuassyrischer Darstellungen*, 175.

⁷² Brinkman, *Political History*, 183 note 1127, 186–7, 201 note 1236; see also Michel, *WO* 2,3 (1956), 143 note 11.

⁷³ Years 2, 6, 11 (see note 47 above), and 28 (note 74 below).

⁷⁴ Silver, gold, lead, copper, iron, ivory (*ARAB*, § 585). For more recent publications of the text, see note 58 above.

⁷⁵ Page 81.

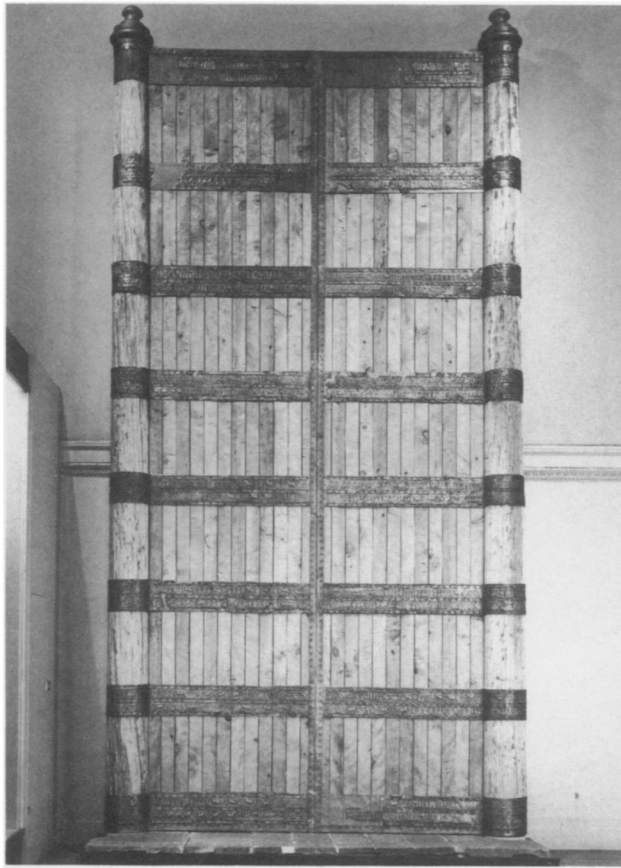
annals; the implication being that the art functioned as a geographical résumé of Assyrian activities, not as illustrations of randomly selected events in the text. In fact, the Obelisk text fails to mention campaigns to Muşri and Suhi, and rarely notes the collection of tribute, all of which are prominent in the reliefs.

* * *

In conclusion, the present study has addressed four specific questions about the major monuments of Shalmaneser III. First, I have tried to demonstrate that the works were each decorated according to a similar, preconceived plan based on the geographical ordering of events, analogous to the arrangement of so-called summary or display texts. Second, the decorative programmes would seem to contain a highly conscious message, which responds to the particular political and economic policies of the king, and the intended function of the monument. Third, we have noted evidence of possible new trends in the art of Shalmaneser, especially a new emphasis on the geographical extent of his campaigns and on the acquisition of foreign raw materials and goods. These trends are independent of the traditions of his father, and would seem to reflect Shalmaneser's own interests, primarily in extending Assyria's access to important resources, and in acquiring and storing foreign goods. And finally, fourth, as to the relationship between art and text, we have observed that the geographical organization of the pictorial narrative complements the chronological ordering of events in the accompanying text, in the same way that display texts and annals are related.

It has only been by studying all three of Shalmaneser's major art works together that the above conclusions could be reached. It is hoped that we are thus brought closer to a fuller understanding of the Assyrian empire in the second half of the ninth century B.C.

PLATE XVI



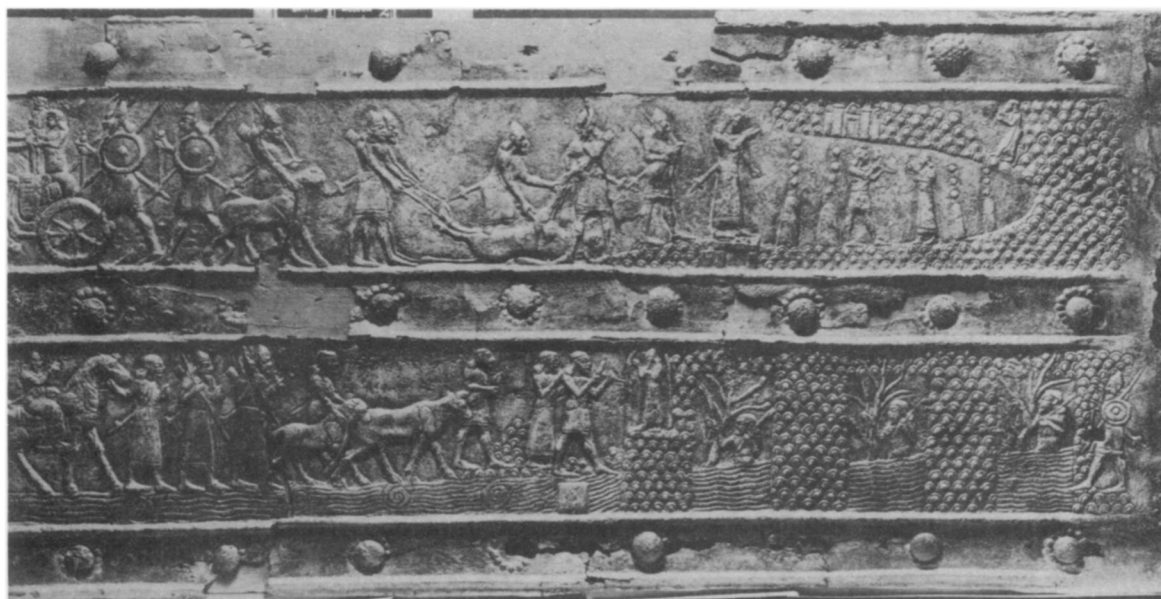
a.



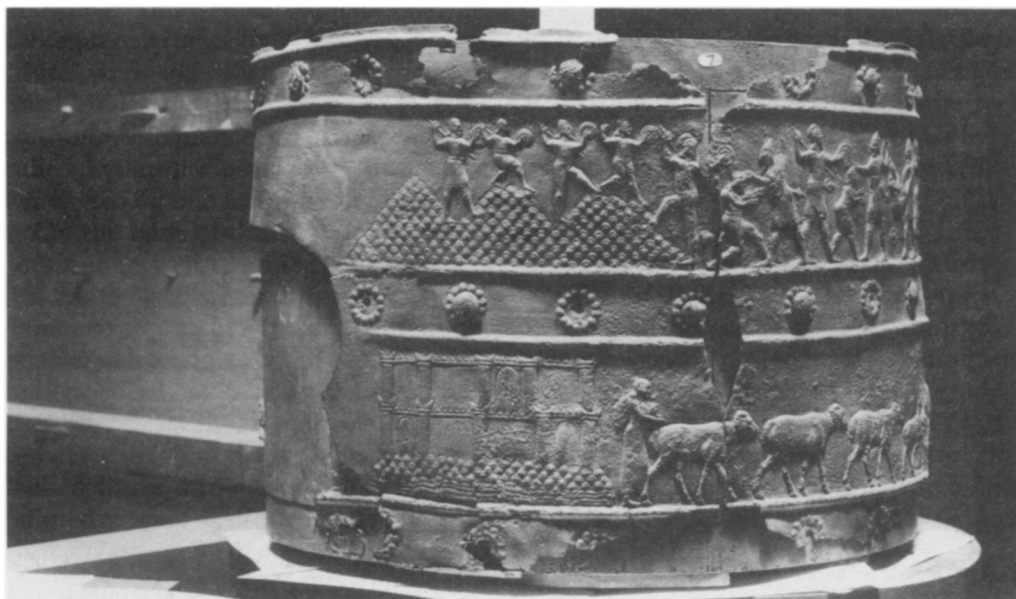
b.

a. Reconstruction of the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser III from Balawat. Ht. approx. 7.25 m. BM 703425. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

b. Detail of Band XI. Campaign in southern Babylonia. Ht. approx. 26 cm. BM 124660. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*



a.

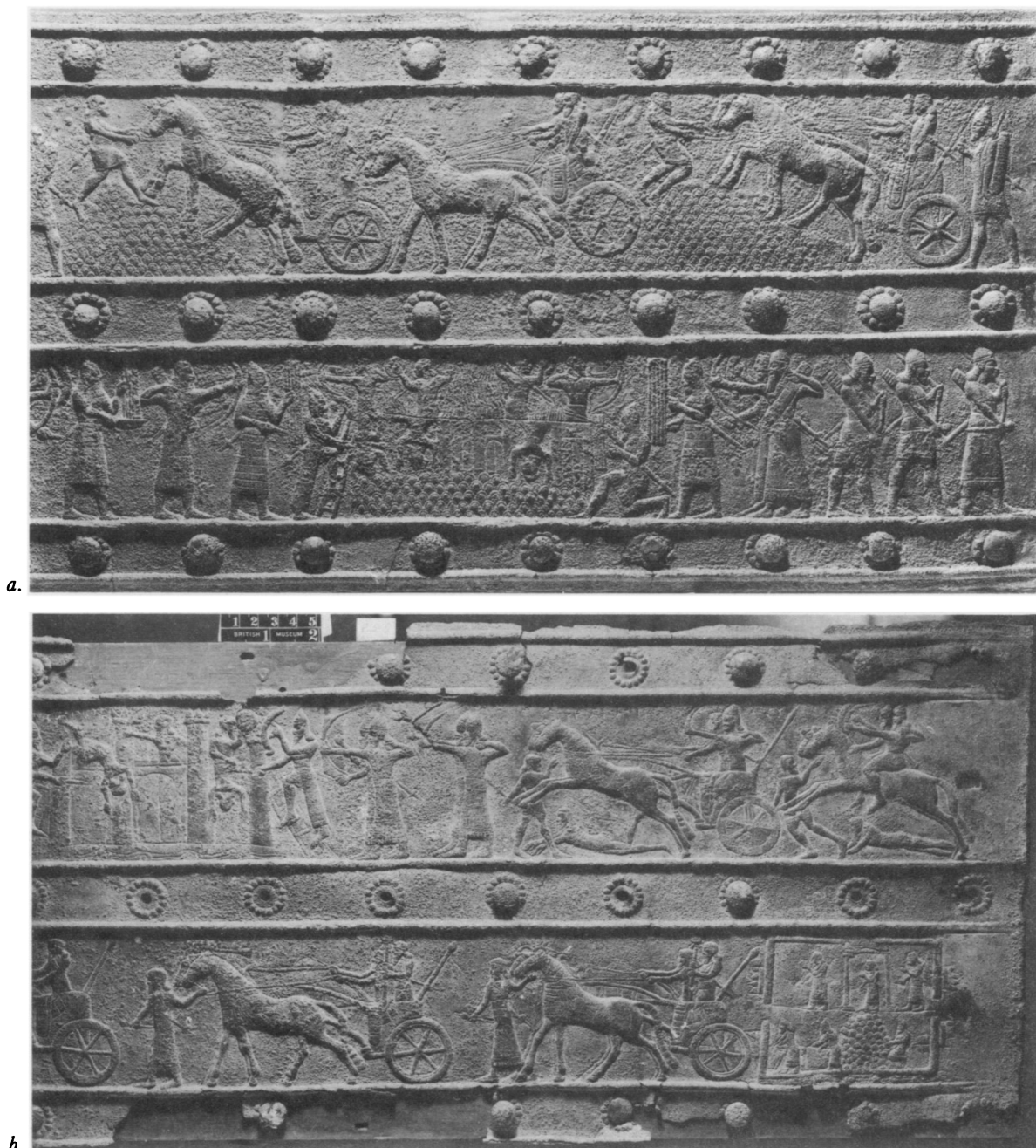


b.

a. Detail of Band X. Expedition to the source of the Tigris. BM 124660. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

b. Detail of Band VII. Above, campaign against Arame, the Urartian. Below, tribute from Gilzanu. BM 124652. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

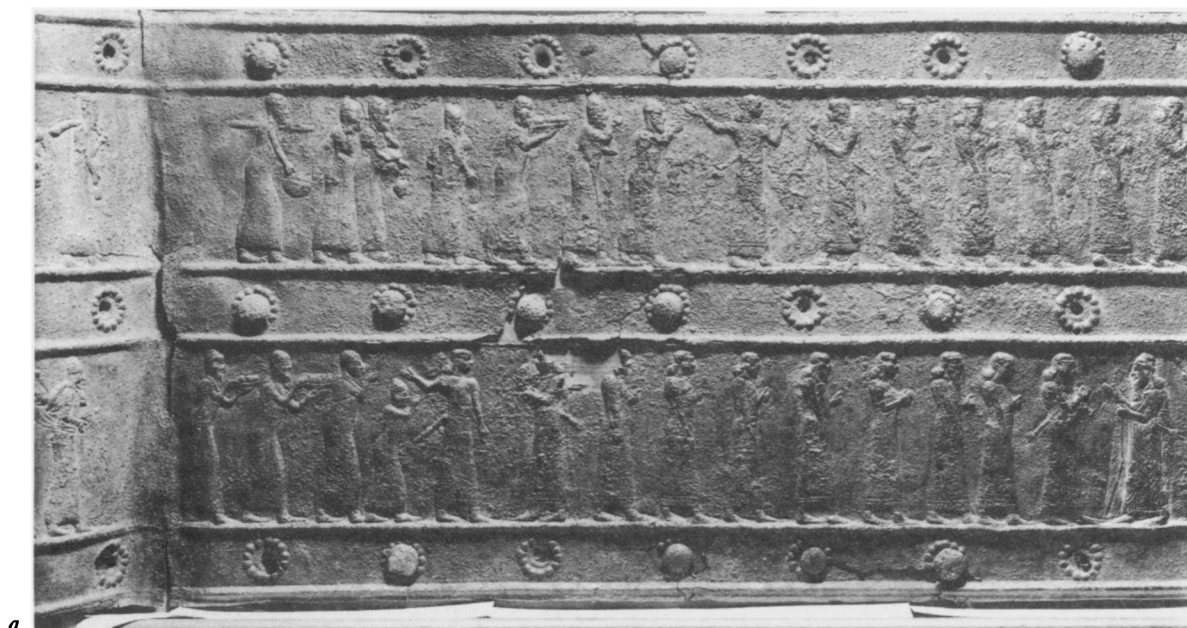
PLATE XVIII



a. Detail of Band I. Campaign against Sugania, Urartu. BM 124662. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

b. Detail of Band IX. Campaign in Ada in Hamath. BM 124655. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

PLATE XIX



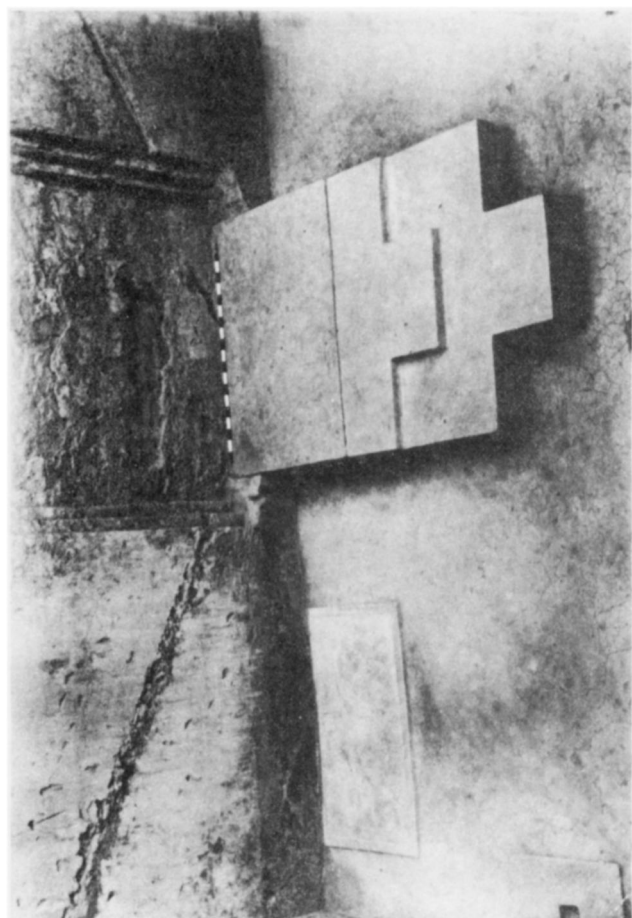
a.



b.

a. Detail of Band VI. Tribute of Sangara of Carchemish. BM 124653. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

b. Detail of Band X. Tribute from Unqi. BM 124651. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*



a.



b.

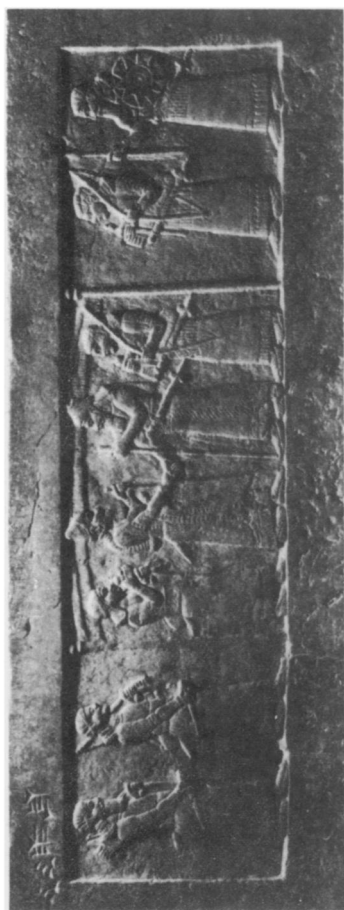


c.

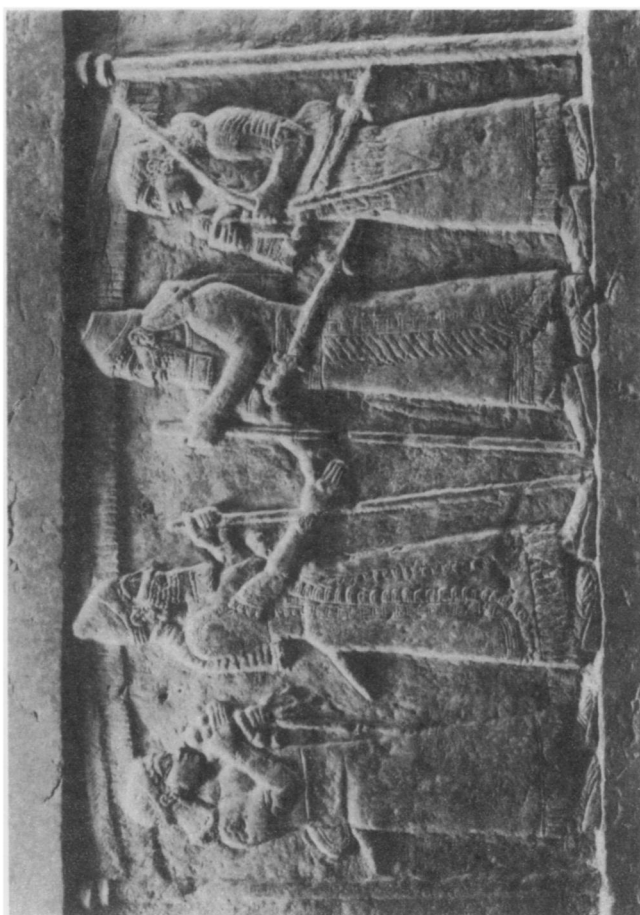
a. Limestone Throne Base of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud, *in situ*. 2.28 × 3.82 cm. Iraq Museum. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

b. Detail of relief-carving on north side of Throne Base. Tribute from Qalparunda of Unqi. Ht. 21–29 cm. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

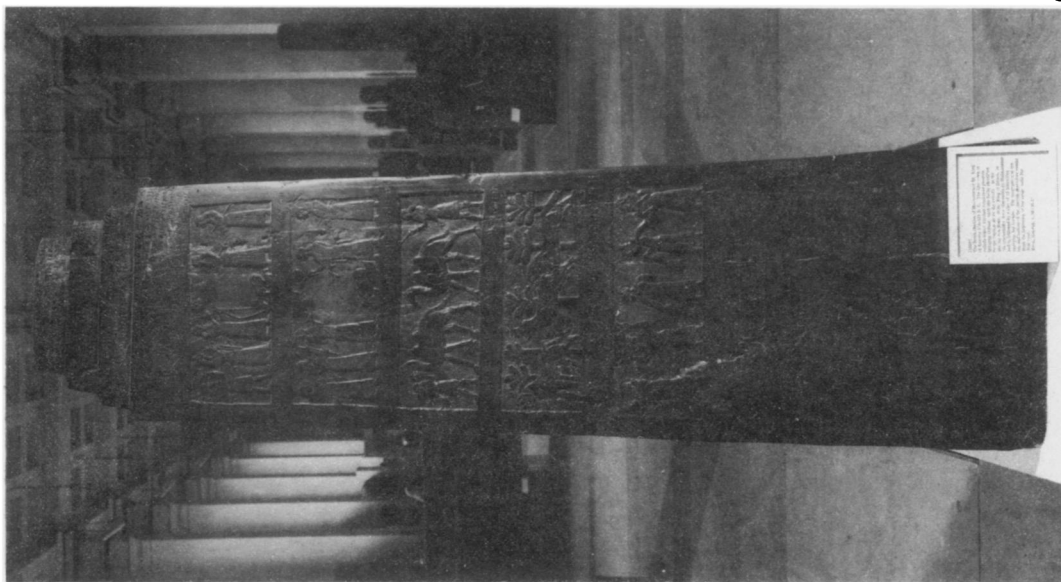
c. Detail of relief-carving on south side of Throne Base. Tribute from Mušallim-Marduk and Adini of Babylon. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*



a.



b.

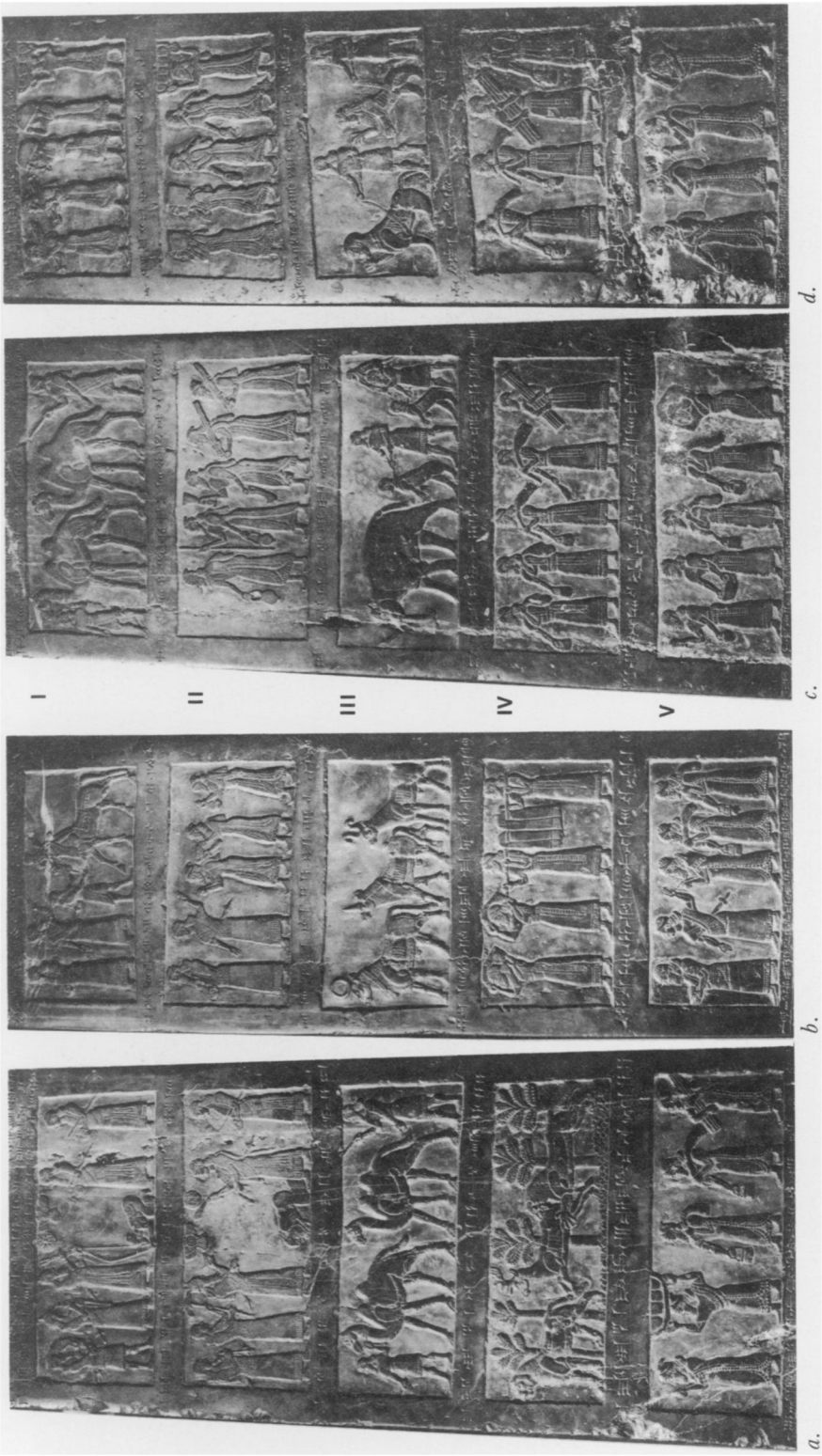


c.

a. Centre panel of relief-carving on Throne Base. Meeting between Shalmaneser and Marduk-zakir-šumi. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*

b. Detail.

c. Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud. Alabaster. 1.98 × 0.61m. BM 118885. *Photo courtesy of the British Museum.*



a, b, c, d. Details of the Black Obelisk. Bands I-V. Photo courtesy of the British Museum.