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Title: The Depictions of the “Other” on the Balawat Gates

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The Depictions of the “Other” on the Balawat Gates

Mattias Karlsson

1. Introductory remarks

This study discusses the depictions of the “Other” (i.e. the non-Assyrian side) from the palaces and temples of the Assyrian city Imgur-Enlil, present-day Balawat. These depictions are preserved in the shape of embossings on the bronze bands that were arranged in 16 horizontal strips (with space between them) on monumental¹, wooden doors of the palaces of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BCE) and Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE) and of the temple (dedicated to the god Mamu) of Ashurnasirpal II (figs. 1-4). These depictions to a great extent focus on Assyria’s interactions with the outside world, notably through scenes of warfare and tribute delivering.²

The aims of this study are to collect and describe the depictions (1), to apply postcolonial theory on the material (2), and to connect to the debate on the ideological differences between Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III (3). As for the theoretical component of the study, it is only logical to apply postcolonial theory on this material, because of its emphasis on hierarchies, “Otherness”, and the enemy side.³ As for the comparative approach, Ashurnasirpal II is often regarded as a ferocious warrior, executing “calculated frightfulness”, while Shalmaneser III is often seen as more of a peaceful ruler who instead focused on state economy and the receiving of tribute (e.g. Cifola 1995 and Marcus 1995). This study serves as a fairly extensive (and possibly representative) case study of the overall topic Assyrian royal iconography.⁴

Regarding methodology, each depicted individual from the other side gets classified on three different levels. For example, on one level a foreign soldier who gets driven over by an Assyrian chariot forms a unique motif.⁵ On another level, this motif is sorted under the “warfare motif”, containing illustrations of warfare and captive processions. Other motifs may belong to the “peace motif”, depicting e.g. tribute delivering and cult activities. On the third level, a motif is classified as either “neutral” or “biased”. In other words, some motifs may not (at least not directly) carry any negative (in the sense of the other side being defamed) connotations. For example, in some motifs foreign soldiers are seen fighting with dignity and valour. The comparative approach is facilitated by the fact that both kings have 32 preserved bronze bands (Shalmaneser III’s bands carry two rows of scenes).⁶ On the side, there is also a chance to see whether the setting (palace vs. temple) matters for the content.

Concerning the disposition of this article, the present study reflects the above mentioned aims by its sheer structure. These aims are, one after another, centred on in

¹ In terms of size, there is a great variation. Ashurnasirpal II’s palace gate was c. 4 m high and c. 1,5 m wide (i.e. including both doors), his temple gate was c. 5-6 m high (and c. 2 m wide), while Shalmaneser III’s palace gate was c. 8 m high and c. 3 m wide (Curtis and Tallis 2008: 12, 72).

² For the publications of the bronze bands, see Schachner 2007 and Curtis and Tallis 2008.

³ As exemplified first and foremost in the groundbreaking work of Said (1978). The theoretical approach of the present study separates it from the one conducted by Wäfler (1975).

⁴ The material is comparatively broad and numerous and derives both from palace and temple settings. Besides duplicating relief art, the bronze bands also convey the typical cliff and stele motif.

⁵ Details that distinguish motifs are e.g. dress (clothing vs. nakedness), hand position (holding, raising etc.), posture (standing, sitting, lying), and attire (e.g. neckstock or armed vs. unarmed).

⁶ These bands are then higher than those of his predecessor: 26-27 cm vs. 17-21 cm. The horizontally laid-out scenes are separated through strings of rosettes (Curtis and Tallis 2008: 12, 24, 48).

the next section which then conveys analytical discussions. Lastly, the following two tables list the attested motifs (with motif code, number of attestations, and place of attestation) or present the statistics on the distribution of war/peace-motifs. Peace motifs are coded with the letter A (1-14) and war motifs are coded with B (1-51).

2. Discussing the images of “Otherness” on the Balawat gates

In this section, I will discuss all the totally 65 identified motifs from the Balawat gates, in terms of describing them in their appearances, their places in terms of category (war/peace, neutral/biased), and in the light of postcolonial theory. I will conclude by discussing ideological differences between the two rulers in question.

As listed in table one, there are totally 840 individuals from the other side identifiable on the bronze bands (as far as these are preserved) from the Balawat gates. One particular motif dominates the relevant list, namely the image of a tributary carrying one or more gifts to the Assyrian king in the context of tribute delivering (A1). As many as 240 of the totally 840 individuals are of this type. They are attested on all three gates, and they speak of a peace motif and of a subservient (and therefore biased) status. The second most frequent motif depicts an enemy soldier being crushed under the wheels of the Assyrian army’s chariots (B1). No less than 51 individuals are depicted in this way. The motif is attested on all three gates, and it surely talks of warfare and of a biased status. Another commonly attested motif centres on individuals whose heads have been severed and placed on the crests of city walls of seized enemy cities (B2). These gruesomely treated individuals are 46 in number and naturally speak of warfare and bias. On fourth place, the motif of naked, pinioned captives, walking in processions, counts to 33 in number and is attested on both palace gates (B3). It also tells of warfare and bias. Next, the motif of women with submissive hand gestures and upfolded skirts in (captive) processions has 31 attestations and are attested on the palace gates (B4). It tells of warfare and bias.

The motif of the enemy soldier *about to be* driven over by the attacking Assyrian chariotry (including the king in his chariot) counts to 28 and are attested on all gates (B5). It of course relates to warfare and a biased status. Moving on, the motif of an enemy soldier shooting away an arrow at Assyrian troops from the crest of his besieged city is attested 26 times and on all gates (B6). It speaks of warfare, but a defaming connotation is hard to find since the soldier in a sense fights with dignity and valour. The next motif definitively speaks of warfare and bias though. It focuses on naked, pinioned captives bearing the burden of neckstocks on their shoulders and counts to 23 in number (B7). It is only attested on Shalmaneser III’s gate. Tributaries with “only” submissive hand gestures but not any gifts in their hands make up 21 attestations (A2). It is attested on all gates and speaks of peace and bias, the latter in its sense of hierarchy, surrender, and subordination. The same number of attestations applies for the warfare and bias motif of an enemy soldier being stabbed in his throat (as well as being grasped by his hair) by his Assyrian opponent in scenes of close combat (B8). This horrifying motif is attested only on the two palace gates.⁷

Continuing on, there is a motif from the siege context where a woman gives away hand gestures (arguably expressing horror and/or submission) of raised hands from the crests of city walls of besieged cities (B9). It is attested 19 times and on all gates. The same number of attestations applies for the motif of armed soldiers on or at

⁷ From now on, I will not automatically refer to biased or neutral statuses of motifs, since the relevant classification should be self-evident from following the discussion held until now.

mountains or hills (B10). Naked enemy soldiers with spears, shields, and helmets either attack or flee from the Assyrian army. This motif is attested on the temple gate and on Shalmaneser III's gate. Moving on, a second motif which seems distinctly "neutral" centres on the foreign soldier when he stands upright on the ground, shooting away an arrow at the Assyrian army (B11). It is attested 17 times and on all gates. Another motif highlights persons who direct the tribute boat, notably by handling the one or more oars which belong to the boat in question (A3). It is attested 16 times and on the temple gate as well as on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another and quite related motif illustrates a tributary carrying timber logs by means of roaps, naturally in work teams (A4). It is attested 16 times but only on the temple gate.

The same number of attestations applies for the motif of naked, pinioned captives with roaps tied around their necks (joining them), while their walking in processions (B12). It is only attested on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another warfare motif focuses on the maimed (decapitated) soldier who gets driven over by an Assyrian chariot (B13). It is attested 14 times and only on the palace gates. Another soldier seems to run away from the coming Assyrian chariotry while holding a lowered bow in his one hand, at the same time as he looks back (towards his attackers) and makes a gesture with his other hand, arguably of mercy seeking (B14). He is attested twelve times and on the palace gates. A further warfare motif centres on an individual who falls headlong (with his head first) from the crest of a city wall of a besieged city (B15). He too is attested twelve times but rather on the temple gate and on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another motif which is attested twelve times (but only on Shalmaneser III's gate) focuses on an unarmed, lightly dressed, and fleeing (through running) man (B16). This kind of person makes this act in unison with other people, i.e. in a group.⁸

Turning to a more peaceful motif, another kind of individual stands, holding gifts in tribute boats meant to deliver their goods to the Assyrian king and his entourage (A5). This motif of serenity is attested ten times and on the temple gate and on Shalmaneser III's gate. A motif which contrasts with this highlights a fully dressed, unpinioned captive with a hand gesture (possibly mercy seeking) and a roap around his neck (B17). It is attested ten times but only on Shalmaneser III's gate. Returning to serenity, another motif focuses on a man who tows the tribute boat that has reached land in order to deliver its goods to Assyrian representatives there (A6). It is attested ten times and on the temple gate and Shalmaneser III's gate. Switching yet again to warfare, some men from the other side are depicted impaled on stakes that have been driven into the ground beside seized enemy cities (B18). This motif of terror is attested nine times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another warfare motif centres on naked captives, their walking in processions, and their being held in check by neck stocks (B19). This motif is attested eight times but only on Shalmaneser III's gate.

Moving further down the list, a warfare-related motif shows fully dressed and unpinioned men walking in processions, their being linked to each other by a roap around their waists (B20). It is attested eight times and only on Ashurnasirpal II's palace gate. Another motif shows herdsman walking in tribute processions while leading cattle (by roaps) and having some gift item in their other hand (A7). Attested eight times, it is limited to Shalmaneser III's gate. Returning to warfare, some enemy soldiers face approaching Assyrian chariotry eye-to-eye, while their being unarmed, standing, and pleading with their hands in order to invoke mercy (B21). This motif is attested seven times and on the temple gate and Shalmaneser III's gate. Returning to

⁸ The identifying of him as foreigner is open to doubt, but he does not wear the outfit of Assyrian soldiers, and he is represented on the backside of a besieged city (from which he seems to move).

peacefulness, some tributaries carry a gift in one hand and make a gesture of greeting or mercy seeking with their other hand (A8). They are attested five times and only on the temple gate. A related motif centres on herdsmen leading cattle in tribute processions (A9). It is attested five times and just on Shalmaneser III's gate.

Continuing on, the motif of an upright-standing, helmet-bearing enemy soldier who holds spear and shield in his raised hands can be distinguished (B22). It provides a third example of a neutral motif of a kind, since this individual defends himself with dignity and valour. It is attested five times and on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another warfare-profiled motif highlights the picture of a naked boy who is accompanied by adults and makes a servile gesture with his hands (B23). It is attested five times and on both palace gates. Also telling of warfare is the image of an armed enemy soldier, stumbling on his feet, about to lose his balance and fall down to the ground (B24). Sometimes he has lost his grip over his bow and it too falls to the ground. This motif is attested five times and on both palace gates. Next, women captives who are walking in processions are making gestures of mercy seeking with their hands without their having their skirts upfolded (B25). This motif is thus a variation of motif B4. It is attested four times and just on Shalmaneser III's gate. The image of armed, lightly dressed, and jointly fleeing (by running) men is in its turn a variation of motif B16 (B26). It is attested four times and (once again) solely on Shalmaneser III's gate. The two groups of men (unarmed or armed with bows) co-exist in a certain scene.⁹

Another poor individual is (partly) seen on some of the chariots of the Assyrian army, namely the decapitated head of him (B27), serving as some kind of trophy or warning to others. He is attested four times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another warfare motif focuses on an enemy soldier handling a spear in his raised right hand from the crest of the city wall of a besieged city (B28). Here is a fourth example of a person from the other side who acts with dignity and valour. It is attested three times and just on Shalmaneser III's gate. Some women captives are depicted in processions with upfolded skirts and with some item in their hands, possibly some kind of tribute-gift (B29). Once again, the motif is seen three times and solely on Shalmaneser III's gate. Next, there is the fully dressed man who walks in processions while being pinioned and bearing neckstocks (B30). This motif is attested three times and only on Ashurnasirpal II's palace gate. The motif which illustrates a princely son giving away a hand gesture of submission to the Assyrian king and his entourage tells more of peacefulness (A10). This person is smaller than the others, and he is at the front of the tribute procession, thus the identifying of him as princely son. He is seen three times and on the temple gate and on Shalmaneser III's gate.

Turning to warfare milieus yet again, another motif depicts an unarmed enemy soldier who stumbles on his feet and is about to fall to the ground while looking in horror at the onslaught of the Assyrian army and its merciless soldiers (B31). It is a variation of motif B24, and is attested two times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate. A related image illustrates an enemy soldier standing in a prostrating posture at the coming of the Assyrian army (B32). His one hand is empty and raised while his other hand holds a lowered shield. It too is attested two times and solely on Shalmaneser III's gate. Similarly, another foreign soldier is knocked down to the ground, having lost his balance, in the context of the onslaught of the Assyrian army (B33). While sitting on his rear end, he raises his empty hands in a supposedly futile attempt to invoke mercy. He too is attested two times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate. A horrifying motif shows a (freestanding) enemy with parts of his body maimed (B34).

⁹ The reasoning in the above footnote naturally applies for both of these groups of men (B16, B26).

It too is attested two times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate. The same can be said of the motif which depicts an enemy getting flayed alive (B35). An Assyrian soldier administers this cruel punishment by a knife (?) and by seizing his victim's leg.

In one motif, what seems to be eunuchs (rather than women) give away hand gestures of surrender and mercy seeking from the crests of city walls of besieged enemy cities (B36). This motif is seen two times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate. In another imagery, a man is seen fleeing away from the Assyrian army in a boat (B37). Also this motif is attested two times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate. Similarly, another man flees from the Assyrians through swimming across the moat of the besieged enemy city (B38). This motif is also attested two times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate. As a matter of fact, the two just discussed motifs are seen side-by-side in a single scene which logically should illustrate the act of fleeing.¹⁰ Returning to the interior of the besieged city, another figure is depicted as hurling stones against the Assyrians from the crest of the city wall of his besieged city (B39). He is attested two times and only on Ashurnasirpal II's palace gate. A more peaceful motif highlights a man who inactively sits down in a boat which probably is a tribute boat (A11). He is attested two times and only on Shalmaneser III's gate.

Returning once again to warfare scenes, one motif shows an enemy soldier on the battlefield, standing passively with a lowered bow, seemingly giving up (B40). It is attested two times and on both palace gates. Another man raises both of his hands in the air as he stands at the crest of the city wall of a besieged city, plausibly communicating his surrender (B41). He is seen once and on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another man, apparently a soldier, stands at the crest while defending himself through a shield that he holds in front of him, protecting himself from the arrows of the besieging Assyrians (B42). This motif is only seemingly neutral, since the man hides behind walls and acts purely defensively. His warfare is then far from heroic. It is attested once and on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another motif shows the foreign ruler prostrating himself in front of the Assyrian king, displaying his ceremonial subordination (A12). It is attested once and on the temple gate. This prostration is full, with the subordinated ruler crawling in the dust, on his belly. Another figure depicts a girl who makes a hand gesture of submission while having her skirt upfolded (B43). She is depicted smaller than the rest and in the company of adult women, hence this interpretation. This motif is attested once and on Shalmaneser III's gate.

Moving on, a further motif illustrates a man who is both flayed and maimed (B44). His hands and feet have been cut off, and the Assyrian soldier in charge seizes his one arm in order to flay him. This motif is attested once and on Shalmaneser III's gate. A related imagery shows a man who has been both impaled and maimed, hanging on a stake positioned just outside the seized enemy city (B45). Also in this case, the victim's hands and feet have been cut off. The two just described motifs actually occur side-by-side in a certain scene. One curious motif focuses on a man lying in a bed situated at the crest of the city wall of a besieged city (B46). Judging from the context, the man must be the city ruler¹¹ and his bed may be the sickbed of his. This image surely gives no glory to the enemy ruler in question and is clearly biased. It too is attested once and on Shalmaneser III's gate. Returning to the battlefield, another man is seen being speared by an Assyrian soldier while lying on the ground, having lost his balance (B47). He too is attested once and on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another

¹⁰ A besieged city is illustrated nearby, as well as the two groups of the just discussed running men.

¹¹ The depicted person is highlighted in the scene, and the accompanying caption specifically refers to the defeat of the city ruler of Hamath, bearing the name Irhulenu (Schachner 2007: 64, 67-69).

motif centres on a woman captive with hand gesture and upfolded skirt, having a child who walks on her side (B48). It too is attested once and on Shalmaneser III's gate.

A very much related motif centres on the just described child who walks with her mother in a captive procession (B49). Naturally, it too is attested once and on Shalmaneser III's gate. Another motif highlights a man who is seen at the crest of the city wall of a besieged city, while his being unarmed and having his hands laid down on the crest (B50). It too is attested once and on Shalmaneser III's gate. One captive is fully dressed and not pinioned, but has a rope around his neck which is pulled by an Assyrian soldier (B51). He is attested once and on Ashurnasirpal II's palace gate. In a tribute context, (what probably is) a woman is seen tending her child (by touching his/her head and shoulders) while their walking in a tribute procession (A13). The tended child of unknown sex must of course also be included here (A14). These two motifs are both attested only once and solely (in one scene) on Shalmaneser III's gate. Finally, there are some individuals whose representations are only fragmentarily preserved, and whose belongings to certain motifs can only be guessed at. All that can be determined, naturally based on the pictorial context, is that they are either warfare motifs (Bb1) or peace motifs (Aa1), four and eight in numbers respectively.

In sum, only four of the totally 65 identified characters can be considered neutral. The rest of them should be classified as biased (negatively). It is then clear that there are ample grounds to talk of a juxtapositioning of a Self and an Other on the Balawat gates. There is one good, winning, and normal side (the Assyrian one) contrasted with a bad, losing, and abnormal side (the foreign one). This Other is a so-called subaltern, i.e. an agent both inferior (thus "sub") and (negatively) different (thus "altern"). In the next few paragraphs, I will discuss these images of alterity in the sources.

To begin with, it is doubtful whether the four attested neutral characters really are meant to convey genuinely neutral (and then in a way positive) connotations. The two enemy types who stand firm on the battlefield (B11, B22) may simply symbolize the notion of a hinderance (that was overcome) for the Assyrian army. In other words, images of resistance were functional for a coherent understanding of the scenes. Also, the two enemy types who emerge from the crests of city walls of besieged cities (B6, B28) do their fighting from a walled-in, protected space. Their warfare is unheroic, as it is not based on a fighting "man-to-man", thus deviating from the masculinity norm in Assyrian state ideology (Karlsson 2016: 228-42). Anyway, also these motifs, which were classified as neutral, are then a part of the visualization of the subaltern.

Regarding the clearly biased motifs and beginning with the peaceful motifs in the light of postcolonial theory, the other side and its human representatives are juxtaposed with the Assyrian side, notably by depicting the former as subservient (e.g. through their hand gestures) and gift delivering in tribute processions, while the Assyrian king and his entourage appear as dominant and tribute receiving. Furthermore, while the Assyrian king majestically stands tall, wearing all regalia, the foreign ruler crawls in the dust in front of him, conveying an extreme kind of juxtaposition. The other side is truly a subaltern in the peaceful image corpora. In other words, its persons are portrayed both as dominated and as different (negatively). As for the negative part, although the relevant submission and tribute delivering were encouraged by the Assyrian state, there was a devaluating sense in these acts which went against the Assyrian notion of ideal masculinity (Karlsson 2016: 228-42).

Turning to the evaluating of the warfare motifs, while the Assyrian king and his soldiers are always depicted with dignity, as winning, and as a powerful force, the other side with its rulers and soldiers are nearly always seen as pitiful, as losing, and as a weak force. The Assyrians are *in* the chariots, while their enemies are *under* the

chariots, so to speak. While the Assyrian forces are safe and sound, the other side is tortured and/or killed (maimed, flayed, impaled, stabbed, speared or arrowed down) or placed in “chains” (of various kinds). Also, while the Assyrian side fights with bravery and courage, its enemies tend to pitifully flee from the scene of battle. Similarly, while the Assyrian army seek to fight “man-to-man” on the battlefield, the cowardly enemy instead hides from inside his fortified city. Moreover, while the fighting Assyrian army is organized in neat rows, thus behaving orderly, its enemies are seen all over the place, revealing their chaotic unorganization. A dichotomy of Order/Chaos is generally expressed in Assyrian state ideology (Karlsson 2016: 223-28). Lastly, while the Assyrian women are safe and sound at home in their villages and cities and therefore not depicted, the other side’s women are exposed in captive processions. In sum, the other side is truly a subaltern also in the warfare-imprinted image corpora. The negative part in the alterity naturally lies in the idea that these enemy soldiers’ behaviour would be unacceptable for Assyrian soldiers to enact.

Finally, I will highlight the third aim of this article and therefore connect to the debate on the ideological differences between Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III. This debate revolves around different views regarding these two rulers’ respective focusing on warfare in their propaganda. A commonly held view of Ashurnasirpal II is that he presented himself as a violent and ferocious king, employing “calculated frightfulness”, thus deterring future opposition (e.g. Olmstead 1918), while a common perception of Shalmaneser III centres on his role as a peaceful tribute receiver (e.g. Cifola 1995, Marcus 1995). Although I have tried to nuance these pictures in an earlier study (Karlsson 2016: 291-310), the debate is in need of quantifications.

Turning to these quantifications, presented in table two, a comparison of the two palace gates shows that the proportions of warfare motifs are nearly the same for the two gates, with Ashurnasirpal II’s gate having 73,3% and Shalmaneser III’s gate having 71,8%. The proportions of peace motifs are then also nearly the same, with Ashurnasirpal II’s gate having 26,7% and Shalmaneser III’s gate having 28,3%. This proximity is very striking and does not at all tell of any ideological differences.

Putting the statistics on the temple gate of Ashurnasirpal II into the discussion, another picture is painted. Only 14,0% of the motifs are warfare-focused, while 86,0% of them are peacefulness-centred. These numbers have implications in two different areas of this investigation. On the one hand, they suggest that there was a preference for peaceful motifs in temple contexts, while warfare motifs were preferred in the more “secular” palace milieus. This finding needs to be checked against other visual programs though, to see whether it is a coincidence or not.

On the other hand, these numbers have great bearing on the comparison between the two kings’ visual propaganda in Balawat. The total proportion of peace motifs in Ashurnasirpal II’s gates is now 63,7% (against Shalmaneser III’s 28,3%), while the proportion of warfare motifs subsequently is 36,2% (against Shalmaneser III’s 71,8%). All in all, it is actually Shalmaneser III who stresses the role of violence. This naturally goes against the image of Ashurnasirpal II as the paradigmatic great warrior.

3. Concluding remarks

This article has centred on the depictions of the “Other” on the three preserved gates from Balawat and the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III. Its aims were to collect and describe the depictions, to apply postcolonial theory on the material, and to connect to the debate on the ideological differences between the said rulers.

As for the firstly mentioned aim, no less than 840 individuals and 65 types (or “motifs”) of these were recognized in the collecting process. While only 14 of these tell of serenity and peace, as much as 51 of these instead speak of coercion and warfare. Still, the most commonly attested motif is of a peaceful character, namely the one that shows a tributary holding gifts. Thereafter, motifs of warfare take over.

Regarding the secondly mentioned aim, I could conclude that practically all motifs are “biased” (negatively). The few that can be classified as “neutral” are only seemingly so, and due to their functions. All motifs were then compared with the ones that depict Assyrians, and a clear dichotomy and juxtaposition could be distinguished. In other words, there is here a conflict in which a “Self” stands against an “Other”. The latter agent is here a “subaltern”, i.e. someone who is inferior and abnorm.

Concerning the thirdly mentioned aim, I found that the relative proportions of peace and war motifs on the two palace gates speak the same message of emphasis on warfare. The temple gate, by contrast, overwhelmingly conveys scenes of peace (tribute delivering). In total then, the iconography of Shalmaneser III from Balawat is much more centred on warfare, quite in contrast to the established reputation. The differences in choice of scenes between palace and temple gates open up for a discussion on the idea that peace scenes were regarded as more appropriate in temple milieus. However, further research is needed in order to confirm (or reject) this idea.

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Table 1: List of the characters with their quantities and source attestations

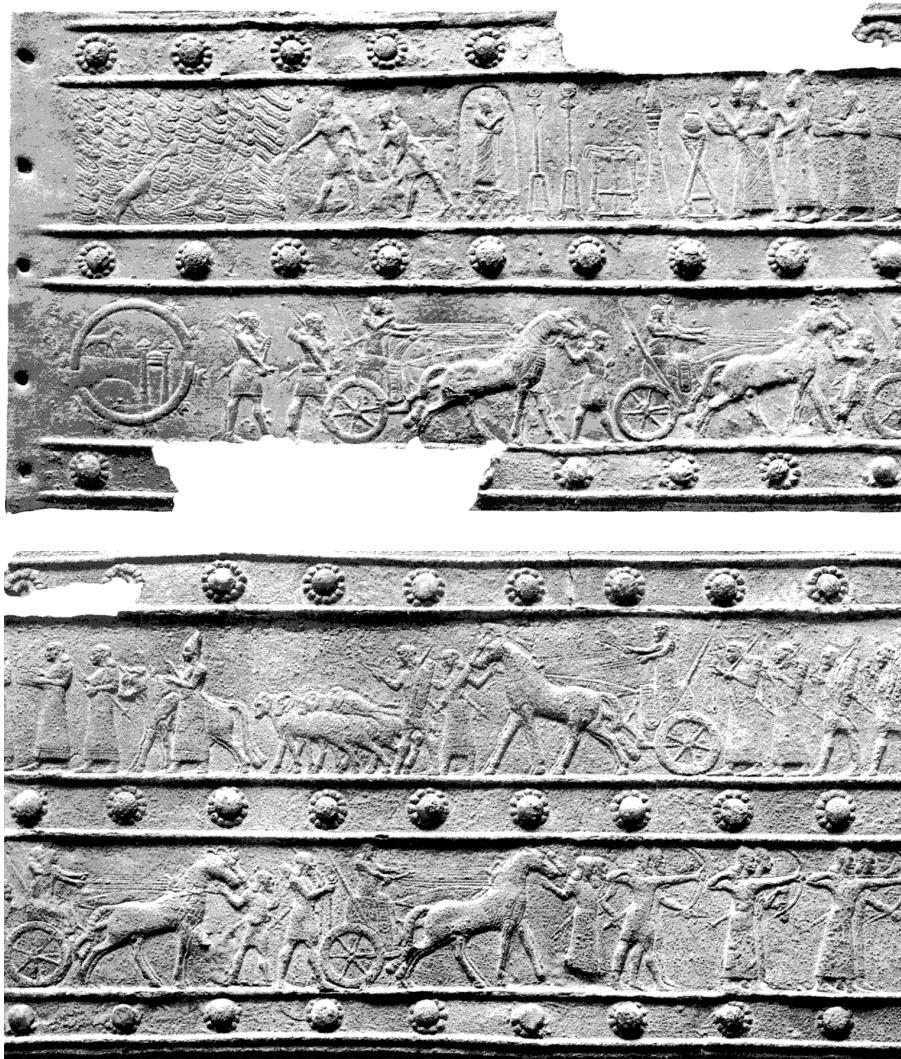
code	character	no.	Ashurnasirpal II palace gate	Ashurnasirpal II temple gate	Shalmaneser III palace gate
A1	tributary with gift	240	L1, R6, R7	L1, L3, L4, L5, L6, L8, R1, R3, R4, R5, R6, R8	3A, 5A, 5B, 6A, 6B, 7B, 9B, 11A, 11B, 14B
B1	soldier driven over	51	L2, L7, R2, R3	L2, L7	2A, 2B, 7A, 9A, 12A, 12B, 13A, 16A, 16B
B2	decapitated head at city wall	46			2A, 8B, 10B, 13A
B3	naked, pinioned captive	33	L6		3B, 9B, 12B
B4	woman with gesture and upfolded skirt	31	L6, L8, R1, R8		3B, 4B, 12B, 13B
B5	soldier about to be driven over	28	R2, R3	L2, L7	2A, 2B, 3B, 7A, 9A, 12A, 13A
B6	soldier with bow from crest	26	L3	R2, R7	1B, 2B, 4A, 4B, 8A, 9A, 12A, 12B
B7	naked, pinioned captive in neckstock	23			1B, 2B, 8B
A2	tributary with gesture	21	L1, R6	R3, R5, R6	3A, 5A, 6A, 6B, 7B, 11A, 11B
B8	soldier stabbed in throat	21	R2		2A, 3B, 7A, 9A, 10B, 16A
B9	woman with gesture from crest	19	L2, L7, R2, R3	R2, R4	3B, 11B, 13A
B10	armed soldier at/on mountain	19		L2	2A, 7A
B11	soldier with bow from ground	17	L2, R2, R3	L7	9A, 16A, 16B
A3	active crew member in tribute boat	16		L4, L5, R4	3A, 11A, 14B
A4	tributary with timber by ropes	16		L8	
B12	naked, pinioned captive with roap around neck	16			13B
B13	mutilated soldier driven over	14	L2		2A, 3B, 7A, 16A, 16B
B14	armed soldier with gesture looking behind	12	L2, L7, R2, R3		16B
B15	man falling headlong from crest	12		R7	1B, 2B, 9A, 13A
B16	unarmed, fleeing (running) man	12			15B
A5	standing tributary with gift in boat	10		L4, L5, R4	14B
B17	captive with gesture and rope around neck	10			4B
A6	man towing a tribute boat	10		L4, L5	3A, 11A, 14B
B18	impaled man at city wall	9			2A, 4B
B19	naked captive in neckstock	8			3B

B20	captive with roap around waist	8	L8, R8		
A7	herdsman with cattle and item	8			5B, 6A, 6B, 7B, 11B
B21	unarmed, standing, pleading soldier	7		L7	2A, 3B, 7A
A8	tributary with gift and gesture	5		R3	
A9	herdsman with cattle	5			5B, 6B, 7B
B22	standing soldier with weapons in raised hands	5			2A, 7A
B23	naked boy with gesture	5	R1		1B
B24	stumbling, armed soldier	5	L2, L7, R2, R3		16A
B25	woman captive with gesture	4			8B
B26	armed, fleeing (running) man	4			15B
B27	decapitated head on chariot	4			16B
B28	soldier with spear from crest	3			1B, 2B
B29	woman captive with some item and upfolded skirt	3			9B
B30	pinioned captive in neckstock	3	R1		
A10	princely son with gesture	3		R4	5B, 6B
B31	stumbling, unarmed soldier	2			2A
B32	soldier standing in bowing posture	2			2A, 7A
B33	soldier knocked down on ground	2			3B, 7A
B34	soldier getting maimed	2			7A, 9A
B35	soldier getting flayed	2			7A
B36	eunuch with surrendering gestures from crest	2			13A
B37	man fleeing by boat	2			15B
B38	man fleeing by swimming	2			15B
B39	man throwing stone from crest	2	L3		
A11	man sitting in tribute boat	2			5A
B40	soldier with lowered weapons	2	R3		3B
B41	man with hands in the air from crest	1			8A
B42	soldier with shield from crest	1			9A
A12	prostrating ruler	1		R4	

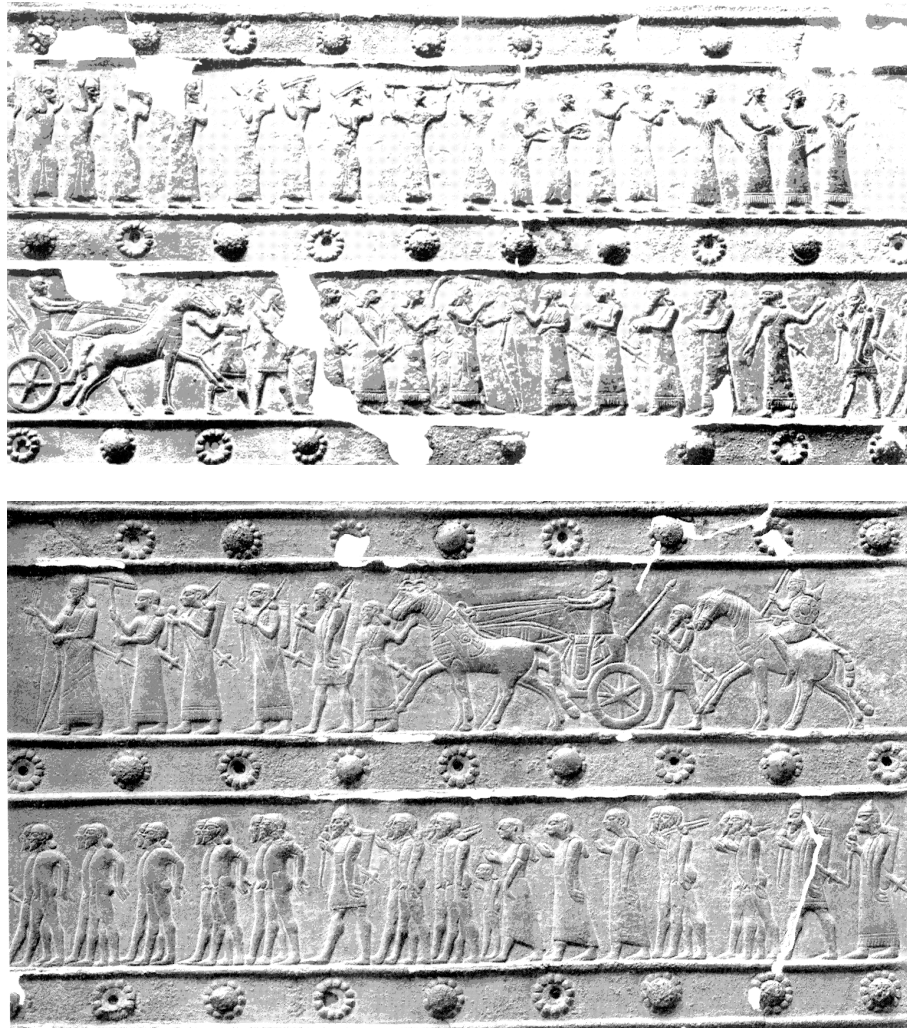
B43	girl with gesture and upfolded skirt	1			9B
B44	flayed and maimed soldier	1			10B
B45	impaled and maimed soldier	1			10B
B46	prince in sickbed at crest	1			13A
B47	soldier speared on the ground	1			13A
B48	woman of gesture and upfolded skirt with child	1			3B
B49	child with woman of gesture and upfolded skirt	1			3B
B50	unarmed, hands-down man at crest	1			4B
B51	captive with roap around neck	1	R1		
A13	mother who tends her child	1			5B
A14	child tended by his/her mother	1			5B
Aa1	unidentified character, peace	8		L4, L6, R6	5B, 11A
Bb1	unidentified character, war	4	R8		2B, 16A, 16B

Table 2: Statistics on the characters in terms of peace/war profiles

source type and number of attestations	peace	unidentified peace	war	unidentified war	peace total	war total
Ash II, palace gate (116)	31 (26,7%)	-	84 (72,4%)	1 (0,9%)	31 (26,7%)	85 (73,3%)
Ash II, temple gate (193)	160 (82,9%)	6 (3,1%)	27 (14,0%)	-	166 (86,0%)	27 (14,0%)
Shalm III, palace gate (531)	148 (27,9%)	2 (0,4%)	378 (71,2%)	3 (0,6%)	150 (28,2%)	381 (71,8%)
Ashurnasirpal II total (309)	191 (61,8%)	6 (1,9%)	111 (35,9%)	1 (0,3%)	197 (63,7%)	112 (36,2%)
Shalmaneser III total (531)	148 (27,9%)	2 (0,4%)	378 (71,2%)	3 (0,6%)	150 (28,2%)	381 (71,8%)
Ash II, Shalm III total (840)	339 (40,4%)	8 (1,0%)	489 (58,2%)	4 (0,5%)	347 (41,3%)	493 (58,7%)



Figs 1-2: Images from Shalmaneser III's palace gate. The king making sacrifices at Lake Van (upper registers) and attacking Sugunia (lower registers). Bronze bands in the British Museum taken from the local palace in Balawat. Reproduced from King 1915: pls. 1-2 (cf. Schachner 2007: pl. 17).



Figs. 3-4. Images from Shalmaneser III's palace gate. The king receiving tribute from Phoenicia (upper registers) and captives from Hazazu (lower). Bronze bands in the British Museum taken from the local palace in Balawat. Reproduced from King 1915: pls. 14-15 (cf. Schachner 2007: pls. 24-25).