

da Fales, L'impero assiro, 2001:

Sennacherib è attestato nelle fonti fin dal 715 circa, quando, principe ereditario ventenne, coadiuvava il padre in politica interna ed estera. Tuttavia, durante il suo regno (705-681), egli fece mostra di distanziarsi dalle politiche paterne, forse per la percezione di una negatività cosmica connessa alla morte in battaglia e alla mancata sepoltura di costui. Egli omise pertanto il nome paterno nelle proprie iscrizioni ufficiali e ritrasferì la capitale a Ninive. Qui, attorno al 700, iniziava l'edificazione del «Palazzo senza rivali», che terminava quasi un decennio dopo (Russell 1991, 93). Ancora più maestosa fu l'opera di convogliamento delle acque di tutta la regione circostante per il rifornimento idrico della città. Nel settore meridionale, Sennacherib dovette fare i conti con il coriaceo Marduk-apal-iddina, fino alla sconfitta definitiva di costui nel 700. La ripresa delle ostilità nel 694 risultava nella cattura del principe ereditario Assurnadin-shumi, installato da sei anni sul trono babilonese. Seguivano dure rappresaglie, culminate nell'assedio, caduta e distruzione di Babilonia. Nel Levante, gli Stati non ancora ridotti a provincia erano teatro di sollevazioni multiple.

Nel 701 il re marciava contro Ascalona e Sidone, che erano alla testa della rivolta, espugnandole e ponendo al potere nuovi dinasti; la stessa sorte toccava a Ekron, i cui abitanti avevano consegnato il loro re filo-assiro a Ezechia di Giuda e si erano appellati alle forze egiziane. Queste venivano respinte in una (pur difficile) battaglia campale ad Eltekeh (Eph'al 1983, 98) ed Ekron veniva restituita al monarca Padî. Gerusalemme veniva altresì assediata e il suo territorio veniva distribuito agli Stati filo-assiri circostanti.

I tardi anni di Sennacherib vedevano una serie di rovesci per l'Assiria, specie nei settori montani (Tabal a nord-ovest, Ellipi a sud-est), mentre la dinastia saitica in Egitto, sotto il faraone Taharqa, fomentava rivolte nel Levante. La fine del suo regno veniva precipitata dalla scelta dinastica a favore di Esarhaddon che portava a una rivolta degli altri figli, culminata con l'assassinio del re – un evento che lascia memoria anche nell'Antico Testamento.





FIG. 40. Nineveh, city wall, Nergal gate, bull colossus, width ca. 4.5 m (photo: author).

- Court H, Façade Bull 3 Six campaign historical summary (partially preserved, probably Smith's "Bull 2") plus an abridged palace-building account (part *in situ*; possible fragment: Papal Bull).
- Court H, Façade Bull 10 Six campaign historical summary (lost; possible fragment: Hannover Bull) plus an abridged palace-building account (lost).
- Court H, Façade Bull 12 Six campaign historical summary (Smith's "Bull 3") plus an abridged palace-building account (part *in situ* + Meissner and Rost, pl. 8; possible fragment: Papal Bull).

- Court H, Door a An annalistic account of the first six campaigns plus a long palace-building account (Rawlinson, IIIR 12–13).
- Court H, Door c A long palace-building account (Layard, ICC 38–42).
- Room I, Door d Five-campaign historical summary plus a long palace-building account (Layard, ICC 59–62; possibly Smith's "Bull 2").
- Room I, Door e Probably a five-campaign historical summary (lost) plus a long palace-building account (Layard, Ms A, 135–36).
- Court VI, Door a A long palace-building account (Layard, ICC 38–42 variant).
- Court VI(?), Door k(?) Uncertain, but I have tentatively attributed Layard, Ms D, fols. 24–29 (Smith's "Bull 1"; Meissner and Rost, pls. 6–7) to these bulls.
- Room LX, Door a Probably a five- or six-campaign historical summary (lost) plus an abridged palace-building account (Layard, Ms C, 56 verso–57 verso).
- Court LXIV, Door a An abridged palace-building account (Layard, Ms C, 55 verso–56 verso).

Kouyunjik

Palace of Sennacherib

After Layard (1853) and Madhloum (1967)

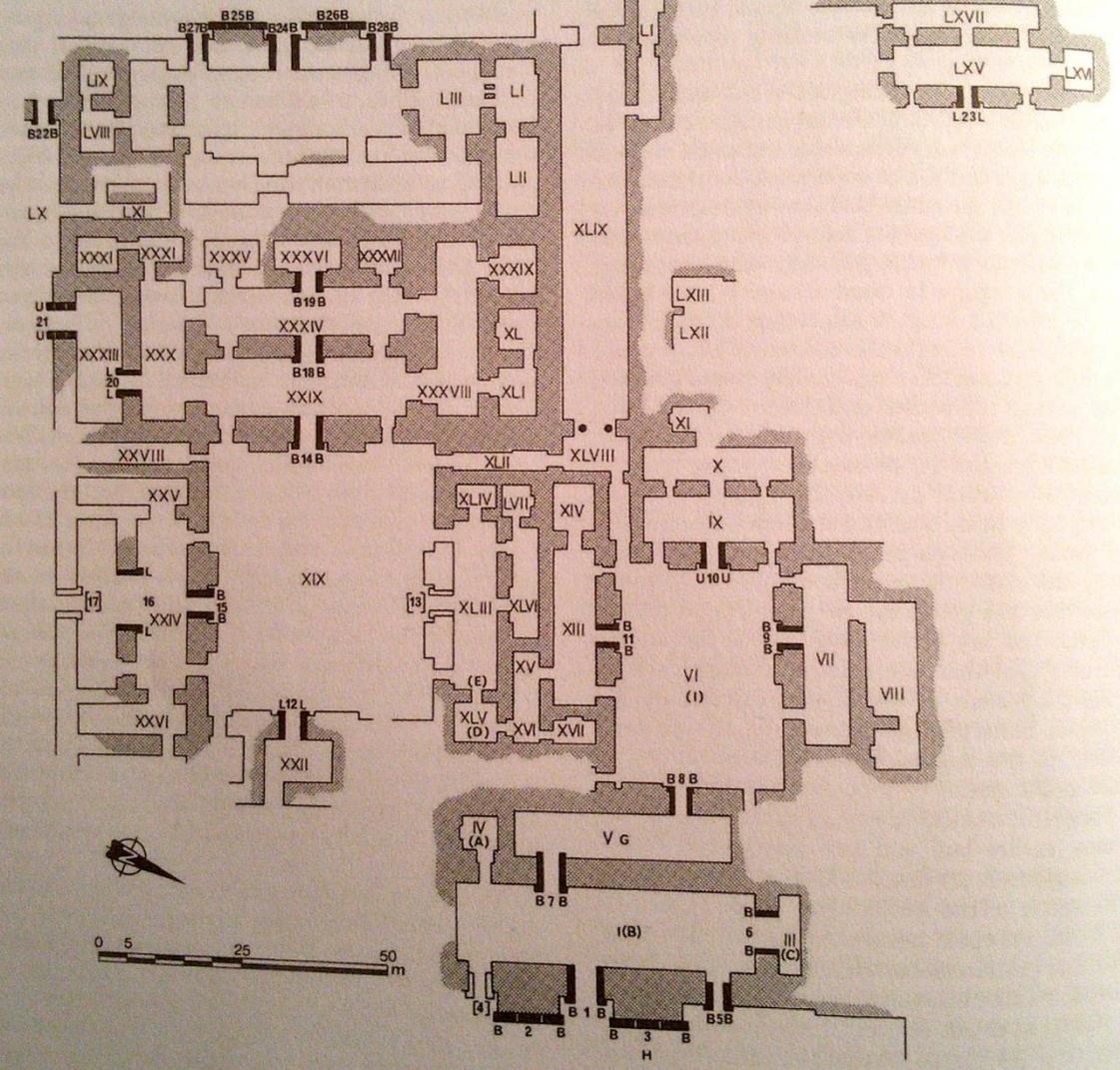


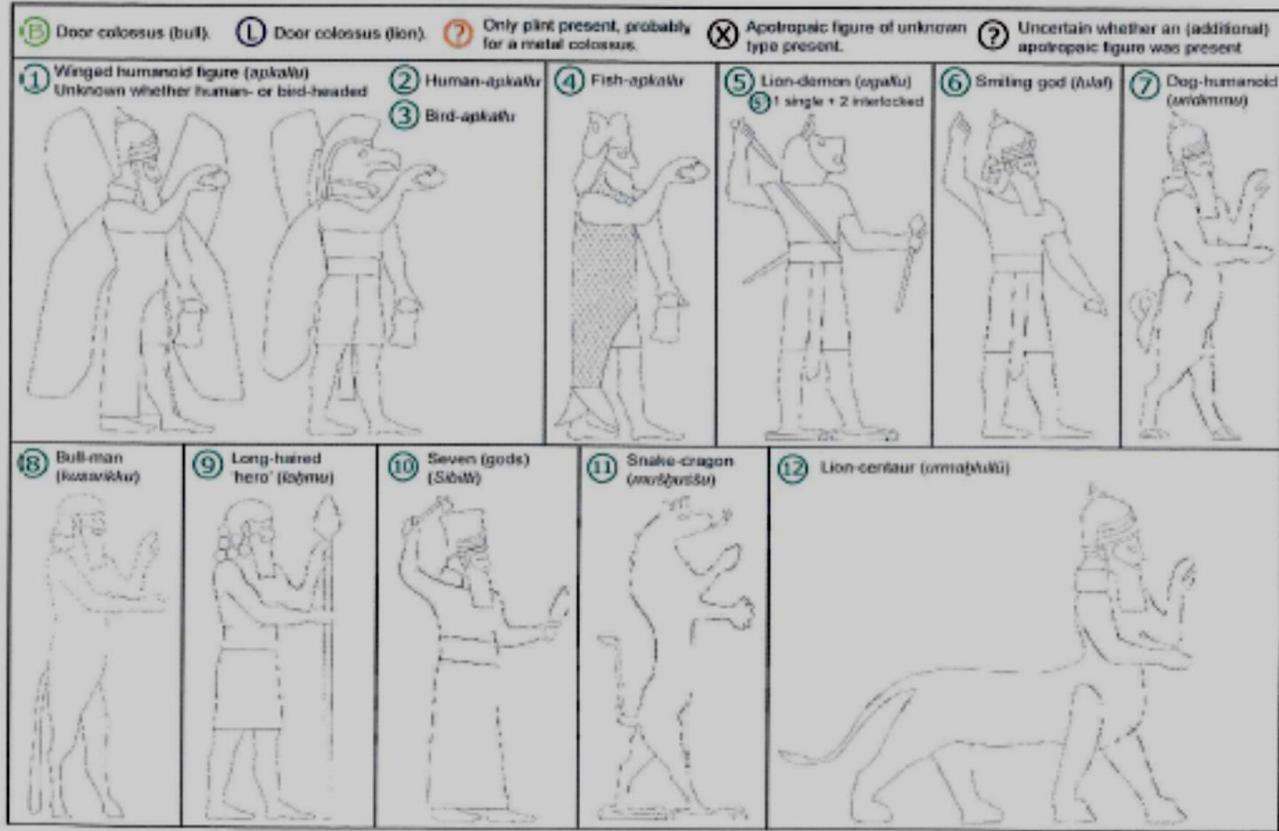
Figure 5. Plan of the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh indicating the location of the bull and lion colossi. B = bull colossus, L = lion colossus, and U = colossus type unknown. Reprinted from Galter et al., ARRIM 4 (1986) p. 29 fig. 1. © RIM Project.

In comparison to earlier palaces, the presence of colossi was expanded within the Southwest Palace. This is partially due to the increased number of major reception suites, but also to their placement in internal doorways. This can be related to the increased monumentality of the interior, which typified palace architecture of the seventh century. They were not employed to increase the monumentality of the outer façades. The hierarchy between the different external entrances was maintained, with only the central door being flanked by colossi. Most colossi had the body of a bull, but lion colossi also appear to have existed.³⁰ The reasons for choosing the type of colossus remain unclear and the royal inscriptions suggest that more than two types existed.³¹

Nella descrizione della decorazione del palazzo si fa menzione di 12 figure di leoni , 12 tori androcefali, 22 immagini di sfingi bovine. Le figure degli esseri mitici erano poste ai lati delle soglie delle porte, mentre colonne in cedro, rivestite di bronzo e piombo si innalzavano sopra a basi in forma leonina e di sfingi.

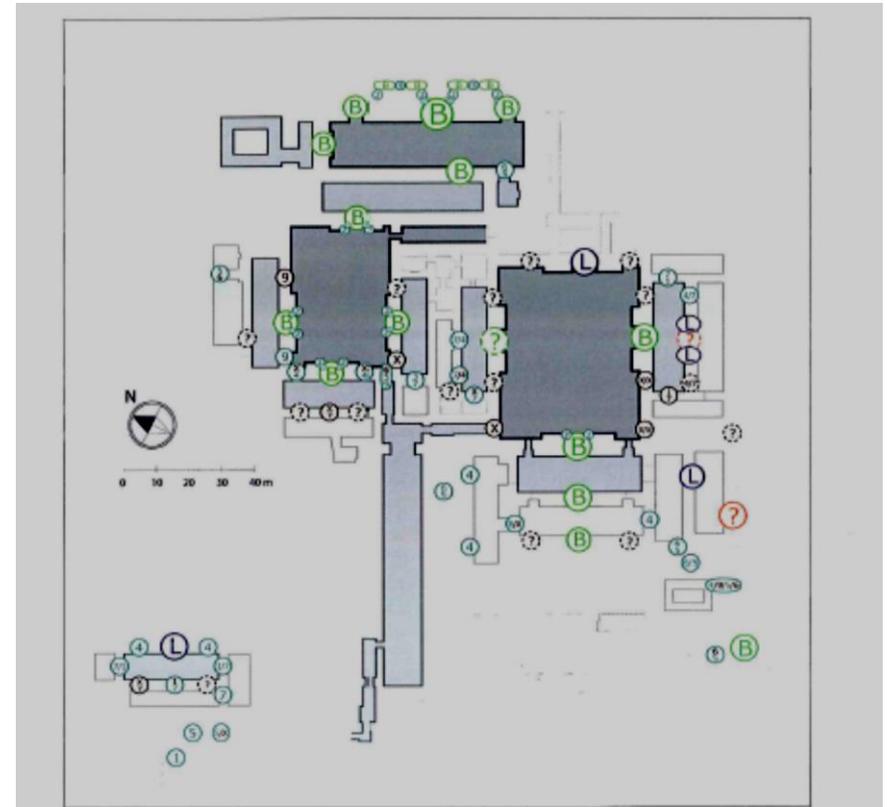
Viene descritta una nuova tecnica di fusione che si ritiene potrebbe essere quella della fusione piena, date le quantità di metallo impiegato, che potrebbero corrispondere a 43 tonnellate per ciascuna immagine.

La decorazione scultorea è caratterizzata da bassorilievi narrativi. I temi bellici occupano sia le pareti esterne che quelle interne delle sale. I temi dell'edilizia e delle tecniche costruttive ricevono particolare attenzione. Altro tema raffigurato, secondo la tradizione precedente, sono i cortei di dignitari e servitori, che recano le vivande del banchetto, oppure di armati come le guardie del corpo del sovrano.



20A Typology of apotropaic figures

geni raffigurati nei rilievi



21 Southwest Palace (Nineveh): reconstruction of the different types of apotropaic figures in their respective doorways

Cambiamenti si notano nella distribuzione dei temi: mentre a Khorsabad ogni singolo ambiente conteneva l'illustrazione di una singola campagna militare ma con vari episodi, ora si osserva una maggiore unità di tempo e luogo con il concentrarsi sul singolo episodio. La sala del trono doveva invece, secondo la tradizione, ospitare una sintesi delle imprese del re.

L'innovazione più interessante riguarda l'ambientazione delle scene sullo sfondo paesaggistico, con l'accentuazione dello spazio naturale e la sua descrizione.

Novità nel ruolo delle iscrizioni che scompaiono dai registri e sono presenti solo nelle epigrafi, all'interno della scena dei rilievi, e dalle soglie dove sono sostituiti da motivi floreali di significato forse protettivo, che ricordano la decorazione di un tappeto.

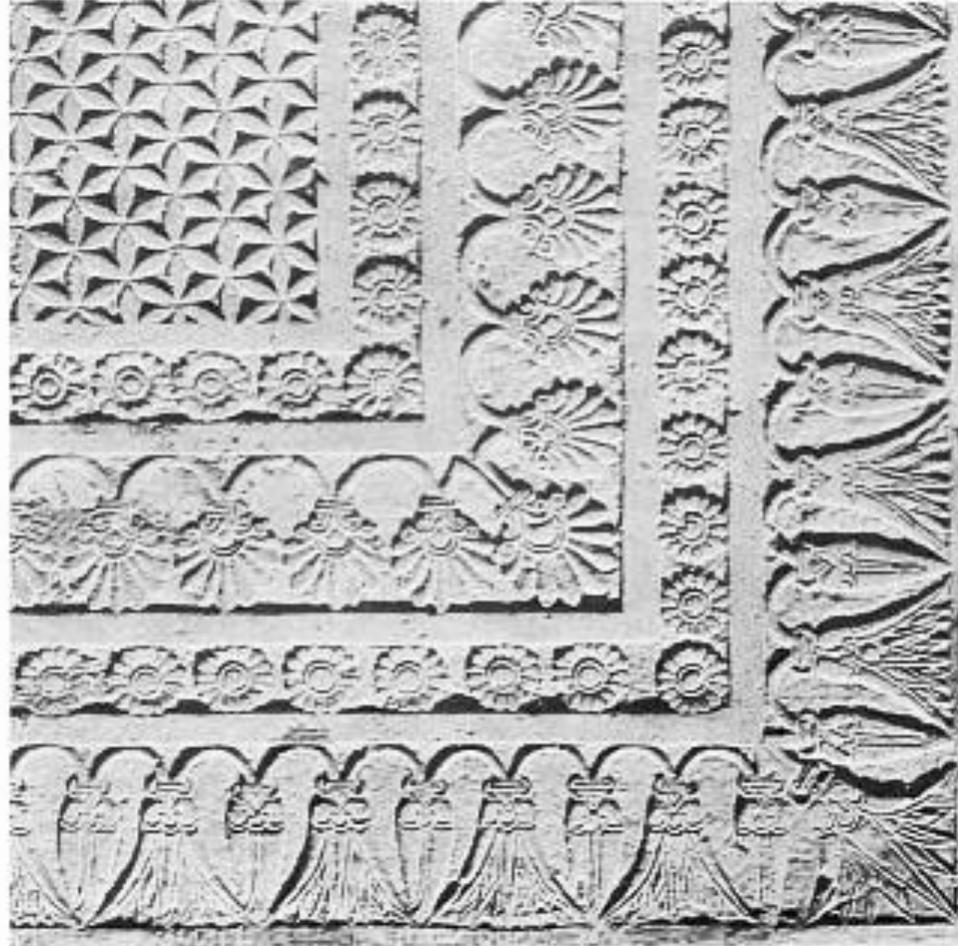
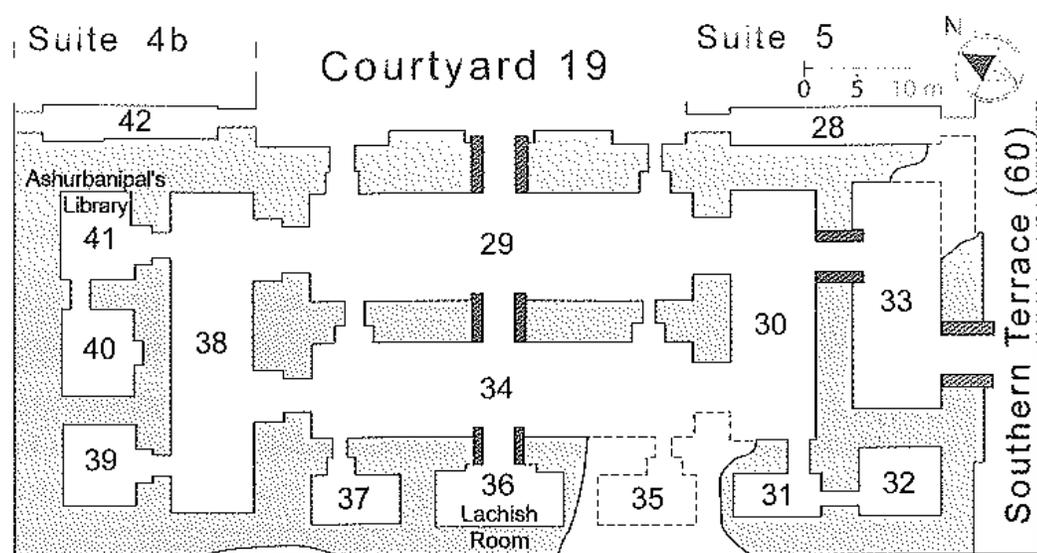
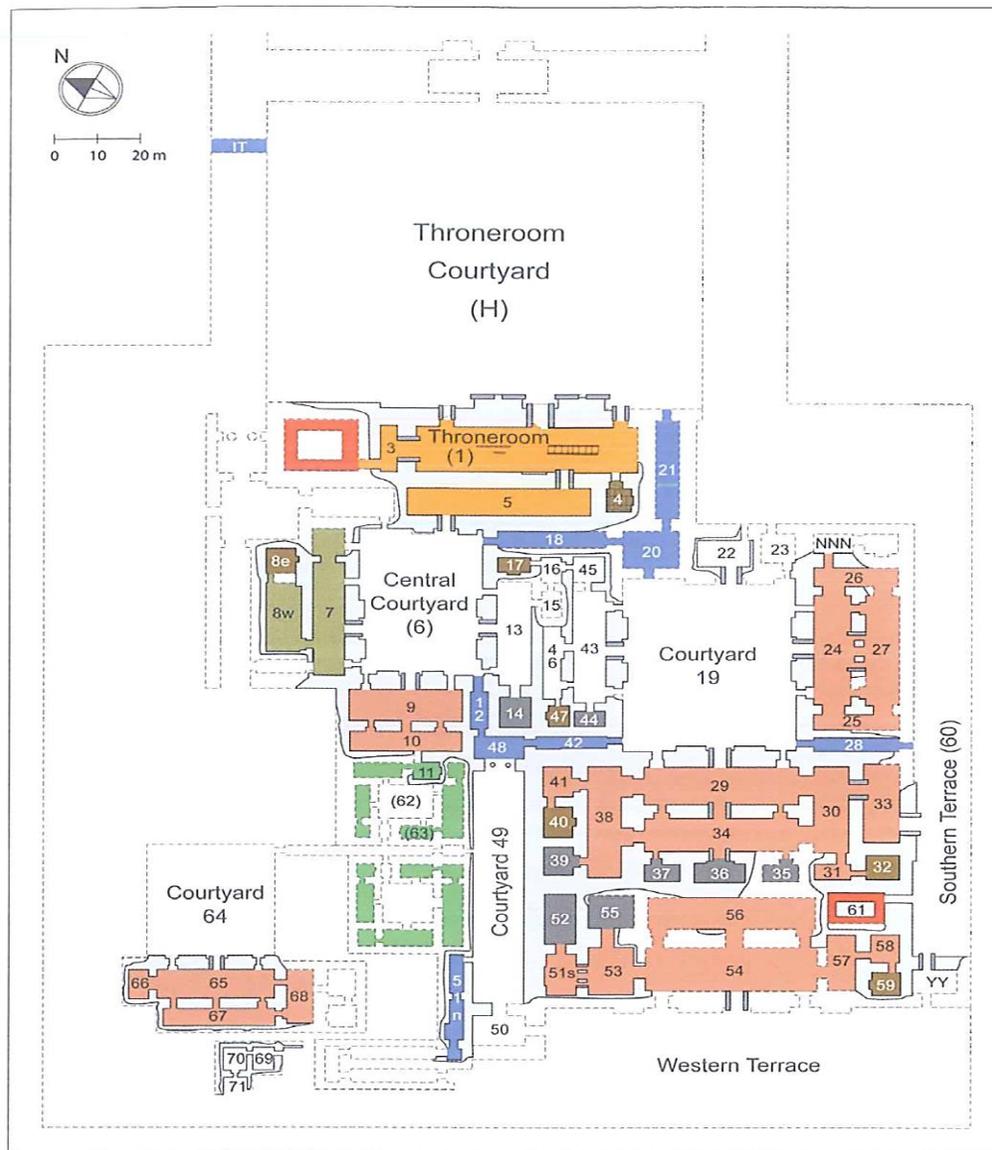
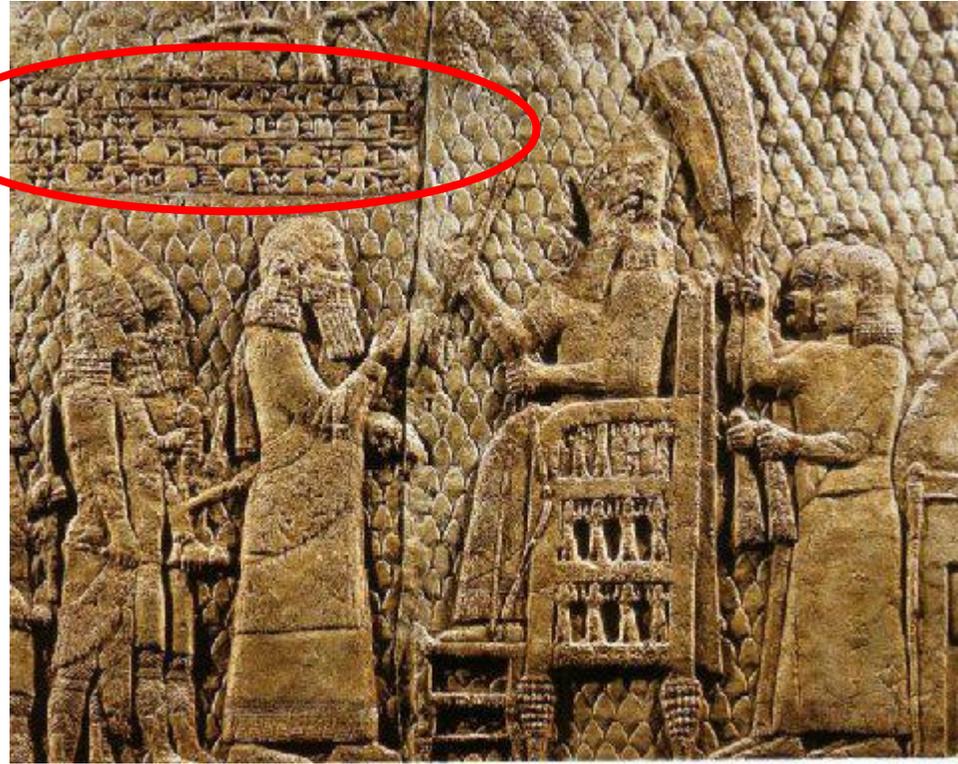


FIG. 6.5 Suite 6



Sennacherib's account of
his *res gestae*



- 1 $\text{Id}^{\text{XXX-PAP}^{\text{meš}}-\text{SU}}$ (*Sîn-ahhē-erība*) MAN (*šar*) ŠÚ (*kiššati*) MAN
(*šar*) KUR (*māt*) *Aššur*
- 2 ina $\text{giš}^{\text{GU.ZA}}$ (*kussī*) *nē-me-di ú-šib-ma*
- 3 *šal-la-at* $\text{uru}^{\text{La-ki-su}}$
- 4 *ma-ḥa-ar-šu e-ti-iq*

- 1 Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria,
- 2 took place on/in⁴³ a/the *nēmedu* throne,⁴⁴ and
- 3 the booty of Lachish
- 4 passed before him.⁴⁵

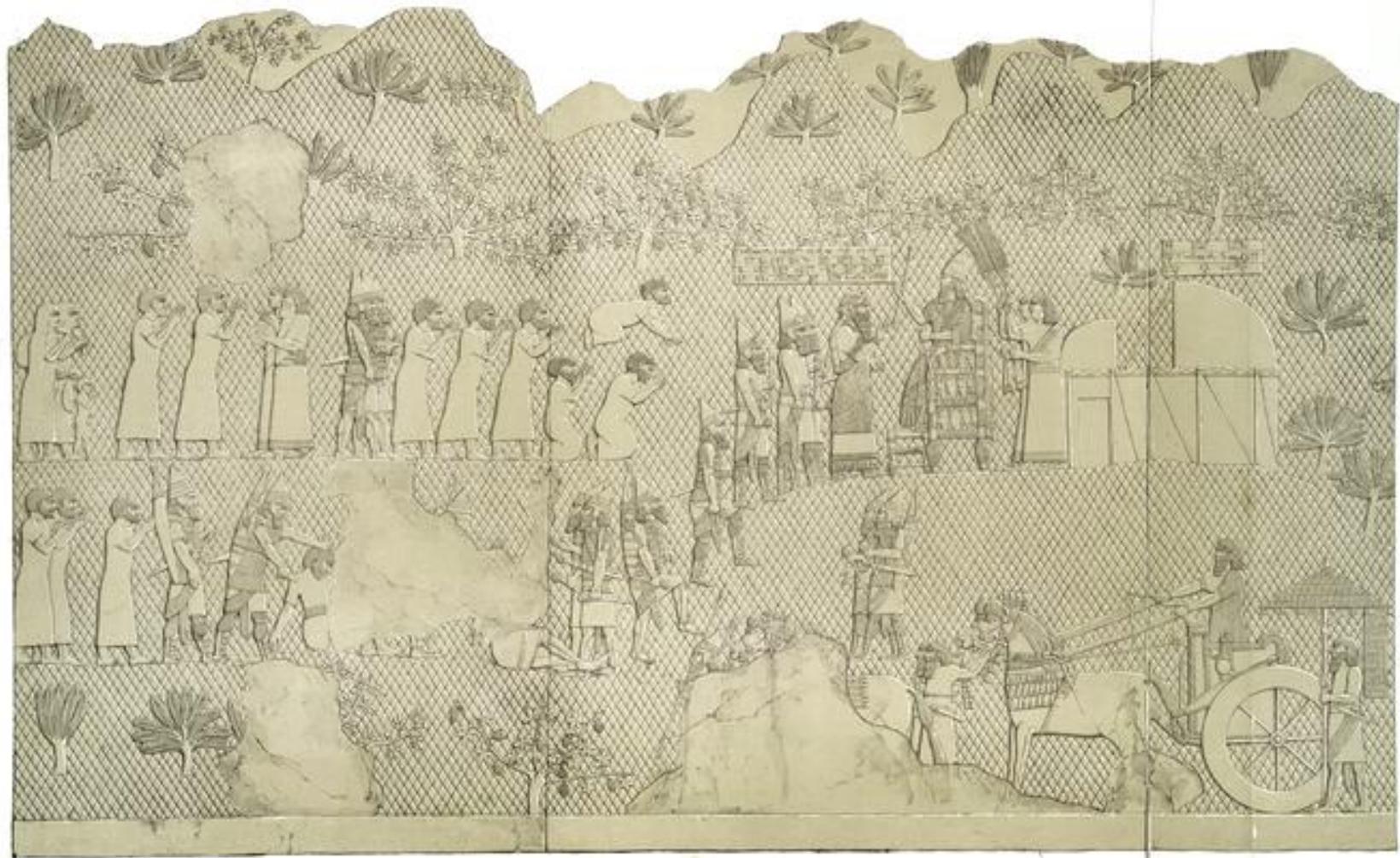
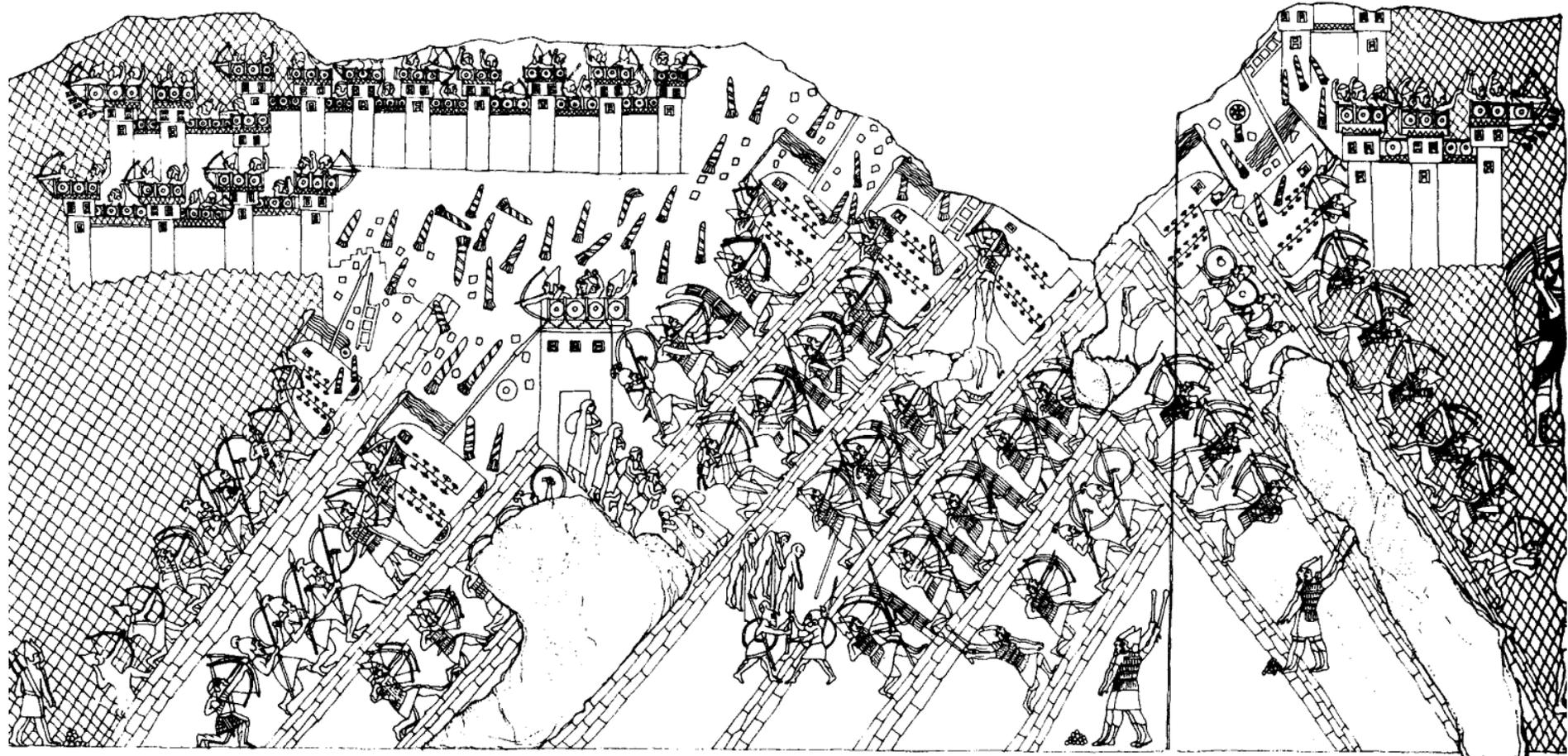
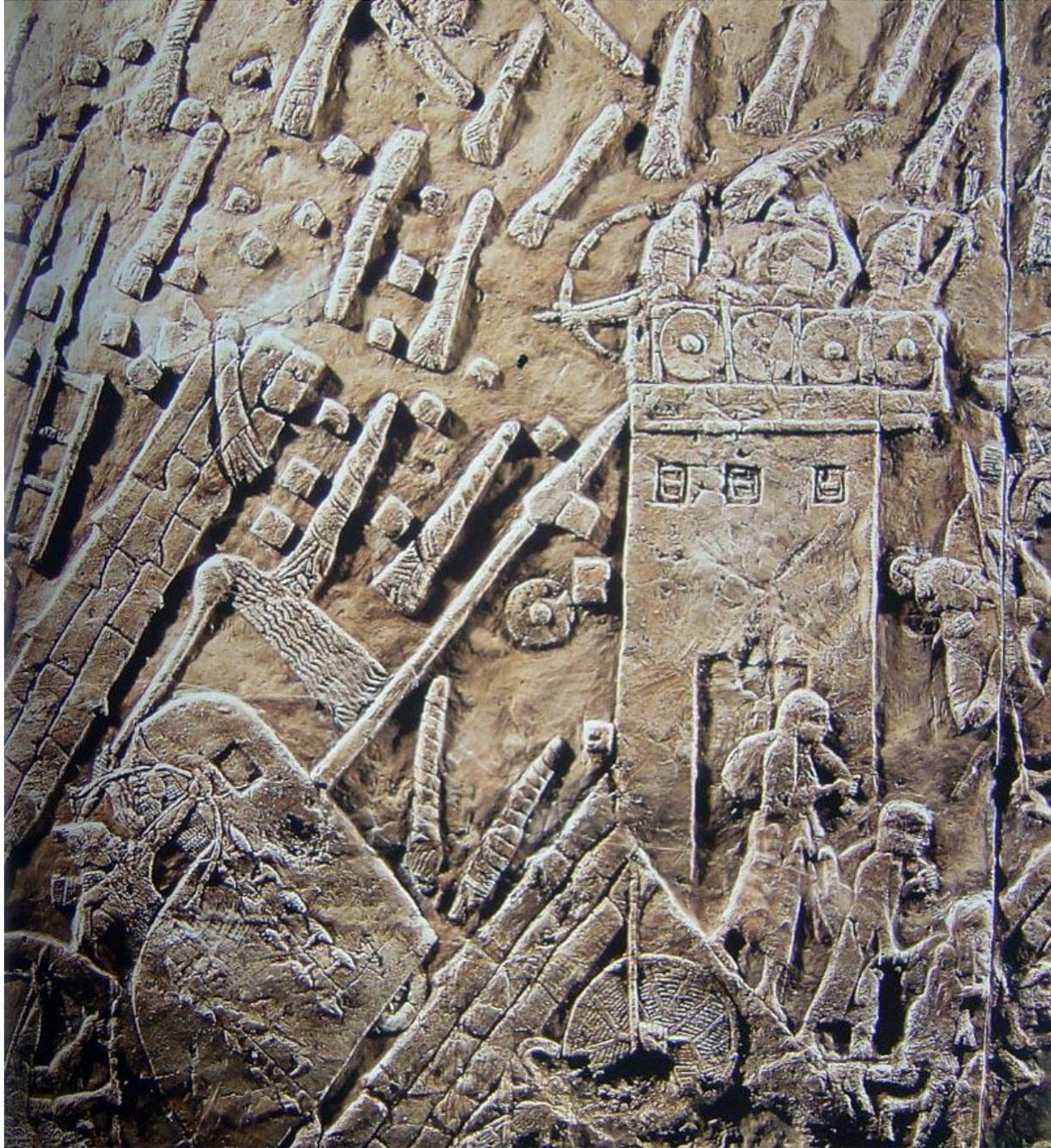
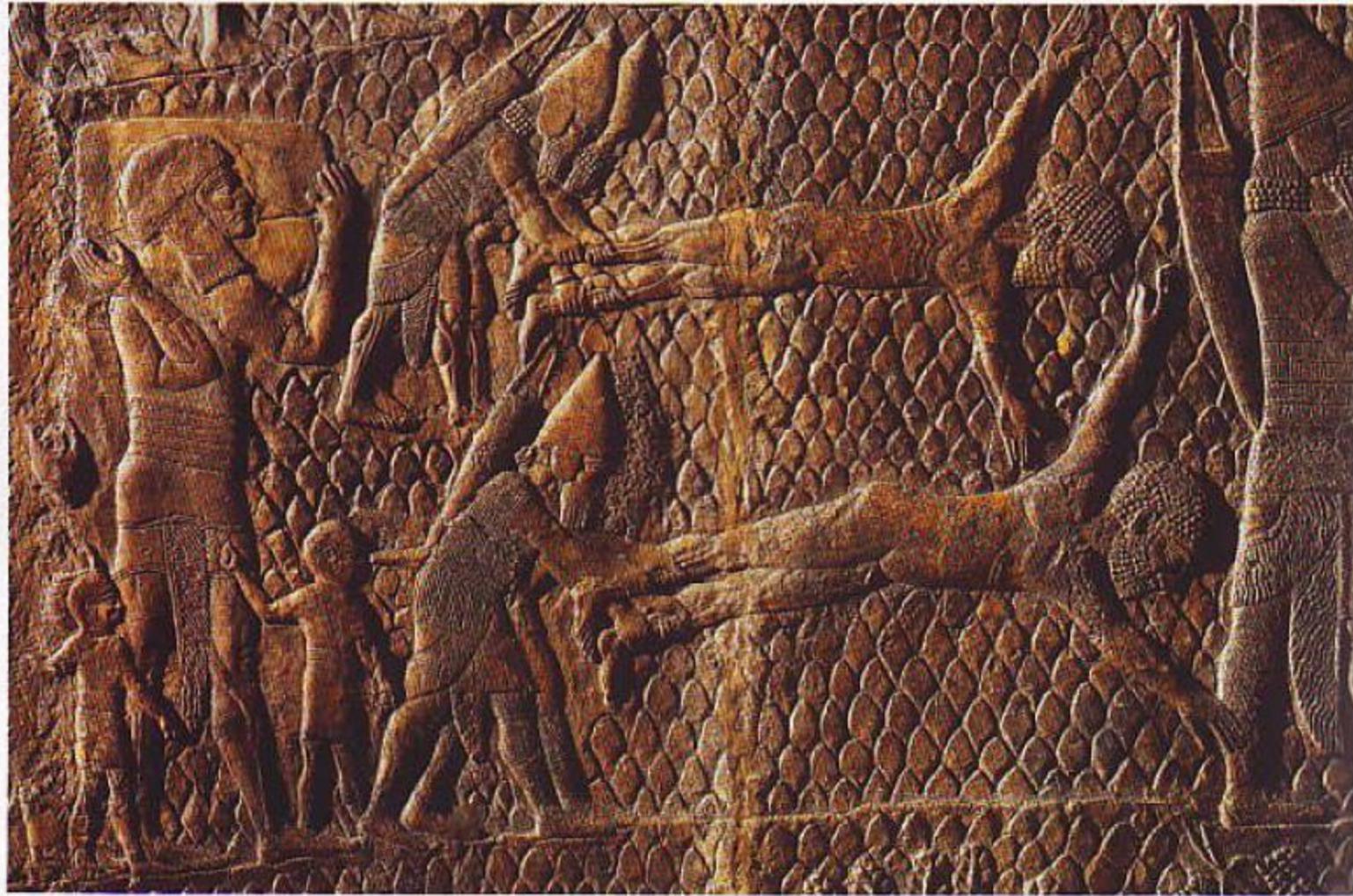


Plate 2. - Egyptian relief from the city of Thebes.

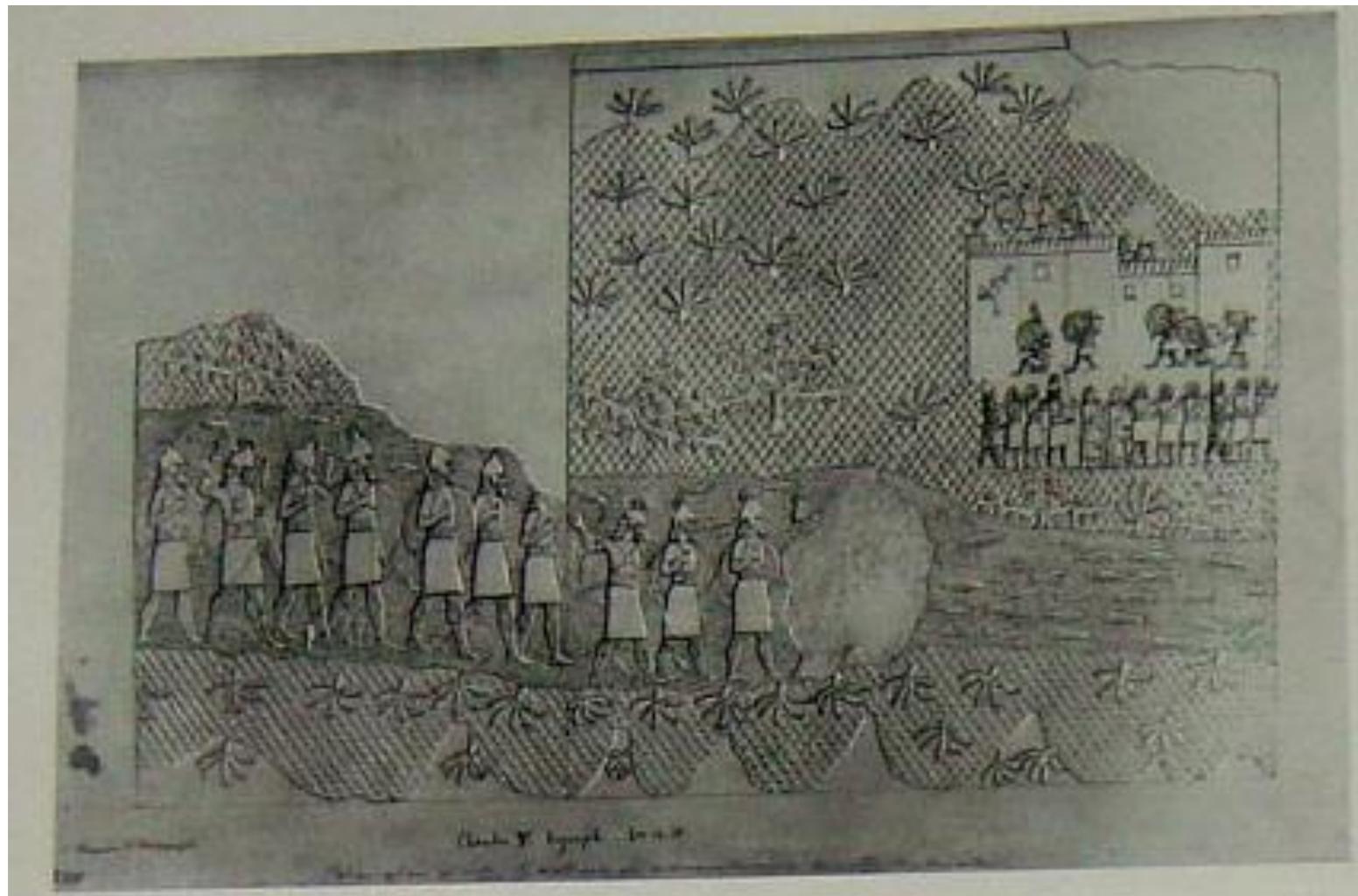






Rilievo dal palazzo di Sennacherib a Ninive: dettagli





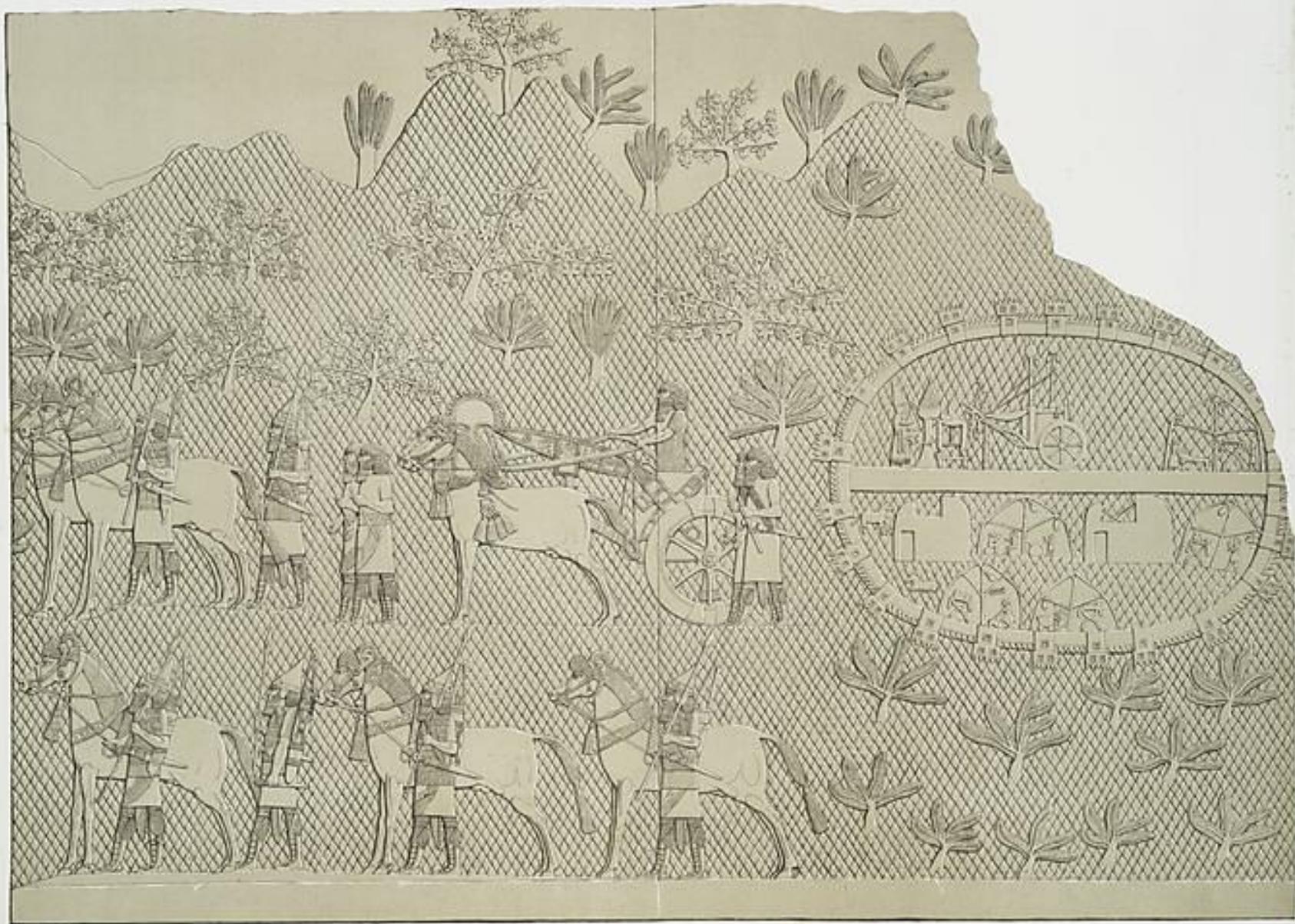


Plate 20. Christ and attendants of Samarkand and a Celtic or a Roman. (Korymbos.)

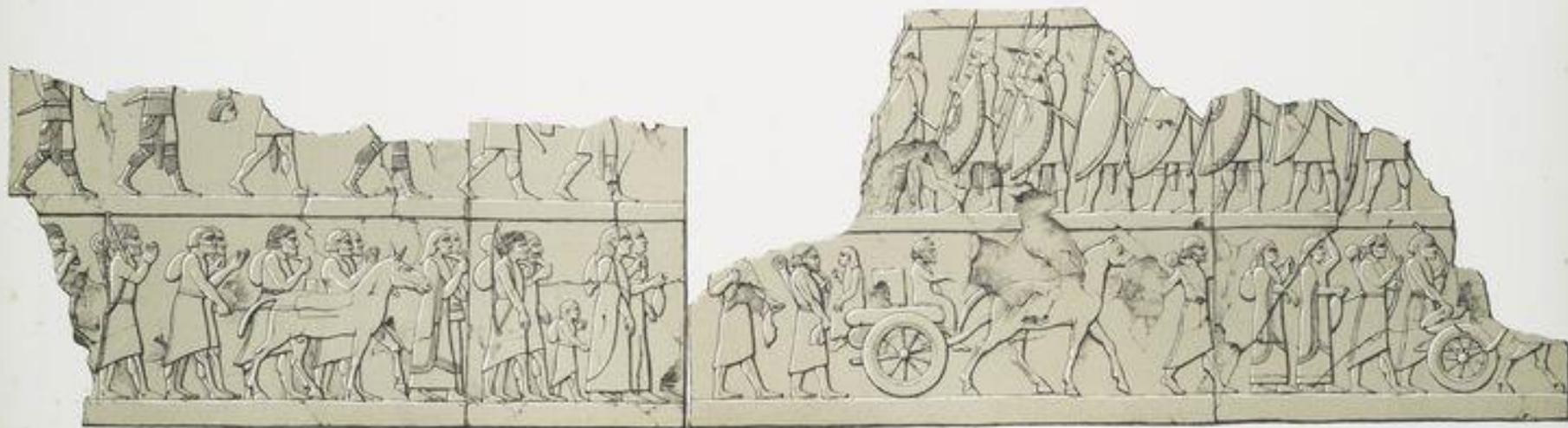


Plate 33. Captives brought to Antioch (Syria)

"horsemen and charioteers"

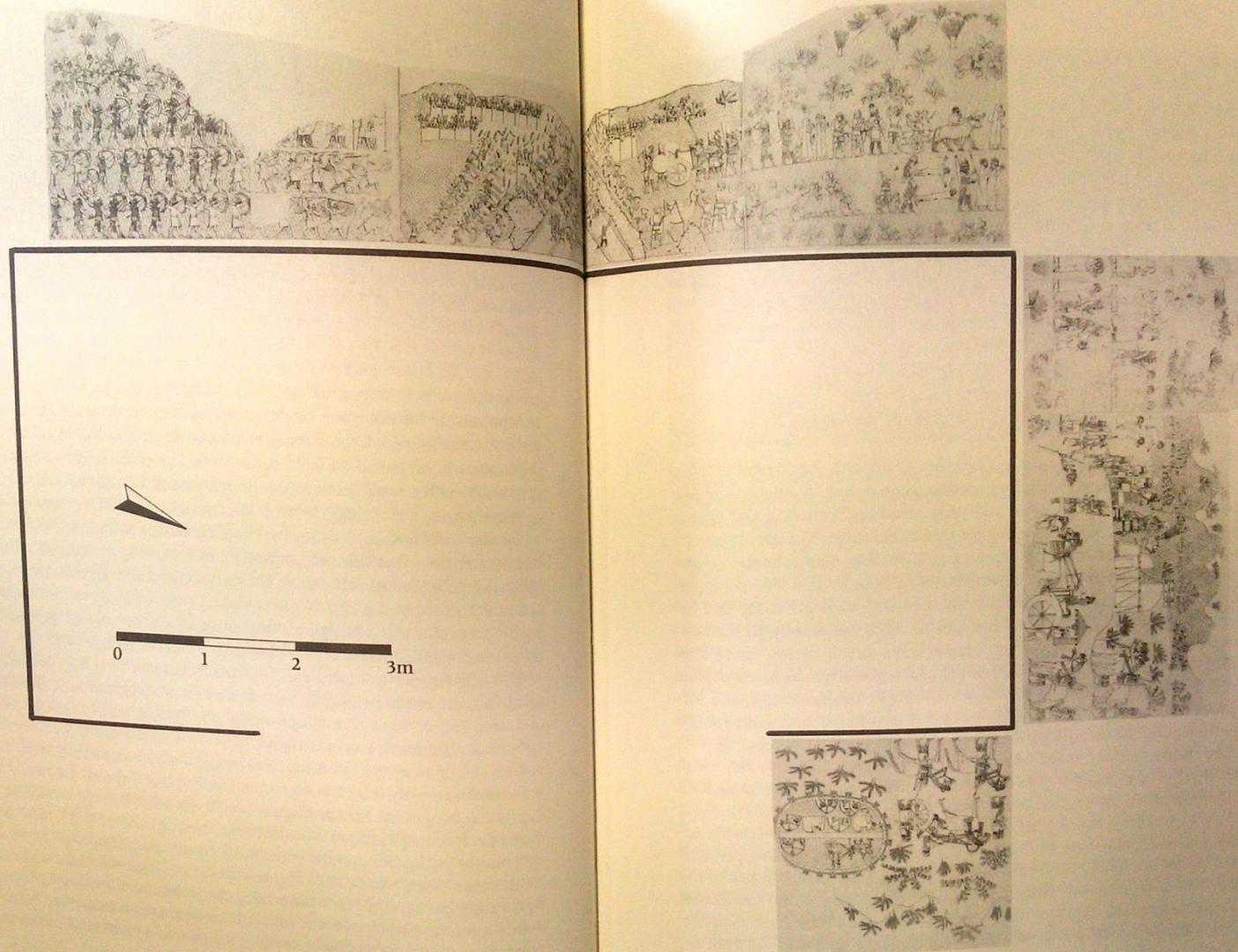
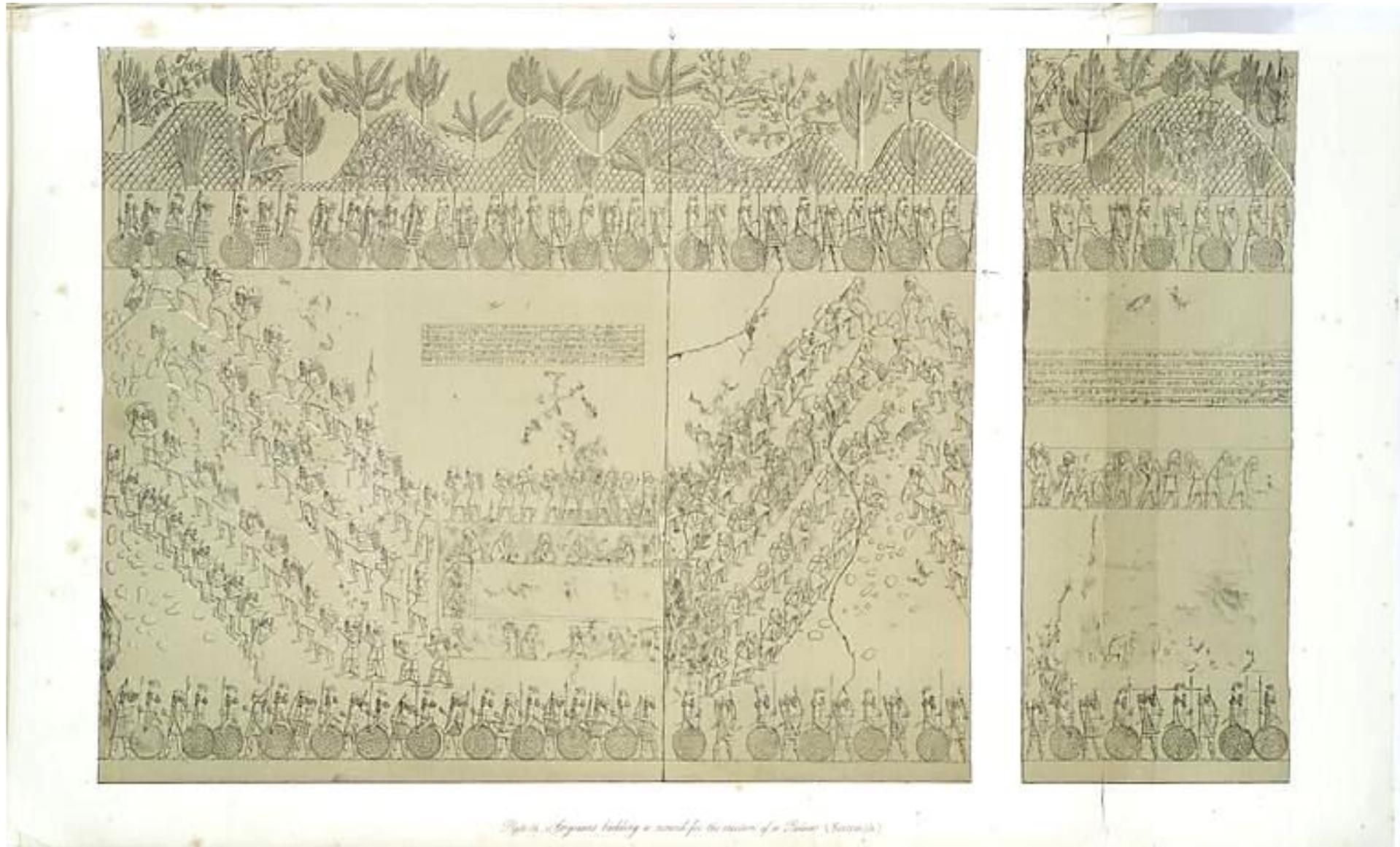


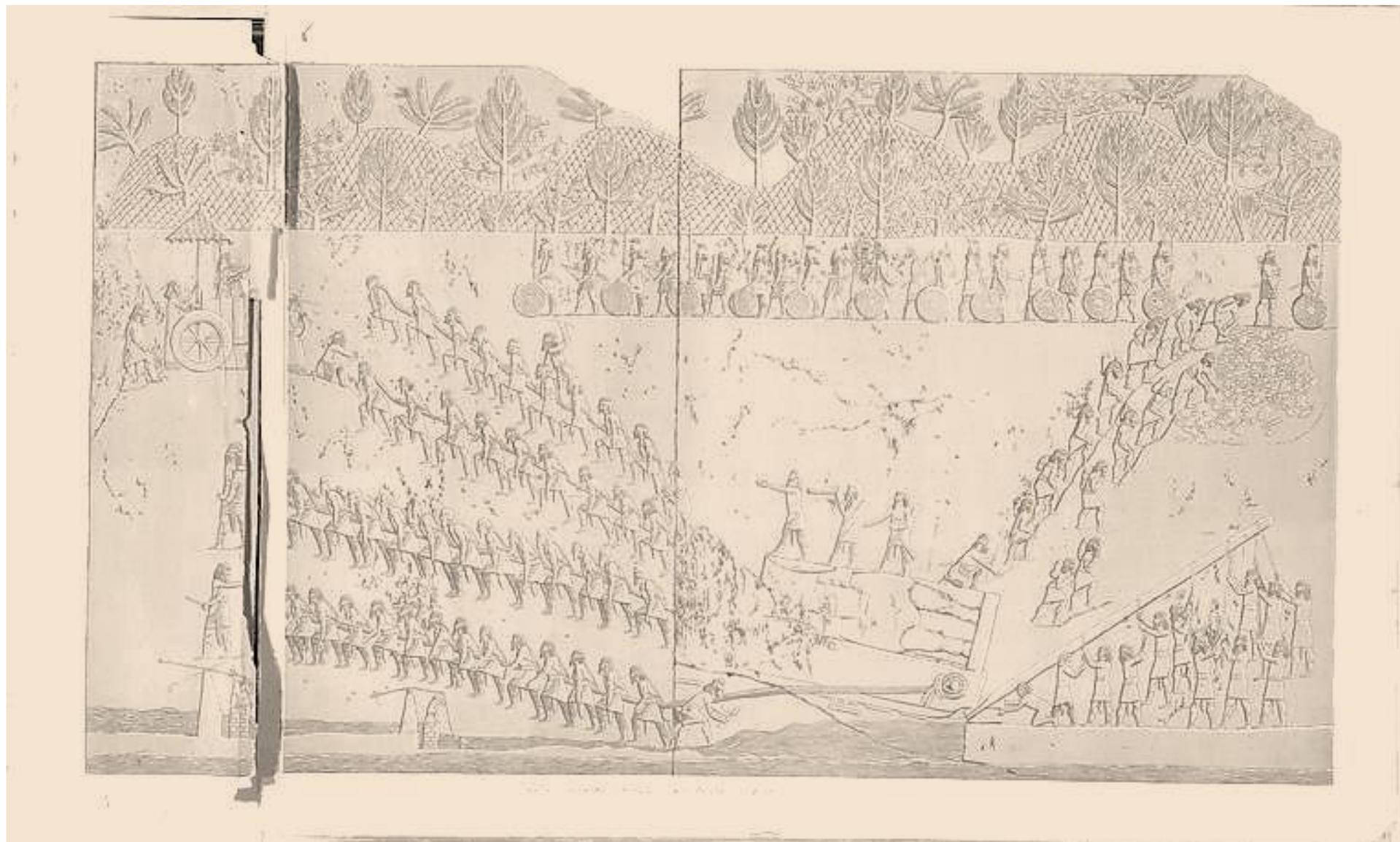
FIG. 108. The siege of Lachish as reassembled by the author, Room XXXVI, Southwest Palace, Nineveh.

STONE SOURCE	GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING	ROCK TYPE
Tastiate	Ancient quarries south of Nineveh on the right bank of the Tigris	Nodular gypsum-alabaster
Balaṭai	New quarries north of Nineveh on the left bank of the Tigris (near Eski-Mosul)	Nodular gypsum-alabaster
Mount Nipur	Judi Dagh, southern Turkey (near the modern town of Cizre)	Bioclastic limestone (with small snails)
Kapridargilâ	Tell Ahmar on the Euphrates (ancient Til Barsip north-eastern Syria)	Breccia (grained magnesian limestone red with white veins)
Mount Ammanana	Anti-Lebanon ridge (northern Syria, north and west of Damascus)	Calcite-alabaster

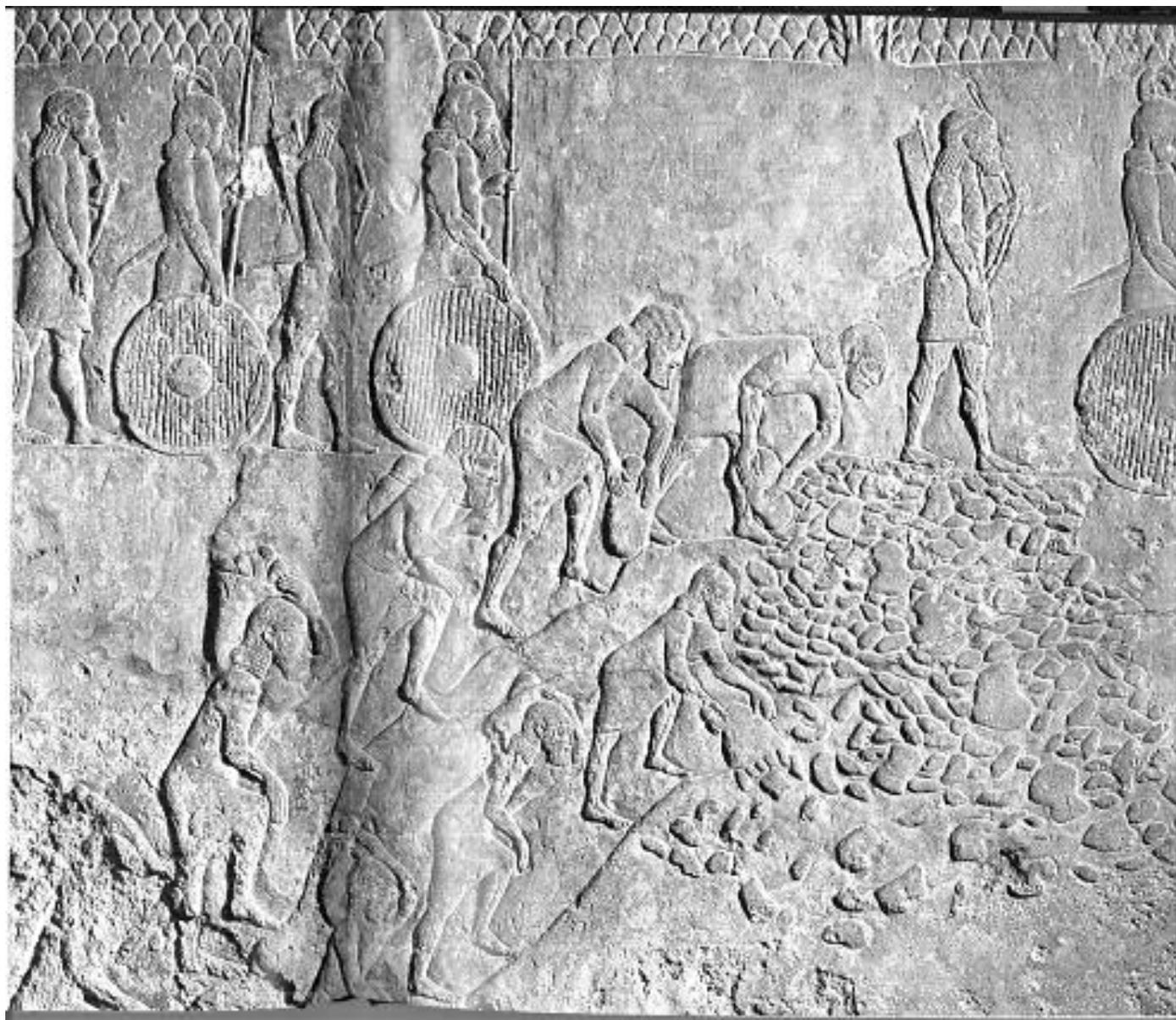
COURTYARD VI	PANEL	SUBJECT
NORTH WALL	66, 67, 68	Extracting the stone at the mountain quarry of Balatai
	63, 64	Transporting a <i>lamassu</i> in front of the king
EAST WALL	62	Workers carrying wood and ropes
	60	Sennacherib on his chariot directs the work
	53, 54, 56, 58	Transportation across mountains, swamps and the Tigris
	45, 46, 47	A <i>lamassu</i> dragged on a sledge towards Nineveh



la cava di Balatai



trasporto dei colossi fuori dalla cava



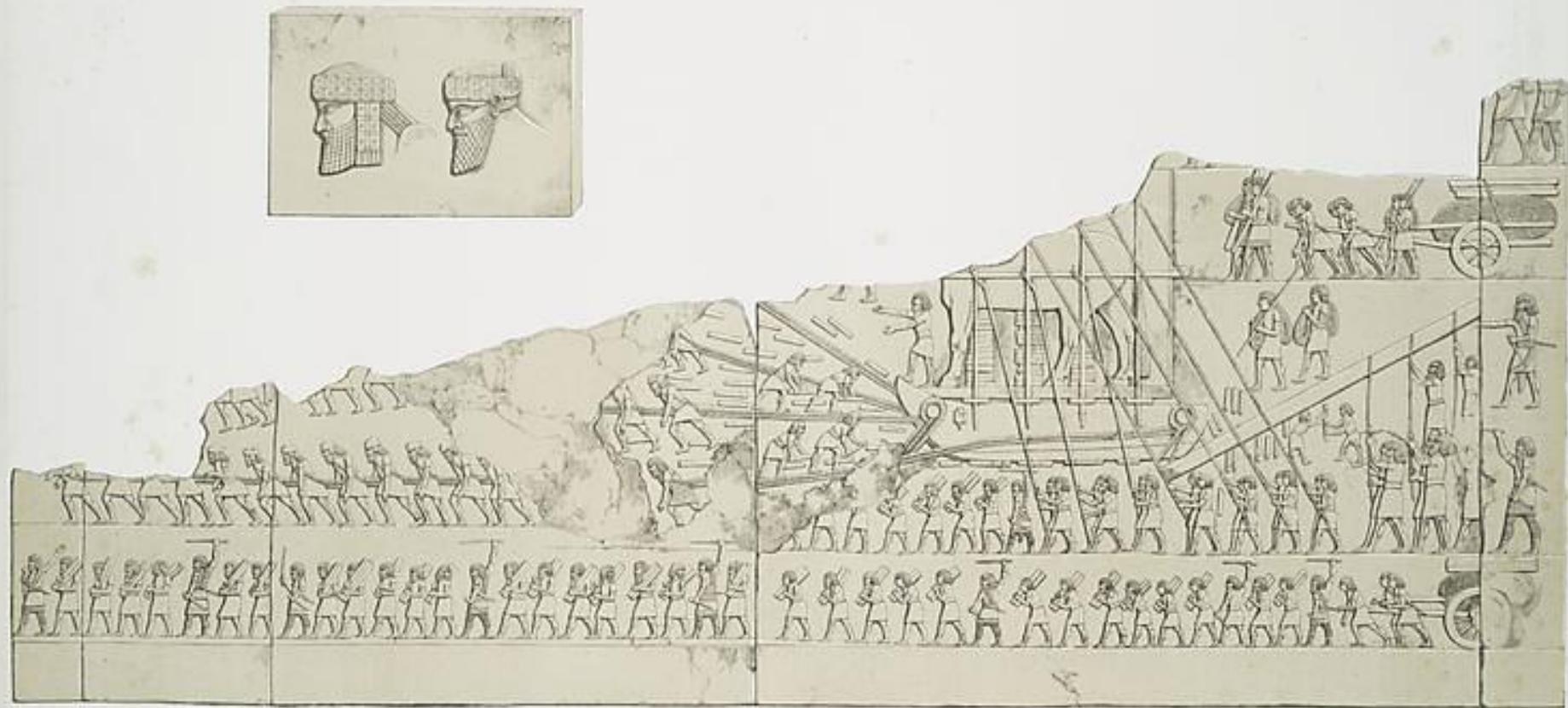
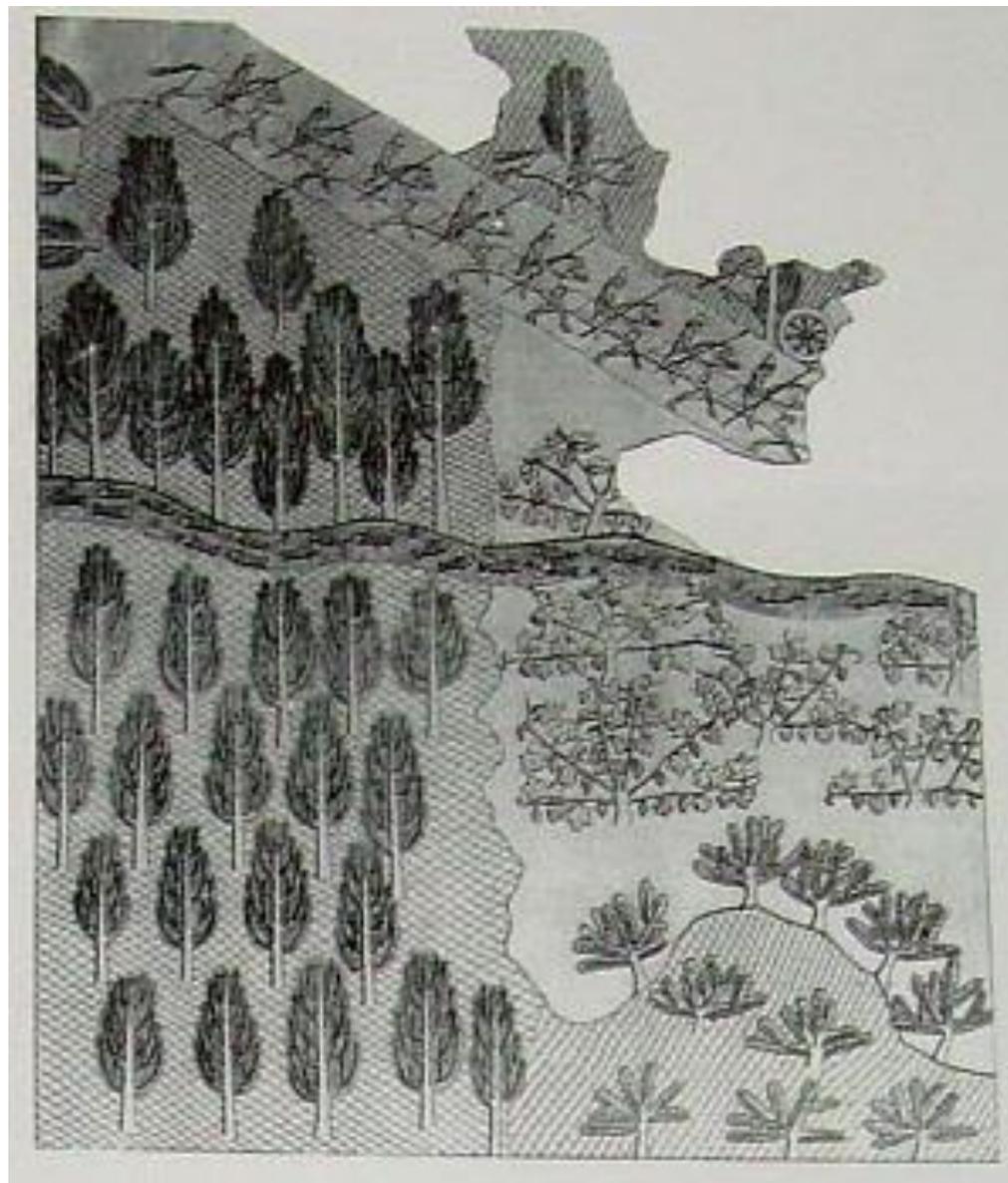


Plate 16. Quarrying upright Bull (Kourouk)





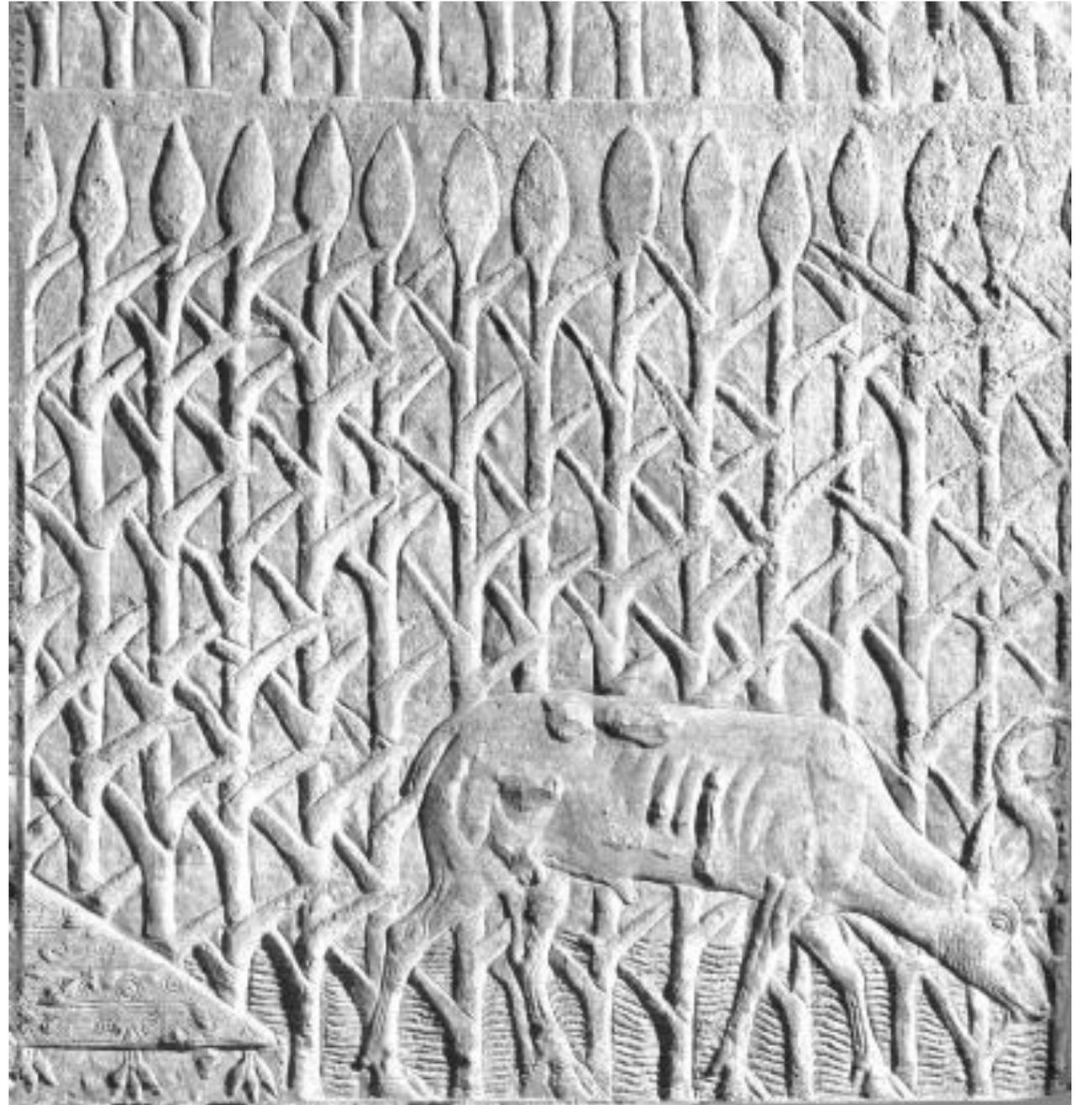






Plat. 1. The offering part, to be (Louvres)





Si deve a Sennacherib anche l'edificazione di un altro palazzo, *ekal masharti* o *ekal kutalli*, in un altro settore della città, l'area nota come Nebi Yunus, che era destinato a funzioni di magazzino, logistica militare e ospitava la rassegna delle truppe. Secondo quanto ricordato nelle iscrizioni reali la sua costruzione iniziò nel 690 a.C. e fu preceduta dalla demolizione di un palazzo precedente e la creazione di una terrazza di fondazione. Anche questo palazzo fu costruito con legni pregiati e decorato e protetto dalle colossali statue di geni.

Una particolarità è rappresentata dall'indicazione che sopra a statue, probabilmente di sfingi, si innalzavano colonne in cedro.

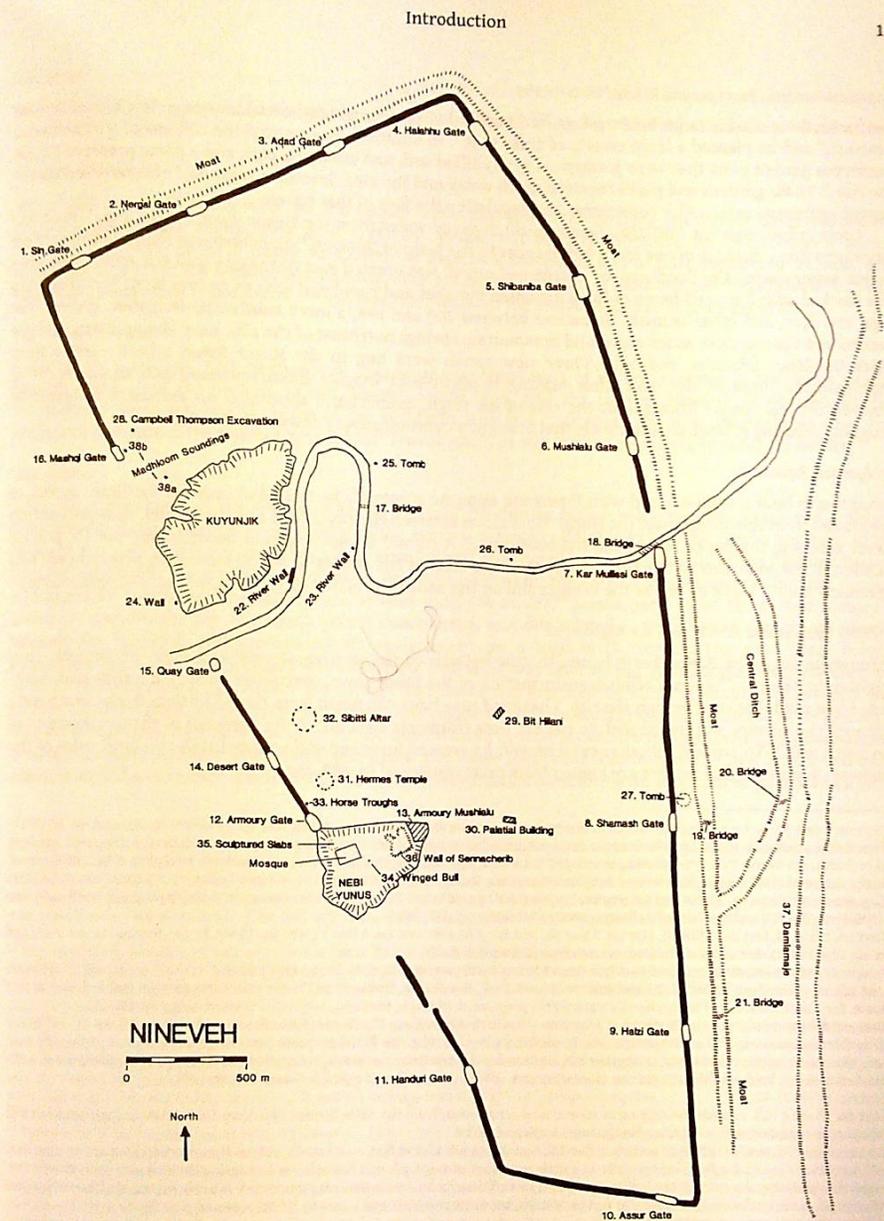


Figure 2. Plan of Nineveh. Reprinted from Scott and MacGinnis, Iraq 52 (1990) p. 73 fig. 4. © The British Institute for the Study of Iraq.

da Fales, L'impero assiro, 2001

Esarhaddon saliva al trono, sostenuto dalla madre, dopo avere debellato i fratelli. Il suo regno (680-669) è marcato dall'opera massiccia di ricostruzione di Babilonia e delle maggiori città sacre circostanti. In politica estera gli interventi furono complessivamente pochi, e per lo più di contenimento o controllo (area mannea, Urartu, Shupria); la campagna contro Sidone – spinta alla ribellione da Taharqa d'Egitto – si concludeva con la distruzione della città e un trattato d'amicizia con il re di Tiro. Un più massiccio sforzo, teso a estendere i confini dell'impero in Egitto nel 673-672, pur conclusosi con la fuga di Taharqa da Menfi e la suddivisione del territorio tra governatori assiri e regnanti locali, trovava un'immediata reazione in tentativi di ribellione.

Dietro la spinta di questo insuccesso sostanziale, o di altri fattori personali e politici, Esarhaddon decideva nel 672 di spartire la sua corona tra i due figli, designando Assurbanipal in patria e Shamash-shumu-ukin in Babilonia; a tutto l'impero era imposto un patto giurato di fedeltà a riguardo. Forse come reazione a quest'innovazione istituzionale, nasceva nel 670 una cospirazione da parte di vari Grandi del regno, messi a morte dal sovrano. Quindi Esarhaddon riprendeva la via dell'Egitto, ove il dominio assiro era malfermo, ma si ammalava in viaggio e moriva nei tardi mesi del 669. Poche settimane dopo, Assurbanipal ascendeva al trono, con il sostegno politico della nonna.

Nineveh remained the primary royal city during Esarhaddon's reign. Although some reliefs might date to this period, Nineveh's Southwest Palace seems mostly devoid of traces from his reign.⁴ Nonetheless, the palace probably remained the primary palace of the empire. This is supported by the state archives, the bulk of which were found inside the Southwest Palace and show the king being informed on the activities in other palaces such as Nineveh's Military Palace (§6.3). The Military Palace, even though only fragmentarily known, contains some architectural features datable to Esarhaddon's reign. In the final years of his reign construction started on a new palace in Kalḫu, which is now known as the Southwest Palace (§7.2). Kalḫu's Military Palace was being reconstructed and extended during the same period (§7.4). Whether these palaces were aimed at re-establishing Kalḫu as the primary royal city is doubtful due to the relatively modest scale of the new palaces in Kalḫu (Pl. 3). It more probably represents an attempt to provide Kalḫu with the palaces befitting its status as important royal city. Even if it was the intent, the move away from Nineveh never materialized. His son and successor Ashurbanipal never finished Kalḫu's Southwest Palace and continued using Nineveh as his main residence.

From: <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/rinap4/corpus>

I am my older brothers' youngest brother (and) by the command of the gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl, and Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela, (my) father, who engendered me, elevated me firmly in the assembly of my brothers, saying: 'This is the son who will succeed me.' He questioned the gods Šamaš and Adad by divination, and they answered him with a firm 'yes,' saying: 'He is your replacement.' (i 15) He heeded their important word(s) and gathered together the people of Assyria, young (and) old, (and) my brothers, the seed of the house of my father. Before the gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Nabû, (and) Marduk, the gods of Assyria, the gods who live in heaven and netherworld, he made them swear their solemn oath(s) concerning the safe-guarding of my succession. (i 20) In a favorable month, on a propitious day, in accordance with their sublime command, I joyfully entered the House of Succession, an awe-inspiring place within which the appointing to kingship (takes place).

Persecution (and) jealousy fell over my brothers and they forsook (the will) of the gods. They trusted in their arrogant deeds, and they were plotting evil. They started evil rumors, calumnies, (and) slander about me against the will of the gods, and they were constantly telling insincere lies, hostile things, behind my back. They alienated the well-meaning heart of my father from me, against the will of the gods, (but) deep down he was compassionate and his eyes were permanently fixed on my exercising kingship.

I pondered and thought thus: 'Their deeds are arrogant and they trust (only) in their (own) counsel. What will they (not) do against the will of the gods?' (i 35) I prayed to the god Aššur, king of the gods, (and) the merciful god Marduk, to whom treacherous talk is an abomination, with benedictions, supplications, and expressions of humility, and they accepted my words. By the command of the great gods, my lords, they (the gods) settled me in a secret place away from the evil deeds, (i 40) stretched out their pleasant protection over me, and kept me safe for (exercising) kingship. Afterwards, my brothers went out of their minds and did everything that is displeasing to the gods and mankind, and they plotted evil, girt (their) weapons, and in Nineveh, without the gods, they butted each other like kids for (the right to) exercise kingship

The gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela saw the deeds of the usurpers which had been done wrongly against the will of the gods and they did not support them. They changed their strength to weakness and forced them to bow down to me. (i 50) **The people of Assyria, who swore by oil and water to the treaty, an oath bound by the great gods, to protect my (right to exercise) kingship, did not come to their aid.**

I, Esarhaddon, who with the help of the great gods, his lords, does not turn back in the heat of battle, quickly heard of their evil deeds. I said ‘Woe!’ and rent my princely garment. I cried out in mourning, I raged like a lion, and my mood became furious. In order to exercise kingship (over) the house of my father I beat my hands together. I prayed to the gods Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, and Nergal, Ištar of Nineveh, (and) Ištar of Arbela (i 60) and they accepted my word(s). With their firm ‘yes,’ they were sending me reliable omen(s), (saying): ‘Go! Do not hold back! We will go and kill your enemies.’

I did not hesitate one day (or) two days. I did not wait for my army. I did not look for my rear guard. I did not check the assignment of horses harnessed to the yoke (i 65) nor that of my battle equipment. I did not stock up travel provisions for my campaign. I was not afraid of the snow (and) cold of Šabātu (XI), the severest cold season. Like a flying eagle I spread my wings to drive back my enemies. With difficulty and haste, I followed the road to Nineveh and (i 70) before my (arrival) in the territory of the land Ḫanigalbat all of their crack troops blocked my advance; they were sharpening their weapons. Fear of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them, (and when) they saw my mighty battle array, they became like crazed women.

....

4. Accession Treaty of Esarhaddon

83-1-18,420 (+) 83-1-18,493 (CT 53 937)
 (+) Bu 91-5-9,131

JCS 39 187

Obv. destroyed

Rev. beginning broken away

- 1' [x x x x x x x x x x]-[lu¹-n[i x x x x x]]
 2' [x x x x x x x x x x] [i¹-si-t¹a¹-[te x x x]x a-na
 L[ú.x x x]
 3' [x x x a-na a-l]ik hu-li a-qab-bi [x x x x
 a]-na ZAG [ú¹] [KAB a-šap-par]
 4' [ú šúm-ma a-na-k]u a-bat-su la [de¹-i[q-
 i]ú [TA* pi]-i NUMUN-šú a-šam-mu-[u-
 ni]
 5' [ú-la-a šúm-ma] TA* pi-i ša 1-en T[A* šà
 L]Ú.GAL.MEŠ [LÚ.NAM.MEŠ]
 6' [TA* pi-i 1-en T]A* šà LÚ.šá—ziq-ni ú-la-a
 TA* pi-[i¹] [1-en LÚ.SAG.MEŠ]
 7' [a-šam-mu-u-ni] ú a-na [maš-šur—PAB¹¹—
 [SUM]-na EN-iá la a-qab-b[u-u-ni]
 8' [šúm-ma la ARAD-šú] a-na-ku-u-ni ú [de-
 i]q-tú-šú la a-zak-k[ar-u-ni]
 9' [šúm-ma e-ni-šú la] [a¹-dag-gal-¹u-ni¹
 [pa-n]i šá [maš-šur—PAB—SUM-na E[N-iá]
 10' [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x] šú]m-ma a-na-ku
 ma-mit [x x]
 11' [x x x x x x x x x x]x [ur hu¹] [ma-mit p]a-šá-
 a-ru e-pa-šu-[u-ni]

(Beginning destroyed)

¹ [..... t]ower[s ...] I shall tell [...] to [...
 and] trav[ellers, *I shall send messengers*] to
 the south and [the north ...].

⁴ Should I he[ar an ug]ly word about him
 [from the mou]th of his progeny, [should I
 hear it] from the mouth of one of the
 magnates or [governors], [from the mouth of
 one o]f the bearded or from the mouth of [the
 eunuchs], I will go and tell it to Esarhaddon,
 my lord;

⁸ I [will] be [his servant] and speak good of
 him, I [will be] loyal to him and [... the fa]ce
 of Esarhaddon my lord, [...];

¹⁰ I will [keep] the oath [of this treaty tablet]
 and not perform the (rite of) undoing the
 [oath ...] or make [...].

¹¹ Also you shall not make [...]

- 12' [x x x x x e-pa]-šu-u-ni ù šúm-ma at-ta
[x x x]
- 13' [x x x x x te]-pa-šu-u-ni ù šúm-[ma]
at-ta [x x x]
- 14' [x x x x x x x] te-pa-šu-u-ni ù šúm-m[a
a]t-t[a x x x]
- 15' [x x x x x x x]-²i-i šá pa-šá-a-ri šá
[x x]x[x x x x]
- 16' [AN.ŠÁR AD DINGIR.MEŠ LUGAL k]iš-šat
AN-e u KI.TIM še-ret-s[u kab-tú li-mid-
su]
- 17' [x x x x x x x]x-ma ina ma-har DINGIR u
LUGAL e-[reb-šú a-a iq-bi]
- 18' [^dNIN.LÍL AMA GAL-tú hi]-ir-tu na-ram-
ta-[šu x x x]
- 19' [x x x x x x t^e]-e-šú li-šá-ni x[x x x x]
- 20' [^d15 be-let MURUB₄ u MÈ ina t]a-ha-a-zi
dan-ni [GIŠ.BAN-šú liš-bir]
- 21' [ina šá-pal LÚ.KÚR-šú]i-še-ši-ib-šú ka-
mì-iš [0⁷]
- 22' [^dUTU x x x x x GI]š.zi-ba-ni-tum la kit-ti
[x x x]
- 23' [x x x x x x L]AK ina re-bit URU-šú [x x x]
- 24' [^dNIN.GAL⁷ x x x x x x]-bi ina ma-har ^d30
[ha-²i-ri-šá]
- 25' [ab-bu-su a-a iš-bat a-mat]-su li-lam-mìn
[x x x]
- 26' [^dU.GUR dan-dan-nu DINGIR.MEŠ ina] šib-
ti ù NAM.ÚŠ.MEŠ [x x x]
- 27' [x x x x x x li-qa]t-ta-a UN.MEŠ-[šú 0⁷]
- 28' [x x x x x x x i]š-¹di-šu¹ li-¹x¹[x x x x]
rest broken away

¹² Also, you shall not make [...], and you shall not make [...], and you shall not [...] of undoing ...[...]. (Whoever sins against this treaty tablet:)

¹⁶ [May Aššur, father of the gods, and king] of the totality of heaven and earth, [impose a heavy] punishment [upon him ... and forbid his ent]ering into the presence of god and king.

¹⁸ May [Mullissu, the great mother, his] beloved wife [...] alter his [mind].

²⁰ [May Ištar, lady of warfare, break his

bow in] the thick of battle, and have him crouch as a captive [under his enemy].

²² [May Šamaš] untruthful scales [.....] in the plaza of his city.

²⁴ [May Nikkal ...] worsen his case [and not intercede for him] in the presence of Sin [her husband].

²⁶ [May Nergal, the strongest among the gods,] destroy [his] people through plague and pestilence [...

(Rest destroyed)

Nel 672 la designazione dei figli come eredi al trono di Assiria (Assurbanipal) e di Babilonia (Shamsh-shumu-ukin) viene ufficializzata e istituzionalizzata con un patto giurato (*adê*) che impegna al rispetto i membri della famiglia reale e della corte, il popolo assiro e i vassalli.



FIGURE 72. Drawing of the Stela of Esarhaddon from Zincirli. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, VA 2708. Photo: Felix von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli I: Einleitung und Mitschriften*, *Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* 11 (Berlin: W. Steinhilber, 1893): Abb. 2.