ANNALS OF ASSUR-NASIR-PAL.
(SOMETIMES CALLED SARDANAPALUS.)

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES,
By REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.,
RECTOR OF ST. ETHELBURGA, E.C.

CONCERNING Assur-nasir-habal or Assur-nasir-pal (i.e., Assur preserves the son) we possess fuller historical records than of any other of the Assyrian monarchs, and among these the following inscription is the most important. From it, and from the inscription upon his statue discovered by Mr. Layard¹ in the ruins of one of the Nimroud temples, we learn that he was the son of Tuklat-Adar or Tuklat-Ninip, that he reigned over a territory extending from the "Tigris to the Lebanon and that he brought the great sea and all countries from the sun-rise to the sun-set under his sway." These inscriptions are published in the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. i, pl. 17–27, and were partially translated by Professor Oppert Histoire des Empirès de Chaldee et d'Assyrie, p. 73 and foll. Extrait des Annales de philosophie chrétienne Tom. ix, 1865.

There is considerable difficulty and a consequent divergence of opinion, as to the precise date when Assur-nasir-pal ascended the throne. But he most probably reigned from 883–858 B.C.

¹ Now in the British Museum.
It need scarcely be remarked that Assur-nasir-pal is a different person from the well known Sardana-palus of classic writers or Assur-bani-pal, the son of Esar-haddon who reigned from about B.C. 668-625.

It will be seen from the inscription that the campaigns of Assur-nasir-pal took place in the mountains of Armenia, in Commagene and the provinces of the Pontus, inhabited by the Moschi and other tribes. He probably advanced into Media and a portion of Western Persia. The countries on the banks of the Euphrates submitted to his arms, and in one of his expeditions he vanquished Nabu-bal-iddin king of Babylon. Westward, he reduced the southern part of Syria, and advanced to the mountain chains of the Amanus and Lebanon, but though he penetrated as far as to Tyre and Sidon and exacted tribute from both as well as from Byblus and Aradus, he did not subdue Phoenicia. The kingdoms of Israel and Judah, under the sway of Ahab and Jehosaphat were no doubt too powerful, as is evinced by the armies which they must have maintained for their struggle with the Syrians for Assur-nasir-pal to have ventured upon attacking them. This feat was reserved for his successors on the throne of Assyria.

The inscription was found in the ruins of the Temple at the foot of the Pyramid at Nimroud (Calach).

1 The Mesek of Psalm cxx. 5.
2 See 2 Chron. xvii. and following chapters.
ANNALS OF ASSUR-NASIR-PAL.

1 To Ninip, most powerful hero, great, chief of the gods, warrior, powerful Lord, whose onset in battle has not been opposed, eldest son,

2 crusher of opponents, first-born son of Nukimmut, supporter of the seven, noble ruler, King of the gods the producers, governor, he who rolls along the mass

3 of heaven and earth, opener of canals, treader of the wide earth, the god who in his divinity nourishes heaven and earth, the beneficent,

4 the exalted, the powerful, who has not lessened the glory of his face, head of nations, bestower of sceptres, glorious, over all cities a ruler,

5 valiant, the renown of whose sceptre is not approached, chief of wide spread influence, great among the gods, shading from the southern sun, Lord of Lords, whose hand the vault of heaven

6 (and) earth has controlled, a King in battle mighty who has vanquished opposition, victorious, powerful, Lord of water courses and seas.

---

1 Ninip was one of the great gods of the Assyrian Pantheon, often joined with Assur as one of the special deities invoked by the Assyrian kings at the opening of their inscriptions. His name is also written under the symbol used for iron (anza). Thus in later times the planets were connected with special metals.

2 A goddess, called also Nuha, and the mother of Nebo as well as of Ninip. Fox Talbot (Glos. 158) compares nu (= al) kimmur with the "al-gum" of Prov. xxx. 31, i.e., "irresistible."

3 Planets. Or, "warrior among spirits." I mention this rendering as the suggestion of Mr. G. Smith, though I prefer that given above.

4 Literally "horn." Cf. Job xvi. 15.

5 Tigrilu. Menant renders this sentence La masse pour regner sur les villes.

6 Cf. Ps. xxiv. 8.

7 Cf. Ps. xciv. 4; civ. 6; cvii. 35.
strong, not yielding, whose onset brings down the green
corn, smiting the land of the enemy, like the cutting of
reeds, the deity who changes not his purposes,
the light of heaven and earth, a bold leader on the
waters, destroyer of them that hate (him), a spoiler (and)
Lord of the disobedient, dividing enemies, whose name
in the speech of the gods
no god has ever disregarded, the gatherer of life, the
god (?) whose prayers are good, whose abode is in the city
of Calah, a great Lord, my Lord—(who am) ASSUR-NASIR-
PAL, the mighty King,
King of multitudes, a Prince unequalled, Lord of all
the four countries, powerful over hosts of men, the
possession of Bel and Ninip the exalted and Anu
and of Dakan, a servant of the great gods in the
lofty shrine for great (O Ninip) is thy heart; a worshipper
of Bel whose might upon
thy great deity is founded, and thou makest righteous
his life, valiant, warrior, who in the service of Assur his
Lord hath proceeded, and among the Kings
of the four regions who has not his fellow, a Prince for
admiration, not sparing opponents, mighty leader, who an
equal
has not, a Prince reducing to order his disobedient ones,
who has subdued whole multitudes of men, a strong
worker, treading down
the heads of his enemies, trampling on all foes, crushing
assemblages of rebels, who in the service of the great
gods his Lords
marched vigorously and the lands of all of them his
hand captured, caused the forests of all of them to fall, a
and received their tribute, taking
1 Probably the Dagon of Scripture.
2 Compare the boast in Isaiah xxxvii. 24, “I cut down the tall cedars.”
securities, establishing laws over all lands, when Assur
the Lord who proclaims my name and augments my Royalty
laid hold upon his invincible power for the forces of
my Lordship, for Assur-Nasir-Pal, glorious Prince,
worshipper of the great gods
the generous, the great, the powerful, acquirer of cities
and forests and the territory of all of them, King of
Lords, destroying the wicked, strengthening
the peaceful, not sparing opponents, a Prince of firm
will (?) one who combats oppression, Lord of all Kings,
Lord of Lords, the acknowledged, King of Kings,
seated gloriously, the renown of Ninip the warrior,
worshipper of the great gods, prolonging the benefits
(confirmed by) his fathers:
Lord who in the service of Assur and the Sun-god,
the gods in whom he trusted, royally marched to turbulent
lands, and Kings who had rebelled against him
he cut off like grass, all their lands to his feet he sub-
jected, restorer of the worship of the goddesses and that
of the great gods,
Chief unwavering, who for the guidance of the heads
(and) elders of his land is a steadfast guardian, the work of
whose hands and
the gift of whose finger the great gods of heaven and
earth have exalted, and his steps' over rulers have they
established for ever;
their power for the preservation of my Royalty have
they exercised; the retribution of his power, (and) the
approach of His Majesty over Princes
of the four regions they have extended: the enemies of
Assur in all their country, the upper and the lower I
chastised, and tribute and impost

1 Goings. Cf. Ps. xl. 2, "He hath established my goings."
up upon them I established, capturing the enemies of Assur—mighty King, King of Assyria, son of Tuklat-Adar who all his enemies
has scattered; (who) in the dust threw down the corpses of his enemies, the grandson of Bin-Nirari, the servant of the great gods,
who crucified alive and routed his enemies and subdued them to his yoke, descendant of Assur-Dan-Il, who the fortresses
established (and) the fanes made good. In those days by the decree of the great gods to royalty power supremacy I rose up:
1 I am a King, I am a Lord, I am glorious, I am great,
I am mighty, I have arisen, I am Chief, I am a Prince, I am a warrior
2 I am great and I am glorious, Assur-Nasir-Haball, a mighty King of Assyria, proclaimer of the Moon-god,
worshipper of Anu, exalter of Yav, supplicant of the gods
am I, servant unyielding, subduing the land of his foe-man, a King mighty in battle, destroyer of cities and forests,
Chief over opponents, King of the four regions, expeller of his foes, prostrating all his enemies, Prince of a multitude of lands of all Kings
3 even of all, a Prince subduing those disobedient to him, who is ruling all the multitudes of men. These aspirations to the face of the great gods
4 have gone up; on my destiny steadfastly have they determined; at the wishes of my heart and the uplifting of my hand, Istar, exalted Lady,
5 hath favoured me in my intentions, and to the conduct

1 Mouth.
2 The god Yav may be the Yaveth of the Moabite stone.
of (my) battles and warfare hath applied her heart. In those days I Assur-nasir-pal, glorious Prince, worshipper of the great gods

39 the wishes of whose heart Baal will cause him to attain, and who has conquered all Kings who disobey him, and by his hand capturing

40 his enemies, who in difficult places has beaten down assemblages of rebels; when Assur, mighty Lord, proclaimer of my name

41 aggrandizer of my royalty over the Kings of the four regions, bountifully hath added his invincible power to the forces of my government,

42 putting me in possession of lands, and mighty forests for exploration hath be given and urgently impelled me—by the might of Assur my Lord,

43 perplexed paths, difficult mountains by the impetuosity of my hosts I traversed, and an equal there was not. In the beginning of my reign

44 (and) in my first campaign when the Sun-god guider of the lands threw over me his beneficent protection on the throne of my dominion I firmly seated myself; a sceptre

45 the dread of man into my hands I took; my chariots (and) armies I collected; rugged paths, difficult mountains, which for the passage

46 of chariots and armies was not suited I passed, and to the land of Nairi I went: Libie, their capital city, the cities Zura and Abuqu

47 Arura Arube, situated within the limits of the land of Aruni and Eti, fortified cities, I took, their fighting-men

48 in numbers I slew; their spoil, their wealth, their cattle

1 Or, shade. This may refer to the eclipse of 13th July, 835 B.C.

2 A federation of states north and north-east of Assyria at the head of the Euphrates. In Fig. iv. 7, 33 of their kings are mentioned.
I spoiled; their soldiers were discouraged; they took possession of a difficult mountain, a mountain exceedingly difficult; after them

49 I did not proceed, for it was a mountain ascending up like lofty points of iron, and the beautiful birds of heaven had not reached up into it: like nests

50 of the young birds in the midst of the mountain their defence they placed, into which none of the Kings my fathers had ever penetrated: in 3 days

51 successfully on one large mountain, his courage vanquished opposition: along the feet of that mountain I crept and hid: their nests, their tents,

52 I broke up; 200 of their warriors with weapons I destroyed; their spoil in abundance like the young of sheep I carried off;

53 their corpses like rubbish on the mountains I heaped up; their relics in tangled hollows of the mountains I consumed; their cities

54 I overthrew, I demolished, in fire I burned: from the land of Nummi to the land of Kirruri I came down; the tribute of Kirruri

55 of the territory of Zimizi, Zimira, Ulmanyia, Adavas, Kargai, Harmasai, horses, fish (?)

56 oxen, horned sheep in numbers, copper, as their tribute I received: an officer to guard boundaries over them I placed. While in the land of Kirruri

57 they detained me, the fear of Assur my Lord overwhelmed the lands of Gilzanai and Khubuskai; horses, silver

58 gold, tin, copper, kams of copper as their tribute they brought to me. From the land of Kirruri I withdrew;

\footnote{Lit. animals of the East. This looks as if the Assyrians obtained the horse from some Eastern land.}

\footnote{Or, a Viceroy.}
59 to a territory close by the town Khulun in Gilhi Bitani
   I passed: the cities of Khatu, Khalaru, Nistun, Irbidi,
60 Mitkia, Arzanie, Zila, Khalue, cities of Gilhi situated in
   the environs of Uzic and Arue
61 and Arardi powerful lands, I occupied: their soldiers
   in numbers I slew; their spoil, their riches I carried off;
62 their soldiers were discouraged; the summits projecting
   over against the city of Nistun which were menacing like
   the storms of heaven, I captured;
63 into which no one among the Princes my sires had ever
   penetrated; my soldiers like birds (of prey) rushed upon
   them;
64 260 of their warriors by the sword I smote down; their
   heads cut off in heaps I arranged; the rest of them like
   birds
65 in a nest, in the rocks of the mountains nestled; their
   spoil, their riches from the midst of the mountains I
   brought down; cities which were in the midst
66 of vast forests situated I overthrew, destroyed, burned in
   fire; the rebellious soldiers fled from before my arms; they
   came down; my yoke
67 they received; impost tribute and a Viceroy I set
   over them. Bubu son of Bubua son of the Prefect of
   Nistun
68 in the city of Arbela I flayed; his skin I stretched in
   contempt upon the wall. At that time an image of my
   person I made; a history of my supremacy
69 upon it I wrote, and (on) a mountain of the land of
   Ikin (?) in the city of Assur-Nasir-Pal at the foot I
   erected (it). In my own eponym in the month of July
   and the 24th day (probably B.C. 882).
70 in honour of Assur and Istar the great gods my

1 A mountainous country near the upper Tigris, possibly Kurdistan.
2 The Hebrew month Ab.
Lords, I quitted the city of Nineveh: to cities situated below Nipur and Pazate powerful countries
71 I proceeded; Atkun, Nithu, Pilazi, and 20 other cities in their environs I captured; many of their soldiers I slew;
72 their spoil, their riches I carried off; the cities I burned with fire; the rebel soldiers fled from before my arms, submitted,
73 and took my yoke; I left them in possession of their land. From the cities below Nipur and Pazate I withdrew; the Tigris I passed;
74 to the land of Commagene I approached; the tribute of Commagene and of the Moschi in kams of copper, sheep and goats I received; while in Commagene
75 I was stationed, they brought me intelligence that the city Suri in Bit-Khalupe had revolted. The people of Hamath had slain their governor
76 Ahiyabra the son of Lamamana² they brought from Bit-Adini and made him their King. By help of Assur and Yav
77 the great gods who aggrandize my royalty, chariots, (and) an army, I collected: the banks of the Chaboras I occupied; in my passage tribute
78 in abundance from Salman-Haman-IlIn of the city of Sadikannai and of Il-Yav of the city of Sunai, silver, gold,
79 tin, kams of copper, vestments of wool, vestments of

¹ In the text, Kammuhi and Muski.
² Dr. Hincks was of opinion that Lamaman meant "nobody," and that "Son of Lamaman" was a delicate way of indicating a man of low origin. Norr. Dict. p. 690.
³ Assyrian, Khabur. This may be the Chebar mentioned in the Prophet Ezekiel. Schultens however (in his Geogr.) mentions another Chaboras which flows into the Tigris.
⁴ In the north of Mesopotamia.
linen I received. To Suri which is in Bit-Halupe I drew near;
80 the fear of the approach of Assur my Lord over-
whelmed them; the great men and the multitudes of the
city, for the saving of their lives, coming up after me,' 
81 submitted to my yoke; some slain, some living, some
tongue-less I made: Ahiyababa son of Lamamana
82 whom from Bit-Adini they had fetched, I captured; in
the valour of my heart and the steadfastness of my
soldiers I besieged the city; the soldiers, rebels all,
83 were taken prisoners; the nobles to the principal
palace of his land I caused to send; his silver, his gold,
his treasure, his riches, copper
84 (?) tin, kams, tabhani, hariati of copper, choice copper
in abundance, alabaster and iron-stone of large size
85 the treasures of his harem, his daughters and the wives
of the rebels with their treasures, and the gods with their
treasures,
86 precious stones of the land of . . . . , his swift chariot,
his horses, the harness, his chariot-yoke, trappings for
horses, coverings for men,
87 vestments of wool, vestments of linen, handsome altars
of cedar, handsome . . . . , bowls of cedar-wood,
88 beautiful black coverings, beautiful purple coverings,
carpets, his oxen, his sheep, his abundant spoil, which
like the stars of heaven could not be reckoned,
89 I carried off; Aziel as my lieutenant over them I
placed; a trophy along the length of the great gate I
erected: the rebellious nobles
90 who had revolted against me and whose skins I had
stripped off, I made into a trophy: some in the middle of
the pile I left to decay; some on the top
91 of the pile on stakes I impaled; some by the side of

1 Lit., to my back.
the pile I placed in order on stakes; many within view of
my land
92 I flayed; their skins on the walls I arranged; of the
officers of the King's officer, rebels, the limbs I cut off;
93 I brought AHIYABAHA to Nineveh; I flayed,1 him and
fastened his skin to the wall; laws and edicts
94 over Lakie I established. While I was staying in Suri
the tribute of the Princes of Lakie throughout the whole
of them,
95 silver, gold, tin, copper, kam of copper, oxen, sheep,
vestments of wool and linen, as tribute
96 and gift, I defined and imposed upon them. In those
days, the tribute of Khayani of the city of Hindanai,
silver,
97 gold, tin, copper, amu-stone, alabaster blocks, beautiful
black (and) lustrous coverings I received as tribute from
him. In those days an enlarged image
98 of my Royalty I made; edicts and decrees upon it I
wrote; in the midst of his palace I put it up; of stone
my tablets I made;
99 the decrees of my throne upon it I wrote; in the
great gate I fixed them, in the date of this year which
takes its name from me, in honour of Assur my Lord
and Ninip who uplifts my feet.2
100 Whereas in the times of the Kings my fathers no man
of Suhi to Assyria had ever come, Il-bani Prince of
Suhi together with his soldiers
101 (and) his son, silver, gold as his tribute to Nineveh in
abundance brought: in my own eponym3 at the city of
Nineveh I stayed: news

1 Compare 2 Macc. vii. 7 for a somewhat similar proceeding. The
custom may also be alluded to in Mic. iii. 3.
2 Compare Ps. lxxiv. 3, "Lift up thy feet," etc.
3 About 882 B.C.
they brought me that men of the land of Assyria, (and) Hulai the governor of their city which Shalmaneser King of Assyria my predecessor to the city of Hasiluha had united, had revolted: Dandamusa,\(^1\) a city of my dominion marched out to subdue (them);

in honour of Assur, the Sun-god and Yav, the gods in whom I trust, my chariots and army I collected at the head of the river Zupnat, the place of an image which Tiglath-Pileser and Tiglath-Adar, Kings of Assyria my fathers had raised; an image of My Majesty I constructed and put up with theirs.

In those days I renewed the tribute of the land of Izala, oxen, sheep, goats: to the land of Kasyari\(^2\) I proceeded, and to Kinabu

the fortified city of the province of Hulai. I drew near; with the impetuosity of my formidable attack I besieged and took the town; 600 of their fighting men

with (my) arms I destroyed; 3000 of their captives I consigned to the flames; as hostages I left not one of them alive; Hulai

the governor of their town I captured by (my) hand alive; their corpses into piles I built; their boys and maidens I dishonoured;

Hulai the governor of their city I flayed: his skin on the walls of Dandamusa I placed in contempt; the city I overthrew demolished, burned with fire;

the city of Mariru within their territory I took; 50 warrior fighting men by (my) weapons I destroyed; 200 of their captives in the flame I burned;

the soldiers of the land of Nirbi I slew in fight in the

\(^1\) Near the modern Diarbekir, on the road to the sources of the Supnat.

\(^2\) In Armenia near the sources of the Tigris.
desert; their spoil, their oxen, their sheep, I brought away; Nirbu which is at the foot of mount Ukhira.

113 I boldly took; I then passed over to Tila their fortified city; from Kinabu I withdrew; to Tila I drew near; a strong city with three forts facing each other: the soldiers to their strong forts and numerous army trusted and would not submit;

115 my yoke they would not accept; (then,) with onset and attack I besieged the city; their fighting men with my weapons I destroyed; of their spoil,

116 their riches, oxen and sheep, I made plunder; much booty I burned with fire; many soldiers I captured alive;

117 of some I chopped off the hands and feet; of others the noses and ears I cut off; of many soldiers I destroyed the eyes;¹

118 one pile of bodies while yet alive, and one of heads I reared up on the heights within their town; their heads in the midst I hoisted; their boys

(Continued on Column II.)

¹ Thus in 2 Kings xxv. 7, we read that the Chaldees “put out the eyes of Zedekiah.” Samson, Judges xvi. 21, was similarly treated. And the custom may be alluded to in Num. xvi. 14. It may be well to compare the treatment of children as recorded in Joshua xi. 14 with what we read in line 118. Horrible and ferocious as was the treatment of the conquered by the Israelites they at least on that occasion were content with enslaving the children.
COLUMN II.

1 and their maidens I dishonoured, the city I overthrew, razed and burned with fire,
In those days the cities of the land of Nirbi
2 (and) their strong fortresses, I overthrew, demolished, burned with fire: from Nirbi I withdrew and to the city Tuskha
3 I approached; the city of Tuskha I again occupied; its old fort I threw down; its place I prepared, its dimensions I took; a new castle
4 from its foundation to its roof I built, I completed, I reared: a palace for the residence of My Royalty with doors of Ḫi wood I made;
5 a palace of brick from its foundations to its roof I made, I completed: a complete image of my person of polished stone I made: the history
6 of my surpassing nation and an account of my conquests which in the country of Nairi I had accomplished. I wrote upon it; in the city of Tuskha
7 I raised it; on suitable stone I wrote and upon the wall I fixed it; (then) the men of Assyria, those who from the privation of food to various countries
8 and to Rurie had gone up, to Tuskha I brought back and settled there: that city to myself
9 I took; the wheats and barleys of Nirbi I accumulated in it; the populace of Nirbi who before my arms had fled,
10 returned and accepted my yoke; of their towns, their Viceroy, their many convenient houses I took possession; impost and tribute, horses,
11 horses for the yoke, fish, oxen, sheep, goats in addition to what I had before settled, I imposed upon them; their youths as hostages
12 I took. While I was staying in Tuskha, I received the
The Complete Text can be found on our CD:

**Primary Literary Sources For Ancient Literature**

which can be purchased on our Website:


or

by sending **$64.95** in check or money order to:

**Brainfly Inc.**

5100 Garfield Ave. #46

Sacramento CA 95841-3839

**TEACHER’S DISCOUNT:**

If you are a **TEACHER** you can take advantage of our teacher’s discount. Click on **Teachers Discount** on our website (www.Brainfly.net) or **Send us $55.95** and we will send you a full copy of **Primary Literary Sources For Ancient Literature AND our 5000 Classics CD** (a collection of over 5000 classic works of literature in electronic format (.txt)) plus our **Wholesale price list**.

If you have any suggestions such as books you would like to see added to the collection or if you would like our wholesale prices list please send us an email to:

**webcomments@brainfly.net**