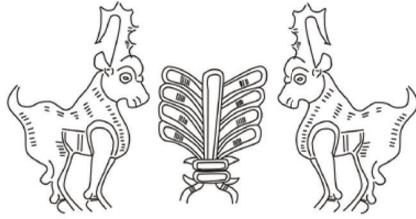


ARAS TÜRKİYE ESKİ YAKIN DOĞU ARAŞTIRMALARI DERGİSİ
TURKISH JOURNAL OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

TUJANES



2020/2

ARAS TÜRKİYE ESKİ YAKIN DOĞU ARAŞTIRMALARI DERGİSİ
TURKISH JOURNAL OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES



Yayın Kurulu / Editorial Board

Prof. Dr. Mehmet IŞIKLI
Doç. Dr. Erkan KONYAR
Doç. Dr. İsmail BAYKARA
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Rifat KUVANÇ
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Bilcan GÖKCE
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Bülent GENÇ

Bilim Kurulu / Editorial Advisory Board

Prof. Dr. Altan ÇİLİNGİROĞLU (İzmir)
Prof. Dr. Gülriz KOZBE (Batman)
Prof. Dr. Kemalettin KÖROĞLU (İstanbul)
Prof. Dr. Andreas SCHACHNER (İstanbul)
Prof. Dr. Mehmet IŞIKLI (Erzurum)
Prof. Dr. A. Tuba ÖKSE (Kocaeli)
Prof. Dr. Rainer Maria CZICHON (Uşak)
Prof. Dr. Bahattin ÇELİK (İğdır)
Prof. Dr. Goderdzi NARIMANISHVILI (Tbilisi)
Prof. Dr. Hasan BAHAR (Konya)
Prof. Dr. Stephan KROLL (München)
Prof. Dr. Mehmet KARAOSMANOĞLU (Erzurum)
Doç. Dr. Erkan KONYAR (İstanbul)
Doç. Dr. Ali OZAN (Denizli)
Doç. Dr. Haluk SAĞLAMTİMUR (İzmir)
Doç. Dr. İsmail BAYKARA (Van)
Doç. Dr. Metin ALPARSLAN (İstanbul)
Doç. Dr. Mahmut AYDIN (Batman)

İÇİNDEKİLER / CONTENTS

2019 Yılı Malatya İli Yüzey Araştırması

Serkan ŞAHİN..... 6

Kayalıdere Kalesi 2018-2019 Yılı Kurtarma Kazıları: İlk Notlar

Sabahattin Erdoğan - Mikail Erçek - Murat Şen..... 19

The Winged Disc Deity Riding The Bull on Metal Objects in Reza Abbasi Museum

Maryam DARA..... 38

Diyarbakır Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde Bulunan Bir Grup Gümüş Seleukos Sikkesi Üzerine
Arkeometrik İncelemeler

Mahmut AYDIN - İshak YILDIZ..... 54

The Winged Disc Deity Riding The Bull on Metal Objects

in Reza Abbasi Museum



Maryam DARA*

Öz

Urartular, bir boğa üzerinde duran ve bazen alevler saçan, diski ile tasvir edilen kanatlı bir tanrı motifini farklı bronz eserler üzerinde kullandılar. Bu motif, bilim adamları tarafından tanımlanması güç bir motif olarak kabul edilir, ancak bazıları ona Haldi, Teişeba veya Şiwini adını verdi. Kanatlı disk, boğa ve ateş üç tanrının da sembolü olarak varsayılıyor. Bu tasvirin, üç baş tanrının işlevine uygun olarak Urartu halkı arasında zafer veya himayenin sembolü olması da mümkündür. Ayrıca tüm tanrıların sembollerinin tek bir figür olarak gösterilmesi ya da hepsinin düşmanların nihai cezalandırıcıları olması da mümkündür. Bu nedenle yazar, motifin işlevinin önemli olduğunu düşünmektedir ve buna göre bu motifin muhtemelen silahlı kullanan veya zırhı giyen kişinin bir koruma sembolü olduğunu ve ayrıca kişiye güç ve zafer kazandırdığını ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Haldi, Teişeba, Şiwini, Zafer, Himaye.

Reza Abbasi Müzesi'ndeki Metal Objeler Üzerinde Tasvir Edilmiş

Boğa Üzerindeki Kanatlı ve Diskli Tanrı Tasviri

Abstract

Urartians used the motif of a winged disc deity riding a bull, sometimes surrounded by the flames of fire, on several bronze artifacts. This motif is recognized by scholars as the challenging motif but some of them called him Haldi, Teişeba or Şiwini. The winged disc, the bull and the fire are supposed to be the symbol of three deities. It is also possible that this figure was the symbol of triumph or protection among the Urartians by calling the functions of three supreme deities. It is also possible that the symbols of all of the deities seemed to be illustrated as one figure or all of them were the ultimate punishers of the enemies. Therefore, the author thinks the function of the motif is significant not his name and accordingly she suggests that this motif was possibly a protection symbol of the person used the weapon or wore the armor and also bestowed power and triumph to the person.

Keywords: Haldi, Teişeba, Şiwini, Triumph, Protection.

* Assist. Prof. Meryem Dara, Texts and Inscriptions Research Center of Research Institute of Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organisation, Tehran, Iran. E-mail: maryam_dara@yahoo.com, ORCID: 0000-0003-2190-9638

1. Introduction

Urartians had several achievements during their reign from about 9th to 6th B.C. They had access to metal mines and professional metalworkers and also had high knowledge and talent in the metalworking (Ruder-Merhav 1991: 334) and especially bronze objects (Piotrovskij 2004: 237). They used iron, gold, silver, lead, and especially bronze as materials to produce different weapons, vessels, furniture, and other objects (Belli 1991: Wartke 1991: 324). Sargon mentioned the huge number of metal booties- mainly bronze artifacts-from Muşaşir temple after his triumph in 714 B.C (Mayer 2013: 24, 329, 362-364, 369, 392, 403, 406).

The names of the kings on the objects are of great help to recognize the approximate duration of a metal object production (Işık-Kuvañç, 2018: 226-227). Of course, most of the inscribed metal objects have been confiscated and not systematically excavated in situ through the legal excavations (Zimansky 1998: 168). There are several metal objects in different Museum in Iran including National Museum in Tehran, Azerbaijan Archaeology Museum in Tabriz, Urmia Archaeology Museum, Rasht Archaeology Museum and Reza Abbasi Museum.

The author had interest in the research on the Urartian objects in different Museums in Iran and she found out about the following metal objects in Reza Abbasi Museum¹ decorated with mythical scenes of a deity standing on a bull. Some of the Urartian metal objects of Iran have been studied by Ghrishman (1964: 51), Barnett and Curtis (1973: 133), Belli (1976-77: 184), Frankel (1979: 20), Seidl (1980: 72/B4), Gropp (1981: 103-104), van den Berghe and de Meyer (1982-1983: no. 17), Merhav (1991b: 99), Bashashkanzaq (2004: 85-90), Dalalian and Grekyan (2004: 1-6), Razmjou (2004: 92-97), Payne (2006: 27, 2.2.8), Salvini (Salvini, CTU IV, B 9-32), Sabouri Nojehdehi (2012: 2011-2014) and the author (2015: 61-78; 2017: 161-200; 2019: 187-190).

The deities standing on the animals are challenging motifs in Urartian art and several scholars have expressed their ideas including Piotrovskij (2004), Barnet (1950), Calmayer (1979; 1991), Hmayakyan (1990), van Loon (1991), Merhav (1991a), Zimansky (2012), Badalyan (2015, 2019). Most of them tried to recognize the deities by their names but the more studies that have been taken place on the metal objects the more it becomes challenging to name these deities as their figures and their animals do not fit in most of the cases. The main question in this paper is why there are many metal objects found with a deity over a bull with or without a winged disc or limited in the flames of fire and what the function of this motif could be. Of course, some studies on the Urartian deity in the flames have also been published including Belli (1999), Tiratsyan (2008), and Dara (2014).

It is the aim of this paper to introduce three metal objects in Reza Abbasi Museum with similar mythical scenes and to suggest the function of this deity standing on a bull along with previous studies of this familiar motif in Urartu.

¹ The author appreciates the assistant and cooperation of Parisa Kordbeigi, Curator of Reza Abbasi Museum.

2. Metal objects in Reza Abbasi Museum with a deity standing on a bull scene

2-1. The lower part of the breastplate

A piece of bronze object is kept in Reza Abbasi Museum from Išpui-ni's reign (Dara 2017: 166) from an unknown site with number 135 (Fig. 1). Payne (2006: 27, 2.2.8) suggested it could be from Disgin Kala. Merhav² (1991b: 99) thinks it is a part of the lower horse breastplate (Fig. 2). It is 9 cm long in its right and 9.5 cm in the left. It seems there were at least three other signs in the one-line inscription. The signs have 0.5 cm space between them. The beginning of the line is left unwritten and the inscription begins after a vertical line. *ú-ri-īš-ri hi mriš-pu-[i-ni-i ...]* (Property³ of Išpuini) (Dara 2017: 166).



Fig. 1- (Dara 2017: 165)

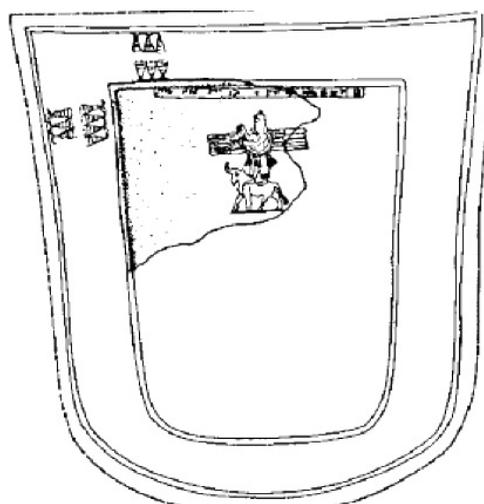


Fig. 2- (Merhav 1991b: 99) reconstruction

There is a winged disc deity facing left standing over a bull on this bronze object which is very similar in many other Urartian artifacts. The left part of the wing is preserved and has five wavy rows. Around the disc is decorated with semi-circle motifs. The right part of the wing is damaged. He wore a simple crown and a mace in his left hand and his right hand is upward. The bull is walking left with downward tail.

2-2. The folded disc

A folded disc with a few damages with the number 134 is in Reza Abbasi Museum from an unknown site (Fig. 3). Its diameter is 29 cm and a winged disc deity is preserved in the middle of the disc. He wore a cylinder hat or crown with six-wavy-row wings. The deity is walking left and his hands are upwards with a ring in his left hand. His garment is

² It is close to Patnos, the district of Ağrı in the northeast of Turkey. Two pieces of the artifact are kept in Van Museum and Reza Abbasi Museum.

³ See the author's discussion (2017: 179-180) the meaning of *ú-ri-īš-ri hi* on the metal objects for more information.

loose and he also wears a short skirt decorated with short straight and curved lines. He is standing over a bull walking left. Around the disc attached to the wings is decorated with semi-circle motifs. Around the object is a row of standing funnel shape decoration (Fig. 4). There also are holes around this big disc to be attached to a softer tissue and this is the reason the author calls this object a disc and not a shield.



Fig. 3- The left and right parts



Fig. 4- The detail of the motifs

2-3. A part of a disc

A damaged remaining of a disc is in Reza Abbasi Museum with number 802 (Fig. 5). It has been brought to the museum in 1975 from an unknown site. Its diameter is 10 cm. There are broken and lost parts around the disc and two holes remained to prove us the last ring around the disc. The holes were made on the disc in order for it to be attached to a softer tissue.

There is a bearded deity with strong muscles standing over a bull in the middle of the disc. He is facing right and a ring is in his left hand while his right hand is upward. His conical hat or crown has a sharp point and a small crescent in front. He is dressed in an outfit with a short skirt and a long dress over it and one of his legs is visible. The bull's tail is rounded upward. There is a crack on the disc splitting the figure of the bull. The deity and the bull are surrounded in the flames of fire in two circles (Fig. 6). Then there are two circles of attached Urartian buds around them. The last circle contains the figure of the mythical winged creatures⁴ surrounded by a circle of attached Urartian buds (Fig.7). The mythical creatures need further and long discussion and do not aim of the paper. The winged disc deity on the bull along with different mythical creatures around him is also depicted on other objects (Fig. 15). Also on the Anzaf shield the other deities are depicted over the mythical creatures (Fig. 16).

⁴ The Urartian mythical creatures were illustrated with two or four legs, wings, fish tail or other mythical specifications. Griffin, sphinx, lamassu and siren were illustrated over the Urartian metal objects. Their actual function is not recognized but it seems they create a supernatural combination between the other elements of the scene they are illustrated in.



Fig. 5



Fig 6



Fig. 7a



Fig. 7b



Fig. 7c

3. Deity standing over the bull

Deities standing over the animals were commonly illustrated and depicted in Ancient Near East. The animal of each deity was related to the function of him or her. This is slightly challenging in Urartian art as specific animals were not always illustrated with the same deities. It is very common to show a deity standing on the back of the bull in the Urartian art (Kellner 1980: Taf. 13; Merhav 1991a: 76, fig. 29; Belli 1999: 45-47; Kuvanç 2018: 195) (Fig. 8a-d). It is even more usual than the deity riding a lion (Badalyan 2019: 47-49) (Fig. 9).



Fig. 8a (Kuvanç 2018: 195)



Fig 8b (Merhav, 1991c: fig. 3)



Fig. 8c (Merhav 1991a: 76, fig. 29)



Fig 8d (Kellner, 1980: Taf. 13)

Some scholars (Piotrovskij 2004: 309, 312; Kendall 1977: 44-46) followed the usual specifications of the deities standing on the animals according to Ancient Near Eastern art (Blenkowsky-Millard 2000: 288). Accordingly, the kingdom, power and war deity, Țaldi, was supposed to ride a lion. Also, Teiŝeba was thought to be the bull riding deity and Ŝiwini's symbol was the winged disc and the horse accordingly. Some other scholars as well believed that Teiŝeba and the bull were always illustrated together in Urartian art as van Loon (1991) and Hmayakyan (1990). Also, Merhav (1991a: 137) suggested that the lion and the bull on the metal objects could be symbols for Țaldi and Teiŝeba. He suggested that these two deities were illustrated as symbols of kingship and fertility in this method.



Fig. 9- (Kellner 1991: 167, fig. 4)

Salvini (1989: 85) narrates on behalf of Calmayer that there was not a regulation to illustrate deities with specific animals and symbols in Urartian art. But, according to Zimansky (2012:721) the lion is the symbol of the kingdom and not Țaldi and Calmayer (1979) rejected the ultimate relationship of Țaldi and the lion. Țaldi in the flames and Teiŝeba over the lion on the shield of Anzaf with the inscription of Iŝpuini and Minua (Dara, 2014) is the crucial reason of such a comment (Fig. 10). According to Badalyan (2015: 134) Teiŝeba in Anzaf shield is the symbol of the roar of lightening. It means that Teiŝeba is as strong and powerful as the lightening and this is the reason Urartians specified it as the symbol of Teiŝeba.

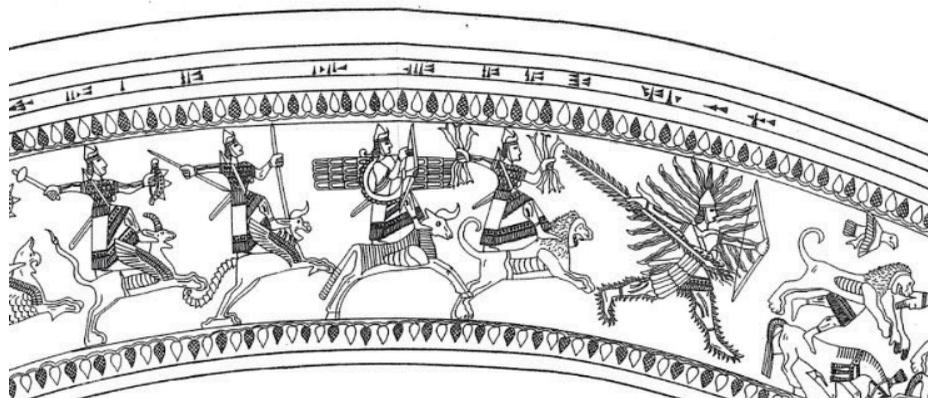


Fig. 10- (Salvini, 2012: CTU IV. B 3-1)

The deity in the winged disc over the bull is very commonly and widely illustrated on the metal artifacts in Urartu (Badalyan 2019: 47-49). This motif is more depicted than lion riding deity especially on the weapon. The winged disc is a challenging symbol in the Urartu (Fig. 11). It is believed more that the winged disc is originally Egyptian and was exported to Syria, Hittite, and Mesopotamia (Black-Green 1992: 74). Also Goldman (1961: 241) commented that the sun and the winged disc are always related in Egypt and no other regions of the western Asia. ^DŠiwini or ^DUTU is mentioned in the third place in the list of deities of Meher Kapısı inscription (CTU I. A 3-1) and is mentioned in the Urartian inscriptions after Țaldi and Teišeba as Sun Deity. Urartian deities were requested to punish the destroyer of the constructions or inscriptions and his successors or decedents in the Urartian inscriptions. These deities were Țaldi, Weather Deity, and Sun Deity or ^DUTU (Dara 2018). “Under the sun” in the ending cursing of Urartian royal inscriptions possibly meant that Šiwini could control and observe everybody including the sinners and enemies of Urartu and punish them. It seems that this function has been affected by Mesopotamian Šamaš, the sinners’ punisher. It is already proven that Mesopotamian Šamaš had the functions of the sun and judgment. His judgment function was more significant in the royal inscriptions and he was the punisher of the enemies and the criminals. Šiwini and Šamaš are similar in being more of the Judgment Deities than Sun Deities in the Royal inscriptions. This could result that Šiwini was not just Sun Deity in Urartu but had a significant role in controlling the power in Urartu.



Fig. 11- (Seidl 1991a: 121, fig. 6)



Fig. 12- (Badalyan 2019: fig. 9)

Scholars as Belli (1999) mentioned the winged disc deity over the bull as Šiwini on the Anzaf shield following the idea that the sun deities were supposed to be illustrated with the winged disc. In the recent years the suggestion of the bull riding and winged disc deity as Țaldi and not Šiwini became more favorable (Calmayer 1991: 316, 318, fig. 7). Although Barnet (1950) had called Țaldi as Sun Deity before but Šiwini’s function of the sun was more popular previously. It is also noteworthy that the winged disc deity in Urartu is less illustrated on the horse (Figure 12). Teišeba in the second place of Urartian pantheon is mainly mentioned after Țaldi (CTU I. A 3-1, 3-4) and also the punisher of the destroyers

of Urartian inscriptions of royal inscriptions constructions in the cursing formulae (Dara 2018: 224-225). He is considered as the storm and weather deity but according to Badalyan (2015: 128) there is the possibility that there was a garrison in the army of Urartu (*^DIM LÚ.A.SI^{MEŠ}*) as many of the deities in the Ancient Near East had garrisons. According to a reconstruction by Salvini (CTU I. A 11-1 Vo) in an inscription, Teišeba as well as Țaldi has the special weapon of *šuri*. The axe, mace, trident or thunder bolts are suggested as the symbols of Teišeba (Badalyan 2015: 134). Badalyan (2015: 134) compared Teišeba with the deities standing on one lion on the Hittite relief in Carchemish (Fig. 13) and the Akkadian seal impression of Rain Deity on the lion. According to Bienkowski and Millard (2000: 288) and Grekyan (2006: 158) Teišeba was the result of cultural bonds of Urartians with Hurrians. Additionally, some inscriptions were offered to Teišeba and Țaldi (CTU I. A 10-7) and the word “lord” (*huri*) that generally belonged to Țaldi was used for Teišeba (Grekyan 2006: 152). Some scholars as Salvini (1989) proposed that *huri* (lord) as Hurrian *ewri* was also used for Tešub as well but Badalyan disagreed (2015: 127). Additionally, Hurrian Tešub is suggested to be translated as “the destroyer” by Parrot and Nougayrol (1948: 11-13). Therefore, there is the possibility that the weather deity in Urartu had very much power and not just the second deity in the pantheon.

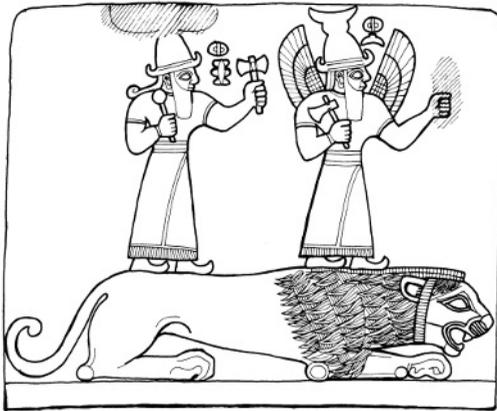


Fig. 13- (Hawkins 1972: Fig. 4c)

The supreme deity in Urartian pantheon is Țaldi who is thought to be known the most. As he was regarded as the controller of the royal power and triumph and was supposed to ride the lion in Urartu following the Ancient Near Eastern art. Țaldi is mentioned at top of Meher Kapısı list of deities (CTU I. A 3-1, 2-3). He also is mentioned in most of the royal inscriptions as the supreme deity but his illustration on Upper Anzaf shield running with out an animal in the flames of fire started arguments on his recognition by the scholars. Belli (1999: 39) suggested that Țaldi was possibly illustrated in the beams of light but Tiratsyan (2008: 82) and the author (2014: 75) suggested that he was surrounded with the flames of fire. The author (Ibid) also suggested Țaldi as the Fire Deity or Triumph fire Deity. According to an inscription over a shield from Ayanis the fire in the temple of Țaldi should not be put off by the soil (Batmaz 2013: 246). The deity alone or standing on an animal in the flames of fire has been discovered from Urartian lands (Fig. 14). A similar motif is observed in Reza Abbasi Museum as well. This motif reminds us of Țaldi with *šuri* in the circle of fire on Anzaf shield.



Fig. 14 a-b (Seidl 2004: Taf 25)



Fig. 15- (Seidl 1991b: 96, Fig 63)



Fig. 16- (Belli 1999: Plate 49)

4. Conclusion

As above-mentioned discussion was presented it seems that the winged disc and also the bull are challenging symbols in Urartian art and scholars have varied points of view in this regard. In Mesopotamia and Ancient Near East the winged disc was not officially regarded as Sun Deity but in Egypt it did. In the past, there was this belief among the scholars that Šiwini, Urartian Sun Deity, was represented by winged disc and the horse. But, mainly after discovering and the studies on the Anzaf shield and several Urartian metal objects with the winged disc deity over the bull the arguments started and different points of views on the identity of this deity were presented by the scholars. Also the deity in the flames who was supposed to be Țaldi according to Anzaf shield was illustrated on many metal objects over the bulls and this raised questions in the mind of the scholars.

Țaldi was suggested as the lion or the bull riding deity. Also, some scholars suggested his figure in the winged disc. Additionally, the deity in the flames became one of the most significant representations of him after the discovery of the Anzaf shield. Teišeba as well was suggested to be the deity riding the lion- according to the Anzaf shield - or the bull. The deity with the winged disc over the horse or bull as well was considered as Šiwini. Therefore, it is severely difficult and crucial to recognize the winged disc deity riding the bull over the metal artifacts and weapon.

It is obvious that the symbol relates to the Urartians' beliefs. The author suggests that the deity with or without the winged disc riding the bull on many metal artifacts is better not to be recognized by one name as there are many different suggestions and many of them cannot be proved wrong and is very challenging. Instead she suggests that this motif is possibly a protector symbol of the person uses the weapon or wears the armor. This symbol also could be the demonstrative of power and triumph. Therefore, he could be regarded as Țaldi, Teišeba or Šiwini as they were all powerful. She believes the function of the motif is significant not his name. The trinity of the said deities was to commemorate the power and punish the enemies. Therefore a soldier or commander could use the motif to protect himself from the enemy and to gain power by it. There are several metal armors found with the same deity over a bull with or without a winged disc or limited in the flames of fire. Therefore all of the significant functions of these three deities could be called to protect the person. It is also possible that the motif was the symbol of triumph or protection among the Urartians long before each of its functions and details were distributed among the three supreme deities of Urartian pantheon. If this symbol belonged to Țaldi it was the symbol of triumph in the battles. If he was Teišeba he was possibly the symbol of roaring and rage on the battle. If this was the symbol of Šiwini it meant he judges the enemy who would harm the person wearing the armor as the deity of judgment. Accordingly, it is also possible that the symbols of all of the deities seemed to be illustrated as one figure. Also, all of them were the ultimate punishers of the enemies. Therefore, the author feels no obligation to name the deity but to consider the function he represents for the soldiers and commanders using them for protection and victory.

Bibliography

- Badalyan 2015 M. Badalyan, “The Urartian Weather God Teišeba”, *Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, IX/1, 125-142.
- Badalyan 2019 M. Badalyan, “Šiuini: The Urartian Sun God”, P. S. Avetisyan-R. Dan-Y. J. Grekyan (eds.), *Over the mountains and far away*, Archeopress, Oxford, 46-50.
- Barnett 1950 R. D. Barnett, “Excavations of the British Museum at Toprakkale near Van”, *Iraq*, 12/I, 1-43.
- Barnett- Curtis 1973 R. D. Barnett- J. E. Curtis, “A review of acquisitions 1963-70 of western Asiatic antiquities”, *British Museum Quarterly* XXXVII, 133.
- Bashashkanzaq 2004 R. Bashashkanzaq, “Bracelet inscription of Tul-e Gilan”, *Archaeological excavations in ancient sites of Tul-e Gilan Talesh (Kavoshhaye bastanshenasi dar mohavatehaye bastaniye Tul-e Gilan- Talesh, Research Institute of Cultural Heritage and Tourism, Gilan*, 85-90.
- Batmaz 2013 A. Batmaz, “A lion-headed shield from Ayanis: An identifier of the Urartian Culture?”, SOMA 2012, *Identity and connectivity, Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology Florence, Italy, 1-3 March 2012*, Florence, Universita Degli Studi Firenze, 243-252.
- Belli 1976-77 O. Belli, “Van Bölge Müzesindeki Çivi Yazılı Urartu Tunç Eserleri”, *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, 4-5, 177-225.
- Belli 1991 O. Belli, “Ore deposits and mining in eastern Anatolia in the Urartian period: silver, copper and Iron”, R. Merhav (ed.), *Urartu: a metalworking center in the first millennium B.C.E*, (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem), May 28 - October 1991, Jerusalem, 16-41.
- Belli 1999 O. Belli, *The Anzap fortresses and the gods of Urartu*, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, Istanbul.
- van den Berghe - de Meyer 1982-1983 L. van den Berghe- L. de Mayer, *Urartu een vergeten cultuur uit het bergland Armenie*, Centrum voor kunst en cultuur, Saint Petersburg.

- Bienkowski- Millard 2000 P. Bienkowski- A. Millard, *Dictionary of the ancient Near East*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Black- Green 1992 J. Black- A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia*, British Museum Press, London.
- Calmayer 1979 P. Calmayer, "Zu den Eisen-Lanzenspitzen und der 'Lanze des Hal-di'", W. Kleiss (ed.), *Bastam, Ausgrabungen in den urartäischen Anlagen 1972-1975, vol. 1*, Gebr. Mann Verlag, Berlin, 183-195.
- Calmayer 1991 P. Calmayer, "Some remarks on iconography", R. Merhav (ed.), *Urartu, a metalworking center in the first millennium B.C.E.*, (*The Israel Museum, Jerusalem*), May 28 - October 1991, Jerusalem, 312-319.
- Dalalian- Grekian 2004 T. Dalalian- Y. Grekian, "An Urartian bracelet from Gilan", *Iran and The Caucasus*, vol. 8.1, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 1-6.
- Dara 2014 M. Dara, "Was Hal-di the Triumph Fire God of the Urartians?", *International Journal of the Society of Iranian Archaeologists*, Vol. 1, No.1, Winter-Spring 2014, 97-107.
- Dara 2015 M. Dara, "Urartian disc with the Urartian inscription in Tabriz Archaeology Museum (Disc-e mefraghi-e katibedar-e afsar-e asb-e urartuee dar muzeye bastanshenasi-e azarbayjan-e sharghi)", *Zabanshenakht*, 1, 61-78.
- Dara 2017 M. Dara, *Urartian cuneiform inscriptions from Iran*, Research Institute of Cultural Heritage and Tourism, Tehran.
- Dara 2018 M. Dara, "The diversity of cursing formulae in Urartian royal inscriptions through time (tanavo-e negaresh-e nefrinha dar tul-e zaman dar sangnebeshtehaye shahi-I urartuee)", *Zendeginame va khadamat-e elmi va farhangi-e marhoum ostad doctor mohammadjavad mashkour; Anjoman-e asar va mafakher-e farhangi*, Tehran, 209-233.
- Dara 2019 M. Dara, "New Observations Regarding the Urartian Inscription of the Tul-e Talesh Bracelet, P. S. Avetisyan- R. Dan- Y. J. Grekian (eds.), *Over the mountains and far away*, Archeopress, Oxford, 187-190.
- Frankel 1979 D. Frankel, *The ancient kingdom of Urartu*, London.

- Ghrishman 1964 R. Ghrishman, “Deux oeillées en bronze des rois d’Urartu”, *Artibus Asiae*, 27, 49-60.
- Goldman 1961 B. Goldman, “An oriental solar motif and its western tension”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XX/4, 239-251.
- Grekyan 2006 Y. Grekyan, “The Will of Menua and The Gods of Urartu”, *Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, I, 150-195.
- Gropp 1981 G. Gropp, “Ein Pferdegeschirr und Streitwagen aus Urartu”, *Iranica Antiqua*, XVI, 95-123.
- Harutjunjan 2001 N. V. Harutjunjan, *Korpus Urartskich Klinoobraznykh Nadpisej, Nacional’naja Akademija Nauk Respubliki Armenii, Institut Vostokovedenija (Izdatel’stvo “GITUTJUN”)*, Yerevan.
- Hawkins 1972 J. D. Hawkins, “Building Inscriptions of Carchemish: The Long Wall of Sculpture and Great Staircase”, *Anatolian Studies*, 22, 87-114.
- Hmayakyan 1990 S. Hmayakyan, *Vani t’agavorutyanyan petakan kronə (The State Religion of the Van Kingdom)*, Yerevan.
- Işık-Kuvañç 2018 K. Işık- R. Kuvañç, “A New Part of Horse Trapping Belonging to Urartian King Minua from Adana Archaeology Museum and on Urişhi-Urişhusi-Ururda Words in Urartian”, *Colloquium Anatolicum*, 17, 223-239.
- Kendall 1977 T. Kendall, “Urartian Art in Boston: Two Bronze Belts and a Mirror”, *Boston Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 75, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 26-55.
- Kuvañç 2018 R. Kuvañç, “Bezemeli ve Figüratif Metal Eserler”, in *Zaiahina’nın Bronzları Doğubeyazıt Urartu Metal Eserleri*, E. Konyar, K. Işık, R. Kuvañç, B. Genç, B. Gökce (eds.), 182-207.
- van Loon 1966 M. N. van Loon, *Urartian art (Its distinctive traits in the light of new excavations)*, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologische Institute.
- van Loon 1991 M. N. van Loon, “Anatolia in the earlier first millennium B.C.”, *Iconography of religions 15-12*, Brill, Leiden, 1985-1990.

- Mayer 2009 W. Mayer, *The text and translation of Sargon expedition to Urartu in 714 B.C. (Matn va tarjomeye gozaresh-e lashkarkeshi-e sargon be urartu dar 714 P.M)*, F. Najd Samiee (trans.), Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Org. and Ganjineye Honar, Western Azerbaijan.
- Merhav 1991a R. Merhav, "Shields", R. Merhav (ed.), *Urartu, a metalworking center in the first millennium B.C.E., (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem)*, May 28 - October 1991, Jerusalem, 134-139.
- Merhav 1991b R. Merhav, "Everyday and ceremonial utensils", R. Merhav (ed.), *Urartu, a metalworking center in the first millennium B.C.E., (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem)*, May 28 - October 1991, Jerusalem, 200-243.
- Merhav 1991c R. Merhav, "Sculpture in the round", R. Merhav (ed.), *Urartu, a metalworking center in the first millennium B.C.E., (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem)*, May 28 - October 1991, Jerusalem, 274-283.
- Mayer 2013 W. Mayer, *Assyrien und Urartu*, Vol. 1, Ugarit-Verlag Münster.
- Parrot- Nougayrol 1948 A. Parrot-L. Nougayrol, Un document de fondation hurrite, *RA*, 42, 1-20.
- Payne 2006 M. Payne, *Urartu Çiviyazili Belgeler Kataloğu*, Istanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Piotrovskij 2004 B. B. Piotrovskij, *Urartu civilization (Tamadone urartu)*, H. Khatifshahidi (ed. and trans.), Research Institute of Cultural Heritage and Tourism and Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Org, Tehran.
- Razmjou 2004 Sh. Razmjou, "A bronze bracelet with the Urartian inscription from Tul-e Gilan (Yek dastband-e mefraghin ba neveshteye urartuee az tul-e gilan)", *Archaeological excavations in ancient sites of Tul-e Gilan Talesh (Kavoshhaye bastanshenasi dar mohavatehaye bastani-e tul-e gilan-e talesh)*, Research Institute of Cultural Heritage and Tourism, Gilan, 92-97.
- Ruder- Merhav 1991 A. Ruder- R. Merhav, "Technologies of production of metal artifacts in the Urartu culture", R. Merhav (ed.), *Urartu: a metalworking center in the first millennium B.C.E., (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem)*, May 28 - October 1991, Jerusalem, 333-353.

- Sabouri Nojehdehi 2012 R. Sabouri Nojehdehi, “Urartian helmets in Reza Abbasi Museum, Iran”, A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 7 (The proceedings of the seventh Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Edirne 19-24 April 2010)*, Peeters, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, 211-219.
- Salvini 1989 M. Salvini, “Le pantheon de l’Urartu et le fondement de l’état”, *Studi epigraphici e linguistic sul vicino Oriente Antico*, 6, 79-89.
- Salvini 2008 M. Salvini, *Corpus dei Testi Urartei, vol. I*, CNR-Instituto de Studi sulle civita dell’Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, Roma.
- Salvini 2012 M. Salvini, *Corpus dei Testi Urartei, vol. IV*, CNR- Instituto de Studi sulle civita dell’Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, Roma.
- Seidl 1980 U. Seidl, “Einige urartäische Bronzeyylinder (Deichselkappen?)”, *Archaeologische mitteilungen aus Iran*, 13, 63-82.
- Tiratsyan 2008 N. Tiratsyan, Luwian Gods in Urartu? , *Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, III/1, Yerevan, 79-86.
- Wartke 1991 R. B. Wartke, “Production of iron artifacts”, R. Merhav (ed.), *Urartu: a metalworking center in the first millennium B.C.E. (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem)*, May 28 - October 1991, Jerusalem, 321-331.
- Zimansky 1998 P. Zimansky, *Ancient Ararat (A Handbook of Urartian studies)*, Caravan Books, Delmar-New York.
- Zimansky 2012 P. Zimansky, “Imagining Haldi”, H. D. Baker- K. Kaniuth- A. O. Münster (eds.), *Stories of Long Ago. Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf*, Ugarit-Verlag, 713-723.