Nabataean Jewellery and Accessories

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Abstract

In ancient times, jewellery and accessories were considered one of the most important features of civilized societies. In addition to its aesthetic purpose, it used to reflect the high status of deities and humans; an amulet as part of a personal ornament was considered to give its wearer magical means, powers and protection.

Due to the lack of written information about Nabataean jewellery and accessories, the purpose of this research is to fill the gap in information about jewellery and its role in Nabataean society. The research uses archaeological findings to gain a better understanding of the kinds, shapes and material of Nabataean jewellery and accessories and its function and symbolism in Nabataean society.

Historical background

Before we present information about Nabataean Jewellery and accessories, it is useful to present a short narrative identifying the history and the location of the Nabataean kingdom.

From as early as the second century BC until the beginning of the second century AD the Nabataean kingdom was ruled from the city of Petra by a succession of kings who called themselves kings of the Nabatu. The kingdom encompassed a large part of Wadi Araba and the Negev in what is now southern Jordan and Israel, also including the northwest corner of
Saudi Arabia in addition to the Hauran region and Jebel El-Drouz on the southern part of Syria and Sinai in Egypt. (Fig. 1: 1).

The historian Diodorus mentioned the Nabataeans for the first time when he described the Nabataeans as nomads who depended for their livelihood on herding and commerce (II.1–5; XIX.2–95, 1). He reported that they transported goods from southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea. The Nabataean kingdom reached its peak between the first century BC and the first century AD. About 25 BC, the Geographer Strabo described their capital Petra as a wealthy metropolis, whose inhabitants live in stone houses, with impressive agricultural fields, plentiful of food and aromatic substances (Strabo, XVI. 4, 26). Petra reached its height as a cosmopolitan trading centre during the reigns of Aretas IV and Malichus II, its decline beginning when it was annexed by the Romans in 106 AD.

Introduction

Information about Nabataean jewellery and accessories was very rare before archaeological surveys and excavations began at different Nabataean sites (Fig. 1: 1).

This study makes use of the following cultural remains that were discovered during the excavations:

A. Original Nabataean jewellery pieces of different metals and shapes.
B. Terracotta and stone sculptures representing deities and humans wearing a range of jewellery and accessories.
C. The mural painting at el-Bared, Petra,1 which includes figures of deities wearing jewellery.
D. Nabataean coins2 depicting a king and queen in relief, wearing crowns inlaid with gold and precious stones. They are also adorned with jewellery, such as earrings and necklaces, along with other accessories.
E. Nabataean inscriptions that mention the names of a group of goldsmiths.

These ancient cultural remains are good evidence of Nabataean jewellery and accessories, including types made, materials employed and techniques used to make them, as well as who wore them and why.

1 Glueck 1965, pls. 203 a, b.
2 See Meshorer (1975) for photos of Nabataean coins.
Types of Nabataean jewellery

The goddess Ishtar is described, before she descends to the underworld, as wearing ornaments like earrings, bracelets, and anklets. Jewellery is thus associated with deities (immortals with particular characters and special abilities). Humans, in order to be like deities and immortals, would imitate them; one form of imitation was the wearing of jewellery and accessories.

Different kinds of Nabataean jewellery have been recognised from their cultural remains such as crowns, earrings, nose rings, necklaces, torques, fibula, girdle, rings, hand bracelets, armlets and anklets.

Crows

The crown symbolised authority and power and has appeared on Nabataean sculptures in four shapes:

1. Crown with a circular disc between two horns and above them two palm leaves. It is associated with the goddess Isis (Fig. 7: 1).
2. Double crown. Symbolised the united lower and upper kingdoms of Egypt. It is associated with the god Harpocrates. It is worth mentioning that the shape of this crown was used as an amulet in ancient Egyptian life.
3. Towered crown. It is associated with the goddess Tyche (Fig. 3: 1), to reflect her role as a protector of the city.
4. Jewelled crown. It is inlayed with jewels; it can be seen above the head of the king Aretas IV and his wife. It also appears above the head of a number of Nabataean queens, like Huldu, the first wife of Aretas IV common on Nabataean coins especially.

Diadems

The diadems are common on Nabataean coins especially above the head of the king Aretas IV and his wife. It also appears above the head
of a number of Nabataean queens, like Huldu, the first wife of Aretas IV.\textsuperscript{11}

Earrings

Earrings have been common among Arab women in both ancient and modern times, though not for men, and come in a variety of shapes and materials. They were used in Palmyra, an Arab kingdom in modern Syria,\textsuperscript{12} as well as in Hatra, another Arab kingdom in modern Iraq\textsuperscript{13}; both Arab kingdoms were contemporary with the Nabataean kingdom.

The Nabataean queens Huldu and Shuqaila II, the wives of the king Aretas IV, appear on his coins wearing earrings, one of them shaped in the form of a spiral.\textsuperscript{14}

There have been a number of discoveries of earrings from different Nabataean sites, an early discovery came to us from Petra; it includes an earring made of iron, found on the right ear of a young female\textsuperscript{15}. Others include two gold ones found near a skeleton and a fragment of a third which is a small gold ring that could have been used as an earring.\textsuperscript{16}

Two pairs of earrings were found in a tomb at Mampsis (Kurnub).\textsuperscript{17} Three gold circular earrings were uncovered at Masmid, two of them had schematic eyes and a nose (\textbf{Fig. 2: 5–6}), these are similar to the shape of the eyes and nose that appear on a rectangular slab stone from Petra known as the Eye Idol (\textbf{Fig. 8: 3–4}). A third one includes images of the goddess Al-Uzza in the shape of a nude female holding her hair with her raised hands (\textbf{Fig. 2: 4}) – the same pose as Aphrodite, shown in fig 29. (\textbf{Fig. 8: 1}). The same female figure appears in relief on a gold pendant from Avdat.\textsuperscript{18} The basic shape of the three is a disc surrounded by a gold filigree braid. The surface is adorned with two inlaid semi precious stones and clusters of golden grains.\textsuperscript{19}

The figure of the goddess Al-Uzza (the main Nabataean goddess), who is identified with Aphrodite, was found in a bilingual inscription on a ring from the island of Cos\textsuperscript{20}. Depicted as Aphrodite-Venus, this indicated that
the wearer was a member of her cult and expected the goddess to offer her fertility, birth, plenty, beauty and blessings.

A group of earrings made from gold and copper were found at Khirbet edh-Dharih. The copper one has a ball shape pendant made of seashell (Fig. 1: 3), while the gold one is a fabulous bird suspended from a braided wire band (Fig. 2: 1).

**Nose Rings**

Three nose-rings at three Nabataean sites have also been unearthed, the first one at Avdat (Oboda) city dump, made of gold. The second one was found in a tomb at Mampsis (Kurnub) along with two pairs of earrings, one elaborately decorated and the other simpler, both worn together. This ring and the one mentioned before are similar in size, style, and technique; the third one was found in Petra and is now in a private collection.

The Avdat nose-ring is decorated with a row of balls, the centre one with clusters of granulated gold while the Mampsis example has several bunches of grapes on its lower part.

**Necklaces**

Compared to the Nabataean kingdom necklaces were more common in other contemporary Arab kingdoms, like Palmyra and Hatra. Nabataean necklaces were very rare in the sites excavated, until now only one example has been unearthed from Khirbet edh-Dharih; it consists of dark blue beads.

Because of the rarity of actual finds, the study of Nabataean necklaces depends mainly on the necklaces which appear on Nabataean sculptures representing deities and humans, as well as on coins with impressions of Nabataean kings and queens.

Nabataean necklaces can be classified into five types: triangular ornamentation, twisted metal, pearl or beaded (pectorals), crescent symbol and laurel wreath necklaces.

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11 Al-Muheisen 2004, p. 204; Fredrick et al. 2002, pl.100, 103.
12 Rosenthal 1964, p. 95, pl. 16.c.
13 Rosenthal 1964, p. 95.
14 Rosenthal 1964, p. 95.
15 Colledge 1976.
16 Aljader 1985, p. 379.
17 Al-Muheisen 2004, p. 204.
A. Triangular Ornamentation

This necklace consists of a series of small upside down triangles. A few sculptures of deities show them with triangular ornamentation on the neckline of the bodice, similar to the dolphin-grain goddesses from Khirbet el-Tannur (Fig. 3: 3).28 This triangular ornamentation also appears on two busts in relief on two architraves from the same site.29

B. Twisted, Metal Neckpiece

This is a twisted, metal neckpiece for the bodice, with simple terminals or ending sometimes with a circular pendant. It was worn by the grain goddess and Tyche at Khirbet el-Tannur30 and by the terracotta figurine of Isis from Petra (Fig. 7: 1).

C. Pearls and Beaded Necklace or Pectorals

The wife of the Nabataean king Aretas IV appeared on his coins wearing a necklace of pearls circled three times around her neck.31

Dark blue beaded necklaces appeared on a female skeleton found at Khirbet edh-Dharirh.32 These kinds of bead necklaces also appeared on some human terracotta figurines from Petra, (Fig. 4: 3)33 and where worn by Melpomene, the goddess of tragedy from the same site (Fig. 3: 4).

D. Necklace with crescent symbol

This necklace consists of big beads with an upside down lunar-shaped pendant hanging from it. It was worn by male and female deities and humans, appearing on terracotta figurines found at Petra (Fig. 4: 1–2).

It is worth mentioning that these kinds of necklaces were worn by Ishtar, a goddess of Palmyra.34

E. Laurel wreath necklace

This necklace consists of a thick laurel wreath with circular pendant hanging at the front of the chest. It appears on one of the high relief busts of the zodiac, namely Taurus from Khirbet edh-Dharirh (Fig. 5: 1).
Torques

Torques were very rare in the sites excavated, until now only one example has been unearthed from Petra, an iron neck torque found at a female burial; it had a longitudinally grooved stone ball, its type suggests it may originate from the Byzantine period.35

One of the distinctive features of the dress of several of the Nabataean gods and goddesses of Khirbet el-Tannur is the use of the torque. It is the ornamental, twisted, metal neckpiece whose terminals consist of lion heads touching either side of a circular object that may have planetary significance.

It was worn at Khirbet el-Tannur, not only by Zeus-Hadad-Belshameen (Fig. 2: 3), but also by several of the goddesses of the Nabataean pantheon there, like Atargatis (Fig. 3: 2) and Tyche.36

Fibula

The fibula or brooch was very common across different contemporary Arab centres such as Palmyra and Dura-Europos.37 Nabataean males and females used it to fasten clothes together. One fibula was usually used, but two of them were used by Nike.38 It appears in two shapes as it is shown on their sculptures:

A. Simple fibula, consisting of interlocked circles. This kind of fibula appeared on statues of Hermes and Nike from Petra, Khirbet el-Tannur, and Khirbet edh-Dharih (Fig. 7: 3).39 The circle shapes of the fibula may represent the sun god.

B. A fibula in the shape of a rosette. This kind of fibula appeared on statues of Helios (Fig. 7: 2) and Hermes; two rosettes also appear in front of Nike’s right and left shoulders at Khirbet el-Tannur.40

Girdle

Seen on some sculptures and terracotta figurines, the Nabataeans used girdles to beautify their dress and hold up their clothes. It appears in two

35 Hammond 1975, p. 13, pl. 1: 4
36 Glueck 1965, p. 207, pls. 44a,b, 45a.
37 Colledge 1976, p. 151, 2.
38 Glueck 1965, p. 5, pl. 48
40 Glueck 1965, pls. 48, 136, 146a.
different shapes: the first one is twisted below the chest as worn in the Belshameen and Nike statues from Khirbet el-Tannur (Figs. 2:3; 3: 1)\(^{41}\) and the statues of Nike from Khirbet edh-Dharih;\(^{42}\) the second is worn on the waist, connected with one or two bands that trail from it (Fig. 8: 1–2).

**Rings**

Rings were very rare in Nabataean jewellery; they do not appear on their sculptures. Of the two ring bezels found at Khirbet edh-Dharih, one of them is made of garnet dating to the Nabataean period (Fig. 1: 2), while the other one is dated to the Roman period\(^{43}\). A picture of a standing winged victory goddess has been carved on it.

This ring suggests two things. Firstly the method of manufacture, which reflects the skill of Nabataean goldsmiths in handling metals, molds and inlaying precious stone, also the skill of the Nabataean artist in drawing and carving the goddess figure on the bezel of the ring. Secondly, the idea of using the ring as an amulet; this is suggested by the interpretation of Nike as a victory goddess on the bezel of the ring, which may have been thought to provide its wearer with victory, protection and good luck.

**Hand Bracelets**

Bracelets can be seen on the wrists of gods, goddesses and mortals. They were very simple or sometimes twisted and ornamented with a few decorations.

A number of bracelets made of different metals have been found in tombs at Petra. One of them is a fragment of a silver bracelet, while another is a child’s bracelet made from copper wire. In addition, a bronze one has its side ending in a point which may be the tail of a serpent or dragon.\(^{44}\) Also, a group of bracelets made of gold were found at Khirbet edh-Dharih (Fig. 5: 3–6).\(^{45}\) Two of the Khirbet edh-Dharih bracelets are twisted, the terminal of one of them is ornamented with a palm leaf, while the other has the terminal ornamented with a star shape (Fig. 5: 5). Additionally, bracelets appear on stone and terracotta figurines representing deities and humans (Figs. 4: 1, 3, 4; 6: 1, 2; 7: 1; 8: 1).

\(^{41}\) Glueck 1965, pl. 41, 48.
\(^{42}\) Fredrick et al. 2002, pl. 67.
\(^{43}\) Fredrick et al. 2002, pl.104, 121.
\(^{44}\) Horsfield 1941, p.152, 154.
Armlets

There are two kinds of armlets that appear on Nabataean sculptures. The first one is common: a wide, single ring, with a simple decoration. The second one is less common, consisting of a chain bracelet; it appears on the left arm of the winged Nike upholding the Zodiacal sphere (Fig. 3: 1). 46 Similar or related armlets grace other Nabataean sculptures from the northern part of the Nabataean kingdom in the Jabel Druze. On the upper right arm of a seated male figure from Qanawat in Syria, are two armlets. 47 Meanwhile, a straight chain of three interconnected links of the Khirbet el-Tannur type is suspended from the right shoulder of the upper of two superimposed male busts found at Nabataean Si’ā in the Jabel Druze in Syria. 48

There are also armlets and anklets on various figures, including Pan, Eros and Mercury in the Nabataean mural at el-Bared, Petra. 49 The simple armlet also figures on one of the musicians and a nude goddess as they appear on terracotta figurines from Petra (Fig. 4: 2). The main Nabataean god, Dushara, is carved in reliefs at Petra wearing three twisted rings above each other on his right arm. 50 There are also different kinds of armlets worn by deities from other contemporary Arab centres like Palmyra in Syria and Hatra in Iraq. 51

Anklets

In two Nabataean sites, Petra and Khirbet edh-Dharih, skeletal remains of a female were found in which she appeared to be wearing an anklet made from iron. 52 This suggests that this was an ornament for Nabataean women and also connected with funerary beliefs. The anklet is also worn by many deities who appear as terracotta figurines from Petra (Fig. 6: 1–3). It is also found in other contemporary Arab centres, like Palmyra. 53

46 Glueck 1965, p. 207, pl. 48.
47 Dunand 1934, pl. XVII: 64.
48 Dunand 1934, pl. XIX: 88.
49 Glueck 1965, p. 434, pl. 203.
50 Tina 1990, pl. II.
51 Glueck 1965, p. 435.
53 Colledge 1976, p. 152.
Nabataean accessories

Head Band

The head-band is a rare accessory for the Nabataeans; we have one example, representing the head of Dionysus who tied his hair with a ribbon across his forehead (Fig. 6: 4).\(^{54}\)

Precious stones or metals

Nabataeans used to inlay some of their deities’ statues with different kinds of precious stones and metals. Bronze metal inlay is found on the eyes and nose of the Al-Uzza cubic shape statue found at the winged lions temple at Petra\(^{55}\) (Fig. 8: 3). Also, the eyes and the cavity which appears on the centre of the laurel crown of the same goddess was once inlayed with precious stones\(^{56}\) (Fig. 8: 4).

It is worth mentioning that the Nabataeans used to inlay some of their jewellery with precious stones as appears on the ring mentioned earlier, which is inlayed with bezel.

Significance of material in Nabataean jewellery

The profession of forming metal jewellery has been mentioned in a number of Nabataean inscriptions\(^ {57}\). The names of goldsmiths such as “Wahab Elhi”,\(^{58}\) and “Zeyd Ber Teim”\(^{59}\) have been mentioned in inscriptions. This indicates that the manufacture and selling of jewellery was by local people, in a society of wealthy Nabataeans.

Strabo mentioned that works of art in silver and gold were another Nabataean industry Strabo (Geog. XVI.4, 26). As mentioned earlier, the Nabataeans used different kinds of metals to make their jewellery and ornaments, such as gold, silver, bronze, copper and iron. Gold jewellery forms the majority of the objects excavated to date. Importance must be ascribed

\(^{54}\) Lyttelton and Blagg 1990, pl. 1.
\(^{55}\) Moutsopoulos 1990, pl. V:2.
\(^{56}\) Moutsopoulos 1990, pl. V:1.
\(^{58}\) Jaussen and Savignac 1911, p. 58 119N
\(^{59}\) CIS, 11,372.
to the material from which the jewellery was made, especially when it is used for religious purposes or as an amulet.

Symbolically, gold can be connected with the sun god, while silver was linked with the moon god or goddess and was often employed to represent the lunar disc. Hammond 1960, p. 30; Hammond 1975, p. 13, pl. 1:4. These kinds of precious materials used to be sacred in ancient times; the gold, for instance, lasts forever, so it was used in religious beliefs which concerned the afterlife.

**Function and symbolism of jewellery and accessories**

As part of their religious and social beliefs, the Nabataean people pierced their ears and noses to wear jewellery. Undoubtedly, it used to be worn by deities, royalty, and nobility. Jewellery was used not only to show their beauty, richness and high status, but also, it seems, because they believed that certain jewellery could protect them in their daily life from sickness, evil, enemies, and bad luck.

They buried some jewellery with their dead as part of their religious beliefs of the afterlife. This was done by depositing with the body a quantity of jewellery, adorning the deceased at the time of burial, as is clear from arrangements of burial remains. Hammond 1975, p. 13, pl. 1:4. There are many examples of jewellery deposited inside burials. For example an iron neck torque was found in a female burial and two gold earrings found near a skeleton at Petra, the skeletal remains of woman from Khirbet edh-Dharah, was found wearing an anklet, bracelet and a dark blue beaded necklace. Zayadine 1974, pl. LXIV: 2. These burial customs suggest something about Nabataean beliefs of the afterlife and that their jewellery helped them in their journey to the life of immortality.

Different kinds of symbols appear on jewellery and accessories, such as animal, plant and heaven symbols:

**Animal Symbols**

A. Lion’s Head:

Found at Khirbet el-Tannur and worn by Ballshameen, Atargatis and Tyche as a neckpiece whose terminals consist of lions’ heads (Fig. 2: 3; 3: 2).
It is a symbol of royal and divine authority, emphasising the great might of the main Nabataean god Ballshameen. It can be interpreted as an ornament of divine power, rather than a symbol associated with any particular god. In general, lions form the accompaniment of Atargatis, who is a consort of Ballshameen in the Nabataean-Syrian-Parthian world of the Hellenistic period; she was above all the guardian of her people. The fact that Tyche wears a lion’s torque emphasises their consanguinity. The lion undoubtedly symbolised fierceness and bravery, so it is expected to endow its wearer with the same qualities. It also has a protective function.

B. Seashell:

It appears as a ball shape pendant on one of the earrings (Fig. 1: 3). The seashell usually symbolises birth and innovation.

C. Fabulous bird:

It appears hanging from a long twisted ribbon on an earring made of gold from Khirbet edh-Dharih (Fig. 2: 1). Real or fabulous animals are widespread in ancient art especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt; they usually represent a god or goddess.

Plant Symbols

A. Rosette:

Used as a fibula to fasten clothes together (Figs. 3: 1; 7: 2) or for beauty and symbolic purposes as appears on the chest of one of the Gemini twins (Fig. 5: 2). As mentioned earlier, the symbol of a rosette can be interpreted with two meanings: the first one is as a sun with rays, so in this case it represents the main male sun god; the second possibility is that because it’s a plant symbol it may represent a female goddess, so in this case the people who use this symbol can expect fertility, plenty and prosperity in their life.

B. Laurel Wreath:

Appears on some Nabataean coins, crowning the head of some of the Nabataean kings and queens; it also appears as a necklace (Fig. 5: 1). It symbolises the victory which the Nabataean king and kingdoms need, and it may symbolise blessings and immortality.

64 Glueck 1965, p. 207, pls. 41, 44, 398.
66 See Meshorer (1975) for photos of Nabataean coins.
C. Bunches of Grapes:

Connected with the nose-ring of Mampsis. The vine signifies the drink of immortality, a foretaste of joy hereafter.\(^6\) Because each bunch of grapes consists of many seeds, it may symbolise fertility, plenty, and prosperity. This symbol is very common in different ancient Arab kingdoms such as Nabataean, Palmyra and Hatra; it appears as a relief on statues and building facades.

D. Palm Leaf:

It decorates one of the terminals of a bracelet; (Fig. 5: 5) it may symbolise victory over death.

E. Grains:

The surfaces of three earrings from Mamshit were adorned with clusters of golden grains (Fig. 2: 4–6). It symbolises germination, fertility, growth and fruitfulness, these meanings were associated with the role of Al-Uzza goddess who appeared on one of these earrings. Females who wore these earrings expected to be endowed with these attributes.

### Heaven Symbols

A. Crescent:

Appears as the pendant of a necklace worn by a statue of a boy and a nude goddess made of terracotta (Fig. 4: 1–2). Pairs of crescent symbols appear upside down on one of the twins of Gemini statue (Fig. 5: 2). The crescent has religious significance as a cultic symbol in different forms in the ancient Middle East. It usually symbolises the moon god. If it is worn by a human, it seems that this amulet was intended to link the owner with the ideas of renewal and regeneration inherent in the symbolism of the waning and waxing of the moon.

B. Star:

Appears on one of the terminals of a bracelet (Fig. 5: 5), it may symbolise the planet Venus. It could indicate one who follows the goddess Venus or, because Venus was the goddess of beauty and fertility, the wearer may expect to be endowed with these properties.

C. Circular Pendant:

The circular necklace pendant appears in many examples of statues from different Nabataean sites (Figs. 2: 3; 3: 2; 5: 1; 7: 1). It can be interpreted as a sign of the sun god.

Conclusion

In addition to its main purpose to show beauty, wealth and high status, it seems that the Nabataeans often used different kinds and shapes of jewellery and accessories as amulets, as a personal ornament which, because of its shape, material, or colour, was believed to endow its wearer with magical means, powers, or capabilities. At the very least it should afford some kind of protection. These benefits for the wearer were obtained from the deities and other symbols which appeared on some of the jewellery and accessories.

Incorporating human, animal, plant and heaven shapes in jewellery is widespread throughout Nabataean jewellery and accessories. These represented deities and had symbolic purposes. Two deities in human shape appeared on Nabataean jewellery: Al-Uzza, the goddess of fertility and beauty on a pendant from Avdat⁶⁸, and on an earring from Mamshit, shown in the shape of a nude female holding her hair with her raised hands (Fig. 2: 4). The other deity is the victory goddess Nike who appeared on a ring bezel from Khirbet edh-Dharih (Fig. 1: 2). All the Nabataeans understood the meaning of these two deities.

Jewellery found inside burials, associated with the bodies of the deceased, tell us that amulets and jewellery incorporating amuletic forms were an essential adornment, especially as part of the funerary equipment for the dead, as well as for the living. So, amuletic jewellery worn in life for their magical properties could be taken to the tomb for use in life after death.

Original Nabataean jewellery found at Petra, Khirbet edh-Dharih, Mampsis (Kurnub), Mamshit, and Avdat (Oboda) (Fig. 1: 1) with their inscriptions mentioning the metallurgic professions that made jewellery, can be interpreted as evidence for the existence of Nabataean jewelers and their workshops in different parts of the Nabataean kingdom, as well as the skills of the Nabataean jeweller who used different kinds of metals to make their jewellery and ornaments. Gold forms the majority of the objects found to date, in addition to silver, bronze, copper and iron. There must

be importance ascribed to the material from which the jewellery was made, especially when it is used for social or religious purposes or as an amulet.

It seems that the inlaying of precious stones was not popular in Nabataean jewellery, although it can be easily recognised in their sculpture\(^69\); the main example we have is a ring bezel made of garnet from Khirbet edh-Dharih (Fig. 1: 2). The surface of an earring from Mamshit was also inlaid with two semi precious stones (Fig. 2: 5–6). In summary, Nabataeans used different kinds of jewellery and accessories in a variety of shapes and material, to reflect prosperity, social and religious beliefs.

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\(^69\) Moutsopoulos 1990, pls. vi, v2.
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Fig. 6:
1 Terracotta figurine, enthroned goddess (after El-Khoury 2002)
2 Terracotta figurine, enthroned goddess (after El-Khoury 2002)
3 Lower part of Harpocrates, Petra (after Almasri 1997)
4 Relief of Dionysus, Petra (after Almasri 1997)
Fig. 7:
1 Isis terracotta figurines, Petra (after Almasri 1997; El-Khouri 2002)
2 Helios relief with torches, Khirbet el-Tannur (after Almasri 1997)
3 Bust of Cancer, Khirbet edh-Dharih (after Almasri 1997)
Fig. 8:
1 Terracotta figurines, Aphrodite Anadyomene (after El-Khoury 2002)
2 Standing human, Petra (after El-Khoury 2002)
3 Round statue of Eye idol, Petra (after Almasri 1997)
4 Round statue of Eye idol, Petra (after Almasri 1997)