RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE THUNDERBOLT AND WINGED NIKE (ALLAT) SCULPTURES FROM KHIRBET ET-TANNUR, JORDAN

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ABSTRACT. This study deals with two sculptures of the thunderbolt and the winged goddess Nike or Allat, discovered at Khirbet et-Tannur, which are now displayed in the Archaeology Museum at the University of Jordan. The study focuses first on the concept of the Nabataean thunderbolt, its historical origins and its role within Nabataean religion and art. It also explores the concept of the goddess Winged Nike (Allat), and her role in the Nabataean religious pantheon. Finally, the research examines the technical artistic treatment of the two sculptures.

KEYWORDS. Jordan, Khirbet et-Tannur, Winged Nike, Allat, Du-Shara, Nabataean, thunderbolt, sculpture.

INTRODUCTION

These two sculptures were found at the site of Khirbet et-Tannur, located 110 km south of Amman, and about 28 km northeast of al-Tafila city. The site is at the intersection of two historically important valleys: Wadi Al-Hasa¹ and al-L'aban.

The Khirbet et-Tannur site can be reached through the King's Highway, historically known as Via Nova Traiana, which is about two kilometers from that main road. Its location on this important road linking Bostra and Petra may have given the site distinct economic and commercial advantages (Negev & Gibson 2001; Alpass 2011).

This region is characterized by a difficult geographical terrain because it contains mountains, rugged rocky slopes, and mountains facing the site above the junction of the al-Hasa and al-L'aban valleys (Negev & Gibson 2001). Wadi al-L'aban is connected to Khirbet et-Tannur from the southwestern side. The valley contains an important reserve called 'Ain al-L'aban or Ain Deir al-L'aban. Wadi al-L'aban includes several small springs that did not keep pace with human settlement, except 'Ain al-L'aban. Wadi al-L'aban begins about 18 km south of al-Tafila. It is a deep valley composed of floodplains formed from the soil left by regular flooding. At the top of the floodplain is 'Ain al-L'aban, the main source of water (Roller 1983).

Opposite Khirbet et-Tannur, there is a volcanic spot of basalt stone on the northern shoulder of Wadi al-Hasa. This spot follows the so-called "Western Mountains Basalt" group, which extends from Wadi al-Heidan in the north to the "Unayzah volcano". It is located west of the Petra-Desert Road intersection, north of the city of Ma'an (Abed 2000).

Khirbet al-Dharīḥ, a major site located 1 km from 'Ain al-L'aban, was found to contain human settlements extending from the Neolithic, the Early Bronze, and the Iron Age periods. Within this agricultural settlement, there is a cultic complex known as al-Dharīḥ Palace; important archaeological remains were found in this settlement, closely related to the site of Khirbet et-Tannur (Roller 1983). The location of Khirbet et-

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¹ Wadi Al-Hasa, which is historically known as Zared, begins in the eastern desert at the eastern end of Qal'at al-Hasa. It extends towards the northwest with variable width, as it passes below the site of Khirbet et-Tannur on the northern side for a distance of about 400 m, continuing its path towards the northwest and the Dead Sea (MacDonald 1989).

Tannur remained unknown until the arrival of Nelson Glueck, who conducted major surveys in Jordan under the supervision of the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) in the period from 1933 to 1937. Glueck pointed out that Officer Abdullah Rihani Bey (working as al-Tafila Police Commander at the time in 1937) discovered the site in this year. The Director General of the Department of Antiquities at the time, Lancaster Harding, drew Glueck's attention to the importance of the site and the Nabataean temple (Glueck 1965). The results of his studies were published in a three-part volume, *Exploration in Eastern Palestine I-III*, which was the first study to deal with the site in depth.

In 1937, excavations began at the site by the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, under the supervision of Glueck and in cooperation with the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, which revealed a Nabataean temple containing two stone altars, triple terraces for offering sacrifices, architectural decorations, and complete sculptures representing the entire family of Nabataean gods, in addition to some Nabataean and imported pottery finds. Glueck published the results of the excavations successively in the ASOR journal and in *The Other Side of Jordan*. The final works were published in a large volume by Glueck entitled *Deities and Dolphins* in 1965 (Glueck 1965, 1970).

THE NABATAEAN TEMPLE AT KHIRBAT ET-TANNUR

The temple of Khirbat et-Tannur was established on a high hill called Jabal et-Tannur. Its area is 40×48 m and faces east, occupying the entire flat area that is located at the top of the mountain on the eastern side. The temple can be reached by a curved path with four steps leading to the gate. The steps are surrounded by two columns and bases with a Greek influence dating back to the third era of the temple's history, which are similar to columns and capitals found in Petra, Khirbet al-Dharīḥ, Khirbet Brak, Ma'in, al-Rabbah, and Ḥāurān (Roche 1997).

The temple consists of three sections: The front courtyard is open to the air and is square shaped with an area of 15.68×15.40 m. Part of it on the eastern side is paved and contains low-lying channels to drain rainwater. The second section is the sacred courtyard (Temenos enclosure). It has an area of 10.38×9.72 m and contains a large gate 8.50 m high. It can be accessed via three steps on the eastern façade. A statue of

the goddess-winged Nike (Allat), covered with leaves, was found next to this gate, in addition to a statue of an eagle (Glueck 1965). A square altar with dimensions of 3.50×3.50 m was found in the Temenos enclosure. The altar went through three historical periods: the first period dates to 100 until 25 BCE. The second period was also dated to 9 BCE and is based on a Nabataean inscription found at the site.² The third and final period dates to the first quarter of the first century CE after Trajan annexed the Nabataean kingdom in 106 CE (Glueck 1965).

Finally, the side rooms are a series of rooms on the north and south sides of the Temenos enclosure and the front courtyard. There are raised terraces surrounding it and wrapping around the three sides of each room, and they are known as the Triclinia. It is hypothesized that it was covered with wooden beams, which is inferred from the layer of ash found during excavation. It is possible that these rooms were used as a house or residence for priests, or for religious ceremonies that were held on the site (Glueck 1970; McKenzie *et al.* 2002).

The Nabataeans might have chosen the site because of its proximity to the volcanic mass located northeast of the site (Glueck 1965). McKenzie believes that the importance of the site is due to its location on the top of Mount Tannur (McKenzie *et al.* 2002). Based on this, Glueck thought that the site was a religious center for the Nabataeans. It may have been a pilgrimage site that was not specific to the region alone, but rather was for all residents of the Nabataean kingdom in an area with almost no human settlements, in contrast to al-Dharīh, which came within an agricultural settlement. This conclusion is also inferred from the altar and the tripartite terraces that were used to offer sacrifices (Glueck 1965; Healy 2001).

THE NABATAEAN THUNDERBOLT SCULPTURE

The Nabataean Thunderbolt sculpture discovered at Khirbat et-Tannur was carved from limestone and is now on display in the outdoor courtyard of the museum. Unfortunately, a lot of algae appeared on it be-

² "(The monument) built by Natir 'el the son of Zayd '*el, r's* '*yn L' aban* (Master of the spring of L' aban), for the life of Ḥaretat, king of the Nabataeans who loves his people, and for the life of Huldu, his wife, in the Year II" (Starcky 1955; Glueck 1956; Healy 2001).



Figure 1a. The Nabataean Thunderbolt sculpture (© Moath Al-Fuqaha).

cause of weather factors, but it is now being cleaned. The Thunderbolt is believed to have been found within the threshold of the altar, which dates to the third period of the altar's construction to the first quarter of the first century CE. It is partially damaged and contains deposits of foreign material accumulated over time. The sculpture is 42–47 cm long, 53 cm wide, and 25 cm deep.

On the right side of the sculpture, traces of small lines or fine engraving appear, while the left side, top, and back part are irregular in shape due to the destruction of the sculpture. The front part of the sculpture was executed in a low-relief sculpture style. The front part consists of several carved bands with a width of approximately 53 cm.

The upper part of the sculpture consists of three sections: The upper part is 6 cm high and without decorations, while the second part contains an egg and dart decoration. It is 3 cm high, while the third part is without any decorations and is also 3 cm high. The main part in the middle represents a thunderbolt, 22 cm high and approximately 22 cm wide. The thunderbolt is surrounded by four roses; each rose containing four petals. The lower band is 3 cm thick, damaged, and represents alternating patterns of vine leaves.

THE NABATAEAN CONCEPT OF SUPREME GOD AND THE THUNDERBOLT

The question that comes to the mind of any researcher is what is the name of the god who was found in Khirbet et-Tannur, and why the Nabataean Thunderbolt was associated with him? This difficulty lies in ascertaining the deity's links in the multiplicity of cultures that influenced the Nabataean religion, from local Syrian, Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Parthian, Greco-Roman, and issues of syncretism. What compounds the uncertainty is the dearth of Nabataean writings at the site, which led many researchers, including Glueck, who excavated the site, to believe that the god was identified with the image of Zeus, Baal-Shamin, or Qaws. It is necessary to review some opinions and hypotheses on this topic.

Baal-Shamin, the Semitic god of storms, appeared in various forms in the ancient Near East. He is the god of the heavens, residing in the mountains, and the

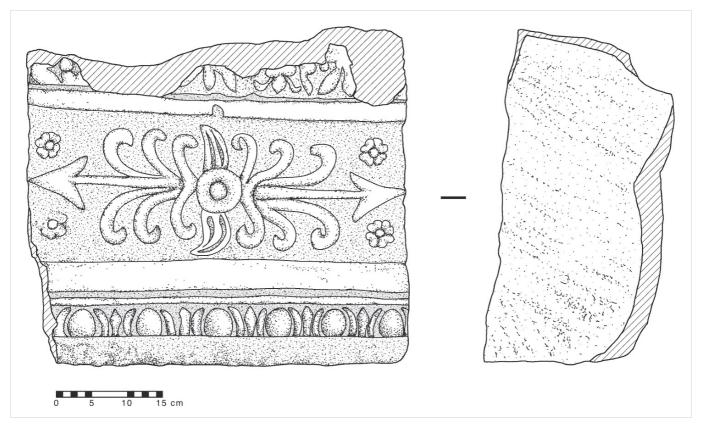


Figure 1b. The Nabataean Thunderbolt sculpture (© Munjed Qasem).

predominant one among the rest of the gods. He is also Baal-Zephon, the god of the North, and Zeus Cassius is sometimes considered the god of Mount Carmel (Glueck 1965).

His syncretic presence was signified by the burning of the thunder flame, so he was given the name "Zeus-Haddad". The Nabataeans gave it this name as an expression of the eruption of volcanoes, the devastating earthquakes, the sound of thunder and lightning, and the storms and floods that accompany them. Zeus-Haddad was also associated with agriculture. He was beloved by farmers and at the same time feared because he was the Lord of thunder and torrents (Glueck 1965; McKenzie *et al.* 2002; Kampen 2003).

Zeus was also incorporated by the Nabataeans, and this appears from an inscription by the famous Nabataean minister Syllaeus in Miletus when he was on his way to Rome "for the health of King Obadas, whose assassination was planned" (Starcky 1955; Healy 2001).

Dhu-Shara was one of the major gods of the Nabataeans, and was associated with the mountains of Shara and often as a solar deity. Maximus of Tire³ states in the 2nd century CE that his statue was square and did not appear in human form (Levy 1991). Du-Shara was associated with drinking alcohol, as evidenced under the rule of King Rabbel II (71–106 AD) although drinking alcohol was initially forbidden among the Nabataeans, the penalty for drinking alcohol was to be put to death (Levy 1991).

The forms and the appearance of Du-Shara were varied: he appeared as a god of wheat, rain, and thunder and was surrounded by symbols of agriculture, especially the cultivation of the vine. Prime examples of Dhu-Shara's ties to the vine are seen in the Negev and Bostrā, the main center for wine production in Hāurān (Avi-Yonah 1981). Thus, the nature of Du-Shara, with its accompanying figures such as the eagle, lion, snake, calf, and vine leaves, reflects the great resemblance to the god Zeus, in Nabataean art influenced by Hellenism (Hammond 1973).

Glueck believes that Zeus-Haddad was the leader of the male gods at Khirbet et-Tannur and the god to whom the Nabataeans directed their worship and that the temple's location on the mountaintop was the basis for the syncretism to Haddad (Glueck 1965). However, Hammond believes that Haddad did not appear

³ Maximus of Tyre, who lived at the end of the second century CE, also known as Cassius Maximus Tyrius, was a Greek discoursist and philosopher. His writings contain a focus on Greek history and to a lesser extent on Roman history.



Figure 2a. Winged Nike sculpture (© Moath Al-Fuqaha).



Figure 2b. Winged Nike sculpture (© Munjed Qasem).

in the Nabataean pantheon of gods, neither in the inscriptions nor even in the Nabatean names (Hammond 1990). Levy and Lindner believe that the main deity at Khirbet et-Tannur is the god Qaws, and they attribute this to the presence of an inscription at the site bearing the name of this god, who was worshiped similarly to Zeus⁴ (Lindner 1970; Levy 1991; Healy 2001). The Edomite god Qaws, also represents weather, storms, and lightning and may have attributes similar to the Arab god Quzah (Healy 2001).

THE NABATAEAN WINGED-NIKE (ALLAT) SCULPTURE

The statue is very severely damaged, its head and bottom are missing. It is 80 cm high and 32 cm wide, and 18 to 23 cm deep. It carries a wreath in her right hand, but it is missing here, while in her left hand, she holds palm fronds that reached above her left shoulder. Unfortunately, the top of the palm fronds is missing and destroyed.

The wings are completely missing, part of the neck is visible, and the dress of Nike is a peplos, which is a long rectangular robe with the top edge bent down

⁴ [d]y 'bd qsmlk lqs 'lh hwrw, "[stele tha]t Qūsmilk made for Qūs, god of HWRW" (Glueck 1937; Healy 2001).

about halfway of her body so that the top of the dress is wrapped below the waist and has a belt in the middle of her body. The bottom stretches a few centimeters above the ankle.

The artist has left one side of the peplos open. The artist excelled in sculpture and showed the folds of the peplos dress with movement and harmony, with both convergent and distant lines. The head, which is not in the museum, is missing the upper right side, but includes the right eye, most of the nose, and parts of the chin, but the beautiful and plump shape of the face can be determined, the eyes are intricately carved with a triangular line representing the eyebrow. It is highly detailed with the softness in the eyebrow line, the pupil where the iris is prominent, and the lips are lightly furrowed (Glueck 1965).

THE NABATAEAN CONCEPT OF WINGED NIKE AND THE SUPREME GODDESS

Nike is the goddess of victory in Greece and was depicted as a woman wearing a long dress up to her feet, sometimes represented without wings and carrying a wreath and palm fronds (Sear 1978). Nike's popularity increased in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and gained political significance as a symbol of victory and success (Roche 1998).

The Winged Nike appears in Hellenic representation with fully open wings, and her dress decorated with many wrinkles showing movement and the body's grace (Powell 1973).

Many similar examples of this representation of a winged Nike have been found in Petra, with palm fronds in her right hand and cornucopia in her left hand, and at the adjacent Khirbet al-Dharih site. Outside the Nabataean kingdom, she appears in Palmyra carrying the cornucopia (Glueck 1965; Colledge 1976).

Multiple images of Nike appear on Roman coins (Meshorer 1982). This was also adopted in the Nabataean kingdom and Nike's first appearance is seen on coins minted during the reigns of Aretas II 120/110– 96 BCE) and Aretas III (84–60 BCE), depicted with or without wings, bearing the cornucopia, the wreath, and palm fronds (Meshorer 1982).

Representations of Nike were also found in Khirbet al-Dharīh, surmounted by a crown, holding wheat ears and a wreath in her hand, but her images in Khirbet al-Dharīh leaned in shape towards the Roman style (Al-Muheisen & Villeneuve 1998). Her representations also appeared in Petra holding palm fronds and a cornucopia in her hand.

Nike was exceedingly popular in Hauran, and representations were discovered with her wearing peplos and having unshaven wings, as it was associated with the world of the dead, unlike examples that appeared in the southern regions of the Nabataean kingdom, where it was associated with religious purpose (Roche 1998).

ORIGINS OF THE ARTISTIC MOTIFS

Thunderbolt Sculpture

The Thunderbolt sculpture contains several artistic decorations that accompany it, which are believed to contain many mythological meanings in Nabataean art. The symbol of the thunderbolt has Greek origins, as it is considered the main weapon of the chief god Zeus (Yalouris 1990). The Greek myth says that when this bolt is thrown at enemies by Zeus, it turns them into ashes (Schoder 1975).

In the Near East, it was seen as the cause of rain, and it accompanied the god of the heavens, where the desert turns into lush gardens full of life forms of animals and plants. Furthermore, it symbolizes his authority and as an accompaniment when he is depicted on top of the sacred mountain (Glueck 1965).

As for the Nabataeans, they used this decoration under clear Roman influence as it was employed as an external decoration in temples (Hammond 1995). It appears widely in the temples of Petra, Khirbet et-Tannur, al-Dharīḥ, and others (Roche 1998). Several examples of a thunderbolt were found at Khirbet et-Tannur, and in the Temple of the winged lions at Petra (McKenzie 1990). The use of the thunderbolt decoration among the Nabataeans even extended to its use in Nabataean pottery (Khairy 1990). The egg and dart motif has been discovered as an architectural ornament adorning the columns and facades of Greek and Roman temples (Jacoby & Talgam 1988).

The Nabataeans used this decoration under clear influence from Roman culture, and it was used in the external decoration of temples (Hammond 1995). This decoration appeared noticeably in the temples of Petra, Khirbet at-Tannur, al-Dharīḥ, and others (Roche 1998). The use of egg and dart decoration, as with the thunderbolt, extended to pottery decorations (Khairy 1990). The flowers were of Eastern origin, as they were found among many Eastern peoples. These six-petaled flowers, which symbolize Ishtar and Adad, were employed by the Babylonians and used by the Hittites as a crown and were used as decoration by the Assyrians and Achaemenids. The symbol was then passed to the Romans, where it became a solar symbol (Colledge 1976; Avi-Yonah 1981).

As for the vine, its use is of Assyrian origin based on earlier depictions by the Sumerians (Avi-Yonah 1981). In Greco-Roman symbolism, it became associated with Dionysus and Bacchus, associated with pleasure and immortality (Colledge1976; Meyer 1957).

The Nabataeans adopted its use where it took on slightly different shapes such as containing roses among vine trees. The decoration was dominated by symmetry with a realistic touch in the depiction of grape clusters. This reflected an actual increase in the number of vineyards and associated facilities such as wine presses in Nabataean land during that time period (Hammond 1973).

The presence of the vine motif was not limited to architectural parts only but also extended to Nabataean pottery, as well as to the oil paintings covering the walls of Siq al-Bared in Petra.

Some gods associated with Hellenistic and Semitic fertility cults were found alongside this decoration, including Pan and Eros. The popularity of these gods increased in the Nabataean pantheon, and this may indicate the importance of agriculture, especially vine cultivation, as one of the most important tributaries of the Nabataean economy (Glueck 1965).

Palm Frond

Finally, the palm frond decoration had many uses in Greek, Roman, and Eastern art. It is depicted as being used in the Olympic Games, victory processions in ancient Rome, offerings to Osiris, even when kings entered the city of Jerusalem, as it was associated with victory and peace (Meyer 1957).

It also expressed victory over death, a concept of Near-Eastern origin that was common in the Roman state (Colledge 1976).

It had widespread in Parthia since the first century BCE and was usually accompanied by an eagle or a goddess of victory (Jones 1990).

The palm frond is also found on Herodian coins either singly, in double form, or with the cornucopia and the rudder (Meshorer 1982).

Winged Nike Statue and Symbols

The Winged Nike statue contains several artistic decorations that accompany it, which are believed to contain many mythological meanings in Nabataean art. The cornucopia appears for the first time in Greek art and symbolizes fertility and abundance. It takes the form of a goat's horn, and the horn is filled with ears of wheat and fruits (Jones 1990). It was imported by the Hellenistic civilization and placed on coins during the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties (Meshorer 1975). In the East, the horn symbolizes Demeter, Tyche, and was sycretised to represent the Near-Eastern deity Ishtar.

Among the Nabataeans, it was believed to symbolize Atargatis, starting from the reign of Aretas III (84– 60 BCE), and it appeared on the coins of Aretas IV (9 BCE–40 CE), Malichus II (40–70 CE), and Rabbel II (71–106 CE), retaining its local features, such as the single cornucopia associated with the Atargatis (Meshorer 1975).

The peplos dress is a cloak girded in the middle to give a full body shape, and it is considered the formal dress of males more than females (Jones 1990). The Nabataeans may have used the Hellenistic peplos, but they were not able to depict its folds well (Glueck 1965). Many examples of this dress appear in Petra's winged statues of Nike (Roche 2001).

Technical Treatment of Sculptures

The artist who executed the sculptures in Khirbet et-Tannur and other Nabataean sites used the direct carving method using some metal tools such as the pointed chisel and the flat chisel, where the artist deliberately places the outlines and concept he wishes on the side he wants to carve from the stone. Then he begins to remove the excess and unwanted parts of the stone, which fall outside the process of artistic drawing of the sculpture, and then after that, he carves the fine details that he intends to implement on the stone, such as clothing, eyes, hair, and nose, until reaching the desired shape in its final form (Adam 1966; Cook 1973; Shaer & Aslan 1997).

This type of style was known in Greco-Roman sculptures, where sculptures executed according to this style were distinguished by accuracy, harmony, and flexibility (Bieber 1977).

The Khirbet et-Tannur sculptures were influenced by Hellenistic sculpture, rather than Eastern Parthian representational art as the style of direct sculpture in those areas was distinguished by its interest in showiness rather than the aesthetics of the subject, which appeared in the architectural sculptures in Dura-Europos and Hatra (Ferrier 1989).

The Nabataeans excelled in the art of sculpture in general, and this was evident in the treatment of the frieze, the cornice, and the decoration of the column capitals, where the eastern Nabataean style is evident with classical decorative methods. The decoration of vines and acanthus is one of the most frequent plant forms, and it was dominated by symmetry with some realism. The Nabataeans added shapes to the human statues and busts on the capitals of the columns and the friezes (Al-Muheisen 1996). The art of Nabataean sculpture in general, and the sculpture in Khirbet et-Tannur, during the first century BCE to the first century CE, passed through a stage that can be called the eastern Nabataean School, as it draws its elements from the ancient Ammonite and Aramaic traditions with some Hellenistic influences, and the sculptures are characterized by facial symmetry, prominent eyes, and thick hair braids (Zayadine 1991).

During the first and second centuries CE, the sculpture was characterized by the presence of both Parthian and Hellenistic influences, and its characteristics included the completely facing position of the statues, the wide, staring eyes, the hairstyle in the form of a spiral or circular coils, and the beard in the shape of a spiral (Zayadine 1991). Finally, the study concluded that the main stage in both the et-Tannur and al-Dharīh sites was the result of the work of the same group of builders and sculptors, and this was evidenced by the great similarity in the style of sculpture and architecture in both sites (Alpass 2011).

CONCLUSION

The Nabataean pantheon of gods at Khirbet et-Tannur was distinguished by its extreme diversity and confluence of many traditions. At the head of the pantheon was a chief god, Dhu-Shara, the god of the Nabataean kings, and goddess Winged Nike (Allat). The anthropomorphic representation of the gods, not present in early art, became common in Petra as well as in other places became more common under Hellenic and Roman influence.

Based on what was previously mentioned about the nature of the god who was worshiped at Khirbet et-Tannur, several researchers believe that he was DuShara, the chief of the Nabataean gods, or Baal-Shamin, Zeus-Haddad.

We feel, as Levy and Lindner thought, that the god who was worshiped at Khirbet et-Tannur was the Edomite god Qaws, based on the inscription found at the site dating back to the first century BCE. However, some modifications were made to the god's functions to fit the period in which he was found. Other gods include symbols that indicate multiple tasks, influenced by Hellenistic thought about the multiple tasks of a god. It also shows the continuity of the worship of a god since the Idumean period from the tenth century BCE until the late Nabataean period by the Idumean, who later fell under Nabataean expansion.

Nabataean sculpture in Khirbet et-Tannur is distinguished by its mixture of Near-Eastern classical art that followed the Nabataean artistic school. The artist used limestone and sandstone, but predominantly limestone due to its availability in the surrounding environment and the ease of shaping it, whether for construction or sculpture.

In his sculpture, the artist tried to depict the details of the body's organs to prove his artistic ability to highlight the size and natural movement of the body and the proportion between the body's organs. The shape of the dress in the Nike statue was influenced by Hellenistic and Roman art. To represent the element of movement in the dress, the artist depicted the folds of the dress with converging and diverging lines. In his sculpting of plant forms in the Thunderbolt sculpture, he demonstrated a great ability to depict plant forms in both a realistic and stylized manner.

Most of the sculptures in Khirbet et-Tannur were religious and with different influences, which reflected the diversity of Nabataean society. It has been noted that the sculptures in Khirbet et-Tannur, especially starting from the second period, have a great similarity to the sculptures of Khirbet al-Dharīh.

Therefore, it is believed that the sculptures came from the same workshop or artists, and perhaps, this workshop was located in Khirbet et-Tannur, as evidenced by the discovery of incomplete sculptures by excavators.

Finally, the sculptures on the site were characterized by the presence of Western (Greek-Roman) and Eastern (Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Persian-Parthian, and local Syrian) influences. These influences went side by side in such a way that it is difficult to separate them from each other, as they are fused in a clear example of Nabataean art style.

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