Creating and conserving Sacred Landscapes: Abydos and Amarna - keeping the spirit alive?

Dr Katharina Zinn, University of Wales Trinity Saint David

When discussing the creation, manipulation and transformation of sacred landscapes for ancient Egypt, two sites immediately spring to mind – Abydos and Amarna (fig.1). While comparing these two ancient Egyptian sacred landscapes, one main question materialises: what is the major difference between them? To help us answer this issue, we should examine the importance of permanence and temporality of sacred landscapes. Could cultural shifts permanently "kill" a sacred landscape or does it survive dormant? To further shed light on these issues and discuss the temporality and dwelling perspective of sacred landscapes, this paper aims to develop a matrix of comparison between different religious site.

Introduction: The impossibility of discussing ancient sacred landscapes?

More than 20 years ago, Tim Ingold discussed the temporality of landscapes (Ingold 1993). Following his premises, this paper explores dimensions of temporality in different types of sacred landscapes with special attention to ancient Egypt.

There is one question which is of interest with regard to any sacred landscape, be it ancient or modern: how can the spirit of a sacred landscape be kept alive? This seemingly simple question in fact is very difficult to answer, especially when looking at past sacred landscapes where we are restricted by the chance of survival, be it of archaeological, material and textual sources. We are unable to conduct anthropological fieldwork as done with sacred sites of modern indigenous groups (cf. Carmichael *et al* 1994). Instead, we should (and can) rely on the site itself, the things left in it and their agency. They contain messages of humans interacting in and with them in a *shaped relationship*. The need to communicate 'indirectly' with past peoples also makes another important factor difficult to assess or trace: where sacredness is involved, so are emotions, beliefs and attitudes. Definitions of identity or social belonging are influenced by social and personal "self-definitions" (Ucko 1994, xviii; Harmanşah 2014, 1-2). Whenever we identify practices in temporally remote cultures we need to be aware that we apply our ideas onto the ancient landscape and therefore describe it through a particular lense (Ashmore 2014, 40). Comparing various places therefore might help us to get closer to the understanding of how landscapes were manipulated and transformed to insure their (continued) utilisation, and consequently their survival.

This argument is based on one of the recent *turns* in humanities, the so called *special turn*, which connects the phenomena 'space' and 'place' with their social, religious and historical determinants and vice versa (Lahn and Schröter 2010, 2). Within this

paradigm, the focus is on the definition of space, its agency and the agency of everything within as well as on the forms of identity brought into these spaces and created from within. Also important are examples of different types of space (public, limited, private), multifunctional spaces and the dichotomy between religious/sacred, mythological places and everyday functional places (Lahn and Schröter 2010, 4-5). Sacred landscapes were the last "human-land relationships" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 1) discussed in this connotation.

Landscapes – including sacred ones – are the result of diverse kinds of agency within natural settings (Rippon 2012, 1) and a specific cultural time (Assmann 2002, 13). As such, they comprise natural and cultural features (Lucero and Kinkella 2014, 13). Agency transforms the landscape so that it is both the backdrop to and the product of human enactment. Our understanding of sacred places has evolved since the mid-1990s, when indigenous people and their interpretation of landscapes – especially burial sites – as being sacred were finally heard (Carmichael, Hubert and Reeves 1994). This discussion has led to new approaches to studying past landscapes and we no longer have to be as pessimistic as Ucko: "What hope can there be for archaeologists and others to obtain a satisfactory feeling for the sacredness of past surroundings?" (Ucko 1994, xix). Even though we are still far from a full understanding of past feelings towards sacredness, numerous conferences and publications have demonstrated the possibility to discuss these themes in an interdisciplinary debate between archaeologists and anthropologists, heritage professionals and area studies (to name just a few). The process of interpretation is made more difficult by the fact that modern ideas of what was seen as sacred and how sacredness was achieved, are changing. Analysis is impeded by the fact that tangible (natural landscape, objects within the landscape) and intangible (symbolic/ideological) worlds are immersed. This is a typical effect and the starting point of agency applied to and in these landscapes, often expressed via rituals (Chaniotis 2011). Agency creates identity, generates territorial organisation and keeps sacred landscapes alive. This mirrors Ingold's definition of a "dwelling perspective" where the landscape is understood as being formed, defined and organised by the people who dwelt in them (Ingold 1993, 152). Such an approach views humans, their interaction and the landscapes they are acting in as entities that constantly influence and form each other (Ingold 1993, 154). We could call this actively an inhabited space (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 8). Such activeness is also important for the essence of a sacred landscape, which also needs to be kept alive. However, how much renewed activity is necessary?

Defining the sacred in the landscape and timeframe of ancient Egypt?

When comparing Abydos and Amarna it is helpful to follow Ingold's idea to remove the "sterile opposition between the naturalistic view of the landscape as a neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the culturalistic view that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space" (Ingold 1993, 153). Sacred places are part of a natural landscape and have therefore physical character; however, they are human constructs as well: they might have been shaped by human (physical)

interaction or connected with (ideational) creation myths (Ucko 1994, xviii). Very often they are both. As spaces, they should be equally understood as medium and outcome of human activity. What makes a natural landscape 'sacred' are the ideas that people impose on it. The connection of the people with "their" landscape – initiated by the very same landscape itself – forms their social identity which in turn is expressed in territorial structures and their usage, place names and architecture (Rippon 2012, 4). These sites express shared social and cultural memory (Harmanşah 2014, 2). This leads to the question of the mindscapes behind the landscapes or the mythical interpretation of natural reality. These ideas are becoming one with the landscape as the result of social interactions between land and everything inhabiting it. Such interaction happens in cycles as long as the landscape has meaning, but it is never complete (Ingold 1993, 158-162). Such interpretation is congruent to the specific and unique cultural timeframe of ancient Egypt, which sees indefinite cycles running on an eternal linear time stream (Assmann 2005, 371-372; Assmann 2002, 12-19 and 59-61). The main aspect of time in ancient Egypt is permanence or continuance (Assmann 2003, 32-34; Assmann 2005, 369-388), expressed in the understanding of the cosmic and therefore sacred time-forms of *neheh* (*nḥḥ*) and *djet* (*ḏt)*. This theological concept of time is clearly differentiated from the finite and individually defined forms used to refer to the time of humans and things: *3t* as description of a moment and *tr* as a time segment which is the correct or ideal period for something (Assmann 2003, 37-39).

When studying religious practices of ancient civilisations we are not able to observe the customs or routines of people. To make sense of the ways in which past people saw their landscape we are reliant on the sources they left behind (material culture, texts and formed landscapes). Such evidence is naturally limited by the chance of survival. Additionally, meaning embedded in a landscape is not necessarily matched by materially detectable remains (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 2). Landscapes seem to be the least affected by changes – they are in front of us and have survived. Any source only gives an imperfect image of the phenomenon of religion, as it is limited in tracing the emotional, conceptual and everyday elements that exist alongside religious practice in specific societies. We have, therefore, to try to trace the material worlds and their inherent beliefs and mentalities – or "matter" and "mental" (Laneri 2015,1) – by breaking down the modern boundaries between academic subjects traditionally dealing with them. Egyptology is well placed here, as by default this incorporates different ways of researching religious activities and tracing the sacred via material culture and analysis of belief systems. What we should ask for is an archaeology of religion which includes both the material manifestation and as close as possible a reconstruction of lived religiosity (Laneri 2015, 3-4).

Sacred landscapes combine social ideas of existing and formed space within a specific temporal frame. The past often becomes part of the landscapes itself and forms new meaning relating to emotions of identity and social belonging. Changes in these phenomena express the temporality of sacred landscapes, which will become apparent when comparing Abydos and Amarna as case studies. Memory-making relates to ancient Egyptian sacred landscapes both due to the role religion plays in the process of transmission of knowledge and memory as well as how to participate in it. It is therefore

vital to ask how continuous or standardised this need to be for a successful life-cycle of a sacred landscape.

Landscapes are equipped with animate and inanimate materials (Harmanşah 2014, 1), architecture or intentional landscaping to house the god / divine as well as objects that materialise these religious practices (Laneri 2015, 5-8). Many of these landscapes are split into several smaller sacred sites, which often interact (Harmanşah 2014, 1). Established characteristics of sacred places include the material nature of the sites, their symbolic aspects and their ability to demand offerings as part of their functionality (Carmichael, Hubert and Reeves 1994, 1-2). As with the correlation of landscape and identity, other features, such as ownership and management/upkeep of such sites or specific local practices, have an influence on the temporality of the sacred landscape, something we will explore in the following case studies.

The physical context of Egypt was explained mythologically throughouth the whole history of ancient Egypt, be it in images, texts or titles. One prominent example is the contrast between the fertile Black Land (*Kmt*) of the flood plain as the land of the living and the surrounding desert (*Dšrt*, the Red Land) as the land of the dead. Another dichotomy is the one between the life giving (the flood brought the fertile Nile silt and the necessary water) and life taking (death after a flood or famine) quality of the river which was equated with the god Hapi (Parcak 2010). Landscape was part of religious concepts: the sun in the sky represented the life cycle of the sun god(s), the pyramid shaped mountain in Thebes West marked the city of the dead and related to Hathor. Equally, mythological landscape was symbolically represented in religious and funerary architecture: temples were seen as the image of the cosmos and as places of first creation where the primeval mound rose out of the primeval ocean; pyramids, obelisks and the benben stone were connected with the sun cult.

Sacred landscapes in ancient Egypt: Sites, cults and agency

Sacred landscapes as backdrop to ritual activity become increasingly important within Egyptological paradigms. During the last decade, *ritual studies* have proven to be one of the most popular areas within Egyptology (Verbovsek 2011, 235). Rituals are *cultural narratives* which embed emotional value in structural and functional characteristics (Verbovsek 2011, 236 – based on the approaches as outlined in Belliger, Krieger 1998). Such discussion refers to rituals since they relate to sacred sites and happen within sacred landscapes. However, Bussmann (2015) recently noted that there is still not enough theoretical discussion about how to apply ideas from social and cultural anthropology to Egyptology. Nonetheless in the context of the archaeology of landscapes, some progress has been made. For example, Richards' article on conceptual landscapes (Richards 1999) described ancient Egyptian landscapes as being characterised by *space, time* and the *self*. She (1999, 83, 85) emphasized the ways in which the ancient Egyptians conceptualised the physical environment around them and argues that its significance was sustained by "sacred events […] enacted by humans, making reference to symbolically potent features of the natural topography" (Richards 1999, 83). Agency here is seen as part of and a prerequisite for embedded meaning. In this process things are formed, gathered and, placed in the landscape. I

would go further by not limiting the definition of agents or acting social bodies to humans (or animals) inhabiting the space, but would like to include inanimate objects as well.

Sacred landscapes in ancient Egypt were often developed to meet the need for localised myths: ideas, symbolic meaning and images were connected with real places and embedded within natural landscapes, for example the myth of Osiris and the site of Abydos (Effland and Effland 2013, 14). Most places with (mythological) meaning in ancient Egypt were equally sacred and profane, perhaps instinctively following the generally accepted dualism that can be observed even in the grammatical structure of the ancient Egyptian language. This is different to the frequently applied modern differentiation between sacred and profane places (Trubshaw 2005, 32-34).

Both case studies – Abydos and Amarna – are *constructed, conceptualised* and *ideational* landscapes (cf. Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 10-13). Anything included within them may have altered and transformed their meaning, and therefore reconstructed these landscapes. They were mediated and given meaning through the practices conducted within them, which likewise allowed new concepts (ideas and perceptions) to be drawn up. As religious centres, they were bound into the permanent forms of time. Abydos gained its permanent importance by being a funerary site on which then ritualistic and theological interpretations were applied. These explanations circled around the ideas to gain access to the afterlife. As the wish to reach the afterlife and life for all eternity was one of the main goals of the Egyptian population, Abydos was quickly embedded within the Egyptian psyche. This started in the high elite, but became soon an aspiration for all. Amarna focused on the solar cult of Aten which theologically should have embedded this site in eternity. This site did not have the time to resonate with the Egyptians beyond the court. What sets them apart is the temporal aspect in their transformation and conservation which had a significant impact on the level of identity connected with the sites.

Abydos: re-created and conserved

> […] I conducted the Great Procession, following the god in his steps. I made the god's boat sail, Thoth steering the sailing. I equipped with a cabin the bark "Truly-risen-is-the-Lord-of-Abydos".
>
> Stela of Ikhernofret (Lichtheim 1975, 123)

Abydos (*3bdw*, fig.1) is a very good example for the quote by the geographer Carl Sauer (1963, 343): "[t]he cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result." The dynamic relationship between the location around a *wadi* and everything in it lasted throughout all periods of Egyptian history. Abydos is an *organically evolved* landscape (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 9) where the natural environment was interpreted and developed into a religious site over generations which reshaped the natural landscape (Effland and Effland 2010, 133). Owing to this long timeframe, it becomes equally easier and more difficult to interpret the landscape as "a

central frame for identifying practices and memory" (Ashmore 2014, 40) for the funerary beliefs and afterlife ideas: easier as we have a contingent history, built-up social memory and more material culture to read. However, the overlapping levels of interpretation and representation of different stories make a meaningful biography of this landscape more difficult. It is interesting that not only the general physical landscape is incorporated in the interpretation and memory, natural specifics like animals and their behaviour patterns are as well. For Abydos, we should mention local wild canids which led to the development of the canid god Wepwawet and very likely earlier the original local god Khontamentiu (Pouls Wegner 2007).

Abydos is situated in northern Upper Egypt, in the modern administrative district of Sohag, about 500 km south of Cairo. The sacred site spreads on the western side of the Nile, about 10 km away from the Nile at the border to the fertile land. This huge site, which covers about 720 hectares, was in use from the early 4th millennium until 400 BC (Richards 1999, 91-92). The landscape as in the archaeological record reveals two main sections (North and South Abydos) with several sub-sites: larger and smaller sacred sites such as temples, chapels, offering sites, royal and non-royal cemeteries and settlements (O'Connor 2009, 15; Effland 2014, 22; Landvatter 2013: 237). The myth and mythological aspects inherent to this site seem to have been formed already in prehistoric times during the 5th Millennium (Effland 2014, 22) and were still evident in the Ptolemaic Period when traditional Egyptian identity was already contested at other sites in this time of multi-cultural interaction and changes (Landvatter 2013, 235). The last evidence for cult in Abydos is the so-called Moses-Vita talking of the Christian victory in Abydos and an ostracon from the 6th century AD mentioning Apa Moses (Effland and Effland 2013, 130). The content of the myth and meaning of the site itself changed, shifting from Khontamentiu to Osiris and from being a royal sacred site comprising royal burials with subsidiary tombs of high officials as well as ceremonial sites for usage by a wider and national public. The myth and its symbolic nature shaped the landscape, but to function as an ongoing sacred site, other societal dimensions were needed: cult was based in ritual structures, offerings need economic structures, pilgrimage needs places to welcome pilgrims and their needs (O'Connor 2009, 100-103). Therefore, a conserved sacred site functioning over an extended period would need these features as well.

Centre stage is taken by two *wadi*, riverbeds which are now mostly dried up due to lack of continual water flow. They were formed by erosion and still function as natural drainage course after the very rare but extremely heavy rain showers in the desert (Effland 2014, 23). The one coming down from the high desert – Wadi al-Gir – must once have channelled huge powerful water streams, as in its vicinity there is no predynastic or pharaonic evidence (Effland and Effland 2013, 9; for a photo of the natural formation of this *wadi* see Effland and Effland 2013, 13, fig. 8). The second – also named Umm el-Qaab, the royal burial site nearby – is a *wadi* slightly to the south of Wadi al-Gir, made by erosion. It is sometimes still a natural waterway after heavy rain showers (Effland and Effland 2013, 9; for photos of the natural formation of this *wadi see* Effland and Effland 2013, 12-13, figs. 6-7). These heavy rain showers flow down the wadi producing a loud noise like thunder or a powerful waterfall (Effland and

Effland 2013, 12). This processional *wadi* with its microclimate might have established and continuously increased the symbolic and sacred significance of the landscape, which contained all important sacred geographical features – desert, rising land as remembrance of the primeval mound and the sun which sets in the West within the *wadi* (Richards 1999, 93). During these very rare rain showers a ring of water would have encircled the land, just as was said of the primeval mound on which sacred cities were situated (Assmann 2001, 24-25).

Royal Burials

The processional *wadi* divides North Abydos with the predynastic royal necropolis to which mortuary activity was confined during the pre- and early dynastic period (Bestock 2009). This area, called *Umm el-Qaab*, is recognisable due to the millions of ceramic pot shards scattered around the ground indicating the heart and hub of the cultic, religious and sacred life. Material culture evidences the human involvement in this site and gave Umm el-Qaab its name – "mother of the pots": the piles of pottery given as offerings to Osiris (Bestock 2009, 2). Geographically, the site lies nearly halfway between the irrigation zone and the very imposing cliffs of the high plateau (Effland 2014, 22). The placement of the burial site near the *wadi* and the connected ritual site (royal enclosures, closer to the irrigation zone) within this geographical landscape stresses the importance of the pre- and early dynastic necropolis (Bestock 2009). The cliffs sweep around the space in which the sacred landscape was developed, creating a kind of natural stage for the mythical interpretation and its performance within rituals (Richards 1999, 92, Effland 2014, 23-27).

The royal tombs provide the earliest examples of writing in ancient Egypt – tags which record deliveries for the funerary estate – (Dreyer 1998) and pottery imported from the east Mediterranean (Hartung 2001). Placing the tombs and the ritual enclosures (O'Connor 2009, chapter 10) within Abydos, the pre- and early dynastic kings inserted themselves into the natural and mythical setup. So, they claimed their role as masters not only of the landscape but certainly also of the belief system behind it – the afterlife. It was not so much their visibility which marks the importance of these features – they did not strikingly stand out from the landscape (O'Connor 2009, 176-177) – but the simple fact that they were embedded and how this was achieved. Architecturally, the early royal tombs are directed towards the *wadi* entrance. In the south-western corner of the secondary tombs, encircling the inner royal tomb, is a gap allowing the reborn king to enter the *wadi* and therefore the afterlife (Effland and Effland 2010, 130-31; Effland and Effland 2013, 10-11). A reflection of these ideas might textually be captured in the *Pyramid Texts* – recorded from the 5th dynasty onwards. This seems especially obvious in PT459 (Pyr § 867a) which refers to the *jnt '3* – the great wadi, which very likely means Wadi Umm el-Qaab (Effland and Effland 2010, 133).

Re-creation: Non-royal involvement

Despite being one of the most important cult centres from the second half of the 3rd millennium BC onwards and therefore always highlighting mystery and revelation (O'Connor 2009, 15, 31), Abydos was never capital of Egypt. It was however one of the

most significant provincial towns, its reputation thriving on the religious importance which was at most times connected with Osiris. Being independent from kingship as office from 2500 BC onwards (Richards 1999, 93) offered a chance for this sacred landscape to develop independently from political changes related to the royal house, hence it thrived also during intermediate periods. As the royal prerogative ceased, access to the funerary and ritual site began to widen up in stages from royalty alone to high national elite, local elite and non-elite. This process can be seen in cemetery space, evidence for rituals at this site, embedded material culture and proven pilgrimage (Richards 1999, 93-4; O'Connor 2009 – especially chapter 5-8; Richards 2005, 38-45 and 125-172).

Best known are large groups of stelae from the *stairway of the great god* (*rwdw n nṯr ʿ3*), which originally stood in chapels. The dedicator asked for their own and their families' participation in the great mysteries and would receive a – symbolic – share of the offerings to the god (Simpson 1974, see plates for different stela forms and 7, fig. 2 for a reconstructed chapel; O'Connor 2009, 96 with a reconstruction of the chapels 94, fig. 47). These stelae show the active participation of the public in these rituals with non-initiated Egyptians as agents.

On the stela of Amenemhet of the 12th dynasty, the donor wishes to "kiss the ground to Khontamentiu in the great procession" *(sn t3 n ḫnty-jmntw m pr.t ʿ3.t)* (BM EA567 – Simpson 1974, pl.22). The provenance of this stela cannot safely be traced to Abydos despite the reference to the festival procession in the text and its inclusion into corpus ANOC13 (Abydos North Offering Chapel – Simpson 1974, 18).

Stela BM EA 581 of Intef, also 12th dynasty, however, was found in one of the chapels in Abydos together with his seated statue (BM EA 461) and two further stelae (BM EA 562; BM EA 572). On BM EA 581, Intef not only kisses the ground while seeing the beauty of Wepwawet (Lichtheim 1975, 121), he also states: "As to this shrine, I made it in the desert of Abydos, this island to which one clings, walls designed by the All-Lord, seat hollowed since the time of Osiris." (Lichtheim 1975, 121). The reason to participate is also mentioned: "[a]n offering for this honoured Chamberlain Intef, son of Sent." (Lichtheim 1975, 121) which will be relevant for his afterlife. Most of these stelae date to the Middle Kingdom, but we also have evidence for non-royal involvement on the *stairway of the great god* from the New Kingdom with the stela of Kares in his tomb in Thebes (Pouls Wegner 2002, 135-138).

Abydos as the national cemetery appears to have reached a peak in the Third Intermediate and Late Period (Kemp 1975, 36) when interments even happened close to the royal temples (O'Connor 2009, 127, fig. 69).

Osiris mysteries and cult

What participants witnessed is described on the stela of Ikhernofret (Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, ÄM 1204; Lichtheim 1975, 123-125). Ikhernofret was charged by the king Senwosret III to organise the annual festival and to restore the Osiris temple. The festival is described as a procession in four parts (Assmann 2005, 227-229):

- *Procession of Wepwawet* in which Horus was triumphant over enemies of Osiris
- *Great Procession,* which enacted the funeral procession of Osiris in the *neshmet*-barque moving towards *Pḳr* (very likely Umm el-Qaab, cf. Leahy 1989, 57-59; Effland and Effland 2010)
- *Haker Festival* ("*The Night of the Battling Horus*") which acted out the battle between Horus and Seth and was connected with the judgement of the dead
- *Procession to the Temple of Osiris* as the return of the resurrected Osiris to the temple

Ikhernofret himself was sent by the king whose royal decree forms the first part of the stela; he acted as *his beloved* son, as the substitute in a role otherwise preserved for the king (Hare 1999, 34-43): "I directed the work of the *neshmet*-bark, I fashioned the cabin. I decked the breast of the lord of Abydos with lapis lazuli and turquoise, fine gold, and all costly stones which are the ornaments of the god's body. I clothed the god with his regalia in my rank of master of secrets, …" (Lichtheim 1975, 124).

That such (performing) responsibilities of priests within the Osiris mysteries continued in the New Kingdom is shown by stela BM EA1199 (Frood 2003; Pouls Wegner 2002, 161-169; this is the only known 18th dynasty example of non-royal use of the narrative motive – Frood 2003, 67(d)). Nebwawy says of himself: "[I acted as His Beloved Son] in the ritual of the mansion of gold, in the mysteries of the lord of Abydos. I am one who presents [hands in adorning the god, a *sem*-priest] pure of fingers." (Frood 2003, 65). By transforming Osiris and the king, Nebwawy will be transfigured himself in the next world (Frood 2003, 75).

The sacred landscape reached its largest extension in the 2nd millennium BC. Later additions were incorporated within the then already existing boundaries. This allows us to interpret the site as structured continuous re-interpretation (O'Connor 2009, 87). Some parts were desolate at certain times as it had happened with Umm el-Qaab which lay dormant for about 800 years despite being considered an ancient and sacred site (O'Connor 2009, 89). The tomb of Djer was reinterpreted as the tomb of Osiris during the Middle Kingdom, and was architecturally reworked by re-roofing and the inclusion of stairs and the so-called Osiris bed in the 13th dynasty (O'Connor 2009, 89-90; Leahy 1977). Several tombs were re-excavated during the Middle Kingdom and Djer's tomb re-roofed and re-interpreted as that of Osiris (O'Connor 2009, 89). We cannot explain the preference of his tomb above others (Leahy 1977, 56-57). Djer might not have been remembered as the specific early dynastic king who was the owner of the tomb (Leahy 1989, 56-57). Nonetheless, the sacred relevance of these early – and therefore nearly mythical – kings was still embedded in the cultural memory.

The multi-layered landscape

Royal involvement was nevertheless always present, but focused at certain areas (Abydos South) while other parts were shared not only by the local elite but also by pilgrims from all over Egypt. Royal patronage helped to refurbish the temples in Abydos North and initiated the erection of chapels (Pouls Wegner 2002, 69). We have royal

decrees like the one recorded on the granite stela of Wagaf (Cairo JdE 35256; Second Intermediate Period, 13th dyn.), usurped by Neferhotep I, which is crucial for the understanding of the development of the cult of Osiris and Wepwawet in the Middle Kingdom (Leahy 1989). It very clearly explains which parts of the sacred site (the outreaching wadi or depression – *t3 ḏsr* – Kemp 1975, 34-36) and specifically of the incorporated/adjacent cemeteries were out of bound for the public or non-initiated persons to guarantee undisturbed access to processional routes for the Osiris processions. Other areas were available for use as burial sites: "As for anyone who shall be found within these stelae, except for a priest about his duties, he shall burn. […] But as for everywhere outside this holy place, (it is) an area where people (*rmṯ*) may make tombs (*ḥ3wt*) for themselves and where one may be buried." (Leahy 1989, 43).

The natural border between the flat land and the cliff behind was used to describe a specific experience in border areas. This also allowed a discussion of porosity between the two spheres of consciousness in this life and the afterlife. The *wadi* was interpreted as a portal or gate to the underworld into the realm of Khontamentiu and Osiris. This is comparable to features like waterbodies or caves in other ancient cultures and often connected with pilgrimage (for Maya culture see Cara Blanca, Belize – Lucero and Kinkella 2014, esp.17-18). The *wadi* entrance itself was always considered a crucial point beyond which only initiated people had access. The dried-up river bed was the natural and symbolic stage for the ritual procession during the annual mysteries for Osiris to which so many people travelled take part in, showing Osiris' significance on both a regional and national level (O'Connor 2009, 32).

The connection between this sacred site and its afterlife belief systems was nationally significant: not only were people buried in Abydos ritually empowered due to their closeness to Osiris, but all deceased "swam to Abydos like a great school of fish" (O'Connor 2009, 74). They had to pass the "divine fisherman of Abydos" (O'Connor 2009, 74) who was trying to catch everybody who had not lived a righteous life according Maat. In addition, several local forms of Osiris connected Abydos to other cult centres including Heliopolis, Rosetau as the cemetery of Memphis and Herakleopolis, to name only few (O'Connor 2009, 74).

The inclusion of the motif of the *Journey to Abydos* in tomb decorations from the early Middle Kingdom onward further highlights the national importance of this site (Leahy 1989, 56, esp. fn. 59). The deceased went on pilgrimage to Abydos to participate in the Osiris festival as a transition "from home to tomb" (Assmann 2005, 306-308). The Book of the Dead chapter 18 marks the "day of examining the dead" as the date on which to travel to Abydos (Assmann 2005, 306, fn. 17).

Another example for the national significance is the *Abydos Formula* which can be found on private stelae from Abydos and Thebes. They can refer to Osiris, but decidedly indicate the wish to be welcomed in Abydos during the mysteries during the inundation season. The earliest stelae appear already during the 11th dynasty, but the formula is fully developed only in the 12th dynasty (Smith 2017, 204). It nevertheless

characterises Abydos as the main cult centre for Osiris and clearly shows involvement of private individuals at the site.

Via rituals and processions the natural and sacred landscape of Abydos was rich with emotions. Rituals are realised at special places and set in their specific timeframes of happenings and recurrent participations. Place and time became institutionalised. It is important to understand that rituals create identities which could be personal, social, cultural or a mix of them (Verbovsek 2011, 236, 240). Abydos is a very good example for this process. The so-created identity connected the participant with the ritual and the stage where it occurred, and locked them emotionally into the wider setting. These emotions can be traced in the archaeological and textual record because the internal emotional quality of religious practices always manifested itself externally, as becomes obvious in the manifold verbal, behavioural and bodily expressions linked to rituals (Verbovsek 2011, 237-240 with more references). Funerary rituals are particularly saturated with emotions. This functions mainly on the personal level. The setup in Abydos with the many cenotaphs does also include Abydos as the culmination of all funerary ritualistic activity and creates the importance of this site not only locally or at a specific time, but nationally and during every time period.

Amarna: created

> […] I shall make Akhet-Aten [Amarna] for the Aten, my father, on the orient (side) of Akhet-Aten – the place which he himself made to be enclosed for him by the mountain, on which he may achieve happiness and on which I shall offer to him. This is it!
> Boundary Stelae, Earlier Proclamation (Murnane 1995, 77)

In contrast to Abydos which existed from the – as the ancient Egyptian perceived it – mythical time onwards, Amarna has a clearly marked beginning and end. It is a planned short-lived sacred landscape.

Amarna (fig.1) is the short form for the modern Arabic name Tell el-Amarna or El-Amarna. The name refers to the ancient Egyptian sacred landscape originally called Akhetaten – the *Horizon of the [sun-disc] Aten*. It was the newly founded capital of Egypt under Akhenaten (also known as Amenhotep IV) and at least one immediate successor during part of the so-called Amarna Period (1393–1298 BC) (Zinn 2016, 255).

Akhenaten intended to build his new religious and political centre in a politically and religiously neutral desert plain; this was to be a sacred landscape which represented his revolutionary ideas (for the new religion see Allen 1996; Foster 1999; Assmann 2012). He wanted to start afresh, create a new religious identity and to suppress the memory of some of the ancient gods, especially Amun. As the boundary stelae (fig.3) that encircle the area of the city indicate (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993), the establishment of the Akhetaten was an act of creation initiated by the god Aten himself and mediated through his son, king Akhenaten (Murnane 1995, 75):

> "Behold Aten! The Aten wishes to have [*something*] made for him as a monument with an eternal and everlasting name. Now it is the Aten, my father, who advised me concerning it (namely) Akhet-Aten. … to tell me [a plan] for making Akhet-Aten in this distant place. It was the Aten, my father, [who advised me] concerning it, so that it could be made for him as Akhet-Aten."

An estimated 30,000-50,000 believers followed the king and inhabited the city (Kemp 2012, 272; Tietze 2010, 39). Not even 20 years later (Kemp 2012, 301), this city was abandoned by its inhabitants, stripped bare of most of the portable goods, and partially dismantled. Akhenaten and his successors were deemed heretics and non-persons, and were deleted from the annals. What seemed a tragedy at the time in fact is a blessing for modern archaeologists, as what was left of this city when the inhabitants moved away preserved "Egypt in microcosm" (Kemp 1989, 261).

Planning a sacred landscape

Amarna was set out as a clearly defined and associative cultural landscape in Middle Egypt, nearly equidistant to Memphis and Thebes (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 9; for a visual impression of the setup see Mallinson 1999, 74, fig. 51). It was constructed in a highly intentional way similar to smaller gardens and parkland spaces. Amarna can be identified as a religious landscape rich in meaning through its orientation towards the "notable natural landmark" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 10) of a dried-up river bed in the east cliffs on the east side of the river (fig.4). The sun would rise behind the wadi at certain days of the year (Mallinson 1999, 75; Kemp 2012; 82), symbolising iconographically the main characteristics of the Aten religion and at the same time determining the location of the city and the specific orientation of the built landscape within. The rising sun behind the wadi (fig.5) also corresponded to the hieroglyphic sign

 (Gardiner List N 27), already known before the Amarna Period, and to an image in the royal tomb (room α, wall A – Martin 1989, pl. 34).

Within the *wadi* in the east sat the royal tomb which links to the boundary stelae in a pattern of rays reaching over the natural landscape (Mallinson 1999, 74, fig. 51). Together with the structure of the planned city along the royal road linking the North Palace with the three main temples as well as the North and South tombs, these rays formed a regular alignment, which was already indicated in the text written on the boundary stelae (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993). The sun orientation is indicated in the name of the new capital - Akhetaten – the *Horizon of the [sun-disc] Aten*. The above mentioned visual representation in room α (wall A) shows the sun-disc over the wadi, sending out rays with hands touching the Great Aten temple and the central city (Martin 1989, pl. 34). This scene appeared already in the Great Aten temple (Gem-pa-Aten) in Karnak (Loeben 2010, 280, fig. 7).

These orientations and proportions underpinned the first set of boundary stelae from the 5th regnal year, the so-called Younger Proclamation: Stela X in the north and M in the south of the east bank. The latter was soon replaced by stela K, due to sudden deterioration. K is now the best preserved of the earlier proclamations (Murnane and

Van Siclen 1993, 11). Also mentioned are the king's reasons for setting out the city in this way (Murnane 1995, 97 – text following stela K):

"At Akhet-Aten in this place shall I make the House of Aten for the Aten, my father."

> Great Aten Temple (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 172; Kemp 2012, 82)

"At Akhet-Aten in this place shall I make the Mansion of Aten for the Aten, my father."

> Small Aten Temple (king's personal chapel or mortuary temple) (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 172; Kemp 2012, 84)

"At Akhet-Aten in this place shall I make the sunshade of the [Great Royal] Consort [Nefernefruaten Nefertiti] for the Aten, my father."

> Sunshade of Re, Kom el-Nana (Williamson 2013, 144)

"In the 'Island of Aten, whose jubilees are distinguished' at Akhet-Aten in this place shall I make the 'House of Rejoicing' for the Aten, my father. In the 'Island of Aten, whose jubilees are distinguished' at Akhet-Aten in this place shall I make the 'House of Rejoicing in [Akhet]-Aten' for the Aten, my father."

> *Island of Aten, whose jubilees are distinguished* – Central City area (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 216, fn.89; Murnane 1995, 105, fn.5)

> *House of Rejoicing* – larger: Great Palace, smaller: columned courtyard of Great Aten temple (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 172-173; Murnane 1995, 105, fn.6; Kemp 2012, 123-146)

"(And) at Akhet-Aten in this place shall I make for myself the residence of Pharaoh (and) I shall make the residence of the Great Royal Consort."

> Palace area in the north of town (?) – either *Great River Palace* or *North Palace* (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 173-174; Murnane 1995, 105, fn.7; Kemp 2012, 146-153)

All temples and ceremonial buildings within the city were aligned on the route created by connecting stelae X and M. The halfway point gave a perpendicular line orientated towards the wadi and especially the royal tomb (Mallinson 1999, 76). Not only the inner city, but also specific parts reflected the natural landscape, so the sanctuary at the back of the Great Aten Temple which represented the eastern mountain (Kemp 2012, 94-95, fig. 3.17 and 3.18).

The oath to Aten taken in the Earlier Proclamation on Stelae X, M and K in the 5th regnal year is confirmed by the Later Proclamation from year 6 (11 stelae, 8 of them on the eastern river bank) with a colophon renewing the oath and confirming the borders of the sacred landscape in the eighth regnal year (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993, 69-109).

People within

The whole sacred landscape of Amarna and its cultic activity was dependent on the king as sole mediator between the god Aten and the people (Kemp 2012, 231-235; Foster 1999, 105-108; for the involvement of Nefertiti see Zinn 2015). Following on from the mediated act of creation as described above, this was also made clear by the different "pattern of nested dependency" (Kemp 2012, 20). Large parts of the population received beneficiations (food, rise within the social hierarchy, giving people the chance of self-organisation), but only if they were loyal followers (Kemp 2012, 20, 41-45). Loyal employees also obtained state-built housing, especially in the Central City, while other houses in the suburbs were commissioned privately (Spence 2012, 74-75).

Faithful followers, often spurred on by the prospect to rise in the social hierarchy, took part in the religious life of the sacred landscape on the east river bank. They partook in the daily procession of the royal couple in chariots on the royal road from the palaces in the north to the central city as well as in the temple rituals. This is shown by scenes in their tombs (e.g. Panehsi – Amarna North Tomb 6: royal couple in chariots – Davies 1903, pl. 13, depiction of the palace Davies 1903, pl. 14). Evidence for the king as mediator between humankind and the god Aten was limited to the Central City and within houses of the high officials. We find them in the included chapels and as small stelae or plaques, such as the famous house altar Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin ÄM 14145 (Kemp 2012, 231-235; Zinn 2015, 50, fig. 8). Very rarely the name of Aten appears directly within private names or short prayers were directed to the king, Nefertiti or even Aten himself (Stevens 2006, 6).

This however was not a real incentive for the inhabitants in the suburbs on the east bank, let alone on those living on the west bank or in the rest of Egypt. Evidence for private religion in Amarna is mostly found outside the Central City and in the suburbs, and draws a different picture of people's private religious lives (for blurred lines in the definition of state and private religion see Stevens 2006, 17-21). The material evidence offers jewellery, figurines, models, statues and stelae, ostraca, vessels and furnishing not exclusively connected with the new religion and the Aten (Stevens 2006, 27-253) but dedicated to other gods like Thoth, Wepwawet, Bes, Isis, Renenutet, Taweret and even Amun-Ra (Kemp 2012, 235-245). Berry Kemp called these gods "divine trespassers" (Kemp 2012, 235) and "friendly forces" (Kemp 2012, 239).

Some religious ideas clearly did not conform to the official state religion. Such non-conformist ideas stemmed from the fact that according to the *Hymn to Aten* the new religion did not provide an explicit explanation of the afterlife other than it being the role of the king to grant access to it (Stevens 2006, 8). To partially compensate for that, senior officials still alive at the time received respect from people lower than themselves and, in addition, they were depicted in statues of the same type like those used for the deceased (Kemp 2012, 245-251). Berry Kemp calls them the "Ancestors-to-be" (Kemp 2012, 245).

The end

When Akhenaten died in his 17th regnal year, it did not take long until his second or third successor Tutankhaten (Allen 2009; Hanus 2012, 37-38) changed his name to Tutankhamun in favour of the traditional state god Amun to Tutankhamun and withdrew the court from Amarna. The courtiers and officials followed with the rest of the population (Kemp 2012, 301). This might only have taken three to four years as the city's location was only attractive under the premises of Akhenaten's religious beliefs. The only part of the site that lived on until the Ramesside Period about 200 years later was situated at the end of the road leading towards the alabaster quarries at Hatnub (Kemp 2012, 301), which survived purely for logistical and economic reasons. Akhenaten was not acknowledged as a legitimate king from the 19th dynasty onwards (Kemp 2012, 302) which explains the *damnatio memoriae* which saw the hacking out of Akhenaten's and Nefertiti's names and images (Hanus 2012, 38-40).

Due to the short lifespan, Akhenaten's religious framework was not fully thought through, especially the afterlife beliefs; nor was it sufficiently settled after Akhenaten's death to survive (Kemp 2012, 302). The city also battled with other problems during its rapid establishment. The territory was an island that had not enough hinterland to feed its inhabitants and thus needed to be sourced from the outside, mainly the west bank of the river (Tietze 2010, 39-40). There was no functioning infrastructure. The desert-like climate with sandstorms impacted on the wells. The wider topography with the Bahr Yusuf in the west, however was helpful. This channel ran parallel to the Nile and was less affected by rising or falling water levels. It connected Middle Egypt with the Fayum and beyond to Memphis. The second advantage of the site was the very fertile strip of agricultural land on the west bank (Tietze 2012, 58). Both guaranteed transportation and food for the new city.

In summary, it becomes clear that Amarna was set out as a highly-conceptualised landscape, infused with a particularly powerful religious meaning. However, because the city did not grow organically but was, architecturally and artistically, an expression of a specific concept limited to a specific point in time, it ultimately failed to be kept alive as a continuum.

Sacred landscapes: keeping the spirit alive?

Both sacred landscapes discussed here offer a "*variation along a continuum* of ancient human intervention in landscapes" (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 11). They also relate to each other in the way in which they functioned as architectural symbols of the physical religiously interpreted world around them. Both sites were embedded into the landscape gearing towards *wadis* in the desert cliffs (Kemp 2012, 94-95).

	Amarna	**Abydos**
Creation	in mythic time (ritualistic place of pre-dynastic kings)	as expression of a planned theology of light in 18th dynasty

Existence	recreated over 3500 years as sacred, ritualistic, spiritual, royal and funerary landscape → innovatively conserved, dwelling	as *social construct* (sacred and royal, but NOT spiritual) only, not a lived landscape (re-creation via activity is missing)
Time relevance	incorporated in and applied to cyclical time	single act of creation, fully connected with Akhenaten as part of the divine triad

The main difference between the two sites lies in their connection to aspects of cultural memory. When Amarna was understood to negatively impact on the traditional cultural memory, the landscape was given up and forgotten, erased from memory. It ceased to function as a place shaping Egyptian identity – which it should as a royal site – or even to reconfirm aspects of identity. Abydos was based on memory, reconfirmed over thousands of years through use and re-use (rebuilding and extending of the landscape) with a restoration of previous architectural and landscape shaping features, reinterpretations (such as the re-used predynastic tombs as places of divine burial site for Osiris) as well as (re-)constructing new features. In contrast, Amarna was set up only as an act of creation and equally deliberately was abandoned some years later. Abydos added important and far-reaching (in a literal and symbolic sense) economic and administrative dimension to its function as sacred landscape (O'Connor 2009, 71) and the cosmological dimension which allowed it to live on. In other words: Abydos always had *Zeitgeist* (O'Connor 2009, 201), representing the interpretation of each period, which was incorporated into the activities happening at any time by equally remembering the past.

In Amarna, we see the strong focus on Akhenaten as the sole mediator to Aten. How did that correlate with the belief that rituals "generate and realise the affiliation with a group or society" (Verbovsek 2011, 239)? Could his rituals act as one of the main drivers for cultural identity in ancient Egypt? The inner group involved in the rituals of the Amarna Period had been small and consisted of the court and the cluster of the loyal officials. This did not seem enough to establish a feeling of participation as seen in Abydos. In addition, the sphere of funerary rituals, and especially mourning rites, was neglected and with it the chance to cope with emotions such as fear of change or loneliness. In other words, Amarna never became an example for the possibility of overcoming such emotions and thus of hope (Verbovsek 2011, 240-248). Akhenaten might have hoped that the strong emphasis on the royal couple and their daily processions in the chariots through town would make the procession a powerful daily ritual. A ritual capable of generating amazement, joy and euphoria (Verbovsek 2011, 248-252). Such formal ceremonial *macro-rites* need backup from interconnecting lower hierarchical social systems with their own behaviour and role patterns and their *micro-rites* (Bergesen 1998, 53). To create a functional ritual order supporting a social

system, a whole structure of hierarchical interconnected rites is necessary. The clear-cut divide between official religion and the preference of the lower or non-elite for "divine trespassers" or "friendly forces" in Amarna creates different identities which cannot come together, and thus hinders the creation of a shared memory. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to develop *meso-rites* that guarantee mutual acceptance (Bergesen 1998, 60-62).

It is interesting to note that Akhenaten was aware of the specific features which kept Abydos alive – as talatat blocks that had been decorated in his reign and reused in the foundations of the portal temple of Ramses II in Abydos show. Despite the treatment or banishment of Osiris during his reign, on these talatats we see Akhenaten receiving life from Aten and a temple plan with statues of himself and Nefertiti in it (O'Connor 2009, 118-119, talatats in fig. 65). More talatats show hands of the Aten (Effland and Effland 2013, 28, fig. 9) and Akhenaten standing in a boat, likely to smite an enemy with Nefertiti and one of the daughters behind him (Petrie 1903, pl. 39, upper left – now Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, ÄM 23719; Anthes 1934, 98-99, fig. 8 – here wrongly attributed to Memphis). An alternative reading could be Nefertiti smiting an enemy with two daughters behind her as parallel to scene Boston MFA 64.521 (Zinn 2015, 43-46, fig. 5 and 6) or talatats from Thebes (Zinn 2015, 45, fn. 70). Even if we cannot prove with certainty that these blocks originally came from Abydos, it seems that Abydos and Osiris had a special fascination for him, as shown by his ushabti (BM EA 65805; Petrie Museum, UCL UC007 and UC2236 – all found in Amarna). The Aten religion was also represented in temples outside Amarna. Blocks with similar boat scenes are known from Memphis (here the king smiting, from the area of the Ptah temple; Engelbach 1915, 32 and pl. 54, fig.7) or from Thebes (Zinn 2015, 45, fn. 70; Loeben 2010, 282, fig. 9). Blocks from Hermopolis (Boston MFA 63.260, MFA 64.521 and MFA 1989.104, New York MMA 1985.328.15) are very likely from Amarna itself.

Matrix of comparison of different religious site	Amarna	Abydos
Clearly defined – intentionally designed and created	✔	✔
Associative cultural: outstanding geographical landscapes receive symbolic meaning and evolve into sacred places	✔ created	✔
Organically evolved: either socio-economic, religious or administrative; in response with natural environment		✔ conserved
Memory	suppressed	lived
Identity	attempted to apply	applied

Attempting a résumé

Sacred landscapes need more than simply to be created or socially constructed – they need to be cyclically and ritually renewed and to be reconstructed via active involvement in and communication with the site. This guarantees the constant (re-)creation of meaning, which enables a site to be included into the cultural memory as well as to be integrated into the creation and confirmation of identity. Only then, a (sacred) landscape will become *sustainable*. We know this phenomenon within modern landscape management within the heritage sector (Anthrop 2006). Changes in life-styles and circumstances let new landscapes emerge with specific decision for their planning, management and conservation. To make this landscape operational long-term, we must look at whether agency of and within these sacred landscapes changes as well.

Amarna and Abydos started within a similar natural setting, both being directed towards a *wadi* as the outstanding natural feature that represented religious ideas. Even so, these sites are completely dissimilar in the agency connected with them. Amarna has only one primary human agent – the king – and one additional actor – the queen. They, together with the god Aten, formed a relationship with the natural landscape and were responsible for, as well as beneficiaries of, the sacred landscape. Sacredness was achieved in the direct communication of these agents. In Abydos, it is also royalty which kick-starts this process. This, however, is followed by a widening up of agency with manifold agents who have responsibility for and gain reward from the sacred site. This brings us back to Ingold's *dwelling perspective* (Ingold 1993, 152) where the sacred factor lies in manifold relationships and is therefore independent of a specific human, even independent of human agency alone.

Another difference lies in what is representing what and how: while Akhenaten had a very specific idea of the revolutionised religious interpretation of the sun cult and found this portrayed in the natural landscape of newly to set up place Amarna, Abydos developed slowly over time. The natural landscape clarified already existing ideas and in turn these ideas shaped the landscape.

Note

While writing this paper, the need to revisit Tim Ingold's ideas and reapply them to the discussion was also proven by the publication of an article of Dan Hicks who also saw the need to emphasise the ongoing importance of the interpretations of the keywords landscape, temporality, dwelling and taskscape (Hicks 2016).

Bibliography:

Allen, J.P. (1996). The religion of Amarna. In: D. Arnold (ed.). *The royal women of Amarna: images of beauty from ancient Egypt.* 3–5. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Allen, J.P. (2009). The Amarna succession. In: P. Brand und L. Cooper (eds.) *Causing his name to live: studies in Egyptian epigraphy and history in memory of William J. Murnane,* 9-20. Leiden: Brill.

Anthes, R. (1934). Fünf Neuerwerbungen in der Ägyptischen Abteilung, *Berliner Museen* 55, 89-101.

Antrop, M. (2006). Sustainable landscapes: contradiction, fiction or utopia? *Landscape and Urban Planning* 75: 187–197.

Ashmore, W. (2014). On ancient placemaking. In: Ö. Harmanşah. *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place.* 40-46. Oxford: Oxbow.

Assmann, J. (2001). The search for god in ancient Egypt. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Pr.

Assmann, J. (2002). *The mind of Egypt: History and meaning in the time of the pharaohs.* New York, Metropolitan Books.

Assmann, J. (2003). *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten.* 3rd ed. Darmstadt, WBG.

Assmann, J. (2005). *Death and salvation in ancient Egypt.* Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Pr.

Assmann, J. (2012). A new state theology – the religion of light. In: F. Seyfried (ed.). *In the light of Amarna: 100 years of the Nefertiti discovery.* 79–83. Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

Belliger, A. and D.J. Krieger (eds.) (1998). *Ritualtheorien: Ein einführendes Handbuch.* Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Bergesen, A. (1998). Die rituelle Ordnung. In: A. Belliger and D.J. Krieger (eds.). *Ritualtheorien: Ein einführendes Handbuch.* 49-76. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Bestock. L. (2009). *The development of royal funerary cult at Abydos: Two funerary enclosures from* the *reign of Aha.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bussmann, R. (2015). Egyptian archaeology and social anthropology. In: *Oxford Handbooks Online*. Available online: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935413.013.24 (Accessed 11/10/2016).

Carmichael, D.L., Hubert, J. and Reeves, B. (1994). Introduction. In: D.L. Carmichael *et al.* (eds.) *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*. 1-8. London, Routledge.

Chaniotis, A. (ed.) (2011). *Ritual dynamics in the ancient Mediterranean: Agency, emotion, gender, representation.* Stuttgart, Steiner.

Davies, N. de G. (1903). *The rock tombs of El-Amarna* II: *The tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II.* London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Dreyer, G. (1998). *Umm el-Qaab I: das prädynastische Königsgrab Uj und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Effland, A. (2014) Abydos: Von der Frühzeit bis zur Zeitenwende. In: *Archäologie in Ägypten: Magazin des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 2014,2, 22-27.

Effland, A. and Effland, U. (2010). "Ritual landscape" und "sacred space" – Überlegungen zu Kultausrichtung und Prozessionsachsen in Abydos. *MOSAIKjournal* 1, 127-158.

Effland, A. and Effland, U. (2013). *Abydos: Tor zur ägyptischen Unterwelt.* Darmstadt: WBG.

Engelbach, R. (1915). *Riqqeh and Memphis VI.* London: School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Frood, E. (2003). Ritual function and priestly narrative: The stelae of the high priest of Osiris, Nebwawy. *JEA* 89: 59-81.

Hanus, C. (2012). Before and after Amarna – the beginnings and consequences of the cult of Aten. In: F. Seyfried (ed.). *In the light of Amarna: 100 years of the Nefertiti discovery.* 32-41. Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

Hare, T. (1999). *Remembering Osiris: Number, gender, and the* word *in ancient Egyptian representational systems.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Harmanşah, Ö. (2014). Introduction: Towards an archaeology of place. In: Ö. Harmanşah. *Of rocks and water: Towards an archaeology of place.* 1-12. Oxford: Oxbow.

Hartung, U. (2001). *Umm El-Qaab II: Importkeramik aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab) und die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 4. Jahrtausend vor Chr.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Hicks, D. (2016). The temporality of the landscape revisited. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 49, 5-22.

Ingold, T. (1993). The temporality of the landscape. *World Archaeology* 25,2, 152-174.

Kemp, B. (1975). Abydos. In: W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I.* 28-42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Kemp, B. (1989). *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization.* London: Routledge.

Kemp, B. (2012). *The city of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and its people*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Knapp, A.B. and Ashmore, W. (1999). Archaeological landscapes: Constructed, conceptualized, ideational. In: W. Ashmore and B. Knapp (eds.). *Archaeologies of landscapes.* 1-30. Oxford, Blackwell.

Lahn, K.M. and Schröter, M.-G. (2010). Raumdimensionen im Altertum – Über die Anwendbarkeit des *spatial turn* in den historischen Wissenschaften. *MOSAIKjournal* 1, 1-8.

Landvatter, T. (2013). Burial practices and ritual landscapes at Ptolemaic Abydos: The 2011 and 2012 seasons of the Abydos Middle Cemetery project. In: Near *Eastern Archaeology* 76,4, 235-245.

Laneri, N. (2015). Introduction: Investigating archaeological approaches to the study of religious practices and beliefs. In: N. Laneri (ed.) *Defining the sacred: approaches to the archaeology of religion in the Near East.* 1-10. Oxford: Oxbow.

Leahy, A. (1977). The Osiris "bed" reconsidered. *Orientalia* 46, 424–34.

Leahy, A. (1989). A protective measure at Abydos in the thirteenth dynasty. *JEA* 75, 41-60.

Lichtheim, M. (1975). *Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms.* Berkeley: University of California Pr.

Loeben, C.E. (2010). Neuerungen in Architektur und Relief. In: C. Tietze (ed.). *Amarna: Lebensräume – Lebensbilder – Weltbilder.* 274-285. Weimar: Arcus.

Lucero, L.J. and A. Kinkella. (2014). A place for pilgrimage: The ancient Maya sacred landscape of Cara Blanca, Belize. In: Ö. Harmanşah. *Of rocks and water: Towards an archaeology of place.* 13-[39]. Oxford: Oxbow.

Mallinson, M. (1999). The sacred landscape. In: R.E. Freed, Y.J. Markowitz and S.H. D'Auria (eds.). *Pharaohs of the sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen.* 72-79. Boston: Bulfinch Pr.

Martin, G.T. (1989). *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna II: The reliefs, inscriptions, and architecture*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Murnane, W.J. (1995). *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Murnane, W.J. and C.C. Van Siclen III (1993). *The boundary stelae of Akhenaten*. London: Kegan Paul.

O'Connor, D. 2009. *Abydos: Egypt's first pharaohs and the cult of Osiris*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Parcak, S. 2010. The Physical Context of Ancient Egypt. In: A.B. Lloyd (ed.). *A companion to ancient Egypt.* 3-22. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Petrie, W.M.F. (1903) *Abydos II*. London: EEF.

Pouls Wegner, M.-A. (2002). *The cult of Osiris at Abydos: and archaeological investigation of the development of an ancient Egyptian sacred centre during the eighteenth dynasty.* (Ph.D. thesis – University of Pennsylvania, 2002). Ann Arbor: UMI.

Pouls Wegner, M.-A. (2007). Wepwawet in context: A reconsideration of the jackal deity and its role in the spatial organization of the North Abydos landscape. *JARCE* 43, 139-150.

Richards, J. (1999). Conceptual landscapes in the Egyptian Nile Valley. In: W. Ashmore and B. Knapp (eds.). *Archaeologies of landscapes.* 153-175. Oxford, Blackwell.

Richards, J. (2005). *Society and death in ancient Egypt: Mortuary landscapes of Middle Kingdom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rippon, S. (2012). *Making sense of an historic landscape.* Oxford; OUP.

Sauer, C.O. (1963). The Morphology of Landscape. In: J. Leighly (ed.) *Land and life: A selection from the writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer.* 315-350. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Simpson, W.K. (1974). *The terrace of the Great God at Abydos.* New Haven: the Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University.

Smith, M. (2017). *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia.* Oxford: OUP.

Spence, K. (2012). Amarna: Palaces, houses and outlying settlements. In: F. Seyfried (ed.). *In the light of Amarna: 100 years of the Nefertiti discovery.* 71-77. Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

Stevens, A. (2006). *Private Religion at Amarna: The Material Evidence.* Oxford: Archaeopress.

Tietze, C. (2010). Die Anlage der Stadt. In: C. Tietze (ed.). *Amarna: Lebensräume – Lebensbilder – Weltbilder.* 33-65. Weimar: Arcus.

Tietze, C. (2012). Amarna – the city and surrounding area. In: F. Seyfried (ed.). *In the light of Amarna: 100 years of the Nefertiti discovery.* 56-70. Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

Trubshaw, B. (2005). *Sacred places: Prehistory and popular imagination.* Loughborough, Albion.

Ucko, P.J. (1994). Foreword. In: D.L. Carmichael *et al.* (eds.) *Sacred sites, sacred places.* xiii-xxiii. London, Routledge.

Verbovsek, A. (2011). The correlation of rituals, emotions, and literature in ancient Egypt. In: A. Chaniotis (ed.). *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean.* 235-262. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Williamson, J. (2013). Two Names, One Compound: The rwd anxw itn and the Sunshade of Re at Kom el-Nana. *JARCE* 49: 143-152.

Zinn, K. (2015). Nofretete – eine Königin ihrer Zeit? In: M. Eldamaty, F. Hoffmann, M. Minas-Nerpel (eds.) *Königinnen in Ägypten.* 27-67. Vaterstetten: Brose.

Zinn, K. (2016). Women in Amarna: legendary royals, forgotten elite, unknown populace? In: S. Budin, J. Turfa (eds.). *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World.* 255-75. London: Routledge.

Figures:

Fig.1: Map showing Abydos and Amarna

Fig.2: Abydos, Umm el-Qaab, Copyright Markh

Fig.3: Amarna, Boundary Stela U, Copyright Luis Ojeda

Fig.4: Amarna, landscape from North, courtesy of Meretseger Books
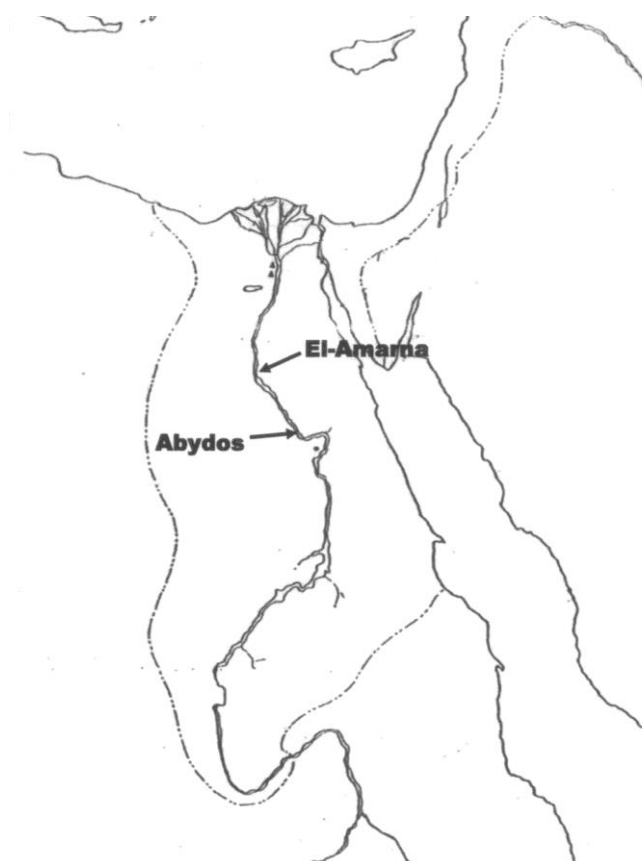
Fig.5: Amarna, Wadi entrance, courtesy of Meretseger Books

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5