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I. Introduction

Thebes (the ancient name of Waset) had developed into a great city that is comparable in scale to Memphis in the North since the time when Mentuhotep II of the 4th Nome of Upper Egypt unified Egypt in the 11th Dynasty and placed its capital in Thebes. Amenemhat, a vizier under the reign of Mentuhotep IV (later Amenemhat I), took over the throne after a coup d'état and established the 12th Dynasty. The capital of the 12th Dynasty was built in Iti-Tawy in Fayyum. However, Thebes had acquired its importance as the sacred land of Amen and developed into the central Necropolis by the 18th dynasty. The present paper attempts to show the changes in the structure of the city of Thebes by looking at its development through history, and by doing so addresses the question of how the development of the city as a whole influenced the nature of the Theban Necropolis and determined the conceptual and symbolic architecture of Thebes.

II. Before the 18th Dynasty, the New Kingdom

1. The 11th Dynasty

Thebes acquired its importance in the history of ancient Egypt in the 11th Dynasty. After the decline of the Old Kingdom, the central government had lost its power and a number of local nomarchs grew their power resulting in the state of anarchy. Among the most powerful clans, the one that had its centre in Herakleopolis (the 10th Dynasty) and the one that developed in Thebes (the 11th Dynasty) started to divide the nation into two. At the time of Mentuhotep II of

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the 11th Dynasty (ca 2042 B.C.), the government of the 10th Dynasty was defeated and the land of Egypt was unified marking the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

As the name Mentuhotep suggests, the chief god of the 4th Nome of Upper Egypt was Montu, the god of war, who had its centre in Armant. It is generally considered that the centre of the 4th Nome moved from Armant (the ancient name of Iunwt) to Thebes in the north. However, the precise period and the situation of this move is not clear. Considering the fact that the royal cemetery of the 11th Dynasty kings was situated in al-Tarif (to the north of Thebes) and the tomb of Mentuhotep II, who reunified Egypt and established the Middle Kingdom, was situated in al-Deir al-Bahri even before the development of Thebes, it seems that the move of the centre of the 4th Nome from Armant to Thebes was not a simple change of centre that accompanied the shift in power from the worship of Montu to Amen. Rather, the West Bank of Thebes seems to have had an important function as a necropolis from older times. In fact, the Mastaba tombs of the 4th dynasty of the Old Kingdom have been discovered in the area around al-Tarif. The rock-cut tombs of the 6th Dynasty were also dispersed around al-Khokha within the precinct of the Theban Necropolis. These facts suggest the importance of the West Bank of Thebes as a necropolis before the start of the Middle Kingdom.

Al-Tarif is an important area in the study of the Theban Necropolis. Unfortunately there has been little work on this area, but among the few works that had been done, the study of Saff tombs by Arnold (1976)(1) shows the importance of this area. Concentration of large scale royal tombs in Tarif is seen, and the area functioned as the royal cemetery of the 11th Dynasty. Further, in al-Deir al-Bahri where Mentuhotep II built his own tomb, there are a number of royal tombs and rock-cut tombs of the nobles of the 11th Dynasty. It seems that the fact that Mentuhotep II selected al-Deir al-Bahri as the place of his burial had greatly affected the subsequent development of the structure and the layout of Thebes.

2. The 12th Dynasty

Amenemhat, a vizier during the reign of Mentuhotep IV, took over the throne through a coup d'état and started the 12th Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom as Amenemhat I. From this period, the worship of Amen grew
stronger, and Karnak, the sacred centre of Amen, became the geographical
centre in the plan of Thebes. There is also a possibility that the choice of Al-
Deir-al-Bahri as the tomb of Mentuhotep II determined the position of Karnak as
the sacred place of Amen as will be discussed below.

The tomb of the 12th Dynasty that had been identified in the West Bank of
Thebes is limited to TT 60 (the tomb of Antefoker) in Sheikh Abd al-Qurna. It
is the only tomb among a few rock-cut tombs in the area that is known to belong
to the reign of Senwsert I. The kings of the 12th Dynasty built pyramids on the
west bank of the Nile between Fayyum and Dahshur as the capital was moved to
Ity-Tawy (near present day Lisht). Funerary monuments belonging to the kings
of this period had not been discovered on the West Bank of Thebes, but a life-
size statue and stele of Senwsert III were discovered in the temple belonging to
the royal tomb of Mentuhotep II in al-Deir al-Bahri, and a kiosk of Senwsert I
and the royal statues of the 12th dynasty kings have been discovered in the
Temple of Amen in Karnak. Also, the foundations of the 12th Dynasty buildings
are reported to have been uncovered from under the Temple of Karnak, but the
overall view is still not clear.

The important question here is how the role of al-Tarif, the funerary area of
the 11th Dynasty, had changed in the subsequent period of the 12th dynasty.
Why was the royal tomb of al-Tarif cut off from the precinct of the Theban
Necropolis? One of the possible explanations is the relationship between Montu
and Amen. It is conceivable that the area was divided into that belonging to
Montu, al-Tarif, and that belonging to Amen, Dra Abu al-Naja on the West Bank
of Thebes. In other words, it seems that there was necessity to establish the
sacred area of Amen, who was the late comer, within the area of the original
local god Montu (it is likely that this area was "pr 'I'mn," the later estate of the
Temple of Amen). This shows an interesting resemblance to the establishment
of the sacred territory of Aten by building the boundary stelae in the new capital
of Amarna when Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) built the Palace of Amarna (Akhet-
aten) at the end of the 18th Dynasty. The fact that the Temple of Mentu was
built to the north of the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak supports this
interpretation. As Montu and Amen divide the West Bank into al-Tarif and Dra
Abu al-Naja districts, the two temples seem to symbolically divide the East
Bank of Thebes into the sacred area of Mentu and that of Amen in Karnak.

An important question arises from this view: i.e., why was al-Deir al-Bahri
where Mentuhotep II and other royal members and nobles of the 11th Dynasty
were buried cut off from al-Tarif and placed in the sacred area of Amen. In fact, al-Deir al-Bahri developed its importance as the religious centre of Amen in the following period. Another question is how, when and under what circumstances Karnak, the sacred territory of Amen, was established. Had Karnak existed before Mentuhotep II constructed his royal tomb in al-Deir al-Bahri? Or had Karnak developed as a consequence of the construction of the tomb of Mentuhotep II on the West Bank in order to keep the balance of power? In the stela of Senusert III that was discovered from the temple that belonged to the tomb of Mentuhotep II, the king (Mentuhotep II) is deified along with Amen-Re’(4). Also, another stela, discovered at the same time, belonging to the 18th Dynasty shows Mentuhotep II praying before the three gods of Thebes including Amen-Re’(5).

3. The 17th Dynasty

In the Second Intermediate Period, people called Hyksos invaded the Delta area of the Nile from West Asia, and the whole of Egypt was under the control of foreign people who were based in Lower Egypt. In Upper Egypt, just as in the First Intermediate Period, the local clan that was based in the 4th Nome had gained its power gradually and had started to fight against the central government of Hyksos. They are the 17th dynasty kings described by Maneto. At the time of the reign of Amosis, the brother of King Kamose of the late 17th Dynasty and the founder of the 18th Dynasty, the Theban clan finally defeated the Hyksos and expelled them out of Egypt. Some of the tombs belonging to the 17th Dynasty were discovered in the Dra Abu al-Naja district to the north of the Theban Necropolis in the 19th century(6), but they have been lost and their exact location is not known today. The coffins belonging to this dynasty are rishi coffins with their characteristic patterns of feathers. The 17th Dynasty tombs are also found in the Valley of the Queens(7).

II. Thebes in the 18th Dynasty

1. Early 18th Dynasty

The mummy of King Amosis, the founder of the 18th Dynasty, was
discovered in the Royal Cache in al-Deir al-Bahri along with the mummies of his father Sekhenenra II and his wife Ahmose-Nofretiri in the late 19th century. His original burial in the Theban Necropolis is not known, but it is very likely that his first burial place was Dra Abu al-Naja where the kings of the 17th Dynasty were buried(8).

Amenophis I who succeeded Amosis was deified together with his mother Queen Ahmose-Nofretiri in the Theban Necropolis and were given special veneration in the area. His place of burial is described as follows in Papyrus Abbot in which a record of the inspection of tombs conducted during the reign of Ramesses IX in the 20th Dynasty of the New Kingdom is written(9).

'The eternal horizon of King Djeserkar[ra] life! prosperity! health! the Sonof Re Amenophis I, life! prosperity! health! which measures 120 cubits in distance from its ahay which is called: “the High Track”, north of the temple of Amenophis I, life! prosperity! health! of the Garden..... Examined on this day; it was found intact by these administrators.'

There are a number of hypotheses concerning the interpretation of this passage, and the location of the tomb of Amenophis I is still not known today. The temple mentioned in the papyrus is considered to be the brick temple that was built for Amenophis I and his mother Ahmose-Nofretiri in al-Deir al-Bahri. However, this temple was destroyed when Queen Hatshepsut built her mortuary temple and it did not exist in the 20th Dynasty when Papyrus Abbot was written. There is a possibility that it refers to the mortuary temple of Amenophis, the son of Hapu who was a vizier during the reign of Amenophis III in the later 18th Dynasty period. In any case, according to Papyrus Abbot the tomb of Amenophis I was intact until the reign of Ramesses IX and it is the only tomb that is not referred to as a ‘pyramid’ (Mer) while the other royal tombs of the 11th Dynasty and 17th dynasty are referred to as pyramids in the same papyrus. This suggests that the tomb had a different style from the older tombs that had a small pyramid. From this, it is generally considered that Amenophis I was the first king to separate the structure of the tomb from the mortuary temple. A change in the concept of burial seems to have occurred in this period.
2. Tuthmosis III

In the reign of Tuthmosis III, the general structure of the whole area of Thebes on both sides of the Nile was more or less completed. In Karnak, the 6th Pyron was built on the central axis of the Great Temple of Amen, and the ritual temple of the king was constructed to the far east and the 7th Pyron was built to the south, making its relationship with Luxor Temple in the south clearer. The Bark Shrine belonging to the reign of Tuthmosis III dedicated to the three gods of Amen was built in Luxor Temple, thus establishing the foundation for the later festival of Opet. No record of the great festival of Opet (hb nfr n ipt) before the 18th Dynasty remains, but it is considered that the annual festival of Opet had started by the reign of Queen Hatshepsut\(^{10}\). During the reign of Tuthmosis III, the great festival of Opet was conducted for 11 days starting on the 15th day of the second month of the season of Akhet. The festival of Opet plays an important role in developing the symbolic plan of Thebes.

On the West Bank of the Nile, a small temple was constructed in Medinet Habu in the south, and the basic architectural and conceptual plan of Thebes that had been succeeded to later Amenophis III and Ramesses II seems to have been completed in this period. In this light the building of a temple in Medinet Habu had important significance. The position of Medinet Habu on the West Bank corresponds to that of Luxor Temple on the East Bank, and in this sense it had its function as a boundary mark of the Theban Necropolis. The northern boundary of the Necropolis was the temple of Tuthmosis III built between the temple of Queen Hatshepsut and the tomb of Mentuhotep II in al-Deir al-Bahri. This temple was discovered by the Polish Team when they were engaged in the reconstruction of the Temple of Hatshepsut in the 1960’s. When we extend the approach way leading to the Temple of Tuthmosis III across the Nile to the east, we would reach the position of the Temple of Opet located to the south of the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak. The Temple of Opet that remains today was built in the Greco-Roman period. Though it is considered to have an older origin, the exact state of the temple during the Dynastic period is not known. To the east of the Temple of Opet, there is a small temple belonging to Amenophis II of the 18th Dynasty. The fact that this temple and the temple of al-Deir al-Bahri are located on the same axis across the Nile suggests the importance of this building in the general plan of Thebes.

Today the royal tomb of Tuthmosis III (KV34) may be approached from
THE FORMATION OF THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

Fig. 1 Thebes in the Middle Kingdom

Fig. 2 Thebes in the Reign of Amenophis III
the ground by an iron staircase. However, at the time when it was built, it was not approached from below, but from the cliff above it. There was a tomb-workers path from al-Deir al-Medina, a workers’ village, that ran along the ridge of the cliff and down to the Valley of the Kings. The funerary procession of the king seems to have used this path, entering the Valley of the Kings through al-Deir al-Bahri.

The mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III is located near Ramesseum, the monumental temple of Ramesses II of the 19th dynasty, in the lower land between the arable land and desert in the middle of the Theban Necropolis called Hnkt-’nh. It is not clear when the mortuary temples of the kings of the early 18th dynasty were built and continued its function for the mortuary rituals. There is a possibility that the original owners of the Tombs 21, 31 and 51 in the Theban Necropolis were funerary priests of Tuthmosis I who lived in the reigns of Tuthmosis III, IV and Amenophis III.

3. Amenophis III

During the reign of Amenophis III, the concept of the territory of Thebes became even more rigid and clearer. During the reign of his father Tuthmosis IV, the axis that runs towards the south from the 7th Pyron of the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak on the East Bank became clearly the one that runs along the north-south axis and seems to have taken a symbolic meaning.

Amenophis III is known to have built the 3rd Pyron in the Great Temple of Amen. Recently it is suggested that the 12 open-papyrus columns in the middle of the Great Pillared Hall were also added in front of the 3rd Pyron by the same king(11). The scale and structure of the 12 open-papyrus columns in the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak have extreme resemblance to those in the pillared corridor of Luxor Temple. While there are two rows of seven columns in the case of Luxor Temple, in the case of the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak, there are two rows of six columns rather than seven as the entrance to the 3rd Pyron extends to the west by the size of one column. The other rows in the pillared hall have seven columns along the east-west axis. The king extended the temple of Mut between the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak and Luxor Temple, and dedicated a number of statues of Goddess Mut in the form of Sekhmet. Such addition in the plan of Thebes seems to suggest the development of the importance of the festival of Opet.
Also, it has been often suggested that the Palace of Malqata was deliberately constructed in the Theban Necropolis on the West Bank of the Nile which is considered to belong to the land of the after-life in order to avoid the threat and political interference of the priests of Amen in Karnak. However, when we consider the development of the plan of Thebes since the Middle Kingdom and interpret that Medinet Habu marked the boundary of the Necropolis, the Palace of Malqata is located to the south of Medinet Habu and historically it is outside the territory of the Theban Necropolis. In other words, Amenophis III built his own palace outside the territory of Thebes (Amen). It is likely that the Great Temple of Amen to the north of the Palace of Malqata functioned as the boundary between the Theban Necropolis and the territory of the Palace of Malqata.

It is not clear in which year of the reign of Amenophis III the construction of the Malqata Palace started. O’Connor considers that the Palace of Malkata was being used between the year 29/30 of the reign of Amenophis III and the time of his death in the year 38 according to the years written on jar labels found from the site of Malqata Palace. Also, the palace was partly continued to be used until the reign of King Horemheb. The purpose of the palace and its role in Thebes is not well known yet. Amenophis III had another palace named “Neb-maat-Re’, the Dazzling of Aten” near Karnak on the East Bank of Thebes. O’Connor considers that the eastern palace was a ritual palace while “pr h’ti” (the House of Pleasure) on the West Bank was a residential palace. However, there were three occasions in which the festival of Sed was conducted in the Palace of Malkata and this suggests that the western palace had its ritual function as well. It is likely that great part of the Palace of Malqata was not used for residential purpose, but rather it had the function of a ritual city in order to carry out various ritual and festive events for the king. Further studies are necessary to clarify the function of the Palace of Malqata.

The tomb of Amenophis III (KV22) is located in the Western Valley of the Kings. This is the first tomb to have been built in the Western Valley. Among the foundation deposits that were discovered by Howard Carter outside the entrance to the tomb, there were a number of faience plaques with the name of Tuthmosis IV, the father of Amenophis III. This suggests that the construction of the tomb of Amenophis III started in the reign of Tuthmosis IV. However, Tuthmosis IV has his own tomb (KV43) in the main valley (the Eastern Valley), and it is not clear why he started cutting the tomb of his
successor in the West Valley. The tomb KV23 in the Western Valley is known to be the tomb of Ay. Considering its location and structure, Amenophis IV (later Akhenaten) seems to have constructed this tomb. The role of the Western Valley in the Theban Necropolis seems to be an important question in order to understand the symbolic structure of Thebes as a whole.

Another problem is that the tombs of Queens and the members of the royal families (prince and princesses) belonging to this period are not known. Though the exact location is not known, the tombs of the princesses of the reign of Amenophis III are considered to be in the Valley of the Queens\(^{(14)}\). The development of the Valley of the Queens has an important symbolic meaning that parallels the contrast of Karnak and Luxor Temple on the East Bank (See discussion below.)

\section*{4. After the Amarna Period}

One of the issues concerning the Amarna period is whether there was a time of co-reign for Amenophis III and his son and successor Amenophis IV (later Akhenaten). If there was a time of the simultaneous reign, the number of years must be determined. Hayes suggested over 10 years of co-leadership (approximately 14 years)\(^{(15)}\), and this hypothesis is still supported by W.R. Johnson of Chicago University and other scholars\(^{(16)}\). The present author considers that the period of co-reign was relatively short, 3 or 4 years. If we suppose a long period exceeding 10 years of co-leadership, we have to solve the problems of the co-existence of two palaces, Malqata and Amarna, which would have an important impact on the interpretation of the plan of Thebes.

Tutankhamen moved the royal capital from Akhet-aten to Memphis and not to Thebes. However, he left a number of statues and reliefs in the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak and Luxor Temple. He also constructed his mortuary temple in the Theban Necropolis and built his tomb in the Valley of the Kings. The reburial of the Amarnan tombs such as KV25 and KV55 in the Valley of the Kings may also have been conducted by Tutankhamen. The original tomb of Tutankhamen himself may have been KV57 (the tomb of Horemheb), but there is no clear evidence to support it.
IV. The Ramesside Period (The 19th and 20th Dynasty)

1. The Reign of Ramesses II (Figure 3)

In the reign of Ramesses II, the whole structure of Thebes was finally established. In the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak, the pillared hall the construction of which had started in the reign of Seti I, the father of Ramesses II, was finally completed. The approach with the rows of Ram headed sphinxes was placed before the front of the temple emphasizing the east-west axis of the Great Temple of Amen. Also, a great number of closed papyrus columns were added to the north and south of the central rows of open papyrus columns built by Amenophis III.

When we extend the axis of the Great Temple of Amen to the west across the Nile, it reaches the mortuary temple of Seti I on the West Bank. Though it is not clear how far back the origin of this mortuary temple may go, in the reign of Ramesses II, it seems to have had an important role as the one corresponding to the Great Temple of Amen on the East Bank. The procession of one of the most important ritual events “the Festival of the Valley” passed through the mortuary temple of Seti I and reached Al-Deir al-Bahri. It seems that the mortuary temple of Seti I functioned as the northern boundary of the Theban Necropolis in this period and thus was an important building in the structure of Thebes.

Ramesses II also added a giant pyron and courtyard in front of Luxor Temple. Luxor Temple was established as the southern boundary of the Eastern Thebes by the kings of the 18th dynasty such as Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III.

By adding a giant pyron and the courtyard, Ramesses II emphasized the great Festival of Opet symbolized the visit of Amen- Re’ to Luxor Temple, the southern Harem. Once every year during the season of the inundation of the Nile, Amen- Re’ visited his wife Mut in Luxor Temple. By assigning the symbolical roles of the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak as the residence of Amen- Re’ and Luxor Temple in the south as the residence of his wife Mut, the role of the Valley of the Queens on the West Bank became transparent. That is, as the Valley of the Kings corresponds in role and location to the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak, the Valley of the Queens corresponds to Luxor Temple in the symbolical concept of the architectural plan of Thebes as a whole. That burial places of queens were not specified until the reign of Ramesses II suggests that the completion of the conceptual plan of Thebes had not taken
place until this period. On the other hand, thorough survey of the French Excavation Team in the Valley of the Queens could not identify the tomb of Isisnofret, the queen of Ramesses II and the mother of Prince Khaemwaset. This poses a problem to the interpretation of the Theban plan. The excavator C. Leblanc suggests that the burial place of this queen is not in the Valley of the Queens in Thebes but in Saqqara, the Necropolis of Memphis in the north. The place of this queen is not in the Valley of the Queens in Thebes but in Saqqara, the Necropolis of Memphis in the north.

The monumental temple of Ramesses II (generally known as Ramesseum) is an important building constructed by Ramesses II in the Theban Necropolis. This is a great temple located in the middle of the Theban Necropolis containing an inner palace as part of the temple, and it had a strong ritual element as a monumental building. The plan of Ramesseum is not rectangle with four right angles at the corners, but it had a shape of parallelogram. This shape is also observed in Luxor Temple on the East Bank, and seems to be a characteristic plan of the period of Ramesses II. The shape of parallelogram may emphasize the two axis at the same time and may emphasize four symbolic directions. The plan of the First Pyron of Luxor Temple points to Ramesseum along the east-west axis and it points to the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak along the north-south axis.

2. The Reign of Ramesses III

Ramesses III of the 20th dynasty was in a sense a copy of Ramesses II of the 19th dynasty. He revered his ancestor and followed his action. The greatest construction work done by this king in Thebes was Medinet Habu on the West Bank of the Nile. It is generally called the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, but it is a monumental temple with a plan similar to that of Ramesseum. Why did Ramesses III build a giant temple in the south end of the Theban Necropolis?

In order to answer the question, let us consider the monumental buildings of the reign of Ramesses III in Thebes. First, the Bark Shrine (the Temple of Ramesses III) was built in the first court of the Great Temple of Amen. The inner part of the Temple of Khonsu to the south of the Great Temple of Amen was founded by Ramesses III, and the stand for the Sacred Bark of Amen of was discovered in its Bark Shrine. These buildings seem to have had an important function in the Great Festival of Opet. It is important that the foundation of the
Fig. 3 Thebes in the Reign of Ramesses II

Fig. 4 Thebes in the 20th Dynasty to the Third Intermediate Period
Temple of Khonsu which faces Luxor Temple in the south was established by Ramesses III. In the Temple of Mut, the building that is named the South Temple was built by Ramesses III. Though not very conspicuous, there are some inscriptions and reliefs of Ramesses III in Luxor Temple as well.\(^{17}\)

On the West Bank, the royal tomb was constructed in the Valley of the Kings, but for the burial place of his princes, the Valley of the Queens was chosen while Ramesses II himself built the tomb of his princes in the Valley of the Kings. While Ramesses II divided the relationship of the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak and Luxor Temple as that of sex, and built the tombs of his princes in the Valley of the Kings and those of his princesses in the Valley of the Queens, Ramesses III built the tomb of his princes in the Valley of the Queens. He also buried his princesses in the Valley of the Queens. The (east-west) axis of Medinet Habu clearly points to the Valley of the Queens, and this suggests a close relationship between the monumental temple of Ramesses III and the Valley of the Queens where his family members were buried.

3. The Period between Ramesses IV and XI

After the death of Ramesses III, eight kings with the name of Ramesses succeeded one after another (Ramesses IV to XI), and all of them planned to build their tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Among them the tomb of Ramesses V (KV9) was taken over by his successor Ramesses VI. Ramesses VIII was the only king in the Ramesside period (the 19th to 20th dynasty) whose tomb was not discovered in the Valley of the Kings. Though it is possible that his tomb was not built as his reign was short, I would suggest the tomb of Prince Mentuherkhepshef (KV 19), the son of Ramesses IX, as a possible candidate for the tomb of Ramesses VIII. The tombs of Ramesses IV, VII, IX, and XI of the 20th dynasty were built near the entrance to the valley. This may be a consequence of the difficulty of carrying the larger sized sarcophagus of the period into the tombs.

Ramesses IV decorated the lower part of the relief of the Festival of Opet, originally made by Tutankhamen on the walls of the pillared corridor of Luxor Temple, with a series of his own cartouches. In the Great Temple of Amen in Karnak, the building of the Temple of Khonsu which started in the reign of Ramesses III had continued to the period of Herihor, the high priest of Amen, in the reign of Ramesses XI. A number of cartouches with the name of Ramesses
IX may be seen in the Great Temple of Amen, but this should be considered not as the proof of Ramesses IX contributing initiatively in the construction of the Great Temple of Amen. Rather, the power of Amenhotep, the great priest of Amen in Karnak, had grown by this time to equal that of a pharaoh, and in the year 19 of the reign of Ramesses XI, when Herihor, the great priest of Amen, made a decree of the new era (whm-mswt), the king had virtually lost his sovereign power, and Herihor monopolized the religious and political power of Upper Egypt.

4. The Third Intermediate Period

The greatest problem in the study of Thebes in the Third Intermediate Period is that of burial. Excluding the reuse of some earlier tombs, very few rock-cut tombs belonging to the early Third Intermediate Period (the 21st to the 24th dynasty) have been discovered within the Theban Necropolis, and the exact number of the reuse of tombs in this period is not clear. The following three features may be characteristic of the burial of this period: (1) a collective burial using a multiple painted anthropoid coffins which were placed one within another, (2) the reuse of the Valley of the Kings, (3) the burial within a temple.

Examples of burial in painted anthropoid coffins decorated with beautiful designs have been uncovered in the areas of Deir al-Medina and Asashif\(^{18}\). In particular they have been located in the area around al-Deir al-Bahri. That the Royal Cache and Bab al-Gusuus are also located within the area of al-Deir al-Bahri suggests that the centre of axis in the plan of Thebes of the Third Intermediate Period seemed to lie through al-Deir-al-Bahri. This is related to the position of the Temple of Khonsu on the East Bank and the reuse of the Valley of the Kings. The fact that Mentuemhat of the 25th dynasty built a large scale tomb in al-Deir al-Bahri may also be a consequence of these.

The reuse of the Valley of the Kings is a characteristic feature of the Third Intermediate Period. After the Valley of the Kings had been dismantled by robbers and the priests of Amen during the 20th and 21st dynasty of the New Kingdom, royal tombs were reused as private tombs of nobles. Except for the tomb of Amenophis III (KV22) in the Western Valley, most of the tombs in the Valley had been reused in the 22nd dynasty\(^{19}\).

Burial within a temple was also a characteristic feature of the Third Intermediate Period. Burial within a temple may be represented by the royal
tombs of Tanis in the 21st and 22nd dynasty. Such examples may also be seen within Ramesseum and Medinet Habu in Thebes. In the early 22nd dynasty, the enclosure walls of Ramesseum were dismantled and reused as the burial place of nobles. Large scale enclosure walls were useful for protecting burial places. It is not clear if the change in the style of burial is related to the influence of Libyan burial style, but it is certain that a great change was seen in the funerary concept of this period.

V. Conclusion

Thebes developed as the territory of God Amen who was a new comer within the land where God Montu had dominated as the chief god of the 4th Nome of Upper Egypt. The development of Thebes as the land of Amen began at the start of the 12th dynasty in the Middle Kingdom. The concept of the territory of Amen had developed through history and had more or less completed its form by the time of the 18th dynasty in the New Kingdom. The process is similar to the way Akhenaten built boundary stelae around the town when he constructed the new capital of Akhetaten and established the territory of God Aten. What correspond to the boundary stelae of Akhetaten in Waset (Thebes) are temples and shrines. The development of the conceptual plan of Thebes had seen a number of changes during the history through the 12th dynasty to the end of the Ramesside period. In this conceptual plan, there was an important symmetry between the West and East Bank of the Nile in which the Great Festival of Opet played an important role in establishing the symbolic parallel of Amen Ra in the Great Temple of Karnak and Goddess Mut in Luxor Temple on the East Bank, and the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens on the West Bank of the Nile. The two basic conceptual axises across and along the Nile played an important function. In this conceptual plan of Thebes the location of each monumental building was not accidental, but had its meaning in the overall structure of Thebes. Addition of each monument strengthened this concept through history and a long period of time was necessary to complete the final architectural plan of Thebes. The basic plan of Thebes as a whole seems to reflect the mind of the ancient Egyptian people. Presumably there were cases other than those of Thebes and Amarna in ancient Egypt where a new god had to enter into the territory of older gods. Such cases should be studied in the future.
to obtain a clearer picture of the architectural pattern of a city in ancient Egypt. In any case, ancient Thebes was an artificial territory of God Amen that was established in the larger territory where originally God Montu dominated. Therefore, by observing the plan of Thebes, we may come to the understanding of the religious concept and the sense of beauty of Egyptian people that had determined the architecture of the city.

Notes

(2) Davies, N. The Tomb of Antefoker, London.
(4) ibid. p.40, pl.XXIV.
(5) ibid. p.61, pl.XXVI.
(12) O'Conner, D. "Maqlata", in Lexikon der Ägyptologie (L.Ä.), Band III, 1980, pp.1173-1177
(14) Porter, B. and R. Moss op. cit. p.769