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- ³⁵ Heimskringla. – S. 556.
- ³⁶ В других случаях, когда речь идет о битве с язычниками и в чуде с мечем, храм Олава назван *kirkja*, то есть церковь. Идет ли вообще речь об одном и том же строении?
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Adam Łukaszewicz (Warsaw, Poland)

RAMESSES VI. A PHARAOH AND HIS VISITORS

On the borderline of the Theban necropolis stand two enormous statues. They are known as statues of Memnon. In reality, they represent the pharaoh Amenhotep III (c. 1390-1350 BC) of the 18th dynasty. They are about 18 metres high. Those statues of red quartzite were transported from Gebel el-Ahmar to their destination under supervision of the famous Amenhotep son of Hapu.¹ Behind them, there was a temple of Amenhotep III from which almost nothing remains and which is now an area of excavations. Further to the west, there is an extensive area of the Theban necropolis. The Greek name of that territory was *Memnonia*. Of course that name is usually interpreted as a result of the name of the colossi.

In reality the name of Memnonia for the whole area came from the temples of the pharaohs of the 19th and 20th dynasties. Ramesses II and III were

both called *Mery-Amun*, „the beloved one of Amun“. From that epithet, which was at that time pronounced approximately as *Meamon*, resulted the Greek name of Memnon for the builders of the temples and the name of Memnonia for the temples. Subsequently the name of Memnonia was extended on the whole area. Much later, the Greeks applied the name of Memnon to the statues of Amenhotep III standing on the frontier of the Memnonia.

In the Roman period, after an earthquake, a strange voice was produced by the northern colossus of “Memnon”. That acoustic phenomenon could be heard in the morning, between the first and second hour of the day, i.e. between 7 and 8 o’clock. A legend explained the “voice of Memnon” as a cry directed to Memnon’s mother Eos, “the Dawn”.

The nature of Memnon’s voice and its disappearance after works performed on the colossus in the third century AD have been discussed in several studies.² The old work of Letronne (who could not yet read hieroglyphs!) is still of great value.³ The present writer proposed in 1993 to date the restoration works not to Septimius Severus who visited Egypt in AD 199-200, but to the reign of his son Antoninus Caracalla (short before his visit to Egypt in AD 215 and 216).⁴

Even recently, some researchers believed, without real evidence, in a transformation of the *praenomen* of Amenhotep III *Nebmaat* (or *Nimmuaria* of the cuneiform texts) into Memnon.⁵ Thus, the name of Memnonia would be a result of the name given first to the colossi. That interpretation is incorrect.

Wilkinson and Reeves state that the king Ramesses VI, whose tomb in the neighbouring Valley of the Kings was also called a Memnonium, was identified by the Greeks as Memnon, because they found in the inscriptions in his tomb the epithet *Mery-Amun*, which they associated with Memnon “on the basis, perhaps, of a garbled pronunciation”.⁶ However, the Memnonian interpretation of the tomb under discussion appears only in the Roman period and is much later than the name of Memnonia applied to the Ramessid temples and their area. For that reason it is much more probable, that in the Roman period, when the popularity of the colossi was already connected with the “voice of Memnon”, the Egyptian visitors coming to the Valley of the Kings noticed that in one of the royal cartouches of Ramesses VI in his tomb, there is the same name *Neb-Maat-Re* as in the cartouche of the alleged Memnon on the throne of the statues of Amenhotep III. For that reason the tomb of Ramesses VI was interpreted as the tomb of Memnon”. An additional confirmation of that Memnonian interpretation of Ramesses VI was found in the epithet *Mery-Amun*, also present in his cartouches. Consequently the tomb of Ramesses VI was visited as “the tomb of Memnon“. The explanation of that misunderstanding, summarized above, had been proposed by the present writer in his publication of 1995.⁷

In the Roman period, the true tomb of Amenhotep III, which is situated in the Western Valley, was not known.

The reign of Ramesses VI, son of Ramesses III (1184-1153 BC), was the beginning of the decline of the New Kingdom. The tomb, however, is one of the most beautiful monuments in the Valley of the Kings.

The first owner of the tomb KV 9 was Ramesses V (1148-1144 BC). After his short reign, his paternal uncle Ramesses VI Amenherkhepeshef II (1144-1136 BC) who was a son of Ramesses III (and a brother of Ramesses IV), finished the tomb. He enlarged the tomb and prepared it for a burial of two dead kings. Ramesses V was buried there in year 2 of Ramesses VI. The date is known from an ostracon. Soon after the second burial, tomb robbers broke in, took away the funerary equipment and damaged the mummies. Later, priests brought the bodies of Ramesses V and VI to the tomb of Amenhotep II, where they were discovered by Victor Loret in 1898.

The corridor of the tomb KV 9 measures *c.* 93 metres. The height of the corridor is over 4 metres. In the middle, there is a hall with square pillars. The corridor ends in a burial chamber with remains of the outer sarcophagus. The inner sarcophagus has been reconstructed by a Canadian team (Edwin Brock and Lyla Pinch Brock).

The tomb of Ramesses VI has a particularly rich decoration with a set of funerary texts, including *Amduat* or "The Book of What Is In the Underworld", the "Book of Gates", the "Book of the Dead", the "Book of Caverns", "Books of the Heavens", the "Book of the Earth".⁸ The usual Litany of Re has been replaced by the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns.

In 10 of the 63 tombs in the Valley there are graffiti of ancient tourists of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods (331 BC – AD 641). Like other tombs of the Ramessid period, KV 9 was often visited in the Greco-Roman antiquity. On the reliefs of the 20th dynasty there are hundreds of graffiti of later visitors. These graffiti were left not only by simple tourists but also by official visitors. They usually wrote in Greek, sometimes in Latin or in demotic Egyptian. The graffiti were written in black ink or red paint or scratched on the walls. A philosopher of the Cynic school left on the wall of the tomb of Ramesses IV a mention of his itinerary on the West Bank:

*I, Uranius the Cynic, have admired for their art
the Theban syringes and the venerable Memnon.*

The travellers arrived after having visited other curiosities of the Theban West. They usually saw the colossi of Memnon first, then the "Memnonian" temples: the Ramesseum, the temple of Ramesses III of Medinet Habu, and afterwards also the temple of Queen Hatshepsut, which was in the Greco-Roman period a place of cult of Imuthes (Imhotep) and Amenothos

(Amenhotep son of Hapu). In the Valley of the Kings, the visit was not limited to one tomb. Some tourists state in their graffiti, that they visited all the *syringes*,⁹ (*syrinx*, plural: *syringes*, was the Greek name of a royal tomb of the Ramessid type) others give the number of tombs which they had seen (the maximum explicitly mentioned is six). In the tomb of Ramesses VI a second visit to the same monument is mentioned.¹⁰

Also the early European travellers visited the Theban *syringes* including KV 9. The tomb of Ramesses VI was mentioned by Richard Pococke.¹¹ Pococke entered nine tombs and inscribed his name in one of them on 16th September 1739.

The members of the scientific commission accompanying the French army of Napoleon Bonaparte during the expedition to Egypt reached the Valley in 1799. They called the tomb the *quatrième tombeau*,¹² or "the Tomb of the Metempsychosis". They misunderstood the meaning of the pictures from the *Book of Gates*, *Book of the Underworld (Amduat)*, the *Book of the Dead* and the *Book of Caverns* (chapter V).

After a period of partial publications, a French epigraphist Jules Baillet during his work in the Valley of the Kings in 1888-1889 and 1913-1914 prepared a more systematic edition of the graffiti from the Valley.¹³ His publication appeared 38 years after the beginning of his work, but is still useful. However, a new approach to that valuable material is necessary. The improvement of readings is needed as much as new interpretations. The comparative material is now much more extensive. In recent years, the present writer initiated a survey of the graffiti.¹⁴ The project will be continued in the coming years and the prospective publication will concentrate itself on problems of prosopography and chronology.

The tomb has an external *dromos* and the internal part, which is divided into 10 sections separated by gates. Sections from one to four are nearly horizontal. The following section five is the first pillared hall. After it, the floor slopes and descends into lower passages. The sixth section is a short passage, section seven is longer. Section number eight is the antechamber of the burial hall (9). Section 10 is a niche in the back wall of the burial chamber.

The graffiti can be found in various parts of the interior: their position on the wall may throw additional light on the walking level. There is a concentration of graffiti in the upper sections of the corridor. The graffiti contain some standard elements, including above all the name of the writer, often with the provenance added. Some texts contain also the function or rank of the writer. These data are usually followed by various words of admiration. Sometimes the name of the visitor is combined with a mention of friends or relatives. The Greek word *proskynema* is followed by writer's name in genitive. Sometimes, we have only a name in genitive. Some texts do not follow the typical pattern.

The dated items are rare. A complete date contains a regnal year with the name of the emperor, month and day. Sometimes year, month and day occur without the sovereign's name. In the later Roman period the consular dates appear.

The extant dates of the graffiti in the Valley begin in 278 BC (the tomb of Ramesses VII)¹⁵ and end in AD 537 (graffito of Horion, governor of Upper Egypt).¹⁶ However, some graffiti in the tomb of Ramesses VI are undoubtedly later than the first half of the sixth century AD.

The complete dates confirm visits in all seasons. However, visits in colder months were more frequent (especially in December and January).¹⁷ No visit is known in *Epiph* (July), but there were visits in *Mesore* (August).

An early example of important persons who visited the tomb is the graffito mentioning Antonia Agrippina (I century AD).¹⁸ From later times we have records of various officials, like Claudius Bassus *alias* Himerius, the *catholicus* of Egypt¹⁹ or a *comes* of the Thebaid.²⁰ Also military officers visited the tomb (e.g. Tiberius, a *centurio princeps*).²¹ An interesting example of the writing practice of high civil servants is illustrated by the graffito of Heracles, *comes* of Thebaid,²² on one of the gates. The name and title of the eminent visitor were written by an assistant, and the word "I have admired" was added in a different hand, probably by the *comes* himself. No king or emperor is recorded, except in dates. Professions and ranks of the visitors will be discussed in a forthcoming book by the present writer.

Many visitors came from abroad. The veneration of Memnon was mostly Greek. A text was written by a Greek who could read the hieroglyphs (he states that he "saw and read").²³ The remnants of personal names in that inscription are Greek. Near that text, there is a graffito by a Greek from Askalon, who complains of his lack of ability to read the hieroglyphic writing:

Burichios, advocate from Askalon after having visited, I have condemned myself for not having understood the text.

Someone else added a further comment:

- I have not understood your problem, o Burrichios!

Some personal names which occur in the graffiti are known exclusively from Egypt.²⁴ Some names are characteristic of the Theban region, and especially of the area of Hermonthis (today: Armant).

An interesting item is the name *Amros*,²⁵ most probably a personal signature in Greek by the Arab conqueror of Egypt in the seventh century, Amr ibn al-As.

Christian monks, who often settled in the royal Egyptian tombs, apparently avoided the *syrix* of Ramesses VI. However, there is a graffito of a hermit who mentions his long presence in the tomb.

The graffiti in that tomb had often the character of *proskynemata* honouring the memory of the legendary Memnon, considered the owner of the

tomb. The visitors coming to the tomb of Ramesses VI desired not only to scribble on the walls but above all to leave permanently their names in a holy place.

¹ A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford 1961, p. 209; R. S. Bianchi, "Memnonskolosse", *L.d.Ä.* IV, Wiesbaden 1982, 23 with references in n. 3.

² see G.W. Bowersock, "The Miracle of Memnon", *BASP* 21, 1984, pp. 21–32; A. Łukaszewicz, *Aegyptiacae quaestiones tres*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 57–73 (an English version of a part of A. Łukaszewicz, *Aegyptiaca Antoniniana*, Warszawa 1993; cf. a note below).

³ A.-J. Letronne, *La statue vocale de Memnon considérée dans ses rapports avec l'Égypte et la Grèce*, Paris 1833; cf. idem, *Oeuvres choisies*, I, 2, 1881, pp. 1–236.

⁴ Cf. A. Łukaszewicz, *Aegyptiaca Antoniniana*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 163–166 (in Polish).

⁵ A. Gardiner, "The Egyptian Memnon", *JEA* 47, 1961, pp. 91–99; A. Théodoridès, "Pèlerinage au Colosse de Memnon", *CdE* 64, 1989, pp. 267–282.

⁶ N. Reeves, R.H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings*, London 1996, p. 51.

⁷ A. Łukaszewicz, *Aegyptiacae quaestiones tres*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 57–73.

⁸ Reeves, Wilkinson, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 37, 164.

⁹ e.g. graffito no. 1264; numbers refer to Jules Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des Rois ou syringes à Thèbes*, Le Caire 1926. A new catalogue is in preparation by the present writer.

¹⁰ Baillet's nos. 1429, 1440.

¹¹ R. Pococke, *A Description of the East, and some other countries*, volume I *Observations on Egypt* (1743).

¹² Reeves, Wilkinson, *Valley*, p. 54.

¹³ Baillet, *Inscriptions...*, fasc. IV, p. ix.

¹⁴ The research is carried out under the auspices of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology and of the Foundation for Polish Science with the kind permission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

¹⁵ Baillet's no. 30.

¹⁶ Reeves, Wilkinson, *Valley*, p. 51. Baillet, *Inscriptions...* IV, p. xx, xxiii.

¹⁷ Baillet, *Inscriptions...* IV, p. xxvii.

¹⁸ no. 1724.

¹⁹ no. 1247, cf. also no. 1249.

²⁰ no. 1282.

²¹ no. 1294.

²² no. 1282.

²³ no. 1404.

²⁴ like Nemesion, no. 1024.

²⁵ no. 1464.