

INSTITUT DES CULTURES MÉDITERRANÉENNES ET ORIENTALES
DE L'ACADÉMIE POLONAISE DES SCIENCES

ÉTUDES et TRAVAUX
XXVII
2014

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*The Tomb of Ikhi/Mery in Saqqara
and Royal Expeditions During the Sixth Dynasty*

The funerary chapel of Ikhi/Mery (Fig. 1) was discovered and partly excavated in 2002 by the Polish-Egyptian mission in Saqqara,¹ and identified as belonging to two officials, previously known from graffiti in Wadi Hammamat. The inscriptions record one or more expeditions sent by Pepy I, probably on the occasion of his *sed*-festival (Fig. 2).² The excavation was continued in the 2012 campaign when the eastern (frontal) part of the tomb has been unearthed, which allowed the architectural analysis of this structure and provided further details related to its owner, also hinting at some processes that occurred in the Egyptian bureaucracy during the late Sixth Dynasty.

The chapel was hewn in a rocky ledge, evidently the western bank of the Dry Moat. Such arrangement favoured a linear layout of the chapel, with the entrance in its eastern extremity, and the offering place in its western extremity.³ Harder layers of rock form the ceiling and floor of the chapel, the softer layers between them having been extracted.⁴ However, the quality of the rock between these was so poor that the structure had to be supplemented with limestone masonry.

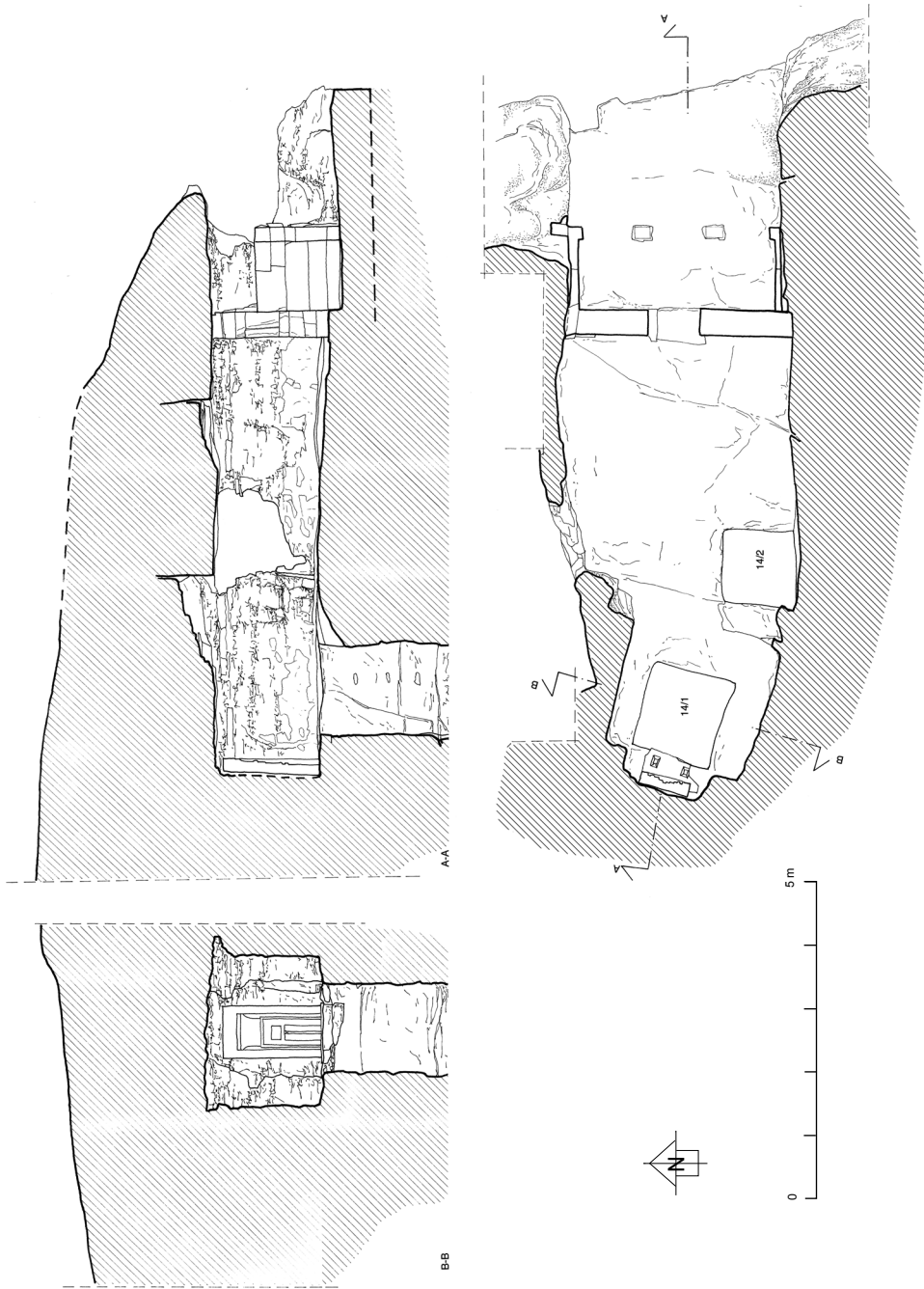
The frontal part of the tomb encompasses a two-pillared portico (Fig. 3), preceded by a small courtyard. The courtyard (measuring 3.60m N-S and 1.60–2.60m E-W) is cut in the sloping western bank of the Dry Moat. The north and south walls of the courtyard were plastered with *tafl* mortar and whitewashed, while its floor was covered with a thin layer of mud and also painted white (traces of these coatings are preserved in both places). The entrance niche (c. 1.20m E-W by 3.40m N-S, 2.10m high) is built of precisely cut, rectangular limestone blocks. Also the pillars are not preserved, but their limestone bases

¹ K. MYŚLIWIEC, West Saqqara in 2002, *PAM XIV* (Reports 2002), 2003, pp. 121–126; K. KURASZKIEWICZ, Saqqara 2002: Inscriptions, *PAM XIV* (Reports 2002), 2003, pp. 137–140; T.I. RZEUSKA, The Pottery, 2002, *PAM XIV* (Reports 2002), 2003, pp. 144–150; K. KURASZKIEWICZ, The title *hmtj-ntr* – god’s sealer – in the Old Kingdom, [in:] M. Bárta (Ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004, Prague 2006* [= *The title hmtj-ntr*], pp. 193–195.

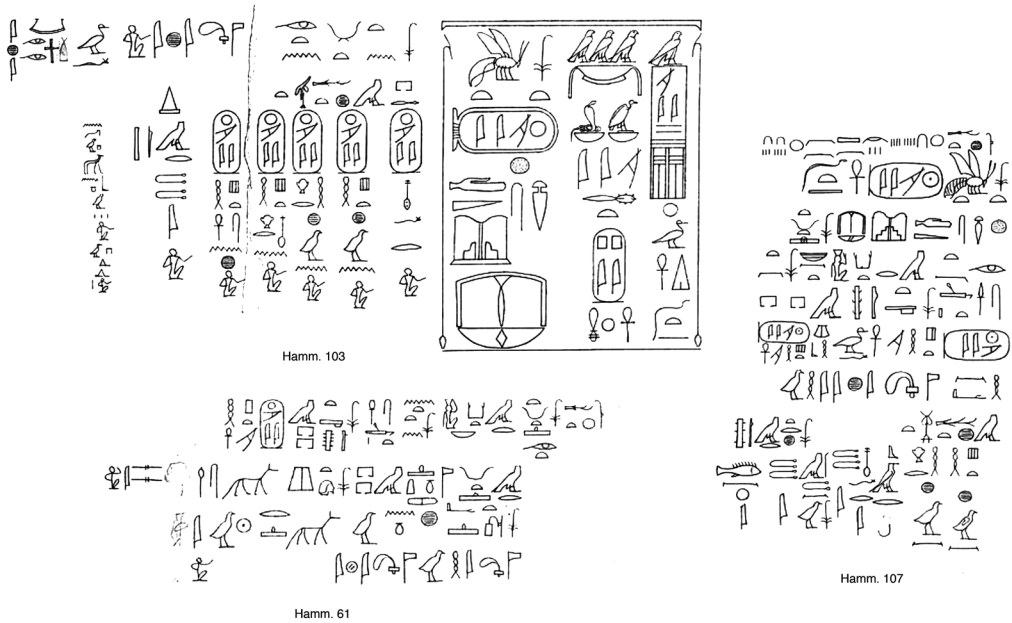
² KURASZKIEWICZ, *The title hmtj-ntr*, pp. 193–195. Ikhi I is listed in graffiti Hammamat 30 (G. GOYON, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammâmât*, Paris 1957, p. 64, Pl. XXXII), 61 (J. COUYAT, P. MONTET, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, MIFAO 34, Le Caire 1912 [= Hammâmât], p. 61), 103 (*ibid.*, p. 72, Pl. 25), 107 (*ibid.*, p. 74, Pl. 27). Graffiti Hammamat 30 and 103 mention also his son (Ikhi II), bearing the title of *jmj jrtj ʿprw wjʒ* at that time. Hammamat 107 gives the date ‘year after the 18th occurrence, 3rd month of *šmw*, day 27’; it explicitly mentions the ‘first *sed*-festival’ of Meryre Pepy I and lists a certain Meryptahankh-Meryre, his son and namesake and god’s sealer Ikhi (I) as leaders or main participants of the expedition. Hammamat 61 also contains a date which, however, while beginning with ‘year after’, is not completely preserved. Hammamat 103(b) records an expedition ‘made’ by Ikhi (I) and his son, and it is situated next to an inscription commemorating the first *sed*-festival of Pepy I (Hammamat 103a). Thus the data contained in the graffiti themselves are not conclusive as for the number of expeditions in question.

³ In contrast, e.g. to the tombs of Merefnebef (K. MYŚLIWIEC *et al.*, *The Tomb of Merefnebef*, Saqqara I, Varsovie 2004, pp. 60–61), Nyankhneferem (K. MYŚLIWIEC *et al.*, *The Funerary Complex of Nyankhneferem*, Saqqara IV, Varsovie 2010, pp. 85–87) or Seshemnefer (K. MYŚLIWIEC, *West Saqqara. Excavations 2000*, *PAM XII* (Reports 2000), 2001, pp. 111–113, 118–119) which, being cut in rocky edges facing west, have a peculiar arrangement with offering places situated at the entrance wall.

⁴ Cf. K.O. KURASZKIEWICZ, *Old Kingdom Structures between the Step Pyramid Complex and the Dry Moat. Part 1: Architecture and Development of the Necropolis*, Saqqara V/1, Ed. K. Myśliwiec, Varsovie 2013 [= *Saqqara V/1*], p. 269.



1. The tomb of Ikhi: plan and cross-sections: east-west (A-A) and north-south (B-B) (Drawing: B. Blaszczyk).



2. Inscriptions Hammamat 103, 107 and 61 (after: *LD II*, 115 c, g, k).

are found in situ, fixed in sockets cut in the floor. It may be supposed that the pillars supported originally an architrave which is not preserved.

A relatively wide (0.90m) entrance is placed almost exactly in the middle of the facade, and there are two small rectangular ‘windows’ on both sides of the doorway, level with its upper edge. Two small, slightly irregular obelisks, found in the fill of the entrance niche, were most probably flanking the doorway. For walls of the entrance niche (and supposedly also for the pillars and architrave) a relief decoration was originally planned, but only partly executed.

The short north and south walls of the niche are constructed of relatively thin (*c.* 0.20m) blocks of limestone, lining the uneven surface of the rock. Each of the two walls ends with a kind of pilaster, aligned with the pillars of the portico and forming a kind of ‘jambs’ of the entrance niche. The four uppermost courses of blocks are missing from both of these walls.

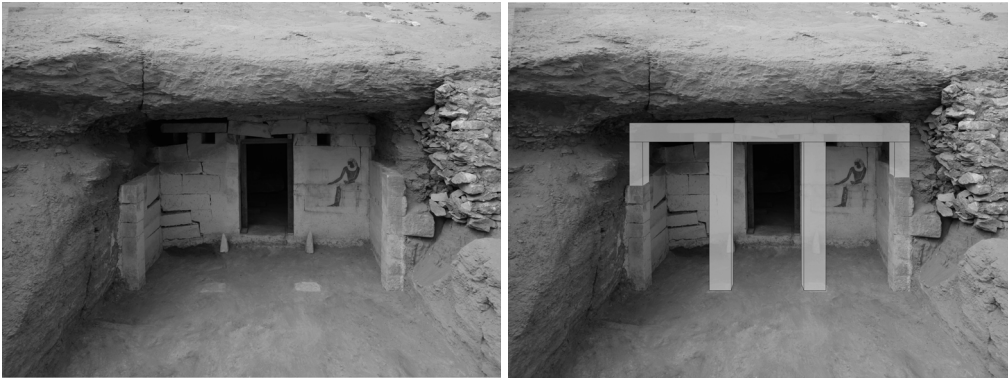
The eastern face of each jamb was to be decorated with a single column of inscription in sunken relief (**Fig. 4**), which has been completed only on the northern side of the portico. The inscription on the northern jamb reads:

[...] *htmtj ntr mtj n ʿpr jm3hw hr Pth Mrjj*

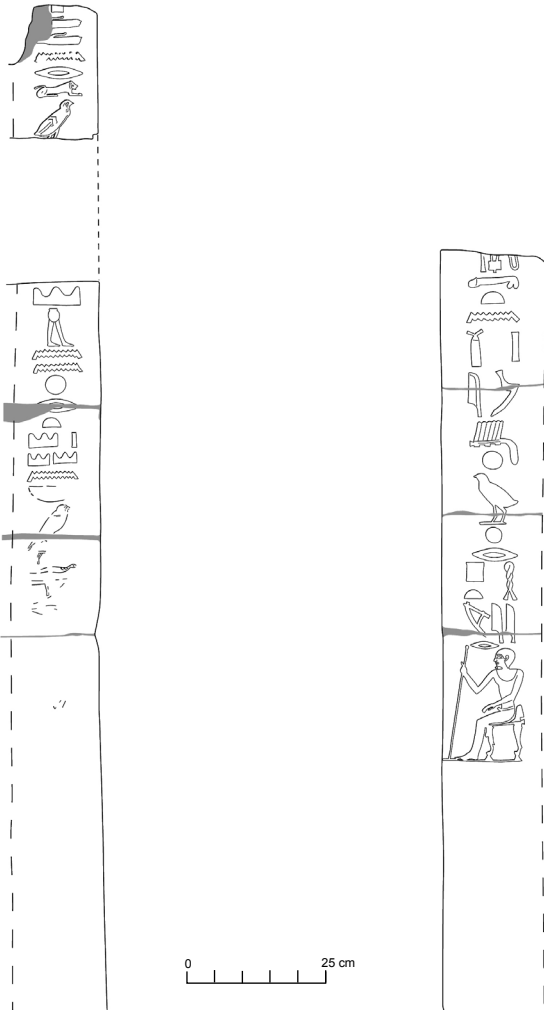
[...] god’s sealer, controller of the crew, honoured one by Ptah, Mery.

A seated figure of the tomb owner, facing left (i.e. towards the entrance), is represented under the hieroglyphs. The inscription on the southern jamb is carved in its upper part only, while the lower one is sketched with black ink:

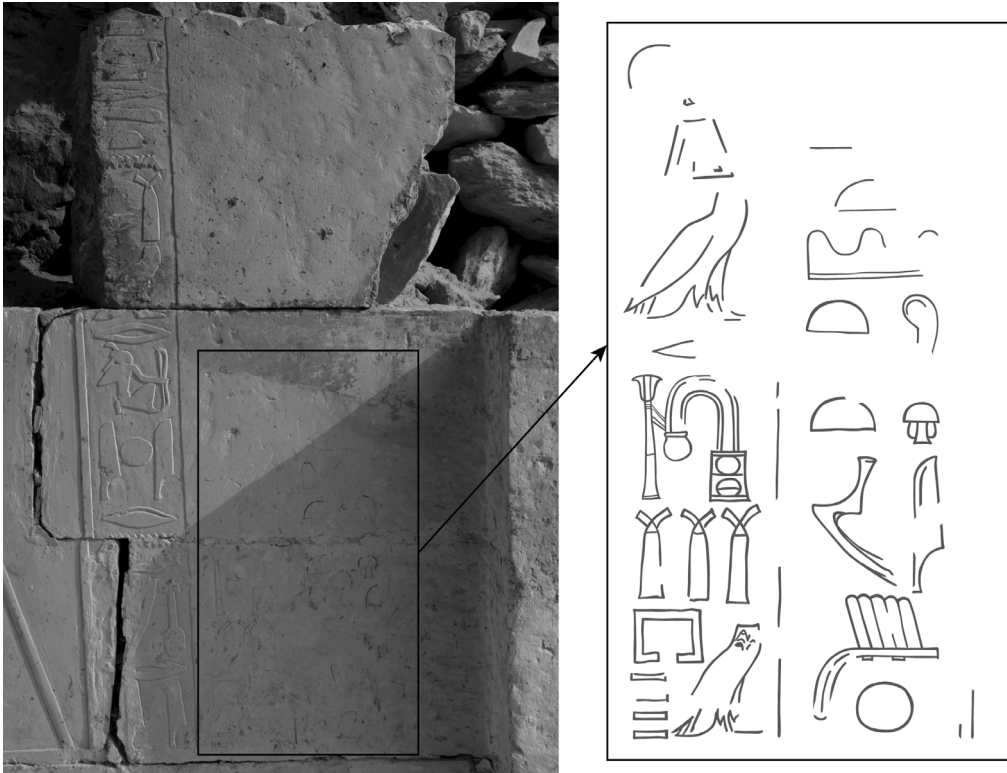
[...] *ddj nrw [Hr m] h3s[wt...] jnn hrt h3swt n nb.f Mr[jj]*



3. View of the entrance niche (left) and reconstruction of the portico (right) (Phot. K.O. Kuraskiewicz).



4. Inscriptions on the jambs of the portico (Drawing: K.O. Kuraskiewicz).



5. Inscription on the northern wall of the portico (Phot. and drawing: K.O. Kuraszkiwicz).

[...] one who places the dread [of Horus in foreign] land[s...] one who brings back the produce of foreign lands to his lord, Mer[y].

Slight traces of black ink below the hieroglyphs suggest that a figure of the deceased was sketched also here, and the two 'jambs' of the facade were intended to parallel each other. The lateral walls of the entrance niche have an unfinished decoration in low raised relief. On the north wall, two registers are visible; in the upper one, a large standing figure of the tomb owner was represented facing right and leaning on a long staff. In front of the figure, there are remains of an inscription, partly carved and partly sketched in black ink (**Fig. 5**):

(1) [... *zmj*]t *jmntt jm3hw* (2) [... *hrj-tp [njswt] jmj-r3 zh3(w) ʕprw m pr* 4 (3) [... *htmtj ntr m*] *wj3wj ʕ3(wj) mtj n ʕpr* [...] *jmj-r3 mšc Jhj rn.f nfr Mrjj*

(1) [... in the] western [deser]t, honoured one, (2) [... royal chamber]lain, overseer of the scribes of the crews in the four houses, (3) [... god's sealer in] two great boats, controller of the crew, general Ikhi, whose junior name is Mery.

The lower register contains a row of four offering bearers facing left, each of them accompanied by a label giving his function and name:

(1) *shd hm(w)-k3 Zij* (2) *shd hm(w)-k3 Štj* (3) *shd hm(w)-k3 Jhj* (4) *shd hm(w)-k3 Špss*.

(1) inspector of *ka*-servants⁵ Zy⁶ (2) inspector of *ka*-servants Sheti⁷ (3) inspector of *ka*-servants Ikhi (4) inspector of *ka*-servants Shepses.⁸

On the southern wall, lower part of a single register is preserved, with a representation of standing tomb owner and a smaller standing figure of his son, facing each other. Below, only the outline of a lower register is drawn with black ink. The northern part of the west wall is decorated with a painted representation of the tomb owner seated in front of an offering table; only the human figure is fully painted, while other elements of the scene are sketched in red and black ink, and there are no traces of any inscription. The southern part of the wall is void of any decoration, except for traces of non-figurative graffiti in black ink, evidently of a later date, close to the southern edge of the doorway.

The rock-cut room, *c.* 2.00m high, is divided into two parts of distinctly different width. The larger eastern part of the chapel, slightly irregular in the ground-plan, measures 3.80m E-W and 4.50m N-S. The rear (western) part of the chapel is almost square in the ground-plan (2.30m E-W by 2.50m N-S), its west wall has a deep niche containing a limestone false door and offering table.⁹ The offering table is anepigraphic, while the false door is inscribed for Ikhi I (1 – outer lintel, 2, 3 – outer jambs; 4 – middle lintel, 5, 6 – middle jambs; 7 – panel, 8–9 – inner jambs) (**Figs 6 and 7a**):

(1a) *htp dj(w) njswt Wsjr prjt-hrw n htmtj bjtj jmj-r3 hnw Mrjj* (1b) *htp dj(w) njswt Jnpw prjt-hrw n htmtj ntr jm3h(w) hr ntr ʕ3 Mrjj* (2) *htmtj ntr smr wʕtj jm3hw hr Jnpw tpj-dw.f Jhj rn.f nfr Mrjj* (3) *htmtj ntr m wj3wj ʕ3(wj) mtj n ʕpr wj3 jm3h(w) Jhj rn.f nfr Mrjj*.

(1a) An offering that the king gives and Osiris (namely) an invocation offering for the sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, overseer of the residence Mery; (1b) an offering that the king gives and Anubis (namely) an invocation offering for the god's sealer, honoured by the great god, Mery; (2) god's sealer, sole companion, honoured by Anubis who-is-upon-his-hill, Ikhi whose junior name is Mery; (3) god's sealer in two great boats, regulator of the crew of the ship, honoured one, Ikhi whose junior name is Mery.

(4a) *htp dj(w) njswt Wsjr prjt-hrw n htmtj ntr Mrjj* (4b) *htp dj(w) njswt Jnpw prjt-hrw n htmtj bjtj Mrjj* (5) *htmtj bjtj smr wʕtj jm3hw Mrjj* (6) *htmtj bjtj smr wʕtj jmj-r3 hnw Mrjj*

(4a) An offering that the king gives and Osiris (namely) an invocation offering for the god's sealer Mery; (4b) an offering that the king gives and Anubis (namely) an invocation offering for the sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, Mery; (5) sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, honoured one, Mery; (6) sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, overseer of the residence, Mery.

(7) *t hnqt h3 jhw ʕpdw h3 srww(?) h3 r3w(?) h3 trpw(?) h3 mzjt šs mnht (h3) n smr wʕtj Mrjj*
 (8) *jmj-r3 zh3(w) ʕprw Jhj rn.f nfr Mrjj* (9) *prjt-hrw n smr wʕtj hrj-tp njswt Mrjj*

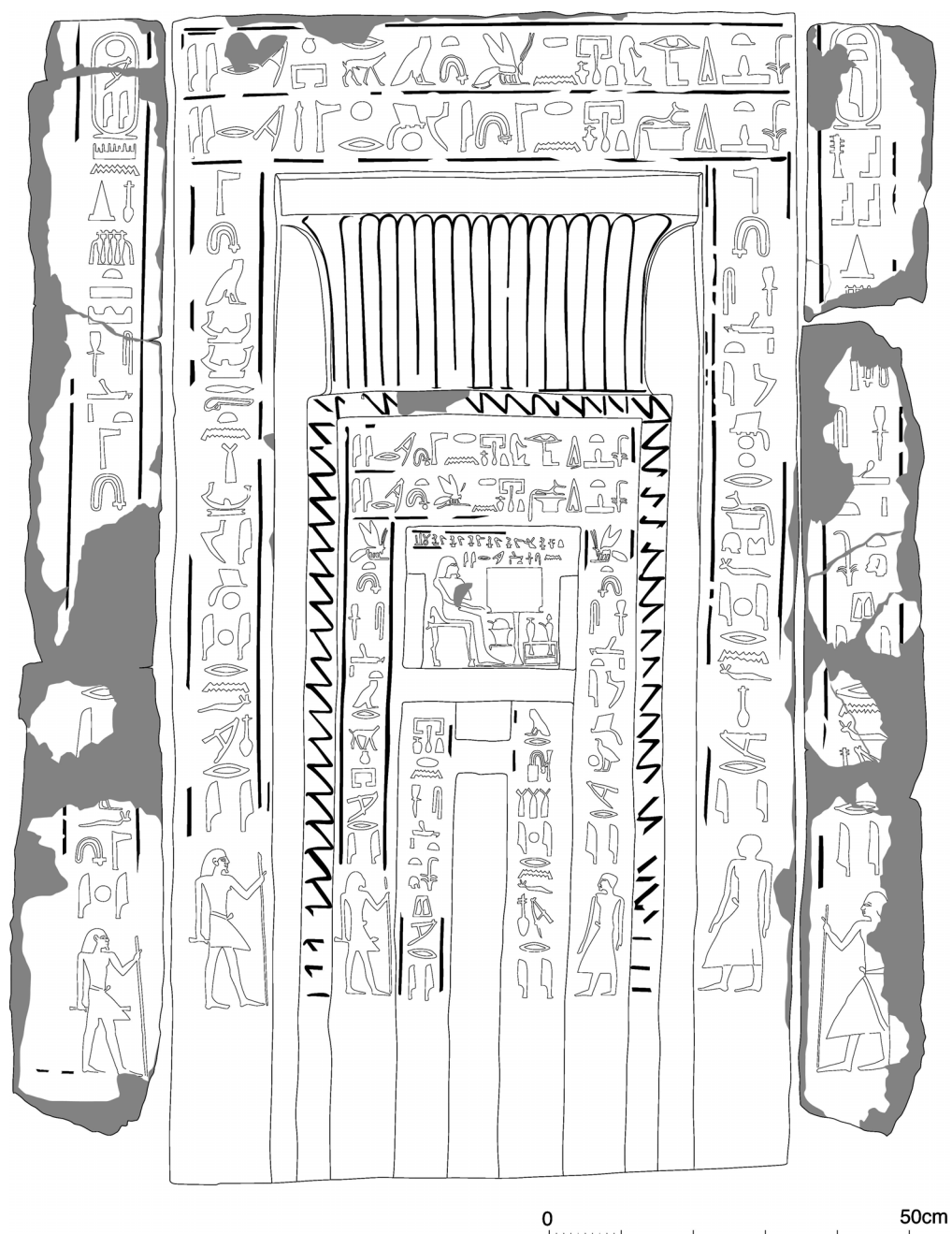
⁵ D. JONES, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, BAR IS 866 (I), Oxford 2000 [= Index], p. 943, no. 3475.

⁶ *PN I*, p. 295, no. 23.

⁷ The name is not noted by Ranke.

⁸ *PN I*, p. 326, no. 17.

⁹ MYŚLIWIEC, *PAM XIV* (Reports 2002), 2003, p. 126, Fig. 15; KURASZKIEWICZ, *The title htmtj-ntr*, p. 194, Fig. 2.



6. The false door niche of Ikhi I with the jambs of the niche (Drawing: K.O. Kurasziewicz).

(7) Thousand (loaves) of bread and (jars) of beer, thousand oxen and birds, thousand *srw*-geese, thousand *r3*-geese, thousand *trp*-geese, thousand *mzjt*-geese, (thousand) alabaster (vases) and (pieces) of clothing for the sole companion Mery; (8) overseer of the scribes of the crews Ikhi whose junior name is Mery; (9) an invocation offering for the sole companion, royal chamberlain Mery.

There are two shafts cut in the chapel's floor. The larger one (no. 14/1), situated directly in front of the false door, is *c.* 1.40m square at the mouth. Its exploration had to be stopped at the depth of *c.* 14.00m, due to the bad condition of the rock. The second shaft (no. 14/2), *c.* 1.20m square at the mouth, is hewn in the south-western corner of the eastern part of the chapel. The shaft has been explored till the depth of *c.* 1.50m, where it breaks into a lower rock-cut structure (the exploration of both shafts will be continued in 2013).

Numerous limestone architectural elements have been found in the fill of the chapel and of the Shaft 14/1. Several of them have been identified as fragments of two jambs that originally flanked the false door of Ikhi I (Fig. 6).¹⁰ The jambs bear inscriptions mentioning both Ikhis:

(1) *hnt[j-š] Dd-jswt-Ttj [...]* *htmtj ntr smr w^ctj hrj-tp njswt Jhj rn.f nfr Mrjj* (2) *hntj-š Mn-nfr-Mrjj-R^c smr w^ctj htmtj ntr [...]* *M]rjj z3.f htmtj ntr Jhj*

(1) attendant of the pyramid of Teti, [...] god's sealer, sole companion, royal chamberlain Ikhi whose junior name is Mery (2) attendant of the pyramid of Pepy I, sole companion, god's sealer [...] Me]ry and his son, god's sealer Ikhi.

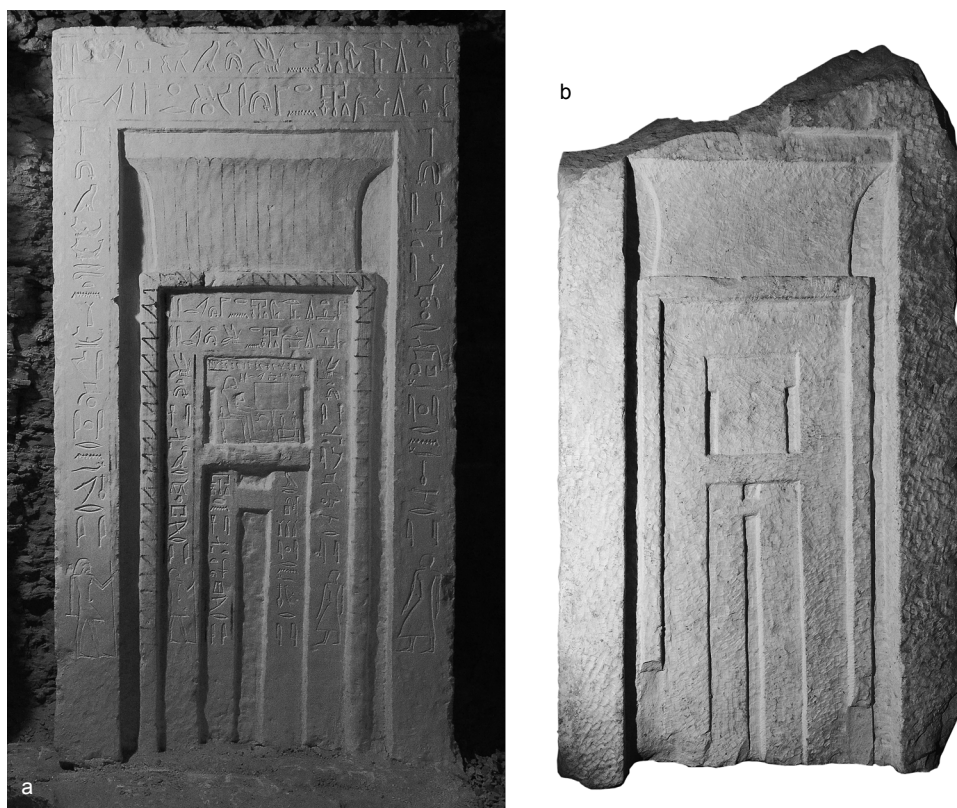
On one lateral surface of each jamb representations of piled offerings are executed in crude relief supplemented with black paint. The quality of this decoration contrasts with the much better relief on frontal surfaces.

The original position of other fragments, however, cannot be ascertained, though they doubtless belong to the tomb of Ikhi, as indicated by inscriptions carved on some of them.¹¹

Another element is a massive limestone false door recovered in 2012 from the Shaft 14/1 (Fig. 7b). The false door is unfinished and thus void of any inscription, but its dimensions, proportions and layout are almost identical to that of Ikhi. At the junction of the two parts of the chapel, along the western edge of the Shaft 14/2, there is a rectangular depression, *c.* 0.20m deep, cut in the chapel's floor. It seems almost certain that the depression was intended as a socket for the unfinished false door, as its dimensions conform the width and thickness of the limestone slab. Moreover, the rock-cut walls at the junction of the chapel's two parts have a peculiar shape, with a slight protrusion on the southern side and an angular groove in the north, which suggests that a masonry wall was intended at that place, dividing the chapel into two rooms. An additional argument in favour of this assumption is a slight increase of the floor's level in the chapel's western part, forming a kind of threshold along the rear edge of the supposed eastern room. Thus it seems probable that the unattributed limestone blocks mentioned above belonged originally to the

¹⁰ Cf. KURASZKIEWICZ, The title *htmtj-ntr*, p. 194, Fig. 2.

¹¹ Of particular importance is an inscription that mentions [...] *z3.f htmtj ntr Mrjj* – [...] his son, god's sealer Mery, thus confirming the second name of Ikhi II.



7a. False door of Ikhi I, and b. unfinished false door found in Shaft 14/1 (Phot. M. Jawornicki, J. Dąbrowski).

wall that separated the two rooms of the chapel. It is not known, whether the side walls of the chapel were to be lined with masonry. It seems possible, at least in the western room, if a relief decoration was intended for the walls, because the quality of the rock precludes any carving. However, even if planned, the lining was never completed, and instead of this, the side walls were plastered with *tafl* mortar and whitewashed (scanty remains of the plaster and white paint are preserved).¹²

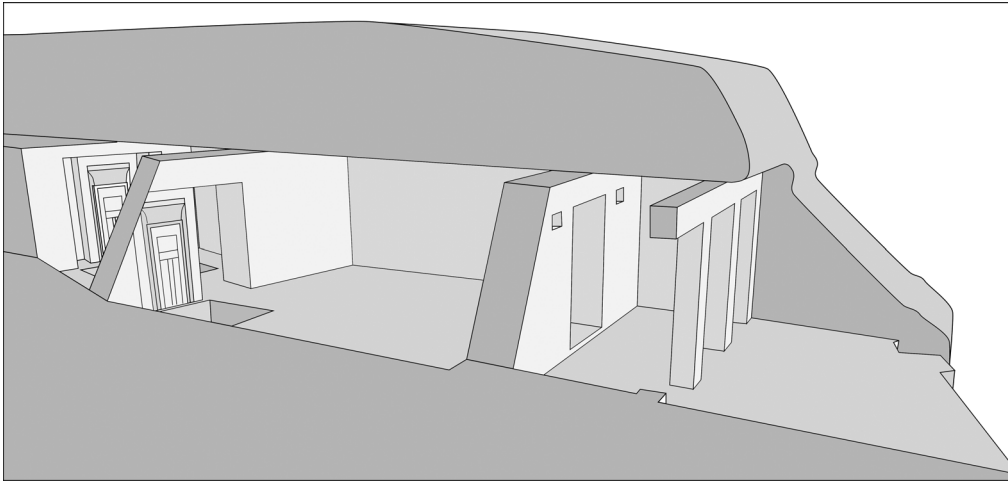
This way, the original layout of the funerary chapel of Ikhi/Mery can be reconstructed as a two-roomed ensemble in an axial arrangement (Figs 8–9),¹³ without analogies

¹² It cannot be excluded that the white paint on the walls is to be associated with a purificatory practice introduced slightly later than the date of the tomb (cf. K.O. KURASZKIEWICZ, Inscribed Objects from the Old Kingdom Necropolis West of the Step Pyramid (with remarks on their coating), *ArOr* 70, 2002, pp. 366–368; A. KOWALSKA, K.O. KURASZKIEWICZ, Some Aspects of Purification after Death in Old Kingdom Egypt, [in:] J. Popielska-Grzybowska, J. Iwaszczuk (Eds), *Studies on Religion: Seeking Origins and Manifestations of Religion*, Pułtusk 2011, pp. 95–97). In such case it would be an evidence of the posthumous cult of Ikhis continued towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty. It seems, however, that the practice concerned mainly offering places only, and not the whole offering rooms.

¹³ Concerning the peculiar orientation of the tomb, cf. K.O. KURASZKIEWICZ, Orientation of Old Kingdom Tombs in Saqqara, *EtudTrav* XXVI, 2013, pp. 399–400.



8. Plan of the tomb of Ikhi (1 – bedrock; 2 – masonry preserved *in situ*; 3 – masonry not preserved; 4 – masonry planned but not executed) (Drawing: B. Błaszczuk, K.O. Kuraskiewicz).



9. Reconstruction of the tomb of Ikhi (Drawing: K.O. Kuraszkiwicz).

among Sixth Dynasty structures, and bringing to mind rather some Middle Kingdom tombs.¹⁴

The tomb bears clear evidence of having been finished in haste, and even this work was never completed. The presence of the two false doors, as well as the fact that two Ikhis (father and son) are attested in the inscriptions, indicate that both officials were to be buried in the tomb. It may be supposed that the larger Shaft 14/1 and the offering place in the western room of the chapel were intended for Ikhi I, while the second shaft (14/2) and the offering place accompanying it – for Ikhi II. This way, each of the two rooms would be an offering room. Such unusual arrangement was almost certainly a modification of an original project; thus, three construction phases of the tomb can be discerned (**Fig. 8**):

1. Original tomb, intended for Ikhi I only and consisting of the courtyard, entrance portico, antechamber and offering room. It seems possible that a limestone lining was planned for the rock-cut rooms,¹⁵ but never completed. Also the wall separating the two rooms was planned but not constructed yet.
2. The tomb was being adapted to accommodate also the burial of Ikhi II. The second shaft has been hewn in the antechamber and the second false door was carved, to be placed in the wall between the two rooms.

¹⁴ Cf. H. BRUNNER, *Die Anlagen der ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich*, *ÄF* 3, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1936, *pass.*; G.A. REISNER, *A History of Giza Necropolis I*, Cambridge-Oxford-London 1955, pp. 219–247; W. SCHENKEL, *Zur Typologie des Felsfassadengrabes*, [*in:*] J. Assmann *et al.* (Eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, Internationales Symposium, Heidelberg 9.–13.6.1993, *SAGA* 12, Heidelberg 1995, pp. 169–183; P. JANOSI, *Die Gräberwelt der Pyramidenzeit*, Mainz a/Rhein 2006, pp. 120–132.

¹⁵ In such case the portico and antechamber would be of equal width.

3. The tomb has been hastily completed; the false door of Ikhi II was abandoned, and his name was added to his father's offering place. The walls received plaster and white paint instead of limestone lining.

Because the exploration of the two shafts could not have been completed yet, it is not known whether any of them was actually used for a burial.

The 2013 campaign yielded new data concerning Ikhi I, thus giving a more complete picture of his responsibilities. Almost all of his titles hint at functions related to organising and conducting royal expeditions. It is noteworthy that there are relatively few offices directly connected to the residence. Following titles are attested in Ikhi's tomb:

jmj-r3 mšc – general/expedition leader¹⁶

jmj-r3 hnw – overseer of the residence¹⁷

jmj-r3 zh3(w) ʕprw – overseer of the scribes of the crews¹⁸

jmj-r3 zh3(w) ʕprw m pr 4 – overseer of the scribes of the crews in the four houses¹⁹

jnn hrt h3swt n nb.f – one who brings back the produce of foreign lands to his lord²⁰

mtj n ʕpr [...] – controller of the crew [...]²¹

mtj nj ʕpr wj3 – regulator of the crew of the ship

hntj-š Mn-nfr-Mrjj-Rc – attendant of the pyramid of Pepy I²²

hntj-š Dd-jswt-Ttj – attendant of the pyramid of Teti²³

htmtj btj – sealer of the King of Lower Egypt²⁴

htmtj ntr – god's sealer²⁵

htmtj ntr m wj3wj ʕ3(wj) – god's sealer in two great boats²⁶

[hrj-]tp [njswt] – [royal chamber]lain²⁷

smr wʕtj – sole companion²⁸

ddj nrw Hr m h3swt – one who places the dread of Horus in foreign lands²⁹

¹⁶ JONES, Index, p. 142, no. 551.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 197, no. 738.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 210–211, no. 783.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211, no. 785.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 306, no. 1116.

²¹ Possibly *mtj n ʕpr(w) nfrw* – controller of the crew/detachment of recruits (cf. *ibid.*, p. 705, no. 2575 and p. 917, no. 3368). This title and the following one are not attested elsewhere; cf. KURASZKIEWICZ, *PAM* XIV (Reports 2002), 2003, p. 138, n. 28.

²² JONES, Index, p. 693, no. 2535.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 694, no. 2537.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 763, no. 2775.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 767, no. 2791; KURASZKIEWICZ, The title *htmtj-ntr*, pp. 195–202.

²⁶ JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 769, no. 2796; KURASZKIEWICZ, *loc. cit.*

²⁷ JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 788, no. 2874; cf. H. GOEDICKE, *Titles for Titles*, [in:] S. Allam (Ed.), *Grund und Boden*, Tübingen 1994, pp. 227–234.

²⁸ JONES, Index, p. 892, no. 3268.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1009, no. 3739.

Two of these titles (*jnn hrt h3swt n nb.f* and *ddj nrw Hr m h3swt*, both always attested in connection with the title of the god's sealer) are of particular interest, as they seem to relate to actual travels to foreign countries. This, in turn, hints at the destination of the above-mentioned expedition(s) sent by Pepy I on the occasion of his jubilee. The previously available data left some doubts, whether the expedition(s) in question were sent to the quarries in Wadi Hammamat itself, or to a more distant place. The evidence discussed here suggests that the expeditions only passed through Wadi Hammamat heading for a Red Sea port and possibly Punt.

The title of 'one who places the dread of Horus in foreign lands' is otherwise attested for six Old Kingdom officials: Kaiemtjenenet,³⁰ Tjetji,³¹ Harkhuf,³² Pepynakht (called Heqaib),³³ Inikaf³⁴ and Henti.³⁵ Only one of them (Kaiemtjenenet, who served under Djedkare Izezi and was buried in Saqqara) is known to pre-date Ikhi I.

There are six known inscriptions mentioning the name 'Tjetji'. Two of these (Hammamat 103 and 107) list Tjetji as a participant of expeditions led by Ikhi I; in two other inscriptions in Wadi Hammamat (nos 35 and 54), Tjetji bears the title of god's sealer. Particularly interesting is another attestation of the god's sealer Tjetji; a short inscription left by certain Khnumhotep in the tomb of Khui in Qubbet el-Hawa³⁶ mentions expeditions to Byblos and Punt led by a god's sealer Tjetji.³⁷ It seems probable that all these inscriptions are related to the same person, as suggested first by Newberry.³⁸ Thus, it may be supposed that the Tjetji in question took part in expeditions passing through Wadi Hammamat during the late part of the reign of Pepy I; afterwards he was promoted to the rank of a god's sealer and finally buried in Qubbet el-Hawa. If this was the case, his activity as a god's sealer should be attributed to a period later than that of Ikhy I, and earlier than Harkhuf and Pepynakht, both quite precisely dated to the reigns of Merenre-Pepy II and Pepy II, respectively. Concerning Inikaf and Henti no certain date can be given, although based on stylistic reasons, the late Sixth Dynasty can be suggested for the former.

³⁰ *Urk.* I, 180.18.

³¹ COUYAT, MONTET, Hammâmât, no. 35, p. 46, Pl. X; P.E. NEWBERRY, Two Old Kingdom travellers to Byblos and Pwenet, *JEA* 24, 1938, p. 183, Fig. 2.

³² *Urk.* I, 124.3.

³³ *Ibid.*, 132.3, 135.6.

³⁴ A. FAKHRY, Stela of a boat-captain Inikaf, *ASAE* 38, 1938, pp. 41–42.

³⁵ *Urk.* I, 141.16.

³⁶ QH 34e (E. EDEL, Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Aswan I, Paderborn-München-Wien-Zürich 2008 [= Qubbet el-Hawa], pp. 459–512).

³⁷ NEWBERRY, *JEA* 24, 1938, p. 182, Fig. 1. The tomb of Tjetji is situated in Qubbet el-Hawa (QH 103, see: EDEL, Qubbet el-Hawa III, pp. 1499–1533).

³⁸ NEWBERRY, *JEA* 24, 1938, p. 183; contrary to this, in the opinion of E. Eichler (E. EICHLER, Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, Wiesbaden 1993, p. 355) the inscriptions refer to three separate persons. Cf. N. KANAWATI, Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, Warminster 1980 [= Governmental Reforms], p. 22.

The title of ‘one who brings back the produce of foreign lands to his lord’ is attested for four persons only: a certain Iny,³⁹ Tjetji,⁴⁰ Harkhuf⁴¹ and Pepynakht (Heqaib).⁴² The god’s sealer Iny is known through his unique biographical inscriptions,⁴³ recording his expeditions to the Levant during the reigns of Pepy I, Merenre and Pepy II, found on a series of limestone blocks of uncertain provenance, probably from Saqqara.⁴⁴ It is evident that the professional activity of Iny, who was a god’s sealer already under Pepy I, overlapped with that of Ikhi, Tjetji and Harkhuf.

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The tomb of Ikhi is situated in a cemetery that developed mainly during the Sixth Dynasty, and it is dated to the phase Fc (late part of the reign of Pepy I to Merenre).⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that the vast majority of the tombs dated to this phase remained unfinished or even abandoned at an early stage of construction, without any burial made in them. This may suggest a rather sudden change in the palace personnel, possibly related to a major governmental reform under Merenre.⁴⁶ Apparently, the reform, which otherwise left little traces in the Memphite area,⁴⁷ affected also the bureaucracy of the residence, at least at its middle levels.⁴⁸ It may be supposed that the offices related to northern and southern destinations of expeditions have been separated and since that time officials who travelled southwards resided (and were buried) in the southern part of the country, while those in charge of northern territories remained in Memphis.

Thus, considering all the data quoted above, it may be supposed that the careers of Ikhi and Iny started more or less simultaneously, i.e. under Pepy I, the two officials being responsible for expeditions to southern and northern territories, respectively, and both residing in Memphis. At the very end of the reign of Pepy I (later than the year after the 18th occurrence) or in early years of the reign of Merenre (before the governmental reform introduced by this king), Ikhi was succeeded (or accompanied) by his son who has been promoted to the rank of god’s sealer.⁴⁹

³⁹ M. MARCOLIN, A.D. ESPINEL, *The Sixth Dynasty Biographic Inscriptions of Iny: More Pieces to the Puzzle*, [in:] M. Bárta, F. Coppens, J. Krejčí (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Prague 2011 [= *Biographic Inscriptions of Iny*], p. 576.

⁴⁰ *Urk.* I, 141.11.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 123.17.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 132.1.

⁴³ M. MARCOLIN, *Iny, a Much-Travelled Official of the Sixth Dynasty: Unpublished Reliefs in Japan*, [in:] M. Bárta, F. Coppens, J. Krejčí (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2005*, Prague 2006 [= *Iny*], pp. 282–310; MARCOLIN, ESPINEL, *Biographic Inscriptions of Iny*, pp. 570–615.

⁴⁴ MARCOLIN, *Iny*, pp. 307–307.

⁴⁵ KURASZKIEWICZ, *Saqqara V/1*, pp. 279–280.

⁴⁶ KANAWATI, *Governmental Reforms*, pp. 44–56.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴⁸ KURASZKIEWICZ, *Saqqara V/1*, pp. 279–280, 295.

⁴⁹ Apparently, Ikhi II served as a god’s sealer for a short period of time, as there are no traces known of his accomplishments in this capacity. The evidence found in the tomb, as discussed above, hints at the a sudden end of the career of this official (also his premature death cannot be excluded).

Under Merenre, the responsibilities of Ikhi were taken over by officials residing in Aswan (probably first Tjetji and then Harkhuf), but Iny's office was unaffected by the governmental reform. It seems possible that this change occurred when Tjetji served as a god's sealer.

In such circumstances, the tomb of Iny, who took part in expeditions to the Levant, may have been situated in Saqqara, as is the tomb of Ikhi, while those Tjetji, Harkhuf and Pepynakht, who were in charge of expeditions to Punt and Nubia, are found in Qubbet el-Hawa.⁵⁰

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⁵⁰ Tombs QH 103 (EDEL, Qubbet el-Hawa III, pp. 1499–1533), QH 34n (ID., Qubbet el-Hawa I, pp. 617–661) and QH 35 (ID., Qubbet el-Hawa II, pp. 679–794).