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


2 KURASZKIEWICZ, The title hmtj-nr, pp. 193–195. Ikhi I is listed in graffiti Hammamat 30 (G. Goyon, Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammâmat, Paris 1957, p. 64, Pl. XXXII), 61 (J. Coubert, P. Montet, Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmat, 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 prw wjš at that time. Hammamat 107 gives the date ‘year after the 18th occurrence, 3rd month of Smw, 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 Merenedef (K. MYŚLIWIEC et al., The Tomb of Merenedef, Saqqara I, Varsovie 2004, pp. 60–61), Nyankhefnetem (K. MYŚLIWIEC et al., The Funerary Complex of Nyankhefnetem, 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.

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

[...] htmjt ntr mtj n 'pr jm§hw 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:

[...] adj nrw [Hr m] his[wt...] jun hrt hiswt n nb.f Mrjj]
3. View of the entrance niche (left) and reconstruction of the portico (right) (Phot. K.O. Kuraszkiewicz).

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) [...] 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 Zijj (2) shd hm(w)-k3 Stj (3) shd hm(w)-k3 Jhj (4) shd hm(w)-k3 Șpss.
(1) inspector of *ka*-servants\(^5\) Zyt\(^6\) (2) inspector of *ka*-servants Sheti\(^7\) (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) *htpt dj(w) njswt Wsjr prjt-hrw n htmjt bjtt jmjr-r\(^3\) hw w Mrrj
(1b) *htpt dj(w) njswt Jnpw prjt-hrw n htmjt ntr jmjr-r\(^3\) hw hr nfr z\(^7\) Mrrj
(2) htmjt ntr smr w\(^\#\) tj jmjr-r\(^3\) hw Jhj
(3) htmjt ntr m wj\(^3\)wj w\(^3\)t(wj) mtj n pr wj\(^3\)jmjr-r\(^3\) hw Jhj
(4a) 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.

(4b) *htpt dj(w) njswt Jnpw prjt-hrw n htmjt Bjtt Mrrj
(5) htmjt Bjtt smr w\(^\#\) tj jmjr-r\(^3\) hw Mrrj
(6) htmjt Bjtt smr w\(^\#\) tj jmjr-r\(^3\) hw Jhj
(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 hnpqt h\(^3\)jhw \(^{\#}\) pdw h\(^3\)rsww(?) h\(^3\)t rsw(?) h\(^3\)t prpw(?) h\(^3\)t mjrt ss mnh\(^3\)t (h\(^3\)) n smr w\(^\#\) tj Mrrj
(8) jmjr-r\(^3\) z\(^3\) (w) prpw Jhj nfr Mrrj (9) prjt-hrw n smr w\(^\#\) tj hrj-tp njswt Mrrj

---


\(^{2}\) PN 1, p. 295, no. 23.

\(^{3}\) The name is not noted by Ranke.

\(^{5}\) PN 1, p. 326, no. 17.

\(^{9}\) Mysliwiec, *PAM XIV* (Reports 2002), 2003, p. 126, Fig. 15; Kuraszkiewicz, *The title htmjt-ntr*, p. 194, Fig. 2.
6. The false door niche of Ikhi I with the jambs of the niche (Drawing: K.O. Kuraszkiewicz).
(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). The jambs bear inscriptions mentioning both Ikhis:

(1) hnt[ʃ]-Dd-jswt-Ttj [...] hmtj ntr smr w’tj hrj-tp njswt Jhj rn.f nfr Mrjj (2) hmtj-ʃ Mn-nfr-Mrjj-R² smr w’tj hmtj ntr [...] Mrjj z³.f hmtj 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 [...] Mery 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. 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 hmtj-nfr, p. 194, Fig. 2.
11 Of particular importance is an inscription that mentions [...] zi.f hmtj nfr Mrjj – [...] his son, god’s sealer Mery, thus confirming the second name of Ikhi II.
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 tafīl mortar and whitewashed (scanty remains of the plaster and white paint are preserved).\footnote{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), \textit{ArOr} 70, 2002, pp. 366–368; A. Kowalska, K.O. Kuraszkiewicz, Some Aspects of Purification after Death in Old Kingdom Egypt, \textit{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.}

This way, the original layout of the funerary chapel of Ikhi/Mery can be reconstructed as a two-roomed ensemble in an axial arrangement (\textbf{Figs 8–9}),\footnote{Concerning the peculiar orientation of the tomb, cf. K.O. Kuraszkiewicz, Orientation of Old Kingdom Tombs in Saqqara, \textit{EtuıdTrav} XXVI, 2013, pp. 399–400.} without analogies
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. Kuraszkiewicz).
among Sixth Dynasty structures, and bringing to mind rather some Middle Kingdom
tombs.\footnote{Cf. H. Brunner, Die Anlagen der ägyptischen Felsgräber bis zum Mittleren Reich, ÄF 3, Glückstadt-
1955, pp. 219–247; W. Schenkel, Zur Typologie des Felsfassadengrabes, [in:] J. Assmann et al. (Eds), Theba-
nische Beamtennekropolen. Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung, Internationales Symposium, Heidel-
berg 9.–13.6.1993, SAGA 12, Heidelberg 1995, pp. 169–183; P. Janosi, Die Gräberwelt der Pyramidenzeit,
Mainz a/Rhein 2006, pp. 120–132.}

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,\footnote{In such case the portico and antechamber would be of equal width.} 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.
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 mšḥ* - general/expedition leader\(^\text{16}\)
- *jmj-r3 ḫwḥ* - overseer of the residence\(^\text{17}\)
- *jmj-r3 žḥ(z) prw* - overseer of the scribes of the crews\(^\text{18}\)
- *jmjr-3 žḥ(z) prwm pr 4* - overseer of the scribes of the crews in the four houses\(^\text{19}\)
- *jin ḫrt hšswt n nb.f* - one who brings back the produce of foreign lands to his lord\(^\text{20}\)
- *mtj n ṣpr [...]* - controller of the crew [...]\(^\text{21}\)
- *mtj nj ṣpr wṣṣ* - regulator of the crew of the ship
- *ḥmtj-š Mnn-nfr-Mrjj-Rš* - attendant of the pyramid of Pepy I\(^\text{22}\)
- *ḥmtj-š ḫḏ-jswt-Tṣj* - attendant of the pyramid of Teti\(^\text{23}\)
- *ḥmtj ḫḥtj* - sealer of the King of Lower Egypt\(^\text{24}\)
- *ḥmtj Ṯtj* - god’s sealer\(^\text{25}\)
- *ḥmtj Ṯtj m ḫṣjw ṣḥ(wj)* - god’s sealer in two great boats\(^\text{26}\)
- *[ḥrj]-tp [ḥnswt]* - [royal chamber]lain\(^\text{27}\)
- *sṃr ṭḥtj* - sole companion\(^\text{28}\)
- *ddj nrw ḫrs ḫṣswt* - one who places the dread of Horus in foreign lands\(^\text{29}\)

---

\(^{16}\) 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 ṣpr(w) ffrw* - 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.


\(^{26}\) JONES, op. cit., p. 769, no. 2796; KURASZKIEWICZ, loc. cit.


\(^{28}\) JONES, Index, p. 892, no. 3268.

\(^{29}\) Ibid., p. 1009, no. 3739.
Two of these titles (\textit{jmnh ml h\textsuperscript{2}swt n nb.f} and \textit{ddj nrw Hr \textit{m h\textsuperscript{2}swt}), 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,\textsuperscript{30} Tjetji,\textsuperscript{31} Harkhuf,\textsuperscript{32} Pepynakht (called Heqaib),\textsuperscript{33} Inikaf\textsuperscript{34} and Henti.\textsuperscript{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-Hawa\textsuperscript{36} mentions expeditions to Byblos and Punt led by a god’s sealer Tjetji.\textsuperscript{37} It seems probable that all these inscriptions are related to the same person, as suggested first by Newberry.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Urk. I}, 180.18.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Coutat, Montet}, Hammâmât, no. 35, p. 46, Pl. X; P.E. Newberry, Two Old Kingdom travellers to Byblos and Pwenet, \textit{JEA} 24, 1938, p. 183, Fig. 2.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Urk. I}, 124.3.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ibid.}, 132.3, 135.6.
\textsuperscript{34} A. Fakhry, Stela of a boat-captain Inikaf, \textit{ASAE} 38, 1938, pp. 41–42.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Urk. I}, 141.16.
\textsuperscript{37} Newberry, \textit{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).
\textsuperscript{38} Newberry, \textit{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, Tjetji, Harkhuf and Pepynakht (Heqaib). The god’s sealer Iny is known through his unique biographical inscriptions, 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. 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.

* 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). 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. Apparently, the reform, which otherwise left little traces in the Memphite area, affected also the bureaucracy of the residence, at least at its middle levels. 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.

40 Urk. I, 141.11.
41 Ibid., 123.17.
42 Ibid., 132.1.
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.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{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).