The Three Stela of King Nehsy from Tell Habwe at Al Arish Museum: A New Interpretation

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Abstract

The three stela of King Nehsy were discovered in the foundation of the fort at Tell Habwe. The accidental discovery occurred at the site seems to be of great archaeological and historical interest. A little about the history of the provenance of this monument is known. Tell Habwe is located 10 km north of El Kantara. These pieces were stored in the store rooms of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) until it was decided to found Al Arish Museum.

Two round-topped limestone stela; each carry a royal cartouche of king Nehsy, they measure 43 x 29.5 x 9 and 40 x 29 x 9 cm and bear Nos. 674 and 675 at Al Arish Museum. The text contains a standard late Middle Kingdom version. It also seems that the two stela were erected parallel to each other, perhaps at the entrance of local sanctuary or building that was one day established in this place. The first stela, which was probably erected at the left hand side of the entrance, is inscribed inside the cartouche with the prenomen of King aA sH ra being preceded by the royal title nTr nfr “good god”, and followed by the tag di anx “given life” which commonly accompanies royal names; the whole scene was enclosed inside a round shape like a large Cartouche. The second stela was to be put to the right hand side and began with the epithet sA ra and the name of the king nHsj, then Dt, or nb Dt? Dt nb tA. The Cartouche is damaged at its right end but the name of the King Nehsy still can be identified. The stelae can provide some information to shed light on the King Nehsy.

The third stela is a round-topped limestone stela. It includes a depiction of a standing figure making offering to the god who is standing in front of him, the scene belongs to the king whose name is written sA Ra, but the name is not inside a cartouche. The stela measures 9x39x80 cm and is probably made to be put inside a temple or a shrine, may be in Mendes. It has been also a matter of dispute whether king Nehsy and his successors belonged to the Thirteenth or the Fourteenth Dynasty. Dynasty XIV is a group of ephemeral rulers, possibly including Sheshi, Nehesy, and over fifty others. As suggested by Bietak, it was centered at Tell el Dab'a. King Nehsy bore the title sA nsw smsw “King’s eldest son.” and king. Accordingly, king Nehsy was a son of an Egyptian king, and he was a designated heir to the throne.

The god which is depicted on the stela is the chief deity of Mendes was the ram god” Ba neb djedew“ (lit. Ba of the Lord of Djedew). The queen’s name that inscribed on the stela and written inside the cartouche is that of queen Tany, obviously, the origin of Tany is problematic, as some scholars suggested that Tany might have been a Theban because the writing of the first element on her name is precisely that found in the names of the Theban rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty; Seqenenrea Ta-eaa and in the names of private individuals. Her name was also mentioned on other monuments with another king Ipp. The study then deals in details with the two figures; of king Nehsy and the figure of the god, and the name of queen Tany to sum up with the conclusion that in view of close similarity of the name Ipp, written with Tany on the another stela, with the name of the ruler of the Fifteenth Dynasty, it might be argued that Ipp who connected to Tany was that of the Fourteenth Dynasty. The stela attested that Tany was still alive when Nehsy assumed the power and that can be proved by her tag anx.ti” may she live”. The inscriptions on the stela imply that it was inscribed by local sculpture. Nevertheless, it shed light on the relationship between Nehsy and Tany. It also strengthens the suggestion of
Simpson and other scholars that Nehsy and Tany were of Egyptian origin. Accordingly, it can be concluded that Apophis I was of Egyptian origin as well.

**Introduction**

The three stelae of King Nehsy were discovered during the foundation of the fort at Tell Habwe. The accidental discovery occurred at the site seems to be of great archaeological and historical interest. A little about the history of the provenance of this monument is known. Tell Habwe is located 10 km north of El Kantara. Tell Habwe is known during the Islamic period as a coaching area located near Darb es-Sultan, which was famous for its horses. The pieces were stored in the store rooms of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) until it was decided to found Aq Arish Museum. When the Museum was founded in 2006, a lot of very fine pieces that were scattered and stored in the storerooms of the SCA and some other fragments that returned back from Israel were withdrawn. Indeed, when the two stelae were discovered, many other types such as skeletons of horses were found. However, it is difficult to date whether these remains belong to the time when the Arab were stationed in the area which is relatively recent or to much earlier times and be consider as remains of the Hyksos period.

Despite the general lack of material relating to the pieces, there is a number of textual and archaeological sources available which reveal the nature of at least some of the problems of the stelae. They were found in Tell Habwe. So, the suggestion rose that they can be dated back to the Second Intermediate Period (SIP) since most of the monuments dated back to this era were scattered at the eastern Delta. Since 1964, when Jürgen Von Beckerath published his fundamental study *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, the period has lost some of its puzzling obscurity. However, the new findings and new interpretations still cannot fill all the gaps, and a tantalizing amount of questions resulting from incomplete information remain unanswered. In 1997, the Danish Egyptologist, Kim Ryholt, published a refreshing new synthesis, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period ca. 1800–1550 B.C.*; it included all the relevant material for the Late Middle Kingdom and Early New Kingdom. Despite some of Ryholt’s interpretations are simply provoking, they are seemingly based on rather weak foundations. On the other hand, some of his other interpretations are surely established on firmer grounds and are more easily followed. While recent decades have seen much attention paid to the family relationships of the Late Middle Kingdom, especially the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties, very little light has been shed on King Nehsy.

The present work is an attempt to assign dates of the stelae of relatively an important ruler. Moreover, the stelae can provide some information to shed light on one of the kings of the Second Intermediate Period. This period is of relative confusion and disorganization. It also remains one of the most obscure periods of the Egyptian history. This situation is not

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46 M. Abdel- Maksoud, “Un Monument du Roi “-\-ib-R” NHSY A Tell – Haboua” (Sinai Nord) ASEA 69, 3-5
due entirely to a scarcity of source material but rather to the nature of the textual sources which most of them are monuments produced for officials and remarkably few attests to the numerous kings of the period.

There are two round top limestone stelae, each one carries a royal cartouche. They measure 43 x 29.5 x 9 and 40 x 29 x 9 cm and bear Nos. 674 and 675 at Al Arish Museum, respectively (Fig. 1, 2). The text contains a standard Late Middle Kingdom version. It also seems that the two stelae were erected parallel to each other, perhaps at the entrance of a local sanctuary or building that was one day established in this place. The first stela, which was probably erected at the left hand side of the entrance, is inscribed inside the cartouche with the prenomen of King aA sH ra being, preceded by the royal title nTr nfr “good god” and followed by the tag di anx “given life” which commonly accompanies royal names. The whole scene was enclosed inside a round shape like a large cartouche. The second stela was to be put to the right hand side and began with the epithet sA ra and the name of the king nHsj, then Dt or nb Dt? Dt nb tA. The cartouche is damaged at its right end, but the name of the King Nehsy still can be identified. The stelae belong to king aA sH Ra, nHsj, and they can provide some information to shed light on the personality of King Nehsy. They are respectively:

(1) Nfr nTr aA sH Ra
(2)sA Ra nHsy di anx Dt

Notes on the transcription

The signs which are believed to contain the sA ra name of the king are clumsily executed. The second sign of the word Dt is to all likelihood a mistake for t; the t sign is even turned up-side-down to be read nb. The text is to be read di anx Dt. This can strongly suggest that the stelae were not produced by the royal workshops in Egypt but rather by a local workshop. In addition, the figures are in a good “Egyptian” style and quality, but the inscription reveals only imperfect skills in the hieroglyphic writing. The reason for such a mistake may be because the early Fourteenth Dynasty’s sculptures of the royal stelae or scarabs simply did not understand the hieroglyphic writing and, therefore, made up pseudo signs. Pseudo signs often appeared on scarabs-shaped seals manufactured in Canaan for the same reason.

48 M. Abd El-Maqsoud, “Un Monument du Roi aA sH Ra at Al Arish” (Sinai Nord) ASEA 69, 3-5.

49 The crude style of this piece is usually exemplified in every aspect; in the text of the stela of Sebk Htp in the Brooklyn Museum one may note the writing of h’py with only, and the use of instead of in the name of shk-htp, see James, T. G. Corpus of Hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I from Dynasty I to the end of Dynasty XVIII, Wilbour Monographs VI (The Brooklyn Museum, 1974) p. 67

The titles of kingship used here on these stelae are nTr-nfr, before the nsw-bit name, and sA-ra, before the sA-ra name. The inscriptions are read nTr nfr aA sh ra, and sA ra nHsj di anxDt.

Furthermore, Abd El Maqsoud reconstructed the name of King Nehsy in the second stela. He reconstructed the sign s as . However, the sign should have followed the text direction; such a direction is contradicted by the surviving signs evidence. Moreover, the sign must follow the other signs.

nTr- nfr was probably used only to indicate that this was the throne name, whereas the sA ra was usually used to indicate the birth name of the king. Such gradual assumption of the royal titles and epithets is also known from other lines of dissident kings, e.g. Eleventh Dynasty and the Fifteenth Dynasty.

The third Stela (Fig. 3)
The third stela is a round- topped limestone stela. It includes a depiction of a standing person making offering to the god who is standing in front of him. The scene belongs to the son of the king whose name is written sA Ra, but the name is not inside a cartouche. The stela measures 9x39x80 cm and is probably made to be put inside a temple, may be in Mendes.

The stela is of great importance since the parentage of Nehsy has remained a mystery until now. Despite the solution recently proposed, objections can be raised, especially as some data is still left without satisfactory explanation. Therefore, it is the purpose of this paper to present a fresh solution that meets the requirements of the data known at present. The stela do not even contain the titles of kingship while royal epithets came into use already with the epithet sA ra. It is also remarkably significant the lack of a cartouche and royal titles or epithets in the stelae dating to this period.

Description of the stela
The stela is made of limestone; the above lintel of it has the protection symbol consisted of the winged sun disk. The main scene is of two figures: Above, there are four vertical lines of hieroglyphic inscriptions. The text contains a standard late Middle Kingdom version of writing; the name and title are written above the king sA Ra NHsy. Moreover, the name is not set in a cartouche, but it is treated like a royal name being preceded by the royal title "the son of the god Ra." On the bottom, in the middle between the two main figures of the stela, there are three vertical lines and a cartouche.

The inscription
snt .f nbt tAwy tAni anx.tj "his sister the lady of the two lands Tany given life": The royal name of the queen which is set in the cartouche is damaged. However, it can be identified

51 For obscure reasons, nTr-nft was replaced by nsw-bit (sometimes simply bit) on royal seals during the reign of Apophis. see O. Tufnell, Studies on Scarab Seals, II . Warminster 1984, no. 3457; 3458.
52 M. Abd El Maksoud, ASAE 69 p. 3, 4
53 Name of the Ancient Egyptian city of Djedet, also known in Ancient Egypt as Per-Banebdjedet ("The house of the Ram Lord of Djedet") is known today as Tell El-Ruba, The city is located in the eastern Nile bank and was the capital of the 16th Lower Egyptian nome.
54 That Nehsy identified as a son of Sheshi, see Ryholt, Political Situation, p. 252
55 Nehsy is attested as sA-nsw (1 seal), sI-nsw sHsw (22 seal), and sI-nsw/r" (4 seal).see: Ryholt, Political Situation, p. 54
with the queen Tany followed by the tag "given life" which commonly accompanies royal names.

The figural representation is executed in high relief. On the other hand, the lines of inscription are in low relief. To the left, King Nehsy is standing holding in his left hand a basin with incense as an offering to the ram-god of Mendes, Ba-neb-Djedet. He wears a wsx-collar, a belt, and a short skirt with two shoulder-straps. In front of him, there is a representation of the ram-god of Mendes with the Atf crown on his head; his right hand holds anx sign, and the left hand holds a wAs scepter. Thus, the scene is nearly divided into two vertical parts: The left part belongs to the king, and the right part belongs to the god. None of the figures is wearing sandals.

**Technical observations**

The scene is executed in flat, raised relief. The stela is well preserved. However, shallow scratches are on its surface. There are also traces of polychrome: Red in the area under their feet. Furthermore, the artistic quality of the stela of King Nehsy reflects in some way the condition of the state under the reign of Nehsy. The way of execution and the details of the figural representations in the kings’ face with its almond shaped eye, eyebrows, nose, the soft lips, convex cheek, round neck and hieroglyphs, the lines of the depicted figures, and all these elements point to the conclusion that the stela was executed for a member of a royal family. Therefore it would seem to be produced by a provincial workshop.

The representation of the ram headed god bA nb Ddw here is to be identified with one of the gods of Nubia. The ram headed god was well known in Nubia as the god Khnum. The symmetric arrangement of the scene is usually depicted in the Second Intermediate Period. The development of the inscription of the Fourteenth Dynasty for this royal stela has interesting implications with regard to the royal attributes. In addition, it is important that neither a cartouche nor the epithets di-anx and anx-Dt, all attributes of kingship, is present.

The formal composition of the stela is typical of the Middle Kingdom. The composition of the inscription placed over the figural representation was attested on the stelae since the end of the Second Intermediate Period. The inscription consists of names and titles of persons presented below. The stela looks Egyptian made.

The term Second Intermediate Period “SIP” is here historically understood, covering the period from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasties. This period was characterized with its culture, society, and art which differ from those of other periods of the Egyptian history. This time is often described as a time of artistic decadence. Many of the works of art made during that period have a provincial character. However, the complexity of art in that period defies oversimplification. The reliefs of the SIP are one of those elements of art which show the complicated character of the artistic phenomenon. The lack of monumental architecture in the SIP creates a special position for the stela as a commemorative monument. Various aspects and tendencies of the art of that period are well illustrated by the relief decoration of the stelae.

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56 For unknown reasons, the cartouche was abandoned in this period, see T.G. James, *Hieroglyphic inscriptions*, pp. 67-68, No. 156; 157; 161.

57 W.M.F. Petrie, *Qurneh*, London 1909, p. 12, pl. XXXI


Notes on the transcription

The sign \( n \), the most common as a sign in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, is a subject to diverse variations in its form. In the stela of Nehsy \( n \) was written as a simple straight line with only the leading end down.\(^{60}\) Anx.ti must be written \( \text{\textcircled{\( \Omega \)}} \text{\textcircled{\( \Omega \)}} \) because of the direction of the text; but the engraver writes it \( \text{\textcircled{\( \Omega \)}} \text{\textcircled{\( \sigma \)}} \) from left to right direction, presumably for the same reason mentioned above.

Figures and inscriptions depicted on the stela of King Nehsy

King Nehsy “the Nubian” is listed in the first line of col.9 in Turin King-list.\(^{61}\) It gives him less than one year of reign.\(^{62}\) It has been also a matter of dispute whether he and his successors belonged to the Thirteenth or the Fourteenth Dynasty, since the bottom part of col. 8 is critically damaged.

Dynasty XIV is a group of ephemeral rulers, possibly including Sheshi, Nehesy, and over fifty others. As suggested by Bietak, it was centered at Tell el Dabaa.\(^{63}\) Manetho also mentioned that this dynasty ruled from Xios.\(^{64}\) In addition, Redford proposed that these Kings represented a list of ancestors of the rulers of the Dynasty XV or the sons of Khayan or Apepi of the Dynasty XV.\(^{65}\) Some scholars attributed this dynasty to a group of Asiatics, though Egyptian rulers as well as Libyans and Nubians were also considered.\(^{66}\)

Furthermore, Ryholt stated that:

“The general consensus is now that Nehsy did not belong to the Thirteenth Dynasty, but rather to the Fourteenth Dynasty.”\(^{67}\)

“A crux regarding the Fourteenth Dynasty is the fact that the King was called nHsy “the Nubian”, when in fact the dynasty was Canaanite in

\(^{60}\) The same way of writing is also found in the Nineteenth Dynasty see: J. Moje, Untersuchungen Zur Hieroglyphischen Paläographie und Klassifizierung der Privatstelen der 19. Dynastie, (Wiesbaden 2007) ÄAT 67, p. 345.


\(^{67}\) Ryholt, Political Situation, p. 94.
Origin, having established that Nehsy must have been in a relation with queen Tati.  

In spite of the lack of monumental evidence which supports his suggestion, Ryholt gave the solution to the crux that Tati was of Nubian origin, and Nehsy was her son. The stela here may prove that Nehsy was the brother of Queen Tany, whom considered by many scholars to be of Theban origin. Despite its prosperous start, the reign of Nehsy came to an end within less than a year. However, it is a remarkable era in history. It may be noted that when King Nehsy erected an obelisk, he stated that he made it for his mother, unfortunately, at the place where his mother’s name is damaged. Her name began with p and r. However, one cannot say whether that was the name of his mother or a goddess with an unknown name. King Nehsy had monuments in Bubastis, Tanis, and Tell Mokdam. Moreover, his name was found in Damietta on a statue, later usurped by Merneptah. The statue bears his name with the epithet “beloved by Seth of Avaris”; this opens the discussion whether Nehsy was Lord of Tanis or dominated the whole Delta land and made Tanis its capital. More likely, he was the prince of Tanis. King Nehsy bore the title sA nsw smsw “King’s eldest son.” Accordingly, king Nehsy was a son of an Egyptian king, and he was a designated heir to the throne.

The divine figure

The chief deity of Mendes was the ram god Ba neb djedew (lit. Ba of the Lord of Djedew). The title Nb Ddw occurred in all the Eleventh Dynasty Osiris formule; its earliest appearance was in the reign of Sesostris, but it showed a steady decline throughout the Twelfth Dynasty. The writing Ddw was usual until the time of Sesostris III. and were also early forms occurred in the Eleventh Dynasty and in the reign of Sesostris I. was a later form and occurred most frequently under Amenemes III, when four formulae out of six had it. On the stela Ddt is written in an abbreviated shape . The god bA nb Ddt “BA of the lord of Mendes” who was worshiped in the north-east of Delta, nowadays called Tell el Rubaa where a burial of sacred rams has been discovered, together with his consort HAtmHyt and son Harpokrates formed the triad of Mendes. However, he regularly appeared in the New Kingdom and identified with different gods. He was identified as a symbol of Amun Re and the sun-god Ra. Since the ram represented one of the form of Re, his name incorporated in a unique title born by the vizier stxy of Dynasty XIX; sSm-HAb-n-BA-Ddt”. The form bA Ddt in the Sait period was attested in personal names. In the struggle of Horus and Seth, he was related

71 G.T. Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals, Oxford 1971, no. 783, p. 65, pl. 30 (19-26).
72 C.J. Bennett, “Growth of the hsp- -di- Nsw formula in The Middle Kingdom,” JEA 27 1941, pp. 77-82.
73 H. De Meulenaere, and P. Mackay, Mendes II, Warminster 1976, 178-180
Interestingly, Banebdjedet was represented in the Twentieth Dynasty, in particular with king Ramesses III who dedicated a stela for him in Madinet Habu temple. He was also described as “the one who dwelling in Setit”, i.e. Seheil this epithet identified him with Khnum, the ram-god of the south.

The epithets msn n anx and Ba n Ddw does not appear so far to be attested at other textual evidence elsewhere, despite a search through an extensive documentation on the second intermediate period is conducted. However, the depiction of the god shows certain similarities in costume with the god Khnum, perhaps that can be used as evidence that king Nehsy was of Egyptian origin, particularly a son of a Nubian ruler or one of the southern kings, and that he and his sister ascended to the throne in the Delta contemporary to the Hyksos period. There is no evidence that Khnum was represented in this way exactly in the Hyksos period. The similarity to the iconography of Khnum makes the connection all the more possible.

Nevertheless, there is no evidence that the Asiatics of the Hyksos period restricted themselves to the worship of Seth alone. On the scarabs of that period there are representations of numerous deities containing both Egyptian and Asiatic characteristics. While the identifications are not always certain, one has the impression of a pantheon of deities and a degree of syncretism between the Egyptian gods and their Asiatic counterparts.

The name of “Tany”

Obviously, the origin of Tany is problematic. In 1959, Simpson published a fragment of an inscribed stela from Tel el Dabaa in the eastern Delta of “snt nswt Tany”, “the sister of the King, Tany”. The name was enclosed in a cartouche. In as much as previously published, an offering stand had been inscribed with this same name, not in a cartouche but following the cartouche of King Ipp. On each of these objects, the name of the king’s sister is written behind those of the king himself.

Simpson suggested that Tany might have been a Theban because the writing of the first element on her name is precisely that found in the names of the Theban rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty Seqenenrea Ta-eaa, and in the names of private individuals. He also suggested that Tany herself either she owned property in the territory controlled by the Hyksos, or she may even have been married to the Hyksos ruler. Simpson was followed by van Seters and Schulman who suggested a diplomatic marriage while Egypt was still under the domination of the Hyksos. Ryholt argued that the first element of her name tA

75 H. de Meulenaere, , Un Notable Mendesien de la 26 Dynastie, RDE 97,1, p. 187
76 More about Banebdjedet see H. George, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses,( New York 1999), 52-53
77 I have been unable to find any other examples of this epithet of BA n Ddw. My search was not, however, exhaustive.
78 J. van Seters, the Hyksos, 1966, p. 171
79 Ibid, p. 177
80 For the name of Tany see Ranke, PN I 381, 6 where it occurs as a masculine name, and ibid., 8 as feminine name, though in a somewhat different spelling
82 Simpson , CdE 34, Fig 20
83 Ibid,p. 237
85 Schulman: JNES 38, pp. 177-193, p. 181
was used by convention as a syllabic writing in the transcription of foreign names and words and did not by itself imply anything as to the origin of a name.\footnote{Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation}, p. 181}

If the parentage of Nehsy as suggested here be found acceptable as the eldest son of the Egyptian King\footnote{From 27 scarabs 22 was bore his epithets as the “eldest son of the King” see: G.T. Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals}, Oxford 1971, no. 783, p. 65.} and heir to the throne, it may in turn assist to fix the position of Queen Tany. She was the daughter of a King, wife of a King, and sister of a King. This could fit well: Daughter of the Egyptian king,\footnote{As suggested by Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation}, p. 254} wife of the king,\footnote{Her name was found written inside a Cartouche.} and sister of two kings Nehsy and Ipp. Hence, Tany is best linked with the two kings.

Such a relationship would fit excellently with all the facts currently available on the stela. King Nehsy was brother of Queen Tany. Accordingly, they must be identified as sons of one of the kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty.

It is more likely to assume that Nehsy, Tany, and Apepi were of royal Theban family, and they ruled specific territories in lower Egypt while part of the Delta was under the domination of the Hyksos. This assumption can be proved by a considerable number of monuments inscribed with their names found in the Delta. Part of the activities of King Nehsy was contemporary to the time of Sheshi. His monuments justified that he possessed powers in the Delta. Probably, he established a sanctuary for his father in front of Seth, Lord of rA-Ahw, where his obelisk was found.\footnote{M. Bietak, Zum Königreich des $a$A-$s$H-Nehesi, \textit{SAK} 11, 1984, pp. 59-75}

Moreover, in the Turin King-list, it is marked as a new dynasty only by the phrase “jr.n.f m nswyt”; there is no possibility of either a summation line for the Thirteenth Dynasty or a heading line for the Fourteenth Dynasty. This indicates that the Fourteenth Dynasty was considered the uninterrupted continuation of the Thirteenth, similar to the treatment of the Second to the Fifth Dynasties in the col.4 of the papyrus. Its association with the Delta is confirmed by monuments of its second king, Nehsy, from Avaris and other Delta sites.\footnote{J. Allen, “The second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List” in: M. Marcel (ed.), \textit{The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties) Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 192.}, (Leuven-Paris- Walpole,MA 2010) p.3-5.}

Helck\footnote{W. Helck, \textit{Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reichs}, \textit{Probleme der Ägyptologie}; 3; Leiden (1958) p. 80} mentioned Princess Tany, the sister of Apepi, and compared her name with Taena of Nuzu. The origins of the names of Apepi and his sister Tany remained obscure.\footnote{Van Seters: \textit{the Hyksos} , 182.; Schulman: JNES 38, 181-182, follow the suggestion of Simpson, \textit{CdE} 34, and Schulman though that this is a dynastic marriage.}

The name of King Apepi, has been subject to discussion. Von Beckerath stated that the name without a doubt is an Egyptian name.\footnote{von Beckerath, \textit{Zweite Zwischenzeit}, 127}

It is clear that Tany was not only a princess but a member of the royal family as well. It is of some significance that Tany did not bear the title of the king’s daughter, but her brothers Nehsy and Ipp bore the title of the king’s sons, respectively. This implies that Nehsy, Tany, and also her brother Ipp (Apepi) were of royal birth. A comment on King Ipp (Apepi), whose name is written on the stela with Tany, may not be out of place here. There are three kings named Apepi. This conflation among the name Ipp, which attested for three kings dating to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties, is problematic, not only because it is a conflation of three kings, but also because its origin remains somewhat unclear.
Winlock adopted the suggestion that they were only one king. On the other hand, Ryholt argued that there is at least one certain case of another Apepi dated to the Fourteenth Dynasty.

Unfortunately, the husband of queen Tany is not known to us. Therefore, it is not clear whether she was the wife of Canaanite king who had interest in Nubian resources. Presumably, that leads him to a diplomatic marriage with the Nubian Princess Tany. The suggestion that Tany was connected to king Apepi II of the Fifteenth Dynasty was adopted by modern Egyptological scholars who postulated a dynastic marriage between Tany and Apepi II on a meager evidence because of her name which was written as “king’s sister”, after the name of the king “Ipp” written in a cartouche on the offering standing now in Berlin Museum, No. 262487.

Prior to Ryholt’s review, the dominant interpretation was that there are three prenomens for one king named Apepi. Although Labib argued that they were three kings, it is not know where this is due to the missing of the first name. On the other hand, Winlock stated that king “Apepi was somewhat a puzzling figure who had left two other prenomens nbxbS Ra and aA-qn n Ra. In order to solve this problem, he said “it would seem to best disregard these lower Egyptian names and follow Manetho”. Ryholt’s reconsideration resulted in the identification of not one but two Apepis, both rulers in the Delta.

Ryholt argued that in the Fourteenth Dynasty’s section of the Turin king-list, a king is recorded by his nomen Ip., a possible restoration of this name is Ipp which, if correct, may suggest that the king is identical to the king’s son Apepi who can be dated to the Fourteenth Dynasty through seals of his. Furthermore, it may be noted that this king’s son in fact seems to have been the designated heir of his father. Two of the seals of Apepi contain his name within a cartouche and the epithet di-anx, which suggests that he held a special status. Both the cartouche and epithet were royal prerogatives in this period, and no other prince of the Fourteenth Dynasty is attested with royal epithets. Therefore, it is interesting to observe that Apepi did not have the title of the eldest king’s son but simply that of the king’s son. Ryholt stressed that dating this prince back to the Fourteenth Dynasty is certain and that no identification with King Apepi of the Fifteenth Dynasty is possible because of the design of his seals. Neither the panel design and the open scroll border with two paired loops nor the triangular head was attested during the Fifteenth Dynasty. However, if the use of the cartouche and the royal epithet are taken as an indication that prince Apepi was a designated heir to the throne, it is possible that he should be identified with king Ap… whose name could be also restored as Apepi.

The name Apepi I is going to be used here to refer to King Ipp of the Fourteenth Dynasty, and Apepi II, aA wsr Ra, to refer to that of the Fifteenth Dynasty.

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95 H. E. Winlock, *the rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York 1947 p. 145
96 Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p. 57
97 K.S. Ryholt, *The Political Situation I Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c.1800-1550 B.C.,* CNIP 20, The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies University of Copenhagen 1997, p.254 suggested that king sheshi married from another woman and born Ipqu, could be this woman, queen Tany?
98 Simpson: CdE 34, Van Seters: *the Hyksos*, p. 182; And Schulman: *JNES* 38, p. 181
99 P. Labib, p. 30
100 H.E. Winlock, *the rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York 1947 p. 145
101 Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p. 57
102 It is notable that his tag on the stela of Tany is written also “di ‘nḫḥ” see Simpson, *CdE* 34, fig. 20
103 Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p. 255
104 Ibid, p. 57
105 Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p. 57
106 Pronomen unknown.
Many explanations for this situation may be suggested:

- In view of close similarity of the name Ipp written on the Tany stela with the name of the ruler of the Fifteenth Dynasty, it might be argued that Ipp who connected to Tany was that of the Fourteenth Dynasty.
- There are difficulties in finding the relationships and close parallel on the monument. If one assumes on the slight basis that Tany was a queen and she ruled, or she married one of the rulers that will fit with the fact that her name was written twice inside the cartouche, and that she was the best link between the two kings, Nehsy and Apepi I.
- The fact that the name of the Egyptian queen is recorded within those specific contexts strongly suggests that she was officially regarded a supporter to the king and that reflected contemporary relations.

This assumption fits the case of this stela and the stela of Tany\textsuperscript{107} where Apepi’s name written inside the carouche. Hence, Apepi I's name was written without a cartouche on one stela while he was still a prince,\textsuperscript{108} and it was enclosed in the cartouche on the other after assuming the power.\textsuperscript{109} It surely does indicate that some kind of wife and husband relationship existed between them, unless other evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.\textsuperscript{110}

**Conclusion**

The stelae’s design has similarities with the characteristic features of the usual type of the stelae spread out in the SIP. The inscription of the stelae is of outstanding interest. There can be no doubt that the text provides and assures the title and name of a member of the royal family of sufficient importance for her name to be enclosed in a cartouche, the king’s sister, Tany. Tany is well known also through the occurrence of her name enclosed in a cartouche with the same title on a stela drived from Tell el Dabaa. The stela attested that Tany was still alive when Nehsy assumed the power, and that can be proved by her tag anx.ti” may she live”. The inscriptions on the stela imply that it was inscribed by local sculpture. Nevertheless, it can shed light on the relationship between Nehsy and Tany. It can also strengthen the suggestion of Simpson and other scholars that Nehsy and Tany were of Egyptian origin. Accordingly, it can be concluded that Apophis I was of Egyptian origin as well.

Their monuments, discussed above, are identified by Ryholt\textsuperscript{111} with the monuments of the Fourteenth Dynasty. Accordingly, they must be identified as the sons of one of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty or, more likely, one of the rulers of the Fourteenth Dynasty. It may be proposed that they were sons of the provincial ruling family in Xois in the western Delta who broke away from the central authority of the Thirteenth Dynasty to form the Fourteenth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{112} Moreover, Helck suggested that Nehsy was a Nubian who rose to power through the military.\textsuperscript{113}

The use of the epithets is normally reserved for the royal family. di anx D.t ”may he live forever” may refer to the unsettled periods for the central administrations which are

\textsuperscript{107}See Simpson, *CdE* 34, Figs. 18-19

\textsuperscript{108}Ibid ; Apepi I did not bear the title of the king’s eldest son most probably because his elder brother Nehsy did.

\textsuperscript{109}Ibid Figs. 20.

\textsuperscript{110}snt.f does not imply that they are married, because the same title snt.f is written also on Nehsy stela no. 3 in this study, otherwise, it can be argued that Tany was also married with Nehsy, but there is no evidence.

\textsuperscript{111}Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p. 57 argued that his name also Apopi and assured that according to his seals style, he is different from king Apopi of 15\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty, and that he is one of the kings of Fourteenth Dynasty.

\textsuperscript{112}D. Franke, ”Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit-Ein Vergleich,” *ZA* 117 (1990), p.121.

reflected through the usurpation by high officials and local rulers of such epithets. Their usage appears to be further evidence of the power of these senior officials. However, there were periods when central administrations lacked authority. It is possible that the members of Dynasty XIV may have gained their power by holding important positions in the administration, possibly during the reigns of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty when the Delta was an important economic center in the trade with the lands to the east. Those powerful officials of the Thirteenth Dynasty may have come to disagree with the policies of their kings establishing their own rule based upon these differences.\textsuperscript{114}

By the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, some significant changes took place in the Delta. King Nehsy was Egyptian and ruled the eastern Delta in lower Egypt, according to his monuments. Tany was his sister, and her monument were found also in the eastern Delta. Finally, her brother King Apepi, whose pronomen was missing, was Egyptian and he ruled in the Delta. What further enhances their status as rulers is the fact that their names were enclosed within a cartouche in a period when the cartouches were a prerogative of the king and not even granted to the eldest kings’ son. However, in view of the relationship between the Egyptian Queen Tany and her brother Nehsy, it is quite possible that Apepi without a doubt is an Egyptian name, as suggested by von Beachrath.\textsuperscript{115} The name of Apepi was common in the onomastic material of the Middle Kingdom\textsuperscript{116} and Second Intermediate Period. It may also be noted that it was used by a king’s son of the Fourteenth Dynasty.

It is difficult to accept the relationship between Tany and Apepi II of the Fifteenth Dynasty on the basis of diplomatic marriage since our stela proves that she was well known before her brother Nehsy the first ruler of the Fourteenth Dynasty. The fact that they recorded her name within the cartouche in this specific context strongly suggests that they regarded her officially as a supporter to the king, and this reflected contemporary relations. Furthermore, the stela indicates that not all of the Delta land was under the control of the Canaanite family. However, it remains uncertain how much of the Delta was controlled by the Canaanite family\textsuperscript{117}. For many years, the suggestion that Tany was connected to king Apepi II of the Fifteenth Dynasty was adopted by modern Egyptological scholars\textsuperscript{118}. If this


\textsuperscript{115} Von Beckerath, zweite Zwischenzeit, p. 127.


\textsuperscript{118} Simpson, CdE 34, Van Seters, the Hyksos, 182.; Schulman, JNES 38, 181.
relationship between Tany and Apepi II was real, it may explain the finding of some objects and monuments mentioning Apepi\textsuperscript{119} in different places in southern Egypt\textsuperscript{120}. Tany was mentioned on the stela (Fig. 3) as the sister of the king with her tag anx.ti. The usage of these epithets, which were normally used by the kings, along with the depiction of the local god indicates the power of these local rulers, and that there were periods when the central administrations were unsettled. This was due to the fact that the Delta was officially divided between the Canaanite domain\textsuperscript{121}, and the nomarchs of the Delta who declared themselves as kings.

It can be assumed that the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties were contemporaneous. In other words, the Hyksos ruled parts of the Delta, the Fourteenth Dynasty ruled the other part of the Delata, and the Thirteenth Dynasty ruled Itytawy. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties had mutual agreements with the Canaanite Kings, which allowed each party to pass through the other’s territories. It also can be possible to indicate that the exploitation of the mines was maintained, and that can explain the existence of our stelae in Tell Habwa. Presumably, they were erected at the entrance of a temple or a shrine for bA nb Ddw. Furthermore, the coming excavations in this area may reveal such remains of this temple or shrine.

If we accept the assumption that king Apepi I, whose name was written on Tany’s stela, was one of the kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty (according to the design of his seals) and that queen Tany was his sister, as it was depicted on the stela, and she was well known before him, then Tany is the best link between the two kings, Nehsy and Apepi I. She was a great supporter to her two brothers as well. However, how she ascended the throne, what the name of her husband was, and when she exactly assumed power remains problematic. In addition, from the information given on the stela, a family tree can be constructed, although, unfortunately, it cannot be said to be particularly instructive.


\textsuperscript{120} An alabaster vase which was found by Carter in the tomb of Amunhotpe I at Thebes, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art no. 21.7.7.; one dagger in the Memphite necropolis; an adze from Semena (north of Gebelein); a palette from Abydos; an inscription from the Third intermediate Period listing him as the king under whom the ancestors of a priest served. The direct and intense relations between the kingdom of Avaris and the ruler of Kush see L. Török, \textit{Between two worlds: The frontier region between ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC-500 AD}. Probleme der Ägyptologie 29. Leiden: Brill, 2009,p. 107; Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation}, p. 360, 365, 369, 378, 382; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, chronology, and interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period}. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 27. Fribourg: Academic Press; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2007, 60-63

\textsuperscript{121} Not only was the Delta but the Egyptian domination was reached Byblos; it is noteworthy that a considerable number of the seals bearing names of officials can be dated specifically to the reigns of Neferhotep I and his brother Sobkhotept IV strongly suggesting an emphasis on foreign relations with the Levant in this period, see G.T. Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals}, Oxford 1971.
Family Tree of Nehsy

Unknown king

Egyptian King or Provincial Ruler

Tany

Nehsy

Ipp Apepi I