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The Role of Renenutet in New Kingdom Temples : A Reassessment of the Archaeological Evidence for a cult of this divinity in Economic Compounds

Julie Masquelier-Loorius

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JOURNAL OF INTERCULTURAL AND INTERDISCIPLINARY ARCHAEOLOGY

Thematic issue:

Renenutet/Isis Thermouthis: diffusion of this anguiform deity
from east to west

THE ROLE OF RENENUTET IN NEW KINGDOM TEMPLES:
A REASSESSMENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR A CULT
OF THIS DIVINITY IN ECONOMIC COMPOUNDS*

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Abstract

There is abundant evidence to show that the divinity Renenutet played a significant role in production and storage compounds of New Kingdom Temples. This article focuses on some archaeological artefacts that were not understood before as evidence for a cult of this ophidian divinity. For instance, it will show that the different arrangement of hieroglyphic signs in the writing of the name Ren(en)ut(et) can be used to express the various aspects of her character based on the nature and location in which the artefact was found. In temple service compounds, if the veneration of this goddess, represented zoomorphically with a female face or anthropomorphically with a snake's face, is known by the sources, it will be shown that this veneration was combined with the cult of the local god in the sanctuary, often Amun or a local form of Horus. Furthermore, a comparison of statues of this goddess and architectural artifacts bearing her name, found in production and storage areas, with her depiction in a variety of contexts, shows the connection between this ophidian divinity and the temple personnel, whose functions are related to economic structures. It is well-known that this female divinity plays an important part in supplying food (divine offerings), but until now, it was not explicitly through the image of African Maternity, that the ophidian effigy is the guarantor for fecundity and fertility, and thus, for harvesting, but that it was also a factor in perpetuating social links, whilst contributing to the accumulation of wealth.

Contents

If it seems obvious that the cult of the main divinity of a temple took place in the sanctuary, there is some evidence to suggest that some rites were performed in temple compounds, that is, in areas that were known to have been used for economic activities¹. We know that, in most cases, the archaeological evidence identifies an ophidian goddess as the object of the cult. Although Weret-Hekau is named in several sources², the majority of examples show the divinity Renenutet, known as goddess of nourishment and the harvest. We will show that graphical variations used in writing the theonime are probably equivalent to local adaptations of the goddess' name, and that's why we suggest a reading of her name as Ren(en)ut(et)³. The analysis of the material show some correspondence between the drawings of the goddess' statue in Theban tombs and archaeological remains (statues, stelaes) that attests the actuality of the goddess' cult in economic compounds of most temples, wherever they were built, in Egypt and Nubia. These information sheds on light on the function of Ren(en)ut(et) for the economy and in society.

We can identify different types of evidence relating to the cult of an ophidian goddess (fig. 1 and 3)⁴, which was performed in the temple's production and storage compounds.

1. Depictions of Ren(en)ut(et) in Theban private tombs

On the one hand, in many Theban private tombs, architectural drawings of the temple Granary (*šmw*)⁵ include a depiction of the goddess' cult-statue (table 1)⁶. As grain storage is the last stage in the harvest process, reproductions of the temple Granary – where we find not only different kinds of grain, but also dried fruits and wine jars⁷, as well as all manner of commodities piled up in heaps – can be found on walls from several tomb chapels of officials, especially in the Theban area, where we also find many examples of the Granary of Amun. Predominantly these officials bear titles relating to this iconography, such as “overseer of the Granary” (3, 4, 8 & 15)⁸, “overseer of Granary Doorkeepers” (10), or “scribe and grain accountant in the Granary of divine offerings of Amun” (11 & 12). Some of them are even “royal butlers” (6, 9 & 17), since they taste wine for Pharaoh (and bring the drink to him)⁹, but not divine butlers – “butlers of Amun” – a title that is quite rare in the sources¹⁰ and that brings to light the overlap of royal and divine institutions and also the role of the king in the temple economy. What is noteworthy is the fact that only two examples show a pair of snake statues placed on both sides of a stela – one in a Granary (= fig. 3), the other in a

* I'm very thankful to Benedict G. Davies for correcting and improving my English.

1 Masquelier-Loorius 2008, 57-64.

2 Relief from the Theban(?) tomb of Tjauy, a royal butler of Amenhotep III (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1972.651). Cf. Simpson 1973, 70, 72 fig. 4 and 73; Clère 1981, 213-215. For the dating, cf. Gefßler-Löhr 1990, 59-70. Lintel with Amun and the goddess Weret-hekau who is represented anthropomorphically with a snake's head, “Who stands in the Treasury” (*hr(y)t-jb pr-hd*), which was found *in situ* in the temple of millions of years of Merenptah in western Thebes. Jaritz 1999, 49 fig. 18, 51.

3 Renenut refers to another divinity: Collombert 2007, 21-32. On Theban monuments dedicated to her: Grandet 2003, 213.

4 On snakes in Ancient Egypt: Keimer 1947 and Sauneron 1989.

5 About architectural drawings in these areas of private tombs, see: Masquelier-Loorius (forthcoming).

6 Offering scenes dedicated to Ren(en)ut(et) adorn many Theban tombs (Porter and Moss 1994, 489: «Termuthis»; Davies 1917, 64 n. 1).

7 In these magazines different kinds of foodstuffs were stored. We can note that trees, such as sycamores and dom palms, appear in the granary images on tomb walls. See Bickel 2006, 19. On the Granary of Amun depicted in the tomb of Sennefer (Theban tomb 96), with vines reproduced under a kiosk among piles of grain, see Davies 1929, 45 fig. 8.

8 On the monuments of the overseers of the Granary, see Bohleke 1993.

9 Eichler 2000, 36-37 n. 156.

10 Eichler 2000, 183.

Treasury on a Ramesside relief coming from an unidentified tomb (22)¹¹. Therefore, surprisingly, the cobra goddess can be found represented in Theban tombs whose owners – officials of the House (domain) of Amun – apparently possess neither a post in the Granary of Amun, nor in the Treasury of Amun. These include some scribes who move from one sector to another in order to carry out their duties (18, 20, 21). In reliefs and paintings, the snake goddess is envisioned as a cobra with head raised (table 1, in most of the examples, cf. fig. 1 = 8), and sometimes as a woman with the head of a cobra (15, 16a = fig. 4 & 20). In this context, Ren(en)ut(et) often bears the epithet “Lady of the Granary” (*nbt šnwt*). Various elements were employed to emphasize the image of the goddess’ statue: her head can bear a modius, with a sun-disk (13), sometimes associated with the horns of a cow (8 = fig. 1 & 18), and even with the feathers of a falcon (7, 10, 14 & 17). In the tomb of Amenemhet Surer (16ab = fig. 4), the “hairstyle” of the goddess brings all four elements together, but with ostrich feathers, not those of a falcon. The statue stands under a kiosk or on a platform sometimes taking the shape of the *neb*-sign (a basket), associated with the *ka*-sign (raised arms, 1 & 16b = fig. 4). Such iconography is rather interesting, since this is a rebus that relates to a divine epithet sometimes written near the depiction of the statue: “Lady of the *ka(w)*” (*nbt k3w*). This is an epithet that recurs on two- and three-dimensional images of the goddess Ren(en)ut(et) found in production and storage compounds (table 2) and on sigillary artifacts (see below).

2. Stone artefacts bearing the image and/or the name of Ren(en)ut(et) found in economic compounds in Egypt and Nubia

Furthermore, during the excavation of these mudbrick buildings, stone artefacts bearing the image and/or the name of the goddess, or three-dimensional figures, have been found.

In Egypt, statues of a snake goddess, without related inscriptions, have been discovered in mudbrick compounds that could be identified as outbuildings of the Treasury or the Granary. Two similar statues of a seated anthropomorphic goddess, carrying a child on her knees, were discovered in a building linked to the Treasury administration, namely the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak North (23). Only the upper part of one of these statues has been preserved, and it bears the text: “Renenutet of the House (domain) of Montu”, “Renenutet, Lady of all the *ka(w)*”. This pair of statues could have been placed on either side of a stela, at the bottom of the service area of the magazines, since it was reproduced on an architectural drawing of buildings closely connected with the Treasury (22 = fig. 2). Furthermore, some small statues of cobras with their heads raised were found in the neighbouring quarters – areas that could be identified with storage compounds that were contemporary with the building of the Treasury magazines or in the period immediately preceding it¹². The unearthing of a fragment from a cobra statue in a mudbrick building located to the East of the Bastet temple in Tell Basta (post-New Kingdom) does not necessarily mean that this area was a granary¹³. The identification of this building as a granary is indeed dubious on account of its variable architectural form among the mudbrick buildings which surround the temple proper. At Qantir, in the storage compounds of the XIXth dynasty temple, two snake statues, each adorned with a solar disk, the cows’ horns and a modius, were discovered in the same archaeological level (24)¹⁴.

In certain production and storage compounds in Nubia, there are doorframes on which the goddess is represented and/or named (her epithets are also mentioned, table 2). The three-dimensional image of the divinity mixes two aspects – as a human being and in her zoomorphic aspect. Portrayed either as a woman with a snake’s face, or as a cobra with a woman’s face, her image is found on stone elements at Aniba, Sai and Wadi es-Sebua (26, 27 and 28). The goddess

11 For the identification of this building as a Treasury, see Masquelier-Loorius (forthcoming).

12 Jacquet-Gordon 1999, 10. For a review of this book: Laboury 2004, 151. For small statues from the reign of Thutmose III, cf. Laboury 2004, 154.

13 Habachi 1957, 94.

14 Information concerning only one of these statues is currently available. Retaining some polychromatic details, it was carved from limestone in the form of an undulating body with a female head sporting a tripartite wig.

is also referred to as Renut(et), “the beautiful cobra, Lady of the *kau*” (*nfr(t) nb(t) k3(w)*), on the monuments of various viceroys of Kush.

In both Egypt and Nubia, the goddess is always associated with the main god of the temple. In the Theban area she is linked with Amun — and rites are carried out in honour of Amun, sometimes in front of a stela that was presumably dedicated to Amun in the Granary¹⁵. Furthermore, a connection with the goddess is supported by her depiction at the entrance of the building (16a: beside the goddess we can read epithets of Amun near cords associated with land surveying). She could also be associated with a local form of Horus at the borders of Egypt. Doorjambs from economic areas of the temple bear alternately an offering formula to the cobra goddess and to a local form of Horus: to Horus of Mesen in Tell Hebua (25) – and also to Amun too there – to Horus of Miam in Aniba (26) and to Horus-the-Bull, Lord of Nubia in Sai (27). We find another example in Athribis, where the goddess is associated with the cult of Horus-Khenty-Khety¹⁶. At these sites, doors leading to storehouses are inscribed with offering formulae alternately dedicated to a local form of Horus and to Ren(en)ut(et).

3. The figure of the goddess sealing containers

In addition, the figure of a cobra with its head raised frequently appears on sealings and jar-stamps, and is even attested on wine docketts. Some of these images were found in economic compounds, such as those found in the temple of Sety I at Gurna, the fortress of Buhen and the temple at Amara West¹⁷. Others, however, were discovered in more domestic contexts, e.g., in residential housing at Malqata, Amarna, and Deir el-Medina¹⁸, where they could be combined with a number of hieroglyphic signs (fig. 5). A study of these inscriptions shows the close relation between the snake goddess and the institution of the Granary, as well as with the cellars where wine jars were stored. Here we can read the abbreviated name of the goddess (the cobra), together with her commonly-used epithet, “the beautiful cobra, Lady of the *kau*” (*nfr(t) nb(t) k3(w)*), written as three hieroglyphic signs placed in a random fashion beside the image of the cobra.

4. Ren(en)ut(et), fertility and the role of this goddess in society

Some nursing representations¹⁹ of Renenutet, especially suckling the king, are to be found in a number of tomb scenes (16a = fig. 4). As her epithets demonstrate, this goddess serves as a provider of food and a dispenser of life – a role linked with regeneration, fertility and abundance. Furthermore, she was known to have protected cereals-crops from pests, especially rodents. These cereals produced grains which, even in small volumes, contained more nutritional value than any other crop. It is doubtless for this reason that the fertility of the earth and the fertility of women are concepts that are closely bound, perhaps even confused – the role of the earth as food provider, illustrated by the growth of cereals, and the role of “mother”, illustrated by growth that began with milk. Moreover, milk conveys the idea of protection²⁰.

The goddess perpetuates the cycles of production and harvest by nourishing Nepri, the

15 In one example, in the Granary represented in the tomb of Khnummose, some steps lead to a terrace where the cult to Amun was executed in front of a stela. Cf. Strudwick and Strudwick 1996, 37-39 fig. 3.7.

16 Mysliwiec 1997, 259-66. These stamped bricks may have been used to build a granary during the XXXth dynasty. A lintel bearing the name of the first prophet of Horus-Khenty-Khety from the time of Pharaoh Merenptah – found in Athribis, although the precise provenance remains unclear – shows Ren(en)ut(et) as the cobra with its head raised (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 40035). Cf. Sourouzian 1989, 74, 224 and pl. 40 A.

17 Gurna: Petrie 1909, 13 and pl. XLVI (5), 16; Buhen: Smith 1976, 163 and pl. XLV (3) and pl. XLVI (30-37); Amara West: Spencer 1997, 65 n° 162, 89 and pl. 56c, pl. 57g and also 73 n° 151 and pl. 57f.

18 Malqata: Hayes 1951, 159 and fig. 28 (SS), 160 and fig. 29 (YY), 162; Leahy 1978, pl. 22 (LXXXVI-LXXXVIII, XC). Amarna: Petrie 1894, pl. XXI (38-40); Peet and Woolley 1923, 161 and pl. LV (GG, HH, II, RR); Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933, 24 and pl. XXXII (6ab), 50 and p. XXXII (5); Pendlebury 1951, pl. LXXXIII (142-43); Deir el-Medina: Bruyère 1933, 18 (third example from the right).

19 On other nursing goddesses, see: Jean and Loyrette 2010, especially 210 and 217.

20 Leclant 1951, 127.

personification of the grain – the grain of seed, either germinating or mature, was sometimes replaced by an image of the king as a child in some Theban tombs (16a = fig. 4).

	Initial stage	Means of development	Final stage
personified & vitalized shape	Nepri > the king	nursing by Ren(en)ut(et)	vital energy = <i>ka</i>
vegetal shape	grain/seed	growth	harvest > food- <i>kaou</i>

Each moulting of the snake corresponds to a completed temporal cycle²¹, that should be seen within the context of the different stages of cultural development, which participate in the blossoming of one’s vital energy, known to the ancient Egyptians by the term *ka*²².

The *ka* plays a critical role in the expression of individual and royal energy. This is transmitted by the goddess Renenutet who is present at the origin of the production and the abundance of (food-) *kaou*, as is attested by the epithet, “Lady of (food-) *ka(u)*”, a term by which she is most commonly known, especially on jar-stamps (where it occurs in a shortened form). The goddess is thus the guarantor of harvests and of prosperity, within the context of the work environment, such as in the residence of the craftsmen and their superiors. Thus she makes it possible to preserve, and especially to perpetuate the social links²³ and, indeed, the survival of the group (e.g., family, work etc.).

From an anthropological point of view, we can relate the role of this goddess more closely to the concept of African “Maternity” – those annual agrarian rites relating to fecundity and the prosperity of the land²⁴. This female suckling statue, which is a generic image, reveals that a woman nourishing a child represents the incarnation of the maternal dispenser of life *par excellence*, as can be shown to be the case for Ren(en)ut(et), that is, as the source of two kinds of fertility – by breast feeding and by growth of the land. She was displayed on certain occasions at the time of a liturgy relating to the protection of the kingdom, and to the fecundity and fertility of the earth. Therefore, the relationship between breast feeding and agrarian rites, during which Ren(en)ut(et) intervenes, must be appreciated beyond the scope of a maternal aspect. Milk is regarded as the source of all life and all production. It also serves as a strong bond for the family unit, whilst in ancient Egypt it brought together various members of the temple staff. This is why there is a loose relationship in our sources between the role of the snake goddess within temple magazines and her role in more domestic contexts.

21 A sign of regeneration and unpredictability ; cf. Hornung 1992, 98.

22 Yoyotte 2005, 330.

23 That would make it possible to explain, at least partially, the presence of clay cobras in domestic contexts. On these cobras: Szpakowska 2003, 113-122. Perhaps in some cases, officials’ names, theophoric or formed by divine epithets, may have been given to/chosen by these members of the temple staff, e.g., the overseer of the Granary of Amun or a royal butler, in order to focus on their personal piety.

24 For an example, Notué 2000. Moreover, maternity is a unifying element, binding reproduction to the perpetuation of the life. Actually, in many civilizations there is an obvious connection between the snake, agrarian rites and female fecundity. This seems to be the regenerative foundation of a life-bearer unceasingly renewed.

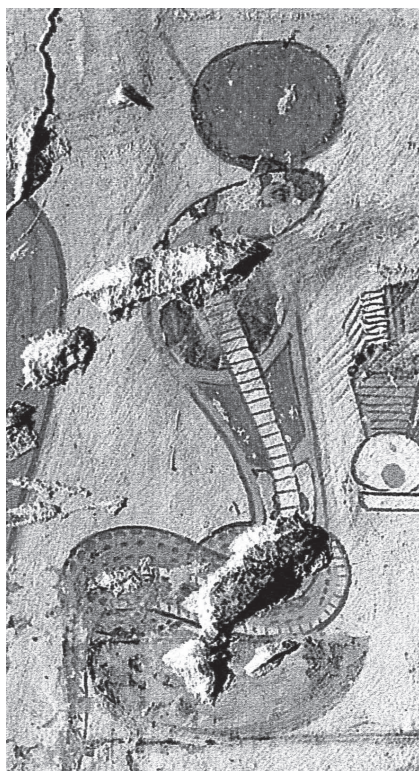


Figure 1. The most frequently-used image of the goddess: a cobra with its head raised. Example from the Theban tomb 79. Guksch 1995, pl. 30. Photo reprinted with kind permission of the author, Heike Heye.



Figure 2. Two anguiform statues with female faces on either side of a stela (detail of the relief Florence inv. 5412). Photo J. Masquelier-Loorius.



Figure 3. Two anguiform statues with female faces (Theban tomb 284). Photo J. Masquelier-Loorius.



Figure 4. Anthropomorphic nursing image with a snake's face (Theban tomb 48). Photo J. Masquelier-Loorius.

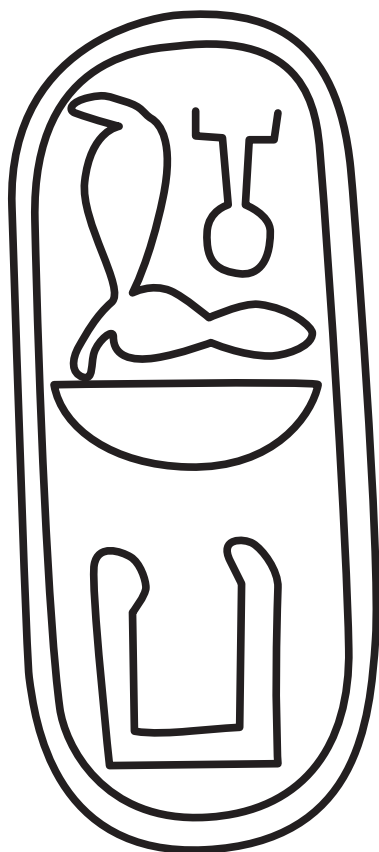


Figure 5. a) Limestone sealing. Drawing J. Masquellier-Loorius, after Petrie 1909, pl. XLVI, 16.



Figure 5. b) Seal (private collection).

Table 1 Two-dimensional images (statues) of the Goddess Ren(en)ut(et) on architectural drawings in Theban Tombs of Officials

X: unexisting.

?: not well preserved, lost or still unpublished

NB: Underlined Titles of Tomb Owners show the close relation between the function of these officials and the figuration of the Goddess in their tombs. It does not seem that officials did not have a title relating to the Granary or the Treasury, but this one is unknown (information not well preserved, lost or still unpublished).

Ex.	Dating of the Tomb	Number	Owner's Name	Title of the Owner	Type of Statue	Goddess Name	Divine Epithet(s)
1	XVIII th dynasty	TT 261	Khaemwaset	wab-priest	cobra with head raised	x	
2	Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III	TT 155	Antef	royal messenger	x	Ren(en)ut(et)	
3	Thutmose III	TT 86	Menkheperreseneb	overseer of the Granary	?	?	
4	Thutmose III/Amenhotep II	TT A. 5	Neferhotep	overseer of the Granary	cobra with head raised	x	
5	Thutmose III/Amenhotep II	TT 143	[lost]	[lost]	cobra with head raised ?	?	
6	Thutmose III/Amenhotep II	TT 172	Mentuyuy	royal butler	cobra with head raised	x	
7	Thutmose III/Thutmose IV	TT 56	Userhat	scribe counter of the bread/overseer of the cattle	cobra with head raised	Ren(en)ut(et)	
8	Amenhotep II	TT 79	Menkheperreseneb	overseer of the Granary	cobra with head raised	x	
9	Amenhotep II	TT 92	Suemniut	royal butler	cobra with head raised	x	
10	Amenhotep II	TT 93	Qenamun	overseer of Granary doorkeepers	cobra with head raised	Ren(en)ut(et)	<i>nbt htp^t 'zt dj³w</i>
11	Thutmose IV	TT 38	Djeserkareseneb	scribe and grain accountant in the Granary of divine offerings of Amun	cobra with head raised	Ren(en)ut(et)	<i>špst nbt šnwt(y)</i>
12	Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III	[unknown]	Nebamun	scribe and grain accountant in the Granary of divine offerings of Amun	(naos painted in black)	Ren(en)ut(et)	<i>nbt šnwt</i>
13	Amenhotep III	TT 54	Huy	sculptor of Amun	cobra with head raised	Ren(en)ut(et)	<i>[...?] nbt 3ht</i>
14	Amenhotep III	TT 90	Nebamun	chief of the Medja	[cobra with head raised ?]	Ren(en)ut(et)	
15	Amenhotep III	TT 57	Khaemhat	overseer of the Granary of the king	woman with the head of a cobra	Ren(en)ut(et)	<i>nbt šnwt</i>
16	Amenhotep III	TT 48	Amenemhet-Surer	overseer of the cattle	1) woman with the head of a cobra 2) cobra with head raised	Ren(en)ut(et)	<i>nbt šnwt(y)</i>
17	Amenhotep IV	TT 188	Parennefer	royal butler	cobra with head raised	x	
18	Ay	TT 49	Neferhotep	scribe	cobra with head raised	x	
19	Rameses II	TT 217	Ipuy	sculptor	cobra with head raised	x	
20	ramesside	TT A.18	Amenemopet	overseer of the scribes in the House of Amun	woman with the head of a cobra	?	
21	Rameses III(or later)	TT 284	Pahemnetjer	scribe of offerings of all the gods	pair of cobras with head raised	x	
22	ramesside	[unknown]	[unknown]	[lost]	pair of cobras with female face	x	

TABLE 2 Two- and three-dimensional images of Ren(en)ut(et) (statues depicted on doorframes, stone statues) and mentions of the divinity (doorframes and stelae) in production and storage subsidiary buildings

a) Egypt						
	Dating	Location	Official/function	Statue (S)/ Iconography (I)/Text (T)	Goddess name	Divine epithet(s)
23	Thutmose I (or later)	Karnak-North	x	- S : woman with the head of a cobra	Ren(en)ut(et)	<i>nbt k3(w) nbw</i>
			x	- S : woman with the head of a cobra	x	x
24	ramesside	Qantir	x	- S : cobra with head raised and female face	x	x
			x	- S : cobra with head raised and female face	x	x
25	Sety I/Ramesses II	Tell Hebua	x	- T (doorjamb)	x	<i>nbt pt</i>
b) Nubia						
26	Thutmose III	Aniba	Nehy, viceroy of Kush	- I : cobra with raised head (lintel) - I : uraei flanking the cartouche (lintel)	Renut(et)	<i>nbt k3(w)</i>
27	Thutmose III	Sai	Nehy, viceroy of Kush	- T (doorjamb)	Renut(et)	<i>nbt k3(w)</i>
				- T (doorjamb)	Renut(et)	[lost]
28	Ramesses II	Wadi es-Sebua	x	- I : cobra with raised head (stela)	Renut(et)	<i>nb(t) k3(w) 'š3wt ḏf3w</i>
			Setau, viceroy of Kush	- I : uraei flanking the cartouche (lintel)	x	x

Table 1 and Table 2: Bibliographical References

- 1 Porter and Moss 1994, 344; MacKay 1916, 125 and pl. XIV (the tomb number must be read 260 and not 261).
- 2 Porter and Moss 1994, 263, (5) II; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 17 and pl. XIV-XV.
- 3 Porter and Moss 1994, 175; Davies and Davies 1933, 13 and pl. XVII-XVIII. Eichler 2000, 279.
- 4 Porter and Moss 1994, 448; Keimer 1940, 49 et pl. II, 2.
- 5 Porter and Moss 1994, 255, (4), V.
- 6 Porter and Moss 1994, 280 (8) I; Wreszinski 1923, 355. Eichler 2000, 37 n. 156.
- 7 Porter and Moss 1994, 113, (15), II; Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid 1987, 87-89, 89 fig. 40 and pl. 13. Eichler 2000, 206 n° 180.
- 8 Porter and Moss 1994, 157 (5); Wreszinski 1923, 256 ; Guksch 1995, 149 and pl. 30-31. Eichler 2000, 279 n° 261.
- 9 Porter and Moss 1994, 189 (10) III; Baud 1935, pl. XXII. Eichler 2000, 314 n° 489.
- 10 Porter and Moss 1994, 193, D (b) I ; Davies 1930, 53 et pl. LXIV. Eichler 2000, 319 n° 514.
- 11 Porter and Moss 1994, 69, (3) II. Schott 1934, 88 et fig. 44 ; Davies 1963, 4 and pl. II. Eichler 2000, 36 n° 156, 38 and 330 n° 583.
- 12 Fragment preserved in Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. 18532. Parkinson 2008, 39 (title), 118 n° 123 (naos of the goddess); Labbé-Toutée 2013, 164 n° 36 a.
- 13 Porter and Moss 1994, 105, (5) IV ; cf. Polz 1997, 75-77 scenes 8.3 and 8.4, and pl. 24 (cf. color pl. 13). The epithet “Lady of Horizon” (*nb.t 3h.t*) is attested in Dendara, cf. Broekhuis 1971, 70. Eichler 2000, 304 n° 415.
- 14 Porter and Moss 1994, 184, (8) ; Davies 1923b, 30-31 and pl. XXX (the text relating to the offering, “to your *ka*, Renenutet”, is close to a non-preserved area on the wall, where we could find a depiction of the goddess, according to the arrangement of the decoration in other Theban tombs). Eichler 2000, 46 n. 178 and 73.
- 15 Porter and Moss 1994, 114-115, (8). Wreszinski 1923, 198; Leibovitch 1953, 82 fig. 1; Eichler 2000, 27 n. 110.
- 16 Porter and Moss 1994, 88, (3) 2; Davies 1929, 48 fig. 10; Schott 1934, 88-89 and fig. 45 ; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, 41-42 and pl. XLI-XLII. Eichler 2000, 243 n° 039.
- 17 Porter and Moss 1994, 294 (5); Davies 1923a, 144 and pl. XXVI; Redford 2008, pl. 17.
- 18 Porter and Moss 1994, 93 (15)-(16) II; Davies 1933, II, pl. XLVIII. Eichler 2000, 101 n. 471.
- 19 Porter and Moss 1994, 316, (5); Davies 1927, 58-59 and pl. XXX.
- 20 Porter and Moss 1994, 452; Broekhuis 1971, 46.
- 21 Porter and Moss 1994, 366, (7) I; Davies and Davies 1939, 154-156 and pl. XIX.
- 22 Florence, archaeological museum, inv. 5412. Cf. Porter and Moss 1979, 757; Roccati and Capriotti Vittozzi 2002, 137-138.
- 23 a) Jacquet-Gordon 1999, 32-35 n° 3; b) Jacquet-Gordon 1999, 35 n° 4.
- 24 Leclant and Clerc 1995, 242 and pl. VIII. Excavation field Q IV/i-j 26, inv. 92/0377A. Cf. Pusch 1996, 138-39 and fig. 139.
- 25 In Tell Hebua, divine epithets written on temple magazines doorjambs concern both Horus and Renenutet, and also Nepri. Cf. Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle 2011, 12.
- 26 a) Steindorff 1937, 31 fig. 3, 34 n° 1 and pl. 18-1 (door lintel of room B), Steindorff 1937, 34 n° 4 and pl. 18-4. b) Steindorff 1937, 32 (legend on plate 16 c is incorrect) and 34 (2).
- 27 a) Vercoutter 1958, 164 and pl. XLVI, D. b) Vercoutter 1973, 13 and pl. II.
- 28 a) Stela XII from Wadi es-Sebua (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 41394), cf. Kitchen 1980, 96 (n° 30). Gauthier 1912, 37; b) Gauthier 1912, 38 and fig. 4.

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