

Some Notes on the Origin, Name, and Role of the Beer Goddess Tenemit¹

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[Despite the notability of the beer goddess Tenemit in ancient Egyptian literature, especially in the ritual texts of Ptolemaic and Roman temples, she has not yet received closer attention from scholars; some specialized dictionaries such as Wb, LGG, and WPL present disparate transliterations of her name and attribute to her some orthographic forms that, in the light of textual analysis, have been shown to belong to the goddess Khenemit. This paper aims to verify the orthographies of the goddess Tenemit's name and its transliteration, investigate her origin and her role in Egyptian religion and its development up to the end of the Greco-Roman period; the paper will also deal with the goddess Khenemit, adding to her some orthographic forms and some roles that were erroneously attributed to the goddess Tenemit.]

Keywords: Ancient Egyptian religion, Tenemit, Khenemit, brewing, childbirth, Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts.

1. Introduction

Very little is known or has been written in depth about the goddess Tenemit. Despite the importance of Guglielmi's "Tenemit",² it only provides a very brief overview of the two gods Tenemu and Tenemit, and her hypothesis about the origin of the beer goddess Tenemit should be reconsidered. Rashed has also suggested that the primeval god Tenemu is identical to Tenem, the beer god, and that Tenemit, the beer goddess, is the same as Tenemuit, the female partner of the primeval god Tenemu.³ Furthermore, he went so far as to propose that *Tnmw*, the "slayers of Osiris", are an embodiment of the primeval god Tenemu. These assumptions are without evidence other than the identical names.⁴ His study also attributed some titles to the beer goddess Tenemit, that do not belong to her but rather to the goddess Khenemit.⁵ Some principal dictionaries like Wb,⁶

1. I am very grateful to Professor Dr. Penny Wilson and Professor Dr. Günter Vittmann for their comments upon reading the manuscript.

2. Guglielmi 1986, 420-421.

3. Rashed 2010., 182-183; 249-252.

4. Rashed 2010, 210-211.







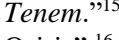
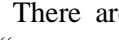
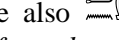
5. Rashed 2010., 237ff.

6. Wb, III, 114, 5; V, 312, 13-14.

LGG⁷ and WPL⁸ present different transliterations for the name of the beer goddess Tenemit, and sometimes they confuse her with the goddess Khenemit. Therefore, a full examination of the origin and the specific nature of the beer goddess Tenemit are needed in order to confirm the orthographies of her name and its transliteration, as well as to investigate her role, connections, and interactions with other deities in ancient Egyptian mythology and religion.

I have divided the study into three sections: the first reviews the origin of the goddess Tenemit; the second analyses her name orthographically and phonologically; the third provides the functions of the goddess and her relationships with other deities after surveying all the texts that deal with her.

2. Tenemit's Origin

The primeval god Tenem (Tenemu) is known from the Middle Kingdom in the Coffin Texts , , , ⁹ as the masculine counterpart of the primeval goddess Tenemit (Tenemuit). He emerged as an emanation of Shu, along with Nun, Heh, and Kek,¹⁰ who are mentioned in the Coffin Texts without their female partners¹¹: “*I am the one who begot the Heh gods again as Heh, Nun, Tenem, Kek. I am Shu who begot the gods.*”¹² The Pyramid Text 301 mentions two of the pairs' names of the gods in the Ogdoad of the creation myth of Hermopolis: Niu-Nenet and Amun-Amunet.¹³ Afterwards, Coffin Text spell 76 names the four pairs of the Ogdoad but substituting Tenemu for Amun. Eventually, under the influence of Theban theology, the pair of primeval gods Tenemu and Tenemuit who represented gloom or disappearance were replaced by Amun and his female counterpart Amaunet, who represented hiddenness or concealment and they become the customary fourth pair in the Ogdoad.¹⁴ There is, however, a god Tenem in the Coffin Texts ,  who is a god of beer: “*milk of Apis and beer of Tenem.*”¹⁵ There are also , ,  Tenemu who are the “slayers of Osiris”.¹⁶ “*save me from those who inflict wounds, the slayers of Osiris whose fingers are painful. As for the slayers who belong to Osiris, they are this company which takes action against the foes of Osiris.*”¹⁷

7. LGG, VII, 474.

8. WPL, 655; 1146.

9. CT II, 4d; 8a; 24a; 28b.

10. Guglielmi 1986, 420; Altenmüller 1975, 214.

11. CT II 8a; Zandee 1973, 60 ff.; Zandee 1974, 62 ff; Sethe 1929, §143; §200.

12. CT II spell 76: Lesko 1991, 94-95; de Buck 1938, II, 1-8; Faulkner 1973, I, 77-80.

13. Pyr, secs. 446-57, 1: 231-35; Faulkner 1970, 90-91; Lesko 1991, 94.












14. Sethe 1929, §143.

15. CT I, 62e -63b; Vernus 1978, 126; LGG, VII, 474.

16. Bidoli 1976, 79; CT IV, 303a; 304 a.; 323a; VI, 177d; see also pyr. 393c.

17. CT IV, 303a–304b [335]; Faulkner 1973: 265; 269 n. 75; Carrier 2004: 826–827; see also: Meeks 1996: 144, n. 16; Joseph 2018, 75.

The premise on which Guglielmi based her article “Tenemu / Tenemit”¹⁸ needs to be re-examined. She assumed that the *primaeval* god Tenemu is the same as Tenem, the beer god, and Tenemit, the beer goddess, is the same as Tenemuit, the female partner of the *primaeval* god Tenemu. Therefore, Guglielmi dates the first mention of Tenemit back to the Coffin Texts during the Middle Kingdom.

In fact, the first secure attestation of Tenemit, the beer goddess, is in the Book of the Dead in the New Kingdom .¹⁹ As is common knowledge in the ancient Egyptian language, the same word may have different meanings according to its determinative.²⁰ For example, the word *nhbt* with the brazier’s determinative  (Q7) means “the Flaming”,²¹ while the same word *Nhbt* with the vulture determinative  (G 14) refers to the divine name “Nekhbet”;²² the word *smsw* with the determinative of a man, bent forward, holding a staff  (A 20) means “the oldest”,²³ while the same word *smsw* with the determinative of a sail on a  (P 5) mast means “wind”,²⁴ and the word *knmt* with the determinative of a cow’s skin with the tail, curved backwards  (F 27) means (leopard),²⁵ while with house sparrow  (G37) means “*knmt* bird.”²⁶ With further examination and analysis of the texts, it becomes clear that just as Tenemu “the slayers of Osiris,” whose name is marked by a vat  (W10) as the appropriate determinative and means “vat-men” (those who boil in vats)²⁷ had nothing to do with the *primaeval* god Tenemu or the god of beer Tenem, whose name is written with the determinative of the beer jar  (W22) and with a seated god  (A 40).²⁸ The word derives from the name of *tenemu-beer*,²⁹ which in turn may be derived from the name of the plant “tenem,”³⁰ and had nothing to do with the *primaeval* god Tenemu. The name of the *primaeval* god Tenemu, who, with his female counterpart, represented the gloom or disappearance in the Hermopolis Ogdoad, is marked by the determinative of a cow’s skin with the tail, curved backwards  (F 27) which is used in the words that have the semantic value of skin, leather, hide, cover, or to be covered.³¹ On a different note, the sources³² make it clear that there is no relation between the beer and the process of creation or between beer and the element of disappearance represented by the pair of *primaeval* gods Tenemu and Tenemuit. Despite the importance of beer in preserving human life, the Myth of Destruction of Mankind or the Myth of the Heavenly Cow,

18. Guglielmi 1986, 420-421.

19. Naville 1886, pl.190, 7.

20. Gardiner 1979, 31-33; Allen 2014, 3-4; 35-36.

21. Wb 2, 308.14, LGG IV, 300.

22. Wb 2, 309.7-9, LGG IV, 301 ff.

23. Wb, IV, 142, 8-11; LGG VI, 347ff.

24. LGG VI, 349.

25. Wb, V, 132.8; LGG VII, 289.

26. Wb, V, 132.7; LGG VII, 289.

27. Faulkner 1973, 269 n. 75; <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/175960>





28. CT I, 62e -63b; Vernus 1978, 126; LGG, VII, 474.

29. Pyr 106; Helck 1971, 86-87; P. Westcar, XI, 6; Blackman 1927, 189ff.

30. Helck 1971, 87; Wb, V, 312, 10.

31. Gardiner sign list (F 27): <https://thotsignlist.org/mysign?id=3028>

32. For example see: Lesko, 1991, 88-122; Mercer 1952, 233-236.

which dates back to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty,³³ did not mention any of the beer gods Tenem, Tenemit or even Menqet.³⁴ If beer had an importance in resurrecting the deceased by quenching his thirst, then bread also had an equal importance, as it satisfies his hunger.³⁵ However, none of the bread deities, including Khenemit, are part of the creation process or shown by the texts as a *primaeva* god. Lastly, among all the texts mentioning the goddess Tenemit, none of them describes her as a *primaeva* goddess (see the texts below). Therefore, the goddess, Tenemit, who appeared since the New Kingdom, is not the *primaeva* goddess Tenemuit, but a beer goddess that replaced the older beer god Tenem, a personification of a beverage whose name has already been verified in the Pyramid texts,  *tnm*.³⁶ Furthermore, in the Westcar papyrus  *tnmw* refers to a kind of beer.³⁷ This beverage was probably created using a plant of the same name  *tnm*.³⁸ The beer god Tenemu  had a secondary role in the texts of the Middle Kingdom.³⁹ From the New Kingdom on, he was replaced by the goddess Tenemit: “*You are purified with the milk of Apis, with the beer of Tenemit, and with ḥsmn-natron, which does away with your evil.*”⁴⁰ This role of Tenemit is confirmed in a text from the Kushite period having the same context as the previous extract,⁴¹ but most of the available information on Tenemit’s name, nature, titles, functions, relationships with other gods, and interactions with them comes from the inscriptions of Ptolemaic and Roman temples.⁴²

3. Name Analysis

The names by which the gods were known by were merely expressions of those gods’ appearances and characteristics the name of the goddess of war “Sekhmet” derived from *sh̄m* (power), the name of the god of the rising sun “Khepri” derived from *hpr* (become), and the name of the goddess of writing and scribes *sš3t* “Seshat” means “one who writes”. The name of the goddess of beer and brewing “*Tnmyt / Tnmyt*” is derived from *tnm/tnm* (beer). It looks like the feminine nisbe-form of *tnm/tnm*, meaning “She of the *tnm* beer.”⁴³ Maybe the Arabic word “ثَيْن”


33. Spalinger 2000, 257ff; some authors believe it goes back much earlier such as Helck who believes this composition dates back to the Old Kingdom, Helck 1971, 82.

34. Helck 1971, 82 ff; Spalinger 2000, 257-282.

35. Helck 1971, 90.

36. Pyr 106; Helck 1971, 86-87.

37. P. Westcar, XI, 6; Blackman 1927, 189ff.

38. Helck 1971, 87; Wb, V, 312, 10 ; Barley-beer has been known since ancient times, and it is speculated that *tenem*-drink may have been a distinct type of beverage or a differently processed form of beer. The Pyramid Texts offer limited information, and without additional discoveries, such as some jars marked  *tnm*, we will never know for certain.

39. CT I, 63b; Habachi 1977, 95, 13; 98, 13.







40. Tb spells 169: Ratié, 1968, pl. 15 line 554; Naville 1904, 342; Allen 1974, 176; see also P. Wien 3865, 10-11: Herbin 1984, 125.

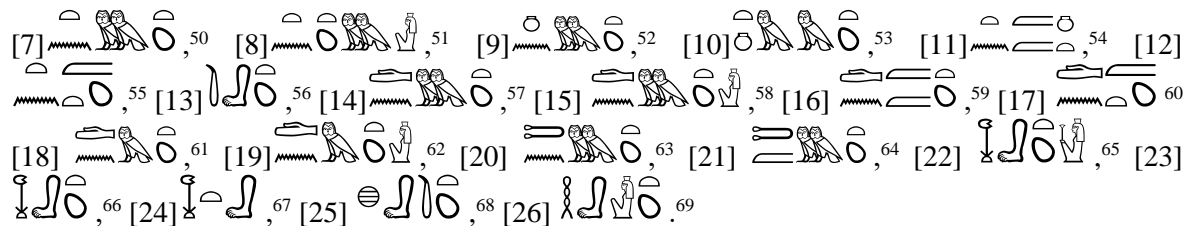
41. CG 41002: Moret 1913, 53, 10-11, pl. 169.

42. LGG, VII, 474.

43. Blackman 1927, 190.

“thamil”, which means “screwed”,⁴⁴ is derived from the same ancient Egyptian root of the word *tnm* “beer”.

In ancient Egyptian texts, the name of the goddess Tenemit appears in various orthographic forms.⁴⁵ In the Book of the Dead, chapter 169 of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is written in the orthographic form [1] ⁴⁶ Afterwards, in a part of another version of the same chapter from the Kushite period, it is written [2] ⁴⁷ In the Ptolemaic Period, in the Book of Breathing (P. Louvre N 3166) it is written: [3] , [4] , [5] ,⁴⁸ in a *statue from Mendes, it appears as* [6] ⁴⁹ and in temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman period, it is written in the following orthographic forms:



44. Umar, et al. 2008, 328, No 1072.

45. See LGG's examples and references “Belegstellen” of *Tnmyt*: LGG VII, 474.

46. Naville 1886, pl.190, 7.

47. CG 41002: Moret 1913, I, 53, 10-11.

48. pLouvre N 3166, II, 8: Herbin 1999, 218, 9-10; 14.

49. LGG, VII, 474; Daressy 1917, 24, 16.

50. Edfou I, 151, 14; 459, 11; 462, 15.

51. Philä I, 56, 8.

52. KO, 296.

53. Edfou I, 462, 15.

54. Dendara, I, 142, 3; II, 216, 10.

55. Edfou I, 204, 13.

56. Edfou II, 42, 3; VI, 283, 4; E Mammisi 189, 2.

57. Edfou I, 114, 2; 151, 8; IV, 261, 11; KO, 784 = Gutbub, KO, 187, 1.

58. Edfou II, 180, 11.

59. Edfou IV, 261, 17.

60. Edfou I, 443, 15.

61. KO, 489.

62. KO, 732 = Gutbub, KO, 364; Tôd II, 262, 5.

63. Edfou I, 460, 1.

64. Edfou I, 241, 9-10.

65. Edfou II, 168, 5; Edfou II, 168, 17.

66. Edfou II, 155, 6; 185, 4.

67. Edfou II, 47, 15.

68. Edfou II, 179, 14.

69. Edfou I, 211, 1.

According to Wb, the name of the goddess is transliterated as “*Tnmyt*” citing the orthographic forms 1, 14, and 21.⁷⁰ With the same transliteration “*Tnmyt*”, LGG cites, in its references, all the previous orthographic forms: 1-26, including those that begin with the signs \ominus , \mathfrak{I} and \mathfrak{L} .⁷¹ WPL presents the transliteration “*Tnmmt*”, referring to the orthographical forms: 7, 9, 10, 17 and 20.⁷²

In the course of the history of Egyptian language and script, $t \triangleleft$ and $t \rightleftharpoons$ sometimes prove interchangeable.⁷³ Omitting weak consonants like ‘y’ from some words is one of the features of the Egyptian language in its late periods.⁷⁴ In Ptolemaic hieroglyphic, the signs \mathfrak{E} , \mathfrak{D} and \mathfrak{D} can have the phonetic value t ,⁷⁵ the sign \mathfrak{A} has the value m , and sometimes can have the value n by phonetic change.⁷⁶ The signs \mathfrak{A} , \mathfrak{A} can have the value nm like the signs \mathfrak{V} and \mathfrak{J} ⁷⁷ or have the value m by coalescence of two identical consonants; m from mm or nm .⁷⁸ Therefore, the reading “*Tnmmt*” of WPL for the orthographic forms 7, 9, 10, 17, and 20 is an inaccurate transliteration, especially compared to the transliteration of other orthographic forms of the goddess that do not have the signs \mathfrak{A} , \mathfrak{A} , and the most accurate transliteration for them is “*Tnm(y)t*” and “*Tnm(y)t*”.⁷⁹

Concerning the orthographic forms 6 and 22-26 which LGG referred to in its context and references, in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic there is no evidence that any of \mathfrak{I} , \ominus or \mathfrak{L} signs can have the phonetic value t ; the signs \ominus and \mathfrak{I} have the value h and the sign \mathfrak{L} has the value h .⁸⁰ Accordingly, we have two possibilities. The first possibility is that we are dealing with a specific way of writing the name of this goddess at Edfu or with a series of scribal errors, especially since most of them are included in the texts of the same architectural unit in Edfu temple; the front part of the naos in the broad sense, including the hypostyle hall and the adjoining rooms.⁸¹ The second possibility is that these orthographic forms may belong to another goddess called *Hnmt*.⁸² Understanding the context of the relevant texts enables us to identify the most accurate interpretation for each case. Below is an analysis of these texts.

70. Wb, V, 312, 13-14.

71. LGG, VII, 474.

72. WPL, 1146.

73. Černý and Israelit Groll 1993, 7, Satzinger 2020, 9.

74. Winand, 2018, 5.

75. Daumas, et al. 1988–95, 873, 447, 425; Fairman 1945, 78.

76. Fairman 1945, 64.

77. Daumas, et al. 1988–95; 451, 341, 587; Fairman 1945, 64.

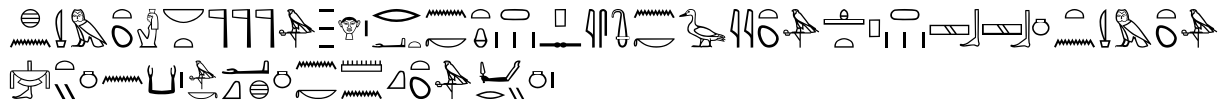
78. Fairman 1945, 63.

79. For further discussion about the ways through which signs could acquire their values in Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, see: Gaudard 2010; Kurth 2007; Fairman 1943 and 1945.

80. Fairman 1945, 75-76; Daumas, et al. 1988–95, 221, 359, 679; Leitz 2006, 166; 184-185; Kurth 2007, I, 303; 527 & 22ff.

81. Edfou II, 47, 15; 155, 6; 168, 5, 17; 179, 14; 185, 4; 211, 1.

82. LGG, V, 754.

3.1. (*P Louvre N 3166, II, 8*)

Hnmt nbt ntrw hr rdit n.k t3 psi.s n.k ʿk3yt htpw šbšb Tnmt nwbty n k3.k ʿth n.k Mnkt dsrt


*Khenemit, the mistress of the gods, gives you bread, Aqat cooks the htp-offerings for you, Tenemit brews the nbt-beer for your ka and Menket filters the dsr-beer for you.*⁸³

The two goddesses, Tenenmit and Khenemit, are mentioned together in this extract, with comparable orthographic forms except for the initial letter of each (*t* and *h*). The text specifies their specialities; the goddess Khenemit specialises in giving bread, whereas the goddess Tenemit specialises in brewing beer, which the goddess Menket filters. An offering in Dendera temple emphasizes Khenemit's role in providing bread, depicting her carrying a tray full of it.⁸⁴

3.2. (*Edfou II, 168, 17*)

Hnmt di.i n.k t hnkt wnn hh.f

Khenemit (says): I give to you bread and beer as long as he seeks.

LGG refers to this sentence as one of Tenemit's texts,⁸⁵ although Chassinat attributes it to Khenemit.⁸⁶ Most probably, the presence of beer in this sentence is what led LGG to read the goddess's name as Tenemit, the goddess of beer, but what has to be considered, besides the phonetic value <*h*> of the sign , is the presence of bread as the main offering, preceding the beer in the text. Khenemit's role is not limited to providing the king with bread, but also providing him with food and all his supplies; as the first attestation of the name "Khenemit" is in the pyramid texts as a title that is held by the goddesses who are in charge of providing the deceased king with bread, food and supplies.⁸⁷ Therefore, this text doesn't belong to the goddess Tenemit, but it pertains to the goddess Khenemit.

83. Herbin1999, 196; 218(9-10).

84. Dendara, IV, 203, 9-11, pl. CCXCIX.

85. LGG, VII, 474.

86. Edfou II, 168, 17.

87. Wb, III, 294, 5-9.

3.3. (Edfou II, 47, 15)



Nsw bit (iw^c-n-mnh-ntr)| s3 R^c (P3 mry 3st)| di^c iw^{c88} mnḥ npr-ḥtyt ms.n Ḥnmt n k3.f

King of Upper and Lower Egypt (heir of the potent god)|, Son of Re (the beloved one of Isis)|, The excellent heir. Grain is brought by Khenemit for his ka

This passage belongs to Khenemit. It highlights her role in feeding the royal Ka with grain.

3.4. (Edfou II, 168, 4-6)



Npr ir t3 km3 w3hy [b^ch t3] m prt-3ht ḥw rdw [m] ḥt-n-^cnh r s^cnh ntrw rmt Ḥnmt wsrt ḥnwt b3w-Iwnw dsr st m Tw nsrsr b3k n 3ḥw di t n ḥ(h).fir^cnh m t3 dr.f.

Neper, who makes bread and creates grain, who inundates the land with field seeds, wreaths, and the efflux of life to make the gods and people live. Khenemit (the nurse), the strong one, lady of the Bas of Heliopolis and the sacred place at the Isle of Flame, who works and brings grain, who gives the bread to whomever seeks, who creates life on the whole earth

LGG attributes this text and the title “*Ḥnwt B3w-Iwnw*” “lady of the Bas of Heliopolis” to the goddess Tenemit,⁸⁹ whereas the text centres on the idea that the god Neper creates grain and makes bread, and the goddess provides the king with his supplies of grain and bread. Khenemit is the goddess who is associated with the two gods of grain, Neper and Renenutet, who are also in charge of providing the king with bread and food.⁹⁰ The title Khenemit (the nurse) applies to the goddess Hathor, as she is one of the goddesses who rear the king⁹¹ and provide him with all his supplies of bread, food, and so on.⁹² Hathor is described as “*Ḥnmt m Iwnw*,” “Khenemit in Heliopolis.”⁹³ In addition, the king is said to have been “*rr.n Ḥnmt m Iwnw*,” “nursed by Khenemit in Heliopolis.”⁹⁴ Therefore, this text and the title “*Ḥnwt B3w-Iwnw*” “lady of Bas of Heliopolis” belong to the goddess Hathor, who holds the title Khenemit (the nurse), and not to Tenemit.

88. The two arms are just a spelling of the word *iw^c* “heir”.

89. LGG, V, 175; 754.

90. Dendara, IV, 203, 7,10, pl CCXCIX; Edfou, I, 66, No.63,68.; III, 150, 2,5; IV, 196, 9, 15; 197, 5. pl XCVIII.

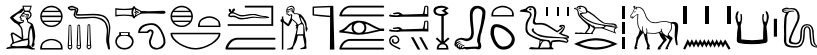
91. Ward 1986, 12.

92. Wb, III, 294, 5-9.

93. Chassinat 1939, 93, 12; Edfou, IV, 59, 16-17.

94. Dendara, V, 70, 10; VII, 117, 6; Edfou, III, 46, 3-4.

3.5. (Edfou II, 155, 6)

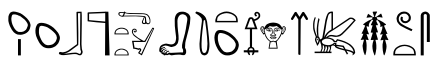


F3i-ih̄t dd mdw mn n.k ih̄t nb pr m wr-n̄tr(w) m ir m ʿwy Hnmt ḏf3w wrw nfrw n k3.k

Raise up offerings, Utterance: take for yourself all the offerings that come forth from the elder of the gods, and which are made by Khenemit's hands, the great and good supplies for your Ka.

This text belongs to Khenemit. It illustrates that her role is more than just providing the offering; she also prepares it. Additional texts support this.⁹⁵

3.6. (Edfou II, 179, 14)



S3 Gb wtt.n Hnmt wb3 m bit mswt

Son of Gb, begotten of Khenemit, who opens "grants access to" the birth of the King of Lower Egypt.

3.7. (Edfou II, 185, 4-5)



Nsw bity (iry- M3ʿt - n̄trwy-prwy)| s3 Rʿ (p3-mry-Pth)| s3 Hʿpy ms Mnkt rr.n Hnmt ḥr rdwy.s

King of Upper and Lower Egypt (who brings forth the order of the Manifest God)|, son of Re (beloved of Ptah)| son of Hapy, child of Menket, who has been nursed by Khenemit on her legs

The two previous texts clearly concern the nursing goddess Khenemit.⁹⁶

3.8. (Statue from Mendes JE n° 41301)⁹⁷











Šsp n.k p3wt t3ms n.k dpt ḥnʿ m.k m k3t Hnmt shʿ.tw Mnkt tp wn nww.s

Receive for yourself p3wt bread, eat for yourself dpt cake and drink⁹⁸ the product (made by) khenemit. Menket is delighted upon opening her vases.

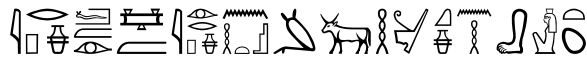
95. Dendara, IV, 64,1; VII, 147, 6.

96. LGG, VII, 474, 754; Edfu, I, 520,10-11.

97. Daressy 1917, 23-24 gives the statue the number 41307, but according to De Meulenaere & MacKay 1976, 204 note 9, this number is incorrect. The correct number, according to p. 199 (67) is 41301, a photograph is found on pl. 26, b (67).



Daressy points out that the goddess's name "Nemetit" (he means Tenemit)  has a scribal error in its initial sign .⁹⁹ Based on parallel texts from Edfu temple, he suggests replacing it with one of the signs , ,  or . LGG attributes the orthographic form  to the goddess Tenemit.¹⁰⁰ In this extract, the text starts by describing what is eaten and then moves on to what is drunk, which is crafted by the goddess of brewing beer, Tenemit. Because of the phonetic value <h> of the sign , I agree with Daressy's opinion that this orthographic form of the goddess Tenemit has a scribal error in its initial sign; however, he misread the goddess's name as Nemetit instead of Tenemit.

3.9. (Edfou I, 211, 1)



Irp pri m irt-Hr m irtt n Hs3t (m) hnkt n Tnmit.

Wine comes from the eye of Horus, milk from Hesat, and beer from Tenemit.

This text pertains to the goddess of beer and brewing, Tenemit. The goddess's name has a scribal error, where the sign  h was used rather than the sign  t.¹⁰¹

4. Tenemit in the Texts of Ptolemaic and Roman Temples

The majority of information about Tenemit comes from Ptolemaic and Roman temple texts, which are characterised by their compilation and systematisation of the religious heritage of Egyptian temples, but with more elaboration. These texts elaborate on the role of the goddess Tenemite and her relationships with other gods and goddesses as follows:

4.1. Tenemit as a beer-maker goddess equivalent to the goddess Menqet

4.1.1. (Edfou I, 241, 9-10)



Nsw bity (iw^c n mn^h ntr)| s3 R^c nb h^w (P3 mry 3st)| Dd mdw mn n.k hnkt m k3t Tnmt nbi in Mnkt

King of Upper and Lower Egypt (heir of the potent god) Son of Re Lord of crowns (the beloved one of Isis)| Utterance, take for yourself hnkt beer as the work of Tenemit and which Menqet produces.

98. WPL, 152.

99. Daressy 1917, 24.

100. LGG, VII, 474.

101. WPL, 655; Wb, III, 114, 5; Junker 1910, 82, No.50.

4.1.2. (Edfou I, 151, 7-8)



Dd mdw mn n.k hnkt m k3t Tnmt nbi.n Mnkt

Utterance: take for yourself hnkt beer, which Tenemit created and which Menqet produced.

The two goddesses Tenemit and Menqet exchanged the roles in the manufacture of beer; sometimes the goddess Menqet fermented the beer while Tenemit filtered it, and sometimes the opposite happened.

4.1.3. (Edfou I, 462, 15)



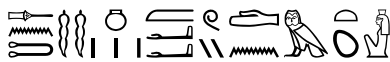
di.i n.k nfrw nt nbt mnit šbšb n.k mnk ʿrf n.k Tnmt

I give you the beer of the Lady of the Menat (Hathor)¹⁰² brewed for you by Menqet and squeezed for you by Tenemit.

See above, (P Louvre N 3166, II, 8) refers that Tenemit brews the beer-*nbt*y while Menqet filters the beer-*dsr*.

There are many types of beer that Tenemit brewed on her own or with the participation of Menqet, including beer of *ndm*, *nbt*y, and *dsrw*.

4.1.4. (KO 732 = Gutbub, KO, 364, 1)



Mn n.t ndm m-ʿwy Tnmt

Take for yourself ndm beer from the hands of Tenemit.

4.1.5. (KO 296)



Mn n.t dsrw km3 n.ib.t nbt m ʿwy Tnmt

Take for yourself the Dsrw-drink that created for your heart and the nbt-y-beer from the hands of Tenemit.

102. Here, the beer was attributed to Hathor, it was called Hathor's beer, as she is the goddess to whom the beer was most often offered. See below Dendara, I, 142, 2-3; II, 216, 9-10.

4.1.6. (Edfou Mammisi , 189, 2)



Hr Bḥdt nṯr ʿ3 nb pt s3 Rꜥ iw (ptwlmȝs ʿnh-ḏt mry-Pth)| ḥr.k in.f n.k Tnmt iꜥb ḏsrw ḥr ḳbwy.sn ḥmt nw

Horus the Behdetite, the great god, lord of the sky, the son of Re (Ptolemy, living forever, beloved of Ptah)| comes to you, he brings to you, Tenemit, offering of ḏsrw-drink, ḳbwy-vessels and trebles nw-vessels.

4.2. Tenemit's beer quenches thirst and brings joy

4.2.1. (Edfou II, 42, 3)



Dd mdw mn n.k ḥnḳt m k3t Tnmt nbī n Mnḳt r dr nḏ3.k

Utterance: Take for yourself ḥnḳt beer as a work of Tenemit. It is made by Menqet to drive away your thirst.

4.2.2. (Edfou, I, 114, 1-2)



Dd mdw mn n.k ḥnḳt ir.n Mnḳt nḏm m ʿwy Tnmt swri.k im.sn wnf¹⁰³ ḥr.k

Utterance: take for yourself ḥnḳt beer created by Menqet, and nḏm beer from the hands of Tenemit. May you drink from them so your face rejoices.

4.2.3. (De Morgan 1909, KO, No.784 = Gutbub, KO, 187,1)



Mn n.t ḥnḳt m-ʿwy Tnmmt nbty r shꜥꜥ ib.t

Take for yourself beer as the handiwork of the Tenemit, beer to make your heart glad.¹⁰⁴

4.2.4. (Edfou, IV, 261, 10-12)



Ḥnk ḥnḳ, ḏd mdw: k3t Mnḳt n.t, T3 m ipt, Tnmt irt, nbt nwḥ, sꜥm.t im.sn wnf ib.t

103. Wnf became one of the beer names: WPL, 235.

104. Gaber 2009, 542.

Beer offering. Utterance: Menqet's product for you, since Egypt is at the Festival of Epiphi (3rd of Shemu),¹⁰⁵ as well as Tenemit's work, mistress of drunkenness, may you swallow from them and your heart will rejoice.

4.2.5. (Edfou I, 365,14-15)



Hnk hnkt dd mdw mn n.k hnkt nbi.n Mnkt dsrw m k3t Tnmt snb.k¹⁰⁶ im.sn wnf hr.k h3ty n k3w.k .

Offering beer, utterance: take to yourself hnkt beer, made by Menqet, and dsrw-beer, a product of Tenemit. May you be healthy with them. May your face and heart rejoice with your provisions.

4.3. Tenemit and her association with milk preparation and the goddess Hesat

4.3.1. (Dendera XII, 277, 4-5)



dd mdw ii.ti m htp h3 n Mnkt ihy- nww¹⁰⁷ n Irt-R^c šsp.n.i h4w n.t hr wy.k 3w- ib.t m k3t Tnmt di.i n.k th hnt nhw nrw.k phr m ib.sn

Utterance: Welcome, child of Menqet, Hathor's musician of Nun, I take your milk from your hands to make your heart happy with Tenemit's work. I give you the beer among the living, that terror of you may be bewitching their hearts.

4.3.2. (Edfu I, 204, 13-14)



Trtt Hs3t hr sw^cb hm.k m-^cb dsrw nt Tnmt irt-Hr w3d nt nbt Tnmt¹⁰⁸ hr sfn ib n k3.k

The milk of Hesat purifies your Majesty with Tenemit's dsrw beer and Lady of Buto's Green Eye of Horus "wine" to calm (rejoice) your ka's heart.

Since the Pyramid Texts, milk has served as a symbol of rebirth, like beer and bread.¹⁰⁹ Both milk and beer are nourishing and can quench thirst. According to traditional beliefs, beer should increase milk production in females. This relationship was likely known in ancient Egypt.

105. WPL,63; Wb, I, 68, 11.

106. Most probably the *nb*-sign is an error for *k*. So it would read *snb.k* "may you be healthy".

107. WPL, 104; Wb, I, 121,17.

108. Gauthier 1925, 73.

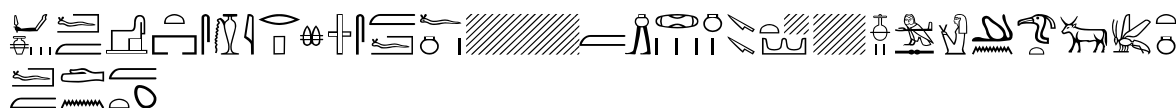
109. Cauville 2012, 52.

According to recent research results, a polysaccharide in the barley used for the production of beer stimulates the creation of the hormone prolactin, which is in charge of milk release during lactation.¹¹⁰ It is probable that the association of the goddess Tenemit with milk comes from her relationship with the milk goddess Hesat.

4.4. The goddess Tenemit and Honey

The texts also refer to association of the goddess Tenemit with honey, which might be used to sweeten the beer.

4.4.1. (Edfou I, 443, 14-15)



dšrw prī m st.s kb irp imy.s m prī.f n[.....] m inw n Dsds [irtt] ms iry nph n 3ht bit pri m Tnmt

*The beer (dšrw) emerges from its cool cellar. The wine that is in it comes from [.....] is the tribute of (the oasis) Dsds. [The milk] comes from the udder of the 3ht Cow, and honey comes from Tenemit.*¹¹¹

The offering consists of a comprehensive collection of all liquid products derived from animals and plants, combined into a single, supreme offering. Besides the practical significance of these materials, their hues may hold deeper meanings and symbolism for the ancient Egyptians.

4.5. Tenemit and her relationship with Nephthys

4.5.1. (Edfou I, 151, 13-14)



Dd mdw in Nbt-ht mnḥ-ib Sš3t¹¹² wrt hnt pr-ḥ Tnmt ir ḥnkt m ib.s r ttf ib n ḥftyw.s

Utterance by Nephthys perfect of heart. Seshat the great in the House of Life. Tenmemit makes ḥnkt beer in her heart to overwhelm the hearts of her enemies

This extract demonstrates a relationship between Tenemit and Nephthys, who can substitute Tenemit in the beer industry.

The expression “making the beer with her heart” was also mentioned in Karnak:¹¹³

110. Koletzko and Lehner 2000, 23.

111. Alliot 1949, 310.

112. A scribe error; the letter ‘n’ which is after the word ‘Sš3t’ is misplaced here.

113. Opet I, 203.

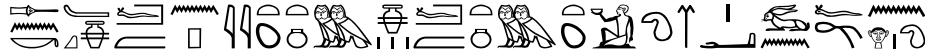
Tnmt hr km3.n. ib.s hn^c iri m wy.[s]

Tenemit carrying what her heart created with what was made by means of [her] two arms

4.6. Tenemit and her relationship with the corn goddess Npyt

In addition to Menqet, Hesat, Hathor,¹¹⁴ and Nephthys,¹¹⁵ Tenemit is associated with the corn goddess Npyt.

4.6.1. (Edfou I, 459, 11)



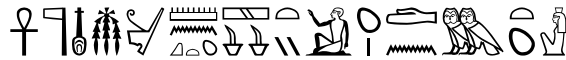
Mn n.k hnkt pr m Npyt tnmt pr m Tnmt swri.k m-^c wnf.n hr.k

Take for yourself hnkt beer which comes forth from Npyt (the corn goddess)¹¹⁶ and tnmt beer which comes forth from Tenemit, may you drink to make your face happy.

4.7. Tenemit and her relationship with the king

As for her relationship with the king, the texts described the king as the brewer, who offers the beer, the son of Tenemit, who was born from her.

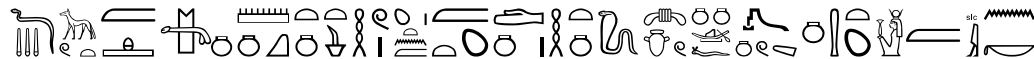
4.7.1. (Edfou II, 180, 10-11)



nh ntr nfr ms n Mnkt sbty s3 Tnmt

May the good god live, Menket's child, brewer, and son of Tenemit.

4.7.2. (Dendara IV, 95, 7)



Dd mdw ii.ti m htp wtj n Mnkt dbhw s3 Tnmt šsp.n.i hnkt.k 3w ib.i n.im.f nwh n hmt.i m in.k

Utterance: Welcome in peace, child of Menket. The dbhw-offering¹¹⁷ of Tenemit's son! I have received your beer to rejoice in it. My majesty is drunk with what you have brought.

114. See above: Edfou I, 462, 15.

115. See above: Edfou I, 151, 13-14.

116. WPL, 510; Wb, II, 248, 4.

117. WPL, 1198; Wb, V, 440.

4.7.3. (Dendara IX, 237, 4)



Ti.ti m ḥtp wtṯ n Mnkt šbbty s3 Tnmt šsp.n.i ḥnkt.k swri.i m ḏsrw n 3w- ib m ḥrt-hrw.

Come in peace one who is engendered from Menket, brewer, son of Tenemit, I have received your beer, I will drink from the ḏsrw-drink to make [my] heart glad everyday.

4.7.4. (KO 489)



ḥnh ntr nfr wtṯ n Mnkt dbḥw s3 Tnmt nbi nbty

May the good god live, who is engendered from Menket, [who presents] the requirements, son of Tenemit who makes the beer.

4.7.5. (Edfou I, 460, 1)



ḏd mdw šsp.n.i ḥnkt wn ḥr ʿwy.k iḥt Tnmt n ms.n.k

Utterance: I have received the beer that is in your hands, the offerings of Tenemit that you brought.

4.7.6. (Phila I, 56, 8)



ḥnh ntr nfr sḏti n Tnmt

May the good god live, child of Tenemit

4.7.7. (Edfou, IV, 261, 16-17)



Nsw bity (iw^c-n-ntrwy-prwy stp-n-Pth iri-M3^t-R^c šhm-ḥnh-(n)-Imn) | ntr-mnh s3 R^c (ptwlmys ḥnh-ḏt mry-Pth) | mnḥ ntr bik n nbwt ḥnt Ḥ3p-iwtiw s3 Tnmt m33 ʿt imn

King of Upper and Lower Egypt (the son of the Manifest gods, whom Ptah has chosen, who brings forth the order of Re, the living image of Amun), the excellent god son of Re (Ptolemy, living

forever, beloved of Ptah)], the excellent god, the falcon of the Golden goddess in H3p-iwtiw, the son of Tenemit, who sees the secret room.

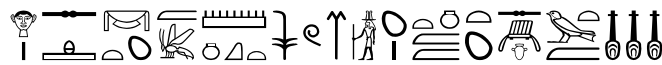
4.7.8. (Edfou VI, 283, 3- 4)



ḏsrw ḥr ḥntš Hnwt m mr.s sw mi Hr ms.n Tnmt rwi mnt m ibw ind

Ḑsrw-beer makes rejoice the Mistress (Hathor) with what she loves. He, (the king), is like Horus, born of Tenemit and drives away illness from sad hearts.

4.7.9. (Dendara, I, 142, 2-3)



Hr šłtp Nbwt m k3t Mnkt sw m ity s3 Tnmt s3w-ib wrt m nfrw

To make the Golden One (Hathor) satisfied with the work of Menket. He is the king, son of Tenemit, who makes the heart of the Great One, (Hathor), glad with beer.

4.7.10. (Dendara, II, 216, 9-10)



Nsw bity () | s3 R^c () | iw^c n H^cpy s3 Tnmt ḏd mdw iw.n.i ḥr.t Nbwt nbtyw wrt ḥnt Hwt Sššt in.i n.t nbty

King of Upper and Lower Egypt () | Son of Re () |, heir of Hapi, son of Tenemit, Utterance: I came to you, Golden one of female goddesses, the Great one in Dendera, in order to bring you nbty-beer.

The following text equalizes the three goddesses, Menket, Tenemit, and Khenemit, in terms of their motherhood to the king.

4.7.11. (Dendara IX, 173, 14)



ḥḥ nṯr nfr ms.n Mnkt šbbty s3 Tnmt ity nfr pri m Hnmt.

May the good god live, born of Menket, brewer, son of Tenemit, the beautiful sovereign who comes forth from Khenemit.

5. Conclusion

This paper investigates the topic of the goddess Tenemit's origin, name, and role in ancient Egyptian mythology and religion.

The following conclusions can be reached:

- The first evidence of the beer goddess Tenemit dates to the New Kingdom. She may have replaced an older god, Tenem, who appeared since the Coffin Texts as a personification of the tenem-beverage, which is attested in the Pyramid texts and which was likely created using a plant of the same name, tenem.
- The god of the tenem-drink Tenem is not the *primaeval* god Tenemu, just as the goddess of beer Tenemit is not Tenemuit, the female counterpart of the *primaeval* god Tenemu.
- The name of the goddess "Tenemit" is derived from *tnmw* (a drink made from tenem). It looks like the feminine nisbe-form of *tnmw*, meaning "She of the *tnmw* beer".
- The Arabic word "ثَمِل" "thamil", which means "screwed", is derived from the same ancient Egyptian root of the word *tnm* "beer".
- The most accurate transliteration for the orthographic forms of the goddess Tenemit's name is "*Tnm(y)t*" or "*Tnm(y)t*", not "*Tnmmt*".
- All the orthographic forms that are attributed to the goddess Tenemit and begin with the signs \ominus and 𓆎 are not, in fact, pertaining to the beer goddess Tenemit but rather to the bread goddess Khenemit.
- Breastfeeding the king and offering the bread, even if combined with beer, is one of the roles of the goddess Khenemit, not the goddess Tenemit.
- The title "*Hnwt B3w-Iwnw*", "Lady of the Bas of Heliopolis", belongs to the goddess Hathor, who holds the title *khenemit* (the nurse), and not to the goddess Tenemit.
- The goddess Tenemit was associated with the preparation of beer as well as milk and honey.
- Perhaps both milk and honey, as nutritious 'safe' liquids, were associated with the goddess Tenemit because they were materials used to improve the taste of beer, and the ancient Egyptians may also have been aware of the relationship between beer and increasing milk production, which is what recent research has found.
- The goddess Tenemit was associated with the goddesses Menqet, Hasat, Hathor, Nephthys, Npyt, and Khenemit.

The texts describe the king as the brewer, who offers the beer, and the son of Tenemit, who was born from her.

6. Abbreviations

CG: *Catalogue général du musée du Caire*, Le Caire.

CT: DE BUCK, A., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vol., Chicago. 1935–1961.

LÄ: WOLFGANG HELCK, EBERHARD OTTO & WOLFHART WESTENDORF (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols., Wiesbaden 1972–1992.

LGG: CHRISTIAN LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 110–116, 129), 8 vols., Leuven 2002–2003

Wb: ERMAN, A., GRAPOW, H., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols, (Leipzig, Berlin), 1926–1963.

WPL: WILSON, P., *A Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78, Leuven, 1997.

Dendara: CHASSINAT, É., *Le temple de Dendara*, Bd. I–V, Dendara 1–5; Chassinat É. und Daumas Fr., Bd. VI, Dendara 6; Daumas Fr., Bd. VII–IX, Dendara 7–9; Cauville S., Bd. X–XV, Dendara 10–15, Le Caire, 1934–2008.

Edfou: LE MARQUIS DE ROCHEMONTEIX and CHASSINAT, É., *Le temple d'Edfou*, Bd. I (2. Revise and correct the edition by Cauville S. and Devauchelle D., Le Caire, 1984 and 1987); Chassinat É. and Le Marquis de Rochemonteix Bd. II (2. Revise and correct the edition by Cauville S. and Devauchelle D. Le Caire, 1987) and III; Chassinat É., Bd. IV–XIV; Cauville S. and Devauchelle D. Bd. XV, MMAF 10–11 and 20–32, Le Caire, 1897–1985.

E Mammisi: HASSINAT, E., *Le Mammisi d'Edfou*, MIFAO 16, Le Caire, 1939.

Pyr: SETHE, K., *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, 4 vol., Leipzig, 1908–1922.

Philae: BÉNÉDITE G., “Le temple de Philæ”, MMAF 13, fasc. 1–2, Paris: Leroux, 1893.

KO: DE MORGAN, J. et al.: *Kom Ombos, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, Première série: Haute-Égypte, II-III*, Vienne: Adolphe Holzhausen, 1895–1909.

Gutbub, KO: GUTBUB, A., *Kôm Ombo I: les inscriptions du naos (sanctuaires, salle de l'ennéade, salle des offrandes, couloir mystérieux)*. Edited by Danielle Inconnu-Bocquillon. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1995.

Opet: Wit C. De, “Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak, I–III”, *BiAeg* 11–13, Bruxelles, 1958–1968.

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