Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze
in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari
There are two kinds of friezes crowning the decoration of the walls in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. One of them is the *kheker* frieze, commonly met in the temples and tombs.\(^1\) The other one is a peculiar uraeus frieze specific to Hatshepsut. The frieze consists of figures composed of a rearing cobra crowned with a solar disk placed between cow-horns (the so-called hathoric crown), seated upon the \(k3\)-hieroglyph. The cobra is holding the \(sn\)-sign. Between the figures \(\hat{e}nh\) and \(dd\) signs may be placed. In most cases the arms of the \(kA\)-sign were chiseled out. The ‘hathoric uraeus’\(^2\) seated on the \(k3\)-sign is commonly interpreted as a cryptographic writing of Hatshepsut’s name. Beside its occurrences as an element constructing the friezes in some of Hatshepsut’s buildings, it appears in the statuary and tomb decoration of that time (see below).

Although the existence of this cryptographic frieze was widely noticed, it has rarely been discussed in a more detailed way.\(^3\) The frieze was termed variously as e.g. ‘uraeus border’,\(^4\) ‘serpent frieze’,\(^5\) ‘Kama-fre’ frieze’,\(^6\) ‘Namenfries’,\(^7\) ‘frieze of cartouches (cryptographic)’,\(^8\) ‘monogram’ frieze’,\(^9\) ‘frise de cobras’,\(^10\) ‘cobras-frieze’,\(^11\) ‘cobra frieze’,\(^12\) ‘cryptogram frieze’,\(^13\) ‘une frise ornée du monogramme d’Hatchepsout’\(^14\) or just described as ‘frieze

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\(^{5}\) Holscher, Medinet Habu II, p. 12.

\(^{6}\) Ibid., p. 13.


\(^{8}\) PM II\(^{2}\), p. 277.

\(^{9}\) Kołodko-Dolińska, *EtTrav XIV*, p. 44.

\(^{10}\) Witkowski, *EtTrav XIV*, p. 377.


containing the uraeus cryptogram’,15 ‘frise-rébus au nom de m3t-k3-r6’.16 The cryptogram itself might have also been termed ‘rébus pour le nom de couronnement de la reine Hatshepsout’17 or ‘Anaglyphe für den Thronnamen’.18

Several proposals were given concerning a proper understanding of the frieze. E. Naville assumed that the cobra represents the goddess Hathor holding the $n$-sign (like vultures or hawks holding it in their claws), and that $dl$- and $nh$-signs are promises given to Hatshepsut’s $k3$. He ascribed the damages to Thutmose III’s desires to annihilate her $k3$.19 K. Sethe was the first to suggest a reading for the cryptogram. In his opinion it should be understood as Hatshepsut’s Horus name $Wsr-t-k3w$.20 Other scholars, however, recognized it as referring to Hatshepsut’s prenomen.21

There can be little doubt that this specific uraeus frieze reflects a cryptographic way of writing Hatshepsut’s throne name.22 The cobra can be read $m3t$, the arms represent $k3$, the hathoric crown on the head of the snake includes a sun-disk that renders $r6$.

The identification of those three elements seems quite certain, the sequence of reading, however, and consequently the exact lecture and meaning of Hatshepsut’s prenomen is a matter of scholarly discussion. The name was read Ramaka by C.R. Lepsius and other early egyptologists.23 E. Naville proposed Kamara ($k3-m3t-r6$),24 ‘the real image of Ra’, established on the basis of analogy with the name of Amenhotep III $nb-m3t-r6$. This name occurred in the Babylonian sources as Nimmuryia, which suggests that the clause $m3t$ should be read in the middle of the name. The reading $k3-m3t-r6$ has been recently advocated by E. Graefe.25 The most widely accepted reading of her throne name is $m3t-k3-r6$.26 It is translated by various scholars following A.H. Gardiner’s *Truth is the (essential) at-
tribute of Re⁷⁷ as Vérité–Justice–est–l’âme–du–soleil,⁷⁸ Maât (l’équilibre cosmique) est le ka (la force vitale ou encore « l’énergie créatrice ») de Ré⁷⁹, The Truth is the soul (ka) of the God Re,⁸⁰ or Maat is the ka of Re, The proper manifestation of the sun’s life force.⁸¹

A slightly different translation was proposed by T. Schneider: Gerechtigkeit und Lebenskraft, ein Re.⁸² G. Robins in a recent article on Hatshepsut’s names opts for the translation as true one of the ka of Ra. She suggests also a secondary meaning as the one of Maat, the ka of Ra.⁸³

It seems that the rebus which is used in the cryptogram frieze was originally related to the harvest goddess Renenutet, ‘lady of fertile fields’, ‘lady of granaries’.⁸⁴ This relation is reinforced by the k3-sign, which may be translated as ‘sustenance’, ‘nourishment’. The connection with Renenutet may be also confirmed by the occurrence of her name on the statues of Senenmut with the uraeus cryptogram⁸⁵ and the fact that on the statue of Setau the cryptogram rests on the nb-sign.⁸⁶ In the latter case it is possible to read the whole group as nbt-k3(w), which was the most common epithet of Renenutet.⁸⁷

The Hatshepsut cryptogram also occurs in the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39) as an element of friezes decorating chests depicted on the tomb’s wall. It was interpreted by Davies as neb.t ka, ‘lady of plenty’. He allowed, however, a possibility of understanding these cobras as ‘a royal emblem’.⁸⁸

A scene in tomb of Amenemhat–Surer (TT 48) shows clearly that this kind of imagery was specific to Renenutet. Beside the representation of the goddess suckling the king, there is an emblem composed of a hathoric uraeus, placed together with a king’s figure on a hieroglyph of gold, enclosed in turn by the k3-sign.⁸⁹

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⁷⁸ M. Werębrouck, Le temple d’Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari, Bruxelles 1949, p. 90.
⁸⁵ Brooklyn 67.68, Fort Worth AP 85.2, Munich ÅS 6262. He also owns a statue representing him with a surveyor’s cord (Louvre E 11057) used during harvest. A supposed origin of Senenmut from Armant, the city of Renenutet, is an important fact in this respect.
⁸⁶ Louvre N 4196. Vide infra, n. 83.
⁸⁷ J. Broekhuis, De Godin Renenwetet, Assen 1971, pp. 143–144. E. Graefe considered the possibility that the uraeus alone might be read as nbt.
⁸⁸ N. de Garis Davies, The tomb of Puyemré at Thebes, I, London 1922 [= Puyemré], pp. 100–101, n. 2. He also noticed that the k1-signs in the uraeus frieze on the walls at Deir el-Bahari were hacked out in the places above the figure of Hatshepsut.
As pointed out by G. Robins, wherever this cryptogram is found, the accompanying texts mention different goddesses\(^{40}\) (Renenutet, Hathor, Nekhbet), but never Maat. It seems, however, that all these goddesses might have been merged, which enabled multilayered meanings. There exists a parallel between the harvest goddess and Maat:\(^{41}\) Renenutet was also responsible for maintenance of cosmic order.\(^{42}\) On the other hand, the inscription on the Setau statue mentions Nekhbet, who may also be identified with Renenutet, and on the statue of Senenmut with a sistrum in New York (MMA 48.149.7) there is an invocation to Hathor.\(^{43}\) In the opinion of A. Roberts the cobra can be identified as Hathor. The cryptogram frieze represents thus *Hathor’s serpent aspect*.\(^{44}\)

When Hatshepsut started using this cryptogram it received the secondary meaning: now it became also possible to read it as her throne name. Later, after Hatshepsut, the rebus was confined back to its primary meaning. P.F. Dorman emphasized the propaganda aim of this twofold use, a connection of divine and royal significance.\(^{45}\) A similar thesis has been advanced by A. Roberts: *both Maat and the Pharaoh are proclaimed as nourishers who support and feed Egypt*.\(^{46}\)

The statue of Senenmut in Cairo (JE 34582), where the rebus is encircled by a cartouche is a proof that, firstly: it is Hatshepsut’s name, secondly: it is not her Horus name, because it is not written in a *serekh*.\(^{47}\) A decisive argument for the interpretation of the meaning of the cryptogram is the fact of the mutilation of the friezes at Deir el-Bahari. Obviously they were recognized as rendering Hatshepsut’s name, different from ordinary uraeus friezes.

An important and – surprisingly – almost overlooked evidence that can be used as an argument in this discussion is the frieze of Amenhotep III in the Luxor temple.\(^{48}\) It is an exact parallel to Hatshepsut’s frieze. The similarity of structure of the names of both kings enabled their transformation into a rebus according to the same scheme. The uraeus is a common element for both designs, only in Amenhotep III’s version the *kA*-sign is replaced by the basket *nb* (rendering his prenomen *nb-mAat-ra*).\(^{49}\)

One might speculate that the inventor of this rebus of Hatshepsut’s name might have been Senenmut. He boasts about creating two other cryptograms which are written on two

\(^{40}\) There is also a statue of Amenhotep II (Cairo JE 39394) protected by goddess Meretseger also depicted as rearing cobra.

\(^{41}\) Cf. M. MARCINIAK, Deux campagnes épigraphiques au tombeau de Ramsès III dans la Vallée des Rois (N°11), *EtTrav* XII, 1983, p. 303, Fig. 6.

\(^{42}\) ROBINS, *JEA* 85, p. 109.

\(^{43}\) The proof of a syncretism in respect to these goddesses is a stele in Budapest (51.2148) where one Simut offers to a goddess called Nekhbet–Renenutet–Hathor: *GRAEFE, GöttMisz* 38, p. 49.

\(^{44}\) A. ROBERTS, Hathor Rising. The Serpent Power of Ancient Egypt, Totnes 1995 [= Hathor], pp. 43–45, 128.

\(^{45}\) DORMAN, Monuments, p. 138.

\(^{46}\) ROBERTS, Hathor, p. 36 (description for Fig. 46). Also G. Robins stressed that *it was her* [i.e. Hatshepsut’s] *responsibility as a ruler to ensure the prosperity of Egypt*, see: ROBINS, *JEA* 85, p. 110.

\(^{47}\) For C. Meyer this does not exclude the possibility that the cryptogram may be connected with Renenutet. She referred to the fact that in later periods gods’ names were sometimes written in cartouches. She also suggested a possibility to interpret the cartouche as a large *šn*–sign held by a protective snake, see: DORMAN, Monuments, p. 138.

\(^{48}\) E.g. it was not referred to by G. Robins in her extensive discussion of the cryptogram.
of his statues with princess Neferure (Berlin 2296 and Cairo CG 42114): Signs which I made according to my heart and by my own work, which were not found in the writings of the Ancients.50 These rebuses are read as Hatshepsut’s nomen and prenomen.51

CRYPTOGRAM FRIEZE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI

Plate I shows the distribution of the kheker frieze and the cryptogram uraeus frieze in the temple at Deir el-Bahari. The innermost rooms of the Upper Terrace are decorated with the kheker frieze. These are as follows: the Main Sanctuary of Amon, the Southern and Northern Chambers of Amon, the whole Complex of the Royal Cult (including the Offering Chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I), and walls of the Upper Courtyard. In the Complex of the Solar Cult the situation is a little different: the complex is generally decorated with the kheker frieze but the uraeus frieze appears in the Upper Shrine of Anubis. It is thus the only room of the Upper Terrace with this kind of frieze. The explanation for this lies probably in the fact that this shrine was a later addition to the plan of this part of the temple, replacing an earlier niche.52 This suggests that the cryptogram frieze was invented after some time of Hatshepsut’s reign and introduced in a later stage of building; one may notice its extensive use starting from the Upper Porticoes down to the bottom of the temple.53

In the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari there are three types of the cryptogram uraeus frieze. Each of them consists of three elements: a rearing cobra with hood in front view, the hathoric crown on its head, and arms on which it is seated. Before the cobra there is the ṣn-sign, represented as if held by the snake, with the ‘crossbar’ placed outside. The three types of frieze can be discerned according to the way the cobra’s body is shown, and the presence or absence of accompanying elements.

In Type 1 (Fig. 2) the upper part of the body of the cobra is rearing directly from the k3-sign. Between neighbouring snakes there are ḏd- and ṣnh-signs. This is probably the original type of frieze because it occurs in both parts of the Upper Portico and in the Northern Middle Portico (the so-called Birth Portico),54 which were built in the earlier phases of building.

Type 2 (Fig. 3) differs from Type 1 in that it lacks the ḏd- and ṣnh-signs. This type occurs only in the Southern Middle Portico (the so-called Punt Portico).55

49 DRIOTON, ASAE 38, pp. 231–238, Pl. XXXI (1, 2), Figs. 17, 18; DESROCHES NOBLECOURT, Hatshepsout, pp. 258–260; C.A. KELLER, The Statuary of Senenmut [= Statuary], in: ROEHIG et al., Hatshepsut, p. 117, Fig. 51.
50 Cf. DRIOTON, ASAE 38, pp. 231–232.
51 A variant of this cryptogram of Hatshepsut’s throne name (a vulture with an udjat-eye) is depicted on the doorway to the bark room in the Hathor Shrine at Deir el-Bahari. Cf. NAVILLE, Deir el Bahari IV, Pl. CIII; DRIOTON, ASAE 38, pp. 238–239, Fig. 19.
52 J. KARKOWSKI, Deir el-Bahari VI. The Temple of Hatshepsut. The Solar Complex, Varsovie 2003, p. 43.
53 According to Z. WYSOCKI, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. The Raising of the Structure in View of Architectural Studies, MDAIK 48, 1992, pp. 234–254, one may observe several stages of development of the building, proceeding outwards from the inner and uppermost parts.
54 NAVILLE, Deir el Bahari III, Pls. LVI, LXIV.
55 Ibid., Pl. LXXV.
1. Distribution of the friezes at Deir el-Bahari (Drawing: T. Kaczor).

Kh – *kheker* frieze
T1 – Type 1
T2 – Type 2
T3 – Type 3
The determinant of Type 3 (Fig. 4) is a different manner of representing the cobra’s body: it forms double loops.56 This is the most common representation of a cobra starting from the Archaic Period on.57 Type 3 occurs in the Upper Shrine of Anubis,58 the Lower Shrine of Anubis (in the inner rooms as well as in the vestibule),59 and the Hathor Shrine (in the sanctuary rooms and the hypostyle halls).60 In the vestibule of the Hathor Shrine the friezes over the entrance run from both sides towards the cartouche in the centre. Two cobras neighbouring the cartouche hold the $w^2$s-sceptre passing through the $sn$-sign and extended obliquely towards the royal ring.61

Uraei in the cryptogram frieze face generally the same direction as the figures of Hatshepsut. Since the frieze is a form of writing Hatshepsut’s name, its orientation is governed by the same rules as the ‘ordinary’ titulary. In the porticoes the frieze is orientated towards the axis of the temple (on the west walls) and outside (on the north and south walls). In both Anubis shrines the uraei are facing inside. In the Hathor Shrine the frieze is orientated variously (in accordance with Hatshepsut’s figures): in the inner sanctuary and in the bark hall the uraei face outwards. In the hypostyle halls, those on the north and south walls run symmetrically from both sides towards the architraves separating the walls and the frieze on the east wall face the axis of the shrine. A specific situation occurs in the vestibule of the sanctuary: the friezes on the east and west walls (with doorways) are facing the shrine axis, those on the north and south walls run left- and rightwards from the central architrave.

In the Lower Porticoes the upper parts of the walls are not preserved in situ. According to an unpublished reconstruction, the form of the frieze in the Southern Portico (the so-called Portico of Obelisks) was similar to that in the Northern Portico.62 The walls of the Northern Lower Portico were crowned by the frieze of Type 3, orientated in the same manner as in the Middle and Upper Porticoes (i.e. with cobras facing the temple axis on the west wall, and facing outwards on the south and north walls).63

As the cryptographic representation of Hatshepsut’s name, the friezes were meticulously damaged by hacking out the $k^3$-signs (Fig. 5).64 They might have been erased completely or only in their vertical parts. Friezes are destroyed in the Upper and Lower Anubis Shrines, and in the Northern Middle Portico. In the Southern Middle Portico the frieze is erased on the north wall, on the west wall is damaged only as far as the space between the second and third pillar (counting from the temple’s axis). Further towards the south it is left untouched. It is preserved also in the hypostyle halls, the vestibule and the

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57 Ibid., pp. 54–61, Cat. Nos. 11–15.
58 NAVILLE, Deir el Bahari I, Pls. X, XI.
59 Id., Deir el Bahari II, Pls. XXXIII–XXXVII, XL, XLIV, XLV.
60 Id., Deir el Bahari IV, Pls. LXXXVII, XCII–XCVI, C–CI, CIV, CVI.
61 Cf. infra – the temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in Medinet Habu.
62 Z.E. Szafrański’s personal communication.
64 Obviously it was assumed that this procedure would turn the cryptographic design into a standard uraeus frieze bearing no connection with Hatshepsut.
2. Type 1 of cryptogram frieze. Example from the south wall of Northern Middle Portico (Phot. M. Sankiewicz).

3. Type 2 of cryptogram frieze. Example from the north wall of Southern Middle Portico (Phot. M. Sankiewicz).
4. Type 3 of cryptogram frieze. Example from the Hathor Shrine (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

5. Example of chiseling out $k\ell$-signs from the south-west corner of the Upper Shrine of Anubis (Phot. M. Sankiewicz).
bark room in the Hathor Shrine. Only in the Hathor sanctuary the \( kA \)-arms are hacked out. In the Upper Porticoes, the preserved blocks from the upper part of the walls show the frieze either damaged or untouched. An exactly parallel situation can be observed in the Northern Lower Portico.

Beside the upper temple at Deir el-Bahari, the cryptogram uraeus frieze was decorating the kiosk on the causeway. A photo (Fig. 6) from H. Winlock’s archive in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York shows blocks with the Type 3 friezes orientated in both directions. The vertical parts of the \( k3 \)-signs were chiseled out.\(^65\)

The issue of existence of the cryptogram frieze in the lower temple (‘Valley Temple’) at Deir el-Bahari remains speculative. H. Carter made a suggestion that the upper parts of the walls had never been finished.\(^66\)

However, in the Ramesseum storerooms there are blocks decorated with the Hatshepsut frieze.\(^67\) This represents Type 3 with untouched \( k3 \)-signs. Cobras are orientated in both directions and accompanied by \( dd \)- and \( n\h \)-signs. Some of these blocks were already mentioned

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\(^{65}\) I am grateful to Dr. Dorothea Arnold for her kind permission to use this unpublished evidence.


\(^{67}\) Leblanc, Memnonia VII, pp. 97–98, 103–104, Figs. 1, 3, Pls. XXVII B and XXVIII A; C. Leblanc, M. de Saintilan, Autres remplois de blocs décorés de la XVIII\(^{th} \) dynastie, dans le secteur sud du Ramesseum, Memnonia VIII, 1997, pp. 51–52, Fig. 2, Pl. XII A, B.
by J.E. Quibell, who wrote in 1898 about his intention to present the best of them to E. Naville for the purpose of reconstruction.\textsuperscript{68} He obviously assumed that they must have come from the upper temple. In fact, however, their number and pattern of decoration points towards the provenance from the lower temple of Hatshepsut’s complex.

Decorated blocks from Hatshepsut’s building were also found reused in the tomb of Amenemope at Dra Abu el-Naga (TT 148). One of them bears the upper part of the frieze with the heads of cobras and the signs $\textit{sn}$ and $\textit{nh}$\textsuperscript{69} It is probable that the provenance of these blocks is the same as those in the Ramesseum.

CRYPTOGRAM FRIEZE IN OTHER BUILDINGS OF HATSHEPSUT IN THEBES

On the West Bank the cryptogram frieze (Type 3) decorate also the small temple at Medinet Habu founded by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. In this case the frieze is an element dating parts of the temple which were finished by Hatshepsut. In the rooms finished by Thutmose III only the kheker frieze occurs. Rooms N, O, and Q (according to U. Hölscher) are decorated with the uraeus frieze only so they are dated to Hatshepsut. However, in two rooms, L and P, both kinds of friezes occur. In room P the north and east walls bear uraeus frieze, and south and west are decorated with the kheker frieze. In room L only the west wall was finished by Hatshepsut. On the north wall an interesting situation occurs: starting from the west there was once the cryptogram frieze, but it seems that only three cobras had been finished. At a point (no doubt under Thutmose III) the uraei were replaced by khekers and the whole frieze further east executed as a kheker frieze.\textsuperscript{70}

In four places at Medinet Habu the friezes run from both directions towards the central cartouches: on the west walls in rooms L, O, and Q, and on the east wall in room N. In rooms L and Q the cobras nearest to the cartouches hold the $\textit{w3s}$-scepters passing through the $\textit{sn}$-signs. In the whole temple consistently the vertical part of the arms of $\textit{k3}$-signs have been hacked out.\textsuperscript{71}

Another place on the West Bank where the frieze is attested is the mortuary temple of Thutmose II. L. Gabolde mentions blocks with the cryptogram frieze found by him in Deir el-Medina magazine between others coming from this temple.\textsuperscript{72}

On the East Bank the cryptogram frieze is found in the rooms of Hatshepsut’s ‘Palace of Maat’ north of the granite bark shrine at Karnak. In room XII the Type 3 frieze occurs on both preserved walls (north and south), in both cases orientated leftwards. The pattern of destruction of the $\textit{k3}$-signs is somewhat strange. On the north wall hacked out are either the whole arms or only their vertical parts; one may notice also completely destroyed cobras (together with their $\textit{sn}$-signs) as well as some figures left untouched (Fig. 7).

\textsuperscript{68} QUIBELL, Ramesseum, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{69} B.G. OCKINGA, Use, Reuse and Abuse of the ‘Sacred Space’: Observation of Dra Abu al-Naga, in: P.F. DORMAN, B.M. BRYAN (eds.), Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes, Chicago 2007, p. 140, Fig. 9.7.
\textsuperscript{70} HÖLSCHER, Medinet Habu II, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{71} I am much indebted to Dr. Brett McClain for a possibility to discuss the issue in situ.
\textsuperscript{72} GABOLDE, Monuments décorés, pp. 175–176.
Destruction was made by strong strikes which caused deep holes. The opposite wall was treated more gently, only in few places the vertical parts of k3-arms were removed. The surface in these areas is quite smooth.

Also the so-called Kamutef–Heiligtum built by Hatshepsut in southern Karnak was decorated with the cryptographic frieze. Blocks bearing the frieze were found in the sanctuary as well as in the bark station standing opposite it on the other side of the processional route. The pattern of the frieze is of Type 3.73

One block which was found during the excavations ‘in front of the facade of the Great Pylon’74 proves that the cryptogram frieze had been used in Hatshepsut’s building in the Luxor Temple (possibly the sixth bark station). On this block Type 3 of the frieze occurs.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE CRYPTOGRAM

Some kind of the cryptogram frieze decorated the tops of two chests depicted on the south wall of the vestibule in Puyemre’s tomb.75 On the first one the cornice is decorated with hathoric uraei without loops, rising directly from k3-signs. On the second one there are alternately depicted cobras and sphinges in s3f-crowns. The uraei, placed upon k3-signs, are represented without loops and bear two feathers on their hathoric crowns (Fig. 8).

Hatshepsut’s name rebus occurs not only in the form of friezes. As le “cryptogramme” plastique76 it appeared also in sculpture.77 In the three-dimensional representations the cobras are depicted en face. Well-known are the statues of Senenmut with the uraeus cryptogram:78

- **Brooklyn 67.68 and Forth Worth AP 85.2**
- Both statues show Senenmut kneeling and presenting Hatshepsut’s cryptogram. They probably come from Montu temple in Armant. Both are dedicated to Renenutet.
- **Cairo JE 34582**
- A statuette of Senenmut holding a winged cobra protecting the cartouche with Hatshepsut’s name represented in a rebus way. The cartouche rests on the nbw-sign.
- **Louvre E 11057**
- This is another kneeling Senenmut, in this case with a surveyor cord (nwH) which was used to measure height of harvest. The cryptogram placed on the sign of gold is represent-
sented in front of the roll. On the top of the cord there is a human head on which rests a uraeus with the hathoric crown. 80

The cryptogram appears also on *sistrophoros* statues of Senenmut. Cobras are depicted in the naoi in the upper part of every sistrum. 81 On three statues the sistra were decorated with the cryptogram in its full form, but only on *Munich ÅS 6265* it is left untouched. In the case of *New York MMA 48.149.7* and the statue found by the Polish mission at Deir el-Bahari 82 the *k3*-arms have been erased. On the statue *Cairo CG 579*, the uraeus is rendered very schematically, bearing no disk on its head and without the *k3*-arms.

There are more statues with the uraeus cryptogram. One of them may be dated to Hatshepsut reign (a *sistrophoros* Djehuty-nefer, *Louvre E 5416*). 83 Another one belonged to Setau and is generally dated to the period of Amenhotep II – Amenhotep III. 84 The rebus of Setau looks exactly like those on Senenmut’s statues, but it is completed with the *nb*-sign on which it rests. This peculiar use is easily explained if one assumes that the cryptogram no longer represented a former pharaoh’s name, but (again) only the epithet of goddess Renenutet. 85

Another example of use of the Hatshepsut cryptogram is a scarab in the Cairo Museum. 86

**CRYPTOGRAM FRIEZE OF AMENHOTEP III**

An exact parallel to the cryptogram frieze of Hatshepsut was used by Amenhotep III in the Luxor temple. 87 In this case the rearing cobra crowned with a solar disk rests on *nb*-sign. It is thus possible to read it as *nb-m3t-t-r*, the throne name of Amenhotep III. In front of every uraeus there is the *šn*-ring with the *wšt*-sceptre passing vertically through it. The frieze is still visible in various rooms of the temple. An example of the frieze is shown in H. Brunner’s publication as a schematic drawing of cobras: body with double loops, solar disk (not a hathoric crown), the *šn*-sign with a ‘crossbar’ held outside, and the *wšt* standing on the baseline between baskets. 88 This pattern is correct for rooms XV, XVII, and XVIII. A different design occurs, however, room XIX. The *šn*-signs are there reversed and additionally the signs *di* and ‘*nh*’ placed one over another appear between the uraei. 89

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80 One may recall the fact that the royal names in cartouches are often placed on the *nbw*-sign.
81 It is noteworthy that the capitels of the columns and pillars in the Hathor Shrine bear depictions of paired cryptogram uraei placed on the *ki*-signs which were chiselled out.
83 GRAEFE, *GöttMisz* 38, p. 47.
84 For bibliography see: KELLER, Statuary, Cat. No. 72, pp. 130–131.
85 *Vide supra*, n. 37.
86 DRIOTON, *ASAE* 38, p. 243, Fig. 22.
87 HÖLSCHER, Medinet Habu II, p. 13, Fig. 12; KOŁODKO-DOLIŃSKA, *EtTrav* XIV, p. 34, Fig. 8 b; ROBERTS, Hathor, p. 36, Pl. 45.
88 H. BRUNNER, Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor, Mainz a/Rhein 1977, p. 18, Abb. 2.

8. Cryptogram frieze from the south wall of Puyemre’s vestibule (Phot. A. Ćwiek).
H. Brunner did not consider other rooms where Amenhotep’s frieze occurs. In the hypostyle hall south of the solar court the walls are decorated by cryptograms (resembling the schematic form of H. Brunner with additional di- and ḫnh-signs), alternating with cartouches placed on the nb-signs. Similar version occurs in room II, the difference being in placement of the ḥs-sceptres which rest on (and not between) baskets. Still another form of the frieze occurs in room VIII. Not only the scepters are placed on the nb-signs, but here exceptionally the cobras are wearing hathoric crowns (being a closest parallel to Hatshepsut’s cryptogram). On the east wall and the eastern parts of the north and south walls the śn-signs are depicted correctly (with the ‘crossbar’ held outside). On the west wall the rings are reversed (Fig. 9).

In room XI the cobras again wear hathoric crowns, the śn-signs are orientated correctly, and the ḥs-scepters neither touch the baseline nor are placed upon baskets. It seems that the use of the cryptographic frieze by Amenhotep III was confined to the Luxor temple. No blocks with this kind of decoration were found during the archaeological works in the temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hitan.90

Marta Sankiewicz
Instytut Prahistorii
Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza
Poznań

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