THE FACE OF NEFERTITI?

The news that there was nothing detected behind the walls of Tutankhamun’s burial chamber—let alone the burial of Nefertiti—was disappointing for some, a vindication/”I told you so” for others, and, for a third group, quite unsurprising. In the minds of these people, the mummy of Nefertiti had been identified years ago—several times, in fact.

The mummy is popularly known as the “Younger Lady”, an anonymous body discovered in 1898 in the tomb of Amenhotep II (although unlikely to be an original tenant). In relation to Nefertiti, the “Younger Lady” has been the subject of “is she or isn’t she” speculation for decades. Now a recent facial reconstruction invites us to once again ask the question.
THE FACE OF NEFERTITI?

Jeff Burzacott

I
t started with a headline: “Could This Be The Face of Nefertiti?” The U.S. cable Travel Channel had issued a press release advertising a two-part special to run over two weeks in February: “Expedition Unknown” with Josh Gates reveals facial reconstruction of ‘Younger Lady’ mummy. ... In a historic forensic reconstruction project, Travel Channel is revealing the face of King Tut’s mother for the first time.” (See facing page.)

It’s true. DNA results released in 2010 had revealed that the “Younger Lady” was indeed the mother of Tutankhamun. Joshua Gates, the series host, explained that “Using the latest 3D imaging technology and working with museum officials, noted Egyptologist Aidan Dodson, forensics experts, and the world’s leading paleo-artist and reconstruction expert Elisabeth Daynès, we were able to bring this historic mummy back to life, and it looked like we were about to get another take on how she may have looked in life.”

The Travel Channel continued: “The extraordinary sculpture provides an accurate depiction of her appearance in life and bolsters the theory that the 3,400-year-old mummy of King Tut’s biological mother, nicknamed the ‘Younger Lady’, is also Queen Nefertiti.”

When the recreation was unveiled on the show, the new-look Younger Lady sported Nefertiti’s distinctive flat-topped, tall crown. The Travel Channel had made the conjectural leap and connected the Younger Lady with Nefertiti. Joshua Gates explained the presumption: “In 2010, genetics confirmed that she is, in fact, the mother of King Tut. Since Tut’s father was the Pharaoh Akhenaten, and since Nefertiti was the great royal wife of Akhenaten, this makes the mummy a prime candidate to be Nefertiti herself.”

And that’s where the controversy began.

Daynès, best known for her recreation of Tutankhamun in 2005, explained that she “worked closely with forensic paleopathologists and anthropologists to determine accurate muscle, skin and soft tissue depth. ... When you overlay the profile of the reconstruction with the famous Berlin Bust of Nefertiti, they are an incredibly close match.”

Aidan Dodson appeared convinced: “This remarkable face seems to be consistent with ancient representations of Nefertiti. It’s extraordinary. When taken alongside the latest reading of the genetic data, this provides us with truly exciting evidence that the mummy of the Younger Lady is none other than Queen Nefertiti herself.”

Whether or not Daynès had created a reasonable likeness of the Younger Lady was pretty much lost in a new debate: whether or not the mummy was that of the famous Queen Nefertiti.

The original 2010 DNA results had stated a high likelihood that the Younger Lady was a full sister to Tutankhamun’s father: the bony remains discovered in KV 55 and often linked with Akhenaten. This would give the Younger Lady a royal pedigree (daughter of Amenhotep III) and, according to the DNA team, which included the colourful Zahi Hawass, make her a previously unrecorded sister-wife of Akhenaten.

Given that the ancient Egyptians rarely let a chance go by to claim a title—especially a royal one—it’s hard to imagine how such a person who was the daughter of a pharaoh (sat-nesut ♂ ☣ ♂), the sister of another pharaoh, (senet-nesut ♂ ☣ ♂), and the mother of a third pharaoh (mut-nesut ♂ ☣ ♂), could leave no trace in the inscriptive record.

However, DNA can be interpreted different ways, and the “latest reading” that Aidan Dodson referred to was that by French Egyptologist, Marc Gabolde. Gabolde had demonstrated that the same DNA result would be produced if Tutankhamun’s immediate ancestry was made up of three generations of first cousins. This scenario, whereby Nefertiti was of noble, but non-royal stock, would allow Akhenaten to marry his cousin, the Younger Lady/Nefertiti, and would explain the complete lack of “king’s daughter” references.

Of course, the Younger Lady has a long history of association with Nefertiti, so the latest controversy isn’t new. We’ll have a look at those—and get back to the Travel Channel recreation soon. But first, what’s the back-story on the Younger Lady?

THE YOUNGER LADY STORY

On the evening of March 9, 1898, Victor Loret, the freshly-appointed Director-General of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, swung his lamp-light over three nameless and
Les trois momies de la pièce III.
The “Younger Lady” as discovered (shown on the left) with the teenage boy (centre) and the “Elder Lady” (right).

In his 1912 book, “The Royal Mummies”, Grafton Elliot Smith described the discovery of the three mummies: an elderly woman with a wonderful head of dark hair, a boy of about 15, and a bald-looking young woman.

At one time their bandages had been crudely hacked at with a sharpened adze in a frantic search for jewellery and valuable amulets, which had left the bodies with horrible injuries—particularly to their heads and chests. The young woman, in particular, had been singled out and sported a large gap where the left side of the mouth and cheek should be (left). She was also missing her right arm. Despite this treatment, the bodies had been carefully laid out on a portion of the floor that had been carefully cleared of debris to receive them. The young woman is, of course, our Younger Lady, designated KV35-YL.

The discovery of the three mummies was quickly eclipsed, however, when another side-chamber was investigated and revealed nine more mummies. In contrast, these mummies were in coffins that bore royal cartouches. Loret had uncovered a second royal cache, 17 years after the first collection of rounded-up royals were discovered at Deir el-Bahari.

The royal mummies were eventually carted off to Cairo, along with “une perruque”: a dark wig of plaited human hair that Loret had found lying near the bald, one-armed mummy. The three anonymous mummies, however, deemed less interesting on a historical level, were left behind.

In 1907, the spartan trio was examined and photographed by Grafton Elliot Smith, an Australian professor of anatomy at the Cairo School of Medicine, for his definitive catalogue of The Royal Mummies, published in 1912.

With electric light now available, Smith was able to get a much better look than Loret had nine years earlier, and made a surprising discovery regarding the Younger Lady:

“The examination of this mummy yielded the most surprising results, because M. Loret had described it as a man’s body, whereas it requires no great knowledge of anatomy to decide that the excellently preserved naked body is a young woman’s. Every later writer has followed Loret in his description of this mummy as a man.”
In 1990, Grafton Elliot Smith's photographs and detailed description of the mummies were to prove invaluable for Joann Fletcher, studying ancient hairstyles for her doctoral thesis in the U.K.

Although the dark chestnut-coloured wig—presumably belonging to the "Younger Lady"—had been stored at Cairo’s Egyptian Museum without any documentation aside from an accession number, Fletcher tracked it down and had a startling realisation. The wig was made with layers of overlapping curls; short at the back and tapering down to points over the shoulders. Often referred to as a “Nubian wig”, it wasn’t worn during Amenhotep II’s time, but grew in popularity during the reign of Amenhotep III, and was particularly fashionable among the royal ladies of Akhenaten’s court (although men were occasionally also depicted sported the Nubian wig).

Later, while reading Smith’s book, Fletcher came across a detail about the Younger Lady’s mummy that fascinated her: “Two small perforations are found in the lobule of the left ear.” Now she began to seriously wonder about the origins of the mummy: double-piercing was a rare fashion statement in ancient Egypt—and while most representations of Nefertiti show her with a single piercing in each ear, there are a couple that feature two (see below). Was this anonymous woman with her delicate features and swan-like neck an Amarna royal?

There was one way of proving the Younger Lady was royal: her arms. The mummy, when found, lay with its left arm flat along the body with the left hand resting on the left thigh. The right arm was missing, no doubt ripped-off while the body was being manhandled by ancient thieves. Fortunately, there was an available arm. Elliot Smith noted that “along with these three mummies there is the well-preserved right forearm of a woman, which had been flexed at the elbow, and the hand was clasped.” The arm was laying on the torso of the Elder Lady when the three mummies were found in 1898, as the engraved sketch made at the time (facing page) shows.

In August 2003, Joann Fletcher and a team of researchers from the University of York received permission to reenter the small side-chamber in KV 35, which, until the
previous year, had been sealed since 1930.

Curiously, when they entered the chamber, the Younger Lady was in possession of a previously unrecorded right arm—a straight one, in position but unattached. Accompanying Fletcher in the chamber was Dr. Stephen Buckley, a biomolecular scientist and specialist in mummification techniques. He told NILE Magazine that “the mummification of the extended arm is very different to the mummification of the Younger Lady, specifically her still-attached left arm. The straight arm was also noticeably overly long.

While the wayward bent arm wasn't immediately apparent, it didn't take long to sort through the mass of torn and discarded line on the floor. The arm was there, and it was indeed bent—flexed at the elbow, at an angle that would have placed it across the mummy’s chest, the hand clasped around a long-vanished royal sceptre. Buckley could confirm that the bent arm was mummified in exactly the same way as the Younger Lady’s attached left arm.

While in the chamber, Fletcher noticed something she hadn't anticipated: the clear impression of a tight-fitting brow-band from, presumably, the unique tall blue crown.

There were, for Fletcher, enough similarities between the mummy and the elusive queen to announce they had a match: “The shaved head, the double-pierced ears. The fact that we know from the bone measurements that the right arm was originally in this position [bent], the age—it could be someone as old as 30. All these things add up to a rather, compelling in my mind, idea that this individual is indeed Nefertiti.”

MARIANNE LUBAN

It was, it seems, an idea whose time had come. Independently, across the Atlantic, Marianne Luban had come to largely the same conclusions about KV35-YL, publishing them in 1999 in a paper titled, “Do we have the mummy of Nefertiti?”

Similarly pouring over Elliot Smith’s photographs, Luban realised that “the bone-structures of the Younger Lady and Nefertiti, as immortalised in stone, are strikingly similar. Each has a slender neck of extraordinary length and a strong, but very beautiful jawline. Seen from the front, the mummy’s jaw appears quite square in the manner of the likeness of Nefertiti. Also very alike are the noses that descend in almost an unbroken line from the brow….”

“There is little doubt in my mind that, in order to facilitate the wearing of Nefertiti’s famous unique crown, a tight, narrow headdress, the skull would be shaved like that of the mummy of the ‘Younger Lady’ from KV35.”

And the potential of the missing bent arm wasn’t lost on Luban either: “The Elder Lady, the prince and the younger female… all seem to be arranged en famille…. I believe that they were found together is no accidental grouping and that the ancient restorers of the royal mummies may have understood that this trio was closely related. While it is true that the mummy’s left arm is not raised in the queenly attitude, such as is that of the Elder Lady…. the right arm of the corpse is broken off above the elbow and a right arm that appears to have been flexed was discovered nearby in the chamber of the tomb where these mummies rested.”

While individually, none of these findings conclusively confirm that the Younger Lady is Nefertiti, collectively, they do suggest that here we have a royal female of the late 18th Dynasty who could very well be Nefertiti.

Interviewed for a Discovery Channel documentary on Fletcher’s search for Nefertiti, Egyptologist Barry Kemp of the long-running Amarna Project, was cautious: “A few years down the line I think we’ll be in a much better position to say whether this is, or is not Nefertiti. We’re not at that point yet.”
A few years down the line, in 2010, the Journal of the American Medical Association published the results of the “Tutankhamun Family Project”—the DNA testing of eleven royal mummies suspected of being related to Tutankhamun. This was only the second time the Egyptian government had allowed genetic studies using royal mummies—the first was on the Younger Lady in 2003.

In addition to the DNA analysis, a bone examination was carried out on most of the mummies by computerised tomography to get an insight into their ages at death.

Up until this point, the identities of only three of the mummies had been known for sure: Tutankhamun, Yuya and Tjuyu. The results of the DNA and bone analysis thus resolved some long-standing conundrums and created some whole new ones. In a nutshell, here are the headlines:

- The “Elder Lady” from KV 35 is almost certainly a daughter of Yuya and Tjuyu and therefore must be Queen Tiye—Tutankhamun's grandmother.
- The mummy designated KV 35 was the pharaoh Amenhotep III.
- The male skeleton from KV 55 (usually associated with Akhenaten or the enigmatic Smenkhkare) was a son of Amenhotep III and Tiye.
- The Younger Lady from KV 35 was very probably a daughter of Amenhotep III and Tiye, and therefore a full sister of the KV 55 male.
- Tutankhamun was a son of the Younger Lady and the KV 55 mummy.
- The two female foetuses found in Tutankhamun’s tomb were probably daughters of Tutankhamun, and a female mummy designated as KV 21A and thought to be Ankhesenamun, Tutankhamun’s wife.
- The Younger Lady gave an estimated age of between 25 and 35 years, while the KV 55 mummy was estimated to be close to 40 years of age.
- Tutankhamun was likely a frail young man whose left foot was crippled with bone necrosis which would have made walking painful and difficult.

Three years later, Marc Gabolde announced his own interpretation of the data. Gabolde is the director of the archaeological expedition of Université Paul Valéry—Montpellier III at Amarna.

While he agreed that the Younger Lady from KV 35 and the remains found in KV 55 are Tutankhamun’s mother and father, he disagreed that they were siblings. Gabolde reasoned that they were likely to be first cousins. Three successive generations of marriage between first cousins can result in the same DNA mix that looks like the DNA between a brother and sister.

The researchers, it seems, hadn’t noticed that Amenhotep III shared a third of his gene pool with his father-in-law, Yuya. For Gabolde, this could only mean one thing: Yuya was Amenhotep III’s uncle, and so the king had married his first cousin, Tiye. Gabolde figured that if that was the case, then it was increasingly likely that Akhenaten could have followed the precedent set and also marry his cousin rather than the unknown sister we are being presented with as an alternative.

For Gabolde, this also supported the textual evidence of Nefertiti’s background, which strongly suggested that she wasn’t royal. Supporting this line of thinking is a relief in the tomb of Parennefer at Amarna (Tomb 7). Parennefer held a number of titles in Akhenaten’s court including “Overseer of All the Works in the Mansion of Aten”.

“MY MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO RECONSTRUCT A GENEALOGICAL TREE IN ACCORDANCE WITH DNA AND EPIGRAPHY.”—MARCI GABOLDE.

Here we see, according to Gabolde’s analysis, a hypothetical family tree of part of the Amarnian family.
The tomb scene features Parannefer being rewarded by Akhenaten and receiving a number of gold collars. Watching on, are the royal princesses, Meritaten, Meketaten and Ankhesenpaaten (the future Mrs. Tutankhamun) and their nurses. Standing behind them is Nefertiti’s sister, Mutbenret (drawing below). The title in front of Mutbenret is revealing: "Sister of the Great Royal Wife, Nefertiti":

Gabolde explains: "If Nefertiti was a true sister of Akhenaten, one would wonder why Mutbenret is not called "King’s sister", which would have been more prestigious and less complicated than "Sister of the Great Royal Wife".

As a royal wife, Nefertiti’s name is protected within an encircling cartouche. Mutbenret’s name, however, isn’t. She is the sister of a royal, but not a royal herself, which means Nefertiti’s original status was also non-royal.

It certainly fits with Gabolde’s interpretation of the DNA: Nefertiti is the Younger Lady who came from a non-royal lineage and whose DNA only appears to match a brother-sister relationship, presumably with Akhenaten.

Nefertiti was already known to be Akhenaten’s wife and had six daughters together. Gabolde believes they also had a son, Tutankhamun.

The key Egyptologist involved in the recreation of the Younger Lady’s face was Aidan Dodson, a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Anthropology & Archaeology at the University of Bristol. Dodson took to Facebook to answer some of the questions about the recreation and its link to Nefertiti:

**Facebook Question** The Berlin bust is only one of many wildly diverging images of Nefertiti? These are works of art, and as such cannot really be regarded as providing a benchmark for a close comparison to human remains, regardless of the arguments one way or the other.

**Aidan Dodson** Quite agree, but there seems an underlying basic “look” with most of them—and true with most sculptures of a single individual, even if there is a significant variation within these boundaries.

Actually, the reconstruction was also done to see if the mummy didn’t look like Nefertiti. Had she come out with a broad tubby face we’d have taken that as a strong hint that she wasn’t. All I would say is that the reconstructed face allows the “Nefertiti-option” to be kept in play.

The genetics are the key evidence: the reconstruction is a secondary point (and the various ancient representations are not consistent with each other in detail—although there is a common underlying bone-structure consistent with the reconstruction).

**Facebook Question** The Younger Woman may well be the mother of King Tutankhamun but there is not any definitive evidence that the mummy is that of Nefertiti!

**Aidan Dodson** No, but strong circumstantial evidence, as there is no obvious other candidate among individuals actually named in the archaeological record. Genetically it is Tutankhamun’s mother; genetically she was either the sister of his father (generally agreed to be Akhenaten, although I know that there are dissenters), or his first cousin (following on from three previous generations of first-cousin marriages). As we have no evidence of a sister-wife of Akhenaten, and there are credible reconstructions that make Nefertiti such a first cousin, I plumb for Nefertiti.

The argument that Nefertiti is never shown with a son is a non-sequiteur, as no royal princes are shown with their mother until the 19th Dynasty (and also Kiya is only shown with a daughter — so suffers under the same alleged disability as Nefertiti).

As Akhenaten’s Great Wife (and clearly fertile), Nefertiti is the obvious candidate for Tutankhamun’s mother, and can be made to work fine both genetically and iconographically.
"Regarding the forensic facial reconstruction of the mummy of the 'Younger Lady' announced [in February], there are several issues worth discussion. The head in question is a beautiful job of forensic reconstruction by Elisabeth Daynes, and the artist has done science a great service.

"The Younger Lady is the mummy that Joanne Fletcher [and Marianne Luban] years ago identified as Nefertiti, an idea that Zahi Hawass vigorously refuted. Zahi's DNA testing of the royal mummies a few years ago, including the 'Younger' and 'Older' ladies, indicated that the mummy of the "Younger lady" was Tutankhamun's mother, and—to everyone's surprise—that she was also a daughter of Amenhotep III and Tiye.

"If one accepts that the mummy of the Younger Lady is the mother of Tutankhamun, then she cannot be Nefertiti. In no text is Nefertiti ever identified as a royal daughter. If she had been a daughter of Amenhotep III and Tiye, it would have been clearly stated in her inscriptions, and there are hundreds of texts that survive mentioning Nefertiti with no mention of her parents.

"It has been suggested that Nefertiti was a daughter of Ay, one of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun's high court officials—a military man who took the crown after Tutankhamun's early death. Ay's title, "God's Father" رع , could refer to his relationship to Nefertiti, who as queen, could never claim a non-royal as her father. If the genetic analysis is correct and the mummy of the Younger Lady is the mother of Tutankhamun and a daughter of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye, then this mummy cannot be Nefertiti.

"Numerous sculptures and reliefs survive of Nefertiti, who ruled as queen and then as king with her husband, including many portraits from the end of the Amarna Period when the art style favoured a naturalism that borders on true portraiture. There are elements common to all of these later representations of Nefertiti: a straight nose, heavy-lidded eyes, long graceful neck, and a strong square jaw. The forensically reconstructed face with its narrow skull, deep-set eyes, and triangular jaw is beautiful but in no way resembles the portraits that survive of Nefertiti (see below). That said, they could be relatives. One must remember that Queen Tiye and Ay were siblings; if Nefertiti's father was indeed Ay, she and the Younger Lady would have been cousins.

"Whoever she was—and in my opinion her name is still in question—she was a major player in the Amarna Period. As Tutankhamun scholar Marianne Eaton-Krauss has noted, Tutankhamun never mentioned his mother in any inscription because she was deceased before he took the throne. We know the names of Amenhotep III's chief daughters: Sitamun, Nebetah, Isis, Hennutaneb, Baketaten, and we know that there were many more. Perhaps in time we will be able to restore one of those names to this body, whose face has been so vividly and beautifully recreated here."
THE YOUNGER LADY = NEFERTITI
THE CASE AGAINST

JOYCE TYLDESELEY

Dr. Tyldeley is a Senior Lecturer in Egyptology at the University of Manchester and has penned two popular books about Nefertiti. Does she think Nefertiti and the Younger Lady are one and the same? In a word, no. She told NILE Magazine that "recent examination of the Younger Lady was inspired by a hope that this may be the mummy of Nefertiti. However, the mummy anatomy and dental x-rays (as shown in various publications) suggest that the Younger Lady died when she was about 16 years of age.

We don’t know how old Nefertiti was when she died, but we do know that she bore at least six children. It is therefore highly unlikely that this is Nefertiti. The mummy is, in my view, far more likely to be one of the Amarna princesses."

Here Tyldeley is citing work by Dr. Joseph L. Thimes who has stated that “KV35-YL died at 15–16 years of age at death due to Dr. Joann Fletcher’s head & neck x-rays and her team’s report on long bone epiphyseal fusion info. This is far too young to be Nefertiti."

Tyldeley continues: “My recent book, Nefertiti’s Face: the Creation of an Icon, argues that we developed a Nefertiti fixation which is in danger of distorting our understanding of the Amarna age. I think that this identification fits into this category.”

CONCLUSION

While we’ve been exploring the varying arguments for and against the Younger Lady (KV35-YL) being Nefertiti, we’ve barely scratched the surface regarding all of the possible alternative options for the mummy.

If one accepts the original “Tutankhamun Family Project” findings that the Younger Lady and Akhenaten are indeed siblings, then KV35-YL may well be a daughter of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye. The 2010 DNA report suggests that the Younger Lady is likely to be Nebetah or Beketaten—daughters of Amenhotep III not known to have married their father. Of course, there is the small issue of a complete lack of epigraphic evidence concerning either of the princesses as consorts of their brother. But these were, after all, unconventional times.

As the inimitable Barbara Mertz puts it, “Ah well; someday an inscription may turn up that will solve the problem. In the meantime, life would be very dull without these arguments about Akhenaten’s sex life.”

It’s also worth pointing out that the DNA evidence is far from absolute. Speaking to LiveScience, Frank Rühli, director of the Institute of Evolutionary Medicine at the University of Zurich, says that the number of matches in the DNA results would not have have been enough in a U.K. or U.S. courtroom to claim parenthood.

In the end though, it’s hard not to envy the absolute certainty displayed by Expedition Unknown host, Josh Gates, when he looks at the Younger Lady recreation and says, “This is a unique and exciting moment that allows us to look into the past and help restore the dignity of an incredibly significant woman. The bone structure and the features are remarkably consistent with ancient depictions. I believe this is the true face of Nefertiti.”

The last word, however, goes to Janice Kamrin at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: “Everything you do in Egyptology gets questioned. . . . You have to take the evidence you have, come up with a story that makes sense, but stay open.”
A 2003 handout photo from the Discovery Channel of the Younger Lady (KV35-YL)—the mummy believed by some to be Queen Nefertiti.

Inside the chest cavity, x-rays revealed gold beads from a “collar of justification”—a necklace associated with the Osirian tradition of the “Weighing of the Heart”. This was popular with Queen Tiye and her daughters, and could mean the Younger Lady is one of Akhenaten’s sisters, or could signify a return to orthodoxy by Nefertiti herself after the death of her radical husband.

The NILE Quiz

ANSWERS

1. Tutankhamun/Tutankhaten, officiating at the funeral of his predecessor, Nefertiti.

2. Tutankhamun/Tutankhaten, officiating at the funeral of his predecessor, Nefertiti.

3. Amenhotep III

4. It is believed that the lids of the canopic jars inscribed for Kiya were made originally for Queen Tiye.

5. Seventy. (Happy Birthday ARCE!)

6. The Middle Kingdom’s Amenemhat I was the first ruler to include “Amun” in his name.

7. Amenhotep II (KV 35) was found to contain not just the Younger Lady, but also a cache of mummified regents.

8. The Egyptian god of the dead, Osiris.

9. Queen Tiye.

10. The Sphinx, the ancient stone statue located near the Great Pyramid of Giza. It is believed to be the largest stone statue in the world.