

AMARNA ROYAL TOMBS PROJECT • VALLEY OF THE KINGS
Occasional Paper *No. 5*

THE TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN (KV 62):
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES
(THE BURIAL OF NEFERTITI? III)

By

Nicholas Reeves, FSA

GRAPHICS AND ANIMATIONS

By Peter Gremse

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ABSTRACT

Drawing upon new evidence first made available in 2014, the first paper in this series – *The Burial of Nefertiti? (Nefertiti? I)* – argued for a radical reassessment of the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62). The proposals there put forward and subsequently developed were: that Tutankhamun’s four small funerary chambers are to be recognized not as the abandoned vault of a high-ranking court official, but as the outer portion of a much larger sepulchre; that this larger KV 62 had been initiated for a queen – Akhenaten’s principal consort, Nefertiti; and that, a decade before Tutankhamun’s own burial here, KV 62 had been employed by Nefertiti in her capacity as Akhenaten’s successor, Smenkhkare. A second paper, published in 2019 – *The Decorated North Wall in the Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62) (Nefertiti? II)* – would provide key support for this initial analysis, identifying the presence, on the north, of an original imagery and inscriptions relating to the burial of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare herself.

Building upon *Nefertiti? I-II*, the present *Supplementary Notes (Nefertiti? III)* have a double purpose: (1) to summarise and contextualize the argument, demonstrating by means of computer animation that the evidence on which *Nefertiti? I-II* draws is real and of the highest significance; and (2) to counter a widely circulated, opposing claim, based on a single radar survey undertaken in 2017, that there is nothing more to KV 62 than was known to Howard Carter in 1922.

Nefertiti? III concludes that the proposals put forward in 2015 and 2019 remain valid: that the evidence does indeed support the view that Tutankhamun – accompanied by a funerary equipment designed for Nefertiti as the co-regent Neferneferuaten – had been interred within the outer section of the pre-existing tomb of the young king’s ruling predecessor, Nefertiti/Smenkhkare, KV 62’s first and presumably still-present owner.

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*"If the person you are talking to doesn't appear to be listening, be patient.
It may simply be that he has a small piece of fluff in his ear"*
— A.A. Milne, *Winnie-the-Pooh*



Frontispiece. North wall of Tutankhamun's Burial Chamber, Scene I, showing the identical profiles of figure [2] (in yellow) and the bust of Nefertiti (Berlin 21300) (in blue): a still from Animation 3: Whose Tomb? (Right: <http://www.highres.factum-arte.org/Tutankhamun/>, copyright © Factum Arte/Ministry of Antiquities, Egypt. Left: Berlin ÄM 21300, detail, Brueck & Sohn, Kunstverlag, Meissen. Artwork Peter Gremse, copyright © Peter Gremse)

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To the memory of my teacher, John Richard Harris:
the first to look, and the first to see

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INTRODUCTION

In the matter of Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62), for almost a century Egyptologists have been happy to believe what the ancients intended us to believe – that everything about this burial is precisely as it seems.¹ As we are at last beginning to recognize,

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* My principal thanks are due to Yumiko Ueno – dear friend and ever-inspiring co-worker; without her this paper could not have been written. To H.E. former Minister of Antiquities Mamdouh Eldamaty, whose work in the field continues to broaden our understanding of tomb KV 62, I am indebted for his past support and ongoing interest. For the time and skill Peter Gremse has devoted to preparing the animations and text figures which form such an integral part of this paper I am beyond grateful; his work sets new standards, and opens the way for future art-historical application. I owe particular thanks to those colleagues and friends who, at various stages in the writing, have diligently waded through pages of dense text to offer their comments, corrections, questions, criticisms and encouragement – James Dunn, Marianne Eaton-Krauss, Nick Glass, W. Raymond Johnson, William Joy, Adam Lowe and John H. Taylor. For discussion, advice, practical help and other assistance I am happy to acknowledge Neville Agnew, Adam Andrusier, George Ballard, Jean-Claude Barré, Kara Cooney, Fabienne Haas-Dantes, Tom Hardwick, †J.R. Harris, Carolin Johansson, Stephanie Kaiser, Nozomu Kawai, Heidi Kontkanen, Piers Litherland, Sandro

this is far from the case: inconsistencies and outright contradictions abound, and as these are identified and addressed a significantly more involved picture of this extraordinary find begins to emerge.

A single question – obvious enough, but for too long left unasked – makes the point: with time available to prepare only the smallest of tombs for the prematurely dead young king, how had it been possible to produce the mass of lavish equipment with which the burial's chambers would be filled?

The answer, as I have argued elsewhere, lies in the subtly altered inscriptions and inappropriate imagery this equipment proves on inspection to display.² Most of what Tutankhamun took to the grave had nothing to do with him: it was an adapted, pre-existing assemblage – a burial equipment prepared years before the young king's death, and for someone else entirely.

As both texts and modes of representation reveal, that someone had been a woman³ – as I shall

Vannini, Sarah Vernon-Hunt, Cat Warsi, Kent Weeks, Charlie Williams and Lorinda Wong. Responsibility for any and all errors of fact or interpretation is, of course, mine alone.

¹ The standard text is that of Carter (and Mace) 1923-1933, from whose interpretations more recent general (and specialist) treatments of the tomb have shifted scarcely at all.

² Reeves 2015c (Gold Mask and other items); Reeves 2015d (Gold Mask); Reeves in press b (coffins). Cf. Harris 1992.

³ That the tomb of Tutankhamun contained objects originally intended for the burial of a female ruler was for long denied, with the female characteristics of Carter

demonstrate, none other than Akhenaten's consort, Nefertiti, in her penultimate role as this same king's co-regent, Neferneferuaten.⁴ Funerary shrines, sarcophagus, coffins, gold mask,⁵ canopic shrine, canopic chest and coffinettes – all of these items, and more, were originally made for her. Had not Nefertiti abandoned this collection for something better⁶ on becoming full pharaoh (Smenkhkare),⁷ the burial of Tutankhamun would have been a very different affair – as modest, perhaps, as the four small chambers hurriedly prepared to contain it.

And what of those accommodating chambers? How reliable is the accepted view – namely, that KV 62 had been a mere private tomb pressed into royal service for want of anything better?⁸ Here again, detailed examination of the evidence, much of it newly uncovered, points to a significantly different reality: towards KV 62 being the very opposite of the small-scale sepulchre we all thought we knew.

object no. 289b, for example, explained away as little more than high-Amarna affectation: e.g. Robins 1984; Robins 1994, 148-151. Harris appears to have been the first to promote the female sex of this particular statue (Harris 1973b, 12, n. 46, and see further Vandersleyen 1992, 75-76).

⁴ For my reading of the historical background – since strengthened by Gabolde's 1998 discovery of the epithet "she-who-is-beneficial-for-her-husband" (Gabolde 1998, 153-157) – see Reeves 1999a; Reeves 2001; and this paper. Nefertiti is not the only candidate to have been proposed: for a brief survey of the range of views on a female, regal presence at the late Amarna court – in which the person of Akhenaten and Nefertiti's eldest daughter, Meritaten, figures large – see Krauss 2007; the battle-lines have changed little since. Specific challenges to the Meritaten hypothesis are presented in Table 2.

⁵ The repeated denials by conservator Christian Eckmann that the Gold Mask (Carter no. 256a) is an adapted Neferneferuaten piece are difficult to fathom (Frederiksen 2016; Saager 2016; public comment at the second Tutankhamun conference, Cairo, May 8, 2016; Eckmann and Broschat 2016). He is wrong. As detailed photography shows (Reeves 2015d), Tutankhamun's prenomen on this piece is very clearly secondary, chased over an earlier, perfectly legible prenomen "Ankhkheperure-beloved-of-Waenre." There can be no justification for Eckmann – who has no knowledge in this area – blithely dismissing this palimpsest as "die Linien ... von dem Versuch, die [Tutanchamuns] Hieroglyphen vorzuzeichnen" (Eckmann, in Saager 2016, 29).

⁶ Reeves 2015a, 5, n. 34.

⁷ For Nefertiti's elevation from co-regent Neferneferuaten to the full pharaoh Smenkhkare, see Reeves 1999a, 87-91; Reeves 2001, 172-177; and the present text.

⁸ Thomas 1966, 89. Engelbach 1940, 136, suggested that KV 62 might have been a tomb intended for the god's father Ay prior to his accession – on the wholly speculative grounds that the supposedly "kingly" tomb WV 23, subsequently employed by Ay, had originally been slated for Tutankhamun's pharaonic use. For the more likely origins of WV 23, see below, n. 102.

My revised⁹ thoughts on the tomb proper were first presented in 2015, in a paper entitled *The Burial of Nefertiti? (Nefertiti? I)*.¹⁰ The proposals there put forward were radical: specifically, I argued that Tutankhamun's place of burial was not the tomb of an official taken over and completed for the young king's use; rather, it was the adapted outer section of a significantly larger sepulchre – a queenly tomb which had been begun for Nefertiti herself. Further evidence, graphic and inscriptional, would be presented in support of this assessment in a second article in 2019 – *The Decorated North Wall in the Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62) (The Burial of Nefertiti? II)*.¹¹

The present paper – *The Tomb of Tutankhamun: Supplementary Notes (The Burial of Nefertiti? III)*¹² – takes up where *Nefertiti? II* left off. It has three principal objectives:

(1) to provide a summation of the combined archaeological, inscriptional and geophysical evidence now to hand, and to consider how this interacts with other, specific aspects of the late Amarna period;

(2) to convey the substantive character of this evidence – to demonstrate, through the use of non-distorting, non-manipulated computer animation, that the conclusions here drawn are very firmly grounded in fact and not simply plucked from the air as some have charged.¹³

Access to the animation process has been generously provided by graphic artist Peter Gremse of *ConzeptZone.de*. From the mass of text and detailed argument put forward in *Nefertiti? I-II*, and from fresh supporting data observed during this material's review, Gremse has distilled five separate animations which set out my case very clearly. Whatever doubts critics may have concerning the conclusions I draw here and in *Nefertiti? I-II*, Gremse's animations establish very clearly that the evidence from which I argue is incontrovertibly real – meaning that, should the answers I present be rejected, the unsettling questions prompted by these uncomfortable facts will remain;

This paper's third aim (3) is to assess the contributions, positive and less so, of geophysics in the investigation of KV 62 so far. Given the extent to which it has prejudiced the discussion, a particular focus of attention is the assertion of Italian physicist Francesco Porcelli – made on the basis of supposedly "conclusive" evidence furnished by the Polytechnic University of Turin's radar survey of 2018 (GPR IIIa) – that there is nothing more to Tutankhamun's tomb than the four small chambers we see today. A review fails to persuade.

⁹ Prior to 2014, with no reason to question it, I had been inclined to accept the traditional view: Reeves 1990a; Reeves 1990b.

¹⁰ Reeves 2015a; summarized in Reeves 2015b.

¹¹ Reeves 2019. Hereafter *Nefertiti? II*.

¹² Hereafter *Nefertiti? III*.

¹³ E.g. Hawass 2016.

BACKGROUND

(a) Initial proposals

For several decades after its first discovery in 1922, no in-depth analysis of the architectural and decorative development of Tutankhamun's tomb would be possible: the data required simply did not exist – either in any form at all, or at the level of detail necessary to be able to conclude very much. The first publication of accurate plans, sections and projections of the tomb and its setting in 2000, by Kent Weeks's Theban Mapping Project,¹⁴ marked a significant advance, as since have the internal preliminary reports of the Getty Conservation Institute,¹⁵ which contain a mass of fresh data to help shape our technical understanding of the physical tomb. It was in 2014, however, that the situation changed most dramatically, with the release online of data collected by Factum Arte to produce their facsimile of the Tutankhamun tomb now constructed adjacent to Carter House on Luxor's west bank.¹⁶

The Factum documentation was exceptional, comprising (1) high resolution, composite colour images of Burial Chamber J's painted scenes, and (2) high resolution (sub-millimetric), three-dimensional scans of the surfaces which underpin this decoration.¹⁷ Examining these materials for the first time during the spring of 2014, their potential was obvious. Here, in the surfaces of the west and north walls of room J, beneath concealing layers of paint and within a matrix long assumed to be solid bedrock, could now be viewed an ancient, colourless, plastered landscape, massively enlargeable and in its every detail wonderfully sharp. What immediately caught my eye was the artificial verticality of a series of subtly defined ridges and depressions; with tie-ins soon detected with other details within the architecture of KV 62, suspicions that these features might prove archaeologically meaningful began to build.

I would spend the next several months ruminating on this imagery, searching for a single, unifying theory which might explain these anomalies. Gradually, as multiple strands of evidence came together, a coherent solution began to form. This was set before my Egyptological colleagues in 2015 in *Nefertiti? I*,¹⁸ where I would venture the following proposals:

¹⁴ Weeks 2000; Weeks 2003;
<http://www.thebanmappingproject.com> (currently offline)

¹⁵ Getty Conservation Institute 2009; Getty Conservation Institute 2012-2013.

¹⁶ Factum Arte 2012.

¹⁷ http://www.highres.factum-arte.org/Tutankhamun_html/.

¹⁸ Reeves 2015a; cf. Reeves 2015b.

(1) that the linear traces observed within Burial Chamber J's plastered walls seemed likely, by their placement and form, to identify the rock-cut jambs of previously unnoticed doorways – a smaller opening in the west, and a more extensive partition, with inner “service doorway,” to the north;

(2) that, if such doorways were indeed present, it was reasonable to infer that KV 62 possesses a more extensive ground-plan than that currently recognized; and

(3) that the prospect alone of a continuation to the north was sufficient to identify KV 62 as a right-turning, L-shaped corridor tomb – a sepulchral type associated not with private use, but with the burial of an Egyptian queen.

The possibility of a new doorway/chamber to the west of room J was of course exciting to contemplate, but it occasioned only moderate surprise this is the precise location one would expect to find one of Tutankhamun's two missing, satellite storage chambers.¹⁹ Far more intriguing was the prospect of KV 62's continuation to the north of the king's Burial Chamber.

As I studied room J's painted walls in their massively enlargeable Factum format, more and more unexpected detail came into view; this, in turn, began to cast a new and very different light on other, long-known features of the tomb's decoration. Specifically, I had begun to see:

(4) that the north wall's long-recognized, 20-square (Amarna-style) proportional layout – which contrasts with the 18-square grid employed to draft the scenes on room J's south, east and west – marks out this northern decoration not merely as the work of a different team of artists, but as distinctly earlier in date;

(5) that an earlier date for this wall tallies with technical differences observed by the Getty Conservation Institute within these two sets of paintings. What these differences reveal is the existence, within the north wall scene, of two separate phases: a first – the wall's original decoration; and a modification of this original decoration, made some time after its creation to provide a match with the later, 18-square scenes which had now been added to the room's south, east and west;

(6) that close study of the north wall “portraiture” (specifically, Scene 1) suggested that this had originally been conceived not as a depiction of Ay officiating at the burial of Tutankhamun (as the labelling currently asserts), but of Tutankhamun directing the obsequies of his own predecessor, Smenkhkare; and

(7) that features within the “portraiture” of this same scene's second figure from the right (the predecessor-recipient of this opening of the mouth ritual) in turn brought strikingly to mind

¹⁹ Reeves 2015a, 6.

representations of Akhenaten's widow, Nefertiti – and, with that, a view I had long espoused on very different grounds: ²⁰ that Nefertiti and Tutankhamun's predecessor, Smenkhkare, were to be understood as one and the same person.

This was quite an outcome. Even more startling, however, was the fundamental question this state of affairs inevitably raised: in its original, Nefertiti/Smenkhkare version, what relevance could this north wall scene have had to the burial of Tutankhamun? The answer was none.

The evidence which now faced us was not of a moderately larger KV 62 – for example, a tomb with a full complement of four, Tutankhamun-era storage chambers; the implications were far more significant. Beyond the tellingly decorated north wall must lie this larger, L-shaped, queenly tomb's primary and principal funerary apartments. It was beginning to look as if Factum's data had led us to the burial of the beautiful, elusive Nefertiti herself – to Tutankhamun's predecessor on the throne of Egypt; Akhenaten's widow and confidante, who had now, demonstrably, ruled, and died, under the name Smenkhkare.²¹

(b) *Subsequent discoveries*

This was a developing investigation, and my second paper on this topic would appear in 2019: *The Decorated North Wall in the Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62) (Nefertiti? II)*.²² While media attention was firmly fixed on the geophysical tests being fielded by Egypt's Ministry of Antiquities to test the proposals of 2015 (see below: "Good Science"),²³ in the background research quietly continued, exploring in greater depth the Factum data and reviewing yet again the archaeology on the ground.

²⁰ Reeves 1990b, 22-23; Reeves 1999a, 88-91; Reeves 2001, 167-177.

²¹ There is no actual evidence to associate the mummy of the so-called "Younger Lady" (Cairo CG 61072) with Nefertiti, despite various proposals (Fletcher 2004; Marc Gabolde, most recently in Connor and Laboury 2020, 276-281).

²² Reeves 2019; this incorporated a revised list of addenda and corrigenda to Reeves 2015a, first issued separately on August 28, 2015.

²³ See Reeves 2019, 13-14; Ballard, in Reeves 2019, 14-18; and here below. My initial hope and intention had been to undertake a fully comprehensive investigation of the tomb – to include radar, thermal imaging, impact-echo and other non-destructive testing techniques – and arrangements to have this technology on site were actually in place in 2015; unfortunately, security clearance was granted for radar alone. Subsequently, control of the investigation passed to others, and focus was completely lost. With Mamdouh Eldamaty having resumed direction of the operations in and around KV 62, we can hope for the survey to again move forward in an appropriately strategic manner.

The results of this further research would be significant. It was possible to demonstrate not only that alterations had been made to the north wall's original (Phase ²⁴ I) decoration, but also what, precisely, these changes were; more especially, thanks to Egyptologist Tom Hardwick, the scene's principal actors would soon be positively identified.

Scrutinizing the online documentation, Hardwick had made a significant discovery: the remains of an earlier hieroglyphic text physically underlying the cartouched nomen of Ay on the north wall.²⁵ As I had suspected, the name of Ay was a replacement for that of the original, Phase I participant in this opening of the mouth scene. And, although the legible portion of this original text amounted to but a single sign – a reed-leaf, i (Gardiner sign-list M17),²⁶ still visible thanks to a watery patch in the white over-paint – this sign's positioning within the cartouche plainly identified it as part of the name "[Tutankh]a[mun]." My impression of 2015 – that the face of the north wall ritualist resembled a young Tutankhamun rather more than it did an elderly Ay – was confirmed: the original version of this north wall decoration had indeed depicted Tutankhamun, and not Ay, enacting a key funerary rite on behalf of what was clearly his, Tutankhamun's, royal predecessor, a full decade before Tutankhamun's own burial within KV 62.

A second, equally crucial advance would be made around this same time, within the tomb itself. Former Minister of Antiquities Mamdouh Eldamaty, scrutinising the painted surface with a raking light in the precise area of my proposed "service doorway" within the larger, putative north wall partition, was able to observe a distinctly different finish: muted only a little by the overlying paint, the plaster at this point was seen to display visible, sweeping "trails" of the plasterer's float within a much harder, grittier mix than that encountered in the softer, cloud-like surface of the wider wall. This gritty finish was very familiar: an identical plaster had been encountered by Howard Carter in 1922 – on the four, stamped blockings erected to close-off the entrance corridor (B) at its either end, and to seal-off access to the Annexe (Ia) and Burial Chamber (J).²⁷ What Eldamaty had discovered was the first physical evidence which seemed to confirm the Factum virtual data: evidence that the KV 62 core plan does indeed continue beyond a blocked doorway, plastered in the correct manner of such blocked

²⁴ "Phase" [I-II] refers to the decorative chronology of room J: see Reeves 2019 and Table 1 here.

²⁵ Reeves 2019, 4, n. 37. Hardwick took a different view on this palimpsest, as I there discuss.

²⁶ Gardiner 1957, 481.

²⁷ With fragments of these blockings at that time stored in the Treasury (Ja), direct comparison was a straightforward matter.

doorways, within an appropriately partitioned north wall.²⁸

By 2019, therefore, the archaeological indicators were beyond encouraging: as the evidence now showed, virtual, physical, artistic and inscriptional, the original (Phase I) version of the north wall's painted decoration had been produced not for the burial of Tutankhamun himself, but a decade earlier, in the wake of the interment of this young king's predecessor. KV 62 had very clearly begun its existence as this predecessor's own place of burial – towards which, thanks to Eldamaty's sharp eye, the evidence seemed now physically to point: the tomb of Smenkhkare,²⁹ on whose identity we may now profitably reflect.

SMENKHKARE (1): FACT AND FICTION

(a) *Neferneferuaten*

Scholars have been divided over the identity of Smenkhkare for years, and not because the problem itself is so very complex. The confusion is self-inflicted, with the construction of one careless theory upon another, and old assumptions permitted to fossilize into “fact” while the real evidence – which is supposed to hold such musings in check – has been pushed further and further into the background. In order to disentangle the resultant mess, it is essential to put theory completely aside and return to first principles – specifically, to what the ancients themselves have to tell us through the medium of archaeology and inscriptions.

A first, vital step in this process is to distinguish between that evidence which relates to Neferneferuaten, and that associated with Smenkhkare;³⁰ the facts are not interchangeable.

The former individual we are now, at last, able to recognize as someone other than the traditional, male *alter ego* of Smenkhkare. Thanks to Marc Gabolde's recognition of the epithet “she-who-is-beneficial-for-her-husband” (*Axt-n-hi.s*) found employed as an occasional component of the co-regent's nomen,³¹ it is now indisputable that Neferneferuaten was (1) a woman, and (2)

(sexual)³² wife to a royal husband whom (3) other epithets within the co-regent's cartouches identify as the source of this lady's temporal power – Akhenaten himself.

Neferneferuaten cannot have been a name adopted by Akhenaten's daughter/great royal wife Meritaten, as many writers claim,³³ since both co-regent and this younger great royal wife are on two occasions named as separate individuals within the same KV 62 inscriptions.³⁴ Nor, I believe, is there any evidence to suggest that “she-who-is-beneficial-for-her-husband” might have been Kiya,³⁵ a woman whose status as Akhenaten's greatly beloved (non-royal) wife (*Hmt mrrty aAt*) was, in court terms, relatively junior³⁶ – a situation common to virtually the entire pool of candidates, in none of whom do we discern the slightest hint of political power.

In the matter of influence and prestige, only one woman at El Amarna fits the bill, as John R. Harris first pointed out in the early 1970s. This woman was Akhenaten's long-standing and constantly celebrated great royal wife (*Hmt nsw wrt*) Nefertiti.³⁷ Fifty years on from Harris, Nefertiti remains by far the strongest contender for co-regent; in fact, with her image clearly recognizable on the Neferneferuaten/Tutankhamun second shrine (Carter no. 237)³⁸ (Figs. 1-2), in an instructively re-assigned sculptural portrait³⁹ and elsewhere (see below), Nefertiti represents the only candidate.

(b) *Smenkhkare*

If Neferneferuaten was the name adopted by Nefertiti during the second half of Akhenaten's

²⁸ Reeves 2019, 24, and see here Animation 2.

²⁹ And not Nefertiti's burial as Neferneferuaten, as some misrepresent my views: e.g. Friederike Seyfried, in public discussion at the second Tutankhamun conference, Cairo, May 8, 2016; Dodson 2018, 153, n. 121.

³⁰ Although the point was long ago made by Harris (Harris 1973b, 5, n. 5) – “No reference to ‘Smenkhkare’ that cannot be verified is of any value, since more often than not the name is used carelessly [by scholars] where the cartouche is actually Neferneferuaten or the prenomen Ankhkheperure” – misleading conflations of the two identities regrettably continue: see previous note.

³¹ Gabolde 1998, 153-157.

³² Harris 2005, 25.

³³ Krauss 1978, 43-46; Gabolde 1998; Connor and Laboury 2020, 125-126.

³⁴ Carter no. 001k: Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 4; Reeves 2015a, 4, n. 32. See also Carter no. 12n + 79 + 574: Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 31-32; Harris 2008, 19.

³⁵ Perepelkin 1978.

³⁶ Harris 1974b; Reeves 1988. Kiya's name does not occur in a cartouche, she never wears a crown, and the Aten never extends the sign of “life” to her nose; those relief fragments which depict her monumentally large (on a par with Akhenaten himself) are to be explained by their original context as parts of the structure of Kiya's dedicated “North Palace” (for which see now Johnson 2020). The likelihood continues to be that Kiya owed her (limited) prominence to having borne the king a son – Tutankhamun.

³⁷ Harris 1973a; Harris 1973b; Harris 1974a. Later in his life, influenced by a number of factors, Harris chose to revisit the idea that Smenkhkare might indeed have been a pre-Neferneferuaten, male co-regent of Akhenaten: Harris 2008.

³⁸ See Reeves 2019, Fig. 12 (image reversed for comparison).

³⁹ Johnson 2015.



Fig. 1. (left) Face of the god Osiris: detail of the exterior left-hand door of Tutankhamun's second shrine (Carter no. 237). (centre) The same, with profile outlined (in yellow). (right) The same, with comparison overlay of Tutankhamun profile Carter no. 318a (in blue) – no facial match
(Carter nos. 237 and 318a, copyright © Sandro Vannini. Artwork Peter Gremse, copyright © Peter Gremse)



Fig. 2. (left) Face of the god Osiris: detail of the exterior left-hand door of Tutankhamun's second shrine (Carter no. 237). (centre) The same, with face outlined (in yellow). (right) The same, with comparison overlay of Nefertiti profile Berlin ÄM 21300 (in blue) – perfect facial match
(Carter no. 237, copyright © Sandro Vannini. Berlin ÄM 21300 (reversed), Brueck & Sohn, Kunstverlag, Meissen. Artwork Peter Gremse, copyright © Peter Gremse)

reign, who, then, was Smenkhkare? Before we attempt an answer, it will be necessary to navigate two separate areas of contention: first, the matter of Smenkhkare's sex; second, the question of whether Smenkhkare ruled alongside and predeceased Akhenaten, or else succeeded him.

Smenkhkare has for long – too long – been associated with the royally coffined, male, Amarna-era occupant of tomb KV 55 in the Valley of the Kings.⁴⁰ Historically, the identification goes back to 1925/1926, and to similarities first observed by the anatomist Douglas E. Derry between the shape of the KV 55 skull and that of the then but recently examined Tutankhamun.⁴¹ These similarities would give birth to the following, three-stage argument:

(1) that the KV 55 remains, buried as a king, were those of a close relative of Tutankhamun – a perfectly reasonable deduction which was then employed to support two quite unjustified assumptions:

(2) that the sole kingly candidate for this male body was Smenkhkare – hitherto a mere name in the records, naturally assumed to be male and, except for Akhenaten, seemingly the only ruler

from the period whose physical remains could not yet be accounted for; and

(3) that, with the KV 55 body's relatively higher age at death, Smenkhkare had most probably been an elder brother of Tutankhamun.⁴²

The argument is not only a circular one; it runs fully counter to what is indicated by the archaeology itself (see below). Be that as it may, this perceived chain of associations was not only widely accepted, but had very soon been turned on its head to establish the following unassailable "truths:" (1) that Tutankhamun had an elder brother; (2) that this brother was named Smenkhkare; and (3) that elder brother Smenkhkare's body is that found within KV 55. As Egyptologists have wrestled to position this false analysis within a broader understanding of the period, a thousand and one historical fictions have, of necessity, been spawned and utter confusion has ensued.

There are, in fact, two fundamental reasons why the KV 55 body cannot be that of Smenkhkare:

First, as already intimated, the KV 55 deposit contains not a single reference to Smenkhkare – no image; no name on the wall or on any object; not the vaguest allusion anywhere to connect anyone of this name with KV 55's coffined burial or the tomb itself.⁴³

⁴⁰ For surveys of the KV 55 controversy, see Reeves 1990c, iv-xiv, and Grimm and Schoske 2001, esp. 121-136. Our respective conclusions fail to agree.

⁴¹ Carter (and Mace) II, 1927, 152-155; Derry, in Leek 1972, 14-15; Derry 1931.

⁴² Derry 1931.

⁴³ Over the years, much has been made of the text "beloved of Waenre" encountered on a slip of gold foil

What KV 55 does contain is a series of clear and consistent references to another male ruler – in fact, three quite separate pieces of evidence:

(1) a royal coffin which demonstrably, by its form and texts, had been made originally for a woman – Akhenaten’s secondary wife, Kiya;⁴⁴ a coffin which, however, had subsequently been updated for Akhenaten’s own use – by the addition of a uraeus to the brow (something to which Kiya was not entitled), and by the clever adaptation of texts formerly laudatory of this king into identifying texts which would render the piece suitable for his actual employment;

(2) a set of Kiya’s alabaster canopic jars, upon which precisely similar changes had been imposed, and for the same purpose – including the addition of uraei to the lids, and the careful excision from the jars’ sides of selected columns of Kiya’s standardized text-formula, leaving intact only that portion of this formula which named Akhenaten himself.⁴⁵

The sole potentially complicating factor in this evidence is that this material was subsequently subjected to further change, meted out after burial:⁴⁶ both classes of object, coffin and jars, had been subjected to *damnatio memoriae*, and demonstrably within KV 55 itself.⁴⁷ This *damnatio* had been achieved in one of two ways: in the case of the coffin, by the excision of Akhenaten’s cartouches (though leaving his distinctive titulary intact), and by the ripping-away of what must have been a recognizable, sheet gold portrait mask; and, in the case of the canopics, by grinding away that

from the interior of the KV 55 coffin (Engelbach 1931, 100, band D). This Engelbach chose to see as a mention of Smenkhkare – which of course it cannot be, since the name-forms of Smenkhkare incorporate no such reference to Akhenaten; these source-of-power epithets are employed only in respect of Neferneferuaten, who, as Gabolde has demonstrated (Gabolde 1998, 153-157), was very clearly a woman. In fact, the band D reference has nothing to do with either name, Neferneferuaten or Smenkhkare: as Perepelkin early recognized (Perepelkin 1978, 80-81 – the English translation of a book first published in Russian a decade before), it is merely a general epithet within a text referencing the coffin’s original owner – Akhenaten’s secondary wife Kiya (see above). As such, it is of no value in establishing the identity of the adapted coffin’s final occupant.

⁴⁴ Perepelkin 1978, 73-84.

⁴⁵ Krauss 1986; Gabolde 2009.

⁴⁶ Evidence would suggest that this later entry into KV 55 occurred at the time the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6) was being quarried: Reeves 1990a, 44.

⁴⁷ Reeves 1990a, 57, n. 146. Censorship extended to Tiye’s large gilded shrine also, which the investigating party was clearly preparing for removal and reburial elsewhere. In this they failed, since there was insufficient space to manoeuvre the large panels within the only partially cleared corridor, though clearly it had been possible successfully to extract Tiye’s coffined body: Reeves 1990a, 59, n. 168.

final portion of the original Kiya text panel which contained Akhenaten’s names and titles and had identified the jars’ secondary owner.

While these pointers ought to be enough in themselves, one additional piece of evidence serves to confirm both the name which had finally been erased from coffin and jars, and the body’s attribution:

(3) two instances of a name the *damnatio* team had missed, legibly incised on two of four magical bricks of dried mud⁴⁸ which had been positioned around the KV 55 coffin as ritual protection. Each intact cartouche, unaltered in any way, reads “Neferkheperure-waenre” – the prenomen of Akhenaten himself.⁴⁹

The second reason the KV 55 body cannot be associated with Smenkhkare is chronological: while the KV 55 and KV 62 bodies may well have been

⁴⁸ Davis 1910, pl. XXIV (two only illustrated in the publication).

⁴⁹ There is another, more speculative pointer towards the identity of the KV 55 remains which might be mentioned: an exceptionally small, hieroglyphic inscription reading “Aten” (itn), written in black on the corridor’s right-hand wall, close to the chamber, and first observed by Lyla Pinch Brock during her re-examination of the tomb in 1993 (Fig. 3):



Fig. 3. KV 55 entrance corridor (B), right-hand wall: “Aten” text (see n. 49) (Piers Litherland, copyright © New Kingdom Research Foundation)

Although the authenticity of this oddly formed text has been questioned, its content is remarkably specific: written with a seated-god determinative (A40: Gardiner 1957, 446), it was clearly intended as a reference to Akhenaten himself, joined in death – in the manner of all deceased kings – with this solar disc, itn (Reeves 2001, 100-101. Cf. Harris 2005). This same transition is alluded to in two different types of gold sequin from KV 62: Harris 1992, 60-61 (2, 3), and see further below, n. 65. In antiquity, after the body had been deliberately stripped of its cartouches, the use of such an oblique reference, written discreetly small, might have been the only “safe” way to alert official visitors to the identity of the tomb’s problematic occupant.

relatively close in their respective ages at death, in reality, by any chronology of this period one chooses to employ, the two must have died at widely different times – so different, in fact, that, were they indeed the bodies of brothers, it would be virtually impossible to suggest a mother for the one who might equally have given birth to the other.⁵⁰

All that is left to support the traditional link between Smenkhkare and the KV 55 body is the supposed youth of those remains – and, with no longer any evidence to suggest a connection between KV 55 and the speculative elder, male, Tutankhamun sibling of former theory, this body's age is utterly irrelevant to establishing anything at all about Smenkhkare. Simply put, it's not his.

Nor, it might in conclusion be pointed out, does the KV 55 body's age at death necessarily deny what the archaeology so forcefully indicates: namely, that the remains ought to be those of Akhenaten himself. There are two possibilities. (1) We may well have been mistaken in our assumptions concerning Akhenaten's age; perhaps he was younger at death than the 35 years plus we generally assume.⁵¹ Or (2) it is equally possible that the anatomists themselves are in error: for, whenever there is an opportunity for the Egyptologist to test anatomically estimated ages at death against indisputable historical fact – for example, by comparing the minimal length of a king's reign with the anatomical estimate of the age at death of his firmly identified⁵² body – then the anatomical estimate is consistently shown to be too low.⁵³ In the case of KV 55, this circumstance ought long ago to have given pause – to have shifted the burden of proof back to those who would treat archaeological detail as, at best, a moveable feast, and, at nonsensical worst, as evidence one is permitted to completely ignore.

As this evidence now stands, I would argue – as I have consistently argued⁵⁴ – that no good reason exists to question the assignment of the male remains from KV 55 to anyone other than Akhenaten himself – a candidate who, as Tutankhamun's father, falls within the same anatomical and haematological parameters required of any putative “elder brother.”⁵⁵

What follows from this discussion? If the body found within KV 55 is not that of Smenkhkare, then we are in possession of no evidence which has any bearing on the physicality of this “mystery” pharaoh – and nothing, certainly, which would deny the possibility that the “youthful he” of past, faulty Egyptological speculation might, in reality, be an “older she.”

Before we pursue this line of enquiry, however, let us briefly address the remaining uncertainty which has dogged a solution of the Smenkhkare issue: this individual's position within the Amarna line of succession. This is a question which would seem now to be effectively resolved: (1) by new readings within the Pere graffito which remove both the suggestion that Neferneferuaten and Smenkhkare might be separate individuals, and the contradiction of a “temple of Ankhkheperure” (without epithet = Smenkhkare) being in existence already under Neferneferuaten;⁵⁶ and (2) by the results of a detailed analysis of multiple changes discernible within the hieroglyphic texts on Tutankhamun's Gold Throne, which establishes the regnal sequence of the Amarna era as Akhenaten > Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten > Smenkhkare > Tutankhaten/Tutankhamun.⁵⁷ These two documents in combination, Pere and the Gold Throne, together with the removal from the discussion of KV 55, open the way at last for a new and far less complicated solution in the matter of Smenkhkare's singularly over-thought identity.

SMENKHKARE (2): NEFERTITI AS PHARAOH

The steady political rise of Nefertiti is exceptionally well-documented.⁵⁸ Inscriptionally, we witness the lady's elevation from regular great royal wife (Hmt nsw wrt) to great(est?) royal wife (Hmt nsw aAt).⁵⁹ We observe her being granted an increasing number of iconographic privileges, from the wearing of pharaonic crowns,⁶⁰ to physical representation at colossal scale,⁶¹ to the smiting of Egypt's enemies⁶²

⁵⁰ Harris 1973a, 17.

⁵¹ Perhaps we are indeed to take literally the reference to “your *child* [= Akhenaten] who knows you [= the Aten]” (pAy.k Sri nty rx.tw) in El-Amarna tomb 18 (Davies 1903-1908, V, pl. XIII) – a phrase Redford (Redford 2013, 29, n. 83) goes so far as to render “*thy little boy* who knows thee” (my italics).

⁵² Reeves 1990a, 225-227.

⁵³ Robins 1981.

⁵⁴ Reeves 1982 and since.

⁵⁵ Cf. Reeves 1982. A similar determination has more recently been made on the basis of DNA analysis: Hawass et al. 2010. At this stage in our knowledge, I would not consider the latter independently persuasive.

⁵⁶ Reeves forthcoming.

⁵⁷ Reeves in press a.

⁵⁸ Harris 1973a; Harris 1973b; Harris 1974a; Harris 1977; Samson 1978, esp. 107-139; Reeves 1999a, esp. 87-91; Reeves 2001, 157-177; Johnson 2015; Johnson 2018.

⁵⁹ Reeves 1978.

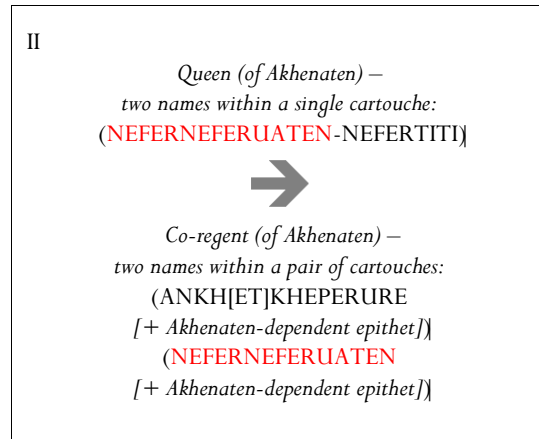
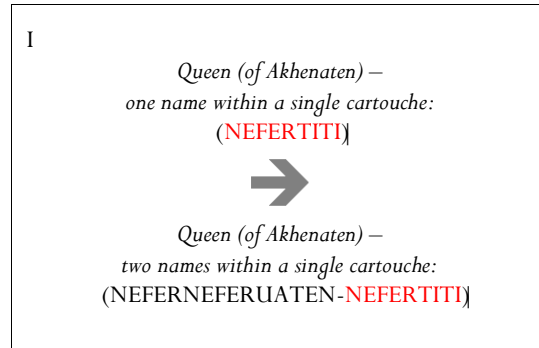
⁶⁰ Harris 1973b, 9-12: “of her numerous crowns and headdresses several are properly those of a king, among them the short, round-bottomed wig with diadem, the multiple *atef* crown, the flat-topped cap with tall feathers, horns, and solar disc, and the close-fitting, rounded cap or helmet, often confused with the blue crown;” and, of course, the blue crown itself, and perhaps “also ... the red.”

⁶¹ Harris 1977; cf. Manniche 2010, 93-96.

and more;⁶³ and, in due course, we find the lady appointed to rule alongside her husband as junior pharaoh, adopting the paired cartouches (Ankhkheperure + epithet) and (Neferneferuaten + epithet), the epithets acknowledging whence this extraordinary favour originates – with Akhenaten himself. We even have a glimpse of the moment of transition itself, from queen to co-regent, in a small, limestone stela preserved in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin.⁶⁴

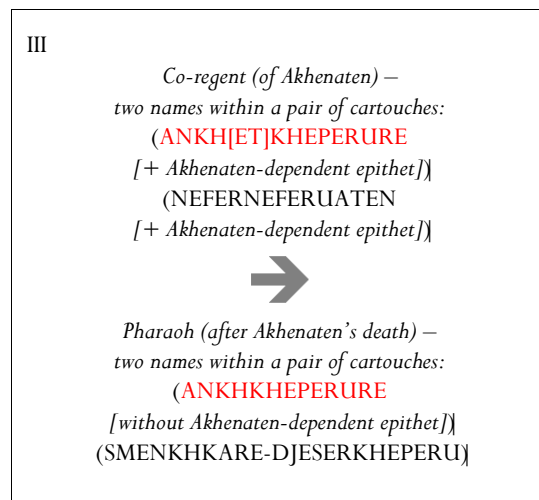
What this co-regency held in prospect for the future is obvious: if Nefertiti/Neferneferuaten chanced to outlive Akhenaten, then, as the sole survivor of this politico-religious partnership, she would *de facto* be sole pharaoh; she would not become sole ruler – the status would be hers by default. This was the reality of the situation; the question is, did this ultimate promotion ever take place?

No explicit statement has survived to indicate who died first, Akhenaten or his co-regent Neferneferuaten, but there are indications. Beyond the steady development in Nefertiti's titles, imagery and sheer ubiquity, the clearest way to monitor the lady's progress towards ultimate power is through the evolution of her names:



What emerges from a comparison of (I) and (II) is a pattern – one in which a specific element of the woman's previous name (highlighted in red/italicised) is carried over to the new: in (I) (Nefertiti) > (Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti); and in (II) (Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti) > (Ankhkheperure [+epithet]) (Neferneferuaten [+epithet]).

What is surely significant is that we find a precisely similar striving for continuity in the transition between the names of the co-regent Neferneferuaten and Akhenaten's successor Smenkhkare (III):



Against the background of (1) Nefertiti's previous and progressively increasing influence, (2) what

⁶² E.g. Cooney 1965, 82-85, no. 51a.

⁶³ Harris 1973b, 9, notes other "conventional modifications" applied to Nefertiti and pointing towards "a degree of formal equality" with the king. These include "the colouring of her flesh, ... her use of the military Nubian wig (both of which also apply to the princesses and to other court ladies)," the queen's appearance "on the right of the king in statuary, reversing the normal position, and, when standing, [being] shown with a similar placing of the feet."

⁶⁴ Stela Berlin ÄM 25574 (Reeves 2001, 169). A (blank) cartouche has been inserted into the final version of this piece. Clearly this was done to transform an offering scene originally depicting Akhenaten and his queen Nefertiti (the lady firmly identified by her characteristic, flat-topped crown) into a representation of these same two individuals as co-regents sporting two sets of two (blank) cartouches. As in the case of this and stela Berlin ÄM 17813 (Harris 1973b), these empty cartouches may simply indicate that the monument was left unfinished; however, that explanation does not suit the single, empty cartouche positioned adjacent to another seated image of Nefertiti (again identified by her flat-topped crown) on a gold ring illustrated by Müller and Thiem 1999, 159, Fig. 338 (top left and right); 254. During the Ptolemaic period, when such empty cartouches are frequent, they are usually explained as the pragmatic response to a rapidly changing political situation.

would follow from the senior co-regent's earlier demise, and (3) texts which seem likely to reference Akhenaten's prior passing,⁶⁵ the conclusion is difficult to avoid: in the same way that queen Nefertiti and co-regent Neferneferuaten were demonstrably one and the same, so too must have been co-regent Neferneferuaten and pharaoh Smenkhkare – with the “Ankhkheperure” element of the former's prenomen carried over by the latter in precisely the same manner specific elements of Nefertiti's evolving name-forms were retained, both during her time as queen and during her co-regency. And it is surely no accident that, with the adoption of an independent, kingly name, those epithets formerly employed by Neferneferuaten to acknowledge Akhenaten as the source of her power are abandoned – rendered redundant by the senior king's assimilation with his ancestors in and as the entity known as the Aten: i.e. by Akhenaten's death.⁶⁶

As some of us have long argued, therefore, “Smenkhkare” was not the fabricated, non-existent elder brother of Tutankhamun; rather, this was a name adopted by Nefertiti to mark the final stage in her transformation from queen, through co-regent to full pharaoh. Where theory would turn to incipient fact was with the first recognition, in 2015, of Smenkhkare's presence within the Phase I decoration of KV 62's north wall (see above). This presence effectively proves the contention: for, within this painted scene, the facial features carried by Tutankhamun's predecessor, Smenkhkare, are now revealed to be those of Nefertiti herself.

NEFERTITI: STILL PRESENT WITHIN KV 62

As we have seen, Nefertiti's depiction, both as recipient in the opening of the mouth ritual and as subject in the Phase I version of the north wall's two following scenes (Scenes 2-3), reveals two things. The first is that KV 62 must, at an earlier stage, have served as this lady's place of burial. Why? Because the subject-matter of the north wall's

original, Phase I decoration can have had no possible relevance to the burial of Tutankhamun himself – a conclusion confirmed by the fact that this decoration had needed to be adapted to make it relevant for its later, Phase II employment by this king.

Secondly, Tutankhamun's officiating presence at Nefertiti's opening of the mouth ritual is a clear sign that her status at death was nothing less than that of full pharaoh. Again, why? Because this scene had a double role: (1) to acknowledge that, on Nefertiti/Smenkhkare's passing, Tutankhamun had dutifully provided for her formal burial; and (2) to demonstrate, before the gods, the *quid pro quo* to which this act had entitled the young king – namely, the formal legitimization of his own succession – something only a predecessor had the power to bestow.

What might additionally be ventured is that KV 62 almost certainly remains Nefertiti/Smenkhkare's place of burial, as I will endeavour to explain.

What is clear from the archaeology is that Nefertiti/Smenkhkare's interment did not take place within J⁶⁷ – the room employed by Tutankhamun as his Burial Chamber; neither did the lady's burial involve the funerary paraphernalia Tutankhamun would later take over for his own use.

The first point to make is that the traces of original text still visible within Tutankhamun's appropriated burial equipment,⁶⁸ allied with this equipment's hybrid (semi-queenly/semi-kingly) character,⁶⁹ consistently and exclusively identifies the collection's former owner as Nefertiti in her capacity as Akhenaten's co-regent, Neferneferuaten. Crucially, as we have seen, Tutankhamun's involvement in the north wall's opening of the mouth indicates that this was neither the rank Nefertiti held nor the name she employed at the time of her death and actual burial: she died, and was interred, as full pharaoh, i.e. as Smenkhkare. Presumably, as pharaoh, she will have received a different, fully royal funerary equipment – something appreciably finer than her lesser-status, only semi-pharaonic, co-regent's panoply.⁷⁰

Inscriptionally and representationally redundant, that earlier equipment had been abandoned unused; consigned to palace storage, it would not be touched again until Tutankhamun's death a decade and more later. Prior to this later employment, by Tutankhamun, it is unlikely the Neferneferuaten equipment had ever physically entered KV 62 – though judging from the Stage⁷¹ II widening of the KV 62 corridor carried out in readiness for its introduction, that was clearly where, as co-regent,

⁶⁵ See Harris 1992, 60-61, referencing a series of gold sequins from the tomb of Tutankhamun. The texts these sequins carry are as follows: Harris no. 2 – (Ankhkheperure-beloved of the Aten) (Neferneferuaten-ruler ...) (Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, 67-21/5 and 67-21/6; Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 1959.451. Nozomu Kawai, to whom I am grateful for photographs, will be publishing an expanded reading of the Edinburgh sequin); Harris no. 3 – (Ankhkheperure) (Beloved of the Aten) (Carter no. 46gg) (my italics). These transitional Ankhkheperure name-forms evidently date to the period immediately following Akhenaten's death and prior to the successor's adoption of the nomen Smenkhkare-djeserkheperu (Harris no. 4).

⁶⁶ Cf. Reeves 2001, 118. See the previous note, and further above, n. 49. Also Table 2.

⁶⁷ Contra Huber 2016; Huber 2018; Huber 2018-2019.

⁶⁸ Harris 1992; Gabolde 1998; Reeves 2015d.

⁶⁹ Reeves 2015c; Reeves in press b.

⁷⁰ Reeves 2015a, 5, n. 34.

⁷¹ “Stage” [I-IV] refers to the perceived architectural development of KV 62. See Table 1 and Animation 4.

Nefertiti had envisaged she would in due course deploy it.

Secondly, as the Getty Conservation Institute's findings allow us to conclude,⁷² room J itself did not exist as a "house of gold," or royal burial chamber, until after Tutankhamun's death.⁷³ The changes necessary to create this feature had been imposed upon a pre-existing space: KV 62's Stage III room J, at that time serving as notional "well"⁷⁴ – a ritualistic prerequisite in kingly tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty,⁷⁵ though Tutankhamun himself would go without. This Smenkhkare-era "well" had itself been cut, downwards and to the west, from what must, in turn, have been a stepped Stage I/II transition within a simple corridor.

As a Stage III "well," this room was decorated on one wall only – its far, northern side, this painting acting as a "blind"⁷⁶ to conceal access to, and distract attention away from, both the corridor's continuation and, we must assume, the tomb's principal burial apartments beyond.⁷⁷

During the Stage IV conversion of this space for Tutankhamun, its single, north wall scene was altered: (1) by applying to its existing (Phase I)

white background a coating of yellow paint, tracing around the original imagery and adapting and relabeling the figures to produce the Phase II decoration we see today; while, (2) alongside these Phase II, north wall alterations, in order to complete the formal, "house of gold" environment in which Tutankhamun was to be buried, three completely new scenes would be added to room J's previously unadorned south, east and west.

In short: the physical space occupied by Nefertiti/Smenkhkare in death cannot have been the same Burial Chamber (J) later employed by Tutankhamun, for the single reason that, prior to Tutankhamun's death, this room J Burial Chamber did not exist. The "house of gold" we see in this location today was a creation for Tutankhamun's express use, established within the "well" of a pre-existing, larger tomb – from its original, north wall decoration, that of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare, occupant of KV 62 for a decade already.

PROOFS OF CONCEPT: THE ANIMATIONS

The following commentaries relate to the five animations newly created by Peter Gremse to illustrate the principal points of my argument: namely, that KV 62 is a considerably larger tomb than we currently see, and that its original owner – and still hidden occupant – was Nefertiti in her capacity as Akhenaten's successor, the pharaoh Smenkhkare.

The films themselves may be accessed in one of two ways: onscreen, by simply clicking the blue-edged thumbnail beneath each heading; or, from printed versions of this text, by scanning the single QR code provided at the end of this paper.

Where refinements and corrections to *Nefertiti?* I and II have been incorporated in the Gremse animations, these are mentioned. Footnotes direct the reader to more detailed discussion on specific points; see also the breakdown of evidential cruxes presented in Table 2.

For visual clarity, coverage within these films has been restricted to evidence most immediately relevant to this discussion – architectural, decorative and scientific. Discussion of the tomb's burial equipment is for the most part excluded, as is any reference to the sequence of the objects' placement and the complexities of the tomb's multiple robberies.⁷⁸

⁷² Getty Conservation Institute 2009; Getty Conservation Institute 2012-2013; Wong et al. 2012.

⁷³ Reeves 2019, 3.

⁷⁴ Reeves 2019, 9 and below, Addenda and Corrigenda to Reeves 2019.

⁷⁵ The "well" was such a standard feature in kingly tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty that it seems to have been a required addition in the transformation of Dra Abu'l-Naga AN B from the (right turning = queenly) tomb of Ahmose-Nefertiti to a joint place of burial for this lady and her son, Amenhotep I: Romer 1976, 198-199; Reeves 1990a, 3-5, 7-9; Reeves 2003, 71-72. Tomb DB 358 – containing, when found, the (cached) early Eighteenth Dynasty burial of Ahmose Meryetamun and a (subsequent?) burial of the Twenty-first Dynasty king's daughter Nany – represents another apparent adaptation for kingly use (for Thutmose II?; cf. Reeves 1990a, 18-19, 30) of a right-turning queen's tomb, similarly achieved by the addition of a well.

⁷⁶ See Roehrig 1995, 105, n. 12. It may be significant that the same goddess we find on the KV 62 north wall, Nut, is shown making this identical gesture of *nywy* ("welcome") in the "well" decoration of WV 22 (Amenhotep III).

⁷⁷ To see the presence of a north wall build within KV 62's room J merely as evidence for the simple "squaring up" of an irregular, unfinished chamber – raised as a more likely scenario by Friederike Seyfried, Gabi Piek and Regine Schultz at the second Tutankhamun conference, Cairo, May 8, 2016 – <https://blog.selket.de/aus-der-forschung/alle-gegen-reeves-viel-gegenwind-auf-tutanchamun-konferenz> – is unconvincing. Surface scanning, radar and thermography – all indicate, within this larger partition, the presence of an inner "service doorway." Such a feature is indicative of a need for ongoing access – something which would hardly have been necessary within a wall intended merely to regularize an odd-shaped space: Reeves 2015a, 8; Reeves 2019, 24.

⁷⁸ For the robberies within KV 62, see still Reeves 1990a, 61-69, 80-86.

ANIMATION 1:
THE THEORY SUMMARISED



[click on title or image to play film]

The opening scene of Animation 1 lays out the known extent of KV 62, identifying its principal features and the position of its single decorated chamber – J. In a fly-through commencing at the tomb’s entrance staircase – which, following the interment(s), will have been completely buried, landscaped over and camouflaged – we pass down a short staircase (A) and through an initial blocking (Carter no. 004), a back-filled passageway (B), and a second closure wall (Carter no. 013) which gives access to the first of the tomb’s four small rooms – the Antechamber (I). On the west of this Antechamber we see the entrance into the Annexe (Ia) (Carter no. 171), here shown fully (re)closed as it seems likely Carter originally found it.

Turning to the north, we observe a partition wall erected in antiquity to separate the Antechamber from the Burial Chamber. Within the centre of this partition appears a separately blocked “service doorway” (Carter no. 028), an opening we assume was temporarily closed off during the tomb’s stocking by means of a wooden door (or pair of doors) to prevent pilfering – door(s) which, following Tutankhamun’s burial, will have been removed and replaced by a plastered and sealed, permanent stone build.⁷⁹ Both this inner doorway and its framing partition would be dismantled by Carter in 1922 to facilitate access to the Burial Chamber and permit clearance of it and room Ja (the Treasury).

The film goes on to highlight those additional, hidden chambers which the Factum Arte traces and other evidence (summarised in Animations 2 and 4) suggest exist within KV 62.

In the case of the Burial Chamber’s north wall, this evidence identifies, within its eastern half, the presence of a second, stone-built partition similar to, and positioned on precisely the same axis as, the partition at I-J removed by Carter; the outline dimensions of this second, putative partition are virtually the same as the width and height of the Antechamber itself, encouraging its identification as

the closure to a corridor continuation (J[y]). Radar GPR II, as reprocessed,⁸⁰ suggests not only that such a continuation exists, but that it had been back-filled in antiquity with compacted dust and rubble,⁸¹ in similar manner to the KV 62 entrance corridor (B) as this was encountered by Carter at the time of the tomb’s discovery.⁸²

In common with the now-dismantled blocking between I and J, this north wall partition J-J[y] contains within its outline virtual and physical traces I identify as evidence of a second, blocked, “service doorway” (see Animation 2) – an inner opening differing in size from that encountered by Carter within the I-J partition, but identical in concept and presumed function (see Animation 2).

Turning to the Burial Chamber’s west wall: here, beneath the painted decoration, Factum Arte’s scans highlight surface traces of a further wall-opening which presumably gives access to a third satellite store-room (J[x]) similar to the two encountered by Carter – the Annexe (Ia) and Treasury (Ja). The likelihood is that these side chambers – Ia, Ja and the perceived J[x] – had been added to the KV 62 plan during Stage IV of its development, when the tomb’s outer elements were given over to Tutankhamun’s sole use (see Animation 4).

The burial suites of Eighteenth Dynasty kings were regularly provided with four such satellite storage chambers.⁸³ If that was the case within KV 62, then the sole possible location for an undiscovered fourth storeroom is behind the Burial Chamber’s decorated south wall. On this possibility, see further Animation 2.

⁸⁰ Ballard, in Reeves 2019, 13-18.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Carter (and Mace) 1923-1933, I, esp. 89-94. As Peter Gremse points out to me, the slope of such corridors may have been a deliberate design choice, harnessing gravity to facilitate the burial party’s task of filling the space to ceiling level – with the danger of sliding rubble at the same time hampering any intruder who might be tempted to try and dig through it.

⁸³ Occasionally (as in WV 22 [Amenhotep III] and KV 57 [Horemheb]) a fifth satellite chamber is encountered. In the former, the presence of a single pillar almost certainly identifies its intended role as accommodation for the principal queen (Tiye) (see Reeves 2003); in the case of the latter, a similar determination may be made on different grounds (cf. Reeves 2015a, 2, n. 11).

⁷⁹ Romer 1975, 329-31; Roehrig 1995, 92.

ANIMATION 2:
HIDDEN DOORWAYS



[click on title or image to play film]

Animation 2 considers in greater detail the doorways first discerned in Factum Arte's surface scans of the north and west walls, and, in the case of the former, the manner in which these features interact with the decoration which appears now to conceal them. (See further Animation 3.)

On the north, we see that the overall height of any partition opening will have been limited by the course of a diagonal fault which appears to occupy much of the north wall's left-hand side.⁸⁴ The outer edges (jambs) of such an opening, on the north wall's right-hand side, are suggested by precisely vertical traces seen in the Factum scans underlying the plaster skim and paint. Significantly, the first of these verticals lines up precisely with the western wall of the Antechamber, encouraging a belief (heightened by the presence of a chiseled continuation line on the Burial Chamber ceiling)⁸⁵ that the two spaces, Antechamber + Burial Chamber and what is mooted to lie beyond, had originally formed a single corridor. Similarly discernible within the Factum scans is this partition's blocked inner "service doorway."⁸⁶ Significantly, in artificial raking light, this north wall's entire right-hand portion is revealed as distinctly smoother in finish than the bedrock to the left.

As we have already observed, an analogous partition with inner doorway had been encountered by Carter in 1922 separating the Antechamber (I) and the Burial Chamber (J).⁸⁷ While that now-dismantled feature's overall width is virtually identical to the partition discerned within the north wall of room J, the size of the Carter "service doorway" differs from that now traceable in the Factum scan – a natural consequence of the respective openings into J from I and from J into

J[ly] having been constructed a decade apart (see above) and by a separate team of workers, identified as such by their artists' distinctive proportional training.

That these newly discerned, north wall outlines – J[ly] partition + "service door" – were not chance artefacts of the scanning process was early established both by Factum Arte themselves, and by a thermographic (infrared) capture of the north wall's eastern half by the ScanPyramids team in 2015 (IR I).⁸⁸ This latter image is here integrated into the Gremse animation, along with Hirokatsu Watanabe's subsequent GPR I of 2015. Both detected the same, centrally positioned line of demarcation between the north wall's left- and right-hand sides – a feature first observed in the Factum Arte scans. George Ballard's reprocessing of the National Geographic GPR II data in 2016 and again in 2019 would not only confirm this partition's placement on the right, but its constructed nature also.⁸⁹

In connection with the north wall partition's overall extent, it is interesting to observe how closely this corresponds with the wall's covering of (genuine)⁹⁰ mould – an indication, perhaps, of the artificial build's greater permeability relative to the surrounding bedrock.⁹¹

Animation 2 goes on to consider the architecture which may lie behind this north wall partition. As already observed, the opening's discernible outline suggests a corridor continuation of the Antechamber (I), at the same width and, following a short step-down, at a similar height (see Fig. 6 below); unlike the entrance corridor (B), this continuation appears not to slope downwards.⁹² The opening's substantial size is intriguing, and was presumably dictated by a need to pass through it something extremely large. What comes immediately to mind are the enormous panels of the nested, sarcophagus-enclosing shrines which we know to have been standard equipment during the New Kingdom, within both a co-regent's burial⁹³ and a fully pharaonic interment also⁹⁴ – the

⁸⁸ Reeves 2019, 13.

⁸⁹ Ballard in Reeves 2019, 13-18.

⁹⁰ For the "fake," painted mould added by Carter following his physical investigation of the north wall, see Reeves 2019, 8 and Fig. 28; Animation 5.

⁹¹ Reeves 2019, 24 – though Adam Lowe's suggestion for its cause was "fresher plaster." Perhaps it was the result of the application in this area of a fresher and thicker plaster layer, which will have contained significantly more moisture.

⁹² See below, Animation 4.

⁹³ Use of nested funerary shrines by a co-regent: confirmed by Tutankhamun's appropriation of the set prepared for Neferneferuaten (Carter nos. 207, 237, 238, 239).

⁹⁴ Use of nested funerary shrines by a king: Carter and Gardiner 1917; Reeves 2015, 3, n. 19 (tomb of Ramesses IV, KV 2). Note the presence within KV 2 of five separate shrines – perhaps the standard, fully pharaonic allocation.

⁸⁴ In Reeves 2015a, 7 and Fig. 17, this fault's upper, visible portion was mistakenly identified as a settlement crack. See now Reeves 2019, 24.

⁸⁵ Getty Conservation Institute 2009, 12.

⁸⁶ Reeves 2015a, 7, Figs. 15-16, 20.

⁸⁷ Carter (and Mace), 1923-1933, I, 179-181; Griffith Institute, Carter MSS, I.G.3; I.G.4; Reeves 2015a, 3, 8.

latter being the situation I believe we have here, located some distance beyond this north wall partition and mooted corridor.

Following the introduction of such large funerary items, access beyond room J will have been physically reduced by the construction of a dry-stone partition – perhaps as much as a metre thick, if it resembles that later erected between I-J – framing a moderately sized “service doorway” opening. As we presume in the case of Carter’s doorway no. 028, the north wall’s proposed, pre-Tutankhamun opening will similarly have been shut-off with a temporary wooden door, here again to lessen the prospect of theft during and immediately after stocking.⁹⁵

Animation 2 continues with a comparison of the right- and left-hand sides of the north wall decoration, highlighting three distinct horizontal levels in the painting’s execution. The uniquely high level seen in figure [6]⁹⁶ reflects its status as a Phase II, 18-square insertion; this is discussed in greater detail in the commentary to Animation 3.

The remaining differences in level relate to the scene’s original, Phase I drafting, with the principal group of figures on the left-hand side – [3], [4], [5] and [7] – noticeably taller than their companion images to the right – figures [1] and [2]. This height difference is particularly instructive, revealing that the original, Phase I decoration had been applied in two separate stages – in itself, further, indirect evidence of an opening in this area. The wall’s left-hand side will have been painted first, soon after the partition wall had been built and plastered. Of necessity, the right-hand side could be executed only later – after the final stocking of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare’s burial apartments had been completed, her physical interment made, and the corridor continuation’s “service doorway” finally blocked and plastered. See further below, and Animation 3.

As mentioned previously, an important detail of this “service door” closure was observed by Mamdouh Eldamaty on the wall itself in 2015 – specifically, a hard, swirling grittiness within its plastered finish, and the contrast this presents with the “soft” plaster wash applied to both surrounding bedrock and partition wall. This is of the greatest significance: the hard, gritty mix is identical to that found applied to the four door-blockings Carter was obliged to break through in 1922 in order to gain access to the various parts of the burial – blockings 1-2 at either end of the entrance corridor (= Carter nos. 004 and 013); blocking 3 closing off the Annexe (= Carter no. 171), and blocking 4, the inner doorway within this partition which closed off

access to the Burial Chamber (= Carter no. 028).⁹⁷ (The doorway to the Treasury had never been closed.) Even without the evidence of Factum’s surface scanning, virtual contrasting, thermal imaging and radar, this gritty texture alone would be sufficient to raise suspicions of a blocked doorway at this point.

Contrary to what we see on the Carter blockings, there is no evidence of large, inscribed seals⁹⁸ stamped into the gritty plaster of the north or the door opening proposed on room J’s west (nor indeed in the area of the speculative opening on its south). Since the painted decoration performed precisely the same security function, such stampings will have been superfluous: without the painterly skills required to make good the damage a breach would cause, any and all illicit activity would have left an obvious trace. More to the point, the use of large, formal seal impressions would have needlessly signposted to intruders that something further, and consequential, lay behind.

As already intimated, only after completion of the blocking and plastering of the north’s “service doorway” had it been possible to complete the Phase I decoration on this wall’s right-hand side – with the slightly reduced scale of figures [1] and [2] an indication that, in the original calculations, too little space had been set aside for this completion, and that a modest compromise in scale was the solution necessarily adopted.

What happened next? A decade after the closure of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare’s tomb, KV 62 was re-opened: the young successor, Tutankhamun – who, ten years previously, at least in name, had directed Nefertiti/Smenkhkare’s funeral within, memorialising his role in the Phase I version of her decorated “well” wall – was himself unexpectedly dead. In light of Tutankhamun’s youth, our presumption is that no funerary preparations had yet been set in train – that the king possessed neither a

⁹⁵ In the animation the door might equally have been shown opening inwards.

⁹⁶ The figures are numbered from right to left on the wall, in the sequence they are intended to be “read.”

⁹⁷ Partial or full photographic coverage exists of all the plastered and stamped blockings within KV 62, with the sole exception of Carter no. 013 (for which see Griffith Institute, Carter MSS, object card 013-2). In the case of no. 171, its condition as photographed is breached and, as I now suspect, by the excavators themselves. In the most frequently reproduced images of doorway no. 028, this blocking too is shown in its modern, breached state, with the access hole concealed by the excavators behind the propped-up lid of a basket. Before breaking through, however, Carter did thankfully photograph this door in its intact state, revealing what he subsequently removed to have been an anciently re-blocked, plastered and stamped-over robbers’ hole: see Carter (and Mace) 1923-1933, I, pl. XLII; Reeves 1990a, 63. For the physical character of these various blockings, see Griffith Institute, Carter MSS, GI I.G.3; I.G.4.

⁹⁸ For the seals see Reeves 1990a, 61-69 and 80-86; Reeves 1990b, 92-93; Kaper 1993, 143-153.

designated tomb,⁹⁹ nor the ritual furnishings needed to ensure a fittingly regal and above all magically efficacious transition into the hereafter.

The absence of equipment, as we now know, had proved relatively easy to remedy – by the adaptation, for Tutankhamun’s use, of Nefertiti’s discarded and still unused co-regent’s equipment; the work was not perfect, but in most cases it was close to. And perhaps, with this same woman now very much in the necropolis administration’s mind, a solution to the problem of a place to accommodate the burial presented itself as a matter of course. It was not the solution some have proposed,¹⁰⁰ however – the simple tipping-out of Nefertiti’s body from an existing burial within KV 62’s room J, and the straightforward(!) replacement of her corpse with his. As a significantly larger tomb than the KV 62 we see now, only its outermost rooms will have needed to be cleared to make space for Tutankhamun; rather than simply replacing one burial problem with another, the tomb’s primary owner, Nefertiti herself, will have been left to slumber on, undisturbed, within her own, dedicated funerary apartments located deeper within the gebel.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ That may not strictly be true. As I have indicated elsewhere (Reeves 2015a, 2, n. 11), there are features about the plan of KV 57 which point to that tomb having been quarried originally for the use of Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten though never employed. If so, then there is every reason to believe that this unfinished and unused tomb will thereafter have been slated for use by several succeeding rulers, including Tutankhamun himself. The decision on actual allocation, however, lay not with a newly deceased pharaoh, but with his successor, who would naturally find himself (herself) faced with the need to prepare a “house of eternity” of his (her) own. From the large number of *ad hoc* royal burials we have from this time-period – that of Akhenaten himself (within KV 55), that of Smenkhkare (as I argue here, within her adapted queenly tomb KV 62, rather than a specifically “kingly” sepulchre), that of Tutankhamun (within the outermost part of the tomb employed for Smenkhkare, KV 62), and that of Ay (within what looks to be a tomb originally intended for one of his queens, the right-turning WV 23) – it is tempting to detect a repeating opportunism at play, with the magnificent KV 57 scheduled for use by each reigning king who would, in the end, be betrayed by his (or her) successor. The process finally came to an end with Ramesses I, who honoured his predecessor, Horemheb’s wish to take on and (partially) decorate this magnificent tomb for his own use.

¹⁰⁰ Huber 2016, 83-92; Huber 2018; Huber 2018-2019 – selectively following my conclusions of 2015.

¹⁰¹ This may explain the presence of a small number of Smenkhkare vessels recovered from KV 62 by Carter (nos. 405, 448[?], 480[?]; Loeben 1991; Harris 1992, 58) – specifically, that they represent strays from the Smenkhkare funerary equipment which had been cleared from these outer chambers to make space for Tutankhamun; pieces which, when their inadvertent presence was noticed among the Tutankhamun equipment

The room chosen for conversion into a burial place for Tutankhamun, J, as already discussed, is likely to have served previously as the KV 62 “well,” installed at the time the tomb was adapted to accommodate Nefertiti as full pharaoh, under the name Smenkhkare, during Stage III of the tomb’s development (Animation 4). This “well” suited requirements perfectly: not only was it but notionally sunken, it was sunken sufficiently, and by chance possessed adequate floor-space, to accommodate very neatly Tutankhamun’s (formerly Neferneferuaten’s) massive gilded shrines¹⁰² and masquerade as the sunken “crypt” of a full-sized Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb.¹⁰³ To complete this transformation from Stage III “well” to Stage IV burial suite for Tutankhamun, at least two of the four satellite storage chambers traditionally provided for a fully regal burial would be cut in the appropriate positions (Ia and Ja), leaving sufficient available space to accommodate the missing two storerooms besides – J[x] and J[z], considered further below.¹⁰⁴

later introduced, will have had their texts erased – perhaps as much because they bore the name of Akhenaten as that of Smenkhkare. The name of Akhenaten is found on but a handful of pieces within Tutankhamun’s burial equipment, in virtually every case, it would appear, a mere chance inclusion: besides the erased Smenkhkare jars, on Carter nos. 1k (wooden box), 261a (linen shawl), 261p(1) (reinscribed gold pectoral), 281a (linen shawl), 596 (fan), and 620:40 (faience bangle). See also the KV 62 garment Carter no. 54f = GEM (Grand Egyptian Museum) 16017, recently discussed by Tawfik et al. 2018. (*Contra* the arguments put forward by Tawfik et al., this garment will almost certainly have been inscribed originally with the prenomen of Akhenaten – deliberately cut-out and covered with a decorative patch following the king’s death – and the prenomen of Neferneferuaten: Ankh[kheperu]re [+ Akhenaten-dependent epithet].)

¹⁰² That room J had not originally been designed to accommodate the Neferneferuaten/Tutankhamun shrines is evident from the fact that, as erected for Tutankhamun, their orientation was a full 180 degrees from that intended (Bell 1990) in order for their doors to be accessible. For the tomb for which this nest of shrines seems originally to have been designed, for use by Neferneferuaten – KV 57 – see Reeves 2015a, 2, n. 11.

¹⁰³ WV 22 (Amenhotep III): Weeks 2000/2003, pls. 42-43.

¹⁰⁴ The arrangement Tutankhamun’s undertakers were clearly attempting to achieve is set out by the excavator in Carter MSS, GI 1.9.5.1 (see Reeves 2015a, Fig. 12, left). Interestingly, a second version of this rationalization is to be found sketched in pencil on the reverse of one folio of a 10-page draft by Carter on “The Annexe” (the text subsequently published as Carter [and Mace] 1923-1933, III, 98-108) – a document which, in September 2020, was being offered for sale from Carter’s personal papers by London manuscript dealer Adam Andrusier (see Fig. 4).

As for the decoration of chamber J: this pre-Tutankhamun “well” had been provided with but a single (Phase I) scene which extended across the entire north wall – a wall which, under Tutankhamun, would mark the outer physical extent of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare’s own, untouched section of KV 62.¹⁰⁵ As shown here in Animation 2,



Fig. 4. Analysis of the plan of KV 62, sketched by Carter in pencil on the reverse of one folio of a 10-page draft subsequently published as Carter and Mace 1923-1933, III, 98-108 (contrast increased) (see n. 104)
(Adam Andrusier via William Joy,
<https://www.andrusierautographs.com/product/carter-howard-1874-1939/>, copyright © Adam Andrusier)

Although at first glance this sketch might appear to record Carter’s ruminations on the location of additional chambers within KV 62 (see below and Animation 5), a moment’s reflection will indicate that this is not the case. The typescript on the reverse of which this drawing was made almost certainly post-dates Carter’s failed investigation of the left-hand side of room J’s north wall (see below, Animation 5) – meaning that, by the time the sketch was made, Carter’s hopes of KV 62 being a larger tomb were already in the past. Like Carter MSS, GI I.9.5.1, the Andrusier document is a casual attempt to illustrate, for persons unknown, how the Annexe and Treasury within KV 62 – pictured in the centre of the sheet – relate to a full-sized royal tomb. The tomb Carter here chose as example, and sketched above KV 62, was WV 22 (Amenhotep III), drawing in neat dotted line the chambers present in that earlier tomb which were missing from the tomb he had found; obviously thrown in as an aside – as reflected in the sloppiness of the line – was Carter’s acknowledgement of other chambers (the queens’ suites: see Reeves 2003) running off from the WV 22 burial chamber and of no particular relevance to what he was then attempting to describe. Why, having emphasised the absence of a third storage room on the west of the KV 62 Burial Chamber by sketching it in on

and as explained more fully in Animation 3, this Phase I scene was taken over and adapted for its new, Phase II owner by over-painting in yellow its original white background to create a dedicated “house of gold,” or burial chamber. At the same time, to complete J’s transformation, Tutankhamun’s undertakers added three further scenes to this former “well’s” previously undecorated walls on the south, east and west – scenes which may be distinguished today from room J’s pre-existing, Phase I decoration on the north not only by their use of a different, later scheme of proportions, but by their having been painted on a ground of burial-chamber yellow (“gold”) from the very start.

This brings us to room J’s western wall, with its Phase II, yellow-ground, exclusively Tutankhamun-era decoration. Here, within the Factum Arte scans of the surface, on the baboon wall’s right-hand side, may be observed another fault, this time vertical and only slightly irregular, running down from the ceiling through the bedrock until it suddenly disappears – not by chance, at the very point two artificially precise verticals with the distinct appearance of jambs are seen to advance upwards from the floor. From this circumstance we are able to establish two things: (1) that the crack’s disappearance is almost certainly due to the original, fault-bearing bedrock between this pair of verticals having been removed to form a doorway subsequently closed with a masonry build; while (2) the common point at which these three features – fault and paired jambs – neatly converge conveniently establishes the height of this blocked doorway’s lintel. What appears to confirm this feature’s identification as the opening into a third, Tutankhamun-era, satellite storeroom – J[x] – is a further, compelling fact: the doorway’s outline is a precise match in size and proportions with the rock-cut access into the adjacent Annexe (Ia) – Carter no. 171. Very clearly the two openings were cut at the same time, with a view to their chambers serving a common purpose – the storage of Tutankhamun burial equipment.

As mentioned above, the traditional number of a kingly burial suite’s satellite storage chambers is four. Within KV 62, the sole position in which a fourth storeroom might have escaped modern notice is beneath the painted surface of chamber J’s Phase II, Tutankhamun-era decoration on the south wall.¹⁰⁶ Although no obvious trace of a doorway can

the WV 22 burial chamber plan, Carter failed to investigate further at this point remains a mystery.

¹⁰⁵ See Animation 4.

¹⁰⁶ Kent Weeks (Weeks 2009, 9-10, 14-15) has suggested that a vertical black layout line still visible on the west wall of the Antechamber (I) may have been applied to locate a doorway intended to give access to a (fourth) side-chamber (which he refers to as “Ib”) – a plan which, of necessity, was abandoned when it was recognized that

be seen at this point, either within the Factum Arte scanning data or on the wall itself, there is some potential evidence of a further entrance at this point.

As Animations 1 and 2 show, the rock-cut emplacement for the southern magical brick (Carter no. 260) is cut appreciably higher than its uniformly positioned fellows within the north, east and west walls. The inevitable question is, why? In fact, the anomalous height of this southern niche is precisely that required to accommodate beneath a doorway of our “storeroom type” – i.e. the size of the Annexe (Ia) opening, which, as we have seen, shares its outline with the surface-trace doorway of proposed room J[x] on the west.¹⁰⁷ What may be relevant also is the presence within this general area of the south wall, towards its western end, of visible finger-impressions, indicative of a far thicker layer of plaster than tends normally to be found beneath the walls’ decorated surfaces.¹⁰⁸

ANIMATION 3: [WHOSE TOMB?](#)



[click on title or image to play film]

In Animation 3, the seven figures represented on the Burial Chamber’s north wall are considered in turn and in detail from right to left – the order in which the decoration’s visual narrative was intended to be read. The film’s preparation has permitted particular progress to be made in our understanding of several features within this decoration, building

any doorway at this point would interfere with the massive partition which had to be erected to close-off the Burial Chamber (J). I take a different view – that this line more probably defines the maximum extent to which it was envisaged the Antechamber/Burial Chamber corner might require cutting back in order to manoeuvre in the panels of Tutankhamun’s ex-Neferneferuaten gilded shrines. In the event, for this introduction to be achieved, only the central part of this marked-off corner needed to be cut away.

¹⁰⁷ The Treasury doorway on the east, Ja, is cut slightly taller and wider, evidently to allow the introduction of the royal canopic shrine.

¹⁰⁸ Reeves 2019, Fig. 38, below. We find similar finger impressions also in the area of the west wall’s mooted doorway: *ibid.*, Fig. 38, above.

upon the conclusions first advanced in 2015¹⁰⁹ and developed further in 2019¹¹⁰ – to which earlier papers reference should be made.

As already discussed, and as this animation will definitively establish, in its Phase I incarnation the north wall decoration memorialised not the burial of Tutankhamun by the god’s father Ay, but the interment by Tutankhamun of his own predecessor, Smenkhkare¹¹¹ – a figure who, in every unaltered Phase I context we encounter on this wall (figures [2], [3], [5] and [7]) is seen to carry the distinctive facial profile of Nefertiti herself.

These comparisons are not subjective in the sense criticized by J.R. Harris;¹¹² they are made by the direct superimposition of securely identified profiles of the individuals in question. Carved and painted representations are, of course, neither photographic nor physiognomically precise; what the process of overlay confirms is that Egyptian representation was in essence a form of standardized caricature which focused on one or more of a subject’s facial characteristics: nose outline, chin shape, wrinkles, etc. – whatever was necessary for an image to achieve a general degree of recognition at the time it was current.¹¹³ Once accepted, officially sanctioned and circulated, the newly established “cartoon” was learned so thoroughly and employed with such frequency that it soon became second nature to the artists involved, able to be reproduced both quickly and, as we see, with a remarkable degree of consistency.

In this film, comparanda have been chosen which are securely rather than traditionally assigned to a specific individual;¹¹⁴ and, in the case of Tutankhamun – whose decade-long reign witnessed changes in his manner of depiction from childhood through to adulthood – these comparanda have been restricted to high quality models reflective of the appropriate stage in the king’s physical development. Both two- and three-dimensional models have been drawn upon – an equivalence some of my colleagues may question but, from the two-dimensional manner in which three-dimensional art was laid out on the sculptural block (Fig. 5),¹¹⁵ I believe fully justified.

¹⁰⁹ Reeves 2015a, 10 and Figs. 27-28.

¹¹⁰ Reeves 2019, *passim*.

¹¹¹ For the newly established regnal sequence, see Reeves in press and above.

¹¹² Harris 1973b, 8, n. 20: “the uncertainty of identifications based on subjective impressions of facial characteristics” – though such impressions are clearly a useful beginning.

¹¹³ Cf. Vandersleyen 1975.

¹¹⁴ Such as the plaster mask Berlin ÄM 21350 (De Wit 1950, 51 [top]; Seyfried [2012], 313), frequently proposed as a portrait of Ay but on no real evidence.

¹¹⁵ Berlin ÄM 21238: Seyfried [2012], 275.



Fig. 5. Unfinished statue of a kneeling king, presumably Akhenaten, sketched out in profile on the sandstone block. Berlin ÄM 21238 (Heidi Kontkanen, copyright © Heidi Kontkanen)

The key feature of the north wall's figure [1] – the image of a king shown opening the mouth of the mummiform individual he faces, figure [2] – is its plump, child-like, double under-chin. The proposal I first put forward in 2015, and restated in the light of further evidence in 2019, was that this profile reminds us not of the god's father Ay – as this figure is now labeled – but of the youthful Tutankhamun himself.¹¹⁶ Through the use of computer animation, the correctness of that view may now be demonstrated.¹¹⁷

What confirms the validity of this method of profile comparison, and the reliability of its results, is a single, underlying, Phase I hieroglyph still visible beneath Ay's clearly secondary Phase II nomen. This underlying hieroglyph is a reed-leaf (Gardiner sign-list M17)¹¹⁸ – not by chance the first character of the divine component of Tutankhamun's nomen, “-amun,” in precisely the position this element occupies, honorifically transposed, in all standard writings of the young king's name.¹¹⁹

In the Phase I version of this portion of the north

¹¹⁶ Marianne Eaton-Krauss (personal communication, September 8, 2020) makes the valid point that, in some instances, “the likeness of the new king . . . repeats that of the deceased predecessor until a new distinctive ‘portrait’ type can [be]/is developed for him.” This possibility seems to be denied in the case of figure [1] here, however, by (1) the overpainted Tutankhamun/Ay nomen, and (2) the indisputable resemblance to Nefertiti of figures [2], [3], [5] and [7].

¹¹⁷ Although it has been suggested that representations of Ay display a similar rounded chin and thus undermine my initial 2015 proposal (Hardwick 2015), Animation 3 here reveals that a superimposition of the Ay image cited by Hardwick (Davies 1903-1908, pl. XXXIX; the head section subsequently cut out and now Worcester Art Museum WAM 1949.42) shows no correlation.

¹¹⁸ Gardiner 1957, 481. See Reeves 2019, Fig. 13.

¹¹⁹ Eaton-Krauss 1987.

wall, therefore, it may be shown that Tutankhamun was not, as currently labelled, the passive recipient of the ritual action here commemorated, but the active bestower of it: Tutankhamun opening the mouth of his predecessor – the individual represented in figure [2].

In its current, Phase II manifestation, figure [2] is named in the prenomen and nomen above as Tutankhamun himself.¹²⁰ Had this been the original identity of figure [2] during Phase I, then one would reasonably expect its facial features to mimic those found in standard representations of Tutankhamun. Not surprisingly in light of the identification established for figure [1], we see in Animation 3 that a Tutankhamun profile does not correspond; the comparandum overlay is a large and exceptionally well carved *shawabti* of the king¹²¹ – a funerary piece specially commissioned for Tutankhamun's burial by the general Minnakht and, we may assume from its quality and date, accurately reproducing the king's formal image at the end of his short life.

By contrast, the superimposition onto figure [2] of Nefertiti's profile as this is preserved in her finest and most famous portrait study – the painted limestone bust Berlin ÄM 21300,¹²² firmly assigned by its unique, flat-topped crown – offers not merely a general similarity but a stunningly precise match. And this match tells us more: because a king would perform the opening of the mouth for his predecessor alone – deceased king in effect passing the baton of rulership to living king – by this match, in this context, the common identity of Nefertiti and Smenkhkare is finally confirmed. (See further the discussion of figure [7] below.)

As Animation 3 continues, each of the north wall's remaining figures is tested in turn; the results are seen to be both consistent and, with the exception of figure [3] (discussed presently), precisely as I had indicated in 2019. Figure [5] – “masculinized” during Phase II in the same manner as figure [3] (below), though this time more fully, from the remodelled shoulders down – and figure [7] demonstrably share the same Nefertiti/Smenkhkare profile as [2]. The face of figure [4] is anomalous: as the image of a goddess, it is likely to have been influenced by representations of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare's ritually functioning great royal wife – her eldest daughter, Meritaten;¹²³ a lack of comparanda of sufficiently high quality, however, necessarily leaves the question open. Figure no. [6], as appropriate for a completely new, Phase II

¹²⁰ Tutankhamun's nomen was anciently mis-spelled: the first t-sign was inadvertently omitted. Equally careless is the spelling employed for Ay's prenomen above figure [1].

¹²¹ Carter no. 318a: Carter (and Mace) 1923-1933, III, pl. XXIII; Hawass and Vannini 2017, 253 (left).

¹²² Seyfried [2012], 336 and passim.

¹²³ Reeves 2019, 5.

insertion into this north wall scene,¹²⁴ carries the same, more mature version of the Tutankhamun face we find in the *shawabti* commissioned by Minnakht considered above.

The single exception to ready classification, as I have indicated, is the much-altered figure [3]. Like its companion figures, as a Phase I image of the deceased Smenkhkare welcomed into the underworld by the goddess Nut, it ought, like its companions, to carry the facial features of Nefertiti. At first glance, however, it does not: the chin, rather than following Nefertiti's characteristically flattened form, is of the more rounded shape seen in images of Tutankhamun – to whom, in 2019, I had correspondingly assigned it, identifying both torso and head as Phase II modifications in their entirety.¹²⁵

Peter Gremse's overlay comparison reveals that my 2019 conclusion was in error: that what we are confronted with in figure [3] is not a Tutankhamun profile, as I had then suggested, but rather a Nefertiti-type face to which has subsequently been attached a Tutankhamun-style chin. Why the mix?

As explained in *Nefertiti?* II,¹²⁶ the Phase II adaptation of the north wall scene had impacted figure [3] appreciably more than its companion representations, mainly because of the compromises which had been required to achieve this figure's successful transformation from female (Nefertiti/Smenkhkare) to male (Tutankhamun). While the lower half of figure [3]'s original, Phase I, 20-square image was allowed essentially to stand (albeit in a selectively painted-out form),¹²⁷ the upper half of this female figure would be replaced with a completely new male torso appropriate for its Phase II owner, Tutankhamun. This replacement torso, however, had been laid out not to the wall's original, 20-square, proportions, but to a post-Amarna, 18-square grid. This had serious and unforeseen consequences: specifically, an

improbably long neck. As the Gremse film reveals, the simplest way to redress that unfortunate imbalance had been to paint over Nefertiti's flattened jaw – originally positioned on the appropriate 20-square horizontal – and reinstate it on the slightly lower, 18-square grid-line. And, since Tutankhamun was the new owner of this figure in its Phase II version, this replacement chin was naturally provided with a Tutankhamun-style, rounded outline. The compromise was far from perfect, oddly enlarging as it did the head as a whole, but it was obviously considered sufficient an improvement on the first attempted join to be allowed to stand.

Finally, a word about figure [7]. Although the profile again reproduces with precision Nefertiti's facial profile, the subject is not the woman herself but the god Osiris. This is important to note, since in Egyptian practice the image of a male god was routinely shown with the facial features of the reigning king.¹²⁸ By this single representation, therefore, Nefertiti's status at death is firmly established – not as that of a queen,¹²⁹ but as that of either co-regent¹³⁰ or fully independent pharaoh. That it was here the latter is indicated, as we have seen, by the north wall's initial, Phase I depiction of the opening of the mouth (figures [1] and [2]). Tutankhamun's performance of this ritual for Nefertiti – a sacred re-enactment of Horus, the son and heir, re-animating his "father" and predecessor-king Osiris – would have been valid only if Nefertiti had possessed, and been source of, the pharaonic legitimacy required by Tutankhamun to embark upon his own reign. Had Nefertiti not possessed the right to bestow this benefit – i.e. had she not been Tutankhamun's immediate, regal predecessor – then there would have been no reason for Tutankhamun to have conducted this rite on her behalf, or for it to have been memorialised in this fashion.¹³¹

¹²⁴ Figure [6] and its Scene 3 grouping is discussed in detail in Reeves 2019, 6-8, to which the reader is referred. The Phase II insertion of figure [6] was motivated by the need to provide this scene with an image of Tutankhamun's *ka* – evidently a *sine qua non* in the context of a Burial Chamber (cf. Amenhotep III [WV 22]; Ay [WV 23]), which is what, during Stage IV/Phase II, room J had now become. This provision was achieved by a reassignment of roles within this decoration, with the Phase I, figure [5] Nefertiti remodeled in Phase II as the required Tutankhamun *ka*, and the figure [6] insertion taking on the role of the deceased Tutankhamun himself. Why had the Phase I (Smenkhkare) version of this scene not required an accompanying *ka*? Presumably because room J did not at that time serve as a burial chamber; within the decoration of a "well" – this room's apparent, pre-Burial Chamber role – the *ka* is but rarely depicted (Amenhotep III [WV 22]).

¹²⁵ Reeves 2019, 6.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

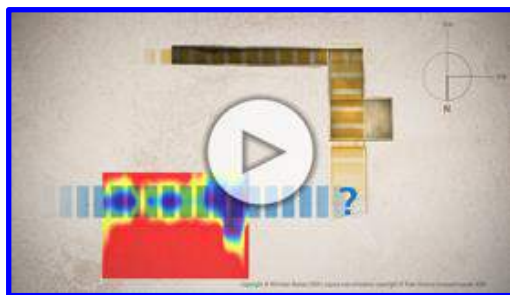
¹²⁸ The facial features of a goddess, as we have seen, are regularly modeled on those of the great royal wife: Reeves 2019, 5.

¹²⁹ A possibility I briefly entertained in Reeves 2019, 11, n. 98.

¹³⁰ The co-regent is depicted with the same, recognizable Nefertiti-type facial outline on, for example, a door panel of the second large gilded shrine (Carter no. 237): see Reeves 2019, Fig. 12 (reversed for comparison) and here above, Fig. 2. The facial characteristics of a number of the large, wooden *shawabti* figures from KV 62 are likewise reminiscent of a/this woman (e.g. Carter nos. 325a, b, 326a, 330c, e, f, h: for photos see Hawass and Vannini 2018, 251-252).

¹³¹ In a royal context, the opening of the mouth is so closely tied to the succession that, even if Nefertiti had been Tutankhamun's mother (a relationship for which I myself find no evidence), it is doubtful that filial piety would have been memorialized in this way.

ANIMATION 4:
HOW THE TOMB EVOLVED



[click on title or image to play film]

Animation 4 presents my considered understanding of KV 62's physical development – from its inception for Nefertiti as great royal wife of Akhenaten (Stage I) through to the tomb's final, adapted ground-plan with Tutankhamun burial suite (Stage IV).

The prospect that KV 62 might continue through and beyond the Tutankhamun crypt's north wall conveniently points up the tomb's original, basic form – that of an L-shaped corridor (Stage I in the animation). The model for the type is WA D – the Wadi Sikket Taqet Zaid cliff-tomb prepared for Hatshepsut as queen of Thutmose II.¹³²

Instructively, as one enters WA D, the corridor turn is precisely the opposite of that encountered in an Eighteenth Dynasty king's tomb.¹³³ It suggests the following rationalization: that kingly (male) ownership was at this date marked by an initial corridor turn towards the left, with queenly ownership indicated by a turn towards the right. In terms of Egyptian orientation, the distinction is better understood from the point of view of the tomb's occupant, within his or her burial chamber, looking out: that is – right (turn) = superior (royal) status = king; left (turn) = lesser (royal) status = queen. Such hierarchical, right-left distinctions are common to every aspect of ancient Egyptian life and death.¹³⁴

In the absence of any indications to the contrary, the queen for whom KV 62 was first quarried may be assumed to have been the woman for whom this tomb was later expanded and employed – that is, Nefertiti in her original role as Akhenaten's great royal wife. The tomb's inception presumably dates

to before the royal couple's move to El-Amarna, at which point all work on the KV 62 project is likely to have been brought to a halt.

A decade or so later, following Nefertiti's elevation to serve as Akhenaten's co-regent, Neferneferuaten, and consequent upon an evident thaw in relations with Thebes and the Amun priesthood,¹³⁵ work on KV 62 appears to have resumed. The Stage II expansion in the tomb's width beyond staircase A and corridor B almost certainly dates to this time, having been made in readiness for the planned introduction of the set of huge, gilt-wood funerary shrines which we know to have accompanied the lady's promotion to junior pharaoh. (Even dismantled into their component sections, the later manoeuvring of these panels into KV 62, now reinscribed for the burial of Tutankhamun, proved exceptionally tight, requiring the removal of a substantial corner-section of the Antechamber/Burial Chamber wall. Carter found the panels' removal equally challenging.)¹³⁶

Stage III of KV 62's proposed development will have followed Nefertiti's final elevation from co-regent to full pharaoh. In her capacity as Akhenaten's successor, the lady took on not only a new nomen – in its full form, "Smenkhkare-djeserkheperu" – but, we may reasonably assume, a higher-status set of burial equipment also, with the co-regent tomb furnishings previously prepared for her as Neferneferuaten at this point abandoned. Evidently the design of her queen > co-regent's sepulchre was addressed also, with the most visible change here being the provision of a pharaonic "well" (J).¹³⁷ As a line of original, Stage II cutting still visible on the ceiling of room J reveals, this feature had been created by the further expansion towards the west of a section of KV 62's already widened, Stage II corridor, and by excavating this new chamber's floor a notional distance downwards. Judging from the difference in heights between the floor of the Antechamber and its proposed corridor continuation beyond the north wall, the excavation of this "well" will have involved the removal of a short flight of Stage I/II corridor steps (cf. Fig. 6). The pre-"well" (Stages I-II) situation within KV 62 at this time will have been similar to that seen today in the Deir el-Bahri cache, DB 320 (Fig. 7), of a slightly earlier period, but evidently another right-turning queen's tomb.

¹³² Carter 1917; Reeves 2015a, Fig. 2.

¹³³ The exception which proves the rule is Hatshepsut's Valley of the Kings tomb KV 20, which spirals decisively round to the right – an orientation which accords with John Romer's long-held and undoubtedly correct view that KV 20 had originally been quarried not for Hatshepsut but for Thutmose I (Romer 1974; Reeves 1990a, 13-17, 27-29). For the likely relationship between KV 20, KV38 and KV 42, see Reeves 2003.

¹³⁴ Reeves 1999b for refs.

¹³⁵ The principal inference to be drawn from the Pere graffito (Gardiner 1928; Reeves forthcoming). That this was but part of a wider reconciliation with Egypt's traditional cults is evident from the burial equipment then in active preparation for Nefertiti as co-regent, which was sufficiently orthodox in character to be taken over for re-use by Tutankhamun without the need for any fundamental theological adaptation.

¹³⁶ Cf. Carter (and Mace) 1923-1933, II, 39-48.

¹³⁷ See above, n. 78.

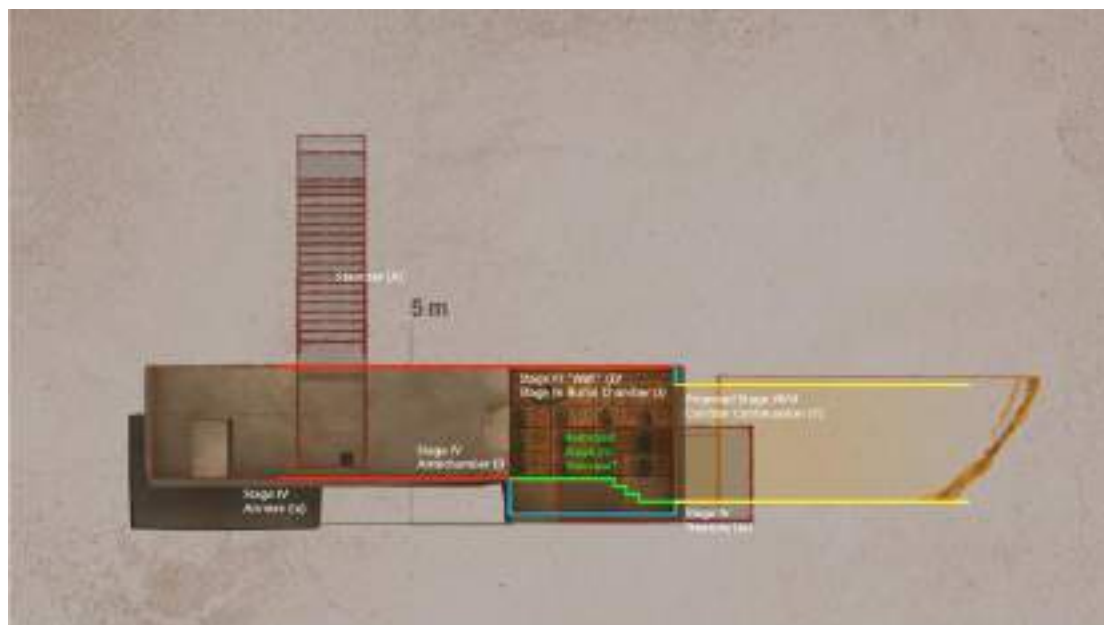


Fig. 6. KV 62: Section showing the proposed transition between Antechamber and Annexe and the presumed loss of a short Stage I/II staircase caused by cutting of the Stage III “well”
(Artwork Peter Gremse, copyright © Peter Gremse)

The date at which this KV 62 kingly “well” was cut within KV 62 is suggested by the Phase I (Smenkhkare-era) decoration of the chamber’s north wall. Taking up the full width of the newly created, Stage III space, the likelihood is that “well” creation and new, regal decorative scheme went hand in hand.

The ultimate destination of the proposed corridor beyond J is of course quite unknown; as tentatively ventured in this animation, it may be indicated by the results of the Italian 2017 resistivity survey (ERT I)¹³⁸ as these seem now to have been significantly clarified by radar survey GPR IV carried out from ground level down by the English company Terravision in 2019.¹³⁹ If the Turin and Terravision anomalies do represent one and the same feature, and if this feature does indeed prove to be associated with KV 62 (and the parallel positioning revealed by GPR IV suggests this to be a distinct possibility),¹⁴⁰ then KV 62’s extended plan will take a second turn to the right some metres beyond the decorated north wall of room J. The result would be a right-turning (= female) version of the left-turning (male), U-shaped ground-plan we see in the tomb of Thutmose IV (KV 43).¹⁴¹ It is

hoped that Terravision’s planned, follow-up radar-testing of the area will, in due course, be able to confirm or deny this feature’s relevance to the discussion.

Finally, we come to Stage IV: the reopening of KV 62 some ten years after Nefertiti/Smenkhkare’s burial. As I propose, following Tutankhamun’s own, unexpected death the decision had been taken to re-enter the tomb and enlarge and adapt its outermost section to accommodate this interment – to prepare, within Smenkhkare’s existing sepulchre, a “tomb within a tomb.” Likely additions made to the plan at this time will have included the Treasury (Ja), the Annexe (Ia) and an expansion to the south of the Antechamber (I). Any further



Fig. 7. Comparison section, showing the squared-off ceiling and (somewhat longer) staircase combination within another, earlier queen’s tomb: DB 320 (detail)
(Graefe and Belova 2010, Plan 02 (edited detail), copyright © Nadejda Reshetnikova)

¹³⁸ Porcelli et al. 2018; Fischanger et al. 2018.

¹³⁹ Marchant 2020, 498, fig.

¹⁴⁰ Reference to Weeks 2000/2003 will reveal how very few independent, adjacent tombs anywhere in the Valley of the Kings lie precisely parallel. KV 3, KV 46 and KV 4 come closest, but there is evidence to suggest that KV 46 was physically known to and/or entered by those constructing both of these later tombs: Reeves 1990a, 151-153.

¹⁴¹ Weeks 2000/2003, pls. 57-58.

space(s)¹⁴² which may exist behind the current Burial Chamber’s west and south walls are likely to date to this same time, including the putative, additional storeroom J[x], which, like Ia and Ja, will have been positioned to correspond with the traditional, orbital arrangement of such chambers within a regular Eighteenth Dynasty king’s tomb.¹⁴³ The position normally occupied by the fourth of these magazines, however, was already taken – by KV 62’s entrance staircase and corridor (A-B). If a fourth satellite storeroom was ever included in the Stage IV, Tutankhamun reworking of KV 62, there is only one point at which access to such a chamber (J[z]) might today remain concealed: that is beneath the painted decoration of the Burial Chamber’s south wall, where the “magical niche” (Carter no. 260) is positioned notably higher than its companion magic brick emplacements. See further above, Animation 2.

*ANIMATION 5:
HOWARD CARTER’S INVESTIGATIONS*



[click on title or image to play film]

A comment frequently made in connection with these proposals is that Howard Carter, a meticulous worker, would have been quite unlikely to miss anything as major as additional doorways. Of course, had those doorways been located in areas left as plain bedrock, their presence would have been obvious. The level of concealment afforded by the tomb’s painted decoration, however, is exceptionally high: the sole suggestive feature so far observed by the naked eye through this paint is the use of a hard, gritty plaster in the area of the proposed “service doorway” in the mooted north

¹⁴² Interestingly, the Amenhotep III (WV 22) version of KV 62’s putative chamber J[x] had been subjected to secondary enlargement and adaptation to accommodate a (second) queen, probably Sitamun (Reeves 2015a, 6 and n. 49). It is at least possible, from the images they publish, that the Italian ERT I survey detected a similar state of affairs here (Porcelli et al. 2018, Fig. 11, top: unnumbered anomaly grouping in orange beyond the west wall of the Burial Chamber J).

¹⁴³ Which was of course Carter’s analysis of the plan: see above, n. 107.

wall partition – and that was noticed only because there was a specific reason to look closely at this point.¹⁴⁴ For the rest, it is only with the paint digitally stripped away in the Factum Arte scans that it is possible to detect anything which might reasonably arouse the suspicion that further rooms exist beneath.

That said, it is now clear that Carter himself had considered the possibility that KV 62 might extend beyond its current footprint. We know this thanks to an irregular area of restoration first observed by Factum’s Adam Lowe on the Burial Chamber’s north wall – a repainted patch extending over approximately a metre of the kilt and legs of figure [5].

Obviously modern, as its radio-opaque character and specific art-technical features within the re-painting indicate, it is possible to date this unreferenced repair to within a very few years. A photograph of this north wall was taken by Carter in 1930/1931,¹⁴⁵ seemingly the first complete image of the scene to be captured following room J’s final clearance. It differs in a number of important respects from the scene we see today. The most noticeable of these differences are: (1) the number of stripes which decorate the kilt of figure [5] – 24 in the Carter image, as against the present, restored total of 27; and (2) the pre- and post-restoration delineation and execution of this same figure’s kneecaps.

The next-earliest photograph we have of this wall is an image taken by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in the summer of 1936; and, since this shows already these decorative “modifications,” the evidence points squarely to Carter both as instigator of the investigation within a previously intact wall, and as restorer of the damage it caused. Recently discovered documentary evidence permits the timing of this intervention to be narrowed down, in fact, to a date between February 1930 (or before) and February 1932.¹⁴⁶

What had Carter been searching for? Almost certainly, hidden doorways.

Intimately familiar with all of the tombs then known in the Valley, Carter will have observed how, in other Eighteenth Dynasty royal sepulchres, the continuation of a tomb’s plan beyond the “well” – a regal component with which, as we have seen, room J shares several features – was invariably located within the left-hand half of the facing wall. Not by chance, I think, this is the very place Carter had decided to probe. It was an ambitious choice, however: the fault running diagonally through this north wall’s western half ought to have identified the area as untouched bedrock; and, indeed, judging

¹⁴⁴ Reeves 2019, Fig. 39, and see Animation 2.

¹⁴⁵ Griffith Institute, Carter MSS, Burton[?] photo p0879c; Reeves 2019, Fig. 30.

¹⁴⁶ Reeves 2019, 8-10 and, for this closer dating, see below, Addenda and Corrigenda to Reeves 2019.

from the excavator's subsequent silence concerning this investigation, either in print or in his notes, it is evident that nothing of interest was encountered. The damage inflicted was quietly made good, and nothing officially said.

Had Carter recognized that KV 62 in fact possesses the ground-plan of a female tomb, as proposed here, then his efforts might have fared significantly better. As discussed above, a clear distinction may be observed at this period in the layout of those tombs quarried for royal men and those for certain royal women.¹⁴⁷ Since, by the rightwards turn of its corridor, KV 62 exhibits a principal characteristic of a female tomb, Carter's exploration ought accordingly to have focused on the north wall's opposite, right-hand side – which is where we find the *Factum Arte* linear traces, and precisely where a range of scientific tests has indicated the presence of a stone partition and blocked inner doorway. Although Carter may have carried out a limited investigation of this right-hand section of the wall, if we are to judge from the visible, small-scale patching, this failed to arouse his suspicions – sufficiently, at least, to justify the inflicting of further, speculative damage on this uniquely precious scene.¹⁴⁸

As one would expect from as talented and informed an artist as Carter, the subsequent camouflaging of his area of testing was excellent – convincing enough to fool Egyptologists for almost a century. Curiously, though, he went a little too far. Having chosen a point for his digging where the wall's ancient mould-growth happened to be minimal, his accurately mould-free restoration seems to have uncomfortably drawn the eye. This, presumably, is why he decided to even-out the coverage by applying fake “spores” in the form of dabs of brown paint. The ruse enabled the restoration to better blend in with its surroundings, to be sure, but it would obscure also a potentially important fact: that the bulk of the north wall's genuine mould is in fact concentrated on its right-hand side – specifically, over the area of the proposed, more permeable, plastered partition (see Animation 2).

¹⁴⁷ As mentioned earlier, queens employed at least one other, dedicated style of tomb also, identified by the presence of a single, central pillar within the burial chamber: see Reeves 2003.

¹⁴⁸ It is worth noting that such investigations need not result in the destruction of an overlying painted surface; even in Carter's day there were techniques available for the safe removal of decorations encountered in a structural context – namely, “strappo” (for a brief description of which see, for example, <http://www.museobenozzozzoli.it/en/lo-strappo.html>).

“GOOD SCIENCE”

Two and a half years before the publication of *Nefertiti? II*, the Polytechnic University of Turin announced that it had been commissioned by Egypt's Ministry of Antiquities to undertake a third series of radar tests within the tomb of Tutankhamun. Despite the technical difficulties encountered by those who had worked in the tomb previously, physicist Francesco Porcelli was confidently predicting for his GPR IIIa survey a wholly decisive outcome even before it had taken place: “This will be the final investigation ... We will provide an answer which is 99 percent definitive.”¹⁴⁹

This unhesitating belief in its abilities typified the Turin approach, and Porcelli's announcement of the test's results the following year would follow the same self-assured pattern:¹⁵⁰ “Our work shows in a conclusive manner that there are no hidden chambers, no corridors adjacent to Tutankhamun's tomb.”¹⁵¹ This, he declared, was the verdict of “good science,”¹⁵² and Egypt's Ministry of Antiquities¹⁵³ – anxious “to put an end to”¹⁵⁴ a debate which had become needlessly politicised – was content to take him at his word. The media, and the world, uncritically followed suit: for the BBC, “Tutankhamun ‘Secret Chamber’ Does Not Exist;”¹⁵⁵ while for National Geographic, “It's Official: Tut's Tomb Has No Hidden Chambers After All.”¹⁵⁶

In *Nefertiti? II*, Cambridge geophysicist George Ballard, a leading specialist in the scientific investigation of historical structures, briefly addressed Porcelli's “conclusive” claims, pointing out that, from a scientific point of view, the situation was not at all as cut and dried as interested parties were being led to believe.¹⁵⁷ Since Ballard's moderating comments seem scarcely to have registered, and since Turin continues in its

¹⁴⁹ Raghavan 2017. ERT I (see Reeves 2019, 13, and below) and GPR IIIa are part of Turin's ambitious *Complete Geophysical Survey of the Valley of the Kings*, which is supposedly being carried out in association with Zahi Hawass.

¹⁵⁰ Formal report: Sambuelli et al. 2019.

¹⁵¹ Associated Press 2018.

¹⁵² BBC 2018. The reference to “good science” is a tacit acknowledgment that there exists “bad science” also – something I suspect Egyptology has been the unwitting victim of for many years. Cf. Eaton-Krauss 2013, 68-69; Eaton-Krauss 2019, 239.

¹⁵³ Described in a Press Release of Egypt's Ministry of Antiquities (Ministry of Antiquities 2018) as “conclusive evidence on the non-existence of hidden chambers adjacent to or inside Tutankhamun's tomb” (*sic*).

¹⁵⁴ Ministry of Antiquities 2018.

¹⁵⁵ BBC 2018.

¹⁵⁶ Romey 2018.

¹⁵⁷ Reeves 2019, 13-14, and Ballard *ibid.* 14-16.

“conclusive” claims,¹⁵⁸ a more detailed discussion is in order and offered here.

First, it needs to be clearly understood that the Turin radar (GPR IIIa) represents but one of several geophysical tests to have been carried out within Tutankhamun’s tomb since 2015, and by specialists in more than one area.¹⁵⁹ What is more, beyond the supposedly negative outcomes of radars GPR II (National Geographic, before reprocessing) and IIIa (Turin), these competing tests – to include thermal imaging IR I (ScanPyramids), radars GPR I (Terrainformation), II (National Geographic, as reprocessed), IIIb and IV (both Terravision), and electrical resistivity tomography ERT I (Turin)¹⁶⁰ – have produced a range of encouragingly positive results.

The second thing to note is that, among these geophysical tests, the Italian GPR IIIa currently stands quite alone – both in its claim to have generated results which are wholly non-indicative (presented by Turin as negative), and in its demand that this single, “negative” result be accepted as definitive.¹⁶¹

There is much in the Turin claims with which to take issue. Not only do “non-indicative” and “negative” possess quite different meanings; in broad scientific understanding, absence of evidence (what Turin found) is far from the same as evidence of absence (what they claim their data offers). For Porcelli to go further still, and present such non-indicative results as “conclusive” evidence of absence, is blatant over-reach – particularly when this claim requires the denial of a substantial body of archaeological and geophysical data to the contrary. As the situation stands, Porcelli’s grandiose claims in reality count for nothing at all.

The Italians’ results took on their supposedly decisive status for one reason alone, and that was timing: their survey happened to follow hard on the heels of National Geographic’s (initially) inconclusive results of 2016 (GPR II)¹⁶² (an assessment which independent analysis of the data would subsequently modify: see below).¹⁶³ When the Italian results came in, with the indeterminate National Geographic outcome being accorded a similarly negative cast by the Porcelli team, it obviously looked to the outside world – certainly to Egypt’s Ministry of Antiquities – that, with two independent “fails” (*sic*) now to hand, a convincingly negative pattern was beginning to emerge.

How independent these two “fails” actually were is worth taking a moment to consider. In fact, not

only did the GPR II and IIIa teams share key professional input,¹⁶⁴ but, as we shall consider, both the Americans and the Italians employed a virtually identical *modus operandi* – a methodology which happened to share the same basic weaknesses.

The principal shortcoming of both the National Geographic and Turin teams was one of false expectations, or rather of preconceived notions. Both GPR II and IIIa had entered upon their surveys in anticipation of a target response of high amplitude caused by a sharp contrast in dielectric properties – the response, in other words, which would be generated by a spatial void.¹⁶⁵ Although the detection of voids was a valid objective in the case of GPR II – which had been specifically tasked with cross-checking Hirokatsu Watanabe’s suggestion (GPR I; Terrainformation) of rooms behind the west and north walls¹⁶⁶ – the broader requirements of GPR IIIa justified no such presumption of empty space.

In fact, in the matter of voids a clear understanding of the archaeology is vital: for, while some ancient blockings in the Valley of the Kings undoubtedly did serve to close off empty space,¹⁶⁷ other closures found within tombs at this site demonstrably did not. Regrettably, in the case of GPR IIIa, surveyor independence and an admirable desire for objectivity were taken to extremes: anything the informed archaeologist was in a position to contribute to pre-survey briefings appears to have been treated as partisan and promptly disregarded, with geophysical expectations left hopelessly skewed as a result.

A precise parallel to what might be anticipated beyond KV 62’s decorated north wall in fact lies close to hand – indeed, within this same tomb. At the base of the entrance stairway (A), behind the outermost blocking (Carter no. 004), the original excavators encountered a sloping corridor (B) which

¹⁵⁸ Porcelli et al. 2020.

¹⁵⁹ Reeves 2019, 13-14, to which may now be added Porcelli et al. 2020 and see Marchant 2020.

¹⁶⁰ For the reprocessing of the GPR II data, see Ballard in Reeves 2019, 13-18.

¹⁶¹ Raghavan 2017.

¹⁶² Hessler 2016b.

¹⁶³ Ballard, in Reeves 2019, 13-18.

¹⁶⁴ Specifically Dean Goodman, whose GPRslice software was a fundamental component of both GPR II and GPR IIIa, and Gianluca Catanzariti who was involved in the detailed analysis of both the GPR II and IIIa data.

¹⁶⁵ The presumption may be traced back to Dash 2015.

¹⁶⁶ In common with the other preliminary scientific reports presented to Egypt’s Ministry of Antiquities, Watanabe’s initial test results remain unpublished, but a presentation of them, with images, was made by then Antiquities Minister Mamdouh Eldamaty at a press conference in Cairo, March 17, 2016 (Hessler 2016a) and by Watanabe himself, under somewhat trying circumstances, at the second annual Tutankhamun conference hosted by the Ministry of Antiquities in Cairo on May 8, 2016. It may be noted that, despite widely circulated claims to the contrary, Watanabe’s data were freely shared among specialists (including the GPR II, IIIa, IIIb/IV teams) for their independent assessment and use.

¹⁶⁷ As with, for example, the KV 62 blockings nos. 013 and 171; cf. also the side-rooms off the burial chamber in the tombs of Amenhotep II (KV 35), Thutmose IV (KV 43), Amenhotep III (WV 22) – and so on.

had been backfilled in antiquity from floor to ceiling; beyond this lay Tutankhamun's actual burial apartments. The situation corresponds, in fact, with what is routinely found elsewhere:¹⁶⁸ where two sepulchral rooms are connected by a passageway, the archaeology suggests that such passageways – and any attendant staircases – were in antiquity backfilled as a matter of course,¹⁶⁹ to serve as an additional security measure.¹⁷⁰

Were one to encounter a backfilled void of this sort today, in any tomb, it is fairly obvious that no high-amplitude radar response could be expected: with a transition not from limestone to empty space, but from limestone to a materially identical, densely compacted, dust-impregnated fill, the dielectric contrast would be very much lower. The upshot? With voids as the imagined goal, filled space would run the inevitable risk of passing quite unnoticed.

And this, in the case of National Geographic's analysis of the GPR II data, is precisely what occurred. The National Geographic team initially saw nothing in its results, as it publicly announced;¹⁷¹ then, that very same data was reprocessed and studied afresh in 2016 and again in 2019 by geophysicist George Ballard.¹⁷² As Ballard could confirm, there were indeed no voids; to that extent, National Geographic's consultants had been correct. But, examined carefully, the data did show something, and that something was considerably more complex than solid bedrock. What more careful reprocessing led Ballard to conclude was that: (1) "the centre to east side of the Burial Chamber's north wall is not natural rock, but has been constructed;"¹⁷³ and (2) "beyond this thickness [lies] not a void, but a more varied material than either the natural, solid limestone or what is assumed to be man-made construction."¹⁷⁴ What Ballard's reanalysis of GPR II described – not in

vague terms, but precisely – was what archaeology might have predicted: a corridor continuation left not empty, but anciently backfilled.

George Ballard's corrective comments bring us to a related weakness in the shared National Geographic/Turin methodology: the use of automated filtering.¹⁷⁵ Filtering is a technique employed to suppress other, distracting, high-amplitude responses – in this instance, unwanted reflections ("noise"), as well as ringing and multiples arising from the air-gap between antennas and chamber walls; it results in a cleaner, supposedly clearer visual image on which conclusions may be based.

What generally goes unremarked, however, is that filtering results in a loss of detail. Significant noise – the prevailing situation within KV 62's multi-reflectional Burial Chamber J, as every team to have worked there has found – requires significant filtering; and the more significant the filtering, the more difficult to recognize the subtle response of – for example – backfilled space. Without any grasp of the archaeology, the discovery of "nothing" very easily becomes the default outcome.

So, how, realistically, are we to view the Turin claims? They are, by any standard, woefully overstated. Radar is far from all-seeing, and without focused aims and a respect for competing data it remains as subjective, and fallible, as anything else.

As we have seen, there plainly exists an alternative explanation for Turin's GPR IIIa failure: not that no voids exist in the area surveyed, as Porcelli would have it, but that voids are present and densely backfilled. In the initial evaluation of the GPR II data by National Geographic's original consultants, the subtle indications subsequently picked up by Ballard had been completely missed, in large part thanks to automated filtering; and since this same, automated mode of processing was employed by Porcelli's GPR IIIa, it would come as no surprise to discover that the same, automated dismissal of informative detail had occurred. Were Turin to agree to release its data for independent assessment – Porcelli has repeatedly refused – we would be in a better position to judge.

What is intriguing about Ballard's suggestion of a filled, connective passageway beyond the north wall of room J is not only that it corresponds with the archaeological setting; somewhat ironically, it provides a potential tie-in with the Italians' separate resistivity results of 2017 (ERT I).¹⁷⁶ As discussed above, ERT I vaguely discerned the presence of several features – apparent voids – to the west, north and east of KV 62¹⁷⁷ (the first unlabelled, the

¹⁶⁸ For example: KV 55 ([Tiye and] Akhenaten) (Reeves 1990a, 42; cf. Davis 1910, pl. XXV); KV 57 (Horemheb) (Reeves 1990a, 77; cf. Davis 1912, pls. *passim*). A filled staircase/corridor is, of course, merely the horizontal equivalent of a filled entrance shaft.

¹⁶⁹ Those few entrance corridors we know *not* to have been backfilled include KV 46 (Yuya and Tjuyu), where the access passageway was found empty following a seemingly official investigation of the tomb in antiquity (Reeves 1990a, 148); and, again, initially, within KV 62 itself, where prior to the tomb's first robbery corridor B seems to have been employed to store an overflow of materials from the inner chambers (Reeves 1990a, 67-68 and 84, nn. 64-65). In the case of KV 62, this overflow had subsequently been removed, the materials reburied in pit KV 54, and the KV 62 corridor at this point belatedly backfilled in accordance with normal practice.

¹⁷⁰ See above, n. 85.

¹⁷¹ Hessler 2016b.

¹⁷² Ballard, in Reeves 2019, 13-18.

¹⁷³ Ballard, in Reeves 2019, 18.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Porcelli et al. 2020, 12-13.

¹⁷⁶ Porcelli et al. 2018; Fischanger et al. 2018.

¹⁷⁷ The fact that only part of the current KV 62 ground-plan was picked up reveals the limitations: Porcelli et al. 2018, Fig. 11; Fischanger et al. 2018, Fig. 8.

second and third Porcelli's Anomalies 1 and 2).¹⁷⁸ These the Turin team assumed to be independent of KV 62, encouraging Porcelli's co-worker, Zahi Hawass, to immediately dig down to bedrock over this entire area, searching for an entrance. Hawass found nothing,¹⁷⁹ suggesting either that Porcelli's signals were mere "ghosts" similar to those which have so far disappointed Hawass in the West Valley,¹⁸⁰ or that access to these potential Tutankhamun-vicinity voids lies elsewhere – that is, through an existing tomb.

One of the more interesting features of Turin's ERT I is a possible correspondence between its Anomaly 2 and an apparent void detected with far greater clarity by Terravision in its 2019 radar survey of the same area (GPR IV).¹⁸¹ Whatever the feature is, it plainly exists. What is striking about the Terravision version is that it appears to run directly parallel to the KV 62 entrance corridor (A). Since tombs quarried at different times tend not to show any underground relationship, it is obviously tempting to see in these results possible evidence of a KV 62 extension: cf. Animation 4.¹⁸²

The ultimate irony, though, is that this all-consuming focus on GPR as the answer to our every archaeological prayer may in fact have been for nothing. Faith in radar as the best technology to investigate the situation, at least from within KV 62, was on the wane even before the Italians had completed their analysis. What the English component of the third radar investigation (GPR IIIb, regrettably sidelined by the Turin team) would early conclude was sobering: that, as dependable as radar technology may be in regular, top-down use,¹⁸³ when employed within the confines of a

tomb chamber its potential is massively compromised by the multiplicity of reflections. What we should be starting to see – all of us – is that while radar within KV 62 may occasionally provide useful supporting evidence, very much less reliance may be placed on this technology, used alone, ever generating results sufficiently "conclusive" to decide for – and certainly against – any archaeological prospect.

ENDNOTE

With the Ministry of Antiquities' formal acceptance of Turin's GPR IIIa in 2018, KV 62 reverted to its traditional status: for the world it was once again the tomb of Tutankhamun alone, and – give or take one or two stray items – a burial stocked with this king's dedicated funerary equipment.¹⁸⁴ All talk of Nefertiti, of reused objects and of possible hidden chambers was brought to an end.

And yet – the trail of inconvenient facts to which I first drew attention in 2015 is with us still, and the problem is that these facts do not support the *status quo ante*.

What they do point towards, specifically and with unwavering directness, is the burial of Tutankhamun – surrounded by an equipment made for Nefertiti/Neferneferuaten – having been established within the outermost section of a larger, pre-existing KV 62: the tomb of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare.

Egyptology is faced with a clear choice: continue to deny, or else thoughtfully engage. With the archaeology wholly consistent in its message, and the "negative" radar of 2018 looking anything but, it ought scarcely to be a choice at all.

Nicholas Reeves
October 14, 2020

¹⁷⁸ It may be noted that an unidentified feature in the same location as Turin's ERT I Anomaly 2 and GPR IV was observed by Watanabe in 2015, during an above-ground radar demonstration for the media immediately following his GPR I investigation within KV 62.

¹⁷⁹ Marchant 2020, 498.

¹⁸⁰ It appears that the area of Porcelli's West Valley anomaly (Area Z: Porcelli et al. 2018, 37-39) has now been thoroughly investigated by Hawass's team in search of the entrance to a new tomb, with no result.

¹⁸¹ Marchant 2020.

¹⁸² I am informed that the respective depths below ground level of the ERT I and GPR IV features have yet to be accurately established; certainly, if both or either is/are to be associated with KV 62, then in terms of Egyptian tomb design any additional chambers are unlikely to be at a level higher than those at present known.

¹⁸³ Even those radar tests made from outside the tomb and directed downwards through the overlying hill (by radars IIIb in 2018 and IV in 2019) have encountered problems of excessive and confusing noise – including the crucial area to the north of the Tutankhamun Burial Chamber. The cause? The hillside spotlight emplacement and the KV 62 air-conditioning units; beyond the sightline of these features, readings were unaffected. For the future, it is hoped that screening might provide a solution, or at least lessen the problem.

¹⁸⁴ In the most recent general discussion of KV 62 (Connor and Laboury 2020), the possibility that the tomb and its contents might be anything beyond what they superficially appear is scarcely considered.

TABLE 1
ACTIVITY SEQUENCE, KV 62

<p>ANTIQUITY</p>	
<p>•<i>Reign of Akhenaten</i> Year 1-5 Architecture: Stage I</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Initial cutting of KV 62 as a right-turning corridor tomb intended for Nefertiti as queen •Work halts with the move to El-Amarna
<p>•<i>Co-regency of Neferneferuaten</i> ca. her Year 3 Architecture: Stage II</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Nefertiti’s return to Thebes as the co-regent Neferneferuaten •Resumption of work on KV 62 (cotemporaneous with work on KV 57?),¹⁸⁵ to include a widening of the corridor at I/J in preparation for the planned, future introduction of the co-regent’s funerary shrines etc. (items later adapted and employed for Tutankhamun, Carter nos. 207, 308, 237, 238, 239)
<p>•<i>Reign of Smenkhkare and reign of Tutankhamun</i> Year 1?/Year 1 Architecture: Stage III Decoration: Phase I</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Death of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare after a reign of ± 1 year, in the wake of the <i>daxamunzu</i> episode •Further adaptation of KV 62 for burial of Nefertiti as full pharaoh, to include the preparation of a “well” (J) within I/J/[y] by expanding one section of the corridor downwards and to the west •Introduction of the larger items of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare’s new, fully pharaonic burial equipment (appropriated from Akhenaten?)¹⁸⁶ into the deepest, still concealed part of KV 62 •Erection of a partition wall at J/[y], leaving a small “service doorway” temporarily closed with a wooden door to prevent petty-pilfering during ongoing stocking with Nefertiti/Smenkhkare’s smaller items •Drafting of Phase I scene on left hand side of room J’s north wall •Burial of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare within KV 62, in her dedicated burial apartments located some distance beyond room J’s north wall •Removal of “service doorway’s” temporary wooden door; blocking of its entrance with stones; surface of blocking coated with hard, gritty plaster •Right-hand side of J’s Phase I north wall painting executed (at a slightly smaller scale because of insufficient space) with a scene of Tutankhamun burying Smenkhkare •Outer blockings closed and plastered; KV 62 tomb site covered over and camouflaged
<p>•<i>Reigns of Tutankhamun / Ay</i> Year 9+/Year 1 Architecture: Stage IV Decoration: Phase II</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Tutankhamun’s unexpected death •Appropriation and adaptation for Tutankhamun of Neferneferuaten’s abandoned burial equipment •KV 62 re-opened and its outer chambers cleared out as far as room J in order to make space for the burial of Tutankhamun, leaving the burial apartments of Nefertiti/Smenkhkare to the north untouched •Expansion of room I to the south to make additional space •Addition of satellite store chambers Ia, Ja, J[x], J[z?] •Phase II modifications made to existing (Phase I) north wall painting, room J –including addition of figure [6], conversion of existing, Smenkhkare images into mages of Tutankhamun, addition of yellow

¹⁸⁵ See above, n. 102.

¹⁸⁶ Reeves 2015, 5, n. 34.

	<p>background, replacement/adaptation of existing Phase I texts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Addition of completely new, Phase II, yellow ground scenes to the previously blank east and west walls •Introduction of sarcophagus; positioning around the walls of J of the north, west and east shrine panels, allowing continuing access to the sarcophagus •Burial of Tutankamun •Assembly of shrines around the sarcophagus; insufficient space to receive the final, southern panel of possibly the third and the outer sepulchral shrine requires crude removal of central section of room I/J corner •Erection of room I/J partition wall, with its “service doorway” presumably fitted with temporary wooden door(s) to prevent pilfering •Addition of new, yellow-ground decoration to south wall of J to complete Tutankhamun’s <i>ad hoc</i> “house of gold” •Final stocking of tomb (smaller items) •Final rites •Blocking and hard, gritty plastering of I/J “service doorway” (Carter no. 028) •Blocking/sealing of Antechamber J •Insufficient space within KV 62 requires entrance corridor B – normally backfilled – to be left empty to serve as storage overflow •Outer blocking closed and plastered; KV 62 tomb site covered over and camouflaged
<p>•<i>Reign of Ay</i> Year 1+</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •First robbery within KV 62, with criminal access as far as room I •Detection of first robbery: entrance corridor emptied of objects for reburial in KV 54; breached walls within tomb re-closed and stamped with uninscribed jackal-over-nine-captives seal; corridor backfilled with rubble; entrance re-closed and stamped with uninscribed jackal over nine captives seal; tomb buried, landscaped over and site camouflaged •Second robbery, with criminal access as far as room J (and excluding J[x], J[y] and the speculative J[z]) •Detection of second robbery: breached walls within tomb re-closed and stamped with uninscribed jackal-over-nine-captives seal; robbers’ hole within corridor rubble re-filled; entrance re-closed and stamped with uninscribed jackal-over-nine-captives seal; tomb buried, landscaped over and site camouflaged
<p><i>POST-DISCOVERY</i></p>	
<p>•November 4, 1922</p>	<p>•First discovery of KV 62</p>
<p>•November 28, 1922</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •First entry into the Antechamber •Partial removal of post-second robbery Annexe re-blocking(?) •Removal of post-second robbery re-blocking of robbers’ hole in “service doorway” to gain access to Burial Chamber (J), swinging the Painted Wooden Box (Carter no. 021) around by 180 degrees •Opening of outer shrine(?) •Excavators carry out a thorough investigation of the tomb, with objects moved and removed, with those access routes made at this time subsequently memorialised in official plans as original “archaeological” layout •On completing this preliminary inspection, the re-opened, post-second

	robbery blocking into Burial Chamber J hidden behind a leaning basket-lid
•Between February, 1931-February, 1932	•Carter investigates left-hand side of Burial Chamber J's north wall, presumably in search of a continuation of the tomb, subsequently restoring the painting he has damaged and adding fake mould to help his repair better blend in
•February, 1932	•Carter completes his work within KV 62

TABLE 2
POSITIONS TAKEN AND EVIDENCE/REASONING OFFERED

POSITION TAKEN	EVIDENCE/REASONING
<i>GENERAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That Akhenaten’s co-regent, Neferneferuaten, was a woman 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nomen epithet: “She-who-is-beneficial-for-her-husband”¹⁸⁷ • Female physical characteristics seen in some of the [Neferneferuaten] material reused for Tutankhamun¹⁸⁸ • Feminine “t” which occurs in certain ring-bezels containing the co-regent’s prenomen¹⁸⁹
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That there is no evidence for Nefertiti’s early death and/or burial as Akhenaten’s great royal wife 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those surviving elements of burial equipment which were prepared for Nefertiti as queen in advance of her death (<i>shawabti</i> figure[s])¹⁹⁰ reveal nothing about how or when the lady was ultimately buried¹⁹¹ • The evidence of the Deir Abu Hinnis graffito¹⁹² reveals that Nefertiti did not die early, but was still alive and functioning as great royal wife as late as Akhenaten’s Year 16 (one year before his accepted death) • Nefertiti’s subsequent¹⁹³ “disappearance” is to be explained by her elevation to co-regent status and the adoption of a new name – Ankhkheperure (+ Akhenaten-dependent epithet) Neferneferuaten (+ Akhenaten-dependent epithet)¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ Gabolde 1998, 153-157.

¹⁸⁸ Reeves 2015a, 4, n. 29.

¹⁸⁹ Reeves 2015a, 4, n. 31.

¹⁹⁰ Loeben 1999; the two fragments appear to be from separate figures.

¹⁹¹ We find similar *shawabti*-style figures (and other items) prepared for Tiye – who died after her husband – in the tomb of Amenhotep III (WV 22): Reeves 1990a, 39 and 53, n. 75; Reeves 2015a, 5, n. 35.

¹⁹² Van der Perre 2014. As Harris 1974a, 19 pointed out, the title “great royal wife” was permanent, continuing to be employed by Tiye even after the death of Amenhotep III. This suggests the possibility that Nefertiti, too, despite her elevation to co-regent status employing the name Neferneferuaten, might conceivably have retained and occasionally reverted to the duties of great royal wife as context demanded. Cf. Johnson 2018.

¹⁹³ See previous note. Before the discovery of the Year 16 Deir Abu Hinnis graffito, I had argued that Nefertiti’s elevation to co-regent status dated to shortly after Akhenaten’s Year 12 (Reeves 2001, 172-173). If Nefertiti had served as both queen and co-regent at the same time then that could still be the case.

¹⁹⁴ Reeves 2015a, 4, n. 32.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Akhenaten’s co-regent Neferneferuaten was the great royal wife Nefertiti 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •A clear evolution discernible within and between the name-forms of queen and co-regent¹⁹⁵ •Epithets within Neferneferuaten’s nomen refer to her as “She-who-is-beneficial-for-her-husband,”¹⁹⁶ an epithet most appropriate for Akhenaten’s principal wife¹⁹⁷ •Nefertiti and Neferneferuaten are shown as facially identical¹⁹⁸ •The small stela Berlin ÄM 25574 – altered from a three-cartouched representation of Akhenaten and Nefertiti (wearing her identifying flat-topped crown) to a four-cartouched depiction of two co-regents¹⁹⁹
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Meritaten is not Neferneferuaten 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The names of Neferneferuaten (co-regent) and Meritaten (great royal wife) occur as separate individuals in the same inscription: Carter box no. 001k from Tutankhamun’s tomb²⁰⁰
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Meritaten was “great royal wife” to both Neferneferuaten (co-regent) and Smenkhkare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •To Neferneferuaten: evidence of boxes Carter nos. 1k²⁰¹ and 12n + 79 + 574²⁰² •To Smenkhkare: scene in the tomb of Meryre II (no. 2) at El-Amarna²⁰³
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Meritaten is not mentioned in the Amarna letters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •“Mayati/Mayatu”²⁰⁴ is not to be understood as a literal reference to Akhenaten’s daughter, Meritaten, but as a respectful allusion to the royal consort Nefertiti, “Beloved one of the Aten (= Akhenaten)” – an expression later found employed by “Ankhkheperure” on gold sequins from the burial of Tutankhamun, there seemingly dating from the transitional period between Akhenaten’s death and Nefertiti’s adoption of the kingly nomen Smenkhkare²⁰⁵
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Smenkhkare ruled only after Akhenaten’s death 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The sequence of ownership-changes traceable in the inscriptions of the Gold Throne establish the Amarna

¹⁹⁵ Reeves 2015a, 4, n. 27 and see above.

¹⁹⁶ Gabolde 1998, 153-157.

¹⁹⁷ Reeves 2015a, 4, n. 32.

¹⁹⁸ Reeves 2019, Fig. 12, and here above, Fig. 2; Reeves in press b (sculptural comparisons with Tutankhamun’s second coffin, Carter no. 254). Cf. Johnson 2015.

¹⁹⁹ Reeves 2001, 169; Seyfried [2012], 239, left.

²⁰⁰ Reeves 2015a, 4-5, n. 33. See also Carter no. 12n + 79 + 574, where the names Nebkheperure, Tutankhamun and Ankheseenamun are found inscribed over Ankhheperure (+ epithet), Neferneferuaten (+ epithet) and Meritaten: Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 31-32.

²⁰¹ Beinlich and Saleh 1989, 4; Harris 1974a, 16.

²⁰² Ibid., 31-32; Krauss 2007, 308.

²⁰³ Davies 1903-1908, II, pl. XLI.

²⁰⁴ EA 10-EA 11, EA 155: Moran 1992, 19, 22, 241-242.

²⁰⁵ Harris 1992, 60-61 (Carter no. 46gg). See above, nn. 49, 65.

	<p>succession as Akhenaten > Akhenaten + Neferneferuaten (as co-regents) > Smenkhkare > Tutankhaten/Tutankhamun²⁰⁶</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The relative physical maturity of Meritaten in the Year 12 Meryre II scene of Smenkhkare as pharaoh with Meritaten as great royal wife²⁰⁷ •The irrelevance of the Pere graffito²⁰⁸
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Meritaten’s role as “great royal wife” is of no relevance to the question of Smenkhkare’s physical sex 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The title was in essence functional, without any implications of sexual marriage²⁰⁹
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Smenkhkare is not Tutankhamun’s elder brother 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •There is no archaeological or inscriptional evidence to link the KV 55 body with Smenkhkare²¹⁰ •Although the estimated ages <i>at death</i> of the KV 62 and KV 55 bodies are close, an appreciable time elapsed between these respective deaths – so much time that no candidate who might be advanced as potential mother to one could have given birth to the other²¹¹
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Nefertiti/Smenkhkare was the widowed queen who wrote to the king of the Hittites for a son to occupy the throne of Egypt by her side 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The co-regent, Neferneferuaten, automatically became sole ruler on the death of Akhenaten, despite the existence of Akhenaten’s son, Tutankhamun – a situation which would have effectively split the royal court into two factions – a convincing background to the <i>daxamunzu</i> incident •Use of the Hittite expression <i>daxamunzu</i> – a direct transcription of the Egyptian <i>ḥmt nsw</i>, “The king’s wife [<i>par excellence</i>]” – suggests a seniority more appropriate to Nefertiti than Ankhesenamun²¹²

²⁰⁶ Reeves in press a.

²⁰⁷ Davies 1903-1908, II, pl. XLI.

²⁰⁸ Reeves forthcoming.

²⁰⁹ Helck 1969, suggesting it was a title given to princesses in respect of a formal role possibly connected with the *sed*-festival.

²¹⁰ See text.

²¹¹ Harris 1973a, 17.

²¹² Reeves 2001, 176

<p>That Ankhesenamun was not the widowed queen who wrote to the king of the Hittites for a son to occupy the throne of Egypt by her side</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The Amqi military action referred to in Amarna letter EA 170 is to be recognized as that underway at the time of the <i>daxamunzu</i> affair²¹³ – which, since the Amarna diplomatic archive was already closed by Ankhesenamun’s time, effectively rules her out as a candidate •The Phase II version of KV 62’s north wall decoration shows Ay as established king already by the time Tutankhamun was buried •The date of death of Tutankhamun (December) is impossible to reconcile with the internal chronology of the <i>daxamunzu</i> episode²¹⁴
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That the reign of Smenkhkare was very short – perhaps a matter of months within her independent Year 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The inherent political fragility of the Nefertiti/Smenkhkare situation as this is reflected in the <i>daxamunzu</i> affair •The oft-cited “Year 3” dateline in the Pere graffito is irrelevant: this relates not to Smenkhkare but to the co-regency of Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten²¹⁵
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Nefertiti/Smenkhkare may, in the end, have been buried with much of²¹⁶ the burial equipment intended for Akhenaten 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Akhenaten himself failed to use it: his only actual (as opposed to planned) burial was that within KV 55²¹⁷ employing a limited, mix-and-match burial equipment originally made for Kiya²¹⁸

²¹³ Reeves 2001, 177; Miller 2007.

²¹⁴ Reeves 2001 176-177. Others now argue that it might have been slightly later: see Winlock and Arnold 2010, 74.

²¹⁵ Reeves 2015a, 5, n. 36.

²¹⁶ Obviously excluding the stone objects already installed within the El-Amarna tomb. It appears that the considerable effort of extracting these heavy and inscriptionally/iconographically outmoded items was avoided simply by smashing them up *in situ* when El-Amarna was officially abandoned in antiquity – lidded sarcophagi and canopic chest(s) of Akhenaten himself, Tiye and Meketaten, as well as the tomb’s complement of Akhenaten and Nefertiti *shawabti* figures.

²¹⁷ *Contra* my earlier thoughts on the matter (Reeves 1990a, 43-44), the likely brevity of the reign of Smenkhkare renders it highly improbable that Akhenaten could ever have been interred in and transferred from the Amarna royal tomb prior to his burial within KV 55. Burials within the El-Amarna tomb are likely to have been restricted to Akhenaten’s lifetime, and to have included those of Tiye within the *ad hoc* burial chamber E, adjacent to the tomb’s appropriately decorated southwest wall (see below, this note), and Meketaten and probably Kiya. For Tiye and Kiya, at least, we have evidence to suggest that their burials were removed to Thebes following Akhenaten’s death and the abandonment of El-Amarna as Egypt’s royal residence; the body of Tiye eventually turns up in the Amenhotep II (KV 35) cache (CG 61070), though it would appear that, post Amarna, she was first redeposited within KV 55 together with the gilded wooden shrine which had surrounded her sarcophagus at El-Amarna (the shrine’s single surviving scene is identical with one section of the decoration on the wall within the Amarna tomb); alongside this assemblage within KV 55 will then have been deposited her son Akhenaten’s own coffined body. As I have suggested elsewhere (Reeves 1990a, 44), Tiye’s body was very clearly removed from KV 55, most likely during the reign of Ramesses IX, though attempts to extract through the only partially cleared corridor the panels of her shrine were in the end abandoned. The Amarna/Akhenaten-related material was likewise left within KV 55, having been defaced: Reeves 1990a, 44.

²¹⁸ Reeves 1990a, 57, n. 146.

<i>TUTANKHAMUN'S BURIAL EQUIPMENT</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Tutankhamun's burial equipment had originally been intended for a woman 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The obvious female physical characteristics (breasts, hips) of some items²¹⁹ •The fact that several pieces incorporate a mix of kingly and queenly iconographic features²²⁰
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That Tutankhamun's burial equipment had originally been intended for Nefertiti as the co-regent Neferneferuaten 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Many instances of cartouche alterations which, where an original text can still be made out, is consistently that of Ankhkheperure (+ Akhenaten-dependent epithet) Neferneferuaten (+ Akhenaten-dependent epithet)²²¹ •Identical profiles in the "portraiture" employed to represent both Nefertiti and Neferneferuaten²²²
<i>BURIAL CHAMBER, WEST WALL</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That the west wall decoration of KV 62 room J overlays a blocked doorway (J[x]) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The Factum Arte surface scan establishes the J[x] door outline by means of a curtailed fault above and a pair of vertical jambs below²²³ •The size and proportions of this door outline are identical to those of the existing Annexe doorway,²²⁴ identifying it as a companion chamber •The plaster in this general area, established by visible finger gouges,²²⁵ is of a thickness which might be associated with a blocking
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That this west wall blocking may give access to a Tutankhamun-era storage chamber (J[x]) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The precedent that a royal burial suite (pillared hall and sunken "crypt" = KV 62 Antechamber + Burial Chamber) is regularly provided with four satellite storage rooms²²⁶ •The positioning of the perceived doorway •The dimensions of this perceived door outline, which are identical to that of the Annexe doorway,²²⁷ clearly identify the two rooms as cotemporaneous and in the same series

²¹⁹ Most strikingly, Carter nos. 289b (female co-regent on back of leopard) and 458 (*shawabti* with feminine hips): Reeves 2015a, 4, n. 29.

²²⁰ These more subtle female markers are discussed in Reeves 2015c and Reeves in press b.

²²¹ See Harris 1992.

²²² Reeves 2019, Fig. 12 and here above, Fig. 2; Reeves in press b (sculptural comparisons with the face of Tutankhamun's second coffin, Carter no. 254); Animation 3.

²²³ Reeves 2015a, 5-7, Figs. 6-9.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6, Figs. 10-11; this paper, Animation 2.

²²⁵ Reeves 2019, 23, Fig. 38, top.

²²⁶ Cf. Reeves 2015a, 6, Fig. 12.

²²⁷ Reeves 2015a, 6, Figs. 10-11; this paper, Animation 2.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That this Tutankhamun-era chamber J[x] may be rather more than a single storeroom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The Italian ERT I imagery²²⁸ may suggest the vague presence of a northern extension to the putative storeroom J[x] •The corresponding chamber in the tomb of Amenhotep III (WV 22) had been enlarged in antiquity and provided with its own small storage chamber, seemingly with the intention of accommodating a subsidiary burial – most probably, that of the king’s daughter/great royal wife Sitamun²²⁹
<p><i>BURIAL CHAMBER, NORTH WALL</i></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That the perceived north wall partition of KV 62’s room J incorporates a “service doorway” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Factum Arte surface scanning reveals physical traces suggestive of such an inner door²³⁰ •Thermal imaging (IR I) suggests a precisely similar door outline²³¹ •The specific area exhibits a gritty plaster surface identical to that encountered on Carter door blockings nos. 004, 013, 028, 171, identifying it as a similar form of closure²³² •The precedent of a similar “service doorway” within the Antechamber-Burial Chamber blocking (I-J) (Carter no. 004)²³³
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That an artificial build within the north wall of J is unlikely to represent the mere squaring-up of an incompletely quarried chamber 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The presence within this proposed partition of a smaller “service doorway” implies a need for continuing access beyond;²³⁴ it had presumably been closed by a temporary wooden door while the stocking with smaller items of the tomb’s primary burial continued. Compare the similar “service doorway” encountered by Carter closing off the Antechamber (I) from the Burial Chamber (J)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That any continuation beyond the north wall partition and “service doorway” within KV 62 is likely to take the form of a corridor continuation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The left-hand side of the visually perceived and scientifically established north wall partition aligns precisely with the west wall of the Antechamber, identifying it as a likely continuation •The underlying ground-plan of KV 62 is that of an L-shaped corridor, as confirmed by the chiseled line in the ceiling²³⁵ which identifies room J as a (Stage III)

²²⁸ Porcelli et al. 2018, Fig. 11, top.

²²⁹ Reeves 2003.

²³⁰ Ibid., 8, Figs. 15-16, 20. Note that since the 2015a publication it has been possible to refine the positioning and size of this opening to what we see in Reeves 2019, Fig. 39 and now in Animations 1-5.

²³¹ See Animation 2 here.

²³² Reeves 2019, Figs. 39-40; Animation 2.

²³³ Reeves 2015a, 8, Fig. 21.

²³⁴ Reeves 2019, 24.

²³⁵ Getty Conservation Institute 2009, 12.

	<p>widening towards the west of such a corridor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The evidence of the ScanPyramids thermal imaging (IR I)²³⁶ •The evidence of the Watanabe radar (GPR I)²³⁷
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That any corridor located beyond the north wall partition and “service doorway” is likely to have been back-filled with compacted limestone chippings and dust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The precedent of KV 62 (corridor B)²³⁸ •The precedents of KV 55,²³⁹ KV 57 (Horemheb)²⁴⁰ and other tombs •The evidence of the National Geographic radar (GPR II [as reprocessed])²⁴¹
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That any burial beyond the north wall partition and “service doorway” is likely to be intact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The seemingly unbreached (pre-Carter) condition of the Phase II decoration overlying the north wall partition and “service doorway”²⁴²
<i>BURIAL CHAMBER, SOUTH WALL</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That a further blocked doorway may conceivably be present in the south wall of KV 62’s room J 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The anomalous height of the south wall “magic brick” niche (Carter no. 258) in comparison with the consistently lower height of niches 257, 259-260²⁴³ •The fact that the anomalous, raised height of the south wall niche corresponds with the height of the Annexe (Ia) doorway and the apparent height of the mooted doorway J[x]²⁴⁴ •The presence of considerably thicker plaster (visible finger gouges)²⁴⁵ which may be suggestive of a structural difference in this location
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That any south wall blocking is likely to give access to a Tutankhamun-era storage chamber 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The precedent that a royal burial chamber regularly has four satellite storage rooms²⁴⁶ (the siting here necessarily eccentric because the regular position is occupied by the entrance corridor B)
<i>TOMB PLAN</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That a right-turning corridor (as one enters) is indicative of a tomb’s queenly character 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The basic similarity between the underlying groundplan of KV 62 and the Hatshepsut (as queen)

²³⁶ See Animation 2.

²³⁷ See Animation 2.

²³⁸ Animation 1.

²³⁹ Reeves 1990a, 42; cf. Davis 1910, pl. XXV.

²⁴⁰ Reeves 1990a, 77; cf. Davis 1912, pls. passim.

²⁴¹ Reeves 2019, 13-18.

²⁴² For which see Animation 5.

²⁴³ Reeves 2015a, 6, n. 45. See Animation 2.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., and Animation 2.

²⁴⁵ Reeves 2019, 23, Fig. 38, below.

²⁴⁶ Reeves 2015a, 6. Cf. Weeks 2000/2003, passim.

	<p>cliff-tomb WA D, and other tombs²⁴⁷</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •As viewed from the point of view of the deceased looking out, the orientation conforms with ancient Egyptian dual symbolic classification,²⁴⁸ in which the right (kingly) takes precedence over the left (queenly)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That, pre-Tutankhamun, room J had served as the notional “well” within a pharaonic tomb 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •This room had been created post-Neferneferuaten, during development Stage III, by the simple expansion to the west of a section of corridor (as is established by surviving chisel-marks on the ceiling)²⁴⁹ •Its initial, full-width, north wall decoration was executed for Smenkhkare as Tutankhamun’s kingly predecessor •The floor is excavated (notionally) deeper than a regular room •The putative exit doorway is off-set (as in all post-Thutmose III Eighteenth Dynasty kingly tombs beyond the “well”), though to the viewer’s left rather than to the right in accordance with its diametrically opposite queenly orientation²⁵⁰
<i>WALL DECORATION</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That the north wall was the sole decorated surface within room J pre-Tutankhamun (Phase I) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The north wall uniquely employs a pre-Tutankhamun, Amarna-style, 20-square proportional grid²⁵¹ •Painting stratigraphy reveals the scene’s original background colour to have been white and only later updated by painting around an existing subject-matter in yellow²⁵² •Evidence of later, 18-square modifications to the north wall’s imagery and changes to the hieroglyphic labelling²⁵³
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That the decoration to the south, east and west walls is to be recognized as a later, Tutankhamun-era addition (Phase II) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Technical evidence suggests that, during Phase I, the south, east and west walls had been left undecorated²⁵⁴ •The south, east and west scenes were executed employing a later, post-Amarna, 18-square grid²⁵⁵ •The current yellow background to these paintings is original to their execution, and not an addition as in the case of the north wall²⁵⁶

²⁴⁷ Reeves 2015a, 7-8, Fig. 22; *ibid.*, n. 56.

²⁴⁸ Reeves 2019, 24.

²⁴⁹ Getty Conservation Institute 2009, 12.

²⁵⁰ Cf. the plans in Weeks 2000/2003.

²⁵¹ Robins 1984; Robins 1994.

²⁵² Wong et al., 2012.

²⁵³ Reeves 2019, 4, Fig. 13; Animation 2.

²⁵⁴ Wong et al., 2012.

²⁵⁵ Robins 1984; Robins 1994.

²⁵⁶ Based on Wong et al., 2012.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That, as originally executed (during Phase I), figure [1] represented Tutankhamun, and not Ay as subsequently relabeled (Phase II) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The facial outline of this figure matches precisely that employed to identify Tutankhamun at the time of his coronation²⁵⁷ •The Phase II nomen of Ay can be shown to overlies a Phase I nomen of Tutankhamun²⁵⁸
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That, as originally executed (during Phase I), figure [2] was intended to be understood as a representation of Nefertiti 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The facial outline of this figure matches precisely that employed elsewhere to identify Nefertiti (the Berlin bust, ÄM 21300)²⁵⁹ •The scene's subject-matter is that of Tutankhamun burying his ruling predecessor = Smenkhkare, who inscriptional and other evidence would independently identify as Nefertiti²⁶⁰
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That figure [3] is to be recognized as an altered Phase I image of Nefertiti 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The upper portion of the face of this figure matches precisely the profile of Nefertiti; to this figure has been added, during Phase II, an 18-square Tutankhamun-style chin and male upper torso²⁶¹ •The lower part of figure shows evidence of having been adapted (by selective painting-out) from an original, Phase I, full-length flowing costume²⁶²
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That figure [4] was modeled facially on the great royal wife Meritaten 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The long-standing convention in Egyptian art is that, while the features assigned to a god were based upon those of the reigning king, the features of a goddess were modeled on those of the principal queen²⁶³ •As an unaltered creation of the north wall's Phase I, which celebrated the burial of Tutankhamun's predecessor, Nefertiti/Smenkhkare, the features of figure [4] ought to be those of Smenkhkare's (ritualistic) great royal wife – Meritaten²⁶⁴
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That figure [5] represents an adapted, Phase I image of Nefertiti 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The facial outline of this figure matches precisely that of Nefertiti (the Berlin bust, ÄM 21300)²⁶⁵ •The tripartite wig is the conventional, conservative attire of royal (and other) women in a funerary context²⁶⁶

²⁵⁷ Reeves 2015a, 10; Reeves 2019, 3; Animation 3.

²⁵⁸ Reeves 2019, 4, Fig. 13; Animation 2.

²⁵⁹ Reeves 2015a, 10; Reeves 2019, 4; Animation 3.

²⁶⁰ See above and Animation 3.

²⁶¹ See Animation 3.

²⁶² Reeves 2019, 6, Figs. 18-19, 35.

²⁶³ Reeves 2015a, 10, n. 73.

²⁶⁴ Reeves 2015a, 10, n. 73; Reeves 2019, 5.

²⁶⁵ Animation 3.

²⁶⁶ Reeves 2019, 7, Fig. 24.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That figure [6] is to be recognized as a depiction of Tutankhamun 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The facial features of this figure are demonstrably those of Tutankhamun at the time of his death,²⁶⁷ with no evidence of alteration
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That figure [6] is to be understood as a later, Phase II addition to the original Phase I scene 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The figure’s cramped positioning, and evidence that figure [7] had at this time been repositioned slightly further back in an attempt to free-up space²⁶⁸ •The anomalous height of this figure, the result of it having been fashioned according to a post-Amarna, 18-square proportional grid; note particularly the misalignment of the nose²⁶⁹ •The poor spacing of the inscriptions and misalignment of the king’s identifying cartouche²⁷⁰
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That figure [7] is to be recognized as evidence that Nefertiti = Smenkhkare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The combined facts (1) that gods are traditionally represented with the facial features of co-regent or king (in the same way that goddesses are ordinarily shown with the features of the queen), and (2) that Scene 1 (figures [1] and [2]), by its allusion to the succession, confirms the identification here as king rather than co-regent, and thus Smenkhkare = Nefertiti²⁷¹
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That the Phase I version of the decorated north wall had been executed in two stages, presumably as a consequence of the “service doorway” being in active use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The taller heights of figures [3]-[7] compared to those of figures [1] and [2]²⁷²
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •That the decorated north wall of room J Scene 1 is to be understood as closing-off access to the burial of Tutankhamun’s predecessor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The scene content (opening of the mouth ritual) was intended to announce, before the gods, the provision by Tutankhamun of an appropriate burial for his predecessor (Horus burying his father Osiris)²⁷³ •The scene therefore commemorates an event which predated Tutankhamun’s own burial by 9+ years (the length of Tutankhamun’s reign)²⁷⁴ •The sole context appropriate for this scene would be the tomb of the predecessor depicted; there would have been no reason for Tutankhamun to include it in his own tomb – indeed, for it to be later incorporated as part of Tutankhamun’s Burial Chamber decoration it required substantial adaptation²⁷⁵ •The identity of Tutankhamun’s predecessor is firmly established as Smenkhkare by the sequence of names on the much-altered Gold Throne²⁷⁶

²⁶⁷ Animation 3.

²⁶⁸ Reeves 2019, 6-7, Figs. 21-23.

²⁶⁹ Animations 2 and 3.

²⁷⁰ Reeves 2019, 10 and Fig. 34.

²⁷¹ Reeves 2019, 5.

²⁷² See Animation 2.

²⁷³ See text.

²⁷⁴ See text.

²⁷⁵ See text.

²⁷⁶ Reeves in press a.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">•As shown on the north wall, the facial features of this predecessor are demonstrably those of Nefertiti, thus confirming that Nefertiti = Smenkhkare²⁷⁷•The scene occupies precisely the same position (beyond the “well”) of other painted concealments of access to a king’s burial apartments, e.g. within KV 57 (Horemheb)²⁷⁸
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²⁷⁷ Animation 3 and see text.

²⁷⁸ Roehrig 1995, 105, n. 12.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

THE BURIAL OF NEFERTITI?

(NEFERTITI? I)

Page 2, n. 11 From the facial and physical characteristics of the Osiris figure which occupies the exterior left-hand door of the second (outermost) shrine (Carter no. 237), it now appears

that all four of Tutankhamun's shrines were originally prepared for the female co-regent Ankhkheperure Neferneferuaten: see Reeves 2019, Fig. 12, right (reversed for comparison).

THE DECORATED NORTH WALL IN THE TOMB OF TUTANKHAMUN (KV 62)

(NEFERTITI? II)

Page 7, paragraph 1 Read: By moving the body slightly backwards, leaving the head and feet unchanged (and, judging by the current thickness at the toes, seemingly omitting an original mAa-plinth) the Phase II artist had clearly been seeking to free-up additional central space – limited, in the end, though the results of that attempt proved to be.

Pages 8-9 Carolin Johansson (email dated August 4, 2019) draws my attention to the fact that the “magical niche” in the east wall (Carter no. 257) had been opened by the Swedish Crown Prince Gustav on Monday, November 3, 1930 (Carter MSS, Griffith Institute, Oxford, Journal for the 9th season, 63). She further refers me to a draft letter from Carter to the Crown Prince in the Peggy Joy Library of Egyptology, a copy kindly made available to me by William Joy. This draft, dated February 12, 1931, indicates that, by this date, the remainder of these sealed niches (Carter nos. 258, 259 and 260) had also been opened. Since the Griffith Institute image of the north wall in its pre-Carter-restoration state shows magical niche no. 259 still closed, the photograph must have been taken before February 1931 – indicating that Carter's investigation beneath the north wall decoration will have taken place sometime after that date and before his final completion of work in KV 62 – after which he will no longer have had free access to the tomb – in February 1932 (as mentioned in Carter [and Mace] 1923-1933, III, vii).

Page 9, last paragraph Read: It is easy, nonetheless, to understand Carter's preference for investigating the left-hand (western) portion of the decorated north wall: within Eighteenth Dynasty pharaonic tombs access beyond the “well” (E) – which is how the excavator himself appears initially to have perceived room J's original role within KV 62⁸⁰ – is consistently located on the left-hand side of that room's facing wall.⁸¹

Page 9, n. 80 Read: Carter's comments in Carter (and Mace) 1923-1933, III, v represent his final, considered views on the tomb plan, but his curious employment here of the term “well” rather than the then-current “sarcophagus crypt,” as also his investigations behind the north wall decoration, seem to reflect his original understanding of the KV 62 plan.

Page 11, end of penultimate paragraph Read: With its axial off-set, KV 62's room J might correspond to either of these secondary spaces; with its sunken floor, however, and its relative proximity to the tomb entrance, the likelihood is that the room later taken over for Tutankhamun's burial had been designed, and during Phase I had served, as KV 62's notional “well” – I suspect Carter's own view, as we have seen, and if so one I am certainly inclined to share.⁸⁴

Page 11, n. 94 Read: See above, 9 and n. 80.

QR CODE FOR ANIMATIONS

ANIMATIONS 1-5:

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