The Composition of the Opening of the Mouth in the Tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11)

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The Spanish-Egyptian archaeological mission in Dra Abu el-Naga (West Bank, Luxor) has been working in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11) since 2002. The 2010 campaign has seen the conclusion of the excavations in its interior, allowing for a first appraisal of the monument as a whole and it is now finally opened for further study and investigation. Among other things, it has been possible to prove that the decorative program of TT 11 offers a rich and complex iconographic and literary repertoire, with some rare representations and texts. On the right wall of the corridor leading to the inner chamber devoted to funerary rites, there is a remarkable copy of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth (fig. 12.1). This is its usual place in Theban tomb-chapels dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The existence of a version of the Opening the Mouth in the tomb of Djehuty has been known since its discovery. However, probably due to its apparently poor state of preservation, it has not been taken into account in the classical studies on this ritual. It is true that large sections of the wall have literally disappeared, and that the erosion that largely affects the wall’s surface has partly deteriorated the rest. In addition to this, a hard and consistent layer of mud covers the scenes, which impeded a clear reading of the texts.

Fortunately, these conditions have now partly changed. The excavation of the courtyard has recovered more than sixty fragments from this section of the corridor’s wall, many of them well preserved and with text. The first steps of the restoration and cleaning of the layer of mud have proven very successful, and the use of lateral lighting allows the copying of many previously hidden scenes and texts. Moreover, Spielgelberg’s Fundjournal of 1898–1899 (now in the archives of the Griffith Institute; see esp. pp. 83, 87, 93, 99) holds the drawing of many fragments that are now lost, and which certainly originate from this section of TT 11. The tracing of preliminary drawings has now become possible, and a first study is here presented (fig. 12.2).

1 This research has been done in the scope of the Spanish-Egyptian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga. We would like to thank all members of the team for their ideas and support and, in particular, José M. Galán, director of the mission, for reading through the manuscript and providing most valuable comments. We would also like to thank Andrés Diego Espinel for his special contribution to this work. The responsibility for possible errors is, nevertheless, entirely mine.


3 Even though there exist accounts of it since Lepsius (L.D. III, 27, 10), the tomb was first excavated at the very end of the Nineteenth century (Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, pp. 15–17). From Newberry’s diaries and unpublished field notebooks, and especially from Spiegelberg’s Fundjournal, we know that the Northampton team entered all chambers in TT 11, including the inner chapel, the funerary shaft, and Djehuty’s burial chamber. Nevertheless, they published just a small part of the reliefs and texts that decorated it, especially the known Northampton stela, carved on the external façade, which contained the biography of Djehuty (Spiegelberg 1900; Breasted 1906, pp. 153–58).

4 Porter and Moss’s Topographical Bibliography (PM I², 23) only mentions “rites before mummy.” In the important and still useful study by Otto (1960, vol. 2, p. 174), the only reference made of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty clearly discards its value as a document for the comprehension of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth: “Ursprünglich ausführliche Ritualdarstellung mit Sarkophag als Objekt an der rechten Wand des Längsräumes des Grabes. Text und Darstellungen stark zerstört.”
Figure 12.1. Plan of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (TT 11), showing the location of the Opening of the Mouth tableau.

Figure 12.2. Preliminary drawing of the Opening of the Mouth in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty (by Ana de Diego, 2005), before cleaning and when debris was still occupying the inner part of the corridor.
An Early Copy of the Ritual

The copy of the ritual found in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty is one of the earliest of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is well known that we have epigraphic and archaeological evidence of the Opening of the Mouth from the beginning of the Old Kingdom and even earlier (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 1–2). But it is not until the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty that this ritual is recorded in extended versions, when other creative innovations were introduced in Egyptian funerary beliefs and practices. According to Otto, it is quite possible to date in this period the creation of a canonical and extended version of the ritual, recovering old elements and introducing new ones (ibid., pp. 2ff.). A relatively complete text of the Opening of the Mouth coming from the Nineteenth Dynasty coffin of Butehamon states that it is merely a copy of an original from the times of Amenhotep I. Even if this type of attribution must be taken with caution, it is also true that Otto found significant coincidences between the Opening of the Mouth and other liturgical or ritual texts dating back to the times of Amenhotep I.

The fact is that the first developed copies of our ritual appeared in the times of Hatshepsut and Thutmos III, for example, in the tomb-chapels of Benia (TT 343), Duawyneheh (TT 125), Senemiah (TT 127), Amenemhat (TT 53), and, of course, Djehuty himself (TT 11), whose tomb can be dated sometime between years 16 and 22 of Thutmose III.

It must be underlined that TT 11 (Djehuty) predates TT 100 (Rekhmira), the latter dating from the end of the reign of Thutmose III. The tomb-chapel of Djehuty is roughly contemporary with that of User (TT 21), which includes one of the oldest versions of the Opening of the Mouth preserved from the Eighteenth Dynasty. User was Thutmose I’s butler, but his tomb-chapel was built after the death of this king, and in terms of structure and style could be chronologically much closer to the early reign of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III. Furthermore, the copy found in the tomb-chapel of User, not well preserved as it is, followed a very schematic pattern both in image and text. It is worth mentioning that in some of the tomb-chapels recently discovered in Hierakonpolis, from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, copies of the ritual were included. They

6 The coffin of Butehamon is one of the seven copies that Otto collects for its integrity for his canonic reconstruction (1960, vol. 2, passim, esp. p. 173). This text explicitly mentions Amenhotep I on the title and on scene 55:A (both are included in the TT 11 version, but mention to this sovereign has not been preserved).
7 Amenhotep I becomes a mythical character in the New Kingdom and, later, a godlike figure that will end up receiving special attention among the deceased pharaohs. Seen as the royal ancestor par excellence, he was imbued in the charisma of a founding hero, to whom was attributed the origin of many of the innovations in this period, such as the foundation and commencement of the activity of the artisan village of Deir el-Medina. There are other important texts, alternatively, that are attested for the first time in the Thutmose period, and which could have originated in the initial stages of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as is the case of the Duties of the Vizier (van den Boorn 1988, pp. 333ff., for a dating of this text at the end of the reign of Ahmose. See also Quirke 2004, pp. 18–24).
8 Otto (1960, vol. 2, p. 158) underlines the relation between some passages of the sequence of the offering in the Opening of the Mouth, precisely scene nos. 58, 59:C, 62, 65:C, 67, and 70:B–C, with the so-called Liturgy of Amenhotep I. For the latter document, see Bacchi 1942 and Nelson 1949. Otto leaves the matter open: “Ob es tatsächlich auf Amenophis I zurückgeht ... bleibt dabei fräglich. Eine Untersuchung hierüber müsste bei den Totenopferdarstellungen der Gräber der 18 Dyn. ansetzen.” Though it is not our main concern here to carry out an investigation of this nature, it is curious that the action in scene 70:C, the cleaning of the trail of the officiant’s footprints with a brush or sweeper, appears again in the iconographic repertoire of the funerary rituals precisely in the times of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III (Naville 1901, pls. 109, 112; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pp. 93–94, pl. 18).
9 For the dating of Benia under Thutmose III, see Guksch 1978; Bryan 2006, p. 96.
10 Year 16 of Thutmose III is taken as the date of the erection of the obelisks that Djehuty mentions in the Northampton stela, while in year 23 the references to Hatshepsut in official documents stop.
11 The name of Amenhotep II inside TT 100 “cannot date the tomb, since this was quite possibly a late addition to the completed monument” (Bryan 2006, p. 75).
12 The tomb of User is usually considered to date from “the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty” (Kozloff 2006, p. 304). But N. de G. Davies, who published this monument, indicates that it was probably completed between Thutmose II and Hatshepsut: “As the name of the king is written in the tomb without the usual prefix and with the addition of maakheru and neter, he seems to have been dead when the tomb was completed. In any case the tomb can scarcely be later than the reign of Hatshepsut, though its affinities, I think, bring it down a considerable distance from the early years of Thotmes I” (N. de G. Davies 1913, p. 27).
13 Ibid., pl. 20, n. 4.
belong to the period of Thutmose I and they display relatively short versions that follow the same schematic design found in TT 21 and in other tomb-chapels from the times of Thutmose I.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{A Long and Complex Copy of the Ritual}

The first relevant feature of the Opening of the Mouth in TT 11 is its unusual display, with a large tableau, 6.01 meters long, including approximately thirty-five scenes represented as small vignettes. Of these, twenty-nine have been clearly identified, while the rest may be to some extent reconstructed on the base of parallels, and in the light of what is already known about the development and customary rules for the representation of this ritual.\textsuperscript{15}

Besides the special case of Rekhmira, with its over fifty scenes (N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 2, pl. 96–107; Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 184ff., pl. 1), the versions of the Opening of the Mouth in the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty count between ten and twenty (table 12.1), whenever it is possible to determine the number of scenes of the original composition. Among the longest preserved versions, TT 53 (Amenemhat), TT 127 (Senemiah), and TT 48 (Amenemhat-Surer) have approximately twenty scenes, considerably less in number than the copy in Djehuty’s funerary monument.\textsuperscript{16} Additionally, after the Amarna parenthesis, we find important changes in the recording of the Opening of the Mouth coming from the tomb-chapels of the Ramesside period. From this point onward the representation of this ritual in a single vignette becomes common practice: one or two officiants, that is, the lector-priest and the sem-priest, appear in front of a table holding the offerings and all necessary tools and elements for the Opening of the Mouth. The representation, moreover, seems to be integrated in the ceremonies that are carried out as the cortège reaches the necropolis and in the open courtyard at the entrance of the tomb, as the culmination and end of the funeral procession.\textsuperscript{17} In any case, it is important to keep in mind the fact that during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, and even in the Late Period, only a reduced number of singular monuments equal or exceed the extension and number of scenes found in TT 11.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Friedman 2001. We express our gratitude to Renée Friedman for providing us with information and drawings of this ritual.
\item \textsuperscript{15} The identified scenes are nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31–I–II, 32, 33, 34, 36, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 50:B, 55:A, 69:B–C, 73, and 74. In the tableau’s remaining space there is room for an additional five or six scenes or passages, whose nature can be easily deduced (see below, under \textit{Display and Composition of Scenes}).
\item \textsuperscript{16} In TT 127 (Senemiah) the scenes are nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 25, 38, 47, 50, 55, 63, 69:B–C, 74, and another three or four difficult to identify (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 174–75). In TT 48 (Amenemhat-Surer) the scenes preserved are nos. 15, 26, 27, 33, 43, 45, 46, 48, 50, 50:B, 55:I, 69:A–B, 70, 73, 74:A–B, 75, and a few more regrettably destroyed (Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pp. 43–44, pls. 47–49). In TT 53 (Amenemhat) we can identify scene nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 25, 26, 32, 33, 36, 50, 69:C, and 73 (though there exist doubts on many of them), out of a total of fifteen to twenty scenes (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pl. 2a–c).
\item \textsuperscript{17} For the representation of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth in the Ramesside period, see Barthelmesse 1992, pp. 93, 97ff., and the relevant study by Assmann (2005, pp. 310–29).
\item \textsuperscript{18} The main monuments that can be included in this group belonged to: (1) Sety I (KV 17), with the representation of approximately fifty-five scenes of the Opening of the Mouth (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 173, 189–90); (2) Nebsumenu (TT 183), with some forty scenes (Assmann 2003); (3) Djehutymes (TT 32) with around forty scenes (Fábián 1995, 2004); (4) Tausret (KV 14) with twenty-six scenes (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 173, 189–90; Altenmüller 2009); (5) Amenirdis’ shrine in Medinet Habu (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 173, 189–90; Ayad 2003, 2004); (6) Petamenofis (TT 33), with over fifty scenes (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 173 and 189–90); (7) Harwa (TT 37), with more than forty-five scenes (ibid., pp. 173, 189–90). On the fact that all these exceptional funerary monuments represent the Opening of the Mouth over the statue of the dead, see below.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
A second significant element of the Opening of the Mouth in the tomb-chapel of Djehuty is its relatively complex aspect and structure. The common situation in the Eighteenth Dynasty is to display a very simple iconographic version of the tableau and scenes, with one single priest facing the mummy or image of the dead person, accompanied by a brief text, normally the title of the scene. Moreover, in many tomb-chapels, like in Menna’s (TT 69), there is no text (fig. 12.4). But in TT 11 virtually every scene consists of an image and a text, clearly differentiated one from the other, filling separate squares within the vignette (fig. 12.3). The image visually reproduces the ritual action, often with many details, and almost always including the representation of the mummy and one or more officiants. As is usual in this kind of ritual, the text is written in columns and in retrograde orientation. With this disposition, the hieroglyphs are oriented toward the mummy of Djehuty, and also toward the inner chamber of the tomb-chapel, where the shaft leading to the burial chamber is located. Similarly, the words that come out from the mouth of the lector-priest and accompany the actions of the officiant are oriented in the same direction as their figures. The text is rather lengthy, providing this version of a higher literary quality than most of the other copies. Again, with the exception of Rekhmira, this differs with its counterparts from the Eighteenth Dynasty.

It is true that the version on Djehuty’s tomb-chapel is, of course, briefer and less impressive than that on Rekhmira’s (TT 100). However, in comparing both tombs and the details presented in them, it becomes evident that the Opening of the Mouth in Djehuty presents relevant additions, and that TT 11 can complete TT 100 in many aspects. Firstly, there are scenes that are included in Djehuty but not in Rekhmira: nos. 34, 48, 55:A, and 69:C. In the case of some of these scenes, it is the first time that their presence can be accounted

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19 This is the case in TT 82 (Amenemhat, TT 127 (Senemiah), TT 125 (Duwyneheh), TT 81 (Ineni), TT 343 (Benia), TT 26 (Nebamun), and TT 53 (Amenemhat), all of them roughly contemporary with TT 11.

20 Hawass and Maher-Taha 2002, pls. 65–66. The same occurs in TT 121 (Ahmose Humay), TT 84 (Jamnedjeh), and TT 92 (Suemniwet); Bryan 2001, pl. 24:1.

Figure 12.3. Scenes 26, 28, 31:I–II, and 32 of the Opening of the Mouth of Djehuty (preliminary drawing by Ana de Diego)

Figure 12.4. Details from the tomb-chapels of (left) Menna (TT 69) and (right) Amenemhat (TT 82)
for in the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth (as in no. 34). Secondly, there are several scenes with longer texts than in TT 100: nos. 4, 6, 26, 31:I, 32, 33, 41, 47, and 69:B.

Display and Composition of the Scenes

The Opening of the Mouth is represented at its proper place within the iconographic program of the tomb-chapel of Djehuty, that is, on the right wall of the corridor leading to the inner chamber. The incorporation of the religious message that it wants to convey into the architectonic space of the tomb is an aspect that has received little attention and that has not been adequately studied until recently.22

One of the main contributions of the TT 11 version comes from the external features and the structure of the composition. Special attention must be paid to the relation between text and image, the sequence and grouping of scenes, as well as to the location of each one of them within the tableau. All these should be apprehended from the internal reading of the ritual and its performance.

Djehuty’s Opening of the Mouth is displayed in two horizontal registers read from right to left, oriented toward the inside of the tomb and the inner shrine for the cult of the dead. Reading proceeds from top to bottom, contrary to the common practice in the tomb-chapels of the Eighteenth Dynasty, for instance, in Rekhmira.23

In the case of Rekhmira, it is possible to derive the order and sequence of scenes from the very structure of the tomb, in particular from the corridor and its end-wall. The corridor, with a ceiling of increasing height, naturally imposes a bottom-to-top reading on the observer. In addition, its end-wall, which reaches the maximum corridor’s height inside TT 100, presents on its lower section a false-door stela, and above it a niche for a statue of the owner, now lost. Rekhmira’s Opening of the Mouth has the statue of the deceased as its object, most probably this missing statue in particular. Thus, the ordering of the scenes is arranged in such a way, following a bottom-up sequence, to conclude at the nearest point to this statue.

In the tomb-chapel of Djehuty, the top-to-bottom order follows this explanatory model, as the lower and final register finishes in an image of the deceased, carved in relief, which represents him sitting at a replete offering table (fig. 12.2). The image is situated just before the door accessing the inner chapel, presided by the cult statues of Djehuty and his parents (see below).

Another interesting element found in the TT 11 version of the Opening of the Mouth is that, in the great majority of scenes, text and image appear clearly separated in independent spaces:24 the image is above, accompanied only by the title and the identification of the officiants, while the text is written in columns below (fig. 12.3). In the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty it is common to place both elements juxtaposed in the same register, so that the text and the representation of the deceased and the officiants share the same space (fig. 12.5).

It is important to note that in this respect, TT 11 is very similar to what is found in Sety I, Tausret, and some private Ramesside tomb-chapels, like Nebsumenu (TT 183) or Djehutymes (TT 32) (see above, n. 18). Thus, it seems possible to identify different artistic traditions, trends, or manners of recording the Opening of the Mouth on the walls of the tombs. It seems that Djehuty’s version may better be grouped with samples of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (fig. 12.6), rather than with those of the Eighteenth, as would be expected. Djehuty’s model seems to pay special attention to the text, creating “literary” versions of the ritual.

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22 For the tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, a first approach was conducted by Barthelmess (1992, pp. 93–97). There are only a limited number of studies on singular monuments, mainly Ayad 2004 and Fábián 2004. For the grouping of scenes in sequences with an internal logic, see Helck 1967 and Fischer-Elfert 1998, pp. 74ff. In Otto’s classic study (1960), the position occupied by the Opening of the Mouth within the funerary monument is not taken into consideration, and neither are the visual and plastic features of its representation.

23 In addition to TT 100 (Rekhmira), this order is followed in TT 81 (Ineni), TT 92 (Suemniwet), TT 82 (Amenemhat), TT 127 (Semenia), TT 26 (Nebamun), TT 69 (Menna), and TT 78 (Horemheb). It is rare to find an arrangement of the Opening of the Mouth from top to bottom, as is the case in TT 343 (Benia) or in TT 53 (Amenemhat).

24 Except scenes 19, 23, 24, 43, 44, and 69:B–C.
It is reasonable to think that the Opening of the Mouth in Djehuty’s tomb-chapel may be a relatively accurate copy on stone of an original model on papyrus. Copies on papyrus of the Opening of the Mouth must have certainly existed, not only serving as models for the artists that worked in the tomb-chapels, but also as reference texts for the lector-priest, one of the main officiants in the ritual. At times, it is precisely the lector-priest that is shown beginning to unroll a papyrus scroll where the title that opens the ritual has been inscribed (іrt wpt rꜤ “Performance of the Opening of the Mouth”). This reminds us of the copies of funerary texts on papyrus, such as the Book of the Dead, that started to proliferate at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Even considering the new approaches on the ritual’s structure and the grouping of scenes, Otto’s ideal reconstruction of the Opening of the Mouth in seventy-five scenes continues to be useful (1960, vol. 1, pp. 8–10). It offers a logical and ordered sequence, allowing the identification of groups of ritual steps. The version of TT 11 fits well in Otto’s outline. We present the sequence as displayed in the tomb of Djehuty, moving from right to left, toward the inner chamber, and from top to bottom (fig. 12.7):

**Upper Register (Right to Left)**

**First Group: The Beginning of the Ritual (Scenes 1, 47, 4, 5, 6, [x])**

In the upper register, after the title and the introductory text (scene 1), we come across several preparatory scenes, the purification of the mummy through water, natron, and incense. These are scenes 47, 4, 5, 6, and another one which possibly was number 2 or 3. All of them offer the same composition, with the image

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25 See N. de G. Davies 1925b, pl. 19.
26 See Galán in this volume.
27 For the special position of scene 47 at the beginning of the ritual, see below.
on top and the text below. Its long development is due to their importance for the correct accomplishment of the ritual. This explains why this group of scenes is one of the most frequent in the representations of the Opening of the Mouth in tomb-chapels from the Eighteenth Dynasty, such as Rekhmira (TT 100), Amenhemhat (TT 53), Benia (TT 343), Ineni (TT 81), Senemiah (TT 127), Nebamun (TT 26), Djehutynofer (TT 80), Suemniwet (TT 92), Menna (TT 69), and Senna (TT 169). The title and scene 1 form a single column, covering the height of the register, without an image, marking here a clear separation with the tableau to the right.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ To the right, toward the entrance of the corridor, the hunting in the desert scene is to be found, and on top of it an offering-list.
Second Group: First Butchering and Opening of the Mouth (Scenes 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28)

Moving farther to the left, the register is subdivided in three, the scenes arranged vertically. The breaking of the horizontal succession of scenes with two or three that form a vertical column is particularly frequent in Ramesside tomb-chapels, with an Opening of the Mouth version very similar to that of Djehuty, as mentioned above (n. 18). This visual device was meant to separate groups of scenes and to emphasize the connection between scenes that are closely connected in the performance of the ritual. In the first one of the set (scene 19) are the sem-priest, one of the main officiants of the ritual, dressed up in a panther skin, ready to conduct the sacrifice of the bull (scene 23), the butchering scene, and the presentation of its foreleg and heart to the mummy (scene 24). Next comes the opening of the mouth itself, first with the foreleg of the animal, the choicest piece of the sacrifice (scene 25, deteriorated but easily recognizable), and then with the small adze (scene 26). This sequence is probably the most important of the ritual. It is not by chance that it appears in the middle of the upper register, dividing it into two sections of practically the same extension.

Third Group: “His Son, His Beloved” (Scenes 31:I–II, 32, 33, 34, 41, [2x], 36) (fig. 12.8)

The reconstruction of the next section of the wall is more difficult as it is badly damaged. However, a new group of scenes can be identified, whose common link is the priest called “his son, his beloved,” sꜢ.f mr.f, that will be the main officiant of this phase of the ritual, repeating again the opening of the mouth of the deceased. The sequence shows an internal coherence that starts with scenes 31:I–II, fetching and introducing this priest to the mummy. These are shown again in a vertical display, so indicating the beginning of another phase of the ritual, in the same way as in the preceding sequence. Scenes in this group, following their order of appearance, are 31:I–II, 32, 33, 34, 41, and 36. Between the last two there is a gap for one or two scenes, now totally destroyed, but possibly were numbers 37 and 39.

Fourth Group: Second Butchering (Scenes 43, 44) (figs. 12.8, 12.10).

The upper register ends with the repetition of the fundamental passage of the bovid’s sacrifice, its butchering, and the offering of the foreleg and heart. Scenes 43 and 44 are a duplicate of 23 and 24 of the second group. The two scenes are arranged vertically to make clear their connection in the performance of the
ritual. Their location at the end of the register, next the entrance to the inner shrine, is here again closer to Ramesside and later models of the Opening of the Mouth, as there was a tendency then to locate these sacrifice scenes also at accesses or doors, as is the case in the tomb of Tausret (Altenmüller 2009, pl. 4), the private tomb-chapels of Nebsumenu (TT 183; Assmann 2003, fig. 2) and Djehutymes (TT 32; Fábián 2004, p. 89), and even in the chapel of Amenirdis in Medinet Habu (Ayad 2004, p. 117).

Returning to TT 11, the convenience of this position for the butchering scene is reinforced by the fact that, once through the door, we come across the decoration of the inner shrine, offering an exceptional collection of rituals, clearly dominated by the sacrifice of bulls.²⁹ Even if we believe that there is no direct liturgical connection between these sacrifices and the Opening of the Mouth, it is a fortunate coincidence that may have tried to reinforce the intense religious and funerary sense of the slaughter of the bovid.

**Lower Register (Right to Left)**

**Fifth Group: Repetition of the Opening of the Mouth (Scenes [45], 46)**

As we proceed to the lower register, the right end is totally lost, as was the case with the upper register. Counting back from the first preserved scene (48), there is space for approximately three or four scenes. Fortunately, among the fragments gathered by Spiegelberg there is one that surely comes from this area, preserving part of scene 46.³⁰ Most likely, following the canonical order of the ritual, after scenes 43 and 44, closing the upper register, 45 and 46 would follow, with the second opening of the mouth with the foreleg and the adze. The arrangement would have the advantage of making the opening of the mouth the first thing that the visitor of the tomb-chapel would see in the lower register. The prominence and relevance of the location of scenes 25–26 (see above) or 45–46 is something common in the models of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Even in shorter versions, these scenes are also highlighted, as they are the main steps of the ritual.³¹

**Sixth Group: Dressing the Deceased (Scenes [1x/2x(?)], 48, 50, 50:B, 55:A, 56)**

Following the second opening of the mouth there is a collection of scenes in which the sem-priest offers to the mummy several liturgical objects, mainly different sorts of cloth and other elements of the image’s sacred garment. The mummy is anointed in oils (scene 55:A) and also receives make-up (scene 56). It is possible that

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²⁹ Serrano 2012; Galán in this volume.
³⁰ Spiegelberg *Fundjourn* 1899, p. 99, no. 122. There is no other space for this fragment in the entire lower register, and scene 46 must be positioned here, precisely at the opening of the lower sequence of scenes.
³¹ In the short versions of the ritual, when for reasons of space one had to select only a limited set of scenes (around a false-door stela, or on the frame of an access or door), usually these are numbers 25 and 26 (or 45 and 46). The same happens in the synthetic versions of the ritual typical of the Ramesside period (see below); type 2 in Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 29.
the missing scene or scenes from the beginning of this group, separating it from the preceding 45(?) and 46, might have been 50:C, 51, or 51:A, as these integrate the group in other versions with their corresponding iconographic representation. On the other hand, it seems wise to discard scenes 49, 52, 53, and 54, because they appear only in copies of the ritual on papyrus, in hieratic, and lacking iconography (Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 110ff.).

This group of scenes refers to a new sequence of liturgical actions, which possibly come from the regular temple rituals and are especially well developed in the tomb of Djehuty, at least if we compare them with other Eighteenth Dynasty versions.

**Seventh Group: The Offering (Scenes 69:B–C)**

Following on, a significant episode of the Opening of the Mouth is the scene of the offering (scene 69:C), preceded, according to the canonic sequence of the ritual, by the libation (scene 69:B). As it is well known, one of the main purposes of the whole ritual is to allow the dead to be nourished with the offerings. The regular lineal sequence of the lower register is here broken, and the text of the scenes is exceptionally integrated in the vignette. The main reason for this might have been to leave a large space below for the offering list integrated in the Opening of the Mouth, in its most suitable position (just below the offering scene). Moreover, from this point onward all frames for scenes disappear, as had been the case up until now. It seems that these scenes constitute a sequence of liturgical acts that lead, like a final continuum, to the conclusion of the ritual.

**Eighth Group: Final Liturgies (Scenes 73, 74)**

What remains toward the left end of the wall are the closing ceremonies. The influence of the rituals and liturgies of the temples is especially evident here. The “Nine Companions” move the mummy to its resting place inside the shrine (scene 73). At its entrance, an officiant seems to be completing the last rites before closing the door (scene 74; fig. 12.9).

The figure at the end of the panel of the Opening of the Mouth represents a seated Djehuty reaching out toward a table laden with all sorts of foods. Djehuty is not portrayed in this occasion as a mummy, as is the case in all previous scenes that compose the two registers of the ritual. Rather, he is in a blessed state, alive and ready, thanks to the ritual, to benefit from the offerings of his funerary cult. It is not by chance that this image is situated at the very entrance of the inner shrine, the main place for the funerary cult, which holds the cult statue and the shaft leading to the burial chamber, the final resting place of Djehuty.33

**Internal Analysis**

The analysis of the different scenes and the internal study of the texts underline the significance of the TT 11 version. It would be cumbersome to enumerate all the many valuable details of the complex text of Djehuty’s Opening of the Mouth. Therefore, a summary of its main aspects and a few examples of the contributions that can be drawn from this special document will be outlined.

To start with a general assertion, we must now say that the upper register accumulates the majority of scenes, over twenty, doubling the quantity of the lower one, displaying a more complex and elaborated visual configuration. In addition, it clearly concerns the opening of the mouth itself and the related sacrifices that go with it, in accordance with the funerary purpose of the ritual. On the other hand, the lower register displays a more lineal and regular order, and a lesser number of scenes, around twelve. Furthermore, here all scenes but 45 and 46 (at the beginning) are recreations of temple rituals and the daily liturgy. It seems, therefore, that the upper register was reserved for burial purposes, and the lower register was closely connected to the liturgical needs of the cult. This is a good example of the complex structure of the ritual, including

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32 For the links between the Opening of the Mouth and temple rituals, see Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 1–2; and for the sequence of “dressing the deceased” in particular, see ibid., pp. 110–30.
sections and passages with different origins, from a wide variety of rituals, including the consecration of the statue, the offering, the embalming, the burying, the sacrifice and from various temple liturgies. Djehuty’s Opening of the Mouth includes new texts, unparalleled in the rest of the known versions. Such is the case of scene 36, or scene 69:B, the libation before the Offering in the lower register, taken possibly from the liturgy of the temples. There are also original details in the figurative composition, as in scene 43, which includes the representation of the decapitated goat and goose (fig. 12.10). From the texts we knew

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33 It is common to find a representation of the deceased, standing or sitting, frequently accompanied by his wife and other relatives, closing the scenes from the Opening of the Mouth. This is the case in the tomb-chapels of Nebamun (TT 17; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, p. 31), Senemiah (TT 127), or Rekhmira (TT 100; N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 2, pl. 108).


35 This is one of the scenes portraying the presentation of the four ‘bt to the mummy, together with scenes 35 and 40:B, but with a rather long text (4 columns), which does not coincide with any known version. Scene 35 is only a brief presentation of this stage of the ritual, and 40:B is a repetition of 36, only attested in the late version of Petamenofis (TT 33). See Otto 1960, vol. 2, pp. 95–97, 100.

36 The identification of this scene is practically beyond doubt, initially based on the place where it appears, next to the Offering (69:C), integrated in the same ritual sequence without scene frames, found also in Rekhmira (TT 100; Davies 1943, vol. 2, pl. 101). The performing priest, the ḥm-nṯr, also contributes to its identification. In the words of Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 13, “der ‘Gottesdiener’ taucht nur in solchen Szenen auf, die im Tempelkult geformt und für das Mundöffnungsritual äusserlich adoptiert sind.”
that the sacrifice included a goat and a goose together with the main victim, a bull, but this detail is hardly ever represented.  

Many scenes of the Opening of the Mouth come from texts belonging to former cultic and funerary repertoires, like the Pyramid Texts or the Coffin Texts. The texts of TT 11 are more complete and closer to these originals than the rest of versions of the New Kingdom, including the longest among them, such as Rekhmira or Sety I. The text in scene 47, though it may go back to the Pyramid Texts, is very close to Coffin Texts VI, spell 530. It is not only considerably longer than the versions of the Opening of the Mouth in Rekhmira and Sety I, but also closer to the original text (see below). A similar analysis can be made with the texts from scenes 4, 6, 25, 26, 41, 50, 73, and 74. In the latter scene, text 74:C is integrated in the ritual for the first time, with details that connect it with the antecedents in Pyramid Texts spell 600 and the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus (Sethe 1928, pp. 141–42).

The Opening of the Mouth in TT 11 is one of the oldest, preserved, extended versions, very close in time to the re-elaboration of this ritual, which probably generated a canonical version with the incorporation of texts and liturgies of diverse origin. This happened at the initial stage of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Therefore, there are ritual and liturgical elements in Djehuty’s version that may be related with sources or documents from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, or more precisely from the time of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III. In this manner, the origin of certain passages and texts can be determined, and the way they were finally incorporated to the Opening of the Mouth.

This is the case of scene 28, which first appears in the Opening of the Mouth in TT 11 (fig. 12.11). Otto (1960, vol. 2, p. 88) points out its relation with liturgical sequences from the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Medinet Habu, contemporary with TT 11. Scene 28 refers to the giving of the statue to the priest ʿiry-pʿt. It is the only time he participates in the entire ritual. This character seldom appears in funeral contexts, although he is mentioned in relation to the ʿem-priest in some documents from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. It is worth noting that the ʿiry-pʿt is represented together with the ʿem-priest also in the funerary shrine of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, and in some tomb-chapels from the same time or slightly later, as in TT 82 (Amenemhat). Scene 50, concerning the presentation of the mnḫt-cloth, which is found for the first time in the Opening of the Mouth of Djehuty, seems to be connected too with the rituals preserved in the temple of Medinet Habu, also from the time of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III (Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 114).

A short offering list for the deceased (type C in Barta 1963, pp. 111ff.) is carved in the space below scene 69:B–C. This type appears by the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, becoming widely used at this time. It was still very common in the New Kingdom, when it is often linked to the Opening of the Mouth (ibid., p. 114). The first instances from the Eighteenth Dynasty come again from Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1895, pls. 6–7), and from tomb-chapels

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37 Another two exceptional parallels from the Eighteenth Dynasty, though later than TT 11, can be found in the tomb-chapels of Suemniwet (TT 92; Bryan 2001, pl. 24:1) and Amenemhat-Surer (TT 48; Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. 48).

38 This text actually derives from the ritual of the dedication of the statue as it appears in the temple of Medinet Habu (Sethe 1934).

39 For the role of the ʿiry-pʿt in the Opening of the Mouth, see Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 12. The relation between this officiant and the ʿem-priest appears in Pyramid Text spell 848c, and in inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom; cf. Wb. Belegstellen II/2, 615, 18.

40 These, however, are not scenes from the Opening of the Mouth ritual. In Deir el-Bahari, in a large funerary offering tableau, the ʿem-priest, the ʿiry-pʿt and the lector-priest are depicted following a kneeling officiant behind an offering table (Naville 1901, pls. 110, 112). In TT 82 the ʿem-priest and the ʿiry-pʿt are shown together with other officiants commanding the dead to raise after receiving the offerings (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 13).

41 Thutmose III frequently uses it in Karnak (Barta 1963, p. 117). It only appears at later times in royal monuments and in the tomb of Sety I (see below).
approximately contemporary of Djehuty: Ineni (TT 81), Senemiah (TT 127), Pahery (Tylor 1895, pl. 10), Puiemra (TT 39), and Amenemhat (TT 82) (Barta 1963, pp. 164–65). In any case, TT 11 is one of the first instances where this type of offering list is related to the Opening of the Mouth. It is also worth noting that at the top of each column is a sentence with a word-play on the name of the offering written below. This is something new, and its closer parallel comes again from the Opening of the Mouth depicted in the tomb of Sety I. 42

Scene 47, which concerns the act of purification by incense burning, is a good example of recovering a lost scene. In addition, it clearly shows the versatility of liturgical and funerary texts at the beginning of the New Kingdom. In fact, some of these texts were incorporated in the longer versions of the Opening of the Mouth. In the case of Djehuty’s tomb-chapel, scene 47 is actually not preserved on the wall, but can be reconstructed by means of fragments that were recovered during the excavation of the courtyard, and with two more fragments recorded by Spiegelberg (Fundjournal 1899, p. 87, no. 42; p. 93, no. 100) (fig. 12.12). The scene presents a twelve-column text and includes a vignette showing the sem-priest censing the mummy of Djehuty. It is probably the longest text of the entire ritual in the TT 11 version. 43 Furthermore, as far as we know it is the longest copy preserved of the scene 47 of the Opening of the Mouth from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (fig. 12.13).

Its position at the beginning of the upper register deserves further comment as it was probably located immediately after the title and the scene 1 rather than in the lower register, between the scenes 46 and 48, as would be expected. Interestingly, we know that scene 47 enjoys certain flexibility in terms of the location it may hold in the sequence of the Opening of the Mouth ritual. 44 Moreover, it is a purification passage, which means that it can accommodate adequately to the initial section of the ritual, possibly substituting the similar scene 7, which has been therefore explicitly suppressed in Djehuty’s version. Thus, in the Opening of the Mouth of Djehuty, scene 47 certainly takes an outstanding spot at the beginning of the upper register, just after the title. This location, and the development it shows in the tradition of the ritual, can possibly be associated with a particularly accentuated religious and magical purpose. In fact, Otto (1960, vol. 2, p. 109) states that scene 47 conveys not only a rite of purification but also the transformation of the dead into a blessed one (“Verklärung des Toten”). In fact, in columns 1 and 2 of the text, Djehuty’s name appears qualified as “scribe” and “overseer of the Treasury.” However, in the second half of the chapter, after the purification has taken place (cols. 4–6), Djehuty is referred to twice as “the Osiris Djehuty,” which is a significant change that shows the new religious status achieved by the deceased.

In addition, scene 47 in Djehuty’s version adds new evidence concerning the origin of the scenes and texts included in the Opening of the Mouth at the beginning of the New Kingdom as well as the means by which such a transfer occurred. It is well known that this scene derives from spell 530 of the Coffin Texts VI (Otto 1960, vol. 2, p. 109). There is no other copy from this time closer to the original than Djehuty’s version, not only by its length, but also by the order of the sentences (fig. 12.14). It is also interesting to note that the appearance of the text of scene 47 in tomb-chapels is roughly contemporary of Djehuty. In these cases,
Figure 12.13. Text of scene 47. Text preserved in TT 11 is in gray.

Figure 12.14. Text of scene 47 in TT 11 and in CT 530. The parts that are absent in the spell of the Coffin Texts are in gray.
Figure 12.15. Text of scene 47 in TT 11 and in the burial chamber of Amenemhat (TT 82). The passages written in TT 82 are gray.

Figure 12.16. Text of scene 47 in TT 11 and in the Opening of the Mouth tableau of Rekhmira (TT 100). The passages written in TT 100 are gray.
it appears in different places and contexts, not necessarily in the Opening of the Mouth. For instance, in the tomb-chapel of Amenemhat (TT 82) the text is found in the burial chamber, which is exceptionally decorated and inscribed. Here it is located in a relevant position, below the access to the niche. The version is shorter than Djehuty’s, but it significantly transcribes the first half of the text, which includes the performance of the censing rites (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 46 bottom) (fig. 12.15). The case of Rekhmira is more complex, as the text of scene 47 is repeated twice. It appears in its most typical context, the Opening of the Mouth, but much more briefly than in Djehuty’s version (N. de G. Davies 1943, vol. 2, pl. 103) (fig. 12.16). It is also written in a more extended manner accompanying one of the funerary meals for the dead. Here, the purpose of the text is just to purify the table and the offerings, and apparently has nothing to do with the Opening of the Mouth. Rekhmira and his wife are represented behind a table full of offerings, and in front of them there is a sem-priest and, at his right, a long text copying almost word by word that of Djehuty’s version (ibid., pl. 96, 1) (fig. 12.17).

In summary, scene 47 is a text of sanctification and purification for the dead and his offerings, with evident antecedents, apparently highly appreciated and used in many funerary contexts in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. At a given time, it was integrated into the Opening of the Mouth. The scene at Djehuty’s tomb-chapel reveals the long-lasting development of this rite and constitutes by now the earliest attestation in the Opening of the Mouth ritual.

It is unfortunate that only two columns out of seven or eight from scene 55:A are preserved. The text itself has no known parallel, neither in the preceding funerary corpora nor in the liturgy of the temples. It is one of those passages of the Opening of the Mouth that in the Ramesside period was specifically ascribed to the supposed original model dating back to Amenhotep I. It is worth emphasizing that this scene is missing in the longer copies of Rekhmira, Sety I, and Tausret, appearing for the first time in the coffin of Butehamon, from the Ramesside period. In this way, it is again Djehuty who offers the oldest version. Otto (1960, vol. 2, pp. 124–26) had difficulties in the reading and interpretation of the text belonging to this scene, a matter in which the version in TT 11 could be of assistance.
Between TT 11 and the other great text of the Opening the Mouth from the Eighteenth Dynasty, that of Rekhmira, there is a similitude in the number of scenes and their order, which is actually not far either from other developed copies of the New Kingdom, such as that in the tomb of Sety I. Moreover, contrary to what would be expected, from the internal analysis of the texts and their variations, we can conclude that there are slightly more coincidences between Djehuty and the Sety I version, from almost two centuries later, than with Rekhmira, separated in time by roughly two decades. The texts of the Opening of the Mouth of TT 11 are particularly close to those of Sety I in scenes 6, 23, 24, 31:II, 33, 34, 43, 44, 48, 55:A, and in the offering-list below scenes 69:B–C. They are similar to Rekhmira’s version (TT 100) just in scenes 5, 25, 26, 32, 41, 50, and 50:B. In addition, the iconographic structure of the scenes in TT 11 is close to Sety I’s composition, and stands in clear contrast with Rekhmira’s.

The Opening of the Mouth Performed on the Mummy

Finally, what will be underlined is the contribution of TT 11 to a central question: the differences between the versions of the Opening of the Mouth depending on the object on which the ritual was performed. It is well known that this ritual could be performed over the mummy/coffin, or a statue, or a building (a temple, a shrine, and even a tomb). In fact, Otto (1960, vol. 2, pp. 29–30) establishes a basic classification of the ritual depending on the presence of the statue or the mummy. Some valuable contributions have been made, relating the choice of the object of the ritual to its place in the iconographic repertoire of the tomb-chapels (Barthelmess 1992, pp. 94–96). However, not enough attention has been paid to the variations in the sequence and the choice of scenes, or to the differences between the texts, depending on whether the ceremony is performed on the statue or the mummy (fig. 12.5). It has even been argued (Bjerke 1965, pp. 204–05) that it is not possible to detect differences in the scenes of the rituals that evolve around the statue of the deceased versus those that have the mummy as its object, both in what refers to the selection of scenes or images and the text that illustrate them. The opposite is argued in the following lines.

The Opening of the Mouth of Djehuty is carried out on the mummy (fig. 12.18), the most common practice in the Eighteenth Dynasty, in contrast with some of the other long and well developed versions, such as that of Rekhmira, Sety I, Tausret, or in some private Ramesside tomb-chapels, all of these with the statue as object. Starting with the very general title that opens the ritual, there is a significant divergence: while Rekhmira, Sety I, and Tausret specified that the Opening of the Mouth is performed on the statue, twt, in Djehuty’s version it is omitted (fig. 12.19). This is not a coincidence: revising the textual variations of the title included in Otto’s corpus, the majority of the versions in which the word twt is used, the ritual is performed over the statue, whereas those that omit it are generally carried out on the mummy or coffin.⁴⁵ In fact, along the thirty-five scenes preserved in TT 11, any mention of the statue is carefully avoided, being often substituted by the expression wsἰr “Osiris,” more appropriate for a mummy’s

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⁴⁵ Otto 1960, vol. 1, p. 1, mentioning twt in scenes 1, 2, 3, 48, and 64 (all of them with the ritual performed on the statue), but omitting twt in scenes 4, 59, 65, 66, and 83 (rituals performed on the mummy/coffin).
figure. In many of such scenes, however, the version of Sety I, whose text is very close to Djehuty’s, repeatedly employs twt (in scenes 25, 26, and 31:II).

Furthermore, it is of greater significance that Djehuty’s version carefully excludes the group of scenes that go from number 8 through 18, what has become known as the Ritual of the Animation of the Statue, which introduces the artisans who craft the image of the dead. This part of the ritual includes the sleeping of the sem-priest, in a controversial sequence of scenes that has been studied by Helck (1967), Fischer-Elfert (1998), and Altenmüller (2009). This particular sequence of scenes is of high relevance in the version of Rekhmira (TT 100), Sety I (KV 17), Tausret (KV 14), Amenemose (TT 42), Amenemhat-Surer (TT 48), Nebsumenu (TT 183), and Djehutyymes (TT 32), and many others that mention and show the statue as its object. On the other hand, these scenes are not present in Djehuty (TT 11), Amenemhat (TT 82), Senemiah (TT 127), Nebamun (TT 26), Amenemhat (TT 53), Horemheb (TT 78), and others that have the mummy as the center of attention. Another piece of evidence in support of the differentiation is that TT 11 omits scenes 29 and 30, which again introduce the artisans that work on the statue or image of the deceased, which are nothing but a duplicate of 16 and 17. These do appear in the versions of Rekhmira and Sety I, both with the statue as the object of the ritual. In the versions of the Opening of the Mouth on papyri from the Late and Greco-Roman periods, exclusively done to accompany the mummy, all these chapters that make reference to artisans and the elaboration of the statue are carefully excluded (Quack 2006, p. 132; Smith 2009, pp. 355–56). It must be noted, however, that this pattern is not so strictly followed in every copy of the Opening of the Mouth on tomb-chapels from the New Kingdom, and the question undoubtedly deserves a complete and deeper study.

Conclusion

The Opening of the Mouth in the tomb of Djehuty has been known for a long time, but that has not been adequately valued as a historical source. The main reason for this lack of attention has been its poor state of preservation and the subsequent difficulties for its reconstruction and study. The combination of archaeological
and epigraphic work, together with an integral restoration plan (figs. 12.20–22), allow for the retrieval of a text and an iconographic program that seemed to be lost for historians.

The significance of this record is enhanced if it is taken into account that we are dealing with one of the oldest copies still preserved, which in addition is a long and well-developed version. The current knowledge of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth still relies mainly on the excellent but now outdated synthesis by Otto (1960). This work is chiefly based on seven documents, serving as canon and reference models. In order to renovate this classic study, the first step is to account for new versions of the ritual, especially those soundly illustrated that are accompanied by long texts. This is the case of TT 11.

A preliminary study of Dhejuty’s Opening of the Mouth has rendered relevant results, which may be extrapolated to a general perspective. On the one hand, the structure and complexity of the composition in TT 11 is a contribution in itself, which shows the adaptation of the religious message composed of image and text to its corresponding architectonic space in the tomb-chapel. The relationship between the location within the monument and the iconographic program is a matter that still requires a deeper analysis.

Moreover, Dhejuty’s Opening of the Mouth fits well in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and certainly helps in the understanding of the origin and development of the “long version” of the ritual. However, it also presents undeniable resemblance to Sety I’s and the Ramesside copies in general, separating it from Rekhmira and other contemporary versions. This points out the need to be cautious when establishing the characteristics of the great ritual texts and the images that go with them according to each particular period. And in the case of the Opening of the Mouth, different trends or customs were followed at the time of its inclusion in the decorative programs of the tomb-chapels of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

One of the most relevant contributions of the study of the Opening of the Mouth in the tomb-chapel of Dhejuty is to show the relation between the object upon which the ritual is executed and the selection of scenes, and even the coherent composition of the text. That is to say that, depending on whether the represented figure is the mummy or a statue of the deceased, the selection of texts, images and of the very structure of the ritual would be different.

The presence of such a long and complex text goes well with other architectonic, epigraphic, and religious peculiarities of TT 11: the cryptographic texts of the façade, the nearly unique sacrifice rituals that decorate the walls of the inner chapel for the cult to the deceased, or the existence, at the bottom of the shaft, of a burial chamber decorated with one of the oldest long copies of the Book of the Dead. Dhejuty is thus presented as a cultivated character of refined thought. Within the spirit of artistic, ideological, and cultural renovation of Hatshepsut’s reign, his own will might have possibly had something to do with the novelties and original elements found in his tomb-chapel.
Figure 12.20. Detail of the final liturgies showing the removal of the mud stuck to the wall in process.

Figure 12.21. Removal of the mud in process, and a gap in the wall due to a missing fragment.
Figure 12.22. Panel cleaned, and fallen fragment found in the excavation of the open courtyard placed back in its place