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ENG 5801

November 30, 2019

Unwrapping the Past: A History and Analysis of Mummy Wrappings as a Substrate

The modern world has been fascinated by mummies and the rituals surrounding ancient Egyptian funerary practices since events like the discovery of Tutankhamun's spectacular tomb in 1922 and Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt during the turn of the 19th century (Dunand and Lichtenberg 43; Duesterberg 117). While mummification has been practiced at various times in locations across the globe, the mummies of ancient Egypt have most captured public attention due to the highly ornate way in which some mummies were entombed and preserved (Dunand and Lichtenberg 1–2). Ancient Egyptians followed a complex religion and fostered complicated beliefs about the afterlife, which evolved over the course of more than three millennia.¹ A large part of these beliefs was centered around the *ka* and *ba*, two terms which have no direct English or Western equivalent but can be thought of as a kind of soul or life force (Taylor, *Death* 18–19). The mummified body of the deceased played an important role in the afterlife, as one's *ka* is forever tied to the body. Thus, the better preserved the body (and the more sustenance left in the tomb—in the form of food, servants, riches, and other goods), the greater one's afterlife experience will be (Taylor, *Death* 20).

Mummification was not necessarily restricted by class and expense, though higher quality embalming practices were more expensive. Even middle-class citizens were able to afford

¹ The chronology for this paper comes from a synthesis of sources, though mainly from Ikram and Dodson pp. 8–12 and John H. Taylor's *Journey...* p. 12. See Murnane and Troy for reviews affirming the validity of Ikram and Dodson's text as an academic resource.

mummification, according to Herodotus (373). In the second volume of *The Persian Wars*, ancient Greek historian Herodotus documents his observations on the process of mummification (focusing primarily on embalming and wrapping) in Egypt during the 1st century BCE (“The Persian Wars”). He separates mummies into three classes—high, middle, and low—which varied by price and the quality of the embalming and removing of viscera. Of course, mummification had already been practiced for thousands of years in Egypt by the time Herodotus made his observations. Originally, only royalty could afford mummification. In time, it trickled down to high ranking government and religious officials, privately wealthy citizens and, at its peak, even middle-class citizens could afford to have their loved ones mummified (Munro 54).

While this paper will focus on mummy wrappings as a substrate, it is important to consider cartonnage. Cartonnage is a form of hardened paper which is used to make mummy coverings, often in the form of masks (Frösén 87). Cartonnage and mummy wrappings functioned similarly. Like mummy wrappings, cartonnage can also be a significant source of textual discovery. Cartonnage was not used in mummification until the First Intermediate Period, around 2150 BCE (Ikram and Dodson 299). It was common to use recycled materials when crafting mummy cartonnage. Many remarkable discoveries have been found in mummy cartonnage which have completely changed the way we think about classical literature and art. A large portion of Posidippus’s known corpus of epigrams was uncovered when it was recycled into mummy cartonnage, which one scholar called “the most significant find in decades” (Gutzwiller 1). One of the great Greek tragedian Euripides’s plays, *Erechtheus*, had its known lines doubled after a 1962 discovery of fragments from a papyrus from mummy cartonnage, which gave scholars a deeper understanding of a mytho-historical scene from the frieze on the Parthenon (Connelly 57). Our collective knowledge of Sappho, one of the greatest classical

poets, was similarly expanded in the early 2000s with the publication of the Cologne Papyrus (Hammerstaedt). The Cologne Papyrus had been extracted from mummy cartonnage and is considered to be a monumental discovery for the field of classics as a whole, not just for Sapphic scholars (Fernández-Delgado 1; Bär 1). It is no understatement, then, to say that mummy cartonnage has been the source for some of the most important discoveries in classical literary studies. However, it is also clear that these papyri taken from cartonnage were not intended to be read. Cartonnage is assembled by using leftover linen or discarded sheets of papyrus, cutting or tearing the material, and plastering it all together in a process similar to papier-mâché (Frösén 87). Therefore, it is illogical to assume that cartonnage was used to transmit texts. The texts that were recycled into cartonnage were not chosen because of the importance of preserving them, but were chosen because they happened to be nearby and cheap.

It happened often that recycled materials made their way into the mummification process. The entire process could be expensive, and mummy wrappings were often covered by cartonnage, coffins, and/or sarcophagi. The majority of mummy wrappings were made from reused clothes or sheets (Ikram and Dodson 153). One case of recycling has fascinated and baffled scholars. A mummy was found wrapped in a large sheet of cloth which is believed to be a ship's sail, though it is unknown whether or not this sail holds significance to the deceased (Dunand and Lichtenberg 79). The most famous case of recycling in mummy wrappings is that of the *Liber Linteus Zagrabensis*, a linen book written in Etruscan that was shredded and used as wrappings (more on this to follow) (Maras 306). While a similar process of recycling old linen and papyrus was sometimes used when wrapping mummies, it was more common for mummy wrappings to be inscribed specifically with funerary texts (Lucarelli 264; Taylor, *Journey* 278; Ikram and Dodson 153). The practice of creating linen wrappings specifically for mummies did

not become common until the 18th Dynasty (c. 1550–1295 BCE) (Ikram and Dodson 153).

Inscriptions of the Book of the Dead (and occasionally other texts) on mummy wrappings did not come into fashion until the 1st century BCE (Munro 60–61). Before then, it was not unusual to find some decoration on mummy wrappings (like black or red drawings), but this was also sometimes the product of recycling (Ikram and Dodson 153).

A discussion of mummy wrappings as a substrate would not be complete without mention of mummy paper. During the mummy craze of the 19th century, a story emerged that Egyptians had begun to repurpose mummy wrappings made of linen into paper, which they called “mummy paper” (Dunand and Lichtenberg 134). There is great debate over whether this ever occurred, and, if it did, how it worked logistically. An article in *Scientific American* details a shipment from Syracuse, New York which contained a newspaper printed, supposedly, on mummy paper. The rags used to make the paper came from Egypt and were once used to wrap the mummified “descendants of Mirraim” (384). The papermaker, identified as Mr. G. W. Ryan, claims the paper is as good a quality as the typical paper used to make newspapers in England and France, yet better than that used in America. The author concludes by noting that the price is unknown but likely cheap (“The Wrappings of the Mummies”). This article offers little in the way of definitive proof that mummy paper ever truly existed. But one scholar, Andrew M. Stauffer, lays out evidence for the potential that mummy paper may have existed. In an article called *Legends of the Mummy Paper*, Stauffer adds to the pile of evidence that has been built by scholars like Dard Hunter, Nicholson Baker, and S. J. Wolfe. However, the debate over the existence of mummy paper is still highly contentious. If it did ever exist, it proves just one more way the mummy wrappings served as a substrate. It also proves another way that recycling has affected the development of the substrate.

An important source for ancient Egyptian funerary and afterlife beliefs is the Book of Coming Forth by Day, commonly referred to as the Book of the Dead (Munro 55). The Book of the Dead contains hundreds of spells and rituals regarding the afterlife, treatment of the dead, and preparation of the mummy and tomb, and often presents the spells in a kind of narrative form (Taylor, *Journey* 29). It was customary to place a personalized copy of the Book of the Dead in the tomb of each Egyptian, mummified or not. These texts featured, at the lowest level of customization, the name of the deceased person, but could also include illustrations of them and information about their lives.² Books of the Dead featured illustrations and vignettes alongside writing in the form of hieroglyphs. During the First Intermediate Period, mummy wrappings became quite complex. At times, text appeared on these wrappings, often from the Book of the Dead but occasionally from other sources (Dunand and Lichtenberg 25).

In order to fully understand the function of funerary texts like the Book of the Dead, it is important to track its use through history. The Book of the Dead is not one standardized book, but rather a series of spells which can be combined in different ways for different reasons. Each buried person has a unique text with a unique combination of spells. These spells are snippets which vary in size and desired effect. Some of them describe rituals, while others explain phenomena or religious beliefs. The Book of the Dead developed out of older funerary text traditions, like the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts, which were similarly made up of customizable spells. The Pyramid Texts were the first funerary texts to be used in ancient Egypt and first appeared at the end of the 5th Dynasty, around 2300 BCE. They were used only by royalty originally and contained spells for aiding the king or queen (by the 6th Dynasty—before

² There are hundreds of papyri scrolls and mummy wrappings that attest to this fact. The most famous examples, and the best preserved, are the Papyrus of Ani and the Papyrus of Hunefer. Both of John H. Taylor's texts cited here include a wealth of information about and pictures from these texts.

then, only men could have these texts on the walls of their tombs) in the afterlife and protecting their passage from this world to the next. During the period of the Middle Kingdom (c. 2066–1650 BCE), the Coffin Texts were used in tandem with the Pyramid Texts and slowly replaced them. The Coffin Texts presented the Pyramid Texts with modernized language and new, updated spells (Taylor, *Death* 193–196; Munro 54). Both the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts heavily influenced the creation of the Book of the Dead (Hornung 79).

According to Egyptologist John H. Taylor, the Book of the Dead is a “[collection] of individual spells primarily, for the personal use of the dead” and the spells within it could be “hymns and prayers to the gods; spells to protect from harm and to repel enemies; spells to empower (to have control over natural forces, the elements of one’s personality and divine powers); ‘guides to the hereafter’ (spells demonstrating knowledge); and spells to gain access or permission to pass in safety” (*Journey* 29). It was incredibly important to have spells like these easily accessible to the *ka*, the *ba*, and the deceased person, who has been resurrected in the afterlife. Therefore, the Book of the Dead was often close to the mummy, either in the tomb, in the coffin, or transcribed onto the mummy’s wrappings and bandages (Taylor, *Death* 196).

The Book of the Dead was transmitted in different media over time. Earlier funerary texts like the Pyramid and Coffin Texts were mainly carved into or painted on the walls of the tomb, pyramid, or coffin of the deceased (Munro 54; Taylor, *Journey* 75). The Book of the Dead represented a change in this tradition, as its most common form came to be the papyrus roll (Dunand and Lichtenberg 47). The earliest example of the Book of the Dead was not painted onto a shroud but rather painted onto the walls of the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep in the 13th Dynasty (c. 1795–1650 BCE), following the tradition of the text’s most immediate predecessor, the Coffin Texts. However, early on, Books of the Dead were most frequently inscribed on burial

shrouds made of linen which would cover the entombed mummy (Munro 55). The text itself is heavily illustrated and comes with instructions on how to write and draw it, including what kind of materials should be used in its creation (Taylor, *Death* 196). One spell, Spell 100, specifically states that it should be inscribed on a “clean, unused sheet of papyrus” with special instructions on what kind of ink to use and where it should be placed on the mummy (199). Innovations in bandaging practices coupled with the importance of having the Book of the Dead as close to the mummy as possible resulted in many instances of the Book of the Dead appearing on mummy wrappings (Ikram and Dodson 153; Munro 55; Taylor, *Journey* 61). By the time the Book of the Dead was developed, mummification was attainable for even common, middle-class citizens, which led to an increase of mummies from the Middle Kingdom on (Dunand and Lichtenberg 28).

Wrappings were used to cover, conceal, and protect mummies even from the earliest, Predynastic instances (Ikram and Dodson 153). As time passed, wrappings were imbued with more importance and quickly gained symbolic, ritualistic significance as well (Ikram and Dodson 153). Various bandages, wrappings, and shrouds were used over time in ancient Egyptian mummification, made mostly of linen, though at times of cotton or papyrus as well (Taylor, *Journey* 61). Beginning in the Middle Kingdom, small identifying marks were made on bandages, including the name and sometimes class information of the deceased (Ikram and Dodson 156). During the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1069 BCE), wrapping of individual limbs became commonplace, which would eventually evolve into the wrapping of not only limbs but individual digits, like toes and fingers (156). The Late Period (c. 525–332 BCE) saw increasing complexity of wrappings, including complicated knotwork and geometric patterns. Bandaging became extremely important during the Hellenistic Period (c. 332–30 BCE). The practice of

wrapping mummies ended in the Roman Period (c. 30 BCE–395 CE) when it was replaced by dressing the mummy in its owner's finest clothing, though this period also saw the end of mummification as a widespread practice due to the rise of Christianity and Christian funerary practices (153; 164–165).

There are several instances of mummy wrappings which contain spells from the Book of the Dead. Ricardo A. Caminos analyzed several such wrappings. In “The Rendells Mummy Bandages,” Caminos examines a group of nine linen mummy bandages acquired by a firm in Massachusetts through auction. Caminos asserts that they all came from the same mummy and are from the 3rd Intermediate Period (c. 1069–656 BCE). These wrappings bear spells from the Book of the Dead and identify their owner as Harpakhem, though no information is recorded about his class. The spells presented on these bandages are from chapters 158, 160, 163, and 164 of the Book of the Dead (Caminos, “Rendells” 145–146). In a later article titled “On Ancient Egyptian Mummy Bandages,” Caminos looked at four variously-dated linen bandages from different collections, all with no known information about where and how they were found. They bear inscriptions and illustrations from chapters 1, 2, 3, 21, 22, 23, and 78 of the Book of the Dead (337), relating to Osiris, the god of death and mummies (339); funerary processions, burial ceremonies, and mummification rituals (341); life and abilities in the underworld (349); and questions for the gods (353). In 1931, Elizabeth Stefanski analyzed four mummy wrappings from the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. The bandages, when assembled together, give parts of Spell 106 and Spell 107 from the Book of the Dead. Spell 106 asks Ptah to give the speaker bread, beer, and breakfast. Spell 107 is a journeying spell which describes the speaker's trip to the gate of the West (the underworld). While it is the most common material found, linen is not always used in wrapping. A papyrus wrapping from the mummy of Henutmehyt, a high-

ranking priestess of Amun contains just a single spell, Spell 100: ‘Going aboard the barque of Ra’ (Taylor, *Journey* 98; 47). Ahmed Kh. Safina analyzed thirteen unpublished mummy bandages from the Egyptian Museum Cairo in 2017. Not much information was known about the strips’ provenance, but the bandages came from the same mummy and contained inscriptions and vignettes from the Book of the Dead, including the first chapter and scenes from the Opening of the Mouth ritual. The Book of the Dead appeared on not only bandages and wrappings but shrouds as well. The shroud of Hatnofret, an upper-class woman, contained chapters 1, 2, and 3 of the Book of the Dead on it (Ikram and Dodson 160).

There are, of course, other kinds of inscriptions which can be found on mummy wrappings. Another popular inscription was identifying information for the deceased person, of which there are many examples. This was often done when the mummy’s Book of the Dead, which would have contained similar identifying information, was not reproduced on the wrappings. One such 18th Dynasty linen sheet exists bearing the name of Satdjehuty, a high-ranking member of the court of Queen Ahmose-Nerfertary. The linen gives her name and title, calling her the “praised one” of the queen (Taylor, *Journey* 26). The burial shroud of Tayuheret, the wife of a high priest, includes both her name and title (Ikram and Dodson 162). The marks on the wrappings from the mummy of Queen Ashayet give both her name and the names of other people. This was done on occasion to show that the linen was donated by others, either by close friends and family of the deceased person or those who have donated the linen to the embalmer to use wherever necessary (157). At other times, the priests who wrapped the mummy attribute their names to the linen, as in the case of the 21st Dynasty rewrapping of Queen Meryetamun’s mummy (162).

There are more cases, though far fewer, of texts inscribed on mummy wrappings which offer neither spells from the Book of the Dead nor simple identifying information for the owner of the linen or the deceased person. Some of these unusual cases come from the Christian tradition. The introduction of Christianity in the Greco-Roman period complicated mummification rituals. This clash of cultures often led to a strange blending of long-standing traditions and new religious beliefs. Egyptian Christians often called upon one verse in particular, from the Gospel of Thomas, to justify their mixing of beliefs: “Jesus said, ‘Nothing is buried that is not to rise again.’” This verse has been found on both a burial shroud and a mummy bandage, among other artifacts (Luijendijk 389; Dunand and Lichtenberg 128). In a way, this verse became a new funerary text for Christian mummies. Instead of using the Book of the Dead, full of pagan beliefs and rituals, some Christians replaced it (or at least added to it) with their own new and updated beliefs. This verse works well to tie the two belief systems together, as both Christians and ancient Egyptians believed that their lives would be renewed in the afterlife (in the underworld or in Heaven). Both religions also worshipped central figures who died and were resurrected—Osiris and Jesus (Ikram and Dodson 18). By the fourth century, though, this practice would end and Christian burials would overtake traditional mummification (Ikram and Dodson 165).

One other fascinating case is that of the *Liber Linteus Zagrabensis*. This unique text is the longest known Etruscan text. Its original format was a codex made of linen, but it was torn into strips and used as mummy wrappings (Beckwith 1). There is a great deal of speculation about this text—whether it was originally written in Egypt or just transported there, who some of the deities mentioned are, whether it is just a religious calendar or also includes a great deal of commentary. Even though it was discovered in 1892, it has still not been fully translated, mostly

because a great deal of the words in it are unique and have not been uncovered in other sources for the language (Benelli 99). This text is one of very few sources for the Etruscan language and has opened many doors about how to better understand it and its parent culture, especially in terms of Etruscan religion and how it moved across the Roman empire (Beckwith 1; Maras 306).

In terms of the question of who might have read texts written on mummy wrappings and burial shrouds, there is one obvious answer: the deceased person. The deceased person, along with their *ba* and *ka*, was to read the texts after death for instructions of how to continue on into the underworld. Funerary texts inscribed on mummy wrappings were meant to “[assist] the deceased on his passage to the next life and [equip] him with the special knowledge he would need to protect and sustain himself in the hereafter” (Taylor, *Death* 186). The wrapped mummy was believed to unwrap itself after it had been reborn into its new (after)life. Egyptians believed that the “wrappings served as a cocoon, inside which regeneration took place” (Taylor, *Journey* 110). While wrappings were typically meant to protect the mummy and keep its unpleasant appearance concealed, they also served a significant ritual and magical purpose.

As recounted by Plato in his *Phaedrus*, the ancient Egyptians believed that writing had been handed down to them through the deity Ammon after it had been created by the deity Thoth (68). Because of its heavenly origins, writing was especially sacred. Therefore, many instances of writing were imbued with magic and ritualistic importance—including, of course, funerary texts (Taylor, *Death* 186). Funerary texts became imbued with ritual. The writing of a funerary text was a great part of this ritual. Mortuary liturgies were created to standardize the ritual process of wrapping a mummy and were, at times, also placed in the mummy’s tomb. Mortuary liturgies are “the words of the rituals carried out at the time of burial” (Taylor, *Death* 199). Even

the process of wrapping a mummy featured in these rituals as well, as described by Ikram and Dodson in their chapter on wrappings:

The wrapping of the dead body held great symbolism, since covering or hiding holy objects was a significant part of Egyptian religion in defining sacredness. Thus, through the embalming process, the body became a holy image. As each limb was bandaged the priest read specific spells to protect and reanimate it in the Hereafter. The bandaging ritual was one of the most magically powerful moments in the process of mummification. (153)

The ritual and symbolic importance of this ritual applies to bandages with text inscribed on them as well as plain linen bandages. However, wrappings with writing on them have double the magical presence. One important ritual which should be mentioned here is the Opening of the Mouth. When the tradition first began, it was a ritual to reanimate statues and endow them with aspects of life. It consisted of touching the eyes and mouth of the statue with special instruments and saying sacred incantations. The statue was seen as a representative of the person whom it represented and a living embodiment of the *ka*, which needed a physical form (Taylor, *Death* 163–165). As the religion evolved, so did the ritual. By the time the Old Kingdom began, it was common to perform the Opening of the Mouth ritual on mummies as well as statues. The goal of the ritual was to offer the mummy “the use of his mouth, eyes, ears and nose, enabling him to see, hear, breathe, and receive nourishment to sustain the *ka*” (Taylor, *Death* 191). This ritual shows yet another way in which the mummy was significant in terms of ritual and religion.

The question of actual readership for mummy wrappings still remains. Of course, the deceased person was believed to rise in the afterlife and read their Book of the Dead for instructions, which may or may not have been on their wrappings. Based off the evidence

gathered here, it seems unlikely that mummy wrappings were ever intended to be a tool for textual transmission. First and foremost, there is no evidence that any mummy wrappings were ever actually read outside of their creation process and perhaps their sale. There are abundant illustrations of most every other part of the mummification process found in multiple media, from stone carvings, painted illustrations on walls, illustrations in books, and illustrations on funerary objects. Visual evidence exists of the creation of and method of mummy wrapping and bandages, but no images exist of any person reading a bandage (aside from depictions of the rejuvenated mummy doing so). Another strong piece of evidence against the reading of mummy wrappings is the fact that most mummy wrappings, shrouds, and cartonnage did not contain text. A great majority of these artifacts which survived through time have no text on them, and even those which have decorations rarely feature texts as well.

A third piece of evidence is the fact that lots of mummy wrappings were recycled from other materials. According to Ikram and Dodson, “Most bandages were actually re-used clothes or linen sheets, often bearing laundry marks giving the name or titles of the deceased” (153). This small amount of what was (at the time) inconsequential information does not seem like something that would cause mass readership. Clothes and sheets at this time hardly ever featured any text aside from identifying marks. Text on these recycled wrappings would have had to have been added specifically during the mummification process. The repurposing of the *Liber Linteus Zagrabensis* as wrappings shows that wrappings were typically made of whatever happened to be around, like cartonnage that contained great classical texts. The *Liber Linteus Zagrabensis* was already in a codex format when it was torn apart and repurposed into mummy wrappings. Had it been intended for readership, it would have been an unusual move to rob it of its easy to use form and turn it into something nearly impossible to read. Mummy wrappings were difficult

to read because of the mummification process itself. The process included a lot of body matter and glues like natron and resin. Natron and resin often leaked out of the mummy and onto the wrappings, resulting in brown stains which could obscure text and illustrations placed on the wrappings.

Fourth, mummies were not often disturbed once the mummification process and funerary procession had been completed. While pseudo-scientific mummy unwrapping parties came into fashion in the 19th century, nothing of the sort existed in antiquity (Dunand and Lichtenberg 134). There is no evidence to show that mummies were ever casually unwrapped. The only evidence of unwrapping comes from the mummies of certain royals. During the 19th and 20th Dynasties, due to extreme plundering and degradation of several notable mummies, some royal mummies were moved from their original caches to new, more secure tombs (133). During this process, some mummies whose bandages had been damaged or were of very poor quality were rewrapped, as in the case of Queen Meryetamun's mummy (Ikram and Dodson 162). Aside from these examples of unwrapping, no other evidence exists that mummies were unwrapped. The wrappings were not created in a way that they could be easily read without being unwrapped, and, even if someone were to attempt to read the wrappings of a wrapped mummy, they were often entombed within a series of sarcophagi (Ikram and Dodson 244).

Lastly, mummies had such strong religious significance that it is highly unlikely that someone might have disturbed them for literary purposes. While mummy plundering was a common occurrence, especially in times of economic downturn, there are not many examples of mummies being disturbed or destroyed in antiquity outside of plundering. In antiquity, tombs were robbed for their jewels and riches, not for their mummies (Ikram and Dodson 162). It was well known that mummies were the physical tie of the *ka* to life (Taylor, *Death* 165). If a

mummy was destroyed, so was its corresponding *ka*, leaving the deceased without an afterlife. Even grave robbers tended to avoid the actual body of the mummy because of its sanctity. As stated throughout this paper and by Egyptologists like Salima Ikram, Aidan Dodson, and John H. Taylor, there are several rituals involved with mummies and their wrappings. Wrappings hold extreme religious significance; their wrapping, unwrapping, and rewrapping in antiquity was done with reverence, care, and ritual. Rituals like the Opening of the Mouth ritual are proof for how highly mummies were valued in terms of funerary beliefs and afterlife rituals. Further, unwrapping served an important ritual significance as well. It was important that the mummy retain its wrappings in the afterlife so that it might ritualistically unwrap itself. The text of the Pyramid Texts tells kings that, upon resurrection, they will cast off their bandages (Taylor, *Journey* 110). Aside from this ritual, only a high priest could wrap, unwrap, or rewrap a mummy. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that everyday Egyptian citizens were unwrapping mummies in order to read the texts inscribed on their wrappings.

Though mummy wrappings may not have been distributed for reading for a mass audience, or any audience at all, they hold significance for the knowledge they have held and given to modern scholars. We have learned so much from wrappings, shrouds, and cartonnage. Classical writers like Sappho and Euripides have had their corpora greatly expanded due to discoveries of their texts on cartonnage. Much of what we know of the Etruscan language is due, in part, to a text recycled into mummy wrappings, the *Liber Linteus Zagrabensis*. Several Books of the Dead inscribed on mummy wrappings have given us valuable insights into ancient Egyptians' funerary beliefs. The presence of Bible verses on Christian mummy wrappings show us how these two traditions interacted. There are likely texts yet to be discovered which will

increase our knowledge even more. Mummy wrappings serve an important purpose as vehicles of textual transmission.

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