A defining characteristic of the Oriental Institute has always been the equal emphasis on archaeological and textual approaches to the study of the ancient Near East. This dual focus is aptly exemplified by the two featured articles in this issue, which, while considering ancient Egypt from different perspectives, demonstrate that novel approaches can shed new light on long-considered problems.

In the lead article, Foy Scalf introduces us to the exhibition he is curating — Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt — which will open in our special exhibits gallery this fall. The Book of the Dead, a seminal text of the ancient world, has been the source of a vast scholarship since the middle of the nineteenth century, yet it remains poorly understood beyond Egyptological circles, and the source of many popular misconceptions about ancient Egyptian culture and religion. As Foy explains, our special exhibit seeks to remedy this by bringing the latest research to bear on questions of the purpose, origins, history, and theological context of the Book of the Dead. Contrary to its name, which is a modern coinage, the Book of the Dead is about life — the eternal life of the soul after death. Far from being a book in the traditional sense or a single canonical text for that matter, the Book of the Dead is a compendium of spells, of diverse origins and uses, which collectively provide the deceased with a handbook for the Netherworld, assuring rejuvenation and, moreover, identifying the human realm with the divine.

Gregory Marouard’s article, “Dendara from Another Perspective: The Use of New Remote Technologies on the Field in Egypt,” describes the innovative use of technology in the excavation of Dendara (Tentyra, lunet), the sister site of Tell Edfu, under the direction of Nadine Moeller. Dendara represents a new field project of the Oriental Institute and is the result of a 2015 agreement with the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology, which has been excavating the site since the 1930s. Under Gregory’s leadership, the focus of the 2016-17 excavation season was on a large residential neighborhood that has substantially enhanced our understanding of the urban evolution of the town in the third millennium. With the use of a drone, in conjunction with photogrammetry software, the Oriental Institute team was able to produce highly precise maps and 3D models, as well as to obtain hitherto unprecedented views of the site and its urban remains, allowing for the better identification of streets, architectural structures, and the boundaries of the site itself.

On a personal note, this is my first column as Director of the Oriental Institute. Being appointed to this role has been the greatest honor of my professional career. And one of the great privileges of this position is the opportunity to introduce our members to the exciting and path-breaking research that is being conducted at the Oriental Institute.

Christopher Woods, Director
The ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead needs no introduction. It is one of the most iconic objects from the ancient world. Millions of people have seen examples on display in collections all over the globe. Literary plots have been written around it, and movies have climaxed with dramatic readings of its mysterious spells. It continues to have profound influences throughout music, art, mysticism, and the occult. Without question, it deserves a prominent place among the most important religious compositions in human history. Like so much of human culture and religion, the ancient Egyptians developed the Book of the Dead as a means to cope with their mortality and ultimately their immortality. Despite the celebrity of the Book of the Dead, its surprises are far from exhausted. If so much is known about the Book of the Dead, why do we need another exhibit about it? It turns out that many popular notions about the Book of the Dead are misleading or entirely false. For example, the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead neither was a book in our modern conception, nor was it really about death. It was truly about eternal life, or what the ancient Egyptians called “not dying again,” a reference to the final destruction of an individual if they died a second death by having a hybrid monster named “devourer” consume their spirit in the netherworld. A new special exhibit with an accompanying catalog at the Oriental Institute seeks to cast our common assumptions about the Book of the Dead in a new light. By presenting the latest research results, *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt* attempts to provide a foundation for our knowledge of this ancient work by exploring what it is, what it does, how it works, how it was made, how it was used, and what happened to it.

Asking the question “what is the Book of the Dead” raises a host of interesting issues including what it is to us versus what it was to the ancient Egyptians (Riggs 2014), as well as if referring to the Book of the Dead as “it” truly reflects the diversity discovered when examined closely. The Book of the Dead is a “book” in the sense that it could have pages — sheets of papyrus — glued together to form long rolls on which texts could be inscribed. It never took the form of a codex, a set of pages bound along the spine, which provides the framework for how we understand the familiar form of the printed book. Like a book, the scroll served as an instrument to record and store information. Yet, the contents are not what you might expect from a book. The Book of the Dead is not a single narrative composition that tells a story. It is a collection of many smaller texts, usually called “spells” or “chapters,” each with its own structure. These spells were gathered together, often arranged in sequences of similar content, and inscribed on a medium such as papyrus. The longest manuscripts had upward of 165 spells, while the shortest manuscripts had only a single spell. No particular spell was compulsory, and no specific number of spells was obligatory, yet particular spells were certainly more popular than others. In this way, Book of the Dead manuscripts closely resembled manuscripts of the Medieval period. They were laboriously made by hand, resulting in every case with a unique creation. No two Book of the Dead manuscripts were exactly the same, although manuscripts produced in the
same workshop or according to a shared model were often quite similar. Furthermore, papyrus was only one medium by which spells were transmitted. The Egyptians wrote on any available surface, and Book of the Dead spells can be found on magical bricks, amulets, funerary figures, coffins, sarcophagi, mummy bandages, and even the walls of the tomb.

If no two manuscripts were identical, and therefore there was not a single “edition” of the Book of the Dead, in what way can we discuss “it” in the singular? This proclivity for categorization reflects our modern biases and scientific methods, revealing what the Book of the Dead is to us more than what the Book of the Dead was to an ancient Egyptian. Even the title “Book of the Dead” is a nineteenth-century designation, perhaps influenced by the Arabic kutub al-umwat “books of the dead” by which Egyptian villagers referred to papyri found in the tombs (Quirke 2013, p. vii). The introduction to many ancient manuscripts identify the composition with “Beginning of the spells of going forth by day” and a more generalized version — “the book of going forth by day” — was sometimes written on the outer leaf of papyrus. However, this was not used by the ancient scribes as a technical title for the Book of the Dead. Individual spells often had the same designation, like BD spell 64, “another spell of going forth by day,” and the title could be applied to other funerary compositions that we today do not categorize as the Book of the Dead. What this demonstrates is the ancient Egyptian penchant for describing their religious literature based on its function rather than its contents (Smith 1993, p. 4). Since Egyptian funerary compositions had a shared purpose, nearly any of these texts could be called a “book of going forth by day.”

What was this shared purpose? What was the Book of the Dead for? One commonly offered answer is that the Book of the Dead was a guide to the netherworld, a kind of map to the afterlife journey. Another suggestion is that its purpose was to protect the deceased. Others describe it as a handbook of religious knowledge that needed to be mastered by each individual for a successful rejuvenation. Further suggestions focus on the use of the texts in the funeral rituals by officiating priests. Which of these interpretations is right? In fact, they are all accurate reflections of various contents in the Book of the Dead. As the many spells have diverse origins, so too do they have diverse uses. There were spells that were clearly used in the mortuary rites before burial. A large collection of spells was meant to protect the deceased from a variety of dangerous and noxious creatures, both physical and spiritual. Several prominent spells detail the various gates and caverns through which the dead must travel in the netherworld; some demand that the dead master arcane religious knowledge such as the esoteric names for architectural elements of spiritual gateways, which needed to be recited aloud before the personified portal or its guardian. Thus, the Book of the Dead fulfilled a whole network of various spiritual needs.

In addition to these various functions, the spells from the Book of the Dead had a collective goal of the rejuvenation of the deceased, the restoration of their vital and intellectual abilities, and ensuring that they join the divine retinue of what has
been called the solar-Osirian cycle. The solar-Osirian cycle is a reference to the realms of the sun god Re and the netherworld god Osiris. Re rules the visible universe, traveling across the sky during the day and providing life nurturing light. When Re sets in the west at the beginning of the night, he enters into the netherworld and travels through its caverns. The nightly climax occurs when Re is challenged by the serpent Apophis, who attempts to swallow the sun, but is ultimately vanquished by the sun god’s retinue, typically led by a spear-wielding Seth. While in the netherworld, Re joined with Osiris, as the two gods actually occupy opposite poles on a single continuum, a topic mentioned throughout the Book of the Dead (BD 15, 17, and 182) and in other funerary literature (Manassa 2007, p. 386). That is, Re personified the creative force of the sun, and Osiris personified the regenerative force of nature. By joining with Osiris, Re partook in his rejuvenating power, allowing Re to be reborn in the eastern horizon each morning. The principle of renewal inherent in the god Osiris was described in the mythological episodes surrounding his life and family, which were famous in the ancient Near East and spread across the Mediterranean in the Greco-Roman era. According to this mythic cycle, Osiris was murdered by his brother Seth, who dismembered him and cast off his body parts. Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, gathered together his limbs and put them back together. In the process, Isis and Osiris engendered Horus to avenge his father by defeating Seth. With the proper embalming by Isis and a series of magical rites, Osiris was reanimated, taking his position as “ruler of eternity” and “king of the netherworld.” These myths established several precedents to which the Egyptians referred throughout their history: the linen wrappings Isis used established the mummy’s form, and the resurrection of Osiris laid the theological foundation for the Egyptians’ afterlife beliefs.

For the ancient Egyptian, the “book of going forth by day” is a reference to their rejuvenation after death and the ability to go forth from the tomb in the daylight as part of the retinue of the gods. The Egyptians believed in a union between each deceased individual and the god Osiris that allowed him or her to participate in the god’s resurrection. For the dead, the corpse was the Osirian element that remained in the underworld chambers of the tomb, while the ba, or soul, was the solar element that was free to travel out into the day with the sun god. Just as the sun god had to join with Osiris during the night to be reborn in the morning, so too did the ba need to reunite with the corpse each night. A series of Book of the Dead spells focused on this reunion, including a “spell for allowing the ba to rest on the corpse” (BD 89), a “spell for not restraining the ba” (BD 91), and a “spell for opening the tomb for the ba” (BD 92). So intimate was the association between god and human that individuals are referred to as “Osiris so-and-so” in their Book of the Dead spells. It would be akin to calling ourselves “Osiris Joe” or “Osiris Jane.” Both men and women took the epithet Osiris, although in the Roman period women were also called “Hathor so-and-so.” Through the appropriate funerary rituals, the dead essentially became Osiris (Smith 2017), and according to BD 149 were not “loosened from him forever.” That humans could become divine in ancient Egypt is not as startling as one might think. According to etiological ac-

“TO SAY THAT BOOKS ABOUT DEATH ARE MORBID MAY SEEM A TRUISM, BUT OF COURSE, MOST BOOKS ARE ABOUT DEATH. THEY DEAL DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY WITH THE CONTRASTING TEMPORALITY OF EXPERIENCE AND THE RELATIVE PERMANENCE OF THE WRITTEN WORD.”

ANDREW SOLOMON
NEW YORK TIMES FEBRUARY 8, 2016
was a resurrection machine designed to turn mortal people into immortal gods.

Book of the Dead spells are quite explicit in this regard. Spell 80 has the title “(spell for) turning into a god (ntr) and causing darkness to be light.” Spell 80 is part of a sequence known as the transformation spells because they are focused on various forms the dead can take, including falcons (BD 77 and 78), herons (BD 83 and 84), a swallow (BD 86), a snake (BD 87), and a lotus (BD 81). However, also included were transformations into divine beings, such as the “greatest of the tribunal” (BD 79), a “living ba” (BD 85), Ptah (BD 82), and Sobek (BD 88). A more generic spell ensures that the dead can take “any form he wishes” (BD 76). With the transformation spells, the dead could take on the powers of the animals or beings in question, but the power of transformation was not limited to these spells. Throughout the Book of the Dead, the deceased routinely identified themselves with various gods. Such identifications were not vague allusions, but direct and precise statements, such as “I will join the great god” (BD 76). Furthermore, it was not just secondary or lesser gods which the dead proclaim, but the very creator gods themselves. Anyone who owned a manuscript with Book of the Dead spell 17 would recite “I am the great god who came into being himself.” A gloss in the text explains that this means “He is Nun, father of the gods.” Thus, the deceased could take the form of the first principle of the universe according to Egyptian cosmogony. Similar statements abound in the texts and include identifications with Re, Atum, Osiris, Horus, Thoth, Khepri, Sakhmet, Wadjet, and Ruty, among others, and incorporate generalities such as “His flesh will be like these gods” (BD 99) and “His body will be a god” (BD 101). These divine transformations were not limited to the Book of the Dead, but appear throughout Egyptian funerary literature, such as the passage in the Litany of Re equating the ba of Re with the ba of the deceased individual: “As for the ba of Re, his ba is your ba. His corpse is your corpse” (Manassa 2007, p. 391). The text further elaborates that “Osiris so-and-so has become Re and vice versa! O United One who has become Re, and vice versa! Osiris so-and-so is the ba of Re and vice versa” (Manassa 2007, p. 393). No deity was off limits — the funerary rituals permitted free association.

The Book of the Dead, then, is a grimoire of magical incantations intent on resurrecting the deceased and turning them into a powerful immortal spirit, called an akh in ancient Egyptian, which has joined the solar-Osirian cycle. According to the text, “whoever knows this book will never perish” (BD 68 and 85). It fulfills this function through a series of performative utterances by which the individual effects outcomes by speaking them into existence. How did such an impressive text come into existence? The spells gathered together in the Book of the Dead were not completely invented anew. Many of them were based on previous texts from the corpora now called the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts. Although the designations Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts may imply that these spells only appeared on pyramids and coffins, that is not the case. Like the Book of the Dead, spells from these collections were also inscribed on various media, although pyramids and coffins are some of the most prominent places where those texts were first discovered. Scholars often too
sharply distinguish between Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and the Book of the Dead; the ancient Egyptians viewed them as growing collections, all of which continued to be used throughout Egyptian history, often in close proximity to one another on coffins, tomb walls, and papyri. The creation of funerary texts such as the Book of the Dead had a long history, much of which had origins in a pre-written oral tradition (Reintges 2011; Scalf 2015). While it is common to favor papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead as the quintessential versions, many of the spells most likely had origins in ritual recitations, some of which were paired with amuletic objects. For example, the earliest attested examples of BD 30 do not derive from copies on papyrus, but are found on heart scarabs from the Second Intermediate Period. As a spell for preventing the heart from bearing witness against a person in the tribunal before Osiris, it makes sense that the spell would originate in a ritual setting affiliated with stone scarabs symbolic of the heart. Only later was BD 30 collected together with other spells into the papyrus compilations we know as the Book of the Dead. At that point, the text became separated from its ritual object, so instructions were added in the form of rubrics — sections written in red ink — that provided a description of how to make and inscribe a “scarab made from green stone.” Similar origins can be posited for other spells, such as BD 151 inscribed on magical bricks or BD 6 inscribed on the funerary figures known as ushabtis. A number of spells seem to have been incorporated from rituals associated with the funeral, such as the opening of the mouth (BD 21–23) or from apotropaic rites to ward off venomous creatures such as snakes and scorpions (BD 31–36, 37). The origins of the spells were therefore as diverse as the spells themselves.

Priestly scribes with training in the details of Egyptian religious theology were responsible for the creation and transmission of the Book of the Dead. Texts developed through a process of entextualizing oral traditions, copying from earlier source material, as well as through composition outright, but the latter often consisted of adding glosses and commentary to an existing text. BD 17 offers a good demonstration of the latter as it is filled with glosses, marked by the phrase “what is it” (pt rf sw) followed by short explanations such as “It is Atum who is in his disk,” and variants, marked by “another saying” (ky dd). By this method, the length of the spell increased and now reads like short entries in a cultural lexicon: “I am the great god who came into being himself. What is it? . . . It is Nun, father of the gods. Variant: It is Re.” The scribes worked in close collaboration with craftsmen, artisans, and illustrators to inscribe or decorate material for the mortuary assemblage. Papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead were produced through a variety of methods. The most well-attested method was to attach sheets of papyrus together to form a roll. A scribe then laid out the framing lines for the text and illustrations. Next, the text of the spells was added followed by their illustrations. This sequence of steps is clear on Papyrus Ryerson (OIM E9787), for the illustrator overlooked several spaces left open for images. The oversight resulted in a papyrus for which most of the spells and illustrations are mismatched, with each illustration out of sequence by one or two spells (Mosher 1992). There may have been discussion between the scribe and illustrator about this error because in a later section of the papyrus the scribe left the illustrator a note in Demotic informing him that a space at the bottom of a column “is not a space for an image” (Scalf 2015–16). In some cases, individual sheets of papyrus were inscribed and decorated prior to being joined together to form a scroll. In other cases, there is evidence that the images were produced first and the texts carefully written around them. The scribes and artisans in the workshops made use of source material as templates from which to copy. How such master copies were fashioned is still obscure, but we do have instances in which scribes faithfully noted that their master copies were full of lacunae; holes in the original papyrus were noted with the phrase “found missing” (gm wI) in place of the missing text. Each workshop tended to develop its own style, probably partially influenced by the type of master documents it used. Today we can often determine a manuscript’s date and provenance based on a comparison of its style with other manuscripts whose date and provenance are certain (Mosher 2016).

Once complete, these texts were used in a variety of ways. However, the primary archaeological context of the Book of the Dead was the burial chambers of the tomb, although several spells are also attested in temples (von Lieven 2012). Ancient Egyptian funerary practice contained an embedded redundancy by which spells were layered around the focal point in the grave: the human body. After a careful embalming, the body was packaged into its mortuary equipment. Long strips of linen were used to wrap the body, producing a mumiform figure in the guise of Osiris. Inside the wrappings, amulets such as the god Osiris was the spiritual avatar for each deceased individual who sought union and fellowship with him after death. OIM E14292 (D. 18531)
as the heart scarab contained their own spells. At several periods in Egyptian history, it was very common to inscribe Book of the Dead spells on the linen wrappings themselves, thereby cloaking the corpse in a magical cocoon. The mummy was placed inside a set of coffins, also typically inscribed with funerary texts and images, including Book of the Dead spells. In a few select cases, papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead were plastered on top of the mummy wrappings, with diligent attention given to laying out the spells over particular body parts. A Book of the Dead papyrus was more often placed in the coffin or in a receptacle near the coffin. More spells are found on the outer sarcophagi; still more on the figures and bricks set around the burial chamber. Finally, spells adorned the largest canvas of all: the walls of the tomb, which, especially in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, were sumptuously decorated with spells and illustrations that created a stunning visual component to the Book of the Dead.

Ancient Egyptians employed Book of the Dead spells in this fashion for over 1500 years, from the Second Intermediate Period down to the Roman period. However, the classical style of Book of the Dead manuscripts, best evidenced by documents produced according to a fairly standardized set of spells known as the Saite Recension, fell out of use by the end of the Ptolemaic period. As use of the Saite Recension manuscripts waned, there was a rise in a new set of texts called the Books of Breathing. One of these, called the First Book of Breathing, is essentially a new edition of the Book of the Dead as it was formed by editing a sequence of spells following the Saite Recension that ultimately resulted in a new composition. A few Book of the Dead spells were translated into Demotic in the first and second centuries AD (Stadler 2003; Smith 2009; Quack 2014), but these Demotic translations never became the norm. Instead, a new text written in Demotic, often called the Demotic Document of Breathing, become popular in the first and second centuries AD, and this Demotic Document of Breathing represents the last stage of Egyptian funerary literature before the Christianization of the country in the third and fourth centuries AD. While the cults of Osiris and Isis, fundamental to the Book of the Dead, spread around the Mediterranean world in the Roman and Byzantine empires, knowledge of the Book of the Dead was largely forgotten. Very little scholarship has been devoted to the Arab scholastic tradition, which must have had contact with manuscripts in Egypt. Several copies of Book of the Dead manuscripts were produced by Napoleon’s savants, but little sense could be made of them until Jean-François Champollion deciphered the hieroglyphic script in 1822. Twenty years later the Prussian Egyptologist Karl Richard Lepsius produced the first definitive edition of a Book of the Dead papyrus (Lepsius 1842) — a manuscript belonging to a man named Iufankh now in Turin (inv. 1791). Lepsius numbered sequentially all 165 spells in the papyrus, and it is his numbering system that we continue to follow today, supplemented by numbers later assigned by Egyptologists Édouard Naville (1886) and

This heart scarab was given a human face and inscribed with BD 30 on the bottom. The text seems to have been produced as a template because the top line, traditionally used for the owner’s name, is inscribed for “the one who is called so-and-so.” OIM E17478 (D. 18565-6)
Left: This group of magical bricks derives from different tombs and from different time periods, but together they represent their requisite function. Each is inscribed with a different section of BD 151 to ward off dangers approaching from the four cardinal directions: north, south, east, and west. OIM E12289, E10544, E6777, E6792 (D. 19838)

Below: An illustrator’s mistake can be seen on the left side of the papyrus sheet below the image of Nesshutefnut spearing a bug where the space for an image was accidentally skipped. This resulted in a long section of the papyrus where the images do not match with the correct spell. OIM E9787B (D. 28915)
Willem Pleyte (1881). Translations into various languages soon followed, with the rather clunky English translations of Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (1895) serving to this day in very popular reprints. In many ways, the work of T. George Allen (1974), Egyptologist at the Oriental Institute, produced an English translation that is still one of the most reliable and careful. The pioneering work of these and other scholars laid the foundation for all subsequent study of the Book of the Dead. Major contributions have been made in the last twenty years through big data digital initiatives such as the Totenbuch-Projekt in Bonn, which sought to gather all the known manuscripts from collections worldwide, and long-term publishing commitments in series such as Handschriften des Altegyptischen Totenbuches, Studien zu Altegyptischen Tutentexten, Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten, and Totenbuchtexte. Museums have taken advantage of these productive studies to summarize the primary research results for the public. The British Museum held a blockbuster Book of the Dead exhibit in 2010 (Taylor 2010), the Garstang Museum opened an exhibition in the summer of 2017, and now the Oriental Institute seeks to further build on this work of cultural enrichment with Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt. Clearly, the future of Book of the Dead studies is still very much alive and will likely “never perish.”

REFERENCES


EXHIBITION HIGHLIGHT

BOOK OF THE DEAD: BECOMING GOD IN ANCIENT EGYPT
Members’ Preview Party

Sunday, October 1
1pm–4pm

Lecture begins in Breasted Hall at 1pm
Exhibit in the Marshall and Doris Holleb Family Gallery for Special Exhibits
Registration Required

Discover how the ancient Egyptians controlled their immortal destiny! Join us for an exclusive lecture by the curator and members’ preview of the new special exhibit, Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt. This exhibit, curated by Foy Scalf, explores what the Book of the Dead was believed to do, how it worked, how it was made, and what happened to it. Presenting the newest research on the Book of the Dead, the exhibit illustrates what it meant to the ancient Egyptians, and how, through text and elaborate imagery, they sought to live forever as gods. Members, look for your invitation in the mail. You will be the first to view this exciting exhibit. Exhibit opens to the public Tuesday, October 3, 2017.

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Section of the Book of the Dead for Irtyuru (second century BC) showing the vignette for spell 125. The deceased stands to the right and before the scale upon which his heart is weighed against the goddess of truth to determine if he is worthy to be reborn as a god in the afterlife. A hybrid monster waits, ready to consume the heart if Irtyuru fails the judgment. Papyrus, ink. OIM E10486J (D. 13333).
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