



Endnotes for *Ipuwer vs. the Exodus Plagues*

Winter 2022 *Bible and Spade*

Notes

¹ Roland Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* (New York: Oxford, 2008), 3.

² Enmarch, 2.

³ Enmarch, 21–22; John van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 104.

⁴ Alan H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 Recto)* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909), 2–3, 18; John van Seters, "A Date for the 'Admonitions' in the Second Intermediate Period," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50 (1964): 14.

⁵ Enmarch, *World Upturned*, 24.

⁶ Enmarch, 135.

⁷ Roland Enmarch, "Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 99 (2013): 263; Enmarch, *World Upturned*, 203–205; Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 106.

⁸ Enmarch, *World Upturned*, 102.

⁹ William Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr el-Bahri," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46 (1960): 40–41.

¹⁰ R. J. Williams, "The Sages of Ancient Egypt in the Light of Recent Scholarship," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101, no. 1 (1981): 9; cf. Bernard Mathieu, "Réflexions sur le 'Fragment Daressy' et ses hommes illustres," in *Parcourir l'éternité: Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, ed. Christiane Zivie-Coche and Ivan Guerneur, vol. 2 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2012).

¹¹ Enmarch, *World Upturned*, 25–26.

¹² Roland Enmarch, "The Reception of a Middle Egyptian Poem: *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* in the Ramesside Period and Beyond," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford, 2011), 174.

¹³ Cf. Roland Enmarch, "The Reception of a Middle Egyptian Poem: *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* in the Ramesside Period and Beyond," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford, 2011), 174; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume I; The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California, 2006), 149–61; Kenneth Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 252; contra Emmanuel Anati, *The Mountain of God* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 287.

¹⁴ William Shea, "Amenhotep II as Pharaoh of the Exodus," *Bible and Spade* 16, no. 2 (2003): 41–51; Douglas Petrovich, "Amenhotep II and the Historicity of the Exodus-Pharaoh," *The Master's Seminary Journal* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 81–110; Bryant Wood, "The Biblical Date for the Exodus Is 1446 BC," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 50, no. 2 (June 2007): 249–58; Bryant Wood, "Recent Research on the Date and Setting of the Exodus," *Bible and Spade* 21, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 97–108.

¹⁵ Enmarch, *World Upturned*, 184–85.

¹⁶ James Henry Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), 211.

¹⁷ James Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt* (New York: Oxford, 1996), 151–53.

¹⁸ Enmarch, *World Upturned*, 180–219.

¹⁹ Titus Kennedy, "The Land of the $\delta 3sw$ (Nomads) of $yhw3$ at Soleb," *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies* 6 (2019): 189.

²⁰ Richard Hess, *Israelite Religions: An Archaeological and Biblical Survey* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 153; Charles Aling, *Egypt and Bible History* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981), 103–109; Kitchen, *Reliability of the Old Testament*, 253–54; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 151.

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