



Endnotes for “Resolving Whether Senenmut Is Moses”

Fall 2024 *Bible and Spade*

Notes

¹ Douglas Petrovich, “Amenhotep II and the Historicity of the Exodus-Pharaoh,” *Master’s Seminary Journal* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 81–110.

² David M. Rohl, “The Early Third Intermediate Period: Some Chronological Considerations,” *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum* 3 (1990): 64–65; Bryant G. Wood, “The Sons of Jacob: New Evidence for the Presence of the Israelites in Egypt,” *Bible and Spade* 10, no. 2/3 (Spring/Summer 1997): 53; William H. Shea, “The Date of the Exodus,” in *Giving the Sense: Understanding and Using Old Testament Historical Texts*, ed. David M. Howard Jr. and Michael A. Grisanti (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic & Professional, 2003), 249; Douglas Petrovich, *Origins of the Hebrews: New Evidence of Israelites in Egypt from Joseph to the Exodus*, with an introduction by William D. Barrick (Nashville: New Creation, 2021), 33.

³ Douglas Petrovich, “Toward Pinpointing the Timing of the Egyptian Abandonment of Avaris during the Middle of the 18th Dynasty,” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 5, no. 2 (2013): 9–28.

⁴ Douglas Petrovich, “Determining the Precise Length of the Israelite Sojourn in Egypt,” *Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin* 64 (2019): 21–41.

⁵ Petrovich, *Origins of the Hebrews*.

⁶ Joyce A. Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh* (London: Viking, 1996), 210.

⁷ Christopher Eames, “Is This Moses?,” *Let the Stones Speak* 3, no. 2 (March–April 2024): 23–29.

⁸ James Henry Breasted, trans. and ed., *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 2 of 5, *The Eighteenth Dynasty* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 150. First published 1906 by the University of Chicago Press.

⁹ Nicolas Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, trans. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 209.

¹⁰ Catharine H. Roehrig, “The Tomb of Maiherperi in the Valley of the Kings,” in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catharine H. Roehrig, with Renée Dreyfus and Cathleen A. Keller (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 70.

¹¹ Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 184.

¹² Peter F. Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut: The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 24 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 23.

¹³ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 182.

¹⁴ Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 77.

¹⁵ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 2:145.

¹⁶ Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 184.

¹⁷ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 2:144–45.

¹⁸ William Stevenson Smith, “Influence of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt in Western Asia, Especially in Byblos,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 73, no. 3 (July 1969): 277.

¹⁹ Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, “Foreigners in Egypt in the Time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III,” in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 380–81.

²⁰ Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 211.

²¹ Garry J. Shaw, *Royal Authority in Egypt’s Eighteenth Dynasty*, BAR International Series 1822 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), 45.

²² Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 184, 187; Redford, *Eighteenth Dynasty*, 86; Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 206.

²³ Dorman, *Tombs of Senenmut*, 21–22.

²⁴ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 198.

²⁵ Tyldesley, 198, 206.

²⁶ Peter F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology* (London: Routledge, 2016), 172. First published 1988 by Kegan Paul International (London).

²⁷ *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 202.

- ²⁸ Dorman, *Tombs of Senenmut*, 23; Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 199.
- ²⁹ Dorman, *Monuments of Senenmut*, 172.
- ³⁰ Dorman, *Tombs of Senenmut*, 23.
- ³¹ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 206.
- ³² Tyldesley, 203.
- ³³ Shaw, *Royal Authority*, 79.
- ³⁴ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 216. See also 114–15.
- ³⁵ Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 216.
- ³⁶ Petrovich, *Origins of the Hebrews*, 163, 192–95; Petrovich, “Amenhotep II,” 107–10.
- ³⁷ Redford, *Eighteenth Dynasty*, 87.
- ³⁸ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 208.
- ³⁹ Petrovich, *Origins of the Hebrews*, 193.
- ⁴⁰ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 205.
- ⁴¹ “Is This Moses?,” 27.
- ⁴² Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 181.
- ⁴³ “Is This Moses?,” 27.
- ⁴⁴ “Is This Moses?,” 28.
- ⁴⁵ “Is This Moses?,” 28.
- ⁴⁶ Peter F. Dorman, “The Career of Senenmut,” in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catharine H. Roehrig, with Renée Dreyfus and Cathleen A. Keller (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 108.
- ⁴⁷ “Is This Moses?,” 29.
- ⁴⁸ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 181.
- ⁴⁹ Tyldesley, 193.
- ⁵⁰ Tyldesley, 183, 185.
- ⁵¹ Tyldesley, 180.
- ⁵² Tyldesley, 223.
- ⁵³ Petrovich, *Origins of the Hebrews*, 35.
- ⁵⁴ Petrovich, 156; Petrovich, “Egyptian Abandonment,” 17.
- ⁵⁵ Manfred Bietak, “Nomads or *mnmn.t*-Shepherds in the Eastern Nile Delta in the New Kingdom,” in “*I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times*: Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday,” ed. Aren M. Maeir and Pierre de Miroschedji, 2 vols. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 1:125–26.
- ⁵⁶ Manfred Bietak, “Perunefer: An Update,” *Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (Autumn 2009): 16.
- ⁵⁷ Manfred Bietak, “Ein tuthmosidischer Palastbezirk im alten Auaris,” *Sokar* 12 (2006): 58.
- ⁵⁸ Petrovich, *Origins of the Hebrews*, 148.
- ⁵⁹ Dorman, *Tombs of Senenmut*, 23.
- ⁶⁰ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 83.
- ⁶¹ Petrovich, *Origins of the Hebrews*, 147–48.
- ⁶² Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 181; Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 1, *The Theban Necropolis*, pt. 1, *Private Tombs*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 418.
- ⁶³ Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. 1, *Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt, Germany: J. J. Augustin, 1935), 309.
- ⁶⁴ “Is This Moses?,” 26.
- ⁶⁵ Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 153.
- ⁶⁶ Wilkinson, 153.
- ⁶⁷ *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 1:309.
- ⁶⁸ Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh*, 199.
- ⁶⁹ Tyldesley, 183.
- ⁷⁰ Tyldesley, 188, 194.
- ⁷¹ Douglas Petrovich, *The World’s Oldest Alphabet: Hebrew as the Language of the Proto-consonantal Script*, with a contribution by Sarah K. Doherty and an introduction by Eugene H. Merrill (Jerusalem: Carta Jerusalem, 2016), 158.
- ⁷² “Is This Moses?,” 24.
- ⁷³ Petrovich, *Origins of the Hebrews*, 144–45.

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