

Studies about the Alexandrian Tradition in the Dutch language
di
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1. *Introduction*

The editor of *Adamantius* kindly requested me to supply a bibliographical survey of studies about the Alexandrian tradition which have been written in the Dutch language in the last 25 years. As an introduction to this article, some linguistic clarifications might be useful. Dutch (*neerlandese*, also called *olandese*) is the official language of the Netherlands and of Flanders, the northern half of Belgium. With respect to Belgium this language is also called Flemish. Written Dutch and Flemish are practically identical, which means that some minor variations between the two do occur. For the sake of completeness also Afrikaans, one of the languages of South Africa, deserves to be mentioned, since it is mainly derived from Dutch and from Dutch and Flemish dialects. However, although Afrikaans is regularly used for scientific publications, I did not come across any studies about the Alexandrian tradition in this language.

For every scholar who is able to read German, it should be possible to understand at least the gist of Dutch texts which deal with his own discipline. Dutch and German are different, but also closely related languages, like French relates to Italian.

Another preliminary remark concerns the limitations which are due to the scope of the following survey. As its title says, it deals with studies about the Alexandrian tradition which have been written in the Dutch language. This implies that it is far from a survey of studies about the Alexandrian tradition written by Dutch and Flemish scholars. Most scholars in the Low Countries (a convenient designation for the Netherlands and Flanders together) publish their scientific studies in English, German or French, whereas the following survey is limited to those studies which for some reason they published in Dutch. This reason may be that they deliberately wrote for the Dutch and Flemish readership and not in the first place for the international scientific world. For example, we are happy to have a wealth of Dutch translations of Jewish and patristic texts, which are usually provided with introductions and annotations. Inaugural and valedictory lectures are generally held and published in Dutch. Although doctoral theses are often written in a foreign language, theses written in Dutch occur too. The latter always have a summary in another language, mostly in English.

The purpose of the following survey is, first of all, to give an insight into the scientific studies on the Alexandrian tradition in Dutch. Apart from their titles, I will make some short comments on the contents. Secondly, in order to give a broader impression of the Dutch and Flemish publications on the Alexandrian tradition I will also include books of a good quality which have been written for a general readership, like the aforementioned translations of ancient texts; however, mostly without discussing them. I will usually refer to these books as translations; this designation implies that they are preceded by an introduction and provided with explanatory notes. Further, I made a selection of articles which appeared in theological journals or in a *Festschrift*. There are several recent series of patristic texts and studies in Dutch translations. Three of them are published by the Benedictine nuns of Bonheiden: *Kerkvaders* (KV; 'Church Fathers'); *Kerkvaderteksten met commentaar* (KVC), and *Monastieke cahiers* (MC). A fourth series of translations with introductions and commentaries is called *Christelijke bronnen* (CB; 'Christian Sources'), which is published in Kampen. A virtually complete catalogue of Dutch translations of classical, Jewish, and patristic Greek and Latin authors and writings has been compiled by P. De

Rynck and A. Welkenhuysen, *De Oudheid in het Nederlands. Repertorium en bibliografische gids voor vertalingen van Griekse en Latijnse auteurs en geschriften*, Baarn 1992, with a supplement of 1997.

2. The Jewish Alexandrian Tradition

Most publications on Alexandrian Judaism before or apart from Philo contain translations with introductions and short commentaries. Th.M. de Wit-Tak translated Aristeas' letter to Philocrates: *De oorsprong van de Griekse bijbel. De brief van Aristeas over het ontstaan van de Septuagint* (CB 7), Kampen 1995. Her book also contains a collection of translations of other Hellenistic Jewish and patristic texts about the Septuagint. P.W. van der Horst discussed the use of Scripture by three early Hellenistic Jews: 'Schriftgebruik bij drie vroege joods-hellenistische historici: Demetrius, Artapanus, Eupolemus', in his collection: *De onbekende god. Essays over de joodse en hellenistische achtergrond van het vroege christendom*, Utrecht 1988, 158-174. P.W. van der Horst translated the fragments of some other Hellenistic (and at least partially Alexandrian) Jews: *Joods-hellenistische poëzie. De fragmenten der gedichten van Ezechiël Tragicus, Philo Epicus, Theodotus en de vervalste dichtercitaten*, Kampen 1987. Further, Van der Horst translated the (probably Alexandrian) sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides: *Spreuken van Pseudo-Phocylides*, Kampen 1982; the second part of this book includes T. Baarda's translation of the sentences of Pseudo-Menander: *De spreuken van Pseudo-Menander*. (The English version of these two collections of sentences occurs in J.H. Charlesworth [ed.], *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha 2*, London 1985, 565-606.) Several translations of Alexandrian Jewish texts occur in Van der Horst's valuable collection of sources: *Bronnen voor de studie van de wereld van het vroege christendom, deel 1: Joodse bronnen*, Kampen 1997. M. de Goeij translated the short recension of Joseph and Aseneth: *De Pseudepigraphen 2*, Kampen 1981, 9-62.

Some interesting studies have been devoted to the most important representative of the Jewish Alexandrian tradition, Philo of Alexandria. R.A. Bitter wrote a careful doctoral thesis about the meaning of 'alienship' in Philo's works: *Vreemdelingschap bij Philo van Alexandrië. Een onderzoek naar de betekenis van πάροικος*, Utrecht 1982. He concludes that, for Philo, being πάροικος metaphorically refers to man's situation on earth as it is determined by his physical existence and his heavenly vocation and origin. In this world, man is an alien resident who is destined to return to his origin and, therefore, to strive for the knowledge of God. R.A. Bitter also wrote a study on androgyne man in Philo, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen: 'De androgynie van de mens bij Philo van Alexandrië, Clemens van Alexandrië, Origenes en de Russische Orthodoxie', in: G. Quispel (ed.), *De Hermetische Gnosis in de loop der eeuwen*, Baarn 1992, 54-95.

D.T. Runia, whose English publications on Philo are well known, wrote an introduction to Philo's exegetical method in C. Datema (ed.), *Kerkvaders. Teksten met toelichting in de vroege kerk*, Brugge/'s-Gravenhage [1985], 201-227. Runia dealt with the position of Philo in Hellenistic Judaism and on the influence of Hellenistic Judaism on the Church Fathers in his inaugural speech: *Platonisme, Philonisme en het begin van het christelijk denken*, Utrecht 1992.

A.P. Bos discussed Philo in two books. In the first one: *In de greep van de Titanen. Inleiding tot een hoofdstroming van de Griekse filosofie*, Amsterdam 1991, he upholds that the myths about the Titans are characteristic for Greek philosophy, which he interprets in the sense that man always yearns for his initial but lost knowledge of the divine world. One chapter of this provocative book is devoted to Philo, and another one to gnosticism. Bos elaborates his view on Philo in a second book: *Geboeid door Plato. Het christelijk geloof bekneld door het glinsterend pantser van de Griekse filosofie*, Amsterdam 1996. He compares Philo with modern liberal theologians who too uncritically integrate contemporary philosophy in their theology. As a consequence, he regrets the influence of Philo's hellenised Judaism on the Church Fathers.

3. *Physiologus*

If it is true (as is often assumed) that the *Physiologus*, an early document on Christian symbolism, originates from Alexandria, it deserves to be mentioned here. F. Ledegang made a translation of it: *Christelijke symboliek van dieren, planten en stenen. De Physiologus* (CB 6), Kampen 1994.

4. *Clement of Alexandria*

A good introduction to the life, works, and theology of Clement of Alexandria was written by the Benedictine nuns of Bonheiden: *Clemens van Alexandrië* (KV 7), Bonheiden [1979]. P.W. van der Horst critically discussed the alleged letter of Clement to Theodore about the secret Gospel of Mark, which has been published by M. Smith: 'Het "geheime Markusevangelie". Over een nieuwe vondst', in: *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 33 (1979), 27-51; this paper is also included in Van der Horst's collection: *De onbekende god. Essays over de joodse en hellenistische achtergrond van het vroege christendom*, Utrecht 1988, 37-64. H.S. Benjamins discussed the theme of martyrdom according to Clement, Stromateis IV, in the *Festschrift* for J. Roldanus: 'Het martelaarschap bij Clemens van Alexandrië', in: H.S. Benjamins et al. (eds.), *Evangelie en beschaving. Studies bij het afscheid van Hans Roldanus*, Zoetermeer 1995, 107-123. R. Roukema collected the early interpretations of Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians: *De uitleg van Paulus' eerste brief aan de Corinthiërs in de tweede en derde eeuw*, Kampen 1996; in this study many sections are devoted to Clement (see *Adamantius* 2, 48-49). Roukema translated some chapters of Stromateis VII which deal with prayer: *Clemens van Alexandrië. Het gebed van de gnosticus en andere teksten. Een keuze uit Clemens' Stromateis boek VII*, Zoetermeer 1997 (see *Adamantius* 4, 165-166).

In South Africa B.A. Zuiddam submitted a doctoral thesis (in Dutch) about the authority of the Bible in the second century, as represented in the writings of Ignatius, Irenaeus, and Clement: *Heilige letters en lettergrepen*, Bloemfontein 1996. Its title, 'Holy Letters and Syllables', is taken from Clement, Protrepticus 87,2. However, methodologically this study is rather defective, so that it can hardly be recommended.

5. *Origen*

As in the foregoing section on Clement, the Benedictine nuns of Bonheiden are the first to be mentioned with regard to Origen as well. They composed no less than three books which constitute a fine introduction to Origen's life, work, theology, and to his influence on monasticism: *Origenes. Leven, werken en theologie* (I), *Origenes en de Heilige Schrift* (II) and *Origenes. Mysticus en voorloper van het monnikendom?* (III) (KV 4-6), Bonheiden 1979-1980. These studies include many translations of texts of Origen. Moreover, the Benedictine nuns of Bonheiden translated his Exhortation to Martyrdom: *Origenes. Aanmoediging tot het martelaarschap* (KVC 1), Bonheiden 1980.

In § 2 reference was already made to the introductory course on the Church Fathers which was edited by C. Datema: *Kerkvaders. Teksten met toelichting uit de vroege kerk*, Brugge/'s-Gravenhage [1985]. In this collection, which includes many translations of patristic texts, F. Ledegang wrote two chapters on Origen, to wit on De Principiis (73-106) and on his second sermon on Genesis (265-296). Some years after, Ledegang rounded off his voluminous and meticulous doctoral thesis on the images of the Church and its members in Origen: *Mysterium Ecclesiae. Beelden voor de kerk en haar leden bij Origenes* (1-2), Nijmegen 1992. The English translation is due to appear in 2000. To stay with the same author: Ledegang also wrote an introduction to Origen: *Origenes. Een experimenteel theoloog uit de derde eeuw*, Kampen 1995, and he translated Origen's 13th sermon on the Gospel of Luke, in: A.A.R. Bastiaansen et al.,

Kerstmis en Epifanie. Teksten uit de vroege kerk over de geboorte van Christus (CB 12), Kampen 1997, 23-27.

As a sort of appendix to his doctoral thesis on *The Diversity of Laws in Origen's Commentary on Romans* (Amsterdam 1988), R. Roukema discussed Origen's view on justification in the same Commentary: 'Origenes' visie op de rechtvaardiging volgens zijn commentaar op Romeinen', in: *Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift* 89 (1989), 94-105. Roukema also studied the allegations that Origen taught reincarnation: 'Reïncarnatie in de oude kerk' (1-2), in: *Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift* 92 (1992), 199-218; 93 (1993), 33-56. As can be expected, Roukema's book on the early interpretation of Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians (see § 4) contains many sections on Origen. Roukema discussed Celsus', Clement's, and Origen's use or interpretation of 1 Corinthians 1,26-28 and similar texts from 1 Corinthians in a paper about the self-assurance of the derided Christian minority: 'Het zelfbewustzijn van een bespote minderheid. De receptie en uitleg van 1 Kor. 1:26-28 in de tweede en derde eeuw', in: F. de Lange (ed.), *Geloven in de minderheid?*, Kampen 1994, 37-52.

An interesting study on Origen's anthropology and mysticism was written by M. Rutten, *Om mijn oorsprong vechtend. Origenes ofwel het optimisme van een mysticus*, Kampen/Averbode 1991. E.P. Meijering devoted a chapter to Origen in his book: *Klassieke gestalten van christelijk geloven en denken. Van Irenaeus tot Barth*, Amsterdam 1995, 35-51. P.S.A. Lefeber wrote a fine doctoral thesis on Origen's view on prayer according to his sermons and his treatise On Prayer: *Keuze en verlangen. Een onderzoek naar zin en functie van het gebed in Origenes' preken en zijn tractaat Over het Gebed*, Gorinchem 1997 (see *Adamantius* 4, 219-221). He stresses Origen's consistency with regard to prayer in his sermons and in his treatise On Prayer, so that, in Lefeber's view, the alleged divergence is virtually non-existent.

To conclude this section, I list some more annotated translations. M.F.G. Parmentier translated Origen's fifth sermon on Samuel, about Saul and the 'witch' of En-dor, in his collection of Greek patristic interpretations of this chapter (1 Samuel 28): *Goddelijke wezens uit de aarde. Griekse kerkvaders over de 'heks' van Endor* (CB 1), Kampen 1989, 21-35. A translation of Origen's eighth and ninth sermons on Genesis occurs in Parmentier's book on the patristic interpretation of the binding of Isaac: *Isaak gebonden - Jezus gekruisigd* (CB 9), Kampen 1996, 33-60. G.J.D. Aalders translated Origen's treatise On Prayer: *Origenes. Het gebed* (KVC 8), Bonheiden 1991. M. Coune translated Origen's two homilies on the Song of Songs: *Origenes. Bruiloftslied van Jezus en de kerk. Twee homilieën op het Hooglied*, Brugge 1991. J.C.M. van Winden translated and discussed Contra Celsus I,1-27 in his book: *De ware wijsheid. Wegen van vroeg-christelijk denken*, Baarn 1992, 193-259. Van Winden also introduced and translated the second chapter of Origen's Prologue to his Commentary on the Song of Songs: *Wat heet liefde? Over eros en agape in het vroeg-christelijk denken*, Amsterdam 1993.

6. Eusebius of Caesarea

As Origen wrote his apology against Celsus, his admirer Eusebius of Caesarea wrote a treatise Against Hierocles, although Eusebius' apology was much shorter than Origen's. Th.M. de Wit-Tak translated and explained this text: *Apollonius ontmaskerd. Eusebius van Caesarea over Apollonius van Tyana*, Zoetermeer 1991. Eusebius' introductions to his works Praeparatio Evangelica and Demonstratio Evangelica were translated by J.C.M. van Winden in his book: *De ware wijsheid. Wegen van vroeg-christelijk denken*, Baarn 1992, 261-305.

7. Athanasius of Alexandria

The Benedictine nuns of Bonheiden provided us with a book on Athanasius: *Athanasius. Leven, spiritualiteit, werken* (KV 11), Bonheiden 1982. E.P. Meijering, who is an expert on Athanasius,

discussed this Church Father in his book: *Klassieke gestalten van christelijk geloven en denken. Van Irenaeus tot Barth*, Amsterdam 1995, 52-68.

8. *Basilios the Great*

To return to the Benedictine nuns of Bonheiden: they also composed a book on Basilios the Great: *De heilige Basilios de Grote* (KV 12), Bonheiden 1983. G. Tilleman made a translation of Basilios' treatise on the Holy Spirit: *Basilios van Caesarea. Over de Heilige Geest* (KVC 5), Bonheiden 1983. L.F.J. Meulenbergh wrote a highly readable booklet about Basilios: *Basilios de Grote. Een bruggenbouwer*, Kampen 1993. Another, more comprehensive and very beautiful book about Basilios, with numerous references to the primary sources, was written by K. Duchatelez, *Basilios De Grote. Een Evangelische Revolutionair*, Averbode 1999.

9. *Gregory of Nyssa*

A good introduction to Gregory of Nyssa's philosophical position was written by P. Mommaers in: H. Berghs (ed.), *Een inleiding in het denken van Plato, Aristoteles, Plotinus, Gregorius van Nyssa* (Denk-wijzen 4), Leuven/Amersfoort 1989, 93-120. M.F.G. Parmentier discussed Gregory of Nyssa and translated one of his sermons on Epiphany in C. Datema (ed.), *Kerkvaders. Teksten met toelichting uit de vroege kerk*, Brugge/s-Gravenhage [1985], 137-167. Parmentier also translated Gregory's letter on Saul and the 'witch' of Endor in his book: *Goddelijke wezens uit de aarde. Griekse kerkvaders over de 'heks' van Endor* (CB 1), Kampen 1989, 86-91. Two of Gregory's Paschal homilies were translated by C. Datema in the collection compiled by himself, R.F. Regtuit, and J.M. Tevel: *Paasfeest. Vroegchristelijke preken uit de paastijd* (CB 2), Kampen 1989, 58-69. M. Coune translated Gregory's homilies on the Song of Songs: *Gregorius van Nyssa. Vijftien homilieën over het Lied der liederen*, Brugge 1991. The productive Benedictine nuns of Bonheiden translated Gregory's Life of Moses: *Gregorius van Nyssa. Over het leven van Mozes de wetgever* (KVC 9), Bonheiden 1992.

10. *Gregory of Nazianzus*

H.F.R.M. Oosthout wrote a learned doctoral thesis about Gregory of Nazianzus' use of neoplatonic terminology with regard to trinitarian theology, the relationship between God and his creation, and man's return to God: *Wijzgerig taalgebruik in de Redevoeringen van Gregorius van Nazianze tegen de achtergrond van de neoplatoonse metafysica*, Boxmeer 1987. This book includes a résumé of 22 pages in French. The author demonstrates in which way Gregory used neoplatonic terminology for expressing his thoughts, but also how, under the influence of Christianity, he sometimes attached a rather unusual meaning to the philosophical terms. M.F.G. Parmentier translated Gregory's 38th oration, which was held on the occasion of Christmas, in: A.A.R. Bastiaensen et al., *Kerstmis en Epifanie. Teksten uit de vroege kerk over de geboorte van Christus* (CB 12), Kampen 1997, 40-59.

11. *Didymus the Blind*

A fine doctoral thesis in the field of patristic exegesis was written by G.W. Marchal; it deals with Didymus the Blind's then newly found Commentary on the book of Job, which had been published in 1968: *Didymus de Blinde en zijn interpretatie van het boek Job*, Sneek 1977. He shows that, although Didymus accepted the Platonic and Origenistic view that human suffering mostly originated from a pre-existential fall of the souls, he held that some people, like Job, were excepted from this fall; for this reason Job's suffering was not a punishment, as his friends assumed, but served God's plan of salvation.

12. Ambrose of Milan

G.H. Kramer wrote a doctoral thesis on Ambrose's view on history: *Ambrosius van Milaan en de geschiedenis*, Amsterdam 1983. The author deals with Ambrose's view on the relationship between the Old and the New Testaments, his view on the Jews, and on the Roman empire. His conclusion is, however, that it is hardly possible to deduce a coherent view on history from Ambrose's writings.

P.M. Hensels devoted his doctoral thesis to Ambrose's use of *sacramentum* and *mysterium* in his works *De Sacramentis* and *De Mysteriis*: *Sacramentum en zijn synoniemen in de mystagogische katechesen van Ambrosius*, Utrecht 1995. He concludes that for Ambrose the plural forms *mysteria* and *sacramenta* basically meant initiation rites, and that his views on the initiation into Christianity and on the *disciplina arcani* can only be explained by referring to the mystery religions.

As on Basilius, L.F.J. Meulenberg also wrote a concise book on Ambrose: *Ambrosius. Hoe verwerft een kerk gezag?*, Kampen 1999.

13. Jerome

J. Wytzes delivered his valedictory lecture on Jerome's friendship with aristocratic women: *De H. Hieronymus en zijn geestelijke vriendinnen*, Kampen 1979. G.J.M. Bartelink introduced Jerome and translated his Commentary on Ezekiel 1 in the aforementioned collection edited by C. Datema: *Kerkvaders. Teksten met toelichting uit de vroege kerk*, Brugge/'s-Gravenhage [1985], 329-360. J.J. Thierry translated some of Jerome's letters (38, 39, 77) in his book about the position of women in the early Church: *Vrouwen in de vroegchristelijke kerk*, 's-Gravenhage 1990, 66-94.

14. The Desert Fathers and Monasticism

Chr. Wagenaar produced an impressive series of books on the Desert Fathers. A good introduction from his pen is: *Woestijnvaders. Een speurtocht door de Vadersspreuken*, Nijmegen/Beveren 1981. His translations of their apophthegms include: *Vadersspreuken. Gerontikon* (MC 10-11), Bonheiden 1987³; *Vadersspreuken III-IV. Anonyma* (MC 12-13), Bonheiden 1979²; *Vadersspreuken. Aanvullende spreuken* (MC 14), Bonheiden 1989². He translated several lives and the letters of Antonius in: *Leven, getuigenissen, brieven van de heilige Antonius, abt* (MC 17), Bonheiden 1981. He collected most of Evagrius' writings in: *Evagrius van Pontus. Geestelijke geschriften I-II* (MC 34-35), Bonheiden 1987. A huge compilation about eastern monasticism is Wagenaar's: *Om met Christus te zijn. Het christelijk oosters monachisme 1-2* (MC 39), Bonheiden 1990.

H. van Cranenburgh and J. Hessing introduced and translated the Bohairic Life of Pachomius: *Het leven van Sint Pachomius en van zijn eerste opvolgers* (MC 9), Bonheiden 1979. H. van Cranenborgh also wrote a learned book on Pachomian monasticism: *Het Pachomiaanse monachisme* (MC 24), Bonheiden 1983. G.J.M. Bartelink wrote a very readable book about monasticism and the Desert Fathers: *De bloeiende woestijn. De wereld van het vroege monachisme*, Baarn 1993. P.W. van der Horst also translated several texts on monasticism in Egypt; as an integral text, he rendered the History of the Monks in Egypt: *Woestijn, begeerte en geloof. De Historia monachorum in Aegypto (ca. 400 na Chr.)* (CB 8), Kampen 1995. An anthology of lives and apophthegms of the Desert Fathers translated by Van der Horst is: *De Woestijnvaders. Levensverhalen van kluzenaars uit het vroege christendom*, Amsterdam 1998.

15. Cyril of Alexandria

C. Datema devoted his inaugural lecture to the theme of spring in the Paschal Letters of Cyril of Alexandria: *De lente in de oudchristelijk literatuur. Een terugblik vanaf Cyrillus van Alexandrië*,

Amsterdam 1979. Datema also introduced Cyril and translated his commentary on John 6,1-15 in the aforementioned collection which he edited: *Kerkvaders. Teksten met toelichting uit de vroege kerk*, 361-389. M.F.G. Parmentier translated Cyril's interpretation of Saul in En-dor which occurs in his work the Adoration and Worship of God in Spirit and Truth, in: *Godelijke wezens uit de aarde. Griekse kerkvaders over de 'heks' van Endor* (CB 1), Kampen 1989, 103-109. Another translation made by Parmentier contains Cyril's sermon on the binding of Isaac: *Isaak gebonden - Jezus gekruisigd* (CB 9), Kampen 1996, 86-93. A.J.M. Davids studied Cyril's quotations from the prophets in his Paschal Letters: 'Jesaja en Dodekapropheton in de eerste tien Paasbrieven van Cyrillus van Alexandrië', in: F.G.M. Broeyer, E.M.V.M. Honée (eds.), *Profetie en godsspraak in de geschiedenis van het christendom*, Zoetermeer 1997, 52-62.

16. *Gnosticism, the Nag Hammadi Library, and Hermeticism*

Although not all early gnostic texts, or texts related to early gnosticism, can be considered as a branch of the Alexandrian tradition, the Alexandrian tradition is inevitably referred to in studies about these texts. And because books about gnosticism often deal with Egyptian Hermeticism as well, both will be dealt with in this section.

A collection of papers about gnosticism and Hermeticism in the course of history was edited by G. Quispel: *Gnosis. De derde component van de Europese cultuurtraditie*, Utrecht 1988. Mention should be made of contributions by R. van den Broek (about the unknown God), J. Helderma (about Valentinus and Valentinianism) and Th.G. Sinnige (about Plotinus and gnosticism). Another collection of papers on Hermeticism, gnosticism, and the Alexandrian tradition through the centuries was also edited by Quispel: *De Hermetische Gnosis in de loop der eeuwen*, Baarn 1992. Very valuable is the posthumous contribution by J. Zandee about the ancient Egyptian roots of Hermeticism: 'Het Hermetisme en het Oude Egypte', p. 97-174.

R. van den Broek discussed three treatises of the Nag Hammadi Library which he considers as non-gnostic texts, to wit the Sentences of Sextus, the Authentikos Logos, and the Teachings of Silvanus: 'Niet-gnostisch christendom in Alexandrië voor Clemens en Origenes', in: *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 33 (1979), 287-299. The same author introduced the Nag Hammadi treatise Eugnostus the Blessed: 'Eugnostus: via scepsis naar gnosis', in: *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 37 (1983), 104-114. In his view, this text should be interpreted as a witness of Jewish gnosticism.

In his doctoral thesis J. van Amersfoort investigated Quispel's hypothesis that the Gospel of Thomas goes back to an Aramaic source which was independent of the canonical Gospels and which was also used in the Pseudo-Clementines: *Het Evangelie van Thomas en de Pseudo-Clementinen*, Utrecht 1984. He concludes that the Gospel of Thomas is indeed independent of the canonical Gospels, but that the relationship with the Pseudo-Clementines is less clear than Quispel assumed.

An introduction to gnosticism was written by R. Roukema: *Gnosis en geloof in het vroege christendom. Een inleiding tot de gnostiek*, Zoetermeer 1998. He emphasizes the Platonic pattern of Christian gnosticism, without denying that it also has Jewish roots. The English translation is entitled: *Gnosis and Faith in Early Christianity*, London 1999. A valuable collection of papers on the Gospel of Thomas and other gnostic texts, written by Tj. Baarda, R. van den Broek, E.A. de Boer (on the position of women in gnosticism), J. Helderma (on the origin of gnosticism) and others, is: *Het evangelie van Thomas*, Zoetermeer 1999.

Only a selection of Coptic gnostic texts has been translated from Coptic; I will not take into consideration translations from other modern languages. G. Quispel made a translation of the Gospel of Thomas: *Het evangelie van Thomas en de Nederlanden. Nieuwe vertaling en verklaring van een vergeten bron*, Baarn 1991². He maintains that there is a close relationship between the

Gospel of Thomas, Tatian's Diatessaron, and some mediaeval Dutch and Old German Lives of Jesus. R. van den Broek wrote a good book on gnosticism: *De taal van de gnosis. Gnostische teksten uit Nag Hammadi*, Baarn 1986, in which he translated the Apocryphon of John, the Three Steles of Seth, the Gospel of Truth, and the Treatise on the Resurrection. G.P. Luttikhuis translated the Gospel of Mary, the Gospel of Philip, and the Letter of Peter to Philip: *Gnostische geschriften 1*, Kampen 1986. Another translation of the Gospel of Mary, as part of an interesting study on Mary Magdalene, was made by E.A. de Boer: *Maria Magdalena. De mythe voorbij. Op zoek naar wie zij werkelijk is*, Zoetermeer 1996 (English translation: *Mary Magdalene. Beyond the Myth*, London 1997; Italian translation: *Maria Maddalena. Oltre il mito*, Torino 1999). E.A. de Boer included a translation of the Exegesis on the Soul in an earlier paper on the position of women in gnosticism: 'Vrouwen en gnostiek', in: *Werkschrift* 6,4 (1986), 56-65.

R. van den Broek and G. Quispel translated the 18 Hermetic treatises in: *Corpus Hermeticum*, Amsterdam 1991. It should be noted that Quispel's translations (of the treatises 10-18) are much freer than Van den Broek's (1-9), which is more faithful to the Greek wording. In the same free manner Quispel also translated and amply commented on the Latin Asclepius: *Asclepius. De volkomen openbaring van Hermes Trismegistus*, Amsterdam 1996. R. van den Broek devoted his valedictory lecture to Hermes as a witness to Christ: 'Hermes en Christus: "heidense" getuigen voor de waarheid van het christendom', which was published in his *Festschrift*, edited by F.G.M. Broeyer and E.M.V.M. Honée, *Profetie en godsspraak in de geschiedenis van het christendom*, Zoetermeer 1997, 214-237.

17. Manichaeism

Manichaeism does not have an Alexandrian origin, but it did occur in Egypt as it did in many other Mediterranean regions. Since Augustine was a Manichaean *auditor* for nine years, Manichaeism is often referred to in studies about this Church Father, but because Augustine would deserve a bibliography for himself, I will leave out all studies on him.

I restrict the references to Manichaeism to two publications. A valuable doctoral thesis about Leo the Great's polemics with the Manichaeans in Rome has been written by H.G. Schipper: *Paus en kettters. Leo de Grottes polemië tegen de manicheeërs*, Heerenveen 1997. The author also investigates the polemics of other Church Fathers against Manichaeism and compares Leo's knowledge of Manichaeism with Manichaean texts which have been transmitted in Coptic. His conclusion is that Leo leaned heavily on Augustine and hardly gave any new information about Manichaeism. J. van Oort gave a good insight in all new discoveries and new views in the field of Manichaeism in: 'Manicheïsme: Nieuwe ontdekkingen, nieuwe visies', in: *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 47 (1993), 21-36.

18. Libraries

To conclude this survey with a general item: R. van den Broek published a lecture on the libraries in antiquity, in which he deals with the library of Alexandria and with the library founded by Origen in Caesarea: *Bibliotheken en geleerden in de oudheid*, Utrecht 1984.