

Albert PIETERSMA

THE ACTS OF PHILEAS
BISHOP OF THMUIS

(Including Fragments of the Greek Psalter)

P. Chester Beatty XV

(With a New Edition of P. Bodmer XX,
and Halkin's Latin *Acta*)

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

With full facsimile of the C. B. text

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GENÈVE

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c. 12 lines lost

καὶ θεῖαι γραφαὶ] λέγουσ[ιν·
 Ὁ [θυσιάζων] θεοῖς ἐτ[έροις
 ἐξ[ο]λοθ[ρευθ]ήσε[τ]αι [πλὴν
 κυρίῳ θεῷ [μ]όνῳ.

- 5 Κουλκιανὸς αὐτ[ῷ] εἶπεν·
 Θῦσον κυρίῳ [μό]νῳ. Ἀ[πεκρίνατο·
 Οὐ θύω, οὐ [γὰρ] [τοιούτων
 θυσιῶν ὁ θε[ὸς] δεῖται· αἱ γὰρ
 ἱεραὶ καὶ θ[εῖαι] γραφαὶ λέγουσιν·
 10 Τί μοι πλῆ[θ]ο[ς] τῶν θυ[σιῶν] ὑμῶν,
 λέγει κύρι[ος]· [Πλήρη]ς [εἰμὶ

and divine scriptures say,
 He who sacrifices to any other gods
 except to the Lord God alone
 shall be destroyed.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Then sacrifice to the lord alone. He replied,
 I will not sacrifice, for such
 sacrifices God does not desire. The
 sacred and divine scriptures say,
 What to me is the abundance of your sacrifices,
 says the Lord, I am sated

c. 11 lines lost

- α[ίσ]θ[η]μά[των καὶ λόγων
ἀ]ληθῶν θυσι[ῶν ὁ θεὸς
δέ]εται. Κου[λκιαν]ὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
Θῦσο]ν λ[ο]πόν. Ἀπεκρίνατο·
5 Οὐ θύ]ω· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμαθον.
Κουλκ]ιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
Παῦ]λος οὐκ ἔθ[υ]σεν; Ἀπεκρίνατο·
Οὐ].
Κουλκιανὸς εἶπεν·
10 Μωϋσῆς οὐ]κ ἔθυσεν; Ἀ[π]ε-
κρίνατο· Μ]ό[νο]ις Ἰουδα[ίο]ις
τεταγμένον] ἦν θύειν

sacrifices of ... perceptions
and true words does God
desire. Culcianus said to him,
Now sacrifice. He replied,
I will not sacrifice; I never learned how.
Culcianus said to him,
Paul sacrificed, did he not? He replied,
No.
Culcianus said,
Surely Moses sacrificed? He re-
plied, Solely for the Jews
it was prescribed to sacrifice

- ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μόνῳ [τῷ θεῷ.
 ν[ῦ]ν δὲ ἁμαρτάνουσιν Ἑβ[ραῖοι
 ἐ[ν ἀλ]λ[ο]δαπ[ῇ] τὰς θρησκείας
 ἐα[υτῶν ἐπ]ιτελοῦντες.
 5 Κουλκ[ιανὸς αὐτῷ] εἶπεν·
 Θ[ύ]σον λοιπόν. Φιλέ[α]ς ἀπε-
 κρ[ί]νατο· Οὐ θύω.
 Κουλ[κιανὸς αὐτῷ] εἶπεν·
 Ψυ[χῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐπιμέλειαν
 10 π[οι]ούμεθα; Ἀπεκρίνατο·
 [Ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος.]
 Κ[ουλκιανὸς αὐτῷ] εἶπεν·
 [Τοῦ σώματος τούτου; Ἀπεκρίνατο·]

in Jerusalem to God alone,
 but now (the) Hebrews are sinning
 by performing their rites
 elsewhere.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Now sacrifice. Phileas re-
 plied, I will not sacrifice.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Are we concerned here for the soul?
 He replied,
 For soul and body.
 Culcianus said to him,
 This body? He replied,

- Τ[ο]ῦ [σώματος το]ύτου.
 15 Κουλκ[ιανὸς αὐτῷ] εἶπεν·
 Ἡ σὰρξ α[ύτη] ἀνίσταται;
 Ἀπεκρίνα[το· Ν]αί.
 Κουλκιανὸς δεύτερ[α] αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
 Παῦλος οὐ[κ] ἠρνή[σ]ατο;
 20 Ἀπ[ε]κρίνατο· Οὐ, μὴ γένοιτ[ο].
 Κουλκιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
 Τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἀρνησάμενος;
 Ἀπ[ε]κρίνατο· Οὐ λέγω.

This body.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Will this flesh rise?
 He replied, Yes.
 Culcianus resumed,
 Paul denied (the resurrection), did he not?
 He replied, No, God forbid.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Who was it that denied it?
 He replied, I will not say.

Κου]λκ[ια]νὸς ὁμόσας αὐτῷ
τὴν τύχην τῶν βασιλέ[ω]ν
εἶπεν· Ὁ] αὐτός· ἐ[γ]ὼ [ῥ]μοσα,
ῥμοσον καὶ σύ]. Ἀ[πεκρίνατ]ο·
5 Οὐ συγκ]ε[χώρηται ἡμῖν ὀμνύναι·
c. 8 lines lost

Culcianus swore to him
by the genius of the emperors
and said, It was he. I have taken an oath,
now you take an oath. He replied,
We are not permitted to swear.

- ἦν δ]ιώ[κ]τη[ς; Ἀπεκρίνα]τ[ο· Οὐ.
 Κο]υλκ[ια]νὸς δεύ]τερα αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
 Π]αῦλος οὐκ [ἦν] ιδιώτης;
 οὐ Σύ[ρος] ἦν; οὐ Συριστὶ διε-
 10 λέγετο;] Ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐ·
 Ἑβραῖος ἦν] κα[ὶ] Ἑλληνισ[τὶ
 διελέγετ]ο καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖ[α
 εἶχεν κα[ὶ] προῆγε[ν
 παντ]ός.
 15 Κ[ο]υλκ[ιανὸς αὐτ]ῷ εἶπεν·

Was (not Paul) a persecutor? He replied, No.
 Culcianus resumed,
 Was not Paul a common man?
 Was he not a Syrian? Did he not discourse
 in Syrian? He replied, No,
 he was a Hebrew and discoursed
 in Greek. He was of the highest
 rank and was second to none.
 Culcianus said to him,

- Πάντω[ς] λέγεις ὅτι καὶ Πλά-
 τωνο[ς] κρείττων ἦν; Ἀπεκρίνα[το]
 Οὐ μόνον τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἀλλὰ
 κ[αὶ] πάντων] τῶν φιλοσόφω[ν]
 5 φ[ι]λ[ο]σοφώτερος ἦν, καὶ γὰρ
 κ[αὶ] [πάντας] ἔπεισ[εν], εἰ δὲ β[ού]-
 λ[η]ι, διδάξ[ω] σε τ[ὰς] φωνά[ς].
 Κο[υλκιανὸς] αὐτῷ εἶπ[εν]
 Θῦσον λοιπόν. Ἀπεκρί[να]το.
 10 Οὐ θύω.]
 Κουλκιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶπ[εν]
 Συνείδησίς] ἐ[στιν]; Φιλέ[ας]

No doubt you mean that he was superior
 even to Plato. He replied,
 Not only was he superior to Plato but
 in fact he was more philosophical
 than all the philosophers, for
 he convinced all of them. If you wish
 I will teach you what he said.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Now sacrifice. He replied,
 I will not sacrifice.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Is it a question of conscience? Phileas

- ἀπεκρίνα]το· Ναί.
 Κο[υ]λκ[ι]αν[ός] αὐτῷ ε[ἶ]πεν·
 15 Πῶς οὖν; Δ[ιὰ] <τί> τὴν πρὸς τ[ὴν]
 γυναικα κα[ὶ] τὰ τέκνα σ[ου]
 καὶ τοὺς ἀδ[ε]λφοῦ[ς] συν[εἶδ]-
 οιν οὐ φ[υλά]σ[σει]ς; Ἀπεκ[ρίνα]-
 το· Ὅτι ἡ π[ρὸς] τὸν θ[ε]οῦ
 20 συ[ν]εἶδησις μεῖ[ζ]ων ἐστίν· λέ-
 γει] γὰρ ἡ θεία [γραφὴ·
 Ἀγ[α]πήσεις τ[ὸν] θεὸν τὸν ποι-
 ἡσ[α]ντά σε

replied, Yes.

Culcianus said to him,

How is it then that toward

your wife, children

and brothers you do not respect
 conscience? He replied,

Because conscience with respect
 to God takes precedence, for
 the divine scripture says, You
 shall love the God who made
 you.

Κ]ουλκι[α]νὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν· Τίνα θεόν;
 Φιλ[έας] ἀνατείνας τὰς [χεῖρας] α[ὐτο]ῦ
 εἰς τὸν] οὐρανὸν εἶπε[ν·
 Τὸν θεὸν] τὸν ποιήσα[ντα τὸν] οὐρα-
 5 νὸν καὶ] τὴν γῆν [καὶ τὰς θαλά]σσας
 καὶ πάντ]α τὰ ἐν [αὐτοῖς, τὸ]ν κτίσ-
 την τὸν δ]ημιουργὸν τὸ]ν δε-
 σπότην]

3 lines lost

Culcianus said to him, Which god?
 Phileas raised his hands
 to heaven and said,
 The God who made the heavens,
 the earth, the seas
 and all that is in them, the
 creator, the maker, the
 Lord

- [Οἱ δικολόγοι ἐπὶ πλεῖον λαλοῦντα]
 10 τὸν Φιλέ]αν τῷ [ἡγεμόνι ἐκ-
 ὤλυον λ]έγοντ[ε]ς· Τί ἀν[θίστα-
 σαι τῷ ἡ]γεμό[νι·] Φιλέας [εἶπ]εν·
 Ἐπε]ρωτᾷ [με] καὶ ἀποκρίν[ο]μαι
 αὐτῷ]
 15 Κουλκιαν]ὸς αὐτ[ῷ] εἶπεν·
 Θῦσον λοιπόν]. Ἀπεκρί[νατ]ο·
 Οὐ θύω]

4 lines lost

The lawyers were trying to prevent
 Phileas from addressing
 the prefect, and said, Why do you keep
 resisting the prefect? Phileas said,
 He is questioning me and I am
 replying.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Now sacrifice. He replied,
 I will not sacrifice

ἔχομεν [τὸν] Σωκράτη· ἡνίκα
 ἐπὶ θάν[ατον ἦ]γετο, παρεστῶσης
 αὐ[τῷ τῆς] γ[υ]ναικὸς καὶ τῶν
 τ[έκν]ω[ν, οὐκ] ἀ[π]εστράφη, ἀλλὰ
 5 ἐτ[οίμ]ω[ς τὸ κώνε]ιον ἐδέχε[το].
 Κουλ[κιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶ]πεν· Ἦν
 Χ[ριστὸς θεός; Ἀπεκρίνατο·
 Ν[αί].
 Κ[ου]λκιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
 3 lines lost

(As an example) we have Socrates. When
 he was led to his execution, with his
 wife and children standing near
 him, he did not turn back but
 willingly accepted the hemlock.
 Culcianus said to him, Was
 Christ God? He replied,
 Yes.
 Culcianus said to him

]καὶ

7 lines lost

and would suffer indignities, and he gave himself over to suffer all things on our account. In fact, these things the sacred scriptures, on which the Jews rely, say,

Χάριν σοι ἄγω] καὶ
ταύτην τὴν τελείαν] ἐμοὶ
10 [εὐεργεσίαν χάρισαι.]
[Κουλκιανὸς αὐτῷ] εἶπεν·
Τί δεῖσαι; Ἄπε]κρίν[ατο
4 lines lost

I am grateful to you; now
grant me also this
perfect favour.
Culcianus said to him,
What is your desire? He replied,

Ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐκ ἀπλῶς,
 ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας καὶ θεοῦ.
 Κουλκιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
 Παῦλος θεὸς ἦν; Ἀπεκρίνατο·
 5 Οὔ.
 Κουλκιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
 Ἀλλὰ [τ]ίς ἦν; Ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄν-
 θρωπος ἄνθρωπος δὲ
 ου[]ν [
 10 π . [. .]εα . [
 ε[]οβ[
 1 line lost

He replied, Not ‘simply’
 but for Truth and for God.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Was Paul God? He replied,
 No.
 Culcianus said to him,
 Who was he then? He replied, A
 man, but a man

- Κουλκ[ιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
 Βεν[εφίκιον τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου
 χαρί[ζομαι. Ἀπεκρίνατο· Καὶ
 15 σὺ [ταύτην τὴν εὐεργεσίαν
 τελ[εῖαν ἐμοὶ χάρισαι, τῇ
 ἀπο[τομία σου χρῆσαι
 καὶ τ[ὸ κελευσθέν σοι
 πλή[ρωσον.
 20 Κουλκ[ιανὸς αὐτῷ εἶπεν·
 Εἰ ἥδ[εῖν σε χρειάν ἔχοντα
 ἐλ[θεῖν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀνοι-

Culcianus said to him,
 I am trying to do a favour to
 your brother. He replied,
 Kindly grant to me as well
 this perfect favour: exercise
 your severity and carry
 out what has been
 commanded you.
 Culcianus said to him,
 If I had thought you were in need
 and had come into this folly

- αν ὡς ᾗ<ν> ἔνα τούτων, οὐκ ἦναι-
 χόμην σου· ἐπειδὴ περιουσίαν
 οὐκ ὀλίγην ἔχεις, ὥστε οὐ μό-
 νον σε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐ[πά]ρχειον ὅλην
 5 θρέψαι δυνάμενος, διὰ τοῦτο
 φεισάμενος σαυτοῦ θῆσον.
 Ἀπεκρίνατ[ο]· Οὐ θύω, ἐμαυ-
 τοῦ ἐν [τού]τῳ κήδομαι.
 οἱ δικολόγοι πρὸς] τὸν ἡ[γ]ε[μό]να εἶπαν·
 10 ἔθυσεν ἐν τῷ σηκρήτῳ. Ἀπ[ε]κρίν-
 ατο·]

c. 5 lines lost

like one of these, I would not have put
 up with you. Since you possess
 considerable wealth so that you
 can support not only
 yourself but in fact an entire
 province—for that reason
 spare yourself and sacrifice.
 He replied, I will not sacrifice. In
 this way I am showing concern for myself.
 The lawyers said to the prefect,
 He sacrificed in the council-chamber.
 He replied,

- ὁ με καλέσας εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν
 τ[ῆ]ς μεγαλοπρε[πεί]ας αὐτοῦ.
 Οἱ δ[ικ]ολ[ό]γοι πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα εἶπαν·
 Φιλέας σκέ[ψιν] αἰτεῖται.
 5 Κου[λκιανὸς αὐτ]ῷ εἶπεν· Δώσω σοι
 σκέ[ψασθαι]. Ἀπ[η]εκρίνατο· Ἐσκεψά-
 μ[ην] πολλάκις κ]αὶ τοῦτο εἰλόμην.
 Οἱ δι[κ]ολόγοι καὶ ἡ τάξις] ἀπ[ὸ] μιᾶς
 ᾄμα [τῷ λογιστῇ]

4 lines lost

he who called me into the inheritance
 of his glory.
 The lawyers said to the prefect,
 Phileas requests time for reflection.
 Culcianus said to him, I shall give you
 time to reflect. He replied, Often did
 I reflect and this is my choice.
 The lawyers and the court with one accord,
 together with the *logistes*

- 10]λευ[
 ὁ ἀδελ[φὸς τοῦ Φιλέου ἀν-
 εβόησ[εν λέγων· Ὁ Φιλέας
 αἰτεῖτα[ι ἀμνησίαν.
 Κουλκι[ανὸς ἀναγαγὼν τὸν
 15 Φιλέ[αν αὐτῷ εἶπεν· Τί ἐξε-
 κάλ[εσας; Ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐκ ἐ-
 ξε[κάλεσα, μὴ πρόσχης τούτῳ
 τῷ δ[υσδαιμονεστάτῳ· ἐγὼ
 γὰρ χά[ριν πολλὴν ἄγω τοῖς

the brother of Phileas
 cried out saying, Phileas
 requests amnesty.
 Culcianus summoned
 Phileas and said to him, What, did
 you make an appeal? He replied, No,
 I did not. Pay no attention to this
 most unfortunate man. Rather,
 I am deeply indebted to the

βασιλεῦσιν καὶ τῇ ἡγεμ[ον]ίᾳ
 ὅτι συγκληρονόμος ἐγε[νήθ]ην
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἐπειτα [δὲ
 ἐξέβη ὁ Φιλέας. [Παραγ-
 5 ενόμενος τοίνυν ἐν [τῷ τόπ]ῳ
 οὗ ἔμελλεν ἀ[ποτέμεσθαι
 τὴν [κεφαλὴν]]επει
 c. 7 lines lost

emperors and the (local) government
 because I have been made a coheir
 of Jesus Christ. Thereafter
 Phileas went out. When he
 had come to the place
 where he was going to be beheaded

12 (→)

Plate 22

10]ουτ
].
].
]. . . .
]ηλ
]ε . δω
]ντες
 15]αν
]'Ιησοῦ

13 (↓)

Plate 23

ἵνα μὴ φωνῶμεν ψευδόχειλοι
 πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν· ὅστις γὰρ
 ψευδόχειλος προσέρχεται ταῖς
 αγ[] προσε . αἰς ἡ δίψυχος
 5 ἡ [] ἡ δολι[.] ἡ προστ-
 ακ[] ἡ . . [] ἡς ταμίας
 ἡδ[] ἐμπ[ε]πλησ-
 μέ[νος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς]
 υἱοθ[εσίας]

c. 3 lines lost

13 (↓)

Plate 25

10 . . . ντομ[
 . ετε οὖν λ[
 ἀλλήλους [τὴν
 ἀγάπην διώ[κετε καὶ τὴν φιλο-
 ξενίαν [
 15 χρηστ[
 εἰρήν[
 τῆς σ[
 ἀγαπ[
 ὁ γὰρ λ . [
 20 εἰς ὑμ[ᾶς

14 (→)

Plate 24

οὐδ'ἔπω γὰρ πεπόνθαμεν Χριστι-
 ἀνοί· μέλλομεν πάσχειν·
 ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν ὠδίνων τ[ῶν
 μελλουσῶν· ἀναφ[έρε]ι
 5 ἄλλους, μέλλει λ[
 ελε[] . ους . . . [
 c. 6 lines lost

for we have not yet suffered as
 Christians. We are about to suffer;
 it is the beginning of the woes
 to come; it is carrying off
 others, it is about

]τὸν καθ[ή-
 μενον ἐπὶ χερουβὶμ τ]ῶν ἁγίων
 τὸ]ν δημιουρ-
 10 γὸν τῶν πάντων, τὸν] ἀρχηγέτην
] . πα
]ποτου
]Χριστοῦ

]ει

who is seat-
 ed upon the holy Cherubim
 the crea-
 tor of all things, the first cause
