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THE GREEK TRANSLATION OF THE *TOME*  
OF ST LEO

THE sentence in Leo's *Tome* § 4 'agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium est', is sometimes translated as if 'forma' were nominative (correctly), sometimes as if it were an ablative and the subject of 'agit' were Christ.

The following lists make no pretence at completeness, but merely indicate the variations which I have happened to notice.

(a) ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρα μορφή μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε [N.B. no τοῦτο before ὅπερ except in Sophronius's paraphrase]. So in whole or part

Leo *ad Flav.* 4 (inter *conc. Chalc. act.* 2, Hard. 2. 293 E).

Sev. *ad Oecumen. ep.* 2 (inter *conc. Const. III act.* 10, Hard. 3. 1241 D, Labb. 6. 834 D) πῶς ἑκατέραν μορφήν ἐνεργεῖν τὰ ἴδια δώσομεν ;

*ad Paul.* (*ib.* 1244 A, Labb. 6. 835 B) [Leo's statement implies a συνάφεια σχετική and is blasphemous: quotation stops at κοινωνίας].

Serg. *ad Cyr. ep.* 1 (inter *conc. Const. III act.* 12, Hard. 3. 1309 C, Labb. 6. 915 D) ἐπειδὴ δὲ φησιν ἡ θεοφιλία ὑμῶν τὸν . . . Λέοντα, διὰ τοῦ λέγειν, Ἐνεργεῖ . . . κοινωνίας, δύο ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ . . . κηρύττειν, χρεῶν αὐτῆν εἰδέναι ὡς . . . οὐδένα ἴσμεν ἐκείνων [sc. τῶν ἐκκρίτων διδασκάλων] εἰπόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου ῥητοῦ δύο ἐνεργείας τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις εἰρηκέναι Λέοντα [Cyrus had written (*act.* 13, 1337 D, Labb. 6. 950 E) Λέοντος . . . ἐπιστόλην δύο ἐνεργείας μετὰ τῆς ἀλλήλων δηλαδὴ κοινωνίας . . . ἀναφανδὸν βοῶσαν].

*ad pap. Honor.* (*ib.* 1317 D, Labb. 6. 926 E) [dative would give much better point to the argument, but τοῦτο is omitted].

Sophon. *ep. syn.* (*ib. act.* 11, 1273 A, Migne 87. 3169 A) μὴ σκιρτάτω διὰ τοῦτο Νεστόριος . . . ὅτιπερ ἑκατέρα μορφή ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ Χριστῷ καὶ νῖφ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκεν ἔπραττεν,

*conc. Const. III, def. fid.* (*act.* 18, Hard. 3. 1400 E, Labb. 6. 1026 E) κατὰ . . . Λέοντα . . . φάσκοντα, Ἐνεργεῖ . . . ἔσχηκε.

Joh. Dam. *fid. orth.* 3. 15 (236 E) [quotation stops at κοινωνίας], *ib.* 235 C ἐνεργεῖ τοῖνυν ὁ Χριστὸς καθ' ἑκατέραν αὐτοῦ τῶν φύσεων, καὶ ἐνεργεῖ ἑκατέρα φύσις ἐν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας.

(b) . . . ἑκατέρα μορφή . . . τοῦτο [sic] ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε [the occurrence of τοῦτο with μορφή and its absence with μορφή suggests the probable currency of two different versions of Leo].

Sev. *ad Oecumen. ep.* 1 *fr.* (inter *conc. Later. act.* 5, Hard. 3. 893 B, Labb. 6. 316 C) [context not decisive though nominative would give better point, and cf. supra (a): but τοῦτο is included here. Perhaps

the reading in this fragment should be attributed to copyists, or to the Greek translator of the Lateran acts, on whom see below].

Serg. *ad Cyr. ep.* 2 (*ib. act.* 3, 777 D, Labb. 6. 177 D) τὸν αὐτὸν ἔνα Χριστὸν ἐνεργεῖν τὰ θεοπρεπή καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μίᾳ ἐνεργείᾳ . . . κατὰ ταύτην τὴν εὐσεβῆ διάνοιαν καὶ Λέων . . . ἐδίδαξεν, εἰπὼν, Ἐνεργεῖ ἑκατέρα μορφή . . . κοινωνίας [this looks genuine: perhaps Sergius had looked up the passage in the second version since writing the letter quoted supra (a)].

*conc. Later. act.* 5 (inter testimonia in concilio relecta, Hard. 3, 877 C, Labb. 6. 297 B) [τοῦτο included].

Mart. pap. ap. *conc. Later. act.* 3 (Hard. 3. 788 D, Labb. 6. 189 C) ἐνεργεῖ . . . τοῦτο . . . ἔσχηκεν καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, Ἐκμειοί, ἢ Ἐκτρέπει, ἢ Συγχέει, ἢ Ἐξαρνεῖται, τοῦτο ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκεν ἑκατέρα μορφή τῶν . . . ἡνωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐνεργεῖ μὲν μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας, ἵνα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν γνωρίσῃ διὰ τοῦ ἐνεργεῖν τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε, καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν παραστήσῃ διὰ τῆς μετὰ θατέρου κοινωνίας [it is obvious that Pope Martin understood 'utraque forma' as nominative; the Greek translator of the acts erred through following a version of Leo already familiar to himself which read ἑκατέρα μορφή and added τοῦτο].

Joh. Dam. *Jacob.* 81 (417 B) ἐνεργεῖ . . . τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε, διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης ἐσταυρώσθαι λέγεται . . . καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεληλυθῆναι ὅπου ἦν· ὅτε μὲν ἐκ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου Χριστὸν ὀνομάζομεν, ὅτε δὲ ἐξ ἑνὸς τῶν μερῶν.

About the above extracts it may be said:—

The Greek version of Leo's *Tome* quoted from the acts of Chalcedon is also printed among his works, and is a genuine ancient translation then read.

Severus, the famous Monophysite leader, held the patriarchal See of Antioch from 512 to 519. He naturally condemns Leo outright.

Sergius, leader of the Monothelite movement, and author of Heraclius's *Ecthesis* which forbade teaching either one or two ἐνέργειαι, was patriarch of Constantinople from 610 to 638. In seeking to make the best of Leo he would naturally prefer the (β) version, which is far more favourable to his own views.

Sophronius, who with Maximus Confessor was the chief opponent of Monothelitism, became patriarch of Jerusalem in 634 and issued this encyclical upon his elevation to the See.

The Lateran Council was held under Pope Martin in 649 to condemn the Monothelites. The third Council of Constantinople, sixth General Council, was held in 680.

John of Damascus belongs to the next century. His apparent use of two versions is important, since all my other instances of the (β) version come from the acts of the Lateran Council.