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**A MANUSCRIPT COPY OF ADAM ZERNIKAW'S
"DE PROCESSIONE" (BATURYŃ, 1682) AT THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY**

In its more than a century of existence, the Slavic and Baltic collections of the NYPL have been the recipients of many benefactions of unusual books and manuscripts. Of these the gift in 2005 of the New York antiquarian dealer Alexander Rabinovich certainly ranks among the more notable as well as one of the more enigmatic.

This note strives to lay out the basic facts of Zernikaw's little-known biography, as well as to raise some issues as to the external history of the NYPL's copy of *De Processione*, originally written in Baturyn in 1682, and to suggest its possible place in the larger body of literature on one of the central issues vexing relations between Eastern and Western Christianity.

First, of the complex figure of the author, Adamo Zernikaw (other variants: Ziornikaw, Zoernikau, Zörnিকow, Zoironikabiu). Born into a family of Lutheran goldsmiths of Krolewits/Königsberg, present day Kaliningrad, in East Prussia on 21 September 1652, Zernikaw studied theology and mathematics at Königsberg's Albertine Academy (ca. 1668–1672)¹. Among his teachers was the noted theologian Christian Drier (1616–1688), whose detractors accused him of 'neo-Orthodox' views and sympathies². Zernikaw was also drawn to the study of the Eastern Churches by his reading of Metrophane Kritopoulos's (1589–1639) "*Confessio catholicae et apostolicae in Oriente Ecclesiae*" (Helmstadt, 1625), the first (and longest) chapter of which deals with the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit³. Leaving Königsberg, Zernikaw went on to study Patristic era texts at a variety of Western European centers, among them Jena, Oxford

¹ East Prussia in the 17th century was populated by an amalgam of Lithuanians, Germanized Baltic Prussians, and Slavic ethnic groups. Although clearly Germanized and educated in German schools, one cannot definitively establish Zernikaw's ethnic background on the basis of the information currently at hand.

² For a brief biography of Dreier, see *Altpreussische Biographie*. Königsberg, 1941. Bd. 1. S. 151; for a brief biography of Zernikaw (Zörnিকau) see *Altpreussische Biographie*. Marburg, 1967. Bd. 4, Lieferung 7. S. 848.

³ Kritopoulos completed this work after his time at the Julian Academy in Helmstadt. See Colin Davey, *Pioneer for Unity: Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589–1639) and Relations Between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches*. London, 1987. At the behest of Cyril Loukaris of Alexandria (later Ecumenical Patriarch at Constantinople), Kritopoulos departed Egypt in 1617 for five years of study at Balliol College, Oxford, followed by time in London, various Lutheran universities in Germany, Calvinist Switzerland, and Venice, returning to North Africa in 1630 or 1631.

and Cambridge universities, London (the famous Cottonian Library), Padua, Bologna, Rome and Paris⁴.

While in Paris in 1678, Zernikaw took up the study of fortification and architecture – a discipline that served him well during his work in the Hetman Cossack capital (from 1669–1708) of Baturyn – although the subsequent sacking of Baturyn by troops commanded by Prince A. D. Menshikov (1673–1729) destroyed most evidence of his handiwork. Two years later, and after traversing Austria, and the *Rzecz Pospolita*, he came to settle in Chernihiv, one of the religious and cultural centers of the autonomous Left-Bank Hetman State. It was there that he was mentored and came to accept Eastern Orthodoxy under Lazar Baranovych (ca. 1600–1693). Zernikaw also came to enjoy the attention and favor of Baranovych's protégé, Dimitrii/Daniil Savich-Tuptalenko (1651–1729); later, in 1757, canonized, then *hegumen* (1682–1683; 1686–1692) of the nearby Baturyn St. Nicholas Krupnytskyi Monastery, as well as of his countryman Innokentii (Gizel, d. 1683), for more than thirty years (1656–1683) Archimandrite of the Kievo-Pecherskaia Lavra⁵. He also encountered Samijlo (Samuiil) Velychko (1670–ca. 1728), who worked in Baturyn circa 1690 towards the end of Zernikaw's life. Sometime during the late winter of 1681, and on the recommendation of *hegumen* Dimitrii, Zernikaw entered the service of the Hetmanate as architect and engineer, first for Ivan Samoilovych and then his successor, Ivan Mazepa (1687–1708). It was around this time that Zernikaw visited Muscovy (which he didn't like).

After a clearly eventful life, Zernikaw died in either 1693 or 1694, and was interred in Baturyn's Krupnytskyi Monastery. Before his death, he perhaps took monastic vows in Baturyn or more likely Kiev, influenced by Varlaam Iasynskyi (1622–1707), from 1690 Metropolitan of Kiev.

It seems Zernikaw published nothing in his lifetime. There are five known works by Zernikaw: the three-volume “De Processione”; an eight-volume manuscript on fortification and engineering; a work on the antichrist; a “defiance” of the Ottoman Empire; and a polemic against the Jesuit monk, Teofil Rutka (1622–1700)⁶, all written during his Baturyn residency. Some sources also mention the existence of a manuscript diary, portions of which were published in the “Труды Киевской Духовной академии”⁷.

⁴ In the records of the Bodleian, “Adamus Zornikaw, Regiomontanus Prussus,” was registered as a reader on 28 September 1676 (‘Library Records’. E. 533, fol. 183b). This information is confirmed by Anthony Wood's copies from a (now lost) university register (MS. Wood E. 5, fol. 116r.). His access to the 958 volumes of manuscripts collected by Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) may have been facilitated by the compiler (in 1696) of the first Cottonian catalogue, Thomas Smith (1638–1710). Smith was Dean of Magdalen College in 1674 and, although a staunch Protestant all his life, was himself a student of the “Greek Church”, after serving as chaplain to the English ambassador to Constantinople in 1668-1671. See Smith's “An Account of the Greek Church as to its Doctrine and Rites of Worship, with Several Historical Remarks Interspersed” (London, 1680). See also his “Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae” (Oxonii, 1696). Of the 958 volumes in Sir Robert Cotton's library, 114 were destroyed by fire in 1731, and another 98 damaged. Since 1757 the remaining manuscripts have been part of the British Library. On the Cotton Library, see Colin G.C. Tite. *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*. London, 1994.

⁵ Gizel was born ca. 1600 in Eastern Prussia to a Protestant family.

⁶ Rutka was the author of a tract on the *filioque*, “Zgoda swieta s. wschodney prawoslawney z kosciolem s. katolickim...” (Lwów, 1678).

⁷ Адам Зерникав. Обзорение рукописи, содержащей в себе автобиографию его // *Труды Киевской Духовной академии*. 1860. Т. 3. С. 173-204.

The present location of the original, in its entirety, is unknown. This diary, the manuscript of which was once held in the Kiev Metropolitan's Library at the Sofiiskii Sobor, served as the basis of the biographical sketch found in the various later printed editions⁸.

The NYPL copy of the "De Processione" is a holograph copy consisting of some 2,049 pages written in Latin⁹ of the original penned in Baturyn and as such represents – aside from its interest to theologians and culturologists – an important physical artifact – either directly or indirectly – from a city and culture that was near well destroyed in 1708. In N. Petrov's "Описание рукописей Церковно-археологического музея при Киевской духовной академии", no less than three variant copies are listed. The first, in 1,042 leaves and apparently contemporary with Zernikaw, was formerly in the library of Hieromonakh Parfenii of Smolensk, and was donated to the library by Dmitrii Ustimovich, Bishop of Smolensk¹⁰. Two others, 18th century copies in 602 leaves and 1,058 leaves are listed at the Theological Academy¹¹. Bidnov (op. cit.) notes that the importance of the work was well-recognized, and that during the eighteenth century, other, later manuscript copies were in circulation. However, the collation of the NYPL copy does not match any of the specific copies described by Bidnov. Therefore, NYPL's copy appears to be a unique unregistered Latin copy. In 1718, Peter the Great wanted to publish this text. Yet, for almost a century after the author's death, the manuscript remained in the Library of the Kievan Theological Academy, when in 1772–1774, Metropolitan Samuil/Simon Mstyslavskiy, formerly of Kiev, then of Krutytskyi and in-charge of the Moscow diocese, first commissioned its publication¹².

As the NYPL's copy of "De Processione" is housed in an English or Continental binding of the late eighteenth century, it is likely that it is a copy that surfaced in England two decades later and was purchased (as a note on the fly-leaf attests), by Francis Seymour Conway. Interestingly, while the endpapers match those of the binding, the flyleaves match those of the text block, suggesting that this might be a later rebind.



Sketch of Francis Seymour Conway, ca. 1780, attributed to the English satirist James Gilray. Print Room, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

⁸ See В. Біднов. Адам Зернікав і його догматичні трактати // *Elpis*. 1934. Т. 8 (I). С. [151]-174.

⁹ In the manuscript now in the NYPL, the first tractate comprises pp. 1-209 and ff 210-275. Its arrangement is chronological, by centuries. Beginning with 210, the manuscript is consistently *foliated*, not paginated. The dimensions of the manuscript are as follows: Vol. 1 (pp. 1-465), 24x20x6 cm.; Vol. 2 (p. 466-871), 24 x 20 x 7 cm.; Vol. 3 (pp. 872-1130), 24 x 20 x 4 cm. The paper is distinctively watermarked; as of this writing, however, it has not been located in any of the principal works on this subject.

¹⁰ See Н. Петров. *Описание рукописей Церковно-археологического музея при Киевской духовной академии*. Киев, 1875. Вып. 1. № 122. С. 53. In Petrov's multi-volume "Описание рукописных собраний, находящихся в г. Киеве" (Москва, 1891–1904), additional copies in Latin, and in Russian are described.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Nos. 123 and 124. Pp. 53-54.

¹² The 1772 edition, with "A. Zernicov" cited as author in the standard Russian bibliographical census, was printed in Gothae (Gotha) under the title "Tractatus de processione Spiritus Sancti a Solo Pa[t]re".

Conway, the Earl of Yarmouth and the First Marquess of Hertford (1718–1794), then served as Lord Chamberlain. The owner’s inscription states that “Francis Seymour Conway bought this very curious [work?] on Saturday April 12, 1794, No. 1 Stratton Street, Piccadilly”. It is possible the manuscript remained in the family for more than 150 years, when it found its way to Paris and to the collections of the noted antiquarian Leon/Lev A. Grinberg¹³.

It is important to underscore that the subject of this work, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, is widely regarded as “the chief dogmatic difference between the Eastern and Western Churches”¹⁴. And more than any doctrinal difference, for the Christian East the insertion/addition by unilateral papal authority of the *filioque*, making the Nicene Creed say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father “and the Son,” has loomed even larger than its theological implications as the principal focus of Eastern Orthodox complaint, indeed bitterness, against the papacy and the Roman Church. Adam Zernikaw, the subject of the present study, writing in the later seventeenth century, stands in the “extreme” school of Eastern Orthodox

This edition was based on one of the 18th century versions held by the Kievan Theological Academy, and contains a biography of Feofan Prokopovich by Dimitrii Semenov-Rudnev (1737–1795), which explains why all Western catalogers have attributed it to Feofan, Archbishop of Novgorod (1681–1736). The text was enlarged by the editor, Damaskin, Bishop of Nizhni-Novgorod (1737–1795). Copies of this 1772 edition exist at Harvard, Yale, Trinity (Connecticut), Boston and Emory universities. A 1774/1775 edition was printed in Königsberg by Hartnoch. According to the “Русский биографический словарь” entry on Mstyslavskyi, this edition was published in two volumes, and was printed within a letter on the subject of the *filioque* by Teofil Koridale to the Kyiv-Mohyla College (later, Academy) educator and rector (1638–1640) Sofronyi (Pochaskyi, fl. mid-17th c.).

Copies of this edition, under the title “Tractatus theologici orthodoxi de processione Spiritus Sancti a patre solo elaborati, auctore Adamo Zoernikaw, Baturini in Parva Russia anno 1682”, are found at the Latvian National Library, and Helsinki University Library. The university libraries of Tübingen and Freiburg apparently have microfilms of this work, and the publication is listed in the Union Catalogue of Northern Germany (GBV) and in the Union Catalogue of Southern Germany (SBV) without indications as to which libraries own a copy.

A Greek-language edition, translated from the Latin by Evgenii (Bulgaris, 1716–1806) was published in St. Petersburg in 1797 at the expense of His Imperial Majesty’s Kabinet. On Bulgaris (Eugenios Voulgaris), see Martin Knapp. *Evgenios Vulgaris im Einfluss der Aufklärung: der Begriff der Toleranz bei Vulgaris und Voltaire*. Amsterdam, 1984. See item 3168 (under Zoernicau) in “Сводный каталог книг на иностранных языках, изд. в России в XVIII веке 1701–1800”, vol. 3. The Kievan Academy’s copy was given to the library by Metropolitan of Kiev Gavriil on 15 November 1783. See Petrov. Op. cit. No. 124 (p. 54).

With the support of the then-Bishop of Volyn Antonii Khrapovitsky (1863–1936, later Metropolitan of Kiev and Halych, and founder of the Synod of Russian Bishops Abroad), Bogoliubov Stepanovich Davidovich (d. 1915) of the Volyn Theological Seminary prepared a Russian translation from the original Latin of Tractates I–VII, “Православные-Богословския Исследования Об Исходании святого духа шот единого только Отца Адама Зерникава”, published in Pochaev by the Lavra in 1902; his translation of Tractates VIII–XIX was published in Zhytomyr in 1906.

¹³ On Grinberg’s relations with Soviet museum collections, with some biographical information see: Леон Гринберг // *Наше наследие*. 1999. Т. 48. С. 50–64. Grinberg was the nephew of the Parisian antiquarian, Iakov A. Zolonitskii. Grinberg’s apartment in New York was later purchased by the noted collector of books (including many with an imperial Russian provenance), Abram Solomonovich Herrenroth (1898–1989).

opposition to this addition as well as to its doctrine, and the question that he seems to pose to his readers, not by an irenic approach but in a polemic way, is: By what right did the Roman Church claim the authority to introduce unilaterally an addition into the liturgical creed of the conciliar faith of the entire church which a decree of the third ecumenical council of Ephesus (431) had forbidden anyone to alter, an addition which (in his view) is theologically indefensible?¹⁵

Zernikaw's "Tractatus Theologici Orthodoxi de Processione Spiritus Sancti a Solo Patre" is remarkable for its scope and length, and its precise but extreme one-sidedness. Although as noted above it was printed in Latin about a century later and subsequently translated into Greek and Russian, references to it are relatively infrequent in the voluminous literature published over the centuries on the question of the *filioque* itself¹⁶. Written in Latin with the precision of a western legal mind at a time when its author was only about 30 years of age, the NYPL's manuscript of this massive work is penned in several different hands, and contains hundreds of named references both in the margins and in the text, such as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Cyril of Alexandria, Athanasius, Dionysius the Areopagite, Abbot Alcuin, John of Damascus, Gregory of Tours, Photius, Bellarmine, Bessarion, Baronius, "the Jesuits", and (frequently in the margins) Tyconius¹⁷. His references to the early church fathers are almost always to particular dated editions, with volume number and page number, but with very little clue as to where he might have consulted them.

Zernikaw's exposition is very methodical, extremely well organized, and tightly argued. Compared to modern Eastern Orthodox writings against the *filioque*, its sheer length guarantees that much of its contents are relatively unknown in Eastern Orthodox polemical literature. It is subdivided into nineteen "tractates," in which there are five different types of argumentation distinguished by the Latin verbs that are used: "demonstratur" (thirteen of the tractates), "agitur" (two tractates), "ostenditur" (two tractates), "solvuntur" (one), and "diluuntur" (one). Fortunately, the author has provided an "Elenchus Tractatum" in a few pages at the very beginning, and comparison establishes that these brief summaries of his arguments do correspond reliably with the longer contents of the work itself. The weight that he attaches throughout his work to the patristic evidence from the early church will be evident from the principle he posits at the very beginning: "In evaluating the dogmas of the Church Catholic, among other things it is especially necessary to refer to the consensus of the holy Fathers"¹⁸. The following is an annotated translation of his summaries:

¹⁴ Frank Gavin. *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought*. Milwaukee: Morehouse, and London: Mowbray, 1923. P. 126.

¹⁵ See Zernikaw's Tractate 7, below.

¹⁶ It was used, probably from its Greek translation, in a nineteenth century French work entitled "La Mystification fatale: étude orthodoxe sur le 'filioque'" by a Greek author named Kyriakos Lampryllos (Lausanne, 1987; originally published: Athens, A. Coromilas, 1883). In his "Пути русского богословия" (Париж, 1937. С. 54), Georges Florovsky mentions Zernikaw as "...автор знаменитого трактата *De processione Spiritus Sancti*," citing specifically the Königsberg edition of 1774–1776. It is also mentioned on one website: <http://hocna.org/defense/filioque.htm>. (p. 5 of "In Defense of the Faith" by "Father Patrick Ranson," now deceased).

¹⁷ Tyconius, or Ticonius, was an African Donatist of the Fourth Century, best known for his *Seven Rules of the Interpretation*, cited by St. Augustine and the Venerable Bede, among others.

¹⁸ "In dijudicando Catholicae Ecclesiae dogmata, inter alia praecipue ad sacrosanctorum Patrum consensum referri oportet."

ELENCHUS TRACTATUUM

Tractate 1. In which it is demonstrated, that the holy eastern Fathers in the first ten centuries believed by unanimous consent that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone¹⁹.

Tractate 2. In which are discussed the corruptions perpetrated in the writings of the eastern Fathers by the Latins and latinizing Greeks concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son²⁰.

Tractate 3. In which are discussed the corruptions perpetrated in the writings of the western Fathers by the Latins concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son²¹.

Tractate 4. In which it is demonstrated, that the Fathers of the western churches up to the end of the eighth century believed by unanimous consent that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone²².

Tractate 5. In which it is demonstrated, that the Latins themselves when certain of them at the end of the eighth century first introduced the dogma of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as its addition to the Holy Symbol²³ in the Latin church, for a long time squabbled litigiously among themselves about this matter, although especially the first authors among them were condemned by other Latins of the same time²⁴.

Tractate 6. In which it is demonstrated, from theological principles that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone²⁵.

Tractate 7. In which it is shown, by that decree of the ecumenical synods²⁶ lest any other definition of the faith be introduced in the churches besides that of Nicaea, that

¹⁹ On the collation of the manuscript, see note 9, above.

²⁰ Ff 276-328, including discussion of alleged insertions of *filioque* into ancient patristic manuscripts that had asserted the single procession.

²¹ Ff 329-373. Further discussion of alleged forgeries.

²² Ff 374-419. Chronological arrangement by centuries.

²³ I.e., the Nicene Creed (325-381 AD), also called the *symbolon*.

²⁴ Ff 420-465.

²⁵ Ff 466-481, consisting of nine numbered arguments.

²⁶ Canon 7 of the Council of Ephesus, (third ecumenical, 431 AD), which was subsequently endorsed by the fourth ecumenical council (Chalcedon in 451). This is the text of Ephesus: "It is not permitted to produce or write or compose any other creed except the one which was defined by the holy fathers who were gathered together in the Holy Spirit at Nicaea. Any who dare to compose or bring forth or produce another creed for the benefit of those who wish to turn from Hellenism or Judaism or some other heresy to the knowledge of the truth, if they are bishops or clerics they should be deprived of their respective charges and if they are laymen they are to be anathematized." *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* / Ed. Norman P. Tanner. London: Sheed and Ward; Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990. Vol 1. P. 65, which also gives the original Greek and Latin texts on the same page. Alternative English translation in *Creeeds, Councils and Controversies: Documents illustrative of the history of the Church A.D. 337-461* / Ed. J. Stevenson. London: S.P.C.K., 1966. P. 296. Original Greek and Latin texts also published in *Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Decreta* / Ed. J. Alberigo et al. Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973. P. 65. Zernikaw quotes the text of this canon of

not only is it commanded not to introduce anything contrary, but also is it prohibited to insert anything within the Holy Symbol²⁷ itself; and therefore even if it were true that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, by no means would it be possible to introduce that into the holy Symbol²⁸.

Tractate 8. In which it is demonstrated, that the fact that the Holy Spirit is sent from the Son²⁹ is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son³⁰.

Tractate 9. In which it is demonstrated, that the fact that the Holy Spirit breathed upon the apostles and said "Receive the Holy Spirit"³¹ is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son³².

Tractate 10. In which it is demonstrated, that the fact that the Son has all things of the Father³³ is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son³⁴.

Tractate 11. In which it is demonstrated, that the fact that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son³⁵ is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son³⁶.

Tractate 12. In which it is demonstrated, that the fact that the Saviour said "Let him receive the Holy Spirit from me"³⁷ is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son³⁸.

Tractate 13. In which it is demonstrated, that the Holy Spirit speaks, not by itself but whoever hears, is not an argument for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son³⁹.

Tractate 14. In which the arguments of the Latins sought from the Holy Scriptures for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son are dispelled⁴⁰.

Ephesus on f. 482r, and it is possible that he learned of it from his acquaintance with the teaching and writing of Thomas Smith, whose "Account of the Greek Church" (1680, p. 197) begins its discussion of the *filioque* with an account of the seventh canon of the Ephesus council. Further on this canon of Ephesus, see Thomas Richey. *The Nicene Creed and the Filioque*. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1884. Pp. 8-18. Debate has also focused on the question of whether Ephesus was prohibiting (as the Greeks claimed) any textual changes from the creed of Nicaea, which would have ruled out much of the creed's third paragraph as subsequently expanded as well as certain other points, or whether it was ruling out (as the Latins claimed) only a change in textual wording that would imply some different theological stance other than that against Arianism.

²⁷ See note 23.

²⁸ Ff 482-494.

²⁹ John 14.26, 15.26; cf Gal 4.6. These scriptural texts are usually taken to refer only, or primarily, to the temporal mission of the Spirit and not to eternal procession, but as such they have been used both by proponents of *filioque* as well as by those who reject it.

³⁰ Ff 495-540. Here the distinction is made between the Spirit's temporal mission and the Spirit's eternal procession. The Eastern tradition of theology strongly denies that argument can be made from the former to the latter.

³¹ John 20.22.

³² Ff 541-564, consisting of six numbered *responsiones*.

³³ John 3.35; Rom 11.36.

³⁴ Ff 565-599, consisting of five numbered *responsiones*, of which the last is by far the longest.

³⁵ Gal. 4.6; Rom. 8-9; 2 Cor. 3.17.

³⁶ Ff 600-625.

³⁷ Cf Acts 1.8; Acts 2.38; John 20.22.

³⁸ Ff 626-671, consisting of five numbered *responsiones*.

³⁹ Ff 672-694, consisting of five *responsiones*.

⁴⁰ Ff 695-708.

Tractate 15. In which the testimonies sought from the writings of the eastern Fathers for the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son are dissolved⁴¹.

Tractate 16. In which it is shown, that neither do the remaining arguments of the Latins conclude that the procession of the Holy Spirit is from the Son⁴².

Tractate 17. In which it is demonstrated, that the union with the Roman Church under Innocent III⁴³ was enforced by violence upon the Easterners and henceforth has been resisted and extinguished by them whenever possible⁴⁴.

Tractate 18. In which it is demonstrated, that the union of the eastern and western church, promoted by the Emperor Michael Palaeologus,⁴⁵ was of no assistance to the cause of the Latins⁴⁶.

Tractate 19. In which it is demonstrated, that the Florentine Council⁴⁷ was not a legitimate council, and by no means should it be numbered among the holy universal councils⁴⁸.

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⁴¹ Ff 709-871.

⁴² Ff 872-920 consisting of six *responsiones*.

⁴³ Pope 1198–1216, under whom the Fourth Crusade was diverted from its announced objective and the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople was established in place of the Greek one. The Latin kingdom of Constantinople lasted from 1204 to 1261, but the attempted reunion of Christian East and West, under papal authority, was only temporary.

⁴⁴ Ff 921-982, consisting of five *responsiones*.

⁴⁵ Byzantine emperor 1259–1282, who recovered Constantinople from the Crusaders in his attempt to secure the reunion of Christian East and West. This led to the 1274 Council of Lyons which for a brief time restored the *filioque* to the Nicene Creed but failed within a decade and was ultimately unsuccessful. Further see Aristeides Papadakis. *Crisis in Byzantium: The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–1289)*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1983.

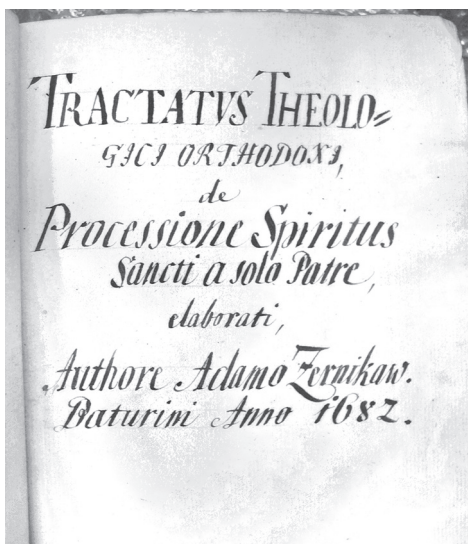
⁴⁶ Ff 982v-1050v.

⁴⁷ Council of Florence, 1438–1439, in which the acceptance of the *filioque* as doctrine, but not as an addition to the text of the Creed, was agreed as a condition for reunion between East and West and proclaimed in its "Decree of Union" which began with the words *Laetentur Coeli* (5 July 1439). This agreement did not last for long after the Turks captured Constantinople (1453) and was not widely accepted in the East. At this council, the Greeks had asserted that "any addition to the Nicene Creed, even a single word, whether it was doctrinally correct or not, was, according to the prohibition enacted at the Council of Ephesus, illegal, and its perpetrators excommunicated. The Latins claimed that the prohibition referred to meaning, not words". (ODCC, 619). Further see Hans-Jürgen Marx. *Filioque und Verbot eines anderen Glaubens auf dem Florentinum*. [Veröffentlichungen des Missionspriesterseminars St. Augustin bei Bonn, nr. 26]. St. Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1977.

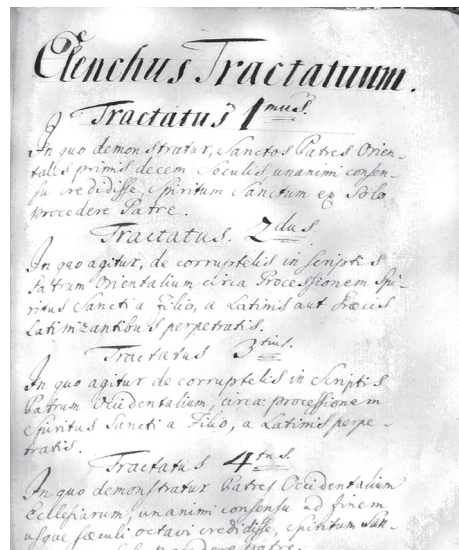
⁴⁸ Ff 1050v-1150r, the final tractate of the work.



View of the bindings of the NYPL manuscript, in three volumes. Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



Initial leaf of the text, NYPL manuscript. Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations



Titlepage of the NYPL manuscript. Slavic and Baltic Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

Francis, Seymour, Conway
 bought this very curious Bible
 on Saturday April 12 1793
 No 1 Stratton Street Piccadilly

Francis Seymour Conway
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Francis Seymour Conway
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