

finally, Berdyaev insists, as always, on the absolute and inevitable demand made on free, human, creative activity in the building up of the kingdom. 'L'histoire', he tells us in his discussion of time, 'doit avoir un fin, parce que le problème de la personne et de ses destinées n'est pas résolu et ne peut l'être a l'intérieur de ses limites.' The task of persuading a confused world that this is true, and that the men of our time look in vain for personal salvation within the categories of the temporal social order of history, is perhaps the most rewarding work which Berdyaev has left us to pursue in the second half of the twentieth century. C. H. V.

THE PHOTIAN SCHISM, HISTORY AND LEGEND. By Francis Dvornik. (Cambridge University Press; 35s.)

Modern research is for ever making us doubt the truth of the judgment on historical personages that we had before taken for granted. So many of them were based on literature intended as propaganda for the writer's contemporaries. Such is the case with Photios, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century. Hitherto he has been regarded by Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants alike as the champion of religious nationalism against the Papacy, denounced by the former as an enemy of the Church and acclaimed by the latter as a saint and a hero. Dr Dvornik, by research amazing both in its breadth and in its minuteness, has considerably modified both estimates. The clear-cut story of a struggle between good and evil, between the Patriarch Ignatius, upholder of Christian morality and the rights of the Holy See and Photios the usurper, is no longer tenable. In the disturbed conditions following on the iconoclast troubles the perpetual Byzantine political warfare between the Greens and the Blues seems to have been merged with the struggle between those who advocated extreme measures against the former iconoclasts and the more moderate party. Ignatius, of whose sanctity Dr Dvornik has no doubts, was of the former party. He was probably not canonically elected but was nominated by the Empress-Regent Theodora. Being compromised, probably all in good faith, in a plot against the government, he was, as we have good reason to believe, persuaded to resign. Photios, a man high in the civil service and of great academic renown, was chosen probably because he belonged to neither party and was expected to act as a peacemaker. He was canonically elected. At the Council of 861 Ignatius denied having appealed to Rome. Pope St Nicholas sent his legates to Constantinople primarily to help deal with the problems surviving from the days of Iconoclasm. At first the Pope held an open mind on the question of the change of Patriarchs, but later changed his policy, impelled, it seems, partly by the representations of members of the opposition who had fled to Rome and partly by a desire to vindicate the patriarchal rights of his See over Illyricum and the newly converted Bulgars who lived there. In 866 the Bul-

garian monarch Boris decided to receive Roman missionaries and to expel all those whom Byzantium had sent. That Bulgaria should be her obedient pupil was an economic and military necessity for Byzantium and the fact that the statesmanship of Pope St Nicholas I had made the Bulgars look westward is the most probable cause of the sudden anti-Roman outburst of 867. But though in the Council held that year at Constantinople the customs and practices of the Latins and Nicholas himself personally were attacked, the evidence that any attempt was made to deny the Roman primacy is shown to be very meagre. Much of what was said was designed to persuade Boris and his people to come once again within the Byzantine religious and political orbit. Deposed later for political reasons, Photios was restored on the death of Ignatius. The negotiations between Pope, Patriarch and Emperor on that occasion are extremely complex, but Dr Dvornik shows conclusively that Photios was *not* excommunicated a second time.

Throughout the whole story Photios impresses us by his evident desire to keep in the background. For a short time in 867 he holds the centre of the stage. Otherwise he seems to be the victim of events in which Bulgars, Saracens, Franks, Romans, Lothair and his divorce, Leo the Wise and the troubles of his youth, all play their part. Except when Pope St Nicholas bereft him of his favourite child the Bulgarian mission Photios appears always as a man of peace and reconciliation. Perhaps the most fascinating part of Dr Dvornik's book is that in which he takes us through the literature of the great controversies of Christendom between the ninth century and our own, showing how long it took to piece together that picture of Photios to which we have become accustomed.

The book in which Dr Dvornik has handled this complex story makes hard but rewarding reading. In spite of the author's efforts there are still, it must be confessed, a number of minor points which puzzle us. Further, the character of Photios as it appears in these pages is rather negative. Will not Dr Dvornik give us some day a study of his hero as the beloved professor, the capable administrator, the organiser of successful missions to the heathen, the leader of the resistance when the 'City guarded by God' was beleaguered by the barbarians, as the vast majority of his contemporaries knew him?

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THE ORIGINS OF THE GREAT SCHISM, A study in fourteenth century ecclesiastical history. By Walter Ullmann, J.U.D., F.R.Hist.S. (Burns Oates; 18s.)

The purpose of Dr Ullmann's present work is to answer the question, what was the cause of the Schism? To do this he examines first, in close detail, the events of 1378. Including the introduction, this occupies the first ninety pages of the book. In this portion of his work Dr Ullmann makes it clear from a com-