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Tzotcho Boiadjiev, Georgi Kapriev
und Andreas Speer

ИНСТИТУТ ЗА СРЕДНОВЕКОВНА ФИЛОСОФИЯ И КУЛТУРА

**АРХИВ
ЗА СРЕДНОВЕКОВНА
ФИЛОСОФИЯ
И КУЛТУРА
СВИТЪК XXI**

Издаван от
Цочо Бояджиев, Георги Каприев
и Андреас Шпеер



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Das 21. Heft des *Archivs für mittelalterliche Philosophie* besteht aus vier Hauptteilen. Im ersten Teil sind Beiträge präsentiert, die im Laufe der EGSAMP-Sommerschule vorgetragen wurden, die unter dem Titel „Sein und Freiheit. Metaphysische Gründe der mittelalterlichen Philosophie“ im Juli 2014 in Elena/Bulgarien stattfand. Im zweiten Teil finden Aufsätze und eine Übersetzung Platz, die im Laufe des Jahres 2014 der Redaktion bereitgestellt wurden. Im dritten Teil werden zwei Texte veröffentlicht, die auf das Mittelalter vielmehr rückblickend in Bezug stehen, aber eine bedeutende methodologische Rolle auch für die philosophische Forschung des Mittelalters spielen. Im vierten Teil sind zwei Vorträge veröffentlicht, die an der Jubiläumsfeier anlässlich des 30. Sommerschule in Elena, des Ursprungsorts der bulgarischen Schule für philosophische Mediävistik, des 25. Jahres seit der Gründung des Faches „Philosophie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance“ an der Philosophischen Fakultät der St. Kliment Ochriski Universität in Sofia und des 20. Jahres seit der Gründung des *Archivs für mittelalterliche Philosophie* vorgetragen wurden.

Die Herausgeber

Свитък ХХІ на *Архив за средновековна философия и култура* се състои от четири основни части. В първата са представени текстове, четени пред лятната школа на EGSAMP, проведена под името „Битие и свобода. Метафизични основи на средновековната философия“ през юли 2014 г. в гр. Елена, България. Във втората част намират място статии и превод, предоставени на редакцията в хода на 2014 г. В третата част са публикувани два текста, които са по-скоро косвено вгледани в Средновековието, но играят значима методологична роля и за философското изследване на Средните векове. В четвъртата част са публикувани два доклада, четени на юбилейното тържество по повод 30-годишнината от началото на лятната школа в Елена, рожденото място на българската школа за философска медиевистика, 25-годишнината от основаването на дисциплината „Философия на Средновековието и Ренесанса“ във Философския факултет на СУ и 20-годишнината от основаването на *Архив за средновековна философия и култура*.

Издателите

KATERINA GEORGIEVA (SOFIA)

THE SPECIFICITY OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE
BODY BY AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO AND
JOHN SCOTTUS ERIUGENA. THEORETICAL FRAME
AND RECEPTION IN MEDIEVAL CULTURE

The medieval world is a world of depiction and the necessity of continual watching. Undoubtedly, the psychosomatic unity, what actually man is, is the sought after object worthy of this increasing „medieval“ attention, the centre of which is to be the body. The angle at which it is considered is to a great extent negative which makes me think that in understanding the body what matters is not scrutinizing it, but rather exploring it. Flesh is ontologically sinful and is brought into the world namely as such. Exploring the body would lead to a *perisomatic* understanding, the first of its kind for the medieval man. I define it as *perisomatic*, because it is what it is, as far as it is looked at and perceived by its outer manifestations. The time of the gesture, the body- gesture, is to unfold the notion of a dynamic body in a constant search of and elevating the better half – the soul. The exploration of the body and the striving for its exteriorizing will take place in a static and stable world, which does not transcend its limits but encompasses the body in itself. The strictly determined order of the world in a powerfully hierarchical structure puts man in front of the impossibility to leave his place. Due to this reason the question about the limit will become a traumatic experience for man concerning not only his understanding of the world but the realization of his body as well. The radical distancing from the body as a sinful vessel is wrong in itself. Both the soul and the body were created by God and it is completely out of the question to accept that God

created anything that was not well thought of. The body is a gift, yet of an inferior. The corporeality faces the limitation of time and the necessity of the self-**utterance**. This attempt to transcend the corporeal through corporeality itself is impossible, because the medieval body itself is the limit that cannot be jumped over for medieval man, is incapable of fulfilling all the opportunities of his being and is constantly limited by his material limitation. Man is what he is as related to God and the entire life cycle will be completed with the ascension of the soul and its salvation by God. Man's independent existence is limited by time, by the temptation that cannot be resisted. This lonely existence of man whose being is framed can attain stability only in regard to God. Exteriorizing the body and the availability of limitation leads to the question about the processes, which are generated within it. Man is doomed to be the object in the struggle between good and evil, torn between redemption and temptation, between God and Satan which creates a peculiar metaphysic collision in him. The arena of this collision is his *homo interior* – the soul, which according to Augustine the Blessed is striving towards *participacio* (*De Trin. 10, 11*), to communion with the divine being. The metaphysic clash is expressed externally through the human body and its actions. It becomes a transmitter of the human choice here and now. The incessant „plots“ and scenes that man is involved in during the middle ages can represent the human body as a theatrical stage as the object and subject simultaneously and through his free will man will act in the world. It is not a matter of the ordinary theatre as entertainment here, however; it is about a transcending one inside Man, fighting inside-him. Internally the human body is deprived of its potency, it is objectivized and left to the actions inside it. Regarded in this way the body is not only subjected to external limits but it is also made to inhabit this external world for in its internal space it is subjected to endless conflicts and plots. Man is as torn inside as is his *homo exterior* violated, the actions being situated in extremes – from penance to sin, which cannot be but longed after. He is limited space under endless influences and a soul, which is in constant intention to. The medieval body is torn and forced to make choices on a daily basis; it is ontologically torn

to pieces *atopically* in the strictly hierarchical and stable medieval world. Man is required to have *stabilitas, loci*, whereas the space within him and he himself is primarily deprived of this stable place and the possibility categorically to bring himself into the world.

The body is the instrument and at the same time it is the space, where the action takes place. In his *Confessions* Augustine the Blessed does something of extreme importance for the Christian reception. In a part of his *Confessions* he looks at himself as „wasting in plurality“¹ before converting to God. After his conversion he realizes himself as „saved from being torn apart „² This sentence illustrates to a great extent the metaphysic division and squandering after the fall of man. The same occurs to the medieval body–stage of the transcendental theatre always searching for God and striving without being able to cope as object–participant. The constant conversion of man to God and his aspiration to take his ego to Him hold him in a continual relation. The human body is the space of the extremes, yet extremity of purpose, giving meaning to his entire life. Its end is entirely directed towards the endlessness he does not belong to. Time, pervading the body and the body, pervading time, are finite, yet at the same time the human body is capable of sustaining all collisions and encounters, taking place in. The main oppositions of the Medieval Period will be up and down and it`s in them that Augustine looks for the person unprepared for the heavenly kingdom. There are arguments pointed in *On true religion*: “[...] man won`t be ready for the coming of the kingdom of God if he doesn`t locate up what is down and down what is up.”³ The squandering in the plurality of the human body allows man to see only what is based on the unity, but he never reaches it. This single body which Augustine mentions is always held, but the human spirit, especially the one of the medieval man, is troubled, because space offers a number

¹ Augustine, Aurelius. *Confessions*. Sofia, Iztok-Zapad, 2006. 34.

² *Ibid.*

³ Augustine, Aurelius. *Short treatises*. Sofia, 2001, Bibliotheca Christiana. Series Nova, 111 (XXXIV.63).

of things, which are taken away by time, while the multitude of notions will hold the spirit instead of the spirit holding them. Plurality and the impossibility of curbing one's own being striving for the oneness are to be traumatically experienced by medieval man, which is actually the objective of the constant transcending-overcoming of this plurality and assembling of man, created in God's image. Once again Augustine underlines this primordial desire in his *Confessions*: „You, who have given the new born entity in order to secure wholeness and invulnerability, you have supplied him with a body, assembled from different parts⁴“. The bodies, however, Augustine adds, must be striving constantly to attain likelihood to the oneness and if this doesn't happen it will mean that they have assumed the creation, not the creator, which will be their attempt at violating the established hierarchy and that is unthinkable about medieval thought.

The metaphysical light and night, which are binary oppositions in the body-space, occur ontologically, not temporary, though the body is finite, yet infinite in its intention to. John Scottus Eriugena examines man and his place in the divine hierarchy and looks upon man as the link between the spiritual nature of superior entities and the inferior ones, in this way combining the two worlds into one, because man is the centre and reason for everything. After the separation from God man has divided the material world as well, which is not only the squandering–searching referred to by Augustine, for this squandering would not have occurred if there hadn't been the fall of man. According to Eriugena the ideas about things would be within us even before we have perceive them. This wasting of man in his being, who's putting together will be the basis of human life, is possible for Eriugena as the whole world has been organized in accordance with this thought. The realization of this comeback, its accomplishment, will bring about the end of the body–space, which will no more be filled by the transcendental theatre, by the clash and the encounter of infinite finites, rather it will be accomplished in its end.

⁴ Augustine, Aurelius. *Confessions*. Sofia, Iztok-Zapad, 2006, 18–24.

Attention should be paid not only to the body as space for metaphysical clashes and struggle, but to the body in the space. It is overcome, not simply annihilated. We'll have the body again in the game space at a different angle – here's the body, whose exterior is being played with. In this particular game the mean and the worthy change their places and the interest towards time is redirected to the exterior of man. Time exists for the gamer or the on-looker as far as the captured instant of victory or loss. The constant existential tension which withholds man within the limits of the world he inhabits requires relaxation. The existential continuum is interrupted namely at those moments of tense yet joyous anticipation of victory or defeat which holds human being in the game. On one hand is the idea of the playing body which possesses the space and places its time in it; on the other hand is the theatrical space which is not simply a conductor of entertainment but in the medieval manner it withholds the measure and didactics as basic tools for man has a complex nature and is forced to continuously withhold the measure between the weakness, which can be demonstrated in the game, and the strength on the other hand. Thus the game is a mechanism working on two principles: giving joy and allowing the manifestation of free will or limiting and reminding the place and goal of man in the universe. Man is a microcosm and in this way is related essentially to the entire creation. This micro order in man can be subjected to examination, having in mind all the processes occurring in him. The question of order has become an ontological problem for the medieval man. Since the fall man has attained his finite corporeality, but the soul sets the inner and outer order according to Augustin. Although the soul governs the order in the body, the body is sinful in his actions, because after the fall the stability of the order in the microcosm is presupposed as inconsistent.

The principle of depiction is fundamental in medieval perception. A great part, especially visible in ceremonial urban environment, is associated with the body gestures as a mechanism unifying the wholeness. Man definitely feels freeing the game as subject having time at his disposal; he can be not only *homo*,

ludens,⁵ but *homo videns* as well. The body fills its leisure time with games, yet there is a way to curb the medieval Christian within his primordial striving to God. The theatre could be looked upon as entertainment and as a means of relaxation from the frustrating search as well as a means of deterrence. Its very function could be associated with the notion of space – body, which represents the metaphysical processes shattering the medieval man. The common medieval plots not only depict the primary human collision, but also create didactic experience to be visually perceived by the spectator. Here *homo videns* reveals his struggle in the theatrical space which is actually church space, so it can be analogized with the body. The aim is to provoke a cathartic effect for the spectators, which in its turn to generate the possibility for *homo videns* to identify himself as a place in space. In this way it becomes possible for man to be part of the clash, though theatrically staged, not just an on-looker. The body is positioned in time and time is positioned in the body, which ensues transformation, indicating a transition in time. Human time looks at its own before and after its creation. Man is able to observe *perisomatically* the causes of the fall, his saviour, his resurrection or metaphysical clashes taking place in him. Through his body man reconstructs the course of events outside time itself as well as the idea of his own sinful body and the historic continuum, which foresees it. The consecution is ontological and parallel to it is the temporal one of all finite bodies, gathered in the theatrical space – body. Thus its function is not only representative and didactic, but unifying as well at a lower hierarchic level all those bodies, scattered in their plurality. They dissolve their boundaries in this space–body while their time continues to change despite the disintegration of limits. Human time is withheld by this space–body and avails of it through the plots played in it. The material–body visually depicts before the finite medieval man an „encounter“ with the Infinite, an encounter – vision which is mind-attainable and visible.

⁵ Here the „playing man“ (*homo ludens*) of Huizinga is like hypostasis, which is equal of „watching man“. His allow is to give a more complete of medieval man and his *modus operandi*.

Gathered at the same place are finite in their flesh yet infinite in their aspiration and intention to God. Here we could look back at Erigena's viewpoint, according to which all living creatures are theological immanently and the striving to achieve God will be the ultimate goal. The intention of the body–limit will be aimed at eternity, possible only in the clash with finiteness, reaching that same limit. The space–body succeeds in transcending all fears and placing *homo ludens/ homo videns* in front of the very beginning. This transcending sets the history of the finite within the scope of the infinite assembling and constructing the Christian body in the Church and putting forward the questions of the uninterrupted relation of the Ego to the question, asked by Augustine : *Quid ergo sum, Deus meus?*⁶ Apart from being an inevitably accompanying man question, Augustine addresses his own self, relying on his individual understanding of the border line between sin and repentance. The function of the space–body is bilateral. On the one hand, man spaciously and temporally combines his body–space, looking into the causal connections, which determine his place in the Universe and absorbing non–space and non–time through their visualization on the stage.

On the other hand, he turns to himself with the available existential questions before him. The problem of the transcendental gathering of the body will be finally settled with its physical disintegration.

The return to God after the withdrawing from the material world will be made outside of time. The way to the heavenly is the ontological way, for the man to reach. This way he traumatically having lost his way and his boundaries in the mediaeval world, will find his way back to the heavenly after the end of his earthly road. View that way the human path will take a shape of a circle – from his creation to the fall and the material world to returning to God. One of the main point in Augustine and Eriugena as well, will be connecting with the one, which will be through heavenly synthesis. This synthesis will be random completed at a few stages

⁶ Liber decimus, <http://www.stoa.org/hippo/frames10.html>, 10.17. 26, accessed 9 February, 2015.

and his final- infinity, will be returning of the soul and body back to God. Reaching the infinite heavenly substance the man doesn't dissolve in the heavenly substance, but succeeds in exposing to the fullest in the light of the heavenly perfection. That metaphysical conflict in the man is already taken down and the heavenly light is shining.

Augustine however will consider the question of overcoming plurality, which in fact is the human itself, but he faces it daily. This plurality cannot be overcome through contemplating. In front of Augustine is the question „how the soul, can be filled with so many concepts?“ However Augustine says that it is not the concepts, which are deceived, but they are only visible for the outside. The sins, which deceives the souls, looking for the truthful, but ignore the truth. The impossible search sends back to the disunion and impossibility for reconnecting in this world, because the intention of the body and the soul through unity, are always impossible throughout the human time and because „God is a ‘nothingness’ (*nihilum*) whose real essence is unknown to all created beings, including the angels.“⁷ Only the truthful light will reveal what is seen as untruthful, showing the plurality, because only this light can bring man to the one. This enlightenment of this „wasting in plurality“⁸, the same plurality, which talks about Augustine. The enlightenment will happen after the heavenly synthesis. Because of it the conflict body-space, which is representing itself through human actions, will be removed. The conflict of the space-body will stop showing the reasons of the human fall. The main function of this space-body will be exactly the representing of the existential search of man, trying to recollect himself through reviewing the reasons for the human fall. Finally the whole mechanism, covering the human being, will be filled with light from fusion. It will put back together not visually-representative the man, but ontologically this plurality in the one.

⁷ <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/scottus-eriugena/#3.3>, accessed 17February, 2015.

⁸ Augustine, Aurelius. *Confessions*. Iztok-Zapad.C., 2006, 34.

SMILEN MARKOV (VELIKO TURNOVO)

DEGREES OF FREEDOM

(Self-governance and responsibility in the Byzantine concept of will)

In his work *Expositio fidei* John Damascene proves that Jesus Christ possesses a natural human will and differentiates two aspects: On the one hand, Christ's human rational will is *self-governing* (αὐτεξούσιον). On the other hand, his human will enters into a special dimension of rational desire, which is called by John „freedom“ (ἐλευθερία) or „law of freedom“¹. The gradation outlined is not an idiosyncrasy of Damascene's discourse. It is implied in the theology of St. Gregory of Nyssa (4th c.), St. Maximus the Confessor (7th c.) etc., as well as in the later ascetic tradition, e.g. Meletios the Monk (9th c.) and Niceta Stethatos (11 c.). This gradation corresponds to the process of manifestation of the inherent divine image. The context of the transition between the two degrees of freedom is soteriological and refers to St. Paul's Epistle to Romans: „But now, being made free from sin, and having become servants of God, you have your fruit of sanctification, and the result of eternal life. For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord“². Freedom in Christ marks a new state of human nature, resulting from the personal salvation.

The dynamism of manifestation of divine image stays at the core of Byzantine understanding of human virtues: Virtues are dimensions of the existential praxis, the later being the primary

¹ John Damascene, *Expositio fidei* 13, 79; 99, 6 (Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, vol. II, ed. Kotter, B., Berlin 1973, 7–239).

² Rom. 6, 22–23.

ontological substratum of human selfhood. Let just one of numerous examples be given here. When describing the ascent of the Christian on the levels of ascetic praxis, Isaak the Syrian (7th c.) underlines that *solitude* is necessary, in order to internalize the external ascetic activities and gain deeper communion with God. But he does not intend to negate the love towards the neighbor. On the contrary, solitude enables the participation in divine love, thus causing a new type of „enlightened“ love to the neighbor³. This model of transformation of the natural powers is also valid for the Byzantine concept of will. This text reconstructs the criteria, which make this transition applicable in a general theory of human will. Further on it explores how the *freedom* (ἐλευθερία) in Christ corresponds to the concept of natural rational will. Finally the anthropological dimensions of this model of freedom are sketched.

1. Self-governance as responsibility

The vast majority of Byzantine theologians from the fourth century onwards see rational will as an evident manifestation of divine image in man. In his treatise *De natura hominis* Nemesios of Emessa (4th c.) points out that will (βούλησις, θέλησις) is the rational desire for the objects of rational choice (προαίρεσις). The rational choice encompasses voluntary acts (ἐκουσίον)⁴, which have a goal (τέλος)⁵. These acts are initiated by the performer and depend on him, whereby the performer is familiar with all the single cases, through which and in which the act is fulfilled. Thus rational will is able to initiate actions, instead of just passively following impulses. It is discursive and uses arguments, when choosing a single option for acting. It realizes divine providence (πρόνοια). In other words, rational will is regulated by a specific

³ Alfeyev, I., *The noetic world of Isaak the Syrian*, Moscow Patriarchate, 141 (Russian).

⁴ Nemesios, *De natura hominis*, 32 (MPG 40, 728B).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 33 (MPG 40, 729C).

matrix of criteria, which is incompatible with the automatism of irrational desire or of anger. In Nemesios' model 'self-governance' (αὐτεξουσίος) denotes 'rational will' (βούλησις) practiced according to the appropriate criteria.

The first criterion is the subordination of the concrete act to the natural good. This is why to choose to be healthy or to be rich is not in the domain of self-governance. The second criterion for self-governance is that man must be capable of acting according to his choice. Anything impossible or lying beyond human capacities does not match. Thirdly, self-governance is intentional. The choice encompasses the way to the goal by harmonizing the object of will (βουλεῦτον) with the object of consideration (βουλήτον). The fourth criterion is that there should be a causal link between the performer and the act. The choice must be addressed to something, which takes place „through us“ (διὰ ἡμῶν)⁶. These four criteria mark a sphere of responsibility, which is broader than moral normativity and transcends the antinomy 'extra-mental vs. intra-mental'. Self-governance presupposes taking responsibility. According to this definition the choice is not simply weighing out the pros and cons of a desired act of will – it is a judgment about the existential value of assimilating the results of the prospective act.

1.1 Discontinuity in Aristotle's concept of responsibility

Nemesios explicitly refers to Aristotle's theory of the rational act, according to which the responsibility for the results presupposes control over their energies. Nemesios points out, that the ability to take responsibility for the choice is a matter of acquiring a virtuous disposition (*habitus*)⁷. This Aristotelian position has two unclear points. As the causal chain can be prolonged unlimitedly, it is unclear at which point exactly one is free of responsibility. Furthermore, Aristotle differentiates two levels of discourse: selection of a certain goal among the natural goals and selection of the immediate goals, leading to the desired.

⁶ Ibid., 33 (MPG 40, 733A).

⁷ Aristotle, EN III, 8.