





Astrologers and Their Clients





Fate, Freedom and Prognostication

A First Appraisal in the Consortium's Third Year



The International Consortium for Research in the Humanities, "Fate, Freedom, and Prognostication: Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe", is entering its third year of research. Thus, it is now time for a first appraisal and for envisaging possible directions for the future. However, we will not make our own forecasts, but merely reflect on those made by others. Within the past six months, we have expanded and strengthened our international contacts considerably, and our cooperation with the Center for Zhouyi

Studies (a center for research on the Book of Changes) at Shandong University has become noticeably stronger. First, Professor Liu Dajun, nestor of research on the Book of Changes in the People's Republic of China, led the visit of a Chinese study group to our Research Consortium. In keeping with the motto "leaving footprints abroad", another step towards wider cooperative efforts was the congress jointly organized by the IKGF and the Zhouyi Center on the formative phase of the Book of Changes and the way in which Early China dealt with this canonical work of literature.

Further cooperative agreements focus on other subjects in Europe and East Asia: for example, we are planning to conduct research on the transfer processes of mantic techniques in the middle ages and early modern era together with the Warburg Institute in London. In a project entitled "Science and Religion in East Asia" (Templeton Project, Seoul National University), we are cooperating with leading historians of science in Korea on research on traditional and modern mantic practices in Korea. In February 2012, the IKGF will co-organize a conference at Rice University on prognostic techniques in East Asia from a comparative perspective; this will be the first meeting of its kind anywhere.

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In its first two years of existence, the Consortium was intensely engaged in making trans-epochal and trans-continental comparisons between different concepts of fate and prognostication. This



Dear reader,

This is the fourth issue of fate, in which we report - following our biannual routine - on the past semester (summer 2011). In autumn 2011, our schedule, with four international conferences, was especially dense and this is why we decided to report on them in this and the following issue.

The consortium came into being in spring 2010 and the editorial of Professor Lackner provides an overview of the past and future research threads. In Focus, we offer an insight into the collaboration of the consortium with the Institute for Theatre and Media Studies and the exchange with Shandong University, one of our cooperation partners. The abstracts of the lecture series of last summer's semester are followed by an overview of our annual conference and a report on the conference on medieval astrology. Our readers may find of interest not only the enumeration of our past and present visiting fellows, but also the list of selected lectures that our fellows have delivered at other universities. This is our special delight, as what could be more rewarding for our consortium than realizing that, besides the concentrated research conducted here in Erlangen, we might also be enriching the study of the humanities at other universities across Germany and abroad. Fate is devoted to exchanges with all interested parties and we hope that this issue will delight you, and inspire further discussion.

With best wishes for the New Year under the auspices of the dragon,

> Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos **Research Coordination**

great openness towards general as well as specific topics was characteristic also of our annual conference, held in June. Interdisciplinarity alone, however, leads to no results: it must be kept in mind that cooperation can only be effective if the individual subject areas continuously reflect their own objectives. Since the annual conference in June, this reflection has been demonstrated in an exemplary manner: a group of scientists, amongst them Michael Puett (Harvard), Ken'ichi Takashima (University of British Columbia) and Lothar von Falkenhausen (University of California Los Angeles), delved into the oracle bone inscriptions (Jiaguwen) which form the earliest known evidence of Chinese writing, and are crucial for our understanding of the earliest written forms of Chinese divination.

Another research topic is China after the epochenschwelle in the second half of the 19th century. This formed a basis for a symposium focused on the concept of freedom and fate in the work of Gao Xingjian, often illustrated by the clash between a deeply ingrained traditional environment and "modern", scientistic worldviews. Not only Gao Xingjian himself, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2000, but also renowned international specialists participated in the symposium, and were able to answer the Consortium's questions with remarkable precision. In my opinion, this constitutes the best proof to date of how topical the IKGF's research is: scholars with a high reputation in their respective disciplines have been persuaded to consider our - sometimes quite unfamiliar - subject matters, and to bring their extensive knowledge to bear on our interests. This applies also to the field of fine arts: during his stay in Erlangen, the Beijing artist, Professor Chen Guangwu, created, as "artist in residence", a series of works, expressing his own, quite individual reaction to the tension between fate and freedom.

In addition to the Gao Xingjian symposium, the autumn of 2011 was dominated by conferences. A workshop on the state of research on millennialism (Richard Landes, Boston University), and a conference on pilgrimage as a way of coping with contingency and the future (for a report, see the forthcoming issue of fate) followed a conference on medieval astrology. This gave us an occasion to collect the first results of one of the consortium's important research areas: over the course of the year, the well-known specialists in the field of medieval astrology, Charles Burnett (Warburg Institute, London) and David Juste (University of Sydney), worked at the IKGF as visiting fellows. The international conference was a product of their stay with us. Its sub-

ject was the interaction between astrologers and their clients and the social relevance of astrological practices (organisation: Wiebke Deimann/David Juste).

In 2012, the focus will be on a series of individual, concentrated workshops instead of one major annual conference. In general, the results of these workshops are intended for publication. Their main characteristic is that they do not emphasize comparison alone. These workshops comprise, amongst others: a meeting to mark the 1000th anniversary of the birth of the thinker Shao Yong, who played an essential role in the history of Chinese philosophy as well as divination; a workshop on the concepts of the mantic and fate in Indian literary classics; and further workshops on, for example, political counsel in medieval history, major works of medieval divination, the differentiation between various mantic techniques in medieval Europe, divinatory practices and their philosophical concepts in Chinese Buddhism and early Chinese haemerologies (rishu). Nevertheless, interdisciplinary work, i.e. cooperation between Sinology and the History of the Middle Ages, shall not be neglected: here, we will concentrate on the Chinese translation of Thomas Aguinas' "Summa Theologiae". The main objective of this research is to gain more detailed insights into the cultural transfer of fundamental western terms, such as predestination, into the Chinese language. Besides the comparisons that we have been working on so far, from a bird's eye perspective, comparisons based on concrete trans-cultural encounters will provide fresh information about different attitudes to "Fate, Freedom and Prognostication".

Our research has also made considerable public impact: we have begun a unique cooperation with the university's Institute for Theatre and Media Studies, to publicize the IKGF's work in various ways: by creating profiles of individual scholars, by filming interviews and round-table discussions and by assisting with intensive documentation of conferences.

According to a widespread esoteric interpretation of the Mayan long-term calendar, December 21 2012 is the day when human civilization will come to an end. Our plans for the next year are set. But we are quite confident that we will be able to organize a meeting on the comparative aspects of apocalyptic scenarios in 2013!

Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner Director



Production scene of the first

Round Table Discussion on the role
of divination in Early China



FOCUS

New Paths to the Presentation of Scholarship

A Cooperative Project between the IKGF and the ITM

In early 2011, the Research Consortium instigated a cooperative project with the Institute for Theatre and Media Studies (ITM) at the University of Erlangen. The objective is to document the research activities of the Consortium audio-visually, and make them accessible to a broader public in an attractive format. Through this initiative, the Consortium intends to explore new formats for transmitting knowledge, that are still unconventional in the humanities. The cooperation benefits also the ITM: among other things, it provides an opportunity for students to gain hands-on experience of the documentation of scholarly research. Hans-Christian Lehner and Erik Niblaeus are responsible for the editorial and production side of the project, on behalf of the IKGF, while Roman de Giuli heads the team from the ITM.

Thus far, we have interviewed Professor Richard Landes, who spoke of his research on millennialism and apocalypticism, and presented a portrait of Professor Lionel Jensen, who spoke of the work he has carried out at the IKGF. We continued the latter format in the autumn of 2011 with a portrait of Professor Michael Lackner. In addition, our film crew were able to document the visit of Gao Xingjian, Nobel Prize winner for Literature, with an approximately thirty-minute documentary to follow. Our latest project was a round-table discussion between Professors Lothar von Falkenhausen, Michael Puett, and Ken'ichi Takashima, filmed in the university theatre. All productions are or will be made available on the IKGF website.

Hans-Christian Lehner, Dr. Erik Niblaeus

First Cooperation Results

The videos are available at www.ikgf.fau.de

- Interview with Prof. Dr. Richard Landes (Boston University) about his research on millenialism (March 16, 2011; 16 min.; English)
- Portrait of Prof. Dr. Lionel Jensen about his research on the divinatory aspects in the thinking of Zhuxi (July 12, 2011; 5.25 min.; English)
- Portrait of Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner on the research perspectives of the IKGF (Oct 6, 2011; 5.42 min.; German with English subtitles)
- Documentation on the occasion of the visit of the Nobel Prize winner for Literature, Gao Xingjian (Oct 24-28, 2011; ca. 30 min.; in preparation): Freedom and Fate
- Fate and Freedom Michael Lackner in dialogue with Gao Xingjian (Oct 28, 2011; ca. 55 min.; French)
- Round Table Discussion with Prof. Dr. Lothar von Falkenhausen, Prof. Dr. Ken'ichi
 Takashima and Prof. Dr. Michael Puett on
 divination in Early China (Dec 8, 2011; ca.
 20 min.; in preparation)



Visit by the Center for Zhouyi Studies to the consortium:
Professor Liu Dajun, Chong Baoqing
Ph. D. and Zhang Wenzhi Ph.D.

The "Book of Changes"

The Cooperation with the Zhouyi Centre of Shandong University

The Book of Changes (Yijing) can be justifiably acknowledged as taking a leading role among the resources of Chinese divinatory practices. With its 64 hexagrams, commentarial literature, and divinatory application, it has been ubiquitous in Chinese culture throughout the centuries. The Center for Zhouyi Studies of Shandong University is known for its unique expertise with regard to research on the Changes. After the first visit of the consortium in April 2010 (see the first issue of fate), a delegation from the center visited us last summer (July 9-12, 2011). From October 13-16, 2011, the IKGF, together with the Korean Association for Zhouyi Studies, served as joint organizor of the International Conference on the Early Formation and Evolution of Yi-ology hosted by our cooperation partner at Shandong University. During the Conference 70 specialists in the field presented their research on this discipline named after the Yijing. While the IKGF is especially interested in exchanges about the Book of Changes and its traditions, it was also honoured to promote the interests of the Chinese side in comparative work on European medieval history.

Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos



and Conferences Abroad

Events > Events History > Academic Visits

INSIGHT

Presentations

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of IKGF members

- Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner 郎宓榭教授: 另類的科學: 民國時期的中國傳統相術與西學 (Another Science: Traditional Chinese Mantic Arts and Western Knowledge in Republican China; Presentation in Chinese)
- Martin Doesch, M.A.: 邵雍 (1012-1077) 的
 易 (The "Yi" of Shao Yong; Presentation in
 Chinese)
- Xiaokun Song 宋曉堃, M.A.: 《葬書》 中的周易因素 (Elements of the Zhouyi in the "Book of Burial"; Presentation in Chinese)
- Prof. Dr. Klaus Herbers: 占卜者和術士: 他們在歐洲中世紀中期的名聲 (12-13 世紀); (Diviners and Magicians: Their Reputation in Central-Medieval Europe [12th-13th Century]; Presentation in English)
- Prof. Dr. Charles Burnett: 伊斯蘭和西歐 的骨占和沙士占卜 (Scapulimancy and Geomancy in Islam and Western Europe; Presentation in English)



Opening ceremony of the joint conference in Shandong, October 13, 2011

INSIGHT

Conference Sections

- Lianshan and Guizang two early series of hexagrams paralleling the Zhouyi series –《連山》《歸藏》文本
- The traditional process of compilation of the "Zhouyi" –
 《周易》經傳的成書
- Exemplary patterns of Gua, Yao, and Ci, the divination records of hexagrams and lines - 卦爻辭的訓釋
- Introduction to the numerology of the hexagrams –
 "數字卦"詮釋
- Research on divination 卜筮研究
- Explanatory reading of bamboo and silk documents related to Yi-studies 簡帛易學文獻解讀
- The relationship between Confucius and Yi-studies 孔子與易學的關係

- The formation of Yi-studies and Chinese philosophy –
 易學與中國哲學的形成
- The development of Pre-Qin (221-207) Yi-studies 先秦易學的流變
- The basic appearance of Early Han Yi-studies –
 漢初易學的基本面貌
- The rise and development of Yi-studies from ancient times to the present 今古文易學的產生與發展
- Western astrology and astronomy a comparison of the different methods of divination –
 西方的占星術和天文學: 預測方法之對比

LECTURE SERIES SS 2011

Subversive Mythology: The Sensory and the Spectacular in the Cults of Zhu Xi

Prof. Dr. Lionel Jensen (University of Notre Dame; IKGF Visiting Scholar)

In large part, this lecture was drawn from the fourth chapter of a book manuscript entitled Found and Lost in Tradition: the Mythistories of Confucianism, which constitutes an experiment in middle period Chinese intellectual history that develops a different language of interpretation for a specific, but very significant textual archive: the "conversational," "literary," and "philosophical" artifacts of Zhu Xi's (1130-1200) engagement with the supernatural. Zhu, as were so many other classicists of the Southern Song (1127-1279), was in thrall

Lecture Series

Tuesday Evenings 6:15 - 7:45 p.m.

During the semester, the IKGF holds a lecture series at which the visiting fellows are given the opportunity to present results of their research and invited guests lecture on the topic of the consortium from the perspective of their respective expertise. In the following the presenters of the past summer semester 2011 summarize their contributions (Overview about lectures please see p. 8). The lectures of the current winter semester 2011/2012 will be part of the next issue of *fate*.

to the manifold animation of the everyday: ancestral spirits, demons, ghosts, nature deities, and the like, and employed prayer and sacrifice to placate and summon these forces. The textual inheritance of his wide-ranging work contains many records of these petitions, a great number of which stand in unique, contrapuntal relationship to the definitive, "rational" canon of Neo-Confucianism.

Thus, the lecture considers the modern scholarly misapprehension of medieval Chinese philosophy (a subversive mythology) by

attending to the mantic agency behind one of Confucianism's most spectacular and time honored inventions: daotong 道統 or the "legacy of the way." Examination of this "philosophy" in the specific context of a phenomenology of the lebenswelt of twelfth-century Fujian, I argue, may restore a sense of the natural rhythms of the biology of being celebrated in the ancestral cult of Zhu's daotong, while enabling the audience to obtain a new and very different understanding of Confucianism, one in which the sensory and the spectacular of the invisible world are intertwined with and mutually enriching of the visible one.

De-Rationalizing Chance Mechanisms? On the Role of Mathematical Practice and Theory in Divination with Dominos in Late Imperial China

Prof. Dr. Andrea Bréard (École Polytechnique, Paris; Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Berlin)

Combinatorial practices in China go back to high Antiquity, when divinatory techniques relied on configurations of broken and unbroken lines. The *Book of Changes (Yijing 易經)*, compiled under the Zhou dynasty, has transmitted these practices down to today, and has been a widely commented upon and read source. But combinatorial practices in early China are not limited to divination, or the equally well known magic squares: a large number of sources also describe games like Go, chess, and games with cards, dominoes and dice, that show a combinatorial interest from a more mathematical point of view.

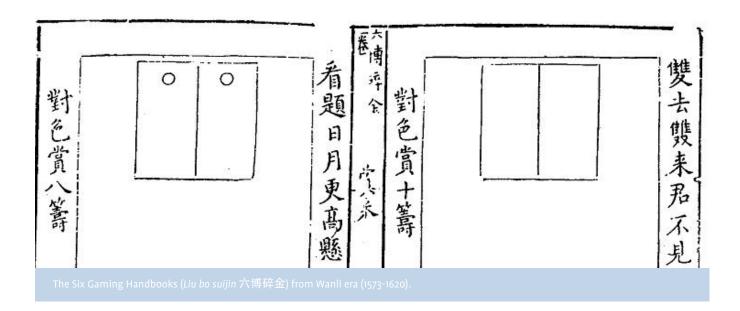
The hexagrams from the *Book of Changes* certainly served as *the* mathematical model for an emerging combinatorial theory in China in the early 17th century. Divination procedures also figure among collections of mathematical procedures in algorithmic

mode and prescriptive style.

From the historian of probability's point of view, I have been interested in the inverse question, asking whether, in devising winning schemes for the outcomes of chance mechanisms, mathematical theories were applied. My focus in this talk was on the divination techniques based on a random throw of a set of dominos. Several Qing dynasty manuals explain, sometimes with a concise rhyme, how to proceed: the entire domino deck is shuffled and laid out in a row. The 'expertise' consists in figuring out which combinations of neighboring tiles will make it possible to win the highest points (kai 開). The total number of points determines the grade of the throw: a binomial combination of upper, lower, middle and even. The procedure is repeated three times and the manuals then give the corresponding interpreta-

"The Regular Cavalry" and the possible permutations of pips on three domino tiles, each depicting a pair of the numbers four, five and six in a late 16th-century household encyclopedia.

tions in a systematic combinatorial sequence, from "Highest highest" 上上 上上, promising the best outcome, to "Lowest lowest lowest" 下下下下, the worst possible answer.



By reconstructing mathematically and analyzing historically the role of mathematical theory in the case of balancing outcomes in divination procedures in late Imperial China, I showed that there was a shift in the 'rationality' underlying the attribution of points to certain combinations of tiles. There was, what I designated as a numerological turn, a time when the symbolic value

of numbers was more valued than the relative frequencies of obtaining a certain combination. The figure above shows such an example, where ten counters are attributed to the double zero and eight counters to the double one, two equally likely combinations to appear together in a throw.

Expectations of the Future between this World and the Beyond. The Political Language of Medieval Dream Visions *

Dr. Uta Kleine (FernUniversität in Hagen)

Dream visions used to be an important medium for medieval reading of the future. Prophetic dreams were perceived as moments of psycho-physic transgression, in which divine messengers allowed a chosen few to gain insight into their own or someone else's future.

However, it must be considered that 'future' was linked to a specific religious imagination during the Middle Ages. Firstly, future was seen as pre-figured by God. Looking into the future meant looking onto divine previous knowledge. Even though the course of the world was predestined in this knowledge, it could be influenced to a certain degree by good or bad deeds. Secondly, human history was considered finite. Future existed in two dimensions: *Eschatological future* concerned human fate in the Beyond, the time after the end of the world or the time

between the individual death and Judgment Day; secular future concerned the time span between the Present and the end of the world.

This two-layered understanding of the future is particularly present in medieval visions. They represent the future as an actual or imminent fate in the Beyond, which was to be avoided or alleviated by good deeds. Thus, the look into the future beyond became an important *movens* for decisions in the here and now.

The paper looked at selected vision narratives from the time of Louis the Pious (814-840). They prove that religious based messages of the future could also have an eminently political dimension. Prominent examples such as the Visio Wettini (824) and similar narratives present persons from contemporary his-

tory or the near past (such as Charlemagne and other relatives of the royal family) whose - partially drastically described - fate in the Beyond should serve as a warning to the living. The Carolingian visionaries are lead through a spatially and socially arranged Beyond, in which the deceased serve their sentences imposed according to their status and merits. The visionaries receive the order to tell their living relatives what they have seen, leaving them with the responsibility to improve not only the agonizing interim state but also the salvation of the entire kingdom by doing penance and good deeds. The depicted sentences reflect present social injustices. The criticism they convey, however, was not directed against the Emperor's regime, but was in accordance with the general consciousness of crisis, which was perceived even at court and interpreted as eschatological, as well as with Louis' and Benedict of Aniane's objectives of reform. The visionary messages ciculated within a family and institutional network connecting the visionaries, the deceased 'protagonists' of the visions, the authors or editors and the recipients. Center of this textual and political community was the monastery of Reichenau, where around the year 830 a series of political visions was recorded and collected. So the political language of the visions was at the same time a monastic language, which closely linked both the future of this world and that of the other world. Also in political reality the living and the dead moved together. This close relationship was particularly directed by the monasteries: By providing prayer books to people of all social statuses as well as by liturgical acts of penance and offerings which progressively penetrated the political sphere (Louis' public penances in 822 and 833).

How large was the scope of political action in a society that believed that the future was finite and predestined? 'Future' was not open and contingent in the Middle Ages, but unfolded in continuous exchange between different levels of time and existence, permanently struggling with eschatologically determined restrictions and concerns.

OVERVIEW ABOUT THE LECTURE SERIES SS11

Overview of the lecture series for the summer semester 2011, the abstracts of which are presented here:

- 03.05.2011 **Prof. Dr. Lionel Jensen** (University of Notre Dame; IKGF Visiting Scholar): "Subversive Mythology: The Sensory and the Spectacular in the Cults of Zhu Xi" (English)
- 10.05.2011 **Prof. Dr. Andrea Bréard** (École Polytechnique, Paris; Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Berlin):
 - "De-Rationalizing Chance Mechanisms? On the Role of Mathematical Practice and Theory in Divination with Dominos in Late Imperial China" (English)
- 24.05.2011 **Dr. Uta Kleine** (FernUniversität in Hagen): "Zukunftserwartung zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits: die politische Sprache mittelalterlicher Traumvisionen" (*Deutsch*)
- 31.05.2011 **Prof. Dr. Patrick Henriet** (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris): "Beatus of Liébana, text and images (VIII-XIII centuries). Conceptions of Time and Future in Medieval Spain" (English)
- 07.06.2011 **Dr. Daniel Carlo Pangerl** (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München): "Sterndeutung als naturwissenschaftliche Methode der

- Politikberatung. Astronomie und Astrologie am Hof Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440-1493)" (Deutsch)
- 21.06.2011 **Michael Höckelmann, M.A.** (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster): "Willensfreiheit oder Prädestination? Überlegungen zum Umgang mit übernatürlichen Mächten in den Aufzeichnungen von Erschöpfung und Gram (Qiongchou zhi 窮愁志) des Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850)" (Deutsch)
- 12.07.2011 **Prof. Dr. Philip Clart** (Universität Leipzig): "Divination, Revelation and the Dynamics of Religious Change in Modern Taiwan: The Case of Spirit-writing Cults" (English)
- 19.07.2011 **Dr. Dominic Steavu** (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg):
 "Divination and Divinization: The Shi 拭 Board in Medico-Religious Sources" (English)
- 26.07.2011 Prof. Dr. Ángel Gómez Moreno (Universidad Complutense, Madrid): "Fate, Prediction and the Threat of Total Destruction in Spain: A Fifteenth-Century Nightmare" (Spanish/English)



The Great Whore (Rev.17:1-2). Girona Beatus (Girona, Cathedral, ms. 7). Kingdom of León, Tábara (?), 975 (fol. 167v): "1 Come hither, I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters; 2 with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of their fornication" (Rev.17:1-2). Note the crescent in the whore's crown. Copyright with permission of the Tresor de la Catedral de Girona.

Coping with the Future in High Medieval Spain. Beatus of Liébana, Eschatology and Ecclesiology, or a Non-historicist View of the Present. Text and Pictures

Prof. Dr. Patrick Henriet (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris)

Beatus of Liébana († ca 798?) was a Spanish Monk who lived in Northern Spain and wrote a famous Commentarium in Apocalypsin. Beatus' text was not very original, since over 90% of it constituted a compilation of previous texts, but it is striking for other reasons: in high medieval Spain, the Apocalypse enjoyed a special status. We know that in Visigothic Spain, the fourth council of Toledo (633) imposed his authenticity and obliged people to read it between Easter and Pentecost. When Beatus composed his commentary, accordingly to the specialists, it was already adorned with numerous pictures, possibly following the North African model of Tyconius († ca 390), now lost, but the main fact is that, in a lot of churches, especially in monasteries, from the ninth to the thirteenth century, Beatus' Commentary, most of the time with his numerous and striking images, was copied and read. We conserve today 24 codices or fragments of the codex of Beatus (generally called "Beatus") with illustrations

(the last one was discovered in Geneva in 2007). Most of them come from Spain, but the famous Beatus of Saint-Sever, in Paris, comes from a monastery in Gascony, and the Beatus of Berlin and Geneva come from Southern Italy. In a few words, if we possess other extraordinary illustrated manuscripts of the Apocalypse, like the Apocalypses of Trier, ca 800, and the Apocalypse of Bamberg in the 11th century, there is nothing comparable to this Hispanic corpus in the whole Middle Ages.

I only treat here briefly two aspects of the question: 1) What was, for Beatus, the significance of calculating the years remaining before the end of the world? 2) Was there a crypto-historicist and anti-islamic discourse in Beatus' illustrations, as many scholars tried to prove (we must recall that most of the Peninsula was under Muslim domination since 711)?

Answering to the first question, I don't want to underestimate the calculations of Beatus, who predicted in 786 that the world would end in the year 800 (= 6000 of the creation), but I emphasize the fact that to live after the year 6000 was surely not absolutely impossible for him (we have various Spanish texts, among them one by Julian of Toledo, which prove that), and also that, in other parts of his works, Beatus seems to believe in a bright future. In any case, after the year 800, copists knew that the end of the world did not happen and Beatus' text did not lose its interest. We must not forget that this work had a spiritual purpose, and that it looked first for individual penance. As Isidore of Sevilla commented, and as Beatus repeated after him, Quando enim quisque de saeculo migrat, tunc illi consummatio saeculi est ("when somebody goes out of this saeculum, then for him this is the end of the saeculum"). We always think of eschatology as a general concern, but it is also, and possibly in some cases primarily, individual.

Trying to answer the second question, I studied a famous painting present in almost all manuscripts, the Great Whore of Babylon (Rev.17: 1-2). The "historicist interpretation", dominant in the bibliography, insists on the presence

since the 10th century, in certain manuscripts, of a crescent moon on the whore's crown. The Great Whore, the personification of Evil, would be then a sort of personification of peninsular Islam. Nevertheless this interpretation seems highly problematic because it appears that, before the year 1000, as well as in the following centuries of the Middle Ages, the crescent was never used as a symbol of Islam on the Peninsula. In fact, the significance of this crescent must most likely be looked for in Rev.12:1. In general, it seems preferable to read Beatus' commentary in a symbolic than an historicist way.

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that the eschatological time, at least accordingly to Beatus, is a sort of symbolic time that is quite different from the chronological time. It is not a time made of chronological segments each one following a previous one and announcing the next one. In eschatological time, every moment is in a certain sense independent; it exists per se and can be understood as a window open on eternity. All can happen in every moment, although this doesn't mean that the general end of times is necessarily going to happen soon. To play on the words of the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben, commenting on Saint Paul and defining, after many other philosophers, the "messianic time", we could say that this messianic/apocalyptic/symbolic time is not so much concerned with the end of time as with the time of the end (on this topic, I also recommend an important book by Stéphane Mosès, L'ange de l'Histoire. Rosenzweig, Benjamin, Scholem, Paris, 2006). The model that the Commentarium offers is the model of the asymptote: a curved line that continually approaches a straight line but never meets it. In the fact that the curved line, which is present time, approaches ever nearer, but never touches, the straight line, which is the end of time, lies the eschatological tension. As Christians are always waiting for something, they must always be prepared. There is always a tension between general and particular eschatology, between the end of times and personal death...

Stargazing as a Scientific Technique for Political Advise. Astronomy and Astrology at the Court of Emperor Frederick III *

Dr. Daniel Carlo Pangerl M. A. (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

Frederick III. (1440-1490) had a great passion for celestial phenomena and their interpretation. However, it is likely that the Hapsburg probably lacked the necessary theoretical basics for the proper scientific study of astronomy, which is based on

complex calculations; mastering these would have required the extensive study of natural sciences. Nevertheless, he fully supported astronomy at his court and there is evidence that he employed a number of astronomers, amongst them one of the most important mathematicians and astronomers of the 15th century, Georg von Peuerbach. It can also be assumed that two other great scientific academics were in the service of the Emperor, namely Giovanni Bianchini and Regiomontanus.

Frederick's main center of interest was, without any doubt, astrology. The Emperor's passion for this discipline is proven, for example, by several technical appliances used to determine the constellation of the sun and planets, which had been designed especially for him, the Historia Friderici III et Maximiliani I written by Joseph Grünpeck and the associated illustrations by the painter Albrecht Altdorfer, as well as the horoscopes for his bride Eleonore of Portugal and his son Maximilian, which were cast on the Emperor's behalf. Obviously, it was not the rules of astrological calculations, the mathematical way of calculating a horoscope, that formed the center of his studies of astrology but the results of those astrological calculations in the form of the horoscope cast for himself.

For Frederick, these horoscopes represented a scientific approach to political advice, so it is obvious that Eleonore's horoscope was of particular importance to him. The original copy of this horoscope, which was cast prior to her marriage to Frederick, was not preserved; it is available in two manuscripts, though: Clm 453 and Clm 960 of the Bavarian State Library, both from the collection of Hartmann Schedel. Until today, the authorship of this document remains disputed. So far, most experts consider Regiomontanus or Georg von Peuerbach to be the author. In my opinion, however, it may have been Johann Nihil. At the time of the horoscope, Nihil was Frederick's court astronomist and court astrologist, and he was part of the Hapsburg's followers when Frederick was married to Eleonore. So what could have been more obvious to Frederick than to entrust his chief stargazer Nihil, who was vaunted by his contemporaries as Ptolemaeus bohemicus and astronomus perdoctus, with the important and trustworthy matter of casting a horoscope for his future bride?

Another interesting point is the question of whether Frederick - given that he considered astrology a scientific approach to political advice and made use of it - followed the recommendations in Eleonore's horoscope. According to this, the marriage should have taken place when the Sun and Venus are in conjunction, which in astrology is seen as the ideal time for solemnizing a marriage. From this perspective, Venus is the planet of Love and

the Sun is believed to have a strong positive effect, too. Such a conjunction of the Sun and Venus takes place regularly about every 9.6 months. In 1452, this happened to be on January, 22 and on November, 6. This meant that, if Frederick wanted to solemnize the marriage under an astrologically favorable constellation, it must have been on one of these dates. As a consequence, the marriage was legally solemnized in the absence of Frederick per procuration on August 1st 1451 in Lisbon and the church marriage was supposed to coincide with the Emperor's coronation. According to the original agreement, Eleonore was supposed to arrive in Talamone by November 1st 1451 by ship, but the preparations took longer than planned and the ship was attacked by pirates and caught up in severe thunderstorms, and so the bride's arrival was delayed by three months. Eleonore arrived in Livorno on February 2nd 1452, which was after January 22nd and thus the first occasion for solemnizing the marriage under the ideal Venus-Sun conjunction had already passed. The church marriage took place on March 16th and it was conducted by Pope Nicholas V in Rome. Three days later, Frederick was crowned Emperor by the Pope. At first, the groom refused to consummate the marriage and it was not until April 16th that he gave in upon the vehement insistence of King Alfonso V of Aragon, Eleonore's uncle.

The reason for Frederick's behavior was possibly his endeavor to consummate his marriage under the Venus-Sun conjunction, as recommended in the horoscope. So he intended to wait until November 6th, the day when this conjunction would occur again. This explanation is a good reason for Frederick refusing to consummate his marriage for a month after his church marriage. The Emperor's marriage presents one of the few known cases where astrology can be clearly identified as the basis for Frederick III's decisions, and Eleonore's horoscope can be seen as a written reference to Frederick's astrologically influenced choice of day for solemnizing his marriage.

Frederick's use of astrology for political purposes was a common approach in his times. It is known that, in the late Medieval Ages, other sovereigns, such as Matthias Corvinus, George of Poděbrady, Charles the Bold and Maximilian I, also employed astrologers as policy and private advisors. However, it can be assumed that no sovereign of the Medieval Ages attached more importance to astrology than did Emperor Frederick III.

Predestination Versus Free Will? Remarks on the Concept of Fate in the Records of Failure and Grief (Qiongchou zhi 窮愁志) by Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850)

Michael Höckelmann, M.A. (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)

In his Records of Failure and Grief (Qiongchou zhi) 窮愁志,¹ the late Tang statesman Li Deyu 李德裕 (787-850) tried to cope with his downfall from chancellorship under the notoriously Anti-Buddhist Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840-846). This anthology consists of 48 essays (lun 論) – each only a few hundred characters in length – and seems to form a jumble of historical and moral reflections with no relationship to Li's life and career at all. Only the last bundle (juan 卷) deals with questions of religion such as omina, the efficacy of ritual prayers, and postmortem retribution. Nevertheless, the other essays comprise aspects of what Hubert Seiwert has called the 'civil religion of imperial China'.²

The ninth century was an age of tremendous changes in intellectual life in China. For instance, the famous 'old style literary movement' (guwen yundong 古文運動) did emerge then, but it also witnessed the ignominious Huichang 會昌 proscription of foreign religions, named after the era name of Wuzong. For some contemporaries, the dynasty was on a road to perdition, for others just in the middle of a resurgence or revival (zhongxing 中興). Either way, the ministers of the late Tang had their hands full with trying to hold the empire together against the constant threats of military warlordism and the eunuch abuse of power. Political disillusionment led to the resurrection of scepticism on the religious plain: As H.G. Lamont has demonstrated, there resurfaced – cum grano salis – 'secular' theories about the nature of fate and extra human powers.³ These ideas drew on classical ideas from the Warring Staates period (5.–3. c. B.C.), as formulated in the famous dictum of the Zuo Tradition on the Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu

Zuozhuan 春秋左傳): "When a state is on the edge of rising, (its ruler) listens to his people; when on the edge of perdition, he listens to divinities."⁴

The most important piece in the Qiongchou zhi dealing with matters of fate and afterlife is the "Essay on Calculating Retribution in the Netherworld" (Mingshu youbao lun 冥數有報 論). In the course of it, the narrator has several encounters with soothsayers, whose predictions about his future career all come out to be true. He goes on reflecting on the nature of retribution from the netherworld (mingbao 冥 報), referring to the belief in vengeful souls or ghosts with grievances (yuanhun 冤魂),5 which arise when a particular configuration of essential qi (jinqqi 精氣) in a person, malleable to her or his free will, concurs with the moment of death. However, only a mediocre person (zhongren 中人) returns from the afterlife that way in order to influence other peoples' lot. In contrast, the superiour man has no interest

¹ Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 and Zнои Jianguo 周建国 (eds.), Li Deyu wenji jiaojian 李德裕文集校 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1999/2000), 630-711.

² See Sewert, Hubert, "Orthodoxie, Orthopraxie und Zivilreligion im vorneuzeitlichen China", in Preissler, Holger and Seiwert, Hubert (eds.), Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag (Marburg: diagonal, 1994), 529–541. Cf. Höckelmann, Michael, "Antiklerikalismus und Exklusionsrhetorik in der Tang-Zeit: Religionspolitik im Denken Li Deyus", in Bochumer Jahrbuch für Ostasienforschung 34 (2010), 181–213.

³ See Lamont, H[amilton] G[raham], "An Early Ninth Century Debate on Heaven: Liu Tsung-yüan's *T'ien Shuo* and Liu Yü-hsi's *T'ien Lun*", in *Asia Major New Series* 18.2 (1973): 181–208 und 19.2 (1974), 37–85. I take the term 'extra-human' from POO, Mu-chou, *In Search of Personal Welfare*: A View of Ancient Chinese Religion (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 6.

⁴ Zuozhuan, "Duke Zhuang" [莊公] of Lu, year 32, see YANG Bojun 楊伯峻 (ed.), Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu 春秋左傳注 (2. ed. 7. impr. 4 Bde.; Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2005), 252.

⁵ See Dien, Albert E. "The Yuan-hun chih (Accounts of Ghosts with Grievances): A Sixth-Century Collection of Stories", in Chow Tsê-tsung (ed.), Wen-lin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 211–228 and Сонен, Alvin P. (trans.), Tales of Vengeful Souls 冤魂志. A Sixth Century Collection of Chinese Avenging Ghosts Stories (Taipei, Paris and Hong Kong: Ricci Institute, 1982).

⁶ Lunyu 17.3, see Yang Bojun (ed.), Lunyu yizhu 論語譯注 (2. ed. 21. impr.; Bejing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2006 [1980]), 181. translation quoted after Sungerland, Edward (trans.), Confucius: Analects. With Selections from Traditional Commentaries (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2003), 200.

at all in taking revenge, while the weakling is not even able to create a small specter. This accords with a saying of Confucius about human nature, that "[o]nly the very wise and the very stupid do not change." Another aspect of Li's beliefs is that only 'utmost sincerity' (*zhicheng* 至誠) can bring about the efficacy of ritual prayers.

Whether Li Deyu is the author of all the essays in the *Qiongchou zhi* remains a case of dispute. All doubts notwithstanding, they offer us a fascinating glimpse into the belief systems of scholar-officials in the late ninth or, in case of being a forgery, early tenth century, especially regarding the relationship between prognostication and careers in the imperial bureaucracy.

7 For the canonical foundation of this, cf. Emmerich, Reinhard, Li Ao (ca. 772 – ca. 841). Ein chinesisches Gelehrtenleben (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 281–310.

OUOTATIONS

"And when fortune comes at the right time (ming ou shi lai), there are among those who gained titles and insignia some who claim that fortune and mischief are coming out of their own breast, and glory and emaciation are born out of the lips of their mouths. Vaingloriously selfconfident, impulsively laughing, they do not recognize that, like sparrows playing in the green thicket, the hunter is hard on their heels."

而命偶時來,盜有名器者,謂禍福出於胸懷,榮枯生於口吻,沛然而安,溘然而笑,曾不知黃雀遊於茂林,而挾彈者在其後也。

"Essay about otherworldly retribution" ("Mingshu youbao lun" 冥數有報論)

"Formerly, when I was [commissioner] in Jiangnan, I had 1015 illicit shrines destroyed, this can be called not to flatter divinities/ghosts with obstrusive offerings. Nevertheless, whenever there occured a great famine [in my district], I always sent out my underlings first to pray [for rain]. Only when they were unsuccessful for several weeks, I finally would carry it out myself; and not uncommonly did the first raindrops follow my carriage [when driving toward the sacrificial altar] or did Heaven respond (ying) still in that same night. For this (i.e., sacrificial prayers), there is only the method of utmost sincerity, nothing else."

余前在江南,毀淫祠一千一十五所,可謂不諂神黷祭矣。然歲或大旱,必先令援屬祈 禱,積旬無效,乃自躬行,未嘗不零雨隨車,或當宵而應。其術無他,唯至誠而已。

"Essay about prayer" ("Daozhu lun" 禱祝論) Translation: M. Höckelmann

Divination, Revelation and the Dynamics of Religious Change in Modern Taiwan: The Case of Spirit-writing Cults

Prof. Dr. Philip Clart (Universität Leipzig)

The lecture focused on Taiwanese spirit-writing temples (so-called "phoenix halls," *luantang* 鸞堂) as loci for the maintenance, adaptation, and re-creation of traditional beliefs and values in modern Taiwanese society. Through the mediumistic technique of spirit-writing (*fuluan* 扶鸞, *fuji* 扶乩), similar to the automatic writing via planchette familiar in Western spiritualism, the gods of popular religion engage in an ongoing process of revelation.

This process takes place regularly in hundreds of phoenix halls across the island nation of Taiwan, resulting in a massive body of revelatory religious literature that can be subdivided into two basic types: "morality books" (shanshu 善書), and sacred scriptures (jingwen 經文) for ritual recitation. These texts serve both for the moral exhortation of society at large, as well as for the religious cultivation of temple members. Members share beliefs in the importance of accu-





The Lantian Academy 藍田書院 in Nantou (Central Taiwan). Office of the phoenix hall Jihua Tang 濟化堂. Photographed on March 14, 2011, by Philip Clart.

mulating merit (gongde 功德) through good works as a precondition for receiving blessings in this life and their ascent into the celestial ranks of gods and immortals after death. The key distinguishing characteristic of a phoenix hall is its regularly performed ritual of spirit-writing, but the presence of the gods in this ritual also allows the temple to offer other,

more common ritual services such as spiritual healing (lingliao 靈療) and divination concerning everyday questions and issues in the lives of believers (jishi 濟世).

The speaker distinguished two basic types of spirit-writing cult: Traditional phoenix halls are attached to (mostly rural) community temples and draw their membership from among the local community, while sectarian phoenix halls are independent, usually city-based voluntary associations, whose membership is recruited cross-regionally. He illustrated this distinction with images and reports collected during his field research

in March of 2011, adducing two examples of traditional-type phoenix halls (from the island of Kinmen 金門 and central Taiwanese Nantou county 南投縣) and three sectarian-type temple groups (in the cities of Taichung 臺中 and Fengyuan 豐原, central Taiwan).



Spirit-writing séance at the temple Wan'an Tang (Kinmen, Taiwan) 金門沙美萬安堂. Photogra phed on March 10, 2011, by Philip Clart.

Divination and Divinization: The Shi 栻 Board in Medico-Religious Sources

Dr. Dominic Steavu (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)

Often heralded as precursors to the astrolabe, Han-dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE) shi 式 cosmographs were prized instruments of astronomical observation. However, Chinese astronomers heavily relied on calendrical cycles, generally aiming for geometric symmetry rather than arithmetic accuracy in their measurements. This preference of evenness and numerical balance over representational exactness lent the shi a distinctly ritual dimension as evidenced by its early use in oneiromancy for instance because the shi could re-constitute a snapshot of the cosmos from any given time, past, present, or future, that it was valued as a

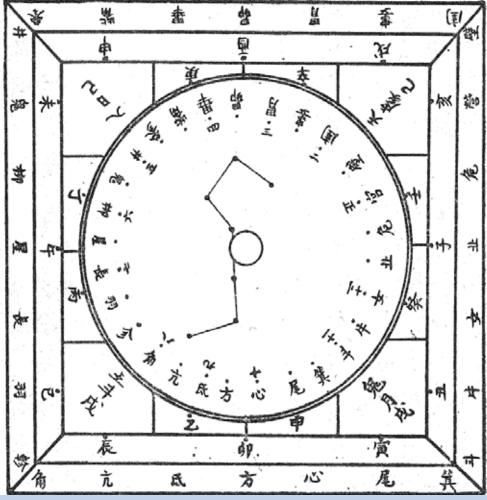
prognosticatory tool.

Eventually the ritual potential of the shi was exploited to the detriment of its technical applications. During the Six Dynasties (220-589), the shi underwent considerable modifications. Astronomical markings on the cosmograph were progressively replaced with more abstract calendrical markings, and some were even divinized: the solar mansions (richan 日躔) for example, become the twelve spirits (shi'er shen 十二神) of the year.

It is also around this time that the Four Gates (simen 四門; siwei 四維), based on the eight trigrams, make their appearance on the shi, a development that is paralleled on Daoist altars. Indeed, Daoist liturgies of the early medieval period took the shi as a template for the creation of sacred space, but what is more, they also internalized its structure in the

creation of somatic ritual areas. The meditations of the *Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經 (Laozi's Scripture on the Center; CT 1168) are a case in point.

The adaptation of the *shi* board for ritual purposes and the shift to a more figurative representation of chronological and spatial features that it underwent from the end of the Han into the Six Dynasties can be attributed to two chief factors. The first is the resilience of the Han cosmological order with its emphasis on correspondence between the macrocosm and the micro-



A shi board from ca. 165 BCE. Graph reproduced from YIN Difei 殷涤非: " 西汉汝阴候墓出土的占盘和天文仪器 Divination Boards and Astrological Instruments excavated from the Western Han tomb of the marquis of Ru Yin], n *Kaogu* 考古 1978:5, 338-343, here 340.

cosms of the state and the body. As a corollary of the first, the second factor that contributed to the *shi* board's figurative turn was self-divinization, which included the mapping out of cosmic and calendrical principles or their respective gods onto the plane of the body, whether in visualization exercises or medical diagnosis and treatment.

Once the *shi* was defanged of its rigidly technical elements, the Buddhist medico-religious tradition, with its long history of cosmological speculation and cosmographic representations (such as the maṇḍala), found it an alluring device. In its Tang dynasty (618-907) Buddhist context however, the *shi* cosmograph was exclusively a divination board. The *Sheng huanxitian shi fa* 聖歡喜天式法 (Cosmograph Method of the Saintly Deva Vināyaka; T. 1275) cannot be clearer on the matter. Gone are astronomical markings; even the more figurative calendrical elements are replaced with deities representing distinctly Buddhist cosmologies. More outstandingly, the Buddhist text revealy that the

cosmograph is also to be internalized and used in visualization practices. The *shi* becomes an unmediated channel of communication with the Buddhist gods, much like the Daoist had earlier relied on it to communicate with their own pantheon. By the fourth to fifth centuries already, certain Daoist traditions had suggested a functional equivalence between the *shi* and talismans (*fu* 符) on the basis that both implements permitted adepts to summon and interact with gods.

Continuing the process of abstraction undertaken by their Daoist predecessors, medieval Buddhists transform the *shi* into an implement of purely symbolic or representational value, and complete the ritual confluence of *shi* and talisman. In spite of this metamorphosis, or rather because of it, the *shi* becomes ever more potent as a direct means of interaction with the divine, one through which the mysteries of fate and destiny may be directly apprehended.

Fate, Prediction and the Threat of Total Destruction in Spain: A Fifteenth-Century Nightmare

Prof. Dr. Ángel Gómez Moreno (Universidad Complutense, Madrid)

This paper seeks to do much more than rewrite a page in the History of Spain. Its primary intent was not limited to coordinating data through a guiding idea, submit it to a new method of analysis, or reinforce it with recently recovered documentation. Based mainly on a comparative analysis, this research responds to two totally counterposed, yet closely related, phenomena: that of fatalism when faced with Messianism, and that of forecasting disaster when faced with providential prophecy.

As a constant or universal law, they are offered together, although they sometimes appear simultaneously and placed in parallel (it is the eternal struggle between Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, in which the former always wins), and others alternatively (in those cases, after touching bottom, order is restored and one comes to the promised land or an aurea aetas begins).

Although our Consortium pays special attention to predictions or prophecies of doom, almost as matter of principle these are

accompanied by others that are radically different. By the same token, cursed characters that bring misfortune upon an entire nation, carry the Messianic, providential, and eschatological caudillo on their other side.

The signs, be they apocalyptical or Edenic, are not part of the background or landscape, but possess a powerful narrative potential when projecting action into the future, a time when the Evil one and his sword-bearing arm will be crushed by God and His representative on Earth. At the end of the 15th century, the legend of Don Rodrigo and the loss of Spain was revived and the threat was reinforced by the fact that it coincided with the announcement of the imminent arrival of the Antichrist. Ready to face both dangers were the Catholic monarchs: Fernando of Aragon, the eschatological king, and Isabel of Castilla, the prototypical Messianic figure.



CONFERENCE

Key Concepts and Organization of Knowledge

Fate and Prediction in Chinese and European Traditions -**Key Concepts and Organization of Knowledge**

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Annual Confernce of the IKGF - June 28-30, 2011



Tuesdav. June 28. 2011

14:00 Uhr Begrüßung | Welcome Address

14:30 Uhr Schicksal und Vorhersage in wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Perspektive

Uta Lindgren (Universität Bayreuth)

15:00 Uhr Prediction and Predictability in Early Chinese Divination

Terminologies
Wolfgang Behr (Universität Zürich)

15:30 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion

16:00 Uhr Kaffeepause | Coffee Break

16:30 Uhr Robert Fludds ,Utriusque Cosmi Historia'. Der Ort mantischer Vorstellungen/Praktiken in einer frühneuzeitlichen Enzyklopädie

Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann (FU Berlin)

17:00 Uhr Key Concepts of Fate and Prediction in the Yijing

17:30 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion 18:00 Uhr Ende | End

<u>Wednesdav. June 29. 2011</u>

9:00 Uhr Die Stoa über Schicksal und Freiheit

Maximilian Forschner (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

9:30 Uhr Schicksal als Aufgabe: Zur Auffassung von Ming in der klassischen chinesischen Philosophie

Guido Rappe (Karlsruher Institut für Technologie)

10:00 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion

10:30 Uhr Kaffeepause | Coffee Break

Fate and Prognostication in the Weishu 緯書 Literature

11:15 Uhr Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) and Divination through the Zhouyi: A Case Study at the End of the Northern Song Dynasty

Stéphane Feuillas (Université Paris Dider

11:45 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion

12:15 Uhr Mittagspause | Lunch Break

14:00 Uhr Fate and Time in the Koran

Georges Tamer (Ohio State University)

14:30 Uhr Schicksal und Vorhersage in Texten muslimischer Mystiker

Ralf Elger (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)

15:00 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion

15:30 Uhr Kaffeepause | Coffee Break

Fate and Prognostication in Late Imperial Chinese Buddhism: The Case of Ouyi Zhixu (1599-1655)
Beverley Foulks (University of North Carolina Wilmington)

16:15 Uhr Auspice Determination in Eight-House Fengshui

16:45 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion

17:15 Uhr Kaffeepause | Coffee Break

17:30 Uhr Naturwissenschaften und Wissenskonzeptionen am päpst-

Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Université de Lausanne)

18:00 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion

18:30 Uhr Ende | End

Fate and prediction present a pervasive anthropological phenomenon found in all cultures and civilizations but with differing characteristics and manifestations. There is no civilization in which fate and prediction – two intrinsically connected concepts - have had such prominent status as in China. How are they conceptualized and termed in Chinese civilization? What place do these concepts hold in the organization of knowledge? On the other hand, in which conceptual frameworks are fate and prediction understood and defined in Europe, and how is knowledge of such organized and classified?

Thursdav. June 30.

9:00 Uhr A Parting of the Ways: Astrology versus Astromancy These are the main in Early China David Pankenier (Lehigh University) questions to be ad-9:30 Uhr The Place of Divinatory Sciences in Arabic and dressed. The con-Latin Divisions of Knowledge
Charles Burnett (Warburg Institute; IKGF Visiting Fellow) ference therefore 10:00 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion first focused on the 10:30 Uhr Kaffeepause | Coffee Break 10:45 Uhr The Mantic and the Metaphysical: The Ethnopoetics of Zhu Xi's World Picture terminological and Lionel Jensen (University of Notre Dame; IKGF Visiting

11:15 Uhr Always wrong: Explaining failed Apocalyptic Prophecies.

Again and Again Richard Landes (Boston University; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

11:45 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion 12:15 Uhr Mittagspause | Lunch Break

14:00 Uhr Fortuna at the Crossroad: When Christianity met Chinese Mantic Practices
Chu Pingyi (Academia Sinica; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

14:30 Uhr Astral Determinism in the Middle Ages David Juste (University of Sydney; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

15:00 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion 15:30 Uhr Kaffeepause | Coffee Break

15:45 Uhr Ways of Organizing Knowledge in Early China Martin Kern (Princeton University; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

16:15 Uhr The Representation of Mantic Arts in Seventh-Century Encyclopedias

Paul Kroll (University of Colorado Boulder)

16:45 Uhr Diskussion | Discussion

17:15 Uhr Kaffeepause | Coffee Break

17:30 Uhr Abschlussdiskussion | Final Discussion

18:00 Uhr Ende | End

and early encyclopedias offer an excellent insight into how prediction and mantic practices are arranged and categorized. As for the European organization of knowledge, the artes liberales and encyclopedias provide valuable information on medieval topoi of knowledge.

Astrologers and Their Clients in Medieval and Early Modern Europe



ferentiated understanding of the astrologer's

September 29-30, 2011

The history of astrology in Europe and East Asia constitutes a central issue within the research conducted at the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities (IKGF). A first conference focusing on the history of European astrology at the IKGF was initiated and convened by David Juste (IKGF Visiting Fellow) and Wiebke Deimann (IKGF Research Fellow) in September 2011. The aim of the conference was to explore the realia of astrological activity, a domain which has received little scholarly attention hitherto, by investigating in particular: (1) the astrologers in terms of their social and educational background, methods and techniques, and understanding of astrology; (2) the clients' motivations, expectations and concerns, and their use of astrological counselling; and (3) the relationship between astrology and society in general. The order of presentations was roughly chronological, starting with 13th century Italy, followed by various examples from different western European countries, and finally concluding with Johannes Kepler in the 17th century. In the first paper, Charles Burnett focused on Greek, Arabic and Latin introductions to astrology and astronomy. Taking as a starting point Michael Scot's Liber Introductorius, he showed different examples of introductory works by Arabic and Greek authors, highlighting the semantic differences between the languages, reflections of which can be found in the structures and contents of the respective texts. Benjamin Dykes addressed the issue of astrologers and their clients from the perspective of the famous 13th-century Italian astrologer Guido Bonatti, who left a rich, elaborate opus showing a dif-

role and function within society. Jean-Patrice Boudet highlighted the use of astrological expertise at the pontifical court of Avignon in the 14th century in the light of a notarial document produced by an archbishop for his defense at a trial in the presence of Pope John XXII. The paper by Robert Hand, who was sadly unable to attend the conference in person, was presented by Meira Epstein; analysed Giovanni Villani's chronicle of the city of Florence with respect its astrological contents, mainly Villani's interpretation of the Great Conjunction of 1345, showing a surprisingly deep astrological

Wiebke Deimann interpreted the works of Johannes Lichtenberger, mainly his Prognosticatio of 1488, against the background of the addressed clients and public audience respectively. She pointed out that success – here in the form of great, longlasting popularity – did not necessarily require high academic skills and the reputation of an outstanding astrologer among other ex-

knowledge for a layman.

perts. Monica Azzolini showed the contrasting consumption of astrological counsel at Italian courts in the fifteenth century, through the examples of the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, and the Marquis of Mantua, Ludovico Gonzaga. László Sándor Chardonnens presented a Dutch vernacular booklet with as-

Thursday, September 29, 2011

og:30 Uhr Welcome Address

10:00 Uhr Introducing Astrology: Michael Scot's Liber introductorius and other Introductions

10:45 Uhr Practice and counsel in Guido Bonatti

11:30 Uhr Coffee Break

12:00 Uhr The Archbishop and the Astrologers: A Robert de Mauvoisin's questio in 1316

14:45 Uhr Giovanni Villani and the Great Conjunction of 1345

15:30 Uhr Johannes Lichtenberger. Divination between Prophecy and Astrology

16:45 Uhr Astrology at Italian Renaissance Courts: Locating Clients, Investigating Practices, ca. 1450-1550

17:30 Uhr The Life and Afterlife of Medieval English Booklets of Astrological Medicine

18:15 Uhr End

<u>Friday, September 30, 2011</u>

09:30 Uhr Paul of Middelburg's use of the 'Mathesis' of Firmicus Maternus

10:15 Uhr Astrology and Politics in 16th-century Florence: Giuliano Ristori's Extensive Judgment on Cosimo I's Nativity (1537)

11:30 Uhr The Judgement on the Nativity of Joannes Sillyers by Wilhelmus Misocacus (1566)

12:15 Uhr Johannes Kepler between two Emperors

Katrin Bauer (IKGF Erlangen)
13:00 Uhr Lunch Break

15:00 Uhr Round Table



trological contents from the Ashmolean collection, highlighting certain material and paleographical details.

Stephan Heilen's detailed analysis of Paul of Middelburg's prognostication on the Great Conjunction of 1484 demonstrated the extensive use of the Mathesis of Firmicus Maternus in Middelburg's work, which led on to an analysis of the problem of plagiarism within astrological treatises. Darrel Rutkin explored the potential of astrological sources to act as historical documents based on the example of Giuliano Ristori's judgement on Cosimo I's nativity from 1537. The text provides insights into Cosimo's family, the political situation in Florence at the time, and also the political function of the astrological judgements themselves. David Juste presented the content and context of a detailed judgement on a nativity addressed by a town astrologer of the 16th-century Low-Countries to a middle-class client whom he had apparently never met before. Katrin Bauer examined Johannes Kepler's political role as astrological consultant at the imperial court during the events of 1611 and 1612, when Matthias of Habsburg succeeded Rudolf II.

Even if the roles and functions of astrologers within society varied according to the period, place and circumstances, some similarities and patterns between the different examples came to light: besides the personal interest of the individual in astrological judgements, a political dimension could be found in almost all of the analysed cases of astrological consultancy too, for instance. The concluding round table underlined the importance of this field of research, in which much more work is required.

Dr. Wiebke Deimann, Dr. David Juste

IKGF IN BRIEF

Overview of International Cooperation

The IKGF is cooperating with selected international institutions to the effect that not only internationally acknowledged researchers are working together here in Erlangen, but also the IKGF is present abroad as a unique platform for fostering research on "Fate, Freedom, and Prognostication". This comprises, for example, the exchange of researchers, mutual academic visits and joint conferences.

The IKGF has, to date, signed cooperations agreements with the following institutions:



The Center for Zhouyi & Ancient Chinese Philosophy at Shandong University, China (link: http://zhouyi.sdu. edu.cn/englisho/index.asp). Given the prevailing role of the Book of Changes, the Yijing, in East Asian mantic practices, the IKGF cooperates with one of the leading centers for Yijing studies in China.







The Templeton "Science and Religion in East Asia" Project, Science Culture Research Center, Seoul National University (link: http://phps.snu.ac.kr/scrc/templetonsreap/). The cooperation aims at launching joint studies into the history of the traditional forms of prediction in East Asia and Europe as well as comparative studies of Eastern and Western science research. Special attention is given to Korean theories and practices.

The IKGF is honored that the **Warburg Institute** (link: http://warburg.sas. ac.uk/), one of the leading research institutions on medieval history, supports the IKGF as an Affiliated Institute, collaborating over the exchange of scholars and the planning of academic events.

ONLINE PUBLICATIONS

After careful editing and peer-review, the IKGF publishes online at ikgf.fau.de > Research > Occasional Papers and in a limited edition in print outstanding lectures as PDFs. Also, the conference proceedings of "Fate, Freedom and Creation in Early China" (May 2011) will be published under this new rubric of "Occasional Papers".

To date, the following contributions are available via our website:

Lackner, Michael	The Renaissance of Divinatory Techniques in the People's Republic – a New Type of Chinese Cultural Identity?	20.12.2011	Article
Smith, Richard J.	Key Concepts of Fate and Prediction in the Yijing (Classic of Change)	25.06.2011	Lecture
Gómez Moreno, Ángel	Fate, Prediction and the Threat of Total Destruction in Spain: A Fifteenth-Century Nightmare	26.07.2011	Lecture
Gómez Moreno, Ángel	Vaticinios funestos y fe mesiánica: la leyenda de Don Rodrigo en la España de los Reyes Católicos	26.07.2011	Lecture
Jensen, Lionel M.	Subversive Mythology: The Sensory and the Spectacular in the Cults of Zhu Xi	03.05.2011	Lecture
Durand-Dastès, Vincent	Divination and Fate Manipulation in a Popular Myth of Late Imperial China: The Wedding of Zhougong and Peach Blossom Girl	11.11.2010	Lecture
Hsien-huei Liao	Readings in Zhu Xi and his Concept of Fate	12.05.2010	Reading Session

External Lectures delivered by IKGF Visiting Fellows in 2010/11

The IKGF is delighted that the research of its visting fellows is also of interest to other universities, especially in Germany, and that the intense research atmosphere at the IKGF seems to inspire researchers beyond Erlangen. There follows a selection of the external lectures delivered by IKGF visiting fellows in 2010 and 2011:

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Publisher





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- November 16, 2010: Dr. Dimitri Drettas "Dream Divination and Dream Exorcism in Chinese
 Household Encyclopedias." Annual Conference of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg "Dynamics
 in the History of Religions": Modes and Models of Religious Attraction, Ruhr-Universität
 Bochum
- January 13, 2011: Dr. Dimitri Drettas "L'onirocritique chinoise: Définition et présentation à
 partir des clefs des songes de Dunhuang" [Chinese Oneirocritics Définition and Presentation based on the Dunhuang dream prognostics books]. National Institute for Oriental
 Languages and Civilizations (INALCO), Paris.
- January 20, 2011: Dr. László Sándor Chardonnens "Droomuitleg van A tot Z." Studiedag Middeleeuwen, Radboud University, Nijmegen.
- February 28, 2011: Prof. Dr. Martin Kern "Authorship and the Shijing." Collège de France, Paris.
- March 2, 2011: Prof. Dr. Martin Kern "Fate and Heroism in Early Chinese Poetry." Collège de France. Paris.
- April 7, 2011: Prof. Dr. Martin Kern "Searching for the Author in Early China: The Case of Jifu." University Zürich.
- April 12, 2011: Prof. Dr. Martin Kern "Authorship in the Shijing: The Case of Jifu." Universität Leipzig, April 2011; also at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin.
- May 13, 2011: Dr. László Sándor Chardonnens "Making Sense of Mantic Alphabets." 46th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan Univ., Kalamazoo (MI).
- June 1, 2011: Prof. Dr. Martin Kern "Shiji li de 'zuozhe' gainian" 《史記》裏的「作者」概念 [The Concept of Authorship in the Shiji]. Second Conference on "The Shiji in International Sinology." Foguang University, Taiwan.
- July 4, 2011: Prof. Dr. Martin Kern "Authorship in Early China." Seminar, Charles University, Prague.
- July 12, 2011: Prof. Dr. Martin Kern "Authors and Heroes in Early Chinese Poetry." Universität München
- September 8, 2011: Dr. Dimitri Drettas "Tradition écrite et pratique quotidienne: Les encyclopédies domestiques en Chine sous les Yuan et les Ming" [Written Tradition and Daily Practice Chinese Household Encyclopedias Under the Yuan and Ming Dynasties]. Symposium on Collections and Encyclopedias in Japan, Collège de France, Paris.
- October 10, 2011: Prof. Dr. Marta Hanson "'Understanding is Within One's Grasp': Hand Mnemonics, Prognostication, and Chinese Arts of Memory" (Chinese history group in the Research Cluster on "Asia and Europe in a Global Context: Shifting Asymmetries in Cultural Flows," Universität Heidelberg.
- October 21, 2011: Dr. László Sándor Chardonnens "Mantic Alphabets: Where Dreams and Letters Meet." Medieval Research Seminar, Queen's University, Belfast.
- November 11, 2011: Prof. Dr. Chu Pingyi "From Novelty to a Matter of Fact: The Spherical Earth in Late Imperial China," Universität Heidelberg,
- December 4, 2011: Dr. László Sándor Chardonnens and Dr. Dimitri Drettas "中世紀歐洲與中國占卜比較研究的方法論 (The Methodology of Comparative Research on Divination in Medieval Europe and China)." Conference on "I-Ching: Theory and Application (易學:理論與應用研討會)," Institute for the Research on Chinese Traditional Culture, Haikou (Hainan Province), China.
- December 6, 2011: Prof. Dr. Michael Puett "Sagehood and Argumentation in Chinese Late Antiquity." Universität Heidelberg.
- December 7, 2011: Prof. Dr. Marta Hanson "'Understanding is Within One's Grasp': Hand Mnemonics, Prognostication, and Chinese Arts of Memory" (Geschichte am Mittwoch, Institut für Geschichte, Universität Wien)
- December 13, 2011: Prof. Dr. Andrea Bréard "Can everyday encyclopedias do more than complement the picture of mathematical practice in China?" International Colloquium "How to make the Peripheral 'Mainstream': recent Developments in the Historiography of Sciences", Université Paris 7 Denis Diderot. Paris.
- December 15, 2011: Prof. Dr. Ken'ichi Takashima "Aspects of Shang Religion: The Movement
 of the Ancestral Tablets within the Pantheon of Spirits," Käte Hamburger Kolleg "Dynamics
 in the History of Religions," Ruhr-Universität Bochum.
- February 23, 2012: Prof. Dr. Christoph König "Das Nicht-diskursive Denken in Schleiermachers Konzept der Divination ("(Indiana University Bloomington))

GOODBYE AND WELCOME

Auf Wiedersehen - Goodbye - 再见 - Au revoir - Arrivederci

Visiting Fellows 2011



Prof. Dr. Charles Burnett, Warburg Institute, London; research stay: June - July 2011; research topic: 'Medieval Latin Translations of Works on Astronomy and Astrology' and 'The Astrological Library of John of Gmunden', 'The Place of the Divinatory Sciences in Arabic and Latin Divisions of Knowledge' and 'Astrologers and their Clients'.



Prof. Dr. Patrick Henriet, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques, Paris; research stay: April - June 2011; research topic: Coping with the Future in High Medieval Spain. Beatus of Liébana, Eschatology and Ecclesiology, or a Non-historicist View of the Present. Texts and Pictures.



Prof. Dr. Lionel Jensen, University of Notre Dame, East Asian Languages and Cultures; research stay: January - July 2011; research topic: Found and Lost in Tradition: Mythistories of Confucianism – Mantic and Divinatory Themes.



Dr. David Juste, University of Sydney; research stay: October 2010 – September 2011; research topic: Medieval Latin translations of works on astronomy and astrology, early medieval Latin astrological *prognostica*.



Prof. Dr. Martin Kern, Princeton University; research stay: September 2010 – August 2011; research topic: fate and authorship in Early China – notions of freedom and fate as they are reflected in early Chinese representations of textual creation.



Dr. Manfred Kubny, European University Viadrina INTRAG, Frankfurt (Oder); research stay: April - September 2011; research topic: Critical Edition and Translation of the "The Leaking Essence of Heaven" (Di Tian Sui 滴天髓), a Central Classic Work on Birth Horoscope Theoretization, and together with Prof. Lackner: Critical Edition and Translation of Selected Biographies Found in the "Registers about Fate" (Ming Pu 命譜), Written by Yuan Shushan 袁樹珊 (1881-1952(?)).



Prof. Dr. Richard Landes, Boston University, Department of History; research stay: January - December 2011; research topic: Disappointed Millennialism from Jesus to the Peace of God (33-1033).



Prof. Dr. Li Fan, Beijing Normal University, Department of History; research stay: June-September 2011; research topic: The Conception of Fate among Modern Chinese Intellectuals: Using the Example of Records about Prognostication in the Dairies of their Contemporaries.



Dr. Christian Meyer, Universität Leipzig; research stay: October 2010 – September 2011; research topic: The critical re-evaluation of traditional Chinese divinatory practices in the field of religious studies during the Republican Period (1912-1949).



Dr. Wang Liying, Universität Konstanz; research stay: October 2010 – September 2011; research topic: the perception of destiny and contingency in the works of Gao Xingjian, esp. the work "One Man's Bible".







Dr. Sophia Katz received a grant from the Minerva Foundation for a two year stay at the Consortium beginning in December 2011. As a Researcher in Residence, she is working on: Wang Fuzhi (1619-1692) and the Confucian *ming* Narrative: A Theology of Fate and Destiny.

Visiting Fellows 2011/12



Prof. Dr. Andrea Bréard, École Polytechnique, Paris, Département Humanités Sciences Sociales, and Institute of Mathematics, Université Sciences et Technologies Lille 1; research stay: September 2011-August 2012; research topic: The Role of Mathematical Practice and Theory in Divination in Late Imperial China.



PD Dr. Claudia von Collani, Universität Münster, Institut für Missionswissenschaften; research stay: October 2011-March; research topic: The Role of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*) in Connection with Calculations on the Parousia of Christ in the Figurist Works of the French Jesuit Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730).



Prof. Dr. Scott Davis, Miyazaki International College, Japan, Faculty of Comparative Culture; research stay: January-December 2012; research topic: The *Book of Changes*: Writing, Texts and the Divinatory Mission in Archaic China.



Prof. Dr. Lothar von Falkenhausen, University of California, Los Angeles, Art History Department and Associate Director of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology; research stay: September, December 2011; research topic: Early Chinese Divination Texts and Bronze Inscriptions (in collaboration with Prof. Dr. Michael Puett and Prof. Dr. Ken'ichi Takashima).



Prof. em. Han Qingming 韩庆明, Beijing University; research stay: October 2011-March 2012; research stay: Concise Analytical Systematization of Sources on the Divinatory Technique "Four Pillars of Destiny" (Bazi Suanming).



Prof. Dr. Marta Hanson, The Johns Hopkins University, Institute for the History of Medicine; research stay: October 2011-July 2012; research topic: Understanding is Within One's Grasp (遼然在握 Liaoran zai wo): Hand Mnemonics, Prognostication, and Chinese Arts of Memory.



Prof. Dr. Christoph König, Universität Osnabrück; research stay: October 2011-September 2012; research topic: Towards a Theory of Philological Praxis.



PD Dr. Hannes Möhring, associate professor at Bayreuth University, Medieval History; research stay: October 2011-March 2012; research topic: Political Prognostication in Medieval History.



Prof. Dr. Fabrizio Pregadio, Stanford University, Religious Studies Department; research stay: November 2011-October 2012; research topic: Cosmology and Prognostication in the Apocrypha: A Survey of Major Sources and Themes.



Prof. Dr. Michael Puett, Harvard University, Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations; research stay: September-December 2011; research topic: Sages, Creation, and Fate in Ancient China; Early Chinese Divination Texts and Bronze Inscriptions (in collaboration with Prof. Dr. Lothar von Falkenhausen and Prof. Dr. Ken'ichi Takashima)



Prof. Dr. Stefano Rapisarda, Università di Catania; research stay: September 2011 – February 2012; research topic: Medical Prognostication in Texts Attributed to Michael Scot. Medieval Italian Versions of "De urinis" and "De diebus lune".



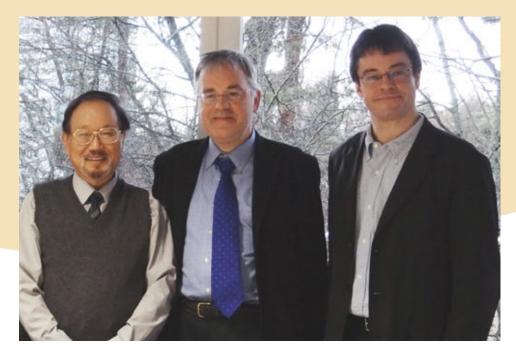
Prof. Dr. Matthias Riedl, Central European University, Budapest; research stay: January-June 2012; research topic: Apocalypsis – Exegesis – Prognosis: Prophetic Consultancy and Political Action in Early Modernity.



Dr. Sven Sellmer, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznan, Institute of Oriental Studies; research stay: January -March 2012; research topic: Human Agency and Fate in the Mahâbhârata.



Prof. em. Dr. Ken'ichi Takashima, University of British Columbia, Department of Asian Studies; research stay: November-December 2011; research topic: Early Chinese Divination Texts and Bronze Inscriptions (in collaboration with Prof. Dr. Michael Puett and Prof. Dr. Lothar von Falkenhausen).



Ken'ichi Takashima (University of British Columbia), Lothar von Falkenhausen (UCLA), and Michael Puett (Harvard University) in December 2011 during their joint research on early Chinese divination texts.

OUTLOOK

The coming year, 2012, will focus on a series of concentrated workshops in preparation for several publications. In spring, the following events are planned:

- January 2012: Workshop to celebrate the 1000th anniversary of Shao Yong (邵雍, 1012-1077), well-known philosopher, poet, and historian, and also expert in divinatory practices.
- February 2012: Workshop organized by Dr. Sven Sellmer (Universität Posen, IKGF Visiting Fellow) on "Fate, Freedom, and Prognostication in Indian Traditions".
- February 2012: Joint conference with Rice University (Houston, Texas) on "Divinatory Traditions in East Asia: Historical, Comparative and Transnational Perspectives" (Joint Conference IKGF Rice Univ.)

Also in 2012, the following events are in preparation: a workshop led by PD Dr. Möhring on political prognostication in medieval Europe; a workshop led by Prof. Rapisarda on the classics of medieval divination in Europe; a sinological work project on the topic "Looking for Knowledge: The Theories and Practices of Observation in Pre-Modern China"; a workshop on Buddhist divinatory practices and their philosophical argumentation followed by an academic visit to China; a workshop with our cooperation partners in Seoul, held at the IKGF (Templeton "Science and Religion in East Asia" Project, Prof. Yung Sik Kim); and a workshop about our research project on early household encyclopedias (rishu).

THE NEXT fate

In the next issue of fate,

the following issues will be covered:

- Report on the university's lecture series realized by the IKGF, the "Ringvorlesung" (November-December 2011), and abstracts of the lectures during the winter semester 2011/12.
- Introduction to the online standard bibliography on "Fate, Freedom and Prognostication," compiled by the IKGF.
- Report on the international conference with the Nobel Laureate, Gao Xingjian, on "Freedom, Fate, and Prognosti-

cation," October 24-27, 2011.

- Report on the conference "On the Road in the Name of Religion. Pilgrimage as a Means of Coping with Contingency and Fixing the Future in the World's Major Religions" (November 10-11, 2011).
- Report on the workshops held in January and February 2012 (Workshop to Celebrate the 1000th Anniversary of Shao Yong, "Fate, Freedom, and Prognostication in Indian Traditions") and the joint conference held at Rice University on "Divinatory Traditions in East Asia."



International Consortium for Research in the Humanities

Fate, Freedom and Prognostication. Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe.

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