

# fate

04|13



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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## Prognostication and Acceleration \*



Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a wide range of political ideas and ideologies, scientific theories and insights from many disciplines of the humanities of Anglo-American and European origin made their way into China in regular waves of reception. As a consequence, numerous innovative key concepts broke fresh ground and far-reaching conceptual changes and linguistic shifts took shape. Given the simultaneous construction and disruptions of the political order and the social frameworks of the late imperial and early Republican period, we can speak

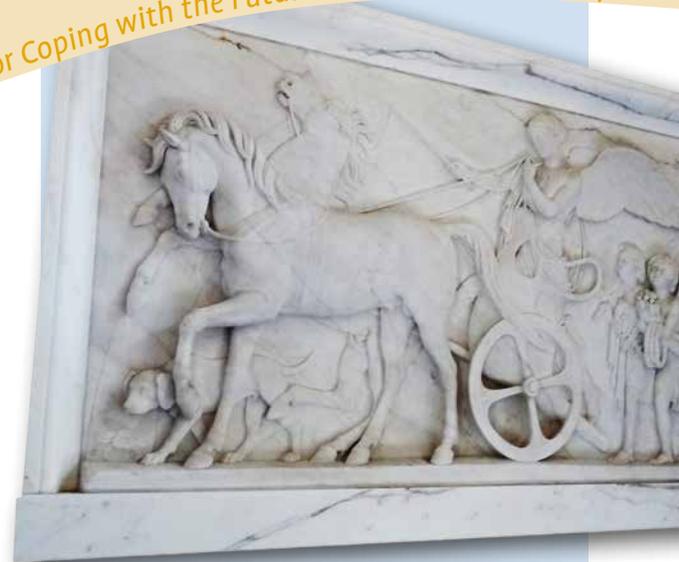
without exaggeration of a marked acceleration of actual and intellectual historical change in China. It is by no means coincidental that a new type of diagnosis of the present took shape during this period within circles of the Chinese elite. Many Chinese thinkers explicitly ascribed the manifold experience of acceleration to the global impact of “Western” civilization, thus defining clear-cut patterns of world history which served to counteract the bewildering magnitude and rapidness of change of the present. This interpretative approach involved a type of diagnosis that was based on the assumption of an epochal backwardness of Chinese civilization as opposed to the “West”, while at the same time inflating crisis symptoms into doomsday scenarios. A straight line can be drawn from this kind of crisis diagnosis to a novel type of prognostication of progress which maintained that China could still be saved by *means of its own efforts*. Prognosticators of different political persuasions consequently envisioned that China would be able to catapult itself out of its current civilizational doldrums into a period of scientific civilization—provided that their crisis diagnoses would finally be taken seriously to the point where they served as the triggers to initiate civilizational progress throughout the country.

Prognostications of progress originated from numerous sources. They were spurred by social-Darwinian or historico-philosophical ideas, while at other times Auguste Comte's doctrine of the three stages also enjoyed great popularity. At yet other times, historical

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Dear Readers,

Here, we present to you the sixth edition of *fate*, the newsletter of the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities in Erlangen. Like the nine other Käte Hamburger Collegia in Germany, the Erlangen Consortium stands out because its research focus is on a specific topic that is developed within the presence of internationally renowned visiting scholars. Erlangen's topic is “Fate, Future and Prognostication”, approached from an East Asian/European perspective, meeting a desideratum in the current research landscape.

In this newsletter, Deputy Director Professor Thomas Fröhlich's editorial introduces the research project he spearheaded on the way thoughts and prognoses of progress took shape at the time of China's radical transition to modernity. During an internal conference in fall 2012 at the Villa Vigoni, Consortium members encountered a conception of fate described in terms of sculpture, which we present here in detail. We also describe in this issue the Reading Sessions that form an essential part of academic life at the Consortium. We then provide our regular summaries of presentations given during the lecture series for the summer semester 2012.

Reports come from a series of workshops including the topic of political prophecy in the Middle Ages, important books of medieval and early modern divination, the theories and practices of “observation” in pre-modern China, and the relationship of the Chinese Buddhist tradition to divination and its techniques. Our annual visit to China also took place this fall, with an emphasis this time on Buddhology. In the future, we aim to intensify our cooperation with the Zhouyi Center at the University of Shandong, which has continued to be our host during our trips to China. We will also be reporting on this cooperation, among other things, in our next issue.

I now wish you a pleasurable reading experience and hope that you enjoy our newsletter. As always, we welcome your suggestions!

Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos  
(Research Coordination)

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

analogies were drawn to the Chinese imperial age and the centuries preceding the empire's founding. Later, a highly controversial debate emerged about the classification of Chinese history in terms of historical materialism's ideology of progress. These and other attempts, whether coming from nationally renowned intellectuals like Yan Fu, Liang Qichao, Chen Duxiu or Zhang Dongsun, from theorists of the National Party (Guomindang) and the Communist Party of China or lesser-known figures and associations, all resembled each other insofar as they combined crisis diagnosis and prognostication of progress in such a way that the present appeared to contain great promise for the future.

This, however, is by no means a specifically "Chinese" constellation. Outside of China, at historical turning points involving revolutionary upheavals, state foundations, warfare, peace treaties as well as regional and global shifts of power, we find many ideas and concepts, debates and discourses which contrasted the "old" and the "new" while being charged with prognosticative claims. With regard to the hundred yearlong European "saddle period" involving the transition from the early modern period to modernity – that is, from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – Reinhart Koselleck identified a profound semantic change in political key concepts: since the French Revolution, it had become increasingly common to coin concepts for the sake of prefiguring and anticipating political and social positions, the realization of which was still uncertain due to a lack of profound empirical content. These included new "isms" and concepts of movements which were used to support political mobilization.

In China, a comparable period of upheaval encompassed merely three decades following the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the old

order fell apart, the Republican revolution of 1911 proved victorious and, shortly thereafter, the new state order had already collapsed. In this short time span, key concepts of putatively more advanced "Western" civilizations quickly made their way into China, frequently circuitously through the Japanese language. These included novel social and political concepts about order and movements such as "ism" constructs like "nationalism", "constitutionalism", "socialism" and "liberalism" as well as new coinages like "revolution", "republic", "state", "society", "world", "constitution", "nation", "citizen" and "people". With respect to historical experiences from the period of the Chinese Empire, the majority of these new concepts were best suited for making very loose associations. However, it is perhaps precisely for this reason that Chinese borrowings from late European Enlightenment ideas – such as theories of evolution, political ideologies, theories of history and worldviews of Anglo-American European origin – entailed particularly strong claims to indisputably accurate predictions of world-historical developments like those that had now taken hold in China. Prognostic key concepts thus filled an important neo-logistic task in the internal Chinese war of opinions about the ways to implement civilizational progress in the "belated nation" China.

The ideologically charged logic of this prognostication of progress included the assertion that only a completely self-contained and unified political will of the Chinese nation or the Chinese revolution would make it possible to break the oppression by inner and outer powers that were detrimental to progress in China. Given this precondition, the prognosticators and visionaries no longer needed to contend with the incalculable contingency of internal political competition when claiming that their predictions would persist in reality. The ideological residue of the prognostication of progress is not only evident in this precondition, but the opposite conclusion was also made, namely, that without prognostication itself there could be no control over historical reality. Simultaneously, "history" became a battleground: to the extent that it was assumed that successful prognostication relies on correct diagnoses of the past and the present, differing historical and contemporary images were not only to be considered false, but also threatening to China's progress and existence.

Political prognostications of progress in China in the 20<sup>th</sup> century required the emphatic claim of their scientific character. Prognostic knowledge itself was supposed to be an aspect of scientific civilization, whereby the former was invoked so that the latter could be realized. By contrast, a fundamental, science-based critique of such prognostications of progress continued to be marginalized. This was due to political upheavals and the dominance of political regimes which relied on ideologies of progress. On the other hand, it may be assumed that the extraordinarily high intensity and temporal proximity of the Chinese absorptions of "Western" civilization also played an important role. In the face of such phenomena of acceleration, there was a heightened need

for mitigation – for instance in the form of prognostications of progress that endowed the present with meaning and orientation. The fact that such predictions were essentially based on theories and ideas which, along with their terminology, were “Western”, was auspicious, for only then were prognosticators of progress able to make the claim that they could foresee developments of

world-historical scope.

Prof. Dr. Thomas Fröhlich  
(Deputy Director)

## FOCUS

### Nemesis

#### The Goddess of Distributive Justice in Johann Gottfried Herder’s Conception of History \*

We encountered this bas-relief at the Villa Vigoni, the leading German-Italian center for academic exchange on Lake Como. We came here in fall of 2012 to reflect on the current state of our work, three years after starting our consortium, as well as to give our Advisory Board a much desired opportunity for an extended dialogue. Dr. Christiane Liermann, the scientific collaborator at the Villa Vigoni, led us through the history of the house and its importance for promoting excellence in German-Italian academic exchange. In the process, we happened upon this marble relief, which we would like to present to you here because of its connection to the Consortium’s focus. It was created between 1834 and 1835 by the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, who was living in Italy at the time. In correspondence with the Mylius family, who owned the Villa Vigoni family property and was struggling to come to terms with the early death of their only son and heir, Julius, Thorvaldsen was contracted to make

a representation of Nemesis that would reflect Johann Gottfried Herder’s conception of history. Herder published a short treatise in 1786 under the title “Nemesis. An Instructive Symbol” (“Nemesis. Ein lehrendes Sinnbild”) in which he aimed to portray Nemesis, a figure in Greek art and poetry, not so much as a figure of divine retribution, but rather as a retributive goddess of fairness and justice. Nemesis is thus concerned with the balance of powers. This is clear in the picture: the fast-approaching, winged goddess stands in a Roman chariot, and rotating on the wheel of this chariot are alternatively *ventura* (negative fate), *ubertà* (excess), *sventura* (misfortune), and *penuria* (lack). Behind her are two cherubs, who with their sword and cornucopia represent punishment and reward. With her whip, Nemesis keeps her unruly horses, Obedience and Disobedience (Obediente and Inobediente)—representing the actions of human beings—under her control. The dog alongside the obedient horse refers to justice in its most basic form. Justice is also represented in the form of scales in the background, and the angel holding them suggests a connection with the goddess Nemesis. The scales are furthermore a sign of the zodiac. They frame the image within a semi-circle, serving as a reminder of the transience and continual motion of time. Clearly, the Mylius family understood the



B. Thorvaldsen, Nemesi, 1834-1835, Marble Bas-Relief, Loveno die Menaggio, German-Italian Center Villa Vigoni. You can find further information on the artwork in the Villa Vigoni’s catalogue: Ed. Rosamia Pavoni: Mylius, Milan 1999, p. 120.  
Photo: E.-M. Guggenmos. Printed with the kind permission of the Villa Vigoni.  
(<http://www.villavigoni.eu>)

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

Nemesis figure as a consoling representation of their fate and glimpsed in her a form for dealing with providence – one that initially appears

to be very European, but is structurally quite proximate to karmic thought.

Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos  
(Research Coordination)

## READING SESSIONS

### Chronological Overview of last years' Reading Sessions:

#### 2010

**May 12, 2010:** Readings in Zhu Xi and his Concept of Fate (贈徐師表序 in 《晦庵集》 of 朱熹, 卷75, 《四庫全書》 and 羅大經, 《鶴林玉露》, 卷13, 《四庫全書》) (Prof. Hsien-Huei Liao)

**June 2, 2010:** The Notion of “ming” 命 in the Writings of Shao Yong 邵雍 (Kangjie 康节, 1012-1077) (Dr. Sophia Katz)

**June 16, 2010:** The Case for Oneiromancy in the Prefaces of Two Dream Prognostics Texts from Dunhuang (MSS P3908 and Fragment 58), and a Late Ming Dreambook, Zhang Fengyi's 張鳳翼 *Mengzhan leikao* 夢占類考 (1585) (Dr. Dimitri Drettas)

**September 8, 2010:** Prognostication in Chinese Buddhism – Philosophical Pre-suppositions: Reading Excerpts of the *Hongming Ji* 弘明集 and *Guang Hongming Ji* 廣弘明集, Part I (Prof. Zhou Qi)

**September 22, 2010:** Prognostication in Chinese Buddhism – Philosophical Pre-suppositions: Reading Excerpts of *Hongming Ji* 弘明集 and *Guang Hongming Ji* 廣弘明集, Part II (Prof. Zhou Qi)

**October 20, 2010:** Aspects of *ming*. Individual and Collective Fate in the *Baoxun* 保訓 Bamboo Manuscript (Dr. Michael Lüdke)

**November 10, 2010:** Organization of Knowledge in Early Chinese Sources: Spontaneous exchange about how mantic arts have been categorized throughout history

**November 24, 2010:** Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562-1626) on “ming” 命 (Fate/Destiny) (Dr. Sophia Katz)

**December 8, 2010:** Investigation into Concepts of Science Starting from Readings in the *Chouren Zhuan* 欽人傳 of Ruan Yuan 阮元 (Prof. Michael Lackner)

#### 2011

**January 19, 2011:** The Phrase *shendao shejiao* 神道設教 – From the *Yijing* to Modern Discourses on Religion and Superstition (PD Dr. Christian Meyer)

**February 9, 2011:** Buddhist Prognostic Texts – The *Zhancha Shan'e Yebao Jing* 占察善惡業報經 (*Sūtra on the Divination of the Effect of Good and Evil Actions*), Taishō 839, and Ouyi Zhixu's 藕益智旭 (1599-1655) Attitude toward Buddhist Divination and Destiny (Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos)

**May 11, 2011:** Rewriting Fate, or how a 17th-century editor rationalized falling in love (Prof. Kathryn Lowry)

**May 25, June 15, 2011:** Fate, Physiognomy, and Almanac in Seventeenth-century China: The Christian Criticism (Prof. Chu Pingyi and PD Dr. Claudia von Collani)

**July 20, 2011:** The Relation Between “Music, Cosmic Harmony, and Divination” (Prof. Martin Kern)

**September 21, 2011:** Two of the Newly Published Tsinghua Bamboo Slip Manuscripts – *Yin Zhi* 尹至 and *Yin Gao* 尹誥 (Dr. Michael Lüdke)

**October 19, 2011:** Shang Oracle Bone Inscriptions – *Jiaguwen heji* 甲骨文合集 14002正. (Prof. Michael Puett)

**November 9, 2011:** Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions – The *Li gui* 利簋. (Prof. Michael Puett / Prof. Christoph Harbsmeier)

**November 16, 2011:** “A Doubtful Criminal Case from the *Yuelu shuyuan* Collection of Qin Legal Manuscripts” (PD Dr. Ulrich Lau, Universität Hamburg, DFG-Resarch Project “Legal Manuscripts of the Qin”)

**December 7, 2011:** Introduction into the Divination Method “Four Pillars of Destiny” (*Bazi Suanming*) (Prof. Han Qingming)

**December 14, 2011:** The Nature of the Language of Shang Divination (Prof. Ken-ichi Takashima)

#### 2012

**February 27, 2012:** Combinatorics and Divination in China, Part I (Prof. Andrea Bréard)

**May 9, 2012:** Towards a Theory of Philology from Inside – Friedrich Schlegel's Notebooks (Prof. Christoph König)

**June 14, 2012:** Mantic Arts in Translations of the Brahmajāla Sūtra – The Buddhist Organisation of Mantic Knowledge in China (Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos)

**June 21, 2012:** Combinatorics and Divination in China, Part II (Prof. Andrea Bréard)

**June 28, 2012:** Narrative Functions in the Mode of Divination: Examining Historical Narrative and Textual Composition in Ancient Chinese Classics (Prof. Scott Davis)

**July 5, 2012:** ‘As if There Were the North and the South, but not the East and the West’: A Short Introduction to the Han-Dynasty Apocrypha (*weishu* 緯書) (Prof. Fabrizio Pregadio)

**July 12, 2012:** Daktylomancy (Prof. Marta Hanson)

**July 19, 2012:** Hydraulics and the Super-Natural: River-gods in Late Imperial China (Prof. Iwo Amelung)

**November 7, 2012:** Demonology and Prognostics on Childbirth and Marriage in the Bamboo Almanacs (*rishu* 日書) of Early China. (Prof. Marc Kalinowski, Prof. Liu Lexian, and Prof. Yan Changgui)

**November 21, 2012:** Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086)'s Hidden Vacuity 潛虛 (Prof. Stéphane Feuillas)

**December 12, 2012:** Intertextuality and Number in the Classical Text Matrix (Prof. Scott Davis)

#### 2013

**January 9, 2013:** Between Heaven and Earth: A Divinatory Reading of the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Prof. Joachim Gentz)

**January 23, 2013:** Divining Monks? Readings in the *Shenseng Zhuan* 神僧傳 (Dr. Li Wei / Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos)

**February 6, 2013:** Reading the *Taiping jing* 太平經: Methods of Prognostics (Dr. Barbara Hendrischke)

**February 20, 2013:** Monsters as Prodigies in Europe – and China? (Prof. Dr. Elena del Río Parra)



November 7, 2012: Reading Session with Prof. Marc Kalinowski, Prof. Liu Lexian, and Prof. Yan Changgui on the topic “Demonology and Prognostics on Childbirth and Marriage in the Bamboo Almanacs (rishu 日書) of Early China.”

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 > Publications > Videos > Round Table

## Reading Sessions

### Jointly Reading Chinese Texts Every Fortnight at the IKGf \*

“Freedom for the humanities” is most possible when considerations of hierarchy, anciennity, and excessive specialization only play a subordinate role. This is precisely the atmosphere that is found in the regular reading seminars of the Chinese-Studies members of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/International Consortium for Research in the Humanities “Fate, Freedom and Prognostication”. Here, visiting scholars present Chinese texts during a three-hour workshop that bear closely on the Centre’s thematic focus. The beginning of our work was guided by the condition that texts be selected in which the respective speakers were able to identify unresolved problems. In an environment comprised of visiting fellows, permanent research staff, doctoral candidates, and increasingly interested medievalists, it was indeed possible to arrive at unexpected solutions. Free from any pressure to hold forth, the mutual collaboration of all

participants facilitated a unique hermeneutic work approach. The benefits for the doctoral candidates are obvious when they are frequently exposed to the philological reflections of a dozen or more specialists and are themselves invited to explore different interpretations! Occasional papers have developed from some of these sessions. Particular mention is also made here of a film that grew out of a seminar led by Prof. Dr. Lothar von Falkenhausen (UCLA), Professor Michael Puett (Harvard) and Professor Kenichi Takashima (University of British Columbia) on the “oracle bones,” which mark the beginning of the history of divination in China.

Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner  
 (Director)

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

LECTURE SERIES SS 2012

## Constructing Polarities in Early 20th Century China: The Case of Science and Superstition

Prof. Dr. Iwo Amelung (Goethe-Universität  
Frankfurt a.M.; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

The term *mixin* 迷信, as the Chinese translation of the term “superstition”/“Aberglauben“ entered the Chinese lexicon in 1899 in a text by Liang Qichao, which was the Chinese translation of a Japanese rendition of Bluntschli’s *Deutsche Staatslehre*. The term *mixin* does not appear in the Japanese translation, and so may have been coined by Liang Qichao himself. The use of *Mixin* to denote superstition became one of the most powerful Chinese terms of the 20th century. The power of the concept of *mixin* to some degree is due to the assumption that superstition was the enemy of science. Since science in China has been highly valued since the beginning of the 20th century, the idea that *mixin* (superstition) needed to be driven out in order to develop the sciences already had a high currency during the first few years of that century. The relationship between superstition and science, however, was a highly ambiguous

### 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 2012 summarize their contributions (Overview about lectures please see p. 6). The lectures of this summer winter semester 2012/13 will be part of the next issue of fate.

one. Already during the early 20th century, Chinese scholars had begun to appropriate pseudo-scientific ideas from the West – especially in the realm of para-psychological research – which drew a clear demarcation between practices which were “scientific” and those which should be considered as “superstitious” rather complicated. At

### OVERVIEW ABOUT THE LECTURE SERIES SS12

Overview of the past lecture series,  
the abstracts of which are presented here:

**24.04.2012:** The Divinatory Mission of Chinese Writing and Textuality: How and Why to Perform Structural Analysis of the *Zhouyi* (*Classic of Changes*). **Prof. Dr. Scott Davis** (*Miyazaki International College; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

**08.05.2012:** Pursuing the Millennium. From the Chained Dragon to the Third Reich. **Dr. Julia Eva Wannemacher** (*Humboldt Universität Berlin; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

**15.05.2012:** Johann Adam Schall von Bell and the ‘Superstitious’ Chinese Calendar. **PD Dr. Claudia von Collani** (*Universität Würzburg; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

**22.05.2012:** Templates for Philosophical Ideas. Diagrams in Song/Yuan Exegesis of the Classics. **Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner** (*IKGF Director*)

**05.06.2012:** The Fate of Poetry: On the Interpretation of Rilke’s Sonnet “Giebt es wirklich die Zeit, die zerstörende?” **Prof. Dr. Christoph König** (*Universität Osnabrück; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

**12.06.2012:** Divining for Directions in Times of Trouble: Richard Wilhelm’s *I Ging* (1924) and His Use of Divination in 1918-1920 /Reading Seminar:

“Fathoming Richard Wilhelm’s Restructuring of the *I Ging*”. **Prof. Dr. Lauren Pfister** (*Hong Kong Baptist University*)

**19.06.2012:** Painting the Fate of Mankind – New Perspectives on Hieronymus Bosch’s Master Triptychs. **Dr. Matthias Riedl** (*Central European University, Budapest; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

**26.06.2012:** Visions of the Afterlife in Medieval German Literature. **Prof. Dr. Concetta Giliberto** (*Università di Palermo; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

**03.07.2012:** Constructing Polarities in Early 20th Century China: The Case of Science and Superstition. **Prof. Dr. Iwo Amelung** (*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a.M.; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

**10.07.2012:** Divination and Scientific Prediction: The Epistemology of Prognostic Sciences in the Middle Ages. **Prof. Dr. Alexander Fidora** (*Universität Autònoma de Barcelona; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

**17.07.2012:** Wer ist zur Herrschaft geeignet? Strategien der dynastischen Legitimation im staufischen Südtalien. **Dr. Cristina Andenna** (*Universität Dresden; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)

the same time, Chinese scholars started to research into the problem and thus transformed *mixin* into an object of scientific study. While these developments were useful when subsequent governments organized vicious and at times brutal campaigns against “superstition”, so called “feudal superstition” and its vestiges, they failed to solve the problem sufficiently. To the contrary: during the era of the PR of China, the boundaries between science, “pseudo-science” and “superstition” frequently

became blurred, especially given the fact that prominent scientists, such as Qian Xuesen, took a great interest in para-psychological questions. These developments rendered many of the Chinese government’s propagandistic efforts meaningless, and should be considered as one reason why sectarian groups, such as Falungong, continue to enjoy a considerable amount of support, even among Chinese scientists.

## **Divination and Scientific Prediction: The Epistemology of Prognostic Sciences in the Middle Ages**

Prof. Dr. Alexander Fidora (ICREA/Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona;  
IKGF Visiting Fellow)

Starting with a survey of the terminology that was used to describe the epistemological status of the mantic arts during the Middle Ages, this lecture focused on the connections between the theoretical assumptions of these arts and those of other prognostic disciplines of the time.

While, during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, mantic disciplines, medicine and meteorology were classified altogether as conjectural sciences that are likewise based on the interpretation of signs (e.g. Albertus Magnus), during the 14<sup>th</sup> century a more differentiated model of scientific prediction developed in medical theory as well as in the field of meteorology. This model took into account the conditional probability of the expected events, which allowed an opportunity to falsify or at least revise and adapt a prognosis. As the analysis of Bernard of Gordon’s medical writings and al-Kindī’s Epistle on weather forecasting demonstrated, a concept of prediction thus emerged within the prognostic disciplines consisting of a cumulative interpretation of consecutive events. As the lecture showed, it is precisely here that the epistemological foundation of the prognostic sciences differs from that of the mantic arts for, while the concept of prognosis was transformed for medicine and meteorology and developed from a holistic prediction into a sequential and conditional one, the idea

of a global prediction, which is unaffected by the course of events, remained decisive for the mantic arts.

Against the backdrop of the epistemological models of prognosis, which were outlined during the lecture, it became obvious that, when the mantic disciplines were ultimately excluded from the Western canon of sciences, this was not due to moral and theological concerns alone. This exclusion was not only due to reasons external to science, but must also be explained in light of the developments within the theory and practice of science during the medieval period.

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

## **Pursuing the Millennium From the Chained Dragon to the Third Reich**

Dr. Julia Eva Wannemacher (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin;  
IKGF Visiting Fellow)

Dreams of a better future, a Golden Age, or a Thousand Year Reign of earthly bliss have always formed part of Western Apocalypticism. Hidden in the oldest texts of Greco-Roman poetry, ancient Judaism, early Christianity as well as medieval Christian thought, they surfaced as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and had the power to raise and destroy whole empires.

The Greek poet and philosopher, Hesiod, depicted a Golden Age of the long-gone Past and, in the Old Testament, the prophet Daniel described a declining series of kingdoms, both of which left little hope for the future, for the Golden and Silver Ages are long gone, and the present is made of a material of lesser quality. Yet, dreams of a return of the Golden Age have persisted, and only a few centuries after Daniel, hope for a better future received new, inflaming fuel.

The message of Jesus Christ inspired not only a desire for a Kingdom of Heaven, which was completely supranatural and otherworldly; for his followers, the message of Christ became the reason for the persecutions they had to suffer, and the hope that enabled them to endure them. They were most eager to hear not only of the Kingdom of Heaven, but also of a new reign of rather earthly hope and bliss.

In the darkest times, during the dreadful persecution of Christians around 100 AD, a man who was exiled from the mighty Roman Empire to the small island of Patmos in the Mediterranean Sea had a vision of apocalyptic dread and bliss, of future persecutions, of the end of the world, of the heavenly Jerusalem, and – before it – thousand years of peace, a saintly kingdom for the faithful. He described his vision through impressive images. One of the most powerful symbols was the seven-headed red dragon, the image of Satan, the old enemy of God and his people, who will first prosecute and torture Christians, and then will be bound and chained by angels, for thousands of years.

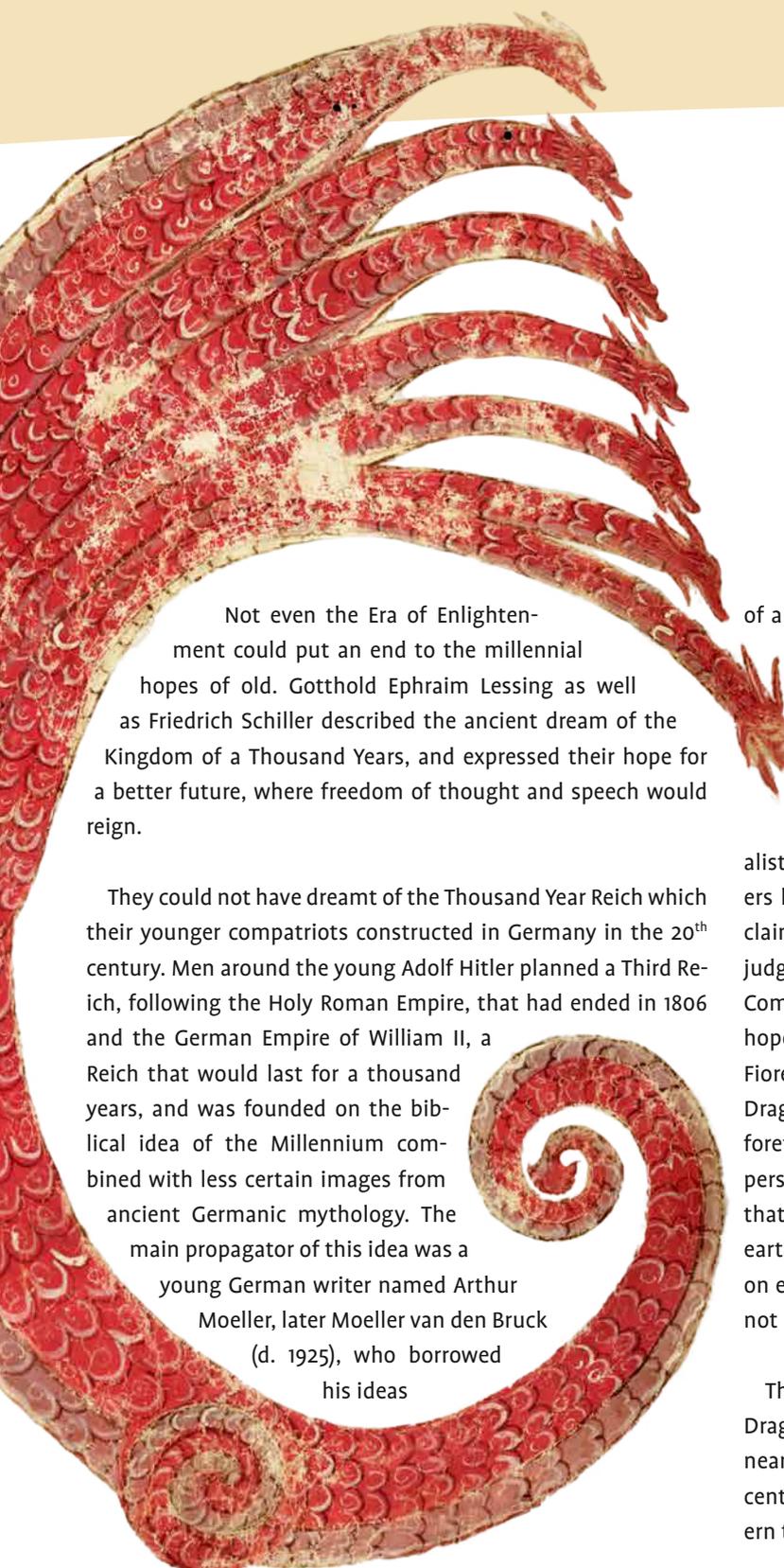
Since then, the history of Western thought has been filled with attempts either to suppress or strengthen the expectation

of an earthly kingdom of a thousand years, and it was certainly not only Christian thinkers in the strictest sense who allowed themselves to be inspired by the long-gone seer of Patmos and his revelations.

The chained dragon, whom the angel had bound and sent to the depths for a thousand years, became a symbol for the power of Evil, bereaved of its strength. The image of the Chained Dragon was the reason for a Thousand-Year Reign for antique and medieval Christian millennialist beliefs, which found their clearest expression in the thought of the 12<sup>th</sup> century abbot, Joachim of Fiore. Joachim painted a new image of the dragon. With his exegetic skills and trinitarian view of history, he combined the established Augustinian, anti-chiliasm interpretation of the chained dragon with the millenarian expectations of old. Thus, his theology provides an excellent example of the new self-conception of the Renaissance of the 12th century, which Bernard of Chartres had earlier described through an image of dwarfs, sitting on the shoulders of giants.

During the discovery and exploitation of the New World, Joachim's millenarian expectations were re-read and modified by thinkers from Christopher Columbus onwards, and soon expanded to the Hapsburg Empire, which stretched to the ends of the earth, and was regarded as the last empire. In Central Europe and Great Britain, millennialist hopes, basing on Joachim of Fiore and his interpretation of the Chained Dragon, were taken up and re-defined by the Protestant and Anglican Reformers and Reformations of the Church. The new spiritual men's spiritual insight, which Joachim expected as a gift from the Spirit, was interpreted by Müntzer as a result of his own active agitation.





Not even the Era of Enlightenment could put an end to the millennial hopes of old. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing as well as Friedrich Schiller described the ancient dream of the Kingdom of a Thousand Years, and expressed their hope for a better future, where freedom of thought and speech would reign.

They could not have dreamt of the Thousand Year Reich which their younger compatriots constructed in Germany in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Men around the young Adolf Hitler planned a Third Reich, following the Holy Roman Empire, that had ended in 1806 and the German Empire of William II, a Reich that would last for a thousand years, and was founded on the biblical idea of the Millennium combined with less certain images from ancient Germanic mythology. The main propagator of this idea was a young German writer named Arthur Moeller, later Moeller van den Bruck (d. 1925), who borrowed his ideas

of a Third Reich not only from ancient Christian texts but also from the Norwegian writer, Hendrik Ibsen, and the Russian philosopher, Dmitrij Sergejewitsh Mereshkowskij (d. 1941). Among his most fervent readers were Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels.

It was not only the Nazi ideology that exploited millennialist ideas, however. Before the Nationalists, communist thinkers had referred to Joachim of Fiore, and when the Nazis proclaimed their Third Reich, they fiercely contradicted this idea, judging that Joachim had been misinterpreted by the Nazis. Communists and Catholics of the time likewise focused their hopes for a better future on the medieval thinker, Joachim of Fiore, on his explanation of the Thousand Years of the Chained Dragon, and the new men of this Third Age whom Joachim had foretold. Ernst Bloch declared the Thousand Year kingdom as a perspective for the future: 'This is the true daring of Joachim: that he changed the perspective from the Otherworld to an earthly future, and expected an ideal time not in heaven but on earth. He understood the freedom of his new *viri spirituales* not as the freedom of the world, but for a new world to come.'

The promise of the Thousand Year Kingdom of the Chained Dragon, which came to life in the leaves of the seer of Patmos nearly two thousand years ago, has exerted its power on 20<sup>th</sup> century politics more explosively than ever, and even postmodern thought does not appear to have put an end to its activity.

*The Red Dragon, symbolizing the persecutions of the church, Joachim of Fiore, Liber Figurarum, Corpus Christi College ms. 255A, fol. 7r Reprinted with the kind permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*

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

## Johann Adam Schall von Bell and the “Superstitious” Chinese Calendar

PD Dr. Claudia von Collani (Universität Würzburg; IKGf Visiting Fellow)

The Jesuit Mission method in China in early modern times utilized extensively the superiority of European science. Within the framework of the policy of accommodation, it was used to introduce Christianity as a modern and enlightened faith to China. The Christian scholar, Xu Guangqi 徐光啟 (1562-1633) was entrusted by the Chongzhen emperor to reform the Chinese calendar with the help of the Jesuits. This was an important task, because the calendar formed the basis for the legitimization of the rule of the emperor.

After Xu Guangqi passed away in 1633, the German Jesuit, Johann Adam Schall von Bell 湯若望 (1592-1666), became the leader of this reform and was appointed the first director of the important Bureau of Astronomy (*Qintianjian* 欽天監) by the Manchu prince and regent, Dorgon (Amawang) 多爾袞 (1612-1650).

As such, he was responsible for the annual calendar for the emperor and also the folk calendar. The latter was actually based on a belief in spirits and in the election of days for certain purposes. Schall took over this office with the permission of his superior in China to work to the advantage of the Christian mission. Shortly afterwards, he was reproached by Gabriel de Magalhães 安文思 (1611-1677) and other Jesuits in China for having accepted an office with power, for being responsible for a calendar related to superstition and for using superstitious thought to influence the rule of the emperor. The controversy about the calendar and the tasks of its directorship lasted for about 16 years and caused many treatises and pamphlets to be written, both for and against.

Finally, after long controversies in China and Europe, Pope Alexander VII decided, in 1664, that Schall and his successors could keep the office for the benefit of the mission. In the meantime, Schall was accused by the Confucian scholar, Yang Guangxian 楊光先 (1597-1669), and brought to the court of the Manchus; he was reproached for having performed incorrect geomancy regarding the burial of a young imperial prince and, therefore, for being responsible for the premature death of the Shunzhi emperor 順治帝 (1644-1662) and the empress (“Calendar Case”); Schall was nearly executed. Later, he was rehabilitated when the young Kangxi emperor took over the reign himself in 1669 and used the Western influenced calendar to support his claim.

The treatises in this context exhibit something of the beliefs and attitudes of the 17th century concerning “superstition”. Magalhães described in his long treatise the superstitions of the Chinese calendar with the dangerous year ghost Taisui 太歲 and the respective day spirits, whereas Schall and his successor Fer-

dinand Verbiest (1623-1688) sought to interpret the ghosts and the day selection in a figurative and metaphorical sense and also used predictions for the educative purposes of the rulers.

### INSIGHT

## Consortium's Impressions



Our Visiting Fellow, Professor Zhang Wenzhi, gave weekly classes during his one year stay at the Consortium (April 2012-March 2013). The topics included the *Yijing* (*Book of Changes*) and selected passages from literary texts that refer to it as well as the divination of birth horoscopes through the method *Bazi Suanming*.



## The Fate of Poetry: On the Interpretation of Rilke's Sonnet “Giebt es wirklich die Zeit, die zerstörende?” \*

Prof. Dr. Christoph König (Universität Osnabrück; IKGf Visiting Fellow)

Insistent reading is a practice that aims to understand demanding individual texts through repeated examination. Understanding does not result from a previously set theory or conceptualization – as is often the case in the study of literature – but rather from the refinement of a practice. The reflectivity of reading concerns a kind of persistence, specifically, with regard to the critical examination of the reading process itself and the analysis of historical preconditions such as a text's interpretative history. This can give rise to a theory of practice which also conceives of manticism as a precursor of hermeneutical understanding.

Such reflective reading is especially worthwhile if a work itself contemplates (mantic) understanding. Insistent textual analysis of the sonnet “Does it really exist, time the destroyer?” (“Giebt es wirklich die Zeit, die zerstörende?”) from Rainer Maria Rilke's poem cycle “The Sonnets to Orpheus” (1922) was thus apposite. The presentation began with a close reading of the poem:

Does it really exist, time the destroyer?  
When, on the mountain at rest, will it crumble the castle?  
This heart, that belongs to the gods unendingly,  
when will the demiurge overcome it by force?

Are we really so apprehensively fragile  
as fate would have us believe?  
Is childhood, so deep, so promiseful,  
at the roots of it – later – stilled?

Ah, the specter of transience,  
through the simply receptive  
it passes as though it were smoke.

As those that we are, with our driving,  
we yet count among abiding  
powers as a use of the gods.<sup>1</sup>

Four rhetorical questions define each of the quartettes (“Does it really exist ...”, “When...will it crumble...”, “Are we really...”, “Is

childhood...”). The uncertainty in these questions about the validity of conventional notions of time and fate is first legitimated when the two replies in the second quatrain, presented in the form of questions, elucidate the questions of the first quatrain. The insertion of “that belongs to the gods unendingly” in line 3 enables the poet to construe the heart as the necessary counterweight to the demiurge allied with time. The word “heart” connotes the *creative power* that wants to redefine time and fate in order to put an end to their destructive power. The “use” (line 14) or – with a view to fate (line 6) – the ritual of a mantic interpretation falls under the purview of the poet. In the rituals, there is a doubling of productive power and its (later) interpretation. Poets interpret what they have already done (or do).

The translation by the great poet Li Kuixian 李魁賢 (Taiwan, b. 1937)<sup>2</sup> extends, in the second move, the cognitive power of insisting:

### 第廿七首

時間，這破壞者，真的存在嗎？  
何時將搗毀立在靜謐山嶺上的城堡？  
永屬於神的此心啊，  
何時將受到造物的凶暴？

倘若命運願為我們作證，  
我們真的是如此焦慮地脆弱？  
深邃，滿懷承諾的童年  
在根底——稍後——會平靜無波？

呵，無常的亡靈喲，  
像是一陣煙，  
通過毫無邪念的感受者。

正如我們這樣，漂泊者，  
在永續的力量之間  
我們值得神的使用。

(Translation by Li Kuixian)<sup>3</sup>

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

## II.27

Die Zeit, diese Zerstörerin, existiert sie wirklich?  
Wann wird sie die auf dem stillen Berg stehende Burg  
zerbrechen?  
O das für immer den Göttern/dem Gott gehörende  
Herz,  
wann wird (ihm) die Vergewaltigung des weltschöp-  
fenden Himmels widerfahren?

Würde das Schicksal für uns gern bezeugen wollen:  
Sind wir wirklich so besorgt zerbrechlich?  
Wird die tiefe, versprechungsvolle Kindheit  
in den Wurzeln – ein wenig später – wellenlos-(be)  
ruhig(t)?

Ach, der Geist/die Totenseele ohne Beständigkeit  
ist wie ein Rauch,  
geht hindurch durch den den üblen Gedanken gänz-  
lich fremden Empfindenden.

Gerade wie wir sind, die ziellosen Wanderer,  
zwischen den fortwährenden / ewig sich erneuern-  
den Kräften,  
verdienen wir, von den Göttern/von Gott gebraucht  
zu werden.

(Aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt von Na Schädlich)

The Chinese translation as interpreted by a retranslation back into the original German provides an opportunity to refine the initial interpretation. By means of commentary and counter-commentary, the lecture enacts a revealing pendulum movement, which can only be presented here with regard to the first stanza.

*Translation:* the threat of time is beyond doubt. The future tense that Li Kuixian utilizes, instead of the present tense used in the original, considerably minimizes the rhetorical character of the questions and prevails over the “real”.<sup>4</sup> The opposition

of time and heart/castle is therefore insurmountable. It is just a matter of time before the forceful overcoming will take place.

*My interpretation, by contrast, is as follows: the present tense in the German signals a general finding that could be true for both the past and the present. One might then ask: When does time ultimately destroy the castle? Rilke’s transformation of the powers that are hostile to the lyrical subject and their adaptation to a poetic task of the lyrical subject is precluded by Li Kuixian.*

The lecture moreover focused on Rilke’s astrological and astronomical studies in order to show how the poet crudely adopted the ideas of astrology (for instance in the words “star” and “constellation”) and what errors astrological historians adhere to in the research on the poet. Reviving research criticism, the poem’s interpretation by Hans-Georg Gadamer (who attempted to reason why a comma should be placed in line 2 before the phrase “the castle”) established continually recurring pathways through the poem. The effort to discover the reasons for errors in earlier interpretations is an integral part of an insistent philological practice.

<sup>1</sup> Rainer Maria Rilke, *Sonnets to Orpheus*, transl. M. D. Herter Norton, New York 1942, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> See Marián Gálík, Preliminary remarks on the reception of Rilke’s works in Chinese literature and criticism, in: *Transkulturelle Rezeption und Konstruktion. Festschrift für Adrian Hsia*, ed. Monika Schmitz-Emans, Heidelberg 2004, pp. 145-152.

<sup>3</sup> The *Sonnets to Orpheus* and the *Duino Elegies* have been translated in Li Er Ke 里爾克: *Li Er Ke Shiji* (I) 里爾克詩集 (I) [Rilke: Rilke. *Collected Poems*, Vol. 1], translated and introduced Li Kuixian 李魁賢譯/導讀, Taipei: Guiguan 桂冠 1994.

<sup>4</sup> Unlike Li Kuixian, Lü Yuan does not utilize the future tense. See Li Er Ke 里爾克: *Li Er Ke Shixuan* 里爾克詩選 [A selection of Chinese translations of Rilke’s poems], translated by Lü Yuan 綠原, illustrated edition (based on the first edition 1996), Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe 人民文學出版社 2006.

# Divining for Directions in Times of Trouble: Richard Wilhelm's *I Ging* (1924) and His Use of Divination in 1918-1920 / Reading Seminar: Fathoming Richard Wilhelm's Restructuring of the *I Ging*

Prof. Dr. Lauren Pfister (Hong Kong Baptist University)

As a consequence of pursuing research in the archives left by the German missionary-translator and later sinologist, Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930), I came across an unusual set of records within a pastoral notebook Wilhelm maintained for the years 1918-1920. At that time he was residing in Qingdao and serving as the Lutheran pastor at Christ Church there for those German citizens who remained as residents in that city during the final years of World War I.

During those traumatic years Wilhelm apparently cast hexagrams for various members of his extended family and the congregation, revealing both the deep concerns he had regarding various persons as well as his liberal orientation in being willing to use a traditional Chinese form of divination with the apparent intention of discerning the future. Images of the pages of his pastoral notebook that contained these symbols were displayed, so that those in the audience could see what had previously been unknown regarding Wilhelm's use of the *Yijing* during this period of his missionary career. Whether or not this could be a Chinese Christian act of pastoral concern or not, and how this relates to biblical precedents found in Acts 2, were considered, elaborated and evaluated during the lecture.

The seminar, that took place on the day following the lecture, opened the possibility for a comparative reading of the *Yijing* and the translation by Wilhelm. In spite of the fact that Richard Wilhelm's *I Ging* has probably been the most popular text ever produced by a missionary-scholar, being rendered into at least nine other languages, and in its German and English renderings (as well as others) having been published and republished numerous times, how the text itself is related to the standard Chinese version of the *Yijing* has not been known until 2005.

In that year I published a long article which included a detailed comparison of James Legge's English version of the standard Chinese text of this Ruist scripture and Wilhelm's *I Ging*, resulting in extensive charts that manifest the complicated restructuring of the standard work and the unprecedented decision by Wilhelm to split the scriptural text and its commentaries into three distinct books or parts (rather than the normal two: scripture and commentaries).

After describing the general trends and a number of the details of the reorganization of Wilhelm's text – with the comparative charts handed out for the sake of furthering the conversation during the seminar – questions were raised

about the significance of these changes. Certainly there are complications in the text needing to be addressed by German Sinologists, in particular explaining how those changes made by Wilhelm in his version of the *I Ging* are related to the canonical scripture.

## INSIGHT

### Consortium's Impressions



Prof. Scott Davis is playing Japanese folk music at the summer barbeque 2012.



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



*The fall of man as inevitable fate  
– Hieronymus Bosch's "Garden  
of Earthly Delights" (around  
1500, Museo del Prado, Madrid)*

## Painting the Fate of Mankind – New Perspectives on Hieronymus Bosch's Master Triptychs

Dr. Matthias Riedl (Central European University, Budapest; IKGf Visiting Fellow)

The lecture sought to re-interpret Hieronymus Bosch's master triptychs, created around 1500. These triptychs include the world-famous paintings "The Last Judgment" and "The Haywain". However, the focus was on Bosch's most famous and most enigmatic painting, "The Garden of Earthly Delights". The basic claim was that Bosch's master triptychs represent the major stages of sacred Christian history, exactly following the structure presented in the church father Augustine's work, "The City of God". Consequently, "The Garden of Earthly Delights" represents earth and mankind in their original state. Following the thought experiments of Augustine and other church fathers, Bosch provides in the central panel of his triptych a representation of an imaginary human society before the fall. The lecture nevertheless showed that Bosch had his own particular view on theological problems. Apart from Augustine, he fails to present the miserable condition of mankind as a fair consequence of Adam's original sin but rather as a fatal result of the structure of creation. In Bosch, the original condition of the Divine creation is not an absolutely good natural state but characterized

by ambiguity. The natural animal instincts secure the survival of the species and are necessary for fulfilling God's command to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth," but already in the Garden of Eden, they lead to cruelty and killing among animals. The most important of the animal instincts is the sexual drive, from which humans are by no means excluded. Man would not have been able to fulfil the Divine command to multiply, if he had not fully participated in the drives, instincts, and desires of living nature. Yet, this implies that these desires could at any time degenerate into lust and unrestrained passion. The state of nature is therefore a fragile situation which was determined to be destroyed. If Adam had not sinned, somebody else would have done so, sooner or later. In other words, in Bosch's representation of human sinfulness, there is a sense of inevitable fate and, therefore, the miserable, laborious, and vain character of human life, just as much as the tortures of the beyond, are not simply justified punishments, but a fatal consequence of creation, and also a tragedy.

## Visions of the Afterlife in Medieval German Literature

Prof. Dr. Concetta Giliberto (Università di Palermo; IKGf Visiting Fellow)

The lecture provided an introduction to the visionary literature and accounts of the other-world journeys in the medieval tradition, particularly in Germany. Visions can be referred to as psychosomatic events, through which individuals experience the transfer of their soul – with the help of a supernatural force – to another world, where they receive a revelation.

The Medieval visionary literature was inspired by a variety of apocryphal texts of the Jewish tradition, produced from 200 B.C. onwards, containing descriptions of the ascent to heaven by eminent prophets or biblical figures. Among the early Christian apocalypses, the *Visio Pauli* (4<sup>th</sup> century) occupies a unique position because of its exceptional popularity. Composed in Greek, this text was soon translated into Latin and subsequently into several vernacular languages. The *Visio Pauli*, which stems from the well-known passage of the second epistle to the Corinthians (12.1-5), hinting at the rapture of a man to the third heaven, describes Paul's visit to the realms of the Underworld under the guidance of Archangel Michael.

Of the *Visio Pauli*, a fragmentary poetic version in Middle High German survives (ca. 1150), reporting the scene in which the angel shows to the Apostle the door of Heaven's fortress and an interim place where a group of souls are hung from trees, which are shaken by a tempest. This is a sort of temporary punishment, a prelude to the concept of Purgatory, which was gradually developing during those centuries.

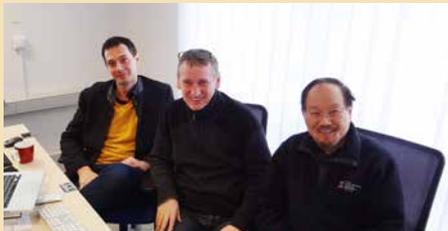
In Germany, the visionary material finds expression in other literary works inspired by the *Visio Pauli*, among which the so-called *Visio Tnugdali* emerges due to the intense vividness of its images, as well as its wide dissemination and the influence that it exerted on later representations of the Hereafter.

The geography of the Afterlife was one of the main concerns of the medieval theology and eschatological literature. The realms of the underworld (Paradise, Hell, Purgatory and other interim regions) are those places where the soul is believed to dwell during the period between the separation from the body and Doomsday and, therefore, are interpreted as allegories of the fate of humans after death. The importance attributed to the destiny of souls is strictly connected with the necessity for repentance, which is a crucial aspect of the medieval visionary literature. The literary production in Germany, in the early as well as high Middle Ages, is also involved in the development of apocalyptic narratives and visionary representations of the Otherworld, both in Latin and in the vernacular. Such a cultural trend demonstrates the great value which was assigned to a belief in the Afterlife in Medieval Germany, and which can be clearly understood because of its significant impact on the cultural, religious, social and even political dimensions.

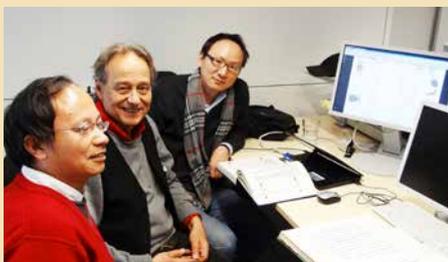
### INSIGHT

#### Consortium's Impressions

Besides numerous single projects, in winter 2012, two intensively collaborative research groups stayed at the Consortium:



Research project "Early Chinese Divination Texts and Bronze Inscriptions" with Prof. Kenichi Takashima (University of British Columbia), Dr. David Sehnal (IKGf Visiting Fellow) and Dr. Marco Caboara (IKGf Visiting Fellow) (from right to left)



Research project on early Chinese hemerologies, so-called "daybooks" (*rishu* 日書) with Prof. Liu Lexian (IKGf Visiting Fellow), Prof. Marc Kalinowski (IKGf Advisory Board Member) and Prof. Yan Changgui (IKGf Visiting Fellow) (from left to right)

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

## The Divinatory Mission of Chinese Writing and Textuality: How and Why to Perform Structural Analysis of the *Zhou yi* (*Classic of Changes*)

Prof. Dr. Scott Davis (Miyazaki International College; IKGf Visiting Fellow)

Speaking generally, we approach ancient Chinese texts such as the *Yi jing*, the *Analects* and the *Zuo zhuan* (commentary to the *Springs and Autumns Classic*) through (comparative) intellectual history, in philology and redaction studies; and through the immense corpus of thought accumulated over millennia of indigenous reflection that approximates, though not entirely or exactly, the modern methods named above. Unfortunately, throughout this vast body of traditional and modern work, with only a few outstanding exceptions, there seems to be little provision for close reading of the texts *as texts*, subordinating the flight of thematic interpretation and cross-cultural comparison to detailed examination of the textual devices operating in the expression of thought, and insisting on applying a fine-grained reading as provided by the philological traditions, but only on the condition that the text is approached primarily, neither as a neutral “container” for abstract ideas, nor as an atomized collection of individual lexical point-sources, but *as a whole design*, within which ancient thought came to expression in the operation of the textual devices.

For ancient Chinese culture, projects of writing and text-making must be approached within an axiomatic ancestral stance to the world, whereby the written up-link of the kings, through their scribes and diviners, to the agents of the ancestral apparatus, provided the fundamental legitimizing principles of the state regimes. This arrangement is eminently divinatory. For this reason, we must embark on every examination of these archaic texts with the clearest possible understanding that the basic principles of writing and literature in China were derived from divination. Writing was a foray into the future. Just as the Chinese word for “truth” (*li*) is formed with a jade signifier, showing the way that truth resides in the external world as a jade sculpture pre-exists its creation out of the stratified grain of the material, so writing and cracking oracle-bones are ways of releasing the omens from the world to bear upon forthcoming actions of the legitimate center of royal power. Due to the strongly non-psychological characteristic of this method of producing true omens, we cannot avoid the challenge of our

encounter with these texts: to defer our temptations to psychologize and philosophize these textual materials, and instead to develop methods allowing us to operate the texts within the frameworks of their own compositional design and application. This task will also require us to revise the traditional indigenous approaches, in the search for an appropriate structural expression of the divinatory mandate of the archaic culture.

In short, the situation calls for a vision of the early textual tradition as informing an archaic project of *mathesis universalis*, which requires the adoption of structural methods of analysis that faithfully model the divinatory character of early Chinese ethnomathematical expression: a level of indigenous analysis intermediary to symbolic and mathematical reflection (in our contemporary senses), and for that reason particularly congenial to contexts such as we now explore in life and social sciences. Studying these texts anthropologically means addressing the classification systems embodied in the cultural phenomena. Structural study means finding distinctive features that can be arrayed as tables of possibilities. These tables of criteria are kept hypothetical throughout the study; actual events, behaviors or mechanisms within the system are then deduced from the table, or on the other hand the on-going study may require revision of the criteria for distinctive features. The result of this mid-level analysis is a treatment of actual events or mechanisms as *realized logical possibilities*. This sketch of the structural method is suitable also for a description of divination. (Note that divination is not simply prediction: it aims to *create* coincidences, not just to detect them.) The structural study of classification systems indicates the ways the materiality of the environment speaks through the available cultural symbolisms.

When one conducts structural analyses in such ways over the early divination text, the *Classic of Changes*, it is possible to identify structural assemblies crafted through textual composition, through modular construction, symmetrical deployment and devices featuring symmetry-breaking, that through the evidence of their textual distribution indicate a deep concern

## PUBLICATION

Scott Davis: *The Classic of Changes in Cultural Context. A Textual Archaeology of the Yi jing*, New York: Cambria 2012.



to model archaic social reality—the social pyramid made up of age-graded groups and their

continuous approach to the king—and the passage of individual agents through it. This matrix building strategy of textual composition constitutes one key element of archaic Chinese textuality, and was very likely used by the next generation of texts such as the *Analects*, the *Daode jing*, the *Zuo zhuan* and others, in a somewhat more mechanical way, as a pigeon-hole classifying approach to the management of previously generated textual materials. Future studies of the categorical alignments of these matrices will reveal a widespread intertextuality prevailed on the basis of the spectacular design success that was the *Classic of Changes*.

## Who is Suited to Rule? Strategies for the Legitimation of Dynasties, Coping with the Past, and Securing the Future in Southern Italy under the Hohenstaufen Dynasty

Dr. Cristina Andenna (Universität Dresden; IKGf Visiting Fellow)

Frederick II the Hohenstaufen emperor died in 1250. Due to a long-standing conflict with the papacy, his own political status became difficult and, as a reigning family, the Hohenstaufen were met with severe criticism which challenged their succession to the throne of the *Regnum Siciliae*. Eight years after the emperor's death, on 10 August 1258, his son Manfred was crowned king in Palermo. Manfred's claim to the Sicilian crown was hotly disputed in the contemporary perception, and flaws in his hereditary rights made his suitability to rule questionable. In the succession regulations arising from Frederick II's testament of 1250, Manfred, born out of wedlock, is mentioned only in a secondary clause and was excluded from direct succession. How did Manfred lay claim to his right to succeed as king of Sicily – despite his illegitimate birth and subordinate position in the succession to the Sicilian throne? Considering the obstacles forced upon him by the papacy, how did Manfred manage to attain royal dignity after the death of his half-brother, Conrad IV, and despite the hereditary titles of his nephew, Conradin, to the crown of Sicily? Manfred's succession in the year 1258 raised a question vis-à-

vis the strategies and discourses employed in historiographical works to justify his suitability to rule and thereby to ensure his reign for the future.

Historiographical writings, such as the *Historia de rebus gestis Friderici II Imperatoris ejusque filiorum* [...], were composed before Manfred's rise to power with the intention of laying claim to his idoneity; that is, his qualification and



*The Coronation of Manfred at Palermo (1258)*. Illustration from the *Chronicle of Giovanni Villani*, second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Chigi L VIII 296, fol. 85r  
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# Fate, Freedom and Prognostication. Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe

suitability, to rule Sicily, and to solve the question of his problematic legitimation at the same time. In the chroniclers' view Manfred was predestined by God to be the reigning successor of his father because he was the direct emanation of Frederick II, regardless of his original *defectus natalis*. Manfred's suitability to rule was demonstrated by an appeal to genealogical argumentation and his qualification to reign justified by the particularly pronounced character of his moral and political virtues, which he had inherited from his father. Recourse to the past and to images and models from biblical or mythological contexts were meant to engender a consensus on the part of the addressees. In historiographical texts, such strategies prove idoneity in that they render plausible the qualification of the relevant dynastic representative and thereby establish the preconditions for his rulership in order to be accepted. In this way, suitability becomes a means of securing the future.

However, papal counter-propaganda operated under similar strategies. These works already react to the impending Hohenstaufen failure in southern Italy, with their authors trying to establish new lines of argumentation for the ending of Hohenstaufen rule. Here, Manfred's direct genealogical descent from Frederick II is instrumentalised as an argument for his appearance as *rex iniquus*. Various chroniclers referred to stereotypical figures as negative personifications of major values and norms in order to negate the claimant's personal qualities. Apocalyptic

and eschatological motives thereby exert a notable influence in the historiographical texts. Belief in prognosis by divinatory and astrological methods is also criticised as a negative characteristic of Manfred in historiographical sources related to the papacy. These practices of interpreting the future, well known in the courts of medieval kings – and also in the papal court – were incompatible with the fear of God demanded of a *rex iustus*. With convincing and striking arguments, such views strengthen the motives of legitimation for the political change in Sicily affected by the Church via the appointment of the Anjou.

These strategies and patterns of justification prove part of a broader discourse of either legitimising or delegitimising and of establishing the suitability to rule in the kingdom of Sicily. At the same time, they provide an important contribution both in terms of explaining destiny and the past as well as securing the future rule of the relevant political actors.

## LECTURES

### Additional Lectures in Summer Semester 2012:

**Lecture on June 6, 2012: Prof. Dr. Denis Thouard** (CNRS; Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin): "The Other Archaeology of Victor Segalen (1878-1919): The Great Statuary of China"

**Lecture on June 26: Prof. Dr. Lisa Raphals** (University of California, Riverside; National University of Singapore; Advisory Board Member): "Divination, Gender and Mantic Access"

## CONFERENCES & WORKSHOPS

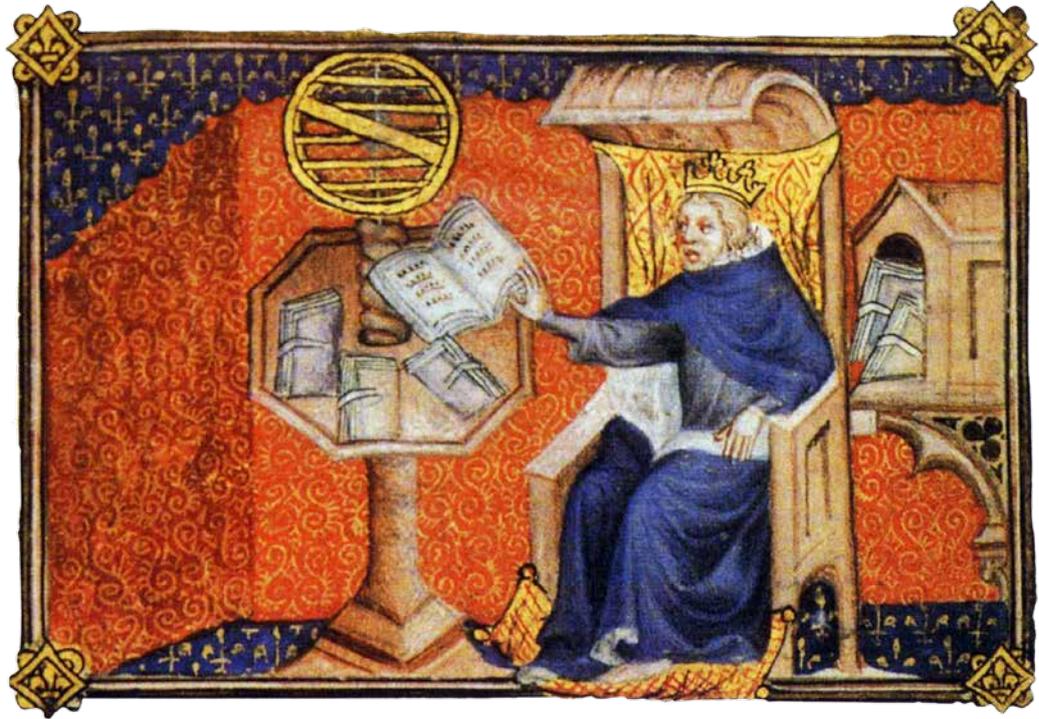
### Great Books of Medieval and Early Modern Divination (and Anti-Divination)

Workshop, Erlangen, April 17, 2012

The Greek *κανών* literally means 'list', and the Canon was the 'list of fundamental texts', an idea which originated in Alexandria in the third or second century BC, when literature and related activities (textual reconstruction, lexicography, commentary) were, for the first time, practised in a regulated, institutional context, under the guise of *philology*.

In a series of books published between 1973 and 1994, the famous, influential, and controversial literary critic, Harold Bloom, formulated two fundamental ideas concerning literary creation, and, by extension, creation in general: first, that literary creation is based on an either 'agonistic' or 'imitative' wrestle with earlier, existing, influential texts, which are what Bloom designated by the word Canon; and, second, that the Canon stands at

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the centre of literary creation, and that a Canon of western texts forms the core of world literature. These texts are authorities, and a contemporary creator must, by necessity, react to them, by either agonism or imitation. Bloom's theories about 'influence' are strongly 'dialogic' and seem to be applicable to many kinds of creation, even to that of knowledge.

We can attempt to connect these ideas – that is, the Canon as the core of literature, and the notion of an agonistic approach to it – with those of two key authors in the field of philosophy of science, Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn. According to Popper, as is well known, science (and human knowledge in general) advances by conjectures and by the correction of earlier mistakes, as expressed in *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, 1959 (the first German version was entitled *Logik der Forschung*, 1934) and in *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*, 1963. Thus, it should be consistent with Popper's ideas to claim that the correction of earlier mistakes constitutes an 'agonistic' approach: 'I can do better than you; I can see further than you; I can correct your mistakes; I can give a broader explanation of phenomena than you can.'

For Kuhn, struggling with a Paradigm is one of the modalities for the advancement of knowledge – the term 'Paradigm' is meant here in the sense of a 'basic assumption,' current since the publication of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in 1962. Kuhn's definition of a Paradigm, from his *The Essential Tension*, is as follows: 'what members of a scientific community, and they alone, share'. This definition is most suitable for our purposes: we can claim that, in some ways, the Canon is the humanities' equivalent of the scientific Paradigm – or better, that *the Canon is the textual manifestation of a Paradigm*. When a philosopher approaches a philosophical question or a natural scientist a determinate scientific problem, they do not begin from a (hypothetical) moment zero. They have 'background knowledge' to reckon with first. *They live inside a tradition of written texts*. Thus, the scientist or philosopher wishing to propose or impose a new theory, must by force struggle with the tradition, or with the books of the Canon. He or she will cope with a problem bearing both a Paradigm and a Canon of texts in mind – wrestling with the texts in order to overcome the Paradigm, to do better in turn. And in our written culture, the Paradigm takes the form of a Canon of 'authoritative texts.'

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

Artistic creation, art in general, and even science, knowledge, and scholarship, can be described as a long-lasting dialogue among texts. Whatever the distance in time and space, texts can choose from among a wide range of possible interconnections and create complex, interlacing patterns. They can talk to one another, quote, allude, hint, comment, contradict, and remark. They can include tributes, acknowledgements, and confutations.

Canons change across time and space. There is always a plurality of possibilities. As far as divinations goes, some techniques seem only to have been loosely connected to a Canon at certain points in their history: chiromancy is an example of this, being devoid of clear references to textual authorities before the sixteenth century. Others, on the other hand, relate strongly to a Canon throughout their textual history. A



Prof. Stefano Rapisarda during the introduction to the workshop.

case in point is astrology, at the center of which the works of Ptolemy stood from late antiquity to the early modern era.

To define the Canon, certain sources deserve particular attention: book inventories of whatever origin (ecclesiastic, monastic, aristocratic, royal or private collections); citations of authoritative books in university curricula; mention of books in private documents, the most frequent as legacy in wills, but also donations, contracts of buy and sell, exchanges, lists of readings, invoices, etc.; quotations of books in individual works, and finally single sentences employed as mottos, emblems, authoritative/supportive or to-be-confuted quotations, and so on.

The papers delivered at the workshop dealt with some of the issues mentioned above: the dialogue (indeed, the wrestling) sometimes between scientific books, in particular books of divination (Stefano Rapisarda); the dialogue between early medieval and late antique/patristic authors and the Bible on the subject of licit and illicit prognostication (Erik Niblaeus); the making of pseudo-Ptolemy's *Centiloquium* through a dialogue between rational knowledge and 'inspiration', and its circulation in early medieval Europe (Jean-Patrice Boudet); an Occitan text on practical prognostication, the *Dodechedron*, and the background of this particular genre in Latin, French, and Occitan (Katy Bernard); a study of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 304, a finely decorated manuscript, and a witness to a 'visual Canon' of author-portraits, yet discrepant with the textual Canon (Allegra Iafrate); the fortune of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* (Hans-Christian Lehner); Thomas Aquinas's *Liber de sortibus* and its 'dialogue' with the tradition of Biblical sortes (Alberto Alonso Guardo); and the evolution of tradition in medieval *Ars notoria* (Julien Veronèse).

Prof. Dr. Stefano Rapisarda  
(Workshop Convenor; IKGf Visting Fellow)

## Tuesday, April 17, 2012

10:00 Uhr	Geleitwort Prof. Dr. Klaus Herbers, IKGf deputy director Dialogue (and Wrestle) among Books: A Look at Science Books and Divination in Particular Prof. Dr. Stefano Rapisarda, IKGf Visiting Fellow, Università di Catania
10:30 a.m.	Arguing Divination by the Book: Categories of Foretelling in the Vulgate Bible Dr. Erik Niblaeus, IKGf
11:10 a.m.	Astrology between Rational Science and Inspired Divination: Pseudo-Ptolemy's <i>Centiloquium</i> Prof. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Université d'Orléans
11:50 a.m.	The Secret of Secrets and its Reception in the Middle Ages Hans Christian Lehner, IKGf
2:00 p.m.	Pythagoras' index: Denoting Authorship in <i>Sortes</i> Books Dr. Allegra Iafrate, Scuola normale superiore di Pisa
2:40 p.m.	Le Dodechedron occitan du manuscrit BNF Fr. 14771 Dr. Katy Bernard, Université de Bordeaux
3:50 p.m.	Apuntes sobre el <i>De sortibus</i> de Tomás de Aquino Prof. Alberto Alonso Guardo, Universidad de Valladolid
4:30 p.m.	The <i>Ars notoria</i> in the Middle Ages and in Modern Times: Diffusion and Influence(s) Prof. Julien Veronèse, Université d'Orléans

# Political Prophecies in the Middle Ages

Workshop, Erlangen, May 18, 2012

A one-day workshop was held at the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities, 'Fate, Freedom and Prognostication', at FAU Erlangen-Nuremberg, on the theme of 'Political Prophecies in the Middle Ages.' It was convened by HANNES MÖHRING (Bayreuth). The aim of the workshop was both to see how medieval prophecies, visions, and prognoses were created, interpreted, and remade for political purposes; and to investigate the political element in the fluctuating, if ever-present, apocalyptic and millenarian hopes, fears, and expectations.

Defining and distinguishing the political elements in prophetic texts is not always easy, and the problem was briefly discussed in the introduction to the first paper of the day, by SABINE SCHMOLINSKY (Erfurt). Schmolinsky then concentrated on the Sibylline texts, and more specifically on two relatively recent publications on this topic, by Anke Holdenried and Christian Jostmann.<sup>1</sup> She warned against confusing the intention of a prophetic text with its reception, a point that was further strengthened during the discussion. Sibylline texts are often cypher-like, skeletons on which readers and users can hang



Prof. Wolfram Brandes (Frankfurt a.M.) in discussion with Prof. Felicitas Schmieder (Hagen) and Hans-Christian Lehner (IKGF). Left to right.

their anxieties and concerns, and they are highly amenable to re-interpretation and manipulation. Manipulation was the theme also of WOLFRAM BRANDES'S (Frankfurt am Main) paper. Brandes took three early medieval examples, from Arabic,

Syriac, and Byzantine Christendom respectively, to show how prognostication could play a role in both secular and ecclesiastical politics. In all three cases, the focus was not on prophetic texts as such, but on historical and hagiographical narratives which record the composition of a particular prophetic text. Brandes ably demonstrated the tension, paradoxical perhaps to the modern mind, between knowing how a prophetic text could be produced with a specific political purpose in mind, and still taking it seriously as a visionary, predictive phenomenon. He further stressed the importance of very short prophetic texts, which could be quickly and widely disseminated, but have often been neglected in modern scholarship.

Long texts and verbose authors were nonetheless the focus of the following papers, by JULIA EVA WANNENMACHER (Berlin) and MATTHIAS RIEDL (Budapest), both currently visiting fellows at the Consortium. Wannemacher discussed the political aspects of the works of the famed visionary and theologian, Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202). Joachim was both an active political counsellor, who gave advice to the powerful of his age, and a figure of immense posthumous influence. His name became a byword for visions of the final days, a mark of prophetic authority. In fact, many of the texts traditionally attributed to Joachim post-date him, and are not consistent with his strictly exegetical approach to eschatology. More generally, Wannemacher stressed the need for an awareness that contemporary European attitudes to apocalyptic and millenarian prophecies are very different from the medieval ones: in the Middle Ages, concerns about the end were omnipresent. Riedl, for his part, discussed the prophetic elements of a well-known and much-discussed early modern text, the reformer, Thomas Müntzer's, *Fürstenpredigt* of 1524. He argued that Müntzer's work was one of the earliest manifestations of a call for 'apocalyptic violence,' which, Riedl proposed, was a symptom of modernity. Pre-modern eschatological texts and sermons took a more passive approach to the end-times, predicting rather than preaching violence. The argument, although subtle and qualified, met with some resistance among the audience.

CHARLES CASPERS (Nijmegen) introduced a liturgical element to the proceedings, in an elegant disquisition on time

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

and the sacred. Basing himself mostly on authors and texts from the high-medieval Low Countries (Rupert of Deutz, the vita of Juliana of Liège), Caspers described the liturgical year as an image of salvation history. He placed special emphasis on the feasts of Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi – the latter two high-medieval inventions, designed to provide the faithful with a gradually increasing understanding of the sacred mysteries of the Trinity and the Eucharist. Hannes Möhring continued with a paper on an author of undoubted political significance: the *Revelationes* of pseudo-Methodius, which circulated widely in numerous versions during the Middle Ages. Again, the sheer malleability of these prophetic texts shone through. Generation after generation imbued pseudo-Methodius with their own concerns and resentments. In many instances, it was read as a prediction of a disastrous Muslim

## PRESENTATIONS

**Sabine Schmolinsky** (*Erfurt*): Wie politisch sind politische Weissagungen? Überlegungen zu mittelalterlichen Prophetien

**Wolfram Brandes** (*Frankfurt a.M.*): Propagandaversionen byzantinischer apokalyptischer Texte in der 1. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts

**Julia Eva Wannemacher** (*IKGF Erlangen*): Macht – Religion – Politik: Joachim von Fiore, Prophet oder Ketzer

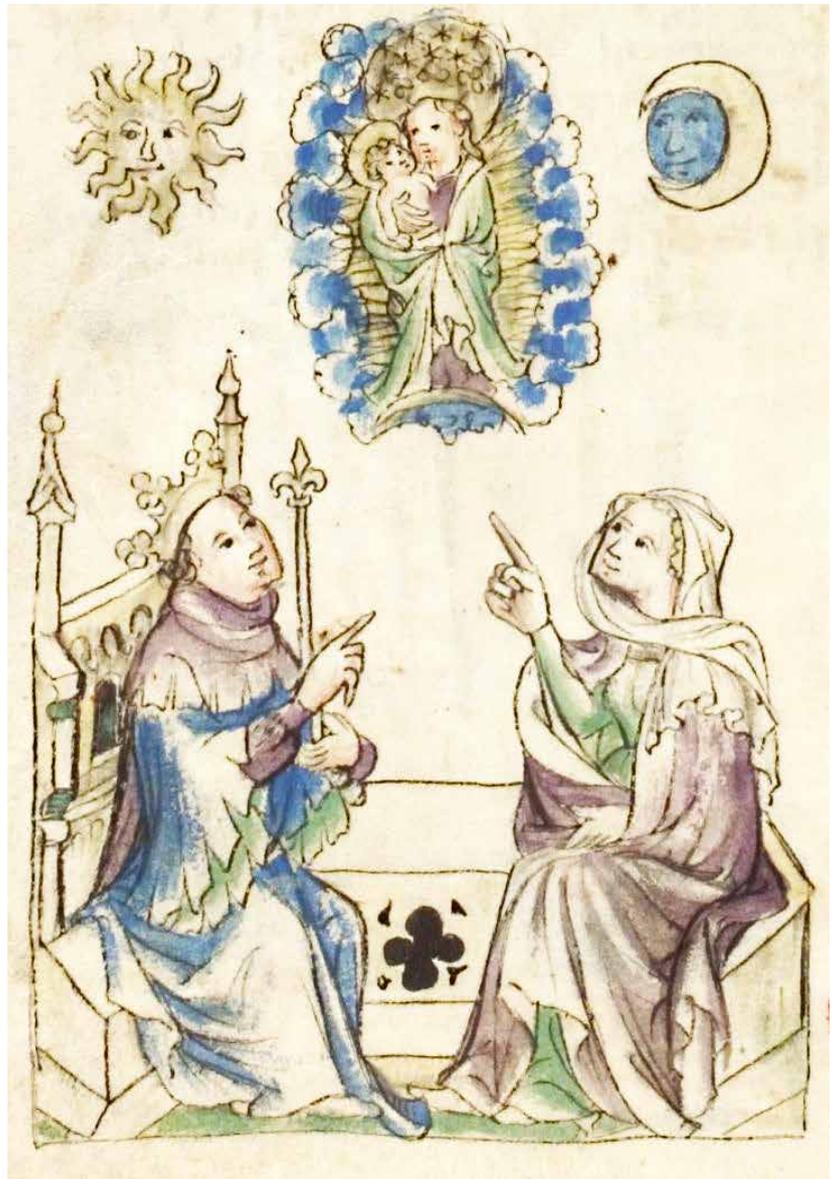
**Matthias Riedl** (*IKGF Erlangen*): Apokalyptik und Gewalt – Neue Perspektiven auf Thomas Müntzers Fürstenpredigt

**Charles Caspers** (*Nijmegen*): Celebrating the future. Trinitarian visions in Western liturgy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

**Hannes Möhring** (*Bayreuth*): Aktualität und Zeitrechnung der Weissagung des Pseudo-Methodius

**Hans-Christian Lehner** (*IKGF Erlangen*): Politische Weissagungen in der mittelalterlichen Historiografie (12./13. Jahrhundert)

**Felicitas Schmieder** (*Hagen*): Eschatologische Prophetie im Mittelalter: Ein Mittel „politischer“ Kommunikation?



assault on Christendom. More examples came up in the discussion, bringing the usage of pseudo-Methodius well into the modern era.

HANS-CHRISTIAN LEHNER (Erlangen) discussed the prevalence and significance of prophetic, visionary, and prognostic passages across a wide range of historiographical texts from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Reich. Often neglected by historians, these passages can in fact, Lehner argued, be critical for how we understand medieval annals and chronicles. Examples ranged from the predictive power of natural disasters and celestial irregularities, to ghostly apparitions. Their meaning was often interpreted in an eschatological light, although sometimes more immediate concerns (the death of a ruler, a fire in

a church, and so on) dominated. The variety and wide scope of interpretation by different authors with different political allegiances emerged in particular. FELICITAS SCHMIEDER (Hagen) brought the workshop to an end with, first, another plea for the recognition of the omnipresence of eschatological concerns in the Middle Ages, and that modern historians should take them seriously; and, second, two examples of medieval ‘political’ prophecy – Joachim of Fiore and, in more detail, the salvation-historical texts vignettes incorporated into a 15th-century *mappa mundi*. In the brief final discussion, the participants surveyed the results of the day, and came up with topics of interest for future discussion, notably how and by whom medieval political prophecies were mediated and disseminated.

Hans-Christian Lehner (IKGF) / Dr. Erik Niblaeus (IKGF)

<sup>1</sup> Anke Holdenried, *The Sibyl and her Scribes. Manuscripts and Interpretations of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050–1500*, Aldershot, 2006; Christian Jostmann, *Sibilla Erithea Babilonica. Papsttum und Prophetie im 13. Jahrhundert*, Hannover 2006 (*Monumenta Historica Germaniae. Schriften Bd. 54*).



Our visiting fellow and convenor of the workshop, Prof. Dr. Hannes Möhring (Bayreuth), opening the event.

## Looking for Knowledge: The Theories and Practices of Observation in Pre-Modern China and Beyond

Studententag, Erlangen, July 4, 2012

An informal meeting with the working title “Looking for Knowledge: The Theories and Practices of Observation in Pre-Modern China and Beyond,” hosted by the IKGF on July 4, 2012, explored the philosophical and applied meanings of the practice of observing/examining visible facets of reality as a means of gaining predictive knowledge and assisting the process of divination. Most often signified by the Chinese term *guan* 觀 (yet not limited to it), the practice included observing the physical features of humans and animals, landscapes and different objects with the purpose of gathering information and making informed conclusions leading to the establishment of a diagnosis or prognosis. Observation was included within a subcategory of traditional Chinese science (*shushu* 數術, lit. “numbers and techniques”) and was widely used in the fields of Chinese medicine, mathematics, religious practices and philosophy.

The meeting gathered scholars specializing in different fields of Chinese studies, as well as a specialist in the medieval European traditions, who presented their insights on the topic from the perspective of their respective fields of expertise. After an introduction to the objectives of the project by Dr. Dimitri Drettas, who clarified the connections between the practice of observing and

the act of divining (*zhan* 占), the invited keynote speaker, Prof. Karine Chemla (CNRS, Paris), explored a wide range of questions relevant to the project. Among these were the semantic usages of the term *guan*, as well as its philosophical and practical implications. Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos investigated the uses of *guan* in Buddhist meditation and contemplation, dedicating special attention to the practice of “stopping and observing” (*zhiguan* 止觀) in the Tiantai 天台 tradition, as well as to the act of visualization in Esoteric Buddhism. Basing his inquiry on the investigation of the historical biographies of Chinese diviners, collected by Yuan Shushan 袁樹珊 (1881-1952?) in his *Zhongguo lidai buren zhuan* 中國歷代卜人傳 [Biographies of diviners organized by Chinese dynastic periods], Prof. Michael Lackner explored the va-

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riety of uses and meanings of *guan* in connection with different divinatory practices, including physiognomy, palm reading, as well as the system of the Four Pillars of Destiny (*sizhu* 四柱, also known as *bazi suanming* 八字算命). Prof. Andrea Bréard presented examples of observation in the manuals describing the techniques of using dominos for the purposes of prognostication and emphasizing the rational dimension of *guan* as a practice of reasoning. Prof. Marta Hanson compared the practice of *observatio* in European medicine to Chinese medical cases (*yi'an* 醫案), drawing the attention of the audience to the striking similarities between the development of these two independent traditions. Dr. Sophia Katz explored the practice of observing the *weiqi* (Go) game (*guan weiqi* 觀圍棋) in connection with divination, and presented several examples of the philosophical uses of *guan* in Song-Ming Confucianism. Dr. László Sándor Chardonens introduced participants to the divination-related practices of observation in the Medieval European traditions, suggesting possible directions for a comparative research.

The meeting concluded with an open discussion which raised questions of importance and explored possible paths for the future development of the project. The participants emphasized the importance of distinguishing between different facets of observation: *guan* as looking, carefully observing and noticing existing features or signs differed from *guan* as “visualization” aimed at bringing hidden aspects of reality into the conscious perception of the practitioner, thus making the invisible visible. Observation was not limited to “seeing” only, but implied a perception involving a complex set of senses and faculties. Unlike a more technical and future-oriented act of prediction, observation was a process comparable in complexity to the process of divination in a broader sense of the term.

Dr. Sophia Katz  
(IKGF Researcher in Residence)

## Caution and Creativity – Legitimizing and Conceptualizing Prognostic Practices in Chinese Buddhism

Workshop, Erlangen, September 3-4, 2012

The Buddhist monastic discipline advises members of the monastic order not to engage in mantic practices in order to profit from it. This might be one of the main reasons why the Buddhist tradition is cautious about matters of prognostication and divination. Equally, academic Buddhology traditionally kept aloof from the subject. Nevertheless, Buddhist practice and philosophy – especially the Chinese ones – developed their own mantic theories and techniques throughout the centuries. The workshop’s contributions reflected on this tension between caution and creativity. Two dynastic foci were set – on the one hand the period of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which divinatory practices played a role in the indigenous Buddhist scriptures created at that time, and on the other hand, the late Ming-Dynasty (1368-1644), in which Buddhist divinatory practices witnessed a revival.

The workshop opened with a lecture by Prof. Kuo Liying (EFEO) on the *Great Vaipulya Dhâraṇi Sûtra* (*Da fangdeng duoluoni jing* 大方等陀羅尼經, T.1339) and its Dunhuang variants, esp. S. 1524. Kuo highlighted the importance of dreams and visions in the Buddhist tradition and traced this throughout the *Dhâraṇi*, in which dreams and visions served to certify the spiritual approach of the adept and his or her sincerity and purification. This was in line with the remarkably direct interactions between the practitioner and holy images, deities or Buddhas and Bodhisattvas that placed the ordaining monks more in the role of witnesses rather than assigning a leading role in the transmission ceremony. In the reading session that corresponded to this lecture, the Dunhuang manuscript mentioned and its differences from the received Taishô text were further elucidated.

With the next lecture on “Mantic Knowledge in Transfer – The Example of the *Brahmajâla* Text Family,” Dr. Esther-Maria

Guggenmos aimed to provide an overview of the changes through which a passage on mantic practices had gone. The earliest passage to be found in the Pāli Canon within the *Brahmajāla Sūtra* underwent considerable alterations and editions in the textual history of its transmission in Central and East Asian languages. While the Pāli passage delivers a colorful panorama of the mantic arts in the social context of the

Early Indian Buddhist-Brahmin encounter, the two Chinese parallels made huge efforts to make sense of this lively enumeration in their own semantic and cultural context. The Chinese apocryph that is also entitled *Brahmajāla Sūtra* (*Fanwang Jing* 梵網經) – comprising the Bodhisattva precepts as such known only in East Asian Buddhism – enumerates the mantic arts quite independently from the Indian original, but applies indigenous Chinese categories of mantic practices. Consistently, the two translations never attained the popularity of the widely circulated *Fanwang Jing*. The afternoon reading session concentrated on elucidating single terms in the Chinese parallels. The depth of the textual analysis profited greatly from the expertise of Prof. Marc Kalinowski (EPHE), who draw parallels in the vocabulary and divinatory concepts of early Chinese hemerologies.

## Montag, 3. September 2012

“APOCRYPHAL” CREATIVITY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL CHINA	
9:15 a.m.	Welcome Address Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner (IKGF director) “Buddhism and Divination”? Some Preliminary Remarks on the State of the Field Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos (IKGF)
9:45 a.m.	Key to Dream: Salvation in Chinese Buddhism Prof. Dr. Kuo Liying (EFEO, Paris)
11:15 a.m.	Mantic Knowledge in Transfer - The Example of the Brahmajāla Text Family Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos (IKGF) Response: Prof. Dr. Marc Kalinowski (CNRS/EPHE, Paris)
2:30 p.m.	Text Reading 1: Mantic Arts in the Brahmajāla Text Family
3:15 p.m.	Text Reading 2: Zhuhong's 祿宏 (1535–1615) Commentary on the <i>Fanwang jing</i> 梵網經
4:15 p.m.	Text Reading 3: The Dunhuang variant S.1524 of the Great <i>Vaipulya Dhāraṇī Sūtra</i> (大方等陀羅尼經, T.1339)
5:00 p.m.	Divination as Part of Maṇḍala Initiation in Tantric Buddhist Traditions Prof. Dr. Gudrun Bühnemann (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

A monk, well-known in other contexts for his anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit engagement, Zhuhong 祿宏 (1535–1615), wrote a commentary on the *Fanwang jing*. A reading session directed by Prof. Chün-fang Yü (Columbia University) showed how the commentary of Zhuhong on the mantic arts simplified the original and underlined that the practice of magic and exorcism is allowed for members of the monastic community, as long as they practice these arts with the intention of helping and without any expectation of reward. Dream divination – probably an integral part of Zhuhong’s cultural context – he eliminated from his enumeration.

Prof. Gudrun Bühnemann (University of Wisconsin-Madison), in her talk on “Divination as Part of Maṇḍala Initiation in Tantric Buddhist Traditions” traced how a distinct form of divination makes up, transregionally and transhistorically, the core part of the tantric initiation rituals. The ritual basic pattern consists of the initiating monk or the initiand taking up a flower and dropping it on a fielded ground, through which the initiand is shown his bond to a certain spiritual power (Bodhisattva, emanation of a god, etc.). This divinatory pattern can be found in Indian Buddhist texts of the 6<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, but also in other Buddhist traditions, such as the Tibetan Kālachakra ritual of the Gelugpa (dge lugs pa) school, the Japanese Shingon 真言 and Tendai 天台 sects, presumably in medieval Chinese esoteric Buddhism, but even in non-Buddhist Indian traditions, such as the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva traditions.

## Dienstag, 4. September 2012

REVIVALS, AMPLIFICATIONS AND MORE (ESP. MING DYNASTY)	
9:30 a.m.	Emptiness in Principle, Divination in Practice: Ouyi Zhixu’s Writings on the Sutra on the Divination of Good & Bad Karmic Retribution Prof. Dr. Beverley McGuire (The University of North Carolina, Wilmington) Response: Prof. Dr. Chün-fang Yü (Columbia University)
11:00 a.m.	Introduction of the Board Game designed by Buddhist Master Ouyi Zhixu and its Significance in Popularizing Buddhism in China and other Asian Countries Dr. May-Ying Mary Ngai (PhD The University of British Columbia, Vancouver) Response: Prof. Dr. Chün-fang Yü (Columbia University)
2:00 p.m.	Text Reading 4: Ouyi Zhixu’s 滿益智旭 (1599-1655) Preface of the <i>Xuanfo Pu</i> 選佛譜
2:45 p.m.	Text Reading 5: The Preface of Zhuhong’s <i>Record of Self-Knowledge</i> (Zizhi Lu 自知錄)
3:30 p.m.	Text Reading 6: Hyenhyang <i>sepong kyōng</i> 現行西方經 (韓國佛教全書 vol. 6, 860-876)
5:30 p.m.	Final Discussion

The second day of the workshop moved away from the early indigenous scriptures. Both presentations focused on the Ming dynasty monk, Ouyi Zhixu 滿益智旭 (1599-1655). Prof. Beverley Foulks McGuire (University of North Carolina Wilmington), in her presentation, cross-examined all three writings of Ouyi on the previously mentioned *Sūtra on the Divination of Good and Bad Karmic Retribution* (*Zhancha Shan’e Yebao Jing* 占察善惡業報經) – the interlinear comment, the ritual explanation as well as the exploration of its profound meaning. She analysed the exact role that divination plays in Ouyi’s thought: the impor-

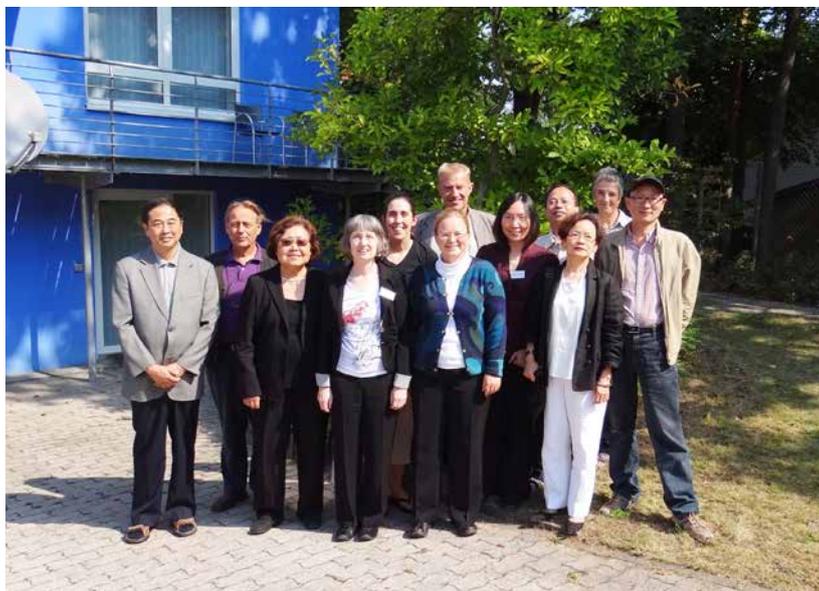
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tance of faithfulness and sincerity as the presupposition to its functioning; its logic facing of the emptiness of karma itself; the differentiation from worldly divination and the transformative potential of Buddhist divination; and the embeddedness into an organic vision that supposes the natural processes of karmic development and the link to contemplation (*guan* 觀察). McGuire finally pointed out the not only cognitive but also emotive role that divination plays as “a tool for controlling emotions and reshaping religious outlooks”: Divination helped to overcome fear and doubt and create confidence in spiritual progress.

The contribution of Dr. Mary May-Ying Ngai (University of British Columbia) focused on the Buddhist board game, *Xuanfo tu* 選佛圖, designed by Ouyi Zhixu in the style of the popular game “Table of Bureaucratic Promotion” (*Shengguan tu* 陞官圖). The latter was a game that imagined all possible ways through the bureaucratic system

of official posts. Correspondingly, the aim of the *Xuanfo tu* was declared to be the attainment of liberation and Buddhahood. The journey through various stages of spiritual development was seen by Ouyi as having an educative purpose and as a way of applying expedient means (*upāya*). As with the *Shengguan tu*, having good luck while playing the game could

- especially during New Year - be seen as an auspicious sign and therefore the board game can



The workshop participants.

also be seen as a divinatory tool. The reading of Ouyi’s preface to the *Xuanfo Pu* 選佛譜 rounded off the lecture.

The workshop concluded with a reading of two additional texts: the preface



of Zhuhong on his *Record of Self-Knowledge* (*Zizhi Lu* 自知錄), that saw constant self observation following the scheme of the *Ledgers of Merit and Demerit* (*Gongguo Ge* 功過格) as superior to the divination of fortune and misfortune. Buddhist practice was enriched with a new genre that enabled the practitioner to derive

from the records of one’s own deeds a prognosis. The final text, *Hyenhayng sepang kyōng* 現行西方經 (韓國佛教全書 Vol. 6, 860-876), was not known previously to the participants. It begins with a description of a method called

“Guanyin Divination” (*Guanyin Zhan* 觀音占) that resembled the temple oracle. It illustrated well that the role of divination in the Buddhist tradition leaves space for new discoveries as research topic of the Consortium.

During the final discussion, the participants tried to fathom the extent of the Buddhist divinatory tradition. Especially during the late Ming dynasty, divination was obviously consciously and with high flexibility applied as a means of spreading the

Buddhist teaching – besides karmic calculation, the use of diagrams, plays or even dramas. At the same time, the inflationary spread of divinatory texts, methods and practices was accompanied by constant introductory legitimation formulas, possibly due to the cautious attitude of the monastic discipline.

Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos  
(Workshop Convenor; Research Coordination)

## China Academic Visit 2012 \*

### Between Divining Monks and Buddhist “Eschatology”

This year’s academic visit to China, from September 5<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup>, 2012, followed a Buddhist focus (Organisation: Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos, Song Xiaokun) and was divided into two separate trips. The first took us via Beijing to Wutai Shan and on to Shandong. In Beijing, we were hosted by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) at the Institute of World Religions. We were welcomed by our advisor board member, Prof. Zhou Qi, and the institute director, Prof. Zhuo Xinping 卓新平. In preparation for the remainder of our trip, we listened to two presentations: Douglas Gildow, of Princeton University, provided an introduction to Wutai Shan. The Wutai Shan, a Buddhist holy mountain, has been known for centuries as an international center of Buddhist life, but is also a place where nature, e.g. cloud formations, is ardently interpreted and experienced by visiting pilgrims seeking to shape their own fate. The second part of our trip included visits to the Buddhist caves on the Silk Road in Dunhuang and elsewhere. We were therefore especially delighted that the renowned expert on calendrics in the research on Dunhuang, Prof. Deng Wenkuan 鄧文寬, was able to give us an excellent introduction during our visit to CASS to the history of the site, its art and manuscripts, and also the history of his field. Our visit to Wutai Shan was informed by readings on the pilgrimage of monk Zhang Shangying 張尚英 (around 1100 CE) and also allowed us to discern the lines of connection to the Consortium’s focus on pilgrimage. We paid a visit to the 98-year old monk, Mengcan 夢參老和尚, who lives at Wutai Shan in the Pushou Si convent and is known for advocating, explaining and revitalizing the ritual practice of the *Sutra on the Divination of Good and Evil Karma*, which was also thematized in the

Buddhism Workshop (see report above). We delivered presentations in the morning at the Zhouyi Center of the University of Shandong, which continued into the afternoon at the Department for Philosophy (see list of presentations on p. 28). Prof. Liu Dajun 劉大鈞, the Director of the Zhouyi Center, and Prof. Fu Youde 傅有德, Dean of the Department of Philosophy, gave us a warm welcome. This year’s lectures featured especially the Consortium’s European medieval studies. The discussions following the presentations benefited from a depth of expertise that also encouraged student participation. In consideration of the number of contributions that have already been published in the Center’s own journal, “Zhouyi Studies,” the mutual exchange between guest scholars and collective conferences and



The 98 year old monk Mengcan 夢參 during our visit to Wutai Shan.

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

## PRESENTATIONS

**Fabrizio Pregadio** 馮玄英: Who wrote the *Cantong qi* 參同契?

**Katrin Bauer:** Johannes Kepler as Astrologer 作为占星学家的约翰内斯·开普勒

**Erik Niblaeus:** Condemnations of Divination among the Latin Fathers 拉丁语基督教会教父对占卜的谴责

**Klaus Herbers:** Prophets False and True: Gazing into the Future in the Medieval Latin West 真假先知 拉丁语西方世界对未来的展望

**Alexander Fidora:** Inter-Religious Dialogues and the Shaping of Philosophical Rationality in the Latin Middle Ages 拉丁语中世纪的宗教间对话以及哲学理性的形成

**Hans-Christian Lehner:** "Awakening a Sense of Wonder" – The Formation and Scholarly Reception of the *Secretum Secretorum* in the Middle Ages "对神奇感受的觉醒" 《秘密之秘密》一书在中世纪的构成及学者对其的解读

**Julia Eva Wannemacher:** Pursuing the Millennium: From the Chained Dragon of Revelation to the Third Reich 执行“千年”从《启示录》中被束缚的龙到第三帝国

workshops, there is clearly the makings here of a genuine academic exchange and transfer of knowledge that we find very gratifying.

For the second part of our trip, we travelled as a much smaller group along the Silk Road. Emphasis was placed on Buddhist “eschatology.” Apocalyptic and millenarian predictions are important fields of research at the Consortium, and they tend to find a particular resonance with the field of Medieval Studies. Buddhist concepts of paradise, the notion of time cycles and their slowly approaching an end as well as the figure of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, could be considered counterparts to European thought concerning the end of time. The development of “eschatological” Buddhist thought is especially evident in the cave paintings and sculptures situated along the Silk Road. While the trip was initially organized to illustrate this,

divinatory techniques come into play at exactly this point: The “end time” is conceived as a time in which Buddhist teachings are threatened and human beings can reach knowledge and awakening with great difficulty only. Divination becomes legitimate in this context as a spiritual practice that is appropriate to perform in the era of a degenerated dharma. After visiting the provincial museum in Gansu, we drove on the outskirts of Lanzhou to Bingling Si 炳靈寺, located on a steep cliff, in which there are a number of Buddhist caves dominated by a huge statue of Maitreya. Of particular interest there was the very detailed explanation of Central Asian and South Asian artistic influences in Cave 169. In Dunhuang, Prof. Chen Juxia 陈菊霞 from the International Dunhuang Academy, aided us with her expert knowledge throughout our visit. With the help of Prof. Kuo Liying 郭麗英, we compiled a list of caves in the Mogao Grottoes 莫高窟 that seemed worth seeing in light of our interests. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Chen, we were allowed to visit them as well as the Yulin Grottoes 榆林窟 and received a unique historical overview of how representations of Maitreya and of the end time developed. We could also increasingly see the way in which divinatory elements from imperial life were reflected in the wall paintings, for instance through rain rituals or the drawing of lots. Great interest was aroused by the contribution of Dr. Zhang Xiaogang 張小剛, who had just completed his doctorate on the role of the Ruixiang 瑞相, miraculous figures that appear in friezes on the walls, with a focus on the origin of specific figures. All in all, it seemed that our search for divination and the techniques of prognostication opened up slightly new perspectives on the continuum of an already rich field of Dunhuang research. During our concluding visit to the heavily damaged Bezeklik Thousand Buddha Caves 柏孜克里千佛洞 and the ruins of Gaochang 高昌, we could well imagine the extreme geographic and climatic conditions under which this form of Buddhist art and culture originated. The kind Muslim hospitality we received will certainly remain with us as a very good memory.

Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos  
(Research Coordination)

# Divination and the Epistemology of Prognostic Sciences in the Middle Ages \*

International Conference, Erlangen, September 24-25, 2012

The role and legitimacy of the mantic arts and astrology in the European Middle Ages has been investigated in recent years from a variety of perspectives. Particular emphasis has been placed in the research on moral, juridical and theological aspects. The conference organized in September 2012 by the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities, under the guidance of Alexander Fidora (IKGF Visiting Fellow), centred on the epistemology of prognostic disciplines in the Middle Ages. Thus, it took a new approach by inquiring about the epistemological status of mantic disciplines in the Middle Ages.

The conference's point of departure was the epistemological insight that the divinatory mode of cognition initially represented a form of futural knowledge and thus belonged structurally to the group of prognostic disciplines. Along with the divinatory arts, the Middle Ages was familiar with a wide range of disciplines, including medicine, weather forecasting etc., that focused on the prediction of future developments and events such as the progression of an illness, climatic changes or the threat of an impending earthquake. Indeed, these areas of study in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century are understood epistemologically in a strictly parallel and occasionally even identical manner. Nevertheless, significant differences may be identified in their descriptions which concern the criteria for the establishment of futural knowledge and its particular validity. The aims of the conference were to better understand the prognostic disciplines from a comparative perspective, to gradually refine the concept of prediction and to simultaneously work out the differentiation of the respective arts and disciplines in the European knowledge culture.

In order to adequately address these aims, conference participants drew upon historical and philosophical expertise, especially in the areas of medieval history, the history of science, the history of philosophy and epistemology and with a view to the



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## Monday, September 24, 2012

9:15 Uhr	<b>Welcome Address</b> Klaus Herbers (IKGF Deputy Director; Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)
9:30 Uhr	<b>Introduction</b> Alexander Fidora (IKGF Visiting Fellow; ICREA; Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
10:45 a.m.	<b>THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF MANTIC ARTS</b> Moderation: Georges Tamer (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg) <b>Adélarde de Bath ou les sortilèges de la nouveauté</b> Max Lejbowicz (Université Paris I - Panthéon-Sorbonne) <b>Natural Divination in the Late Middle Ages</b> Sebastià Giralte (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
2:15 p.m.	<b>THE SCIENTIFIC STATUS OF ASTROLOGY I</b> Moderation: Philipp Balsiger (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg) <b>Wissenschaft, Pseudo-Wissenschaft, Idolatrie oder Alternativwissenschaft? Der wissenschaftliche Status der Astrologie von der Antike bis zu ihrer mittelalterlichen Rezeption in Islam, Judentum und Christentum</b> Reimund Leicht (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) <b>And Ptolemy laughs at them: Authorities and Authority in Medieval Hebrew Astronomy and Astrology</b> Josefina Rodríguez Arribas (Warburg Institute, London)
4:15 p.m.	<b>THE SCIENTIFIC STATUS OF ASTROLOGY II</b> Moderation: Klaus Herbers (IKGF 1 <sup>st</sup> Deputy Director; Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg) <b>Doctors versus Astrologers: Medical and Astrological Prognosis Compared</b> Charles Burnett (Warburg Institute, London)

Jewish, Christian and Arabo-Islamic traditions. Accordingly, after an introduction from Alexander Fidora, the presentations on the first day elucidated the epistemological status of the mantic disciplines and astrology in the three cultural traditions of the Middle Ages. In the morning session, Max Lejbowicz and Sebastià Giralte dealt with the position of the mantic disciplines within the Latin *ordo scientiarum*. This panel was moderated by Klaus Herbers. Where Sebastià Giralte analyzed the establishment and development of the concept of natural divination in Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Witelo, Max Lejbowicz presented a detailed

study on the reception of Arabic astrology in the 12<sup>th</sup> century in the works of Adélarde of Bath. The afternoon session, moderated by Philipp Balsiger, featured detailed presentations on the Arabic and Jewish traditions by Reimund Leicht and Josefina Rodríguez. Reimund Leicht thus showed that manticism and astrology in the Arabic, and already in the late-antique, tradition were by no means construed as esoteric arts, but were rather commonly recognized forms of knowledge. Josefina Rodríguez expanded on the parameters of the discussion with her examination of the rhetorical apparatus that Jewish astrologers would call upon in their works in order to substantiate astrology's scientific character. The final presentation of the first day of the conference by Charles Burnett explored the relationship between astrological and medicinal prognoses and therefore also provided a thematic link to the conference's second day. Burnett examined above all the primacy of astrological over medical prognoses, which can be observed for example in Abū Ma'shar's *Introductorium maius*. This aspect was intensively taken up in the discussion that followed under the moderation of Georges Tamer.

The second day of the conference focused on bringing together the findings in the epistemology of manticism and astrology with the epistemological foundations of medicine and weather forecasting. In the first panel, moderated by Karl-Heinz Leven, Danielle Jacquart demonstrated by means of various theoretical texts on medicine how the Aristotelian concept of 'prudentia' – in the sense of situationally applied knowledge – gained central importance for medical prognoses and their conjectural quality. Michael McVaugh utilized selected authors, like Bernard of Gordon, to reconstruct the development of the doctrine of symptoms and stages that grew out of the Hippocratic and Galenic concepts of progression, along with the related honing of the idea of medical prognosis. In the last panel, moderated by Alexander Fidora, Hans Daiber and Jean-Marc Mandosio finally focused on weather forecasting and meteorology in the Middle Ages. Hans Daiber analyzed al-Kindī's epistle on weather prediction and identified a close relationship between scientific weather prognosis and a Neoplatonic cosmology in which climatic phenomena are explained and predicted by means of a chain of primary and secondary causes. Jean-Marc Mandosio showed that Latin meteorology chiefly focused on transformations in the area of the elemental realm and made weather predictions solely on the basis of astrology. This concept of astro-meteorology, which is epistemologically based on the interpretation of heavenly bodies and their constellations, maintained its validity for a long period until Pico della Mirandola subjected it to a rigorous critique and prioritized an independent and causal foundation for weather forecasting.

The comparison of the epistemological preconditions of prognosis in manticism and astrology, on the one hand, and medicine and scientific weather forecasting or meteorology, on the other, clearly shows that the latter disciplines,



Participants of the conference  
 “Divination and the  
 Epistemology of  
 Prognostic Sciences in  
 the Middle Ages”

and above all medicine, developed elaborate prognosis concepts from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onward which subsequently made possible conjectural prognoses that were sensitive to the course of events. At the same time, the discussions highlighted desiderata, such as a more precise definition of the concept of “sign” (*signum*), which possessed a fundamental role for futural knowledge in the disciplines examined over the course of the conference and which has so far been underdetermined in research with regard to its epistemological function.

Prof. Dr. Alexander Fidora (Workshop Convenor;  
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona ICREA; IKGF Visiting Fellow)  
 Katrin Bauer, M.A. (IKGF Research Fellow)

## Tuesday, September 25, 2012

### 9:15 a.m. PROGNOSTICATION IN MEDICINE

Moderation: Karl-Heinz Leven (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

La prudence dans l'énoncé du pronostic médical au tournant des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles

Danielle Jacquart (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris)

The Future of a Disease

Michael McVaugh (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

### 11:15 a.m. PREDICTIONS IN METEOROLOGY

Moderation: Alexander Fidora (IKGF Visiting Fellow; ICREA; Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Erkenntnistheoretische Grundlagen der Wetterprognose bei den Arabern. Das Beispiel von Kindī, dem „Philosophen der Araber“ (9. Jh. n. Chr.)

Hans Daiber (Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main)

Meteorology and Weather Forecast in the Middle Ages

Jean-Marc Mandosio (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris)

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

## IN BRIEF



- Two of our colleagues, who have shaped the research of our Consortium through their efforts and outstanding engagement, left us at the end of 2012: **Dr. Wiebke Deimann** will pursue her new research topic from now on in Mainz, while **Dr. Erik Niblaeus** has been granted a post-doctoral fellowship from Cambridge University. We heartily congratulate them both and wish them all the best for their future! We welcome newly at our Consortium as Research Fellows Dr. Andreas Holndonner, Sara Merl und Lisa Walleit.



## Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften

- Special congratulations go to our former Visiting Fellow, **Dr. David Juste**. Well-known for his research on medieval astrology, he has been appointed to conduct a long-term project at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities on “Astronomical and Astrological Manuscripts of Claudius Ptolemaeus.”
- It is not unusual for former researchers at the Consortium to report positive developments. This holds true already for our very first Visiting Fellows: **Albert Galvany** went to Cambridge University after his fellowship at the Consortium, **Loris Sturlese** is today the director of the Scuola Superiore ISUFI (Istituto Superiore Universitario di Formazione Interdisciplinare) in Lecce, **Yang Zhiyi** received a sinological junior professorship at the Goethe-University Frankfurt a.M., **Liao Hsien-huei**

took up a new position as professor at the National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan, and **Patrick Henriët** was nominated shortly before his stay Directeur d'Études der École Pratique des hautes Études. This list could easily be extended, and it is hoped to produce a more detailed report in the future.

- **Philipp Winkler**, one of our research assistants, wrote his B.A. dissertation on the field of the Consortium's research: “Concepts of Knowledge as presented in the personal notebook of Albert Behaim in the context of the scientific development at the 13<sup>th</sup> century papal court” (“Wissenskonzeptionen im Brief- und Memorialbuch Albert Behaims im Kontext der naturwissenschaftlichen Entwicklung an der Kurie des 13. Jahrhunderts” (Bachelor Degree Thesis), submitted October 2011. This thesis explores the so-called “Brief- und Memorialbuch” of Albert Behaim, a personal notebook compiled by this 13th century Bavarian cleric. It collects a large number of manifold texts which, besides letters, poems and religious writings, also include notes dealing with scientific topics like stones, minerals, textiles and other natural materials and, above all, medicine, astrology and mantics, fields of knowledge in which Albert Behaim obviously took a great interest. In order to obtain a better understanding of these texts, the concepts of medicine, astrology and mantics that prevailed in the Middle Ages are briefly outlined. Subsequently, the respective notes are inspected and examined individually. This is done against the background of the emergence of a great interest in various natural sciences at the papal court of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the fact that Albert Behaim was obviously influenced by as well as forming part of this development. Taking these inquiries into account, one can correct the picture that historiography has painted of Albert Behaim as a fanatic apocalypticist who saw his struggle against Frederick II in the context of an approximate end of the world and rather see him as a person devoted to multifaceted knowledge and science instead. In particular, his preoccupation with prognostic techniques and writings thus seems less of an effort to calculate the imminent end of the world than the passion of a cleric who was utterly fascinated by these mysterious practices.

## VISITING FELLOWS

### Summer 2012 – March 2013



**Prof. Dr. Iwo Amelung**, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a.M., Institut für Orientalische und Ostasiatische Philologien, Lehrstuhl für Sinologie; research stay: April – September 2012; research topic: *Mixin* in Republican China.



**Dr. Cristina Andenna**, Research Centre for the Comparative History of Religious Orders – FOVOG (Forschungssstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte), TU Dresden; research stay: July-September 2012; research topic: Who is Suited to Rule? Strategies for the Legitimation of Dynasties, Coping with the Past, and Securing the Future in Southern Italy under the Hohenstaufen Dynasty.



**Prof. Dr. Paravicini Bagliani**, Società internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo latino, SISMEL - Certosa del Galluzzo, Florence; research stay: October-December 2012; research topic: The Impact of Arabic Sources on Divination and the Practical Sciences in Europe and Asia.



**Dr. Marco Caboara**, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Department of English; research stay: September 2012-August 2013, research topic: Early Chinese Divination Texts and Bronze Inscriptions.



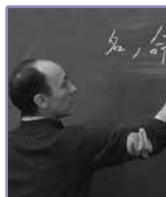
**Dr. Michelina Di Cesare**, Former Fellow of the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, Naples; research stay: October 2012-June 2013; research topic: The Idol of Muhammad in the Templum Domini as an Eschatological Metaphor.



**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.



**Dr. Grégoire Espeset**, Centre de recherches sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale (CRCAO), Paris; research stay: November 2012-October 2013; research topic: Pattern Recognition in Three "Spring and Autumn" Weft Texts.



**Prof. Dr. Stéphane Feuillas**, University of Paris-Diderot, CRCAO; research stay: September 2012-August 2013; research topic: The Hidden Vacuity: Divination, Combinatorial arts and Rationality in the late work of Sima Guang (1019-1086).



**Prof. Dr. Alexander Fidora**, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, ICREA/Institut d'Estudis Medievals; research stay: June-September 2012; research topic: Divination and the Epistemology of Prognostication in the Middle Ages.



**Prof. Dr. Joachim Gentz**, University of Edinburgh, Asian Studies Department; research stay: September 2012-August 2013; research topic: Divinatory Hermeneutics and Text Exegesis in Early China.

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



**Prof. Dr. Natascha Gentz**, University of Edinburgh, Asian Studies Department; research stay: November 2012-April 2013; research topic: Freedom, Fate and Free Will in Discourses on Chinese Tragedies.



**Prof. Dr. Concetta Giliberto**, Università di Palermo, Associate Professor in Germanic Philology; research stay: June-September 2012; research topic: Fate after Death in Medieval Germany. The Tradition of the Visio Pauli in Middle High German Literature: Sources, Analogues and Influences.



**Dr. Barbara Hendrichke**, University of Sydney, China Studies Centre; research stay: October 2012-May 2013; research topic: Prognostication and Fate in the *Tai ping jing* 太平經: An Interpretative Anthology of Translated and Annotated Primary Sources.



**Prof. Dr. Hsiao A-chin**, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica; research stay: February-August 2013; research topic: Narrating the National Fate: Time, Historical Consciousness, and Cultural Trauma in the Study of 'Chinese Modernization' in post-war Taiwan.



**Prof. Dr. Terry Kleeman**, University of Colorado, Boulder, Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations; research stay: January-December 2013; research topic: Daoist Attitudes Toward Mantic Practices.



**Prof. Dr. Faye Yuan Kleeman**, University of Colorado, Boulder, Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations; research stay: March-August 2013; research topic: Traditional Beliefs and Colonial Modernity in 20th century East Asia.



**Dr. Courtney Kneupper**, University of Mississippi, Department of History; research stay: October 2012-January 2013; research topic: The Future as Contested Space in Late Medieval Germany.



**Prof. Dr. Liu Lexian** 劉樂賢, Capital Normal University, Beijing; research stay: September-December 2012; research topic: Daybooks – Hemerologies in Early China.



**Dr. Li Wei**, Universität Mainz, Indology; research stay: October 2012-September 2013; research topic: Divining Monks according to the *Shenseng Zhuan* 神僧傳, T. 2064.



**Prof. Dr. Elena del Río Parra**, Georgia State University; research stay: September 2012-August 2013; research topic: *Materia Medica*. Spanish XVII Century Heterodoxia, Alterity, and the Uncommon.

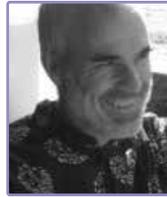
## COMMENTS

“My year at the Consortium was very fruitful in terms of research and intense academic exchange. Going back to my home university now, I am not only bringing back the results of this work, but also numerous impressions of a lively, international research institution. I would wish that also our research institutes will benefit from this structural inspiration I received.”

Prof. Dr. Zhang Wenzhi  
(Shandong University, IKGf Visiting Fellow)



**Dr. Petra Schmidl**, Universität Bonn; research stay: February-July 2013; research topic: The Sultan and the Stars - The 'Kitab al-Tabsira fi ilm al-nujum' of al-Ashraf Umar (Yemen, d. 1296).



**Prof. Dr. Axel Schneider**, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Sinology; research stay: March-August 2013; research topic: Modern Chinese Critique of Progressivism.

## IMPRINT

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**Dr. David Sehnal**, Institute of East Asian Studies, Charles University, Prague; research stay: September 2012-August 2013; research topic: Early Chinese Divination Texts and Bronze Inscriptions.



**Dr. Julia Eva Wannenmacher**, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Geschichtswissenschaften; research stay: February – September 2012, research topic: The Pseudo-Joachite Commentary 'Super Ieremiam'. Edition and open questions.

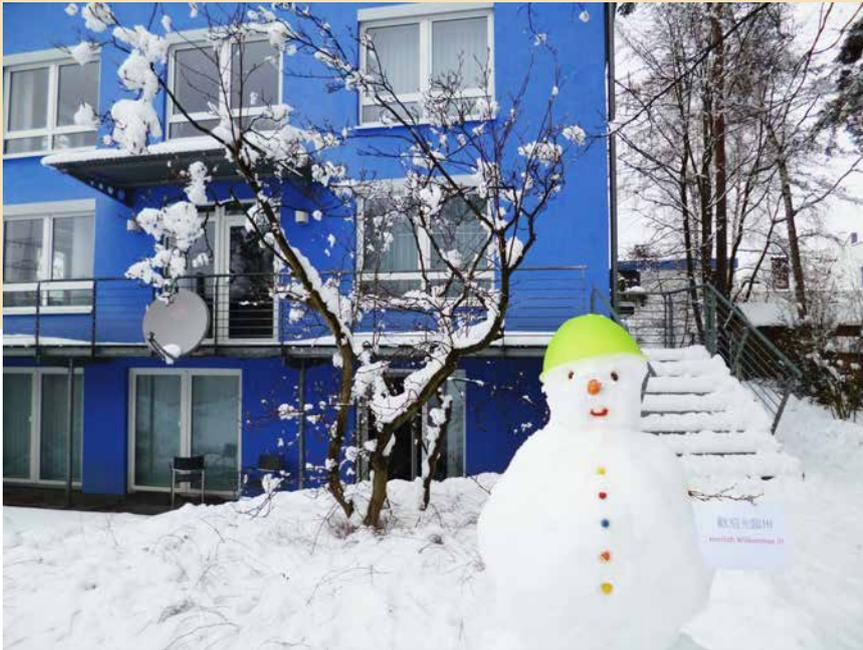


**Prof. Dr. Zhang Wenzhi** 張文智, Shandong University, Associate Professor at the Centre for Zhouyi and Ancient Chinese Philosophy; research stay: April 2012 – March 2013; research topic: Image, Numerology, Meaning-pattern and Prognostication in the *Book of Changes*.



**Prof. Dr. Yan Changgui** 閻長貴, University of Wuhan; research stay: September-December 2012; research topic: Daybooks – Hemerologies in Early China.

**In the coming months, we expect, among others, the arrival of the following scholars:** Dr. Chang Che-chia (Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica), Dr. Thomas Förster (Centre for Medieval Studies, Bergen University), Prof. Robert LaFleur (Dept. of History, Beloit College), Prof. Kai Marchal (Dept. of Philosophy, Soochow University), Prof. Takahiro Nakajima (The University of Tokyo Center for Philosophy), Dr. Zara Pogossian (John Cabot University, Rome), Prof. Felicitas Schmieder (FernUniversität in Hagen), and Prof. Dr. Lillian Tseng (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University).



*In January, the snowman was still welcoming us in front of our “blue house”, standing peacefully in snow. When the frost disappears, construction works will interrupt our research idyll. We would like to apologize to all of our Visiting Fellows for any inconvenience this will cause!*

## OUTLOOK

The summer semester 2013 will begin with a workshop led by Prof. Felicitas Schmieder (FernUniversität in Hagen) on “Forming the Future When Time Is Running Short”. After a Studientag (study day) on comparative hermeneutics with Dr. Ralph Weber (Zurich) on the topic “Comparisons: Like a Stick that May Be Grabbed on either Side? An Introduction to Comparative Hermeneutics” on April 30, we will start on May 7-8 the first in a series of workshops on *Techniques of Prediction* focusing on “Chronomancy - the Science of the Right Time” (Prof. Michael Lackner/Prof. Andrea Bréard). In June, we will hold a workshop on Daoism entitled “Changing Fate in Religious Daoism.”

## THE NEXT fate

Read in the next fate:

- A report on the workshop with our Korean cooperation partners (Seoul National University, Prof. Kim Yung Sik): „Divination and Fengshui in East Asia (or Korea)“ (November 2012)
- Report on the workshop on Early Chinese hemerologies (December 2012)
- Special Lecture by Prof. Nikolai Grube (Bonn): Calendars, Prophecy and Concepts of Time
- Among the Maya (December 2012)
- Report about the Book Launch of Prof. Gian Luca Potestà on texts concerning the figure of the Antichrist in Medieval Europe (February 2013)
- Branch Opening Ceremony – The Research Consortium and the Center for Zhouyi and Ancient Chinese Philosophy of Shandong University open mutual branch offices and substantiate their intense cooperation (March 2013)



### 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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