



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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LECTURE SERIES WS 2012/13

“Future things are hidden from mankind and ought not to be known”: Contesting Knowledge of the Future in Late Medieval Germany

Prof. Dr. Courtney Kneupper (The University of Mississippi; KHC Visiting Fellow)

During the Late Middle Ages, as prophecies were consumed by an increasingly diverse audience, the question of who could legitimately claim knowledge of the future became a contentious one. University theologians asserted that only properly-trained clerics could safely interpret prophetic material. They bewailed the circulation of prophetic ideas among uninformed lay people, particularly women. Yet, lay people readily consumed and perpetuated such ideas, and indeed used them for their own purposes.

The increased consumption of written prophecies precipitated a series of questions: What are humans able to know, in this case, about the future? How can humans achieve this knowledge? Are there permissible routes to knowledge of the future? Is this knowledge available only to some and, if so, to whom? Should it be withheld from certain people? How can the legitimacy of such knowledge be ascertained?

In late medieval German-speaking Europe, a good deal was written related to these questions. In this paper, I discussed briefly the attitudes towards these questions as expressed in three texts: Heinrich von Langenstein’s *Liber adversus Telesphori Eremitae vaticinia de ultimis temporibus* (1392), the anonymous *Speculum de ultimo antichristo magno et manifesto iam diu in mundo nato*, (c. 1453), and the anonymous *Sentimentum cuiusam cartusiensis super infestacione thorcorum* (c. 1454).

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My thesis was that the contest over knowledge
of the future is related to other contests over au-

Lecture Series

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

During the semester, the Käte Hamburger Center (KHC) 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 center from the perspective of their respective expertise. For an up to date overview of the current semester’s lectures please refer to ikgf.fau.de

Dear Readers,

Welcome to the supplement of our seventh issue of *fate* – the newsletter of our Consortium at the University Erlangen-Nuremberg. We are one of ten topically-focused Käte Hamburger Centers in Germany fostering advanced study in the Humanities. This supplement provides you with the abstracts of our lecture series and covers three semesters – from winter semester 2012/13 to winter semester 2013/14. All further information you will find, as usual, in our main issue. Please note also that you can listen to most of our lectures online via our website. In addition, the lectures of Prof. Dr. Doris Ruhe and Prof. Dr. Walter Sparn have been published online and can be downloaded from our series entitled “Occasional Papers.”

Wishing everybody a pleasurable reading experience and looking forward to further exchange in the realm of “Fate, Freedom and Prognostication”!

Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos
(Research Coordination)



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> Publications > Occasional Papers

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thority in late medieval Europe. For example, all three authors were engaged with the conciliarist movement, which questioned authority within the Church. In the discussion of knowledge of the future, we also find considerations relating to gender, the relationship between the laity and the clergy, the use of vernacular language, and the role of consensus in validating

visions. Behind these issues lurks a sense that, in “these uncertain times,” God has elected new people to receive his visions. Thus, I proposed that the questions about knowledge, authority, and spiritual legitimacy suggested a lack of confidence or reliance on the previously accepted forms of knowledge, and perhaps even the demise of a system of authority and knowledge.

Astrology for Everyday Life *

Prof. em. Dr. Doris Ruhe (Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald)

Despite the large number of surviving texts, medieval astrology was, especially in France, long considered an area unworthy of scholarly investigation. Numerous researchers have recently dealt with this topic. Yet they are almost exclusively concerned with works in Latin. The question of how these texts produced by intellectuals developed into a cultural practice, of which the vernacular evidence bears numerous traces, remains unanswered. In the field of tension between the vernacular and Latin, between scholarly culture and lay culture, examples can be observed of epistemic discontinuities as well as cognitive similarities that are characteristic not only of this century.

The Old French *Livre de Sydrac*, a comprehensive encyclopedic text written as a series of questions and answers, which emerged in the latter third of the 13th century and has been translated into almost every European language, offers its readers a kind of practical manual on the subject of astrology that addresses interested parties who are not necessarily members of the scholarly elite. It also provides them with the necessary guidance for manufacturing a tool which makes the observation of the night sky and the consultation of astronomical tables largely superfluous: the *roe d'astronomie*. By following the instructions supplied, the reader can build this instrument him-/herself, which consists of two counter-rotating discs. Similar discs have belonged to the inventory of divination since

LECTURE SERIES WS 2012/13

Overview of the lectures of winter semester 2012/13:

23.10.2012: “Future things are hidden from mankind and ought not to be known”: Contesting Knowledge of the Future in Late Medieval Germany. **Prof. Dr. F. Courtney Kneupper** (*The University of Mississippi; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

20.11.2012: What is the aim of inventing divinatory devices? Current researches on the Qianxu 潛虛 of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086). **Prof. Dr. Stéphane Feuillas** (*University of Paris-Diderot/CRCOA; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

27.11.2012: Zukunftsschau und Alltagsbewältigung. Volkssprachliche Astrologie im französischen Spätmittelalter. **Prof. em. Dr. Doris Ruhe** (*Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald*)

10.12.2012: Calendars, Prophecy and Concepts of Time among the Maya. **Prof. Dr. Nikolai Grube** (*Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität Bonn*)

18.12.2012: Calendar, Almanacs, and the Management of Fate. **Prof. Dr. Marc Kalinowski** (*EPHE, Paris; KHC Advisory Board Member*)

08.01.2013: Daoist Thoughts on Prognostication. **Dr. Barbara Hendrichke** (*University of Sydney; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

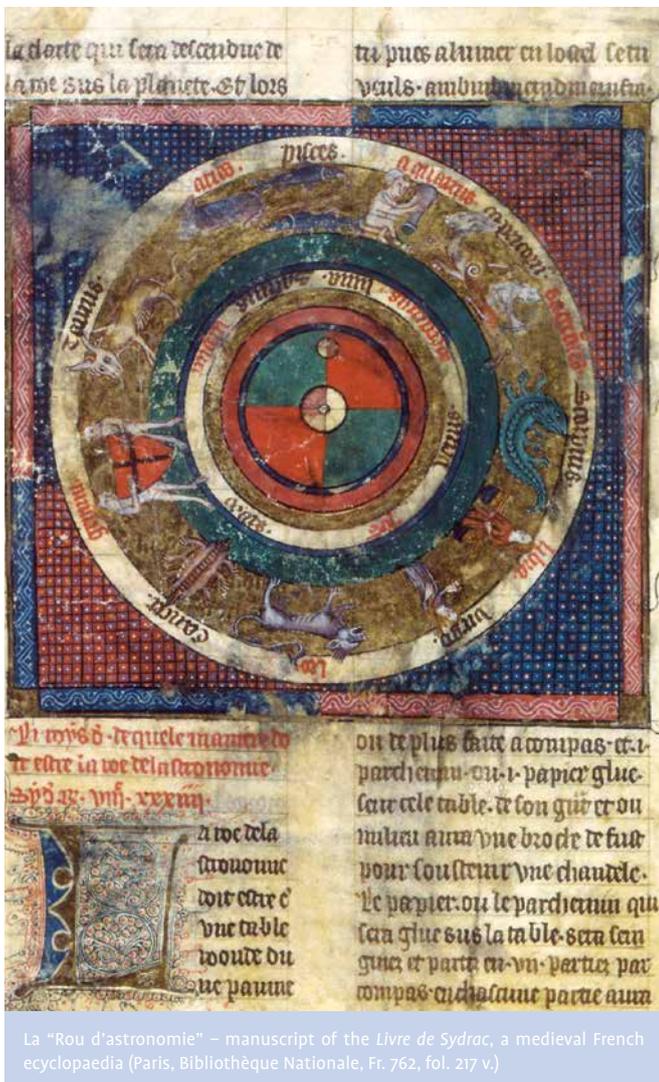
22.01.2013: Fate, Freedom and Will in Late Qing discussions of “Chinese Tragedies.” **Prof. Dr. Natascha Gentz** (*University of Edinburgh; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

29.01.2013: The King’s Power and the Astrology in the Crown of Aragon. **Prof. Dr. Flocel Sabaté** (*Universitat de Lleida*)

05.02.2013: Book Launch – Antichrist im Mittelalter. Ein Überblick (Buchvorstellung mit anschließendem Empfang). [Please refer to the main issue of this newsletter] **Prof. Dr. Gian Luca Potestà** (*Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, KHC Advisory Board Member*)

Individual lecture:

15.01.2013: Lucky, Agency and Morality. **Prof. Dr. Daniel Statman** (*Haifa, Israel*)



La "Rou d'astronomie" – manuscript of the *Livre de Sydrac*, a medieval French encyclopaedia (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fr. 762, fol. 217 v.)

ancient times. They are used to determine the planetary alignment, which, along with the aid of complex mathematical operations, indicates the future prospects of those seeking advice or provides answers to specific concerns about everyday life. In addition to astrology, the *Livre de Sydrac* also uses elements of letter magic: the number values of the letters contained in the name of the person seeking advice, and also often in the name of his mother, are combined with those of the day and the month in which the action is being performed, a procedure which demonstrates the text's affinity to the *Alchandreana* studied by David Juste.

As it appears here, astrology is practical: it claims to be able to establish a relationship between the movements of the heavens and individual fate by means of mathematical calculations. The long version of the text contains twelve paragraphs for each planet followed by those of the twelve zodiac signs. The information contained in these passages resembles a concise biography. It reflects a commitment to differentiation that meets the needs of a clientele who want to have their own problems addressed. Here, everyone is able to find a personal prognosis referring to the specific concerns that occupy the individual's everyday life. This, I argue, is the key to the successful reception of the astrology presented in the *Livre de Sydrac*.

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> Publications > Occasional Papers > Ruhe, Doris

Daoist Thoughts on Prognostication

Dr. Barbara Hendrichske (University of Sydney; KHC Visiting Fellow)

The thinking discussed in this lecture stems from chapter 50 of a corpus of texts that has been passed on by the Daoist canon under the title *Scripture on Great Peace* (*Taiping jing* 太平經). The origin of these texts is unknown but internal evidence points to the outgoing second century C.E., when the empire of the great Han dynasty began to fall apart and to the authors and their listeners or readers who existed at the margins of society. Advice is given on how to avoid public execution and other types of public disgrace, whereas less is said on how to gain access to education or a civil service career. Social reforms that con-

cern the poor, women and the relatively-disadvantaged group of locally-hired public servants are explicated. We may assume that these were the people who not only produced the earliest Daoist texts but also helped to create the first Daoist religious communities.

These texts propagate millenarian expectations and, in order to find an audience, the authors try hard to make their predictions appear reliable. To achieve this, they do not seek direct help from heaven or spirits but introduce methods to make

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The lecture series is drawing an increasing audience at the university and beyond.

human predictions accurate and reliable. For them, analogical thinking is an important tool. They argue that one must understand how entities, divided by time and space, respond to each other and that one must set up experiments to help to define such a response. They suggest working with 25 cases, for instance, with regard to healing illness or arranging tombs, and taking detailed notes of the results. Another method consists of relying on evidence of past events in order to get to grips with the present and predict future developments. The fact that the authors do so without ever mentioning historical events or figures adds methodological stringency to their argument. A prognostic project is concluded when a wise man and a team of experts sit down together. As the authors affirm, their cooperation will result in a textbook on prognostic practices that will be of lasting reliability.

Fate, Freedom and Will in the Late Qing Discourses on “Chinese Tragedies”

Prof. Dr. Natascha Gentz (University of Edinburgh; KHC Visiting Fellow)



Spring Meadows, Tragedy, Shanghai 1914.

The lecture examined Chinese concepts of fate and freedom through the perspective of discourses on Chinese tragedies. Fate versus freedom are the core and opposite parameters which have been widely-discussed in relation to Greek tragedies, particularly in regard to Aristotle's *Poetics*, which some have labelled a drama of determinism, with the protagonists being fully dependent on interventions by the gods and the oracular commands issued on them. Others have argued that, while the consequences of choices are still controlled by superhuman powers, there are still choices that the protagonists can make. With the development of a philosophy of the tragic, the focus of attention has shifted towards questions of free-

dom, and the possibilities of individuals' exertion of their will within an unsolvable conflict.

In this context, the lecture examined the origins of the debates about tragedies in China in 19th century China and Japan. In both countries, debate about tragedies and the status of drama in general arose in the context of rewriting literary histories at large. Setting the debates about tragedies in China within the context of various agendas of drama reforms, the lecture identified the opposing positions either affirming or denying their existence in China's traditional heritage.

Against this backdrop, the lecture examined European writings about Chinese tragedies or a possible Chinese tragic spirit by 19th and early 20th century authors such as Hegel, Babbitt, Jaspers etc., who again argued with very different agendas against tragedies in China, thereby focusing on aspects of freedom, will and fate, often with a more philosophical rather than literary perspective. These key concepts again also became the focus of debate in the early 20th century among Chinese intellectuals. The lecture concluded with an analysis of different employments and interpretations of the terms 'fate', 'freedom' and 'will' in terms of the new conceptualizations and terminologies.

The King's Power and Astrology in the Crown of Aragon

Prof. Dr. Flocel Sabaté (Universitat de Lleida)

During the Late Middle Ages, the sovereign of the Crown of Aragon lacked jurisdiction and income – a weak base from which to face the strength of the nobility and the bourgeoisie. In this context, all aspects are important in the race for power, including legal discourses as well as messages from visionaries and the interpretation of the stars.

At the beginning of the 14th century, the influence of the stars conditioned all kinds of activities: the auspices for journeys, business dealings, weddings, bloodletting, the viability of dreams, the fate of newborns, etc. People planned activities after looking up the asters, and some merchants even had star wheels at home with which to calculate the position of the stars.

Moreover, the royal court included an astrologer, who was always a physician. The kings demanded good books on astrology; these had been translated into the Romance language, were highly-decorated and contained well-drawn astrological figures. These books were well-kept in the archives, and the astrologer had the duty of updating them. The kings and their sons consulted the books themselves and used

astrolabes, spheres with all of the pieces to simulate the circulation of the heavenly bodies, and clocks with astrological meanings because they allowed them to know the time as well as the position of the stars and the zodiac.

The purpose behind this royal consultation of the stars was a desire to understand how the stars worked and to marvel at the precision of the inherent divine design. Moreover, the appropriate use of medicine, according to a combination of the position of the stars and the measurement of the humors, was an important goal. Furthermore, it was a particularly important aspect for the rul-



Prof. Sabaté during the discussion at the Kollegienhaus.

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er to ascertain the “nativities” of everyone, by considering the influence of the stars and their position at the moment of a person’s birth. The sovereign of the Crown of Aragon also wished to predict the future, including comparisons among different astrologers, and to identify the best moments to make decisions. In this sense, in 1361, King Peter the Ceremonious himself determined the exact date and time when the first stone of the extension to his palace in Barcelona was to be laid, in terms of the most favorable astral position.

An analysis of the books that interested the kings allows us to identify a progressive interest in astrology in the 14th century, paying special attention to John I (1387-1396). This evolution was similar to that in other countries, and the preachers and church authorities warned people against conflicting with religion, especially predestination. Avoiding this aspect, attention to astrology continued under the following kings, understanding the influence of the stars as a scientific question.

In the 15th century, the Catalan-Aragonese kings used astrology as propaganda: Alfonso the Magnanimous adopted the motto, attributed to Ptolomey, “vir sapiens dominabatur astris”; and the signs in the sky announced the exploits of Ferdinand II. From the 16th century, in the context of the Renaissance, these expressions made it easier for the monarch to create links with the Classical tradition.

Luck, Agency and Morality

Prof. Dr. Daniel Statman (Haifa, Israel)

Following Kant, most people think that, by its very nature, morality is immune to luck. However, as both Williams and Nagel argued, this view of morality is hard to defend. Since so much of human life in general and of moral life in particular depends on luck, to insist on the purification of morality from luck would diminish the domain of morality too far. The price of adopting a luck-free morality would mean a radical detachment from the actual world because, once we get in touch with the world – that is to say, once we act –, we make ourselves vulnerable to different forms of luck. Moreover, eliminating the role of morality would have unbearable moral results. It would mean that we would be under no obligation to take care of the weak, the sick, and the otherwise helpless whose unfortunate situation is a matter of their bad luck rather than our responsible agency. The conclusion to the lecture is that we have no choice but to recognize the role of luck in morality and try to work out the relations in

different contexts between those elements of moral judgment that depend on luck and those that do not.



Prof. Statman from Israel came to visit us for a guest lecture.

LECTURE SERIES SS 2013

Overview of the lectures of summer semester 2013:

17.04.2013: Divination and Canon Exegesis. **Prof. Dr. Joachim Gentz** (University of Edinburgh; KHC Visiting Fellow)

23.04.2013: Die Argumentationslogik der Richter im Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc. **Prof. Dr. Christine Reinle** (Universität Gießen)

14.05.2013: The Eschatological Meaning of the *Templum Domini* in Jerusalem (Dome of the Rock). **Dr. Michelina Di Cesare** (KHC Visiting Fellow)

28.05.2013: Astromania, Astrophobia, Futuroscopia, and the Last Death of the Astrologer-Doctor in Golden Age Spain. **Prof. Dr. Elena del Río Parra** (Georgia State University; KHC Visiting Fellow)

04.06.2013: The Sultan and the Stars. Divinatory Practices in 13th Century Yemen. **Dr. Petra Schmidl** (Universität Bonn; KHC Visiting Fellow)

05.06.2013: Traditional Beliefs and Colonial Modernity in 20th Century East Asia. **Prof. Dr. Faye Kleeman** (University of Colorado, Boulder; KHC Visiting Fellow)

11.06.2013: The Doctrine of the 3rd, 7th and 40th Days of the Moon in Ancient Astrology **Prof. Dr. Stephan Heilen** (Universität Osnabrück)

12.06.2013: Against the Specter of Time: Critique of Progressivism in Modern China. **Prof. Dr. Axel Schneider** (Universität Göttingen; KHC Visiting Fellow)

18.06.2013: Fortuna and Christian Monotheism. **Prof. Dr. Andreas Kablitz** (Universität zu Köln; KHC Visiting Fellow)

25.06.2013: Universal and Political Crises in 'End of the World' Prognostications: Reflections on Armenian Texts and Traditions. **Dr. Zara Pogossian** (John Cabot University, Rome; KHC Visiting Fellow)

26.06.2013: Interdependence of Science and Religion in Modern Japan: The Background of Fukushima. **Prof. Dr. Takahiro Nakajima** (University of Tokyo; KHC Visiting Fellow)

01.07.2013: Fate, Death, and Material Culture in Early China. **Prof. Dr. Lillian Tseng** (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University; KHC Visiting Fellow)

09.07.2013: Narrating the National Fate: Time, Historical Consciousness, and Cultural Trauma in the Study of 'Chinese Modernization' in Postwar Taiwan. **Prof. Dr. Hsiau A-chin** (Academia Sinica, Taipei; KHC Visiting Fellow)

16.07.2013: Confucian Divination and the Contingency of Community: On Two Types of Ursprungsdenken in Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 and Wang Hui 汪晖. **Prof. Dr. Kai Marchal** (Soochow University, Taipei; KHC Visiting Fellow)

Divinatory Hermeneutics and Early Canon Exegesis in China

Prof. Dr. Joachim Gentz (University of Edinburgh; KHC Visiting Fellow)

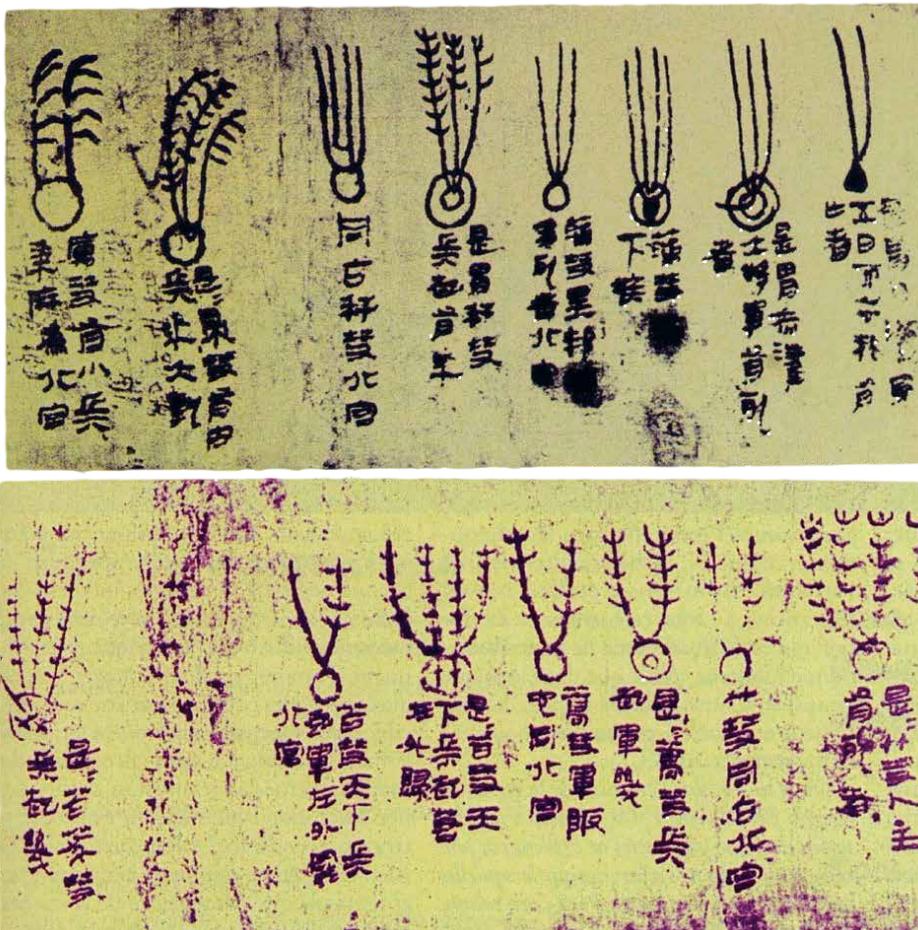
The leading argument of the paper is that early, pre-Qin and Early Han commentaries to Confucian texts took divinatory texts and their hermeneutics as a model for their own interpretations. Accordingly, they followed basic assumptions about the text, author and interpretation within the existing divinatory practices.

In order further to specify the kind of divinatory hermeneutics which was applied to written texts, the paper starts by distinguishing divinatory from prophetic hermeneutics. The first focuses on the fixed form of a divinatory text, the meaning of which has to be sought beneath the surface of its visible signs, while the latter takes the prophetic text as a dramaturgic blueprint for a genre, the particular content of which is further re-written and updated for later performances.

The paper then presents comparative evidence from the Near Eastern traditions, which provide examples of such an adaption of divinatory interpretation strategies to canonical text exegesis. This is most clearly visible in the Old Testament *Book of Daniel* and in the *pesharim*, a collection of 17 previously unknown commentaries on scriptural prophetic books that were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Both make full use of divinatory interpretation techniques and of the exegetical terminology which has been developed in Near East dream and omen exegesis.

In the third part, the paper argues that divinatory practice provides the conceptual background for a movement in the 4th century BC that aimed to produce ideal texts and ideal authors and that, eventually, led to the canonization of closed text corpora and the divinization of sages in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. Confucian canonical texts in early China were henceforth read

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Divinatory comments on various types of comets, written on silk and found in tomb 3 of Mawangdui (around 168 BC).

as works that not only dealt with, but also were expressions and embodiments of, the Heavenly order as it appears in the human world. Accordingly, the hermeneutics applied to most of these texts (with the exception of the *Shangshu*, which was further re-written and updated) followed divinatory hermeneutics developed in diverse divinatory traditions, taking the text not as expressing meaning per se but as indicative of a meaning that lies beyond its linguistic surface. As the religious assumptions underlying divination methods became increasingly criticized

in the elite discourses between the 9th and the 2nd century BCE, an empiricisation of knowledge about the future took place, which gained a most radical tinge in the 3rd century BCE. New authoritative institutions had to be invented that provided an open space for regulated negotiations on social, economic, legal, political and ethical matters. The classics were one of these institutions and, as a continuation of earlier divinatory institutions, they took over a number of features and functions from this earlier practice within the intellectual and political realm.

Jeanne D'Arc and the Logic of the Argumentation of Her Judges *

Prof. Dr. Christine Reinle (Universität Gießen)

In the lecture, the question was raised of how it was possible that a total of 117 judges - all of them academics and hardly mere "docile rubber stamps" of the English - could arrive at the

conclusion that Jeanne d'Arc's (about 1412-1431) claim to be legitimated by epiphanies and to have been sent from above in order to free France could simply not be accepted as true. After

summarizing the remarks about the proceeding, I tried to reconstruct the way of thinking and standards of evaluation that her judges applied to the case. The analysis concentrated less on the accusations of magic directed against Jeanne d'Arc, which lost importance in the course of the process, as it focused on the evaluation of her visions according to the principles usually applied to visionaries.

This led to the following result: on the one hand, the judges questioned the plausibility of Jeanne's claims. The criteria for the judgment of Jeanne d'Arc's verisimilitude must have been the rigor and consistency of her statements as well as the question of whether her epiphanies were in accord with those traditions that had emerged with regard to how visions approved by the Church were received. Even by this point, Jeanne was unable to convince her judges. As consultations evidently were the primary

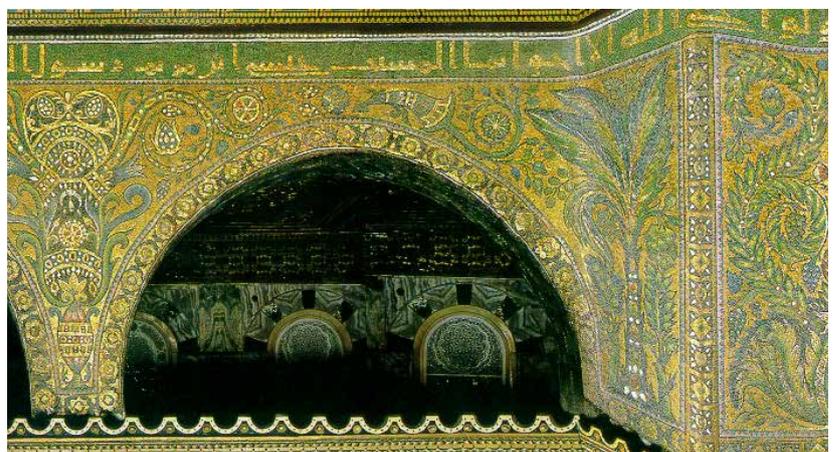
function of the Pucelle, it could not provide satisfactory answers to questions aimed at visual elements. The fact that Jeanne contradicted herself confirmed the existing skepticism of the judges. Moreover, their skepticism was further nourished by the fact that she ascribed qualities to the saints appearing to her, which were not readily compatible with the doctrine of the Church. Besides, the fact that her visions were consistent with the pattern of the "visio corporalis" could cause distrust without definitely refuting the truth of her statements. On the other hand, in the case of Jeanne, a sign that legitimates visionaries or prophets, according to the Biblical tradition, was still lacking by the third year of her public actions.

Thus, all evidence notwithstanding, no stringency was to be found against the divine origin of Jeanne's visions and against her being sent from above. In this respect, her authenticity became the all-dominant criterion, because visionaries had to convince not only by according their teachings with those of the church, but also by their mentality and lifestyle. However, the "discretio spirituum," the differentiation of the spirits, seemed to quarry not humbleness but rather disdainfulness and rebellion. Jeanne's reluctance, when it comes to bowing to the contesting church, finally tipped the scale and resulted in her conviction.

The Eschatological Meaning of the *Templum Domini* in Jerusalem (Dome of the Rock)

Dr. Michelina Di Cesare (KHC Visiting Fellow)

This lecture focused on a chapter of the *Gesta Tancredi in Expeditione Hierosolymitana*, written by Ralph of Caen (11th-12th century), dealing with the discovery and destruction of an idol of the Prophet Muḥammad inside the *Templum Domini* in Jerusalem. This was the name given by the Crusaders to the Dome of the Rock, the shrine built by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (685-705/65-86) on the area once occupied by the Jewish Temple. So far, the statue described by Ralph has been interpreted to be a representation of the Prophet as a god, according to the image of the "Saracens," as pagan idolaters found in the *Chansons de Geste*, and



Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, Detail of the mosaic inscription on the inner octagonal arcade. Photo by Said Nuseibeh 1996 (reproduced with his kind permission).

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*The Dome of the Rock,
photo by Michelina Di Cesare, 2007.*

explained as an ideological construction or the result of ignorance. An analysis of the text instead revealed that the statue was equated with Muḥammad due to his identification as the Antichrist, while its placement in the Dome of the Rock was due to the eschatological meaning of the shrine. The former argument was illustrated through a parallel reading of the deeds assigned to the Antichrist by Adso of Montier-en-Der (10th century) and the biography of the Prophet by Hugh of Fleury (11th century), which showed how the two figures overlapped. The second argument was illustrated through an analysis of Crusader texts presenting the Dome of the Rock as the Jewish Temple rebuilt by the Antichrist. Both traditions were related to the Christian and Jewish reactions to the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem in 637 and the interpretation of the figure of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 634-644/13-23) as the lieutenant of the Antichrist-Muḥammad, in

honor of whom he restored the Temple. This interpretation was endorsed by comparing the inscription found in the Dome of the Rock as it is described in Crusader texts – which denies the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus – to a statement made by Adso, who explains that the rising of the Antichrist above all gods refers specifically to the Trinity. Set in this context, Ralph’s text proved invaluable evidence of the eschatological setting that characterized the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099.

Astromania, Astrophobia, Futuroscopia, and the Last Death of the Astrologer-Doctor in Golden Age Spain (XVI-XVII centuries)

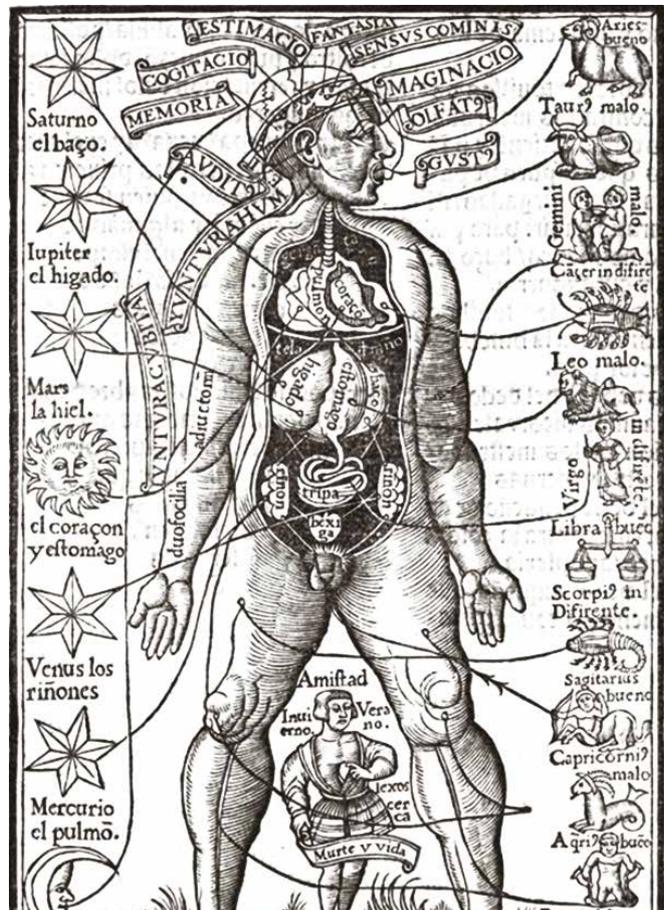
Prof. Dr. Elena del Río Parra (Georgia State University; KHC Visiting Fellow)

The difference between “astrology” and “astronomy” was already obvious in late XVI century Spanish institutions. As in any other European astrological book, all treatises published in XVI and XVII century Spain clearly stated that permissible judgments must stem from natural causes and so, consequently, only prognostications related to agriculture, navigation, and medicine were

published. Astrologers claimed that any good doctor must study the planetary corpses to determine the cycles of disease, bloodletting schedules, and patients’ temperament, complexion and physiognomy, as well as the most

suitable region for each individual. Chance played no part in the astrologers' neo-Platonic universe – as all was harmoniously resolved through complex combinatory techniques to obtain measurable tendencies. Doctors, on the other hand, refused to lend their “authorized prediction area” to astrologers who, in their view, wished to use it as an alibi to scrutinize the future, sheltering what used to be undisguised divinatory techniques. Physicians were deeply interested in futuroscopy themselves, but perceived astrology as a faulty method, and astrologers as unfit to make medical prognostications. This situation worsened after the reform of the calendar in 1582, which proved that the “reason of times” had been incorrect up to that point: the world had been living ten days in the past, implying that the estimated dates for the Genesis, the creation of Adam, liturgical feasts, the age of the world, the eras, and the kingdoms were incorrect, and so the old calendar had not been a healing tool at all.

In early modern Spain, the disdain for medical information printed in astrology books is evident, and was rejected as a corporate intromission. Once medicine became a safe haven for divinatory inquiry, astrologers lost ground, and finally became divorced from medical practice. Lunacy, saturnism and plagues did not come from the heavens; phlebotomy and bathing tables were not only useless but prejudicial; critical and elective days were not signaled by the planets, but by the body itself; and futuroscopic methods were to be found far closer to home in terrestrial nature, but mainly inside the human brain.



Bernaldo Pérez de Vargas. Phlebotomy map. Primera y segunda parte de la Fábrica del Universo. Toledo: Juan de Ayala, 1563: LXXXVIII.

The Sultan and the Stars. Divinatory Practises in 13th Century Yemen *

Dr. Petra Schmidl (Universität Bonn; KHC Visiting Fellow)

In Taizz in Yemen, a man, who did no more during his following biennial reign than manage the political heritage of his father, acceded to the throne in 1295. Certainly, al-Ashraf would have been almost forgotten by now, had he not excelled as an academic previous to his accession. A astrolabe and, among other treatises, two texts dealing with the stars remain of his scientific oeuvre. One of these texts concerns the construction of astronomic instruments, whereas the other, the *Kitab al-Tabsir-*

afiilm al-nujum (roughly translated as: “An Instructive Treatise on Astronomy”), provides an introduction to astronomy, which focuses on astronomical, astrological, magical, divinatory, mathematical, geographical and other related topics.

The lecture concentrated on providing a multidisciplinary audience with an overview of the magical and divinatory practices described by al-Ashraf Umar in the *Kitab al-Tabsira*. The author

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either introduces them in texts, mostly with an apodosis following a protasis (“If this happens, I...”), or presents them in the form of charts and registers, in which he contrasts the sign with the interpretation or the sign with the desired or unwanted action. On the basis of the observed phenomena, which constitute the origin of the later interpretation or manipulation of the future, the multitude of practices described by al-Ashraf Umar can be divided into sublunary and astral signs. An onomantic practice, by which the future winner and loser can be determined by the number of letters contained within the names of the two adversaries, belongs to the field of sublunary signs. Moreover, a palmonantic practice, which interprets convulsions of the bodily parts or aeromantic practices that explain sublunary apparitions in the sky, such as falling stars or rainbows,

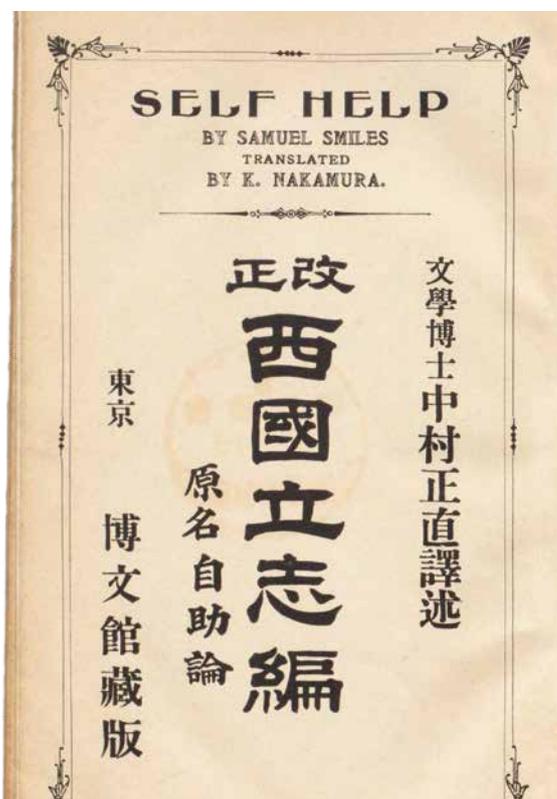
belong to this category. The second field concentrates on the practices described in the *Kitab al-Tabsira*, which deduce, for example, some kind of weather forecast or the right time for an action (catarchs or elections, respectively) from the positions of the sun, moon and planets. Furthermore, al-Ashraf Umar describes more complex methods, which combine different signs. A scheme interprets the sounds and sighting of animals, for instance, occurring at a time, which is possibly destined by the entrance of the moon into a sign of the zodiac, as fortunate, disadvantageous or ambivalent symbols. It was emphasized in the lecture that the sheer variety of described practices constitutes an important criterion, which indicates the need for further work on this text only available as an untranscribed manuscript till date.

Traditional Beliefs and Colonial Modernity in 20th Century East Asia

Prof. Dr. Faye Kleeman (University of Colorado, Boulder; KHC Visiting Fellow)

The transition to a modern worldview in early 20th century East Asia was fitful at best and, in some places, remains incomplete. The traditional worldview slowly yielded to a modern approach based on scientific empiricism in domain after domain, but still maintains a vibrant relevancy in the areas of religion, divination, and indigenous medical traditions. My lecture explored this epistemological gap, focusing on the state institutional and individual psychological transitions from traditional (popular folk) practices on fate, freedom, and prognostication in East Asia. It examined how the traditional East Asian worldview and cosmology both complied and conflicted with Western-style modernity. I posed the following questions: Did the modern era usher in a different attitude toward fate and freedom? If so, what fundamentally changed? How did this change occur? Was the change sudden or gradual? Deliberate or forced? What was at stake in the change, and what conflicts arose in its implementation? Were the new beliefs that arose equally local, or more universal in character? Could new ideas about fate be transplanted to a new region or cultural milieu?

The first half of the lecture considered Meiji Japan, which served as a model for all Asian modernization. Adopting Sam-



Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*, translated by Nakamura Masanao, had a profound influence on early Meiji intellectuals. He proposed a self-determined modern subject that is not bonded by class, family, or pre-determined fate (Image taken from Diet Library Digital Library <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1907628>, accessed May 17, 2014)

uel Miles' ideal of self-determination (via Nakamura Masanao's translation of *Self-Help*), both the nation state and its newly-formed citizenry seemed to gain a sense of agency. It is evident in the state's purposeful, rapid modernization, and in each individual citizen's eager embrace of the ideology of "*risshin shusse*" (establish oneself and make a name in the world). Individuals' fate was no longer tied to the traditional Buddhist notions of karma or to the familial structure. However, ironically, this empowerment of the individual that is capable of intervening in the workings of fate was curtailed by the emerging Imperial state, which asserted its own fate, refusing to fall victim to Western colonization by themselves colonizing other parts of Asia.

The second part of the lecture focused on conflicts between the intra-Asia appropriation of Japanese modernity and the indigenous belief system in colonial Taiwan. Using two short stories written in the colonial period (1895-1944), namely Satō Haruo's ghost story *Tale of the Bridal Fan* (1925) and Lü Heruo's



"Tomb in Lew Chew", M.C. Perry, Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, 1856.

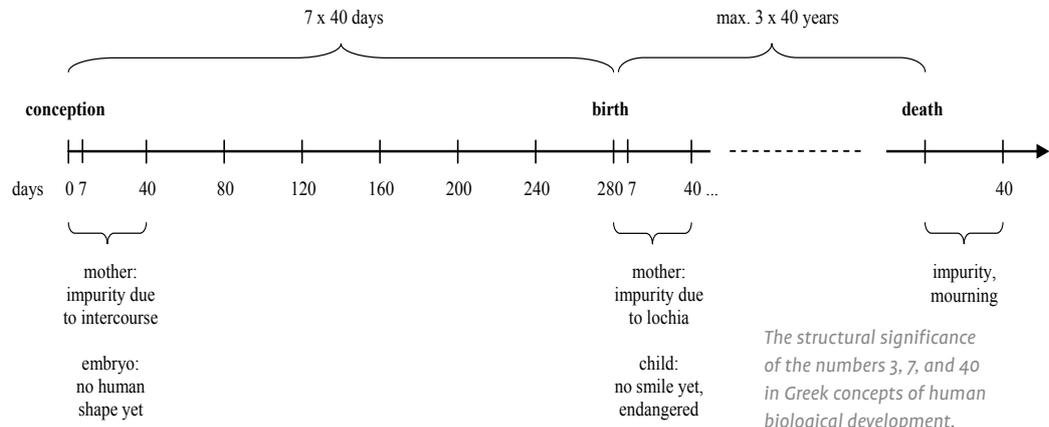
Fengshui (Geomancy, 1942), I explored the temporal and spatial dislocation of a shared East Asian cosmology that was no longer valued by a now modern Japan.

The Doctrine of the 3rd, 7th and 40th Days of the Moon in Ancient Astrology

Prof. Dr. Stephan Heilen (Universität Osnabrück)

One problem with which astrologers in the ancient Mediterranean world were faced when analyzing incontrovertible facts in retrospect was to provide plausible explanations for the dramatic change from prosperity to misery and vice versa in individual biographies. Events of profoundly different or even opposite qualities could hardly be explained on the basis of a single set of astronomical data. It seemed natural to base the required doctrine on the Moon which, in its quick course and ever varying phases, is the astrological symbol

of change and biological growth, and to devise a doctrine that was in keeping with the traditional numerical concepts of ancient culture. For reasons hitherto unknown, the inventors of the doctrine considered the third, seventh and 40th day of the



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Moon after birth as significant. Modern historians of astronomy found the 40th day to be nonsensical because the lunar cycle is far shorter than 40 days. However, an analysis of numerous hitherto unexplored ancient sources reveals that each of the three time-spans is deeply rooted in Greek concepts of embryology, pregnancy, gynecology, medical pathogenesis, cultic purity, and Pythagorean number symbolism. There was, for example, a widespread view that childbirth, broadly speaking, took not just one but 40 days to be completed in all of its religious and medical respects, both for the mother and the child. Critical moments in this 40 day-period were the third and seventh days. Similar periods of three, seven, and 40 days were attached to the extreme points of human existence, conception and death.

All three numbers were closely intertwined in ancient culture. Hence, it seemed reasonable for ancient astrologers to avoid limiting the analysis of a horoscope to the celestial alignment at the moment of birth and instead practice so-called continuous horoscopy by taking the skies of the third, seventh and 40th days into account, too. This method allowed them to differentiate their explanations in various ways, with regard to either the abstract levels of quality of life or the main periods of the youth, maturity and death of an individual. Some of the extant horoscopes illustrate this doctrine. In the meantime, the lecture has been published in *Mene. Revista Internacional de Investigación sobre Magia y Astrología Antiguas* 12 (2012), 179-198.

Against the Specter of Time: Critique of Progressivism in Modern China

Prof. Dr. Axel Schneider (Universität Göttingen; KHC Visiting Fellow)

Recent changes in the intellectual landscape of China – ranging from the criticism of radicalism to Farewell to Revolution and from the New National Studies during the 1990s to the apparent revival of religion during the 2000s – have triggered a renewed interest in the Chinese reception of modern views of evolutionary or progressive history and the concomitant notions of change and agency.

However, in spite of the strong interest in the Chinese tradition and its potential role in shaping an alternative Chinese modernity, very little attention has been paid to a Chinese critique of modern views of history and how this was linked to specific philosophical and political positions and strategies.

This lacuna is all the more astonishing as many scholars have argued that modern views of history and the forms of writing history in the Christian, Islamic and Buddhist context have been strongly shaped by their respective religious traditions. An inquiry into the nature of Chinese critiques of the modern view of history, especially those that rely on Chinese traditional views of time and change, can be very enlightening with regard to this question of the influence of pre-modern religious traditions on modern progressive views of history.

Against the background of the reception of the modern evolutionary and progressive views of history (which for a long time have not been differentiated in modern China), I argued in this paper that four broad types of critique should be identified:

1. A critique motivated by an insight into the negative consequences of the modern progressivist view of history, subordinating all nations to universal laws of development and thus negating or ignoring issues of national or cultural particularity. Strictly speaking, this type is not a critique of progressivism per se, but only of progressivism insofar as it posits universal patterns of development. This critique thus does not amount to a fundamental questioning of progress and modernity. The CCP's emphasis on Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a good example of this type.
2. A second type of critique starts out from the observation that, in many fields of human activity, we cannot observe progress. In fact, more often than not, the opposite is the case. This is particularly prominent in the field of morality. The concept of progressive history, as far as it can be observed e.g. in the field of technology, is not an

adequate theory of history. This type of critique has been put forward e.g. by Du Yaquan, Liang Qichao in his later years and Liu Yizheng during the early 1920s, to mention a few examples.

3. A third type of critique is, like the second, motivated by ethical concerns. However, this position does not proceed from a historical-factual observation of non-progress, but is a rather systematic critique of evolutionism, arguing that a view of change based on competition and strength cannot form the basis of a good society and therefore has to be rejected on moral rather than factual grounds. Some members of the Critical Review Group have argued in this man-

ner; for example, Jing Changji from a Buddhist perspective of compassion or Liu Yizheng from a Confucian perspective.

4. The last and, from a Western perspective, most interesting type of critique amounts to a critique in nuance not just of progressive history, but also of modernity as such. A prominent example is Zhang Taiyan's Buddhist-inspired critique of progressive history and the concomitant notions of subjectivity and agency that, ever since Descartes' famous dictum, *cogito ergo sum*, have formed the core of the modern project.

Summing up, I reached the conclusion that, although most of these thinkers and the positions they formulated were marginal at the time, their critique amply demonstrates the systematic link between the modern project and views of progressive history and how this link has led some critical scholars to challenge fundamentally the modern project. In quite different ways, their critiques attempt to reconceptualize agency and subjectivity in ways that would be less alienating.

Universal and Political Crises in the End-of-the-World Prognostications: The Armenian Case

Dr. Zara Pogossian (John Cabot University, Rome; KHC Visiting Fellow)

This presentation focused on a number of medieval Armenian texts which represent the genre of historical apocalypses. Considering the diverse scholarly background of the audience, some basic facts from Late Antique Armenian history, both political and religious, were first elaborated upon, such as the key themes from the pre-Christian Zoroastrian religion which may have influenced the medieval apocalyptic texts, the importance of the acceptance of Christianity in Armenia (traditionally dated to 301), the resistance to the Sasanian policy of re-imposing Zoroastrianism in fifth century Armenia, culminating in the Battle of Awarayr (451) and the Peace Agreement of Nuarsak (481), as well as the political and religious implications of the termination of the Aršakuni royal dynasty in 428. Two sources which were funda-

mentally important with regard to the later medieval texts and prognostications of political and universal disasters regarding the End of the World were first presented: the Vision of St. Sahak and the Vision of St. Nerses. These compositions envisioned the end of the Armenia Aršakuni dynasty as the harbingers of the End of the World, but also suggested that, before this universal End, there would be a revival of an independent Armenian Kingdom ruled by an offspring of the Aršakuni dynasty, while the office of the Catholicos would be held by a representative of the line of St. Gregory the Illuminator, founder of the Armenian Christian Church. The presentation traced the history of how these topoi were employed in different political situations throughout medieval history, but also in the 17th century movements of national liberation inspired by the ideas of the European Enlightenment. On the other hand, Armenians had access to a number of other apocalyptic texts composed in the neighboring Christian cultures, particularly Greek and Syriac, and incorporated themes of general Christian interest into topics that had a specifically Armenian resonance, like those outlined above. The presentation focused especially on a text preserved only in Armenian and known as *Agatangnel. On the End of the World*. I argued that this text originated in the pre-Islamic period in the Palestinian-Mesopota-



Title page of *Agatangel. On the End of the World*, Manuscript no. 6961, fol. 62r, courtesy of the Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Matenadaran, Yerevan, Armenia

mian milieu and reflected the situation of Heraclius' victorious campaigns against the Sasanian Empire. Only against this background can the anti-Jewish polemic of this text be understood and contextualized. The text was translated into Armenian at some point, at least before the eleventh century. The exact date is to be determined by further research, but the important factor, as far as the Armenian apocalyptic traditions are concerned, is the use of Agatangel in later anonymous (or pseudonymous) texts, mainly dating to the period of the Crusades, particularly the 12th century, such as the *Prophecies of Agaton*, *Sermo de Antichristo* or the *Letter of Love and Concord*, where the overarching Christian apocalyptic themes found in *Agatangel. On the End of the World* are combined with specifically Armenian topoi about the restoration of an independent Armenian Kingdom and Church. As a result, in these texts, the prognostications about the End of the World juxtaposed topics widely known in most of the medieval Christian cultures with those bearing a distinctly Armenian mark. These texts, thus, represent an important feature of medieval Armenian culture in general, where both Eastern and Western currents of thought conjoined with the indigenous traditions to create vibrant, distinct traditions.

The Interdependence of Science and Religion in Modern Japan – The Background of Fukushima

Prof. Dr. Takahiro Nakajima (University of Tokyo; KHC Visiting Fellow)

This paper sought to understand the background to the Fukushima nuclear incident on March 11, 2011. For this purpose, I focused on the philosophical discourse on the interdependence between science and religion in three philosophers of the Kyoto School, and also examined the reason why postwar Japanese society decided to introduce the technology of nuclear reactors.

By introducing the “logic of place”, Nishida Kitarō attempted to find a direct connection between science and religion by means of philosophy. However, he failed to achieve this because it was difficult to control “the inhumanity” and “the indifference” of modern science by means of religion and philosophy. Faced with this difficulty, Nishitani Keiji attempted to reconnect science with religion, by appealing to the concept of

“transpersonal field,” in which human beings can truly recover their subjectivity, thereby becoming free of the natural law as it is represented by science. However, this eventually led to the same result, as Nishida failed. Mutai Risaku was the first commissioner of this 39th Commission in the Science Council of Japan, in which the way of the introduction of atomic energy was discussed. His major idea was “humankind” which could afford the reason to give restriction to the use of modern technology, especially nuclear energy, for the sake of war. However he did not criticize nuclear energy as such, because he believed in the neutrality of technology.

As for the social and political reason why postwar Japanese society decided to introduce the technology of nuclear reactors,



Minami Sanriku, Foto taken on March 25, 2012; courtesy of the University of Tokyo Center for Philosophy (UTCP)

in spite of A-bombed memory in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I analyzed how the American propaganda “atoms for peace” was

applied in Japan and how Japanese collaborators used it as what was fitting Japanese desire of “atoms for dreaming.” A-bombed memory in Hiroshima and Nagasaki could co-exist with peaceful use of atomic energy, advocating the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Facing the progress of technology, Japanese “social imaginary” could not but follow it. It was and remains very difficult to retain a critical standpoint regarding this optimism about the progress of technology. Philosophers from the Kyoto School tried to restrict this optimism by referring to the religious dimension and philosophical ideal, but they did not necessarily succeed in this. However, it is becoming increasingly important to renew our “social imaginary” in the face of the progress of technology after Fukushima.

Fate, Death, and Material Culture in Early China

Prof. Dr. Lillian Tseng (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University; KHC Visiting Fellow)

This lecture explored issues surrounding fate and death through a study of the furnishings of the tomb of King Nanyue in Han China. The tomb, built about 122 BCE, is located in present-day Guangzhou, Guangdong. Wearing a jade suit shot through with silk thread, the deceased king was accompanied by circular discs made of jade and a silver box containing drugs. Questions immediately arise about this unique combination: Was the jade suit intended to preserve the body? Were the drugs intended to enhance immortality? What fate lay in store for the deceased when his corporal existence was protected and his corporal nourishment sustained? Furthermore, the drug container was modified from a silver plate that was probably produced in ancient Iran. How did things from afar figure in the construction of fate for a Han ruling elite after his death? In the lecture, Professor Tseng argued that the future and the fate of the deceased were constructed through the furnishings of the tomb. It was from a mummy complex that a jade suit or case was made to preserve the body and that elixirs were prepared to nourish the preserved body; both fought against time. Furnishing the coffins with hundreds of disks was to create the verticality of

space, allowing the dead to ascend to the realm of Heaven. Inserting an exotic object into the funerary context was, on the other hand, to open up the horizontal spread of space, establishing an affinity to the world of immortals in the far-off land. The view that Professor Tseng would like to push is the materiality of divination. As her case study showed, it was objects—their material, shape, and arrangement—that constructed the future intended or prescribed for the deceased. Without these objects, there was no ontology of death, no fate after life. However auspicious its orientation proved to be, a tomb without objects was nothing but an empty pit. The case study also demonstrated that death can be a legitimate field for the study of divination.



Reconstruction of a Jade Suit, Tomb of King Nanyue in Guangzhou, China.

Narrating the National Fate: Time, Historical Consciousness, and Cultural Trauma in the Study of ‘Chinese Modernization’ in postwar Taiwan

Prof. Dr. Hsiao A-chin (Academia Sinica, Taipei; KHC Visiting Fellow)

Man is a story-telling animal and researchers in the humanities and social sciences are no exception. Their research works are often more informed by historical narratives that function as particular forms of collective memory than they would have admitted. The purpose of my lecture was to show how sociology may function as a form of story-telling about national fate or destiny and thus become an important agent of social memory and identity formation by analyzing the sociological study of “Chinese modernization,” especially the case of Kwan-hai Lung (1906-1983) as one of the major founders of sociology in postwar Taiwan. The studies of Chinese modernization in social sciences in general and in sociology in particular were promoted primarily by scholars of Chinese Mainlander background who exiled to Taiwan after 1949, owing to the Chinese Communist Party’s victory in China’s civil war. These scholars constituted the major part of the first and second generations of social scientists in postwar Taiwan and dominated social sciences up to the 1980s. The two generations of exilic Mainlander sociologists

were haunted with the bitter memory not only of their displacement, but of modern China’s cultural trauma caused by foreign oppression. Embracing Chinese nationalism and the modernization theory imported mainly from the USA, they hoped that China (Taiwan as “Free China” at the time or an envisioned unified China which included Taiwan and the Chinese mainland) could become a rich and powerful nation by modernizing itself. By integrating two frameworks of time, the metanarrative of global modernity and the metanarrative of Chinese modernization, into their sociological works, they became a major story-teller that narrated the past, present, and future of Taiwan. As an important source of public narratives, the sociological study of Chinese modernization helped in the construction of collective memory and national identity in postwar Taiwan. It also contributed to the alleviation of the exiles’ sense of dislocation, anxiety, and distress by conveying the image of the nation in control of its destiny, optimistically charting the course for its future.

Confucian Divination and the Contingency of the Community: About the Two Forms of Original Thinking of Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 and Wang Hui 汪暉 *

Prof. Dr. Kai Marchal (Soochow University, Taipei; KHC Visiting Fellow)

Nearly all of the central positions of Neo-Confucianism, which strongly influenced China (and in the broader sense East Asia as well) from the 12th to the early 20th century, are connected with the word *ming* 命. It is no coincidence that the first entry in the first Chinese “Terminology Dictionary” (published by Chen Chun, 1159-1223) is dedicated to the word *ming*.¹ However, an accurate translation of this word into a modern language (as “fate”, “order”, “disposition” or even “life”, for instance) is not possible, because *ming* must not be misunderstood as philosophical notion with a distinct meaning; in fact, in the view of pre-modern readers, *ming* is intrinsically tied to a whole value



Prof. Marchal during his lecture at the Kollegienhaus.

system which comprises the imagination of a fulfilled life as well as the expectation of a proper future or even a harmonious universe.²

In accordance with a widely held belief, it was only after the Neo-Confucian worldview had become deeply questionable that Chinese modernity took shape at the beginning of the 20th century. In the lecture, I discussed the positions of two thinkers who reject exactly the previous assumption. At first sight, Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 (1909-1995) – the culturally conservative academic in exile who entertains religious affinities – and Wang Hui 汪暉 (born in 1959) – the most important representative of the Chinese “New Left” who discusses with Jürgen Habermas, Chantal Mouffe and other global intellectuals – seem like two antipodes. On second thoughts, however, the attempt to adopt an untimely attitude towards the own presence and to write a local genealogy of modernity which is inspired by Neo-Confucianism unifies both thinkers. Moreover, as highlighted in my lecture, both aim at reconstructing *ming* as a “basic moral concept” and to expose its *critical* potential that had been hidden by the presence.³

Finally, I assumed that Chinese thinkers sought a redefinition of the modern balancing act between freedom and emancipation on the one hand and normative order on the other hand.⁴ Mou and Wang consistently refer to *ming* as a source of normativity that should also provide a basis for a political community

or, respectively, for a solidarity that is to be initiated between the isolated individuals. Eventually, *ming* does not mean “fate” as often said lapidary, but refers to the range of moral subjectivity which is proved by history and sets its own boundaries, succumbing to the positive vision of a cultural identity. The question of whether the foundation of a Chinese as well as *modern* community in the spirit of Neo-Confucianism succeeded requires further discussion.

¹ See Chen Chun 陳淳, *Beixi ziyi* 北溪字義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983 [reproduction: 2009]), p. 1-6. For an English translation see Ch'en Ch'un, *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained*, trans. and ed. by Wing-tsit Chan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

² Cf. Peter Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Center, 2008), p. 194-217.

³ My analysis is mainly based on two books by Mou Zongsan: his *Abhandlung zum höchsten Guten* (*Yuanshan lun* 圓善論, Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1985) and his *Zwei Formen des moralischen Bewusstseins* (*Xinti yu xingtì* 心體與性體, Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1968-1969); in the case of Wang Hui, I primarily refer to his major work *Der Ursprung des modernen chinesischen Denkens* (*Xiandai Zhongguo sixiang de xingqi* 現代中國思想的興起, Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004).

⁴ It is interesting, for example, how Mou not only radically questions the reliability of moral reasons to act, using the example of a man eating arsenic trioxide, but also tries to depict the fundamental groundlessness of human actions by referring to *ming*; only a Confucian identity could save from nihilism (see *Yuanshan lun*, p. 142ff.). – Especially relevant is the first volume of Wang Hui's major work, in which *ming* in its capacity of *tianli* (“natural order”) plays an important role in historical process (see *Xiandai Zhongguo sixiang de xingqi*, 1.1, p. 50, 148f., 178, 281 Fn. 56, 283f., *passim*).

Knowledge and Foreknowledge Extrapolation in First-Second Century China: Remnants of the Spring and Autumn Weft Profundity and Remoteness

Dr. Grégoire Espeset (Centre de recherche sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale [CRCAO], Collège de France; KHC Visiting Fellow)

The “Weft” writings (*weishu* 緯書), “Confucian Apocrypha,” or simply “Apocrypha”, developed in China during the early imperial era (from the late 3rd century BCE onwards) and bloomed around the beginning of our era, in a context of political competition for supreme power. Related by name—and supposedly by content—to the “Confucian” Classics, they have their own agenda, concerned with legitimacy and socio-political awareness. Potentially usable as propaganda tools, they were targeted by repeated prohibition. Assumed lost in pre-modern times, most of them survived as citations in various sources. In the 19th and

20th centuries, Chinese scholars compiled these remnants into compendia, which were in turn used as basic material by Japanese scholars to produce a critical edition.

My research focused on one of these texts, whose title *Spring and Autumn Weft Profundity and Remoteness* (*Chunqiu Qian Tan Ba* 春秋潛潭

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LECTURE SERIES WS 2013/14

Overview of the lectures of winter semester 2013/14:

22.10.2013: Knowledge and Foreknowledge Extrapolation in First-Second Century China: Remnants of the *Spring & Autumn Weft Profundity and Remoteness*. **Dr. Grégoire Espeset** (*Centre de recherche sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale [CRAO]; Collège de France; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

05.11.2013: Alfons der Weise (1252-1284) und die Astrologie. **Prof. Dr. Carlos Estepa Díez** (*Instituto de Historia, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas [CSIC]; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

12.11.2013: Morality and Freedom in Early Daoist Communities. **Prof. Dr. Terry Kleeman** (*Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Colorado Boulder; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

19.11.2013: Understanding the History of Astrology (and Magic) Accurately: Methodological Reflections on Terminology and Anachronism. **Dr. Darrel Rutkin** (*PhD Department of History and Philosophy of Science, Indiana University, Bloomington; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

10.12.2013: Translation and Adaption: The Continuous Interplays between Chinese Astrology and Foreign Culture. **Dr. Chang Che-chia** (*Academia Sinica, Taiwan; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

16.12.2013: Book Launch – Der Begriff des Zeichens in der Epistemologie der prognostischen Wissenschaften. [Please refer to our main issue of fate] **Prof. Dr. Alexander Fidora** (*Institució Catalana de Recerca i Estudis Avançats [ICREA], Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

17.12.2013: Rise and Fall of Prognostic Astrology in Scientific Paradigms of Early Modern Europe. **Prof. em. Dr. Walter Sparr** (*Lehrstuhl für Systematische Theologie I [Dogmatik], FAU*)

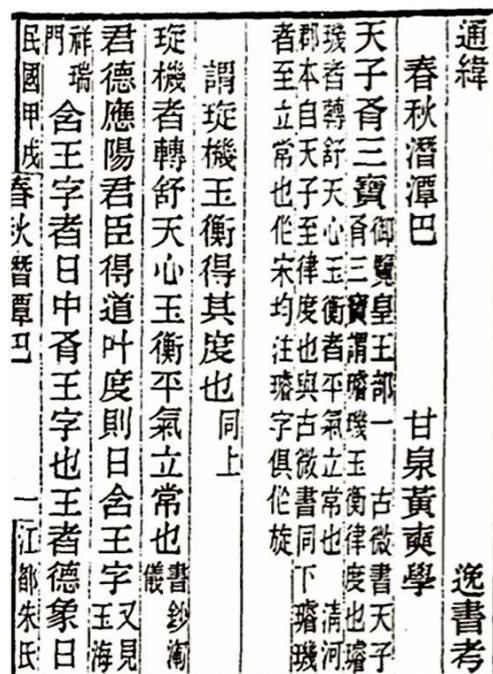
07.01.2014: Doubting the Stars: Critical Views on Traditional ‘Science’ in Early Modern Japan. **Prof. Dr. Matthias Hayek** (*Université Paris-Diderot; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

28.01.2014: Prognoses of Decline – Coping with the Future. Reforms in 19th Century Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar. **Prof. Dr. Andreas Nehring** (*Lehrstuhl für Religions- und Missionswissenschaft, FAU; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

04.02.2014: Prophecy and International Politics in Early Modern Bavaria (1685-1730). **Dr. Lionel Laborie** (*School of History, Goldsmiths College, University of London; KHC Visiting Fellow*)

巴), according to pre-modern Chinese scholars, referred to the potentiality, profundity, and far-reaching quality of its “parent” Classic, the Lu state chronicle known as “Spring and Autumn”. This Weft title is attested as early as the first or second century of our era. Often quoted in medieval anthologies, the text was still in circulation during the tenth century, but was lost in the eighteenth century. The surviving 232 citations are anonymous and undated, except for commentaries ascribed to a third-century scholar. Most citations share the same basic morphology, which is that of a conditional sentence of the implicative type. (“If X, then Y.”) They constitute the “extrapolative” genre, whose function is to provide data extrapolated from a wide array of phenomenal observations. When scheduled precisely, these data fall under the category of “prognostication” proper; otherwise, they may reveal events already in progress. (Other minority genres include the “speculative”, “admonitory”, “prescriptive”, and “narrative” genres.)

A primary analysis of the observed phenomenology (X) showed that the determinative is always irregularity, anomaly, excess, or an accident, and that observations overwhelmingly concern astronomy. Extrapolations (Y) mainly concern the sphere of human agency—dynastic affairs, governance (including hierarchy and morality), world affairs, and military affairs. The sphere of non-human agency remains secondary. Positive extrapolation, very rare (11 items), only affects the human sphere. The analysis of correlated observations and extrapolations (X/Y) confirmed the prominence of astronomy in the whole system.



Opening page of collected fragments from the *Spring and Autumn Weft Profundity and Remoteness* in a late Qing recension (19th cent.)

Alfonso the Wise (1252-1284) and Astrology *

Prof. Dr. Carlos Estepa Díez (Instituto de Historia, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas [CSIC]; KHC Visiting Fellow)

Undoubtedly, Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile and elected King of the Romans, was an outstanding personality of his time. His cultural impact is reflected in the numerous works he commissioned, which cover a broad area and various genres, such as those on legislation, history, sciences (especially astrology), religious lyrics and even the field of games (*Libro de los juegos*).

The paper was concerned with two published astrological works of his “scriptorium”: the *Libro complido en los iudizios de las Estrellas* (*Accomplished Book about the Stars’ Judgements*) (1254) and the *Libro de las Cruces* (*The Book of Crosses*) (1259). Both were translated from Arabic into Castilian by the Jew Jehuda ibn Mose ha Cohen, the most important contributor in King Alfonso’s entourage. They belonged to the so-called “Astrología Judiciaria” (Judicial-Astrology). The original author of the *Libro complido* was Abul Hasan Ali b. Abir Rijal (ca. 970-1050), and the author of the *Libro de las Cruces* was Abd Allah ibn Ahmad al-Tulaytuli, an Andalusian of the 11th century.

In 1954, Gerold Hilty published books I-V of the *Libro Complido*. Books VI-VIII, which were initially considered lost, were published in 2005 by Gerold Hilty and Luis Miguel Vicente Garcia. The *Libro de las Cruces* was edited in 1961 by Lloyd A. Kasten and Lawrence B. Kiddle. The *Libro Complido* includes a vast amount

of particulars and details, and was utilized as the most significant manual on astrology in the Late Middle Ages throughout Spain. In comparison to it, the *Libro de las Cruces* is simpler and arranged more systematically, albeit the principal structure is similar: zodiac and planets, their constellation and movements. The *Libro de las Cruces* contains various pictorial depictions of the distinct positions of the planets in the particular signs of the zodiac. Furthermore, the signs of the zodiac are portrayed in a circle, which consists of six radii and three diameters. At the end of each radius, so-called *estacas* (pales) are indicated.



Prof. Estepa Díez lecturing on Alfonso the Wise.

Fate and Morality in Early Daoist Communities

Prof. Dr. Terry Kleeman (Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Colorado Boulder; KHC Visiting Fellow)

This talk introduced the social structure of early Celestial Master Communities, wherein a group of ordained Daoist citizens united under a libationer (*jijiu* 祭酒) who was responsible for reporting on their activities to the heavens. These early Daoists formed communities that were unique in Chinese history, where men and women of noble and mean birth mixed freely as equals, their position in society determined not by wealth or so-

cial class but rather by virtue and proficiency in ritual actions. In these communities, the libationer acted as a pastor to his or her flock, counseling them on how to act morally in accord with the Dao, and ministering to their needs. Daoists believed that all illness and misfortune was caused by misconduct, which was reported to supernatural authorities, who assessed the misconduct and allocated punishment. The libationer, having through

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his ordination ascended to a heavenly office, was empowered to intervene in these proceedings through the submission of a formal document called a petition. The petition typically stated the identity of the petitioner, explained the misfortune that had recently befallen him, expressed sorrow and penance for any misconduct on the part of the petitioner or the petitioner's family, and asked the aid of supernatural forces in rectifying the situation. The libationer, and Daoists in general, were firmly enjoined to not offer sacrifice or other payment to the gods, just

as the libationer would accept no payment from his or her flock. Moreover, because all illness and misfortune is the result of divine justice, seeking to avoid this punishment through divination or the use of medical techniques was considered inappropriate. Indeed, if one were once healed through proper Daoist means then fell ill again, this person was evil to the core and not worthy of any further intervention. In a universe that operated on purely moral grounds, only moral conduct or its equivalent in ritual activity could suffice to change one's fate.

Understanding the History of Astrology (and Magic) Accurately: Methodological Reflections on Terminology and Anachronism

Dr. Darrel Rutkin (PhD Department of History and Philosophy of Science, Indiana University, Bloomington; KHC Visiting Fellow)

Understanding the history of astrology accurately as 20th – and 21st-century historians of science, philosophy, religion, politics and culture poses a complex range of challenges – conceptual and contextual – some of which I explored in my talk. First I simply – and proscriptively – identified two of the more problematic conceptual structures pervading the historiography that, in my opinion, should be removed (or at least set aside) at the very beginning, namely, configuring astrology with the occult, esoteric or hermetic sciences, and making an *a priori* distinction between so-called natural and judicial astrology. The first step of reconstruction should then begin by identifying and grinding the basic framing structures for new interpretive lenses as deeply informed by the three following fundamental distinctions and configurations.

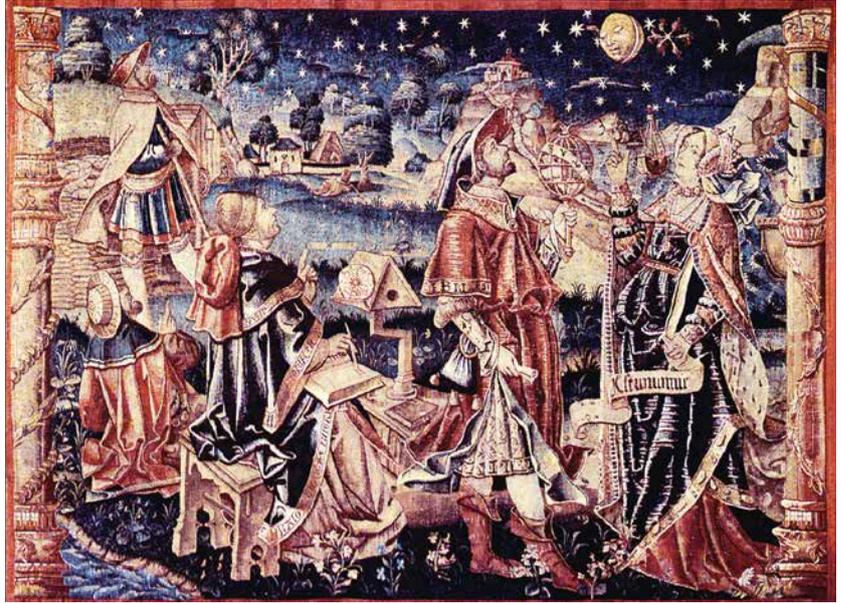
The first conceptual structure involves the most basic terminology, namely, the term “astrology” itself, and concerns the utterly fundamental distinction between what we call “astronomy” and “astrology.” In brief, “astronomy” (that is, mathematical astronomy, as opposed to physical astronomy) is concerned primarily with analyzing and predicting the motions of the luminaries (the sun and moon) and the planets, whereas “astrology” treats their influences or effects on the earth itself, its atmosphere and inhabitants.

The two other essential framing structures derive from two disciplinary configurations, one of which situates astrology within the broader realm of natural knowledge; the other differentiates astrology's practical dimension. Astrology was integrally configured within three fundamental scientific disciplines: mathematics, natural philosophy and medicine. This disciplinary configuration also serves to situate astrology within one of its most important institutional locations, namely, the premodern university, where it was studied, taught and passed down as “normal science” in Europe from the 13th throughout the 17th century. The third and final fundamental structure is the four types of astrological praxis: revolutions, nativities, elections and interrogations.

After a digression on terminology and anachronism, I briefly analyzed astrology's configuration within the work of two influential medieval thinkers: Roger Bacon (ca. 1214/20-94) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-74). For Roger Bacon, I sketched out his analysis of the relation between mathematics, astrology and magic in the *Opus maius, Book IV* (ca. 1267), which was configured within his analysis of true vs. false mathematics. For Thomas Aquinas, I described his analysis of legitimate vs. illegitimate modes of predicting the future in *Summa Theologiae Ila Ilae, Questions 92-95* (ca. 1270). In it, Aquinas offered the fundamental distinction between what we call astronomy and astrology as legitimate modes of prediction, which he would not

call divination because they both have a causal natural philosophical structure, on the basis of which legitimate predictions can be made. This he contrasted sharply with illegitimate divinatory practices, such as augury and the casting of lots, which had no causal structure and thus relied on demons.

Gobelin "Astronomie". Wool on Silk, France, around 1515. RKM 79-1964, photo: Röhsska Museum, reprinted with the kind permission of the Röhsska Museum, <http://rohsska.se>

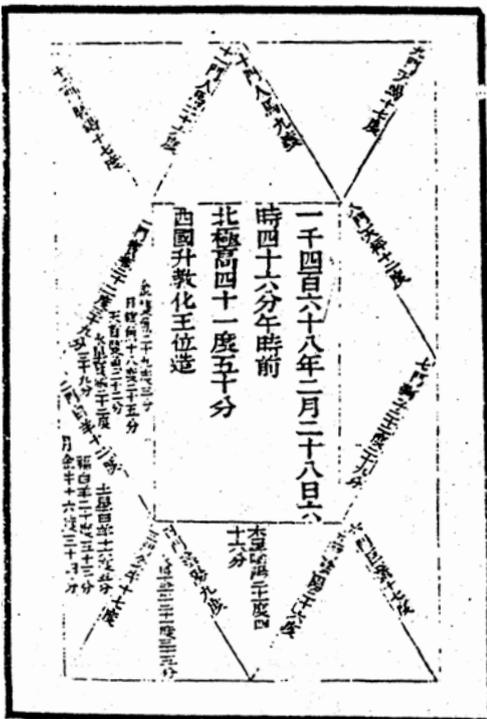


Translation and Adaption: The Continuous Interplays between Astrology and Foreign Culture

Dr. Chang Che-chia (Academia Sinica, Taiwan; KHC Visiting Fellow)

Chinese natal astrology has been greatly influenced by the Ptolemaic model. First, the Buddhist monks introduced the system in the Indian-style; later, Islamic astronomers and Jesuits brought in Arabic and European astrology respectively. Translation is an essential activity in transmitting foreign astrology; however, translation is more sophisticated than mechanically transliterating a text's literal meaning from one language to another. After examining the process of astrological translation, we were able to identify that, even though some translators intended to be loyal to the original and to avoid that the translation becomes intermingled with the local cultural ideas, the Chinese recipient would push the translator to adjust the content of astrology to the local needs.

The famous *Sutra of Lodges and Planets* (*Xiuyao jing* 宿曜經) is the most representative example of this. Due to the complaints of Chinese users, Master Amoghavajra (705-774) asked a student to revise his earlier translation of the Indian texts into a new edition in order to adapt the astrology to the Chinese calendar and cosmology of 28 lunar lodges. Even for those translators who did not make any adjustment, the later generation's Chinese readers would make



Pope Paul III's (1468-1549) horoscope translated into Chinese, from: Tianbu zhenyuan. *Renming bu* 天步真原人命部 (On Human Fate. True Origin of the Pacing of Heavens), in: *Shoushangcongshu* 守山閣叢書, as reproduced in <http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=86825&page=209>, accessed May 17, 2014

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efforts to integrate the foreign ideas within the domestic system into a Sinicized system. The emergence of the Five-Planets astrology in the late Medieval period and the Qing astrologers' adoption of the Jesuit methods exemplify this tendency. Thus, Chinese users could benefit from the merits of the foreign methods, and also the techniques bred in exotic cultures would be modified in order to meet the needs of local clients. As such, the development of the history of Chinese astrology is a continuous interplay with foreign cultures. The case of Chinese astrology could serve as a miniature of the Chinese pattern of the flexible as well as critical acceptance of foreign things.



Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466/67/69-1536) – Image taken from a Chinese translation of his works, edited by the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taiwan.
Desiderius Erasmus, Portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam Portrait von Hans Holbein dem Jüngeren, 1523; Wikimedia Commons Licence: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Holbein-erasmus.jpg>

Rise and Fall of Prognostic Astrology in Scientific Paradigms of Early Modern Protestantism *

Prof. em. Dr. Walter Sparn (Lehrstuhl für Systematische Theologie I (Dogmatik),
Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg)

Surprisingly, prognostic astrology was judged in many different ways in early Modern Protestantism. Whereas M. Luther, just as Calvin at a later date, was a resolute opponent of horoscopes, Ph. Melanchthon often provided horoscopes on an astronomical basis; with (traditional) reservations that the stars provoke inclinations without force; he, too, opposed any fatalistic, i.e. morally destructive, determinism. This discrepancy is due to the fact that Luther's orientation towards future was related to his apocalyptic diagnosis of the current time, according to which (salvation) history had drawn to a close and Christ's Second Coming was imminent. Like many contemporaries, he cited cosmic phenomena, such as comets or terrestrial catastrophes, to confirm his diagnosis; the crucial point, however, was the extremely intensive and ambivalent congestion of the expectation for the future: the apocalyptic texts in the Old and especially in the New Testament were interpreted with regard to current historical events, such as the occurrence of the "antichrist" (the pope, the Turks).

In Germany, Luther's "prophetic", i.e. apocalyptic-political prognostication provoked huge repercussions approximately until 1670, finally crowned by Gustav Adolf's participation in the Thirty Years' War. Moreover, astronomic prognostication, whose relationship with historical prognostication was never clearly resolved, flourished as well – certainly, this was partly due to the fact that they were of use particularly to the individual who wanted to deal with his future destiny pre-emptively in order to reduce the risk of contingencies. Besides, horoscopes were considered as scientifically reliable, especially when Protestant universities (under the guidance of theology) methodologically subscribed to the New-Aristotelianism of Padua in the decades around 1600 and released physics, and even more (ontological) metaphysics, from direct exploitation by heterogeneous interests; thus, astrology was no more suspected of using superstitious or even magical methods. However, the combination of a prognosis model based upon astronomy and one resting upon history and theology, which was possible so far, became less verisimilar.

Astonishingly, both forms of coping with the future, which differed so much in their emphases, lost their practical significance as well as their scientific reputation between 1650 and 1680; incidentally, before the publication of Isaac Newton's *Principia* (1687). This happened even though astronomers as distinguished as Johannes Kepler around 1610 strove towards a reform of the branch of astrology and though the respectable physician and engineer Abdias Trew clearly distinguished between prognoses based upon astronomy, as used, for instance,



Walter Sparn, professor of systematic theology at our university, lecturing on astrology in early modern protestantism.

in calendars, meteorological and medical diagnoses, and superstitious interpretations of extraordinary occurrences in the sky or on earth ("Wahrsagerey") around 1650 (Altdorf); Trew's successor, the experimental physician Johann Christoph Sturm, asserted impassively in 1680 that no respectable mathematician practiced astrology any more.

There are two reasons to be specified for the end of the very long tradition of astrology. One reason, derived from the history of mentalities, was that the so far closed room of orientation in time, that is salvation history, was opened in favour of an open, generally not closed future and of appropriate motivation with regard to human experience: evolutionary chiliasm, which assumed the *progrès perpétuel* (G. W. Leibniz), took the place of revolutionary apocalyptic vision. The other reason was settled in the history of science: namely, the displacement of Aristotle's natural philosophy with its hermeneutically open empiricism (for the benefit of the mathematical-experimental discipline) and with its metaphysical categoriality (for the benefit of eclectic methodology). On the part of theology, both reasons were legitimated by the hermeneutic relativisation of the natural-historical and the historical-theoretical canonicity of the bible.

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Doubting the Stars: Critical Views on Traditional 'Science' in Early Modern Japan

Prof. Dr. Matthias Hayek (Université Paris-Diderot; KHC Visiting Fellow)

At the end of the 17th century, the expansion of printed culture allowed for a further disclosure of the knowledge and practices that used to be reserved for a cultural, if not political, elite, such as monks, courtiers, and warriors. This phenomenon, which stands as one of the key features characterizing Tokugawa Japan as 'modern', cannot be explained only by its medium (books). It also implies that individuals were willing to share their knowledge with others. This new 'clerisy' not only contributed to the diffusion of ideas that was present already, but also to establishing new paradigms in various fields. In this regard, what occurred between the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century is similar in many ways to the revolution initiated in Europe by Descartes, Leibniz, and Newton. In other words,

secular authors were willing to discuss, if not to criticize, what had hitherto been taken for granted, and to formulate new theories. Most noticeably, after Shibukawa Harumi's 'experimental' breakthrough, which led to the devising of the first proper Japanese calendar, it was in the field of astronomy, meteorology, and even cosmology that discussion arose. Conversely, commonplace ideas shared by commoners regarding cosmology, or even religion, also came under closer scrutiny by these scholars. The Confucian notion that incorrect beliefs could become a cause of social problems had emerged, and some of them became eager to enlighten the ill-tutored on these topics. In this presentation, I intended to focus on two authors: Baba Nobutake (? -1715) and Nishikawa Joken (1648-1724). They are un-

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likely to have met each other in person, but both pertain to this new clerisy, and share a common interest in rectifying or rationalizing the cosmological framework of their time. I aimed to highlight the similarities and differences between two respective works by these authors, in order to shed light on the goals

and methods employed by scholars such as Baba or Nishikawa when devising their books and how consequential the positions they adopted may have been in terms of changes to how stars, calendar or fate were perceived.



Buddhist monks in Myanmar receiving instruction in meditation techniques, photo: A. Nehring, 2011.

Prognoses of Decline – Coping with the Future. Reforms in 19th Century Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar *

Prof. Dr. Andreas Nehring (Lehrstuhl für Religions- und Missionswissenschaft, FAU; KHC Visiting Fellow)

Since the early 20th century, mindfulness has been gradually accepted as a *philosophical concept* or *meditation exercise* in the west. Moreover, far beyond religion, the concept and its practical experience are currently attracting interest in the fields of medical science, psychotherapy, science, education management training and popular culture. Without any exaggeration, mindfulness can now be called the most popular buzzword when it comes to the education of consciousness. However, the recent articles on mindfulness often disagree about the refer-

ence to Buddhism. Whereas some stress that mindfulness actually does not relate to Buddhism and that meditation is a practice that has to be conceived as independent of religion, others insist on referring to the Buddhist traditions. Sometimes, emphasis is placed on the notion of Buddhism with the intention of legitimating the need for a practice which comprises all religions and cultures. On the other hand, diverse approaches derived from Buddhist traditions – such as Zen Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, Vipassanā and Samatha – are intermixed with each

other. Finally, there are also schools of mindfulness meditation which draw on a certain orthodoxy and orthopractice, and clearly attach themselves to one tendency or the other. In any case, we dealt with the formation of a religious field (Bourdieu) in a global context (Appadurai), the limits of which remain notably diffuse. How this modern phenomenon occurred is, however, only explored to some extent and, in particular, it remains controversial how the modern forms of Buddhist practice could have been engaged in the popular discourses to such an extent that mindfulness can be referred to as a global phenomenon today.

This contribution analysed how Vipassanā-meditation, which is a movement often labelled “reformed Buddhism, Buddhist

modernism, Buddhist renaissance or Protestant Buddhism”, first spread among laymen in Myanmar.

In Burma, Buddhist modernization, associated with the introduction of the meditation of laymen must not be perceived as rationalisation or secularisation in terms of differentiating and repressing religion, and the monastic orders’ influence on society. It is rather to be considered as a collective expression of a new awareness of the “fear of influence” and of new strategies for coping with contingencies. Predictions that Buddhism would decline, which had become virulent under colonialism, facilitated the establishment of a meditation practice as a mass movement in Myanmar which was then transferred to other countries of South Asia and finally to the west at the beginning of the 20th century.

Prophecy and International Politics in Early Modern Bavaria (1685-1730)

Dr. Lionel Laborie (School of History, Goldsmiths College, University of London; KHC Visiting Fellow)

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 marked a significant turning point in the religious and political history of Western Europe. The abolition of religious tolerance in France after several years of brutal persecution forced some 200,000 Protestants or Huguenots to seek refuge abroad, principally in England, the Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland. Refusing exile, a subgroup of Protestant diehards known as ‘Camisards’ resisted the religious persecution of Louis XIV in Languedoc, and fought the last French war of religion in the Cévennes mountains between 1702 and 1710 under the alleged guidance of the Holy Spirit. Far from being a local issue, this prophetic war gained considerable publicity throughout Europe in the midst of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Many of their foreign correspondents also anticipated Christ’s Second Coming in the light of these events.

It is in this context that three of these ‘French Prophets’ arrived in England in 1706, where they originally delivered apocalyptic predictions in ecstatic trances to the local Huguenot community, but rapidly attracted a majority of English millenarians. Their controversial, bilingual movement challenged the author-

ity of both the Anglican and Huguenot Churches, performed alleged miracles and called for an egalitarian Universal Church on earth. By 1710, their ecumenical assemblies attracted hundreds of attendants from no less than seven denominations. Seeing monarchs as actors of the Apocalypse, the Camisards launched prophetic missions across Europe from 1709 to announce the fall of the Papacy, ‘the Whore of Babylon’. Four missionaries prophesied in Erlangen, Nuremberg, Schwabach and Regensburg in September and October 1711 on their way to Vienna.

This lecture revealed for the first time the existence of a French millenarian network in early 18th-century Europe. Focusing on its Bavarian ramifications, it argued that the French Prophets sought to reconcile Protestant denominations into the communitarian, egalitarian spirit of primitive Christianity until the 1730s. As they made converts among local Huguenot colonies and interacted with German radical Pietists, the Prophets attempted to influence Protestant rulers and precipitate the fall of Rome ahead of Christ’s imminent Second Coming. In so doing, they challenged international politics and churches to bring peace in the name of God.

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