



**INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM**  
for Research in the Humanities

Schicksal, Freiheit und Prognose. Bewältigungsstrategien in Ostasien und Europa



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Editorial (Prof. Dr. Klaus Herbers)

## Fruitful Interaction between the ‘End of Time’ and New Beginnings

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

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for Research in the Humanities



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Dear Readers,

You are now holding the twelfth issue of IKGF's newsletter, *fate*, in your hands, which reports on our activities during the summer term 2016. As mentioned in Deputy Director Professor Klaus Herber's editorial, our work at the Consortium now frequently extends beyond the disciplines involved initially, Sinology and Medieval Studies, leading to further joint projects and collaboration with other fields and organizations.

At the same time, it remains an important goal for us to map out and define the field in our lead disciplines, which is why IKGF is making concerted efforts to produce handbooks for the fields of Sinology and Medieval Studies, respectively. The work on the Handbook of Prophecy and Prognostication in Medieval European and Mediterranean Societies is introduced in the Focus of this issue, while a report on the "Mantic Arts in China" conference will shed light on the plans for the Handbook of Prognostication and Prediction in Chinese Civilization that the conference launched.

Apart from the familiar abstracts of lectures held at the consortium over the summer 2016, this issue also contains several reports on workshops and conferences. Among others, international scholars gathered in Erlangen for a conference on ancient Chinese bamboo manuscripts, for a comparative workshop on horoscopy that compared Western, Indian, and Chinese systems, as well as for the second in a series of workshops organized in collaboration with the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin. The latter is part of the new joint project entitled "Accounting for Uncertainty: Prediction and Planning in Asian History", which also includes a joint fellowship program – over the course of two years, the six fellows will spend one summer in Berlin and one summer in Erlangen, respectively.

As always, we hope you will enjoy reading our newsletter. Please feel free to contact us if you have any suggestions!

Dr. Rolf Scheuermann  
(Research Coordination)

## Fruitful Interaction between the ‘End of Time’ and New Beginnings



When the most important, almost 200 year-old undertaking to edit medieval sources, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, publishes the treatise by Bern of Reichenau on nigromancy and divination (*De nigromantia seu divinatione daemonum contemnenda*), when an edition of the *Computus* by Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004) is being considered, or when the no less eminent Constance Research Group is planning to hold a large conference on “The Future in the Middle Ages. Concepts of Time and Strategies of Plan-

ning” in 2018, then this shows the increasing impact that the topic of our consortium has on the field of Medieval Studies. Even more importantly, however, are the concerted efforts of our consortium to support this development, such as the panel at the Symposium of the German Medievalists’ Society in March 2017, which presented joint research carried out here based on the premise that prediction is a universal phenomenon. The panel consisted of three case-studies, which analyzed predictive practices based on elite secret knowledge at courts in China, Yemen, and Sicily between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The various articles in this new issue of fate highlight, however, how individual research in the respective fields affects this joint project, and in fact is creating the necessary foundation for it. Only in this way will it be possible to secure and record the results of the first funding phase of the consortium in the form of handbooks, which is currently an important endeavor for us and will be discussed in more detail in this newsletter.

That our subject matter is of great significance even beyond the immediate confines of our academic fields is easily demonstrated by certain general trends that are currently prevailing in academic and public debates, where collective concepts of the future are increasingly becoming individual ones. Up until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, religion and politics were shaped by optimistic collective ideas about what would come to pass in the future, which the Heidelberg philosopher Karl Löwith (d. 1973) summarized typologically in his book *Weltgeschichte und Heilsgeschehen (World History and Salvation History)*: Christian or secular concepts in Europe, simply put, often assumed an idealized history of successive epochs, in which the present was situated immediately prior to the end of time. An imagined paradise coming after a difficult period of transition tied the course of history to a religious or ideological transcendence and promoted eschatological hopes for the respective present. By con-

trast, modern perceptions of the future, according to Löwith, Koselleck, and others, were more geared towards this-worldly phenomena, and grounded in a more optimistic outlook, by seeking to perfect the world in which we live. Such a collective trust in the future nowadays is being replaced by models of history that are focused on delaying disaster, collectively preparing for the future, and finding individual fulfillment. Under these circumstances, pre-modern European practices of coping with the future gain fresh significance, also in comparison with Asia.

The question of the apocalypse, the end of time, plays a decisive role in these pre-modern practices. In 2016, Johannes Fried, a member of our advisory board, published a history of the



Sculpture of Shiva Natarāja (the “Lord of the Dance”) in copper alloy from India, Tamil Nadu, 950-1000, Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/db/Shiva\\_as\\_the\\_Lord\\_of\\_Dance\\_LACMA.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/db/Shiva_as_the_Lord_of_Dance_LACMA.jpg)

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apocalypse entitled “*Dies irae. Eine Geschichte des Weltuntergangs*”. *Dies irae* is a well-known hymn dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, which was part of the Roman Catholic requiem mass liturgy until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Already the first two verses show how radical a break Christianity considered the apocalypse and judgement day to be:

Dies irae dies illa,  
Solvat saeculum in favilla:  
Teste David cum Sibylla.  
Quantus tremor est futurus,  
Quando iudex est venturus,  
Cuncta stricte discussurus!

That day of wrath, that dreadful day,  
shall heaven and earth in ashes lay,  
as David and the Sybil say.  
What horror must invade the mind  
when the approaching Judge shall find  
and sift the deeds of all mankind!<sup>1</sup>

Which civilizations and religions do even assume that there is an end of time, however? When the god Shiva in Hinduism dances at the end of time, giving rise to the new, then the end is turned into a beginning. But is the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace in Christianity not also a new beginning?

Keeping this in mind, the consortium’s planned conference on “Endzeiten - End(s) of Time(s)” in December 2017 is indeed fulfilling an important demand, as it will investigate how this idea is conceptualized in civilizations as different as medieval Europe, the Islamic world, Tibet, and China. The research group “Sacrality and Sacralization in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. Intercultural Perspectives in Europe and Asia”, which cooperates with the IKGF, was able to gain a first impression of the end of time in other cultures during a field trip to India in February 2017.

We are looking forward to making progress with the Handbook of Prognostication, to hosting more joint conferences, and to making our topic even more visible within academia and among the general public. The upcoming Initiative for Excellence, the most eminent funding program for academic research in Germany, will provide a good forum for this endeavors as well!

Prof. Dr. Klaus Herbers  
(IKGF, Deputy Director)

<sup>1</sup> Translation from the 1962 Missal, which is partially based upon the work of Fr. James Ambrose Dominic Aylward (1813-1872) and William F. Wingfield (1813-1874). Source: <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Hymni/DiesIrae.html> (last visited: May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2017)

## FOCUS

### The IKGF-Handbook Project “Prophecy and Prognostication in Medieval European and Mediterranean Societies”

Inaugural Workshop, Erlangen, March 15-16, 2016

Workshop II, Erlangen, November 22-23, 2016

Convenors: Prof. Dr. Klaus Herbers, Dr. Hans Christian Lehner, Dr. Matthias Heiduk  
(all IKGF, Erlangen)

2016 marked the official starting point of the IKGF Handbook project on prognostication in the European Middle Ages. During two workshops held in March and November of that year, the

editors Klaus Herbers, Hans Christian Lehner, and Matthias Heiduk discussed the project with an assembly of 23 international scholars affiliated with the IKGF in one way or another, to



explain the general concept of the handbook and address any questions regarding its structure and the expertise of its potential authors. The first meeting in March served as an open exchange about the general outline of the handbook, as well as an opportunity to recruit authors, while the second workshop held in November already turned to more specific issues related to one of the proposed survey articles, as well as to the contributions on the prognostic traditions in the Jewish and Islamic World of the Middle Ages. Thanks to the fruitful debate that took place at both meetings, the editors were able to refine their outline, develop a more detailed plan of the project, and finalize our team of about 45 authors from 14 countries. Below, the editing team would like to outline some basic points regarding the project, which constitute the results of the first two workshops.

### **Preliminary Remarks on the Project**

The idea to create this compendium and its focus on prognostication as a universal phenomenon emerged as a result of the interdisciplinary work carried out at IKGf in its first funding phase by scholars studying various cultures, periods, and geographical areas. This research shows that the human desire to cope with a contingent future, which leads to attempts to recognize supposedly fateful circumstances, predict the course of events, and influence future developments, is deeply embedded in all civilizations, past and present. The research undertaken at the Consortium shows clearly that this universal human need has led to the evolution of amazingly similar practices in such vastly different regions as pre-modern East Asia and Europe. During the second phase of the Consortium's project, two compendia representing the two main disciplines involved – one on China and the other on the European Middle Ages – will form the basis for the comparative approach by classifying and eventually consolidating the research results.

Through its project to create a compendium on prediction and prophecy in medieval societies, the Erlangen Consortium ventures into uncharted territory, since no work exists that offers an overview and descriptions of this topic. There exists a variety of studies on individual topics such as chronology, astrology, or mystical vision literature, but no systematic compilation on prognostication. Therefore the introduction to the compendium will present an overview of current research trends, narrow down the subject, and explain the approach that was chosen.

The editors define prognostication as all practices aimed at predicting the future, either by prophecy and vision, by different methods of divination, by determining the course of time, which includes using calendars and predicting the weather, or by the mathematical calculation of probabilities, a practice that has been known in the Western medieval world since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This definition of prognostication fails to take into account the attempts to make provision for the future, such as trying to accumulate a fortune or achieve salvation of the soul. While it is true that such attempts are often closely linked to prognostication, including them would go beyond the scope of the compendium project and the Erlangen Consortium's intention to present a systematic comparative analysis.

The compendium emphasizes the practices of prognostication, which is consistent with the deliberately chosen cultural-historical approach of focusing on how people acted, and what language, images, and rituals they used in specific settings and contexts. Practices can be compared, whereas concepts in East Asian and European thinking – such as the future, free will, and the belief in the inevitability of fate – are often too divergent to fit into this type of comparative analysis. While philosophical and theological concepts cannot be ignored, they do not coincide with the keywords of the compendium's outline, which reflect the phenomena of practices and their written and material historical evidence. Concepts are implicitly included.

### **Geographical, Religious, and Language Boundaries**

The handbook is supposed to cover medieval Europe – and there our first problem arises. What is medieval Europe? The intention of the project is to cover Europe in its entirety, taking into account that Europe cannot be reduced solely to the Western Latin Christian World, but that the Byzantine World, the pagan cultures that still existed at the end of the medieval millennium, and the indistinct political and cultural borders with the Islamic World in the Mediterranean form an inseparable part of it. Therefore, the Mediterranean societies will be included in our approach, but not the Islamic World as a whole, or Jewish and Christian communities in the Far East. Only those traditions of prognostication should be taken into account that were particularly influential in the Mediterranean neighborhood of Europe. Regional traditions in Eastern Africa, India, and Indonesia are probably less important regarding the European focus. None-

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theless, each author will still be at liberty to decide which traditions should be included in his/her chapter.

The editors consider the important religious denominations to be the most accessible way of subdividing the key cultural areas of Medieval Europe, while not of course suggesting that these religious communities have uniform structures. The editors thus are entirely aware of the vast differences, for example, between Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities, between Sunna and Shia, and even within Eastern and Western Christendom, bringing to mind the Monophysite Churches, the Gaelic Church, or influential movements like the Bogomils or the Cathars. All chapters must deal with these differences as they arise.

The outline of the handbook thus revolves around the key cultural areas of the European Middle Ages, which for our purpose is defined as the Western Christian World, the Eastern Christian World, the Jewish World, and the Islamic World. This division implies that all vernacular languages in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as the various written languages of the Islamic World and of Jewish communities should be taken into account. The traditions of widespread religious minorities in the Islamic World, such as the Copts, should also be included.

## The Focus on Practices of Prognostication

The handbook project is focused on practices of prognostication, based on the experience of the interdisciplinary exchange at the Erlangen Consortium mentioned above. The final goal of

our research at the Consortium is to undertake a comparison of prognostication as a global phenomenon, beyond the boundaries of specific periods and cultures. Both projects, the “Medieval” handbook and the “China” handbook, will contribute to this comparison.

In addition, this focus on practices offers a perspective that is rarely adopted by standard narratives on medieval worldviews and sciences. To give an example, historians of Medieval History (and not only of this period) tend to examine the scholars of the period in question and the classifications and definitions that they propagated. Accordingly, studies on prophecy, divination, magic, superstition, etc., usually investigate what Thomas Aquinas or Albertus Magnus said about these topics and deduce from that a so-called medieval attitude. However, such studies often ignore the simple fact that those scholarly descriptions belong only to the academic or theological discourse of their time, bearing no real relation to real practices. Thomas Aquinas was not a diviner, not a visionary, and he never cast horoscopes. Historians of ancient mantic arts make similar observations. According to them, the frequently quoted definitions of manticism/divination by Plato (inductive vs. intuitive forms of manticism) and Cicero (technical vs. natural forms of divination) were completely irrelevant to the practices of divination in ancient times (see, for example, *Kai Trampedach, Politische Mantik. Die Kommunikation über Götterzeichen und Orakel im klassischen Griechenland. Heidelberg 2015*). These definitions and classifications remain important for illuminating contemporary



Participants March-Workshop: Prof. Dr. Charles Burnett (Warburg Institute, London), Prof. Dr. Alexander Fidora (University of Barcelona), Prof. Dr. Michael Grünbart (University of Muenster), Prof. Dr. Stephan Heilen (IKGF), Dr. Eduard Iricinschi (IKGF), Dr. Uta Kleine (University of Hagen), Jacob Klingner (De Gruyter, Berlin), PD Dr. Ulrike Ludwig (Technical University Dresden), Dr. Stefano Manganaro (IKGF), PD Dr. Thomas Meyer (IKGF), Prof. Dr. Stefano Rapisarda (University of Catania), Dr. Petra Schmidl (University of Frankfurt/Main), Prof. Dr. Bee Yun (IKGF)

Participants November-Workshop: Dr. Shraga Bar-On (Shalom Hartmann Institute, Jerusalem), Prof. Dr. Charles Burnett (Warburg Institute, London), Dr. Delia Cortese (Middlesex University, London), Dr. Maria Jennifer Falcone (IKGF), Prof. Dr. Michael Grünbart (University of Muenster), Natalie Latteri (University of New Mexico, Albuquerque), Dr. Stefano Manganaro (IKGF), Prof. Dr. John McKinnell (University of Durham), PD Dr. Thomas Meyer (IKGF), Dr. Michael T. Miller (Hope University, Liverpool), Dr. Anne Regourd (University of Copenhagen), Prof. Dr. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (SISMEL/University of Lausanne), Prof. Dr. Stefano Rapisarda (University of Catania, IKGF), Dr. Josefina Rodríguez Arribas (University of Muenster), Dr. Petra Schmidl (University of Frankfurt/Main), Dr. Daniel de Smet (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris), Prof. Dr. Bee Yun (IKGF)

Photos: IKGF

ideas and thoughts on the topic, of course, but should not be confused with the practice of daily life.

The editors are also aware of the difficulties associated with their aim to “reconstruct medieval practices” in the indicated sense, caused by the fragmentary nature of the historical evidence from this period. At the same time, this is also a great opportunity to adopt a fresh approach. An idea borrowed from the field of Religious Studies may be helpful for the approach envisioned here: in his exemplary study on divination in Africa, Renaat Devisch suggests that three kinds of interpretation fall under this topic (see *Renaat Devisch, Perspectives on divination in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa, in: Theoretical explorations in African religion, ed. by Wim van Binsbergen and Matthew Schofeleers, London et al. 1985, pp. 50-83*):

1. An interpretation of functions and structures, analyzing the instrumental role of prognostication in a group or in a society (for example, exercising power, consolidating social order/conventions, etc.)
2. An interpretation following an external cognitive approach, analyzing the expressive function of prognostication as a conceptual system/way of knowing (looking at the predictive arts as coherent systems or the literal meaning of matters dealt with within prognostication, etc.)
3. An interpretation pursuing an internal, semiotic, and semantic approach, focusing on the symbolic patterning of thought and analyzing rituals/symbols as a reality in their own right, not merely as representations or instruments of social reality (a semiotic configuration of predicting arts that only gains significance through the daily context of the clients).

### **The Outline of the Handbook**

Our outline includes two different types of survey chapter. The chapters on Ancient and Medieval Pagan Traditions are self-contained, covering both the – so to speak – prehistory of the medieval traditions of prognostication and those medieval cultures that did not belong to a monotheistic religious sphere. These chapters represent comprehensive summaries of these respective topics, which receive no further treatment in other chapters of the handbook.

The survey chapters on Christian, Jewish, and Islamic traditions, on the other hand, are intended to serve as introductory summaries of all prognostic phenomena in the respective tradi-

tions, which will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent main part of the handbook “Practices of Prognostication”. Another very important purpose of these surveys is to highlight the interconnections and wider issues that cannot be the focus of the detailed chapters on particular practices and techniques. These include:

1. General developments in prognostication across the medieval centuries
2. The ways in which the different civilizations influenced one another during the Middle Ages regarding prognostication
3. The different functions of prognostic practices, such as:
  - a. their social context
  - b. the role of experts
  - c. the needs of clients
  - d. the occasions of prognostication
  - e. the aesthetics of rituals and symbolical forms
  - f. their relevance for mental health

The main part of the handbook will be entitled “Practices of Prognostication in the Middle Ages”. For each of the key cultural areas of the Medieval World, nine forms of prognostic practices will be introduced in individual articles, from visions and prophecies, ideas about the end of time, interpretation of dreams, specific mantic techniques, interrogation and interpretation of the heavens, medical prognostics, the calculation of calendars, meteorology, to the mathematical calculation of probabilities and risk. Following the predetermined common structure of the articles, which is intended to facilitate comparison and navigation between them, all of the contributions in this part will address definitions and questions of terminology, the material and written sources, the particular phenomenon of prognostication, the historical development and cultural context of the respective applied forms, and contemporary verdicts on and classification of these practices.

The appendix “Repertoire of Written Sources and Artifacts” offers space for a detailed description of text genres, text corpora, single works, or specific objects, as concrete evidence of prognostication.

Matthias Heiduk  
(IKGF research fellow)

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LECTURE SERIES SS 2016

## Divination and the Discursive Modality of Doing Religion

Dr. Adam Yuet Chau (Anthropology of Modern China, University of Cambridge)

Our understanding of religion in China is severely hindered by the fact that the academics who study it, be they from the field of Religious Studies or Chinese Studies, tend to focus on texts and a framework of positing distinct religious traditions that have little or nothing to do with actual religious practices on the ground. Rather than going by fetishized categories such as “Daoism”, “Buddhism”, “Confucianism”, etc., Dr. Chau identified five distinct modalities of doing religion (discursive/scriptural; personal-cultivational; liturgical; immediate-practical; and relational), which, by no means mutually exclusive, can be used to characterize and understand religious practices in China without resorting to conceptual fetishes (e.g. Daoism, Buddhism, etc.). The talk

then went on to take this alternative framework, in particular the discursive/scriptural modality, to the case of divination practices at the Black Dragon King Temple in rural Shaanbei (northern Shaanxi Province), based on Dr. Chau’s ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the mid-1990s. Ordinarily, when thinking of discursive/scriptural religious practices, we assume that this is the domain of elite practitioners, whose education and interest allow them to produce religious texts and discuss their meaning. What makes the example of this temple oracle so interesting is the fact that it shows how ordinary peasants, who were often illiterate or minimally literate, would engage in the discursive modality. Not unlike in many other temples in the Chinese world, this particular temple oracle consists of a set of 100 slips of paper, each containing a 9 grade judgement (from “very good”, “middling good”, “less good”, etc. to “very bad”), a four character phrase referring to an event from history or legend, two explanatory poems, and a summarising statement. Worshippers seeking an answer to their question would have a numbered lot drawn from a box of bamboo slips in the main hall of the temple, which was then matched to the respective



Festival-goers consulting divination sticks; Photo: Dr. Adam Chau

divination-poem slip in a separate space that housed the hundred oracle slips. Most importantly, they would then generally seek the help of one of the interpreters at hand, who would explain the meaning and make the connection between the text and their specific question or situation. While successful interpretation required a decent knowledge of the texts (acquired through experience rather than study) and an understanding of the problems that people brought to the temple, it did not actually require full literacy, as shown by Lao Chen (“Old Mr. Chen”), who served as the main interpreter at the time. At times, the meaning of the set phrase and the text seemed apparent, but at others the interpreter would ignore the text entirely and supply his own moralizing interpretation of the situation in which the clients found themselves. Consultations could last

from a few minutes to several hours, depending on the nature of the problem and how busy the temple was. As in many other instances of divination, most notably the Delphic Oracle, the process was divided into the ritual interaction with the deity on the one hand, and the interpretation of the deity’s pronouncement on the other. The latter is set in the much less formal environment of the divination-slips room, where other “clients” and onlookers would listen in on the consultations, at times even




Attendants inside a divination consultation room; Photo: Dr. Adam Chau



contributing to the discussion. TV dramas would provide entertainment during less busy times, whose plots were sometimes referred to by the interpreter to illustrate a particular problem. While the set of oracle texts and the cultural references contained therein certainly lend structural coherence and cultural cachet to the practice and the interpreters, scholars focusing on the text and its literal meaning alone would miss how the text was used at a given time to mobilize a wide range of social and

conceptual resources to serve the needs of individual worshippers as well as the local community at large.

(More of Dr. Adam Chau's work can be found on his Cambridge website:<http://www.ames.cam.ac.uk/directory/chauayuetchau>)

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## LECTURE SERIES SS 2016

### Overview of the lectures in the summer semester 2016

- 12.04.2016: Divination and the Discursive Modality of Doing Religion **Adam Yuet Chau** (*Anthropology of Modern China, University of Cambridge*)
- 19.04.2016: Tommaso Campanella's *The City of the Sun* (*La città del Sole*, 1602) as the Model for a Society Governed by Astrology **Peter Forshaw** (*Center for History of Hermetic Philosophy and Related Currents, University of Amsterdam*)
- 26.04.2016: From Divination to Cartography: "Cosmograph" (shi 式) Boards in Early China and "Cosmograph"-Tailored Maps in Late East Asia **Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann** (*UMR 8173 Chine-Corée-Japon, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)
- 03.05.2016: Divination under Mongol Rule (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries): Inner and East Asian Connections **Francesca Fiaschetti** (*Martin Buber Society of Fellows, Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)
- 24.05.2016: "The Love of Many Will Grow Cold": Eschatology and the membra antichristi in the Letters of Pope Gregory VII **Philip Jany** (*Medieval History, FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)
- 31.05.2016: Sovereignty Lies in Heaven: Confucian Revivalism and the Re-enchantment of China's Political Order **Joachim Kurtz** (*Intellectual History, Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context", Heidelberg University*)
- 07.06.2016: Taming the Future in the European Middle Ages? Fate, fortuna, providentia Dei, resicum: Steps towards a History of Concept **Gerrit Jasper Schenk** (*Medieval History, TU Darmstadt*)
- 14.06.2016: Coping with the Future in the Ottonian Age (10<sup>th</sup> to early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries): Transcendence, Contingency and Lack of Herrschaftsrationalität **Stefano Mangano** (*Medieval History; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)
- 21.06.2016: Negotiating Fate in Late Antique Magic and Apocalyptic Texts **Eduard Iricinschi** (*History of Ancient Christianity; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)
- 28.06.2016: High up in the Air: The Imagination of the Future and the Writing of "Flying" in Early Chinese Science Fiction, 1902-1920 **Rui Kunze** (*Chinese Culture and Society, University of St. Gallen; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)
- 05.07.2016: A Han Dynasty Alternative to the Book of Changes: Yang Xiong's *Taixuan jing* ("Canon of the Absolute Dark", 2 BC) **Nicolae Cristian Statu** (*Chinese Studies, FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg; IKGF Visiting Fellow*)
- 12.07.2016: Alterity and Divination in the Roman Empire **Diego Escámez de Vera** (*Ancient History, Complutense University of Madrid*)

## 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 2016 summarize their contributions. The lectures of the winter semester 2016/17 will be part of the next issue of *fate*.

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## Tommaso Campanella's *The City of the Sun* (La città del Sole, 1602) as the Model for a Society Governed by Astrology

Dr. Peter Forshaw (Center for History of Hermetic Philosophy and Related Currents, University of Amsterdam)

Astrology is curiously absent from famous utopian visions such as those created by Thomas More and Francis Bacon, highlighting the fact that, while maybe not yet rejected outright, this brand of knowledge was still considered too suspect to figure in their ideal vision of the world. By contrast, the ideal city that Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) outlines in his *The City of the Sun* is centered on and guided by Astrology. In his talk, Dr. Forshaw drew multiple connections between the colorful biography of the author, a Dominican friar from Stilo in Calabria, and the way in which he constructed this model society. After leaving his convent, he was exposed to the latest developments in natural philosophy, met important figures of his time, such as Galileo Galilei, and also had his first encounters with the Holy Inquisition. Having failed to bring about a change of government in the real world in 1599, by overthrowing Spanish rule in

southern Italy and creating a republic there, he was tortured severely and spent a good part of his life in church prisons, on charges of heresy and revolt. It is in prison that he wrote most of his philosophical works, including the *City of the Sun*. In a most surprising turn of events, he was released in 1626 by Pope Urban VIII, to become his temporary astrological adviser. After Campanella's performance of an astrological ritual for the pope had been made public, he was forced to flee Italy and died in Paris in 1639. His last work was a congratulatory note on the birth of a crown prince, predicting good fortune for the future Sun King, Louis XIV. The most direct connection between Cam-




Tommaso Campanella; copper engraving by Nicolas III de Larmessin (1645-1725); source: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tommaso\\_Campanella#/media/File:Campanella-2.png](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tommaso_Campanella#/media/File:Campanella-2.png) (public domain)



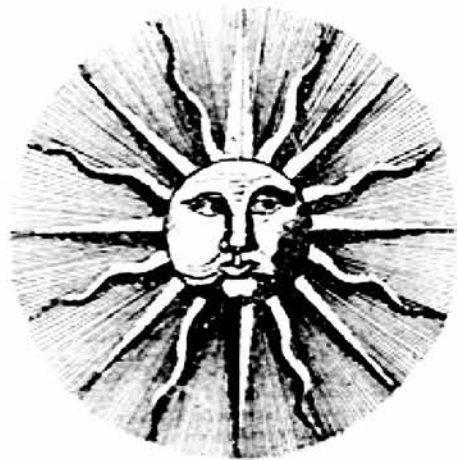
Title page of the *Astrologicorum Libri*.  
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panella's biography and his ideas pertains to the egalitarian, communitarian nature of both the state that he intended to found in reality and the ideal society he outlined in the book. This manifests itself in the constellations that Campanella considers most beneficial for the founding of his utopian city, which are meant to support its republican, harmonious, and science-based order, rather than a hierarchical one. Campanella also incorporated the idea of visual learning, for which he may have found the inspiration in the musei and curiosity cabinets of his contemporaries in Renaissance Naples. In his vision, the collective knowledge of the City of the Sun is painted on the walls that surround the temple in concentric circles. Children learn what they need in order to become good citizens by walking past these images as a form of schooling. They start with the mathematical figures, the map of the earth, and alphabets of the innermost wall, and continue through the other five circles that depict different kinds of knowledge, the categories of which may or may not be symbolically linked to the planets. All of this sounds highly enlightened, but it should be emphasized that the society envisioned here is still a rather totalitarian one: in their daily life, the inhabitants of the City of the Sun are supposed to follow the lead of their astrologers so closely that they would only have sex when the stars were favorable. This would lead to cohorts of offspring being born under the same astrological constellation, with the goal of bringing about social harmony by astrologically-planned parenthood. The notion of consulting astrology regarding both city founding and procreation was not uncommon at the time, since the strict differentiation between "natural" magic and natural science of later eras had not yet taken place – the Paris medical school would, for example, in those days advise infertile couples to have intercourse on astrologically promising dates. It is Campanella, however, who incorporates these contemporary astrological practices into a holistic vision of an ideal society based on scientific knowledge. While perhaps not equally convincing to all participants in Renaissance scientific discourse, Campanella's ideas thus remain very much a product of it.

Martin Kroher  
(IKGF Research Fellow)

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F. THOMÆ  
CAMPANELLÆ.  
APPENDIX POLITICÆ,  
CIVITAS SOLIS  
Poetica.



IDEA  
Reipublicæ Philosophicæ.

Title page of the Civitas Solis.  
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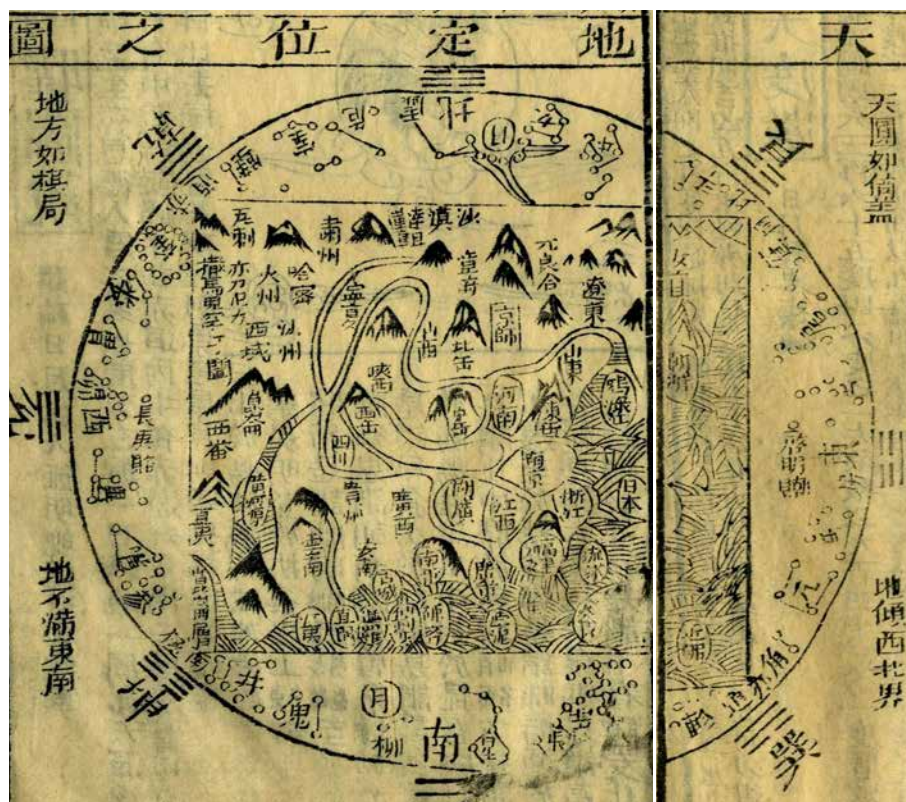
## From Divination to Cartography: “Cosmograph” (shi 式) Boards in Early China and “Cosmograph”-Tailored Maps in Late East Asia Tracing the Origins of “Wheel” World Maps and the Maps of China in the Sino-Korean Atlases (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries)

Dr. Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann (UMR 8173 Chine-Corée-Japon, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique/École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

The so-called Sino-Korean Atlases are a cartographical puzzle, beginning with the lack of a consistent title for the various editions, which at times are simply called *ditu* 地圖 (maps) or are untitled, and including the diverse forms of binding they come in, sometimes with no binding at all. Their conventional name, which highlights the strong impact of the Chinese cartographical tradition, was coined in 1896 by Henri Cordier for his study of a copy of such an atlas that was acquired in 1894 by the British Museum, as a set of separate maps in a file named *ditu*.

Usually, a Sino-Korean Atlas contains the following 13 maps:

- (One) circular world map, which in contrast to the atlases has a consistent title (Korean Ch'ônhado, Chinese *Tianxiatu* 天下圖 – “Maps of the Under-heavens”) and has been referred to recently as the “wheel” map (Ledyard, *History in Cartography* [Chicago] 1994, following Yi C'han ou Chan Lee 李燦 1976);
- (Four) general maps of four countries – China, Japan, Ryûkyû and Korea;



天地定位之圖 Tian Di ding wei zhi tu “Map of Established Positions of Heavens and Earth”;  
新增象吉備要通書 Xinzeng xiangji beiyao tongshu [1721 ed.]; both photos/copyright:  
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中國地圖 Zhongguo ditu “Terrestrial Map of China” (left) and 天下地圖 Tianxia ditu “Terrestrial Map of the Under-heavens” (right). Both maps from a manuscript Sino-Korean Atlas; call number: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod.cor. 72. Printed with the kind permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

(Eight) maps of eight Korean provinces (*dao* 道).  
[13 maps in total]

The Sino-Korean Atlases were outstandingly popular in late Chosôn 朝鮮 Korea (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries). The atlases and single maps extracted from them are found in many libraries, often in several copies, and also frequently feature among private acquisitions. Yet, their origin and authorship are unclear, and it can prove challenging to pin them down even to a specific century. Their confusingly archaic and simplistic maps continued to be produced and reproduced in an almost unchanged form, without regard for the mainstream of modern cartography and its contemporary developments, a fact that may have contributed to their popularity.

In my lecture, I first surveyed the peaks of scholarly interest in the Sino-Korean Atlases and their research trends, and then focused on the world maps and the maps of China contained within these atlases.

In particular, I criticized the misleading conventional name “wheel maps”, which, according to the ground-breaking study by Nakamura Hiroshi 中村拓 (1947), over-emphasises their

similarity to East Asian, Buddhist-style world maps. Instead, I revealed their, hitherto completely overlooked, affinity with the “cosmograph”-tailored maps, which convey the symbolism of the square earth inscribed into the round heavens. These maps, usually entitled “Maps of Established Positions of Heavens and Earth” (Tian Di ding wei zhi tu 天地定位之圖), are found in Chinese compendia on divination dating from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, but have evident structural parallels with the Early Chinese divination boards – “cosmographs” (shipan 式盤) – and diviners’ bronze mirrors.

I called attention to the link between the world maps and the hitherto neglected maps of China in the Atlases, where they constitute an inseparable pair. They both derive from the “cosmograph”-tailored maps and are linked through the cosmological significance that they ascribe to Kunlun Mountain. The emphasis on Kunlun determined the unexpected choice of Song models for the maps of China in the Atlases. The Song models were then up-dated to delineate the Ming “provinces”.

## Divination under Mongol Rule (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries): Inner and East Asian Connections

Dr. des. Francesca Fiaschetti (Martin Buber Society of Fellows, Hebrew University of Jerusalem)



Zhu Yu (Zhu Junbi) Chinese, 1293-1365 Street Scenes in Times of Peace (Taiping fenghui tu), Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), 14<sup>th</sup> century Zhu Yu (1293-1365); Handscroll; ink and color on paper Kate S. Buckingham Endowment, 1952.8; source and copyright: Art Institute Chicago



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The lecture provided an overview of the main divination methods employed by medieval Mongols (from scapulimancy, to dream divination, weather magic, etc.) and of the main studies related to them. In addition, it explored the question of how the Mongols employed divination for the ideological legitimation of their empire. Particular stress was laid on the notion that the legitimacy of the Mongol rulers was based on ideas of divine charisma and its adaptation to the different cultural contexts of the submitted populations. With a focus on the case of the Yuan dynasty (1260-1368), an overview of the sources showed how the inclusion and high privileges granted to specialized personnel for the performance of divinatory practices allowed not only the integration of the submitted populations into the administrative system of the empire, but also the creation of new elites.

Especially through the analysis of biographies of divination experts, as well as other excerpts from the *Yuanshi* 元史 (History of the Yuan dynasty), the lecture showed how the inclusivity of Mongol religious policies was nevertheless oriented toward maintaining the distinction between Mongolian shamans and divination experts from other groups and ethnicities. The difference between these two categories lay mainly in the high political role of the shamans, as shown for example by their prominent role in state rituals. Other practitioners, such as the so-called “yin-yang experts” in Yuan China, were more like simple advisors in their functions, especially with regard to military enterprises.

Despite this distinction, the yin-yang experts were nonetheless granted important economic rewards and enjoyed political prominence. Their biographies provide an interesting example of the lively and fruitful religious discourse in Yuan China.

## **“The Love of Many Will Grow Cold”: Eschatology and the membra antichristi in the Letters of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085)**

Philip Jany (Medieval History, FAU Erlangen-Nuremberg; IKGf Visiting Fellow)

Throughout his entire pontificate, Gregory VII's fundamental conviction that he lived in the Last Days becomes apparent time and again, from the time before his consecration to his last years – many of his surviving letters bear testimony to that. The fact that eschatological references represented, for Gregory, more than a mere means of creating political propaganda is apparent from some of his letters, which do not seem to have any political agenda, but in which he opens his heart to some of his confidants (e.g. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny), offering us a deeper insight into his personal convictions.

In addition to the Bible, particularly the New Testament, non-biblical, eschatological and apocalyptic notions can be identified as a major source of Gregory's eschatological thinking, especially those emanating from patristic literature and the writings of the Doctors of the Church. References to these scriptures appear relatively frequently in the letters of Gregory VII, with one person's writings standing out: those of pope Gregory the Great, to whom Gregory VII refers in 65 of the approximately 450 surviving letters. Among the writings of Gregory the Great, the *Moralia on Job* (or *Magna Moralia*) is of particular importance to our investigation, as it includes a chapter on eschatology and apocalypticism, the 29<sup>th</sup> book of the *Moralia on Job*. Although Gregory VII only once quotes this chapter directly, one finds countless allusions to this particular volume in numerous letters of Gregory VII, which – although perhaps not always obviously – could be understood in an eschatological context.

Gregory VII had a very deep knowledge of the writings of his predecessor and namesake. The passages of the *Magna Moralia* that he referred to in his letters, according to which “in this perilous time [...] Antichrist is already everywhere working in his members”, therefore clearly reflect Gregory VII's view that the simoniac heresy and the nuisance of lay investiture – the main issues of the so-called investiture contest – had to be understood as a manifest portent of the coming of the Antichrist. At the same time, Gregory's fundamental conviction that the Last Days had already begun cannot be understood without taking into account the influence which the writings of Gregory the Great exerted on the development of Gregory VII's eschatological ideas.



Philip Jany – IKGf Visiting Fellow. Photo: IKGf

## **Sovereignty Lies in Heaven: Confucian Revivalism and the Re-enchantment of China's Political Order**

Prof. Dr. Joachim Kurtz (Intellectual History, Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context", Heidelberg University)

Attempts to adapt Confucian thought and tradition to meet the challenges of changing times have a long history, but never has this need been considered more pressing than since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, after the rise of Western dominance, and especially after the Chinese defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. The topic of this talk, Jiang Qing (\*1953), clearly forms part of this long tradition of Confucian renewal in response to modernity. His vision shows all the syncretistic traits of these efforts, which of course never managed to shake off the intellectual environment of their respective times. Jiang Qing's idea of a Confucian constitution for China, for example, looks very much like an amalgam of the British and Iranian constitutional situation. These are adorned with Chinese names that situate the institutions within Jiang's very own utopian vision of a political system with Confucian characteristics, centered on heaven (*tian*) as the seat of sovereignty. Other, more implicit influences on his philosophy include Western thinkers linked to the North American Conservative and Neo-Conservative movement, most notably Richard John Neuhaus, unofficial advisor to George W. Bush. Seligman, Weller et al (2008) point out that fundamentalist movements, contrary to their own claims, are not in fact returning to the pure, authentic origins of a tradition yet unsoiled by modernity, but instead impose an extreme version of their

own, very modern concerns on those traditions. Jiang Qing is a case in point: these contemporary links notwithstanding, Jiang still claims that the current crisis in China can only be solved by returning to the roots of Confucianism. Other proponents of New Confucianism, such as Tu Weiming, in Jiang's view, are selling out the (political) essence of the Confucian tradition in favor of pandering to Western ethical ideas. For him, Western norms and especially democracy are incompatible with Confucianism, and any attempt to prove otherwise must remain futile, and also endanger the project of Confucian and national revival. Prof. Dr. Kurtz argued in his conclusion that we should take Jiang Qing seriously, less as a philosopher, but more as a prophet and cultural entrepreneur, as he put it. This refers to Jiang having recently taken what he himself terms the low road, profitable public activities that include media interviews, ritual performances, and establishing Confucian places of worship and Sunday schools. Indeed, the obvious contradictions in his reasoning, his chillingly fundamentalist, nationalistic claims, and the self-serving nature of his activities all reflect the pitiful state of the philosophical debate in China, as Prof. Dr. Kurtz concluded. Could taking him seriously also entail acknowledging that the emergence and success of thinkers like Jiang Qing, however, with all their faulty reasoning, point to a serious problem in the relationship between China and the West, where China is habitually seen as the Other, on both sides? From this perspective of the Other, Jiang Qing appears to be solely an indication of a Chinese problem, while he himself gets to declare the uniqueness of the Chinese tradition and its incompatibility with Western norms. Yet, Jiang Qing's thought and actions, such as his grandstanding to Western conservative audiences on issues like gay marriage and women's rights, show that this remains an attempt to get to grips with the reality of a globalized world. In this world, as Seligman, Weller et al argue, modern ideas about authenticity are so pervasive that even those who revolt against modernity are left only with the option of declaring that they are more authentic than anyone else in the modern world. Here, we come full circle to the goals guiding our consortium: when studying divination, we deal with knowl-



Prof. Dr. Joachim Kurtz.  
Photo: Lisa Felendler (IKGF)



edge that has already been rejected by the post-enlightenment world. It is here, outside the realm of Western norms that can be idealized or othered, that we can find the common, neutral ground to bridge the gap and learn more about humanity.

Martin Kroher (IKGF research fellow)

Adam B. Seligman, Robert P. Weller, Michael J. Puett, and Bennett Simon.  
Ritual and its Consequences. An Essay on the Limits of Sincerity. Oxford UP, 2008.



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## Taming the Future in the European Middle Ages? *Fate, fortuna, providentia Dei, resicum*: Steps towards a History of Concept

Prof. Dr. Gerrit Jasper Schenk (Medieval History, TU Darmstadt)

In the western modern age, “destiny” is supposed to be limited by numerous inventions and institutions. Coming under debate in postmodern times, this hitherto unquestioned concept has never been a given fact, but instead was the result of a long development that was roughly outlined in this lecture. The starting point was the observation that, even by the Renaissance period, a specific understanding of catastrophes as “disasters” (Italian *disastro*) has been formed. Somehow, this allowed to calculate experiences of contingency and future expectations. Due to the transculturally conveyed astrometeorological idea of a correlation presumed to exist between macrocosm and microcosm, there seemed to be a basic predictability of the future by means of star observation (*fatum astrologicum*). In the Christian world, however, this was debated, because it questioned the omnipotence of God as well as the free will of humans. Various narratives (and literature) showed, however, an increasing number of elements of destiny, fate, and providence, probably influenced by ideas from the Indian-Persian-Arab area (Sindbad story).

Part of this semantic field also seems to be the notion and conception of “risk” (lat. *resicum*, ital. *rischio* and also *azzardo*). This term can be found at an early stage in the contracts of Mediterranean traders mainly from Italian seaports (Palermo, Genoa, Pisa). These contracts served to insure against potential dangers but at the same time were a bet on the success of individuals who traded by sea. In the course of the Middle Ages, they became a kind of ‘insurance’ against the risks associated with the sea trade. This at the same time shows the mainly calculatory character of this operationalization of an early understanding of “risk”. The lecture sought to demonstrate that this basic understanding of risk as a benefit-danger/damage-calculation was present in other sectors of daily life in the “risky” environment of the premodern world, too. The daily interventions for handling disasters show a belief in the interpretability of patterns of events, including faith in a *providentia Dei*, a *fatum astrologicum*, and an *ambivalent fortuna*. At the end of the Middle Ages, these old ideas were supplemented by a view that any future benefit would be offset against possible loss-



Prof. Dr. Gerrit Jasper Schenk.  
Photo: Lisa Felendler (IKGF)

es. Examples include the late medieval handling of imminent dangers like earthquakes, floods, and solar eclipses in Alsace or Tuscany. In both regions, people faced the insecurity and contingency in different ways: with processions, with unrealizable plans for diverting and channeling rivers, but also with pragmatic preventive measures of an administration which became increasingly professional. “Taming the future”, therefore, was clearly a common practice, oscillating between a belief in divine (or devilish) intervention on the one hand and trust in human agency on the other, and ranging from astrometeorological practice, prayer, and processions to pragmatic attempts to prevent hazards.



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

## Coping with the Future in the Ottonian Period (936-1024): Transcendence, Contingency and Lack of *Herrschaftsrationalität*

Dr. Stefano Manganaro (Medieval History; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

The future has always been a time of uncertainty. However, this uncertainty is perceived differently, depending on whether or not it is possible to reduce it. This option was not within the reach of the rulers during the early and high Middle Ages, since the kingdoms of those days were not transpersonalised bodies and did not work according to reproducible procedures. Far more than any political technique, it was the religious view of the world that allowed one to cope with the future during that era. My research project at the IKGF deals with this issue – the way to handle the future – in the Ottonian period (10<sup>th</sup>-early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries), imbued as it was with a liturgical and monas-

tic mentality. To this end, I have analysed prophetic, liturgical, narrative, and documentary sources, written or re-elaborated in Italy, Germany and Lotharingia between 936 and 1024.

During the Ottonian period, strong eschatological interests (see the Bamberg Apocalypse; the letter of Adso of Montier-en-Der; the re-work of the Sibyl Tiburtina) coexisted with low apocalyptic or millenarian expectations. The latter were banned by Christian doctrine, and also rejected by several important Ottonian authors (Widukind of Corvey; Thietmar of Merseburg). By contrast, it was not unorthodox to believe to be living in the last age of the world and that the end might come at any point, as suggested by the well-known patristic theologies of history of the Four Empires and the Six World Ages, whose echoes can be found in the Ottonian sources. Such an eschatological awareness shaped the attitude toward a specific kind of future – that beyond historical time; that is, eternity – and only partially served to cope with a nearer, this-worldly, future.


Regarding the last matter, the Ottonian sources fail to provide any evidence of a strategy of prognostication linked to mantic practices, astronomical calculations, or horoscopes. Instead, the uncertainty of the future was tempered by the idea that coming events would not qualitatively differ from those of the past and present. All earthly events are contingencies. This is what many Ottonian authors more or less explicitly asserted, describing individual lives as a continuous alternation between *exaltatio* and *humiliatio* and political life as a continuous alternation between *pax* and *discordia*. The frequent use of the metaphor of the Wheel of Fortune, drawn from Boethius, was also a way to show this movement of historical time that could be defined as sinusoidal. Only the Christian faith in transcendence assured that contingency was not mere causality or randomness, but an instrument of divine pedagogy. Thus, in the Ottonian sources, “contingency” and “transcendence” were complementary rather than exclusive terms, showing that the opposition suggested by current political and social sciences between “contemporary societies of contingency” and “archaic societies of transcendence” is too rigid.



Ottonian Emperor with Saints Peter and Paulus and the personifications of the Provinces of the empire (Roma, Gallia, Germania, Slavonia). Source: Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Msc.Bibl.140, fol. 59v, Photo: Gerald Raab. Printed with the kind permission of the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg

Contingency was not only highlighted by several educated clerics in their accounts, but also mirrored the structural limits of Ottonian government. Already, some contemporaries (for instance, the Caliph of Cordova ‘Abd-ar-Rahmān III) saw in the Ottonian way of ruling a lack of Herrschaftsrationalität. The Ottonians had in fact underdeveloped capabilities to optimize the exercise of power through the systematic planning of royal acts. They had neither a Weberian rationality, nor the refined administrative structures to implement it. Therefore, the Saxon

kings in the political realm accepted contingency, rather than seeking to tame it. We could say that the sinusoidal movement *exaltatio-humiliatio* and *pax-discordia* not only shapes the patterns of the narrative sources, but also reflected the real political dynamics of the Ottonian Herrschaftsverband, where a wide arena of governance without a unique centre of control turned the future into a time of deep uncertainty.

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## “*Habent sua fata libelli*”: Negotiating Fate in Late Antique Magic, Sethian, and Manichaean Books

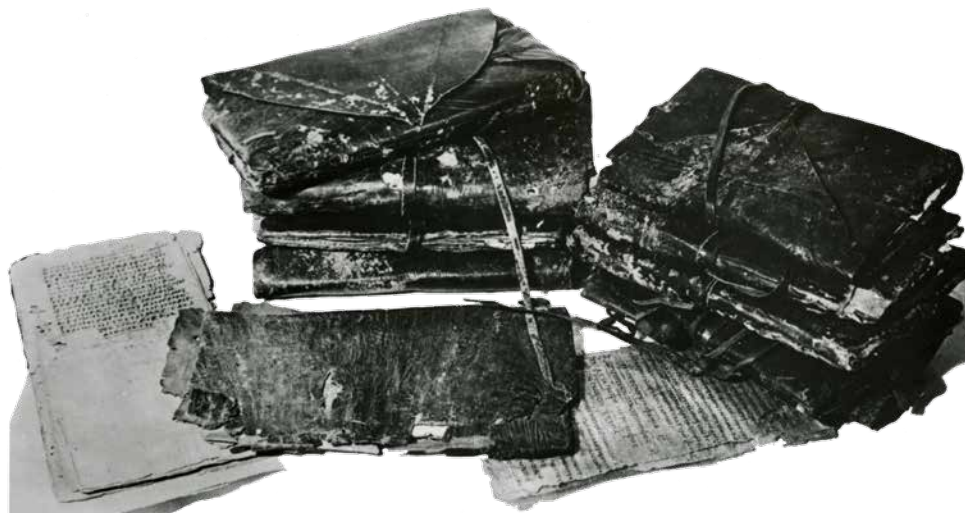
Dr. Eduard Iricinschi (History of Ancient Christianity, Ruhr University Bochum; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

In my lecture I analyzed attempts to modify perceptions of “fate” in ritual and religious texts as ways of coping with the future. The lecture considered the potential of late-antique books of magic and apocalypses to provide risk management strategies through various reinterpretations and manipulations of the notion of “fate.” I investigated the relations between books as artefacts and notions of fate, as well as the relations between religious literacy and strategies of negotiating fate, in three different corpora of late-antique texts stretching from the second to the eighth centuries CE.

First, I analyzed perceptions of “fate” in Greek and Coptic magical papyri, collected in PGM (Papyri Graecae Magicae), paying special attention to “The Eighth Book of Moses” (PGM XIII, P. Leiden I. 395), a handbook of magic recipes. Second, I pursued connecting nodes between astral fatalism, redeeming knowledge, and book culture in various early Christian texts, such as the Valentinian collection of texts known as “Extracts of Theodotus” (late second century CE), and in the following Nag Hammadi texts:

“On the Origin of the World,” “The Secret Book of John”, “The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth”, and “The Gospel of Truth.”

When scholars search late antique mystical Christian-Platonic texts for traces of astral fatalism and its defeat by Christian baptism, they first turn to a rather enigmatic late second-century text, the “Extracts of Theodotus”. Excerpts 69-80 employ astrological theories, which were circulating during the second-century in the Roman Empire, to present a Valentinian astrological interpretation of the first coming of Jesus, as well as an explanation of Christian baptism as an energetic break from astral fatalism. Thus, according to the Extracts of Theodotus, the practical means by which fate can be swayed are baptism and the advanced




*The Nag Hammadi Codices;*  
photo: Jean Doresse; Printed with the kind permission  
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# Fate, Freedom and Prognostication. Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe

knowledge to be imparted, in an initiation scenario, to the new convert. “Gnosis”, in second century CE, represented the cognitive content passed on in the post-baptismal state of the catechumen. The information revealed in this way attempted to map out a sketch of human destiny. Thirdly, the project analyzed the use of the literary motif of “fate” in a fourth-century text, a Manichaean apocalypse, the “Sermon on the Great War” (a text which forms part of the Manichaean Homilies), used to convey a positive image of social and cultural reconstruction through the images of a resurrecting Manichaean book culture.

To summarize, in the research that I presented, I reconsidered the connections between *gnosis* and *heimarmene* (fate) by scrutinizing the associations attributed to this conceptual pair in three sets of different texts (magic, Sethian, and Manichaean). I finally argued that the processual perspective of “negotiating fate” in magic books, Sethian texts, and Manichaean literary compositions allows us to overcome the classical dichotomy between “determinism” and “freedom” when dealing with the topic of “fate in late antiquity”.

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## High up in the Air: The Imagination of the Future and the Writing of “Flying” in China (c. 1895-1920)


Dr. Rui Kunze (Chinese Culture and Society, University of St. Gallen; IKGf Visiting Fellow)

The idea of progress (*jinhua* 进化 or *jinbu* 进步) was introduced into China via Japan at the turn of the twentieth century. It brought in a new taxonomy of knowledge that privileged positiv science and modern technology over other knowledge systems and the tendency of applying scientific hypotheses to social and cultural fields. In the course of its dissemination, the idea of progress came to be perceived as a natural process and a historical imperative. It thereby implies the possibility of predicting a better future, often predicated on scientific and technological improvements. The idea of progress continues to underlie the imagination of the future by the current regime of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and a large proportion of its populace.

This lecture presents textual and visual narratives of “flying” in print materials at the turn of the twentieth century. It intended to show a historical moment when the idea of progress left intellectual elites’ argumentative essays and entered a broader cultural circulation that would enable it to take root in Chinese society. A nascent mass print market emerged as the result of new printing technologies, the growing urbanization, and the increasing school enrollment, including that at girls’ schools. Epitomizing the most advanced technological progress at the

time, aviation spurred fervent imaginations about the future. In pictorials, magazines, and photo collections such as the Dian-shizhai Pictorial 點石齋畫報 (1884-96), Eastern Miscellany 東方雜誌 (1904-48), Fiction Monthly 小說月報 (1910-31), Beiyang Gazette 北洋官報 (1902-12), Women’s Eastern Times 婦女時報 (1911-1917), and New Photographs of Graces 新驚鴻影 (1914), we find reports of the “flying vehicle”, the airship, aviators/aviatrices, accounts of flying experiences, and science fiction stories on aerial wars and China’s aviatrix.

Negotiating between fantasy and reality, the popular narrative of “flying” refashioned and recycled the idea of progress. Modern technology offered new perceptions of the world implying a better future for the nation and everyday life. Scientific/technological literacy became a new quality of respectability for both men and women. Textual and visual sources show the aviatrix evolving from the spectacle in the gaze of the spectator into the embodiment of spectacular experiences of freedom and self-affirmation in public spaces. All of these point toward a technologically sophisticated, positive future for China.

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# Alterity and Divination in the Roman Empire

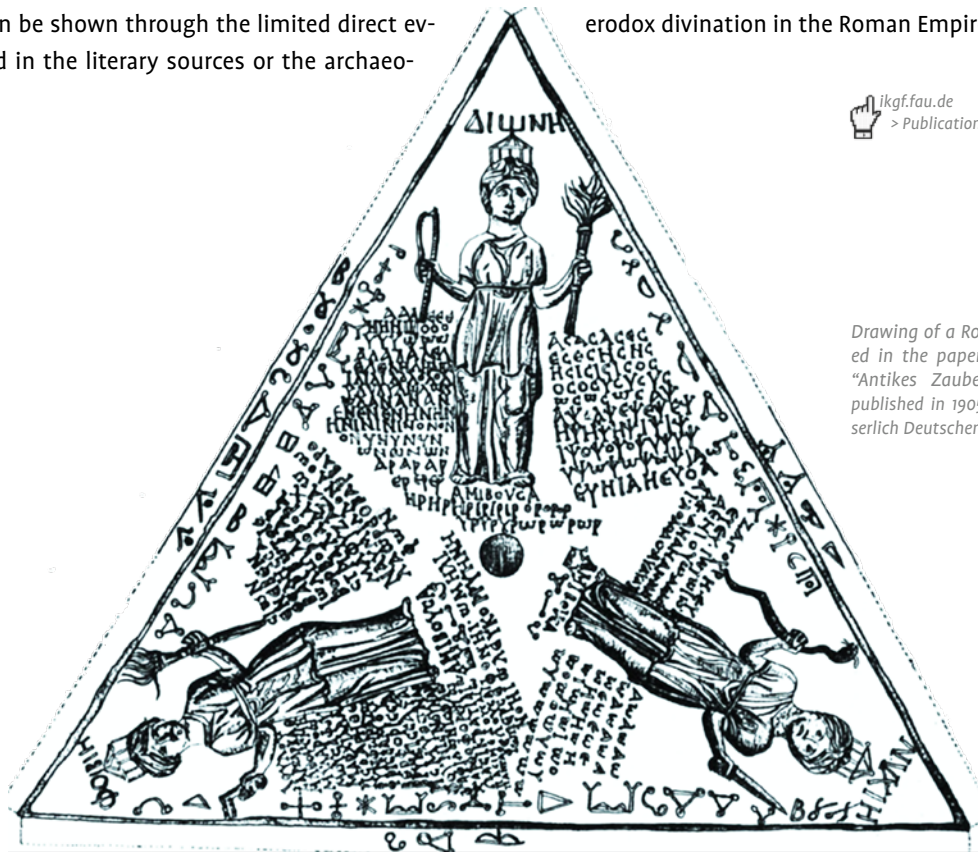
Diego Escámez de Vera (Ancient History, Complutense University of Madrid)

Divination, as an omnipresent phenomenon throughout the history of the Roman Empire, played a key role in marking otherness during this period. “Official” divination was carried out under the strict control of the senatorial elites, whose members were wealthy and culturally Roman men. By contrast, divination carried out by women, the poor, or foreigners was usually depicted as the Other by the classical sources, produced by the abovementioned elites; that is to say, they provided a perfect contrast against which to define their own identity as legitimate intermediaries between the gods and humanity. Thus, divination practices whose rituals or officiants were not coincident with those considered “traditional” from a senatorial point of view were usually demonized in the literature as barbaric, inhuman, and dangerous to the maintenance of the social order.

Far from being marginal practices, as was claimed by the majority of literary sources, a large percentage of the Roman population made daily use of the skills of these “alternative” diviners. This can be shown through the limited direct evidence preserved in the literary sources or the archaeo-

logical record, and by a cautious analysis of the otherness discourses developed by Roman authors. In fact, some of these elites who were responsible for the continuous denigration of unofficial divination, when acting as emperors, generals or provincial governors, themselves made use of some of these practices and practitioners when they considered this necessary. This is because some of these “barbaric” practices, such as necromancy or astrology, were generally considered perfectly valid with regard to the efficiency of their predictions. However, the recurrence of the link between accusations of heterodox divination use and political conspiracy makes it difficult to differentiate between actual cases of elites practicing these rituals and unfounded accusations, which had the aim of demonstrating the barbarity and blasphemy of the political enemy.

The goal of this lecture was to analyze the otherness discourses constructed by the Roman sources around alternative divination, in order to improve our understanding of heterodox divination in the Roman Empire.



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> Publications > Lectures > Listen online...

Drawing of a Roman Magic Table included in the paper of Dr. Richard Wünsch “Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon”, published in 1905 in the *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Institut*

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

## CONFERENCES | WORKSHOPS

### “Human Nature, Morality, and Fate in the Tsinghua University Bamboo Manuscripts, *Tang chu yu Tang qiu* 湯處於湯丘, *Tang zai chi men* 湯在啻門, and *Yin Gaozong wen yu san shou* 殷高宗問於三壽”

Convenors: Prof. Dr. Sarah Allan (Dartmouth College) and Dr. Michael Lüdke (IKGF)

On May 10-12, 2016, the IKGF hosted the international conference “Human Nature, Morality, and Fate in the Tsinghua University Bamboo Manuscripts, *Tang chu yu Tang qiu* 湯處於湯丘, *Tang zai Chi men* 湯在啻門, and *Yin Gaozong wen yu san shou* 殷高宗問於三壽”. The conference was organized by the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities, in cooperation with the Centre for Research and Preservation of Excavated Texts, Tsinghua University, and Dartmouth College. It was convened by Professor Sarah Allan (Dartmouth College) and Dr. Michael Lüdke (IKGF).

The conference continued the tradition of bamboo-slip reading workshops and conferences established at Dartmouth College. In choosing Erlangen as a venue, the conveners intended to bring together the discussion of human nature and morality, which has often been at the centre of the Dartmouth workshops, with the work on fate and prognostication conducted at the International Research Consortium.

More than 40 scholars from 11 different countries and territories participated, including mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, Norway, and Australia. The conference languages were Chinese and English,

with most of the scholarly discussion conducted in Chinese, and English used to clarify the translation and interpretation of specific text passages. A particularly important contribution was made by the scholars from the Centre for Research and Preservation of Excavated Texts, Tsinghua University, who have been responsible for editing and transcribing the manuscripts, and who introduced their work and enriched the discussion with their in-depth knowledge of the texts.

The conference focused on the texts published some months before the conference in volume 5 of the edition of bamboo manuscripts held at Tsinghua University. Due to their recent publication, these texts, which present many philological and palaeographical problems of transcription and interpretation, have hardly been studied. The conference therefore took a close reading of the texts as its starting point. From this base, the discussion was then extended to the broader philosophical and historical implications of their content, especially in regard to conceptions of individual and collective fate, auspiciousness/inauspiciousness, and divination in early China.

The conference started with an opening ceremony and an introduction to the manuscript texts.



Photo: IKGF

Professor Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, Executive Deputy Director of the Centre for Research and Preservation of Excavated Texts at Tsinghua University, Beijing, delivered an address on behalf of the Centre's Director, Professor Li Xueqin 李學勤, who thanked the IKGf and the assembled scholars for the importance they accord to the bamboo manuscripts held at Tsinghua University. He also provided an overview of the present state of the work on the Tsinghua Manuscripts. Professor Liu Guozhong 劉國忠, Deputy Director of the Department of History of Tsinghua University, introduced the content of the Tsinghua Manuscript texts to be published later in 2016.

Following a lecture by Professor Zhao Ping'an 趙平安 on the Tsinghua bamboo manuscript text *Hou fu* 厚父, Professor Liu Guozhong introduced the Tsinghua bamboo manuscript text *Ming xun* 命訓, its special features, as well as its significance,

especially for the understanding of early Chinese concepts of fate (*ming* 命).

Tsinghua University Professors Li Junming 李均明, Shen Jianhua 沈建華, and Li Shoukui 李守奎, respectively, presented an overview of important issues raised by the three Tsinghua bamboo manuscript texts which provided the main focus of the conference, the *Tang chu yu Tang qiu* 湯處於湯丘, the *Tang zai Chi men* 湯在啻門, and the *Yin Gaozong wen yu san shou* 殷高宗問於三壽, followed by a close reading and discussion of these texts. Several talks by the participating scholars addressed the new perspectives which these recently-discovered texts offer regarding questions of human nature, morality, and fate in early China. The conference concluded with a lively final discussion.

## PROGRAM

TUESDAY, MAY 10, 2016

**HOU FU** 《厚父》, **FENG XU ZHI MING** 《封許之命》, **AND MING XUN** 《命訓》

Michael Lackner 朗宓榭: Welcome and Introduction  
Li Xueqin 李學勤 (in absentia): 有關春秋史事的清華簡五種綜述 [An overview of five Qinghua bamboo manuscripts regarding historical events in the Spring and Autumn period]

Zhao Ping'an 趙平安: *Hou fu* 《厚父》

Liu Guozhong 劉國忠: *Ming xun* 《命訓》

William Baxter 白一平: 關於傳統音韻學的一些問題 [On some problems of traditional phonology]

**YIN GAOZONG WEN YU SAN SHOU** 《殷高宗問於三壽》 (1)

DISCUSSANT: LI JUNMING 李均明

DISCUSSANTS HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY: WILLIAM BAXTER 白一平

CHAIR: SARAH ALLAN 艾蘭, MICHAEL LÜDKE 呂德凱

Section 1: From beginning of text to 而星月亂行 (slip 11 character 20=shiwén line 15)

Presenters: Crispin Williams 魏克彬, Rudolf Wagner 瓦格納

Section 2: From 高宗恐懼 (slip 11 character 21=shiwén line 16) to 代桀敷佑下方 (slip 24 character 4=shiwén line 33)

Presenters: Marc Kalinowski 馬克, Rens Krijgsman 武致知

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 2016

**YIN GAOZONG WEN YU SAN SHOU** 《殷高宗問於三壽》 (2)

DISCUSSANT: LI JUNMING 李均明

DISCUSSANTS HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY: WILLIAM BAXTER 白一平

CHAIR: SARAH ALLAN 艾蘭, MICHAEL LÜDKE 呂德凱

Section 3: From 高宗又問於彭祖曰 (slip 24 character 5=shiwén line 34) to end of text

Presenters: Franklin Perkins 方嵐生, Olivier Venture 風儀誠

Mark Csikszentmihalyi 齊思敏: Nourishing life and moral authority – Pengzu in three recently discovered texts [養生與正當性——三篇出土文獻中的彭祖]

**TANG CHU YU TANG QIU** 《湯處於湯丘》

DISCUSSANT: SHEN JIANHUA 沈建華

DISCUSSANTS HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY: WILLIAM BAXTER 白一平 CHAIR: SCOTT COOK 顧史考

Section 1: From beginning of text to 朕惟逆順是圖 (slip 11 character 25=shiwén line 13)

Presenters: Guo Jue 郭珏, Attilio Andreini 艾帝

Section 2: From 湯又問於小臣:有夏之德和若哉 (slip 11 character 26=shiwén line 14) to end of text

Presenters: Shirley Chan 陳慧, Enno Giele 紀安諾

THURSDAY, MAY 12, 2016

**TANG ZAI CHI MEN** 《湯在啻門》 (1)

DISCUSSANT: LI SHOUKUI 李守奎

DISCUSSANTS HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY: WILLIAM BAXTER 白一平 CHAIR: CONSTANCE COOK 柯鶴立

Section 1: From beginning of text to 德、事、役、政、刑 (slip 11 character 23=shiwén line 15)

Presenters: Chen Zhi 陳致, Joachim Gentz 耿幽靜

Section 2: From 湯又問於小臣:美德奚若 (slip 11 character 24=shiwén line 16) to end of text

Presenters: Lisa Raphals 瑞麗, Dirk Meyer 麥笛

**TANG ZAI CHI MEN** 《湯在啻門》 (2) / CONCLUSION

Scott Cook 顧史考: 清華竹簡五《湯在啻門》劄記 [Reading notes on the Qinghua bamboo manuscript *Tang zai di men*]

Huang Kuan-yun 黃冠雲: 《湯在啻門》論氣一段文字的前半部份 [The first half of the discourse on “qi” in the *Tang zai Chimen*]

Cao Feng 曹峰: 清華簡《湯在啻門》與“氣”相關內容研究 [Research on content related to “qi” in the *Tang zai Chimen*]

Kuo Li-hua 郭梨華: 《湯處於湯丘》、《湯在啻門》中的黃老思想初探 [A preliminary exploration of Huang-Lao thought in the *Tang chu yu Tang qiu* and *Tang zai Chi men*]

Paul Nicholas Vogt 侯昱文: Consumption and the Limits of the Body in the Xiaochen Texts

Discussion (on *Tang zai Chi men* 《湯在啻門》 and issues relevant to all three texts)

Conclusion



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

## **Horoscopy across Civilizations: Comparative Approaches to Western, Indian, and Chinese Astrology and Chronomancy**

Convenors: Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner (IKGF Director) and Prof. Dr. Stephan Heilen (University of Osnabrück; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

Workshop, Erlangen, June 29-30, 2016

With this workshop, the IKGF established the first academic forum for the direct comparison of horoscopic (i.e. time-based) methods for predicting and explaining individual fate across the boundaries of epochs and civilizations. The workshop provided an opportunity for experts in the various fields to reflect on the relationship between horoscopy and divination in the astrological and chronomantic teachings of China, India, and the Western World. The different methods were first characterized and compared theoretically and then elucidated through trans-cultural, multiperspective analyses of select case studies. Complementary papers focused on the role of astrology in today's world as well as on the relationship between science and divinatory practice.



Prof. Dr. Stephan Heilen; Photo: IKGF

In order to achieve the goal of comparing different ways of fate calculation by means of horoscopy, the two days of this workshop had different formats. The program for the first day

was intended to lay the theoretical foundations for the more practical and experimental program of the second day.

Given the different backgrounds and specializations of the participants, the speakers on the first two panels on the first day began by providing overviews of the characteristics, techniques, rhetoric and evolution of their respective astrological or chronomantic systems, in order to familiarize the other speakers and participants with these. The first panel ("Astrology in the Western World") provided introductions to "Astrology in European Antiquity" (Prof. Dr. Stephan Heilen, University of Osnabrück), "Astrology in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Period" (Dr. Darrel Rutkin, University of Sydney), and "Contemporary Western Astrology" (Dr. Dorian Greenbaum, University of Wales Trinity Saint David). The second panel ("Astrology and Chronomancy in India and China") accordingly had papers on "Astrology in India" (Dr. Martin Gansten, Lund University) and "Horoscopy in China" (Dr. Stéphanie Homola, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris). These presentations raised questions pertaining, for example, to the prognostic fields covered or not covered by horoscopy in the respective cultures, to the relationship between fate and freedom, to the variety of methods and their historical evolution, to the scientific status of horoscopy in its specific cultural contexts, and to the relevance of empirically-generated knowledge in various traditions of astrology or chronomancy. In addition, methods of calculation were outlined for selected subareas such as the relationship between conception and birth, prognosis of illness, and the prediction of life span or social position.

This exchange of basic knowledge regarding the various systems of horoscopy on the workshop's first day provided an indispensable prerequisite for the successful comparative analyses of case studies on the second day. The idea underlying the conference was that such analyses of practical examples would lead to a deeper understanding of the various systems. As a bridge between the theoretical program of the first day and the practical program of the second day, the third panel of the first day was devoted to contemporary reflections on scholarship and practice. It contained papers on "Contemporary Astrology in Germany – Actors and Clientele" (Dr. Gerhard Mayer, Institute of Frontier Areas of Psychology and Mental Health, Freiburg i. Br.) and "Dilemmas of Divination – Bridging Theory, Practice, and Scholarship" (Dr. Geoffrey Cornelius, Canterbury Christ Church University). The latter of these papers emphasized the need for a dual epistemology in order to explore acts of horoscopic divination adequately.





The first panel of the second day was devoted to presentations and comparative analyses of historical horoscopes. It provided valuable insights into how astrologers from different civilizations and epochs have actually analyzed the horoscopes of selected famous historical individuals. On this panel, S. Heilen presented Antigonus of Nicaea's (2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE) analysis of the horoscope of the Roman Emperor Hadrian (born on January 24, 76 CE, at 7:25 a.m., in Rome, 41° 54' North, 12° 29' East); Prof. Dr. Zhang Wenzhi (Shandong University) presented Yuan Shushan's (1881-1952) analysis of the nativity of Zhu Xi, the influential Confucian scholar of the Song dynasty (born on October 25, 1130 CE, 11 a.m.-1 p.m., in Youxi, 26° 17' North, 118° 19' East); G. Cornelius presented Girolamo Cardano's (1501-1576) analysis of the horoscope of the Italian Renaissance scholar and poet Angelo Poliziano (born on July 14, 1454 CE, at 13:28 p.m., in Montepulciano, 43° 6' North, 11° 47' East); and M. Gansten presented Bangalore Venkata Raman's (1912-1998) analysis of the horoscope of Mohandas Karamchand ("Mahatma") Gandhi, the leader of the Indian independence movement (born on October 2, 1869 CE, at 7:45 a.m., in Porbandar, 21° 38' North, 69° 36' East). Each presentation was followed by discussion of the significance of these cases for trans-cultural comparison.

The second panel of the workshop's second day was similar in principle, apart from the fact that the comparative approaches did not make use of existing interpretations provided by historical astrologers. Instead, experts in both the history and the practice of either astrology or chronomancy demonstrated and elucidated how the various systems of horoscopy ought to be applied to two case studies, and explained what one can learn from these approaches. The individuals who were chosen as objects for these case studies were Mao Zedong, the founding father of the People's Republic of China (born on December, 26 1893, 7-9 a.m., in Shaoshan, 27° 91' North, 112° 50' East, presented by Zhang Wenzhi), and Donald Trump, at that time the Republican candidate for the office of United States pres-

ident (born on June 14, 1946, at 10:54 a.m. EDT, in Queens, New York, 40° 41' North, 73° 48' West; presented by D. Greenbaum).

Another kind of experiment, namely an election, was the object of the third panel of the second day. The task for all "practicing" participants of the workshop was to identify the best possible date for a follow-up workshop in Erlangen within a three-month time window, between April and June 2017.

In all three panels of the second day, it was illuminating to compare the different approaches of the Chinese, Indian and Western systems of horoscopy. In view of the unusual and experimental character of the second day's program, it took the form of a think-tank meeting closed to the general public. In the course of the final discussion, which was chaired by Dr. Josefina Rodríguez Arribas (University of Münster), the participants agreed that the fruitful exchange of this workshop ought to be documented in a volume of proceedings that is currently in preparation.



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

**Wednesday, June 29, 2016**

**PANEL I:  
ASTROLOGY IN THE WESTERN WORLD**

Astrology in European Antiquity

**Stephan Heilen** (*University of Osnabrück, IKGF Erlangen*)

Astrology in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Period

**Darrel Rutkin** (*University of Sydney*)

Contemporary Western Astrology

**Dorian Greenbaum** (*University of Wales Trinity Saint David*)

**PANEL II:  
ASTROLOGY AND CHRONOMANCY IN INDIA AND CHINA**

Astrology in India

**Martin Gansten** (*Lund University*)

Horoscopy in China

**Stéphanie Homola** (*Collège de France, Paris*)

**PANEL III:  
CONTEMPORARY REFLECTIONS ON SCHOLARSHIP AND PRACTICE**

Contemporary Astrology in Germany – Actors and Clientele

**Gerhard Mayer** (*Institute of Frontier Areas of Psychology and Mental Health, Freiburg i. Br.*)

Dilemmas of Divination – Bridging Theory, Practice, and Scholarship

**Geoffrey Cornelius** (*Canterbury Christ Church University*)

**Thursday, June 30, 2016**

**PANEL I:  
PRESENTATION AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF  
HISTORICAL HOROSCOPES**

Case I: Publius Aelius Hadrianus

(Presented by **Stephan Heilen**)

Nativity: 24 January 76 CE, 7:25 a.m., Rome, 41° 54' North, 12° 29' East

Historical Horoscope by Antigonus of Nicaea

Case II: Zhu Xi

(Presented by **Zhang Wenzhi**, *Shandong University*)

Nativity: 25 October 1130 CE, 11-13 a.m., Youxi, 26° 17' North, 118° 19' East

Historical Horoscope by Yuan Shushan

Case III: Angelo Poliziano

(Presented by **Geoffrey Cornelius**)

Nativity: 14 July 1454 CE, 13:28 p.m., Montepulciano, 43° 6' North, 11° 47' East

Historical Horoscope by Girolamo Cardano

Case IV: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

(Presented by **Martin Gansten**)

Nativity: 2 October 1869 CE, 7:45 a.m., Porbandar, 21° 38' North, 69° 36' East

Historical Horoscope by Bangalore Venkata Raman

**PANEL II:  
COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF MODERN NATIVITIES**

Case I: Mao Zedong (Presented by **Zhang Wenzhi**)

Nativity: 26 December 1893, 7-9 a.m., Shaoshan, 27° 91' North, 112° 50' East

Case II: Donald Trump (Presented by **Dorian Greenbaum**)

Nativity: 14 June 1946, 9:51 a.m., New York, 40° 42' North, 74° 00' West

**PANEL III:  
ELECTIONS**

Case Study: Choosing the Best Date and Time for a Journey

**PANEL IV:  
FINAL DISCUSSION**

Final Discussion

Chair: **Josefina Rodriguez Arribas** (*University of Münster*)

## Mantic Arts in China

Convenors: Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner (Director), Dr. Zhao Lu (IKGF Research Fellow)  
Conference, Erlangen, July 19-22, 2016

The International Research Consortium held a conference entitled “Mantic Arts in China” on July 19-22, 2016, organized by Michael Lackner and Zhao Lu. Mantic arts have long been dismissed as “superstitious” or “irrational”. However, this rejected knowledge not only sheds light on the history of science and technology, but also helps us to understand the wide range of human activities that are yet to be seriously considered by many scholarly fields. This conference was an initiative that aimed to identify and establish the history of mantic arts as a field of scholarly study, and for this purpose we brought together scholars from various fields of Chinese Studies who have studied prediction and foreknowledge to exchange their intellectual insights. In order to promote the establishment of the field, we announced our publication series that was aimed at providing a structure to the knowledge of Chinese mantic arts. In addition, we also established an academic organization which, after some discussion, was named the *International Society for the Critical Study of Divination* (ISCSD). This was done in order to provide a catchier, more fitting title for the publication series and the journal that are going to be established along with the society, and also to open up the society to scholars of divination in other cultures and periods.

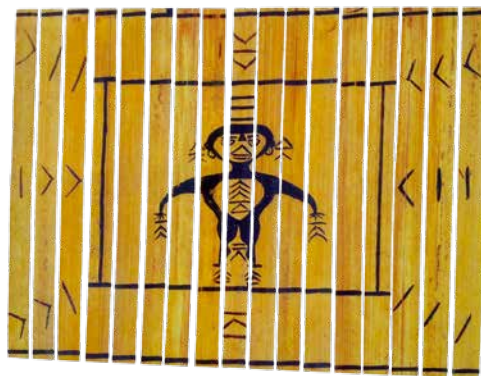
Since the primary goal of the conference was to establish the study of mantic arts as a scholarly field, the first session was devoted to outlining its contours. In his introduction, Michael Lackner raised awareness of mantic arts as a field of study that is crucial to understanding ancient China and human societies in general. He emphasized that the study of these practices had the potential to contribute to other fields such as cultural history, intellectual history, and the history of science. Marc Kalinowski then discussed the taxonomy, classification, and terminology of the mantic arts in order to delineate different mantic practices. Afterwards, Chang

Chia-Feng sketched the history of mantic arts, by showing how these were historicized in Chinese dynastic histories. All three presentations aimed to pin down the position of mantic arts in Chinese history and address the question of why they still matter in modern academia.

Because the study of mantic arts hitherto has not been a distinct field of study, previous scholarship on the topic is spread across different disciplines and fields, such as the history of science and intellectual history. An important goal of the conference was therefore to identify the work done so far. To this end, we designed general survey presentations discussing bodies of scholarship in established fields; namely, *Religion and Prognostication* (by Fabrizio Pregadio), *Thought and Prognostication* (Zhao Lu), *Medicine and Prognostication* (Marta Hanson), *Astrology and Prognostication* (Christopher Cullen), *The Living Traditions of Prognostication* (Stéphanie Homola), *Politics and Prognostication* (Hon Tze-ki), and *Prognostication in Early Chinese Excavated Texts* (Constance Cook). The choice of these fields and disciplines was

based on the fact that research on mantic arts has taken place in these contexts more often than in others. These subfields will also provide a structure for the planned handbook.

In addition, we intended to show what scholars were currently working on in these fields. To this end, various scholars were invited to give presentations on their individual research, pairing each of these research presentations with the relevant general survey mentioned in the previous passage. For example, in the afternoon session of the first day, following the survey on *Thought and Prognostication*, Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Chu Pingyi discussed concepts of fate and how they were reflected in mantic practices in ancient China. Tiziana Lippiello talked about the *Taxonomy of Good Signs - an Issue of Categori-*



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

zation. The morning session of the second day focused on the history of science. Following introductory surveys on *Medicine and Prognostication* and *Astrology and Prognostication*, Paul R. Goldin discussed the blurred boundary between mantic arts and other predictive methods by examining economic cycles in early Chinese texts. David Pankenier explored a master metaphor in early Chinese cosmology (*ganying* 感應), and how it framed astrological techniques. The morning session of the last day was devoted to early Chinese texts, excavated and received. Following an overview of *Prognostication in Early Chinese Excavated Texts*, Chen Wei surveyed the newly-discovered calendric diaries *zhi ri* 質日, Michael Nylan and He Ruyue presented the role of divination in the *Book of Documents*, and how excavated texts could shed light on the issue, and Michael Puett focused on Wang Chong's *Discourses Weighed in the Balance* (*Lunheng* 論衡) to discuss the significance of divination.

The conference also provided a forum for new research areas and topics that cannot be categorized under the aforementioned fields, and so the afternoon session of the third day brought together several papers on medieval and late imperial China. Three scholars presented work on Song dynasty mantic arts: Liao Hsien-huei looked into the transmission of mantic knowledge in literati writing, especially their brush records (*biji* 筆記), Liu Hsiang-kwang focused on the culture of topomancy (*fengshui* 風水), and Radu Bikir explored the interplay between

divination and storytelling in Hong Mai's *Records by Yijian* (*Yijian zhi* 夷堅志). Following the Song group, Andrea Bréard explored the role of mathematics in the relationship between games and divination in late imperial China. Overall, we sought to reflect the current state of the study of mantic arts as it presents itself, as opposed to putting together an artificially neat, streamlined program that would prescribe how to conduct research on mantic arts and divination.

During the roundtable discussion on the last day, the conference participants officially founded an academic society named the *International Society for the Critical Study of Divination* (ISCSD). During this initial period, Michael Lackner will serve as president, Chang Chia-feng as vice president, Fabrizio Pregadio as treasurer, and Zhao Lu as secretary. During the session, we also described our handbook project to all of the participants, in the hope that, in the long run, they would be willing to contribute to the project in some way. The general surveys provided during the conference will also serve as guidelines for organizing individual volumes of a book series on the practice of mantic arts; the presenters of the surveys will also double as editors of the individual volumes.

During the conference, we received a lot of helpful feedback, most of which crucially regarding questions of terminology. As Goldin pointed out, it was anachronistic to call certain ancient



Photo: IKGF



Chinese forecasting methods “mantic,” because the word came from the ancient Greek term *μαντικός* (*mantikós*), from *μαίνομαι* (*maínomai*, “mad, raving”). However, the word “divination” is not ideal either, because the etymology suggests an intervention of deities, which is not always the case in many Chinese methods. As Goldin admitted, in contemporary English, there

is no perfect word for the predictive techniques we study. This issue reminds us to exercise caution when applying our analytical categories. When we use terms such as “mantic arts” or “divination”, it may be unwise to lay too much emphasis on etymology and an exact congruence of meanings, provided that we are specific about what we mean by them.

### Tuesday, July 19, 2016

Taxonomy, Classification, Terminology  
**Marc Kalinowski** (*École Pratique des Hautes Études*)

Sketch of the History of Prognostication  
**Chang Chia-Feng** (*National Taiwan University*)

Religion and Prognostication  
**Fabrizio Pregadio** (*FAU*)

Thought and Prognostication  
**Zhao Lu** (*IKGF, FAU*)

Technical arts and literati discourse on necessity in Early and Medieval China  
**Mark Csikszentmihalyi** (*University of California, Berkeley*)

The Taxonomy of Good Signs: Prophecies or Responses  
**Tiziana Lippello** (*Ca' Foscari University of Venice*)

The Invisible Face of Fate  
**Chu Pingyi** (*Academia Sinica*)

### Wednesday, July 20, 2016

Medicine and Prognostication  
**Marta Hanson** (*Johns Hopkins University*)

Astrology and Prognostication  
**Christopher Cullen** (*Needham Research Institute, University of Cambridge*)

Economic Cycles and Price Theory in Early Chinese Texts  
**Paul R. Goldin** (*University of Pennsylvania*)

Astrology and Divination and Crucial Differences between Them  
**David Pankenier** (*Lehigh University*)

The Living Traditions of Prognostication  
**Stéphanie Homola** (*École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*)

The Attempt of Scientification of Chinese Divinatory Knowledge in the era of Republic of China (1912-1949): The Interpretation and Transformation of “Four Pillars” and “Physiognomy”  
**Lin Yuh-Chern** (*National Tsing Hua University*)

Diviners with Membership and Certificates: An Inquiry into the Legitimation and Professionalisation of Chinese Diviners  
**Li Geng** (*Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*)

### Thursday, July 21, 2016

Politics and Prognostication  
**Hon Tze-ki** (*The State University of New York at Geneseo*)

*Shifa* 筮法  
**Edward Shaughnessy** (*University of Chicago*)

Reconstructing the *Book of Changes*.  
**Wang Anshi's** 王安石 (1021-1086) Essays on the *Zhouyi* 周易  
**Stéphane Feuillas** (*Université Paris Diderot*)

Knowing Fate and Changing Fate:  
The Similarities and Differences between Chinese Astrology (*Bazi*) and the *Yi jing* (Book of Changes)  
**Zhang Wenzhi** (*Shandong University*)

Song Biji and the Transmission of Mantic Knowledge  
**Liao Hsien-huei** (*National Tsing Hua University*)

The Culture of Fengshui in Song China  
**Liu Hsiang-kwang** (*National Chengchi University*)

Divination and Storytelling in Hong Mai's *Yijian zhi*:  
The Narrative Description of Mantic Techniques and Destiny  
**Radu Bikir** (*Centre de Recherche sur les Civilisations de l'Asie Orientale*)

Gaming and Divination  
**Andrea Bréard** (*University of Heidelberg*)

### Friday, July 22, 2016

Prognostication in Early Chinese Excavated Texts  
**Constance Cook** (*Lehigh University*)

关于秦汉“质日”的新考察 (A new examination on *zhi ri* in the Qin and Han periods)  
**Chen Wei** (*Wuhan University*)

The Role of Divination in the Documents  
**Michael Nylan** (*University of California, Berkeley*)  
**He Ruyue** (*Shaanxi Normal University*)

Wang Chong and Divination  
**Michael Puett** (*Harvard University*)

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

## Accounting for Uncertainty – Joint Project with the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science

Convenor: Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner (IKGF); Prof. Dr. Dagmar Schäfer (MPIWG)  
Workshop, Erlangen, July 28-29, 2016

In June 2016, the International Consortium for Research in Humanities launched its joint project with Department III of the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte) in Berlin under the title *Accounting for Uncertainty: Prediction and Planning in Asian History*. This project focuses on the varied methods and rationalities as well as the material tools that actors employed when planning and predicting nature, matters of state, and their own life. From weather forecasts to earthquake predictions, from one's daily tasks to the future course of society and state, material means and visual representations were used to facilitate the decision-making process by making the unknown and uncertain easier to grasp.

The overall goal of this project is twofold. On the one hand, we would like to respond to the current situation in the field of history of science; we want to find a research language and methodologies for studying subjects that are conventionally marginalized in the field. On the other hand, we intend to examine divination under the lens of material culture and cultural archaeology. We seek to juxtapose prognostication with other methods of predicting and planning the future in order to find common denominators of predictive methods in different societies through history.

To this end, we advertised six two-year visiting fellowships that will enable scholars to spend a summer in Berlin and a summer in Erlangen, respectively, to pursue an individual research question within the larger project. Currently, six scholars have joined the project: Dr. Anna Andreeva from the University of Heidelberg studies Japanese religion and medicine. In the joint project, she works on the rituals, diagnoses, and divinations surrounding childbirth in medieval Japan. Dr. Daniel Burton-Rose from North Carolina State University studies how the literati of late imperial China used spirit writing and prophecy to cope with civil examinations. Professor Chen Jinhua from the University of British Columbia is an expert on the religious and cultural history of Buddhism, and in the project works on

### Thursday, July 28, 2016

Reading Group 1 Introduction  
David Bello and Kerry Smith

“Controlling Locusts, First Discourse”  
(治蝗論一)  
David Bello (Washington & Lee University/IKGF)

“Earthquake Countermeasures for the Greater Metropolitan Area”  
(大都市圏の地震対策)  
Kerry Smith (Brown University/IKGF)

Reading Group 2 Introduction  
Dagmar Schäfer, Chen Jinhua, Chen Kaijun

Excerpts from Da Tang Xiyu ji 大唐西域記  
Chen Jinhua (University of British Columbia/MPIWG)

“Memorial on the Submission of the Accidental Porcelains in Flambé Glaze”  
(恭進上傳及偶得窯變瓷器摺)  
Chen Kaijun (MPIWG)

Reading Group 3 Introduction  
Anna Andreeva and Stéphanie Homola

“List of Prayers for Royal Childbirths”  
(Osan Oinori no Mokuroku 御産御祈目録)  
Anna Andreeva (Universität Heidelberg/MPIWG)

Excerpts from Bodhidharma's Treasure of the Palm (達摩一掌金)  
Stéphanie Homola (Collège de France, Paris/IKGF)

### Friday, July 29, 2016

Reading Group 4 Introduction  
Daniel Burton-Rose and Zhao Lu

Excerpts from Han Dynasty Apocrypha  
Zhao Lu (IKGF/FAU)

Excerpts from Chronological Autobiography of Master Sub-Expositor 侍講公年譜  
Daniel Burton-Rose (North Carolina State University/MPIWG)

Ji Yun's 紀昀 Evaluation of Mantic Arts  
Michael Lackner (IKGF/FAU)

propitious signs (*ruixiang* 瑞相) in medieval Buddhism. These scholars spent summer 2016 in Berlin. The group in Erlangen consisted of the following researchers: Professor David Bello from Washington and Lee University studies environmental dynamics especially in the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), and in the project focuses on locust infestation in Early Modern China. Dr. Stéphanie Homola from the Collège de France is an anthropologist of divination in contemporary China and Taiwan. In the project, she specifically focuses on hand mnemonics and counting skills. Professor Kerry Smith from Brown University is a historian of modern Japan. In the project, he studies earthquake prediction in 20<sup>th</sup> century Japan and its social and intellectual background.

Over the course of the three months, the two institutes organized three workshops in Berlin, Erlangen, and back in Berlin, respectively. The scholars not only introduced their own research, but also became more familiar with each other's topics through intensive reading sessions of primary sources. Like many other interdisciplinary projects, a common research language is a major concern. This became especially apparent during the third workshop, held on August 30, 2016, when concepts like complexity came to be understood in a new way. The visiting scholars, as well the directors of the two institutes, Professor Michael Lackner from Erlangen and Professor Dagmar Schäfer from Berlin, plan to continue the conversation on developing a more systematic and common research language to cope with activities of prediction. This joint project will resume on May 1, 2017, and last for a further three months.

Dr. Zhao Lu  
(IKGF Research Fellow)



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## IN BRIEF

- Several representatives from IKGf participated in the conference entitled “Research Institutes and their Function in the German Academic System” on May 2, 2016, organized by the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies and the Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft (Donors’ Association for the Promotion of Humanities and Sciences in Germany). The conference, for the first time, discussed the activities and functions of research institutes in Germany. More than 150 delegates from virtually every German research institute and fellowship program, as well as representatives of academic associations, ministries, and donors, were among the participants. The results of the conference were published in a joint statement.

 [ikgf.fau.de](http://ikgf.fau.de)  
> Events > Other Events > 2016 > May 5

- In August 2016, the IKGf and the School of Humanities at Ningxia University in China signed a cooperation agreement, expressing their intention to exchange researchers between the two institutions, in order to advance their learning and expertise. Both parties will also encourage their researchers to apply jointly for national and international research funding,

and will share the research materials and results of such joint research projects.

- In September 2016, IKGf Deputy Director Klaus Herbers discussed the historical significance and writings of the Dominican monk Felix Fabri (ca. 1438-1502) with Prof. Dr. Folker Reichert (Stuttgart) and Prof. Dr. Bernd Hamm (form. Erlangen) in a broadcast on the German radio station SWR2. In the 1480’s, Fabri undertook two lengthy pilgrimages via Venice to Jerusalem, going on to Cairo and Alexandria via the Sinai. He recorded his experiences on the journey in the “Evagatorium”, which is one of the most important pilgrimage travelogues of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It provides a glimpse into both the religious dimension of a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre and the “touristic” interests of a late-medieval traveler.
- **News from our former fellows and staff:** Our long-serving graphics designer Dr. Florian Wagner has now left the Consortium, and been replaced by Masami Hirohata, who is also overseeing the layout of this newsletter.

## VISITING FELLOWS



**Prof. Dr. David A. Bello**, Washington & Lee University, Lexington VA, History Department; research stay (joint project Max Planck Institute for the History of Science): June-September 2016; research topic: The Ethological Theodicy of Locust Infestation in Early Modern China



**Prof. Dr. Chia-Feng Chang**, Department of History, National Taiwan University; research stay: June-August 2016; research topic: Physiognomy of Children in Medical Literature from Jin to Song China (265-1279)





**Prof. Dr. Constance Cook**, College of Arts and Sciences, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures, Lehigh University (USA); research stay: June-August 2016; research topic: Divination and Excavated Texts in BCE China



**Prof. Dr. Marta Hanson**, Institute for the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University (USA); research stay: June-August 2016; research topic: Understanding is Within One's Grasp (Liaoran zaiwo 瞭然在握): A Cultural History of Bodily Arts of Memory, Prognostication, and Being in Chinese Medicine



**Dr. Stephanie Homola**, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS); research stay (joint project Max Planck Institute for the History of Science): June-August 2016 ; research topics: Knowing fate: an anthropology of contemporary divinatory practices in China and Taiwan; The divinatory manual Yizhangjing 一掌經; Hand Mnemonics and Counting Skills: Reducing Uncertainty through Fate Computation



**Prof. Dr. Tze-ki Hon**, Department of History, State University of New York at Geneseo (USA); research stay: July-August 2016; research topic: Divination as Moral Philosophy: Hexagrams and the Genealogy of the Sages of the Yijing



**Dr. Stephan N. Kory**, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures, Swarthmore College (Cleveland, USA) / Department of Asian Studies, College of Charleston; research stay: June 2016-May 2017; research topic: Letting the Right Ones In: State-Sanctioned Memories of Diviners, Healers, and Artisans in Five Mid-Sixth to Mid-Seventh-Century Dynastic Histories



**Dr. Wei Li**, University of Mainz; research stay: August-September 2016; research topic: Divining Monks according to the Shenseng Zhuan, T. 2064



**Prof. Dr. Kerry Smith**, Department of History, Brown University (USA); research stay (joint project Max Planck Institute for the History of Science): June-August 2016; research topic: Seas of Fire - Earthquakes, Disasters and Japan in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

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

The Taiwanese National Science Council has awarded IKGf's Director, Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner, with the Tsungming Tu Award 2017. Established in 2006, the award is "given to foreign scientists of international renown with great discoveries or achievements in their academic research fields." Professor Lackner is the first scholar in the humanities to receive this honor.



Photos: IKGf

## OUTLOOK

The Bavarian Department for Education and Culture, Research and the Arts has approved a new elite MA program entitled “Standards of Decision-Making Across Cultures”, which will draw heavily upon the expertise and experience assembled at the IKGf. Working under the guidance of Michael Lackner and his team, students will explore the concept of decision-making, focusing on various decision-making techniques as they have evolved across different cultures and times. While examples drawn from Chinese cultures (both past and present) will be emphasized, we have secured the collaboration of other FAU faculty members so as to ensure a broad foundation of knowledge and cross-cultural expertise for our future students. The approval of the program also entails the creation of two new faculty positions that will establish the field of ethnology at FAU, thus providing the project with both new teaching resources and a thorough basis in anthropological theory. The idea was to create a graduate program that would impart to students a broad methodological and theoretical foundation representative of the diversity of the programs available in the humanities at FAU. At the same time, the topic is sufficiently circumscribed and “practical” to ensure that participants will be able to transfer their skills to both academic and non-academic careers, particularly in positions that require decision-making in trans-cultural contexts. Decision-making, of course, depends heavily on prediction, and accordingly the IKGf will play an important role in the program. The program therefore also represents a step towards extending the IKGf as an institution beyond the period of federal funding. Further information: <https://www.sdac.studium.fau.de/>.

## THE NEXT *fate*

The next issue of *fate* will contain reports on:

- A report on the conference on Fate, Prognostication and Freedom in Chinese Literature, Film and Folktale that took place last September.
- We will introduce the new MA program in more detail.
- A panel on “Knowledge of the Future as an Elite Secret” at this year’s Symposium of the German Medievalists’ Society in Bonn introduced our interdisciplinary work, with papers on medieval Yemen, Sicily, and China.

