Coping with the Future by Learning from the Past
Recent Research Strategies in the Field of Medieval Studies at the IKGF *

“It was, however, already to be found in the book entitled Panticinus, written by the prophet Ezekiel, which was mentioned earlier, that the Saracens should occupy the land of the Goths: ‘Son of Man, turn your face to Ismael and say: I have turned you into the strongest of all nations, I have aggrandized and strengthened you, and I have put a sword in your right hand and arrows in your left, hoping that you may defeat the gentes [...]’ “

This is an account presented in one of the chronicles that were written in Asturias by followers of Alfonso III, known as Alfonso the Great, at the end of the 9th century. About 170 years after the occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by Arab-Berber troops, the defeat was often interpreted as a visitation for one’s own sins. Thus, the events were often conceptualized in Biblical language. At the same time, however, hope was raised. Moreover, it is explained in a manuscript that even the Saracens had deduced their imminent downfall from prodigies and star symbols. According to further predictions, the Christians, lead by Alfonso III, were thought shortly to rule the whole of Spain, because it was 169 years since the conquest of 711, and the prophet Ezekiel prophesied that the Christians would come to power from the year 170 onwards.

Hidden prognostications in narrative form are not only typical of the chronicles of Asturias, but were also a frequently-used method across Europe during the Middle Ages. Thus, a comparison with East Asian societies seems very interesting. The past year’s work at the Research Consortium has been dedicated to this issue in many ways. Besides the analyses of historiography and its prognostic potential on the Iberian Peninsula, which were conducted by the associate director, the study by Hans Chris-
tian Lehner examined specific representations and functions of future events in German historiographical works of the 12th and 13th centuries. Many different methods were used to predict future events. For instance, predictions were based on observations of the sky and natural phenomena or on fantastical occurrences, visions, astrological divination or sometimes mantic practices. As exegesis of history, historians interpreted occurrences as references to the future. Moreover, divine actions were also conceived of as prophecy legitimating historical developments. The prophecies refer to specific aspects of life and political events, or announce the advent of the antichrist and the last days. The plurality of prophecies provides interesting special cases – for instance, when it comes to the interpretation of historical events as symbols of the future or concerning the exposure of false prophets and false predictions. A working meeting planned for January 30–31, 2015, under the direction of the fellow, Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, will focus on historical conceptions, which are based on monotheistic and non-monotheistic beliefs.

The role of prophets was picked out as a central theme at the international and interdisciplinary conference entitled “Hagiographie et prophétie, de l’Antiquité au XIIIe siècle” in October 2013 in Paris. This event was organized in cooperation with the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE), and was originally initiated by the earlier fellowship of the Directeur d’études, Prof. Dr. Patrick Henriët, at the IKGF Erlangen. At the conference, augural charisma was identified as a prominent feature of the saints. Consequently, the gift of predicting the future is the most important feature of holiness, according to most of the hagiographical texts presented. Due to their close relationship with God, only prophets were able to unearth hidden truths.

At this conference, as well as at similar events, the comparative perspective with East Asia was often taken into account. In this context, it was very helpful to have a closer look at Arab culture, especially the influence of Arabic scientific texts – about astrology and astronomy, for instance – and their reception in Latin and East Asian contexts. The international conference on “The Impact of Arabic Sources on Divination and the Practical Sciences in Europe and Asia”, which was organized in January 2014 together with the Union Académique Internationale (UAI), the Centre for the History of Arabic Studies in Europe (CHASE) and the Società internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo latino (SISMEL), will certainly initiate other events like this and has already considered numerous perspectives. This was the first time that the influence of Arabic sources, which crossed borders of language and culture, on practical sciences in East and West was analyzed in a comparative study. The conference focused on adaption and innovation, but also on transformation and deformation. The main approach was based on the idea that there is no limit to knowledge, which can rather be perceived as a link between cultures. To this day, knowledge encourages the fruitful exchange of ideas. Especially when it comes to the transfer of knowledge between Europe and Asia in the fields of medicine, divination, astrology, astronomy, algebra and mechanics, Arab scholars and their writings occupy a key position. The different traditions and influences deserve attention in the time to come and possibly in a future project.

The importance of Arab culture in the western hemisphere, particularly in the fields of astronomy and astrology, was also the topic of a workshop on “An Introduction to the Medieval Astrolab” (October 15, 2014), which was recently convened by two IKGF visiting fellows, Dr. Petra Schmidl and Dr. Josefina Rodríguez Arribas. This intercultural approach will be accommodated further in future projects. Consequently, the international conference entitled “The Prolongation of Life in Medieval Europe and Asia. Texts, Ideas and Practices”, which will presumably be hosted in late 2015/early 2016 by our current fellow, Prof. Dr. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, focuses on ideas and practices concerning the prolongation of life in West and East from the Early Middle Ages to early modern times, with particular emphasis on Arab and Indian influences.

During the second period of approbation, the main focus is on the relationship between norms and practice. After the seminar on “Kirchenrechtssammlungen als Quellen der mittelalterlichen Alltagsgeschichte” in summer term 2013, especially Andreas Holndonner is engaged in research on normative medieval sources and medieval law compilations. These law compilations were usually not preemptively written in the scholars’ offices, but can be seen as a reaction to various real challenges. Regulations concerning mantic practices, divination and magic can usually be found in church law sources. Even Charlemagne (who died in 814) had already stated in his Saxon law book that warlocks and fortune-tellers should be handed over to the church and priests. Especially the church
Fate, Freedom and Prognostication. Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe

One of the most extensive and authoritative texts on this method of divination is the Tibetan work titled *Ju thig gi bstan chos snang gsal sgron me* (849 folia), which was written in 1885 by the Tibetan scholar Mi-pham 'Jam-dbyangs rNam-rgyal (1846-1912). Profound knowledge about this divination system is hard to find and it is because of his expertise in *Ju-thig* divination and other systems that the Venerable Lopön Trinley Nyima Rinpoche was invited to the consortium.

Divination is closely linked to the Bon (pron. bön) worldview. Bon religion is perceived by its followers as the primeval, autochthonous spiritual and cultural tradition of Tibetan civilization. According to it, the environment displays itself in a tripartite fashion, being composed of three different dimensions: heaven above, earth in the middle, and the subterranean world below, each dominated by different classes of beings and elemental forces. Mythology has informed liturgical practices in the form of rit-

Besides our own publications and events, our project partners at the IKGF Erlangen finally contribute to the scientific work in the following way: over the last few years, an extensive collection of literature and sources has been developed based on the studies of our fellows and colleagues. All relevant titles have systematically been gathered into a common database since the establishment of the IKGF. Thus, the bibliographic list of medieval studies, for instance, now comprises more than 6,000 titles. As a special service, this database is available via the IKGF’s homepage (cf. the more detailed article in this issue) and provides an ideal basis for further research projects. Consequently, the course for future work is set.

Prof. Dr. Klaus Herbers
(IKGF Deputy Director)

FOCUS

Tibetan Divination
A New Research Thread at the Consortium in the Academic Year 2014/15

Tibetan divination is a new research thread at the Käte Hamburger Center and, within this framework my stay at the consortium for over a year was accompanied by the visit from the Venerable Lopön Trinley Nyima Rinpoche in October 2014 and a workshop run by leading Tibetologists in December 2014 (report: see next issue of fate). My research at the consortium focuses on the divination method “Zhang Zhung Ju-thig” – a complex historical system, that is known to us already from Dunhuang manuscripts. Six cords – one longer and five shorter ones – are used by the diviner, who produces knots on them, drops them and then interprets the patterns that occur.

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Venerable Lopön Trinley Nyima Rinpoche preparing the knots. Photo: Roman De Giuli
ual proclamations and explanations about the origin of existence, and re-enacted the covenant established in primordial times between human beings and those supernatural entities and forces.

The ability to interface with, and the numerous techniques and ritual liturgies for effectively dealing with those dimensions were entrusted to and represented the prerogative of priests (called Bon gShen-po), who were specialized in distinct, specific aspects of ritual actions, intended to control the positive and negative forces or neutralize the harmful situations created by supernatural or nonhuman beings and the elemental powers that they control. Hence, there were Bon gShen-pos for fire, prosperity, marriage, epidemics, bumper harvests, preventing the loss of livestock and the abduction of infants by demons, summoning sunshine, warm weather, rain clouds, rainbows, and those apt at pacifying the souls of the deceased, particularly murdered ones, who would otherwise torment the living and bring them all sorts of misfortunes. There were also priests who specialized in funeral ceremonies and who were also the protectors and spiritual advisors of the Tibetan monarchs until Buddhism was adopted as a state religion in the 7th century CE. Prior to that, the predominant culture in Tibet was related to the land of Zhang Zhung, from where the Ju-thig divination system originated.

Venerable Lopön Trinley Nyima Rinpoche was born in 1962 in the Tsa-kha village of Dolpo, Nepal. He belongs to the famous, uninterrupted “Yangtön” lineage of masters, who were the royal protectors and spiritual advisors of the very first king of the centralized Tibetan monarchy (ca III BCE).

The Bon tradition has undergone many changes during the course of history. It has also suffered several persecutions before and, above all, after the advent of Buddhism in Tibet; but it has survived to the present times by adapting to the ever-changing cultural and political configurations of the Land of Snow,
albeit in a minoritarian way. Ultimately, some teachers and followers of Bon moved to India after the diaspora of 1959, and settled in a very beautiful land offered by the Indian Government in 1968 in Dolanji, Himachal Pradesh, where the lay and monastic communities have lived and prospered for the past few decades (http://www.bonfoundation.org/aboutbon.html, accessed Dec. 20, 2014). The settlement also hosts a Dialectic School where monks study and hold lively discussions, using the typical Tibetan religious debate stances and gestures about the vast and multifarious aspects of the doctrine which are covered in a curriculum that spreads over several years, following the completion of which a monk is entitled to be called a Doctor Philosophiae.

Since 1992, Venerable Trinley Nyima Rinpoche has been the appointed Lopön (Head Teacher) of the Bon Dialectic School. Having been trained in the study and practise of the various aspects of the Sutra and Tantra teachings of the Bon religion from a very young age, his knowledge and capacity for interpreting these texts is impeccable. He is also compiling a dictionary of ancient Bon words, which are usually not found in common dictionaries, by collecting them from a great number of sources.

Since the Bon tradition represents the core of the original Tibetan culture, it is very significant, as it is vital, that it is preserved and made known. Venerable Lopön Trinley Nyima Rinpoche, by offering a lecture, releasing an interview on Ju-thig divination on DVD, and creating a tri-dimensional icon that he authenticated through a ceremonial liturgy introduced us directly, in theory and in practice, to the ins and outs of the Bon culture in general and of Ju-thig divination in particular, making it possible to familiarize ourselves with this inestimable manifestation of the human cultural heritage.

Prof. Dr. Donatella Rossi
(Sapienza University of Rome; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

Bibliographies as a Mirror of the Research at the Consortium

In the course of the research at the consortium, an enormous collection of literature and sources has emerged over the past few years, based on the published works of visiting fellows and staff members alike. Since the foundation of the consortium, all of the relevant data have been systematically collected in a bibliographic database, with the result that the bibliographical catalogue for medieval studies on the topics of the consortium alone includes about 6,000 entries to date. From the essays and papers of the visiting fellows and staff, student and research assistants integrate the bibliographic details together with the published works of the consortium into the reference management software “Citavi” and categorize it to enable quick, focused searches of it. Beside the ordinary search functions, like author, title and so on, the domestic usable database provides a topical search of the relevant keywords of the consortium (Fig. 1). Hence, literature and publications on apocalypticism, astrology and calendars, as well as bibliographical details about topics such as divination, prediction, prophecy and vision are to be found here. Furthermore, an autocomplete function, that promptly offers proposals, which bibliography the searched term may match (Fig. 2), facilitates efficient, fast research.

In addition to the internal database of the consortium “Citavi”, there is an online bibliography available which can be publically accessed via the website of the consortium (link: http://www.ikgf.uni-erlangen.de/aigaion2). Besides the fundamental bibliography known from the research proposal, there are – thanks to the expertise of the staff and visiting fellows – also specified publications on the topic area “fate, freedom and prognostication”. This online bibliography combines Medieval and Sinological research literature. In this way, a transdisciplinary, transepochal and transcontinental list of literature emerges. This constitutes the basis for an extensive bibliographic investigation into the research topics of the consortium. The database provides not only literature but also multimedia materials. The papers of visiting fellows and staff members are available as audiofiles and the video productions of interviews with experts, book launches and discussions are listed as well. The bibliography team, together with the student and research assistants, updates the database continuously with publications by researchers of the consortium and the bibliographies contained in them, as well as with new lectures and videos. Thereby, an intensive cooperation with all researches based around the con-
sortium takes place. Through their knowledge, the experts contribute to constantly improving and expanding the database. The structure of the bibliography was configured by the IT-Team based on the program “Aigaion”. Thus, the database supplies, besides the common search functions, also the possibility of data-export in BibTex format (Fig. 3). This in turn creates the precondition for data usage in established reference management software like “Endnote” or “Citavi”. In addition, bibliographic information on Chinese works is listed with the transcription of the author and title in Pinyin (Chinese letters generally in traditional Chinese form). Registered users profit from the administration of their own composed bookmarks and of a personal commentary function. For Sinologists and Mediaevalists, the online bibliography reveals a publicly accessible, comprehensive collection of multimedia information on the research topic of the consortium, which simplifies the investigation and research.

Both the internal and public database of the consortium increases continuously and is enriched by the expertise of each new visiting fellow as well as by each staff member. Even today, the consortium as a unique resource can present a standard bibliography on the topic “Fate, Freedom and Prognostication”, thereby preserving simultaneously its own state of research since its foundation.

Dr. Hans-Christian Lehner / Eva Bergmann (IKGF Research Fellow / IKGF Research Assistant)

See also the first report on our online bibliography in fate No. 5 (9/12), p.2-3
In October 2013, two Käte Hamburger Centers (Bochum and Erlangen-Nuremberg) organized a joint academic visit to several places of interest in China. Since divination is a major concern for the Erlangen Center, we first started our program in Anyang, the site of the famous oracle bones that mark the beginning of both divination and writing in the history of Chinese civilization. Professor Su Rongyu, a leading Chinese archaeologist, acted as a knowledgeable cicerone, who opened the doors to the archives as well as to current excavation sites. With its Buddhist caves, the next station, Luoyang, provided us with amazing insights into the traces of religious migrations, the focus of the Bochum Center. We are indebted to Professor Luo Zhao, who not only made the otherwise very difficult access to the grottoes possible, but also led us to the remnants of the first Nestorian church near Zhoukoudian and the Fangshan Buddhist stele sutras, where the members of both Centers were encouraged to reflect on issues of religious transformations and millenialism. Here, we witnessed a vivid entanglement of the topics of both Centers.

Visits to the Zhouyi Studies Center at Shandong University (a cooperation partner of the Erlangen Center), the People’s University in Beijing, and the Institute for World Religions at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences were accompanied by presentations from both Centers and lively discussions of our respective topics. The Bochum Center signed several cooperation agreements, which will definitely enrich our research perspectives in the future.

Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner
(IKGF Direktor)

The joint academic visit to China by both research consortia, Bochum and Erlangen-Nürnberg, in autumn 2013 was professionally accompanied by the Institute for Theater and Media Studies of the University Erlangen-Nuremberg under the guidance of Roman de Giuli. The results are presented online on our website and offer profound insights – not only about the visit itself, but also through interviews about the research topics of the consortia and living religion in China. Five interviews and six impressions are available at http://www.ikgf.fau.de/videos/china-academic-visit-2013/. A detailed report of our visit can be found in the previous issue of fate No. 7 (5/14), p.5-8.

**Interviews**
1) Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner, IKGF Erlangen Director, on the Objectives and Achievements of the Joint Academic Visit.
2) IKGF Directors, Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner (Erlangen-Nürnberg) and Prof. Dr. Volkhard Krech (Bochum), Evaluating the Joint Academic Visit
3) Focus ‘Early China’: Prof. Dr. Joachim Gentz about the Impact of the Academic Visit to Anyang on his Research on Early China
4) Experts in Exchange at Anyang – Reflections on Archaeological Research (Prof. Iwo Amelung, Prof. Su Rongyu, Prof. Michael Lackner)
5) Focus ‘Buddhism’: The Research Field ‘Buddhism and Divination’ at the IKGF Erlangen (Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos)

**On Location - Impressions of our Joint Visit**
1) Video on Anyang – Tracing Early Chinese Divination
2) Video on Luoyang – Exploring Buddhist Caves together with Prof. Luo Zhao
3) Video on Jinan – Exchange at Shandong University
4) Video on Taishan – The Emperors’ Legacy of Divination
5) Video on Fangshan – Saving the Buddhist Canon in Ages of Decay
6) Documentary on the ‘Practice of Divination’
When in 1929 the young British historian Marjorie Reeves insisted on writing her thesis about a Calabrian Heretic, she could never have foreseen that this would lead to what she called, much later, ‘A sixty-year pilgrimage with Joachim of Fiore’. This was in fact the beginning of a never-ending story, of Marjorie Reeves and the Calabrian Abbot Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202), which had only just begun with her thesis and which, to some extent, still continues, as in the volume presented here today.

Her main contribution to the research on Joachim of Fiore’s life and work was her magisterial study ‘The Influence of Prophecy in the later Middle Ages’ of 1969. Even today, it is the only monograph which deals not only with Joachim of Fiore, his life and his authentic works or with Joachim’s far longer, more widespread and more influential after-life, and still represents the zenith of research in both fields. The story of Joachim of Fiore, the Calabrian Abbot, founder of a new order, skillful exegete and innovative scholar, expert on the Antichrist and political counsellor, and his reception, have never been found in such a condensed form in a single book, which was for many scholars of Joachim and Joachimism the starting point for their own addiction to this field of research, about a man who never wanted to be called a prophet, who became nothing less than a role model for medieval prophets.

What is most remarkable about Marjorie Reeves’s research is the crucial influence which she attributed to the role of the Holy Spirit, the intelligentia spiritualis, and Joachim’s expectation of the spiritual men of the third status. This explains the volume’s title: the ‘Influence of Inspiration’, referring to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and to the inspiration which she herself constituted for many scholars.

Marjorie Reeves’s story with Joachim and Joachimism began with what she calls, alongside Karl Jaspers, astonishment at the source of learning, when she learnt that Joachim’s writings had been published for the first time by the Order of Augustinian hermits in Venice early in the 16th century, while nobody before had wondered ‘Why should this twelfth-century abbot be read in the sixteenth century?’ One might be tempted to say that learning begins not only with astonishment, but with asking questions, and ends, in the case of Marjorie Reeves, in a flood of new insights, into the relation between Joachim’s intelligentia spiritualis, and the inspiration which later centuries draw from it, but if, as has been argued, only the genuine Joachim was of such originality and depth of thought, how could it have been possible that Pseudo-Joachim had little or no resemblance to the authentic one, and what exactly was their relationship?

When Pseudo-Joachim’s Super Ieremiam was printed, it quickly became a success. It was Pseudo-Joachim, who was read by Protestants in England, by Thomas Müntzer of the left wing of the German Reformation, even in remote South America, not to mention Joachim’s enemies like the 14th century Carmelite Guido Terreni, who based their verdict of heresy more often than not exclusively on Pseudo-Joachim.

Marjorie Reeves was the first to take a closer look at the relation between spurious and authentic texts. Joachim had been convinced that in the near future the Age of the Spirit would begin, and that in the coming tribulation the faithful would be guided by two or more masterful men, gifted with the spirit of intelligence, resembling the two witnesses of Rev. 11, an expectation which was depicted in greater detail and less of its eschatological context in Super Ieremiam and other pseudepigraphic texts. When therefore in the 13th century, not long after Joachim’s death, the Orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans were
founded, it was clear to many of their members that Joachim had prophesied St Francis and St Dominic in person. With Pseudo-Joachim of Fiore as prophet of their own order as the spiritual men of the Last Age, it was not only the Franciscans and Dominicans in the 13th, but later in the 16th the Jesuits and the Augustinian Hermits who referred to him to maintain their own role as spiritual leaders.

One of Marjorie Reeves's great achievements was her identification of the Codex Oxford, Corpus Christi College 255A, as the collection of ‘figures’ drawn alongside Joachim’s writings. She discovered that the figure in the early 13th century manuscript provided congenial illustrations of Joachim's written text, where he often refers to drawings, illustrating his spiritual exegesis. In her ‘Pilgrimage’, she remembers: ‘The idea of a lost set of figurae by Joachim had been buzzing in my mind for sometime, partly because of the strange figures in the Venetian editions, partly because the Franciscan Salimbene referred to a Liber figurarum. I sat for a while turning the pages and marveling at the unique forms and rich ornamentation of the pictures in the Corpus manuscript. Then I fetched the MGMS edition of Salimbene’s Chronica from the open shelves. In five minutes I had found his three references to the figurae. In another five I had found the text and figures in the manuscript which exactly correspond to Salimbene’s references. This was undoubtedly the “lost” work which Salimbene had entitled the Liber figurarum!'

After the war, in a time which she describes as like the lifting of a veil for scholars all over Europe, she traveled on the continent, including Italy. In her ‘Pilgrimage’, she recounts her visit to the libraries: ‘The experience reminded me of John Keats’ sonnet On first looking into Chapman’s Homer, when he likens himself to the explorer gazing on uncharted territory: “Or like stout Cortez when, with eagle eyes / He stared at the Pacific ... / Silent upon a peak in Darien.” Each library had its own atmosphere. In Florence, the special features of two manuscripts of the Liber de Concordia, one from Santa Croce and one from Maria Novella, caught my special attention and I began to speculate on when and how Dante might have stumbled on Joachimist works. The Antoniana at Padua was a library of special pilgrimage because of its early collection of authentic texts. Here I read Joachim’s as yet unpublished sermons in a truly monastic atmosphere. ... Treasures turned up in every library I visited and thus I found myself standing at a point where half a dozen promising paths led off in different directions.’

The situation that Marjorie Reeves describes – with so many promising paths opening up before her – is still the same for the modern scholar. Many of the hints which she gives in her ‘Influence of Prophecy’ have not yet been followed up. The volume published in her honor tries to pursue some of these paths further; hence the allusion to inspiration in its title.

For Marjorie’s Centenary, no gift would have seemed more appropriate than a volume on Joachim of Fiore to which all Joachites could contribute and, wonderful to relate, scholars from many countries, from across several generations, friends and disciples of Marjorie Reeves and Joachim of Fiore gathered together. Their contributions have taken some of her issues upon themselves, attempting to answer several of the most thought-provoking questions she raised, and delving more closely into certain Joachite circles or texts that she brought to light. I remain convinced that Marjorie Reeves would have been deeply interested in each one and would have relished discussing them with us.

Compared to her times, academic work has changed. While she had to wait for a war to end before she could view manuscripts in Paris or Rome, we travel freely to libraries all over the world and, if we need to consult Salimbene’s Chronica, we simply touch a few keys, but to be able to visit libraries, see manuscripts, and debate with friends and colleagues still holds the same joy for us as it did for Marjorie Reeves, and it fills me with deep gratitude to have been able to share this, with Marjorie Reeves as well as with my friends and colleagues, the consortium, its fellows and co-workers.

Dr. Julia Eva Wannenmacher
(Humboldt-University of Berlin; IKGF Visiting Fellow)
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 2014 summarize their contributions (Overview about lectures please see p. 11). The lectures of this winter semester 2014/15 will be part of the next issue of fate.

Lifespan, Evolution and Fate: Human and Animal in China and Greece
Prof. Dr. Lisa Raphals (University of California, Riverside; National University of Singapore; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

This paper contributed to a comparative discussion on what it is to be human by juxtaposing Chinese and Greek accounts of the nature of fate or destiny with accounts of humans as part of the continuum of living things. It began with the Zhuangzi’s discussion of ming 命 (destiny) and tian nian 天年 (years allotted by heaven) as not limited to humans. The second section adduced additional evidence from scales of nature in the Xunzi, Huainanzi and Aristotle’s De Anima and his critical account of pre-Socratic cosmogonies. The third section looked further at accounts of the boundaries between humans and animals, including accounts of the transformation (or “evolution”) of humans from animals.

Longevity, Fate, and Reflexivity among China’s Southern Sacred Mountain Pilgrims
Prof. Dr. Robert André LaFleur (Beloit College, Wisconsin; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

This lecture focused upon my fieldwork and textual research on China’s southern sacred mountain, Hengshan, and the potential for the methodological “turn” of reflexivity to contribute to ethnographic and historiographical studies of divination. In particular, it addressed the “microeconomic” choices that pilgrims make in ascending the peak often called “Longevity Mountain” (shouyue 壽岳), which range from the varieties of incense sticks people purchase to their choice of temples on their way to the summit. The implications of this “divinatory economics” are important for all scholars of divination, and religious studies generally.

For the past half-century, anthropology has engaged with the methodological and theoretical issues surrounding “reflexivity,” and it has become de rigueur for ethnographic texts to eschew the objectivist stance that has been roundly criticized by Pierre Bourdieu and others — acknowledging in various forms the role of the researcher in the writing process. Other fields have been slow to address this matter, and not always for reasons of naivété or stubbornness. To be done well, reflexivity requires discipline, and the common downside of self-absorption can be such a problem that otherwise sympathetic scholars in fields such as history and philosophy have thought better of the matter.

This lecture addressed first the role of the researcher in studying divinatory practices, and the necessity of finding a way to engage with questions of belief, disbelief, and the wide range of ideas “in-between” in our studies. The implications are quite serious. For example, to what extent does the unreflective disdain on the part of numerous Chinese scholar-officials writing about divination affect our historical studies today? Historians have a long tradition of considering such methodological issues, but what of the historian herself? Should we be concerned that researchers who have no real engagement with the goals of divinatory practice give accounts of those practices as if they were
neutral, “outside” observers? Many scholars are alarmed when a “true believer” writes in an “objectivist” manner. Why is not the opposite (relative secularism) also a concern? Reflexive methods provide a possible route to understanding.

Finally, the study of divination cannot avoid the reflexivity question, even today. Hostility toward perceived “superstition” in many quarters of Chinese academia (not to mention in the West) colors much of what scholars of divination face in their studies. This, too, has to be acknowledged if the study of divination is to ascend to new heights of sophistication. The difficulties surrounding reflexive methods are serious, however, and a disciplined methodology (far more sophisticated than that used by most practitioners today) will be necessary.

Survey of Divination Practices in the Tibetan Tradition
Prof. Dr. Donatella Rossi (Sapienza University of Rome; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

This lecture dealt with divination practices in Tibet following a general introduction about the ancient Bon culture so that they may be properly contextualized.

According to the ancient worldview of Bon – the tradition that its followers consider the primeval, autochthonous spiritual and cultural tradition of the Tibetan civilization – the environment displays itself in a tripartite fashion, being composed of three different dimensions: heaven above, earth in the middle, and the subterranean world below, each dominated by different classes of beings and elemental forces. Divination is strictly linked to this tripartite manifestation of existence. Mythology informed liturgical practices in the form of ritual proclamations and explanations (Tib. smrang) about the origin of existence,

Overview of the lectures of winter semester 2012/13:

08.04.2014: Lifespan, Evolution and Fate: Human and Animal in China and Greece. Prof. Dr. Lisa Raphals (University of California, Riverside; National University of Singapore; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

15.04.2014: Longevity, Fate, and Reflexivity Among China’s Southern Sacred Mountain Pilgrims. Prof. Dr. Robert André LaFleur (Department of History and Anthropology, Beloit College, Wisconsin; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

29.04.2014: Survey of Divination Practices in the Tibetan Tradition. Prof. Dr. Donatella Rossi (Department of Oriental Studies, Sapienza University of Rome; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

06.05.2014: The Uncrowned King and his Prophecy: Confucius and the Making of Dynastic Fate in the 1st Century CE China. Dr. Zhao Lu (PhD Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

13.05.2014: Determining Fate in Chinese Art during the Ming and Early Qing Period (1400-1700). Dr. Ning Yao (Institute of East Asian Art History, Heidelberg University; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

20.05.2014: Fate, Cult and the Formulation of the Early Enumeration of Hell-Kings. Dr. Frederick Chen (DPhil Oriental Studies, University of Oxford; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

27.05.2014: Correlating the Yijing and Modern Science: the Case of Liu Zihua 刘子华 (1899-1992). Dr. Stéphanie Homola (PhD École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales; IKGF Visiting Fellow)


01.07.2014: Time, Position, Action: The Philosophy of Divination in the Yijing. Prof. Dr. Hon Tze-ki (Department of History, SUNY-Cortez, New York; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

08.07.2014: A Buddhist Temple Oracle? The Use of the Guanding jing 灌頂經 for Ritual Performances in Early Medieval China. Prof. Dr. Sylvie Hureau (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris)
and re-enacted the covenant established in primordial times between human beings and those supernatural entities and forces.

There are several methods of divination in the Tibetan tradition, some of which are based on astrological principles. Bon teachings are classified into Nine Vehicles. The first one includes four aspects: 1) divinatory methods in general; 2) astrology; 3) medical diagnosis and therapies that save or ransom from death; and 4) rituals to cure illnesses derived from provocations by spirits.

The divinatory methods, known by the general name of mo, are in turn subdivided into four categories: 1) Juthig, a very old and complex system involving knots and cords, which is the topic of the research that is being carried out at the IKGF. The system involves a deep knowledge of astrology and astronomy. 2) Various divinatory instruments, such as mirrors or reflective surfaces, pebbles, prayer beads, dice, dominoes, cards, scapulimancy. 3) Oniromancy. 4) The Deity Oracle, in which a medium temporarily becomes the support of a deity predicting the future.

All of the above-mentioned methods of divination are still utilized in Tibet nowadays, by both Bon and Buddhists circles.

The Uncrowned King and his Prophecy: Confucius and the Making of Dynastic Fate in 1st Century CE China
Dr. ZHAO Lu (University of Pennsylvania; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

While Confucius is well-known to us as a great teacher and thinker, some of his identities and images in Chinese history can be rather surprising. If his 7.3 foot height and concave forehead do not entertain you, his physical resemblance to the Big-Dipper and miraculous birth in a hollow mulberry tree might. This lecture pinned down the most outlandish image of Confucius in Chinese history, which is from a corpus particular to the intellectual and political context of the first two centuries CE China, the apocrypha (chenwei 讃緯). Produced in the first decades of the 1st century CE, apocrypha reflect the intellectual and political changes of the time, such as a rising zeal for establishing an ideal society based on the Five Classics (Wujing 五經) and the restoration of the Han dynasty, the first mature imperial dynasty in Chinese history. The image of Confucius in this corpus reflects these changes. In this lecture, we saw Confucius as a prophet and messenger of Heaven who not only encoded his political teaching in his work, the Annals of Spring and Autumn (Chunqiu 春秋), but also foretold the rise of the Han dynasty and the Liu family. I argued that his seemingly outlandish image and extraordinary attributes were rooted in the common knowledge of scholars of that time.

We started by examining Confucius’ image in the intellectual context of the 1st century B.C. We specifically focused on the potential tension created by narratives about Confucius: while Confucius was one of the greatest sages in human history, he never obtained any significant political position. I will argue that apocrypha forged an image of Confucius based on those of ancient sages that were well-accepted at the time. By so doing, apocrypha reacted to the tension by portraying him as a heavenly prophet with the special mission of revealing the mandate of Heaven to the world. I revealed Confucius’ image in apocrypha as a political claim as well as an intellectual innovation in 1st century CE China.
The idea that one can influence fate in a particular way when auspicious wishes (ruiying 瑞應 or xiangrui 祥瑞) images are created formed the basis of Yao Ning’s talk on May 13th 2014, entitled “Determining Fate in Chinese Art during the Ming and Early Qing Periods (1400-1700)”.

Taking the Emperor Yongle 永樂 (r. 1403-1425), who used the concept of using auspiciousness as one of his political strategies as a starting point, Yao Ning firstly discussed the popularization of the concept of auspiciousness in the Ming and early Qing periods, pointing out some of the most important reasons, such as the extended court system, the economic and philosophical factors, and the highly developed print culture.

She then shed light on the popularization and commercialization of the auspiciousness in Chinese literati painting. She examined some case studies that show paintings of auspicious images by literati from the Wu area (today’s Jiangsu province) and pointed out that it was for the first time in the history of Chinese literati painting that auspicious paintings were produced in large number during the Ming and early Qing periods. And Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427-1509) played a significant role in this transformation of Chinese literati painting.

The introduction of Buddhist concepts of karma and the cycle of rebirths has significantly transformed Chinese perceptions of possible after-death destinies, and what leads to them, since the early medieval period. The rise, in the later medieval period, of the popular belief in the purgatory journey to the Ten Hells, where the upcoming fate of sentient beings will be judged and determined by the ten hell-kings, has further elaborated the Chinese perception of a person’s destiny in the afterlife; and this belief in a number of hell-kings met with on the purgatory journey, presented in funeral ritual and ancestral worship, has become a characteristic religious phenomenon not only of Chinese Buddhism but also of Chinese popular religions to date. In Indian Buddhism, ideas emerged of chief deities presiding over others in a few of the many heavens and various hells with different tortures, governed by Yama and his messengers, yet the idea that each hell was governed by a ‘king’ is not found in the early Indian Buddhist sources. This paper examines what is probably the earliest enumeration of hell-kings, in the Sūtra on Questions on Hells. This very early example derives from an extraordinary story about how King Bimbisāra and his 18 ministers became Yama and kings of 18 hells after a disastrous defeat in battle. My analysis illustrated how this account was probably consciously formulated by an author familiar with two sources: (i) the story of the Buddha’s concern about the fate of his followers in the Shenisha jing (闍尼沙經; Janavasabha Sutta), and (ii) the popular Chinese belief in sacrificial cults of ‘defeated armies and dead generals’.
Correlating the *Yijing* and Modern Science: the Case of Liu Zihua 刘子华 (1899-1992)
Dr. Stéphanie Homola (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

Liu Zihua 刘子华 (1899–1992) was one of the 1,500 Chinese students who were sent to France (liufa 留法) between 1919 and 1921 as part of the Diligent Work and Frugal Study Movement (qingong jianxue 勤工俭学). In 1940, Liu Zihua completed a PhD thesis at La Sorbonne on “The Cosmology of the Eight Trigrams and Modern Astronomy”. In his dissertation, he combined modern astronomy and the numerology of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易经) through “analogical reasoning” to discover a tenth planet in the solar system. French sinologist Henri Maspero, member of the board of examiners, put this work in the line of Confucian scholars who, in the 17th century and again in the mid-19th century, faced the challenge of Western science by claiming that it was already contained in the Chinese Classics.

After Liu Zihua returned to China in 1945, his efforts to win recognition came up against nationalist and communist anti-traditionalism but were eventually integrated into the intellectual revival of the 1980s. Liu Zihua’s research would be successively connected with the mid-1980s’ cultural fever, the yixue 易学 (studies on the *Yijing*) revival, qigong fever, and the mid-1990s “popular science” (minjian kexue 民间科学) movement. In the 2000s, after his death, the Confucian revival favored the development of Liu Zihua’s heritage in his birthplace, Sichuan Province.

This study relied on historical sources and anthropological fieldwork to show that Liu Zihua is an emblematic figure of the cultural upheaval caused by the introduction of modern Western categories of science, religion, and superstition at the beginning of the 20th century. Liu Zihua’s example revealed the changing status of the *Yijing* in Chinese society, the cross-cultural understanding of science and sacred literature as embodied in this classic, and the role of analogy in cultural assimilation. It also shed light on the shaping of academic standards in China and on the connection between traditional literary scholars and contemporary “popular scientists.”

Time, Position, and Action: The Philosophy of Divination in the *Yijing*
Prof. Dr. HON Tze-ki (State University of New York at Genesee; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

The *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes) is a composite text consisting of three distinct layers: the 64 hexagrams, the hexagram judgments and line statements, and the Ten Wings (seven commen-
Wings transformed the *Yijing* from a collection of divination records into a book of wisdom.

First, I argued that, among the Ten Wings, *Tuan* 象 (Commentary to the Judgments), *Xiang* 象 (Commentary to the Images), and *Wenyan* 文言 (Words of the Text) give the oracles fresh meaning. They view each hexagram as a structure of space, and the six lines as symbols of time. In so doing, they not only create a temporal-spatial framework to discuss the hexagrams, but also turn the oracles into fields of action for moral cultivation.

Second, I contended that *Xugua* 序卦 (Sequence of Hexagrams), *Zagua* 雜卦 (Hexagrams in Irregular Order) and *Shuogua* 説卦 (Explanations of the Trigrams) collectively transform the 64 hexagrams into a system of signs. The *Xugua*, in particular, is important in systemizing the hexagrams. In part one, *Xugua* tells a cosmic tale of the creation of heaven and earth, the production of the myriad beings, and the founding of the human community. The second half moves from stabilizing a family to building a stable government. When reaching “Jiji” 既濟 (Crossing Completed, #63) and “Weiji” 未濟 (Crossing Incomplete, #64), the story ends with the human determination to continue to build a sustainable society for generations to come.

Of the seven writings of the Ten Wings, *Dazhuan* 大傳 (The Great Treatise) is the most significant because it offers three new ideas: the multiple authorship of the *Yijing* by writers from both the mantic and philosophical traditions; the wide variety of uses of the *Yijing* for religious, political, and moral purposes; and the self-sufficiency of the *Yijing* because of its rich textual body. Being all-encompassing and multi-faceted, the author of *Dazhuan* tells us that the *Yijing* is all we need to respond to changes in the natural and human worlds.

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**A Buddhist Temple Oracle? – The Use of the Guanding jing for Ritual Performances in Early Medieval China**

Prof. Dr. Sylvie Hureau (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris)

The *Guanding jing* 灌頂經 (Consecration sutra, T. 1331) is a collection of 12 originally independent texts, supposedly translated from an Indian original, but it bears certain features which make it more likely to have been written directly for a Chinese audience, by the middle of the fifth century CE.

The tenth text, called *Guanding fantian shence jing* 灌頂梵天神策經 (*Brahmā’s oracle on divine slips*), delivers 100 stanzas composed of eight verses of five characters, intended to help people to resolve their doubts, hesitations or suspicions about their fate or life, and be determined in their attitude about what is fortunate and misfortunate. Each stanza is to be inscribed on a slip made of bamboo and silk, and placed inside a bag. For the divination, the person will pick out three of them at random. If they fail to answer the person’s doubts, up to a further seven slips can be picked out. The divination is preceded by purification and abstinence from certain kinds of food. When performing it, if someone is harassed or threatened by malevolent spirits, there are eight gods whom he/she can invoke.

*Brahmā’s oracle on divine slips* was mentioned in the *Fayuan zayuan yuanshi ji* 法苑雜緣原始集 (*Garden of duties: Anthology on the origin of various practices*), a collection of extracts from texts dealing with different kinds of Buddhist practices and rules, compiled at the beginning of the sixth century by the Vinaya master from Jiankang, Sengyou 僧祐 (445-518). Its mention fell among a group of six extracts of “authentic” texts related to incantations, to names of protective spirits to be written on tablets and worn at the waist, or hung on the door of the house, and to explanations about how to make incantations
The simple fact that Brahmā’s oracle on divine slips was mentioned in the Fayuan zayuan yuanshi ji attests to the authority it had been invested with early on in the region where it had been written. However, due to the lack of evidence in historiographical records attesting to its use, as well as the lack of quotations from it in later encyclopedias and anthologies and the paucity of copies of it among Dunhuang manuscripts, it is likely that its authority soon vanished.

WORKSHOPS SS 2014

Knowing Your Enemies: Intention Assessment and the Prospect of East Asian Security *

Workshop convened by: Prof. Dr. Michael Lackner (IKGF Director), Prof. Dr. Marc Matten (FAU Erlangen), Prof. Dr. HON Tze-ki (SUNY Geneseo; IKGF Visiting Fellow), Prof. Dr. Chih-yu Shih (National Taiwan University), WANG Mingde M.A. (FAU Erlangen); Erlangen, June 23-24, 2014

Hosted by the Käte Hamburger Center Erlangen on June 23-24 2014, this workshop amounted to a collaborative effort to invite interdisciplinary insights on intention assessment in international relations — an essential component of political predictions that has far-reaching implications for international security — against the context of modern East Asia, particularly the rise of China. The event originated in the organizers’ frequent exchanges about the research agenda to cross the boundaries between the humanities and social sciences with regard to the central theme of coping with the future. This aim was realized by bringing together contributions from 12 scholars from the fields of history and political science. The two-day workshop was divided into three areas: theories, methods, and historical analyses concerning how international leaders and foreign policy makers predict rival states’ intentions. Our presenters approached the general issue from a range of backgrounds, including international relations theories, intellectual history, diplomatic history, foreign policy analysis, and content analysis method.

The first day began with discussions about the theorization of intention assessment in international politics. From the perspective of International Relations (IR), Mingde Wang from the University Erlangen-Nuremberg provided an outline of the three major theoretical approaches to generalize how states assess each other’s strategic intentions — neorealism, rationalism, and psychological theories. He argued that structural approaches in IR have failed to deliver the greater predictive power they promised; psychological theories focusing on the exercise of agency, though not without their limit, seem to be more promising in contributing to the theory-building efforts that accommodate both structural and agential elements.

Building on this framework, Professor David Edelstein of Georgetown University presented a deductive approach to theorizing about
strategic intentions. His paper combines the neorealist tradition and the concept of a “time horizon” — political leaders’ changing propensities towards long- and short-term risks — to account for variations in the balancing or cooperative behaviors of rising powers in modern international history. This theoretical insight, he argued, is also crucial for understanding and predicting the trajectory of contemporary China-US relations. Following Edelstein, Professor Chih-yu Shih of National Taiwan University discussed a relation-based, interactive model of intention assessment, which challenges the mainstream, structural theories of international institutions. Using China’s uni-bilateralism as an example, his paper (co-authored with Dr. Hung-jen Wang of National Cheng-Kung University) attempted to distinguish between institutions in terms of the ideal state and institutions in terms of methods. He argued that this analytical framework is helpful in explaining China’s intentions behind its inclination to use a mix of unilateral conflict resolution methods, which are frequently misperceived in the West.

The second panel of the day extended the discussion to methodological issues regarding the empirical analysis of intention al beliefs. The three presenters in this panel focused mainly on introducing content analysis methods — techniques that allow researchers to extract and examine belief patterns. Dr. Edward Griffith from the University of Leeds used the case of the Sino-Japanese dispute over the Yasukuni shrine to demonstrate how to apply non-automated content analysis software to newspaper analysis. Dr. Michael Young and Doug Fuller from Social Science Automation used case studies to introduce respectively the major functions of Profiler Plus — an automated text analysis software — in the context of analyzing beliefs about intentions and some important issues associated with employing textual data in Chinese.

On the second day, the workshop participants moved on to discuss historical cases of intention assessment between international players in modern East Asia. The scope of the discussion ranged from the World War I period to the post-Cold War age. Professor Marc Matten of the University Erlangen-Nuremberg presented his paper on the history of friend-foe concepts in East Asia. He traced the development of ontological concepts of the enemy in intellectual movements like Pan-Asianism and nationalism in both China and Japan from the early 20th century. He further argued that the way in which such ontological categories were defined played an important role in shaping the culture of conflict or cooperation at a regional level.

In his paper, Professor Tze-ki Hon from the State University of New York, also a IKGF visiting fellow, tried to examine the cultural structures that constrained the manner of predicting state intentions among the top political elites of the KMT government during the interwar period. Employing Alexander Wendt’s constructivist theory, he argued that the global political climate since the late 19th century had gradually socialized China into a Hobbesian-Lockian culture of international relations. By using news archives and political writings of high officials like Dai Jitao, he tried to demonstrate that the KMT government’s perception of and grand strategies toward Japan prior to the Second Sino-Japanese War were shaped mainly by a Locken culture of defining Others.

Professor Todd Hall from the University of Oxford discussed the contemporary political predictions of the confrontation between the US and China, using analogies drawn from pre-WWI Europe. In his paper, co-authored with Professor Ja Ian Chong of
Fate and Destiny in Confucian Self-Cultivation

Workshop convened by: Prof. Dr. Thomas Fröhlich (currently Visiting Professor at Hamburg University; IKGF Faculty Affiliate), Prof. Dr. HON Tze-ki (State University of New York at Geneseo; IKGF Visiting Fellow); Erlangen, July 16-17, 2014

The goal of this workshop was to examine how Confucian thinkers developed a theory of self-cultivation to address human anxiety about fate and destiny. Over two days, the workshop participants compared the notions of self-cultivation in Classical Confucianism of the ancient period, Neo-Confucianism of the late imperial period, and Modern Confucianism of contemporary times. To encourage discussion, the workshop included an open forum in which the workshop participants and audience members discussed the uniqueness of Confucian self-cultivation.

Tuesday, June 24, 2014

 panel 3: how states assess intentions - the interwar lessons
friend and foe in 20th century east asia
Marc Matten (Chinese Studies, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg); Discussants: (1) Ria Chae; (2) Lu Zhao (PhD, EALC, University of Pennsylvania); IKGF Visiting Fellow)

from trust to mistrust: the sino-japanese relations, 1911-1937
Tze-ki Hon (History, State University of New York-Geneseo; IKGF Visiting Fellow); Discussants: (1) Lu Zhao; (2) Liselotte Odgaard (strategy, Royal Danish Defense College)

The Lessons of 1914 for East Asia Today:
Missing the Trees for the Forest?
Todd Hall (Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford); Discussant: David Edelstein (University of Göttingen)

Panel 4: how states assess intentions - the cold war and after

from a pen to an axe: a case-study of inter-korean relations during the Sino-American Rapprochement in the 1970s
Ria Chae (International Studies, Seoul National University); Discussant: Liselotte Odgaard

Sherzod Muminov (East Asian Studies, University of Cambridge); Discussant: Marc Matten

Perception, Personality and Abe Shinzô’s China Policy: A Neo-Classical Realist Perspective
Giulio Pugliese (East Asian Studies, University of Cambridge); Discussant: Chi-yu Shih; (2) David Edelstein

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After the four panels of intensive presentations and discussions, the workshop concluded with a short general discussion session. The contribution of this event is clearly shown in the diversity of the insights and empirical data it generated, enabling both historians and political scientists to refine the theoretical and methodological approaches toward intention assessment in international politics.

WANG Mingde
(University of Oxford; Until Summer Semester 2014 Lecturer of the FAU)
Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe

Fate, Freedom and Prognostication.

Professor Yuet Keung Lo (Singapore National University) contended, early Confucian thinkers sought to define “human destiny” (ming 命) in a variety of ways, aiming to answer the question “Why do bad things happen to good people?” By creating the notion of “proper destiny” (zheng ming 靈命), Lo contended, early Confucian thinkers emphasized human agency in changing the directions of one’s life.

Dr. Lu Zhao (University of Pennsylvania; IKGF Visiting Fellow) focused on the Confucian thinkers of the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE). In particular, Zhao highlighted the effects of the politicization of Confucianism when the Han rulers attempted to build a unified, all-encompassing imperial system known as “all under heavens” (tianxia 天下). One result of this politicization, Zhao argued, was a change in the image of Confucius. Rather than a scholar-teacher specializing in moral cultivation, Confucius became an astrologist who taught his followers to fathom the cosmos.

Professor Tze-ki Hon (State University of New York at Geneseo; IKGF Visiting Fellow) discussed Confucian thought in the late-imperial period. Focusing on Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), Hon explained the characteristics of Neo-Confucianism when Chinese society became more fluid and mobile. To make his point, Hon traced the shifts in the interpretations of the Yijing 易經 (Book of Changes). He pointed out that Zhu Xi had made an important contribution to the Yijing studies by transforming the classic into a guide to navigating the complexities of life.

The first day of the workshop ended with two stimulating studies of modern Confucianism. First, Professor Joseph Chan (University of Hong Kong) presented the main arguments in his new book, Confucian Perfectionism: A Political Philosophy for Modern Times. He asserted that the Confucian concepts of civility, reciprocity and finding the middle ground would be conducive for a civic virtue education and hence bolster the functioning of a constitutional democracy. This conforms to a normative Confucian perspective from which to evaluate the social and political orders according to the degree to which they enable their members to strive for individual moral self-perfection.

Second, Professor Thomas Fröhlich (Hamburg University; IKGF Faculty Affiliate) examined the notions of sagehood and self-cultivation in the thought of Tang Junyi 唐君毅 (1909-1978). He argued that Tang in fact assumed that there was an ontological gap between the sublime state of “being a sage” which entails an intuitive realization of “Heaven” on the one side, and the mundane state of practicing self-cultivation to “become a sage” on the other. Due to his analysis of this constellation, Fröhlich contended that Tang’s modern Confucianism was theological in essence.

The open forum took place on the second day of the workshop. Sitting around a table, the workshop participants and audience members discussed the motivation for self-cultivation, the impact of Daoism and Buddhism on Confucian self-cultivation, and the significance of Confucianism in the 21st century. Everyone at the open forum hoped that the conversation on Confucian self-cultivation would continue in future workshops or conferences.

Prof. Dr. HON Tze-ki
(State University of New York at Geneseo; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

The workshop began with a presentation by Professor Yuet Keung Lo of Singapore National University. Drawing from ancient texts such as the Analects, the Mencius and the Shiji 史記, Lo argued that early Confucian thinkers sought to define “human destiny” (ming 命) in a variety of ways, aiming to answer the question “Why do bad things happen to good people?” By creating the notion of “proper destiny” (zheng ming 正命), Lo contended, early Confucian thinkers emphasized human agency in changing the directions of one’s life.

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Planning Meeting
On May 9, 2014, our advisory board member, Lisa Raphals, took the opportunity to assemble selected scholars in order to brainstorm methodological and practical approaches with respect to a comparison between fate and divination in Early China and the Ancient Mediterranean. Besides the IKGF’s director, Michael Lackner, further sinologists, classicists as well as scholars from comparative studies took part: Esther Eidinow (Nottingham University), Michael Flower (Princeton University), Richard King (Bern University), and Mu-chou Poo (Chinese University of Hong Kong). They formed the nucleus of a group which, in May 2015, will explore systematically through a workshop the topic “Fate, Freedom and Prediction: Reflections on Comparative Method in Early China and the Ancient Mediterranean.”

International Medieval Congress in Leeds *
From 7-10 July 2014, Dr. Andreas Holndonner participated in the International Medieval Congress in Leeds. Being the most important relevant academic symposium in Europe, this year, the event already took place for the 21st time. Together with Cornelia Scherer (Erlangen) and Birgit Kynast (Mainz), Holndonner organized a session on Canonistics. He gave a paper on “Between Fate, Providentia Dei, and Free Will: Investigations into Medieval Canon Law on the Basis of Selected Examples, 700-1140” and thus introduced the IKGF and its research project to the international professional audience. Besides closer networking with researchers from other German universities as well as with other research projects carried out at the FAU, emphasis was placed especially on the engagement of the IKGF in Erlangen in International Canonistics. (Dr. Andreas Holndonner; IKGF Research Fellow)

Revisiting Early Modern Prophecies (c.1500-c.1815)
On 26-28 June 2014, my colleague, Dr Ariel Hessayon, and I, Dr. Lionel Laborie, hosted a major international conference on early modern prophecies at Goldsmiths College, University of London. This was the largest event of its kind for many years, gathering nearly 100 speakers from 25 countries. The conference was generously sponsored by Goldsmiths, the Panacea Charitable Trust and seven academic publishers. It aimed to reassess the place and significance of prophecies and other kinds of prognostication, such as astrology and numerology, in early modern Europe. The result exceeded our expectations: panels covered every corner of the continent, including the Ottoman Empire and the Atlantic world.

The sheer diversity of papers selected established the early modern period as unprecedented fertile ground for production and circulation prophecies across national, linguistic and religious borders. Prophecies proliferated during the Reformation and the ensuing wars of religion, and may therefore be read as mirrors of their (turbulent) time. Prophets who emerged during these deep political and religious crises often introduced a dimension of hope and reached a wider audience thanks to the development of the printing press. They envisaged the future as an extension of the present circumstances, generally announcing disasters before the Second Coming of Christ.

Most of the cases presented, however, converged on the same
paradox: if early modern prophesies failed in their fulfilment, prophecy nevertheless survived as a genre throughout the early modern period, as older predictions were constantly readapted to suit newer conjunctures. This inevitably raised the question of the Enlightenment, which occupied a central place in the discussions for, unlike astrology, the publication of prophecies continued to grow in the 18th century and, as several speakers showed, they appealed to many Enlightened minds all the way up to the French revolution and beyond.

In light of such case studies, a consensus emerged for the reappraisal of prophecies and millenarian beliefs in the ‘Age of Reason’. The conference received a lot of enthusiasm, including on social networks. The organizers are now exploring the launch of a common platform for greater collaboration and public engagement. Future events and activities will be announced soon.

(Dr. Lionel Laborie, Goldsmiths College, University of London; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

A Medical-Astrological Compendium in Erlangen: Tractatus medico-astrologici et philosophiae naturalis cum aliis

You do not have to be connected with the IKGF for very long to realize that pre-modern people were extremely interested in astrology, astronomy and prognostics. The calendar described is an obvious example of this and is located in a collection of medical-astrological and philosophical works, which can be found in the university library at Erlangen-Nuremberg (Ms. 434 - Irm. 264, 13th–14th Ct.). Inter alia, this compendium contains copies of Albertus Magnus, Abu Masar and the Secretum Secretorum. This interest in astrology particularly expresses itself in the collection’s “framing”, starting with a calendar and ending with some kind of abstract on the basic principles of astrology.

The calendar itself is located on pages 2–7, so that there is one calendar page for each month. The dating of the days used roman digits, depicted in red, whereas the first of the month was symbolized with the calends-monogram.1 Between the roman feasts, the roman numbers were registered in decreasing order and began each time with that number, that was necessary to have the next feast on the roman one.2 The name of the month was written in red and returned by a maxim, which was constantly put in writing in the phrasing “Ianuarius dicit pota”. In addition, there are six slots, which shed light on astronomical queries: the figures of the new moon (litterae designates numerus aureus),3 the entrance of the hour of conjunction in Arabic digits (horae primalium), the signing of the days of the week (litterae feriarum), the duration of the day and night in Arabic digits (Quantitas diei artificialis respectively Quantitas noctis ipsius) – latter written in red – and the height of the solar altitude at noon in degrees and minutes (altitudo solis in midie/meridie), also in Arabic digits. Below the calendar there are two lines, that recite the duration of dim at the beginning and in the middle of the month in Arabic digits in hours and minutes (Quantitas crepusculi matutini seu et vespertini; in principi huius mensis bzw. in medio huius mensis). In the lines of the days, the feasts of the year are listed. It is conspicuous that no movable feast is registered – not even Easter or Pentecost, whereby the determination of the year is not definitely possible.4 Later, the great number of feasts for Mary is striking; in addition, several feasts are written in red letters, as well as the entrance of a new constellation.

Spatially, the calendar can be located – due to the genuine French dating of certain feasts2 – in France, so that the assumption of the Erlangen Findbuch, that the compendium could be a chronicle of a doctor studying in Montpellier, would be agreeable. The compendium is again one of several historical reference samples, which are also available in Erlangen and demonstrate the concern with questions regarding the future.
Fate, Freedom and Prognostication. Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe

(Dr. Hans-Christian Lehner, IKGF Research Fellow and Maximilian Nix, IKGF Research Assistant)

There are also the nones and ides of the particular month.

E.g.: KL, IIII, III, II, NON, VIII, VII, VI, V, IIII, III, II, IDUS, etc.

The counting of the letters takes place with the Meton-Cycle, whereas the letters of the alphabet are assigned a numeric value, starting with a = 1. One counts in steps of eight, starting with 1 at over 19, so that the rank repeats itself after 19 letters. Cf. Otto Neugebauer, The Exact Sciences in Antiquity, Rhode Island 1957, p. 6.

Limiting the possibilities based on the writing to the 13/14th century, there remain – based on the sunday letter A – the following possibilities: 1206, 1217, 1223, 1234, 1245, 1251, 1262, 1273, 1279, 1290, 1301, 1317, 1318, 1329, 1335, 1346, 1357, 1363, 1374, 1385, 1391. Cf. Hermann Grotefend, Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Hannover 1797, p. 134. It is therefore impossible that it is a calendar of the year 1296, like the kalendarium regine francie, which follows in the compendium. An assignment on the basis of the new moons is difficult, not least because the calendar occurred before the Gregorian Calendar and it is uncertain whether the new moons were quoted liturgically or observed, although one might expect the latter based on the entirety of the calendar.

Like e.g. Mariae Egypticae on the 9th of April or Margarete v. m. on 15 July.

Thoughts on the IKGF and the Committee on Social Thought

“I had the good fortune to spend my graduate student years at the University of Chicago’s Committee on Social Thought — one of the most fascinating bodies of teaching and scholarship throughout higher education. The interdisciplinary focus and engagement with diverse forms of academic research and writing there was intoxicating, and its influence has remained with me ever since. For many years, I have sought to replicate that intellectual excitement, and have occasionally come close, at least for brief periods of time. It was not until I came to the IKGF, though, that I experienced the same kind of intellectual force and true interdisciplinary drive of those Chicago years. The IKGF’s combination of research fellows from all over the world and broad humanistic questions — prediction, fate, and future are surely that — provide the same kind of dynamic that I experienced at the Committee on Social Thought many years ago. The IKGF’s particular blend of public lectures, colloquium discussions, workshops, conferences, and reading sessions strikes precisely the right balance needed to create precision research addressing “big” questions in the humanities that are of relevance both to academics and the larger intellectual world.”

Prof. Dr. Robert André LaFleur
(Beloit College, Wisconsin; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

Comment

Prof. Dr. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Université de Lausanne; research stay: October 2014 – December 2014; research topic: Science, Divination and Prophecy at the Palatinal Court of the Late Middle Ages

Prof. Dr. Marta Hanson, Institute for the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University (USA); research stay: June – July 2014; research topic: Understanding is Within One’s Grasp (lixian zai wo 適然 在握): Hand Mnemonics, Prognostication, and Chinese Arts of Memory

Prof. Dr. Alexander Fidora, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; research stay: March 2014 – July 2014; research topic: Mantic Arts in the Middle Ages: Aristotelian Pseudoscience or non-Aristotelian Science

Prof. Dr. Reinhard Emmerich, Institut für Sinologie und Ostasienkunde, Universität Münster; research stay: October 2014 – March 2015; research topic: A Call to Self-Determination: The Anti-Guoyu (Fei Guoyu 非國語) of Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) – Translation and Commentary

Prof. Dr. Ulrich Lau, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg; research stay: November 2014 – April 2015; research topic: The Relationship between Prognostication and Law as Reflected in Mantic and Legal Manuscripts from the Qin Dynasty

Prof. Dr. Uta Kleine, Historisches Institut, Fernuniversität Hagen; research stay: September 2014 – June 2015; research topic: Future between this Life and the Afterlife: Time-lying and Forms of Visualization of Dream visions in the Earlier Middle Ages (8.-12. Century)

Prof. Dr. Robert André LaFleur
(Beloit College, Wisconsin; IKGF Visiting Fellow)
Prof. Dr. Gian Luca Potestà, Università Cattolica Milano; research stay: July 2014 – September 2014; research topic: Astrology and Prophecy – Genesis and Purposes of the Un-edited Liber Horoscopus and of its Anonymus Commentary (First Decade 14th Century)

Dr. Josefina Rodriguez Arribas, The Warburg Institute, University of London; research stay: October 2014 – March 2015; research topic: Anticipating Future in Medieval Thought: Geomancy Among Jews

Dr. Petra Schmidl, Cluster of Excellence “The Formation of Normative Orders”, Universität Frankfurt/Main; research stay: October 2014 – March 2015; research topic: The Sultan and the Stars – The ‘Kitab al-Tabsira fi ilm al-nujum’ of al-Ahraf Umar (Yemen, d. 1296)

Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, Institut für Philosophie, Freie Universität Berlin; research stay: September 2014 – October 2014; research topic: Prophecy and Politics in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period

Prof. Dr. Georges Tamer, Lehrstuhl für Orientalische Philologie und Islamwissenschaft, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg; research stay: October 2014 – March 2015; research topic: Concepts of Time and Destiny in the Koran; Prophecy, Politics and Astrology in a Pseudo-platonic Text of the 10th Century CE

Dr. Lorenza Tromboni, Società Internazionale per lo Studio de Medioevo Latino (SISMEI); research stay: July 2014 – December 2014; research topic: Evolution of an European Myth between the Middle Ages and the Modern Ages: The Legend of the Second Charlemagne

Prof. Dr. Jürgen van Oorschot, Lehrstuhl für Altes Testament II, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg; research stay: October 2014 – March 2015; research topic: Ancient Israel’s Prophecy and Prophetic Literature in Early Judaism

Dr. Julia Eva Wannenmacher, Institut für Geschichte, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; research stay: November 2014 – April 2015; research topic: Super-Hieremiam – Prophecy and Politics in the 13th Century

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‘Käte Hamburger Center (KHC) – Advanced Study in the Humanities’ is the official name of the ten ‘International Consortia for Research in the Humanities’ that are funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research. We are therefore sometimes referring to the ‘IKGF’ (Internationales Kolleg für Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung) as KHC in our publications.

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OUTLOOK

The consortium is currently preparing for its second funding phase and has started to schedule larger conferences and workshops. Besides the interest in an in-depth and culturally specified understanding of astrolabes, current visiting fellows are discussing vividly their research in the fields of prophecy and Early Chinese law. This has led to the formation of a small group of researchers for discussions centered on prophecy. In addition, in summer 2015, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research will launch a conference in which every Käte Hamburger Center in Germany will participate.

With visiting fellows, Dr. Josefina Rodríguez Arribas and Dr. Petra Schmidl, as well as Dr. Flora Vafea (Munic), three scholars assembled in autumn at the consortium with significant expertise in the relevancy and concrete application of the astrolabe. Together, they offered two seminars on the topic, on October 15, 2014, and November 27, 2014, the latter of which was held onsite in cooperation with the Germanic National Museum, Nuremberg.

THE NEXT fate

In the next issue of fate, we will report on:

• a conference entitled “Optimism and Scepticism regarding Progress in Late 19th-Century and Republican China II” (Prof. Thomas Fröhlich), October 2014
• a joint conference together with the “Fundacion de San Millán de la Cogolla” on the topic “On the Road in the Name of Religion II. Ways and Destination in Comparative Perspective – Medieval Europe and Asia” (Prof. Klaus Herbers), November 2014
• a workshop on “Tibetan Divination” (Prof. Donatella Rossi), December 2014
• a workshop on “Jewish Divination” (Dr. Josefina Rodríguez Arribas), March 2015
• a workshop on “Fate, Freedom and Prediction: Reflections on Comparative Method in Early China and the Ancient Mediterranean” (Prof. Lisa Rapahals / Prof. Michael Lackner), May 2015