



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)** 

# Lots, the Future and God's Will

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INTERNATIONAL CONSORTIUM for Research in the Humanities





INTERNATIONALES KOLLEG für Geisteswissenschaftliche Forschung

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#### - 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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#### Dear Readers.

It is with great joy that we present to you the sixteenth issue of our newsletter fate that covers the IKGF's activities during the summer term 2018. In the editorial, IKGF Deputy Director Professor Klaus Herbers addresses the question of whether decision-making by lots was considered an acceptable practice during the European Middle Ages. If you have not yet heard about the formation of the International Society for the Critical Study of Divination e.V., the focus article that informs about its establishment, the academic journal, and book series may offer exciting news.

Like all previous issues, this one contains also summaries of talks presented by our guests, visiting fellows, and staff during the IKGF Lecture Series. This section is followed by a short report on a workshop that focused on medieval collections of laws as sources for mantic practices. At the end, we also present to you a letter that was signed by more than 60 renowned scholars in support of an initiative to establish the Consortium as a permanent institution of the Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nürnberg.

Last but not least, we hope that you enjoy reading about our current activities and look forward to receiving your feedback.

> Dr. Rolf Scheuermann (Research Coordinator)

Title page: Dosso Dossi: Allegoria della Fortuna (ca.1536) (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles)

## Lots, the Future and God's Will



Should we allocate research funding in the future by drawing lots? How would the IKGF cope with this? Drawing lots as a means of decision-making has a long tradition, one that is still alive today. The most recent pope of the Coptic Church was selected by lot. As Michael Grünbart (University of Münster) explained during a recent workshop (https:// www.ikgf.uni-erlangen.de/events/eventhistory/workshops/2019/2019-09-Lot-and-Randomization.shtml), three names were placed in an urn and a young boy had to draw the decisive slip of paper. During the discussion of the workshop, it became apparent how similar the issues related to the drawing of lots are if we compare East Asia with Western Europe. Decision-making and pursuing happiness by lot? Even today, some lotteries are still called "Glückshafen" (pot of luck), as Matthias Heiduk pointed out during the same workshop.

Still, decision-making by lot, or sortes, was a contested practice in the Latin West during

the end of the ancient period. Popes during the 9<sup>th</sup> century condemned such procedures in the form in which they were practiced, for example, in Bretagne: "This is why we decide that the drawing of lots, by which you make all of your judicial decisions, is no different from what the fathers condemned as divination and magic." (Unde ad illorum similitudinem sortes, quibus vos cuncti in vestris discriminatis iudiciis nichil aliud quam quod illi patres dampnarunt, divinationes et maleficium esse decernimus.)1

On the other hand, there were, of course, arguments in favor of the drawing of lots: the Bible provided numerous examples. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), one of the most original scholars of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, invoked the most important passages in his Summa Theologiae:

IIª-IIae q. 95 a. 8 arg. 2 Praeterea, ea quae a sanctis in Scripturis observata leguntur non videntur esse illicita. Sed sancti viri, tam in veteri quam in novo testamento, inveniuntur sortibus usi esse. Legitur enim Iosue VII, quod losue, ex praecepto domini, iudicio sortium punivit Achar, qui de anathemate surripuerat. Saul etiam sorte deprehendit filium suum Ionatham mel comedisse, ut habetur I Reg. XIV. Ionas etiam, a facie domini fugiens, sorte deprehensus, est in mare deiectus, ut legitur Ionae I. Zacharias etiam sorte exiit ut incensum poneret, ut legitur Luc. I. Matthias etiam est sorte ab apostolis in apostolatum electus, ut legitur Act. I. Ergo videtur quod divinatio sortium non sit illicita.

Objection 2. There is, seemingly, nothing unlawful in the observances which the Scriptures relate as being practiced by holy men. Now, both in the Old and in the New Testament, we find holy men practicing the casting of lots. For it is related (Joshua 7:14, sqq.) that Josue, at the Lord's command, pronounced sentence by lot on Achan who had stolen the anathema. Again, Saul, by drawing lots, found that his son Jonathan had eaten honey (1 Samuel 14:58, sqq.): Jonas, when fleeing from the face of the Lord, was discovered and thrown into the sea (Jonah 1:7, sqq.): Zacharias was chosen by lot to offer incense (Luke 1:9): and the apostles by drawing lots elected Matthias to the apostleship (Acts 1:26). Therefore it would seem that divination by lots is not unlawful.

3

<sup>1</sup> Klaus Herbers and Veronika Unger, eds., Papstbriefe des 9. Jahrhunderts (Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 51, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2018),

What Thomas deduced from these examples seemed clear enough: "Therefore it would seem that divination by lots is not unlawful." (Ergo videtur quod divinatio sortium non sit illicita.)

In late Antiquity, Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) had already acknowledged in his *Confessions* how the Bible could offer advice, especially in cases of doubt or ambiguity. Accordingly, his conversion to Christianity is described in the following manner:

"Eagerly then I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I laid the volume of the Apostle when I arose thence. I seized, opened, and in silence read that section on which my eyes first fell: Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, in concupiscence. No further would I read; nor needed I to: for instantly, at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away."<sup>2</sup>

However, to draw lots remained an ambiguous procedure in the Middle Ages. Despite the quotations from the Bible or Augustine, the Christian practices continued to a certain degree the Roman *Sortes Virgilianae*, which were officially disallowed or, at least, deemed suspicious. We have to take these ambiguities into consideration. Numerous books, literary traditions, and practices indicate that both aspects – condoning and prohibiting lots – could actually coexist.

If we consider the different legal sentences during the Middle Ages (which are at our disposal in our database of medieval legislative texts: http://www.ikgf.uni-erlangen.de/publications/databases/), we can find many cases in which lots were either permitted or not. The practice of casting lots was criticized by the ecclesiastical authorities and, above all, in papal *Responsa*, canonical collections, and the decisions of Councils as a pagan tradition that failed to respect the will of Almighty God as the only one knowing the future. On the other hand, stressing the possibility of wanting to know God's will was one way to Christianize. The *Sortes Sanctorum*, a collection of oracles, integrated lots into a liturgical framework by placing them onto an altar or combining them with orations, *missae* and benedictions.

Hence, not only did Thomas Aquinas eventually adopt a cautiously positive view of drawing lots, but even the classical church law, as it has been transmitted to us by Gratian since ca. 1140, provides a less critical evaluation when it points out that lots may help to destroy human doubts: Lots are nothing evil, they instead indicate the divine will against human doubt. (Sors non est aliquid mali, sed res in humana dubietate diuinam indicans uoluntantem.) (Friedberg 1020).

The divine will – do we find here the kind of *Zukunftsschau* that we have studied comparatively in the West and East repeatedly and continuously at the IKGF by using the word "divination?" If that were the case, the drawing of lots would appear to be one means of exploring this will.

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

2 The Confessions of S. Augustine, rev. translation by E. B. Pusey (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1838), 153–54.
3 Emil (Aemilius) Friedberg, ed., Corpus Iuris Canonici, I: Decretum magistri Gratiani (Leipzig, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1879; ND Graz, 1955) col. 1029.

FOCUS

# International Society for the Critical Study of Divination, International Journal and Book Series

International Society for the Critical Study of Divination

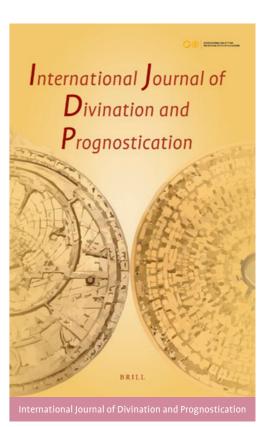
Since the founding of the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities "Fate, Freedom, and Prognostication" in 2009, it has hosted 155 international visiting scholars by mid-2019. Over these years, it became clear that an organization was needed that could serve "as a sustainable platform for scientific exchange in our field of research," as Michael Lackner, president of the society, pointed out. This is why the International Society for the Critical Study of Divination e.V. was established in 2016. Starting with 33 founding members, it has grown steadily over the past year, so that it now encompasses more than 90 registered members. According to Professor Lackner, the society "is

conceived as a network for scholars doing research on the wide range of topics connected with arts and techniques connected with the desire to cope with the future. Divination, however, can also be applied to the search for 'hidden' phenomena in the past." Due to the connection between both the Society and the Consortium, with its considerable international outreach, there are various opportunities for scientific exchange. The Consortium organizes workshops and conferences on a regular basis, and, Lackner adds, "several of our visiting scholars have been encouraged to coordinate workshops in their special field, which makes our network ever more extensive."

## An International Journal and a Book Series

The immediate focus of the Society is the publication of the International Journal of Divination and Prognostication as well as the book series Prognostication in History which have both been launched with Brill publishers in 2019. Prognostication, in all of its forms, is an extremely diverse anthropological phenomenon, which so far has been understudied in the Humanities. The journal and book series approach the topic from a cross-cultural, multidisciplinary perspective, aiming both to broaden specific knowledge and to enhance critical reflection. While the main focus is on Asia and Europe, all topics related to divination and prognostication in the past and present are welcome. The research fields of the Society's members mirror the composition of our Consortium: they include history, philology, social anthropology, religious studies, art history, history of science, sociology, and political science. Due to the disciplinary background of its "founding fathers," there is a certain emphasis on Sinology and European Medieval and Early Modern Studies but, over the years, several other areas have been added to the research field of the Consortium by the many visiting fellows who have stayed at Erlangen. Indeed, scholarly work that pursues new topics and disciplines is highly encouraged. Lackner, for example, points out that the Society "would highly benefit from the participation of psychology," indicating a lack of scholars from that field in the past.

For the selection and review of articles and book proposals, Lackner points out, "both the Journal and the book series rely on our network of visiting scholars, but both are equally open to contributions by specialists in the fields that have not yet been 'screened' by the Consortium." Needless to say, the Journal will adopt a double-blind peer review process to meet international standards and guarantee the highest academic quality. The first issue of the journal has already been published. The editors of the journal are Michael Lackner and Charles Burnett (Warburg Institute), while the Managing Editor



is Michael Lüdke (Erlangen University). The Editorial Board consists of various scholars whose names can be found on our website. The content of the first issue includes five articles, by Darrel Rutkin, Anne Schmiedl, László Sándor Chardonnens, Joanna Komorowska, Jeffrey

Kotyk, respectively, and a book review by Jeffrey Kotyk. The following issue of the journal is scheduled for publication in the spring of 2020.

The first titles of the book series have also been published this year. The series editors are Michael Lackner, Klaus Herbers (FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg), Chia-Feng Chang (National Taiwan University) and Alexander Fidora (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona). The first title is Divining with Achi and Tārā: Comparative Remarks on Tibetan Dice and Mālā Divination; Tools, Poetry, Structures, and Ritual Dimensions by Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (September 2019). The second title, Glimpses of Tibetan Divination. Past and Present, edited by Petra Maurer, Donatella Rossi and Rolf Scheuermann, appeared in November 2019. Chinese Character Manipulation in Literature and Divination by Anne Kathrin Schmiedl will be the third title, and is due to appear in 2020.

The International Society for the Critical Study of Divination welcomes everyone interested in the critical study of fate, freedom and prognostication, in all of its forms and techniques, to become a member of the society. The membership fee is 50,00€ and supports the publication of the journal. Members will receive a free print copy or free electronic access to the journal.

#### The Society at a glance

Foundation date: July 2016
President: Michael Lackner
Vice President: Chia-Feng Chang
Treasurer: Stefano Rapisarda (UNICT)
Secretary: Zhao Lu (NYU Shanghai)
Members (to date): 98
Website: www.iscsd.de

If you wish to keep in touch with our activities, please follow us on our homepage or social media accounts.

Leonie Sterzel

### LECTURE SERIES SS 2018

Overview of the lectures in the summer semester 2018

10.04.2018: How Did Hellenistic Astrology end up in Medieval China? Horoscopy in Tang China Jeffrey Kotyk (Chinese Studies, Leiden University; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

24.04.2018: How to Forestall Misfortune: Religious and Political Strategies in Early Medieval Italy Carola Föller (Medieval History, Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

08.05.2018: A Pope, a Saint, and a Forerunner of the Antichrist: Eschatological Interpretations of Contemporary Events advanced by the Roman Curia under Gregory IX

Wendan Li (Medieval History, Free University of Berlin)

15.05.2018: Design your Own Paradises: Millenarianism in the Gelug School of Tibetan Buddhism Olaf Czaja (Tibetology)

29.05.2018: The Course of History, Eschatology, and Transcendence in Medieval Latin Christianity Klaus Herbers (Medieval History, Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg; IKGF Deputy Director)

05.06.2018: SPECIAL LECTURE: Political Counselling in the Ancient Near East; or, On Prognostication as Sense and Nonsense Stefan Maul (Assyriology, Heidelberg University)

12.06.2018: Siting Dreams: Incubation Practice in Late Ming China Brigid Vance (East Asian History, Lawrence University; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

19.06.2018: Prophetic Body Signs in Early Modern Romance Literature
Folke Gernert (Romance Studies, Trier University)

26.06.2018: Fate and Freedom in the Postsocialist Chinese Popular Imaginary

**Kwok-kan Tam** (Comparative Literature and Culture, Hang Seng Management College, Hong Kong; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

03.07.2018: Sheltered in the Heavenly Jerusalem: Late Medieval Concepts of Eschatology within the Teutonic Order Susanne Ehrich (Medieval Literature, University of Regensburg)

10.07.2018: On the Relationship between Learned Magic and Divination: Scrutinizing the Leipzig Magica Collection Bernd-Christian Otto (Study of Religions, Max Weber Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies, University of Erfurt)

### 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 2018 summarize their contributions. The lectures of the winter semester 2018/19 will be part of the next issue of *fate*.

### LECTURE SERIES SS 2018

# How Did Hellenistic Astrology end up in Medieval China? Horoscopy in Tang China

Jeffrey Kotyk (Chinese Studies, Leiden University; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

The talk established a chronology for the first substantial introduction of foreign astrology into China on the part of Persians and Buddhists in the eighth and ninth centuries. I argued that astrology from Iran and the Hellenistic world played a significant, albeit hitherto largely unrecognized role in the development of Buddhism during the Tang dynasty, which subsequently deeply influenced the religious traditions across East Asia for several centuries. This established a foundation for the later development of horoscopy in China between the ninth and sixteenth centuries. In particular, we note the introduction of Arab astrology, based primarily on the work of Claudius Ptolemy, during the fourteenth century.

I pointed out that, although Indian astrology was made available in China from the fourth to seventh centuries, it was never widely implemented in China during this period, for it was only in the eighth century, with the introduction of Mantray na or Esoteric Buddhism, that Chinese Buddhists developed a pressing need to observe astrology. This subsequently sparked popular interest in foreign astrology among both the Buddhist and non-Buddhist communities in China, a development that fostered the simultaneous development of astral magic comprised of elements from multiple sources, including some that dated back to the Greco-Egyptian and Near Eastern traditions. Around the turn of the ninth century, the translation of astrological materials shifted from Indian to Iranian sources as a result of Persian astronomers operating at the court. The popularity of astrology additionally facilitated the proliferation of uniquely Chinese astral deities in Chinese Buddhism, most notably Tejaprabh Buddha and the seven stars of the Big Dipper. This understudied interaction that resulted from the deep interest in astrology marks a significant transmission of cultural and religious knowledge through multiple civilizations.





The role of astrology, as a conduit through which culture and knowledge were transmitted from West to East during the Medieval period, is only now beginning to be understood. It is through documenting the development of astrology in East Asia that we can shed light on the largely unstudied currents of Eurasian cultural exchange which had far-reaching influences in the secular and religious fields.

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## How to Forestall Misfortune: Religious and Political Strategies in Early Medieval Italy

Carola Föller (Medieval History, Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

To forestall misfortune was an essential endeavor in the fragile worlds of premodern times and is, therefore, a meaningful field of research. Early medieval Italy, in particular, was affected by long-term wars, natural disasters, and epidemics after the end of the western Roman Empire. The lecture focused on strategies of coping with the future by analyzing two examples from early medieval Italy. I was especially interested in the concrete approaches, as well as the figurative patterns that were used. What kind of strategies were pursued? And what kind of representations were used?

The first example was Pope Gregory the Great's reaction to the plague at the end of the sixth century; a time characterized by severe political crises and natural disasters. After his predecessor, Pope Pelagius II, died of the plague, one of the first actions that Pope Gregory performed was to organize a huge procession, which boasted several thousand participants, who – after three days of penance – filled the city of Rome, divided into seven processional groups. The sermon delivered by the pope to initiate the procession provides an insight into the conception of the procession, the strategies Gregory pursued, and the state in which he imagined the world to be. Gregory embedded the procession within a framework of apocalyptic allusions and tried to protect the participants from both the earthly threat of the plague and the last judgment of doomsday.

The second example concerned the donation by Leo, an otherwise unknown bishop, to the church of Saint Mary of Falerii, presumably during a period of relative political calm in the eighth century. When Bishop Leo made his donation, he decided to carve the charter in marble and install it in the church, so that it would be eternally visible to the public. The text of the inscription, in addition to indicating the precise amount of the donation, is, in large part, dedicated to specifying sanctions. In particular, it stipulates that all people who violate the terms of the donation shall be anathematized. Instead of apocalyptic scenarios, Leo relied on the system of juridical sanctions of the church, which was also closely connected to

heavenly punishments. Thus, in times of legal uncertainty in the post-imperial world, he resorted to the legal framework of the church and the institution of the bishopric.

The close connection between the earthly, political sphere, and the spiritual, religious sphere is characteristic of early medieval Western Europe. Moreover, in both Gregory and Leo's case, the punishment or sanction is rendered to the individual sinner rather than to the community as a whole. Aside from the responsibility assigned to the individual, the success of the procession and the donation depended on the involvement of the community. As those receiving punishment, the community had to enact the ritual and demonstrate its compliance with the law. However, a striking difference between these two cases can be found in terms of their respective conception of the future: in Gregory's view, the actual strategies would only be useful for the near future, whereas Leo envisions eternity until the end of times.





## A Pope, a Saint, and a Forerunner of the Antichrist: Eschatological Interpretations of Contemporary Events advanced by the Roman Curia under Gregory IX

Wendan Li (Medieval History, Free University of Berlin)

The great propagandistic quarrel between the Roman Church and Emperor Frederick II after Frederick's excommunication in 1239 is one of the classic cases of the use of apocalyptic eschatology in medieval politics. However, the earlier involvement of the papal Curia with eschatological concepts and imagery has been overlooked, mainly because of a lack of coherent sources. This earlier period was less influential but still instrumental in shaping the subsequent growth of apocalyptic discourses.

The talk aimed to shed light on apocalyptic discourses in the Roman Curia since 1227—the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory IX—by examining three apocalyptic figures in the curial sources: a Pope (Gregory IX), a Saint (Francis of Assisi) and a Forerunner of the Antichrist (Frederick II). The talk focused on two questions: 1) What were the links between the eschatological interpretations of contemporary events advanced by the curial circle of Pope Gregory IX?; and 2) How did this conviction affect the papacy's self-understanding and course of action?

Different causes lay behind the growing prominence of apocalyptic visions in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in the Roman Curia: assumptions of widespread heresy, the threat posed to the Papal States by Emperor Frederick II, a desire for reform within the Roman Church and enthusiasm for the crusade. The talk suggested that an eschatological understanding of contemporary events in the Roman Curia could be understood as an attempt to make sense of the

historical changes, to determine the papacy's own position, and to move others to a specific course of action. In this way, Pope Gregory IX justified the excommunication of Emperor Frederick II and the canonization of the saints of the mendicant orders using apocalyptic discourses and prophesied the victory of the Roman Church against the forerunner of the Antichrist.



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## Design Your Own Paradises: Millenarianism in the Gelug School of Tibetan Buddhism

Olaf Czaja (Tibetology)

Among others, the Tibetan religion has also dealt with the question of how the present world era will come to an end and how a new one will begin. Central to this question was the descent of the future Buddha Maitreya. Maitreya played a vital role in all Tibetan schools, but it seems that he took center stage

for the followers of the Gelug school to which the Dalai Lama belongs. This is manifested in particular liturgical and meditative forms of worship, but also processions and giant *thangkas* and statues showing the future Buddha. It is also revealed in monasteries and political-administrative institutions that are dedicated to and named after Maitreya's heavenly abode. It is evident that the Maitreya worship was not just about future expectations, but equally about shaping the here and now. Moreover, by examining paintings used in the cult of





Maitreya, one can show that his heaven developed into a fully-fledged Buddhist paradise. This was particularly the case for Gelug adherents.

The development can be linked to another paradise presided over by Buddha Simhanada, an embodiment of Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Gelug school. This paradise was specifically designed for Gelug monks and laypeople. At the beginning, its worship was limited to certain monks and monasteries, but it became more popular from the eighteenth century onward. The worship of both Buddha Maitreya and Buddha Simhanada was essential for the religious identity of the Gelug tradition and was formed by the school's religious and political needs. ikgf.fau.de > Publications > Lectures > Listen online...

Different concepts were discussed and underwent historical changes. The me-

dieval doctrine of successive empires could be phrased in various ways, and the

apocalypse could be outlined differently according to time. 'Eschatology,' the

second keyword of this talk, describes the last events of the historical process

that is guided by God. 'Transcendence,' in turn, defines things beyond our con-

crete world. After introducing these three keywords and discussing the central

points of biblical scripture concerning eschatology and transcendence, the pre-

sentation moved on to introduce several conceptions of historical change. In a

further step, various practical consequences emerging from these conceptions

Siting Dreams: Incubation Practice in Late Ming China

Brigid Vance (East Asian History, Lawrence University; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

What is the relationship between place and dreams? Through legend, poetry, travel writings, gazetteer publications, and other writings, Nine Carp Lake (Jiu li hu 九鯉湖) in Fujian province was associated with the divinity of the socalled Nine Immortals. Nine Carp Lake is an established dream incubation site, marked textually since the ninth century. According to the Ming Comprehensive Gazetteer, travelers and locals alike prayed to these immortals for dreams and "without exception, they have a numinous experience." The place was imbued with divinatory power by textual association. Legend and place were specifically

When the signs of Judgement become

evident, when concepts change, their influence

does not spare practices. Although the biblical

I argue that Nine Carp Lake brought various actors together who rendered dreams accessible to others. Immortals, dreamers, writers, and readers anchored dreams to this place, constructing a landscape of words and dreamed associations, and anticipating future visitors who continued the dream prayer practice in dreaming and in writing. In my research, I focus on three types of interactions, all grounded in Nine Carp Lake: 1) interactions between humans and immortals or spirits; 2) interactions between dreamers and late Ming

To this end, I examine several Ming gazetteers, poems by Buddhist monks and literati, the travel writings of Xu Xiake 徐霞客, dream narratives examples from the largest extant Ming dream encyclopedia, and the recorded dream of Tang Yin 唐寅, which was authored by his close friend and contemporary Zhu Yunming 祝允明. In these sources, we see the intersection of geographical, social, sacred, and dreamed space. Nine Carp Lake was a site for dreamers,

intertwined: individuals constructed a landscape of words and dreamed associations, anticipating future visitors who continued the dream prayer practice. Dreams became social through the creative and collective construction of a place where dreams from the immortals were sought. Poets, gazetteer compilers, examination candidates, travel writers, and literati "built" Nine Carp Lake with words, referencing the remaining presence of immortals, dreamseeking visitors, and the natural beauty of the location. The texts perpetuated

basis seems to be entirely fixed, Medieval Christian notions of the end of times

and the course of history exhibit great diversity and dynamism.

linked to dreams and dream divination.

readers; and 3) interactions between dreamers and writers.

writers, readers, and immortals.

It was through Nine Carp Lake that the individual and the collective





the legend of the immortals and connected them to both the place and dreams. In these sources, dreams were transformed from liminal experiences into permanently textualized narratives. These sources offer insights into who visited the temple to pray for dreams, revealing the social aspects of dreamed life, mantic belief, and religious practice.

As Robert Shields wrote, "sites are never simply locations. Rather they are sites for someone, and of something." Dreams are not placeless. By siting dreams at Nine Carp Lake, I establish the fundamental importance of geography in the generation of dream knowledge, using historical examples of the ways in which dream divination was both practiced and understood.

## The Course of History, Eschatology, and Transcendence in **Medieval Latin Christianity**

were analyzed.

Klaus Herbers (Medieval History, Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg; **IKGF** Deputy Director)

The end of times always possessed a twofold meaning: one related to general time and the other to one's own lifetime. Both senses were (and are) combined in a Christian worldview. The expression 'end of times' usually refers to the end of earthly time, as heavenly time is infinite and therefore unstructured. The course of history was not necessarily an open process.



The concept of history toward a telos, a goal, has shaped the Western concepts of history, even if distinctions besides the four and six eras can be found during the Medieval period. Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202), for example, distinguished the era of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Through Joachim, we can see how apocalypse and its commentaries rivaled the traditional interpretations of the doctrine of eras from the Old Testament. Reflections about the end of the world and the course of history could be discussed using different sections of the Bible. The dynamic nature of these concepts during the Middle Ages was related to the various texts that could be used as points of reference. Four examples were presented: Commentaries on the Book of Revelation, historiographical texts, prophecies and, lastly, visions of the afterlife.

## **Prophetic Body Signs in Early Modern Romance Literature**

Folke Gernert (Romance Studies, Trier University)

The signatures inscribed on the surface of the human body as well as its very form and shape are believed not only to provide information about an individual's character and moral qualities but allegedly also permit us to predict the future. In medieval and early modern Romance literature, we find many characters who act as physiognomists in the fictional world, interpreting the bodies of the other characters. Research projects concerned with the fictionalization of physiognomic lore as a practice of divination need to analyze two pertinent questions: firstly, the different forms in which this kind of knowledge was divulged and, secondly, the scientific legitimacy and epistemological status of physiognomics and related practices. Literary texts like the *Book of Good Love*, the *Celestina* or *Don Quixote* allow us to track the different stages of the reception of medieval authors like Michael Scott. Until recently, little attention has been paid to the way in which physiognomic lore confers verisimilitude on these narratives and makes the outward appearances of the figures more meaningful.

Other authors ridicule those who believe in soothsaying. Rabelais, for example, mocks metoposcopy by alluding to the 'horns' on the forehead as a visible sign of cuckoldry. Another strategy used to denigrate the occult sciences consists of alluding to the practitioners themselves, which is why the figure of the bawd (Delicado's Lozana or Aretino's comare) is often depicted as an expert in occultism. In La Gitanilla, Cervantes sharply distinguishes between two different semiotic practices – reading the palm of the hand (palmistry) and the forehead (metoposcopy) – by stressing how their scientific prestige diverged. As this exemplary novel shows, metoposcopy was still considered a serious branch of knowledge, from which marginalized women were excluded.





The case of Cervantes clearly illustrates how authors discuss the epistemological status of divinatory practices in their literary texts. The very essence of divination and soothsaying, i.e., their putatively forward-looking character, make them a highly intriguing tool for writers who can exploit the latent uncertainty of all kinds of prognostication and thus play with the expectations of their readers.

popular culture, folk beliefs have returned and generated fresh interest. In film, TV drama and online novels, there are themes that deal with how the concept of fate affects people's behavior, even those who have been educated in Marxism and hold advanced university degrees, such as MBAs.

In the entertainment industry, fate works as one of the most popular recurrent themes. Baidu, which is China's Google, hosts hundreds of sites related to fate prediction. Different religious sects, with their different methods and ways of prognostication, can be found on these sites, which provide explanations



about how divination works and how divination methods have developed over China's long history. Astrology, palm reading, face reading, and numerology are some of the most popular methods. Fortune-telling by means of temple oracles has been digitized for easy access. Because of the Internet, traditional Chinese divination practices that had been preserved in Hong Kong and Taiwan have been reintroduced into China and permeate the realm of popular belief.

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In the fiction of Yu Hua, a noted short story writer, there are several works that are entitled "Predestination" or "Destiny" that give full account of strange happenings in life that can only be explained by means of predestiny. In films made in the past 30 years, "fate" and predestination are some of the most popular themes. Jia Zhangke's film "A Touch of Sin" (Chinese title: Predestination (Tian zhuding 天注定)) recounts the lives of four people who have either murdered others or committed suicide. The killers and the victims seem to have choices in life, but actually what they do can only be explained as outcomes of predestiny.

Apart from popular belief, what is more illuminating is the fact that the concept of fate has featured in government-sponsored TV dramas, such as Ming Yun (Destiny) and Guojia Ming Yun (The Destiny of the Nation). Both of these dramas promote the concept of fate, but integrate it into a new discourse that claims that fate can be changed and mastered under the leadership of the CCP. Some of the concepts and visual scenes in these TV dramas evoke images of traditional beliefs in astrology and cosmic energy (qi), but they are now understood in terms of nuclear power and energy.

It should be noted that the concepts of fate and destiny have been evoked in today's China and thus open up new vistas for research on how traditions are reinvented in the postsocialist discourse.

# Fate and Freedom in the Postsocialist Chinese Popular Imaginary

Kwok-kan Tam (Comparative Literature and Culture, University of Hong Kong; IKGF Visiting Fellow)

Socialism in China represents a break from traditional culture and a turn toward science and materialism, which regard concepts of fate as false beliefs and "superstition." However, since the 1980s, when China began to open up

to the West and adopt a market economy, the ideological control on culture has relaxed. Ancient texts on philosophy and religion have been republished and made available for circulation. Interest in traditional Chinese belief has revived. Together with the renewed interest in ancient philosophy and wisdom, the belief in fate has also enjoyed immense popularity. Because of the rise of

# Sheltered in the Heavenly Jerusalem: Late Medieval Conceptions of Eschatology within the Teutonic Order

Susanne Ehrich (Medieval Literature, University of Regensburg)

In the heyday of the eschatological interpretations of history at the turn of the thirteenth century, interpretative patterns of the end times formed a central basis of legitimacy for the Teutonic Order in the self-understanding as a knightly order, right from

the Order's beginnings. Using various sources from the context of the Order, the lecture showed how eschatological patterns were used by the Teutonic Order to justify its existence from its founding up through the fifteenth century. Already in the prologue to its statutes, the knightly order justified itself in the context of salvation history with an eschatological thrust, portraying itself as the knighthood, prophesied by John in Revelations, which would make way for the

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perfection of the world—and thereby, in the end, eternal peace in Heavenly Jerusalem—through battling against the heathen. This belief was accompanied by a pronounced awareness of



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exclusivity, expressed not only in the eschatological interpretation but also in the consciousness of their functioning as protectors of Christendom in a supratemporal way, necessary since the dawn of creation.

This kind of presentation, described by Stefan Kwiatkowski as a *devotio antiqua*, had two aspects: it offered a kind of legitimacy spanning the whole of salvation history, but was sufficiently open-ended to be effective in any historical situation, and often in times of distress. In the illuminated manuscripts of Heinrich von Hesler's "Apocalypse" (produced in the fourteenth century), we thus find an order-specific eschatology that claims for itself lofty role models (such as Enoch and Elias) or decisive turning points in narratives of the end times, but without clearly concretizing these in a historical way.

In contrast, the "Revelation" of Elisabeth von Marienwerder (1410–13) makes use of eschatological attributions, already hinted at in the Order's statutes and reinforced in the illuminated "Apocalypse," which were meant to strengthen the *esprit de corps* of the Teutonic Order after the Battle of Tannenberg (1410). Ulrich, a brother of the Order, also links into the eschatological exclusivity of the Teutonic Order in his Latin tractate from the 1430s (extant in Codex Vat.



Ottobon. lat. 528), in which he depicts the brotherhood as an earthly incarnation of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The later adaptation of this text into a Medieval German vernacular shows the enduring popularity of this kind of theological argumentation as a means of

justifying the Order. Being designed as a text to be read aloud, the manuscript in the vernacular, dating from the fifteenth century and now housed in the central archives of the Teutonic Order (Hs. 787), provides testimony to the fact that an awareness of their exclusivity in terms of salvation history served the brothers of the Order as a kind of *cibus spiritualis* for many years, and could be digested, as it were, bit by bit.

# On the Relationship between Learned Magic and Divination: Scrutinizing the Leipzig Magica Collection

Bernd-Christian Otto (Study of Religions, Max Weber Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies, University of Erfurt)

The university library of Leipzig hosts one of the most extensive and complete early modern collections of hand-written manuscripts about 'learned magic' in continental Europe. The collection was sold in 1710 for an extraordinary price, and both the selling catalog from 1710 (entitled 'catalogus rariorum manuscriptorum') as well as 134 (out of the 140) manuscripts have survived in the Leipzig university library. The collection is unique in several ways: with only five losses and seven amendments – the collection today comprises 142 manuscripts –, it is one of the few early modern collections of 'learned magic' that have survived to this day.

It represents the 'state of the art' of 'Western learned magic' around the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and thus attests to both the *longue-durée* nature of this textual-ritual tradition – with numerous texts dating back to late antiquity and the Middle Ages – as well as early modern adaptations and innovations. With 113 texts translated into German, it demonstrates that the vernacularization of 'learned magic' in German-speaking Europe happened significantly earlier than assumed thus far. With over 65% of the texts devoted to the Solomonic art of 'conjuring spirits,' the collection provides ritual knowledge that was highly contested and illegal at that time, thus demonstrating that this knowledge was far more elaborate and versatile in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries than previously assumed.



The lecture provided an overview of the history and contents of the collection and then focused particularly on its divinatory texts and techniques. As it turns out, these are incredibly versatile and sophisticated, often relying on conjuration techniques, thus significantly differing from the more established or 'mainstream' divinatory disciplines found in early modern Europe (astrology, geomancy, chiromancy). It was finally considered why, from the viewpoint of the early modern practitioners of 'learned magic,' both deterministic and manipulative worldviews seem to coexist with little friction, which indicates that this seeming contradiction constitutes a modern stereotype

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### CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

## **Medieval Collections of Laws as Sources for Mantic Practices**

April 17-18, 2018

What is commonly referred to as "supernatural" in modern times, occupied a prominent place in the worldview of pre-modern times. It is, therefore, unsurprising that these "supernatural" phenomena were also incorporated into the legal system and that there are numerous references to divinatory practices in different legal texts of the Middle Ages. On April 17-18, 2018, the IKGF hosted a workshop on Medieval canonical collections as sources for mantic practices ("Mittelalterliche Rechtssammlungen als Quellen mantischer Praktiken"). Experts on medieval canonical law examined these texts concerning the legal evaluation of divination: here, the standards were set very early on and later updated frequently. Prohibitions on the consultation of fortune-tellers, for instance, appear in the first canonical collections in the Early Middle Ages until the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Although some texts reflect the personal viewpoints of the compilers, it is very difficult to gain insights from these sources with regard to the actual mantic practices occurring in the Middle Ages.

Cornelia Scherer (Erlangen) analyzed the *Collectio Hispana*, a chronologically structured collection of synodal files and letters, mainly from the popes, which was produced in the 7<sup>th</sup> century on the Iberian Peninsula. There is little found in the *Collectio Hispana* regarding the subject of divination: only ten canons deal briefly with this topic. The same holds true for the *Lex Ribuaria*, a 7<sup>th</sup>-century collection of Germanic law, which was introduced by Lucas Bothe (Berlin).

Roy Flechner (Dublin) investigated the *Collectio Hibernensis*, compiled in Ireland at some point between 690 and 748. Book 25 of the *Hibernensis*, entitled *De sortibus* ("Concerning lots"), broadly accepts the casting of lots as part of the process of decision-making. Flechner argued that the casting of lots is related to divination, since both are ways of anticipating events or actions in the future by supernatural means. Nevertheless, the latter is condemned in the *Hibernensis*, while the former is accepted. Book 25 consists of five chapters concerned with the

prerogative to cast lots in doubtful or uncertain cases, as well as with the justification behind allowing the use of decision-making through lot casting.

Burchard of Worms, the renowned compiler of a collection of 20 books of canonical law, was at the center of the contributions by Birgit Kynast and Ludger Körntgen (both Mainz). His early 11<sup>th</sup>-century work was influential, drawing on earlier collections but adjusting the penance to a possibly more realistic level.

Lotte Kéry (Bonn) closed the workshop with a survey of the discussion on the use of lots in the process of decision-making and elections in two decretal collections from the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

In a special lecture, Hans-Christian Lehner and Stephanie Plass (both Erlangen) introduced the IKGF-database and discussed its use with the participants of the workshop. A publication of the proceedings is intended.

Hans-Christian Lehner



#### PROGRAM

April 17, 2018

Welcome and Introduction

The Collectio Hispana Cornelia Scherer, Erlangen

The Collectio Hibernensis Roy Flechner, Dublin

Burchards Decree

Birgit Kynast, Mainz

Discussion: Mantic Norms in Canonistic Collections – a Comparison

Chair: Christof Rolker, Bamberg

Presentation of the Database

Hans-Christian Lehner/Stefanie Plass, Erlangen

April 18, 2018

The Lex Ribuaria
Lukas Bothe, Berlin

The Penitentials

Ludger Körntgen, Mainz

**Decretal Collections** 

Lotte Kéry, Bonn

Discussion: Mantic Practices in Normative Collections: How were the terms received in the late Middle Ages?

Chair: Ingrid Baumgärtner, Kassel

## Miscellaneous – Letter of Support

The IKGF has made tremendous progress in establishing the study of divination and prognostication as a new field of research. In light of the end of the current funding phase in 2021, the Consortium has been exploring possible ways of creating a sustainable research environment that will provide a permanent base for this important field of study. Given the IKGF's embeddedness within the university, the FAU will have to play a crucial role in sustaining at least part of the existing research program. Taking note of the impressive academic record of the Consortium, more than 60 renowned international scholars have recently sent the following letter of support to the president and the dean.

## Dear President Hornegger, Dear Dean Trinczek,

First of all, we, the members of the International Society for the Critical Study of Divination, the former and current Visiting Fellows of the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities (IKGF) and the members of the Advisory Board of the IKGF, would like to thank you for your continuous support of the Käte Hamburger Centre over the years! We are also extremely pleased that you, President Hornegger, expressed the importance of supporting the IKGF beyond its second funding phase during the birthday festivities of Professor Lackner, and further stated that you are committed to sustaining IKGF out of FAU resources as a permanent institution of the university.

In our view, such a step would be more than justified since the IKGF has been greatly successful: the publication record is already incredible, including the two massive handbooks that are well on their way into print. The forthcoming exhibition at the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* is boldly conceived and commendable. The quality of academic works produced at the IKGF is impressive, and so is the international distribution, gender balance, and diversity of academic profiles.

A point you should greatly appreciate is how the IKGF has contributed to the university's internationalization. The Consortium has gained momentum and

established an extraordinary research platform for international networking in the Humanities. More than 150 visiting fellows have stayed in Erlangen over the past years. Moreover, the IKGF has drawn attention beyond the core disciplines of Chinese and Medieval European Studies as it is the only research center worldwide that focuses on prognostication from a comparative perspective. More than 50 international transdisciplinary conferences and workshops have been organized during the past 10 years. Thus, the center is widely visible and attracts a constantly increasing number of international scholars from the humanities that wish to spend some time for collaborative research in Erlangen. The value of this contribution cannot be overstated.

The new Elite MA program on decision making funded by the Elite Network of Bavaria is an enormous success of the IKGF structure and is generating keen interest from students around the world. In fact, FAU is only admitting about 20% of current applicants to the MA program. By connecting to colleagues across other departments at the university and developing new teaching initiatives, IKGF can play an active and innovative role. In this context, the IKGF can further broaden its set of interests by reaching into concepts of reasoning, cognitive science, decision-making strategies, epistemology, economy, and others more, in this way transcending its original boundaries of Medieval Studies and Sinology. Here, we see the highest potential for the future development of the present IKGF and for broadening its appeal to the university student body and faculty alike. We hope that faculty from other academic units will be even more engaged in, and supported by, the IKGF. Altogether, proceeding from the IKGF's strong record of existing success, the new MA program provides the opportunity for the IKGF to become even more inclusive overall, extending its success beyond its present limits.

As you are aware, the evaluation panel and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research requested the university to provide further financial support as a condition for obtaining further funding (particularly two internal one-year-fellowships per year) in order to facilitate the IKGF's possible continuation after the second funding phase. We respectfully request you now to not only maintain your current level of support, but to also intensify it in such way that it will allow to sustain the operations of the IKGF for the future.

At this critical moment in the history of the IKGF, we recognize the possibility that the IKGF might simply be discontinued at the end of its current second phase. However, given the documented success of the IKGF, its expansive international network and visibility, its broad transcultural appeal, track record of continuous innovation, and the efficiency of the infrastructure that has been so fully developed over the past years, losing the IKGF would mean losing far more than the IKGF itself. Hence, we are ready to support every effort to continue the IKGF for the benefit of the university and the Humanities

### VISITING FELLOWS



**Dr. Esther-Maria Guggenmos**, Department of Chinese Studies, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg; research-stay: April-May 2018, June 2018-May 2019; research topic: Buddhism and Divination - On the Sūtra on the Divination of the Effects of Good and Evil Actions and its Cultural Transmission



**Prof. Dr. Tze-ki Hon**, Department of History, State University of New York at Geneseo (USA); research stay: June 2018; research topic: Divination as Moral Philosophy: Hexagrams and the Genealogy of the Sages of the Yijing



**Dr. Maria Khayutina**, Department for Chinese Studies, Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich; research stay: May 2018–April 2019; research topic: The Spread and Social Significance of Scapulimancy in Early China during the Western Zhou period (ca. mid-11<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> cc. BCE)



**Dr. Christof Niederwieser**, research stay: April 2018– September 2018; research topic: Trends and Cycles of Time



**Prof. Kwok-kan Tam**, School of Arts and Social Sciences, Open University of Hong Kong; research stay: May 2018– July 2018; research topic: Fate and Freedom in Chinese Film, TV Drama and Popular Culture

### IN BRIEF

- Approved "The Digital Decretum Burchardi"-Project: The Academy of Sciences and Literature at Mainz approved the proposal for the "Digital Decretum Burchardi"-Project. The project will be led by Prof. Dr. Ingrid Baumgärtner (University of Kassel), Prof. Dr. Klaus Herbers (IKGF, FAU Erlangen-Nürnberg), and Prof. Dr. Ludger Körntgen (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz) from the Institutes for Medieval History. The group gained the funding for the critical text edition, analysis of historical contexts and reception, and digital editing of the most influential collection of laws from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The research also focuses on the passages about magic and mantic practices as a mirror of the medieval belief systems. (Funding: 18 years; ~ 6 Mio. €)
- Renovation Works Completed: After last year's successful renovation of building D3, the repair work on the roof of the historic building of D1 has just been concluded. From now on, we will again be able to organize all events in our own facilities.
- News from our fellows and staff: it is a pleasure to introduce to you the new member of our IKGF Research Fellow team, Yung-Yung Chang. Dr. Chang has studied political science, history and economics at Freie Universität, Berlin. Her dissertation focused on "East Asian Regionalism: Power, Interests, and Ideas. A Critical Assessment of ASEAN's Role in the Evolution of East Asian Regionalism." She succeeds former IKGF research fellow, Zhao Lu, who joined the New York University, Shanghai, as an assistant professor.



Yung-Yung Chang with Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, the founder of FAU (Photo: IKGF

### OBITUARY

At the International Research Consortium "Fate, Freedom, and Prognostication: Strategies for Coping with the Future in East Asia and Europe," we are deeply saddened to learn of the passing of our former visiting fellow who died on 26 October 2019, at the age of 53.

Dr. Wannenmacher was a visiting fellow at the International Research Consortium from February 2012 to November 2012 and again from November 2014 to April 2015. During her stays, she pursued the research projects "Super Hieremiam: Prophecy and Politics in the Thirteenth Century" and "The 'Pseudo-Joachim' Commentary Super Hieremiam: Edition and Open Questions."

Dr. Julia Eva Wannenmacher studied theology, Classical Latin, and philosophy at the Humboldt University and the Free University of Berlin, and received her PhD in church history from the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg in 2002. She collaborated in compiling critical editions of central texts in medieval theology (Joachim of Fiore) and nineteenth-century philosophy (German idealism). For the last few years, she

participated in work on a critical complete edition of the works and letters of Jeremias Gotthelf at the University of Bern. Her teaching included courses on medieval history, church history, and systematic theology at the Humboldt-University of Berlin and the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg.

Her main research interests were medieval exegesis and theology as well as apocalypticism and political prophecy from antiquity to the early modern period. She also contributed to the study of the history of monastic orders. Based on her deep commitment to animal welfare, she recently also devoted herself to the study of the foundations of animal ethics in the history of ideas and systematic theology.

We have lost a valued member of our IKGF family and will keep her fondly in our memory as a scholar, colleague, and friend.

We extend our heartfelt thoughts and deepest sympathy to her family.

Schicksal, Freiheit und Prognose. Bewältigungsstrategien in Ostasien und Europa

#### OUTLOOK

The Consortium has entered the final phase of the second funding period. Thus, during the remaining two years, our staff may be torn between the past, present, and future. Many of our core projects need to be concluded, which occupies much of our attention. To name just a few, there are two handbooks, several volumes that will appear in the book series "Prognostication in History," the International Journal of Divination and Prognostication, and the exhibition in collaboration with the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg. At the same time, we organize our usual academic program with conferences, workshops, lectures, interdisciplinary colloquia, and reading sessions. Of course, we are also working on strategies that will allow us to extend our research into the future.

### THE NEXT fate

The next issue of fate will contain:

- a special on the 10-Year Anniversary of the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities.
- the last in a series of workshops to prepare the Handbook of Prognostication in Medieval European and Mediterranean Societies.





**International Consortium for Research in the Humanities** 

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