

Chapter 7, entitled “Genre and the Construction of Memory: A Case Study of Quan Deyu’s (759–818) Funerary Writings for Zhang Jian (744–804),” compares two types of texts, namely entombed epitaphs (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘) and offerings (*jiwen* 祭文). By doing so, Alexei Ditter attempts to demonstrate that the choice of one specific genre from several that can be used to recall someone’s memory shapes the way the author and the object of the funerary writing are perceived and remembered. Paradoxically, after dismissing the formal dimension of genre, Ditter categorizes many of Quan Deyu’s characteristic features in his entombed epitaph and his offering to Zhang Jian to show how they comply to the received rules of each genre. However, what is at stake here is the effect of these rules. On the one hand, an author chooses one genre to stage the deceased, his relationship with him, and, hence, himself, in a particular manner. In return, the choice of genre will influence their representation in the eyes of contemporary and later readers. One has to be aware of the specificities of a genre when dealing with such material and to keep in mind the constructed dimension of memory in order to be able to reflect upon the people and events these funerary writings profess to record.

In chapter 9, “The Mastering Voice: Text and Aurality in the Ninth-Century Mediascape,” Robert Ashmore focuses on the cases of Linghu Chu 令狐楚 (766–837) and his disciple Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813–ca. 858) to show that Tang dynasty texts through which people were remembered are for a large part mediated texts: they were written by talented writers on behalf of others. Although manifest, this culture of proxy writing is generally kept out of sight in literary studies as it blurs our assumption of the singularity of the voice behind a text. However, Linghu Chu’s ascent is largely explained by his gift in composing texts; and Li Shangyin’s collection included hundreds of proxy writings. Ashmore sheds light on the fusion of voices by way of two examples. Li Shangyin supposedly enriched Linghu Chu’s deathbed memorial by adding elements to conform to genre conventions and by intensifying the emotional effect of the address. Although this function is rather convincing, it could be asked whether Linghu Chu’s declaration as it is recorded in the *Jiu Tang shu* 旧唐書 could have been inspired by Li Shangyin’s text—and not vice versa. More convincingly, both characters seem to merge in an a priori more personal piece such as Li Shangyin’s sacrificial script: by recalling his master, he stages the dizziness induced by his death and mixes both their voices.

As this brief overview shows, the book provides a great amount of material to think about and addresses a wide range of issues central to the understanding of medieval China. Of course, there are little shortcomings. But the questions the book raises are for the most part stimulating. As a whole, the contributions shed light on the fact that remembrance resembles organizing the past on a stage—visible for oneself and for a public—set within a décor that changes each time it is reenacted. Those who remember seem to alternately personify the author, the actor, and the character, and to project themselves into an experience, a relationship, and a position. This instability of voice, character, and environment confirms the constructed nature of memory. It also sheds light on the fact that remembrance, while contributing to the definition of a cultural heritage and thus building a stabilizing asset for individuals and groups, at the same time reveals the malleability of one’s identity. The very question of how human beings would conceive of themselves within a group is, for sure, a key question in medieval China. This book presents elements to reflect upon this question.

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Taoism and Self Knowledge: The Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection (Xiuzhen tu). By CATHERINE DESPEUX. Translated by JONATHAN PETTIT. Sinica Leidensia, vol. 142. Leiden: BRILL, 2018. Pp. xiv + 297. €125, \$150.

Taoism and Self Knowledge is a slightly revised and expanded English translation of Catherine Despeux’s original French publication titled *Taoïsme et connaissance de soi: La Carte de la culture de la perfection* (Xiuzhen tu) (Paris: Guy Trédaniel, 2012). The latter is, in turn, an updated version of

the earlier *Taoïsme et corps humain: Le xiuzhen tu* (Paris: Guy Trédaniel, 1994). Unlike other contemporary French scholars in Daoist Studies, Despeux, with the exception of collaborations and translations, has published almost exclusively in French. As such, the book will be of particular interest to non-French-readers and will help to secure a wider audience for Despeux's pioneering, fascinating, and significant scholarship. For the purposes of this review, I will treat the book as an English-language publication. That is, I will leave issues of translation accuracy for others to evaluate, and I will provide only a few comments comparing the two (three) publications. However, the observant multilingual scholar will note the change of "human body" to "self knowledge" in the transition from the first to second French edition and to the English version, a choice that might inspire deeper reflection. Specifically, there appears to be an interpretive shift from embodiment to epistemology. From my perspective, the former is more accurate in terms of "translating Daoism," but in a nod to Despeux perhaps we might imagine something like "corporeal" or "somatic epistemology."

Like the French source edition, *Taoism and Self Knowledge* consists of seven primary chapters: 1) Chinese Inner Alchemy and Body Maps; 2) Different Versions of the *Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection*; 3) A Description of the *Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection*; 4) The Main Alchemical Loci Inscribed in the *Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection*; 5) The Body, World of Deities According to the *Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection*; 6) Alchemical Methods According to the *Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection*; and 7) Thunder Processes Illustrated by the *Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection*. As evident from these divisions, the primary focus of the publication is the late eighteenth-century *Xiuzhen tu* 修真圖, translated by Despeux/Pettit as *Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection*. (For an online image see, e.g., www.goldenelixir.com/jindan/xiuzhen_tu.html.) Here *xiuzhen* ("cultivating perfection") is a Daoist technical term related to intensive training, especially internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹). It became prominent from the Song-Jin period forward to designate Daoist training regimens aimed at complete psychosomatic transformation, or "immortality" in Daoist terms.

The first chapter examines Daoist body-maps that predated and, at least in certain respects, informed and became incorporated into the *Xiuzhen tu*. For example, both the tenth-century Yanluozi 煙蘿子 (Master Yanluo [Misty Turnips]) charts (DZ 263, 18.2a–3b) and the thirteenth-century *Neijing tu* 內境圖 (Inner Landscape Map), which is contained in a commentary on the *Nanjing* 難經 (Classic of Difficulties; DZ 1024, 4ab), mention the correspondence between the twenty-four vertebrae and twenty-four nodes (*ershisi qijie* 二十四氣節) (fig. 1.3, pp. 14–15; fig. 1.8, p. 26; also pp. 232–33) as well as the Three Carts (*sanche* 三車) along the spine (fig. 1.4, pp. 16–17; fig. 1.8, p. 26; also p. 203). (Daoist textual collections are cited according to my *Title Index to Daoist Collections* [2002], with DZ referring to the received *Daozang* 道藏 [Daoist Canon; 1445/1607; 1,487 titles], JHL to the *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 [Record of Essential Blossoms of the Daoist Canon; 1922; 100 titles], and ZW to the *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Canon; 1992/1994; 991 titles].) Throughout this chapter, Despeux/Pettit provide English translations of these various diagrams, with numbers superimposed on the illustrations in order to facilitate exploration. One issue here is the lack of annotations or exegesis of the technical and esoteric terms.

The key contribution of *Taoism and Self Knowledge*, and it is a major one, involves the detailed information on the history, dissemination, and technical contents of the *Xiuzhen tu*. Analyzing extant stele monuments, wooden plates, rubbings, copies, and colophons combined with ethnographic research, Despeux identifies twenty-five versions of this diagram, with eleven being primary (chap. 2). These are largely similar, although some significant variants and additional textual material exist (p. 260). Unfortunately, the original version and the original context of composition are unclear, so what we have is a story of diffusion throughout China (see the map and list of geographical distribution on pp. 76–77; also pp. 260, 263). This story often involves unclear details about the identity and contributions of certain named individuals, specifically whether they composed, transmitted, commissioned, and engraved the corresponding edition. What we do know is that members of the Longmen 龍門 (Dragon Gate) lineage, including its various sub-lineages, of Quanzhen 全真 (Complete Perfection) Daoism played a major role in the production, preservation, and transmission of this diagram. In terms of historical specifics, the earliest attested version, which is a lost plate, dates from before 1781 and was produced at Qingyang gong 青羊宮 (Azure Ram Palace; Chengdu, Sichuan), while the most recent

was produced in 1988 at Longhu tang 龍虎堂 (Dragon-Tiger Hall; Nanning, Guangxi) (p. 39). The first dated and still extant, but severely damaged version is a stele erected at Sanyuan gong 三元宮 (Palace of the Three Primes; Guangzhou, Guangdong) (p. 40). Dating to 1812, it was engraved by a certain Qiu Fengshan 邱鳳山 (fl. 1810s). The most widely circulated and cited version is that of Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Temple; Beijing). The original stele was commissioned or engraved by the Longmen monastic Meng Zhicai 孟至才 (1813–1881) and dates to 1873 (p. 55). However, most of the Baiyun guan rubbings and reproductions in modern collections derive from a new plate, engraved in 1984 and based on the early version of Guo Yicheng 郭一誠 (fl. 1780s) (p. 69). The Baiyun guan *Xiuzhen tu* forms the basis of Despeux's subsequent discussion, although she often compares it with other editions and discusses earlier cartographic, iconographic, and textual precedents and influences (p. 78). Paralleling the seminal thirteenth-century *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (Ten Works on Cultivating Perfection; DZ 263) as a textual anthology related to internal alchemy, the *Xiuzhen tu* may be understood as a material integration and summation of earlier Daoist views, practices, and body-maps.

Often paired with the *Neijing tu* 內經圖 (Diagram of Internal Pathways; 1886), the *Xiuzhen tu* is one of the most well-known, influential, and widely disseminated Daoist body-maps. It depicts the human body viewed from the front, with the Daoist adherent practicing meditation in full-lotus posture. Engaged on a basic level, this chart highlights the central importance of the perineum, spine, crown point, and heart region. It also draws attention to the Yongquan 湧泉 (Bubbling Well) point, the first point on the kidney meridian located in the center of the balls of the feet. Like the *Neijing tu*, the *Xiuzhen tu* also emphasizes the importance of the Microcosmic Orbit (*xiao zhoutian* 小周天) or Waterwheel (*heche* 河車) method, which involves circulating *qi* (subtle breath, vital energy) up the Governing Vessel (center of the spine) and down the Conception Vessel (front centerline of the torso). However, the *Xiuzhen tu* is a more physically embodied depiction than the *Neijing tu* (cf. pp. 1, 24, 261).

Despeux in turn provides a systematic and detailed analysis of the contents of this Daoist corporeal cartography, including a complete translation with exegesis. The foundation is chapter three, which includes a numbered version of the *Xiuzhen tu* (p. 95) as well as a list and localization of its various technical terms (pp. 96–106). The exegesis is, in turn, spread over the subsequent four chapters, with the discussion of associated inner alchemical methods in chapter six being especially important. Going beyond mere “art” or “visual culture,” that chapter helps to elucidate the lived cultivational application of this body-map.

As Despeux takes five chapters and some 180 pages to explain the chart, it is beyond the confines of this review to distill, let alone summarize the various contributions. Here I will simply mention some details that demonstrate the careful and profound characteristics of Despeux's scholarship. As briefly mentioned, the *Xiuzhen tu* depicts the Three Carts, corresponding to the Three Passes (*sanguan* 三關), as three large circles on the spine. These are the Ram Cart (Tailbone Gate; coccyx), Deer Cart (Narrow Ridge; mid-spine), and Ox Cart (Jade Pillow; occiput). An adaptation of the famous Buddhist Parable of the Burning House in the *Lotus Sūtra*, these became utilized in Daoist internal alchemy to discuss the speed and relative difficulty of opening certain points and circulating *qi* through those areas (p. 206). One also might understand this as an internalization and syncretic reconceptualization, in which Buddhist soteriological aspirations become re-located and inscribed in the Daoist body. The chart also superimposes the twenty-four nodes of the solar phases and seasonal cycles on the twenty-four vertebra (pp. 232–33) and the thirty moons of the lunar phases along the Microcosmic Orbit (pp. 91, 232, 262). In terms of the former, the *Xiuzhen tu* begins with Winter Solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至), the fourth winter node corresponding to the apex of yin and beginning of yang, near the coccyx, and culminates with Heavy Snow (*daxue* 大雪), the third winter node, near the occiput. Similarly, the lunar phases begin with the new moon at the perineum and move to the full moon, often symbolizing enlightenment, at the crown point. Here is a more complete cosmicization of the human body and expression of micro- and macrocosmic correspondences so characteristic of Daoism. Also noteworthy are the somewhat elusive images of the monkey and horse near the area of the heart and in line with the Li-fire trigram (pp. 88, 218), although some versions have the solar raven and lunar toad. Paralleling the use in Chan Buddhism and Quanzhen Daoism, the former correspond to ordinary mind (*xin* 心) and thought (*yi* 意),

respectively. Habituated psychological states resemble a monkey jumping to and fro and a horse galloping out of control. Through meditation, these become settled. One returns to innate nature (*xing* 性), which is one's original connection with the Dao characterized by clarity and stillness (*qingjing* 清靜).

There also are some significant variants between the different versions of the *Xiuzhen tu*. For example, on the front lower torso near the line "gate of life granting access to immortality" 送仙生門, the standard iconography includes an ox ridden by a herdsman playing a flute, an image that recalls the famous Chan Ox Herding Pictures; however, the Sichuan version produced by Duan Fu 段甫 in 1922 has a horse with rider (pp. 68, 217), which perhaps was inspired by the Daoist Horse Taming Pictures. In addition, different versions represent original spirit (*yuanshen* 元神) and the yang-spirit (*yangshen* 陽神) emerging from the crown point with varying iconography, including a Daoist with long hair in robes and with an audience tablet (standard and Baiyun guan), Daoist with topknot (Wudang), Daoist with liturgical hat (Duan Fu), and Daoist with a Ruyi 如意 (Wish-granting) scepter (Dragon-Tiger Hall). Although Despeux identifies the standard version as depicting a Buddhist monk with shaved head (p. 80), it rather appears to be a Daoist with unbound long hair in robes and with an audience tablet. Interestingly, the Dragon-Tiger Hall version has an additional image of a child (immortal embryo) with the Three Purities (*sanqing* 三清) emerging from his crown point (p. 73). This recalls other late imperial depictions, such as those contained in the late eighteenth-century *Huiming jing* 慧命經 (Scripture on Wisdom and Life-Destiny; ZW 131).

For the uninitiated reader, by far the most technical and daunting section of the book is chapter seven, which focuses on thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法), also known as "thunder magic." As explained by Despeux, "the unique feature of this body map is the close link established between Inner Alchemy and the thunder rites, combining inner meditation, visualizations and rituals in a simultaneous action on the inner world of the officiant and the outside world" (p. 260; also pp. 79, 93). This includes the potential use of the associated meditation methods as a foundation for efficacious ritual activity (pp. 143, 194, 262–65). While I find Despeux's analysis convincing, the asserted relationship of the *Xiuzhen tu* with ritual deserves more reflection and investigation. The diagram may indeed represent an "exteriorization of internal cultivation" (p. 262), but it is equally plausible that there is an interiorization of liturgical activity, including the associated pantheon (see chap. 5, esp. pp. 188–92). One relevant detail relates to the primary visual component of the *Xiuzhen tu*, namely, that this body-map depicts a meditation posture (not formal ritual gestures or movement).

As with any publication, there are elements that warrant critical comments, some of which are minor and others that are more significant. With respect to the former, it is somewhat surprising that *none* of the three publications includes a reproduction of the *Xiuzhen tu* on the cover. In terms of *Taoism and Self Knowledge*, we encounter an image of the deity Zhenwu 真武 (Perfected Warrior), presumably to emphasize the connection with thunder rites (pp. 188–90). However, from my perspective, the colored version of the *Xiuzhen tu* (p. 72) would have been more appropriate. There also is a translation issue with the title of the nineteenth-century *Neijing tu* due to the mistaken use of *jing* 景 ("luminosities, scenery, view"), and perhaps the assumed 境 ("landscape"), instead of *jing* 經 ("pathway") (p. 36; also pp. 34, 37, 40). Despeux frequently refers to this as the *Chart of the Inner Landscape*, but that is the aforementioned, earlier diagram found in the *Nanjing* commentary (p. 26). (Interested readers may consult my two-part article "Mapping the Daoist Body" [2008; 2009].) One also would have appreciated a more robust index and perhaps a glossary of key technical terms.

More significantly, I find the French edition to be much more aesthetically refined, with the various images appropriately edited for clarity, consistency, and readability. The Brill publication includes unedited images, with varying sizes, hues, and textual bleed-throughs. Although not detracting from the book's valuable content and overall contribution, greater care with the visual reproductions and graphic design was deserved, especially for a book about *material* culture. *Taoism and Self Knowledge* also would have benefited from a preface and translator's introduction that discussed the way in which it is a "revised and expanded edition" of *Taoisme et connaissance de soi* as well as the translation methodology. Fortunately, I was able to correspond with Jonathan Pettit (Univ. of Hawai'i) about these matters. The update involved the incorporation of Despeux's recent archival and ethnographic research. For example, the French version of the map of the geographical distribution of the *Xiuzhen tu* only includes

six sites (p. 42), while the English version identifies twenty-five (pp. 76–77). In terms of translation, Pettit relied on *Taoïsme et connaissance de soi*, but he and Despeux collaborated, with Despeux guiding the overall style and many of the translation preferences. Finally, although perhaps asking too much of a scholar who has already done enough, I believe that more engagement with contemporaneous Daoist communities and materials may have aided in elucidating the context-specific meaning of the *Xiuzhen tu*. Here Despeux's vast erudition may be a slight hindrance, as she cites materials from many different historical periods and movements. While clearly relevant and accurate, one wonders about the forms of late imperial Daoism that informed and are documented in the *Xiuzhen tu* (p. 43). Along these lines, Despeux does helpfully cite texts like the anonymous early seventeenth-century *Xingming guizhi* 性命圭旨 (Imperial Decrees on Innate Nature and Life-destiny; JHL 67; ZW 314) as well as the Wu-Liu 伍柳 textual corpus (pp. 141, 174, 214, 222–23).

Beyond these minor concerns, *Taoism and Self Knowledge* is a model of scholarship in Daoist Studies. It profoundly explicates Daoist views of the human body and grants deep access to the *Xiuzhen tu*, one of the most influential and widely disseminated Daoist body-maps. Despeux's work may, in turn, be understood as an expression of an emerging subfield within Daoist Studies that might be labeled "Daoist Somatic Studies." The late Joseph Needham (1900–1995), Kristofer Schipper, Livia Kohn, Fabrizio Pregadio, and I are among those with such interests. It also fits well into an emerging interest in Daoist material culture, which might be labeled "the material turn" in Daoist Studies, and perhaps academia more generally, represented by scholars such as Stephen Little, Lennert Gesterkamp, Shih-shan Susan Huang, Luk Yu-ping, and myself.

One may in turn recognize the stellar contribution of *Taoism and Self Knowledge*, and Pettit deserves our gratitude for helping to make Despeux's scholarship more accessible to a larger audience. This includes not only individuals interested in Daoism and Chinese religion, but also those who might undertake comparative and cross-cultural work on embodiment and material culture.

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The Overtaken Boat: Intertextuality of the Adapa Myth and Exorcist Literature. By AMAR ANNUS. State Archives of Assyria Studies, vol. 24. Helsinki: THE NEO-ASSYRIAN TEXT CORPUS PROJECT, 2016. Pp. xii + 144. \$59 (paper).

This is a challenging and valuable treatment of Mesopotamian myth and ritual that takes risks few in ancient Near Eastern studies would take. It attempts to holistically reconstruct the mental world behind one of the most interesting Mesopotamian myths, that of Adapa (who began life as the Sumerian Adaba), and while not every Assyriologist will accept its interpretations, it does two things the field can learn from: first, it treats a pattern of Mesopotamian culture as not just a historical relic, but as something of broad human interest. Second, it integrates material from the whole span of the cuneiform record according to meaningful theoretical questions: How did Mesopotamian exorcists see themselves? Can a coherent underlying ritual pattern unite the complex range of texts associated with the ancient discipline of *āšipūtu*?

This book makes a number of fascinating and original points about the Adapa myth within a wide-ranging and deeply learned discussion of materials that moves rapidly between early Sumerian literature, Neo-Assyrian and -Babylonian literatures, Manichaean mythology, neurology, and cognitive psychology, and (occasionally) the New Testament. It is worth reading as the first twenty-first-century interpretive study of the figure of Adapa and Mesopotamian exorcism, and the first English translation of the difficult Sumerian Adapa myth. While it does not begin from the viewpoint of social history (the reviewer's 2017 *From Adapa to Enoch* represents this alternative approach), this is hardly the point—ancient people had imaginations and psyches, and this is where the book distinguishes itself.