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# Ch'iu Ch'u-chi and Chinggis Khan

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PRIOR to the Mongol conquest of China, the meeting in 1222 between Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 丘處機,<sup>1</sup> the fifth patriarch of the Ch'üan-chen 全真 (Complete Perfection) sect of Taoism, and Chinggis Khan, the great ruler of the Mongols, ultimately saved countless

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<sup>1</sup> Ch'iu Ch'u-chi (Taoist name: Ch'ang-ch'un 長春) was a native of Ch'i-hsia 棲霞 in eastern Shantung. For an official biography of Ch'iu, see Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310-1381), *Yüan-shih* 元史 (hereafter *YS*), (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976), 202.4524-26. For two hagiographies of Ch'iu, see Ch'in Chih-an 秦志安 (1189-1245), *Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi* 金蓮正宗記 [The record of the orthodox school of the golden lotus (hereafter *Cheng-tsung chi*)], in *Tao-tsang* [The Taoist canon (hereafter *TT*)], (Shanghai: 1925-1927), *ts'ê* 75-76, 4.7a-14a; and Liu T'ien-su 劉天素 and Hsieh Hsi-ch'an 謝西蟾, *Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 [The Pictorial biographies of the origins of the immortals of the orthodox school of the golden lotus (hereafter *Hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan*)], in *TT*, *ts'ê* 76, 31b-36b. For a chronological biography of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, see Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾, "Yüan Ch'iu Ch'u-chi nien-p'u" 元丘處機年譜 [A chronological biography of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi of the Yüan (hereafter "Ch'iu nien-p'u")], in his *Tung-pei shih lun-ts'ung* 東北史論叢, 2 vols. (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1959), 2: 214-76. For two recent studies of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, see Wang Min-hsin 王民信, "Ch'iu Ch'u-chi," in *Chung-kuo li-tai ssu-hsiang-chia* 中國歷代思想家, 56 vols, ed. Wang Shou-nan 王壽南 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1978), 31: 1-69; and Chou Shao-hsien 周紹賢, *Tao-chiao Ch'üan-chen ta-shih Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un* 道教全真大師丘長春 [The great master Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un of Ch'üan-chen Taoism], (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1982).

Chinese lives. The meeting has captured the attention of modern scholars, who regard the Khan's apparent restraint in his dealings with the Chinese as the direct result of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's success in persuading him to desist from indiscriminate killing. For example, Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾 has written:

[In the beginning of the eleventh century], the social order of North China was in chaos. The entire Han [Chinese] race and culture were nearly destroyed. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, with a religious leader's zeal for saving the world, traveled thousands of miles [to Chinggis Khan's court, where he] exhorted the Khan to respect human life and to stop killing. Numerous lives were spared. Ch'iu was a living Buddha and the saviour of the [Chinese] race.<sup>2</sup>

Ch'en Yüan 陳垣 expressed a similar view when he said: "A single word from Ch'iu put an end to Chinggis Khan's killing. . . . [Ch'iu] managed to save people from disaster and benefit their lives."<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to these opinions, I will argue that while the meetings did indeed help to save lives, they did not really change the Khan's ways. Lives were saved simply because after the meetings the Khan decided to grant special privileges and protection to members of Ch'iu's sect. He did this out of his respect for religion in general, and for the Ch'üan-chen sect in particular.

The Ch'üan-chen sect was one of several new Taoist sects which emerged in Jurchen-occupied North China after the fall of the Northern Sung in 1127.<sup>4</sup> For the next two decades North China was a battleground between the Southern Sung and the puppet state of Ch'i (1130-1138).<sup>5</sup> In the war-ravaged areas, banditry was

<sup>2</sup> See his "Chin-Yüan Ch'üan-chen chiao ti min-tsu ssu-hsiang yü chiu-shih ssu-hsiang" 金元全真教的民族思想與救世思想 [Nationalism and salvation in the thought of the Ch'üan-chen sect during the Chin and Yüan], *Tung-pei shih lun-ts'ung* 2:199. Cf. also Ch'en Chiao-yu 陳教友 (Ch'en Ming-kuei 陳銘珪), "Ch'ang-ch'un Tao-chiao yüan-liu" 長春道教源流 [The origin and development of Ch'ang-ch'un's Taoist sect], in *Tao-chiao yen-chiu tzu-liao* 道教研究資料, ed. Yen I-p'ing, 2 vols. (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1974), 2:2-3 and 97-98.

<sup>3</sup> See his *Nan-Sung ch'u Ho-pei hsin Tao-chiao k'ao* 南宋初河北新道教考 [A study of the new Taoist sects north of the river at the early years of the Southern Sung dynasty (hereafter *Nan-Sung ch'u*)], (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> The three best known new Taoist sects at that time were the T'ai-i 太一 (Great Unity), the Ta-tao 大道 (Great Way) and the Ch'üan-chen 全真 (Complete Perfection). For more on the history of these three sects, see Ch'en Yüan, *Nan-Sung ch'u*, pp. 1-80 for the Ch'üan-chen, pp. 81-109 for the Ta-tao and pp. 110-149 for the T'ai-i.

<sup>5</sup> The puppet state Ch'i, which ruled the area south of the Yellow River and north of the Huai River, was set up by the Chin in 1130 as a buffer state between the Jurchen Chin and the Southern Sung.

widespread. Most of the arable land was laid waste. Famines occurred repeatedly and the people, rich as well as poor, deserted their homes and farms to wander about, having lost all means of support. Accounts such as the following two can be found in many works of this period.

When the city [Fen prefecture 汾州, Shansi] fell, there remained five thousand soldiers and several hundred households. Inside and outside [the city] there were approximately one hundred thousand living beings. Some of them fled and never returned. Some of them encountered the enemy and were killed. There were people who jumped into wells and rivers when the terror approached and there were also those who cut their own throats or hung themselves when the situation became critical . . . Soldiers and civilians alike were slaughtered indiscriminately. The virtuous and the evil died in the same manner. Corpses filled the city, blood covered all the roads and streets . . . bodies decomposed and flesh dissolved. The bodies of relatives and acquaintances could not be recognized, even male and female [corpses] were indistinguishable.<sup>6</sup>

During the calamity of warfare in the Ching-k'ang era [1126-1127], the country was in chaos. One bad harvest followed another. Cities and towns were deserted. Bandits and ruffians were everywhere. Once the Ch'i was established, but before the wounds had healed, there was constant warfare and frequent levies of heavy taxes.<sup>7</sup>

Out of this disorder arose new Taoist sects which provided spiritual and sometimes physical shelter for the masses. The Ch'üan-chen sect proved to be the most popular of these new sects. Its founder was Wang Che 王嘉 (1113-1170), an unsuccessful degree candidate who claimed to have had a revelation at the age of forty-eight.<sup>8</sup> He consequently left his home in Shensi and traveled to

<sup>6</sup> Li Chih-yao 李致堯, "Fen-chou tsang k'u-ku pei" 汾州葬枯骨碑 [A stele on burying dried up bones at the Fen prefecture], in *Chin-wen tsui* 金文最, ed. Chang Chin-wu 張金吾 (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan she, 1967), 33.11a.

<sup>7</sup> Huang Chiu-yüeh 黃久約, "Ch'ung-hsiu Chung-yüeh-miao pei" 重修中嶽廟碑 [A stele on the reconstruction of the Ch'ung-yüeh temple], in *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* 金石萃編 [A collection of stone inscriptions (hereafter *Stone Inscriptions*)], ed. Wang Ch'ang 王昶 (*Shih-k'ê shih-liao ts'ung-shu* 石刻史料叢書 ed.; Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1966), 156.2a-2b.

<sup>8</sup> For more on Wang Che's life, see Chin-yüan Shou 金源壽 (Wan-yen 完顏 Shou), "Ch'üan-chen chiao-tsu pei" 全真教祖碑 [A stele on the patriarch of the Ch'üan-chen (sect)], in *Stone Inscriptions* 158.39b-50b; also in Li Tao-ch'ien 李道謙, ed., *Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu* 甘水仙源錄 [A record of the origin of the immortals of the Kan river (hereafter *Kan-shui*)], *TT, ts'ê* 611-613, 1.2b-10a. See also Liu Tsu-ch'ien 劉祖謙 "Chung-nan-shan Ch'ung-yang tsu-shih hsien-chi chi" 終南山重陽祖師仙跡記 [A record of the supernatural deeds of patriarch Ch'ung-yang of the Chung-nan mountains], in *Kan-shui* 1.10a-14a; and Ma Chiu-ch'ou 麻九疇 "Teng-chou Ch'ung-yang kuan chi" 鄧州重陽觀記 [A record on the Ch'ung-yang monastery at Teng prefecture], in *Kan-shui* 9.16a-18a. For two hagiographies of Wang, see *Cheng-tsung chi* 2.1a-10a, and *Hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan* 1.18a-23a.

Shantung where he began the Ch'üan-ch'en sect and gathered about himself a coterie of seven disciples who contributed greatly to its proliferation. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi (1148-1227) was the best known of these seven. Ch'iu became Wang's disciple in 1167, and in 1169 travelled with Wang to Pien (K'ai-feng) where Wang died in 1170. In 1172, Ch'iu moved Wang's coffin back to his hometown in Shensi. Ch'iu then decided to stay in that area.<sup>9</sup> Although Ch'iu Ch'u-chi spent his prime years in seclusion in Shensi, his fame spread through the entire country. In 1188, Ch'iu was summoned to the Chin capital (Peking) by Emperor Shih-tsung (r. 1161-1189) to take charge of the sacrifice for the Wan-ch'un chieh 萬春節 (Ten Thousand Spring Festival) celebrating Shih-tsung's birthday. Emperor Shih-tsung used this opportunity to ask Ch'iu about methods of attaining immortality. After staying in the capital for more than six months, Ch'iu returned to Shensi, where he lived for three more years before moving back to his native Shantung.<sup>10</sup>

At first, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi had the good fortune to live through the golden age of the Chin dynasty, during the reigns of Emperors Shih-tsung and Chang-tsung (r. 1190-1208). However, when Chinggis Khan launched his military campaign against the Chin in 1211, North China was again engulfed in warfare. For more than two decades, the Mongol troops plagued the territory of the Jurchen Chin, capturing one city after another. With pillage, rather than occupation, as their military strategy, the Mongols would attack and loot a city and then move on to their next target. After the Mongol troops had left, the Chin government would often regain control of those cities. However, the fact that the Mongol troops did fight their way through North China rather easily, meeting little resistance from the Jurchen Chin suggests that the Chin had lost much of its control over North China, long before the official fall of the Chin dynasty in 1234. From 1211 to 1234, the people in North China were unprotected from the Mongol threat: warfare, banditry, and the resultant famine were constant.

During this turbulent era, Ch'iu received two summonses, one in 1216 from the Chin Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 1213-1223) and one in 1219 from Emperor Ning-tsung (r. 1195-1224) of the Southern

<sup>9</sup> "Ch'iu nien-p'u," pp. 223-29.

<sup>10</sup> "Ch'iu nien-p'u," pp. 230-32.

Sung dynasty. Ch'iu declined both of them.<sup>11</sup> Why would he have done this, since he had earlier heeded a summons from Emperor Shih-tsung of the Chin? One possible reason is that in 1188 the Jurchen Chin had been at the height of their power and Ch'iu simply did not dare to rebuff them. Another possibility is that the Ch'üan-chen sect had just been building up its popularity at that time, and Ch'iu believed that good relations with the ruling house would be helpful. Furthermore, in 1188 Ch'iu was not yet the leader of the Ch'üan-chen sect and may have felt that such imperial favor would improve his position. However, by Hsüan-tsung's time, the Chin dynasty was in deep trouble, suffering from an external invasion by the Mongols and from internal rebellion. Perhaps Ch'iu saw no possible benefit for himself or for the Ch'üan-chen sect if he were to accept a summons from the ruler of a declining dynasty. Ch'iu probably rejected the Southern Sung emperor's summons for the same reason.

However, in 1219, after he had declined these Chin and Southern Sung summonses, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, then age seventy-two, did accept a summons from Chinggis Khan to come to his court in Central Asia. Part of the Khan's invitation reads as follows:<sup>12</sup>

Since I came to the throne, I have taken to heart my obligation to rule, but I have to yet met suitable people to occupy the positions of the "Three [Dukes]" (*san-kung* 三公) and the "Nine [Ministers]" (*chiu-ch'ing* 九卿). I inquired and heard about you, Taoist Master Ch'iu, one who embodies the truth and walks in the path of righteousness. After the war, I learned that you still live a secluded life in Shantung. I have long hoped to meet you. I have heard the stories of "the return from the River Wei in the same cart" and "the visits to the reed hut."<sup>13</sup> Regrettably, we are separated by mountains and rivers of great expanse; therefore, I have been unable to visit you personally. I only want to descend from the throne and stand by

<sup>11</sup> "Ch'iu nien-p'u," pp. 236-39.

<sup>12</sup> The edict is included in T'ao Tsung-i 陶宗儀, *Ch'o-keng-lu* 輟耕錄 (*T's'ung-shu chi-ch'eng chien-pien* 叢書集成簡編 ed.; Taipei: Commercial Press, 1966), 10.151.

<sup>13</sup> "Return from the river Wei in the same cart" alludes to a story about King Wen (d. 1070 B.C.?) of the Chou dynasty who wished to employ Lü Shang 呂尚. Lü enjoyed fishing at the river Wei; so one day the King went to the river to bring Lü back to his court in the same cart. See Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, *Shih-chi* 史記, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 31.1477-78. "Visits to the reed hut" refers to a well-known story about the ruler Liu Pei's 劉備 (161-223) three visits to Chu-ko Liang's 諸葛亮 (181-234) residence to recruit him for a post in the Shu-Han government during the period of the Three Kingdoms. See Ch'en Shou 陳壽, *San-kuo chih* 三國志, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 35.911-12.

its side [to defer to you]. I have selected and dispatched my adjutant Liu Chung-lu 劉仲祿 with escorts and cart to travel a thousand *li* to request sincerely that you temporarily move your sainted steps [to my court] . . . and communicate to me the means of preserving life.<sup>14</sup>

Chinggis Khan could not write in any language, as pointed out by Emilii Bretschneider,<sup>15</sup> hence the edict, which was written in Chinese, must have been composed by a member of the Khan's court.<sup>16</sup> Despite its exaggerated and courtly tone, there is good reason to believe that it reflected Chinggis Khan's true intentions.

<sup>14</sup> The translation is based on Emilii Bretschneider's with some revision. See his *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 2 vols, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1910), 1: 37-39. Bretschneider (p. 39) interpreted "descend from the throne" as Chinggis Khan's proposal that Ch'iu take the Khan's place in governing, but it is more likely it merely signifies effusive politeness.

<sup>15</sup> See his *Medieval Researches* 1:37.

<sup>16</sup> Igor de Rachewiltz thinks that it is highly probable that Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai 耶律楚材 (1189-1243), Chinggis Khan's "scribe-secretary" and "astrologer-astronomer" after 1218, drafted this letter. See de Rachewiltz's "The *Hsi-yu lu* by Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai" (hereafter "Hsi-yu lu"), *MS* 21 (1962): 3; and his "Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai (1189-1243): Buddhist Idealist and Confucian Statesman," in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), p. 196. Bretschneider (*Medieval Researches* 1:37) also suggests that it might have been written by Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai. However, Yao Ts'ung-wu does not think that Yeh-lü could have written this letter. Yao argues that the style of the letter is unlike that of Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai's other writings. Yao also states that it is unlikely that Yeh-lü would have had a chance to draft an edict for Chinggis Khan since he had been employed by the Khan for only one year. See Yao's "Ch'eng-chi-ssu han hsin-jen Ch'ü Ch'ü-chi yü che-chien-shih tui-yü pao-ch'üan chung-yüan ch'üan-t'ung wen-hua ti kung-hsien" 成吉思汗信任丘處機與這件事對於保全中原傳統文化的貢獻 [The trust Chinggis Khan had for Ch'ü Ch'ü-chi and its contribution toward preserving traditional Chinese culture] (hereafter "Ch'eng-chi-ssu han"), *Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao* 15 (1966): 303-04, n. 24. Yao's argument is not entirely convincing, for it is perfectly possible for a good writer to compose a mediocre work, especially when he is translating someone else's ideas from another language. Also, it is not unreasonable that Yeh-lü drafted an edict for the Khan only one year after joining his service. Sechin Jagchid has argued that this edict is stylistically distinct from other Yüan dynasty decrees and that it is improbable the Khan knew the stories of Lü Shang and Chu-ko Liang, hence Jagchid thinks that the decree "might have been altered by the envoy or the Taoist recipients." See Jagchid's "Chinese Buddhism and Taoism during the Mongolian Rule of China" [hereafter "Chinese Buddhism and Taoism"] *Mongolian Studies* 6 (1980): 66-67. This article is an expanded version of the same author's "The Mongol Khans and Chinese Buddhism and Taoism," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 2.1 (1979): 1-27. A Chinese version of this article was published in *Min-tsu she-hui hsüeh-pao* 15 (1977): 9-29. However, it is unlikely that the envoy or the Taoist recipients would dare to alter a letter from Chinggis Khan, and it is not improbable that the Khan had heard of Lü Shang and Chu-ko Liang from someone at his court, perhaps the same person who composed this letter.

Although the summons does not specify how the Khan had learned about Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, other sources reveal that Chinggis Khan learned about Ch'iu from his adjutant, Liu Chung-lu 劉仲祿.<sup>17</sup> It is recorded in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's 耶律楚材 *Hsi-yu lu* 西遊錄 [A record of travels to the west] that Liu Chung-lu (Liu Wen 劉溫) was made a member of the Mongol court because of his "skill in medicine," and that Liu reported that Ch'iu was three hundred years old and possessed secret methods for preserving and prolonging life.<sup>18</sup> Such beliefs concerning Ch'iu must have been widespread at the time, for a similar description of him is found in the *Chih-yüan pien-wei lu* 至元辯偽錄 [A rebuttal of falsehoods of the Chih-yüan reign (1264–1294)] by the Buddhist monk Hsiang-mai 祥邁 of the Yüan:<sup>19</sup>

The Taoist priest Ch'iu Ch'u-chi . . . originally had no "method of the Way." There was a man named Liu Wen, with the style name Chung-lu, who earned the favor of T'ai-tsu (i.e., Chinggis Khan). . . . [Liu] presented medicine to the Khan and said that Ch'iu was more than three hundred years old and possessed methods for preserving and prolonging life.

It seems clear from the Khan's letter that his major purpose in summoning Ch'iu to his court was his desire to learn some "method for preserving and prolonging life" from this three-hundred-year-old Taoist sage. The letter also makes clear that the Khan had no intention of imitating former Chinese rulers, such as King Wen 文王 of the Chou and Liu Pei 劉備 (161–223) of the Shu-Han, who humbled themselves to visit people of special talents; thus, he summoned Ch'iu to travel across the desert to see him.<sup>20</sup> In all likelihood, Ch'iu accepted Chinggis Khan's summons not because he wanted to instruct the Khan in various secret methods but rather because he realized that refusal to go was out of the question.<sup>21</sup> As Sechin

<sup>17</sup> Peter Brent says that the Khan sent for Ch'iu Ch'u-chi at Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's suggestion, though he does not cite his source for this information. See his *Genghis Khan*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), p. 69.

<sup>18</sup> De Rachewiltz, "Hsi-yu lu," 25.

<sup>19</sup> *Chih-yüan pien-wei lu* [hereafter *Pien-wei lu*], is found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō compendium of Buddhist texts), ed. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭, 85 vols. (Tokyo: 1924–1932), 48:751a–781a.

<sup>20</sup> See note 13 above.

<sup>21</sup> See Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193–1250), *Ch'ang-ch'un chen-jen hsi-yu chi* 長春真人西遊記 [A record of the true man Ch'ang-ch'un's travels to the west (hereafter *Hsi-yu chi*)], (*SPPY* ed.), A.1b, Cf. the English translation by Arthur Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist*, (London:



Jagchid has pointed out, "The Mongols made it clear to the leaders of every foreign religion that unless they could win support from the Mongolian rulers, they would meet a terrible destruction which might be the end of their religion."<sup>22</sup> The Mongols, like other nomadic North Asian peoples, believed in pantheistic shamanism. They were not hostile to other religions and treated the masters and leaders of various religions just as they did their own shaman, Teb Tenggeri (Heaven's reporter; Chinese: *kao-t'ien jen* 告天人).<sup>23</sup> However, they would not tolerate a religion which was unwilling to serve the Mongols.

The Mongols, and Chinggis Khan in particular, were notorious for their terrifying acts. Wholesale destruction of towns and cities and the slaying of all their inhabitants was part of the military strategy which enabled the Mongols to expand their power over an impressively large area. Accounts of their wanton slaughter of entire populations are too numerous to record. The history of Chinggis Khan's campaigns to the west is, indeed, a history of a series of massacres.<sup>24</sup> Ch'iu Ch'u-chi must have been aware of the Mongols' ruthless ways and thus accepted the Khan's summons in order to save his sect.<sup>25</sup>

In deciding to undertake the westward journey, Ch'iu was also influenced by his disciple Yin Chih-p'ing 尹志平 (1169-1251). While on his way to meet with Ch'iu, Liu Chung-lu had met Yin in Shantung (Wei-hsien 濰縣) and told Yin about Chinggis Khan's invitation to Ch'iu. Yin said that the time was right to employ Ch'üan-chen teachings to awaken the people (of Mongolia). Yin accompanied Liu to Lai-chou 萊州 (present-day Yeh-hsien 掖縣, Shantung) to meet with Ch'iu and persuaded him to go to the Mongol court so

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George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1931), p. 151. *Hsi-yu chi* is also translated into English by Emilii Bretschneider in his *Medieval Researches* 1:35-108.

<sup>22</sup> Sechin Jagchid, "Why the Mongolian Khans Adopted Tibetan Buddhism as their Faith" [hereafter "Mongolian Khans"], in *Proceedings of the Third East Asian Altaistic Conference*, ed. Chieh-hsien Ch'en and Sechin Jagchid (Taipei, 1969), pp. 109-10.

<sup>23</sup> Jagchid, "Chinese Buddhism and Taoism," p. 61. Cf. also Jagchid's "Mongolian Khan," p. 109. The Mongol term Teb Tenggeri, which is translated by Jagchid as "Heaven's reporter," has been studied extensively by Francis W. Cleaves. See his "Teb Tenggeri," *Ural-Altische Jahrbucher* 39 (1967): 248-60.

<sup>24</sup> See René Grousset's *The Empire of the Steppes*, translated from the French by Naomi Walford, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1970), pp. 239-43.

<sup>25</sup> Sechin Jagchid also holds this view. See his "Chinese Buddhism and Taoism," pp. 61-62.

that he could spread the Ch'üan-chen teachings and "transform" the people.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, it must have been with these two ideas in mind—that he could convince the Mongol ruler not to harm the Ch'üan-chen sect and that he could spread the sect's teachings among the Mongols—that Ch'iu consented to go. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi selected eighteen of his disciples, including Yin Chih-p'ing, to accompany him to Chinggis Khan's court.<sup>27</sup> They departed in early 1220 on what was to be a three-year journey.<sup>28</sup> Ch'iu first went to Yen-ching 燕京 (Peking) where he stayed for several months. While in Yen-ching, Ch'iu discovered that the Khan was not in Southern Mongolia, as he had thought, but was campaigning in Central Asia, several hundred miles farther west. Ch'iu regretted his earlier decision and wrote the Khan a letter requesting permission to terminate his journey and wait for the Khan's return. He justified his request by referring to his advanced age and his lack of political abilities.

Previously, I received several summonses from the Southern Capital [of the Chin dynasty] and from the Sung dynasty, but I did not comply. However, now at the first call of the "Dragon court" (i.e., the Mongol court), I am coming. Why? I have heard that the emperor has been favored by Heaven with such valor and wisdom as has never been seen in ancient or modern times. At first I had been told that Your Majesty's chariot was just north of the Huan 桓 (present-day Tuo-lun 多倫 in Inner Mongolia). However, when I arrived in Yen-ching, I learned that Your Majesty's chariot is much farther away—it is not known how many thousand *li*. Wind and dust obscure the heavens constantly. I am old and weak. I am afraid that I will [collapse] in the middle of the journey and will be unable to complete it. Even if I should arrive at your majesty's throne, affairs of warfare and statesmanship are not within my capability. . . .

I, therefore, conferred with Liu Chung-lu and told him that it is better for me to stay in the area of Yen-ching and Te-hsing 德興 prefecture (present-day Cho-lu 涿鹿, near Peking), and asked him to send someone else to report to you. However, Liu Chung-lu would not agree to do this, and thus I can only present this plea myself.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> I Kou 弋, "Yin tsung-shih pei-ming," 尹宗師碑銘 [A stele for the patriarch Yin], in *Kan-shui* 3.1a-10b. See also Wang Yün 王惲, *Ch'iu-chien hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan wen-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集 (SPTK ed.), 56.8a-13b.

<sup>27</sup> It is recorded in the *Hsi-yu chi* (A.1b) that Ch'iu selected nineteen disciples to accompany him to the west; however, only eighteen names are known. For the eighteen names, see the appendix to the *Hsi-yu chi*, .3b, and B.6a.

<sup>28</sup> A detailed account of Ch'iu's travels is contained in *Hsi-yu chi*.

<sup>29</sup> This letter is included in T'ao Tsung-i's *Ch'o-keng lu*, 10.152. My English translation is based on that of Bretschneider but with some revisions. See Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*

From this letter we can see that Ch'iu Ch'u-chi was reluctant to undertake such an arduous journey, one much longer than the one he had originally planned.

In the tenth month of 1220, several months after Ch'iu sent his letter, he received a reply. The Khan, who was still in Central Asia, urged Ch'iu to undertake the journey anyway, citing the Ch'an master Bodhidharma's trip to the East to transmit the doctrine of the mind, as well as Lao-tzu's journey to the West to convert the barbarians as examples Ch'iu should emulate. Chinggis Khan also indicated in his letter that he was not expecting any advice from Ch'iu on matters of warfare and government, saying that he just wanted to learn about the Taoist Way.<sup>30</sup> Apparently convinced of the Khan's sincerity, Ch'iu made no more excuses and decided to set off the following spring.

Ch'iu's concern for the welfare of the people of North China can be seen in a poem he wrote to some friends shortly before his departure from Peking:<sup>31</sup>

Ten years of warfare have brought sorrow to the masses,  
Only one or two in a thousand are left.

Last year, I was fortunate to receive this kind summons.

This year, I must depart, braving the cold.

I did not decline this three thousand *li* journey through

Ling-pei

Because I am concerned about the two hundred prefectures  
east of the mountains.<sup>32</sup>

1:40-41. Cf. also de Rachewiltz, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai," p. 196 and his "Hsi-yu lu," p. 67, n. 157.

<sup>30</sup> This letter was composed by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, for he said in his *Hsi-yu lu* that he had written such a letter to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi; De Rachewiltz ("Hsi-yu lu," p. 3). Cf. also *Pien-wei lu*, 766b, which mentions that Ch'iu was tired of traveling and requested that he be allowed to wait for the Khan's return to Peking. However, the Khan made Chan-jan 湛然 (i.e., Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai) and Liu Wen issue an edict summoning him. This letter is included in the appendix to *Hsi-yu chi*, 1a. For more on this letter, see de Rachewiltz, "Hsi-yu lu," p. 67, n. 158.

<sup>31</sup> This poem is included in *Hsi-yu chi* A.5a; however, it is omitted from Waley's translation as is all of Ch'iu's poetry in the *Hsi-yu chi* which Waley held in low regard.

<sup>32</sup> Ling-pei, in line 5, are the mountains north of Hsing-an. In line 6, Ch'iu borrowed the phrase *shan-tung erh-pai chou* 山東二百州 "two hundred prefectures east of the mountains" from Tu Fu's 杜甫 poem "Ping-chü hsing" 兵車行 [Song of the war chariots]. The term

Although Ch'iu was at first unwilling to go to Central Asia, he eventually decided to do so at the Khan's insistence. Once Ch'iu was reconciled to the journey, he evidently took some consolation in the thought that his trip might also benefit the people of North China.

Ch'iu and his entourage first traveled north to Lake Hulun near China's border, then turned west, traversing the present-day Mongolia and northern Sinkiang, and finally arriving at Samarkand (in present-day southern Russia) in the eleventh month of 1221. Ch'iu was courteously received by the Mongol governor I-la A-hai 移剌阿海 and spent the winter there.<sup>33</sup> In the spring of 1222, Chinggis Khan sent a messenger, A-li-hsien 阿里鮮, to inform Ch'iu that he had returned to his camp near Qunduz (in northern Afghanistan) and hoped that Ch'iu would not be too tired to meet with him there.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, accompanied by several disciples and Mongol envoys, left Samarkand and headed south for Chinggis Khan's encampment, arriving there on the fifth day of the fourth month in 1222.<sup>35</sup> As soon as arrangements were made for his lodging, Ch'iu went to see Chinggis Khan. After exchanging polite greetings, the Khan ordered that food be served. The first thing he asked Ch'iu was, "True Man, you have come from afar. Have you brought any medicine to prolong my life?"<sup>36</sup> Since this was Chinggis Khan's major reason for summoning Ch'iu to his court, it is hardly surprising that he broached this subject immediately. In reply, Ch'iu said: "I have the Way of protecting life, but I have no medicine for prolonging life."<sup>37</sup> Chinggis

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*shan-tung* has been interpreted as "east of Mount Hua" (in Shensi), or as "east of the T'ai-hang Mountains" (at the eastern border of Shansi). Cf. Yang Lun 楊倫 *Tu-shih ching-ch'üan* 杜詩鏡銓, 2 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), p. 34, and also Ch'ou Chao-ao 仇兆鰲, *Tu-shih hsiang-chu* 杜詩詳註, 5 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), 1:115. In his use of the term, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi probably meant North China in general.

<sup>33</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* A.12a-b; cf. Waley, pp. 92-93. Waley's *The Travels of an Alchemist* contains a map showing the course of Ch'iu's journey.

<sup>34</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* A.14a; cf. Waley, pp. 97-98. Opinions differ among scholars as to where the Khan's encampment was located at the time of his first meeting with Ch'iu Ch'u-chi. It could have been somewhere near Parwan (near Kabul in Afghanistan) or Qunduz (north of Kabul). De Rachewiltz in his discussion of this problem tends to favor the latter. See "Hsi-yu lu," pp. 67-68, n. 158.

<sup>35</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* A.14a-b; cf. Waley, pp. 98-100.

<sup>36</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* A.15a; cf. Waley, p. 101.

<sup>37</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* A.15a; cf. Waley, p. 101.

Khan must have been very disappointed in this answer. However, he praised Ch'iu for his honesty and honored him with the title *shen-hsien* 神仙 (Divine immortal).

Although Chinggis Khan gained nothing from this first meeting, a second was scheduled to take place nine days later. However, because of an insurrection of local bandits, the meeting was postponed until the tenth month of that year.<sup>38</sup> On the fifteenth day of that month, the Khan summoned Ch'iu to his tent.<sup>39</sup> Ch'iu's words were translated into Mongolian by I-la A-hai, and the Khan was pleased with what Ch'iu had to say. The Khan scheduled another meeting four days later, and once again the Khan is said to have been pleased with what transpired. Consequently, a fourth meeting was held four days after that. It is reported that the Khan "listened to Ch'iu with a benign countenance and ordered his retainers to record [Ch'iu words]. [The Khan] ordered the words to be recorded in Chinese characters as before so that they would not be forgotten."<sup>40</sup> After that, Ch'iu accompanied the Khan on a journey to Samarkand, and from time to time discoursed with the Khan about Taoist cultivation.

Although the famous narrative of Ch'iu's journey, *Ch'ang-ch'un*

<sup>38</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* A.15a; cf. Waley, p. 102. It is not clear why Waley translated *shih-yüeh chi* 十月吉 [the tenth month is auspicious] into English as "the first of the tenth month."

<sup>39</sup> The Chinese phrase for the fifteenth day of that month is *ch'i-yüeh wang* 其月望. The *ch'i-yüeh* here refers to the tenth month, rather than the ninth month as Waley translated. Cf. "Ch'iu nien-p'u," p. 243.

<sup>40</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* B.3a. The term "as before" here indicates that the previous conversations between the Khan and Ch'iu had been recorded in Chinese before.

<sup>41</sup> *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu* (hereafter cited as *Hsüan-feng*) is found in *TT*, ts' 76. The author given in this work is I-la Ch'u-ts'ai 移刺楚材, which is another transcription for the name Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. Ch'en Chiao-yu believes that I-la Ch'u-ts'ai is an error for I-la A-hai 移刺阿海, the Mongol general, who served as interpreter at that meeting. See Ch'en, "Ch'ang-ch'un Tao-chiao yüan-liu," pp. 391-92. Yao Ts'ung-wu also argues that it was impossible for Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai to have written this work because the official title of the author given in the book was never held by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, and no other sources mention him as the compiler of such a work. Yao suggests that the *Hsüan-feng* is Ch'iu's recollection of the meeting, recorded by his disciples. See Yao, "Ch'eng-chi-ssu han," 277-82. However, Iwamura Shinobu 岩村忍 does not believe that the inaccurate official title is sufficient grounds for rejecting Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's authorship because the incorrect official title could well have been added by a later editor or copyist. Iwamura also points to *Hsüan-feng* passages that are similar to some in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's *Hsi-yu lu* and concludes that Yeh-lü was the author of the *Hsüan-feng* as well. He also suggests that the present version of *Hsüan-feng* in *TT* is a copy of the record brought back by Ch'iu Ch'u-chi. See Iwamura's "Genpū-keikai-roku ni tsuite" 玄風慶會録について, *Tōzai gakuju tsu kenkyūjo ronso* 13 (1953): 8-18. Igor de Rachewiltz, who has

*chen-jen hsi-yu chi* 長春真人西遊記 (written by Ch'iu's disciple), contains a precise record of these meetings between the Khan and Ch'iu, it yields no details about precisely what was discussed. Fortunately, a record of the discussions that took place during the second of the four meetings does survive—the *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu* 玄風慶會錄 [A record of the celebrated meeting of the mysterious wind].<sup>41</sup> This work represents, in the main, Ch'iu's answers to the Khan's inquiries about methods of attaining longevity.<sup>42</sup> In reply to the Khan's questions, Ch'iu began by stating certain fundamental principles that all should follow, including such things as "being fond of tranquillity and being indifferent to worldly gain." Ch'iu also said that if a person understood how to cultivate the Way, he would abandon extravagant habits, curb his desires, consolidate his essence (*ching* 精), and preserve his spirit (*shen* 神), for only then could he ascend to heaven and become an immortal.<sup>43</sup>

Because complete abstinence from sex was an important part of Ch'üan-chen teaching, Ch'iu also exhorted the Khan to curtail his contact with women and stressed the harm that sexual indulgence could bring.<sup>44</sup> In addition to urging this course of moderation, Ch'iu also told the Khan that as an emperor, the most important methods of self-cultivation were "externally, to accumulate virtuous merit and, internally, to consolidate one's essence and spirit." The methods of "external cultivation" included mindfulness of the people's hardships and protecting them so that the world would be at peace. The methods of "internal cultivation" included reduction of one's desires and preservation of the spirit.<sup>45</sup>

Although the advice that Ch'iu gave the Khan derived mainly

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written a lengthy discussion of the authorship of *Hsüan-feng* also thinks that Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai wrote it since recording such conversations was part of his duties at the Mongol Court (see his "Hsi-yu lu," pp. 69–72, n. 168). The Ch'üan-chen sect history, *Cheng-tsung chi* 4.10b, states that Ch'iu Ch'ü-chi's talk with Chinggis Khan was recorded by Yeh-lü Chin-ch'ing 晉卿 (the style-name of Ch'ü-ts'ai), who had recently become the *shih-lang* 侍郎 [Assistant Chief], and that the title of the document was *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu*. This account further supports the contention that *Hsüan-feng* was indeed written by Yeh-lü Ch'ü-ts'ai.

<sup>42</sup> Arthur Waley's *The Travels of an Alchemist* (pp. 21–25) contains some passages translated from the *Hsüan-feng*.

<sup>43</sup> *Hsüan-feng* .1a–2b.

<sup>44</sup> Ch'iu may have expressed these warnings because he had learned of a mission Liu Chung-lu had been sent on to North China, where Liu was directed to obtain scores of young girls and bring them back to the Khan's harem. See *Hsüan-feng* .3a, and *Hsi-yu chi* A.2b.

<sup>45</sup> *Hsüan-feng* .7a.

from Ch'üan-chen teachings and was given in response to the Khan's questions about cultivating the Way, Ch'iu nevertheless used the opportunity to broach other matters.

The area east of the mountains and north of the river [i.e., North China] is the richest land on earth. It produces many fine grains, good vegetables, fish, salt, and silk for the world to use. Since ancient times, any state that secured it became a great state. Therefore, throughout history, those who commanded countries have fought for this land. Today it belongs to the common people. Yet, warfare there has been continuous. Those who are separated and displaced are never reunited.

It would be proper [for Your Majesty] to send some talented official who knows that area well to manage it, and to exempt it from taxes for three years. By doing this you can make the country plentiful in resources and the people will have a chance to recover. It will be like hitting two birds with one stone.<sup>46</sup>

This passage evidences Ch'iu's concern for his people's welfare and suggests that when he composed the poem expressing his concern for the two hundred districts in North China, he was sincere. Ch'iu was apprehensive about the person whom Chinggis Khan would send to rule North China, and he stressed the importance of sending well-qualified man, lest someone ill-equipped bring harm to the populace.

In advising the Khan to appoint a person familiar with local problems and conditions, he was in fact suggesting that the Khan appoint a reliable Chinese official to rule the area. Ch'iu went so far as to suggest that the Khan first set up a puppet state:

When the Chin first gained the world and were building an empire in the eastern land (i.e., China proper), they were not yet familiar with the people and their ways in the Central Plateau (i.e., North China). The Chin first established Liu Yü 劉豫 in Tung-p'ing 東平 (in Shantung), and he ruled that area for eight years before the Chin took it over themselves. This is a good way to proceed. I hope that you will consider it.<sup>47</sup>

After hearing Ch'iu out, the Khan stated that what Ch'iu had told him would be difficult to implement. He added, however, that he would attempt as best he could to carry out Ch'iu's recommendations.<sup>48</sup> Whether Chinggis Khan followed Ch'iu's suggestions concerning his personal life and self-cultivation is not known. How-

<sup>46</sup> *Hsüan-feng* .5a.

<sup>47</sup> *Hsüan-feng* .8a.

<sup>48</sup> *Hsüan-feng* .9a.

ever, it is clear that the Khan did not set up a puppet state to rule North China, nor do the records show that he issued any orders exempting North China from taxation for three years.

In addition to the various recommendations recorded in the *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu*, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi also used the opportunity to advise the Khan on other matters. For example, when the Khan asked Ch'iu about the causes of earthquakes and thunder, Ch'iu told him that those phenomena were heaven's warnings against people who are unfilial.<sup>49</sup> In addition, one day Ch'iu heard that the Khan had fallen from his horse while hunting. Ch'iu advised the Khan that at his advanced age he should seldom hunt. The Khan replied that since Mongols were taught from childhood to ride and shoot, such habits were not easily put aside. However, the Khan added that he would take Ch'iu's words to heart. It is recorded that after this incident the Khan did not hunt for two months.<sup>50</sup> In fact, had the Khan followed Ch'iu's advice and stopped hunting altogether, he might have lived longer. We are told in the *Secret History of the Mongols* that Chinggis Khan fell from his horse during a hunting expedition in the autumn of 1226 and became ill.<sup>51</sup> This accident may well have contributed to his death in the following year.<sup>52</sup>

The Khan generally did not heed Ch'iu, but this was perhaps more the result of the inherent difficulty of changing life-long habits than of taking Ch'iu's words lightly. Chinggis Khan was a religious person and piously believed in Shamanism, a faith common to the nomadic North Asian peoples.<sup>53</sup> He respected Ch'iu in the same way that he respected a *bö'e* (the Mongol title for a shaman master) and he also expected that Ch'iu would pray for him just as the *bö'e*

<sup>49</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* B.36, cf. Waley, p. 115. See also YS 202.4542. Sechin Jagchid pointed out that Ch'iu's linking thunder and unfilial behavior was a result of the Chinese people's misunderstanding of nomadic culture. Jagchid was of the opinion that the Mongols did emphasize obedience and honor toward their parents. He said that "Chinese Confucian filial-piety was a matter of ritualistic obedience. Mongolian obedience and love towards one's parents was more emotional than ceremonial." See his "Chinese Buddhism and Taoism," pp. 68-69.

<sup>50</sup> *Hsi-yu chi* B.4a; cf. Waley, p. 118. See also YS 202.4525.

<sup>51</sup> See the English translation by Francis Woodman Cleaves, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 205.

<sup>52</sup> See Li Chieh 黎傑, *Yüan Shih* 元史 [History of the Yüan dynasty] (Taipei: Ta-hsin shu-chü, 1964), pp. 31-32.

<sup>53</sup> Yao, "Ch'eng-chi-ssu han," pp. 245-56; Jagchid, "Mongol Khans," p. 108.



did.<sup>54</sup> Although Chinggis Khan did not get what he originally expected from Ch'iu, namely a magic potion for long life or immortality, he was still glad to learn about various spiritual methods of cultivating longevity, even though he clearly recognized that those methods would be difficult, if not impossible, for him to put into practice. In the Khan's eyes, Ch'iu was not a spokesman for the Chinese people, but rather the leader of a Chinese religion; as such, he was himself an immortal and able to teach others how to attain immortality. There is much to suggest here that the Khan actually believed Ch'iu's words. He apparently thought that if he was unable to become an immortal, it was because he did not carefully practice Ch'iu's methods, and not the fault of Ch'iu's Way itself.

Just before Ch'iu's departure from the Khan's camp to return to China, the Khan issued an edict exempting Ch'iu's disciples, whom he expected to pray for his long life, from taxes and labor.<sup>55</sup> This edict should not be construed as a response to Ch'iu's suggestion for a general exemption of taxes in North China. Rather it was a token of the Khan's appreciation of the prayers that would be offered for his health and well-being by Ch'iu's Taoists. Six months after issuing the edict, Chinggis Khan issued another granting Ch'iu the authority to take charge of "all those in the world who leave their families."<sup>56</sup> Since both Buddhist monks and Taoist priests were generally designated by this phrase, the Khan thus recognized Ch'iu as the leader of the Taoist priests and of Buddhist monks as well.

Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's westward trek made him the most famous religious figure of his time, and it also helped in making the Ch'üan-chen sect the most popular Taoist sect during that era. However, for the traditional Chinese historian, the most significant contribution of Ch'iu's trip to the court of Chinggis Khan was what they believed to be Ch'iu's moderating influence on the Khan,

<sup>54</sup> Jagchid, "Chinese Buddhism and Taoism," p. 61.

<sup>55</sup> *Hsi-yu chi*, appendix .1a-b. This edict was carved on a stone which was erected in Chou-chih 整屋 (in Shensi) in 1223. See Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪, *Yüan-tai pai-hua pei chi-lu* 元代白話碑集錄 [A collection of stone inscriptions in the vernacular language of the Yüan dynasty (hereafter cited as *Pai-hua pei*)], Peking: K'e-hsüeh ch'u-p'an she, (1955), p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> *Hsi-yu chi*, appendix .1b. This edict was also carved on a stone which was erected in Chou-chih. See *Pai-hua pei*, p. 2.

which during the chaotic years of the 1220s and 1230s saved a large number of Chinese lives.<sup>57</sup> It is recorded in the *Yüan History*.<sup>58</sup>

At that time, the nation's troops (i.e., Mongol troops) were marching through the Central Plateau, especially in the areas north and south of the [Yellow] River. People suffered from captivity and rapine and had no escape. When [Ch'iu] Ch'u-chi returned to Yen-[ching], he ordered his disciples to [openly] carry [Taoist] certificates and to seek [followers] among the refugees of the wars. Therefore, those who had become slaves were able to be free again, and those who were on the verge of death regained their lives—altogether they numbered twenty to thirty thousand.

In reporting that "twenty to thirty thousand" people were thus saved by Ch'iu's intervention, the *Yüan History* has probably made a gross understatement. It is recorded in Yao Sui's 姚燧 (1239-1314) "Ch'ang-ch'un kung pei-ming 長春宮碑銘 (A stele for the Ch'ang-ch'un Monastery), upon which the account in the *Yüan History* is based, that after Ch'iu returned to Yen-ching in 1223, he sent people out to help those who were in danger of being captured or killed in the war. One needed only to become a Taoist and possess a Taoist certificate to be a free man, even after being enslaved by the Mongols. Thus, according to Yao Sui, those who were saved from death were "two or three millions in number."<sup>59</sup>

Another contemporary observer wrote:

[When] the crack troop of Mongols came to the south and watered their horses, the Yellow River nearly dried up; before their singing arrows, Mount Hua (in Shensi) nearly collapsed. Jade was destroyed together with stone, and the worthy were killed together with the stupid. . . . Luckily, our Ch'ang-Ch'un, the immortal Ch'iu, was summoned and went [to see the Khan who] . . . ordered that those who were obedient should not be killed and that those cities which surrendered should be exempt from punishment. . . . [People thus saved] numbered in the millions and tens of millions.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Ch'iu Ch'u-chi was not the only person who was praised by the historians as someone who successfully influenced the Mongols to desist from killing and thus saved Chinese lives. Another well-known person was Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who dissuaded the Mongols from annihilating the native population of North China and turning it into pasture land, see *YS* 146.3458. Cf. de Rachewiltz, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai," p. 201.

<sup>58</sup> *YS* 202.4525.

<sup>59</sup> See Yao Sui, *Mu-an chi* 牧庵集 (*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen pieh-chi* ed.), 11.3b-4a. Yao Sui's "Ch'ang-ch'un kung pei-ming," is also included in Su T'ien-chüeh 蘇天爵 ed., *Yüan-wen lei* 元文類 (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed.; Taipei: Commercial Press, 1968), 22.270.

<sup>60</sup> *Cheng-tsung chi* 4.13a-b.

Based on accounts such as these, many historians and scholars have praised Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's exhortations to Chinggis Khan to desist from killing, and some have even asserted that the Khan was transformed by his meeting with Ch'iu. As we have seen, there is in fact no justification for this claim. All we can say is that Chinggis evidenced respect for Ch'iu as a religious leader.

The Mongols had a policy of treating and honoring all religions equally, and privileges were given to many foreign religions in areas under their control. For example, after controlling Samarkand, the Khan exempted the Muslim clergy from taxation to prove that his war against the Muslim world was political and not religious. The Mongols' attitude toward religion in general has been aptly characterized by René Grousset:

In their superstitious awe of Heaven and of magical formulas, the Mongols felt it wise to conciliate not only their own shamans but also other possible representatives of the Divine—i.e., leaders of any cult who might conceivably be possessed of supernatural powers, such as Nestorian priests, whom they were to find among the Kerayit and Ongut, Buddhist monks among the Uighur and Khitan, Taoist magicians from China, Tibetan lamas, Franciscan missionaries, or Muslim mullahs. Goodwill shown toward representatives of these various cults provided an additional safeguard to their own Tangri worship; general superstitious dread thus engendered general tolerance.<sup>61</sup>

It is clear that Chinggis Khan was acting in accordance with the Mongols' established religious policies when he summoned Ch'iu to his court to learn the secret of immortality. Later, he was again acting in accordance with the Mongols' religious policies when he granted Ch'iu and his disciples special privileges such as exemptions from taxes and forced labor for Taoists who agreed to pray for the Khan.

Since there is no evidence that Chinggis Khan ever tried to follow Ch'iu's advice on other matters of self-cultivation, it is highly unlikely that the Khan could have been persuaded to stop killing simply because Ch'iu told him that he should. After all, this was the Khan whose idea of supreme joy was "to cut my enemies to pieces, drive them before me, seize their possessions, witness the tears of those dear to them, and embrace their wives and daughters."<sup>62</sup> In fact,

<sup>61</sup> *The Empire of the Steppes*, p. 220.

<sup>62</sup> *The Empire of the Steppes*, p. 249, citing Rashid ad-Din, in d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* 1:404.

Chinggis Khan's military policy of annihilating his enemies lasted until the last days of his life. It is reported that the Khan, shortly before his death, issued orders to wipe out the entire populace of the capital city of the Hsi-hsia in 1227.<sup>63</sup>

If there were people whose lives were spared, it was simply because they had joined the Ch'üan-chen sect. The Khan granted privileges to the Ch'üan-chen Taoists only. He never intended to extend the same privileges to the entire Chinese population. This can be seen in the edicts concerning Ch'iu and his followers, which clearly state that people who pretend to be Taoist converts in order to obtain the privileges would be punished.<sup>64</sup> Despite this warning, thousands of people did join the Ch'üan-chen sect, not to help Ch'iu pray for the Khan, but to benefit from the guarantee of protection members of the sect enjoyed.<sup>65</sup> This in turn made the Ch'üan-chen sect the most popular religion of the time, overshadowing not only other Taoist sects, but other religions including Buddhism. Although the celebrated meeting between Chinggis and Ch'iu seems not have had any substantial impact on the Khan's life, it did make the Ch'üan-chen sect flourish and should be remembered as a significant event in the history of Taoism.

<sup>63</sup> *The Empire of the Steppes*, pp. 247-48. Cf. also Grousset's *Conqueror of the World*, translated into English by Marian McKellar and Denis Sinor, (New York: The Orion Press, 1966), pp. 286-87.

<sup>64</sup> *Hsi-yu chi*, appendix .1b.

<sup>65</sup> Yüan Hao-wen observed that after Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's westward trek one-fifth of the population in North China became Ch'üan-chen converts. See Yüan's "Ch'ing-chen-kuan chi," 清真觀記 [A record of the Ch'ing-chen monastery] in his *I-shan hsien-sheng wen-chi* 遺山先生文集 (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed.), 35.482. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai wrote in his *Hsi-yu lu* that "nearly all the people who join the priesthood do so to evade the levies and to make an easy living." See de Rachewiltz, "Hsi-yu lu," p. 32.