

Part III:  
Life-community

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# Chapter 7:

## Life-community and the Will-to-Freedom

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Emergence is a process whereby larger entities, patterns, and regularities arise through interactions among smaller or simpler entities that themselves do not exhibit such properties. Emergence is central in theories of integrative levels and of complex systems. For instance, the phenomenon of life as studied in biology is commonly perceived as an emergent property of interacting molecules.<sup>1</sup>

### **Life-community level of existence – spontaneous cooperation**

Life-community emerged out of the interaction of humans cooperating for survival. It created a new Stratum-of-Being (SB<sub>2</sub>) in demonstrating that longer and more secure lives were possible if Security Action Monads (SAM) were coordinated among a larger number of complementary individuals.\* Remaining faithful to the ontological hierarchy in which human existence is the irreducible starting point of factuality, life-community is an emergent pattern, but not an entity, although it is common to speak of such patterns ("society", "State", "civil society") as if they were existent entities. New entities are emergent in the physical world and have an ontological reality as real as their components. A snowflake consists of water below the freezing point, and is a fully emergent entity, for example. A glacier consists of water molecules, can achieve global

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\* The major difference between the material and human world is that emergence in the physical is governed by objective laws, while man's culture rests on choices and actions. "Sophocles' Antigone, which gave poetical expression to the newly acquired image of man, says: 'Many mighty beings exist, but nothing is mightier than man.' And then an enumeration is made of how man does not obtain his cultural institutions through a higher grace but produces them by the power of his own spirit. Navigation, agriculture, hunting, the taming of domestic animals, language, wisdom, weaponry, cities, all this is his own creation. He himself is Prometheus." Landmann, 49.

singularity under the right conditions, and exhibits characteristics (such as hardness) radically differing from its component H<sub>2</sub>O. The “molecules” of society voluntarily create their associational entity, and can dissolve it or change its rules if an adequate number so decide. Its emergent qualities depend upon the dispositions and actions of its component units. A glacier has predictable rules discernable through laws of physics. In contrast, life-community is subject to habituated actions of willed and patterned behavior, tentatively emergent from primary kinship, for the purpose of increasing life security.

### **Natural man – from Being to Becoming**

Natural man is the sum of his instincts, body\* and mortal soul within a nuclear family. Tied to what nature† had bestowed and having only the Will-to-Life to energize life security, maintenance of “Being” defined the boundaries of his actions. As he expanded interaction with more distant kin and non-kin, he confronted new challenges and acquired new knowledge which supplemented or contradicted his own. This interaction generated language, conscious feelings, new skills, companionship and implicit rules as well as envy, hostility, and dependency. The pattern of life-community, gestated in clans and tribes, was the gateway through

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\* "Body" refers to the physical, living human corpus, which requires what Maslow designated as physiological needs.

† "Nature itself forces us to have culture. It is our nature that even on the animal level we freely acquire the forms our life will take by cultural creativity. Even this level is in man a cultural level. Again this shows that man is not an animal with the specifically human traits merely added to this animal foundation; the human is all-pervasive and starts from the ground up." Landmann, 215.

which natural man's Being activated his realm of Becoming.<sup>\*</sup> The existential shell of immediacy was cracked (or escaped, as Plato described pre-reason man's dark cave of ignorance) and migrations of men searched for life-reinforcing environments. Philosophers have treated life as a "given", when it is actually a "taken", in the sense that it has been a constant struggle to maintain. Its nutrients are extracted from the natural environment. In Part One natural man's Being was contingent upon experienced and sensed material and human phenomena. Once ensconced in the complexity of life-community, men were recipients and generators of a wider range of Security Action Monads,<sup>†</sup> allowing them to recalibrate expectations and actions upwards. They crossed the existential bridge to Becoming and envisioned a destiny larger than mere survival.

### **Transition from natural man to life-community**

In transitioning from natural man/nuclear family, cooperation with non-consanguinaries remained tenuous until benefits of trust in more distant and fictive relatives emerged. The emergence of denser groups awaited greater numbers of individuals surviving and accumulating knowledge for life security. The mists of pre-history concealed evolution of life-community<sup>‡</sup> – the extension of

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<sup>\*</sup>"Herodotus adds a remark about how right Pindar was when he said that *nomos* ('custom,' 'tradition,' 'convention') governs everything." Landmann, 34.

<sup>†</sup>Production has usually referred to material fabrication or cultivation of living things. A SAM is a non-material action "produced" by man but having an effect on the life-length of self or others or both.

<sup>‡</sup>"Schopenhauer and Nietzsche had already revealed the maskedness and deceptive concealment of our life. Our century then wanted to smash the facades of the nineteenth century and return to unconditional genuineness. After we have gotten to know genuineness, we again admire the wisdom of the facades." Landmann, 135.

diluted nuclear family cooperation into cooperative and collective action. In this process, increased population numbers and density were a catalyst to exploring new environmental vistas. Life-community was less a network of static relations and more a predictable web of SAMs from persons belonging to an identifiable group, primarily defined by blood, ritual and common territory. The leap from natural man (SAP<sub>1</sub>) to social man (SAP<sub>2</sub>) occurred as a new set of Security Action Platforms were constructed and available for launching SAMs. Each SAP elaborated common human characteristics, depended on individual actions to improve life security and opened a domain of existence previously unavailable to natural man. Within life-community, individuals surrendered autonomous creaturehood in return for more complex personhood – a status with personal name, privileges and obligations. Reduction of primeval self-love was required and externally apportioned to a wider range of acquaintances, marking the beginning of altruism. Unlike later existence in the State (SB<sub>3</sub>), the life-community member allocated his concerns chiefly to a face-to-face network.

Natural man's mortal soul\* permanently resides in individuals of the human species and is animated by Will-to-Life. The tendency in life-community was for him to see non-kin others as rivals or enemies until proven otherwise. A natural woman wifed was less a partner than a subordinate to serve the hearth, bear and raise

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\* A metaphysical entity whose existence is derived from action and thought generating Wills. Thinking, as Descartes suggested, proves existence of the whole. Individual man is an emergent entity consisting of Will and body, with limited time (longevity) allotted to his existence

children.\* Such was the human condition for a few thousand years. Through kinship, technology diffusion, specialization, adaptation to local environment and language development, bands became larger and spontaneously organized. Circles of trust, mutual dependency, channels of exchange and common language gave rise to recognizable life-community. Life insecurity gave way to cooperative security as natural man expanded contacts and collisions with others of his species; common ancestry established a connected range of habitation and opened possibility of mutual benefits. Parent-child, husband-wife and sibling age/sex distinctions established a hierarchy in the natural family which was applied in more extended kinship groups of clan and tribe. As numbers grew, other criteria were added to distinguish leaders from followers, aristocracy from commoners, warriors from workers, freemen from slaves.† Identity in organic societies depended on an individual's position within the larger matrix and was dictated by birth, status and role. These spontaneous (emergent) arrangements, expressed in distinctive personhood of an individual, were inscribed in custom, ritual and habit.‡ Strengthening life security of all was

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\* The sexual division of labor was response to physiological requirements of natural man. "...man is distinguished from the other mammals not only visibly but in a different rhythm of growth. First man would have to spend a much longer time in the womb by analogy with the other mammals relative to his size. He comes to the world almost a year too early and so gains an 'extra-uterine year.' Therefore the human offspring, as Anaximander, Pliny, and Herder had previously observed, is so helpless. Next man requires a great deal more time until adulthood. As he adds something to his childhood backward by being born earlier, he also adds something to it by extending it longer. He grows until after his twentieth year, that is, even beyond the age of puberty (whereas a whale reaches its full size of over sixty feet in two years)." Landmann, 184.

† The hierarchy of Viking society consisted of Kings, Jarls, Karls, and Thralls, roughly conforming to this pattern.

‡ "One distinctive feature of the life-community is that the values it expresses - those values which are manifest in habit (*Sitte*), custom (*Brauch*), cult, fashion (*Tracht*) and so on - is the tissue thin distinction Scheler draws between

accomplished through sharing knowledge, defenses, hunting, herding and foraging. For a tribal person to betray his comrades or seriously violate custom, punishments ranged from degrading name and status-change to execution or exile.

### **Man as mutually dependent social animal**

To Aristotle,\* man was defined by his orientation to group life.† Although the adult human organism is biologically and psychologically capable of independent existence, few desire a life of isolation away from the comforts and protections offered by his species. Birth and dependency upon cooperative nurture through infancy and childhood from two parents prepare the individual for two existential conditions. The first is independent biological life, capable of seeking, recognizing and using nutrients and shelter. The acquisition of practical knowledge is driven by Will-to-Life and serves the individual long after family tutelage has eased or terminated. Preparation for a child's sovereignty (over his actions) in independent adulthood requires family supervision and guidance and contains a share of altruism to the extent that resources and

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personal and communal values. While it is legitimate to speak of communal goals and intentions, and while the life-community can rightfully be seen as a natural living entity, Scheler finds it important to stress that - the life-community is not a collective Person. This is because, Scheler insists, there is no collective will capable of choosing and bearing responsibility for the results of such choices." Perrin, *Max Scheler's Concept of the Person*, 101.

\* "Aristotle knew that man needs this cultural complementation, that he is not sufficient to himself but is by nature a social being. Whoever stands outside the community is not a man but "either an animal or God." This took Aristotle beyond his usual rational anthropology-for reason belongs to us as individuals. "Man becomes a man only among men. If men are to exist at all, there must be several" (Fichte)." Landmann, 219.

† "A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature, and yet he who first founded the state was the greatest of benefactors." *Politics*, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.1.one.html> Part II.

energy are dispensed on the offspring, with pure altruism limited by expectation of reciprocation. Parental SAMs have been fundamental to survival and prospering of humanity. The second anticipated state of Being is to cultivate allegiance and obligation of the “person-in-training” to SAM providers. This has been routinized as parental respect or filial piety and initially creates the strongest bond of loyalty in society. It serves a selfish parental interest by nurturing individuals who will provide reciprocal security outputs during dependent stages of life – old age or illness or other incapacitation.

#### **Defining life-community -Connecting life-community to individual existence**

Life-community precipitates into new orientations and behaviors when natural individuals and nuclear families assimilate into extensive social networks beyond limitations of close blood relationship.\* The natural individual is the unit organism of humanity, entering life-community SB<sub>2</sub> to survive longer – a Becoming necessary to attain fuller humanity. Unit autonomy of natural man is modified by life-community’s bestowal of personhood and recognized membership. Individual and family sovereignty is partially surrendered to larger social units. As compensation, the human unit acquires a higher level of life security that is both physical and mental. While a natural individual has only his strength and resources to protect his one and only life, it is reinforced by a semi-fictive family (clan and tribe) who create a larger self expressed as personhood. Entry and participation in life-

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\* The ancestry of Genghis Khan through the male line is outlined in Rachewiltz 1:2.

community offer greater protection in return for social obligations. Intense protection of one by a small number of kin occurs in the natural family through intimate interaction and mutual dependency. A more diffuse range of less intense protection was added to, but did not replace, immediate kin when the second level of existence was added to an individual's network of face-to-face contacts.\*

Natural man's proclivity to seek life security is deeply physical and affective, expressed in breathing, eating, drinking, remembering, moving, observing, learning, and feeling, with a powerful self-love seasoned by anxiety to postpone inevitable life failure. As one grows into adulthood, other indirect and more distant kin connections are revealed and named, so that a web of relations provides a natural community contributing to an individual's well-being. His capacity to reciprocate is increased and channeled by rituals, names, common territory and other aspects to reinforce habitual recognition of related individuals and assure survival assistance when needed. Time, habit and custom activate SAMs at this secondary level of existence - organic because it is a spontaneous extension of natural family relations.

### **Individual v. person actions**

When natural man becomes a person in life-community, the physical body is unchanged but better protected. Actions and

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\* As strategies of life security were discovered and refined, population numbers and density increased, creating more opportunities for interaction and security actions involving others. With fortuitous environment and circumstances, improvement of life security became self-reinforcing – more and longer lives (counted in humyears), more numerous and effective SAMs, and more incidents of conflict.

learning take on new dimensions. In the natural setting, any SAM is intended to benefit himself or individuals in his immediate family. As person in life-community, ancillary SAM production/consumption becomes customary among comrades when perceived as beneficial to well-being. An example would be a lone herdsman capturing and taming a wild horse and daily caring for its training, fodder and protection. The primary domestication of the animal represented investment of ability, risk and time and formed a sense of possession – primitive private property. Within a tribe, recognition that the horse – and by extension, wife, children, ger and weapons – was his property, not communal, evolved a customary sense of exclusive ownership and utilization, although some degree of sharing material things was encouraged and even made mandatory. Appropriation of such possessions without permission was considered a hostile act – i.e. theft. Skills learned as natural man were fitted into the tribal division of labor. Men who excelled in veterinary medicine in a large tribe might be relieved of other tasks so they might devote more time in practicing skills. Individual specialization added to the general well-being of the tribal community.

**Clans and tribes – building blocks of life-community: Ontology of life-community**

Life-community is a secondary Stratum-of-Being for natural man to enter and acquire protections. It is a matrix of relationships valuing cooperation for the purpose of improving and maintaining security efficacy and expanding the number/frequency of life-lengthening SAMs available to all within that network. Life-community has inferior ontological status compared to the human

lives comprising it. Life-community consists of multiple persons but has no intrinsic personhood itself.\* Moreover, a life-community generally has a presence longer than any individual for the reason that it exists in the minds of multiple persons and has no extinguishable mortal soul. One life-community can be erased by full assimilation into another, or into a State where clan membership is exchanged for Subject-hood, or exterminated when a militant and stronger life-community physically executes all or most members of a defeated life-community. Killing defeated warriors of the Tatar tribe and enslaving the survivors not only terminated lives, but erased identities, memories, traditions and old loyalties. Tribal membership was not only a mental fixture, but might be expressed in speech patterns as well.† Weakening, dissolution or destruction of opposing life-communities' matrix and membership became a component of the Mongol strategy.

### **Life-community as expression of spontaneous order**

Life-community expresses what Friedrich A. Hayek called "spontaneous order."‡ Although he used the term to describe free

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\* An important innovation for the life-community is creation of symbols to represent consensual and collective orientation. A totem fulfills this and reinforces a sense of identity. The generation communication of symbols mark the transition from state of nature to life-community, and make subsequent Strata-of-Being possible.

† The term "shibboleth" refers to a word used by the biblical Gileadites to identify the enemy Ephraimites, and killed any who pronounce the word as "Sibboleth" – without the "sh" sound. *Book of Judges*, Chapter 12.

‡ Although Hayek's term described free markets, it has a limited applicability to larger life-community without identifying cause, only benefit. "...only spontaneous order (that) can secure efficient co-ordination and production and at the same time preserve liberty because only the self-co-ordination in the market fully utilizes people's knowledge and skills and still leaves them free to pursue their own projects and plans." Roland Kley, *Hayek's Social and Political Thought*:(New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 2.

markets, it can also be applied to life-community as preliminary description. Men were born into clan and tribe, were raised by parents and "spontaneously" accepted its norms, obligations and benefits in the sense of not requiring official coercion or contract or legal stipulation. Rituals, festivals and war further solidified membership. Its order differed from that which States impose through law and administration. Governments claim superior knowledge in organizing production and distribution at the expense of individuals seeking their optimum individual interests through labor, information, competition, contract and bargaining.

Hayek's term "spontaneous" is inadequate to explain pre-State human relations, because it weakens the connection between cause and effect. Life-community is only spontaneous insofar as it forms without plan. It is an adjective that burdens phenomena as instantaneous or too-brief time event. A better term would be "protracted spontaneity". Life-community connotes slow and natural growth out of available elements - linking causes with their effects. Simply, physical needs and wants, plus human knowledge produce life-community as a means of pursuing survival more efficiently than the anarchic individual pursuit of life protection in a state of nature. In terms of Anthrocentric Security Theory (AST), a person belonging to and complying with the requirements of life-community is amplifying potential sources of SAMs and simultaneously widening the number of individuals for whom he has a duty to expend SAMs. Humans have a proclivity to enter arrangements of life-community. Those who don't have been less likely to survive and reproduce.

Hayek described “self-co-ordination in the market” which applies as well to pre-State life-community in that both balance a modicum of individual freedom.\* This freedom has been gained through cooperation, which consists of discrete actions distinct from market self-coordination. A major difference between market and life-community is that the former focuses on the exchange of material things and services, while the latter, depending on the coercion of custom and obligation-imposing common membership, extracts collectively advantageous behavior from participants. Markets primarily focus on private benefit and profit, while life-community’s purpose is to increase life security for a specified set of individuals. There is no concept of “public” in life-community, although “collective” has utility as long as the term does not obfuscate that it refers to a “collection of individuals”.

### **Personhood - creation of life-community**

Personhood in life-community (SB<sub>2</sub>) is analogous to Subjecthood<sup>†</sup> in the State (SB<sub>3</sub>), in that both bestow membership in the defined community, with parallel obligations and rights. To be a person in life-community entails recognition by other persons and expectations that the individual will behave in customary fashion and contribute to communal security inputs. Children, women, slaves and aliens were usually denied basic personhood, and boys

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\* "We do have the freedom to decide, but not the more radical /creative freedom also to invent the content of what we want to do. Only the Western modern age knows this creative freedom." Landmann, 206.

† The term “citizen” or “citizenship” is reserved for civil society, where constituent persons have a formal voice in State deployment of agents and making/enforcement of laws.

became persons in various rites of passage. Personhood also required possession of necessary knowledge and bloodline. The status of citizen has historically excluded various categories of individuals, while the modern trend has been towards greater inclusiveness. Personhood brought a new measure of protection to the natural individual who became identified as a comrade, as an additional resource for security of the group (including its non-persons) and as a contributor to prolonged existence and solidarity.

British philosopher John Locke distinguished “man” from “person”. Man referred to the animal species – the physical manifestation of hominid biped, “natural man”. This distinction was reflected in his notion that there is a natural as well as a civil society. Person is the moral subject who is responsible for his actions and has a continuity of consciousness, remembering what he has done. A human life – at least the animal part - is an organic whole, beginning at birth\* and ending at death.†

Life-community represents extended emergence of SB<sub>2</sub> which binds men together in their conscious recognition of mutual interest to reciprocate security actions. It bestows membership in the form of personhood, and generally bases itself on kinship, extended family

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\* Or at conception - "Yahweh called me when I was in the womb, before my birth he had pronounced my name." Isaiah 49:1.

† But the concept of personhood as moral and rational status establishes a bifurcated existence. The Catholic Church confers age of reason at around six years, many democratic States confer voting rights and military obligation around 18 years. In modern societies, personhood is withheld until certain criteria are met and these are usually reflected in formal laws.

and fictive blood relations. Security outputs are more mutually positive than negative, and are reinforced by language, territory, inter-dependent livelihoods, ritual and religion.\*

### **Ontological status of individual, family and life-community**

Ontologically, the individual mortal soul/body is the grounded reality of Being – tangible, observable and dependent on continued SAMs. Natural man's Being is a closed cycle of life-duration actions. With emergence of life-community, liberating men from sheer necessity introduced a mode of Becoming which is more than a high species form of life. Life-community has an optional quality derived from its non-material emergence, and has potency because of custom, habit and inculcation of accepted presence which is expressed in totem, ritual, collective activity and affection. It lacks factual substance and derives obligatory SAMs from recognition of joint utility for life security.

Sanctions against adultery or doubtful paternity in life-community originated in that intended resources to children or siblings are diluted by illegitimate lineage.

**Belgünütei and Büügünütei, the two sons born earlier to Dobun Mergen, said to each other, behind the back of their mother Alan Qo'a, "Although this mother of ours is without brothers-in-law and male relatives and without a husband, she has borne these three sons. In the house there is only the man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut. Surely these three sons are his." Their mother Alan Qo'a knew what they had been saying to each other behind her back.<sup>2</sup>**

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\* The effectiveness and limitations of life-community as security apparatus will be examined in the next three chapters.

When Alan Qo'a's eldest sons confronted her about the birth of their three brothers after the death of her husband, she invented a story of divine fertilization and reinforced it with the analogy of arrows – each brittle alone, but unbreakable in a bundle. With the arrows she also illustrated the life security advantage of organic solidarity, despite suspicions of diluted fraternity. Left unsaid was that the source of the arrows (i.e. a non-husband) should not be relevant. Genghis Khan faced the issue of paternity of his eldest son, Jochi, when naming his successor.

Ca'adai said, "When you say, 'Jochi speak up!', do you mean *by that* that you will appoint Jochi *as your successor*? How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?"<sup>13</sup>

### **Envisioning life-community**

Natural man enters life-community in expectation of spontaneous SAMs repaid with reciprocity. Habits and skills acquired in isolated family settings are refined and sharpened in denser human concentrations. New skills and knowledge are required in order to profit from life-community benefits. Deference to others is adjusted according to age, position, kinship and sex. Spoken language in deferential societies (for example, Korea and Japan) reflects complexity. Because tribal existence (SB<sub>2</sub>) occurs as an overlay incorporating individual existence (SB<sub>1</sub>), it lacks the immediacy experienced by the mortal soul/body. For example, a hunter is attacked by a wild bear and kills it, thereby protecting his life security – both by removal of a threat and winning the nutrition of bear flesh. The hunter visits the family of his mate's sister, shares some of the bear parts with them, thus reinforcing extended family solidarity which will be useful in future obligatory repayments. The bear kill and delivery of meat both have SAM status, one primary

and the second ancillary. The product of social solidarity from the second transaction is neither tangible nor immediate, belonging to the second level of life-community existence . The first (bear kill) in contrast, was an immediate SAM by natural man to protect body and mortal soul. SAMs strengthen bonds of kinship and accustom men to patterns of interaction which extend beyond blood relations. These patterns manifest as friends, blood brothers, or adoptive children, where maximizing the number of loyal persons increases life security.

### **Transforming Mongol life-community**

The importance of life-community was illustrated when Temüjin's nuclear family was ostracized and exiled from the clan. Following the death of Yisügei, his clan abandoned the widowed family.

Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayici'ut, Todo'en Girte and the other Tayici'ut *began* to move downstream along the Onan River. As they set out, leaving behind Lady Ho'elün, the mothers and the children, Old Caraqa of the Qongqotat went after them and tried to stop them, but Todo'en Girte said,

" The deep water has dried up,  
The shining stone is shattered. "4

This early life incident of Temüjin illustrates the power of an organic complex to affect family and individuals. After the death of Yisügei, his surviving family was excluded from clan rites and abandoned. A faithful servant was killed as he implored kin not to leave the widow and her children to die in the wilderness. This rejection cast the family into desperate circumstances worse than those of a natural band – with no clan support, no adult male and dependent upon the unyielding parsimony of steppe and forest. Clan rejection cruelly removed Ho'elün and her minor children

from Tayici'ut life-community and regressed them to a nearly\* natural state of being.

### **Contrasting life-community with civil society**

Life-community is a separate Stratum-of-Being in that it consists of malleable structures adapted to a particular physical and human environment and not dependent upon organized State power. This organic version of society, based on natural and security-seeking behaviors channeled into serving a totemic identity, contrasts with civil society which owes existence to acceptance of State power expressed in law and administration, as well as the multiple forms of coercion available to governments. Life-community denotes relatively spontaneous arrangements of habit, custom and deference among persons sharing common kinship, life-adaptation and territory. Life-community is an outgrowth and refinement of individual activities dedicated to life security, is expressed in clan and tribe, in which birth or adoptive membership confers security benefits and obligations. An evolutionary pattern of life security SAMs is suggested and point to the conclusion that the crucial components of institutions rest on the proclivities and values of natural man. Human progress thus has depended on preservation, modification and expansion of the characteristics which improved life-length.

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\* "Nearly" because they benefited from language, weapons, ger and lore they had acquired while living in the Tayici'ut life-community.

- Natural man existed as an emerging species more cunning than most animals and survived by strength and wit.
- Life-community's SAPs add to, refine and expand natural man's SAPs.
- The State adds to, refines and expands life-community's SAPs; and
- Civil society adds to, refines and expands the State's SAPs.

Mongol clan and tribe society was fragmented into multiple life-communities, on which Temüjin expended a third of his lifetime in a project of unification. Certain characteristics of centrifugal tribalism were battled and rejected, while others were valuable, more amenable to strengthen centripetalism and incorporated into the emergent State. Cities played no role in early Mongol State formation. Mongols not only had little use for urban concentrations, but considered them and their inhabitants to be worthy of massive looting and destruction when they resisted attack. In place of urban bases of power, Genghis Khan fused disparate segments of kin-based organic societies having common nomadic values and custom-based ethics.\* His State-building project did not intend to transform Mongols into a new people, but to accept their mode of

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\* I distinguish between ethics and morals. Ethics refers to rules that govern behavior, and are not enforced by a higher authority, in contrast to morality – a code which usually invokes or implies a symbolic sovereignty higher than the State. Ethics can have its source in custom and reason, while morals are derived from more cosmic doctrine – including natural law.

life protections and redirect it into unified strength of a once-desperate and disparate people. Like an electrical charge directed into an iron bar to line up its molecules in singular magnetic polarity, Genghis re-aligned his people into a unified human force of destruction and conquest. This reorientation did not change the character of individual Mongols, but altered clan and tribal structures, celebrated positive values and removed “impurities” by ruthless extermination. Genghis, his family and his companions changed the constitution of nomadic society by reducing its tendencies to self-destruction and directing its hunting/warring skills outwards in a coordinated direction for human purposes.

### **Mongol Tribal wars as life-community**

Genghis’s pre-State internal wars were a preliminary stage of consolidating the plural life-communities into one, and occurred when he subdued opposing tribes, attracted followers and defeated his major rivals for sovereignty. An organic society as life-community emerged primarily as human adaptation to a population’s natural environment and finds its organizing and activating principles in existing behavior and knowledge, rather than what is acquired by sustained reason or explicit legislation of positive law.\* Individuals interact for the primary purpose of life protection, through cultivation of obligation, acquisition of survival goods and the destruction of enemies. As interactions among

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\*"Sartre’s humanism too stands in strong opposition to theism: Not God creates man, but we create ourselves. Each one of us must, out of our own interior resources, decide responsibly what kind of man he wants to be. Existentialism is a humanism because it recognizes man’s specific task as a lawgiver, which no other creature has, namely to discover and shape his own nature." Landmann, 62.

humans acquire complexity and variety, past lessons and experiences become data for planning current and future actions. Observed activity from past human and animal behavior as well as from other natural phenomena form a “fuzzy knowledge” which reduces the randomness of life and diminishes paramountcy of habit, appetite and emotion, especially for those having a more potent Will-to-Life. In life-community, communication and language become more critical for human life security.

### **Life and economy in the steppes**

Mongols lived in dispersed encampments, coming together on occasion and having some attributes of feudal class structure. While fierce loyalty was required of all members and traditional rules delimited or specified actions, relations with other groups resembled inter-State affairs. Wars, alliances, confederations and conquests occurred, though with little formality. While steppe incidents of violence were not everyday events, they served to define vulnerability of non-warrior individuals, who had few counterforces except to support effective military strength and defer to leaders’ reputations and commands. The necessary mobility of nomads was premised on an absence of permanent settlement, and reduced property and possessions to basic necessities. A few articles, especially those fashioned of iron, were bartered or exchanged. Markets were few and far between. Horses made mobility of steppe life possible and were traded, stolen or gifted as a semi-currency. The economy of the Mongolian plateau was primitive compared to that of agrarian China. Tribal disorder and conflicts served Chinese interests by inhibiting the barbarians from uniting and breaching the

Great Wall. This same anarchy interfered in trade between East Asia and Western Europe and obstructed commerce along the Silk Road.

### **Moral life of peasants and nomads; impact of religion**

Clans established proto-laws unto themselves,<sup>5</sup> with their own customs and rules, and a particularist view of justice and right. Edward Banfield described the impoverished south Italian peasant culture\* as “amoral familism,” a notion of ethics having currency within kin and not much further. The nomads of Central Asia differed from the sedentary farmer who has usually been subjected to later organization by State (aided by religion), with laws and custom to protect his livelihood while extracting revenue in kind, cash and service. Native ethical values have less potency after State and church or mosque imposed their defined moral system on a populace. In contrast, the relatively freer nomads were under no higher secular authority than tribal custom and clan rules. Conversion of western tribes to Islam introduced a more unified moral system. An ecclesiastical order looser than Christianity left autonomy to the tribes in determining behavioral guidelines. Each clan operated under its own subculture.† Clan rule joins

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\* "The community, however, is not only itself a cultural sphere; it is at the same time preserver and transmitter of the total culture. In order therefore to be cultural beings in the full sense, we must first and foremost be social beings. Therefore man is the most social being and this does not contradict the fact that he is at the same time the most individual being. He is social as a creation of culture; he is individual as its creator." Landmann, 219-220.

† "According to Erich Rothacker, even entire cultures are receptively selective by characteristic dimensions and each articulates a different landscape out of the total world. The entire mental life of a Greek educated in philosophy and art is constructed differently from that of a Roman trained for dominion, law, and purposefulness. The antisensual Anglo-Saxon Puritan remains unreceptive to certain stimuli for which precisely the Latin strives to increase and cultivate his sensibility. Just as psychologically there is a 'threshold of consciousness' that can be

decentralized constitutional organization with a culture\* of honor owed to the group.

### **Fifth Security Action Platform (SAP<sub>5</sub>) - Freedom in life-community**

The first Security Action Platform to be considered in life-community is the Will-to-Freedom[W<sub>L</sub>]. Freedom here refers to the decrease in immediate and persistent dependence on scarce life necessities – the total tyranny of the need to survive. The engagement of Will-to-Life into modes of mind-reliance for conscious memories, failed and succeeded experiences in acquiring needful things, and cunning estimations of alternative action consequences aggregates into this Will-to-Freedom. It may precipitate slowly in various individuals, but it accelerates among greater concentration of persons who demonstrate and exchange skills and knowledge. The Will-to-Freedom comes from the realization that the body is better served by prudent action preceded by visualizing outcomes and estimating required efforts and resources. It is the main motivation underlying security actions in a life-community.

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passed only by certain stimuli, so also there is a 'cultural threshold': only what has 'meaningfulness' within my 'style of life' finds admittance into it." Landmann, 196-7.

\* "Culture is man's 'second nature.' But each individual must first grow into this culture, must assimilate it by learning. Cultural customs, language, mores, technical skills, etc., are not preformed, innate capacities that merely have to develop like the instincts. Man has only one innate capacity: namely, to learn all this; only one instinct: that of imitation. In this regard he is more ape-like than the ape. He must first, in his own process of assimilation, accept and practice the cultural traditional lore of his group." Landmann, 185.

Natural freedom\* is partially surrendered in life-community. Personhood, as recognition by others of individual membership in a group, is not only a product of physical proximity and kinship, but requires fulfillment of obligation, demonstration of trust and the ability to contribute SAMs. A network of duty defines life-community as a mutual aid association for prolonging life and postponing death. Compulsion forms a bonding instrument and reduces the voluntary component of human actions. Tightly bound in custom and superstition, pre-State and post-state of nature persons were subject to, and Subjects of, no government and thus had no political obligations. They lived in circumstances of shorter life and few protections save those of his own making and strength, and those provided by kin, clan and tribe.

The pre-State Will-to-Freedom, as life security motivation to escape hand-to-mouth existence, is a Security Action Platform as it prompts a person to pursue actions which prolong life in many circumstances. When bandits stole Temujin's eight horses, he had the freedom to pursue and retrieve them with help of Bo'orcu. Had he been a slave or serf, pursuit would not have been undertaken unless accompanied by a master who could insure that the servant would not try to escape. Slaves, feudal serfs and Viking thralls obeyed out of fear of punishment and any activity was a calculation of minimum effort that avoided penalty and often more the appearance of diligence rather than its substance.

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\* Natural freedom refers to the relative absence of other-serving duties and obligations which characterize complex organizations. Harari describes how agrarian man deceives himself by exchanging the life of hunting and foraging for the drudgery and demands of crop cultivation. *Sapiens*.

For the nomadic Mongols, domesticated horses contributed mightily in fulfilling their Will-to-Freedom, enabling more effective hunts and migrations than would have been possible on foot. Raising horses was not a luxury but a vital necessity, and their loss negated a hunting advantage enjoyed by Ho'elün's band. Belgütei returned from marmot hunting to stock the larder with meat, an improvement over their initial days of roots and berries diet. The theft of all but one horse was a serious life crisis for the group and Temüjin went in anxious pursuit to retake their mounts.

One day *some* robbers came and stole the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, that were standing by the tent and made off with them before their very eyes. *Temujin and his brothers* sighted *the robbers*, but being on foot fell behind. Belgütei was then away marmot-hunting on a shorttailed, short-haired chestnut horse. He arrived on foot in the evening after sunset, leading behind him the short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse, which was so laden down with marmots that it staggered.<sup>6</sup>

Young Bo'orcu joined Temüjin in the chase to retake the horses. Although the incident occurred while the widow's orphaned band lived in conditions of near-state of nature, it illustrated the Will-to-Freedom that required and was facilitated by additional men and horses – represented by Bo'orcu's joining the chase and recovery of the purloined geldings. Absenting himself from family to join Temüjin demonstrated the essence of life-community higher than mere kin-based solidarity. His altruism and loyalty later became vital to Temüjin's growth into leadership and was catalyst to transforming anxiety into trust. The project of retaking the herd not only reinforced Temüjin's division of the human world into kin and predators, but modified that same vision by revelation of inherent possibilities in alliance and trusting cooperation. This revelation that desperate life circumstances inherent to their isolated encampment could be ameliorated by attracting and cultivating like-minded men

initiated a new life-affirming community. Hence Temüjin's Will-to-Freedom found expression in the warrior life-community which became his army nucleus and he ascended into SB<sub>2</sub>

1. <b>Stratum-of-Being</b>	SB <sub>2</sub> - life-community.
2. <b>Security Action Platform</b>	SAP <sub>05</sub> - Will-to-Freedom [F <sub>L</sub> ] The family's bare sustainability could return to abject desperation without their horses. Later the horses were their only means of escape from Merkit raiders.
3. <b>Initiator (subject) + Action-predicate + target (object)</b>	Bandits + deprive + family (of horses).
4. <b>Intended consequence</b>	Bandits improve their living standard - Use livestock for sale, exchange, or food.
5. <b>Unintended consequence</b>	Triggered pursuit by Temüjin and Bo'orcu to chase down the rustlers.
6. <b>Resources required v. used</b>	Raider skills, horses <i>Bo'orcu volunteered unsolicited valuable services to Temüjin.</i>
7. <b>Actual effect on life-length of object</b>	Major effect on family - loss of horses could mean starvation without means to hunt.
8. <b>Positive or negative for subject</b>	+Success of the robbery improved security of bandits if family had been easy prey. <i>-Became objects of successful Temüjin/Bo'orcu gelding pursuit and recapture.</i>

Table 11: Bandits steal eight horses from Temüjin encampment.

The incident demonstrated the Will-to-Freedom in that Temüjin embarked on a high-risk chase and recovery – a necessary enterprise to restore their life security resources and avoid thrusting back into a hopeless state of nature. Satisfaction of the Will-to-Freedom distinguishes humans from other forms of life. Transforming the horse from wild animal into personal mobility apparatus liberated nomads from desperate circumstanced individuals foraging an area otherwise limited by foot travel, into mounted warriors, hunters and herders for whom time needed to cover great distances diminished at least five-fold. Their freedom of movement was subordinate to the resulting increment of freedom

from necessity made possible by accumulated skills of equestrian capture, herding, training, equipping, and veterinary care. One of several freedom\* tools, the horse not only widened their scope of activity but also determined that the direction of life-community and State evolution would be distinct from those based on agrarian production.

Steppe life-community was germinated and fertilized by the Will-to-Freedom from necessity. To give permanence to this more complex arrangement, new sentiments and bonds had to be invented or discovered. A rational calculation of self-interest might have sufficed to hold the extended associations together. Pooled and accumulated knowledge was a benefit of associations larger than nuclear family, and was transmitted inter-generationally as complex language became widespread. Rituals and festivals strengthened identity and membership, and collective work in hunting and herding confirmed the higher freedom from abject dependency on foraging success.

An organic (spontaneous) proclivity to associate and cooperate with fellow humans generated five Security Action Platforms from which Security Action Monads are launched. These are generated at the level of natural man and have flourished in life-community. These are enumerated below and will be elaborated in the next few chapters, with examples from the *Secret History*. The first SAP is

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\* For pre-State humans, freedom was a true goal but not named because it was not yet an idea.

freedom from necessity – the discovery that a higher amount of goods and services can be assured beyond the immediately needful.

Natural man's Will-to-Freedom was catalyst for constructing and joining life-community. Natural freedom is the desire to rid oneself of the constant and often desperate search for security from starvation, thirst, exposure or violence. Humans are one with animals, whose anxiety is not expressed in conscious thought. Watching the seasons and the horizon, the man of the steppe anticipated problems and acted to counter them. With success comes security allowing him to relax and seek longer and more fulfilled life. A man with a dozen horses has greater freedom than he with none, and the nomad with extended kin and a large herd is more secure in his life. To use Isaiah Berlin's notion, the Will-to-Freedom is similar to his "negative liberty" – it is freedom from stark necessity. The proper usage of liberty is best reserved for that period of human history when the State emerges and challenges men with totalistic power that can envelop lives. In this sense liberty has little meaning until the distinction between sovereign and Subject has been realized.

Natural man has freedom of movement and action which is circumscribed and modified as he inhabits SB<sub>2</sub> in life-community. In his natural condition, an adult was vulnerable and utterly dependent upon body strength, native cunning and vitality. That solitary version of freedom is revealed as haunted by nagging anxiety, privation and possible violent death. He foregoes that freedom by seeking companionship of kin and others he thinks to trust. He yields his environmentally circumscribed natural freedom

of movement and action for a greater freedom from raw necessity imposed by worries over survival. The protections provided by life-community include many pairs of eyes and ears to sense and warn against danger, an accumulation of knowledge about body repair, hunting and pasture and assurance of less likelihood of violent death. Moreover, temporal life of the individual is given meaning with collective belief in one's immortal spirit which will be honored by those who remain and follow after him. There is also loss of natural freedom in that the once-autonomous man must submit to leaders, join in war, participate in rituals and obey customs and taboos. Generally, costs are lower than benefits, and continued intimate familiarity with natural family lubricates membership in clan and tribe society.

Many modern political commentators and theorists use freedom and liberty as near-synonyms, as Yuval Levin illustrates:

*In its progressive (and dominant) form, this hyper-individualist, twenty-first-century notion of liberty begins from the straightforward premise that liberty consists of the individual's freedom from coercion and constraint - in essence, the freedom to shape one's life as one chooses.<sup>7</sup>*

Finding the notion of freedom in pre-State society requires first, a suspension of this liberty idea, which flourished as reaction to State domination of individuals. Second, we must identify what stifled or controlled human action in ways that forced individuals to behave in severely restricted patterns. Where the State (SB<sub>3</sub>) does not appear with its coercive apparatus, in those societies based on voluntarism and kinship, the greatest restrictions come from acquiring the means for survival. Living desperately was the greatest encroachment and limitation on natural man's potential

freedom. Seeking relief in human companionship and cooperation, he shared protection and acquisition of necessities, easing survival desperation and thus adding to freedom.

Freedom from raw necessity differs from the modern concept of liberty, which has origins in the response to State and economics. John Locke partnered liberty with private property and it was embedded in liberal constitutions. Modern liberty has been diminished with the growth of powerful States which have expanded their police, war, welfare and regulatory reaches into activities once the exclusive realm of life-community. The Mongol nomad was free from State and legal intervention or interference to hunt, raid and move as he deemed necessary. Fences, settlements, farms or regulations were absent as impediments, while waters, game and pastures were available to individuals and tribes for use, albeit subject to claims of exclusive rights by other tribes.\* Mongol tribes imposed hunting restrictions on claimed territory, forcing hunters to poach or move on to new lands. Even the *Secret History's* "Old Testament" mentioned that regulation of hunting was imposed.

As in their land the Qori Tumat had imposed bans on one another's sable, squirrel and wild game hunting grounds and mutual relations were bad as a result.<sup>8</sup>

The Will-to-Freedom is derivative from and refinement of the Will-to-Life.† Although a motivation as much as platform, it directs

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\* Jared Diamond describes how trespassers in New Guinea were punished if caught on land claimed by others. *The World until Yesterday: What We can Learn from Traditional Societies* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013).

† "The freedom to design ourselves, however, is limited by certain pregiven facts. First, human existence never begins from anew, rather it always finds itself 'cast' into a historical situation, which it has not sought. We are all shaped by the traditions of communities in which we grew up and are. We are shaped by our own past. This

action to greater security affirmation than might occur under pure instinct of self-preservation. An individual facing direct challenge to survival will choose life over death without a moment's deliberation. Under less trying circumstances, in choosing freedom as desired consequence of action, the person engages in a brief dialectic concerning costs and benefits. A clan hunter decides whether to join a party on expedition or try his skill alone. Considerations of alternative outcomes, based on what he knows of the others in the party, their skills and past performance will affect his decision. He will also reflect on his own skills and experience, and be pulled to join the group as affirmation of group solidarity. In a tightly-knit band he will probably join their hunt since it will enhance his freedom from raw necessity, although at the cost of proto-liberty from conformity to the group's division of labor and necessary discipline and subordination.

**Human freedom in the State of nature - Bodoncar: survived as natural man**

As complex connections among humans blossomed, new possibilities for protecting their lives were revealed. Hunting, herding, farming and gathering were regularized and made cooperative, temporarily (until the next crop failure) liberating men from hunger and the persistent search for nutrition. This became the first human freedom – the freedom from passive dependence on nature's bounty or parsimony. Natural independence created life-

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'heritage', whose bearers we are, also prescribes the lines for our future. The possibilities we decide for are only then most deeply our own, if they are in continuity with this heritage. Thus the sovereignty over one's decisions at any moment is limited by the weight of past life." Landmann, 211.

community by permitting men to migrate to and explore new geographic niches where life could be sustained – from the Arctic to the remotest Pacific islands. As humans adapted to new environments, they domesticated animals, developed new modes of transport and exploitation, and accommodated each other's talents and dispositions. A primitive division of labor is sufficiently effective to improve the life security beyond what a lone individual could achieve. Cooperation requires diminishing personal independence of action.

An idealized independence in the natural state is quickly cancelled by an inventory of dangers and deprivations which give brittleness to that freedom. Man in the never-idyllic state of nature has obligations only to immediate family, takes what he needs or wants and cares little for others outside his immediate circle of kin. Guided by passion and minimal rationality, he is a child of nature as much as offspring of man and woman. Except for being a captive of emotion more than reason, he appears completely independent. To this we must add his total subjection to necessity. He must provide his own food and water for nourishment and clothing and shelter from weather. He must fashion weapons for protection against animals and predatory humans. When injured or sick, he must nurse himself, using any knowledge gleaned from observation or experience. Only the strongest, healthiest and cleverest of men could survive in this condition of maximum independence.

Bodoncar, rejected by his brothers, decided to live as a natural man.

Bodoncar, seeing that he was no longer counted as one of the family, said, "Why should I stay here?" He got on a white horse with a black sore back and a mangy tail. "If I die, I die; if I live, I live!" he said and left riding fast downstream along the Onan River. He went on and when he reached Baljun Aral he built a grass hut and made his home there.<sup>9</sup>

He succeeded by wit but was happy to rejoin his brothers when the chance came. He could have rejected the invitation to be part of his family again, but the pull of fraternal bonds and pragmatic recognition that a more secure life was to be sought as member of the kinship band.

### **Summary**

As the Will-to-Life succeeded among early human populations to allow them to flourish, a few recognized that they could rise above animal survival and free themselves for longer lifetimes. Domestication of dogs<sup>10</sup> and other quadrupeds introduced higher Being and made food supply more stable. Generation of trust and loyalty beyond immediate kin made life-communities possible and facilitated division of labor and coordination of complex tasks. Reason and language stimulated innovation and accumulation of knowledge. All served the fundamental human value – Will-to-Life.

## Chapter 8: Social Knowledge; Obligation as Loyalty

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A store of knowledge thus always stands at man's disposal. The same is true of technical inventions, which compensate for man's lack of adaptation to nature, and also of moral and social institutions that survive: they do not disappear soon after they are discovered but they become a permanent property that accompanies the nations.  
Landmann, 214.

The germ of human culture begins as survival knowledge [K<sub>N</sub>] by engaging the physical and non-human environment. Social knowledge [K<sub>L</sub>] addresses the utility life-community relationships . As a Security Action Platform (SAP), it empowers the individual, *qua* person, to claim life supports from other persons and enables determination of life threats from others, helping to decide necessary actions to avert higher mortality risk. A natural individual's store of knowledge was needed to survive and consisted largely of what one had learned by imitation and experience. This knowledge gained from initial years of apprenticeship in the natural family, accrued and supplemented natural knowledge. It originated in relatively frequent friendly and hostile interactions. Mother-child contacts, accompanied by exchanges of Security Action Monads (SAM) with father, siblings and others in the extended family, generated and instructed socio-cultural knowledge. How one perceived and intercoursed with others in later life was strongly affected, though not determined, by family contacts. Social action was governed by a acknowledgement of a person's category – females behaved differently and were subject to another set of rules from males, in clothing, speech,

grooming and activity. Age was an important variable in affecting status. Familiarity reinforced by language specifying blood relationship, influenced behavior and understanding of relationships outside an immediate circle. Cultural knowledge enforced social knowledge and codified behavior within clan and tribe. Both forms of knowledge gave the member of a family, clan and tribe greater security assurance than he would have as a lone traveller on the steppe. Life-community amplified confidence that there were reliable persons who had an interest in his survival and longevity.

Social knowledge and obligation reinforce bonds to build trust and more coordinated cooperation. These are distinct, acquired and can flourish only in a complex social setting where ignorance (negative social knowledge) and betrayal (negative obligation) are recognized and vilified. Age was an important variable in affecting status. Markers were observable and formal. Familiarity (with the same root as *family*), reinforced by language specifying blood relationship, influenced behavior and understanding of relationships outside an immediate circle. Cultural knowledge enforced social knowledge and codified behavior within clan and tribe. Life-community amplified confidence that there were reliable persons who had an interest in his survival and longevity.

### **Sixth Security Action Platform - Cultural & social knowledge**

In the state of nature Stratum-of-Being (SB<sub>1</sub>) survival knowledge [K<sub>N</sub>] engages the physical and non-human environment.

In SB<sub>2</sub> social knowledge [K<sub>L</sub>] addresses one's life-community relationships insofar as they sustain or threaten existence.\* As SAP, it empowers the individual, *qua* person, to claim life supports from other persons and enables determination of life threats from others, helping to decide necessary actions to avert higher mortality risk. Life-community amplified confidence that there were reliable persons who had a vital interest in his survival and longevity.

### **Natural individuals and social persons**

In the primeval circumstances of small kinship groups, humans lived by wit, strength and family bonds. Each natural human was born, individuated, lived and died in, or not distant from, the natural state. The limited scope of human contacts in a region of low population density defined an environment of barely existent life-community. When bands emerged to become clans and tribes, numbers and complexity tended to mature life-community and new forms of membership and identity emerged to demand acknowledgement. Persons possess common language, myths, symbols and rituals which form a layer of identity. Subjective knowledge of one's identity and of one's place in the tribe conveys information of likely life security benefits and responsibilities, determined primarily by age, sex and status. Wilson assigns social intelligence to some higher animals.

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\*"Knowledge does not depict a world that exists independently of us, but it automatically constructs a subjective human world corresponding to our organization; indeed, within the world of man it places each person inside an individual subjective world of his own." Landmann, 51.

Each person, working his way back and forth through his social network, almost continuously reviews past experiences while imagining the consequences of future scenarios. Social intelligence of this kind occurs in many social animals, and reaches its highest level in chimpanzees and bonobos, our closest evolutionary cousins."<sup>11</sup>

### **Defining social knowledge**

Socio-cultural knowledge consists of actionable concepts and facts derived from an individual's experience and concerning the relationship of self with others. This experience may be direct, sensed or witnessed first-hand, or indirect, through reading (in literate societies) or hearing of another's experience. Its defining characteristics are: (1) knowledge shared by two or more persons and (2) knowledge that influences individual behavior (actionable). According to Herbert Spencer, society is not an independent entity but a set of arrangements "...instituted by individuals so as to extend the length and scope of human life. It consists wholly in cooperation, either positive or negative and both kinds have no other purpose than to adapt the individual to his physical environment."<sup>12</sup> Survival knowledge kept natural man alive as he navigated his environment and had close family to watch his back. As human interaction with increasing numbers increased in occurrence and duration, a new level of knowledge emerged, commensurate with Stratum-of-Being. Acquiring and producing SAMs with more distant kin and strangers opened new possibilities with survival value, as well as dangers from predatory individuals more cunning than tigers or wolves. Names, language and appearances gave initial identification. Further interrogation provided valuable information beyond personal experience. The sum of knowledge gained from and about non-consanguine individuals comprised a major foundation of life security.

Language imparted social knowledge and oriented actions to Prolong Life, Postpone Death (PLPD). Social knowledge (SAP<sub>6</sub> [K<sub>L</sub>]) consists of discerning the likelihood of whether particular persons will initiate positive or negative SAMs on behalf of or against the subject. A perspicacious person can anticipate likely actions against him or on his behalf and use this social knowledge to serve his security interests. As interactions multiply, trust or enmity ripens and relies upon direct observation as well as acquired impressions via third persons communicating orally or in writing. With language adding mutually comprehensible words, human individuation also emerged – names were bestowed on persons and geographical places. Feelings and emotions may have been among later named phenomena and enriched conscious selfhood. Security-relevant words and language to communicate threats, warnings and techniques have ancient lineage. Estimations of others' reliability sharpened social individuation and cultivated trust initially based on nearness of kinship. As clans and tribes coalesced, a variety of deference terms appeared and common language speakers multiplied to expand the store of social knowledge, with positive effect on lifespan.

When Reason found people uttering formless, confused sounds with uncouth voices, it took these sounds and divided them out into separate classes, and fastened names upon things just as one must fasten labels. By this means, human beings, who had been isolated from each other before, were joined together, one with another, by the convenient means of communication provided by speech. Reason also noted and represented all the sounds of the voice, innumerable though they seemed, by a few characters which it invented for the purpose, so that conversations could be conducted with persons who were not present, and our aspirations, and records of what had happened in the past, could be written down.  
Cicero, *On Government*:<sup>13</sup>

Natural man had little occasion for complex language. As with higher mammals, guttural and variable grunts communicate fear,

surprise, sadness and warnings.\* With evolved capacity for speech, names and words emerged, followed by more complex grammar. Social man became *homo lingua* as language facilitated and described particulars and categories of his natural and constructed worlds. Most critical was security-relevant language – not only caveats and commands, but instructions for transferring technical expertise as well as judgments of whole persons and groups as reliable or suspect. Kinship nomenclature is complex in traditional societies and provides a scale of dependable persons unless proven otherwise. Instructing an adolescent to make a spear, for example, was accomplished more easily and accurately when explained – what wood is best, how to peel the bark and examine for quality, how to straighten and how to attach a flint point. A multitude of survival tasks and knowledge was best conveyed by verbal transfer of technical knowledge, even in the absence of visual demonstration by performance. Language became more intricate, degrees of kinship were refined. Rituals, personal names, geographical landmarks, natural phenomena, birds, animals, foods and a panoply of human knowledge were named and communicated to an ever-widening circle, creating a linguistic community transcending blood lineage. Communication of knowledge through language is spontaneous and requires no dictionary in pre-literate societies. An elementary Ur-language† probably consisted of nouns and verbs, with modifiers

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\* "The ubiquity of complex language among human beings is compelling proof that language is innate. But to tough-minded skeptics like the philosopher Hilary Putnam, it is no proof at all. Not everything that is universal is innate." Steven Pinker, *The Language Instinct: How the Mind Creates Language* (New York: Harper, 1994), 19.

† Whether a single language existed for early man or not, the "Tower of Babel" myth represents a perceived curse on mankind to be overcome with a unified human language. "Ultimately the multiplicity of peoples and religious

coming later. This verbal spread of knowledge in life-community improved life chances for all members.\*

### **Language for persuasion**

Language mediates between persons and permits complex negotiations. The Onggirat chief Dei Secen persuaded Yisügei to stop and consider his daughter as future wife for Temüjin.

Dei Secen said, 'Quda Yisügei, in whose direction are you going, coming this way?' Yisügei Ba'atur said, 'I have come here on my way to the Olqunu'ut people, the maternal uncles of this my son, to ask for a girl in marriage for him.' Dei Secen said, 'This son of yours is a boy  
Who has fire in his eyes,  
Who has light in his face.'<sup>14</sup>

Words of persuasion often preceded or accompanied actual SAMs. Bodoncar persuaded his brothers to attack the itinerant band of hunters who had hosted him. Dei Secen convinced Yisügei to take an Onggirat fiancée for Temüjin, despite the fact that he was enroute to betroth his son to an Olqunu'ut daughter to reinforce relations with Ho'elün's tribe. Years later, this tribe of "beautiful daughters"

confessions must be regarded not only as secondary but even as merely temporary; their very multiplicity is a proof that the ideal of universal man dormant in all of us is reflected only imperfectly in the various nations and has not yet developed to its full perfection. From this ensues the mission of finally casting aside all particularity and creating the one human culture that corresponds to the idea of one mankind and is identical for all men. Therefore also one world language should replace the many national tongues."(My emphasis) Landmann, 42.

\* "Only in the nineteenth century did Bopp, reinforced by Romanticism, which converted everything into history, establish what amounted to a philological theory of evolution, recognizing that the similarities between languages are family resemblances caused by a living relationship and filiation. Languages are not inherently and unchangeably static; they develop and are derived one from another in the course of long periods of time; especially the correspondences between the Indian and the European languages suggest the assumption of a common original language. Thus in philology at the same time as in geology, a short time before Darwin, the same progress was being made." Landmann, 162.

provided sanctuary to Temüjin and his warriors after military setback.\*

Cinggis Qa' an, knowing that just where the Qalqa *River* flows into Lake Buyur there stayed the Onggirat *chief Terge* Emel and others, sent Jurcedei to them with the Uru'ut *troops*. When he sent him off he said, "If they say that the Onggirat, from olden days,

*Give thanks to the good looks  
Of their granddaughters  
And the beauty  
Of their daughters,*

they will certainly submit to us. If they say that they will oppose us, we shall fight them!" Because he had been sent with this message, *the Onggirat* submitted to Jurcedei. As they had submitted *peacefully*, Cinggis Qa'an did not touch anything of theirs.<sup>15</sup>

Man is a social animal less from natural instinct and more from fear of violent death – a fear he must suppress, or channel into religious modes if he is not to be paralyzed by that fear. Imagine an airplane crash landing in a deep forest in which all fellow travellers have perished. Neither proper clothing nor food nor medicines are available. Animal predators may lurk and see you as their next meal. You have reverted to the condition of natural man, but without the trust and comfort of natural family. Thoughts of survival occupy your every action, until you find an encampment of nomads or a rural village, where hospitality gives you sanctuary in their multi-person matrix and your fear of immediate death subsides, replaced by rational classification of persons according to usefulness to your well-being. Finding kin would be most welcome, but in their absence gradations of life utility will be made based on observed actions, while initial estimations will stem from past experiences

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\* The sanctuary was provided reluctantly, since the Onggirat had joined other tribes in raising Jamuqa to be Khan (1201) and belonged to the alliance which had defeated Temüjin.

with elders, men, women and children who will comprise friends, neutrals and enemies. An erroneous judgment could be fatal if one relies on a falsely befriending enemy.

Underestimating the danger in a chance meeting proved fatal to Yisügei when he was enroute from betrothing his son:

On the way back, Yisügei Ba'atur met some Tatars who were having a feast in the Sira Ke'er by Mount Cekcer. As he was thirsty, he got off his horse and joined them at the feast. But those Tatars recognized him: "Yisügei the Kiyani has come," they said and remembered their grievance for his former raid upon them. With the secret intent to harm, they gave him poison mixing it with his food.<sup>16</sup>

Harboring a desire for vengeance against him for fighting and killing comrades, they tainted his food and he died soon after returning to camp. To refuse their offer of hospitality would have been taken as insult and impugning the honor of a host could have violent consequences. This incident was intrinsic to Yisügei's life-community SB<sub>2</sub> as he had to conform to steppe customs of etiquette, and this required accepting proffered refreshment when offered. He had trepidations when hosted by an enemy, but these were repressed to preserve temporary truce in a situation where he was outnumbered and at their mercy. The extended moment when Yisügei began his premature meeting with EOL can be deconstructed:

1.	<b>Stratum-of-Being</b>	Life-community (SB <sub>2</sub> )
2.	<b>Security Action Platform</b>	06. Cultural & social knowledge [K <sub>N</sub> ]
3.	<b>Initiator (subject) + predicate + target (object)</b>	(Unnamed) Tatars + poisoned + Yisügei.
4.	<b>Intended consequence</b>	To avenge killed Tatars and past defeats at hands of Yisügei.
5.	<b>Unintended consequence</b>	Widowed Ho'elün; orphaned Temüjin and siblings.
6.	<b>Resources required v. used</b>	Strict nomadic etiquette and Tatar poison.
7.	<b>Actual effect on life-length of object</b>	Termination.
8.	<b>Positive or <i>negative</i> for subject</b>	+Removed an enemy leader. -Created a grievance against Tatars which later led to their extermination.
9.	<b>Positive or <i>negative</i> for Object</b>	-End of life(EOL).

Table 12: Tatars poison Yisügei.

### **How Temüjin was transformed from exiled prince into powerful vassal**

At this knowledge level, a person classifies his human target, watches his behavior, learns his history and then acts according to his own life security advantage. The emotion-based decision to kill Bekter contradicted survival logic favoring collective protection. His subsequent escape from Tayici'ut captivity was motivated by instinct, desperation and raw Will-to-Life. In presuming upon Sorqan Sira's generosity to request a horse for escape, he understood that the servant was already so deep in betraying his masters, that his recapture could redound and end badly for benefactor and family. Social knowledge includes "what is to be done" as well as what might be a deed's consequences.

### **Temüjin's re-entry into tribal society**

Social knowledge, fortune and character ended Temüjin's fugitive days. He and Bo'orcu recovered the eight horses and returned to the tent of Bo'orcu's father, Naqu Bayan, who thought his son was lost. He explained how he had only left to help a friend in trouble, then rode off to retrieve the leather bucket he had concealed in the grass. Provisions were prepared for Temüjin to ride back to his encampment and Naqu Bayan praised their new friendship. Temüjin rode for three days and reunited with his family. Once back home, he decided to fulfill his promise to marry Börte. The adventures of escaping the Tayici'ut, of tracking horses and thieves, using stealth to recapture them and gaining the help of Bo'orcu gave him new confidence and better understanding of the ways of the world.

With enhanced reputation, Temüjin was ready for re-entry into SB<sub>2</sub>.<sup>\*</sup> To take a wife was a defining mark of manhood, demonstrating demonstrating commitment to one woman, acquisition of in-laws, desire for children and seriousness in establishing and defending a nuclear family within clan and tribe. A marriage additionally cemented alliances with other groups. Where Bo'orcu's joining Temüjin was an act of Free Will, motivated by a Will-to-Freedom to improve his survival chances,<sup>†</sup> Temüjin's marriage occurred in the

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<sup>\*</sup> "Re-entry" because his family had prepared him for personhood (SB<sub>2</sub>) during infancy and adolescence, interrupting that education by the clan expulsion. Their life as a lone band had features of state of nature to illustrate that Stratum-of-Being.

<sup>†</sup> His life-chances were improved, albeit at great risk, by throwing his lot with a strong though young, leader.

context of life-community – family formation was critical as a platform to expand survival power through alliance and offspring. The Temüjin-Bo'orcu tie transpired within the natural condition (SB<sub>1</sub>) as a form of male bonding. The Temüjin-Börte union belonged to life-community (SB<sub>2</sub>) with its pledges, promises and involvement of two sets of kin.

Thereupon, Temüjin left with Belgütei downstream along the Kelüren River to look for Lady Börte, the daughter of Dei Secen, from whom he had been separated since he had visited her at the age of nine. Dei Secen, the Onggirat, lived between Mount Cekcer and Mount Ciqurqu. When Dei Secen saw Temüjin he was very glad. He said, "I knew that your Tayici'ut kinsmen were jealous of you and I worried and despaired; and now at last I see you!" So saying he had him and Lady Börte united as man and wife and then accompanied her to her new home.<sup>17</sup>

Temüjin and Börte were united as man and wife, with her mother Lady Cotan completing the journey and presenting Ho'elün with a precious gift – a coat made of sable fur.\* In the coming of age signified by marriage, Temüjin followed Mongol custom, but did not intend to settle into normal herdsman existence. He headed a warrior band and began to gather more forces. A customary marriage wherein all parties concur and for which agreed preparations had been made, was superior to one based on abduction. While both resulted in a new nuclear family and children, gentler custom spared participants extra anxiety from aggrieved parties. Symbolically, it created a new and special relationship between two tribes tantamount to alliance, though more in intention than in fact. New life security bonds were created. Social knowledge

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\* The sable coat, like Bodoncar's grey female hawk and Bo'orcu's leather milk bucket, serve as iconic pivots in the biographical narrative. The hawk represented the exiled brother's resourcefulness and Will-to-Life. The bucket symbolized Bo'orcu's abandonment of the herder's life, and the sable coat was Temüjin's ticket into Mongol political and military life.

was lodged within marriage custom. Temüjin's marriage to Börte endowed him with strategic dowry, adult status and SB<sub>2</sub>, readiness to father heirs. He and his brothers went to Khan Toghrul (Ong Qan), Nestorian leader of the Kereyit, gave him the sable coat and invoked their father's blood brotherhood to join in alliance. His tribe was more advanced than the Mongols, as Ratchnevsky writes:

**The Keraites accepted the Nestorian faith by the end of the eleventh century at latest - although a letter cited by Abu' Faraj, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, reports the conversion of the Keraites as early as 1009, Kerait may be an interpolation and Toghrul's grandfather and father bore the Christian names Markus (Marghus) Kyriakus (Qurjaquz). The Keraites, like the Naimans, were of a higher cultural level than the Mongols. They had a royal family and an organized military structure, from which Temuchin adopted the institution of a personal bodyguard.<sup>18</sup>**

The following table outlines a cluster of actions which were critical in Temüjin's transformation and acquisition of life-community protections.\*

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\* Note that, as in other illustrations of SAM, a sequence of actions rather than a single one, attempts to accomplish the purpose of life-lengthening. An incident can be defined as a collection of primary and ancillary security actions with longevity consequences for participants.

1. <b>Stratum-of-Being</b>	Transition from natural man to life-community person SB <sub>1</sub> →SB <sub>2</sub>
2. <b>Security Action Platform</b>	06. Cultural & social knowledge [K <sub>L</sub> ]
3. <b>Initiator (subject) + predicate + target (object)</b>	Temüjin + weds + Börte.
4. <b>Intended consequence</b>	To expand his circle of alliances; start a family.
5. <b>Unintended consequence</b>	Acquired dowry (sable coat) which he used to secure protection of Toghrul Khan
6. <b>Resources required v. used</b>	<u>Required:</u> travel to Onggirat camp; took Belgütei for added protection. <u>Used:</u> Gave dowry to Toghrul to cement feudal alliance.
7. <b>Actual effect on life-length of object</b>	Shared risks and fortunes of Temüjin, who provides security.
8. <b>Positive or negative for subject</b>	All positive for Temüjin: formed new family unit coming of age, alliance with Toghrul.
9. <b>Positive or negative for Object</b>	+Börte acquires wife status, expands life security resources -Remains semi-outsider until she bears a child

Table 13: Temüjin transition from natural man to social person.

Dei Secen came part way with his wife to provide security for daughter Börte and wife Cotan enroute to Temüjin's encampment. Concern over daughter and wife safety, and knowledge of steppe perils impelled Dei Secen to accompany the women. Hadn't Temüjin's mother been abducted, Kabul Khan captured, and Yisügei poisoned enroute to or from marriage arrangements? Men were more vulnerable when away from camp and in company of a woman on the lawless steppe. One or more men from Temüjin's camp met the party and completed the trek. Cotan stayed for awhile to become acquainted with the in-laws and to provide comfort and

instruction during the initial period of marriage and residence among new people.

Central to Temüjin's wedding was that it enlarged his circle of alliances and propelled him from member of natural family into the larger network of life-community. Up to that point, he had made relatively few enemies. Even the Tayici'ut leadership was an ambiguous foe. They were related by blood and marriage, yet reviled him as rival and fratricide. Several tribesmen and servants helped him and joined his cause. Ho'elün had verbally condemned him for killing Bekter, but may have felt unconscious relief that her eldest son was ruthlessly decisive, would protect her and the family and eliminated future struggle over headship. Most important, Temüjin's peaceful marriage cemented friendships, unlike Yisügei's kidnap of a Merkit bride, which had hostile repercussions during Temüjin's lifetime. Much of his career was dealing with Yisügei's legacy. The Merkit kidnapping of Börte and the subsequent campaign to retrieve her, the bloody reprisals against the Tatars and passing over eldest son Jochi as successor because of impregnation of Börte during her Merkit captivity were among his father's indirect consequences for Temüjin. A chain of causal events determined the life-path of the future Khan of all the Mongols.

### **From fugitive to family man**

His marriage to Börte and declaration of fealty to Toghrul marked Temüjin's re-entry into Mongol life-community, from which he had been exiled years earlier. Up to this time, acquisition of natural knowledge and survival skills had dominated his learning. Henceforth, social knowledge was critical in following a path of

improved life security. Temüjin was no longer a fugitive in mortal danger. Marriage and alliance established him as a serious contender for Mongol power, although tribal fragmentation raised negative SAMs motivated by envy to his thriving. His experiences, including possible servitude as a Chinese slave<sup>19</sup> and close brushes with danger, sharpened his awareness that alone he was most vulnerable to violence. Personhood as an adult was the well-trodden path to greater life security. His career from auspicious birth to ruler of Mongolia was a combination of circumstantial destiny and three Wills. The imperative to stay alive was informed by the social knowledge suggesting the two major actions which re-integrated him into mainstream Mongol hierarchy – marriage and feudal alliance.

### **The abduction of Börte**

Marital bliss proved short-lived.

They had set up camp on the Būrgi Escarpment at the source of the Kelüren River, when early one morning - the light was yellowish as day began to dawn - Old Qo'aqcin, who was serving in the tent of Mother Ho'elün, got up and said, "Mother, mother, rise up quickly! The earth is shaking and one can hear the sound of trampling hoofs: will they be the dreadful Tayici'ut approaching? Mother, rise up quickly!"<sup>20</sup>

The life-threatening event that followed provided a parable about calculating emergency actions, based on evaluation of each person. Materfamilias Ho'elün decided on disposition of escape, based on belief that attackers were Tayici'ut. She assumed that Temüjin was their target, and sent him to hide in the mountain. Börte was considered less vital and served as a decoy to save the family. Several possibilities confronted Ho'elün in this crisis. A wrong guess on the identity of the raiding party endangered their

brittle survival. When Qo'aqcin awakened Ho'elün that fateful morning, she mistakenly identified a Tayici'ut raid to recapture Temüjin – a likely event they had long feared. On this assumption they assembled the group on their nine horses, keeping one riderless as spare mount, believing that Temüjin was the main objective of the raid. His new wife, in these circumstances, was considered dispensable, not blood kin and therefore not likely the target of the expected Tayici'ut raiders. Moreover, the family group of eight were all presumably skilled riders, while Börte was untested and estimated to be lacking in evasive competence. An ox-cart transported her out of the camp and she hid under a tent to resemble a pile of wool from the outside. The cart was accompanied by Qo'aqcin to deflect suspicions of the presumed Tayici'ut raiders.

Had the raiders been Tayici'ut, the ruse might have worked, but they were Merkit men and their prey was not specifically Temüjin. They had learned of his recent marriage and wanted to take revenge for Yisügei's abduction of Ho'elün from Ciledü years before. Discovery of Börte in the cart and knowing that her mother-in-law was the woman snatched by Yisügei, ignited a delicious revenge among the raiders.

The Merkit said to each other, "We have now seized their women to take our revenge for Ho'elün! We have had our revenge! So saying they descended from Burqan Qaldun and returned to their homes."<sup>21</sup>

She was taken and handed over to the younger brother of Ciledü. Belgütei's mother was also captured and given to a Merkit tribesman. Had Qo'aqcin correctly identified the tribal affiliation of the raiding party, a different course of action would have been taken. Ho'elün, more than any in the group, knew that Merkit wanted

revenge for her bride-napping, and they lusted for an opportunity to inflict injury in like manner – tribal justice would be satisfied. The likelihood of Börte, not Temüjin, as target would have placed her at the center of escape actions to be protected by the band of brothers. Qo'aqcin's erroneous warning was a well-intended SAM having negative consequences for Temüjin and Börte.

<b>1. Stratum-of-Being</b>	Life-community (SB <sub>2</sub> ): Tribal danger to extended family.
<b>2. Security Action Platform</b>	SAP 06. Cultural & social knowledge [K <sub>N</sub> ]: Subject was aware of Tayici'ut ongoing threat to Temüjin.
<b>3. Initiator (subject) + predicate + target (object)</b>	Qo'aqcin + warns + Ho'elün (of raid).
<b>4. Intended consequence</b>	Allowed Temüjin to escape Tayici'ut.
<b>5. Unintended consequence</b>	Mistaken identity of raiders permitted Merkit to capture Börte.
<b>6. Resources required v. used</b>	Horses, ox-cart to escape – an accurate assessment of the threat would have better protected Börte.
<b>7. Actual effect on life-length of object</b>	Ho'elün and family escaped the anticipated life threats.
<b>8. Positive or <i>negative</i> for subject</b>	<i>Qo'aqcin erred in estimate of threat, was captured with Börte, taken to Merkit camp.</i>
<b>9. Positive or <i>negative</i> for Object</b>	Family saved <i>Loss of Börte to Merkit raiders.</i>

**Table 14: Old Qo'aqcin warns Ho'elün of Merkit raid.**

A more cynical interpretation of the incident is that the Merkit were correctly identified and the now world-wiser Temüjin grasped possibilities of the situation – chiefly that her capture would provide a *casus belli* against a stronger tribe using the opportunity to activate his alliances with Toghrul and Jamuqa and attack the Merkit. Less a

plan than adaptation to immediate circumstances, this scenario is not so far-fetched. A generation before, when Ho'elün was captured by Yisügei, she urged her Merkit husband to flee and save his life, for he could always find another woman to marry. A woman would live on, but a husband fighting to save her honor against several assailants would lose his life. The cruel steppes provided no theater for romantic love. Temüjin, though enamored of his new wife, was ambitious enough to regard her as replaceable and her capture as an event to mobilize all his diplomatic and military resources. He was ready for a new stage in the high risk game of steppe politics. Gambling on Börte's fate was acceptable stakes for a higher prize. The *Secret History* version of erroneous identification of the Merkit raiders as Tayici'ut helps to humanize Temüjin in the narrative. Further credence to the alternative scenario rests on the mention of a spare horse. If Börte was not used as "bait", she deserved a mount as much as anyone, but was sent off with a servant in a soon-to-be broken oxcart. Formation of the Triple Alliance (Temüjin, Toghrul, Jamuqa) and destruction of the Merkit emerged from this incident. Temüjin played his hand perfectly and the "Börte-as-bait" scenario, whether intended or not, propelled Temüjin from blue-blooded herder/warrior into the turbulence of tribal politics.

The servant tried to move the oxcart faster, but the wheel axle broke. The women attempted to flee into the forest, and the warriors trotted up to the cart and searched it, finding lady Börte. Based on the *History's* telling, this set in motion events of war and empire.\* A

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\* For want of a nail the shoe was lost;  
For want of a shoe the horse was lost.

small detail – a faulty cart broke down and immobilized the escape of Börte. Captured, she was taken as wife by the Merkit and impregnated with Jochi, whose compromised paternity earned him opposition to succession by brother Ca'adai years later.

### **False assumptions of the incident**

The initial assumption about raiders' identity led to failed escape tactics for Börte and subsequent war. Since Temüjin had last escaped the Tayici'ut, it was understandable that Qo'aqcin assumed they were raiding to recapture him. Her assumption was mistaken, but there was no less threat to Temüjin as a result. Had Ho'elün known they were Merkit and remembering her own abduction from a husband of that tribe, she would have insisted on an escape horse for Börte to prevent her abduction. Hiding her in a rickety cart driven by a female servant allowed her to fall into Merkit hands. From this failure of vital social knowledge/intelligence grew alliance and war and a new stage of Temüjin existence as he began acting as commander of an army. No longer a mere son and husband and band leader, he called on Jamuqa and Toghrul to join the attack against the Merkit to retake the lost women. Why did Temüjin insist on war over a lost wife, while Ciledü merely fled the scene when his Ho'elün was taken by Yisügei? We will never know what secret plans or ambitions were harbored by Temüjin, but the outcome of this humiliation led to victory over the Merkit.

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For want of a horse the battle was lost;  
 For the failure of battle the kingdom was lost—  
 All for the want of a horse-shoe nail.

Temüjin discerned that the promise and deliverance of rewards inspired unattached warriors to his side. From infancy through adolescence Temüjin had experienced crisis and learned how to survive in a hostile natural environment. Enemies threatened his life and he narrowly escaped on at least three occasions by dint of luck and Will-to-Life. Each incident added to his store of practical and social knowledge. He was born into a family network of life support, but could not rely entirely on them. Bekter was a rival in adolescence and Belgütei later betrayed a trust to the enemy Tatar captives. From Yisügei he inherited a set of rivals and enemies who wanted him dead. To survive and take greater control over his life security he needed supporters outside his immediate family to improve life-chances. Fictive kin were part of the answer – blood brother Jamuqa provided decisive aid in the campaign to retrieve Börte. Toghrul had been Yisügei's *anda*. Presenting the sable coat enrolled Temüjin into fealty to him as feudal lord and pre-eminent ally. Adopted sons grew to be loyal officers, and multiple wives bound tribes and clans to his cause, producing children to share war and government. A few, including Jelme, joined him as offerings from their parents. Bo'orcu early recognized his abilities and he became one his most loyal generals. Nevertheless, the bulk of his burgeoning forces and some of his generals fought more for booty than glory or loyalty. Although he early appealed to Toghrul's debt to Yisügei's fictive brotherhood and early support, he sealed his vassalage with a sable coat of great value.

Temüjin, Toghrul and Jamuqa organized a punitive campaign with their three forces, nearly annihilated the Merkit, and rescued Börte and other captured women. Peace settled among the Mongols,

and the triumvirate settled into a postwar alliance. Temüjin and Jamuqa cooperated and moved herds and flocks together, until Temüjin felt slighted by an implication of his *anda's* remark, and separated.

### **Women's work**

Women were arbiters of socio-cultural and ethical knowledge; vital in maintaining family solidarity and advisors to their men, often in extra-domestic affairs. In Confucian philosophy, morality for society begins in family ethics,\* not religion. Its classics projected the nuclear family as core of life-community. The maternal role in raising children to follow the Way (*dao*) was iterated in story and fable. Social knowledge involved broad affection for people and higher principles.

Ethics is primarily secular and subject to reason. Morals can be distinguished by religious source and having a weaker foundation in pure reason. Confucianism taught a morality which was desacralized and smoothly translated into ethical imperatives. When a strong dynastic State installed, a new morality prevailed, with the sovereign "Son of Heaven" at its apex, Confucian ethics facilitating conformist behavior, and Buddhist faith reinforcing a belief in Being beyond end of life (EOL).

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\* "...for Sartre anthropology narrows back down to ethics: decisions that are made consciously tend to be ethical in nature. Secondly, all creation obtains its nobility only by carrying out objective necessities. Therefore for Plato it is subject to an idea, for Kant to a universal legislation. Of course these formulations have paled somewhat today when we are more aware than earlier times of the unrepeatable singularity of each individual." Landmann, 213.

A commitment to *jen* (仁 benevolence) as an ideal of diffusive affection must have a beginning in some immediate human habitat. It is in the family, the setting of one's growth and moral maturity, that a commitment to *jen* is a commitment to an extension of affectionate concern by enlarging the ambience of personal relationships. The family is a basic precondition for the child's moral development and for learning the complexity and dexterity of moral notions.<sup>22</sup>

Women had a major role in governing the Mongolian ger, and strengthened the behavioral code for children before joining the world in its demands, dangers and opportunities. Formation of the Mongol State and empire was a sphere of action dominated by male enterprise. Yet its history was intimately intertwined with women as key carriers and arbiters of socio-cultural knowledge. In the early formation of clans, maternal lineage was more reliably traced than paternal. The Muslim practice of *purdah*, or physical segregation of the sexes, was weak in Mongol custom. Nomadic life required integration and utilization of all hands for labor. For family formation, women were indispensable, if chiefly as vessels of reproduction. Children were born, and mothers were the major source of protection and sustenance. Their example and tutelage transformed children into autonomous persons assimilated into life-community (SB<sub>2</sub>). Wives and mothers protected family solidarity as junior partners to husbands. Ho'elün derided her sons for their mutual suspicion while praising their talents.

'Temüjin used to drain this one breast of mine. Qaci'un and Otcigin between them did not drain a single breast. As for Qasar, he completely drained both my breasts and brought me comfort until my bosom relaxed. He used to make my bosom relax. Therefore, My able Temüjin Has skill of mind. My Qasar has skill in archery And might and so he was wont To shoot and subdue All those on the run, shooting at him. With long-distance arrows he was wont To shoot and subdue All those on the run, in fear of him. But now, saying that you have destroyed the enemy people, you can no longer bear the sight of Qasar.' So she spoke.<sup>23</sup>

When Temüjin seemed dominated by Jamuqa, Ho'elün and Börte urged him to separate and seek his own pastures. In the later years of his life, his Tatar consort Yisüi Qatun diplomatically

reminded Genghis Khan of the necessity to name an heir. Mongol women could learn male skills of archery and riding, and a later princess even became a champion wrestler. Their role in Mongol society and State was counsellor and moral compass, sometimes putting chiefs to shame with strong Will. In battle campaigns, whole families accompanied Mongol soldiers, supporting their warrior fathers, sons and brothers.

### **Social knowledge and survival**

In childhood, one absorbs facts and experiences and learns to assimilate memories into practice. The most basic knowledge pertains to physical maintenance, to which is added social knowledge that begins with identification of those individuals who have contributed most to one's existence and survival. This consciousness is widened to others, while an instinctive antipathy or repulsion to persons associated with threat also emerge. Aversion to threat requires instruction and is sharpened with injurious experiences generally modified by calculation and risk, with fatal outcomes a possibility. As an immature individual is habituated to receiving security inputs from others, feelings of trust and loyalty are induced and he is instructed in obligation to respond with security outputs to others. Knowledge obtained through physical vision was the closest approximation to truth - to see something was to believe it. Total reliance on visual proof could also be a fatal trap; Temüjin used multiple campfires to mislead an enemy into overestimating his army size, or to deceive them into believing an army's presence after it had decamped. Spies were dispatched to future targets to see and hear so they could learn about defenses, morale and wealth. They might also spread demoralizing rumors, or tales of death and destruction that accompanied Mongol conquest to soften enemy resistance. Military messengers were sent in pairs, doubling

the chance of getting through enemy lines, delivering accurate verbal messages and full observation. Memory, calculation and envisioning cause and effect multiplied survival knowledge. Social knowledge built upon survival knowledge, requiring language and clan and tribal interaction. Literacy was not a prerequisite.

### **Knowledge and action**

Each level of existence (SB<sub>1-3</sub>) develops primary energy from Will-to-Life, with SB<sub>2</sub> deriving additional increments from Will-to-Freedom and SB<sub>3</sub> from Will-to-Power. These concentrations of human psychic energy affect life security by providing staging areas for SAMs. SB<sub>1</sub> has only the autonomous individual and immediate kin to produce SAMs, whereas SB<sub>2</sub> draws energy from multiple individuals and diffuses SAMs beyond the boundaries of SB<sub>1</sub>. With the establishment of a State and introduction of SB<sub>3</sub> life security energy is channeled from spontaneity to organized and directed actions more aligned to a unified commonweal. By deflecting SAM from individuals and groups, men in SB<sub>3</sub> draw upon a store of energy less limited by clan and tribe parameters. Until the twentieth century and the creation of totalitarian States, establishment of SB<sub>3</sub> was built upon SB<sub>1</sub> and SB<sub>2</sub>, incorporating their strengths and modifying or abandoning their defects.

Modern revolutionary States have sought to break with their society's histories and impose a new political order which eliminated the hold of individual motives and societal loyalties, to be replaced completely by State imperatives, deemed more "rational" than individual interests. What radicals ignored, or perceived as "feudal", was that the residues of old society had high value in creating a new order. By seeking to destroy the old, they were throwing out the baby with the bath water. In contrast,

Genghis Khan adapted the old ways, created a personal sovereignty to weaken yet utilize the clans and tribes, and led the Mongols into victories and conquests – life-enhancing for themselves if they survived battles.\*

### **Seventh SAP - Social obligation and the Merkit-smiting alliance**

Social obligation tightens human relations in the life-community. In Mongol nomadic feudalism, vassals and lords entered a reciprocal relationship. After Merkit abduction of his wife, Temüjin appealed to liege-lord Toghrul for aid in her rescue. Addressing him as father, he appealed to feudalist reciprocity and obligation, in a family-like template of political alliance. He recalled their conversation of the previous year, and confirmed his good faith. Toghrul's assistance in wife-retrieval was stated in terms of a tribe-uniting project – not one of merely restoring the marriage bed. It was also repayment for the valuable coat gift – the symbol (and price) of alliance and obligation. He also implies that uniting the Mongol tribes would be his (Toghrul's) achievement.

In return for the sable coat,  
I shall unite for you  
Your scattered people;  
In return for the black sable coat,  
I shall bring together for you  
Your divided people. Let  
*The place of good faith be in the heart, just as*  
That of the kidneys must be in the back!<sup>24</sup>

In affirmation of a fictive father-son relationship, the family template for inter-tribal bonding was prominent. He mentions or

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\* In this sense, he was a medieval conservative – making changes while retaining aspects of life-community which had sustained life prior to the reorganization

implies the sable coat six times, nearly admitting that his support had been assured with a valuable object. It showed him to be a man of his word in carrying out an obligation, and reliable when it was in his interest. Toghrul ordered Temüjin to invite Jamuqa to join with his thousands. Temüjin returned to his camp and despatched Qasar and Belgütei to Jamuqa.

When Temüjin, Qasar and Belgütei came back from To'oril Qan's camp and arrived at their tent, Temüjin sent both Qasar and Belgütei to Jamuqa saying, 'Give my sworn friend Jamuqa this message: "When the Three Merkit came, My bed was made empty. You and I, Are we not from one family? How shall we take our revenge? My breast is torn apart. You and I, Are we not of kindred blood? How shall we avenge this injury?"<sup>25</sup>

From these we can extract a cluster of actions summarized as a SAM group launched from SAP<sub>07</sub> (Social obligation/loyalty [O<sub>L</sub>]) in SB<sub>2</sub>. Arrogant Jamuqa was an excellent strategist, and focused on destruction of enemies. He estimated the Merkit enemy to have weak leadership. He displayed a warrior instinct and fierce hunger for battle, and saw himself as avenger and destroyer of the Merkit: "We shall utterly destroy his people till nothing will be left."

1. <b>Stratum-of-Being</b>	Life-community = SB <sub>2</sub> .
2. <b>Security Action Platform</b>	07. Social obligation/loyalty [O <sub>L</sub> ]
3. <b>Initiator (subject) + predicate + target (object)</b>	Toghrul + assents to assist + Temüjin (to retake Börte).
4. <b>Intended consequence</b>	1. Smite the Merkit. 2. Restore Börte to Temüjin.
5. <b>Unintended consequence</b>	Promoted Temüjin to major military actor in Mongol politics.
6. <b>Resources required v. used</b>	<u>Required and used</u> : three armies; careful strategy. <u>Required but compromised</u> : element of surprise due to late arrivals.
7. <b>Actual effect on life-length of object</b>	Led to restoration of Börte; affirmed a powerful alliance feeding Will-to-Power of Temüjin.
8. <b>Positive or negative for subject</b>	Toghrul repaid help from Yisügei; repaid debt of sable coat; removed threat of Merkit.
9. <b>Positive or negative for object</b>	All positive for Temüjin - confirmed alliance with Ong Qan and Jamuqa.

**Table 15: Toghrul assists Temüjin to retake Börte.**

Increased population density multiplies the number and frequency of human contacts and interpersonal opportunities to enhance life security through actual or anticipated reciprocity. Cities grow by compacting populations into higher concentration, more frequent contacts and reduced conflicts by centralizing authority, delivering higher life security and exchanging clan and tribe rule for less kin-based community. Human concentrations in cities required reduction of kinship exclusivity, and a concomitant shift of behavior in the spatial community. Religion installed one cornerstone for community-building and a foundation for State-centralization. In contrast, the Mongols had neither cities nor sophisticated, tribe-

transcending religion. Their challenge was to take elements conducive to steppe survival and expand them to construct what would ultimately become a mega-tribe. The solution was to preserve the bonds defining clan and tribe, and expand them to a larger entity as forerunner to a Mongol nation.

### **The roots of obligation**

Social trust inhabited a life security-enhancing spectrum that ranged from fleeting affection to loyal foundation. How to institutionalize trust into obligation was a constant concern of Temüjin. Ephemeral reliability had to be distinguished from resolute loyalty, from leader to lowest ranks. Natural man's loyalty was primarily to himself as self-love and secondly to immediate family. The unspoken goal of life-community was to moderate narrow allegiance and expand family loyalty as template for broader inclusion of clan and tribe membership so as to create a vibrant life-life-community. Life-community SAMs were not a *gratis* benefit, requiring nothing in return. Parental indulgence as childcare was a debt to be repaid in adult life with expressions and actions of filial piety and acts of support. A friend's gift of SAM needed to be repaid. A person not only accepts benefits but repays them. In the vulnerability of steppe life, the golden rule or Jesus Christ's answer to the question of "Who is my neighbor?" had little validity – a stranger was a potential enemy until his personhood and character were determined. Altruism for all mankind was inconceivable. Primary experience and observation proved that humanity varied widely. Some were friends, some were enemies. Some hunted, others cultivated. Some spoke incomprehensible languages, some were female. Some were weak, some were strong. In a world of

expanding human diversity\* and frequent hostility, trust was a rare coin and altruism was exotic speculation. Notions of good and evil were personal, pragmatic and never abstract. Obligations of loyalty and positive reciprocity made sense exclusively within confines of life-community. The upshot was a hierarchy of obligation and overwhelming denial of equality in life-community. The bonds of loyalty and obligation were consequently made into a principle encompassing the entire Mongol nation. Elasticity of these bonds was enshrined in the Mongol State, as the *Secret History* described how they could be expanded beyond immediate tribe and family. Upon achieving an imaginary throne resting on a unified Mongol society, Genghis Khan distributed rewards based on merit earned by protecting his life. His allocation of benefits to personal supporters stressed loyal service:

Cinggis Qa'an said to Sorqan Sira, "At the time when I was small, when out of jealousy I was seized by Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayici 'ut and his brothers, then *you* Sorqan Sira, because my kinsmen were jealous of me, with your sons Cila'un and Cimbai, made your daughter Qada'an take care of me, hid me and *later*, releasing me, you sent me away."<sup>26</sup>

His reward to Sorqan Sira was to permit them to

"settle on the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge and, indeed, have free use of its grazing grounds. You shall be a freeman. allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine to the offspring of *your* offspring. You shall not incur punishment for *up to nine crimes*."<sup>27</sup>

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\* "In order to salvage faith in one culture predicated by God or nature, despite the empirical multiplicity of cultures, the historical events have been forcibly interpreted as a process involving unilinear progress toward it or decline from it or both-in which case it is shifted to the central position. This process is conceivable as a single development embracing all mankind or as repeated in each nation. In either case, the multiplicity of cultures is seen in a purely negative light. It is just as opposed to the one ideal culture as the multiplicity of errors is to the one truth." Landmann, 222.

Loyalty is an interpersonal relationship that mimics feelings found in natural kinship. It is the foundation of obligation before contract was invented as a basis of life-community. Without loyalty and obligation there can be no community. The mechanics of forming community or society do not change according to habitat.\* With the practice of generating positive SAMs a person will bank future obligations to return like actions to him or his kin and allies. Similarly, inflicting negative SAMs creates a desire for repayment in kind – with “interest” if possible. Christianity emphasized elements to reduce eye for an eye reciprocity and to purify charity as expecting no repayment.†

Mongol life-community could hardly afford the luxury of selfless altruism and many interpersonal actions were chiefly transactions to improve life security. Personal contacts having SAM content varied in time-length. SAM content was friendly or hostile, and effect on human life security was positive or negative. Subjective perspectives on SAM content were affected by third parties and memories, with suspicion, anxieties, erroneous interpretation and realistic evaluation of many interactions. Kin contacts tended to be most frequent and longest duration, usually deepening expectations of trust. The value of friendships was judged in terms of conformity to previous trust-generating

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\* With no *Gemeinschaft*, there can be no *Gesellschaft*.

† "But I tell you, do not resist an evil person. If anyone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to them the other cheek also." Matthew 5:39// <http://biblehub.com/matthew/5-39.htm>.

relationships, and modified by estimation of potential benefits or possible harm.

Natural man trusted his immediate family (parents, siblings, and offspring) because of lifetime interaction, habituated into obligation. He sought life security in life-community to augment or replace the inadequate security inputs from self and family, and had to create or discover new forms of loyalty that could mimic the primeval bonds of family. Friendship begins as a casual and informal relationship between two autonomous individuals. To be promoted to a kin-like bonding requires conscious commitment from both parties, with resultant comradeship.

Additionally, marriage ceremony in many cultures expresses such union and signifies a lifetime of mutual loyalty. Friendships between members of different tribes were forged in the form of blood brotherhood – the creation of a fictive kinship through ceremonial exchange of blood and gifts. Loyalty was also the bond between superior and inferior in feudal and tribal societies. Its intention was to improve life-chances of both by creating reciprocal promises to protect each other. In environments where life-protections were weak, raising loyalty to superiority over all other virtues and had the effect of security-expansion for dyadic individuals. Marriage, feudal fealty, and blood brotherhood have been forms of cultivating loyalty for centuries, preceded State-formation, and are vital life security inputs in that they amplify and contractually insure positive SAMs with penalties for non-performance.

### **Knowledge and morals**

Practical and social knowledge, culture\* and obligation amplify and reinforce Will-to-Life by providing a SAM-launching matrix. Knowledge discriminates what is necessary from what is feasible. Obligation emerges in the family nucleus of life-community out of experiences of received and anticipated nurturing, is projected onto broader kinship groups as ethics undergirded by morality. It may be modified and reinforced by religion, and rests on expectation of reciprocity.

The benevolent version of ethics is to do unto others as you would have them do unto you. A more cynical version is to do (harm) unto others before they do (harm) unto you. This latter version was amply put into practice by Genghis Khan as he considered the lessons learned in the Merkit campaign. Among foundations of ethics, two imperatives are at the core in many civilizations – practical reciprocity and valuation of human life. Before civilization, during the state of nature (SB<sub>1</sub>) or life-community (SB<sub>2</sub>), amoral familism/tribalism prevailed. Among the Mongols, referent groups larger than a tribe did not emerge to form boundaries of ethical obligation, so that Will-to-Life was the criterion and origin of SAMs. A Mongol notion of desirable good was equated with things and persons contributing to sustaining life, including a simple campfire, adequate food from game and herd, potable water, fine horses,

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\* "The diversity of human culture reflects the diversity of adaptations through experience and invention. Culture is not based on instinct, it is a human construct which moulds man in certain ways to make each individual more compatible with others, and to add to the collective arsenal of life Security resources...there are no mandatory norms anchored in man's nature. All this is 'culture.' And by definition culture is created by man's own free initiative, and that is why he gives it such a multiplicity of forms, differing from people to people and from age to age." Landmann, 20.

trusted comrades, supporting family, a well-constructed ger and a healthy, strong body. More than these comprised luxuries and optionals which could be traded for material or service necessities. Thus the sable coat given to Toghrul was fungible and valuable enough to cement an alliance which helped propel Temüjin towards Great Khanship – but hardly a necessary object of life protection.

Loyalty expressed a pure form of social obligation – complete reliability without reciprocity.\* The *Secret History* tells tales and recalls speeches expressing the importance of loyalty as a life-and-death virtue, punished with death when betrayed, or rewarded by Genghis Khan after his enthronement. Notably, there was little attempt to introduce religious sanctions as reinforcement for steppe morality. Conquest of peoples who favored morality-inspired religions were generally allowed to retain those, in recognition that social order was better preserved, even under conquest, when overlaid by common faith. Ethically paramount loyalty remained the property of Mongol rulers and warriors. Earlier in Mongol history, marginal Mongols hunted, herded and killed animals to survive, and lived by a code of kill or be killed. Their Will-to-Life and spin-off Will-to-Freedom did not provide much moral space for respecting a natural right to life.

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\* Loyalty can be reinforced or diluted by rewards, and is hardly ever sustained as permanent and altruistic commitment. Secular ethics orients man as man; morality values man as participant in a Being continuum longer than a single lifetime. Religious martyrs illustrate a purer moral loyalty, while ethics in the social and political realm offer only a more tentative loyalty.

As the Mongols moved enmasse from semi-state of nature through life-community to State, the norm of loyalty underwent a parallel reformulation. Human loyalty originates in the nuclear family, where an imbalance of life security dependence exists between sexes and statuses. A person enrolled in life-community acquires additional loyalties and orientations, which enlarge his scope of SAMs. He also obtains negative loyalties in the form of sworn enemies, which increase his need for allies. Within life-community, betrayal or non-performance of social obligation detracts from a man's reputation,\* and results in diminishing trust. Disloyalty is damaging to a group's cohesion, and is a punishable offense. Emphasis on loyalty and disloyalty in the *Secret History* indicates that a more regularized treatment in punishment and reward was understood as the axis of clan, tribe and nation solidarity. The advantage of life-community was to moderate selfish loyalty and expand family loyalty as template for broader inclusion of clan and tribe membership. Elasticity of these bonds was enshrined in the Mongol State, as the *Secret History* described how they could be expanded beyond immediate tribe and family.

The capacity for loyalty is lodged in the character of men - strong in some, weaker in others. Loyalty may be instinctive or calculating, and is a begetter of SAMs. It is an individual virtue translated into the value of social obligation, and was made into a requirement for membership in the emerging Mongol nation. Its primary value is that it increases SAMs'

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\* A person's given name was linked to his reputation. A child's was selected to reflect aspiration or mode. The Chinese translation of reputation is "mingyu" (名誉), literally "name glory".

reliability. In its highest form, loyalty devalues the self's Will-to-Life, and augments that of the object individual. When loyalty becomes long-term obligation, self-valuation is diminished in order to prolong the life and well-being of another person. Where loyalty is offered without expectation of recompense, we find the beginning of altruism. Loyalty can be based on reciprocity of SAM flows from choice, and may be inspired by intuitive complementarity of vital interests, payment for past favors, and/or anticipation of future benefits. While the *Secret History* apotheosizes intuitive loyalty, it also acknowledges that weaker versions of social obligation can be bought or forced as a contractual, not an ethical, orientation. The efficacy of social and political alliances as well as non-economic contracts is considerably improved when there is genuine loyalty.

**Three types of imperative behavior occurred within the realm of Mongol interaction.**

Loyalty can be considered an orientation to actions which vary according to Stratum-of-Being:

1. "Iron Rule" – State of nature (SB<sub>1</sub>)

Where every stranger may be a predator unless proven otherwise, the simplest rule is to "subdue or be subdued; dominate or be dominated." Defense of self and kin in the absence of larger protective groups required constant alertness and willingness to engage in combat or escape to fight another day. The vulnerability of Ho'elün's lone band to raiders could be taken as typical of earliest humans. A constant diet of danger crowds out charitable feelings towards others. In a condition of primitive anarchy, "every man for himself and devil take the hindmost" is an Iron Rule for self-protection.

## 2. "Silver Rule" – Life-community (SB<sub>2</sub>)

Expansion of natural family within clan and tribe creates a cushion of life security by spreading mutual protection, weakening the Iron Rule, and suggesting a "Silver Rule" – "an eye for an eye, and good turns repaid." An injury or a death of kin must be avenged, and the avenger may be the injured party or tribal colleagues of the person to be avenged. Raids, killings, and wars within life-communities usually hailed restoration of honor as a form of justice. Honor was a virtue camouflaging the sense that if vengeance was not taken, further incursions and injuries were likely, and thus it was a form of self-defense. Restoration of a balance between individuals or tribes was possible only when the violating party was punished. For Genghis Khan, whole tribes were subjected to extermination or slavery\* in retribution for transgressions of a few or by their forebears. Collective punishment sometimes ran amok. Later, entire nations were subdued and cities razed to the ground for opposing Mongol armies. The Silver Rule of life-community emphasized that an offense had to be avenged. Establishment of enforcement sovereignty by States and empires did not terminate tribal forms of justice. States went to war over honor and restoration of *status quo ante bellum*. Modern international relations has often been a tale of force and violence to extract vengeance in the name of justice. Ostensibly States sought security as protection for their

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\* Slaves were considered to be sub-human. Aristotle wrote that it is based on nature. Before the industrial revolution neither household nor State could prosper without them. "Some men were suited to slavery by their nature." Landmann, 33.

territory and citizens, but have gone to war to punish aggressors and to protect what they claim or actually possess.

### 3. “Golden Rule” – “Do unto others...” (SB<sub>3</sub>)

Death and destruction from real or imagined threats were common features in the search for life security. Whether actions were taken for revenge or honor or justice, greater self-protection was an underlying motivation. Within civilized society an antidote to force and violence has been the Golden Rule – “One should treat others as one would like others to treat oneself”. However, where enforcement of rules is absent or weak, ethical reciprocity is impractical, and could be interpreted as weakness. The structure of the State, as sovereign and supreme arbiter of action, reduces the ability of individuals and groups to engage in vigilantism as private justice. In matters involving life security, the ideal State aims to institute behavior patterns in which every individual is equidistant under the laws and obeys them in expectation that they will be objectively enforced. The State Stratum-of-Being (SB<sub>3</sub>) brings individuals closer to an ideal of the Golden Rule than possible in primitive anarchy or life-community.

Obligation is a form of ethical compulsion and social orientation, mandating the subject to take whatever SAMs necessary to expand longevity of object individual(s). This demand takes precedence over passion, pleasure or comfort. In life-community, the paramount obligation to continue survival is clothed in honor, duty, and virtue, so that its benefits are available to members of the same clan and tribe based as much on identity as on face-to-face relations. Obligations within the State are broadened still more. The

ideal is that the individual will serve and sacrifice on behalf of others in his nation with the same intensity as one would for the benefit of self or family – a philosophy expounded by Mozi,\* who advocated equal benevolence (*ren-ai* 仁愛) to all, rather than the family-gradated love advocated by Confucius. In order to make obligation more voluntary, palatable and comprehensible than coercive in life-community, a correlation between individual Will and interests of life-community must be nurtured. In the Mongol State, loyalty was the hinge bringing the person into compliance with the army-State.

### **Building an ethical society**

A quasi-ethical life-community honoring virtue<sup>†</sup> diffused among the Mongols, and was based on loyalty and reinforced with coercion. To multiple victims and vanquished, Mongol action was amoral nihilistic savagery. Loyalty's status in the hierarchy of action was higher than Aristotle's cardinal virtues of wisdom, justice, temperance, and courage. Banfield's study of a village in southern Italy, characterized by extreme poverty and backwardness, was explained by "the inability of the villagers to act together for their common good or, indeed, for any end transcending the immediate,

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\* "Mozi," Wade-Giles romanization Mo-tzu, also spelled Motze, Motse, or Micius, original name Mo Di (470? - 391? BC).

<sup>†</sup> "It was not until the present century that morality became so thoroughly relativized and subjectified that virtues ceased to be 'virtues' and became 'values.' This transmutation is the great philosophical revolution of modernity, no less momentous than the earlier revolt of the 'Moderns' against the 'Ancients'-modern science and learning against classical philosophy." Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994) 9.

material interest of the nuclear family” – a condition of “amoral familism.”<sup>28</sup> The conditions of Mongols during the infancy and youth of Temüjin reflected similar limitations, although it may be more accurate to speak of “amoral clannism.” Parallel with his efforts to attract supporters, eliminate enemies, and unite the Mongol tribes, he was also building an ethos based on personal loyalty, whose foundation was an idealization of the nuclear family and projection into a proto-national entity transcending (but not eliminating) life-community. After defeating Jamuqa, he was ready to preside over all the Mongols. The fate of his onetime ally and *anda* was sealed by underlings who captured him in expectation of reward and recognition by Genghis Khan. Instead, he punished their betrayal of loyalty.

Cinggis Qa'an said, "How could we let men live who have raised their hands against their rightful lord? To whom can such men be companions? Cut down to the offspring of their offspring these people who have raised their hands against their rightful lord!" So he ordered, and had the people who had laid hands on Jamuqa cut down in his very presence.<sup>29</sup>

### **Tribal and personal vendettas**

Temujin and his contemporaries followed clan customs, but also had considerable freedom of action. Ambitious young men often had weaker clan bonds and attached themselves to stronger leaders. The semi-cellular anarchy of the steppe celebrated the right of personal justice in the form of vengeance. Punishment of crimes was left to the aggrieved or his relatives, or tribal leaders. A weak defense of property accompanied theft of livestock or children from outsiders, and raids by stronger upon weaker was reviled but without recourse except surrender or flight. Within life-community a person decided how he would defend his life and possessions since he had little remedy in law or custom – pre-emptive

killing or disabling a potential or actual threat was not an uncommon factor in political calculation.

Mongol murderous vengeance against Tatar captives saw the killing of most adult males, and was framed as retributive justice for their violence in the past. It also served the purpose of removing a major threat. Leaders of the Tayichi'ut and their families also suffered massacre.

Genghis took fearful revenge on the Tatars. A family council decreed: "In days gone by the Tatars killed our ancestors and forefathers. We will sacrifice them in revenge and retribution for our ancestors and forefathers, by massacring all except the youngest. They will be massacred down to the very last male and the remainder will be shared out as slaves among us all." Similarly because Tarkutai-kiriltuk, a minor chief of the Tayichi'ut, had held the youthful Genghis prisoner, the male members of the Tayichi'ut tribe, sons and grandsons included, were massacred after Genghis' victory over the Tayichi'ut.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast to disloyalty, Jelme became an icon of personal loyalty to Genghis Khan. He was a trusted general, and saved Temüjin's life after a battle-inflicted wound by poison arrow. Jelme sucked the blood then sneaked into the enemy camp to steal some kumiss for Temüjin to slake his thirst.<sup>31</sup> In this incident he risked his life to save Temüjin, and demonstrated loyalty at the risk of his life or liberty if captured.

<b>1. Stratum-of-Being</b>	Life-community (SB <sub>2</sub> )
<b>2. Security Action Platform</b>	SAP07: Social obligation/loyalty [O <sub>L</sub> ]
<b>3. Initiator (subject) + predicate + target (object)</b>	Jelme + nursed + Temüjin.
<b>4. Intended consequence</b>	Temüjin recovery from wound.
<b>5. Unintended consequence</b>	Jelme became the butt of jokes over his semi-naked exploit.*
<b>6. Resources required v. used</b>	Loyalty, stealth and cunning.
<b>7. Actual effect on life-length of object</b>	Saved Temüjin life; PLPD.
<b>8. Positive or <i>negative</i> for subject</b>	+Jelme earned gratitude of Temüjin, and became icon of loyalty.
<b>9. Positive or <i>negative</i> for object</b>	+Temüjin – death postponed.

**Table 16: Jelme saves Temüjin from poison arrow wound.**

After Temüjin was elected Khan, he proceeded to reward those supporters who had served him beyond normal duties, extolling personal loyalty as greatest virtue. In judging persons, he recognized a scale ranging from unflinching loyalty to betrayal. Genghis Khan raised loyalty to be the central imperative of his

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\* He removed all his clothes so as to have an alibi if captured. He intended to claim he was joining his captors, and had left the camp of Temüjin too hurriedly to dress.

Subjects. It had been refined and expanded in construction of cohesive life-communities. He recounted how Bo'orcu had joined him without hesitation when seeking to return his eight stolen geldings.

You made me leave my short-haired chestnut horse and set me on a white horse with a black back, and you yourself rode a fast dun mare. You left your herd of horses without a master and in haste became my companion in the steppe. Again we spent three days and nights in pursuit before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings.<sup>32</sup>

He further recounted how Bo'orcu had protected him during campaigns against the Tatars, and how he “urged me to carry out what was right, You persuaded me not to do what was wrong, and in this way made me gain this throne. “ By attributing his decisions to good advice and loyal friends, he implicitly minimized divine inspiration and shared glory with steadfast companions. Generosity, gratitude and rewards repaid service, and were diffused as general principles throughout the growing army. Booty was allocated on the basis of merit in battle, and strict punishment was sentenced for desertion, loss or surrender – the equivalents or consequences of disloyalty or at least of flawed loyalty.

### **Social obligation and loyalty are the gateways to morality**

Making war was not merely an avocation or profession, but a warrior's commitment to serving the Khan, himself and his family - in that order. This weakened feudal vassalage and prepared Mongols for Subjecthood under a supreme ruler. Intense loyalty was demanded and life termination was a penalty for non-compliance. It superseded (yet imitated) family, clan and tribe, and was the gateway not only to formation of the Mongol nation, but to a code of ethics made explicit in the *Yasa*. Ho'elün demanded fraternal loyalty

among her sons, and heaped curses when they argued or fell into mutual suspicion. By habituating a form of military altruism (with serious penalties for non-performance) Genghis Khan cultivated an army whose units and men performed bravely even when operating independently or against overwhelming odds.

Loyalty was more than a declaration of allegiance, it was silent action without explicit promise of reward – it was military altruism before good and evil were formulated as moral concepts. It could be inspired by a wish for material or security recompense, and it could be taught and made routine. Ho'elün adopted and raised at least four orphans\* found in camps, and expected loyalty to her sons in return.

She placed you close to her legs,  
She treated you as her own sons  
And brought you up with care;  
She surely brought you up in order to make you the companions for us her sons. Who knows  
how many favours and services you have returned to my mother for the favour of having  
brought you up!<sup>33</sup>

Rewards for merit and loyal service were detailed as guides for successor Khans. His allotment of rewards included military commands of ten thousand warriors to Bo'orcu, Muqali, and Naya'a Bilji'ürs well as patrimonies of a thousand households. He established a semi-feudal State based on a combination of service and sovereign control.

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\* Sigi Qutuqu, Boroqul, Gücü and Kökücü

## **Conclusion**

Social knowledge and social obligation are companion constructs of SB<sub>2</sub> and contribute to life security. There is no sharp demarcation between adjoining Strata-of-Being, and individuals who are members of higher Stratum-of-Being do not, and cannot, abandon their lower natures although the urge of civilization is to suppress. Pre-State Mongols behaved in deference to natural and life-community values, while their contemporary urban Chinese counterparts were more oriented to State and even to some aspects of civil society in ways that restrained natural or social impulses. In the following chapter, we examine the remaining SB<sub>2</sub> SAPs – social economy and social concord.

# Chapter 9: The Social Economy and Social Concord Variable

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“The desire for safety stands against every great and noble enterprise. ”—Tacitus<sup>34</sup>

## **Eighth Security Action Platform: Social Economy[E.]**

Acquisition of material needs in the state of nature is relatively simple and a highly individual affair. As man ascended into life-community complexity arose and barter emerged, dependent upon restraining animal appetites and immediate gratification. Before there can be orderly production, acquisition, distribution and consumption of life necessities, there must be a degree of structure to facilitate availability and predictability for producers and consumers. A superimposed State can provide this order by coercion, planning, centralization and rational organization of communications, production and currency. Long before States existed, spontaneous exchange and trade flourished and augmented life-communities. Necessities and luxuries found their way from producers to consumers guided by no external force but tacit agreement between seller and buyer to barter, often through middlemen.<sup>35</sup> Men passed from primitive barbarism when a degree of specialization and division of labor stimulated routine trading and informal markets, supplementing hunting and gathering groups. With satisfaction of basic needs, desire for semi-necessities such as salt or iron stirrups or cloth, aroused further complexity in

exchanges and created specialized crafts and craftsmen. Tribes and nations able to innovate\* and exploit natural advantage to accumulate wealth and power. Material wealth could be translated into military strength, both defensive and offensive. For the Mongols, material surplus was not a prerequisite to military power. For these people of the steppe, a simple adequacy of life security, drawn directly from habitat and mutual predation, furnished a platform from which they fought, defeated and looted neighbors and neighbors of those neighbors.

### **On the ethical basis of social economy**

One day while Temüjin, Qasar, Bekter and Belgütei were sitting together on the river bank angling, a shiny dace came onto the line. Bekter and Belgütei snatched it away from Temüjin and Qasar.<sup>36</sup>

In their exile from clan, a virtual state of nature descended on Yisügei's family. Rules of ownership and possession were ignored by predators in a primeval environment. Behavior based on ethical reciprocity is a sophisticated construction and requires not only a change in habitual attitude by individuals, but institutions to reinforce, or at least not contradict, the efficacy of such behavior. Away from life-community, the two elder half-brothers were able to nullify Temüjin's claim to a fish on his line. Markets for exchange, absent compulsion, are one such institution where the wants and desires of two parties are mutually satisfied. The *Secret History* is

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\* "That is the only way for us to maintain ourselves in a strange and hostile world and at the same time reach a much higher stage than we could attain by ourselves. What the individual can invent in his short lifetime is relatively little. In culture, however, our basis is the collected wealth of experiences and inventions that an entire people, indeed all nations, have undergone during many generations. We are beneficiaries of this wealth and our work is made easier and more differentiated by this preparatory work which others have done." Landmann, 218.

relatively silent on matters of property and possession, although the case of the purloined dace implicitly raises the issue. On the other hand, conflicts over sharing of booty confiscated from vanquished enemy became a central issue of surplus distribution.

### **Labor and the social economy**

Exploitation of the physical environment requires and cultivates routine work habits developed from experience and tradition.\* Farming requires persistence, attention to detail, observation of soil and sky, and complete adaptation to environment. Hunting skills demand mobility, endurance and sure aim. Animal husbandry needs patience and understanding of flock and herd. Factory work demands that machines command the pace and tasks. While some repetitive work virtues of agraria were transferred to other venues, those of the hunter have little value in an industrial setting. The labor of natural man is far more spontaneous and situational than that of organized mass production. The fruits of a traditional farmer's work were affected by unmediated natural conditions and intensity of his inputs more than by organization and design, as modern Communist agricultural restructuring discovered in its failures. The sexual division of labor

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\* "Human behavior, however, is controlled by the culture which men have once acquired. How man feeds and procreates, how he dresses and dwells, how he behaves practically and ethically, how he speaks and looks at the world, all the cultural forms he makes use of, are based on historical creation. Since they have been historically created they cannot be transmitted by heredity. Yet they must be preserved: what the ancestors have discovered must benefit later generations. Instead of heredity then, another, purely spiritual form of preservation must be used. This other form of preservation is called tradition. Through it, knowledge and skills are passed from generation to generation like buckets in a fire line and transmitted to posterity by example and instruction from their predecessors." Landmann, 227.

relegated nomad women mostly to household management. They rode horses, drove carts, milked goats, mares and cows, sewed clothes and tents. Men made the bows and arrows, did leatherwork and hunted. Personal qualities of Mongols have been described:

As with all nomads in Central Asia, they were remarkably carefree and easygoing, an attitude which resulted from their life-style: they were quite unfamiliar with regular and continuous work. But their powers of endurance were exceptional. In times of famine the food that was available was honourably divided.<sup>37</sup>

An agrarian or urban economy requires continuous labor inputs. Nomadic labor consisted of a direct relationship with the natural world – no intensive cultivation and much searching for primary elements of life protection – shelter, food and water. Domesticated animals reduced steppe life unpredictability, while introduction of horses, portable ger, and archery were crucial in making the steppe habitable. It was a way of life that bestowed a special war-making capacity on competently commanded Mongols who defeated, destroyed, and ruled the numerous tribes and states of Asiatica. Rome, Alexander and the Chinese\* imagined during times of their supremacy, that they ruled the world. The Mongols closed the ancient and medieval periods of history by establishing a contiguous land empire greater than any that had gone before or followed thereafter.

### **Temüjin's fratricide also had lessons in material values**

The fishing incident was also a parable on the acquisition and possession of material things – the foundation of social economy.

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\* A translation for "empire" was "*tianxia*" (天下), or "all under Heaven."

The fish and bird kills belonged to the younger brothers by natural right and they could dispose of them, consume their flesh, or give to their mother as they intended. When the older step-brothers seized the catch, they violated a natural right of possession which originated in the younger siblings' labor. The sequence of events also demonstrated the working of justice, force and counter-force. As Thrasymachus claimed in the *Republic*, justice was the interest of the stronger and Bekter acted accordingly. This reflected the weak status of property in a state of nature and a privilege of eldest brother to have primary claim to any material thing in the family. In modified form, this claim was transplanted into the Mongol State by Genghis when he demanded all booty be placed under his control, for his use and distribution. War was the supreme instrument of confiscation and redistribution, suggesting that Bekter was conforming to and not violating an interpersonal prerogative of possession. The Temüjin/Qasar retaliation was equally justified in their minds because Bekter had demonstrated a pattern of seizure which mother Ho'elün was unwilling or unable to halt. By killing Bekter and reclaiming his game, Temüjin was committing a revolutionary act – nullification of custom by restoration of his prerogative natural right of possession.

Primeval anger and three instinctive Wills detonated in the execution of Bekter. Will-to-Life was compromised if Bekter could take anything he fancied in the camp. Will-to-Freedom was denied if Temüjin could be denied the kill of his angling, and Will-to-Power demanded removal of the elder rival to seize sovereignty over his family. Before good and evil had a place in man's scheme of morality, calculations of survival took precedence in that state of

nature. Even if Bekter had not violated any natural law of possession, Temüjin reacted against what he considered a serious dishonor and felt he had the right and duty to punish him. From that experience he implicitly deduced a principle of temporary possession – ownership of things and persons is not embedded in law without an enforcing institution, and is subject to expropriation by stronger parties. Usage of land, animals or persons was tolerated until a stronger claimant appeared and demanded transfer.\*

Bekter's theft took food out of Ho'elün's mouth, or perhaps he intended to present it to her as his gift, or he would redistribute to whomever he chose. Either way it violated Temüjin's instinct of natural right to possession – if Bekter could confiscate a small fish or bird, there was no limit to his prerogatives and this diminished Temüjin's life-chances and challenged his Will-to-Freedom which motivated his hunting and fishing activities. Resolving the relationship of labor and possession underlies Marxist economics.† For Temüjin, who should keep and dispose of takings (booty) from war would be a thorny issue whose resolution required trimming the prerogatives of his allies and warriors.

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\* An economy based on weak possession, whether its confiscatory expression be among the nomads or in modern socialism, will not induce optimum investment of labor and capital for individual and general enrichment. A system of weak property erodes a rigid moral milieu. At the same time, Mongol society based on weak property facilitated establishment and maintenance of a strong sovereign – who alone claimed total right of disbursing material rewards.

† "According to the classical economic theory, man has natural needs that the economy finds already existent and can only satisfy in a better or worse fashion. For Marx, however, man is even in his material needs not a natural being. He differs from the animals already by the fact that he creates his external living conditions himself, invents tools, produces wares. Indeed, in changing his living conditions he also changes himself." Landmann, 202.

### **Social economy as Security Action Platform (SAP)**

Easy availability of basic needs is rare. For millenia of human existence, hunting, herding, gathering and farming sustained humans and facilitated adaptive dispersal to varied regions of the earth. As a tribe refined exploitation of a locale's resources and nurtured specialized skills to match particularities, an awareness of available necessities in other regions stimulated recognition of opportunity among a few individuals to attempt voluntary exchange. Trading began as tentative contacts with non-kin neighbors, exploring connections which could be dangerous or profitable. Goods abundant in one area might be rare in another, so appreciation of mutual interest and risk for gains took hold. As early Russians pushed into forest and taiga, they traded honey and animal furs for products they needed and could not produce. Salt from the shallow lakes of the high plateaus sustained Tibetans as a trade item to other tribes and peoples. A major benefit of life-community to members' life security is acquisition and exploitation of non-human resources. A division of labor refines skills and knowledge to make quantitative and qualitative improvement to efficient acquisition and deployment of goods and services. Bartering and informal markets facilitate the flow of material security inputs and outputs to amplify the ability of humans to extend life-length.

Side benefits of trade included enlargement of contacts and connections which occurred during exchanges of goods, information

and ideas.\* Trade fertilized social knowledge about friends and enemies and also aroused appetites for smaller and lighter luxuries which were more easily transported over great distances. Currency and money were absent in primitive exchange, unless a nearby State issued coins having fairly stable value. Absence of common valuation and prices necessitated extended bargaining between buyer and seller. Risk and spontaneity were key features of production and trade in life-community and drew energy from life-needs. The producer, seller, intermediate buyer and end consumer each assumed that the commodity during its journey to end use or consumption would enhance life in some way – either by profit, status, pleasure or physical well-being. Trade became a dynamic component to improve life security for increasing numbers of people, but only as far as guarantees of possession and rightful usage were honored. Trust and social order enhanced those guarantees while suspicion and disorder dissolved them. When a few men and women engaged in barter, new assumptions resulted. Successful exchange of goods, if accomplished with mutual satisfaction and voluntary action, produced new seeds of human reason. Movement of inanimate goods from one individual to another, accompanied by compensation, was a start of conscious mutual dependency and specialization as each person no longer had to look after all his own needs, but could take advantage of new

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\* Commodification of knowledge and information first occurred in life-community, and became a major support of States. In civil society, much new “knowledge” consists of symbolic representation once or more removed from sensory reality.

contacts for provision of goods and services. Accumulation of desirable chattel became a project in the struggle for survival.

### **Mongol poverty and killing fields**

More than a few moderns admire, or proclaim admiration for, the purity of poverty and its elimination of dross. The healthy desert life of Mohammad the prophet was not dissimilar to steppe life.

The much-touted purity of desert life was essentially the purity of near-poverty, with no room for indulgence. Once weaned, he'd eat the regular Beduin fare of camel milk along with grains and pulses grown in winter pastures—a sparse diet for a sparse way of life, with an animal slaughtered for meat only for a big celebration or to honor a visiting dignitary. There were no luxuries, not even the sweetness of honey and dates. But if it was a sparse life, it was also a healthy one, spent almost entirely outdoors.<sup>38</sup>

Along with weak property, medieval nomads had a somewhat cavalier attitude about human life. Perhaps life was too harsh to concern about the niceties of ownership of goods or existence. Unlike farmers who till the soil and nurture life's foodstuffs through planting, cultivation and harvesting, pastoralists "harvest" the fruit of their labors by killing their animals, after a useful life of providing wool and milk. Inured to shedding the blood of livestock, Mongol warriors hardened to the task of mass executions of defeated soldiers and civilians, tempered by recognition that men as captives could be useful for labor or valuable skills, women for service, pleasure and making children, but were worth less than animals when dead. A ruthless calculus prevailed when the Mongol terror swept across Eurasia.

The killing of human beings seemed to present no problems of conscience to them. They did not steal from each other, but they were very covetous and often tried to take with them more spoils of war than they could carry. When there was no war booty, they were not above taking or extorting possessions from non-Mongols. The tribal chiefs displayed their greed in an authoritarian way; they considered that they had the right to avail themselves of the goods of their subordinates.<sup>39</sup>

**Progress from primary to higher levels of survival created life-community**

Life-community introduces specialization, cooperation, communication of improved techniques and mutual dependency. A social economy provides material needs for life security through unplanned cooperation and without State intervention. It often depends on spontaneity of need satisfaction through improvisation. Two world leaders, Mohammad and Genghis Khan, were “purified” by poverty in their youth. Young Mohammad was better off than Temüjin, who had to move according to seasons, hunt, fish and gather his food, with none of the reliability of agricultural sources or urban markets. Arabian caravan trade between Mecca and Ethiopia or Yemen was part of a larger market system linking the Mediterranean basin, the Middle East, India and China. It had developed and flourished for centuries before the prophet of Islam had tended camels for their journeys, or raided for plunder and vengeance.

Trade routes connecting China with Persia, the Middle East and Europe ran hundreds of miles south of the Mongol heartland, and were further separated by Great Wall and desert. The world of Temüjin was distant from most trade routes. Shelter and clothing fabric was woolen felt, made from animal fibers and it covered the portable gers. Local pelts were fashioned into garments. Trees provided wood for saddles, oxcarts, bows, arrows and ger frames. Fuel for fire was commonly the dried dung of animals. The purity of Mongol natural existence resided in a life with few indulgences. Their raids on settlements or other tribes were motivated by need and greed. A barter economy secured items not locally produced, or items of higher quality than available within the tribe. Iron stirrups

were an important innovation and gave riders a solid footing while shooting in nearly every direction.\*

### **Social economy & life security on the Mongol steppe– basic necessities**

All living organisms require a limited range of fluids and solids to sustain existence. Only humans have devised complex arrangements to obtain necessities not in their immediate environment. This has been done through face-to-face exchanges, or through intermediaries. Among the Mongols and their neighbors, horses were a major commodity. Production of saddles, stirrups, ger, airtaq, rope, clothes, bows and arrows provided the basic necessities of life. What was not produced locally could be obtained through trading or raiding. The Tatars<sup>†</sup> had access to silver ore and improved their living standard by fashioning and trading metal fittings and implements. Wealth contributed to military might, so poverty of the original Mongol clans weakened ability to resist interference from stronger tribes.

Natural man survived by being self-sufficient in material needs, with existence consisting of finding and consuming adequate nutrition, punctuated by sleep and various quotidian tasks. He generally relied upon materials and game in his immediate vicinity. Trade and specialization became feasible as the range of life-

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\* "By about AD 500, therefore, the pastoral nomads of Inner Asia had an advantage over settled societies. With stirrups added to saddle, bridle and bit, horsemen could outmanoeuvre chariots, fire arrows, wield spears or use the lasso while at full gallop." Man 68.

<sup>†</sup> Their tribal name was applied collectively and erroneously to the tribes of Central Asia.

community expanded, and as humans domesticated horses, dogs, sheep and cattle, devised weapons, subdued fire and constructed lodgings. As some tribes became larger and stronger, they developed military prowess and raided weaker and unprotected settlements or encampments. Unanchored to settlements or complex supply depots, the Mongol warrior had the advantages of natural man in self-sufficiency. Whether alone or in his tribe he had added advantages of life-community solidarity.

The Mongol was ideally suited to travel long distances; each man carried precisely what he needed, but nothing more. In addition to his *deel*, the traditional wool robe that reached to his ankles, he wore pants, a fur hat with earflaps and riding boots with thick soles. In addition to clothes designed to protect him in the worst weather, each warrior carried flints for making fires, leather canteens for water and milk, files to sharpen arrowheads, a lasso for rounding up animals or prisoners, sewing needles for mending clothes, a knife and a hatchet for cutting and a skin bag into which to pack everything.<sup>40</sup>

Later acquisition of luxury items signalled that nomads had left their zone of bare survival and entered one of comfort. Silks were a mark of luxury. The later ger of successful warriors flaunted indulgence:

Their living quarters with sumptuous, delicate embroideries and brocades, woven with gold and precious stones. The opulence of their palace-tents became legendary and along with the sophistication of their courts, it stood in stark contrast to the appearance they projected when first they emerged from the steppe.<sup>41</sup>

### **Trade and acquisition of life necessities**

One of fifteen SAPs, social economy is a vital source of security inputs and outputs because participation enhances life chances of individuals as persons with increased access to material needs. By possessing items or service skills, one reduces mortality risk. A herdsman needs a pair of iron stirrups, which he cannot make himself and so finds a seller willing to accept a colt in return. Trade

values trust and reciprocity, and places a premium on skepticism of buyer and seller. It nourishes self-interest and feeds natural and social knowledge by calculating profit/loss as well as the consequences of surrendering ownership to gain another possession. Satisfaction of mutual needs not only enhanced life security but widened knowledge, curiosity and rudimentary confidence among men of differing tribes and nations. Trade has been a human activity for millennia and created networks for diffusion of knowledge as well as material goods.

The nomads were nonautarkic in the economic, political and cultural spheres. Trading was mutually advantageous and protection was a commodity that the tribes were always willing to barter. Metals for their tools and weapons, grain for bread, textiles for their tents and clothing and for their lords and ladies, precious metals and gems and especially *nasij*, or brocades and fine fabrics, embroidered in gold and silks, were among the items that they sought to procure in exchange for meat, wool, horses and hides.<sup>42</sup>

### **The predatory economy**

The Mongol combination of weak property, sparse natural resources and scattered population having harsh and autarkic livelihoods militated against complex division of labor and sophisticated technology. Envy shaped covetousness towards other tribes and States who accumulated wealth and power denied to the Mongols. Accumulation of necessary goods beyond daily needs was accomplished in part by raiding and pillage, especially in autumn when the horses were fat with summer grass and farmers brought in the harvest. Cities were usually well-defended and the Great Wall was generally effective to keep horse-back nomads in their northern lands. Production and trade were inadequate means of wealth creation, so predation became a logical and organized outlet for gain. Tribal wars were both life crisis and power addition opportunities for Genghis Khan. The three victors in the battle against the Merkit

confirmed an alliance, defeated a tribe which had raided their people, and acquired the weapons, livestock, women and objects left behind by those who fled or were killed.

Temuchin therefore promulgated the following order: "When we rout the enemy we will not halt to take booty. When the victory is decided the booty belongs to us collectively and I will then distribute it. If we are repulsed by the enemy we will reform on the spot from which we launched our attack. Any man who does not reform on the spot from which we attacked will be executed." This order violated an ancient custom of the nomads, who only fought because of booty and whose chieftains had the right to dispose of whatever spoils they took, setting aside a portion for their khan. Now Temuchin claimed all the spoils for himself, with the right to distribute it as he thought fit.<sup>43</sup>

The purpose of his order was threefold. First, soldiers were distracted from completing a battle when they sought goods during the action, and several might fight over a prized good or woman at the expense of defeating an enemy. Second, by shifting allocation of booty to be based on fighting initiative, he induced a higher level of performance among his subordinates. Third, concentration of a form of temporary ownership to himself laid a material foundation for sovereignty. The measure contributed to military discipline and centralization of important economic power where little had previously prevailed. The promise of booty by a strong leader induced unattached warriors to join Temüjin and his forces swelled with ambitious and hungry fighters. Managing relations with the traditional Mongol tribes, who still maintained aristocratic domination, was a delicate necessity. Resistance to his command demonstrated that other Mongol leaders were not willing to concede this crucial mode of increasing wealth. Toghrul still abided by the old custom of allowing subordinate commanders to seize booty for their own use and disbursement – a custom Temüjin was determined to abolish.

The struggle against the Tatars had a sequel. Three descendants of the first Mongol khans (relatives of Genghis Khan) had ignored Genghis Khan's orders not to plunder for personal profit. Genghis Khan sent Jebe and Qubilai after them to bring back the booty. When the three were called upon to answer for their disobedience, they resolved to try their luck with the Ong-Khan.<sup>44</sup>

Genghis Khan had middling interest in material possessions and commercial affairs. When he was to give his sister Temulen in marriage to Batu of the Ikires, he was told that Batu would bring fifteen horses – half his herd – as dowry. He angrily retorted that “If one is concluding a marriage and discusses value, then one is acting like a merchant.”<sup>45</sup> Material goods were primarily important for retaining and recruiting his army – even the appearance of using alliance for personal gain was anathema to the Khan.

His ascension as khan of all the Mongols confirmed his exclusive right to all booty and first choice of kill in the hunt. The oath of allegiance by the tribal leaders stated:

When you are khan, Temuchin, we will ride as your spearhead against the multitudinous enemy and bring back their beautiful women and maidens and their ceremonial tents; and from the foreign tribes we will bring comely women and maidens, also their fine-limbed geldings at a trot and present them to you. When we hunt the wild animals, we will be in the van of the hunters and will give you [the slaughtered animals]. We will drive the steppe animals towards you in such numbers that their bellies touch, the mountain animals in such numbers that their rumps touch.<sup>46</sup>

Natural man wished the world to be a storehouse providing his physical needs. Exiled from the Garden of Eden, Adam and his descendants recognized that effort is required to possess and exploit needful things.

By the sweat of your brow will you have food to eat until you return to the ground from which you were made. For you were made from dust, and to dust you will return.  
*Genesis 3:19*

Animals do not give up their flesh, hides and fur without a fight or flight. Bees will not surrender their honey without attacking the interloper. Men react similarly and fight, flee or succumb when confronted with a predator. As life-community precipitated out of raw human actions, trust and cooperation influenced interactions.

After that, one day Dobun Mergen went out hunting on the Toqoqaq Heights. In the forest he met a man of the Uriangqai tribe who had killed a three-year-old deer and was roasting its ribs and entrails. Dobun Mergen said, "Friend, share the quarry!" "I will give it to you," said *the man*, and keeping for himself the main portion *of the animal* which has the lungs, and the skin, he gave all the meat of the three-year-old deer to Dobun Mergen. Dobun Mergen went on, carrying the three-year-old deer on the back *of his horse*. On the way he met a poor man on foot who was leading his son *by the hand*. Dobun Mergen asked him, "To which clan do you belong?" The man said, "I am a man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut, and I am in desperate straits. Give me some of the meat of that animal and I will give you this child of mine." At these words Dobun Mergen cut off one thigh of the three-year-old deer and gave it to him, and he took the child to be a servant in his house.<sup>47</sup>

In this tale about an early ancestor, the first transaction was portrayed as a voluntary donation from one hunter to another. The first had killed the deer, and had more meat than he could carry. Moreover, to linger over dressing and selecting the best parts might attract wolves,\* so giving the meat to Dobun Mergen was in his interest, may have been customary, and might be invoked for a return favor for himself or his tribe in the future. The second transaction was a desperate barter – a thigh of venison to a starving man in return for the son – a cruel bargain but saving the man and

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\* "The sheer difficulty of transporting parts of extremely large animals-to carry something awkward and cumbersome is referred to as *schlepping* in Yiddish-may have caused hunters to field dress the carcasses rather than try to carry large, meat-laden bones or drag enormous carcasses back to the living area or camp intact. Not only the nuisance value of transporting large carcasses but also the inherent danger of remaining in the area of the kill site when carnivore competitors appear might discourage such behavior." Pat Shipman, P. (2015). *The Invaders*: Harvard University Press, 82.

his son from protracted starvation. It lightened Dobun Mergen's burden and expanded the working hands in his band. When the youth matured and the master passed on, he fathered three more sons by the widow.

<b>1. Level of existence</b>	SB <sub>2</sub> - life-community.*
<b>2. Security Action Platform</b>	08. Social economy [E <sub>lc</sub> ] = primitive bartering
<b>3. Initiator (subject) + predicate + target (object)</b>	Dobun Mergen + bartered with + the Ma'aliqu Baya'ut man (venison for the boy).
<b>4. Intended consequence</b>	Acquire boy servant.
<b>5. Unintended consequence</b>	After Dobun Mergen death, the servant fathered three more brothers, including Bodoncar.
<b>6. Resources used</b>	Dobun Mergen's <i>gratis</i> venison bartered to starving man.
<b>7. Actual effect on life-length of object</b>	Starving father survived, postponed end of life (EOL).
<b>8. Positive or negative for subject</b>	+Dobun Mergen acquired a servant.
<b>9. Positive or <i>negative</i> for Object</b>	+Saved from death by starvation. -Surrendered his son.

**Table 17: Dobun Mergen receives a portion of venison, exchanges meat for a male servant.**

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\* The incident was one illustrating that the two men existed at two Strata-of-Being simultaneously - SB<sub>1</sub> in that they were complete strangers and met in what could be considered the state of nature. The satisfaction of their mutual interests in the trade was characteristic of life-community, and therefore fits that SB<sub>2</sub>.

### **Material security among the Mongols**

Security reinforces life freedom, yet requires restraint or discipline under narrow social despotisms. Nomads adapted life to an environment of aridity, open spaces and relatively sparse vegetation. Horses gave mobility, composite bows gave lethality in the hunt and war, as well as against wolves and predators, and the ger provided shelter against the elements. Diffusion of these steppe adaptations enabled survival and can be considered freedom-enhancing instruments insofar as they improved an otherwise brutish existence. A paucity of possessions suggests two opposite attitudes towards property. The requirement of portability and the ability to move independently mandated that property be quadraped mammalian or lightweight/small volume. The relation between a man and his things is one of hierarchical value – some things are more esteemed than others. Horse and bow were vital to immediate survival while wife and children harshly less so, but they supplemented security in the longer run.\*

The Mongol conundrum was that material deprivation exacerbated conflict for life necessities and set clan against clan. A greater surplus of food might have freed men and women from long hours of herding, hunting, scavenging and migrating to better pastures. To escape the cycle of daily necessities required a breakthrough in food supply as a minimum. The economy of the

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\* On my first visit to Mongolia, I stopped at an encampment and was offered vodka, airaq, and goat cheese. The head of the household wanted me to take a photo, which I assumed would be he and his family. Instead, he posed with his favorite horse and declined to be included in the family photo.

Mongols might also be augmented by greater and more effective numbers. Marrying or capturing women from other tribes was most difficult for a tribe at the bottom. Having servants and slaves was also a relief from mundane work in order to train, hunt and raid. For the Mongols, working harder and smarter was not a solution. Neither living in a state of nature nor a primeval Garden of Eden, the average Mongol depended on his own labor for needful things. For the ambitious or dispossessed, raiding was an obvious means of wealth acquisition. While status was sought within tribal society through accumulation of mobile goods, material possessions were less important as markers of one's place in society than they were buffers to the privation which placed one closer to death's door.

In the grassland environment, wealth – the universal buffer against bare survival – was measured in livestock, clan and family size. Men and women produced children, hunted game, raised livestock and if sufficiently strong, raided other clans or settlements to augment possessions and food supply. Any luxuries acquired or coveted were best if portable – items of clothing became highly decorated with jewels and brocade. A modern Western perspective decrees that objectification of men and women suggests dehumanization – draining man of dignity and natural rights. For the Mongols, pragmatic estimation of a man's worth was no academic exercise, but a habit acquired early in life as a mental tool for securing safety. This practice was extrapolated into Genghis Khan's personal story as he rewarded or punished. He placed a high

value on loyalty and instituted a system of incentives for his warriors and commanders, with capital punishment for disloyalty.\*

### **Summary – The Social economy [E<sub>1</sub>]**

For life security (SB<sub>2</sub>), the economy is that sphere of activity involving the acquisition, possession, utilization, consumption and distribution of material goods and labor for the purpose of maintaining existence. Primary material goods include food, water, clothing and shelter. Secondary items include things necessary for acquisition of the foregoing and include land, weapons and tools. A third level of instrumental items includes labor from slavery, servants and sustained individual work. Fourth is material wealth which can be exchanged for the above necessities. Each level adds a layer of security to the possessor and its contents are calculated to provide maximum benefit. Having been born into an accumulation of security buffers acquired by one's forebears has long been a primary source of inequality. Nonetheless, from a life security standpoint, a wealthy man with no food or water in a desert is worse off than a poor man in a city.†

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\* Few opportunities for improving individual or family economic circumstances were available to pastoralists. Accumulation and maintenance of herds – the main signifier of wealth – was facilitated by bearing and raising healthy sons to hunt and care for stock. Daughters were also a help, but were married off and raised as a means to expand family alliances. Among the Mongols, it was not unknown for sons to serve in the tribes where their brides were chosen – as an avenue to paying a bride price.

† *Hunger*, a novel by the Norwegian Knut Hamsun (published in 1890), describes how a poor writer suffers as he sells everything, tries to retain his dignity, and exhausts all possible avenues of finding food in a city. It demonstrated that life might be no more secure in an urban setting than on the steppe. Hunger literally drives him insane, and seems to be a universal effect of nutrition or fluid deprivation for extended periods. Even the normally rational individual disengages from reality under extreme conditions.

### **Ninth Security Action Platform: The Social concord variable [C.]**

Prior to the State, life-community consisted of families, clans and tribes. In theory, there can be a precise number, the Social Concord Variable (SCV), representing the degree of conflict within an life-community. If 1.00\* stands for perfect harmony and 0.00 is the the total presence of conflict (war of all against all), several hypotheses can be suggested:

- All life-communities have a SCV that is  $>0.00$  and  $<1.00$ .
- Nearly all individuals in life-community consciously desire a higher, not lower, SCV.
- A higher SCV is more conducive to life security than a lower SCV.
- A nurturing and cooperative nuclear family, followed by clans and tribes, has been the spontaneous model for achieving a higher SCV in life-community. The nuclear family template is hierarchical and inegalitarian, basing its solidarity on status, loyalty, subordination, sacrifice and division of labor. Internal cohesion comes from recognition that greater individual vulnerability occurs if either or both adult parents are not present. Compliance, cooperation, service and obedience help to preserve family and kinship unity.

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\* Unweighted - see Appendix

- Outsider injury to individuals within a kinship unit damages life security and introduces a new source of conflict for the life-community. Vengeance becomes a motivation to solidify the primary unit against outsiders, but lowers the SCV within the tribe (consisting of multiple clans) and larger life-community when injury is internal.
- Clans and tribes may increase their inter-group amity through informal alliances and agreements in the form of contractual promises and pledges. Arranged marriages served this purpose and established links accompanied by mutual visits, negotiations, gifts and rituals. Compliant yet intelligent, attractive, healthy and fertile females were an advantage to a tribe as bargaining capital for marriage alliances.
- A ruthless expedient to increase SCV was to remove the source of conflict. In the relatively raw life-community prevailing in medieval Mongolia, death penalties and massacres of entire tribes were forms of conflict resolution. The ruthless execution of enemies, enslavement of their women and children, and confiscation of goods ended conflict with finality, eliminated repercussions and enriched the victors. Complete extermination of a mortal enemy excluded another cycle of vendetta.

An idyllic state of nature, under the right natural circumstances, and in a situation where predators never or rarely

threaten, has found its way into works of fiction. In the novel *The Wall*<sup>48</sup> (*Die Wand*) the narrator describes her works and days in years of isolation after an invisible barrier mysteriously shut her off in a mountain lodge. Like Robinson Crusoe, she survived by using whatever nature provided. Like Crusoe, she also had various tools and products from the previous vessel/lodge. Defoe described a man whose mind and hands were constantly occupied with devising improvements for a sustainable and even comfortable habitation, while Haushofer's middle-aged woman settles into drudgery of maintenance but is spiritually uplifted by love of animals and her limited landscape. Both stories portray existence without an interpersonal economy and imply that, under near-ideal circumstances, isolation does not arbitrarily condemn a person to early EOL. Man Friday arrives on Crusoe's island and reduces loneliness. A dog, a cow and several cats provide company in the alpine lodge, meadows and forests of *The Wall*. The natural state is not to be feared and can sustain a purer being when society and its distractions are taken away - at least in fictional literature.

Social concord is a condition of life-community in which life-threatening conflicts between individuals and groups have been reduced and minimized. The effectiveness of life-community in providing security to its members depends on the ability of leaders to mediate and resolve conflicts, and availability of adequate resources and institutions to sustain collective faith and a degree of mutual trust among membership and leadership. In a multi-person group, disputes and conflicts occur as well as cooperation and agreement. When internal friction is low and social harmony high, the variable of social concord is high by definition. Social concord

varies day-to-day, can be crudely estimated and quantified – the higher the variable value, the greater the social concord and less likely an outbreak of overt conflict. Life-community, with its weak enforcement regime, can turn violent and become an event of negative security inputs and outputs to individual lives. Low social concord increases the lethality of conflict, and a higher measure decreases probability of negative SAMs among members. Social concord enhances life security by reducing the incidence of violence. It is not merely a desirable condition but is a positive goal pursued by mediation between disputants. King Richard II, in Shakespeare's telling, banished the quarrelling Mowbray and Bolingbroke (later King Henry IV) to head off civil war between them.\* Similar quarrels broke out among the Mongols, and until 1206, Genghis Khan had limited authority to settle by command.

### **Social concord in life-community**

Life-community is governed by custom and conformity to collective norms, and is the template for subsequent State formation. In redirecting exclusive selfism to serve the needs of others, nuclear and extended families socialize the individual into consciousness of and interaction with external realities. Survival is the primary motivation of self, so harmonizing intentions and actions by reducing conflict and its sources fulfills one purpose of custom. From the perspective of modern society, this harmonization may seem natural, but we should appreciate that emergence of simple

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\* He gave his cousin Bolingbroke the lighter sentence.

norms like trust, forgiveness, reconciliation, marriage, and various rites of passage required thousands of years of evolution to be embedded in habit and language. Over time, customary actions produced unspoken solidarity, reducing mutual fighting and killing within kinship groups. Taboos against harming kin were originally inoperative to non-kin, making inter-clan cooperation difficult.

Human life security is served by cooperation and interaction for the purpose of prolonging individual life. As interactions increase with population growth, affections and hostilities multiply and intensify. Mechanisms, virtues and habits such as honor, lust, loyalty and vengeance deepen relationships, motivate action, and temper future relationships. Through alliance, war and destruction Temüjin brought a modicum of peace among the Mongols and united the tribes into a single nation. Life-community relied on herding, hunting, trading and raiding and achieved a higher degree of concord but was unlikely to sustain that level of cooperation without thorough reorganization. The challenge for Genghis Khan was to nurture positive social aspects which had brought unity, and to extirpate those which opposed or inhibited unity. The passage from life-community to State was not a magical transformation or religious conversion, but a distillation of habits and virtues already present in Mongol life-community and their reorientation into serving the army-State.

Social solidarity requires high-level social concord and contributes to life security. It expresses a willingness to compromise self-protection for the sake of others, and is a fundamental bond of human society. Ultimately, the elements of social concord must be

expressed in action – mere disposition will not resolve conflicts. It requires partial redirection of the Will-to-Live from self to others, a reduction of selfish Will-to-Freedom through sharing and restraint on natural appetites, and was a major factor welding Mongols into a formidable military force.

Social solidarity was recognized as *asabiyya* in Islamic society, and popularized by Ibn Khaldun in his *Muqaddimah*.<sup>\*</sup> Learned at the mother's breast, it was a bond cultivated first in the family, then the clan, and could be the basis of an imagined nation when a transformative leader –a Mohammad or a Genghis Khan – emerged, and facilitated realization of concept and reality of an actualized social order. Acceptance of a common identity and the active willingness to sacrifice one's wealth and life have been repeated throughout history, when that identity results in or requires demonization of outside groups.<sup>†</sup>

### **Poverty and social discord – Mongols**

Poverty and social conflict were rife among the Mongol tribes. The Persian historian Juvaini described living conditions of the Mongols before the rise of Genghis Khan.

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<sup>\*</sup> *Asabiyyah* refers to social solidarity with an emphasis on unity, group consciousness and sense of shared purpose, and social cohesion, originally in a context of "tribalism" and "clanism". It was a familiar term in the pre-Islamic era, but became popularized in Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah* where it is described as the fundamental bond of human society and the basic motive force of history. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asabiyyah>

<sup>†</sup> One can find milder forms of social solidarity in modern America where co-located diverse ethnic groups result in lowered trust and heightened friction. Robert Putnam found that, at least in the shorter run, "trust is lower, altruism and community cooperation rarer, friends fewer" in ethnically diverse communities. (2000). *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

They had neither ruler nor leader. The tribes lived apart, singly or in twos; they were not united and were either at war or in a condition of hostility or suspicion with each other; they were compelled to pay tribute to the Chin emperor and lived in abject poverty; they wore the skins of dogs and mice, ate the flesh of these and of other dead animals. Iron spurs were regarded as the mark of a great emir.<sup>49</sup>

With reinforcement of collective orientations and actions conducive to protecting human life, life-communities were the dominant form of association for much of history. Feudalism, clans and tribes are manifestations of pre-State forms of human association which preserved and extended life-length and accompanied population growth. With a low social concord variable (SCV), persons adjust purposive behavior to maximize life security. For the Mongols, physical skills and strength in combat included stealth, courage, use of weapons, and horsemanship. The frequent presence of life-threats stimulated the search for and acquisition of loyal allies, patrons, or clients.

In tribal societies the bonds of kinship are exceptionally strong. Members of a lineage possess powerful feelings of fellowship with each other - and under the principle of unilineal descent lines and boundaries of solidarity are clear. At the same time, members of distinct lineage groups that are related through a common ancestor will often share strong feelings of opposition to any group to which they have mutual reason to be hostile. In theory each lineage group will join with all the other related lineage groups to fight against an enemy common to them all. Whatever lineage group is relevant at any given moment - tribe, lineage, sublineage, clan - thus depends on where within the crystalline tribal structure a conflict takes place or a threat exists.<sup>50</sup>

As major components of Mongol life-community, the clans were the progeny of a few early ancestors. Tribal formation occurred when clans amalgamated, claiming a common ancestor and totem. The four sons of one-eyed Du'a Soqor, after the death of their father, denied their uncle Dobun Mergen, and moved away to form their own tribe - the Dorben.<sup>51</sup>

### **Temüjin's goal to preserve social concord**

Social concord\* can be better understood in the emergence of the Mongol State and empire out of nomadic clannism. Temüjin's career demonstrated an ambivalent relationship with tribe and clan. He and his birth family had been exiled and enslaved by their clan, and his wife was kidnapped in vendetta retribution for his father's capture of Ho'elün. Eventually he harnessed clan power in his army – both in centralizing the collection and distribution of booty, and in weakened clan unity by separating and assigning men into different units. His family ties to clan and tribe were sometimes adversarial and made him an outsider to the nascent society he would one day unite into a nation.

After an eighteen month period of peace and harmony, following defeat of the Merkit, Temüjin sensed that he was treated as the junior partner and so separated with his family and followers. Other tribes joined one side or the other, sensing a rift in the alliance. Following the separation, clan leaders “Altan, Qucar and Saca Beki, all of them having agreed among themselves, said to Temüjin, ‘We shall make you *qan*.’”<sup>52</sup> On receiving the news, Toghrul congratulated him: “To make my son Temüjin *qan* is indeed right. How can the Mongols be without a *qan*?” Jamuqa was displeased at the advancement of Temüjin, and expressed irritation at not being consulted. He undoubtedly sensed the growing strength of a rival to

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\* "Social order" is a sub-category of social concord in that it implies a hierarchy, with a dominant group and one or several subordinate groups. In theory social concord, even when enforced, may prevail when all persons are equal. The theoretical equality of a totalitarian or monarchical (King's Peace) regime, for example, may impose peace by rigorous enforcement and severe punishment of violators.

his own ambitions. Tension replaced prior harmony and a horse thievery event sharpened potential conflict. Claiming that the entire Mongol nation was coming over to his side, Temüjin and his group held a banquet in the forest by the Onan River, inviting various tribes and clans.

In the course of feasting, one pitcher *of kumis* was first poured for Cinggis Qa'an, Lady Ho'elün, Qasar, Saca Beki and others. As one pitcher was also poured *to the women* starting with Ebegei, the secondary wife of Saca Beki's father, both Qorilin Qatun and Qu'urcin Qatun said, "Why didn't they pour first for me, but began with Ebegei?", and they thrashed the steward Siki'ür.<sup>53</sup>

Relations between Temüjin and the Jürkin became brittle over this protocol *faux pas* and saw an eruption of indignation over status breach. Outside the banquet, a more serious altercation took place. The Jürkin Büri Bökö wounded Belgütei with his sword during a wrestling match over a Jürkin theft of a horse tether. Temüjin saw the incident and was outraged, but Belgütei did not want to cause a rift with a tribe who were a valuable ally. Not mollified, Temüjin broke off a tree branch and began beating Büri Bökö. Others joined in, and Temüjin's men overcame the Jürkin, seized the two status-indignant women and released them when their kin sued for peace. While this was in progress, they received word that the enemy Tatars were advancing towards their camp. "Cinggis Qa'an said, 'From old days, the Tatar people have been our mortal enemies, the people who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers. Now, taking this opportunity, let us jointly attack them!'"<sup>54</sup> He requested Toghrul to join the attack and he assented. He also urged the Jürkin to set aside their differences and join the campaign, but after waiting six days they did not appear, so Genghis Khan and Toghrul set out without them. The joint army defeated the Tatars in their barricaded camp and plundered it. Meanwhile the Jürkin raided Temüjin's base

camp at Lake Hariltu, and killed ten men. Angered at a series of insults and this latest betrayal, he attacked and plundered their camp, pursuing and killing Saca Beki and Taicu. The Būri Bökö affair was still unresolved. He was the strongest man among the Jürkin and had earlier beaten Belgütei in a wrestling match.

Temüjin made Belgütei and Būri Bökö wrestle. Būri Bökö, the invincible, let himself be toppled. Belgütei, unable to hold him down, grabbed his shoulders and straddled him. Belgütei glanced backwards and, when he caught sight of Cinggis Qa'an's eye, the Qa'an bit his lower lip. Belgütei understood. He sat on top of Būri Bökö and, crossing the two ends of his collar, he pulled them towards himself, tightening his grip. As he did that, he pressed his knee on his spine and broke it. Būri Bökö, his spine broken, said, "I would not have been defeated by Belgütei, but fearing the Qa'an, I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life." Thus he spoke and died. After Belgütei had pulled and broken his spine, he dragged Būri Bökö away, cast him off and left.<sup>55</sup>

The sequence of events illustrated the delicacy of social concord [C<sub>L</sub>]. Theft of a herd set in motion a war between erstwhile allies who might have otherwise coexisted. Jamuqa estimated the time was ripe to remove his chief rival for power, but his cruelty and autocratic arrogance sparked defections to Temüjin. Despite a setback in battle, Temüjin rejoiced and celebrated the new additions to his army. The trivial incident of serving kumiss out of sequence underlined the touchiness over status and that the Jürkin demanded primacy in the alliance. The insult of Belgütei by Būri Bökö was a further signal of a troublesome ally. An opportunity to salvage the alliance came with the appearance of the Tatars. The Jürkin allies not only ignored the call, but inflicted a figurative stab in the back. Although a tribe of fierce warriors, the Jürkin were a fickle ally. Their complete demoralization was accomplished by defeat and subtle execution of their wrestling champion.

The events demonstrated that social concord at any price was illusory. Inter-tribal tensions existed and gnawed at coordinated action as long as ambitions of equality or domination seemed attainable. The banquet that was designed to be a celebration of partnership turned sour over status primacy. Insults became a test of strength and solidarity. Fighting followed by negotiations provided slight improvement of social concord, and Temüjin seized on a joint military campaign to re-establish Mongol unity. The Jürkin made it clear there would be no compromise. A lesson for Temüjin was that an alliance of equals was inherently unstable, and only uncontested paramountcy could create long-term cohesion. Büri Bökö's tacit surrender to his fate symbolized the death of any possibility of a Mongol confederacy among equals – and tacit recognition of Temüjin's sovereignty.

Vengeance alone did not motivate Temüjin in setting up the wrestling rematch. Rather it was a semi-ritualized execution to impose maximum humiliation on him and the proud Jürkin. A modicum of social concord through conflict reduction had proven impossible to achieve by gesture or compromise. Too much was at stake – the Jürkin wanted primacy. Temüjin's goal was unity and his domination. The women's indignation at slights and the wounding of Belgütei were symptoms of irreconcilable differences which made coordination and solidarity difficult. Even appearance of a common enemy failed to bring the Jürkin back in the alliance.

1. Level of existence	Life-community [SB <sub>2</sub> ]
2. Security Action Platform	Social concord [C <sub>L</sub> ]
3. Initiator (subject) + predicate + target (object)	(Temüjin commanded) Belgütei + to wrestle + Büri Bökö.
4. Intended consequence	Humiliation of the champion, his death, and complete subordination of Jürkin.
5. Unintended consequence	Further evidence of Belgütei's mild and passive character.
6. Resources required v. used	Wrestling match to settle continuing grudge. <i>A sign from Temüjin settled the match.</i>
7. Effect on life-length of object	Büri Bökö EOL, and complete humiliation of Jürkin.

Table 18: The wrestling match – dominance over the Jürkin.

### **Reducing social conflict - Elimination of enemies**

To completely remove conflict with an enemy, they had to be totally defeated. In the case of the Tatars, Temujin defeated them in battle, then decided to massacre all except children shorter than a cart-wheel. A few women were spared, and two sisters became his trusted consorts. Temujin calculated that to allow mere surrender and even enslavement would have taken the risk that someday, after nurturing a generation or two of resentment, that same hate would blossom and take revenge. Prudence, in this case, dictated

genocide as permanent solution.\* Cupidity of the Jürkin proved that even allies would pursue their separate interests.

### **Dealing with external groups to achieve social concord**

Externally, other groups, tribes and States may interfere with tribal life security and negatively affect social concord. The targeted group may be forced to accept damage to its integrity, and expose itself to further erosion. Or, it may respond in kind to defend its honor and strengthen internal solidarity in a counterattack. War, prior to establishment of States, was an antidote to weak social concord. It solidified a tribe and tested the mettle of its warriors. If completely victorious, the winners had complete access to the goods, animals, children and women of the losers. Third, the losing tribe, especially its leaders and male fighters, might be completely exterminated, and removed as a cause of future distress to the victors. Where mutual interests existed, alliance was preferred. The simplest expedient to increase SCV was to remove sources of conflict by force. In the raw life-community prevailing in medieval Mongolia, death penalties and massacre of entire tribes became an extreme form of conflict repression/resolution. The ruthless execution of enemies, enslavement of their women and children, and confiscation of their goods ended conflict with finality, eliminated repercussions, and enriched the victors. The harsh reality was that complete extermination of an enemy precluded another

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\* An alternative explanation is that Temüjin was evil personified, and belonged in the historical lineage of genocidal monsters, including Hitler and Pol Pot. The Rwandan mass killing of Tutsi (1994) was another notable example of tribe on tribe elimination.

cycle of vendetta. The paradox of social concord is that it may require force or violence [negative Security Action Monad (SAM)] or credible threats to achieve a higher SPV. Within life-community, violence (or its legitimate form, force) will be implied or explicit as a method to maintain peace. Punishment or exile of dangerous individuals who endanger harmony has long been practiced among human groups. Corporal punishment has twin objectives of inflicting penalties or eliminating individuals who jeopardize social concord, while demonstrating the cost of transgression to remaining members.

### **Conclusion – Security Action Platforms in life-community**

Anthrocentric Security Theory specifies that each of the fifteen SAPs is a quantifiable variable.\* One person's Will-to-Live can be located on a scale varying from high to low. Similarly, the remaining fourteen SAPs have magnitudes affecting life security of a particular individual at a given unit of time. The effect of every SAM-generating SAP is to increase or decrease life security of one or more persons. Within life-community, perfect social concord represents an ideal condition of frictionless human interaction without conflict. It is reinforced by the Will-to-Freedom [ $F_L$ ] which fights against coercion and necessity, and finds like-minded allies to join in life's struggle. Social knowledge [ $K_L$ ] informs behavior and assists individuals in navigating relationships to avoid or resolve life-threatening conflict. Obligation [ $O_L$ ] affords predictability in that

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\* See Appendix Two.

duties and responsibilities are carried out to reinforce life security of others, reinforced by habitual and reliable loyalty. The efficient and fair production, distribution and consumption of adequate life necessities [E<sub>L</sub>] reduce envy, injustice and conflict. Social concord [C<sub>L</sub>] is inversely proportional to the occurrence of inter-personal violence.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emergence>

<sup>2</sup> Rachewiltz 1:18.

<sup>3</sup> Rachewiltz 11:254.

<sup>4</sup> Rachewiltz 2:72.

<sup>5</sup> See <https://ia600301.us.archive.org/6/items/traditionalchine00liuh/traditionalchine00liuh.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Rachewiltz 2:90.

<sup>7</sup> Yuval Levin, *The Fractured Republic: Renewing America's Social Contract in the Age of Individualism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), 199.

<sup>8</sup> Rachewiltz 1:9.

<sup>9</sup> Rachewiltz 1:25.

<sup>10</sup> Shipman, Pat, *The Invaders: How Humans and Their Dogs Drove Neanderthals to Extinction* (Harvard University Press, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> Edward O. Wilson, *The Meaning of Human Existence* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2014) 14.

<sup>12</sup> Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society/ De La Division Du Travail Social*. With an Introduction by Lewis Coser: (London: Macmillan, 1984) 203.

<sup>13</sup> Cicero, *On Government*: (London: Penguin Books, 1993) 173.

<sup>14</sup> Rachewiltz 1:62.

<sup>15</sup> Rachewiltz 6:176.

<sup>16</sup> Rachewiltz 1:67.

<sup>17</sup> Rachewiltz 2:94.

<sup>18</sup> Ratchnevsky 4.

<sup>19</sup> A possibility noted by Ratchnevsky, 26.

<sup>20</sup> Rachewiltz 2:98.

<sup>21</sup> Rachewiltz 2:102.

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- <sup>22</sup> Cua 41.
- <sup>23</sup> Rachewiltz 10:244.
- <sup>24</sup> Rachewiltz 3:104.
- <sup>25</sup> Rachewiltz 3:105.
- <sup>26</sup> Rachewiltz 9:219.
- <sup>27</sup> Rachewiltz 9:219
- <sup>28</sup> Banfield 10.
- <sup>29</sup> Rachewiltz 08:200.
- <sup>30</sup> Ratchnevsky 151.
- <sup>31</sup> Rachewiltz 04:145.
- <sup>32</sup> Rachewiltz 08:205.
- <sup>33</sup> Rachewiltz 09:214.
- <sup>34</sup> <http://izquotes.com/quote/182017>
- <sup>35</sup> See Lincoln P. Paine, *The Sea and Civilization: A Maritime History of the World* (New York: Knopf, 2013) on Stateless development of maritime trade.
- <sup>36</sup> Rachewiltz 02:76.
- <sup>37</sup> De Hartog 11.
- <sup>38</sup> Lesley Hazleton, *The First Muslim: The Story of Muhammad* (New York: Riverhead books, 2013) 27.
- <sup>39</sup> Leo De Hartog, *Genghis Khan: Conqueror of the World* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1989) 11.
- <sup>40</sup> Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Crown, 2003) 86.
- <sup>41</sup> George Lane, *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2006) 39.
- <sup>42</sup> Lane, 22-23.
- <sup>43</sup> Ratchnevsky 66.
- <sup>44</sup> De Hartog 22.
- <sup>45</sup> Ratchnevsky 155.
- <sup>46</sup> Ratchnevsky 43.
- <sup>47</sup> Rachewiltz 1:12-16.
- <sup>48</sup> Marlen Haushofer, *The Wall* (Berkeley: Cleis Press, 1962).
- <sup>49</sup> Ratchnevsky 12.
- <sup>50</sup> Mark S. Weiner, *The Rule of the Clan: What an Ancient Form of Social Organization Reveals About the Future of Individual Freedom* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux,, 2013) 59.
- <sup>51</sup> Rachewiltz 1:11.

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<sup>52</sup> Rachewiltz 3:123.

<sup>53</sup> Rachewiltz 4:130.

<sup>54</sup> Rachewiltz 4:133.

<sup>55</sup> Rachewiltz 4:140.