

Entanglement of Internal and External Property – Exchange and Trade in Oroqen Society

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Abstract. This research draws upon Karl Polanyi's concept of “substantivism” in economics and explores the internal and external categories of the Oroqen community in China, including the internal exchange between the Oroqen people and its natural and social environment, as well as the transaction between the Oroqen people and its external social environment. The description of “exchange” and “transaction” in the thesis includes an exploration of the exchange of hunting, dowry, and bridal gifts as well as exchanges primarily with “gods”, and the commercialization of their hunting products and hunting tools. The purpose of the description is to recognize and distinguish between the internal and external aspects of the community.

Keywords: China, Oroqen people, hunting, property, exchange, transactions.

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Переплетение внутренней и внешней собственности – обмен и торговля в обществе орохонов

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Аннотация. С опорой на концепцию «субстантивизма» Карла Поланьи в экономике рассматриваются внутренние и внешние категории сообщества орохонов в Китае, включая внутренний обмен между народом орохонов и его природной и социальной средой, а также транзакции с его внешней социальной средой. Описываются обмен охотничьими товарами, приданым и свадебными подарками, а также обмен, главным образом, с «богами» и коммерциализация охотничьих продуктов и орудий охоты. Анализируются различия между внутренними и внешними аспектами сообщества и обнаруживается, что один и тот же объект может кардинально отличаться по внутреннему социальному значению по сравнению с его внешней ценностью. Подчеркивается, что в обществе орохонов, функционирующем в условиях нерыночной экономики, добыча имеет большое значение, выполняя множество функций: обеспечивая пищей и одеждой для выживаемости общины, действуя как средство общения с богами во время жертвенных церемоний и являясь средством платы тоталитарной власти. Отмечается, что с течением времени орохоны перешли от преимущественно сбора с дополнительной охоты к охоте с дополнительным сбором, затем к поселению и отказу от охоты в пользу земледелия и, наконец, к различным формам бизнеса, что способствовало изменениям в пространстве производства, собственности на имущество и способах получения ресурсов. Анализируются внутренние обмены с трех точек зрения: человека и природы, человеческого общества и обмена с божественными силами. Определяется, что социальное и внешнее значение внутреннего обмена и внешней торговли в орохоновском обществе значительно различаются: после установления частых контактов с окружающим миром начинается официальная зависимость от некоторых повседневных потребностей извне, а экономические выгоды от более эффективных охотничьих инструментов также увеличиваются. Делается вывод, что охота является средством выживания, важным производственным звеном для вступления в «большое общество», способствует переходу орохоновского общества к рыночной форме.

Ключевые слова: Китай, орохоны, охота, собственность, обмен, транзакции.

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Introduction

Human property can be divided into movable property and immovable property. In the economy of the Oroqen people, movable property, which is of consumable nature, becomes a commodity in the process of exchange and trade, as the market economy gradually penetrates into the practice subject and prey of the Oroqen society. Exchange is the origin of the division of labor. The tendency to barter and exchange

goods gradually leads to the division of labor, which enables people to gather together different products of various talents into a common stock, from which anyone can draw what they need and exchange their own resources for the products of others. Exchange is a unique human nature. In fact, interpersonal relationships are a series of political, economic, and cultural transactions, and social cooperation is the result of various forms of exchange. Therefore, it can be said that human society is built on the foundation of exchange.

This research draws upon the concept of “substantive economy” of Karl Polanyi [1944, 1968] and discusses from the internal and external categories of the Oroqen community, including the internal exchange between the Oroqen people and the natural and social environment, the external transaction between the Oroqen people and the outside social environment. The description of “exchange” and “transaction” is the focus of this article, exploring the exchange of prey, dowry, bride price, and exchanges with “gods” as the main content, as well as the commodification of prey and hunting tools. The most important purpose of the narration is to recognize and distinguish the internal and external aspects of the community. In the internal integration of non-market-societies, the thesis elaborates in detail about how the social economy of Oroqen is embedded in the society through two types of reciprocity and redistribution or the combination of the two, to show that the social system in which external (outward) transactions and internal exchange behavior presents completely different situations.

Internal exchange

In the study of the economic life of hunting groups, research on prey cannot be ignored. Observation of prey within Oroqen society (which is a non-commercial economy society) reveals that it is a self-sufficient item. In the memory of Oroqen hunting people, prey serves several functions, including: 1) serving as food and clothing for the survival of the community, 2) acting as a medium for communicating with gods in sacrificial ceremonies, and 3) being an important way to pay tribute to the centralized power. Starting from the 16th century when related written records first appeared, the Oroqen people roughly went through four different ways of making a living: mainly collecting, supplemented by hunting; mainly hunting, supplemented by gathering; settling down and abandoning hunting for farming; and engaging in various forms of business. From a macro perspective, the production space for creating property of the Oroqen people in hunting villages shifted from the Greater Khingan Range hunting ground to agricultural fields. In terms of property ownership, it changed from public ownership to private ownership. The content of property changed from wild animals and plants to livestock and grains, and the way of acquiring property changed from “heavenly gift” to “earthly labor”. The following section analyzes internal exchange from three aspects: human and nature, human and society, and exchange with “heavenly god”.

People and nature

Reciprocity is the exchange that takes place between equal members of society. Marshall Sahlins' reciprocity theory [Sahlins, 1972] is similar in several senses to Karl Polanyi's three models of internal integration in society. Food sharing is a manifestation of general reciprocity, and it is specifically demonstrated by the giving and receiving relationship that occurs between individuals with extremely close ties, in the form

of an obligation, a broad form of mutual aid that includes both goods and services. In traditional hunting life, the Oroqen people lived together in groups called “urileng” (in Oroqen language) with members providing mutual assistance based on equality, following the principle of “not killing wild animals unless absolutely necessary”. This principle is a valuable survival rule that has been passed down by the Oroqen people for centuries, aimed at “protecting the forests and animals that provide food and shelter” [Shirokogoroff, 1984, p. 65]. It reflects the harmonious coexistence of humans and nature. The Oroqen people's traditional economical way of life involves seeing themselves as a part of nature, with food sharing being a necessary means of survival. Behind this way of life is a mutual giving and receiving relationship between people who have close ties, with hunters sharing food after returning from hunting as a means of contributing as much as possible to the survival of their clan society, thereby maintaining good social reputation and status.

The hunting targets that can be used as food include red deer, moose, roe deer, wild boar, pheasant, hare, etc. Red deer (called “kumaha” in the Oroqen language) can produce a large amount of edible and nutritious meat, and its bones and fur can be used as daily necessities. According to hunters' recollection, one red deer can feed an Urileng for a month. Moose (called “taukaiki” in the Oroqen language) are rare and difficult to hunt. Roe deer (also known as “dibuqian” in Oroqen language) are numerous in the Greater Khingan Mountains and relatively easy to hunt. They are the main hunting products needed for the production and life of the Oroqen people. Roe deer meat and dried roe deer meat are one of the main foods of the Oroqen people. These are generally edible hunting products [Chen Zhuang, 2010, pp. 26–27].

Reciprocity (or generous reciprocity) is a kind of altruistic exchange behavior. Edible prey is provided by the natural environment, and Oroqen hunters have limited demand for nature in the process of hunting. Even with improvements in hunting technology and tools, “enough to eat and use” is still an important principle for Oroqen society. The labor time required to obtain food is abundant, and the amount of food obtained does not affect the outcome of sharing. “The effective means that clans can impose on their members is moral pressure, that is, public opinion” [Shirokogoroff, 1984, p. 313]. The humility shown by a good hunter in receiving gifts is consistent with the respect he receives. “It was good luck from everyone” is the basic moral principle followed by their clan. He gives the items he has hunted as gifts to his own clan, and clan members have an obligation to reciprocate, forming a cycle of moral “giving” and “reciprocating” that ensures the survival of the clan. Marcel Mauss suggested that among the various spiritual mechanisms, the most important one is obviously the one that forces people to reciprocate their gifts [Mauss, 1966], which is highly consistent with the role played by clans as indicated by S. M. Shirokogoroff. However, judging from the characteristics of food sharing, the expectation of reciprocation is clearly much lower than in other forms of exchange, and there may not even be reciprocation, but this will not affect the internal relations of the society.

There is other evidence showing that food sharing not only occurs within a community, but also happens in direct or indirect contact with other tribes. During their hunting and migration, hunters usually leave some dried meat or other food in their “oron” (a self-built high-angle warehouse) for people passing by, and those who receive the food will try to “return” it as much as possible when conditions permit, fulfilling their obligation to help each other.

The economic behavior within the Oroqen society presented above reflects a reciprocating and interconnected way, which deeply involves the interaction between humans and nature. According to Li Mei (64 years old, born in 1963), in her youth time, every time a bear was hunted, it was shared by all the people of the “urileng” together. Young women cooked the bear meat, cut it into small pieces, mixed it with bear brains and bear oil, and all the people of “urileng” ate it together [Social and Historical ... , 2009, p. 92]. Shao Bao said that around the 1930s, they held a joint consumption ceremony in the “Numin River Nulkhan” (one of the names from Oroqen clan) “urileng”. There were eight families in the “urileng”. In June, they caught a very fat male boar, and everyone agreed to share it together. Later, they cooked the entire boar meat in two large pots and finished it in one meal. In addition, there is also a situation of sharing animal meat during collective hunting. For example, during a distant hunt, it is not practical to carry back all the wild animal meat. The hunting group (also called ‘Anga’ in Oroqen language) selected the best meat to eat and left the rest, because carrying a large amount of food during hunting is not feasible.

Betrothal and bridal gifts

Gender Imbalance in the Tungusic Population (usually with fewer females and more males, but S. M. Shirokogoroff believes this is a temporary population imbalance phenomenon) has made engagement a more necessary social custom. The age of consent is consistent with the time of sexual maturity, generally at the age of 18. The delay of giving betrothal gifts from the bridegroom to the bride's family might result in a corresponding delay of the wedding. However, among the Khingan Tungusic peoples, unmarried couples are allowed to have sexual behavior (on the premise of sexual maturity). Generally speaking, Tungusic men prefer to marry wives at a similar age, but under economic pressure, there are also cases of adolescent males getting married, often with the hope of adding labor to the family unit.

“Marriage by exchange is still the most popular form of getting married” [Shirokogoroff, 1984, p. 350]. Claude Levi-Strauss added an idea to the exchange theory of Mauss on the basic structure of kinship, that marriage is the most basic form of gift exchange, and women are the most precious gift, and it not only establishes a reciprocal relationship but also build a kinship relationship [Levi-Strauss, 1969]. Occasionally there are cases of marriage by capture, and in even such cases, betrothal gifts are still sent to the bride's family, but there would be no bridal gifts, because this situation was usually due to the refusal of the bride's parents. S. M. Shirokogoroff believes that the decrease of marriage by capture is one of the manifestations of the decline of clans.

Betrothal gifts can be horses, reindeer, furs, or utensils. In the Khingan Tungusic community, the betrothal gifts usually consist of six or seven horses, a cow, a sheep, a wild boar (either alive or slaughtered), and liquor. Part of the betrothal gifts is paid during the engagement, while the rest is sent during the wedding. In this community, it is necessary to give a betrothal gifts, even if it is reduced in some cases. If this group is wealthy in horses, so they give more horses as part of the dowry. The livestock used for the betrothal gifts is often returned to its original owner as part of the bridal gifts. Therefore, the high value of the betrothal gifts is just a formality, used to show politeness and make the wedding more lavish [Shirokogoroff, 1984, pp. 357–358].

Once the betrothal gifts are agreed upon, the matchmaker will host a banquet for the bride's family. Afterward, the bride's father will hold another banquet to receive all

the relatives of both sides, which can sometimes last for two to three days. The Tungusic peoples like to show that engagement and wedding are acts with a business nature, in which the most important thing is to show that there is enormous interest involved. Betrothal gifts are not discussed during the engagement ceremony because they represent the honor of the clan, and the more, the better. As mentioned above, the betrothal gifts will return to the groom's clan in the form of a dowry, so the exchange of betrothal gifts and dowry carries more of the honor of both clans. Based on Yan Yunxiang's interpretation of gifts, he believes that there is a whole set of emotional content behind gifts, and the understanding of gifts as an exchange medium reflects the social intermediary function that maintains relationships between clans in the Oroqen society. In the investigation of social history, the following descriptions of engagement, marriage, betrothal gifts, and dowry are given: in the semi-settled period, the marriage of the Oroqen people was generally arranged by parents, usually referring to premarital engagement and engagement during adolescence. If there was no engagement during childhood, when the man reaches the marriageable age, he will find a matchmaker to help him gauge the opinions of the woman's family. Once they agree, the next step is engagement. The bride can propose a suitable betrothal gift based on the man's family background, usually two or three horses, one wild boar, and 20 or 30 pounds of distilled liquor. An important part of the engagement ceremony is to present the bride price. On the day of the engagement, the bride's side will invite all the guests to a banquet and agree on the wedding date. The dowry includes a horse, a full set of harness, bedding, leather bags, leather clothing, a sewing box, and tanning tools. During the wedding ceremony, the elders will give the newlyweds some money or other gifts, such as towels, bracelets, earrings, etc. [Social and Historical ... , 2009, p. 160].

The exchange pattern formed by the dowry and betrothal gifts not only reflects the generalized mutual assistance between clans, but also represents the bride's exercise of the right of “redistribution” (which differs from the mutual aid relationship with centralized authority).

Exchange with “The Divine”

The religion system in the Oroqen society is called “Borikan”. Objects of natural worship include the sun, the moon, the North Star, rainbows, as well as the worship of mountain gods, fire gods, thunder gods, whirlwind gods, and wind gods. Totem worship and ancestor worship also exist.

According to Oroqen hunting taboos, when a first-time hunter catches the first wild animal, they must first offer it as a sacrifice to the mountain god “Bai na cha”, and then share the meat among their neighbors. The purpose of this is to become a renowned hunter in the future. Hunters capture their prey from the area under the jurisdiction of the mountain god. Through the sacrificial act of bowing and circling the food and wine in the air before eating and drinking, they communicate with the mountain god. This is an exchange behavior with the mountain god. “Their hunting is constrained by the customs of protecting animals” [Shirokogoroff, 1984, p. 65]. The ritual ceremony serves as a link, making hunters and forests reach a consensus and confirming the exchange relationship between humans and nature.

Gifts play an important role in the exchange process of human, social, and natural interaction. They can serve as a bridge for communication and exchange between different cultures, and even bridge the gap between the divine and secular worlds

[Jikequri, 2019]. As a medium of communication between humans and nature in Oroqen society, game animals, to some extent, serve as “gifts” for sacrifice. As a return gift for requesting from nature, they also serve as a circular item to realize the “flow of gifts”. In the world of hunting, this sacrificial act is an important way to seek blessings and satisfy material and spiritual pursuits.

The “fire god” is one of the gods worshiped by the Oroqen people. In hunting activities, the worship of the fire god is an important ritual. Once the flames rise, some “gifts” such as meat, wine, or grains must be offered to the fire god. The fire god can help to drive away bad luck and bless the fire to keep burning. If the religious meaning is not considered, the most direct effect of fire on hunters is to help drive away wild animals and insects when camping outdoors at night.

In outdoor ceremonies to worship the gods, only men and underage girls are allowed to participate, and offerings are consumed together during the ritual. If held in Uirileng, the usual offerings for the ceremony are “21 items of three types, including 2 wild boars, 14 roe deer, and 5 wild ducks, which were promised to the gods by ten families in Mukui village due to shamanism in 1962. These offerings were consumed together in the village” [Social and Historical ... , 2009, p. 93].

In 1991, the Oroqen Autonomous Banner government in Hulunbuir, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, China, decided to designate June 18th as the Oroqen Bonfire Festival. Thirty festivals have been held so far. In the summer of 2022, the Oroqen Autonomous Banner government held a grand Bonfire Festival under the “pressure of the pandemics” (there were no pandemics in Hulunbuir during this period), and several hundred tents could be seen on site, including some exquisitely modernized and simple wigwams. A sense of the atmosphere of a “hunting clan camp” appeared before people's eyes. The various activities of the Bonfire Festival as a Tourism Brand “Garden on the Range” were splendid. The government specifically invested funds to build a road from the town to the festival site, with vehicles coming and going and the road being smooth. Not only was the road well-built, but the riverside rest area was also flattened by large machinery and made available to the local people, who could come and set up tents for camping and barbecuing in the summer, enriching their leisure life. In the world of hunting, the god of fire plays the role of the main participant in the ritual; in modern life, although the Bonfire Festival is an “invented” traditional festival, it is also a time machine that leads the people of the Khingan Mountains back to their hunting life. The author believes that this is also a concrete manifestation of the exchange with “gods”, and in modern fields, it is a behavior of exchange that is practiced and obtained through the opportunity of the festival.

External transaction

Prey has both use value and exchange value. External transaction of prey implies the separation of the subjectivity of hunters from hunting production, forming a dual alienation of goods and people, that is, the process of prey becoming a commodity and hunters transforming into hunting producers. The exchange of commodities is the exchange of alienable things between independent exchangers. “One of the facts that the Polanyi school pays attention to is that there is a special institutionalized market in external transactions, which operates according to its own rules that are completely different from those in neighboring areas” [Shibata Shinichiro, 1997, p. 55]. Kurimoto Shinichiro infers from Polanyi's study of exchange that “money as a general means of

exchange within a community is meaningless for the other party to the transaction" [Shibata Shinichiro, 1997, p. 57]. In the external trade of the Oroqen society, which embodies "commodity exchange", it can be seen that products such as bear bile, bear paws, and deer antlers are just one of much food and medicinal materials for the Oroqen people, without any particularly unique effects. When these hunting products are traded with the outside world, their exchange value is greatly enhanced, which in turn makes the Oroqen people hunt wild animals with the definition of "commodity".

After the Oroqen society experienced clan communes and family communes, they began to trade with official or private traders and merchants of the outside society. Private ownership and private property gradually sprouted and developed within the Oroqen society. There were not many cases involving currency transactions in external trade, and the purpose of the trade was still to satisfy the needs of material life, rather than the profit-driven trade in market economies. With the increase of personal or family property, the phenomenon of class differentiation gradually emerged. The social organization of the Oroqen society recorded by S. M. Shirokogoroff [1984] has already shown alienation and revealed the merging phenomenon of the gap of wealth.

Prey that becomes a commodity

Since the appearance of Anda trade, precious hides and medicinal materials such as deer antler, bear bile, and musk have become commodities for trading. The Oroqen people hunt many types of wild animals, among which deer, bear, wolf, lynx, otter, fox, roe deer, gray squirrel, muskrat, and sable can be traded as (or partly as) hunting products [Social and Historical ... , 2009, p. 11–12]. During the Qing Dynasty, only sable, fox fur, lynx fur, otter fur, deer antler, bear bile and other hunting products were sold. By the Republican period, hunting products were further commodified, and items that had never been sold before, such as deer fetuses, deer tails, elk antlers, mink fur, gray squirrel fur, wolf fur, and roe deer fur were sold in large quantities as commodities. Even some Oroqen people's own clothing made from roe deer fur and birchbark products began to be sold as commodities [Zhao Fuxing, 1987, p. 54]. Due to the remote location of hunting grounds, some of the Oroqen people's trade is obtained through middlemen for daily necessities. Compared to the market trade of Solon Evenki and Daur during the same period, their trade was slightly weaker. However, this does not hinder the Oroqen society's characteristic of participating in market trade through the commercialization of hunting products. Contact and interaction with the outside world have caused significant changes within the community. The improvement of hunting tools has increased the number of hunted animals, but they adhere to the hunting rule of "only kill as much as needed", which has little impact on the emergence of private ownership. However, they gradually rely on the daily necessities obtained through contact with the outside world, and to obtain these necessities, they need to rely on the exchange value of hunting products. The value of a fur is determined by external trading rules. The Anda trade was, in fact, an exchange without equal value, or an exchange with unequal value. This "exploitative trade" was only abolished shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Dalton believed that concepts such as "unreasonable" or "oppressive" do not belong to the scientific objective category because these concepts are often deduced from the value system of outsider researchers and do not exist in the worldview of community members [Shibata Shinichiro, 1997, p. 60]. Even though they rely on the convenience of daily necessities

obtained from the outside world, in trade, hunting products are indeed relatively abundant. Although there is no strict trade ratio, the fact that hunting products can be traded as commodities is well known to hunters. Especially with the improvement of hunting tools, the skill of controlling the quality of hunted products has gradually matured.

According to the memories of the elderly of the Oroqen people, those who have had a long-standing relationship with Oroqen people in the field of folk trade for two or three generations are called “good Anda”. Their transactions are not meticulous, and there is no dispute over who owes what. On the contrary, the trade partners are also willing to establish “Anda partner” relationships with skilled hunters, because they provide a variety of hunting products. Usually, they will hand over the majority of their goods and hunting products to their own trade partners. Wen Jishan, who used to live near the Nemen River, had the following to say about his trading experiences with Anda trade partners.

In the year before Wen Jishan moved to the upper reaches of the Nenjiang River in 1910, his father passed away. Prior to his father's death, he had been friends with a Daur man named Mao Yilan from Xiwaertu Village in Moridawa Daur Autonomous Banner for 30 years, and they were known as “Anda” to each other. Mao Yilan would enter the mountains twice a year to deliver goods, bringing about 300 kilograms of grain each time (mostly self-grown and harvested grains such as foxtail millet, proso millet, and buckwheat). Sometimes, if hunters caught high-value game such as deer antlers, Mao Yilan would also bring additional items. In 1908, Wen Jishan's brother and a few others formed an “anga” hunting party and caught three sets of deer antlers. After the “anda” of each participating household sold them, they each received 70 taels of silver. When Mao Yilan came to Wen Jishan's house, he brought a cartload of goods, including 300 kilograms of grain, 5 kilograms of yellow tobacco, over 30 kilograms of alcohol, and over 10 kilograms of salt. After receiving 70 taels of silver, he was very happy and brought another cartload of goods back. The second time, he brought a total of 147.42 kilograms of grains such as foxtail millet and proso millet, fried oats, and 20 kilograms of alcohol, 5 kilograms yellow tobacco, and over 10 kilograms of salt. According to Wen Jishan's recollection, at that time, 16.38 kilograms of rice or flour cost around one yuan, while one jin of alcohol cost two jiao. The two deliveries of goods were worth about 30 yuan, or more than 20 taels of silver (one yuan was equivalent to 72 fen of silver). In October of that year, Mao Yilan brought another cartload of goods and went hunting with Wen Jishan and his brother. This time, Wen Jun caught over 50 pieces of squirrel fur and gave them to Mao Yilan. At that time, Wen Jishan's family had eight members, and the 600 kilograms of grain delivered during the two trips were not enough to eat. Sometimes they had to trade hides and miscellaneous goods for some grain [Social and Historical ... , 2009, p. 105].

The exchange between the “Anda” suppliers and the Oroqen hunters, in which the former provided production and living materials while the latter offered hunting products, did not involve currency transactions either with or without valuation. This exchange also included interactions with neighboring Daur, Han merchants, and itinerant merchants, who did discuss currency, but still carried out transactions using barter. As mentioned earlier, the elderly Wen Jishan was one of the few who, after severing ties with his “Anda” in 1910, used cash for every transaction. In addition to a more diverse array of daily necessities, the impact of opium trading on Oroqen society cannot be overlooked.

Trade of hunting tools

Du Yonghao believed that “there were mainly two ways for firearms can be introduced to the Oroqen area. One was that they were given to soldiers of the Eight Banners, defense groups, or forest guerrilla groups, and then were scattered among the civilians. The second was through trade, including trade with Russian merchants. According to the investigation, by the end of the Qing Dynasty, the Berdan rifle had already taken the lead” [Du Yonghao, 1992]. He also mentioned that in the hunting economy of the Oroqen, traditional hunting tools such as the stab spear, bow and arrow (including ground arrows), and hunting knives were still not abandoned during the use of firearms. The bow and arrow were gradually abandoned around the late Qing Dynasty, but ground arrows were still used, and later the stab spear was also abandoned, with the spearhead being placed on the gun rack and used as an auxiliary tool for firearms together with the hunting knife. Birchbark boats, harnesses, clamps, skis, snow shovels, and deer calling whistles were still in use until before settlement.

The environment of the Khingan Tungusic peoples was not suitable for raising reindeer, but was suitable for horse breeding and hunting. Taking care of horses was usually the responsibility of women. Due to the limitations of the forest environment, it was difficult to obtain enough grass in the summer, so their horses ate meat. At first, they were given dried meat with salt, and gradually, after adapting to it, they began to feed on raw meat. Meat-eating horses were more robust than grass-eating horses. Some hunters had many horses. Horses could not provide hides, so they had no exchange value, but because of their high utility value, stealing and raising horses was not uncommon among the Khingan Tungusic peoples. During the embryonic period of private ownership at the end of the Qing Dynasty, horses, which were previously communal hunting tools of the clan, became family property. Horses were not only good helpers for hunting, but also important tools for hunting and migration. Some households without horses could rent them from others.

Although the Khingan Tungusic peoples migrated to the Greater Khingan Mountains and were unable to raise reindeer due to ecological reasons, they placed on horses clearly shows their understanding of the importance of property. According to Cai Jiaqi's [Cai Jiaqi, 1965] detailed reasoning, the origin of the Oroqen horses is as follows: as early as 1683, the Qing government established the Butaha General Administration Office in the Hulunbuir area to prevent the border from being invaded. They distributed horses and firearms to some Oroqen who were incorporated into the Eight Banners military system, historically known as Moringga Oroqen (also called “horse-raising”), and another part known as Yafahan Oroqen (“yafahan” means “on foot”). Their duty was to offer sable tribute to the Qing government, during which horse-trading also occurred. After more than a century of change, the concept of private ownership gradually infiltrated the Oroqen clan. From the literature of the early 20th century, it is known that horses had already become part of family or personal property. The appearance of the privatization of horses and firearms had a huge impact on the public ownership of means of production. The reason for the emergence of the gap between the rich and the poor was the accumulation of personal or family horse and fur savings. As mentioned earlier, the Khingan Tungusic peoples' horses were already mentioned as family or personal property, and there were rumors that they steal horses. The act of stealing horses in history is not what today's law refers to as “theft”, but is part of customary law. In the process of accumulating wealth, it reflects the high and low hunting skills of men,

and those with good hunting skills naturally catch more prey and obtain more furs. In theory, the more furs caught, the more property can be accumulated. However, after the Oroqen hunters return to Urileng from hunting, they generally do not boast about their harvest, but humbly say, “I didn't catch anything good, nor did I catch much”.

Conclusion

Through the description of internal exchange and external trade in the Oroqen society, it is found that the social significance presented within the society and the value displayed outside are drastically different. Once frequent contacts with the outside world are established, the reliance on some daily necessities from the outside is officially initiated. The economic benefits produced by the more efficient hunting tools are also increasing. Hunting is not only for survival, but also an important production link to enter the “big society”. The trade of commodified prey and hunting tools promotes the development of private ownership within the Oroqen society. The transformation from prey to hunting products in the commercial chain model reflects the entanglement of the Oroqen society both internally and externally, forming a transition to enter the market society.

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