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## THE HUNTING ARMAMENT RECONSTRUCTION OF TURKIC NOMADS IN SOUTH SIBERIA AND CENTRAL ASIA IN EPOCH OF EARLY MIDDLE AGES

In medieval ages on the territory of South Siberia and Central Asia, hunting played important role in nomadic life of Turk tribes. Among different kind of hunting we can point rotational hunting for wild gregarious ungulate animals. It was some kind of war trainings and until this process warriors polished tactical acts of cavalry. Hunting feats was very important for medieval warriors and they were very proud by that kind of feat. We can find some information in epitaphs which illustrated their war feats and diplomatic services too. Among rulers of Turk and Kyrgyz Kaganat were genuine hunters and in medieval sources we can find some information about that<sup>1</sup>. According to written and decorate sources, Turk hunters used bows and arrows, spears, hunting dogs and catching birds<sup>2</sup>.

Turk tribes located on the territory of South Siberia in complex of hunting rifle and hunting equipment used fused and flinty armament with support – multuky. Generally, those hunting rifle were made over old muskets. They had long barrel and tight butt. To wooden butt fixed on hinges under barrel attached divided bracket or supporters which fastened at right angle to barrel before shooting. Some kind of that armament had prolonged supporters so that hunters were able to shoot on straight legs. It was more suitable to shoot from that weapon when hunter leans on that bracket by knee or when he laid on earth or when he putted weapon onto rigid base. On the end of cocking piece of fuse weapon fixed fuse which fall into outlet with powder charge until hunter pull the trigger. Hunters used leathern bags for fuse. Leathern bags attached to belt by hanging straps. In other bag hunter had forged iron bullet. Before hunting he filled sufficient quantity of powder to special tubes so that if it was necessary hunter could fill powder to weapon butt and cover by bullet. According to V.V. Radlov, Altay hunters were masters at fused and flinty weapon using and aimed shooting

at high speed. In the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century south Altay hunters generally were excellent shooters<sup>3</sup>.

There are hunting rifle and hunting equipment as: belt with suspended knife in sheathe, cartridge, bag for bullets and tubes with powder measures, bag with steel; sometimes that bags ornamented by metal clasps, pendants, chargers. Leathern bags ornamented by applications and handmade ornaments.

Important role in nomadic aristocracy and professional warrior's society played hunting activity. In nomadic society hunting for wild swift-footed and massive, dangerous predatory animals' considered as worthy of real nomad and hazardous variant of warrior activity. Quite often parallel with war, administrative and diplomatical achievements hunting feats were highly appreciated in posthumous epitaphs of nomads in middle ages. On memorable stele inscriptions, among hunting trophy belonged to ancient Turks and Kyrgyz hunters, mentioned wild swift-footed animals, deers and roes, predators, wolfs and snow leopards, furry animals – black sable<sup>4</sup>. In Middle Ages nomadic hunters widely used hunting dogs and hunting birds of prey<sup>5</sup>. In Middle Ages in nomadic statements among aristocracy represents met genuine hunters. It is well-known fact that Ton-yabgu-kagan was genuine hunter. And once upon a time when he was going for hunting he met represents from foreign statement. He didn't stop hunting and received diplomats just after a few days when he came back home<sup>6</sup>. According to runic inscriptions on stele near Altyn-Kel Lake located in Minusinskaya hollow, hero of that epitaph – Kyrgyz kagan Bars-beg liked to hunt for roes on territory of Tcherni Sunga and later on this place in 11 century he died in war against east Turks<sup>7</sup>.

In Middle Ages nomads limited fur hunting. Most part of fur they got as tribute and as trade result from depended taiga

<sup>3</sup> Radlov, 1989, p.157-159.

<sup>4</sup> I.V. Kormushyn, *Tyurkskie eniseiskie epitafii. Texty I issledovaniya*, Moskva 1997, pp. 81, 122, 273.

<sup>5</sup> Y. S. Khudyakov, K. Sh. Tabaldiev, O. A. Soltobaev, *Kompleks pamyatnikov...*, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> V. P. Mokrynin, *Diplomaticeskaya praktyka...*, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> S. G. Klyashtorniy, *Stely zolotogo ozera (k datirovke eniseiskih runicheskikh nadpisei)*, [in:] *Turcologica. K semidesyatiletiiyu akademika A.N. Kononova*, Leningrad 1976, pp. 261, 265-266.

<sup>1</sup> V. P. Mokrynin, *Diplomaticeskaya praktika v zapadno-turkskom kaganate*, [in:] *Stranitsy istorii i materialnoi kul'tury Kyrgyzstana*, Frunze 1975, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Y. S. Khudyakov, K. Sh. Tabaldiev, O. A. Soltobaev, *Kompleks pamyatnikov s runicheskimi nadpisyami v mestnosti Kok-Say v Kochkorskoj doline na Tyan-Shan*, "Archeologiya, etnografiya i antropologiya Evrazii" № 3, 2002, p. 129.

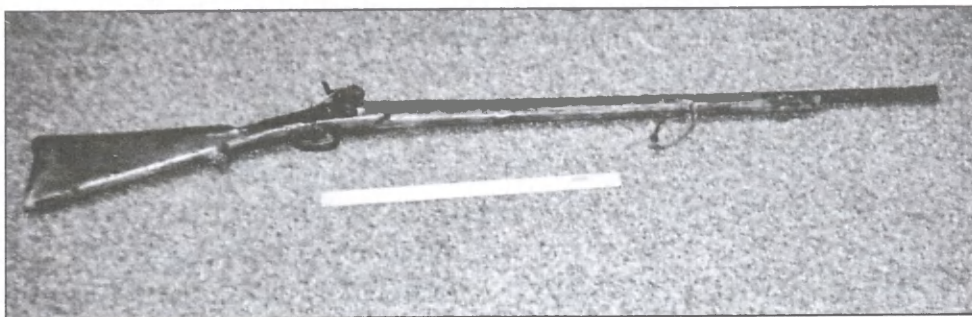


Fig. 1. Turks hunting rifle on territory of Mountain Altay.



Fig. 2. Hunting rifle of Turk nomadic tribes in epoch of late middle ages and contemporary time.

tribes located on north periphery of nomadic states of Central Asia. In Chinese sources we could find information which tells us about regents of chjuchjan nomadic union in Central Asia in 6<sup>th</sup> A.D. which every year presented horses, sables and martens as tribute to Chinese empire headed by Vay dynasty<sup>8</sup>. Probably chjuchjan regents got sables and martens fur from vassal forest hunting tribes<sup>9</sup>.

In the middle of 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. tribute delivery by metal goods from vassal tribes were more important for chjuchjan kagans. In the middle of 6<sup>th</sup> A.D. Bumyn as leader of ancient Turks from Ashina kin was provider of metal goods. His ancestors were resettled by chjuchjan to 'south side of Altay mountains'<sup>10</sup>. In period of First Turk kaganat Turk kagans hold Yenisei Kyrgyz regents as in kyshtym position.

Kyrgyz regents located on territory of Middle Yenisei got tribute from kyshtym tribes by fur – 'sables and squirrels'<sup>11</sup>. According to Chinese sources Kyrgyz aristocracy wear

winter fur clothes. 'Sable and trot fur compose rich costume' and regent of Kyrgyz statement 'Achjo wear sable cap in winter'<sup>12</sup>. The elite of Kyrgyz also made 'sable caps in winter'<sup>13</sup>. Probably, considerable part of fur received as a tribute used by Kyrgyz for trading to foreign traders. For Turk kagans, tribute by metal goods played more significant role. According to sources, Kyrgyz 'makes extremely sharpened weapon' which 'import constantly' to ancient Turks<sup>14</sup>. Represents of Kyrgyz dukes claimed that Kyrgyz don't hunt for fur animals because it is inconsistent to their 'nature', but they get fur as a tribute from kyshtym<sup>15</sup>.

Sources of middle ages also mention fur as one type of main goods imported from South Siberia to Middle Asia and Far East<sup>16</sup>. In that period fur trading with south Siberian tribes turn to Muslim traders. In epoch of Mongol empire Muslim traders bought up tribute collection from Eurasia

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 352.

<sup>13</sup> N.V. Kuner, *Kitayskie izvestiya o narodah Yujnoi Sibiri, centralnoi Azii i Dalnego Vostoka*, Moskva 1961, p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> N.Y. Bytchurin, *Sobranie svedeniy...*, p. 352.

<sup>15</sup> L. P. Potapov, *Proishozhdenie i formirovanie hakasskoi narodnosti*, Abakan 1957, p.19.

<sup>16</sup> *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, Moskva 1973, Edition I, p. 41-42.

<sup>8</sup> N.Y. Bytchurin, *Sobranie svedeniy o narodah, obitaavshih v Sredney Azii v drevnie vremena*, part I, Moskva-Leningrad 1950, p. 185.

<sup>9</sup> Y. S. Khudjakov, *Istoriya diplomatii kochevnikov Centralnoi Azii*, Novosibirsk 2003, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> N. Y. Bytchurin, *Sobranie svedeniy...*, p. 228.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 352.

people reduced by Mongols. From south Siberia first of all Muslim traders imported fur<sup>17</sup>.

For regents of Mongolian statements of Central Asia and depended from them Yenisei Kyrgyz and teleut tribes parallel with fur tribute important role played tribute collection by metal goods from kyshtym – Turk speaking shorh and north Altay people, kumandintsy and tchelkan people<sup>18</sup>. In epoch of late middle ages and beginning of New Time took place hardened fighting between Yenisei dukes and teleut people. They fight for possibility to collect yasak from kyshtym<sup>19</sup>. Teleut nomads also practiced hunting for wild swift-footed and fur animals. In process of archeological excavation of teleut settlements – kokuy located on territory of Verhneye Priobye in 17<sup>th</sup> - first ages of 18<sup>th</sup> A.D. Umanskiy found osteological materials which testified important role of hunting in teleut nomadic activity<sup>20</sup>.

Main aim for Russian Kazak and workers moved over Ural to West Siberia was fur. Until this process they clash with aborigines as Turk, Samodian and Ugorsky people which used armament complex and ancient traditions of hunting. In direct permanent contacts of Russians with aborigines, both represents assimilated most effective equipment and hunting methods. Workers included European people which were actively sent to Siberia: Germans from Pribaltika and Germanic statements, natives of Scandinavian countries, Pole, 'tcherkasy' and 'litva' – natives of Ukraine and Belorussia. In the end of 16<sup>th</sup> for employment in Russia actively improved represents of aborigines and Siberia Tatar, Kazakh, natives of Turk tribes of Sayano-Altay which formed as a part of Kazak and warriors. They took part as guides, warriors in expeditions for yasak collecting and war activity<sup>21</sup>.

In 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Russian kazak and working people moved to west and south districts of Siberia for widening of yasak collection<sup>22</sup>. At that time yasak collection played important role for Russian treasury replenishment and foreign commerce with China<sup>23</sup>. For a long time kyshtym tribes paid alman to mongol khan, jungar kontaisha, Kyrgyz and teleut dukes, Russian authorities in Siberia.

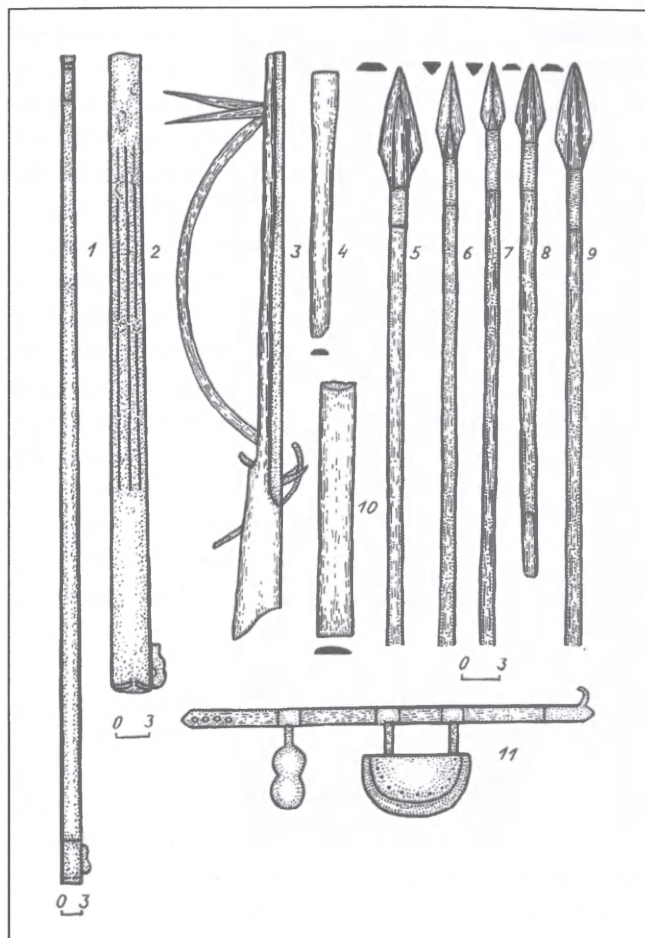


Fig. 3. Goods of hunting equipment belonged to Turk nomadic tribes in epoch of late middle ages and contemporary time.

Intensive hunting and yasak collecting bring to exhaustion of nature resources and abusing of settle authorities. Represents of that authority because of material views sell armament to Siberian aborigines. According to Sherstova, Russian authority reoriented economical activity of aborigines of South Siberia to fur trade<sup>24</sup>.

Traditional armament complex and hunting methods of Turk ethnical groups in South Siberia included universal types of distance and hand to hand weaponry.

Hunting grounds of teleut in Verhneye Priobye located in coniferous forest and territory between two rivers – Inya and Berd – inflows of Ob River. Teleut hunted for elks, red deers, roes, bears, wolfs, foxes, gluttons, martens, ermines and other fur animals<sup>25</sup>.

Main weapon of teleut hunters were bow and arrows. In epoch of late middle ages teleut archers used compounded complex of bows. For hunting they used arrows with different types of iron and bone edges. Probably they used spears and bear-spears for hunting to big wild animals<sup>26</sup>. In spite

<sup>17</sup> Y. S. Khudjakov, *Torgovye puti, svyazyvavshie Yujnyu Sibir I "velikii shelkovyi put"*, [in:] *Vestnik hakasskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, Vyp. III Seriya 3 – Istorija, Pravo, Abakan 1997, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> F. A. Satlaev, *Iz istorii hozyajstvennogo razvitiya severnogo Altaya*, [in:] *Problemy izucheniya kultury naseleniya Gornogo Altaya*, Gorno-Altaysk 1988, p. 202-212.

<sup>19</sup> A. P. Umanskiy, *Teleuty i ih sosedi v XVII-pervoi chetverti XVIII veka*, Barnaul 1995, part 1, p. 136.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>21</sup> I. N. Gemuev, A. A. Lyutsidarskaya, *Slujiliye ugry (odin iz aspektov rusko-ugorskih otnoshenii v XVI-XVII vekah.)*, 'Gumanitarnye nauki v Sibiri. Seriya: archeologiya I etnografiya' № 3, 1994, p. 64.

<sup>22</sup> P. A. Slotstov, *Istoricheskoye obozrenie Sibiri. Stihotvoreniya. Propovedi*, Novosibirsk 1995, p. 100.

<sup>23</sup> L. I. Sherstova, *Turki i russkie v Yujnoi Sibiri*, Novosibirsk 2005, p. 91.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 95.

<sup>25</sup> A. P. Umanskiy, *Teleuty...*, p. 65-66.

<sup>26</sup> Y. S. Khudjakov, *Kompleks boevykh sredst Altaya I yuga Zapadnoi Sibiri v epochu pozdnego srednevekovya*, [in:] *Kulturnye tradicii Evrazii: voprosy srednevekovoi istorii I archeologii*.

of dart and thrust weapon teleut also used enclosures and traps. In summer hunters moved on horses and in winter they used skis. Teleut practiced rotational and individual hunting.

In the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century teleut hunters used traps and 'pishaly' made by Russians. Shooting armament they bought from Russian workers and 'bukhars' – traders from Middle Asia. Fur which they got from hunting sold to same traders<sup>27</sup>.

Among archaeological materials belonged to telengits of late middle ages and period of ethnographical time were found weaponry goods for distance fighting which also used for hunting. In telengits burial investigated in Ulagan River hollow was found bow<sup>28</sup>. In burial which found in Torjan tract close to Jelo village in Central Altay were found remains of wooden 'kibit' of bow which hadn't bone plates<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 3:4-10). According to Lipskiy A.N. hunter was able to kill by arrow with bone edge not only small birds but also roe, elk and bear too. It testifies that he was possible to kill men by this arrow<sup>30</sup>.

In statements of ancient Turks and Yenisei Kyrgyz dependent, taiga ket tribes – kyshtyms and samodian tribes practiced hunting for fur-bearing animals. They rendered tribute by fur to their rulers<sup>31</sup>.

In period of XVI and in the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> ages south districts of Siberia were included into territory of Russia. Main reason for Russian administration in that addition was consisted in yasak collection – fur tribute took from kyshtym tribes<sup>32</sup>.

In an attempt to collect much more fur, Russian traders, in spite of prohibition from administration, sailed weapon and ammunition for people which paid yasak<sup>33</sup>.

In period of 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> ages in life of Turk tribes took place changes in hunting feats, weapon and hunting methods. Among that those tribes we can mark Altay people, shor and khakas. Step by step arrows and bones, 'samostrel' were changed for flinty weapon with special 'podstavka-soshka'<sup>34</sup>.

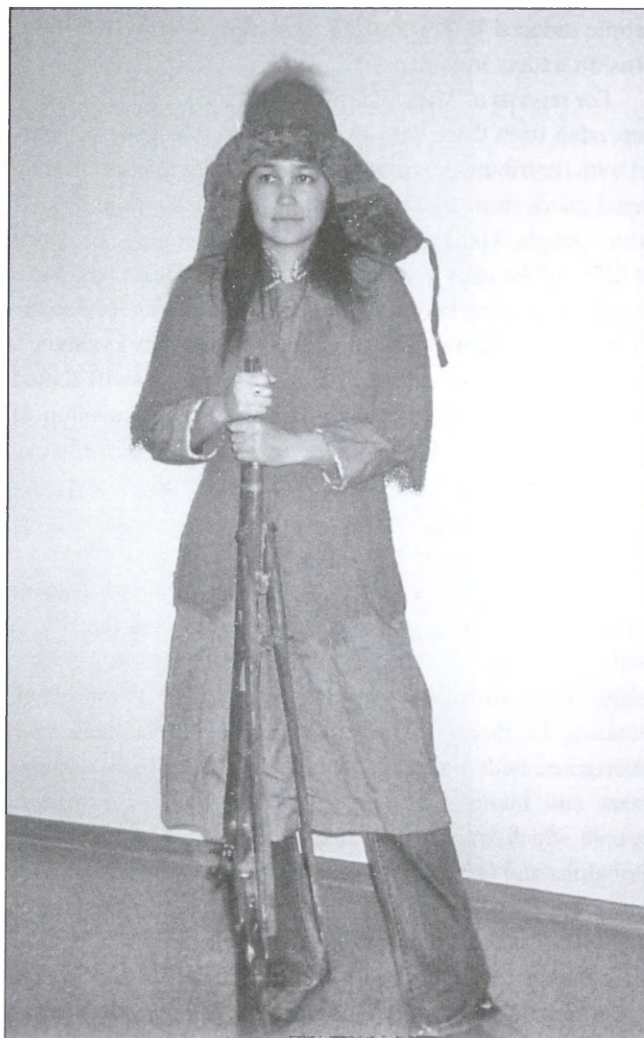


Fig. 4. Altay women hunter.

Hunters used traps, 'samostrel' and hunting dogs. They used bear-spear for hunting onto big animals (Fig. 3:1-3).

Fire weapon application was reflected on petroglyphs of ethnographical time<sup>35</sup>.

The important role in armament investigation of ancient & medieval nomads in Central Asia have a great importance the armament (weaponry) complex reconstruction & warriors appearance in different states & people. The armament complex reconstruction give a chance for comparative analyzing & for finding armament differents between individual ethnoses, also determine local, cultural, regional & chronological specials of nomads arms. Based on investigation results we hold a great importance for following the evolution periods & establishing the regularity of the armament development of nomads in Central Asia.

As a result of armament complex reconstruction we can compare the level of armament development in a different nomadic people, set funds of distance, near & hand to hand

<sup>35</sup> I. V. Oktyabrskaya, V. V. Tcheremisin, *Ohta sredi skal (Drevnie i sovremennye petroglify Djuramala)*, 'Gumanitarnye nauki v Sibiri. Seriya: Archeologiya I etnografiya' №3, 1997, Fig. 2.

*Vostok – Zapad: Dialog kultur Evrazii*, Edition 4, Kazan 2004, pp. 312-313, 315.

<sup>27</sup> A. P. Umanskiy, *Teleuty...*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>28</sup> D. G. Savinov, *Novye materialy po istorii slojnogo luka I nekotorye voprosy ego ego evolucii v Yujnoi Sibiri*, [in:] *Voennoe delo drevnih plemen sibiri i Centralnoi Azii*, Novosibirsk 1981, p. 162.

<sup>29</sup> V. A. Kocheev, *Pogrebenie II tysyacheletiya n.e. u sela Yelo*, [in:] *Archeologicheskie issledovaniya v Gornom Altaye v 1980 – 1982 godah*, Gorno-Altaysk 1983, p. 154; Fig. 3: 1-7.

<sup>30</sup> A. N. Lipskiy, *K voprosu ob ispolzovanii etnographii dlya interpretacii archeologicheskikh istochnikov*, [in:] 'Sovetskaya etnografiya' №1, 1966, p. 114.

<sup>31</sup> N. Y. Bitchurin, *Sobranie svedeniy o narodah, obitaavshih v Sredney Azii v drevnie vremena*, Moskva-Leningrad 1950, part I, p. 352.

<sup>32</sup> A. P. Umanskiy, *Teleuty...*, p. 65; L. I. Sherstova, *Turki...*, p. 52-93.

<sup>33</sup> L. I. Sherstova, *Turki...*, p. 92.

<sup>34</sup> V. P. Dyakonova, *Altaytsy*, Gorno-Altaysk 2001, p. 30; V.Y. Butanaev, *Traditsionnaya kultura I byt khakasov* Abakan 1996, p. 28; Radlov 1989, pp. 156-157.

fight attacks & allocate funds of protection typical for different kinds of military force, appreciate art of war specials (troops) & explain reasons which take a place in victory or defeat of war based on differences between armament complex & use methods. The most visual reproduction of each arm complex is pictures which reproduced the warriors' image made on the significant reconstruction base. Not always make possible the imagination & reconstruction of warriors image a safety of armament finds which were found until the archaeological excavations of the monuments belonged to the culture of ancient & medieval nomads of Central Asia. That's why the necessary source for creation of the scientific artistic reconstruction is the pictures with warriors on petroglyphs, torefitic, small plastic art, sculpture & verbal description of warriors' image in written historical sources.

The main source for reproduction of ancient & medieval warriors appearance from classic works based on the war history were pictures on the art monuments, painting pictures, mosaic (inlay), plastic art, sculpture typical for the Mediterranean, Middle East, Central & Eastern Asia. Painters illustrated the works based on the war history & published in 19-20 centuries, got in use original ancient & medieval warriors' pictures, made their pictures in realistic style, typical for books illustrations of their time.

According to L.P. Potapov, among different Turk ethnic groups located on the territory of Sayano-Altay, such as kyshtyms of Yenisei kyrgyz, shchor, kamasin, karagas, north altay people, north-east tuva people, we can find common methods of hunting onto fur animals in taiga<sup>36</sup>. These community based not only on ethnology onto animals, but also on complex of armament tools for hunting and methods of hunting. All these features and tools was widespread among Turk people of South Siberia and according numerous contacts with Russians. For Turk people in Siberia yasak duty was continued till 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This process had influence on hunting trades and hunting weapon.

Turk tribes located on the territory of South Siberia in complex of hunting rifle and hunting equipment used fused and flinty armament with support – multuky. Generally, those hunting rifle were made over old muskets. They had long barrel and tight butt. To wooden butt fixed on hinges under barrel attached divided bracket or supporters which fastened at right angle to barrel before shooting. Some kind of that armament had prolonged supporters so that hunters were able to shoot on straight legs. It was more suitable to shoot from that weapon when hunter leans on that bracket by knee or when he laid on earth or when he putted weapon onto rigid base. On the end of cocking piece of fuse weapon fixed fuse which fall into outlet with powder charge until hunter pull the trigger. Hunters used leathern bags for fuse. Leathern bags attached to belt by hanging straps. In other

bag hunter had forged iron bullet. Before hunting he filled sufficient quantity of powder to special tubes so that if it was necessary hunter could fill powder to weapon butt and cover by bullet. According to V.V. Radlov, Altay hunters were masters at fused and flinty weapon using and aimed shooting at high speed. In the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century south Altay hunters generally were excellent shooters<sup>37</sup> (Fig 3: 3,11).

There are hunting rifle and hunting equipment as: belt with suspended knife in sheathe, cartridge, bag for bullets and tubes with powder measures, bag with steel; sometimes that bags ornamented by metal clasps, pendants, chargers. Leathern bags ornamented by applications and handmade ornaments.

However ethno cultural processes of interaction in hunting activity developed not only one-way. On the one hand Russian hunters adopted some variants of hunting rifle and hunting methods from aborigines until they moved to taiga area of Sayano-Altay (Fig.1-4).

Occasionally Russian officials interested in fur getting were able for changing usual yasak from fur to metal goods as they did with shorh people. It depended on absence of metal goods in Russian burghs and because of delivery expensiveness of those goods from Ural. Nevertheless aborigines of Verhneye Pritomye were orientated on paying yasak by fur. According to Sherstova L.I., process of paying yasak by fur in 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries bring to reduction of other kinds of economical activity of Turk people located on the Territory of Tom River and hunting trade was reoriented on fur hunting<sup>38</sup>.

In complex of armament treasure found by aborigines on the territory of Jazator village in south of Mountain Altay together with chain armor were found barrel and fuse weapon lock. In researches opinion those things refers to 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and it depended from moves of Russian people to Siberia<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 3:1). There is also one more fuse barrel which was found by aborigines in 1990 ages in Cave of Edigan River. It handed to specialists on material reconstruction. In former times barrels owner reduced it by one half (Fig. 3:2). It is interesting that in spite of damages and conditions unsuitable for long time storage of cave that weapon barrel entirely was suitable for shooting as it was demonstrated according to some experiments.

<sup>37</sup> Radlov, 1989, p.157-159.

<sup>38</sup> L.I. Sherstova, *Turki...*, p. 95.

<sup>39</sup> I. Y. Slyusarenko, D. V. Tcheremisin, *Nahodka kolchug bliz sela Jazator (Gorny Altay)*, 'Gumanitarnie nauki v Sibiri. Seriya archeologiya I etnografiya' № 3, 1995, pp. 102 -104.

<sup>36</sup> L. P. Potapov, *Proishozhdenie i formirovanie hakasskoi narodnosti*, Abakan 1957, p. 274.

### Streszczenie

W średniowieczu łowiectwo odgrywało ważną rolę w życiu tureckich koczowników południowej Syberii i Azji Środkowej. Wśród różnych odmian łowiectwa należy zwrócić uwagę na rotacyjne polowanie na stadne dzikie zwierzęta kopytne. Był to rodzaj ćwiczeń wojennych, w trakcie których wojownicy doskonalili taktyczne działania kawaleryjskie. Osiągnięcia łowieckie były niezwykle ważne dla średniowiecznych wojowników, którzy czuli się szczególnie dumni z tego rodzaju osiągnięć. Według źródeł pisanych i ikonograficznych tureccy myśliwi używali w średniowieczu łuków i strzał, włóczni, psów i drapieżne ptaki myśliwskie.

Dla rosyjskich Kazachów i robotników przeniesionych z Uralu na Syberię głównym celem polowań były futra. Zetknęli się oni z ludami miejscowymi, takimi jak ludy tureckie i ugrojskie, które używały specjalistycznej broni i hołdowały pradawnym tradycjom łowieckim. Obie strony, pozostając w stałych kontaktach, stosowały podobne i bardzo wydajne metody polowań i wyposażenie łowieckie.

Większość futer pozyskiwano jako daninę lub jako wynik handlu z podległymi plemionami tajgi, zamieszkującymi północny skraj państw nomadów Azji Środkowej. Koczownicy brali udział w wyprawach i ekspedycjach wojennych, jako przewodnicy i wojownicy. Przez długi czas plemiona nomadów płaciły dań chanowi mongolskiemu, chanowi dżungarskiemu, książętom kirgiskim i teleuckim, władzom rosyjskim na Syberii.

Znaleziska archeologiczne w Ałtaju świadczą o tym, że ludy ałtajskie używały łuku i strzał w czasie polowań. Na łowach używano strzał wyposażonych w różne rodzaje kościanych grotów. Fakt zastosowania broni palnej zarejestrowany został na nowożytnych rytach naskalnych. Wśród różnych tureckich grup etnicznych żyjących na terytorium sajano-ałtajskim zauważyć można wspólne metody polowania na zwierzęta futerkowe.

