

AGRICULTURE, CATTLE BREEDING AND TRADE IN THE GOLDEN HORDE BASED ON DATA FROM WRITTEN SOURCES

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Introduction

Agriculture is a virtually uninvestigated topic in the archaeology of the Golden Horde.¹ The Golden Horde has traditionally been viewed by historians as a nomadic state that relied very little on agricultural products. New archaeological data, however, has put into question the extent to which agriculture was part of the economic system of the Golden Horde.

It should also be noted that the territory claimed by the Golden Horde included not only the dry steppes of Eurasia, perfect for nomadic pastoralism, but also old agricultural regions such as Bulgar, Khorezm, Crimea, and the Northern Caucasus.

Findings

The settled regions of the Golden Horde had a well-developed agricultural system. At the settlements of Bagaevskoe, Kolotov Buerak, Hmelevskoe I and Shiroky Buerak, in the Low Volga (Saratov region of Russia), very valuable data was obtained during our excavations of 2001-2003, as a result of the flotation of the cultural layer and the fill of the investigated constructions for macrobotanical remains.² These processes were applied for the first time to the Golden Horde settlements. The analysis of the macrobotanical remains was carried out in the Laboratory of Scientific Methods of the Institute of Archaeology in the Russian Academy of Sciences by E. Yu. Lebedeva. There were numerous finds of fragments of ears of grain recorded at the settlements of Shiroky Buerak, Bagaevskoe and Hmelevskoe I; these traces of threshing confirmed the existence of crop cultivation by the population of the excavated sites, and disproved the theory that grain was imported, since unthreshed grain was never

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¹ Nedashkovsky 2012, p. 225-255.

² Nedashkovsky 2010, p. 156-157.

transported to market. The clear prevalence of millet that was noted in the samples (53.4% of all cereals), exceeding rye (20.1%), wheat (19.6%), barley (5.9%), oats (0.7%) and peas (0.3%), cannot be accidental.

Medieval authors clearly noted millet cultivation in the Golden Horde state. As early as the middle of 13th century, Plano Carpini³ and William of Rubruck⁴ mentioned that millet was an important food in the Mongol Empire, referring to other cereals, such as rice and barley, as grains used for producing drinks.⁵ Millet (“tari”), oats (“ous”), wheat (“coptaluc”), emmer (“suulu”), barley (“arpa”), rice (“tuturgan,” “brinč,” “bri[ng]”), peas (“brizac,” “noghuc”) and lentil (“maruimac”) are mentioned in the Cuman part of the dictionary *Codex Cumanicus*.⁶ The *Codex* was originally written in 1303 based on materials from the late 13th century; it was compiled for the Italians who came to Ulus Jochi.⁷ In *The History of Vassaf*,⁸ it is written that a sack of millet was sent by Khan Tokta to the Hulaguid ilkhān Gazan in 702 AH (1302/1303 AD) as a symbol of the numerous Golden Horde troops.⁹ Al-Omari (700-749 AH, 1300/01-1348/49 AD), in his multivolume geographical work, also mentions the agriculture of the Golden Horde, saying:

“They have very few crops, the least of which are wheat and barley, and beans almost cannot be found. Most often crops of millet are found there; they eat it and, as for products of the land, it (constitutes their main) food.”¹⁰

According to al-Omari, wheat, barley, lentils and two kinds of millet, called millet (“dohn”) and a kind of millet similar to the seed of trefoil (“zhavers”), were sold in the markets of Saray.¹¹ Iosaphath Barbaro¹² also wrote about the use of millet by the people of the Golden Horde as food and as a ritual

³ Plano Carpini: Franciscan monk, traveller to Mongol Empire (1245-1247).

⁴ William of Rubruck: Franciscan monk, traveller to Mongol Empire (1253-1255).

⁵ *Dzhiovanni* 1957, p. 36, 95, 124, 138, 146, 148, 154; Rockhill 1900, p. 10, 62, 68, 132, 166, 173, 183, 186.

⁶ Kuun 1981, p. 107, 130-131; Drimba 2000, p. 96, 109. *Codex Cumanicus*: Latin-Persian-Coman dictionary, originally written in 1303 and based on materials from the late 13th century, compiled for the Italians who came to Ulus Jochi.

⁷ Ulus Jochi-“Possession of Jochids,” “Territory and people of Jochids,” one of the most common names for the Golden Horde in medieval oriental sources.

⁸ *The History of Vassaf*: Persian chronicle from the first third of 14th century.

⁹ Tizengauzen 1941, p. 83.

¹⁰ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 230 (translation by author for this and other quotations).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 242. Saray was the capital of the Golden Horde, situated in the Lower Volga.

¹² Iosaphath Barbaro (1413-1494): Venetian politician and merchant, lived from 1436 until 1452 in Tana, a Venetian colony at the mouth of the Don River; author of the book *Voyage to Tana*.

offering. Besides millet he also mentions wheat and oat, which was used as horse food.¹³ Ambrogio Contarini,¹⁴ who passed through the Low Volga region in 1476, refers to rice and dried crusts “of quite good wheat flour,” as well as onion and garlic.¹⁵

Italian and Byzantine merchants bought different kinds of grains from the Golden Horde: namely, wheat, millet and barley, in order of preference.¹⁶ Francesco Pegolotti¹⁷ informs us of high quality wheat imported from Caffa and Moncastro.¹⁸ Nevertheless, not all regions of the Ulus Jochi were completely able to provide themselves with all agricultural products. The famous Arab traveller, Ibn Batuta,¹⁹ provided information on the distribution of wheat and barley from Termez to Khorezm on ships by way of the Amu Darya river.²⁰

William of Rubruck mentioned vineyards and wine in the North-eastern Caucasus.²¹ The Codex Cumanicus contains words for orange (“nainč,” “nouma”), lemon (“limon”), peach (“saftalu”), pomegranate (“nardan”), apricot (“mismis”), plum (“eric”), fig (“ingir”), grape (“xuxun”), megalocarpous muscat grape (“churu xuxun”), sweet cherry (“chiras”), date (“ghorma”), cucumber (“chear”), melon (“coun”), turnip (“salghan,” “samuc”), cabbage (“laghan”), beet (“čagundur”), pumpkin (“cabuc”), onion (“sorgan,” “youa”), garlic (“sarmisac”), spinach (“yspanac”), parsley (“mangdan”), lettuce (“marul”), fennel (“raxiana”), pear (“armut,” “chertme”), and apple (“alma”) in the Cuman section.²² Al-Omari also provided interesting information on fruits, nuts, vegetables and melons in his observations of the Golden Horde. He wrote:

“There are many different fruits growing on various trees: grapes, pomegranates, quinces, apples, pears, apricots, peaches and nuts. There was a fruit, which in the Kipchak language was called batenk, which looks like a

¹³ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 142, 146, 149-150.

¹⁴ Contarini, Ambrogio: Venetian diplomat, ambassador to Persia (1474-1477).

¹⁵ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 221, see also p. 224.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52-53, 57, 66; Emanov 1995, p. 100-101, 103-104, 108-116, 118, 146, 149; Karpov 1989, p. 27-34; Karpov 1990, p. 145; Karpov 1991, p. 191; Karpov 2000, p. 156, 175-176, 183; Kramarovskiy 1993, p. 250-251, 259-260; Kramarovskiy 2007, p. 122-123, 131-133; Pegolotti 1936, p. 24, 42, 54-55; Volkov 2008, p. 442, 447; Volsky 1854, p. 39-43.

¹⁷ Francesco Balducci Pegolotti: Florentine merchant, author of the *Pratica della mercatura*, completed between 1340 and 1342.

¹⁸ Pegolotti 1936, p. 42. Moncastro was a medieval city in Ukraine on Dnestr river, modern Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy.

¹⁹ Ibn Batuta or Ibn Battuta (1304-1377): Most famous medieval Arab traveller.

²⁰ Gibb 1971, p. 542; Tizengauzen 1884, p. 309.

²¹ *Džhiovanni* 1957, p. 186; Rockhill 1900, p. 262.

²² Kuun 1981, p. 125-127; Drimba 2000, p. 106-107.

grape ... Regarding the melon, it is extraordinarily delicious to consume, and is of a yellow race [species]. It is preserved and is available there throughout the year. It has an extraordinary sweetness and pleasant taste, and what is more, it is abundant and cheap. Some local people squeeze its juice and boil down halvah [a sweet] from it. In their cities grow many vegetables, such as rutabaga, turnip, cabbage and others.”²³

Ibn Batuta, who personally visited Khorezm, clearly appreciated Khorezmian watermelons:

“The melons of Khwarizm have no equal in any country of the world, East or West ... Their rind is green, and the flesh is red, of extreme sweetness and firm texture. A remarkable thing is that they are cut into strips, dried in the sun, and packed in reed baskets ... They are exported from Khwarizm to the remotest parts of India and China, and of all the dried fruits there are none which excel them in sweetness.”²⁴

The tarkhan yarliq of khan Timur-Qutlug, issued in 1398, mentioned vineyards, gardens, mills and farmers in the environs of Sudak in Crimea, and also about granary taxes and threshing-floor fares.²⁵

In the Codex Cumanicus, the word plough (“saban”) appears a number of times in connection to its use, for example: ploughman (“sabanci”), till by plough (“saban surarmen,” “saban surdum,” “saban sur”), plough-share (“saban temir”), arable land (“tarlov,” “saban ieri”).²⁶ The Egyptian historian Rukn ad-Din Baibars (d. 1325), describing conflict between the Tokta and Noghay,²⁷ mentioned also a bidentate wooden plough (“sokha”).²⁸

Iosaphath Barbaro lived from 1436 to 1452 in Tana, a Venetian colony at the mouth of the Don River. In his book, Voyage to Tana, he provides an interesting perspective on agriculture in the steppe area of the Golden Horde:

“At about the new moon in February they make a call throughout the horde that anyone wishing to sow should prepare all necessary things, because by the new moon in March will be a sowing in such and such place, and that on such and such day and at such and such new moon everyone will set out. After that, those who are going to sow themselves or to employ somebody to sow, prepare and arrange among themselves, load carts with seeds, bring the animals necessary to them and, together with wives and children - or

²³ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 233-234.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 313.

²⁵ Radlov 1889, p. 21, 33.

²⁶ Kuun 1981, p. 8, 90, 180; Drimba 2000, p. 40, 87, 127.

²⁷ Noghay (d. 1299/1300): the Golden Horde emir, semi-independent ruler of the western parts of the state.

²⁸ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 110.

with a part of their family - make their way to the fixed place, usually located at a distance of two days travel from the place where the horde was at the moment the call regarding sowing came. There they plough, sow and live until they have done everything that they wanted to do. Then they return to the horde.

Khan treats the horde in the same way as a mother who sends (her) children on a walk and does not let them out of her sight. He travels all over these crop lands - today here, tomorrow there, not moving away [from his people] for more than for four days' journey. This continues, while the crops have yet to ripen. When they ripen, he does not move there with all the horde, but only (with) those who sowed and those who wanted to buy wheat there. They go with carts, oxen and camels and with all (that is) necessary to move the produce to their estates.

Lands are fertile there and return the crop of wheat fifty-fold - its height is like that of Padua wheat - and the crop of millet is returned a hundred-fold. Sometimes they get such a plenteous crop, that they leave it in the steppe.²⁹

Judging from the cited text, the lea tillage (fallow) system was the dominant form of agriculture in the steppe zone. In the Middle Volga region, to a certain extent, "a multi-course system and a two-field rotation of crops combined with a lea one"³⁰ were used.

Along with agriculture, cattle breeding was one of the economic bases of the Golden Horde state. A full army of the Jochids³¹ was formed from nomadic cattle-breeders up to the latter half of the 14th century.

Cattle breeding was developed not only in the nomadic economy, in which it served as basis of life, but also within the settled population. It was carried out for the purpose of obtaining meat, as well as milk, wool and leather. The role of manure was also significant - it was the only fertilizer in the agricultural economy of the Middle Ages. Bulls and oxen served for transportation of goods (camels and horses were also used for this purpose) and for ploughing the land.³²

Plano Carpini narrates, in regard to the Mongols, that "They are very rich in cattle, as in camels, bulls, sheep, goats and horses. They have pack cattle in such huge numbers that, in our opinion, their like is not found in all the world. However, pigs and other animals are not present at all."³³ Iosaphath Barbaro muses, concerning the quantity of cattle in Ulus Jochi in

²⁹ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 150.

³⁰ Krasnov 1987, p. 223.

³¹ Jochids: ruling dynasty of the Golden Horde, founded by Jochi, eldest son of Chingiskhan.

³² Petrenko 1988, p. 258-259; Tsalkin 1967, p. 117, 129.

³³ *Dz̄hiovanni* 1957, p. 28.

the 15th century: “What to tell about the great, even uncountably great number of animals in this horde? Who would believe me?”³⁴

Horse breeding in the steppe had an important military value: each warrior departing on a campaign was obliged to have with him several horses. In addition, “koumiss” was made from mare’s milk - a traditional drink of steppe nomads. Nomads paid taxes in cattle and koumiss.³⁵ In summertime, the nomads mainly used various dairy products for food (reserving oil, dried curd, cheese and dried meat for the winter), and in wintertime, they ate meat.³⁶ Al-Omari (700-749 AH, 1300/01-1348/49 AD) reports of the role of meat as food and about the custom of donation of meat amongst the nomads of Ulus Jochi:

“Their food from their animals: horses, cows and sheep. ... Amongst those who live in the steppe, meat is not for sale and is not bought. ... When one of his cattle somehow starts weaken, such as a horse or cow or sheep, he slaughters it and together with his household eats part of it, and gives a part to his neighbours, and when they in turn have a sheep, ... a cow, or a horse go bad, they slaughter it and give some to those who presented them [with meat before]. For this reason, in their houses there is never a lack of meat. This [custom] is so well-established between them, it is as though ... meat donation is an obligatory decree.”³⁷

The Golden Horde exported cattle in large quantities. For example, horses were taken out to India in a large numbers, where they were used for the household purposes. Ibn Batuta, writing about the export of horses from Ulus Jochi to Indian lands, reports of the steppe zone of the Golden Horde state:

“Horses in this land are extraordinarily in abundance and they cost a trifle. ... They use them for food; in their country they are as plentiful as in our land are the sheep, perhaps even more. One Turkic man could have several thousand of them. One of customs of the Turkic horse breeders occupying this country (is) that on bullock-carts, in which their wives travel, they place a piece of felt, a span in length, attached to a thin pole, a cubit in length at the corner of the bullock-cart; For each thousand head of horses, one such piece of felt is placed. I saw that some individuals had 10 pieces [i.e. owned 10,000 horses] and others even more than that.”³⁸

Iosaphath Barbaro also narrates in detail regarding the cattle trade:

“Among these people there are dealers in horses; they bring out horses from

³⁴ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 149.

³⁵ Fyodorov-Davydov 1973, p. 39-40.

³⁶ *Dz̄hiovanni* 1957, p. 95-96.

³⁷ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 230-231.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

the horde and drive them to various places. ... It happened to me that on the way I met merchants driving horses in such quantity that they covered the space of the whole steppe. ... The second type of animal these people own is beautiful, large bulls, and in quantities that would be quite sufficient even for Italian slaughter-houses. They drive them to Poland, where some are sent through Walachia to Transylvania and also to Germany, and from there ... brought to Italy. ... The third species of animals kept by these people is the tall, shaggy, two-humped camel. Them drive to Persia and sell them there for twenty five ducats each.”³⁹

Large and small horned cattle in a large quantities were delivered by the nomads to neighbouring settled regions, for example, to the Middle Volga region⁴⁰ and to Old Rus, where the cattle substantially differed, being of smaller size: the average height of large horned cattle from the Golden Horde was almost 10 cm higher than that of cattle common to the territory of Rus.⁴¹

The system of wandering in the Golden Horde time was strictly regulated by the khan’s power. All pastures and nomadic routes in the state were distributed according to its military-administrative division. Each superior chief specified territories and nomadic routes to the subordinate one. Plano Carpini reports:

“For no man dares abide in any country, unless the emperor has assigned him to be there. Also, he himself appoints to the chiefs the lands they should inhabit. Likewise the chiefs assign lands to every Millenary or commander of a thousand warriors, the Millenaries to each captain of a hundred, the captains to every corporal of ten.”⁴²

The meridional system of wandering - parallel to the flow of the large rivers in the Golden Horde territory - dominated. In summer, nomads in search of optimal conditions moved along the rivers’ basins to the north, and in winter to the south. William of Rubruck wrote, that

“every chief (‘capitaneus’) knows, according (to whether) he has more or fewer people under his power, the limits of his pasture land and also where he can graze herds in winter and summer, spring and autumn. In particular, in winter they go down to the south to warmer countries, in summer they go up to the north, to cooler (ones). In the places convenient for pasture but without water, they graze the herds in winter when there is snow there, because the snow serves them instead of water.”⁴³

³⁹ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 149.

⁴⁰ Petrenko 1988, p. 258, 260, 271; Petrenko 2007, p. 103-104, 106-107.

⁴¹ Tsalkin 1967, p. 120.

⁴² *Dz̄hiovanni* 1957, p. 45.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

In addition to agriculture and cattle breeding, it seems that hunting was also useful for the people who inhabited the Ulus Jochi. Marco Polo provided information about hunting in the eastern part of Jochid state for ermines, sables, squirrels, silver foxes and marmots.⁴⁴ “They are perfectly able to hunt, using mainly bows,” Iosaphath Barbaro reported about the population of Ulus Jochi.⁴⁵ The fur of sable, ermine, marten, weasel, fox, lynx, squirrel, hare, beaver, otter, marmot, and polar bear (which mainly came from the northern regions of the territory) was one of the most important items actively exported by the Golden Horde.⁴⁶

Battue hunting, in the tradition established by Yasa,⁴⁷ was an original school of military training, some kind of army manoeuvres.⁴⁸ Hunting was also one of the traditional entertainments of the Jochid aristocracy. Hawkers and masters of panthers were mentioned in the lists of Golden Horde officials in the yarliqs of Mengu-Timur⁴⁹ (1267), Birdibek (1357),⁵⁰ Tulyakbek⁵¹ (1379) and Timur-Qutlug (1398).⁵² Hunting falcons, gyrfalcons, and what were possibly golden eagles are mentioned by William of Rubruck.⁵³ Russian chronicles reported in 1283 that Golden Horde hawkers hunted swans.⁵⁴ In 702 AH (1302/1303 AD), ambassadors from Tokta brought, amongst other gifts for ilkhan Gazan, hunting falcons and furs of “Kirghiz squirrels, Karluk weasels (‘fennec’), Slavic ermines and Volga Bulgarian sables.”⁵⁵ Falcons are also mentioned among the gifts sent by khan Uzbek in 717 AH (1317/1318 AD) to the Egyptian sultan.⁵⁶ Gyrfalcons were sent by Uzbek to a great khan of the Yuan dynasty in

⁴⁴ Minaev 1955, p. 225-226; Yule 1903, p. 481.

⁴⁵ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 142.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51, 57-58, 66, 217; *Dz̄hiovanni* 1957, p. 88; Emanov 1995, p. 23-28, 34, 64, 80, 84, 97, 147, 149; *Il libro dei conti* 1956, p. 386; Karpov 1990, p. 152-154; Karpov 1991, p. 191; Karpov 2000, p. 183; Pegolotti 1936, p. 24, 150; Rockhill 1900, p. 44; Tizengauzen 1884, p. 297-298.

⁴⁷ Yasa: legal code of the Mongol Empire since Chingiskhan; it included common law and new laws, created according to the needs of empire.

⁴⁸ *Dz̄hiovanni* 1957, p. 99; Rockhill 1900, p. 71.

⁴⁹ Mengu-Timur: khan of the Golden Horde 1266-1282.

⁵⁰ Birdibek: khan of the Golden Horde 1357-1359.

⁵¹ Tulyakbek: khan of the Golden Horde in 1379-1380.

⁵² Grigor’ev 1990, p. 64, 74, 82-84, 102; Radlov 1889, p. 21, 25; *Yarhyki* 1955, p. 465, 467, 469.

⁵³ *Dz̄hiovanni* 1957, p. 98, note 59; Rockhill 1900, p. 69.

⁵⁴ Polnoe 1856, p. 177; Polnoe 1949, p. 154-155; Polnoe 1963, p. 62, 222; Priselkov 1950, p. 340-341.

⁵⁵ Tizengauzen 1941, p. 83.

⁵⁶ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 325-326, 438.

China.⁵⁷ Ambassadors of Janibek⁵⁸ arriving in Egypt in sha'baan 758 AH (20 July to 18 August 1357 AD) delivered gifts including sable furs and birds of prey.⁵⁹ Also, on 30 January 1385 AD, ambassadors of Toktamys⁶⁰ brought the Egyptian sultan seven falcons, amongst other gifts.⁶¹ Iosaphath Barbaro reported of hunting with falcons and gyrfalcons, and also of hunting for deer, geese and goldfinches.⁶²

Italian merchants imported dried and salted whole fish, as well as cured fillets of fish (primarily sturgeon), and caviar from the Golden Horde.⁶³ William of Rubruck similarly reported how merchants from Constantinople (which it can be inferred were Italian ones, because his information referred to the period when the city was a capital of the Latin empire) purchased dried sturgeons, breams “and other fish in boundless quantity”⁶⁴ at the mouth of the Don River. The same traveller commented on how inhabitants of this region always had large quantities of dried fish.⁶⁵ Johann Schiltberger, a Bavarian warrior who travelled in Europe, Central Asia and Africa between 1394 and 1427, characterises Azak⁶⁶ as a city “on a bank of the Don, abounding with fish, which it exported on big ships and galleys to Venice, Genoa and islands of the Archipelago.”⁶⁷ Iosaphath Barbaro, referring to the Volga River and the Caspian Sea, reported that “in the river, as well as in the sea, the quantity of fish is incalculable.”⁶⁸ Contarini discussed the fishing of sturgeons, white sturgeons and seals in the Caspian Sea.⁶⁹

Salt extraction was closely connected with the salting and drying of fish. The presence of this trade in the Golden Horde and their export of salt to Rus is mentioned in reports by Barbaro, Contarini⁷⁰ and William of

⁵⁷ Yule 1866, p. 238.

⁵⁸ Janibek: khan of the Golden Horde from 1342-1357.

⁵⁹ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 441.

⁶⁰ Toktamys: khan of the Golden Horde from 1379-1395.

⁶¹ Tizengauzen 1884, p. 441.

⁶² *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 147-148.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 50-52, 57-58; Emanov 1995, p. 79, 100-102, 104, 122-124, 146, 149; *Il libro dei conti* 1956, p. 416, 676, 701; Karpov 1990, p. 149; Karpov 1991, p. 191, 195, 210; Karpov 2000, p. 183; Pegolotti 1936, p. 24, 102, 380; Shrayner 1981, p. 218; Ustav 1863, p. 803.

⁶⁴ *Dz'hiovanni* 1957, p. 88.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109; Rockhill 1900, p. 97.

⁶⁶ Azak: the Golden Horde city in the mouth of the Don River, inside the modern Azov, a town in the Rostov region of Russia.

⁶⁷ Shil'tberger 1984, p. 44-45.

⁶⁸ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 157.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 216, 218.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157, 219.

Rubruck, who discussed the significant amount of money that came to the khan's treasury from the control of salt production.⁷¹ One of the mountains along the Ural River was labelled "Salt Mountain" on the map of cosmographer Fra Mauro,⁷² dated 1459.⁷³

Wild hive beekeeping was also of some importance. Honey and beeswax were exported by Ulus Jochi, and honey, grasses and roots were gathered and used as food by the local population.⁷⁴ The Codex Cumanicus contained the words for nut ("cox"), hazelnut ("čatlauc"), almond ("badam"), pistachio ("pistac"), chestnut ("castana"), rue ("sadaf"), mint ("gischic"), sage ("salg")⁷⁵ in its Cuman section, indicating that these resources were also gathered. Moreover, herbs were gathered for medicinal purposes. For example, the inflorescences of Levant wormwood were exported from the Black Sea and Azov Sea regions to Western Europe and the Near East.⁷⁶

Conclusions

According to archaeological data, the most commonly cultivated crops were millet, rye, wheat, barley, oat and peas. Along with agriculture, cattle breeding was one of economic bases of the Golden Horde state. It developed not only in the nomadic economy, in which it served as way of life, but also amongst the settled population. Cattle breeding was carried out for the purpose of obtaining not only meat, but also milk, wool, leather. The Golden Horde exported cattle in large quantities. Hunting, which was mostly carried out for obtaining furs, had little significance as a source of meat. Fisheries were well developed and their products exported abroad as far as Italy. Amongst these trades we must also mention salt extraction and the gathering of honey, nut, grasses and roots. Further data on the agriculture and trades of the Golden Horde could be obtained from future archaeological excavations.

⁷¹ *Džhiovanni* 1957, p. 90-91, 107; Rockhill 1900, p. 52, 92.

⁷² Fra Mauro: Venetian cosmographer of 15th century.

⁷³ *Il mappamondo* 1956, p. 56, XXXIII.

⁷⁴ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 51-52, 57, 66, 142, 153, 220; *Džhiovanni* 1957, p. 95; Emanov 1995, p. 32-33, 79, 84, 95-97, 104, 111, 128-129, 147, 149; Karpov 1990, p. 131; Karpov 1991, p. 195, 210; Pegolotti 1936, p. 24, 43, 150; Rockhill 1900, p. 62; Tizengauzen 1884, p. 234.

⁷⁵ Kuun 1981, p. 125-126; Drimba 2000, p. 106.

⁷⁶ *Barbaro i Kontarini* 1971, p. 147, note 69; Emanov 1995, p. 84, 119; Pegolotti 1936, p. 69, 138, 429-430.

**Agriculture, Cattle Breeding and Trade in the Golden Horde
Based on Data from Written Sources**

(Abstract)

This article examines data available from written sources on agriculture, cattle breeding and trade in Ulus Jochi. According to archaeological data, in the Golden Horde, millet was the most widely cultivated crop, followed by rye, wheat, barley, oat and peas. Besides agriculture and cattle breeding, special attention is devoted to examining characteristic features of hunting and fishing. Such trades as salt extraction and the gathering of honey, nuts, grasses and roots are also briefly characterised.

Medieval authors clearly noted millet cultivation in the Golden Horde state. Italian and Byzantine merchants bought different kinds of grains from the Golden Horde: namely, wheat, millet and barley, in order of preference. Along with agriculture, cattle breeding was one of the economic bases of the Golden Horde state. It was developed not only in the nomadic economy, in which it served as way of life, but also amongst the settled population. Cattle breeding was carried out for the purpose of obtaining not only meat, but also milk, wool and leather. The Golden Horde exported cattle in large quantities.

Hunting was mostly carried out for the purpose of obtaining furs, and had little significance as a source of meat. The furs (which mainly came from the northern regions of the territory) were one of the most important items actively exported by the Golden Horde. Italian merchants imported dried and salted whole fish, as well as cured fillets of fish (primarily sturgeon), and caviar from the Golden Horde. Salt extraction was closely connected with the salting and drying of fish. Wild hive beekeeping was also of some importance. Honey and beeswax were exported by Ulus Jochi, while honey, grasses and roots were gathered for food by the local population.

This study will be significant for historians, archaeologists and linguists whose research is in medieval studies.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

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Keywords: agriculture, cattle breeding, trade, the Golden Horde, written sources.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskiiye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminar. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosfera	- Bibliosfera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskyy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilyie godyi	- Byilyie godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturulogicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestija Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotechnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolyucii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazahstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennuyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovye	- Pozdneplejstocenovye i rannegolocenovye kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologiya. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheskij jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologija. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tulski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Tradizionnaya kultura	- Tradizionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literaturny	- Voprosi Literaturny. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.