

Академия наук Республики Татарстан  
Институт археологии им. А.Х. Халикова  
Казанский (Приволжский) Федеральный Университет  
Марийский государственный университет  
МУК «Краеведческий музей села Прасковея»  
ГБУК Ставропольского края «Пятигорский краеведческий музей»

## **АРХЕОЛОГИЯ ЕВРАЗИЙСКИХ СТЕПЕЙ**

## **СРЕДНЕВЕКОВАЯ АРХЕОЛОГИЯ**

**Материалы VIII Международной научной конференции  
«Диалог городской и степной культур на евразийском  
пространстве», посвященной памяти  
Г.А. Федорова-Давыдова.**

**№ 4**

**2018**

**VIII Международная научная конференция «Диалог городской и степной культур на евразийском пространстве», посвященная памяти Г.А. Федорова-Давыдова**

*Издается при поддержке РФФИ договор № 18-09-20035\18 и Марийского государственного университета*

**Главный редактор:**  
чл.-корр. АН РТ, док. ист. наук **А.Г. Ситдиков**

**Ответственный секретарь:** А.С. Беспалова

**Редакционный совет:**

**Атанасов Г.**, д.и.н., проф. (Силистра, Болгария); **Авербух А.**, д-р, (Париж, Франция);  
**Афонсо Марреро Х.А.**, проф. (Гранада, Испания); **Бороффка Н.**, д-р, проф. (Берлин, Германия);  
**Виноградов Н.Б.**, д.и.н., проф. (Челябинск); **Канторович А.Р.**, д.и.н., проф., (Москва); **Кожокару В.**,  
д-р хабилитат (Яссы, Румыния); **Напольских В.В.**, д.и.н., чл.-корр. РАН (Ижевск); **Скаакун Н.Н.**,  
к.и.н. (Санкт-Петербург); **Франсуа В.**, д-р хабилитат (Экс-ан-Прованс, Франция); **Хайрутдинов Р.Р.**,  
к.и.н. (Казань); **Черных Е.Н.**, д.и.н., проф., чл.-корр. РАН (Москва); **Шуньков М.В.**, д.и.н., проф.,  
чл.-корр. РАН (Новосибирск); **Янхуиен Ю.**, д.и.н., проф. (Хельсинки, Финляндия).

**Ответственный редактор номера:**  
канд. ист. наук **С.Г. Бочаров**

**Зам. ответственного редактора:** **Ю.Д. Обухов**, канд. ист. наук **З.Г. Шакиров.**

**Редакционная коллегия:**

**Асташенкова Е.В.**, к.и.н. (Владивосток); **Бочаров С.Г.**, к.и.н. – ответственный редактор (Казань);  
**Гавритухин И.О.** (Москва); **Доде З.В.**, д.и.н. (Ростов-на-Дону); **Зеленеев Ю.А.**, д.и.н. (Йошкар-Ола);  
**Измайлова И.Л.**, д.и.н. (Казань); **Кирилко В.П.**, к.и.н. (Симферополь); **Мыц В.Л.**, к.и.н. (Санкт-Петербург);  
**Руденко К.А.**, д.и.н. (Казань); **Хузин Ф.Ш.**, д.и.н., профессор (Казань); **Шакиров З.Г.**,  
к.и.н.(Казань); **Яворская Л.В.**, к.и.н., доцент (Москва).

**Адрес редакции:**  
420012, г. Казань, ул. Некрасова, 28, пом. 1203  
Телефон: (843) 210-19-76  
E-mail: archeostepps@gmail.com  
<https://www.evrazstep.ru>

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE EURASIAN STEPPES

№ 4 2018

VIII<sup>th</sup> International Scientific Conference by G.A. Fedorov-Davydov "A Dialogue of Urban and Nomadic Cultures in Eurasian Space"

*Published with the support of the RFBR, Contract No. 18-09-20035\18, and Mari State University*

**Editor-in-Chief:**

Corresponding Member of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences,  
Doctor of Historical Sciences **Ayrat G. Sittikov**

**Executive Secretary:** Antonina S. Bespalova

**Editorial Council:**

**Atanasov Georgy**, Dr. Hab., Prof. (Silistra, Bulgaria); **Afonso Marrero José Andrés**, PhD, Prof. (Granada, Spain); **Averbouh Aline**, Dr. (Paris, France); **Boroffka Nikolaus**, PhD, Prof. (Berlin, Germany); **Chernykh Evgenii N.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof., Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow); **Cojocaru Victor**, Dr. Hab. (Yassy, Romania); **François Véronique**, Dr. Hab. (Aix-en-Provence, France); **Janhunen Ju.**, PhD, Prof. (Helsinki, Finland); **Kantorovich Anatolii R.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof. (Moscow); **Khayrutdinov Ramil R.**, Candidate of Historical Sciences (Kazan); **Napolskikh Vladimir V.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof., Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Izhevsk), **Shunkov Michael V.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof., Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Novosibirsk); **Skakun Natalia N.**, Candidate of Historical Sciences (Saint Petersburg); **Vinogradov Nikolay B.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof. (Chelyabinsk).

**Volume Executive Editor:**

Candidate of Historical Sciences **Sergei G. Bocharov**

**Associate Editors:** **Yuriy D. Obukhov**, Candidate of Historical Sciences **Zufar G. Shakirov**

**Editorial Board:**

**Astashenkova Elena V.**, Candidate of Historical Sciences, (Vladivostok); **Bocharov Sergei G.**, Candidate of Historical Sciences (Kazan); **Gavritukhin Igor O.** (Moscow); **Dode ZvezdanaV.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, (Rostov-on-Don); **Zeleneev Yuriy A.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences (Yoshkar-Ola); **Izmailov Iskander L.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences (Kazan); **Kirliko Vladimir P.**, Candidate of Historical Sciences, (Simferopol); **Myts Victor L.**, Candidate of Historical Sciences (Saint Petersburg); **Rudenko Konstantin A.**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, (Kazan); **Khuzin Fayaz Sh..**, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof., (Kazan); **Shakirov Zufar G.**, Candidate of Historical Sciences (Kazan); **Yavorskaya Liliya V.** Candidate of Historical Sciences (Moscow).

**Editorial Office Address:**

Nekrasov St., 28, office 1203, Kazan, 420012, Republic of Tatarstan, Russian Federation

Telephone: (843)210-19-76

E-mail: [archeostepps@gmail.com](mailto:archeostepps@gmail.com)  
<https://www.evrazstep.ru>

## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

### Археология Монгольской Империи и Золотой Орды

<b>Бабенко А.Н., Алешинская А.С., Кочанова М.Д. (Москва, Россия)</b>	
Особенности применения спорово-пыльцевого анализа при изучении археологических объектов разного типа на примере золотоордынских городов.....	10
<b>Бабенко В.А. (Ставрополь, Россия)</b> Локализация области Бишдаг в Центральном Предкавказье по данным письменных и археологических источников .....	16
<b>Бухонов А.В., Демкина Т.С. (Пущино, Россия)</b> Почвенная структура и состояние микробных сообществ в период средневековья .....	21
<b>Васильев Д.В. (Астрахань, Россия)</b> Мавзолеи у пос. Лапас – взгляд из космоса .....	24
<b>Гончарова С.М. (Ростов, Россия)</b> Купеческое жилище из раскопок на территории «Городища Азака-Таны с некрополем» .....	34
<b>Дмитриев А.В., Нарожный Е.И., Соков П.В. (Краснодар, Россия)</b>	
Средневековые курганы урочища «Молоканова щель» (г. Геленджик – сел. Прасковеевка) .....	39
<b>Енуков В.В. (Курск, Россия)</b> Ратский археологический комплекс в эпоху Золотой Орды .....	47
<b>Зиливинская Э.Д. (Москва, Россия)</b> Еще раз о башенных мавзолеях в Золотой Орде .....	53
<b>Иванов В.А., Иванова М.И. (Уфа, Россия)</b> География маркёров материальной культуры кочевников Золотой Орды .....	60
<b>Кдырниязов М.-Ш., Кдырниязов О.-Ш. (Нукус, Узбекистан)</b>	
Миздахкан – керамический центр Южного Приаралья в эпоху Золотой Орды .....	66
<b>Кольцов П.М, Кольцова К.П. (Элиста, Россия), Верещагин В.В. (Ростов-на-Дону, Россия)</b>	
Родовые могильники кочевников Золотой Орды на территории Калмыкии .....	73
<b>Кравченко Э.Е. (Донецк, Украина)</b>	
Поселение у с. Обрыв на Азовском побережье в Донбассе .....	88
<b>Кубанкин Д.А., Кашникова А.Л., Локис А.В ., Шелепов Д.А. (Саратов, Россия)</b>	
К вопросу о технологии производства кашинной посуды и специфике ее изготовления на Селитренном городище .....	93
<b>Курочкина Д.А., Алибеков С.Я. (Йошкар-Ола, Россия)</b>	
Использование естественно-научных методов для анализа керамического материала Селитренного городища (по материалам последней загрузки горна мастерской № 9 (раскоп XXXIX/2005)) .....	98
<b>Кутузова О.Д. (Йошкар-Ола, Россия), Воробьева Е.Е. (Казань, Россия)</b>	
Стеклоделательное ремесло нижневолжских столиц Золотой Орды: предварительные результаты раскопок 2017 года Селитренного городища .....	103
<b>Ляхов С.В. (Ставрополь, Россия)</b> Погребение со шпорами из Степного Прикумья .....	109
<b>Макласов В.Ю. (Ставрополь, Россия) , Макласова Л.Э. (Казань, Россия), Кравцова С.Л. (Ставрополь, Россия)</b>	
Золотоордынские шлемы из коллекции Ставропольского государственного музея-заповедника имени Г. Н. Прозрительева и Г. К. Праве .....	113

<b>Макласова Л.Э.</b> ( <i>Казань, Россия</i> ) Конструкция монгольского головного убора «гу-гу» в династии Юань .....	120
<b>Минаев А.В.</b> ( <i>Азов, Россия</i> ) Переработка зерна в Азаке в XIV в. ....	127
<b>Нарожный Е.И., Тищенко И.Б.</b> ( <i>Краснодар, Россия</i> ) Грунтовый могильник XIII–XIVвв. поселения Железнодорожное–2 (Крымский район Краснодарского края) .....	141
<b>Недашковский Л.Ф., Шигапов М.Б.</b> ( <i>Казань, Россия</i> ) Материалы с селища Широкий Буерак .....	149
<b>Нечипорук А.А.</b> ( <i>Ростов-на-Дону, Россия</i> ) Средневековый грунтовый могильник Жукова в Западном Закубанье .....	154
<b>Пигарёв Е.М.</b> ( <i>Йошкар-Ола, Россия</i> ) Улус, область, округ Сарай .....	160
<b>Каширская Н.Н.</b> ( <i>Пущино, Россия</i> ), <b>Петросян А.А.</b> ( <i>Воронеж, Россия</i> ), <b>Плеханова Л.Н.</b> ( <i>Пущино, Россия</i> ), <b>Сыроватко А.С.</b> ( <i>Коломна, Россия</i> ), <b>Мякшина Т.Н., Потапова А.В.</b> ( <i>Пущино, Россия</i> ) Кремированные средневековые захоронения и попытки идентификации присутствия шерстяных субстратов .....	166
<b>Руденко К.А.</b> ( <i>Казань, Россия</i> ) Материальная культура кочевников Булгарской области Золотой Орды .....	172
<b>Сенотрусова П.О., Мандрыка П.В.</b> ( <i>Красноярск, Россия</i> ) Военное дело населения нижней Ангары в монгольское время .....	176
<b>Тесленко И.Б.</b> ( <i>Симферополь, Россия</i> ) Керамический комплекс поселения золотоордынского времени в долине р. Артек (Крым) .....	180
<b>Харинский А.В.</b> ( <i>Иркутск, Россия</i> ) Южное Прибайкалье накануне образования Монгольской империи .....	187
<b>Харламов В.П.</b> ( <i>Оренбург, Россия</i> ) Золотоордынские кирпичные мавзолеи Западного Оренбуржья .....	193
<b>Цыбин М.В.</b> ( <i>Воронеж, Россия</i> ) Археологические памятники золотоордынского периода в Побитюжье .....	197
<b>Shingiray I.</b> ( <i>Oxford, United Kingdom</i> ) “The Wise,” “the Learned,” “the Knowledgeable”: A Mamluk (?) <i>Tiraz</i> from the Grave of a Golden Horde Warrior (Kalmykia, Russia) .201	

### Археология средневековых городских центров Евразии

<b>Адаксина С.Б., Мыц В.Л.</b> ( <i>Санкт-Петербург, Россия</i> ) Золотоордынские компоненты в культуре генуэзского города Чембало (Балаклавы) XIV–XV вв. ....	206
<b>Артемьева Н.Г.</b> ( <i>Владивосток, Россия</i> ) Особенности фортификационных сооружений чжурчжэнских городищ XIII в .....	211
<b>Василиненко Д.Э., Тищенко И.Б.</b> ( <i>Краснодар, Россия</i> ) Керамический комплекс Западного Закубанья золотоордынского времени. Предварительное сообщение .....	216
<b>Достиев Т. М.</b> ( <i>Баку, Азербайджан</i> ). Средневековая городская культура Азербайджана (традиции и инновации) .....	222
<b>Йотов В.В.</b> ( <i>Варна, Болгария</i> ) Виноградарство и виноделие в Поздней античности и Средневековье – на примере письменных источников и археологических памятников Болгарии .....	226
<b>Кдырниязов О.-Ш.</b> ( <i>Нукус, Узбекистан</i> ) Пульжай – памятник городской культуры Южного Приаралья в эпоху Золотой Орды .....	238

<b>Кирилко В.П. (Симферополь, Россия)</b> Новое и позабытое старое о храме Алуштинского могильника .....	244
<b>Клюев Н.А., Гридасова И.В. (Владивосток, Россия)</b> Градостроительная практика средневекового населения Приморья (на примере городища Кокшаровка-1) .....	250
<b>Лапшин А.С., Лапшина И.Ю. (Волгоград, Россия)</b> Христианское кладбище на Водянском городище и предметы христианского культа .....	255
<b>Масловский А.Н. (Азов, Россия)</b> Азак и его округа в первые десятилетия их существования. Проблемы зарождения и роста золотоордынских городов .....	260
<b>Могаричев Ю.М. (Симферополь, Россия)</b> Мусульманские памятники Бахчисарая и округи в описании А.С. Уварова .....	266
<b>Мыц В.Л. (Санкт-Петербург, Россия)</b> Алушта в золотоордынский период .....	271
<b>Пьянков А.В. (Краснодар, Россия), Волков И.В. (Москва, Россия), Тихонов А.А. (стан. Ивановская, Россия)</b> Поселение «Суворовская поляна» в урочище Красный лес (правый берег р. Кубань) .....	275
<b>Савельев Н.И. (Москва, Россия)</b> Объекты с «оградами» в округе золотоордынских городов Нижнего Поволжья .....	280
<b>Савенко С.Н. (Пятигорск, Россия)</b> К вопросу о признаках, особенностях и характерных чертах городских некрополей Центрального Предкавказья X – XIV вв. ....	287
<b>Семыкин Ю.А. (Ульяновск, Россия)</b> Технология кузнецкого производства у населения Среднего Поволжья золотоордынского периода .....	292
<b>Сергеев А.Ю. (Москва, Россия)</b> Археоботаника на Самосдельском городище: первые результаты исследований .....	299
<b>Тропин Н.А. (Елец, Россия)</b> Чугунные котлы с территории Елецкого княжества XIV–XV вв. ....	304
<b>Ушаков С.В., Байбуртский А.М. (Симферополь, Россия)</b> О финальной истории Византийского Херсона и его взаимоотношениях с Золотой Ордой (на примере археологических комплексов второй половины XIII в. в северо-восточном районе города) .....	309
<b>Хожаниязов Г. (Нукус, Узбекистан)</b> Белое ханако в средневековом Хорезме .....	314
<b>Храпунов Н.И. (Симферополь, Россия)</b> Новые материалы для изучения позднесредневековых памятников Крыма: рисунки и записки английских путешественников конца XVIII – начала XIX в. ....	320
<b>Вагнер-Сапухина Е.А., Пежемский Д.В. (Москва, Россия)</b> Сравнительная характеристика тотальных размеров тела населения средневекового Болгары .....	326
<b>Поздравление</b>	
<b>Бочаров С.Г. (Казань, Россия), Яворская Л.В. (Москва, Россия)</b> К юбилею Ю.Д. Обухова .....	340
<b>Список сокращений</b> .....	342

## CONTENS

### Archaeology of the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde

<b>Babenko A. N., Alechinskaya A. S., Kochanova M. D.</b> ( <i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i> )	
Features of Application of Spore-Pollen Analysis in the Study of Archaeological Objects of Various Types in the Example of the Golden Horde Cities.....	10
<b>Babenko V. A.</b> ( <i>Stavropol, Russian Federation</i> )	
Localization of Bishdag Area in the Central Ciscaucasia According to Written and Archaeological Sources .....	16
<b>Bukhonov A. V., Demkina T. S.</b> ( <i>Pushchino, Russian Federation</i> )	
Soil Structure and State of Microbial Communities in the Middle Ages .....	21
<b>Vasil'ev D. V.</b> ( <i>Astrakhan, Russian Federation</i> )	
Mausoleums at the Lapas Village: the view from space .....	24
<b>Goncharova S. M.</b> ( <i>Rostov, Russian Federation</i> )	
Merchant's Dwelling from Excavations on the Territory of "Hillfort of Azak–Tana with Necropolis" in 2013 .....	34
<b>Dmitriev A. V., Narozhny E. I., Sokov P. V.</b> ( <i>Kursk, Russian Federation</i> )	
Medieval Barrows of the Tract «Molokanova Cracl» (Gelendzhik – Praskoveevka Village) ....	39
<b>Enukov V. V.</b> ( <i>Kursk, Russian Federation</i> )	
Rathsky Archaeological Complex in the Era of the Gold Horde .....	47
<b>Zilivinskaya E. D.</b> ( <i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i> )	
Once Again About the Tower Mausoleums ....	53
<b>Ivanov V. A., Ivanova M. I.</b> ( <i>Ufa, Russian Federation</i> )	
Geography of Markers of the Nomad's Material Culture of the Golden Horde .....	60
<b>Khdirniyazov M.-Sh., Khdirniyazov O.-Sh.</b> ( <i>Nukus, Uzbekistan</i> )	
Mizdakhkan: ceramic center of South Aral Sea region in the Golden Horde period .....	66
<b>Koltsov P. M., Koltsova K .P.</b> ( <i>Elista, Russian Federation</i> ), <b>Vereshchagin V.V.</b> ( <i>Rostov-on-Don, Russian Federation</i> )	
Patrimonial Burial Grounds of Nomads of the Golden Horde in the Territory of Kalmykia.....	73
<b>Kravchenko E. E.</b> ( <i>Donetsk, Ukraine</i> )	
The Settlement at the Village Obryv on the Azov Sea Coast in the Donbass .....	88
<b>Kubankin D. A., Kashnikova A. L., Lokis A. V., Shepelev D. A.</b> ( <i>Saratov, Russian Federation</i> )	
To the Issue of Kashin Pottery Manufacturing Technology and Specifics of its Production at the Selitrenny Settlement .....	92
<b>Kurochkina D. A., Aliabekov S. Ya.</b> ( <i>Yoshkar-Ola, Russian Federation</i> )	
Use of Natural Scientific Methods for the Analysis of Ceramic Material of Selitrenny Ancient Settlement (On the Material of the Last Load of Gorna Workshop No. 9 (Excavation XXXIX / 2005)).....	98
<b>Kutuzova O. D.</b> ( <i>Yoshkar-Ola, Russian Federation</i> ), <b>Vorobeva E. E.</b> ( <i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i> )	
Glass Making Craft of the Lower Volga Capitals of the Golden Horde: preliminary results of excavations in 2017 of the Selitrenny Settlement .....	103
<b>Lyakhov S. V.</b> ( <i>Stavropol, Russian Federation</i> )	
Burial Ground With Spurs from Steppe Kuma Region .....	109
<b>Maklasov V. Yu.</b> ( <i>Stavropol, Russian Federation</i> ), <b>Maklasova L. E.</b> ( <i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i> ), <b>Kravtsova S. L.</b> ( <i>Stavropol, Russian Federation</i> )	
The Golden Horde Helmets from the Funds of the Stavropol State Museum-Reserve named after G.N. Prozritelev and G.K. Prave .....	113
<b>Maklasova L. E.</b> ( <i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i> )	
The Design of the Mongolian Headdress "Gu-Gu" in the Yuan Dynasty .....	120

<b>Minaev A. V. (<i>Azov, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	Grain processing in Azak in XIV Century .....	127
<b>Narozhny E. I., Tishchenko I. B. (<i>Krasnodar, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Groundwater Cemetery of the 13 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> Centuries.		
Settlement «Railway-2» (Crimean district of the Krasnodar Territory) .....	141	
<b>Nedashkovsky L. F., Shigapov M. B. (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Materials from the Shiroky Buerak Settlement .....	149	
<b>Nechiporuk A. A. (<i>Rostov on Don, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Medieval Zhukov Burial Ground in the Western Part of the Trans-Kuban Region .....	154	
<b>Pigarev E. M. (<i>Yoshkar-Ola, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	Ulus, Region, District Sarai .....	160
<b>Kashirskaya N. N. (<i>Pushchino, Russian Federation</i>), Petrosyan A. A. (<i>Voronezh, Russian Federation</i>), Plekhanova L. N. (<i>Pushchino, Russian Federation</i>), Syrovatko A. S. (<i>Kolomna, Russian Federation</i>), Myakshina T. N., Potapova A. V. (<i>Pushchino, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Cremated Medieval Burials and Attempts to Identify Traces of Woolen Substrates .....	166	
<b>Rudenko K .A. (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Material Culture of the Nomads of the Bulgar Ulus of the Golden Horde .....	172	
<b>Senotrusova P. O., Mandryka P. V. (<i>Krasniyarsk, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Military Science of the Population of the Lower Angara During the Mongolian Era .....	176	
<b>Teslenko I. B. (<i>Simferopol, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Ceramic Assemblage from the Settlement of the Golden Horde Time in the Valley of the Artek River (Crimea) .....	180	
<b>Kharinsky A.B. (<i>Irkutsk, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Southern Part of the Cis-Baikal on the eve of the Formation of the Mongol Empire .....	187	
<b>Kharlamov V. P. (<i>Orenburg, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	The Golden Horde Brick Mausoleums of the Western Orenburg Region .....	193
<b>Tsybin M. V. (<i>Voronezh, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
Archaeological Monuments of the Golden Horde Period in the Bityug River Region .....	197	
<b>Shingiray I. (<i>Oxford, United Kingdom</i>)</b>	“The Wise,” “the Learned,” “the Knowledgeable”: A Mamluk (?) Tiraz from the Grave of a Golden Horde Steppe Warrior (Kalmykia, Russia) .201	

## Archaeology of Medieval Urban Centers of Eurasia

<b>Adaksina S. B., Myts V. L. (<i>Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
The Golden Horde Cultural Components in the Culture of a Genoavian City Chembalo (Balaklava) in XIV–XV Centuries. ....	206	
<b>Artem'eva N. G. (<i>Vladivostok, Russian Federation</i>)</b>		
The Specific Features of Fortifications at the Jurchen Walled Towns XIII Century .....	211	
<b>Vasilinenko D. E., Tishchenko I. B. (<i>Krasnodar, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	Ceramic Complex of the Habitation Sites and Ground Burials of the Kuban Region XIII – XV Centuries. Preliminary Analysis Data .....	216
<b>Dostiev T. M. (<i>Baku, Azerbaijan</i>)</b>		
Medieval City Culture of Azerbaijan (Innovations and Traditions) .....	222	
<b>Yotov V.V. (<i>Varna, Bulgaria</i>)</b>		
Viticulture and Winemaking of the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Using the Example of Whritten Sources and Archaeological Monuments of Bulgaria .....	226	
<b>Khdirniyazov O.-Sh. (<i>Nukus, Uzbekistan</i>)</b>		
Pulzhay Monument of the Urban Culture of the South Aral Sea Region .....	238	

<b>Kirliko V. P. (<i>Simferopol, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
New and Forgotten Old about the Alushta Burial Ground .....	244
<b>Klyuev N. A., Gridasova I. V. (<i>Vladivostok, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Town-Planning Practice of Medieval People of Primorye (Using the Example of Koksharovka-1 Walled-Town) .....	250
<b>Lapshin A. S., Lapshina I. Yu. (<i>Volgograd, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
The Funeral Ceremony and the Subjects of Christian Cult of Russian Population at Vodyansky Settlement in XIV Century .....	255
<b>Maslovsky A. N. (<i>Azov, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Azaq and its Outskirts in the First Decades of Existence. Issues of Establishment and Growth of Golden Horde Towns .....	260
<b>Mogarichev Ya. M. (<i>Simferopol, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
The Muslim Monuments of Bakhchisaray and at the Area in the Description of A.S. Uvarov .....	266
<b>Myts V. L. (<i>Saint-Petersburg, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Aluston in the Golden Horde Period .....	271
<b>Piankov A. V. (<i>Krasnodar, Russian Federation</i>), Volkov I. V. (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>), Tikhonov A. A. (<i>Ivanovskaya, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Settlement Suvorovskaya Glade in the Tract Red Forest (Right Bank Of The Kuban River) .....	275
<b>Savelyev N.I. (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Objects With "Fences" in the District Of the Golden Horde Cities Lower Volga Region .....	280
<b>Savenko S. N. (<i>Pyatigorsk, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
On the Problem of Attributes, Peculiarities and Characteristic Features of the City Cemeteries of the Central Ciscaucasia of the X–XIV Centuries .....	287
<b>Semykin Yu. A. (<i>Ulyanovsk, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Technology of Forging Industry in Population of the Middle Volga Region During the Golden Horde Period.....	292
<b>Sergeev A. Yu. (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Archaeobotany on the Samosdelka Settlement: the first results of researches .....	299
<b>Tropin N. A. (<i>Elets, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Cast-Iron Cauldrons from the Territory of Yelets Principality of XIV–XV Centuries .....	304
<b>Ushakov S. V., Bayburtskiy A. M. (<i>Simferopol, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
About the Late History of Chersonessos and its Relations with the Golden Horde (The Case of the Archeological Assemblages of the Latter Half of 13 <sup>th</sup> Century in the North-Eastern District of the City-Site) .....	309
<b>Khzhaniyazov G. (<i>Nukus, Uzbekistan</i>)</b>	
White Khanako in Medieval Khorezm.....	314
<b>Khrapunov N. I. (<i>Simferopol, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
A New Data for the Studies in the Late Mediaeval Monuments of the Crimea: the drawings by english travellers from the late 18 <sup>th</sup> and early 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.....	320
<b>Vagner-Sapukhina E. A., Pezhemsky D. V. (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Comparative Analysis of the Total Body Size of the Medieval Bolgar Population ..	326

### Congratulation

<b>Bocharov S. G. (<i>Kazan, Russian Federation</i>), Yavorskaya L. V. (<i>Moscow, Russian Federation</i>)</b>	
Yuri D. Obukhov's Anniversary .....	340
<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	342

УДК 902/904

## “THE WISE,” “THE LEARNED,” “THE KNOWLEDGEABLE”: A MAMLUK (?) *TIRAZ* FROM THE GRAVE OF A GOLDEN HORDE STEPPE WARRIOR (KALMYKIA, RUSSIA)

© 2018 г. Irina Shingiray

From the early period of its emergence, the Golden Horde forged diplomatic relations and political alliances with the Mamluk Sultanate. These relations were strengthened by the official exchange of opulent gifts containing luxury items during the 13th–14th century. Several primary sources state that the Mamluk gifts included large amounts of silk garments and *tiraz* bands decorated with epigraphic embroideries. This paper poses a question whether these items can be attested to archaeologically. Although numerous elite burials from the Golden Horde steppe and urban centers contain remains of silk garments, their Mamluk attribution is largely problematic. This paper addresses a nomadic elite burial from the steppe of the modern-day Kalmykia near Bolshoi Tsaryn (excavated in 1977), which contained a silk *tiraz* with an embroidered inscription that included a royal title and was executed in a style that likely suggests its Mamluk manufacture. If this interpretation of the silk is correct, it may potentially represent not only a piece of archaeological evidence for the abovementioned diplomatic exchange in luxuries, but also shed light on the context of how these precious silks were used and redistributed among the nomadic elite of the Golden Horde.

**Keywords:** Golden Horde, Mamluk Sultanate, nomadic elite, silk *tiraz*, burial archaeology, diplomatic exchange, Kalmykia.

In 1977, in the remote steppe region of northern Kalmykia, in the interfluve of the Volga and the former Sarpa rivers, an archaeological rescue expedition headed by E. V. Tsutskin excavated a group of burial mounds named Bolshoi Tsaryn I (Tsutskin 1978). In a small kurgan (number 2), there was a single burial of a mature male, who was placed in a niche grave (подбой) together with an assortment of grave goods (Figure 1.) The deceased was laid out in a supine position with arms and legs stretched along the body as if it was constrained by a shroud or bundled up in a textile or some other organic material (traces of which were noted in the description of the grave). His head was oriented toward NNE; the skull was elevated, turned to the right, and wrapped with an epigraphic silk band embroidered with Arabic letters (Figure 2). The grave goods included a birch-bark quiver and a number of tanged arrow heads; a horse tack with bridles, stirrups, and a saddle with bone plaques and nails; a conical cup made of a rolled-up sheet of bronze; a leather purse with (“oxidized” and thus illegible) silver coins near the left hand of the male, as well as another coin found under the right side of his skull (evidence of a so-called Charon’s obol); and a sheep femur placed vertically to the left of the head of the deceased (Tsutskin, 1978:38–42).

As a typical nomadic military-elite burial interred during the Golden Horde period (13th–14th century), this grave has a number of ritual traits that are commonly construed as belonging to Mongol or Inner Asian funerary

practices, such as the grave construction and its orientation, the placement of the sheep femur, the weaponry and other luxury grave goods. Yet, simultaneously, this burial demonstrates the impact of the Islamization process which was unfolding among the nomadic military communities of the steppe population of the Golden Horde (see more in Shingiray 2018). Or, as the author of the excavation put it, it represents “a classic example of dualism in the initial stage of conversion to [Islamic] monotheism” (Tsutskin 1978:42). The most ostensible evidence that supports the traits of Islamization in this case is the deliberate placement of the silk textile with embroidered Arabic letters on the face of the deceased nomadic warrior during the process of the steppe funerary ritual. But where did this remarkable inscribed silk come from before it ended up in this steppe nomadic burial?

The silk epigraphic band from Bolshoi Tsaryn I has no analogies in the published literature familiar to me so far. The author of the excavations did not publish this burial. According to him the textile was sent to Moscow, where the text embroidered on the band was translated as “Lord of the Worlds” (Tsutskin, 1978:42). Currently, the whereabouts of this silk are not known to me. But, as can be judged from the old photograph preserved in the archaeological report, it seems that the proposed translation of this Arabic text was done incorrectly. Instead, this inscription executed in naskhi contains a repeated formula consisting of a single (illegible) letter followed by the Arabic word al-‘alim—

“the wise,” “the learned,” “the knowledgeable”—which was a “royal attribute” often used in conjunction with the name of a sultan or an amir during the 14th century (Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Sheila Blair, personal communication 2016). The illegible letter in this inscription probably signifies a suppressed word (perhaps a royal name or an attribute?) which preceded the title al-‘alim—a practice that is commonly performed in Islamic embroideries in order to achieve symmetry in epigraphic designs which was much desired during this time period (Lamm, 1937:68). The corrected translation, therefore, allows us to treat this silk band as a later development of *tiraz* when it became fashionable to substitute long historical inscriptions (which defined *tiraz* proper as a textile with caliphal names, titles, dedications, etc.) with a short formula or a single word of honorific or generic titles as the manufacture of these silks was gradually transferred from the ruler’s authority to the textile industry and the market (Mackie, 1984:130 and 2015:245; Bierman, 1980:46, 93).

Obviously without closer investigation of this silk it would be difficult to argue with absolute certainty for the country of its manufacture, especially since “multicultural patterns” of luxury goods were widely shared and emulated during the Mongol period (Mackie, 2015:237; Allsen, 1997). Yet, it is possible to make a preliminary proposition on the basis of stylistic analogies that this silk *tiraz* has a probable connection with the domain of Mamluk material and political culture. The repeated usage of a short and symmetrized formula containing the royal attribute al-‘alim “compartmentalized” or framed in a cartouche in this *tiraz* is frequently found on textiles, glass, and metalwork from the Bahri period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1382), and invokes the Mamluk aesthetic of “formality” represented in their arts executed on different media (Behrens-Abouseif, 1995:46 and 2014; Bierman, 1980:159; Mackie, 1984; Lamm, 1930 and 1937). Moreover, as suggested by Sheila Blair, if circles with a floriated-cross motif that alternate with the epigraphic cartouches on this silk can be confirmed as a type of blazon—a common feature of Mamluk art—then its Mamluk attribution can be assured (personal communication 2016). In fact, this pattern also has multiple analogies on Mamluk embroidered textiles, ceramics, and glass (see Lamm, 1937 and 1930) and is included in the list of Mamluk heraldry (Mayer, 1933:8–11, Pl. XII).

If the Mamluk attribution of this silk *tiraz* is correct, what can be surmised about the context of

its appearance among the Golden Horde nomadic military elite? It is well known that from the early period of the emergence of the Golden Horde, diplomatic relations and political alliances were forged between the Mongol khans of the Ulus Jochi and the Muslim rulers of the Mamluk Sultanate who resided in Cairo. For instance, the Golden Horde Khan Berke (r. 1257–67)—a practicing Muslim who widely encouraged Islam among the nomadic military communities of the Ulus Jochi—fostered a political alliance with the Mamluk Sultan al-Zahir Baybars (r. 1260–1277) against their mutual enemy in the face of the Ilkhanids of Iran, who by that time had not yet converted to Islam. As a result of this alliance, the khan of the Golden Horde with his allegedly newly-converted Muslim army was able to carry out jihad against his Ilkhanid rivals; and the Mamluk ruler Baybars, who reestablished the caliphate and patronized major Islamic shrines in the Arabia and Near East, received a steady supply of military slaves from the territory of the Golden Horde via the Black Sea ports (Vasary 2016; Favereau 2017).

This political dialogue was reinforced by a lavish exchange of diplomatic gifts initiated by Baybars, who famously sent an “opulent gift package” with precious objects, textiles, and animals to Berke in 1263 in order to celebrate the Islamization of the Golden Horde, as reported by Nuwayri and other Mamluk writers (see Behrens-Abouseif, 2014:24, 62–4). The Mamluk gifts regularly included large quantities of Alexandrian textiles, *tiraz*, and other garments. In 1282, Sultan Qalawun (1279–90) sent an embassy to Mongolia via the Golden Horde with 16 loads of luxury textiles, and in 1287, he sent a gift to the Golden Horde which among other objects included the following: “...200 embroidered white gowns from Dar al-Tiraz, half of which were embroidered with gold epigraphic bands ‘in the name of the sultan’, and the other half embroidered with silk epigraphic bands containing honorific titles; 150 gowns belonged to another type of Alexandrian textile embroidered with epigraphic bands of gold and silk; 150 gowns of Damietta textile were adorned with epigraphic bands of gold and silk with the ‘usual titles’ (bi-alqab al-‘ada) and 100 other gowns had silk and gold unspecified epigraphic bands” (Ibn al-Furat in Behrens-Abouseif, 2014:64).

Mamluk historians, such as Ibn al-Dawadari and Nuwayri, report that in his diplomatic gifts to the Golden Horde, Qalawun’s son and later Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (r.1293–1341 with

two interruptions) followed a similar protocol and sent textiles of the Dar al-Tiraz, as well as gold brocaded gowns and headgear. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (64–5, 155–8) remarks that this “Qalawunid passion for honorific inscriptions” with which the gowns of these diplomatic gifts were decorated clearly signifies the desire of the Mamluks to advertise their presence and their luxury textile culture at the court of the Golden Horde. In other words, the Mamluks, as the de facto patrons of the caliphate, sought to promote Islam in the Golden Horde through the material culture of luxury items, which were inscribed with Mamluk royal titles, attributes, and honorific formulas. These were most likely introduced en masse to the Golden Horde rulers probably with the intention that they would redistribute them among the newly converted elites of their polity.

Currently, it is difficult to determine whether such a redistribution of Mamluk luxury textiles occurred or not, due to the lack of sources that shed light on this matter. Burial archaeology is the most promising source for finding any traces

of evidence regarding this redistribution and/or use of Mamluk luxury textiles among the Golden Horde elites. As was noted above, a provenance attribution of a concrete textile of this time period is notoriously problematic. However, the rare epigraphic embroidery of probable Mamluk manufacture that was placed in the nomadic elite burial from Bolshoi Tsaryn I presented in this paper allows us to pose the hypothesis that at least some of those fabulous textiles that arrived to the Golden Horde as Mamluk diplomatic gifts trickled down to the nomadic elites of Ulus Jochi and finally made their way into the archaeological record.

#### Acknowledgements:

The author would like to express her gratitude to the ERC “Nomadic Empires” Project at the University of Oxford; to the late Evgenii Tsutskin for having shared his archaeological materials and his expertise with her in Kalmykia; and also to Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Sheila Blair for their assistance regarding the interpretation of the silk *tiraz* inscription.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allsen, T. T.* 1997. Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D.* 1995. Mamluk and Post-Mamluk Metal Lamps. Supplément aux Annales islamologiques, Cahier n°15. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Behrens-Abouseif, D.* 2014. Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World. London: I.B.Tauris.
- Bierman, I. A.* 1980. Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Tiraz Fabrics. Ph.D. dissertation. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Favereau, M.* The Golden Horde and the Mamluks // Золотоордынское обозрение. 2017. № 5(1). С. 93–115.
- Lamm, C. J.*, 1930. Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten, Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst. Berlin: D. Reimer.
- Lamm, C. J.* 1937. “Some Mamluk Embroideries,” Ars Islamica 4, pp. 64–77.
- Mackie, L. W.* 1984. “Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations,” Muqarnas 2, pp. 127–146.
- Mackie, L. W.* 2015. Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> century. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Mayer, L.A.* 1933. Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shingiray, I.* 2018. “‘Nomadic Islam’ in the Golden Horde Steppe: a Case-Study of a Burial from Bolshoi Tsaryn, Kalmykia.” In Кавказ в системе культурных связей Евразии в древности и средневековье. XXX «Крупновские чтения» по археологии Северного Кавказа / Отв. ред. У. Ю. Kochkarov, Карабаевск / In U. U. Kochkarov (ed.) The Caucasus in the System of Cultural Relations of Eurasia in the Ancient Time and the Middle Ages. XXX “Krupnovsky Readings.” Karachaevsk: KChGU, pp. 516–518 (in the digital publication).
- Tsutskin, E. V. (Цуцкин Е. В.).* 1978. Отчёт о работе Сарпинской археологической экспедиции Калмыцкого НИИАЛИ и КГУ в 1977 г. Элиста: Архив КИГИРАН №№ 8–10 / Report on the Work of the Sarpinskaia Archaeological Expedition of the Kalmyk NIIaLI and KGU in 1977. Elista: Archive KIGIRAN NN 8–10 (in Russian).
- Vasary, I.* 2016. “Golden Horde,” In K. Fleet, G. Krämer, D. Matringe, J. Nawas and E. Rowson, Encyclopaedia of Islam, Third Edition, [http://dx.doi.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.1163/1573-3912\\_ei1163\\_COM\\_27498](http://dx.doi.org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.1163/1573-3912_ei1163_COM_27498), Brill Online.

**About the Author:**

Irina Shingiray, Ph.D., Research Fellow, History Faculty, University of Oxford. Address: Faculty of History, George Street, Oxford, OX1 2RL, UK; irina.shingiray@history.ox.ac.uk

## МУДРОСТЬ, ЗНАНИЕ, ПРОСВЕЩЕНИЕ: МАМЛЮКСКИЙ ТИРАЗ ИЗ ПОГРЕБЕНИЯ ЗОЛОТООРДЫНСКОГО СТЕПНОГО ВОИНА (КАЛМЫКИЯ, РОССИЯ)

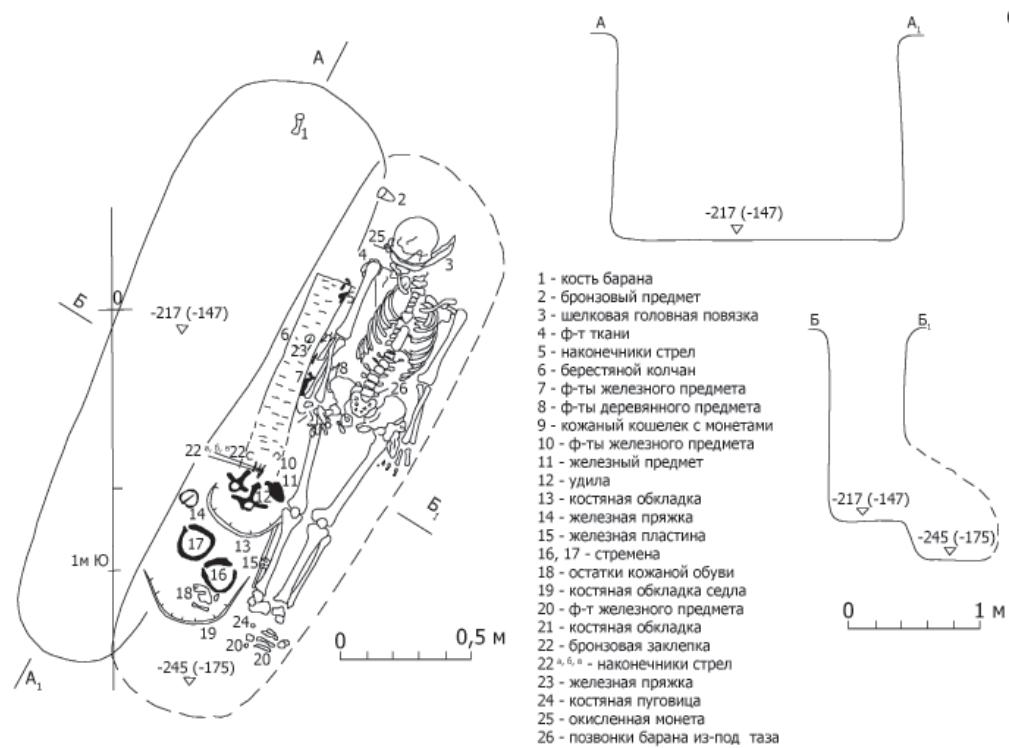
И. Шингирей

Начиная с раннего периода существования Золотой Орды, ее правители занимались налаживанием дипломатических отношений и формированием политических союзов с Мамлюкским Султанатом. Укреплению отношений между государствами в XIII–XIV веках способствовал осуществляемый на официальном уровне обмен ценностями подарками и предметами роскоши. Согласно ряду первоисточников, мамлюкские подарки включали в себя большое количество шелковой одежды и тиразских лент, украшенных эпиграфической вышивкой. Авторы статьи рассматривают возможность археологического подтверждения существования указанных предметов. Несмотря на то, что многочисленные степные и городские погребения золотоордынской элиты содержат остатки шелковой одежды, доказательство их принадлежности к мамлюкской культуре является достаточно проблематичным. В статье рассматривается погребение кочевника высокого статуса, найденное в степи на территории современной Калмыкии недалеко от Большого Царына в ходе раскопок 1977 года, внутри которого был обнаружен шелковый тираз с вышитой надписью, содержащей королевский титул и выполненной в стиле, позволяющем говорить о его возможном мамлюкском происхождении. Если данная интерпретация находки является верной, она не только представляет собой археологическое подтверждение дипломатического обмена предметами роскоши, но также проливает свет на особенности использования и распространения дорогих шелков среди кочевой элиты Золотой Орды.

**Ключевые слова:** Золотая Орда, Мамлюкский Султанат, кочевая элита, шелковый тираз, археология погребений, дипломатический обмен, Калмыкия

**Информация об авторе:**

Ирина Шингирей, доктор наук, научный сотрудник исторического факультета Оксфордского университета, Великобритания; Irina.shingiray@history.ox.ac.uk



**Fig. 1.** Plan of the niche burial 1 in kurgan 2 from Bolshoi Tsaryn I (after Tsutskin, 1978).

**Рис. 1.** План подобойного погребения 1 из кургана 2 могильника Большой Цврын I (по Цуцкинб 1978).



**Fig. 2.** Photograph of the human skull wrapped in a silk *tiraz* band from Bolshoi Tsaryn I kurgan 2 burial 1 (Tsutskin, 1978).

**Рис. 2.** Фотография черепа погребенного, покрытого шёлковой лентой (*tiraz*), из погребения 1 кургана 2 могильника Большой Царын I (Цуцкин, 1978).