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**FEATURES OF THE ARCHITECTURAL AND PLANNING STRUCTURE OF THE  
GOLDEN RYNDA CITIES OF THE LOWER VOLGA REGION**

ТӨМӨНКУ ВОЛГА БОЮНДАГЫ АЛТЫН ОРДО ШААРЛАРЫНЫН АРХИТЕКТУРАЛЫК-  
ПЛАНДОО СТРУКТУРАСЫНЫН ӨЗГӨЧӨЛҮКТӨРҮ

ОСОБЕННОСТИ АРХИТЕКТУРНО-ПЛАНИРОВОЧНОЙ СТРУКТУРЫ  
ЗОЛОТОРЫНДСКИХ ГОРОДОВ НИЖНЕГО ПОВОЛЖЬЯ

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## FEATURES OF THE ARCHITECTURAL AND PLANNING STRUCTURE OF THE GOLDEN RYNDA CITIES OF THE LOWER VOLGA REGION

### Abstract

The Lower Volga region was the center of all trade routes, both economically and politically, until the collapse of the Golden Horde state. Starting from the 40-50s of the 13th century, in the Lower Volga region began the town-planning activities of the Golden Horde khans. Since the cities of the Golden Horde arose not as a result of the long-term development of the settlement network, but with the support of the rule of the Golden Horde khans, the historical features of the cities include the absence of a traceable transition process from settlements to cities. In addition, some “typical” criteria for determining the urban character of a monument, for example the presence of fortifications, do not apply to the cities of the Golden Horde. In many cities of the Golden Horde, even very large ones, fortifications were not found until the civil strife of the 60-70s of the 14th century. The spread of Islam in the Golden Horde Volga region from the beginning of the 14th century influenced the development of Golden Horde architecture and decoration. The ornamental style of the architectural and planning structure of the Golden Horde cities of the lower Volga region was primarily under the strong influence of the masters of Central Asia, Transcaucasia and Iran.

**Keywords:** Golden Horde cities of the Lower Volga region, urban culture, architectural and planning structure, fortification, manor.

### ТӨМӨНКҮ ВОЛГА БОЮНДАГЫ АЛТЫН ОРДО ШААРЛАРЫНЫН АРХИТЕКТУРАЛЫК- ПЛАНДОО СТРУКТУРАСЫНЫН ӨЗГӨЧӨЛҮКТӨРҮ

#### Аннотация

Төмөнкү Волга аймагы Алтын Ордо мамлекети кыйраганга чейин экономикалык да, саясий жактан да негизги соода жолдорунун борбору болгон. XIII кылымдын 40-50-жылдарынан баштап Төмөнкү Волга боюнда Алтын Ордо хандарынын шаар куруу иштери башталган. Алтын Ордонун шаарларында отурукташкан жашоонун узак мөөнөттүү өнүгүүсүнүн натыйжасында эмес, Алтын Ордо хандарынын бийлигинин колдоосу менен пайда болгондуктан, шаарлардын тарыхый өзгөчөлүктөрүндө калктуу пункттардан шаарларга өтүү мезгилинин жоктугу кирет. Мындан тышкары, эстеликтин шаардык мүнөзүн аныктоонун кээ бир «типтүү» критерийлери, мисалы, чептердин болушу Алтын Ордо шаарларына тиешелүү эмес. XIV кылымдын 60-70-жылдарындагы жарандык кагылышууларга чейин Алтын Ордонун көптөгөн шаарларында, атугүл өтө чоң шаарларында чептер табылган эмес. XIV кылымдын башынан алтын ордолук Төмөнкү Волгада исламдын таралышы Алтын Ордонун архитектурасынын жана жасалгасынын өнүгүшүнө таасирин тийгизген. Төмөнкү Волга боюндагы Алтын Ордо шаарларынын архитектуралык-пландоо структурасынын орнаменттик стили биринчи кезекте Орто Азиянын, Закавказьенин жана Ирандын чеберлеринин күчтүү таасири астында болгон.

**Ачык сөздөр:** Төмөнкү Волга боюндагы Алтын Ордо шаарлары, шаар маданияты, архитектуралык-пландоо структурасы, фортификация, короо-жай.

### ОСОБЕННОСТИ АРХИТЕКТУРНО- ПЛАНИРОВОЧНОЙ СТРУКТУРЫ ЗОЛОТОРЫНДСКИХ ГОРОДОВ НИЖНЕГО ПОВОЛЖЬЯ

#### Аннотация

Нижнее Поволжье было средоточием всех торговых путей, как в экономическом, так и в политическом отношении, вплоть до распада Золотоордынского государства. Начиная с 40-50-х годов XIII века в Нижнем Поволжье началась градостроительная деятельность золотоордынских ханов. Поскольку города Золотой Орды возникли не в результате длительного развития поселенческой сети, а при поддержке правления золотоордынских ханов, к историческим особенностям городов относится отсутствие прослеживаемого переходного процесса из поселений в города. Кроме того, к городам Золотой Орды не относятся некоторые «типичные» критерии определения городского характера памятника, например наличие укреплений. Во многих городах Золотой Орды, даже очень крупных, укрепления не встречались вплоть до междоусобиц 60-70-х годов XIV века. Распространение ислама в золотоордынском Поволжье с начала XIV в. повлияло на развитие золотоордынской архитектуры и декора. Орнаментальный стиль архитектурно-планировочной структуры золоторындских городов нижнего поволжья в первую очередь происходило под сильным влиянием мастеров Средней Азии, Закавказья и Ирана.

**Ключевые слова:** Золотоордынские города Нижнего Поволжья, городская культура, архитектурно-планировочная структура, фортификация, усадьба.

## **Introduction**

The Golden Horde is a complex ethnopolitical state formation. Originating in the middle of the 13th century, it covered vast territories of southern Eastern Europe and the western part of Central Asia. Within the territorial borders of the Golden Horde, areas were integrated that were at different stages and levels of economic, social and cultural organization (Volga Bulgaria, Khorezm, Crimea - settled agricultural centers with developed urban traditions, the Prut-Dniester interfluvium - settled agricultural areas without developed urban traditions, the southern Russian and Trans-Volga steppes are nomadic habitats).

The formation of the state and the need for effective management of a vast territory required the further development of old pre-Mongol cities and the formation of new urban centers that would synthesize certain functions - administrative management, ensuring economic activity (craft production and trade), regulation of socio-cultural processes. The Lower Volga region occupied a special place in the structure of the Golden Horde state. The territory of the region was the personal domain of the Jochids. Land and water trade routes connecting the West with Central Asia, India, and China intersected here. The diversity of natural and climatic conditions of the Lower Volga region made it possible to combine farming in the floodplains with cattle breeding in the steppes of Desht-i-Kipchak.

In the first half of the 14th century, a distinctive urban culture was formed in the Lower Volga region. The peculiarity of this process was that urban civilization developed in a predominantly nomadic environment. In pre-Mongol times, urban traditions were poorly developed here. According to written sources, only two urban centers are known that functioned in the pre-Mongol period - Itil and Saksin. At the same time, the presence of traditions of sedentism in the Lower Volga region of the pre-Mongol period cannot be completely ruled out. The natural process of city formation was based on the gradual sedenterization of nomads, the separation of agriculture into a special branch, the specialization of crafts, and the concentration of the administrative apparatus. This led to the development of commodity-money relations and the formation of local and international sales markets. In the Golden Horde, this process was intensified and artificially fueled as a result of the influx of material and human resources supplied from conquered regions with developed urban traditions - Rus', Volga Bulgaria, Central Asia, Transcaucasia. In the Lower Volga, a kind of "cauldron" is formed, in which individual innovative elements of various socio-cultural systems are synthesized, gradually transforming into a vibrant urban culture.

The development of socio-spatial structures of society (including the dynamics of city development as one of the manifestations of urbanization processes) is one of the most multifaceted, controversial problems studied in a wide range of humanities disciplines (sociology, cultural studies, geography, history, archeology). The huge role of the city in the formation of social, economic and cultural institutions of society is widely recognized. Accordingly, there is no doubt that the study of spatio-temporal characteristics, functional, structural-morphological, quantitative aspects, conditions and reasons for the emergence and development of settlement structures is very promising for understanding the patterns of socio-economic and cultural processes.

Obviously, understanding the essence of settlement structures requires clarification of their local forms and overall characteristics. The urban planning paradigm of a particular historical society quite definitely reflects its organization and development.

The actualization of the topic of urban planning culture of the Golden Horde Volga region is due to a number of factors. Firstly, the unique historical, cultural and natural conditions of the region, which specified the formation of the urban culture of the Lower Volga region. Secondly, an ever-expanding source base in the field of archaeological knowledge. Narrative sources, due to the meager information they contain on the history of the Golden Horde city, do not allow us to sufficiently solve the problems of the formation of urban culture. At the same time, the volume of archaeological material accumulated to date on various kinds of socio-spatial structures and their specific forms - house construction, monumental architecture, economic and craft complexes - makes it possible to analyze the problem. Thirdly, the need to determine, in general, the urban planning specifics of the region. A number of researchers have stated a certain influence exerted by the urban culture of the Golden Horde Volga region on the formation of other centers of urban culture of the Golden Horde. (Kramarovsky, 1997; Byrnya and Ryaboy, 1997). Although quite definite and successful developments have been made in the study of the architectural and planning structure of the Lower Volga Golden Horde cities and its individual components (Egorov, 1970; Zilivinskaya, 1993; Fedorov-Davydov, 1994), in general, these issues remain poorly studied or require significant adjustments.

## **Materials and Methods**

The study of the architecture of the cities of the Golden Horde is fraught with certain difficulties: a small number of surviving buildings, the predominance of planning data over volumetric compositional solutions, the huge territory of distribution of monuments of the Golden Horde and related regional features. To restore the main types of Golden Horde architecture, materials from archaeological excavations and research data from other authors who studied the development of cities and the culture of various regions of the Golden Horde were used. When studying settlements that are the remains of large cities of the Golden Horde, researchers always noted the presence of mosques, hammams, and mausoleums. Often they formed a city-wide square. Such areas have been identified in all major cities.

The methodological basis of the work is a system-structural approach, within the framework of which the analysis of empirical data is implemented. This principle opens up the opportunity to consider the socio-spatial organization of the Golden Horde society as a complex structured, interconnected and hierarchized system, represented by a set of elements, which in turn act as systems of a lower order, etc. The analysis of empirical data is based on traditional methods used in archeology and history: comparative-typological, comparative-historical and historical-systemic methods, the method of analogies, mapping of material.

## **Discussion**

V.L. Egorov proposed to distinguish six stages of the urban planning policy of the Golden Horde khans: 1 - restoration and use of old cities - 40s of the 13th century; 2 - the beginning of urban development during Batu's reign - the first half of the 50s of the 13th century; 3 - the rise of urban planning under Berke - mid-50s - mid-60s of the 13th century; 4 - slow growth of cities - 70s of the 13th century - the beginning of the second decade of the 14th century; 5 - the heyday of urban planning under Uzbek and Janibek - until the 60s of the 14th century; 6 - attenuation and decline of

urban planning - until 1395. However, it does not take into account the dynamics of urban development in various regions of the Golden Horde.

Noting the poor knowledge of the structure of the Golden Horde city, E.D. Zilivinskaya considers analysis of the architectural and construction features of monumental buildings to be one of the ways to solve this problem. Considering the 4 components of the urban architectural ensemble - manor houses, mosques, madrassas, public bathhouses, she points out that the appearance of the Golden Horde city was formed under the influence of Central Asian (manor houses) and Asia Minor (mosques, madrassas, bathhouses) traditions. At the same time, the formation of elements of the urban structure was accompanied 24 by the development of specific technological and compositional features (Zilivinskaya, 1993).

Determining the features of the Lower Volga urban culture, G.A. Fedorov-Davydov points out that the cities here arose in places where, before the Golden Horde period, the traditions of settled life were extremely poorly developed. G.A. Fedorov-Davydov sees several reasons for the construction of new cities in the Lower Volga: favorable natural and climatic conditions, which made it possible to combine farming with cattle breeding, and a convenient geographical location, at the intersection of trade routes; besides, the Lower Volga region was the personal domain of the Jochids. The independent position of these lands from the Karakorum administration made the Golden Horde khans the sole masters of the Lower Volga cities (Fedorov-Davydov, 1973, p.77-78).

The planning structure of the urban space was determined, on the one hand, by the landscape conditions of the area, on the other hand, it reflected the social stratification of society, the ethnic and religious composition of the population, the dominant ideology, the industrial sphere of activity, and, together with other characteristics, serves as a marking indicator of the type of settlement. The appearance of the Golden Horde settlements was determined by the location and connections of its structural elements.

The question of the general planning principles of the Golden Horde cities was addressed by G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, who noted that its spatial organization was based on the manor principle, dating back to the Mongolian cities of Central Asia of the 13th century (Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 14-15, 76). However, it seems that the architectural and planning features of the Golden Horde city were not so clear-cut.

In the structure of the Golden Horde state, cities occupied the place of administrative, trade, craft, and cultural and ideological centers. At the same time, they represented a phenomenon of complex social differentiation. This fact predetermined the complex planigraphic structure of the city.

One of the most important characteristics of the city, its functional feature, are the walls and the fortification system. However, the Golden Horde city is a city without walls. At the Vodyanskoye, Tsarevskoye, Selitrennoye settlements, the lines of a rampart and a ditch can be traced; the low adobe wall surrounding Hadji-Tarkhan is known. However, as fortifications, they represented very weak defensive lines, and apparently were built after the 60s of the 14th century, when the basic principles and elements of urban planning had already been formed.

According to the testimony of A. Contarini (30s of the 15th century), Hadji-Tarkhan, localized on Sharen'y Bugor, was limited by a low wall (Barabaro and Contarini..., 1971, p. 220). Yezdi (first half of the 15th century), describing the events of Timur's campaign against the Golden Horde, noted that the city lying on the river bank was surrounded by fortifications that were "built (starting) from

the bank of this river close to the water so that (circling the city) again they reach the river" (Tizengauzen, 1941, p. 184). It is interesting that in winter, ice walls were erected on the side of the river, representing an original solution to the defense of the city (Tizengauzen, 1941, p. 184). Judging by these reports, the fortifications of Hadji-Tarkhan already existed at the end of the 14th century.

V.N. Tatishchev recorded at the Selitrennoye settlement the remains of a rampart and a ditch stretching for "five miles" (Egorov, Yukht, 1986, p.238). The currently recorded depth of the ditch is 2.5 m (Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, p. 43). Since the Selitrennoye settlement is identified with the capital of the Golden Horde, it should be noted that this fortification line was built after the 40s of the 14th century - Elomari's message dates back to this time that there were no walls around Sarai (Tizengauzen, 1884, p.241).

Opinion of G.A. Fedorov-Davydov that the rampart and ditch were a fortification line dividing the areas of residence of supporters of two warring factions of the khans Ak Orda and Kok Orda quite conventionally. Beyond the line of the moat is not only an area with pronounced manor development, in which, according to G.A. Fedorov-Davydov could have been inhabited by representatives of the defeated group, but also, judging by the topography, the north-western region with ordinary buildings. It is difficult to imagine that among the ordinary population there was a division into supporters of the Ak Orda and Kok Orda khans. It is more likely to assume that with the victory of one group or another, representatives of the other were destroyed or evicted, and their manor were populated by supporters of the victorious khan or by the ordinary population, as can be seen in the example of the manors of the Selitrennoe settlement.

Each of the cities had its own individuality, whose specificity was determined by landscape environmental conditions, position in the political structure of the state (metropolitan or provincial), and level of socio-economic development. A review of the architectural and topographical organization of the Golden Horde cities and settlements shows that there was no single urban planning model.

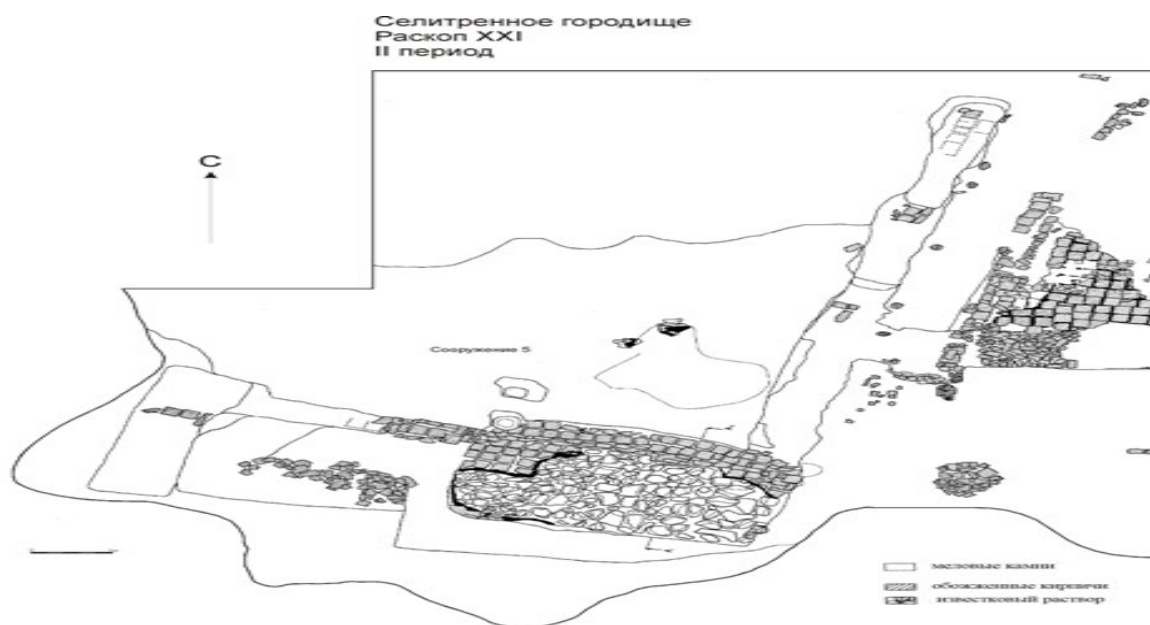
Currently, in order to evaluate the internal planigraphy of the Golden Horde city, we have materials from three sufficiently explored settlements - Vodyanskoye, Tsarevskoye, Selitrennoye, and less so - Sharennoye Bugor. These data indicate that the structure of the urban landscape was organized by regular development, based on a grid of streets in the central nuclear part and irregularly dispersed on the outskirts.

One of the modules of block development and irregular development of suburbs, along with residential buildings - above-ground one-room dwellings and dwellings recessed into the ground, were manor complexes. It is necessary to note the social heterogeneity of manors. There were both ordinary small and large rich manors complexes of the privileged population. The Golden Horde manors of the Lower Volga cities correlate with the manors of some Mongolian cities of the 13th century (Fedorov-Davydov, Vainer, Mukhamadiev, 1970, p. 70). The argumentation of this thesis comes down to similarities in layout, orientation and some features of house-building techniques. To date, we do not know any additional materials on the manor complexes of Mongolian cities of the 13th-14th centuries, and the available information on Mongolian urban planning of this period does not provide grounds for such a comparison. The sub-square plan and latitudinal-meridional orientation of manor complexes are also characteristic of other ethnocultural regions, for example, Central Asia (Nerazik, 1976; Lavrov, 1950).

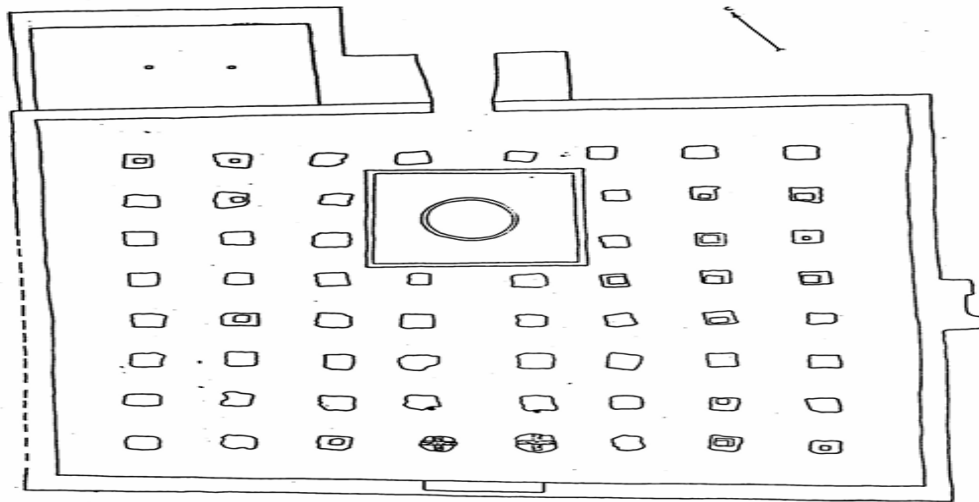
The construction and technical features of the central houses in the manors of Mongolian cities, such as: adobe platforms, multi-column rooms, canals built into the floors (Kiselev, 1965, p.28-31; Kiselev, 1957, p.97) are very different from the Golden Horde, which in their layout and construction techniques are closer to Central Asian buildings. At the same time, Golden Horde manor complexes in general are different from Central Asian manors, where the main house is usually shifted from the center to the periphery or built into one of the walls of the fence (Lavrov, 1950, pp.82-84, 88-89).

The architectural center of the city ensemble was the square, on which and around which large religious and civil buildings were concentrated and united into a single system: mosques and mausoleums, caravanserais and public bathhouses, palace buildings. This module was a functional core that accumulated political, administrative, religious, sacral, and trade aspects of the city.

There was a type of square attached to a building or group of monumental buildings formed by a simple extension of the street. This was the area excavated at the Selitrennoe settlement. The short sides are a continuation of the streets, one long side contains a mosque, the other a public bathhouse. The facades of the buildings faced the square; the walls are directed strictly parallel. Not far from the mosque there was an L-shaped building, which can be interpreted as a caravanserai, a madrasah. 65 m northwest of the public bathhouse there was a large manor complex with a palace bathhouse. The paired composition of monumental buildings on the square is very common in the cities of Central Asia, starting from the 12th century (Lavrov, 1950, p. 93; Pugachenkova, 1958, p.201).



**Picture 1.** Excavations of the minaret at the Selitrennoe settlement



**Picture 2.** *Plan of the mosque of the Selitrennoe settlement*

The central square, located in a circle of monumental buildings, concentrated the public life of the city. Being a market square, with its caravanserais and bazaars, it performed certain trading functions. As a place of communication between merchants and foreigners, where they exchanged not only goods, but also information and news, the square performed communicative functions. A similar functional load also lay on public bathhouses, usually connected to water systems. Rich, privileged bathhouses could be located at a considerable distance from natural water sources. It was supplied to the bathhouses through ceramic pipes or ditches into storage pools (the public bathhouse of the Selitrennoe settlement).

With the adoption and spread of Islam in the Golden Horde, Muslim religious buildings became a religious and ideological expression. It is known that in the capital of the Golden Horde, Sarai, in 1333 there were 13 mosques for cathedral services and “extremely many (other) mosques” (Tizengauzen, 1884, p. 306). Two mosques have been archaeologically explored - on the Vodyanskoye and Selitrennoye settlements. An urban development site in the northwestern sector of the city was chosen for the construction of a mosque on the Vodyanskoye settlement. In the mid-50s of the 14th century, a section of the residential block that had existed here since the 30s was razed and leveled, and a mosque was built on this site (Egorov, Fedorov-Davydov, 1976). The fact that there was no free space in the urban space for the construction of the mosque indicates a rather dense development of the Vodyanskoye settlement, which can be explained by the specific landscape conditions. Mosques and minaret, from which believers were called to congregational prayer, being a Muslim symbol, reflected the religious dominant in society. The construction of religious buildings bore a certain imprint of the imperial ambitions of the Golden Horde khans. Islam, which the rulers of the Golden Horde conveniently used for political purposes, in the fight against external enemies, in suppressing the manifestation of any separatism, was supposed to express the strength of the central government. This is manifested not only in the monumentality of the buildings, but also in their names. The construction of mosques, as a rule, was inspired either in honor of the khans or at their command. Dedicatory inscriptions for a mosque in Crimea, Madzhar, perpetuating the names of the Golden Horde rulers are examples of this.

Another type of religious buildings, mausoleums and mazars, built over the graves of spiritual figures of Islam and secular aristocracy, were also an integral element of the urban landscape. The cult of graves and saints, popular in the Islamic environment, determined the construction of a number



of mausoleums within the city, near mosques (Vodyanskoye fortification): two mausoleums of the Vodyanskoye fortification were located next to each other on the territory of the necropolis, located somewhat south of the mosque. Judging by numismatic and stratigraphic data, burials around the mosque appeared during the period of its functioning. The mosque was built in the mid-50s of the 14th century, but did not last long. In the 1360s, it was destroyed. The mausoleums also date back to the 50-60s of the 14th century. City blocks were also demolished for their construction. That is, there is a certain synchronicity in the functioning of the residential area north of the mosque (1330s - early 1360s), the mosque itself and the mausoleums south of it (1350s - 1360s).

## **Results**

The planning structure of the Golden Horde city was quite complex. G.A Fedorov-Davydov noted that their layout goes back to the manor principle of the Mongolian cities of Central Asia of the 13th century, where they were made up of separate castle-manors, adjacent to each other and gravitating towards a large castle. The same principle is transferred to the Golden Horde cities (Fedorov-Davydov, 1994, pp. 14-15, 63, 76). The main Central Asian parallels that researchers operate with are the following: the dispersed nature of the topography of the 13th century Mongolian city - the Khirkehirin settlement (Kiselev, 1965, p. 34); testimony of Rashid ad-Din about the construction of Karakorum as a complex of aristocratic buildings around the Khan's palace (Rashid al-Din, 1960, p. 40); materials from excavations of the palace quarter in Khara-Khorin (Kiselev, 1957, p. 97). However, we do not know the features of the development of ordinary blocks of Mongolian cities, street organization, manor structure, key compositional planning modules of Mongolian cities of Central Asia of the 13th century. And the Mongolian cities themselves do not provide any kind of uniform urban landscape. If the Khirkehirin settlement is a dispersed complex of manors around a large castle, then Khara-khorin, in its central part, was densely built up with city blocks that criss-crossed two main streets, and in the southwestern sector of the settlement there was an extensive palace complex with a large building in the center (Kiselev, 1957, p. 97-99).

Obviously, in the development of the cities of the Golden Horde, certain traditions of the organization of the Mongol cities of Central Asia of the 13th century are manifested. The urban structure of settlements founded by Central Asian nomads has certain parallels in the structure of the medieval nomadic camp headquarters. The way of life of the nomads developed a stable idea of centripetalism. The nomads' idea of the world was based on a fairly universal principle of a concentric hierarchy with a central axis and diverging circles of varying degrees of sacredness, beyond which lay an alien, undeveloped world – chaos (Zhukovskaya, 1988, pp. 13-31). These principles were projected onto the layout of the camp of the nomadic horde - the khan's headquarters. In the center there was a yurt of the leader, leader, which was surrounded by yurts of personal guards and relatives. Further along were the yurts of the remaining tribesmen, cattle, and carts.

On the one hand, we have reason to talk about some continuity of this principle in the organization of the Golden Horde city from the Mongol cities of the period of the empire of Genghis Khan. By order of Ogedei, Karakorum was rebuilt in 1235 by Chinese craftsmen: “he... ordered the construction... of a palace with a very high base and columns...”, then followed by a decree that “each of (his) brothers, sons and the other princes who were with him, he built a beautiful house in the vicinity of the palace.” (Rashid al-Din, 1960, p. 40). On Khara-khorina (Karakorum) this palace complex was discovered by C.B. Kiselev archaeologically (Kiselev, 1957, p. 97). A similar type of

organization can be traced at the Khirkhirin settlement (Kiselev, 1965). These testimonies echo another message that characterizes another capital - the capital of the Golden Horde - Sarai: "the place of residence of the king is a large palace... The palace is surrounded by walls, towers and houses in which its emirs live. In this palace are their winter quarters..." (Tizengauzen, 1884, p. 241).



**Picture 3.** *Saray-Batu is the capital of the Golden Horde today. Astrakhan region*

On the other hand, a number of elements indicate the continuity of the general principles of space development characteristic of nomads in general: the organization of groups of dwellings sunk into the ground, identified on Sharenniy Bugor; structuring of manor complexes, where the main palace buildings are located in the center, and along the perimeter are the dwellings of relatives, servants, and manor workers; integration of yurt-shaped buildings into the urban landscape.

The origin of a number of elements and principles of organizing urban space should be associated with innovations from Central Asia: a dispersed type of development in the northwestern suburb of the Tsarevskoye settlement; ditch system and reservoirs; designs of wells lined with bricks; plumbing system; paired arrangement of monumental buildings and organization of the area between them; tower-like projections at the corners of monumental buildings, organizing the vertical composition of the city landscape. At the same time, the layout of the Golden Horde city is very different from Central Asian urban development. Central Asian neighborhoods are a closed type of urban development. The organization of urban space in Central Asia usually (since in this case the scheme is not universal) assumes a clearly defined structure: a citadel, a fortified shakhristan - the city itself, and suburban areas - rabads, also often fortified (Bolshakov, 1970; Voronina, 1959, p.87-93; Pugachenkova, 1958, p.188-202; Lavrov, 1950, p.68-78 ). The absence of a citadel, a pronounced division into Shakhristan and Rabad brings together the Golden Horde cities and settlements with urban-type settlements in the valley of the Ili River in Semirechye in the 8th-12th centuries (Bernshtam, 1941; Lavrov, 1950, p. 70). Here these settlements appeared as a result of the settlement of nomads and the concentration of crafts. Obviously, some similarity in the layout of the two groups of settlements should be associated with the general patterns of the historical development of nomadic societies - in particular, with the sedenterization of nomads.

## Conclusions

It must be admitted that the architectural and planning composition of the Golden Horde city was a rather unique phenomenon. The structural organization of urban space was formed under the influence of the nomadic traditions of the newcomer Central Asian and local pre-Mongol population, as well as sedentary cultures of the Central Asian region, with the dominant role of Islamic architectural forms, the spread of which came from Central Asia, Volga Bulgaria, Transcaucasia, and the integration of various ethno-confessional groups into the urban environment (Russians, Armenians, immigrants from Asia Minor and Central Asia).

The formation of the architectural and planning structure of the Golden Horde city was due to the adoption of Islam by the Golden Horde khans and the integration into the urban space of such buildings typical of the Muslim world as mosques, mausoleums, and baths. At the same time, the Golden Horde city cannot be considered Muslim in the full sense of the word, since its space included various ethnic and religious groups living in their own neighborhoods.

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