

STUDIA MEDIAEVALIA EUROPAEA ET ORIENTALIA  
*MISCELLANEA IN HONOREM PROFESSORIS EMERITI  
VICTOR SPINEI OBLATA*



THE INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
THE ROMANIAN ACADEMY – IAȘI BRANCH

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ET ORIENTALIA

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CONTENTS ♦ СОДЕРЖАНИЕ ♦ SOMMAIRE ♦  
INDICE ♦ INHALT

<i>Abbreviations</i> .....	11
<i>Tabula Gratulatoria</i> .....	13
<i>Professor Victor Spinei at 75 Years</i> .....	19
TIVADAR VIDA, <i>To the Inner Asian Roots of the Avars</i> .....	29
FLORIN CURTA, <i>An Ironic Smile: The Carpathian Mountains and the Migration of the Slavs</i> .....	47
TAISHAN YU, <i>Some Problems on the Mission of Song Yun and Huisheng to the Western Regions, and the Routes Used by Narendrayaśas, Jinagupta and Dharmagupta to China</i> .....	73
GABRIEL CUSTUREA, CRISTINA PARASCHIV-TALMAȚCHI, <i>Some Fibulae Discovered in Dobruja</i> .....	117
JINXIU LI, <i>Shi Hedan 史訶耽 and the Equine Administration in the Early Tang Dynasty</i> .....	127
OSMAN KARATAY, <i>Addressees of the Genizah Khazar Letter: Who Wrote to whom?</i> .....	155
HEIKO STEUER, <i>Der Krieger der Merowingerzeit und sein Pferd – Begleiter, Partner oder Waffe ? Eine These zur Mentalitätsgeschichte</i> (“The Warrior and His Horse in Merovingian Times – Companion, Partner or Weapon ? An Opinion for the History of Mentalities”) .....	169
ИГОРЬ Л. КЫЗЛАСОВ, <i>Тюркская руническая надпись на Евфрате. Южносибирский способ проверки религиозных истин</i> (IGOR’ L. KYZLASOV, “Turkic Runic Inscription on Euphrates. South Siberian Way of Verifying the Religious Truth”) .....	193
ИРИНА КОНОВАЛОВА, <i>Воображаемые топонимы в средневековом географическом тексте</i> (IRINA KONOVALOVA, “Imaginary Toponyms in Medieval Geographical Texts”) .....	207
ALEKSANDER PAROŃ, <i>How to Deal with the Steppe Fauna? Considerations on the Byzantine Perception of Nomads and on the Byzantine Policy towards Them (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries)</i> .....	217
CESARE ALZATI, <i>Imperium Populi Romani: universalità e limiti territoriali</i> (“Imperium Populi Romani: Universality and Territorial Boundaries”) .....	239
ИНГА А. ДРУЖИНИНА, <i>Лунный заяц на берегах Понта</i> (INGA A. DRUZHININA, “Moon Rabbit on Coast of Pontus”) .....	251
NIKOLAY N. KRADIN, <i>Social Structure of Early Eurasian Nomads According to Archaeological Data</i> .....	285

РОМАН ХАУТАЛА, <i>Рассмотрение четырех «вопросов» в истории Золотой Орды на основе миссионерских источников</i> (ROMAN HAUTALA, “Four Case-Studies of the Golden Horde History Based on the Missionary Sources”) .....	299
ALEXANDER V. MAIOROV, <i>Galician-Volhynian Prince Daniel Romanovich, Rex Coronatus of Rus’</i> .....	319
TIMOTHY MAY, <i>Race to the Throne: Thoughts on Ariq-Böke’s and Khubilai’s Claims to the Mongol Throne</i> .....	343
ŞERBAN TURCUŞ, <i>“La disputa del sacramento”. I sacramenti ed il loro regime canonico nella chiesa romana in relazione alla lettera del Papa Gregorio IX del 14 Novembre 1234</i> (“«The Dispute of Sacraments». The Sacraments and their Canonical Status in the Roman Church in Relation to the Letter of Pope Gregory IX of November 14, 1234”).....	359
LUDMILA BACUMENCO-PÎRNĂU, <i>Cast Iron Cauldrons Uncovered in Golden Horde Settlements. Case Study: Old Orhei (Republic of Moldova)</i> .....	379
НУРКЕН Е. КУЗЕМБАЕВ, <i>Сюжеты о кипчако-монгольских взаимоотношениях в средневековых мусульманских источниках</i> (NURKEN E. KUZEMBAEV, “Subjects Regarding the Kipchak-Mongolian Relations in Medieval Muslim Sources”) .....	407
NERIJUS BABINSKAS, <i>Some Aspects of the Medieval Origins of Europe’s Special Path According to Michael Mitterauer. A Comparison of the Cases of the Early Principality of Moldavia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania</i> .....	421
SERGEI BOCHAROV, <i>Archaeology of Venetian Gazaria, 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Definition of Terms and Scientific Sources</i> .....	439
EUGEN NICOLAE, <i>Une plaquette de cuivre avec inscription datant du quatorzième siècle découverte à Costeşti, district de Ialoveni, République de Moldavie</i> (“A Copper Plate with a Fourteenth Century Inscription Discovered in Costeşti, Ialoveni District, Republic of Moldova”) .....	455
ЧУЛПАН ХАМИДОВА, <i>Генеалогия правящих династий франков по данным «Шуаб-и панджгана» Рашид ад-Дина</i> (CHULPAN KHAMIDOVA, “The Genealogy of Frank Rulers According to Rashid Ad-Din’s „Shuab-i Panjganah”).....	463
ТИМУР Ф. ХАЙДАРОВ, <i>Эпидемия средневековой чумы в понтийских (причерноморских) степях (вторая половина XIV – первая половина XV вв.)</i> (TIMUR F. KHAJDAROV, “The Plague in the Pontic [Black Sea] Steppes [Second Half of the 14 <sup>th</sup> – First Half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> Centuries”]) .....	469
ВИКТОР Л. МЫЦ, <i>Эмблема двуглавого орла в «геральдике» государств византийского содружества XIV-XV вв.</i> (VIKTOR L. MYTS, “The Emblem of the Double-Headed Eagle in the “Heraldry” of the Byzantine Commonwealth of the 14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> Centuries”) .....	489
LIA BĂTRÎNA, ADRIAN BĂTRÎNA, <i>The Church of Alexander the Good from the Bistrița Monastery, Neamț County: A First Creative Synthesis in the Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Moldavia</i> .....	513



GRZEGORZ JAWOR, <i>Particularités de «Ius Valachicum» dans la Pologne du XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Question de l'autorité exercée sur les paroisses orthodoxes par les knyazes</i> (“Peculiarities of <i>Ius Valachicum</i> on Polish Territories in the 15 <sup>th</sup> and 16 <sup>th</sup> Centuries. The Issue of the Authority of Knyazes [Knezes] over Orthodox Churches”).....	529
PETER SOUSTAL, <i>Haliakmon – Bistrica – Īnce Kara Su the Main River of Southwestern Macedonia and its Surrounding Country</i> .....	545
SERGIU MUSTEAȚĂ, ION TENTIUC, ION URSU, <i>The Medieval Fortress Soroca (Republic of Moldova) – Archaeology, History and Preservation</i> .....	553
АНВАР В. АКСАНОВ, <i>Московская Русь и тюменское ханство: межгосударственные отношения на рубеже XV-XVI веков</i> (ANVAR V. AKSANOV, “Muscovite Rus’ and the Tyumen Khanate: Interstate Relations at the Turn of the 15 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> Centuries”) .....	575
IVAN BILIARSKY, <i>Le changement erroné d’un lexème dans un manuscrit slave de Moldavie du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: БРАВИ– КРАВИ</i> (“The Erroneous Change of a Lexeme in a Slavic Manuscript from 16 <sup>th</sup> Century Moldavia: БРАВИ– КРАВИ”) .....	583
GUILLAUME DURAND, <i>Contribution à l’étude du phénomène de dédicaces des monastères dans la Principauté de Moldavie</i> (“Contribution to the Study of the Phenomenon of Dedication of Monasteries and Property Donations in the Principality of Moldavia”).....	593
АНДРЕЙ ЕШАНУ, ВАЛЕНТИНА ЕШАНУ, <i>Димитрий Кантемир в персидском походе Петра I (1722-1723)</i> (ANDREI EȘANU, VALENTINA EȘANU, “Dimitrie Cantemir in the Persian Campaign of Peter I [1722-1723]”) .....	617



## ABBREVIATIONS

ABulg	<i>Archaeologia Bulgarica</i> , Sofia.
AErt	<i>Archaeologiai Értésítő</i> , Budapest.
Am. Hist. Rev.	<i>The American Historical Review</i> , the official publication of the American Historical Association, Oxford.
ArcheologijaSof	<i>Archeologija</i> : organ na Archeologičeskija institut i muzej pri Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Sofija.
ARozhl	<i>Archeologické Rozhledy</i> , Institute of Archaeology CAS Prague.
BerRGK	Das Jahrbuch <i>Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission</i> , Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin.
BSNR / BSocNumRom	<i>Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române</i> , București.
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> , München.
CCAR	<i>Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România</i> , CIMEC.
CommunicAHung	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae</i> : készült a magyar nemzeti múzeum nyomdájában, Budapest.
Człow. i Społecz	<i>Człowiek i Społeczeństwo</i> , Wydziału Nauk Społecznych Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Poznan.
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> .
EphemNapoc	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Anuarul Institutului de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Cluj-Napoca.
JbRGZM	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> , Mainz.
MCA	<i>Materiale și cercetări arheologice</i> .
MIA	<i>Materialy i issledovanija po arkheologii SSSR</i> , Moscow-Leningrad.
MINAC	Museum of National History and Archaeology from Constanța (Romania).
Quaest. Medii Aevi	<i>Quaestiones Medii Aevi</i> , Warsaw.
Rev. Rom. Stud. Balt. și Nord.	<i>Revista Română de Studii Baltice și Nordice</i> , Asociația Română pentru Studii Baltice și Nordice, București.
RGA	<i>Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde</i> (Berlin, New York).
RMMMIA	<i>Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă (1974-1989)</i> , București.
SborBrno	<i>Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity</i> . M, Řada archeologická, Brno.

SCIA.AP	<i>Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică, București.</i>
SCIV/SCIVA	<i>Studii și cercetări de istorie veche / și arheologie, București.</i>
SlovA	<i>Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra.</i>
SovA	<i>Sovetskaja Arkheologija, Moskva.</i>
Strat.Plus	<i>Stratum Plus, Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology, High Anthropological School University in Kishinev.</i>
Valahian J. Hist. Stud.	<i>Valahian Journal of Economic Studies, Bucharest.</i>
VjesDal	<i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, Arheološki muzej Split.</i>
ZborRadBeograd	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Beograd.</i>
АДСВ/ADSV	<i>Античная древность и средние века / Antichnaja drevnost' i srednie veka, Ekaterinburg.</i>
ИГАИМК / IGAIMK	<i>Известия Государственной академии истории материальной культуры, Ленинград / Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj akademii istorii material'noj kul'tury, Leningrad.</i>
ПСРЛ / PSRL	<i>Полное собрание русских летописей / Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisej, Т. 25, Moskow, Leningrad, 1949; Т. 26, Moskow, Leningrad, 1959; Т. 28, Moskow, 1963; Т. 37, Leningrad, 1982; Т. 36, Moskow, 1987; Т. 24, Moskow, 2000.</i>
ПК / PK	<i>Посольская книга по связям России с Ногайской Ордой: 1489-1508 гг. / Posol'kaja kniga po svjazjam Rossii s Nogajskoj Ordoj: 1489-1508 gg., Institut istorii AN SSSR, Moskow, 1984.</i>
PK / RK	<i>Разрядная книга 1475-1598 гг. / Razrjadnaja kniga 1475-1598 gg., Nauka, Moskow, 1966.</i>
Сб. РИО / Sb. RIO	<i>Сборник русского исторического общества / Sbornik russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva, Т. 41, Tipografija F. Elionskogo i K°, Sankt-Peterburg, 1884.</i>

# ARCHAEOLOGY OF VENETIAN GAZARIA, 13<sup>TH</sup>–15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES. DEFINITION OF TERMS AND SCIENTIFIC SOURCES\*

SERGEI BOCHAROV\*\*

## **Abstract:**

*Special attention is paid in this paper to the place of antiquities associated with the Venetian presence on the Northern Black Sea Coast within the framework of the archaeological study of the Byzantine Empire and the Golden Horde. The author gives a general historical overview of the evidence of Venetian activity in the Azov Region and on the Crimean Peninsula in the 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.*

*The main outpost founded by the Republic of St. Mark was Tana – a plot of land near the Don River, allotted to Venetian merchants in the large Golden Horde city of Azaq near the Azov Sea. The Venetian Republic made three attempts to establish new settlements in addition to Tana in the Eastern part of the Crimean Coast – the cities of Soldaia and the harbors Vosporo, Provato and Kaliera. However, their efforts were unsuccessful.*

*The paper introduces into scientific discourse a new definition of “Venetian Gazaria”. The term “Venetian Gazaria” denotes a complex of written and material evidence of Venetian presence in the territory of the Golden Horde, and particularly in the Venetian trade settlements that existed in the Northern Black Sea Region in the 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.*

**Keywords:** *Historical geography; Byzantine Empire; Golden Horde; Venetian Republic; Venetian Gazaria; Soldaia; Provato; Tana; Northern Black Sea Coast; archaeology.*

## INTRODUCTION

The Northern Black Sea Region occupies the leading place in the history of the Venetian Republic of the 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Unlike its main trading rival

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Genoa, which managed to obtain a considerable territorial domain on the Crimean Peninsula, Venice had strong positions on the Azov Sea Coast Region. Its main trading outpost was Tana – part of the territory of the large Golden Horde city of Azaq assigned to Venetian merchants in the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> Whereas the main trading competitor of the Venetians – the Genoese Republic – had created an entire system of cities, castles and villages in the Crimea and the Northern Black Sea Region by the end of the fourteenth century,<sup>2</sup> the Venetian presence in the region was limited throughout the entire period to the only city of Tana. However, the republic of St. Mark repeatedly attempted to expand its influence area and to acquire new outposts at the Crimean Coast in addition to Tana. The purpose of this work is to summarize the wide range of different types of sources on the history of the Venetian presence in the Northern Black Sea Coast during the Golden Horde period and to give it a clear definition.

In order to achieve this goal, the research involves three large categories of historical sources. The first category is represented by written sources providing information on historical events.<sup>3</sup> Supplementary facts are extracted from medieval sources referenced by Western European<sup>4</sup> and Russian<sup>5</sup> paleographers. The second category is represented by cartographic sources. It includes data from compass maps – portolans of the 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, terrain maps and general plans of the Black Sea towns of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century reflecting the medieval *realia*.<sup>6</sup> The third category is archaeological materials obtained by archaeological excavations, which provide specific information on the localization, size and material complex of urban settlements. The results of the archaeological studies of the “Caffa” expedition, led by the author of this article, are used in the work.<sup>7</sup> A comparison of data from the entire complex of these sources will make it possible to achieve the main objective of the article.

## MAIN SECTION

Venice was an Italian maritime republic which received wide access to the Black Sea basin as early as 1204, following the results of the Fourth Crusade.<sup>8</sup> After the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in the second half of the 1260s, the Republic of St. Mark managed to confirm its right to a free trade in the Black Sea.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> KARPOV 2001: 24.

<sup>2</sup> BOCHAROV 2016: 264.

<sup>3</sup> DIPLOMATARIUM 1880; DIPLOMATARIUM 1899.

<sup>4</sup> BALARD 1978; BASSO 1991; MARTIN 1993; NYSTAZOPOULOU PELEKIDIS 1970; THIRIET 1959; THIRIET 1981.

<sup>5</sup> KARPOV 1994; KARPOV 2000; KARPOV 2001.

<sup>6</sup> FOMENKO 2007; VOLKOV 1992: 83-94.

<sup>7</sup> BOCHAROV 2015b; BOCHAROV 2015c; BOCHAROV 2017a.

<sup>8</sup> NYSTAZOPOULOU PELEKIDIS 1970: 26-27.

<sup>9</sup> NYSTAZOPOULOU PELEKIDIS 1970: 24-25.

The first attempt to organize a stationary trading settlement in the Northern Black Sea Region dates back to the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and is associated with the old Byzantine center in the Eastern Crimea – the city of Sugdeya (Soldaia in Italian and Sudak in the Turkic language).<sup>10</sup> According to written sources, after 1288 the city was the residence of the Venetian consul.<sup>11</sup> The territory of the Venetian quarter within the city is currently archaeologically undefined. Thus, the first trading outpost on the Crimean peninsula that the Venetians managed to establish was in this city, which was under the rule of the Mongol Khans at the time. However, in the first decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, during a conflict with the Golden Horde, the Venetians had to leave Soldaia.<sup>12</sup>

The strong point of the Venetian presence in the region and the most renowned urban center was Tana – part of the large Golden Horde town of Azaq on the Azov Sea (Pl. I.1).<sup>13</sup> The first Venetian trade settlement appeared in this area in the second half of the 1260s: the name Tana was originally mentioned in Latin documents in 1269 and 1271.<sup>14</sup> At that time the Venetian settlement did not have a ruler delegated by the Republic and confirmed by the local administration of the Horde – the consulate.<sup>15</sup> The first attempt to establish a consulate dates back to 1292 and is associated with the name of the Golden Horde governor Nogai, the ruler of the westernmost Ulus of the Golden Horde. That was the year of the Great Council of Venice's decision to send an embassy to the Nogai – the actual governor of the Horde State. And, if the mission had been successful, the ambassador would have served as Nogai's consul for three years.<sup>16</sup> The exact place of establishment of the consulate is not specified in this document. There are two possible locations: either Tana,<sup>17</sup> or the Nogai's capital on the Danube – Isakcha-Vichina. Judging by the absence of any further evidence, this attempt to establish a consulate on the Golden Horde land by the Venetians was not crowned with success.

Further events of the appearance and recognition of the Venetian trading post under the consul in Tana have been reconstructed in a special study by Sergei Karpov, where the formerly accepted date of receipt of the consulate in 1332-1333<sup>18</sup> was shifted to an earlier period between 1317 and 1325.<sup>19</sup> The researcher established that the first line of galleys – a caravan of merchant ships from Venice to Tana – dates back to 1322<sup>20</sup> and the Venetian consul of Tana<sup>21</sup> was mentioned

<sup>10</sup> THIRIET 198: 80.

<sup>11</sup> KARPOV 1997: 14.

<sup>12</sup> NYSTAZOPOULOU PELEKIDIS 1970:18-20.

<sup>13</sup> MASLOVSKIY 2015: 394.

<sup>14</sup> KARPOV 1997: 14.

<sup>15</sup> KARPOV 1997: 18.

<sup>16</sup> KARPOV 1997: 15-16.

<sup>17</sup> KARPOV 1997: 16.

<sup>18</sup> SKRZINSKAYA 1971: 32; MARTIN 1987: 375.

<sup>19</sup> KARPOV 1997: 15.

<sup>20</sup> KOVALEVSKIY 1905: 115.

<sup>21</sup> KARPOV 1997: 15.

for the first time in documents as early as in January 1326. In previous historical tradition, the starting date for the appearance of consular administration in Tana was the treaty of 1332 between the Republic of St. Mark and the Khan of the Golden Horde Uzbek, which granted this factory the right of extraterritoriality, as well as a number of privileges.<sup>22</sup> In a later period, in February 1333 the Senate of Venice established the standards of government in Tana<sup>23</sup> and decided to strengthen the settlement with a wooden palisade and a defensive rampart.<sup>24</sup> The initial construction of defensive ramparts with a wooden palisade, followed by the erection of stone fortresses was a standard practice of the Romans in the Northern Black Sea region. Similar activities were characteristic of the Genoese in Caffa, Soldaia and Cembalo.<sup>25</sup>

The Venetians lost Tana twice in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, but regained their factory every time. The first incident occurred in September 1343. The Venetians left the city following an armed clash involving several people, which resulted in a robbery and massacre of the Italians by the Tatars. They were only able to return and restore their urban settlement after receiving a permission, or Jarlig, from Khan Dzhanibek on December 26, 1347.<sup>26</sup> The second three-year prohibition for the Venetians to settle in Tana was imposed as a result of the third Venetian-Genoese war (1350-1355), in accordance with the terms of the Milan Peace Treaty of June 1, 1355, which marked the end of this war.<sup>27</sup> The Republic of St. Mark began to restore its trading post in Tana again in 1358, and received a Jarlig for this from the new Khan Berdibek.<sup>28</sup> In the last third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the business of the trading post was successful. Thus, the Venetians tried to increase the size of their territory in Tana by means of buying plots with burnt houses in the Genoese quarter. But this became impossible due to a sharply negative reaction of the Genoese officials.<sup>29</sup> The period until end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and most part of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Tana is associated with a series of destructions and restorations of the trading post. The Venetian city suffered greatly from the invasion of Timur in 1395.<sup>30</sup> The next conflict with the Horde, during which the siege of Tana began, ended with the payment of tribute in 1428.<sup>31</sup> As a result of the attack of the Tatars in 1456, when the Venetian consul and the vice-consul were killed, the settlement was not able to avoid significant devastation.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the Venetian Tana continued to exist, and even before the Ottoman invasion in 1475 its inhabitants

<sup>22</sup> DIPLOMATARIUM 1880: 249; KARPOV 1997: 17.

<sup>23</sup> KARPOV 1997: 18.

<sup>24</sup> KARPOV 1997: 19.

<sup>25</sup> BOCHAROV 1998: 85; BOCHAROV, MASLOVSKIY 2015: 38; BOCHAROV 2017b: 110.

<sup>26</sup> KARPOV 2015: 10, 37.

<sup>27</sup> SKRZINSKAYA 1971: 34, 35.

<sup>28</sup> SKRZINSKAYA 1971: 36.

<sup>29</sup> KOVALEVSKIY 1905: 134.

<sup>30</sup> KOVALEVSKIY 1905: 143.

<sup>31</sup> KOVALEVSKIY 1905: 163.

<sup>32</sup> KOVALEVSKIY 1905: 172.



informed Venice of their loyalty to the Republic and requested armament and finances in order to defend the city.<sup>33</sup>

The plot of land in Azaq given to the Venetians in 1347 by a Jarlig of Khan Dzhanibek, was 70 by 100 passes, which amounted to 3.84 hectares according to calculations by Sergei Karpov.<sup>34</sup> On the basis of many years of archaeological research and observations of Azaq stratigraphy, it became possible to clearly distinguish the territory of 220 by 300 meters occupied by the Venetian and Genoese Tana (Pl. I.2) from the general territory of the Golden Horde city.<sup>35</sup> The Italian settlement occupied an area of approximately 6.6 hectares. Supplementing archaeological data with cartographic material of the late 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Igor Volkov localized the stone fortifications of the Ottoman Azaq, the eastern part of which – the Frank-Isar – was built, in his opinion, by Venetians in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Pl. II.1).<sup>36</sup> The fortress of Venetian Tana has a quadrangular plan with an almost rectangular shape, asymmetrically sloping from two sides in the eastern and western directions, extending from the lowland to the high slope portion of the Don riverbank. To the northeast and southeast, on the outwardly projecting corners, the fortress is reinforced by large towers. The length of the eastern sloping section of the fortress walls is 145 m, the northern section, which is located on a hill – 171 m, the southern section facing the river – 115 m, and the western slope – 201 m. Thus, the area of the protected urban territory was 2.6 hectares.<sup>37</sup> Either the area of the trading post was reduced from 3.84 to 2.6 hectares in the period from 1347 to the 1420s, or the fortifications did not cover the entire area assigned to the Venetians. Then the area of the unfortified suburbs was 1.24 hectares. The figure of 2.6 hectares is close to the size of the area of the fortified territory of small towns owned by the Genoese in the Crimea. Similar figures were obtained for Vosporo – 3.52 hectares, and Cembalo – 3.36 hectares.<sup>38</sup>

Apparently, this particular fortified area of the Venetian fortress of Tana is illustrated in the book written in 1699 by Johann Georg Korb, secretary of the embassy of the Austrian Emperor Leopold I to Peter the Great, as part of the stone structures of the Turkish fortress of Azov (Pl. II.2).<sup>39</sup>

The appearance of Venetian Tana in the Azov Sea region did not imply that the Republic of St. Mark stopped the attempts to establish trade points on the Crimean Peninsula. After the loss of a district in Soldaia in 1347, the Venetian government addressed Khan Dzhanibek, who was the ruler of the Golden Horde at the time, with a request to provide a land plot for the establishment of a trading settlement in the city of Vosporo (Bosporus in Byzantine, and Kerch in the Turkic

<sup>33</sup> KOVALEVSKIY 1905: 164.

<sup>34</sup> KARPOV 2015: 37.

<sup>35</sup> MASLOVSKIY 2016: 238.

<sup>36</sup> VOLKOV 1990; VOLKOV 1991; VOLKOV 1992.

<sup>37</sup> VOLKOV 1992: 89.

<sup>38</sup> BOCHAROV 2015a: 453; BOCHAROV 2017b: 110.

<sup>39</sup> KORB 1906: 289.

language).<sup>40</sup> Judging by the lack of further material and written evidence, Khan Dzhanibek probably did not give permission to the Venetians to establish a consulate on the shore of the Kerch Strait, as Nogai previously did in the case of Tana.

The third attempt to gain a foothold in the Crimea, was undertaken by Venice in the mid-1350s and early 1380s. It became the most significant campaign in terms of territorial coverage and long-term chronology.

After a temporary loss of Tana by the Venetians (from 1355 to 1358) the Republic of St. Mark decided to transfer the center of trading activity from the delta of the Don River to the Eastern Crimea. The chronological sequence of events, which is grounded on written sources, is as follows. In the spring of 1356, a permit for a new trade settlement in the bay of Provato was received from Khan Dzhanibek. The bay is located in the Eastern Crimea, 10 km west of the Genoese Caffa (Pl. III.1,2). In the absence of a port in the Azov Sea, Provato became the ending point of the Venetian trade navigation. Caravans of Venetian ships – galleys – in 1356, 1357 years made long-term stops in the bays for 9-10 days.<sup>41</sup> In 1358 the new Khan of the Golden Horde, Berdibek, not only confirmed the right of the Venetian Republic to own the port of Provato, but additionally permitted the use of the harbors of Soldaia and Caliera.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the Venetians significantly expanded their presence in the Crimea in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Cartographic sources did not allow for an exact localization of this port on the coast of the Eastern Crimea. For this purpose, scientists of the “Caffa” archaeological expedition headed by the author of this paper conducted a continuous archaeological study of the coast in the early 2000. Out of 39 trenches, the cultural layers of the 14<sup>th</sup> century were only traced at Excavation No. 3 in the eastern part of the Dvuhyakornaya (Two Anchors) Bay.<sup>43</sup> This place is located 10 km west of the Genoese Caffa and corresponds to the localization based on written and cartographic sources (Pl. III.1,2). The results of this research demonstrated that the Venetian Republic did not establish a stationary settlement in Provato and used the bay as a seasonal anchorage. At due dates the anchorage served as a meeting point for land caravans, which travelled with goods from Solkhat, and the arriving Venetian galleys. Trading was conducted for 10 days, after which the Horde merchants returned to the continental areas, and the Venetian vessels took the opposite course to Venice. Even if the plans of the Republic of St. Mark were to establish a permanent trading settlement in Provato, they were not destined to come true. As early as 1365 the Genoese Republic seized these lands, relying on its main outpost in Caffa, and, after a prolonged confrontation with the rulers of the Crimean Ulus of the Golden Horde, it finally gained firm control over the lands by

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<sup>40</sup> MARTIN 1993: 230.

<sup>41</sup> KARPOV 1994: 55, 64.

<sup>42</sup> DIPLOMATARIUM 1899: 25-26, 51-52.

<sup>43</sup> BOCHAROV 2015b: 306-312.

1387.<sup>44</sup> After this incident in Provato, the Venetian Republic no longer attempted to establish a trading post on the Crimean coast.<sup>45</sup>

Nevertheless, the sea caravans of Venetian ships, with their final destination in Tana, continued to make short 1-3 day stops to replenish water supplies and provisions at certain points of the Crimean Coast – in Caffa, Kherson (Chersonese) and the place known by the name of Cape St. John.<sup>46</sup> Whereas the location of Caffa (Pl. III.1) in the Eastern Crimea and the old Byzantine center of Kherson (Chersonese) (Pl. III.1) in the South-Western Crimea is known, the location of the anchorage at the Cape of St. John has not been determined.

As a result of archaeological investigations of the “Caffa” expedition conducted at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, evidence of this anchorage was discovered at Tihaya Bay on the coast of the Kuchuk-Janishar valley. A small settlement with an area of approximately 40 x 100 m was located near the coastline of the sea, with the depth of its cultural layers ranging from 0.32 to 0.56 m.<sup>47</sup> Merchant vessels sailing to Tana and back could replenish water and food supplies at the settlement. According to written sources, it is known that the vessels made brief stops near Cape St. John in 1396, 1397, 1399 and 1433.<sup>48</sup>

To summarize the aforesaid, it should be noted that, at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and beginning 14<sup>th</sup> century period, the Republic of St. Mark – while holding Tana as the main strong point in the delta of the Don River – attempted to organize trading posts on the Crimean Peninsula, by using not only old Byzantine centers such as Sugdeya and Bosphorus, but also previously unsettled bays such as Provato. These attempts were unsuccessful. By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the presence of the Venetians in the Crimea was only limited by the short stops of commercial vessel caravans, sailing from Venice to Tana and back. They could not stay at Kherson, Caffa or Cape St. John (Pl. III.1) for more than 1-3 days.

In 1475 the whole epoch of the independent Venetian and, in a broader sense, West European presence in the Northern Black Sea Region came to an end.<sup>49</sup> The army and navy of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II under the leadership of the great vizier Gedik Ahmed Pasha with the support of the Crimean Tatars, seized Tana and Caffa, as well as all Genoese and Venetian settlements in these territories,<sup>50</sup> which became a local province of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>51</sup>

Having briefly outlined the historical situation associated with the presence of the Venetians in the Northern Black Sea Region, let us turn to the main topic of this work. How can one generally refer to the section of archaeological science,

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<sup>44</sup> BASSO 1991: 23.

<sup>45</sup> BOCHAROV 2015b: 3 15.

<sup>46</sup> KARPOV 1994: 55, 72.

<sup>47</sup> BOCHAROV 2015c: 705-709.

<sup>48</sup> KARPOV 1994: 55.

<sup>49</sup> OLGATI 1991: 389.

<sup>50</sup> MYTZ 2009: 419-498.

<sup>51</sup> VEINSTEIN 1986: 223.

which explores the Venetian settlements in this region? Let us try to answer this question by using scientific terminology from a wide range of modern historical literature on medieval times. If we turn to the Western vector of research, the study of the Venetian presence in the Northern Black Sea Region is a small part of Byzantine studies. A view “from the East” will put this issue within the framework of the Golden Horde research.<sup>52</sup> However, there is not a single term today that would refer to the entire spectrum of research related to the material remains of the Venetian presence in the Northern Black Sea Coast within the framework of historical science. We have at our disposal a common definition of the significant historical phenomenon of *Romania* as a combination of the possessions of Western European feudal lords, as well as the Italian maritime republics of Genoa and Venice, in the territory of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>53</sup>

Today, Western European studies primarily distinguish a separate area of historical science associated with the study of Venetian *Romania*<sup>54</sup> as an object for researching the entire complex of historical evidence related to the presence of citizens and settlements of St. Mark’s Republic on lands in possession of the Byzantine Empire. As part of the study of territories in the Byzantine Empire that were in possession of the main commercial competitor of Venice – the Genoese Republic, referred to as Genoese *Romania*– Michel Balard classifies their settlements on the Northern Black Sea Coast in a separate group referred to as Genoese *Gazaria*.<sup>55</sup> Following this logic, it would be correct to introduce such term as Venetian *Gazaria* into archaeological and historical studies, whereby the medieval toponym “*Gazaria*” would denote the State of the Golden Horde.

## CONCLUSION

The concept of a Venetian *Gazaria* should be regarded as the entire set of written and material evidence of the Venetian presence in the territory of the Golden Horde and especially of Venice’s trade settlements in the Northern Black Sea Region. Thus, in accordance with the decision of the Senate of the Republic of St. Mark in 1333, Tana’s consul was not merely head of the city, but also main representative of the Venetian state in the entire territory of the Golden Horde.<sup>56</sup> In that respect, it should be emphasized that the Venetian *Gazaria* is a small portion of the general system of Venetian possessions in the Byzantine Empire – Venetian *Romania* –, but it has one significant difference. This difference lies in the fact that the Venetian settlements are not based on the lands belonging to the Byzantine

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<sup>52</sup> BOCHAROV 2017: 61.

<sup>53</sup> KARPOV 2000: 9.

<sup>54</sup> THIRIET 1959.

<sup>55</sup> BALARD 1978: 150.

<sup>56</sup> KOVALEVSKIY 1905: 123.

Empire, but on the lands of the Golden Horde and on the conditions that the Khans-rulers of the Golden Horde State put forward.

Due to the fact that in the medieval land ownership issues constituted the basis of public relations, the Venetian presence on the Northern Black Sea Coast cannot fully correspond to the term of Venetian Romania. The appearance of a Venetian Gazaria can be regarded as an integral part of the process of promoting Venetian merchants to the Eastern Mediterranean; but in terms of land possession, the Venetians are located in the territory of the Golden Horde, not Byzantium. This is perceived as the main difference of the broader concept of Venetian Romania as opposed to the more local nature of Venetian Gazaria.

Geographically, this is the territory of the Northern Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Danube to the Gelendzhik Bay, including the coast of the Crimea, as well as the entire coast of the Azov Sea with nearby territories, that is, the entire coastline belonging to the Golden Horde. In the literal sense, this territory had no clear state borders (Pl. I.1); these are the coastal zones under the rule of the Khans of the Golden Horde – and, after the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, under the rule of their political successors –, where the Venetian trading settlements were incorporated. The subject of the archaeological research of Venetian Gazaria can be the whole complex of the material evidence of Venetian presence in the outlined territory – cultural layers of cities, villages, necropolises, anchorages and other monuments within the chronological framework of the 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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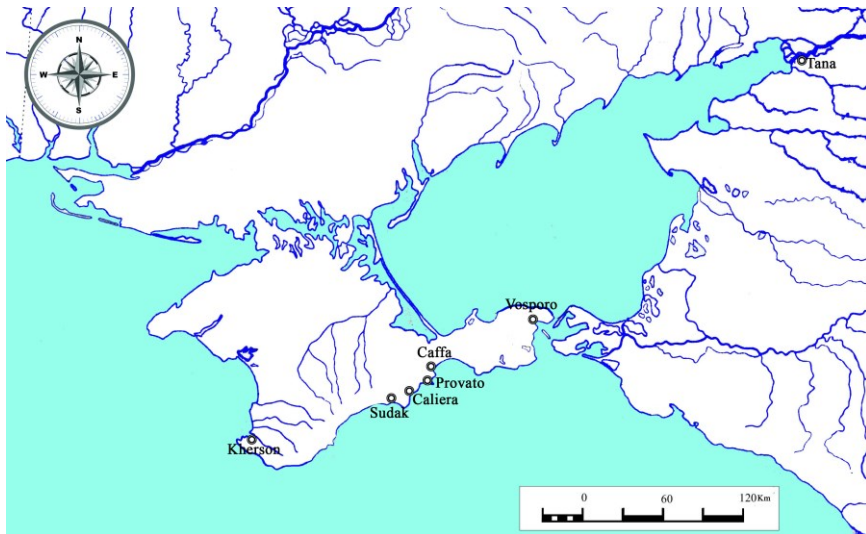
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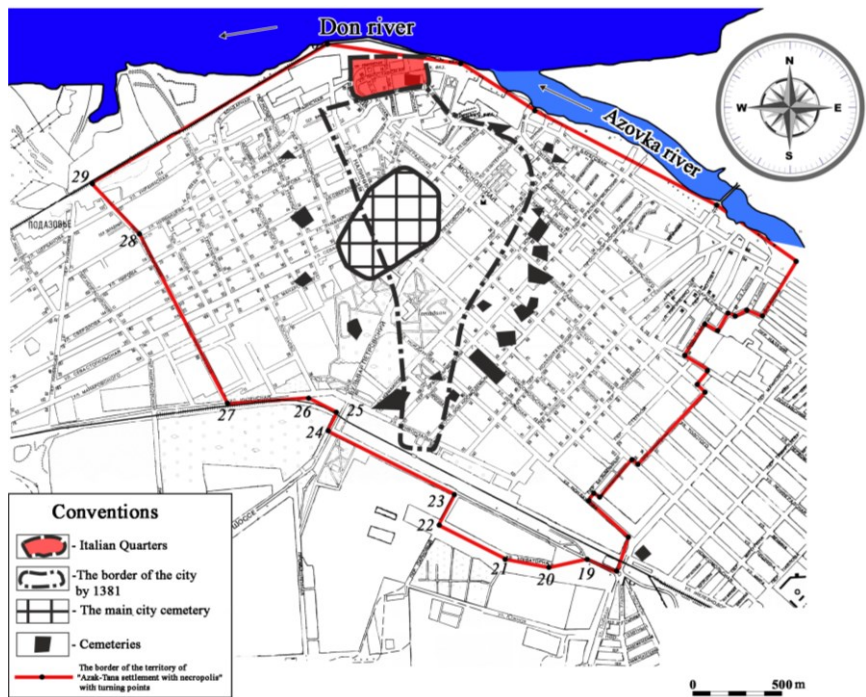
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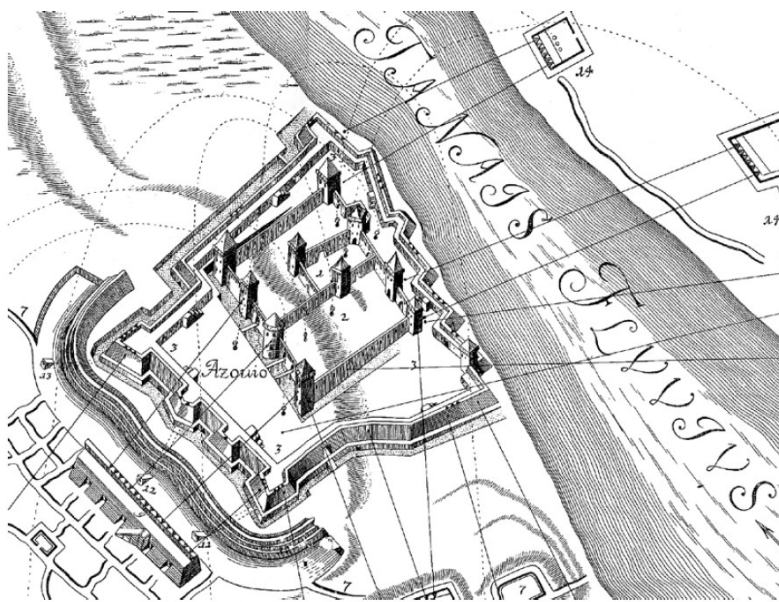


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**Pl. I.** 1. Map of the part of the Northern Black Sea Coast with the cities, villages and harbors of the Venetian Gazaria in the 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, mentioned in the text of the paper (author Sergei Bocharov); 2. The plan of the location of the Venetian and Genoese Tana relative to the territory of the Golden Horde city of Azak. (author Sergei Bocharov according to MASLOVSKIY 2016: Fig. 2).



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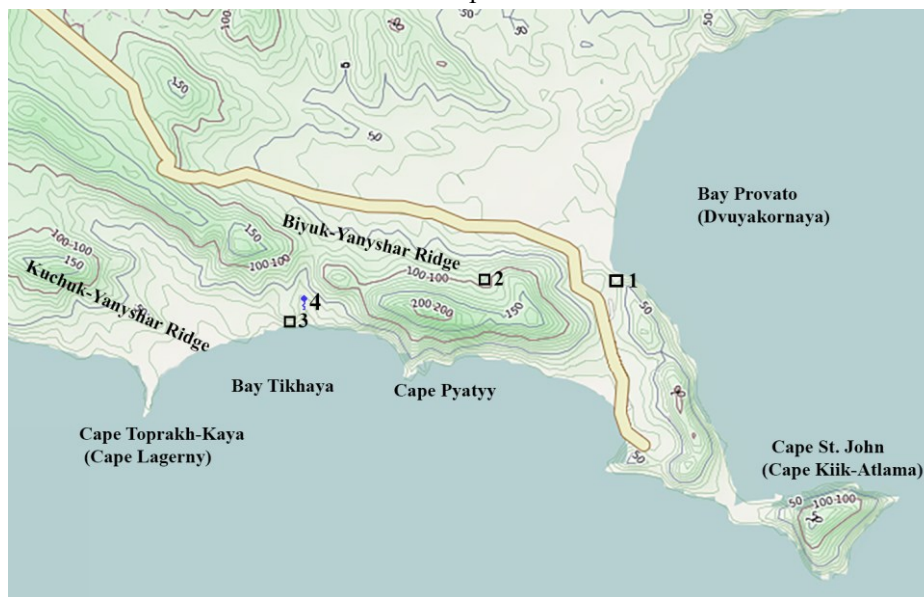


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**Pl. II.** 1. Binding to the terrain of the stone walls of the fortress of the Ottoman Azak. 1. the fortifications of the Venetian Tana (author Sergei Bocharov according to VOLKOV 1992: Fig. 3); 2. The plan of the siege of Azov in 1696 from the diary of I. G. Korba (1698), which shows the stone walls of the Ottoman fortress Azak, including the fortifications of the Venetian Tana (according to AVAKOV, GUSACH, DEDULKIN 2016: Fig. 2).



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2

**Pl. III.** 1. Map of the Crimean Peninsula with the cities, villages and harbors of the Venetian Gazaria in the 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, mentioned in the text of the paper (author Sergei Bocharov); 2. Map of the coast of the South-Eastern Crimea. 1. Venetian anchorage Provato; 2. Armenian monastery of St. John the Baptist; 3. Venetian anchorage at the Cape St. John (settlement in the Tihaya Bay); 4. Spring (author Sergei Bocharov).