

Map 84 Maeotis

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Introduction

The eastern Crimea and the Taman' peninsula opposite across the Straits of Kerch' are discussed and depicted in greater detail on Map 87, which represents the heartland of the Bosporan Kingdom. Its rulers claimed to include all but the eastern fringes of Map 84 in their orbit, within which the significance of the shallow Sea of Azov (ancient Maeotis) can hardly be exaggerated (Maslennikov 1995); the characteristics of that sea and the nearby waters of the Black Sea are also discussed in the introduction to Map 87.

The location of many features here presents particular problems. The scant information provided by ancient writers is often of uncertain quality, not least because it incorporates much that is guesswork or mythical (notably Amazons: see Mela 1.116; Ptol. 5.8.17). As such writers indicate (sometimes explicitly: Pliny, *NH* 6.20-22), there was substantial dispute in antiquity about this region, especially about the identities and locations of the many peoples of the hinterland to the east of the Sea of Azov. Peoples whose very existence was open to doubt in antiquity are omitted from the map, as are those whose location to the east of the Sea of Azov lacks all precision; the latter are listed as unlocated. Beyond the map, to the north, the distinction of the more southerly steppe and the more northerly wooded steppe is of the first importance: the physical conditions of the latter encouraged settlement, while the former, which reached down to the Sea of Azov, was better suited to pastoralism (note Moruzhenko 1989 on settlement of the wooded steppe between the R. Don and R. Dnieper north of the map; Smirnov 1991).

By definition, to locate pastoral and (as it seems) migratory peoples on a map is almost to miss the point; in this region it was their very mobility that constituted their greatest significance for the classical world. But since they can hardly be omitted, I have taken difficult—and doubtless somewhat controversial—decisions about where such peoples should be represented. The guiding principles have been, on the one hand, the duration of a people's presence in an area within the timespan of the map and, on the other, the area from which a people made most impact upon the classical world. Thus the Roxolani, who might have appeared in the north-west of this map, are to be found on Map 23, north of the R. Danube. The alternative to hard choices of this sort is chaos, even in the best of instances: see, for example, the careful map in Vinogradov (1994, 162), plotting the multiple movements of just two peoples in only twenty years or so of the first century A.D.

The identification of the rivers of the region also remains notably problematic, although an attempt can be made. For the east coast of the Sea of Azov, I have followed Gajdukevič (1971), but critically, and with amendments. In particular (following Anfimov 1986), the Rhombites Ellasson is identified here as the modern R. Kirpili, not the R. Beysug, as often (Kacharava 1991, 10). The significance of rivers for transport in the region is indicated, for example, by the findspots of Roman amphorae along the Hypanis and other water courses (Kropotkin 1988, 170).

Anfimov (1950, 85-86; cf. Melyukova 1989, 224-51) notes that the ancient sources are satisfied with locating the Maiotai on the eastern side of the Sea of Azov, without indicating how far inland they reach. He points to the relative unattractiveness of settlement in the coastal areas, since these are marshy (and were doubtless disease-ridden: note the place name Konopion, "Mosquito-Town," somewhere on the coast of Azov). Anfimov insists that Maiotai stretched inland, especially to the R. Hypanis, and even east of Ust'-Labinskaya. For the classical world, however, the Maiotai were very much the people of the Maeotis. Strabo (11.2.1) notes that they live on the coast, whereas archaeology shows them not on the coast itself, but just behind it (cf. Anfimov 1950, 95). Whether the term "Maiotai" is anything more than a classical construct remains uncertain (cf. Gardiner-Garden 1986), but in any case we are in no position to claim the hinterland for them. It is there that Strabo locates the Sirachoi, who are said to have embraced a variety of lifestyles and are no doubt a collection of distinct peoples, as were the Maiotai

themselves (cf. Strabo 11.2.1 and 11 for a broad distinction between those Maiotai who looked to the Bosp(h)orus, and those who had dealings with Tanais).

Immediately behind the coast of the Sea of Azov, Maiotian settlements conform to a general pattern; they center upon a relatively elevated piece of ground, with a further area of settlement nearby. The “acropolis” tends to have a river or lake on one side, and to be surrounded with a ditch on its other sides. A shallower ditch often surrounds the neighboring settlement-site. Limited archaeology suggests that these settlements may have been established around 100 B.C. and continued into the third century A.D., so that the bulk of finds are from the Roman period. However, there are occasional finds of pottery as early as the fifth and even sixth century B.C.; as a result, much earlier settlement has been suspected, especially around Novodzhereliyevskaya.

The lakes to the north of the lower reaches of the R. Rhombites Elasson are natural salt lakes, which may have facilitated fish-pickling. Although no cisterns have been identified, both Strabo (11.2.4) and substantial finds of fish-remains on the sites of the lower Rhombites Elasson confirm the importance of fishing in the local economy, as may also the name Rhombites itself, “Turbot-river” (Anfimov 1950, 95-96). Besides fish, grain is also attested in the settlements of the river estuary (*Panicum miliaceum*, *Triticum vulgare*, and rarely *Hordeum sativum*). The bones of cattle, sheep, pigs and horses have often been found. Archaeology here is still in its infancy, despite the pioneering work of Anfimov (cf. Melyukova 1989, 224-51). It seems, however, that there was less settlement on the waterways east of modern Rogovskaya, though there were burials (often kurgan-mounds) along the banks of all the rivers of the region, from the second millennium B.C. until Late Antiquity (Anfimov 1950, 94). The presence of burial-mounds and absence of settlement east of Rogovskaya, in the steppe zone of the lower river, would be consonant with the presence of pastoralists in the area. As Strabo (7.3.17) indicates, these came to Azov in winter, and pastured their herds on the steppe-lands of the interior in summer.

On the usual view, the burials of Maiotai were simple inhumations without the mounds of the richer “Scythian” and “Sarmatian” burials. Such ethnic attributions should now be re-thought (for some “Maiotian” burials were rich), with differentiation according to wealth and burial customs. At any rate, the co-existence of a “Scythian” mound and “Maiotian” inhumations at Kelermes around 600 B.C. has raised important issues about relations between the inhabitants of the region (Galanina 1985; 1997).

For peoples, the information provided by classical sources will not bear sustained critique, though it has conditioned the archaeology of the whole area. It is clear enough that classical writers employ terms like “Sarmatians” and “Scythians” without great care or precision (Braund 1994a; cf. Ochir-Goryayeva 1989). From Herodotus onwards, they took the R. Tanais (modern Don) to be the dividing-line between Scythia(ns) to its west and Sarmatia(ns) to its east, and it is shown thus on the map (cf. Scylax 69-70). Scholars tend to suppose a process of invasion by Sarmatians heading westwards during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but there is much scope for doubt about the nature of any such movements. At the same time, since the peoples to the north of the Black Sea seem to have been prone to movement, their location on a map is particularly uncertain and may prove misleading. For example, Aorsia is mentioned in an important new inscription from the southern Crimea, but its location is a matter of keen dispute, highlighting the general difficulty of locating even major peoples. While one scholar can argue powerfully that Aorsia must mean the area behind Olbia (Vinogradov 1994; cf. Simonenko 1992), another can respond (more plausibly in my view) that it must be located near the R. Don, as shown here (Shchukin 1995). Minor peoples are still more problematic, even when they adjoin the classical world: for example, the Pssoi are certainly east of the Sea of Azov, but there would be a good case for placing them further south along its coast than shown here (after Gajdukevič 1971; but see GGM 1.59). The Thateis can be given a general location although, as with almost all the peoples of this region, it should not be pressed.

To the west of Bata (modern Novorossiysk) towards Gorgippia (modern Anapa), small agricultural settlements proliferated on terraces of river valleys and the heights above (Koshelenko 1984, 91-92; Kacharava 1991, 42; Alekseyeva 1997). Similarly, the valleys of small mountain streams northwest of Torikos (modern Gelendzhik) have significant traces of ancient remains (Koshelenko 1984, 93). Onayko, upon whose work (1982) we principally rely for archaeology at and around Bata and Torikos, argued that the well-defended sites which ran north-west from Bata towards Gorgippia from c. 100 B.C. until the Neronian period or so marked the eastern limits of the Bosporan Kingdom (cf. Dmitriyev 1979 for an important burial-ground at Dyurso c. A.D. 400).

It is important to understand that the archaeology on which the map is based is patchy; this may well account for some of the gaps in coverage. Much depends on the work of a very few individuals. Without the pioneering

efforts of Onayko around Bata and Torikos, or of N.V. Anfimov on the lower Hypanis, micro-regions which were densely settled in antiquity would be represented here as lacking settlements. Only in recent decades has it become clear that the *chora* of Gorgippia was densely settled, especially on the fertile plain around Krasnaya Skala (Hind 1983, 90; Alekseyeva 1991; 1997). Accordingly, arguments from archaeological silence cannot be made, though it does seem that the hinterland across the Caucasus from Tuapse (here tentatively identified as Palaia Achaia) was not settled, but inhabited by pastoralists, whose burials have often been excavated. At the same time, we cannot be sure about the dates of many small rural sites marked, since even at best these have not been excavated fully. In particular, it may be suspected that there was more settlement in the region from the fourth century A.D. than present knowledge indicates. Sustained excavation of more sites might establish continuity after the upheavals at that date, as it has at Gorgippia (Koshelenko 1984, 83) and at the Roman-period settlements around Tanais. Shelov (1972, 175) insists that the late material from these is medieval, but, as usual in Soviet publications, his “medieval” would embrace much of Late Antiquity (cf. Hind 1992, 105). Even so, it must be stressed that archaeology does demonstrate widespread destruction by the end of the third century A.D., which accords with our literary evidence.

The physical geography of the Don estuary in antiquity remains unclear in any detail, although it is established in broad terms (cf. Marchenko 1995, with full bibliography). Yelizavetovskoye Gorodishche may well have been an island, encouraging its possible identification with Strabo's Alopekia (Brashinskiy 1984; Hind 1992, 104). Accordingly, the area of the Don estuary is marked on the map as approximate only. The numerous burial mounds of many periods which crowd it are omitted for reasons of space; even though they have not attracted much scholarly interest, their existence is to be noted (see Shelov 1970; cf. Mys'kov 1994 on “Sarmatian” burials of the lower Don c. A.D. 200). In particular, such mounds now ring Yelizavetovskoye Gorodishche on its east, south and west, with a marsh to its north; the latter has been seen as an ancient waterway, which gave access to Taganrog and the Sea of Azov (note Marchenko 1992, 174-75, with site-plan). Outstanding among the burial mounds of the Azov region was that above Berdyansk, which stood 27.5 ft high, with a diameter of 167.5 ft, and contained three burials dated to the early fourth century B.C. (Boltrik 1994).

Indeed, the region of the map is covered with burial-grounds, of which only the most significant have been marked. Many of the most striking mounds were raised well before the classical period, particularly along the R. Hypanis (Masson 1991). Like the estuary of the Tanais, the hinterland of Gorgippia too was covered with burial mounds, which cannot be shown here (Salov 1979; Alekseyeva 1997).

The south-east segment of the map presents the greatest difficulties. Extant descriptions of the coastline between Gorgippia and Palaia Achaia provide several names of towns, villages and physical features. However, even where such descriptions are broadly contemporaneous (notably those of Pliny, Arrian and Ptolemy), these names do not match, while those of physical features also resist plausible identification. What is at least clear (as I have confirmed by autopsy), is the dominance of three locations: modern Tuapse, Gelendzhik Bay and Novorossiysk Bay. Tuapse itself occupies a distinct (albeit brief) break in the rugged mountains which begin off the south-east corner of the map (see Map 87); there can be no doubt that this place figures significantly in ancient descriptions of the region, whether or not it is to be equated with Palaia Achaia. In antiquity, this coastline was best known for being dangerous and inhospitable, so that a lack of settlement is predictable (though archaeology here has been very limited). By contrast, Gelendzhik Bay offers a very welcome haven to those who have sailed from Tuapse, and Torikos may be located here with some confidence. The larger bay further north at Novorossiysk was evidently the location of many of the places mentioned in ancient descriptions of the region, but precise locations remain elusive. Accordingly, modern names (such as Myskhako, Shirokaya Balka) have been preferred here, while ancient names which seem to belong to the general area of Novorossiysk Bay appear only as Unlocated Toponyms. In this region, notably at Gorgippia and Bata, ancient sources sometimes seem to distinguish harbor and city (note Strabo, 11.2.14), but there is no indication of the nature of that distinction, nor of any physical separation of the harbors and cities in question. Gorgippia presents the further difficulty that it must surely be Sindikos Limen (so Hind 1992, 108), though Strabo in different passages uses both names without making the identification, perhaps indicating even his uncertainty in this area (11.2.12, 14).

Roads and routes are missing from the map, since there is no real evidence for them in this region. Even so, they have been hypothesized, both locally (as around Gorgippia: Alekseyeva 1991, 80) and over long distances, for example along the north coast of the Sea of Azov (Boltrik 1990).

Directory

All place names are in Russia unless otherwise noted

Abbreviation

CIRB V.V. Struve, *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani* (= *Korpus Bosporskykh Nadpisey*), Moscow and Leningrad, 1965

Names

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
B2	Agaroi § Agroi?	HR	NW Azov UKR	RE Suppl. 9 Pontos Euxeinos, col. 1011 Strabo 11.2.11
B2	Agaron? Pr.		Berdyansk promontory UKR	Ptol. 3.5.4
B2	Agaros? fl.		Berda UKR	Ptol. 3.5.4
E4	Achaia § Achaioi	CHRL	NW Caucasus	RE Suppl. 9 Pontos Euxeinos, col. 1011; Braund 1994, index Achaei
B3	Akra		UKR	See Map 87 inset
C4	<i>Alekseyevskoye</i>	CHR	near Anapa	Alekseyeva 1991, 18-19
C3	Antikeites fl.			See Map 87 inset
E2	Aorsoi § Aorsia	HR	NE Caucasus RUS / UKR	Strabo 11.2.1; Klochkov 1996, 47-48; NPauly Shchukin 1995
B3	Apatouros Kolpos			See Map 87 inset
F1	Achardeos fl.	HR	Manych	RE
G4	<i>Armavir</i>	A		Melyukova 1989, 221, 228
C4	<i>Ashamba 1</i>	HRL	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 15)
D4	<i>Ashamba 2</i>	HRL	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 16)
C4	<i>Ashamba 3</i>	HRL	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 17)
D4	<i>Ashamba 4</i>	HRL	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 18)
C4	<i>Ashamba 5</i>	HRL	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 19)
B3	Aspourgianoï			See Map 87 inset
C3	Azabitis Tainia		E Azov	Ptol. 5.8.2
D3	Azara	R	E Azov	Ptol. 5.8.2
C4	Bata/ Patous	CHRL	Novorossiysk	Dmitriyev 1979; Kacharava 1991, 41-42, 219
D1	<i>Beglitskaya Kosa</i>	CH	Taganros	Melyukova 1989, 62
D3	<i>Belikov</i>	CH	E Azov	Kamenetsky 1989, 233-35; Anfimov 1991, 71
B2	<i>Berdyansk</i>	CH	UKR	Melyukova 1989, 38, 52
G4	<i>Besskorbnaya</i>	AC		Melyukova 1989, 105, 122
C4	<i>Borisovka</i> Bosp(h)orus = Pantikapaion	CHRL	near Novorossiysk	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 11)
E4	Caucasus M.			See Map 88
D3	<i>Cherepyanny Redant</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
D3	<i>Chernyy Redant</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
D3	<i>Chumyanoy Redant</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
B3	Cimmerius Bosp(h)orus			See Map 87 inset
B3	Coracanda fl.			See Map 87 inset
C3	Dandarioi	CHR	E Azov	Strabo 11.2.11; CIRB 6
C4	<i>Doob 1</i>	CHRL	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 20)
C4	<i>Doob 2</i>	HR	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 21)
D3	Doschoi	CHR	E Azov	Strabo 11.2.11; CIRB 972
C1	<i>Dyugorbaya Mogila</i>	CH	UKR	Melyukova 1989, 52
C4	<i>Dyurso</i>	CHRL	near Novorossiysk	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 1)

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
C4	<i>Dzhemetye</i>	CHR	near Anapa	Koshelenko 1984, 90; Aleksyeva 1991, 56-57
C3	Eone			See Map 87 inset
C3	Eudousia § Eudousianoi			See Map 87 inset
A1	Gerros fl.	.	UKR	See Map 23
C3	<i>Golubitskoye Gorodishche</i>			Abramov 1993, 69
C4	Gorgippia/ Sindikos Limen	ACHRL	Anapa	Koshelenko 1984, 82-84; Kacharava 1991, 78-81; Aleksyeva 1997
B1	<i>Gusarka</i>	AC	UKR	Melyukova 1989, 50
C2	Halieuma Theou Heptalou Limen = Torikos		near Yalta UKR	Ptol. 3.5.4
B3	Hermonassa			See Map 87 inset
B3	Hermonassa Ins.			See Map 87 inset
C1	Hygreis	R	near Zhdanov UKR	Ptol. 3.5.4
C3	Hypanis fl.	HR	Kuban RUS	Strabo 11.2.9
E1	Iazamatai/ Ixibatai § Ixamatae § Exomatae § Iazabatai § Ixomatai	HR	S Tanais	Ps-Scymnus 878-79; StByz <i>Ἰξιβάται</i> Mela 1.114 Valerius Flaccus 6.143 StByz <i>Ἰαζαβάται</i> Polyaenus 8.55
B3	<i>Il'ich</i>			See Map 87 inset
B3	Ilouraton Ixibatai = Iazamatai		UKR	See Map 87 inset
C4	<i>Kabardinka 1</i>	CHRL	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 12)
C4	<i>Kabardinka 2</i>	CH	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 13)
C4	<i>Karagodeuashkh</i>	C		Melyukova 1989, 98, 222
H1	<i>Karnaukhovskiy</i>	AC		Melyukova 1989, 166
D1	Karoia	R	near Taganrog	Ptol. 3.5.4; Kacharava 1991, 123
E1	<i>Kazachiy Yerik</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972, 186
A3	Kazeka		UKR	See Map 87 inset
F4	<i>Kelermes</i>	A		Galanina 1997
B3	Kepoi			See Map 87 inset
D4	Kerketai	CHR	E Bata	Strabo 11.2.14
F1	<i>Khokhlach</i>	R		Melyukova 1989, 182, 207
E1	<i>Khoprovskeye</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972, 198-99
C4	<i>Khutor Blagoveshchenskiy</i>	HR	near Anapa	Koshelenko 1984, 59
B3	Kimmerikon		UKR	See Map 87 inset
B3	Kimmerion Oros		UKR	See Map 87 inset
C4	<i>Kirillovskoye</i>	HR	near Novorossiysk	Onayko 1982
E1	<i>Kizitirinskoye</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972, 178-79, 189-90
E1	<i>Kobyakovo</i>	RL	near Tanais	Hind 1983, 87-88; Guguyev 1992
F1	<i>Konstantinovsk</i>	A		Melyukova 1989, 62, 66
D4	Korax Oros		W Caucasus	Ptol. 5.8.8
B3	Korokondame			See Map 87 inset
B3	Korokondamitis Limne			See Map 87 inset
F4	<i>Kostromskaya</i>	A		Melyukova 1989, 219-21
E1	<i>Koysug</i>	A		Melyukova 1989, 62
C3	<i>Krasnaya Skala</i>	CHR	near Anapa	Aleksyeva 1991, 28-29, 61-62
D3	<i>Krasnoarmeyskaya</i>	CH	E Azov	Kamenetskiy 1989, 233-39; Anfimov 1991, 71
H4	<i>Krasnoye Znamya</i>	A		Melyukova 1989
A2	Kremnoi	C	Botiyevoye? UKR	Boltrik 1987; Hind 1992, 104
B3	<i>Kuchugury</i>			See Map 87 inset
E4	<i>Kurdzhips</i>	C		Melyukova 1989, 109, 221
B3	Kytai		UKR	See Map 87 inset

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
C3	Labrys	CHR		Blavatskaya 1993
E3	<i>Ladozhskaya</i>	A		Melyukova 1989, 220, 232
D3	<i>Lebedi</i>	CH	E Azov	Kamenetsky 1989; Melyukova 1989, 235-37; Anfimov 1991, 71
A2	Limnaioi	HR	W Azov UKR	Ps-Scymnus 850
C1	Lykos? fl.		Kal'mius UKR	Ptol. 3.5.4
B2	Maeotis § Temarunda	ACHRL	Sea of Azov	Burr 37-40 Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.20
C3	Maiotai			See Map 87 inset
D3	<i>Mar'yanskaya</i>	CH	Krasnodar	Kamenetsky 1989, 236; Anfimov 1991, 71
B3	<i>Marfovka</i>		UKR	See Map 87 inset
C1	<i>Mariupol'</i>	A	Zhdanov UKR	Melyukova 1989, 50
E2	Maroubios fl. § Maraccus?		E Azov	Ptol. 5.8.2 AmmMarc 22.8.29
F4	<i>Maykop</i>	A		Melyukova 1989, 220
D2	<i>Mertvyi Redant</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
B3	<i>Mikhailovka</i>		UKR	See Map 87 inset
I4	<i>Mineral'nyye Vody</i>	AC	N Caucasian foreland	Melyukova 1989, 262-63
E1	<i>Mokro-Chaltyrskoye 1</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972, 176-78
E1	<i>Mokro-Chaltyrskoye 2</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972, 176-78
B3	Myrmekion		UKR	See Map 87 inset
B3	Myrmekion Pr.		UKR	See Map 87 inset
C4	<i>Myskhako 1</i>	ACH	near Novorossiysk	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 6)
C4	<i>Myskhako 2</i>	CHR	near Novorossiysk	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 7)
C4	<i>Myskhako 3</i>	CHR	near Novorossiysk	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 8)
C4	<i>Myskhako 4</i>	CHR	near Novorossiysk	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 9)
E1	<i>Nizhne-Gnilovskoye</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972
B2	<i>Nogaysk</i>	AC	UKR	Melyukova 1989, 51-55
D3	<i>Novodzhhereliyevskaya</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
B3	Nymphaion		UKR	See Map 87 inset
D3	<i>Ostryi Redant</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
E4	Pagras Limen = Torikos Palaia Achaia § Laia?	RL	Tuapse?	Kacharava 1991, 150, 244
E1	Paniardis	R	E Azov	Ptol. 5.8.2
B3	Pantikapaion/ Bosp(h)orus		UKR	See Map 87 inset
B3	Pantikapes fl.		UKR	See Map 87 inset
B3	Parthenion		UKR	See Map 87 inset
D2	Pataroue Patous = Bata	R	E Azov	Ptol. 5.8.2
B3	Patrasys			See Map 87 inset
B3	Phanagor(e)ia			See Map 87 inset
C3	Phanagor(e)ia Ins.			See Map 87 inset
E1	<i>Podazovskoye</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972
B4	Pontus Euxinus			See Map 1
D1	Poritos fl.		Mius	Ptol. 3.5.4
B3	Porthmia		UKR	See Map 87 inset
C2	<i>Primorskoye</i>	CH	UKR	Melyukova 1989, 52
D2	Pssoi § Psechanoi?	CHR	E Azov	Ptol. 5.8.12; CIRB 6 CIRB 1048
E1	<i>Pyatibratniye</i>	C		Melyukova 1989, 61
I4	<i>Pyatigorsk</i>	A	N Caucasian foreland	Melyukova 1989, 256, 267
C4	<i>Rassvet</i>	CHR	near Anapa	Krushkol 1971; Salov 1979, 99 (nos. 14-15)
C4	<i>Rayevskoye Gorodishche</i>	HRL	near Anapa	Koshelenko 1984, 92; Kacharava 1991, 43
E3	Rhombites Elason fl.		Kirpili	Strabo 11.2.4; Anfimov 1986
D2	Rhombites Megas fl.	.	E Azov	Strabo 11.2.4

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
D3	<i>Rogovskaya</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
E1	<i>Rostovskoye</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972, 178-81, 190-94
E3	Sarmatia § Sarmatae § Sauromatae	CHRL	E Azov	Smirnov 1984; Vinogradov 1994 Braund 1994a
F1	Sataarchae	HR	by R. Tanais	Mela 2.3; Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
B3	*Sauromateion		UKR	See Map 87 inset
B1	Scythia			See Map 1
C3	<i>Semibratneye</i> <i>Gorodishche</i>	ACHRL	near Anapa	Koshelenko 1984, 87-88
C4	<i>Severnaya Ozereyka 1</i>	CHRL	near Novorossiysk	Onayko 1970, 131 (no. 3)
C4	<i>Severnaya Ozereyka 2</i>	CHRL	near Novorossiysk	Onayko 1970, 131 (no. 4)
D4	<i>Severskaya</i>	R		Melyukova 1989, 227
C4	<i>Shirokaya Balka</i>	CHRL	near Novorossiysk	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 5); Kacharava 1991, 42-43
B3	Sindike Sindikos Limen = Gorgippia			See Map 87 inset
E4	Sirachoi § Sirakoi	CHR	E Azov	CIRB 1237 Strabo 11.2.1
D3	<i>Slavyansk</i>	CH	E Azov	Anfimov 1991, 71
C3	<i>Stanitsa</i> <i>Blagoveshchenskaya</i>	CHR	near Anapa	Koshelenko 1984, 59
C4	<i>Stanitsa Natukhevskaya</i>	HR	near Anapa	Koshelenko 1984, 90
E1	<i>Stanitsa Yelizavetovskaya</i>	HR	R. Don estuary	Hind 1983, 87-88
D3	<i>Starodzhereliyevskaya</i>	CH	E Azov	Melyukova 1989, 238; Anfimov 1991, 71
D3	<i>Staronizhnestebliyevskaya</i>	CH	E Azov	Melyukova 1989, 238; Anfimov 1991, 71
G3	<i>Stavropol'</i>	AC		Melyukova 1989, 217-18
D3	<i>Stepnaya</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
D3	<i>Stepnoy Redant</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
C4	<i>Su-Psekh</i>	HR	near Anapa	Salov 1979, 98 (no. 5)
E1	<i>Sukho-Chaltyrskoye</i>	RL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972, 189-92
C4	<i>Sukko</i>	CHR	near Anapa	Salov 1979, 98-99 (nos. 9-11)
D1	<i>Taganrog</i>	ACH	N Azov	Hind 1983, 88; 1992, 104; Kacharava 1991, 44; Kopylov 1994
E1	Tanais	HRL	Nedvigovka	Koshelenko 1984, 93-95; Kacharava 1991, 251-55; Hind 1992, 104-105
F1	Tanais fl.		Don	Marchenko 1995
D3	Tarpeites § Tarpetes	CHR	E Azov	CIRB 40 Strabo 11.2.11
F3	<i>Tbilisskaya</i>	AR		Melyukova 1989, 246-47
E1	<i>Temirnitkoye</i>	HRL	near Rostov	Shelov 1972, 176-94
D3	<i>Termovityy Redant</i>	HR	E Azov	Anfimov 1950, 87
B3	Tetraxitai			See Map 87 inset
D2	Thateis § Thatae § Toreatai?	HR	E Azov	CIRB 9 Strabo 11.2.11
E2	Theophanios fl.	.	E Azov	Ptol. 5.8.2
C4	Toretai	CHR	near Gelendzhik	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.17; CIRB 39-40
D4	Torikos/ Pagras Limen/ Heptalou Limen	ACH/ RL/ ACH	Gelendzhik	Onayko 1980; Kacharava 1991, 207, 280-81
E3	Totordanes? fl.		E Azov	AmmMarc 22.8.29
F4	<i>Tsarskaya</i>	A		Rostovtzeff 1922, 21-24
C4	<i>Tsemdolinskoye</i>	HR	near Novorossiysk	Onayko 1982, 113 (no. 2); Koshelenko 1984, 91-92
C3	Tyrambe			See Map 87 inset
B3	Tyritake		UKR	See Map 87 inset
E3	<i>Ul'skiye Kurgany</i>	CH		Melyukova 1989, 220-22

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
E3	<i>Ust'- Labinskaya</i>	CH		Melyukova 1989, 220-28
C3	<i>Utash</i>	HR	near Anapa	Koshelenko 1984, 90; Aleksyeva 1991, 30-34
D4	<i>Vinogradnyy</i>	CHRL	W Gelendzhik	Koshelenko 1984, 147 (no. 14)
C3	<i>Vityazevo</i>	CHR	near Anapa	Aleksyeva 1991, 60-61
C4	<i>Vladimirovka</i>	CHRL	near Novorossiysk	Onayko 1981; Koshelenko 1984, 91
E3	<i>Voronezhskaya</i>	CH		Melyukova 1989, 221, 235
C4	<i>Voskresenskiy</i>	HR	near Anapa	Aleksyeva 1991, 28, 56-60
E1	<i>Vysochino</i>	RL	R. Don estuary	Vinogradov 1994, 162 (no. 6)
F4	<i>Yaroslavskaya</i>	R		Melyukova 1989, 242
D3	<i>Yelizavetinskaya</i>	CHR	Krasnodar	Kamenetsky 1989, 233-39; Anfimov 1991, 71
E1	<i>Yelizavetovskoye</i> <i>Gorodishche</i>	CH	R. Don estuary	Hind 1983, 87-88; Zhitnikov 1989; Kacharava 1991, 14-16; Hind 1992, 104
C4	<i>Yuzhnaya Ozereyka</i>	CHRL	near Novorossiysk	Onayko 1970, 131 (no. 2)
C3	<i>Za Rodinu</i>			See Map 87 inset
B3	Zenonos Chersonesos		UKR	See Map 87 inset
E4	Zichoï § Zilchoï	RL	NW Caucasus	Anfimov 1980
F3	<i>Zubovskiy Khutor</i>	AR		Melyukova 1989, 188, 28

Dikes

Grid	Location	Period	Reference
B3	Sindike (6)		See Map 87 inset
C3	by Vityazevo	CHR	Koshelenko 1984, 59

Tumuli

Grid	Location	Period	Reference
E1	near Tanais (3 clusters)	HR	Melyukova 1989, 176-95

Wall

Grid	Location	Reference
B3	near Pantikapaion	See Map 87 inset
B3	near *Sauromateion	See Map 87 inset

Unlocated Toponyms

Name	Period	Probable Location	Reference
Agandei	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Achaia Kome	R	SW Novorossiysk	Ptol. 5.8.4
Alexandrou Bomoï	R	near Tanais?	Ptol. 3.5.12; Kacharava 1991, 11-12
Alopekia/ Alopece	CHR	Yelizavetovskoye Gorodishche?	Strabo 11.2.3; Kacharava 1991, 14
Anasi	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Aroteris	HR	above Caucasus	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.39

Name	Period	Probable Location	Reference
Arrechoi	HR	Azov	Strabo 11.2.11
Asampatae	R	near Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Athernei	R	near Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Auchetae	R	near Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 4.88; 6.22
Azaraba	R	near Stepnaya?	Ptol. 5.8.14; Kacharava 1991, 10
Baga	L	near Tuapse?	Anon., <i>PPE</i> 10r4; Kacharava 1991, 40
Borysthenes	L?	Azov region	StByz <i>Βορυσθένης</i> ; Kacharava 1991, 56
Cantici	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Caroni	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Cataetae	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Cephalotomi	R	above Caucasus	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.16
Cetae	R	N Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Cizici	R	N Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Coitae	R	N Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Cotobacchi	R	N Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Crunoe	R	NW Tuapse	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.17
Exapolis	R	by R. Tanais?	Ptol. 5.8.11
Gnissi	R	E Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Hali	R	E Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Heraclaeum	R	NW Tuapse	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.17
Hertichei	R	by R. Tanais	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Hierum fl.		by Hieron Limen	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.17
Hieron Limen			Kacharava 1991, 78, 169
Hierum	R		Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.17
Hygreis	R	W Taganrog?	Ptol. 3.5.4; Kacharava 1991, 76
Inapaei	R	near Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Icarus fl.		NW Tuapse	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.17
Issi	R	by R. Tanais	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Kaisaros Bomoi	R	by R. Tanais	Ptol. 3.5.12; Kacharava 1991, 133
Kerketis Kolpos	R	near Tuapse?	Ptol. 5.8.4
Konopion/ Konope	R	Azov	Aelian, <i>de Natura Animalium</i> 6.65; Kacharava 1991, 141
Lazos/ Tazos	HR	near Tuapse	Ptol. 5.8.4; Kacharava 1991, 249
Leainon	R	Sivash area?	Ptol. 3.5.4; Kacharava 1991, 153
Machlyes	R	NE Black Sea coast?	Braund 1994, 70
Makropogones	HR	near Kerketai?	Strabo 11.2.1
Mardi	R	near Tuapse?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.16
Mateta	R	E Azov	Ptol. 5.8.2; Kacharava 1991, 155
Meandarai	R	near Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Messeniani	R	N Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Naevazae	R	N Azov UKR	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Naprae	R	Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.20
Nauaris	HR	Rostov-on-Don?	Ptol. 5.8.11; Kacharava 1991, 163
Neon Teichos	R	E Azov	Ptol. 3.5.4
Neripi	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Nikaxis	R	Myskhako?	Anon., <i>PPE</i> 10r11; Kacharava 1991, 169
Ocharius fl.		E Azov?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Obidiakenoi	HR	E Azov	Strabo 11.2.11
Perierbidoi	R	N R. Tanais	Ptol. 5.8.10
Phicores	R	E Azov	Mela 1.114

Name	Period	Probable Location	Reference
Psachapsis fl.		NW Tuapse	Anon., <i>PPE</i> 10r6; Kacharava 1991, 37
Psychros fl.		NW Tuapse	Ptol. 5.8.4; Kacharava 1991, 37
Sapei	R	by Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Scizi	R	E Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Secheries fl.		near Gorgippia	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.17
Sernes	R	E Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Serrei	R	E Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Serri	R	above Caucasus	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.16
Sinda Kome	R	near Gorgippia	Ptol. 5.8.4; Kacharava 1991, 236
Sittakenoi	HR	E Azov	Strabo 11.2.11
Soza	R	E Azov	Tac., <i>Ann.</i> 12.16; Kacharava 1991, 243
Spalaei	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Spondolici	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Synhietae	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Tagorae	R	by R. Tanais?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.22
Tarra	HRL?	by Caucasus	StByz <i>Tággá</i> ; Kacharava 1991, 255
Tazos = Lazos			
Thyssegetae	HR	N Azov	Mela 1.116; Pliny, <i>NH</i> 4.88; 6.19
Tindari	R	N Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Topsidas fl.	.	near Tuapse	Anon., <i>PPE</i> 10r7
Toretike Akra		near Tuapse?	Ptol. 5.8.4
Tykandeitai			CIRB 382
Tyrcae	HR?	N Azov	Mela 1.116; Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19
Uspe	R	N R. Kuban	Tac., <i>Ann.</i> 12.16; Kacharava 1991, 284
Utidorsi	R	above Caucasus	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.39
Zigae	R	N Azov	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.19

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