

## Map 88 Caucasias

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### Introduction

For the most part, the area shown here was little known to the classical world before the Hellenistic period, when Seleucus I seems to have claimed it as part of his empire. Seleucus sent Patrocles to explore the Caspian; he may have reached as far north along this coast as Derbent (ancient Tzon), but we cannot be sure. According to Arrian, the exploration of the Caspian had been mooted by Alexander and was to be carried out by one Heracleides. Although Alexander never put the scheme into effect, his thinking may have encouraged Seleucus (EnclIran Caspian). It surely encouraged Pompey to send Varro to taste the waters of the Caspian (it seems) during his Transcaucasian campaign of 66-65 B.C. Pompey's adventures in the region were almost as much about exploration as they were about conquest, and he prided himself on being the first Roman general to wage war here (Braund 1994, 12). Moreover his entourage included men who would write about his campaign, notably Varro and Theophanes of Mytilene; together they provided much of the information upon which Strabo and Pliny drew later. Pompey's campaign also established links which were to be renewed, both through the campaign of Antony's general Canidius Crassus in 37, and through the diplomatic and military contact that was to become increasingly significant under the emperors of the first century A.D. It culminated in the campaigns of Corbulo under Nero, and the grand reception and recognition in Rome of the Parthian Tiridates as king of Armenia in 66. Corbulo's campaigns, like Pompey's, brought back important information. Pliny (*NH* 6.23) made use of that source, together with other reports available to him.

Despite the temporary success of Nero's arrangements in Armenia, the region remained a regular focus of dispute and conflict between Rome and the Parthians, as well as their successors the Sasanians. During Domitian's reign (81-96), a Roman centurion cut his name and unit on the rocks at Gobustan, down the coast from the Apsheron peninsula (inset) where the modern city of Baku is situated (marked for orientation only). A fort has often been imagined here, but there is no more than a graffito, so that the map does not mark the spot. The author of the graffito was evidently encouraged by the many prehistoric drawings on the rocks there. His was the easternmost Latin inscription until the discovery of what may be Latin graffiti far to the east of the Caspian (Braund 1991).

Armenia and Albania, in particular, lay firmly to the east of Rome's well-established provinces. While Rome usually sought to exert influence over the region through friendly kings, the fact remains that from a Persian perspective the region was part of the Persian empire (Colchis apart, perhaps). Indeed, even in Achaemenid times the bulk of the region had shown its cultural affinities with the east (cf. Tiratsian 1979, 173). In Iberia, fifth-century pottery displays apparent Iranian influence (Narimanishvili 1992). Meanwhile, fine buildings at Gumbati (eastern Iberia), Sary-tepe and Beniamin (Armenia) have been reasonably identified as Achaemenid administrative centers. An isolated column-base reported out of context at Qaracarmirli Köyi may suggest another such building in Albania (Furtwängler 1996; Gagoshidze 1996). Indeed, the so-called Yaloylutepe culture, which was widespread in Albania in the later centuries B.C., seems to be an influence from Iran which spread strongly there and on into the easternmost parts of Iberia (Ismizade 1956; Pitskhelauri 1977, 224-25). Greek influence—and again, Achaemenid—is most striking in Colchis, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, from about 550 B.C.; the Colchian hinterland appears on the western side of the map (for the coastal strip, see Map 87). Influences from the north, across the Caucasus, seem to have been less significant, but still show up in the material culture of the region (Braund 1994, 130-31; Pirtskhalava 1995).

Of course, external influences, whether from Iran, the Greek world or the north, interacted with established traditions within the region. In Armenia, for example, there was a substantial Urartian heritage, notably in construction and in burial-practice (Tiratsian 1985). However, while there was continuity of settlement at a small number of Urartian sites, in many cases such settlements were abandoned or became places for burial

(Tiratsian 1979). Even where there was continuity, place names might still change, so that Urartian Argishtikhinili became Armaouira (Armavir)(Sarkisian 1960, 32; Arakelian 1967, 39).

The fourth and third centuries B.C. saw a marked increase in urbanization in Colchis, Iberia and Armenia (Tiratsian 1979; Braund 1994, 122-70; Zardarian 1994). The increase may be observed even in Albania, which was never substantially urbanized in antiquity. We cannot identify most of the cities mentioned later by Ptolemy, but we can be sure enough from archaeology that the few settlements of Albania start to develop as towns from about 400 B.C. (Babayev 1990). By Pliny's time, Chabala seems to have stood out as the key settlement in the area (Khalilov 1974). In Armenia (though not elsewhere in the region, it seems) most cities declined or were destroyed in the fourth century A.D., a process usually attributed to Persian domination. The only city there to persist strongly was Doubios (Dvin), apparently the center of Persian administration (Sarkisian 1960, 19).

From the fifth century A.D., however, an internal literary tradition began within the region, both in Iberia and in Armenia. Accordingly, the earliest extant Georgian script has been found in Iberia from this period, inscribed on the church at Bolnisi. The Armenian tradition in particular provides substantial information (Hewsen 1992). Even so, its value for previous centuries remains a matter of substantial doubt (Sarkisian 1960, 18-19). In Armenia, and still more so in Iberia, this information seems better understood in the context of the early medieval period. Accordingly, the map is compiled on the basis of a combination of archaeological evidence with the literary testimony of the classical world, so as to focus upon the Greek and Roman perception of ancient Transcaucasia.

In Georgia there has been very substantial archaeological effort. Besides the numerous expeditions organized by the Centre for Archaeological Studies in Tbilisi under the direction of O. Lordkipanidze, there have been important initiatives by the Janashia Museum (often led by I. Gagoshidze), the Museum of Art and elsewhere. The long-standing excavations at Meschistha/Mtskheta led by A. Apakidze and V. Nikolaishvili deserve particular attention, for they have laid bare much of the enormous site of the ancient Iberian capital at the confluence of the Aragvi (ancient Aragos) and Mtkvari rivers (Russian Kura, ancient Kyros).

The various parts of Meschistha are easily confused, not least because the toponym itself may be used in rather different ways. In a restricted sense it may apply specifically to the settled area immediately west of the Aragvi's confluence with the Mtkvari, where the modern town now lies. However, it is also used to denote "Greater Meschistha," the whole area of settlement and fortification around that confluence, within which several other toponyms may be applied to particular locations (Armaziskhevi, Seusamora, for example).

Few churches have been marked, for they belong largely to a later period, despite frequent claims to antiquity. An exception, however, has been made for the important early church of Jvari, as also for the church at Bolnisi. Across the R. Aragos in Meschistha was built the first church in Iberia in the fourth century A.D., Svetitskhoveli.

Classical archaeology in Daghestan-Azerbaijan (Albania) and Armenia, by contrast, has been conducted by smaller groups of committed scholars. Recent work in Albania (pre-classical and classical) is summarized by Kasumova (1988) and especially Aliyev (1988), who indicates the polemics that may be involved (cf. Osmanov 1983; 1985; Nuriyev 1987). Tiratsian (1985) and Zardarian (1994) give valuable summaries for Armenia. Much of the most recent work across the region is outlined briefly in Lordkipanidze (1997).

There remains great scope for archaeology north from the marchlands of Azerbaijan and Daghestan. As it is, we already have strong indications of substantial Albanian cultural influence spreading northwards by the beginning of the first millennium B.C. (Khalilov 1965, 154; EncIran Darband, 14). Indeed, the extent of Albania northwards tends to be underestimated (EncIran Darband, 15), a fact which sharpens the problem of distinguishing between the Alanoi and Albanoi (see Introduction to Map 85). It may be that the pastoralism of the Albanoi enabled them to interact readily with the peoples of the northern steppe. Certainly, Strabo (note 11.4.3) treats Albanoi as quasi-Scythians, albeit less fierce; according to him, they need no sea, but live a Cyclopean lifestyle.

At Derbent (ancient Tzon), recent underwater research has shown some remains of harbor walls reaching under the present sea-level for at least 750 ft, with further remains apparently as far as 1,350 ft beyond the current shoreline. The Caspian Sea is well-known for its fluctuation in level over the centuries (EncIran Caspian; Introduction to Map 90). These walls seem as early as the Sasanian period. Along the coastline between the mountains and sea well south of Derbent, substantial walls are also known from the fifth century A.D. at least. Important questions about dating remain to be resolved, however; such resolution is made more difficult by the possibility of repeated reconstruction (EncIran Darband; Introduction to Maps 98-99). In any event, here lies the

easiest land-route from north to south through the main Caucasus, because it does not cross the mountains, but rather skirts around them along the narrow Caspian coastline. The greatest natural obstacle here was not the mountains but the sea, for strong southerly winds can whip it up to inundate much of the land. The phenomenon is well recorded in modern times (EncIran Caspian), and Romans were evidently aware of it too (Tac., *Ann.* 6.33; cf. Horace, *Odes* 2.9).

The area of Derbent is by far the most likely site for the “Caspian” or “Albanian Gates” (also in Middle Persian texts, Kasumova 1988, 88). In Late Antiquity, Derbent itself was called Tzon or Tzour. It was also one of the three locations given the name “Caspian Gates.” Although the route past Derbent gave the easiest terrain for north-south passage, it must be stressed that even the main Caucasus range was distinctly permeable (Braund 1994, 44-47). The map shows the principal passes.

The arrangement on the Darial Pass, the westernmost of the “Caspian Gates”, requires a word of explanation. The pass itself lies some 7 miles north of Qazbegi (C2). It is quite a level passage, with a bend at which the ancient fort was located on a craggy outcrop above the western bank of the river; substantial medieval remains are still visible (Tsitlanadze 1971). In Late Antiquity at least, this fort was known as Biraparach or Iouroeipaach; Pliny names it Cumania. Its location made it more part of the northern steppe than of Iberia proper, which may account for its non-Iberian garrison (Ioannes Lydus, *De Mag.* 3.52; Procop., *Bell.* 1.10.9-12). The natural obstacle to travel along this route lies to the south of Qazbegi, most familiar under its Russian name as Krestovyy Pass (numbered site 10). In their concern for the term “Caspian Gates,” the ancient sources can create the impression that it was the only important pass in the region. Some do show an awareness of other routes, however, including the unlocated Dareine. Moreover, those who have traveled these mountains cannot fail to observe the many available routes, both major and minor.

Of routes into Svaneti (ancient Souania) from the south and west, the impeccable Freshfield writes (1896, 1.185): “I have myself been in and out of Souanetia eight times, by seven different tracks. I have been twice through the Skenis Skali forests [sc. Tskhenis tsqali, ancient R. Hippos]. I have also penetrated the still wilder forests of the Kodor, and wandered among the scarcely less tangled woods that cover the northern slopes of the Laila.” From the north, there was a choice of routes into Svaneti from the R. Baksan. Then as now, however, probably the easiest route of all set off up the higher reaches of the R. Rioni (ancient Phasis/Rheon) from Kutaisi (ancient Kotais) (Freshfield 1896, 1.187; cf. Chartolani 1989; 1996). The importance of Souania, as became apparent in Late Antiquity, owed much to its location on passes north-south and east-west, among which the Mamison Pass (numbered site 7) is particularly important (Braund 1994, 311-14).

There were also important passes south of the Caucasus proper. In the south-west of the map, the Goderdzi Pass (numbered site 3) permitted easy passage from the Black Sea around Apsaros and Bathys Limen (Map 87 G3) up the valley of the R. Adcharistsqali into south-west Iberia. Rather to the east, the Zekari Pass (numbered site 4) offered a route into the hinterland of Colchis and western Iberia. Between Colchis and Iberia there was the key Surami Pass (numbered site 5), guarded by Sarapanis to its west. A little to the north, the situation was replicated by the Jvari Pass (numbered site 6) and the fort of Skandis to its west in turn. Routes between Iberia and Armenia only involved less significant passes, and some of these were in any case blocked by snow during winter (Strabo 11.5.6). Since no ancient roads are attested in the region, none are shown on the map. TabPeut’s route from Artaxata (Map 89 G1) to Sebastopolis (Map 87 G2) cannot be traced. As for the much-repeated notion of a trade route through here between the Black Sea and India, there is good cause for scepticism, despite ancient testimony (EncIran Caspian; Braund 1994, 40-42).

Another persistent notion is the availability of gold in the region, encouraged by the myth of the Golden Fleece and stories of gold on islands in the Caspian (Strabo 11.7.2). This notion too, however, has little to recommend it. The traveler Lamberti (1725, 178), who shows a sustained interest in economic matters, reports Strabo’s story of winning gold from mountain streams with fleeces, but only to dismiss it. He observes that: “...none of these supposed riches remains, nor even any memory in the land that any such riches ever existed.” It seems to have been the myth of gold-rich mountains that attracted Russian interest in the Ossetians in the eighteenth century; that interest evaporated when the emptiness of the story was realized (Klaproth 1827, 67-68). Far too much has been made of an isolated report by Botchorishvili in the 1940s of an encounter with some old men in Svaneti who claimed to recall the process of winning gold from streams through the use of fleeces (and to know of a lost city beneath the ice); she did not find the process being practiced, as has sometimes been imagined (Braund 1994, 21-25). All this is not to deny the existence of mines, as Pliny (*NH* 6.30) indicates among the Souanoi and little-known Valli of the mountains

(probably Ptolemy's Oualoi). According to travelers, there was lead and some silver (Klaproth 1827, 165), and even one or two gold-workings (Lamberti 1725, 195 on gold above Mingrelia).

More rewarding is Lamberti's evidence (*ibid.*) of the movement of Svans down into the lowlands beneath them twice a year—first to work on the harvest in return for salt, cloth and metal-goods and later, in winter, to barter their wood (cf. Klaproth 1827, 130). Blocks of salt were brought in from northern Armenia and used as currency in the mountains (*ibid.* 169). Transhumance was and still is a vital issue throughout the region, not least to the north. Strabo (11.3.3) reports the close links between the northernmost Iberians, dwelling in the mountains, and the peoples of the plains to their north, whom he terms “Scythians and Sarmatians.” It is important to remember that relations between the peoples of the region entailed friendship and accommodation, as well as intermittent hostilities. We happen to know that in the early nineteenth century the peoples of the mountains to their east in Daghestan were permitted to pasture their flocks on the plain to the north, as their lack of local pasturage required (Klaproth 1827, 60-62). Hostilities tend to be described and explained in our sources as border disputes. The border between the Iberians and Albanians seems to have been a particular source of difficulty, not least because it lies along a frontier between Iberian sedentarism and Albanian pastoralism (Aliyev 1974, 83-123; Braund 1994, 221-22). Rivers might constitute visible borders, as the Alazonios could do between the Iberians and Albanians (Pliny, *NH* 6.29; cf. 6.39 on the R. Kyros as boundary between Iberia and Armenia, conceivably Albania too; Ptol. 5.11.3). Rivers, however, were also precious resources in their own right, worth fighting for. Moreover, the inhabitants on both banks might have more in common than outsiders from further afield.

I have taken into account attempts made to identify sites which rely primarily upon the re-ordering of texts or similarities of place names from antiquity to the present day. Except, however, where the similarities are genuinely close, my preference has been to give such attempts short shrift. It should be recognized that some scholars have adopted a less conservative approach (notably Mouraviev 1985; 1988).

## Directory

All place names are in Georgia unless otherwise noted

### Names

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
B3	Ad Fontem Felicem	RL	Borjomi?	Braund 1994, 149
A3	Ad Mercurium	RL	Abastumani?	Braund 1994, 303
C3	<i>Aghaiani</i> Ag. Stephanos = Onogouris	HRL		Bokhochadze 1981
C2	<i>Akhalgori</i>	CH		Smirnov 1934
B3	<i>Akhaltzikhe</i>	RL		Braund 1994, 210
D4	<i>Akunk</i>	HR	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
C1	Alanoi		RUS / UKR	See Map 85
D3	Alazonios fl.	HR	Alazani	Lordkipanidze 1996, 113
F3	Albania Albaniai Pylai = Kaspiai Pylai	HR	AZE / RUS	Babayev 1990
D1	Albanoi	HRL		RE 1
H3	Albanum Mare	HR	SW Caspian	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.38
F3	Albanos fl.	HR	Samur	RE
C3	<i>Algeti</i>	CH		Lordkipanidze 1991b, 148-56
C2	Alontas fl.	HR	Terek GEO / RUS	Magie 1950, 1530
A4	Andaga		TKY	See Map 89
B4	<i>Ani</i>	HR	ARM	Tiratsian 1985, 62
C4	<i>Anushavan</i>	HR	ARM	Zardarian 1994, 187-89
C2	Aragos fl.	HR	Aragvi	Lordkipanidze 1996, 112
C2	<i>Aragvispiri</i>	HR		Machabeli 1983
A4	Araxes fl.			See Map 90
A2	Archaiopolis			See Map 87

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
C4	Armaouira	ACHRL	ARM	Zardarian 1994, 170-73
C3	<i>Armaziskhevi</i>	RL		Braund 1994, 235-36
B4	Armenia Maior	HRL		Tiratsian 1985
B4	<i>Ashmak</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
D4	<i>Astkhi-blur</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
C4	<i>Atarbegian</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
C4	<i>Atsavan</i>	HR	ARM	Tiratsian 1985, 70
inset	<i>Baku</i>			See Introduction
C4	<i>Bazmaberd</i>	HR	ARM	Zardarian 1994, 181-82
B4	<i>Beniamin</i>	CHR	ARM	Zardarian 1994, 185-87
D4	<i>Berd</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
C4	<i>Berdatekh</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
G3	<i>Bilidzhi</i>	HR	RUS	Babayev 1990, 47
	Biraparach = Cumania			
C3	<i>Bolnisi</i>	L		Braund 1994, 215
B2	<i>Bori</i>	HR		Braund 1994, 202
B2	<i>Brili</i>	CH		Lordkipanidze 1991b, 303-305
G2	Caspium/ Hyrcanium Mare Caucasiae Portae = Kaspiai Pylai			See Map 90
B2	Caucasus M.		Caucasus	Braund 1994, index
F3	Ceraunii M.		Daghestan Mts. RUS	RE Keraunioi
F4	Chabala	HR	AZE	Khalilov 1974, 100-103
	§ Cabala			
A3	Chorzene	HR	TKY	Strabo 11.14.4
A2	Colchis/ Lazike Coraxici M. = Heniochi M.	ACHRL		Lordkipanidze 1991b; Braund 1994
C2	Cumania/ Biraparach/ Iouroeipaach	R/ L/ L	Dariali / Viraparakh	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.30; Braund 1994, 270
A2	<i>Dablagomi</i>	CH		Lordkipanidze 1991b
A2	<i>Dapnari</i>	CH		Kiguradze 1976
B2	<i>Dedoplis gora</i>	HR	Doghlauri	Lordkipanidze 1994, 165-67
B2	<i>Dedoplis mindori</i>	HR		Gagoshidze 1981
D2	Diduri	HRL		RE Diduroi
	Dokonos? fl. = Glaukos fl.			
C4	Doubios	HRL	Dvin ARM	Zardarian 1994, 183-85
G3	<i>Dzhanakhyr</i>	HR	AZE	Babayev 1990, 47
B4	<i>Dzhrapi</i>	HR	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
C4	<i>Dzhrarat</i>	CH	ARM	Arakelian 1967, 39
C4	Erebuni	CH	Arinberd ARM	Tiratsian 1985
B4	<i>Eruandakert</i>	HR	ARM	Sarkisian 1960, 22-23
B4	<i>Eruandashat</i>	HRL	TKY	Zardarian 1994, 180
B4	<i>Eruandavan</i>	HR	ARM	Tiratsian 1985, 61
C4	<i>Gekhadir</i>	HR	ARM	Tiratsian 1985, 64
E1	Gerros fl.		Sulak RUS	RE Gerrhos
D4	<i>Gezlu</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
A2	Glaukos/ Dokonos?/ Kyaneos? fl.			See Map 87
B3	Gogarene/ (T)Osarene	HRL		RE; RE <i>Τωσαρηνη</i> ; Toumanoff 1963
C4	Gorneae	ACHRL	Garni ARM	Arakelian 1951
E3	<i>Gumbati</i>	AC		Furtwängler 1996
B2	Gurdinii M.			Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.30

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
C3	Harmozike § (H)Armaktika § Armazistsikhe § Hermastus	HRL	Bagineti	EncIran Armazi; Lordkipanidze 1996, 272
A3	Heniochi/ Coraxici M.		TKY	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.26
A4	Heniochoi		GEO / TKY	See Map 87
A2	Hippos? fl.			See Map 87
B3	<i>Hokhmik</i>	HRL		Zardarian 1994, 190-92
B3	Hiberus fl. Hyrcaunium Mare = Caspium Mare	HR	Paravani	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.29
B2	Iberia § Iberes	HRL		Lordkipanidze 1991b; Braund 1994
D4	<i>Idzhevan</i> Iouroeipaach = Cumania	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
B2	<i>Itkhvissi</i>	CH		Braund 1994, 101
C2	<i>Jhinvali</i>	ACHRL		Ramishvili 1991
C3	<i>Jvari</i>	L		Lordkipanidze 1991b
C4	Kainepolis	HR	Echmiadzin / Valarshapat ARM	Tiratsian 1985
D4	<i>Kalkar</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
D3	Kambysene		AZE	RE <i>Καμβύσηνη</i>
D3	Kambyses fl.		Iori	RE 1
D4	<i>Kamo</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
D4	<i>Karchakhpyur</i>	CHR	ARM	Karapetian 1980; Zardarian 1994, 181
C3	<i>Kariglukh</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
C4	<i>Karmir-blur</i> § [Teishebaini]	HR	ARM	Martirosian 1961
G3	Kasios fl. § Casus	HR	Kusar	RE 1 Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.30
C2	Kaspiai Pylai/ Caucasiae Portae § Sarmatikai Pylai			Braund 1994 Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.39
G2	Kaspiai Pylai/ Albaniai Pylai	HR	RUS	Braund 1994, 270 Ptol. 5.11.4
B4	<i>Katnakhpyur</i>	HR	ARM	Zardarian 1994, 181-83
C3	Kavtiskhevi § <i>Tsikhia gora</i>	CH		Tskitishvili 1977
C3	<i>Khovlegora</i>	ACH		Pitskhelauri 1977
B2	<i>Kldeeti</i>	RL		Braund 1994, 202-203
A2	Kotais § Kytaia Kyaneos? fl. = Glaukos fl.	CHRL	Kutaisi	Braund 1994, 305
B3	Kyros fl.		AZE / GEO	See Map 90
B3	Lazike = Colchis Leukothea	CHR	Atsquri	Braund 1994, 185; cf. Lordkipanidze 1996, 251
E3	Lupenii/ Lupones	RL	RUS	RE
D4	Lychnitis Limne	HR	Sevan ARM	RE <i>Λυχνίτις</i>
C3	<i>Manglisi</i>	L		Lordkipanidze 1991b
C3	Meschistha § Mestleta	HRL	Mtskheta	Braund 1994, 228-30
F4	<i>Mingechaur</i>	CHRL	AZE	Babayev 1990

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
A2	Mocheresis § Mechlesos § Mochora § Mourisios	HRL		Braund 1994, 291
B2	<i>Modinakhe</i>	CHRL		Bragvadze 1996
F4	<i>Mollansakly</i>	HR	AZE	Babayev 1990, 47
B2	<i>Monastiri</i>	RL		Braund 1994, 210
A3	Moschici M.	HR	GEO / TKY	RE <i>Μοσχικά ὄρη</i>
A3	Moschoi § Meschoi	HRL L		Lordkipanidze 1996, 141 Procop., <i>Bell.</i> 8.2.24
F4	(M)Otene	HRL	AZE	Toumanoff 1963, 129
A2	<i>Mtisdziri</i>	CHRL		Gamkrelidze 1992
B3	<i>Mzetamze</i>	ACH		Braund 1994, 115
A2	<i>Namarnu</i>			See Map 87
C3	<i>Nastagisi</i>	HRL		Bokhochadze 1977
D4	<i>Nor-Ashen</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1985
F4	<i>Nyudi</i>	HR	AZE	Osmanov 1979
A2	Onogouris/ Ag. Stephanos			See Map 87
E4	Orchistene Osarene = Gogarene	HRL	AZE	RE
C4	<i>Oshakan</i> Otene = (M)Otene	HR	ARM	Tiratsian 1985, 67
C4	Paracata		ARM	See Map 89
C4	Parihedri M.		Lesser Caucasus ARM	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.29
A2	<i>Partskhanakanevi</i>	HR		Lordkipanidze 1991b
A2	Phasis fl.			See Map 87
A2	Phasis/ Rheon fl.		Middle Rioni	Braund 1994, 25
C2	<i>Qanchaeti</i>	CH		Lordkipanidze 1991b
C3	<i>Qatlanikhevi</i>	CHRL		Akhalaia 1996
C2	<i>Qazbegi</i>	CH		Lordkipanidze 1991b
A2	Rheon fl. = Phasis fl. Rhodopolis	RL	Vardtsikhe	Japaridze 1989
D1	Sabeiroi	L		RE
D3	<i>Sagarejo</i>	RL		Lordkipanidze 1991b
B2	<i>Sairkhe</i>	CH		Nadiradze 1990
E4	Sakasene § Sacasani § Sakapene		AZE	RE <i>Σακασηνή</i> Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.29 Ptol. 5.12.4
A2	Saltiae?			See Map 87
C3	<i>Samadlo</i>	HR		Gagoshidze 1979
C3	<i>Samtavro</i>	CHRL		Braund 1994, 207
E2	Sanaraioi	RL	RUS	RE
A2	Sannoi			See Map 87
A2	<i>Saqanchia</i>	CH		Licheli 1991
B2	Sarapanis § Sarapa § Sarake	HRL	Shorapani	Lordkipanidze 1996, 247  Ptol. 5.9.5
C3	<i>Sarkine</i>	HR		Bokhochadze 1977
D3	<i>Sary-tepe</i>	CH	AZE	Narimanov 1960
C3	Seusamora	HRL	Tsitsamuri	Lordkipanidze 1996, 274
C4	<i>Shamiram</i>	HR	ARM	Zardarian 1994, 183
G4	<i>Shemakha</i>	HRL	Khynysly	Khalilov 1962; Babayev 1990, 47
B4	<i>Shirakavan</i>	HR	ARM	Ter-Martirosov 1980
E2	Silvi	RL	RUS	RE 1
B4	Sirakene			RE <i>Σιρακηνή 2</i>

Grid	Name	Period	Modern Name / Location	Reference
B2	Skandis § Skandeis § Skanda	CHRL		Braund 1994, 291
A2	Skymnia			See Map 87
D2	Sodi	HR		Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.29
D4	Sodoukene		ARM	RE <i>Σοδοουκηνή</i>
D1	Sontas fl.		Sundzha RUS	RE
A2	Souania			See Map 87
F3	<i>Targu</i>	HR	RUS	Babayev 1990, 47
C3	<i>Tbilisi</i>	RL		Lordkipanidze 1991b
A2	Telephis?			See Map 87
C3	Thasie	HR		Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.29
B3	Thriare	HR		Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.29
D4	<i>Tigranakert</i>	RL	AZE	Sarkisian 1960
C2	<i>Tli</i> (T)Osarene = Gogarene	AC		Braund 1994, 131
B2	<i>Tskhinvali</i>	HR		Lordkipanidze 1991b
G2	<i>Tzon/</i> <i>Tzur</i>	L/ L	Derbent / Darband RUS	Kudryavtsev 1985; Braund 1994, 270
C3	<i>Uplistsikhe</i>	ACHRL		Braund 1994, 166-67
B2	<i>Urbnisi</i>	HR		Braund 1994, 166
F2	<i>Urtseki</i>	CHR	RUS	Khalilov 1974, 106-107
B2	Valli § Oualoi	RL		RE
A2	Vani	ACHR		Lordkipanidze 1991a
B4	<i>Vardbach</i>	RL	Kumairi / Leninakan ARM	Zardarian 1994, 192-94
F3	<i>Yaloylutepe</i>	HR		Sharifov 1927; Ismizade 1956
C4	<i>Yerevan</i>	CH	ARM	Tiratsian 1979, 162
C3	Zalissa	RL	Dzalisi	Braund 1994, 256
B3	<i>Zghuderi</i>	HR		Braund 1994, 206

### Numbered Sites (Passes)

No.	Grid	Location	Reference
1	A1	Nakra	Braund 1994, 44
2	B2	Sharivtsek	Braund 1994, 44
3	A3	Goderdzi	Braund 1994, 184-85
4	A3	Zekari	Braund 1994, 44
5	B2	Surami	Braund 1994, 40-41
6	B2	Jvari	Braund 1994, 40
7	B2	Mamison	Braund 1994, 44
8	B2	Zekarskiy	Braund 1994, 44
9	C2	Rokskiy	Braund 1994, 44
10	C2	Krestovyy	Braund 1994, 44
11	D2	Kachu	Braund 1994, 44



**Walls**

Grid	Location	Period	Reference
G2	W Tzon	RL?	Kudryavtsev 1979
G3	SE Bilidzhi	RL?	Kudryavtsev 1979
H3	SE Dzhanakhyr (2)	RL?	Kudryavtsev 1979

**Unlocated Toponyms**

Name	Period	Probable Location	Reference
Abas fl.	HR?	AZE	Plutarch, <i>Pompeius</i> 35; RE
Ablana	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Adiabla	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Aginna	R	Iberia	Ptol. 5.10.2
Alamos	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.5
Albana	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.2
Arsarata	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Artanissa	R	Iberia	Ptol. 5.10.2
Arxata	HR	ARM	Strabo 11.14.6; Sarkisian 1960, 43-44
Askoura	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Azata	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Bakchia	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.3
Baraza	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Barouka	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Batinna	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Boziata	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.5
Chadacha	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.5
Chanes fl.	HR	AZE	Strabo 11.3.2
Chobota	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.5
Choloua	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Cholouata	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Dareine	L	pass through main Caucasus	Menander the Guardsman 10.5
Deglane	R	Degna? AZE	Ptol. 5.11.3
Dizaka	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Embolaion	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Eoris? fl.		Iori?	Mouraviev 1988, 156-57
Gangara	R	Baku? AZE	Ptol. 5.11.2; RE
Gelda	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.2
Glisma	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Ideessa/ Phrixou polis	HR	Iberia	Lordkipanidze 1996, 275
Iouboula	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Iouna	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Kamechia	R	Shemakha? AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Kotomana	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Kozala/ Kozola	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Lala	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Loubion	R	Iberia	Ptol. 5.10.2
Madia	R	Colchis	Ptol. 5.9.5
Misia	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.5
Mosega	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4

Name	Period	Probable Location	Reference
Neoris		Iberia?	Mouraviev 1988, 156-57
Niga	R	Nisch? AZE	Ptol. 5.11.3
Osika	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Ouaroutha/ Ouathoura	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Ouarika	R	Iberia	Ptol.5.10.2
Ouasaida	R	Iberia	Ptol.5.10.2
Outhimereos		Kutaisi acropolis?	Braund 1994, 305
Peloros fl.			Braund 1994, 166
Ptousa	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Rhoitakes fl.	HR	AZE?	Strabo 11.3.2
Sakalbina	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Sala	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Samounis	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Sandobanes fl.	HR	AZE?	Strabo 11.3.2
Sanoua	R	Sigmakh? AZE	Ptol. 5.11.3
Santouta	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Sataphara	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Sedala	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Selenes Hieron	HR	AZE	Strabo 11.4.7
Sioda	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.4
Soura	R	Surami?	Ptol. 5.10.2
Sourion/ Souris/ Surium	R	Vani?	Ptol. 5.9.5; Braund 1994, 148
Sourta	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Surium fl.	R	Sulori?	Pliny, <i>NH</i> 6.13
Tagoda	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.3
Ta(s)tina	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Telaiba	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.2
Thabilaka	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.5
Thiauna	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.5
Thilbis	R	AZE	Ptol. 5.11.5
Toga	R	ARM	Ptol. 5.12.5
Zadris	R	Colchis	Ptol. 5.9.5

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