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**THE COLCHIANS IN THE ADRIATIC –  
POETIC IMAGINATION OR A HISTORICAL FACT**

Among the disputable issues related to the myth of the Argonauts is the route of the campaign in the earliest versions of the myth. Scholars continue to argue whether in the initial version of the myth the destination of the expedition was indeed Colchis or whether the version developed after Greek settlements started to appear in the Black Sea region, while before then, the Land of Aetes could have been thought to be located somewhere in Ethiopia (1). If the tradition anyway refers to the Black Sea littoral, then it could have been the southern part, i. e. the territory of the Hittite Empire (2), or the northern part, the territory of Scythia (4). As the question has been covered in many works (5), now I will only attempt to give a brief account of the arguments set forth by the supporters of the traditional viewpoint – the identification of the land of Aetes with Colchis already in the early versions of the myth: a) The Homeric epics, the earliest written source, locates the land of Aetes in the Black sea region, which is suggested by the episode of Lemnos and Euneus, a son of Jason and Hypsipyle, and by the mentioning of Hellespont; b) all of the terms associated with the myth of the Argonauts that do not have Greek etymology are connected with the Kartvelian linguistic environment; c) A number of golden artefacts of the Bronze Age discovered in Iolkos (modern Volos) can be of Colchian origin; d) *ko-ki-da*, *ko-ki-de-jo* formatives found in the Mycenaean texts must be the equivalents of Colchis (6). As concerns the part of the myth relating about the Argonauts' flee from Aetes and the settlement of the Colchian pursuers in the Adriatic, it remains less explored. As it is known, three important philologists and poets of the Hellenistic period, Calimachus, Lycophron and Apollonius of Rhodes employ the version where the Colchians reach the Adriatic in

pursuit of the Argonauts, but having failed to capture the Greeks and Medea, decided not to return to Colchis for the fear of Aetes and settle in the Adriatic. This version obviously became quite popular since then. Though a number of details remained disputable for a long time, none of the ancient authors doubted the Colchians' settlement in the Adriatic. The version is supported by such reliable and scrupulous authors as Strabo and Pliny the Senior. The following question may naturally arise: what facts are reflected in the information? While the issue has so far been found historically irrelevant in Georgian scholarship, those interested in Paleo-Balkan questions see some historical truth in the episode, while companies interested in attracting tourists to the Adriatic resorts obviously find it quite profitable to incorporate the region into the scope of *Argonautica* (7).

As I have pointed out already in 1999 (8), the issue truly deserves closer attention of Georgian scholars. This prompts me to offer a deeper insight into the question. First, let us recall some details of the Colchian pursuit, so exhaustively described by Apollonius of Rhodes (IV, 212 ff): Aetes sends his ships, led by Medea's brother Apsyrtus, in pursuit of Argo. Enraged Aetes requires back her treacherous daughter. At first, Argo takes the same route by which she arrived in Colchis. However, on the coast of the Paphlagonians, at the mouth of the river Halys, Medea advises the sailors to sacrifice a thank offering to Hecate and erect a temple in her honour. Having done so, the sailors remember the words of the seer Phineus who warned them to return home by a different route. Therefore, they sail along the banks of Istros, from where they enter the Adriatic Sea and reach the Brygean isles of Artemis. Apollonius notes that part of the Colchian pursuers left Pontus by passing between the Cyanean rocks (IV, 303-304), i. e. left the Black sea through the Bosphorus Strait, while the other ship, led by Apsyrtus, sailed into Istros via a mouth called Kalon Stoma. As concerns the Argonauts, they entered the river by another mouth, Narex. This enabled the Colchians to get to the Adriatic before the Argonauts. According to Apollonius, the Colchians took the following route from Kalon Stoma to the Adriatic: They passed by the boundaries of the Scythians, mingled with the Thracians, the Sigynni, the Graucenii and the Sindi, inhabiting the vast desert plain of Laurium, afterwards they passed by mount Angurum, and the cliff of Cauliacus, by which, according to Apollonius, Istros, dividing its stream, "falls into the sea on this side and on that". Finally, they reached the Laurian plain and then sailed into the Cronian, i. e. the Adriatic Sea, thus cutting off all the ways. The Colchians occupied all the islands except two Brygean isles of

Artemis, for the reverence of the goddess. On one of these islands was a sacred temple, while on the other landed the Argonauts, who had sailed into the Adriatic later. As the Argonauts had no chance to escape, they decided to reach the following agreement with Apsyrtus: As the Golden Fleece was obtained by Jason through the fulfillment of Aetes' tasks, it would remain with the Colchians by justice, while Medea would stay in the temple of Artemis until any of the righteous kings would decide whether she ought to return home or accompany the Argonauts. Medea, frightened and exasperated at the decision, offered a new, vicious plan, which would enable them to slaughter Apsyrtus. She would persuade her brother that the Argonauts had taken her away by force. Then she would entice him aboard for a face-to-face talk with the help of messengers and precious gifts, while ambushed Jason would take a chance to kill him. When the scheme was implemented successfully, the Argonauts fiercely destroyed the Colchians, left without the leader, and escaped the other Colchian ships under the veil of night. When in the mourning the pursuers learned about the death of their leader, they searched the whole Adriatic but could not find Argo. The Colchians, awaiting Aetes' wrath, refused to return to their homeland, and decided to remain in the foreign region. Some of them settled on two Brygean islands, where the Argonauts had been staying, and their progeny was called the Apsyrtides in memory of Apsyrtus. Some built a city by the Illyrian river, near the Encheleans, where there is the tomb of Harmonia and Cadmus. Others found their home amid the mountains which are called Ceraunian. Thus, Apollonius specifies three regions in the Adriatic where the Colchians settled: a) The Apsyrtides islands, b) The banks of the Illyrian river, c) Ceraunian mountains. Other sources offer additional information about the Colchian Diaspora in the Adriatic: a) they settled in the city of Pola, giving it a name which in their language denoted "fugitive" (Callim., fr. 104, Lycophr., 1022ff., together with scholia of Tzetzes, Pomp. Mela II 57); b) they settled near Dizerus river, which was given a name after the search for Medea (Lycophr. 1026 together with scholia of Tzetzes, Steph. Byz.); c) by the river Aquileia (Iust. XXXII 3, 13); d) in the city of Oricon, on the banks of the Illyrian river (Timaios, fr. 53, Ap. Rhod., IV 519, 1214f., Plin., III 145) and e) in the city of Olcinium in Dalmacia, earlier called Colchinium (Plin., III 144). It can be presumed that the Colchians, who came to the Adriatic via the Istros river, must eventually have been joined by their compatriots that had followed the Bosphorus, as the latter too would have been reluctant to return to Colchis, for the fear of Aetes' wrath (9).

When could the version of the Colchian settlement in the Adriatic have developed and what may underlie it? The Colchian pursuers are an intrinsic detail of the homebound Argonauts' adventures, which would gradually modify along with the expansion of the Greeks' geographical awareness. Some earlier authors believed that the Argonauts had sailed from Phasis through Oceanus to the south, till they reached the Libyan desert by crossing the Erythrian Sea. There they carried Argo on their shoulders for 12 days till they came to Lake Tritonis and afterwards reached the Mediterranean Sea via the Nile (Hecat., fr. 339, Hes., fr. 87, 88, Pind., *Pyth.*, IV, 25 ff. etc.). Others believed that the Argonauts returned to their homeland by the same route as they had taken to Colchis (Herodor., fr. 55, according to the scholion to Ap. Rhod., IV 259, Diod., IV 48f., this version is supported by Soph., *Skythai*, fr. 504 and Eurip., *Med.*, 432, 1263). After the Hellenes' knowledge of the Black Sea geography expanded, part of the authors came up with a version that the Argonauts sailed into the Tanais river and from there carried Argo on their shoulders to the Northern Ocean, then sailed to the Pillars of Hercules, i. e. the strait of Gibraltar and entered the Mediterranean Sea (Timaios, fr. 6, Scymnus, according to the scholion to Ap. Rhod., IV 284, partly *Orph. Arg.*, 1038ff.), and finally, the version offered by Apollonius of Rhodes, which, evidently, became popular thanks to Timagetus, a geographer of the Hellenistic period (Timagetus, according to the scholia to Ap. Rhod., IV 259, 284, Apollod., I 9,24, Aristot., *Mirab.*, 105p. 839b9, Strab., I 46, Diod., IV 56,7, Val. Flacc. VIII 185, Hygin., *Fab.*, 23. This version was obviously shared by Callimachus). Some authors supporting this version found that from Istros the Argonauts carried their vessel on their shoulders to a river flowing into the Adriatic (Peisandr. Zosimos, V 29, Iust. XXXII 3, Plin., III 128, Sozom. *Hist., Eccl.*, I 6).

Bearing in mind the Greeks' knowledge of the world geography before the classical period, it will become clear why the Argonauts' route invited controversial ideas. In the period when the myth was developed, presumably, appr. The 11<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the only body of water which the Greeks called "sea" was the Mediterranean, while the rest of the world was believed to be washed by the Oceanus, the world river, where continents were dispersed as islands, i. e. it was an outer sea, connected with the Mediterranean only by the Pillars of Heracles, the Gibraltar (10). As concerns the Black Sea, the Greeks' ideas were controversial. The Black Sea too was considered to be a sea or pontos, but it was supposed to be connected with the Oceanus, the world river, and with the Mediterranean Sea by Hellespont. Its southern shores were inhabited by the peoples

mentioned in *The Catalogue of Ships* of the *Iliad*. One of those tribes was called the Halizones, which presumably is a speaking name meaning "surrounded by the Sea" (11). This means that Homer associated them with the sea. As concerns the destination of the Argo, Aetes' city, according to Mimnermus, it was located on the bank of Oceanus (fr. 11a v). According to the *Odyssey*, the island of Circe must have been located in the Sea of Aeaea. This must be implied in Book XII 1-4 of the *Odyssey*. The ship coming from the land of the Cymmerians "had left the stream of the river Oceanus and had come to the wave of the broad sea, and the Aeaeian isle ..." Hence, if Mimnermus locates the city of Aetes on the bank of the Oceanus, then Aeaea island, which according to Homer, was in the same area, must have been located in the open sea. In connection with the Oceanus, I would like to highlight one important point that deals with relationship of Aea with Ethiopia. In his work *Aia* (12), A. Lesky suggests that in the *Odyssey* the land of Aetes and Aeaea Island, related to it, are supposed to be located in the same region as Ethiopia in the early beliefs of the Hellenes. His central argument is that both locations are associated with Helios. According to the *Odyssey*, Aeaea is the island "where is the dwelling of early Dawn and her dancing-lawns, and the risings of the sun" (*Od.*, XII, 3-4). Mimnermus further specifies that the rays of Helios rest in a golden chamber (thalamos) on the bank of Oceanus in the city of Aetes, Mala (11a). According to the *Odyssey* (I, 22ff.), "the far-off Ethiopians ... dwell sundered in twain"; some of these mythical people live in the east, from where the sun rises, and some in the west, where the sun sets. In his other fragments, Mimnermus further specifies the details of Helios' route (Fr. 12 W) and describes the toil of the sun god. Neither he nor his horses can take a breath. When Eos rises from the Oceanus, he flits on his gold-winged bed, fashioned by Hephaestus, from the land of the Hesperides to the land of the Ethiopians, where swift steeds harnessed to a chariot await him. Having mounted his chariot, Helios starts his ascent. Proceeding from this, A. Lesky and his followers believe Ethiopia to be the place from where Helios' rises. As according to the *Odyssey*, in Aeaea there are the palace and Eos and the place of sunrise, the land of the Ethiopians and the island of Circe can be considered to be in the same geographical area. Hence, in such a highly reputed encyclopedia as DNP, an article on *Aia* directly states that *Mythisches Wunderland am Okeanos (im Land der Aithiopen ...)*. In my opinion, the supporters of this statement must have overlooked a point which I will attempt to expound below. Let us remember the *Odyssey*. It contains a number of passages about the island of Circe. Neither Circe and Hermes nor the poet himself ever mentions

that Aeaia is anyhow related to Ethiopia. Nor does the well-known extract from Mimnermus anyway associate the land of Aetes with Ethiopia. In my opinion, when describing the places of sunrise and sunset, Homer and Mimnermus follow the mythopoetic tradition. According to it, the farthest east, symbolically represented by Ethiopia, and the farthest west – again Ethiopia in Homer and the land of the Hesperides in Mimnermus – are the members of the binary opposition: the East and the West, with Helios, or the sun, being the mediator between them. He neutralizes the opposition by his motion. As concerns the land of the Aetes, Helios, being Aetes' father, is linked with it genetically. Evidently, there existed another tradition in connection with the sunrise, which said that the rays of Helios were stored in his son's land, likewise located in the farthest east. However, Homer and Mimnermus do not relate this land to Ethiopia, neither do they claim that Helios' swift steeds and chariot were to be found here or that this land was the beloved place for gods to carouse. Consequently, in early sources the land of Aetes and the Island of Circe were not related to the land Ethiopia.

Was the episode of the Colchian pursuit part of the early versions of the myth of the Argonauts? I believe the very logic of story most plausibly indicates that it was. It is difficult to imagine that the son of Helios, the powerful king could take no notice of the seizure of the Golden Fleece. A hint at this can be seen already in the Homeric *Odyssey*, where Argo is referred to as "famed by all" (*Od.*, XII, 69), also in Hesiod, who speaks about many ordeals endured by Jason before he reached Iolcus with Medea (*Theog.*, 997), in Mimnermus, who highlights Medea's role in the success of the expedition (11 v), in Pindar, who reminds us that Medea wedded against her father's will and that she rescued Argo and all her crew from danger (*Od.*, XIII, 53-54), in Pherecydes (fr. 254), who speaks about the pursuers, in Apollodorus (I,9,24), whose *Library* gives an account of two stages of the pursuit as, presumably, must have been described in the sources available to him: a) Aetes himself participates in the pursuit but is hindered by the collection and burial of Apsyrtus' remains; b) Having returned to Colchis, he sent hosts of Colchians to search for Argo. Therefore, I believe that the story of taking Medea against her father's will, Medea's complicity in slaughtering her brother, her assistance in overcoming the dangers and the Colchian pursuers' reluctance to return to Colchis for the fear of Aetes must have been known already in the early versions of the myth. Individual details of the pursuit would vary in accordance with the poets' imagination. Apsyrtus' episode could be cited as an example: It is difficult to say which version is earlier: whether

Apsyrtus was an infant at the time of the Argonauts' campaign or an adult, whether he was killed in his home, in a river, in the Pontus or in the Adriatic Sea, whether he (or the parts of his dismembered body) was buried in his homeland, in Tomis, or in an Adriatic island, whether his slaughter caused Zeus' rage, whether Circe purified Medea and Jason of the sin in the Pontus or in the Mediterranean (13). Unlike these details, whose versions vary in different accounts, the episode of the Colchian pursuit is reported almost in all versions. That the pursuers could not capture the Argonauts and were therefore unable to return home seems to be taken for granted in all the accounts. Since the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, ancient sources claim insistently that the pursuers settled in the Adriatic. The specialists of Paleo-Balkan studies attempt to justify the information by considering historical facts. They believe that after the Milesian colonists discovered Colchis in the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC and the expedition of the Argonauts became closely associated with the eastern Black Sea littoral, the relations between the Mediterranean and Colchis intensified. At the time, part of the Milesian colonists migrated from Colchis to the Adriatic, which could have generated the version of the Colchians' settlement in the Adriatic. Thus, along with the transformation of the myth in the Hellenistic period, the migration of Greek colonists could have been reflected in the pursuers' episode (14). However, such interpretation of the information provided by ancient authors may not seem plausible enough as the learned men of the Hellenistic period are less likely to have confused Greek colonists with autochthonic Colchians; or Calimachus, a merited philologist, could hardly have failed to realize that the word which he took for Colchian in fact belonged to the language of the Greek colonists.

These observations prompt the following question: How else can we explain the information provided in Greek sources about the Colchian settlement in the Adriatic? I believe they can be associated with possible relations between Colchis and the Adriatic in the 15<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, which can be inferred from archeological and linguistic evidence.

Archeological evidence reveals interesting encounters between Colchis and the so-called Terramare and Danube valley cultures dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium and the early 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (15). The encounters are so significant that some scholars even do not rule out the existence of a Colchian ethnic element in these regions of Europe (16). Anyway, close relations between the regions in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages are found fairly plausible. Elements typical of Colchian culture appear in northern Italy and the Danube area after a strong Kartvelian component

was established in the Pre-Greek linguistic world at the turn of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, as a result of the migration of some Caucasian and primarily, Kartvelian tribes during the Great Migration of Peoples. The “Colchian Migration” apparently started a new stage in the relations between the Kartvelian tribes and the Balkan, Danube and northern Italian regions, which was reflected in archeological as well as linguistic data. In this connection, it would be interesting to study the substrate vocabulary of modern Adriatic inhabitants, whose languages are mostly Slavonic. Now I will only confine myself to ancient Macedonian vocabulary preserved in ancient Greek sources. I will dwell on several so-called Macedonian formatives that are not attested either in the Mycenaean or the Homeric epics. This may compel us to assume that the formatives must have been unknown to Pre-Greek and early Greek dialects and must have been considered by Greek lexicographers to be pure macedonisms (17). Let us discuss several of them:

*ἄδρατα*: according to Hesychius, the Macedonian formative denoted “bright whether, clear sky”. The form is not widespread in Greek and its origin is not known (18). In my opinion, it must be related to the Georgian-Zan \**adr-* root (Georg. *adre*, Megr. *ordo* “morning”, Laz *ordo* “early, quickly” (19). The Macedonian formative obviously stems from the common Kartvelian variant of the pre-differentiation period rather than from the later Zan stem.

*ἄργελλα/ἄργυλλα*: the first version of the formative with *e* is defined in the Suida as “a Macedonian dwelling place where, [men] bathe while warming up”. The second version with *i*, according to notes mentioned by Strabo (V 244), was used in Magna Graecia by the Cymmerians to denote an underground dwelling. The etymology is unknown (20). The *adgil-i* formative, derived from \**deg-/dg* Georgian-Zan stem with the help of the Kartvelian derivational \**a-* prefix and the Georgian-Zan *-il* suffix, develops *r* in western Kartvelian dialects, from which it was borrowed by Megrelian > *ardgil-i* and Svan > *argil* “the worshipping place/ the place for praying” (21). I believe the root must have been borrowed by Macedonian from the same source.

*κάρισα - / σάρισσα*: according to Theophrastus and Polybius, the formative refers to „Macedonian lance“. Its etymology is unknown (22). It can be associated with the formatives derived from \**sar-* Georgian-Zan stem: Georg. *isari*, *sreva*, *sari*; Megr. *isindi/ isgindi* „lance“, Laz. *isaği* „arrow“ (23). A formative corresponding to the Georgian-Zan root can be found in Macedonian.

*Δαλάγγαν*: according to Hesichius, the glossa denoted “sea”, probably, in the Macedonian and was the equivalent of Greek θάλασσα, θάλαττα, meaning „salty water” (24). Thus, the δαλ-, θαλ- root implied the meaning of saltiness. The etymology is unknown (25). It can be associated with the common Kartvelian \**dal-a* root, whose derivatives are formatives denoting “curds/curdled milk, rennet, butter milk”, that is, salty liquid: Geo. *dala*, *dalamuci*, *dalamo*; Zan *ndo/do* “do”, Svan *dgr/dgr* “rennet” (26). In this case too, the Macedonian formative shows relations with the Kartvelian archetypical root.

*κάραβος*: according to Hesychius, the formative was used by the Macedonians to denote “door”. Its homophonic equivalent in Greek had different meanings: “sea lobster”, “a kind of beetle, a scarab beetle”, etc. (27). The Macedonian formative can be associated with formatives derived from the common Kartvelian \**kar-/kr-* stem: Geo. *kari*, *karebi*; Svan. *likre* “opening” (28).

*Πόλα*: Strabo (V, C216) presents an extract from Calimachus, according to which the Colchian pursuers of Argo founded a city and, as mentioned above, called it Pola, which in their language denoted “fugitives”. This etymology, attested in Calimachus’ fragments, is also mentioned by a number of other ancient authors. Bearing in mind Calimachus’ erudition, his statements are to be treated with due consideration and should not be taken for his poetic imagination, all the more so that no convincing etymology of the place name has so far been offered. I would find it reasonable to associate the name with the Georgian formative *rbola* “running”, derived from the Georgian-Zan \**reb-/rb* “running” stem (29) by adding a common Kartvelian verbal suffix \*-*ol*. It is highly likely that the *rb-* cluster in anlaut could have lost the first consonant *r* when borrowed by Greek, while Kartvelian *b*, due to its relatively low degree of voicing, could have been replaced by *p* in Greek (30).

*Ἰστρων/Ἰστρος*, the ancient name of the Danube River. It is mentioned as early as by Hesiod in the so-called Catalogue of Rivers (*Theog.*, 339) along with other well-known rivers of the ancient world. A river with the same name is also attested on the island of Crete, giving name to the city of Istron, analogically with a number of place names with *istr-* element found in the Danube area (31). The meaning of the root can be related to some quality of a river. Taking into account the swift flow of the affluent Danube River, the meaning of the root could be associated with “swiftness”. E. J. Furneé revealed an interesting correspondence of the common Kartvelian *ç* sound with the Pre-Greek *st*. If we share Furneé’s theory, the Georgian-Zan verbal root \**çar-/çr-* can be considered as the

basis whose derivatives can be Georgian and Mingrelian formatives having the meaning of promptness (Geo. *crapa*, (s)*crapi*; megr. *corapa*). \**içar-/içr-*, formed through the combination of the Georgian-Zan derivational prefix \**i-* and \**çar-/çr-* stem, could have developed into the Pre-Greek *istr-* element.

The study of ancient proper names and vocabulary associated with the Danube area and the Adriatic, especially its so-called Illyrian part, may further reveal a number of interesting linguistic encounters. As concerns the above-considered examples, they may prompt the following hypothesis:

If the discussed formatives are really Kartvelian borrowings, they must have penetrated the region and languages in question before the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC as they are marked by common Georgian-Zan and not merely Zan properties. Hence, it is difficult to agree with those who associate the myths about the Colchian settlement in the Adriatic with the migration of part of the Ionian colonists inhabiting the eastern Black Sea littoral in the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. It is unlikely that the Hellenistic authors could have confused the Ionian Greeks with the Colchians. That the Colchians were known as early as the Late Bronze Age is suggested by the following: a. some golden items recovered in Mycenaean Iolcus (modern Volos) must presumably be Colchian (32); b. The majority of scholars believe that *ko-ki-da* and *ko-ki-de-jo* formatives found in Linear B texts of Knossos of the Mycenaean period are ethnic names derived from *Κολχίς*, *ίδος* (33). If we agree that the Mycenaean formatives indeed have this meaning, then the appearance of the Colchians on the island of Crete also need to be accounted for. It is hard to believe that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century hired or enslaved people were taken to the central city of the island directly from Colchis. It might be more logical to associate the “Cretan Colchians” with the Caucasians migrated to the Adriatic.

The following question may naturally crop up: If the episode of the Colchian pursers’ settlement in the Adriatic, described by Apollonius, really reflects the Colchian migration from the eastern Black Sea littoral in the Late Bronze Age, why is it missing in the earlier versions of the myth? Why did it become popular only in the Hellenistic period? In my opinion, this can be explained by the fact that the Greeks’ relations with the region of the Colchians’ possible migration started in a relatively later period. The Illyrian coast of the Adriatic must have fallen in the scope of their interest only in the late classical period, i. e. from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (34). The Illyrian kingdoms start to appear on the historical scene no earlier

than 400-167 BC (35). This is the period when the episode of the Colchian pursuers' settlement in the Adriatic appears in the Greek tradition. The version must have been rooted in the historical memory of the Illyrians. However, it could not have been influenced by the Greek tradition as the version of the Colchian settlement in the Adriatic, as seen above, was unknown in earlier Greek sources.

Thus, the process of the inclusion of the Adriatic episode into the myth of the Argonauts can be presented in the following way: Thus, the discussions presented above may allow us to speak about the following historical prerequisites determining the inclusion of the Adriatic episode into the myth of the Argonauts: in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, there were regular migrations from the territory of western Georgia, probably, via northern Black Sea littoral, towards the Balkans and the Adriatic. It should not be ruled out that in the Late Bronze Age, people known as Colchians might have been compelled by some reasons to migrate in quite large numbers and settle the Adriatic. Later, the Greeks start intensive relations with the region and get acquainted with the tradition preserved in the memory of the Illyrians about the Colchians' descendents, who must already have assimilated. This might have prompted Greek authors to associate the Illyrian Colchians with the myth of the Argonauts.

#### NOTES:

- (1) Lesky A., *Aia*, Wiener Studien 63, 1949, 22 ff.;
- (2) Dräger P., *Argo Pasimelusa. Der Argonautenmythos in der griechischen und römischen Literatur. Teil I. Theos Aitios*, Stuttgart 1993; DNP, I;
- (3) Haas V., *Magie und Mythen im Reich der Hethiter*, s. a. 315;
- (4) West M. L., *The Argonaut Legend in Early Greek Poetry*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies, 10 (1), 10 (2), Tbilisi 2007;
- (5) For more details, see: *The Argonautica and World Culture*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies 10 (1), 10 (2); See also Gordeziani R., *The Expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis in the Light of Modern Studies*, *The Kartvelologist* 15, 2009, 45 ff.
- (6) Cf. Gordeziani R., *Mediterranean and Kartvelian Encounters, III. Etruscans. Conclusive Comments*, Tbilisi 2007, 464 ff.
- (7) A number of brochures and online resources advertising Adriatic resorts put a special emphasis on the region's associations with the myth of the Argonauts.
- (8) *The Argonauts*, narrated and commented by R. Gordeziani, Tbilisi 1999, 111 ff.

(9) According to Scholion 1002 on the *Argonautica*, this part of the Colchians settled on the island of Korkyra (modern Corfu).

(10) Cf. DNP, 8, 1152 ff.

(11) Homers *Ilias*, Gesamtkommentar, hrsg. J. Latacz, Bd. II, Zweiter Gesang, Fasz. 2. Kommentar, Leipzig 2003, 280 ff.

(12) CF. Note 1.

(13) For the overview of sources, cf. Gordeziani R., *The Argonauts*, 109 ff.

(14) Vast resources are available for review on the Internet, see: <http://lika.me/History%20of%20Ulcinj.html>

(15) Apakidze J., *Westliche Kontakte der Kolchis-Kultur om Anfang des I. Jahrtausends*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies, 9, 2006 14 ff.

(16) For the overview, see Apakidze J., *op. cit.*

(17) The majority of the formatives are found in Hesychius, cf. Tischner H. <http://www.heinrich-tischner.de/22-sp/1sprach/aegaeis/mak-a.htm>

(18) EDG, I, 22.

(19) KEW, 33.

(20) EDG, I, 125.

(21) For the etymology of the Kartvelian root, cf. KEW, 127; for the development of *r* in front of *d* in western Georgian dialects, cf. Zhghenti S., *Phonetics of the Georgian Language*, Tbilisi 1956, 246 ff.

(22) EDG, II, 1309.

(23) KEW, 360.

(24) For more details, see: cf. Lesky A., *Qavlassa*, *Hermes* 78, 1943, 258ff.

(25) EDG, I, 530.

(26) The etymology of the Kartvelian root and its relationship with Pre-Greek is discussed in detail in Gordeziani R., *Greek Words of Unknown Etymology Denoting Sea*, Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies, 12, 2009, 160 ff.

(27) Furnée E. J., *Vorgriechisch-kartvelisches. Studien zum ostmediterranen Substrat nebst einem Versuch zu einer neuen pelasgischen Theorie*, Leuven 1979, 50; EDG, I, 642.

(28) For the etymology of the Kartvelian root, cf. KEW, 221 f. In my *Mediterranean and Kartvelian Encounters*, II, 181, I share Furnée's opinion concerning the relationship of the Macedonian formative with the Kartvelian root, however, now I

believe that unlike the Pre-Greek, the Macedonian directly borrowed the Kartvelian formative in a relatively later period.

(29) For the etymology of the root, see Chukhua M., *The Comparative Grammar of Iberian and Ichkerian Languages*, Tbilisi 2008, 456.

(30) Cf. Gordeziani R., *Mediterranean and Kartvelian Encounters, III, Etruscan, Conclusive Comments*, Tbilisi 2007, 479 ff.

(31) Cf. Brown R. A., *Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources*, Amsterdam 1985, 331 ff.

(32) Cf. Adrymi-Sismani V., *Iolkos: Myth, Archaeology and History*, *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, 10 (1), 2007, 20 ff.

(33) For more details, cf. Gordeziani L., *Essays in Ancient History*, Tbilisi 2009, 81 ff.

(34) For an overview, cf. Cabanes P., *Greek Colonization of the Adriatic*, in: *Greek Colonization. An Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas*, vol. 2, ed. G. Tsetskladze, Leiden 2008, 155 ff.

(35) *Illyrians*, Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Illyrians>

#### **ABBREVIATIONS:**

EDG = Beekes R., *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden Brill 2010.

KEW = Fähnrich H., *Kartwelisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leiden Brill 2007.