

### *AINAΩN[ΩN]?*

A scarce type of bronze coins in various European collections bearing the enigmatic letters AINAΩN has long puzzled historians. Is AINAΩN an ethnic name, is it related to an unknown ancient city AINA or can it be attributed to Thracian AINOΣ or Macedonian AINEIA as some scholars have cautiously suggested<sup>1</sup>?

A recent discovery of bronze coins in the vicinity of the ancient Cretan city of Gortyn, however, has provided us with new data which add a new dimension to the problem of the AINAΩN. These 61 coins, now at the Athens Numismatic Museum, are Gortynian with the exception of 6-7 pieces which bear the inscription AINAΩN; it should be pointed out, however, that these AINAΩN coins of the Cretan hoard are in every respect identical with Nos. 2-35 of the find which are clearly identified by their letters as Gortynian<sup>2</sup>. Thus, the existence of absolutely similar types of Gortynian and AINAΩN coins and the discovery of the AINAΩN pieces in Gortynian territory suggest that there is some definite relationship between them and Gortyn. In view of this, it is logical to search for the mysterious AINAΩN in Crete and Gortyn in particular rather than in Thrace, Macedonia, or any other part of the Greek world<sup>3</sup>.

But is there any evidence for the existence of an ancient Cretan city AINA or AINΑΣ which could have issued the AINAΩN coins? The name

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1. B. V. Head, *Historia nummorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (Oxford, 1911), 214 and R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den Griechischen Münzen*, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 44 (1911) 98. Cf. also H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* (Berlin, 1935), 51.

2. *AD* 19[B1] (1964), 11 and Table I Nos. 44-50.

3. The Greek numismatist Eirene Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou is the first scholar to search for the AINAΩN in some unknown city of Crete. Her discussion of the coins and judicious comments have suggested this paper which constitutes an attempt to solve the AINAΩN mystery by using historical and epigraphic data. See her study *Νομισματικὰ ἐνδείξεις δι' ἄγνωστον πόλιν τῆς Κρήτης* in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* 2 (Athens, 1968), pp. 209 f.

does not appear in ancient literary or epigraphic sources and is not encountered in the works of the Byzantine lexicographers who often reveal to us the names of the lost cities of ancient Crete<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the possible identification of the modern Cretan toponym ΓΕΝΑ with an ancient Cretan city ΑΙΝΑ would be difficult to establish. ΓΕΝΑ, in western Crete, has been classified by Pendlebury as a Greco-Roman archaeological area on the basis of some sherds seen there in 1933<sup>2</sup>, but this site is located a great distance from Gortyn. Besides, the toponym is rather common in Crete and the linguistic relationship of ΓΕΝΑ to a hypothetical city of ΑΙΝΑ is tenuous<sup>3</sup>.

On the contrary, the suspicion that ΑΙΝΑΩΝ is an ethnic name may not be groundless. The well-known Milesian treaty of the mid-third century B.C. mentions, in addition to the federated Cretan Arcades and the Lyttians, two distinct groups, the Ἀριαῖοι and Ὑρταῖοι who, as allies of Gortyn, reached an agreement with Miletus<sup>4</sup>. Neither the Ἀριαῖοι, who coined their own money<sup>5</sup>, nor the Ὑρταῖοι<sup>6</sup>, are known to historians from other sources.

Besides, there is no evidence for the existence of any Cretan cities

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1. Crete is called ἐκατόπολις in the *Iliad* (B 43) while the *Odyssey* mentions ninety Cretan cities (T 174). The Cretan historian Xenion not only affirmed that Crete had a hundred cities but proceeded to enumerate them as well. See *Schol. Lycophr.*, 1214, p. 350.3 Scheer = *FGrH*, 111B. No. 460 (F2). By the Hellenistic Age, however, many of these Cretan cities had disappeared. An example of this is Dragmos which, according to the Toplu inscription, was once independent but had been conquered and absorbed by Praesus. See *IC* III.iv.9 1. 68 f and K. Bürchner, Dragmos in *R.-E.*, 9. The names of these lost cities are often preserved in Stephanos of Byzantium, Hesychios and other Byzantine lexicographers and scholiasts. J. N. Svoronos in his *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* (Macon, 1890) has studied the coins of at least fifty Cretan cities, a number which roughly corresponds with the known independent Cretan city-states in the Hellenistic Age. ΑΙΝΑ does not appear in the sources and is not encountered in the list of Cretan cities given by M. Guarducci in the *Inscriptiones Creticae*. Cf. also Paul Faure, *La Crète aux cent villes*, *KQ. XQ.* 13 (1959) 171-217.

2. J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crète* (New York, 1965), p. 363.

3. See e.g. S. Hood - P. Warren - G. Cadogan, *Travels in Crete*, *BSA* (1964) 55, for another ΓΕΝΑ and Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou, *Νομισματικά ἐνδείξεις*, p. 219 n. 2.

4. *IC* IV, 161.

5. For the coins of the Ἀριαῖοι see *IC* II, p. 13.

6. Ὑρταῖοι cannot be related to the Cretan city of Ἐρταία although these names bear some resemblance.

that can be related to the Ἀριαῖοι and Ὑρταῖοι. The origin and nature of these people, acting as independent, sovereign agents in the labyrinthine politics of Hellenistic Crete is still an enigma. Are they independent city-states or federated states similar to the Arcades<sup>1</sup> who as Gortynian allies also figure in the Milesian treaty? Unfortunately, lack of evidence in ancient sources discourages the adoption of these assumptions. Perhaps the answer to this puzzle should be sought elsewhere.

The Milesian treaty contains an agreement between the Ionian city and three leading Cretan cities, Cnossus, Gortyn and Phaestus about the liberation of citizens captured by Milesian and Cretan pirates. The agreement, which is binding on other allies, not only reveals the groupings of the Cretan states in the confused period of the mid-third century but suggests certain important developments in the evolution of constitutional procedure of Cnossus and Gortyn, the two powerful Cretan city-states whose perennial antagonism dominates Cretan history in Hellenistic times. The document clearly indicates that at Cnossus jurisdiction over certain matters is given to the *kosmoi* and the Council while at Gortyn the *kosmoi* alone are entrusted with such authority<sup>2</sup>.

Considering the fact that the Council of Cnossus appears to have developed a democratic character, it may be argued, with van Effenterre, that the restriction of these jurisdictions to the *kosmoi* of Gortyn indicates a more conservative constitution<sup>3</sup>. In fact, Gortyn is traditionally associated with the conservative forces of the island while Cnossus is viewed as the protagonist of the progressive movements which led to the partial democratization of the Cretan institutions in Hellenistic times<sup>4</sup>. It is natural, therefore, to speculate that the allies of Gortyn in the Milesian treaty reflect this spirit of conservatism and that ideological considerations may have played a role in determining the groupings

1. Besides the Arcades, a federation of the Oreioi in Western Crete existed in Hellenistic times. See M. Guarducci, Una nuova confederazione cretese: gli Oreioi, *Riv. Fil.* 16 NS (1938) 50-55; *IC* II, xvii, 1 and cf. Polybius 4.53.6. For another loose Cretan confederation in the «Eteocretan» area of East Crete see *IC* III, ii, 1; *IC* III, iv, 1 and H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec de Platon a Polybe* (Paris, 1948), pp. 126-7.

2. See *IC* I, vii, 6 (Cnossus); *IC* I, xxiii, 1 (Phaestus) and *IC* IV, 161 (Gortyn).

3. H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec*, p. 171. Cf. also Jean Tulard, *Histoire de la Crète* (Paris, 1962), p. 84.

4. Ephorus *apud* Strabo, 10.481 and van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec* where the arguments for the democratization of Cretan institutions are presented.

and coalitions of Cretan states at this time. The association of Lyttos, that most traditional of the Doric cities of Crete, with Gortyn, certainly lends credence to this assumption<sup>1</sup>.

Since independent, sovereign peoples, such as the Ἀριαῖοι and Ὑρταῖοι who are not associated with known cities or federations of states can reach symmachic agreements perhaps based on ideological lines, it would be logical to consider the possibility that they represent Cretan political factions especially when the anarchic state of Cretan politics in Hellenistic times is kept in mind.

Cretan socio-political struggles, which were not uncommon even in the fifth century<sup>2</sup>, were intensified in the Hellenistic Age when Gortyn, Itanos, Cnossus and Dreros dealt with serious domestic crises<sup>3</sup>. Opposing factions in Cretan politics often formed alliances with outside powers and acted as independent agents. The establishment of an Egyptian protectorate in Itanos during the Chremonidean War at the request of the Itanian oligarchy is indicative of the severity of Cretan factional politics and the involvement of foreign, even non-Cretan powers, in them<sup>4</sup>. Arch-conservative Gortyn would be the natural ally of oligarchic factions in Crete and the magnet that drew them to her axis.

In view of our inability to establish the existence of a sovereign city-state or federation of the Ἀριαῖοι and the factional nature of Cretan politics in the chaotic years of the third century, their identification with some rebellious or secessionist faction in Cretan politics would be a logical alternative. This hypothesis is not contradicted by our extant

1. Lyttos was viewed as a Spartan colony in Crete and as the most conservative of the Doric cities of the island. See Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.7.1, Ephorus *apud* Strabo 10.48.1 and Polybius 4.54.6.

2. Pindar, *Ol.* 12: ἐνδομάχας ἅτ' ἀλέκτωρ, συγγόνῳ παρ' ἐστία suggests that Ergoteles of Himera left Crete as a result of domestic conflicts. This is also the version of Pausanias, 2.4.1.: ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ εἰς Ἰμέραν ἀφικόμενος.

3. See Polybius 4.7-9 (Gortyn); *IC* III, iv, 8 and cf. 7 (Itanos); *IC* I, ix, 1 (Dreros) and van Effenterre's interpretation, A propos du Serment des Drériens, *BCH* 61 (1937) 327. The numerous Cretan refugees that settled in Myus may have included Gortynian and Cnossian political exiles. See *Delphinion* III, 33 and 38; *IC* I, viii, 9 (Cnossus) and the identical psephism of Gortyn, *IC* IV, 176: ἔσοι ... μετωκήσασιν εἰς Μίλητον ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ἢ ἄλλως πως. Cf. also M. van der Mijnsbrugge, *The Cretan Koinon* (New York, 1931), 63.

4. See S. Spyridakis, *Ptolemaic Itanos and Hellenistic Crete* (Berkeley, 1970), for the Egyptian involvement in Crete.

data or prevailing conditions in Crete at that time and encourages us to consider the AΙΝΑΩΝ as a parallel case.

The special relationship of the AΙΝΑΩΝ coins with Gortyn naturally invites an examination of Gortynian history and politics and the consideration that the Αἰνάωνες<sup>1</sup>, one of the Gortynian tribes known to us from inscriptions, have some affinity with the mysterious AΙΝΑΩΝ. Yet, this approach is useful only if the letters AΙΝΑΩΝ of the coins could be read AΙΝΑΩΝ[ΩΝ]. Such a reading, however, is not indicated in any of the AΙΝΑΩΝ coins of the Gortynian hoard although in drawings of the older AΙΝΑΩΝ coins there is one case in which the completion AΙΝΑΩΝΩΝ may be possible<sup>2</sup>. When it is considered, however, that in the identical coins of Gortyn, as in the case of most Cretan coins including those of the Ἀριαῖοι, inscriptions rarely appear complete<sup>3</sup>, there is no reason to reject the possible identification of AΙΝΑΩΝ with AΙΝΑΩΝΩΝ on this basis alone.

Naturally the issuance of coins can only be associated with a state of sovereignty and the Αἰνάωνες, unlike the Ἀριαῖοι, do not appear as an independent people in the literary and epigraphic sources. On the contrary, they are clearly identified as one of the ruling tribes of Gortyn from which the Gortynian chief magistrates, the *kosmoi*, were elected in two instances in the second century<sup>4</sup>. It is clear, therefore, that the affinity of AΙΝΑΩΝ with the Αἰνάωνες can be further considered only if we could find evidence indicating that this Gortynian tribe functioned as a distinct, independent agent in the Cretan world during some phase of the long, turbulent history of Gortyn. It should be noted that the Gortynian coins closely resembling the AΙΝΑΩΝ pieces are quite numerous

1. *IC* IV, 196 and *IC* I, xvii, 6 (Lebena).

2. See Varoucha - Christodouloupoulou, *Νομισματικὰ ἐνδείξεις*, p. 219 n. 6 who cites Neumann's *Populorum et regnum nummi vet. inediti* II, table VI, 16, p. 175.

3. In Varoucha - Christodouloupoulou's table the incomplete letters ΓΟΡ, ΓΟΡΤΥ, ΓΟΡΤΥΝ, ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙ are common. See *Νομισματικὰ ἐνδείξεις*, p. 210 and cf. *IC* II, iii, p. 13 for the coins of Aptaera; also L. Robert, *Études de Numismatique Grecque* (Paris, 1951), p. 150f.

4. *IC* IV, 196 and *IC* I, xvii, 5. Aristotle's contention that the Cretan *kosmoi* were elected from certain *genē* rather than *phylai* is not supported by epigraphic evidence since the formula, ἐπὶ τῶν Δυμάνων (ἢ Παμφύλων etc.) κοσμιόντων is used in the inscriptions without any mention of *genē* whatsoever. See S. Spyridakis, Aristotle on the Election of Kosmoi, *La Parola del Passato*, 128 (1969) 265f. and R. F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (London, 1955), p. 254 n. 1 where the Αἰνάωνες are also classified as a Gortynian tribe,

when compared with other types of bronze Gortynian coins of the third and second centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup>. This fact may be readily explained if we associate them with the well-known Gortynian decree ordering the exclusive use of bronze coins which the city had put into circulation<sup>2</sup>. The decree, first dated by Halbherr in the fourth century, is now generally assumed to belong to the third century. In fact Guarducci, following J.N. Svoronos, places it in the years 221-213 B.C.<sup>3</sup>. This dating, which coincides with the Lyttian War and the Gortynian civil war between the *presbyteroi* and *neoteroi*, is supported by the peculiar nature of the decree that has long puzzled historians.

In view of the importance of this legislation, affecting the economic life of the city, it is peculiar that the Assembly of Gortyn approved it with only 300 members present. This number is very small when the size of the city is taken into consideration and when we recall Aristotle's comments on the composition of the Assembly: ἐκκλησίας δὲ μετέχουσι πάντες<sup>4</sup>. Even more peculiar is the fact that the traditional Gortynian magistrates the *kosmoi* are not mentioned in the decree while disputes arising from this legislation were to be submitted to seven judges selected by lot from the membership of the *neotas*. Halbherr rightly saw the *neotas*, a term comparable with *neotes*, as a new political body of Gortynian *neoi* in contradistinction to the *gerousia* or *bōla*, a legislative and political body of the *presbyteroi*, i.e., the elder citizens of the state<sup>5</sup>.

Clearly, the association of a new political body of *neoi* with the Gortynian bronze coins in the troubled years of the Lyttian War is quite interesting in view of developments in the city at that time.

In 221 B.C. Cnossus and Gortyn forgot their traditional enmity and

1. Varoucha - Christodouloupoulou, Νομισματικὰ ἐνδείξεις, p. 217 and n. 2 where the relatively small numbers of these coins in private collections and Museums are given.

2. Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou cautiously suggests this association although she admits that the dating of the coins is difficult to determine. See Νομισματικὰ ἐνδείξεις, pp. 217-218.

3. F. Halbherr, Cretan Expedition, *AJA* 1 (1897) 191-197 and Guarducci's commentary on *IC IV*, 162 where she accepts J. N. Svoronos' dating. See his article Περὶ τῆς χρονολογίας τῆς νομισματικῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τῆς Γόρτυνος in *Journal International d'archéologie numismatique* 1 (1898) 173.

4. The decree is in *IC IV*, 162; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1272 a. Both Halbherr and Guarducci suggested that three hundred represents the minimum number of citizens required for a legal quorum but this is mere speculation.

5. Halbherr, Cretan Expedition, p. 197.

formed an alliance whose objective was a joint Cnoso-Gortynian control of the island. When Lyttos, the most Doric of the Cretan city-states, opposed the schemes of the allies, both Cnossus and Gortyn attacked her. At this time, however, civil war broke out in Gortyn between the *presbyteroi* who had allied themselves with Cnossus and the *neoteroi* who opposed the war against the Lyttians<sup>1</sup>.

It is generally agreed today that the Gortynian civil war was not motivated by external politics alone but constituted an ideological clash between the oligarchic elder citizens of the state and the more progressive younger citizens<sup>2</sup>. It appears that the opposition of the *neoteroi* must have been formidable since the *presbyteroi*, who had seized the citadel of Gortyn, were able to prevail only after the intervention of their Cnossian allies aided by a force of Aetolian mercenaries. As Polybius informed us the victorious *presbyteroi* dealt severely with the rebels who were either killed or expelled from the city: τούς μὲν ἐξέβαλον τοὺς δὲ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν νέων. It is noteworthy that the Gortynian insurgents are referred to in this passage of Polybius interchangeably as *neoteroi* and *neoi*<sup>3</sup>. These terms are difficult to define since they were freely used by ancient writers in a non-technical sense. The term *neoteroi* is variously used as synonymous with *epheboi* or as an equivalent of *neoi*, i.e., youths older than *epheboi* who formed legal organizations capable of taking corporate action<sup>4</sup>. In the case of the Gortynian civil war the use of both *neoteroi* and *neoi* in describing the rebels proves their identity. Since the *neoi* were thought to be associated with the highest bodies of the state and were normally considered to be a group apart from other citizens, the important official status of the *neotas* as expressed in the Gortynian decree, attests to their ascendancy in Gortynian politics and their brief control of Gortyn in the early phase of the conflict when the rebels would have naturally used their own institutions and political organizations to serve their cause. This assumption alone explains the radical nature of the Gortynian decree, the absence of the traditional magistrates of Gortyn

1. See Polybius, 4.7-9; 4.53.4 and G. Cardinali, La guerra di Litto, *RF* 33 (1905) 519-551.

2. H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec*, pp. 161-172 who discusses the peculiar Cretan *gerontocratie de caste*.

3. Polybius 4.53.9.

4. See C. A. Forbes, *Neoi: A Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations* (Middletown, Connecticut, 1933), for a discussion of the various youth organizations and their functions.

the *kosmoi*, the small membership of the Assembly which represents only a faction of the divided Gortynian state and the recognition of the *neotas*, *i.e.*, a political body of *neoi*, as a powerful force in the state. The association of the *neotas* with the mandatory circulation of these bronze Gortynian coins may reflect not only the poor financial conditions induced by the civil war but also the limited resources of the Gortynian rebels who did not possess the wealth of the dominant oligarchic gerontocracy of the state. It is clear that the Gortynian rebels who were expelled from the city after their defeat managed to secure control of the Gortynian port of Lebena and the Phaestian port of Matala<sup>1</sup>, thus founding a short-lived but sovereign state on the Libyan coast of the island which continued the war against Gortyn and her allies.

It is generally recognized that the *neoi* organizations of the Hellenistic world devoted themselves to gymnastic and athletic activities and had few, if any, military associations. In fact, Forbes contends that their military training was slight and negligible<sup>2</sup>. Crete of course is a special case and yet there is no proof that the Cretan *neoi* differed from their Hellenistic confrères in having a military orientation. Thus the early military successes of the Gortynian *neoterói*, which were reversed only after the intervention of the Cnossians and Aetolians, and the subsequent occupation of Lebena and Matala even after their expulsion, would be difficult to explain. Besides, a civil war with ideological overtones could not have been limited into a struggle between the elder and younger citizens of Gortyn. On the contrary, the armed challenge to the Gortynian oligarchy must have received support from progressive factions and other Gortynian malcontents; only such a coalition of forces justifies the course of events in the civil war and explains the seriousness of the revolt which nearly destroyed the most powerful of the Cretan city-states.

Hellenistic Gortyn was an ambitious city-state with a large population of Dorians and pre-Dorians, including subject and perioecic communities and many allies throughout the island<sup>3</sup>. When we consider the

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1. Polybius 4.55.6. The occupation of Matala suggests that Phaestus was a Cnossian ally at this time. Cf. also Guarducci's comments, *IC I*, p. 269.

2. Forbes, *Neoi*, 50.

3. Gortyn challenged and eventually replaced Cnossus as the greatest city of Crete even before it became the Roman provincial capital of Crete and Cyrene. See Strabo 10.476 and 478 where the city's large area is discussed. The magnificent ruins



exclusive nature of the highly aristocratic Doric oligarchy of Crete<sup>1</sup>, its ethnic awareness and pride, it follows that socio-political tensions in arch-conservative Gortyn must have been common in the changing world of the Hellenistic Age. Extant epigraphic records reveal some of the tribal groupings of Hellenistic Gortyn and provide a partial understanding of Gortynian society. Of the three traditional Doric tribes only the Dymanes<sup>2</sup> appear in the sources while several «Zusatz-Phylen» are mentioned in the city's documents. The latter, which probably represent pre-Doric peoples, or mixed groups of Dorians and pre-Dorians<sup>3</sup> including the Aithaleis, Ainaōnes, Autolētai, Ἀπ...υμα, Δεκ[--,--]ναεζ or --]ναοι<sup>4</sup>, were, no doubt, important segments of the Gortynian population.

It is likely, then, that progressive Gortynian factions would seize the opportunity offered by the *neoteroi* rebellion to challenge the oligarchic *status quo* of the *presbyteroi* and to effect changes of socio-political nature in the state. The suspicion of a possible participation of the Αἰ-*νάωνες*, one of the Gortynian «Zusatz-Phylen», in the civil war, then, is not groundless. Polybius informs us that after their victory the Gortynian *presbyteroi* killed or expelled the *neoteroi* from the city. This statement is quite curious because it records the first known attempt in history to bridge the ideological generation gap by eradicating the younger citizens of the state through death or exile, which is tantamount to genocide! Even in the bizarre world of Cretan politics this is inexplicable.

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of Gortyn with the 2,000 fallen statues that he counted during his visit to the island in 1415 prompted Buondelmonti to compare ancient Gortyn with Florence: ... *in magnitudine quantum nostra Florentia, sed plenior sine menis cingebat*. See *IC IV*, p. 3. Both Halbherr, *Cretan Expedition*, p. 200 and J. A. O. Larsen, *Perioeci in Crete CP 31 (36) 16* consider the Gortynian Kransopeioi to be a perioecic community. Even the distant island of Gaudos had been reduced to the status of a Gortynian perioecic community. For Gaudos see epigraphic evidence in G. Davaras, *AA 18 (1964) 141 f.*

1. This is clearly reflected in Aristotle's discussion of the election of Cretan magistrates. See *Politics 1272a, 33-34* and van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec*, p. 161 f.

2. *IC IV*, 165; 182; 197.

3. See E. Kirsten, *Vordorische Griechen in der Dorier-poleis Kretas, Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, pp. 61-67; for the «Zusatz-Phylen» see also Busolt, *Griech. Staatskunde I*, 131 f.

4. *Aithaleis* are mentioned in *IC IV*, 72; 142; 167; 184; 259; *Ainaōnes*, *IC IV*, 196 and *IC I*, xvii, 6 (Lebena); *Autolētai*, *IC IV*, 261 *IC I*, xvii, 5 (Lebena); *Ap. uma*, *IC IV*, 236; *Dek [--, IC IV, 171; --] naes or --]naoi*, *IC I*, xvii, 4A-B (Lebena).

A leading city-state with pretensions of hegemony would not destroy its own future by eliminating its youth!

It is more likely, therefore, that the *neoterói*, whose natural antagonism to their elders and its potential for conflict had been foreseen by Plato and Aristotle, were used, along with their institutions and political organizations, as vehicles to spearhead a revolution of the anti-oligarchic forces of Gortyn. Thus, domestic dissensions intensified by the Lyttian War, led to the Gortynian civil war which resulted in the expulsion of the rebels, *i.e.* the anti-oligarchic elements of the city. Among the Gortynian exiles, the φυγάδες of the sources, then, these Gortynian dissenters should have played a major role. Indeed, if we accept the non-military nature of the *neoterói*, we cannot avoid the conclusion that they had provided the military leadership in the war that led to the occupation of Lebena and Matala and the establishment there of an independent state. The inclusion of the Gortynian tribe of the Αἰνιάωνες amongst them would be a real possibility. As one of the «Zusatz Phylen» of Gortyn they would have resented the exclusive domination of the city's government by the narrow Doric aristocracy and could have become the natural allies of the progressive *neoterói* in the Gortynian civil war.

The establishment of the sovereign rebel state by the Gortynian φυγάδες under the aegis of the Αἰνιάωνες tribe may provide the key to the mystery of the ΑΙΝΑΩΝ. The severance of relations with Gortyn and the loss of Gortynian citizenship naturally left the rebels with the name of the leading group amongst them, that of the Αἰνιάωνες, as the only ethnic link with their Gortynian past, a name which revealed their true identity as a faction of the divided Gortynian people.

The rebels coined their own money in the only manner known to them, that of the Gortynian bronze type of the civil war, with the inscription ΑΙΝΑΩΝ[ΩΝ] replacing ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ since the new state could no longer claim to be Gortynian. Although many remnants of Minoan culture and artistic motifs survived in Hellenistic Crete<sup>1</sup>, it should be noted that the ΑΙΝΑΩΝ and their identical bronze coins associated with the *neotas* of the civil war, portray that Minoan symbol  $\kappa\alpha\tau'$  ἐξοχήν, the bull, as well as Apollo. This may be indicative of the nature of the Gortynian rebellion as a political struggle of the less privileged native or mixed tribes and would further support the participation of the non-Doric Αἰνιάωνες in it.

1. Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*, 368,

The eventual reconciliation of the Gortynians with the φυγάδες which led to the assimilation of the rebel state by Gortyn<sup>1</sup> not only explains the scarcity of the ΑΙΝΑΩΝ coins but the fact that the restored Αινάωνες now appeared to be a power in Gortynian politics filling, in at least two instances, the Gortynian board of *kosmoi* from its membership<sup>2</sup>. The rebel faction which had isolated the mother city and affected its economic life by controlling access to the sea<sup>3</sup> may have disbanded only after its political objectives were vindicated. It might be interesting to note that one of the two extant inscriptions of the Αινάωνες comes from Lebena, the port of Gortyn occupied by the rebels in the civil war. The document is dated in the late second or early first century B.C. and refers to the repair of the treasury of Aesculapius Lebenaeus by the Gortynian government when the Αινάωνες occupied the office of the Gortynian *kosmoi*<sup>4</sup>. Is this indicative of the sentimental attachment of the Αινάωνες to their former stronghold long after the end of the Gortynian civil war or of some other association of the tribe with this area? These questions may never be answered.

When we consider, however, the peculiarities of the Gortynian civil war, the establishment of an independent although short-lived rebel state and the absolute similarity of the ΑΙΝΑΩΝ bronze coins with those of Gortyn, the identification of ΑΙΝΑΩΝ with ΑΙΝΑΩΝΩΝ provides a reasonable, albeit tentative, solution until future discoveries present us with more substantial data permitting a less hypothetical view of the mysterious ΑΙΝΑΩΝ.

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1. This event must have taken place in 216 B.C. when Philip of Macedon pacified Crete and became its patron (Polybius, 7.11.9). Thus, the independent state of the Gortynian exiles lasted for three years, *i.e.* 219-216 B.C. This is the time their coins would have been minted. Cf. also Th. Reinach, Un décret de Gortyne introduisant la monnaie de bronze, *Revue Numismatique* 8 (1904) 16.

2. *IC* IV, 196 and *IC* I, xvii, 6.

3. Gortyn imported grain from Cyrene, *SEG* III, 2; 31; 33; 49; 54; 59. The rebel stronghold of Lebena with its famous Aesculapium had special ties with Cyrene. See Pausanias 2.26.9 and Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 4.34.

4. *IC* I, xvii, 6: Ἀσκ[λα]πιῶι / ἐπὶ [τῶ]ν Αἰνα/ώνω[ν κο]ρμίων/των. Cf. also *IC* I, xvii, 4A (Lebena): Ἐπὶ τῶν --]νάων κο[ρ]μ[ι]όντων]. Is --]νάων Αἰ]νάων? If this emendation is possible, the mystery of the ΑΙΝΑΩΝ coins would be definitely solved along the lines presented in this paper and the name of the --]νχοι or --]νχες tribe will be established with certainty.