



Ancient Greece

*From Prehistoric to
Hellenistic Times*

THOMAS R. MARTIN

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Hellenistic Times



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Introduction

This book reviews the history of ancient Greece, from Greece's place in the prehistory of Europe to the period following the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. until the coming of the Romans in the second century B.C. The narrative forms part of my earlier work writing the "Historical Overview" that appears among the electronic databases published in *Perseus: Interactive Sources and Studies on Ancient Greece*, Gregory Crane, editor in chief (Yale University Press, 1992, 1996, 2000). Sections included in *Perseus* on Greece of the eighth to the fourth centuries B.C. have been revised and expanded and the survey of ancient Greek history completed by adding sections on the prehistory of Greece, the Bronze Age, the Dark Age, and the Hellenistic Age. The Yale Nota Bene edition has minor corrections (with no change in pagination) and a revised list of suggested readings.

Although this book is able to stand on its own, I hope that users of *Perseus* will find it useful as a "hard-copy" complement to their computerized materials. For me, the convenience and portability that books allow make them indispensable tools for learning and thinking, and I see an ongoing need for both books and software in the study of ancient Greece. This volume is intended to contribute to the synergy that these different tools can create when used together. This book expands the text of the overview; the software versions provide many more illustrations and direct links to ancient sources. At http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Secondary/TRM_Overview/ readers can visit an on-line version.

The narrative has the bell-curve shape of many histories of ancient Greece. That is, more pages are devoted to the middle of the story than to the beginning and the end because I concentrate on the full development of the Greek city-state as a religious, social, political, and economic entity

in the eighth to fourth centuries B.C. Athens receives the most space because the overwhelming preponderance of the evidence surviving from ancient Greece concerns Athens in the Classical period (c. 500–323 B.C.). Since Greece was home to hundreds of other city-states, many of which differed in significant ways from Athens, studying the history of Athens cannot be taken as equivalent to studying the history of Greece. Above all, it will not do to generalize about what “ancient Greeks” did or thought or said when the evidence for such generalizations comes solely from Athens (or indeed from any one place). With this warning in mind, I have tried to include material from as many different places as possible, but I am under no illusion of having provided as much coverage of non-Athenian history as others may like to see. The compensation for the distortion in coverage is that the history of Athens is interesting in its own right and significant beyond its own time.

Many topics receive only brief treatment, and some that deserved better are scarcely mentioned, if at all. The compensation for such compression and omission is whatever brevity the text can claim. It takes the form of a chronological narrative because this seems the optimal way to present complex material. Therefore, I have tried to integrate political, social, and cultural history into the text throughout rather than presenting long stretches of political history followed by an agglomeration of separate sections on different topics.

Perhaps an overview of the overview will be helpful to give readers some idea of the periodization of Greek history that this book employs. Unlike some Greek histories, mine begins with a section on the late Stone Age because this prehistory provides deep background on the material and social conditions of later Greek life that is essential for understanding Greek history in the broader context of Europe and the Mediterranean region. The following sections on the Bronze Age describe the civilization of the Minoans on the island of Crete and its successor, that of the Mycenaean on the mainland. The prosperous monarchies of these civilizations ended in a mysterious episode of destruction, which leads to the period usually still referred to as the Greek Dark Age (c. 1000–c. 750 B.C.). The scale and duration of the poverty and depopulation that occurred in this Dark Age are increasingly controversial, but there can be no doubt that remarkable changes in the basic conditions of Greek life came about in this period, opening the way to the Archaic Age (c. 750–c. 500 B.C.). Most strikingly, the late Dark Age and the Archaic Age saw the development of the city-state (*polis*) as a new and eventually widespread form of political, social, and religious organization.

Next comes the famous Classical Age of Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Focusing primarily on Athens, this part of the overview con-

cerns the cultural achievements and military struggles that made Classical Greece so well known and so influential in later centuries. It also pays special attention to the enduring philosophical legacies of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle and to the startling transformation of the kingdom of Macedonia into the greatest power in the Greek world, overshadowing the city-states militarily while seeking to emulate them culturally. This part of the story comes to a climax with the career of the legendary Macedonian conqueror Alexander the Great (died 323 B.C.). The overview ends by surveying the Hellenistic period after Alexander's death, when monarchies, this time emerging from Alexander's fragmented empire, once again came to dominate Greek history, even though the traditional city-states remained vital and even, in some cases, independent. Thus the history of the ancient Greeks comes full circle, from the monarchies of the Mycenaeans in the late Bronze Age to the monarchies of Greece after Alexander.

Timelines, maps, plans, and photographs are provided to help readers situate themselves chronologically, geographically, and visually. Like the narrative, these materials are limited because of the importance of keeping the book brief. This overview is meant to be supplemented by other sources of information, from ancient authors to modern discussions of special issues, appropriate to the interests and curiosity of its readers. Lists of selected readings on a variety of topics are therefore also provided as suggested starting points for going beyond the purposely limited boundaries of this book. More detailed surveys of ancient Greek history are recommended there for those who would like a fuller narrative. I hope that this design will make use of the book more flexible: after a relatively modest investment of time, readers can determine for themselves what topics they would like to pursue in greater depth.

Writing history means making observations and forming interpretations, and these activities inevitably influence one another almost all the time. At important points I discuss interpretations that are problematic or controversial, but my commitment to brevity requires that at many other places nothing can be said about the complex interrelationship of observation, interpretation, and controversy surrounding issues that in a longer text might deserve such treatment. Since reading history should imitate writing history as an active process rather than a passive absorption of data, I hope that readers of this book will be challenged to convert their dissatisfaction with the book's omissions and imperfections into energy for researching questions they have been provoked to ask. Pausanias, the author of a famous guide to Greek sites written in the second century after Christ, by which time the period covered by this book was already ancient history, adroitly summed up the challenge ever facing those of us fascinated by this subject:

“Most things in the history of Greece have become a matter of dispute” (*Description of Greece* 4.2.3).

Acknowledgments

The many members of the team working on *Perseus* 2.0 contributed to this overview in ways both direct and indirect. The support of Gregory Crane, editor in chief of *Perseus*, has been important from the beginning. My colleague in the Classics Department at the College of the Holy Cross, Blaise Nagy, deserves special thanks for using earlier versions of this overview in his very popular class on ancient Greek history. His many comments and suggestions helped improve the text and, most important, his enthusiasm encouraged me to produce this version. The various members of the Editorial and Production Departments at Yale University Press, especially Executive Editor Charles Grench and Manuscript Editor Harry Haskell, have cheerfully aided me at every turn. The four anonymous readers of the manuscript for the Press deserve particular recognition for the seriousness, promptness, and positive tone of their comments. Shirley Sui-Nin Sun, who sacrificed her time to do proofreading, and Victoria Baker, who devoted special care to producing the index, both went beyond the call of duty in catching errors. Finally, I want to express my warm thanks to my wife, Ivy Sui-yuen Sun, and our children, Andrea and Alex, for their patient forbearance, which made this work possible.

Readers are encouraged to contact the author via e-mail at tmartin@holycross.edu to offer suggestions for improving the book.

Abbreviations

- ANET J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3d ed. with supplement (Princeton, 1969)
- Ath. Pol. Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* (Constitution of the Athenians)
- CAF T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1880–1888)
- D.-K. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 10th ed. (Berlin, 1960)
- FGrH F. Jacoby et al., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin, 1923–)
- GHI R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1969)
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873–)
- Lac. Pol. Xenophon, *Lacedaimonion Politeia* (Constitution of the Spartans)
- OGIS W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (Leipzig, 1903–1905)
- PLF E. Lobel and D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford, 1955)
- PMG D. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
- West M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati* (Oxford, 1971–1972)

Ancient Greece



Backgrounds of Ancient Greek History

1

The Physical Environment of Greece

The deepest background of the social, material, and even political history of ancient Greece lies in the physical environment and its effects on the opportunities and the constraints of life in this part of the Mediterranean region. The homeland of the ancient Greeks was located in the regions surrounding the Aegean Sea and in its many islands; this section of the Mediterranean Sea is flanked on the west by the Balkan peninsula (today the territory of the modern nation of Greece) and on the east by the coast of Anatolia (modern Turkey). Greeks also lived on Crete and Cyprus, on the coasts of North Africa, southern France, and the Black Sea, and in southern Italy and on Sicily (an area sometimes referred to by the Latin name "Magna Graecia"), where some of the most famous and prosperous of Greek cities emerged.

Chains of rugged mountains dominate mainland Greece, fencing off plains and valleys in which communities could keep themselves politically separate from one another while still maintaining contacts for trade and diplomacy. These mountains mainly run from northwest to southeast along the Balkan peninsula, with narrow passes connecting Greek territory to Macedonia in the north. The terrain of the islands of the Aegean was also craggy. Only about 20 to 30 percent of the mainland

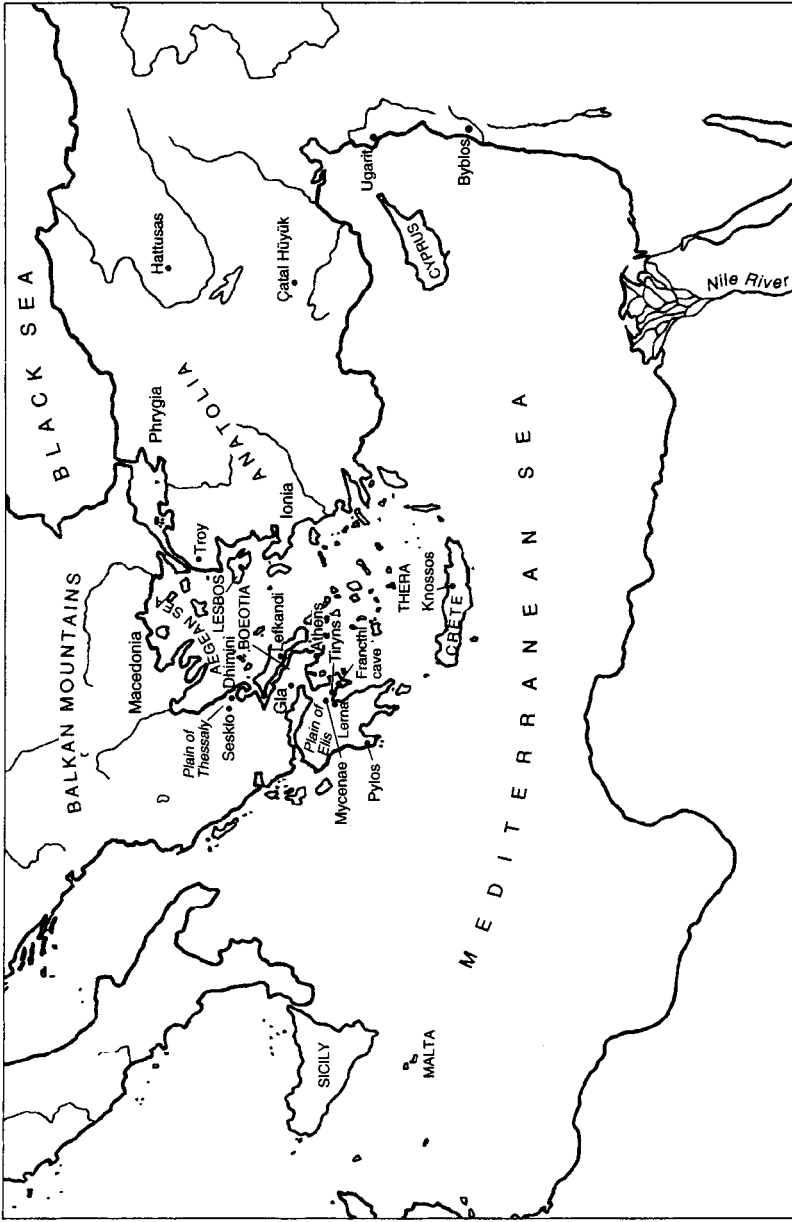


was arable, but some islands, western Anatolia, Magna Graecia, and a few fortunate mainland regions, especially Thessaly in the northeast and Messenia in the southwest, included plains spacious enough to support bounteous crops and large grazing animals. The scarcity of level terrain ruled out the raising of cattle and horses on any large scale in many areas. When Greeks first domesticated animals in the late Stone Age, pigs, sheep, and goats became the most common livestock. By the seventh century B.C. the domestic chicken had been introduced into Greece from the Near East.

Once Greeks learned to farm, they mostly grew barley, which formed the cereal staple of their diet. The generally poor land supported crops of barley far better than of wheat, which made tastier food but needed richer land to flourish. Other major crops were wine grapes and olives. Wine diluted with water was the favorite beverage drunk by Greeks, while olive oil provided a principal source of dietary fat and also served, among many other uses, as a cleaning agent for bathing and a base for perfumes. Meat appeared more rarely in Greek meals than in those of modern Western cultures.

So jagged was the Greek coastline that most settlements lay within forty miles of the sea, providing easy access for fishermen and seagoing merchants. Greek entrepreneurs sailed all over the Mediterranean seeking lucrative trading deals. The ports of Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean coast were favorite destinations. Going to sea with the limited marine technology of the time made bad weather a serious threat to life and limb, and prevailing winds and fierce gales almost ruled out sailing in winter. Even in calm conditions sailors hugged the coast whenever possible and aimed to land every night for safety. As the eighth-century B.C. poet Hesiod remarked, merchants took sail "because an income means life to wretched mortals, but it is a terrible fate to die among the waves" (*Works and Days* 686–687).

Most Greeks, even if they lived near the sea, never traveled very far from their home. Sea travel nevertheless played a central role in the development of Greek culture because traders and entrepreneurs voyaging from the Near East and Egypt to Greece and vice versa put Greeks into contact with the older civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean region, from which they learned new technologies, religious ideas, and more. Transporting people and goods overland instead of by sea was slow and expensive because rudimentary dirt paths were Greece's only roads. The rivers were practically useless for trade and communication because most of them slowed to a trickle during the many months each year when little or no rain fell. Timber for building houses and ships was the most plentiful natural resource of the mountainous terrain of the mainland, but deforestation had probably already affected many regions by the fifth century. By that time Greeks



Map 1. Neolithic, Minoan, and Mycenaean Periods

were certainly importing lumber from northward regions and paying stiff prices for it. Some deposits of metal ore were scattered throughout Greek territory, as were clays useful for making pots and many other practical objects. Quarries of fine stone such as marble furnished material for expensive buildings and sculpture. The irregular distribution of these resources made some areas considerably wealthier than others. The silver mines in Athenian territory, for example, provided an income that buttressed the exceptional prosperity of Athens's so-called Golden Age in the fifth century B.C.

Modern meteorologists refer to the climate of Greece as Mediterranean, meaning winters drenched with intermittent heavy rain and summers baking with hot, dry weather. Since annual rainfall varied significantly, Greek farmers endured a precarious cycle of boom and bust, fearing both drought and floods. Nevertheless, the Greeks believed their climate was the world's best. "The Greeks occupy a middle position [between hot and cold climates] and correspondingly enjoy both energy and intelligence," commented the fourth-century philosopher and scientist Aristotle, who saw climate as determining political destiny. "For this reason they retain their freedom and have the best of political institutions. In fact, if they could forge political unity among themselves, they could control the rest of the world" (*Politics* 7.7, 1327b29–33).

As Aristotle implied, throughout their history the ancient Greeks never constituted a nation in the modern sense because their various communities never united politically. On the other hand, Greeks saw themselves as sharing a cultural identity because they spoke dialects of the same language, had similar customs, worshipped the same gods (with local variations in cult), and came together at international religious festivals, such as the celebration of the mysteries of the goddess Demeter at Athens or the athletic games at Olympia in the Peloponnese. Ancient Greece was thus a set of shared ideas and practices rather than a sharply demarcated territorial or national entity. How this sense of Greek cultural identity came to be and how it was maintained over the centuries are difficult questions that must be kept constantly in mind; that its mountainous topography contributed to the political fragmentation of Greece seems clear.

The Human Prehistory of Greece

Greek prehistory (the period before written records) forms part of the prehistory of Europe, which in turn has its beginnings in the movement of early peoples outward from the African continent. The prehistoric human background of Greek history thus begins tens of thousands of years ago, in the latter portion of the Stone Age, so named because the people of the time

-
- c. **45,000–40,000 years ago:** *Homo sapiens sapiens* first moves out of Africa into southwestern Asia and Europe.
 - c. **20,000 years ago:** Human habitation begins in the Franchthi cave in southeastern Greece.
 - c. **10,000–8000 B.C.:** Transition from Paleolithic to Neolithic Age: the beginning of agriculture and permanent settlements.
 - c. **8000 B.C.:** Walled settlement at Jericho in ancient Palestine.
 - c. **7000–6000 B.C.:** Agriculture and domestication of animals under way in southern and eastern Europe, including Greece.
 - c. **7000–5000 B.C.:** Settlements of permanent houses being built in fertile plains in Greece.
 - c. **4000–3000 B.C.:** Copper metallurgy under way in Balkan region.
-

had only stone, in addition to bone and wood, from which to fashion tools and weapons; they had not yet developed the technology to make implements from metals. Most important, at this point human beings did not yet know how to cultivate crops. When people began to develop agricultural technology about ten to twelve thousand years ago, they experienced tremendous changes in their lives and began to affect the natural environment in unprecedented ways.

These transformations slowly opened the way to the growth of cities and the emergence of political states (people living in a definite territory and organized under a system of government and judicial regulations). The people of the ancient Near East first developed these new forms of human organization, which later appeared in Europe. (Early civilizations of this kind also emerged in India, China, and the Americas, whether independently or through some process of mutual influence no one at present knows.) These developments took place in Europe through a complicated process of diffusion from the Near East and independent innovation. The original transformative change in this long process was the invention of agriculture and the spread to more and more prehistoric populations of the technology needed for it.

Before Agriculture

The Stone Age is conventionally subdivided into the Paleolithic (Greek for “Old Stone”) and Neolithic (“New Stone”) Ages. The end of the Paleolithic and thus the beginning of the Neolithic is usually placed about ten to twelve thousand years ago. During the long Paleolithic period human beings roamed throughout their lives, searching for food in the wild by

hunting game, fishing, collecting shellfish, and gathering plants, fruits, and nuts. Living as hunter-gatherers, these early human beings sometimes migrated great distances, presumably following large game animals or searching for more abundant sources of nutritious wild plants. The first human beings in Greece probably migrated there long ago from the African continent via the eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia; a skull found at Petralona in Greece has been dated to at least two hundred thousand years before the present. At least as early as fifty thousand years ago the type of Paleolithic human beings known as Neanderthals (from the finds of their remains in Germany's Neanderthal valley) spread over Macedonia and then into Greece as far south as the plain of Elis in the Peloponnese peninsula. The well-watered plain of Thessaly in northern Greece was particularly popular with hunter-gatherer populations in this period.

People of modern type (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) began to migrate from Africa into Europe during the last part of the Paleolithic period. This new population eventually replaced completely the earlier populations, such as the Neanderthals; how this happened remains unknown. By this time all humans had already developed spoken language (the invention of writing still lay tens of thousands of years in the future), so it cannot have been the ability to communicate with spoken words that allowed the new type of human to submerge the old. Perhaps the newcomers were better able to cope with natural disasters, such as the tremendous floods that covered the plain of Thessaly for many years beginning about thirty thousand years before the present and forced the populations there to flee to the surrounding hills, where food would have been harder to find.

Archaeological excavation of prehistoric sites combined with information from twentieth-century hunter-gatherers, such as the !Kung San of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa, allows us to reconstruct some outlines of the life of Paleolithic hunter-gatherers for contrast with later patterns of Greek life. It would be misleading to refer to the prehistoric inhabitants of Greece at this early date as "Greeks" in the same sense in which that term is applied to the population of the region in historical times. There is no evidence to allow us to distinguish clearly among different ethnic groups in prehistoric Europe on the criteria used for populations of later periods, such as language. Regional differences among prehistoric European populations probably existed, but we are not in a position today to identify them confidently. In the Paleolithic Age, therefore, the inhabitants of the territory we call Greece were, as far as we can tell, a subset of the general population of prehistoric Europe. These people banded together in groups numbering in many cases as few as twenty to thirty individuals, who hunted and foraged for food to be shared among one another. Women of childbearing age,

who had to nurse their infants, would have found it difficult to forage far from camp and thus, along with smaller children, gathered edible plants and caught small animals close to home base. The plant food gathered by women and children made up most of what the group ate on a daily basis. Men probably did most of the hunting of large animals, expeditions that could take them great distances from camp for long periods. Prehistoric groups thus tended to divide their main labor—finding food—along gender and age lines.

Since the very survival of the group depended on the labor of both men and women, these prehistoric bands perhaps did not strictly allot power and status in their groups by gender and may even have been largely egalitarian, with all adults sharing on a roughly equal basis in making decisions about how the group should be constituted and what its members should do. Such generalizations are risky, of course; modern hunter-gatherers sometimes observe prestige differences according to gender, such as assigning greater value to the meat hunted by men than to the plant food gathered by women. Such distinctions can also be seen as defined by the kind of work one does in the group, however, and gender therefore does not have to have been an originally significant factor in making them. In any case, older people likely enjoyed higher social status in ancient hunter-gatherer populations because their greater age gave them greater knowledge to impart to younger people. It also set them apart as special because disease or accidents killed most people before they had reached thirty years of age.

Ancient hunter-gatherers probably lacked laws, judges, and political organization in the modern sense, which is not to say that they lacked forms of social organization, regulation, and control. Some Paleolithic graves containing weapons, tools, animal figurines, ivory beads, and bracelets in fact suggest that hunter-gatherers recognized social differences among individuals and that an individual's special social status could be marked by the possession of more expensive or elaborate goods. Just as the possession of a quantity of such goods in life had shown that individuals enjoyed superior wealth, power, or status in their groups, so, too, the burial of the goods with the corpse indicated the individual's prestige. Accordingly, it appears that some Paleolithic groups organized themselves not along egalitarian lines but rather in hierarchies, social systems that ranked certain people as more important and more dominant than others. Thus, already in this early period we find traces of the kind of social differentiation (the marking of certain people as wealthier, more respected, or more powerful than others in their group) that characterized later Greek society in the historical period.

If they behaved like the surviving hunter-gatherers of modern times, Paleolithic hunter-gatherer groups tended to stay within territories some-

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