

HELLENIC HISTORY

BY

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New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1926

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Set up and electrotyped. Published March, 1922. Reprinted
August, 1922; February, June, 1923; January, 1924; January,
November, 1925; November, 1926.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY
THE BERWICK & SMITH CO.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The purpose of this volume is to present in brief scope the evolution of Greek civilization—a culture simple in its essential unity, although seemingly complex in its many and wide ramifications. In the conviction that the chief aim of history is to explain the present, the author has centered his attention on those phases of Greek life which have influenced to a marked degree the civilization of to-day. In the case of the Greeks, perhaps more than of any other people in the world's history, the state was the highest embodiment of social and cultural life. In the free air of the city-state the liberty loving Greek found not alone his inspiration but untrammelled opportunity for expression and development. In the Athenian democracy of Pericles, the city-state reached its logical consummation; for the first time the citizen could give free rein to his individualism. The successful struggle with the placid yet insidious civilization of the Orient gave self-confidence, purpose, and solidarity to Greek life. To embryonic genius the wealth and broadening influence of empire furnished boundless opportunity and inspiration. In coping with the burdens of imperialism, however, this very spirit of individualism proved a serious weakness. Political control passed, though not without long and bitter struggle, first to militaristic Sparta, and then in turn to more efficient masters—Thebes, Macedon, Rome. It is tragedy in its highest form that the Greeks reached a solution of their political problems too late for rescue from foreign domination. And yet it redounds to the glory of Greece, that in spite of political and economic vicissitudes, the artist and the philosopher continued to create products of even greater refinement and broader humanism.

The narrative has been based, therefore, on the story of political evolution. However, the reader will note many striking omissions, particularly in regard to petty squabbles among politicians and states, and the idealization of military leaders. In accor-

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

dance with the broadening scope of history, due emphasis has been placed on economic factors, which then as now were signposts to political or military policy. Wherever possible, economic and political events have been combined in a continuous narrative. In other instances the reader is guided by cross reference to separate treatments of important agricultural, industrial, and commercial changes. In the sections devoted to social life there is painted an intimate picture of the everyday life of the leisure class, and of the toiler in town and country, at work and at play.

Cultural achievement—wherein we moderns see the chief justification for our study of Greek history—has been treated not only as to growth and development, but as an integral part of the Greek life and character. In short this book represents an effort to combine political, economic, social, and cultural history in one synthesis, centering attention on those factors which have contributed essentially to modern civilization.

The *Hellenic History* is intended to serve primarily as a textbook for college courses in Greek history, and as a guide to the reader who is interested in one or more phases of Greek achievement. For more detailed treatment the reader is referred to the list of books at the end of each chapter. Full bibliographies have been provided for the first seven chapters; for later chapters the lists of additional readings are selective. Those readers who desire a parallel study of the sources, or a more extensive bibliography, are advised to consult the companion volume, *Hellenic Civilization*.¹

In the preparation of the manuscript of the *Hellenic History* for publication, the editor has sought to maintain the author's high standard of scholarship and accuracy. In so far as he has been successful in this endeavor, he is obligated largely to the assistance of many friends. In particular, he gratefully acknowledges his debt of gratitude to two former students of the author, Professor Wallace E. Caldwell of the University of North Carolina, for his preparation of the bibliographies, and for his assistance in the arduous task of proof-reading, and to Miss Margaret D. Bancroft, Instructor of History in Wellesley College, for her pains-

¹ Botsford, G. W., and Sihler, E. G., *Hellenic Civilization*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1915.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

taking work in the selection and preparation of illustrative material for this volume; and to his mother, whose constant encouragement, advice, and practical assistance have made possible the publication of Dr. Botsford's last work. For the use of a considerable part of the illustrative material, the editor is indebted to the authorities of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, to Mrs. Elder Marcus of Englewood, N. J., and Mrs. A. C. McGiffert of New York city, to Professors Alice Walton and Katherine M. Edwards of Wellesley College, and to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University. The editor desires, furthermore, to express his thanks to Mr. Edward A. Bryant of Yonkers, N. Y. for his compilation of the Index, to Mr. Frederick W. Erb, Miss Adele M. Erb, and Miss Isadore G. Mudge, of the Columbia University Library, for their friendly spirit of coöperation, and finally to his colleague, Professor Francis G. Allinson of Brown University, for many friendly suggestions and criticisms.

JAY BARRETT BOTSFORD.

Brown University,
Providence, R. I.
February 10, 1922.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. COUNTRY AND PEOPLE	1
II. THE MINOAN AGE	8
III. THE MIDDLE AGE: TRANSITION FROM MINOAN TO HELLENIC LIFE	31
IV. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND COLONIAL EXPANSION .	52
V. EVOLUTION OF THE CITY-STATE, AMPHICTYONIES, AND LEAGUES	69
VI. CRETE, LACEDÆMON, AND THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE	81
VII. ATHENS: FROM MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY .	102
VIII. INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING: (I) SOCIAL AND LITERARY PROGRESS	124
IX. INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING: (II) RELIGIOUS, MORAL, AND SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS	136
X. CONQUEST OF THE ASIATIC GREEKS BY THE LYDIANS AND THE PERSIANS	158
XI. THE WAR WITH PERSIA AND CARTHAGE	169
XII. THE AGE OF THE WAR HEROES: (I) POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC	190
XIII. THE AGE OF THE WAR HEROES: (II) SOCIETY AND CULTURE	213
XIV. THE AGE OF PERICLES: (I) IMPERIALISM .	234
XV. THE AGE OF PERICLES: (II) THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY	248
XVI. THE AGE OF PERICLES: (III) SOCIETY AND PUBLIC WORKS	258
XVII. THE AGE OF PERICLES: (IV) THOUGHT, CULTURE, AND CHARACTER	274

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVIII. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE BEGINNING OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION	300
XIX. THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION AND THE LAST YEARS OF THE WAR	316
XX. A CULTURAL REVOLUTION	329
XXI. THE LACEDÆMONIAN EMPIRE AND THE ASCENDAN- CY OF THEBES	352
XXII. SICILY AND MAGNA GRÆCIA	374
XXIII. THE RISE OF MACEDON TO 337	381
XXIV. ECONOMY AND SOCIETY	394
XXV. SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE STATE	411
XXVI. ART AND INTELLIGENCE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY .	423
XXVII. ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE AND THE HELLENISTIC KING- DOMS	445
XXVIII. THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE HELLENISTIC STATES	461
XXIX. HELLENISTIC CULTURE: (I) CITY CONSTRUCTION AND ART	475
XXX. HELLENISTIC CULTURE: (II) PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE	485

HELLENIC HISTORY

CHAPTER I

COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

IN the history of the Greeks the centre of interest lies, not in their peninsula, but in the coasts and islands of the Aegean sea, which collectively formed the very heart of Hellas.¹ It was not till they had passed the zenith of their development that the interior and north of the mainland came into prominence. For their beginnings it is instructive to take note of their situation in the great cultural area which borders the eastern half of the Mediterranean sea. In this area mankind first emerged from barbarism. It is a region which at the dawn of history was especially subject to immigration. We may infer, then, that from concentration, added to natural growth, the population became too dense to find support in hunting, fishing, and gathering wild fruits and nuts. The productive valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates, and to a less degree the small alluvial plains at the mouths of the rivers on both Aegean coasts, invited to agriculture. From tilling the soil, however rudely, to the higher stages of civilization the way was comparatively easy.²

This development was favored by the mild, sub-tropical climate. Less enervating than the equatorial heat, it yet rendered life far easier than is possible in the temperate zones. On the Mediterranean shores men need less food, clothing, and shelter. They live more in the open air in social contact with one another. Thus their struggle for existence is not all-absorbing; they have more leisure to devote to

¹ In this volume Greece designates the Greek peninsula, Hellas the country occupied by the ancient Hellenes. Greek and Hellenic, Greeks and Hellenes are used synonymously.

² Ancient geographies treat of topography, climate, soil, products, ethnology, political conditions, local history and mythology, occupations and manufactures. Examples are Strabo, *Geography*, and Pliny, *Natural History*, bks. i-vi. Remnants of other geographers are collected in Müller, C., *Geographici graeci minores*, 2 vols. with a third vol. of maps, Paris: Didot, 1855. Much geographical material, too, is contained in the historians, as Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, and Diodorus. In fact all ancient literature abounds in references to geographical features and conditions. Great contributions have been made by modern studies and books of travel. Some of these works are mentioned at the close of the present chapter.

thought and to the creation of the adornments of life and more opportunity for discussion, for the interchange and clarification of ideas.

Communication between the Aegean region and the Orient was easy. The ships of Crete sailed south but a short way to Libya, and thence crept along the coast to the Delta. The Aegean shores are lined with harbors well adapted to the small vessels of early time — in fact, the sea between these coasts is itself, so to speak, a great harbor opening to the Orient. These conditions brought southeastern Europe, and the adjacent Anatolian coast,³ into closest historical relations with the East.

Broadly, then, the Aegean region was one with the great valleys of the Nile and Euphrates; all were included in the home of the oldest civilization. Within this wide area, however, were striking contrasts of geography, hence of historical growth. The Aegean region, on the highway of migration and traffic between two continents, attracted strangers of diverse race and genius; and these immigrant peculiarities combined to make the Greeks extremely versatile. The interaction, too, of strangers upon one another, their rivalries and efforts at mutual adjustment, provided a most powerful stimulus to progress. In Babylonia, on the other hand, this force was less operative while in Egypt it existed only at certain crises. Great political contrasts, too, arose. The necessity of regulating the waters of the Nile and Euphrates called into existence vast systems of coöperative labor enforced by an absolute king, whereas in the Aegean world the division of the country into little islands or on the mainlands, diminutive plains separated by high mountain ranges, encouraged the grouping of the population in small independent communities. The conditions of life within these little states, together with the reciprocal relations among them, contributed enormously to the development of individuality and intelligence. The genius of the people in these directions was further determined by the mountainous character of their country. In this rugged environment a man could readily make a living for himself and his family in independence, by hunting birds and beasts, pasturing a few domestic animals, and tilling a small patch of ground. He had little need of neighbors, still less of kings. His courage he exercised in battle with the wild boar, the bear, leopard, and lion. Against any force likely to menace his home he could depend on his strong arm, or at the worst on flight to some hidden or guarded refuge.

³ Anatolia is the modern name of Asia Minor.

Hence arose his fearlessness, the foundation of his character. On the sole basis of courage rested liberty to do and think; on liberty rested intelligence and individuality.

In a large degree, too, the nature of the people was determined by the products of their country. Although Greece could never compare in fertility with central Europe, England, or America, it was far more productive anciently than now. There was then a smaller area of bare rock; the soil was thicker, richer and better supplied with moisture. Yet even in earliest times it was but a lean country with its thin flesh barely covering the bones, which here and there protruded nakedly. High mountain tops were crowned with bald rocks, bordered with a fringe of alpine plants. Below the snow line grew forests of pine, fir, cedar, oaks of several kinds, beech, bay, and some wild fruits as the apple, pear, and grape. The plane and cypress are thought to be importations, and the chestnut, walnut, and almond do not appear till late in history. The thin woods permitted the growth of brush and grass, which pastured domestic animals. The mountaineer gave his chief attention to rearing pigs, fattening them on the abundant acorns, which afforded, too, a substantial element of the family diet.

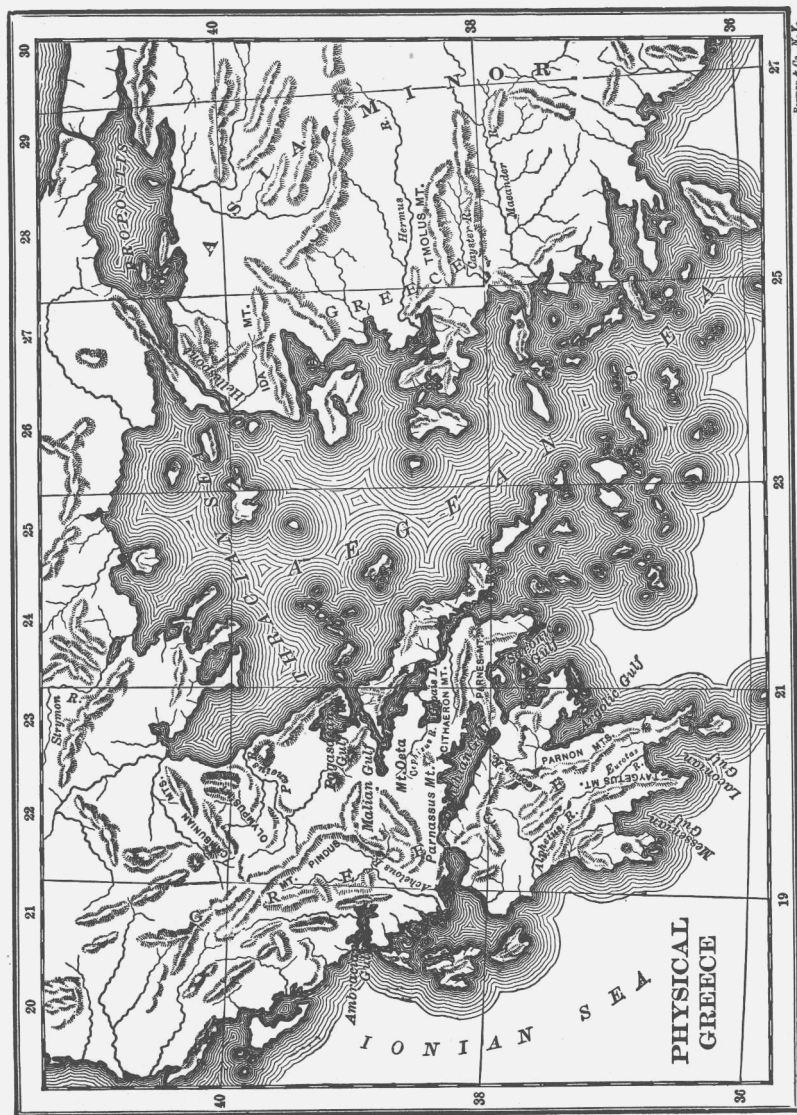
On the mountain side, below the forest zone,⁴ lay the drier, thinner-soiled scrub-land, covered with the anemone, asphodel (hyacinth), myrtle, juniper, and other plants. There was a lack of berries, but the many flowers gave food to bees that supplied the inhabitants with their sole material sweetness. Over this zone of scrub ruled the shepherds with their herds of sheep and goats, that perpetually nibbled their dry, prickly food, and furnished the more refined people of the valleys with leather, wool, milk, and meat. For the protection of their flocks and pasture rights the shepherds became war lords, each surrounded by an army of savage dogs. The winter cold drove them to encroach on the neighboring plains, where often on questions of trespass and damage they waged battle with the tillers of the soil.

These plains lay either wholly surrounded by mountains or between mountain range and sea. Here the soil, none too good, produced wheat when at its best; otherwise barley, spelt, and millet. Among the vegetables were peas, beans, onions, leeks, and garlic. The fruits were apples, pears, quinces, pomegranates, figs, grapes, and chief of

⁴ The division of Greece vertically into zones of vegetation is due to Myres, J. L., *Greek Lands and Greek People*.

all, olives. The date-palm grew in southern Peloponnese and the neighboring islands. Olive oil was used for food, for anointing the body, and for burning in lamps. Flax provided oil and linen. In addition to fowls and the smaller domestic animals the farmers reared donkeys, mules, and occasionally cows. There were few horses except in Boeotia and Thessaly; and everywhere they were "the ornament of luxurious wealth," used by the cavalry in war, and in time of peace for riding and driving, but never as beasts of burden. Summarily, the animal and vegetable products, far from effecting a surplus of riches, were too scant to support meagerly a moderately dense population. If a leisurely class was to exist and a high degree of refinement to be attained, the Greeks would have to find other sources of wealth.

Turning from farming and grazing to minerals, we discover an almost equal lack of resources. Euboea produced copper, though not nearly enough to supply the demand; and for tin, a necessary ingredient of much-used bronze, the Greeks had to depend wholly on importations. It was not till near the end of the second millennium B. C., that they began to use iron in the industries. They found it in Euboea and the island of Seriphus, and far more abundantly in the mountain range of Taÿgetus, Laconia. In spite of this restricted mining area the yield allowed a surplus for export. Of the two precious metals, gold must have been relatively abundant and easily obtained in the Minoan age, though we do not know where was the source of supply. In the historical period it was found in the islands of Siphnos and Thasos and the opposite Thracian coast. Doubtless, however, some of the gold used by the Greeks came from foreign lands. Silver was mined along with the gold; and in Attica Laurium produced it with lead. In building-stone alone is all Greece rich; and the best of marbles come from Mount Pentelicus in Attica and the island of Paros. In the fourth century the Athenians began to derive profit from its exportation. Last but not least in importance were the clay fields distributed over all Greece, which made possible the potter's trade. No coal was mined, and even now within the Mediterranean basin little has been found and that of inferior quality. Wood and charcoal supplied the heat necessary for cooking and the industries. The natural economic resources, however varied, were all limited in quantity. A Greek therefore had to make the best use of his scant means, to study economy. Next to fearlessness and love of liberty, moderation was the greatest quality of the race.



This principle holds not only for eating, drinking, shelter and the other material things of life, but equally for literature and the fine arts. The simple self-restraint of Hellenism, the product of a long, severe training, contrasts with the redundancy of means employed by all other European artists ancient and modern.

Another feature of Greece which bore powerfully on character is to be sought in the lack of unity between coast and interior. We have seen that the nature of the country — its division by waters and by high mountain ranges into islands and little plains — prevented the inhabitants from massing together in large social and political groups. Exploitation of the interior and the north, which formed their "back country," would have demanded a united effort, like that which brought the North American colonies under a single government. But this region was crowded with mountains inaccessible and repellent, which forced the plain and coast people to the sea as their sphere of life — to colonization and commerce. This course of action still further stimulated their intelligence and enterprise, but tended even more to decentralization. Whereas great continental undertakings call for unity, a single city, whether Athens or Venice, has found it easier unhampered by political dependence to create a great naval power and an extensive commerce.

The factors that mould character thus far considered are in whole or part economic. It is possible, however, to find in the country physical features which acted directly on the mind. First of all is the endless variety, contrasting with the monotony of Egypt, the ever-changing landscapes which made for versatility. Whereas the Egyptians seem to us like so many slices from the same cheese, we find among the ancient Greeks as great differences as among civilized men of the whole world today. There was no typical Greek. The landscapes, too, are always suggestive. Beyond the nearer range is another higher, and the one still further away presents an opening through which are revealed more distant heights. Thus the imagination is tempted forth beyond its immediate surroundings, to embark on voyages of mental exploration. The beauty it meets on the way is not sensuous, inviting to eat, drink, and sleep. Rather it is intellectual, appealing to the noblest faculties of man. These naked, jagged mountain heights, be it noticed, have no economic value. They do their part in awakening a love of beauty for its own sake, which has created for all time the absolute ideal of art. Akin is the

love of truth for its own sake, that noble intellectual ideal, unmastered by thought of worldly gain, which made the Greeks the discoverers of the principles of knowledge, the creators of science and philosophy.

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I. GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE.—Shepherd, W. R., *Atlas of Ancient History* (Holt, 1913), the best historical atlas; Kiepert, H., *Atlas Antiquus* (Boston: Sanborn); Murray, *Smaller Classical Atlas*, rev. by G. B. Grundy (Oxford University Press, 1904); Whibley, L., *Companion*, ch. i; Tozer, *Lectures on the Geography of Greece* (London: Murray, 1873); Kiepert, *Manual of Ancient Geography* (Macmillan, 1881); Smith, William, *Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography*, rev. by G. E. Marindin (London: Murray, 1909).

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CHAPTER II

THE MINOAN AGE

Neolithic age to 3000 B.C. Our earliest glimpse of the Aegean area reveals a people in possession of the neolithic culture; as yet they were ignorant of the metals but had learned to polish their stone implements with a view to increasing the cutting power. A good opportunity for the study of progress during the neolithic age is afforded by Cnossus, Crete. The deposits left by the people of this culture on the site of the palace there, measuring in places twenty feet in depth, were doubtless accumulating through several thousand years. During this long age we can trace the slow evolution of mankind by the fragments of pottery which still survive. In the lowest stratum they are of crude clay roughly fashioned by hand. Gradually the potter learned to purify his material, to mould it in somewhat more pleasing forms, and to fire it in an oven. Meanwhile he was making the earliest attempts at ornamentation. The first step was to scratch the surface with angular lines, whence developed the style described as geometric; the next was to fill the incisions with a white chalky substance — the beginning of vase painting. Other varieties of neolithic earthenware need not be considered here.¹

Neolithic life. From material found at Cnossus and in deposits of the same age elsewhere we learn that the people of the time used stone axes, hammers, and knives besides many utensils of bone and horn. Undoubtedly their chief material for weapons and implements

¹ The sources for the Minoan age with its neolithic antecedents are substantially all archaeological. They are (1) the sites of settlements in these ages, including topography and excavated strata, (2) the objects found by excavation and other research, stored in the museums. The principal Minoan collections are in Candia, Crete; National Museum, Athens; British Museum, London; and Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. There are a few specimens in the museums of Boston and New York. Next in value are (3) reports of excavations, containing illustrations and descriptions of the objects. The most important are those of Dr. Evans and others, in *BSA.*, beginning with vol. VI (1899-1900). For Phaestus, *Monumenti antichi*, beginning with XII (1902). For other sites, Boyd, H., *Transactions of the Department of Archaeology*, University of Pennsylvania, I (1904), for her excavations at Gournia; Seager, R. B., *Exploration in the Island of Mochlos*; American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1912; *Excavations on the Island of Psira* (University Museum, Phila., 1910); Atkinson, T. D. and others, *Excavations at Philakopi in Melos* (Macmillan, 1904); Wace, A. J. B. and Thompson, M. S., *Prehistoric Thessaly* (Cambridge: University Press, 1912); Hall, E. H., *Excavations in Eastern Crete*, Anthropological Publications, University of Pennsylvania, 1913; Dörpfeld, W. and others, *Troja u. d. Ilion*, 2 vols. (Athens 1902); Frickenhaus, A. and others, *Tiryns* (Athens, 1912). For illustrations see Maraghiannis, G., *Antiquités crétoises*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1906, 1911). Evans, A., *Atlas of Cnossian Antiquities* (Macmillan), is promised.

was wood, all of which however has perished. At first they clothed themselves in skins, and this material continued down into historical Greece in the dress of the country folk; but before the end of the age the chiefs and their families were in a position to array themselves in woven garments, a waist-cloth for men and a skirt for women. In earlier times they lived in round, rarely oval, huts of wattle daubed with clay; only in course of centuries and in favorable conditions did the abode become a rectangle divided into several rooms and protected with walls of small rough stones. In their light boats they rowed freely from isle to isle to exchange their simple wares. The occurrence of a similar style of pottery, not only over the Aegean isles but as far distant as Cyprus and Egypt, proves the existence of commerce throughout this extended area. It is the connection with Egypt, whose chronology in broad outline is known even for this remote time, which enables us to fix the date for the close of the neolithic age at about 3000.²

Minoan age. 3000-1200. The bronze (or more strictly, copper-bronze) age, which developed from the neolithic, is now widely known as Minoan, after Minos, a legendary king, or perhaps a god, of Crete. Dr. Evans, the explorer of Cnossus, divides the Minoan age into three periods Early, Middle, and Late. In the present volume the term Mycenaean will be treated as equivalent to "Late Minoan."³

Early Minoan (Copper) age. 3000-2200. In the beginning of the Early Minoan age the potter invented a black glaze for washing his wares. On the lustrous surface thus produced he painted wide bands in white, or rarely, red. Sometimes he left to the surface its natural buff, whereon he placed black-glaze stripes. These elements of art continued down to historical Greece. Gradually the moulding and painting attained freedom and variety. As the pointed instrument yielded to the brush, zigzags naturally developed into curvilinear and simple spiral designs. Here, too, appears the first evidence of the potter's wheel. Slowly followed the effort to express the forms of living things, all in geometric style. The human body was represented

² The beginning of the neolithic age is variously dated from 12000-10000 B.C. to 5000-4000 B.C. The oldest neolithic objects discovered in Thessaly may be somewhat earlier than those of Crete. For neolithic pottery, Mackenzie, *JHS.* XXIII. 158 ff.; Mosso, *Med. Civ.* 117-21; Dussaud, 36-8. Dress; Dussaud, 62 f., 208 (ill.); Mosso, 185-94; Breuil, *Anthropologic*, 1909, p. 17, fig. 9. Round house; Dawkins, *BSA.* XI. 263. The presence of ivory shows contact with Egypt.—Other parts of Europe were contemporaneously in the neolithic stage, but somewhat less advanced; cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* I. 731 f.

³ Minos may have been a god (Bethe, *Rhein Mus.* LXV. 214 ff.), whom the Greeks remembered as a king. The use of the word Minoan is justified by the great number of cities of that age named Minoa.—In some modern authors Mycenaean is equivalent to Late Minoan III 1400-1200 (or 1100).

by two triangles, the points coming together at the girdle. The legs and arms were little more than lines. Equally crude are the statuettes, presumably idols, of the same age. In the carving of stone vessels, however, the artist reached perfection.⁴

Melos. A leading centre of culture in this period was the island of Melos. Here were quarries of obsidian, a hard, volcanic rock, which splits readily into thin blades, and was therefore especially serviceable for knives, razors and all sharp-bladed or sharp-pointed instruments. By exporting wares of the kind in great quantities to neighboring lands the Melians grew relatively prosperous. Hence they were able to make progress in the comforts of life. Next after them followed the inhabitants of the neighboring Cyclades, and in fact their influence was felt from the coast of Argolis, Greece, to Troy in Asia Minor.⁵

Dwellings and tombs. In this period the rectangular house became larger, more substantial, and better furnished. Many a chieftain must have had his palace, but the one at Troy is best known to us. This site had been occupied in the transition to the bronze age, and the settlement of which we now speak is the second. The essential element of the palace is a great hall (megaron) with a central hearth. From this room we pass through a door into a vestibule formed by the projecting walls, and from there into a large open court. This type of dwelling originated in central Europe. The same plan is afterward found on a more complex scale in the palace at Tiryns. In exposed places from the beginning of the age men were wont to fortify their settlements with rude walls of uncut stones, whereas other cities, like those of Crete, remained unprotected.

Copper; pictographs. The great innovation of the age was the introduction of copper, most probably from Egypt and Cyprus. It was used for tools and weapons. Silver and gold became known in the same period. Copper was followed at an interval of centuries by bronze. For a long time, however, stone maintained its place in the useful arts. Equally important was the adoption of a system of picture writing, pictographs. They are found in Crete on seals of ivory, stone, and other material in the form of cylinders, buttons, and prisms. Their near resemblance to Egyptian types proves an intercourse between these two countries in the age of their production.

⁴ For illustrations of the pottery, Hall, *Decorative Art of Greece in the Bronze Age*, 6-10. Group of primitive idols; Dussaud, 361. Stone vases; Seager, *Mochlos*, 11.

⁵ Pictures of obsidian objects; Dussaud, 98.