



ANCIENT HISTORY

ATAR course examination 2018

Marking Key

Marking keys are an explicit statement about what the examining panel expect of candidates when they respond to particular examination items. They help ensure a consistent interpretation of the criteria that guide the awarding of marks.

Section One: Short answer – Unit 3

25% (25 Marks)

Question 1

(5 marks)

Describe the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Megiddo and give **two** examples of the subsequent Egyptian actions.

	Marks
Describes in detail the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Megiddo.	3
Provides some detail about the immediate aftermath of the battle.	2
Provides superficial comment about the immediate aftermath of the battle.	1
Subtotal	3
Gives two examples of the subsequent Egyptian actions.	2
Gives one example of the subsequent Egyptian actions.	1
Subtotal	2
Total	5

Markers' notes:

The end of the battle was a rout with the coalition of enemies fleeing from the Egyptians back to Megiddo where the inhabitants had closed the gates but hauled members of the defeated army up over the walls by a variety of improvised measures. The Egyptian army pursued their foe as far as the coalition camp where despite exhortations from their leaders to the contrary, they stopped to loot the abandoned treasures. In subsequent actions the Egyptians set up a siege and took what they wanted from the surrounding countryside in the way of crops and livestock. Later, Tuthmosis III was gracious in his treatment of his defeated enemies. He also established a 'feast of victory' to Amun of five days. This was the first time such a feast was held.

Question 2

(5 marks)

Identify and explain the economic impact of the growth of empire on the Egyptian state in Dynasty 18.

Description	Marks
Identifies and explains in detail the economic impact of the growth of empire on the Egyptian state in Dynasty 18.	5
Identifies and explains the economic impact of the growth of empire on the Egyptian state in Dynasty 18.	4
Provides some identification and explanation of the economic impact of the growth of empire on the Egyptian state in Dynasty 18.	3
Provides some general description of the economic impact of the growth of empire on the Egyptian state in Dynasty 18.	2
Makes only superficial comments about the economic impact of the growth of empire on the Egyptian state in Dynasty 18.	1
Total	5

Markers' notes:

Booty/tribute/trade from and with old and newfound allies both to the north and to the south. Together with a system of allies bound to Egypt by hostage taking (children educated at the Egyptian court), judicious marriage contracts with allies, and careful diplomatic representation. Combined with border controls/forts and military outposts meant security of trade routes, stability of allies, peace and security within Egypt, a huge influx of wealth and the ability to complete massive building projects – thus an increased need for labourers, craftsmen, raw materials/products and so forth -- whole country prospered.

Question 3

(5 marks)

Outline the organisation and weaponry of the Egyptian military in Dynasty 18.

Description	Marks
Outlines in detail the organisation and weaponry of the Egyptian military in Dynasty 18.	5
Outlines the organisation and weaponry of the Egyptian military in Dynasty 18.	4
Provides a general outline of the organisation and weaponry of the Egyptian military in Dynasty 18.	3
Provides a list of some elements of the organisation and/or weaponry of the Egyptian military in Dynasty 18.	2
Provides superficial comment on the organisation or weaponry of the Egyptian military in Dynasty 18.	1
Total	5
<p>Markers' notes: Candidates should know/outline some of the following: Organisation: Development of a standing army led by pharaoh as Commander in Chief. Similarly, the navy which had both sailors and marines. The army developed from two divisions under Tuthmosis III to four divisions under Rameses II (although Rameses II is Dynasty 19). The elite were the charioteers. An infantry of spearmen, archers, axe bearers, club bearers and slingers. Many carried swords and/or daggers as well. Each group had their own officers and were divided further into new recruits, experienced soldiers and experts. There was also an intelligence unit comprised of scouts, spies and messengers. All of this was backed up by a substantial headquarters administration which dealt with recruits, supplies, communications, accounts, records and such.</p> <p>Weaponry: The most significant weapons were the khepresh sword – which was an evil thing shaped like a sickle and the composite bow – in the right hands, deadly accurate over a long range.</p>	

Question 4

(5 marks)

Explain the concept of maat and the importance of its role in the successful functioning of the Egyptian state.

Description	Marks
Explains the concept of maat with detail.	2
Explains the concept of maat with limited detail.	1
Subtotal	2
Explains in detail the importance of the role of maat in the successful functioning of the Egyptian state, with supporting evidence.	3
Describes the importance of the role of maat in the successful functioning of the Egyptian state, with some supporting evidence.	2
Makes only superficial comment about the importance of the role of maat in the successful functioning of the Egyptian state.	1
Subtotal	3
Total	5
<p>Markers' notes:</p> <p>Basically the concept of justice and the concept of order in the Egyptian state as opposed to chaos. It is a religious concept but overarching the governance of the country. It is a complex notion but basically could partially translate into God's in his/her heaven; all is right with the world. Represented as a feather or as a goddess with the feather of justice/order in her hair. This was the feather that was weighed against the heart of the deceased in the judgement of Osiris.</p> <p>The importance of maat was expressed through the power of the king and his representatives in keeping the state stable and functioning. Thus a strong monarch was essential to ensure order.</p> <p>The Nile Valley was seen as the epitome of maat whereas the desert and foreigners were seen as the epitome of chaos. Thus the desert hunting scenes had more than one meaning as did the images of the king triumphant over his enemies.</p> <p>Basically, maat underpinned the whole State.</p>	

Question 5

(10 marks)

Outline differences between Amun Temples and the Temples to the Aten and explain the difference in the way the gods were worshipped.

Description	Marks
Outlines accurately and with citation of relevant evidence, the differences between Amun Temples and the Temples to the Aten.	4–5
Outlines with some omissions and with some citation of evidence, the differences between Amun Temples and the Temples to the Aten.	2–3
Makes superficial comment about the differences between Amun Temples and the Temples to the Aten.	1
Subtotal	5
Explains accurately and in detail, and with citation of the relevant evidence, the difference in the way the gods were worshipped.	4–5
Outlines accurately, with citation of some evidence, the difference in the way the gods were worshipped.	2–3
Makes superficial comment on the difference in the way the gods were worshipped.	1
Subtotal	5
Total	10

Markers' notes:

Dynasty 18 cult temples to Amun included an entrance pylon which led into an open courtyard which led into a hypostyle hall to the Amun (i.e. a columned hall) which finally led into the sanctuary of the god. There could be any number of pylons, courtyards, halls, ancillary rooms, statues, columns, obelisks, stele, inscriptions, reliefs, and other items added by various pharaohs. Inscriptions could include religious texts and historical texts written by pharaohs regarding events during their reigns. These texts were accompanied by elaborate carved and painted reliefs. In particular, monumental reliefs of the pharaohs in triumphant poses could be carved on the pylons and on the walls. There could be elaborate illustrated botanical texts. There could be ancillary chapels for gods associated with the main god. There was generally a sacred lake.

Temples to the Aten were far fewer in number than those to the Amun because they were only operational during the 17-year reign of Akhenaten. The Aten temples had entrance pylons and a hypostyle hall but these led into one or more courts with open air altars where offerings could be made to the god. The temples were built using talatat blocks which were suitable for one person to carry. Compared with traditional stone building material which required a team effort per block, they were easy to move by one person and meant that buildings could be completed in a shorter amount of time than normal.

The Aten temples had offices and storerooms in the same manner as the more traditional temples.

The decoration on the walls seems to have shown the altars filled with offerings as well as offerings being made by the members of the royal family. There were also depictions of the royal family engaged in their daily routines.

In Amun worship the High Priest of Amun, basically a political figure, led the worship and was the intermediary between the god and the people. It should be remembered that Ancient Egyptian priests were not pastoral figures. This was a professional post.

In the Aten worship it was the pharaoh who was the intermediary between the god and the people. Some candidates may point out that this was significant because it took religious power, with all that it implied both economically and politically, away from the priesthoods – not just the Aten priesthood but the priesthoods of the old gods, and concentrated it in the hands of the pharaoh.

Question 6

(10 marks)

Outline the impact of the Amarna Revolution on the artistic portrayal of the human figure, with reference to representations of the pharaoh and his family.

Description	Marks
Outlines accurately the impact of the Amarna Revolution on the artistic portrayal of the human figure.	4–5
Outlines with some omissions the impact of the Amarna Revolution on the artistic portrayal of the human figure.	2–3
Makes only superficial comment on the impact of the Amarna Revolution on the artistic portrayal of the human figure.	1
Subtotal	5
Refers accurately and in detail to relevant representations of the pharaoh and his family.	4–5
Refers accurately and in some detail to relevant representations of the pharaoh and his family.	2–3
Makes superficial comment about representations of the pharaoh and his family.	1
Subtotal	5
Total	10
<p>Markers' notes:</p> <p>There was a gradual change in the artistic canon so that the grid from feet to hairline changed from 18 squares to 20 squares. This made the legs appear shorter. An extra square was inserted at the join of the neck and shoulder making the neck longer. An extra square was added to the torso which meant there was sufficient room to show pendulous stomachs.</p> <p>Amarna artists showed a preference for curves rather than straight lines – so that there are curves in the thighs of seated figures, hands are curved, curved figures bow to the king.</p> <p>Early Amarna art showed the king and to a lesser extent the general population with a large head, drooping features (narrow face and pouting lips), a long neck, narrow shoulders and waist with high small of back meaning that the upper torso is small, with the body swelling out to large buttocks and thighs, with the stomach drooping over the sagging waistband, with arms and legs which are thin and lacking in muscles.</p> <p>Later in the period the shoulders and waists were wider, the small of the back was lower so that there was not so much of a contrast between the small upper torso and the larger stomach, buttock and thighs.</p> <p>Female royal figures were not as extreme as the males but along similar lines.</p> <p>Princesses were shown with elongated heads.</p> <p>The royal family were shown in intimate family poses unthinkable before or after this period e.g. Akhenaten and Nefertiti holding their children in their arms; Amarna princesses playing together; Tutankhamun relaxing on a throne/chair with his wife Ankhesenamun anointing his limbs with oil.</p>	

Question 7

(5 marks)

Outline the agreements that were made by league members at the Congress at the Isthmus in 481 BC when the Hellenic League was formed.

Description	Marks
Outlines accurately all the agreements made at the Congress in 481 BC.	5
Outlines with some omissions the agreements made at the Congress in 481 BC.	3–4
Provides limited coverage of the agreements made at the Congress in 481 BC.	2
States some aspects of the agreements made at the Congress in 481 BC, that may include errors.	1
Total	5

Markers' notes:

31 states met at Corinth. Many more were invited but did not attend.

Agreements made at Corinth include that:

- Sparta was to be given the hegemony – Athens ceded at this time 'in the interests of national survival' (Herodotus). This included leadership of the Navy (under Eurybiades).
- All inter-polis feuds and disputes were to end including the 30-year war between Athens and Aegina. This allowed focus on the one enemy and also increased the available navy.
- Spies were to be sent to Asia to estimate the strength of the Persians and were to report back on their preparations.
- Envoys were to be sent to other 'Greek' states that had not attended in the hope of bolstering the defence effort – in particular to Corcyra, Syracuse, Argos and Crete.
- Agreement was made that states that voluntarily submitted (medised) were to be fined and/or punished.

These are the basic agreements and are sufficient for full marks.

Credit could also be awarded for candidates who note that a war strategy was decided upon – fight in narrow battlefields, line of defence at Tempe, stretch the Persian supply lines and possibly to seek advice from Delphi. It's likely this list of agreements was arrived at, at a later time however.

Question 8

(5 marks)

Explain the process of ostracism and comment on its importance. Give an example.

Description	Marks
Explains the process of ostracism.	2
States an aspect of the process of ostracism.	1
Subtotal	2
Comments on the importance of ostracism.	2
Makes only brief comments on the importance of ostracism.	1
Subtotal	2
Gives an example.	1
Subtotal	1
Total	5

Markers' notes:

Ostracism was possibly an invention of Cleisthenes but may have been introduced later – perhaps in the 480s. The first recorded use is in 487.

Process

Ostracism is a process by which any Athenian who had become too powerful could be exiled by the people for 10 years. At a fixed time, each year, an assembly was held at the Pnyx. A quorum of 6000 citizens was necessary. If a majority of the votes was for one man, he would be exiled. Notably his family could stay in Athens and his property was not affected. The process is named after the broken pieces of pottery used to cast votes (Ostraka).

Importance

Ostracism is a powerful democratic tool that became a more frequent occurrence. It was a powerful ability that the citizens had to protect themselves against tyranny. On the other hand, for the powerful, the lack of severe punishment meant that exiled citizens could return in safety without further punishment – Cimon for example returned from exile and again became one of the most powerful men in Athens. The threat of ostracism also had power in shaping the behaviour of the powerful to avoid this result. Lastly because a successful return was possible (sometimes before the 10 years was up) – exiles did not tend to try to build up an opposition in exile.

Later ostracism at times became a weapon of the powerful to rid themselves of powerful enemies but this is later in the time period and need not be the focus of candidates' responses. This question is focused on the process as designed.

Examples that candidates could use:

- Xanthippus
- Arisitides
- Themistocles
- Cimon
- Alcibiades
- Thucydides

Other answers are possible. Only one sentence is needed to state the example. The question is simply asking for an example to be given.

Question 9

(5 marks)

Outline the reasons given by Thucydides for Athenian leadership of the Delian League.

Description	Marks
Outlines accurately the reasons given by Thucydides for Athenian leadership of the Delian League showing good knowledge of Thucydides' text.	5
Outlines reasons given by Thucydides for Athenian leadership of the Delian League showing knowledge of Thucydides' text.	3–4
Lists a few reasons given by Thucydides for Athenian leadership of the Delian League.	2
States a reason for Athens taking the leadership.	1
Total	5

Markers' notes:

Thucydides says that Athens 'succeeded to the supremacy by the voluntary act of the allies through their hatred of Pausanias' Thucydides says specifically that the reasons for the Athenian hegemony are (1.95):

1. Ionian Kinship 'requested them as their kinsmen'.
2. To stop Pausanias' violence – particularly violent and aggressive to the Ionians – rumours of medism. Recalled by Sparta, replacement sent but rejected by the Ionians.
3. Thucydides says that Athens could take the league because Sparta acquiesced (1.95) because of the fear of corruption of officials, so they could be free of the burden of the Persian war; they had confidence in Athenian competence to carry out necessary actions and because of their friendship with Athens at the time.

In addition, it could be argued that Athens took over because they had congruent aims (unlike Sparta and the allies) as follows (1.96):

1. to compensate themselves by ravaging Persia.
2. liberation of the Greeks from Persia.

It is also implicit with Thucydides that Athens could take their leadership of the Delian League because of their actions during the Persian War having shown them to be the ideal candidate to replace a reluctant Sparta.

Some of these reasons appear plausible but others probably simplify the situation, particularly in relation to the Athenian and Spartan relationship. Thucydides is lacking in analysis of longer term and/or deeper or underlying causes of these events. Stronger candidates may identify this.

Question 10

(5 marks)

Explain the significance of the Battle of Eurymedon in 468 BC to Athens, the allies and to Sparta.

Description	Marks
Explains in detail the significance of the Battle of Eurymedon to Athens, the allies and to Sparta.	5
Explains the significance of the Battle of Eurymedon to Athens, the allies and to Sparta. May not cover all three parties in detail.	3–4
Describes the significance of the Battle of Eurymedon to Athens, the allies and to Sparta. May cover only 1–2 parties and in limited detail.	2
Makes only general or superficial comments about the significance of the Battle of Eurymedon. May describe the battle itself.	1
Total	5
<p>Markers' notes: This question needs to focus on the <i>significance</i> of the Battle. Details of the battle itself are peripheral. Candidates need to comment on all three noted parties for full marks.</p> <p>Athens For Athens, the battle showed them as militarily very capable. The leadership of Cimon showed Athenians themselves that Athens was now a very powerful polis. The dynamism of their actions around the battle of Salamis, their surprising victory at Marathon was now reinforced to the demos that they were strong at this time on land and sea. A lot of spoil was taken adding to the growing Athenian coffers also. The Athenians had done what was agreed at Delos and liberated the Ionians and pushed back the Persians. This was a crushing Persian defeat and left Athens with the initiative as to what they would do with this new found position which Eurymedon had crystallised.</p> <p>Allies For the Allies there were a number of issues – for the Greeks of Ionia, this level of protection from mainland Greeks was well received and gave them confidence to be independent from Persian Control. The reassurance of Athenian military ability shown at Eurymedon made them stronger members of the Delian League. and less likely to revolt any time soon. For other poleis however, the crushing defeat of Persia could be interpreted as an end to the Persian threat and therefore an end to the need for the Delian League. Some states may try to leave the League. Naxos in 469 may not have had an argument but because of Eurymedon, Thasos in 465 would be a line in the sand for Athens. Post Eurymedon, many of the city states of 'Greece' were now faced with a new order.</p> <p>Sparta Sparta's withdrawal from the hegemony had allowed Athens this opportunity and some in Sparta saw this victory as of great concern. However, this far distant action from Laconia combined with the rigid and fragile social structure of Sparta did not push them into action. Thucydides later indicates that there were some in Sparta warning that they should take action – especially the young but the Gerousia prevailed and Athens continued to build its position post Eurymedon. Themistocles' actions in the Northern Peloponnese had stirred up trouble much closer to home that had only recently been settled and that would always take precedence for the insular Spartans. Eurymedon was noticed by the Spartans but no action was taken – Sparta still had its Naval limitations even if it decided on action to control the rising Athenians. Cimon at Eurymedon with his pro-Spartan leanings was a reassurance to Sparta that they still had control of Hellenic affairs to the degree that they wanted at this point. The policy of joint hegemony would hold sway.</p>	

Question 11

(10 marks)

Describe the economic methods of control used by Athens to 445 BC and evaluate their effectiveness.

Description	Marks
Describes accurately, and with appropriate detail, the economic methods of control used by Athens to 445 BC.	5–6
Describes accurately the economic methods of control used by Athens to 445 BC.	3–4
Lists some of the economic methods of control used by Athens to 445 BC.	1–2
Subtotal	6
Evaluates in depth of the effectiveness of the economic methods of control.	4
Assesses the effectiveness of the methods of control to an extent.	2–3
Makes general statements about the effectiveness of the economic methods of control.	1
Subtotal	4
Total	10

Markers' notes:

Candidates should provide a description of the economic methods of control used by Athens in the period. Interpretation of what constitutes an economic method of control can be broad. The following should be covered – other points are possible.

- Athens controls the phoros – ship-contributors who become rare and as Athens sets the phoros there is an inherent control in that. The requirement to pay this at Athens and devote a 1/60th to Athena is also relevant here.
- The move of the treasury in 454 and its maintenance by demos elected Hellenotamiae is a method of control. The allies cannot control the treasury and the funds became indistinguishable from Athenian funds. The Athenian assembly now has the final say in where the money will be spent.
- The Congress decree of 449 confirmed Athenian financial control to the allies even though none were present.
- The Cleinas decree (447) reinforced the rules around tribute possibly as a result of poor tribute collection the year before. Tributes had to be sealed – no excuses. Athenian officials in allied territory enforced this requirement.
- The Coinage decree of 447/6 enforced uniformity of coinage and weights and measures among all members of the league. Local mints were closed and the attic owl coins were used throughout. Evident control here although there were benefits to the allies also.
- A failed revolt against Athens would not only result in a higher phoros going forward but also could lead to severe indemnities – e.g. Samos 1,300 talent fine.

Some candidates may argue that Cleruchies were an economic method of control and this should be awarded appropriate marks if the case is made that it could be used as such – i.e. the taking of the best farming land for Athenians, etc. A point could also be made about the navy providing a safer trading environment and saving allies from their own naval costs but again it's the economic argument that needs to be made.

Candidates need to make an argument on each economic point about how effectively these methods could be used to apply control over allies. This can be done as each method is raised, or as an analysis in the second part of a response.

Stronger candidates may argue that for some poleis and for many people of different poleis these methods of control were not onerous. The option to disband your navy, pay a reasonable tribute, trade more openly and conveniently (and in greater safety) with common coinage was welcome to some. It is the leading citizens of allied poleis that may have felt the loss of independence these methods of control bring with them, and so may have felt the changes more keenly.

Question 11 (continued)

Candidates could make comment that the economic methods of control were very effective especially when considered alongside the other more overt and blunt methods of control that Athens could use as required. The Athenian Navy was there to ensure compliance with the economic methods of control if necessary. This meant that poleis would comply with the applied economic demands leading to Athens becoming stronger and more powerful – a virtuous circle for Athens.

Question 12

(10 marks)

Outline the key events of the revolt of Samos of 440–439 BC and assess the Athenian response.

Description	Marks
Outlines the key events of the revolt.	4–5
Outlines some of the key events of the revolt.	2–3
Provides only a few details of the revolt.	1
Subtotal	5
Assesses the Athenian response to the revolt in detail.	5
Assesses the Athenian response to the revolt in some detail.	3–4
Makes general statements about the Athenian response to the revolt.	1–2
Subtotal	5
Total	10

Markers' notes:

Key events – (Candidates to outline – not every small detail is necessary)

- In 440 BC Samos was at war with Miletus about Priene, an ancient city of Ionia.
- The Milesians came to Athens with complaints against the Samians. Miletus was militarily weak, having been compelled to disarm and pay tribute after rebelling from Athens twice, once in the 450s and again in 446 BC; Samos, meanwhile, was one of only three remaining fully independent states in the Delian League.
- The Athenians intervened on behalf of Miletus. A fleet of forty triremes, commanded by Pericles, was dispatched to Samos; Pericles established a democracy, and then, after taking 100 hostages to the island of Lemnos and leaving a garrison at Samos, returned home.
- The settlement thus imposed did not last long, however. A group of oligarchs fled to the mainland, secured the support of Pissuthnes, the Persian satrap of Lydia, who provided them with mercenaries and also rescued their hostages from Lemnos.
- The oligarchs, collaborating with allies in the city, invaded with 700 mercenaries, defeated the democrats, and handed all the Athenians in the city over to Pissuthnes.
- Athens now found itself facing a serious crisis in the open revolt of a powerful subject state.
- The Athenians immediately dispatched 60 ships to deal with the situation in the Aegean. In a battle off the island of Tragia, the Athenians were victorious, and the Samians soon found themselves blockaded by land and sea. The Athenians constructed walls around the city of Samos, and meanwhile were reinforced by 65 more ships from Athens, Chios, and Lesbos.
- At this point, with the rebellion seemingly well in hand, Pericles received word that the Persian fleet was on its way to attack him, and, taking 60 ships with him, he sailed off to Caria to meet it. In his absence the Samians made a sally and drove the Athenians off. For 14 days they ruled the sea and brought in supplies, but at the end of that period Pericles returned and re-established the blockade.
- The siege lasted nine months, at the end of which the Samians surrendered, tore down their walls, converted their government to a democracy, gave up their fleet, and agreed to pay Athens a war indemnity of 1,300 talents over a period of 26 years.

The Athenian response

The Athenian response was harsh. It is not clear why they sided with the Milesians who had previously revolted twice instead of the loyal Samians. Samos was a key ally with a significant navy. Athens chose to impose control on them rather than the fractious Milesians. Perhaps it was because after previously punishing Miletus for its revolts it was vulnerable and needed Athenian protection so that Athens' rule maintained credibility or perhaps it was a move to support the Milesian democracy against the Samian Oligarchs so that the Samian Navy was assured. Whichever is correct it is clear that Samos was not expecting this result as evidenced by Pericles' initial quick victory.

Question 12 (continued)

Candidates need to discuss the choice of sides for full marks.

Although Athens did succeed in restoring order, the situation in 440 BC was very severe: other revolts were bubbling in the area, as the Samian resistance was closely watched. After the decision had been made to support Miletus, then a significant victory was necessary for the continuance of Athenian control in the area. Candidates should explain that the Athenian response had ramifications in Sparta and Persia.

Athens' harsh treatment of Samos raised questions in Sparta. Thucydides reports that in 433 BC, when Corinthian and Corcyran ambassadors were making their cases at Athens regarding Corcyra's request for assistance against Corinth, the Corinthians stated that in 440, 'when the rest of the Peloponnesian powers were equally divided on the question whether they should assist [the Samians] ... we told them to their face that every power has a right to punish its own allies'. In other words, there was a debate at Sparta that was split on whether to assist Samos against Athens, and Corinth passed the casting vote (with its navy) not to interfere. This shows how significant the Athenian actions were seen by Sparta and allies at the time. This was during the 30-year truce and the fact that many allies voted for war (i.e. to break the truce) shows that the behaviour of Athens at this point was already unacceptable to many. Stronger candidates will make reference to this event. Even though it is Unit 4, it refers to events in Unit 3 and should be awarded appropriate value.

The reawakening of the Persians by this harsh action was a double-edged sword for Athens. Whilst it gave them concern as to further significant actions by Persia including the inciting of other revolts it also might make other Ionians comply with the Athenian hegemony for their own safety, The Satraps of Western Persian would play a greater role going forward.

Samos' ultimate failure in resisting Athens was a lesson for all.

Candidates should point out that the Athenian response was harsh, determined, strategic and ultimately successful in keeping control of this area. Samos remained a loyal ally. Candidates can alternatively argue that the Athenian response was a poor decision and built up resentment amongst allies and in Sparta.

Question 13

(5 marks)

Identify **two** reforms introduced by Gaius Gracchus and explain their significance.

Description	Marks
Identifies correctly two of the reforms introduced by Gaius Gracchus.	2
Identifies correctly one of the reforms introduced by Gaius Gracchus.	1
Subtotal	2
Explains, with relevant detail, the significance of two correctly identified reforms of Gaius Gracchus.	3
Provides some explanation of the significance of two correctly identified reforms of Gaius Gracchus.	2
Makes general statements about the reforms of Gaius Gracchus.	1
Subtotal	3
Total	5
Markers' notes:	
<p>Gaius Gracchus introduced a series of radical measures concerned with the welfare of the people and the taming of the power of the ruling oligarchy. Among the most significant of these reforms were the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Lex agraria</i>: Gracchus further developed his brother's agrarian law, providing for the redistribution of public land to the lower classes and the foundation of colonies. Linked with this were schemes to strengthen Rome's infrastructure through the construction of new roads (also to make isolated farms and rural villages more accessible – and therefore more productive). • <i>Lex frumentaria</i>: He improved the city's food supply by ensuring that grain was bought in large quantities from the fertile areas of Northern Africa and Spain and distributed in Rome at a subsidised price. Although any Roman appears to have been eligible to buy grain from the state below the market price, this measure was predominantly intended to support the <i>plebs urbana</i>, the city poor. • <i>Lex de provincia Asia</i>: He had the <i>decuma</i> (i.e. one tenth of the harvest, collected as tax) of the wealthy new province of Asia sold by the censors in Rome. An auction at Rome, under the vigilant eyes of the Roman people, was supposed to ensure that any corruption would be spotted quickly. The collection of the revenue was sold, as an annual public contract, to the highest-bidding <i>publicanus</i>, who reimbursed himself, presumably on the basis of an official levy. It is not impossible that this law was also a way of compensating rich equestrians for losses sustained as a result of the <i>lex agraria</i>. • <i>Lex de provinciis consularibus</i>: To reduce jobbery (the practice of using a public office or position of trust for one's own gain or advantage) he introduced a law forcing the Senate to designate the consular provinces before the election. The Senate's decision could not be vetoed by the tribunes. • <i>Lex militaris</i>: A military law regulated Rome's army service, making the conscription of young men under the age of 17 illegal and guaranteeing that every soldier was provided clothing and equipment free and without stoppage from their pay. • <i>Lex iudicaria</i>, <i>lex Acilia</i> and <i>lex de repetundis</i>: One law prescribed that only equites, who had not yet been senators or magistrates, could be chosen as jurors, while the other allowed Rome's allies to prosecute Roman magistrates for the illegal confiscation of property. These laws were enacted to allow members of the non-political class to control politicians and to protect provincials from the greed of Roman officials. • <i>Lex de provocatione</i>: He passed a law enacting that only the Roman people could authorise the capital punishment of a Roman citizen. Anyone acting contrary to this law was liable to suffer the same fate. 	

Question 14

(5 marks)

Explain the political measure, the *Senatus Consultum Ultimum*, using an example from the period 133–63 BC.

Description	Marks
Explains in detail the political measure, the <i>Senatus Consultum Ultimum</i> .	3
Describes the political measure, the <i>Senatus Consultum Ultimum</i> .	2
Describes superficially the political measure, the <i>Senatus Consultum Ultimum</i> .	1
Subtotal	3
Identifies correctly an example of a <i>Senatus Consultum Ultimum</i> from the period 133–63 BC and draws on this example to support their explanations.	2
Identifies an example of a <i>Senatus Consultum Ultimum</i> from the period 133–63 BC.	1
Subtotal	2
Total	5
<p>Markers' notes:</p> <p>The <i>Senatus Consultum Ultimum</i> (SCU), or 'The Senate's Final Decree', was a political emergency measure of the late Roman Republic. Its main goal was to prevent the state from suffering harm in times of extraordinary crisis, such as violent riots or seditious activities (hence the Senate's ratification formula: <i>videant consules ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat</i>/'May the consuls see to it that the State suffers no harm!'). By way of the SCU, the Senate granted magistrates (in most cases the reigning consuls) additional powers (one might also argue that it encouraged the magistrates to disregard certain legal restraints), such as, for instance, the right to raise armies or to use physical force against Roman citizens. In contrast to the dictatorship, however, the authority granted through the SCU was not entirely independent from that of the Senate (i.e. it remained a <i>Senatus Consultum</i>), and magistrates could later be brought to justice for their actions. This was mainly the case when questions arose whether the circumstances had merited the decree or whether the level of force used by the magistrate had been appropriate (see, e.g., the legislation introduced by the tribune Clodius, which forced Cicero to go into exile).</p> <p>To support their explanations, candidates could refer to one of the following historical examples:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gaius Gracchus (121 BC) • Saturninus (100 BC) • Lepidus (77 BC) • Catilina (63 BC). 	

Question 15

(5 marks)

Identify **two** of Marius' army reforms and explain their significance.

Description	Marks
Identifies correctly two of Marius' army reforms.	2
Identifies correctly one of Marius' army reforms.	1
Subtotal	2
Explains, with relevant detail, the significance of two correctly identified army reforms.	3
Provides some explanation of the significance of two correctly identified army reforms.	2
Makes general statements about Marius' army reforms.	1
Subtotal	3
Total	5

Markers' notes:

In response to the dwindling number of citizens available for recruitment into the Roman army, brought about by a combination of strict eligibility rules and disasters on the battlefield, Marius introduced a series of military reforms. These reforms can be considered as the start of a professionalisation of the Roman army.

Candidates may combine ideas from the following:

Enlistment of the Capite Censi

Arguably the most significant army reform was the enlistment of the *capite censi*, citizens owning little or no property. These men, traditionally excluded from serving in the army, were armed and equipped by the state through a system of loans. The prospect of a regular income and a part of the spoils of war encouraged many Romans from the landless masses to enlist for several (generally 16) years. This meant that, if a war broke out, generals did not have to hastily enlist and train their own army (as it had been previously), but could make use of Rome's well-trained volunteer army.

Veteran land grant

As a form of retirement benefit, Marius introduced land grants in conquered territories for veterans who had completed their service. While, on one hand, the prospect of owning personal property was meant as an incentive for financially disadvantaged Roman citizens to enlist and serve out their time, the land grant also helped ensure the 'Romanisation' and integration of conquered territories.

Changes in discipline, training, and equipment

As a consequence of the lack of military experience amongst his new recruits, Marius intensified the training, even employing gladiators to supervise the training program. Furthermore, while, in previous times, campaigning soldiers had been allowed to bring a servant or slave, every soldier now had to carry his entire kit himself (including armour, tools, and utensils). Not only did this increase the troops' physical fitness, it also made the army quicker and logistically more independent. The design of the javelin (*pilum*) was improved to bend upon impact (so that it was useless to the enemy), and the eagle, the symbol of Jupiter, became the single standard of the Roman army (both as a point of reference on the battlefield and to strengthen confidence and morale).

Reorganisation of the military units

While Rome's army traditionally had been organised in small maniples of 120 men, all of them highly specialised and ordered according to their census classes (*velites*, *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*, and *equites*), the Marian reforms introduced larger cohorts of 480 men. These cohorts were almost exclusively heavy infantry units, with only a small number of specialised units supplied by the *socii*. As a result, each unit could now make a decisive impact almost anywhere on the battlefield.

Question 16

(5 marks)

Outline the reasons for Sulla's 'Second March on Rome' and comment on its consequences.

Description	Marks
Outlines accurately the reasons for Sulla's 'Second March on Rome'.	3
Outlines with some omissions, the reasons for Sulla's 'Second March on Rome'.	2
States a reason for Sulla's 'Second March on Rome'.	1
Subtotal	3
Comments on the consequences of Sulla's 'Second March on Rome'.	2
Makes only superficial comments about the consequences of Sulla's 'Second March on Rome'.	1
Subtotal	2
Total	5
Markers' notes:	
Candidates should be able to elaborate on the following:	
Reasons	
<p>When, following his 'First March on Rome', Sulla left Rome for Greece to deal with King Mithridates VI of Pontus (87 BC), the envious Marius moved quickly, joining his forces with those of L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the leaders of the <i>populares</i>. The two men took the city and, exacting their revenge, executed large numbers of Sullan supporters. They had the Senate revoke Marius' exile and declare Sulla an enemy of the state. Both men were elected consuls, but Marius died shortly after, leaving Cinna in control of Rome for a couple of years (87-84 BC).</p> <p>Sulla remained in the East for several years. However, when he was informed of Cinna's death, he openly rebelled. He returned to Italy (83 BC), where he was joined by several other aristocrats. After a year of intense fighting, the loyalist forces were beaten and Sulla marched (again) on Rome, (re-)taking the city in November 82 BC.</p>	
Consequences	
<p>Upon his return to the city, Sulla was appointed dictator (without a time limit) by the Senate, with the task of revising the Roman constitution. Furthermore, he was given immunity for any previous and future actions. This meant that he had almost limitless authority. Sulla immediately began to eradicate his enemies (predominantly through proscription). During the course of 81 BC, he began to use his authority to enact a legislative program (often labelled 'The Sullan Constitution') which aimed at putting power firmly in the hands of the Senate.</p>	

Question 17

(10 marks)

Explain Sulla's reforms to the tribunate in 81/80 BC and why these reforms failed.

Description	Marks
Explains accurately, and with appropriate detail, Sulla's reforms to the tribunate.	5–6
Explains accurately Sulla's reforms to the tribunate.	3–4
Describes in general terms Sulla's reforms to the tribunate.	1–2
Subtotal	6
Explains in some detail why Sulla's reforms to the tribunate failed.	4
Explains why Sulla's reforms to the tribunate failed.	2–3
Provides only superficial comments as to why Sulla's reforms to the tribunate failed.	1
Subtotal	4
Total	10
Markers' notes:	
<p>Sulla's reforms to the tribunate</p> <p>In order to strengthen the authority of the (aristocratic) Senate, Sulla introduced a number of radical changes to the tribunate, which had increasingly become a powerful weapon in the hands of the opponents of the Senate. To discourage young men from volunteering to become tribunes in the first place, the office was excluded from the <i>cursus honorum</i>, the traditional Roman career path to the consulship. Former tribunes were thus prohibited by law from holding other offices. Additionally, tribunes were only permitted to serve a single term. All aspiring young Romans would thus try to avoid the political dead-end of the tribunate. But Sulla's reforms went further. Any legislation introduced by the tribunes to the plebeian assembly had to be authorised by the Senate. The tribunes' right to veto the Senate's and other magistrates' actions was revoked, and the tribunician impeachments were replaced with senatorial inquests (<i>quaestiones</i>). In effect, the tribunes (i.e. the representatives of the plebeians) became powerless.</p>	
<p>Reasons for their failure</p> <p>Amongst the people of Rome, there was strong opposition to Sulla's reforms, and in particular to the debasement of the tribunes, so protests mounted nearly every year during the 70s until the Sullan aristocracy yielded and began to make concessions to restore tribunician powers. After Sulla's death in 78 BC, a former Marian, M. Aemilius Lepidus was elected consul, with the people hoping that he would overturn the Sullan reforms. However, his attempts to reverse the laws were quickly suppressed by the <i>optimates</i>. In 75 BC, the consul C. Cotta was able to secure the repeal of the Sullan disqualification on tribune's eligibility for higher office. One year later, L. Quinctius unsuccessfully campaigned for a restoration of the full powers of the tribunate, and the tribune Macer reiterated Quinctius' demands another year later. Ultimately, the reforms were reversed under the consulship of Pompey and Crassus (70 BC), who restored the traditional powers of the tribunate. This was, however, no honest attempt to restore the political balance in Rome but rather a politically motivated move to court the favour of the masses. Thus, only shortly after the restoration of the tribunate, Pompey was granted his special command against the pirates (through a law introduced by the tribune Aulus Gabinius) as well as his command against Mithridates (through a law proposed by the tribune Manilius) – both against strong opposition from the Senate.</p>	

Question 18

(10 marks)

Explain the reasons for Pompey's command against either Sertorius or Spartacus and outline the short-term impact of the command on Pompey's authority.

Description	Marks
Explains accurately and in detail the reasons for Pompey's command against Sertorius or Spartacus.	6
Explains with some detail the reasons for Pompey's command against Sertorius.	5
Describes in general terms the reasons for Pompey's command against Sertorius or Spartacus.	3–4
Makes only superficial comments about the reasons for Pompey's command against Sertorius or Spartacus.	1–2
Subtotal	6
Outlines in detail the short-term impact of the command on Pompey's authority.	4
Provides some relevant points regarding the short-term impact of the command on Pompey's authority.	2–3
Provides only superficial comment about the short-term impact of the command on Pompey's authority.	1
Subtotal	4
Total	10

Markers' notes:**The reasons for Pompey's command against Sertorius**

Having escaped the proscriptions that followed Sulla's return from the East, the Marian Sertorius took refuge in Spain (Hispania), establishing himself as proconsul with the support of the *populares*. Although his administrative control was not recognised by the Roman authorities, Sertorius, who had control over a considerable army of *populares*, was successful at resisting several attempts to dispose of him. With the support of local Spanish and North African tribes, he organised the resistance against Rome, often using guerrilla tactics. These tactics proved so efficient that the officially appointed proconsul, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, suffered repeated defeats against Sertorius. At the same time, the young Pompey, who was still camped outside Mutina following his campaign against Lepidus and Brutus and refused to demobilise his troops, had several legions of veterans under his control. When Sertorius' ally Perperna decided to take the rebellion to the strategically vital region of Liguria, thus taking control of the crucial road linking Rome to Gaul and Hispania, the Senate reacted. Pompey was asked to take on the rebels, not as proconsul, but *pro consulibus* (i.e. on behalf of the consuls who seemed unwilling to do the job themselves). For the Senate, this was a win-win situation. If Pompey was able to get rid of Sertorius and Perperna, Hispania would return under the control of the government. However, if Sertorius or Perperna eliminated Pompey, the state would be rid of a young man whose disregard for authority and ability to raise armies more loyal to himself than to Rome was deeply distressing. In the case that the opposing sides decimated each other, the Senate could easily send a properly appointed proconsul to take control of the situation in the West.

The short-term impact of the command on Pompey's authority

Pompey's command against Sertorius, which was bestowed by the Senate without consultation of the people, was extraordinary in that Pompey was still an *eques* who had not yet held any magistracy when he was entrusted with proconsular *imperium* for the conduct of a serious war to which the responsible consuls were unwilling to attend. Although he was entrusted with *imperium proconsulare*, equal with that of the proconsul Metellus, he did not have the official title proconsul. Nonetheless, the *imperium proconsulare* given to Pompey represents the next step up from the *imperium pro praetore* awarded to him for his previous campaign (against Lepidus and Brutus the Elder).

The reasons for Pompey's command against Spartacus

Although the slave rebellions had begun in Campania in 73 BC, Pompey, who was busy fighting Sertorius in Spain, did not get involved until 71 BC. Rome initially had underestimated the small group of runaway gladiators from Capua, giving their leaders (among them Spartacus) the opportunity to recruit more and more discontent slaves for their cause. However, when several Roman attempts to stop the well-organised slaves failed, the Senate started to get increasingly worried that the rebellion might spread to other parts of Italy and thus become unstoppable. As Crassus' campaign against the slaves made only little progress, Rome decided to take advantage of the fact that Pompey was returning home from Spain. Pompey was ordered straight to southern Italy to support Crassus in his attempts to put down the slave revolt. It needs to be pointed out, however, that Pompey himself did not engage the slave army at any time. When Spartacus received news of the arrival of additional Roman troops, he decided to initiate an attack on Crassus. In the battle, the slave army was annihilated.

The short-term impact of the command on Pompey's authority

Although Pompey had not engaged the slave army at any point, he claimed to have brought the Servile Wars to an end, as he had been able to capture and kill large numbers of slaves who had fled the final battle. His reputation as a victorious military leader (gained from both the campaign against Spartacus and his Spanish triumph) who had the full support of his army, caused Pompey to be both admired and feared in Rome. As a result, only a few objected when the Senate offered Pompey the consulship of 70 BC out of the regular order.

Section Two: Source analysis – Unit 4

25% (25 Marks)

Question 19

(25 marks)

- (a) Explain the beliefs and practices that are depicted in Sources 1(a) and 1(b). (4 marks)

Description	Marks
Explains the beliefs and practices that are depicted in the sources.	4
Explains some aspects of the beliefs and practices that are depicted in the sources.	3
Describes aspects of the beliefs and practices that are depicted in the sources.	2
Identifies aspects of the beliefs and practices that are depicted in one source or both sources.	1
Total	4
<p>Markers' notes: Vignettes from the book of the dead.</p> <p>Source 1(a) The weighing of the heart against the feather of maat before Osiris was the point in the netherworld where the spirit of the deceased was either accepted into the afterlife or was condemned to the second death. Candidates may give details of the actual events and participants who are present in this vignette.</p> <p>Source 1 (b) The opening of the mouth at the end of burial procession and before the burial of the mummified body was the point in this world where a ceremony was held to enable the deceased to breathe, see, hear, speak and be alive again. Candidates may give more details of the event and the participants.</p> <p>Some candidates may mention that it may have been believed that these two events happened concurrently in the netherworld and in the real world.</p>	

- (b) Explain the perspective of Source 2. Your answer should include specific reference to the source and may include an explanation of purpose, motive, place, time and/or contestability. (4 marks)

Description	Marks
Explains the perspective of the source. Provides specific supporting references from the source.	4
Provides general information about the perspective of the source. Makes some relevant reference to the text.	3
Identifies an aspect of the source that relates to the perspective.	2
Provides one relevant comment about the content of the source. No specific reference to source.	1
Total	4
<p>Markers' notes: The perspective of this source is one of scholarship and is to inform us about the afterlife beliefs and practices of the ancient Egyptians. John Taylor's motive is to put forward his own point of view. He is a modern Egyptologist who is currently an Assistant Keeper at the British Museum so his work is up to date. In this piece he does not specify particular parts of Egypt and neither does he specify a particular time frame. He is talking in a universal way about the beliefs of the ancient Egyptians. His main point is that it did not matter who you were; what rank you held or what wealth you may have acquired. It did not matter whether your tomb was large or small, as he says, all people believed in the same life after death and all people from all stations of life had the same opportunity, no matter how meagre their mortuary assemblage, of entering the afterlife. The general thrust of his argument is incontestable.</p>	

- (c) Using your knowledge of your period of study, evaluate the reliability of the information provided in Sources 1(a), 1(b) and 2 about the beliefs and practices of the Ancient Egyptians. (7 marks)

Description	Marks
Evaluates the reliability of the information provided by the sources. Justifies the response by drawing on the sources, knowledge of the period of study and their understanding of perspective and interpretation when considering literary and visual sources.	6–7
Makes relevant comments about the reliability of the information provided by the sources. Supports the response with specific references to the sources and applies knowledge of the period of study and awareness of perspective and interpretation when considering literary and visual sources.	4–5
Provides some relevant points about the information provided by the sources. Makes some reference to the sources and shows some knowledge of the period of study.	2–3
Makes limited observations or comments about the information provided by the sources. Makes minimal or no reference to the sources and shows minimal knowledge of the period of study.	1
Total	7
<p>Markers' notes: These are reliable sources. Some candidates may know of the Hunefer papyrus which is in the British Museum. Some may know that it was bought from a dealer in Egypt in 1852, that the findspot is not known, but that it is genuine.</p> <p>Candidates should certainly have a good grasp of the two vignettes showing the Judgement of Osiris and the Opening of the Mouth and know that these are correct representations of the two spells and be able to justify this, e.g. grave goods.</p> <p>John Taylor, Assistant Keeper at the British Museum, is an acknowledged expert in his field and so we would expect his work to be reliable. Most of the points he makes are reliable. However, a point of difference is the statement that one's place in earthly society was to be perpetuated in the next world. The ushabti/shabti or 'answerer' was a small figure placed in the tomb. This figure 'answered' for the deceased if they were required to work in the afterlife. Although there are images of the deceased working in the so called elysian fields of the afterlife, these are metaphorical images. Therefore, one might not expect to do work of any kind in the afterlife. The understanding of what the afterlife encompassed is not constant. In the same way that the architecture of tombs, the decoration and the texts within them changed and developed throughout the New Kingdom, so did the concept of how the deceased lived in the afterlife.</p>	

Question 19 (continued)

- (d) To what extent do the sources provide a thorough understanding of the afterlife beliefs and practices of the Ancient Egyptians in your period of study? (10 marks)

Description	Marks
Provides an accurate, detailed understanding of the afterlife beliefs and practices of the Ancient Egyptians. Makes valid, well supported judgements about the extent to which the sources provide a thorough understanding of the beliefs.	9–10
Provides some relevant details that show an understanding of the afterlife beliefs and practices of the Ancient Egyptians. Makes some logical comments about the extent to which the sources provide a thorough understanding of the beliefs.	7–8
Describes some aspects of the afterlife beliefs and practices of the Ancient Egyptians. Provides some relevant points about the extent to which the sources provide a thorough understanding of the beliefs.	5–6
Identifies a few aspects of the afterlife beliefs and practices of the Ancient Egyptians. Makes generalised comments about the extent to which the sources provide a thorough understanding of the beliefs.	3–4
Shows limited awareness or inaccurate knowledge about the afterlife beliefs and practices of the Ancient Egyptians.	1–2
Total	10
<p>Markers' notes:</p> <p>Candidates could answer this in a number of ways but basically they need to show a sound understanding of the complexity of the afterlife beliefs and practices in the New Kingdom.</p> <p>The sources give us only part of the story and candidates could offer part of the following.</p> <p>Candidates may make the point that although the overarching belief of rebirth after death remained constant, the details of ritual practice and the afterlife experience of the deceased varied over time. The spirit could inhabit the tomb, it could come and go from the tomb, it could accept the physical offerings that were left in the tomb, it could use the offerings painted on the tomb walls or written about in texts on the tomb wall. In the afterlife the deceased could travel with the sun god through the heavens during the day and then travel with the sun god through the netherworld realm of Osiris by night facing obstacles and battling their way through to the dawn. More comfortably perhaps the deceased could enter the Fields of Reeds, the Elysian Fields, ruled by Osiris, after passing various tests and then live in peace, ease and plenty, always in a position of authority and never having to do any work.</p> <p>It is possible that all of these options co-existed and various manifestations of the deceased person's spirit such as the ka, the ba and the akh could inhabit the various parts of the afterlife. Certainly it was understood that a part of the spirit existed in the tomb, a part of the spirit could come and go from the tomb, and a part of the spirit could live with the gods.</p> <p>The two vignettes from the Book of the Dead are but two out of about 200 spells or prayers comprised of both text and image. No one version found in a tomb has them all – relevant spells were chosen depending on inclination, perceived need and/or cost. The two here are arguably two of the most important but they were all aimed at empowering and protecting the deceased as they journeyed from life/death into the afterlife. A direct translation of the name of this collection of spells is 'the coming forth by day'.</p> <p>John Taylor gives an overview without any detail. The building of tombs, the different types of tombs, the decoration of tombs with various scenes and with provisions for</p>	

the afterlife, the various types of mummification of the body, canopic jars, the coffins, the cartonnage, the amulets for the deceased and the way in which they were disposed about the body, the ushabti/shabti figures, the physical furnishing of the tombs with goods for the afterlife, the false doors to enable passage of the spirit, the offering tables for supplies for the deceased, the hieroglyphs written on tomb walls and on tomb furnishings, the rituals that were observed on death, during mummification and after the burial, the methods of communicating with the dead were all part of the afterlife beliefs and practices of the New Kingdom Egyptians.

Thus although the sources illustrate vitally important aspects of the afterlife beliefs and practices of the New Kingdom Egyptians, they by no means give us complete understanding of the same.

Question 20

(25 marks)

(a) Explain the historical context of Source 1.

(4 marks)

Description	Marks
Explains the historical context, providing specific details about dates/events/people.	4
Outlines the historical context of the source, referring to the dates/events/people.	3
Identifies the historical focus of the source and outlines some of the dates/events/people.	2
Identifies the historical focus of the source.	1
Total	4
<p>Markers' notes: Candidates may take three approaches:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The historical context of this extract is in 430 just after the plague when Thucydides is reflecting on Pericles' leadership on or around his death. In this extract Thucydides contrasts Pericles favourably with the leaders that followed. 2. Candidates may identify it as 415, the time of the Sicilian Expedition. Thucydides refers specifically to the Sicilian Expedition of 415–413 as one of a 'host of blunders'. 3. Thucydides is reflecting on why Athens eventually lost the Peloponnesian War and is indicating that the successors that followed from this time were to blame. 	

(b) Compare and contrast the messages of Sources 1 and 2.

(5 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies accurately the messages of both sources and compares and contrasts these messages in an effective, detailed manner.	5
Provides relevant comments about the messages of both sources and makes some key comparisons and contrasts.	4
Provides some relevant points about the messages of both sources and makes some broad comparative comments.	3
Makes very general and often unsubstantiated comments about the messages of both sources.	2
Recounts the source/s or makes superficial comments that often include significant errors or omissions about the message of one or both sources.	1
Total	5
<p>Markers' notes: Both sources refer to the Sicilian Expedition of 415–413 and make comments about the support for the campaign albeit implicitly in Source 2.</p> <p>Message of Source 1 The Sicilian Expedition was one of a number of 'blunders' made by Pericles' successors as they committed the conduct of state affairs to the 'whims of the multitude'. Thucydides says it failed because of a lack of support from those at home in not assisting those who had gone out. Thucydides is criticising 'The people' and implicitly their populist leaders for their private squabbles which 'paralysed operations' in Sicily and introduced stasis in Athens.</p> <p>Message of Source 2 The arrival of Demosthenes with an impressive amount of 'splendidly equipped' reinforcements was imposing and 'struck terror' into the Syracusans. Plutarch shows</p>	

that the problem was then with the leadership of Nicias in not capitalising on this advantage, despite Demosthenes' accurate advice.

Source 1 indicates that the campaign was not fully supported from home but Source 2 contradicts this with its report of the arrival of this significant amount of resources led by the very able Demosthenes. Plutarch's report of Nicias' dithering is not evident in Thucydides' conclusion in 2.65 as to what led to the failure. Stronger candidates will point out that 2.65 is contradicted by Thucydides himself in Books 6 and 7.

Source 1 says that operations in the field were paralysed because of private squabbles at home whereas Source 2 indicates that the paralysis was actually by the leaders in the field, and in particular, Nicias.

Candidates should be careful in this question to point out comparisons and contrasts but it is not necessary to explain why the views are held for this question and this should not be rewarded.

Question 20 (continued)

- (c) Identify and account for the perspectives of Sources 1 and 2. Your answer should include specific reference to the sources and may include discussion of purpose, motive, place, time and/or contestability. (6 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the perspectives of the two sources.	1–2
Subtotal	2
Makes detailed comments about the reasons for each perspective with supporting references to the two sources and/or knowledge of the authors.	4
Makes some comments about the reasons for each perspective with some reference to the two sources and/or knowledge of the authors.	3
Offers some comments about the content and/or authors of the two sources.	2
Offers some comments about the content and/or author of one source.	1
Subtotal	4
Total	6
Markers' notes:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The perspective of Thucydides is that the Peloponnesian War was lost because of the action of bad populist leaders who didn't follow the advice of Pericles. He is writing from the position that if the strategy and advice of Pericles had been followed then Athens would have been successful. The radical democrats that followed Pericles are blameworthy according to Thucydides for a lack of the strong leadership that Pericles showed. Cleon and others like him are to blame. Thucydides is not anti-democratic but is not in favour of the low-brow radical democracy of Cleon et al. Thucydides calls the quite limited democracy of the late part of the war as the 'best government of my lifetime' so his perspective is clear. According to Thucydides, even the Sicilian Expedition despite all the evidence provided in Books 6 and 7 is a result of this internal discord. Thucydides is attempting to maintain his claimed neutrality as a forensic historian and providing analytical reasons for events but on this occasion his aristocratic pro-Pericles nature is evident. Thucydides' perspective is coloured by the fact he has lived through the war and seen the destruction of his country. His own ostracism also colours his view as to whose fault these disasters are. The perspective of Plutarch is that of a moral biographer telling the story of Nicias' life. Despite the events at Syracuse not being Plutarch's focus through his characterisations of Nicias, and indeed Demosthenes, we can see Plutarch's view that Nicias was a negotiator and Demosthenes a man of action. Plutarch is not overtly negative to Nicias' action at this part of his narrative but is showing the internal struggles which would lead Nicias to make the errors that would lead to the disastrous end to the campaign. Plutarch is writing approximately 450 years after Thucydides and it's clear that one of his main sources is Thucydides, but his narrative approach gives a different perspective. 	

- (d) Using your knowledge of your period of study, evaluate the contribution of both sources to our understanding of the reasons for the failure of the Sicilian Expeditions. (10 marks)

Description	Marks
Evaluates how the sources contribute to an understanding of the reasons for the failure of the Sicilian Expeditions. Justifies the response by drawing on the sources, knowledge of the period of study and wider evidence.	9–10
Provides a detailed account of how the sources contribute to an understanding of the reasons for the failure of the Sicilian Expeditions. Supports the response with specific references to the sources and applies knowledge of the period of study.	7–8
Describes some relevant ways in which the sources contribute to an understanding of the reasons for the failure of the Sicilian Expeditions. Makes relevant reference to the sources. Shows some knowledge of the period of study.	5–6
Provides some relevant points about how the sources may contribute to an understanding of the reasons for the failure of the Sicilian Expeditions. Makes some relevant reference to the sources. Shows limited knowledge of the period of study.	3–4
Identifies in a limited manner a relevant way or ways in which one or both sources may contribute to an understanding of the reasons for the failure of the Sicilian Expeditions. Makes minimal or no reference to the source/s or recounts the source/s. Shows minimal knowledge of the period of study.	1–2
Total	10
<p>Markers' notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The sources contribute to our understanding of the failure of the Sicilian expeditions. Thucydides' extract is useful to our understanding in showing what a leading man of Athens may think of the reasons for the loss in Sicily and indeed the loss of the entire war. The developing democracy in Athens was clearly not universally popular with those in positions of power like Thucydides who we should remember was a <i>strategos</i> in the lost war. The complication comes from our wider knowledge of Thucydides in Books 6 and 7, where he clearly shows that it was Nicias to blame for the loss at Sicily. Thuc. 6.1 shows the knowledge that existed about Sicily and elsewhere there are numerous other contacts with Sicily. Despite this Thucydides still claims that the Athenians were 'ignorant of its size' In this extract he puts that to bed but saying that the expedition was not miscalculated but not supported afterwards – a fact that Source 2 contrasts. It has been suggested that Thucydides is actually referring to the recall of Alcibiades and candidates can make this case however this is still not relevant to the actual loss in the war in 413. Most historians would agree that the statement that those at home failed to give the expedition proper support and this led to the catastrophic defeat is wrong. One suggestion is that Books 6 and 7 were written just after the expedition whereas 2.65 was written after the end of the war (self-evidently) and this may account for Thucydides' differing emphasis. Plutarch's extract gives more specific, operational detail – much of which comes from Thucydides. Thucydides downplays all of Demosthenes' actions for reasons unknown to us but Plutarch clearly shows his position in this extract. Nicias' refusal to act on Demosthenes' advice loses the element of surprise and while the attack was launched, poor generalship by both men on the Epipolae led to the loss of any advantage. Also, the role of Gylippus and his forces is not covered by either source. We can make good conclusions as to the events that led to the failure of the expedition from Plutarch and from Thucydides Books 6 and 7, but for this particular conclusion 2.65 is less useful. 	

Question 21

(25 marks)

(a) Explain the historical context of Source 1.

(4 marks)

Description	Marks
Explains the historical context, providing specific details about dates/events/people.	4
Outlines the historical context of the source, referring to the dates/events/people.	3
Identifies the historical focus of the source and outlines some of the dates/events/people.	2
Identifies the historical focus of the source.	1
Total	4
<p>Markers' notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The historical context of the scene depicted in Source 1 is 44 BC, shortly before the assassination of Julius Caesar. • Rumours were circulating that Caesar wished to be made king, which Appian presents as the major reason for the assassination plot. • Brutus and Cassius vow to take action against the dictator and begin to assemble trustworthy allies (even former associates of Caesar's). • Brutus and Cassius appear as the ultimate protectors of the Republic, who are willing to defend their country to the death. • At the same time, the conspirators are aware of the fact that their undertaking can be judged from two different viewpoints: either as 'a piece of treachery' or as a good deed for the community. 	

(b) Compare and contrast the messages of Sources 1 and 2.

(5 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies accurately the messages of both sources and compares and contrasts these messages in an effective, detailed manner.	5
Provides relevant comments about the messages of both sources and makes some key comparisons and contrasts.	4
Provides some relevant points about the messages of both sources and makes some broad comparative comments.	3
Makes very general and often unsubstantiated comments about the messages of both sources.	2
Recounts the source/s or makes superficial comments that often include significant errors or omissions about the message of one or both sources.	1
Total	5
<p>Markers' notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The message of both sources is that the nobility were offended by Caesar and resolved to assassinate him. <p>However, the messages of both sources are very different.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Source 1 presents Caesar's alleged ambition to be crowned king as the main reason for his assassination, with the conspirators merely acting as defenders of the Republic and on behalf of the community. The nobility is shown as acting in the interest of the people, removing a tyrant who could not be stopped any other way. Source 2 provides a rather different message. Here, Caesar is not the overly ambitious tyrant, but rather a popularly supported reformer who falls victim to a clique of aristocrats who attempt to protect their privileges. The assassination itself must therefore not be considered as tyrannicide, but 'an act of treason'. The <i>nobiles</i> are represented as opponents of any democratic tendencies, willing to do what it takes to defend 'their way of life'. <p>Candidates should be careful in this question to point out comparisons and contrasts but it is not necessary to give explanations (which should, therefore, not be rewarded).</p>	

Question 21 (continued)

- (c) Identify and account for the perspectives of Sources 1 and 2. Your answer should include specific reference to the sources and may include discussion of purpose, motive, place, time and/or contestability. (6 marks)

Description	Marks
Identifies the perspectives of the two sources.	1–2
Subtotal	2
Makes detailed comments about the reasons for each perspective with supporting references to the two sources and/or knowledge of the authors.	4
Makes some comments about the reasons for each perspective with some reference to the two sources and/or knowledge of the authors.	3
Offers some comments about the content and/or authors of the two sources.	2
Offers some comments about the content and/or author of one source.	1
Subtotal	4
Total	6
Markers' notes:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The perspective of Source 1 is through the eyes of Caesar's assassins, as imagined by the ancient historian Appian. The reader is made to believe that he or she gets an authentic insight into the thoughts and emotions which led the assassins to carry out their gruesome deed. The noble conspirators consider themselves as the last resort to prevent the Roman Republic from falling into the hands of a tyrant. Appian makes it very clear that it was only a rumour that Caesar was striving for the kingship, but the conspirators appear to be convinced that this is the truth. Instead of choosing a fully descriptive mode of presentation, Appian decides to unveil the plot to murder Caesar to his readers by way of dramatic revelation. The reader gets the impression of being witness to the conspirators' conversation, overhearing their plotting ('What are we going to do ...?'; 'But what if ...') and observing their secretive gestures ('... took Brutus' arm ...'; '... embracing him ...'). The conspiracy seems to develop in front of the reader's eyes ('This was how they revealed to each other at that moment, for the first time, these thoughts which they had in fact been long pondering.'). Appian does not so much intend to tell his audience what happened (this would have been known to almost all of his readers) but why it happened. It is often pointed out that Appian, who lived during the height of the Roman Empire, was a 'monarchist'. However, while Appian elsewhere seems to question the conspirator's true motives (see, e.g., App. BC 2.111), the passage at hand provides little to support this view. The perspective of Source 2 is that of a modern commentator (Parenti) who, judging from the title of his book, intends to look at Caesar's assassination from the viewpoint of the Roman people (suggesting a not entirely open mind). He defends Caesar as a champion of the people and claims (in a rather authoritative voice) that it was never the aristocrats' intention to protect the old Republic and its values, but rather their own political and financial interests. Parenti appears keen on encouraging his readership to consider a well-known narrative from a very different perspective. His book, written for an educated modern audience, seems to be aiming at giving a voice to the silent majority, i.e. the people, for whom the assassination of Caesar may have felt like a crime against their patron. 	

- (d) Using your knowledge of your period of study, evaluate the contribution of both sources to our understanding of the events in Rome in 44 BC. (10 marks)

Description	Marks
Evaluates how the sources contribute to an understanding of the events in Rome in 44 BC. Justifies the response by drawing on the sources, knowledge of the period of study and wider evidence.	9–10
Provides a detailed account of how the sources contribute to an understanding of the events in Rome in 44 BC. Supports the response with specific references to the sources and applies knowledge of the period of study.	7–8
Describes some relevant ways in which the sources contribute to an understanding of the events in Rome in 44 BC. Makes relevant reference to the sources. Shows some knowledge of the period of study.	5–6
Provides some relevant points about how the sources may contribute to an understanding of the events in Rome in 44 BC. Makes some relevant reference to the sources. Shows limited knowledge of the period of study.	3–4
Identifies in a limited manner a relevant way or ways in which one or both sources may contribute to an understanding of the events in Rome in 44 BC. Makes minimal or no reference to the source/s or recounts the source/s. Shows minimal knowledge of the period of study.	1–2
Total	10
<p>Markers' notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both sources can, in their own ways, contribute to our understanding of the events that led to Caesar's assassination on the Ides of March 44 BC. • Both sources stress the fact that Caesar's assassination was planned and carried out by a group of aristocratic senators, but the motives they present are very different. Furthermore, due to their different perspectives (cf. Question 21(c)), they can only give us very selective views on the conspiracy. This could suggest that the situation at Rome in 44 BC may have been far more complex than either of the two sources claims. • In order to evaluate the contribution of each of the two sources to the modern understanding of Caesar's downfall, candidates could focus on the following issues referred to in the texts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ The rumour that Caesar was striving for the kingship (also alluded to by other ancient sources) and the negative perception of the term 'king' in Rome ◦ Brutus and Cassius as the self-proclaimed defenders of the Roman Republic (cf. the famous EID MAR coin issue minted by Brutus, depicting two daggers and the liberty cap) ◦ Caesar as a champion of the people and his relationship with the Senate ◦ The tensions between optimates and populares ◦ Violence as a political measure. 	

Section Three: Essay

50% (50 Marks)

Part A: Unit 3

25% (25 marks)

The marking key below must be used for **Questions 22 to 30**. Markers' notes for each of these questions follow the marking key. These notes are not exhaustive or prescriptive.

Description	Marks
Introduction	
Defines the focus of the topic/question, defines key terms and provides relevant background information. Provides a proposition that articulates the direction of the essay in terms of line of argument/viewpoint.	3
States the topic/question and provides some relevant background information. Provides a simple proposition indicating direction to be taken in relation to the focus of the essay.	2
States the topic/question and provides limited background information.	1
Subtotal	3
Understanding of historical narrative/context	
Produces a relevant, sophisticated narrative that demonstrates an understanding of the interrelationships between events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change, and/or reliability of the ancient evidence.	7
Produces a relevant, comprehensive narrative that demonstrates an understanding of the relationships between events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change, and/or reliability of the ancient evidence.	6
Produces a relevant, coherent narrative that demonstrates an understanding of some connections across events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change, and/or reliability of the ancient evidence.	5
Produces a narrative that identifies some connections across events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change in the narrative, and/or shows some understanding of the reliability of the ancient evidence in the narrative.	4
Produces a simple narrative which is mainly chronological and makes some reference to events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change, and/or shows limited understanding of the ancient evidence.	3
Produces a simple narrative which is often incorrect and makes minimal reference to events, people and ideas and/or continuity and change, and/or demonstrates minimal understanding of the relevant ancient evidence.	2
Makes general/superficial statements about the narrative.	1
Subtotal	7
Argument	
Constructs a sustained, logical and sophisticated argument which shows a depth of analysis in relation to the topic/question.	6
Constructs a coherent, analytical argument in relation to the topic/question.	5
Produces a logically-structured argument that shows some analytical thinking in relation to the topic/question.	4
Provides relevant points/information in relation to the topic/question and indicates direction for argument.	3
Makes generalisations and some relevant statements in relation to the topic/question.	2
Makes superficial, disjointed statements in relation to the topic/question.	1
Subtotal	6
Use of evidence	
Uses relevant ancient sources with accuracy and detail throughout the essay. Cites this evidence at points where it provides support for the argument/viewpoint.	6
Uses relevant ancient sources with accuracy throughout the essay. Cites this evidence at effective points to provide some support for the argument/viewpoint.	5
Uses relevant sources in the essay. Cites this evidence at some appropriate points.	4
Provides some relevant evidence. Cites this evidence but with inaccuracies.	3
Provides some limited evidence with inaccuracies. Makes an attempt to cite some of this evidence.	2
Provides minimal evidence which is often irrelevant or inaccurate.	1
Subtotal	6
Conclusion	
Draws together the argument/viewpoint of the essay, linking evidence presented with the original proposition.	3
Summarises the argument/viewpoint of the essay, making some reference to the topic/question.	2
Makes general/superficial statements about the focus of the essay.	1
Subtotal	3
Total	25

Question 22

(25 marks)

Outline the political and military circumstances in Egypt during the transition from Dynasty 17 to Dynasty 18 and assess the evidence for royal women holding positions of power at this time.

Markers' notes:

Egypt was divided between the Hyksos invaders in the north and the Dynasty 17 Theban princes in the south from Aswan/Elephantine north to Abydos. The Hyksos were allied with the Thebans to the south.

The Hyksos were militarily stronger than the Egyptians with their use of horses and chariots, their bronze weapons and their composite bows. They also had armour with scales and helmets to wear into battle. The Thebans learned from the Hyksos and adopted their weaponry and strategies. They also managed to employ mercenary troops, the Medjay, from Nubia.

There are various accounts and evidence to show conflict between the Theban princes and the Hyksos. The rather gruesome mummified remains of King Seqenenre Tao II would suggest that he died as a result of an attack with a dagger, a mace and a battle axe. The battle axe was of non-Egyptian origin which some say proves he was killed by the Hyksos.

We know from King Kamose's stele at Thebes that he began a war against the Hyksos in the third year of his reign and that by his own account he met with some success but then he died unexpectedly. He was succeeded by his brother/nephew Ahmose who came to the throne as a child but eventually expelled the Hyksos from Egypt. See evidence from the tombs of Ahmose son of Ebana and Ahmose Pen Nechbet, both of El Kab. Ahmose began to take back Nubia for Egypt. Ahmose put down several internal (Egyptian) rebellions.

Candidates may mention Queen Tetisheri who was the commoner Great Royal Wife of Senakhtenre and the mother of both Queen Ahhotep and her husband the pharaoh Seqenenre Tao II and thus the grandmother of the pharaoh Ahmose. Generally known as the matriarch of the Theban princes who expelled the Hyksos she is also known from the Abydos Stele of her grandson Ahmose who refers to her as the 'mother of my mother and the mother of my father'.

Queen Ahhotep was the wife of Seqenenre Tao II and the mother of Ahmose. In Ahmose's minority it is suggested that she ruled as regent, put down a rebellion against him and led the army. The one significant piece of evidence for her power come from a stele at Karnak erected by Ahmose which says that she did all of the above: she was 'one who cares for Egypt. She has looked after Egypt's soldiers, she has guarded Egypt, she has brought back Egypt's fugitives, and collected together Egypt's deserters, she has pacified Upper Egypt and expelled Egypt's rebels'. The other evidence comes from her amazing mortuary assemblage which included military decorations for bravery – the Gold Flies – and her son the pharaoh's ceremonial inscribed axe and dagger.

Queen Ahmose Nefertari was the wife and sister of King Ahmose. Evidence suggests that she held a great deal of independent power, influence and wealth through her position initially as Second Prophet of Amun and then as God's Wife of Amun. The position of God's Wife of Amun endowed land and goods on her and her heirs in perpetuity. It also gave her a powerful position in the cult of the great god Amun at Thebes, the centre of power. She seems to have been involved in building projects with her husband. She made more ritual offerings than any other queen and indeed king. When Ahmose erected a stele at Abydos saying that he had built a cenotaph for his grandmother Tetisheri, he also recorded on it that he had the approval of Ahmose Nefertari for these plans. After her death she was deified and worshipped together with her son Amenhotep I, by the workmen at Deir el Medina. She was certainly perceived to have been a powerful person.

Question 23

(25 marks)

With reference to information in the Restoration Stele of Tutankhamun and in Horemheb's *Edict of Reform*, examine the situation in Egypt at the end of the Amarna period and explain the changes that had taken place by the end of Dynasty 18.

Markers' notes:

The Restoration Stele is really about the restoration of the old gods to their rightful positions in Egypt which would mean the restoration of Order/Maat to the land so that it could flourish once more. Thus the preoccupation of the stele with the restoration of the gods is a fundamental statement regarding the belief in Order/Maat versus Chaos; a belief that Maat needed to be restored by the King and by the old gods before Egypt could prosper. To what extent the ordinary Egyptian may or may not have believed this premise is another matter altogether, but this belief structured around the old gods and the king, underpinned the successful functioning of the state. The stele tells us that at the end of the Amarna period the land was in ruins and in confusion because it had been abandoned by the old or true gods of Egypt. As well, Egypt had lost its Empire. The whole land and all its people were suffering. There is no way of knowing how much of the information on the Restoration Stele is true and how much is propaganda. Certainly the manner in which attempts were made to obliterate all references to Akhenaten and the Aten from history indicates that they were hated by a powerful group within Egypt. On the Restoration Stele we are told: Tutankhamun was king. He was no longer Tutankhaten. His name and titles reflect the claim that all the old gods had been restored and the country was once more under the god Amun Re. The temples and shrines of the old gods had been ruined but Tutankhamun restored the gods and their priests, their temples and their shrines to a more glorious state than they had enjoyed before the Amarna Revolution. He restored the barges of the god. He used royal funding to establish temple musicians, singers, dancers and workers. The temple revenue was restored and increased. The army was once more victorious and all nations obeyed Egypt once again.

Tutankhamun was succeeded by Ay who reigned for only four or so years and continued with Tutankhamun's policy. Ay made Horemheb his successor. Horemheb's *Edict of Reform* gives us more of an insight into what was going on in the country. It tells us the situation and the remedy. From this Edict we learn in more detail the extent to which Order/maat had been upset. There was widespread corruption amongst officials including the judiciary; that tax collectors were exploiting the poor with the collusion of the royal inspectors; and that the military were robbing the peasants and also extorting goods and supplies from them. All this leads one to conclude that with the abandonment of and by the old gods the country had indeed slid into chaos and confusion. The suggestions of chaos that we have from Tutankhamun were indeed accurate. It would appear that effective centralised governance had not been restored under Tutankhamun or Ay.

Horemheb dealt with the matter by going through the country, finding men of good character, appointing them to official positions and giving them clear guidelines to follow. He sorted out the taxation system so that there was no need or opportunity for taxes to be raised in an extra-judicial manner. Stolen property was returned; peasants had their taxes remitted for a period. Horemheb's penalties for unlawful behaviour were harsh in the extreme and included mutilation and exile. He continued dismantling the Aten temples and erasing all reference to Akhenaten and his period of rule. He, like Ay, replaced Tutankhamun's cartouches with his own. It is impossible to state whether or not it was Horemheb who destroyed Ay's tomb, the tombs of the Amarna royals and the tombs of Amarna supporters, but it was done in antiquity. By the end of Horemheb's reign, which marks the end of Dynasty 18, he had re-established a stable centralised government in Egypt. The majority of references to the Aten and to the Amarna period royal family had been obliterated from public view. The pharaoh and the old gods were firmly in control of religion and of the state. Maat had well and truly been restored. The king lists made in antiquity do not include the Amarna royals – they have Horemheb succeeding Amenhotep III.

Question 24**(25 marks)**

Select **one** of the following individuals: Ahmose I, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, Amenhotep III or Akhenaten. Examine the methods used by this individual to achieve his or her aims and comment on his or her legacy.

Markers' notes:

- This question calls for more than a biographical narrative although a knowledge of the key events in the life of the chosen individual should be granted due credit.
- Some information on each individual's aims should be provided and then a discussion of how they sought to get what they wanted.
- Comment needed on legacy which will generally be in the short-term. Establishment of a long-term legacy is not needed for full marks. A legacy to their society in the short term is however. In what way did their life change what followed?
- Each individual should be taken on a case by case basis as to the amount of focus between aims/methods/legacy.
- Candidates might refer to both archaeological/material evidence and written evidence.

Ahmose I

Candidates need to be aware of the ways in which Ahmose used warfare to achieve his aims of expelling the Hyksos, reunifying Egypt and consolidating his family's rule over the country. Thus they need to know the tomb biographies of Ahmose son of Ebana who writes about the war against the Hyksos in particular and also of Ahmose Pennekhbet who mentions fighting with Ahmose I. Ahmose fought perhaps three campaigns against the Hyksos pushed them out of Egypt into Palestine and then maybe as far as Syria. He fought campaigns that gradually brought Nubia back under Egyptian control. He put down rebellions in Egypt and established his family as strong rulers of a centralised state. He increased the power of the god Amun and the priests of Amun by donating expensive gifts and making them the focus of pharaonic/state worship. His legacy was a strong, stable, unified Egypt that was able to withstand both internal and external challenges.

Hatshepsut

Daughter of a king, wife of a king, regent/aunt stepmother of a king and then king herself. Her aim seems to have been to keep Egypt strong and stable with herself in control – certainly, initially, while Tuthmosis III was a child. She used political manoeuvring, a strong power base, propaganda and then a continued consolidation of power to achieve her aims.

On the early death of her husband she became regent for his son Tuthmosis III. She built up a base of powerful supporters, began to use kingly titles and commissioned obelisks. Thus she was gradually assuming the trappings of power and somewhere between Years 2 and 7 of Tuthmosis III's reign she was crowned king and then ruled as a co-regent with Tuthmosis III. She had full royal titulary. Her statues emphasised her status and gradually changed into male representations. She used propaganda, claiming descent from the god Amun through divine conception and birth which was recorded on her temple at Deir el Bahari.

She rewrote history to make herself the legitimate successor to her father Tuthmosis I referring to her coronation and presentation to the court by her father the pharaoh. She embarked on a serious building program, both restoring and building new structures, as befitted a pharaoh – notably completing her temple at Deir el Bahari, the Red Chapel and the obelisks at Karnak. Her Speos Artemidos temple (Beni Hasan) refers to this building program. She commissioned a trading expedition to Punt, initiated military campaigns in Nubia in the south and north into Palestine and made many gifts to Amun/Amun Re.

Her legacy was a strong, stable Egypt and a ruling house which had a strong support base to withstand rivals within Egypt and challenges from the outside.

Question 24 (continued)**Tuthmosis III**

Candidates are not expected to know all of the detail. They could consider his military prowess and the expansion of the empire, his governance and/or his building program.

He became sole pharaoh in Year 23 of his reign and his aim was to maintain the power and security of Egypt, to expand the Egyptian Empire and to keep himself at the centre of it all. He appears to have completed about 17 military campaigns outside Egypt, becoming a proficient military commander as co-regent with Hatshepsut. As sole pharaoh his first campaign was culminated in the battle against coalition forces gathered outside Megiddo – forces who may well have been taking advantage of perceived Egyptian instability on the death of Hatshepsut. Eventually he was successful but in his success he treated his defeated enemy with courtesy and consideration and required them to be loyal to him.

Years 24 – 28: there were 3 campaigns in Palestine although they have been suggested to be tours of inspection, showing the flag and reminding people of their oaths.

Year 29: he went against the Prince of Kadesh and his allies. He captured land.

Year 30: attacked Kadesh but failed.

Year 31: a campaign into Syria where he took the Phoenician ports.

Year 33: campaigned beyond the Euphrates against Mitanni.

Years 34 – 41: he completed eight campaigns partly to the north against the influence of the Mitanni in Syria and partly to the south against the Nubians. Successful.

Year 42: he defeated Kadesh once and for all.

Tuthmosis seems to have been a wise leader who led by example in battle, was a sound tactician and a thoughtful strategist. He knew how to lead men, he knew how to govern effectively, he knew when to be lenient and when to be harsh. He organised his empire in a sensible manner – he left rulers in power but under oath to him and took their children back to Egypt to be educated. There was annual tribute exacted and Egyptian garrisons were left in strategic areas as well as having supply depots on the coast. He installed an Overseer of the Northern Lands and set up what was almost a 5th column of messengers. He was excellent at delegating responsibility.

Nubia was different. The Egyptians kept a far closer control. Aside from his military exploits, under his leadership governance of Egypt was tightly controlled – see the details from the written material in the tomb of the Vizier Rekhmire. He had a considerable building program from the north to the far south at Gebel Barkal in Nubia/Sudan. The building program not only underscores his wealth and power but also informs us of his activities. He very thoughtfully had his exploits chiselled onto his architecture. In particular, his Annals on the walls of the temple of Karnak give us scrupulous detail e.g. that after winning the battle of Megiddo he took 894 chariots, 200 suits of armour, 2,000 horses and 25,000 animals.

His legacy was a strong stable Egypt with a strong, stable empire, with a large war chest and continuing wealth pouring into the state and also to the Egyptian people from both outside sources – control of trade and tribute which translated into resources for the employment of local people in a variety of projects such as building temples and palaces and improving infrastructure such as roads, canals and irrigation projects.

Amenhotep III

He was the consummate diplomat, a prolific builder and patron of the arts. His aim was to maintain the power, stability and international position of Egypt. His military exploits seem to have mainly been propaganda. He kept control by diplomatic letters and diplomatic marriages. His great royal wife was the commoner Tiy, but Amenhotep III married at least seven foreign princesses and had numberless concubines all kept in royal harems.

As wealth continued to pour into the state, Amenhotep III embarked on an enormous building program that included the Temple of Luxor, additions to the Temple of Karnak, his enormous mortuary temple and his palace at Malkata and much more.

Art flourished under his rule with a new naturalistic form becoming fashionable. Although devoted to the god Amun, at this time the god Aten began to rise in importance.

With no substantial threats from outside the borders and with the wealth pouring into the country, Egypt became complacent to a certain degree as his previous luxurious lifestyle caught up with the aging Amenhotep III and he descended into illness. His legacy is complicated but certainly after his reign there was religious, military, political and economic instability under his successors until Horemheb reinstated good governance. Some would say that Egypt never again would reach such a pinnacle of peace and plenty as it did when Amenhotep III inherited the throne.

Akhenaten

Akhenaten is complicated. His short reign of 17 years was one of upheaval. His aims seem to have been to install the god the Aten as the chief god in Egypt with himself as the interface between the god and the people. Akhenaten would thus take power away from the god Amun and also the Chief Priest of Amun, a person who wielded both political and economic power as well as religious power. It would appear that Akhenaten himself wished to control all aspects of the governance of religion and the state.

For the first four years he ruled as Akhenaten IV but between years 5–8 he founded his new capital, Akhetaten, in the desert half way between Memphis (Cairo) and Thebes; changed his name to Akhenaten; and closed the temples of Amun.

Between years 9–11 he banned all other gods and maat was to be seen solely as a concept and not as a goddess.

Between years 11–17 there appear to be problems with the northern empire, there was a huge reception of foreign ambassadors at Akhetaten, the plague which is recorded as beginning in Mitanni spread down through the Middle East and into Egypt where it seems to have caused numerous deaths at all levels of society. By Year 17 it would seem that most of the major players were dead.

The boy king Tutankhaten/Tutankhamun and his queen were brought back to Thebes and the changes made by Akhenaten were reversed. So much damage was done to Akhenaten's monuments and everything he left behind and so much nonsense has been written about this king that it is actually very difficult to reach a sound conclusion about him at this level of scholarship. His reign was a time of architectural, artistic and religious innovation. He may have been trying to regain religious, economic and political control of the state. He certainly maintained a correspondence with the empire and with his fellow rulers, but it is unfortunate that for the most part we only have one side of the evidence in the Amarna letters which were sent to Akhenaten. Thus conclusions based on their contents must be debatable. Certainly he failed in his aims. His legacy exists only in the beautiful artistic traditions of the period following his rule.

His god was banished, his line was extinct, his capital left to moulder in the desert, his buildings in Thebes and environs were dismantled and used as fill, his name, his figure and those of his family and followers were erased wherever possible. He and his immediate successors Tutankhamun and Ay were erased from the records.

Question 25**(25 marks)**

Analyse the consequences of the Battles of Thermopylae, Salamis and Plataea for Sparta, Athens and for others.

Markers' notes:

Focus needs to be on consequences. Candidates should comment on consequences for Sparta, Athens and others which should include Persia and allies as appropriate. Students can be awarded some marks for knowledge of the events. Some notes follow but other details are also relevant in discussing the consequences of the battles.

Thermopylae

- For Sparta it was a confirmation of their military leadership, after Athenian success at Marathon it was necessary for Sparta to take a public leading role.
- Use of a narrow pass.
- The loss of Persian soldiers at Thermopylae was significant despite their huge original number – the poorer equipped, and press-ganged infantry was no match one-on-one with the well trained Spartans.
- The loss of Persian ships (perhaps half) at the parallel battle of Artemisium was significant for Persia. No longer able to fight on two naval fronts.
- For Athens – evidence that Hellas was under desperate threat from Persia – dynamic action was needed – evacuate the city. Make a stand at Salamis. Trust in the wooden wall.
- It was clear to the Hellenic League that unity was their only chance – Thermopylae was the strongest defensible position north of the Isthmus and had been lost. Arguments followed over the next defence point.
- The loss at Thermopylae meant that central Greece was lost.
- The delay to the Persians of Thermopylae gave the 'Greeks' and particularly the Athenians time to prepare.
- Spartan military reputation enshrined – sending away the Thespians.
- Loss of a Spartan King – as the Delphic oracle had predicted.
- Not a battle of Greek unity but a battle of Spartan Leadership
- Despite the loss at Thermopylae and the indecisive Artemisium, Greek morale was quite high.

Salamis

- A unified battle by the Hellenic League – notable despite threats by Sparta and Athens to break away.
- A key battle for Athens leading to increased prestige.
- Respect for Athenian Military ability especially Navy.
- Confirmation that a democracy can fight well.
- Proof of Athenian dynamism – evacuating the city.
- Impressive strategy of Themistocles – his manipulation of others.
- Use of a narrow channel.
- Perhaps the beginnings of Corinthian resentment of Athens.
- A significant blow to the success of the Persian Invasion – Xerxes goes home. Not the end of the war however.
- A consequent shift in Persian focus.
- Sparta nominally in charge but being managed by Athens.
- Intense pressure but Greek unity held – open discussions by Sparta before the battle on evacuating to the Peloponnese.
- A confidence builder to the Greeks of Ionia in their efforts to resist Persian control.
- According the Thucydides – it was the saving of the Peloponnese and perhaps of all Greece. A victorious Persian Navy at Salamis could have swept through the Peloponnese.
- Was the inspiration for a number of works of art.

Plataea

- The next year. Greek unity notable – less fractious than Salamis – 23 polis involved – a national alliance.
- Great Persian losses made the expedition untenable and ended the campaign.
- A restoration of respect for Sparta. Their hegemony secured. Their army demonstrated their quality to all – Athens, Peloponnesian League, and other poleis.
- Use of battlefield geography.
- After the battle some action taken against medisers (Thebes) – concern for other medisers about future action.
- Increased reputation of Pausanias possibly led to his arrogance in Ionia.
- A confirmation of Spartan primacy post Salamis.
- Fought by Mardonius – Xerxes not present.
- The end of the Persian threat to mainland Greece although this wasn't clear at this point.
- End of the need for a Hellenic League? No – Northern Greece and Asia Minor still under Persian control.
- Rest of the campaign would be in distant Ionia – changing aims of Sparta, Athens and the allies followed.
- Plataea also helped to solidify Greek support in Ionia including Samos who had revolted against Persia.

Question 26

(25 marks)

Explain the democratic reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles and examine the impact of these reforms on Athens and its people.

Markers' notes:**Reforms:**

Candidates should be able to give detail on the reforms. They can choose to explain the impact of each reform as they go or do this separately.

- These were further steps to democracy. Ephialtes/Pericles competing with Cimon for support/power – used democratic changes to do this. Plutarch explains how while Cimon was away, Ephialtes and Pericles had been 'smearing' the *Areopagus* in order to weaken it before moving directly against it.
- The nine Archons were elected by sortition but only from *pentacosiomedimnoi* and *hippeis* - therefore still a shaping of the *Areopagus* in that way.
- *Areopagus* still had significant powers in these areas:
 - Appointment and supervision of public officials
 - Control of city affairs
 - Defence of the constitution
 - Religious matters.
- Ephialtes moved all political powers to either the *Boule*, *Ecclesia* or *Heliaea*.
- The religious powers were left with the *Areopagus*.
- Up to 462, the *Areopagus* carried out the *dokimasia* (examination of suitability for office) for public officials including archons and *stratego*.
- It also had the right to supervise officials during the term of office and to conduct, if it saw fit, the *euthuna* (investigation into the lawful exercise of office) at its conclusion.
- This was a significant means through which the *Areopagus* could influence the direction and implementation of Athenian policy.
- Ephialtes moved these powers to the DEMOS. A very significant change in empowering the demos.
- *Dokimasia* for archons went to the *Boule* and for others to the people's court – the *Heliaea*. Members of the *Boule* itself were examined by the outgoing *Boule*.
- Ongoing supervision of officials was undertaken by the *Boule* for matters that were punishable by a fine of 500 drachmas or less – more serious matters were dealt with by the *Heliaea*.
- All officials were also now to be subjected to *euthuna* by new boards of the *Boule* – the 10 *euthunoi* (auditors) and 30 *logistae* (accountants).
- The key impact on Athens and its people is that all officials were now regularly accountable for the actions to elected bodies of Athenian citizens.
- The *Areopagus* had also had extensive judicial powers over the behaviour of Athenian citizens, who could be fined with no reason needed to be given for their punishment. Ephialtes' reforms made Athenians individually responsible for bringing actions before the *Heliaea*, making the process more open and democratic.
- The *Areopagus* had also exercised the first right to consider *eisangelia* (charges of activity against the state), the process of impeachment – deciding if a prosecution was warranted to be heard by the *Heliaea* or the *Ecclesia*. This power to consider *eisangelia* was removed to the *Boule*. This was a significant power that the people were now better protected against.
- Pericles also brought in payment for Jurors making it accessible to most, the choosing of Archons and other minor officials to be done by lot (thereby affecting the make-up of the now isolated *Areopagus*).
- To protect all the benefits of democracy, Pericles also introduced a decree introducing citizenship restrictions.

Impact:

- Better candidates will consider the impact on the powerful, the ordinary Athenian and those that were excluded.
- After the death of Ephialtes, Athenian Democracy reached its full height under Pericles. This was the purest democracy known in the ancient world and the citizens of Athens were invested and connected directly with the government of their polis.
- There were exclusions also and candidates should note this – women/slaves/metics/the young/thetes/limits of citizenship.
- Universal suffrage for adult males who also all had the right to stand for office.
- All magistrates elected by popular vote or by sortition and all controlled by the people – accountability was now to the demos.
- Some issues with accessibility to country dwellers.
- Overall, a man could now serve in all parts of the government, vote on all matters in the assembly, sit on a jury and be paid for doing so.
- Democracy was valued by the Athenians and their city pride and involvement in government affairs was a badge they wore in honour.
- For some in the Aristocracy including Thucydides and Cimon, some of these changes were too radical. Thucydides said it led to poor decisions and quibbled about radical democracy and Cimon made a failed and unwise attempt to hold back the tide – leading to him suffering the democratic blunt instrument of ostracism.
- Out of Unit time period but a brief comment can be made by candidates about the Oligarchic revolt of 411 showing that an oligarchic sentiment was still evident at this time. So for some the impact of the reforms was not welcome.
- The democracy contrasted sharply with their imperial behaviour.
- The demos was now very powerful and there was now the possibility of demagoguery that could harness this new power.
- Overall there were a number of exclusions but the democratic reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles gave the demos a considerable amount of power, reduced the power of the aristocracy, engaged all citizens in the running of their country but also made available a popular support base that at times according to Thucydides led Athens to be susceptible to 'the whims of the multitude'.

Question 27

(25 marks)

Select one of the following individuals: Xerxes, Pausanias, Themistocles, Cimon or Pericles. Examine the methods used by this individual to achieve his aims and comment on his legacy.

Markers' notes:

- This question calls for more than a biographical narrative although a knowledge of the key events in the life of the chosen individual should be granted due credit.
- Some information on each individual's aims should be provided and then a discussion of how they sought to get what they wanted.
- Comment needed on legacy which will generally be in the short-term. Establishment of a long-term legacy is not needed for full marks. A legacy to their society in the short term is however. In what way did their life change what followed.
- Each individual should be taken on a case by case basis as to the amount of focus between aims/methods/legacy.

Xerxes

- Needed to consolidate his control of the Persian Empire. Even though it had been a smooth transition of power.
- Method to power: Xerxes was born to Darius and Atossa (daughter of Cyrus the Great). Darius and Atossa were both Achaemenids.
- While Darius was preparing for another war against Greece, a significant revolt began in Egypt in 486 BC due to heavy taxes. Under Persian law, the king was required to choose a successor before setting out on dangerous expeditions.
- Darius appointed Xerxes his successor, Darius died in October 486 BC at the age of 64.
- However, Artobazan claimed the crown as the eldest of all the children; while Xerxes urged that he was sprung from Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and that it was Cyrus who had won the Persians their freedom. Xerxes was also helped by a Spartan king in exile who was present in Persia at the time, King Demorartus who argued that the eldest son does not universally mean they have claim to the crown, as Spartan law states that the first son born while the father is king is the heir to the kingship. Some modern scholars also view the unusual decision of Darius to give the throne to Xerxes to be a result of his consideration of the unique positions that Cyrus the Great and his daughter Atossa enjoyed.
- Artobazan was born to 'Darius the subject', while Xerxes was the eldest son born in the purple after Darius's rise to the throne, and Artobazan's mother was a commoner while Xerxes's mother was the daughter of the founder of the empire.
- Xerxes was crowned and succeeded his father in October–December 486 BC when he was about 36 years old. The transition of power to Xerxes was smooth due again in part to the great authority of Atossa and his accession of royal power was not challenged by any person at court or in the Achaemenian family, or any subject nation.
- Comment can be made about the expansionist nature of Persian society and the competition from other leaders for power. Answers may touch on his aggressive expansion which is probably not related to an anti-Athenian vendetta.
- His aim was as per that culture and political necessity to expand and grow the Persian Empire to all corners of the world.
- Despite Herodotus, Greece was one of a number of areas of his attention. His success in Egypt and Babylon was noteworthy but his focus on Greece was intermittent. His failed campaigns and loss of Ionia under his watch however left a legacy of loss for his successors to recover.
- Used very aggressive acts at times e.g. the melting down of the golden statue of Bel.
- Changed his title from King of Babylon to King of Persia.
- His methods were oppressive of many with forced military service and his use of force within his troops. He ruled with might. From demanding submission by threat, to the use of vast armies, even the Hellespont was required to comply. Xerxes led by blunt force on campaign and clever politics at home.
- It could be argued that one of his key legacies was his failure against 'Greece' as this led to a political upheaval and shifting power blocs that would lead to the Peloponnesian War.

- Legacy – Ionia becoming available as a support base for someone else.
- The solidification of Persian control over the empire (with the exception of Greece).
- A number of significant construction projects at Susa and Persepolis e.g. The Gate of all Nations.
- Has been the subject of a number pieces of literature post his death – Aeschylus, The Persians, 300, Assassins Creed, and many others.
- Due to the nature of, and lack of accessibility of sources, candidates should not be overly penalised for a lack of some specific detail on Xerxes' methods in this response however a detailed response on his aims and legacy is still required.

Pausanias

- Pausanias is notable for his legacy – it was he that handed the hegemony to Athens because of his behaviour according to Thucydides.
- Prince regent of Sparta after the death of Leonidas and leader of the Hellenic League
- Aims – not clearly stated but at times did not appear to fit the Spartan mode of not seeking personal prominence. Witness his behaviour in Ionia. Candidates can argue his aims were Spartan dominance and/or personal power.
- Actions at Plataea were important for Sparta's restoration of position.
- His actions in Ionia however were key in the transfer of Hegemony.
- After the victory at Plataea the Spartans had lost interest in liberating the Greek cities of Ionia. However, when it became clear that Athens would dominate the Hellenic League in Sparta's absence, Sparta sent Pausanias back to command the League's military.
- In 478 BC Pausanias was suspected of conspiring with the Persians (medising) and was recalled to Sparta; however, he was acquitted and then left Sparta of his own accord.
- After capturing Byzantium in 479, Pausanias was alleged to have released some of the prisoners of war who were friends and relations of the king of Persia. However, Pausanias argued that the prisoners had escaped. He allegedly sent a letter to Xerxes saying that he wished to help him and bring Sparta and the rest of Greece under Persian control. In return, he wished to marry the king's daughter. After Xerxes replied agreeing to his plans, Pausanias started to adopt Persian customs and dress like a Persian.
- According to Thucydides many allies joined the Athenian side because of Pausanias' arrogance and high-handedness. The Spartans recalled him once again, and Pausanias fled before returning to Sparta as he did not wish to be suspected of Persian sympathies. On his arrival in Sparta, the ephors had him imprisoned for corruption, but he was later released.
- Nobody had enough evidence to convict him of disloyalty, even though some helots gave evidence that he had offered certain helots their freedom if they joined him in revolt.
- One theory is that Pausanias wished to develop a better Spartan Navy using the helots.
- However, one of the messengers who Pausanias had been using to communicate with Xerxes to betray the Greeks provided written evidence (a letter stating Pausanias' intentions) to the Spartan ephors that they needed to formally prosecute Pausanias.
- Pausanias was warned of their plans and escaped to a temple. The ephors walled up the doors, put sentries outside and proceeded to starve him out. When Pausanias was on the brink of death by starvation they carried him out, and he died soon afterwards. Thus Pausanias did not die within the sanctuary of the temple, which would have been an act of ritual pollution.
- Legacy of Pausanias is that his behaviour away from the confines of the Spartan system led to the allies willingness to change hegemon to the 'ideal candidate' of Athens. His actions on return to Sparta are unclear due to a lack of sources but there are indications that the allegation that he was encouraging a helot revolt was politically motivated.
- He gave Athens a significant 'leg-up' in their expansion of power.

Question 27 (continued)

Themistocles

- Aims – not explicitly stated but can be reasoned – primacy of Athens and personal self-aggrandisement. A very ambitious man – anxious for recognition.
- Methods – a skilful and creative negotiator and manipulator. Tactical and strategic abilities, oratory and persuasion, not above unethical tricks and the taking of bribes.
- Legacy – turning Athens into a Naval Superpower, orchestrating the success at Salamis which directly led to the defeat of the Persians and indirectly to the formation of the Delian League with Athens at its head. Also his activities in the Northern Peloponnese kept Sparta busy and allowed Athens to grow unfettered at a crucial time.
- Plutarch indicates that, on account of his mother's background, Themistocles was considered something of an outsider.
- Cleisthenes' new system of government in Athens opened up a wealth of opportunity for men like Themistocles, who previously would have had no access to power. Themistocles was to prove himself a beneficiary of the new system.
- He was a populist politician having the support of lower-class Athenians, and generally being at odds with the Athenian nobility.
- He fought at Marathon and had seen the Persian force and knew it would return strongly.
- Themistocles became the most prominent politician in Athens. The exile of Miltiades assisted him in this position. Themistocles, however, continued to compete with Aristides the Just for power. Aristides offering himself as the opposite to Themistocles. Themistocles through his oratory and the support of his Naval policy then also was part of the ostracism of Aristides.
- Throughout his career, he continued to advocate a strong Athenian Navy, and in 483 BC he persuaded the Athenians to build a fleet of 200 ships, these proved crucial in the forthcoming conflict with Persia. He convinced the polis to increase the naval power of Athens, a recurring theme in his political career. He used the threat of Aegina to persuade the demos to spend the lucky strike at Laurium on ships – it can be convincingly argued that Themistocles had the return of the Persians in his mind at least.
- He moved to further develop the defences at the Piraeus.
- Candidates may suggest with this move to a power base for Athens based on the navy which is based on thetic rowers he may have been securing his own powerbase.
- His ability to persuade the entire populace to abandon the city and take to the ships indicates his position at this time.
- During the second invasion, he effectively exercised command of the Greek allied navy at the battles of Artemisium and Salamis in 480 BC. Due to subterfuge on the part of Themistocles, the Allies lured the Persian fleet into the Straits of Salamis, and the decisive Greek victory there was the turning point in the invasion.
- Plutarch gives good detail on how Themistocles kept the fracturing Hellenic alliance together and tricked Xerxes into an untimely attack. He was a key player in the discussions at the Congress of the Isthmus – it was he that gave up the Athenian claim to the hegemony 'in the interests of national security' and it was he that was the leading voice in the Tempe/Thermopylae and eventually Salamis strategy.
- After the conflict ended, Themistocles continued his pre-eminence among Athenian politicians. However, he fell out with Sparta over the rebuilding of the walls – a key moment in the development of Athenian independence.
- Despite his success his arrogance and behaviour began to isolate him at Athens. His suggestion to burn the allied fleet for example.
- Ostracised in 471 BC, he went into exile in Argos.
- The Spartans now saw the opportunity to destroy Themistocles, and implicated him in the alleged treasonous plot of 478 BC of their own general Pausanias. Themistocles thus fled from Greece.
- Patchy evidence indicates that he operated in the Northern Peloponnese stirring up revolts against Sparta – it is clear that Sparta had troubles in this area at this time and it was highly possible that Themistocles was behind it.
- He travelled to Ionia where he entered the service of the Persian king Artaxerxes and was made governor of Magnesia and lived there for the rest of his life.

- Legacy: Themistocles's reputation was posthumously rehabilitated, and he was re-established as a hero of the Athenian cause. At the critical times around Salamis it can be argued that it was he that saved Greece. His establishment of the super-navy of Athens was the basis of all Athenian power to follow and it was a direct result of his actions.
- Candidates should be rewarded for the use of Thucydides and Plutarch to back up the claim that he saved Greece – clearly one of his aims and his legacy.

Cimon

- Aims: Make Athens strong, dual hegemony with Sparta, defeat Persia, control allies.
- The leader of most of the activities of the Delian League until his Ostracism.
- Methods – strong military leadership, develop a dominant Navy, punish revolts severely, resist further democratic change, promote friendship with Sparta.
- Legacy – the delivery of a strong Athens into the hands of the demagogues and a lasting schism with Sparta.

Possible content to support the above:

- Encouragement of the 'laziness of the allies' converting ship builders to Phoros.
- Did not want expansion of the democracy any further-backward-looking
- A pro-Spartan, anti-Persian, Athenian Imperialist.
- In 472, he led the attack on neutral Carystus, who were forced to join the league. In 470, he punished Naxos for their rebellion. 468, his most glorious moment, when he led the Greeks to the notable victories at Eurymedon.
- Plutarch 'No one did more to humble the Great King and deflate his ambitions than Cimon'.
- The attack on Thasos in 465 confirmed Cimon's reputation as one of the great Athenian commanders, however it also marked a time when events began to turn against him - it was a long time to be away from the political scene in Athens.
- In the short term it enhanced Athenian power and strengthened Cimon's grip over the Delian League.

Cimon had two connected policies – aims/methods

Foreign policy

- Vigorously and successfully pursued the interests of Athens until the Persian threat was all but destroyed.
- It was his military success in the 470s and 460s that made the Delian League dominant in the Aegean.
- He maintained peaceful relations with Sparta until after the events of 465–463 destroyed the harmony
- On occasion he publicly compared Athens to Sparta to illustrate where Athens was going wrong. Singing the praises of Sparta.
- Believed that a joint hegemony was the best way forward for both cities.

Domestic policy

- He promoted the domination of his oligarchic and conservative political faction.
- The main remaining power base of the oligarchs was the Council of the Areopagus.
- Cimon primed the population with gifts and favours (Plutarch Cimon 10). Access to his orchards, clothing, money, handouts, etc.
- Poorer citizens also were given land in cleruchies which Cimon had established on allied land, e.g. at Skyros.
- As long as Cimon was successful and was adding to Athens wealth and power, the masses were able to be manipulated.
- Cimon elected *strategos* continuously between 478 and 461, right up to the point where he was ostracised.
- The basic cause of this ostracism was the evident contradiction between his foreign and domestic policy.
- The more successful Cimon and the fleet were, the more powerful and important the fleet, its rowers and the ordinary people of Athens became.
- Rowers were thetes who were barred from holding magistracies and from any significant role in the political decision making process.
- There developed an expectation of an increased role for them in the political process.

Question 27 (continued)

- Cimon set himself resolutely against this.
- Refer Plutarch Cimon 15.
- 'he succeeded in arresting and even reducing the encroachments of the people upon the prerogatives of the aristocracy, and in foiling their attempts to concentrate office and power in their own hands ... but only for so long as ...' he was present in Athens.
- Eventually combined with his absence at important times this would lead to his ostracism.
- After the successful mission to Thasos, Cimon returned to Athens to find that the political situation was shifting. A bribery accusation was levelled at Cimon showing that his previously strong body of support was being weakened by the activities of the radical democrats under the leadership of Ephialtes and Pericles.
- There was clearly now a struggle between Cimon and his aristocratic supporters and the populist faction of Ephialtes and Pericles for political control.
- Cimon was aligned with the conservative faction, particularly with members of the *Areopagus*.
- In 462 he called in all his favours and persuaded the Assembly to respond to the Spartan request for help against the rebellious Helots.
- Cimon had long been recognised as a friend of the Spartans probably being officially recognised as a proxenoi for Sparta.
- His opponents accused him of being more Spartan than Athenian and of putting Sparta's interest before those of Athens.
- While Cimon was away with 4,000 voting hoplites, Ephialtes saw his chance to push through further democratic reforms which included the destruction of any significant remaining powers of the *Areopagus*, giving full control instead to the Assembly. This is a key moment in Athenian democratic history. Cimon's actions and words had allowed this to happen – Legacy.
- After a short period of time, Cimon and the Athenians were summarily dismissed by the Spartans. Thuc. says because of their 'subversive tendencies'. Another theory is that the Spartans recognised the democratic moves at Athens and wanted Cimon to return to ensure his continued prominence and represent their interests.
- Cimon's policy of dual hegemony was over. His enemies in Athens were greatly strengthened by the events of Mt Ithome.
- Shortly after his return from Sparta, Cimon was ostracised by the assembly, flush with the 4,000 hoplites who had been humiliated at Sparta. The Oligarchic element could not save Cimon.
- For the next 10 years, Cimon was a complete outsider to an Athens that was growing stronger and bigger on the Delian League foundations that he had laid.
- In the 450s he was recalled on a proposal of Pericles. There is evidence that a deal had been done between the two men where he was to lead an expedition to Cyprus and attack Persians and Athens under Pericles would lay off Sparta. Pericles was to be in charge of all domestic affairs. Cimon arranged a Five Year Truce with Sparta (c. 451).
- He then left for Cyprus, leaving Pericles to run Athens.
- He was killed at the siege of Citium. His bones were brought home by his troops.
- It is at this point that the possible/probable Peace of Callias may have been signed. This marked the last action in our period between Athens and Persia.
- Cimon's foreign and domestic policies, while seemingly separate to each other, had at heart conflicted with each other. His successful foreign exploits had led to increased requirements for political representation for the lower classes which was a direct conflict for his view of domestic policy. His pro-Spartan policy caused him difficulties domestically, even though his view of a shared hegemony may have been a wiser course in the long run for both Athens and Sparta – Legacy.
- His Oligarchic views were, for Athens, clearly a backward looking measure and the dynamic, increasingly powerful and pushy Athenian populace were not prepared to agree with his views.
- Cimon - A Pro Spartan, Anti Persian, Athenian Imperialist? His aims were clear but his methods at times worked against his own aims. Ironically one of his legacies is the establishment of such a powerful and wealthy Delian League that Athenian democracy

could flourish. He gave the thetes an expectation, allowing the likes of Ephialtes and Pericles to capitalise on their support to make further changes that would isolate Cimon.

Pericles

- Clearly Pericles is core to this period and candidates would be expected to have a good level of detail in their responses.
- Aims – to make Athens the envy of all the ancient world, to have personal primacy, to defeat the Persians and to defeat the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War. To grow the Athenian empire and to empower the Athenian citizens in their democracy which he would lead.
- Methods – Oratory, Personal charisma, a populist politician although this is not explicitly identified by Thucydides, military leadership, use of largesse to the populace, growing democracy gave his supporters more power and therefore himself more power.
- Legacy – allowed the grandeur of Classical Athens to prosper, instrumental in the development of Athenian democracy which are the founding articles for modern democracy, key to the continued growth and development of the Athenian empire which shaped the ancient world and allowed the polis to develop. Legacy of showing the benefits and costs of an empire.

Possible content to support the above (not comprehensive and candidates' answers will vary):

- Son of Xanthippus, but took a soft entry to politics over concerns that he would attract negative attention.
- Later, Thucydides calls him 'the first citizen'.
- It was Pericles that took the actions that turned the DL into an Athenian empire. Using the successes of Cimon, Pericles by his methods of control developed Athenian Imperialism.
- At the same time, he grew democracy at home, perhaps altruistically but also to secure his support base. The pride that Thucydides apports in the funeral oration (2.35) to Pericles is probably well placed.
- He successfully dealt with all opposition through oratory, ostracism (Cimon + Thucydides) and calling of bluffs (Offers to pay for the building program himself). At his height, he had little effective opposition.
- He was supported by the powerful and irresistible wave of the new democracy which he had engineered. Thucydides says this was tactical when faced with the otherwise unchallengeable Cimon. The murder of Ephialtes was timely for Pericles.
- Pericles expanded the democratic rights of citizens but also limited citizenship.
- Congress decree of 449 shows Pericles approach to the allies – a new mandate taken.
- Pericles led the actions at Samos which show Athenian pure pragmatism over loyalty.
- Subject to a number of personal attacks by Poets, politicians and the like. A questionable private life at times (Aspasia). Accusations of bribery, corruption but Pericles survived reasonably intact. Some stories that he brought on the entire war to avoid this attention (Aristophanes et al.)
- Good candidates will indicate knowledge of Thucydides pro-Periclean position and how this may have affected our knowledge and specifically his legacy to history.
- Set the strategy for the Peloponnesian War which would probably have not been successful in the long term although Thucydides blames the loss of the war on the diversion from the strategy indicated by Pericles. It could be argued that the Peace of Nicias was a successful outcome for the Athenians and perhaps Pericles had delivered them to that point.
- His popularity suffered however because of the negative strategy of *perisesthai* and he was even pushed aside at one point.
- The Plague of Athens was a crucial turning point in the war for Athens and for Pericles.
- Re-elected Strategos in 429 but died the same year from the effects of the plague.
- A key method to his success was his oratorical skill. Notably the speeches in Thucydides are created by the latter and may or may not be Pericles words. Thucydides tells us that by a word he could put the demos back on course.

Question 27 (continued)

- Kagan states that Pericles adopted 'an elevated mode of speech, free from the vulgar and knavish tricks of mob-orators' like Cleon and others who followed.
- According to Diodorus he 'excelled all his fellow citizens in skill of oratory'. According to Plutarch he avoided using gimmicks in his speeches and always spoke in a calm and tranquil manner.
- Pericles' most visible legacy can be found in the literary and artistic works of the Golden Age, most of which survive to this day. The Parthenon and the associated buildings still stand as a monument to this age.
- The power and relative peace that Pericles delivered to Athens allowed significant cultural development in a wide range of areas.
- There is a perceived dichotomy in Pericles political legacy:
 - Victor L. Ehrenberg argues that a basic element of Pericles' legacy is Athenian imperialism, which denies true democracy and freedom to the people of all but the ruling state. The promotion of such an arrogant imperialism is said to have ruined Athens. Pericles and his 'expansionist' policies have been at the centre of arguments promoting democracy in oppressed countries.
 - Other analysts maintain an Athenian humanism illustrated in the Golden Age. The freedom of expression is regarded as the lasting legacy deriving from this period. Pericles is lauded as 'the ideal type of the perfect statesman in ancient Greece' and his funeral oration is nowadays synonymous with the struggle for participatory democracy and civic pride.
 - He has a legacy also in literature and the arts from Shakespeare, Renaissance art and modern media.

Question 28

(25 marks)

Discuss the challenge that the reforms of the Gracchi posed to the power and authority of the Senate.

Markers' notes:

There is a lot to be said about the different ways in which the reforms introduced by the Gracchi threatened the control that the senatorial class had long exercised over public affairs in Rome, often to their personal advantage. The following list is, therefore, not to be understood as an exhaustive discussion, but merely as an overview of some of the senatorial privileges that were impacted by the brothers' reforms. Candidates are expected to be able to discuss a selection of the following aspects in detail. Discussion of further laws is welcome.

- The Gracchi's agrarian reforms particularly impacted those land-owners who possessed more than their fair share of the common land (*ager publicus*).
- The Gracchan law which made it illegal for anyone to authorise a capital sentence against a Roman citizen without the consent of the Assembly deprived the oligarchs of one means to subdue their opposition.
- With jury members now being chosen exclusively from the ranks of the equites, the Senate had also lost some of its greatest judicial prerogatives – and thereby a potentially useful method of deterring or removing those who incurred their dislike.
- The law concerning the assignment of consular provinces prevented the ruling oligarchs from rewarding their political friends. It seems as if Gaius Gracchus was concerned that the choice of provinces had been abused to blackmail the consuls in order to get a personal advantage.
- The corn law freed the poor from their dependence on the benevolence of the rich, while favouring the (often equestrian) *publicani*. Senatorial sources therefore represent this law as a calculated bribe to win popular support, not so much as an honest social reform.
- The Senate was disturbed also by the methods used by the Gracchi to enact their measures, notably their exploitation of the latent powers of the tribunate (especially its capacity to bring legislation directly to the people). This again represented an infringement on what had come to be regarded as the Senate's realm of authority.

All in all, the reforms of the Gracchi dealt with the most obvious abuses of power by the aristocracy. The citizen assemblies were being encouraged to become accustomed to the idea that they had the right to a say in the running of the State and to demand their share of the material benefits which Rome's increasing control over the Mediterranean had made accessible, but which had so far been enjoyed mainly by the senatorial aristocracy.

Question 29

(25 marks)

Assess the role and impact of violence in Roman politics in the period 133–63 BC.

Markers' notes:

During the final years of the Roman Republic, violence (in several forms) was used as a political weapon by both the *optimates* and the *populares*.

Candidates may discuss and elaborate on some of the following examples:

To ensure Tiberius Gracchus' re-election as tribune of the plebs (after having already removed a rival tribune), his followers simply occupied the area where the voting took place, forcefully removing any potential opponents. The Senate urged the consuls to take actions against the violent mob, but the presiding consul, Scaevola, was hesitant to take up arms against fellow Roman citizens. Unhappy with the consul's reluctant stance, the patrician Scipio Nasica assembled a militia of senators and their clients to oppose the Gracchan party. In the bloody riots that followed, Tiberius and several of his supporters were killed.

Gaius Gracchus' approach was initially more constitutional, but when he realised that his popularity was on the decline, he, too, resorted to violence. Fearing that he might be targeted like his brother, he began to surround himself with a group of armed bodyguards. On the day his agrarian legislation was supposed to be repealed, violence broke out between Gracchan supporters and their political enemies. The Senate passed a *Senatus Consultum Ultimum* against Gaius and his followers. Gaius was killed the following day.

Violence also played a major role in Marius' career. When the program of reforms proposed by his political friend Saturninus threatened to be rejected, Marius had his loyal veterans deployed across the city, thus ensuring the passing of the laws. During the elections for the consulship of the following year, one of the candidates running against Saturninus' friend Glaucia was clubbed to death. Alarmed by the violence, the Senate passed an SCU, asking Marius to see to it that the state suffer no harm. Saturninus was arrested and taken to the Senate House, but an angry mob, incited by the aristocrats, stoned him to death with roof tiles. Glaucia was killed as well.

Amid the continuing discord between reformers and conservatives, Sulla was able to secure for himself the consulship of 88 BC. However, his political enmity with Marius led to further violence. From his march on Rome to his dictatorship, violence in the city manifested itself in several rounds of civil war (between the *optimates* and the *populares*) and subsequent retaliations (especially proscriptions) from both sides.

The Catiline Conspiracy and Cicero's heavy-handed response to it (leading to his banishment from Rome) could also be discussed here.

The impact of the repeated use of violence as a means to achieve political goals must not be underestimated. Not only did it increasingly destabilise the state, thereby paving the way for even more anarchical circumstances (cf., e.g., the open battles between the gangs of Clodius and Milo), it also 'normalised' violence as a political tool and thus contributed to the decline of the Roman Republic.

Question 30**(25 marks)**

Select one of the following individuals: Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius Gracchus, Marius, Sulla or Pompey. Examine the methods used by this individual to achieve his aims and comment on his legacy.

Markers' notes:

This question calls for more than a biographical narrative, although a knowledge of the key events in the life of the chosen individual should be granted due credit.

Some information on what the individual's aims were should be provided as well as a discussion of how they sought to get what they wanted.

Comment on the individual's short-term legacy within his society (i.e. the way in which they lived their life made an impact on subsequent generations) is required. Establishment of a long-term legacy is not needed for full marks.

Each individual should be taken on a case by case basis as to the amount of focus between aims, methods, and legacy.

Tiberius Gracchus

- from a plebeian branch of a noble family.
- initially a very promising political career (augur far below the usual age; military service in the Third Punic War under Scipio Africanus; quaestor).
- however, unhappy with the socio-economic situation in Roman Italy, he became tribune of the plebs in 133 BC.
- intent on making an impact, he introduced his agrarian legislation.
- the legislation caused much resistance from the senatorial elite (including members of his own family), who saw their privileges under attack from a man whose power was based on his popularity with the plebs.
- he used controversial (although not necessarily illegal) tactics to reach his goals, always stretching the authority of the tribunate to its limits: from the removal of a fellow tribune to the shutting up of the law courts and the treasury to his attempt to be re-elected as tribune.
- as a result, he was killed by his aristocratic enemies.
- there is no reason to deny that he had aimed at improving the social and economic situation in Italy; however, his attacks on the Senate appear to have been too extreme and too provocative, so that a more moderate approach may have achieved a better result.
- inspired his brother and other popular reformers.

Gaius Gracchus

- like his brother from a plebeian branch of a noble family.
- triumvir in his brother's land commission, then quaestor (after his brother's death).
- first struggles with the optimates in the Senate.
- became tribune in 123 BC, trying to extend Tiberius' program of reforms.
- aggressive policies in the interest of the people, but also attempts to use his position to avenge his brother; unscrupulous in his methods.
- his idea was to overwhelm the Senate with a series of laws, supported by the people
- introduced laws limiting the authority of the senatorial aristocracy.
- re-elected as tribune but killed (like his brother) by supporters of the senatorial party.
- his decision to make extraordinary use of the potential powers of the tribunate and the tribal assembly may be seen as a reaction to the oligarchy's failure to accept any reasonable change.
- inspired other popular reformers.

Question 30 (continued)**Marius**

- of equestrian background (*novus homo*).
- had a slow start to his political career, mainly serving as legate in the Roman army
- joined the populares, exploiting plebeian and equestrian dissatisfaction to win his first consulship (by intrigue).
- through popular vote, he secured for himself the command against Jugurtha, before being re-elected (in absentia) to five successive consulships (to deal with the Cimbri and Teutones).
- during his sixth consulship, he deployed his veterans throughout Rome to ensure that his friend Saturninus' legislation was passed (while also ensuring the banishing his own enemy, Metellus Numidicus).
- when the group around Saturninus had a political enemy assassinated, Marius was forced to arrest his former allies (who were killed by an angry mob).
- unable to prevent the recall of his enemy Metellus from exile, Marius temporarily withdrew to Asia.
- during the Social War, he fought alongside Sulla, but the cooperation soon turned to enmity, with both men fighting for the command against Mithridates.
- Marius bribed the popular assembly into granting him the command which the Senate had already promised Sulla.
- after Sulla had marched on Rome and then departed for the East, Marius joined the popular forces under the leadership of Cinna and, after re-taking the city, established himself as consul (for the seventh time).
- he ordered the killing of many of Sulla's supporters before passing away himself.
- Marius could be described as a great general and military reformer with an obvious contempt for the nobility; his actions contributed greatly to the decline of the Roman Republic.

Sulla

- from a noble but impoverished family.
- strict aristocrat, representing a mix of traditional Roman political virtue and personal vices.
- he had an enormous understanding of the dignity and importance of the Republic, which meant that the welfare of the state stood before any personal interest.
- at the same time, he showed that he had little regard for human life and contempt for traditions that had grown meaningless.
- served as quaestor under Marius during the last year of the Jugurthine War, showing himself as a smart negotiator.
- praetor in 93 BC and propraetor in Cilicia the following year, again demonstrating his negotiating skills.
- praised by the optimates, he was given a command in the Social War, before being elected consul for 88 BC.
- initially granted the command against Mithridates by the Senate, he was ordered by the popular assembly to make over his army to Marius, but he marched on Rome instead.
- having declared the Marians enemies of the state, he restored his party to power and left for the East.
- having pacified the East (and having heard of the news of Cinna's death), Sulla returned home, defeating with military efficiency the consular armies and occupying Rome
- accepted the title of dictator for the purpose of reworking the constitution (without any time limit).
- instituted a series of proscriptions, before beginning to remodel the Roman constitution on an oligarchical basis.
- having completed his task of remodelling the constitution, Sulla resigned from his role as dictator (81 BC), preferring to run for the consulship instead.
- Sulla's dictatorship is often seen as a model for Caesar's dictatorship; many (but not all) of his reforms were reversed after his death.

Pompey

- *nobilis*, but father had been a *novus homo*.
- generally described as a modest and generous man who did not mind showing mercy towards his enemies.
- at the same time, he had no scruples accepting powers he could not legally hold.
- his true strength was his military ability.
- his rise began under Sulla, for whose cause he raised a considerable army of followers, although technically still a private person.
- during several campaigns (many of them with extraordinary command), he showed himself an excellent general and organiser.
- considering the Sullan constitution as too narrow, he sided with Crassus against the Senate to abolish the laws.
- through a law introduced by one of the tribunes he had restored, he received the command against the pirates (again extraordinary).
- the war against Mithridates and the reorganisation of the provinces in the East (described as smart and professional) followed.
- upon his return, he duly disbanded his army, but when the Senate decided not to ratify his Asiatic treaties, he formed an informal political alliance with the two most influential men in Rome, Caesar and Crassus (First Triumvirate).
- when the alliance broke, Pompey sided with the optimates - and against Caesar.
- Pompey's career could be seen as that of a great general whose willingness to change loyalties and to bend constitutional rules not only facilitated the decline of the Roman Republic but also led to his own demise.

Part B: Unit 4

25% (25 marks)

The marking key below must be used for **Question 32 only**. Markers' notes for this question follow the marking key. These notes are not exhaustive or prescriptive.

Description	Marks
Introduction	
Defines the focus of the topic/question, defines key terms and provides relevant background information. Provides a proposition that articulates the direction of the essay in terms of line of argument/viewpoint.	3
States the topic/question and provides some relevant background information. Provides a simple proposition indicating direction to be taken in relation to the focus of the essay.	2
States the topic/question and provides limited background information.	1
Subtotal	3
Understanding of the work of archaeologists/scientists and the extent to which the archaeologists/scientists have been successful in achieving their aims	
Produces a comprehensive response that shows a sophisticated understanding of the relevant/applicable archaeological or scientific work and the extent to which the archaeologists/scientists have been successful in achieving their aims.	7
Produces a comprehensive response that shows a detailed understanding of the relevant/applicable archaeological or scientific work and the extent to which the archaeologists/scientists have been successful in achieving their aims.	6
Produces a response that shows some understanding of the relevant/applicable archaeological or scientific work and an awareness of the extent to which the archaeologists/scientists have been successful in achieving their aims.	5
Produces a response that makes some relevant reference/s to the archaeological or scientific work, the historical period and the aims of the archaeologists/scientists.	4
Produces a simple response that shows some awareness of the archaeological or scientific work and/or the historical period and/or the aims of the archaeologists/scientists.	3
Produces a limited response about the archaeological or scientific work and/or the historical period and/or the aims of the archaeologists/scientists.	2
Makes general/superficial statements about the archaeological or scientific work, or the historical period or the aims of the archaeologists/scientists.	1
Subtotal	7
Argument	
Constructs a sustained, logical and sophisticated argument which shows a depth of analysis in relation to the topic/question.	6
Constructs a coherent, analytical argument in relation to the topic/question.	5
Produces a logically-structured argument that shows some analytical thinking in relation to the topic/question.	4
Provides relevant points/information in relation to the topic/question and indicates direction for argument.	3
Makes generalisations and some relevant statements in relation to the topic/question.	2
Makes superficial, disjointed statements in relation to the topic/question.	1
Subtotal	6
Use of evidence	
Uses relevant sources with accuracy and detail throughout the essay. Cites this evidence at points where it provides support for the argument/viewpoint.	6
Uses relevant sources with accuracy throughout the essay. Cites this evidence at effective points to provide some support for the argument/viewpoint.	5
Uses relevant sources in the essay. Cites this evidence at some appropriate points.	4
Provides some relevant evidence. Cites this evidence but with inaccuracies.	3
Provides some limited evidence with inaccuracies. Makes an attempt to cite some of this evidence.	2
Provides minimal evidence which is often irrelevant or inaccurate.	1
Subtotal	6
Conclusion	
Draws together the argument/viewpoint of the essay, linking evidence presented with the original proposition.	3
Summarises the argument/viewpoint of the essay, making some reference to the topic/question.	2
Makes general/superficial statements about the focus of the essay.	1
Subtotal	3
Total	25

The marking key below must be used for **Questions 31, 33 and 34–39**. Markers' notes for each question follow the marking key. These notes are not exhaustive or prescriptive.

Description	Marks
Introduction	
Defines the focus of the topic/question, defines key terms and provides relevant background information. Provides a proposition that articulates the direction of the essay in terms of line of argument/viewpoint.	3
States the topic/question and provides some relevant background information. Provides a simple proposition indicating direction to be taken in relation to the focus of the essay.	2
States the topic/question and provides limited background information.	1
Subtotal	3
Understanding of historical sources/narrative/context	
Produces a relevant, sophisticated narrative that demonstrates an understanding of the interrelationships between events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change, and/or reliability of the ancient evidence.	7
Produces a relevant, comprehensive narrative that demonstrates an understanding of the relationships between events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change, and/or reliability of the ancient evidence.	6
Produces a relevant, coherent narrative that demonstrates an understanding of some connections across events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change, and/or reliability of the ancient evidence.	5
Produces a narrative that identifies some connections across events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change in the narrative, and/or shows some understanding of the reliability of the ancient evidence in the narrative.	4
Produces a simple narrative which is mainly chronological and makes some reference to events, people and ideas, and/or continuity and change, and/or shows limited understanding of the ancient evidence	3
Produces a simple narrative which is often incorrect and makes minimal reference to events, people and ideas and/or continuity and change, and/or demonstrates minimal understanding of the relevant ancient evidence.	2
Makes general/superficial statements about the narrative.	1
Subtotal	7
Argument	
Constructs a sustained, logical and sophisticated argument which shows a depth of analysis in relation to the topic/question.	6
Constructs a coherent, analytical argument in relation to the topic/question.	5
Produces a logically-structured argument that shows some analytical thinking in relation to the topic/question.	4
Provides relevant points/information in relation to the topic/question and indicates direction for argument.	3
Makes generalisations and some relevant statements in relation to the topic/question.	2
Makes superficial, disjointed statements in relation to the topic/question.	1
Subtotal	6
Use of evidence	
Uses relevant ancient sources with accuracy and detail throughout the essay. Cites this evidence at points where it provides support for the argument/viewpoint.	6
Uses relevant ancient sources with accuracy throughout the essay. Cites this evidence at effective points to provide some support for the argument/viewpoint.	5
Uses relevant sources in the essay. Cites this evidence at some appropriate points.	4
Provides some relevant evidence. Cites this evidence but with inaccuracies.	3
Provides some limited evidence with inaccuracies. Makes an attempt to cite some of this evidence.	2
Provides minimal evidence which is often irrelevant or inaccurate.	1
Subtotal	6
Conclusion	
Draws together the argument/viewpoint of the essay, linking evidence presented with the original proposition.	3
Summarises the argument/viewpoint of the essay, making some reference to the topic/question.	2
Makes general/superficial statements about the focus of the essay.	1
Subtotal	3
Total	25

Question 31

(25 marks)

Assess the significance of tomb paintings and reliefs as a source of information on New Kingdom Egypt, making reference to **one or more** elite tombs that you have studied (such as Rekhmire, Menna and/or Ramose).

Markers' notes:

Candidates should come to the conclusion that tomb paintings and reliefs are a significant source of information on their period of study because they give us information on activities which enable us to build up an understanding of the environment in which the people lived – what they wore, what they ate and so forth. We can see images depicting:

- family relationships and activities such as fowling in the marshes.
- grooming and personal hygiene – use of cosmetics, wigs and perfume, clothing, fashion, jewellery.
- food available, food preparation, eating and banqueting
- types of furnishings and the way in which they were made
- activities such as hunting in the desert
- modes of travel and transport by land, by sea and by river
- trades and crafts: the work of craftsmen, the work of artisans, the work of artists, types of furnishings and the way in which they were made
- farming practices through the seasons – grain production from sowing to the harvest and then threshing and winnowing, cattle herding, irrigation practices, measuring fields
- tax collection – particularly agricultural – assessment and payment of taxes.
- religious beliefs and practices – offerings to gods
- mortuary beliefs and practices – the funeral procession
- butchering
- fishing, cleaning fish,
- netting birds, plucking birds
- garden design – trees, shrubs and plants
- domestic animals, wild animals and imported animals
- evidence of traded goods
- flowers and floral decoration
- flora and fauna in general.

Candidates may or may not be aware that there was significance on a whole other level than information on the way of life. For example, the desert hunt not only informs us on hunting methods, the types of dogs, the construction and use of chariots, the ways in which horses were handled, the methods used for capturing, killing and/or transporting animals but also informs us on the political/religious level that this is also a metaphor for the continued fight against chaos by the forces of maat/order. The desert and its inhabitants represent chaos and the Nile Valley and its inhabitants represent order/justice.

The banqueting scene with its incredible array of beautiful furniture, platters of food, floral arrangements, gorgeously gowned, bewigged, perfumed and bejewelled women and well groomed men served by an array of startlingly underdressed maidservants who also help out when guests vomit – can also represent the funeral banquet for the deceased. Thus this is a religious statement as much as it is statement of wealth and power.

The scene showing boats on the Nile may show transport in general but may also indicate the funeral procession crossing the Nile from East to West and may also indicate the Voyage to Abydos. In the New Kingdom, the wish to be buried in the sacred landscape of Abydos was represented by a boat travelling to the site carrying the deceased.

Scenes showing cattle of different ages and grain production in different stages not only informs us on animal husbandry, types of cattle, farming methodology and the various occupations and status of agricultural workers but also indicates regeneration which meant

the on-going life of the tomb owner and those portrayed on the wall and the on-going food production for sustenance down the ages.

Candidates need to provide some specific information:

Rekhmire (Dynasty 18. Tuthmosis III)

Image of him carrying out his administrative duties as vizier, tax collecting, temple furnishings for Karnak, visual representation of trade/tribute items such as giraffes, ivory, baboons, leopards and people etc. from Punt, Crete, Syria and Nubia, the vintage, gathering birds, cleaning fish, hunting in the desert, images of his mortuary furnishings, food provisions, gathering honey, bread making, jewellers, making stone vessels, leather workers, gilding, applying veneers, furniture making, goldsmiths, silversmiths, copper working, metal working, mud brick making, construction techniques, foreign work force, ship handling, burial ceremonies, variety of food, funerary banquet, artistic conventions, gardens, butchering, clothing/fashions/jewellery/artistic conventions.

Menna (late Tuthmosis IV and early Amenhotep III)

The payment of taxes, all aspects of the harvest, religious beliefs and practices, mortuary beliefs and practices, variety of food, banqueting, butchering, food preparation, boats on the Nile/sailing/working on boats, family spearing fishing and fowling in the marshes, large variety of flora and fauna, clothing/fashions/jewellery/artistic conventions.

Ramose

Different from the other two. This is significant as it illustrates the changes that took place in about 3–4 years in Dynasty 18 on the death of Amenhotep III and the accession of Amenhotep IV just before he took the name of Akhenaten.

(Amenhotep III period) mortuary beliefs and practices, funeral procession, funerary banquet, variety of food, artistic conventions of pre Amarna period and of the Amarna period, exquisite relief work of the highest standard highlights the types of wigs, clothing, flowers, etc. in the tomb, horses and accoutrements, flora/fauna/furniture/clothing/offerings as part of religious/mortuary scenes, identification of artist (rare).

(Amenhotep IV period) Two badly defaced scenes show (a) Amenhotep IV as a traditional pharaoh in a kiosk with Maat (b) Amenhotep IV as an early Amarna period pharaoh with Nefertiti and the Aten. Ramose, in Amarna style, stands before him, clothing/fashions/jewellery/artistic conventions.

Question 32**(25 marks)**

Examine the work carried out on Theban sites by **one or more** of the institutions or individuals you have studied and evaluate the extent to which the work has increased our knowledge and understanding of the period.

(The work might include one or more of the following: surveys, excavation, epigraphic recording, research, scientific analysis, site protection, conservation, restoration and/or reconstruction).

Markers' notes:

Candidates may make reference to one of the following which are in the syllabus or they may have studied the work of another institution or individual.

The Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of Chicago

The Theban Mapping Project

The Macquarie Theban Tombs Project

The Polish Mission at Deir el-Bahari

The French-Egyptian Centre for the Study of the Temples of Karnak

The excavations of KV5 by Kent Weeks

The discovery of KV63 by Otto Schaden

The work of the Italian fresco conservators on Theban tomb paintings and/or in the tomb of Queen Nefertari

The work of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art

The work of the German Archaeological Institute

The work of Flinders Petrie

The Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of Chicago

Hugely effective/successful in achieving its aims of epigraphic and photographic recording and publication of deteriorating reliefs and paintings, of major Theban tombs and temples for the last 93 years. A leader in digital epigraphy. It has expanded to include conservation, restoration and site management. Candidates may choose to write about past work but currently (2017–2018 season) the team is working on the Luxor Temple block yard surveying, completing epigraphy, photography, and conservation whilst endeavouring to rejoin the blocks and reinstate them.

Epigraphic work continues in the Luxor Temple as does an assessment of its structural stability. Continued epigraphy, documentation, conservation, restoration, photogrammetric mapping.

In the temple of Medinat Habu epigraphy, photography, documentation, conservation, restoration and photogrammetric programs continues.

In the tomb of Nefsekheru (TT107) clearance, photography and epigraphy continues.

As above a significant increase in our knowledge and understanding of the period in terms of the information on the stone in hieroglyphs and decoration about the political, religious, military and economic history of the period. Also information on architecture, building and construction techniques, stone working, decorative techniques and fashions as well as understanding the size of buildings and compounds.

Theban Mapping Project

Candidates may offer this information which is easily accessible.

Originally the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project.

Led originally by Kent Weeks and now based at the American University in Cairo under the oversight of Professor Salima Ikram.

Effective in preparing a comprehensive data base of ancient sites in Thebes.

This was done by surveying individual tombs, completing a topographic survey of the whole area, completing architectural and topographic drawings, making aerial, underground and architectural photographs as well as making a photographic record of decoration and objects. Converting records to digital format. Setting up an architectural and image database.

It has been extremely successful and outcomes have included the discovery and excavation of KV5 – the tomb of the sons of Ramses II; the publication of the Atlas of the Valley of the Kings and also the Atlas of the Theban Necropolis; survey work accurately positioned temple and tombs; tourist signage was updated on the west bank and in particular at the Valley of the Kings; continuation of up dating of database; and material being available not only to academics but also the general public through the main website and through websites for individual parts of the project.

Has contributed to a significant increase in our knowledge and understanding of the period in terms of our knowledge of the extent and position of buildings and tombs in the west bank, the discovery of new tombs and making the whole accessible to everyone.

The Macquarie Theban Tombs Project

Led by Professor Boyo Ockinga and Dr Susanne Bindar of Macquarie University in Sydney for the past 20 years the project excavates private tombs on the west bank of Thebes at Dra Abu el Naga. It has been effective in work to excavate and to complete epigraphic and photographic records of inscriptions and decoration. They have also completed architectural and archaeological plans and drawings and to describe, draw and photograph all objects, and study the human remains.

They have completed TT148, TT147, TT 233 and are currently working on TT149 in conjunction with Chicago House.

Their work can thus contribute to a significant increase in our knowledge and understanding of the period in terms of genealogical data, historical and biographical information, artistic practices and religious and funerary information.

The Polish Mission at Deir el-Bahari

An enormous project working since 1961 with teams of international experts, its main work has been to repair and reconstruct Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari and to publish their work. Thus the work includes surveying, photography, epigraphy, recording, and reconstruction of monumental architecture.

They have been extremely successful in the reconstruction of the temple, in the interpretation of significant painted reliefs and in an enhancing understanding of the power and status of Hatshepsut, the importance of her reign and of her relationship with her stepson/nephew Tutmosis III. In these ways their work has contributed to a significant increase in our knowledge and understanding of the period. In a wider sense the information on the temple walls, an increase in our understanding of the religious, political, economic and military history of Egypt. It has also helped the understanding of the construction and artistic techniques of the time.

The French-Egyptian Centre for the Study of the Temples of Karnak

This centre has been extremely successful in its research and conservation work inside the temple of Amun Re at Karnak since 1969. It is building on work begun in 1895. The work includes archaeological investigation, conservation, restoration, reconstruction, epigraphy and a documentary database. The project's teams are made up of international experts. It has been successful in increasing our understanding of the architectural, historical and religious significance of Karnak and in a wider sense from the information on the temple walls, an increase in our understanding of the religious, political, economic and military history of Egypt. It has also helped the understanding of the construction and artistic techniques of the time.

The New York Metropolitan Museum of Art

Presently working on the site of the Malkata palace of Amenhotep III and the ancient artificial harbour of Birket Habu. The aim is to excavate in order to understand architectural and construction practices and techniques, the decoration and decorative techniques and the various functions of the site. It is still a work in progress on a very degraded site but they have increased our understanding of the practices and techniques outlined above.

Question 32 (continued)

In the past the work of the Metropolitan Museum of Art photographer Harry Burton was essential to the successful recording of the contents of Tutankhamun's tomb. This documentation gave the world information on the whole range of material that was in Tutankhamun's tomb as well as information about religion and about mortuary practices. He laid out for us information on the life and possessions of a pharaoh but also on the craftsmanship and artistic capabilities of the ancient Egyptians.

However, his work across the Theban area not only documents in incredible detail, with empathy and with artistic flair the ancient tombs and sites when they were rediscovered in modern times, he also provided an invaluable record of changing archaeological techniques. As the museum's expedition photographer he documented many sites and objects which have since been ruined or disappeared. Harry Burton's contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the period is difficult to underestimate.

The German Archaeological Institute

It has several sites in Thebes including work across the range of burials in the Dra Abu El Naga cemetery where it has successfully investigated the range of burials from royal and elite tombs down to bodies wrapped in mats and put into a hole. It has been successful in documenting changes in tomb architecture, funerary equipment and ritual practices which has added considerably to our knowledge and understanding of the period.

Using an international team, it is in the process of completing highly significant work on the Amenhotep III mortuary temple site in western Thebes where it aims to restore the site as far as possible using the entire range of Egyptological archaeological specialists including surveyors, epigraphers, photographers, stone specialists, soil specialists and conservators to mention a few. So far they have cleared the site, cleaned stone, taken samples for C14 dating, done restoration, re-erected statues, completed some conservation. It is very much a work in progress but the work they have done in revealing the extent and sophistication of this site has been invaluable to our knowledge and understanding of architecture, construction, and art of the period.

The excavations of KV5 by Kent Weeks

Rediscovered in 1987 by Kent Weeks of the Theban Mapping Project, it was full of debris and the team were unsure of what they had found. The aim was to excavate, record and publish. However, it was discovered that the site was the burial place of at least 52 of the sons of Ramses II. It is an enormous tomb – to date the largest tomb in the Valley of the Kings. Depending on who you read, there are at least 130 chambers, a myriad of small finds, human remains and very degraded decoration. Publishing as they go, the team are completing excavation and research on a tomb that just keeps getting bigger and thus have provided us with an enormous amount of information specifically on Ramses II and his family but also on mortuary practices.

The discovery of KV63 by Otto Schaden

Opened in 2005 and initially thought to be a royal tomb and the subject of rather wild speculation, when thoroughly investigated by Otto Schaden and his team, it was concluded that this was a storage pit for mummification items. It contained numerous storage jars, animal bones, papyrus, natron, wood, furniture and bedding, seeds and far more – in fact what one would expect to find in a deposit of embalming material. Professor Salima Ikram of the American University in Cairo took over the work from the eminent Otto Schaden who died in 2015 and although this was not a tomb, the material found has been immensely important in adding to our knowledge and understanding of the period, especially with regard to mortuary/embalming/mummification practices.

The work of the Italian fresco conservators on Theban tomb paintings and/or in the tomb of Queen Nefertari.

The Italian fresco conservators were brought in to deal with issues of degradation of the decoration in Theban tombs and in the tomb of Nefertari. This degradation was caused by friable limestone walls, humidity, seepage from flooding, excessive numbers of visitors in a fragile environment, migration of salt resulting in crystals on the walls all resulting in damage to both plaster and paint to the point of disintegration. Added to this were surface deposits of dirt, spider webs and insect nests.

The conservators were skilled professionals who were able to use a variety of techniques to reattach plaster and to conserve the paint. That which they could not conserve they painted in *tratteggio* using methods that are reversible. The end result is the visual effect of solid colour to the lay person, but not to the professional.

The work here has added to our knowledge and understanding of tomb building and decorating techniques and also knowledge and understanding of the religious concepts expressed here in the way the decoration was organised.

Flinders Petrie

The father of modern scientific archaeology, his methodology.

He worked at, discovered and corrected the identification of number of temples including the Temples of Amenhotep II, Tuthmosis IV, Amenhotep III, Merneptah, Tsaret and Siptah. His work was always detailed with close description, measurements and analysis of the architecture and the finds.

He has added to our knowledge and understanding because of the detailed information he has left us in plans, drawings and photographs completed in meticulous detail.

He was building his pottery sequence which has been invaluable in dating the dynastic period in general as well as shorter time periods and has provided a scaffold on which ceramicists have been able to build.

Question 33**(25 marks)**

Discuss the reasons for the strikes by the Deir el Medina workers, examine the workers' actions and the extent to which their demands were met.

Markers' notes:

The workers were paid in rations. Towards the end of Dynasty 20 the rations for the workers were irregular and incomplete. The reaction of local Theban officials to the queries of the workers was that they just did not have the rations to pay them. What was going on? Perhaps a breakdown in the general system of distribution which meant some lack of control or governance within the state.

A possibility is the collapse of the Egyptian Empire. The Empire had been able to access the gold mines of Nubia and the Sudan and the copper mines of the Sinai. Egypt traded these to obtain silver and iron. She used the copper to make bronze. Egyptian records of these metals indicates that to a large degree Egypt was relying on them for her economic health.

During the reign Ramses III of Egypt's Hittite allies fell, which impacted adversely on Egyptian trade and supplies. This coincided with the rise of the iron age and the end of the bronze age. Egypt had no iron and her trading routes had been disrupted.

Unable to adjust to the situation Egypt suffered from considerable rising inflation. This situation impacted severely on government workers. Evidence from the Turin Strike Papyrus gives details of rations that were short to the point of causing hunger. As a result, the workmen downed tools and attempted to contact the authorities. When they did so they obtained some of their pay/rations. This situation continued with the workers being paid some of their supplies, going back to work, then not being paid, going on strike again, being partially paid and so on.

The written evidence we have from a number of sources is vivid with descriptions of both the Temple of Merneptah and the Ramesseum being occupied by strikers, of the strikers gathering at night holding flaming torches, and of their appeal to the pharaoh and to the vizier for relief because they were hungry, thirsty, without clothes and/or without any supplies at all.

Nothing was ever resolved and the written evidence that we have tells us that the situation rumbled on. There are suggestions of official corruption and a breakdown of law and order in the state. Certainly by the end of this period the tombs were being looted, some would suggest with official collusion.

Ramses XI, the last king of Dynasty 20, was the last king to commission a tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

Question 34

(25 marks)

Discuss the nature of Thucydides' text, commenting specifically on his research methods, use of speeches, and the extent to which he can be regarded as a 'scientific historian'.

Markers' notes:

- Candidates need to demonstrate familiarity with the 'nature' of the text which would include its purpose, quality, aims, accuracy, use of speeches and overall result.
- A wide interpretation of the word 'nature' should be allowed and there are a number of different approaches that are valid for this question.
- Thucydides did set new standards of historianship and made an open and claimed effort (1.22) to avoid partiality and attempt a scientific and reasoned effort at accuracy.
- It should be noted that it an approximately 2,400 year-old-book that had stood the test of time.
- Thucydides' text was written as 'a possession for all time'. An attempt at an impartial report on the greatest war of all time.
- Candidates should be rewarded for short and apposite quotes from the text.
- Thucydides 1.1, and the methodological excursus at 1.20-1.23 are critical references and serve as content for this response
- The text is a personal essay giving information in a new way but not necessarily totally impartially or accurately, however it is a significant effort toward modern historianship
- His broad accuracy and chronology are sound and can be cross referenced to eclipses, epigraphy, and other sources. Plutarch/Diodorus/Aristotle/the old Oligarch, etc. Even the contemporary and comic poet Aristophanes broadly supports the narrative.

Research methods

- These can be argued to be sound by the overall level of accuracy of the work. At times he specifically tells us that he has rejected information as not accurate and this is reassuring to us in quantifying his accuracy – e.g. 'there is the notion that the Spartan Kings have two votes each, the fact being that they have only one ... So little pains do the vulgar take in the investigation of truth, accepting readily the first story that comes to hand' (i.e. unlike me).
- Top candidates may note that this is a veiled criticism of Herodotus.
- Thucydides makes a genuine attempt at aetiology 'my conclusions have cost me some labour,' but at times is not accurate or too naïve. Perhaps this is because of problems finding out information but could also be argued that it comes from a failure to overcome his partialities – see below.
- Candidates can remark on his efforts to find the real reason for the war (*prophasis*) and his probably correct evaluation of the *aitiai* – but this should not form the core of this response. It is however an apposite example to use in support of his research methods
- Stronger candidates could make some valid contrasts with Herodotus/Plutarch.
- Stronger candidates could comment that Thucydides uses letters at times that are clearly in his possession (e.g. from Pausanias) – evidence that he had some access at least to Spartan Sources.

Use of speeches

- Candidates should comment specifically on 1.22 and argue the benefits or otherwise of Thucydides' statements, referring to the difficulty of 'carrying them word for word.' Some comment on the value of speeches as created by Thucydides should be made.
- Comment could also be made on Thucydides' implicit claim as to the effect of these speeches on the populace, given the way they were or were not delivered. The Funeral Oration is an example of this – some debate on whether this speech could have been delivered in this way at this occasion.
- When using this part of Thucydides, it should always be remembered that the content is shaped by Thucydides' narrative intent.

Question 34 (continued)**Scientific historian**

- Candidates can define this phrase and then quantify if Thucydides meets the definition given. Marks should be awarded for this as long as the definition is a reasonable one. A scientific historian could be defined as one who looks for evidence and makes reasoned conclusions based on evidence.
- Top candidates may reflect that this was a title bestowed in the early 20th Century - an age of 'scientific reason' and Thucydides has perhaps been criticised more closely since that time.
- Thucydides' claim of an 'absence of romance in my history' is relevant here.
- Further his claim that tradition is untrustworthy (1.20) is also important in this response.
- Candidates should note Thucydides' lack of supernatural explanation for events – he instead looks for rational and mortal reasons to explain the history of this time. The avoidance of the 'fantastic' and the reliance on his own rationality is relevant.

Issues that may be raised

- Bias – Partisan treatment of Pericles, treatment of Cleon and Brasidas. The underplaying of the actions of Demosthenes and even Cimon.
- Omission – Peace of Callias – gives a misleading impression as to the threat of Persia and therefore the validity of the actions of Athens - The Great Gap 440–435, no events reported in Thucydides – A lack of comment or understanding on trade/economic issues and pressures e.g. underplays the encroachment of Corinthian trade of Athens' actions in the west. The role of Amorges.
- Inconsistencies – Outbreak of the Archidamian War. The *Prophasis* is an attempt at finding the 'real reasons' but there are contradictions in the work. The causes of the failure and the knowledge of the demos about the Sicilian expedition are contradicted. The Treaty of Miletus is shown as three different agreements when it is more likely to be three drafts of the same agreement.
- Overall however the quality of Thucydides' work has given us a wealth of fact, opinion and impressions that make his account the measure against which other theories are measured. A literary treasure. His hope that the work 'be judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the understanding of the future' has clearly been met.

Question 35

(25 marks)

Evaluate the importance of the Megarian decree compared to Thucydides theory of *prophasis* as a cause of the Peloponnesian War.

Markers' notes:

Candidates can choose to show that the *prophasis* is more convincing by explaining the rationale behind that, but they must also deal with the Megarian decree debate and make an evaluation as to its actual importance.

- The importance of the Megarian decree is much debated. At some points it is the single most important reason for the war and in others it is, at most, an excuse. 1.67.4 – minor complaint, 1.139- 1.140 – the crucial reason.
- Thucydides gives the failure to repeal the Megarian decree as an inciting incident but not the real reason for the war – the *prophasis*. However, he does put words in the mouths of the Spartan ambassadors that 'above all' war could have been avoided with the repeal of the Megarian decree.
- The Megarian Decree was a set of economic sanctions levied upon Megara c. 432 BC by the Athenian Empire shortly before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. The reason for the Decree was the Megarians' supposed trespass on land sacred to Demeter and the killing of the Athenian herald who was sent to their city to reproach them.
- In all likelihood, it was an act of revenge by the Athenians for the treacherous behaviour of the Megarians some years earlier. It was also a deliberate provocation towards Sparta on behalf of Pericles, who was the sponsor of the decree. The decree banned Megarians from harbours and marketplaces throughout the large Athenian Empire, allegedly strangling the Megarian economy.
- The suggestion is that the Megarians were 'starving' and pressuring Sparta to act in their defence. Megara had changed sides during the short lived Athenian Land Empire and was strategically important. Athens had built up enmity to Megara and Sparta would be keen to maintain their alliance with Megara.
- The sanctions would have also affected Megara's allies and may have been seen as a move by Athens to weaken her rivals and extend her influence. The ban strained the fragile peace between Athens and Sparta, which was allied with the strategically located Megara.

Additional information on the Megarian decree

- The extent to which the decree encouraged the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war is the subject of debate. Thucydides puts very little emphasis upon the decree in his analysis of the cause of the war, treating it as a pretext on the part of the Spartans. According to Thucydides, the true cause of the war was Sparta's fear of Athens' growing empire. He does not describe the decree in detail as he does the conflicts over Potidaea and Corcyra – two of his other *aitiai*.
- Perhaps this is because of Thucydides' pro Periclean (Athenian) partiality. For Potidaea and Corcyra, Athens (Pericles) had some just cause. For Megara, Athens is clearly open to more criticism.
- Oblique references to the decree in Thucydides seems to suggest its importance: the Spartans state that 'above all war could be avoided if Athens would revoke the Megarian decree'. Generally, however, Thucydides is quiet on the decree compared to his coverage of other *aitiai* – perhaps because of his lack of understanding of the power of economics, perhaps because of his partiality to Pericles or perhaps because it really wasn't the crucial point. Good candidates should make this debate.
- The main contrasting evidence we have for the significance of the decree is Aristophanes, a comic poet of the time. His play, *The Acharnians*, mentions how the decree left the Megarians 'slowly starving' and caused them to appeal to the Spartans for aid. Aristophanes places blame on 'Athenians' for imposing and failing to repeal the decree and that this was 'all on account of three prostitutes', two of whom were connected with Aspasia and therefore Pericles. Aristophanes says this motivated Pericles to pass the decree.

Question 35 (continued)

- Another of Aristophanes' plays, *Peace*, also mentions how war was being brewed in Megara by the god of war. The play contains an accusation that Pericles used the Megarian decree as a smokescreen to avoid attention on his personal affairs is not dealt with by Thucydides.
- Aristophanes states that the Decree, 'written as if it were a drinking song,' indicates it was not some matter of state principle but a personal issue of Pericles.
- Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* (29–31) also discusses Pericles' personal life regarding Aspasia and fears of a personal attack like that which had been visited on Pheidias and others in his retinue as a cause of the war. Plutarch blames Pericles for the outbreak of the war because he would not rescind the decree: 'And therefore, since it was Pericles who was most of all opposed to this, and who incited the people to abide by their contention with the Megarians, he alone was held responsible for the war'. (29.5).
- In the direct democracy of Athens, even the great Pericles may have struggled to take his country into the Peloponnesian war on this basis.
- Thucydides and Diodorus ignore these rumours, which means that they may have misrepresented some of the political discussion of the time even if it was not valid.
- Stronger candidates would note De Ste Croix's revisionist interpretation of the decree. Writing around 1954, he argues that a trade sanction would not significantly affect Megara as the decree applied only to Megarian citizens when it is likely that the majority of trade in all cities was completed by 'Metics' (foreigners or outsiders) who would be unaffected by a ban on citizens of Megara. De Ste. Croix also highlights the uncertainty regarding the context in which the decree was passed. At the beginning of the Second Peloponnesian War the Athenians invaded the Megarid twice yearly with large forces to ravage their land, while also maintaining a sea blockade. After six years of this there were little or no remaining crops - this may account for the 'starvation' suggested in Acharnians. De Ste. Croix also points out that the decree would have only been effective in a context prior to the war for one year, because the Megarians would have had no right of entry to markets in any war situation. His conclusion is that the Megarian decree had little effect and therefore was not as important as the *prophasis* that Thucydides states.
- Thucydides' view is that the complaints about the Megarian Decree were mere pretexts for war, and were not the real cause, which he seeks in a deeper underlying issue.
- Diodorus of Sicily puts emphasis on it as a cause for the war: 'When the Athenians voted to exclude the Megarians from both their market and harbors, the Megarians turned to the Spartans for aid. And the Spartans ... dispatched ambassadors ... ordering the Athenians to rescind the action against the Megarians and threatening, if they did not accede, to wage war upon them together with the forces of their allies. When the [Athenian] Assembly convened to consider the matter, Pericles, who far excelled all his fellow citizens in skill of oratory, persuaded the Athenians not to rescind the action, saying that for them to accede to the demands of the Spartans, contrary to their own interests, would be the first step toward slavery'.
- This is more or less confirmed by Thucydides, despite his foregrounding of the *prophasis* when he states that the penultimate Spartan ultimatum was that there would be no war if the Athenians withdrew the Megarian Decree.
- Diodorus' statement that Athenian unwillingness to revoke the Megarian Decree was the direct and real cause of the war does have some validity however. Sparta and Athens had been at war before and had concluded a peace treaty in which they had decided that future conflicts were to be solved by arbitration. Now, the Spartans ordered the Athenians to do something, which in fact meant that they ignored the agreed-upon procedure and refused the Athenians a right to conduct their own foreign policy. This was unacceptable to the Athenians.
- Thucydides has Pericles say that the repeal is not 'a trifle' but an important point using the slippery slope argument. If we give in here what will their next demands be. The Athenian refusal to make this concession to avoid war must have surprised the Spartans and moved the Spartan hawks to write the final ultimatum: that the Athenians were to dismantle their empire. Clearly this bigger demand would not be met. However, for

Thucydides this is the lead in to the war rather than the real and underlying cause. Thucydides' misleading 'above all' could be interpreted by candidates as a part of the final countdown rather than the crucial point. Thucydides does make a reasonably convincing case that the crucial point was really the *prophasis*.

- The failure to repeal the Megarian decree and Pericles role in that refusal was clearly an important (and under reported by Thucydides) matter in the outbreak of the war but it is less convincing to portray it as the crucial cause so overall Thucydides' theory holds up.

Question 36**(25 marks)**

Outline the key events at Pylos and Sphacteria (425 BC) and of Brasidas' Thracian campaign (424–422 BC) and evaluate their impact on the Archidamian War (431–421 BC).

Markers' notes:**Key events – Pylos and Sphacteria**

- An Athenian fleet was sent to Sicily under Sophocles and Eurymedon. Demosthenes was also with the fleet. Demosthenes was told to harry the Peloponnese on the way.
- He decided to move on Pylos. The intention was to build a small fortification on the Spartan territory. This was Messenia, the Athenians hoped to encourage more helot revolts.
- The other commanders were not happy about it but a storm blew them in there anyway. The Athenians fortified the headland. After the storm the main fleet moved on, leaving Demosthenes and a small force along with five ships.
- The Spartan army was invading Attica, when news of this move broke, the Spartans rushed home (their biggest fear). Demosthenes' plan was having the desired effect.
- The Spartans had sent another fleet to Corcyra to try to resolve the problem - they were recalled to Pylos. The Athenian fleet also then turned back to Pylos.
- The Spartans had a garrison on the island of 420 hoplites. Many of these were fully fledged Spartiates.
- Demosthenes continued to fortify his position on the headland.
- The Spartan fleet was in the harbour, the Athenian fleet circling outside. The Spartan ships were beached and the Athenians destroyed them quickly. Athens now in complete control of the waters around Sphacteria.
- Spartans now stranded on the island, the Spartiates at Athens mercy.
- Sparta considered the situation and immediately offered peace to Athens.
- 420 prisoners perhaps 10% of the Spartan army, perhaps 180 Spartiates – Thucydides says from the best families.
- A local armistice was agreed and a Spartan embassy was sent to Athens on an Athenian ship to negotiate peace.
- Negotiations broke down in Athens, however, principally caused by Cleon who demanded the surrender of the hoplites to Athens and the surrender of Nisaea, Pagae, Troezen and Achaea.
- After a struggle in the assembly, Cleon had his way. There was nothing left for Sparta to do but to return home and the local armistice ended.
- The stand-off dragged on for another month and the mood began to change in Athens. Cleon began to be blamed for wrecking the peace negotiations.
- He responded by criticising the operations at Pylos (Nicias and Demosthenes). According to Thucydides, his bluff was called and he was sent to Pylos to finish the job in a promised 20 days. Thucydides – the demos would win either way.
- Cleon led a successful assault on the island and took 290 hoplites (including 120 Spartiates) prisoners – Notably these Spartiates surrendered to Athens – A big blow to Spartan reputation.
- They were held hostage in Athens. This was a very important bargaining tool for Athens.

Impact on the war

- Pylos in 425 - Athens most important success of the Archidamian war.
- The Spartan loss at Pylos was critical to the rest of the Archidamian War:
 - Sparta stopped the annual invasions of Attica, no further invasions from 425-413.
 - Sparta making offers of peace. Rejected by a buoyant demos under the leadership of the new demagogues like Cleon
 - Sparta's prestige was greatly affected.
 - The garrison at Pylos, now manned by Messenians began to raid Spartan territory.
 - There was now a mood of confidence in Athens, they always had the threat of executing the Spartiates.
 - There was great concern in Sparta as to the incursions into Messenia and the 120 Spartiates in Athens.

- Nicias established a base on the island of Cythera as a way of trying to re-establish his reputation, after the embarrassment of Pylos.
- A period of unhindered raids on the Peloponnesian mainland.
- Sparta was in a difficult position – Brasidas' move to the North was a masterstroke.

Key events – Brasidas Thracian Campaign.

- Brasidas moved North to help the Chalcidians who were in revolt from Athens. By this expedition, the Spartans hoped to divert the Athenians from the pressure they were applying on the Peloponnese. It was a good idea but not wholeheartedly agreed with by the Spartan leaders.
- Brasidas moved quickly and took the surrender of Acanthus, Stagira and Argilus. This eventually led to the capture of the most important prize - Amphipolis. Brasidas captured it and the surrounding countryside easily. This ease caused a scandal in Athens.
- The two strategoi, Eucles and Thucydides were blamed. Thucydides was banished as a punishment for his failures, probably at the instigation of Cleon: the probable reason for Thucydides' enmity to Cleon which is evident in his writings.
- Despite the success in the North, Sparta agreed to peace negotiations - Athens still had the Spartiate prisoners, they did not want to remain in the North and had remaining concerns over Messenia.
- A year long truce was agreed so that the terms could be worked out.
- Athens needed Brasidas to stop his campaign and needed breathing space.
- Sparta thought Athens might now be willing to hand back the hostages.
- Brasidas had continued to intrigue with Scione which revolted now - was truce in place? A dispute erupted. Brasidas now drawing some concern from Sparta as to 'going rogue' – fear of corruption of officials – lessons learnt from Pausanias and others.
- Further, Mende now also revolted and went across to Brasidas.
- Athens now refused to continue the negotiations. Cleon, ever aggressive, wanted to take military action and attack Scione and execute the population. Nicias sailed out to Mende and brought them back to the fold. Scione resisted and was laid siege to by Nicias.
- In 422, Cleon took over the Thracian command. His campaign gradually re-established Athenian control over the area eventually turning his attention to Amphipolis.
- Some clumsy manoeuvres (Thucydides) led to a sudden attack from the city.
- Cleon died 'killed by a Myrcinian peltast', The Athenian forces were soundly beaten - 600 dead. The Spartan forces had only six dead, but one of which was Brasidas.

Impact on the war

- After the disaster at Pylos and the ongoing threat that this gave to Sparta, their success in the North was crucial in the ability of both parties to negotiate a peace on a reasonably equal footing.
- Brasidas and the Spartans took this opportunity to divert the attention of Athens from the raids on their territory, to send some helots away from Sparta on the campaign and to win some territory that could lead to a negotiation to get the hostages returned.
- The Spartans were concerned about a Helot revolt that could follow from Pylos; for Sparta this was an unusually dynamic move compared to its usual response to batten down the Peloponnese and hold fast. Brasidas 'not a typical Spartan'.
- The Spartan success particularly at Amphipolis gave them the bargaining chip they needed. Athens needed to look after its allies but also the usual overweening Athenian confidence was temporarily dented by these militarily poor losses.
- Brasidas' ambition perhaps got the better of him and led to his isolation. He misunderstood that the Spartan intent at this point was to recover the prisoners and not to win the war.
- Nevertheless, the Spartans, 'anxious for peace' could now successfully negotiate with the Athenians who 'no longer had the same appetite for war'.
- Thucydides: 'Cleon and Brasidas were dead - the two people who on each side had been most opposed to the peace' (5.16) has some truth at least in the last period of the Archidamian War.
- Peace of Nicias in 421 was made possible by these actions in the North and not unimportantly was also a restoration of Nicias' reputation as a leading man in Athens. Made him a candidate to go to Sicily.

Question 37

(25 marks)

Analyse the reasons for the breakdown of the First Triumvirate.

Markers' notes:

Candidates are expected to be able to elaborate on the following developments:

- At the Conference of Luca, Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus had renewed their alliance and drawn up the triumvirate's political program.
- Shortly after, Caesar's proconsulship in Gaul was renewed, while Pompey and Crassus became consuls in 55 BC. However, when Caesar's daughter Julia, who had been married to Pompey as a token of friendship, died in 54 BC, there was not much left that connected Caesar and Pompey.
- While Caesar's reputation as conqueror of Gaul grew constantly, Pompey and his supporters were faced with increasingly hostile propaganda at home. Then Crassus (according to some sources the counterweight which kept Pompey in check) fell in the Battle of Carrhae (53 BC).
- Pompey still held an *imperium proconsulare* and retained an army, under the command of his officers, in Spain. He himself, however, remained near Rome to take care of the *cura annonae* and to keep an eye on the political developments.
- When the consular elections for 52 BC were interrupted by factional violence, without new magistrates having been elected, Pompey was made sole consul to end the riots. The open breach between the two men could no longer be delayed.
- While Caesar's authority continued to rest on his popularity with the people, Pompey began to drift further towards the side of the optimates. This bond grew even stronger when Pompey married the daughter of the aristocrat Scipio Nasica.
- The aristocracy's plan was to prevent Caesar from applying for the consulship of 48 BC. They therefore passed a law which prescribed that candidates for political offices had to present themselves in Rome to be able to run. Caesar, however, was still in Gaul and unwilling to return, for fear that he might be accused of alleged irregularities during his first consulship or war crimes committed during his campaigns.
- Struggle was inevitable, with Caesar unwilling to disband his army until Pompey would do the same, and Pompey refusing to do so, fearing Caesar's popularity and military strength.

Question 38

(25 marks)

Outline the 'Second Settlement of Augustus' (23 BC) and analyse the extent to which it consolidated his authority.

Markers' notes:

- In 23 BC, after having held the consulship continuously since 31 BC, Augustus saw the time come for a final major adjustment of his constitutional position. This so-called 'Second Settlement of Augustus' ultimately paved the way for the creation of the Julio-Claudian principate. In the summer of 23 BC, Augustus officially resigned from the position of consul, but not without ensuring that he retained his dominant position in Rome and the provinces.
- In return for his relinquishing of the annual consulship, Augustus arranged to receive the *tribunicia potestas*, the powers of the tribunes (but not the office itself), for life. This meant that he was not only considered sacrosanct (a privilege he had already accepted in 36 BC) but he also regained the power to convene both the Assembly of the People and the Senate (the two bodies which could enact laws) as well as the right to bring laws before them. The *tribunicia potestas* also gave him the right to the tribunician veto, and he received the power to protect citizens against the decision of magistrates.
- In regard to his control of the provinces, Augustus made sure he received the *imperium proconsulare*, the authority of a proconsul. As the *imperium proconsulare* was traditionally only valid when the provincial governor remained outside the city and had to be forfeited when he crossed the city boundaries (*pomerium*), Augustus was granted an exception from this rule, so that he could leave and enter Rome without any impact on his *imperium* (a right which only a dictator had had). This also implied that he was legally authorised to command over the Pretorian Guard within the *pomerium*. Augustus' proconsular powers were furthermore extended to an *imperium proconsulare maius*, i.e. 'large proconsular authority', which gave Augustus priority in the case of a dispute with another provincial governor. As he did not require the *imperium proconsulare maius* to govern his own provinces, Augustus must have been convinced that it would assist him in interfering in the provinces of other proconsuls, a sign that he clearly intended to rule the entire Roman empire (imperial and senatorial provinces alike).
- As Werner Eck (*The Age of Augustus*, 2003: 58) has pointed out, 'for all those Romans who continued to look to the republican past as a standard, the new arrangement was not very satisfactory, but it deprived them of the obvious and compelling objection to the system, namely that Augustus was blocking access to the consulship by occupying it permanently himself.' The senatorial aristocracy would have been frustrated that Augustus was monopolising one half of the available consulships each year. In addition to this, the perpetual retention of the consulship may also have resembled Caesar's despised position as dictator for life. The Settlement of 23 BC was, therefore, a smart way of giving up the burdensome consulship, thereby pleasing the senatorial aristocracy, but without losing control of the state. The tactic of acquiring one important aspect of a magistracy without holding the office itself was typical of Augustus' approach. He himself must have believed that his new powers would compensate him for the authority he wielded as a consul. And indeed, the awarding of the *imperium proconsulare maius* meant that Augustus' military authority had been legitimised throughout the whole empire. At the same time, the princeps' *tribunicia potestas* ensured that he could veto any decision he did not favour, while retaining the right to introduce new laws. Augustus had successfully consolidated his position at the helm of the state, but wrapped his arrangements in the cloak of republican tradition.

Question 39

(25 marks)

Evaluate the contribution that archaeological and written sources have made to our understanding of Augustus' political motivation.

Markers' notes:

- There are different ways of approaching this question. Candidates may e.g. start with an overview of the key archaeological and written sources and then evaluate the contribution these sources make to the modern understanding of Augustus' political motivation. Alternatively, candidates could begin with a general overview of Augustus' political motivation and then evaluate to what degree the sources contribute to our understanding of this motivation.
- Candidates are required to evaluate both archaeological and written sources. As outlined in the syllabus, candidates are expected to be familiar with at least the following archaeological sources: the *Ara Pacis*, temples, Roman imperial sculpture, reliefs, and coinage. In terms of written sources pertaining to Augustus' career, candidates are expected to be familiar with at least the writings of Appian (*Civil Wars*), Suetonius (*Life of Augustus*), and Augustus (*Res Gestae*). Knowledge of additional sources (e.g. Cicero's letters or Plutarch's *Life of Mark Antony*) is welcome, but no requirement. While candidates may choose to focus on only a selection of the sources mentioned, an evaluation which fails to consider Augustus' *Res Gestae* should not receive full marks.

Archaeological evidence

- Most of the archaeological evidence concerning Octavian/Augustus was commissioned by the emperor himself (or with his approval) and must, therefore, be considered as potential political propaganda: Through its imagery, Augustus' religious architecture, such as the *Ara Pacis* or the Temple of Mars Ultor, seems to suggest a close relationship between the emperor and the gods; the princeps is not only the gods' protégé but also the executor of their will. Additionally, Augustan reliefs (e.g. on the *Ara Pacis*) show a prosperous and peaceful Rome, promoting the idea of Augustus as the city's protector (in some cases even as the city's second founder). The famous 'Augustus of Prima Porta' statue type display the emperor in his role of *imperator*, with the details on the statue's cuirass highlighting Rome's dominance over the rest of the known world by showing conquered peoples and the return of Crassus' lost military standard. Rome's power is also highlighted by Augustan coinage, e.g. an issue which shows Victoria, the goddess of victory, standing on a globe. All these individual pieces of archaeological evidence suggest that Augustus specifically wished to promote himself as Rome's saviour (at many levels) and to advertise his achievements. The young Octavian's coinage in particular highlights the fact that he considered himself as Caesar's political heir. His victory over Caesar's assassins is emphasised, as is his defeat of the combined forces of Mark Antony and Cleopatra. Augustus' building programme suggests a move from private to public wealth. At the same time, Augustan architecture and art was meant to reflect the same values as encouraged through his moral legislation (religion, family life, moral virtue, etc.).

Written evidence

- When evaluating the ancient written evidence, it is necessary to distinguish between objective observations and subjective opinions. Augustus' *Res Gestae*, for instance, may give its readers a detailed account of the emperor's achievements and motivations, but it must also be considered as Augustus' way of re-writing his own life. The biographer Suetonius, on the other hand, had unique access to the documents stored in the imperial archives, but he was also born decades after Augustus' death, when the political system of the principate had already evolved significantly. Cicero only knew the 'boy' Octavian, whom he thought he could manipulate for his own purposes. Candidates therefore need to be aware of the necessary to look at each source within its own context before they can start evaluating the individual accounts as pieces of a larger puzzle.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Question 12

Markers' notes

'Key events', and 'The Athenian response' (paragraph 4, sentence 2) adapted from: Samian War. (2018). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved July, 2018, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samian_War#cite_note-12
Used under Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported licence.

'The Athenian response' (paragraph 4, sentence 2) quote from: Thucydides. (1910). *History of the Peloponnesian War* (1.40) (R. Crawley, Trans.). Retrieved July, 2018, from <https://archive.org/details/pelocrawleyr00thucuoft> (Thucydides c. 460–c. 395 BC)

Question 27

Markers' notes

'Xerxes' (dot points 2–7) adapted from: Xerxes I. (2018). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved July, 2018, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xerxes_I
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'Pausanias' (dot points 7–13) adapted from: Pausanias (general). (2018). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved July, 2018, from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pausanias_\(general\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pausanias_(general))
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Question 32

Markers' notes

'The Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of Chicago' information from:

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'Theban Mapping Project' information from:

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'The excavations of KV5 by Kent Weeks' information from: Klimczak, N. (2016). *The secrets and treasures of KV5, the largest tomb ever found in Egypt*. Retrieved August, 2018, from <https://www.ancient-origins.net/history/secrets-and-treasures-kv5-largest-tomb-ever-found-egypt-006090>

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Question 35

Dot points 4, 5 & 7 under 'Marker's notes', and dot points 1, 3 (1st sentence & 2nd sentence to '*aitai*'), 4 (1st 2 sentences), 5 (1st sentence) and 10 (from 'a trade sanction' to 'any war situation') under 'Importance to the outbreak of the war' adapted from: Megarian decree. (2018). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved August, 2018, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Megarian_decree
Used under Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported licence.

Dot point 7 quote from: Plutarch. (1916). *The parallel lives* (B. Perrin, Trans.) (Vol. III, 29.5). Retrieved August, 2018, from http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Pericles*.html (Plutarch CE c. 46–c. 119)

Dot point 12 under 'Importance to the outbreak of the war' from: Diodorus Siculus. (1989). *Diodorus of Sicily* (C. H. Oldfather, Trans.) (Diod. 12.39.4). Retrieved August, 2018, from <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0084%3Abook%3D12%3Achapter%3D39%3Asection%3D4> (Diodorus c. 90–30 BC)
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Question 38

Markers' notes

Quote under last dot point from: Eck, W. (2003). *The Age of Augustus* (D. L. Schneider, Trans.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, p. 58.

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