

A LEVEL

Examiners' report

ANCIENT HISTORY

H407

For first teaching in 2017

H407/22 Summer 2022 series

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Introduction

Our examiners' reports are produced to offer constructive feedback on candidates' performance in the examinations. They provide useful guidance for future candidates.

The reports will include a general commentary on candidates' performance, identify technical aspects examined in the questions and highlight good performance and where performance could be improved. A selection of candidate answers are also provided. The reports will also explain aspects which caused difficulty and why the difficulties arose, whether through a lack of knowledge, poor examination technique, or any other identifiable and explainable reason.

Where overall performance on a question/question part was considered good, with no particular areas to highlight, these questions have not been included in the report.

A full copy of the question paper and the mark scheme can be downloaded from OCR.

Advance Information for Summer 2022 assessments

To support student revision, advance information was published about the focus of exams for Summer 2022 assessments. Advance information was available for most GCSE, AS and A Level subjects, Core Maths, FSMQ, and Cambridge Nationals Information Technologies. You can find more information on our [website](#).

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Paper 22 series overview

Having had two years in which candidates did not sit examination of this specification, there was some concern about how candidates would manage the structure, timings and techniques required to perform well. The specification requires a number of skills in using analysing, and evaluating their knowledge and information of the historical periods, and the complex array of evidence prescribed for their study. In addition, the candidates have to master both a period and a depth study with differing demands. In general candidates performed excellently in many respects, with few clearly having difficulties.

A key element for assessment and responses in this specification is the application of ancient sources, literary or material. The integration of the evidence into the explanation or analysis or argument is the core element of good response to any question in this specification. This applies especially to the essay questions (Questions 1, 2, 5, and 6). Here candidates do well when they support their views with specific and detailed evidence in order meet the criteria of a convincing and substantiated response. In addition, in reaching judgements, candidates should try to avoid assertions in favour of developing their conclusions thoroughly. Besides, candidates will do well when they present an array of accurate and detailed knowledge, displaying understanding of the topic and historical context. Candidates are having to exhibit these complex skills in a timed environment in the face of questions which are new to them. It was, therefore, pleasing to see so many candidates rising to the challenges in a difficult year. All credit is due to them and their teachers for their hard work and commitment, displayed at all levels in the series.

The candidates found the questions accessible. Some either misunderstood the focus of the question or misread what the question was about.

The great majority had clearly studied the prescribed sources. Candidates used their knowledge to display a consistent engagement with them. Candidates did not do well where they recorded no ancient sources within the response; this is clearly a difficulty in assessment where the majority of marks for a question are for the use of sources. Even in Question 3 (Modern interpretation), the analysis needs to be substantiated with knowledge, and sources are often the means of doing this.

Good responses displayed secure knowledge and understanding of at least part of the period and the depth study; errors were made and misconceptions arose given the strictures of the examination. There were few less successful responses which displayed quite limited knowledge, and only partial understanding of some aspect of the study.

A selection of evidence, which is accurate and precisely used, is more effective than a narrative preceded by 'Tacitus tells us'. The evidence forms the basis of what will be a well-developed, convincing judgement. The majority of answers had this in parts of responses, where a really thoughtful point was developed, supported and led to a sound conclusion. Candidates will do well if they try to be consistent throughout most of a response for the highest levels.

Candidates do less well where assertion replaces argument. A good piece of evidence was followed by 'this shows that...' without an attempt to explain how we get from the evidence to the conclusion.

Candidates performed well when the explanation was the focus of the response. Where candidates were clear in their analysis of the issue and marshalled their argument, supported by the evidence and knowledge, then a good or better response resulted. The vast majority of responses offered good or very good explanations at some point in the text. This suggested they had engaged with the material and had understood the issues in both the period and depth study.

The majority of good responses formed most of their judgements on the evidence producing convincing, and at times thorough, explanations.

Less successful responses had generalised factual knowledge, inaccurate chronology, general source references ('Suetonius tells us', 'According to Plutarch'), confusion between emperors and simple inaccuracies. More serious were those which did not offer any sources or very few sources. There were the mis-attributions between Tacitus and Suetonius, or Plutarch and Suetonius; the Res Gestae text has grown considerably in content during this examination with a number of new additions notably his views on the Imperial Cult.

Many responses made excellent evaluations of sources especially material ones, e.g. coins, inscriptions in the period.

Candidates did well when the prescribed sources were evaluated in their contexts showing how the context, genre and preconceptions of the author impacted on the reliability of the evidence. Sometimes this resulted in a disconnected paragraph on the author. This was occasionally placed at the beginning or the end of the response. For example, 'Dio was writing in. the 2nd/3rd century AD, was not contemporary to events but was a senator so had access to...'. This information was not then related to the point it was meant to support. There is the paragraph which concludes that we cannot not trust the author. Yet the candidate did not seem to see that this negated the argument just presented.

There appeared to be little difference in knowledge between the period and depth studies. It was very rare to see a candidate gain high marks on one and low on the other. Timing did not seem to be an issue with again very few appearing to run out of time. When it did occur, it was with those who chose to do the two essays first leaving not enough time for the shorter Question 4. The majority of questions was answered.

Candidates who did well on this paper generally did the following:	Candidates who did less well on this paper generally did the following:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a secure knowledge of the period studied • a precise and clear grasp of the chronology • selected sources focused on the specific terms of the question. • prioritised the explanation in response to the terms of the question, using evidence and knowledge in support. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attributed an event incorrectly to a person/group • confused the reign of one emperor with another • did not focus on the main issue of the question but offered a generalised account of the period • provided a narrative of events, not an analysis • used few or no sources.

Section A overview

Question 1 was more popular than Question 2 which required a detailed knowledge of events in the provinces. Most responses for Question 1 displayed a knowledge of the aims of the person/group discussed, and an understanding of the actions for AO1; there was a variety of sources including material evidence for AO3; the dates and agendas of authors were not always developed for the value of the evidence; most explanations and judgements were clearly expressed and led to logically reasoned judgements (AO2). The questions appeared to be accessible, with very few seeming to misunderstand what was required.

Question 3 revealed how well the candidates had engaged with the material. The responses generally analysed the interpretation thoroughly. Almost line by line they displayed relevant and well-developed evidence in assessing the opinion of the author, both in agreeing with and challenging it.

Question 1*

SECTION A: The Julio-Claudian Emperors, 31 BC–AD 68

- 1* How far does the evidence help us to understand the aims of those who tried to control the succession throughout this period?

You must use and analyse the ancient sources you have studied as well as your own knowledge to support your answer. **[30]**

The key issue in this question is the value of the evidence which details actions of those involved with the succession and their aims. Assessments of the evidence varied. Some argued that 'aims' was less well documented than actions. Many took what was in the literary and material evidence as fact of aims. Evaluation of the sources was most important, as with any question which focuses on the sources. Candidates, who were secure in their knowledge of the prescribed sources, were able to develop and support their analysis. Those who narrated the events of one or other individual or group were less successful in dealing with the issue of sources.

The majority of responses covered the most obvious content in answering this question.

The large majority dealt with the Augustan succession, to varying degrees. Marcellus, Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius and Tiberius were mentioned but not always all of them; some jumped from Marcellus to Tiberius. Good responses noted Tacitus on the tribunicia potestas and his view of its importance in the identifying a successor. Most mentioned Augustus' means- adoption, marriage to Julia, appointed to various posts.

Not all developed the analysis to identify possible aims such as creating a dynasty or focusing on the bloodline, despite Tacitus' making this clear in *Annals* 1.3. They were aware of what he and Suetonius (and others) had to say about Livia. It was generally accepted that Augustus did not want Tiberius, although the sources on this were not detailed, or even present in some cases. The coverage of Augustus was generally very good; the explanations were less focused in a number of cases, replaced by narrative.

Most responses dealt with the remaining emperors but in much less detail, apart from Nero and Agrippina. The detail on Sejanus (or Sir Janos) was variable based on Tacitus with little reference to Cassius Dio. Suetonius was the main source for the succession to Gaius and Claudius. Good responses made excellent use of Josephus in both these cases, especially dealing with the motives of the Senate, the people and the Praetorian Guard. There was much analysis of Agrippina's aims, whether for her son or herself (using the coin of AD 54 as evidence).

Good responses covered the issue of aims linked to sources, tending to focus on the idea of a smooth transition as the main aim. They displayed a range of knowledge of the sources, often detailed, with accurate quotes. This was used to support the judgements and explanations in those which performed well. Good evaluation of specific examples produced well-developed judgements.

Some responses treated sources as fact rather than as support for an explanation. For example, using Tacitus/Suetonius on Livia and/or Agrippina to narrate events. There was much less of the context and how that impacts on the conclusion from them. Three or four lines of general 'evaluation' often followed with no explanation as to how the background of the author impacted on the information from the source.

Some responses showed how important it is to integrate the evaluation into the analysis as support. Naming a source before a stretch of narrative, without any detail of what they say or what the relevance is, does not add a great deal to the quality of the response.

Some responses seemed at times confused. Where this confusion was continued with a discussion which could have applied to the individual, it lessened the effectiveness of the response. For example, Agrippina and Messalina were interchangeable at times; Gaius seemed to be Claudius in places, and Nero, Gaius. A perfectly relevant reference to evidence might be affected by a mis-attribution leading to a wrong conclusion; it may be a misunderstanding of the context, again leading to an unconvincing analysis. This was true of Tacitus and Suetonius throughout.

Misconception



Suetonius was often termed a 'senator'. He was said to have a bias against emperors in support of the Senate. He was, in fact, an equestrian.

It was stated that Tiberius made no effort over succession to Gaius; in reality he did make a will (Tacitus) naming Gaius and Gemellus as heirs; the will was overturned by the Senate (Suetonius).

In a few responses, 'succession' was understood to be 'accession' or even 'success'.

Exemplar 1

	<p>The sources tell us of Claudius' wives plans to control the succession throughout this period. Tacitus tells us that his third wife Messalina tried to replace Claudius with her lover Silius. Suetonius talks of her schemes too. This evidence clearly helps us understand and see the aims of Messalina here, which are to replace someone else on the throne and have more control over succession.</p> <p>Josephus tells us that Claudius' next wife Agrippina was afraid of the the empire going to Claudius' son Britannicus instead of her own son Nero. Josephus and Suetonius blame her for having a hand in Claudius' death to control the succession and have Nero on the throne.</p> <p>The evidence the sources provide are, in my opinion, very clear in informing us of both Messalina and Agrippina's aims in controlling and influencing succession. Tacitus was a senator with experience under harsh domination so may be bias but isn't in this case. Suetonius talks a lot about Messalina's character due to her his fascination with characters as he's a biographer.</p>
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		His work is backed by Tacitus here, so probably reliable. Josephus is from a Jewish background, so most clear from the other sources Roman world, out of the sources. However he could be more biased than obvious as he was a freedman and friends with one of the emperors, Vespasian, son Titus.
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The response is describing the efforts of the two wives of Claudius to control the succession. Messalina is considered first supported by Tacitus; extra support is provided by Suetonius. Neither of the sources are detailed, and do little more than establish the facts. A conclusion is drawn from these facts about her aims. The actions of Agrippina are underpinned by reference to Josephus and Suetonius. Again, they establish the facts of the situation and suggest her intentions. The candidate concludes that the sources do clearly indicate the aims of both these women. In general terms this is sound and to some extent developed from the evidence used. The discussion then continues with a general attempt to establish the reliability of the authors: Tacitus could be biased (bias) but apparently is not here – although no argument is offered – in any case Tacitus only told us what happened. With Suetonius we are not told what he says of Messalina’s character, but that he is fascinated with characters. It is claimed that Suetonius is supported by Tacitus, and, therefore, he is reliable (provided that Tacitus is reliable presumably). Josephus could be biased as a friend of Titus. It is clear that the extra evaluation segments are not integrated into the analysis and are not helping the overall argument. This is that the sources help us understand the aims. The sources do not precisely tell us what the aims were- they tell us what the women did. They are not put into the context of the authors’ views on women, Claudius and the politics of the times but used as fact.

Question 2*

2* To what extent were the emperors of this period successful in their military and political aims in the provinces?

You must use and analyse the ancient sources you have studied as well as your own knowledge to support your answer. [30]

Very good responses recognised that this was a question concerned with the actions and aims of emperors in the provinces not in Rome. Some of the political aims could relate to the effect actions had in Rome on the reputation of the emperors. The focus of the response needed to be on the achievements of emperors in the Empire and their success or failure.

Very good responses deployed examples from across the Empire and the time period – i.e. Tacfarinas, Britain, Armenia and the Rhine and Danube frontiers. The Nero period tended to be overlooked – but some good responses talked about Vindex.

Responses mostly discussed Augustus' victory at Actium and the acquisition of Egypt; some continued with the various activities in Gaul and Spain; they referenced the triple triumph; not all could say what it was for. Better responses added the Varus disaster; some included the events in Pannonia and Germany (with Tiberius as general). Some used the coin of Tiberius and Drusus and their successes. Sources were mainly on Actium; better responses referenced the *Res Gestae* (which has a range of information). Some mentioned the return of the Parthian Standards.

Apart from Claudius and the invasion of Britain, there was some information and evidence on the other emperors in the responses. Most knew of the mutinies in AD 14 and Germanicus' adventures in Germany (although not in any detail). Some were able to extend this with other activities, for example the Sacrovir revolt, The Frisii; Tacfarinas had more coverage. Tiberius had been a successful general himself (according to Velleius). Some stated that he took no interest in the provinces accepting Suetonius *Tib.* 41 as truth.

Gaius' expedition to Gaul and Germania, with the failed attempt at Britain received some coverage; this was sometimes marred by reference to the sources as Tacitus. Nero also was said not to be interested; some did in fact deal with the events under Corbulo in Armenia and his promotion of Tiridates. Better responses mentioned Boudicca and, of course, Vindex. Nero's interest in Greece was also sometimes developed. Claudius was covered in detail, although again Tacitus, rather than Cassius Dio, was used as the source. Good use was made of the efforts to promote his success, by reference to coins, and the Arch and achieve some political ends.

The responses varied on 'aims' and success. The better responses identified a range of aims from expansion, securing the frontiers, control of provincials and the army, rationalisation of defence, promoting the emperor, resources and the spread of the Imperial Cult and Romanisation in general. Many focused on the latter. Some unfortunately concentrated all their effort on what happened in Rome rather than the provinces. Good use was made of the Gytheion inscription, Claudius' letter to Alexandrians, the altar at Narbonne and so on. Augustus' restraint was contrasted with Gaius' aggressive promotion by using the evidence in Cassius Dio and Suetonius.

Most were able to use the closing (not opening) of the doors of Janus, suggesting peace was an aim, along with his claims in the *Res Gestae*. The settlements of 27 and 23 were well-used to suggest Augustus's aim was control. Candidates used the Cyrene edicts to good effect. They also referred to the banning of senators from Egypt as a good indication of his aims. Some candidates assessed Tiberius' aims. Most discussed Claudius' aim of promoting his military credentials and some developed his efforts to include Gauls in the senate, as well as his view of worship in Alexandria.

Good responses very carefully selected a range of examples and organised the analysis well around these rather than trying to cover all period in a narrative. Those focused on the aims and arguing for success or failure produced the better responses. These had a clear explanation, well-supported and reasoned well.

Misconception



Tacitus as source for Gaius; this section of the *Annals* is lost.

Tiberius was uninterested in the provinces or government in general. There are a number of examples of his involvement in Rome and in the Empire; for example, we are told by Dio that he did not want excessive taxes in the provinces.

Plutarch's *Life of Augustus* no longer exists. Extant still are his *lives of Galba and Otho*.

Exemplar 2

	Success, Plutarch writes about how Claudius succeeded
	where Julius Caesar failed in conquering Britannia, winning
	him considerable favour amongst the Roman citizens.
	However Plutarch writes mostly biographies and sometimes
	romanticizes / glorifies certain aspects of his writing
	for his readers, making him not completely reliable.
	Now that Claudius had a great military victory
	to his name, it gave him the freedom to pass
	more laws through the senate, such as granting
	former slaves Roman citizenship and then awarding
	them with positions in the Roman treasury and other
	higher offices. This is something he likely couldn't
	of done without his triumph in Britain.

The paragraph begins with a reference to Plutarch commenting on Claudius' invasion of Britain; while Plutarch describes Caesar's invasion he makes no reference to Claudius. It could be Suetonius which is meant. There follows a general evaluation of Plutarch. In itself, it has little value since it does not relate to the specific information- the candidate seems to be claiming that Plutarch is romanticising Claudius' invasion and is unreliable. It is unclear if the invasion is unreliable or his success. The lack of value is compounded by the fact the evidence is mis-attributed. The passage continues to argue that the victory gave Claudius powers he did not have before, presumably as a political gain or aim. This is unclear. Apart from the damage done by not being accurate on the source and not making the evaluation relevant, the claim is questionable. It is a good example of the problems arising from this error.

Question 3

3 Read the interpretation below.

How convincing do you find Goodman's interpretation that, for the inhabitants of Imperial Rome, 'it had become a civilised place in which to live'?

You must use your knowledge of the historical period and the ancient sources you have studied to analyse and evaluate Goodman's interpretation. **[20]**

The interpretation gave candidates a selection of issues and points to examine. It was important that candidates dealt with what Goodman said rather than what he did not say. Responses which dealt with what he actually wrote and assessed the points with close attention to the text were clearly going to score well. Good responses supported their views with precise knowledge of the context and details of this debate.

Candidates who recognised that Goodman described a 'peaceful society' and a 'pleasanter place to live' as well as 'civilised' as in the question developed their discussion on what he meant. Good responses were able to assess the extent to which he had made a case for Rome being a civilised place by placing it in a wider context.

Most responses were very thorough in their treatment of the extract with very few discussing it as a whole without reference to any specific part. Some responses treated this as an essay on the benefits of the emperors to the Romans or improving the lives of the people of Rome.

Good responses supported their views with reference to specific knowledge of the areas covered by Goodman. These supported their view of how far they found it convincing.

It was important to set out the positives as well as the negatives. Some focused mainly on the negatives which suggested he was incorrect in his statement. As a result, the discussion pointed out that his view took no account of such events as Nero's Fire in AD 64 or Gaius' cruelty or Tiberius' trials. These responses did not mention that many positive events were happening in period 31 BC to AD 68; also, that these were far more common than the negative ones which the responses focused on. These responses, therefore, tended to be unbalanced analyses; while making valid points, the argument was one-sided

Successful responses looked at his points and examined the case with supporting material. Most referenced Augustus' buildings and his 'brick/marble' quote; better ones named the buildings and how they applied specifically to religion, water or entertainment. Claudius' projects were also well-used to support the idea of fresh water and entertainment. Better ones could name a bath built by Agrippa or Nero; good ones identified the provision of food by use of Augustus' arrangements or Claudius' port at Ostia. There was excellent detail on Claudius' arrangements by some candidates. Peace was supported by the closing of the doors of Janus or the work of the vigils.

In reference to religious reforms, this was taken to mean the Imperial Cult, although not exclusively given Augustus' promotional of 'traditional religion'. However, the reference to the Cult led some to develop a discussion of it in the Empire which was not relevant. Much time was also spent on Gaius in this respect who was credited with upsetting the peaceful society as a result. Good responses used the evidence of the worship of Augustus' genius (with Ovid in support) and the deification of some emperors, as well as the rejection of it by Tiberius and Claudius. Good responses noted that Augustus wished to downplay this aspect for political reasons and support traditional religion instead (coin of four priesthoods). Many responses, again, focused on the point that whatever the reforms, the acceptance of them led to a more peaceful society than under the Republic.

Good responses noted the less positive side of life in Rome with a balanced discussion. Few accepted without question the claim that Nero set fire to Rome and many noted his new regulations. Most recognised the disruption of Gaius' reign was solved by Claudius' prompt actions. Some took up the reference to a 'modicum of wealth' to note that the majority still had a hard life.

In general, the responses displayed a good set of skills and careful analysis of the passage.

Misconception



The claim by Augustus that he found Rome built of bricks; I leave it clothed it in marble is found in Suetonius *Aug.* 28; it is not in the *Res Gestae*. It is also in Cassius Dio 56.30

Section B overview

Both Question 5 and Question 6 were answered by a number of candidates, neither being noticeably more popular than the other. Question 5 dealt with a specific aspect of the Flavian period, whereas Question 6 focused more on the period as a whole. However, Question 6 did have a specific focus (on 'family and friends') and in essence covered the reigns of all three emperors. Candidates sometimes lost focus on the specific terms of the questions in both essay questions. Question 5 asked the candidates to deal with two specific assessments ('to what extent and for what reasons'). Most candidates responded to both aspects of the question well. Question 6 asked candidates to assess the contribution of others to the success of the Flavians. Again, responses displayed a good knowledge and understanding. Question 4 also required candidates to assess the usefulness of two extracts and draw some conclusions from them. They had to assess their value as evidence in the context of a specific event. These are very important skills for this specification. Candidates mostly displayed a good level of ability in these areas. Most candidates had a secure knowledge of the content of the Depth Study and the prescribed sources, some to a very high level indeed.

Question 4

SECTION B: The Flavians, AD 68–96

4 Read the passages below.

How useful are these passages for our understanding of the reasons for Galba's failure to keep the principate? [12]

Candidates had two passages concerning Galba and the reasons for his inability to retain the principate. The passages came from two different authors and part of the exercise would include a comparison of their information and understanding. Candidates would be expected to assess the value of their information and viewpoint as part of analysing their 'usefulness'. Both passages suggest reasons why Galba became unpopular and was eventually overthrown by Otho.

Candidates responded well to the stimulus passages. Good responses selected relevant parts of both passages for discussion. Tacitus focused mostly on the 'bloodstained' elements of his brief rule and the hatred it produced. Suetonius focused on the influence of his advisors which led him to be inconsistent. Good responses isolated these features well and supported their views on how valid the reasons were with detail from the events at the time.

Good responses had some information to support the executions mentioned in the Tacitus passage and why they were ill-received. Macer was governor of Africa and a potential rival; Varro was an associate of Nymphidius; Turpilianus had been appointed by Nero. This information is in Tacitus and good responses displayed knowledge of these details.

The Suetonius passage again elicited good support concerning the three officials and how Galba was inconsistent in his decision- for example, his failure to pay the army the promised reward. Galba had had the support of the army as Suetonius says (*Galba* 11). Good responses again had knowledge that Tacitus agrees with Suetonius regarding the three officials in other parts of the *Histories*.

Another element picked up well by good responses was the issue of his age. Galba was 70 and we are told by Suetonius that he was seen as old-fashioned and too strict. Many responses had examples of Galba's cruel actions to support the reasons for the hatred, for example condemning men without trial, or his actions in Spain.

There were clear signs of a real engagement with the passages and a range of skills displayed in assessing them.

Good responses kept the issue of usefulness clearly in focus and considered how far these passages were coloured by the authors' adherence to the Flavians who followed Galba.

Question 5*

- 5* To what extent and for what reasons did the Flavians develop the worship of members of the Imperial family at Rome and in the Empire during this period?

You must use and analyse the ancient sources you have studied as well as your own knowledge to support your answer. [36]

Candidates were mostly well-informed on the material concerning the Imperial Cult under the Flavians. They were able to offer accurate examples of the worship and very good, relevant evidence for both in Rome and in the Empire. There were some very good discussions of the issue of development covering all three Flavians. It was generally thought that Vespasian and Titus were hesitant, in Rome certainly, whereas Domitian was much more willing to promote the Cult both in Rome and in the Empire.

Candidates also rose to the more difficult task of teasing out the reasons for the policies towards the Cult. They made excellent use, in some examples, of the available evidence. Some responses were thoughtful and thorough in their explanations. These responses focused on evaluation to develop their judgements and make them convincing. They had clearly thought through their argument and made them the basis of their response. Some response provided good information but tended towards narrative rather than analysis.

Most responses argued the idea of development sensibly, suggesting that Domitian took the Cult further than Vespasian or Titus. Good judgements were well supported with reference to the characters of the three Flavians, Domitian being more autocratic in his approach to the principate. They could point to a number of sources which give this impression. Examples ranged from Suetonius and Cassius Dio emphasising Vespasian's modesty (Suet. *Vesp.* 12, Cassius Dio 66.10) and Domitian as autocratic (Suet. *Dom.* 1, Cassius Dio 67.1). There were also good, substantiated judgements using the 'propaganda' of buildings (Temple of the Flavians, of Claudius, coins of Domitian, dedications such as the altar to the well-being of the emperor). It was good to see the use of poets – Martial, Silius Italicus in support. In addition, these were sensibly evaluated to reach reasoned conclusions.

Responses took varied views, given the evidence we have. For example, some rightly reflected on the difficulty of coming to certain conclusions on the issue of 'dominus et deus' due to the limited evidence from Suetonius and Cassius Dio (and no mention in Tacitus). Further some dealt with the general anti-Domitian tone of the sources and how this affects our understanding of Domitian's actions and policies. Some also were aware of developments in the provinces. They suggested the use of the Cult here was to extend the means of control, especially as a new dynasty. Some used an inscription to Titus in Moesia and one to Domitian in Ephesus (neither are prescribed). These are obviously not expected but are given if used. Responses looked at the ways in which the Flavians linked themselves to Augustus and

Claudius as a way of subtly suggesting worship. Many discussed the 'omens' and 'miracles' recorded in all the sources, especially the incidents of the blind man and lame man (or withered hand depending on the sources). They usually noted Vespasian's scepticism but nonetheless their support for the idea of belief in his divinity in the provinces.

In general, the responses were well-organised and used the material very well.

Question 6*

- 6* 'The success or failure of the Flavian emperors depended mostly on their families and friends.' How far do you agree with this view?

You must use and analyse the ancient sources you have studied as well as your own knowledge to support your answer. **[36]**

The question asked candidates to consider the contribution of others to the Flavian's reigns. Specifically, the candidates needed to assess the extent of success or failure. Responses could take various views on the extent that there were those who were highly influential or not. There were many individuals which candidates could choose to discuss. Good responses used a varied selection of the most important or prominent. Many mentioned Mucianus and Julius Alexander. Some extended their list beyond these two for example, Primus, Caecina, commanders in provinces (Cerialis, Agricola, Fuscus) and advisors in general (Juvenal's council in this aspect). All responses focused on the family, especially Vespasian's sons. Some mentioned Flavius Sabinus, Domitia, and Flavius Clemens.

Responses took varied views on the issue of 'mostly'. Many considered that the emperors were the ones who contributed mostly to their success or failure. Many argued that Domitian, being isolated, was responsible for his failures (although some did point out that he had successes also). Equally, after his accession, it was Vespasian who was responsible rather than others. Some were able to show that Titus was very important, giving examples of his ending of the Judaeen revolt and uncovering the plot of Caecina, as Praetorian Guard commander. Responses referred to victories or defeats in provinces as success or failure. Some were able to identify where the emperor or a colleague was responsible, even where the emperor took the credit.

Responses used a variety of sources. Coins showing the importance of Vespasian's sons to the reign were common. They were also used in support of Domitian's lack of support from others, as he dominated them. Responses made good use of Josephus in the period before the accession, emphasising Mucianus' role. Good responses compared Josephus with Tacitus and Cassius Dio on his role and character. The relations between Titus and Domitian were highlighted by the use of Cassius Dio, and to some extent Tacitus (*Historiae* 4.86). Most substantiated their views on Vespasian by reference to his donatives and buildings- a number of coins used in the propaganda promoting his successes. Sources were less prominent when dealing with friends. Tacitus *Agricola* was cited for Domitian's relations with senators and supported the view that he had few friends to rely on. This was contrasted with Cassius Dio's comments on Vespasian's good relations. Good use was made of coins again to record success in war or putting down revolt. Mention was usually made of the Arch of Titus.

Overall, responses focused on the question. Good responses had a range of examples. Some were limited to the family in responding to the question. Many were also limited to one, at the most two, associates (Mucianus, Alexander) and then only briefly.

Evaluation tended towards the generalised statement, rather than dealing with the specific information being used. Better evaluation was where two sources were compared and a balanced conclusion on their value was reached.

Exemplar 3

		Firstly, it is impossible to talk about friends who were crucial in the accession of the Flavians without mentioning Tacitus' "kingmaker of AD 69" Mucianus who was vital in raising and handling the finances (Suetonius) while Vespasian and Titus are were in Judaea and always supported
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Vespasian without ~~stating~~ staking his own claim (Dio). Tacitus, the most negative of all the ancient sources, showing such high praise with his title proves how crucial Mucianus was and how without this "kingmaker" Vespasian may never have been able to secure his reign.

Another friend, without whom it would ~~be~~ not have been possible for Vespasian to become emperor, is governor of Egypt, Tiberius Alexander who Suetonius and Dio both tell us ~~that~~ lent his legions in order for Vespasian to defeat Vitellius. Additionally, Dio mentions that Tiberius Alexander was the first to declare Vespasian emperor therefore going to show that support from close friends is the main reason the Flavians became emperors but beyond that the Flavians carried themselves.

Thirdly, it is important to note a certain group who, without them, Vespasian's ambitions would never

have come to fruition - the soldiers. Josephus and Suetonius both tell the story of the soldiers declaring Vespasian emperor with him reluctantly agreeing after the soldiers' insistence. Additionally, without the soldiers it is quite easy to imagine that Vespasian would not have been able to defeat Vitellius and this army so definitely important in that regard. The soldiers were crucial, not just for the accession but, unlike Mucianus and Tiberius Alexander, also for maintaining ~~the~~ the role of the Flavians in uprisings abroad.

The candidate is explaining the value to Vespasian's accession of Mucianus and Julius Alexander; it starts well with reference to both Tacitus and Suetonius supporting the view that he is crucial to Vespasian's success: one in terms of raising money and the other in providing legions and in declaring Vespasian emperor. Both of these were important, and they did perform the roles described. There are supporting sources, appearing to substantiate what is said and suggest that here Vespasian was dependent largely on them for his success. However, the reference to Tacitus 'kingmaker' is a general summary of what he says (and what Mucianus himself says) (Tac. *Histories* 4.4.1 repeated by Cassius Dio 66.2.1). Suetonius is named in reference to 'finances'; while Suetonius does name Mucianus, it is in connection with the Syrian legions. Cassius Dio mentions finance. It is true Mucianus does not stake his own claim, and a possible interpretation of Cassius Dio's description in 66.2. The response evaluates Tacitus reasonably well, although does not include his criticism of Mucianus character (*Histories* 1.10). The response is factually correct on Alexander. While Suetonius does mention him lending legions, Cassius Dio does not. Again, Cassius Dio does not indicate Alexander's role in declaring Vespasian emperor. Finally the inclusion of 'soldiers' as 'friends' even with the evidence of Josephus and Suetonius is questionable. Their support was crucial for the accession and reigns but they do not really count as friends. The candidate has some good knowledge and useful sources but damages the overall effect by insecure reference to the evidence. It shows how important good knowledge of the evidence is. This could have been much more impressive if that had been prioritised by the candidate. Many responses have this tendency to place a source in brackets and think that supports the discussion when it may in fact damage it.

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