



**General Certificate of Education
June 2010**

Classical Civilisation 1021

Athenian Democracy

AS Unit CIV1B

Final

Mark Scheme

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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INTRODUCTION

The information provided for each question is intended to be a guide to the kind of answers anticipated and is neither exhaustive nor prescriptive. **All appropriate responses should be given credit.**

Where Greek and Latin terms appear in the Mark Scheme, they do so generally for the sake of brevity. Knowledge of such terms, other than those given in the specification, is **not** required. However, when determining the level of response for a particular answer, examiners should take into account any instances where the candidate uses Greek or Latin terms effectively to aid the clarity and precision of the argument.

Information in round brackets is not essential to score the mark.

DESCRIPTIONS OF LEVELS OF RESPONSE

The following procedure must be adopted in marking by levels of response:

- read the answer as a whole
- work down through the descriptors to find the one which best fits
- determine the mark from the mark range associated with that level, judging whether the answer is nearer to the level above or to the one below.

Since answers will rarely match a descriptor in all respects, examiners must allow good performance in some aspects to compensate for shortcomings in other respects. Consequently, the level is determined by the 'best fit' rather than requiring every element of the descriptor to be matched. Examiners should aim to use the full range of levels and marks, taking into account the standard that can reasonably be expected of candidates after one year of study on the Advanced Subsidiary course and in the time available in the examination.

Candidates are **not** necessarily required to respond to all the bullet points in order to reach Level 5 or Level 4, but they should cover a sufficient range of material to answer the central aspects of the question.

QUALITY OF WRITTEN COMMUNICATION

The Quality of Written Communication will be taken into account in all questions worth 10 or more marks. This will include the candidate's ability

- to communicate clearly, ensuring that text is legible and that spelling, punctuation and grammar are accurate
- to select and use an appropriate form and style of writing, and
- to organise information clearly and coherently, using specialist vocabulary when appropriate.

LEVELS OF RESPONSE FOR QUESTIONS WORTH 10 MARKS

Level 4	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none">• accurate and relevant knowledge covering central aspects of the question• clear understanding of central aspects of the question• ability to put forward an argument which for the most part has an analytical and/or evaluative focus appropriate to the question and uses knowledge to support opinion• ability generally to use specialist vocabulary when appropriate.	9-10
Level 3	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none">• a range of accurate and relevant knowledge• some understanding of some aspects of the question• some evidence of analysis and/or evaluation appropriate to the question• some ability to use specialist vocabulary when appropriate.	6-8
Level 2	Demonstrates either <ul style="list-style-type: none">• a range of accurate and relevant knowledge or <ul style="list-style-type: none">• some relevant opinions with inadequate accurate knowledge to support them.	3-5
Level 1	Demonstrates either <ul style="list-style-type: none">• some patchy accurate and relevant knowledge or <ul style="list-style-type: none">• an occasional attempt to make a relevant comment with no accurate knowledge to support it.	1-2

LEVELS OF RESPONSE FOR QUESTIONS WORTH 20 MARKS

Level 5	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none">• well chosen accurate and relevant knowledge covering most of the central aspects of the question• coherent understanding of the central aspects of the question• ability to sustain an argument which• has an almost wholly analytical and/or evaluative focus,• responds to the precise terms of the question,• effectively links comment to detail,• has a clear structure• reaches a reasoned conclusion• is clear and coherent, using appropriate, accurate language and• makes use of specialist vocabulary when appropriate.	19-20
Level 4	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none">• generally adequate accurate and relevant knowledge covering many of the central aspects of the question• understanding of many of the central aspects of the question• ability to develop an argument which<ul style="list-style-type: none">has a generally analytical and/or evaluative focus,is broadly appropriate to the question,mainly supports comment with detail andhas a discernible structureis generally clear and coherent, using appropriate, generally accurate language andgenerally makes use of specialist vocabulary when appropriate.	14-18
Level 3	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none">• a range of accurate and relevant knowledge• some understanding of some aspects of the question• some evidence of analysis and/or evaluation appropriate to the question• some ability to structure a response using appropriate language, although with some faults of spelling, punctuation and grammar• some ability to use specialist vocabulary when appropriate.	9-13
Level 2	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none">• either a range of accurate and relevant knowledge• or some relevant opinions with inadequate accurate knowledge to support them• and sufficient clarity, although there may be more widespread faults of spelling, punctuation and grammar.	5-8
Level 1	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none">• either some patchy accurate and relevant knowledge• or an occasional attempt to make a relevant comment with no accurate knowledge to support it• and little clarity; there may be widespread faults of spelling, punctuation and grammar.	1-4

LEVELS OF RESPONSE FOR QUESTIONS WORTH 30 MARKS

Level 5	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • well chosen accurate and relevant knowledge covering most of the central aspects of the question • coherent understanding of the central aspects of the question • ability to sustain an argument which <ul style="list-style-type: none"> has an almost wholly analytical and/or evaluative focus, responds to the precise terms of the question, effectively links comment to detail, has a clear structure reaches a reasoned conclusion is clear and coherent, using appropriate, accurate language and makes use of specialist vocabulary when appropriate. 	27-30
Level 4	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • generally adequate accurate and relevant knowledge covering many of the central aspects of the question • understanding of many of the central aspects of the question • ability to develop an argument which <ul style="list-style-type: none"> has a generally analytical and/or evaluative focus, is broadly appropriate to the question, mainly supports comment with detail has a discernible structure is generally clear and coherent, using appropriate, generally accurate language and generally makes use of specialist vocabulary when appropriate. 	20-26
Level 3	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a range of accurate and relevant knowledge • some understanding of some aspects of the question • some evidence of analysis and/or evaluation appropriate to the question • some ability to structure a response using appropriate language, although with some faults of spelling, punctuation and grammar • some ability to use specialist vocabulary when appropriate. 	13-19
Level 2	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • either a range of accurate and relevant knowledge • or some relevant opinions with inadequate accurate knowledge to support them • and writes with sufficient clarity, although there may be more widespread faults of spelling, punctuation and grammar. 	7-12
Level 1	Demonstrates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • either some patchy accurate and relevant knowledge • or an occasional attempt to make a relevant comment with no accurate knowledge to support it • and little clarity; there may be widespread faults of spelling, punctuation and grammar. 	1-6

Mark Scheme
Unit 1B Athenian Democracy

SECTION ONE

Option A

01 Outline one of the stories Aristotle tells to illustrate Peisistratus' (Pisistratus') fairness.

Either TWO of: when accused of murder (before Areopagos) [1] appeared in person [1] but his accuser panicked / did not turn up [1]

Or TWO of: when saw man tilling area that was all stones (on Mt Hymettus) [1] asked him what it produced [1] farmer who did not recognise him [1] told him aches and pains [1] so Peisistratus exempted him from taxation [1] because of his honesty / frankness / industriousness [1]

(2 marks)

02 Give three details of the incident which led to Hippias' reign becoming more severe.

THREE of: brother / Hipparchus murdered [1] by Harmodius [1] and Aristogeiton [1] when Harmodius did not return love of an admirer (Thettalos in Aristotle, Hipparchus in Thucydides) [1] rejected lover insulted Harmodius as effeminate (to sister) [1] so Harmodius plotted with Aristogeiton (and others) [1] to kill tyrants [1] at Panathenaia [1] but they thought they were betrayed when one of the conspirators greeted Hippias in a friendly way (on Acropolis) [1] and so rushed to kill Hipparchus who was organising procession (by Leokoreion) [1] Harmodius killed immediately by guards [1] Aristogeiton later captured / tortured [1]

(3 marks)

03 How easy had it been for Peisistratus to seize power as tyrant in Athens? Give the reasons for your answer.

Judgements may be supported by discussion of a range (but **not** necessarily all) of **e.g.**

- when 3 groups emerged during discontent that followed Solon's reforms, Peisistratus, who had most democratic reputation, became leader of Uplands / men of the Diakria and of those impoverished / discontented because of Solon's cancellation of debt and those not of pure Athenian descent
- also popular because had distinguished himself in war with Megara
- to gain sympathy in first attempt at tyranny claimed self-inflicted injury done by enemies, persuaded people to vote him bodyguard of club-bearers despite Solon's alleged opposition and seized power until exiled
- on second attempt to become tyrant had himself brought back to Athens by 'Athena' after agreeing make alliance with one of rivals (Megacles) by marrying his daughter, but soon left Athens again because refused to consummate the marriage
- during second exile became very wealthy in Thrace, hired mercenaries, gained support of Thebes, Lygdamis of Naxos, and Eretrian *hippeis*, won battle of Pallene and disarmed the Athenian people etc.

Apply Levels of Response at beginning of Mark Scheme.

(10 marks)

04 How important were the tyrannies of Peisistratus and Hippias for the political and economic development of Athens? Give the reasons for your views.

You might include discussion of

- **the problems in Attica at the time when Peisistratus came to power**
- **the political and legal systems**
- **the economy**
- **the power of nobles other than Peisistratus' family**
- **the unity of Attica**
- **the circumstances of Hippias' expulsion and its aftermath.**

Judgements may be supported by discussion of a range (but **not** necessarily all) of **e.g.**

- after Solon's reforms much discontent in Athens leading to problems over the appointment of archons and the emergence of 3 rival noble-led regional factions; Solon had not addressed the underlying problems of Attica's economy nor the rivalry between noble factions and the influence they were able to wield through the clans and Ionic tribes etc.
- Peisistratus built on / kept Solon's reforms / laws and by providing long period of stability allowed them to become established; set up deme judges which made justice more accessible to the poor and ensured consistency in administration of justice independent of local nobles; but people given no new powers and discouraged from participating
- may have redistributed land of those who were exiled; taxed wealthy; from this revenue and own resources from silver mines etc. gave poor loans to establish olive production; debt never appears to have been a widespread problem in Attica again; road building provided employment and facilitated trade, which was also helped by peace and good foreign relations; growth in pottery manufacture and developments in their decoration; installed one of sons as governor of Sigaeum on Hellespont so trade could be controlled / protected especially corn supply; building on Acropolis also provided jobs and provided focal point for whole *polis* under his patronage
- because of Peisistratids' supremacy and factors above influence of other nobles waned, some exiled; people became accustomed to look centrally for help rather than to local aristocrat; nobles became increasingly resentful, especially after Hipparchus murdered and Hippias' reign became harsh
- in addition to factors above, unity enhanced by reorganisation of festivals with central focus in Athens, which enhanced Athens' self-esteem and cultural status
- the harshness of Hippias' last 4 years as tyrant left a lasting legacy in the Athenian democratic ideology; part of Cleisthenes' motivation in his reforms was to prevent the return of tyranny and Athens viewed its success in the Persian Wars as a consequence of their freedom versus Persian despotism (aided and abetted at Marathon by the exiled Hippias); that Athens had needed Spartan help to remove Hippias was an uncomfortable memory which the glorification of Harmodius and Aristogeiton sought to obscure; from the evidence of *Wasps* fear of tyranny could still be resurrected as a political tool in the 420s etc.

Apply Levels of Response at beginning of Mark Scheme.

(20 marks)

Option B

05 Where has *Bdelycleon* set up the 'courtroom' (line 1)?

house [1]

(1 mark)

06 What is *Labes* accused of? Give two details.

stealing / eating [1] (the one Sicilian) cheese [1]

(2 marks)

07 What were *Cydathenaeum* and *Aexone* (line 7) and why are they referred to here?

demes / villages / districts [1] deme name formed part of a citizen's identity / always used to identify a citizen in court / parody of normal court procedure [1]

(2 marks)

08 The Dog of *Cydathenaeum* represents *Cleon*. How light-hearted is *Aristophanes'* treatment of *Cleon* in *Wasps*? Give the reasons for your views and support them with details from the play.

Judgements may be supported by discussion of a range (but **not** necessarily all) of e.g.

- Xanthias says *Aristophanes* does not intend to make mincemeat of *Cleon* this time
- *Cleon* presented himself as 'Watchdog of State'
- *Sosias* describes dream with absurd cartoonist's images playing on stereotypical criticisms of *Cleon* (rapacious whale-like monster with voice of scalded sow weighing out bits of fat from carcass while sheep-like citizens watch mesmerised) and Xanthias' riposte (stinks like tanner's yard) picks up on standard gibe at source of wealth etc.
- chorus in *parabasis* provide more cartoon-like images (jag-toothed monster, surrounded by sycophantic flatterers, with voice like destructive torrent and appalling stench from unwashed genitals) with some implication (serious but standard line of attack) that supporters not true Athenians and conducting reign of terror etc.
- in argument *Bdelycleon* convinces *Philocleon* of greed and deceit of 'this gang of demagogues' without specifically naming *Cleon*, standard tactic also apparently used by *Cleon* himself to win popular support by arousing fears of corruption etc.
- in trial *Cleon* represented as dog (common pun on his name) immorally accusing *Labes* not so much of stealing cheese but of not sharing the stolen goods - great lengths to which *Cleon* was prepared to go in gaining support for himself by a litigious war on corruption etc.
- later *Bdelycleon* imagines a *symposion* attended by *Cleon*, aping aristocratic manners, in the company of flatterers and others of dubious ancestry; *Philocleon*, warned that *Cleon* will have his citizenship taken away if he criticises the democratic icon *Harmodius* (another hint of *Cleon's* punitive behaviour), responds with a warning adapted from verses (by *Alcaeus*) addressed to tyrant (*Pittacus*), another suggestion that *Cleon* over-reaching himself etc.

Apply Levels of Response at beginning of Mark Scheme.

(10 marks)

09 How important were the jury courts (*dikasteria*) to the Athenian democracy after Ephialtes' reforms? Give the reasons for your views.

You might include discussion of

- **who could bring a charge in the jury courts and who could serve on the juries**
- **pay**
- **the role of the jury courts after Ephialtes' reforms and the types of charge the jury courts dealt with**
- **the *graphe paranomon***
- **the views expressed in *Wasps* and the other sources you have read.**

Judgements may be supported by discussion of a range (but **not** necessarily all) of **e.g.**

- any individual citizen who wished could bring a charge; no public prosecutor
- any citizen over 30 of any class could serve on juries; pay for jury service often said to have encouraged preponderance of poor / elderly but Aristophanes' portrayal of *Wasps* chorus should not be taken literally; in principle all officials ultimately accountable to theoretically representative sample of *demos*
- pay of 2 obols by Pericles, 3 obols by Cleon facilitated participation of poor in courts etc.
- Ephialtes transferred power from Areopagos (left only with jurisdiction over murder, arson and sacrilege e.g. of sacred olive trees) to Assembly, Council and *dikasteria*, which dealt with not just criminal / civil cases (*graphai / dikai*), disputes over liturgies, quadrennial assessment of tribute etc. but any alleged irregularity in political / administrative official's conduct; in particular any irregularities discovered by *Boule* during their routine checks on a wide range of public activity including *euthuna* of officials referred to *dikasteria*; ensured those selected by lot operated efficiently and accountability of those elected (*strategoí*) not limited to rejection at next election; also trials involving Athens' allies; no right of appeal etc.
- after *graphe paranomon* introduced, any proposal in Assembly alleged to be illegal subject to contest in the *dikasteria* regardless of whether or not the Assembly had passed it; perhaps provided useful cooling-off period in highly contentious matters where opinion fairly evenly divided, but gave *dikasteria* clear final decision in political matters so that effectively guardians of constitution; ostracism went into disuse etc.
- jurors swore oath to vote in accordance with laws / decide in favour of litigant who seemed more just; bribery difficult despite comments of *Old Oligarch* and implications of some jokes in *Wasps* because juries large, selected by lot on day of trial from pool of 6000 and delivered verdict by secret ballot, but juries could be swayed by emotional rhetorical appeals (children, reminders of expensive liturgies etc.) as comically demonstrated in *Wasps* etc.; time limit for speeches (*klepsydra*); no discussion between jurors; jurors not expert in law etc.
- in his customary way Aristophanes trivialises what would normally be regarded as very serious (a corruption trial); running throughout *Wasps* is idea that powerful politicians use the courts as a means to dispose of their rivals and manipulate the juries, whose judgement is warped by their false sense of power and the meagre rewards, to achieve their ends; *Old Oligarch* claimed *demos* more focused on self-interest than justice, but emphasised the importance of the *dikasteria* by detailing its overload and tellingly admitting the only way to reduce the backlog would be to have smaller juries, with a less just result etc.; Aristotle too followed a tradition in which introduction of pay (as a political move by Pericles to minimise the effect of the personal wealth of a rival, Cimon) brought a lowering of standards, but again indicates importance of *dikasteria* by describing role / procedures at great length etc.

Apply Levels of Response at beginning of Mark Scheme.

(20 marks)

SECTION TWO

Option C

10 'Cleisthenes' reforms gave the poor more rights and power than Solon had done.' To what extent do you agree with this opinion? Give the reasons for your views.

You might include discussion of

- Solon's aims as expressed in his poetry
- the rights and power Solon gave the poor in his *Shaking-off of Burdens* (*seisachtheia*), reform of the classes, his changes to the laws and legal system, including third-party redress and the right of appeal
- limits to the power Solon gave to the poor
- Cleisthenes' aims and motives
- the rights and power the poor gained from Cleisthenes' changes to the demes, tribes, Council (*Boule*) and generals (*stratego*)
- ostracism.

Judgements may be supported by discussion of a range (but **not** necessarily all) of e.g.

- Solon's aim to mediate between rich and poor, remove threat of *stasis* and tyranny and establish *eunomia* by giving poor sufficient political and legal rights but not equal / democratic etc.
- Solon's *seisachtheia* abolished *hektemoroi*, removed humiliating *horoi*, retrospectively abolished *epi somati* loans so immediately cancelled some of poor's grievances / dependence on nobles, gave fresh start economically to poor, peasants owned land outright, established principle that no Athenian could legally be compelled to work for another etc. but did not redistribute land as poor demanded so did not address underlying economic problems, provided only temporary alleviation, perhaps made loans more difficult to obtain because poor had no other collateral; anger of those who had lost in abolition of loans etc.; but established fundamental right that citizenship could not be taken away because of economic hardship, established clear distinction between status of citizens and slaves which gave a basis for creation of new classes with right of *thetes* to attend assembly guaranteeing some political rights etc.
- classes: political duties and opportunities based on agricultural wealth rather than birth; in short term little change to membership of archons and Areopagos whose powers remained wide-ranging but principle of widening participation established and possibly opportunities to move up classes over time etc.
- laws: abolition of harsh Draconian laws except for law on homicide and publication of new fairer, less arbitrary laws with punishments more appropriate to crime on *axones* / *kurbeis* in agora provided more just system which went some way to addressing grievances of poor and made them less at mercy of whims of nobles etc.
- introduction of third-party redress enabled any citizen who wanted to take legal action on behalf of someone who had been wronged / to prosecute crimes affecting the whole community and so made justice a *polis* matter rather than a purely personal one, gave more protection to the poor and gave greater access to the judicial process to the poor etc.
- introduction of right of appeal against decision of archon established of trial in front of peers, of checking officials' power, that magistrates not infallible and could be held to account in front of people in *heliaia* (*ekklesia* sitting as jury court), so poor potentially had some say in legal process and some redress against officials of higher class, seen by Aristotle as particularly important etc.

- although Solon had established some important principles, main power still with nobles who exerted influence over poor by means of clans, which Solon did not change; problems over archonship – *anarchia* and Damasias' attempt at tyranny – so Solon's intended *eunomia* not achieved; emergence of 3 rival groups with geographical basis centred on leadership of a noble family, poor and those with most grievances attaching themselves to Peisistratus, eventually leading to his seizing power as tyrant, a situation which Solon had sought to avoid etc.
- Cleisthenes had gained power by promising poor more power to counter rival Isagoras' support in aristocratic political clubs etc.
- demes: conferred citizenship when legitimate males admitted to membership aged 18 and membership hereditary, so reduced aristocratic power over phratries and aristocratic patronage; provided local government with annual demarchs, assemblies, so influence of nobles over local affairs reduced; these local institutions provided opportunities for political experience which would give non-nobles greater confidence and expertise at *polis* level, reducing noble power nationally; demes made more cohesive by deme cults etc.
- tribes: demes grouped into *trittues* in 3 areas of Attica; formation of each of 10 new tribes with *trittus* from each area broke power of clans and old Ionic tribes through which nobles had exercised power (though some suggestions of gerrymandering by Cleisthenes); new cults and military functions increased cohesion of new tribes, loyalty of which would be to state, not locality / prominent local family; basis for *Boule*, *stratego*i etc.; treated Attica as single political entity and made it more difficult for any individual to seize power etc.
- Council (*Boule*) of 500: open to all over 30 except *thetes*; probably selected by lot (no advantage to wealthy); service for one year; re-appointment permitted once but not in consecutive years, so large number of participants, making it very difficult for any individual to take power; *prytaneis* (if set up by Cleisthenes) ensured constant supervisory body in Athens, changing monthly in order determined by lot, with *epistates* changing daily; 50 *bouleutai* per new tribe so *Boule* representative of all Attica rather than one interest group / faction; important role in preparing agenda for *ekklesia*, thus increasing importance of *ekklesia* which became a forum for the resolution of conflicts between individuals decided by vote of the people etc.
- generals (*stratego*i): 10 to spread power; directly elected by people annually; tended to come from noble / wealthy background and eligible for repeated election but accountable to people so power always subject to restriction; officials of state as whole rather than leaders of geographical faction / particular interest group etc.
- ostracism: (if instituted by Cleisthenes) potential for one political leader to be exiled for 10 years by vote of the people subject to quorum of 6000; weapon against tyranny; principle of accountability to people, who had to work collectively to achieve result; provided legitimised safety valve rather than factional in-fighting etc.

Apply Levels of Response at beginning of Mark Scheme.

(30 marks)

Option D

11 **How important were the consequences of war with Persia for the development of democracy in 5th century Athens? Give the reasons for your views. You might include discussion of**

- **how democratic Athens was at the beginning of the 5th century as a result of Cleisthenes' reforms**
- **the first uses of ostracism**
- **change to the way archons were selected**
- **the creation of the fleet and its role in defeating the Persians and extending Athenian power**
- **the reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles and the circumstances in which they were carried out**
- **the views expressed in the sources you have studied.**

Judgements may be supported by discussion of a range (but **not** necessarily all) of **e.g.**

- Cleisthenes' reforms to demes: conferred citizenship when legitimate males admitted to membership aged 18 and membership hereditary, so reduced aristocratic power over phratries and aristocratic patronage; provided local government with annual demarchs, assemblies, so influence of nobles over local affairs reduced; these local institutions provided opportunities for political experience which would give non-nobles greater confidence and expertise at *polis* level, reducing noble power nationally; demes made more cohesive by deme cults etc.
- tribes: demes grouped into *trittues* in 3 areas of Attica; formation of each of 10 new tribes with *trittus* from each area broke power of clans and old Ionic tribes through which nobles had exercised power (though some suggestions of gerrymandering by Cleisthenes); new cults and military functions increased cohesion of new tribes, loyalty of which would be to state, not locality / prominent local family; basis for *Boule*, *stratego*i etc.; treated Attica as single political entity and made it more difficult for any individual to seize power etc.
- Council (*Boule*) of 500: open to all over 30 except *thetes*; probably selected by lot (no advantage to wealthy); service for one year; re-appointment permitted once but not in consecutive years, so large number of participants, making it very difficult for any individual to take power; *prytaneis* (if set up by Cleisthenes) ensured constant supervisory body in Athens, changing monthly in order determined by lot, with *epistates* changing daily; 50 *bouleutai* per new tribe so *Boule* representative of all Attica rather than one interest group / faction; important role in preparing agenda for *ekklesia*, thus increasing importance of *ekklesia* which became a forum for the resolution of conflicts between individuals decided by vote of the people etc.
- generals (*stratego*i): 10 to spread power; directly elected by people annually; tended to come from noble / wealthy background and eligible for repeated election but accountable to people so power always subject to restriction; officials of state as whole rather than leaders of geographical faction / particular interest group etc.
- but archons elected from *pentacosiomedimnoi* and ? *hippeis* continued to be chief officials; Areopagos of ex-archons serving for life continued to provide collective upper-class guardianship over constitution etc.; but from 487 BC selected by lot, which seems over time to have led to a loss of prestige in the office (and ultimately the Areopagos) and a tendency for ambitious politicians to compete for the generalship which, with the frequency of campaigning caused by the expansion of the empire and the possibility of repeated re-election, provided more opportunities for prestige and patronage etc.

- ostracism: (possibly instituted by Cleisthenes) potential for one political leader to be exiled for 10 years by vote of the people subject to quorum of 6000; weapon against tyranny; principle of accountability to people, who had to work collectively to achieve result; provided legitimised safety valve rather than factional in-fighting; first recorded use 487 BC when Hipparchus, relative of Peisistratus, ostracised, perhaps indicating greater confidence among *zeugitai* after Marathon and suspicion of Peisistratids because of exiled Hippias' collusion with Persians; then unprecedented run of ostracisms, Megacles 486 BC, another supporter of tyrants 485 BC, Alcmaeonid Xanthippus 484 BC (family's loyalty to Athens after Marathon also questioned), Aristides 482 BC, suggesting *demos* eager for more accountability etc.
- creation of fleet proposed by Themistocles 483 to use surplus silver to counter threat from Aegina / Persia; defeated Persians at Salamis, which Athens regarded as the most significant battle in the war, and major reason why the Ionians turned to Athens for leadership rather than to Sparta; Athens used fleet to enlarge and control Delian League, enforcing the payment of tribute which eventually provided Athens with the kind of revenues detailed by Aristotle and (with comic exaggeration) Bdelycleon in *Wasps*; triremes manned by *thetes* who were therefore responsible for maintaining Athenian power, security and wealth and so, by argument advanced by *Old Oligarch*, deserved the democratic power they achieved in Athens etc.
- Areopagos of ex-archons (*pentacosiomedimnoi* + ? *hippeis* only) main obstacle to radical democracy; Ephialtes prosecuted individual members for corruption and then while opponent Cimon absent on military campaign with hoplites passed reforms which stripped Areopagos of its political power and redistributed it to *ekklesia*, *Boule* and *dikasteria*; after Ephialtes' murder, archonship extended to *zeugitai* and Pericles introduced pay for jury service (Bdelycleon explicitly links this and Cleon's later increase to revenue from empire gained through efforts of men like Philocleon), which was subsequently extended to other offices except *stratego*i (and *Ekklesia* attendance only at very end of 5th cent.) to encourage and facilitate participation, especially in the courts with their vital role in ensuring the accountability of all officials to the people and after the introduction of *graphe paranomon* monitoring the working of the *ekklesia* etc.

Apply Levels of Response at beginning of Mark Scheme.

(30 marks)

Assessment Objectives Grid
Unit 1B Athenian Democracy

SECTION ONE

Either

	AO1	AO2	TOTAL
01	2	-	2
02	3	-	3
03	5	5	10
04	8	12	20
TOTAL	18	17	35

Or

	AO1	AO2	TOTAL
05	2	-	2
06	1	-	1
07	2	-	2
08	5	5	10
09	8	12	20
TOTAL	18	17	35

SECTION TWO

Either

	AO1	AO2	TOTAL
10	12	18	30
TOTAL	12	18	30

Or

	AO1	AO2	TOTAL
11	12	18	30
TOTAL	12	18	30

OVERALL

	AO1	AO2	TOTAL
TOTAL	30	35	65
%	46%	54%	100%