

Assessment Schedule — 2009**Scholarship: Classical Studies (93404)**

Candidates answer THREE questions in essay format.

EACH essay is marked against the Performance Descriptors 1, 2, and 3 as defined below, and awarded 8, 6, or 4 marks accordingly. Where the essay does not fully meet the requirements of Descriptors 1, 2, or 3, it is awarded 7, 5, or 3 marks.

An essay that is very incomplete, or shows limited ability to use with accuracy the conventions of academic writing, or demonstrates inadequate understanding of the question, is awarded 2, 1 or 0 marks as indicated.

Performance Descriptor 1	8 marks	<p>The essay evaluates critically an aspect or aspects of the classical world, referring to a range of ancient, and, where appropriate, secondary sources</p> <p>and</p> <p>develops a cogent and balanced argument with insight and / or originality, based on depth of knowledge about classical subjects</p> <p>and</p> <p>synthesises particular examples into general principles within the various topics and, where appropriate, about the classical world</p> <p>and</p> <p>communicates ideas effectively in essay format with precision and an element of expressiveness that focuses the reader's attention on salient points.</p>
	7 marks	<p>The essay fulfils most of the requirements of Descriptor 1 above but: contains minor factual inaccuracies (when this affects a statement or opinion)</p> <p>or</p> <p>deals inadequately with an essential point</p> <p>or</p> <p>lacks sustained quotation or reference to source material</p> <p>or</p> <p>has some minor failure in the critical evaluation</p> <p>or</p> <p>is fluent and coherent, but not of outstanding quality.</p>
Performance Descriptor 2	6 marks	<p>The essay evaluates critically an aspect or aspects of the classical world, referring to a range of ancient, and, where appropriate, secondary sources</p> <p>and</p> <p>develops a cogent argument, based on depth of knowledge about classical subjects</p> <p>and</p> <p>synthesises particular examples into general principles within the various topics and, where appropriate, about the classical world</p> <p>and</p> <p>communicates ideas effectively in essay format.</p>

	5 marks	<p>The essay fulfils most of the requirements of Descriptor 2 as above but: has some unsupported generalisations</p> <p>or</p> <p>some major point is neglected or part of the question is not answered fully</p> <p>or</p> <p>has some inadequacy in the critical evaluation</p> <p>or</p> <p>ideas are not communicated fully effectively in essay format.</p>
Performance Descriptor 3	4 marks	<p>The essay evaluates critically an aspect or aspects of the classical world, showing awareness of ancient and / or secondary sources</p> <p>and</p> <p>develops a cogent argument based on knowledge about classical subjects</p> <p>and</p> <p>demonstrates understanding of general principles within the various topics and where appropriate, about the classical world</p> <p>and</p> <p>communicates ideas in essay format.</p>
	3 marks	<p>The essay fulfils most of the requirements of Descriptor 3 above but: is incomplete</p> <p>or</p> <p>fails to present a cogent argument or make critical analysis</p> <p>or</p> <p>does not communicate ideas adequately in essay format.</p>
	2 marks	The essay shows limited understanding relevant to the question. Some information is recalled, but ideas are not explained or analysed.
	1 mark	The essay contains a minimal amount of relevant evidence.
	0 marks	Blank booklet or irrelevant answers.

Judgement Statement

An aggregate mark of 24 from three questions is used for Classical Studies.

In 2009, candidates who achieved 19 marks were awarded Scholarship with Outstanding Performance, and candidates who achieved 15 marks were awarded Scholarship.

TOPIC ONE: ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Question One

“Darius was always ready to believe what he found it most agreeable to believe ... First one (of his courtiers), then another of them blew up the bladder of his conceit by saying that the Persian cavalry would ride over the Macedonian army and trample it to pieces.”

Arrian, 2.6, on Darius' arrogance before the battle of Issus

What evidence is there that Darius underestimated his opposition, not only at Issus, but again and again, from the time Alexander crossed the Hellespont until Darius' own death?

The candidate must at some point discuss in detail Darius' actions at Issus, examining the extent to which his defeat was the result of his own shortcomings, specifically his arrogance, and / or the brilliance of his opponent. They should show some awareness of Arrian's bias and might suggest alternative reasons for Darius' decision to abandon the plains of Sochi (referred to in the quotation provided). Candidates must also comment on other possible examples of Darius' underestimation of Alexander, such as his failure to oppose the crossing of the Hellespont and, before Gaugamela, the Euphrates, or the delegation of command at the Granicus to his western satraps. An outstanding candidate will provide a balanced viewpoint, looking, for example, at the status of the newly crowned Darius, the military traditions he inherited, or the vast empire he ruled and the access this provided to military matériel. They might also compare his preparations before Gaugamela with those before Issus, noting significant differences.

Question Two

The extent of Alexander's belief in his own divinity is one of the most controversial aspects of his reign. Analyse the evolution and significance of Alexander's thinking about his relationship to heroes and gods.

The candidate should first establish and analyse the different categories or levels of Alexander's religious 'status': his heroic ancestry as a descendant of Achilles on his mother's side and Heracles on his father's, his recognition as the son of Zeus Ammon following the visit to Siwah, and most controversially, his belief that he was a living god. While evidence about the actual development of Alexander's thinking on his own unique nature is fragmentary and the extent to which political expediency influenced his personal beliefs very controversial, a candidate might then argue that Alexander's ongoing successes encouraged him to foster a ruler cult, even to see himself as a god incarnate, and that he understood the propaganda advantages of doing so. An outstanding candidate might also consider precedents for divine honours set by Philip, or Alexander's own influence on the Hellenistic monarchs who followed him and on later Roman emperors.

Question Three

In his account of Alexander's reign, Arrian writes with admiration of the king's "genius for leadership". What do the episodes described in the passages on the following page reveal about the nature of this genius? What other aspects of Alexander's leadership might have inspired the Macedonians to follow him across the known world?

The candidate must identify and discuss examples of "genius for leadership" in the passages provided, before examining other episodes of Alexander's career that illustrate his extraordinary ability to inspire. They might comment, for example, on his acute understanding of the importance of good morale, especially among the rank and file, and of the rapport he established by rewarding and praising his men and sharing their hardships. After discussing these episodes in detail, they must turn to other qualities of leadership, such as Alexander's exceptional personal courage in battle, his mysterious *pothos*, the heroic and godlike status he promoted, the nationalistic pride he cultivated. There is no canonical list, but specific examples must be provided. An outstanding candidate might also comment on the changing nature of Alexander's leadership and the problems that arose as a result.

TOPIC TWO: AUGUSTUS

Question One

In the years between Caesar's murder and the battle of Philippi there were differing political factions at Rome, all more or less at odds with one another. Identify these groups, discussing their various agendas and their effect on the first years of Octavian's rise to power.

Having identified the key political factions in Rome at the time of Caesar's murder, the candidate needs to say why they came into being and who the main protagonists were in each group. In discussing their differing agendas, they should look in particular at the motivations of the leading figures and what they hoped to gain. The candidate should then analyse Octavian's tactics, paying particular attention to the ways in which he took advantage of and / or played off one lot against the other. Discussion should be focused on the period set – Caesar's murder to the battle of Philippi – but brief comment on how matters stood after Philippi might be included.

Question Two

Augustus was always concerned to ensure a stable succession after his death. Discuss the means he used, constitutional as well as dynastic, to do this, and explain why, under the constitution he supported, he could not unilaterally appoint his successor.

The candidate will need to discuss the specific attempts Augustus made to achieve a stable succession, and the reasons for the failure of most of his efforts. They should analyse the means he used, constitutional as well as dynastic to do this, and explain why, under the constitution he put in place as *princeps*, he could not simply appoint his successor unilaterally.

Question Three

One important aspect of Augustus' reign was the significance he attached to his relationship with the various social orders.

*Referring to the passages below and on page 5, and to your own reading, discuss Augustus' relationship with the Equestrian Order (or "knights"), and compare this relationship with those he developed with the Senate on one hand, and with the lower orders (or *plebs urbana*) on the other.*

The candidate must show that they have a clear understanding of the status, activities and interests of the senatorial, equestrian and plebeian orders in Rome's social and economic structure under Augustus. They must comment in reasonable detail on the passages provided and discuss more generally the ways in which Augustus made increasing use of equestrians in his development of a stable and effective government. They should then compare the influence and responsibilities of this order during the Principate with those of the senatorial class and lower orders. An outstanding candidate might also incorporate discussion on the political advantage of winning the backing of each of these orders through delegation of power, or recognition of talent, or donation of personal wealth.

TOPIC THREE: GREEK VASE PAINTING

Question One

Narrative involves explaining not only what happened, but to whom it happened, how they reacted and why they did so. To that extent, narrative features on Greek vases require greater intellectual input from the viewer than do ornamental features, such as floral designs and linear patterns.

Discuss how the best Greek vase painters were able to integrate both narrative and ornamental features into their paintings and, as a result, were able to elicit a range of responses from the viewer.

The candidate needs to discuss a range of different narrative techniques used by Greek vase painters. These might include the addition of inscriptions, the use of gestures and props, positioning of figures, symbolism and so on. They must also analyse the ornamental elements of the works of these two painters, such as the depiction of patterns on clothing, addition of drawings and patterning to armour, framing the scene with traditional motifs such as lotus and palmette chains. They must then consider the interplay between these two features, where the ornamental detail is interrupted by the narrative and times when the narrative is subjugated to the decorative patterns. Finally, when looking at the second part of the question, the candidate must consider possible emotional, intellectual and aesthetic responses to the vases analysed.

Question Two

"The Niobid Painter...attempts to reproduce the new wall-painting." Martin Robertson

In what ways does the work of the Niobid Painter that you have studied reflect Robertson's description? What did vase painters of the second half of the 5th century BCE have both to gain and to lose from the influence of the wall-painting medium?

The candidate should examine the Niobid Painter's abandonment of a single fixed ground line on some of his paintings, the ways in which he establishes compositional unity, the presence of large scale, statuesque figures and the use of landscape as typical features of his work. However, they should also comment on obvious differences, such as the lack of a white background, a range of different colours and limitations in degrees of shading that could be achieved. In dealing with the second part of the question, the candidate should comment on the impermanence of wall paintings, as opposed to the permanence of decoration on vase painting; they should also look at the difficulty of abandoning a single ground line where the background is black. They might further comment that the depiction of subcutaneous musculature improved as some of the techniques of wall painting were adopted, but was never completely conquered. Relevant examples should be given.

Question Three

Look carefully at Reproduction A. Describe the figure in detail and suggest her likely social status, based on other white-ground works that you have studied. In what ways and to what extent is this vase typical of vases of the white-ground style from the 5th century BCE?

The first part of the question explicitly tests the candidate's observational skills. Detailed comment is expected on anatomy, drapery, pose, gesture and status. In terms of typicality, the candidate should look at matters related to technique, including the colour palette used, shading, and the background. They should also consider matters of style, including the depiction of profile faces, fingers and feet; drapery, both in terms of its accurate rendition and as a means of suggesting volume; and simplicity of composition and the existence of figures in their own space. The candidate should consider at least the two Level 3 set works for comparison purposes.

TOPIC FOUR: ART OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Question One

Sometimes Roman baths were just places for keeping the bodies of Romans clean; sometimes they were much more than that. Discuss in detail how and to what extent the design features of Hadrian's baths at Lepcis Magna allowed the complex to not only assist in cleanliness, but also to fulfil a wide range of other functions. Then, by referring to other Roman baths, explain how the layout of the baths at Lepcis Magna was either typical or atypical.

The candidate must identify the design features of the baths at Lepcis Magna that assisted in cleanliness, such as the placement of furnaces closest to the hottest room, the use of fire to heat both air and water for the complex, and the high ceilings in cooler rooms; many other points are possible. They must then look at a wide range of other purposes to which the baths were put, such as exercise, toning the body, reading, listening to lectures, prostitution and making business / social contacts, and the design features that allowed for these activities (for example, small rooms that could be hired, large open spaces in cooler rooms, an adjacent exercise yard). The best answers will also look at the political propaganda value of baths, as a symbol of Roman munificence to conquered territories and as a constant reminder of the presence of the Romans. While the candidate may focus on Lepcis Magna, reference must also be made to other bathing establishments to provide an overview of the importance of the baths in the Roman world.

Question Two

Briefly explain what you understand by the term 'symbolism' in art, then discuss in detail, with a wide range of examples, the reasons why symbolism features so frequently in Roman relief and free-standing sculpture.

The candidate should begin by giving a short explanation of what symbolism is. They should then investigate a range of reasons why symbols might be used in Roman art such as to identify a specific location quickly by means of iconic allusion, to reveal something about the character of the subject of a portrait sculpture; to reveal the attitude of the sculptor to his subject, to identify specific people or groups of people, to provide inspiration to future generations. There are many other reasons. In answering the question, the candidate must refer to both relief sculpture and free-standing sculpture. The candidate might also look at the way in which symbols can change their significance over the course of time.

Question Three

Look carefully at Reproductions B, C and D. They are all of the same Roman relief sculpture. Reproduction B is a view of the whole sculpture; Reproduction C is a close-up view; Reproduction D is an extreme close-up of the left side. Compare and contrast the content and style of this relief sculpture with the sculptural reliefs on the Ara Pacis Augustae.

The candidate should discuss both the content and style of the two reliefs. In respect of content, candidates should relate the scene shown in the reproductions to the exterior screen walls of the Ara Pacis Augustae, which also depict a procession. They should comment on such things as the religious nature of the procession and how this is indicated in a similar manner in both works. The candidate should also discuss this relief in relation to the sacrificial procession on the altar itself of the Ara Pacis Augustae. In terms of style, the candidate should note major similarities, such as the depiction of drapery, and the way in which the social status of people is depicted, and the interplay between high and low relief. A better candidate might show awareness of subtle differences, such as the free space above the heads on this relief, compared with the Ara Pacis Augustae, commenting on the greater freedom of movement and relaxation this suggests. Many other contrasts might be noted, such as the absence of children, and comment might be made about how the message of the relief in the reproductions is less overtly propagandist.

TOPIC FIVE: ARISTOPHANES

Question One

Role reversal is a feature of both the Wasps and the Frogs. Analyse the use of this dramatic device in the two plays, discussing both its thematic significance and its importance in plot structure.

The candidate must give a detailed description of the role reversal element in both plays, commenting on thematic implications, as well as influence on plot structure. In the *Wasps*, the reversal, linked to the generation gap, underpins the father-son relationship and thus provides a basis for the *agon* and the mock trial, as well the attempted 'modernisation' of Philocleon later in the play. In the *Frogs*, the master-slave relationship of Dionysus and Xanthias has links to the aftermath of Arginusae, but more importantly to the confused state of Athens itself at the time of the performance of the play.

Question Two

The titles of some of Aristophanes' plays – Wasps, Frogs, Clouds, Birds – come from the identity and nature of their choruses. Compare the chorus of the Wasps with the frog chorus of the Frogs, and discuss the use Aristophanes makes of such choruses in the plays that you have read.

The candidate should look in detail at Aristophanes' use of such choruses, not only as an aspect of the play's plot and message, but also in relation to dramatic impact on the audience. They should discuss the part played by the wasp jurors themselves and compare it with that played by the frog-swans, noting the use of a second chorus (of Initiates) in the *Frogs*. They might discuss whether the frogs actually appear on stage and whether they have any real thematic significance or are just a clever and amusing gimmick.

Question Three

The passage below contains comments by Plutarch on the comedies of Aristophanes. Discuss the extent to which Plutarch's views may be considered valid criticisms of Aristophanes' plays.

The candidate will need to examine Plutarch's commentary systematically, discussing – and agreeing with or rebutting – his main points. They may question whether his comments are dictated by preciousness or prudery, and whether they are relevant, written some 500 years after the time of Aristophanes for a very different audience. They might note the universality of Aristophanic comedy, and its continued performance even to this day. Some personal response to Plutarch's criticisms and informed discussion of the place of vulgarity and pornography in drama, would also be appropriate.

TOPIC SIX: VIRGIL

Question One

In Book 1 of the Aeneid, Aeneas is moved to tears as he looks upon pictures of the Trojan War in Juno's temple: "Even here," he says to his companion, Achates, "there is pity for a world's distress, and a sympathy for short-lived humanity."

Is Aeneas a compassionate man, motivated by pity for human suffering? Or do other aspects of his character tend to dominate?

There is no shortage of misery in the Aeneid and Aeneas is often at hand as others suffer misfortune. The candidate must select a range of these episodes and analyse the way in which Aeneas responds. They might consider, for example, how he deals with Dido as she fails to come to terms with his decision to sail for Italy, or with the deaths of those he loves and respects – Creusa, Priam, Anchises, Pallas. They should assess Aeneas' capacity to respond with generosity of spirit and understanding, particularly when the glorious future of Rome requires the elimination of obstructive individuals. Having commented on the scope of his compassion, they must then consider whether words of comfort and tears are fleeting, or even self-indulgent lapses, quickly suppressed and replaced by patriotic fervour or cold piety.

Question Two

"Virgil's gods go beyond Homer's: they come to represent a certain unfeeling, careless malevolence that seems to be a necessary but inexplicable part of man's world." David Ross

Discuss Ross's interpretation of the role of the gods in the Aeneid.

The candidate needs to pay close attention to the wording of Ross' statement and discuss the validity of his interpretation, not simply give a narrative account of the role of the gods in the poem. They should look at specific instances of divine intervention in the world of men and consider whether the gods' behaviour is callous and careless of cost, or (at least on occasions) loving and responsive to human need and cosmic justice. They must then consider the idea that some or all of the gods are motivated by spite or malice, fixated upon their own plans and ambitions. An outstanding candidate might also discuss the philosophical implications of Ross' observation that Virgil's gods are "a necessary but inexplicable part of man's world", looking, for example, at Juno's role as symbol of disorder and "outrageous fortune".

Question Three

At the end of Book 5, after an attempt by the Trojan women to set fire to the fleet, Aeneas is weighed down by doubts about his mission. As his thoughts are "distracted by every kind of anxiety", the ghost of his father, Anchises, appears to him.

How does Virgil present the relationship between Aeneas and his father in the passage below, and elsewhere in the Aeneid?

The candidate must study the passage carefully, giving particular attention to Virgil's characterisation of Anchises and Aeneas, and the bonds that link father and son. They should comment on both Anchises' paternalistic tone and on the nature of the advice – almost a list of instructions – that he gives his son. This might lead on to a discussion of the support he offers Aeneas and of his extraordinary prescience and wisdom. Aeneas' emotional dependence on his father at this stage of the journey to Italy should also be expanded upon. The candidate must then analyse the way in which father and son interact in other episodes in the poem, during the sack of Troy, as an "anxious wraith" in Aeneas' dreams, or in Elysium. An outstanding candidate might go further to consider the way in which the relationship develops and the significance of this development.

TOPIC SEVEN: JUVENAL

Question One

Does Juvenal probe the problems of contemporary Roman life in any detail? Or is he merely in search of comic effect, or working off his frustrations and giving expression to his indignation?

The candidate needs to consider a number of possibilities. How deeply does Juvenal discuss the problems which he identifies and does he put forward any solutions? Does he just aim to be amusing, or use humour to make a serious point? Then again, are his satires a product of serious concern about Rome, or might they merely record his resentment that others have succeeded when he has not?

Question Two

Discuss how Juvenal uses the recurring characters of the decadent aristocrat, the wealthy base-born social climber, and the impoverished client in his satires and evaluate how effectively these characters are in expressing his themes.

These characters recur in the satires and the candidate should have no difficulty in providing detailed examples of each. They must then go much further and discuss the ways such individuals can be seen as integral parts of the satire, illustrating and emphasising the points he is trying to make.

Question Three

Referring to the passage on the following page and other satires you have read, discuss why Juvenal's attitude to the predicament of writers is so pessimistic. To what extent is this level of pessimism seen in other themes that Juvenal examines?

The candidate must show first of all that they understand exactly what Juvenal is saying in this passage. They should then go on to comment on the theme of pessimism as it appears in the satires generally. They might consider whether it is a reflection of Juvenal's own circumstances, or a comment on society's attitude to poets and poetry in general.

TOPIC EIGHT: SOCRATES

Question One

Discuss the positive contributions to philosophy that emerge from Socrates' dialogue with Euthyphro.

The candidate should avoid a simplistic conclusion that the *aporia* at the end of the Euthyphro is intended to indicate that the whole discussion about holiness is a waste of time. Not only has Euthyphro himself had the chance to clarify his thinking, albeit in a negative sense, but there has been an attempt to establish the specific nature of a quality – not just its attributes but its specific essence. Most importantly, Socrates has succeeded in examining issues of morality and philosophy with scientific rigour.

Question Two

Some writers have observed a quiet vein of humour not far below the surface in some of the Socratic dialogues. From the dialogues that you have read, identify and discuss examples of Socrates' sense of fun.

The candidate needs to focus on the human side of Socrates and must show some awareness that Plato's dialogues contain more than merciless dissection of abstract concepts or a solemn preoccupation with death. The Euthyphro, certainly the Apology, and even, in a quiet way, the Phaedo, contain examples of his sense of humour, and while there is little evidence of malice, Socrates does seem to enjoy exposing hypocrisy, pretentiousness and ignorance.

Question Three

What views on popular opinion are expressed in the passage below, and what implications do they have for a democratic society? How do these views compare with other comments about popular culture made by Socrates (or possibly Plato) in the Dialogues?

The candidate must provide a clear explanation of Plato's text, discussing the potentially dangerous impact of popular opinion – what might be called 'peer pressure' – on individual thought, particularly among the young. They will then need to examine the implications of such pressure for a democratic society, giving examples of Socrates' (or Plato's) other comments on democracy in the dialogues they have read.

TOPIC NINE: GREEK SCIENCE

Question One

To what extent, during the classical period, were theories about the place of earth in the universe based on scientific observation rather than inspired guesswork?

The main part of the essay should concentrate on those scientists whose theories were based on scientific observation. The candidate should outline and comment on the nature and methodology of that observation. They should also evaluate the conclusions that these scientists reached and the progress that that was made during the classical period in this area. Finally, reference should be made to other theories, less scientifically based, by way of comparison.

Question Two

Discuss the advances that took place in the applied sciences, including medicine, during the classical period. What factors tended to limit or encourage progress in these areas?

Important advances in the domain of applied sciences must first be identified and explained. Then, the candidate must give a clear account of limiting and encouraging factors, such as the influence of religion and superstition, including apathy and lack of encouragement from the powerful on the one hand, and on the other, the active help provided by individuals such as Ptolemy and the incentive and value of facilities such as those at Alexandria.

Question Three

Referring to the passages below and your own reading, discuss the contributions made by Empedocles to Greek science, with particular reference to the four elements and the development of this theory by later philosophers.

The passages provided require careful consideration and explication, particularly with regard to Empedocles' account of the elements and the development of those ideas. The references to love and strife also need detailed comment. The candidate must then place the theories of Empedocles in the overall context of Greek science in the classical period and evaluate their importance and influence.

TOPIC TEN: ROMAN RELIGION

Question One

To what extent was Roman emperor worship dependent on previous models of ruler worship, and in what ways was it unique?

This essay calls for some knowledge of emperor worship in parts of the Empire outside Italy, where, particularly in the East, there were precedents for such worship. To a degree, some elements of Roman emperor worship were derived from these models, especially with later emperors, but there was also much that was fairly specifically Roman. The candidate should recognise that in many ways the concept of emperor worship was alien to Roman tradition, yet that other elements of cult practice, such as the link with the *genius* of the imperial family and the lares of the crossroads were largely Roman developments. An outstanding candidate might note that emperor worship grew very slowly, especially under Augustus, and that it was closely linked to the emperor's prestige and a unifying force for peoples of the Empire.

Question Two

Time after time, at moments of crisis, omens appeared that provided Romans with reasons for carrying out, or not carrying out, a proposed course of action. Were such omens the product of genuine religious belief, or were they perhaps used for reasons of personal or political expediency?

Some part of the answer to this question will undoubtedly be an account of the nature and range of omens recognised by the Romans, especially in moments of crisis. However, the candidate must also attempt to evaluate the impact of the social, religious and political context in which these omens were observed. Specific instances, both of use and of misuse – for example, Bibulus' attempts to nullify the work of Caesar – should be given and analysed.

Question Three

Referring to the passages on the following page and your own reading, discuss the aspects of Stoicism that were readily assimilated into Roman culture and in some quarters adopted as an ethical code.

The candidate might consider a Roman tendency to refer to the "good old days", a golden past exemplified by Cato the Censor, and they might note that there were elements of Stoicism that commanded respect because they could be equated with the ideals of this era, even if these virtues were generally more honoured in the breach than the observance. Equally, they might look at aspects of traditional religion that were easily accommodated by Stoic thinking, such as ideas of cosmic determinism. Specific reference must be made to the passages provided. An outstanding candidate might also have some knowledge of the period during which Seneca was writing, and of the particular culture for which he was writing under the Julio-Claudians.