

**A LEVEL**

**Examiners' report**

# **HISTORY A**

**H505**

For first teaching in 2015

**Y102/01 Summer 2023 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 is 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.

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## Paper Y102/01 series overview

Y102/01 is one of thirteen units in Paper 1 for the revised A Level examination for GCE History. This unit tests an extended period of History of about fifty years through an Enquiries or source-based option and an essay. The paper is divided into two sections. In Section A candidates have to answer a compulsory source question based on four written primary sources. The question requires them to use all four sources to assess the validity of a view. In Section B candidates are required to answer one essay question from a choice of two.

To do well on Section A, candidates need to be able both:

- consider the provenance of the sources, and
- apply contextual knowledge to the content of the sources.

This allows them fully to answer the question set by reaching a judgement **about the sources** in relation to the issue in the question.

It is important that the judgement reached is based on an evaluation of the reliability of the evidence given, and that it is not merely the candidate's own judgement on the topic based purely on their own contextual knowledge.

In order to reach Level 6, a good strategy is to make a judgement at the end of the analysis of each source, with an overall judgement in the conclusion.

To do well on Section B, candidates need to address the issue in the question, using detailed supporting knowledge. In order to reach the higher levels, candidates will need to assess the issues they discuss and reach a supported judgement at least in the conclusion. To reach Level 6, candidates should also make an overall judgement as well as interim judgements when assessing each factor.

Candidates who did well on this paper generally:	Candidates who did less well on this paper generally:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• considered the provenance of the source(s) and used relevant contextual knowledge</li> <li>• clearly linked the contextual knowledge to the source being discussed to show whether the view of the source was valid or not</li> <li>• reached an overall judgement as to the extent to which the sources supported the view in the question</li> <li>• discussed at least two relevant issues in depth</li> <li>• wrote supporting detail that was both accurate and relevant to the question set, not just the topic</li> <li>• reached a supported judgement about the issue in the question</li> <li>• made a series of interim judgements about the issues discussed in relation to the question.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• did not consider the provenance and use contextual knowledge to evaluate the sources</li> <li>• wrote an unbalanced response in their treatment of the sources, with very little consideration of one of the sources</li> <li>• reached a judgement based on their knowledge rather than the sources</li> <li>• showed a poor understanding of the major issues relevant to the essay</li> <li>• were unable to support their response with relevant material</li> <li>• did not focus on the precise wording of the question</li> <li>• made unsupported comments about issues which were assertions.</li> </ul>

## Section A overview

The Enquiry section in this unit is focused on the view that William II relied mainly on military force in consolidating his power. The question requires candidates to critically assess evidence and reach judgements. The critical evaluation of sources is the central theme in this section with all marks given against AO2.

### Question 1

#### Norman England 1087–1107

- 1 Using these four sources in their historical context, assess how far they support the view that William II relied mainly on military force in consolidating his power. [30]

Candidates were able to assess each of the four sources in relation to the key issue in the question. Candidates were aware of the need to make use of both provenance and historical knowledge of context when assessing each source. However, the quality of comments on provenance in particular varied, with some candidates struggling to say little more than what was given in the steer.

Source A, an extract from Simeon of Durham's *History of the Kings of England*, was generally interpreted as being in support of the view that William II relied mainly on military force. In support of this point, candidates referred to Simeon's account of the king raising an army and then attacking the castle at Tonbridge – a clear example of his use of military force. Other candidates took a more nuanced view of the source by highlighting how it also illustrated the king's use of negotiation and diplomacy. This can be seen in his decision to call an assembly of the English and then to secure their help by changing laws they disliked. Thus, William didn't rely solely on military force. Most candidates knew of the context in which these events occurred: the 1088 rebellion in support of Robert Curthose's claim to the throne. Some could even set out Bishop Odo's movements in the latter stages of the rebellion. As for provenance, candidates knew that Simeon was based at Durham; by comparison, little was known about the work itself (*Historia regum Anglorum*). Some candidates skilfully associated Simeon with William of Saint Calais, who would soon be put on trial by Rufus. Such an association might, they argued, have coloured his view of the king.

On the surface, at least, Source B also suggests that William relied on military force to consolidate his power. Many candidates recognised the threat posed by Malcolm III Canmore, with some even referring to the problems he caused for Rufus' father, William the Conqueror. Candidates who had a deeper understanding of the context were able to draw out a more considered interpretation of the source in which the king used the *threat* of military force to subdue Malcolm as opposed to force itself. This was used to bring about a diplomatic solution to the invasion, according to which Malcolm recognised Rufus' overlordship. In terms of provenance, candidates demonstrated a broad understanding of the nature of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* – it being a series of annals written up by monks; that there were different versions, written in different parts of the country. There was less understanding of the provenance of this particular extract. Only a few candidates were able to identify the extract as being taken from the E (Peterborough) manuscript, which, given the date, is fairly clear. Weaker responses tended to argue that since the authors were monks they would take a dim view of the irreligious Rufus. This was done with little reference to the source itself.

Source C, concerning the Northumbrian rebellion of 1095, led by Robert de Montbray, was interpreted as evidence against the view in the question. This is because Orderic refers to the fines imposed by Rufus on the principal rebels. Some candidates contextualised Orderic's claim by referring to the king's notorious venality (in particular, referring to his willingness to keep ecclesiastical vacancies open in order to profit from the Church); others countered Orderic's claim with their knowledge of the cruel fate of William II, count of Eu, who was blinded and castrated on the order of the king for his involvement, and of the imprisonment of Robert de Montbray for the rest of his life. Knowledge of Orderic and his work was, in general, poor, particularly given that he is arguably the most important chronicler of the period. Just because Orderic was part of a Norman monastic community does not mean that he was anti-English or that he favoured the Norman kings. He is, for example, very critical of the Conqueror's inhumanity at times. Nor does the fact that he belonged to a monastic community impair his judgement in any way. The dealings of his abbey of Saint-Evroult – and, indeed, the role of abbeys more generally in eleventh and early-twelfth-century society – meant that he would have interacted with members of the local nobility. In other words, he wasn't entirely closed off from the world.

### Misconception



Orderic Vitalis was a monk in the Benedictine community at Saint-Evroult, close to the southern border of the duchy of Normandy. Even though he was a monk, he wasn't cut off from the world. Travellers frequently passed through his famous abbey. Furthermore, his *'Ecclesiastical History'* highlights the extent of Saint-Evroult's integration into local society through the charters he copied into the work and the depth of his knowledge of the family history of the local nobility.

Source D, from Henry of Huntingdon's *'History of the English People'*, was usually taken as evidence of William's dependence on military force. However, many candidates were aware of the unique context in which the king was attempting to assert his authority, as Henry himself mentions in the extract (the difficulty of the terrain, for example). Surprisingly, many candidates didn't see of the use of castles as military force; some suggested that castles formed an alternative to military force, which seemed odd. As for provenance, many candidates knew of Henry's links to Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln; not all of these candidates were able to make effective use of this knowledge to evaluate the source though. Fewer candidates were aware of the work's dependency on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Indeed, large sections are copied directly from it.

### Assessment for learning



For Question 1, candidates need to provide a judgement on how far the sources support the given view which is based on an assessment of the reliability of each one.

## Exemplar 1

1.	<p>William II faced several challenges during his reign, many of which were ruthlessly suppressed via military force. Overall the sources <del>slightly agree</del> moderately agree with the statement, with Source B strongly supporting the notion, sources D and A also supporting the statement, though <del>not as strongly</del>. A suggests he also appealed to the people, whilst source B mentions that William used force to crush his enemies but predominately used fines as to prevent a rising against the government due to too much discontent.</p>
	<p>Source B refers to Malcolm III's invasion of the North in 1091. The source mentions how the 'good people of the land' raised an army to first repel the invasion, suggesting that Rufus also relied on loyal earls to consolidate power. What the source mentions here is correct, the Earl of Northumbria Robert de Mowbray did in fact fight Malcolm on multiple occasions, here in 1091 and again in 1093 when he killed the Scottish king. The source also mentions how William <del>immediately</del> <sup>immediately</sup> created an army to march north, suggesting that William's primary thought was <del>creating</del> using military power to suppress the Scottish king. He did this effectively, despite his fleet being sunk after potentially being <del>sunk</del> cursed by St. Oswald. William managed to use his military might to force Malcolm to surrender to him at <del>Lothian</del> <sup>Lothian</sup>, and <del>with</del> he built several castles on his march back in 1092 furthering <del>the</del> <sup>the</sup> supporting the sources view that he mainly relied on military force. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle was <del>an</del> <sup>an</sup> historical</p>

record written every year by English monks and was somewhat unique in that it was rather impartial and was hence used by several other chroniclers. This impartiality, ~~even against~~ even with Rufus who notoriously was hated by the church means that this source is useful and can be seen as reliable.

Source D also supports the view, making no mention of diplomatic attempts by Rufus to ~~also~~ resolve issues in Wales but ~~immediately~~ immediately creating an army to defeat the Welsh. This ~~this~~ time, in 1097 William reentered Wales and conquered all the way to Pembrokeshire in response to Norman earls such as Hugh of Chester being kicked out of their castles in a Welsh revolt. The source then mentions how castles were built on the border with Wales, a clear sign of military force, to prevent any future dissent. This is also credible, with trusted Earls such as those of the Montgomery family being given permission to build castles and hold the border, which was expanded after Hugh of Chester's conquest of Gwynedd kicked the Welsh rebels out to Anglesey. This further shows how force was used by William and the reliable information here adds to the utility of the source. The source is written by Henry of Huntingdon a secular cleric of Anglo-Norman parentage who was known to embellish his accounts of historical events. He disliked the Normans and particularly Rufus so may be seen



to show him as a violent oppressor, but here his language is moderate and we can probably trust his writings, making the source reliable overall due to the correct knowledge it contains.

Source A does somewhat agree with the statement, describing how ~~the~~ William crushed Odo in the 1086 rebellion. It correctly asserts that Rufus seized Rochester castle, ~~has~~ however, Odo was not there and was later captured by military force at Pevensey castle. The strong language of 'destroyed the whole castle' suggests Rufus was truly ruthless and relied on total force to crush dissent here. However the source also mentions how William spent time trying to win over followers diplomatically which is credible. Rufus promised to lower taxes, reduce forest law and be a fairer king than his father, showing that ~~Rufus~~ William II relied on political skill to consolidate his power too. The source is written by Simeon of Durham, a monk at Durham cathedral. Despite William Rufus' injustices and abuse of the Church for profit, Simeon of Durham often praises Rufus due to his generous donations to monks at Durham and Abbeys such as Barmouth. Simeon of Durham admits that Rufus broke his promises rapidly, but maintains a relatively neutral tone throughout, giving a factual account. This greatly adds to the credibility of the source, which was

being written as a historical account under the liberal reforms of Henry I. This means we can probably trust the account, ~~as~~ due to its factual nature and innocent provenance.

Source C is the least supportive of the view but does make a small reference to the leaders being crushed. This refers to how he marched on Northumbria, building a castle opposite the rebellious Robert de Mowbray's Bamburgh castle and laying siege to it capturing the rebellious Earl and imprisoning him. He also castrated and killed his accomplices such as William Count of Eu. However, Source C primarily focuses on Non military attempts to consolidate power such as fines. These were common, with William and his chief extorter Ranulf Flambard exacting payments from all the people of England. As mentioned, he also crushed rebellions through diplomacy, pardoning the offenders. This can be seen even more clearly in 1088 when 6 out of the 10 leading earls remained but William won over men such as Robert of Mortain and Roger de Montgomery, allowing them to keep their lands. The source is written by Orderic Vitalis, an Anglo-Norman monk writing under kings Henry and Stephen. As a cleric he disliked Rufus and may be keen to portray him as a violent oppressor but he is rewarded for his neutral tone and factual account, adding considerably to the utility and reliability of the source. Writing for

		historical purposes and under Henry, he may be expected to criticise Rufus but his neutrality here allows us to trust the source.
		Overall the sources moderately agree on the view. Sources D and B heavily focus on military power, but the provenance must be taken into account and Henry of Huntingdon is perhaps not as reliable as others like the Anglo Saxon Chronicle.
		Sources A and C both suggest William attempted other methods to win over W control but A maintains a mention of military force whereas C barely does at all. Both these sources have reliable authors and hence are also useful in showing that while they maintain the sources <sup>somewhat</sup> agree that force was important, other methods were used.

This is an example of a Level 5 response for Question 1. Its assessment of the sources includes both historical knowledge of context as well as some understanding of provenance. Both are reasonably developed, even allowing for some unevenness; it is the judgement at the end, which refers broadly to the reliability of the sources, that pushes the answer into Level 5. It should be noted that the judgement itself is less developed but still valid.

## Section B overview

Section B is made up of two essays, with each one focused on a different topic area. Candidates were asked to (2) assess the reasons for the Norman victory at Hastings, or (3) to consider how secure William I's control of England was by 1071. The questions set required candidates to analyse causes and consequences of major historical issues.

### Question 2\*

#### Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest 1035–1087

2\* Assess the reasons for the Norman victory at the battle of Hastings.

[20]

This was by far the most popular of the two questions. Candidates in general demonstrated good knowledge and understanding of the key factors associated with the Norman victory at Hastings. The most popular were: (i) Duke William's preparations; (ii) the mistakes by King Harold; and (iii) luck. For (i), candidates referred to the duke's diplomatic efforts, in particular his decision to secure a papal banner from Alexander II (but this did not turn the invasion into a *crusade*). Some candidates astutely referred to evidence from the Bayeux Tapestry of the programme of ship building which took place in the months leading up to the invasion. Some of Harold's mistakes (ii) were well known, such as his decision to rush to the south coast after returning to London from the north. Stronger responses were able to contextualise this decision and thereby recognise that – at the time – it might not have been a mistake, given that the king was aiming at the element of surprise, and that he took the higher ground at the battle. In some responses, Harold was blamed for the deficiencies of Anglo-Saxon military traditions. This seemed unfair; stronger responses recognised that the system itself was at fault. For (iii), candidates drew attention to the change in wind direction, which was lucky for William because it allowed him to land in Sussex just as Harold was pre-occupied by events in the north. The famous feigned retreat was, in some responses, cited as evidence of luck, since initially it might not have been a deliberate manoeuvre. For those candidates who argued that Harold was killed by a chance arrow in the eye, this, too, was cited as evidence of luck. Candidates who achieved marks in the higher levels included valid judgements in their responses.

## Exemplar 2

2	<p style="text-align: center;">and victory</p> <p>The Normans success under the leadership of William Duke of Normandy at the Battle of Hastings against Harold Godwinson and the Anglo-Saxons was a result of <del>the</del> a number of factors such as Williams luck <del>at the</del> which was enhanced by the incompetency of Harold, his preparations for the battle and also his strategy and tactics within the battle. It can be said that the most important reason for his <del>Norman</del> Norman victory was their strategy as their <del>armies</del> <del>their</del> <del>clear</del> <del>organization</del> discipline and communication was stronger than the generally more weak and less organized Anglo-Saxons.</p> <p><del>One</del> One reason for <del>the</del> the Norman victory at Hastings was Williams preparations for the battle. William sent Lanfrance to retrieve him the papal banner from Pope Alexander so that he had god on his side during battle</p>
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	<p>This helped in the Normans victory since <del>by</del> by making it a 'holy war' more people were likely to join Williams army and give the Normans a better chance at victory in numbers. Furthermore, <del>at</del> before the battle William built flat bottom boats to transport cavalry and resources and <del>that</del> flat puce camps, so that they had shelters <del>easy</del> that were easy to construct once they had arrived in England. This helped Norman victory in the battle since with a place to rest and for safety as well as extra resources, which Harold didn't have, such as cavalry, in battle, allowed the Normans the upperhand in battle over the exhausted and less</p>
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~~was~~ prepared English. ~~Also~~ Also, William ~~to~~  
 managed to gain troops from Brittany, ~~Italy~~  
 and Italy before the battle which ~~was~~ helped in the Normans  
 ultimate victory as it ~~allowed~~ ~~the~~ ~~Normans~~ ~~to~~  
 their army was larger and more disciplined (and therefore effective  
 in following orders, in  
 comparison to Harold's, who made the mistake of a  
 entering battle with a smaller army.

Another reason for ~~the~~ <sup>the Normans</sup> victory at Hastings was their  
 luck and the mistakes of Harold which bolstered it. Harold  
 had decided to ~~to~~ march to Hastings with 7000 troops  
 before waiting for his extra 40000 fyrd soldiers to  
 arrive in London, which ~~to~~ added to the victory of the  
 Normans since with a larger army, Harold may have been  
 able to overwhelm William's troops who were ultimately  
 more organised. ~~Further~~ Furthermore, the change in the

time of invasion by William due to the winds  
 changing, pushing the Normans back across the Channel  
 meant that they were ultimately invading at the  
 same time as Harold Godwinson in the north. This  
 helped the Normans in their victory ~~as it allowed them~~  
~~to~~ over the English at Hastings since during the  
~~the~~ battle, the English had already been fighting  
 in another battle only days before and so were more  
 exhausted and less physically prepared than the  
 Normans who had been waiting and preparing for invasion  
 and battle. Also, during the battle, William's  
 horse was shot from under him 3 times yet he was  
 not injured or killed, however Harold was on foot and fighting  
~~himself~~ amongst his army and was eventually killed.  
 This ~~also~~ helped in the Normans victory since William was  
 not only in a largely lucky position to have  
 evaded being shot 3 times, but ~~he~~ was also lucky

that Harold made the mistake of fighting as the leader of his army ~~leaving to fight~~ and dying which ~~also~~ meant that the English started to desert and the Normans succeeded. ~~Thus it~~ Therefore it is clear that Harold incompetency ~~and~~ ~~clearly~~ and ~~an~~ bad decision making resulting in William's ~~of~~ strategy being even more effective and ~~the~~ the Normans succeeding.

A last reason for Norman victory at the Battle of Hastings was the Normans effective strategy and tactics which overcame the ~~the~~ English strategy.

~~The~~ The Normans were able to use cavalry and troops were

Situated and fought on horseback during the battle which ~~was~~ ~~the~~ the English didn't do, since they only used cavalry to get to the location of the battle but not in the battle itself. This helped the ~~the~~ Normans become victorious ~~in~~ battle since it meant that they were on higher ground ~~and~~ also ~~were~~ ~~more~~ ~~protected~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ more protected ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~battle~~ when ~~in~~ in combat ~~and~~ ~~on~~ face to face since their horses were trained to knee and bite ~~at~~, giving them an extra layer to their effectiveness, as opposed to the English who ~~only~~ didn't have this alternative. Furthermore, the Normans were organised into carroi and used the flag system ~~gongannan~~ ~~during~~ ~~the~~ during battle. ~~This~~ ~~helped~~ this helped in the Normans victory since it allowed for them to communicate effectively which tactics to use and ~~were~~ cooperated better than the English who had no such system ~~that~~ ~~only~~ ~~had~~ ~~it~~ and had mostly untrained ~~and~~ ~~used~~ fyrd soldiers with a lack of discipline. The use of ~~the~~ gongannan and the carroi as a

tactic was useful in the Normans feigned retreat <sup>to tell each other to use this tactic, in</sup> which they made it seem as if they were deserting the battlefield, to ~~decrease~~ <sup>decrease</sup> ~~the~~ the English and break their 3 foot high shield wall. ~~This tactic helped the~~ This helped the Normans in their victory at ~~the battle of~~ Hastings since it allowed for them to overcome the English army ~~and~~ and make them more vulnerable and easy to attack. Therefore, it is clear that the ~~strategy of the Normans helped the Normans~~

~~Secure that the~~ Strategy and tactics of the Normans helped them to secure their victory at Hastings since they had more modern and ~~the~~ well tested and effective ~~&~~ tactics and strategies than the English and Harold ~~did~~ ~~the~~ made the mistake of not having disciplined and trained soldiers, which enhanced the Normans effectiveness.

~~Overall~~ Overall, the Normans secured their victory at Hastings as a result of their preparations prior to the battle of Hastings, their luck both before and in the battle ~~which~~ ~~of~~ which was partly a result ~~of~~ and was enhanced by the mistakes of Harold, and also because of the effectiveness of their strategies which had been practised in multiple battles in Normandy ~~prior~~ prior to the battle of Hastings. ~~Therefore~~ It can be argued that whilst all ~~&~~ three reasons worked together to ensure that the Normans secured their victory, the most important was the Normans strategy and ~~the~~ tactics ~~in~~ ~~the~~ in battle since without their discipline, organisation and effective communication, which ~~the~~ allowed for them to utilise their



Strategies efficiently, they would have been more like and matched to the undisciplined ~~and less~~ English army and their less effective strategies which Harold Godwinson didn't take time to change and develop to make them more effective. This misuse of Harold and the effectiveness of Norman strategy allowed

them to ~~keep~~ secure ~~their~~ their victory at the Battle of Hastings.

This is an example of a Level 6 response that includes detailed explanation of some relevant factors. It provides a judgement in the conclusion and interim judgements elsewhere in the response.

### Question 3\*

3\* How secure was William I's control of England by 1071?

[20]

There were very few responses to this question. Candidates tended to struggle with the chronology of the question. The period between William I's victory at Hastings and the defeat of the rebels at Ely in 1071 – which is complex – was not well known, with candidates struggling to establish the correct sequence of events. Events after 1071 were often included, such as the 1075 rebellion of the 'Three Earls', the Conqueror's troubled relationship with his eldest son, Robert Curthose, and even the downfall of Bishop Odo. This limited some responses to Level 3 at best – partially focused on the question.

### Exemplar 3

3. After his victory at The Battle of Hastings<sup>in October</sup> and coronation as King of England<sup>the December of</sup> in 1066, William I was quick<sup>and effective in</sup> to secure his power through the Norman Conquest. His ability to crush rebellions, the strategic construction of churches and castles, and the changes to England's law and nobility all contributed to William's control of England becoming incredibly secure by 1071.

While the Northern rebellion of 1069-1070 was problematic for William, it was primarily an indicator of the disparity between the North and South of England. As the North still held a great deal of Viking influence, ~~and~~ a rebellion was inevitable against the new Norman king. However, William's response to the unrest in Northern England in 1071 completely crushed the threat of future opposition, helping to secure his power. The Harrying of the North followed a scorched policy - meaning that all crops and homes were burnt, livestock was slaughtered, and land was salted. As a remarkably brutal retaliation to a rebellion,

it is estimated that up to 100,000 deaths occurred as a result. Due to its extreme brutality, the Harrying succeeded in preventing another rebellion from taking place in the area, and contributed significantly to William's control of England becoming secure.

Moreover, the Normans' strategic construction of castles within areas of unrest aided in William's consolidation of control in England. Castles were built where rebellions were likely to occur: the Scottish and Welsh borders, near the South-West, near East Anglia, etc. This ensured that a quick and powerful response to any opposition was possible, aiding the security of William's ~~power~~

control of England. Furthermore, castles were <sup>never</sup> built more than 20 miles away from ~~each~~ towns - or, a day's march. Similarly, this helped William to control any area, and prevented unrest from ~~ever~~ becoming problematic: an army could respond incredibly quickly to any threat.

The construction of castles and churches in England throughout the Norman Conquest also granted William a psychological control over the people. As they were large,

intimidating structures that often required the destruction of Anglo-Saxon towns to make room for them, it became evident that they were constant reminders of the Norman presence in the country. This intimidation tactic only strengthened William's control of England further.

Furthermore, the religious support William held also contributed to ~~his~~ the ~~security~~ security of his control over England. After Lanfranc obtained the Papal Banner for William to carry into the Battle of Hastings, as well as the notion of the Divine Right of Kings, it became apparent that the Normans were supported by God, increasing the security of William's control of ~~the~~ England through religious support.

William's control of England was also made secure by the laws introduced as a result of the Norman conquest. The Forest Laws meant that all English land belonged to the King, and made it illegal to hunt in forests unless you had royal permission. This limited food for a significant amount of peasants, and increased the disparity between the new Norman elites and poor English peasantry. This disparity made it easier for Rufus

to control England.

In addition to this, the introduction of Murderum fines meant that any Anglo-Saxons ~~found~~ in an area where a Norman was found dead would be punishable with a fine. This indicated the importance and prioritisation of the lives of Normans over the English, only further increasing the disparity that gave William more power over England and allowing him to consolidate his control.

~~However, it could be argued that William's control over England could've been established ~~with~~ but more efficiently: as the~~

However, the constant threat of invasion from Scandinavia could be used to argue that William's consolidation of power was not entirely secure. As the Danish believed

to have a ~~right~~ <sup>great</sup> right to the throne in Swein - Cnut's ~~great~~ <sup>great</sup> nephew - there was a perpetual risk of Scandinavian intervention. However, this did not interfere with William's consolidation of control enough to do any real damage: the Danish threat is considered nothing more than a nuisance compared to William's secure

control of England.

Ultimately, William's control of England by 1071 was indisputable<sup>secure</sup> - he was able to withstand both external and internal threats throughout his early reign, demonstrating his capabilities as king. Furthermore, William was able to effectively control England through the ~~total~~ strategic construction of castles<sup>and</sup> churches, as well as the introduction of beneficial laws that increased the power held by the new Norman nobility over the Anglo-Saxon peasantry. While his early reign was not devoid of threats, his control of England was incredibly secure, and reflects his capabilities as a ruler.

This is an example of a Level 5 response that includes fairly detailed explanation of some relevant factors. It provides a judgement in the conclusion. Many responses provided a reasonably detailed explanation of factors but did not include such a judgement.

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