Analysing historical figures to understand how and why they are perceived differently

ALEXANDER the GREAT

Thy

Sharing European Histories

Self-Guided Course

Analysing Historical Figures to Understand How and Why They are Perceived Differently

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Example Lesson Plan

By Bistra Stoimenova

This example lesson plan of <u>'Analysing historical figures to understand how and why they are</u> <u>perceived differently</u>' is part of the Sharing European Histories Self-Guided Course, developed by Bistra Stoimenova. Its aim is to demonstrate how the Teaching Strategy can be adapted into the local context (in this case Bulgaria) and classroom setting.

WRITER DISSIDENT GEORGI MARKOV FROM BULGARIA

Introduction

This lesson plan is designed to encourage students to see beyond the dominant historical narratives of their country or community. By taking the historical figure of Georgi Markov, a writer turned dissident from Bulgaria, the lesson demonstrates how opinions on this figure have changed and shifted throughout the years. Students are challenged to think beyond how he was represented, but to also critically think about who made these representations of him, where and for what purpose. In fact, how Georgi Markov is remembered remains highly contested, as is seen by the recent monument to the writer, given as a source in the second lesson.

Time needed: 80 min. (2 x 40 min.)

Approximate age: Upper secondary level: 9th – 10th grades / students' age: 15-16

Learning objectives:

• Key competences and learning outcomes from this lesson are based on the National History Curricula and on Competences for Democratic Culture

The students will be expected to:

- Enhance their knowledge and critical understanding of the complexities related to the narratives for historical figures during the communist regime;
- Explain the mechanisms of control of the communist regime over the intelligentsia;
- Give examples of dissident manifestations among the Bulgarian intelligentsia;
- Explore the attitudes toward Georgi Markov and his work after transition of 1989;
- Analyse various types of historical sources and discover different viewpoints;
- Discuss and express their own opinion using concrete facts;
- Develop teamwork skills.

Key concepts

- Communist regime, political opposition, intelligentsia, dissident

One **key question** aimed at provoking learner's thinking process:

Why was Georgi Markov dangerous and inconvenient for the Communist regime in Bulgaria? And what about after the transition of 1989?

Prior knowledge - if the lesson is building on previous knowledge

Knowledge about the period 1945-1989 in Bulgaria.

Materials needed:

- 1. Worksheets 1+2 and the Handout (find at the end of the lesson plan)
- 2. Electronic board for the PowerPoint

Preparation:

- 1. Decide how to split your students into groups.
- 2. Print the selected photos, worksheets and handouts
- 3. Prepare or adapt PPT for the summary.

First Lesson 40 min

Activity 1: Dealing with the historical context 40min in total

In small groups of 3-4, students work with the Worksheet 1.

They have to explore sources (chronology of Georgi Markov's life, photographs and video documentary) and get information about historical context, in which Markov had lived. Students have to make a timeline of main events in his life with the band of more important events in Bulgaria and Eastern bloc (Soviet Union and countries from Central and Eastern Europe) – political, economic, social and cultural areas.

Time: 25 min.

After that each group of students present their own timeline: it is possible to make it on flipchart paper or in online format.

Students explain their choice for events and give the framework of historical context. **Time**: 15 min.

Second Lesson 40min

Activity 2: Dealing with different viewpoints about Georgi Markov 25 min

In small groups of 3-4, students work with the Worksheet 2 and Handout 1.

Teachers can make sources as cards. Students have to deal with different types of sources and find out three kinds of representations: positive, pro-Markov (Representation 1); negative, against him, anti-Markov (Representation 2) and neutral (Representation 3). After that they have to fill in Handout 1. Students should classify sources in function of these representations.

Teacher follows the work of students and if it is necessary to help them.

Activity 3: Discussion with the class

15 min

For the discussion with the class, the teacher can use the strategy "Four corners". The basic of the strategy:

- Teacher identifies the four corners of the classroom as "strongly disagree", "disagree", "agree", "strongly agree".
- Teacher gives students a statement or assertion and asks them to go to the corner that reflects their viewpoint. Some students may stand between corners and that is OK It is likely that students will automatically introduce nuance by standing between corners. Teacher does not discourage this but asks students to articulate their thoughts.
- Teacher asks students to explain the reasoning for their choice of position. He / she gives all students a chance to shift if they are persuaded by others' arguments.

• By articulating their reasoning and hearing the reasoning of others, students are able to deepen and broaden their discussion of topics. - Students from a corner can respectfully question and challenge the views of other corners.

Here are possible statements related to the topic of the lesson for the discussion:

"The communist regime provides favourable conditions for the development of creativity and arts.";

"In communist Bulgaria, people and artists with different opinions are given the opportunity to defend it.";

"Georgi Markov assumes at his own risk to settle abroad despite the fact that he was very popular in Bulgaria."

"The closest friend of Markov, Bulgarian refugee, novelist, *Deutsche Welle* journalist, and Radio Free Europe program director of the Bulgaria Section, Dimitar Bochev said that his "talent killed him."

"The monument to Georgi Markov is a recognition of his courageous civic position, his intransigence to the violation of rights and freedoms and his contribution to Bulgarian literature."

"Georgi Markov is still a controversial figure in Bulgarian history, journalism and literature."

The teacher should ask for evidence and thought-through reasoning when asking volunteers for their reasoning about their positioning. He/she should be prepared to push students to deepen their answers. If students move position as a result of hearing an opinion, the teacher asks the student who moved to reflect on what it was that made the opinion they heard so persuasive.

WORKSHEET 1 LOOKING FOR HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1 Chronology

1 March 1929	Georgi Markov is born in Sofia, in Knyazhevo		
1946	Finished First Male School (Gymnasium) in Sofia		
1948	He became ill with tuberculosis, which forced him to attend various		
	hospitals. His first literary attempts occurred during that time.		
1953	Diploma of chemical engineering		
1952-1958	He worked in different factories but at 30 on sick-pension due to		
	tuberculosis.		
1959	His novel, <i>The Roof</i> (a factory – "Lenin Steel Mill" – roof collapses and		
	central planners try to rebuild it), was banned from publishing, turned		
	out to be Markov's first rebel book, he worked on its perfection until the		
	end of his days and it eventually appeared in Bulgarian only ten years		
	ago. George Orwell was Markov's favorite author.		
1962	Markov published the novel <i>Men</i> which won the annual award of the		
	Union of Bulgarian Writers and he was subsequently accepted as a		
	member of the Union, a prerequisite for a professional career in		
	literature.		
1962-1969	The story collections A Portrait of My Double (1966) and The Women of		
	Warsaw (1968) secured his place as one of the most talented young		
	writers of Bulgaria. Markov also wrote a number of plays but most of		
	them were never staged or were removed from theatre repertoire by the		
	Communist censors: To Crawl Under the Rainbow, The Elevator,		
	Assassination in the Cul-de-Sac, Stalinists and I Was Him. The novel The		
	Roof was halted in mid-printing since it described as a fact and in		
	allegorical terms the collapse of the roof of the Lenin steel mill.		
	Markov was one of the authors of the popular TV series Every Kilometer		
	(Всеки километър or At Every Milestone), which created the character		
	of the Second World War detective Velinsky and his nemesis the		
	Resistance fighter Deyanov. After Markov left Bulgaria, his name, in an		
	accurately Orwellian mode, was removed from the titles of the movie.		
1968	The Prague Spring and the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.		
1969	Markov left for Bologna, Italy, where his brother lived. His initial idea		
	was to wait until his status with the Bulgarian authorities improved, but		
	he gradually changed his mind and decided to stay in the West,		
	especially after September 1971 when the Bulgarian government		
	refused to extend his passport.		
1972	Markov moved to London, where he learned English and started		
	working for the Bulgarian section of the BBC World Service.		
	He tried to work for the film industry, but was unsuccessful. Later he		
	also worked with Deutsche Welle and Radio Free Europe.		
	Markov's membership in the Union of Bulgarian Writers was suspended		
	and he was sentenced in absentia to six years and six months in prison		
	for his defection.		
1975-1978	Markov worked on his In Absentia Reports, an analysis of life in		
	communist Bulgaria. They were broadcast weekly on Radio Free		

	Europe. Their criticism of the communist government and of the Party leader Todor Zhivkov made Markov, even more, an enemy of the regime.		
11 September 1978	He died in London, England. Cause of his death is ricin poisoning.		
1990	His <i>In Absentia Reports</i> were published in Bulgaria, after the end of the communist government.		
2000	Markov was posthumously awarded the Order of Stara Planina, Bulgaria's most prestigious honour, for his "significant contribution to the Bulgarian literature, drama and non-fiction and for his exceptional civic position and confrontation to the communist regime" by the president Petar Stoyanov.		



2 Central and Eastern Europe, 1945-1989 **3** Georgi Markov, writer dissident from Bulgaria

Source: Exhibition in Scandic Hotel, Gransk, April 2019, Personal archive

4 In the footsteps of a revolution, *documentary video* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ik9J0Zb7Tnk&list=PLfLx3lDPtE3Lpgbo4K0p-4E5T3 e7U6vj&index=5 In Bulgarian, with English subtitles, Approxim. time 1:10 to 5:10 – about Georgi Markov



WORKSHEET 2

1 "The enemy of the regime"

Today, we Bulgarians present a fine example of what it is to exist under a lid which we cannot lift and which we no longer believe someone else can lift [...] And the unending slogan which millions of loudspeakers blare out is that everyone is fighting for the happiness of others. Every word spoken under the lid constantly changes its meaning. Lies and truths swap their values with the frequency of an alternating current [...] We have seen how personality vanishes, how individuality is destroyed, how the spiritual life of a whole people is corrupted to turn them into a listless flock of sheep. We have seen so many of those demonstrations which humiliate human dignity, where normal people are expected to applaud some paltry mediocrity who has proclaimed himself a demi-god and condescendingly waves to them from the heights of his police inviolability [...].

Georgi Markov, The Truth That Killed. Ticknor & Fields, 1984.

2 The reportages of Bulgaria by Markov

Between 1972 and 1978, Markov worked on his *In Absentia Reports* – an analysis of life in Communist Bulgaria, aired weekly by *Deutsche Welle*. He wrote other two volumes of literary, philosophy and historic essays – to be first broadcasted and then published. During my last two years in high school, and then in the army, until 1975 (then I left for St. Petersburg, to study, all free radio waves were completely jammed), I and my friends were waiting impatiently for Markov reportages. I recall that once, perhaps in 1973, we talked with classmates about them in a tram: an older gentleman approached and advised us not to do this in public places, and to be careful even among friends. The reason: in England Markov career and productivity as a writer was reborn, KDS panicked, his essays are, as another friend and writer, Georgy Mishev, put it "were permanently and steadily debunking a huge myth, that of Communism". The reportages by Markov and those of Bochev, they changed one another at DW microphone every second week, were meticulously recorded (to be summarized for top Communist functionaries and filed as evidence for prosecutors) and jammed – to make impossible for common folks to listen to them.

Krassen Stanchev, *Killed for talent: the story of the Bulgarian dissident writer Georgi Markov*, 10 April 2018, <u>http://4liberty.eu/killed-for-talent-georgy-markov/</u>

3 The file "Wanderer"

In 1971, the State Security Committee (KDS, in Bulgarian) opened a dossier on Markov, titled poetically, "The Wanderer". This OPF, Operating Processing File, summarizes his case as follows: the "The Wanderer" is a writer from an enemy [to the regime] family, politically unstable. He left in 1969 for the West and refused to return to Bulgaria. It has been established that he has close contacts with traitors and non-returnees. He has attempted to export his works to be published there, and more recently has approached the BBC to find employment there." In fact, the "Wanderer" left legally, to visit his brother in Italy and, as far as we know now from his private correspondence, never intended to become a refugee.

While "the Wanderer '' was learning languages, working for BBC and recording for *Deutsche Welle*, prosecutors in Bulgaria tried him in absentia, in a closed hearings court case in 1972 and sentenced him to six and a half years in prison. The case was filed by a military prosecutor and the indictment reads:

"In 1969, the famous Bulgarian writer, Georgy Markov, left Bulgaria for Italy and then to England where he settled permanently after the expiry of the period of the final permission issued by the Bulgarian authorities. He began work as a journalist in the Bulgarian section of the BBC in London. His materials contained extremely harsh criticism of the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria. For this reason he was sentenced on the basis of act No.77/ December 26, 1972 of the Sofia City Court for treason and anti-state agitation and propaganda."

A report by the secret service explicitly state that measures against the Wanderer are taken as planned:

"In 1969 Markov betrayed the motherland and established himself in London – England. He maintains close relations with active traitors to the motherland. He works for the radio stations BBC and "Deutsche Welle". He had frequently expressed hostile opinions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and party politics. Since the beginning of 1973 he has written more than 10 slanderous articles and given a number of interviews which have been broadcast on the above-mentioned radio stations. Markov is kept on record by the Operational Intelligence Department as "Wanderer" and plans have been developed to compromise him."

Христо Христов, Убийте "Скитник", София, Сиела, 2007. [Translation in English: Hristo Hristov, *Kill the Wanderer*. Sofia, Gutenberg Publishing House, 2013.]

The Socialist realism – norms and breaches and the case of Georgi Markov

The theoretical concepts and critical reviews of Todor Pavlov, Panteley Zarev, Maxim Naimovich, Vasil Kolevski, Pencho Danchev and others, who forcefully imposed and uncompromisingly upheld the ideologically connotated norms of Socialist realism, are emblematic examples of the repressive methods of censorship and the distorted artistic criteria, and provide us with knowledge, albeit too gloomy, of the spiritual life in the period 1944-1989. The artistic processes at that time were aesthetically poorly connotated, and politically heavily burdened. Authors were deprived of the free creative expression and literary criticism became a manipulative weapon of the new regime. It changed its methods, provocative experiment or the classical, but talented poetry and prose. The critical text narrowed the boundaries of literature to the declaration, the slogan and the cliché. Lacking its identity, criticism became institutionalized; it became a censor that penalized aesthetic pluralism and creative freedom. This merging between ideology and literature put the very essence of criticism to the test. [...]

The authentic biography of the Bulgarian culture turned out to be too dangerous and, therefore, once again had to be cynically manipulated. Respecting the basic principle of totalitarian societies, i.e. more important are the convenient and not the true facts, the Communist ideology assigned the works of art to be the most important mediator in its socio-cultural communication. The harmony between the authority and the literature actually made senseless the universal mission of the writer to produce the truth about the philosophical, aesthetic, and ideological meanings of the time. Disharmony meant shaking the myth of smooth existence of the system.

By tolerating hypocrisy, the totalitarian society provoked the alienation of the artists. It could be caused by fear or passive but could also take the form of a strong resistance. The system then punished, in a most brutal way, everyone who had violated its system of rules and prohibitions. At the phraseological level, it was expressed by the *enemy of the people / homeland stigma*, which sometimes led to fatal existential consequences. An emblematic example for Bulgaria was the

murder of Georgi Markov (11.09.1978). His distant look from outside analyzed the cultural and political reality in Bulgaria from the position of an accuser who personified the responsibility. In this case, not in the space of fiction but in that of existence, the birth of the *work Zadochni reportazhi za Bulgaria* (*In Absentia Reports of Bulgaria*) predetermined the death of its author if we may so paraphrase the famous thought of Roland Bartes. That case was not a precedent but only a tragic confirmation of the already established conclusion that the right to free choice during the period under consideration in our country carried too many risks.

Elka Traykova, *Bulgarian XXth century in arts and culture*. Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2019.

S Unveiling of the monument to the dissident writer Georgi Markov in Sofia, November 11, 2014.

His wife Anabela Markova, Presidents Zhelyu Zhelev, Petar Stoyanov and Georgi Plevneliev, as well as the writer's brother Nikola Markov and Dr. Georgi Lazarov, a political emigrant in Baltimore, USA, who initiated the idea and financed the monument, were present. *Source:* https://www.desebg.com/iniciativi/2060-2014-11-14-07-00-48



От ляво на дясно: д-р Георги Лазаров, Желю Желев, Петър Стоянов, Анабел Маркова, Никола Марков и Росен Плевнелиев.



6 The battle for the symbols of Bulgaria

The "Wanderer" has finally returned to Sofia. "Wanderer" is the code name of the dissident writer Georgi Markov, given to him by the State Security Committee (Communist State Security - DS). The unveiling ceremony of his monument on Sofia's Journalist Square was honored by former Bulgarian presidents Zhelyo Zhelev and Petar Stoyanov, and the current head of state Rosen Plevneliev recalled in his speech that the essays of the publicist, broadcast on "enemy" BBC radio stations, Deutsche Welle and Free Europe "liberated the Bulgarians spiritually even before the collapse of the communist regime." Dimitar Bochev, a longtime friend and colleague of Markov, explained the late construction of the monument with "the sad truth that the Bulgarians have always suffered from a lack of sense of historicity." And the sponsor of the monument, Dr. Georgi Lazarov, admitted that if Sofia refused to erect a statue of Georgi Markov, he intended to place it on the Waterloo Bridge in London, the site where in 1978 the communist secret services assassinated Markov.

The hatred of the most outspoken critic of the Zhivkov regime has never really subsided among the former Bulgarian communists. The reformist bloc MP Vili Lilkov, who was also a former deputy chairman of the Sofia Municipal Council (SMC), recalls the hard-won decision to erect the monument and the strong opposition of councilors from the left. "The behavior of these colleagues was downright cynical, they accused the writer of everything, including that he was a DS agent, which is not true," said the municipality deputy. In the days of the construction of the monument, even the newspaper "Duma" reported rising protests among residents of the Lozenets district, who did not agree with this, on the former square named after the partisan "Yordanka Chankova", renamed after 1989 on Journalist Square, the two-meter figure of Georgi Markov should stand out. According to the "outraged" residents of the neighborhood, the dissident was "close to Todor Zhivkov, with an unclear intelligence existence and an unsolved murder, for which even the British admitted that there was no" Bulgarian umbrella". And now the "huge" monument would "drastically disturb the landscape of the site and the appearance of the pretty little garden."

It is paradoxical that a quarter of a century after the democratic changes in Bulgaria, the quarrels over the historical monuments do not stop. Some have been praised, but most have been insulted, painted, smeared with inscriptions, taken down and rebuilt. Pilgrimages and anti-worship are constantly performed at their feet, passions are boiling, emotions are gushing, violent polemics and disputes are taking place. How do these silent symbols of the past continue to excite people? [...]

In any case, apart from the figure of the satirist Radoi Ralin in front of the former cinema *lztok* and the seated writers Pencho and Racho Slaveykovi on the square of the same name, citizens can now be photographed in memory of the metal Georgi Markov: the ironic exile who despite the communist regime, secretly dreamed of returning to his homeland in just a few hours to see his parents again and at least to jump to the Writers' Club for a while.

Георги Папакочев, *Битката за символите* [Georgi Papakochev, *The battle for the symbols*], 12.11.2014 <u>https://www.dw.com/bg/%D0%B1%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%82%D0%B0-</u><u>%D0%B7%D0%B0-</u> <u>%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B8%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5-</u> <u>%D0%BD%D0%B0-%D0%B1%D1%8A%D0%BB%D0%B3%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%8F/a-</u> 18057871

Georgi Markov and literature textbooks

These days they presented the new curricula in literature... And not a word about Georgi Markov. The fear of the name of Georgi Markov shows how right and insightful his voice was in his judgments of modern Bulgaria.

The question of Georgi Markov and his presence in the curricula of high school students is relevant. This question is not ideological, but it is accepted as such. For several years now, Solzhenitsyn has been teaching in Russian schools with *The Gulag Archipelago* (adapted version), and this has not caused a sensation. We have a lot of things sewing tension, things that seem seemingly harmless. Nobody cares about math and chemistry programs. However, everyone understands from literature. The reason is simple - for years the literature has served the ideological, the government - inscriptions, slogans, [...] We are still in some inertia, nostalgia and a memory that literature can manipulate. Yes, it can, but that is not its nature and inclination in our time.

Literature sets values, it is both a memory and a memory. But there is always something left only for the reader. The so-called "practice" is associated with the student's touch to the text - textbook or not. To "explain" the totalitarian regime (say) - you can read excerpts from the constitution before 1989, as well as excerpts from *In Absentia Reports* by Georgi Markov. [...] I already teach Georgi Markov. I do it on my own. On the occasion of the National Campaign in April, related to the promotion of reading - a whole class of eleventh-graders from a language school watched the documentary film *The Wanderer's Files* and read the essays of our dissident (including a presentation of some contemporary and classical Balkan authors). Personally, I read aloud the letter of Georgi Markov to Lyubomir Levchev. Rarely is it so deafeningly quiet in class. My heart was pounding, but my voice didn't tremble. And not a gram of pathos - the truth does not need it. I finished reading and everyone was silent. Good thing the bell would ring.

How can I answer the young people why the Ministry of Education and Science has not included an author with such influence and authenticity in the syllabus for years? It is already clear to my students that Georgi Markov has nothing to do with the security officer Georgi Stoev (they thought so) and that criminal history is not everything around him [...]

Obviously, it is not sound Georgi Markov to fall into the field of view of the students, if for years this issue has been kept silent or the topic has shifted. The latest literature curriculum is no exception. At this rate, the next one will be in twenty years! We missed the moment when something interesting happened at school - we allowed officials and fictitious experts to impose their carelessness again... With such a sanction of facts and truths - there is no adequate future. The fear of the name of Georgi Markov (and rebels) shows how right and insightful his voice was in his judgments of modern Bulgaria.

Дияна Боева, Ще изучават ли гимназистите Георги Марков? [Diana Boeva, Will high-school students study Georgi Markov?], 11.05.2016

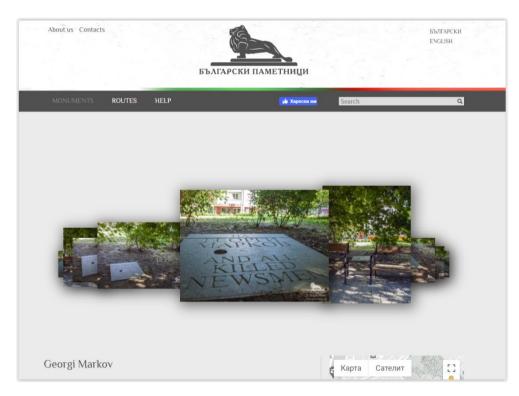
http://kultura.bg/web/%D1%89%D0%B5-

<u>%D0%B8%D0%B7%D1%83%D1%87%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%82-%D0%B8%D0%B8</u> <u>%D0%B3%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%B8%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8%D1</u> <u>%82%D0%B5-%D0%B3%D0%B5%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B3%D0%B8-%D0%BC%D0%B0/</u>

(8) The plaque on Journalist Square - before the monument to Georgi Markov was erected

So far on the territory of the country [2012] there is only a memorial plaque in Sofia, situated in the garden space on Journalist Square, where Markov lived and worked for many years. The slab is 0.77 m wide and 0.72 m high, made of marble. On it the inscription reads: "To Georgi Markov * AND ALL KILLED NEWSMEN". The circle left in the initiation symbolizes the small ball that knocked down the big man. Unfortunately, the plaque has the unfortunate fate of not being noticed by the fallen leaves in the autumn, of being covered by snow in the winter, and of being lost in the greenery of the capital's park in the summer and spring. Four seasons guaranteed anonymity.

Sofia Municipality has ideas for the erection of a monument to Georgi Markov, which will be 2.3 meters high and will be the work of sculptor Danko Dankov.



Source: сайта Български паметници, http://monuments.bg/monument/georgi_markov

9 Georgi Markov instead of Elin Pelin

A monument was erected in Sofia, Lozenets district, Journalist Square. A full-length statue now stands in place of the only fountain in the square's garden.

So far so good, but the monument is to ... Georgi Markov. Who has never lived in the neighborhood and has nothing to do with the atmosphere in this area. Otherwise, only ten meters in front of the monument is the house of the legendary Boris Pozharov, one of the founders of the National Theater, very close are the homes of Dimitar Talev, Sirak Skitnik, Elin Pelin, Valeri Petrov, Olga Kircheva, Konstanza Kirova, Krastyo Sarafov and a number of other artists of their greatness.

The decision, according to the inscription in front of the former construction site, belongs to the Sofia Municipal Council, which has apparently placed the work of Georgi Markov as a writer and

playwright above the work of the listed writers, artists and actors. Or they have obeyed the political situation for the activities of the dissident Georgi Markov, which is unlikely to outlive its time as Elin Pelin, for example, outlived its time. And it has remained in Bulgarian cultural history, perhaps forever. No monument on Journalist Square.

Проф. Владимир Михайлов, доктор на изкуствознанието, *Георги Марков вместо Елин Пелин* [Prof. Vladimir Mihailov, *Georgi Markov instead of Elin Pelin*], 14.11.2014 <u>https://newspaper.kultura.bg/bg/article/view/22730</u>

HANDOUT 1

	REPRESENTATION 1	REPRESENTATION 2	REPRESENTATION 3
Which sources?			
How is the historical figure represented?			
When and where was this representation made?			
Who made the representation?			
Why might the representation be made in this way?			