

REIGN and CHARACTER
of
TIBERIUS.

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REIGN AND CHARACTER OF TIBERIUS.

T H E S I S .

(1) In infancy, in the very beginning of life, Fate assigned to Tiberius a checkered career. Hunted and fleeing with his parents, he traversed strange lands, crossed seas in dangerous seasons; incurring the perils of death from man as well as the elements of nature. His own wailing on two different occasions (1) threatened to deliver him to the Destroyer. From each adverse situation, Fate rescued him, bringing him again to the shores of danger, to the shores of the ambitious heart's desire, Italy, the land of centralized life.

But at what a cost was Heaven's offended Deity induced to change the course of events for the hapless infant. Augustus had looked with covetous eyes on the perfections of his mother and the charms of her womanhood. The disruption of a home, the separation of a little child from his mother were the exactions of unkind Destiny. Lonely saddened days, lacking the care and sympathy of a mother, followed, till in his ninth year, we are called on to look

(1) Suetonius. Ch 6.

at the pathetic picture of a boy pronouncing the funeral oration of his dead father. 'Tis a fitting preface to the life that was meted out to him in his step-father's home.

His brother, Drusus, was the baby of the imperial household. He had been born under its roof, and in addition to infantile grace he possessed a winning disposition. Augustus had protected and fed him from his earliest day, could he fail to love the little waif that grew up under his fostering care? Julia, the emperor's only child, and Marcellus, the youth of promise, and the children of Octavia, Augustus' sister, were there surrounded with the best care the Roman world furnished. The strayling who had buffeted with the hardened world could not, in his youthful unwisdom, adapt himself with ease to this atmosphere. From a humble station to the very pinnacle of its opposite was too sudden a transition. From Nature's most efficient teacher, Experience, he had had lessons in suspicion, silence, and patience. A disposition nurtured in this unpromising beginning overawed by dazzling splendors, and the grandeur and arrogance of the ruler of the world, was not calculated to find favor in that ruler's eyes. Augustus Caesar

possessed the power of fascinating the people and was at ease only when he felt himself high in favor. The characteristics of Tiberius disconcerted him; Tiberius found not favor in the emperor's eyes.

- (2) The children of the imperial household were taught by the best masters; (1) one authority tells us Tiberius' teachers were the most excellent. They did not all find him a ready pupil, and one (2) has left an uncomplimentary laconism of his ability and disposition, "Mud mixed with blood". Here is manifested the inability of disposition to adapt itself to environment, -- a fatal defect. A mind of energy has its power divided; its master-trainer condemns the mechanism that responds not to his skill. The abilities of Tiberius were not overwhelmed by his trials. No voice proclaims to us that he caused great trouble to his instructors. He became one of the learned men of his day and was master of Latin and Greek; his writings attest the vigor of his mental caliber. But mental acquirement is only one of the elements in the making of a Prince.

The empress Livia was a woman of ability and discretion; she was ambitious. Such a woman rears sons who

(1) Paterculus Ch. 94.

(2) Theodorus Gadareus. Suetonius. Ch. 57.

understand the world and make their impress thereon. The founders of imperialism gave its heirs such a training as left no chance for failure in lives predestined to be eventful. Still more vigorous was the training in state-craft and policy a designing woman gave her own offspring, and it was supplemented by Augustus with the stern and unlimited power of the Roman father, sharpened by dislike.

Nowhere are we told that the childhood of Tiberius was marked by the foreshadowings of genius. The heredity of his Roman birthright responded to the sternness of discipline, and the training of the field prolonged the lesson and instilled it with an ineffaceable impression; the mind became that on which it fed. The versatility of the imperial life was beyond his mental grasp; he had come to it as a stranger and fear replaced adaptability in his soul. The spontaneity of childhood was crushed. The gravity of age settled down on him. Pity fills the heart for the struggling little life, trying to expand to greatness in a blighting atmosphere, and the sorrow of his childish conduct is all contained in the appellation of his elders for him, (1) "the old man."

(1) Baring Gould. P 233.

- (3) After the difficulties of youth were past, Tiberius, possessed of great personal beauty, grew into a blooming manhood. (1) He was of lofty stature, that was rendered more prepossessing, because of the marked symmetry even to the lowest feet. But nature added detractions to counter-balance that which won and charmed the eye, his mien or manner was not pleasing. Augustus apologized to the senate for it. He had never acquired the self-confidence of those who are born to royalty, nor was his endowment such as over-leaps the barriers of station and negatives social trammels to his own advancement. This flaw of nature had found him out, and at every period of his development recurred with a fatality that prevented his winning eminence, and, magnified in the eyes of unfriendly critics at various periods, has threatened to overshadow all of the excellencies of one of the mightiest struggles the world has ever seen--reason contending against nature.

His presence is noble and striking, and that inward struggle is concealed by dignity and poise and a reserve that borders on austerity. Such characteristics beget sternness and by an unsympathetic world are misconstrued for jealousy

(1) Paterculus. Ch. 94.

and suspicion attended by harshness, into which they might readily merge with due provocation. The beauty and fineness of his sitting statue are almost effeminate; still dignity and nobility crown it, although there is an undevelopment about the chin and lower part of the face that do not augur well for strength of character, or enterprise and independence in action.

Julius and Augustus possessed genius in an eminent degree. Tiberius was unable to forecast the outcome of a succession of events; he looked to practices of Augustus for a precedent; any revision or creation in the system of government, he found himself unable to meet and was forced to continue the trodden path even by laborious means. He was not able to arouse the enthusiasm of his people, consequently they never manifested pleasure in his presence nor rallied to his support in times of emergency. There was an untoward reaction on his own disposition, which adjusted itself into a lack of self-confidence, which left him with the feeling of being less sure of his people than he really was. Reason prompted him by industry, subtlety, and acuteness to supply the defects of nature,

but neither fortune nor conscious ability inspired him with firm self-reliance. No inward consciousness of power brought him that same lofty confidence with which genius had inspired Rome's great men. The reach after the unattainable developed into a supersensitiveness. His absolute impenetrability filled his people with foreboding; they never knew his great desire to conciliate them. He possessed not grace or charm of manner, and it was not compatible with his dignity to assume them. His intellect was schooled to a high degree of skill; cold and calculating it penetrated all disguises; but his resolution was as weak as his penetration was subtle, and his course of action (1) could not be foretold. To his contemporaries his longings, passions, and ambitions were a closed book. He endured disappointments in silence and cloaked his morbid sensitiveness with a cynical exterior, as upon the discovery of the true cause of his son's death he continued the duties of state. The despair of his grief can be inferred from his edict, that none of Drusus' companions should come into his sight.

(4) Of all the lessons Tiberius learned that of obedience

(1) Idea from Dion Cassius, Vol. IV, Bk. 57 p 259-260.

to authority was impressed with the greatest force. The vicissitudes of his childhood brought him different guardians; masters had charge of him in youth, and in the strength of his manhood still the lesson went on. Even in maturest years as emperor of the Roman people, we find him (1) "not able to get rid of an old habit of paying deference to his mother's wishes." The place of schoolmaster was occupied by Augustus too, in the training of this imperial scion. In the fullness of his power he still cherished the respect that early teaching inspired, as evinced when he said, (2) "I with whom all his actions and sayings have the force of laws, have followed an example already approved." None of the instructors complained of rebellion or insubordination. This in itself is a commendation, as in the Roman system of education faults were discovered to a certainty.

The courts were one of the great factors in the education of the Roman youth. Tiberius was not entrusted in this department even to the most skilled; but Augustus himself presided, during his initiatory progress at least, and fixed lessons that bore fruit. From this source are derived those qualities which formed characteristic

(1) Tacitus' Annals. Bk. IV, Ch. 37.

(2) Ibid.

traits of his mind. Justice and fairness, judgment and moderation, he sought to emphasize in his government, both at home and in the colonies, in his relations with his associates, as well as between man and man. 'The child was trained in the way he should go and when he was a man he departed not therefrom.' His mind acquired a legal bent from this training in the courts. With industry and patience he sought out the justice and merits of cases according to the Roman jurisprudence and desired that decisions once rendered should become permanent. Life was a serious thing to Tiberius, and seriousness is productive of isolation. Thoughtfulness also found place in his character, and it is only a step for the thoughtless or the gay to designate it as unsocial.

Firmness and reserve were still further engrafted into his mind by a military life; the camp with its discipline intensified these qualities. Agrippa, the winner of the victories of Augustus, was the general to whom Tiberius was assigned for this course of his tuition. Its excellence was such that Tiberius became a great general, and his promise in the field was such, that at one time Marcellus

and Agrippa were jealous of him. On the whole Agrippa thought well enough of him to confer his daughter on him in marriage. It is not hard for us to believe that he instilled into the mind of his pupil the skill in military tactics that he had acquired on his campaigns, the cunning practiced in avoiding snares and ambuscades, the coolness and alertness born only in the roar and shock of battle, and the strategy employed in thrilling contests, where the commanders played for such desperate stakes as the control of the civilized world; the moulding of a prince in this deadly pastime of nations is such a mighty work. In the end Agrippa took his pupil to his heart; could he other than love him whom he received into the bosom of his family?

- (5) Tiberius was gifted (1) "with a decided aptitude" in military affairs. Augustus who was deficient in this capacity recognized the gift of his step-son, that was most requisite for the accomplishment of his own ambitious schemes, and encouraged his vaulting steps as he climbed to that dizzy eminence, the headship of the mightiest organization of the might Roman world--the army. The

(1) Johnson's Encyclopedia, Vol.VIII.

maneuvering of an army in a homogeneous nation calls for a high degree of intelligence; the complexity is increased in one of mingled nations; the pretentious and detailed camp life of the Roman army rendered the problem still more intricate. Difficulties of so strenuous a nature would seem to task the mind of the general to the exclusion of multitudinous detail; not so Tiberius. The Roman army, with its varying exigencies, and complexed and conflicting interests of definite numbers, was a miniature world, wherein the future master of unlimited numbers gained experiences that led him up to the perilous seat of emperor.

The discipline of his armies was a duty, a matter of the very gravest importance to Tiberius. He led them on campaigns where the soldiers met rigors with the fortitude of expectancy. There was no relaxation when camp life was resumed, the vigor of the soldiers was maintained and a readiness for duty. In this way he escaped the dangers and annoyances that attend on idle hands. The other Caesars were gifted with more generosity of nature enabling them to win their soldiers, and inspire in them feelings of companionship and interest in their endeavors; they

knew how to exercise a wise liberality with seasons of stricter authority. More unpromising was the conduct of Tiberius, who maintained himself aloof and dignified, the commander of his men not their comrade. They yielded respect and obedience, they could no other to a general autocratic, self-contained, and uncompromised. (1) No history acquaints us with any complaints of his men for strictness or severity in discipline. (2) One historian tells us his return to the army after a protracted absence, was hailed with delight, and upon one occasion he presumed upon having been their commander and endured common hardships to recall the soldiers from meditated insurrection. He could be merciful as well as might and maintained authority while not punishing a culprit. One of his most distinguishing traits was his care of his soldiers; their health was jealously guarded, supplies for their maintenance were procured with providential foresight, their lives were protected and preserved with that same integrity with which they protected and preserved the empire.

As a general we admire the balance of his courage and prudence. He permitted neither judgment nor imagination

(1) Idea from Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, p 335.

(2) Paterculus. Chs. 104, 111, 114, 115.

to outweigh in his observation of circumstances, and a practical consideration of his means. His personal vigilance and activity were exerted to the uttermost. In the German campaigns, contrary to his custom, he supplemented his own efforts by the assistance of a cabinet of the wisest among the soldiery. This shows the desperate character of the task imposed on him. (1) "We have admired more than once the breadth and boldness of the plan, which distinguished the campaigns of Tiberius, though his operations were always conducted with caution, and he never risked defeat by presumptuous temerity." He carried on bloodless campaigns in Germany, fortunate invasions and safe retreats. A policy was inaugurated that produced results as effectively as if accomplished by military execution. (2) The carnage of blood, bodies with lost members, and the sacrifice of lives were spared by this leader, whose face was not far turned as yet from the barbarous age. If genius frowned, her hand-maiden, cleverness, was all encouragement; the outcome justified the means.

His mind had emerged from the ordeal of the

(1) Merivale's History of Rome. Vol. IV, p 351.

(2) Idea from Paterculus. Ch. 121.

training given with correct ideals. He cared more for the approval of his own soul, and the peace secured from following righteous judgments, than for the plaudits of an amazed world. It was a sober and sensible road, but one which his self-disparaging conscience would inevitably choose. In the end it led to a long and successful career, not only on account of the distinctions won by honest worth, but also for the dangers and disasters that his wisdom obviated. After the death of Agrippa, Augustus extricated himself many times from crucial positions by means of his generalship. For many years Tiberius met every peril or disaster and grew to be considered the protector and preserver of the empire. (1) "Like Wellington, whom as a general he much resembles, he never experienced a defeat."

Estimated from the point of view of military science, his achievements entitle him to a place in the rank and file of Roman generals. Meannesses and weaknesses such as characterized the time and age in which he lived, were not entirely removed from his nature, but we find him modest always, and more given to sacrificing honors than to pushing the claims his merits justified. Caution and

(1) Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius. Edward Spencer Beesly, p. 112.

excessive care are attributes of his campaigns rather than the lofty conception and brilliant execution of genius; nevertheless success crowned his policy, this is the test of merit. He used an unvarying firmness in dealing with his men and kept them strictly within the limits of propriety. With them his reserve and silence had in them a tinge of sadness, attributes of their gods; they rendered him due respect, not love.

- (6) There came a time when the thought of an outlook for life took possession of his mind with a peremptoriness that commanded attention. So far he had spent the best of his years in camps and retirement; no selfish interest had been promoted; his services had not been rewarded by the opening of a definite and honorable career; his life had been passed in shadow and cold neglect, until his military talent had defined his position in the state. Then his efforts were in constant demand for furthering the advancement of others and securing their places in the empire. He was a prop and a stay by which their destinies were rendered stable. With each vicissitude brought forth by the revolution of Fortune's wheel, he had been made use

of by the emperor and empress and treated without consideration, as far as his personal feelings and ambitions were concerned. As his influence and power became more marked jealous rivalries beset his course; the complication was rendered more serious by dark intrigues which fretted a proud soul long driven on the path of patience. If health did not fail, as he pleaded his spirit did, where there was not one ray of hope before, for anything the heart might cherish. (1) "For eighteen years he had been engaged in campaigns; sorrow and humiliation had been his share in domestic life." (2) "Hitherto every praiseworthy action of his had been misrepresented and repaid with scurrility, his kindness translated as want of strength, his magnanimity as fear, his care for justice to the poor as popularity hunting." The only relief that he could see was in complete withdrawal. His announcement was followed by surprise and dismay. Augustus considered himself affronted, he complained in public. A startled court discovered that he who had spent a life-time in yielding, who had broken every tie of his softer nature, could be firm; hard and implacable not even his mother could alter his decision.

(1) Tragedy of the Caesars. Baring Gould, p 243.
 (2) " " " " " " p 241.

He had learned one lesson characteristic of the great, he could keep his own counsel. To this day new reasons are sought to explain his motives for retirement. (1)

"A precedent for his action was the withdrawal of Agrippa to Mytilene, when he had stood in the way of the rising Marcellus." There was a parallelism in the cases. Tiberius was near to Augustus and apparently in the possession of the second place in the empire. The young princes, Caius and Lucius Caesar, the emperor's adopted sons, were furiously jealous of their step-father, as his own son, Drusus, was later on of Sejanus. To retire left the road open for the buds of royalty; (2) one historian alleges this as his reason. Trying as this situation may have been, the relations with his wife, Julia, were a sorer and more serious matter and are much more likely to afford the key to his action. (3) He had known her to seek him when she was bound to another, and he was aware that the public condemned her. From the first then, he interpreted her conduct with studied understanding; suspicion lent keenness. (4) Julia aroused Augustus' suspicions toward Tiberius in regard to her sons of whom he was very fond. She was

(1) Encyclopedia Britannica. Vol. XXIII, p 335.

(2) Paterculus. Ch. 99.

(3) Idea from Suetonius. Ch.7.

(4) Baring Gould. p 239.

animated either by resentment as they lived apart, or was jealous of the rivalry of power that must be conferred on him or them. (1) "Tiberius dared make no move to right his position, as Julia was her father's darling; nor could he institute proceedings for divorce, till Augustus divested himself of his all-too-great father-love." His position with Augustus was undetermined, as matters drifted it became more insecure, more untenable each day. Soon it would be a question of safety, and a matter of facing the death-warrant, if it were not already such. Fickle ever is the favor of princes, varying with the interests of the hour.

His determination being taken it remained to cast about for a mode of life that promised the greatest returns in the way of happiness or contentment. (2) "A significant incident, that gives us a glimpse into that wounded and solitary heart, flying from a dishonored home and from the malignity of the rival members of the same household, is his sending a statue of Vesta, the goddess of the domestic hearth, to be erected in the temple of Concord."

(1) From the German of L. Freytag. p 10.

(2) Baring Gould. p 243.

Seven years he lingered at Rhodes, famed for its schools of Philosophy and agreeable climate. (1) "He lived simply here and tried to avoid suspicion in every way he could. Official parties now began to stop there to pay visits of respect to the illustrious step-son of the emperor. A hostile party at Rome stirred up the grandsons. Tiberius withdrew within the island and received no visits." Time brought him surcease of sorrow, and he would look back to the ways of the world. Augustus who had never understood or appreciated his nature met his desire with a cold rebuff. But the Fates ruled otherwise. He took up again his state of pupilage at Rome after a method of conduct prescribed by the emperor. His star was in the ascendant. (7) The other heirs to the throne fell away one by one, and he now stood alone. Augustus adopted him as a son with his grandson Agrippa Postumus. His conduct was still unobtrusive. (2) "He did not do anything as the head of a family or retain in the smallest degree the right he had lost. He did not take advantage of his position, but conducted himself in the role of a son. After Agrippa Postumus was banished as unworthy, he became the one hope of

(1) From the German of L. Freytag. p 29.
 (2) Idea from Suetonius. Ch. 15-16.

the empire, and everything was done to increase his majesty. The power of Tribune was conferred on him again for five years; he was chosen to adjust the affairs of the states, and ambassadors were directed to apply to him." He found himself once more at the head of the legions; the broken thread of his life was resumed; honor and power opened before him; the world was at his feet which were directed to the chiefest seat in the empire. (1) The senate passed a law that he should rule the provinces with Augustus and take the census. Fortune 'wreathed her face in smiles,' without was a fair field, but who will ever know what was within?

The trust imposed in him filled his heart with confidence and nerved his arm to deal the masterly stroke to insurrection, revolt, or disaster, wherever it lifted its head in the empire, even the one that appalled Augustus' soul, Teutoberg Forest, where two unconquerable peoples met in deadly shock, then withdrew to reflect on the virtues of annihilation. Each campaign was conducted with one un-failing issue; the troops were led triumphantly back, the banners waved by hands that had been led to victory.

(1) Idea from Suetonius. Ch. 21.

Tiberius' conduct toward his parents may well excite our admiration in the filial deference and respect he yielded them. On one occasion in the proud act of celebrating a triumph with pomp and glory, (1) "he got down from his chariot to salute his father." The ties that bound him to his mother were closer and more confining. Adversity and isolation had strengthened their power. (2) "The respect of Tiberius for his mother had all the force of habit." To the wishes of their majesties he had sacrificed every prospect of domestic happiness, and as the long years glided by the prospect turned into a bitter reality.

The Principate in its incipency could not be formally bequeathed; the Roman mind was not yet prepared for that. Nevertheless, a successor might be provided with a tolerable degree of certainty, if he were ripe in years and experience, possessed of civil training, and an efficient leader of armies. All these qualities were amassed in one alone--Tiberius. Still some signal blow might be struck in an age where conspiracies ripened in a night, and fierce jealousies severed every tie of blood and kindred. The populace loved the winning Germanicus; they

(1) Suetonius. Ch. 20.

(2) Tacitus' Annals, Book V, Ch. 3.

looked with distrust on one who had been brooded under the wings of repression and self-effacement, till he knew not how to meet spontaneous nature with spontaneity. Harassments beset his road with each onward step. If Livia and Tiberius had any secret understanding apart from Augustus it was shrouded in mystery. (1)

"It was evidently always the dearest wish of Augustus to found a family dynasty. The precariousness of his health obliged him to contemplate the possibility of a speedy as well as a distant succession, and to have different heirs in various grades of expectancy." Freytag says that Augustus in the last days could not change the succession from Tiberius; he evidently bases his opinion on Suetonius where he says, (2) "Tiberius was appointed successor by necessity more than choice." Augustus' letters would seem to reassure Tiberius and herald to the world that in later days he had come to a realization of his merits. He even found an affection for him which must have fallen on that hungry heart as dew upon a famished land. That he was a chief in the empire may be gleaned from this letter of Augustus: (3) "When I hear

(1) Furneaux' Introduction to 'Annals'. p 135.

(2) Suetonius. Ch. 23.

(3) Ibid. " 21.

and read that you are worn thin by the fatigues you undergo, may the gods destroy me but my whole frame trembles; and I beseech you that you spare yourself, lest if we shall hear that you are failing, both myself and your mother will succumb, and the Roman people will be endangered concerning their empire. It is of no consequence whether I myself am well or not, if you are not well. I beseech the gods that they may preserve you for us and permit you now to be well, if not the Roman people have perished."

Augustus' last journey was accompanying Tiberius as he set out to war. Death hovered in the air, and he never retraced his steps. Livia exhibited her wisdom and resolution by keeping affairs entirely within her own hands. Tiberius was in Italy ready to assume the powers of state, before any formal announcement of the demise of Augustus was made.

- (8) The hesitation of Tiberius to accept the Principate has been a matter that the critics have attacked. That he gained the proud seat through a woman who dominated an old man in a weakened old age, would be a circumstance of humiliation to one of the Claudian line. After the ordeals

of childhood, a youth and manhood devoted to the calls of duty, to be summoned as the choice of the people was the only method consistent with the years of sacrifice that had been his. Tacitus understands his motive no better than others, yet he is ready with his detracting insinuation, (1) "that Tiberius' words and motives are dark and cautious now either from nature or habit." In the end he had to swallow his disappointment and assume the office; Fortune had never gratified his desires. He knew that plots and conspiracies grew rampant in a government where 'might made right' in gaining the succession; even great Julius fell, entrapped in their toils. (2) He took upon himself the government whose fate would be to perish, should he leave it to be contended for by the arms of ambitious aspirants. This is Paterculus' version.

The people had never taken Tiberius into their favor. He had sought to conciliate them and resented their coolness, as his services had been worthy, and their welfare had been ensured at the expense of great sacrifice on his part. He did not have a pleasing manner, and he was too straightforward in thought to counterfeit what

(1) Tacitus 'Annals'. Bk. 1, Ch. II.

(2) Paterculus. Ch. 124.

nature had denied. Magnetism of personality was not one of his gifts, yet the populace accepted his rule. Doubt still quivered in his heart; he knew that Germanicus had only to show himself in Rome to fill the hearts of the people with joy.

The minutest search of facts has been made and unfavorable writers have sought to establish that Tiberius' treatment of Germanicus was characterized by injustice, inspired by fear and jealousy, and encouraged by this view they have painted it as one of the abominations of his reign. One who saw tells us: (1) "Tiberius took as ruler of Germany his Germanicus, instructed by what precepts, and filled with the rudiments of military science gleaned with him. With what honors he magnified his youth." Germanicus had been his comrade and pupil in campaigns of danger and difficulty among distant savage peoples; he had taught the craft of warfare to this gracious youth burning with the ardor of zeal, and had taught him to curb his wild imagination tempering courage with prudence; in later days he placed him in command of his armies, a general ripened by the wisdom of his own experience and the fruits of his own

(1) Paterculus, Sec. 129.

garnering; the youth had found favor in the sight of all men; he had looked into the eyes of his uncle with trust and confidence, would he be denied protection by his own blood? No, Tiberius was a human being; could he do otherwise than love the handiwork of his own hands? Tacitus says of the campaign of Germanicus: (1) "Tiberius bestowed copious praises on his valor," and "the concessions made (to the army) by Germanicus he fulfilled." Again after his death he says: (2) "Tiberius now advanced Drusus to the supreme magistracy; whereas while Germanicus yet lived, he had shown no preference to either." His efforts being lent to raise the efficiency of the young man, he found this a sufficiently engrossing care without distrusting his popularity. (3) "The position in which Germanicus is found at the death of Augustus is strengthened rather than impaired; he is allowed to levy war in such a mode and on such a scale as he pleases; his distinctions are more than equal to his deserts; his recall (from Germany) was justifiable." Tiberius offered no public criticism of any proceeding of Germanicus, who on more than one occasion pursued a course at variance with his wishes. (4) "It is

(1) Tacitus. Bk. I, Ch. 52.

(2) Ibid. " III, " 56.

(3) Furneaux' Introduction to 'Annals'. p 140.

(4) From the German of L. Freytag, p 131.

scarcely possible to give an historical estimate of Germanicus. What one knows of him is gathered through the gleams of the rhetoric of Tacitus, a heavy mixture of truth and poetry. Upon Germanicus falls the entire light; on Tiberius, the entire shadow. We know of Germanicus that he was a brave young soldier, and stood high in the favor of the people and senate, but we know certainly that he was no statesman."

The assumption of the government by Tiberius was followed by conspiracies and insurrections in the armies. This aroused his apprehensions for he felt the lack of that ingenuity which overcomes all difficulties in seasons of insecurity. The reign of Augustus had not been free from like calamities, but they had been composed with decision, and Tiberius availed himself readily of a precedent. One historian tells us that (1) "while there was trepidation in the senate, confusion among the people, and fear in the city, Tiberius showed himself not even disturbed, the majesty of one man restored them to confidence."

Tiberius had learned from the policy of Augustus that however free and open his proceedings might be in the

(1) Paterculus, Ch. 124.

camp and in the provinces, nevertheless the nobles and the upper classes must be ruled by sublety, and a system of government not evident from its inception. Dion Cassius never did gain an understanding of the operative motive, but concluded that a primordial system of contraries in conception was veiled in a maze of exceptions and irregularities, (1) "Tiberius began all things by the consuls, as if the ancient republic still subsisted, and he were unresolved about assuming the sovereign rule." The last vestiges of republican institutions were obliterated from the minds of the people. (2) "The assemblies for electing magistrates were now first transferred from the Campus Martius to the senate; for though the emperor had conducted all affairs of moment at his pleasure, yet till that day, some were still transacted according to the inclination of the tribes. Neither did the regret of the people for the seizure of these their ancient rights, rise higher than some impotent grumblings."

The attributes of sovereignty had been gradually gathered into the hands of the Prince. The acquisition of the tribunician authority and that of Pontifex Maximus

(1) Tacitus' 'Annals'. Bk. I, Ch. 7.

(2) " " " Bk. I, Ch. 15.

had made the process complete. (1) Suetonius says that Tiberius gradually took charge of the sovereignty, and administered it in various ways for the best advantage, and for public good. He took an interest in the courts, admonished the magistrates of their obligations; he reduced the expense of public games and frowned on luxury; he forbade foreign religions, checked the astrologers and players, rendered Italy free from robbers, and regulated the public morals. He lived the 'simple life' learned from Augustus or in camp.

Tiberius was averse to flattery; he desired sincerity, and could penetrate the motives of his subjects. Those who offered flattering epithets were compelled to change their words. He was forbearing and apologized to the senate for expressing an opinion contrary to theirs. Tacitus tells us that he was impatient of flattery and utterly rejected the slavish servility of the senate. He was modest in his demeanor and estimated himself, if anything, below his actual worth.(2) "After he was freed from fear he conducted himself as a plain citizen, and would receive only a few honors." No temples or priests

(1) Suetonius, Ch. 33.

(2) Ibid. Ch. 26.

fostered a false adulation for him, and his statues were permitted among common things only. He sanctioned not the change of the names of the months in honor of himself and his mother. A foolish senate was forbidden to swear to his acts or his words. Moderation was the keynote of the government he set before the people.

Tacitus tells us: (1) "Tiberius meanwhile nowise relaxing in the cares of government but deriving relief from his occupations, attended to the administration of justice at Rome, and dispatched the petitions from the provinces." During the first two years Tiberius never absented himself a day(2) from the turmoil of a congested dusty city and afterwards only for a short time. From the bent of his mind acquired in the position of official for so many years, he attempted to oversee all departments and affairs of his government, His industry was commendable, but the attempt was disastrous. (3) "The subjects of Tiberius, we are assured conceived a high opinion of the wisdom and policy of his general administration. Even Tacitus admits, that his conduct in regard to majesty was the only blot on a government distinguished at least for many years

(1) Tacitus' 'Annals', Bk. IV, Ch. 13.

(2) Idea from Suetonius, Ch. 38, and Merivale, Vol.V, p 293.

(3) Merivale's History of Rome, p 275, Vol. V.

of prudence, equity and mildness."

The disturbance of mind that Tiberius experienced in a time of crisis can be surmised from the nature of his action. On such occasions it would seem that panic possessed him. The more clearly he saw through men's actions, the more he was at a loss how to deal with them. He could hold strict discipline but to counter-check so that violations could be remedied and summarily dealt with, was a feat beyond his mental equilibrium. At such times every man seemed a foe to be struck down.

Tiberius considered well the selection of his officials. In the presence of a powerful aristocracy his movements were not unguarded. He did not wish to place them in positions of power, nor dared he estrange them by evident exclusion. Men of pre-eminent virtue were sought according to Tacitus.(1) "It was part of the policy of Tiberius to continue persons in office, and for the most part to maintain them in the same military authority or civil employments to the end of their lives, with what view is not agreed. Some think, that from an impatience of recurring care, he was for making whatever he once

(1) 'Annals' of Tacitus, Bk. I, Ch. 80.

resolved on, perpetual." Tacitus criticises this procedure as a loss of opportunity to the nobles to plunder.(1) "But the provincial historian, Josephus, looks at it in a different light and tells Tiberius pursued this policy avowedly with the object of saving the provinces from the keen appetites of new governors." Abuses that long ages had sanctioned were dealt leveling blows. (2) "He checked the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and suffered not the subjects of the empire to be ill-treated in their persons nor exposed to the loss of their fortunes by rapine and injustice." The provinces were administered with an equity as never before; they were prosperous and contented. The Jewish writers Philo and Josephus bear this evidence. The former thinks (3) "the Saturnian age of the poets might no longer be regarded as a fiction so nearly was it revived in the life of that age." That provinces asked to be transferred from the government of the senate to that of Tiberius tells the story.

The greatest men the world has produced for confederating peoples or governing vast dominions have won their success in a great measure by the merits of their

(1) Beesly, p 128.

(2) Crevier's History of Roman Emperors, Vol. II, p 253, Idea from Pateculus, Sec. 126, and Tacitus, Bk. IV, Ch. 6.

(3) Beesly, p 129. From Philo, the Jew.

most trusted assistants. Co-workers of ability and loyalty who are joined in interest with the master-mind are to be discovered in every great enterprise. An essential requirement of a leader is that he have the judgment to select men of the requisite attainments. Augustus surrounded himself with a number in various grades of expectancy. Tiberius had only one great confidant, Sejanus, and he intended to let him finally drop into the background and to advance the natural heir to power.

Woman has played a peculiar part in the world's history. She is not a leader by nature, but men have availed themselves of her assistance to climb to places beyond their reach. Man's success is more or less due to her devotion. Tiberius' experience with women was rendered unfortunate by sacrifices required of him to inaugurate a policy. His fortune has been equally aided and injured by the sex. His family was not united in advancing his cause. His mother, Livia, made a life-time effort in his behalf. Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, may also have been his friend. Livia had great influence in the empire; the statesmen refer to her with deference. She worked

zealously for the advancement of her son, and her reputation rests under as dark a cloud as his. More than once she defied the laws through her friends, and Tiberius felt compelled to absolve them. (1) The one trait of gentleness that he exhibited was his behavior to his mother, whom he never ceased to regard with respect and with awe, allowing himself to be guided or thwarted by her with the docility of his childish years.

The rulers of Rome found their lives beset by snares and plots; fear was ever present that the assassin's dagger might leap from the folds of any cloaked form. Because Tiberius escaped these it is assumed that he was in no danger, whereas the credit is due to his precaution. All attempts were foiled by his penetration. The anxiety under which he labored can be inferred from his letter to the senate saying, -(2) "that he lived a life of fear and solicitude; in constant apprehensions of the snares of his enemies."

(3) "The emperor's lands in Italy were small and thinly-scattered; the behavior of his slaves modest; the freedmen in his house few; his disputes with private

(1) Idea from Merivale. Vol. V. P. 154.

(2) 'Annals' of Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. 70.

(3) " " " " " " 7.

individuals were determined by the courts and the law." He kept all his assistants strictly within the limits of propriety, rewarded them exactly, and did not seek to gain their favor by gratuities and largesses. He greatly desired that the general conduct of his government at home should be approved by the statesmen. (1) "In conferring preferments he was guided by merit, by ancient nobility, renown in war, and distinguished civil accomplishments; insomuch that it was agreed none had greater pretensions." An unfavorable witness bears this testimony as to the exact balance of his mind in one of the most important requirements of government. In the progress of his reign we note his studied carefulness in proceeding, with a strict construction of law and precedent. In giving a decision he quotes his authority. None seem to have studied so exhaustively in the archives of the past. (2) "Tiberius was solicitous above all things that matters once settled should not be disturbed."

In military matters Tiberius possessed the proper self-confidence. The policy he made use of in Germany was, after many years proved sound by Drusus the younger.

(1) 'Annals' of Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. 6.
 (2) " " " " " II. " 65.

One historian tells us,--(1) "Tiberius was more rejoiced to have established peace by policy, than if he had ended the war by battles." Tacitus gives us the impression that his people were ever estranged from him in spite of his endeavors; his method of procedure apparently was perverse, and they accepted all things with suspicion or attributed a sinister motive. (2) "His own silence was not, as he had hoped, ascribed to his regard for civil equality, but was imputed to scorn." From another source we gain the following view of two decades of his reign which is the direct opposite--(3) "Sedition was checked. Justice, equity, and industry returned to the state. Authority was added to the magistrates, majesty to the senate, influence to the courts."

So many situations in the life of Tiberius have been distorted into magnified proportions and shrouded in mystery, as if his being were animated by impulses unknown to mortals and each action prompted by dark sinister design. We come to them breathless, passing over the ordinary or natural, in expectation of the amazing or extravagant. About none has the discussion raged more

(1) 'Annals' of Tacitus. Bk. II. Ch. 65.

(2) " " " " VI. " 13.

(3) Paternulus. Sec. 126.

hotly nor the opinions been more controverted, than his reason for retirement to Capri. The sanest and most probable one is entirely within the scope of a worldly being. He had now come to the age of three score and ten, - the limit set by the Creator for his creatures. During all the years of his Principate he had wrought unceasing in the carping cares of his station. The wound and scar of battle were upon him. His form was bent, his visage was wrinkled and blotched, his hair had left his head, his body was shriveled, his youth and pride had gone to decay. Long before that age men in other stations give over exhausting activities, why not he? This purpose long had been meditated. Still some ulterior baser motive is sought by Tacitus as if such were needful, and an unquestioning flock followed this lead for generations. His retirement at this period can be inferred from certain facts, and reason will supply any others requisite.

Agrippina and her children were the center around which the ambitious spirits wove plots for furthering their own purposes, under a pretense of elevating them to the throne by pulling Tiberius down. She was a

turbulent spirit; one who considered her rights infringed by him; he knew it. Sejanus through spies knew their acts and even their words. As Tiberius' most trusted officer, he reported them to him placing them in a most exaggerated form. The probability is that Livia opposed Tiberius in his determination to punish Agrippina, and a most violent quarrel ensued, as she sought a share in (1) directing the government. She brought every power to bear, asserted her own claims in securing his supremacy. Meeting with opposition, she struck a deadly blow at his pride by laying bare his unamiable nature and (2) produced letters of Augustus to attest its truth. A rupture ensued that never could be healed. Wearied, chagrined, broken-hearted, he determined to seek repose in a quiet retreat. After the manner of some parents disciplining their children, he removed the reins of government far out of his mother's reach. The true inwardness of the facts were suppressed, but a breath of the truth came out in connecting it with the empress. His disposition changed not nor softened with time, and he

(1) Idea from Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. 57.

" " Suetonius. Ch. 51.

could not bring himself to take any part in her funeral rites, choosing rather the surprise and keen censure of his people.(1) "It was his settled conviction that a governor of men ought not to give up care of the common weal by reason of private misfortunes, and he confirmed the rest in their purpose not to jeopardize the interest of the living because of the dead."

Tacitus has painted the life of Tiberius as a series of changes or metamorphoses marked off by certain events, the last of which is a revolting picture of lust and depravity at Capri. A life of retirement and reserve is apt to be attacked with suspicion, especially when the person is unpopular and not possessed of redeeming qualities. That this view should be adopted by Tacitus is not so strange, when we remember that (2) "the excessive sensuality of the Roman nobles, pampered by all the appliances of art and luxury, was in fact, the frenzy of a class deprived of the healthy stimulus of public action, and raised above the restraints of decency and self-respect." But that others should adopt the view without question in the face of its improbability is very

(1) Dion Cassius. Vol. IV. Bk. 57. P 277.

(2) Morivale's History of Rome. Vol. V. P. 377.

strange. At his age such an accusation is preposterous, and in its fullness impossible. The humors of his blood and the passions they beget had long gone to sleep and perished with his youth. With no one of our acquaintance could such a thing be possible. His inclinations, observed for years, show a mind devoted to the study of liberal arts. He surrounded himself with men of letters, and the distinguished jurist Cocceius Nerva accompanied him on this last journey. (1) "The selection by Tiberius of a man of his unblemished character and free principles as his chief companion, goes a great way to show that his object in secluding himself was not to indulge in private debauchery." (2) "From the excessive fondness of Tiberius towards Sejanus, and from the hatred of all others towards both, even fabulous and monstrous things were believed of them." The historians agree that the nature of Tiberius was strongly tempered, if so it was not subject to periodical change. A sane mind cannot change suddenly from one condition to the direct opposite. (3) "Such revolution is suspicious. For a young man it would be hardly credible but it becomes incomprehensible

(1) Allen's notes on 'Annals'. Bk. IV. Ch. 58.

(2) 'Annals' of Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. II.

(3) DuRuy's History of Rome. Vol. IV. Part I. P. 338.

in the case of a man sixty-five.." As for concealing it during a lifetime, he could not have deceived his contemporaries during a half century; "an arbitrary,(1) tyrannical or sanguinary temper could not but have blazed out during the many years when he wielded the absolute, irresponsible, and often frightfully abused power of the Roman general in his province." (2) "The safest verdict is acquittal, or at least not proven."

Tacitus has made other defaming charges; one, that Tiberius was considered an inebriate in his youth. Any one addicted to drink becomes more ensnared in its toils and is useless as a factor in the world. If he had been indiscreet in early imbibing, he shows the strength of his manhood by overcoming it and reaching the highest goal in the empire. Still Tacitus has been believed. In regard to his other charge,(3) "there is very little ground for accepting the stories of a debauched life at Rhodes, when Tiberius was in the prime of an honorable manhood."

A consideration of the treason trials and denunciations awaits us. These were not originated by

(1) Beesly. P. 115.

(2) Furneaux' Introduction to the 'Annals.' P. 154.

(3) 'Allen's notes to 'Annals.' Bk. IV. Ch. 57.

Tiberius; he did consider them essential for public safety. (1) "He spoke to the senate with sternness and contrary to his custom, that the laws would be defeated without them, that they should rather dissolve the laws than dismiss their guardians." The fault was a fundamental one in the Roman judicial system. It was the usual way of bringing criminals to justice. In the days of the Republic the tribunes of the common people had served in this capacity. Tiberius was deficient in originality to create some more efficient system. He attempted to atone for shortcomings by carrying out the law in fullest detail, and to alleviate the severity of the senate by pardoning or commuting. This method was used during the first part of his reign. There came a time when every hand in the empire seemed to be turned against him. His merciful attitude was withdrawn and severity substituted. A torrent of blood followed, which must forever cry out against the one who permits it. Tacitus takes pains to tell that the other writers have not considered this subject of sufficient merits to give an account of it. Stahr accuses Tacitus of both

(1) 'Annals.' of Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. 29.

misrepresentation and falsification. He explains the cases in detail and shows that the average was not high. Considering the proscriptions of some of the Romans Tiberius was mild. (1) "Tacitus is the only historian who speaks of Tiberius as favoring delators and accusations of treason. Suetonius makes no such charge, and Dion Cassius on the contrary tells us that Tiberius interfered to put restraint on the system, forbidding officers in the army appearing as accusers, and that he limited the right to senators and knights."

- (9) Tiberius' life was a tragedy at every successive step. In babyhood he was hunted on a perilous flight. Abandoned with his father, he passed lonely neglected years, Death moved him upward to a dizzy height and gave him into the guardianship of Augustus who found him uncongenial. His position at court was subordinate; the ties of blood took precedence over the ties of law.

In the field he won honors and golden opinions; power was almost within his grasp; but it turned to dust and ashes in his hands, before the jealousy of the rising young princes. The laws of the empire were laid

(1) Baring Gould. P. 342.

aside by Augustus that he might possess the woman of his choice. Tiberius who was brought up in the hard school of self-sacrifice, was required to give up the only being on whose devotion he had ever been able to count. Unmurmuring submission he accepted as his lot, he would never find another.

The age of Augustus was one that lent itself to the will of the monarch; unity of purpose swayed the masses in furthering his one unchangeable desire,--the founding of a family dynasty. Families were wrecked and new ones reconstructed; women endured saddened lives and heart-strings ruthlessly rent; the wills of strong men were bent and stubborn tempers curbed; the nation throbbed in sympathy and gave up its freedom;--all bowed before this mad ambition. A division of parties and a division in household vexed the reign of Tiberius. Vipsania had been a gentle wife, a solace for the many wounds Fate had dealt him; but the haughty Julia her successor, how changed. The charm of her manner soon gave way to estrangement; she became the subject of jibe; his heart was filled with the bitterest passion a proud man can feel.

Possessed of her father's confidence, she headed the faction of opposition in the royal household; she dealt him such injuries that his resentment was not appeased by her fall, but pursued her in exile all the years of her life. She mocked him again from her grave in the aggressive spirit of her daughter. The death of Agrippina left the struggle still on,--the House of Germanicus against his own.

Death meted out to him her slow remorseful dole. Father and brother dropped away on his ascending course. The descent reads with a blacker page. The loss of his mother, now doubly dead, removes the last restraint of his worse impulses. Valued friends, appalled at the Future's fitful fate applied desperate hands to their lives and deafened their ears to his entreaties: The final drama was played out when Sejanus, his only favorite, was proved false, the poisoner of his only son and like-wise the corruptor of that son's wife; everything in his life seemed tumbling about his head. It is said that cruelty, arrogance, and haughtiness impregnated the Claudian blood, and broke out at recurring intervals.

After a life of fever and anxiety is it a wonder that his nature turned and he exhibited the unamiable characteristics of his race, or that Roman ferocity which is found in the mildest of this people, should be manifested?

Tiberius stood undaunted at the helm of state; he abandoned himself not to despair, or, as has been affirmed, to libidinous excesses, but he pursued the stern course he had marked out. He filled his mind with the fortitude of his ancestral Roman stock and plodded on in a desolate old age. He was a strength and a law unto himself, alienated from the present generation by time and dissonance of view. Nevertheless, (1) "his administration in the last years of his life had the same character, firmness, and good-sense, that had marked its earlier period. Discipline was strictly enforced." Oh, the courage and pathos of the struggle to live that life to its last joyless day, and lead to its bitter end a government conceived by men of genius and founded through tedious years by this man of affairs. He had a hope firmly anchored in his breast; he has given it in

(1) DuRuy's History of Rome. Vol. IV. Part I. P. 359.

his own words,--(1) "For myself, conscript fathers, that I am a mortal man, that I am confined to the functions of human nature, and that if I well supply the principal place amongst you, it suffices me, I solemnly assure you, and I would have posterity remember it. They will render enough to my memory, if they believe me to have been worthy of my ancestors; watchful of your interests; unmoved in perils, and, in defence of the public weal, fearless of private enemies. These are the temples I would raise in your breasts; these are the fairest effigies, and such as will endure."

(10)

The authorities for history who are nearest to the times of Tiberius treated him with great indulgence. It is not till the third generation that enormities in his reign and character are emblazoned and set forth to a gaping world, by Tacitus and Dion Cassius who is thought to be in no great degree independent of Tacitus.(2) "In this writer (Tacitus) you have to deal with a tissue of systematic detractions, sly insinuations, and open invective unparalleled in political biography. Ninety-nine out of a hundred know nothing of Tiberius but what Tacitus is pleased

(1) 'Annals' of Tacitus Bk. IV. Ch. 38
 (2) Beesly. P. 113.

to tell them." During a 'dark age' of slipping centuries this view became established through unquestioning credence. Germany first awaked to thought 'that Tiberius was a mortal man.' England and America have benefited by the enlightenment. The moderns waxed wroth in their zeal to free themselves from the fetters that have obstructed the vision of intervening generations. The task has been much embroiled; according to the consensus of opinion the reign has emerged from the heated discussion as creditable to the ruler; the character in certain controverted points still looks with the eyes of Tacitus. (1)

"Tacitus awakens our suspicion at every turn. He gives a sinister interpretation to measures that in themselves are good. He tells a damaging story which is calculated to confirm our worst suspicions of the emperor, while at the same time he refuses to vouch for the truth of it." There is no agreement, where one condemns another acquits; Some find a crisis in his life and a total revulsion of nature, others, 'that he was confined to the functions of human nature.'

The real view would seem to be that in the end he

(1) 'Tiberius Resartus.' International Review. April 1883

fulfilled the promise of his rearing. He may have been touched by the temperament of his age, where noble and aristocrat practiced vice and excess reduced to art; but moderation and discernment twice saved him from pitfalls of ruin in his early career, with the 'development of his intellect and the expansion of his soul' they directed him with a surer step. The characteristics of his race, the ferocity of a Roman, and the vicious tendencies of environment, withered in their energies before that which had been instilled into his nature with such frightful power. The welfare of his people with their advancement in civilization and his responsibility was too awful a task to be trifled with or endangered from impulses of passion. He wrought for them with the might of his manhood and an activity that sought to compensate for genius. The discouragement at the last was bitter with no heir qualified to succeed. Turning away from an ungracious people and all that had been so galling, he consoled himself with his hope,--(1) "I would have posterity remember my acts. Posterity will do justice to my memory."

You who have heard and have seen how the reign has

(1) Baring Gould P. 382. Based on Tac. An. Bk. Iv. Ch. 38.

emerged from the obloquy that assailed it, you will hold fast to moderation and common sense, in judging and estimating the character of him who ruled it. Even in death he found not the peace and justice he hoped the future would bring him. As time goes on the controversy continues, and to this day his fame lives in the same tragic atmosphere in which his life was passed; an unjust fate leaves it controverted and in dispute.

1.

SOURCES USED by TACITUS for 'THE ANNALS.'

BOOK I.

- Chapter 8. "Who had either seen, or had received from their fathers a description of that day of slavery."
- Chapter 29. "Very many (writers) hand down the tradition, that they were dispatched and buried in his tent others, that their bodies were thrown over the entrenchments, for a spectacle of terror."
- Chapter 69. "Caius Plinius (Author of the Natural History) the writer of the German Wars, relates that she (Agrippina) stood at the head of the bridge as the legions returned, "--

BOOK II.

- Ch. 63. "But to the senate he declared, that never had Philip of Macedon been so terrible to the Athenians; nor Pyrrhus, nor Antiochus to the Roman People. The speech is extant, in it he magnifies"--
- Ch. 88. "I find in the writers of those times, some of them being senators, that in the senate were read letters"--

BOOK III.

- Ch. 3. "That Antonia mother of the deceased, bore any peculiar part in the funeral, I do not find either in the historians, or in the journals,"
- Ch. 16. "I remember to have heard from aged men, that in the hands of Piso was frequently seen

a bundle of writings"----I would affirm neither; nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of such as still lived in the time of my youth."

- Ch. 73 "They say that upon no occasion was Tiberius more enraged at an insult offered to himself and the Roman name."

BOOK IV.

- Ch. 10. "In relating the death of Drusus, I have followed what the majority of the most trustworthy historians have recorded: I would not however omit a rumor which in those times was so prevailing that it is not yet extinguished."

- Ch. 11: "These common rumors, besides that they are supported by no certain author, may be easily refuted."

- Ch. 53. "This passage, not related by authors of our annals, I found in the commentaries of her daughter, Agrippina, who was the mother of the emperor Nero, and has published her own life and the fortunes of her family for posterity."

- Ch. 57. "There is also a tradition that he was driven (from Rome) by the aggressive spirit of his mother, whom he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty, nor could he exclude her"-

- Ch. 67. "Tradition records that the Greeks occupied that region, and that Capri was occupied by the Teleboi."

BOOK VI.

- Ch. 7. Neither am I unaware that by most writers the trials and sufferings of many are wholly omit-

ted; either sinking under their multiplicity, or fearing that the recital, which to themselves had been surfeiting and melancholy, would prove equally tedious to their readers. But to me many events have presented themselves, deserving to be known, however unrecorded by others."

Ch. 24.

"was scarcely credible, but for the letters of Actius the centurion and Didymus the freedman, which exhibited the names of the slaves accordingly as one struck Drusus as he was coming out of his chamber, and another terrified him."

From Crevier's Roman Emperors. Vol. II.

At the time of Suetonius there were extant very succinct memoirs of the life of Tiberius, written by himself,

Note from Reading.

The materials from which Tacitus obtained his information for "The Annals", were various, consisting in the main of funeral orations pronounced in honor of famous men, journals of the senate, and numerous rumors and bits of gossip, that were handed about from mouth to mouth. I should think also from inscriptions.

1.

INVECTIVE of TACITUS against TIBERIUS.

BOOK I.

- Ch. 4. "-indications of his cruel nature escaped him, in spite of their being suppressed."
- Ch. 7. "-as if the ancient republic existed, and he were yet unresolved about assuming the sovereign rule." --- It was afterwards discovered that his irresolution was counterfeited, that he might look into the inclinations of the leading men; for turning their words and looks into into a crime he stored them up in his memory."
- Ch. 8. "The fathers requested to bear the body of Augustus on the shoulders of the senators. Tiberius granted the request with modest insolence."
- Ch. 10 "Nor was Tiberius adopted by him either out of affection or care for the public welfare, but since he had discovered arrogance and cruelty in him, he sought glory for himself by the contrast consummately base, in order that while apologizing for him he might brand him with infamy."
- Ch. 12. "-Suspicion in Tiberius' mind against Asinius Gallus."
- Ch. 14. "-but torn with jealousy and regarding the elevation of a woman as a depression of himself, he permitted not even a lictor to be assigned."
- Ch. 24. "--these things being heard, compelled Tiberius, tho' close and struggling with all his might, to conceal all events of a disastrous nature--"
- Ch. 26. "Tiberius used to frustrate every desire of the legion in the name of Augustus; now Drusus

brought back the same artifices."

- Ch. 47. "--for some time he deceived the men of sense still longer the multitude, and the provinces the longest time."
- Ch. 52. "--it was a matter of annoyance to Tiberius that Germanicus by anticipating the term of service, and by largesses, had gained the affections of the army, as well as that he had acquired military renown.--- Nevertheless he brought the matter before the senate, and commended his exploits and his great virtue: it was considered that he used an embellishment of words for the sake of appearance, rather than that he felt it deeply from his heart."
- Ch. 62. "---a proceeding not liked by Tiberius, whether upon every action of Germanicus he put a malignant construction ,"
- Ch. 73. "That it may be known from what beginnings and with what subtlety on the part of Tiberius this grievous mischief crept in, how it was again restrained, how at last it blazed out and bore all before it."
- Ch. 74. "While he creeps by means of secret information into the good graces of the prince, who was naturally cruel,----when the accuser collected all the most detestable parts of the prince's character,"-
- Ch. 76. "I would not believe that he thus purposely furnished matter, for exposing the cruelty of his son there, and for raising the dislike of the people for him, altho' this too was affirmed."
- Ch. 80. "Others that from the malignity of his nature he did not wish many to enjoy the benefit of office. There are some who believe that as he had a crafty spirit, so he had an understanding

ever perplexed."

- Ch. 81. "--plausible in terms; in reality hollow and insidious: and the greater the semblance of liberty with which they were covered, the more remorseless the slavery into which they would issue."

BOOK II.

- Ch. 5. "But it was not a matter of displeasure to Tiberius that commotions arose in the East, since under this pretense he would withdraw Germanicus from the legions that were attached to him from habit.*** the more ardent the affections of the soldiers toward him, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, so much more intent on expediting a victory,"--
- Ch. 26. "Germanicus persisted no longer; though he knew that this was all deception, and that thro' envy he was torn away from honors already gained."
- Ch. 30. "--the crafty Tiberius invented a new law,"
- Ch. 36. "By this speech in appearance popular,"
- Ch. 42. "But not even thus gaining credit for sincere affection, on pretense of investing the prince with honors, he resolved to remove him from Rome."
- Ch. 43. "--others loved Germanicus the more for the aversion of his uncle,"
- Ch. 55. "--a secret rumor whispered abroad, that all this was not unacceptable to the emperor."
- Ch. 84. "--for his own glory he turned all things even mere accidents."
- Ch. 87. "Hence it was difficult and dangerous to speak

under a Prince, who dreaded liberty and hated flattery."

BOOK III.

- Ch. 3. "I would rather believe her constrained by Tiberius and Livia, who left not the palace, that they might seem to grieve alike, and that the grandmother and the uncle might appear to follow her example."
- Ch. 4. "But nothing pierced Tiberius more deeply than the zeal of the people excited in favor of Agrippina.--"
- Ch. 8. "Tiberius, to make it appear that the trial should be more fair,---nor was it doubted but that the answer was dictated by Tiberius."
- Ch. 12. "On the day the senate met, Tiberius delivered a speech of studied temperament."
- Ch. 17. "For Plancina he (Tiberius) pleaded with shame and guilt, alleging the importunity of his mother; against whom the secret complaints of all the worthiest citizens were kindled with augmented vehemence."
- Ch. 29. "He (Tiberius) pretended that the same indulgence had been decreed to himself and his brother, at the request of Augustus."
- Ch. 31. "In the beginning of this year Tiberius, on the pretense of renewing his health, retired to Campania."
- Ch. 37. "The closeness of his father were thus compensated;--- Let him, it was said, rather thus employ his days in shows, and his nights in banqueting, than in solitude and secluded from all pleasure, wear himself out in gloomy

suspicious and meditations of evil."

- Ch. 44. "They inveighed against Tiberius, that in a commotion so extensive, he spent his time upon the informations of the state accusers,---So much the more studiously Tiberius assumed an air of security and unconcern; neither changing his place nor countenance, but through these trying days he employed himself about his customary vocations; whether it arose from the depths of his dissimulation, or"---
- Ch. 51. "Tiberius complained before the senate in his usual see-saw style."
- Ch. 56. "'---and then added a moderate statement of the qualities of the young prince, without any false additions.
- Ch. 64. "At the same time the severe illness of Livia obliged the emperor to hasten his return to the city; for hitherto the mother and son lived in real unanimity, or dissembled hate,---but to have buried his resentment in dissimulation."
- Ch. 65. "Yes, even Tiberius, the enemy of public liberty, the crouching tameness of his slaves utterly wearied."
- Ch. 68. "Tiberius, the better to palliate his purposes against Silanus."

BOOK IV.

- Ch. 1. "-fortune began to work confusion; he (Tiberius) himself to tyrannize, or support others in tyrannical proceedings."
- Ch. 4. "Now again was revived by Tiberius his stale and oft counterfeited purpose of a progress into

the provinces."

- Ch. 6. "--since this year commenced the pernicious changes introduced by Tiberius."
- Ch. 7. "All these regulations he observed, tho' his manner not being gracious, but harsh and not unfrequently ferocious; yet he retained them till on the death of Drusus they were reversed."
- Ch. 17. "For Tiberius, never kindly disposed to the house of Germanicus, now lamented passionately that no difference was made between their youth and his years,"
- Ch. 19. "Sosia Gallia was the wife of Silius, and for the love Agrippina bore her, frowned on by the Prince. -- It was a policy peculiar to Tiberius to shelter under venerable names the villainies lately found out--- not concealing the rage that possessed him, that he was the victim of a tyrant."
- Ch. 21. "--but in a soul like his, that brooded over vengeance, tho' the transports of resentment had abated, the impression remained deep in his memory."
- Ch. 23: "--because Caesar, after the feats performed by Blaesus, as if there no longer remained any enemy in Africa, had ordered the ninth legion to be withdrawn; nor durst Publius Dolabella, proconsul there that year, retain it; as he dreaded more the orders of the Prince than the casualties of war."
- Ch. 26. "Tiberius refused triumphal ornaments to Dolabella when he asked for them, in consideration of Sejanus; that the fame of his uncle Blaesus might not lose its luster."
- Ch. 29. "--he had likewise inserted some expressions more contumacious than safe in the ears of a

Prince, proud and prone to take offence."

- Ch. 31. "Nay, even (Tiberius), on other occasions studied and artificial in manner, --Tiberius mindful of his service, but pretending other motives,"
- Ch. 33: "For myself, I have only to record the mandates of despotism, incessant accusations, faithless friendships, the ruin of innocence,"
- Ch. 55. "Tiberius to divert the popular talk, assiduously attended the senate, and"--
- Ch. 57. "I am inclined to think that---his retirement was ascribable to his wish to indulge his cruel and libidinous disposition with greater effect, in the secrecy of a retired situation. Some believe that in his old age he was ashamed of the style of his person; for he was exceedingly emaciated, tall, and stooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and thickly patched with plasters; he was wont too, during his recess at Rhodes, to avoid the public, and practice his debaucheries in secrecy. There is also a tradition that he was driven from Rome by the restless spirit of his mother, whom he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty, - With these services Livia upbraided him and demanded a return for them."
- Ch. 67. "so much the more he now became abandoned to secret debaucheries and mischievous privacy; for there still remained in him his proneness to suspicion and credulity; ":
- Ch. 71. "Tiberius, who, tho' he would not suffer the ministers of his cruelties to be crushed by others, -- Tiberius was fonder of his dissimulation than of all his other virtues; for such he conceived it; he was therefore, the more

pained to find his secret purposes laid bare; but Sejanus soothed him, not from any love of Gallus, but to wait the lingering gradations of the Prince's vengeance; for he knew him to be slow in maturing resolutions, but that when he once broke out he would link sanguinary deeds to expressions of severity.

BOOK V.

- Ch. 7. "—whereas he had loaded Blaesus with many foul imprecations."

BOOK VI

- Ch. I. "—but went back again to the rocks and loneliness of the sea, ashamed of his villainies and lusts; in which he rioted so inordinately, Nor were beauty and gracefulness of person the only provocatives of his passion,"
- Ch. 2. "Tiberius, however, whose custom it was to mingle irony with seriousness, thanked the senate for their regard;"
- Ch. 6. "For assuredly not his imperial fortune, not his solitude, could prevent Tiberius from acknowledging the anguish of his breast, and the penalties he brought upon himself."
- Ch. 24. "This was a proceeding of unparalleled atrocity, that for so many years spies should have attended him (Drusus) to note down his looks his groans, his secret murmurs; and that his grandfather could hear the tale and read it, and expose it to the public, was scarcely credible,"
- Ch. 25. "For Tiberius indeed, broke out with abominable imputations against her (Agrippina) -- Nay, he boasted of his clemency, in that she had not been strangled,"—
- Ch. 30. "Tiberius considering the public odium

under which he labored, his great age, and that his authority was upheld more by reputation than force."

- Ch. 38. "For time, supplications, and a satiety of blood did not appease Tiberius, means which are wont to soften all other men, but that he still punished even stale and dubious imputations,- the emperor himself, he said, was reduced to a state of mental imbecility from old age; and spoke of his continued retirement as a kind of exile."
- Ch. 46. "The son of Germanicus had arrived at the vigor of youth, and the favor of the people attended him, a motive this with his grandfather to hate him.-- But, while his illness became more and more serious he relinquished nothing of his libidinous excesses, affecting strength of constitution.."
- Ch. 50. "As for Tiberius, his body was now wasted and his strength exhausted, but his dissimulation failed him not."
- Ch. 51. "--but while Germanicus and Drusus were alive his manners were reserved and mysterious, artfully assuming the merit of virtues, --while he loved or feared Sejanus, tho' detested for his cruelties, he observed a secrecy in the gratifications of his lusts; but at last, when all restraints of fear and shame were removed, and he was left to the uncontrolled bent of his genius, he broke out at once into acts of villainy and depravity."

REIGN and CHARACTER
of
TIBERIUS.

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REIGN AND CHARACTER OF TIBERIUS.

T H E S I S .

(1) In infancy, in the very beginning of life, Fate assigned to Tiberius a checkered career. Hunted and fleeing with his parents, he traversed strange lands, crossed seas in dangerous seasons, incurring the perils of death from man as well as the elements of nature. His own wailing on two different occasions (1) threatened to deliver him to the Destroyer. From each adverse situation, Fate rescued him, bringing him again to the shores of danger, to the shores of the ambitious heart's desire, Italy, the land of centralized life.

But at what a cost was Heaven's offended Deity induced to change the course of events for the hapless infant. Augustus had looked with covetous eyes on the perfections of his mother and the charms of her womanhood. The disruption of a home, the separation of a little child from his mother were the exactions of unkind Destiny. Lonely saddened days, lacking the care and sympathy of a mother, followed, till in his ninth year, we are called on to look

(1) Suetonius. Ch 6.

at the pathetic picture of a boy pronouncing the funeral oration of his dead father. 'Tis a fitting preface to the life that was meted out to him in his step-father's home.

His brother, Drusus, was the baby of the imperial household. He had been born under its roof, and in addition to infantile grace he possessed a winning disposition. Augustus had protected and fed him from his earliest day, could he fail to love the little waif that grew up under his fostering care? Julia, the emperor's only child, and Marcellus, the youth of promise, and the children of Octavia, Augustus' sister, were there surrounded with the best care the Roman world furnished. The strayingling who had buffeted with the hardened world could not, in his youthful unwisdom, adapt himself with ease to this atmosphere. From a humble station to the very pinnacle of its opposite was too sudden a transition. From Nature's most efficient teacher, Experience, he had had lessons in suspicion, silence, and patience. A disposition nurtured in this unpromising beginning overawed by dazzling splendors, and the grandeur and arrogance of the ruler of the world, was not calculated to find favor in that ruler's eyes. Augustus Caesar

possessed the power of fascinating the people and was at ease only when he felt himself high in favor. The characteristics of Tiberius disconcerted him; Tiberius found not favor in the emperor's eyes.

(2) The children of the imperial household were taught by the best masters; (1) one authority tells us Tiberius' teachers were the most excellent. They did not all find him a ready pupil, and one (2) has left an uncomplimentary laconism of his ability and disposition, "Mud mixed with blood". Here is manifested the inability of disposition to adapt itself to environment, -- a fatal defect. A mind of energy has its power divided; its master-trainer condemns the mechanism that responds not to his skill. The abilities of Tiberius were not overwhelmed by his trials. No voice proclaims to us that he caused great trouble to his instructors. He became one of the learned men of his day and was master of Latin and Greek; his writings attest the vigor of his mental caliber. But mental acquirement is only one of the elements in the making of a Prince.

The empress Livia was a woman of ability and discretion; she was ambitious. Such a woman rears sons who

(1) Paterculus Ch. 94.

(2) Theodorus Gadareus. Suetonius. Ch. 57.

understand the world and make their impress thereon. The founders of imperialism gave its heirs such a training as left no chance for failure in lives predestined to be eventful. Still more vigorous was the training in state-craft and policy a designing woman gave her own offspring, and it was supplemented by Augustus with the stern and unlimited power of the Roman father, sharpened by dislike.

Nowhere are we told that the childhood of Tiberius was marked by the foreshadowings of genius. The heredity of his Roman birthright responded to the sternness of discipline, and the training of the field prolonged the lesson and instilled it with an ineffaceable impression; the mind became that on which it fed. The versatility of the imperial life was beyond his mental grasp; he had come to it as a stranger and fear replaced adaptability in his soul. The spontaneity of childhood was crushed. The gravity of age settled down on him. Pity fills the heart for the struggling little life, trying to expand to greatness in a blighting atmosphere, and the sorrow of his childish conduct is all contained in the appellation of his elders for him, (1) "the old man."

(1) Baring Gould. P 233.

- (3) After the difficulties of youth were past, Tiberius, possessed of great personal beauty, grew into a blooming manhood. (1) He was of lofty stature, that was rendered more prepossessing, because of the marked symmetry even to the lowest feet. But nature added detractions to counter-balance that which won and charmed the eye, his mien or manner was not pleasing. Augustus apologized to the senate for it. He had never acquired the self-confidence of those who are born to royalty, nor was his endowment such as overleaps the barriers of station and negatives social trammels to his own advancement. This flaw of nature had found him out, and at every period of his development recurred with a fatality that prevented his winning eminence, and, magnified in the eyes of unfriendly critics at various periods, has threatened to overshadow all of the excellencies of one of the mightiest struggles the world has ever seen--reason contending against nature.

His presence is noble and striking, and that inward struggle is concealed by dignity and poise and a reserve that borders on austerity. Such characteristics beget sternness and by an unsympathetic world are misconstrued for jealousy.

(1) Paternulus. Ch. 94.

and suspicion attended by harshness, into which they might readily merge with due provocation. The beauty and fineness of his sitting statue are almost effeminate; still dignity and nobility crown it, although there is an undevelopment about the chin and lower part of the face that do not augur well for strength of character, or enterprise and independence in action.

Julius and Augustus possessed genius in an eminent degree. Tiberius was unable to forecast the outcome of a succession of events; he looked to practices of Augustus for a precedent; any revision or creation in the system of government, he found himself unable to meet and was forced to continue the trodden path even by laborious means. He was not able to arouse the enthusiasm of his people, consequently they never manifested pleasure in his presence nor rallied to his support in times of emergency. There was an untoward reaction on his own disposition, which adjusted itself into a lack of self-confidence, which left him with the feeling of being less sure of his people than he really was. Reason prompted him by industry, subtlety, and acuteness to supply the defects of nature,

but neither fortune nor conscious ability inspired him with firm self-reliance. No inward consciousness of power brought him that same lofty confidence with which genius had inspired Rome's great men. The reach after the unattainable developed into a supersensitiveness. His absolute impenetrability filled his people with foreboding; they never knew his great desire to conciliate them. He possessed not grace or charm of manner, and it was not compatible with his dignity to assume them. His intellect was schooled to a high degree of skill; cold and calculating it penetrated all disguises; but his resolution was as weak as his penetration was subtle, and his course of action (1) could not be foretold. To his contemporaries his longings, passions, and ambitions were a closed book. He endured disappointments in silence and cloaked his morbid sensitiveness with a cynical exterior, as upon the discovery of the true cause of his son's death he continued the duties of state. The despair of his grief can be inferred from his edict, that none of Drusus' companions should come into his sight.

(4) Of all the lessons Tiberius learned that of obedience

(1) Idea from Dion Cassius, Vol. IV, Bk. 57 p 259-260.

to authority was impressed with the greatest force. The vicissitudes of his childhood brought him different guardians; masters had charge of him in youth, and in the strength of his manhood still the lesson went on. Even in maturest years as emperor of the Roman people, we find him (1) "not able to get rid of an old habit of paying deference to his mother's wishes." The place of schoolmaster was occupied by Augustus too, in the training of this imperial scion. In the fullness of his power he still cherished the respect that early teaching inspired, as evinced when he said, (2) "I with whom all his actions and sayings have the force of laws, have followed an example already approved." None of the instructors complained of rebellion or insubordination. This in itself is a commendation, as in the Roman system of education faults were discovered to a certainty.

The courts were one of the great factors in the education of the Roman youth. Tiberius was not entrusted in this department even to the most skilled; but Augustus himself presided, during his initiatory progress at least, and fixed lessons that bore fruit. From this source are derived those qualities which formed characteristic

(1) Tacitus' Annals. Bk. IV, Ch. 37.
 (2) Ibid.

traits of his mind. Justice and fairness, judgment and moderation, he sought to emphasize in his government, both at home and in the colonies, in his relations with his associates, as well as between man and man. 'The child was trained in the way he should go and when he was a man he departed not therefrom.' His mind acquired a legal bent from this training in the courts. With industry and patience he sought out the justice and merits of cases according to the Roman jurisprudence and desired that decisions once rendered should become permanent. Life was a serious thing to Tiberius, and seriousness is productive of isolation. Thoughtfulness also found place in his character, and it is only a step for the thoughtless or the gay to designate it as unsocial.

Firmness and reserve were still further engrafted into his mind by a military life; the camp with its discipline intensified these qualities. Agrippa, the winner of the victories of Augustus, was the general to whom Tiberius was assigned for this course of his tuition. Its excellence was such that Tiberius became a great general, and his promise in the field was such, that at one time Marcellus

and Agrippa were jealous of him. On the whole Agrippa thought well enough of him to confer his daughter on him in marriage. It is not hard for us to believe that he instilled into the mind of his pupil the skill in military tactics that he had acquired on his campaigns, the cunning practiced in avoiding snares and ambuscades, the coolness and alertness born only in the roar and shock of battle, and the strategy employed in thrilling contests, where the commanders played for such desperate stakes as the control of the civilized world; the moulding of a prince in this deadly pastime of nations is such a mighty work. In the end Agrippa took his pupil to his heart; could he other than love him whom he received into the bosom of his family?

- (5) Tiberius was gifted (1) "with a decided aptitude" in military affairs. Augustus who was deficient in this capacity recognized the gift of his step-son, that was most requisite for the accomplishment of his own ambitious schemes, and encouraged his vaulting steps as he climbed to that dizzy eminence, the headship of the mightiest organization of the might Roman world--the army. The

(1) Johnson's Encyclopedia, Vol.VIII.

maneuvering of an army in a homogeneous nation calls for a high degree of intelligence; the complexity is increased in one of mingled nations; the pretentious and detailed camp life of the Roman army rendered the problem still more intricate. Difficulties of so strenuous a nature would seem to task the mind of the general to the exclusion of multitudinous detail; not so Tiberius. The Roman army, with its varying exigencies, and complexed and conflicting interests of definite numbers, was a miniature world, wherein the future master of unlimited numbers gained experiences that led him up to the perilous seat of emperor.

The discipline of his armies was a duty, a matter of the very gravest importance to Tiberius. He led them on campaigns where the soldiers met rigors with the fortitude of expectancy. There was no relaxation when camp life was resumed, the vigor of the soldiers was maintained and a readiness for duty. In this way he escaped the dangers and annoyances that attend on idle hands. The other Caesars were gifted with more generosity of nature enabling them to win their soldiers, and inspire in them feelings of companionship and interest in their endeavors; they

knew how to exercise a wise liberality with seasons of stricter authority. More unpromising was the conduct of Tiberius, who maintained himself aloof and dignified, the commander of his men not their comrade. They yielded respect and obedience, they could do no other to a general autocratic, self-contained, and uncompromised. (1) No history acquaints us with any complaints of his men for strictness or severity in discipline. (2) One historian tells us his return to the army after a protracted absence, was hailed with delight, and upon one occasion he presumed upon having been their commander and endured common hardships to recall the soldiers from meditated insurrection. He could be merciful as well as might and maintained authority while not punishing a culprit. One of his most distinguishing traits was his care of his soldiers; their health was jealously guarded, supplies for their maintenance were procured with providential foresight, their lives were protected and preserved with that same integrity with which they protected and preserved the empire.

As a general we admire the balance of his courage and prudence. He permitted neither judgment nor imagination

(1) Idea from Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, p 335.

(2) Paterculus. Chs. 104, 111, 114, 115.

to outweigh in his observation of circumstances, and a practical consideration of his means. His personal vigilance and activity were exerted to the uttermost. In the German campaigns, contrary to his custom, he supplemented his own efforts by the assistance of a cabinet of the wisest among the soldiery. This shows the desperate character of the task imposed on him. (1) "We have admired more than once the breadth and boldness of the plan, which distinguished the campaigns of Tiberius, though his operations were always conducted with caution, and he never risked defeat by presumptuous temerity." He carried on bloodless campaigns in Germany, fortunate invasions and safe retreats. A policy was inaugurated that produced results as effectively as if accomplished by military execution. (2) The carnage of blood, bodies with lost members, and the sacrifice of lives were spared by this leader, whose face was not far turned as yet from the barbarous age. If genius frowned, her hand-maiden, cleverness, was all encouragement; the outcome justified the means.

His mind had emerged from the ordeal of the

(1) Merivale's History of Rome. Vol. IV, p 351.

(2) Idea from Paterculus. Ch. 131.

training given with correct ideals. He cared more for the approval of his own soul, and the peace secured from following righteous judgments, than for the plaudits of an amazed world. It was a sober and sensible road, but one which his self-disparaging conscience would inevitably choose. In the end it led to a long and successful career, not only on account of the distinctions won by honest worth, but also for the dangers and disasters that his wisdom obviated. After the death of Agrippa, Augustus extricated himself many times from crucial positions by means of his generalship. For many years Tiberius met every peril or disaster and grew to be considered the protector and preserver of the empire. (1) "Like Wellington, whom as a general he much resembles, he never experienced a defeat."

Estimated from the point of view of military science, his achievements entitle him to a place in the rank and file of Roman generals. Meanesses and weaknesses such as characterized the time and age in which he lived, were not entirely removed from his nature, but we find him modest always, and more given to sacrificing honors than to pushing the claims his merits justified. Caution and

(1) Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius. Edward Spencer Beesly, p. 112.

excessive care are attributes of his campaigns rather than the lofty conception and brilliant execution of genius; nevertheless success crowned his policy, this is the test of merit. He used an unvarying firmness in dealing with his men and kept them strictly within the limits of propriety. With them his reserve and silence had in them a tinge of sadness, attributes of their gods; they rendered him due respect, not love.

- (6) There came a time when the thought of an outlook for life took possession of his mind with a presumptuousness that commanded attention. So far he had spent the best of his years in camps and retirement; no selfish interest had been promoted; his services had not been rewarded by the opening of a definite and honorable career; his life had been passed in shadow and cold neglect, until his military talent had defined his position in the state. Then his efforts were in constant demand for furthering the advancement of others and securing their places in the empire. He was a prop and a stay by which their destinies were rendered stable. With each vicissitude brought forth by the revolution of Fortune's wheel, he had been made use

of by the emperor and empress and treated without consideration, as far as his personal feelings and ambitions were concerned. As his influence and power became more marked jealous rivalries beset his course; the complication was rendered more serious by dark intrigues which fretted a proud soul long driven on the path of patience. If health did not fail, as he pleaded his spirit did, where there was not one ray of hope before, for anything the heart might cherish. (1) "For eighteen years he had been engaged in campaigns; sorrow and humiliation had been his share in domestic life." (2) "Hitherto every praiseworthy action of his had been misrepresented and repaid with scurrility, his kindness translated as want of strength, his magnanimity as fear, his care for justice to the poor as popularity hunting." The only relief that he could see was in complete withdrawal. His announcement was followed by surprise and dismay. Augustus considered himself affronted, he complained in public. A startled court discovered that he who had spent a life-time in yielding, who had broken every tie of his softer nature, could be firm; hard and implacable not even his mother could alter his decision.

(1) Tragedy of the Caesars. Baring Gould, p 243.
(2) " " " " " " p 241.

He had learned one lesson characteristic of the great, he could keep his own counsel. To this day new reasons are sought to explain his motives for retirement. (1)

"A precedent for his action was the withdrawal of Agrippa to Mytilene, when he had stood in the way of the rising Marcellus." There was a parallelism in the cases. Tiberius was near to Augustus and apparently in the possession of the second place in the empire. The young princes, Caius and Lucius Caesar, the emperor's adopted sons, were furiously jealous of their step-father, as his own son, Drusus, was later on of Sejanus. To retire left the road open for the buds of royalty; (2) one historian alleges this as his reason. Trying as this situation may have been, the relations with his wife, Julia, were a sorer and more serious matter and are much more likely to afford the key to his action. (3) He had known her to seek him when she was bound to another, and he was aware that the public condemned her. From the first then, he interpreted her conduct with studied understanding; suspicion lent keenness. (4) Julia aroused Augustus' suspicions toward Tiberius in regard to her sons of whom he was very fond. She was

(1) Encyclopaedia Britannica. Vol. XXIII, p 335.

(2) Patroculus. Ch. 99.

(3) Idea from Suetonius. Ch. 7.

(4) Baring Gould. p 239.

animated either by resentment as they lived apart, or was jealous of the rivalry of power that must be conferred on him or them. (1) "Tiberius dared make no move to right his position, as Julia was her father's darling; nor could he institute proceedings for divorce, till Augustus divested himself of his all-too-great father-love." His position with Augustus was undetermined, as matters drifted it became more insecure, more untenable each day. Soon it would be a question of safety, and a matter of facing the death-warrant, if it were not already such. Fickle ever is the favor of princes, varying with the interests of the hour.

His determination being taken it remained to cast about for a mode of life that promised the greatest returns in the way of happiness of contentment. (2) "A significant incident, that gives us a glimpse into that wounded and solitary heart, flying from a dishonored home and from the malignity of the rival members of the same household, is his sending a statue of Vesta, the goddess of the domestic hearth, to be erected in the temple of Concord."

(1) From the German of L. Freytag. p 10.

(2) Baring Gould. p 243.

Seven years he lingered at Rhodes, famed for its schools of Philosophy and agreeable climate. (1) "He lived simply here and tried to avoid suspicion in every way he could. Official parties now began to stop there to pay visits of respect to the illustrious step-son of the emperor. A hostile party at Rome stirred up the grandsons. Tiberius withdrew within the island and received no visits." Time brought him surcease of sorrow, and he would look back to the ways of the world. Augustus who had never understood or appreciated his nature met his desire with a cold rebuff. But the Fates ruled otherwise. He took up again his state of pupilage at Rome after a method of conduct prescribed by the emperor. His star was in the ascendant. (7) The other heirs to the throne fell away one by one, and he now stood alone. Augustus adopted him as a son with his grandson Agrippa Postumus. His conduct was still unobtrusive. (2) "He did not do anything as the head of a family or retain in the smallest degree the right he had lost. He did not take advantage of his position, but conducted himself in the role of a son. After Agrippa Postumus was banished as unworthy, he became the one hope of

(1) From the German of L. Freytag. p 29.
 (2) Idea from Suetonius. Ch. 15-16.

the empire, and everything was done to increase his majesty. The power of Tribune was conferred on him again for five years; he was chosen to adjust the affairs of the states, and ambassadors were directed to apply to him." He found himself once more at the head of the legions; the broken thread of his life was resumed; honor and power opened before him; the world was at his feet which were directed to the chiefest seat in the empire. (1) The senate passed a law that he should rule the provinces with Augustus and take the census. Fortune 'wreathed her face in smiles,' without was a fair field, but who will ever know what was within?

The trust imposed in him filled his heart with confidence and nerved his arm to deal the masterly stroke to insurrection, revolt, or disaster, wherever it lifted its head in the empire, even the one that appalled Augustus' soul, Teutoberg Forest, where two unconquerable peoples met in deadly shock, then withdrew to reflect on the virtues of annihilation. Each campaign was conducted with one un-failing issue; the troops were led triumphantly back, the banners waved by hands that had been led to victory.

(1) Idea from Suetonius. Ch. 31.

Tiberius' conduct toward his parents may well excite our admiration in the filial deference and respect he yielded them. On one occasion in the proud act of celebrating a triumph with pomp and glory, (1) "he got down from his chariot to salute his father." The ties that bound him to his mother were closer and more confining. Adversity and isolation had strengthened their power. (2) "The respect of Tiberius for his mother had all the force of habit." To the wishes of their majesties he had sacrificed every prospect of domestic happiness, and as the long years glided by the prospect turned into a bitter reality.

The Principate in its incipency could not be formally bequeathed; the Roman mind was not yet prepared for that. Nevertheless, a successor might be provided with a tolerable degree of certainty, if he were ripe in years and experience, possessed of civil training, and an efficient leader of armies. All these qualities were amassed in one alone--Tiberius. Still some signal blow might be struck in an age where conspiracies ripened in a night, and fierce jealousies severed every tie of blood and kindred. The populace loved the winning Germanicus; they

(1) Suetonius. Ch. 20.

(2) Tacitus' Annals, Book V, Ch. 3.

looked with distrust on one who had been brooded under the wings of repression and self-effacement, till he knew not how to meet spontaneous nature with spontaneity. Harassments beset his road with each onward step. If Livia and Tiberius had any secret understanding apart from Augustus it was shrouded in mystery. (1)

"It was evidently always the dearest wish of Augustus to found a family dynasty. The precariousness of his health obliged him to contemplate the possibility of a speedy as well as a distant succession, and to have different heirs in various grades of expectancy." Freytag says that Augustus in the last days could not change the succession from Tiberius; he evidently bases his opinion on Suetonius where he says, (2) "Tiberius was appointed successor by necessity more than choice." Augustus' letters would seem to reassure Tiberius and herald to the world that in later days he had come to a realization of his merits. He even found an affection for him which must have fallen on that hungry heart as dew upon a famished land. That he was a chief in the empire may be gleaned from this letter of Augustus: (3) "When I hear

(1) Furneaux' Introduction to 'Annals.' p 135.

(2) Suetonius. Ch. 23.

(3) Ibid. " 21.

and read that you are worn thin by the fatigues you undergo, may the gods destroy me but my whole frame trembles; and I beseech you that you spare yourself, lest if we shall hear that you are failing, both myself and your mother will succumb, and the Roman people will be endangered concerning their empire. It is of no consequence whether I myself am well or not, if you are not well. I beseech the gods that they may preserve you for us and permit you now to be well, if not the Roman people have perished."

Augustus' last journey was accompanying Tiberius as he set out to war. Death hovered in the air, and he never retraced his steps. Livia exhibited her wisdom and resolution by keeping affairs entirely within her own hands. Tiberius was in Italy ready to assume the powers of state, before any formal announcement of the demise of Augustus was made.

- (8) The hesitation of Tiberius to accept the Principate has been a matter that the critics have attacked. That he gained the proud seat through a woman who dominated an old man in a weakened old age, would be a circumstance of humiliation to one of the Claudian line. After the ordeals

of childhood, a youth and manhood devoted to the calls of duty, to be summoned as the choice of the people was the only method consistent with the years of sacrifice that had been his. Tacitus understands his motive no better than others, yet he is ready with his detracting insinuation, (1) "that Tiberius' words and motives are dark and cautious now either from nature or habit." In the end he had to swallow his disappointment and assume the office; Fortune had never gratified his desires. He knew that plots and conspiracies grew rampant in a government where 'might made right' in gaining the succession; even great Julius fell, entrapped in their toils. (2) He took upon himself the government whose fate would be to perish, should he leave it to be contended for by the arms of ambitious aspirants. This is Paterculus' version.

The people had never taken Tiberius into their favor. He had sought to conciliate them and resented their coolness, as his services had been worthy, and their welfare had been ensured at the expense of great sacrifice on his part. He did not have a pleasing manner, and he was too straightforward in thought to counterfeit what

(1) Tacitus 'Annals'. Bk. 1, Ch. II.

(2) Paterculus. Ch. 124.

nature had denied. Magnetism of personality was not one of his gifts, yet the populace accepted his rule. Doubt still quivered in his heart; he knew that Germanicus had only to show himself in Rome to fill the hearts of the people with joy.

The minutest search of facts has been made and unfavorable writers have sought to establish that Tiberius' treatment of Germanicus was characterized by injustice, inspired by fear and jealousy, and encouraged by this view they have painted it as one of the abominations of his reign. One who saw tells us: (1) "Tiberius took as ruler of Germany his Germanicus, instructed by what precepts, and filled with the rudiments of military science gleaned with him. With what honors he magnified his youth." Germanicus had been his comrade and pupil in campaigns of danger and difficulty among distant savage peoples; he had taught the craft of warfare to this gracious youth burning with the ardor of zeal, and had taught him to curb his wild imagination tempering courage with prudence; in later days he placed him in command of his armies, a general ripened by the wisdom of his own experience and the fruits of his own

(1) Pateroulus, Sec. 139.

garnering; the youth had found favor in the sight of all men; he had looked into the eyes of his uncle with trust and confidence, would he be denied protection by his own blood? No, Tiberius was a human being; could he do otherwise than love the handiwork of his own hands? Tacitus says of the campaign of Germanicus: (1) "Tiberius bestowed copious praises on his valor," and "the concessions made (to the army) by Germanicus he fulfilled." Again after his death he says: (2) "Tiberius now advanced Drusus to the supreme magistracy; whereas while Germanicus yet lived, he had shown no preference to either." His efforts being lent to raise the efficiency of the young man, he found this a sufficiently engrossing care without distrusting his popularity. (3) "The position in which Germanicus is found at the death of Augustus is strengthened rather than impaired; he is allowed to levy war in such a mode and on such a scale as he pleases; his distinctions are more than equal to his deserts; his recall (from Germany) was justifiable." Tiberius offered no public criticism of any proceeding of Germanicus, who on more than one occasion pursued a course at variance with his wishes. (4) "It is

(1) Tacitus. Bk. I, Ch. 52.

(2) Ibid. " III, " 56.

(3) Furneaux' Introduction to 'Annals'. p 140.

(4) From the German of L. Freytag, p 131.

scarcely possible to give an historical estimate of Germanicus. What one knows of him is gathered through the gleams of the rhetoric of Tacitus, a heavy mixture of truth and poetry. Upon Germanicus falls the entire light; on Tiberius, the entire shadow. We know of Germanicus that he was a brave young soldier, and stood high in the favor of the people and senate, but we know certainly that he was no statesman."

The assumption of the government by Tiberius was followed by conspiracies and insurrections in the armies. This aroused his apprehensions for he felt the lack of that ingenuity which overcomes all difficulties in seasons of insecurity. The reign of Augustus had not been free from like calamities, but they had been composed with decision, and Tiberius availed himself readily of a precedent. One historian tells us that (1) "while there was trepidation in the senate, confusion among the people, and fear in the city, Tiberius showed himself not even disturbed, the majesty of one man restored them to confidence."

Tiberius had learned from the policy of Augustus that however free and open his proceedings might be in the

(1) Patereulus, Ch. 134.

camp and in the provinces, nevertheless the nobles and the upper classes must be ruled by subtlety, and a system of government not evident from its inception. Dion Cassius never did gain an understanding of the operative motive, but concluded that a primordial system of contraries in conception was veiled in a maze of exceptions and irregularities, (1) "Tiberius began all things by the consuls, as if the ancient republic still subsisted, and he were unresolved about assuming the sovereign rule." The last vestiges of republican institutions were obliterated from the minds of the people. (2) "The assemblies for electing magistrates were now first transferred from the Campus Martius to the senate; for though the emperor had conducted all affairs of moment at his pleasure, yet till that day, some were still transacted according to the inclination of the tribes. Neither did the regret of the people for the seizure of these their ancient rights, rise higher than some impotent grumblings."

The attributes of sovereignty had been gradually gathered into the hands of the Prince. The acquisition of the tribunician authority and that of Pontifex Maximus

(1) Tacitus' 'Annals'. Bk. I, Ch. 7.
 (2) " " " " Bk. I, Ch. 15.

had made the process complete. (1) Suetonius says that Tiberius gradually took charge of the sovereignty, and administered it in various ways for the best advantage, and for public good. He took an interest in the courts, admonished the magistrates of their obligations; he reduced the expense of public games and frowned on luxury; he forbade foreign religions, checked the astrologers and players, rendered Italy free from robbers, and regulated the public morals. He lived the 'simple life' learned from Augustus or in camp.

Tiberius was averse to flattery; he desired sincerity, and could penetrate the motives of his subjects. Those who offered flattering epithets were compelled to change their words. He was forbearing and apologized to the senate for expressing an opinion contrary to theirs. Tacitus tells us that he was impatient of flattery and utterly rejected the slavish servility of the senate. He was modest in his demeanor and estimated himself, if anything, below his actual worth. (2) "After he was freed from fear he conducted himself as a plain citizen, and would receive only a few honors." No temples or priests

(1) Suetonius, Ch. 33.

(2) Ibid. Ch. 26.

fostered a false adulation for him, and his statues were permitted among common things only. He sanctioned not the change of the names of the months in honor of himself and his mother. A foolish senate was forbidden to swear to his acts or his words. Moderation was the keynote of the government he set before the people.

Tacitus tells us: (1) "Tiberius meanwhile nowise relaxing in the cares of government but deriving relief from his occupations, attended to the administration of justice at Rome, and dispatched the petitions from the provinces." During the first two years Tiberius never absented himself a day(2) from the turmoil of a congested dusty city and afterwards only for a short time. From the bent of his mind acquired in the position of official for so many years, he attempted to oversee all departments and affairs of his government. His industry was commendable, but the attempt was disastrous. (3) "The subjects of Tiberius, we are assured conceived a high opinion of the wisdom and policy of his general administration. Even Tacitus admits, that his conduct in regard to majesty was the only blot on a government distinguished at least for many years

(1) Tacitus' 'Annals', Bk. IV, Ch. 13.

(2) Idea from Suetonius, Ch. 38, and Merivale, Vol.V, p 293.

(3) Merivale's History of Rome, p 275, Vol. V.

of prudence, equity and mildness."

The disturbance of mind that Tiberius experienced in a time of crisis can be surmised from the nature of his action. On such occasions it would seem that panic possessed him. The more clearly he saw through men's actions, the more he was at a loss how to deal with them. He could hold strict discipline but to counter-check so that violations could be remedied and summarily dealt with, was a feat beyond his mental equilibrium. At such times every man seemed a foe to be struck down.

Tiberius considered well the selection of his officials. In the presence of a powerful aristocracy his movements were not unguarded. He did not wish to place them in positions of power, nor dared he estrange them by evident exclusion. Men of pre-eminent virtue were sought according to Tacitus. (1) "It was part of the policy of Tiberius to continue persons in office, and for the most part to maintain them in the same military authority or civil employments to the end of their lives, with what view is not agreed. Some think, that from an impatience of recurring care, he was for making whatever he once

(1) 'Annals' of Tacitus, Bk. I, Ch. 80.

resolved on, perpetual." Tacitus criticises this procedure as a loss of opportunity to the nobles to plunder.(1) "But the provincial historian, Josephus, looks at it in a different light and tells Tiberius pursued this policy avowedly with the object of saving the provinces from the keen appetites of new governors." Abuses that long ages had sanctioned were dealt leveling blows. (2) "He checked the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and suffered not the subjects of the empire to be ill-treated in their persons nor exposed to the loss of their fortunes by rapine and injustice." The provinces were administered with an equity as never before; they were prosperous and contented. The Jewish writers Philo and Josephus bear this evidence. The former thinks (3) "the Saturnian age of the poets might no longer be regarded as a fiction so nearly was it revived in the life of that age." That provinces asked to be transferred from the government of the senate to that of Tiberius tells the story.

The greatest men the world has produced for confederating peoples or governing vast dominions have won their success in a great measure by the merits of their

(1) Beesly, p 128.

(2) Crevier's History of Roman Emperors, Vol. II, p 253, Idea from Pateculus, Sec. 126, and Tacitus, Bk. IV, Ch. 6.

(3) Beesly, p 129. From Philo, the Jew.

most trusted assistants. Co-workers of ability and loyalty who are joined in interest with the master-mind are to be discovered in every great enterprise. An essential requirement of a leader is that he have the judgment to select men of the requisite attainments. Augustus surrounded himself with a number in various grades of expectancy. Tiberius had only one great confidant, Sejanus, and he intended to let him finally drop into the background and to advance the natural heir to power.

Woman has played a peculiar part in the world's history. She is not a leader by nature, but men have availed themselves of her assistance to climb to places beyond their reach. Man's success is more or less due to her devotion. Tiberius' experience with women was rendered unfortunate by sacrifices required of him to inaugurate a policy. His fortune has been equally aided and injured by the sex. His family was not united in advancing his cause. His mother, Livia, made a life-time effort in his behalf. Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, may also have been his friend. Livia had great influence in the empire; the statesmen refer to her with deference. She worked

zealously for the advancement of her son, and her reputation rests under as dark a cloud as his. More than once she defied the laws through her friends, and Tiberius felt compelled to absolve them. (1) The one trait of gentleness that he exhibited was his behavior to his mother, whom he never ceased to regard with respect and with awe, allowing himself to be guided or thwarted by her with the docility of his childish years.

The rulers of Rome found their lives beset by snares and plots; fear was ever present that the assassin's dagger might leap from the folds of any cloaked form. Because Tiberius escaped these it is assumed that he was in no danger, whereas the credit is due to his precaution. All attempts were foiled by his penetration. The anxiety under which he labored can be inferred from his letter to the senate saying, -(2) "that he lived a life of fear and solicitude; in constant apprehensions of the snares of his enemies."

(3) "The emperor's lands in Italy were small and thinly-scattered; the behavior of his slaves modest; the freedmen in his house few; his disputes with private

(1) Idea from Merivale. Vol. V. P. 154.
 (2) 'Annals' of Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. 70.
 (3) " " " " " " " " " " " "

individuals were determined by the courts and the law." He kept all his assistants strictly within the limits of propriety, rewarded them exactly, and did not seek to gain their favor by gratuities and bargesses. He greatly desired that the general conduct of his government at home should be approved by the statesmen. (1) "In conferring preferments he was guided by merit, by ancient nobility, renown in war, and distinguished civil accomplishments; in such a manner that it was agreed none had greater pretensions." An unfavorable witness bears this testimony as to the exact balance of his mind in one of the most important requirements of government. In the progress of his reign we note his studied carefulness in proceeding, with a strict construction of law and precedent. In giving a decision he quotes his authority. None seem to have studied so exhaustively in the archives of the past. (2) "Tiberius was solicitous above all things that matters once settled should not be disturbed."

In military matters Tiberius possessed the proper self-confidence. The policy he made use of in Germany was, after many years proved sound by Drusus the younger.

(1) 'Annals' of Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. 6.
 (2) " " " " " II. " 65.

One historian tells us,--(1) "Tiberius was more rejoiced to have established peace by policy, than if he had ended the war by battles." Tacitus gives us the impression that his people were ever estranged from him in spite of his endeavors; his method of procedure apparently was perverse, and they accepted all things with suspicion or attributed a sinister motive. (2) "His own silence was not, as he had hoped, ascribed to his regard for civil equality, but was imputed to scorn." From another source we gain the following view of two decades of his reign which is the direct opposite--(3) "Sedition was checked. Justice, equity, and industry returned to the state. Authority was added to the magistrates, majesty to the senate, influence to the courts."

So many situations in the life of Tiberius have been distorted into magnified proportions and shrouded in mystery, as if his being were animated by impulses unknown to mortals and each action prompted by dark sinister design. We come to them breathless, passing over the ordinary or natural, in expectation of the amazing or extravagant. About none has the discussion raged more

(1) 'Annals' of Tacitus. Bk. II. Ch. 65.

(2) " " " " VI. " 13.

(3) Paterculus. Sec. 126.

hotly nor the opinions been more controverted, than his reason for retirement to Capri. The sanest and most probable one is entirely within the scope of a worldly being. He had now come to the age of three score and ten,-- the limit set by the Creator for his creatures. During all the years of his Principate he had wrought unceasing in the carrying cares of his station. The wound and scar of battle were upon him. His form was bent, his visage was wrinkled and blotched, his hair had left his head, his body was shriveled, his youth and pride had gone to decay. Long before that age men in other stations give over exhausting activities, why not he? This purpose long had been meditated. Still some ulterior baser motive is sought by Tacitus as if such were heedful, and an unquestioning flock followed this lead for generations. His retirement at this period can be inferred from certain facts, and reason will supply any others requisite.

Agrippina and her children were the center around which the ambitious spirits wove plots for furthering their own purposes, under a pretense of elevating them to the throne by pulling Tiberius down. She was a

turbulent spirit; one who considered her rights infringed by him; he knew it. Sejanus through spies knew their acts and even their words. As Tiberius' most trusted officer, he reported them to him placing them in a most exaggerated form. The probability is that Livia opposed Tiberius in his determination to punish Agrippina, and a most violent quarrel ensued, as she sought a share in (1) directing the government. She brought every power to bear, asserted her own claims in securing his supremacy. Meeting with opposition, she struck a deadly blow at his pride by laying bare his unamiable nature and (2) produced letters of Augustus to attest its truth. A rupture ensued that never could be healed. Wearied, chagrined, broken-hearted, he determined to seek repose in a quiet retreat. After the manner of some parents disciplining their children, he removed the reins of government far out of his mother's reach. The true inwardness of the facts were suppressed, but a breath of the truth came out in connecting it with the empress. His disposition changed not nor softened with time, and he

(1) Idea from Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. 57.

" " Suetonius. Ch. 51.

could not bring himself to take any part in her funeral rites, choosing rather the surprise and keen censure of his people.(1) "It was his settled conviction that a governor of men ought not to give up care of the common weal by reason of private misfortunes, and he confirmed the rest in their purpose not to jeopardize the interest of the living because of the dead."

Tacitus has painted the life of Tiberius as a series of changes or metamorphoses marked off by certain events, the last of which is a revolting picture of lust and depravity at Capri. A life of retirement and reserve is apt to be attacked with suspicion, especially when the person is unpopular and not possessed of redeeming qualities. That this view should be adopted by Tacitus is not so strange, when we remember that (2) "the excessive sensuality of the Roman nobles, pampered by all the appliances of art and luxury, was in fact, the frenzy of a class deprived of the healthy stimulus of public action, and raised above the restraints of decency and self-respect." But that others should adopt the view without question in the face of its improbability is very

(1) Dion Cassius. Vol. IV. Bk. 57. P 277.

(2) Murivale's History of Rome. Vol. V. P. 377.

strange. At his age such an accusation is preposterous, and in its fullness impossible. The humors of his blood and the passions they beget had long gone to sleep and perished with his youth. With no one of our acquaintance could such a thing be possible. His inclinations, observed for years, show a mind devoted to the study of liberal arts. He surrounded himself with men of letters, and the distinguished jurist Cocceius Nerva accompanied him on this last journey. (1) "The selection by Tiberius of a man of his unblemished character and free principles as his chief companion, goes a great way to show that his object in secluding himself was not to indulge in private debauchery." (2) "From the excessive fondness of Tiberius towards Sejanus, and from the hatred of all others towards both, even fabulous and monstrous things were believed of them." The historians agree that the nature of Tiberius was strongly tempered, if so it was not subject to periodical change. A sane mind cannot change suddenly from one condition to the direct opposite. (3) "Such resolution is suspicious. For a young man it would be hardly credible but it becomes incomprehensible

(1) Allen's notes on 'Annals', Bk. IV. Ch. 58.

(2) 'Annals' of Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. II.

(3) DuRuy's History of Rome. Vol. IV. Part I. P. 328.

in the case of a man sixty-five.." As for concealing it during a lifetime, he could not have deceived his contemporaries during a half century; "an arbitrary,(1) tyrannical or sanguinary temper could not but have blazed out during the many years when he wielded the absolute, irresponsible, and often frightfully abused power of the Roman general in his province." (2) "The safest verdict is acquittal, or at least not proven."

Tacitus has made other defaming charges; one, that Tiberius was considered an inebriate in his youth. Any one addicted to drink becomes more ensnared in its toils and is useless as a factor in the world. If he had been indiscreet in early imbibing, he shows the strength of his manhood by overcoming it and reaching the highest goal in the empire. Still Tacitus has been believed. In regard to his other charge,(3) "there is very little ground for accepting the stories of a debauched life at Rhodes, when Tiberius was in the prime of an honorable manhood."

A consideration of the treason trials and denunciations awaits us. These were not originated by

(1) Beesly. P. 115.

(2) Furneaux' Introduction to the 'Annals.' P. 154.

(3) 'Allen's notes to 'Annals.' Bk. IV. Ch. 57.

Tiberius; he did consider them essential for public safety. (1) "He spoke to the senate with sternness and contrary to his custom, that the laws would be defeated without them, that they should rather dissolve the laws than dismiss their guardians." The fault was a fundamental one in the Roman judicial system. It was the usual way of bringing criminals to justice. In the days of the Republic the tribunes of the common people had served in this capacity. Tiberius was deficient in originality to create some more efficient system. He attempted to atone for shortcomings by carrying out the law in fullest detail, and to alleviate the severity of the senate by pardoning or commuting. This method was used during the first part of his reign. There came a time when every hand in the empire seemed to be turned against him. His merciful attitude was withdrawn and severity substituted. A torrent of blood followed, which must forever cry out against the one who permits it. Tacitus takes pains to tell that the other writers have not considered this subject of sufficient merits to give an account of it. Stahr accuses Tacitus of both

(1) 'Annals.' of Tacitus. Bk. IV. Ch. 29.

misrepresentation and falsification. He explains the cases in detail and shows that the average was not high. Considering the proscriptions of some of the Romans Tiberius was mild. (1) "Tacitus is the only historian who speaks of Tiberius as favoring delators and accusations of treason. Suetonius makes no such charge, and Dion Cassius on the contrary tells us that Tiberius interfered to put restraint on the system, forbidding officers in the army appearing as accusers, and that he limited the right to senators and knights."

(9) Tiberius' life was a tragedy at every successive step. In babyhood he was hunted on a perilous flight. Abandoned with his father, he passed lonely neglected years, Death moved him upward to a dizzy height and gave him into the guardianship of Augustus who found him uncongenial. His position at court was subordinate; the ties of blood took precedence over the ties of law.

In the field he won honors and golden opinions; power was almost within his grasp; but it turned to dust and ashes in his hands, before the jealousy of the rising young princes. The laws of the empire were laid

(1) Baring Gould. P. 342.

aside by Augustus that he might possess the woman of his choice. Tiberius who was brought up in the hard school of self-sacrifice, was required to give up the only being on whose devotion he had ever been able to count. Unmurmuring submission he accepted as his lot, he would never find another.

The age of Augustus was one that lent itself to the will of the monarch; unity of purpose swayed the masses in furthering his one unchangeable desire,--the founding of a family dynasty. Families were wrecked and new ones reconstructed; women endured saddened lives and heart-strings ruthlessly rent; the wills of strong men were bent and stubborn tempers curbed; the nation throbbed in sympathy and gave up its freedom;--all bowed before this mad ambition. A division of parties and a division in household vexed the reign of Tiberius. Vipsania had been a gentle wife, a solace for the many wounds Fate had dealt him; but the haughty Julia her successor, how changed. The charm of her manner soon gave way to estrangement; she became the subject of jibe; his heart was filled with the bitterest passion a proud man can feel.

Possessed of her father's confidence, she headed the faction of opposition in the royal household; she dealt him such injuries that his resentment was not appeased by her fall, but pursued her in exile all the years of her life. She mocked him again from her grave in the aggressive spirit of her daughter. The death of Agrippina left the struggle still on,—the House of Germanicus against his own.

Death meted out to him her slow remorseful dole. Father and brother dropped away on his ascending course. The descent reads with a blacker page. The loss of his mother, now doubly dead, removes the last restraint of his worse impulses. Valued friends, appalled at the Future's fitful fate applied desperate hands to their lives and deafened their ears to his entreaties: The final drama was played out when Sejanus, his only favorite, was proved false, the poisoner of his only son and likewise the corruptor of that son's wife; everything in his life seemed tumbling about his head. It is said that cruelty, arrogance, and haughtiness impregnated the Claudian blood, and broke out at recurring intervals.

After a life of fever and anxiety is it a wonder that his nature turned and he exhibited the unvariable characteristics of his race, or that Roman ferocity which is found in the mildest of this people, should be manifested?

Tiberius stood undaunted at the helm of state; he abandoned himself not to despair, or, as has been affirmed, to libidinous excesses, but he pursued the stern course he had marked out. He filled his mind with the fortitude of his ancestral Roman stock and plodded on in a desolate old age. He was a strength and a law unto himself, alienated from the present generation by time and dissonance of view. Nevertheless, (1) "his administration in the last years of his life had the same character, firmness, and good-sense, that had marked its earlier period. Discipline was strictly enforced." Oh, the courage and pathos of the struggle to live that life to its last joyless day, and lead to its bitter end a government conceived by men of genius and founded through tedious years by this man of affairs. He had a hope firmly anchored in his breast; he has given it in

(1) DuRuy's History of Rome. Vol. IV. Part I. P. 359.

his own words,--(1) "For myself, conscript fathers, that I am a mortal man, that I am confined to the functions of human nature, and that if I well supply the principal place amongst you, it suffices me, I solemnly assure you, and I would have posterity remember it. They will render enough to my memory, if they believe me to have been worthy of my ancestors; watchful of your interests; unmoved in perils, and, in defence of the public weal, fearless of private enemies. These are the temples I would raise in your breasts; these are the fairest effigies, and such as will endure."

(10)

The authorities for history who are nearest to the times of Tiberius treated him with great indulgence. It is not till the third generation that enormities in his reign and character are emblazoned and set forth to a gaping world, by Tacitus and Dion Cassius who is thought to be in no great degree independent of Tacitus. (2) "In this writer (Tacitus) you have to deal with a tissue of systematic detractions, sly insinuations, and open invective unparalleled in political biography. Ninety-nine out of a hundred know nothing of Tiberius but what Tacitus is pleased

(1) 'Annals' of Tacitus Bk. IV. Ch. 38.

(2) Beesly. P. 113.

to tell them." During a 'dark age' of slipping centuries this view became established through unquestioning credence. Germany first awaked to thought 'that Tiberius was a mortal man.' England and America have benefited by the enlightenment. The moderns waxed wroth in their zeal to free themselves from the fetters that have obstructed the vision of intervening generations. The task has been much embroiled; according to the consensus of opinion the reign has emerged from the heated discussion as creditable to the ruler; the character in certain controverted points still looks with the eyes of Tacitus. (1)

"Tacitus awakens our suspicion at every turn. He gives a sinister interpretation to measures that in themselves are good. He tells a damaging story which is calculated to confirm our worst suspicions of the emperor, while at the same time he refuses to vouch for the truth of it." There is no agreement, where one condemns another acquits; Some find a crisis in his life and a total revulsion of nature, others, 'that he was confined to the functions of human nature.'

The real view would seem to be that in the end he

(1) 'Tiberius Resartus.' International Review. April 1883

fulfilled the promise of his rearing. He may have been touched by the temperament of his age, where noble and aristocrat practiced vice and excess reduced to art; but moderation and discernment twice saved him from pitfalls of ruin in his early career, with the 'development of his intellect and the expansion of his soul' they directed him with a surer step. The characteristics of his race, the ferocity of a Roman, and the vicious tendencies of environment, withered in their energies before that which had been instilled into his nature with such frightful power. The welfare of his people with their advancement in civilization and his responsibility was too awful a task to be trifled with or endangered from impulses of passion. He wrought for them with the might of his manhood and an activity that sought to compensate for genius. The discouragement at the last was bitter with no heir qualified to succeed. Turning away from an ungracious people and all that had been so galling, he consoled himself with his hope,--(1) "I would have posterity remember my acts. Posterity will do justice to my memory."

You who have heard and have seen how the reign has

(1) Baring Gould P. 382. Based on Tac. An. Bk. Iv. Ch. 38.

emerged from the obloquy that assailed it, you will hold fast to moderation and common sense, in judging and estimating the character of him who ruled it. Even in death he found not the peace and justice he hoped the future would bring him. As time goes on the controversy continues, and to this day his fame lives in the same tragic atmosphere in which his life was passed; an unjust fate leaves it controverted and in dispute.

1.

SOURCES USED by TACITUS for 'THE ANNALS.'

BOOK I.

Chapter 8. "Who had either seen, or had received from their fathers a description of that day of slavery."

Chapter 29. "Very many (writers) hand down the tradition, that they were dispatched and buried in his tent others, that their bodies were thrown over the entrenchments, for a spectacle of terror."

Chapter 69. "Caius Plinius (Author of the Natural History) the writer of the German Wars, relates that she (Agrippina) stood at the head of the bridge as the legions returned, &c."

BOOK II.

Ch. 63. "But to the senate he declared, that never had Philip of Macedon been so terrible to the Athenians; nor Pyrrhus, nor Antiochus to the Roman People. The speech is extant, in it he magnifies &c."

Ch. 88. "I find in the writers of those times, some of them being senators, that in the senate were read letters &c."

BOOK III.

Ch. 3. "That Antonia mother of the deceased, bore any peculiar part in the funeral, I do not find either in the historians, or in the journals."

Ch. 16. "I remember to have heard from aged men, that in the hands of Piso was frequently seen

a bundle of writings"-----I would affirm neither; nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of such as still lived in the time of my youth."

- Ch. 73 "They say that upon no occasion was Tiberius more enraged at an insult offered to himself and the Roman name."

BOOK IV.

- Ch. 10. "In relating the death of Drusus, I have followed what the majority of the most trustworthy historians have recorded: I would not however omit a rumor which in those times was so prevailing that it is not yet extinguished."
- Ch. 11. "These common rumors, besides that they are supported by no certain author, may be easily refuted."
- Ch. 53. "This passage, not related by authors of our annals, I found in the commentaries of her daughter, Agrippina, who was the mother of the emperor Nero, and has published her own life and the fortunes of her family for posterity."
- Ch. 57. "There is also a tradition that he was driven (from Rome) by the aggressive spirit of his mother, whom he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty, nor could he exclude her"--
- Ch. 67. "Tradition records that the Greeks occupied that region, and that Capri was occupied by the Teleboi."

BOOK VI.

- Ch. 7. Neither am I unaware that by most writers the trials and sufferings of many are wholly omit-

ted; either sinking under their multiplicity, or fearing that the recital, which to themselves had been surfeiting and melancholy, would prove equally tedious to their readers. But to me many events have presented themselves, deserving to be known, however unrecorded by others."

Ch. 24.

"was scarcely credible, but for the letters of Actius the centurion and Didymus the freedman, which exhibited the names of the slaves accordingly as one struck Drusus as he was coming out of his chamber, and another terrified him."

From Crevier's Roman Emperors. Vol. II.

At the time of Suetonius there were extant very succinct memoirs of the life of Tiberius, written by himself,

Note from Reading.

The materials from which Tacitus obtained his information for "The Annals", were various, consisting in the main of funeral orations pronounced in honor of famous men, journals of the senate, and numerous rumors and bits of gossip, that were handed about from mouth to mouth. I should think also from inscriptions.

1.

INVECTIVE of TACITUS against TIBERIUS.

BOOK I.

- Ch. 4. "-indications of his cruel nature escaped him, in spite of their being suppressed."
- Ch. 7. "--as if the ancient republic existed, and he were yet unresolved about assuming the sovereign rule." --- It was afterwards discovered that his irresolution was counterfeited, that he might look into the inclinations of the leading men; for turning their words and looks into a crime he stored them up in his memory."
- Ch. 8. "The fathers requested to bear the body of Augustus on the shoulders of the senators. Tiberius granted the request with modest insolence."
- Ch. 10 "Nor was Tiberius adopted by him either out of affection or care for the public welfare, but since he had discovered arrogance and cruelty in him, he sought glory for himself by the contrast consummately base, in order that while apologizing for him he might brand him with infamy."
- Ch. 12. "-Suspicion in Tiberius' mind against Asinius Gallus."
- Ch. 14. "-but torn with jealousy and regarding the elevation of a woman as a depression of himself, he permitted not even a lictor to be assigned."
- Ch. 24. "--these things being heard, compelled Tiberius, tho' close and struggling with all his might, to conceal all events of a disastrous nature"
- Ch. 26. "Tiberius used to frustrate every desire of the legion in the name of Augustus; now Drusus

brought back the same artifices."

- Ch. 47. "—for some time he deceived the men of sense still longer the multitude, and the provinces the longest time."
- Ch. 52. / "—it was a matter of annoyance to Tiberius that Germanicus by anticipating the term of service, and by largesses, had gained the affection of the army, as well as that he had acquired military renown.--- Nevertheless he brought the matter before the senate, and commended his exploits and his great virtue: it was considered that he used an embellishment of words for the sake of appearance, rather than that he felt it deeply from his heart."
- Ch. 62. "—a proceeding not liked by Tiberius, whether upon every action of Germanicus he put a malignant construction,"
- Ch. 73. "That it may be known from what beginnings and with what subtlety on the part of Tiberius this grievous mischief crept in, how it was again restrained, how at last it blazed out and bore all before it."
- Ch. 74. "While he creeps by means of secret information into the good graces of the prince, who was naturally cruel,----when the accuser collected all the most detestable parts of the prince's character,"-
- Ch. 76. "I would not believe that he thus purposely furnished matter, for exposing the cruelty of his son there, and for raising the dislike of the people for him, altho' this too was affirmed."
- Ch. 80. "Others that from the malignity of his nature he did not wish many to enjoy the benefit of office. There are some who believe that as he had a crafty spirit, so he had an understanding

ever perplexed."

- Ch. 81. "--plausible in terms; in reality hollow and insidious; and the greater the semblance of liberty with which they were covered, the more remorseless the slavery into which they would issue."

BOOK II.

- Ch. 5. "But it was not a matter of displeasure to Tiberius that commotions arose in the East, since under this pretense he would withdraw Germanicus from the legions that were attached to him from habit.*** the more ardent the affections of the soldiers toward him, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, so much more intent on expediting a victory?"--
- Ch. 26. "Germanicus persisted no longer; though he knew that this was all deception, and that thro' envy he was torn away from honors already gained."
- Ch. 30. "--the crafty Tiberius invented a new law,"
- Ch. 36. "By this speech in appearance popular,"
- Ch. 42. "But not even this gaining credit for sincere affection, on pretense of investing the prince with honors, he resolved to remove him from Rome."
- Ch. 43. "--others loved Germanicus the more for the aversion of his uncle,"
- Ch. 55. "--a secret rumor whispered abroad, that all this was not unacceptable to the emperor."
- Ch. 84. "--for his own glory he turned all things even mere accidents."
- Ch. 87. "Hence it was difficult and dangerous to speak

under a Prince, who dreaded liberty and hated flattery."

BOOK III.

- Ch. 3. "I would rather believe her constrained by Tiberius and Livia, who left not the palace, that they might seem to grieve alike, and that the grandmother and the uncle might appear to follow her example."
- Ch. 4. "But nothing pierced Tiberius more deeply than the zeal of the people excited in favor of Agrippina.--"
- Ch. 8. "Tiberius, to make it appear that the trial should be more fair,---nor was it doubted but that the answer was dictated by Tiberius."
- Ch. 12. "On the day the senate met, Tiberius delivered a speech of studied temperament."
- Ch. 13. "For Plancina he (Tiberius) pleaded with shame and guilt, alleging the importunity of his mother; against whom the secret complaints of all the worthiest citizens were kindled with augmented vehemence."
- Ch. 29. "He (Tiberius) pretended that the same indulgence had been decreed to himself and his brother, at the request of Augustus."
- Ch. 31. "In the beginning of this year Tiberius, on the pretense of renewing his health, retired to Campania."
- Ch. 37. "The closeness of his father were thus compensated;--- Let him, it was said, rather thus employ his days in shows, and his nights in banqueting, than in solitude and secluded from all pleasure, wear himself out in gloomy

suspicious and meditations of evil."

- Ch. 44. "They inveighed against Tiberius, that in a commotion so extensive, he spent his time upon the informations of the state accusers,---So much the more studiously Tiberius assumed an air of security and unconcern; neither changing his place nor countenance, but through these trying days he employed himself about his customary vocations; whether it arose from the depths of his dissimulation, or"---
- Ch. 51. "Tiberius complained before the senate in his usual see-saw style."
- Ch. 56. "'---and then added a moderate statement of the qualities of the young prince, without any false additions.
- Ch. 64. "At the same time the severe illness of Livia obliged the emperor to hasten his return to the city; for hitherto the mother and son lived in real unanimity, or dissembled hate,---but to have buried his resentment in dissimulation."
- Ch. 65. "Yes, even Tiberius, the enemy of public liberty, the crouching tameness of his slaves utterly wearied."
- Ch. 68. "Tiberius, the better to palliate his purposes against Silanus."

BOOK IV.

- Ch. 1. "---fortune began to work confusion; he (Tiberius) himself to tyrannize, or support others in tyrannical proceedings."
- Ch. 4. "Now again was revived by Tiberius his stale and oft counterfeited purpose of a progress into

the provinces."

- Ch. 6. "—since this year commenced the pernicious changes introduced by Tiberius."
- Ch. 7. "All these regulations he observed, tho' his manner not being gracious, but harsh and not unfrequently ferocious; yet he retained them till on the death of Drusus they were reversed."
- Ch. 17. "For Tiberius, never kindly disposed to the house of Germanicus, now lamented passionately that no difference was made between their youth and his years,"
- Ch. 19. "Sosia Gallia was the wife of Silius, and for the love Agrippina bore her, frowned on by the Prince. -- It was a policy peculiar to Tiberius to shelter under venerable names the millainies lately found out--- not concealing the rage that possessed him, that he was the victim of a tyrant."
- Ch. 21. "--but in a soul like his, that brooded over vengeance, tho' the transports of resentment had abated, the impression remained deep in his memory."
- Ch. 23: "--because Caesar, after the feats performed by Blaesus, as if there no longer remained any enemy in Africa, had ordered the ninth Legion to be withdrawn; nor durst Publius Dolabella, proconsul there that year, retain it; as he dreaded more the orders of the Prince than the casualties of war."
- Ch. 26. "Tiberius refused triumphal ornaments to Dolabella when he asked for them, in consideration of Sejanus; that the fame of his uncle Blaesus might not lose its luster."
- Ch. 29. "--he had likewise inserted some expressions more contumacious than safe in the ears of a

Prince, proud and prone to take offence."

- Ch. 31. "Nay, even (Tiberius), on other occasions studied and artificial in manner, --Tiberius mindful of his service, but pretending other motives,"
- Ch. 33: "For myself, I have only to record the mandates of despotism, incessant accusations, faithless friendships, the ruin of innocence,"
- Ch. 55. "Tiberius to divert the popular talk, assiduously attended the senate, and"--
- Ch. 57. "I am inclined to think that---his retirement was ascribable to his wish to indulge his cruel and libidinous disposition with greater effect, in the secrecy of a retired situation. Some believe that in his old age he was ashamed of the style of his person; for he was exceedingly emaciated, tall, and stooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and thickly patched with plasters; he was wont too, during his recess at Rhodes, to avoid the public, and practice his debaucheries in secrecy. There is also a tradition that he was driven from Rome by the restless spirit of his mother, whom he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty, - With these services Livy imbraided him and demanded a return for them."
- Ch. 67. "so much the more he now became abandoned to secret debaucheries and mischievous privacy; for there still remained in him his proneness to suspicion and credulity; ":
- Ch. 71. "Tiberius, who, tho' he would not suffer the ministers of his cruelties to be crushed by others, -- Tiberius was fonder of his dissimulation than of all his other virtues; for such he conceived it; he was therefore, the more

pained to find his secret purposes laid bare; but Sejanus soothed him, not from any love of Gallus, but to wait the lingering gradations of the Prince's vengeance; for he knew him to be slow in maturing resolutions, but that when he once broke out he would link sanguinary deeds to expressions of severity.

BOOK V.

- Ch. 7. "—whereas he had loaded Blaesus with many foul imprecations."

BOOK VI

- Ch. 1. "—but went back again to the rocks and loneliness of the sea, ashamed of his villainies and lusts; in which he rioted so inordinately, Nor were beauty and gracefulness of person the only provocatives of his passion,"
- Ch. 2. "Tiberius, however, whose custom it was to mingle irony with seriousness, thanked the senate for their regard;"
- Ch. 6. "For assuredly not his imperial fortune, not his solitude, could prevent Tiberius from acknowledging the anguish of his breast, and the penalties he brought upon himself."
- Ch. 24. "This was a proceeding of unparalleled atrocity, that for so many years spies should have attended him (Drusus) to note down his looks his groans, his secret murmurs; and that his grandfather could hear the tale and read it, and expose it to the public, was scarcely credible,"
- Ch. 25. "For Tiberius indeed, broke out with abominable imputations against her (Agrippina) -- Nay, he boasted of his clemency, in that she had not been strangled,"—
- Ch. 30. "Tiberius considering the public odium

under which he labored, his great age, and that his authority was upheld more by reputation than force."

- Ch. 38. "For time, supplications, and a satiety of blood did not appease Tiberius, means which are wont to soften all other men, but that he still punished even stale and dubious imputations,-- the emperor himself, he said, was reduced to a state of mental imbecility from old age; and spoke of his continued retirement as a kind of exile."
- Ch. 46. "The son of Germanicus had arrived at the vigor of youth, and the favor of the people attended him, a motive this with his grandfather to hate him.-- But, while his illness became more and more serious he relinquished nothing of his libidinous excesses, affecting strength of constitution.."
- Ch. 50. "As for Tiberius, his body was now wasted and his strength exhausted, but his dissimulation failed him not."
- Ch. 51. "--but while Germanicus and Drusus were alive his manners were reserved and mysterious, artfully assuming the merit of virtues, --while he loved or feared Sejanus, tho' detested for his cruelties, he observed a secrecy in the gratifications of his lusts; but at last, when all restraints of fear and shame were removed, and he was left to the uncontrolled bent of his genius, he broke out at once into acts of villainy and depravity."