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An estimate of the character of Tiberius from the data in Tacitus, Suetonius and Valleius Paterculus

Mary Florence Williams
State University of Iowa

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AN ESTIMATE OF THE
CHARACTER OF TIBERIUS FROM
THE DATA IN TACITUS, SUETONIUS,
AND VELLIUS PATERCULUS.

by

Mary Florence Williams, B. A.

With Eastman

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
College of the State University of Iowa in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

The State University of Iowa.

July 1913.
An Estimate of the Character of Tiberius from the data in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Vellius Paterculus.

Few characters in history have been subject to more divergent opinions than that of the Emperor Tiberius. The view long prevalent has been that his character was largely, if not wholly, bad. This opinion has been chiefly based upon the Tiberian biography in Tacitus' Annals, and to a less extent upon the account of Suetonius and Dio Cassius.

The study here presented was suggested by a reading of the annals of Tacitus. The biography of Tiberius therein contained seemed insidiously unfair toward Tiberius, and in order to reach a just estimate of his character, it seemed desirable to compare the accounts of other writers.

The data for the judgment of the character of Tiberius have been found in the biographies of the authors above cited. A classification has been attempted on the basis of the favorable or unfavorable description or implication (direct or on the authority of others) of the character of Tiberius, and an effort has then been made to determine whether the assertion or implication of bad character may not be, to a considerable extent, refuted or minimized:

(1) by contradictory or contrary evidence.

(2) by the peculiarities of the author.

(3) by the consideration of the peculiar temperament of Tiberius.
The investigation has resulted in the discovery of a large number of passages in which commendable qualities are ascribed to Tiberius, and a considerable number (particularly in Velleius) in which the allegations of bad character by Tacitus are expressly contradicted.

For the character and peculiarities of the authors studied, the chief reliance has been necessarily placed upon the recognized authorities on the subject of Roman Literature. This evidence tends to show that the statements of Tacitus are not absolutely reliable, because of his tendency to color his writings with his own personal feelings, his credulousness as to sources, and reliance upon hearsay evidence.

These above opinions have been reinforced by a personal study of the internal evidence of Tacitus' Annals, the results of which will be stated in their proper place. It is further shown by the authorities that the statements of Suetonius need to be taken with great caution because of his anecdotal, gossipy tendency and carelessness as to sources, and that Velleius, while in the service of Tiberius, and therefore perhaps naturally eulogistic, must have had a first-hand knowledge of many of the facts stated, and that no adequate reason exists to show that he was not reliable.

The character of Tiberius has some secretive and morose traits. The self-repression of his nature could lead to a misunderstanding of his personality.

The conclusion reached from the present study is that the unfavorable estimate of the life of Tiberius (except the
last years at Capri when his conduct cannot be easily defended) is to a great extent unwarranted.

A study of the Tiberian biographies of Tacitus, Suetonius and Velleius has resulted in the selection of the following passages that may fairly be considered to have a bearing on the character of Tiberius.

The texts used, have been, Tacitus' Annals - edited by W. F. Allen, Suetonius, edited by Carolus Roth, Velleius Paterculus, edited by Carolus Holm. The references in the first column are to the books and chapters of Tacitus' Annals.

Other literature consulted is as follows:

A History of the Romans under the Empire, J. Marival

History of the Roman Empire, - J. B. Bury.

Latin Literature, - Teuffel and Schwabe.

" " J. W. Mackail.

" " C. T. Cruttwell.

" " G. A. Simcox.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4) Unfavorable incidents with an implication or assertion of bad character.</th>
<th>Tacitus</th>
<th>Suetonius</th>
<th>Velleius</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haughtiness and cruelty inherited</td>
<td>(a)I.4. Ti. Nero ..tested in war, but of the old innate haughtiness of the Claudian family, and many indications of cruelty, altho' repressed, broke out. &quot;</td>
<td>(c)57. &quot;His cruel and low nature was not hidden even in boyhood.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cruelty to Julia Sempronius Gracchus</td>
<td>(b)I.53. &quot;Imperium adeptus, extorrem, infamem, et post interficium Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscursam fore necem longinquitate exsili ratus. Par causa saevitiae in Sempronium Gracchum.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cruelty for small offenses - to fisherman, robber of peacock, and courtier of road.</td>
<td>(d)60 &quot;..piscator ... perfricati eodem pisce faciems insitt. &quot; Militem praetorianum ob subrep- tum et viridiario pavon- em capite punit. ... Sectica . . . Vepribus impedita exploratorem viae . . . paene ad necem verberavit.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cruelty in death of Germanicus</td>
<td>(e)52. &quot;Etiam cause mortis fuisse ei per Cn. Pisonem legatum Syriae creditur.&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>Unfavorable incidents with an implication or assertion of bad character.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cruelty in death of Drusus.</strong></td>
<td>(a) VI. 23. &quot;Drusus deinde extinguitur, cum se miserandis alimentis mandendo et cubili tomento nonum ad diem detinuisset.&quot;</td>
<td>(g) 54... &quot;Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta ut tomentum e culcita temptaverit mandere.&quot;</td>
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<td><strong>Jealousy of</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Avtius</td>
<td>(b) I. 13. in Avtium. &quot;sed divitem, promptum artibus egregiis et pari fama publice, suspectabat.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>&quot; Livia</strong></td>
<td>(c) I. 14. &quot;ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>&quot; Germanicus.</strong></td>
<td>(d) I. 52. &quot;bellica quoque gloria Germanici angebatur.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>&quot; toward house of Germanicus.</strong></td>
<td>(e) IV. 17 ... &quot;Neronem quoque et Drusum isdem dis commendavere, non tam caritate iuvenum quam adulatione. Nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero aequari adolescentes senectae suae impatienter indoluit.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Bad Statesmanship</strong></td>
<td>(f) I. 72. &quot;Legem maiestatis reduxerat.&quot;</td>
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<td>(a) I.73. &quot;Falanio obiciebat accusator quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cassium quendam mimum corpore infamem adivisse set, quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset Rubrio criminis dabantur violatum periurio numen Augusti.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unscrupulous Legislation.</td>
<td>(b) IV.30. Delators rewarded. &quot;Sic delatores ... per praemia eliciebantur.&quot;</td>
<td>(f) 61. &quot;Especial rewards to accusors - sometimes to witnesses.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deceit - Hypocrisy</td>
<td>(c) II.26. Toward Germanicus in recalling him from Germany. &quot;Haud cunctatus ultra Germanicum quamquam fingi ea sequa per inordiniam invidiem parto iam decori abstrahi intellexeret.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deceit as to going to Frontier.</td>
<td>(d) II.42. &quot;amoliri iuvem specie honoris,&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deceit in removal of Germanicus from Rome.</td>
<td>(e) I.47. &quot;Ceterum ut iam iamque iturus, legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves, mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fesellit.&quot;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Unfavorable incidents with an implication or assertion of bad character.

Revengeful, deceptive, licentious mind while at Rhodes.

Licentiousness and Drunkenness in later life.

Resentfulness.

Tacitus.

Suetonius.

Velleius.

(a) I. 4. cf. p. "ne iis quidem annis quibus Rhodi specie sessus exulsus egerit aliquid quam iram et simulationem et secretas lubidines meditatum."

(b) VI. 51. "postremo in scelera simulacredorea prorupit."

(d) 43. "Secessu vero Capreaeni etiam sellania exogitatavit, sedem arcanarum libidinum... In silvis quoque ac nemoribus passim Venerios locos commentus est..."

(e) 44. "Maiore adhuc ac turpiore infamia flagravit, vix ut referri audire, nendum credi fas sit..."

(f) 42. "propter nimiam vini aviditatem pro Tiberio Biberius... vocabatur."

(c) IV. 21. "sed in animo revolvente iras, etiam si impetus offensionis languerat, memoria valebat."
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<tr>
<td>Covetousness.</td>
<td>(a) IV. 20. &quot;Computatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. Ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arrogance and secretiveness in face and conversation.</td>
<td>(b) I. 53. &quot;sermone vultu adrogantibus et obscuris.&quot;</td>
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<td>Lack of nobility in proposed marriage of Claudius' son with daughter of Sejanus.</td>
<td>(c) III. 29. &quot;Polluisse nobilitatem familiae videbatur.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unkindness.</td>
<td>(d) VI. 25. &quot;Enim vero Tiberius foedissimis criminationibus exarsit, impudicitiam arguens et Asinium Gallum adulterum, eiusque morte ad Taedium vitae compulsum.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyranny.</td>
<td>(f) IV. 1. &quot;saevire ipse aut saeventibus vires prae­bere.&quot;</td>
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(g) cf. II. 129 (12g)
Unfavorable incidents with an implication or assertion of bad character.

Despotism and Gradual Degeneracy.

Tacitus.

Suetonius.

Velleius.

(a) V. 3. "Ceterum ex eo praerupta iam et urgens dominatio; nam incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium, quia Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Seianus audsebat auctoritati parentis antire: tunc velut frenis exsoluti promperunt."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favorable circumstances with implication, or assertion, of good character.</th>
<th>Tacitus.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affection for brother.</td>
<td>(a)7. Drusum fratrem in Germania amisit cuius corpus, pedibus tota itinere praegrediens, Romam usque pervexit.</td>
<td>(b)20. &quot;Dedicavit et concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris suo fratriisque nomine.&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; wife.</td>
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<td>Good generalship.</td>
<td>(c)7. &quot;Juliam Augusti fillam coactus est ducere, non sine magno angore animi ... Sed Agrippinam et aegisse post divortium doluit.&quot;</td>
<td>(d)16. &quot;toto Illyrico versus perdomito et in dic-</td>
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<td>Humaneness to soldiers remarkable.</td>
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<td>tionem redacto.&quot;</td>
<td>(e)II.94. &quot;cum leg-</td>
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<td>ionibus ingressus</td>
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<td>Armeniam, redacta</td>
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<td>ea in potestatem</td>
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<td>populi Romani...quin</td>
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<td>rex quoque Parthorum</td>
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<td>...misit obsides.&quot;</td>
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<td>(f)114.&quot;...humanitate</td>
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<td>singularem! per omne</td>
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<td>bellis Germanici Pam-</td>
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<td>nonicoque tempus nemo</td>
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<td>valetudo non ita</td>
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<td>sustentatur Caesar-</td>
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<td>is cura...lectica</td>
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<td>eius publicata...nihil</td>
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<td>deereat quod...aut</td>
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<td>praestari aut desid-</td>
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<td>erari.&quot;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
 Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidences of good character.

Tacitus.

Suetonius.

Velleius.

Economy in general matters, also personal.

(d) 34. "Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit, mercedibus scenicorum recisis paribusque gladiat- orum ad certum numerum redactis,...
vasorum pretia, ex-
arsis esse tresque
mullos triginta
millibus nummum
venisse graviter
conquestus... Et ut parsimoniam publicam exemplo iuvaret...
ipse saepe ac semesa
obsonia apposuit...
affirmans omnia eadem
habere quae totum."

Economy with regard to personal slaves.

(a) IV. 7. "modestia
servitia intra paucos
libertos domus."

Good statesmanship.

(b) III. 51. "Igitur
factum senatus cons-
sultum ne decretas
patrum ante diem
decimum ad aerarium
deferrentur."

Good Statesmanship.

(c) III. 60. "Tiberius...
postulata provincia-

(e) 37. "Abolevit et ius
moremque asylorum."
<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;patrum mittendo.&quot; Crebrescebat enim licentia...asyla statuendi.&quot;</td>
<td>(a)IV.6.&quot;dabaturque primoribus disserere et in adulationem lapsos cohibebat.&quot;</td>
<td>(b)III.38. &quot;remedio quinque consularium quinque e praetoriiis, totidem e cetero senatu sorte duisset ... modicum in prassens levamentum fuere.&quot;</td>
<td>(c)I.78.&quot;Centesimam,... deprecante populo edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Statesmanship. (Checked flattery and allowed freedom of debate.)</td>
<td>(d)I.80.&quot;Id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitæ...habere.&quot;</td>
<td>(e)37.&quot;Especially he took care for upholding the peace from the boldness of footpads and robbers.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Attempt to check law of treason.)</td>
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<td>(Refusal to relax necessary tax.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Policy of continuing men in office.)</td>
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Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidence of good character.

Tacitus.

Suetonius.

Velleius.

Good Statesmanship (Continued.)

Treatment of provinces good.

(a) I. 76. "Achaim et Macedoniam onera depressae levare in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesar placuit."

(b) 32. Expressed his policy. "It is the part of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, not flay them."

(c) II. 126. Conditions under his rule. "revocata in forum fides, summata et foro seditione, ambitio campo, discordia curia, sepultaque ac situs obsitas iustitia, equitas, industria civitatis redditas; accessorit magistratus, senatus maiestas, judicis gravitas; compressa theatralis seditio, recte faciendo omnibus... hon orantur recta, prava puniuntur, suspeicit potentiem humilibus... quando annona moderatior, quando pax laetior?"
Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidence of good character.

Tacitus.

Suetonius.

Good Statesmanship.

(a) VI.17. "Hinc inopia rei nummariae, commoto simul omnium aere alieno...donee tulit opem Caesar disposito per..." Tiberius gratis agenti Silano patribus coram respondit se quoque laeri...retinebat...".

Suetonius.

Velleius.

(c) II.24. "Sed Tiberius alius agenti Silano...*

Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidence of good character.
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<tr>
<td>Regard for law.</td>
<td>(a) III.67-9. &quot;Nec dubium habebatur saevitiae captarum-que pecuniarum teneri reum;...Tiberius ...libellos divi Augusti de Voleso Messala eiusdem Asiae pro consule factum-que in eum senatus consultum recitari iubet.&quot;</td>
<td>histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegavit, nec ut revocaret umquam ullis populi precibus potuit evinci.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Generosity.</td>
<td>(b) IV.13. &quot;factaque auctore eo senatus consulta ut civitati Cibyraticae apud Aegiri, Aegiensi, apud Achaian motu terrae labefactis, subveniretur remissione tributi in triennium.&quot;</td>
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### Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidences of good character.

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<tr>
<td>(a) VI.45. &quot;Idem annus gravi igne urbem adficit, deusta parte Circi, quae Adventino contigua, ipseque Adventino; quod damnun Caesar ad gloriam vertit exsolutis domum et insularum pretiis. Milies sestertium in munificentiam eae collocatum.&quot;</td>
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<td>(b) VI.17. &quot;Donec tulit opem Caesar disposito per menas milies sestertio facta mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium.&quot;</td>
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<td>(c) IV.64. &quot;The Emperor distributed money according to the loss of each one.&quot;</td>
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<td>(d) 43. &quot;Twice altogether publicly generous---1000 sesterces for a period of 3 years gratuitously bestowed.&quot;</td>
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<td>(e) 48. &quot;Again showed generosity to certain lords of the terrens which burned on Mt. Caelius by restoring their value.&quot;</td>
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<td>(f) II.130. &quot;With what liberality, at other times, and especially lately when Mt. Caelius burned, he aided all ranks from his own patrimony.&quot;</td>
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<td>Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidence of good character.</td>
<td>(a)III.53,54.&quot;...cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant, unus invidia ab omnibus peccatur....Nam si velis quod nondum vetitum est, timeas ne veteres at si prohibita impune transcenderes, neque metus ultra neque pudor est.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Insight into human nature.</td>
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<td>(a)III.53,54.&quot;...cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant, unus invidia ab omnibus peccatur....Nam si velis quod nondum vetitum est, timeas ne veteres at si prohibita impune transcenderes, neque metus ultra neque pudor est.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Encouragement of Religion.</td>
<td>(b)IV.16.&quot;Utque gliseret dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad capessendas caerimonias, decetum Corneliae.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c)Virgini,...sesterium viciens, et quotiens Augusta theatrum introisset, ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early morality. (Trial of Silanus for licentiousness)</td>
<td>(d)III.24. &quot;Tiberius... sibi tamen cum integra parentis sui offensiones, neque reditu Silani dissoluta quae Augustus voluisset.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magnanimity</td>
<td>(a)III.47. &quot;Tiberius... bellum... scripsit; ne- que dempsit aut ad- didit vero, sed fide ac virtue legatos se consiliis superfui- isse.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>(In behalf of Julia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(To Piso's son.)</td>
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<td>(b)II. &quot;tamen officii duxit, quantum in se esset, exorare filiae patrem frequentibus litteris et vel utcum- que meritae quidquid umquam dono dedisset, concedere.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>(In withdrawal to Rhodes.)</td>
<td>cf. Tacitus I. 4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidence of good character.</td>
<td>Tacitus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>uxor isena taedio... an ut vitato assid-uitatis fastidio auctoritatem absentia tueretur atque etiam augeret si quando indigisset sui res p. Quidem existimant, adultis liberis Augusti, loco... gradu sponte cessisse... Suam causam et ipse, sed postea reddidit.</td>
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**Dignity.**

(Tiberius at trial of Piso.)

(a) III. 14. "effiesque Pisonis traxerant in Gemonias ac divelle-bant, ni iusse principis protectae re-positaque forent."

**Firmness**

(Refusal to lighten tax.)

(b) I. 78. "Centesimam rerum venalium post bella civilia institutam deprecante populuo edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidence of good character.</th>
<th>Tacitus.</th>
<th>Suetonius.</th>
<th>Velleius.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Judiciousness</strong></td>
<td>(a) I.75. &quot;Aurelio tribuit veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, deciens sester-tium largitus est, satis comperto paternas ei angustias esse. Temp-tantis eadem alios probare causas senatus iussit.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Judiciousness</strong></td>
<td>(b) II.83. &quot;Cum censeretur clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis inter auctores elo-quentiae, asseveravit Tiberius solitum par-emque ceteris dicat-urum; neque enim elo-quentiam fortuna dis-cerni, et satis illustre si veteres inter scrip-tores haberetur.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Judiciousness</strong></td>
<td>(c) 26. &quot;Ac ne Augusti quidem moment, quamquam hereditarium, ullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistolis addidit.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Judiciousness</strong></td>
<td>(d) IV.37. &quot;Ceterum ut semel receptias veniam habuerit, ita om-nes per provincias</td>
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<td>effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum superbum; et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur. &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tolerance.</td>
<td>(a) VI.38. &quot;Quae ab hereditibus occultata recitari Tiberius iussit, patientiam libertatis alienae ostentans et contemptor suae infamiae.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>(d) 28. &quot;in civitate liberam lingua mentemque liberal esse debere.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kindliness.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mercifulness.</td>
<td>(b) IV.31. &quot;Eius operae memor Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, excilium deprecatus est.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diplomacy.</td>
<td>(c) III.51. &quot;Id Tiberius solitis sibi ambagibus apud senatum incussavit cum extolleret piatem quemvis modicas principis iniurias</td>
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<tr>
<td>Favorable circumstances with direct or indirect evidence of good character.</td>
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|-----------------|-------------|-----------|
| acriter ulciscen-

tium, deprecaretur

tam praecipitis

verborum poenas,

laudaret Eupidum

neque Agrippam

argueret. |

Diplomacy (Cont.)
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Claudian gens had some illustrious names)</td>
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<p>| | (a)l. (gens) &quot;in patricias cooptata... locumque sibi ad sepulchrum sub Capitolio publice accepit Deinceps... duodetriginta consulatus, dictaturas quinque, censuras septem, triumphos sex duas ovationes adepta est.&quot; |</p>
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<td>4. &quot;Pater Tiberi... plurimum ad victoriom contulit.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Favorable circumstances showing passive good qualities.</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tacitus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suetonius.</td>
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<td>Velleius.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Non-susceptibility to flattery.</th>
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<tr>
<td>(a)III.47.&quot;he was not so void of glory that, having received fierce nations subdued, with many triumphs received or rejected—refused—now an old man, he should seek the empty honor of a triumphal entrance from the suburbs.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>(d)34.&quot;He prohibited daily kissing by an edict.&quot;</td>
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<td>(e)II.122.&quot;he deserved seven triumphs but was contented with three.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<th>Non-resentfulness.</th>
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<tr>
<td>(b)III.76.&quot;Junia....cum ferme cunctos proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit. Quod civiliter acceptum, neque prohibuit quo minus laudationem pro rostris ceteris solemnibus funus cohonestaretur.&quot;</td>
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<th>No covetousness for money.</th>
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<tr>
<td>(c)III.18.&quot;satis firmum adversum pecuniam.&quot;</td>
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</table>
Evidence of good from the opinion of others.

Augustus' high opinion.

Opinion of old man who saw Tiberius in person.

Tacitus.

cf. I.10. "Ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura successor adscitum, sed quoniam arrogantiam saevitiamque eius introspexerit, comparatim deterrima sibi gloriam quaesivisse Et enim Augustus, paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio tribunica potestatem a patribus rurem postularet, quamquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et institutis eius iscerat, quae velut excusando exprobaret."

Suetonius.

(b) 21. "sed vitii Tiberii virtutibusque perpensis potiores duxisse virtutes praesertim cum et rei p. causa adoptare se cum... iuraverit, et epistolis aliquot ut peritisimum rei publicae utque unicum P.R. praesidium prosequatur."... "Ergo, mi Tiberi, et inter tot rerum difficultates... non potuisse quemquam prudentius gerere se quam tu gesserie, existimo,... verum illum in te posse dici. Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem."

Velleius.

(c) II.107. "tum a d pulso lintre et diu tacitus contemplatus Caesarem, nostra quam inquit, furit iuventus, quae cum ves trum absentium colat, praesentium potius arma metuit quam sequitur fidem. Sed ego beneficio ac permisi tuo, Caesar, quos ante audiebam, hodie vidi deos, nec feliciorum ullam vitae meae aut optavi aut sensi..."
<table>
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<tr>
<th>(26)</th>
<th>Implication of evil characteristics from the opinion of others.</th>
<th>Tacitus.</th>
<th>Suetonius.</th>
<th>Velleius.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The State</td>
<td>(a) I.46. &quot;Legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium, quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, quoniam fiat ludificetur, dissident interim miles neque duorum adulcentium. nondum adulta suatoritate comprimiqueat.&quot;</td>
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<td>Dislike of people while he was at Rhodes.</td>
<td>(b) 13... &quot;Contemptior in dies et invisor, adeo ut imagines eius et status Nemausenses subverterint, ac familiae quondam convivio mentione eius orta, extiterit qui Caio pollicetur, confestim se, si iubetur, Rhodium navigaturum caputque exulies (sic enim appellatur) relatum.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exclamations relative to his character, by the populace upon hearing of his death.</td>
<td>(c) 75. &quot;Tiberium in Tiberi! Ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent.&quot;</td>
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</table>
The implication of evil characteristics from the opinion of others. Tacitus.

Disparaging letter of King of Parthia. Suetonius.

Germanicus believed to have feared Tiberius. Velleius.

(a) 11.72. "Tum ad uxorem versus per memoriam sui, per communes liberos cravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti fortunae submitteret animum, nee regressa in urbem aemulatione potentiae validiores irritaret. Haec palam et alia secreto, per quae ostendere credebatur metum ex Tiberio."

(b) 66. "Artabani Parthorum regis lac- eratus est litteris, parricidia et caedes et ignaviam et luxuriam obicientis, monentisque ut vo- luntaria morte maximimo iustissimoque civium odio quam primum satis faceret. Postremo semet ipse pertaeus, tali epistulœae principio tantum non summam malorum suorum professo est."
Bad Qualities....Positive

I. Cruelty  5a, g
II. Jealousy  5b, c, d, e,
III. Bad Statesmanship  5f, 6a, b, f
IV. Deceit--Hypocrisy  6c, d, e, 7a
V. Licentiousness  7a, b, d, e, f
VI. Resentfulness  7c
VII. Despotism  8f
VIII. Covetousness  8a
IX. Malignity  8e
X. Secretiveness  8b
XI. Lack of nobility  8c
XII. Unkindness  8d
XIII. Gradual degeneracy  9a
Good Qualities.... Positive.

I. Affection 10a, b, c
II. Good Generalship 10 d,e
III. Humaneness 10f
IV. Economy 11a, d
V. Good Statesmanship 11b,c,e, 13 a,b,c,d,e, 13 e,a,b, 14 a,b,c,d.
VI. Insight into human nature 17a
VII. Regard for law 15a, 16a,b,c,d,e,f.
VIII. Generosity 15b,16a,b,c,d,e,f
IX. Encouragement of Religion 17b,c
X. Early morality 17d
XI. Magnanimity
Justice,18/ Consideration 18a,e
XII. Dignity 19a
XIII. Firmness 18b
XIV. Judiciousness 20a,b,c,d
XV. Tolerance 21a,d
XVI. Kindliness 21e
XVII. Diplomacy 21e
XVIII. Mercifulness 21b
Good Qualities ... Passive or negative.

I. Inherited excellence 23a
II. Aversion to flattery 24a,d,e.
III. Not resentful 24b
IV. No greed for money 24c
It now remains to be seen by individual comparison how far the allegations or implications of unfavorable qualities may be refuted or modified. The following factors will need to be considered:

I TACITUS.

1. Tacitus' own assertions. He often assigns, purposely or inadvertently, good motives and actions to Tiberius which go far to counteract his own adverse statements and insinuations.
2. His bias of judgement, cynical attitude, tendency to moralize, his reliance upon insufficient evidence, as shown
   a) by criticisms on his literary habits by the authorities on Roman Literature;
   b) by an investigation of interior evidence of personal coloration.

II. SUETONIUS.

1. Suetonius' contrary allegations of good qualities.
2. His tendency to retail current anecdotes etc. on insufficient authority, as attested by the authorities on Roman literature.

III. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

1. The expressly contradictory character of the testimony of Velleius.
   a) Reliability of Velleius.

IV. THE TACITURNITY ETC. OF TIBERIUS.

1. The natural tendency to misjudge the reserved manner and moroseness of Tiberius.

Before considering in detail the influence of these factors, it may be well to take account of those instances in which the statements of Tacitus are in some measure offset or modified by opposite statements of Suetonius and Velleius, or both.

The following grouping gives a rather general conspectus of those passages in which the various undesirable qualities are refuted or minimized:
Bad Qualities Counterbalanced by Good.

I a. Cruelty

(Humaneness III.)
(Mercy XIX.)
(Kindness XVI.)
(Not resentful III.)
(Affectionate Nature I.)

II a. Jealousy

(Generosity VIII.)
(IX a. Malignity)
(Magnanimity XI.)

III a. Bad Statesmanship

(Good Statesmanship V.)

IV a. Deceit

(X a. Secretiveness)
(Diplomacy XVIII)

V a. Licentiousness

(Early morality X)

VI a. Resentfulness

(Not resentful III)

VII a. Despotism

(Justice XI)
(Tolerance XV)

VIII a. Covetousness

(Not covetous IV)

XII a. Unkindness

(Kindness XVI)

XI a. Lack of nobility

XIII a. Gradual degeneracy
XIII a (Cont.)

(Economy IV.
(Regard for Law VII.
(Discernment VI.
(Encouragement of Religion IX.
(Dignity XII.
(Firmness XIII.
(Judiciousness XIV.
(Aversion to flattery II.)
I. Cruelty (*u,u,a,g) is a characteristic in concrete examples by Tacitus and Suetonius. Both authors cite cruelty also as an innate quality of Tiberius (4a,c). Suetonius, however, refutes the charge of absolute cruelty, by giving us marked incidents (10a,b,c,d) of an inherent affectionate nature.

The charge of cruelty is also modified by virtue of the humaneness which is given in pronounced manner (10ff) by Velleius. Tacitus extenuates the charge of cruelty in part by showing Tiberius not resentful (24b).

II. Jealousy and Malignity. These evils are mentioned by Tacitus only. Jealousy (5b,6a,d,e) and Malignity (8e) are modified by express incidents of generosity (15,15a,b,e,d,e,f) and of magnanimity (18a,b,c e) mentioned likewise by Tacitus.

Further, while allegations of jealousy and malignity are not found in Suetonius and Vellius, we find the fact of generosity further intensified by mention of Suetonius (16d,e) and Velleius (16f).

III. Bad Statesmanship (5,6a,b,f) lies in the revival of the Law of Treason and the reward of the delators, mentioned by Tacitus and Suetonius.

The largest number of good points in the career of Tiberius are the circumstances of his good statesmanship, which are mentioned partly by Tacitus. Even the fact of his re-establishment of the Law of Treason, related by Tacitus, is softened by the opposite statement (12b) that Tiberius attempted to check its evils. Items of good statesmanship are given by Suetonius (11a,13e,13c). Velleius (13c gives us a general itemized list of the good results effected in the conditions under Tiberius.
IV. Deceit and Secretiveness: These qualities (6d, e) and (6c) are mentioned by Tacitus only. The qualities are ones which at times represent the tact and diplomacy of the statesman—as found, for example in (21c). Diplomacy often involves a certain degree of deceit.

V. Licentiousness: This charge (7b) in Tacitus, and (7de, f) in Suetonius, can be softened, if not eliminated, by the passage regarding his early life—as stated in Tacitus (17d). But, as stated in the introduction, it seems hardly possible to refute the allegations of the debased character of Tiberius in his later years.

VI. Resentfulness: This charge (7c) in Tacitus is also modified by a contradictory statement of the same author, (34b).

VII. Despotism: (8f, 9a): This charge is cited only by Tacitus. It is weakened by his further ascriptions of Tolerance and Justice (21a, d, 18b, c). Suetonius adds to the side of tolerance and justice (21d) and Velleius states an instance of his magnanimity (18e).

VIII. Covetousness. Tacitus' statement regarding this quality (8d) is weakened by his counter-statement regarding covetousness (24c).

XII. The Unkindness mentioned by Tacitus (8a) is extreme, involving vituperation of the deceased—Agrippina and Drusus—and can only partly be extenuated by the fact of his active kindness towards Germanicus in life.

XI. The Lack of Nobility seen in an intermarriage of one of the Claudian gens (8c) to one lower in rank, and the gradual degeneracy (9b) both mentioned by Tacitus, cannot be offset by any particular virtue—although we find eight good characteristics—all mentioned by Tacitus—which may be regarded as compensatory for these two rather questionable and vague charges.
I. TACITUS

I. Referring to the factors mentioned (page 31) that tend to modify an adverse estimate of Tiberius, it is found that Tacitus himself in the Annals, either deliberately or inadvertently, has ascribed to him so many distinctly estimable qualities as to offset in large measure the great degree of baseness that he would otherwise imply.

The allegation of cruelty as stated by Tacitus, is modified, as stated on page* by the fact of the virtue of humaneness mentioned by Velleius, and that Tacitus likewise shows Tiberius to be not resentful.

Jealousy of Livia (5c) is extenuated by the assertion of Tiberius' reasons for his apparent jealousy in the same passage.

Jealousy (5e) toward the house of Germanicus: Tacitus here gives us a direct quotation from Tiberius, wherein the latter gives a sensible reason for displeasure at the elevation of Nero and Drusus, and gives another view than that of jealousy.

Malignity (8e) toward Germanicus is extenuated by Tacitus' assertion of two alternatives "sive---sive", leaving the reader to choose the sinister or the good, as he pleases.

Bad Statesmanship: If the example of bad statesmanship represented by the revival of the Law of Treason is taken as an index of an evil mind, it is largely by the instances of good statesmanship. However, the case of the Law of Treason, as related by Tacitus (5f), is in part extenuated by his own assertion regarding Tiberius--that he had brought back (reduxerat) a law established by Augustus, and that Augustus had used it in cases of libel. These libellous cases vexed Tiberius at the time.

Deceit towards Germanicus (5e). The motive displayed in this statement is in part excused by the reader, because Tacitus gives us Tiberius' assertions for the reason of his recall of Germanicus from the frontier,--and they impress us as just reasons.
2.A. Tacitus' bias of judgement, cynical attitude, and tendency to moralize, are shown by the statements of authorities on Roman Literature or Roman History as follows:

Teuffel and Schwabe, Vol. II, page 333, par. II. "On the whole it is becoming more and more established that Tacitus' examination of documentary evidence was not carried so far as used to be supposed. . . . The case of Druses is told by Aticata, divorced wife, eight years after. . . . It is never known what evidence he had for the majority of his charges."

Simcox I, 300. "In fact the whole account of the reign of Tiberius is a masterpiece of detraction: the emperor gets no credit for his faithfulness to old friends, very little for his munificence on all public occasions."

Bury, page 212. "Tacitus wrote under the influence of a reaction against the imperial system and he lays himself out to blacken the character of all the emperors previous to Nerva."

Merivale, v. p. 408. "Suetonius and Tacitus, the third generation belong to a period of strong reaction against Caesarian despotism."

An analysis of Tacitus' literary style shows personal peculiarities that tend to weaken our reliance upon his historical accuracy.

He constantly uses expressions that suggest to the reader his own view of a sinister motive in the actions of Tiberius. This implies a prejudice against the emperor, and raises a justifiable suspicion that he has given undue weight to his unfavorable allegations. Some of these expressions are single words.
2b. Interior Evidence of Coloration in Tacitus.

The character of Tiberius is insidiously maligned by insinuating words of Tacitus:

**Simulabat** I. 6 —— patris iussa simulabat.

**Dissimulante** IV. 74 —— dissimulante Tiberio damno.

**Patientiam** —— ostentans VI. 38.

**In speciem** II. 36. Favorabili in speciem oratione vim imperii tenuit.

**Specie** II. 42. adsecutus amoliri iuvenem specie honoris tenuit.

**Specie** IV. 57. specie dedicandi templo apud Capuam.

**Quasi** II. 31 Tiberius quasi firmandae valetudini in Campaniam concessit.

**Quasi** II. 36. Tiberius quasi augeret potestas eius, dissersuit.

**Solitis sibi ambagibus.** III 51.

**Praetendebat** III. 29. Praetendebat sibi fratri decreta eadem petente Augusto.

**Praetendens** IV 31. sed alia prae tendens.

**Callidus** II. 30. callidus et novi iuris repertor Tiberius.

**Scilicet etiam illum qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat.** III. 65
II. Many sinister opinions are given as quotations.

I.4. Pars multo —— variis rumoribus differebant.

II. 72. Haec palam et alia secreto, per quae ostendere credebatur metum ex Tiberio.

III.16. Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter manus Pisonis libellum.

I.53. Tradidere.

III.73. Tradunt.

III.65. Memoriae proditur.

III.44. Opinion of the men of the republic given.

No passage has been found in which Tacitus quotes a favorable opinion of Tiberius. According to his statements, however, (supra) Tiberius possessed many good qualities. These, as well as the bad ones, must have been generally recognized and commented upon. Tacitus' apparent readiness to quote unfavorable opinions, and these only, warrants the presumption that he wishes to reflect adversely on Tiberius.

III. Again, Tacitus is prone to set his own interpretation upon the motives and conduct of Tiberius, and this is almost always an unfavorable one. This likewise implies prejudice.
Following are the instances discovered:

(a) Tiberius recalls Germanicus from Germany. II.26.

"Haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus quamquam fingi ea sequae per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahi inteliegeret."

(b) IV.55. "Sed Caesar quo famen averteret, adesse frequens senatui legatosque Asiae, ambigentes, quanam in civitate templum statueretur, plures per dies audivit."

(c) III.4. Eulogies of Agrippina; "Nihil tamen Tiberius magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in Agrippina."

(d) III.22. "Haud facile quis dispexerit illa in cognitione mentem principis; adeo vertit ac miscuit irae et Clementiae signa."

(e) VI.25. "Cum de Agrippina auditum, quam interfecto Seiano spe sustentatem provixisse reor, et postquam nihil de scavitia remittebatur, voluntate extinctam."

IV. One of Tacitus' most characteristic methods of insidious detraction, is to set forth some commendable fact and to offset it immediately by an unfavorable statement introduced by an adversative conjunction:
I. 14. "Ille moderanus feminarum honores dictitans eadem-que se temperantia usurum in iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipientem ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est araeque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit.

I. 13°"Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira; sed promptum, artibus egregiis et pari fama publice suspectabat."


I. 7. --"neque abscedere a corpore idque unum ex publicis muneribus usurpare. Sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis co-hortibus ut imperator aegerat."

I. 4 "Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spectatum bello, sed vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia."

I. 75 "Sed dum veritati consulitur libertas corrump-ebatur."
From the reading of Tacitus' Annals, then, there appears evidence in many cases that the author does not give us the straight-forward facts concerning Tiberius' life which is expected in the historian. His personal bias and coloration of facts have been shown above in:

I. The use of insinuating words.
II. Many sinister opinions given as quotations.
III. The reading of his own views into the mind of the character described. The reader often finds no reason assigned for the coloration that he has given to motives.
IV. The use of the adversative conjunction to limit a statement otherwise favorable.

This tendency of Tacitus to project his own unfavorable meaning into the mind of the character concerned, instead of contenting himself with the uncolored historical fact, must raise a suspicion of his fairness in recording other circumstances.
II. Suetonius.

A pronounced contradiction of a statement of Tacitus is found in Suetonius 21.

Tacitus states that Augustus chose Tiberius as his successor because he wished, through disparaging comparison with himself, to add to his own glory, and had earlier cast opprobrium upon Tiberius. Suetonius, on the other hand, in the passage cited, tells us of the high esteem entertained by Augustus for Tiberius, and gives several letters verbatim, wherein is shown an appreciation of Tiberius' worth.

Mackail P. 230-1, says of Suetonius: "There perhaps never was a series of biographies so crammed with anecdote." "The biographies of Suetonius show considerable research and absolute candour."

Simcox II 211: "Suetonius is a gossip, and speaks ill of every one without any intention of doing harm."
It is said by authorities that Suetonius is a biographer rather than a historian. We see this in the opening seven chapters—which contain a detailed account of the family of Ti. and its various personages; rather than a consideration of causes and events expected in the historian.

It is also possible to further recognize the anecdotal nature of Suetonius' writing and his vagueness as to sources of fact—from the following instances in which are expressed some of the bad characteristics previously tabulated:

- **Early cruelty** 4 c instanced through an anecdote told by Theodorus Godareus.
- **Cruelty to Drusus** 5 g told through anecdotes and incidents.
- **Cruelty in the death of Germanicus** is partly extenuated by the reason of its being laid to report, in the use of the word (credetur.)
- **Licentiousness** is shown by anecdotes and incidents.
An Outline of Suetonius' Biography of Tiberius,

Chap. XXI. There is nothing up to the events of this chapter reflecting upon his character. Here Suetonius distinctly decides that Augustus was favorable to him and states that in his own opinion Augustus deemed his virtues to outweigh his vices.

XXII. Caused death of Agrippa.— states that it is doubtful whether commanded it, or Livia ordered it in Augustus' name. Tiberius denies it.

XXVI. Did not accept title pater patriae, civic crown, or name Augustus.

XXVII. Aversion to flattery.

XXVIII. Allowed freedom of speech relating to himself.

XXIX. Fairness in senate.

XXX. 

XXXI. 

XXXII. 

XXXIII. Exemplary public conduct.

XXXIV. 

XXXV. 

XXXVI. 

XLII. First allegation of evil character after Capri.
All these allegations regard life at Capri. This part of his life there is no attempt to extenuate.

Generosity.

Covetous—robbery.

Hatred towards relatives—quarrels.

Savage disposition.

Cruelty when a boy.

Penalty for removing head of statue of Augustus.

Cruelty("under pretense") of strictness and reform.

All these instances show no authority and follow statements XXVI----XXXVI in garrulous anecdotal vein.

Capri

Good health during reign.
An analysis of Suetonius' biography shows the following results:

Up to Chap. XXI no unfavorable statement or inference is made.

In XXII the fact of his responsibility for death of Agrippina is left in doubt by the alternatives.

XXVII–XXXVI are wholly commendatory and show marked fairness, generosity, aversion to flattery, repression of personal feeling and generally exemplary public conduct.

XXXII–XLVI all relate to life at Capri. This paper does not attempt to deny or excuse his conduct during this portion of his life.

Aside from the account of his misdoings at Capri above mentioned, the first real unfavorable account that Suetonius gives is in Chap. XLVIII. From this point on, Chaps. XLII–XLVI and XLIX–LXIX, the account is unfavorable—relating chiefly to cruelty and jealousy.

Chaps. LX–LXVI are unfavorable, but all relate again to life at Capri.

As a summary, it may be said that by far the most serious and most extensive arraignment of Tiberius by Suetonius relates to the life at Capri.

The beginning of this period may possibly represent the beginning of the breaking down of his constitution, and an innate tendency to viciousness, which had been meritoriously repressed during his larger public life, may have come to the surface in the broken-down old man.

During the period of his life with which this paper is concerned no mention is made of licentiousness.

If Suetonius' account be true, the worst allegations relate to cruelty and jealousy. These are amply offset by the instances of the contrary qualities in XXVI–XXXVI. These instances show good statesmanship, fairness, discretion and magnanimity. If we grant an inborn tendency to cruelty and licentiousness, the repression of these qualities during his active administration is wholly to his credit, and the occasional outbursts of them as related are natural.

The extreme instances of bad character related by Suetonius may be modified by the author's well-tested tendency to gossip and retail anecdotes. Aside from the fact in human nature that unfavorable stories of a man in public life gain ready currency, the political situation of the time was particularly favorable to criticism of the imperial system. The system of one-man rule was contrary to the long cherished traditions of Rome, and covert dissatisfaction with the system itself was life. Stories of this sort might easily have gained credence without real evidential basis. To a writer of Suetonius' anecdotal tendency they would afford a strong temptation. To this must be added the statement of Simcox that Suetonius speaks ill of everybody from choice. The same tendency is shown in his biography of most of the other emperors.
The statement of the authorities in Roman literature that his sources are good, certainly relate chiefly to his statement of large historical facts. In none of his accounts of the evil qualities of Tiberius is any real historical evidence cited; much is frankly based upon his own personal opinion, and many of them bear the stamp of current anecdote. The conclusion from the study of the biography of Suetonius is that Tiberius' later life in retirement at Capri may have been chiefly vicious; that his nature may have been naturally cruel and jealous; that such qualities did occasionally break forth in his administrative life; but that his administrative career was chiefly commendable.
III. Velleius Paterculus.

The history of Velleius was written in 30 A. D., three years after Tiberius' retirement to Capri. He probably died the following year, and the last seven years of Tiberius' life are not touched upon by him.

So far as ascriptions of bad qualities in Tiberius by Tacitus and Suetonius are concerned, they are in general contradicted by the whole biography of Velleius. So constant and so uniform is his praise of Tiberius that it is difficult to cite virtually all the instances without transcribing virtually the whole biography. Some of the specific instances of direct contradiction have been cited on pages 25-26. The authorities in Roman literature do not deny in general the validity of his sources. These, in the case of Tiberius, were mostly at first hand, inasmuch as for eight years, from 4 to 12 A. D. he served with Tiberius, attaining under him the rank of military tribune and praefectus equitum.

There is general agreement, however, that he is inclined to be extravagant in his statements, particularly with reference to Augustus and Tiberius. It is impractical to quote all the opinions of the authorities, but the following may be taken as typical of the estimate which has been placed upon Velleius.
Simcox: "As he tells us, he is a very cursory writer. Vol. I, P. 441. He makes a system of optimism. Vol. I, P. 441. This general optimism should be taken into account in judging of his language about Ti. and Augustus. We naturally compare Velleius with Livy and Tacitus (as if the tone they take was what any Roman who respected himself would take) instead of those who lived under Elizabeth in England or under Louis XIV in France, so that, though the loyalty does not exceed what we might find then, it produces all the effect of servility, the rather, that his loyalty has a strong religious color.

Cruttwell, P. 345. "For his work generally the authorities he quotes are good, Cato's Origines, the Annals of Hortensius and probably Atticus' Abridgment, Cornelius Nepos and Trogus for foreign, Livy and Sallust (of whom he was a great admirer) for natural history. His blind partisanship naturally obscures his judgment; but making allowance for a defect which he does not attempt to conceal, the reader may generally trust him for all matters of fact."

Macnail, P. 163: "The pretentiousness of his style is partly due to the declining taste of the period, partly to an idea of his own that he could write in the manner of Sallust. Yet Velleius had two real merits, the eye of the trained soldier and an unaffected, if not a very intelligent, interest in literature."

To these must be added the very general opinion, variously expressed, that Velleius' eulogistic account of Tiberius may have been partly due to the fact of his personal attachment to him and his desire to flatter one in power."
In opposition to this it must be said that from personal acquaintance with the emperor, he had opportunities for first hand information that were denied to the other biographers studied; that his praise of the deceased Augustus is almost equally enthusiastic; and that the biography was written after Tiberius' retirement from Rome, and when his power had greatly waned. In his account of the joy of the people (Chap. CIII) at the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus, he makes a statement that could have been readily refuted by his contemporaries, if untrue.

The detailed account which he gives of the delight of the soldiers (Chap. CIV) upon beholding their former commander, if inaccurate, could likewise have been refuted by the soldiers themselves, most of whom were still living. Both these passages contradict the implications and assertions of Tacitus with reference to the opinions of the Roman people regarding him.

The same may virtually be said of the circumstantial account of his exploits, (Chaps. CVI ffg.) and of his character and administration, (Chaps. X (Chaps. CXIII-CXXVIII) through all of which his good character is so insistently and uniformly extolled that it is impractical to disengage special instances.

The fact that Velleius is entirely silent with regard to the conduct of Tiberius during the portion of the time of his residence in Campania and Capri that elapsed before the writing of the biography can have no bearing on the purpose of this paper.
All in all, the study of Velleius leads to the conclusion that there is no denial on the part of the authorities as to the validity of his sources and his exceptional opportunities for first hand information; that while his eulogistic statements may be excessive in their ardor, there is nothing but presumption to prove their untruth; that in some particulars there is a strong presumption of their general accuracy.

C.XIV. "At vero militum conspectu eins elicitae gaudio lacrimae alacritasque et salutationis nova quaedem exultatis et contingendi manum cupiditas non continentium, protinus quin adiicerent, 'videmus te, imperator? salvum recepimus?' ac deinde 'ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia, ego in Raetis fui, ego a te in Vindelicis, ego in Pannania, ego in Germania donatus sum."

In looking, in a general manner, at the characteristics of Ti., the most attractive qualities, are his large humanity- and his filial devotion. His care for the comfort of his soldiers, as told by Velleius, is remarkable. The devotion to his brother Drusus which we read in Suetonius, is impressive. His compassion, for need and distress, is shown likewise in the generosity which bestowed his own patrimony for the relief of regions impoverished by fire and earthquake. But we see good characteristics which are not the kind to make one popular, such, in fact, as may have the opposite effect; namely- economy, firmness, reproof of flattery, judiciousness, and regard for Law.

Cruelty is an evident evil characteristic that can only in small part be extenuated. Perhaps the most gruesome instance is the torture of Drusus by a death of starvation. Yet, Merivale Vol. V, P. 381 calls attention to the fact that Romans apparently did not regard starvation as we do. Sometimes they chose that a s amethod of suicide. It was also
the method used in capital punishment, through a fear of shedding Caesarean blood.

Even in the matter of Licentiousness—Eury, P. 199 speaks of "Silly stories about his life at Capri" and says further "He may have left Rome for the political motive of giving Neā, the oldest son of Ger. an opportunity of gradually undertaking an active part in the government and assisting him somewhat as he himself had assisted Aug. Or, because fully conscious of his unpopularity at Rome, and his domestic life was full of worry, Livilla and Livia on one side, Agrippina on the other."

It is evident from the outline on page 12 that Good Statesmanship is a paramount good feature in the life of Ti. Licentiousness is personally detrimental, and the cruelty affected many persons, but the good statesmanship (excepting the case of the Law of Treason) brought the most prosperity to the worst people. Efficient and careful generalship likewise brought the good of peace and security to the largest numbers.

Finally our investigation shows that in Tacitus the best qualities of character, judiciousness, self-restraint, moderation, magnanimity, are admitted or distinctly announced (either purposely or inadvertently); that his ascriptions of viciousness are largely vitiated by self-contradiction or by a personal bias and a disposition to set his own valuation upon motives, and possibly by occasional carelessness with regard to sources.
That in Suetonius the above good qualities are freely and unreservedly admitted; that these qualities may have been maintained in opposition to natural opposite proclivities, the repression of which in itself constitutes a virtue; that the anecdotal tendency of the author and his readiness to retail ill-natured stories, with or without sufficient foundation, may easily account for much that is unfavorable in his biography; that he occasionally gives explicit contradiction to the unfavorable statements of Tacitus.

That while the praise of Tiberius in Velleius is complete, and even lavish and may easily have chief foundation in fact, since the validity of his sources and his opportunities for first hand knowledge are unquestioned; that he pointedly and uniformly contradicts the unfavorable assertions of Tacitus and Suetonius.

That the austerity and gloominess of Tiberius' nature, while not at all out of accord with the sterner virtues, might easily have been misconstrued and mistaken for indications of cruelty and tyranny, and thus in some measure have accounted for the allegations of bad character.

The conviction gained from the study as a whole is that Tiberius probably inherited a disposition that was somewhat prone to cruelty, jealousy and licentiousness; that he was likewise possessed of a stern sense of propriety and a power of self-control that enabled him, during his active administrative period, to keep his vicious tendencies largely in subjection; that many statements of viciousness by Tacitus and Suetonius are not warranted in fact; that there were many real exhibitions of viciousness, possibly natural and unguarded outbursts of a native tendency; that these were chiefly counterbalanced by good
qualities; that the accounts of his depravity during his last years at Capri probably cannot be contradicted, but that they may be accounted for by the fact of his natural instincts asserting themselves, when, in old age his power was waning and his spirit and physical constitution were beginning to break down.

In brief, the conclusion is that the character of Tiberius during the years of his active administration was mainly good, and that such an opinion as Tacitus aims to impress upon his readers is largely unwarranted.