

Contents

<i>Abbreviations</i>	ix
Introduction: Religion, Memory, and Tacitus	1
0.1. Religion and Memory	2
0.2. Tacitus, Priest and Historian: Taking the Religious Dimension Seriously	10
0.3. Types of Material	18
0.4. The Structure of This Study	22
1. Tiberius the Autocrat	25
1.1. Introduction: <i>Tiberius perinde divina humanaque obtegens</i>	25
1.2. Funeral, Apotheosis, and <i>recusatio</i>	30
1.3. The Use and Abuse of <i>divus Augustus</i> : The <i>maiestas</i> Disease	37
1.4. The Emergence of Religious Flattery	45
1.5. <i>Maiestas</i> Disease Meets <i>adulatio</i> Disease: The Trial of Libo Drusus	50
1.6. Tiberius Controlling the Triumph	56
1.7. Conclusions	65
2. Germanicus as Religious Interpreter	69
2.1. Introduction: Germanicus and Religious Memory	69
2.2. Germanicus' Religious Rhetoric in the German Mutiny	71
2.3. <i>Memoria deformes</i> : Commemorating Varus	79
2.4. Gods on Our Side? Dreams, Signs, and Vengeance	89
2.5. Germanicus Abroad	97
2.6. Death and Piso	112
2.7. Conclusions	117
3. Memory and Forgetting from the Death of Germanicus to the Rise of Sejanus	121
3.1. Introduction	121
3.2. Commemoration, Flattery, Vengeance: Germanicus' Funeral and Piso's Trial	122
3.3. Policing Traditions: The <i>flamen dialis</i>	140
3.4. Temple Asylum: The Senate and Cultic Memory	149
3.5. Augusta, <i>fetiales</i> , and the Senate	160
3.6. Conclusions	164
4. Divine Wrath and <i>Annals</i> 4	167
4.1. Introduction	167
4.2. <i>Fortuna</i> , Divine Wrath, and the Rise of Sejanus	168
4.3. Amnesia and Memory: Temples and Priesthoods	174

4.4. Cultic Memory, Augustus' Deification, and Tiberius' Reputation	184
4.5. Aftermath of the Spanish Temple Refusal	192
4.6. Withdrawal, Disaster, and the Perversion of Ritual	202
4.7. Conclusions	209
5. Fate, Astrology, and the End of Life	211
5.1. Introduction	211
5.2. Commemorating Livia	211
5.3. Remembering Sejanus	217
5.4. Sibylline Books: An Attempt at Tradition	220
5.5. Tiberius the Astrologer	224
5.6. Interpreting the Phoenix	229
5.7. Commemorating Augustus, Predicting Caligula	231
5.8. Conclusions	235
6. Claudius and the Failure of Tradition	237
6.1. Introduction: What We Have Lost	237
6.2. Trials and Cultic Memory for a New Reign: Claudius the Censor	240
6.3. Messalina and the Misuse of Ritual	252
6.4. Rise of Agrippina: Flattery and Impiety	256
6.5. Divine Anger and the Rise of Agrippina and Nero	266
6.6. Death, Astrology, and Deification	279
6.7. Conclusions	282
7. Nero: A Narrative in Prodigies	285
7.1. Introduction	285
7.2. Kin Murder and Divine Wrath I: Britannicus	286
7.3. Kin Murder and Divine Wrath II: Agrippina	292
7.4. When Will Nero Be Punished? The Problems of Prodigies	304
7.5. Octavia's Death and Growing <i>adulatio</i>	308
7.6. The Horrible Year AD 64	315
7.7. Impiety and Misinterpretation in the Pisonian Conspiracy	326
7.8. Fortune's Playthings	332
7.9. Wrath of the Gods	336
7.10. Conclusions	348
Conclusions	351
<i>Bibliography</i>	363
<i>Index Locorum</i>	391
<i>General Index</i>	404