## Contents

**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction: Religion, Memory, and Tacitus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.1. Religion and Memory</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2. Tacitus, Priest and Historian: Taking the Religious Dimension Seriously</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3. Types of Material</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.4. The Structure of This Study</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Tiberius the Autocrat
   1.1. Introduction: Tiberius perinde divina humanaque obtegens | 25 |
   1.2. Funeral, Apotheosis, and recusatio | 30 |
   1.3. The Use and Abuse of *divus Augustus*: The *maiestas* Disease | 37 |
   1.4. The Emergence of Religious Flattery | 45 |
   1.5. *Maiestas* Disease Meets *adulatio* 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. *Memoria deiformes*: 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 *flamen dialis* | 140 |
   3.4. Temple Asylum: The Senate and Cultic Memory | 149 |
   3.5. Augusta, *fetiales*, and the Senate | 160 |
   3.6. Conclusions | 164 |

4. Divine Wrath and *Annals* 4 | 167 |
   4.1. Introduction | 167 |
   4.2. *Fortuna*, Divine Wrath, and the Rise of Sejanus | 168 |
   4.3. Amnesia and Memory: Temples and Priesthoods | 174 |
Contents

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 adulatio 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

Bibliography 363
Index Locorum 391
General Index 404