# CONTENTS

Abbreviations of Ancient Authors  xi
Abbreviations of Journals and Modern Editions  xv

Acknowledgments  xvii

Preface  xix

A) The Afterlife: Interpretive Issues  xix
B) The Primacy of the *Manes* xxiv

1 *Di Manes*: The Godhood of the Dead  1
A) *Manes*: A General Definition  2
B) The Term *Di Manes*  2
C) The *Manes* and Roman Categories of “Gods”  5

2 *Di Manes*: The Number of the Gods  15
A) The Plural Form *Manes*  15
B) The Worship of Individuals  20
C) The Chronology of Worshipping Individuals  25
D) The *Manes of Dis Manibus*  27

3 Who Worshipped Whom?  30
A) The Complex Legacy of Fustel de Coulanges  30
B) Inheritance  33
  1. Scaevola’s Rules  33
  2. Coruncanius’ Rules  37
  3. The *Digest*  38
C) Inheritance Rules and the Diversity of Worship  40
D) *Pietas*, Affection, and Loyalty  44
  1. Familial Relationships  45
  2. Extensions of One’s Family  50
  3. The Political “Family”  53
E) Contemporary Focus (and Elite Exceptions) 55
F) Inclusiveness 61

4 The Manes in the Context of Roman Religion:
Beliefs and Variations 62
A) Variation: A Challenge to Interpretation 63
B) The Debate over Defining the Word “Belief” 64
C) Roman Implications of Nondogmatic Belief 71
   1. Polymorphism 73
   2. Pietas: Collective and Individual Relationships 78
   3. Orthopraxy 81
D) An Interpretive Model: Belief Clusters 84

5 The Powers of the Dead 89
A) Power over Life and Death 90
   1. Guardians of the Living—Benefits for Individuals 91
      a. The Extension of Life 91
      b. Clusters within Clusters 94
   2. Guardians of the Living—Benefits for the Community 99
      a. The Mundus 99
      b. The Lupercalia 103
   3. Bringers of Death 105
      a. Instruments of Vengeance 105
      b. Destroyers of Armies and Cities 109
B) The Power to Monitor the Living 114
   1. Guardians of Oaths 114
   2. Voices from Beyond 116
C) Protectors after Death 120
D) Powers and Worshippers 125

6 The Manes in the Context of the Funeral 128
A) Ritual Conservatism and the Potential for Generalization 129
B) The Funerary Ritual: Early Stages through the Cremation 132
C) The Afterlife in the Early Stages 137
D) At the Grave: Rites of Worship 138
   1. Dis Manibus Sacrum: A Point of Terminology 138
   2. Creating Sacred Space and Offerings to the Manes 139
   3. The Liberation of the Dead 143
   4. After the Sacrifices 145
E) The Manes at the Funeral 146

7 Festivals, Ceremonies, and Home Shrines 148
A) The Parentalia 149
   1. Ovid as a Source 149
2. The Ceremony 150
B) The Lemuria 160
   1. The Ritual Form 161
   2. Belief Cluster: Manes and Lemures 164
C) Personal Observances 171
   1. Home Shrines 171
   2. Further Offerings at the Tomb 174
   3. Lifestyle and Nonritual Offerings 176
D) Rituals: Conclusions 179
8 Conclusion 180

Appendix 1: The Larvae 183
Appendix 2: The Decline of the Lemuria 187
Notes 191
Bibliography 229
General Index 255
Index Locorum 264