VIII. LITURGY AND CEREMONIAL

Literary evidence on the forms and observances of the ruler cult in the Latin provinces is practically non-existent, no more than a few half-sentences scattered in authors mostly of a late period. Such direct testimony as we happen to have is restricted to sundry echoes in the inscriptions and bas-reliefs, which of themselves are insufficient to provide a basis for reconstruction. Nevertheless by comparing these fleeting traces with evidence from Rome, Italy and the eastern provinces, where the picture is often much clearer, it becomes possible to piece together a reasonably clear outline of the liturgy and ceremonial of the Western imperial cult. While it would be dangerous to assume that the development in the Latin West was necessarily parallel to that in the East, cautious inference from the rites of the Greek-speaking provinces is surely in order, particularly when similar usages can already be identified in the ritual practices of Rome and Italy or when Roman practices have been adopted locally in the East.

1. Insignia and Costume

Tacitus records that Segimundus, provincial priest at the Ara Ubiorum, dramatized his defection from the Roman cause by tearing his fillets: *quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles.* (Ann. 1, 57, 2). These *vittae* must correspond to the woollen bandalettes with which a Roman *flamen* had to bind his head out of doors whenever he did not wear his distinctive hat—for example, because of hot weather (Serv. ad Aen. 8, 664). Such fillets were mystic attributes and a badge of priesthood; hence the significance of Segimundus' action. But on festival days—and necessarily when sacrificing—a Roman *flamen* donned a skin hat (*galerus, pileus*) ending in a spike of olive-wood (*apex*), which was itself enveloped by a thread of wool (*apiculum*). The term *apex* came to be applied to the entire headgear and one of the quainter restrictions on the

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1. Military rites are omitted from consideration except for comparative purposes as they are best treated in the context of military ruler cult in general (Vol. III, 4).


3. *Oxford Latin Dictionary* p. 2081 s.v. (2a); Dar.-Sag. 5 (1919) (1963) 950-957 s.v., citing in particular (n. 20) Serv., *ad Aen.* 3, 81: *vittae sacerdotis sunt; Der Kleine Pauly* 5 (1975) 1313 s.v. The ends of the *vitta* hung down over the cheeks or onto the shoulders of the priest and might be combined with an *infula*. Whether the *vitta* was purple, like that of the municipal *flaminica* (below, p. 481), is not in evidence.

flamen Dialis was that he might never appear without his apex in the open air (Aulus Gellius 10, 15, 17).

That the hat of the provincial high priests closely followed the Roman fashion is confirmed by iconographic evidence from the temple at Tarraco, where a frieze is decorated with the apex of the provincial flamen; cheek straps for tying under the chin are clearly displayed (Vol. I, 1, Pls. XXXI, XXXII a). Municipal priests, too, wore a similar cap, as attested by the apex shown on the cippus of a local flamen at Apta (CIL 12, 1114), also by the base of C. Antonius Rufus, flamen Divi Iuli at Alexandria Troas (CIL 3, 386 = ILS 2718) (Pl. LXXXV a); a similar example is barely visible on a stone at Narbonne (CIL12, 5115 = Espérandieu, Recueil général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule romaine 1, no. 674). The model from which the head-gear of imperial priests was copied is well examined on the Ara Pacis, where what are evidently the three Flamines Maiores and the new flamen of Divus Iulius wear the galerus with apex. From a passage in Fronto it would appear that priests had to wear their hats within the city (Ad M. Caes. 4, 4, 1: Naber p. 67): at least he reports seeing an inscription on the city gate of Anagnia (Italy) reading flamen sume samentum—a local Hernican word for the pelt of the sacrificial animal which the priest placed on his apex when entering the city. As the provincial priesthood looks to have been modelled in many respects upon the flaminate of Juper (below, p. 478), it can hardly be doubted that imperial high priests were likewise expected to wear their peaked caps out of doors. Whether these were all in colour, like that of the flamen Dialis (Aulus Gellius 10, 15, 32), we have no idea.

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2 Weinstock, DJ 405, n. 4 with refs.; ThLL I, s.v. apex; P. Veyne, “Ordo et Populus, génies et chefs de file”, MEFR 73 (1961), 229-274 at 236, n. 1 with refs. The terminal apex is missing from the galerus worn by a municipal flamen at Villevieille (Espérandieu, Recueil 3, no. 2707). The apex held exceptionally in the right hand of a figure on a grave relief at Melito Irpino presumably shows that the occupant of the grave held the flamen at some point of his career: T. Schäfer, “Flaminat und hasta. Bemerkungen zur Selbstdarstellung eines munizipalen Magistraten”, Scritti in Ricordo di Grazziella Massari Gaballo e di Umberto Tocchetti Pollini, Milan, 1986, 123-130.
3 Scott Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art (MAAR 22), Rome, 1955, 44, cf. 14, 18; cf. Wissowa, RuKR 499 with nn. 5f.
5 Dar.-Sag. (above, note 4) 1179, cf. 1169, 1172. See further below, note 20. Like the apex, the laurel tree of Augustus is occasionally associated with imperial priests, presumably as an ensign of their office. See A. Alföldi, Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 37f., noting iconographical traces over the house entrance of an Augustalis at Pompeii and on the grave-altar of a flamen by Tunis. For the fasces carried by the licctor attending a flamen see below, note 23. The association of the hasta with a flamen, as occasionally shown on reliefs, looks to be secondary or indirect: cf. Schäfer (above, note 6) 129.