

A Travelling Speculator (CIL III 1650) A Glimpse of the Everyday Life of the *Principales* through the Window of Roman Funerary Art

Abstract: The focus of the paper is on the travel scene depicted on the funerary stele of *L. Blassius Nigellio* (CIL III 1650), a *speculator* of *legio VII Claudia*, from Viminacium. Seeking to gain a more comprehensive understanding of this scene from the everyday professional life of a Roman *speculator*, it draws attention to an iconographic pattern shared by a group of monuments of Roman *principales* (*speculatores, frumentarii, beneficiarii consularis*) among which the scene from Viminacium holds a very important place. It also takes a look at the origin and social status of the Upper Moesian *speculator* who could afford such a costly tombstone.

Keywords: stele, *speculator*, iconography, carriage (*rheda*), *beneficiarius* spear (*Benefiziarierlanze*), Viminacium

The marble funerary stele of *L. Blassius Nigellio* (175 × 132 × 30 cm) from the Collection of Roman Stone Monuments of the National Museum, Belgrade, was discovered at Kostolac in 1850. Only its upper part has survived (fig. 1 and 1a). The pediment is carved with the head of Medusa and there is a winged genius on each of its slopes. The central panel depicts a travel scene, and the frieze below it, a hunting scene. The inscription has been published in the third volume of *Corpus Inscriptionum latinarum* under number 1650 (CIL III 1650; ILS 2378; IMS II 106; ILJug. I 14; cf. AE AE 2011, 1106).¹ It is a simple funerary inscription: the DM formula is followed by the name of the deceased – *L. Blassius Nigellio*, his occupation – *speculator* of the 7th Claudian legion, and his age at death – thirty-five. The stele has been dated to the third century. Its relief decoration has been attracting scholarly attention ever since its discovery in the mid-nineteenth century (Kanitz 1868: 680; Kalinka & Swoboda 1890: 30; Vulić 1909: Beibl. 165). Rostovtzeff returned to it several times (1911: 107; 1911a: 267ff; 1926: 366), interpreting the central relief as a *cursus publicus* scene: the *speculator* travelling as a courier with his servant who holds a *beneficiarius* spear (*Benefiziarierlanze*). Alföldi (1959: 1, no. 11) saw the purpose of the journey differently. He believed it to have been to pressurise the local population

* sanjapil@gmail.com

¹ *D(is) M(anibus) | L(ucius) Blassius Nigellio | specul(ator) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) vixit | ann(is) XXXV | [-----?]*

into selling supplies for the army, and emphasised that the *beneficiarius* spear held by the servant was a symbol of sovereign imperial power. Subsequently the monument received attention in studies devoted to other issues, such as Mrav's exceptional study on the tombstones with depictions of carriages and insignia of the *beneficarii* (2011: 35). The iconography has been dealt with in Popović's (2015: 131–143) important study devoted to this monument and a monument of a *frumentarius* from Sirmium. The hunting scene below the central panel and the question of assigning the stele to the group of steles with complex relief decoration from Viminacium was the subject of an extensive study (Pilipović 2008: 339; 2011: cat. no. 3). Even though the scene of the travelling *speculator* has been studied and explained, it seems pertinent to revisit it in order to point to the existence of an iconographic pattern shared by a group of tombstones of *principales*, and to its place in that group. It also seems pertinent to try to reconstruct the purpose of the depicted journey, and the origin and social status of the Upper Moesian *speculator* who could afford such a costly tombstone.

The *speculator* L. Blassius Nigellio belonged to a special service of the Roman army which was similar to the modern-day gendarmerie or the customs or intelligence service. *Speculatores*, ten in every legion, were officers attached to the staff (*officium*) of provincial governors.² They performed policing and messenger duties, carried out capital punishment, acted as court officers.³ As officials carrying out the orders of the provincial governor, they had a broader scope of powers.⁴ Like all *principales*, the *speculatores* were better paid than common soldiers and *immunes*, probably twice as much.⁵

The central relief panel depicts the scene from the *speculator's* everyday life, that is to say his duty journey in an open four-wheeled carriage (*rheda*). The carriage is driven by a coachman in a hooded travelling cloak (*paenula*) with a whip in hand. Behind the driver is the central figure of the scene, the *specula-*

² This military title is first mentioned as early as Caesar's times: Caes., *Gal.* II, 11; V, 49. *Speculatores* were subordinated to provincial governors as *officiales*, cf. Domaszewski 1967: 32, 63; Strassi 2008: 93 (with the earlier literature).

³ On *speculatores* as high-ranking officials attached to the *officium* of provincial governors as couriers between the provinces and Rome (Livy 31, 24, 4; Tac., *Hist.* II, 73) see Demicheli 2013: 115; Strassi 2008: 93, n. 49. The scouts reconnoitring enemy territory were called *speculatores legionis*, while Roman-occupied territory was scouted by mounted *exploratores*, cf. Strassi 2008: 93; Demicheli 2013: 115.

⁴ On *speculatores* as executors of court decisions (Seneca, *Ben.* 3, 25; I, 18.4) see Austin & Rankov 1995: 54–60, 150; Rankov 1999: 18, 26–27; Demicheli 2013: 115; Strassi 2008: 93.

⁵ *Principales* fared better than common soldiers financially because they received pay and a half (*sesquiplarii*) or double pay (*duplicarii*). *Tesserarii* were *sesquiplarii*, while *aquiliferi*, *optiones* and all military staff officers of the provincial governors, and senior officers (*cornicularii*, *beneficarii consularis*, *frumentarii*, *speculatores*, *stratores consularis*) were on double pay, cf. Breeze 1971: 134; Ferjančić 2010: 135.

tor, who is holding a scroll (*rotulus*) in one hand. Suspended from the top of the scroll is a string with a seal attached to its other end (Popović 2015: 135).⁶ The *speculator* is clad in trousers and a hooded jacket. Seated behind him and facing rearwards is the smallest figure, his servant, in plain clothes, with his master's *beneficiarius* lance in hand (Rostovtzeff 1911: 114; Alföldi 1959: 1, no. 11; Rankov 1986: 43; Mrav 2011: 35; Popović 2015: 135).⁷

The scene is suggestive of the *speculator's* occupation and its most characteristic feature: mobility. The *speculatores'* frequent travels required the use of the easiest and fastest means of transport, and the use of this type of carriage enabled them to take bulkier luggage and at least one driver and one servant with them (Mrav 2011: 37–38). This type of vehicle usually came in one model, as a simple platform with no seats. Some were used for transporting barrels or some other load strapped to the vehicle. Others carried people, a driver and one or two passengers seated on cushions, boxes or seats (Crouwel 2010: 268–269). From the Augustan age, the *speculator*, in his capacity as courier, military intelligence officer or postman, a member of the *cursus publicus*, did not travel only on horseback but also by carriage. According to the sources, he could travel a distance of fifty miles a day and, in case of urgency, as much as four times that distance (200 miles).⁸

Unlike most other known scenes in Roman funerary art showing three persons travelling in an open carriage, the relief from Viminacium depicts the servant with a *beneficiarius* spear in hand.⁹ In funerary context this type of spear does not stand for a weapon but functions as a symbol of the person's membership of the provincial governor's staff, *officium consularis*, and an emblem of Roman power and sovereignty (Rostovtzeff 1911: 114; Alföldi 1959: 11–12; Clauss 1973: 79–83; Rankov 1986: 43; Rankov 1990: 181; Rankov 1999: 31; Mrav 2011: 35ff; Popović 2015: 136). This *signum* (fig. 2) occurs on tombstones and votive monuments of three categories of Roman officials, *speculatores*, *beneficarii* and *frumentarii* (Rankov 1990: 181–182). It also occurs as an actual object, a miniature votive spear, laid in their graves. It occurs in travel scenes, as on the relief from Viminacium, in a variety of other scenes, where it defines their character more closely, and as an independent symbol on tombstones and votive

⁶ The artefact is interpreted by some authors as a *rotulus* (Mirković 1986: 128, no. 106) and some believe it to resemble a whip (Rostovtzeff 1911: 110; Mrav 2011: 35).

⁷ It has also been interpreted as a staff (Mirković 1986: 128, n. 106) and as a torch (Milovanović 2013: 178, n. 8).

⁸ The *rheda*, a robust four-wheeled wagon, was one of the most widely used vehicles. It could carry several passengers and their luggage, and therefore was frequently hired by entire families embarking on a long-distance trip. The lighter *cisium* or the *essedum* driven by a coachman were used for shorter and faster trips, cf. Brizzi 1983: 33.

⁹ On the *beneficiarius* spear see Alföldi 1959.

monuments. The surviving depictions show various types of the *beneficiarius* spear (Alföldi 1959: 25–27; Clauss 1973: 79–83; Kovács 2003: 261–289; Mrav 2011: 35ff). The one on the Viminacium relief has been classified as the “heart-shaped” type (Alföldi 1959: 11–12, Pl. 10/1–2; Popović 2015: 136).

The Viminacium relief of the travelling *speculator* finds its most significant analogies in a group of monuments that also depict a travel scene.

One of them is a tombstone from *Tomis* in Dacia, which bears a Greek inscription (AE 1960, 348). It is the stele of *Vibius Severus* (Ούείβιος Σευήρο) who served in the Pontic legion as *speculator* (σπεκουλάτωρ ποντικός). What survives of the relief is its lower part (fig. 3) which depicts a horse-drawn four-wheeled carriage,¹⁰ but we cannot know if it carried any passengers and, if it did, how they were depicted. The monument has been dated to the end of the second or first half of the third century.

Another is the tombstone of the *frumentarius Salvus* (CIL III 3241) from Sirmium in Lower Pannonia (fig. 4 and 4a) (Kenner 1865: 129; CIL III 3241+1040; Schober 1923: no. 280, fig. 147; Noll 1962: 95, 122, no. 409; Mirković 1971: 70–71, no. 34, Pl. VI/1; Dautova-Ruševljan 1983: 13, no. 5, Pl. 3/2; Visy 1997: 55, no. 69; Popović 2015: 131–143). The scene carved in the pediment is virtually identical to the Viminacium one: a carriage drawn by two horses carries three people – the driver, the *frumentarius* and his rearward-facing servant who holds a *beneficiarius* lance (Mrav 2011: 35, no. 2; Popović 2015: 138). The stele has been dated to the second century.

A third monument comes from Vaison in the faraway province of Gaul (fig. 5), but its inscription, which could have provided some information about the deceased, is missing (Espérandieu 1907: no. 293; Rostovtzeff 1911: 272; Gabelmann 1983: 147, 149, fig. 2; Junkelmann 1990: 71, fig. 69; Mrav 2011: 37, no. 4). The scene resembles the one from Viminacium: three people, of whom the rearward-facing one holds a *beneficiarius* spear, are travelling in an open carriage drawn by two horses. The carriage is of a more luxurious type, it has sides decorated in relief, and the central figure is seated on a bench with a back.

A fourth relief that is of relevance to our subject, discovered in Strasbourg, is somewhat different. From its partially preserved inscription (CIL XIII 11630) we know that it was set up to a military who had served in imperial administration (fig. 6).¹¹ The difference is in that it shows only one figure in an

¹⁰ *IScM* II 327: Ούείβιω Σευήρω | σπεκλατόρι ποντικῶ ἐτῶν κς´ | οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἰπαρχος | μνήμης χάριν; Conrad 2004: no. 167; Curcea 2009: 267; Covacef 2011: 204 no. 94; Mrav 2011: 36, no. 3.

¹¹ Since the inscription survives only partially, the name of the legionary remains unknown, but it clearly states that he died at the age of forty after sixteen years in military service, and that the monument was erected by his heirs, cf. Domaszewski 1906: 4, no. 5; Espérandieu & Lantier 1918: no. 5499.

open carriage drawn by two mules. The figure clad in a tunic holds a sword in the right hand and an object resembling a whip. The object in the form of a rod terminating in a pinecone-like finial which is observable between the two mules cannot be identified with certainty; it is either a part of the carriage itself or some sort of a symbol. The stele has been dated to the end of the first century.

Travel scenes were a quite common motif in Roman funerary art, especially in the provinces of Pannonia (Sági 1945: 232–351; Visy 1997) and Gaul,¹² but those whose nature is comparable to that of the group encompassing the abovementioned reliefs from Viminacium, Tomis, Sirmium and Vaison are rare. A monument from Langres in Gaul (fig. 7) (Letronne 1854: 181–182; Vulić 1909: 112; Espérandieu & Lantier 1911: no. 3245) and a group of monuments from Lower Pannonia¹³ also depict a scene with three figures (the driver, the passenger and the rearward-facing person) travelling in a *rheda*. This suggests the existence of an iconographic model for the travel scene on gravestones. The meaning of the travel scene on our group of monuments is indicated either by the *beneficiarius* spear in the servant's hand (Viminacium, Sirmium, Vaison, Tomis?) or by the very inscription which confirms that the person depicted is a *speculator* (the stele from Tomis and the simplified scene from Strasbourg) or a *frumentarius* (the stele from Sirmium). This lends the travel scene a more concrete meaning of an episode from the everyday life of the deceased who belonged to the ranks of *principales*. As far as may be deduced from these examples, the practice of illustrating the life of these military officials with a scene from their professional service was pursued by different stonecutting workshops from the mid-second to the early third century, while the oldest and simplest known depiction of a *speculator* travelling by himself occurs as early as the end of the first century.

There are in funerary art other scenes whose nature is more closely defined by the motif of *beneficiarius* lance. One of two persons sitting at the table and counting coins on the relief on the altar of a *beneficiarius* from Osterburken (CBFIR 146 = AE 1985, 688) holds a *beneficiarius* lance (fig. 8 and 8a) (Kovachev 2005: 956). It is this iconographic detail that helps us understand the scene: *beneficiarii* performing their duty as tax collectors. Included in this group of monuments may also be two sarcophagi from Brigetio (RIU 2, 506; 529), where the *beneficiarius* lances are held probably by the servants of the deceased, one of whom was an *immunis caeriarensis legionis* (fig. 9), and the other, a centurion (fig. 10) (Pochmarski 2001: 207, nos. 19; 20; Kovachev 2005: 956). A

¹² For a comprehensive overview of the monuments from Gaul see the multi-volume series *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*; Reddé 1978: 44–46.

¹³ These are only fragments of tombstones, but the depicted scenes can be identified: a carriage drawn by two horses carries three persons, the driver, the main passenger and the one facing rearwards, cf. Visy 1997: nos. 29, 34, 40, 42, 52–54.

speculator holding a *beneficiarius* lance himself is depicted on a gravestone from Rome (*AE* 1931, 91) discovered on an unknown site (Crimi 2012: fig. 1).

Examples of the *beneficiarius* lance shown as an independent motif on gravestones and votive monuments of the *principales* are numerous. A *beneficiarius* lance is depicted on three gravestones from Salona, Dalmatia (figs. 11 and 12) – *CIL* III 9401 (Abramić 1922: 59; Pl. 1/ 4); *AE* 1914, 75 = *AE* 2006, 1009 (Abramić 1922: 57–58, Pl. 1/1 and 2; Ivčević 2006: 142–143, 150, no. 2; fig. 2); *AE* 1945, 88 = *ILJug* 2086 (Abramić 1922: 59; Pl. 1/3). On one of these are also depicted a shield, a book and what probably is a writing set. A *beneficiarius* spear occurs on several monuments of *beneficiarii consularis*: two from Salona in Dalmatia – *CIL* III 6376 (8656) (Abramić 1922: 61–62; fig. 5); *CIL* III 12895 (Abramić 1922: 63; T. 2/ 7); one from Lugdunum in Gaul Lugdunensis – *CIL* XIII 1909; and a group of monuments from Germania – *CIL* XIII 6557; 6628; 7400 = *ILS* 4192a; 7731; 11777; as well as on the monument of a *frumentarius* from Noricum – *CIL* III 5579; and on a monument from Aquincum (fig. 13) (Nagy 2007: 83–84, no. 85; Mrav 2011: fig. 21). It also occurs on votive altars dedicated to the supreme deity, Jupiter Optimus Maximus. A *beneficiarius* lance is depicted on the side of the altar dedicated by a *speculator* from Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia, while the roof of the altar dedicated by a *beneficiarius consularis* from Sirmium to Jupiter and the Genius loci is topped with a small symbol, the tip of a *beneficiarius* spear – *AE* 1994, 1418 (Mirković 1994: no. 19).

An important question for understanding the travelling *speculator* scene from Viminacium is the purpose of the *speculator's* journey. Some have suggested that he may have travelled as an imperial courier using the imperial postal system, the *cursus publicus* (Mrav 2011: 37–38 supplies a bibliography of authors who share this interpretation; Sillières 2014: 135). However, Alföldi (1959: 1, no. 11) believed, and with good reason, that the purpose of the journey had been to pressurise the local population into selling supplies for the army. His view has been accepted by Popović (2015) who, based on the *speculator's* posture and the equipment of his attendant, suggests that it could not have been a routine reconnaissance trip, but rather a special assignment in connection with the maintenance of the army, i.e. either the requisitioning of food and other supplies or the enforcing of the payment of the taxes intended for the same purpose; the *speculator* is travelling in his capacity as messenger of the provincial governor, and therefore has with him the scroll with the governor's order to that effect. This interpretation seems to find corroboration in Mrav's exceptional study (2011: 21–61). Examining the emblems of the *beneficiarius* discovered in the tombs with carriages in north-eastern Pannonia, Mrav addresses the question of ownership of those carriages and suggests that they probably were private property of the well-to-do *principales* buried in those tombs. They were status symbols of the *principales* and differed from the carriages of common civilians by being decorated with emblems of the *beneficiarius*. The fact that carriages were

buried with the deceased seems to suggest that they were not owned by the state (ibid. 50–51). Given that the Viminacium relief does not seem to depict a *cursus publicus* scene, Mrav is probably right in assuming that the *speculator* travelled in his own rather than in an imperial carriage.

The surviving inscription does not tell us much about the origin of *Lucius Blassius Nigellio*. The name *Blassius* is believed to be Illyrian but it has been attested in inscriptions from Italy as well. The cognomen *Nigellio*, even though frequent in the Roman Balkan provinces, is perhaps the most frequent in Celtic lands, but it also occurs in Numidia and there is one attested example in Dalmatia (Mirković 1986: 128, no. 106; Popović 2015: 131). What seems to be beyond any doubt, however, is that the *speculator* belonged to the stratum of very well-off citizens of Upper Moesia. This is suggested by the quality of his marble tombstone, one of the most luxurious ever discovered in the province. These luxurious monuments were usually set up by members of the military nomenclature, veterans, signifiers, or members of the local senates, *decuriones*, one of whom was the abovementioned veteran and another, an augur.¹⁴ These all are marble monuments decorated in relief with mythological representations and a frieze showing a hunting scene under the influence of Noricum and Pannonia (Pilipović 2008: 337–352; and 2011: 593–612). The *frumentarius* from Sirmium was not only well-off; he came from an educated milieu, as evidenced by the epitaph inspired by Virgil's verses (Popović 2015: 139). Regrettably, the inscription on the Viminacium monument does not reveal who erected it, the *speculator's* family members, his fellow legionaries or a freedman. The only known piece of information is that he was a *speculator legionis VII Claudiae*, the unit stationed at Viminacium, the place of his service and burial.

The post of a *speculator*, as that of a *frumentarius*, required high mobility¹⁵ and they never stayed long in one place, which may explain why a wife and children seldom figure in their epitaphs (Cosme & Faure 2004: 350–351). Their funeral was usually taken care of by their heirs, their freedmen or, especially, their colleagues who had frequently served with them in the same legion.¹⁶ On the other

¹⁴ Most of the gravestones constituting this group of monuments come from Viminacium (IMS II, 73, 77, 92, 119), cf. Pilipović 2011: cat. 6, while one stele comes from Mt Kosmaj (IMS I, 120), cf. Pilipović 2008: 337–349, and 2011: 593–612; Popović 2015: 133.

¹⁵ One of the main duties common to the *frumentarii* and the *speculatores* was the conveyance of messages between Rome and the provinces, which required much travelling; cf. Rankov 1990: 180–182; Matijević 2014: 71.

¹⁶ In his study on the stele from Salona (CIL 3, 2063 (8581) erected to the *frumentarius* T. Varronis Maro of legio III *Cyrenaica* by his former slave Firmin, Matijević (2014: 68) points to the significance of the servants depicted on the reliefs from Viminacium and Sirmium exactly because they hold their master's *beneficiarius* spear, a badge of his service in the *officium consularis*. The *frumentarius* was buried on a granted site (*locus concessus*) on the cemetery at Salona, which suggests that he did not own a burial place and possibly was a stranger in the town.

hand, the *frumentarius* from Sirmium is known to have been buried by his father, which may suggest that the place of his service was also his birthplace. The base camp of his legion (*legionis II Adiutricis*) was at Aquincum (Popović 2015: 140).

Lucius Blassius Nigellio was not the only well-to-do *speculator* from Upper Moesia. A few military officials from the ranks of *principales* who were affluent enough to afford to erect not just one, but two votive monuments have also been attested. Apparently, one of them was Valerian, *speculator* of *legio IV Flavia*, who spent some time at the customs post or the station of *beneficarii* at Ulpiana. He dedicated an *ara*, which has been dated to AD 226, to Jupiter, the gods and goddesses and the Genius of the station (*CIL* III, 8137). It seems that one more dedication from Ulpiana was made by the same *speculator* (*ILJug* 1419).¹⁷

In sum, the stele of *L. Blassius Nigellio* shows a rare and quite important scene from the everyday professional life of a *speculator* in Roman funerary art. The *speculator*, travelling in a carriage, possibly his own, apparently was on a military-related assignment the purpose of which was either to requisition supplies for the army or to exact the payment of the taxes intended for its upkeep. The travel scene in which the *speculator's* servant holds a *beneficarius* spear or the *beneficarius* spear depicted as an independent symbol occur on a group of monuments of the *principales* (*speculatores, beneficarii consularis, frumentarii*) among which the monument from Viminacium is undoubtedly one of the most important. The *speculator* from Viminacium must have been quite well-off if he could afford a prestigious marble gravestone, such as only wealthy members of Upper Moesian local senates could afford. The topic revisited here is obviously a quite complex one and this paper should be seen as just an attempt at understanding it more comprehensively. Further archaeological investigations will hopefully bring new discoveries that will deepen our understanding of not only the tombstones but also of the life of the *principales*.

UDC 904(497.11):726.825(37 Viminacium)
736.2:73.041.7
316.343/.344(37)

Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
CBFIR	<i>Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i>

¹⁷ Both dedications were made by a *speculator*, and in both cases the 4th Flavian legion has the honorary epithet *Severiana Alexandriana*. This has led Ferjančić (2010: 135–136) to assume, with good reason, that both were made by the same affluent *speculator* even though the dedicant's name has not survived in one case.

ILJug	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones latinae selectae</i>
IMS	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i>
IScM	<i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae</i>
RIU	<i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i>

Bibliography

- Abramić, M. 1923. "Speculatores i beneficiarii na nekim solinskim spomenicima". *Starinar* s. 3/1 (Belgrade): 57–64.
- Alföldi, A. 1959. "Hasta – Summa Imperii. The Spear as Embodiment of Sovereign in Rome". *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (Portsmouth): 1–27.
- Austin, N. J. E. & B. Rankov. 1995. *Exploratio. Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople*. New York: Routledge.
- Breeze, D. J. 1971. "Pay Grades and Ranks below the Centurionate". *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (Cambridge), 130–135.
- Brizzi, G. 1983. *Studi militari romani*. Bologna: CLUEB.
- Clauss, M. 1973. *Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diocletian. Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii*. Diss. Bochum.
- Conrad, S. 2004. *Die Grabstelen aus Moesia inferior. Untersuchungen zur Chronologie, Typologie und Ikonographie*. Leipzig: Casa Libri.
- Cosme, P. & P. Faure. 2004. "Identité militaire et avancement au centurionat dans les castra peregrina". *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 15/1 (Paris): 343–356.
- Covacef, Z. 2011. *Sculptură antică în expoziția permanentă a Muzeului de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța*. Cluj-Napoca.
- Crimi Gi. 2012. "Il mestiere degli speculatores: nuovi dati e ricerche dopo gli studi di Manfred Clauss". In *Le métier de soldat dans le monde romain. Actes du cinquième Congrès de Lyon (23–25 septembre 2010)*, ed. C. Wolff: 491–501. Lyon.
- Crouwel, J. H. 2010. "Four-Wheeled Vehicles in the Roman World". In *Horses and Wagons*, ed. T. Terzopoulou: 255–276. Orestia.
- Cupcea, G. 2008. "Speculatores In Dacia. Missions and Careers". *Acta Musei Napocensis* 43–44/1 (Cluj): 263–279.
- 2009. "The missions of the soldiers in the limes provinces. Frumentarii in Dacia". In *Near and Beyond the Roman Frontier. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held in Târgoviște, 16–17 October 2008*, eds. O. Țentea & I. C. Opriș: 305–314. Bucharest.
- Dautova-Ruševljan, V. 1983. *Rimska kamena plastika u jugoslovenskom delu provincije Donje Panonije*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanski muzej i Savez arheoloških društava Jugoslavije.
- Demicheli, D. 2013. "Salonitani extra fines Dalmatiae (II)*Salonitanci u pretorijanskoj vojsci". *Tusculum* 6 (Solin): 109–121.
- Domaszewski, A. von. 1906. *Neue Inschriften aus Strassburg*. Strasbourg: Strassburger Druckerei und Verlagsanstalt.
- 1967. *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*. Cologne-Graz: Bohlau Verlag.
- Espérandieu, É. 1907. *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine I*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.

- Espérandieu, É. & R. Lantier. 1911. *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* IV. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- 1918. *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* VII. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- Ferjančić, S. 2010. "Vota solverunt libentes merito. Prilog izučavanju religije rimske vojske u Gornjoj Meziji". *Zbornik Matice srpske za klasične studije* 12 (Novi Sad): 133–146.
- Gabelmann, H. 1983. "Ein Wagenfahrtrelief in Pesaro." In *Antidoron. Festschrift für J. Thimme*, eds. D. Metzler & B. Otto & Ch. Müller-Wirth: 145–152. Karlsruhe: Müller.
- Ivčević, S. 2006. "Everyday objects represented on the tombstones from Salona." *Histria Antiqua* 14 (Pula): 133–150.
- Junkelmann, M. 1990. *Die Reiter Roms. Part I: Reise, Jagd, Triumph und Circusrennen* (vol. 45 of *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt*). Mainz am Rhein: Zabern.
- Kalinka, E. & A. Swoboda. 1890. "Bericht über eine Reise im Gebiete der Drau und Save". *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 13 (Vienna): 11–43.
- Kanitz, F. 1868. *Serbien: Historisch-Ethnographische Reisestudien Aus Den Jahren 1859–1868*. Leipzig: Hermann Fries.
- Kenner, F. 1865. "Beiträge zu einer Chronik der archäologischen Funde in der österreichischen Monarchie (1862–1863)". *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen* 33 (Vienna): 1–162.
- Kovács, P. 2003. "Adatok a hasta mint hatalmi jelvény használatához". *Antik Tanulmányok* 47 (Budapest): 261–289.
- Kovachev, P. 2005. "Beneficiarius lance and ring-pommel sword in Pannonia." In *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*, ed. Zs. Visy: 955–970. Pécs: University of Pécs.
- Letronne, A. 1854. "Bas-relief gallo-romain de Longe-Porte à Langres (Haute-Marne)". *Revue Archéologique* 11/1 (Paris): 181–182.
- Matijević, I. 2014. "Qui cucurrit frumentarius annos XI". *Tusculum* 7 (Solin): 67–74.
- Milovanović, B. 2014. "Vojnici, odlikovanja i vojno znakovlje na nadgrobnim spomenicima iz Viminacija". *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 46/1 (Zagreb): 159–184.
- Mirković, M. 1971. "The inscription from Sirmium and its territory". In V. Popović, ed., *Sirmium I*, 60–90. Belgrade: Archaeological Institute of Belgrade.
- 1986. *Viminacium et Margum, Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure II*, Beograd: Centre d'études épigraphiques et numismatiques de la Faculté de philosophie de l'Université de Beograd.
- 1994. "Beneficarii consularis in Sirmium". *Chiron* 24 (Berlin): 345–404.
- Mrav, Zs. 2011. "Auf Reisewagen applizierte 'Benefiziarerabzeichen' aus zwei nordostpannonischen Wagengräbern. Die eraviskische Stammeselite im Dienste Roms". *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 136 (Budapest): 21–61.
- Nagy, M. 2007. *Lapidarium. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum régészeti kiállításának vezetője: Római Kőtár*. Budapest.
- Noll, R. 1962. *Die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung*. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum.
- Pilipović S. 2008. "La scena di caccia: motivo di decorazione delle stele funerarie della Moesia Superior". *Starinar* 56 (Belgrade): 337–352.
- 2011. "Un gruppo di stele funerarie provenienti da Viminacium (Moesia Superior)". *Classica et Christiana* 6/2 (Iași): 593–612.
- Popović, I. 2015. "Predstave spekulatora i frumentarija na nadgrobnim spomenicima iz Viminacijuma i Sirmijuma". *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu* 22/1 (Belgrade): 131–143.

- Pochmarski, E. 2001. "Zur Ikonographie und Chronologie der römischen Sarkophag aus Brigetio". *Budapest Régisége* 34 (Budapest): 201–221.
- Rankov, N. B. 1986. *The Beneficarii Consularis in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*. Oxford.
- 1990. "Frumentarii, the Castra Peregrina and the Provincial Officia". *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 80 (Bonn): 176–182.
- 1999. "The governor's men: the officium consularis in provincial administration". In *The Roman army as a community*, eds. A. Goldsworthy & I. Haynes (JRA Suppl. Series 34): 15–34. Portsmouth.
- Ratković, D. 2016. *Votivna dvokolica iz Staničenja kod Pirota*. Belgrade: Narodni muzej.
- Reddé, M. 1978. "Les scènes de métier dans la sculpture funéraire gallo-romaine". *Gallia* 36/1 (Paris): 43–63.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 1911. "Dve nadgrobne stele u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu". *Starinar* 4 (Belgrade): 108–119.
- 1911a. "Zwei Reliefs aus dem Museum zu Belgrad". *Römische Mitteilungen* 26: 267–283.
- Sági, K. 1945. "Rappresentazioni del carro sui monumenti sepolcrali della Pannónia imperiale". *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 3/5–6 (Budapest): 232–351.
- Schober, A. 1923. "Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien". *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 10 (Vienna): 1–234.
- Sillières, P. 2014. "La vehiculatio (ou cursus publicus) et les militaires viae". *Studia Historica, Historia Antiqua* 32 (Salamanca): 123–141.
- Strassi, S. 2008. *L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis*. Berlin/New York: Walter De Gruyter.
- Visy, Zs. 1997. *Die Wagendarstellungen der pannonischen Grabsteine*. Pécs: G&G. Kft.
- Vulić, N. 1909. "Antike Denkmäler in Serbien". *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 12 (Vienna): (Beibl.) 147–203.



Fig. 1
Tombstone
of the
speculator
L. Blassius
Nigellio from
Viminacium,
IMS II, 106
(National
Museum,
Belgrade)

Fig. 1a Detail of fig. 1

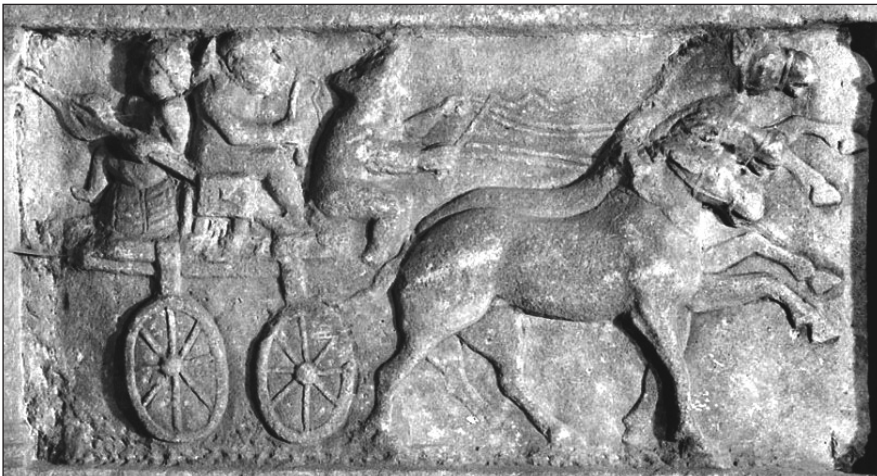




Fig. 3 Tombstone of the *speculator* Vibius Severus from Tomis, AE 1960, 348 (Mrav 2011: fig. 14)

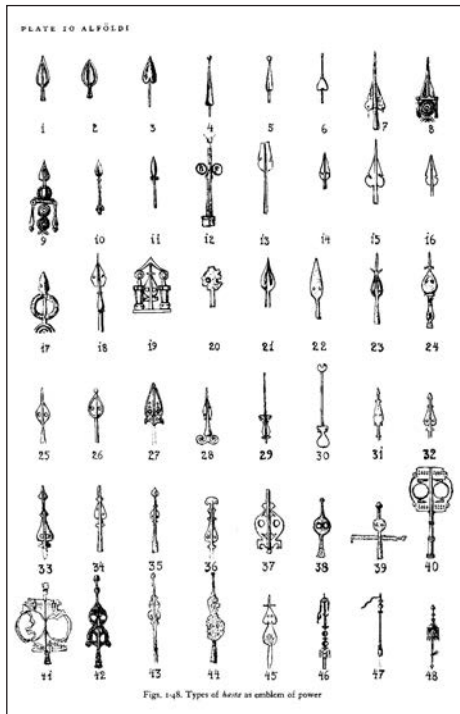


Fig. 148. Types of *hasta* as emblem of power

Fig. 2 Different types of the *hasta* as a symbol of power (Alföldi 1959: Pl. 10)



Fig. 4a Detail of fig. 4

Fig. 4 Tombstone of the *frumentarius* Salvius from Sirmium, *CIL* III 3241+1040 (Popović 2015: fig. 2)

Fig. 5 Tombstone from Vaison (Mrav 2011: fig. 15)





Fig. 6 Tombstone from Strasbourg, *CIL* XIII 11630 (F. Grieshaber, Epigraphic Database Hilderberg)



Fig. 7 Tombstone from Langres (Letronne 1854)



Fig 8 Votive monument of a *beneficiarius consularis* from Osterburken, AE 1985, 688 (DerHexer, Wikimedia Commons, CC-by-sa 4.0)

Fig 8a Detail of fig. 8





Fig. 9 Detail of the sarcophagus of the *immunis caeriarensis legionis P. Aelius Mercator* from Brigetio, RIU 2, 506 (Pochmarski 2001: fig. 5)



Fig. 10 Tombstone of the *speculator* *L. Titio L.*, AE 1931, 91 (Crimi 2012: fig. 1)



Fig. 11 Tombstone of the *speculator*
L. Valerius Augustalis from Salona,
AE 1945, 88 (Abramić 1922: Pl. 1/3)



Fig. 12 Tombstone of a *speculator*
from Salona, CIL III, 9401 (Abramić
1922: Pl. 1/4)



Fig. 13 Tombstone from
Aquincum (Mrav 2011:
fig. 21)

This paper results from the project of the Institute for Balkan Studies Society, *spiritual and material culture and communications in prehistory and early history of the Balkans* (no. 177012) funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.