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THE *BENEFICIARII PROCURATORIS* OF CELEIA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE *STATIO* NETWORK

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 113 (1996) 286–292

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AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *STATIO* NETWORK¹

Early in the second century, the Roman government began to create a series of posts, or *stationes*, at key points along major roads in the provinces of the empire.² At first few in number and widely scattered, during and after the Marcomannic wars their number multiplied dramatically, and by early in the third century the *stationes* had become a common feature in many provinces and a key element in the apparatus of administration.

¹ In this article the following abbreviations will be used:

- Alföldy, *Noricum* G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (London 1974).
 CBFIR E. Schallmayer *et al.*, *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I, Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, (Stuttgart 1990).
 Lieb H. Lieb, "Expleta Statione", in *Britain and Rome*, ed. M.G. Jarrett and B. Dobson (Kendal 1965) 139-144.
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*Rangordnung*² A. von Domaszewski and D.J. Breeze, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (Köln² 1967).
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 — — —, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Harvard 1966).
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 Robert, L., "Une Épitaphe d'Olympos", *Hellenica*, 1975, 172-177.
 Šašel Kos, M., "Inhabitants of Celeia in the Light of the Onomastic and Prosopographic Evidence", *Ziva Antika* 34, 1984, 251-255
 Schallmayer, E., "Ein Kultzentrum der Römer in Osterburken", *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*, ed. D. Planck (Stuttgart 1985), 377-407.
 — — —, "Neue Funde aus dem Bereich des Beneficiarier-Weihebezirks von Osterburken, Neckar-Odenwald-Kreis", *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1984*, 147-149.
 — — —, "Ausgrabungen eines Beneficiarier-Weihebezirks und römischer Holzbauten in Osterburken", *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III, Vorträge des 13. Internationalen Limeskongresses, Aalen 1983* (Stuttgart 1986) 256-261.
 — — —, "Neue Untersuchungen beim Beneficiarier-Weihebezirk von Osterburken", *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1986*, 105-109.
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 Winkler, G., *Die Reichsbeamten von Noricum und ihr Personal* (Vienna 1969).

² The seminal work on the *statio* network is Alfred von Domaszewski's "The Beneficiarierposten" (n. 1, bibl.). Otto Hirschfeld touched on aspects of the system in "Die Sicherheitspolizei".

The *stationes* were manned by *beneficarii* attached to the governors. We owe our knowledge of the *statio* network to these *beneficarii*, for the custom grew up among them of erecting votive altars at the *stationes* where they served.

Hundreds of these altars survive,³ in quantities that range at particular sites from one or two upwards to more than eighty.⁴ Unfortunately, the vast majority of these altars date to the period of explosive growth in the *statio* network, from about 170 to the early third century.⁵ Consequently, we know very little about the first half-century of the system. There is, however, one *statio* from which a sizable body of early evidence does survive. That *statio* was at Celeia, in southeasternmost Noricum, where twenty altars are known dedicated by *beneficarii* of the praesidial procurators who governed Noricum down to the Marcomannic wars.⁶ Careful examination of the information contained in these texts can illuminate key issues in the history both of the Celeian *statio* and of the *statio* system that emerged later. In particular, it can shed varying amounts of light on internal administrative questions involving the *beneficarii* themselves, questions such as their citizenship status, the sources from which they were drawn, their manning levels at the *stationes*, and the duration of their assignments. Examination of these issues can provide insight into the evolution of administrative practice in the early *statio* system, the degree of uniformity in that system, and the extent of continuity between the early system and the mature one that emerged during the late second century. It can also afford a comparison between the internal administration of the *stationes* in provinces governed by equestrian procurators and that of *stationes* in provinces governed by senatorial legates.

The Celeian texts themselves are simply described. Nineteen of them are dedications to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, the remaining altar being dedicated to Epona Augusta.⁷ With only rare and inconsequential variations, the texts adhere to a standard four-part formula: first, *IOM*; second, the name of the dedicating *beneficiarius* in the nominative; third, the title of the *beneficiarius*, in the form *b(ene)f(iciarius)*, followed by the name of the procurator in the genitive and *proc(uratoris) Aug(usti)*; finally, *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. The remarkable standardization of these texts across the span of half a century strongly suggests that they were the formulaic product of a local workshop.

The titulature of the Celeian *beneficarii* was identical in style to that of early *beneficarii* everywhere else in the empire. In particular, the central place accorded to governors' names was universal down to *ca.* 160.⁸ It is reasonable to infer that this indicates the existence of strong personal links between the governors and their *beneficarii* (Mirković, 255). It has also been taken to mean that only consular governors had the authority to appoint men as *beneficarii* (Marcović, 255), but the use of this tit-

³ All inscriptions of *beneficarii* published through 1986 have been collected by E. Schallmayer *et al.*, in *CBFIR*.

⁴ A few *stationes* on the Rhine and Danube frontiers have yielded large caches of inscriptions. These *stationes* include Stockstadt and Osterburken in Germania superior, with twenty and thirty texts respectively, Praetorium Latobiorum in Pannonia superior, with seventeen, and Celeia, with twenty-seven. Osterburken has been analyzed in a series of pieces by Schallmayer, who excavated the site (see above, n. 1, bibl.). As substantial as these troves are, they pale before the greatest cache of all, which was found in 1988 when a *statio* was discovered at Sirmium in Pannonia inferior: more than eighty *beneficarii* altars are reported to have been associated with the remains of the site. At this writing, the texts of the Sirmium altars have yet to be published, but summaries of the information contained in them can be found in Mirković, as well as in her article "Sirmium et l'armée romaine", *Arheološki vestnik* 41, 1990, 631-642.

⁵ Several articles published since the 1960s have explored, in whole or in part, aspects of the later *stationes*. Those articles are Lieb, Rankov, Schallmayer, *RFS* 1989; Mirković, and V. Popović, "Une station" (n. 1, bibl.).

⁶ These altars represent a total of eighteen *beneficarii*, since two of the men each dedicated two altars: *CIL* 3.5175 (*CBFIR* 240) and *CIL* 3.5176 (*CBFIR* 237); *CIL* 3.5161 (*CBFIR* 220), and *CIL* 3.5162 (*CBFIR* 221).

⁷ *CIL* 3.5176 (*CBFIR* 237). This is one of the two cases in which a *beneficiarius* erected two altars.

⁸ Examples from the Danube region include *bf Ummidi[i] Quadrat[i] cos* (*ca.* AD 120, Regnum Bosporanum: *CBFIR* 658); *vet leg VII CI p f ... b(eneficiarius) M V(alerii) E(trusci) leg consular* (*ca.* AD 150-160?, Scupi: *CBFIR* 600). Mirković offers eight examples from elsewhere in the empire, ranging in date from AD 77 to 165: 254-255. A text from Narona dated to after AD 212 (*CIL* 3.1783 [*CBFIR* 495]) has been restored by one editor in this titular style (Schallmayer, in *CBFIR* p. 388), but the stone is damaged and the restoration is extensive, and other scholars have restored the text differently (cf. *Rangordnung*², 205).

ulary style in procuratorial Noricum demonstrates that this view is mistaken, and that praesidial procurators enjoyed the same rights of appointment as did consular legates.

The inscriptions reveal a *statio* with a complex history, a history that was linked to those of other *stationes* and therefore to the history of the network as a whole. The *statio* was founded during Trajan's principate, its earliest beneficiarial inscription dating to ca. 110 (*CIL* 3.5179 [*CBFIR* 222]). This makes its foundation contemporary with that of the *statio* at Sirmium (Mirković, 252), which lay at the Danubian *terminus* of the road that crossed from Italy into Noricum at Atrans, and ran through Celeia. The Celeian *statio* apparently operated continuously during the half-century after its opening, for thirteen of the fifteen procurators known to have governed Noricum during the period are represented by *beneficiarii* at the site.⁹ The *statio* then seems to have been closed ca. 160, when the sequence of beneficiarial texts abruptly ends. The imperial government may have intended to replace it with a new *statio* at nearby Praetorium Latobicorum in Pannonia superior, for an altar of a *beneficiarius consularis* bearing a consular date of 158 is the earliest text known at the Pannonian *statio* (*AE* 1944.134 [*CBFIR* 338]). If so, the Marcomannic wars, attended by heavy destruction in both eastern Noricum and western Pannonia superior, forced a reconsideration of these plans. No more stones were erected at Praetorium Latobicorum and, by about 190, the resumption of the sequence at Celeia shows that the *statio* there had reopened, manned now by *beneficiarii consularis* of the province's newly raised legion, II Italica (*CIL* 3.5178 [*CBFIR* 232 (AD 192)]). This era in the history of the *statio* falls outside the scope of this paper, but it is interesting to note that the last stone of a *beneficiarius consularis* at Celeia dates to 217 (*CIL* 3.5189 [*CBFIR* 230]), and it is in that year that the sequence of texts resumes at Praetorium Latobicorum (*CIL* 3.3907 [*CBFIR* 346]), eventually extending into the 250s.

The function of the *statio* at Celeia is obscure, and the specific duties performed by *beneficiarii*, whether at Celeia or at *stationes* elsewhere, present a series of complex questions that cannot be explored here.¹⁰ The location of the *statio* at a major town on an important highway, however, is typical of later *stationes* in the Danube region and therefore indicates a broad continuity of function from the earliest days of the *statio* network to the end of the Principate. Since both the *statio* at Celeia and the one at Sirmium opened under Trajan, it is tempting to connect the creation of the posts with increased traffic along the transportation routes from northeastern Italy to the Danube in connection with the conquest and annexation of Dacia. Later, important, though by no means exclusive concerns, may have been the *cursus publicus* and the provision of police support to customs officials.¹¹

The legal status of *beneficiarii procuratoris* is one area where the Celeian evidence enables us to see the *statio* system undergoing internal adjustment during its first half-century of existence. Whereas *beneficiarii consularis* in the post-Marcomannic period all possessed Roman citizenship, two of the Celeian *beneficiarii procuratoris* were peregrines. One of these men was Surus, the first *beneficiarius* known to have served at the *statio*, under the procurator P. Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris ca. 110 (*CIL* 3.5179 [*CBFIR* 222]). The other was Augustanus, *beneficiarius* of G. Rasinius Silo, whose

⁹ L. Clodius Iustus Egnatius Priscus, ca. 100-125, and Claudius Paternus Clementianus, ca. 120 are known from beneficiarial texts at Iuvavum and Virunum, respectively. It is unlikely that more than one or two, if any, praesidial procurators are unknown from this period. The current total of fifteen would yield an average term of appointment of slightly more than three years, which agree closely with Alföldy's figure in *Noricum*, 79.

¹⁰ The literature on beneficiarial function is extensive and contradictory. Ott discusses function exhaustively in *Der Beneficiarius*, 113-155. I have examined the problem in "A Reassessment of the Functions of *beneficiarii consularis*", *Ancient History Bulletin*, 9.2 [1995] 72-85. Otherwise, see Schallmayer, *RFS* 1989, Mirković, 255-256; Rankov, 50-51; Alföldy, *Noricum* 162-163; and (for the following see n. 1, bibl.); P. Ørsted, *Roman Imperial Economy*, 210; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, 1975 (n. 1, bibl.) 175; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 123-127; R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian*, 56 n. 20; MacMullen, *Enemies*, 260f.; H.-G. Pflaum, *Essai*, 147; E. Van Berchem, *L'annone militaire*, 182; A. von Domaszewski, "Die Beneficiariereposten", 210-211; O. Hirschfeld, "Die Sicherheitspolizei", 862-863.

¹¹ The involvement of *beneficiarii* in the *cursus publicus* is suggested, but not explored, by H.-G. Pflaum, *Essai* (see n. 1, bibl.), 147. See also Ott, 149-150. For the customs, see Schallmayer, *RFS* 405, Mirković 255, and Rankov 48. Ott, 137-142, discusses their involvement in the *portoria* and other indirect taxes. See Ørsted, *Roman Imperial Economy* (see n. 1 bibl.) 303ff. for a meticulous discussion of the organization of the Illyrican customs.

governorship cannot be dated precisely.¹² The suggestion has been made, however, that Augustanus' service at Celeia, like that of Surus, falls under Trajan (Alföldy, *Noricum*, App. V, 243). That suggestion is problematic,¹³ but if it is correct, then at the end of Trajan's principate or early under Hadrian's the Celeia evidence reveals a shift in administrative policy that resulted in the *statio* system henceforth being staffed exclusively by citizens.¹⁴ Nothing in the inscriptions states the reason for this shift, but at least two can be suggested. The first is cultural. Citizens were more likely than peregrines to be both fluent and literate in Latin (W.V. Harris [n. 1, bibl.] 253-255). The probable Italian origin of three of the Celeian *beneficarii* very likely indicates the importance of such fluency and literacy.¹⁵ The second reason is social. Since beneficiarial *stationes*, especially in the Danuber provinces, tended to be associated with towns, it may have been less onerous for *beneficarii* acting as the governors' agents to be citizens rather than non-citizens when dealing with Romanized local aristocrats. This would have been especially important at Celeia, which was a Claudian *municipium* whose *élite* in the early second century included members of the equestrian order, and which under Marcus Aurelius produced a senator (M. Šašel Kos [n. 1, bibl.] 251-255).

It is impossible to be certain about the sources from which the *beneficarii procuratoris* of Celeia were drawn since, in contrast to later beneficiarial texts, none of the Celeian altars specifies the unit from which the dedicating individual was detached. It is clear that the *beneficarii consularis* of the post-Marcomannic era were drawn, virtually without exception, from the legions.¹⁶ But prior to the assignment of II Italica to Noricum coincident with the end of procuratorial administration *ca.* 170, there were no legions in the Norican *exercitus*, which consisted entirely of peregrine regiments.¹⁷ The fact that Surus and Augustanus were peregrines almost certainly indicates that they at least were drawn from the provincial garrison. Given that significant numbers of citizens enlisted in peregrine units of the *auxilia* as well, it is likely that the citizen *beneficarii* at Celeia came from the same source.¹⁸ If the *beneficarii procuratoris* at Celeia did, in fact, originate in the Norican garrison, then continuity of practice exists with her later era in Noricum, when all of the province's *beneficarii consularis* whose origins are known were drawn from II Italica, and thus from the province's own military resources. It should be noted, however, that elsewhere in the Danube region the employment of *beneficarii consularis* was less restricted by provincial boundaries, and in the later period men often served as *beneficarii consularis* in provinces other than those where their own legions were posted.¹⁹ The most dramatic example of this practice is Dalmatia. With only a single known exception, the entire *numerus beneficiorum* of Dalmatia was drawn from other provinces.²⁰ Since, like procuratorial Noricum, Dalmatia had no

¹² CIL 3.5165 [CBFIR 226]. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières* (n. 1, bibl.) III, 1060; Winkler, *Die Reichsbeamten* (n. 1, bibl.) nr. 14, 52-53; Alföldy, *Noricum* App. V, 243; CBFIR 198-199.

¹³ Augustanus' Trajanic date depends on Alföldy's dating of Rasinius Silo, which in turn depends on Augustanus' peregrine status and the suggestion that peregrines were banned from the beneficiariate *ca.* 115.

¹⁴ Note that the policy shift applies only to service at the *statio*. Peregrines were not banned from the Norican beneficiariate altogether. They must still have served at the governor's headquarters throughout the period. Verinus, son of Verio, was a *beneficiarius* of Usenius Secundus *ca.* 158; his tombstone, erected by his wife, was found at Lauriacum, which was undoubtedly his home: CIL 3.11826 (CBFIR 251). His son, whose name was later added to the stone, was however a citizen.

¹⁵ Gemellius Adiutor (CIL 3.5170 [CBFIR 244], date uncertain), and [C.] Fuscinius [C]atullus (CIL 3.5169 [CBFIR 234], *ca.* AD 156), both probably from northern Italy, and Q. Kaninius Lucanus (CIL 3.5166 [CBFIR 242], AD 158), probably from southern Italy.

¹⁶ Only a single *beneficiarius consularis* is known in the provinces of the Danube region who was not a legionary, and he was a *mil(es) coh(ortis) (VIII) vol(untariorum)*: CIL 3.12679 (CBFIR 488, from Doclea, in Dalmatia).

¹⁷ *Noricum*, App. X details the garrison.

¹⁸ K. Kraft (n. 1, bibl.) 75-81; P.A. Holder (n. 1, bibl.) 49-51.

¹⁹ I analyze the assignment patterns of *beneficarii consularis* in my study "The Recruitment and Assignment of *Beneficarii Consularis* in the Danube Provinces", *Ancient World* (forthcoming).

²⁰ That exception being the *mil(es) coh(ortis) (VIII) vol(untariorum)* from Doclea who was mentioned previously: CIL 3.12679 (CBFIR 488). His full title was *adiu[t(or) princ(ipis) b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*. See J.J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (n.

legions in its garrison, it serves as a warning that, beneath the silence of the Celeian texts concerning beneficiarial recruitment, the picture at the *statio* may be more complex than it seems.²¹

The evidence from Celeia demonstrates that manning levels at the *statio* were very low. Since all of the Celeian altars were erected by individual *beneficiarii*, while joint dedications at other Danube *stationes* provide evidence of staffing by two *beneficiarii*,²² the implication is that during the procuratorial era the *statio* at Celeia was manned by only than a single *beneficiarius* at a time. Even if it were the case that the appearance of more than one *beneficiarius* under a given procurator indicated higher manning levels, those levels would never have exceeded two or three *beneficiarii*. The evidence from the early period at Sirmium seems too scanty to establish precise manning levels there before the mid-150s, but the published summary does not suggest levels different from those that prevailed at Celeia (Mirković, 252). At post-Marcomannic *stationes*, manning levels are a matter of debate, but there can be no question that they too were very low (Mirković, 254), virtually identical to those at Celeia.

The duration of beneficiarial appointments at Celeia is a second area where we see the system undergoing internal refinement during the pre-Marcomannic period. For about forty years after the foundation of the *statio*, beneficiarial appointments appear to have coincided with the terms of the procurators whom the men served. Nine procurators are named by Celeian *beneficiarii* during this period, a number that includes all but two of the procurators known to have governed Noricum during the first half of the second century.²³ Of these nine procurators, seven had only a single *beneficiarius* each at Celeia, indicating beneficiarial appointments coëval with those the procurators themselves, and therefore extending about three to four years. Of the two procurators with multiple *beneficiarii*, one, C, Censorius Niger, had two,²⁴ while the other, Q. Lisinius Sabinus, had three.²⁵ Niger's governorship falls sometime between 120 and 140;²⁶ Sabinus' governorship cannot be precisely dated, since his *cursus* is otherwise unknown, but there is a good chance that it fell in the late 140s to around 150.²⁷ What little is known about

1, bibl.) 123, 325. There are forty-four *beneficiarii consularis* known in Dalmatia, the largest total of any province in the Danube region. Six of the eleven legions stationed from Noricum to Moesia inferior contributed *beneficiarii* to the Dalmatian *numerus*, which I adiutrix of Pannonia inferior, XIV gemina of Pannonia superior, and XI Claudia of Moesia inferior especially heavily represented. Indeed, these three legions each contributed more than half of their total number of known *beneficiarii consularis* to Dalmatia. See my analysis in "The Recruitment and Assignment of *Beneficiarii Consularis* in the Danube Provinces" (see n. 19).

²¹ Dalmatia did, however, have a senatorial legate as its governor. The equestrian status of the Norican procurator may have barred legionary *beneficiarii* from serving under him. On the other hand, the silence of the Celeian texts about the parent units of the citizen *beneficiarii* could intentionally mask an anomalous assignment of legionaries to service under an equestrian.

²² Siscia: *CIL* 3.10843 (*CBFIR* 303) AD 227; *CIL* 3.15181¹ (*CBFIR* 311); *CIL* 3.10842 (*CBFIR* 309), *beneficiarii procuratoris*, Savaria: *AE* 1947.30 (*CBFIR* 330), *AE* 1947.26; Singidunum: *AE* 1964.261 (*CBFIR* 570), AD 217; Apulum: *CIL* 3.7755 = 1039 (*CBFIR* 511); cf. Mirković, 254.

²³ The exceptions are Egnatius Priscus *ca.* 115-125 (Alföldy, *Noricum*, App. V, 245; Winkler, *Die Reichsbeamten* [n.1, bibl.] nr. 5, 39-40) and Claudius Paternus Clementianus, *ca.* 120 (Alföldy, *Noricum*, App. V, 244; Winkler, *Die Reichsbeamten* [n. 1, bibl.] nr. 8, 43-47). Both men are known from beneficiarial texts found elsewhere in the province.

²⁴ *CIL* 3.5174 (*CBFIR* 223); *CIL* 3.5181 (*CBFIR* 225).

²⁵ *CIL* 3.5167 (*CBFIR* 235); *CIL* 3.51168 (*CBFIR*236); *CIL* 3.5175 and 5176 (*CBFIR* 240 and 237).

²⁶ Alföldy places him between 120 and 130 (*Noricum*, App. V, p. 244), while Winkler, *Die Reichsbeamten* (n. 1, bibl.) prefers a date after 135 (nr. 10, pp. 48-50).

²⁷ Six procurators have been assigned to the years between *ca.* 110 and *ca.* 140: P. Prifernius Memmius Apollinaris *ca.* 110; Q. Caecilius Redditus *ca.* 115-125; Claudius Paternus Clementianus *ca.* 120; Egnatius Priscus *ca.* 115-125; C. Censorius Niger *ca.* 120-135; Plautius Caesianus *ca.* 135-140. Another procurator, Caecilius Iuventianus, must fall between 138 and 150, since he received a rescript from Antoninus Pius: *Dig.* 48.18.10. If we do not necessarily assign G. Rasinius Silo's procuratorship to the principate of Trajan, but leave its date open, then including him and Sabinus there are four men the dates of whose procuratorship are unknown. If a procurator's usual term was, as it appears to have been, about three and a half years, then only two of these four men ought to fall in the period prior 110-140, while the other two fall in the period 140-150, so that there is a one-in-two chance that Sabinus governed Noricum under Antoninus Pius. If Silo is to be dated to Trajan's principate, then that rises to a two-in-three chance.

beneficial appointments elsewhere down to the middle of the second century indicates that they were similar in duration to the ones at Celeia, closely linked to the terms of the appointing governors (Mirković, 255).

The internal refinement of the system can be seen in a sharp reduction in the length of beneficial assignments at Celeia that occurred around 150. Of the four praesidial procurators who can be assigned with certainty to the period *ca.* 150—*ca.* 160, the first three each had two *beneficarii* serving at Celeia.²⁸ If in fact the absence of joint dedications does indicate that each *beneficiarius* served alone at the *statio*, then the presence of two *beneficarii* under each of these three procurators must mean that assignments had been abbreviated to about half the length of a procurator's term, or somewhere between twelve and eighteen months. The fact that one *beneficiarius* dedicated altars under two successive procurators shows that reappointment was also possible.²⁹

The curtailment of assignments at Celeia formed an integral part of a broad administrative reform of that occurred throughout the beneficiariate during the 150s and early 160s. A key component of this reform in other provinces involved attaching *beneficarii* to institutions, such as the province or the governorship, rather than to individual governors;³⁰ it seems doubtful whether this measure was applied in Noricum before the arrival of a legate as governor *ca.* 170.³¹ The abbreviation of rotation schedules at *stationes*, however, was general in scope. It can be detected among the *beneficarii* at Sirmium from the mid-150s,³² and it defined future practice within the *statio* system, for although beneficial tours of duty varied in length from place to place and from time to time during the late second and third century, after the 150s, they never again exhibit any links to the terms of governors.³³

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The altars from Celeia afford valuable insights into the early history of the *statio* network. Comparison of information derived from them with data from early material elsewhere points to the conclusion that the network was conceived from the outset on a scale that transcended provincial boundaries and

²⁸ Flavius Titianus procurator *ca.* 153: *CIL* 3.5172 (*CBFIR* 224), *CIL* 3.5164 (*CBFIR* 243); Ulpius Victor procurator *ca.* 156: *CIL* 3.5161 (*CBFIR* 220), *CIL* 3.5169 (*CBFIR* 234); Usenius Secundus procurator *ca.* 158: *CIL* 3.5162 (*CBFIR* 221), *CIL* 3.5166 (*CBFIR* 242). The other procurator, M. Bassaeus Rufus, had only one: *CIL* 3.5171 (*CBFIR* 24). Since he was the last of the four, dating to *ca.* 159-162, it is likely that it was under him that the Celeian *statio* was closed and its operations shifted to Praetorium Latobicorum in Pannonia superior. Rufus' *beneficiarius* is not the last *beneficiarius procuratoris* known from Noricum. One more appears in the record, dedicating an altar in AD 168 to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus at Meclaria (Unterthörl on the road west of Virunum: *AE* 1977. 605 [*CBFIR* 267]).

²⁹ Adnarnius Flavinus: *CIL* 3.5161 (*CBFIR* 220), *bf Ulp Victoris proc Aug, ca.* 156; *CIL* 3.5162 (*CBFIR* 221), *bf Useni Secundi proc Aug, ca.* 158

³⁰ This can be seen unmistakably in beneficial titlature. Between 155 and 165, governors' names completely disappear from the titles of *beneficarii*, their place taken by institutions: *beneficiarius officii praesidis*, *beneficiarius provinciae*, or, simply and most commonly, *beneficiarius consularis*. Early consular-dated examples of the new style from the Danube include *CIL* 3.7449 (*CBFIR* 643), Montana, Moesia inferior, AD 155; *AE* 1944.134 (*CBFIR* 338), Praetorium Latobicorum, Pannonia superior, AD 158; *AE* 1927.59 (*CBFIR* 633), Histria, Moesia inferior, AD 159/60; *AE* 1973.448 (*CBFIR* 413), Mursa, Pannonia inferior, AD 164. In Germania superior, early examples are known from the *statio* at Stockstadt (AD 166: *CIL* 13.6649 (*CBFIR* 184); AD 167: *CIL* 13.6634 (*CBFIR* 193), *CIL* 13.6636 (*CBFIR* 194).

³¹ The key evidence being the continued use of procurators' names in the titlature of Norican *beneficarii* down to the end of procuratorial administration. The last beneficial inscription of the procuratorial era records a *b(ene)ff(iciarius) Cl(audii) Priscian[i] proc(uratoris) Aug(usti)*: see note 28. *AE* 1977.605 (*CBFIR* 267).

³² Mirković, 252, avoids speculating about durations of assignments during the period 157-185, since only one of the eighteen to twenty altars she places within that period bears a consular date, but if she is right about that placing that number of altars within this span of twenty-eight years, then a tour of one to one-and-a-half years seems likely.

³³ Mirković, 254, wrongly places this reform under Commodus. Terms of six months to a year seem to have usual for *beneficarii consularis* in Germania superior: Lieb, 141-143; Schallmayer, *RFS* 1989, 403. The same has been asserted for *beneficarii consularis* at Montana in Moesia inferior, though without argument: Rankov, 48. At Sirmium, however, terms varied: Mirković, 252-254. Alföldy sees a normal term of two years in Noricum, occasionally changed to one, or three: *Noricum*, 163.

peculiarities, so that early *stationes* like Celeia and Sirmium both resemble and complement one another in siting and in likely function, while early *beneficarii* throughout the empire share a distinctive style of titulature and a similar relationship to their governors. Furthermore, the Celeian altars enable us to glimpse the emergence of features that later characterized the *stationes* and *beneficarii* of the post-Marcomannic period, particularly features of the system's internal administration, such as the very brief terms which later *beneficarii consularis* served at their *stationes*. Finally, the material from Celeia demonstrates clear areas of continuity between the early system and the later one, such as the low level of *statio* manning and the strong relationship, especially in the Danube provinces, between *stationes*, roads and towns. By the mid-160s the system had virtually achieved the final form in which it was to exist down to the end of the Principate a century later, and all that remained was the dramatic expansion which the system experienced after the conclusion of the Marcomannic wars. But the pattern to which all the many new *stationes* of the late second and third centuries were to adhere was a pattern that had been set, decades before, as we can now see, at places like Celeia.

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