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VARIATION IN ROMAN ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE: THE ASSIGNMENTS OF
BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS

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VARIATION IN ROMAN ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE:
THE ASSIGNMENTS OF *BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS*¹

Scholarship has only recently begun to recognize the extent to which variation rather than standardization characterized the functions of the gubernatorial *beneficarii* who bulk so large in the administrative record of the Principate.² But the traditional uniformitarian view of Roman administrative practice continues to influence thinking on the management of the *beneficarii* themselves. Thus, while it is increasingly acknowledged that the duties of *beneficarii* may have varied from place to place or from time to time, the manner in which the empire selected, assigned, and rotated its *beneficarii* is conceived of as standardized. It certainly cannot be denied that this view is correct where certain aspects of the internal management of the *beneficarii* are concerned. For example, gubernatorial *beneficarii* were almost invariably chosen from the ranks of the legions, and the rare exceptions to this rule were men drawn from citizen regiments of the *auxilia*. But in fact the internal management of the gubernatorial *beneficarii*, and of the administrative infrastructure of which they formed an important part, was a very complex affair, which mixed elements of imperial standardization with others of variation. This was particularly the case after the middle of the second century. The Antonines revived and expanded the *statio* network created by Trajan, creating many new *stationes* and using gubernatorial *beneficarii* to man them. Retitled *beneficarii consularis*, these post-Antonine *beneficarii* seem to have lacked the personal relation-

¹ In this article the following abbreviations will be used:

<i>Noricum</i>	G. Alföldy, <i>Noricum</i> (London 1974).
<i>CBFIR</i>	E. Schallmayer, et al., <i>Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I</i> , Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Benefiziarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches (Stuttgart 1990).
Jones	A.H.M. Jones, "The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical grades)", <i>JRS</i> 39 (1949), 38-55.
Lieb	H. Lieb, "Expleta Statione", in <i>Britain and Rome</i> , ed. M.G. Jarrett and B. Dobson (Kendal 1965), 139-144.
Mirković	M. Mirković, "Beneficarii Consularis and the New Outpost in Sirmium", <i>Roman Frontier Studies</i> 1989 (Exeter 1991) 252-256.
Ott	J. Ott, <i>Der Benefiziarier</i> (Stuttgart 1995).
<i>Rangordnung</i> ²	A. von Domaszewski and D.J. Breeze, <i>Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres</i> (Köln ² 1967).
Rankov	N.B. Rankov, "A Contribution to the Military and Administrative History of Montana", <i>Ancient Bulgaria</i> (Nottingham 1983) 40-73.
Schallmayer, RFS 1989	E. Schallmayer, "Zur Herkunft und Funktion der Benefiziarier", <i>Roman Frontier Studies</i> 1989 (Exeter: 1991), 400-406.
Sirm.	M. Mirković, "Beneficarii Consularis and the new Outpost in Sirmium", <i>Roman Frontier Studies</i> 1989 (Exeter 1990), 252-256.
Thomasson	B.E. Thomasson, <i>Laterculi Praesidum I</i> (Göteborg 1984).
Winkler	G. Winkler, <i>Die Reichsbeamten von Noricum und ihr Personal</i> (Vienna 1969).

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 —, "Neue Untersuchungen beim Benefiziarier-Weihebezirk von Osterburken", *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1986*, 105-109.
 —, "Ein Kultzentrum der Römer in Osterburken", *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*, ed. D. Planck (Stuttgart 1985), 377-407.
 —, "Neue Funde aus dem Bereich des Benefiziarier-Weihebezirks von Osterburken, Neckar-Odenwald-Kreis", *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1984*, 147-149.
 Schleiermacher, W., "Eine neue Benefiziarierinschrift aus Großkrotzenburg", *Germania* 39 (1961) 166-168.

² In particular, see Schallmayer, *RFS*, 1989; Mirković, 252-256; Ott, 113-129; and R. Dise, *Ancient History Bulletin*, 9.2 (1995), 72-85. Schallmayer and Mirković both attempt, however, to establish some single, overarching function for *beneficarii*.

ship with the individual governors which had characterized their late first and early second century predecessors, and held their appointments indefinitely rather than for the mere duration of any particular governor's term.³ But if their appointments as *beneficarii consularis* were indefinite, their assignments to the *stationes* where they served were not, and an excellent case study in the extent and character of variation in administrative practice can be conducted by examining the assignment and rotation of *beneficarii consularis* among these posts in the provinces.

This study focuses on three issues concerning the assignment and rotation of *beneficarii consularis*: first, the time during the course of each year when they received assignments to the *stationes*; second, how long those assignments lasted; and third, rotation or transfer between *stationes*. These issues are particularly susceptible to analysis because *beneficarii consularis* often erected altars at the *stationes* where they served, thanking various gods for their assignments, and in a substantial number of cases, they inscribed their altars with consular dates; some altars bear calendar dates as well. A number of altars also carry language referring to the iteration of *statio*, indicating rotation or transfer. Geographically, this study concentrates on the provinces of the Rhine and Danube frontiers, including Dalmatia, an area that recommends itself both by its extent and by the wealth of its documentation. Counting a trove of eighty *beneficarius* texts recently discovered at Sirmium, slightly more than four hundred altars of gubernatorial *beneficarii* are known from the ten provinces involved.⁴ One hundred seventy-nine of these, including twenty-three altars from Sirmium, bear consular dates. Forty-eight of these one hundred seventy-nine altars carry calendar dates as well. A dozen others include iteration terminology.

Beneficarius assignments have to date received only intermittent study. The first scholar to review the evidence was Hans Lieb, who contributed a short article, "Expleta Statione", to a 1965 *Festschrift* honoring Eric Birley, titled *Britain and Rome*. Lieb's analysis focused on the calendar-dated altars; it was he who established a linkage between the dates on the altars and the assignment dates of the *beneficarii* who dedicated them.⁵ Concerning the length of *beneficarius* assignments, Lieb's analysis of the dedication/assignment dates led him to suggest a figure of six months (Lieb 142-143). Lieb's six-month term, sometimes doubled to a year, gradually has acquired general acceptance.⁶ This is even the case among recent scholars whose data pointed in other directions. Summarizing the eighty-altar cache from Sirmium, for example, Miroslava Mirković noted the extensive variation that characterized the internal administration of the post there (Mirković 252-256), but still, following Lieb, sought to apply a six-month to one-year figure to Sirmium as a norm, even if only for the last half of the second century (page 253). Most recently, Joachim Ott, in his very valuable 1995 monograph *Der Beneficiarius*, has defined six months as the standard imperial term for *beneficarii*, admitting variation from this rule only for the *beneficarii* of the *vigiles* at Ostia (Ott 105).

But closer analysis reveals features within the evidence that undermine the notion that there was a standard *beneficarius* term of assignment to a *statio*, or that standardization characterized the late second- and third-century management of *beneficarius statio* assignments generally. First, the distribution of certain types of dated evidence exhibits strong regional idiosyncracies; second, both the dates on which gubernatorial *beneficarii* received their assignments each year and the regularity of the assignment cycles indicated by those dates vary extensively from province to province; third, the lengths of

³ Jones, 45; see also my article on "Trajan, the Antonines, and the Governor's Staff" (above, pp. 273-283).

⁴ A comprehensive *corpus* of *beneficarius* inscriptions from the entire empire was published by Egon Schallmayer *et al.*, in *CBFIR*. Counting the Sirmium altars, which are not included in *CBFIR*, close to eleven hundred are known.

⁵ Lieb 139. For the cultic interpretation that Lieb rejects, see W. Schleiermacher in *Germania* 39 (1961) 166-168 and A. Degrassi in *Archeologia classica* 13 (1961) 278-279 and *Latomus* 23 (1964) 326. In 139 n. 8 Lieb notes that the cultic interpretation quickly entangles itself in contradiction, that Degrassi himself perceived that, and that the cultic interpretation therefore demands no refutation. Ott concurs in Lieb's conclusion: 105.

⁶ Rankov suggests six months or a year for the *beneficarii consularis* who served at Montana in Rankov, 48; G. Alföldy suggests two years for the *beneficarii consularis* in Noricum (*Noricum*, 163), but bases this on a cursory province-wide tabulation of dated *beneficarius* altars, without considering geographic concentrations.

assignments differ widely from province to province; indeed at some individual sites assignments even differ from decade to decade; and finally, the practice of transferring gubernatorial *beneficarii* between assignments was peculiar to particular regions; it was not characteristic of assignment practice throughout the empire as a whole.

I. Variation in the Evidence: The Practice of Calendar-Dating

The first point to notice is that the inclusion of calendar dates on altars appears to have been peculiar to the Rhine and Danube frontiers. Only one calendar-dated altar of a gubernatorial *beneficiarius* is known from a province outside the Rhine-Danube region, a peculiar text from Cuicul in Numidia set up on April 4, 210, by a man who used the form of *beneficiarius* titlature common before 160, which incorporated the personal name of the governor in the title itself; besides being a *beneficiarius consularis*, the dedicator of this altar was subsequently an *adiutor principis praetorii*. (CBFIR 759). But even within the Rhine and Danube provinces the practice of calendar-dating altars was strongly localized. It was most common in Germania superior, where no fewer than twenty-seven calendar-dated altars are known. An additional six come from Noricum, and ten from Pannonia superior. Beyond these three provinces, however, calendar-dated altars are either extremely rare or completely absent: only two are known from Germania inferior,⁷ one from Pannonia inferior,⁸ and two from Dalmatia, both of which were set up by *beneficarii consularis* from Pannonia superior.⁹ No calendar-dated altars at all have been found in the Moesias or in Dacia. Clearly, then, the practice of calendar-dating was concentrated on the upper Rhine and upper Danube. No administrative reasons present themselves to explain this localization, since at a given *statio* some men calendar-dated their altars while others who served immediately before or after included only consular dates or, perhaps, no dates at all.¹⁰ Nor do the calendar-dated altars exhibit peculiarities of cult: they are dedicated to the same gods and imperial entities as their consular-dated or undated counterparts.¹¹ It would seem therefore that the inclusion of calendar dates in altar dedications was at base a regional fashion, popular in Germania superior and nearby provinces, but a fashion that never gained great popularity elsewhere.

II. Variation in Assignment Dates

The calendar-dated altars indicate that the dates on which *beneficarii consularis* were assigned to *stationes* each year were peculiar to each province, and that while some provinces made assignments on a regular schedule, others did not. The most consistent assignment schedule appears to have existed in Germania superior. The twenty-seven calendar-dated altars from that province clearly indicate that in the early 180s a regular semiannual assignment schedule emerged, which persisted into the early 230s (see table 1).¹² The normal assignment dates under this schedule were the ides of January (January 13) and the ides of July (July 15). Seven altars are dated on the January ides, ten more on the ides of July.

⁷ Both from Köln: AE 1974, 446 (CBFIR 63), *bf cos*, 1 Sept of some year between 177 and 192, and CIL 13. 8207 (CBFIR 64), *bf cos*, 1 Aug 239.

⁸ One of the newly discovered altars from Sirmium (Mirković, 253). Another one of the new Sirmium texts also has a specific date, but records a man's discharge.

⁹ CBFIR 444: *bf cos l(eg) XIII g(emina)*, 1 April 261, from Halapic; CIL 3. 12802 (CBFIR 463): *bf c[os p]ro(vinciae) P(annoniae) super(ioris)*, 7 June 195, from Novae.

¹⁰ At Osterburken in Germania superior, for example, nine altars have calendar dates, six have consular dates, and sixteen have no dates at all. See CBFIR nos. 145-175.

¹¹ At Osterburken twenty-two of the twenty-five altars whose dedications survive honor Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, in conjunction with Iuno Regina and/or all the gods and goddesses (*diis deabusque omnibus*), Mars Conservator, the *genius loci*, and the imperial house; another one . Another altar with a damaged dedication probably honored Iuppiter also, but only the dedication to all the gods and goddesses and the *genius loci* survives. The other two are dedicated exclusively to *Dea Candida Regina*.

¹² There are a total of fifty-three dated altars from the province. Counting funeral texts, texts of veterans, and texts erected by *beneficarii* serving officers and officials other than the governors, the province has a total of one hundred and thirteen *beneficiarius* texts.

Most remaining altars carry dates very close to these two. Six fall between the middle of December and the middle of January: one on the December ides (December 13), three in late December—on December 23, 26, and 29—one on January 5, and one on January 16. Two altars fall within a fortnight of the ides of July, one on July 18, the other on July 26. Only two altars have dates that deviate significantly from this January-July cycle. One is damaged, its precise dedication date now lost, but falling sometime in either September or October 181;¹³ the other is dated February 20 of 182. Since these two altars are two of the three earliest calendar-dated altars in Germania superior, their idiosyncrasy and the extraordinary regularity of the dates that follow them suggest that the practice of making assignments on a semiannual schedule was instituted in 181, while the subsequent texts demonstrate the consistency with which that schedule was followed over the next five decades.

In Noricum, by contrast, assignments were made at an entirely different time of year and on an entirely different schedule. Of thirteen dated altars set up by *beneficarii consularis* after the Marcomannic wars, when the province received a legion (II Italica) and a senatorial governor, six are calendar-dated.¹⁴ Three of these are dated the ides of May (May 15): one in 209 (*CIL* 3.14361 [*CBFIR* 215], Virunum), one in 219 (*CIL* 3.5580 [*CBFIR* 257], Bedaium), and one in 226 (see table 2).¹⁵ A fourth is dated May 14, in 230 (*CIL* 3.5690 [*CBFIR* 272], Boiodurum). The dates on the two remaining altars, however, are both well removed from the May ides: June 23, 238 (*CIL* 3.4820 [*CBFIR* 259], Virunum) and December 13, 211 (*CIL* 3.5187 [*CBFIR* 228], Celeia). Thus it would appear that assignments normally were made only once a year in Noricum, in mid-May, rather than twice a year, as in Germania superior. But the June and December texts show that this schedule was not rigid, and that assignments could be made at other times of the year as well.

In Pannonia superior, the scheduling of assignments was even more flexible than it was in Noricum. Ten of the nineteen dated *beneficarii consularis* altars from the province are calendar-dated. These ten can be divided into two groups: those with dates in or near October, and those with dates in the spring. The October group comprises seven altars, all from the vicinity of Praetorium Latobicorum in the southwesternmost corner of the province. The dates of these altars cluster in the first half of October:

September 29, 240 (*AE* 1944, 135 [*CBFIR* 339]),
 October 1, 250 (*CIL* 3.10789 [*CBFIR* 345]),
 October 6, 224 (*CIL* 3.3899 [*CBFIR* 352]),
 October 15, 257 (*CIL* 3.3906 [*CBFIR* 349]),
 October 15, year unspecified (*AE* 1934, 73 [*CBFIR* 343]).

The two remaining altars in the group are both dated November 1, were dedicated by the same man, and fall under Philip the Arab, probably in 247 or 248 (*CIL* 3.3905 [*CBFIR* 350], and 3909/10784 [*CBFIR* 351]). The dates of the three spring altars are more dispersed than those of the October texts. Two fall in mid-May: one, from Praetorium Latobicorum, on May 18 in an unspecified year (*CIL* 3.3904 [*CBFIR* 348]); the other, from Siscia, on May 22, in 217 (*CIL* 3.15180 [*CBFIR* 306]). The third spring altar, also from Praetorium Latobicorum, is dated April 8, 225 (*CIL* 3.3903 [*CBFIR* 347]). It would seem, then, that in Pannonia superior administrative routine played little role in assigning *beneficarii* to Praetorium Latobicorum. Instead, they were sent out either just before the onset of winter, or just after the arrival of spring.

¹³ *CIL* 13.6633 (*CBFIR* 197). The text of the date reads: *[Im]p(eratore) C[on]mmo[do] III et B[ur]ro [co(n)s(ulibus)..] Oct(obres)ibus*.

¹⁴ The earliest dated altar of a *beneficarius consularis* is dated AD 192: *CIL* 3.5178 (*CBFIR* 232 Celeia), set up by a *bf cos leg II Ita*. The year of the replacement of the equestrian procurators who had governed the province since the Julio-Claudians with senatorial legates is vague, because of the disruption of administration caused by the Marcomannic wars: Alföldy, *Noricum*, 157-158.

¹⁵ *CIL* 3.5575 (*CBFIR* 214, Bedaium). Schallmayer places this altar in Raetia, immediately inside the border from Noricum. Its connection with Bedaium is demonstrated by its dedication: *In h d d IOM Arub(iano) et sancto Bed(aio)*.

Calendar-dated altars from other provinces further emphasize the prevalence of variation in assignment scheduling. Of two calendar-dated altars from Germania inferior, both from Köln, the one is dated September 1, in a year between 177 and 192 (*AE* 1974, 446 [*CBFIR* 63]), the other, August 1 in 239 (*CIL* 13.8207 [*CBFIR* 64]). Perhaps assignments in the province were made in late summer, but little more can be said on the basis of only two texts. The sole calendar-dated altar from Pannonia inferior, found in the trove at Sirmium, is dated September 23 (Mirković, 253). This date is broadly comparable to those of the October altars from Pannonia superior, but since this is the only calendar-dated text from Pannonia inferior, the coincidence between its date and those of the altars from Praetorium Latobicorum is likely to be, in fact, coincidence. Finally, the two Dalmatian altars, both erected by *beneficarii consularis* from Pannonia superior, fall too far apart both in calendar date and in year to establish any assignment schedule for Dalmatia. Furthermore, they conform only in the most approximate way to the already very loose patterns in Pannonia superior. The first of them, from Novae, is dated 7 June 195 (*CIL* 3.12802 [*CBFIR* 463]), and so might be possibly be construed as the latest of the Pannonia superior spring calendar dates, while the other altar, from Halapic with a date of 1 April 261 (*CBFIR* 444), could be construed as the earliest. But the spread of two months between them, and the wide chronological scattering of the three spring altars erected in Pannonia superior itself, suggest that these associations are more imaginary than real.

III. Variation in the Length of Assignments

The evidence for the lengths of assignments is more complex than that for assignment dates and schedules, and requires different handling. First, any meaningful discussion of the length of assignments must be site-specific, a point strongly underlined by the fact that the link between assignment and place of assignment was so intimate that the term *statio* carried both meanings.¹⁶ It is misleading, consequently, to draw conclusions from scattered dates in province-wide bodies of evidence, because patterns in isolated dated evidence from scattered sites may be only accidental.¹⁷ Table 4 presents a chronological listing of the dated altars from the Rhine and Danube provinces and demonstrates how random the distribution of evidence is from one province to another. Second, only sites that satisfy certain criteria can be useful in the discussion. The most important criterion is that a site's epigraphic *corpus* must contain multiple dated altars. Only a handful of sites possess such *corpora*. But these dated altars must also fall in close enough chronological proximity to one another to represent with reasonable likelihood continuous sequences of *beneficarii* rather than isolated individuals. For this reason, like single dated altars scattered across the history of a province, single dated altars scattered across the history of a site are of no help.

Epigraphic intangibles further complicate the study of assignment lengths. Some of these are obvious: for example, no matter how large a site *corpus* may be and how comprehensive it may seem, it is impossible to exclude the possibility that a number of texts from a site may have been lost, or may await discovery. But others are more subtle: we can never know, for example, whether all of the *beneficarii consularis* who served at a site even dedicated altars. Finally, about half of the altars that do survive

¹⁶ Ott, 85-87, regards *statio* as meaning solely "place of assignment". This is certainly the primary meaning, but from "place of assignment" it then acquires the meaning of "assignment" or, as the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* notes (*s.v.* *statio* 7), "a station or position (in life); duty". Bearing in mind this meaning of "assignment" in addition to the meaning of "place of assignment", yields, I think, a fuller understanding of the texts discussed below which refer to repeated or multiple *stationes*, or the completion of a *statio* (*expleta statione*).

¹⁷ Alföldy uses province-wide data in this manner in *Noricum*, 163. His conclusion that the assignment term was two years is correct, at least for the period 211-217 at Celeia, as is discussed later in this paper, but the existence of other altars dated 200, 202, 209, and 219, tells us nothing meaningful about terms since the five stones bearing these four dates come from no less than four different sites. His further conclusion that terms briefly (202-209 and 219-226) varied down to one year (or up to three), while it fits the thesis presented here, is apparently based on nothing more than the fact that odd numbers of years separate these years from one another. This logic is flawed, for it assumes that the dated *corpus* is complete, which we can never prove, particularly given the existence of a number of undated texts which might fill the voids or, for that matter, throw the extant periods of this two-year cycle into confusion.

within the area of this study include no dates of any kind, and while investigators sometimes have proposed approximate dates for such altars based on their findspot within the remains of a *statio*,¹⁸ those dates are not only approximate but also hypothetical and therefore cannot be used in determining the lengths of assignments. It is important, then, to recognize that the effort to determine the lengths of assignments involves an irreducible element of uncertainty. It is not hopeless, however. Four sites in three of the Rhine and Danube provinces do in fact possess series of calendar- and consular-dated altars spanning periods of two or more years, which plausibly represent sequences of *beneficiarii*. It is those altar series that provide the best evidence for the lengths of assignments. What they indicate is that assignment lengths varied considerably from one province to another. Furthermore, in some provinces terms remained consistent, while in others they changed over periods as brief as a decade.

In Germania superior, the lengths of assignments exhibit a semiannual consistency comparable to that of the province's assignment schedule and very closely related to it; it is this consistency, together with the abundance of calendar-dated evidence from the province, that explains why the evidence from Germania superior has been used as the basis for the notion that term lengths were standardized throughout the empire as a whole. Two sites in Germania superior possess epigraphic *corpora* which satisfy the criteria for analysis: Stockstadt and Osterburken, both located in the *agri decumates*. The degree of variation in term lengths between these two is very small, an important point, for the Stockstadt altars precede those at Osterburken by anywhere from twenty to thirty-five years, representing the very early stages in the development of assignment practice in Germania superior, while the altars from Osterburken reflect its maturity.

Stockstadt has produced twenty-one altars. Ten are dated, their dates falling between 166 and 208; seven of these have consular dates only; the others have calendar dates. Two additional altars can be closely dated because they were set up by men who also erected dated altars. There are two useful sequences in the Stockstadt *corpus*. The first consists exclusively of consular-dated texts, and begins with the earliest dated altar from the site, dated 166; the other two are dated 167. These dates could reflect either of two situations: that the *beneficiarii* concerned served annual terms, two of them serving jointly at the post in 167; or, that the three men served terms that were roughly semiannual in length, the first beginning late in 166, the second early in 167, and the third later in 167. It is unlikely, however, that the two dedications in 167 reflect joint service by the *beneficiarii* involved, for ample evidence from both the Rhine and the Danube frontiers exists to show that men who served jointly dedicated altars jointly.¹⁹ In light of this, and of the evidence for a semiannual appointment schedule in Germania superior, it seems more likely that the three altars do in fact represent roughly semiannual terms. It is important to acknowledge the approximation in this, however, not only because the dates on the altars are consular instead of calendar, but also because of the evidence of the second dated sequence from the post.

This sequence also consists of three altars, in this case all calendar-dated. The first is dated either September or October of 181 (*CIL* 13.6633/6656e [*CBFIR* 197]), the second February 20, 182 (*CIL* 13.6637 [*CBFIR* 181]), and the third July 26, 182 (*CIL* 13. 6635 [*CBFIR* 180]). Apparently, the *beneficiarii* who dedicated these texts served terms of about five months. The dates of their altars fall well away from the January – July ides cycle characteristic of assignments in Germania superior, and the length of their terms differs somewhat from that which later became customary. But both peculiarities can be explained by noting that these are the earliest calendar-dated *beneficiarius* altars from any post in Germania superior, and that they antedate the regularization of the assignment system in the province. It should also be noted that, if the calendar dates on the second sequence of altars were not present, the pattern of their consular dates would be the same as that of the altars in the first sequence.

¹⁸ Egon Schallmayer has done this with the altars he found at Osterburken "Ein Kultzentrum" (see n. 1) 378-393. He published these altars, with his proposed dates, as *CBFIR* 146, 149, 150, 153, 154, 159, and 161. Schallmayer's other publications on the Osterburken *statio* include "Neue Funde" (n. 1), "Ausgrabungen eines Benefiziarier-Weihebezirks" (n. 1).

¹⁹ Mirković, 253, gives examples from Sirmium. For other epigraphic examples of this from the Rhine and Danube frontiers, see Ott, 111-112, Tab. 4

Osterburken lies about fifty kilometers southeast of Stockstadt. During the 1980s, Egon Schallmayer published thirty-one altars recovered from the site, fifteen of which have dates, distributed between 174 and 238 (n. 1, Add. bibl.). Nine of those dates are calendar dates. There is only one sequence of dated altars from the post, but that sequence is a large one, comprising seven altars extending over the period 201 to 205. The first is dated January 5, 201 (CBFIR 169); the second and third have only consular dates, of 201 (CBFIR 166) and 202 (CBFIR 163). The fourth is dated July 15, 203 (CBFIR 167), the fifth December 26, 203 (CBFIR 160), the sixth July 15, 204 (CBFIR 168), and the last July 15, 205 (CBFIR 158). This sequence shows that during the first decade of the third century, *beneficarii* served terms at Osterburken either of six months or a year. If no other altars, either undated or lost, belong to this sequence, then assignments would appear to have varied from *beneficiarius* to *beneficarius* between these two term lengths. However, there are sixteen altars from the post which have no dates but to which Schallmayer assigns approximate dates, based generally on their findspot within the precinct at Osterburken.²⁰ If any of these sixteen altars actually belongs in this sequence, then the lengths of assignments at Osterburken probably were standardized at six months, with no more than about two weeks' variation either side of the usual rotation dates on the January and July ides. Comparing this term length against the terms from Stockstadt, it is clear that over the forty years between the first sequence at Stockstadt and the end of the sequence at Osterburken, the lengths of *beneficiarius* terms in Germania superior remained essentially unchanged.

But this five- or six-month term of assignment is not found elsewhere. In Noricum, the evidence indicates that terms were much longer. The evidence for the lengths of terms in Noricum comes from the *statio* at Celeia, in the southeasternmost corner of the province, on the road from northeastern Italy to the Danube and the East. Together with Sirmium, Celeia is one of the two earliest *stationes* in the empire, and its early decades are far better documented than those at Sirmium. Its twenty-seven altars include nineteen set up by *beneficarii* of the praesidial procurators who governed Noricum down to the 170s.²¹ Falling prior to the Antonine reforms, the terms of these *beneficarii* represent different administrative circumstances and are treated elsewhere (Dise, *ZPE* 113 [1996] 286-293). After the replacement of the procurators by legates in the early 170s, the *beneficarii procuratoris* were succeeded by *beneficarii consularis* like those familiar from other provinces. Of the nine altars which *beneficarii consularis* dedicated at Celeia, five bear consular dates, and these extend down to 217. Four of the five dated altars form a sequence spanning the final years of activity at the site. The first is the only Celeian altar with a calendar date: December 13, 211 (*CIL* 3.5187 [CBFIR 228]); the other three have consular dates evenly spaced in the years 213, 215, and 217 (*CIL* 3.5154 [CBFIR 218], 5185 [CBFIR 227], 5189 [CBFIR 230]). This indicates that the assignments of *beneficarii consularis* at Celeia, at least in the final phase of the *statio*, lasted two years, meaning that even under the governorship of a senatorial legate, the lengths of assignments at Celeia in Noricum differed significantly from those at the posts in Germania superior.

At Sirmium, in contrast to Stockstadt, Osterburken, and Celeia, the lengths of assignments exhibit no regularity at all, except across brief spans of a decade or less. Mirković (p. 252) regards the *corpus* of eighty *beneficiarius* altars found at the post as essentially complete, comprising "all or almost all the altars set up there during the Roman rule." Twenty-three of the altars can, in her opinion, be reliably dated, twenty-two of them to the late second and early third century, the series ending with a text dedicated in 231.

She divides the *corpus* into five chronological groups. The first includes only four or five altars, which she dates on typological and prosopographical grounds to the years from Trajan to 157. Her sec-

²⁰ *AE* 1985, 696 (CBFIR 145), 688 (CBFIR 146), 689 (CBFIR 147), 690 (CBFIR 148), 691 (CBFIR 149), 692 (CBFIR 150), 694 (CBFIR 151), 695 (CBFIR 153), 685 (CBFIR 154); CBFIR 157, 159, 161, 162, 164, 165; *CIL* 13.6570 (CBFIR 175).

²¹ Since one of the men dedicated two altars (*CIL* 3.5175 [CBFIR 240] and 5176 [CBFIR 237]), only eighteen *beneficarii procuratoris* are actually known from the post.

ond group includes between eighteen and twenty altars, which she places in the years 157-185; only one of these, however, has a consular date. Her third group is more useful for the purpose of this study. It includes twelve altars and extends from 185 to 199. Based on the intervals between altars, this fourteen-year period can be divided into two sub-periods, during which the length of *beneficiarius* terms varied sharply: the first spans the years from 185 to 191, during which the interval was two years; the second extends from 191 to 199, during which the interval was four years (Mirković 252-253). Mirković assigns nine altars to her fourth group, extending from 202 to 209, and sets the interval between them at a year each (p. 253). Because there are no dated altars from the years between 209 and 221, she is confident that the post was inactive during this time.²²

Mirković's fifth and last group includes fifteen altars, from the years between 221 and 231. During this period, joint dedications by two *beneficarii* were the rule, meaning that staffing levels at the *statio* had doubled.²³ The rotation schemes within these doubled staffing levels were very complex. The practice seems to have been to retain one *beneficiarius* at the post for a number of years, but to rotate a second one through more frequently. Since the inscriptions of the long-term *beneficarii* do not mention iteration of their *statio* (Mirković, 253) it would seem that their assignments were intended from the outset to be longer than those of their colleagues. To further complicate matters, the durations of both the long- and the short-term assignments varied across the ten-year period. The scheme can be best understood by presenting it, roughly as Mirković does (p. 253), in tabular form:

Year	Long-Term <i>Beneficiarius</i>	Short-Term <i>Beneficiarius</i>
221	Iulius Secundianus	Ulpus Vitalis
223	"	[Ca?]lv. Vitalis
224	"	Octavius Avitus
229	Aurelius Domitianus	Iulius Potentinus
230	"	Aur.? Florentinus
230	Titius Faustinus	Aelius Dignianus
231	"	Lautius Emeritus

Thus Iulius Secundianus served a four-year assignment, from 221 to 224, accompanied for the first half of his assignment by a colleague serving a two-year term and for the last half by two others serving successive terms of one year. Mirković (p. 253) reports that for the years 224-228 there are no altars, and suggests that this *lacuna* most likely represents another four-year term, although it might also represent a brief period of inactivity at the post. Finally, during the last years of the post, 229-231, Aurelius Domitianus served an assignment spanning the years 229-230 and Titius Faustinus served one extending over 230-231. Each of them was accompanied by two colleagues serving successive shorter terms. A final complication lies in the fact that, since two different pairs of *beneficarii* dedicated altars in the year 230, those pairs would seem to have rotated during the year, which means that the assignments of Domitianus and Faustinus actually lasted rather less than two years each, and the assignments of their short-term colleagues lasted rather less than one year.²⁴

The extremes of variation among provinces in assignment dates and lengths demonstrate that no imperial directive mandated administrative practices where these matters were concerned; these decisions were clearly left to the discretion of administrators in the provinces themselves. It is striking how many different forms such decisions could take. In Germania superior, across the remarkable span of

²² Mirković, 253. The text contains an obvious misprint, for it says that "There are dated altars for AD 209-211 ..." and then goes on to discuss the altar group that begins in 221.

²³ Mirković, 253. Mirković gives information on seven altars from this period, but no information on the other eight.

²⁴ Mirković (p. 253) suggests that each pair served six months in 230, but nothing requires this, and the data discussed above on appointment dates in other provinces suggests no links between them and the consular new year or half-year except possibly in Germania superior.

seventy years, both assignment schedules and the lengths of assignments remained constant. In Noricum, on the other hand, the evidence for an administrative routine, even in the annual scheduling of assignments, is far less compelling. At Sirmium, the only routine seems to have been no routine at all, with assignment lengths changing frequently and unpredictably.

If, in fact, responsibility for internal personnel matters lay at the provincial rather than the imperial level, then the next task is to account for the peculiarities that each province exhibits. In a general sense this is not especially difficult. Since the assignment and rotation of gubernatorial *beneficiarii* was an administrative matter, any fluctuations in the annual assignment cycle or in the lengths of assignments, fluctuations such as those seen in Noricum and Pannonia inferior, most likely originated in the gubernatorial *officium* itself. The officials with authority over the *officium* who are most likely to have concerned themselves with such matters are the governor himself and the *princeps praetorii* or *princeps officii praesidis* who headed the staff.²⁵ Prior to the Antonines, *beneficiarius* titlature makes it plain that governors played the central role in the appointment of men to serve them as *beneficiarii*, but titlature indicates that that role dwindled in importance after ca. 170. Comparison of the data from Sirmium to the known terms of governors of Pannonia inferior shows no correlation between the periods within which assignment lengths exhibit regularity and the governors' terms,²⁶ which suggests that in Pannonia inferior at least, gubernatorial interest in dictating the lengths of *beneficiarius* assignments was quite limited. In Noricum, the biennial series of altars between 211 and 217 also does not correspond closely to the term of any governor.²⁷ It is more likely that the periods in the evidence from Sirmium, and perhaps that seen in the sequence from Celeia, correspond instead to the terms of successive *principes officii praesidis*, the lengths of which cannot be reconstructed from the meager surviving evidence, but need not have been tied to the rotation of the governors themselves.

It is perhaps less difficult to explain why assignment practice varied so much in Noricum and Pannonia inferior than it is to explain why it exhibited so little variation in Germania superior, where, of course, the *officium consularis* would not have differed materially in constitution or in character from similar *officia* elsewhere. The evidence offers no help in solving the problem; perhaps the best explanation is simply that an administrative tradition emerged in the province during the 180s, a species of bureaucratic routine, or even institutional inertia, that conditioned administrative practice over the course of several decades. It may also be that, since Germania superior possessed a large number of *beneficiarius* posts, it was more convenient administratively to deal with the assignment and reassignment of *beneficiarii* at fixed times of the year than to do so occasionally, as the need arose. Furthermore, since most of these posts were concentrated in the *agri decumates*, close by the governor's seat at Mainz, it was easy to rotate men to and from the capital and between posts frequently. Noricum and Pannonia inferior, on the other hand, had fewer posts, and Celeia and Sirmium were far less convenient to their respective governors' headquarters. The governor of Noricum had his administrative seat at Virunum, about eighty kilometers from Celeia, but after the arrival of II Italica and the replacement of the procurator by a legate, the governor's duties as commander of the legion would have often kept him at Lauriacum, far away on the Danube. Sirmium, located at the far southern end of Pannonia inferior, was particularly remote from its governor's seat, which lay in the far north, at Aquincum.

²⁵ *Rangordnung*², 29-31 makes *cornicularii* head the staff. He mentions the *princeps officii praesidis* on 97-98, placing these officials in the fourth century. However, the position must have originated under the late Principate. The funerary monument *ILAlg 1.2203 [CBFIR 749]*, from Madauros in Africa proconsularis, dates from the mid-third century and commemorates a man who bore this title, giving his career in reverse order: [... *f(i)lius*] *Quirina Saturninus c[enturio] e[xercitus p]rovinciae Britan[n]i[ae] ...*] *prin[c(eps)] officii praesidis beneficiarius consularis optio[ni] praetori(i)*. See also Jones, 43, who gives the variant form *princeps praetorii*.

²⁶ For the dates of governors of Pannonia inferior, see Dobó, 124, and Thomasson, 111-118.

²⁷ The dates of the governorship of M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis, *praeses* of Noricum sometime before his ordinary consulship in 215, are not clear: *Noricum*, Appendix VI, 249-250. Thomasson 86 and Winkler 95-97 concur.

IV. The Transfer of *Beneficarii* Among *Stationes*

However long the *statio* assignments of *beneficarii consularis* were, they were relatively brief, rarely if ever exceeding two years. Whether *beneficarii* normally returned to the provincial capital at the ends of their terms is not clear, but their reassignment to other *stationes*, either at the end of one tour of duty or subsequent to their return to the capital, would have been a sensible practice. There is clear evidence that this did in fact take place, but it is plain that in transfer and reassignment administrative practice was not standardized, for the evidence shows that the transfer or reassignment of *beneficarii* among *stationes* was confined to the provinces of the Rhine and Danube frontiers. Two features in the evidence demonstrate this. The first is the use of iteration or enumeration statements in conjunction with the term *statio* on *beneficarius* altars. Texts from provinces outside the Rhine-Danube region occasionally mention completion of a *statio*—such as three altars from Vazaivi in Numidia that include the terms *exacta statione* or the *expleta statione* from which Lieb drew the title for his piece²⁸—or tenure of a *statio* at a particular place, such as a funeral text from Olympos in Lycia et Pamphylia (IGRR 3.748 [CBFIR 681]). But with the exception of a single altar from northern Britain (CIL 7.996 [CBFIR 19]), only altars from the Rhine and Danube provinces include enumeration statements referring to the first tenure of a *statio*,²⁹ iteration of a *statio*,³⁰ or to second or third *stationes*.³¹ In the Rhine-Danube region, furthermore, such altars are widespread rather than confined to any particular group of provinces: they occur in both Germanias, both Pannonias, and Dacia.

The second feature of the evidence that demonstrates the regional character of *beneficarius* transfer consists of altars set up by individual *beneficarii* at more than one site, thus indicating their service at more than one *statio*. Like iteration and enumeration statements, instances of such multiple dedications are found only in the Rhine and Danube frontier provinces. Furthermore, they too are widespread throughout the region, with examples occurring in Germania superior, as well as in Noricum, Dalmatia, and Moesia inferior.³² In Pannonia inferior, there is even an example of a *beneficarius* who served two separate *stationes*, four years apart, at Sirmium, the only unambiguous example of iteration at the same *statio*.³³

It is not obvious why the transfer of *beneficarii* from one post to another would have been confined to the provinces of the European frontier. Since the practice was peculiar to the region rather than to any particular province, it cannot be laid at the doors of the governors or chiefs of staff, but no regional authority existed to mandate it, either. It is unlikely to have been the result of imperial directive, for no good reason exists why it should at the same time have been barred in other regions of the empire. The reason, therefore, must be sought in some regional peculiarity in the operational employment of *beneficarii*. In fact, recent analysis has demonstrated that the deployment of *beneficarii consularis* showed strong regional peculiarities, and most importantly, that the Rhine and Danube provinces contained more than four times the number of *stationes* found in the north African provinces and the East.³⁴ This plethora of *stationes* would have made the transfer of *beneficarii* among posts an attractive utilization

²⁸ CIL 8.17634/10723 (CBFIR 752); 17626/10718 (CBFIR 753); 17628/10717 (CBFIR 755).

²⁹ CIL 7.996 (CBFIR 19); 13.6637 (CBFIR 181). See also Mirković, 253.

³⁰ AE 1957, 329 (CBFIR 532); CIL 3.3949 (CBFIR 310); 13.11989 (CBFIR 80). See also Mirković, 253.

³¹ CBFIR 169 and 173. See also Mirković, 253.

³² P. Aelius Clemens, a *beneficarius consularis* in Moesia inferior, set up an altar at modern Altimir (CBFIR 613), as well as two at Montana (CBFIR 645, 646); P. Aelius Verinus, a *beneficarius consularis* in Noricum, dedicated an altar at Celeia (CIL 3.5154 [CBFIR 218]) and one at Meclaria (CBFIR 268); in Dalmatia, the *beneficarius consularis* C. Aemilius Ingenuus erected altars at Magnum (CIL 3.9790 [CBFIR 438]) and at modern Skelani (ILug 3. 1524 [CBFIR 472]); in Germania superior, C. Paulinius Iustus left two altars at the post at modern Friedberg (CIL 13.7399 [CBFIR 104]; 7400 [CBFIR 103]), as well as one at the post at modern Osterburken (AE 1985, 685 [CBFIR 154]).

³³ Ulpus Frequentius, in AD 191 and 195; see Mirković, 253.

³⁴ Ott, 88-101. Ott, 90-100 tallies 129 *stationes* in the provinces of the Rhine and Danube frontiers, compared to twenty-nine in the provinces of the East and North Africa.

of manpower, particularly since these posts often lay in important cities such as Sirmium, in towns along major transportation routes such as Celeia, or in mining areas such as the district around Montana in Moesia inferior.³⁵ Men who acquired experience at working in such locations, almost always alone, were valuable elements of the administrative infrastructure, whose expertise was best utilized by assigning them to a new *statio* sometime after the conclusion of a previous one. It may even be that the peculiar pairings of long- and short-term *beneficarii* during the 220s at Sirmium, the most important city on the Danube frontier, reflect an effort to provide training to newer *beneficarii* by pairing them with experienced men before they were assigned to posts of their own.³⁶

V. Conclusion

The analysis of the assignments of gubernatorial *beneficarii* affords valuable insights into the internal management of the lower-level apparatus of imperial provincial administration. The first is that that management was characterized primarily by extensive variation: variation from one region to another, from one province to another, and from one decade to another. The roots of this variation lie in the fact that the internal management of the administrative apparatus was not, at its lower levels, mandated by imperial directive. It was, rather, left to the discretion of the governors whom the emperor dispatched to the provinces, and to the men who in turn headed their staffs. Whatever regularity the internal operations of the administration within a province exhibit results not from any imperial regulation of administrative arrangements but rather from circumstances and factors peculiar to that province.

The second insight is the most important. It is that it is a hazardous enterprise to extrapolate information from the administration of one province to the analysis of the administration of other provinces. Not only does administrative practice in Egypt or Numidia not necessarily reflect practice in Germania superior or Dacia, it is in fact quite likely to be very different. Internal administrative practice must be evaluated individually in each province of the empire. Given the difficulties that plague the evidence in many provinces, that poses a particularly serious challenge for scholars of provincial administration.

Table 1.1: Calendar Listing of Dated Altars of *beneficarii consularis* in Germania superior

Date	Location	Reference
5 January 201	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 169
13 January 182	Osterburken	<i>AE</i> 1985, 686 (<i>CBFIR</i> 156)
13 January 191	Obernburg	<i>AE</i> 1957, 52 (<i>CBFIR</i> 140)
13 January 208	Mainz	<i>AE</i> 1976, 502 (<i>CBFIR</i> 130)
13 January 213	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 172
13 January 213	Frankfurt am Main-Praunheim	<i>CIL</i> 13.7338 (<i>CBFIR</i> 102)
13 January 221	Großkrotzenburg	<i>AE</i> 1978, 551 (<i>CBFIR</i> 107)
13 January 223	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6442 (<i>CBFIR</i> 203)
16 January 223	Großkrotzenburg	<i>AE</i> 1978, 550 (<i>CBFIR</i> 106)
20 February 182	Stockstadt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6637 (<i>CBFIR</i> 181)
15 July 183	Osterburken	<i>AE</i> 1985, 687 (<i>CBFIR</i> 155)
15 July 189	Obernburg	<i>CBFIR</i> 139
15 July 201	Obernburg	<i>AE</i> 1957, 47 (<i>CBFIR</i> 141)

³⁵ For a discussion of the Montana *beneficarii*, see Rankov, 40-73.

³⁶ Another possibility is that the two *beneficarii* were assigned to perform separate functions, whose nature required them to serve at the post for different lengths of time. This suggestion seems rather less likely, however, since the joint dedications of the altars strongly imply an association between the two *beneficarii*, and there would be less reason for both men to join in dedicating altars each year if they were independent of one another.

Date	Location	Reference
15 July 203	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 167
15 July 204	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 168
15 July 205	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 158
15 July 205	Mainz	<i>AE</i> 1976, 503 (<i>CBFIR</i> 128)
15 July 206	Obernburg	<i>AE</i> 1957, 48 (<i>CBFIR</i> 142)
15 July 211	Mainz	<i>CIL</i> 13.6665 (<i>CBFIR</i> 120)
15 July 212	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 173
18 July 219	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	<i>CBFIR</i> 205
26 July 182	Stockstadt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6635 (<i>CBFIR</i> 180)
Sept. /Oct. 181	Stockstadt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6633 (<i>CBFIR</i> 197)
13 December 221	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6437 (<i>CBFIR</i> 202)
23 December 231	Amorbach	<i>CIL</i> 13.11771 (<i>CBFIR</i> 98)
26 December 203	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 160
29 December 230	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	<i>CBFIR</i> 206

Table 1.2: Annual Listing of Calendar-Dated Altars of *beneficarii consularis* in Germania superior

Date	Location	Reference
181 Sept. /Oct.	Stockstadt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6633 (<i>CBFIR</i> 197)
182 13 January	Osterburken	<i>AE</i> 1985, 686 (<i>CBFIR</i> 156)
182 20 February	Stockstadt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6637 (<i>CBFIR</i> 181)
182 26 July	Stockstadt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6635 (<i>CBFIR</i> 180)
183 15 July	Osterburken	<i>AE</i> 1985, 687 (<i>CBFIR</i> 155)
189 15 July	Obernburg	<i>CBFIR</i> 139
191 13 January	Obernburg	<i>AE</i> 1957, 52 (<i>CBFIR</i> 140)
201 5 January	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 169
201 15 July	Obernburg	<i>AE</i> 1957, 47 (<i>CBFIR</i> 141)
203 15 July	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 167
203 26 December	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 160
204 15 July	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 168
205 15 July	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 158
205 15 July	Mainz	<i>AE</i> 1976, 503 (<i>CBFIR</i> 128)
206 15 July	Obernburg	<i>AE</i> 1957, 48 (<i>CBFIR</i> 142)
208 13 January	Mainz	<i>AE</i> 1976, 502 (<i>CBFIR</i> 130)
211 15 July	Mainz	<i>CIL</i> 13.6665 (<i>CBFIR</i> 120)
212 15 July	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 173
213 13 January	Osterburken	<i>CBFIR</i> 172
213 13 January	Frankfurt am Main-Praunheim	<i>CIL</i> 13. 7338 (<i>CBFIR</i> 102)
219 18 July	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	<i>CBFIR</i> 205
221 13 January	Großkrotzenburg	<i>AE</i> 1978, 551 (<i>CBFIR</i> 107)
221 13 December	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6437 (<i>CBFIR</i> 202)
223 13 January	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	<i>CIL</i> 13.6442 (<i>CBFIR</i> 203)
223 16 January	Großkrotzenburg	<i>AE</i> 1978, 550 (<i>CBFIR</i> 106)
Date	Location	Reference

230	29 December	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	<i>CBFIR</i> 206
231	23 December	Amorbach	<i>CIL</i> 13.11771 (<i>CBFIR</i> 98)

**Table 1.3: Site Listing of
Calendar-Dated Altars of *beneficarii consularis* in Germania superior**

Location	Date	Reference
Osterburken	13 January 182	<i>AE</i> 1985, 686 (<i>CBFIR</i> 156)
	15 July 183	<i>AE</i> 1985, 687 (<i>CBFIR</i> 155)
	5 January 201	<i>CBFIR</i> 169
	15 July 203	<i>CBFIR</i> 167
	26 December 203	<i>CBFIR</i> 160
	15 July 204	<i>CBFIR</i> 168
	15 July 205	<i>CBFIR</i> 158
	15 July 212	<i>CBFIR</i> 173
	13 January 213	<i>CBFIR</i> 172
Obernburg	15 July 189	<i>CBFIR</i> 139
	13 January 191	<i>AE</i> 1957, 52 (<i>CBFIR</i> 140)
	15 July 201	<i>AE</i> 1957, 47 (<i>CBFIR</i> 141)
	15 July 206	<i>AE</i> 1957, 48 (<i>CBFIR</i> 142)
Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt	18 July 219	<i>CBFIR</i> 205
	13 December 221	<i>CIL</i> 13.6437 (<i>CBFIR</i> 202)
	13 January 223	<i>CIL</i> 13.6442 (<i>CBFIR</i> 203)
	29 December 230	<i>CBFIR</i> 206
Stockstadt	Sept. /Oct. 181	<i>CIL</i> 13.6633 (<i>CBFIR</i> 197)
	20 February 182	<i>CIL</i> 13.6637 (<i>CBFIR</i> 181)
	26 July 182	<i>CIL</i> 13.6635 (<i>CBFIR</i> 180]
Mainz	15 July 205	<i>AE</i> 1976, 503 (<i>CBFIR</i> 128)
	13 January 208	<i>AE</i> 1976, 502 (<i>CBFIR</i> 130)
	15 July 211	<i>CIL</i> 13.6665 (<i>CBFIR</i> 120)
Großkrotzenburg	13 January 221	<i>AE</i> 1978, 551 (<i>CBFIR</i> 107)
	16 January 223	<i>AE</i> 1978, 550 (<i>CBFIR</i> 106)
Frankfurt am Main-Praunheim	13 January 213	<i>CIL</i> 13.7338 (<i>CBFIR</i> 102)
Amorbach	23 December 231	<i>CIL</i> 13.11771 (<i>CBFIR</i> 98)

**Table 2: Calendar Listing of
Dated Altars of *beneficarii consularis* in Noricum**

Date	Location	Reference
14 May 230	Boiodurum	<i>CIL</i> 3.5690 (<i>CBFIR</i> 272)
15 May 209	Virunum	<i>CIL</i> 3.14361 (<i>CBFIR</i> 215)
15 May 219	Bedaïum	<i>CIL</i> 3.5580 (<i>CBFIR</i> 257)
15 May 226	Bedaïum	<i>CIL</i> 3.5575 (<i>CBFIR</i> 214)
23 June 238	Virunum	<i>CIL</i> 3.4820 (<i>CBFIR</i> 259)
13 December 211	Celeia	<i>CIL</i> 3.5187 (<i>CBFIR</i> 228)

year	Germ. Inf.	Germ. Sup.	Raetia	Noricum	Pann. Sup.	Pann. Inf.	Moes. Sup.	Moes. Inf.	Dacia	Dalmatia	totals
182	C 58	C 156, 180, 181, 204									5
183		C 155									1
184						S 252					1
185											
186		C 113, 186									2
187						S 252					1
188											
189		C 139			C 284	S 252					3
190	C 88										1
191		C 140, 178				S 252					3
192				C 232							1
179-192	C 63										1
193											
194		C 124						C 642		C 460, 468	4
195						S 253	C 576, 581			C 463	4
196	C 76										1
197											
198											
199		C 192				S 253					2
200				C 268			C 575				2
201		C 97, 141, 166, 169							C 552		5
202		C 163		C 248		S 253					3
203		C 160, 167				S 253					3
204		C 168				S 253					2
205	C 51	C 128, 158				S 253					4
206		C 142				S 253					2
207						S 253					1
208		C 130, 190			C 277, 330	S 253					5
209				C 215		S 253				C 496	3
210						C 379					1
211		C 120		C 228					C 524	C 490	4
212		C 173									1
213		C 102, 172, 201		C 218		C 394	C 582				6
214	C 59										1
215				C 227, 269							2
216											
217				C 230	C 306, 346		C 570				4
212-217	C 81	C 200			C 273			C 614		C 434	5
218	C 79							C 632			2
219		C 205		C 257							2
220											
221		C 107, 202				S 253					3
222					C 280	S 253					2
223		C 106, 203				S 253					3
224					C 352	S 253			C 528, 529		4
225	C 66				C 347	C 421				C 494	4
226				C 214		C 392					2
227	C 78				C 303						2
228						S 253					1
229						S 253					1
230	C 75	C 206		C 272		S 253, 253	C 610		C 532		7
231		C 98				S 253					2
232	C 65	C 171			C 354, 359						4
233	C 53										1
234						C 382	C 599				2
235					C 360						1

year	Germ. Inf.	Germ. Sup.	Raetia	Noricum	Pann. Sup.	Pann. Inf.	Moes. Sup.	Moes. Inf.	Dacia	Dalmatia	totals
222-235		C 177						C 635	C 526		3
236											
237											
238		C 174		C 259							2
239	C 64							C 615	C 530	C 464	4
240					C 339	C 377, 417					3
241											
242	C 86										1
243									C 525, 531		2
244											
238-244			C 210					C 641	C 567		3
245										C 499	1
246											
247					C 350						1
248					C 351						1
249											
250					C 345						1
251											
252											
253											
254											
255											
256											
257					C 349						1
258											
259											
260											
261										C 444	1
262											
263											
264											
265											
266											
267											
268											
269											
270											
271											
272											
273											
274											
Totals	18	53	1	21	19	31	7	9	10	10	179