

*Domestic Staff at Rome
in the Julio-Claudian Period,
27 B.C. to A.D. 68 **

by Susan TREGGIARI **

At the present time, one rarely meets any domestic staff. In nineteenth century England, when one did meet them, they were the subject of constant complaints and missions, but of very little sociological study. Yet Trinculo and Pamela, Joseph Andrews and Samuel Weller have an important place in the structure of English society. Rome too had her Pseudolus and Trimalchio. But there are differences. Roman domestic staff started their careers as slaves, though many were, in due course, freed. The range of "domestic" jobs was wider than in modern times, so that the secretary of Cicero might be used to write letters, administer a town house, organize business deals, undertake scholarly research and supplement the exiguous civil service. It was the emperor's private servile staff who did the donkey-work of imperial administration, as well as running his household and estates. So domestics are essential to the Roman upper class and to our understanding of the upper class. But they are also interesting in themselves, as one of the few sections of Roman society, outside the ruling and wealthy classes, on whom we have, by ancient standards, a workable body of evidence. (Other such sections include soldiers and imperial civil servants.)

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the structure of the city household of the Roman aristocrat at the beginning of the Christian era, and by putting this small area of society under a microscope, to sharpen our picture of life in one of the most prosperous and best-documented periods of the ancient world. Though both account and annotation have been kept brief, it is hoped that this material will be of some interest to social historians studying comparable groups in other civilizations.

Readers of the *Satyricon* are struck by the apparently inexhaustible human resources of the household of Trimalchio. It is alleged that less than ten per cent know the master by sight: "*familia vero babæ babæ non mehercules puto decumam partem esse quæ dominum suum noverit*".¹ Trimalchio was self-sufficient, both in supplies and, probably, in services. His staff had to be divided up into administrative units, *decuriæ*. Recruiting could be almost entirely from home-bred slaves, for on one day thirty boys and forty

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¹ PETRONIUS, *Satyricon*, 37.9.

girls were born on the Cumæ estate.² About twenty-three specific job titles are mentioned in *The Dinner of Trimalchio*, but there are other slaves of undefined function, for example an Egyptian and the ornamental long-haired Ethiopians. When the party was far advanced, a second shift of dining-room servants relieved the numerous first team.³ Clearly we have to make generous allowance for humorous exaggeration in this account. But it is funny just because Trimalchio is a petty small town dignitary showing off. Through him, Petronius satirises his betters. There is nothing unusual in itself in vast slave staffs. At the beginning of the period under consideration, another freedman, who had perhaps belonged to one of the Metelli, a top oligarchic family, despite losses during the years of political trouble, had been able to boast of his 4,116 town and country slaves.⁴ Pedanius Secundus in Petronius' own time allegedly had 400 in his town house alone, not counting freedmen.⁵ The *Monumentum Liviæ*, the great burial chamber on the Appian Way used chiefly by slaves and freedmen belonging to Livia and her family, had room for at least 1,100 dead, buried over a period of rather more than thirty years, from late in the principate of her husband Augustus until after A.D. 41, when the late empress was deified by her grandson Claudius. This was not the only resting-place of members of her staff. A Nero could easily be as surrounded with slaves as the fictitious Trimalchio. Nor is there exaggeration in the complexity of functions in Trimalchio's house: all his servants from the bath-attendants to the wine-waiters can be paralleled from other literature and from the inscriptions.

We cannot give definite totals for the number of slaves and freedmen in any one owner's employ at any given time, even if we limit ourselves to domestics of the city staff (*familia urbana*).⁶ But we can, from the funerary inscriptions, make a reasonably complete list of *jobs*, which will reveal the complexity of a rich city household. The only *individual* owner of the Julio-Claudian period for whom this can be done with relative completeness is Augustus' wife Livia. But it is possible to arrive at comparable lists for roughly contemporary *groups*: this has been done in the appendix for men of the imperial house, including reigning Caesars, down to Nero;⁷ for women of the imperial house apart from Livia, such as Marcella the younger, Antonia the wife of Drusus, the Agrippinae and Nero's wives;⁸ and one family

² Supplies: *ibid.*, 38.1-6; *decuriæ*: 47.11; births: 53.2.

³ Egyptian: *ibid.*, 35.6; Ethiopians: 34.4; shift: 74.6-7.

⁴ THE ELDER PLINY, *Natural History*, 33.135.

⁵ TACITUS, *Annals*, 14.43 (speech of Cassius).

⁶ Cf. my attempt to do the same sort of thing for Cicero, *Greece and Rome*, 16, 1969, 195-204, and *Roman Freedmen during the late Republic* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 252-264.

⁷ Reigning Caesars: Augustus, 27 B.C. — A.D. 14; Tiberius, A.D. 14-37; Gaius (Caligula), 37-41; Claudius, 41-54; Nero, 54-68. Others include Gaius and Lucius Caesar, grandsons of Augustus; Drusus, his stepson; Germanicus, son of Drusus, etc.

⁸ Marcella, daughter of Augustus' sister Octavia by her first marriage; Antonia, daughter of Octavia and Mark Antony and wife of Livia's second son Drusus (by Livia's first marriage); Agrippina the elder, daughter of Augustus' daughter Julia by Marcus Agrippa — *she* married the son of Antonia and Drusus, Germanicus; Agrippina

representative of the aristocrats, the Statilii, since their monument is richest in job names.⁹

According to my count, from the inscriptional evidence of town staff we know about 46 different posts in the household of Livia,¹⁰ 30 for other imperial women, for imperial men 49, for the Statilii 40. After some jobs had been excluded as non-domestic, 78 different jobs have been counted. The detailed breakdown can most conveniently be given under the general headings of administrative staff, those attached to particular rooms, personal servants, craftsmen, "professionals", and outdoor workers. These divisions are my own and do not necessarily reflect the Roman view of domestic organization.

The household as a whole was under the supervision of a steward (*dispensator*) who was often a slave with slaves of his own (*vicarii*).¹¹ In the palace in particular a freed agent (*procurator castrensis*) emerges later above the slave steward. Under the steward would be the slaves responsible for the daily running of the house, but it is not clear how close was his supervision of such matters as cleaning and the serving of meals. His basic job, as his title shows, was with disbursements. Other financial staff, such as the cashiers (*arcarii*) worked under him. A large household, such as that of Livia, Antonia or the Statilii, had its own accountants; there were also officials dealing with the exploitation of particular properties such as apartment blocks, store-buildings or legacies.¹² There would also be ample secretarial staff, both clerks in various departments and personal secretaries.¹³

Among staff belonging to particular rooms, the *atriensis* had the longest history, but had come down in the world since he had been the sole guardian of the family's wealth in Plautus' day. The title now covered not only the majordomo himself, but any cleaner, "those who do the scrubbing, polishing, sweeping and dusting", but they were well-dressed because they were on

the younger, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder — she was mother of Nero and eventually wife of Claudius (her uncle); Nero's wives: Claudius' daughter Octavia, Poppæa Sabina and Statilia.

⁹ Other aristocratic families provide additional data, but not enough to make it worth adding them to the Statilii on the chart. The Statilii rose to power under Augustus and succeeded in marrying one of their women to Nero. The inscriptions refer to owners as far back as Augustus' time, but cluster more thickly towards the end of our period.

¹⁰ From the *Monumentum Liviae* and elsewhere. The evidence used here is inscriptions set up to the dead, mostly the small marble slabs which labelled the jars holding ashes which were set in niches arranged dove-cote fashion in a *columbarium*. These "dove-cotes" or burial chambers were financed by burial societies formed in the slave household, with support (as is sometimes clear) from the slave-owner. Most of the dead were cremated, but there are some sarcophagi and some long inscriptions to the wealthier freedmen. Some bought their own tombs or small *columbaria* instead of using that administered by the society.

¹¹ PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realencyclopädie für Altertumwissenschaft*, v. 1, 1189-1198, *Digest of Roman law*, 47.10.15.44.

¹² Apartments: Livia, Statilii, Volusii; store-buildings: Statilii, Volusii; legacies: Statilii (freed).

¹³ *a manu*: Livia, Antonia, Statilii, Volusii.

display, and accordingly gave themselves airs.¹⁴ The entrance to the house was guarded by a porter, or occasionally portress, who was alleged by visitors to be haughty and disobliging, but who could sometimes be sweetened by a tip.¹⁵ Servants attached to other rooms are *diætarchæ* and *tricliniarchæ*, men in charge of an apartment or the dining-room, attested only in the emperor's own household, from the time of Tiberius and Claudius respectively, and the notorious *cubicularii*, bedchamber servants. In the dining-room, everyone from Trimalchio up had waiters, well-documented in Seneca, but not, apart from those of the emperors, in inscriptions, probably because they were usually young boys being trained for other jobs and were commemorated on tombs at a later stage of their career.¹⁶ There might also be special cupbearers¹⁷ and certainly skilled carvers.¹⁸ Other reception rooms also required teams of servants: Antonia anticipated later emperors in having a slave *ab admisione* to screen callers; Volusius Saturninus (a senator) had a freedman *ab hospitis* to see to the comfort of his guests.¹⁹

There had been influential *cubicularii* in the Republic but we hear little of them. By Livia's day even a slave *dispensator* in the civil service thought it necessary to take two bedroom staff to attend him on a trip to Rome from Gaul.²⁰ Livia herself had enough *cubicularii* to need supervisory staff, as did Marcella. Half a dozen *cubicularii* (one freed) are known from Livia, fourteen from the Statilii. The man in charge of all these on the staff of an emperor or of Acte (Nero's freedwoman and mistress)²¹ was the *a cubiculo*. Caligula's *a cubiculo* Helico or Nero's Alcibiades were as important as the top civil servants such as Claudius' secretaries Pallas and Narcissus, beside whom they achieve unfavourable mention in the literary sources.

The *cubicularii* and especially the emperor's *a cubiculo* were close to their owner. The opposite number for a woman owner is not the *cubicularius* who guarded her room too, but her maid, the *ornatrix*, whose status is indicated by evidence that she was often freed. An example from Livia's staff is Dorcas, who had been born on the imperial estate at Capri, emphatically commemorated in the monument of her own freedwoman: "To Juno who belonged to Dorcas freedwoman of Julia Augusta, home-born at Capri, *ornatrix*; Lycastus her fellow-freedman, the *rogator*, to his dearest wife and

¹⁴ CICERO, *Paradoxes* 5.37.

¹⁵ SENECA, *On constancy* 14.1.

¹⁶ Cf. S. MOHLER, "Slave education in the Roman empire", *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 17, 1940, 262-280.

¹⁷ Attested for Antonia and emperors.

¹⁸ PETRONIUS, *The Dinner of Trimalchio*, 36.5-8, SENECA, *On the happy life*, 17.2.

¹⁹ Antonia: there might be a gap in the evidence which makes her look like a pioneer. Volusius: *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften 1863- —) henceforward *CIL*, vol. 6, 7290 and 9474.

²⁰ *CIL*, 6.5197. 7.

²¹ 6.8760, freed.

to himself.”²² (Here the husband and wife were both freed by Dorcas, but the socially important fact is that their patroness was a home-born slave, dresser and freedwoman to Livia, here given the name she bore after Augustus’ death, Julia Augusta.) Dressing ladies, particularly dressing their hair, was a skilled job which needed early apprenticeship. There are inscriptions to dressers who died at the age of 9, 12 or 13, who were presumably being trained by more experienced women.²³ In rich households, the ladies’ maids were backed up by male wardrobe servants, *a veste*, who specialised in the care of clothes. These were also required to help a gentleman’s *cubicularii* with valet services. For the Caesars and their women, a further specialist, *ab ornamentis*, appeared requisite, to get them into the correct uniform on ceremonial occasions. The duties of bedroom attendants did not extend to the bath: for this even Trimalchio required a special masseur.²⁴ It is nowadays something of a relief to find that Roman aristocrats invariably employed *unctores* and Roman ladies had *unctrices* (masseuses). As personal servants to escort them and take messages wealthy women had *pedisequæ*, as well as the smart, intelligent young footmen who were an essential part of the entourage of any well-to-do Roman man.

What about the craftsmen required by the householder?²⁵ This is not the place to look at all the areas in which the rich Roman strove for self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*), in food supply and preparation; in building and maintenance; in the manufacture of clothes (at least for his slaves), and in the production of luxuries. The last two areas will be considered since they afford a meaningful contrast between the ordinary aristocrat and the members of the imperial family. It was part of Augustus’ much publicised simple life that he wore togas made by his wife and daughter.²⁶ It is no surprise therefore to find Livia employing a *lanipendus* to weigh out wool for each day’s work to the slaves. His existence implies that of spinning-women and therefore of weavers in her household, though they are not directly attested. Both appear in the tomb of the staff of the Statilii. Similar work was being done in the houses of other members of the imperial family and of the aristocracy, even in Rome.²⁷ This will be one of the main areas in which *female* slaves could be employed. They are found as spinners, weavers, clothes-makers and menders. There are gaps in the documentation on the first three categories here (see Appendix). Can these workers have sometimes lived outside the main household²⁸ and come in to collect their ration of wool from the *lanipendus*? This might help to account for the patchiness of the inscriptional evidence and also to give a partial answer to one of the

²² *CIL*, 6.8958.

²³ *CIL*, 6.9731, 9726, 9728, all belonging to private citizens.

²⁴ PETRONIUS, *The Dinner of Trimalchio*, 28.3.

²⁵ NEPOS, *Atticus*, 13.3: “artifices quos cultus domesticus desiderat”.

²⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 73.

²⁷ Much more went on at sheep farms: *Digest*, 33.7.12.5.

²⁸ Almost certainly the case for fullers.

problems which haunts statistical studies of Roman slavery: what *did* they do with female slaves?

The luxury crafts give a different picture. A glance at the Appendix will show that workers in gold, silver and pearls appear to be confined to the imperial family. Apart from the economic motive, there may be another reason for this: Tiberius forbade private citizens to use gold plate.²⁹ This did not stop them using an abundance of silver plate, Corinthian ware and jewellery, but they could commission such articles from the craftsmen of the Sacred Way, or import them from the East. If the members of the imperial house had *private* craftsmen — and Livia, for instance, had goldsmiths, silversmiths and a pearl-setter, while of her immediate family Tiberius and probably Augustus had goldsmiths and Marcella and Germanicus silversmiths — this was probably because their position demanded even more conspicuous expenditure than that of the nobles. There is no evidence that any of these craftsmen did freelance work. There is even a concentration of such workers early in the Principate, when, one imagines, the plate collection was being built up. Similarly, servants *in charge* of such valuables are almost all imperial: Livia, Marcella, Agrippina the elder, Tiberius, Messallina and Octavia the daughter of Claudius all have servants entrusted with silver.³⁰ The only “commoner” to my knowledge who dares to emulate is Tiberius’ *slave*, the Gallic steward mentioned above. By the time of the Flavians (A.D. 70-96) and perhaps not till then, the ruling Caesar will have a trusted freedman in charge of bejewelled gold plate and others for gold drinking vessels, or plates (not actually attested till Hadrian) or silver cups.

The imperial family may have been more extravagant than most others in the employment of other specialists, for instance in medicine. Livia here already had a post for supervisor, as well as a surgeon and general practitioners. These, and the infirmary with its orderlies of both sexes suggesting segregated wards, were meant for the staff, since the masters themselves, in any serious illness, would employ the top freelance doctors of the day, men like Augustus’ Antonius Musa or Claudius’ Xenophon of Cos.

Even on a town staff there were also large numbers of outdoor workers: mule-drivers, we are told, counted as city personnel.³¹ But perhaps their status was lower than that of indoor servants, for few are attested for the imperial family.

To us most of this will seem to mean conspicuous waste of the master’s money and the slave’s time. Many of the staff were under-employed. But the purpose of a large household was not to achieve economy or a fulfilling career for slaves: it was to keep the owner from an undignified reliance

²⁹ TACITUS, *Annals*, 2.33.

³⁰ Livia: *CIL*. 6.3941, 4232, ? 4231; Marcella: 4425; Agrippina: 5186; Tiberius: 5746; Messallina: 4426; Octavia: 5539.

³¹ PAULUS, *Sententiae*, 3.6.72: RICCOBONO and others, eds., *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, 2, p. 368.

on outside plumbers, perfumers and cobblers and, most important for the ruler, to make a display. We may compare another system where caste, like slavery, imposed a high degree of specialisation and where the traditions of the governing class demanded that every official should keep up appearances. In eighteenth century India, employees of the East India Company were obliged to adopt the habits of the ministers of the rajahs. William Hickey, a bachelor lawyer of — for an English resident — only moderate wealth, had in his employ in 1808 a *reduced* staff of sixty-three: one steward, one butler, eight waiters, one hairdresser, two wine-waiters, one buyer, two bakers, two cooks, nine bearers, five footmen, three torch-bearers, four gardeners, one tailor, two door-keepers, two washermen, one tinner, three sweepers, one groom, three grass-cutters, one coachman, two water-carriers and five servants to attend on his two concubines.³² Most of this staff, like that of a Roman master, is male, so there would be substantial numbers of their dependents hanging around the main house.

At about the same time, even wealthy and aristocratic families in England were content with a much smaller staff. The first Duchess of Marlborough for instance had only thirteen servants at the time of her death in 1722.³³ Fashions and habits vary with time and place. Cato the elder had had only five slaves with him during his proconsulship in Spain; the younger Cato took fifteen to Macedonia when only military tribune. As for stationary establishments, there is a considerable difference between the fairly complex and fairly large staff of an ex-consul in the late Republic, for example Cicero, and the four hundred odd of the City Prefect of Nero's time, a century later. For Livia, with 46 attested *iobs* to which we should probably add at least half-a-dozen others³⁴ of which we do not happen to be informed, I would conjecture a town staff at any given time between A.D. 14 and A.D. 29 of at least 150, probably far more. Since she relied for some services, probably for example mail and transport, on the staff of her husband (up to his death in A.D. 14) and son (from A.D. 14 until her own death in A.D. 29), she enjoyed further facilities still. Where she kept such a staff in the modest Palatine house is a mystery, even if many slept out. There is no evidence in this field for a return to simplicity under the Flavians (when there is held to have been a reaction against the excessive luxury of the Julio-Claudians) or the Five Good Emperors of the second century: on the contrary, new jobs were introduced and old jobs became too grand for slaves and were monopolised by freedmen.³⁵

³² Alfred SPENCER, ed., *The memoirs of William Hickey 1749-1809* (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1913), 4, p. 397.

³³ J. Jean HECHT, *Domestic servants in eighteenth century England* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956), p. 6.

³⁴ Gardeners, short-hand writers, bath-attendants, waiters, cooks, fullers, spinning-women, weavers, barbers, litter-bearers.

³⁵ G. BOULVERT, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le haut-empire romain : rôle politique et administratif* (Naples, Iovene, 1970), pp. 237 ff.

Within the Julio-Claudian period, various factors control the size and elaborateness of the staff. Most obvious are wealth and social position. The *princeps* is at the top, followed by the rest of his family, with senators aping them as far as possible. For the free-born Roman of the middle class we are less well informed, since his slaves had less motive to name him. It can be assumed that his servants were often more for use than for ostentation. Some wealthy freedmen emulated their betters. Even if Trimalchio is a caricature of Nero, he is also a caricature of his class, the *parvenu* ex-slave. We know of some large households within households of imperial owners: Acte's, which resembles the establishment of a princess, and more representative groups such as the four freedmen and one slave of Marcus Livius Attalus³⁶ (whose function in Livia's house is unknown) or about ten (six freed) of Marcus Livius Tertius.³⁷ We shall argue elsewhere that such freedmen of freedmen often worked for their patron's patron.³⁸ I do not think that a freed mending-woman will really have wanted to employ her own freedman as secretary. But the case of Musicus, the slave whose sixteen known deputies include three secretaries, makes one hesitate to rule out display among freedmen.³⁹

The sex of the owner affects the distribution of staff, as a glance at the table will show. Dressers, wetnurses and midwives are usually owned by women (not by their husbands).⁴⁰ Conversely, outdoor staff tend to be owned by the men of the family, precisely as we should expect. The ratio of women to men slaves in any household tends to be low, but is higher when there was a mistress who needed dressers and *pedisequæ*. As an example, for Livia a total of 80 certain employees were counted with named jobs, of whom 17 are women, 8 freed to 9 slave, and 63 men, 27 freed to 36 slave. Women are roughly a fifth of the total, a fifth of the slaves, but about a quarter of the freed staff. They had a better chance of manumission than men.

Age and family position of the owner will also dictate staffing: Livia provided a *pædagogus* for one grand-daughter (Livilla) and a nurse for a great grand-daughter (Julia, daughter of Germanicus).⁴¹

From the point of view of the slave, his conditions of work and career structure, little can be discovered from inscriptions, though literary and legal sources suggest a high rate of manumission. Promotion, which was, comparatively, structured for civil servants,⁴² was probably less systematic for domestics. We hear from the elder Seneca,⁴³ probably unreliably, of a

³⁶ *CIL*, 6.4121, 4232, 4250, 4256, 4243.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3926, 3934.

³⁸ *Patronus* is the technical name for the ex-owner of a freedman (his *libertus*).

³⁹ Cf. n. 20.

⁴⁰ The few dressers who were owned by men were probably employed to titivate young slaves. Cf. *CIL*, 6.8977.

⁴¹ *CIL*, 6.33787, 4352.

⁴² P.R.C. WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris: a social study of the emperor's freedmen and slaves* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972), *passim*.

⁴³ *Controversies*, 10.5.22.

war-prisoner who became successively cook, litter-bearer and friend of Augustus, a peculiar sequence perhaps deliberately invented to bring in two jobs of low esteem. We have from the inscriptions a freedman, Heracla, *capsarius* (which probably means he put clothes away in a chest) to L. Volusius, who (probably subsequently) was supervisor of the bedroom (*a cubiculo*);⁴⁴ a slave who was *ab hospitis* and *pædagogus*,⁴⁵ and no less than three tasters, all freed, one of Augustus, who became bailiff of the gardens of Sallust (i.e. under Tiberius, since the gardens were bequeathed to that emperor and the bailiff died in 22)⁴⁶ and two even more eminent later specimens, one who rose to *a cubiculo* under Nero⁴⁷ and one who was *procurator* (agent) and *a secretis* (a unique mention of this post, which was obviously confidential) to Nero or Claudius.⁴⁸ Since tasters were usually freedmen, these will be cases of promotion after manumission. Sometimes the two would go together. Supervisory staff will often, presumably, have been promoted from the ranks in the same department.

It is unfortunately not possible to determine what proportion of a household might hope for manumission. Some who died as slaves might have been freed had they lived long enough. Many slaves, in the context of the *Monumentum Liviæ* and of Livia's staff cannot securely be identified as hers because they do not mention job or owner. For those who do specify Livia in that tomb the figures are 43 freed to 41 slave, which may be *overall* too high a ratio of freedmen. But in each age-group above the legal manumission age of 30 the proportion of freedmen would go up.

Some information on job status among the staff themselves may be obtained from evidence on marriage. Taking as examples a group of women of relatively high status, the dressers, we find them marrying a man in charge of silver, a clerk, a steward, a baker, a *nomenclator*.⁴⁹ The lists of those chosen to be officials of burial societies display no particular snobbery; in the tomb of Livia's staff there are (roughly) 23 officers (*decuriones*) connected with Livia, either her own slaves and freedmen or those of her freedmen, 19 belonging to other members of her family and some 16 dubious. Of the first group of 23 there are about 15 free. The jobs mentioned are *cubicularius*, *pædagogus*, wardrobe master, doctor (two), door-keeper, accountant, reader, surveyer, personal groom. The dated officers of a guild of imperial staff at Antium give an even broader cross-section: in A.D. 37 for example they were three *atrienses*, one gardener, a footman, a freed librarian and a man in

⁴⁴ *CIL*, 6.7368. Pluralism was possible (*Digest*, 32.65.2) but perhaps not common in wealthy households.

⁴⁵ *CIL*, 6.7290.

⁴⁶ *CIL*, 6.9005.

⁴⁷ *CIL*, 10.6324.

⁴⁸ *L'Année épigraphique*, 1914.261. Cf. BOULVERT (*o.c.*, n. 35) p. 181, n. 361.

⁴⁹ Legal marriage or *contubernium* between slaves entails the same vocabulary (*uxor*, *coniunx*, *contubernalis*, etc.) I have added "?" where the relationship is not specified: *CIL*, 6.5539, ? 8879, 9345, ? 9732, 9690.

charge of furniture.⁵⁰ Although job and civil status were important to the individual slave and freedman, this society within the household was not so rigidly hierarchical that it erected barriers between the various types of staff.

In conclusion, the fact that so many slaves and ex-slaves chose to mention their jobs on the small plaques of the tomb-chambers, and that the officers of guilds are regularly distinguished by their job titles, shows the importance attached to their positions by these domestics. Job-naming is dictated partly by the desire of, say, Heracla the painter not to be confused with Heracla the chamberlain,⁵¹ partly by pride in the post, as is shown very clearly in the inscription mentioning Dorcas quoted above. Really humble domestics are unrecorded, but scullions and latrine-cleaners must have existed. The reason for their silence must be that they were not proud of their job. They and their friends may also have been unable to pay for a detailed memorial. But the absence of this group — probably not a large one — from the sources does not seem to falsify the overall pattern. We can see in the inscriptions evidence for a tightly-knit and supportive community, creating its own goals and work ethic and organizing its own social life, under the supervision of freed administrators and largely without the interference of the upper class masters whom the staff was bred or bought to serve.

⁵⁰ *CIL*, 10.6638.

⁵¹ *CIL*, 6.4008, 3958.

APPENDIX

* freed — + slave — ?* probably freed — Δ? job not certain
 [] ascription to owner/patron not certain

	Livia	Other imperial women	Imperial men including reigning Cæsars	Statilii
1. ADMINISTRATION				
<i>Financial</i>				
Dispensatores stewards	* +	+	+	* +
Arcarii cashiers	*	+	+	—
Sumptuarii cashiers	—	+	—	?*
Tabularii accountants	*	+	* + (all civil servants)	* +
Insularii/ ad insulas concierges and rent-collectors	+	?*	+	+
<i>Secretarial</i>				
A manu/ ad manum secretaries	*+	+	+	+
Librarii/æ clerks	+	+	+	+
2. STAFF ATTACHED TO ROOMS				
Atrienses atrium; cleaners	+	—	?*	+
Diætarchæ for particular apartments	—	—	*only reigning	—
<i>Dining</i>				
Tricliniarchæ dining-room supervisors	—	—	*Claudius/ Nero	—
Ministratores waiters	—	—	+	—
Prægustatores tasters	—	—	*+	—
A cyat(h)o cupbearers	—	+	+	—
Structores carvers usually ambiguous because s. also = builders	Δ?	—	Δ?	—

Reception

Rogatores ushers ?	*	+	+	—
Ab admissione (screened guests)	—	+(Antonia)	(from Galba)	—

3. PERSONAL

Bedroom

A cubiculo in charge of bedroom	—	—	*	—
Supra cubicularios supervisors of bedroom staff	*[+]	—	—	*
Cubicularii bedroom staff	*+	—	+	+
Ornatrices dressers	*[+]	+	*+	—
Tonsores/ tontrices barbers	—	—	+	+
A veste/ad vestem/ supra vestem in charge of clothes	*+	+	*+	*
Capsarii (? ditto)	+	—	—	—
Ab ornamentis in charge of accessories	*+	+	+	—
(A purpuris ? in charge of purple clothes)	+	—	—	—

Other

Unctores, masseurs	—	—	+	+
Untrices, masseuses	+	+	—	+
Pedisequi/æ attendants	*+	—	+	+
A pedibus attendant	+	—	—	—

4. CRAFTSMEN

Food

Opsonatores caterers	*	+	+	—
Cellarii storemen	—	—	—	+
Coci cooks	—	+	+	*+
Pistores bakers	+	*+	+	*+

Clothes

Lanipendi/æ weighed out wool to be worked	*+	+	*	+
Quasillariæ spinsters	—	—	—	+
Textores/ textrices/ weavers	—	—	—	+
Vestifici/æ/es tailors	—	+	—	—
Sarcinatores/ sarcinatrices menders	*+	+	—	+
Fullones fullers	—	—	*+	+
Calciatores/ sutores shoe-makers	*	—	+	+

Construction

Structores builders	△?	—	*	△?
Fabri carpenters smiths, etc.	+	—	—	*+
Marmorarii marble-cutters	—	—	*	+
Aquarii plumbers	+	—	+	—
Specularii glaziers	—	—	*	—

Luxury Goods

Aurifices goldsmiths	*[+]	+	+	—
Inauratores gilders	*	—	—	—
Argentarii silversmiths	+	+	+	—
Cælatores chasers	—	—	+	—
Margaritarii pearl-setters	+	—	—	—
Coloratores ? french-polishers	+	—	—	*+

Custodians

Ab argento in charge of silver	*+	+	+	—
A specularibus ? window-cleaning	△?	—	*	—

A supelectile furniture	*	+	+	—
A tabulis ? pictures	+	—	—	—
Ad imagines pictures & busts	—	—	+	—
A stautis statues	—	—	+	—

5. PROFESSIONALS

Medicine

Supra medicos head doctors	*	—	—	—
Chirurgi surgeons	*	—	*	—
Ocularii oculists	[+]	—	+	—
Medici doctors	*+	+	*	+
Ad valetudinarium infirmery staff	+	—	+	—
Opstetrices midwives	*+	*	*	—
Nutrices wet-nurses	*	*	—	+

Education

Pædagogi child-minders	*+	—	*	*+
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Building

Architecti architects	—	—	*	—
Mensores surveyors	[*]+	—	*	+

Entertainment

Lectores readers	+	+	—	—
Cantores/cantrices singers	—	*	—	—
Musicians symphoniaci, etc.	—	—	[*]+	+
Comædi comic actors	—	—	—	+
Pumiliones dwarfs	—	—	—	+
Delicia child pets	*	*	—	—

6. OUTDOOR STAFF

Topiarii gardeners	—	+	[*]	+
Grooms (Asturconarii, muliones, etc.)	—	—	+	+
Stratores personal grooms who saddled, etc.	+	—	[*]	+
Supra lexicarios supervisors of bearers	—	—	—	*
Leticarii litter-bearers	—	—	—	+
Tabellarii couriers	—	—	+	+