

OCCUPATIONS OF PRIVATE SLAVES IN ROMAN DACIA

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Abstract. *This paper focuses on the inscriptions from Dacia, which mention, by various terms, the occupations of private slaves. The epigraphic texts of Dacia mention slaves used by their masters for various administrative, financial or domestic duties, like **actores, villici, dispensatores, vikarii** and others. Three different ways of their involvement in different economic activities can be observed: they worked directly for their masters, they were assigned to **actio institoria** and they could hold a **peculium**. All these functions demonstrate that the **servi privati** were involved in public services as representatives of their masters.*

Rezumat. *Articolul de față își îndreaptă atenția asupra epigrafelor descoperite în Dacia, care atestă prin diverși termeni ocupațiile sclavilor privați. Inscripțiile din Dacia menționează sclavi utilizați de stăpâni în diferite activități administrative, financiare sau domestice, precum **actores, villici, dispensatores, vikarii** și alții. Pot fi observate trei moduri diferite în care ei se implică în varii activități economice: pot acționa direct pentru stăpâni, pot fi agenți ai **actio institoria** și pot deține un **peculium**. Toate aceste ocupații demonstrează faptul că **servi privati** erau angajați în servicii publice ca reprezentanți ai stăpânilor.*

1. Introduction

Like J. Andreau has synthetized, slaves could be used in manufacturing, trade or business in three different ways: 1) they worked directly for their master; 2) they were *institores*, acting like “managers” in their masters’ enterprises; 3) they held a *peculium*, a separate fraction of their master’s *patrimonium* (which could be taken back by their master in any moment); this *peculium* can include not only money, but also non-financial goods and slaves². In the first category we can include *actores*, *dispensatores* or

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² ANDREAU 2001, 64 sqq.

*arcarii*³. The second one concerns bankers, but also rural estate “managers” (like *villici*). The third one can include many of the previous professions, in function of their “specialization” and of their masters’ interests. According to Roman civil law, the slave was not a person, and he/she had no rights⁴, but the Roman law acknowledged some kind of *persona* to the slaves, by granting them various legal capacities and a *qualitas* (status)⁵. Legal dispositions admitted for the slave to fall under internal family jurisdiction⁶ (*ius domesticum*). Jurists approved certain aspects of this *ius domesticum*; hence, the slaves seemingly owned something through *peculium*, (according to the law, the slave was owned by the master⁷) and they could transform their sexual relationship through *contubernium*⁸.

This paper focuses on the inscriptions discovered in Dacia, which mention, by various terms, the occupations of private slaves. We shall try to observe the different specializations and, if possible, to distinguish their particularities in the historical context of the colonization of this province.

Following the massive colonization of the province of Dacia, it became a cosmopolite society, structured after the Roman model, which included private slaves, naturally. The number of slaves in Dacia does not seem to have been significant, as there were no many large properties in the province⁹. However, the last surveys indicate many *villae* which can sensibly change the rural landscape of the province¹⁰. Another argument in favour of this hypothesis would be that, in this period, in many areas of the Roman economy, slave labour force was no longer dominant. After A. Husar’s estimation, in Roman Dacia, the slaves (private and public) may have represented less than 10% of the province population¹¹. This opinion

³ ANDREAU 2001, 64–65.

⁴ GARNSEY 1996, 64; JOHNSTON 2007, 173.

⁵ GARNSEY 1996, 94.

⁶ ERMAN 1986, 449; DUMONT 1987, 38; GARNSEY 1996, 94.

⁷ JOHNSTON 2007, 174, 176.

⁸ DUMONT 1987, 107, 111, 124. See also SCHUMACHER 2001, 243.

⁹ BĂRBULESCU 2001, 208.

¹⁰ OLTEAN 2007, 145, fig. 5.18, 5.19; 180 sqq.

¹¹ An estimation of HUSAR 2002, 321.

can only be treated as supposition, because the epigraphic information is too poor in order to have solid quantitative estimation. However, we must admit that the slave labour force was low. In order to motivate this weak representation of the slave population in the province, we can exemplify that in Egypt, in the second century AD, slaves represented 7% of the population¹². Among the aforementioned categories of slaves, private slaves seem to have been insignificant, because province elite or other *cives romani* were not comparable—in terms of wealth or influence—with the senatorial or equestrian aristocracy of the Empire. This fact is due to the peripheral geographical character of the province of Dacia (on the *limes*).

The epigraphic material discovered in this territory mentions slaves with various tasks. The most suggestive evidence regarding their functions was discovered in cities. Though the ancient world made the difference between a countryside slave (*familia rustica*) and one belonging to a *familia urbana*¹³, it was not the workplace—*familia urbana* or *familia rustica*—that determined the classification in the domestic hierarchy, but the nature of the task the slave performed¹⁴.

Therefore, slaves performed for household chores (the funerary relief of Rediu, Cluj County, which depicts the toilette of a Roman matron)¹⁵, they were stewards of municipal élites, *villici* in countryside houses, as well as in the financial administration. In the following lines, we will describe the various occupations of private slaves, as they are mentioned in inscriptions, directly or indirectly.

2. Slaves' occupations in Roman Dacia

a. *Actores*

Most epigraphic texts concerning private slaves discovered in Dacia mention the occupation of *actor*. During the Early Empire, the term *actor*

¹² For the hypothetical distribution of slaves in the Roman Empire, see SCHEIDEL 2011, 287–310.

¹³ EDMONDSON 2011, 340.

¹⁴ BRADLEY 1994, 58.

¹⁵ POP 1999-2000, 171.

began to be used as a synonym for administrator. Their tasks were mainly of a financial character; starting with the second century AD, the *actor* slave and the *villicus* slave represented slaves with various functions and diverse positions in the hierarchy of domestic slaves¹⁶. In the Digest, *actores* are mentioned as being in charge with the financial transactions of the farm¹⁷. Apuleius relates in *Metamorphoses* how a young man was given the job of guarding a corpse all nights, and how, on the following morning, he was rewarded in cash by the *actor* of a widow (Apuleius, *Met.*, 11,26). Numerous other inscriptions in the Empire confirm that many private *actores* were either cashiers or bookkeepers. The slave with such a function was chosen among the most skilled and intelligent slaves, with *bona fides* towards the master. An *actor* was a *servus fidelissimus*. L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba has already studied the *actores* in Roman Dacia¹⁸; that is why we shall not re-write all details in our analysis, but we shall add a two more sources. The *actores* slaves mentioned in epigraphic texts of Dacia represent the slave élite, because they also represented their masters under certain circumstances. Most inscriptions attesting slaves with such function belong to the family of P. Aelius Antipater. He is an illustrious figure of the provincial aristocracy in Apulum; he belonged to equestrian order, was *sacerdos area Augusti*, *duumvir* of the *colonia* and the owner of a great fortune. For the administration of all his belongings, the owner had private slaves, whom he used for the organization or monitoring of labour. Hence, Eutyches is one of the *actores* belonging to Aelius Antipater; at Ad Mediam, he set up an altar for the god Hercules¹⁹. The text fails to mention Eutyches' social status, but his name is typical for slaves. He is at Ad Mediam either for balneary treatment or in a simple journey²⁰. Eutyches was probably a financial agent of the *equus* of Apulum²¹. Another text that mentions such a function held by another

¹⁶ See CARLSEN 1995, 124.

¹⁷ CARLSEN 1995, 123.

¹⁸ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 307–316, with bibliography.

¹⁹ IDR III/1, 65.

²⁰ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 309.

²¹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 309.

slave of the same master is the altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by Onesimus²². The altar is set up at Apulum, where his master was magistrate. Onesimus, just like Eutyches, is a slave with financial duties. Another inscription that mentions *servi actores* of the Aelius family is an honorary altar dedicated to P. Aelius Antipater Marcellus, biological son of Aelius Antipater and adoptive son of his uncle — P. Aelius Marcellus²³. The last is also a Roman *eques*, head of the *praefectura* of 7th legion Claudia and 1st legion Adiutrix; he gives money for the poor people of Umbria, where he also has significant properties²⁴. Antipater Marcellus is also an important figure of the colony, both *eques Romanus* and *decurio* of the city. The text does not mention to whom the *actores* Dades and Filetus belong, but another inscription mentioning these *servi actores* allows us to emit a more exact hypothesis. At Apulum, the slaves set up another inscription to honour P. Aelia Iuliana Marcella²⁵. She is the daughter of P. Iulianus, *flamen* and ancient *duumvir* of the Apulum colony²⁶, adopted by P. Aelius Marcellus. We tend to believe that the slaves Dades and Filetus belong to P. Aelius Marcellus, since they dedicate the two altars to his adoptive children²⁷. The two slaves probably accomplished their financial duties at Apulum, where inscriptions are set up. Mentioning both slaves can indicate that Dades and Filetus worked in the same field²⁸. Another *actor* is Spatalus, a slave of C. Iulius Rufinus²⁹. At Apulum, he sets up a monument dedicated to Deus Invictus. The master's legal status is an open matter, but he definitely had significant financial responsibilities. The place where Spatalus sets up the monument is an important clue for his function: we consider that this slave represented his master's businesses. Hermadio's³⁰ master is Turranius Dil(...), but he sets up the

²² IDR III/5, 210.

²³ IDR III/5, 439.

²⁴ CIL XI 5215; see also DONAHUE 2004, 116; CUPCEA 2009, 311.

²⁵ IDR III/5, 441.

²⁶ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 310.

²⁷ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 310.

²⁸ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 310.

²⁹ IDR III/5, 720; BĂLUȚĂ, PISO 2001, 89.

³⁰ IDR III/1, 145; PISO 1983, 109.

monument for P. Aelius Marius. The last is attested as *conductor pascui et salinarum*³¹. It was with him that the slave closed deals on behalf of his master, and he set up the monument as a sign of gratitude. D. Benea launches the hypothesis that the slave would be an employee of P. Aelius Marius in the office of Tibiscum, case in which M. Turranius Dil(...) would be the head of the regional centre, while Marius would run the business for the entire province³². We can also doubt on Benea's hypothesis concerning the origin of Turranii from Augusta Treverorum³³. At Domnești, Atticus sets up an altar for the health of the *conductor* P. Aelius Marius, his master³⁴. In this locality, traces of salt exploitation were discovered, which makes us assume the presence of an office managed by the *actor* Atticus. This occupation enabled him to gather a *peculium*, with which the slave could have bought his freedom, considering that—in another inscription—he is featured as P. Aelius Atticus³⁵. At Micia, Ursius, an *actor* slave born in the house (*verna*)³⁶ sets up an inscription for his master [---]tilius Rufini, tenant of the salt mines³⁷. Taking into account the other salt mine tenants—C. Iulius Valentinus, P. Aelius Strenuus, P. Aelius Marius—who worked around the same period (second half of the second century, beginning of the third century), we can consider that Ursius' master was a *conductor salinarum* before the others, or that he was the successor of P. Aelius Strenuus, who had this charge at the beginning of the third century. We have not to forget Iulius Omucio, freedman and *actor* of the *conductor salinarum* C. Iulius Valentinus, who certainly has exercised his charge as slave, too³⁸. One of the waxed tablets discovered at Alburnus Maior mentions an agreement concerning the constitution of a monetary association. This *societas* is founded on 28 March 167 by two moneylenders: Cassius Frontinus and Iulius Alexander. The purpose of

³¹ IDR III/3, 119, PISO 2004-2005a, 182. See also BENEÀ 2010, 45–74.

³² BENEÀ 2007, 44.

³³ BENEÀ 2003, 183. On the debate, see MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, with bibliography.

³⁴ ILD 804; GOSTAR 1966, 175–176.

³⁵ CIL III 7697.

³⁶ AE 2005, 1296.

³⁷ PISO 2004-2005a, 180.

³⁸ IDR III/4, 248.

the association is to lend money with interest to the Illyrian-Dalmatian *leguli*. Secundus is the *actor* slave of Cassius Palumbus, but he acts on behalf of Cassius Frontinus³⁹. He deposits, in the accounts of the new *societas*, 267 *denarii*, besides the 500 *denarii* deposited by Iulius Alexander. Secundus closes the transaction in *nomine domini*, and he has the right to collect the interest and the capital, as well as to lend money directly⁴⁰. In this case, the function of the *actor* slave Secundus is clear: he is a financial agent who acts on behalf of his master and of another person⁴¹. The *actores* have financial responsibilities and they are working for their masters, even they can also handle some others' money.

b. Villici

Another occupation ascribed exclusively to slaves is that of *villicus*. Besides the *villici* slaves mentioned by Columella or Varro as the slave that administers a farm, this function is also encountered in the financial administration or in other areas, such as *v. summarum*, *v. arkarii*, *v. tabularii*, *v. stationis*, *v. vectigalis*, *v. domus*, *v. insularis*, *v. officinarum*, etc⁴². Suetonius mentions that Caesar was the first to use his personal slaves for the administration of *vectigales*⁴³. In Dacia, there are a few inscriptions mentioning *villici* slaves as part of the staff of *statio vectigalia* run by *conductors* and later by *procuratores*. A rich slave owner is T. Iulius Saturninus⁴⁴, *conductoris publici portorici Illyrici* between 146 and 156, alongside C. Iulius Rufus and M. Antonius Fabianus. The career of Titus Iulius Saturninus is depicted in several inscriptions. A first inscription mentions him as *scriba tribunicius*, *apparitor*, during the reign of Antoninus Pius; after passing through two *militiae equestres*, he becomes *conductor* of Illyricum customs⁴⁵. One of his *villici* slaves, part of the staff in tax-

³⁹ IDR I, 44.

⁴⁰ TUDOR 1957, 96.

⁴¹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 313.

⁴² CARLSEN 1995, 55.

⁴³ CARLSEN 1995, 43.

⁴⁴ CIL III, 1263; CIL III, 4720; CIL V, 5079; AE, 1940, 101.

⁴⁵ DE LAET 1949, 386.

collecting offices, is Maximianus⁴⁶. This *villicus* sets up the altar at Apulum, where great tenants had central offices administered by slaves; Maximianus was probably one of them. The mention *ex privatis* means that he was a private slave who was given by his master public tasks. Another *villicus* slave known in Dacia is Mercator⁴⁷. The inscription text did not preserve the master's name, but we tend to believe that he was the Roman *eques* T. Iulius Saturninus. To support the hypothesis, we mention both the title of the person to whom the monument is dedicated and the fact that another inscription in the province of Noricum dedicated to T. Iulius Saturninus mentions a slave by the name of Mercator⁴⁸. The fact that a *villicus* slave sets up a monument at Partiscum can suggest the existence of a *statio portorium* related to the exchange of merchandises with the Iazyges in the lain of the Tisza⁴⁹. Felix is the slave who sets up at Porolissum an altar for the health of the emperor and of the protecting Genius of public customs, through the care of his master, the *procurator* Pompeius Longus⁵⁰. After making the customs State property, the slaves of customs become imperial slaves submitted to a procurator, but Felix still calls himself *eius villicus*, as if he belonged to a *conductor*⁵¹. This slave either was not informed of the reform, or he paid no importance to it. At Porolissum, two other *villici*, Marcio and Pollio dedicate an altar to Emperor Commodus and to the protecting Genius of public customs in Illyricum, through the care of procurator and of Claudius Xenophon⁵². The inscription probably mentions two imperial slaves, but the fact that these monuments were set up at Porolissum may suggest the existence of other tax-collecting offices. This can be plausible, considering the administrative, economic, customary and fiscal role of the city⁵³.

⁴⁶ IDR III/5, 702; PISO, MOGA 1998, 106.

⁴⁷ IDR III/1, 281.

⁴⁸ CIL III, 4720.

⁴⁹ TUDOR 1968, 57.

⁵⁰ ILD 678.

⁵¹ PISO 2004-2005b, 185.

⁵² ILD 677.

⁵³ TUDOR 1968, 247.

c. Dispensatores

For the province of Dacia, there is epigraphic evidence attesting the existence of *dispensatores* slaves in a *familia privata*. The slave Timostratus is mentioned in an inscription as the master of another slave, the *vikarius* Piperas⁵⁴. By corroborating the function of *dispensator* with the place where the inscription was discovered—Moldova Nouă, a mining area (copper and lead exploitation)—, we tend to believe that Timostratus was a private slave, belonging to one of those mine *conductores*⁵⁵. The *vikarii* slaves were very common for *dispensatores* and only seldom did an *actor* have his own slave⁵⁶. This suggests that, though the *dispensator* had a similar function with the *actor*, because both were sometimes cashiers; however, the *peculium* of a *dispensator* was bigger than that of an *actor*. Besides the function of cashiers, *servi dispensatores* were also bookkeepers, treasurers, preceptors.

d. Vikarii

As for the *vikarius* slave, he is a slave's slave, part of the *peculium* of the slave-master. Roman texts mention such a slave seldom by the formula *servus servi*; a more common formula was *servus peculiaris*, and the most common was *conservus*⁵⁷. In the language of inscriptions, these slaves are usually called *servus vikarius*. The origin of this term is military, where it designated the substitution or reassignment of a military. The *vikarii* slaves designate their master-slaves by their function; the formula *dominus* is extremely rare. The *vikarii* slaves could be *contubernales*, personal servants or substitutes. Piperas is the *vikarius* slave of Timostratus, probably a trustworthy substitute, because this status ensured a decent *peculium*, which enabled him to have a freedwoman *contubernalia*, as shown by the inscription. Another slave who had a *servus peculiaris* is

⁵⁴ IDR III/1, 26.

⁵⁵ For *conductores* of iron mines, see IDR, III/3, 37.

⁵⁶ CARLSEN 1995, 141.

⁵⁷ ERMAN 1986, 399.

Peregrinus. By all probabilities, he was a rich slave, in the *familia imperialia*, a clerk within an office, in whose *peculium* were included the slaves Eufemus and Erastus⁵⁸. The funerary inscription is set up at Porolissum, by Erastus the *conservus*. Considering that at Porolissum, the slaves Felix, Marcio and Pollio are attested as part of a *familia vectigalia*, we tend to believe that these *vikarii* slaves were auxiliaries of the slave Peregrinus, who was probably member of a *tabularium* staff. At Potaissa, a *vikaria* female slave is attested, but her name is uncertain⁵⁹. Because the inscription text is incomplete, no information regarding her masters was preserved. If we assume that the funerary inscription was addressed to her master, then we assume that this *conserva* was in his personal service and that she was trustworthy, because she was in charge with setting up the inscription. Another *vikarius* is mentioned in the text of an inscription discovered at Sarmizegetusa. Hence, Protas is the slave of *dispensator* Ampliatus, within *familia imperialia*⁶⁰. Sarmizegetusa was also the province capital; therefore, it counted numerous state administration offices, where this *Augusti servus* exerted his function of financial administrator. Protas can be a substitute of this *dispensator* or a close slave, since he sets up the inscription for the health of his master and of his family. *Servus servi* is also Diogenes, who sets up, at Sarmizegetusa, an altar to the Genius of Dacia felix and of the imperial house⁶¹. His *dominus* is *dispensator* Eutyches who, just like his counterpart Ampliatus, is part of the staff of state administration offices. Diogenes is, by all appearances, Eutyches' replacement, his closest slave, since he delegated him with setting up the inscription. Another inscription discovered at Sarmizegetusa mentions *conserva* Praedia⁶². There is no other information concerning her or her *dominus*, but we tend to believe she was a *vikaria* used in personal service, faithful to her master/ mistress, naturally.

⁵⁸ ILD 699.

⁵⁹ CIL III, 925.

⁶⁰ IDR III/2, 307.

⁶¹ IDR III/2, 216.

⁶² IDR III/2, 563.

e. Contrascriptores

Only one inscription discovered in the province of Dacia mentions the function of *contrascriptor* held by a private slave. Bellinus⁶³ *servus contrascriptor* has as *dominus* T. Iulius Saturninus, an aforementioned figure. This occupation, ascribed exclusively to slaves, involved double-checking the calculations within customs registries, done by the personnel of these *stationes*⁶⁴. Bellinus sets up the altar at Dierna—port and important customary point on the Danube—, where he was probably *contrascriptor*.

f. Superiumentarii

The occupation of *superi(u)mentarius* was held by the slave Libella⁶⁵. *Iumentum* were the horses used for transportation or those attached to military vehicles⁶⁶. A *superi(u)mentarius* was in charge of the stables where these animals were held. In this case, Libella had this function because he was a *servus privatus* of the province governor, Caius Iulius Septimius Castinus. This slave had the written records concerning the horses of governor's stables, and he was probably highly regarded by his fellow slaves.

g. Uncertain occupations

In Dacia, there are quite many epigraphic texts that fail to mention the occupations of slaves. In the opinion of Dumitru Tudor, they belong to *familia privata*⁶⁷. Most slaves belonged to modest owners and they could not have special or important functions, which would have provided them a certain title⁶⁸. They were most probably household servants,

⁶³ IDR III/1, 35.

⁶⁴ TUDOR 1957, 110.

⁶⁵ IDR III/5, 71.

⁶⁶ TUDOR 1957, 113.

⁶⁷ TUDOR 1957, 122.

⁶⁸ TUDOR 1957, 123.

people who helped their master and who had various duties within a household or who administered farms. They often had the duties of an *actor* or of a *villicus*; though they had no title, they were somehow ahead of the other slaves in the same household. The situation of these slaves is best described in the inscription discovered at Potaissa, which ascribes the title of *menesteriis* to slaves who are faithful and close to their masters⁶⁹. This is the situation of the slaves Victorinus⁷⁰, B(r)eucus⁷¹, Myro⁷², Philetus⁷³, Vitalis⁷⁴, Tenax⁷⁵, Securus⁷⁶, Fortunatus⁷⁷, Euprepes⁷⁸, and Hermadio⁷⁹. According to the place where inscriptions were discovered, we suggest that B(r)eucus and Vitalis were slaves administrators of these *leguli* (of gold pits) at Alburnus Maior and Ampelum, respectively. Taking into account the same criterion, we believe that Myro, Fortunatus, Securus, and Hermadio could be *actores* of *villici* on countryside properties owned by their masters. As for the master of Tenax, the slave who probably accomplished the duties of an *actor*, he could have owned workshops or he could have been a merchant at Apulum. Philetus, the slave of Iulius Rufinus, could have been an *actor* or a *villicus* of this local owner. Lucius Valerius Eutyches, the master of the slave Euprepes, is probably a foster slave who became a freedman. This deduction is based on the fact that Eutyches is a common name for slaves. Euprepes may have been in his personal service, thus accomplishing duties on behalf of his master. Other title-less, but trustworthy slaves are Fla(via?), Crispina, Vetillia and Maxima⁸⁰ or the female slave Rufina⁸¹. *Servae fidelissimae* are

⁶⁹ CIL III 907.

⁷⁰ IDR III/3, 294.

⁷¹ IDR III/3, 413.

⁷² CIL III 6247.

⁷³ IDR II, 55.

⁷⁴ IDR III/3, 320.

⁷⁵ IDR III/5, 55.

⁷⁶ CIL III 873.

⁷⁷ ILD 577.

⁷⁸ IDR III/2, 161.

⁷⁹ IDR III/1, 145.

⁸⁰ IDR III/3, 16.

⁸¹ CIL III, 107.

also considered Secundina, Frontina, Iunia, mentioned alongside the wife of the deceased P. Ael. Victor Plautianus⁸². This *decurion* of Potaissa also owned lands in the countryside⁸³. The female slaves who set up the funerary monument alongside his wife Salvia are probably her closest servants.

Though there is no direct evidence on the existence of *villici* or *actores* on agricultural fields, we can still admit their existence. Therefore, P. Aelius Maximus, who lived at Napoca, is known to have owned a large farm (*villa rustica*) in the city (modern Ciumăfaia). This master must have used numerous slaves for agricultural labours⁸⁴. The existence of agricultural slaves is proved by the eight *villae rusticae* discovered thus far, the most important of which was discovered at Hobîța⁸⁵.

Some *actores* or *villici* slaves within the service of great tenants—*conductores* of salt mines, customs and pastures—deliberately failed to mention their function on the stone. In this case, we mention two inscriptions at Apulum, where the central offices of various *conductores* were administrated by faithful slaves, with financial skills or where they had to monitor the workers. This is the case of the slave Rufinus, who worked for his master P. Aelius Strenuus; he was probably an *actor* who was in charge with his master's finances⁸⁶. P. Aelius Strenuus had high dignitary functions, such as *duumvir*, *sacerdos area augusti*, patron of *collegia*, *conductor pascui salinarum*; he was an important figure in the province of Dacia⁸⁷. The slave Callistus⁸⁸—within the service of the three Iulii brothers (Capito, Ianuarius, Epaphroditus)⁸⁹, all of them *publican*—must have been a *villicus*, since his counterparts within the *familia urbana* who mention their function are all part of the customary staff. Another *villicus* can be identified in Felix, who dedicates a monument to his

⁸² IDR III/5, 488.

⁸³ TUDOR 1957, 94.

⁸⁴ PISO 2005, 251.

⁸⁵ PISO 2005, 251.

⁸⁶ IDR III/5, 443.

⁸⁷ PISO 2004-2005, 182.

⁸⁸ IDR III/5, 99.

⁸⁹ TUDOR 1968, 165.

master, Titus Iulius Saturninus, *conductor Publici Portorii Illyrici tertiae partis*⁹⁰. Felix is *ex privatis*, a slave who was given by his private master public tasks.

h. Slaves as mine workers?

A special interest is stemmed by slaves used in mines. Three waxed tablets discovered at Alburnus-Maior mention the procurement of three slaves: a *puella*, a *puer* and a *mulier*, Passia⁹¹, Apalaustus⁹² and Theudote⁹³. The buyers of Passia and Apalaustus are Illyrian-Dalmatian *peregrini*, probably administrators of gold pits who, to extract the gold from the mines, used slaves. Diodorus underlines that not only men and women, but also children were used in mines⁹⁴. Recent archaeological researches proved the existence of mining installations from Roman times⁹⁵. However, the texts do not directly attest slave labour in mines. The work of free status people (especially *peregrini*) is more used in Dacian mines⁹⁶, and we assume that slaves' labour in that field was rare, because it requested special skills: they could be used only for simple tasks. That is why we think that, even though slaves could be employed in mining, their number was low and their tasks were not very important.

3. Conclusions

The inscriptions of Dacia mention slaves used by their masters for various administrative, financial or domestic duties. They belonged to all categories of slaves involved in economic activities (working directly for their masters, like *institores* or possessing a *peculium*). Sometimes they can belong to both categories (Secundus from Alburnus Maior works for

⁹⁰ IDR III/1, 60. See new restitution and commentary at MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2010, 145–152.

⁹¹ IDR I, 36.

⁹² IDR I, 37.

⁹³ IDR III/1, 38.

⁹⁴ Diodorus 3,12,1–4.

⁹⁵ BARON, TAMAS, CAUET, MUNOZ 2011, 1090–1100; CAUET 2011, 345–382; CAUET, TAMAS 2012, 219–241; CAUET 2014, 93–104.

⁹⁶ IDR I, 40–42.

Cassius Palumbus, but he is managing the financial affairs of Cassius Frontinus)⁹⁷. Another remarkable thing: the most of slaves whose occupations are attested in Dacia are working for *conductores* and *procuratores* (in different fields). They are involved in public business (like customs or salt exploitation), but representing the personal affairs of their masters.

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⁹⁷ IDR I, 44.

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