

The iconography of the waiting servants depicted on funerary reliefs from Roman Dacia¹

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I. Introduction

The funerary monuments from Roman Dacia have been, for almost one hundred years, the subject of many studies and debates between specialists². Still, even if great progress has been done in the investigation of several aspects related to the typology and chronology of the structures, there are many issues linked above all to iconography, especially to secondary elements connected to the main scenes, which need to be more extensively discussed.

The object of the present paper is to explore an aspect of Roman funerary iconography, namely the motif of the waiting servant present on funerary reliefs from the province of Dacia. While in Dacia hitherto no wall paintings or floor mosaics with such portrayals are known, there is however a relatively numerous group of funerary monuments which include representations of servants. In archaeological literature, the Dacian depictions of the servant are usually identified with the individuals known from the written sources as *camilli(-ae)*³. The basis for this association is the assertion that these characters can be regarded as attendants at the ritual event called the *funerary banquet*, often shown on grave reliefs⁴. The identification of the servants with the *camilli* however, as it will be shown below, is less than straightforward. Thus the mentioned iconographical aspects which can be observed on monuments will be analysed in relation to other forms of iconographical expression in Roman art.

II. Methodological and terminological aspects

Our survey comprises funerary reliefs with portrayals of servants performing waiting duties (serving food and drinks at convivial events, including washing the hands of guests) discovered in *Dacia Porolissensis* and

1 We would like to express our gratitude towards the specialists from the National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, especially towards Prof. Dr. Ioan Piso and Dr. Irina Nemeti for offering us the photographic material for the pieces preserved in Cluj-Napoca. The same thoughts go to Cristina Mitar from the Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilisation, Deva. Also, we would like to thank Dr. Mariana Egri for the linguistic revising of the text.

2 For the most important contributions see: FLORESCU 1930; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973; BIANCHI 1974; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982; BIANCHI 1985; CIONGRADI 2007. For the funerary iconography of Dacia see: CHIȘ 2004, with no comments related to the subject of servant depictions. The present study doesn't include other representations of servants appearing in Roman Dacia which are related to other types of activities specific to household servants: the *calones* present on a funerary *stela* from *Apulum* (CIONGRADI 2007, 186, no. S/A 97, Taf. 58/S/A 96), on a lateral wall of *aedicula* from Gherla (ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 204, No. 27, Pl. XXXIX/AE 27) and on a funerary *stela* from Sutor (ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 129, No. 112, Pl. XI/S 112). Even if there is a special category of waiting servants involved in attending their masters during the toilet (see CSIR Österreich II. 3, types I.d, I.e, I.f, I.l), the iconographical particularities of the depiction on the *aedicula* wall from Rediu (ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 207, No. 40, Pl. XXXIX/AE 40), showing the servant involved directly in the work process, determined us to exclude it from the present study.

3 ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 49; PÎSLARU/BĂRBULESCU 2003, 42.

4 ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 49; PÎSLARU/BĂRBULESCU 2003, 42.

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*Dacia Superior*⁵. Emphasis will be placed on iconographical information; however there will be an attempt to correlate the iconography with epigraphic and architectural data wherever the nature of the record allows this. The terms “servants” and “attendants” will be used as opposed to the term “slaves”, as the function of the represented figures is relevant to our discussion rather than their legal status⁶. Alternatively the term “waiting servant” can be applied, as our discussion refers exclusively to this category of household servants⁷. The term *camillus* or *camilla* often used in archaeological literature in relation with servant-depictions, cannot be applied in this case, being characteristic exclusively to votive representations⁸. In the German literature the customary terms used are *Diener* (*Dienerin*) or *Opferdiener* (*Opferdienerin*) with no apparent differentiation regarding their usage in either votive or domestic context⁹. For designating the attributes and objects associated with the servants, the use of modern terminology is preferable as opposed to the Latin names, which in many cases are prone to controversy. The most important attributes discussed below, and for which the modern terminology will be applied, are: the jug¹⁰, the *Griffschale*¹¹ and the napkin¹². In the case of the jug, if noticeable, a difference will be made between the vessels with spout (designated as “jugs with spout”) and the vessels without spout (designated as “jugs”) since these features are also displayed by artefacts known from the archaeological record. Elements of clothing (*tunicae*, *pallae*) and of furniture (*mensa tripes*, *kathedra*) will be named according to the Latin terminology¹³.

The criteria for defining the iconography of the servants on funerary reliefs were elaborated by G. Piccottini, while analysing the monuments from *Virunum* (province of Noricum) and its *territorium*. According to the mentioned scholar, the servants are portrayed as individuals of young age, attired in a simple manner, usually in short calf-length *tunicae*, sometimes adorned with two vertical *clavi*, and holding either of the following objects: napkin, cauldron or bucket, *Griffschale*, jug¹⁴. In this group of reliefs however servants are associated with less conventional objects which are apparently unrelated to the theme of conviviality, as the mirror or the incense box (*acerra*), both being very common. The figures of the servants (just as those of other depicted categories of slaves) usually occupy, an adjoining position, either on the side walls of *aediculae*, funerary altars,

5 According to our information, there are no funerary monuments with servant depictions in *Dacia Inferior* (For the funerary monuments from *Dacia Inferior* see: ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1977 and BIANCHI 1985).

6 DUNBABIN 2003a, 443, Note 1. With regard to the terminology we adopted the practice of the cited author.

7 See DUNBABIN 2003a: Other types of household servants commonly depicted on funerary reliefs are: *librarii*, curriers, horse grooms (*calones*), see CSIR Österreich II. 3, 8-9.

8 See the discussion below.

9 See: CSIR Österreich II. 3; CIONGRADI 2007.

10 For the Latin terms see NUBER 1972, 143. The jug as part of the hand-washing service is mentioned in the written sources as: *vas*, *urceus*, *urceolus* (most commonly used for the jug with spout), *vas cum aqua* and *guttus* or *guturnium* (not so common); SIEBERT 1999, 32-40. Using the depictions from votive and funerary reliefs the author distinguishes between a vessel with a wide neck: *urceus*, and a vessel with a narrow neck: *guttus*. The distinction is not entirely convincing since the basis of the analysis were the sculpted images of the vessels, without any attempt to correlate them with archaeological artefacts, a fact which determined the employment of different denominations for types belonging to the same shape or to the same shape made from different materials (e.g.: bronze versus silver and gold); for the recurrence of the Latin terms designating vessels in the written sources see also HILGERS 1969, without a precise attempt of identifying specific shapes: *gut(t)urnium*, *gut(t)us* (HILGERS 1969, 58-60, 191-192, Nos.: 183-184), *urceolus*, *urceus* (HILGERS 1969, 83-86, 298-299, Nos.: 377-378).

11 Part of the hand-washing service, it designates a hand bowl with a cylindrical handle, commonly confused in the literature with the vessels known as *paterae* (See NUBER 1972, 105). The Latin terms ascribed to this object in the literature are: *polybrum*, *trulleum* or *trulleus* (the oldest denominations known in Latin), *malluvium*, *aquaeminarium* and *aquamanus* (NUBER 1972, 140-142); *polybrum* (SIEBERT 1999, 46-47), and *trulleum* (CSIR Österreich II. 3, 8); see also HILGERS 1969 and note 9: *aquae manale* (HILGERS 1969, 107, No.: 29), *malluvium* (HILGERS 1969, 216-217, No.: 228), *pol(l)ubrum/polybrum* (HILGERS 1969, 262-263, No.: 299), *trulleum* (HILGERS 1969, 293, No.: 365); The choice to use the German term *Griffschale* is justified by its univalent meaning in comparison to other terms used in different languages to describe this vessel shape.

12 See DUNBABIN 2003a 447-448. The Latin terms commonly used in the literature are: *mantela* (appropriate for sacrificial contexts) and *mappa* (used in domestic contexts). See SIEBERT 1999, 108.

13 The Latin terms were employed here because of their unequivocal meaning in this case.

14 CSIR Österreich II. 3, 6-8.

or on the two laterally placed relief fields on large funerary inscription plaques¹⁵. In our analysis in addition to the individual and pair representations, we included the servant depictions from funerary banquet scenes as well, since these have the same function and iconographical characteristics as the independent depictions¹⁶.

The typology is based on individual representations of the servants and the main criteria for the classification are: 1) the gender and 2) the combination of attributes (objects held in hands by the servants). The clothing and the objects only loosely associated with them, which appear in the same relief field, but are not in direct contact with the servants, will not be considered as criteria for the typology. The independent classification of every individual will be implemented even in cases in which more than one servant was represented in a single register, namely in iconographical compositions involving a pair of servants and in scenes of funerary banquet.

III. Servant depictions from Roman Dacia. Classification

The analysis of the funerary monuments from Roman Dacia led to the identification of 44 depictions¹⁷ of servants which are present on a number of 38 monuments or monument components (*aediculae*¹⁸, altars of the pseudo-*aedicula* type¹⁹, pilaster-shaped monuments²⁰, pyramid-shaped copings of funerary monuments²¹, *stelae*²² and two components of uncertain types of monuments²³) coming from twenty different discovery places. Out of this number 36 are sole representations²⁴ (six of them being part of funerary banquet scenes) and four are collective²⁵ (pairs of two servants depicted together). In three special cases²⁶ their presence is only suggested through the representation of specific attributes under the *mensa tripes*. The image of the servant appears more than once on the monument only in four cases: in three of them they are depicted on both lateral sides²⁷ and in one case²⁸ two sole representations of servants appear on the same lateral wall of an *aedicula*, but in different registers. From the 44 representations, 22 of them depict female attendants and 22 male attendants²⁹.

As mentioned above, the typology of the servants was elaborated taking into consideration as primary criteria the gender and the combination of attributes which can be identified in their hands. Only those depictions were used which allowed a certain identification of the individuals as servants³⁰. In cases in which the attributes couldn't be identified due to the bad preservation of the stone, but the type of representation

15 CSIR Österreich II. 3,8.

16 In the case of the reliefs from *Virunum*, G. Piccottini included in his survey only the depictions which focus exclusively on the image of the servant (see CSIR Österreich II. 3).

17 See the catalogue from this study.

18 Catalogue nos.: 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 38, 41.

19 Catalogue nos.: 2/31, 40.

20 Catalogue nos.: 17, 19, 37.

21 Catalogue nos.: 11/30, 14/39, 24.

22 Catalogue nos.: 16, 20, 21, 27, 36.

23 Catalogue nos.: 4, 35.

24 Catalogue nos.: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (lower and upper register), 9, 11, 14, 17, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39 (funerary banquet scenes: 13, 16, 18, 20, 21, 36).

25 Catalogue nos.: 10, 12, 15, 22 (funerary banquet scene: 22).

26 Catalogue nos.: 21, 40, 41.

27 Catalogue nos.: 2 and 31, 11 and 30, 14 and 39.

28 Catalogue no.: 8.

29 Female attendants: catalogue nos.: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (the lower register), 9, 10 (the depiction from the left), 11, 12 (the depiction from the right), 13, 14, 15 (the depiction from the left), 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 (the depiction from the right); Male attendants: catalogue nos.: 8 (the upper register), 10 (the depiction from the right), 12 (the depiction from the left), 15 (the depiction from the right), 22 (the depiction from the left), 23-39.

30 The following monuments have been excluded from the present study due to the bad preservation state or to certain iconographical particularities which didn't allow a certain identification of the individuals as servants: a lateral wall of *aedicula* from Brâncovenesti (PROTASE/ZRINYI 1992, 102, No. 18, Pl. IX/3); two lateral walls of *aedicula* from Apulum (FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 22, No. 66, 68, Fig. 83, 85), two lateral walls of *aedicula* from *Napoca* (FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 22, Nos. 62-63, Fig. 77-78), a lateral wall of *aedicula* from *Potaissa* (FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 16, No. 37, Fig. 49-50), a lateral wall of *aedicula* from Sutor (FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 26, 28, No. 83, Fig. 102) and a monument component from *Apulum* (CIONGRADI 2007, 231, No. Sc/ A 6b, Taf. 87/Sc/A 6b).

indicated with certainty a servant, the images were classified as uncertain. Accordingly the following types have been identified:

I. Female attendants with: **a.** jug and napkin (catalogue nos.: 1, 2, 3, 4); **b.** beaker and napkin (catalogue nos.: 5, 6); **c.** jug, beaker and napkin (catalogue nos.: 7, 8 (lower register)); **d.** basket and napkin (catalogue no.: 9); **e.** jug and beaker (catalogue no.: 10); **f.** jug, bucket and napkin (catalogue no.: 11); **g.** beaker, *Griffschale* and napkin (catalogue no.: 12); **h.** ladle (catalogue no.: 13); **i.** jug (catalogue no. 14); **j.** napkin (catalogue no. 15); **k.** *incerta* (catalogue nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22).

II. Male attendants with: **a.** jug and napkin (catalogue nos.: 12, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29); **b.** jug, beaker and bucket (catalogue no.: 8 (upper register)); **c.** lamp and barrel (catalogue no.: 30); **d.** saucepan and pouch (catalogue no.: 31); **e.** beaker (catalogue no.: 32); **f.** jug (catalogue no.: 33); **g.** napkin (catalogue no.: 15); **h.** basket (catalogue no. 34); **i.** *incerta* (catalogue nos.: 35, 36, 37, 38, 39).

The first impression given by the types presented above is the richness of the iconographical repertoire of these depictions from Roman Dacia. Still, a closer examination of the frequency of each type, according to the gender of the attendants (Annex I. Graph. 1), shows that most of the representations, with the exception of type I.a and II.a appear only once or twice (types I.b and I.c) for each gender. The only common types between the two genders are I.a and II.a, I.f and II.b (with the observation that the female servant from the Mesentea pyramid-shaped coping doesn't hold the bucket in her hand and the object is placed on the ground to her left), I.i and II.f, and I.j and II.g (the female and male servants are represented together on the same lateral wall of *aedicula*). Also, if we examine the distribution of the attributes according to the gender of the servants (Annex I. Graph. 2) the pattern that can be extracted confirms the results from Graph 1. The only common attributes between genders are the napkin (25 depictions out of which 13 in the representations of male attendants and 12 in those of female servants), the jug (21 depictions: 11 in the representations of male attendants and 10 in those of female servants) and the beaker (8 depiction with a proportion of 2 to 6).

Analysing the type of monuments on which the servants are depicted, 23 representations appear on the hinder or lateral walls of *aedicula*, 5 on funerary *stelae*, 3 on pyramid-shaped copings of funerary monuments, 3 on pilaster-shaped monuments, 2 on altars of the pseudo-*aedicula* type, and other 2 on components of uncertain types of monuments. If we examine the recurrence of the iconographical types on specific categories of monuments (Annex I. Graph 4) it can be observed that, with the exception of types I.b and I.c (each represented by two depictions), there is no preference for representing a certain type on a specific monument. Of course, due to the general tendency of depicting these themes on *aediculae*, the iconographical types, namely I.a and especially II.a, are mainly represented on them. From the point of view of the place of discovery most of the monuments come from *Micia* (Vețel) and *Napoca* (Cluj-Napoca) (6 representations each), *Apulum* (Alba Iulia) (5 representations), *Potaissa* (Turda) (3 representations), Gilău and Ilișua (2 representations each) followed by the rest of the discovery places with one single find of this type (Annex I. Graph 3). The distribution of iconographical types according to the discovery places (Annex I. Graph 5) shows a quite uneven image. The only incidence can be observed in the case of type II.a at *Napoca* and *Apulum*.

IV. Discussion

The ancient literary sources reveal that the dining room servants (called *ministri* or *ministratores*) of the wealthy households were part of a large specialized staff, elaborately organized according to the different tasks that needed to be performed on convivial events.³¹ According to the research carried out by John D`Arms, the staff included alongside the waiters, individuals designated to issue invitations and assign places at the table (*vocator*), to acquire what is necessary and organize the menu (*obsonator*), while the *nomenclator* was entrusted with controlling the list of the dinner guests and arranging the presents bestowed on the leaving guests.³² In the case of the waiters, there seems to have been a division between the ones in charge of serving food and the wine waiters. With regard to the former, written sources only reveal the fact that they were usually male and that the host made an effort to have them properly attired in such a way as to impress the guests. The wine servants on the other hand had to be young, smooth-shaven, long haired, sexually attractive and usually bore Greek

31 See: D`ARMS 1991, 171-172. The conditions apply both to formal banquets (called *epulae* or *cenae rectae*) and to smaller private dinners (*convivia*).

32 D`ARMS 1991, 171-172.

names³³. According to these prescriptions we may presume that the status of the wine waiters was higher than that of the personnel responsible for the serving of food. Epigraphical sources reveal some further information regarding the distribution of tasks within groups of waiters³⁴. The epitaphs cited by K. M. D. Dunbabin mention waiters in charge of ladling out the wine (*a cyathos*), some in charge of the wine jar (*a laguna*), others who served the wine cup (*poculi minister*), waiters responsible in general with serving drinks (*a potione*) and individuals in charge with organizing the banquet (*tricliniarch*)³⁵.

A wide range of iconographical sources throughout the Roman Empire attest the importance and the extensive use of the motif depicting the waiting servant in the art of the Principate. The representations come from varied contexts, ranging from wall paintings and mosaics from both private and public buildings (baths, schools) to reliefs on funerary monuments and tomb paintings³⁶. Servant depictions both in domestic and in funerary settings seem to have played the role of emphasising the wealth and status of either the owner or the deceased³⁷. As shown by the extensive research of K. M. D. Dunbabin, up to the 3rd century AD the servants are represented in a non obtrusive manner often on a smaller scale than the other characters possibly due to their limited importance and to avoid eclipsing the central figures³⁸. It is also important to point out that the number of servants portrayed on monuments or house paintings and mosaics in this period is restricted. With regard to the funerary monuments, representative examples are the reliefs with the representation of the funerary banquet, in which the image of the servant (usually not more than two individuals) is confined to the periphery of the composition³⁹. In the 3rd and 4th centuries AD there is a shift towards a predilection for servant depictions, reflected both in the higher number and in the conspicuous manner of the portrayal of attendants⁴⁰. With regard to the domestic wall paintings, the iconography of the servants is remarkably varied and at the same time, very closely related to the ones in funerary context⁴¹. In both types of settings, the main theme seems to be the idea of the banquet which even if isn't always represented, is at least suggested by the accessories of the servants or by the positioning of the wall paintings in corridors leading to the banqueting hall, in case of domestic depictions⁴². In the context of funerary art, this tendency is illustrated best by scenes consisting of the procession of servants bearing offerings (mostly food and drinks) to the deceased usually reclining on the banqueting couch⁴³.

According to our assertion made at the beginning of the paper, the motif of the servant is closely related with that of the *camilli(-ae)*, both presenting almost identical iconographical features⁴⁴. With regard to clothing and accessories, *camilli(-ae)* present very similar characteristics as the ones pertaining to the servants, however by means of a closer analysis, we find that, there are a few basic dissimilarities which hinder the association of the two. On a number of monuments displaying sacrificial scenes, we find the image of young children standing near the priest in the moments leading up to the sacrifice. Based on literary accounts, these figures of children were identified with the assistants of the priests during sacrificial rituals, called *camilli(-ae)* in the

33 D'ARMS 1991, 172.

34 DUNBABIN 2003b 150-151.

35 CIL VI 8815-7 (*a cyathos*), CIL IX 1880 (*poculi minister*), CIL VI 8866 (*a laguna*), CIL VI 1884 (*a potione*, *a laguna*, *tricliniarch*).

36 See: DUNBABIN 2003a, *passim*.

37 DUNBABIN 2003a, 445-446.

38 DUNBABIN 2003a, 445-446.

39 See: CONRAD 2004, 57, 69 Note 588; BIANCHI 1974, 159-160.

40 DUNBABIN 2003, 446. Examples for this phenomenon are cited amongst others from Rome, *Complutum (Hispania Taraconensis)*, *Uthina*, *Thugga*, Carthage (all in *Africa Proconsularis*), *Ephesos (Asia Proconsularis)*, for wall paintings and mosaics in domestic settings and *Viminacium*, *Durostorum*, *Tomis* (all in *Moesia Inferior*) for tomb paintings, see DUNBABIN 2003a, 446-462, Fig. 1-17. Both in the case of the domestic as well as the funerary contexts, the depictions are placed in convivial settings.

41 See: DUNBABIN 2003, *passim*. The most frequent iconographical types are essentially identical.

42 See: DUNBABIN 2003a, 448;

43 DUNBABIN 2003, 450.

44 See CSIR Österreich II. 3, 6-8 for the general iconography of servants; See SPAULDING 1911, 23-43, and MANTLE 2004, 94, for the general iconography of *camilli*.

literary sources⁴⁵. According to the research of L. C. Spaulding and more recently of I. C. Mantle, the *camilli* and *camillae*, were required to be children of freeborn origin from a legal standpoint, the term used in the literary accounts being “*pueri ingenui*”⁴⁶. The representation of *camilli(-ae)* can be found in two types of settings: 1) in sacrificial scenes⁴⁷, and more rarely 2) in scenes of processions, as in the case of the procession of senators and priests depicted on the northern side of the *Ara Pacis* or in scenes of wedding processions found on *sarcophagi* from Rome⁴⁸. In scenes representing sacrifices, the *camilli(-ae)* appear most often alongside the priest, who conducts the ritual, the *victimarius* who delivers the fatal blow to the animal, and the *tibicen*, who plays the flute in order to ward off evil spirits⁴⁹. By analysing the sacrificial scenes, H U. Nuber attempted to reveal the role of the *camilli(-ae)* during the process of sacrifice. The most common iconographical variants of the *camilli*, are the ones in which they are either depicted with 1) a jug, a *Griffschale* and a napkin (which together compose the hand-washing service), or 2) a jug and a napkin⁵⁰. Considering this, the aforementioned scholar concluded, that the depictions with jug and *Griffschale* (and napkin) are related to the task of the *camillus*⁵¹ of washing the priest's hands as part of the pre-sacrificial cleansing (*lustratio*)⁵², while the second category of depictions (with jug and napkin) reflect a further episode from the sacrifice, namely the wine offering. In the latter case, the *camillus* is depicted pouring the sacrificial wine into a *patera* held by the priest⁵³.

Based on this interpretations we can point out the major factors that hinder the association between *camilli(-ae)* and waiting servants on iconographical representations. First and foremost the written sources emphasize the condition of freeborn of the *camilli(-ae)*. Secondly there is no information in the written sources regarding any activity related to waiting at banquets of the *camilli(-ae)*, therefore no connection between them and the funerary banquet can be established⁵⁴. Thirdly, the same iconographical features as the *camilli(-ae)* can be observed in the case of servants involved in domestic (therefore profane) representations. Fourthly, the majority of funerary reliefs depict servants as being mature individuals, for instance in some cases, male servants are represented wearing beards⁵⁵. As a conclusion we can say that the representations of *camilli(-ae)* are specific exclusively to votive monuments, while the characters with similar iconographical features on funerary monuments can be regarded as depictions of servants⁵⁶. In our view in the case of funerary reliefs involving servants, the similarities of depiction with the *camilli(-ae)* can be explained in terms of an iconographical influence, which possibly originated from the votive iconography, and was adopted by the profane and funerary art at some point.

Taking all the above mentioned observations into consideration, the depictions of servants on funerary monuments from **Roman Dacia** can be integrated in the same register of representations which is typical for the rest of the Empire. As shown before in this study, the most frequent attributes held by the servants are the jug and the napkin. The three components of the hand-washing service: the jug, the *Griffschale* and the napkin are never represented as attributes of a single servant and the *Griffschale* appears only in one case (catalogue no. 12), being associated with the napkin alone. The explanation for such a situation lays, very probably, in an iconography which was only partially assumed. Also it can't be excluded that, as mentioned above, the

45 SPAULDING 1911, 4; MANTLE 2004, 91; the term *camillus* was applied to boys, while *camilla* designated the girls.

46 SPAULDING 1911; MANTLE 2004, 86.

47 See MANTLE 2004, 95.

48 See: MANTLE 2004, 91, 100.

49 NUBER 1972, 100.

50 SPAULDING 1911, 25-28. A further attribute which is commonly depicted is the incense-box (*acerra*).

51 There are very few cases of representation of *camillae* in sacrificial scenes, see SPAULDING 1911, 23; MANTLE 2004, 92.

52 NUBER 1972, 101, 104-105. The hand-washing itself isn't represented on sacrificial reliefs, but it was deduced by analysing the depictions as the only possible explanation for the role of the *camilli* in this case.

53 NUBER 1972, 101.

54 The sole reference of the presence of *camilli(-ae)* at banquets, concerns the banquet of the *Fratres Arvales*, however this can be regarded as a cultic event rather than a convivial one, see SPAULDING 1911, 12.

55 See: catalogue no. 26, Pl. VII/26.

56 The only instances of *camillae* being represented on funerary structures are the monuments of *Aninia Laeta* in which case the deceased herself was depicted as a *camilla* (possibly a task she performed during her lifetime), and a *sarcophagus* from Rome in which a *camilla* is shown attending a wedding ceremony. See MANTLE 2004, 92-93.

presence of the jug and napkin alone, without the *Griffschale*, indicates an activity related to drink serving. Regarding their meaning in funerary contexts, there are two hypotheses in the literature. Analysing the hand-washing services from the Roman Empire and the iconography of the servant who carries them, with a strong emphasis on the votive representations of the *camillus/camilla* type, H. U. Nuber came to the conclusion that the funerary inventory needs to be seen as a reflection of the funerary banquet scene represented on the monument. Thus the inventory consisted of serving and eating vessels as a reflection of the food from the banquet table as well as drinking vessels due to the drink consumed. In the same way the hand-washing service should be seen as part of the table ware used during the banquet⁵⁷. The purpose of the servant who carries them is to wash the hands of the participants during the funerary banquet as well as to serve the wine. On the other hand in her investigation of the *instrumenta sacra*, A. V. Siebert, when discussing the depictions on funerary monuments, saw in the representations of the hand-washing service on funerary monuments a polyvalent symbol: of the drink offering which was eternalized through its carving in stone, showing in this way the piety towards the deceased of the ones who erected the monument, of the purity of the deceased, but also the hand-washing service used during the funerary banquet⁵⁸. The standard iconography of the servant holding the set in all votive, profane and funerary milieus represents a strong argument for attributing to him a single task: that of hand-washing.

Other elements which are characteristic for the type of waiting servants depicted on the monuments from Roman Dacia are the basket⁵⁹, the beaker and the bucket⁶⁰ which can be related to serving or domestic activities. The servant represented with a miniature saucepan in the right hand on the altar of pseudo-*aedicula* type from *Apulum* (catalogue no.: 31) finds good resemblance in scenes of Pannonian funerary banquet from Pannonia Inferior and Superior⁶¹. There are also attributes which usually are not associated with servants: the lamp from the pyramid-shaped coping from Mesentea (catalogue no.: 30) for which we didn't find any parallels in the Roman world and the small vessel or barrel appearing on the same representation, placed on a tripod in the left corner. The presence of the tripod would suggest the identification of the object with a wooden barrel which was represented in miniature due to the lack of space⁶². There are also vessels displaying similar characteristics. We refer in the first place to pottery and glass barrel-shaped vessel (*costrel*) designated as vessels for carrying liquids from a functional point of view⁶³ and to a special type of bronze vessels, of which only few examples are known, being considered part of the toilette set⁶⁴.

The appearance of the jug under the *mensa tripes* on three of the monuments discussed in this paper: on the funerary *stela* from Șăula (catalogue no.: 21, Pl. VI/21), the altar of pseudo-*aedicula* type from Ilișua (catalogue no.: 40, Pl. X/40) and twice on the hinder wall of the *aedicula* from Potaissa (catalogue no.: 41, Pl. X/41) didn't received any clear explanation until now. Still, a closer look at the way in which the table ware is depicted in funerary contexts can offer important elements for understanding its meaning. In all three cases the jugs are associated with a *panarium*. If their purpose would have been that of serving jugs, their place should have been on the table, together with the rest of the serving ware. The explanation that they were placed under the table because there was not enough room to represent them on the table doesn't seem satisfactory. Beginning with the Etruscan period and until Late Antiquity the representing canons of the table ware follows the same pattern: the drinking service is depicted on the table and the hand-washing service under the table⁶⁵.

57 NUBER 1972, 177.

58 SIEBERT 1999, 176-180.

59 VEL, Nos.: 1252, 4156.

60 See CSIR Österreich II. 3, types I.a, I.d.

61 VEL, No.: 3791, 3792, 4049.

62 For barrel representations in funerary contexts see the sarcophagus of a wine vendor from Ancona (ZIMMER 1982, 218-219, No.: 177).

63 HILGERS 1969, 54-56, Bild 31-32 (glass), Bild 33-34 (pottery).

64 FEUGÈRE 1994, 154, Fig. 14/46, 157, No.: 46, Fig. 17.

65 See the painting from the Etruscan grave at Corneto which represents the drinking service on the table and the hand-washing set, composed of a jug and a basin, under it (DAREMBERG/SAGLIO, I/1, 346, *aquaemanalis* (E. Saglio); the same situation can be observed in the grave of *Caius Vestorius Priscus* from Pompeii where the hand-washing service (consisting of jug and *Griffschale*), part of a beautiful set of silver table ware, is placed under the table (NUBER 1972,

An explanation for this situation could be that the hand-washing service, even if part of the table ware, has a particular functionality during the meal which is different from the rest of the vessels, a fact that determined a special iconography for its representation⁶⁶. So, it can not be excluded that in the case of jugs represented under the *mensa tripes* in the funerary banquet scenes from Roman Dacia we deal with a simpler version of a iconographical tradition of representing the hand-washing service under the table, which would have been manipulated later by a servant.

Examining further the attributes held by the servants from Dacia, it can be observed that in the case of the female attendant from the lower register of the lateral wall of *aedicula* from *Napoca* (catalogue no.: 8), the jug is held in the left hand which is a totally atypical manner of representation. As an example, from the twenty two servants from *Virunum* carrying jugs, none of them holds the vessel in the left hand⁶⁷.

If we take into account the increase in number and in importance of the servant depictions in the provinces beginning with the 3rd century A.D., for Dacia there are no clear-cut examples to confirm this phenomenon. It is however debatable whether the independent representation of servants without the setting of the funerary banquet on Dacian funerary reliefs could be considered as a sign of an analogous tendency⁶⁸. The confirmation of this hypothesis however is hindered by the difficulties in assessing the chronology of most of the monuments in question⁶⁹.

With regard to the epigraphy of the studied monuments⁷⁰, the *stela* from *Potaissa* (Turda, Cluj County), catalogue no. 20 requires special attention. The epitaph reveals the fact that the monument was dedicated by a veteran of the *Numerus Palmyrenorum* together with his wife to their daughter, their freedman and their servant (*menesteriis*)⁷¹. According to the order in which the names of the deceased are enumerated in the text, the name of the servant was *Rufina* and she died at the age of 20.

V. Conclusions

The analysis of the waiting servant depictions on the funerary monuments from Roman Dacia strikes from the start by the lack of iconographical unity in comparison with other parts of the Empire⁷². With the exception of the representations with jug and napkin which are quite frequent and prove certain coherence, the rest are the result of mixing distinct elements from different iconographical types. Also, the presence of the napkin and the bent arm of the servant holding its end seem to be the most common "marks" of the Dacian waiting servant.

Taking into consideration the meaning of these representations, it can be assumed that, especially concerning the sole representations, they are a symbol of the funerary banquet and their carving in stone remains as a constant reminder of that symbolic practice. No unilateral view can be adopted regarding their symbolism inside the funerary banquet scenes. K. M. D. Dunbabin stressed on the importance of understanding the funerary banquet through its multiple meanings. The longevity of the motif and its dispersion between people of different cultural background pleads against a unitary interpretation. Each individual was free to interpret the scenes according to his or hers cultural values⁷³.

74); in the *prandium* scene represented on the silver plate from the treasure attributed to SEVSO the jug and the *Griffschale* are on the ground near the table (MUNDELL MANGO 1990, 72, Abb. 3) and they can be found in the same position in a painting from St. Peter's catacombs (DUNBABIN 1993, 138-138, Fig. 28).

66 NUBER 1972, 83-88. In the absence of forks and knives, hand-washing played a important part during the meal. The written sources emphasize the necessity of hand-washing before the meal, during the main courses and at its end. Also, the hand-washing service was used for the same purpose in every-day activities as part of the toilette set or for washing in general. It can't be excluded that it was also employed during the private cult (NUBER 1972, 118-119, 124-125; NENOVA-MERDJANOVA 2000).

67 See CSIR Österreich II. 3, types I.b, I.i, I.k, I.m, II.a.

68 See: ŢEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 49.

69 See: CIONGRADI 2007, 20-40.

70 Only three *stela*e have preserved inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions, see catalogue nos.: 16, 20, 36.

71 While in the Empire there are numerous cases of servants mentioned in inscriptions (e.g. see: AE 1967, 598, AE 1998, 887, 1333), the form *menesteriis* (*menester* at nominative) is according to our information unique.

72 See CSIR Österreich II. 3.

73 DUNBABIN 2003b, 108-109.

CATALOGUE⁷⁴

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
Type I.a								
1. Pl. II/1	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Aghireș (Cluj county).	Incorporated in the south gate of the reformed church.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant clad in an ankle-length <i>tunica</i> , holds a napkin in her left hand slung over the shoulder, and a jug in the right hand.	Lower relief field. Sole depiction.	Bust of a woman in <i>tunica</i> and <i>palla</i> in the upper relief field.	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 30, No. 94, Fig. 115.
2. Pl. II/2	Altar of the pseudo- <i>aedicula</i> type	<i>Apulum</i> (Alba Iulia, Alba county) Partoș.	MNUAI Inv. No. R 7857.	First half of the 2 nd century AD. (Ciongradi 2007).	Male attendant clad in a calf-length sleeved tunic, holds in his left hand a small pouch, the right hand is raised and holds a small saucepan. Female attendant clad in an ankle-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> girdled bellow the breasts, holds a jug in her right hand and in her left hand a napkin slung over the shoulder.	Depiction of the male attendant on the right lateral side of the altar, the female attendant on the left lateral side.	Family depiction in an arched niche on the main relief field, consisting of the busts of the parents and of three children.	BĂLUȚĂ 1989, 252, No. 2, Pl II; RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 1994, 140, No. 27; CIONGRADI 2007, 202, No. A/A 6, Taf. 61/A/A 6a-c.
3. Pl. II/3	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud county) Roman necropolis.	CMBN Inv. No. 1.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant clad in an ankle-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds a jug with spout in her right hand and a napkin in the left hand slung over the shoulder. She wears hanging globular earrings.	Inner side of the wall. Sole depiction.	-	PROTASE 1961, 135-137, Fig. 5; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 26, No. 82, Fig. 101; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 207, No. 38.
4. Pl. II/4	Possible <i>aedicula</i> lateral wall	<i>Napoca</i> (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj county) "South-eastern" necropolis ⁷⁵ .	MNITC Inv. No. 36 429	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant in full figure (with missing head), in ankle-length <i>tunica</i> girdled bellow the breasts, holds an oversized jug in her right hand, and a napkin decorated with fringes in her left hand and on her left shoulder.	Rectangular niche on left side-wall.	-	BENEA/HICA 2004, 134, Pl. IV, No. 5 (With little reference to the monument itself).

⁷⁴ The numbers from the catalogue correspond entirely to the numbers of the monuments illustrated on the plates.

⁷⁵ The funerary monuments which originate from the "south-east necropolis" of *Napoca* were discovered during the archaeological excavations in the area of Brâncuși, Titulescu and Plugariilor streets. The monuments in question were reused as parts of burial cists.

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
Type I.b								
5. Pl. II/5	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Micia</i> (Vețel, Hunedoara county)	MCDRD Inv. No. 115.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant clad in an ankle-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds a beaker in her right hand and a napkin is hanging from her left hand.	A <i>mensa tripes</i> to the left of the attendant. Sole depiction.	-	FLORESCU 1930, 83, No. 7, Fig. 7; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 14, No. 30, Fig. 41; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 210, No. 54; RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 1994, 144, No. 88; CIONGRADI 2007, 221, No. Ae/M 12, Taf. 76/Ae/M 12.
6. Pl. II/6	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Napoca</i> (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj county) "South-eastern" necropolis.	MNITC Without Inv. No	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant, clad in <i>tunica</i> and <i>palla</i> , holds a beaker in her right hand, and in her left hand and on her left shoulder a napkin.	Left lateral <i>aedicula</i> wall, in a rectangular niche.	-	BENEA/HICA 2004, 139, No. 22, Pl. XII, No. 1-2 (with little reference to the monument itself).
Type I.c (female attendant) and II. b (male attendant)								
7. Pl. III/7	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Gârbău (Cluj county) Stray find.	MNITC Inv. No. I 1772	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant clad in an ankle-length sleeveless <i>tunica</i> and <i>palla</i> , holds in her right hand a jug with spout, and in the left hand a beaker. A napkin is hanging from the left arm.	Inner side of the wall. Sole depiction.	Standing <i>genius</i> on the outer side.	FLORESCU 1930, 81-82, No. 4, Fig. 4; BODOR 1960, 47, Fig. 7, FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 26, No. 81, Fig. 99; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 202-203, Nr. 19, Pl. XXXV.
8. Pl. III/8	Lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Napoca</i> . (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj county) "South-eastern" necropolis.	MNITC Without Inv. No.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant (the head is carved off) clad in ankle-length sleeved tunic, holds in her right hand a beaker, and in her left hand a jug with spout. A napkin is slung over the left shoulder. Male child attendant (the head was carved off) in a calf-length sleeved tunic, holds in his right hand a beaker, and in his left hand a wooden bucket. A napkin is slung over the left shoulder.	Lateral wall, male attendant in the upper register, female attendant in the lower register.	-	BENEA/HICA 2004, 133, Pl. IV, No. 1.

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
Type I.d								
9. Pl. III/9	Right lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Micia (Vețel, Hunedoara county)	MCDRD Inv. No. 124	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant clad in an ankle-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds a napkin in her left hand slung over the shoulder, and a small basket in the right hand.	Internal side of the wall. Sole depiction	Wine stalk and grape ornament on the external side.	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 12, No. 24, Fig. 35; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 203, No. 23; CIONGRADI 2007, 224, Ae/M 23, Taf. 81/Ae/M 23a-b.
Type I.e (female attendant) and II.i (male attendant)								
10. Pl. III/10	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Cristești (Mureș county) The necropolis of the Roman settlement.	MJM Without Inv. No.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant on the left side, clad in ankle-length <i>tunica</i> , holds a jug with spout in her right hand, and a beaker in the left hand, which she is offering to the male attendant next to her. Male attendant on the left side of the scene, clad in a knee-length, sleeved <i>tunica</i> ; it can't be excluded that a napkin is hanging from his left hand (on account of the bending of the hand).	Inner side of the wall. C o l l e c t i v e depiction.	Hunting scene with lion and the prey, on the outer side of the wall.	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 20, No. 52, Fig. 67.
Type I. f (female attendant) and II.c (male attendant)								
11. Pl. III/11	Pyramid –shaped coping of funerary monument.	Mesentea (Alba county).	MNITC Inv. No. 20198.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant (the head is missing) clad in an ankle-length sleeved tunic, holds a jug in her right hand and a napkin in her left hand, next to her left foot there is a wooden bucket. Male attendant (the head is missing) clad in a calf-length sleeved tunic, holds a lamp in his right hand. Next to his right foot there is a small barrel-shaped vessel? (costrel or <i>balsamarium</i> ?) on a tripod or a wooden barrel.	Lateral sides of the coping (female on the left side, male on the right side).	Wine-stalk springing from a <i>kantharos</i> on the main relief field, on the front side of the coping.	DAICOVICIU 1968, 337-338, No. 11; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 185, No. 14, Pl. XXIX.

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
Type I.g (female attendant) and II. a (male attendant)								
12. Pl. IV/12	Right lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Napoca (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj county). Discovered in the area of the Romanian National Theatre in the 19 th century.	MNITC Inv. No. 12.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant on the right, dressed in ankle-length sleeveless <i>tunica</i> girdled below the breasts. In her left hand she holds a bowl with cylindrical handle (<i>Griffschale</i>), in her raised right hand holds a beaker; a napkin is hanging from the same hand. Male attendant with an adolescent appearance on the right wears a calf-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> . He holds a jug with spout in his right hand and the napkin in his left hand slung over his shoulder.	Side-wall, in a rectangular niche	Between the two attendants on the floor there is a basket made from woven reeds (<i>panarium</i>).	FLORESCU 1930, 82, No. 5, Fig. 5; DAICOVICIU 1969, 254-255, G 135, Pl. 96; DAICOVICIU 1970, 246, G 96, Pl. LIX; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 20-22, No. 60, Fig. 75; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 205, No. 31, Pl. XXXVII; BIANCHI 1985, 282, No. 216, Tav. XLVII, Fig. 122; BODOR 1986, 194, Fig. 1; VEL No. 15081.
Type I.h								
13 Pl. IV/13.	Hinder wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Gilău (Cluj county)	Incorporated in the wall of the catholic church.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female child attendant dressed in an ankle-length <i>tunica</i> girdled below the breasts, holds probably a ladle (<i>simpulum</i>) in her right hand.	Funerary banquet scene, the attendant is behind the <i>kathedra</i> , partially covered by it.	-	BODOR 1960, 41-52 (only the lower fragment); DIACONESCU/ISAC 1980, 115-137; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 128, No. 107 (only the lower fragment).
Type I.i								
14. Pl. IV/14	Pyramid-shaped coping of a funerary monument	Peștișul (Mare/Mic, Hunedoara county) Discovered in the 18-19 th century. The monument probably originates from the Roman town of <i>Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa</i> .	Lost	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant clad in an ankle-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds a jug with spout in her right hand. Male attendant in a knee-length <i>tunica</i> with unidentifiable objects in both hands, his left hand is raised to his chest.	Female attendant on the left side, male attendant on the right side.	Family depiction on the main side.	DAICOVICIU 1968, 340, No. 21; ALICU ET ALII 1979, 165, No. 480, Pl. CLIII; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 186, Nr. 18; CIONGRADI 2007, 237-238, No. Py/S 2, Taf. 95/Py/S a-c.

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
Type I.j (male attendant) and II.g (male attendant)								
15. Pl. IV/15	Right lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Potaissa</i> (Turda, Cluj county) Discovered in the necropolis.	MIT Inv. No. 816.	Second half of the 2 nd century AD. (On account of the hairstyle of the female).	Female attendant on the left, clad in <i>tunica</i> and probably a <i>palla</i> , holds in her right hand the end of a napkin which hangs from the shoulder. On the right holding her hand a male attendant clad in a knee-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds in his left hand a napkin slung over his left shoulder.	Inner side of the wall. C o l l e c t i v e depiction.	On the outer side the representation of a women spinning, next to her a naked child.	JUDE/POP 1972, 12-13, Pl. VIII/1-2; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 17, No. 41, Fig. 54-55; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 203, No. 22; Pl. XXXV.
Type I.k								
16. Pl. V/16	Architectural <i>stela</i> ⁷⁶	Gherla (Cluj county)	MNITC Inv. No. D 849	2 nd century AD.	Female child attendant clad in ankle-length <i>tunica</i> ; she holds an unidentifiable object in her right hand, and possibly the end of a napkin in her left hand.	Funerary banquet scene, the female attendant is situated on the left end of the scene; she wears an ankle-length <i>tunica</i> and possibly has a napkin slung over her left shoulder; unidentified object in the right hand.	-	FLORESCU 1930, 87, No. 16; BIANCHI 1974, 178, Fig. 10; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 117, No. 61, Pl. V; BIANCHI 1985, 276, No. 168, Tav. XXXIII, Fig. 84.
17. Pl. VI/17.	Pilaster-shaped monument (<i>Pfeilergrabmal</i>)	<i>Micia</i> (Vețel, Hunedoara county)	MCDRD Inv. No. 3529.	Second half of the 2 nd century AD. (Ciogradi 2007).	Female attendant clad in an ankle-length <i>tunica</i> , holds in her right hand an unidentifiable object.	Right side of the monument. Sole depiction.	Family depiction on the main relief field.	FLORESCU 1930, 115, No. 68, Fig. 57; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 49, Fig. 127-128; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 173-174, No. 54, Pl. 23; CIONGRADI 2007, 212-213, No. Pf/M 2, Taf. 68/Pf/M 2a-b.

76 Inscription: [D(is)] M(anibus) | U[l]piae? Tre] | bonia[nac---] | Secun[d---] | mi f(ilia) ma[ter et---] Candi[d---] | coni[ugi] | Avitus | v(i)x(it) an[---].

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
18. Pl. VI/ 18	Left side wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Micia (Veșel, Hunedoara county)	MCDRD Inv. No. 119.	Second half of the 2 nd century AD. (See Ciongradi 2007)	Female attendant standing, with unidentifiable objects in her hands.	F u n e r a r y banquet scene, the attendant is standing on the right side of the <i>kliné</i> .	-	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 12, No. 20, Fig. 30; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 217, Nr. 84; CIONGRADI 2007, 223, No. Ae/M 18, Taf. 78/ Ae/M 18.
19. Pl. VI/ 19	Pilaster-shaped monument (<i>Pfeilergrabmal</i>)	Pătrînjeni (Alba county) The monument probably originates from the Roman town of <i>Ampelum</i> .	MNIT Inv. No. I 4485	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female attendant clad in an ankle-length <i>tunica</i> , holds a beaker in her right hand, and an unidentifiable object in the left hand.	Right lateral side of the monument. Sole depiction.	Family depiction on the main side, Attis on the left lateral side.	FLORESCU 1930, 111-112, No. 67, Fig. 53c; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 48, Fig. 119 a; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 171-172, No. 47, Pl. XXI.
20. Pl. VI/ 20	Profiled <i>stela</i> ⁷⁷	Potaissa (Turda, Cluj county)	MJM Inv. No. 7904	Second half of the 2 nd century AD.	Female child attendant clad in ankle-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> ; she holds unidentifiable objects in her hands.	Main relief field. Attendant is waiting at the funerary banquet.	-	CIL III 907=7693; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 130, No. 115, Pl. X;
21. Pl. VI/ 21	Funerary <i>stela</i>	Șăula (Cluj county)	Incorporated in the outer wall of the reformed church.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Female child attendant clad in an ankle-length <i>tunica</i> , holds unidentifiable objects in her hands. Under the <i>mensa tripes</i> a jug with spout and a <i>panarium</i> .	Funerary banquet scene, the attendant is placed between the <i>kathedra</i> and the <i>mensa tripes</i> .	-	DIACONESCU 1979, 545-549, Fig. 2; RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 1994, No. 143, Pl. 2, Fig. 2.
22. Pl. VI/ 22	Right lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Șeica Mică (Sibiu county)	MNIR Inv. No. 13448	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant clad in a knee-length <i>tunica</i> and possibly a <i>paenulla</i> on top, has an amulet (<i>bullā</i> ?) which goes down below the waist. He holds unidentifiable objects in his hands. Female attendant clad in an ankle-length <i>tunica</i> , girdled at the waist, holds, a large jug in her left hand, and an unidentifiable object in the right hand.	Lower third register of the wall, the attendants are standing on both sides of a <i>mensa tripes</i> .	On the top register a battle scene with a horseman trampling the enemy, in the middle register a ploughing scene.	DAICOVICIU 1969, 255, G 137, Pl. 86; MACREA 1969, 295; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 28, No. 85, Fig. 104; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 214-215, No. 74, Pl. XXXVIII.

77 Inscription: *D(is) M(anibus) | Ael(ia) Tiiadmes Palmura | vix(it) an(nos) VIII Surillio | vix(it) an(nos) XXV Rufina vix(it) | an(nos) XX Ael(ius) Bolhas Ban| naei vet(eranus) ex n(umero) Palmur(enorum) | et Ael(ia) Domestica co|niux {a} eius posuerant | filiae pientissimae et <d=C>u|lc(issi)m(a)e et liberto et men|esteriis(!) b(ene) m(erentibus).*

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
Type II.a								
23. Pl. VII/ 23	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i> .	<i>Apulum</i> (Alba Iulia, Alba county). Roman necropolis (Floca-Wolski 1973).	MNUAI Inv. No. 298	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant clad in a calf-length tunic, holds an oversized jug in his right hand, and a napkin in his left hand thrown over the shoulder.	Upper register of <i>aedicula</i> lateral wall.	-	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 22, No. 67 (With wrong illustration); TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 211, No. 59, Pl. XXXIX; CIONGRADI 2007, 216, No. Ae/A 6, Taf. 78/Ae/A 6.
24. Pl. VII/ 24	Pyramid-shaped coping of funerary monument	<i>Apulum</i> (Alba Iulia, Alba county)	MNUAI Inv. No. 164/II; 87.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant clad in calf-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , probably holds an <i>askos</i> in his right hand and a napkin in the left.	Left lateral side Sole depiction.	Mourning woman (<i>praefica</i>) on the front side, Attis on the right lateral side.	FLORESCU 1930, 109, No. 58, Fig. 49; DAICOVICIU 1968, 335, No. 5, Pl. III, Fig. 1-3; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 183, No. 5; CIONGRADI 2007, 240, No. Py/A 7, Taf. 100/Py/A 7a-c.
25. Pl. VII/ 25	Lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Napoca</i> or its hinterland. Discovered in 1915 on the Cluj-Feleacu road.	MNITC Inv. No. IV. 756	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Depiction of a male attendant partially preserved. The servant is wearing a sleeved <i>tunica</i> girdled below the waist, and is holding a jug with spout in his right hand and a napkin in his left hand slung over his left shoulder.	-	-	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 30, No. 92, Fig. 112.
26. Pl. VII/ 26	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i> .	Luncani (Cluj county) where it was incorporated in the wall of the Kemény castle prior to its discovery (See Bodor 1986). The monument originates from the Roman town of <i>Napoca</i> .	MNITC Inv. No. 2581	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant, short-haired, with beard; he wears a calf-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> girdled at the waist, holds a jug with spout in his right hand and the napkin in his left hand, slung over the shoulder.	Lower register of the lateral wall	Funerary banquet on the hinder wall, bust of a woman in the upper register	DAICOVICIU 1969, 245, G 92; DAICOVICIU 1970, 253, 255, G 136; MITROFAN/TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1970, 531-536; JUDE 1971, 547-552; JUDE/POP, 1972, 12, No. 13, Pl. VII/2; FLOCA-WOLSKI 1973, 14, 16, No. 34, Fig. 46; BIANCHI 1974, 160-162, Fig. 2; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 212, No. 62, Pl. XXXVII; BODOR 1986, 194-195, Fig. 4.
27. Pl. VII/ 27	<i>Stela</i> of the <i>pseudo-aedicula</i> type.	<i>Porolissum</i> (Moigrad, Sălaj county). Discovered in the town of Jibou (garden of the Wesselényi castle).	MJIAZ. Inv. No. 1051.	Severan age (on account of the hairstyle of the <i>praefica</i>).	Male attendant; he wears short hair and is clad in a sleeved calf-length <i>tunica</i> decorated with two vertical stripes (<i>clavi</i>). Napkin held in his left hand and left shoulder; he holds a jug in his right hand.	Right lateral side of the monument Sole depiction.	Mourning woman (<i>praefica</i>) on the opposite side, family depiction on the main side.	DAICOVICIU 1940, 324, Fig. 22; GUDEA/LUCĂCEL 1975, 42, No. 140; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 171, No. 46, Pl. XXI; GUDEA 1989, 789, No. 105, Pl. CCCI.

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
28. Pl. VII/ 28	Right lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Sutoru (Sălaj county) Auxiliary fort, excavations from 2006.	MJIAZ Without Inv. No	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant (shoulders and head are missing) clad in a calf-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds a jug with spout in his right hand, and a napkin in his left hand slung over left shoulder.	Lower register of <i>aedicula</i> right lateral wall.	-	COCIȘ ET ALII 2010, No.: 6, Pl. IV/A-D.
29. Pl. VII/ 29	Right lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa</i> (Sarmizegetusa, Hunedoara county) (According to CIONGRADI 2007).	MCDRD Inv. No. 3591	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant clad in an ankle-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds a jug with spout in his right hand and a napkin in the left hand, slung over the shoulder.	Right lateral wall, external side. Sole depiction	Horseman on the internal side.	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 10, No. 10, Fig. 18; ALICU ET ALII 1979, 164, No. 474, Pl. LXXXVII; ANDRIȚOIU 2006, 100-102, pl. 38/3a; CIONGRADI 2007, 214, No. Ae/S3, Taf. 80/Ae/S3 (only the inner side illustrated).
Type II.c								
30. Pl. VIII/ 30	See no. 11 from this catalogue.							
Type II.d								
31. Pl. VIII/ 31	See no. 2 from this catalogue.							
Type II.e								
32. Pl. VIII/ 32	Wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Brâncovenești (Mureș county) Discovered in the auxiliary fort, excavation from 1972, surface D.	MJM Without Inv. No.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant clad in a <i>tunica</i> , holds a beaker in his right hand.	Lower register. Sole depiction.	Family representation in the upper register.	PROTASE/ZRINYI 1992, 101-102, No. 17, Fig. IX/2; RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 1994, 141, No. 49.
Type II.f								
33. Pl. VIII/ 33	Left side-wall of <i>aedicula</i>	Tihău (Sălaj county) Discovered in the vicinity of the auxiliary fort.	MJIAZ Inv. No. 1026.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male child attendant dressed in a sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds a jug with spout in his right hand.	Upper register of lateral wall.	-	PROTASE 1961, 140, Nr. 8, Fig. 8; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 28, No. 87, fig. 106; GUDEA/LUCĂCEL 1975, 40, No. 130.
Type II.h								
34. Pl. VIII/ 34	Left side wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Apulum</i> ? (Alba Iulia, Alba county)	MIABB Without Inv. No.	Post Hadrianic period (See Ciongradi 2007)	Male attendant clad in a <i>tunica</i> , holds a large round object, possibly representing a platter with foodstuffs.	Inner side of the wall. Sole depiction.	-	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, No. 68, Fig. 86; RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 1994, 139, No. 13; CIONGRADI 2007, 216, No. Ae/A 5. Taf. 75/Ae/A 5.

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
Type II. i								
35. Pl. IX/ 35	Funerary monument component (<i>Schaftblock</i>)	<i>Apulum</i> (Alba Iulia, Alba county) The necropolis of the settlement.	MNUAI Inv. No. 88.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant, clad in a knee-length <i>tunica</i> , holds a napkin in the right hand and an unidentifiable object (possibly a sack, see Ciongradi 2007) in his left hand.	Left lateral side of the monument. Sole depiction.	Man in military clothes (<i>cingulum</i> , <i>balteus</i> , sword).	FLORESCU 1930, 109, No. 57, Fig. 48; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 22, No. 67, Fig. 84; CIONGRADI 2007, 231, No. Sc/A 5, Taf. 85/Sc/A 5a-b.
36. Pl. VIII/36	Profiled <i>stela</i> ⁷⁸	Giău (Cluj county). Stray find from the spot known as "Veresmart".	MNITC Inv. No. I. 6911.	3 rd century AD (See Diaconescu/Isac 1982).	Male attendant depicted in half-figure, dressed in a sleeved <i>tunica</i> with a jug or pitcher in his right hand and the napkin in his left hand slung over the shoulder.	Main relief field. Funerary banquet scene, the attendant is placed between the chair from the right side and the table.	-	CIL III, 847 =7651; FLORESCU 1930, 86, No. 14, Fig. 12 (without the upper-left corner); BIANCHI 1974, 173, Fig. 6; ISAC 1979, 62, 64, Nr. 5; DIACONESCU/ISAC 1980, 119, No. 4, Fig. 4; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 128, No. 108, Pl. XI.; VEL No. 15005; BIANCHI 1985, 275, No. 162, Tav. XLII, Fig. 109.
37. Pl. IX/ 37	Pilaster-shaped monument (<i>Pfeilergrabmal</i>)	<i>Micia</i> (Vețel, Hunedoara county)	MCDRD Inv. No. 105	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant clad in ankle-length, sleeved tunic, holds a napkin in his left hand and a bucket or basket in the right hand.	Right lateral side. Sole depiction.	Family depiction on the front side.	FLORESCU 1930, 115, No. 39, Fig. 58; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 48, Fig. 125. ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 174, No. 57, Pl. XXII; CIONGRADI 2007, 213, No. Pf/M 4, Taf. 69/Pf/M 4a-b.
38. Pl. X/38	Left lateral wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Micia</i> (Vețel, Hunedoara county)	MCDRD Without Inv. No.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Male attendant clad in a calf-length sleeved <i>tunica</i> , holds a jug with spout represented in a frontal view in his right hand, and an unidentifiable object in his left hand.	Left lateral wall Sole depiction	-	FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 10, No. 12; ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 210, No. 53, CIONGRADI 2007, 224, No. Ae/M 24, Pl. 81/Ae/M 24.
39. Pl. IX/ 39	See no. 14 from this catalogue.							

78 Inscription: *D(is) M(anibus) | Aurel(ius) Carinus cor(nicularius) | a<l=I>(a)<e=I> Sil(ianae) vix(it) annis | [--- A]urelia Ser|[--- co]niux pientissi(ma) | [co]niugi posuit | [b(ene)] m(erenti).*

No./Pl.	Type of the monument	Place of provenience	Place of custody	Dating	The iconography of the servant(s)	Place within the monument / iconographical context	Associated depictions on the monument	References
Depictions where the presence of servants is only suggested								
40. Pl. VII/ 28	<i>Pseudo-aedicula</i> type altar	Ilișua (Bistrița-Năsăud county) Discovered inside the auxiliary fort.	CMBN Without Inv. No.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Funerary banquet scene, with three participants, a man reclining, a woman on the <i>kathedra</i> and a female character in the background. A jug with spout and a <i>panarium</i> are placed on the floor under the table.	-	On the left side Attis leaning on a <i>pedum</i> and on the right one a <i>kantharos</i> with wine stalk and grapes.	PROTASE 1961, 127-134, Fig. 1a-c; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 48, Fig. 120; BIANCHI 1974, 168, Fig. 4; TEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, 171, Nr. 44, pl. XXI; RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 1994, 131, 144, No. 82., pl. II/3.
41. Pl. VII/ 29	Hinder wall of <i>aedicula</i>	<i>Potaissa</i> (Turda, Cluj county) Discovered inside the legionary fort.	MIT Inv. No. 2797.	2 nd -3 rd century AD.	Funerary banquet scene, with four participants on the <i>kliné</i> and one on the <i>kathedra</i> . A <i>panarium</i> is placed between two jugs with spout on the floor below the <i>mensa tripes</i> .	-	-	MITROFAN/TEPOSU 1970, 533-534, Fig. 3; JUDE/POP 1972, 7, No. 1, Pl. 1; FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 14, No. 33, Fig. 44; RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 1994, 131, 146, No. 107, pl. II/5.

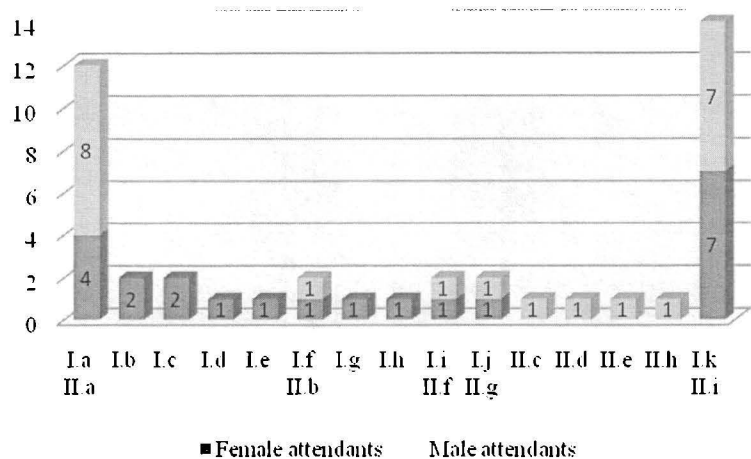
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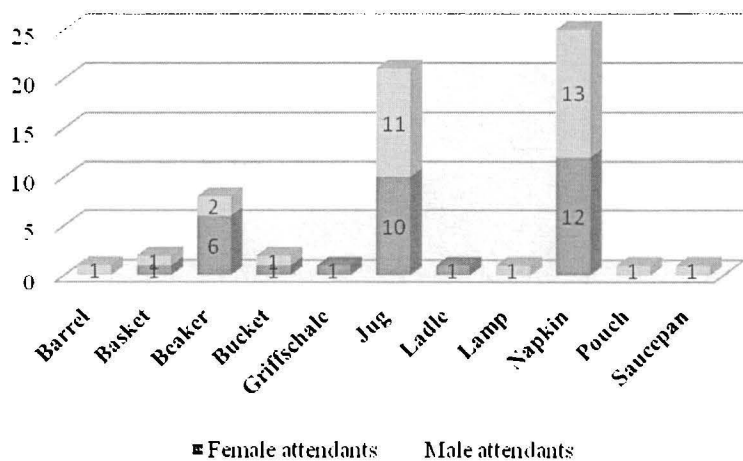
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Institution names

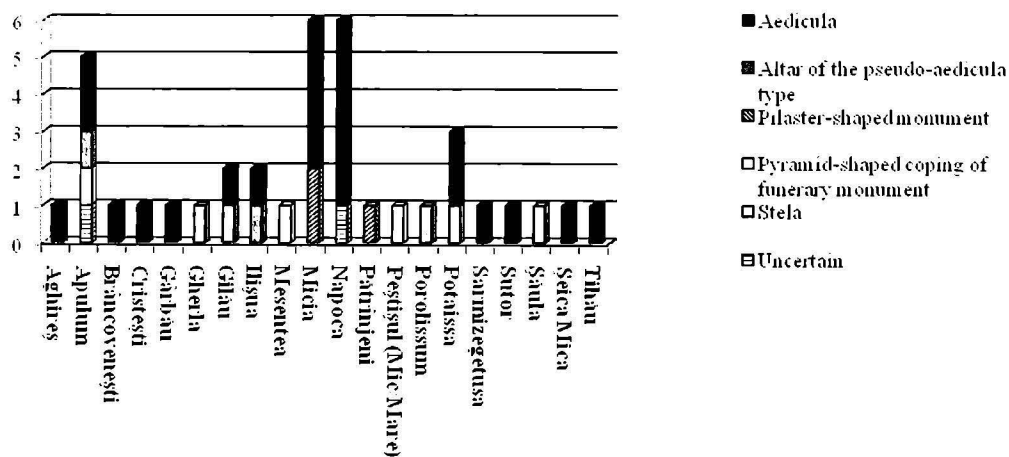
CMBBN	Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud (Bistrița-Năsăud County Museum, Bistrița).
MCDRD	Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva (Museum of Dacian and Roman Civilisation, Deva).
MIABB	Muzeul de Istorie Augustin Bunea, Blaj (Museum of History Augustin Bunea, Blaj).
MIT	Muzeul de Istorie, Turda (Museum of History, Turda).
MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Zalău (County Museum of History and Art, Zalău).
MJM	Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu-Mureș (Mureș County Museum, Târgu-Mureș).
MNIR	Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București (National History Museum of Romania, Bucharest).
MNITC	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca (National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca).
MNUAI	Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia (National Museum of Union, Alba Iulia).



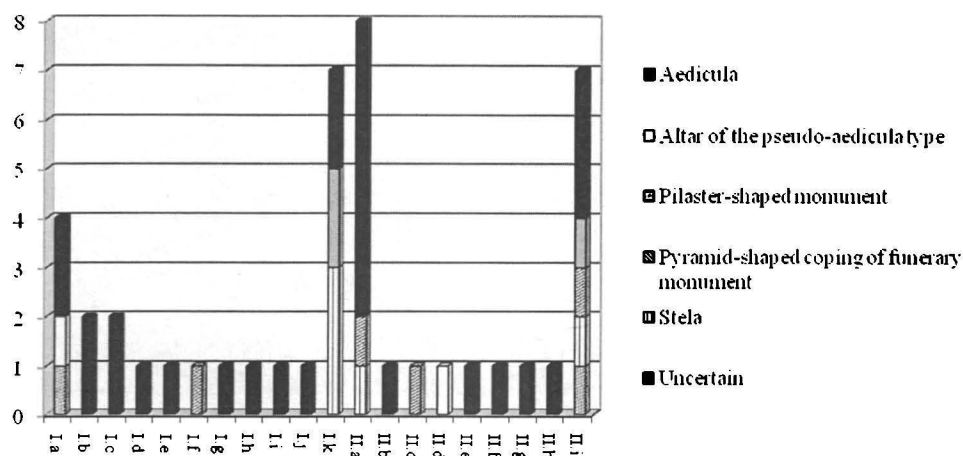
Graph 1. Distribution of iconographical types according to gender.



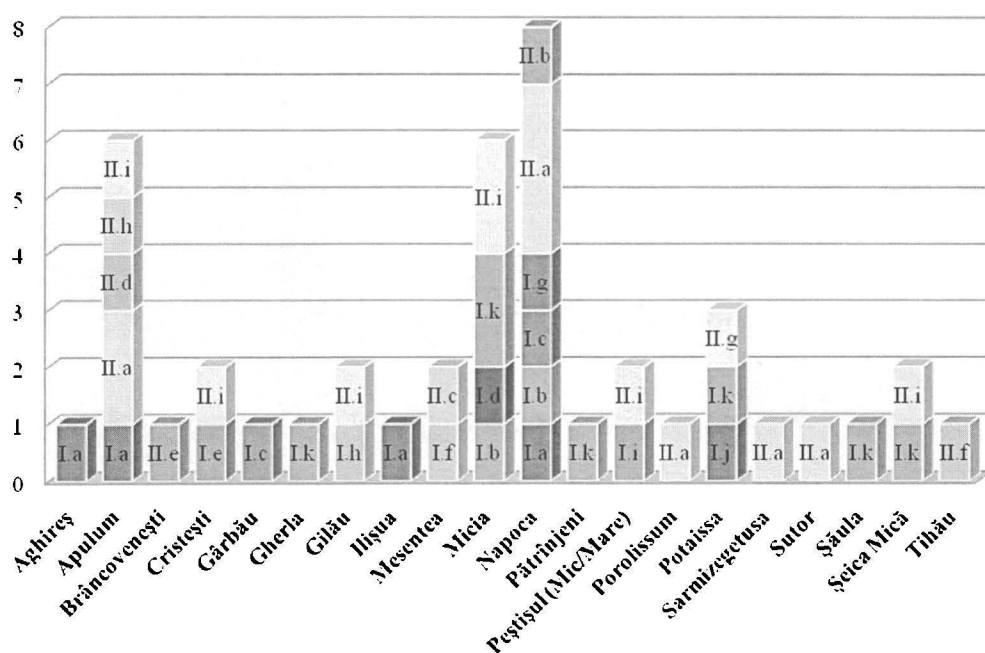
Graph 2. Distribution of attributes according to gender.



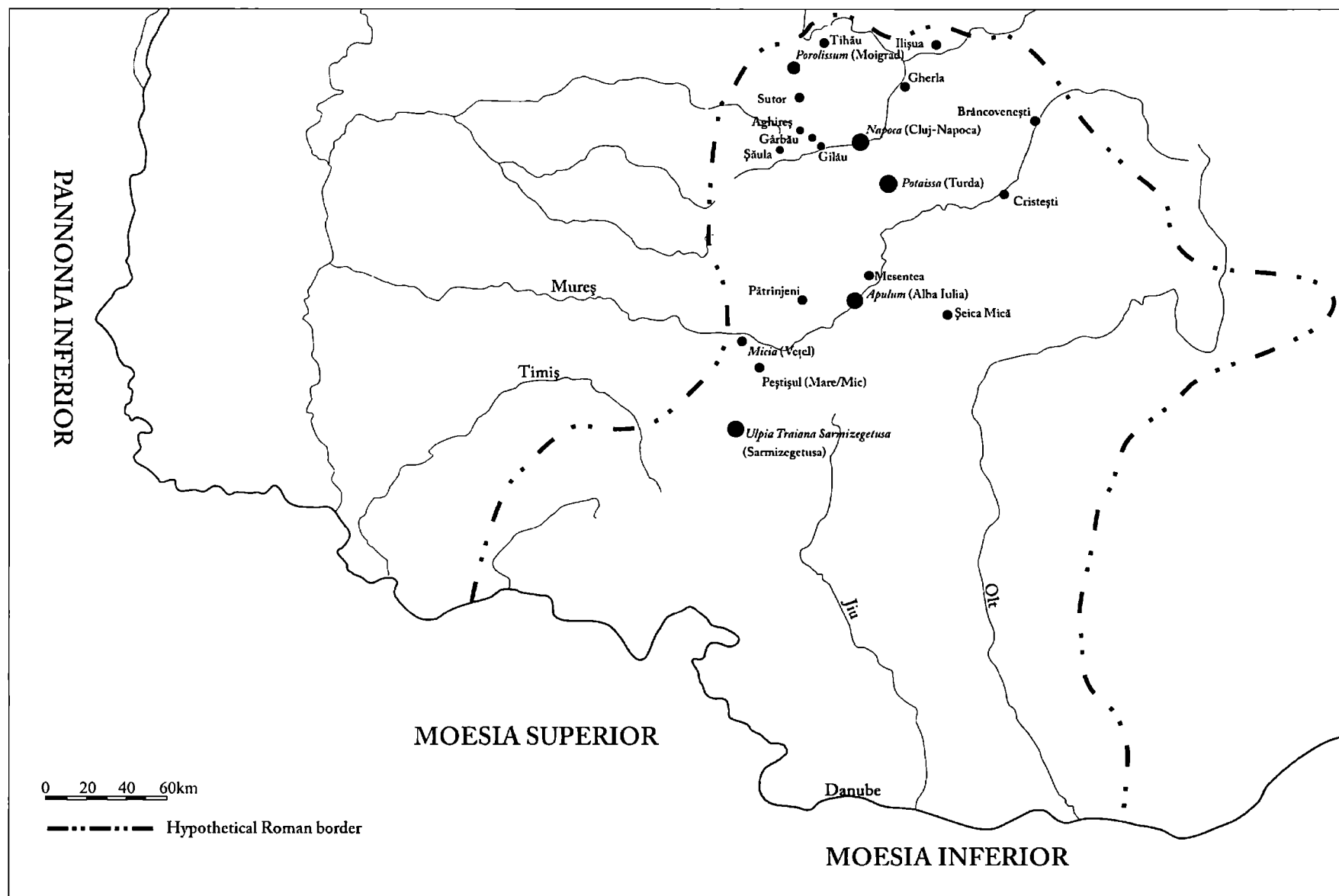
Graph 3. Distribution of monument types according to the place of discovery.



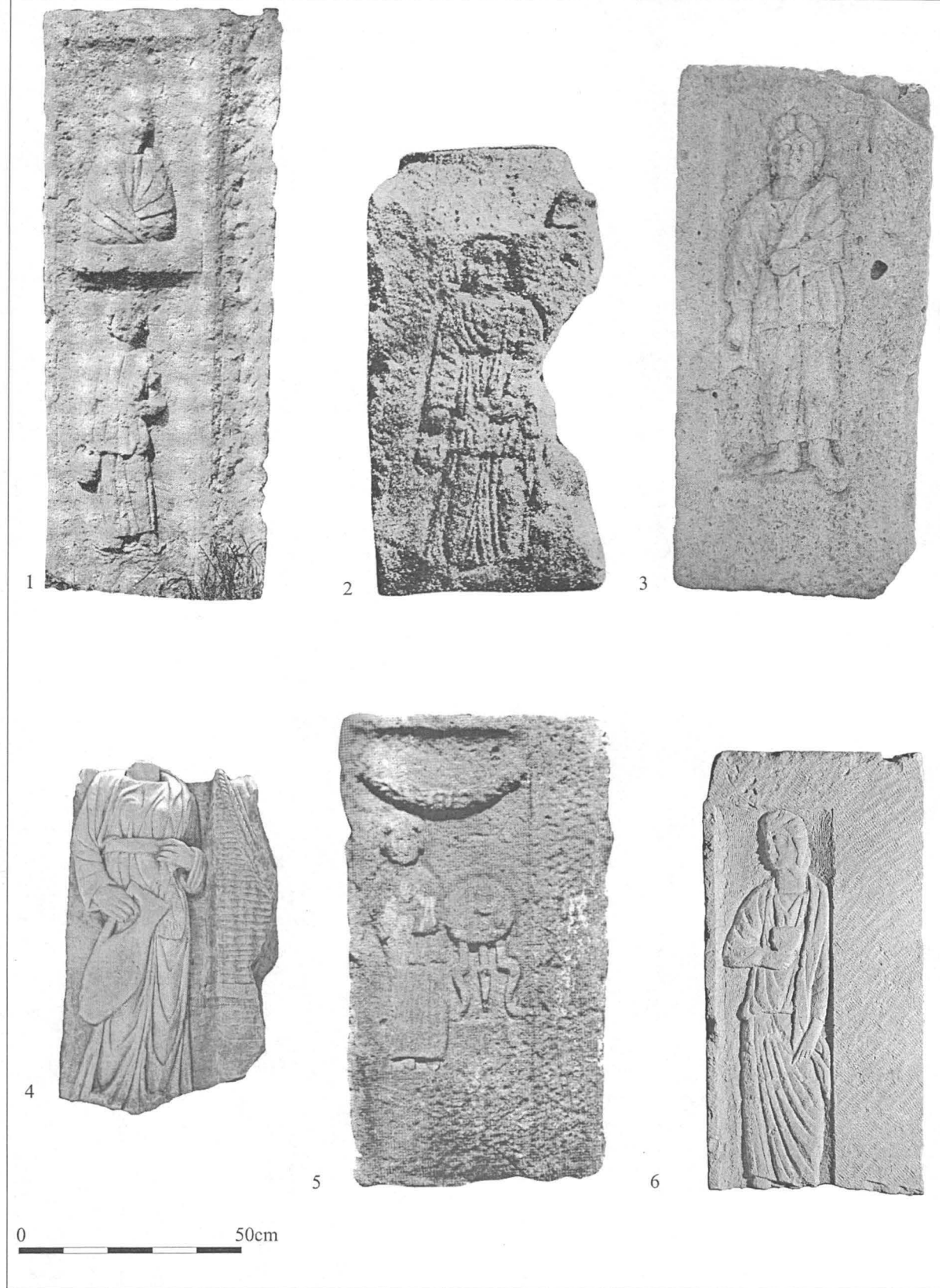
Graph. 4. Distribution of iconographical types according to the type of monument.



Graph 5. Distribution of iconographical types according to the place of discovery.



Pl. I. Funerary monuments with representations of servants from Roman Dacia.



Pl. II. 1. Aghireș (after FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 30, Fig. 115); 2. *Apulum* (Alba Iulia) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 431, Taf. 61/A/A 6c); 3. Ilișua (photo: S. Mustăță); 4. *Napoca* (Cluj-Napoca) (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie); 5. *Micia* (Vețel) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 446, Taf. 76/Ae/M 12); 6. *Napoca* (Cluj-Napoca) (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie).



Pl. III. 7. Gârbău (after FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 27, Fig. 99); 8. *Napoca* (Cluj-Napoca) (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie); 9. *Micia* (Vețel) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 451, Taf. 81/AE/M 23b); 10. Cristești (after FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 21, Fig. 67); 11. Mesentea (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie).

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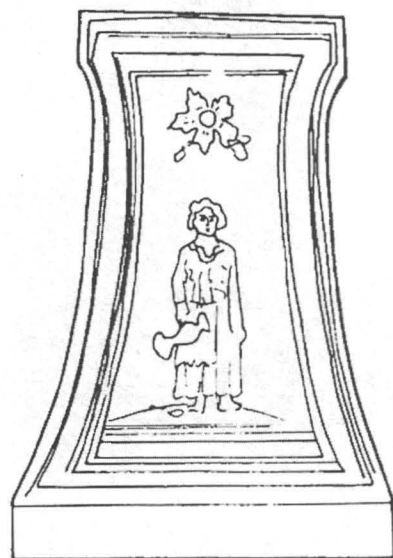
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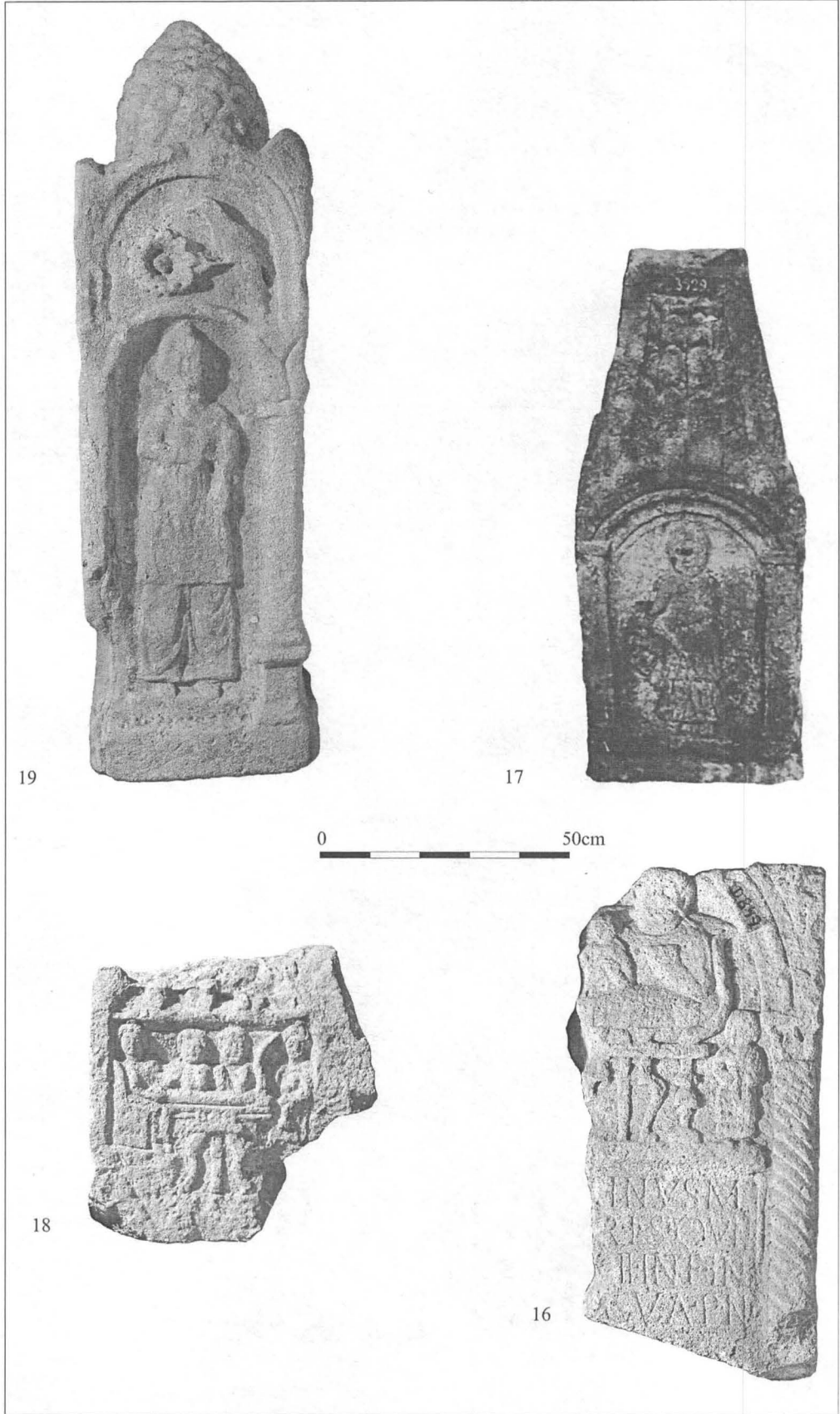
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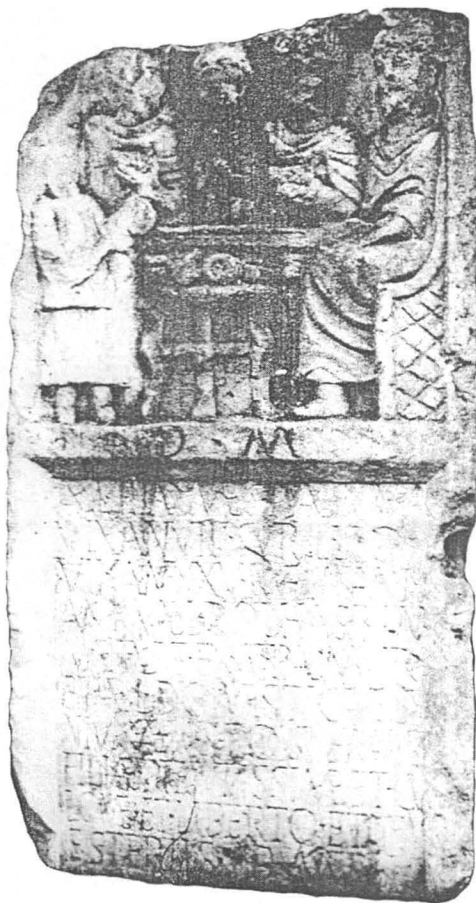
0 50cm



Pl. IV. 12. *Napoca* (Cluj-Napoca) (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie); 13. *Gilău* (after BODOR 1960, 42, fig. 1); Diaconescu/Isac 1980, 124, fig. 7); 14. *Peștișul* (Mare/Mic) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 465, Taf. 95/Py/S 2b); 15. *Potaissa* (Turda) (after JUDE/POP 1972, 50, Pl. VIII/1)



Pl. V. 16. Gherla (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie); 17. *Micia* (Vețel) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 438, Taf. 68/Pf/M 2b); 18. *Micia* (Vețel) (photo: A. Lumezeanu); 19. Pătrînjeni (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie).

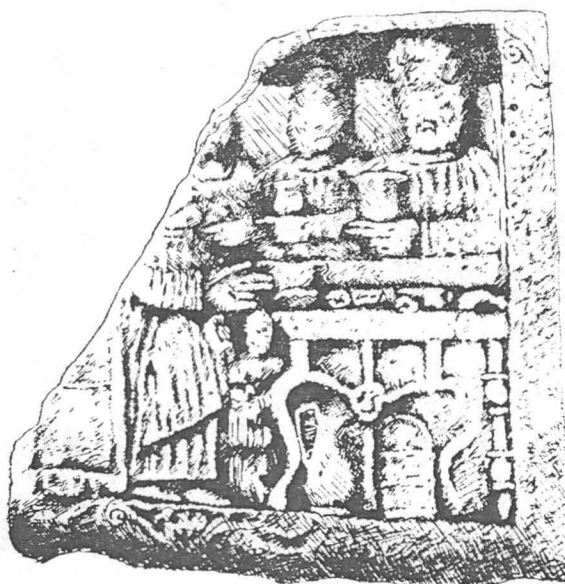


20



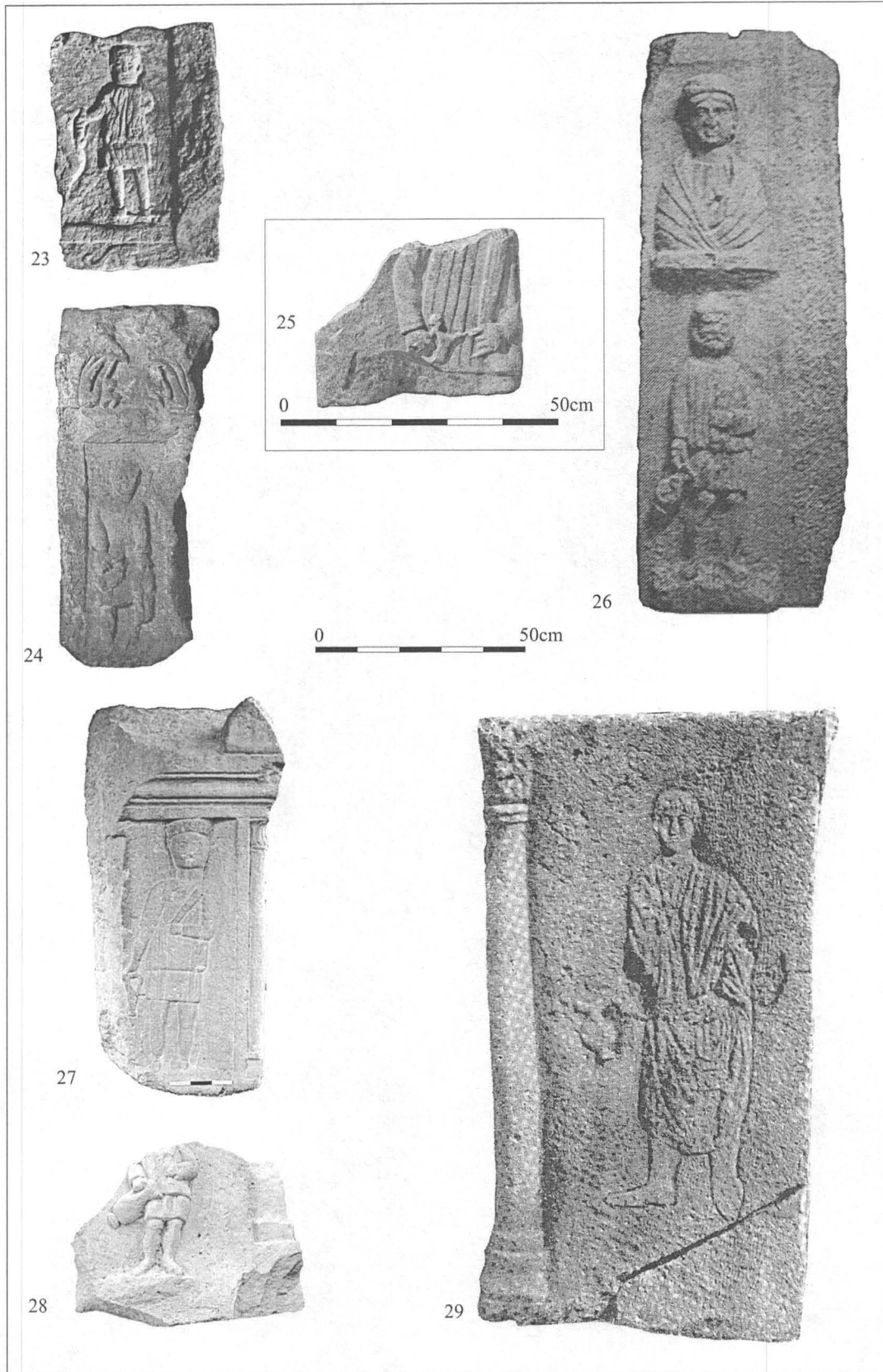
22

0 50cm



21

Pl. VI. 20. *Potaissa* (Turda) (after ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, Pl. X/S 115); 21. *Șăula* (after DIACONESCU 1979, 548, Fig. 2); 22. *Șeica Mică* (after ȚEPOSU-MARINESCU 1982, Pl. XXXVIII/Ae 74).



Pl. VII. 23-24. *Apulum* (Alba Iulia); 25. *Napoca* (Cluj-Napoca) (Cluj-Napoca) (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie); 26. *Napoca* (Cluj-Napoca) (discovered at Luncani) (after BIANCHI 1974, 162, fig. 2); 27. *Porolissum* (Moigrad); 28. Sutor (photo: D. Petruț); 29. *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa* (Sarmizegetusa) (after FLOCA/WOLSKI 1973, 9, Fig. 18).



Pl. VIII. 30. Mesentea (photo: D. Petruț); 31. *Apulum* (Alba Iulia) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 431, Taf. 61/A/A 6b); 32. Brâncovenești (after PROTASE/ZRINYI 1992, Pl. IX/2); 33. Tihău (after GUDEA/LUCĂCEL 1975, 40, No. 130, fig. 130); 34. *Apulum* (Alba Iulia) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 445, Taf. 75/Ae/A 5).

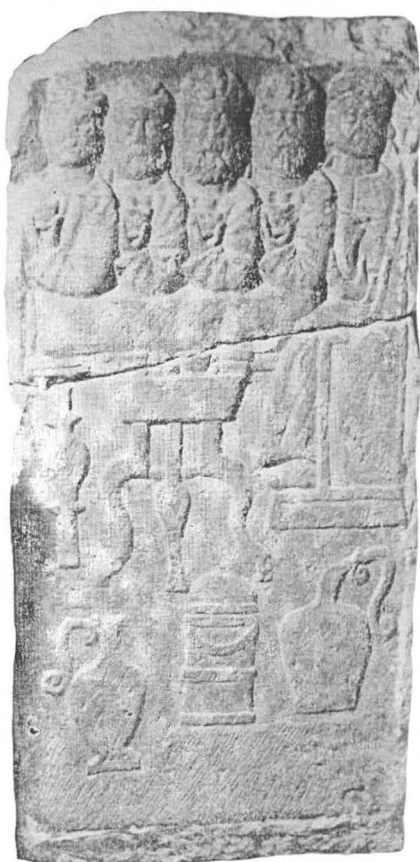


Pl. IX. 35. *Apulum* (Alba Iulia) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 455, Taf. 85/Sc/A 5b); 36. Gilău (photo: National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca: S. Odenie); 37. *Micia* (Vețel) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 439, Taf. 69/Pf/M 4b); 38. *Micia* (Vețel) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 451, Taf. 81/Ae/M 24); 39. Peștisul (Mare/Mic) (after CIONGRADI 2007, 465, Taf. 95/Py/S 2c).



40

0 50cm



41

Pl. X. 40. Ilișua (photo: S. Mustăță); 41. *Potaissa* (Turda)
(after JUDE/POP 1972, 43, Pl. I).