

Sanja Pilipović

Heroic Themes of the Trojan Cycle in Roman Funerary Art Example of a Relief from Pincum

The relief of Achilles and Hector from Veliko Gradište (Pincum), in the area of the Upper Moesian Limes, today in the National Museum in Belgrade, has not so far been analyzed in the scholarly literature. The relief draws most of its significance from the theme, infrequently shown in the funerary stelae of the Balkan and other provinces of the Empire. Although the relief has been preserved only as a fragment, it is obvious that the monument was elaborate in terms of iconography and a piece of fine craftsmanship. This is a sufficient reason to present the relief and make an attempt to place it in a relevant context. It also seems essential to take a look at other reliefs with heroic themes from the Trojan Cycle found not only in Upper Moesia, but also in other provinces of the Empire. Furthermore, it appears important to examine the inscription discovered along with this relief, and to investigate the possibility of their being fragments of a single funerary monument.

Before we proceed to their analysis, both the Pincum relief and the concurrently discovered inscription will be presented in a catalogue form:

Relief:	Relief on a damaged fragment of white coarse-grained marble.
Dimensions:	Length 80 cm; medium width 60 cm; thickness 5–9.5 cm.
Discovery site:	Estate of Kosta Marković, Veliko Gradište (Pincum). ¹
Date:	Beginning of 2nd century.
Today:	For a long time property of Kosta Marković, who made a gift of both the relief and the inscription to the Archaeological Society; it was kept in Weiffert Collection; today in the National Museum, Belgrade, Inv. no. 2991/III.
Description:	Relief on the fragment of a marble slab, placed in a square field, is damaged on three sides. Above the relief the remnant of a flat field with the base of a semi-column is observable. Most probably it was the inscription field flanked by semi-columns. The lower part of

¹ Valtrović 1886, 69; Kanitz 1892, 24. However, in his first reference to this monument F. Kanitz (1861, 11, Pl. 3/4) cites the name of Stojan Marjanović.

the slab is narrower and its roughly dressed surface suggests that it was in the ground.

The left side shows a crenellated round tower of dressed stone blocks with a gate in its lower left part. To the right of the tower is the *biga* in which Achilles stands, and to which Hector's legs are bound. Hector's naked body lies lifeless on the ground, with his hair ruffled, his right arm close to the body, and the left above the head. Achilles is armoured and has a helmet with a plume of feathers, his left foot is on the *biga*, and the right one rests on Hector's belly. He holds the reins of his horse and a round shield in his left hand, and the right one is raised to the side, but the relief being damaged, it is impossible to say whether he is holding something in it. At the time Kalinka and Swoboda saw the relief the object was recognizably a whip. Below the shield, horses' tails are recognizable.

Letters *B* and *T* can be seen on the top left side above the tower, and on the top right side, above the horses' heads, are the letters *K*, *C*, and *M*. Cyrillic letters were most probably inscribed at a later date.

Inscription: The inscribed fragment was discovered along with the relief on the estate of Kosta Marković at Veliko Gradište (Pincum). It now is lost, and all that is known about it is based on older documents. Valtrović claimed that the inscription fragment, as well as the relief fragment, had entered the National Museum in Belgrade from Weiffert Collection, but there is no information in the Museum's records suggesting that this fragment has ever been the property of the Museum.² As for the material of the inscribed fragment, according to M. Valtrović both the inscription and the relief were cut in *white coarse-grained marble*. Based on the description, it is known that the slab with the inscription was irregular in shape, dented on all four sides and, based on the preserved part of the semi-column on the lower left side, probably flanked by semi-columns. Valtrović supplies the following dimensions of the fragment: length 70 cm, medium width 67 cm, thickness 4 cm.

Inscription text:³

] | [- - - -] XXX Fl(avio, -ae?) Iucu[n(do, -dae?)] |
 [- - - -]r et Aeli (i) ann(orun) |
 [- - - -]s et Iucundus | [- - - -]s et Gaia her(edes) |⁵
 [- - - -] Gaianus fil(ius) | [- - - -]c
 h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

² My gratitude to the curators of the National Museum in Belgrade Veselinka Ninković, for assistance in my search for data related to this inscription fragment, and Deana Ratković, for providing the photograph of the relief.

³ I owe a debt of gratitude to Snežana Ferjančić, Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, for her help in reading this inscription. It is necessary to note that the reading of this inscription cannot be completely reliable due to its fragmentary character.

Bibliography: *CIL* III, 8098 (-6298); Kanitz 1861, 11, T. 3/4; Valtrović 1886, 69-70; Kalinka, Swoboda 1890, 42, no. 24; Kanitz 1892, 23-24; Vulić, Ladek, Premerstein 1903, 45; Vulić 1909, 114-115.

Achilles, the great hero of the Trojan War, was one of the most important figures in Roman funerary art. Achilles' cycle comprised, among others, the following compositions: immersing of child Achilles in the Styx, Achilles' education with Cheiron, his being found on Skyros among Lycomedes' daughters, killing of Penthesileia, his encounter with Priam.⁴ The representation of Achilles dragging Hector's body is just one of the scenes making up the vast Achilles' cycle, but also the crucial moment of the Trojan Cycle, depicted in more detail on sarcophagi than on funerary stelae. Sarcophagi usually showed the cycle, or a larger number of scenes with the mythological theme.⁵

The artistic representations of the myth of Achilles and Hector on funerary stelae show little difference. Achilles usually stands in a *biga*, trailing the victim on the ground behind him.⁶ Iconographic differences are usually a matter of detail: the *biga* may move in different directions, the horses may be in gallop or standing still. The basic scene – Achilles standing in the *biga* and dragging Hector's body – could be enriched with the walls of Troy in the background, or a figure of Achilles' fellow warrior Patroclus, of Andromache and Victory, and at times Priam and Hecuba, or Athena.⁷ Compared to the basic type, the relief from Pincum is enriched with a round tower on the left. This iconographic detail makes it obvious that the Pincum relief

⁴ Sichtermann, Koch 1975, 15-17; cf. Toynbee 1977, 348-352, 407; *LIMC* I, s.v. Achilleus, no. 607-640.

⁵ This myth is depicted on numerous Attica sarcophagi. The fragment of a sarcophagus from Dalmatia, from an unknown site, bears scenes of this myth in an unusual, right to left, sequence. The front side probably bore Achilles and Hector, on the left was the scene of Hermes and Priam pleading for Hector's body, and on the right the warrior halting Achilles' *biga* (Cambi 1988, 31-33, cat. no. 8); also, other sarcophagi are characterized by complex iconographies varying only in the number and selection of scenes. Usually the right side of the composition shows Priam kneeling and pleading with Achilles for his son's body; behind him are servants untying the horses of Achilles' *biga* to which Hector's body is bound, Automedon as the charioteer, and at the end there is the wagon with Priam's ransom; Automedon, most probably under Achilles' orders, dragged the body of Hector around Patroclus' grave; and finally, the unbinding of Hector's body to give it his father (*LIMC* I, s.v. Achilleus, no. 618-630).

⁶ Toynbee 1977, 408-409.

⁷ *LIMC* I, s.v. Achilleus, no. 607-640.

draws on Homer's verses about Achilles dragging Hector's body three times around the walls of Troy.⁸

The composition of Achilles dragging Hector's body and, consequently, the relief from Pincum, may express its symbolic meaning at several different levels. On the first level, Achilles, the epic hero of the Trojan Cycle, embodies *Virtus* in the most explicit manner.⁹ Besides Meleager, Bellerophon, Heracles, and other epic heroes, Achilles was certainly one of the most popular mythological characters shown in funerary art. All these themes, regardless of their eclecticism, symbolized the union of the deceased with the divine world, and showed that mortals could earn eternal life by their virtues, especially heroic virtues.¹⁰

Scholars are in agreement that Achilles, as a symbol of *Virtus*, was raised to immortality by virtue of his conscious decision.¹¹ According to Homer, Achilles was given to choose between a long and peaceful life and heroic glory.¹² By deciding to kill Hector, he chose to die at a young age and win heroic glory.¹³ In that context, the composition of Achilles dragging Hector's body and the scene of finding Achilles on Skyros stand apart from Achilles' cycle. The decision reached on Skyros begins to be brought to fulfilment at the moment of Achilles' killing Hector, and that is why these two

⁸ According to Homer, Achilles went round the city walls three times, dragging Hector's body bound with the belt given to Hector by Ajax (*Il.* XXII), and after that, overwhelmed by grief, Achilles would rise at dawn and drag Hector's body around Patroclus' grave (*Il.* XXIV).

⁹ Studying *virtus* as a theme in funerary art, R. Turcan (1978, 1730) suggests its varied expressions. Thus, the myth about Meleager expresses symbolism through the *virtus*-death relation; myths about Phaedra and Hippolytos, Stheneboea and Bellerophon, Ariadne and Theseus, are expressive of the love-*virtus* relation; while the scenes showing Achilles on Skyros, Heracles or the Amazons exemplify *virtus*.

¹⁰ Schefold 1961, 183; Toynbee 1977, 407.

¹¹ Cumont 1942, 22; Schefold 1961, 183.

¹² *Il.* XVIII, 88-99, 114-116, 329-335, 409-410, 420-422; XIX, 410-416.

¹³ Achilles learnt from his mother that he would die if he killed Hector out of love for Patroclus, but also that, if he did not, he would live to a ripe old age in his homeland. Thetis knew that Achilles would not return from the battle, because destiny meant for him to make the decision he made, so she hid him on Skyros, where Achilles' reached his decision. The importance of this decision is stressed by the fact that, by Thetis' orders, Achilles was followed everywhere by the servant Mnemon who was supposed to keep reminding him that should he ever kill a son of Apollo's, he would die at Apollo's hands. Ancient writers say that Achilles killed Mnemon because he failed to remind him of Thetis' words in good time, and also claim that he argued with Agamemnon three times, blaming him for calling him to war only subsequently (Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 28; Apd. *Ep.* III, 31; Proclus, *Chrest.* 1).

compositions may be seen as the decision and its practical realization, which is shown in the relief from Pincum. Accordingly, the reason for this theme, and the one from Pincum, to be chosen for the decoration of funerary monuments should be sought in the idea of *Imitatio Achillis*. The deceased earns union of his soul with the divine world by his virtue, especially his valour.¹⁴ Studying the funerary context of Greek myths, Olszewski emphasizes the importance of this theme from the Trojan Cycle.¹⁵ Relying on the work by a famous soothsayer of the Antonine period, Artemidorus Daldianus, he sees the myths of Hector's death and funeral, and of Achilles' foretold death, as symbolizing the separation of the soul from the body and its union with the divine world.¹⁶ According to him, Hector's tragic death also demonstrates the importance of retrieving his remains to be buried in accordance with the established ritual.

Besides being a heroic scene from the Trojan cycle, the Pincum relief may be seen in the following way as well. In its essence, the scene of Achilles trailing Hector's body is the realization of his choice, namely that heroic death and eternal bliss should be preferred over a long and peaceful life in this world. The motive behind this choice, according to Plato, is Achilles' love for Patroclus.¹⁷ Plato believes that Achilles followed Patroclus, as Alcestis followed Admetus, yearning for immortality. Thus understood, Achilles dragging Hector's body becomes an expression of love rewarded by the gods. This act is, however, the expression of both love and valour. Out of love for Patroclus, Achilles chooses not only to die for him, but to die for him who is already dead. In classical texts the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus was described in different ways. According to some writers, it was more than just friendship, in fact, they are seen as lovers.¹⁸ It was even believed that they remained together even after death, on the island of Leuke at the mouth of the Danube.¹⁹ Plato refers to this honour paid to Achilles by the gods when speaking of love and says that Achilles' reward

¹⁴ Schefold 1961, 183.

¹⁵ Olszewski 2001, 157 ff.

¹⁶ Artemidorus Daldianus, *Oneirocritica*; cf. Olszewski 2001, 157 ff and the diagram on p. 158.

¹⁷ Plat. *Symp.* 179c-180c, 208 d; cf. Turcan 1999, 46.

¹⁸ Aeschyl. fr. 65-67; Plat. *Symp.* 179e; Apd. *Bibl.* III, 13, 8.

¹⁹ Paus. III, 19, 13; Antilochus was, next to Patroclus, Achilles' best friend and he was the one entrusted with breaking the news of Patroclus' death to Achilles (Apd. *Bibl.* III, 10, 8; Hyg. *Fab.* 81, 97); speaking about the myth of Achilles, O. Frejdenberg 1987, 274-276, mentions also the light symbolism described in the *Iliad* (Achilles' armour, forged by fiery deities, radiates fiery light around his head, bright gold cloud blazing. Also, when the body of the dead Patroclus is laid out, the Sun, against his will, under

is greater than Alcestis', for she was brought back to life, while he was sent to the Blessed Isles.²⁰ He also links this idea with the different roles they played in their relationship, emphasizing that the role of the lover, in this case Achilles, is more important than the role of the beloved. That is why this heroic theme of the Trojan Cycle may be also understood as an indirect expression of love. However, the reasons for Achilles' heroic adventure apart, this theme from the Trojan Cycle fully expresses this funerary symbolism as the most illustrious example of *virtus*, becoming a paradigm of the soul's journey after death and its union with the divine world earned by the heroic virtues shown.

After considering basic iconographic and symbolic characteristics of the relief from Pincum, it is important to look at the existing artistic analogies or other instances of this theme in funerary art. Achilles and Hector were not often represented in the funerary stelae, and not only in the area of Upper Moesia where this relief, as far as is known, is the unique example. Therefore, the closest analogies for the relief from Pincum are found in the funerary art of Noricum and Pannonia: a relief from Virunum²¹ in Noricum, and two images from Intercisa (Dunapentile) in Pannonia.²² Since it makes only three known reliefs with the representation of Achilles dragging Hector's body, they will be given more attention.

The relief from Virunum was reused for the façade of the *Maria Saal* Church in Klagenfurt, Austria.²³ It is placed in a square field topped with a Noric-Pannonian volute. The action unfolds from right to left. Achilles, naked, with a cape over his shoulder and a spear in his right hand, is standing in a *biga*. Above the *biga* is the flying figure of Victoria, with a palm branch in her left hand and a triumphal wreath of the immortals, *corona triumphalis*, in her right. Hector's naked body lies lifelessly on the ground with his left arm above his head. Achilles' body is turned to the left, and his head in the other direction. He is looking at his fellow warrior, a naked figure with a cape over the shoulder standing on a rock above Hector's body at the far right end of the composition. This fellow warrior of Achilles', most probably Patroclus, holds a large shield in his left hand, while his right hand is damaged and it cannot be seen whether he used to hold any object.

Hera's orders, must dive into the torrents of the Oceanus and set (*Il.* XVIII, 205-209; XIX 373-377, 379-382).

²⁰ Plat. *Symp.* 180d.

²¹ Ferri 1933, 98, fig. 81.

²² One relief is simpler, and the other a more elaborate composition, Toynbee 1977, 350, i, ii.

²³ Toynbee 1977, 350-351, iii; cf. Alföldy, 1974, T. 31; Ferri, 1933, 98, fig. 31.

One of the reliefs from Intercisa shows Achilles standing in the *biga*, fully equipped for war,²⁴ armoured and helmeted, with an oval shield on his left arm, extended to the right. In the raised right hand he is holding a stone to throw it at Hector, whose body, bound to the chariot, is lying on the ground behind him. This relief is the closest analogy to the relief from Pincum, but it does not show the tower depicted in the Upper Moesian example. The other relief from Intercisa also shows Achilles standing in a *biga*, armoured and helmeted.²⁵ The walls of Troy, similar to those from the Pincum relief, also appear here above Hector's body. At the left end of the relief is Andromache, holding her hair with both hands.

It is also important to point to the existence of other themes from the Trojan Cycle in the funerary art of not only Upper Moesia but also of other provinces of the Empire. Priam's pleading with Achilles for the body of his son Hector was another rarely depicted scene in funerary art. One such relief, originating from Danubian Serbia is discussed by A. Jovanović with reference to the issue of its authenticity.²⁶ If it were indeed an authentic relief, then it would be geographically the closest representation of the Trojan Cycle theme. Priam is shown kneeling and kissing the outstretched hand of Achilles. Achilles is at table and interrupts his meal, and beside the table there are two heroes, most likely Automedon, Achilles' charioteer, and Alcimius from the *Iliad*. Priam's fellow warriors are behind him, at the far left end of the composition. Below the relief is the inscription *LEG. VII CL.*²⁷

In addition to one relief from distant Gaul, Priam and Achilles are only shown in two reliefs, both from Pannonia.²⁸ One is kept in a museum in Vienna, while the other, geographically much closer, comes from Aquincum. The relief from Aquincum shows Priam with a Phrygian cap kneeling before Achilles. Behind Achilles is most probably Athena, while the right side of the relief is damaged.

²⁴ Toynbee 1977, 350, i; Móscy 1974, T. 33b; Erdélyi 1974, fig. 186.

²⁵ Toynbee 1977, 350, ii; Erdélyi 1974, fig. 187.

²⁶ Jovanović 2002, 89-92.

²⁷ A. Jovanović (2002, 91), in his analysis of the relief of Priam's pleading with Achilles, suggests that the idea of *Imitatio Achillis* may be applied also to one of the imperators or triumphators in the East, or rather in the Lower Danubian region, island of Leuke, Achilles' abode after death. The chosen theme from the Trojan War would be a metaphor for the victory over the enemy, but also for the hard-won Greek accord. Of a large number of possibilities Jovanović decides on Gallienus (*Vita Gall.* 13, 9), suggesting that the monument celebrates his campaigns in Achilles' wake, his military triumphs in the Lower Danubian areas.

²⁸ Toynbee 1977, 351; cf. Móscy 1974, T. 33a.

The socle of the funerary stela of Gaius Lucanius from Celeia bears another scene from the Trojan Cycle, quite unique in funerary art – Menelaus saving Patroclus' body.²⁹

To the reliefs with scenes from the Trojan War may be added the one on the funerary stela of Gaius Cornelius Rufus from Viminacium. It depicts the solemn theme of Helen and Menelaus meeting before the walls of Troy.³⁰ On the left side of this relief are the walls of Troy. Above them are the fragments of three horse heads, one above the other. Before the walls are Helen, in a long gown, and Menelaus, clad as a Roman centurion with a *gorgoneion* on his chest. They stretch their right arms towards each other. Menelaus' head is almost completely destroyed. On the left side of the composition, behind Menelaus, only the legs and part of the cape of his fellow warrior are still discernible.

Helen and Menelaus are also shown in a relief from Aquincum, Pannonia, and in two reliefs from Noricum, one from Oswaldgraben, the other from Šempeter, Celeia.³¹ In the relief from Aquincum, Menelaus raises the sword at Helen, and next to them stands Eros on an altar. Similar iconography is repeated in the relief from Oswaldgraben, while on the relief from Šempeter, in addition to this mythological couple, there are also a fellow warrior of Menelaus' and a female figure, most probably Aphrodite.

These reliefs depicting themes from the Trojan Cycle show that such instances are not numerous and, also, that there is not much iconographic variation. In that respect, the Pincum relief of Achilles and Hector fully corresponds to these most significant pieces of Roman funerary art.

Careful analysis of the preserved fragment of the relief from Pincum and its comparison with other Upper Moesian monuments may prove useful in reconstructing the original appearance of the funerary monument the relief formed part of. The relief showing Achilles dragging Hector's body was most probably placed on the socle, given that the marble part below the relief is coarser, lacks finish and is narrower, which indicates that it was buried in the ground. The preserved base of a semi-column above the relief indicates that the inscription field was flanked by semi-columns. In order to attempt a reconstruction of what the upper part of this funerary monument was like, it is necessary to take a look at all the other Upper Moesian monuments whose socles bore relief compositions surmounted by the inscription field flanked by semi-columns.

Studying the typology of Upper Moesian funerary monuments, or their architectural order, V. Kondić failed to notice any special expression

²⁹ Toynbee 1977, 396; cf. Schober 1923, 40-41, fig. 33.

³⁰ Mirković 1986, 110-111, no. 73.

³¹ Toynbee 1977, 364-365, ii, iii, iv.

peculiar to them.³² Those with the simplest scheme, a gable, an inscription field and a socle, are present, as well as those of a more elaborate form with the inter-field added, sometimes even with the main field decorated in relief.³³ Examining the typology of the stelae from this province as well as their relief decoration, the relief from Pincum may only be compared to the most representative funerary monuments from Viminacium.³⁴ The funerary stelae from Viminacium preserved in their original form, with compositions in relief and the inscription field flanked by semi-columns above (*IMS* II, 73; *IMS* II, 92; *IMS* II 110; *IMS* II 167), are very helpful in creating a more complete picture of the relief fragment from Pincum. The socles of these monuments bear the following figural scenes: augurs, hunting horsemen, rape of Europa, and dolphins with a trident.³⁵ On these monuments, the inscription field is surmounted by a square field decorated in relief, or a gable with triangular fields outside the tympanum, while one of the monuments is damaged, and it cannot be identified what was shown in the field above the inscription.³⁶ Although it is impossible to know whether the upper part of the Pincum monument had a gable or a central relief, this obviously was an architecturally elaborate monument.³⁷

³² Kondić 1965, 191.

³³ In the typology of stelae from south-eastern Lower Pannonia, V. Dautova Ruševljan shows that stelae with socles belong to the most developed architectural type of stelae. Publishing the funerary monuments from that region, she cites a single stela decorated with a mythological composition (1983, 35 ff, 62 ff, no. 91 and schematic presentation on p. 66). The stela comes from Bassiana and dates from the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries. Its socle shows the scene of Clytemnestra's death and Agamemnon's grave. Scenes with mythological narratives were more characteristic of the provinces Upper Pannonia and Noricum (Schober 1923).

³⁴ Kondić 1965; all volumes of the *IMS* edition.

³⁵ Two monuments with their socles bearing the motif of cantharos with vine or a relief which is not clearly legible today, which also have the inscription field flanked by semi-columns above, are not mentioned here. One of these two monuments has a richly decorated gable above the inscription, while the upper part of the other has not survived (Mirković 1986, no. 202 and no. 77).

³⁶ The stela with augurs on the socle, above the inscription field bears the frieze with wild animals on the run, and above it the relief of Helen and Menelaus (no. 73); the stela with the horsemen hunting on its socle does not have a preserved part above the inscription field (no. 92), while above the inscription field of the stela with the rape of Europa there is a relief of the rape of Persephone on the socle (no. 110), and, finally, above the inscription field of the stela with dolphins and a trident on the socle, there is a richly decorated upper part with the Triton and a doe in the gable, and lions in triangular fields surrounding it (no. 167) (Mirković 1986).

³⁷ Comparison with the mentioned funerary monuments from Viminacium, especially with those showing the Rape of Europa or the augurs on the socle, may indicate that

In its monumental character and dimensions, the relief of Achilles and Hector from Pincum is similar to those showing the Rape of Persephone on the stela of M. Valerius Speratus, Helen and Menelaus on the stela of C. Cornelius Rufus, or the relief with Heracles and Alcestis, now built into the fortress of Smederevo.³⁸ Regarding its placement on the stela, the closest analogies for the relief from Pincum can be found in those shown on the socles of luxury funerary monuments from Viminacium, in the relief with the augurs or the Rape of Europa.³⁹ In spite of these analogies, the relief from Pincum still falls among monuments with heroic themes from more distant provinces of the Empire, Pannonia and Noricum.

Minor iconographic differences in the iconography of these pieces with the themes from the Trojan Cycle, which are not so numerous, show that the carver who cut the Pincum relief most probably had before him a patternbook from Italy or some other artistic centre in the western provinces of the Empire, whence the influences reached this part of the Danubian areas of Upper Moesia anyway. According to V. Kondić, the relief from Pincum, as well as the relief of Heracles and Alcestis, or the reliefs on the sides of the sarcophagi showing Iphigenia on Tauris, should not be considered as imports, but as obviously made here with the use of patternbooks.⁴⁰

The relief with Achilles and Hector from Pincum is in a rather poor state of preservation, and its exact date can hardly be established. Its deciphering is made additionally difficult as the relief has lost its original three-dimensionality; however, the richness of detail and the skilful organization of the elaborate composition are still observable. All this supports the assumption that this relief, or the monument, should be dated to the first half of second century, which is the date of most of the monuments with this thematic repertoire.

the funerary monument from Pincum had a composition in relief above the inscription field. This assumption may be supported by the fact that there were workshops in Viminacium where such luxurious monuments were made. It is important to note that these luxurious monuments have a characteristic frieze with wild animals on the run, placed between the inscription field and the central relief above. Thus such a frieze was beneath the Rape of Persephone on the stela of *M. Valerius Speratus*, beneath Helen and Menelaus on the stela of *C. Cornelius Rufus*, and beneath Heracles and Alcestis on the stela built into the Smederevo fortress, of which only the upper part has survived (Mirković 1986, no. 110 and no. 73; Ladek, Premerstein, Vulić 1901, 124, figure 4; cf. *LIMC* I, s.v. Alkestis, no. 27).

³⁸ Mirković 1986, nos. 110 and 73; Ladek, Premerstein, Vulić 1901, 124, fig. 4; *LIMC* I, s.v. Alkestis, no. 27.

³⁹ Mirković 1986, nos. 73 and 110.

⁴⁰ Kondić 1965, 282.

The relief of Achilles and Hector from Pincum was discovered along with an inscription, preserved only fragmentarily and lost today.⁴¹ The authors who originally published these fragments did not state explicitly that these had formed part of the same monument; nonetheless, they were always referred to together.⁴²

In order to understand whether they are the fragments of one sepulchral whole, it is important to point out the following facts. Firstly, both fragments were made of the same material.⁴³ In addition, the preserved base of the left semi-column in the inscription field surmounting the relief indicates that the inscription was flanked by semi-columns, or that the fragment of the inscription was flanked by semi-columns, which is also mentioned in the literature.⁴⁴ And finally, even the dimensions of the fragments may suggest that they once formed part of one whole. The thickness of the inscribed fragment was 4 cm, and of the relief between 5 and 7 cm. The inscription, dented on all four sides, was 70 cm wide, and the relief, damaged only on one side, is 80 cm wide. Unfortunately, the search through the National Museum's documentation has so far failed to confirm that the inscription from Pincum used to be kept in the Museum, as stated by earlier researchers. Although the two pieces are very likely to be fragments of one funerary monument, it will not be possible to say anything more until additional information is found in the Museum documentation.

Even if the inscription were to be taken to have been an integral part of the monument, not much could be learnt about the dedicants of the funerary monument from Pincum. As the inscription, due to its fragmentary preservation, is, and was even at the time of its first publication, very difficult to read, it is not quite clear to whom the monument was dedicated. Probably three persons, Iucundus, Gaia and Gaianus (the son?), had the monument erected for one, or rather two persons, of which one was Flavius Iucundus, while the name of the other is impossible to reconstruct. What can be seen from this inscription is that those were gentile names *Flavius* and *Aelius*. M. Mirković, in her research into the origin of the inhabitants of Pincum, mentions this very inscription, or its published fragment, as a confirmation of the existence of the names *Flavius* and *Aelius* in those areas.⁴⁵ *Aelii* might have been original inhabitants, acquiring Roman citizenship

⁴¹ Valtrović 1886, 69-70.

⁴² *CIL* III, 8098 (=6298); Valtrović 1886, 69-70; Kalinka, Swoboda 1890, 42, no. 24; Kanitz 1892, 23-24; Vulić, Ladek, Premerstein 1903, 45; Vulić 1909, 114-115.

⁴³ Valtrović 1886, 69-70.

⁴⁴ Valtrović 1886, 69-70; Vulić 1909, 114-115, no. 11.

⁴⁵ In addition to these *gentilitia*, imperial gentile name *Aurelius* was also present in Pincum. Flavius and Aurelius also appear in a bronze plaque, today lost, once probably

under Hadrian, at the time the mines were opened. Settlement of veterans in the vicinity of less important military camps, like the one in Pincum, began relatively early, which is supported by evidence on these settlements from the first half of the second century and later.⁴⁶ From all this, the inscription may be dated to the period of Hadrian's rule or the period after it, and the very formula *hic situs est* confirms the date of the end of the first and beginning of the second century.⁴⁷

Bearing in mind that the relief from Pincum is a representation of heroic drama from the Trojan Cycle, it may be assumed that the choice of theme was consistent with the military profession of the deceased. It is not quite certain which units were stationed at Pincum during the Early Empire. A large number of stamped bricks have been discovered at this site to date.⁴⁸ M. Mirković believes that most were made in Viminacium and that some were manufactured at Pincum.⁴⁹ The largest number of all stamped bricks refers to legion VII *Claudia*, while those stamped with *leg IIII* probably refer to IV *Flavia*, several units of which may have stayed for a short while at the confluence of the Pek.⁵⁰ In addition to them, the area has yielded two more inscriptions referring to VII *Claudia*. One mentions a former soldier of this legion.⁵¹ The other does not explicitly mention this legion, but M. Mirković believes that it also refers to a person serving in this legion.⁵² All of the inscriptions mention the troops of Pincum and indicate that there, as also believed by M. Mirković, VII *Claudia* was stationed.⁵³ In light of these facts, the dedicant of this funerary monument should be seen as related to this legion, moreover as a person affluent enough to afford such a luxurious monument.⁵⁴

part of the military diploma, *Jahreshefte* 6, Beibl. 12, no. 14; cf. Vulić, Ladek, Premerstein 1903, 45; Mirković 1968, 103, n. 46.

⁴⁶ Mirković 1968, 118, n. 7, and 120, n. 33.

⁴⁷ On the formula *hic situs est* on Upper Moesian monuments, see Petrović 1979, 80–82.

⁴⁸ M. Mirković (1968, 102, no. 1–5) mentions the inscriptions on these bricks.

⁴⁹ *CIL* III, 6328; *Jahreshefte* 6, Beibl. 56, no. 83: *Pinco*; *Jahreshefte* 6, Beibl. 56, no. 84: *Cast(ra) Pinc(ensia)*; cf. Mirković 1968, 140, n. 42; Mirković 2003b, 49.

⁵⁰ Mirković 1968, 102.

⁵¹ *ILJug* 2, 481: *Iovi vexillario leg(ionis) VII*.

⁵² *CIL* III, 14503, 1: *Iov(i) opt(imo) m(aximo) Dulceno ex vot(o) Ael(ius) Silvanus het (=et) Leonides leg(ionis) sig(nifer) EN MIR...*(=*Jahreshefte* 4, Beibl. 77, no. 1, N. Vulić completed the last line: [*b*]ene mer(enti), cf. Mirković, 1968, 102, n. 42).

⁵³ Mirković 1968, 102, 120, n. 33.

⁵⁴ Town administrators, decurions, also set up the monument with the relief of augurs on the socle, and Helen and Menelaus in the central relief, and the monument with

The described qualities of the relief of Achilles and Hector from Pincum, and therefore the funerary monument itself, raise many issues concerning this, obviously as yet unexplored, antique settlement. Who were its inhabitants, who could afford such monuments, was this marble monument perhaps an exception? Since the first research of this archaeological site in Veliko Gradište and the time when F. Kanitz visited it, all that remained of the fort was one wall towards the Danube, still visible in some places.⁵⁵ Scholars have identified Pincum, the Roman and Early Byzantium fort (45.5 by 45.5 m), with the antique station on the road near the Danube. It was probably a major settlement, centre of the mining district in the Pek valley.⁵⁶

Given that the site that has not been investigated, the archaeological finds recorded to date will be listed here. The mentioned brick inscriptions come from Pincum,⁵⁷ as well as the two already mentioned inscriptions referring to *legio VII Claudia*, which were dedicated to Jupiter, one by a former soldier and the other, above a fragmentarily preserved sculptural representation, by Aelius Silvanus.⁵⁸ One more inscription on the fragment of a marble slab should be mentioned here, dedicated to the Spirits of the Departed, *Dis Manibus*,⁵⁹ and two inscriptions, dedicated to the Spirits of the Departed in the Underworld, *Dis Infernis*, engraved on bronze votive plaques, once probably attached to urns or sarcophagi.⁶⁰ The dedicants of these votive tablets were town administrators, *quinquennalis* and *decurio*, in a town whose name was abbreviated to *M* or *AL* and which can hardly be identified.⁶¹

the reliefs of the Rape of Europa on the socle and Rape of Persephone in the central field (Mirković 1986, no. 73 and no. 110). For the dedicant of Jason's sarcophagus, of high military ranking, and analysis of the iconography of this sarcophagus, see Pilipović 2004, 65-78; cf. Kanitz 1985, 182.

⁵⁵ Mirković 1968, 102; cf. Kanitz 1892, 23.

⁵⁶ Dušanić 1977, 76; Dušanić 1995, 138 ff; P. Petrović 1991, 210-211, in his analysis of the existence of the port and Roman fleet, *Classis Flavia Moesica* on the Danube, touches on the issue of the port in this area as well, and mentions Ostrovo near Veliko Gradište, where faint Roman traces have been registered.

⁵⁷ Mirković 1968, 102, no. 1-5.

⁵⁸ For the first inscription, see *ILJug* 2, 481; for the second inscription, cf. *CIL* III, 14503, 1; Mirković 1968, 102, n. 42; on the sculptural representation, see Vulić, Ladek, Premerstein 1903, 45.

⁵⁹ Vulić 1933, no. 39.

⁶⁰ Mirković 2003, 97-98, no. 1 and no. 2.

⁶¹ Mirković 2003, 97-98, nos. 1 and 2, assumes that the name *Flaviana* refers to the area where Viminacium and Margum were situated, similarly to the name *Aeliana* for the mining area along the Pek river.

Numerous sculptural works from Pincum were not recorded and, as far as is known, they in fact were individual, most often accidental, finds. One of the earliest references was made by F. Kanitz in 1892. He mentions bronzes such as a small statue of Mercury, child Bacchus, Zeus and a conventionally crafted Nike, which appeared in *Trausche Sammlung* collection in Vienna, via Belgrade and Budapest.⁶² Such is Athena's bronze head,⁶³ the mentioned funerary monument with the inscription, above which was the fragmentary marble base of a sculpture,⁶⁴ and a funerary monument, today known only from older literature, with an inscription which was not preserved, above which was the bust of a woman with a child and a strap with herbal ornament beneath the relief.⁶⁵ A die for striking the obverse of Hadrian's denarius or aureus,⁶⁶ and a golden ring whose loop is formed by two naked female figures holding in their raised hands a plate inlaid with a white opal cameo with Medusa's head.⁶⁷ There are also several graves.⁶⁸ In addition to several ceramic and glass vessels, two metal daggers were also found,⁶⁹ and two metal buckles used for fastening the wooden sheaths for the sword whose fragment was also found, as well as a golden earring. M. Cunjak, based on the results of small-scale rescue excavations, simply reports a necropolis with cremation burials to the northwest of Pincum, and another one with inhumation burials to the southwest of the fort.⁷⁰ The mentioned pieces, in fact rare archaeological finds, support the belief that this is a site that has not been sufficiently investigated. Transcending in its significance the provincial boundaries, the monument discussed in this paper corroborates this belief.

⁶² Kanitz 1892, 24.

⁶³ The height of this bronze fragment was 4 cm, Vulić 1933, 21, no. 41.

⁶⁴ The dimensions of this small marble base were 58 x 12 x 5 cm, and the height of the sculptural representation itself was 29 cm (Vulić, Ladek, Premerstein 1903, 45, with a drawing).

⁶⁵ Vulić, Ladek, Premerstein 1903, 45.

⁶⁶ Popović 1988, 150, type A, no. 2 (with earlier bibliography); Dušanić 1995, 138, fig. 6.

⁶⁷ Popović 1992, 36, no. 60.

⁶⁸ M. Cunjak 1985, 57-58 mentions the results of archaeological research conducted after accidental findings during construction work at Veliko Gradište in 1985.

⁶⁹ A. Jovanović 2000, 79-82, in his analysis of these daggers, suggests that the two are complementary and identifies them as *sica*, a well-known weapon of Thracian or Dacian origin. Through careful analysis the author arrives at the conclusion that this is the grave of a (former) soldier of IIII *Flavia* or VII *Claudia*, and dates it to the first half of the 2nd century.

⁷⁰ Cunjak 1985, 58.

In conclusion, it may be said that the fragmented relief from Pincum with the scene of Achilles dragging Hector's body belonged to a funerary stela of the architectural type, and to a group of not very numerous monuments with heroic themes from the Trojan Cycle. The idea to depict the heroic theme with Achilles and Hector on the marble relief from Pincum, and the emphasis on the idea that only *virtus* can earn eternal life may be indicative of the deceased person's military profession. Since legion VII *Claudia* was stationed at Pincum, he may have belonged to one of its units. The inscription discovered along with this relief fragment probably belonged to the same sepulchral whole. Although its reading is made difficult by its fragmentary state of preservation, it suggests Romanized inhabitants whose gentile names were *Flavius* and *Aelius*. The funerary monument may be dated to the beginning of the second century, which is the date of its closest analogies found in luxurious funerary monuments from Viminacium or other provinces of the Empire such as Pannonia and Noricum.

Institute for Balkan Studies
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Belgrade

UDC 726.82:73.032.046.2](37)

Abbreviations

Sources

Apd. <i>Bibl.</i>	Apollodori, <i>Bibliotheca</i>
Apd. <i>Ep.</i>	Apollodori, <i>Epitome</i>
Artem.	Artemidorus Daldianus, <i>Oneirocritica</i>
<i>Il.</i>	Homeri, <i>Ilias</i>
Hyg. <i>Fab.</i>	Hygini, <i>Fabulae</i>
Plat. <i>Symp.</i>	Platon, <i>Symposium</i>
Plut. <i>Qu. Gr.</i>	Plutarchus, <i>Quaestiones Graecae</i>
Proclos, <i>Chrest.</i>	Proclos, <i>Chrestomathia</i>

Literature

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique</i> , Paris.
<i>AEM</i>	<i>Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich</i> , Vienna.
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin–New York.
<i>GSAD</i>	<i>Glasnik Srpskog arheološkog društva</i> , Belgrade.
<i>GDKS</i>	<i>Glasnik društva konzervatora Srbije</i> , Belgrade.
<i>ILJug</i>	A. et J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et inter annos MCMLX et inter annos CMLX et MCMLXX et inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963, 1978, 1986.
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> I, II, III/2, IV, VI, Belgrade 1976–95.
<i>Jahreshefte</i>	Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Vienna.

<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> I–VIII, Zurich, Munich, 1981–97; VIII, Zurich–Düsseldorf, 1997.
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i> , Paris.
<i>Spomenik</i>	<i>Spomenik SKA</i> . Serbian Royal Academy, Belgrade.

Bibliography

- Alföldy, G. 1974. *Noricum*. London–Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Cambi, N. 1988. *Atički sarkofazi u Dalmaciji*. Split: Književni krug.
- Cumont F. 1942. *Recherches sur la symbolisme funéraire des Romains*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Cunjak, M. 1985. “Zaštitna arheološka iskopavanja nekropola Pinkuma”. *GDKS* 10, 57–58.
- Dautova-Ruševljan, V. 1983. *Rimska kamena plastika u jugoslovenskom delu provincije Donje Mezije*. Novi Sad: Vojvodjanski muzej.
- Dušanić, S. 1977. “Aspects of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Moesia Superior”. *ANRW* II (6), 52–94.
- 1995. “Kovanje novca u rudničkim distriktima rimskog Ilirika”. In *Radionice i kovnice srebra*, ed. I. Popović, T. Cvjetičanin and B. Borić-Brešković, Proceedings of the conference held at the National Museum, Belgrade 15–19 November, 131–144. Belgrade: National Museum.
- Erdélyi, A. 1974. *A Római Kőfaragas és Kőszobrászat Magyarországon*.
- Ferri, S. 1933. *Arte Romana sul Danubio*. Milan.
- Frejdenberg, O. 1987. *Mit i antička književnost*. Belgrade: Prosveta.
- Jovanović, A. 2000. “Arheološki tragovi imperijalnog trijumfa nad Dačanima sa prostora Gornje Mezije”, *Zbornik Matice srpske za klasične studije* 2, 79–89.
- 2002. “Falsifikati u arheološkom materijalu–upozoravajuća aktuelnost”. *GSAD* 18, 87–96.
- Kalinka, K. & S. Swoboda. 1890. “Bericht über eine Reise im Gabiete der Drau und Sace”, *AEM* XIII.
- Kanitz, F. 1861. *Die Römischen Funde in Serbien*. Vienna.
- 1892. *Studien in Serbien*, Denkschriften der Kaiser Akad. Der. Wiss., Phil. Hist. Classe XLI.
- 1985. *Srbija, zemlja i stanovništvo od rimskog doba do kraja XIX veka* I. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga (= *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk: von den Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig 1904).
- Kondić, V. 1965. “Sepulkralni spomenici sa teritorije rimske provincije Gornje Mezije”. Ph.D. thesis, Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.
- Ladek, F., A. von Premerstein & N. Vulić. 1901. *Antike Denkmäler in Serbien* II, Jahreshefte IV, Beibl., 73–162.
- Mirković, M. & S. Dušanić, 1976. *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, vol. I: *Singidunum et le nord-ouest de la province*. Belgrade.
- Mirković, M. 1968. *Rimski gradovi na Dunavu u Gornjoj Meziji*. Belgrade: Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije.

- 1986. *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, vol. II: *Viminacium et Margum*. Belgrade.
- 2003. “Neue inschriften aus Viminacium”, *Viminacium* 13-14, 97-107.
- 2003b. *Römer an der Mittleren Donau. Römische Strassen und Festungen von Singidunum bis Aquae*. Belgrade.
- Móscy, A. 1974. *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*. London–Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Olszewski, M.-T. 2001. “Le langage symbolique dans la décoration à scènes mythologiques et son sens dans les tombes peintes de l’Orient romain nouvelle approche”. In A. Barbet, ed., *La peinture funéraire antique, IVe siècle av. J.-C.–IVe siècle apr. J.-C.*, Actes du VIIe colloque de l’Association Internationale pour la peinture murale antique, Saint-Romain-en-Gal–Vienna (6–10 octobre 1998). Paris: Editions Errance, 155-162.
- Petrović, P. 1979. *Paleografija rimskih natpisa u Gornjoj Meziji*. Belgrade.
- 1991. “Classis Flavia moesica na Dunavu u Gornjoj Meziji”, *Starinar* XL-XLI, 207-216.
- Pilipović, S. 2004. “A Contribution to the Study of the Jason Sarcophagus from Viminacium”, *Starinar* LIII-LIV, 65-78.
- Popović, I. 1988. *Antičko orudje od gvoždja u Srbiji*, Belgrade: National Museum.
- 1992. *Prstenje. Rimski nakit u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu*. Belgrade: National Museum.
- Schefold, K. 1961. “La force créatrice du symbolisme funéraire des Romains”, *RA* II (oct–dec), 178-209.
- Schober, A. 1923. *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Panonien*. Vienna.
- Sichtermann, H. and G. Koch 1975. *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen*. Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth.
- Toynbee, J. M. C. 1977. “Greek Myth in Roman Stone”, *Latomus* 26, 343-412.
- Turcan, R. 1978. “Les sarcophages romains et le problème du symbolisme funéraire”, *ANRW* II 16.2, 1700-1735.
- 1999. *Messages d’outre-tombe. L’iconographie des sarcophages romains*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Valtrović, M. 1886. “Rimski reljef i ploča sa natpisom iz V. Gradišta”, *Starinar* II, 69-70.
- Vulić, N. 1909. “Antički spomenici naše zemlje”, *Spomenik* XLVII, 109-191.
- 1933. “Antički spomenici naše zemlje”, *Spomenik* LXXV, 3-89.
- Vulić, N., A. v. Premerstein, F. Ladek. 1903. “Antički spomenici u Srbiji”, *Spomenik* XXXIX, 43-88.



Fig. 1 Achilles and Hector, marble relief found at Veliko Gradište (Pincum), 2nd century A.D. National Museum, Belgrade (photo National Museum, Belgrade)

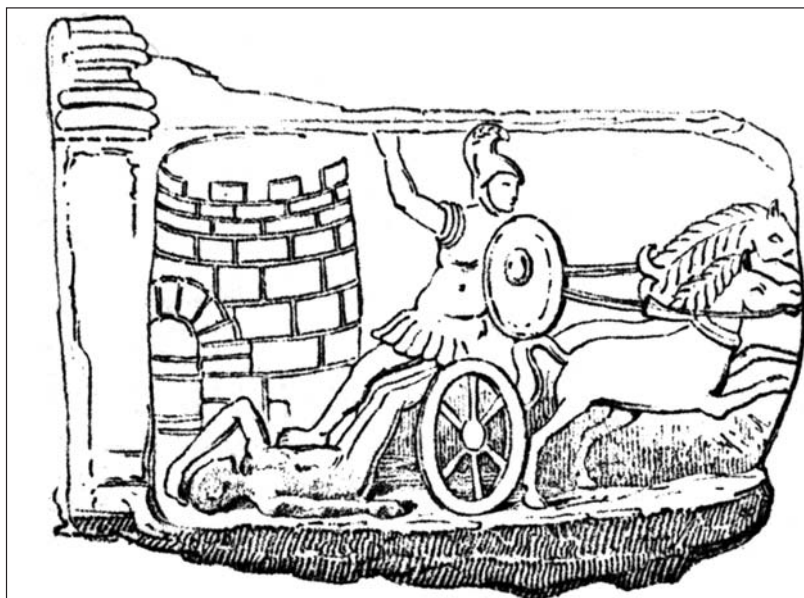


Fig. 2 Drawing of the relief of Achilles and Hector found at Veliko Gradište (Pincum) (after Kanitz 1861, Pl. 3/4)



Fig. 3 Achilles and Hector, marble relief found at Intercisa. Museum of Budapest (photo Móscy 1974, fig. 33b)

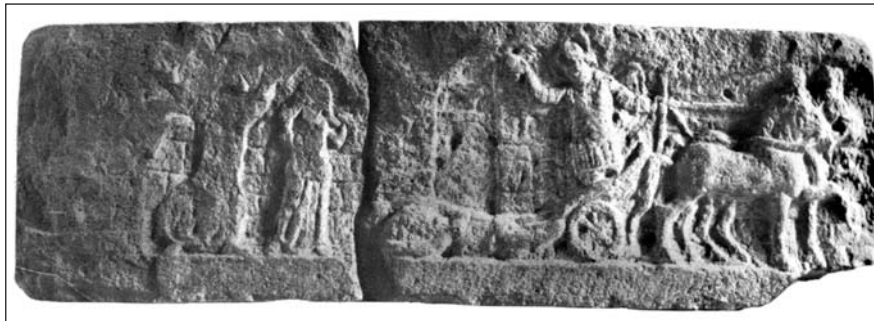


Fig. 4 Achilles and Hector, marble relief found at Intercisa. Museum of Budapest (photo Erdélyi, fig. 187)



Fig. 5 Achilles and Hector, marble relief from Virunum, built into the Maria Saal Church, Klagenfurt (photo Ferii 1933, 98, fig. 81)



Fig. 6 Priam and Achilles, marble relief from Acquincum. Museum of Budapest (photo Móscy 1974, fig. 33a)



Fig. 7 Helen and Menelaus, relief on the marble stela of C. Cornelius Rufus from Viminacium. National Museum, Požarevac (photo I. Stanić)



Fig. 8 Helen and Menelaus, relief from Acquincum. Museum of Budapest (photo Erdélyi 1974, fig. 192)