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GLASS PHALERAE IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

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Phalerae are military medals, medallions or *dona militaria* made of metal or glass. The soldiers who received them wore them fastened to a leather braid over their military attire, on their breastplates, which can be seen on the portrayal of an officer wearing a set of seven phalerae on the stela of Quintus Sertorius Festus in Verona, Italy, dated to the mid-first century AD, and the set of nine medallions found in Lauersfort, in Germany.¹ During Caesar's time, it was customary for soldiers to wear medals in battle, and this custom may have been continued into the time of the Principate.²

Out of the high number of monuments showing military medals, worth highlighting here is the stela of Lucius Mummius from the Cetina Territorial Museum, found between Vojnić and Trilj, dated to the first century AD, in the period prior to 42, when Legio VII, encamped at Tilurium (Gardun near Trilj), still did not bear the honorary title *Claudia pia fidelis*. It features a relief portrayal of military medals, among others nine phalerae at the cross-points of a braided belt made of leather straps. Atop the lattice there is a semi-circular ribbon for hanging the medals around the neck, while behind the ancillary phalerae in the upper row a tie can be seen that was also used to fasten the medals.³

¹ WHITEHOUSE 1997, 14, cat. no. 21, 22.

² GOLDSWORTHY 2003, 54.

³ LIBRENJAK 2010; TONČINIĆ 2004, cat. no. 42; FADIĆ 1997, 81, 107, cat. no. 8; FADIĆ 1995, 168-175, P. 1.

B. Ilakovac opened the question of male figures on phalerae of the well-known stela from Burnum (Ivoševci, at Kistanje) held in the Archaeological Museum in Split, drawing a parallel between it and the depictions on glass phalerae.⁴ Out of the nine phalerae on this stela, five feature human images, three showing male figures with hair cut short.⁵ D. Boschung, however, in a work on Roman glass phalerae with portrait busts, pointed out the phalerae in the lower row and the stela with frontal central bust and two ancillary portraits in profile, and like Abramčić he obviously did not view them as portraits.⁶ A similar composition can be observed on the stela from Castra Vetera (Xanten), of Marcus Celius, a centurion of Legio XVIII who died in battle against the Germans in Teutoburg Forest the year 9 AD, bearing a portrayal of a Gorgon on the central phalera and the Maenads on the ancillary phalerae.⁷ Another stela of a centurion or higher-ranking soldier, also possibly from Burnum, shows, besides other military medals and symbols, nine phalerae on his belt, of which two in the upper row feature portraits, depicting the emperor with the pertinent attributes, which according to Maršić is either Augustus or Tiberius in profile, as opposed to the glass examples on which the images are frontal. This stela is held in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.⁸

⁴ ABRAMIĆ 1924, 227, Fig. 4, 5; ILAKOVAC 1976, 159.

⁵ ILAKOVAC 1976, 159-160, P. I., Fig. 1, 2.

⁶ BOSCHUNG 1987, 202, note 48.h.

⁷ BOSCHUNG 1987, 202, note 48.a; ILAKOVAC 1976, 159-160, P. I., Fig. 1, 2.

⁸ MARŠIĆ 2010b.



Fig. 1. Phalera from Burnum in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, photograph by Ante Verzotti.

H. Jucker opposed the accepted interpretations of glass medallions as phalerae, medals in a set of most often nine medallions, like those also preserved but made of metal, such as the set from Lauersfort (Vetera, Xanten) or the set from Newstead (Melrose, Scotland), and depicted on stelae, for example that of M. Caelius (Bonn), Q. Sertorius Festus (Verona) and others.⁹ There are no proven frontal portrait busts on metal phalerae nor in portrayals of phalerae on stelae. This therefore excludes the possibility that the Burnum monument, as well as the one from the Athenian church *Panaghia Gorgoepikoos* have portrait phalerae. These phalerae, like those from Lauersfort, bear images of deities, although they lack the wide trim actually typical of glass portrait phalerae.¹⁰

There are several indications, based on the complementary nature of the portrayals and construction of metallic and glass medallions, that they served the same purpose.¹¹ It is interesting, however, that the central phalera on the breast of Quintus Sertorius Festus from the late Claudian era has a similar broad, decorated trimming, a frame like the glass phalera from Vindonissa, which indicates the possibility that glass portrait phalerae were central, while phalerae bearing portray-

als of deities and mythological creatures were grouped around them. Thus, judging by the preserved buckles, the glass phalerae were not firmly fastened by a rivet, rather they could be separately removed, which may explain the fact that they are always discovered as individual finds.¹²

Metal phalerae feature portrayals of Medusa and other mythological creatures, deities and animals, while glass phalerae have portraits of members of the Julio-Claudian imperial family. Over seventy glass phalerae are known.¹³ The phalerae are, based on the complete preserved examples from Vindonissa and Rheingönheim, inserted into bronze cells coated with sheet metal that were 6-7 cm in diameter, and affixed to the base by a metal loop fastened to the cell. Other methods for fastening and wear are possible, but secondary adaptation or use is similarly possible.¹⁴ All glass phalerae are homogenous at first glance, with a diameter of 3.7 to 4 cm which varies with regard to the work done on the edge after casting; generally they are made of dark blue and, more rarely light blue or green glass, generally on a background layer made of opaque white glass.¹⁵ All confirmed find-sites of phalerae are in the north-west of the Roman Empire, along the Rhine River, in Britannia, and in Pannonia and Dalmatia, Gallia and Italy, at the hubs of military activity in the early imperial period, which confirms the hypothesis that these medallions were conferred to soldiers. They have been found in graves or waste pits, often in the context of the Claudian era, around the year 40, which - with due regard to the possibility of their long-term use - nonetheless indicates dating for these medallions later than the Augustan and early Tiberian periods. Only the phalera find from Livy's house in Prima Porta deviates from the military context.¹⁶ Phalerae are as a rule found at military sites, and the same phalerae were found in several provinces, thus they do not depict the soldiers or officers who wore them, but rather members of the imperial family.¹⁷

Based on the iconography, D. Boschung identified the portraits using Alföldi's classification.¹⁸ A. Alföldi hypothesized that glass phalerae were conferred in closed groups from the years 19 to 23 AD, given the

persons depicted from the circle of Tiberius' heirs.¹⁹ Jucker pointed out the inaccuracy of Alföldi's hypotheses, since glass phalerae have always been discovered individually, which reduces the likelihood that they were conferred in closed wholes, so they do not form a uniformly devised concept. Also, medallions from the era of Emperor Claudius or in later contexts have also been discovered.²⁰ Boschung classified them into seven types, and they were obtained by casting into ten moulds. He rejected Alföldi's first two types, ascribing the first to Augustus, and the second to Hercules, while retaining his numbering for the remaining types. Three moulds were used for type III, two for type IV, and these two types were chronologically complementary, while a single mould sufficed for the remaining types. Based on this, he concluded that the production of phalerae, in relatively small series, was centralized.²¹

Here we are interested in types VI and IV, to which the Dalmatian phalerae belong. Type VI shows Tiberius as he was depicted from roughly the year 10 BC, and particularly from 4 AD, when he was adopted by Augustus, to 14 AD. The hairstyle and the lines of the face on the glass phalera are comparable to the marble replicas of *adoptive* type.²² The marble *adoptive* type bust of Tiberius from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen is from Fayoum in Egypt.²³

A phalera fragment from the Legio XI camp in Burnum made of azure glass is held in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Fig. 1).²⁴ Most of the phalera has been preserved; it features a front-facing bust of a beardless man wearing armour, under which the trimming of the lower attire can be seen. The part of the phalera showing the *pteryges* and end of the *paludamentum* on the left shoulder is missing. The nose is broken. The sword belt runs over the breast. The head is slightly turned toward the right. The image has short hair parted roughly above the middle of the left eye, the forehead hair is combed rightward into three locks, with a pincer lock which separates the forehead hair from the hair at the temples, which is combed into



Fig. 2. Phalera from Tilurium, photograph by Ante Verzotti.

locks turned toward the face with another small pincer, while it is combed downward on the left side. The face is characterized by a broad forehead, gently withdrawn in the middle, and almost horizontal, slightly arched eyebrows, large eyes with precisely bordered eyelids, a long, bent nose with gentle creases next to the nostrils, a small mouth with corners lightly pressed into full cheeks, with a withdrawn lower lip, and a narrow slightly protruding chin.²⁵

The Corning Museum of Glass holds such a phalera made of green glass, reportedly from Istanbul. It belongs to Alföldi's type VI, which is ascribed to Tiberius' brother Drusus the Elder, and Tiberius' son Drusus the Younger (15 BC - 23 AD), then to Germanicus' son Nero Julius Caesar (6-31 AD), and in recent times to Emperor Tiberius himself.²⁶ Ilakovac found an analogy to the Burnum phalera in Switzerland's Vindonissa, with, naturally, a *Vindonissa* type portrait, and he underlined identification of the *Vindonissa* portrait type as Tiberius.²⁷ Fadić attributed the portrait on the Burnum phalera to the *Vindonissa* type, stressing that some ascribe it to Emperor Tiberius himself.²⁸ Even Cambj now

¹⁹ BOSCHUNG 1987, 194; ALFÖLDI 1951, ALFÖLDI 1957.

²⁰ BOSCHUNG 1987, 195; JUCKER 1975.

²¹ BOSCHUNG 1987, 195-196.

²² BOSCHUNG 1987, 207-209, note 64.

²³ POULSEN 1962, 82-83, P. LXXVI, LXXVII, cat. no. 45, inv. no. 1445.

²⁴ Inv. no. 3001; dia. 3.75 cm, wid. 0.9 cm, thk. of base 0.13 cm; transparent azure glass over opaque white over dark blue which has a red tone when illuminated, traces of a metal buckle.

⁹ BOSCHUNG 1987, 202, Fig. 14, note 47, 48.

¹⁰ BOSCHUNG 1987, 202-203, 48c, note 49; STEINER 1906, 14-22.

¹¹ BOSCHUNG 1987, 203-204, Fig. 15-17.

¹² BOSCHUNG 1987, 204-205, Fig. 14, note 48e.

¹³ WHITEHOUSE 1997, 14, cat. no. 21, 22.

¹⁴ BOSCHUNG 1987, 200-201, Fig. 6-13, cat. no. 36, 40 and 29.

¹⁵ BOSCHUNG 1987, 195-196.

¹⁶ BOSCHUNG 1987, 198-199, map 1, Fig. 5.

¹⁷ BOSCHUNG 1987, 206.

¹⁸ BOSCHUNG 1987, 206-222.



Fig. 3. Phalera in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, photograph by Ante Verzotti.

maintains that the portrait on the Burnum phalera is Tiberius and not Drusus, and that the phalera is a means to disseminate the imperial propaganda.²⁹ Boschung, as stated, identified it as the *princeps* Tiberius,³⁰ which is definitely accepted by Maršić.³¹

Type IV according to Boschung depicts Tiberius as emperor³² wearing armour, with two smaller ancillary figures, on phalerae cast in two moulds, of which the second (2b) is derived from the first (2a), wherein the ears on the central figure are flat, the face narrower, and the hair is somewhat altered on the forehead. Based on Alföldi, the central figure is most often interpreted as Drusus II with the twins born at the end of 19 AD. However, based on a thorough-going analysis, Boschung asserted that the portraits on the medallions cannot be iconographically tied to portraits of Drusus the Younger, nor, for that matter, to those of Drusus the Elder or Germanicus.³³ He maintained that the most likely model for the portrayal of the central figure on the glass medallion is the Tiberius Copenhagen 624 type,³⁴ which also corresponds to the arrange-

ment of the hair with a part above the middle of the right eye, from which most of the forehead locks are combed left, where pincers are formed, behind which the hair on the temple is smoothed downward, as opposed to the right temple, on which a sickle-shaped lock is turned toward the face, and the physiognomy is of a broad full face, with wide forehead, large eyes with visibly rendered eyelids and almost horizontal, gently curved eyebrows, a prominent nose, a mouth with lightly pinched corners and a full, withdrawn lower lip and a striking round chin. Nasolabial creases are lacking on glass portraits, and they were often also muted on marble replicas. The central image on the medallion from mould 2b retains the pincers above the left eye, but the part is more rightward between the forehead hair and the hair on the temples, so that the small pincers disappear on the right side. The same deviation is exhibited by a series of replicas of Copenhagen type 624.³⁵

Boschung associated the central figure on the type IV glass phalerae with a series of replicas of the Tiberius Copenhagen 624 type, which after 14 AD was applied to portrayals of the new emperor.³⁶ The princes stand behind the emperor's shoulders, most likely Germanicus and Drusus the younger, whose portraits are often placed together with Tiberius Copenhagen 624 type portraits. To the right of the emperor is his step-son Germanicus, with hair parted down the middle so that it frames the forehead, while to his left is a smaller portrayal of Drusus the Younger with locks of hair combed to the left, and pincers over the middle of the forehead. It is possible that these are also busts in armour.³⁷ The portraits are rendered in a three-quarter profile toward the emperor, with round faces and full cheeks. Germanicus died in 19 AD, while Drusus died in 23 AD.³⁸

The newly-discovered Trilj phalera is type IV (2b). It was in Tilurium - the Legio VII camp - in 2009 that a fragment of a phalera made of dark blue glass was found (Fig. 2).³⁹ In the centre there is a frontal bust of a beardless man, behind whose left shoulder there is a smaller head turned toward the central figure. The parts of the phalera with the other head behind the

right shoulder and the armour are missing. The man has short hair parted to the right between the forehead locks and the temple hair, and the locks of the forehead hair are generally combed to the left to the pincer above the left eye, while to the left, on the temple, the hair is combed downward. The face is characterized by a broad sloped forehead, linearly emphasized eyebrows, large roundish eyes with precisely drawn eyelids, a long, slightly bent nose with wide nostrils, a small full mouth with corners lightly pressed into the cheeks and a slightly withdrawn lower lip and a round somewhat protruding chin. The small head behind the left shoulder has hair with locks combed leftward and pincers in the middle of the forehead.⁴⁰ Most glass phalerae are from sites in the Roman Empire's north-west provinces, particularly along the Rhine. The Corning Museum of Glass holds such a phalera made of azure glass procured in Lebanon, so it may be from Syria.⁴¹

The left part of a phalera made of dark blue glass bearing a portrait of a boy (Fig. 3),⁴² is held in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, which may be from the military camp in Trilj. Given the aforementioned aspects of type IV, this portrait may be attributed to Germanicus, while Tiberius was portrayed in the centre and Drusus the Younger to his left. Fadić ascribed the preserved fragment of the Sinj phalera to the *Poetovio* type - with a portrait of a man and three children's portraits, two at the man's shoulders, one at his breast, and he left open the possibility that two children's heads were depicted on both sides of the central image. In the *Poetovio* group, Alföldi recognized Drusus the Younger, Tiberius' son, in the man, and in the children he saw Drusus' twins Germanicus and Tiberius and his daughter Julia.⁴³ If this is the case, the phalera may have been issued between 19 AD, when the twins were born, and 23 AD, when Drusus the Younger was poisoned,⁴⁴ or in the mid-first century, according to Fadić.⁴⁵ Cambj assumed that the central portrait on the Sinj phalera depicted Germanicus or Drusus the Younger, for Germanicus was portrayed with his three sons, and Drusus the Younger with his twins.⁴⁶

Glass phalerae bearing portraits of members of the imperial family emerged over a period not less than thirty years. They are similar to the *imagines*, medallions with articulated frames and a frontal image of the emperor in armour, components of military insignia and medals used to distinguish between military units. The *imagines* were probably direct models for the phalerae with imperial portraits, military medals, a contingency whereby Boschung interpreted their long-term stylistic uniformity.⁴⁷ Glass portrait phalerae correspond to the *imagines* military insignia; their production was centralized and they belong to the military honours conferred by the emperor himself. Just as the *imagines* of military insignia expressed loyalty and fealty to the emperor, so too did the *dona militaria* express the bond between the emperor and the legionnaires: the emperor conferred them to the worthy.⁴⁸

Type VI phalerae, bearing a portrayal of Tiberius from the late Augustan period, were used between 4 and 14 AD. This was the time of the Great Illyrian Revolt (6-9 AD) and the Battle of Varus (9 AD) in which Tiberius, Augustus' adopted son, proved himself, after which he led (in 10-13 AD) the legions on the Rhine. In these years of major military activity by Tiberius, from 6 to 13 AD, medallions of type VI were conferred.⁴⁹

Type VI phalera replaced those of type IV based on the model from 14 AD. In the summer of that year, after the death of Augustus, dissatisfied troops on the Rhine and in Pannonia mutinied against Tiberius. His son Drusus the Younger, in Pannonia, and his adopted son Germanicus, in Germany, managed to compel the troops to take an oath to the new emperor. The *dona militaria* was conferred as a pledge for *fides militum*.⁵⁰ Type IV showed the ideal image of the imperial family in the 14-16 AD period, when the military standards lost by Varus were regained and the military campaigns were concluded: the central figure is the emperor, while the harmonious brothers are in the background, in line with the propaganda concept of the early Tiberian era. Glass phalerae of this type were found first and foremost in the territory of the Lower Rhine, which was the stronghold of Germanicus in his military campaigns. Boschung assumed that type IV may have been conferred during the wars against the Germans from 14 to 16 AD.⁵¹

²⁹ CAMBI 2000, 40, cat. no. 33, 35; CAMBI 1982, 94

³⁰ BOSCHUNG 1987, cat. no. 4, Fig. 48.

³¹ MARŠIĆ 2010a.

³² BOSCHUNG 1987, 210-213, cat. no. 9-25.

³³ BOSCHUNG 1987, 210-212.

³⁴ BOSCHUNG 1987, 212; CAMBI 2000, 37, cat. no. 25, P. 22-23; FABBRINI 1966, 849; POULSEN 1962, cat. no. 46, P. LXXVIII-LXXX.

³⁵ BOSCHUNG 1987, 212-213, 234-235, 242.

³⁶ BOSCHUNG 1987, 213, note 84; POULSEN 1962, 83-84, P. LXXVIII, LXXX, cat. no. 46, inv. no. 1750.

³⁷ BOSCHUNG 1987, 213, 229, 234-235, note 85, 147.

³⁸ FABBRINI 1966, 848.

³⁹ GAR 09, PN4, dia. 3.7cm, thk. 1.07 cm, thk. of base 0.3 cm; transparent dark azure over opaque white over transparent glass with greenish hues.

⁴⁰ BOSCHUNG 1987, 234-235, 242.

⁴¹ WHITEHOUSE 1997, 27, cat. no. 22; BOSCHUNG 1987, cat. no. 23.

⁴² Inv. no. 1036; thk. 0.6 cm, thk. of base 0.4 cm; opaque light blue over transparent azure glass.

⁴³ FADIĆ 2008, 166, 167, cat. no. 48; FADIĆ 1998, 91, cat. no. 221; ILAKOVAC 1976, 162.

⁴⁴ ILAKOVAC 1976, 162; BOSCHUNG 1987, 194; ALFÖLDI 1951, ALFÖLDI 1957.

⁴⁵ FADIĆ 2008, 167, cat. no. 48; FADIĆ 1998, 91, cat. no. 221.

⁴⁶ CAMBI 2000, 40, note. 7, 242.

⁴⁷ BOSCHUNG 1987, 223-224, 226, Fig. 42, 43.

⁴⁸ BOSCHUNG 1987, 227.

⁴⁹ BOSCHUNG 1987, 228.

⁵⁰ BOSCHUNG 1987, 228.

⁵¹ BOSCHUNG 1987, 229.

J. Toynbee assumed that medallions of this type were issued in 23 or 24 AD, when Emperor Tiberius (who ruled from 14 to 37 AD), grieving over the death of his son Drusus the Younger, turned to the sons of his nephew Germanicus as the only hope to continue the Augustan line.⁵² Phalerae featuring the emperors or heirs to the throne emerged, according to Boschung, in the period when they directly participated in military exploits, so they probably controlled the production and distribution or casting and conferral of medals. The wide distribution of phalera finds was caused by the return of the Roman army's infantry to the homeland and the transfer of some of the troops.⁵³

Following Boschung's lead, the Burnum phalera was probably conferred to a soldier of Legio XX for services in the revolt of the Delmatae-Pannonians or Bato's Revolt (*Bellum Batonianum*). The focus of the revolt moved from Pannonia in the initial phase in 6 AD to Delmatae territory in its final phase in 9 AD.⁵⁴ At the time, *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* was stationed in the camp, arriving in Burnum at around 20 BC from the province of Hispania. To renew the garrisons on the Rhine which suffered due to the defeat of Varus in 9 AD, it was deployed to Germany in 10 AD. This legion's stay in Dalmatia is confirmed by the gravestones of Titus Fufitius from Salona, an unknown veteran from Iadera and the centurion Salvius Phrebranus Baculus from Burnum.⁵⁵ Perhaps the phalera was in fact conferred to the latter. Legio XI came to Burnum after the departure of Legio XX.⁵⁶ It was precisely Legio XX that was called to fealty by Tiberius, to transform the guilt of mutiny in 14 AD to glory.⁵⁷

In line with Boschung, it may be assumed that the Trilj phalerae were worn by soldiers who had participated in the Germanic wars from 14 to 16 AD. Until, however, written evidence is found that would confirm the transfer to Tilurium, this hypothesis will remain unproven. It is held that Legio VII came to Dalmatia from Macedonia between 6 and 9 AD, during the Delmatae-Pannonian revolt, participating in its suppression. After the revolt it was kept in the province, and its main base was in Tilurium.⁵⁸ According to Abramić's hypoth-

esis, Legio VII raised a trophy in its camp in honour of the victory over the rebellious natives, whose revolt it helped to quell.⁵⁹ Based on a typological analysis of the trophy, Cambj dated the monument to the late Augustan era, after Tiberius celebrated the triumph over the Pannonians and Delmatae in Rome on 23 October, 12 AD.⁶⁰ Afterward there were no military events that could be linked to the conferral of phalerae to members of Legio VII encamped in Tilurium.

After recruitment, local people in Roman units were usually posted to distant regions of the Empire. There are seven known cohorts called *Dalmata*, which served in various parts of the Empire, from Britannia, through Germania to Africa (Mauretania Caesariensis). Recruitment of indigenous inhabitants was the underlying cause of the revolt in 6 AD, when Valerius Messalinus enlisted Daesitiates for the army of Tiberius in Germania.⁶¹ D. Tončinić, reading the Dalmatian inscriptions of Legio VII, asserted that 44% of the soldiers came from Asia Minor, 33% from Italy, 9% from Macedonia, and 2% from Gallia Narbonensis, while the origin of 7% cannot be determined.⁶² In Viminacium, in Moesia Superior, where the legion arrived at around the year 60, there is a gravestone recording a veteran of Legio VII recruited in Salona,⁶³ but this monument is without significance in this context. Therefore, given the location and character of the find and the find-site, there is no possibility of the return of legionnaires to their homeland, where they could take their phalerae with them. This could only be the case if the phalerae from the Sinj museum is not directly from Tilurium, but rather from Aequum, where a veteran of Legio VII who had brought his phalera with him may have settled. Three gravestones of Legio VII *C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)* have been discovered in Aequum, which confirms that *Collonia Claudia Aequum* (Čitluk, near Sinj) was settled by veterans upon its establishment.⁶⁴

Could the phalerae, as, after all, Cambi assumed for the Sinj examples, have been conferred to troops during the time when Drusus was in Dalmatia? According to Tacitus, Drusus was dispatched to Illyricum, to Dalmatia, in 17 AD, to become accustomed to military

service and to gain the favour of the troops.⁶⁵ It was in Dalmatia that he was seen by his brother Germanicus on his journey to Nicopolis.⁶⁶ Thereafter he went to Germania to aid his brother Germanicus in warfare against the Germanic tribes,⁶⁷ and after the unexpected death of Germanicus in 19 AD and his funeral in Rome, he returned to the Illyrian armies.⁶⁸ In Issa he built and expanded a training ground, to which an inscription in Vis testifies (now held in the Archaeological Museum in Split).⁶⁹ Since he is described as *consul designatum iterum* for the year 20 in this inscription, it is believed that Drusus was here in 19-20 AD, that is, after the funeral of his brother and the assumption of his second consulate in May of 20.⁷⁰ Drusus probably spent most of his time in Dalmatia in Tilurium and Burnum, the bases of Legio VII and XI, and he probably toured other parts of the province, including Issa, where he may have met with Germanicus. Besides the Vis inscription, his imperial sculpture found in Osor

also testifies to this, which according to N. Cambi was installed precisely at the time when Drusus himself was in Dalmatia.⁷¹ These monuments, together with the glass phalerae showing Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus, are testimony to the propaganda of the emperor's son and his possible heir.⁷²

It is my belief that Tiberius, then the heir to the throne who had proven himself in that war, conferred the phalera from Burnum to a worthy soldier and his son Drusus, then the heir to the throne, who was in Dalmatia, with some interruptions, from 17 to 20 AD, conferred phalerae to worthy, loyal soldiers. It is possible that glass phalerae of type IV were conferred to the soldiers by Germanicus in Germany, and later to soldiers by Drusus in Dalmatia. Possible testimony to support this hypothesis lies in the fact that the Tilurium phalera was made from a later mould.

⁷⁰ Tac., Ann., 3, 19; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1952, 41-49.

⁷¹ CAMBI 2000, 39; CAMBI 1998, 46; placed in 17-18 or 19-20 AD.

⁷² JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2010.

⁶⁵ Tac., Ann., 2, 44.

⁶⁶ Tac., Ann., 2, 53.

⁶⁷ Tac., Ann., 2, 64.

⁶⁸ Tac., Ann., 3, 7.

⁶⁹ RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1952, 42: DRVSVS CAESAR Ti. aug. f. divi/AVGVSTI NEPOS COS Dsign. iterum/ PONTIFEX AVGV R CAM-Pum dedit/ PVBLIO DOLABELLA LEG PRO praetore.

⁵² WHITEHOUSE 1997, 27, cat. no. 22.

⁵³ BOSCHUNG 1987, 231.

⁵⁴ CAMBI et al. 2007, 15; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 209.

⁵⁵ CAMBI et al. 2007, 13, 14.

⁵⁶ CAMBI et al. 2006, 5; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 214, 215.

⁵⁷ Tac., Ann., 1, 51.

⁵⁸ TONČINIĆ 2004, 8, note 9, 210, note 386; ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 268; ZANINOVIĆ 1996c, 283-284.

⁵⁹ CAMBI 1984, 77, 81.

⁶⁰ CAMBI 1984, 84-86; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 212.

⁶¹ ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 217.

⁶² TONČINIĆ 2004, 208.

⁶³ TONČINIĆ 2004, 147; WILKES 1969, 467; BULIĆ 231, 243, no. 650; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 214, 215.

⁶⁴ TONČINIĆ 2004, 178, note 207; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 215; ZANINOVIĆ 1996c, 288.

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