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Bu dergideki makalelerde kullanılacak olan kısaltmalar Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü yayın kuralları, Bulletin de l'Association internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque antique, AIEMA - AOROC 24.2016, La Mosaïque Gréco Romaine IX ve Der Kleine Pauly dikkate alınarak yapılmalıdır.

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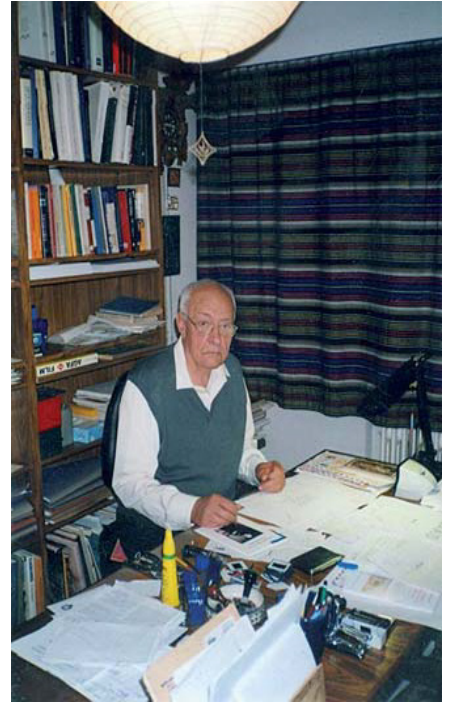
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José María Blázquez Martínez in memoriam (1926-2016)

José María Blázquez Martínez (Professor of Ancient History and Fellow of the Spanish Royal Academy of History) passed away on March 26, 2016, in the city of Madrid (Spain) after a full life devoted to teaching, scientific research and the spread of antiquity; and leaving all of us -who have had the immense fortune to enjoy his mastership and overwhelming personality-, with an immense sadness.

Prof. Blázquez graduated in Philosophy and Letters from the University of Salamanca in 1951 and defended his PhD in the Complutense University of Madrid in 1956. During the next decade, Prof. Blázquez continued his training under the supervision of Prof. Pallottino at the University of La Sapienza in Rome and, granted by the DAAD, at the University of Marburg, under the supervision of Prof. Matz and Prof. Drerup. Subsequently he made other successful research stays at the University of Tel Aviv, the British Academy of Rome, the University of Catania, and in the German Archaeological Institute branches at Istanbul, Damascus and Riyadh. In this regard, Prof. Blázquez always defended the importance of international networks that, through academic contact with other schools and colleagues, conceived as essential for personal development and the progress of scientific research.



After this intense formative period, José María Blázquez obtained a position as Professor of Ancient History at the University of Salamanca (1966-) and shortly after at the Complutense de Madrid (1969-), where he was designated as Professor Emeritus. At the same time, he was an active member of the former Institute of Archaeology "Rodrigo Caro" (CSIC), that he directed during more than ten years (1973-1985). Finally, in recognition to his academic trajectory, Professor Blázquez was elected as a Fellow of the Spanish Royal Academy of History. In all these institutions Prof. Blázquez developed a brilliant contribution to the promotion of Ancient History in Spain, especially important was his capacity for mentoring (he supervised more than 40 PhDs during his academic life) large teams of teachers and researchers, that obtained several tenured positions in different universities and academic institutions. He was also a prolific author publishing many handbooks and monographs that are authentic milestones in history the Spanish scholarship (i. e. *La Romanización, Historia social y económica. La España Romana. Economía de la Hispania romana*, Bilbao, 1978, *Historia de España Antigua, I. Protohistoria*, Madrid, 1980; *Historia de España Antigua II. Hispania romana*, Madrid, 1978). Largely influential was also his leadership in the direction of the scientific journals as *Archivo Español de Arqueología* (1973-1987) and *Gerión* (1983-2010). In addition, Prof. Blázquez directed numerous archaeological excavations at Caparra (Cáceres), Cástulo (Jaén), La Loba (Fuenteovejuna, Córdoba), and in the Monte Testaccio (Rome).

By virtue of its training and its wide perspective, Prof. Blázquez's research trajectory was the reflection of the scientist dedicated to the study of antiquity, with a masterful management of

diverse written and archaeological sources, always connected with current intellectual debates of all social and human sciences. During his career published more than 37 books, acting of editor in other 9 monographs. He also published 234 articles in the most prestigious, both Spanish and International, scientific journals and several chapters in collective volumes. His research interests covered multiples areas on the study of antiquity: the Phoenician and Greek colonization of the Western Mediterranean, the Late Iron Age communities of the Iberian Peninsula, the study of Pre-Roman religions, the Impact of primitive Christianity in the Late Roman Empire, and, of course, the ancient economy of Roman Spain, with an special focus on the exports of *Baetican* olive oil.

Finally, we would like to highlight his research on Roman mosaics, whose first publication dates from 1975 - "Arte y Sociedad en los mosaicos del Bajo Imperio" [Art and Society in the mosaics of the Late Roman Empire] *Bellas Artes* 75, 1975, pp. 18-25 -soon followed by- "Mosaicos romanos del Bajo Imperio" [Roman mosaics of the Late Empire], *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 50-51, 1977, pp. 269-293., In this regard, Prof. Blázquez continued the a research line previously initiated by his teacher Prof. Antonio García y Bellido. Since 1976 to 1996, Prof. Blázquez promoted and directed the Corpus of Mosaics of Spain, within the framework of the international project sponsored by the AIEMA. Through this monumental labor, Prof. Blázquez contributed to establish the study of Roman mosaics as an authentic sub-discipline in the field of the Spanish Classical archaeology.

The obtention of several I+D Research projects, funded in competitive calls by the Spanish Ministry of Science (acting as Principal Investigator from 1976 to 1997) and an International Project of the Joint Hispanic-American Committee, with the University of West-Lafayette, Purdue (Indiana-USA), allowed Prof. Blázquez to create a permanent research team on the study of Roman mosaics. This team, which I (Prof. Neira Jiménez) am honored of have been part, managed the realization of the above mentioned *Corpus de Mosaicos de España* (CME), a work continued afterwards by its dear colleague, Dr. Guadalupe López Monteagudo (CSIC). In addition to the publication of 12 volumes of the CME, he presented numerous papers on the Hispanic, African and Near Eastern Roman mosaics in the most prestigious conferences on these topics, such as the International Congresses organized by the AIEMA or *L'Africa romana* conference, organized by the Centro di Studi sull'Africa Romana of the Università degli studi di Sassari, as well as in countless courses and seminars in other institutions and universities, such as the Roman Mosaic Seminar of the UC3M, to which he attended every year, without missing any of the 9 editions celebrated.

Prof. Blázquez was a firm believer in the work developed by AIEMA, having been named member of Honor of this scientific association. He also formed part of the editorial board of the Journal of Mosaic Research, where he published various articles, and presented papers in both the 11th International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, held in Bursa on 2009, and in the 5th Colloquium of AIEMA Turkey, held in Kahramanmaraş on 2011. Prof. Blázquez was a true lover of Turkey.

Prof. Blázquez was an unavoidable reference in the international scholarship on ancient mosaics, many colleagues who share our pain remember his vitality even in the XIII. AIEMA Congress held in Madrid on September 2015, where he gave the inaugural conference. As a testimony of his enthusiasm for the study of ancient mosaics, he was already thinking of traveling to the next AIEMA Congress scheduled for 2018 in Cyprus. Proof of his infinite generosity, he prepared

tirelessly until the end of his days a text on Diana in the mosaics of Roman Spain for X SMR, held in September 2016 at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid.

His decisive contribution to the study of antiquity has earned him numerous recognitions from many international academic institutions and associations: Fellow of German Archaeological Institute (1968), Board member of the L'Association Internationale d'Epigraphie grecque et latine (AIEGL), Member of the Hispanic Society (1974); Fellow of the Academy of Arts and Archaeology of Bologna (1980), Fellow of the Spanish Royal Academy of History (1990), Fellow of the New York Academy of Sciences (1993), Fellow of the Academia Nazionale dei Lincei (1994), Fellow of the Fine Arts Academy of Santa Isabel de Hungría (Seville) (1995), Fellow of the Real Academia de Bones Letres de Barcelona (1997), or Fellow of the Académie de Aix-en-Provence (1999), among others. He also received many prizes as the Franz Cumont prize from the Académie Royale de Belgique (1985), the Great Silver medal of Archaeology from l'Académie d'Architecture de Paris (1987), or the Cavalli d'Oro prize from Venice (2003). Prof. Blázquez was named *doctor honoris causa* by the universities of Valladolid (1999), Salamanca (2000), Bologna (2001), León (2005), and Universidad Carlos III de Madrid (2015), and received the *Orden del Mérito Civil*, one of the highest recognitions granted by the Spanish govern.

He was a genius as scholar, but also a genial person. For both reasons, colleagues, students, and friends of many countries, that have the fortune of meet Prof. Blázquez during his life, feel a great emptiness for the loss of our dear teacher.

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şahin
Bursa Uludağ University

Prof. Maria Luz Neira Jiménez
Universidad Carlos III de Madrid



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A New Insight into the Iconography of the Civitas Classis Mosaic at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo'daki Civitas Classis Mozaïği İkonografisi Üzerine Yeni Bir Bakış Açısı

Federico UGOLINI*

(Received 23 October 2017, accepted after revision 05 July 2018)

Abstract

Ravenna boasts a high number of mosaics dating from the Late Antique period. Scholars have often considered these artworks in isolation, often within historical and topographic studies, and only from a very limited symbolic and iconographic perspective. This paper provides a new interpretation on the iconography of the Civitas Classis mosaic at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, from the early 6th century AD. The first section of the paper explores the iconography of the mosaic by investigating both topographic and symbolic details represented in the port scene of the Civitas Classis mosaic. The second section examines the aspects of symbolism, identity and metaphors for power expressed by the iconography of the Civitas Classis mosaic. This paper also provides an entry point, written in English, into the study of the mosaics from the Adriatic region in antiquity.

Keywords: Civitas Classis, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Adriatic Sea, Late Antiquity.

Öz

Ravenna'da, Geç Antik Dönem'den kalma çok sayıda mozaik bulunmaktadır. Akademisyenler genellikle bu sanat eserlerini çoğunlukla tarihsel ve topografik çalışmalardan ayrı olarak ve sadece sınırlı bir sembolik ve ikonografik perspektifle değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu makalede, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna'da Civitas Classis Mozaïği'nin, İS 6. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren, ikonografisine dair yeni bir yorum sunulmaktadır. Makalenin ilk bölümü, Civitas Classis Mozaïği'nin liman sahnesinde temsil edilen hem topografik hem de sembolik detayları araştırarak mozaïğin ikonografisini incelemektedir. İkinci bölümde, Civitas Classis Mozaïği'nin ikonografisi ile ifade edilen sembolizm, kimlik ve metaforların yönleri ele alınmaktadır. İngilizce olarak yazılmış bu çalışma, aynı zamanda, Antik Çağ'da Adriyatik Bölgesi'nden gelen mozaiklerin giriş noktasının incelenmesini de sunmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Civitas Classis, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Adriyatik Denizi, Geç Antik.

Ravenna is well known for its mosaics which date from the end of the Imperial and Late Antique periods (Ricci 1927: 27-53; Deichmann 1969: 170-175; Manzelli 2000: 85-114; Montevecchi 2004: 75-89; Deliyannis 2010: 160-161). Of these, the so-called 'Civitas Classis' mosaic, which dates to the early 6th century AD represents a port scene (Bovini 1961: 67-86; Gentili 1979: 49-51; Penni Iacco 2004: 36-41; Deliyannis 2010: 160). This is displayed along the northern wall of the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, located along via Roma, near the port area. This mosaic depicts a scene of ships and a hypothetical harbour mouth, and some port facilities (quay, towers). Several details depicted in the *Civitas Classis* mosaic have prompted scholars to associate it with Classe's harbour (Ricci 1933: 57-63; Lehmann Hartleben 1963: 177; Gentili 1979: 49; Maioli 1989: 338) (Fig. 1). However, the evidence does not

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seem to be particularly useful for the topographic reconstruction of Classe's harbour; although, the mosaic reveals interesting aspects of the legacy and identity of the Roman port structure in the Late Antique period.

Although ports along the Mediterranean are not commonly depicted during late antiquity, the artistic evidence available illustrates how a specific case of Adriatic port was recorded and perceived during this period. In the *Civitas Classis* mosaic, the structures were probably depicted either to celebrate their magnificence after restoration works, or simply to record these places as privileged, or to emphasise the glory and the tradition of the past. The meanings of this representation remain central to developing the argument of how, in late antiquity, ports and harbour facilities were intended to be received by late Romans, Byzantines, and beyond, and how their fame was then bequeathed.

This paper explores the iconography of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic at Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, from the Late Antique period. The first section provides initial hypotheses and a short introduction to the subject. It examines the iconography of the mosaic by investigating the topographic and symbolic details recorded and represented in the port scene, of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic. The second section provides a final discussion of the symbolism (celebratory and propagandistic aspects), identity and metaphors for power expressed by the iconography of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic.

Figure 1
Civitas Classis mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (early 6th century AD.) (IBC Regione Emilia-Romagna).



Reading the Iconography of the Civitas Classis Mosaic: A Port Scene from the Late Antique Period

The mosaic represents the harbour site of Classe, as also confirmed by the lettering '*Civitas Classis*', and it is depicted as a walled circuit made of 'golden' ashlars and buildings and porticos (or perhaps arch-shaped port structures). The mouth of the port basin is equipped with two towers and another white tower within the harbour wall (that Bovini erroneously interpreted as a lighthouse), together with three ships, one of which is sailing (Bovini 1970: 73). In the background of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic, buildings are depicted within the urban centre. These buildings, which are made of square blocks with crenelated elements, represent three styles of architecture (Von Thiersch 1909: 183; Muratori 1916: 59). Beginning from the left-hand side, the building with the cupola (perhaps a Theodorician building) and a series of windows is perhaps identifiable as a religious building or an administrative centre of the port. There is also a portico, an amphitheatre and an undefined rectangular building, which is likely a



Figure 2
Left-hand sector of the Civitas Classis
mosaic: harbour mouth, ships, towers,
harbour and city buildings (IBC Regione
Emilia-Romagna).

market centre (Ricci 1933: 57; Bovini 1951: 57-62; Bovini 1966a: 83) (Fig. 2).

The mosaic, which was probably commissioned by Theodoric, dates between AD 495 and 550, and it was made by workers from Ravenna or Syria (Andaloro 1993: 572). The church was planned by Theodoric, after the conquest of Ravenna, as a religious building for the Arians, and the works were still in progress after his death in AD 526. After that, in AD 561–569 the basilica was re-consecrated by Bishop Agnellus, under the supervision of Justinian, who converted it into a Catholic church (Farioli Campanati 1977: 102-104; Deliyannis 2010: 161). He ordered the restoration of the mosaic decorations, removing all the elements that acted as reminders of the Arians, such as the presence of the three men walking in procession. Kurth also thought that other Christian motifs and characters occupied the background of the harbour-mouth scene, a hypothesis that has not, however, found favour with other scholars (Kurth 1912: 174; Bovini 1961: 67-69; Susini 1990: 128).

The right-hand sector of the mosaic which is the richest in details related the harbour, was restored by Kibel, who omitted some details but also recovered some others such as the towers (Bovini 1961: 67; Bovini 1966a: 83; Bovini 1966b: 51-53; Penni Iacco 2004: 36-41). The white tower, thanks to its almost total restoration, can be identified as part of a defensive wall or as a building that marked the harbour mouth; however, the reason that the ancient port was depicted as equipped with two (or three) towers instead of one is still unknown (Maioli 1989: 334). There are also doubts as to the real number of the towers (in the mosaic): for instance, a Canina drawing, dated to AD 1846, does not record the left tower, and the argument for the depiction of a single tower found fertile ground in Flaminio da Parma's report (AD 1760), which mentions only the tower located on the right-hand side (Flaminio di Parma 1760: 240; Canina

1846: 89; Farioli Campanati 1977: 102-104). The coexistence of two towers has, in contrast, been supported by Ciampini's drawing (AD 1699) and by an oil painting at Vanvitelliana Library (Rome) (Ciampini 1699; Ricci 1933: 57; Penni Iacco 2004: 36-41). Furthermore, the analyses of the mosaic tesserae confirm the existence of two tower buildings. Therefore, the purposes of the towers should perhaps be thought of as a probable harbour gate into the port (Ricci 1927: 19-26).

The other building on the far-right side of the mosaic, with the lettering 'Civitas Classis' above, consists of a monumental gate, reminiscent of earlier honorific arches (Fig. 3). A free-standing arch, known as Porta Aurea, was located between Ravenna's southern side and Classe but no longer exists (Manzelli 2000: 118-124). An inscription that was found near the gate consists of a dedication made by Claudius in AD 43, recording that the arch was constructed as a gift to Ravenna (CIL XI, 5: *Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) Germanicus / pont(ificex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) II / co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) III imp(erator) III p(ater) p(atriciae) / dedit*; Manzelli 2000: 99-104; Cirelli 2013b: 125). This gate was identified in the excavations carried out in the early 20th century AD that revealed the existence of foundations; these foundations supported two brick circular towers, with a diameter of 8 m, which marked the gate with two arches. This gate manifests striking similarities to Roman buildings such as the Porta Palatina in Turin, the Arch of Augustus in Fréjus and the Porta Pretoria in Como, all which date to the Augustan period (Maioli 1989: 335-338; Susini 1990: 128; Cirelli 2013a: 122). Renovation works that occurred in AD 1582 inhibit fuller comprehension of this monument, but the legacy left by sketches from the Renaissance period onwards testify to its function and form (Manzelli 2000: 54).



Figure 3
Right-hand sector of the Civitas Classis mosaic: city buildings, harbour wall, the gate, also known as Porta Aurea, and the lettering Civitas Classis (IBC Regione Emilia-Romagna).

The towers, walls and arch depicted in the Civitas Classis mosaic therefore render the setting of the harbour at Classe and the gate, the so-called 'Porta Aurea' (Cirelli 2013b: 124-125). Leaving aside the suggestion that the towers were lighthouses, the mosaic influenced generations of local antiquarians, who reproduced visual representations of the harbour site, emphasising the features of the harbour mouth and its walled circuit (Susini 1990: 129). The connection between Ravenna and Classe, through the representation of the Porta Aurea arch, served as a reminder of the location of the Fossa Augusta canal (which probably ran near the arch area) and its role as a connector of the city and the harbour. The mosaic scene, therefore, celebrates Ravenna and the prestige attained by the city through its port. The image presents the city and its port as a single element, linked in their role and prestige. Given that Classe, the port basin and, in part, the southern side of Ravenna suffered from hydraulic and geomorphological instability from the 5th century AD onwards, its port was almost completely buried at that time; the new Theodorican port was perhaps situated near Ravenna's centre (Deliyannis 2010: 162-165; Cirelli 2013b: 124). Therefore, the mosaic reveals the manipulation of the Roman Imperial as indicating and re-animating past glories.

The Ravenna mosaic clearly conveys a symbolic (and religious) message that celebrates the earlier Roman port within the city context. The mosaic alludes not only to the port structures but also reveals their role within the city decades or centuries after their abandonment. Further evidence sheds more light on the Christian message of the mosaic such as the procession along the harbour/city walls, but, nonetheless, the portrayal of the past Roman city and its port were undoubtedly more relevant. Theodoric, who presumably commissioned the artwork, would have emphasised the prestige of Roman Ravenna and its role during the Imperial period. He would also have celebrated the former military harbour as a means of controlling and demonstrating power, as exemplified by his attempt to establish a new port to host a new fleet in Ravenna (Deliyannis 2010: 160-161). Despite the fact that the mosaic was made almost two centuries after the first eclipse of the structures and their fall into ruin, the desire to recall the legacy of the military harbour is central. The lettering '*Civitas Classis*' is itself a clear reminder of the military settlement and its role within the city of Ravenna and the wider Roman Empire. Thus, Theodoric sets out to follow the path of his ancestors through the renovation of the port and the celebration of its features; the depiction is clearly linked to the economic and military purposes of the new port established in Ravenna, and the controlling of the Adriatic which was enabled by it.

Interpreting the Iconography of the Civitas Classis Mosaic: Symbolism, Identity and the Metaphor of Power

The *Civitas Classis* mosaic is a unique artwork from the Adriatic region in Late Antique period. The study of the iconography of the *Civitas Classis* mosaic allows us to consider the representation of port structures, which has been partly neglected as a result of studies focusing predominantly on topographic aspects. Although the presentation of port structures, with their platforms, quays and harbour walls, is central, the port buildings are rendered in a generic manner, where these are portrayed in a naïve style, as the accurate rendering of individual details was not the aim (Zanker 1997: 182-183; Cuyler 2014: 129; De Angelis 2014: 89-95). Nonetheless, elements such as arched vaulted structures that indicate building techniques during the Imperial period are well evidenced, thus

demonstrating the care with which they were constructed. The depiction of port buildings, in tandem with the rendering of the ships, presents messages of power and control over waters, and of abundance, wealth and prosperity resulting from commercial connections (Pensa 1999: 93-97; Cuyler 2014: 128).

The new Adriatic world is also partly expressed within this artwork, and we may link this work with a potential context of sustenance of the population and the prevention of shortages. The security of the cargo and the celebration of the arrival indicates not only prosperity derived of vital foodstuffs. The ships, which are one of the focus of this representation, likely symbolise their safe voyage and return. Fear of navigation is not however expressed: the sea in these scenes is represented, of course, as imposing and moved by the winds, but is controlled by the vessels, sailors and ruler(s), thus conveying a sense of mastery of the water and of the obstacles posed by troubled waters (Pensa 1999: 95-96; Cuyler 2014: 129) (Fig. 4).

Figure 4
Details of the Civitas Classis mosaic:
harbour basin, ships, waters and waves
(IBC Regione Emilia-Romagna).



The ruler(s) who commissioned both the port renovation and the iconographic representations of the same promoted local fortunes, for instance by commissioning the ports' reconstruction and the improvement of facilities. The presence of urban structures in the scenes suggests connections between the city and its port and also offers an homage to the ruler's achievements (Mikocki 1990; Pensa 1997: 689-700; Pensa 1998: 113-138; Burnett 1999; Liverani 2007: 20) This homage also fits well with aspects of navigation, as a safe port represents a secure mooring-place. Moreover, the details on landing, easy navigability and return suggest the ruler's success in making the waters more navigable and peaceful. The ruler's sponsorship likely indicates his care for and interest in reinforcing and promoting new infrastructures within the Adriatic trade network.

This image may have held multiple meanings for and awakened many emotions in the crowd who participated in the ceremonies and religious activities at the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, in Ravenna. Although it is challenging to associate individual topographic detail with those of Adriatic cities, it is possible to explore alternative meanings. The skilled rendering of the port facilities, the representation of the function of the ships within the harbour convey a message of renowned prosperity, abundance and the extraordinary potential of the sea, which, through the port, is now controlled and perceived as a partner. Thus, by improving and reinforcing its structures, the late Romans understood the power achieved over the sea and the Adriatic waters. Immediately after the fall of the Roman authority, these contained risks and provoked fears, but now are perceived as allies after the establishment of the port.

By emphasising individual elements of the ports, in this case port iconography aimed to celebrate the scale and importance of maritime structures across the Adriatic. This representation responds to the propagandistic interests of ruler(s), but also respond to the needs of observers and viewers (Pensa 1999: 94-100). The viewers, therefore, observed the creation of structures that linked the Adriatic, and in particular Ravenna, with the broader pan-Mediterranean world and were also given the opportunity to expand their cultural horizons, by observing artistic representations that combined ordinary life (e.g. port facilities and seafaring activities) with extraordinary events (e.g. military achievements and patronage of rulers) (Liverani 2007: 20; De Angelis 2014: 89-106).

The presentation of religious rituals, as exemplified by the location and the procession scene in the *Civitas Classis* mosaic, are clear references to the deities and saints (Arian or Christian) presiding over the port, and the people and their thanksgiving for safe voyages, achievements and prosperity. Furthermore, the same legacy is bequeathed centuries later, where the port at the end of the Roman Empire is still perceived as a means of control, power and domination of lands and seas. This legacy, at the end of the Roman Empire, was impressed on the minds of the rulers, locals and visitors, who saw in this ancestry a means of perpetuating glory and power. More explicitly, the *Civitas Classis* recalls the glory of the recent past: the buried military port of Classe is recovered in this visual representation that emphasises the fame and importance of Ravenna's maritime structures, and it is an allusion to the symbolism and the identity of the former port structures. The legacy of the Adriatic ports continued throughout the Late Antique period, when the harbour remains became the subject debates among several rulers and competitors.

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