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einer kleinasiatischen Stadt, unter römischer Herrschaft eigenständige Politik zu betreiben [Ursula Kampmann]

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## Ursula Kampmann

Die Homonoia-Verbindungen der Stadt Pergamon, oder Der Versuch einer kleinasiatischen Stadt, unter römischer Herrschaft eigenständige Politik zu betreiben.

Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und Alten Geschichte, Band 9, Saarbrücken, 1996; xvi + 134 pp., 11 plates. DM 72.–. ISBN 3-925036-97-0.

This attractive monograph is yet another in the Saarbrücker Studien series, which happily survives the retirment of the University's Professor of Ancient History and the discontinuation of his chair. The author's *Doktorvater* has been concerned with the homonoia-coinages for as long as anyone can remember, and there is a close relationship between this work and the relevant portions of her mentor's (P.R. Franke and M.K. Nollé, Die Homonoia-Münzen Kleinasiens und der thrakischen Randgebiete, Saarbrücker Studien zur Archäologie und Alten Geschichte 10, Saarbrücken, 1997).

It is, however, a different work, and the author has not hesitated to differ from Franke and Nollé on many points. There are about a dozen differences in die identification, mostly with respect to the Pergamon/Sardis coins of Augustus (K. nos. 104-124, F./N. nos. 1805-1825) – not a disagreement one would want to have to resolve from the plates. But there are other signs that will invite caution. The curators from Oxford must have been surprised at the repeated attribution of their coins to Cambridge (K. nos. 105.3, 106.1, 116.2, with citation of 'SNG Ashmolean' where 'Coins of the Roman Empire in the Ashmolean Museum' is meant); there are occasional mistranscriptions of the coin legends (e.g. on K. 13 the terminal C under the obverse bust has been omitted; at K. 146-7 the Z is not, as the catalogue indicates, reverted); elsewhere C and  $\Sigma$  have been confused; and note 392, p. 51, makes inaccurate reference to the number of specimens in the catalogue, then provides an incomprehensible calculation of the mean weight of the pieces.

But it is neither in the addition of new material nor in the precision of its recording that Kampmann's work has anything new to offer; indeed there is very little conventional numismatic analysis, apart from occasional mention of the size of issues as estimated from the die counts she provides. It is the interpretation, which is succinctly stated in the heading of the first chapter: 'Homonoia: The Asian cities' attempt to practice foreign policy under Roman rule.' The theme is familiar from the orations of Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides. Several of Dio's orations focus on Nicaea and Nicomedia, and their rivalry has been traced in a particularly clear way by L. Robert (La titulature de Nicée et Nicomédie: La gloire et la haine, HSCP 81 [1977] pp. 1–39). The author claims (p. 5) to be following Robert's method: to gather together all the sources pertaining to the problem and to reconstruct the whole picture. Pergamon was chosen because of the (relative) richness of the tradition pertaining to the city.

A brief history (chapter 2) brings us to the imperial period, in which, with Ephesos and Smyrna, Pergamon was one of the 'Dreigestirn' of the province of Asia. On 94 of 136 dies (69%) Asklepios represents the city; on 7 (about 5%) Pergamos, the mythical founder of the city. A third type, the city-Tyche, appears

on Caracalla's well-known series of medallions but not on Pergamon's own homonoia issues; she is confined to pieces struck elsewhere. The formula of J. and M.K. Nollé (ZPE 102 [1994] pp. 241–262) explains the existence and employment of these 'secondary' representations of the city.

The chapters then proceed in approximately chronological order. Chapter 4 deals with Pergamon and Sardis under Augustus (cat. sect. 13.11, nos. 104–124). These coins stand quite apart, and do not mention the word homonoia. They were struck at Pergamon by Cephalio as grammateus, and bear on the obverse two standing figures, the bearded on the left being crowned by the one the right. The figures are associated with their cities by the disposition of the legend, ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ. The posture and legend both suggest that Pergamon is the city being honored here. Similarly on an issue struck by Mousaios (as strategos?: nos. 125–133) at Sardis, and plausibly contemporary with this one, Sardis is honored. It is interesting to note that it is the Pergamene issue which dominates in the excavations from Sardis; 6:0, though the significance of this is not clear.

Chapter 5 illustrates the connection of the homonoia-coins with larger events. Here the author adduces the well-known inscription (J.H. Oliver, Greek Constitutions of the Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri [Philadelphia, 1989] pp. 293–295, nos. 135A–B), in which Antoninus Pius smoothes the ruffled feathers of the Ephesians after the Smyrnaeans had, inadvertently in the emperor's view, omitted one of their city's titles in addressing them. Apart from its crystallization of what Oliver called 'the absurdity of the ambition behind vain titles', the inscription is important because it is probably contemporary with the author's nos. 45–47, which celebrate the homonoia of Ephesos (as first of the Asians), Pergamon and Smyrna. This places the city's coinage solidly in the larger context of imperial affairs, and leads to the conclusion that homonoia was something more than an informal statement of 'alliance'.

Of the two broad sorts of homonoia-strikings identified by the author in her conclusion, this is an example of the first: the resolution of a particular issue among the cities. The other category represents an attempt by partner-cities to enhance their own prestige by suggesting association with those of higher rank (often though not always on the occasion of acquiring a new title for themselves).

This conclusion, particularly for the second sort of case, is illustrated by a number of examples. One is Laodikeia, (chapter 6, pp. 48–58) which in the author's view adopted an aggressively self-aggrandizing posture with respect to Ephesus and Smyrna as well as Pergamon; certainly her homonoia-issues with Pergamon were not reciprocal. The same can be said of Mytilene, but here the explanation is slightly nuanced by the putative suggeneia of the cities. Unfortunately here the case rests in large part on guesswork and it is admitted that «Leider sind für uns nicht mehr alle Zeugnisse für die angenommenen Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse vorhanden» (p. 75). These cases are rather more appealing than the treatment (chapter 9, pp. 82–85) of Pergamon and Nicomedia under Gordian III, where the careful reader will recognize a petitio principii; or Hierapolis, where the path is even more tortuous. The author's case may be plausible, but it can hardly be considered altogether validated by the evidence assembled here.

Two questions remain open, and one of them could have been addressed: what is the context of the homonoia issues within the coinage of Pergamon? Occasional synchronisms with the normal city-strikings are noted, but we are given no indication of the relative size of the homonoia coinage as against any other from the mint, or its possible association with other numismatic phenomena: there is, for example, no treatment of the metrology of the homonoia coinages, so it is impossible to tell whether they are in any way different from the normal strikings of Pergamon or its partners. The bigger one, to which we await the answer of Franke and Mrs. Nollé, is the context of Pergamon's homonoia issues in the larger picture, and of B. Weisser's corpus of the coinage of Pergamon. Whether the conclusions reached by Kampmann for Pergamon can be generalized remains to be seen.

The monograph is overloaded with secondary references, no doubt reflecting its origin as a dissertation; on the other hand the style of the text is refreshing, and reflects the author's enthusiasm for her material. This work is both significant and provocative, and that cannot be said of every book.

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