

Amongst other important contributions is Johnson's challenging of the prevailing view about the chronology of Xenophon's Socratic writings. Most commentators, including myself and David Thomas, my co-editor on *The Landmark Xenophon's Anabasis* (New York 2021), have considered that the *Apologia* preceded *Memorabilia*, but Johnson presents a strong case for the opposite on the basis of an implied reading order:

If we read *Apology* first ... there is no need for the opening question posed by the *Memorabilia*—what arguments enabled the prosecution to persuade the Athenians to execute Socrates—because Socrates had already all but executed himself with his boasting in the *Apology*. Thus, the *Memorabilia* ends by addressing the question, and the audience, that the *Apology* began with. (62)

A further strong argument is that the dialogue in *Oeconomicus* features an embedded structure in which Socrates' reporting of his conversation with Ischomachus to Critobulus is intended as a lesson for the latter, so revealing the book as a philosophical dialogue, 'not a book on farming with certain Socratic trappings' (231).

Given the title of Johnson's work, readers might have expected a more sustained attempt to evaluate some of Xenophon's other writings in Socratic terms. History-oriented texts such as the *Hellenica* and *Anabasis*, it could be argued, complement Xenophon's image of the philosopher and indeed are needed if we are to have the complete version of his Socrates. Johnson notes features of the Socratic writings, such as the tendency toward connectivity or continuity in many of their openings (27), and in the case of *Memorabilia*, an indebtedness to literary apologia (30–31), that in fact find parallels in the aforementioned historical-type works, a circumstance which in turn points to a more organic texture to the oeuvre. As remarked in the opening of this review, it is also the case that recent studies have served to undermine traditional boundaries between Xenophon's writings. But I do not think Johnson would necessarily dispute this perspective, even if he is not (yet) persuaded that, say, *Anabasis* is more than a war memoir with certain Socratic trappings. I came away from his book feeling that I had been exposed to an enormous amount of learning, but that it had been delivered in an easy and measured way, just as Socrates would have done.

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KAYE (N.) **The Attalids of Pergamon and Anatolia: Money, Culture, and State Power.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Pp. xviii, 444. 9781316510599. doi:[10.1017/S0075426924000107](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0075426924000107)

Noah Kaye's *Attalids of Pergamon and Anatolia* is the first monograph to be published on the topic in nearly 40 years, since R.E. Allen's *Attalid Kingdom* (Oxford 1983), which had updated E.V. Hansen's *Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca 1947, repr. 1971), the first monograph to treat the Pergamene dynasty, and R.B. McShane's *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids of Pergamon* (Urbana 1964). However, all three books were traditional narratives by today's standards. Kaye's monograph could not come any sooner, given the importance of the Attalids in the Hellenistic world, as well as the plethora of new, mainly epigraphic material that has boosted our understanding of the dynasty in the last 30 years or so.

Following important publications over the last 20 years, most notably P. Thonemann's valuable *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations, and the State* (Oxford 2013) and

Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World (New York 2016), a volume edited by C.A. Picón and Seán Hemingway on the occasion of an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the study of the Attalid world has moved decidedly away from the traditional, mostly art-historical analysis that has dealt with Pergamene artistic production as isolated and simplistic policy. Indeed, in recent years, scholars have increasingly engaged in true interdisciplinary research, working at the intersection of Classics and disciplines such as political science, international relations and economics, to name but a few. The resulting work has offered us precious insights that have revealed a more complex picture of the Hellenistic world and prompted us to pose new questions and recast old debates. More recently, scholars like B. Dignas (*Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World* (Oxford 2012)), Altay Coşkun (various works on Galatia) and J. LaBuff (*The Peoples of Anatolia* (Leiden 2022)) have stressed the importance of approaching Anatolia as a multicultural mosaic, offering a more nuanced and no longer monolithic understanding of the populations of the region where the Pergamene kingdom emerged and quickly pushed its borders, thereby becoming a major player in the Hellenistic world. Kaye unquestionably joins the select group of scholars to offer us an excellent account of the Attalid kingdom, how it came to be, how it was transformed and how it worked.

The result of painstaking research, this dense book traces the improbable rise of the Attalids and rethinks the impact of Pergamene imperialism. The introduction makes for a comprehensive historiographical essay, as well as an expert analysis of the methodology employed. It reflects a broader rethinking of core ideas about how Pergamene policies worked, especially after the kingdom's expansion after the Peace of Apamea (188 BCE), offering at the same time a superb analysis of the Attalid economy and taxation system. Rather than viewing it in isolation, he presents it in modern economic terms, placing it at the same time in the context of the economies of antiquity, in particular the Hellenistic world and even beyond.

Chapter 1 ('Eating with the Tax Collectors') discusses 'earmarks', that is the Attalid policy of allocating tax revenues to territories, both urban and rural, under their control for specific regular local expenditures. In this respect, they displayed greater care in creating a unified kingdom despite the diversities of local political and social organization, going above and beyond the policies of their predecessors.

Chapter 2 ('The Skeleton of the State') examines Attalid fiscal institutions, monetary policies, direct and indirect taxation, the latter consisting of customs duties on mobility and exchange. Through a careful reading of the sometimes-scant epigraphic record and literary sources, Kaye convincingly reconstructs the Attalid model of interaction between the central authority and its subjects. Taxation was constantly negotiated with local communities, while the collection of taxes was assigned to civic communities themselves. Chapter 3 ('Explaining the Cistophori') focuses on the complexities and intricacies of the Attalids' innovative cistophoric coinage and builds on previous work. Kaye considers the *cistophori* to have been a 'coordinated coinage', rather than representing an effort to model the Pergamene post-188 BCE economy after the Ptolemaic 'closed-currency system'. In this context, he cites, among others, an unpublished version of my published study on the second-century BCE independent Attic-weight drachms of Ephesos, 'The Mint of Ephesos under the Attalids of Pergamon', in H. Friesinger-Fr. Krinziger, eds., *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna 1999), 185–95.

Chapter 4 ('Cities and Other Civic Organizations') examines the use of culture as part of a greater policy of integration of local communities within the Attalid Empire. The ensuing discussion is especially timely, as earlier work generally focused on Pergamon as an empire comprising *poleis*, thereby neglecting the self-sufficient *katoikiai* within the new and old territories.

In chapter 5 ('Hastening to the Gymnasium'), Kaye looks at Attalid patronage of gymnasia throughout their territory, which was part of their wider policy of integration

within their kingdom. Gymnasia were crucial for strengthening civic identity but also served as networking hubs and set points of interaction between rulers and members of these institutions, including local elites. Finally, chapter 6 ('Pergamene Panhellenism') wraps up Kaye's book by looking at Attalid cultural policies and the dynasts themselves as collectors, curators, producers and regulators of culture. Past studies of the Attalid kingdom have mainly focused on a presumed Greek heritage claimed and appropriated by the kings only. Kaye discusses the Library of Pergamon as a cultural centre and next examines the Attalid promotion of an Anatolian culture alongside the Greek mythical tradition. This part of his book is arguably the first comprehensive treatment of the subject and will be the basis for further nuanced studies of Attalid cultural leadership and influence within their kingdom and within the Hellenistic world.

One cannot underestimate the importance of this superb and delightfully written study that is essential reading for our understanding of the history of Anatolia, now seen in all its cultural diversity. It will be essential reading for our understanding of the Hellenistic world, Hellenistic civic and political behaviours, ancient economy, the Hellenistic kingdoms and the intricacies of Attalid social, economic and cultural policies.

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LaVALLE NORMAN (D.) **The Aesthetics of Hope in Late Greek Imperial Literature: Methodius of Olympus' *Symposium* and the Crisis of the Third Century.** Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. [viii] + 287. 9781108657389. doi:[10.1017/S0075426924000181](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0075426924000181)

Dawn LaValle Norman's book is timely, given the plan for new editions and translations of Methodius' Slavonic corpus (13), as well as a recently published first-ever collection dedicated to Methodius; these efforts are poised to create a 'new era of Methodius scholarship' (25).

The introduction helpfully maps out the plan of the work through a series of descriptively titled subsections that anticipate the contents of the book. The work begins with an extended discussion of the so-called literary gap during the third century CE, which Methodius occupies with few others.

The second chapter argues that the form of dialogue did not die with Christian literature (*pace*, primarily, S. Goldhill, *The End of Dialogue in Antiquity* (Cambridge 2008)), and that Methodius' *Symposium* desires to bring his audience to a 'Christian philosophical life', a topic LaValle Norman briefly discusses in her conclusion.

The third chapter contextualizes Methodius' work as engaging only with the Platonic model of sympotic dialogue, and not with the Plutarchian and Athenian 'second wave' (132–36), which itself compiles 'encyclopedic learning'; Methodius has his sights on the coming Christian future, and 'epitomizes' what LaValle Norman calls the 'third wave' of sympotic dialoguing (120).

The fourth chapter, on epideictic oratory, discusses the competitive nature of the *Symposium*, which seems at odds with assumptions about early Christianity; however, LaValle Norman considers the speeches delivered by the women to be thematically complementary, thus allowing a competitive Christian reading of the work.