empirical reality becomes less startling than its ancient and modern reception has generally made it appear to be.

The irony of Philo's position, as so reconstructed, is the way it recalls the debate between Arcesilaus and Zeno that launched Academic Scepticism (Cicero, *Acad.* 2.76–8). It was under pressure from Arcesilaus that Zeno had been persuaded to give the Stoics' *kataleptic* impression the contentious property of infallibility. By dropping that property, Philo made the Stoics' *kataleptic* impression a criterion of probable truth. If Zeno had been willing to settle for that, rather than insist on the incompatibility of wisdom with error, Academic Scepticism would have lost the principal basis for its 200 years of contention with Stoicism.

By carefully fixing the terms of this debate, B. exhibits Philo's fallibilist epistemology as an effective compromise between radical scepticism and unattainable certainty. In his ground-breaking treatment of Philo's ethics and rhetoric, B. argues that empiricism (working from provisional beliefs), as distinct from dogmatic theory, is the guiding principle, and thus consistent with the general thrust of Philo's philosophy. Notwithstanding the severe limitations of the evidence, Philo emerges from this book as a thinker whose work we would dearly like to read in a complete form.

Yet, should Philo be called, as he is here, 'The last of the Academic Sceptics'? He appears to have had no official successor as head of the Sceptical Academy, and B. argues persuasively that no later Platonists supported his account of the unity of the Academy from Plato onward; but Philo's death did not signal the sudden demise of Academic Scepticism in a broader sense. As B. recognizes, a history of that movement needs to include such later figures as Plutarch and Favorinus, and (I would add) Cicero himself, who outlived Philo by some forty years. Moreover, Academic Scepticism appears to be still a live issue for Epictetus (1.5, 2.20).

Apart from this small reservation, I register only one complaint in conclusion. While B. serves his readers admirably in terms of scholarship, he makes them work hard to garner his book's most salient findings. Many thickets of detail, some of them not fully necessary, have to be negotiated, and I wish he had tempered his liking for dashes and parentheses.

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STRABO VII–IX

†F. SBORDONE: *Strabonis* Geographica. *Vol. III: Libri VII–IX*. Pp. 437. Rome: Typis Officinae Polygraphicae, 2002. Paper, €21.70. ISBN: 88-240-3621-X.

On 29 May 2002, a fire in the warehouse of Les Belles Lettres destroyed all Budé volumes in print. The ambitious programme of reprinting does not, as yet, include Strabo's geography. Perhaps this tragedy, and the lack of enthusiasm in making the Budé edition available again, is symbolic for what has happened to the text of Strabo's geography over the centuries.

The textual transmission of the work, which was hardly read in antiquity, is sadly complicated; some parts—notably the latter part of Book 7—were already lost in late antiquity (a fragment of the lost portion is preserved in the second/third-century Papyrus Köln 5861). The earliest manuscript we have is the late fifth-century Grottaferrata palimpsest, which, however, only transmits fragments of about one-seventh of the text. At some later stage, then, Strabo's geography, probably in view

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of its sheer size, was divided into two chunks. The first nine books are therefore differently transmitted from the final eight. For what remains of Books 1–9, there are two manuscript families: A, for which the main codex is the tenth-century Parisinus Graecus 1397, and β (= ω' in Budé), a number of 'codices decurtati', so called because all they provide for Books 8 and 9 are excerpts, not a complete text. To complicate matters, the Parisinus was in a sorry state already in the Middle Ages, lacking whole quaternions, and, for Books 1, 8, and 9, the text originally written near the margin; the latter were restored in the late thirteenth century using the text in β. There is ample scope for critical work on Strabo's geography.

The last critical edition of the complete text is 150 years old: W. Kramer's text was published in 1844–52 and provided the foundation for later 'reading editions', of which the ones by A. Meineke (1852–3, repr. 1877—the TLG provides this text on CD-ROM) and the Loeb edition by H. L. Jones (1917–36) are still widely used today. In view of the scholarly progress on textual questions since Kramer's days, in 1900 the Berlin Academy commissioned B. Niese to produce a new critical edition. Niese, however, died ten years later without any tangible results of the project, which was passed on to K. Reinhardt—who gave it up in utter despair (witness his testimony in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* [1953], XXII.1, col. 611). Eventually, the task was given to W. Aly, who died before anything was printed, but whose preface and edition of Books 1–6 were published posthumously in 1968–72, leaving the Berlin project unfinished.

Meanwhile, in 1963, F. Sbordone published a fresh edition of Books 1 and 2, and F. Lasserre started a Budé edition in 1966. One generation later, the latter has reached, thanks to contributions by G. Aujac and R. Baladié, Book 12 (not more, *pace* P. Levi in *CR* 40 [1990], 14), while S. went on to present Books 3–6 in 1971, and now, in an edition posthumously prepared by S. M. Medaglia, Books 7–9. There is no indication that this edition can be continued. Finally, an edition by S. Radt (whose collected essays have recently been republished to mark his seventy-fifth birthday) is due to be published in ten volumes, one per year, starting in 2003.

S.'s edition of Books 7–9, which covers the same ground as R. Baladié's relevant Budé editions (1978–96), is a monument to his scholarship. It is based on S.'s own studies of the textual transmission, and a fresh reading of all primary manuscripts, including the palimpsest (unknown to Kramer), which transmits some parts of Books 8 and 9 otherwise lost, and an important member of β, the fourteenth-century Vatopedi (Athos) codex (inaccessible to Kramer). Also, S. has found more 'fragments' for the latter part of Book 7 than previous editors. The quantity of the text as presented by S. is thus slightly larger than what is still widely used (thanks to TLG and Loeb), but most of all the quality is a notable improvement: the editorial decisions, which take into account scholarship up to, and including, Baladié's editions, are sound, and there are copious references to chapters and sections, as well as Casaubon and (unnecessarily) Meineke pages, in addition to three very full apparatuses (to references by Strabo, to the manuscript evidence for and scholarly opinions on the text, and to ancient quotations of the text). It is equally obvious that the volume is also a monument to the painstaking devotion to the project, after S.'s death, by S. M. Medaglia, who, as the preface modestly puts it, 'textum revisit et multis in locis perfecit'.

On hundred and fifty years after the last complete critical edition of Strabo's geography was published, and with a gruesome history of loss, despair, fire, and untimely deaths since, we are still left hoping for a new critical text of Strabo's seventeen books of geography. In his review of the first volume of S.'s edition, A. Diller remarked (*CPh* 60 [1965], 79): 'The demands of modern technique are so heavy that many enterprises of this magnitude collapse before the end. All will earnestly hope it

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does not happen this time'. Sadly, it did, but the quality of Sbordone's edition of Books 7–9 provides a 'benchmark' against which future editions of Strabo's geography will have to be measured.

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APPIAN ON AFRICA

P. GOUKOWSKY: *Appien:* Histoire romaine. *Tome iv, livre viii. Le livre africain* (Collection des Universités de France publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé). Pp. cxxxvi + 228, ills. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2001. Cased, €60. ISBN: 2-251-00494-7.

This volume in the Budé edition of Appian's *Roman History* contains the longest section of his work apart from the five books of the *Civil Wars*. Even so, it appears that it is not complete. Appian (*proem*. 14.57) lists a book called *Καρχηδονιακή* (*The Carthaginian Book*), but Photius calls the eighth book *Λιβυκή*, *Καρχηδονιακὴ καὶ Νομαδική* (*Libyan, Carthaginian and Numidian Books*). To compound the issue, the heading in our best and earliest manuscript (*Vat. Gr.* 141) reads *Ἀππιανοῦ Λιβυκὴ ἤτοι τὰ Καρχηδονιακά* (*The Libyan Book, or the Carthaginian History*), and what follows is indeed an account of the wars of the Romans with Carthage, leaving out those sections which Appian has dealt with already in other of his books (as he himself explains at *Lib.* 2.10). However, Photius' note and the survival of five fragments from the *Νομαδική* (included at the end of the present volume) suggest that *The Libyan Book* was made up of two sections, one dealing with Carthage and the other with Numidia. That said, the *Libyan Book* (or, as the Budé editor, Paul Goukowsky, prefers, *Le Livre africain*) reads as a coherent whole, and is an excellent example of Appian's work, to say nothing of its historical interest. G. has provided a good text and a brief *apparatus criticus*, though as he observes in the introductory section of the book (pp. CXXX–CXXXI), the state of the manuscript tradition is sufficiently clear that an editor might be tempted only to cite *Vat. Gr.* 141. No doubt the relative lack of difficulty with the establishment of the text has also led to the omission from this volume of a list of the editor's own solutions to textual cruces, such as appeared in the introduction of Volume II, published in 1997. This does leave space for a number of valuable contributions to the *African Book* as a whole. The first is a short but most illuminating essay on the style and overall direction of the work, noting the dramatic and tragic elements in the two stages of the work, the first being the first two Punic wars and the second the final defeat and destruction of Carthage, and especially the rôles given to generals on both sides (pp. IX–XXIII). This is followed by an exposition of the rhetorical elements in Appian's treatment of his subject in the narrative sections (which G. associates with the programme set out by Theon in his *Progymnasmata*, whom G. suggests may have been Appian's teacher) and also in the considerable number of speeches contained in the work (pp. XXIII–XLIV). On these last, G. makes the shrewd and interesting observation that the Carthaginian speeches are in many cases given to notables who present a moderate position, in contrast to the views of the general populace in Carthage, who are represented as much more hostile to the Romans, which in the last episode leading to the decision to destroy the city allows the presentation of the Roman action as both justified and perfidious.

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