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Darius on reaching Arbela encourages his friends, but sets out for Media in order to collect more forces from his provinces. Alexander takes Arbela with rich spoils. He goes on to Babylon, Mazaeus surrendering it. Babylon; demoralization of the army (i).

Alexander offers prizes for a contest in military valour, makes changes in military discipline. He takes Susa with its treasures. He consoles Sisigambis, Darius' mother, whom

he had unwittingly offended (ii).

Alexander defeats the Uxii, sparing their governor and the prisoners at Sisigambis' request, and sets them free. He attempts to enter Persia, but is checked by Ariobarzanes at the Susian Gates (iii).

A prisoner shows Alexander a difficult but little known way through the mountains. He destroys the Persian force;

Ariobarzanes himself is killed (iv).

Alexander takes Persepolis and sets free 4000 Greek prisoners, who had been shamefully ill-treated and mutilated. Some of these wish to be sent to Greece, others to be given homes in Asia. The king grants both requests and treats them all generously (v).

Alexander plunders Persepolis and Parsagada, both rich in treasure. He makes his way into the interior of Persia with great difficulty, subdues the Mardi; their customs. He re-

turns to Persepolis (vi).

Alexander's dissipation at Persepolis. At the instigation of a courtesan he burns the palace. The Macedonians and finally the king himself are ashamed of his action, but endeavour to justify it (vii).

Darius had reached Ecbatana. From there he had decided to go to Bactra, but alarmed by Alexander's speed, he

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changes his plan. He addresses his troops, trying to

encourage them for a final contest (viii).

As the result of Darius' speech his generals express various opinions. Nabarzanes, who had formed a treasonable plot with Bessus, advises him to turn over the rule temporarily to Bessus. Darius was on the point of killing Nabarzanes, but he and Bessus escaped. Artabazus and the Greeks troop support Darius (ix).

Bessus and Nabarzanes plan to betray or imprison Darius,

skilfully concealing their design (x).

Their plot is revealed to Darius. He rejects the protection of the Greek troops, being ready to die if his own countrymen do not wish for his safety (xi).

Bessus, deceiving Darius by false words and forced tears, seizes him, binds him in golden fetters, and places him in a common cart (xii).

Alexander hears of Darius' danger and hastens to his rescue. Bessus and his accomplices, fearing capture, stab Darius and take to flight, killing the animals and the slaves. Alexander sends Nicanor with a part of the cavalry in pursuit and follows with the rest; about 3000 were killed; the rest taken prisoner. A Macedonian soldier finds Darius (xiii).

Darius thanks the gods that he does not die alone; also thanks the man who found him; sends a message to Alexander, wishing him a glorious life on the throne of Cyrus and

praying him to punish the assassins.

#### LIBER V

I. Quae interim ductu imperioque Alexandri vel in Graecis vel Illyriis ac Thraecia gesta sunt, si suis quaeque temporibus reddere voluero, interrumpendae 2 sunt res Asiae, quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darei universas in conspectum¹ dari et, sicut inter se cohaerent, ita opere ipso coniungi haud² paulo aptius videri potest. Igitur, quae proelio apud Arbela coniuncta sunt, ordiar dicere.

Dareus media fere nocte Arbela pervenerat, eodemque magnae partis amicorum eius ac militum
4 fugam Fortuna compulerat. Quibus convocatis exponit haud dubitare se quin Alexander celeberrimas
urbes agrosque omni copia rerum abundantes petiturus esset; praedam opimam paratamque ipsum et
5 milites eius spectare. Id suis rebus tali in statu
saluti fore; quippe se deserta cum expedita manu
petiturum. Ultima regni sui adhuc intacta esse;
6 inde bello vires haud aegre reparaturum. Occuparet
sane gazam avidissima gens et ex longa fame satiaret

<sup>1</sup> conspectum *Modius*; conspectu A.

<sup>2</sup> haud I; aut A.

b On paratam cf. iv. 14. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Because the baggage and a force of some size to guard it was posted in Arbela; see iv. 9. 9.

#### BOOK V

I. If I should wish to describe, each in its own time, all that was done meanwhile under the lead and by the command of Alexander either among the Greeks or among the Illyrians and in Thrace, I should have 2 to interrupt the course of events in Asia, which, especially up to the flight and death of Darius, might seem far more fittingly to be presented as a whole, and just as they form a continuous series, so they should be joined together in my own work. Accordingly, I shall begin by telling of the events connected with the battle at Arbela.

Darius had reached Arbela at about midnight, and Fortune had driven to the same spot a the flight of a great part of his friends and of his soldiers. Having called these together, he explained to them that he had no doubt that Alexander would make for the most populous cities and the lands abounding in supplies of every kind; that the Macedonian king and his soldiers had an eye to a rich and easily 5 acquired b booty. This under present conditions would prove to be the salvation of his own fortunes; for he himself intended to go to the deserts with a lightly equipped band. The remote parts of his realm were still untouched, and from them he would 6 without difficulty get together forces for war; by all means let that most insatiable race seize his

### QUINTUS CURTIUS

se auro, mox futura praedae sibi; usu didicisse pretiosam supellectilem pelicesque et spadonum agmina nihil aliud fuisse quam onera et impedimenta. Eadem trahentem Alexandrum, quibus rebus antea vicisset inferiorem fore.

Plena omnibus desperationis videbatur oratio; quippe Babylona, urbem opulentissimam, dedi cernentibus2: iam Susa, iam cetera ornamenta regni, 8 causam³ belli, victorem occupaturum. At ille docere pergit non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse; ferro geri bella, non auro, viris, non urbium tectis. Omnia sequi armatos; sic maiores suos, perculsos in principio rerum, celeriter 9 pristinam reparasse fortunam. Igitur, sive confirmatis eorum animis, sive imperium magis quam consilium sequentibus, Mediae fines ingressus est.

Paulo post Alexandro Arbela traduntur, regia supellectile ditique gaza repleta; ин milia talentum fuere, praeterea pretiosae vestes, totius, ut supra dictum est, exercitus opibus in illam sedem congestis.

- 11 Ingruentibus deinde morbis, quos odor cadaverum totis iacentium campis vulgaverat, maturius castra Euntibus a parte laeva Arabia, odorum fer-
  - <sup>1</sup> Babylona Zumpt; babylonam BLP; babilonam F; babyllonam V.
    - <sup>2</sup> cernentibus Giunta: certantibus A.

<sup>3</sup> causam *Hedicke*; causamque A.

<sup>b</sup> See iv. 9. 9.

a Cf. Livy i. 23. 7 si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> This cannot refer to Arabia proper or to the whole march, unless Curtius was led astray by faulty maps. But this is unlikely. Between the Euphrates and Tigris were the Arabes Orei (Pliny, N.H. vi. 26. 30 (117)) and Arabes Scenitae (Strabo vi. 1. 26 (747)). Mention of these in Curtius' 328

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treasure and glut itself with gold, for which it had long hungered—a race soon to fall a prey to itself! he himself had learned from experience that costly equipment and concubines and trains of eunuchs were nothing else than burdens and hindrances. Alexander, dragging these same clogs after him, would be inferior by reason of the very fruits of his victory.

- 7 This speech seemed to all to be full of desperation; for they saw that Babylon, that richest of cities, was being abandoned; presently Susa, presently the other ornaments of the realm, the cause for the war, would
- 8 be seized by the victor. But Darius went on to show them that in times of adversity it was not at what was splendid to tell of,<sup>a</sup> but at what was of actual service, that one must aim; that wars were waged with steel, not with gold, with men, not with the buildings of cities. Everything fell to those who were armed; thus their forefathers, though in the beginning defeated, had speedily recovered their a former feature. And so whether he had strongthered.
- 9 former fortune. And so, whether he had strengthened their courage, or they yielded to his command rather than to his judgement, he entered the territories of Media.
- 10 A little later Arbela was surrendered to Alexander, filled with the king's equipment and with rich treasure; there were 4000 talents in money, besides costly raiment, since, as was said before, b the wealth of the entire army was concentrated in that spot.
- 11 Then, because of the increasing diseases, which the stench of the dead bodies lying over all the plains had spread abroad, he speedily moved his camp. As they went on, Arabia was on their left hand, a region sources probably caused him to add something (about perfumes) which is really applicable to Arabia proper only.

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