

In spite of Arrian's importance both to the history of Alexander and to the world of the Second Sophistic, the literary aspects of his work have received surprisingly little attention. The *Anabasis*, for example, is more often treated as a marginally reliable repository of facts about Alexander's life than as the monumental work of historiography it is. However, by properly situating the *Anabasis* within the traditions of Greek historiography, one can more easily navigate its most problematic passages. In this paper, I will be concerned with Arrian's account of the destruction of the palace at Persepolis. I will show that Arrian creates his unique account by exploiting Herodotus' portraits of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes in order to emphasize a turning point in Alexander's career.

The burning of the palace is a notoriously vexed problem for scholars interested in the historical motivations behind the incident. The various ancient sources disagree as to whether it was planned (Arr. *Anab.* 3.18.1-12; Strabo 15.3.6) or spontaneous (Diod. 72.2; Curt. 5.7.4; Plut. *Al.* 38.3-4), and modern scholarship has focused on this very question (e.g. Bosworth's *Historical Commentary*). Arrian's account is particularly problematic due to its brevity, perplexing chronology, and the inclusion of a dialogue between Alexander and Parmenion that appears in no other source. While many attempts have been made to examine aspects of Alexander's policy (Badian, 1967; Tarn, 1948) or vengeful rage (Borza, 1972), Arrian's literary agenda has been ignored. The idiosyncratic nature of his account is no accident of sources, but a conscious manipulation occurring at a key moment in the *Anabasis*.

Arrian narrates the events at Persepolis as the last episode in a series of four parallel vignettes designed to illustrate a shift in his presentation of Alexander from Greek general to Persian king. Here, for the first time, the historian introduces the challenges posed to Alexander's character by these dual roles, a central theme of the second half of the *Anabasis*. Arrian distorts the internal chronologies of the conquests of Babylon, Susa, Uxiane, and Persepolis in order to create a structural pattern within each episode that invites the reader to trace the progress of Alexander's actions in all four. In Babylon (3.16.3-5) and Susa (3.16.6-11), Alexander appears as a sort of anti-Xerxes who is concerned with rectifying the misdeeds of the earlier Persian king and completing the retributive expedition that had been the central focus of the *Anabasis* thus far. Here, in order to sharpen the contrast between the two kings, Arrian imports events from later in Alexander's career, which directly relate to Xerxes and which he also narrates in their proper place (7.17.12; 7.19.2). In addition, he truncates the episode at Babylon to maintain a parallel structure (cf. Curt. 5.1.39; Diod. 17.64.4). The two episodes that follow question Alexander's motives for continuing his campaign. In Uxiane (3.17.1-6), Alexander's interaction with an intractable tribe of nomads recalls the misadventures of Darius I in Scythia (Hdt. 4.121-144) and introduces the possibility of a limit on Alexander's powers of expansion (cf. Hartog, 1980; Hunter, 1982). Here too Arrian seems to have collapsed a longer episode in order to stress its similarity to those surrounding it (cf. Bosworth *ad loc.*). In Persepolis (3.18.1-12), Parmenion's "wise advisor" speech, which appears only in Arrian, strongly resembles the advice of Croesus to Cyrus during the sack of Sardis (Hdt. 1.87-88), and Alexander's attempt to claim this action as a part of his retributive campaign is explicitly denied by the author's own voice (3.18.12).

These four episodes through their repetitive structure and engagement with Herodotus reveal the tensions between Alexander's panhellenic ideology and his years of continued conquest in the East. The explanation for Arrian's divergence from other authors who treat the same events is therefore not to be found in his choice of sources, but rather in his literary purpose.