

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF STRATEGY

VOLUMEI

From Antiquity to the American War of Independence

Volume I of The Cambridge History of Strategy offers a history of the practice of strategy from the beginning of recorded history, to the late eighteenth century, from all parts of the world. Drawing on material evidence covering two and a half millennia, an international team of leading scholars in each subject examines how strategy was formulated and applied and with what tools, from ancient Greece and China to the Ottoman and Mughal Empires and the American Revolutionary War. They explore key themes from decision-makers and strategy-making processes, causes of wars and war aims and tools of strategy in war and peace, to configurations of armed forces and distinctive and shared ways of war across civilisations and periods. A comparative conclusion examines how the linking of political goals with military means took place in different parts of the world over the course of history, asking whether strategic practice has universal features.

ISABELLE DUYVESTEYN is Professor of International Studies/Global History at the Institute of History at Leiden University. Between 2012 and 2017 she held the Special Chair in Strategic Studies at the Political Science Institute of Leiden University. Between 2008 and 2020 she was a member of the national Advisory Council on International Affairs assigned to advise the Netherlands government on issues of peace and security, and between 2012 and 2021 she was a member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Netherlands Defence Academy.

BEATRICE HEUSER holds the Chair of International Relations at the University of Glasgow, and is seconded to the General Staff College of the Bundeswehr in Hamburg as Section Chief for Strategy. She has worked at NATO Headquarters as a consultant. She has served on academic advisory boards of the Royal United Services Institute, the French Institute of International Affairs (IFRI) and the French government's strategic studies think tank IRSEM. She has previously taught at universities in the UK, Germany and France.



THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF STRATEGY

The Cambridge History of Strategy presents a global history exploring how leaders of social groups, civilisations, empires and states have practised strategy over the course of the past three millennia. With contributions from leading experts in each subject, these volumes analyse a series of notable case studies to reflect on the formulation and application of strategy rather than on theory. Transcending the traditional Western focus and modern-state-based framework of strategic studies, this Cambridge History offers the inclusion of a wider range of political actors and cases from parts of the world hitherto largely excluded from the literature. This leads to a discussion of whether central claims in the field of strategic studies that the practice of strategy exhibits universal features which apply always hold up against empirical evidence from different centuries and cases beyond the West.

VOLUME I

From Antiquity to the American War of Independence
EDITED BY ISABELLE DUYVESTEYN AND BEATRICE HEUSER

Volume II

From the Napoleonic Wars to the Present

EDITED BY ISABELLE DUYVESTEYN AND BEATRICE HEUSER



THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF
STRATEGY

VOLUME I

From Antiquity to the American War of Independence

Edited by

ISABELLE DUYVESTEYN

Leiden University

BEATRICE HEUSER

University of Glasgow







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108479950

DOI: 10.1017/9781108788090

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2025

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

Two Volume Set ISBN 978-1-009-41763-1 Hardback Volume I ISBN 978-1-108-47995-0 Hardback Volume II ISBN 978-1-108-47992-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



This book is dedicated to the past and present victims of war



Contents

List of Maps page xii
List of Contributors to Volume I xiii
Preface and Acknowledgements xix

Introduction to Volume I: The Practice of Strategy 1
ISABELLE DUYVESTEYN AND BEATRICE HEUSER

- I · China to AD 180 21
- 2 · Teispid and Achaemenid Persia (c. 550–330 BC) 40 JOHN O. HYLAND
- 3 · Ancient Greece: Strategy of the City States (500–300 BC) 53 ROEL KONIJNENDIJK
 - 4 · Philip II, Alexander III and the Macedonian Empire 73

 ANDREW FEAR
 - 5 · Ancient Rome: Monarchy and Republic (753–27 BC) 98 LOUIS RAWLINGS
 - 6 · China ad 180–1127 124 DAVID A. GRAFF
- 7 · Ancient Rome: Principate and Dominate (27 BC-AD 630) 144
 MICHAEL WHITBY
 - 8 · The Gupta Empire (AD 400–500) 171 KAUSHIK ROY



Contents

- 9 · The Sassanian Empire's Strategies 191
 KATARZYNA MAKSYMIUK
- 10 · The Rashidun, Umayyad (661–750) and Abbasid (750–1258)

 Caliphates 204

 MEHDI KURGAN KADER
 - II · Byzantine Strategy (AD 630–1204) 226
 GEORGIOS CHATZELIS
- 12 · Strategies in the Wars of Western Europe, 476–c. 1000 25:
 - 13 · Latin Christendom in the Later Middle Ages 271 SOPHIE THÉRÈSE AMBLER
- 14 · Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Empire, AD 1206 to 1368 292
- 15 · Hindu and Buddhist Polities of Premodern/Early Modern Mainland South-East Asia (1100–1800) 312 TASSAPA UMAVIJANI
- 16 · Pre-Columbian and Early Historic Native American Warfare 334

 PATRICIA M. LAMBERT
 - 17 · Ottoman Expansionism, 1300–1823 346 MESUT UYAR
 - 18 · Strategy in the Wars of Pre-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa $_{369}$ John Burton kegel and Giacomo Macola
 - 19 · Strategies of the Mughal Empire 384

 PRATYAY NATH
 - 20 · China, 1368–1911 403 KENNETH M. SWOPE
- 21 · Early Modern Europe: The Habsburgs and Their Enemies, 1519–1659 424

 DAVID PARROTT



Contents

22 · Naval Strategies 448
ADRI VAN VLIET

23 · The Strategy of Louis XIV 464
JAMEL OSTWALD

24 · Hohenzollern Strategy under Frederick II 488 ADAM L. STORRING

25 · American Warfare in the Eighteenth Century 508 STEPHEN CONWAY

Summary of Volume I 528
BEATRICE HEUSER AND ISABELLE DUYVESTEYN

Further Reading 566 Index 584



Maps

I.I	Chinese strategies to AD 180	page 22
2. I	Strategies of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BC)	46
3.I	Ancient Greece: strategies of the city states (500–400 BC)	62
4.I	Strategies of Philip II and Alexander III and the Macedonian Empire	86
5.I	Strategies of ancient Rome, Monarchy and Republic (753-27 BC)	99
6.1	Tang operations against the Eastern Türks, AD 629-630	125
7.I	Strategies of ancient Rome: principate and dominate (27 BC—AD 630)	145
8.1	Strategies of the Gupta Empire (AD 400–500)	172
9.1	Strategies of the Sassanian Persian Empire (AD 224–651)	196
10.1	Strategies of the Rashidun, Umayyad (661–750) and Abbasid (750–1258)	
	caliphates	206
II.I	Byzantine strategy (AD 630–1204)	228
I2.I	Strategies in the wars of western Europe, 476–c. 1000	252
13.1	Strategies in Latin Christendom in the later Middle Ages 1000-1500	280
I4.I	Strategies of Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Empire, AD 1206 to 1368	293
15.I	The Burmese marching routes against Ayutthaya in 1765–1767	313
16.1	Pre-Columbian and early historic Native American battles, wars and	
	regional conflict (1000–1860)	335
17.1	Ottoman strategy	358
18.1	Strategy in the wars of pre-colonial sub-Saharan Africa	370
20.I	Strategies of Ming and Qing China	416
2I.I	Strategies of the early modern Habsburgs and their enemies, 1519–1659	426
22.I	Dutch naval strategies (1550–1800)	456
23.I	The strategies of Louis XIV	465
24.I	The wars of Frederick II of Prussia	489
25.T	American strategies in the eighteenth century	509



Contributors to Volume I

SOPHIE THÉRÈSE AMBLER IS Reader in Medieval History at Lancaster University, where she is also Deputy Director of the Centre for War and Diplomacy. In 2020 she was awarded a Philip Leverhulme Prize for History. Before joining Lancaster, she was a researcher on the Magna Carta Project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), at the University of East Anglia; before this she was a researcher at the University of Glasgow on the AHRCs Breaking of Britain project. She completed her PhD at King's College London, with joint supervision at University College London, and was Thornley Fellow at the Institute of Historical Research.

GEORGIOS CHATZELIS is a Research Fellow at Centre for Advanced Study Sofia and New Europe College, Institute for Advanced Study. He holds a BA in History (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), an MA in Ancient and Medieval Warfare (Cardiff University) and a PhD in Byzantine History (Royal Holloway, University of London). Previously, he taught Medieval and Byzantine History at Royal Holloway, University of London and Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He publishes on the Byzantine culture of war, war writing in Byzantine historical narratives and Byzantine education. His latest books include Byzantine Military Manuals as Literary Works and Practical Handbooks: The Case of the Tenth-Century Sylloge Tacticorum (2019).

STEPHEN CONWAY is Professor of History at University College London (UCL). He took his first degree at Leeds and did his PhD at UCL. He has been a full-time member of staff in the History Department since 1989, became a Reader in 1994 and a Professor in 2002. He served in a variety of enabling roles, both at UCL and beyond. Between 2012 and 2015, he was Head of the UCL History Department. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and an editor of *English Historical Review*. He has published extensively on Britain's eighteenth-century wars, especially the War of American Independence.

ISABELLE DUYVESTEYN is Professor of International Studies/Global History at the Institute of History at Leiden University. She completed her PhD at the Department of War Studies at King's College London. Previously she has worked at the Royal Military Academy in the Netherlands, the Netherlands Institute for International Relations and the Department of History of International Relations at Utrecht University. Between 2012 and 2017 she held the Special Chair in Strategic Studies at the Political Science Institute of Leiden University. Between 2008 and 2020 she was a member of the national Advisory



List of Contributors to Volume I

Council on International Affairs assigned to advise the Netherlands government on issues of peace and security, and between 2012 and 2021, she was a member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Netherlands Defence Academy.

Andrew Fear is a Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Manchester. Educated at Lancaster RGS and New College, Oxford, where he completed his BA and DPhil, he held a Junior Research Fellowship at Jesus College, Oxford, before moving first to Keele and then to Manchester. He has contributed to *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* (2007); Himanshu Prabha Ray and Daniel T. Potts (eds.), *Memory as History: The Legacy of Alexander in Asia* (2007); and Anastasia Bakogianni and Valerie Hope (eds.), *War as Spectacle: Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Display of Armed Conflict* (2015), and is the joint editor with Jamie Wood of *A Companion to Isidore of Seville* (2015).

JOHN FRANCE is Professor Emeritus in the History Department of Swansea University. His main interests are medieval warfare and crusading, and general military development. Some recent works are *Hattin* (2015); *Perilous Glory: Understanding Western Warfare* (BC3000—Gulf Wars) (2011) and, most recently, *Military History of the French Monarchy* 885–1305 (2022).

David A. Graff is the Pickett Professor of Military History and Chair of the Department of History at Kansas State University. He received his PhD from Princeton University and his MA from the University of Michigan. A specialist in Chinese military history, especially that of the Tang dynasty, he has been editor-in-chief of the *Journal of Chinese Military History* since its founding in 2012 and organiser of the Chinese Military History Society's annual conferences since 1999. He co-edited *The Cambridge History of War*, Volume II: *War and the Medieval World* (2020) and is a member of several editorial boards.

BEATRICE HEUSER holds the Chair of International Relations at the University of Glasgow, and is seconded to the General Staff College of the Bundeswehr in Hamburg as Section Chief for Strategy. She holds her BA and MA from the University of London (Bedford College and LSE) and her DPhil from Oxford (St Antony's College and St John's College). She also holds a higher doctorate (*Habilitation*) from the University of Marburg. Previously she taught at King's College London at the Department of War Studies and at the University of Reading, and as Visiting Professor at several Parisian universities, the universities of Reims and Potsdam, and at Sciences Po' Paris and Reims. She has worked at NATO Headquarters as a consultant, and in various positions for the Bundeswehr. She has served on academic advisory boards of several museums and research institutes, currently including the Royal United Services Institute, the French Institute of International Affairs (IFRI), and the French government's strategic studies think tank IRSEM.

JOHN O. HYLAND is Professor of History at Christopher Newport University. He completed his PhD in the Committee on the Ancient Mediterranean World at the University of Chicago, and has taught at Christopher Newport University since 2006. He is the author of *Persian Interventions: the Achaemenid Empire, Athens, & Sparta, 450–386 BCE* (2018), and his next book will explore Persia's Greek campaigns in their ancient Near Eastern imperial contexts.



List of Contributors to Volume I

JOHN BURTON KEGEL has taught at the London School of Economics and Political Science and conducted research at London Business School, where he studied the colonial economies of Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. His PhD from the University of Kent, 'The Road to Genocide: A History of the Rwandan Struggle for Liberation', re-evaluates our current understanding of the events leading up to the 1994 genocide by using previously untapped archival material and interviews collected during several stints of fieldwork. The work also combines his long-term interests in African and military history.

ROEL KONIJNENDIJK is an historian of classical Greek warfare. He completed his PhD at University College London in 2015. In the years since, he has held a Past & Present Junior Research Fellowship at the Institute of Historical Research and a Marie Curie Postdoctoral Fellowship at Leiden University. He has taught ancient history at UCL, Birkbeck, Warwick, Oxford and Edinburgh. He is the author of Classical Greek Tactics: A Cultural History (2018) and Between Miltiades and Moltke: Early German Studies in Greek Military History (2023), as well as being co-editor of Brill's Companion to Greek Land Warfare beyond the Phalanx (2021).

MEHDI KURGAN KADER is a strategic theorist and consultant. He served as a counterterrorism consultant in the aviation security sector, specializing in behavioural detection, red-team activities and critical-infrastructure protection operations. He later served as an independent strategic risk and threat management consultant in the Middle East and North and West Africa, during the early years of the global War on Terror before returning to academia. He completed his BA, MA, MRes and PhD at the Department of War Studies at King's College London. His academic specialisations are in the fields of strategic theory, game theory, counterterrorism and early Islamic warfare. He currently directs a private-sector defence and threat management consultancy.

Patricia M. Lambert is Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at Utah State University (USU). She completed her MA and PhD in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California at Santa Barbara and held a Postdoctoral Fellowship in Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History. From 2012 to 2016 she was Executive Director of the Museum of Anthropology at USU. She is a specialist in the bioarchaeology of violence and warfare in pre-Columbian North America and has published a number of empirical studies and synthetic works on the topic. Her most recent work examines the role of violent conflict in state formation in the Moche valley, Peru.

PETER LORGE is an Associate Professor of Premodern Chinese and Military History at Vanderbilt University. An award-winning teacher, he is also the author or editor of nine books, most recently *The Beginner's Guide to Imperial China* (2021), and *Sun Tzu in the West: The Anglo-American Art of War* (2022). Next in line is *Documents from Early Chinese History*, a sourcebook for premodern Chinese history written with Scott Pearce. He is currently completing an epistolary history of eleventh-century China.



List of Contributors to Volume I

GIACOMO MACOLA is Associate Professor of African History at 'La Sapienza' University of Rome. He holds a PhD from the University of London (SOAS, 2000). Before moving to Rome, he was Reader in African History at the University of Kent at Canterbury. He has held visiting professorships at the University of the Free State (2016) and the University of Cagliari (2017). He is the co-founder and co-editor of Warfare and Militarism in African History, a book series at Ohio University Press, and a member of the editorial committee of the British Academy's Fontes Historiae Africanae. In 2021 he was elected corresponding member of the Belgian Académie royale des sciences d'Outre-mer.

KATARZYNA MAKSYMIUK is Professor of History at Siedlce University, in Poland. She completed her PhD at the Department of Archaeology and Ethnology at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. She also holds a higher doctorate (Habilitation) from the University of Toruń. Her research deals with the history of Iran, with particular attention to the problems of military conflicts. She is the author of Geography of Roman—Iranian Wars: Military Operations of Rome and Sasanian Iran (Siedlce, 2015), and co-author of The Military History of Third-Century Iran (Siedlce, 2018) and A Synopsis of Sasanian Military Organization and Combat Units (Siedlce and Tehran, 2018). She is a member of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies, the Society of Ancient Military Historians, the Austrian Byzantine Society and the Byzantinist Society of Cyprus. She is editor-in-chief of the scientific journal Historia i Świat (History and the World).

Timothy May is Professor of Central Eurasian History and Associate Dean of Arts & Letters at the University of North Georgia. He earned his BA at the College of William & Mary, his MA in Central Eurasian Studies at Indiana University, and his PhD at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He is the author and editor of eleven books, including The Mongol Art of War (2007), The Mongol Conquests in World History (2012), The Mongol Empire (2018), and Simply Chinggis (2021). He also serves on the editorial board of several journals. In 2014, he was named the University of North Georgia Alumni Distinguished Professor, and was awarded the UNG Distinguished Teaching Award in 2021.

Pratyay Nath is Associate Professor of History at Ashoka University, Sonipat, India. His work lies at the crossroads of military history, environmental history and imperial history, with a focus on early modern South Asia. He holds his BA from Presidency College, Calcutta; MA from the University of Calcutta; and MPhil and PhD from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He has previously taught at Miranda House, University of Delhi. He is the author of Climate of Conquest: War, Environment, and Empire in Mughal North India (2019) and, with Meena Bhargava, the co-editor of The Early Modern in South Asia: Querying Modernity, Periodization, and History (2022). He is one of the editors of the Medieval History Journal. He writes in English and Bengali.

Jamel Ostwald is Professor of History at Eastern Connecticut State University. He received his PhD in History at the Ohio State University and has published on early modern French and English military history. He is the author of Vauban under Siege: Engineering Efficiency and Martial Vigor in the War of the Spanish Succession (2006), and with Anke Fischer-Kattner has edited The World of the Siege: Representations of Early Modern Positional Warfare (2019).



List of Contributors to Volume I

David Parrott is Professor of Early Modern European History at the University of Oxford, where he also received his BA and DPhil. After lecturing at the University of York, he returned to Oxford (New College) in 1992. He teaches European history in the period from 1500 to 1700, with special reference to the history of France and Italy, and European political, military and cultural history. His research interests are in early modern European history, primarily the political, social and military history of seventeenth-century France, but with interests in northern Italy. He has written and published on many aspects of European warfare in this era, with a particular interest in mercenaries and private military organisations. His publications include Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624–42 (2001), The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe (2012) and 1652: The Cardinal, the Prince and the Crisis of the Fronde (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

Louis Rawlings is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the School of History, Archaeology and Religion, Cardiff University. Previously he taught at the History Department, University College London, and the Department of War Studies, King's College London. He holds his BA and PhD from University College London. He has published widely on Romano-Italian, Carthaginian, Greek and Gallic warfare. He is the author of *The Ancient Greeks at War* (2007) and co-editor (with J. Hall and G. Lee) of *Unit Cohesion and Warfare in the Ancient World: Military and Social Approaches* (2023).

Kaushik Roy is Guru Nanak Professor in the Department of History, Jadavpur University, Kolkata. He was also associated with Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Norway, as a Global Fellow until 2021. At present, he is a participant in the Warring with Machines project at PRIO. Roy specialises in military history of South Asia. He has published several monographs and his most recent publication is *Military Thought of Asia: From the Bronze Age to the Information Age* (2021).

ADAM L. STORRING is Visiting Research Fellow at the Department of War Studies, King's College London. He completed his BA, MPhil and PhD at St John's College, Cambridge. His doctoral dissertation, supervised by Professor Sir Christopher Clark, was awarded the André Corvisier Prize 2019 for the best dissertation on military history defended at any university anywhere in the world. He was Early Career Fellow at the Lichtenberg-Kolleg, University of Göttingen, and has also held fellowships from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the Bühler-Bolstorff-Stiftung Berlin, the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, the Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte, the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz and the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten. He previously worked in the British civil service, and in international development.

Kenneth M. Swope is Professor of History at the University of Southern Mississippi. He is also Senior Fellow of the Dale Center for the Study of War and Society at the University of Southern Mississippi and a Board Member of the Chinese Military History Society. He earned his BA at the College of Wooster (Ohio) and his MA and PhD at the University of Michigan. Prior to teaching at Southern Miss, he taught at Marist College and Ball State University. He was a Visiting Member of the Institute for Advanced Study (2015) and served as the Leo A. Shiffrin Chair in Naval & Military History at the United States Naval



List of Contributors to Volume I

Academy in 2019–20. He is the author of A Dragon's Head & a Serpent's Tail: Ming China and the First Great East Asian War, 1592–1598 (2009), The Military Collapse of China's Ming Dynasty (2014), On the Trail of the Yellow Tiger: War, Trauma, and Social Dislocation in Southwest China during the Ming–Qing Transition (2018) and Struggle for Empire: The Battles of General Zuo Zongtang (2024), and of numerous chapters in edited volumes and journal articles on late imperial Chinese history. He is currently working on a study of the Three Feudatories Rebellion (1673–1681) in China.

TASSAPA UMAVIJANI is a lecturer in History at Thammasat University in Bangkok, Thailand. He is a PhD Candidate in History at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). He holds a BA in History from Thammasat University and two MA degrees from King's College London in Ancient History and from the University of Reading in Military History and Strategic Studies. He has special interests in military and strategic development in different cultures. He is now completing his PhD dissertation titled 'The Military Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Siam: Changes and Continuities'.

MESUT UYAR is Visiting Professor of Military History at the University of New South Wales, Canberra. He is a graduate of the Turkish Military Academy, with an MA in Politics and a PhD in International Relations from Istanbul University. As a career officer he served as platoon leader and company and battalion commander, including in several peace support operations; as military observer in the UN mission in Georgia; and as a staff officer in Afghanistan. He was twice wounded in action. Specialising in Ottoman military history, he taught at the Turkish Military Academy and at the University of New South Wales, Canberra, Australia and at the Antalya Bilim University; was the curator of the Military Academy Archive and Museum Division; and spent a year as an instructor and academic adviser at the Peace Support Training Centre in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Adri van Vliet is Deputy Director of the Netherlands Institute of Military History in The Hague. He received his teacher certificate in 1977 and studied history in The Hague and Leiden. In 1994 he received a PhD from the University of Leiden. Previously he has worked at the National Archive in Noord-Brabant (1989–1999) as head of external services. From 1998 to 1999 he was also part-time Assistant Professor at Leiden University for Maritime History. In 1999 he became Head of the Naval Historical Branch and Director of the Institute for Maritime History of the Royal Netherlands Navy until 2005.

MICHAEL WHITBY is a Professor Emeritus at the University of Birmingham, where from 2010 to 2019 he held the position of Pro-Vice-Chancellor and Head of the College of Arts and Law. He had previously worked at the University of Warwick, where he was Professor of Classics and Ancient History, Chair of Faculty (2002–2003) and Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Education (2003–2010), and at St Andrews University, where he was a member of the Department of Ancient History from 1987 to 1996, latterly as professor. He received his undergraduate education at Corpus Christi, Oxford, after which he worked in the Civil Service for three years at the Scottish Office, before returning to Oxford for doctoral research with James Howard-Johnston, first at Corpus and then at Merton, where he held a Junior Research Fellowship.

XVIII



Preface and Acknowledgements

Practising strategy is messy, frustrating and often guided by luck rather than anything else. This is the subject of this series. While there are many overviews of the makers and the making of strategy, far fewer focus on practising it. Overviews of great strategic thinkers abound. Appreciations of the drafting of strategy are plentiful. What happens when it is put into action is the subject of these two volumes. More specifically, a comparison of these practices, across time and place, is what the series aims to offer. There is presently no global history of the practice of strategy, with most treatises focusing predominantly on Western experiences or single case studies. Making strategy a focus, even before the invention of the word, brings something new to the field. Moreover, moving the focus beyond the preoccupation with theory and the Western world is not the only ambition. The *longue durée*, as well as the study of other polities than the state and its political instrumentality, is where we hope to offer some food for thought.

The Cambridge Series is a very long-running series with a 100-year history. The current volumes break to some extent with previous traditions of the *Cambridge History of . . .* series. In general, the contributions in the series are not specifically intended to present new research, but rather offer the reader an overview of a particular noteworthy topic or phenomenon. The volumes before you intend to do both. First, they deliberately address a non-specialist readership, as we can assume that none of our readers are familiar with all the Napoleonic Wars, and also with the wars of the Han, Byzantium or the Guptas. This may disappoint some who will find the introduction to their specific period of expertise and interest telling them things they already knew, but even then, while editing the chapters, we had many revelations about periods we ourselves were familiar with, when interrogated systematically from angles previously 'assumed' to be known.



Preface and Acknowledgements

Second, by presenting this case material and the state of the art in their respective historiographies, we offer the opportunity of comparison. Only comparisons uncover assumptions that turn out to be very culture-specific, or else surprisingly widespread when they were thought to be specific to a particular culture. For example, the strategic aims of cementing alliances or of peace confirmation were pursued through the strategic tool of dynastic marriages not only by the Habsburg dynasty, but also by the ancient Chinese, the Macedonians, and the Romans under Principate, Dominate, and then the Eastern Roman/Byzantine dynasties, as well as the Guptas, and all the subsequent European dynasties, albeit not always as spectacularly as by the Habsburgs. Third, based on this comparison, we can aspire to present a global overview of strategic practice that pushes the boundaries of the debate in strategic studies. This case will be made in more detail in the introductory chapter.

This work aims to strike a balance between the particular – the specific cases of this history with all their uniqueness and peculiarities – and the generalisable. Without insisting on the former, we lose the reality of the particular mindsets, culture, world views, and material circumstances that determined them. As Carl von Clausewitz, the Prussian general who wrote the core text in the field of strategic studies almost two centuries ago, rightly put it, 'every age' – and he might have added, every distinct culture within that period –

had its own kind of war, its own limiting conditions, and its own preconceptions. Each [period], therefore, would have its own theory of war, even if one had been inclined everywhere and at all times to deduce it from philosophical first principles. The events of every age must therefore be judged in the light of its own peculiarities.¹

Without generalisable aspects, however, we lose the relevance of the past for our own times and our future.

We offer a history of the practice of strategy in two volumes. The first volume is devoted to a diversity of case studies from around 2000 BC until 1800. The second volume looks at case studies from 1800 until today. The exact choices we have made will be detailed and justified in the opening chapters to the two volumes. The richness of this overview could not have been achieved without the contributions of the best and brightest scholars in this field. We are indebted to them for the time and energy they have devoted

1 Von Clausewitz, Vom Kriege, VIII.3B, 973f.



Preface and Acknowledgements

to producing the chapters. In a review of Jeremy Black's recent book on a global strategy, it was noted that 'Black's invitation to students of war and strategy to acquaint themselves with non-Western perspectives is timely. The challenge is formidable, and the task may well be impossible.' We took up this daunting challenge, but we could not have taken it up alone: we have learned a tremendous amount from our wonderfully knowledgeable, eversuffering contributors, whom we submitted to endless questions and demands for changes and additions.

The first idea for the series emerged during a dinner party at Leiden University Faculty Club in the spring of 2018. The request for Cambridge University Press was brought into the discussion, as was how such a series could be conceptualised. Isabelle was very inspired but rather daunted by the idea of carrying such a project alone. She approached Beatrice to ask if she would be interested in collaborating on this endeavour. Reluctantly, Beatrice came on board as both agreed that it would be crazy to forgo this exceptional occasion to persuade scholars from all periods and all parts of the world to help us better understand a subject of such passionate interest to both of us. They agreed that it would be unusual to have two women, still hugely underrepresented in the field of strategic studies, editing a contribution to this prestigious series. We are tremendously grateful to Cambridge University Press's Michael Watson, who embraced our idea and encouraged us in its development.

The editors would like to thank the team at Cambridge University Press, Michael Watson, Emily Plater, Lisa Carter and the copy-editors John Gaunt and Linos Edwards.

A special word of thanks goes to Samuel Zilincik, who has acted very diligently as our editorial assistant. Moreover, Carmel Dowling and Vani Dhaka have helped with editing language and references. We have also benefited greatly from the advice of our international advisory board, consisting of Professors Jeremy Black, Martin van Creveld, Isabelle Deflers, Antulio J. Echevarria II, Lawrence Freedman, Kimberley Kagan, Joe Maiolo, Assaf Moghaddam, Michael Rainsborough, Monica Toft, Erwin Schmidl and Matthew Strickland.

² T. G. Otte, 'Military strategy: a global history', Diplomacy & Statecraft, 31:3 (2020), 597-9, 598.