

CHRIS CAREY

— GREAT BATTLES —

THERMOPYLAE



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To Pauline, Chrys, Nick, and Laura
with love, admiration, and gratitude to have you in my life

FOREWORD

For those who practise war in the twenty-first century the idea of a 'great battle' can seem no more than the echo of a remote past. The names on regimental colours or the events commemorated at mess dinners bear little relationship to patrolling in dusty villages or waging 'wars amongst the people'. Contemporary military doctrine downplays the idea of victory, arguing that wars end by negotiation not by the smashing of an enemy army or navy. Indeed it erodes the very division between war and peace, and with it the aspiration to fight a culminating 'great battle'.

And yet to take battle out of war is to redefine war, possibly to the point where some would argue that it ceases to be war. Carl von Clausewitz, who experienced two 'great battles' at first hand—Jena in 1806 and Borodino in 1812—wrote in *On War* that major battle is 'concentrated war', and 'the centre of gravity of the entire campaign'. Clausewitz's remarks related to the theory of strategy. He recognized that in practice armies might avoid battles, but even then the efficacy of their actions relied on the latent threat of fighting. Winston Churchill saw the importance of battles in different terms, not for their place within war but for their impact on historical and national narratives. His forebear, the Duke of Marlborough, commanded in four major battles and named his palace after the most famous of them, Blenheim, fought in 1704. Battles, Churchill wrote in his biography of Marlborough, are 'the principal milestones in secular history'. For him 'Great battles, won or lost, change the entire course of events, create new standards of values, new moods, new atmospheres, in armies and nations, to which all must conform'.

Clausewitz's experience of war was shaped by Napoleon. Like Marlborough, the French emperor sought to bring his enemies to battle. However, each lived within a century of the other, and they fought their wars in the same continent and even on occasion on adjacent ground. Winston Churchill's own experience of war, which spanned the late nineteenth-century colonial conflicts of the British Empire as well as two world wars, became increasingly distanced from the sorts of battle he and Clausewitz described. In 1898 Churchill rode in a cavalry charge in a battle which crushed the Madhist forces of the Sudan in a single day. Four years later the British commander at Omdurman, Lord Kitchener, brought the South African War to a conclusion after a two-year guerrilla conflict in which no climactic battle occurred. Both Churchill and Kitchener served as British cabinet ministers in the First World War, a conflict in which battles lasted weeks, and even months, and which, despite their scale and duration, did not produce clear-cut outcomes. The 'Battle' of Verdun ran for all but one month of 1916 and that of the Somme for five months. The potentially decisive naval action at Jutland spanned a more traditional twenty-four-hour timetable but was not conclusive and was not replicated during the war. In the Second World War, the major struggle in waters adjacent to Europe, the 'Battle' of the Atlantic, was fought from 1940 to early 1944.

Clausewitz would have called these twentieth-century 'battles' campaigns, or even seen them as wars in their own right. The determination to seek battle and to venerate its effects may therefore be culturally determined, the product of time and place, rather than an inherent attribute of war. The ancient historian Victor Davis Hanson has argued that seeking battle is a 'western way of war' derived from classical Greece. Seemingly supportive of his argument are the writings of Sun Tzu, who flourished in warring states in China between two and five centuries before the birth of Christ, and who pointed out that the most effective way of waging war was to avoid the risks and dangers of actual fighting. Hanson has provoked strong criticism: those who argue that wars can be won without battles are not only

to be found in Asia. Eighteenth-century European commanders, deploying armies in close-order formations in order to deliver concentrated fires, realized that the destructive consequences of battle for their own troops could be self-defeating. After the First World War, Basil Liddell Hart developed a theory of strategy which he called 'the indirect approach', and suggested that manoeuvre might substitute for hard fighting, even if its success still relied on the inherent threat of battle.

The winners of battles have been celebrated as heroes, and nations have used their triumphs to establish their founding myths. It is precisely for these reasons that their legacies have outlived their direct political consequences. Commemorated in painting, verse, and music, marked by monumental memorials, and used as the way points for the periodization of history, they have enjoyed cultural afterlives. These are evident in many capitals, in place names and statues, not least in Paris and London. The French tourist who finds himself in a London taxi travelling from Trafalgar Square to Waterloo Station should reflect on his or her own domestic peregrinations from the Rue de Rivoli to the Gare d'Austerlitz. Today's Mongolia venerates the memory of Genghis Khan while Greece and Macedonia scrap over the rights to Alexander the Great.

This series of books on 'great battles' tips its hat to both Clausewitz and Churchill. Each of its volumes situates the battle which it discusses in the context of the war in which it occurred, but each then goes on to discuss its legacy, its historical interpretation and reinterpretation, its place in national memory and commemoration, and its manifestations in art and culture. These are not easy books to write. The victors were more often celebrated than the defeated; the effect of loss on the battlefield could be cultural oblivion. However, that point is not universally true: the British have done more over time to mark their defeats at Gallipoli in 1915 and Dunkirk in 1940 than their conquerors on both occasions. For the history of war to thrive and be productive it needs to embrace the view from 'the other side of the hill', to use the Duke of Wellington's words. The battle the British call Omdurman is

for the Sudanese the battle of Kerreri; the Germans called Waterloo 'la Belle Alliance' and Jutland Skagerrak. Indeed the naming of battles could itself be a sign not only of geographical precision or imprecision (Kerreri is more accurate but as a hill rather than a town is harder to find on a small-scale map), but also of cultural choice. In 1914 the German general staff opted to name their defeat of the Russians in East Prussia not Allenstein (as geography suggested) but Tannenberg, in order to claim revenge for the defeat of the Teutonic Knights in 1410.

Military history, more than many other forms of history, is bound up with national stories. All too frequently it fails to be comparative, to recognize that war is a 'clash of wills' (to quote Clausewitz once more), and so omits to address both parties to the fight. Cultural difference and, even more, linguistic ignorance can prevent the historian considering a battle in the round; so too can the availability of sources. Levels of literacy matter here, but so does cultural survival. Often these pressures can be congruent but they can also be divergent. Britain enjoys much higher levels of literacy than Afghanistan, but in 2002 the memory of the two countries' three wars flourished in the latter, thanks to an oral tradition, much more robustly than in the former, for whom literacy had created distance. And the historian who addresses cultural legacy is likely to face a much more challenging task the further in the past the battle occurred. The opportunity for invention and reinvention is simply greater the longer the lapse of time since the key event.

All historians of war must, nonetheless, never forget that, however rich and splendid the cultural legacy of a great battle, it was won and lost by fighting, by killing and being killed. The battle of Waterloo has left as abundant a footprint as any, but the general who harvested most of its glory reflected on it in terms which have general applicability, and carry across time in their capacity to capture a universal truth. Wellington wrote to Lady Shelley in its immediate aftermath: 'I hope to God I have fought my last battle. It is a bad thing to be always fighting. While in the thick of it I am much too occupied to feel anything; but it is wretched just after. It is quite impossible to think of

FOREWORD

glory. Both mind and feelings are exhausted. I am wretched even at the moment of victory, and I always say that, next to a battle lost, the greatest misery is a battle gained.' Readers of this series should never forget the immediate suffering caused by battle, as well as the courage required to engage in it: the physical courage of the soldier, sailor, or warrior, and the moral courage of the commander, ready to hazard all on its uncertain outcomes.

HEWSTRACHAN

PREFACE

I had for some time been contemplating a book on Thermopylae in tandem with a project on book 7 of Herodotus, our earliest surviving source for the battle. So I was delighted when Hew Strachan invited me to contribute to the Oxford University Press *Great Battles* series. I am very grateful to him for his careful reading and annotation of successive drafts; I have in almost every instance accepted his suggestions. Thanks are due to the Press readers for their comments on the initial proposal and especially to the anonymous reader who subjected the first draft to a close critical scrutiny and offered robust, detailed, and thoughtful comments. I have in all cases sought to address the reader's criticisms, even where I have allowed the thrust of the argument to stand. I am happy finally to be able to express my thanks to a number of friends and colleagues who helped me along the way. Robert Garland kindly invited me to lecture on Thermopylae at Colgate College, NY, several years ago when the project was still its infancy, with support from the Center for Freedom and Western Civilization under its Director, Professor Robert P. Kraynak. This allowed me to begin the process of turning vague thoughts into hard questions. I have fond memories of warm hospitality and of lively debate about ancient Greece and modern America (these were the heady days of the rise of the Tea Party) over a long and leisurely dinner with faculty at Colgate. I owe a deep debt of thanks to Giorgos Telios and his wife Alice for their generous hospitality in Athens and Agios Konstantinos. Giorgos and I walked the Anopaea together on a beautiful June morning, guided by Stylianos Gkekas and Kostas Apostolopoulos, veterans of the Anopaea race, and accompanied by my very good friend Professor Athanasios (Thanasis) Efstathiou of the

Ionian University of Corfu and his colleague Sokratis Poulis. Nike Polychroniadis and her husband Apollonios Gogos shared their detailed knowledge of the area around Thermopylae as we scouted possible entry points to the Anopaea and reported to me on Apollonios' later expeditions. I am grateful to Ian Beckett for sharing sources relating to Rorke's Drift and Isandlwana, the subject of his 2019 volume in the *Great Battles* series. Thanks are also due to the staff at Oxford University Press, from whom I have received excellent support from first to last, and especially to Rowena Anketell, who saved me from errors at the copy-editing stage. But my principal debt is to my wife Pauline, who followed Xerxes' route with me across western Turkey, over the Hellespont and through Greece as far as the Gates, and as if that weren't enough discussed and debated issues large and small with infinite patience as the book developed, then finally read and commented on successive drafts with acute and sensitive judgement both on style and on content.

Writing this book has been a pleasure from first to last, about as much fun as you can have with your clothes on. Whether the same can be said of reading it I leave the reader to judge.

CHRIS CAREY

March 2019

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ABBREVIATIONS

Diod. Sic.	Diodorus of Sicily
Hdt.	Herodotus
Isoc	Isocrates
Lycurg.	Lycurgus
Lys.	Lysias
Paus.	Pausanias
PMG	D.L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i>
Stob.	John of Stobi
Thuc.	Thucydides
Tyrtaeus	Tyrtaeus fragments cited from M. L. West, <i>Iambi et Elegi</i>
Fr. West	<i>Graeci</i>