

UNIVERSAL EMPIRE

The claim by certain rulers to universal empire has a long history stretching as far back as the Assyrian and Achaemenid empires. This book traces its various manifestations in Near Eastern and classical antiquity, the Islamic world, Asia and Central America as well as considering seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European discussions of international order. As such it is an exercise in comparative world history combining a multiplicity of approaches, from ancient history, to literary and philosophical studies, to the history of art and international relations, and historical sociology. The notion of universal imperial rule is presented as an elusive and much-coveted prize among monarchs in history, around which developed forms of kingship and political culture. Different facets of the phenomenon are explored under three, broadly conceived, headings: symbolism, ceremony and diplomatic relations; universal or cosmopolitan literary high cultures; and, finally, the inclination to present universal imperial rule as an expression of cosmic order.

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UNIVERSAL EMPIRE

A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History

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Cymbeline: Well,

My Peace we will begin. And Caius Lucius, Although the victor, we submit to Caesar And to the Roman empire, promising To pay our wonted tribute, from the which We were dissuaded by our wicked Queen, Whom heavens in justice both on her and hers

Have laid most heavy hand.

Soothsayer: The fingers from the powers above do tune

The harmony of this peace. The vision Which I made known to Lucius ere the stroke Of this yet scarce-cold battle, at this instant Is full accomplished. For the Roman eagle, From south to west on wing soaring aloft, Lessened herself, and in the beams o'th'sun So vanished; which foreshowed our princely eagle,

Th'Imperial Caesar, should again unite His favour with the radiant Cymbeline,

Which shines here in the west.

William Shakespeare





Contents

List of figures List of maps Notes on the contributors Preface		page ix xiii xiv xix
I	'Elephant of India': universal empire through time and across cultures Peter Fibiger Bang with Dariusz Kołodziejczyk	I
PAR	RT I EURASIA — ANTIQUITY TILL EARLY MODERNITY	
2	Propaganda and practice in Assyrian and Persian imperial culture Gojko Barjamovic	43
3	Between Aśoka and Antiochos: an essay in world history on universal kingship and cosmopolitan culture in the Hellenistic ecumene Peter Fibiger Bang	60
4	The making of Oriental Rome: shaping the Trojan legend Rolf Michael Schneider	76
5	Pseudo-Aristotelian politics and theology in universal Islam Garth Fowden	130
6	The Christian imperial tradition – Greek and Latin Dimiter Angelov and Judith Herrin	149

vii



VIII	Contents	
7	Khan, caliph, tsar and imperator: the multiple identities of the Ottoman sultan Dariusz Kołodziejczyk	175
8	How the Mughal <i>pādshāhs</i> referenced Iran in their visual construction of universal rule <i>Ebba Koch</i>	194
9	Ideologies of state building in Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara south India: some reflections Velcheru Narayana Rao and Sanjay Subrahmanyam	210
IO	Sons of Heaven: the Qing appropriation of the Chinese model of universal empire Evelyn S. Rawski	233
PAR	T II CONTRASTING UNIVERSALISMS — OLD AND NEW WORLD	
II	Aztec universalism: ideology and status symbols in the service of empire-building Justyna Olko	253
12	From empire to commonwealth(s): orders in Europe 1300–1800 Peter Haldén	280
13	Imperial universalism – further thoughts John A. Hall	304
Gen Ind	neral bibliography ex	310 364



Figures

I.I	Elephants photographed in procession through the	
	streets of Delhi during the Coronation Durbar in 1903	
	for which the 1877 celebration of Victoria's imperial title	
	had set the model. Bourne and Shepherd, Coronation	
	Durbar Delhi 1903, www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/	
	pritchett/ooroutesdata/1800_1899/princes/	
	bournephotos/curzons1903.jpg.	page 2
1.2	Augustino Veneziano: engraving of Sultan Süleyman,	
	engraving 1535. London, British Museum, A. Bartsch, <i>Le</i>	
	peintre graveur (1802–21), vol. XIV, no. 518.	
	AN53412001©Trustees of the British Museum.	26
1.3	Kneeling barbarian in polychrome marble, I marmi	
	colorati della roma imperiale \$434, fig. 136.	29
1.4a	The Chinese emperor depicted as a Tibetan, Buddhist	
	monk. Orientations: July/August 1995: 31-2, fig. 6e in the	
	article written by Wu Hung.	30
1.4b	The Chinese emperor depicted as a hunter in European	
	apparel. Orientations: July/August 1995: 31-2, fig. 6k in	
	the article written by Wu Hung.	31
1.5a	The throne in the Hall of Public Audience in the Red	
	Fort of Delhi. Photo: Ebba Koch.	37
1.5b	Orpheus playing to the animals, pietre dure plaque,	
	detail from the wall decoration behind the throne.	
	Photo: Ebba Koch.	39
2. I	Dynamic displays of torture and violence. Southwest	
	Palace (Nineveh), Room 33. ANIO29971001©Trustees of	
	the British Museum.	48
2.2	Manifestation of universal order. Persepolis: jamb of	
	Throne Hall. Photo by Gojko Barjamovic.	49

ix



More information

x List of figures

2.3	Commonality and court culture. From F. Krefter (1971) Persepolis Rekonstruktionen. Der Wiederaufbau des	
	Frauenpalastes. Rekonstruktionen der Paläste. Modell von	
	Persepolis. Tehraner Forschungen 3. Berlin (Gebr. Mann	
	Verlag): Beilage 34.	56
4.I	Parthian chieftain wearing an Asian trouser-suit.	
•	Teheran, National Museum.	79
4.2	Cuirass of a statue of Augustus. Rome, Musei Vaticani,	, ,
•	Braccio Nuovo 2290.	83
4.3	Parthian presenting a Roman military standard to a	
. ,	representative of Rome.	84
4.4	Archer in Asian dress. London, British Musuem, E 135.	85
	Mithras in Asian dress subdues the bull.	86
	Servant in Asian dress holding a wine ladle. Naples,	
•	Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 120403.	87
4.7	Cavern and artificial dining island of the stately villa at	,
' /	Sperlonga (reconstruction).	89
4.8	Statue of Ganymede in Asian dress held in the clutches	
•	of Jupiter's eagle. Sperlonga, Museo Archeologico	90
4.9	Original setting of Ganymede at Sperlonga erected above	
' /	the cavern's entrance on a plinth specially fitted into the	
	rock.	91
1.10	Cavern at Sperlonga with five marbles of the Augustan	
	period.	92
4.II	Bust of a handsome youth in Asian dress. Copenhagen,	
•	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, I.N. 1906.	94
4.12	Bust of a handsome youth in Asian dress. Copenhagen,	<i>/</i> 1
	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, I.N. 1905.	95
4.13	Portrait of a handsome Roman male with a Nero-like	,,
' '	coiffure and long locks. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi,	
	1914.57.	97
1. I4	Rome, model of the Augustan city. Berlin, Abguss-	<i>,</i> ,
٠.	Sammlung antiker Plastik.	98
4.15	Rome, Ara Pacis Augustae.	99
	Aeneas, behind him Iulus Ascanius.	100
	Rome, Forum Augustum (plan).	IOI
	Romulus carrying a spear and military trophies. Roman	
	Aureus of Antoninus Pius. London, British Museum,	
	THO.1433.	IO2



	List of figures	xi
4.19	Aeneas carrying his father Anchises and leading his son Iulus Ascanius by the hand. Roman Aureus of Antoninus	
	Pius. London, British Museum, 1896.0608.	103
	Processional road of the imperial cult at Aphrodisias.	104
4.21	Aeneas carrying his father Anchises and leading his son	
	Iulus Ascanius by the hand. Aphrodisias, Museum.	105
	Rome, Forum Augustum and temple of Mars Ultor.	106
4.23	Pediment of the temple of Mars Ultor. Rome, Museo	
	della Civiltà Romana.	107
4.24	Tiberius and Livia sitting in the centre, above them Iulus	
	Ascanius in Asian dress and Divus Augustus. Grand	
	Camée de France. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 264.	109
4.25	Divus Augustus and Iulus Ascanius in Asian dress	
	(detail).	IIO
4.26	Tabula Iliaca Capitolina showing selected portrayals and	
	texts of the epic cycle. Rome, Museo Capitolino, 316.	113
	Rome, Forum Romanum.	II4
4.28	Torso of a handsome Asian. Rome, Antiquario Forense,	
	421008.	115
4.29	Head of a handsome Asian showing rich traces of	
	original colouring. Rome, Antiquario Forense 3132.	116
4.30	Handsome Asian from the Basilica Paulli shown in a	
	pose as if supporting an architrave. Drawing by Alfons	
	Neubauer, Munich.	117
4.31	Handsome Asian shown in a pose as if supporting an	
	architrave. Avenches.	118
4.32	Temple of Mater Magna and temple of Victory on Mons	
	Palatinus.	123
4.33	View on the Circus Maximus from the imperial palaces	
	on Mons Palatinus. Roman Sestertius of Caracalla.	
	Private Collection.	124
4.34	Male child with non-Roman coiffure and in foreign	
	dress. North frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae.	126
4.35	Male child with non-Roman coiffure and in foreign	
	dress. South frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae.	127
8.1	Bichitr, Jahangir prefering a Sufi shaikh to the rulers of	
	the world, c. 1625. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC	
	42.15.	197



xii	List of figures	
8.2	Jahangir entertains Shah Abbas of Iran in an imaginary meeting, 1618–22. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC	
	42.16.	202
8.3	Abu'l Hasan, Jahangir's dream of a visit of Shah Abbas of	
	Iran, 1618–22. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC 45.9.	204
8.4	Abu'l Hasan, Jahangir standing on a terrestrial globe.	
	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 7A.15 (Photo Ebba	
	Koch).	206
II.I	Archaeological remains of the Great Temple of	
	Tenochtitlan (© Justyna Olko).	262
	Imperial sanctuary in Malinalco (© Justyna Olko).	263
11.3	Warning and punishment of a rebellious ruler; <i>Codex</i>	
	Mendoza, fol. 66r, fragment (Bodleian Library,	
	University of Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1, drawing by	
	Justyna Olko).	264
11.4	Mapa Quinatzin, fol. 3, fragment (Bibliothèque	
	Nationale de France, Ms. Mex. 396, drawing by Justyna	
	Olko).	266
11.5	The rulers of Tenochtitlan with their turquoise	
	attributes, images from the sixteenth-century manuscript	
	of the <i>Primeros Memoriales</i> compiled by Bernardino de	
	Sahagún (fol. 51r, fragment, © Reproducción, Real	
	Academia de la Historia, Madrid).	272
11.6	Imagery of the <i>Codex Azoyú</i> 2: Rain/Quiyauhtzin	
	wearing the Mexica costume and facing Axayacatl, fol. 5,	
	fragment (Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e	
	Historia, Mexico, drawing by Justyna Olko).	275
11.7	Palimpsesto Veinte Mazorcas (Bibliothèque Nationale de	
	France, Ms. Mex. 391, reproduced with permission).	278



Maps

I	The Arab caliphate in the so-called classical age and the	
	Tang empire	page 15
2	Achaemenid Persia and the conquests of Alexander	17
3	The Mongol moment	19
4	Rome–Parthia–Han China	21
5	The early modern Eurasian empires	24
6	Roman imperial quarries supplying white and	
	coloured marble	121
7	Mesoamerica in the Late Postclassic with the extent of the	
	Aztec empire (© Miłosz Giersz)	256
8	Valley of Mexico (© Miłosz Giersz)	257

xiii



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xiv



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ΧV

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xvi

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xvii

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Preface

This collection of essays explores the notion of universal empire in Eurasian and world history from antiquity till the dawn of modernity. It is the result of a long journey and one of the main outcomes of a European-based network to compare tributary empires which we are grateful to acknowledge was boldly and generously financed by COST (www.tec.saxo.ku.dk). This brought historians together from a number of fields who had not usually had a great deal of contact with each other and enabled them to meet several times annually for an extended period. In this connection, we want to extend our thanks to all the many participants in this series of meetings and our hosts, as well as to the contributors to the present volume for all the enthusiasm and curiosity they have brought to this endeavour to promote comparative history. In relation to this volume, however, we thank in particular Adam Ziółkowski, who helped organise one of the meetings on which this volume builds, and C. A. Bayly, who acted as co-chair of the network for its entire duration and also commented on a first draft of our introduction. It is also a great pleasure to thank both Michael Sharp and his staff at Cambridge University Press for working hard on bringing our manuscript into print, as well as the two anonymous readers who offered much valuable advice. René Lindekrone Christensen, finally, provided much appreciated technical assistance with the images for this

For the past decade or so, imperialism, globalisation and world history have been high on the agenda both of the historical disciplines and of the public in general. Unsurprisingly, both discourses have been dominated by the experience of modernity and colonial empire. (Bayly 2004 is exemplary.) But as these debates are rapidly changing our image of the world, past and present, and are themselves responses to an ongoing seismic shift in the current world order, older forms of history can ill afford to ignore this development; they must find ways of addressing the concerns of the evolving more global perspective on the past or risk consigning themselves

xix



xx Preface

to obscurity and irrelevance. Fortunately, there is a growing sense among students of more ancient forms of history of the need not to study their topics in isolation, but to reach out to neighbouring fields and allow their enquiries to be informed and shaped by more general problems of world history. This is what we have been aiming for in this volume; we radically cut across both conventional chronology and cultural geography to illuminate our theme on the broadest possible canvas. In doing so, we join ranks with a small but accumulating number of studies and projects dedicated to the comparative history of pre-modern empires (Alcock et al. 2001; Bang and Bayly 2003 and 2011; Bang 2008; Hurlet 2008; Mutschler and Mittag 2008; Scheidel 2009; Morris and Scheidel 2009). It is a particular joy to mention the project on Rome and Han China led by Walter Scheidel and the network of ancient and modern imperialisms co-ordinated by Phiroze Vasunia, both of whom were present at several of our meetings. Such initiatives are crucial to reinvigorate and renew fields that are both blessed and burdened with a long tradition of scholarship. Perhaps, the most significant and fruitful experience of the dialogue that emerged within our network was to be confronted with the unfamiliar or little known, but not in the broad anthropological sense of 'meeting the other' in general, important as that may be. Rather, it was the engagement with a number of historical societies specifically selected for the general characteristics they had in common, but not usually treated together, which helped us to broaden our own horizons, inspire new questions and shake our firm beliefs, and tempted us to step out of our accustomed mental and intellectual frameworks to explore other vistas. If this volume offers a modest impression of this experience and the excitement it brought, our efforts will not have been in vain.

Peter Fibiger Bang Copenhagen Dariusz Kołodziejczyk Warsaw