

AperTO - Archivio Istituzionale Open Access dell'Università di Torino

From 'Zero Tolerance' to 'Turn the Other Cheek' and back: Lucius Annaeus Seneca and the Graeco-Roman Roots of a Modern Transcultural Dilemma

This is the author's manuscript

Original Citation:

Availability:

This version is available <http://hdl.handle.net/2318/1872058> since 2022-08-12T13:58:31Z

Publisher:

De Gruyter

Published version:

DOI:10.1515/9783110731590-013

Terms of use:

Open Access

Anyone can freely access the full text of works made available as "Open Access". Works made available under a Creative Commons license can be used according to the terms and conditions of said license. Use of all other works requires consent of the right holder (author or publisher) if not exempted from copyright protection by the applicable law.

(Article begins on next page)

Empire and Politics in the Eastern and Western Civilizations

Roma Sinica

Mutual Interactions between Ancient Roman and
Eastern Thought

Edited by
Andrea Balbo and Jaewon Ahn

Advisory Board
Michele Ferrero, Lee Kangjae, David Konstan,
Fritz-Heiner Mutschler, Carlo Santini, Alessandro
Schiesaro, Aldo Setaioli, Stefania Stafutti

Volume 2

Empire and Politics in the Eastern and Western Civilizations



Searching for a *Respublica Romanosinica*

Edited by

Andrea Balbo, Jaewon Ahn and Kihoon Kim

DE GRUYTER

This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2019S1A5C2A02081381).



ISBN 978-3-11-073533-8
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-073159-0
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-073165-1
ISSN 2512-840X
DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110731590>



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. For details go to <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) that is not part of the Open Access publication. These may require obtaining further permission from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2022934765

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2022 the author(s), published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
The book is published open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image: Collage of two manuscripts – manuscript handscroll of Du Yu's Critical study of Spring and Autumn Annals and Zuo Zhuan, 7-8th century, located at the Fujii Saiseikai Yurinkan Museum, Kyoto, Japan, and Illuminated manuscript of Cicero's Epistolae ad familiares, BL Kings MS 23, f.1, 17th century, digitised by the British Library.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Table of Contents

Andrea Balbo, Jaewon Ahn, Kihoon Kim

Introduction — 1

Section 1 History and Politics in the Eastern Thought

Gościwit Malinowski

Imperator-Huangdi: The Idea of the Highest Universal Divine Ruler in the West and China — 5

Sung-Won Lee

The Character and Heritage of the Qin-Han Empire — 23

Juping Yang

Co-existence of the Four Empires and the Emergence of the Maritime Silk Road: An Introduction — 37

Maurizio Riotto

Real and Imaginary Characters between Ancient Korea and the Silk Road — 49

Section 2 Language and Rhetoric

Attilio Andreini

Through the Lens of Archaeology: Data Cross-Referencing between Received and Manuscript Sources Related to Confucius and the *Lunyu* 論語 — 67

Michele Ferrero

The Latin Translations of Confucian Terminology on Government and Rule in a 16th Century Manuscript of Michele Ruggieri, S.J. — 83

Andrea Balbo

The *Epistula praefatoria* of the *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*: A Rhetorical Analysis in Search of Cicero and Seneca — 111

Aldo Setaioli
Androcles in China — 131

Francesco Stella
The New Communication System of Imperial Power in Carolingian Poetry — 145

Section 3 Eastern and Western Perspectives in Politics and history of ideas

Mortimer N. S. Sellers
Empire and Politics in Eastern and Western Civilizations — 165

Weolhoi Kim and Kihoon Kim
***Pax Romana* and *Pax Sinica*: Some Historical Aspects — 177**

Ermanno Malaspina
From ‘Zero Tolerance’ to ‘Turn the Other Cheek’ and Back: Lucius Annaeus Seneca and the Graeco-Roman Roots of a Modern Transcultural Dilemma — 191

Philippe Roussetot
***Ubi solitudinem inveniunt, pacem appellant*: French Colonial Empire as Rome’s Mirror — 211**

Jaewon Ahn
Does *Pax* Mean Truly Peace? Focusing on *The Declaration for the Peace of Asia* of Ahn Junggeun (안중근) — 239

Bibliography — 255

Editors and Contributors — 279

Index — 283

Ermanno Malaspina

From ‘Zero Tolerance’ to ‘Turn the Other Cheek’ and Back: Lucius Annaeus Seneca and the Graeco-Roman Roots of a Modern Transcultural Dilemma

I observe with admiration my colleagues who, thanks to their transcultural skills, can afford to read Eastern and Western sources first-hand and, in addition, in the oldest languages of the East and the West respectively. More humbly, my purpose here is to focus on the Western World, and particularly on its Classical period – the only one I have studied in a professional way – and on Seneca, to propose an overall picture, necessarily partial and simplified, aimed at a transcultural political theme, which is pivotal both in the East and in the West *today* (but also *always*, I would say): the dilemma of power gradation, namely the use of either force or gentleness, determination or patience, severity or kindness towards political opponents and/or public enemies. In doing so, I will not introduce any major novelties for understanding Seneca, but I hope to offer an interpretive framework and to showcase some Western ideological constants and recurrences of some utility in building a cross-cultural perspective. This may help scholars with more expertise than mine make full use of these constants by comparing them to the East.

I will divide my paper into five parts: after a short introduction to explain my question and my odd title (“From ‘Zero Tolerance’ to ‘Turn the Other Cheek’”), I examine justice as the Golden Mean between four ethical extremes, taking up Seneca’s thought. In the three following sections, I deal with the ideological outcome of my four-quarter grid, firstly examining the interchange of morally acceptable attitudes, then the opposition of sternness versus cruelty, and in the fifth section the last pair of opposites: mercy and commiseration.

Note: I thank warmly my student Micol Jalla for her judicious remarks and Phillip Peterson for the linguistic revision.

1 ‘Zero Tolerance’ and ‘Turn the Other Cheek’

I have deliberately chosen two mottos that belong to unrelated contexts but which easily convey in the social imaginary the two opposite behaviours that I mean to signify.

‘Zero Tolerance’ is a new slogan: the first use of it was recorded in 1972 in the context of US political language: it illustrates a policy that enforces a penalty for every violation of a law.¹ The criminological basis of this procedure is known as the ‘broken windows theory’, a formula coined in 1982 and based on the assumption that any sign of neglect and disinterest (the ‘broken window’) makes it easier for a crime to take place, because it gives the impression that attention is scarce and that, therefore, the repression of a possible crime is reduced or absent; hence the need always to punish, without ever turning a blind eye, even on the lightest of offences.² This method, a technique of administering justice and managing public order, became universally known, even beyond the borders of the United States, when it was officially adopted by Rudolph Giuliani as mayor of New York City (1994–2001), with apparent positive results.

On the other side, ‘Turn the Other Cheek’ originates from Jesus’ ‘Sermon on the Mount’ or ‘Sermon on the Plain’ in the New Testament Gospels of Matthew and Luke respectively. These two variants of the saying in the Synoptic Gospels purportedly derive from a *logion* of Jesus present in the famous ‘Q Source’, therefore of very high antiquity and authority:

Matthew 5.38–42 (‘Sermon on the Mount’):³⁸ You have heard that it was said, “An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.”³⁹ But I say to you, Do not resist the one who is evil. But if anyone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.⁴⁰ And if anyone would sue you and take your tunic, let him have your cloak as well.⁴¹ And if anyone forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles.⁴² Give to the one who begs from you, and do not refuse the one who would borrow from you.³

1 There is even a Wikipedia page (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zero_tolerance) about ‘zero tolerance’, with the following description: “Zero-tolerance policies forbid people in positions of authority from exercising discretion or changing punishments to fit the circumstances subjectively; they are required to impose a pre-determined punishment regardless of individual culpability, extenuating circumstances, or history. This pre-determined punishment, whether mild or severe, is always meted out”.

2 Kelling/Wilson (1982).

3 *English Standard Version (ESV)*. The Greek text reads: ἀλλ’ ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιάν σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην; The Vulgate reads: *sed si quis te percusserit in dextera maxilla tua, praebe illi et alteram*.

Luke 6.27–31, In the 'Sermon on the Plain': ²⁷ But I say to you who hear, Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, ²⁸ bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you. ²⁹ To one who strikes you on the cheek, offer the other also, and from one who takes away your cloak do not withhold your tunic either. ³⁰ Give to everyone who begs from you, and from one who takes away your goods do not demand them back. ³¹ And as you wish that others would do to you, do so to them.⁴

Beyond historical context and theological interpretation, in which we are not interested here,⁵ it is evident that we are no longer dealing at the level of public order management, but at the higher level of an ethical imperative, whose radicalism has always challenged the consciences of people, and not only of believers.⁶ Moreover, while general ethical rules of two thousand years ago can also be of use today – and actually establish the creed of a part of our community – the policies for managing public order are historically determined and cannot take on an absolute value.⁷

Nevertheless, these two mottos can still be used (this is my intention here) to define, in an immediate and simple way, two extremes of behaviour. On the one hand, the behaviour of one who believes it is right and useful to implement an ethics or policy or action of complete repression (the context is not important now), without exception, and on the other hand of one who, also without exceptions, intends to implement a policy of forgiveness and patience.

Note that in this phase of our inquiry there is still no definitive ethical evaluation of 'Zero Tolerance' and 'Turn the Other Cheek' on the Evil-Good axis; in other words, these two choices do not yet oppose each other as one (always) correct and the other (always) wrong. Rather, one could hold that these two ex-

⁴ *ESV*: τῷ τύπτοντι σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην; *ei, qui te percutit in maxillam, praebe et alteram.*

⁵ See Theißen (1979), Gnilka (1986) *ad loc.*, Hoffmann (1995) – I thank Edoardo Bona for these references.

⁶ The quotation of Paul, *I. Cor.* 23 is apt here: “but we proclaim Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles”.

⁷ Not to mention the fact that it is not possible to know precisely how in antiquity public order was managed: the administration of justice was radically different from today, because it was often left to private individuals and lacked legal guarantees (for foreigners, for slaves, for the *humiliores* in the Roman empire etc.). The skills that are today the preserve of professionals such as detectives, scientific investigators, special intervention teams and riot control units were in case of necessity entrusted to soldiers through procedures and with competences usually ruthlessly deployed against offenders. To quote only the most recent bibliography, see Ménard (2004), Rivière (2004), Kelly (2007), Brélaz/Ducrey (2009), Urso (2009), Flaméris (2013), Howe/Brice (2016), Riess-Fagan (2016), Davies (2019).

tremes could both be judged either way: positively by someone or in certain circumstances and negatively by others or in other circumstances.

2 Justice as an (Unreachable) Balance Centre

Exactly in the middle of these two extremes, equidistant from both and perfect in its essence, lies justice, which consists precisely in not exceeding the moral, political or legal retribution, either towards excess or towards lack. In fact, the Stoic tradition⁸ has given to the West the principle that justice is basically *unicuique suum*, ‘to each his own’. This *dictum* appears in Cicero, *Rep.* 3.24,⁹ *Leg.* 1.19,¹⁰ and in a more mature form in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (1.1.9 *praef.*):

Ulpianus in the first book of the ‘Rules’: Justice is a constant and perpetual will to attribute to each what is due to him by right.¹¹

In this sense, justice is like the sharp edge of a blade, extremely thin and therefore difficult to identify.¹² But the two sides of the knife – to continue with our metaphor – towards the opposites of ‘Zero Tolerance’ and ‘Turn the Other Cheek’ are much wider. It is therefore easy to understand why, in seeking to find where exactly the *unicuique suum* should lie depending on circumstances, people throughout history have preferred to lie down in a more comfortable position, on one side of the ideal of justice or the other: some have inclined to

8 The Greek wording is not identical to the Latin, stressing rather that justice is the science (or disposition) that makes it possible to allocate goods to each person in an equitable manner, i.e. according to merit (κατ’ ἀξίαν): *SVF* 3.63, n. 262; 65, n. 266.

9 *Iustitia autem praecipit parcere omnibus, consulere generi hominum, suum cuique reddere, s<ac>ra, publica, alie<na> non tangere*, (‘justice instructs us to spare everyone, to look after the interests of the human race, to render to each his own, to keep hands off things that are sacred or public or belong to someone else’, transl. J. Zetzel).

10 *Itaque arbitrantur prudentiam esse legem, cuius ea vis sit, ut recte facere iubeat, vetet delinquere, eamque rem illi Graeco putant nomine νόμον <a> suum cuique tribuendo appellatam, ego nostro a legendo*, (‘And therefore they think that law is judgment, the effect of which is such as to order people to behave rightly and forbid them to do wrong; they think that its name in Greek is derived from giving to each his own, while I think that in Latin it is derived from choosing’, transl. J. Zetzel).

11 *Ulpianus libro primo Regularum. Iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi.*

12 It is not the purpose of this article to examine the tautological aspect of this assertion, which brings *iustitia* back to a *ius suum/ἀξία* basis which is, however, no better specified and can be understood in many different ways (see Kelsen (1945) 1. 1. A c. 2).

wards 'Zero Tolerance', or, on the other hand, towards 'Turn the Other Cheek', depending upon convenience.

The positive evaluation of any moral, political or legal rule that aims at a median position and seeks to avoid extremes is a transcultural issue that deserves research *per se*.¹³ It also finds an immediate and automatic echo in the Buddhist 'Middle Way' or in the Confucian 'Doctrine of the Mean'; however, I will limit myself to the Greco-Roman world, because I find it risky to build research on decontextualised parallels.¹⁴ Moreover, in this particular case one of the three main components of the 'Doctrine of the Mean' (Chap. 13) is admittedly leniency¹⁵ and the famous related Confucian principle 'What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others' (transl. J. Legge) decisively shifts the point of equilibrium from the abstract centre of the *unicuique suum* towards what we have called the 'Turn the Other Cheek' extreme.¹⁶ This is also a transcultural constant and we will see it reappearing soon in Seneca.

It is now time to go further: our framework began with a bipolarity ('Zero Tolerance' vs. 'Turn the Other Cheek') and has been enriched by a precarious, central point of balance (justice), but it is destined to become even more complicated: as I said, since neither of the two sides of the knife of justice is good or bad in itself as a matter of principle, we can imagine having positive and negative variants on both sides, and therefore no longer two or three elements, but five elements – if not six, should we also add the opposite of justice, namely injustice, to all possible options of the plans that move away from the perfect centre represented by justice.

It is now certain that the knife that we have used so far can no longer work; we need a new visual model, which will be offered by a grid, even if the result is neither virtual reality nor abstract geometric projection, as it might seem, but concrete historical data, thanks to Seneca, an author who so far, at least to my knowledge, has never been called upon for transcultural research, unlike,

¹³ See e.g. Zeller (2007) and Chang (2008). Perhaps it is not entirely arbitrary to bring this view closer to Legalism/Fajia and Mohism, because of their interest in a political system governed by objective and impersonal rules, in open opposition to Confucianism (I thank Changxu Hu, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, for directing me to this field of study, with which I was not familiar).

¹⁴ See e.g. Parkes (2019). I recommend the cautious approach of Takada (2019).

¹⁵ See e.g. Gardner (1998) and Qiubai (2006). It seems to me that the Rules of Property (*Li*) can also be evoked on this occasion, *sed videant doctiores*.

¹⁶ To remain within the scope of the *logia* attributed to Jesus, Confucius' sentence just quoted is easily comparable to the 'Golden Rule' in Matt 7.12 ('So whatever you wish that others would do to you, do also to them', *ESV*: Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς) and Luke 6.31.

for example, Aristotle¹⁷ or Cicero.¹⁸ Although he knew nothing about ‘Zero Tolerance’ or the ‘Sermon on the Mount’, Seneca arrived at exactly this pattern with his treatise *On Mercy* (*Clem.* 2.3.1–4.4), dedicated to Nero and written in 55–56 CE, where he outlines a complex system of values to distinguish four concepts, *miseriordia* (‘commiseration’), *clementia* (‘mercy’), *crudelitas* (‘cruelty’) and *severitas* (‘sternness’):

2.3.1 Mercy means ‘self-control by the mind when it has the power to take vengeance’ or ‘leniency on the part of a superior towards an inferior in imposing punishments’. [...] 2 The following definition will meet with objections, although it comes very close to the truth. We might speak of mercy as ‘moderation that remits something of a deserved and due punishment’. [...] 2.4.1 Its opposite, or so the ill-informed think, is sternness. But no virtue is the opposite of a virtue. What, then, is the opposite of mercy? Cruelty, which is nothing other than grimness of mind in exacting punishment. [...] 4 Here it is relevant to ask what ‘commiseration or pity’ is. There are many who praise it as a virtue, and call the man of pity a good man. But this, too, is a mental failing. Not only in the area of sternness, but also in that of mercy, there are things which we should avoid. Under the guise of sternness we fall into cruelty, under that of mercy into pity.¹⁹

This is Seneca’s outline, which simultaneously opposes two vices (*crudelitas* and *miseriordia*) to two virtues (*severitas* and *clementia*) and two ways to overstep justice (*clementia* and *miseriordia*) to two ways to lag behind it (*severitas* and *crudelitas*).

The precise interpretation of this text would take too long and would not help us much in the analysis we are making here, which is not focused on Seneca himself.²⁰ What could be said here is that this arrangement is unique in the whole of Latin literature and perhaps also in the ancient world: unique in termi-

¹⁷ See n. 13.

¹⁸ Balbo/Ahn (2019).

¹⁹ Transl. J.M. Cooper and J.F. Procopé: *Clementia est temperantia animi in potestate ulciscendi vel lenitas superioris adversus inferiorem in constituendis poenis. [...] 2 Illa finitio contradictiones inveniet, quamvis maxime ad verum accedat, si dixerimus clementiam esse moderationem aliquid ex merita ac debita poena remittentem. [...] 2.4.1 Huic contrariam imperiti putant severitatem, sed nulla virtus virtuti contraria est. Quid ergo opponitur clementiae? Crudelitas, quae nihil aliud est quam atrocitas animi in exigendis poenis. [...] 4 Ad rem pertinet quaerere hoc loco quid sit misericordia: plerique enim ut virtutem eam laudant et bonum hominem vocant misericordem. Et haec vitium animi est; utraque circa severitatem circaque clementiam posita sunt quae vitare debemus: <per speciem enim severitatis in crudelitatem incidimus>, per speciem clementiae in misericordiam.*

²⁰ I refer to my commentary in Italian (Malaspina (2004) 388–395) and to the most recent one in English (Braund (2009) 392–401); see also Braicovich (2019).

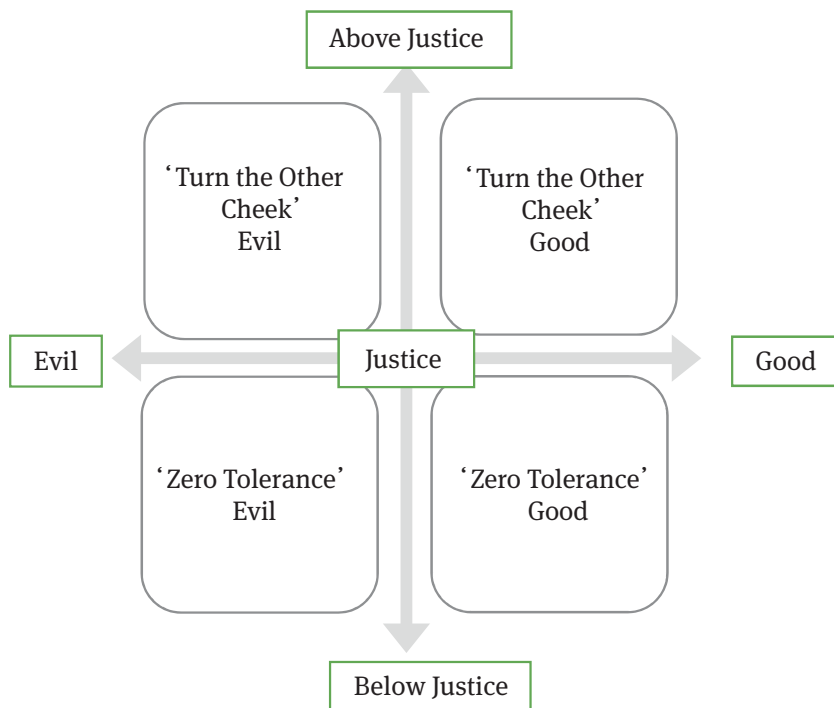


Figure 1: Seneca's system of values (© Malaspina).

nological choice,²¹ but also in the distributive clarity with which the four functions are indicated, even beyond terminological issues.

We can now add the Latin *termini technici* to our grid.

Seneca knows that justice constitutes – or should constitute – the perfection of the righteous act and the centre of the scheme (or, using the previous image, the edge of the blade). However, he also believes that at least the prince and/or the wise man must go further in the direction of mercy and that this departure from justice does not constitute a worsening:²²

²¹ Especially in the difference between *clementia*, presented for the first time as a Stoic virtue and radically separated from *miser cordia* (which is a vice, consistently with Stoic doctrine: *SVF* 1.96, n. 434 = Cic. *Tusc.* 3.21; *SVF* 3.109, n. 451); Seneca was aware that this *differentia verborum* did not exist in the language of his time and he himself respects it only in book 2 of this treatise: see Malaspina (2009) 55–59; 67–74.

²² *Iustitia* is a rare word in *De clementia*: the most interesting occurrence is 1.20.2, 'There would be no point here in reminding him not to give easy credence, to sift out the truth, to side with innocence

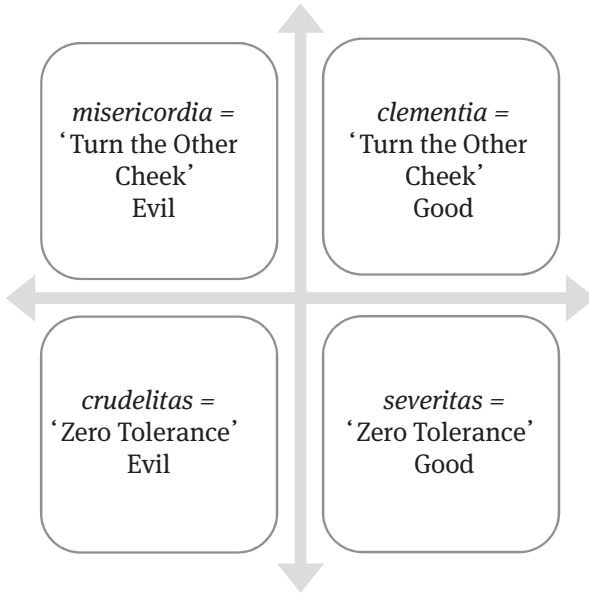


Figure 2: Seneca's system of values with Latin terms (© Malaspina).

Mercy is a virtue equivalent to sternness and justice on the ethical level (as are all virtues), but it is preferable to sternness and justice on a practical and political level, because it alone guarantees the ruler's security (*utile*), reputation (*honestum*) and humanity:

(*Clem.* 1.2.2) We should keep a mean. The balance, however, is hard to maintain, and any departure from parity should tip the scale to the side of human kindness.²³

and be seen to do so [following Lipsius' emendation *et appareat ut non minorem agi rem*], to realize that the interests of the accused are no less important than those of the judge. All this is a matter of justice, not mercy. What I now urge on him is that he respond to damage openly inflicted on himself by keeping his mind under control, by remitting the punishment if he can safely do so or, if he cannot, by moderating it, and that he should be far easier to placate when wronged himself than when others are wronged', transl. Cooper/Procopé (*Supervacuum est hoc loco admonere ne facile credat, ut verum excutiat, ut innocentiae faveat tet, ut appareat, non minorem agi rem periclitantis quam iudicis sciat: hoc enim ad iustitiam, non ad clementiam pertinet. Nunc illum hortamur ut manifeste laesus animum in potestate habeat et poenam, si tuto poterit, donet, si minus, temperet longeque sit in suis quam in alienis iniuriis exorabilior, text Teubner 2016).*

23 Transl. Cooper/Procopé (*Modum tenere debemus, sed, quia difficile est temperamentum, quidquid aequo plus futurum est in partem humaniorem praeponderet*).

Seneca uses the whole of book 1 of the treatise to explain this concept to Nero, which is echoed outside Seneca by the well-known brocard *in dubio pro reo*,²⁴ which in turn has been incorporated into the positive legislation by the countries of Western tradition.²⁵

The first transcultural spin-off of this scheme lies in the apparent contradiction Seneca imposes between justice and mercy (mercy is more 'just' than justice itself!), which reminds me of the role of leniency within the system of the 'Doctrine of the Mean'.²⁶ It is legitimate to object that this simplification does not take into account the difference in contexts (political for Seneca, jurisprudential for the brocard quoted above, moral-didactic for the *Zhongyong*) and the motivations behind the same behaviour, but I believe that at a transcultural level it is already an achievement to identify constants or recurrences without losing awareness of the difference between contexts so as not to fall into the simplifications already mentioned.²⁷ We are also tracing the footsteps of a long transcultural tradition, according to which the two morally acceptable choices (the quarters on the right in our grid) are not equivalent, but mercy is always preferable.

The main obstacle I see in making my analysis completely transcultural (and which comforts me in remaining anchored to my Western focus) is of a terminological nature: the English translation of our Latin terms is already questionable: except for the obliged pair *crudelitas*/cruelty, I have preferred 'sternness', 'mercy' and 'commiseration' (Cooper/Procopé) to 'strictness', 'clemency' and 'pity' (Braund), but I am well aware that this has no absolute value. *A fortiori*, finding a precise correspondent for these terms in Oriental languages is a difficult task for experts and impossible for me.²⁸

24 The origin of the concept, albeit in a different form, is found in *Digest*, 50.17.125: *Gaius libro quinto ad edictum provinciale: favorabiliores rei potius quam actores habentur* ('the accused are treated more favourably than the prosecutors'; I thank Pierangelo Buongiorno for his help).

25 E.g. in article 527 of the Italian Code of Criminal Procedure: "qualora vi sia parità di voti, prevale la soluzione più favorevole all'imputato" ('in the event of a tie, the solution most favourable to the accused shall prevail').

26 See above n. 15.

27 See above n. 14.

28 To limit myself to a few considerations about the possible Eastern conceptual counterpart of *clementia*, there is for instance a Japanese word, *kan-yo*, which connotes clemency as well, but it is a neologism invented as a translation of Western concepts at the beginning of Modern Japan in the late 19th century (I am indebted for this terminological clarification to Yasunari Takada, whom I thank). As for China, the term most likely to match is the famous *ren* (Benedikt (1948): "China postulates an overriding virtue which is a condition of loyalty and piety. It is usually translated 'benevolence' (*jen*) but it means almost everything Occidentals mean by good interpersonal relations"). *Ren* is however more often translated as 'humanity' (Mercier (2019) 141):

Thus remaining within the framework of Western culture, we could now examine our four concepts either in their horizontal opposition or in their vertical connection: I mean that one can pass from the virtue of sternness to the vice of cruelty while remaining in the semi-plane of ‘Zero Tolerance’ (and the same for mercy and commiseration); or, vertically, that we can investigate the relationships between the two opposite vices of commiseration and cruelty or between the two corresponding virtues. A comprehensive analysis of all these possibilities, however, multiplied by centuries of classicism, would take much more space than allowed, nor do I imagine being able to master all of this.

I will consequently focus in more detail on some aspects of the horizontal opposition, Evil vs. Good, a bit later, while for the vertical connection I will limit myself to a few notes in the following section.

3 Shifting Paradigms While Remaining Morally Correct

Firstly, the coexistence of the two opposing vices of cruelty and commiseration distinguishes the foolish figure of the *stultus* in the Stoic sense, due to the absolute irrationality of the resulting behaviour, while the tyrant follows the more common pattern that would have him always and only be cruel (and lustful),²⁹ as we will soon see.

On the reverse side of *clementia-severitas*, I recall here that our framework fits perfectly into one of the best-known texts of Latin poetry, *Aeneid* 6.851–853:

Remember thou, o Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway – these shall be thine arts – to crown Peace with Law, to spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud!³⁰

the (partial) overlap between the idea of ‘mercy’ and ‘humanity’ is, as we have said, also present in the Latin world *clementia* (see above n. 23).

²⁹ See e.g. *Clem.* 2.5.1, “mercy and gentleness are qualities displayed by all good men, while pity is something that they will avoid”, transl. Cooper/Procopé (*clementiam mansuetudinemque omnes boni viri praestabunt, misericordiam autem vitabunt: est enim vitium pusilli animi ad speciem alienorum malorum succidentis*). For the *topos* of the cruel tyrant, I refer to the proverbial utterance of Accius’ *Atreus*, *Oderint dum metuant* (*Trag.* 203, ‘They may hate me, provided they fear me’): see in general Tabacco (1985).

³⁰ Transl. H. Rushton Fairclough (*tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*)

Anchises' address precisely indicates the ability to shift from the positive extreme that we named 'Zero Tolerance' to 'Turn the Other Cheek'. And this ability is the quality that allowed Rome to establish its empire, with strength when necessary but also with forgiveness and integration. The correspondence between 'to spare' (*parcere*) in Virgil and mercy (*clementia*) in our grid and between 'to tame' (*debellare*) and sternness (*severitas*) is clear and is not necessary to stress further. Here, however, the coexistence of these two opposing virtues cancels the prominent position offered by Seneca to mercy and re-establishes the balance in the middle of the right semi-plane of our scheme: according to Virgil, albeit implicitly, the Romans follow *iustitia* in alternating reward and punishment, so as to establish *unicuique suum* as it should be.

A last point: are there any moral exhortations parallel to Seneca's but aimed at giving primacy to sternness over mercy? In the ancient world, such an attitude is usually negatively connoted, because of the close link between ethics and politics: a systematically exceeding severity is not a virtuous attitude, but the expression of the typical vice of the cruel and lustful tyrant just mentioned.³¹ It therefore falls into the quarter of *crudelitas* in our grid, rather than *severitas*. In modern times, however, thanks to the definitive separation of morality and politics, this behaviour found famous supporters, who considered it no longer a vice, but a virtue. Here are just two of them, Machiavelli's *Prince* and Saint-Just:

Upon this a question arises: whether it be better to be loved than feared or feared than loved? It may be answered that one should wish to be both, but, because it is difficult to unite them in one person, it is much safer to be feared than loved, when, of the two, either must be dispensed with. Because this is to be asserted in general of men, that they are ungrateful, fickle, false, cowardly, covetous, and as long as you succeed they are yours entirely; they will offer you their blood, property, life, and children, as is said above, when the need is far distant; but when it approaches they turn against you. And that prince who, relying entirely on their promises, has neglected other precautions, is ruined; because friendships that are obtained by payments, and not by greatness or nobility of mind, may indeed be earned, but they are not secured, and in time of need cannot be relied upon; and men have less scruple in offending one who is beloved than one who is feared, for love is preserved by the link of obligation which, owing to the baseness of men, is broken at every opportunity for their advantage; but fear preserves you by a dread of punishment which never fails. Nevertheless a prince ought to inspire fear in such a way that, if he does not win love, he avoids hatred; because he can endure very well being feared whilst he is not hated, which will always be as long as he abstains from the property of his citizens and subjects and from their women. But when it is necessary for him to proceed against the life of someone, he must do it on proper justification and for manifest cause, but above all things he must keep his hands off the property of others, because men more

31 See above n. 29.

quickly forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony. Besides, pretexts for taking away the property are never wanting; for he who has once begun to live by robbery will always find pretexts for seizing what belongs to others; but reasons for taking life, on the contrary, are more difficult to find and sooner lapse.³²

Is there any mention of clemency among the kings of Europe? No: do not allow yourselves to be softened.

Justice is not mercy; it is sternness.

You have no right to be merciful, nor to be sensitive to treason; you are not working for yourselves, but for the people.³³

4 The First Horizontal Opposition: Cruelty versus Sternness

Let us now address the first horizontal relationship, which is also the easiest: sternness versus cruelty. What makes a ‘Zero Tolerance’ action a virtue and what makes it a vice? Or, rightfully and politically, what makes it a lawful en-

32 Transl. W. K. Marriott (“Nasce da questo una disputa: s’egli è meglio essere amato che temuto, o e converso. Rispondesi, che si vorrebbe essere l’uno e l’altro; ma, perché egli è difficile accozzarli insieme, è molto più sicuro essere temuto che amato, quando si abbia a mancare dell’uno de’ dua. Perché degli uomini si può dire questo generalmente: che sieno ingrati, volubili, simulatori e dissimulatori, fuggitori de’ pericoli, cupidi di guadagno; e mentre fai loro bene, sono tutti tua, offeronti el sangue, la roba, la vita, e’ figliuoli, come di sopra dissi, quando il bisogno è discosto; ma, quando ti si appressa, e’ si rivoltano. E quel principe, che si è tutto fondato in sulle parole loro, trovandosi nudo di altre preparazioni, rovina; perché le amicizie che si acquistano col prezzo e non con grandezza e nobiltà di animo, si meritano, ma elle non si hanno, e a’ tempi non si possano spendere. E gli uomini hanno meno rispetto a offendere uno che si facci amare che uno che si facci temere; perché l’amore è tenuto da uno vincolo di obbligo, il quale, per essere gli uomini tristi, da ogni occasione di propria utilità è rotto; ma il timore è tenuto da una paura di pena che non abbandona mai. Debbe, nondimanco, il principe farsi temere in modo, che, se non acquista lo amore, che fugga l’odio; perché può molto bene stare insieme essere temuto e non odiato; il che farà sempre, quando si astenga dalla roba de’ sua cittadini e de’ sua sudditi, e dalle donne loro. E quando pure li bisognasse procedere contro al sangue di alcuno, farlo quando vi sia iustificazione conveniente e causa manifesta; ma, sopra tutto, astenersi dalla roba d’altri; perché gli uomini sdimenticano più presto la morte del padre che la perdita del patrimonio. Di poi, le cagioni del tòrre la roba non mancono mai; e sempre, colui che comincia a vivere con rapina, truova cagione di occupare quel d’altri; e per adverso, contro al sangue sono più rare, e mancono più presto”).

33 Translation mine (“Parle-t-on de clémence chez les rois d’Europe? Non: ne vous laissez point amollir”) (Duval (2003) 700); (“La justice n’est pas clémence; elle est sévérité”) (702); (“Vous n’avez le droit ni d’être cléments, ni d’être sensibles pour les trahisons; vous ne travaillez pas pour votre compte, mais pour le peuple”) (704). See also Borchmeyer (1998) 13–14.

forcement and not an indictable crime? For Seneca, the answer was very simple: the 'Zero Tolerance' action performed by the wise man was based on a rational choice and therefore always virtuous.³⁴ On the contrary, the action of the foolish is based on passions and is therefore always vicious, an answer possible only within the Stoic moral system.³⁵ Outside of this, what could be the discriminating factor historically? It is certainly not to be sought in the war-peace opposition³⁶ and often the definition of what is *crudelitas* (to be punished) and *severitas* (to be respected) is recognized only after the end of the conflict by the law of the strongest, established by the winners and based on their own principles and interests, as simplistic and trivializing as this comment may sound.

The legitimacy of a harsh and even cruel retaliation towards a guilty party or a public enemy (i. e., in our grid, the respectability of *severitas*) was never challenged in antiquity, and the Romans themselves seem generally aware of the lawfulness of their behaviour against their enemies, as Livy often reports: usually, his sympathy for the sorrow of the losers is quite pronounced, but most of the time the Romans, from his point of view, act according to justice as victors.

Nevertheless, although less pronounced and clear than in Seneca, Livy also recognises the need for more humane and lenient behaviour, as in the case of the cruel execution of Mettius Fufetius (1.28.11), who was notoriously dismembered by horses running in opposite directions:³⁷

This was the first and last time that the Romans applied the kind of punishment that ignores the laws of humanity. In other cases, we can boast that no other nation has decreed more humane punishments.³⁸

The polysemous richness of religious texts confronts us with a greater difficulty, because in the same sacred books in which we read 'Turn the Other Cheek' are present passages like 1 Sam. 15:

34 Even if, as we have just seen above (sect. 2), *clementia* should for many reasons prevail.

35 See e. g. Graver (2007) 109–133.

36 I mean that it is simplistic to say that administering justice in peace towards the citizens by applying 'Zero Tolerance' is an action of severity, while applying it in war against enemies gives rise automatically to actions of cruelty, or vice versa.

37 It is therefore worth comparing 8.7 with 8.31–33, because Livy is quite explicit in approving the clemency towards Fabius Rullianus and in criticising Torquatus' inflexible behaviour. Livy then describes in dramatic tones, which also reflect his sense of moral disapproval, the massacre of the *dediti*, Aurunci (2.16.8–9) and Ligures Statellati (42.8.2–8): I thank Elisa Della Calce for her help in this point.

38 Transl. V. M. Warrior (*primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit: in aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.*)

And Samuel said to Saul, “The Lord sent me to anoint you king over his people Israel; now therefore hearken to the words of the Lord.”² Thus says the Lord of hosts, ‘I will punish what Amalek did to Israel in opposing them on the way, when they came up out of Egypt.’³ Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have; do not spare them, but kill both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass.”⁴ So Saul summoned the people, and numbered them in Telaim, two hundred thousand men on foot, and ten thousand men of Judah.⁵ And Saul came to the city of Amalek, and lay in wait in the valley.⁶ And Saul said to the Kenites, “Go, depart, go down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them; for you showed kindness to all the people of Israel when they came up out of Egypt.” So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites.⁷ And Saul defeated the Amalekites, from Havilah as far as Shur, which is east of Egypt.⁸ And he took Agag the king of the Amalekites alive, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword.⁹ But Saul and the people spared Agag, and the best of the sheep and of the oxen and of the fatlings, and the lambs, and all that was good, and would not utterly destroy them; all that was despised and worthless they utterly destroyed.¹⁰ The word of the Lord came to Samuel:¹¹ “I repent that I have made Saul king; for he has turned back from following me, and has not performed my commandments.”³⁹

These forms of *crudelitas*, which we catalogue today as crimes against humanity and genocide, have no boundaries of time or place:

Mow down everyone universally, without discriminating between young and old, men and women, clergy and the laity – high ranking soldiers on the battlefield, that goes without saying, but also the hill folk, down to the poorest and meanest – and send the heads to Japan.⁴⁰

The Japanese Buddhist monk Keinen described this scene of horror when Toyotomi Hideyoshi's⁴¹ samurais put into practice his order to kill all those who resisted the Japanese troops, including women and children, and to cut off their

39 For brevity, I report only the translation (*ESV*), with the commentary of Alonso Schökel (1980) 2, 681: “Alla luce dell’insegnamento di Cristo, l’ordine di Samuele ci concorda, ci ripugna. Pur considerato come tappa superata della storia della rivelazione, ancora non ci è del tutto comprensibile [...] Non intendiamo dissimulare lo stupore né reprimere la protesta. Questo capitolo turba un cristiano, in più di un’occasione; e questo turbamento è una componente del suo significato, che ci obbliga a interrogarci”. See also e.g. Josh 6. Religious traditions other than Christianity are no exception to this ambivalence: personally, I have always been shocked by Muhammad’s behaviour during and after the Battle of Badr, as recounted in the *Tarikh-i Balami*.

40 See Elison (1988) 28 and Hawley (2005) 465–466.

41 Toyotomi (Nagoya 1536 – Kyoto 1598) is probably better known in Europe for the terrible affair of the *Twenty-six Martyrs of Nagasaki* (1597) and for interrupting the expansion of Christianity in Japan, leaving only the residue of the ‘Hidden Christians’ (*Kakure Kirishitan*) towards 1630.

noses⁴² during the siege of Namwŏn in the second invasion of Korea (1596). I do not know if Hideyoshi would be passionate about the question of whether he exercised *severitas* or *crudelitas*, whereas today we would have no doubt about that (just as Keinen had no doubts),⁴³ even if we have not yet found an answer to our initial question ('What makes a "Zero Tolerance" action a virtue and what makes it a vice'). Even better, we have also discovered too many conflicting answers: the Senecan reason-passion opposition, Machiavelli's amorality,⁴⁴ the divine will and often simply the law of the strongest. Theoretically, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should define which punishment/retaliation violates inalienable rights (and thus in our scheme falls under *crudelitas*) and which is an acceptable form of sternness. However, we all know how far we still have to go in practice, precisely from a transcultural perspective; and even from a philosophical point of view, the more rights are multiplied, the less agreement there is on the natural law that should guarantee them: in so doing, of course, we move further away from the perspective of a collective transcultural recognition.

Let us end this chapter with a less bloody corollary: Seneca testifies to the existence of a milder variant of 'Zero Tolerance', which is so widespread that it has become proverbial: even if its motto, *principiis obsta* ('fight the beginnings' of an evil), was coined by Ovid for the frivolous field of love skirmishes to cure the evil of sexual passion,⁴⁵ Seneca uses it to heal anger internally and to nip one's negative impulses in the bud:

(*De ira* 1.8.17) It is best to beat back at once the first irritations, to resist the very germs of anger and take care not to succumb.⁴⁶

42 Toyotomi collected thousands of noses in a large pile known today with the misleading name of the 'Ear Mound', located near his Mausoleum, the *Hokoku-byo* in the Hokoku temple in Kyōto (Turnbull (2008) 81; Affinati (2017) xvii).

43 "This chronicle details the horrors of war with a level of sympathy unrealized by the vain-glorious accounts presented by samurai eager for rewards or the terse reports typically proffered by Chinese and Korean military censors. From the start of his journey as a physician and spiritual advisor to the Ōta Kazuyoshi, Keinen describes Korea as a veritable Hell, in which slavery, wanton slaughter and general human suffering play major roles. As a result, it is one of the few surviving Japanese accounts that does not glorify the war or the exploits of Hideyoshi's generals and it provides an excellent window through which we can glimpse the suffering experienced by ordinary Japanese soldiers and Korean and Japanese slaves, whose voices have largely gone unheard over the past four centuries, at least in Japan" (Swope (2008) 170–171).

44 See Alexander (2018).

45 *Ov. Rem. am.* 91–94; but the concept is obviously older: see also e.g. *Lucr.* 4.1068–1072.

46 Transl. Cooper/Procopé (*optimum est primum irritamentum irae protinus spernere ipsisque repugnare seminibus et dare operam ne incidamus in iram*).

De ira 3.10.17 The best thing, therefore, is to start curing oneself as soon as one is aware of the ailment, to allow oneself the minimum freedom of speech and inhibit the impulse.⁴⁷

5 Mercy versus Commiseration

We can finally move on to the opposition between the good version of the ‘Turn the Other Cheek’ principle and the variant to be rejected. We already know that Seneca stresses the opposition between reason and passion: the forgiving behaviour dictated by *clementia* is positive, yet irrational *miser cordia* must be rejected. Certainly, defining commiseration as a vice makes a very strong statement, which, as I have said, is unparalleled in any other author and to which, moreover, even Seneca does not adhere outside book 2 of *De clementia*.⁴⁸

Despite the importance of *De clementia* in the modern history of the so-called genre of *Speculum principis* (‘Mirror of Princes’),⁴⁹ what has been transmitted to Western political thought is not Senecan: the term *clementia* obviously remains, no longer as Seneca’s unique virtue, but as one of the numerous qualities of the ruler (at each level, from the king to the abbot of a monastery). On the contrary, the implementation of *miser cordia* towards persons in misfortune is not a flaw, but a merit in the Christian tradition of Western thought, since the radicality of ‘Turn the Other Cheek’ is a pillar of Jesus’ teaching.⁵⁰

Even in the pagan camp we hear early voices that challenge the Senecan position. One which remained quite unnoticed is Pliny the Younger, who harshly criticizes this Stoic position, knowing first-hand the underlying ethical discussion. His personal contribution is very specific (a case of *mors immatura*, the death of a young person, in *Ep.* 5.16.8–10) and concerns the notion of *mollitia*, with which his practical and anti-dogmatic mentality preaches the ‘discovery of interiority’ and anticipates on modern sensibility, understanding and sentimentality. Since life is not based for him on Stoic *autarkeia* but on the relationship of mutual dependence between people, Pliny maintains that death interrupts this connection and therefore that his own well-being (*Ep.* 1.12) and even the well-

⁴⁷ Transl. Cooper/Procopé (*optimum est itaque ad primum mali sensum mederi sibi, tum verbis quoque suis minimum libertatis dare et inhibere impetum*); for a complete analysis of the issue see Malaspina (2021) 181–184.

⁴⁸ See above nn. 20 and 21 for bibliographical references.

⁴⁹ See Roskam/Schorn (2018).

⁵⁰ The seminal paper on the subject is Pétré (1934), to which many other papers and books have been added up to the present: see lastly e.g. Harbsmeier/Möckel (2009), Franchi (2015) and Cavallini (2017).

being of the *sapientes* (*Ep.* 5.16.8) is severely affected by this absence, which in turn causes the *desiderium* (*Ep.* 1.12.10, 5.16.6).⁵¹ To perceive this feeling and to share it with one's neighbour, in short to feel commiseration, even publicly, is thus an attitude that is not only excusable, but also necessary, without the need to resort to the Stoic justification of the *propatheiai*.⁵²

He is, indeed, a man of great learning and good sense, having applied himself from his earliest youth to the nobler arts and studies; but all those maxims which he has heard from others, and often inculcated himself, he now contemns, and every other virtue gives place to his absorbing parental devotion. You will excuse, you will even approve him, when you consider what he has lost. He has lost a daughter who resembled him as closely in manners as in person, and exactly copied out all of her father. If you shall think it proper to write to him upon the subject of so reasonable a grief, let me remind you not to use the rougher arguments of consolation, and such as seem to carry a sort of reproof with them, but those of kind and sympathizing humanity.⁵³

The Plinian refusal of *apatheia* is not related to politics *stricto sensu*, but concerns human bonds, far away also from Aristotelian *metriopatheia*: this belief can be easily shared and broadened to other fields, first of all to politics.

Having come to the end of our research, we can say that Seneca's outline, despite its uniqueness, proves to be a useful tool for interpreting the ethics of politics also from a transcultural perspective. The only modification that needs to be made is that for the Western tradition the quarter assigned by Seneca to *miser cordia* must be occupied by other terms, like 'feebleness', 'weakness' or 'ir-resolution', while *miser cordia* itself, with all its emotional connotations, must be relocated to the quarter of *clementia*, in serene cohabitation with it.

To show this in a more blatant way, we must now make a leap in time, to briefly examine one of the texts – or perhaps *the* text – that more than all others depends on Seneca's *De clementia*: the *Clemenza di Tito*.

This work was primarily a *libretto* written by the Italian poet Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), with music by Antonio Caldara (Vienna 1734): Metastasio's text

51 I summarise here for convenience Malaspina (2019) 142–144.

52 For which see Cic. *Tusc.* 3.83, Sen. *Ep.* 99.14–16, 18–19 and Graver (2007) 85–108.

53 *Ep.* 5.16.8–10, transl. W. M. L. Hutchinson (*Est quidem ille [i. e. Fundanus] eruditus et sapiens, ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dedit; sed nunc omnia, quae audiit saepe quae dixit, aspernatur expulsisque virtutibus aliis pietatis est totus. Ignosces, laudabis etiam, si cogitaveris quid amiserit. Amisit enim filiam, quae non minus mores eius quam os vultumque referebat, totumque patrem mira similitudine exscripserat. Proinde si quas ad eum de dolore tam iusto litteras mittes, memento adhibere solacium non quasi castigatorium et nimis forte, sed molle et humanum*).

shows profound obligations to classical authors⁵⁴ and, through the *Cinna* by Pierre Corneille (1640), to Seneca's *De clementia* in particular, with surprising agreements and even *verbatim* quotations of the Latin text. His text did not remain always the same: it was the fate of all these *libretti* to be re-shaped, re-written, re-interpreted, following the evolution of the music, the ideas of the composer and often the tantrums of a *prima donna*. When Mozart decided to set *La clemenza di Tito* to music (Prague 1791) after dozens of other composers, he was helped by another Italian poet, Caterino Mazzolà (1745–1806).⁵⁵

Collating Metastasio's and Mazzolà's outputs shows that almost 80% of the text that survived the cuts⁵⁶ is exactly the same, without changes, while in the remaining 20%, changes vary from the substitution of an *aria* with another to the deep re-shaping of sections of the plot itself, built around the betrayal and conspiracy engineered by Titus' best friend (Sesto) and promised bride (Vitellia). At the end, although the emperor had every possible reason to sentence both to death, he forgives and forgets everything. In the passage of the final pardon,⁵⁷ Titus is on stage with Annio, the best friend of Sesto, who is asking for forgiveness together with his lover, Servilia, the sister of the traitor. The moment is crucial, and this is confirmed by the fact that Mazzolà and Mozart decided to change the text of the aria sung by Annio.⁵⁸

Here are both versions, with my *verbatim* translation:

Pietà signor di lui.

So che il rigore è giusto,
ma norma i falli altrui
non son del tuo rigor.

Se a' prieghi miei non vuoi,
se all'error suo non puoi,
donalo al cor d'Augusto,
donalo a te, Signor.

Pity, Sir, on him.

I know that *rigor* is right,
but the errors of others
are not the norm of your *rigor*.

If you do not do it for my prayers,
if you cannot do it because of his mistake,
donate him to the heart of Augustus,
give him to you, sir.

Tu fosti tradito;
ei degno è di morte,

You were betrayed;
he is worthy of death,

⁵⁴ See Seidel (1987), Borchmeyer (1998), Buller (1998), Questa (1998) 191–203, Wunderlich *et al.* (2001), Pross (2011).

⁵⁵ See Questa (1998) 193.

⁵⁶ See Borchmeyer (1998) 11: “Mazzolà hat in Absprache mit Mozart Metastasios Drama auf ungefähr die Hälfte gekürzt, die Zahl der Arien (25) auf mehr als die Hälfte (11) reduziert und die Rezitative mit ihrem diskursiv-didaktischen Grundzug rigoros gestrafft”.

⁵⁷ Act III, scene 4 in Metastasio = II.7 Mazzolà = Number 17 in Mozart's score.

⁵⁸ The score is for a ‘castrate’ voice and now it is normally played by a woman.

ma il core di Tito	but the heart of Titus
pur lascia sperar.	leaves us nevertheless hope.
Deh! prendi consiglio,	Come now! take advice,
Signor, dal tuo core:	Sir, from your heart:
il nostro dolore	deem to look
ti degna mirar.	at our sorrow.

Titus, the main character, is in both versions of the opera what Nero failed to be in Seneca's hope: a perfect prince with all virtues: exceptional nobility, self-control, patience – and clemency in the foreground. He is also aware of the burdens of his position, the *nobilis servitus* ('noble slavery')⁵⁹ that compels him to refuse pleasures, freedom and personal desires to devote his whole life to the well-being of his subjects. All these virtues stand out compared to the impulsive and incoherent behaviours of the two traitors, Sesto and Vitellia:⁶⁰ in synthesis, Titus is apparently a character with whom Seneca would have been pleased.

Nevertheless, when he has to make his final decision, life or death, to what does Annio appeal to urge him to forgive? Neither to his Stoic reason, nor to the *raison d'état* and the National Interest, but to his *core*, his heart, ~~i.e.~~ his *miseri-cordia*, in Senecan terms:

Clem. 2.5.1 Mercy and gentleness are qualities displayed by all good men, while pity is something that they will avoid. The fault of a petty mind succumbing to the signs of evils that affects others, it is a feature very familiar in the worst kind of person [...]. Pity looks at the plight, not at the cause of it. Mercy joins in with reason.⁶¹

And even if Metastasio's and Mazzolà's wording is completely different, this point remains identical in both versions⁶²; in the final scenes, Titus fulfils Annio's prayers, in the sense not only of forgiving the diabolical couple, but also of doing so by appealing to his own *core*.⁶³

⁵⁹ See Wunderlich *et al.* (2001) 7–8, and Malaspina (2009) 40; 181–182.

⁶⁰ This difference of characters is admirably transposed in music by Mozart: see Questa (1998) 200–203.

⁶¹ Transl. Cooper/Procopé (*clementiam mansuetudinemque omnes boni viri praestabunt, misericordiam autem vitabunt: est enim vitium pusilli animi ad speciem alienorum malorum succidentis. Itaque pessimo cuique familiarissima est [...]. Misericordia non causam, sed fortunam spectat; clementia rationi accedit*).

⁶² Compare “donalo al cor d'Augusto” in Mazzolà with “il core di Tito pur lascia sperar” and “prendi consiglio dal tuo core”. Even “il nostro dolore ti degna mirar” reminds Seneca's definition of *miseri-cordia* quoted in the preceding note.

⁶³ I quote an utterance of Titus added by Mazzolà (Act II, scene 11 = Mozart N. 19): “Does Titus' heart produce such senses?” (“Il cor di Tito tali sensi produce?”); some lines below, “But therefore

Since Cinna's Augustus still reacted in Senecan terms of *temperantia* and self-control,⁶⁴ the new role of *core* is due to Metastasio, and I do not think the experts on Classical *Fortleben* have yet paid enough attention to it.⁶⁵ I find this profound ideological change one of the miracles of our classical tradition, *semper idem, semper alter*: a deliberately Senecan text, whose nature is partly distorted in order to adopt elements that Seneca would never have accepted and which share in the modern emergence of the positive concept of 'emotion', which replaces 'passion', so execrable to Stoicism.⁶⁶

I can only hope that our governors (also in Hong-Kong) draw useful lessons from Seneca (and Metastasio) and that readers have the heart of Titus towards my transcultural proposal.

I give such great violence to my heart. [...] Long live my friend! even if he is unfaithful. And if the world wants to accuse me of some error, let it accuse me of pity, not rigour" ("Ma dunque faccio sì gran forza al mio cor. [...] Viva l'amico! benché infedele. E se accusarmi il mondo vuol pur di qualche errore, m'accusi di pietà, non di rigore", quite identical in Metastasio, Act III, scene 7).

64 It is famous in Act V, scene 3 of *Cinna*, the *coup de théâtre* by which Augustus forgives all traitors appealing to his complete command over the world and over himself, but certainly not to his pitying heart: "I am master of myself as well as of the universe" ("Je suis maître de moi comme de l'univers"). It is very significant that this sentence is not forgotten by Metastasio/Mazzolà, but inserted at the beginning of the opera and in Annio's mouth, as a predictable requirement and not as the end result of a difficult inner conquest: "Tito has the control of the world and himself" ("Tito ha l'impero e del mondo e di sé", Act I, scene 2 Metastasio/Mazzolà = Number 1 Mozart).

65 No one doubts that Mazzolà/Mozart's reworking is influenced by Enlightenment ideas and that the different political climates in 1734 and in 1791 (during French Revolution!) explain many idiosyncrasies of the two versions, which have been duly highlighted (see Wunderlich *et al.* (2001), 11–17 and Pross (2011)), but not concerning the new role of the *core*, which predates Mazzolà/Mozart, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. This is not the place for an argument about this, for which I have no competence, but I find that the collation of both texts shows that Borchmeyer (1998) is absolutely wrong when he wants to bring Metastasio closer to Corneille by distancing him from Mazzolà: "Im ursprünglichen Libretto von Metastasio ist die Herrschergüte [...] noch durch die Staatsräson ausbalanciert" (10); "wenn Corneilles Augustus oder Metastasios Titus sich im vorliegenden Fall für die Milde entscheiden, so deshalb, weil deren politische Vorzüge hier eindeutig die der Strenge überwiegen" (13).

66 See Dixon (2003).

Bibliography

The bibliography also includes titles not quoted in the papers or in the introduction but useful for further inquiries.

- Affinati (2017): Riccardo Affinati, *L'arte orientale della guerra*, Zanica.
- Ahn (1910a): Junggeun Ahn 안중근, *Declaration for the Peace of Asia* 동양평화론. Ed. by Jaewon Ahn et al. (2019), Seoul.
- Ahn (1910b): Junggeun Ahn 안중근, *Autobiography of Ahn Eunghil* 안응칠 역사. Ed. by Jaewon Ahn et al. (2020), Seoul. (www.dokdodl.org).
- Alcuin (1777): *Alcuini Opera*. Ed. Frobenius Forster, Regensburg.
- Alexander (2018): Michael C. Alexander, *Roman Amoralism Reconsidered. The Political Culture of the Roman Republic and Historians in an Era of Disillusionment*, Online Edition. https://indigo.uic.edu/articles/book/Roman_Amoralism_Reconsidered_The_Political_Culture_of_the_Roman_Republic_and_Historians_in_an_Era_of_Disillusionment/10766003 (seen 15.5.2021).
- Alonso Schökel (1980): Luis Alonso Schökel (ed.), *Libri di Samuele*, in: *La Bibbia*, Casale.
- Althoff (2003): Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft um Mittelalter*, Darmstadt.
- Altman (2015): William H. Altman, *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero*, Oxford.
- Ames/Rosemont (1998): Roger Ames and H. Rosemont, Jr. (trans.), *The Analects of Confucius: A philosophical Translation; A New Translation Based on the Dingzhou Fragments and Other Recent Archaeological Finds*, New York.
- Anon. (1899a): "Discours de M. Millet", in: *La France militaire*, 25.04.1899, 2.
- Anon. (1899b): "Editorial", in: *La Gironde*, 17.05.1899, 1.
- Anon. (1925): "Cicéron gouverneur des colonies", *La Croix*, 06.02.1925, 4.
- Anon. (1939): "Étude générale de l'Empire français", in: *L'École et la vie*, 30.09.1939, 14.
- Auyang (2014): Sunny Auyang, *The Dragon and the Eagle. The Rise and Fall of the Chinese and Roman Empires*, London.
- Baek (2012): Misun Baek 백미선, "Paekche myölmanggi towae süngnyödür-üi hwaltong-gwasasang 백제 멸망기 渡倭 승려들의 활동과 사상" [Activities and thoughts of Baekje's monks migrating to Japan in the dying days of Baekje era], in: *The Korea-Japan Historical Review* 韓日關係史研究 41, 3–29.
- Bai (2008): Yulan Bai 白於藍, *Jiandu boshu tongjiazi zidian* 簡牘帛書通假字字典, Fuzhou.
- Balbo (2020): Andrea Balbo, *Classics, Latin and Greek Authors in the "Proemialis declaratio" of "Confucius Sinarum Philosophus" (1687)*, Atti del convegno *Global Latin. Testi latini d'America e d'Asia fra Medioevo e prima età moderna*, in: *Itineraria* 19, 153–172.
- Balbo/Ahn (2019): Andrea Balbo and Jaewon Ahn (eds.), *Confucius and Cicero. Old Ideas for a New World, New Ideas for an Old World*, Berlin-Boston.
- Balsamo (1998): Luigi Balsamo, *La Bibliotheca Selecta di Antonio Possevino S.I. ovvero l'enciclopedia cattolica della Controriforma*, in W. Tega (a cura di), *Le origini della modernità: Linguaggi e saperi nel XVII secolo*, Florence, 3–17.
- Ban (1962): Ban Gu 班固, "The Biography of Dong Zhongshu" [董仲舒傳], in *Hanshu* 漢書 (*The History of Han Dynasty*) vol. 9, chap. 56, 2485–2528, Beijing.

- Barbieri-Low/Yates (2015): Anthony J. Barbieri-Low and Robin D. S. Yates, *Law, state, and society in early imperial China. A study with critical edition and translation of the legal texts from Zhangjiaoshan tomb numbers 247*, Leiden-Boston.
- Barnes (2008): Robert H. Barnes, “The Power of Strangers in Flores and Timor”, in: *Anthropos* 103, 343–353.
- Barrier (2009): Jeremy W. Barrier, *The Acts of Paul and Thecla. A Critical Introduction and Commentary*, Tübingen.
- Battles-Hugo (1969): Ford L. Battles and André M. Hugo (eds.), *Calvin’s Commentary on Seneca’s De clementia*, Leiden.
- Baxter/Sagart (1997): William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, “Word Formation in Old Chinese”, in: J. Packard (ed.), *New approaches to Chinese Word Formation*, Berlin.
- Baxter/Sagart (2014): William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*, New York.
- Beaud (2015): Olivier Beaud, “L’empire et l’empire colonial dans la doctrine publiciste française de la troisième république”, in: *Jus Politicum* 14, 20–21.
- Beaumont (1841): Tassin de Beaumont, *De la Consolidation de la puissance française en Algérie*, Paris.
- Benda (1936): Julien Benda, *Jeunesse d’un clerc*, Paris.
- Benedict (1946): Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, Boston.
- Bentley (1993): Jerry Bentley, *Old World Encounters. Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchange in Pre-Modern Times*, New York.
- Benveniste (1966): Émile Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien*, Paris.
- Bergrugger (1857): Adrien Bergrugger, “Les Romains dans le sud de l’Algérie”, in: *Revue Africaine* 2, 276–280.
- Berteuil (1856): Arsène Berteuil, *L’Algérie française*, 2 vols., Paris.
- Berthrong (1993): John Berthrong, “Master Chu’s Self-Realization. The Role of Ch’eng”, in: *Philosophy East and West* 43, 39–64.
- Best (1991): Jonathan W. Best, “Tales of Three Paekche Monks Who Traveled Afar in Search of the Law”, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51.1, 139–197.
- Beumann (1966): Helmut Beumann (ed.), *Karolus magnus et Leo papa: ein Paderborner Epos vom Jahre 799*, Paderborn.
- Bodman (1980): Nicholas C. Bodman, “Proto-Chinese and Sino-Tibetan: Data towards establishing the nature of their relationship”, in: F. van Coetsem and L. R. Waugh (eds.), *Contributions to historical linguistics: issues and materials*, Leiden, 34–199.
- Boissier (1891): Gaston Boissier, “Conférence du 27 mai 1891”, in: *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, I–lix.
- Boissière (1883): Gustave Boissière, *L’Algérie romaine*, Paris.
- Borchmeyer (1998): Dieter Borchmeyer, “Herrschergüte versus Staatsraison. Politik und Empfindsamkeit in Mozarts *La Clemenza di Tito*”, in: M. Th. Greven, H. Münkler and R. Schmalz-Bruns (eds.), *Bürgersinn und Kritik. Festschrift für Udo Bermbach zum 60. Geburtstag*, Baden-Baden, 345–366 [quoted from http://www.goethezeitportal.de/db/wiss/mozart/titus_borchmeyer.pdf (seen 15.5.2021), 1–22].
- Bourke (1942): John Bourke, “Kant’s Doctrine of ‘Perpetual Peace’”, in: *Philosophy* 17.68, 324–333.

- Braicovich (2019): Rodrigo Braicovich, “La suspensión estoica del sentido de justicia. Estrategias y dificultades”, in: *Archai. As origens do pensamento ocidental* 27, 1–24.
- Braun (2016): Harald E. Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought*, Burlington.
- Braund (2009): Susanna Braund (ed.), *Seneca, De clementia*, Oxford.
- Brélaz/Ducrey (2009): Cédric Brélaz and Pierre Ducrey (eds.), *Sécurité collective et ordre public dans les sociétés anciennes*, Entretiens Hardt 54, 2007, Vandoeuvres-Genève.
- Brodeur (1924): Arthur G. Brodeur, “The Grateful Lion”, in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 39.3, 485–524.
- Brooks/Brooks (1998): E. Bruce Brooks and A. Taeko Brooks, *The Original Analects: Sayings of Confucius and His Successors, 0479–0249*, New York.
- Broughton (1951): Thomas R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic 1: Volume 1: 509 B.C. – 100 B.C.*, New York.
- Bugeaud (1847): Thomas R. Bugeaud, *De la colonisation de l’Algérie*, Paris.
- Buller (1998): Jeffrey L. Buller, “From *Clementia Caesaris* to *La Clemenza di Tito*”, in: G. Schmeling and J. D. Mikalson (eds.), *Qui miscuit utile dulci. Festschrift Essays for P. Lachlan MacKendrick*, Wauconda, IL, 69–85.
- Bullough (1991): Donald Bullough, *Aula renovata: the Carolingian Court before the Aachen Palace*, in *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, Manchester.
- Bulst (1942): Walter Bulst (1942): “*Susceptacula regum*. Zur Kunde deutscher Reichsaltertümer”, in: Corona quænea. *Festschrift für Karl Strecker*, Leipzig, 97–135.
- Burbank/Cooper (2010): Jane Burbank, and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History. Power and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton.
- Bussièrès (1853): Auguste Bussièrès, “Le Maréchal Bugeaud et la colonisation de l’Algérie”, in: *Revue des Deux Mondes* 4, 449–506.
- Cagnat (1912): René Cagnat, *L’Armée romaine d’Afrique et l’occupation militaire de l’Afrique sous les empereurs*, Paris.
- Calboli Montefusco (1988): Lucia Calboli Montefusco, Exordium, narratio, epilogus. *Studi sulla teoria retorica greca e romana delle parti del discorso*, Bologna.
- Callahan (2008): William A. Callahan, “Chinese Visions of World Order. Posthegemonic or a New Hegemony”, in: *International Studies Review*, 10.4, 749–761.
- Carletti (1989): Francesco Carletti, *Ragionamenti del mio viaggio intorno al mondo*, Torino.
- Casson (1989): Lionel Casson, *Periplus Maris Erythraei*. Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary, Princeton.
- Castano et al. (2007): Rossana Castano, Fortunata Latella and Tania Sorrenti (eds.), *Comunicazione e propaganda nei secoli 12. e 13. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Messina, 24–26 maggio 2007)*, Rome.
- Cavallini (2017): Andrea Cavallini, “Da passione a virtù: la misericordia tra Aristotele, Cicerone e Agostino”, in: *Gregorianum* 98, 525–543.
- Chan (1963): Wing-Tsit Chan (ed.), *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton.
- Chan (1993): Albert Chan, “Michele Ruggieri, S.J. (1543–1607) and His Chinese Poems”, in: *Monumenta Serica* 41, 129–176.
- Chan (2009): Adrian Chan, *Orientalism in Sinology*, London and Washington.
- Chang (1963): Carsun Chang, *Creativity and Taoism. A Study of Chinese Philosophy, Art And Poetry*, New York.
- Chang (1980): Ch’i-Yun Chang, *Confucianism: A Modern Interpretation*, Taipei.

- Chang (2008): Lily Chang, *Aristotle on happiness: a comparison with Confucius*, Saarbrücken.
- Charlevoix (1757): Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay*, Paris.
- Charlevoix (1769): Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, *The History of Paraguay*, London.
- Chen (2003a): Dong Chen 陳東, “Guanyu Dingzhou Han mu zhujian ‘Lunyu’ de jige wenti 關於定州漢墓竹簡《論語》的幾個問題”, in: *Kongzi yanjiu* 孔子研究 2, 4–13.
- Chen (2003b): Dong Chen, “Lidai xuezhe guanyu Qi Lunyu de tantao 歷代學者關於《齊論語》的探討”, in: *Qi Lu xuekan* 齊魯學刊 2, 31–36.
- Chen (2011): Albert H. Y. Chen, “The Concept of ‘Datong’ in Chinese Philosophy as an Expression of the Idea of the Common Good”, University of Hong Kong Faculty of Law Research Paper No. 2011/020 <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1957955>.
- Cheng (1993): Anne Cheng, “Lun yü 論語”, in: M. Loewe (ed.), *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, Berkeley, 313–323.
- Chevalier (1863): Michel Chevalier, “Séance du Sénat”, in: *Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel*, 14 avril 1863.
- Chi (2000): Paesŏn Chi 池培善, “Koguryŏin Yi Chŏnggi-ŭi palchach’wi 고구려인 이정기의 발자취” [The Traces of Yi Chŏnggi, a man of Koguryŏ], in: *Tongbang hakchi* 東方學志 109, 115–201.
- Chin (2008): Anping Chin, *Confucius: A Life of Thought and Politics*, New Haven.
- Christol (2015): Michel Christol, “L’Empire romain en Afrique : aspects et résonances d’un impérialisme”, in: *Cahiers d’histoire. Revue d’histoire critique*. <https://doi.org/10.4000/chrhc.4489> (seen 17.03.2021).
- Cho (2009): Cho Yŏngnok 조영복, “Iptang kubŏp sŭng-ŭi haeyang pulgyo sŏrha-wa yŏnhae kyomin 입당구법승의 해양불교설화와 연해 교민” (Overseas Koreans and Buddhist ‘Maritime’ Legends of the Monks Who Searched for the Law in China), in *Minjokhak yŏn’gu* 민족학연구 7, 51–71.
- Choi (2013): Choi Mi Yeon 최미연, “Ch’ŏyongmu muyong sŏsa-ŭi yugyo sasangjŏk ch’ŭngmyŏn-e taehan haesŏk 처용무 무용서사의 유교사상적 측면에 대한 해석 [A Study on Confucian Aspect of the Epic of Cheoyong Dance]”, in: *The Korean Journal of Dance* 대한무용학회논문집 71.3, 138–169.
- Chua (2009): Amy Chua, *Day of Empire. How Hyperpowers Rise to Global Dominance and Why They Fall*, New York.
- CISAM (2002): *La propaganda politica nel basso Medioevo. Atti del XXXVIII Convegno storico internazionale (Todi, 14–17 ottobre 2001)*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, Spoleto.
- CISAM (2005): *Comunicare e significare nell’alto medioevo. LII Settimana di studi (15–20 aprile 2004)*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, Spoleto.
- Clarke (2017): Michael Clarke, “The Belt and Road Initiative: China’s New Grand Strategy?”, in: *Asia Policy* 24, 71–79.
- Clower (2014): Jason Clower, (ed. and transl.), *Late Works of Mou Zongsan: Selected Essays on Chinese Philosophy*, Leiden.
- Colombo (2015): Emanuele Colombo, “Il libro del mondo. Un documento di Antonio Possevino”, in: M. Catto and G. Signorotto (eds.), *Milano, l’Ambrosiana e la conoscenza dei nuovi mondi*, Milan, 329–356.
- Consolino (2000): Franca E. Consolino (ed.), *Letteratura e propaganda nell’Occidente latino da Augusto ai regni romanobarbarici*. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Arcavacata di Rende, 25–26 maggio 1998), Rome.

- Cook (2017): Scott Cook, “Confucius in Excavated Warring States Manuscripts”, in: Goldin (2017), 35–51.
- Cooley (2009): Alison E. Cooley (ed), *Res gestae divi Augusti*. Text, Translation, and Commentary, Cambridge.
- Creel (1949): Herrlee Glessner Creel, *Confucius, the Man and the Myth*, New York.
- Csikszentmihalyi (2001): Mark Csikszentmihalyi, “Confucius”, in David Noel Freedman and Michael James McClymond (eds.), *The Rivers of Paradise: Moses, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, and Muhammad as Religious Founders*, Cambridge, 233–308.
- Csikszentmihalyi (2002): Mark Csikszentmihalyi, “Confucius and the *Analects* in the Han”, in: Van Norden (2002), 134–162.
- D’Arelli (1994): Francesco D’Arelli, “Michele Ruggieri S.I., L’apprendimento della lingua cinese e la traduzione latina dei *Si Shu* (Quattro Libri)”, in: *Annali dell’Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”* 54.4, 479–487.
- D’Arelli (1996): Francesco D’Arelli, “Il Codice Fondo Gesuitico (3314) 1185 della biblioteca nazionale v. Emanuele II di Roma e la critica storica”, in: *Studi in onore di Lionello Lanciotti* 1, 473–483.
- D’Arelli (1998): Francesco D’Arelli, “Matteo Ricci S.I. e la traduzione latina dei ‘Quattro libri’ (*Si Shu*): dalla tradizione storiografica alle nuove ricerche”, in: Francesco D’Arelli (ed.), *Le Marche e l’Oriente. Una tradizione ininterrotta da Matteo Ricci a Giuseppe Tucci*, Rome.
- D’Elia (1942–1949): Pasquale M. D’Elia (ed.), *Fonti Ricciane: Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l’Europa e la Cina (1579–1615)*, Rome.
- D’Elia (1952): Pasquale D’Elia, “Il Trattato sull’Amicizia. Primo Libro scritto in cinese da Matteo Ricci, S.I.”, in: *Studia Missionalia* 7, 449–515.
- D’Elia (1956): Pasquale D’Elia, “Further notes on Matteo Ricci’s *de amicitia*”, in: *Monumenta Serica* 15, 356–377.
- Davies (2019): Penelope J. E. Davies, “Vandalism and resistance in Republican Rome”, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 78, 6–24.
- De Bary (1991): W. T. De Bary, *The Trouble with Confucianism*, Cambridge, Mass.
- De Wimpffen (1874): Emmanuel Félix De Wimpffen, “Sur la presse algérienne”, *Le XIXe siècle*, 16 avril 1874, 1. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k7558916f>.
- Delfraissy (1871): Delfraissy (ed.), *Colonisation de l’Algérie par le système du général Bugeaud*, Alger.
- Delle Donne (2005): Fulvio Delle Donne, *Il potere e la sua legittimazione. Letteratura encomiastica in onore di Federico II di Svevia* Arce, Frosinone.
- Desjobert (1846): Amédée Desjobert, *L’Algérie en 1846*, Paris.
- Dillery (2003): John Dillery, “Putting him back together again: Apion Historian, Apion Grammaticus”, in: *Classical Philology* 98, 383–390.
- Dixon (2003): Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions. The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*, Cambridge.
- Dondin-Payre (1991): Monique Dondin-Payre, “L’*exercitus Africae* ispiratrice de l’armée française d’Afrique : Ense et aratro”, in: *Antiquités africaines* 27, 141–149.
- Dong (2011): Dong Luping 董楼平, *Selections of Luliang Han Stone Relief Museum*, 铁笔丹青: 吕梁汉画像石博物馆文物精粹, Taiyuan.
- Dong (2014): Hongyuan Dong, *A History of the Chinese Language*, London.
- Duan (1988): Yucai Duan 段玉裁, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, Shanghai.

- Dull (2010): Jack L. Dull (ed.), *Official Titles of the Han Dynasty: A Tentative List*, University of Washington.
- Dunne (1962): George H. Dunne, *Generation of Giants. The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty*, Notre Dame.
- Durand (1960): John D. Durand, "The Population Statistics of China, CE 2–1953", in: *Population Studies* 13.3, 209–256.
- Dureau de La Malle (1852): Adolphe Dureau de La Malle, *L'Algérie*, Paris.
- Duval (2003): Michèle Duval (ed.), *Saint-Just. Œuvres complètes*, Paris.
- Ebenbauer (1978): Alfred Ebenbauer, *Carmen Historicum. Untersuchungen zur historischen Dichtung im Karolingischen Europa*, Wien.
- Ebrey (1993): Patricia B. Ebrey (ed.), *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, New York.
- Eder (2005): Walter Eder, "Augustus and the Power of Tradition", in: K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, 13–32.
- Edwards (1938): Evangeline D. Edwards, *Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period (A.D. 618–906)*, 2 vols., London.
- Elison (1988): George Elison, "The seventh and concluding item in Hideyoshi's orders to his commanders recorded in Chosen ki (Korean Record) of samurai Okochi Hidemoto", in: G. Elison, "The Priest Keinen and His Account of the Campaign in Korea, 1597–1598: An Introduction", in: Motoyama Yukihiko Kyoju (ed.), *Nihon kyoikushi ronso: Motoyama Yukihiko Kyoju taikan kinen rombunshu*, Kyoto, 25–41.
- van Els (2009): Paul van Els, "Dingzhou: The Story of an Unfortunate Tomb", in: *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 63, 909–941.
- van Els (2018): Paul van Els, "Confucius' Sayings Entombed: On Two Han Dynasty Bamboo Lunyu Manuscripts", in: Hunter/Kern (2018), 152–186.
- Elze (1954): Reinhard Elze, *Die Herrscherlaudes im Mittelalter*, Weimar.
- Enfantin (1843): Prosper Enfantin, *Colonisation de l'Algérie*, Paris.
- Eno (2018), Robert Eno, "The Lunyu as an Accretion Text", in: Hunter/Kern (2018) 39–66.
- Erdmann (1951): Carl Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*, Berlin.
- Erskine (1991): Andrew Erskine, "Hellenistic Monarchy and Roman Political Invective", in: *Classical Quarterly* 41.1, 106–120.
- Erskine (2010): Andrew Erskine, *Roman Imperialism*, Edinburgh.
- Estournelles de Constant (1912): Paul Henri Benjamin Balluet d'Estournelles de Constant, "Le protectorat marocain", in: *Le Siècle*, 14.02.1912, 4–6.
- Fairbank/Goldman (2006): John K. Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, MA.
- Fan (1965): Fan Ye (范曄), *Hou Hanshu 後漢書 (History of the Later Han)* Beijing.
- Fang (1974): Fang Xuanling (房玄齡) et al., *Jinshu 晉書 (History of Jin)* Beijing.
- Farrère (1924): Claude Farrère, "Une jeune fille voyagea", in: *Les Annales politiques et littéraires*, 11.01.1925, 43–47.
- Feltham (2009): Heleanor B. Feltham, "Justinian and the International Silk Trade", in: *Sino-Platonic Papers* 194 http://sino-platonic.org/complete/spp194_justinian_silk.pdf.
- Feng (1890): Dengfu Feng 馮登府, *Lunyu yiwen kaozheng 論語異文考證*, s.l.
- Ferguson (2004a): Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain made the Modern World*, London.
- Ferguson (2004b): Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*, London.

- Ferrari (2005): Michele Ferrari, “Potere, pubblico e scrittura nella comunicazione letteraria dell’alto medioevo”, in: CISAM (2005), 575–652.
- Ferrero (2004): Michele Ferrero, *The Cultivation of Virtue in Matteo Ricci’s ‘The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven’*, Taipei.
- Ferrero (2010a): Michele Ferrero “Education in Confucianism: Ethics as the Fruit and Goal of Education”, in: C. Desbouts – M. Mantovani, *Didattica delle scienze. Temi, esperienze, prospettive*, Rome, 319–331.
- Ferrero (2010b): Michele Ferrero “Matteo Ricci, Cicerone e il concetto di ‘rito’ nel Confucianesimo”, in: *Rivista Liturgica* 97, No. 2, 217–230.
- Ferrero (2010c): Michele Ferrero, “The extraordinary experience of priesthood of father Matteo Ricci (1552–1610)”, in: G. Caputa – J. Fox, *Priests of Christ in the Church for the World*, Jerusalem, 160–185.
- Ferrero (2010d): Michele Ferrero, “Chinese Classics in Matteo Ricci’s 天主实义 and its reception in Korea”, in: Korea University, “Chinese Classics And The Culture Of East Asia” (中国古代文化和东亚), Korea University Press, 105–133.
- Ferrero (2011): Michele Ferrero, *Sinologia Spirituale*, Rome.
- Ferrero (2012): Michele Ferrero, “The Atlas of China of Michele Ruggieri”, “罗明坚的中国研究”, in *西学东渐与东亚近代知识的形成和交*, Shanghai, 385–401.
- Ferrero (2013a): Michele Ferrero, “Il latino in Cina oggi (2012)” in: M. Sodi, L. Miraglia and R. Spataro (eds.), *Veterum Sapientia. Storia, Cultura, Attualità*, Rome, 100–114.
- Ferrero (2013b): Michele Ferrero, “Early Sinologists and the Debate on Chinese Ethics and the Presence of God: New Elements for Further Research”, M. Sodi, L. Miraglia and R. Spataro (eds.), in: *Journal For The Study Of Christian Culture* 4.2, 50–71.
- Ferrero (2016): Michele Ferrero, “The First Western Translation of “Da Xue”, in: *Salesianum*, 78.2, 275–303.
- Ferrero (2019a): Michele Ferrero, *Il primo Confucio latino; Il grande studio; La dottrina del giusto mezzo; I dialoghi. Trascrizione, traduzione e commento di un manoscritto inedito di M. Ruggieri SJ (1543–1607)*, Rome.
- Ferrero (2019b): Michele Ferrero, “The Latin translations of Confucius’ Dialogues (*Lun Yu*). A comparison of key concepts”, in: Balbo/Ahn (2019), 73–108.
- Ferrero (2019c): Michele Ferrero, “Zottoli’s Translation of Confucius’ “Dialogues” (晁德莅之《论语》的拉丁文翻译 (1879))”, in: *Journal of Latin Language and Culture* (BFSU) 7, 72–92.
- Filippini-Ronconi (1964): Pio Filippini-Ronconi, *Storia del pensiero cinese*, Turin.
- Fingarette (1972): Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius. The Saecular as Sacred*, New York.
- Flamérie (2013): Guillaume Flamérie de La Chapelle, *Torturer à l’antique. Supplices, peines et châtements en Grèce et à Rome*, Paris.
- Fleckenstein (1962): Joseph Fleckenstein, “Die Kaiserfrage bei den Paderborner Verhandlungen von 799”, in: V. H. Elbern (ed.), *Das erste Jahrtausend. Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, 3 vols., Düsseldorf, 296–317.
- Folz (1964): Robert Folz, *Le couronnement impérial de Charlemagne, 25 décembre 800*, Paris.
- Fontana (2011): Michela Fontana, *Matteo Ricci. A Jesuit in the Ming Court*, Lanham-Plymouth 2011.
- Franchi (2015): Roberta Franchi, “Il volto del Dio longanime: i presupposti veterotestamentari, la lettura paolina”, in: *Helmantica* 56, 171–186.

- Freewalt (2015): Jason Freewalt, “Justinian and China: Connections between the Byzantine Empire and China during the Reign of Justinian I”, seminar paper, online at https://www.academia.edu/15130395/Justinian_and_China_Connections_between_the_Byzantine_Empire_and_China_during_the_Reign_of_Justinian_I.
- Frémeaux (1984): Jacques Frémeaux, “Le Maghreb fantasmatique. Souvenirs de Rome et présence française au Maghreb : essai d’investigation”, in: J.C. Vatin (ed.), *Connaissances du Maghreb. Sciences sociales et colonisations*, Paris, 29–46.
- Fróis (1984): Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 5 vols, Lisbon.
- Fukuyama (2011): Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order. From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, New York.
- Fung (1952): Yu-Lan Fung, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, 2 vols., Princeton.
- Gallagher (1953): Louis J. Gallagher (transl.), *China in the Sixteenth Century. The Journal of Matthew Ricci, 1583–1610*, New York.
- Galsworthy (2014): Adrian Galsworthy, *Augustus. First Emperor of Rome*, New Haven-London.
- Gamberale (1969): Leopoldo Gamberale, *La traduzione in Gellio*, Rome.
- Gansu Jiandu Baohu Yanjiu Zhongxin et al. (2011–2015): Gansu Jiandu Baohu Yanjiu Zhongxin 甘肅簡牘保護研究中心, Gansusheng Wenwu Kaogu Yanjiusuo 甘肅省文物考古研究所 (eds.) *Jianshui Jinguan Hanjian* 肩水金關漢簡, Shanghai, vols. 1–5.
- García Villoslada (1954): Ricardo García Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù’ (1773)*, Rome.
- Gardner (1998): Daniel Gardner, “Confucian Commentary and Chinese Intellectual History”, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, 397–422.
- Garrison (1994): Mary Garrison, “The emergence of Carolingian Latin literature and the court of Charlemagne (780–814)”, in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, Cambridge, 111–140.
- Gautier (1845): Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Algérie*, Paris.
- Giles (1880): Herbert A. Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, translated and annotated by H. A. Giles, London.
- Girault (1885): Arthur Girault, *Principes de colonisation et de législation coloniale*, Paris.
- Gisoni (1999): Francesco A. Gisoni, *Michele Ruggeri S.J.: Missionario in Cina, primo sinologo europeo*, Milan.
- di Giura (2017): Ludovico Nicola di Giura, *P’u Sung-ling. I racconti fantastici dello studio di Liao*, Rome.
- Gnilka (1986): Joachim Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium 1. Kommentar zu Kap. 1,1–13,58*, Freiburg.
- Godman (1987): Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors. Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poets*, Oxford.
- Godman et al. (2002): Peter Godman, Jörg Jarnut and Peter Johaneck (eds.), *Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung. Das Epos “Karolus Magnus et Leo papa” und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799*, Berlin.
- Goldin (2017): Paul R. Goldin (ed.), *A Concise Companion to Confucius*, Oxford.
- Golvers (1998): Noel Golvers, “The development of the Confucius Sinarum Philosophus reconsidered in the light of new material”, in: R. Malek (ed.), *Western Learning and Christianity in China: the Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592–1666)*, Nettetal, 1141–1164.

- Golvers (2012–2015): Noel Golvers, *Libraries of Western Learning for China: Circulation of Western Books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission (ca. 1650–ca. 1750)*, 3 vols., Leuven.
- Gontarek (2016): Alicja Gontarek, “Królowie cygańscy w II Rzeczypospolitej. Wokół dorobku Jerzego Ficowskiego na temat sprawy cygańskiej w okresie międzywojennym” [Kings of the Gypsies in interwar Poland. Jerzy Ficowski’s works on the Gypsies in the interwar period], in: *Studia Historicolitteraria* 16, 145–158.
- Graham (1926): David Crockett Graham, “The Chuan Miao of West China”, in: *The Journal of Religion* 6.3, 302–307.
- Graham (1954): David Crockett Graham (ed.), *Songs and Stories of the Ch’uan Miao*, Washington.
- Grainger (2007): John D. Grainger, *Alexander the Great Failure. The Collapse of the Macedonian Empire*, London.
- Graver (2007): Margaret Graver, *Stoicism and Emotion*, Chicago.
- Grousset (1953): René Grousset, *The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire*, transl. by A. Watson-Grandy and T. Gordon, Berkeley.
- Grousset (1968): René Grousset, *Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire*, Berkeley.
- Gsell (1912): Stéphane Gsell, “L’histoire de l’Afrique du Nord”, in: *La Revue bleue, Revue politique et littéraire*, 772–777, 805–809.
- van Gulik (1940): Robert H. van Gulik, review of E. D. Edwards (ed.) (1937–1938), *Chinese Prose Literature of the T’ang Period (A.D. 618–906)*, London, in: *Monumenta Nipponica* 3.1, 338–341.
- Guo (2019): Jue Guo 郭珏, “The Life and Afterlife of a Western Han ‘Covered Mirror’ from the Tomb of Marquis of Haihun (59 BCE)”, in: *Journal of Chinese History* 3, 203–232.
- Gwyn Griffiths (1953): J. Gwyn Griffiths, “βασιλεὺς βασιλέων: Remarks on the History of a Title”, in: *Classical Philology* 48.3, 145–154.
- Hack (1999): Achim Th. Hack, *Das Empfangzeremoniell bei mittelalterlichen Papst-Kaiser-Treffen*, Köln.
- Haines (2016): Bill Haines, “Confucius on the Family as Model”, in: *Warp, Weft, And Way. Chinese and Comparative Philosophy 中國哲學與比較哲學* <http://warpweftandway.com/confucius-family-model/> (seen 21.02.2022).
- Hallo (1980): William W. Hallo, “Royal Titles from the Mesopotamian Periphery”, in: *Anatolian Studies* 30, 89–195.
- Hammer (2008): Dean Hammer, *Roman Political Thought and the Modern Theoretical Imagination*, Norman.
- Hammond (1996): Charles E. Hammond, “The Righteous Tiger and the Grateful Lion”, in: *Monumenta Sinica* 44, 191–211.
- Hansen (2015): Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire. A History of China to 1800*, New York.
- Hanshi waizhuan jishi* 韓詩外傳: Xu Weiyu 許維遜 (ed.), *Hanshi waizhuan jishi* 韓詩外傳集釋, Beijing, 1980.
- Hanshu* 漢書: Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 (*History of Han Dynasty*).
- Harbsmeier/Möckel (2009): Martin Harbsmeier and Sebastian Möckel (eds.), *Pathos, Affekt, Emotion: Transformationen der Antike*, Frankfurt am Main.
- Harmand (1910): Jules Harmand, *Domination et colonisation*, Paris.

- Hauck (1985): Karl Hauck, “Karolingische Taufpfalzen im Spiegel hofnaher Dichtung. Überlegungen zur Ausmalung von Pfalzkirchen, Pfalzen und Reichskloster”, in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1, 3–95.
- Haupt (2006): Christiane Haupt, *Und der Meister sprach...: Die Darstellung des Konfuzius in Texten der Zhanguo- und Frühen Han-zeit*, PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians University, Munich.
- Hauriou (1910): Maurice Hauriou, *Principes du droit public*, Paris.
- Hawley (2005): Samuel Hawley, *The Imjin War. Japan’s Sixteenth-Century Invasion of Korea and Attempt to Conquer China*, Seoul.
- Hebeisheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo (1981): Yanjiusuo Hebeisheng Wenwu 河北省文物研究所, “Hebei Dingxian 40 hao Hanmu fajue jianbao 河北定縣40號漢墓發掘簡報”, *Wenwu* 文物 8, 1–10.
- Hebeisheng Wenwu Yanjiusuo (1997): Yanjiusuo Hebeisheng Wenwu, “Dingzhou Hanmu zhujian Lunyu 定州漢墓竹簡《論語》”, Beijing.
- Hekster (2004): Olivier J. Hekster, “Hercules, Omphale, and Octavian’s ‘Counter-Propaganda’”, in: *BABesch* 79, 159–166.
- Henderson (1999): John B. Henderson, review of Brooks/Brooks (1998), in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 58, 791–793.
- Henry (1999): Eric Henry, “‘Junzi Yue’ versus ‘Zhongni Yue’ in Zuo zhuan”, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59, 125–161.
- Heyndrickx (1990): Jerome Heyndrickx (ed.), *Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623–1693): The Man Who Brought China to Europe*, Nettetal.
- Hirsch (1963): Hans Hirsch, in: *Die Inschriften der Könige von Agade*, in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 20, 1–82.
- Hobsbawm (1989): Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1874–1914*, New York.
- Hofmann (1988): Heinz Hofmann, “Überlegungen zu einer Theorie der nichtchristlichen Epik der lateinischen Spätantike”, in: *Philologus* 132, 101–159.
- Hoffmann (1995): Paul Hoffmann, “Tradition und Situation. Zur ‘Verbindlichkeit’ des Gebots der Feindesliebe in der synoptischen Überlieferung und in der gegenwärtigen Friedensdiskussion”, in: P. Hoffmann, *Tradition und Situation: Studien zur Jesusüberlieferung in der Logienquelle und den synoptischen Evangelien*, Münster, 3–61.
- Höpfl (2004): Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: the Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1640*, Cambridge.
- Höpfl (2011): Harro Höpfl, “Jesuit Political Thought”, in: H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, 2 vols., Dordrecht.
- Howe/Brice (2016): Timothy Howe and Lee L. Brice (eds.), *Brill’s companion to insurgency and terrorism in the ancient Mediterranean*, Leiden-Boston.
- Huang (2016): Yiping Huang, “Understanding China’s Belt & Road Initiative: Motivation, Framework and Assessment”, in: *China Economic Review* 40, 314–321.
- Hugo (1841): Victor Hugo, “Choses vues”, in: *Œuvres complètes*, vol. *Histoire*, Paris.
- Hugo (1879): Victor Hugo, “Discours sur l’Afrique prononcé le 18 mai 1879”, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 46, Paris, 123–129.
- Hulsewé (1993a): Anthony François Paulus Hulsewé, “Han shu 漢書”, in: Loewe (1993), 129–136.

- Hulsewé (1993b): Anthony François Paulus Hulsewé, “*Shih chi* 史記”, in: Loewe (1993), 405–414.
- Hunter (2014): Michael Hunter, “Did Mencius Know the *Analects*?”, in: *T'oung Pao* 100, 1–47.
- Hunter (2017a): Michael Hunter, *Confucius beyond the Analects*, Leiden.
- Hunter (2017b): Michael Hunter, “Early Sources for Confucius”, in: Goldin (2017), 15–34.
- Hunter (2018): Michael Hunter, “The *Lunyu* As A Western Han Text”, in: Hunter/Kern (2018), 67–91.
- Hunter/Kern (2018): Michael Hunter and Martin Kern (eds.), *Confucius and the Analects Revisited. New Perspectives on Composition, Dating, and Authorship*, Leiden.
- Idema/Zürcher (1990): Wilt L. Idema and Erik Zürcher (eds.), *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China*, Leiden-New York.
- Ideville (1881–1882): Henry d'Ideville, *Le maréchal Bugeaud, d'après sa correspondance intime et des documents inédits, 1784–1849*, 3 vols., Paris.
- Isola (1988): Antonino Isola (ed.), *Poeta Sassone. Le gesta dell'imperatore Carlo Magno*, Milan.
- Ivanhoe (1990): Philip J. Ivanhoe, *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition. The Thought of Mencius and Wang Yang-Ming*, Atlanta.
- Ivanhoe (2002): Philip J. Ivanhoe, “Whose Confucius? Which *Analects*? Diversity in the Confucian Commentarial Tradition”, in: Van Norden (2002), 119–133.
- Jacobs (1892): Joseph Jacobs (ed.), *Indian Fairy Tales*, London.
- Jang (2009): Yoon-Soo Jang 장윤수, “Chungguk-kwa ilbon kōju hanin-ūi iju yōksa chae koch'al 중국과 일본 거주 한인의이주 역사 재고찰” [A Study on the History of Overseas Koreans], in: *Journal of Diaspora Studies* 디아스포라 연구 3.2, 63–80.
- Jensen (2002): Lionel M. Jensen, “The Genesis of Kongzi in Ancient Narrative: The Figurative as Historical”, in: Th. Wilson (ed.), *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, Cambridge, MA, 175–221.
- Jiang et al. (1990): Jiang Yihua 姜義華, Zhang Ronghua 張榮華, and Wu Genliang 吳根, *Kongzi – Zhou Qin Han Jin wenxianji* 孔子 – 周秦漢晉文獻集, Shanghai.
- Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al. (2016): Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 江西省文物考古研究所 et al., “Nanchang shi Xihan Haihun hou mu 南昌市西漢海昏侯墓”, in: *Kaogu* 考古 7, 45–62.
- Kant (1903): Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, transl. by M. Campbell Smith, London. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/50922/50922-h/50922-h.htm#tnote> (seen 11.02.2020).
- Kantorowicz (1946): Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*, Berkeley-Los Angeles.
- Kantorowicz/Bukofzer (1946): Ernst H. Kantorowicz and Manfred F. Bukofzer (eds.), *Laudes Regiae. A study in liturgical acclamations and mediaeval ruler worship*, Berkeley-Los Angeles.
- Kelling/Wilson (1982): George L. Kelling and James Q. Wilson, “Broken Windows. The police and neighborhood safety”, in: *The Atlantic*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/> (seen 15.5.2021).
- Kelly (2007): Benjamin Kelly, “Riot Control and Imperial Ideology in the Roman Empire”, in: *Phoenix* 61, 150–176.
- Kelsen (1945): Hans Kelsen, *General Theory of Law and State*, Cambridge, MA.
- Kim (2005): Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, Guillaume de Rubruk, *Travel to the Golden Horde*, 까치, transl. by Ho-dong Kim, Seoul.

- Kim (2010): Ho-dong Kim, *Mongol Empire and the Birth of World History. Uncovering the legacy of the Mongol empire and an apology for Marco Polo*, 돌베게, Seoul.
- Kim (2011): Kyung-ho Kim, “A Study of Excavated Bamboo and Wooden-slip *Analects*: The Spread of Confucianism and Chinese Script”, in: *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 11.1, 59–88.
- Kim (2015): Weolhoi Kim, “The Romance of the Three Kingdoms from the Perspective of Empire: Narrative Configuration of the Requirements for the Building of an Empire”, in: *Horizons: Seoul Journal of Humanities* 6.1, 93–110.
- Kim (2019): Kyung-ho Kim, “Popularization of the *Analects of Confucius* in Western Han and the Discovery of the *Qi Lun*: With a Focus on the Bamboo Slips Unearthed from the Haihunhou Tomb”, in: *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 19.2, 213–232.
- Kim et al. (2020): Söckch’ul Kim 김석출, Kyönggha Yi 이경하 and Hüibyöng Pak 박희병 (eds.), *Paridegi* 바리데기, P’aju.
- Kim/Kim (2016): Weolhoi Kim and Kihoon Kim, “*Pax Romana* and *Pax Sinica*: Some Historical Aspects”, in: *Horizons: Seoul Journal of Humanities* 7.2, 161–178.
- Kongzi jiyu* (1950): *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子家語: comm. by Wang Su 王肅 (195–256), *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 ed. R.P. Kramers.
- Kramers (1986): Robert P. Kramers, “The development of the Confucian schools”, in: Twitchett/Loewe (1986), 747–766.
- Kwon (2003): Deukyong Kwon 권덕영, “Chae Tang Sillain-üi chonghapchök koch’al – 9 segi-rül chungsimüro – 在唐新羅人の綜合的考察 – 9 세기를 중심으로” [A Study of Silla Residents in the T’ang() Region in the Ninth Century], in: *History & the Boundaries* 역사와 경계 48, 1–42.
- Kwon (2013): Sanggyun Kwon 권상균, *The understanding on Ahn Jungeun by foreign nations: focusing on Japanese evaluation*, Gwangju.
- Lancashire et al. (1985): Douglas Lancashire, Peter Hu Kuo-Chen and Edward J. Malatesta (eds. and transl.), *Matteo Ricci, The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, Taipei-Paris-Hong Kong.
- Lapène (1844): Edouard Lapène, *Tableau historique de l’Algérie, depuis l’occupation romaine jusqu’à la conquête par les Français en 1830*, Metz.
- Lapène (1846a): Edouard Lapène, *Tableau historique de l’Algérie, depuis l’occupation romaine jusqu’à la conquête par les Français en 1830*, Toulouse.
- Lapène (1846b): Edouard Lapène, *Tableau historique, moral et politique sur les Kabyles*, Metz.
- Laurent (2001): Franck Laurent, *Victor Hugo face à la conquête de l’Algérie*, Paris.
- Le Mille e una notte* (1988): *Le Mille e una notte*, 2 vols, Vicenza. Translated into Italian from the French Edition by A. Galland titled *Les mille et une nuits* [‘The Thousand and One Nights’], 3 vols, Paris 1965.
- Leach/Fried (1972): Maria Leach and Jerome Fried, *Standard Dictionary of Folklore*, New York.
- Lee et al. (2009): Söng-si Lee 이성시, Yong-gu Yoon 윤용구, and Kyung-ho Kim 김경호, “P’yöngyang Chöngbaektong 364 kobun ch’ult’o chukkan Nonö e taehayö 平壤 貞柏洞 364號墳出土 竹簡 『論語』에 대하여” [On the *Analects* bamboo strips excavated from No. 364 Tomb in Chöngbaektong in P’yöngyang], in: *Wooden Documents and Inscriptions Studies* 木簡과文字 4, 127–166.
- Lee (2018): Youngok Lee 이영옥 (ed.), *Ahn Junggeun’s Vision for Peace: in Four Languages* 안중근의 동양평화론: 한.영.일.중 4개국어판, Seoul.

- Legge (1885): James Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, Volume 28, part 4: *The Li Ki*, Oxford.
- Legge (1960): James Legge (ed.), *The Chinese Classics, Translated Into English*, 5 vols., Hong Kong.
- Leprohon (2013): Ronald J. Leprohon, *The Great Name. Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary*, edited by Denise M. Doxey, Atlanta.
- Lerner (2014): Jeffrey D. Lerner, "On the Inland Waterways from Europe to Central Asia" in: *Ancient West & East* 13, 155–174.
- Lerner (2020): Jeffrey D. Lerner, "The Case for Shipwrecked Indians in Germany" in: J. D. Lerner and Y. Shi (eds.), *Silk Roads. From Local Realities to Global Narratives*, Oxford, 267–284.
- Levi (2003): Jean Levi, *Confucius. Spiritualités vivantes*, Paris.
- Lewis (2007): Mark E. Lewis, *The Early Chinese Empires: Qin and Han*, Cambridge, Mass.-London.
- Li (1998): Zehou Li 李澤厚, *Lunyu jindu 論語今讀*, Hong Kong.
- Li (2007): Ling Li, *Ahn Junggeun's Vision for Peace: in Four Languages* 안중근의 동양평화론: 한·영·일·중 4개국어판 Ling Li 李零, *Sang jia gou: wo du Lunyu 喪家狗我讀《論語》*, 2 vols., Taiyuan.
- Li (2008): Ling Li 李零 *Qu sheng nai de zhen Kongzi: Lunyu zongheng du 去聖乃得真孔子: 《論語》縱橫讀*, Beijing.
- Li (2019): Guisheng Li 李貴生, "'Lunyu' bianzuan dui Kongzi xueshuo de xingcheng ji quanshi de yingxiang 《論語》編纂對孔子學說的形成及詮釋的影響", in: *Zhongzheng Hanxue yanjiu 中正漢學研究* 2.34, 1–40.
- Lim (2013): Sang Sun Lim 임상선, "Parhaein-ŭi Kōran naejiro-ŭi kangje ch'ōnsa-wa kōjuji kōmt'o 渤海人の契丹内地로의 강제 遷徙와 居住地 檢討" [Balhe People's Deportation to Inland of Gulran and Review on Their Residences], in: *The Koguryo-Balhae Yonku 高句麗渤海研究* 47, 185–215.
- Liščák (2015): Vladimír Liščák, "François Noël (1651–1729) and Latin translations of Confucian Classical books published in Prague in 1711", in: *Anthropologia integra* 6.2, 2015, DOI https://journals.muni.cz/anthropologia_integra/article/view/4486
- Locke (1689): J. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, London
- Loewe (1986): Michael Loewe, "The Former Han dynasty", in: Twitchett/Loewe (1986), 103–222.
- Loewe (1993): Michael Loewe (ed.), *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, Berkley.
- Loewe (2000): Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC – AD 24)*, Leiden.
- Loewe (2006): Michael Loewe, *The government of the Qin and Han Empires, 221 BCE-220 CE*, Indianapolis.
- Loewe (2011): Michael Loewe, *Dong Zhongshu, a 'Confucian' Heritage and the Chunqiu Fanlu*, Leiden.
- Loménie (1842): Louis de Loménie, *Galerie des contemporains illustres*, vol. 9, Paris.
- Lorcin (2002): Patricia Lorcin, "Rome and France in Africa: Recovering Colonial Algeria's Latin Past", in: *French Historical Studies* 25.2, 295–329.
- Lorcin (2005): Patricia Lorcin, *Kabyles, arabes, français: identités coloniales*, Limoges.
- Lou (2015): Yulie Lou, *Buddhism*, Leiden.
- Lunheng 論衡*: Huang Hui 黃暉 (ed.), *Lunheng jiaoshi 論衡校釋*, Beijing, 1990, 4 vols.
- Lunyu zhengyi 論語正義*: Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 (1791–1855, ed.), Beijing, 1998, 2 vols.

- Luo (2008): Anxian Luo 羅安憲, *Zhongguo Kongxue shi* 中國孔學史, Beijing.
- Luo (2012): Ying Luo, “The Translations and Publication of the *Four Books* in Europe during the 17th & 18th Century”, in: *Chinese Translation* 3, 34–41.
- Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋: Qiyou Chen 陳奇猷 (ed.), *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋, Shanghai, 2 vols.
- Ma (1990): Guohan Ma 馬國翰, *Yuhan shanfang ji yishu* 玉函山房輯佚書, Yangzhou, 8 vols.
- MacIntyre (1981): Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue. A Study in Moral Theory*. London.
- MacIntyre (1988): Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* Notre Dame.
- Madelin (1934): Louis Madelin, “Le grand homme”, in: *L'écho de Paris*, 1.08.1934, 2.
- Mair (1999): Victor Mair, “A Medieval, Central Asian Buddhist Theme in a Late Ming Taoist Tale by Feng Meng-lung”, in: *Sino-Platonic Papers* 90, 1–3.
- Makeham (1996): John Makeham, “The Formation of *Lunyu* as a Book”, in: *Monumenta Serica* 44, 1–24.
- Makeham (1999): John Makeham, review of Brooks/Brooks (1998), in: *China Review International* 6.1, 1–33.
- Makeham (2004): John Makeham, *Transmitters and Creators: Chinese Commentators and Commentaries on the Analects*, Cambridge, MA.
- Makino (2009): Eiji Makino, “東洋平和と永遠平和—安重根とイマヌエル・カントの理想” [Peace in East Asia and Perpetual Peace: the ideals of Ahn Junggeun and Immanuel Kant], in: *Hosei University Departmental Bulletin Paper* (法政大學文學紀要) 60, 37–52.
- Malaspina (2004): Ermanno Malaspina (ed.), *L. Annaei Senecae De clementia libri duo*, Prolegomeni, testo critico e commento, Alessandria.
- Malaspina (2009): Ermanno Malaspina (ed.), *La clemenza*, in: L. De Biasi, A.M. Ferrero, E. Malaspina and D. Vottero (eds.), *Lucio Anneo Seneca, Opere*, vol. 5 *La clemenza – Apocolocintosi – Epigrammi – Frammenti*, Torino, 7–299.
- Malaspina (2019): Ermanno Malaspina, “Euphratès, Artémidore et ceux *qui sapientiae studium habitu corporis praeferunt*: la place de la philosophie dans la culture de Pline”, in S. Aubert-Baillet, C. Guérin, S. Morlet (eds.), *La philosophie des non-philosophes dans l'empire romain du I^{er} au III^e siècle*, Paris, 121–156.
- Malaspina (2021): Ermanno Malaspina, “*De ira* 3,10–24. Une transition faible: de la prophylaxie au traitement et des *praecepta aux exempla*”, in: V. Laurand, E. Malaspina and F. Prost (eds.), *Lectures plurielles du De ira de Sénèque. Interprétations, contextes, enjeux*, Berlin, 173–200.
- Malinowski (2012): Gościwit Malinowski, “Origin of the name *Seres*”, in: G. Malinowski, A. Paroń and B. Sz. Szmoniewski (eds.), *Serica – Da Qin: Studies in Archaeology, Philology and History of Sino-Western Relations*, Wrocław, 13–25.
- Marshall (1960): Lorna Marshall, “!Kung Bushmen Bands”, in: *Journal of the International African Institute* 30.4, 325–355 (348–353).
- Mastrososa (2006): Ida Mastrososa, “La prodigiosa memoria del leone di Androclo. Gell. 5.14 fra *mirabilia* e cronaca circense”, in: C. Santini, L. Zurli and L. Cardinali (eds.), *Concentus ex dissonis. Studi in onore di Aldo Setaioli*, 2 vols., Naples, 419–435.
- Mauntel (2017): Christoph Mauntel, “The ‘Emperor of Persia’. ‘Empire’ as a Means of Describing and Structuring the World”, in: *The Medieval History Journal* 20.2, 354–384.
- Mauntel (2018): Christoph Mauntel, “Beyond Rome. The Polyvalent Usage and Levels of Meaning of *Imperator* and *Imperium* in Medieval Europe”, in: W. Bracke, J. Nelis and J. de

- Maeyer (eds.), *Renovatio, inventio, absentia imperii. From the Roman Empire to contemporary imperialism*, Turnhout, 69–92.
- Ménard (2004): Hélène Ménard, *Maintenir l'ordre à Rome (II^e–I^{ve} siècles ap. J.-C.)*, Seyssel.
- Mercier (2019): Stéphane Mercier, “Becoming human(e): Confucius’ Way to 仁 and the Imitation of Christ in Yi Byeok’s *Essence of Sacred Doctrine*”, in: Balbo/Ahn (2019), 141–153.
- Meynard (2011): Thierry Meynard, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus (1687). The First Translation of the Confucian Classics*, Rome.
- Meynard (2015): Thierry Meynard, *The Jesuit Reading of Confucius. The First Complete Translation of the Lunyu (1687) published in the West*, Leiden.
- Michałowski (2003): Piotr Michałowski, “A Man Called Enmebaragesi”, in: W. Sallaberger, K. Volk and A. Zgoll (eds.), *Literatur, Politik, und Recht in Mesopotamien*, Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 14, Heidelberg, 195–208.
- Michałowski (2010): Piotr Michałowski, “Masters of the Four Corners of the Heavens. Views of the Universe in Early Mesopotamian Writings”, in: K. A. Raaflaub and R. J. A. Talbert (eds.), *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, Malden, MA-Oxford-Chichester, 147–168.
- Mignini (2005): Filippo Mignini (ed.), *Matteo Ricci: Dell’amicizia*, Macerata.
- Monheim 1937 : Christian Monheim, *Colonisation, principes et réalisations*, Paris.
- Moon (2008): Dong Seok Moon 문동석, “Paekche Hükch’i Sangji-üi söngssi-e taehan sin koch’al 百濟 黑齒常之의 姓氏에 대한 新考察” [The new reorganization on the family name of Heokchisanji of Baekje], in: *Paekche yŏn’gu* 百濟研究 47, 161–177.
- Mozi 墨子: Wu Yujiang 吴毓江 (ed.), *Mozi jiaozhu* 墨子校注, Beijing, 1993, 2 vols.
- Mungello (1989): David E. Mungello, *Curious Land. Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Honolulu.
- Mungello (2009): David E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West 1500–1800*, 3rd ed., Plymouth.
- Mütherich (1965): Florentine Mütherich, “Die Buchmalerei am Hofe Karls des Großen”, in: W. Braunfels (ed.), *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Aachen, 5 vols., vol. 3, 9–53.
- Mutschler/Mittag (2005): Fritz-Heiner Mutschler and Achim Mittag (eds.), *Conceiving the Empire: China and Rome Compared*, Oxford-New York.
- Mutschler/Mittag (2010): Fritz-Heiner Mutschler and Achim Mittag, “Empire and Humankind: Historical Universalism in Ancient China and Rome”, in: *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 37.4, 527–555.
- Nompère de Champagny (1876): Franz de Nompère de Champagny, *Etudes sur l’empire romain*, 12 vols., Paris.
- Nylan (2001): Michael Nylan, *The Five ‘Confucian’ Classics*, New Haven.
- Nylan (2007): Michael Nylan, “‘Empire’ in the Classical Era in China (304 BC–AD 316)”, in: *Oriens Extremus* 46, 48–83.
- Nylan (2014): Michael Nylan (ed.), *The Analects: the Simon Leys Translation, Interpretations*, New York.
- Nylan/Wilson (2010): Michael Nylan and Thomas Wilson, *Lives of Confucius: Civilization’s Greatest Sage Through the Ages*, New York.
- Olberding (2014): Amy Olberding (ed.), *Dao Companion to the Analects*, Berlin and Heidelberg.

- Padberg (1999): Lutz E. von Padberg (ed.), *De Karolo rege et Leone papa*, Paderborn.
- Park (1997): Hyun-Kyu Park 박현규, “Wigŭrojok kwihwain Sŏl Son-ŭi chakp’um segye 위그로족 귀화인 설손의 작품 세계” [The Literary World of Sŏl Son, a naturalized Chinese of Uighur Ethnicity], in: *Chinese Language and Literature* 中語中文學 20, 391–423.
- Park (2017): Ilyong Park 박일용, “Koryŏ Ch’ŏyong-ga misŏngmyŏng kujŏr-ŭi yŏksa, sinhwajŏk ŭimi 고려 처용가 미석명(宋釋明) 구절의 역사, 신화적 의미” [The Historic and Mythical Meaning of the Korean Dynasty Cheoyong-ga(處容歌)’s Unclarified Passages], in: *The Classical Literature and Education* 고전문학과 교육 35, 87–122.
- Parchami (2009): Ali Parchami, *Hegemonic Peace and Empire. The Pax Romana, Britannica, and Americana*, New York.
- Parkes (2019): Graham Parkes, “Confucian and Daoist, Stoic and Epicurean. Some parallels in Ways of Living”, in: Balbo/Ahn (2019), 43–58.
- Péguy (1910): Charles Péguy, “Victor-Marie, Comte Hugo”, in: *Les Cahiers de la Quinzaine* 1, 4–265.
- Perry (1965): Ben E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, Cambridge, MA.
- Pétré (1934): Hélène Pétré, “Misericordia: histoire du mot et de l’idée du paganisme au christianisme”, in: *Revue des Études Latines* 12, 376–389.
- Pines (2002): Yuri Pines, *Foundations of Confucian Thought: Intellectual Life in the Chunqiu Period, 722–453 BCE*, Honolulu.
- Plée (1874): Léon Plée, *Abd-el-Kader, nos soldats, nos généraux et la guerre d’Afrique*, Paris.
- Pociña Perez (2000): Andrés Pociña Perez, “Le tragedie di Seneca nel teatro dei Gesuiti. Due esempi dalla Spagna alla Polonia”, in: A.P. Martina (ed.), *Atti del Convegno Internazionale “Seneca e i cristiani”*, Milan, 393–412.
- Porch (2005): Douglas Porch, *The Conquest of the Sahara: A History*, New York.
- Pouvourville (1935): Albert de Pouvourville, “Le choc des races”, in: *L’Europe nouvelle*, 24.08.1935, 807–811.
- Pross (2011): Wolfgang Pross, “Aufklärung, Herrschaft und Repräsentation in Metastasio und Mozarts *La clemenza di Tito*”, in: L. Kreimendahl (ed.), *Mozart und die europäische Spätaufklärung*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 267–326.
- Psichari (1916): Ernest Psichari, *Le Voyage du centurion*, Paris.
- Qiubai (2006): Deng Qiubai, “On the Doctrine of the Mean”, in: *Journal of Capital Normal University (Social Sciences Edition)* 43. <https://d.wanfangdata.com.cn/periodical/sdsfdxxb-shkx200006007> (seen 15.5.2021).
- Quan (2018): Linqiang Quan 全林强, “‘Haihun hou’ ‘Lunyu Zhidao pian’ bianyi 海昏侯《論語·知道篇》辨義”, in: *Langfang Shifanxueyuan xuebao* 廊坊師範學院學報 (Shehuikexue ban 社會科學版), 34.4, 91–96.
- Questa (1998): Cesare Questa, “I Romani sulla scena operistica”, in: C. Questa, *L’aquila a due teste*, Urbino, 191–203.
- Rädle (2002): Fidel Rädle, “Tugenden, Verdienste, Ordnungen. Zum Herrscherlob in der karolingischen Dichtung”, in: Godman et al. (2002), 9–18.
- Ratkowitsch (1997): Christine Ratkowitsch, *Karolus Magnus – alter Aeneas, alter Martinus, alter Iustinus. Zu Intention und Datierung des “Aachener Karlsepos”*, Wien.
- Riess/Fagan (2016): Werner Riess and Garrett G. Fagan (eds.), *The Topography of Violence in the Greco-Roman World*, Ann Arbor.

- Riotto (2007): Maurizio Riotto, “Un caso di *philoxenia* nella Corea ‘medievale’: l’uighur Söl Son alla corte di re Kongmin”, in: D. Costantino (ed.), *Contaminazioni. Studi sull’intercultura*, Milan, 183–199.
- Riotto (2010): Maurizio Riotto (ed.), *Hyech’o: Pellegrinaggio alle cinque regioni dell’India*, Milan.
- Riotto (2015): Maurizio Riotto, “*And Thou Shalt be a Dispersion in All Kingdoms of the Earth: The Korean Diaspora in South-Korean Scholarship*”, in: *Annali dell’Università degli studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”* (Sezione Orientale) 75, 143–172.
- Riotto (2016): Maurizio Riotto, “A Possible Literary Prototype of the Tale of Paridegi”, in: *Horizons, Seoul Journal of Humanities* 7.1, 3–27.
- Riotto (2018): Maurizio Riotto, *Storia della Corea dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Milan. First published in 2005.
- Rivière (2004): Yannick Rivière, *Le cachot et les fers: détention et coercition à Rome*, Paris.
- Roetz (1993): Heiner Roetz, *Confucian Ethics of the Axial Age. A Reconstruction under the Aspect of Breakthrough toward Postconventional Thinking*, Albany.
- Roskam/Schorn (2018): Geert Roskam and Stefan Schorn (eds.), *Concepts of Ideal Rulership from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Turnhout.
- Rousset (1927): (Lieutenant colonel) Léonce Rousset, “Paroles d’action”, in: *Le Gaulois*, 28.07.1927, 1.
- Rtveladze (2011): Edvard V. Rtveladze, “Parthians in the Oxus Valley. Struggle for the Great Indian Road”, in: *Anabasis: Studia Classica et Orientalia* 2, 149–178.
- Ruggieri (1993): Eugenio Lo Sardo (ed. and transl.), *Michele Ruggieri: Atlante della Cina*, Roma.
- Rule (1986), Paul A. Rule, *K’ung-Tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucius*, Sydney-Boston-London.
- Sahlins (1963): Marshall D. Sahlins, “Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-man, Chief. Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia”, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5, 285–303.
- Sanft (2018): Charles Sanft, “Questions about the Qi Lunyu”, *T’oung Pao* 104.1.2, 189–194.
- Santangelo (1991): Paolo Santangelo, *Il “peccato” in Cina. Bene e male nel neoconfucianesimo dalla metà del XIV alla metà del XIX secolo*, Bari.
- Sarraut (1931): Albert Sarraut, *Grandeur et servitude coloniales*, Paris.
- Scarpari (2007): Maurizio Scarpari, “Zi Yue, ‘the Master Said ...’, Or Didn’t He?”, in: A. Rigopoulos (ed.), *Guru, the Spiritual Master in Eastern and Western Traditions: Authority and Charisma*, Venice, 437–469.
- Scarpari (2010): Maurizio Scarpari, *Il confucianesimo. I fondamenti e i testi*, Torino.
- Scarpari (2020): Maurizio Scarpari “Kongzi, Confucio e il confucianesimo tra mito e storia”, in: C. Cremonesi, F. Ferrari and M. Zago (eds.), *In viaggio verso le stelle. Storie di miti, culti ed eroi. Scritti in onore di Paolo Scarpi per il suo settantesimo compleanno*, Roma, 243–266.
- Schaberg (2001a): David Schaberg, *A Patterned Past: Form and Thought in Early Chinese Historiography*, Cambridge, MA.
- Schaberg (2001b): David Schaberg, review article: “‘Sell it! Sell it!’ Recent Translations of Lunyu,” in: *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 23, 115–139.
- Schaller (1995a): Dieter Schaller, *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Frühmittelalters*, Stuttgart.

- Schaller (1995b): Dieter Schaller, “Ein Oster-Canticum des Paulinus von Aquileia für Karl den Großen. Erstedition und Kommentar”, in: Schaller (1995a), 361–398.
- Schaller (1995c): “Der Dichter des *Carmen de conversione Saxonum*”, in: Schaller (1995a), 313–331.
- Scheidel (2009): Walter Scheidel (ed.), *Rome and China. Comparative Perspectives on Ancient World Empires*, Oxford.
- Schlinder (2009): Claudia Schlinder, *Per carmina laudes. Untersuchungen zur spätantiken Verspanegyrik von Claudian bis Coripp*, Berlin-New York.
- Schmitt (2002): Rüdiger Schmitt, *Die iranischen Namen und Iranier-Namen in den Schriften Xenophons*, Wien.
- Schneemelcher (1989): Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*. Revised Edition of the Collection initiated by Edgar Hennecke; English translation by R. McL. Wilson, vol. 2: *Writings Relating to the Apostles Apocalypses and Related Subjects*, Cambridge-Louisville, KY.
- Schoff (1912): Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*, London-Bombay-Calcutta.
- Schramm (1930): Percy E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 2 vols., Leipzig.
- Schuessler (2007): Axel Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, Honolulu.
- Schwartz (1959): Eduard Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig.
- Schwarz (2009): Michal Schwarz, “Jméno ‘Buddha’ ve středoasijských jazycích” [The name ‘Buddha’ in Central Asian languages], in: *Linguistica Brunensia* 57, 61–72.
- Scobie (1977): Alex Scobie, “Some Folktales in Graeco-Roman and Far Eastern Sources”, in: *Philologus* 121, 1–23.
- Seidel (1987): Wilhelm Seidel, “Seneca-Corneille-Mozart. Ideen- und Gattungsgeschichtliches zu *La clemenza di Tito*”, in: Michael von Albrecht and Werner Schubert (eds.), *Musik in Antike und Neuzeit*, Frankfurt, 109–128 [Italian transl. “Seneca Corneille Mozart. Questioni di storia delle idee nella ‘Clemenza di Tito’”, in: S. Durante (ed.), *Mozart*, Bologna, 1991, 345–366].
- Sellers (1998): Mortimer N. S. Sellers, *The sacred fire of liberty. Republicanism, liberalism and the law*, New York.
- Sellers (2003): Mortimer N. S. Sellers, *Republican Legal Theory: The History, Constitution, and Purposes of Law in a Free State*, Basingstoke.
- Seth (2011): Michael J. Seth, *A History of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present*, New York.
- Shaughnessy (2000): Edward L. Shaughnessy, *China: Empire and Civilization*, Oxford-New York.
- Shin (2012): Doh Chull Shin, *Confucianism and Democratization in East Asia*, Cambridge.
- Shisanjing: Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏, comp. by Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), Shanghai 1997, 2 vols.
- Shuiyuan* 說苑: *Shuiyuan jiaozheng* 說苑校證, comp. by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE), Xiang Zonglu 向宗魯 (1895–1941, ed.), Beijing, 1987.
- Shon (2018): Seokchoon Shon 손석춘, “Ch’ōyong sōrhwa-ŭi sahoe sōsa-wa sot’ong hyogwa ch’ongshŏlhwŏi sahoesŏsŏwŏ sŏtong hyŏgwŏ” [Social Epic of Cheoyongga(處容歌) and Communication effect], in: *Journal of Literary Therapy* 문학치료연구 46, 39–66.
- Sibu: Sibu beiyao* 四部備要, Shanghai, 1920–1933 [reprint: Beijing, 1989. 100 vols.].
- Sima (1959/2013): Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 10 vols. 史記 (*The Records of the Grand Historian*), Beijing.

- Sima (1982): Sima Qian 司馬遷, “The Biography of Li Si” [李斯列傳], in Sima (1959/2013) vol. 8, chap. 87, 2539–2563. Beijing.
- Sima (2007): Sima Qian 司馬遷, *The First Emperor: Selections from the Historical Records*, transl. by R. Dawson, Oxford.
- Simson (2000): Wojciech Simson, “Zur Methodologie der Trennung von Textschichten in der altchinesischen Literatur”, in: *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 54.2, 393–413.
- Sin (2003): Hyöngsik Sin 신형식, “Sandong pando-üi Sillabang 山東半島의 新羅坊” (The ‘Silla-Towns’ in the Shandong Peninsula), in *Ihwa sahak yŏn’gu* 梨花史學研究 30, 693–703.
- Slingerland (2000): Edward Slingerland, “Why Philosophy is not ‘Extra’ in Understanding the *Analects*: A Review of Brooks and Brooks, *The Original Analects*”, in: *Philosophy East and West* 50.1, 137–141, 146–147.
- Spence (1988): J. Spence, “Matteo Ricci and the Ascent to Peking”, in: Ch. E. Ronan and B. C. Oh, *East Meets West. The Jesuits in China, 1582–1773*, Chicago, 3–18.
- Spina (2008): Luigi Spina, “Memento te esse leonem”, in: *I Quaderni del Ramo d’Oro on-line* 1, 217–237.
- Stearns (2014): Peter N. Stearns, *Peace in World History*, New York.
- Stella (1988): Francesco Stella “Fra retorica e innografia: sul genere letterario delle *Laudes Dei di Draconzio*”, in: *Philologus* 132, 258–274.
- Stella (1993): Francesco Stella, *Poesia carolingia latina a tema biblico*, Spoleto.
- Stella (2002): “Autore e attribuzioni del *Karolus Magnus et leo papa*”, in: Godman et al. (2002), 19–33.
- Stella (2005): Francesco Stella, “La comunicazione nella poesia carolingia”, in: CISAM (2005), 615–652.
- Stella (2009): Francesco Stella (ed.), *Gesta Berengarii. Scrontro per il regno nell’Italia del X secolo*, Pisa.
- Stella (2011): Francesco Stella, “La dinamica del consenso nelle lodi imperiali dei poeti carolingi e postcarolingi”, in: G. Urso (ed.), *Dicere Laudes. Elogio, comunicazione, creazione del consenso. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Cividal del Friuli, 23–25 settembre 2010)*, Pisa, 363–385.
- Stella (2020): Francesco Stella, *The Carolingian Revolution*, Turnhout.
- Stevens (2014): Kathryn Stevens, “The Antiochus Cylinder, Babylonian scholarship and Seleucid imperial ideology”, in: *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 134, 66–88.
- Stevenson (2015): Tom Stevenson, *Julius Caesar and the Transformation of the Roman Republic*, London-New York.
- Stoler (2013): Anna L. Stoler, *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*, Durham, NC.
- Suishu* 隋書: Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643) et al. (eds.), Beijing, 2019, 6 vols.
- Sullivan (1999): Michael Sullivan, *The Arts of China*, 4th ed., Berkeley-London.
- Swope (2008): Kenneth M. Swope, “War and Remembrance: Yang Hao and the Siege of Ulsan of 1598”, in: *Journal of Asian History* 42, 165–195.
- Syme (1939): Robert Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford.
- Szcześniak (1954): Boleslaw Szcześniak, “Matteo Ricci’s maps of China”, in: *Imago Mundi* 11, 127–136.
- Taagepera (1979): Rein Taagepera, “Size and Duration of Empires. Growth-Decline Curves, 600 B.C. to 600 A.D”, in: *Social Science History* 3, 115–138.

- Tabacco (1985): Raffaella Tabacco, “Il tiranno nelle declamazioni di scuola in lingua latina”, in: *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 5.9, 1–141.
- Taithe (2013): Bertrand Taithe, “Empire, histoire et mémoire. L’urgence historique en situation coloniale”, in: Hubert Bonin, Bernard Droz and Josette Rivallain (eds.), *Cent ans d’Histoire des Outre-Mers*, Paris, 509–520.
- Takada (2019): Yasunari Takada, “Cicero and Confucius: Similitude in Disguise”, in: Balbo/Ahn (2019), 189–199.
- Theißen (1989): Gerd Theißen, “Gewaltverzicht und Feindesliebe (Mt 5,38–48/Lk 6,27–38) und deren sozialgeschichtlicher Hintergrund,” in: G. Theißen, *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums*, Tübingen, 160–197.
- Theobald (2011): Ulrich Theobald, “Emperor Han Zhaodi 漢昭帝 Liu Fuling 劉弗陵”, in: *An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art*. <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Han/personshanzhaodi.html>.
- Thiele (1910): Georg Thiele, *Der lateinische Aesop und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phädrus*, Heidelberg.
- Thierry (1862): Amédée Thierry, *Tableau de l’Empire romain depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu’à la fin du gouvernement impérial en Occident*, Paris.
- Thorley (1979): John Thorley, “The Roman Empire and the Kushans”, in: *Greece & Rome*, 26.2, 181–190.
- Tommasi (2020): Chiara O. Tommasi, “Epictetus in the forbidden City. Accommodation and resilience in Matteo Ricci’s ‘Twenty-five paragraphs’”, in: *Itineraria* 19, 73–104.
- Tsuda (1946): Sōkichi Tsuda 津田左右吉, *Rongo to Kōshi no shisō 論語と孔子の思想*, Tokyo.
- Turchin et al. (2006): Peter Turchin, Jonathan M. Adams and Thomas D. Hall, “East-West Orientation of Historical Empires and Modern States”, in: *Journal of World-Systems Research* 12.2, 219–229.
- Turnbull (2008): Stephen Turnbull, *The Samurai Invasion of Korea, 1592–98*, London.
- Twitchett/Loewe (1986): Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*. vol. 1: *The Ch’in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.–A.D. 220*, Cambridge.
- Urban (1850): Édouard d’Urban, *De la colonisation*, Paris.
- Urso (2009): Gianpaolo Urso (ed.), *Terror et pavor. Violenza, intimidazione, clandestinità nel mondo antico. Atti del convegno internazionale (Civiale del Friuli, 22–24 settembre 2005)*, Pisa.
- Uther (2004): Hans-Jörg Uther, *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of A. Aarne and S. Thompson*, part I: *Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Religious Tales and Realistic Tales, with an Introduction*, Helsinki.
- Uther (2015): Hans-Jörg Uther, *Deutscher Märchenkatalog. Ein Typenverzeichnis*, Münster-New York.
- Van Norden (2002): Bryan W. Van Norden (ed.), *Confucius and the Analects: New Essays*, New York.
- Voltaire (1756 [1828]): François-Marie d’Arouet (Voltaire), “Essai sur les mœurs et l’esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l’histoire”, in : *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 23.
- Wade (2009): Geoff Wade, “The Polity of Yelang (夜郎) and the Origins of the Name ‘China’”, in: *Sino-Platonic Paper*, 188, 1–26.
- Wang (1968): Wengao Wang (ed.), *Tangdai congshu* [A Tang Dynasty Collection], Taibei.
- Wang (2011): Yinglin Wang 王應麟, *Hanzhi kao* 漢制考 – *Han Yiwenzhi kaozheng* 漢藝文志考證, Beijing.

- Wang (2017): Gang Wang 王剛, “*Xin jian de ruogan Haihun ‘Lunyu’ jian shi shi* 新見的若干海昏「論語」簡試釋”, in: Kongmiao he Guozijian Bowuguan bianzhu 孔廟和國子監博物館編著 (ed.), *Kongmiao Guozijian luncong* 孔廟國子監論叢, Beijing.
- Wang et al. (2016): Yile Wang 王意樂, Changqing Xu 徐長青 and Jun Yang 楊軍, “*Haihunhou Lihemu chutu Kongzi yijing*” 海昏侯劉賀墓出土孔子衣鏡, in: *Nanfang Wenwu* 南方文物 3, 61–70.
- Wang/Zhang (2017a): Chuning Wang 王楚寧 and Yuzheng Zhang 張予正, “*Jiangshui Jinguan Han jian ‘Qi Lunyu’ de zhengli* 肩水金關漢簡《齊論語》的整理” <http://www.kaogu.cn/cn/kaoguyuandi/kaogusuibi/2017/0816/59268.html> (seen 10. 03. 2021).
- Wang/Zhang (2017b): Chuning Wang 王楚寧 and Yuzheng Zhang 張予正, “*Haihun hou mu ‘Qi Lun Wen wang’ zhangju lice* 海昏侯墓《齊論·問王》章句蠡測” http://www.kaogu.cn/cn/xueshuyanjiu/yanjiuxinlun/xinfangfa_xinsilu/2017/0906/59481.html (seen 10. 03. 2021).
- Warmington (1974): Eric H. Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, London.
- Weber (1951): Max Weber, *The Religion of China. Confucianism and Taoism*, New York.
- Weber/Zimmermann (2003): Gregor Weber and Martin Zimmermann (eds.), *Propaganda – Selbstdarstellung – Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreich des 1. Jhs. n. Chr.*, Stuttgart.
- Wei (1974): Wei Shou (魏收), *Weishu* 魏书 (*The History of Wei*), Beijing.
- Weidner (1959): Ernst F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I und seiner Nachfolger*, Graz.
- Weingarten (2009): Oliver Weingarten, “Confucius and Pregnant Women. An Investigation into the Intertextuality of the *Lunyu*”, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129, 1–22.
- Weingarten (2010): Oliver Weingarten, *Textual Representations of a Sage: Studies of pre-Qin and Western Han sources on Confucius (551–479 BC)*, PhD thesis, Cambridge University.
- Weingarten (2011): Oliver Weingarten, review article: “Recent Monographs on Confucius and Early Confucianism”, in: *T’oung Pao* 97, 160–201.
- Weingarten (2017): Oliver Weingarten, “The Unorthodox Master: The Serious and the Playful in Depictions of Confucius”, in: Goldin (2017), 52–74.
- Wheaton (1836): Henry Wheaton, *Elements of the International Law*, London.
- Wheeler (1954): Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London.
- Whitby (1998): Mary Whitby (ed.), *The Propaganda of Power. The Role of Panegiric in Late Antiquity*, Leiden.
- Witschel (2005): Christian Witschel, “The *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* and the Roman Empire”, in: Mutschler/Mittag (2005), 241–266.
- Wittek (1938): Paul Wittek, “Le Sultan de Rûm”, in: *Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 6, 361–390.
- Wolff (1749): Christian Wolff, *Jus gentium methodo scientifica pertractatum*, Frankfurt Hildesheim (rep. Ausdruck).
- Wunderlich et al. (2001): Werner Wunderlich, Laura Shropshire, John Burt Foster Jr. and Martin Winkler, “Tradition and Reception of Roman Imperial Ethics in the Opera *La Clemenza Di Tito*”, in: *The Comparatist* 25, 5–21.
- Xiao/Zhao (2014): Congli Xiao 蕭從禮 and Xianglan Zhao 趙香蘭, “Jinguan Hanjian ‘Kongzi Zhi Dao zhi yi’ wei ‘Qi Lun Zhi dao’ yiwen lice 金關漢簡“孔子知道之易”爲《齊論·知道》佚文蠡測”, in: Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Jianbo Yanjiu Zhongxin 中國社會科學院簡帛研究中心 (ed.), *Jianbo yanjiu* 簡帛研究, Guilin, 182–187.

- Xinlun* 新論: attr. to Huan Tan 桓譚 (ca. 43 BCE–28 CE), Shanghai, 1967.
- Xunzi* 荀子: Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1918, ed.), *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解, Beijing, 1988, 2 vols.
- Yang (2013): Juping Yang, “Hellenistic World and the Silk Road”, in: *Anabasis: Studia Classica et Orientalia* 4, 73–91.
- Yang et al. (2016): Jun Yang 楊軍, Chuning Wang 王楚寧 and Changqing Xu 徐長青, “*Xihan Haihun hou Liu He mu chutu* ‘Lunyu Zhi dao’ pian chutan 西漢海昏侯劉賀墓出土《論語·知道》簡初探”, *Wenwu* 文物 12, 72–75.
- Yao (2000): Xin-Zhong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, Cambridge.
- Yi (1984): Chōngmyōn Yi 李廷冕, “Ilbon Kwandong chibang kaech’ōk-kwa kodae hangye ijumin-ūi konghōn 日本關東地方 開拓과 古代韓系移住民의 貢獻” [The Impact of Korean Migrants on the Kantō Region in Ancient Japan], in: *Chirihak yōn’gu* 地理學 研究 9.1, 65–84.
- Yi T. (2008): Yi Tonghwi 李東輝, “P’amirū kowōn-ūi chōnjang Ko Sōnji 파미르 고원의 戰將 高仙芝” (Ko Sōnji, a General on the Pamir Plateau), in *Yōksa-wa segye* 역사와 세계 34, 137–163.
- Yule (1915): Henry Yule, translated and edited, *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, Vol. I, New Edition, revised by Henri Cordier, London.
- Zeller (2007): Otmar Zeller, *Die Ethik des Aristoteles und die Ethik des Konfuzius – zwei gegensätzliche Positionen? Über die Unterschiede und Parallelen der großen Ethiken von Europa und Asien*, Göttingen.
- Zhang (2006): Xiping Zhang, *Following the Steps of Matteo Ricci to China*, Beijing.
- Zhang (2017): Xiping Zhang, “The Historical Destiny of the first Latin Manuscripts of the ‘Four Books’ in Europe”, In: *The Reformation and The Ecumenical Tradition*, July 2017, 203–223.
- Zhang (2018): Hanmo Zhang, *Authorship and Text-making in Early China*, Boston/Berlin.
- Zhao (1936): Zhenxin Zhao 趙貞信, “‘Lunyu’ yi ming zhi laili yu qi jieshi 「論語」一名之來歷與其解釋”, in: *Shixue jikan* 史學集刊2, 1–40.
- Zhao (1961): Zhenxin Zhao 趙貞信, “Lunyu’ jiujiing shi shui bianzuande 《論語》究竟是誰編纂的”, in: *Beijing Shifan Daxue xuebao* (Shehuikexue ban) 北京師範大學學報 (社會科學版) 4, 11–24.
- Zhao (2015a): Dingxin Zhao, *The Confucian-Legalist State. A New Theory of Chinese History*, Oxford.
- Zhao (2015b): Dingxin Zhao, “The Han Bureaucracy: Its Origin, Nature, and Development”, in: Walter Scheidel (ed.), *State Power in Ancient China and Rome*, Oxford, 56–89.
- Zhao (2017): Jiancheng Zhao 趙建成, “‘Yi Lunyu’ ji ‘Qi Lunyu Wen yu’ ji zheng ji xiangguan xue shu shi kaoshu 《逸論語》暨《齊論語·問玉》輯証及相關學術史考述”, in: *Kongzi yanjiu* 孔子研究 3, 13–21.
- Zhu (1922): Zhu Xi 朱熹, *The Complete Works*, London.
- Zhu (1986): Weizheng Zhu 朱維錚, “Lunyu’ jieji cuoshuo 《論語》結集勝說”, in: *Kongzi yanjiu* 孔子研究 1, 40–52.
- Zhu (1987): Weizheng Zhu 朱維錚, “Lishi de Kongzi he Kongzi de lishi 歷史的孔子和孔子的歷史”, in: Zhonghua Kongzi yanjiusuo 中華孔子研究所 (ed.), *Kongzi yanjiu lunwenji* 孔子研究論文集, Beijing, 156–172.
- Zhu (1988): Yizun Zhu 朱彝尊, *Jingyi kao* 經義考, Beijing.

Zhu (2005): Weizheng Zhu 朱維錚, “Interlude: Kingship and Empire”, in: Mutschler/Mittag (2005), 29–37.

Zielinski (1912): Tadeusz Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, 3rd ed., Wiesbaden.