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UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF DANTE ALIGHIERI AND IMMANUEL KANT (PART II)

To the memory of Professor S. Marcucci

Abstract: Ideals of universal power able to manage and solve social and ethical (religious) questions as many ways to reach the highest wisdom, and consequently, fullest well-being of humankind to reach a perpetual peace are present throughout human history so that we can find these ideals in Plato’s Republic, in Aristotle’s Politeia and other works concerning the establishment of more or less utopic “states” and commonwealth since our days. In the present essay we shall scrutinize the universalistic vision of Italian thinker Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) and the cosmopolitan idea of German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). We decided to analyze the political philosophy of those thinkers on the following grounds: on one hand, D. Alighieri took as the basis of his rumination Roman Empire that having as solid basis of its universalistic ideology Right of every Roman citizen (lying on the observance of religious and civil obligations), and the so-called *pax romana*², a theoretical

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² The *Pax Romana* (Latin for "Roman Peace") is a roughly 200-year-long time span lasting from accession of Caesar Augustus, founder of the Empire (27 BC)

ground on which D. Alighieri would create a *communitas* a secular led by Reason commonwealth, which might have replaced the so-called *humanitas* (in Augustinian understanding of such idea); and, on the other hand, I. Kant tried to explain how human self-improvement under the right use of Reason (that we understand like ethical ruling principle of humankind) can be achieved to lead human beings from the state of nature (a semi-brutal one) to the state of reason, which would have as final end a perpetual peace in a universal republic. On those bases we shall try to detect common theoretical and ideal features between D. Alighieri and I. Kant's vision, so to prove that universalistic power is not a despotic power, but a unifying power under ethical and spiritual principles of the whole humankind.

Keywords: I. Kant, D. Alighieri, universalism, *communitas*, *humanitas*, freedom, politics, *De Monarchia*, Perpetual peace, H. Arendt, É. De la Boétie

SECTION III: IMMANUEL KANT AND DANTE ALIGHIERI'S IDEA OF RIGHT. FREE GOVERNMENT AND FREE CHURCH?

We shall pay close attention to this latter concept, which we have to place into the framework of political, contractual, and juridical vision Immanuel Kant hold. It is a well-known fact that I. Kant divided moral and legal spheres, assigning to the first mutual restrictions of external freedom, while to the latter he assigned the function of free adoptions of end, which enabled I. Kant to “draw a line between legal and moral cosmopolitanism”, as intelligently noticed G. Cavallar³. We can agree with position of this scholar, if considering that in “Toward a perpetual peace”, I. Kant stated, “individual and states are to be regarded as citizens of a universal state of humankind”⁴. This detail is noticeable to us in force of that fact that development and progress of reason amidst human being shall lead to possible creation of a universal republic, and, on the other hand, shall approximate a complete juridical state, called by I. Kant *Rechtszustand*. Consequently, we can understand

to the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 AD) identified as a period and golden age of increased as well as sustained Roman imperialism, order, prosperous stability, hegemonial power and expansion, despite several revolts and internal political riots.

³ *Cosmopolitanism in Kant's philosophy*, P. 99.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

that in the present context the *sensus communis* is not an individual freedom, which the *general opinion* shall destroy, but the sum of rational aspirations of community members using their individual freedom, which is not but strengthened by restrictions people give themselves. Consequently, we can understand that realization of such plane is what I. Kant called *Selbstbestimmung*, autonomy, moral freedom, which, as well, is a part of ultimate goal of creation we have already referred to. I. Kant, as representative of Enlightenment, picked up some element of Stoic metaphysics concerning the end of the world, and widened the scope about human destiny, moving “from focus on individuals to the species as a whole and its history and future”⁵. This utterance of G. Cavallar is relevant to us as far as it points out that the goal is full development of natural predisposition of human, including moral, a process that is prepared by culture of skill in civil society. There we can see the core of Kantian cosmopolitanism as far as the doctrine of virtue (concerning our inner moral disposition) and doctrine of right (governing external relations of humans) are apparatuses Reason give them to spread all around the globe its power to make humankind step out from state of nature (without any difference between “European and Not-European”). As for us, Kantian position re-echoes not only Dante Alighieri’s theory that practical result of own action must be right application of virtue (moral maxims), but also the circumstance that the right is true as results of join work of Active intellect and receptive intellect of humans as driving element of history and progress. Such a development under the rule of Reason must have as mandatory consequence perpetual peace amidst people, which is possible to reach without Church, for I. Kant as well. We shall think that Kantian position about Church on one hand, is similar to Hobbesian, presupposing a subjugation of the latter to Government (in order to avoid misunderstands, we do not use the word “State”), and, on the other hand, in Kantian vision Church is a part of the great end of the creation as we can relieve in “Religion within the Boundaries of bare Reason” as *historical institution*, which ought to turn into a rational community, and,

⁵ Ibidem, P. 100.

potentially, to vanish. At the same time, though, we consider that I. Kant looked at Church as an institution, which is still in an ethical state of nature that, as we understand, is opposite to a juridical state of nature. This fact is extremely relevant, because, as we understand, it deprives Church of any influence over human beings due to absence of public laws (laws dictated by reason) and the use of Sacred scripture, which special learned people must *interpret*. It seems to us, that those circumstances do not allow to apply Church's prescriptions universally, as maxims and reason-founded Law, especially since they lay on coercion and punishment, which we can find in the realm of nature, and not in the realm of freedom. Consequently, an aftermath of such state of affairs may be hypocritical attitude towards religion having mercenary faith (*fides servilis*) and pathological triggers. We think that we can presuppose another important similarity of Kantian political philosophy with D. Alighieri's one, which concerns their dislike to Church documents, whose authenticity could not be disproved, and, in force of their status of authority, may be interpreted according to political convenience, like Decretals of Papacy, for instance, needing special trained people to interpret them, which, at turn, might have a consequence a misinterpretation of the spirit of the Law for personal or group interests. To our mind, it is important to pay attention to this circumstance, because it seems to us that both philosophers refused the change to confer spiritual and political power to Church, which might turn in an absolute power no one could anyway stop⁶. Anyway, we shall highlight that it is possible to partially apply to Kantian philosophy dialectic "Cross-Eagle" we used for D. Alighieri's political philosophy in force of that fact that to I. Kant as representative of Enlightenment sound more reasonable to look at creation of a church as ethical community, which can be able to provide a social structure in which people "instruct, encourage, and support each other in virtue, instead of providing each other with temptations to vice". This way, church and state represent two parallels structures having common practical principles whose goal is enforcing laws of justice and inculcating

⁶ See, for instance what Marco Lombardo told Dante in Purgatory 28-129.

voluntary compliance with laws of virtue, a position that we consider acceptable just as *result* of human self-improvement and development, if we consider that *individual* consciousness (as process of grasping awareness of perception of an inward psychological or spiritual fact intuitively perceived knowledge of something in one's inner self) is needed to enable transformation of the church into a new institution, a fact that I. Kant clearly described in "Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason"⁷. As I. Kant paid close attention to upbringing, splitting it into training and education, by which German philosopher meant physical education aimed at forming skills and practice, while the latter represented development of moral and spiritual world, whose main goal is teaching a personality as rationally and freely acting member of society⁸. In his works about education, I. Kant suggested that education ought to act throughout coercion, but we do not think that such position does presuppose the permissibility to use education as a way to repress crimes of opinion, and, consequently, allow the existence of public evil in the disguise of "common sense". In I. Kant's opinion the main problem was how to reconcile rightful social limitations and coercion with faculty of using their liberty people have⁹. In order to solve this question, German philosopher propose three educational rules "allowing to give as much as possible independence to children" having as goal to give maximum of freedom to children since earliest age, provided that freedom is not harmful for them and does not interfere with other's freedom, to compel children to reach their goal only if they help others to reach theirs, and, finally, to make children understand that they are forced to obey only "for giving them possibility to use their own freedom and they are educated this way in order to be free and further, i.e. they would not dependent on someone else's tutorship"¹⁰. This aspect

⁷ *Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason* (6:104). P. 113: "The concept of the Divinity actually originates solely from the consciousness of these laws and from the reason's need to assume a power capable of procuring for them the full effect possible in this world in conformity with the moral final end"

⁸ "Under an Unstarry Sky: Kantian Ethics and Radical Evil", P. 258.

⁹ *О воспитании*, P. 493.

¹⁰ *О воспитании*, P. 458.

of Kantian philosophy is important and anthropologically relevant because education is able to restrain excesses, to lead human beings to a balanced status of rationality and emotionality, as I. Kant underscored in “Religion and Rational Theology”¹¹, where we can consider that education goes “from the part to whole” and, this way may help human to realize one element of the great end, i.e., morality, to which humans themselves can contribute¹². Consequently, we can consider that education is a way to make human beings nobler and better, a fact that, as for us, coincides with D. Alighieri’s teaching, if compare it to idea of nobleness we have already written of, and, consequently, an important element to perpetual peace. Education in Kantian interpretation can correspond to influence of Active intellect as far as education is an “evolving” process, which changes and develops as far as society does, a fact having as consequence enhancement of human reason, based on ethical and human experience of the past. Therefore, it is possible to create a human society that shall meet needs of everyone based on principles, which can call restraining factors granting the passage from culture to moralization. This circumstance is important to us and allows us to presuppose that it is not a stretch to talk here of culture of skill (*Geschicklichkeit*) and culture of discipline (*Zucht*) which eliminates human beings from sensuous desires and are the key to pass to the universal (cosmopolitan) state, which shall make human being closer to Reason and to inner religion, representing Kantian version of moral religion, making emphasis on morality and duties, as we have already underscored. We must also pay close attention to element going from parts to the whole, a part concerning that all ratiō beings, irrespective of their race are end in themselves and lawgiving members of universal kingdom of ends¹³, where human create a free commonwealth having as basic elements equality, self-legislations, mutual respect, and there it is possible to achieve the moral whole of ends. According to I. Kant, the secularized version of this ethical commonwealth can realize partially

¹¹ *Lectures on Kant’s Political Philosophy*, P. 102.

¹² *Ibidem*, P. 108.

¹³ *Lectures on Kant’s Political Philosophy*, P. 108.

the highest good, “namely by trying to make each other happy and by increasing one’s one moral perfection, without divine assistance and or ultimate fulfillment”¹⁴. Therefore, we can presuppose that is why a secularized world is needed, to create *civilitas hominum* whose goal is to reach terrestrial paradise. On this basis, we can presuppose that I. Kant solved two fundamentally important questions: on one hand, he subjugated nature to humankind as part of the final end of the latter, including both of them in philosophy of history, a circumstance that does not allow us to agree with G. Cavallar affirming that “the culture of skill is the more important one for the philosophy of history, since the ‘cunning of nature’ uses this form to promote its ultimate end”¹⁵, further explaining that “Thus nature prepares the ground for genuine morality, which can only be the work of humans themselves”¹⁶, so that, for Austrian scholar, “one method is the manipulation of human unsocial sociability by nature to trigger the establishment of republican constitution, which results in a facilitation of growth of moral disposition ‘since the good moral education of a people is to be expected from a good state constitution’ only”¹⁷. We cannot agree with such restrictive vision of Kantian philosophy, even if we accept basic element that philosophy of history belongs to teleological doctrine of nature, “thus focuses on culture as the ultimate end of nature, on virtue as a facility in actions conforming to duty (according to their legality)” *not* on inner morality, the final end of creation of the creation or on the highest good”¹⁸. Starting from this standpoint we can see that there it is possible to note a dichotomy between “culture” (*Kultur*) and “civilization” (*Zivilization*), an opposition emerging thanks I. Kant, considering that the first was “understood as purely technical or political, as all sorts of social commonality and decency”¹⁹, while by the latter was meant what

¹⁴ Ibidem, P. 103.

¹⁵ Ibidem, P. 107.

¹⁶ Ibidem, P. 107.

¹⁷ Ibidem, P. 107.

¹⁸ Ibidem, P. 107.

¹⁹ “Was wird aus der Kultur? Kulturphilosophie nach Kant”, P. 138.

“that encompasses a deeper morality”²⁰, an ideal more corresponding to the goal of “ethical commonwealth” that German philosopher wrote of. To our mind, conclusion of G. Cavallar that “attempts of secularists to relocate the concept of the highest good and morality in the realm of history are not completely convincing” for two main causes. Firstly, we think that inferences the scholar made starting from Kantian quotations that “the legal and ethical communities prepare the ground for something beyond history, a visible Kingdom of God on earth in the future which is not itself history”²¹, which, on one hand, contradicts what I. Kant wrote in some propositions of “Idea for a Universal history with a Cosmopolitan Purpose”, particularly Eighth, from which we can quite clearly deduce that human beings ought to move from Culture to Civilization²². In our opinion, Kantian thesis is a proof that nature is part of the plan of a Wisest Being, called by I. Kant “Providence”²³, because humankind ought to live inside nature to reach its own goals²⁴, so that we can consider that this human becoming happening throughout nature is a form of acculturation and education of natural talents leading humans “from barbarism to culture, which in fact consists in the social worthiness of man”²⁵, and, in turn shall result into a moral whole. i.e.

²⁰ Culture is for Kant the means by which man actually becomes personality, at the same time also his purpose and the process of the so-called humanization (human becoming).

²¹ *Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy*, P. 107.

²² *Ideas for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*, P. 50. “The History of the human race as a whole can be regarded as the realization of a hidden plane of nature to bring about internally – and for this purpose also externally – perfect political constitutions as the only possible state within which all natural capacities of mankind can be developed completely”.

²³ *Perpetual peace*, Appendix I On the disagreement between morals and politics with reference to perpetual peace, P. 182.

²⁴ *Ideas for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*, P. 43. “Nature gave man reason, and freedom of will based on reason, and this in itself was a clear indication of nature’s intention as regards his endowments. For it showed that man was not meant to be guided by instinct or equipped and instructed by innate knowledge; on the contrary he was meant to produce everything out of himself”.

²⁵ *Perpetual peace*, Translator’s introduction, P. 31.

“civilized” nature by human development and humankind as moral beings are parts of *one* teleological goal²⁶. Secondly, G. Cavallar is not completely coherent with his own conclusions about radical evil that Austrian scholar expunged from philosophy of history, basing his thesis on third level of human propensity to evil, which is “depravity or corruption”, considering that “radical evil is not in our biological nature, but our *Willkür* has a tendency towards the reversal of our moral maxims, subordinating the incentives of the moral law to others (not moral ones), concluding that “Promoting the highest moral good is a collective or communitarian, not an individual task”, and “radical evil can be held at bay, if not completely overcome, as freedom also includes the freedom of choose good”²⁷, which is due to society, putting the argument harmony of nature and moral is impossible on the Earth, but only in the Kingdom of God, a distinction I. Kant himself never abandoned²⁸, invoking the need of divine assistance for human, so that, in G. Cavallar’s opinion, it is possible to presuppose that “divine grace would precede free choice in so far as it would provide the favorable circumstances to restore this freedom, might complement the disposition or receptivity to good one has acquired, and might help in the realization of the highest good with God as a moral ruler of the world”²⁹. We think that Austrian scholar does not pay close attention to radical evil as human condition that it is possible to overcome only thanks individual efforts inside society (transformation of individual egoism into social one) and anthropization of nature by development of natural talents that does not presuppose the existence of such communities like visible church and the expectation of God’s grace, a fact that, as for us, takes for granted the end of history as “fullness of time”, a position that it is not methodologically correct as far as it seems to us that it is intended to put some not existent distance between I. Kant as “philosopher of French revolution” and Kantian ethical philosophy, if we consider that

²⁶ *Ideas for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*, P. 45.

²⁷ *Lectures on Kant’s Political Philosophy*, P. 109.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, P. 111.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, P. 111.

G. Cavallar concluded his essay arguing that I. Kant was ever a supporter of ethical community and Kingdom of God, having a result a rich account of cosmopolitanism, where “threads of theological and more secularized Enlightenment conceptions are woven into a delicate synthesis”³⁰, which, as for us, it is a contradiction in adjectio (an intrinsic contradiction), since in Kant’s vision moral and legal principles, which we can look at like at important restraining factors presuppose the apparition of a terrestrial paradise, where perfected and perfectible humankind shall live.

Based on these considerations, we can notice that there are many interesting element allowing to compare I. Kant’s vision to that of Italian thinker. Firstly, Kantian reason as D. Alighieri’s Emperor, guides the human race to temporal happiness in accordance with philosophy, because without philosophy it is impossible to reach such a eudaimonic state. Moreover, this reason is a nomothetic (i.e. lawgiver and law-maker) agent, which through no intermediary (*sine ullo medio* in Latin) obliges human beings to act properly from civil and moral point of view. So, the *Hominis duplex fines*, for I. Kant as well as for D. Alighieri’s is a question not concerning the Church, not concerning the salvation of human thanks to theological virtues, even if they are infused by God, but due to cardinal virtues and *studiositas*, a term used by Th. Aquinas. G. M. Reichberg rightly understands *studiositas* like “any voluntary engagement of the mind in cognitive endeavors, speculative or practical, sensory or intellectual”³¹ to which Th. Aquinas assigns the role of curbing desire knowledge, which ought not to become *curiositas*, an excess of the above-mentioned desire, as he wrote in *Summa Theologiae*, so that *studiositas* becomes a way to educate temperance. It should be underscored that Thomistic position is singular since Th. Aquinas widened the scope of temperance “to include not only appetite for tactile pleasures, but what’s more, the very appetite for truth as well”. To our mind, D. Alighieri and I. Kant overcame Aristotelian position, and partially Thomistic one, as far as the limit of knowledge is set by humans

³⁰ Ibidem, P. 111.

³¹ Studiositas, The Virtue of Attention, P. 147.

and can concern those fields as well that may be not of interest to human beings, because the autonomy of human intellect presupposes no restrictions to knowledge. Knowledge, we can understand there as education and comprehension of reality throughout participation of human intellect to universal, which enhances elevation of human from nature to being, and strive after Eternal Truths. Terrestrial beatitude (that does not mean annihilation of human will) to a certain extent is a never-ending process, if we consider that God is too high in Heavens, or Reason (as moral Lawgiver) in I. Kant's philosophy is hidden beyond noumenic walls and it is impossible to reach them in a short time. Development and progress of humankind are a hard way to go and need a continuous work over society and over individuals to make them better than they were before. Therefore, we can presuppose that Kantian philosophy as well corresponds to Appendix 1 and 2 to our essay considering the fact that man, in some degree, is a subject, whom only (morally) good philosophy and politics ought to create, to form, to educate, without any expectation of rewards in afterlife, a circumstance that we can detect in works by D. Alighieri we scrutinized in present essay. This fact gives us the chance to presuppose that humankind may become immortal and incorruptible even if just from an ethical standpoint, so that in the long run it would be as close as possible to God(ness), and, consequently, fulfill god's plan on the Earth, circumstance having as consequence the appearance of New Adam (as ethically perfectible humankind – *Communitas*) in D. Alighieri's vision and Cosmopolitan republic in Kantian philosophy, so that we can conclude that such institution would englobe the Church and create instead of it a Curia and a Ecclesia as jurisdictional bodies having right to regulate also questions concerning religion. This way, we think that we detected main Alighieri's and I. Kant's philosophical insights concerning topic of present essay, and, in view of the foregoing, which was the main goal we ought to reach in present essay. Thus, in view of the foregoing we can draw general issue.

GENERAL ISSUE

First, we shall underscore is ontological and metaphysical emancipation of human beings D. Alighieri and I. Kant operated in field of philosophy, considering that both thinkers took as ontological basis of human life Reason. Humankind participates of reason directly under the influence of what we have called “cardinal virtues” in D. Alighieri’s vision and moral law in I. Kant’s philosophy. As for German and Italian thinkers, virtues and moral law are expression of Reason by which we mean a Lawmaker, trying to establish a nomocracy, a political system under the sovereignty of rational laws and civic rights presupposing the power of One over others. It does not mean that Reason is monocratic, excluding any dissidence, or “totalitarian” if we want to call this otherwise (last remark strictly concerns I. Kant’s philosophy). As for D. Alighieri only a properly guide of humankind (Reason) can help them to attain the terrestrial paradise without the intercession and grace of the church. Consequently, as we argued, manifestation of Reason in humankind as element of self-improvement of the latter is a key element underscoring *purposiveness* of humankind, which must reach the goal of perfection both of humankind and nature. This element is dramatically important to us as far as both D. Alighieri and I. Kant looked at human beings as at moral beings on the Earth (despite Kantian concerns about “good”) related to a unconditional moral end, as far as they are the ultimate end of nature itself: the final end of moral and morality is the result of freedom of the will that must be granted by Reason (Active intellect/Emperor, Reason/ Moral law), which represents at a certain extent, the god-likeness of humans. Consequently, another important task in self-improvement of humankind is the cultivation of this latter, which would provide a mean to promote the ultimate end of nature and, in turn, the eradication of *causes of evil* such like avarice, gluttony, self-interest that do not allow to live a good life, so a life that may become more autonomous in order to reach a higher level of perfection that humans must strive after, because as for D. Alighieri “freedom and morality are grounded in Being, and are therefore necessary attributes of human nature. To be human is to actively exercise the rational and moral

faculties in pursuit of the complete fulfilment”³², a thesis that, *mutatis mutandis*, we can apply to Kantian philosophy as well³³, if we consider that both for D. Alighieri and I. Kant virtue (morality) is not something given, but a nonlinear path that needs human commitment and efforts to be reached thanks also *studiositas* a way human beings must use to pass from the state of animality to the state of virtue, which may take a very long time, as far as the acquisition of such state requires many generations of man and full deployment of human natural capacities³⁴, but, at the same time, it is needed to define the boundaries of those capacities, i.e., define what justice and freedom stand for in D. Alighieri and I. Kant’ visions.

Justice plays a capital role in I. Kant and D. Alighieri’s vision. As for D. Alighieri, justice is the social virtue *par excellence*, and it represents a precondition for happy (eudemonic) society having its ideal in the universal monarchy we shall analyze further, but justice can but be bounded and supported by love (including God’s love) that shall be understood as *philia* (one of the parts of social life by Aristotle) by which D. Alighieri meant interested to common thing against disastrous factionalism of his time, taking for basis of new, general government some ideas of Florentine *popolo*, especially what concern justice that defined “according to Roman law, as the constant and perpetual desire to secure to each his own right” following the principle “that which touches all must be approved by all”, principles that *popolo* risked to lose because of its factious fight against aristocracy, or Ghibelline against Guelfs, a fact forcing D. Alighieri to invoke Imperial intervention to solve intestine fights of Italian Peninsula³⁵. The way to reach ideal state of humanity (state of nature, if use Aristotelian and Thomistic terms) i.e., the realization of potentiality of humankind means put interest of the whole before particular interest and put an end to endless conflicts of

³² *Dante’s enamoured mind: Knowing and Being in the Life and Thought of Dante Alighieri*, P. 7.

³³ *Ideas for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*, P. 43.

³⁴ (Convivio (I, xi, 7).The habit of virtue, whether moral or intellectual, cannot be had of a sudden, but must be acquired through practice’.

³⁵ *Divine Comedy*, Purgatory, VI, vv. 76-78.

rulers, which is prodrome to well-being of community and, consequently, to freedom. This facet of D. Alighieri's argumentation is crucial because laws are image of natural justice for Italian thinker and, consequently, observance of those latter is not intended to be slavery, but is the highest liberty, and state of affairs can be granted only by the Emperor. This latter embodies the Law, he shall support rightly constituted states, which are dedicated to liberty, and he ought to fight against all "perverted" forms of government foreseen by Aristotle³⁶, and, consequently, he is implementer of moral philosophy. As omnipotent (it means to us being above any interest) acting being, the Emperor enforce the law so that humankind as a whole body can reach its ultimate end as far as laws bind on all human beings. Emperor is the representative of God on the Earth as we have underscored several times, mankind might reach political peace (a perpetual one?) so that politics involves the actualization of potential power (the habit of intellect) of human beings³⁷. If D. Alighieri's vision is rather clear, what can we write about justice in Kantian philosophy? This topic is quite sensitive, as to say, because of fragmentariness of evidences in I. Kant's works concerning justice, which to our mind, is displayed at best in "Metaphysics of Customs" and "Metaphysical Element of Justice". If analyzing first Kantian work we quite clear conclude that interpretation of Justice can be related to "divine command theory", as presupposed J. E. Hare,

³⁶ See *De Monarchia*, I, xii, 11.

³⁷ See *De Monarchia*, I, xi, 13.

Moreover, just as greed, however slight, dulls the habit of justice in someway, so charity or rightly ordered love makes it sharper and brighter. So

the man in whom rightly ordered love can be strongest is the one in whom justice can have its principal abode; the monarch is such a man; therefore justice is or can be at its strongest when he exists.

Preterea, quemadmodum cupiditas habitualem iustitiam quodammodo, quantumcunque pauca, obnubilat, sic karitas seu recta dilectio illam acuit atque dilucidat.

Cui ergo maxime recta dilectio inesse potest, potissimum locum in illo potest habere

iustitia; huiusmodi est Monarcha: ergo, eo existente, iustitia potissima est vel esse potest.

noticing that some philosophers see divine command theory as an example of Kant's heteronomous will – motives besides the moral law, which Kant regarded as non-moral, and, consequently, right actions as expression of autonomy of individual are a reflection (manifestation) of God's righteousness on the Earth (expressing itself in Categorical imperative), as far as highest good ought to be good in itself without any qualification, in force of that fact that I. Kant concluded that only thing is truly good: "There is nothing it is possible to think of anywhere in the world, or indeed anything at all outside it, that can be held to be good without limitation excepting only a good will"³⁸. Consequently, if we pass to justice we can find in "Metaphysical elements of justice", we have to underscore that I. Kant reflects further on topic of admissibility of morally worthy action, arguing that it is not possible to have a moral motive to perform an immoral act, as far as relation between morally worthy motive of respect for law does not admit the opposite, and it lays on inner morality of man, which confirm our supposition that it is possible to compare Kantian teaching to divine command theory. Moreover, in the introduction to mentioned work, German philosopher meaningfully remarked our relation to God, arguing that "is fruitful from an internal, practical point of view in relation to ourselves and to maxims of internal morality, inasmuch as our whole immanent (accomplishable) duty consists of this purely represented relationship"³⁹. As rightly noticed K. R. Westphal, our relation to God "according to Kant, primarily concerns our virtue, that is, the moral worthiness of our motives and, consequently, we think that it is possible to suppose that our "accomplishable duty", is the ought, which becomes "I can", reflection of Categorical imperative, so that, we agree in this with K. R. Westphal, "not do anything conflicting with inner morality, even if is commanded by suzerain, it means that we must not conflict with

³⁸ *Groundworks of Metaphysics of Morals*, First Section Transition from common rational moral cognition to philosophical moral cognition [Ak 4:393], P. 9.

³⁹ *Metaphysical elements of Justice*, P. 47/ Ak VI pp. 241-242.

Categorical imperative”⁴⁰. To a certain extent, we can presuppose that human beings must obey laws they agree in society, which is not a commonwealth in the way I. Kant understood it⁴¹, but it is a preliminary state, which shall lead human to possible perfection and self-improvement. Consequently, we can suppose that the idea of Right to I. Kant was manifestation of reason and self-restriction of human individual egoism are the cornerstone of juridical and ethical communities that are not something given, but a task and a duty people must fulfill, and it is need Justice. We can understand Kantian justice as amount to positive legislation to make rights possible (*iustitia tutarix*) and as what that makes rights a necessity (*iustitia distributiva*), which presupposes a severe punishment in case the law would be broken (an aspect we analyze further in conclusions). It means that right and justice represent practical facets of categorical imperative and, consequently, through maxims they have to grant the progress of humankind and emergence of highest good from its noumenic realm.

Basing on this, we can find out that for I. Kant also justice is one of condition of well-being of nations, as he noticed in “Metaphysical Element of Justice”, and this state of well-being is a clear passage from the state of nature to the state of reason, to the state of freedom, which is really close to D. Alighieri’s conception with the important limitation

⁴⁰ Kant's qualified principle of obedience to authority in the metaphysical elements of justice, P. 360.

⁴¹ *Metaphysical elements of Justice*, §45 p. 77/ Ak VI p. 313); " ... whatever might be the kind of laws to which the citizens agree, these laws must not be incompatible with the natural laws of freedom and with the equality that accords with this freedom ... , *Metaphysical elements of Justice* §46, p. 80/ AkVI p. 315); "By 'the well-being of the state' is meant that condition in which the constitution conforms most closely to the principles of justice, that is, to condition of reason through the categorical imperative obligates us to strive after" and *Metaphysical elements of Justice* §49 p. 84/ Ak VI p. 318). A state is a union of a multitude of men under laws of justice. Insofar as these laws are necessary a priori and follow from the concepts of external justice in general (that is, are not established by statute), the form of the state is that of a state in general, that is, the Idea of the state as it ought to be according to pure principles of justice. This Idea provides an internal guide and standard for every actual union of men in a commonwealth.

that in I. Kant vision people have the right to disobey their suzerain, or ruler if he does disregard human rights or does not “counter-balance what Kant elsewhere calls the ‘radical evil’ in human nature”⁴² and people force other to join civil society, which represents one of more relevant contradictions in I. Kant philosophy. By the way, we can presuppose that German philosopher, distinguished the idea or right and the idea of “common justice”, which lays on the right of nature, as far Natural Right rests upon pure rational Principles a priori; Positive or Civil Right is what proceeds from the Will of a Legislator⁴³ (Reason), whose work does not know span of time and space, is subjected to action of history and nature, so that we shall find another main likeness between D. Alighieri and I. Kant’s vision, what is their ideal of reason-founded justice that must be applied both by the whole of rational beings individual and by Emperor as application of ontologically (Divine) and metaphysically perfect Reason. Consequently, we can say that both for Italian and German thinkers, justice is something overcoming human desires, “filtering” them throughout corpus of laws humankind has been given throughout use of possible intellect and moral maxims that human beings ought to discover inside themselves and obey, making them possible. Justice is the result of *studiositas* and temperance (inhibition of heteronomous inclinations) having influence on development of nature and humankind, so that Earth would undergo a process of universal improvement, which explain teleological substance of humankind, representing highest level of humanistic vision we can detect in D. Alighieri and I. Kant’s both from theistic (Godlikeness of man manifests itself as New Adam overcoming sins and vices, under the guide of Emperor representing God) and deistic point of view (Godlikeness of man reveals itself in continuing God’s work and bringing to the highest level throughout Reason and will that can be considered blinks of His existence).

⁴² Kant's qualified principle of obedience to authority in the metaphysical elements of justice, P. 364.

⁴³ *Philosophy of Law: An Exposition of the Fundamental Principles of Jurisprudence As The Science of Right*, P. 45.

Thirdly, and last but not least, is it possible to suppose that freedom of individual is allowed in D. Alighieri and I. Kant's vision? Question concerning freedom in D. Alighieri and I. Kant's political and ethic philosophy is the most salient matter, which must pay close attention. We have been using term "freedom" several times in present essay, and main goal was to express theoretical insights of thinkers we tried to analyze and scrutinize. Firstly, it should be underscored that both thinkers were convinced that freedom is realizable just in society, and 'doing whatever you want' is not freedom but license as a universal constraint that inhibits the freedom of all individuals" as taught Aristotle. Searching for God mean drawing out moral law human beings have inside themselves, by which humankind would achieve moral freedom, a circumstance underscoring moral responsibility of human beings, freeing them from physical necessity⁴⁴. What concerns I. Kant freedom, we adopt definitions we can find in *Groundworks of Metaphysics of Morals*, where German affirms that as *intelligence* I will cognize myself, though on the other sides as a being belonging to the world of sense, as nevertheless subject to the laws of the first, i.e., to reason, which in the idea of freedom contains the law of the understanding's world, and thus to autonomy of the will; consequently I must regard the laws of the world of understanding for myself as imperatives and the actions that accord with this principle as duties"⁴⁵, which, to our mind, represents an important analogy with D. Alighieri's vision, as far as being *Intelligence* human can also be aware of their mission on the Earth and free themselves from nature, which becomes kind to humankind as far as the latter runs all the steps from brutal to civilized state⁴⁶ through categorical imperative. Hence, we can presuppose theoretically, that D. Alighieri and I. Kant had common views concerning ontological and metaphysical status of humans is common to both thinkers, as far as humans are ends-

⁴⁴ *Dante's enamoured mind: Knowing and Being in the Life and Thought of Dante Alighieri*, P. 323.

⁴⁵ *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*, P. 70.

⁴⁶ See for instance *Idea for an Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose*, and *Critique of judgment*, especially Part II, Appendix. Methodology of teleological judgment, §§ 83-91.

in-themselves and not means, which “imposes to that extent a limit on all arbitrary treatment of them (and is an object of reverence). Referring to this, question about individual freedom remains, if we consider that we presuppose nomocracy as foundation of D. Alighieri and I. Kant’s vision. What concerns Italian thinker, we think that it is possible to use J. Revel’s essay- commentary to J. C. Lefort’s “Dante’s modernity”, where she inquires question “power of the one” in comparison to É. De La Boétie’s “Voluntary servitude”. Unfortunately, we have no chance to deeply analyze this work, but quotation from C. Lefort’s work in J. Revel’s essay, can shed light on question we investigate: “The visible sign of union is deceptive: in truth, nature has made us not so much united [unis] as all ones [uns]. However, individuals only discover themselves as ones [uns] through the relationship with those with whom they share their life”⁴⁷. In this context the most important we must underscore is “common capacity for differences” which is what enhances our possibility to cooperate as D. Alighieri clearly underscored in *De Monarchia*, so that we can conclude that such cooperation is what help to reach throughout interaction the activation of possible intellect, which we can consider along with J. Revel “the common of difference and as the cooperation of the ones”⁴⁸. We cannot accept conclusion made by J. Revel that ideal of D. Alighieri’s is fraternity as De La Boétie (an inference that she made on C. Lefort’s analysis), but we can with some confidence presume, on one hand, that cooperation is the union of New Adam on the Earth and New Adam on the Heavens (an escamotage to unite Cardinal and Theological virtues), and, on the other hand, we can presuppose that role of Emperor is safeguard this freedom, and grants dignity of human beings living by reason and nature, while those who would not obey it, will be punished only in afterlife⁴⁹. To our mind, in respect of I. Kant’s philosophy about freedom of the individual, we think that we face a more complicated matter, but we think that a quite

⁴⁷ Lefort/Dante. *Reading, Misreading, Transforming*, P. 103.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, P. 107.

⁴⁹ Theory of “contrapasso” (fit punishment) by each punishment is an exaggerated version of corresponding sin

acceptable solution to this problem can be found in “Preliminary concepts of the Metaphysics of the Morals”. There we can find a definition of obligation that by I. Kant is “the necessity of a free action under a categorical imperative of reason making an action necessary and this necessity is due to freedom”⁵⁰, so to the freedom to choose the good, so that permitted actions are not contrary to obligation and freedom is called “authorization”⁵¹. Consequently, duty is a matter of obligations I. Kant argued, therefore we can deduce that correct use of maxims (which exceeds external laws related to state of nature, as we understand it), creates a state of right that is the amount of condition allowing to unite mutual choice under a universal law of freedom⁵², so that mutual limitations represent a way of safeguarding general interest (properly use of unsocial sociability). This, in turn, presupposes individual freedom (of each rational – autonomous – being) and allows chance of mutual usual of coercion as a way to develop perfect duty in order to enhance the possibility to make of humans *persons (homines noumena)* having dignity, “by which” he exacts respect for himself from all rational beings in the world”. There it is reasonable to find a connection with cooperation like in Dante’s vision, so that the idea of dignity of human being as subject having inside himself Reason, which is a spark of God, manifests itself in conscience⁵³, which is also a way to withdraw human from nature, from radical evil and, actually, the best way to give hope people, as far as “God is, a necessary myth to stop us going mad. In the *Critique of Pure Reason*, philosopher Immanuel Kant referred to God, the immortal soul, free will as ‘necessary presuppositions’ which are required if we are to have a moral life at all”⁵⁴.

⁵⁰ *Metaphysics of Morals*, P. 48.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, P. 49.

⁵² It is important to pay close attention to Universal principle of right, which reveals that an action is right, if it can coexist with everyone’s freedom in accordance with a universal law, or if on its maxim the freedom of choice of each can coexist with everyone’s freedom in accordance with a universal law.

⁵³ *Metaphysics of Morals*, Pp. 248 – 234.

⁵⁴ *Dante’s Enamoured Mind*, P. 438.

Concluding our essay, we shall highlight that D. Alighieri and I. Kant tried to create a community (commonwealth) where people can become *civitas*, a union of a multitude of man under laws of Reason, if use I. Kant's words, which challenges time and space. We have to underscore, at the same time, that ideal state is not embedded in existing society, but is a long-term political project having as final end the creation of a form of government accessible to all rational beings, a *Res publica* in Roman meaning of this term. We can partially agree with Steinberg A. Z. affirming that Kant is platonic in question concerning power⁵⁵, but, at the same time, we are quite sure that D. Alighieri and I. Kant not only repudiated as Plato, Thrasymachus' view that 'justice is the interests of the strongest', but at the same time we think that both thinkers partially solved The Euthyphro dilemma⁵⁶, basing their ethical and political vision on a deontological foundation, which is source of spiritual and civil values, avoiding the presence of church. In this vision human beings as well are in the making, they are subjects of this projects, even if from diametrical theoretical position having as common element human dignity and human self-improvement. To problematize investigated topic we must underscore some elements, amidst those the main important are the following: on one hand, it is no possible to define at what extent all human beings are intended to be "rational" (dichotomy of Kantian philosophy natural and noumenon human and D. Alighieri's ideal of nobleness), and, on the other hand, it is not completely clear the influence of medieval theological voluntarism on D. Alighieri and I. Kant, having some utopic element we are intended to scrutinize in further essay in comparison to Marsilius of Padua, and William of Ockham in the framework of philosophy of nature and predestination of human beings from an anthropological point of view.

⁵⁵ Система свободы Ф. М. Достоевского.

⁵⁶ Is found in Plato's dialogue Euthyphro, in which Socrates asks Euthyphro, "Is the pious (τὸ ὅσιον) loved by the gods because it is pious, or is it pious because it is loved by the gods?" (10a)

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APPENDIX

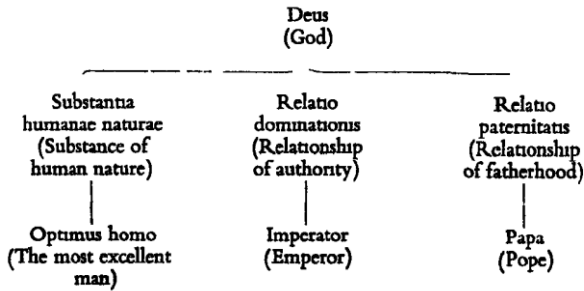
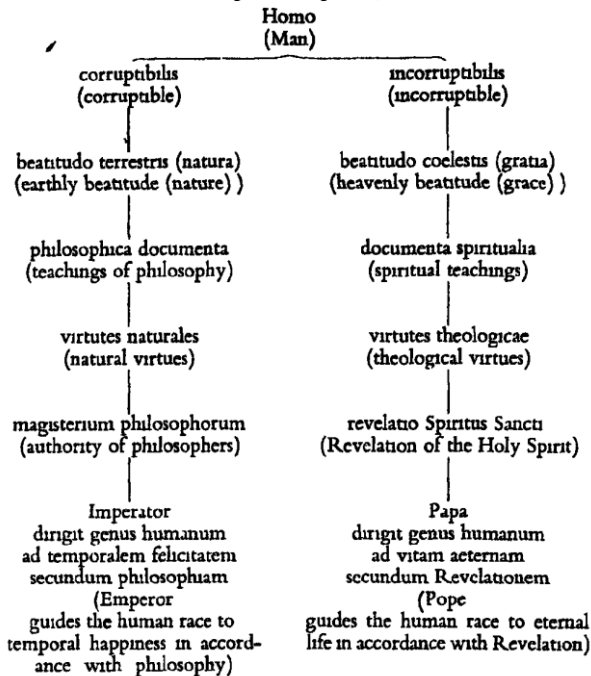
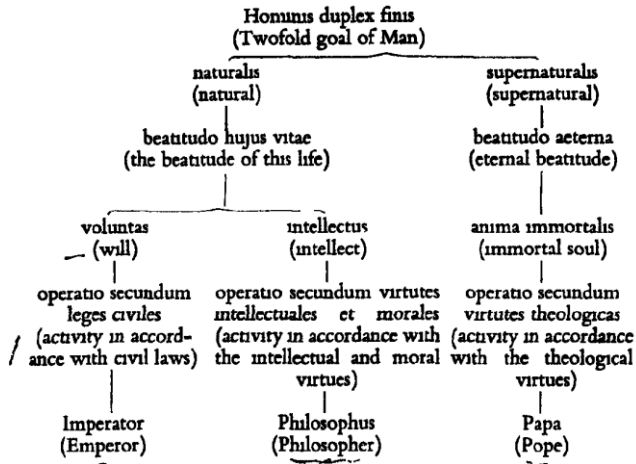
Table 1. (This material can be found in É. Gilson's *Dante the philosopher*)Table 2. (This material can be found in É. Gilson's *Dante the philosopher*)

Table 3. (This material can be found in É. Gilson's *Dante the philosopher*)



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UNIVERZALNI PRINCIPI U POLITIČKOJ
FILOZOFIJI DANTEA ALIGIJERIJA I IMANUELA
KANTA
(DRUGI DEO)

Sažetak: Ideali univerzalne moći sposobne da upravlja i da rešava društvena i etička (religijska) pitanja, kao i mnogi načini da se dosegne najviša mudrost, a stoga i najpotpunije blagostanje ljudskog roda da bi se došlo do večnog mira, prisutni su kroz čitavu ljudsku istoriju, tako da te ideale možemo pronaći u Platonovoj *Državi*, u Aristotelovoj *Politici* i drugim delima koja se bave zasnivanjem više ili manje utopijskih „država“ i zajednica do naših dana. U ovom radu detaljno ćemo ispitati univerzalističke poglede italijanskog mislioca Dantea Aligijerija (1265—1321) i kosmopolitsku ideju nemačkog filozofa Imanuela Kanta (1724—1804). Da analiziramo političku filozofiju ovih mislilaca, odlučili smo na osnovu sledećeg: s jedne strane, Dante kao osnov svojih razmatranja uzima Rimsko carstvo, koje je kao postojan temelj svoje univerzalističke ideologije imalo *pravo* svakog rimskog građanina (koje je počivalo na poštovanju religijskih i građanskih dužnosti), te tzv. *pax romana*⁵⁷, teorijskog tla na kojem bi Dante gradio sekularnu *communitas* vođenu umskim zajedničkim dobrom, a koja je mogla zameniti tzv. *humanitas* (u avgustinovskom shvatanju takve ideje); s druge strane, Kant je pokušao da objasni kako se može postići da samopoboljšanje pod ispravnom upotrebom uma (koji mi shvatamo kao etički vladajući princip ljudskog roda) vodi ljudska

⁵⁷ *Pax romana* (latinski izraz za „rimski mir“) vremenski je raspon dug oko dve stotine godina koji traje od stupanja na vlast Cezara Avgusta, utemeljitelja Carstva (27. god. p. n. e.) do smrti Marka Aurelija (180. n. e.) i koji se smatra zlatnim dobom uzraslog i održanog rimskog imperijalizma, poretka, prosperitetne stabilnosti, hegemonijske moći i ekspanzije, uprkos nekolicini pobuna i unutrašnjih političkih nemira.

bića od prirodnog (onog poluzverskog) do umskog stanja, koje bi kao završni cilj imalo večni mir u univerzalnoj republici. Na tim osnovama pokušaćemo da utvrdimo zajedničke teorijske i idealne odlike Danteovih i Kantovih pogleda, kako bismo dokazali da univerzalistička moć nije despotska, već ujedinjujuća moć pod etičkim i duhovnim principima čitavog čovečanstva.

Ključne reči: I. Kant, D. Aligijeri, univerzalizam, *communitas*, *humanitas*, sloboda, politika, *De Monarchia*, Večni mir, H. Arent, E. De La Boetije

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