and his own temperament, he was intellectually alive to every contemporary current of thought and open to every kind of dialogue. Thus he was, along with Marcel Moré (1887–1969) and the Islamic scholar Louis Massignon (1883–1962), the soul of the short-lived review *Dieu Vivant/Perspectives religieuses et philosophiques* (1945–55). *Dieu Vivant* had as its fundamental concern to recall to a secularizing world the transcendence of God and the ultimate eschatological effect which that transcendence imposes on human destiny.

Daniélou cofounded the Cercle Saint-Jean Baptiste, a group of young people dedicated to the missionary vocation, and served as its chaplain. He proposed that Christianity in non-Christian cultures should be formed not of individuals torn from their own culture and uprooted from their natural environment, but of Christians who were part and parcel of their actual culture. He tried to develop a theological vision flexible enough to embrace these principles, but especially to draw out all the implications related to Christian spirituality. The essential teaching which he gave to the Cercle Saint Jean–Baptiste is contained in: *Le mystère du salut des nations* (1945); *Le mystère de l’Avent* (1948); *L’essai sur le mystère de l’histoire* (1953); *Les saints païens de l’Ancien Testament* (1956); *Jean-Baptiste témoin de l’Agneau* (1964); and *L’Église des apôtres* (1970). Two retreats given to the Cercle have also been published: *La Trinité et le mystère de l’existence* (1968) and *Contemplation, croissance de l’Église* (1977). They show us the true stature of Daniélou as a spiritual theologian. Father Daniélou exerted a great and lasting influence as chaplain upon the Catholic students at the Sorbonne, and especially beginning in 1941 upon the young women of the École Normale Supérieure (Sèvres). Out of this apostolate came *Dieu et nous* (1956) and *Approches du Christ* (1960).

In 1962, Daniélou was nominated as a peritus to the Second Vatican Council (see VATICAN COUNCIL II) by Pope JOHN XXIII. The preparation of the first part of the constitution *Gaudium et spes* owes much to him. He was consecrated bishop in Paris on April 21, 1969, and created cardinal deacon by Pope PAUL VI during the consistory of April 28. Increasingly, he spoke out on issues of the constitution and served as its chaplain. This struggle alienated him from the most influential part of the Catholic intelligentsia and clergy. His burning zeal expressed itself through his talent as apolemician. He who in the past was an “avant-gardiste” was now rebuked for having gone over to the “integralist” or reactionary side. Concerning this struggle see: *L’oraison, problème politique* (1965); *L’avenir de la religion* (1968); *Christianisme de masse ou d’élite?* (1968); *Tests* (1968); *La foi de toujours et l’homme d’aujourd’hui* (1969); *Nouveaux tests* (1970); *La culture trahie par les siens* (1972); and *Pourquoi l’Église* (1972).


[M. J. RONDEAU/B. VAN HOVE]
But he was first of all a man of action, an ardent combattant for the cause of justice and piety. His work is, for this reason, closely interwoven with the events of his life.

**Early Influences.** In his youth Dante seemed concerned exclusively with pure literature. As early as his 15th or 16th year, he took part in the game of exchanging with the Tuscan poets sonnets on the nature of love and its effects. These poets, the representatives of the new learned class, were proudly shaping the literature of the new free states. The old themes of the Provençal tradition, in being transplanted into a new middle-class environment, were losing their romantic tone and giving way to dry reasoning on the essence of love. Dante, however, soon discovered CAVALCANTI’s poetry, considered him his “first friend,” and listened with him to the sweet harmony and wisdom that came from Bologna. At first it was the smoothness of Guido Guinizelli’s (1230 or 1240–76) poetry that appealed to him, but his friendship with Cavalcanti aroused his interest in Aristotelian philosophy. Several of his sonnets and canzoni reflect Cavalcanti’s conceptions about the disastrous results of love and express Dante’s own feeling of mortal distress at the approach of his beloved. However, his love for Beatrice, a girl whom he had known since his early youth, was connected more with sensations of devotion and exaltation than of fear. Thus he turned more confidently to Guinizelli’s theories about the ennobling effects of love and drew a new feeling of mystic adoration from the corroboration they gave to his personal experience. From this stemmed some of his most inspired sonnets and canzoni that on various occasions Dante had written about Beatrice; but clearly they are testimonies of the past and not expressions of his thought when he wrote the prose of *Vita Nuova*, which is several years later than the poems and reflects a thoroughly religious vision. However, this phase of mysticism did not long endure. The poet returned to his struggle with philosophy and wrote (c. 1296) the *Rime petrose*, which speaks of a lady (Philosophy) who is his Pietra (rock), unyielding to his passionate love. A little later these studies also were put aside.

**Spiritual Crisis.** At first Dante seemed to cling to an inner revelation that Beatrice was a saint, but this kind of rapture for the dead beloved did not last, and Dante soon gave himself over to despair, disordered life, and unbelief. Some sonnets exchanged with Forese Donati give testimony to this spiritual crisis, which lasted for some years. Toward the end of 1293, searching for a solution of this crisis, Dante began to attend lectures on philosophy and theology and found more than he was looking for. His struggle with philosophy was hard, but in 30 months he found himself regaining his lost faith. Beatrice appeared to him in a vision, and all his thoughts were recalled to the pure devotion of his youth. Overwhelmed by the conviction that he had experienced a miracle, he started (c. 1296) to write the *Vita Nuova*, the account of his youthful life and the miraculous influence of Beatrice. It was like a *legenda* of St. Beatrice. The *dolce stil nuovo*, with all its pagan philosophy of love, was now a thing of the past. The *Vita Nuova* includes the poems after the manner of Guinizelli or Cavalcanti that on various occasions Dante had written about Beatrice; but clearly they are testimonies of the past and not expressions of his thought when he wrote the prose of *Vita Nuova*, which is several years later than the poems and reflects a thoroughly religious vision. However, this phase of mysticism did not long endure. The poet returned to his struggle with philosophy and wrote (c. 1296) the *Rime petrose*, which speaks of a lady (Philosophy) who is his Pietra (rock), unyielding to his passionate love. A little later these studies also were put aside.

**Political Activities.** In the last years of the century, Dante was prompted by his ardent temperament and also by religious zeal to take an active role in the political life of his town. Florence, as a result of a split in the dominant Guelph party, was divided into two factions: the Blacks, inclined to accept the influence of the pope, and the Whites, jealous defenders of the autonomy of the town. (See GUELFS AND GIBBELLINES.) Dante soon became one of the rigorous supporters of the Whites. He was at this time probably under the influence of Petrus Olivi, a Spiritual Franciscan strongly opposed to the temporal power of the Church. In 1300 Dante was elected one of the priori (the highest office in the commune) and, in an attempt
to restore peace, agreed to the banishment of his friend Cavalcanti together with other leaders of the two conflicting factions. The following year, Pope Boniface VIII sent to Florence Charles of Valois, a member of the Angevin family, apparently as a peacemaker, but actually with the mission of helping the Blacks to seize power. Dante led an embassy to Rome to persuade the Pope to recall Charles. It seems that Boniface calculatedly detained him in Rome in order to give the Blacks in Florence time to assume control and issue decrees of condemnation against Dante and others. First the poet was condemned to pay a large fine; then, since he did not return to Florence to make the payment, he was condemned (1302) to be burned alive should he ever come under the power of the commune.

The Convivio. Thus began the exile that was to last until Dante’s death. There followed years of wandering, poverty, and humiliation. For all his pride, Dante gives unmistakable somber hints of what he had to undergo. At first he took part in armed attempts of his party to reenter Florence, but then he forsook his companions. In order to restore his fame, but also to give his fellow men “the bread of the angels” he had found, he wrote a treatise on the virtues, the Convivio (1305), an allegorical “banquet” of the same philosophical wisdom that had been for him the path to salvation. Substantially it is a compilation based mainly on Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics, but Dante’s intention was clearly to offer a body of edifying doctrine. The noble lady who is the symbol of philosophy is a friend dearer even than Beatrice, since philosophy by itself is able to bring most people to salvation. Dante followed Aristotle so confidently that he accepted even the principle that man’s desire for knowledge can be entirely fulfilled in this life: an obvious denial of the Christian teaching that only in heaven can the human thirst for knowledge be quenched.

At this time, Dante thought also that there was an order of reason completely independent of revealed truth, and that the emperor’s authority, based on the light of reason, was sufficient to itself and needed no guidance or control from the Church. Yet, despite these doctrines, the Convivio is far from representing a phase of rationalism in Dante’s spiritual evolution, as is often said, for the work is pervaded with mysticism: Philosophy is Wisdom itself, “the very beloved daughter of God.” While working on the Convivio, Dante must have acquired a more solid knowledge of the relationship between reason and revelation, but he did not complete the work. In the fourth and last book composed, “good brother Thomas” (Aquinas) is quoted. It was no longer possible for Dante to rest on the rather crude mixture of Aristotelianism and Christian truth of the first books. Above all, as a man of action, or rather as a reformer stirred by the urge to find a solution for the evils of Italy (and of Florence), Dante was at this time profoundly concerned with the concrete political problems of the Christian world.

The Monarchia. The long debate between the advocates of the sovereign authority of the emperor and the supporters of the hierocratic views of the popes had been renewed by the bull Unam Sanctam of Boniface VIII (1302), and the subsequent Annominatio. During the hard-fought conflict between Philip II of France and Boniface, many treatises appeared on both sides. In his fight against those who had exiled him, Dante had progressively approached the views of the Ghibellines, or the imperial party, and had become the guest of the Della Scala, the most powerful Ghibelline family in Italy. Dante’s treatise Monarchia (c. 1309) was a rigorous reassessment of the contrasting views and a firm assertion of the independent sovereignty of the emperor. His position in the conflict, however, was fundamentally different from that of the lay supporters of the empire.

Dante’s assumption was that the empire was itself a sacred institution proceeding directly from God’s will, “from the very sources of religion,” and, as such, needed no counsel from the Church. There were two distinct ends, earthly happiness to be provided by the emperor,
and heavenly bliss to be attained through the Church. The biblical “render to Caesar what is Caesar’s,” and other sources seemingly asserting the total disjunction and independence of the temporal order from spiritual authority, were naturally utilized to the full to corroborate the principle of the separation of the two powers. Dante even used the Averroistic principle of the unity of the human intellect to defend the theory that there must exist only one emperor for all mankind. The idea of two separate orders was also closely linked to the doctrine of two independent orders of reason and revelation. Dante later rejected this idea in the composition of the *Divina Commedia*.

However, what then distinguished his conception from both the secular doctrine of the state and that of the religious, Franciscan opponents of the temporal power of the Church was his deep persuasion that the empire was sacred and that nature was itself divine ("Deus vult quod natura vult"). The emperor was for him "the Anointed," and those who elected him were directly inspired by the Holy Spirit. The history of the Roman Empire was to Dante a kind of revelation parallel to the history of Israel. Accordingly, when Emperor Henry VII came to Italy (1310) to assert his authority over the Italian states, Dante took part in the expedition with the deepest religious sense of hope and faith. In fervent letters exhorting the lords of Italy to welcome the emperor, he pointed to him as *Agnus Dei*. Dante’s whole life, centered on the hope of returning to Florence, as well as the theories he held, his aspiration for peace and justice, and his faith in God, were all at stake in these fateful hours.

By 1313 everything had failed. The hope of returning to Florence that had given deep personal meaning to the mystical anticipation of the renovation of the world was extinguished. Dante had to revise all his views, all the projects of his life. From no earthly authority, it was now clear to him, could a remedy for the cupidity prevailing throughout Christendom be expected. Only a messenger from heaven was to be hoped for. Dante dreamed that he himself—having already experienced the miraculous help of Beatrice and having discovered the truth about the situation of mankind—had been chosen to announce the next Coming.

**The Shaping Vision of the *Divina Commedia***. A vision came to him. He was persuaded that his mind had been elevated by God’s grace to a supernatural vision of himself going through hell, purgatory, and paradise for the salvation of his own soul and of all mankind. He was able to be extremely precise about the details of that supernatural journey—and he happened to be the most gifted poet, perhaps, of all times. His poem was to be a combined work of heaven and earth ("‘Whereto both heaven and earth have set a hand’"): God’s vision and his human skill.

There is no conclusive proof, of course, that the vision was real, but there is no ground for not accepting the poet’s claim of having seen certain things. In his *Letter to Cangrande* he refers those who do not believe him to the works of St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and Richard of St. Victor, wherein the possibility of such supernatural experiences is explicitly stated. Without doubt, the poem he began to write after the failure of Henry VII had the feeling of reality, the impressiveness, the dramatic, concrete sense of a great epic. The allegories of the vices and virtues, philosophy, reason, love, friendship, and the arts, which had crowded so many pages of medieval literature, were left far behind. Dante spoke of historical sacred events in the same way (he pointed out) as the Bible had done.

**Analysis of the *Divina Commedia***. Vergil was the guide given him for his journey to hell and purgatory. Vergil had spoken of a similar journey, a descent to the underworld, which in Dante’s mind was somehow willed by God and contained truth. First of all Vergil had revealed to Dante the divine mission of Rome and the providential plan of human history. On this basis, Dante was able to reject the Averroistic doctrines of the eternity of
the world and man’s subjection to astrological influences. In the history of mankind leading to the coming of Christ, Vergil had been closest to Christian thought, almost foretelling the new age. No one but he was entitled to be the guide for a journey that was the symbol of man’s historical pilgrimage to the height of revelation.

By the time the poet began the *Divina Commedia*, he had also reached a more consistent view of the relationship between reason and faith. Accordingly, there was in the work a transition from Vergil, the symbol of the *lumen naturale*, to Beatrice, who was to lead the pilgrim through heaven and was the symbol of the *lumen gratiae*: one was the complement of the other. The poem, however, does not deal with abstract figures. Just as the biblical account in Exodus (Dante himself makes the comparison) reports historical events that carry a moral or spiritual meaning, so the *Divina Commedia* deals with concrete facts and real historical figures, which, being ordered by God, also have a spiritual meaning.

Going through the circles of hell—a kind of funnel that plunges to the center of the earth—the pilgrim meets many historical personages, mostly from his own time or from antiquity: a very concrete, real world, the opposite of the allegorical construction of *Le roman de la rose*. The personages are distributed on the various levels of the realm of damnation so that the account of Dante’s journey is also a kind of universal judgment and illumination of human vices and virtues. As the poet himself says in his dedicatory letter of the *Paradiso* to Cangrado della Scala, the subject of the work “is man, liable to the reward or punishment of Justice, according as through the freedom of the will he is deserving or undeserving” (tr. C. S. Latham).

**The Pilgrim and the Poet.** The poem has to be, however, primarily the story of a man. Dante, passing through and suffering the various levels of hell. The grace of the journey has been granted to him so that he can have “full experience” of sin. In order to be saved he has to see and above all feel in the depths of his being the error of his own sins and those of his fellow men. Going through hell cannot be just a sightseeing trip; it is going into darkness and being affected by it. Sin is contagious. And the pilgrim with all his weakness and blindness is taken there. Only at the summit of purgatory will Vergil announce to him that his free will has been restored and his intellect is sane. But before that he must sympathize with the denizens of hell. He faints out of pity for Francesca da Rimini, a lady who had yielded to the illusions of COURTLY LOVE, become enamored of her brother-in-law, and met death at the hands of her husband. His answer to Farinata, the great Ghibelline leader who had made politics the supreme end of life in substitution for God, betrays a fierce political pride, deep as the sinner’s. In no case does the pilgrim manifest any awareness of the terrifying chasm between those dead souls and God; rather he sympathizes with them. He expresses his willingness to sit for a while with Brunetto, his former teacher, punished as a sodomite; he even says that if it were in his power Brunetto would still be among the living—a way of blasphemy against God’s will. The pilgrim is so deeply attracted by Ulysses, the personification of vain curiosity, that he almost plunges into the valley where the sinner is transformed into a wandering flame. Such representation is most suitable to the task of describing the meetings of an infirm soul with the creatures of evil. These creatures speak, act according to their sinful nature, express in all their words the sin that for eternity has taken possession of their lives.

Errors in Interpretation. Unfortunately, much Dante criticism that has been rooted in secular culture has been unable to perceive the sinful character of the personages of Hell. Francesca da Rimini, Farinata, and Ulysses have been seen in a light of beauty and greatness very different from the light in which the poet really saw them. Further, such criticism has mistaken the reactions of Dante, the character of the drama, for the reactions and feelings of sympathy and pity of the poet himself. The general belief is that, while writing his poem, Dante was still entangled with the passions, hopes, and hatreds of the world and inevitably gave expression to these deep impulses of his soul. Francesca, Farinata, Brunetto, and Ulysses, it is said, were persons and symbols dear to his heart despite the fact that they were under God’s condemnation. Because of these preconceptions, the *Divina Commedia* has been read rather as a representation of this life and the exaltation of all its passionate, heroic, worldly attachments than as a vision of supernatural reality. To F. de Sanctis, the greatest Italian critic of the 19th century, as well as to C. H. Grandgent and all contemporary Italian critics, Dante appeared and still appears much more excited by the “heroic” suicides of the ancient world than by the martyrdoms of the early Christians.

Such a view of Dante’s work is entirely distorted. The sentiments of sympathy, admiration, and devotion expressed by Dante in presence of those in Hell, all the emotions he reveals, belong to the character Dante, the infirm, blind soul who is reexperiencing the sinful inclinations of earthly life and is unable to perceive the evil nature of the damned. The poet Dante has portrayed past meetings of his own weak and blind soul with the various figures of human perdition. His greatness as a poet consists precisely in the objectivity of this representation and the profundity of his perception of the terrible, often hidden aspects of human wickedness. Francesca, one sees, is the symbol and, at the same time, the victim of the sub-
tale enthrallment of courtly love and the theories of the *dolce stil nuovo*; the man Dante who expresses his deepest pity to her is a person who has passed through the same delusions and now surrenders to the contagious presence of that sin. Farinata is clearly the exponent of a political commitment blind to all the superior values of the soul. Ulysses is the personification of a reason perverted by a vain curiosity directed to a false knowledge. The poet could not be more effective in revealing through the gestures, the words, often very few words, of the personages, and of the pilgrim among them, the sinful situation in which they are.

For one extraordinary moment the characters come forth on the stage of hell, revealing their prides, their stubborn, blind minds, their delusions, and the pilgrim who summoned them forth is with them on their own spiritual level, sharing their evil or unable to understand their depravity. Accordingly, he staggers when he approaches the terrace of sloth in purgatory; he is unable to see in the place of blind anger. Similarly, he will be filled with light and love in paradise. The *Divina Commedia* is the objective, coherent narrative of the ascent of a man from darkness to God; it is something very different from a work in which the author gives voice through his own character to his actual conflicting impulses of vengeance or love, tenderness or hatred.

*Theological "Interpolations."* From all this it is clear that the passages, especially in the *Paradiso*, that appear to be theological discussions inserted by the poet to communicate to the reader some of the truths that Dante himself had accepted, are by no means interpolations that reveal the poet’s personal views. They too belong to the story. It is the personages who reveal in these passages their own understanding of truth and thus help the ascent of the pilgrim. Marco Lombardo’s speech in purgatory on the relationship between the empire and the Church, which is always mistaken for the expression of Dante’s own ideas and for a philosophical digression, is most evidently the utterance of a Ghibelline spirit, still blinded by worldly political passions and regretting the times of his emperor, Frederick II, still far from the truth that will be revealed in paradise. There is no break in the consistent line of the narrative.

One must look at the whole rigorously unitarian world the poet has represented in order to understand Dante’s own vision of the world. With the characteristic medieval love for correspondences, Dante has also made use of some kind of recurring signs in order to direct our attention and to make us understand his point of view. The third canto of the *Inferno* treats of those who were pusillanimous; the third canto of the *Purgatorio* deals with those outside the Church who were courageous; the third canto of the *Paradiso* speaks of those who had Christian fortitude. The sixth canto of the *Inferno* depicts citizens prone to greed, gluttony, and civil discord; the sixth canto of the *Purgatorio* speaks of princes who neglected the universal good; the sixth canto of the *Paradiso* presents those who were truly magnanimous and searched for the common good. To Farinata’s total blindness correspond the vice of pride in purgatory and the love of wisdom in paradise.

Once the ordering mind behind the work is grasped and account taken of the views expressed in the *Paradiso*, it is clear that Dante’s views and sentiments about the moral world, or the relationship between nature and Grace, reason and faith, are entirely consistent with those of St. Thomas.

*An Allegorical Poem?* It must be made clear, however, that the *Divina Commedia* is far from being a kind of *Summa* put in verse or translated into allegory. There is no more false way of describing Dante’s work than to call it an allegorical didactic poem. At the basis of the poem’s vision there is indeed a system that matches St. Thomas’s in sweep and profundity, but Dante’s mentality was not a theologian’s. He was concerned with the concrete problems of the world, with persons, with Florence and Italy, with ways to restore the empire. He had rather the mind of a pastor, of a prophet. He judged people, not ideas; he portrayed the life of the Church, and denounced the deficiencies of the leaders of the world; when he did introduce St. Thomas, it was not to have him speak of theology but to deliver a panegyric on St. Francis of Assisi. First of all it must be realized that Dante’s vision is essentially a profound and consistent vision of history rivaling St. Augustine’s and Vico’s; and a vision is not speculative theology. For Dante, God operates through history and in contemplation of the historical process His will can be seen and understood. The development of Rome was clearly in Dante’s thought the central line of this divine operation, the mainstream of mankind’s salvation. Before and after the Advent, Rome is the place and the temporal institution where the City of God can be built on earth. This emphasis on secular history and politics as an essential foundation of God’s kingdom is the most important characteristic of Dante’s vision.

*The Goal of Christian Unity.* In an age when many irrepressible intellectual, political, and economic forces were undermining the universalistic structures on which the civilization of the Middle Ages had rested, Dante was driven by a deep prophetic urge to renew the empire as man’s only hope, under God, for salvation. His was the last attempt, or, at least, the final flowering of hope in the possibility of rebuilding, without denying the new autonomous forces of the world, the unity of Christianity as a temporal body directed to the divine goal.
From the point of view of literature, the Divine Comedy was the ultimate expression of Gothic aesthetics, and its various characteristics tend toward the multiplicity of elements, the search for correspondences, elevation, difficulty, subtlety, and extreme refinement. Only two decades later Petrarch was to begin a completely new style, the style of the Renaissance.


DAOISM (TAOISM)

Indigenous Chinese philosophical-religious system that emerged in the dying years of the Zhou (Chou) dynasty; subsequently evolving into diverse dynasties and sects; significantly influenced Chinese BUDDHISM and Neo-Confucianism. The Chinese generally classify the diverse variations of Daoism within two broad catego- ries: Daojia (Philosophical Daoism) and Daojiao (Reli- gious Daoism). Daojia and Daojiao are closely intertwined and do not represent incompatible alternatives, as early 20th century Western scholars once thought.

FOUNDATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF DAOISM

Dao (Tao). Within Chinese cosmology, the Dao may be defined as the matrix of all dynamic actualities and potentialities. It encompasses all actualities that are existing and all possibilities that could happen, but exclude all impossibilities. It is a dynamic ontology which simultaneously embodies both “being” and “non-being” in constant, cyclical and evolutionary flux of production and destruction, rather than a static, once-for-all production. Daoists understand the Dao as the unnameable ultimate reality that defies all attempts at categorization. It is the source for everything that existed, exists and will exist.

Yin-yang. In Chinese cosmology, yin-yang are two opposite but complementary energies that make manifest and differentiate the “myriad things” (wan wu) that emerge into existence from the undifferentiated, primordial Dao. The popular symbol of yin-yang reveals the cyclical nature of the Chinese worldview—life undergoes cycles of production and destruction. The dynamic interaction of yin and yang give rise to cycles of production and destruction, from which the universe and its diverse forms of life (wan wu) emerge. At the height of the cycle of production of one phase, and before the cycle of destruction begins, the seeds for the next cycle of production of the complementary phase emerge. From the