

European Intuitionism, Mysticism and Modernity in Focus: The Case of Valle-Inclán's *Aromas de Leyenda*¹

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Abstract Having recently stated in a previous article the fact that Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Galician author nowadays considered as one of the paradigmatic writers of modern Hispanic literature, could hardly ignore the modern currents of thought originated in Paris by the end of 19th century, the aim of this work is, therefore, to examine how the scarcely explored path of bergsonian philosophy would contribute to an explanation of the liaisons of music, art, mysticism and poetry in the writer's production, namely his lyrical collection of poems, *Aromas de Leyenda*, published in 1907.

Key words modernity; contemporary French thought; Valle-Inclán's poetry; Bergson; Loisy

It is not an easy labour resuming Valle-Inclán's trajectory for those who do not know him at all. He was located by critics in the literary generation shared by Miguel de Unamuno, Pío Baroja or Antonio Machado, representing among them one of the most remarkable paradigms of not just Hispanic, but also European modernity. He was best known as a novelist and the creator of a new dramatic genre, the *esperpento*, where he projected his antimilitarism and anticlericalism, in a more acid way than that of other works of his, through absurd, grotesque, caricature and puppet-characters. . . in search for a critical distance between spectators and show.

But further from his profession as a writer, Valle-Inclán also developed along his life all type of activities, demonstrating his aim to intervene in his time's society and culture. He decided to distribute his living between Galicia, his home land, and Madrid. In Madrid, after trying to become an actor by the beginning of the 20th century, he started his career as a prestigious writer and an eloquent speaker not just in academic tribunes but also at literary gatherings in cafés, where he exerted his influence on some of the best known Spanish plastic artists of the time. He intensively collaborated in the press, where he gave to light the biggest part of his works and where we can also follow his trajectory as a journalist, lecturer, art critic or even war correspondent during I World War; at the same time journals and magazines account for the relevance his figure achieves along the years, which turns into a referent for all kind of matters, as we can read in reviews of his works and talks, in his interviews or

in news about him spread in newspapers from countries all over the world (Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Mexico, Argentina or USA, just to mention a few).

But Valle-Inclán was also part of Spanish political and institutional world, namely with the rise of the II Republic.² An irreverent opponent to Bourbon monarchy and General Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923 – 1930), it was just before the establishment of the republican regime that he decided to get directly involved in politics, putting himself forward as a candidate to the Republican Courts in 1931.³ And, even though he did not become a deputy, he played an important role in Republican cultural history (1931 – 1936), for he was firstly chosen as the President of the Madrid's Athenaeum; later named as National Artistic Heritage Curator; and finally elected for the post of Director of the Spanish Fine Arts Academy in Rome, a position he held until his death in January 1936.⁴

The deliberate institutional silence his figure and works were submitted to during Francoism (1939 – 1975) could not avoid the process of reinstatement started by the Republican exile and the academic world, mostly from the 1960s, and his canonization process was completed once democracy was restored, with different homages and public recognition, which has made him become one of the most prestigious intellectuals of 20th century Hispanic culture.

Now, even if tons of secondary bibliography about Valle-Inclán have been written, actually more than five thousand articles and monographies until 2011,⁵ two of the issues which critics have paid less attention to are his trajectory as a poet—for he also published poems in three books, finally gathered in *Claves Líricas* (1930)—and his assumption of the patterns of European thought of his time, two entwined aspects this article will focus on, taking the names of Bergson, Loisy and Valle-Inclán as the centre of our discourse.

Even when we do not have a complete (and no doubt necessary) study on the presence and influence of bergsonian thought in Spain (as we do have about Nietzsche's thanks to Sobejano)⁶, we have evidence that his philosophical theories were well known in the country by the beginning of 20th Century, for most part of the intellectuals of the time testify their admiration for the intuitionist thought and even reflect it in their works, as we can see in the case of Leopoldo Alas Clarín, Antonio Machado or Miguel de Unamuno. Spanish academic forums and press, likewise, spread his most significant works, which became an absolute success for general public during his visit to Madrid in 1916.

After a closer research on this issue we can almost certainly affirm that even when Valle-Inclán did not have the chance to meet Bergson and when he never mentioned his name in his talks or writings, he for sure knew the basis of intuitionist ideas for those are in the roots of his literary production at least from early 20th century, as we can appreciate in his use of the terms such as *intuition*, *contemplation*, *memory*, *creative soul* or *grace*. These are concepts profoundly in debt with the French philosopher's thought,⁷ whose theories Valle-Inclán was highly interested in since -according to Arbour - these were nothing but the lengthening in time of the anti-positivist reaction headed a few years before by Baudelaire and French symbolist poetry (193 – 94), which the Galician author considers as the origin for aesthetic moderni-

ty, something he had stated in an early article titled "Modernismo" in 1902 (114).

The links between bergsonian thought and modern art have been underlined by the critics; in the fourth volume of *Les Études Bergsoniennes*, published in 1964, S. Dresden in fact classifies Bergson among those philosophers who, according to Plato, "cherchent à comprendre la musique des sphères, l'harmonie de l'univers, et qui ne s'arrêtent pas aux apparences extérieures des phénomènes" ["*search for an understanding of the music of the spheres, the harmony of the universe, and who do not stop at the external appearance of phenomena*"]; those who "s'intéressent plus que les autres aux éléments artistiques de la philosophie" ["*are more interested than others in the artistic elements of philosophy*"] (55). An example of that is the constant reference to aesthetic questions along his work, although no article specifically dedicated to this issue was ever written by the French philosopher, a fact that has not prevented his enormous influence on art and literature of the European interwar period.⁸ One of the keys for it seems to be in the fact of Bergson considering creative process as a phenomenon comparable to his concept of *durée* (duration), for —just like the latter— art departures from an act of rebelliousness, from bringing social and subjective I into conflict; it is an act of freedom located in the intuitive power, and it necessarily introduces a problem of communication when its essence (spiritual, ageless) is absolutely opposite to that of the poetic language (progressive, arithmetical, current).

Even so, not all artistic manifestations equally voice the art of suggestion; it happens with music, if we remember Bergson's concept of heterogeneous time as "la mélodie ininterrompue de notre vie intérieure" ["*the uninterrupted melody of our inner life*"] (qtd. in Dresden 68), which establishes a clear link with symbolist poets such as Mallarmé, Verlaine, or Valéry after them; it also appears in plastic arts, which are the representation of the undefined and eternal; and, finally, in poetry, which reflects the fusion of several ways for aesthetic pleasure (auditory and visual), and embodies the power of suggestion, encoded in images and rhythm, enabling writers to reveal the ineffable.

So, for Bergson, as Ruth Lorand remarks, art is not the question. On the contrary, aesthetic experience seems to be the answer to the philosophical dilemmas his works state, especially in terms of order (vital, sensible and unpredictable, not geometrical) (405–06). Therefore, the French philosopher understands in a pragmatic way the role of intellect, for it allows us to divide, and therefore, analyze and conceptualize, either historical periods (of an everlasting *durée*) or the different elements of the works of art, even if they were created as the transmission of sensations encoded in suggestions. So, art proposes for Bergson new forms of order, which hold a much more authentic view of chronological duration and which intend to substitute pre-existing orders that do not satisfy our (historical, aesthetic, etc.) needs and expectations any more.

In addition, according to Henri Bergson, there is still a second human experience that enables the contact with metaphysical concepts such as *durée* and *intuition*: Christian mysticism, because of everything it implies in terms of history philosophy. Debates around this conception mean an important element of spiritual culture of 19th and 20th centuries, especially in France, where this issue is inevitably related to the

concept of *modernism*, and to *bergsonism* as well.

Even if it is true that the so-called “religious modernism” cannot be considered as a heterogeneous movement, as individuals and groups who in France, Germany or England react against catholic establishment, there were in it names as relevant as Alfred Loisy, the first whose works had international echo. As a pioneer emphasising the Bible’s historical truth, who pledged for forgetting the supposed supernatural origin of Catholic Church’s fundamental work, his critical studies around the filiations and development of the textual tradition of the Holy Scriptures took him to demolish catholic fundamental concepts such as divine inspiration and inerrancy, in his condemnation of scholastic rationalism, expounded in two books: *L’Évangile et L’Église* and *Études évangéliques*, both on sale in 1902, and both rapidly forbidden for the parishioners a couple of months later by the *Bulletin de l’Archevêché de Paris* (Cózar 20).

Although Leo XIII never explicitly rejected Loisy’s works, his successor, pope Pius X, was not so benevolent, and he soon decided a public censure of the “modernist” propositions extracted from Loisy’s documents, with the *Decreto Lamentabili sine exitu* (July 4th 1907), and the subsequent *Enciclica Pascendi dominici gregis* (September 1907).⁹

We have evidence of a close relation between Bergson and Loisy in the fact of both being professors at the College de France, as well as in the correspondence they held from 1909 to 1937 (Provencher 425). Historian regularly sent the philosopher his publications and, in a certain way, Bergson’s reflections about these works gave birth to one of his best known books, *Les deux sources de la morale et la religion* (1932).

Both of them agree in the preponderance of “mystic” faith over “dogmatic” one imposed by the ecclesiastic tradition (Forni 92), as well as in the primacy of intuition (instead of meditation) in the access to knowledge (97). And in the same way, they share a central interest in the consideration of language for the expression of that intangible, immaterial and inscrutable reality—spiritual, mystic or artistic—, a fact also reflected in their letters. But if there is a difference between them, it is fundamentally the fact that the philosopher qualifies as a mystic experience any exceptional thing that allows the human being to get in touch with divinity (which includes, as obvious, art), while Loisy defends an everyday vision of social solidarity and love as a bridge for that connection. This discrepancy is developed in complete opposite objectives: Bergson will try to explain the spiritual *substratum* of human being from metaphysics, to reach the inaccessible of history, consciousness, time and space, to achieve a supreme and indivisible truth; Loisy, on the other hand, will prefer reading mysticism in a moral and social key, which will contribute to new ways of evolution for humanity, assuming the incapacity of men and women to understand further away from their reality (97–98).

In any case, both their aims are in their eagerness to remodel reality from assumptions beyond the positivist domain of reason over moral values and language, proposing alternative accesses to (mystic, metaphysic, artistic) knowledge to deepen in a hardly accessible reality of even more difficult expression. Bergson and Loisy share

in the end the same spirit and try to solve a unique problem, which is in the origin of modernity as a spiritual and aesthetic current.

In the same way, there exists in Valle-Inclán this eagerness to reorder reality in what Anthony Zahareas has named as the articulation of aesthetic solutions for historical problems, since history and social reality are only to be understood through their artificial and contrived ways of representation (273).

That is why, just like in Bergson's proposal, Valle-Inclán pushes into practice, from his intuitive conception of life and artistic creation, a project of established order reconstruction that enables him to transmit his alternative view of *chronos* (history, me, writing), with the objective of counteracting reality with the evocation of a world in the verge of extinction, a fact that constitutes the pure essence of modernity as far as that anti-establishment will is the central premise of the artistic debate in the transition from positivism to idealism.

One magnificent example of the application in Valle-Inclán's work of such a colossal project is offered by Professor Zahareas, when he analyses the elaboration of the Marquis of Bradomín, an omnipresent character in the author's work, often identified as an *alter-ego* of his, whose figure generates a reinterpretation of chronological order of those works he appears in as well as of the historical frame where these are apparently set:

... the fictive character of a modern Don Juan appears, as if it was historical, in flesh and bones, in the pages of those contrived love sonatas narrated by himself to sell them, with the help of the historical figure of Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío (whose published poems include an autumnal sonnet in honour of Bradomín) who, well-known, leaves the real social world of the bohemia to enter as a fictive character in a *new genre*, the *esperpento*, where a contrivedly hybrid character between Max Estrella and Alejandro Sawa plays the leading role, the latter being a friend of both Valle-Inclán and Darío [...]. In Valle-Inclán's aesthetics we take for granted that without the historiography distinction between what *is* and what *is not*, there can not be a historical function of fiction. Alejandro Sawa is clearly a historical figure and, on the other hand, Max Estrella is nothing but a fictive figure. The implications of this perspective are revealing. Historical Sawa is not the same Sawa presumably represented by Max. Memories written by the fictive Bradomín were published between 1903 and 1905 (sic); historical bohemian Alejandro Sawa died in 1908 and the Nicaraguan poet, Rubén Darío, in 1916. When historical chronology is altered in fiction, *what was* historically verified in *Luces de Bohemia* has been transformed in such a way that what *is* verifiable in history *is not in fiction*; in *Luces* of 1920 – 1924 the “memories” by already old Bradomín have not been published yet; and the already dead Darío still lived to attend the burial of Max, who, if in fact is Sawa, did not die in 1908. (274)¹⁰

This is nothing but the construction of what another French theorist, Charles Renouvier—one of Bergson's precursors and, at a time, disciple of August Comte and the spir-

itualist Jules Lequier —named in 1876 as *uchronias*¹¹, or *futures of the past*¹²: the setting of a point of departure for a new history in a remote time, when it virtually forks from, constituting an alternative and parallel track, either individual or collective. This alternate view recaptures historiography, legends or myths conforming to that identity which a new order is intended to be built on, and charges the author's proposal with moral, political, social and cultural values different from those in force,¹³ a reason why they pledge their commitment to the controversies and debates held in the literary field. Understood this way, the concept of *uchronia* is at a time ecstasy and evolution freed from historical materiality, what unavoidably links its development to that of internal, subjective, personal time, and therefore, to bergsonian *durée*. Eternity, therefore, and its expression are something that become an obsession for writers such as Valle-Inclán, who along the years tried to find the clues to go beyond the limits of chronology in his works, with his poetry being the ideal workshop, as far as it joins in one single expression that of music, image and lyrical thought.

Valle-Inclán edited *Aromas de Leyenda*, his first collection of poems, in 1907 at the age of forty, as part of his strategy for intervention in Madrid's literary field during the debate, started by the Real Academia Española (*Royal Spanish Academy*) about the disappearance of Castillian lyrical poetry —as traditionally conceived—with the entrance in Spain of new literary currents, mostly originated in France. He intends to prove that there is another possible way for the renewal of lyrical expression, other than that of the medieval *romancero*, focusing on Galician-Portuguese popular and cult tradition. His contemporaries receive the collection as a delicious book of poetry that gathers in an original way real scents from antique legends of his old land, from the old soul of his home, far away in Galicia. . . (“Libros” 332). In fact, green landscape and rural sounds gain progressive importance along these verses, identified not only with a past recovered through memory, but with an Arcadian fantasy, a spiritualized and poeticized recreation, where that timeless place emerges along the thirteen poems of the book —like its classical model—as the home of Pan, a virtuous space because of its human, hospitality nature, but also for the fact of its inhabitants being shepherds and musicians, who the lyric voice identifies itself with; those gifted for a sublime form of existence, those who can abandon themselves to the creative *otium* Virgilius talked about.

The structural and thematic centre of the book is conformed to by the legend of the old hermit monk who experiences how three hundred years go by in the single song of a bird. And this idea is, in Valle-Inclán, the turning point in his modern living of chronological experience, which gets him closer to a bergsonian reading of the chronological conflict proper of the time. This legend of the ecstatic monk, of clear Christian origin, gathers —according to Millé—two biblical texts where the idea of time is linked on one hand to the simultaneous, infinite and eternal of God; on the other, with the limited, the temporary, the ephemeral of humanity (237): Psalm 89 of the Psalter, in its 4th verse, and the third epistle of Saint Peter, in its chapter III, 8th verse, which portray a God indifferent to time, connoisseur of the inner self of things.

Millé reports localizations of this legend in France, Germany or Portugal. But an

echo of it, closer to the author, is also found in his home region of O Salnés, in Galicia; the legend of Ero, founder abbot of Armenteira Monastery, the place that —according to the writer's son— truly inspired Valle-Inclán to write *Aromas de Leyenda*. In any case, this history seems to be a common one to all those places where there has been an enclave of the Cistercian Order, which Valle-Inclán felt a profound interest in, mainly because of the figure of Bernard of Clairvaux who embodies the power of sound as the trigger for mystic ecstasy.

This obsession with the condensation of time, with the *instant pregnant with eternity*, as the writer himself would express, took Valle-Inclán in a journey with two poles: on one hand, reflecting about the idea of time without end and finding models for its expression in art, what he finally resumed in the need to achieve an aesthetic language that would join Grace, Emotion and Truth in one single suggestion; on the other, essaying in his writing the mixture of resources to achieve this aim: symbols, legends, musical elements of language and finally the construction of the image-word, in an inter-artistic and complex proposal which includes the search for *uchronia* —from a thematic and formal point of view—, something noticeable in his verse production, namely in *Aromas de Leyenda*: an inexistent Golden Age, here understood as *a platonic state of happiness, localized in an eternal blessed present that refers to an ideal of harmony, justice and good government* (Bauzá 21 – 22). This is: spiritual and aesthetic moments the writer understands as elements that allow him to go beyond the temporal tracks and project his conception of “eternal”, built out of time and space, as the myth of Arcadia.

But there is still, in this book, another attempt to reorder reality with a moral lesson: an important and scarcely mentioned aspect of Valle-Inclán's use of this legend is the fact that, instead of choosing an Abbot or a theologian as the protagonist of his poems, he is inclined towards the figure of a hermit monk, completely beyond ecclesiastic hierarchies. Turning this old man living in a remote, legendary, quiet land in the protagonist of the book, from its own cover (illustrated by Ricardo Baroja), is added to the fact of identifying the mystical experience of divine intuition with that of a rural landscape, peaceful retirement, where richness of soul confronts abject poverty, and where —according to a couple of verses of its central poem “Ave Serafín”— is to be found “the grace of Christ Our Lord” (Valle-Inclán, *Aromas* 58).

It is precisely in this disapproval of progress and industrialism that we can resume the reasons why this collection of poems no doubt fits even more with this modern spirit that was part of European thought. It is, in fact, a statement where Gnostic philosophical readings of bergsonian echo and religious-social references which could be inspired by Loisy's postulates appear added to a symbolist aesthetic, appropriate for the search of eternity, where configuring an original style and *turning coal into crystal* becomes a priority, as Valle-Inclán himself stated in his articles and papers about art and aesthetics from 1907 on, as a prelude for his spiritual essay *La Lámpara Maravillosa* (1916).

But, in addition, “Ave Serafín” also introduces the first appearance in his production of one of his most recurrent symbols, that of the bird, which will represent, from 1917's *La media noche. Visión estelar de un momento de guerra*, his theory of

“higher vision” or the annulation of chronological borders, which encounters its parallel in Bergson’s conical vision, the total control over time and space: the possibility of observing the whole of times and places. It is, therefore, in *Aromas de Leyenda* that Valle-Inclán firstly depicts eternity as “Eucharistic venture” and hours as sin, fury and lust, representing the revenge of time on human beings. The singing of the birds, namely the “celestial bird,” opens up the contemplative path—which the writer will get back to in further writings—directing the pilgrim, the Saint, to a syncretised paradise of pagan and Christian reminiscences, guarded by archangel Saint Michael, who helps the traveller’s soul battle the diabolic fate of hours. So, the bird means, in the end, the ability to communicate with gods, the union of spirit and matter, the entrance to a superior state of consciousness (Cooper 28 – 29), and in brief, the mixture of mystic and metaphysical ways of reordering reality which Valle-Inclán is in pursuit of:

Arde la zarza adusta en hoguera de amor,
y entre la zarza eleva su canto el ruiseñor,
voz de cristal, que asciende en la paz del sendero
como el airón de plata de un arcángel guerrero,
dulce canto de encanto en jardín abrileno,
que hace entreabrirse la flor azul del ensueño,
la flor azul y mística del alma visionaria
que del ave celeste, la celeste plegaria
oyó trescientos años al borde de la fuente,
donde daba el bautismo a un fauno adolescente,
que ríe todavía, con su réfr pagano,
bajo el agua que vierte el Santo con la mano.

El alma de la tarde se deshoja en el viento,
que murmura el milagro con murmullo de cuento.
El ingenuo milagro al pie de la cisterna
donde el pájaro, el alma de la tarde hace eterna. . .

[...]

Fueran como un instante, al pasar, las centurias.
El pecado es el tiempo: las furias y lujurias
son las horas del tiempo que teje nuestra vida
hasta morir. La muerte ya no tiene medida

[...]

Un perfume de gracia y luz ardiente y mística,
eternidad sin horas y ventura eucarística.

[. . .]

El ave de la luz entreabre el horizonte. (*Aromas* 55 – 59) ¹⁴

Therefore, this will for *uchronia* is portrayed in Valle-Inclán’s poetry, as well as in his contemporaries, through two paths: the resource of myths and aesthetical figura-

tions of timeless nature offered as a retro-effect, a re-evaluation and re-idealization of past, individual or collective; the writer's effort to elaborate a series of techniques that allow him to liberate the poetic form from the sequence and linearity of word. It is compulsory to make it clear that both paths superimpose on each other along his trajectory as a poet. Nevertheless, it is relevant to indicate that depending on which of these aspects we focus, we will obtain a different dimension, a complementary public image of the author, who along his canonization process as a poet will appear as a mystic or an avant-garde writer whose ideological and formal proposals are hardly endorsed by the literary field, except for the youngest poets among his peers in the restricted literary sub-field. In a case, the plot line of the poems on the whole in *Aromas de Leyenda* and *El Pasajero* (1920), his third book of poems, shows the dialogue with (re-)created history and *uchronia*; on the other—mainly *La pipa de kif* (1919), his most rupturing verse collection—presents formal excellence and the most experimental aspect of artistic creation rule. In one case, legendary and mythological writing predominates; in the other, the image-word.

Fundamentally, to our understanding, in what was soon to be a nostalgic evocation of a lost good—encoded in words, images, myths and symbols—, it is precisely this elaboration of aesthetic projections of an archaic and Galician past that constitutes the differential nature of Valle-Inclán's first poetry production in the Spanish literary field of his time. At the same time, it portrays the link between his work and early 20th Century European thought, for he assumes the need to re-order reality concerning both the renewal of artistic expression along with counteracting the empire of dehumanized progress and its impact on people's life, an issue that no doubt makes Valle-Inclán's proposal more up-to-date than ever.

Notes

1. This article is part of the research activities developed by the project *Valle-Inclán, the Press and the Editorial System*, subsidized by the Galician Government (INCITE09263078PR).
2. See Dru Dougherty's *Valle-Inclán y la Segunda República* (Valencia: Pre-Textos, 1986).
3. See Amparo de Juan Bolufer and Javier Serrano Alonso's *Valle-Inclán, candidato republicano* (Santiago de Compostela: Cátedra Valle-Inclán and Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2007).
4. See Santos Zas et al.: *Valle-Inclán, Director de la Academia de Roma (1933 – 1936): Estudio y documentación. Monográfico de Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea / Anuario Valle-Inclán V 30.3* (2005) and *Todo Valle-Inclán en Roma (1933 – 1936): edición, anotación, índices y facsímiles* (Santiago de Compostela and Pontevedra: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela and Deputación de Pontevedra, 2010).
5. See Javier Serrano Alonso and Amparo de Juan Bolufer's "Bibliografía de Ramón del Valle-Inclán," *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea / Anuario Valle-Inclán XII. 37.3* (2012)
6. See Gonzalo Sobejano's *Nietzsche en España* (Madrid: Gredos, 1967).
7. See Rosario Mascato Rey's "Tras la huella de Bergson: fundamentos para un estudio del bergsonismo en Valle-Inclán." *Anales de la Literatura Española Contemporánea / Anuario Valle-Inclán IX. 34.3* (2009): 765 – 91.
8. Mark Antliff's *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

9. This document constitutes the best exposition of modernist doctrines in theology, and shows in the clearest of ways the existent relation between these and the philosophical thought in force by that time, particularly bergsonian intuitionism. Its intention is no other but condemning the fact of modern thinkers questioning dogmatic truths as well as their interest in separating historical Jesus Christ and its divine image, saving the latter exclusively for the sphere of faith; but the most significant and polemical issues were those concerning Catholic church's social performance, an aspect that religious modernism was asking to be reformed regarding its disciplinary regime (more humility and poorness in cleric's life) and its interference in social issues (Cózar). These aspects had a great impact in the political field, because of the denial of the doctrinal role of Church in State—an element that was used by labour unions and progressive politics (See Laboa's "El modernismo teológico en España". *Ínsula* 613 (1998): 21–25). The complete text of the *Enciclica* is accessible in its English version in Vatican's web: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis_en.html.
10. From the original text in Spanish. The translation is mine.
11. Renouvier published a book about time and history he entitled coining a neologism; *Uchronie (L'Utopie dans l'histoire). Esquisse historique apocryphe du développement de la civilisation européenne tel qu'il n'a pas été, tel qu'il aurait pu être*. It is a sort of novel, where the history of Europe is reconstructed, from Clásique Antiquity to the end of 18th Century, with the aim to portray what a society with predominant values as peace and social justice would have been, which bitterly contrasts with the author's social, political and economical world, full of conflicts because of the rule of nationalisms and industrial revolution. Renouvier posts this way a history flow where Christian doctrine had not triumphed in the development of western civilization, where the Roman Empire fall had not occurred and, therefore, Middle Ages had not emerged.
12. See Paul K Alcon's *Origins of Futuristic Fiction* (Athens; Georgia University Press, 1987).
13. The term has currently given name to a new narrative genre, also known as "uchronic fiction" and applicable to literature, cinema and television, meaning a re-writing of history, the projection of alternative worlds and wondering about humanity's development as we know it, something that establishes an intersection between literature and historiography. For an extensive study of the concept, see Henriët's *L'histoire revisitée; Panorama de l'uchronie sous toutes ses formes* (Éditions Encrege / Les Belles lettres, 2004.) or Wesseling's "Historical Fiction. Utopia in History" (Coord. Hans Bertens. *International Postmodernism; Theory and Literary Practice*. Amsterdam; John Benjamins, 1997). . This phenomenon has, likewise, given place to numerous pages and forums in internet (i. e. *Uchronia. The Alternate History List*, accessible in <http://www.uchronia.net>, where a bibliographic index is also available).
14. Without English version of Valle-Inclán's poetry, we offer a prose translation for the purpose of illustrating our article: "Harsh bramble burns in love flame and a nightingale, crystal voice ascending in the peaceful path, elevates its song over it, as the silver crest of the warrior archangel; sweet charming song in an April garden, that makes blue daydream flower open, the blue mystic flower of the visionary soul who heard from the celestial bird the celestial pray three hundred years by the edge of a spring, where a young adolescent faun, who still laughs with his pagan laughter, was being baptized under the water poured by the Saint's hand. [/] The afternoon's soul is torn by the wind, which whispers the miracle with a tale's murmur. The ingenuous miracle by the step of the source where the bird makes the afternoon's soul eternal. [...] Centuries were like an instant in passing by. Sin is time; furies and lust are the hours of time weaving our life till we die. Death has no measure [...] A perfume of grace and mystic and burning light, eternity without hours and Eucharistic venture [...] The bird of light half-opens the horizon."

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