The Psalms of Miguel de Unamuno

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"Esos salmos de mis *Poesías*, con otras varias composiciones que allí hay, son mi religión, y mi religión cantada y no expuesta lógica y razonadamente."

"Mi religión," Obras completas, XVI, 122.

According to what Unamuno has said in his essay, "Mi religión," his psalms—Salmo I, Salmo II and Salmo III—are an expression of his non-rational approach to religion. They also constitute a bridge between the Diario íntimo, written during his spiritual crisis of 1897, and the religious concepts found in La vida de Don Quijote y Sancho (1904) and El sentimiento trágico de la vida (1913). In what follows, I will discuss several key topics—the existence of God, life after death, a pantheistic view of reality—to show how these poems help to explain some of the most important aspects of Unamuno's religious beliefs.

Anyone who wants to understand what Unamuno believed has to contend with the radically different opinions of those who have tried to understand his religious thought. Although he has been attacked from both the liberal and the conservative ends of the ideological spectrum, the Catholic Church has been one of his strongest critics. Both his major religious works—*El sentimiento trágico* and *La agonía del Cristianismo*—have been placed on the Index, and a notable example of orthodox criticism is found in *El pensamiento religioso de Unamuno frente a la iglesia*, written by Quintín Pérez, S.J. In the Prologue of this book, the Bishop of Jaén states that Unamuno's work contains examples of "el escepticismo más desgarrador, el panteísmo, el protestantismo y el modernismo evolucionista" (xi). Father Pérez also tells us that Unamuno's view of the unity of God and the world is a heresy (93), and he goes on to say that his idea of God as the consciousness of the universe is nothing more than "modernismo panteísta" (95).

Conversely, Julián Marías is an example of those who feel that Unamuno's thought is in agreement with traditional Christian beliefs. He points out that Unamuno had a vital interest in Christianity and that he always carried a copy of the New Testament on his person. He then concludes: "Y esto unido a su religiosidad profunda..., le hace sentir, por debajo de todas sus ideas y todas sus dudas, la presencia en su vida de Dios, y de un Dios que es el cristiano, uno y trino, con sus tres personas, con la maternidad virginal de María, con todo el contenido de la liturgía católica:" (144). It is my hope that a study of Unamuno's psalms and their relation to some of his other religious and philosophical works will clarify some aspects of his thinking, and that it will also help to resolve this disagreement about his religious faith.

Salmo I

The first psalm begins with an expression of the anguish caused by the lack of empirical proof for God's existence:

Señor, Señor, ¿por qué consientes que te nieguen ateos? ¿Por qué, Señor, no te nos muestras sin velos, sin engaños? ¿Por qué, Señor, nos dejas en la duda, duda de muerte? ¿Por qué te escondes? ¿Por qué encendiste en nuestro pecho el ansia de conocerte, el ansia de que existas, para velarte así a nuestras miradas? ¿Dónde estás, mi Señor; acaso existes?²

When Unamuno was a child, he accepted the teachings of the Church without question but, as a young man, after trying to find rational proof of God, he began to doubt. As he explains it in the *Diario intimo*, "Con la razón buscaba un Dios racional, que iba desvaneciéndose por ser pura idea..., en un puro fenomenismo, raíz de todo sentimiento de vacío. Y no sentía al Dios vivo, que habita en nosotros, y que se nos revela por actos de caridad..." (*Diario*, 15).

Some of Unamuno's most outspoken critics—Antonio Sánchez Barbudo, Joan Manya, Vicente Marrero, Gilberto Cancela—have concluded that he is an atheist.³ They base this opinion in large part on the fact that Unamuno does not accept any rational proof of God's existence, and that he rejects all attempts to define the Divinity. However, these critics do not take into account what Unamuno has said about the limits of reason and the impossibility of defining God's infinite Being. In lines 61-63 of *Salmo I* he expresses the idea that "¡Lo absoluto, lo suelto, lo sin traba / no ha de entrabarse / ni al corazón ni a la cabeza nuestras!" Then, in *El sentimiento trágico* Unamuno justifies this idea saying that knowledge of God has nothing to do with reason since He is indefinable: "Querer definir a Dios es pretender limitarlo en nuestra mente, es decir, matarlo. En cuanto tratamos de definirlo, nos surge la nada" (XVI, 295). Unamuno has made it clear that, if he believes, it is not because of any rational proof that God is real, since reason does nothing more than convert the Divinity into an empty abstraction. As he puts it: "El Dios lógico, racional... no es más que una idea de Dios, algo muerto" (XVI, 287), after which he goes on to say that the classical proofs of God's existence prove nothing more than the "idea" of God.

Because of this lack of rational proof, in lines 31-33 of *Salmo I*, Unamuno asks for a sign of God's reality that will put an end to atheism:

Una señal, Señor, una tan sólo, una que acabe con todos los ateos de la tierra...

However, in the *Diario intimo* he has already admitted that if he were to receive a sign of God's existence, he would still be dissatisfied. Therefore, he reasons that perhaps his desire itself is a sign: "El pedir señal ¿no es señal? ¿Quién te mueve a pedir señal?... El querer creer ¿No es principio de creer? El que desea fe y la pide ¿no es que la tiene ya, aunque no lo sepa?" (108).

In lines 13-14 of *Salmo I* Unamuno expresses a concept that has confused many critics, when he asks if we are truly created by God, or if God is created by our thought of His existence. Then, in lines 54-57 he asks this same question in a slightly different way:

¿Tú, Señor, nos hiciste para que a Ti te hagamos, o es que te hacemos para que Tú nos hagas?

In order to explain what Unamuno means here, and in other parts of this poem, it will be necessary to clarify his concept of God.

We have seen that the poet's idea of God clashed with that of the Church, and that one of the accusations leveled against him is related to "pantheism," the concept that God and the universe are one, or that the universe is part of God. In spite of the fact that the Church has rejected this idea, there are passages in the New Testament which are suggestive of pantheism. Unamuno often refers to these passages, and there is no doubt that there is a pantheistic element in his own God-concept. For example, in a passage from the *Diario intimo* he tells us that "el Universo personalizado, es Dios" (213). Then, in *El sentimiento trágico* he relates this idea directly to the New Testament when he declares that "este Dios, el Dios vivo, tu Dios, nuestro Dios, está en mí, está en ti, vive en nosotros, y nosotros vivemos, nos movemos y somos en Él" (XVI, 305).

Another aspect of Unamuno's pantheistic thinking is his belief that God is the consciousness of the universe. He does not mention this idea in the *Diario intimo*, but it appears several times in *La vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, and then in a letter to Pedro Jiménez Ilundáin written in 1906, Unamuno says: "Cada día creo más en un Dios personal, Conciencia del Universo, ordenador de todo" (*El drama religioso*, 407). However, it is not until *El sentimiento trágico* that he explains in more detail the idea that God is the totality of consciousness, which means that He is also the foundation of all conscious existence, and that each individual consciousness is also part of God. This does not mean that God is a person, according to our usual way of thinking, but we can in fact relate to Him as a person, since He is present in every human being.

Although Unamuno feels that God can never be defined through the use of reason, He can be *experienced* through the act of love: "Y es que al Dios vivo, al Dios humano, no se llega por camino de razón, sino por camino de amor... El conocimiento de Dios procede del amor a Dios" (XVI, 295). We can now see that this answers the question in *Salmo I*, when Unamuno asks if we are God's creation or if He is ours, and it also clarifies what he means in line 73 when he refers to God as "Padre, Hijo del alma." As he explains in *El sentimiento trágico*:

Dios, que es el Amor, el Padre del Amor, es hijo del amor en nosotros. Hay hombres ligeros y exteriores, esclavos de la razón que nos exterioriza, que creen haber dicho algo con decir que lejos de haber hecho Dios al hombre a su imagen y semejanza, es el hombre el que a su imagen y semejanza se hace sus dioses o su Dios, sin reparar, los muy livianos que si esto segundo es, como realmente es, así, se debe a que no es menos verdad lo primero. Dios y el hombre se hacen mutuamente, en efecto; Dios se hace o se revela en el hombre, y el hombre se hace en Dios (XVI, 297).

The fact that each individual is part of the divine consciousness implies that there is a reciprocal relationship which unites the Creator and His creation. Unamuno insists that if it is true that man creates God in his own image, it is also true that man is created in the image of God. Each person is a creation of the divine consciousness—God is "Padre"—; however, when man acts with love, he creates God within himself by adding to the totality of Love—in this way God is indeed "Hijo del alma."

Another question about Unamuno's belief is raised by what he says in lines 64-66 of *Salmo I* when he refers to God in the following manner:

Fantasma de mi pecho dolorido; proyección de mi espíritu al remoto más allá de las últimas estrellas; mi yo infinito...

This passage which suggests that God is his own self projected to infinity, seems to imply that the poet is both an atheist and an egotist. However, if we keep in mind what he has said about God as the Consciousness of the Universe, we will see that there is neither egotism nor atheism in his statement. Unamuno first mentions this idea—the relation between the individual and God—in the *Diario intimo* when he refers to God as the ideal goal of humanity. His individual self and God—of which his self is part—are both projected to infinity where everything is united, or as he explains: "nuestras vidas paralelas en el infinito se encuentran y mi yo infinito es tu yo, es el Yo colectivo, el Yo Universal" (212-213).

In *La vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* he reiterates that God is the ideal of humanity projected to infinity, and he answers those who criticize him for thinking of God in human terms:

Dios es el ideal de la humanidad, el hombre projectado al infinito y eternizado en él. Y así tiene que ser. ¿Por qué habláis de error antropocéntrico? ¿No decís que una esfera infinita tiene el centro en todas partes...? Para cada uno de nosotros el centro está en sí mismo (185).

As Unamuno explains, if all is part of God's infinite Being everything is interconnected, and any part of this interconnected Whole can be considered the center. Because I am part of God, it could therefore be said that my self, expanded to infinity, is also God. Moreover, since it is not possible for God's infinite Being to fit within our finite understanding—"lo absoluto, lo suelto, lo sin traba / no ha de entrabarse / ni al corazón ni a la cabeza nuestras"—when we think of God, we naturally do it in human, or anthropomorphic terms. Since we cannot comprehend God's unlimited potential, any attempt to understand Him is only a "fantasma," a limited concept that is not God Himself.

Since the time of his religious crisis of 1897, Unamuno has been preoccupied with the question of, what happens when we die? In lines 36-39 of *Salmo I*, he asks God: what is there "más allá de nuestra vida"? Then, in lines 86-89, he gives a partial response to this question:

Si hay un Dios de los hombres, el más allá ¿qué nos importa, hermanos? ¡Morir para que El viva, para que El sea! This idea—that losing our self in God helps to enrich the divine Being—only makes sense in the context of Unamuno's conviction that everything is part of God's universal consciousness. He mentions this idea on several different occasions. For example, in the *Diario intimo* he expresses it in positive terms: "Perdiéndote en Dios es como lograrás tu mayor personalidad" (176); and in a later entry, he adds: "Haciéndonos nada, es decir, haciéndonos a nuestra nada, es como llegaremos a serlo todo, a ser nuestro todo, a ser en cierto sentido dioses" (205-206). By sacrificing our ego to the divine will, we are united with God, and at the same time, we achieve our true divinity. He mentions this idea briefly in *La vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* (IV, 336), but in *El sentimiento trágico* he broadens the scope of his discussion by comparing it to the concept of the "apocatastasis." Based on Paul's first letter to the Corinthians where it is stated that at some future time God will be "all in all" (XV, 23-28), the apocatastasis is a term that Unamuno uses to refer to the idea of an endless approach to God. Although this topic does not appear in any of his *Salmos*, I mention it here briefly because it is related to some of the ideas mentioned in these poems.

In the concluding lines of *Salmo I*, Unamuno says that he can no longer continue to struggle with the mystery of God's existence, and therefore he resigns himself to wait until the moment when the truth is finally revealed:

Ya no te busco, ya no puedo moverme, estoy rendido; [...] aquí, Señor, me quedo, sentado en el umbral como un mendigo que aguarda una limosna; aquí te aguardo. Tú me abrirás la puerta cuando muera, la puerta de la muerte, y entonces la verdad veré de lleno, sabré si Tú eres o dormiré en tu tumba.

It is not that Unamuno is contradicting what he has said about the positive value of the struggle —"mi religión es luchar incesante e incansablemente con el misterio" ("Mi religión," XVI, 118), nor has he given up his desire to know. Rather, he is saying that, since we cannot force God to act, there is a point where we must humbly wait for God to reveal Himself. The poet has made a sincere effort to discover the truth, but he recognizes that his reason is limited and that, in the end, he must wait to see what death will reveal.

Salmo II

The second psalm, which is much shorter than the first, offers some of the same ideas we have already discussed. However, it begins with Unamuno's sharp criticism of those who try to limit God to their incomplete understanding of what is divine:

Fe soberbia, impía, la que no duda, la que encadena a Dios a nuestra idea. "Dios te habla por mi boca" dicen, impíos, y sienten en su pecho: "por la boca de Dios te hablo." No te ama, oh Verdad, quien nunca duda, quien piensa poseerte, porque eres infinita y en nosotros, Verdad, no cabes... (XIII, 286).

Here the poet expresses the frustration we have often felt when we hear someone whose enlarged ego makes them think they understand the mind of God. He implies that these supposedly religious people are trying to imprison God in their own thoughts. As he did in *Salmo I*, he insists that God's infinite Being cannot fit within the limits of our finite understanding, and in lines 44-48 Unamuno repeats his conviction that reason is incapable of proving God's existence:

Lejos de mi, Señor, el pensamiento de enterrarte en la idea, la impiedad de querer con raciocinios demostrar tu existencia.

One of Unamuno's favorite poetic devices is the use of contradictory terms to express his meaning. "Salmo II" begins with the words: "Fe soberbia, impía, / la que no duda..." and Unamuno explains this faith/doubt contradiction in La vida de Don Quijote y Sancho when he says: "Sólo los que dudan creen de verdad, y los que no dudan ni sienten tentaciones contra su fe, no creen de verdad" (IV, 233). Normally "doubt" has a negative connotation, but Unamuno gives it a positive meaning when he affirms that doubt helps us be truly alive, and that the lack of doubt is equivalent to death. As he says in lines 22-23 of Salmo II, "La vida es duda, / y la fe sin la duda es sólo muerte." Faith that is not open to doubt is dogmatic and egotistical, and it also leads to a lack of active thinking, or what Unamuno calls "pereza espiritual."

As the poem continues, the faith/doubt contradiction is combined with a new contradiction between life and death:

Eres, Verdad, la muerte; muere la pobre mente al recibirte. Eres la muerte hermosa, eres la eterna Muerte, el descanso final, santo reposo; en ti el pensar se duerme.

La vida es duda,
y la fe sin la duda es sólo muerte.
Y es la muerte el sustento de la vida,
y de la fe la duda.
Mientras viva, Señor, la duda dame,
fe pura cuando muera;
la vida dame en vida
que en la muerte la muerte,
dame, Señor, la muerte con la vida.
Tú eres el que eres;
si yo te conociera
dejaría de ser quien soy ahora,
en ti me fundiría
siendo Dios como Tú, Verdad suprema (XIII, 286-287).

Like a drop of water that disappears when it falls into the ocean, our consciousness ceases to exist when it returns to its source in the infinite sea of divine consciousness—"si yo te conociera / dejaría de ser quien soy ahora." Why, therefore, does Unamuno refer to death as "la muerte hermosa"; and why does he say that death is the foundation of life: "Y es la muerte el sustento de la vida"? The poem does not give us the answer to these questions, but since Unamuno has discussed these ideas many times, we can shed some light on them by examining his other works.

As we have seen in *Salmo I*, Unamuno has not always looked at death in negative terms. In the *Diario intimo* he has said that by losing our self in God we find our true self (176). Then in *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* he explains the concept of "la muerte hermosa" when he says that it is not our perishable, physical body that matters, but rather our "eternal image" which will be enriched when it unites with the divine consciousness at the moment of death: "Y ésta mi divina idea... se engrandece y se sobrehermosea con mi vencimiento y muerte" (IV, 336).

What Unamuno longs for, however, is not the eternal peace that comes with reaching our goal, but rather a quest for divine perfection that has no end:

Danos tu paraíso, Señor, pero para que lo guardemos y trabajemos, no para dormir en él; dánoslo para que empleemos la eternidad en conquistar palmo a palmo y eternamente los insondables abismos de Tu infinito seno (IV, 276-277). 10

Thus, in *Salmo II* when Unamuno speaks of "la muerte hermosa," or when he refers to death as "el sustento de la vida," he is thinking of death as the active immortality he has described in *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*, as the "paraíso" of an never ending approach to God.

Unamuno has insisted that it is not possible to "know" God, since His absolute Being cannot be encompassed by our limited understanding. Now, in lines 48-54 of *Salmo II*, the poet anticipates what he will say in *El sentimiento trágico*, when he tells us that he has sensed, or felt God's presence:

Yo te siento, Señor, no te conozco, tu Espíritu me envuelve, si conozco contigo, si eres la luz de mi conocimiento, ¿cómo he de conocerte, inconocible? La luz por la que vemos es invisible.

Here Unamuno refers to a Bible passage (I Corinthians II, 10-11) which says that God is only revealed through His spirit in which we exist. Therefore, since God's spirit is the medium through which we know Him, like the light with which we see, or the air which we breathe, he is invisible and unknowable—"No te conozco." However, God's existence can still be felt, as Unamuno later eplains in *El sentimiento trágico*:

El aire... es una cosa inmediatamente sentida; y aunque con él no nos explicásemos el sonido, tendríamos siempre su sensación directa, sobre todo la de su falta, en momentos de ahogo, de hambre de aire. Y de la misma manera, Dios mismo, no ya la idea de Dios, puede llegar a ser una realidad inmediatamente sentida; y aunque no nos expliquemos con su idea ni la existencia ni la esencia del Universo, tenemos a veces el sentimiento directo de Dios, sobre todo en los momentos de ahogo espiritual (XVI, 296).

Thus, Unamuno concludes the poem by expressing his belief in God—"Creo, Señor, en Ti, sin conocerte"—in the only way which is acceptable to him, with a conviction that is tempered by doubt: "creo, confio en Ti, Señor; ayuda / mi desconfianza" (XIII, 288). Again the poet uses a biblical passage (Mark IX, 16-24) as a basis for his idea when he uses the words the father of an epileptic who exclaims: "¡Creo, Señor; ayuda mi incredulidad!" And in *El sentimiento trágico*, Unamuno refers again to this father, saying that "su fe es una fe a base de incertidumbre" (XVI, 248). With this we are reminded of the idea which we discussed at the beginning of *Salmo II*, that only those whose faith is open to doubt can truly believe.

Salmo III

In the third and last psalm, Unamuno discusses the unorthodox idea that God created the universe in order to escape the infinite boredom of eternity. This is another indication of his pantheistic concept of reality which implies that the physical universe is a limitation that God has placed on himself. God suffers while his infinite Being is imprisoned within the limits of material existence: "Oh, Señor, tú que sufres del mundo / sujeto a tu obra...!" Thus it is our task to create more and more consciousness so that God can ultimately be freed from physical limitations. This is an idea that Unamuno develops, beginning with the fifth stanza of the poem:

Al crearnos para tu servicio buscas libertad, sacudirte del recio suplicio de la eternidad. Si he de ser, como quieres, figura y flor de tu gloria, hazte, ¡oh, Tú Creador, criatura rendido a la historia!

Libre ya de tu cerco divino por nosotros estás, sin nosotros sería tu sino o siempre o jamás (XIII, 289-290).

God has projected His infinite being within the confines of human existence—"la historia"—so that He can escape an existence without temporal limits—"o siempre o jamás." Then, paradoxically, it was also necessary for God to experience our pain in order to feel more joy, as we see in lines 29-32:

Por gustar, ¡oh, Impasible!, la pena quisiste penar, te faltaba el dolor que enajena, para más gozar (290).

As he has done with other topics we have discussed, Unamuno has elaborated these thoughts in his prose writing. For example, in *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* he writes: "Y ese sufrimiento... no es sino la pasión de Dios en nosotros, Dios que en nosotros sufre por sentirse preso en nuestra finitud y nuestra temporalidad" (IV, 72). And in *El Sentimiento trágico* he responds to the objection of those who feel it is blasphemous to say that God has allowed Himself to suffer within the limits of physical existence by saying that "Dios, la Conciencia del Universo, está limitado por la materia bruta en que vive... Y nosotros, a nuestra vez, debemos tratar de libertarle de ella" (XVI, 336). In this way he implies that it is our responsibility to free that part of God which is limited by our finite existence.

And on this note of mutual suffering—"que Dios sufre en mí, que que yo sufro en El" (XVI, 336)—Unamuno concludes the poem by offering God his love and his faith, as he asks for assistance in his life-long struggle to believe:

Son tu pan los humanos anhelos, es tu agua la fe; Yo te mando, Señor, a los cielos con mi amor, mi sed.

Es la sed insaciable y ardiente de sólo verdad; dame, ¡oh, Dios!, a beber en la fuente de tu eternidad.

Méteme, Padre eterno, en tu pecho, misterioso hogar, dormiré allí, pues vengo deshecho del duro bregar (XIII, 290-291). Unamuno asks for an assurance of immortality—"dame, joh, Dios!, a beber en la fuente / de tu eternidad"—and he hopes that the suffering caused by his thirst for truth will eventually help him find his way to union with God—" Méteme, Padre eterno, en tu pecho." Thus, we see that one of the most constructive aspects of the poet's religious thinking is that there is hope and meaning in suffering, doubt and death.

This study of the relationship of Unamuno's psalms to the rest of his religious thought will perhaps not satisfy the orthodox critics who feel that his ideas do not agree with the dogmas of the Church, nor will it convince those who insist on a completely rational approach to religion. However, after what Unamuno has said about God as the Consciousness of the Universe, it seems absurd to say that he was an atheist, and I would remind those who want rational proof of God's existence that, for Unamuno, "hay siempre algo irreducible a la razón" (XVI, 325).

Unamuno insists that he can never "know" God. But while for some thinkers the lack of rational proof shows that God does not exist, for Unamuno there is also feeling—"Yo te siento, Señor"—which has helped him believe: "Creo, Señor, en Ti, sin conocerte." We have seen that the poet's psalms are his "religión cantada," his intuitive, or non-rational, approach to religion, and that they also complement what he has said in the other works which were written both before and after these poems. As Unamuno has stated in "Mi religión": "mi religión es luchar con Dios..., como dicen que con Él luchó Jacob." In his *Salmos* he has continued this struggle and, on the basis of what we have found in this study, we can conclude that, although he may not have won, he will never give in to defeat.

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END NOTES

¹ In my article, "Unamuno and the Religion of Uncertainty," I show that while many of his critics feel that Unamuno was an atheist or, at best, an agnostic, there are others who see him as a believer who overcame the doubts that resulted from the inability to find rational proof of God's existence.

² Since the Psalms are quite lengthy, I have not included the complete text in this article. The three Salmos are found in Volume XIII of Unamuno's Obras completas, pp. 281-291. Whenever the number of

a line from the poem is mentioned, it will correspond to the Psalm found in these pages.

³ In his Estudios sobre Unamuno y Machado, Sánchez Barbudo concludes that "Unamuno era en verdad un ateo" (281). In La teología de Unamuno, Manyà states that for Unamuno God is merely a fiction of the mind and therefore "la teología de Unamuno es atea" (78). Vicente Marrero Suárez says he agrees with Sánchez Barbudo that Unamuno is an atheist, and he goes on to affirm that "Cada vez se ponen más de acuerdo los estudiosos sobre que Unamuno, en el fondo, no creía" (251). In his book, El sentimiento religioso de Unamuno, Gilberto Cancela discusses Unamuno's hope that the exisence of God will guarantee our immortality, and then he concludes: "Pero ni esa inmortalidad, ni ese Dios tienen nada que ver con una realidad. Son puros fantasmas creados por nuestro anhelo" (80).

⁴ In "Mi religión" Unamuno insists: "si creo en Dios, o por lo menos creo creer en Él, es ante todo, porque quiero que Dios exista, y después porque se me revela, por via cordial, en el Evangelio y a través de Cristo y la historia. Es cosa de corazón" (XVI, 121).

⁵ For instance, a passage of Paul's letter to the Ephesians states that there is "One God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all" (IV, 6), and in a well-know passage from the Book of Acts, which Unamuno refers to on numerous occasions, Paul says that God is not far from us since "In him we live and move and have our being" (XVII, 28). These passages suggest that God and the universe are one, because He is within all things, and all things have their being in Him.

⁶ On several occasions Unamuno has rejected the concept of pantheism calling it a rational attempt to convert God into an empty abstraction. However, as I point out in my article "The God of Miguel de Unamuno," his objection is directed primarily at the rational philosophy of Spinoza, and is not a rejection of the idea that God and the universe are somehow united. Rather than feeling that that the universe and God are identical, as Spinoza maintained, Unamuno favors a concept which has been called "panentheism," which offers the concept that the universe is part of God, or in God, as stated above in the passage from Paul: "In him we live and move and have our being" (Acts, XVII, 28).

⁷ The letters of Unamuno to Pedro Jiménez Ilundáin have been published by Hernán Benítez in his book, El drama religioso de Unamuno.

⁸ In *El sentimiento trágico* Unamuno conceives of God "como la conciencia misma del linaje humano todo, pasado, presente, futuro, como la conciencia colectiva de todo el linaje, y aún más, como la conciencia total e infinita que abarca y sostiene las conciencias todas, infra-humanas y acaso sobrehumanas. La divinidad que hay en todo, desde la más baja, es decir, desde la menos consciente forma viva hasta la más alta, pasando por nuestra conciencia humana la sentimos personalizada, consciente de si misma, en Dios" (XVI, 302-303).

⁹ For a more complete discussion of Unamuno's ideas concerning the apocatastasis, the reader may consult my article, "The God of Miguel de Unamuno."

¹⁰ In the *Diario íntimo* Unamuno expresses this same idea when he says: "He dado en imaginar que la gloria y la felicidad de los bienaventurados es creciente, que su vida consiste en un continuo aumento de felicidad y de divinización, que van divinizándose cada vez más, acercándose cada día más a Dios por eternidad de eternidades, siendo Dios su límite inasequible. Ese deseo de Dios, a quien se acercan sin cesar, es el acicate de su vida eterna" (162).