

Transcultural Spaces and Identities in Iberian Studies

Edited by
Mark Gant and Susana Rocha Relvas

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Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



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This book first published 2020

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-5275-5953-X

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-5953-0

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INTRODUCTION

SUSANA ROCHA RELVAS & MARK GANT

In the wake of its sister publications *Iberian Interconnections*,¹ *New Journeys in Iberian Studies: A (trans)national and (trans-)regional exploration*² and *Revisiting Centres and Peripheries in Iberian Studies: Culture, History and Socioeconomic Change*,³ this volume brings together selected texts presented at the 41st Annual Conference of the Association for Contemporary Iberian Studies (ACIS) held in Lisbon in September 2019, including those from invited keynote speakers. The Association, which aims to promote and advance the study of political, social, economic, literary, artistic and cultural aspects of contemporary relevance to the Iberian Peninsula, has in recent years reorientated its objects of study, with an increased emphasis on links between the Peninsula and the wider Lusophone and Hispanic worlds. This reflects the recent epistemological turn in Iberian Studies, focusing on multicultural and multilingual phenomena, as well as transnational and transatlantic connections, established not only with other European countries, but also with Spanish and Portuguese-speaking South American, North America, Asia and Africa. The Association's journal, the *International Journal for Iberian Studies* has been fostering original and academically informed research, as is the case with the recent special issue dedicated to new theoretical and methodological trends in Iberian Studies.⁴ Furthermore, the creation of a database including ACIS members, their fields of expertise and research

¹ Susana R. Relvas, María Gómez Bedoya and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas (Eds.) *Iberian Interconnections. ACIS Conference Proceedings*. Porto: Universidade Católica Editora, 2016.

² Mark Gant, Annaliese Hutton and Paco Ruzzante (Eds.), *New Journeys in Iberian Studies: A (Trans)National and (Trans)Regional Exploration* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018).

³ Mark Gant (Ed.). *Revisiting Centres and Peripheries in Iberian Studies: Culture, History and Socioeconomic Change* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019).

⁴ Ângela Fernandes, Robert Patrick Newcomb and Santiago Pérez Isasi (Eds.) *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, vol.32, n°1&2, 2019.

production in Iberian Studies facilitates the promotion of a network of contacts between its members and with scholars, academic institutions and sister associations globally.

As a multiple and interconnected system open to a wide range of research areas, Iberian Studies has been incorporating an increasing number of scholars around the world who have dedicated themselves to the most varied areas and domains of human activity and creativity, giving rise to fruitful research in political, economic, social, cultural, artistic and literary fields, into which the studies in this volume fall. In fact, Iberian Studies has, over the past two decades, been gaining the interest of the academic community, who are now turning to the need to conceptualise this field of study, shaping its epistemological, theoretical and methodological frameworks. Demarcating itself from classic Hispanism and questioning national boundaries, the new trend focuses on Iberia as a systemic cultural space, comprising multiple spatialities: Portuguese, Galician, Spanish (Castilian), Catalan, Basque, among other subcultural systems. These are communities that are culturally, linguistically and literarily close but diverse, with tensions and convergences between spaces and places, centres and margins, providing the construction of images and representations, of the Self and of the Other. This theoretical framework is essentially due to new perspectives driven by Postcolonial, Global, Transnational Cultural Studies and Area Studies, which has allowed the shaping and broadening of new paradigms and trends in Comparative Studies and, in particular, in World Literature. This ground-breaking field, as a result of an eclectic approach, also enables the exploration of new study clusters such as Gender Studies, Women's Writing, Queer Studies, Film and Media Studies and Translation Studies. These approaches do not exclude giving special attention to structural paradigms such as social, historical and geographical contexts. And it is precisely the geocultural perspective that has been recently emphasised in the approach to Iberian Studies, as is highlighted in this volume by Maria Encarnación Carrillo's chapter, which stresses the contribution of Geosophy to the cognitive mapping of Iberian Studies. Inscribed in the broader scope of geocriticism and spatial literary studies, this hybrid concept deals with real and imaginary or "subjective spaces", and might be a viable method for the organisation and description of literary spaces, as the author affirms.

Under the title *Transcultural Spaces and Identities in Iberian Studies*, the aim of this volume is to present innovative research findings in different areas of knowledge, contributing to the deepening and dissemination of this expanding research area in the current academic framework, focusing on a broad range of themes concerning the Iberian Peninsula, in a transnational

and transatlantic perspective. Contributors are established academics and early career researchers from the UK, Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Brazil, Japan and the USA.

Organised in six sections and eighteen chapters, this book encompasses a temporal span from the late nineteenth century to the present and the volume is committed to extending the boundaries and possibilities of Iberian Studies, presenting contributions in core areas such as economics, society, politics, literature, cinema and other artistic forms, either in a revisionist perspective or incorporating new data enriching the Iberian Studies repertoire. From the social, political and economic point of view, the book makes available new approaches, with a specific focus on the concept of nation, legal borders and imaginary territorialities, democratic and dictatorial political systems, Peninsular legislation related to recognition of the Sephardic community and the rescue of historical memory, migrations, diasporas and citizenship, social mobilisation and economies. Former and current political systems and economic policies are also discussed. With regard to literary and cultural areas, this volume provides, in a comparative perspective, several chapters dedicated to image and reception, imaginaries and representations, cross-cultural dialogues, bridging both other European countries, such as the United Kingdom and France, and transatlantic interconnections with South America, as well as Luso-African social and cultural exchanges and networks; the origins and perspectives of Iberian cinema; new contributions to Gender Studies recovering female writers hitherto forgotten or neglected by critics; and a pedagogical proposal for literature and language teaching.

The first section comprises two chapters dedicated to Iberian Cinema. Begoña Soto-Vázquez goes back to the origins of Iberian cinema, between 1896 and 1898, identifying the technical devices used and the first filming carried out by foreign cinematographers who chose the landscapes of Portugal and Spain as their preferred settings, attracted as they were by the perceived exoticism of the Iberian Peninsula. As the author demonstrates, it is possible to identify vehicles of communication between the two countries and the connecting link with Great Britain and France, only achievable due to the increase in rail networks promoted in the Iberian Peninsula in the second half of the nineteenth century, shortening distances between Iberia and the rest of Europe. In the dawn of Iberian cinema, two distinct trends emerge: authorial cinema in Portugal and popular cinema in Spain. In the following chapter, Luís Cardoso stresses the connections between literature and cinema, focusing on the adaptations to the cinema of the novels of Portuguese writer Vergílio Ferreira: *Cântico Final*, *Manhã Submersa* and *Aparição*, by the film directors Manuel Guimarães, Lauro António and

Fernando Mandrell. Despite the Iberian historical context framing these films, marked by totalitarian and ideologically close regimes, these book-to-film adaptations seek to free the characters from the shackles of repression. Although these cinematographic adaptations are not always faithful to the original novels and triggered both the author's discontent and censorship from the regime, the works of the Portuguese writer serve as a starting point for a cinematic reflection not only on the constraints and mutations of Portuguese society throughout the twentieth century, but also on the universal problems of humankind.

Section Two, which is devoted to Iberian and Hispanic Identities and Representations between the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, addresses the image, influence and reception of Hispanism in Portugal, France and Latin America. In a broader context of cross-cultural Lusophone and Hispanic spaces and identities, Susana Rocha Relvas's chapter focuses on a re-reading of António Sardinha's *A Aliança Peninsular* in the light of postcolonial and decolonial theories. For the first time in the critical studies on António Sardinha's Hispanic theory, this fresh approach reveals that a new narrative emerges (as an alternative) based on colonial practices, which aligns countries that are historically and culturally close in a new spiritual cartography that aims to rescue the old Hispanic civilisational paradigm. In its turn, Dário Varela's chapter is concerned with the reception of Hispanism in France, analysing the historical and cultural representations of Iberian countries in the first French journals dedicated to Hispanic culture: *La Revue Hispanique*, *Le Bulletin Hispanique* and *La Revue de l'Amérique Latine*. The author aims to discover how the pioneers of French Hispanic studies of the early twentieth century conceive the Iberian space in its various fields. This allows us to understand to what extent the Iberian space was of interest to the French reader, as well as what were the predominant views in France concerning the different political, cultural and social strands involved, highlighting the contribution of intellectual networks in boosting Hispanic studies in France.

Purificació Mascarell opens the third section of the volume, dedicated to Gender, Feminism and Spatiality, with a chapter analysing how Spanish academic, editorial and cultural spheres carried out efforts to recover the memory and works of the pioneers of feminism in Spain, the so-called "modern women": Carmen Méndez, Elena Fortún, Rosa Chacel, Ernestina de Champourcín, Josefina de la Torre and María Teresa de León. The role of these women in the intellectual development of the 1930s was only studied and claimed 80 years later, after their important contributions to the construction of Spanish modernity had been erased from the literary map, due to the outbreak of the Civil War and decades of Francoism, intensifying

a patriarchal system that relegated women's discourse to oblivion. The author analyses the various fronts on which the social and literary restitution of the "modern women" is taking place through transmedia projects like "Las Sinsombrero" and LOEP Research Group's "The Other Silver Age", belonging to the Complutense University of Madrid.

Continuing with the theme of gender and spatial studies, Maria Encarnación Carrillo analyses the geographical spaces mentioned in Carolina Coronado's literary works as she creates a pedagogical proposal for language and literature teaching. Within the realm of literary theory, the author moves between Ecocriticism and Literary Geosophy, a concept coined by the humanistic geographer J. K. Wright, as she examines the real and idealised Iberian spaces between Portugal and Spain, where Coronado's works take place. Continuing this pursuit of the rehabilitation of female writers, Natalia Corbellini and Silvia Carina Fernández offer a transatlantic and cross-cultural study of the presence and impact of Emilia Pardo Bazán in Buenos Aires, with emphasis on the controversy known as "La cuestión palpitante". In the cultural turmoil leading to Modernism, Pardo Bazán's feminist claims and her status as a woman writer brought about a change in the Argentine and Spanish cultural milieu. Continuing on the track of female writing, Monica Varese contributes to the rehabilitation of the English writer Nancy J. Johnstone, taking as her starting and end points "the current surge in fascist-inflected discourse in the world, and revitalised imperial yearnings". The author explains the reasons why Johnstone has been out of print in English, despite her Spanish and Catalan editions, and narrates her new life and social commitment in Spain before and during the Spanish Civil War.

Section Four comprises three chapters under the topic of Iberian Contacts, Exchanges and Networks. In the opening chapter, Margarida Rendeiro studies the construction of Saramago's editorial success in Spain in its particular political and cultural context, and stresses the writer's affiliation as Iberian rather than European. She follows Saramago's biographical path, especially the "symbolic capital" built upon his literary recognition, and the positioning of Portuguese publishers vis-à-vis the Spanish publishing market. The combination of these factors increased the circulation of editions of Saramago's work in Spain, opening up the Spanish publishing market to other Portuguese writers. Continuing the dynamics of book publishing in the Iberian context, João Luís Lisboa brings together a similar interest in Iberian publication, which focuses on Spanish novels in Portuguese popular editions in the early twentieth century. In the publishing universe, from magazines to novels, Portuguese readers had access to well-known French, Russian, Italian, English and Spanish authors. This editorial

trend was responsible for the development of a larger publishing network including bookstores and translators. Among the Spanish writers concerned, Enrique Pérez Escrich and Vicente Blasco Ibañez were the most successful; their novels entertained ideologically different target audiences and were prolifically published and adapted to the cinema. In the following chapter, Cristiane M. Oliveira leads us to relations between Iberia and the South American continent, presenting the context and characteristics of cultural cooperation carried out by the Organization of Ibero-American States, based on her study of Ibero-American Culture programmes, specifically via the analysis of the Iberescena programme. The author explains the concept of an Ibero-American space for cooperation and cultural programmes, highlighting the purpose of the Iberescena award, its indicators and economic data based on the “Informe Iberescena 10 años”. The flow and distribution of resources between the countries that are part of the initiative are identified, in addition to the preferred partners in co-production actions, highlighting Spain in particular as a key protagonist in this postcolonial project. The interaction between countries in co-productions is analysed from the perspective of network theory and using Gephi software.

Silke Hünecke opens Section Five, dedicated to Nation, Community and Memory Culture, with a chapter on the memorialist movement in Spain, analysing both the ways of dealing with the legacy of Francoist memory in the public space and the (re-)construction of an anti-Francoist culture of memory. Using qualitative research work and based on interviews with activists from 24 associations, the author studies the combination of problem construction (diagnostic framing), solution strategies (prognostic framing) and the actions linked to them by the associations in relation to the culture of memory between 2000 and 2010. The following chapter, by Antia Monteagudo, analyses two television programmes, *Sítio Distinto* and *Arte de Ser Português*, as performative acts in the sphere of television, since they take art to the public space, reflect on that space and its artists, and also think of art in relation to the everyday world, concretely, as concerning the daily activities of Portuguese and Galician people within their context. On the other hand, Davide Aliberti’s chapter, focusing on the concept of nation and identity, presents a comparative analysis of the 2015 Iberian Citizenship Laws for Sephardic Jews, the result of a long process that goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century. He carries out a comparative analysis of the effects of these two trajectories, resulting in an attempt to repair a historical error that, in his view, remains unfinished.

This volume ends with Section Six, dedicated to Migrations, Identities, Social Mobilisation and Economies. Cindy Pinhal opens the collection with a chapter dedicated to Luso-Africans in a post migrant Europe, having as a

starting point Reis-Baptista-Miller Guerra's documentary *Li Ké Terra [Our Home]* (2010). Through the filmic representation of two Luso-African youths navigating their sense of identity within Portuguese society, the author argues that the tension between a growing non-white community and essentialist definitions of belonging as subjects of the nation can produce new forms of identity and agency that do not take the nation-state as a point of reference, constructing ways of "performing identity", envisioning alternate possibilities of relating for the future in a post national Europe.

Continuing this core theme of migrations and identities, Sarah Harris reflects on Catalonia as a region of overlapping and contested borders where, in the past few years, tensions with the Spanish State have been especially pronounced. International migration remained high in the region through the national economic slump, being represented in visual arts and narrative literature. The author stresses that, despite the marginal space that graphic novels have occupied in mainstream academia, in Spain graphic novels have been noteworthy for featuring migrants to Catalonia, highlighting visual contrasts, parallels and metaphors for permeability, and subtle iconic references to broader political contexts, in order to explore what the medium adds to an academic conversation on border identities. In turn, Nick Sharman, who has been contributing to Iberian Studies with his ongoing project exploring social, economic and political relationships between Britain and Spain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, brings to light a particular episode regarding the Rio Tinto strike of 1920, which represented a turning point in social mobilisation and particularly in the Spanish labour movement. This strike, carried out by Spanish miners from a British company operating in Spanish territory in the post-war period, shows, on the one hand, the labour weaknesses of the time and, on the other, the power that unions and public opinion acquired as a form of pressure against autocratic management, and the changes that subsequently took place in the development of economic nationalism in Spain. Finally, Narita Makiko, who has also had a regular presence in our publications, proceeds in her area of expertise, Iberian economic affairs, as she studies foreign direct investment after the Great Recession, arguing whether it represented an opportunity or a risk for Spain, taking into account two recent events with national and international implications: the Catalan crisis and Brexit.

Given these contributions, research in Iberian Studies has proved to be of great potential and highly captivating due to the diversity of themes explored, engaging the academic community devoted not only to the study of Peninsular affairs, but also to the interconnections with the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking worlds, taking into account the historical and cultural

relations that bring them together. Consequently, we hope that this volume will contribute to broadening of knowledge in this area and, ultimately, to the maturation and institutionalisation of Iberian Studies. This book will therefore appeal both to early career academics and to established scholars.

We wish to thank all the contributors for their stimulating and informative chapters. We are also grateful to the staff of Cambridge Scholars for having authorised the inclusion of chapters in a language other than English and for their assistance in preparing this volume.

SECTION TWO:
IBERIAN AND HISPANIC REPRESENTATIONS

CHAPTER THREE

CROSS-CULTURAL LUSOPHONE AND HISPANIC SPACES AND IDENTITIES: A POSTCOLONIAL AND DECOLONIAL READING OF ANTÓNIO SARDINHA'S HISPANISM

SUSANA ROCHA RELVAS

Introduction

In this chapter we aim at analysing Antonio Sardinha's Hispanism in the light of some key concepts of postcolonial and global thought, such as the formation of collective identities, relation between myth and nation, memory and history, cross-border and transatlantic networks and interconnections between different cultural spaces in the interwar period, in order to confirm how these aspects can be discerned in Sardinha's main book *The Peninsular Alliance [A Aliança Peninsular]* and how far his Hispanist theory, which influenced several generations until the present, stands from postcolonial and decolonial thinking. This analysis must, however, be understood in the light of the historical and social framework of the Iberian Peninsula at the dawn of the brief but extreme 20th century (Hobsbawm 1995), when Spain was still facing the trauma of the irreparable loss of its empire, and Portugal was struggling to maintain its overseas possessions, whose extension and heterogeneity obstructed effective governance (Marcocci 2016). From a political and economic point of view, the crisis of institutions and the bankruptcy of the national treasury, which had always plagued the two Iberian countries, were intensified by the English ultimatum to Portugal in 1891 and the Spanish loss of American colonies in 1898. In addition, Portugal's participation in the Great War and Spanish intervention in North Africa resulted in internal social conflicts perpetrated by a heterogeneous social-political spectrum led by monarchists, republicans, anarchists and socialists, proving the nineteenth century

political model to be unsustainable. This was a time of ideological confrontation between tradition and modernity, nationalism and Europeanism, with repercussions for cultural and literary production. On the other hand, Iberian cultural history has permanently been represented by a *continuum* between the dialectical concepts of history and utopia that have, over the centuries, fed ideological discourses. Messianism, Sebastianism and the Fifth Empire from the Portuguese mythological and legendary background and Quixotism and Hispanism from the Spanish cultural set of references are converted into “civilizational” archetypes, comprising the Iberian symbolic system.

Taking into account this political, social and cultural framework, at the beginning of the 20th century Portuguese and Spanish cultural movements started, searching for spiritual renewal and political and economic assertion among global nations. The two Iberian governments reinforced their political activities with an aim of strengthening cross-border and transatlantic ties (Torre Gómez 1985), while a considerable group of Spanish intellectuals including Ramiro de Maeztu, Alfonso Reyes, Miguel de Unamuno, García Morente and the Portuguese António Sardinha contributed to the maturation of Hispanic thought and established a cultural network of academic cooperation and exchange, as well as vigorous publishing and translation activity. These booming political and cultural dynamics favoured a global interconnection between Iberian, Lusophone and Hispanic spaces, through their *sui generis* variations of Luso-Tropicalism, Ibero-Americanism, Hispano-Americanism or Latin-Americanism, which was widely used and discussed, especially in the interwar period, with political, philosophical and sociological implications (Faber, citing Rojas Mix 2005, 70).¹

¹ From a Peninsular perspective, the term “Ibero-America” is used around the turn of the century, in diplomatic, scientific and academic contexts, to designate the entire Peninsula as a cultural unit, including Portugal and Brazil (cf. Faber, citing Rojas Mix, 2005, 70). In Portugal, the literary critic Fidelino de Figueiredo, for example, adopts Ibero-American as a term relative to the common geographical and cultural space in *Notas para um Ideário Português. Política e Literatura*. Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1929, 90. From the South American point of view, the notion of “Ibero-Americanism” was used in the 1920s as a variant of Hispanism in order to designate the ties between Spain and Latin America, as opposed to the Pan-Americanism propagated by the United States since the nineteenth century. In turn, the French term “Latin America” was broadly adopted to refer to the European (Latin) heritage. Regarding the concept “Luso-Tropicalism”, this was adopted by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, in order to characterise a multiracial and multicultural civilization, highlighting the superiority of the Portuguese imperialism over other empires. On this subject see Lisa Voigt’s *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern*



Fig. 3-1 António Sardinha in the 1920s

António Sardinha and the origin of his Hispanic theory

Born in Monforte do Alentejo in 1887, António de Sousa Sardinha was, during his academic education at the University of Coimbra, an enthusiastic Republican. However, shortly after the establishment of the First Republic, he became involved in the monarchical cause. After graduating in law, Sardinha became the mentor of the *Integralismo Lusitano* movement, created in 1914, and whose ideology was disseminated through the journals *Nação Portuguesa* (1914–1938) and *A Monarquia* (1919–1924). There he published his counter-revolutionary ideas based on anti-Semitism and race in order to affirm national identity, and began to outline a political system grounded on Catholic, traditionalist and anti-parliamentary monarchy along the lines of Charles Mauras, Maurice Barrès and Gustave Le Bon, being elected deputy for the monarchist wing during the brief military dictatorship of Sidónio Pais (1918). Sardinha was also recognised for his poetry under the revivalist trends of “Lusitanismo” and “Neogarretismo” (a literary trend inspired by the romantic writer Almeida Garret), and for his sociological

Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds. The University of North Carolina Press, 2009 and Cláudia Castelo's *O Modo Português de estar no Mundo O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933–1961)*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1999.

studies on Portuguese history, political thought and peninsular affairs. Aiming to ratify positivist historical narrative, he revised all the crucial facts of Peninsular history as well as misunderstood characters such as Queen Carlota Joaquina, King Sebastian or the Spanish Felipe II, according to his conservative ideas (Sardinha 1924). In 1915, the 1st generation of the Integralist movement (Barreira 1982), composed by António Sardinha, Pequito Rebelo, Rolão Preto, Luis de Almeida Braga, Alberto de Monsaraz, and Hipólito Raposo organised the so-called *Naval League Conferences*, which represented a statement of the Integralist group against republican objectives for unifying Portugal and Spain in a federalist system. In his essay entitled "Territory and Race", Sardinha stressed the national ethnic origin of the Portuguese people, their "municipalist" tradition as well as the irrefutable dissimilarities between Portugal and Spain (Sardinha 1916).

Nevertheless, between 1919 and 1921, after Sardinha's involvement in the armed attempts to re-establish the monarchy,² he was forced into exile in Spain, which represented a determinative turning point in his political philosophy. Abandoning hispanophobic "prejudices"³ and initiating a fruitful dialogue with "conservative Spanish intellectuals" (Sardinha 1943, 3–4), he underwent a process of physical and mental "reterritorialization"; to make an appropriation of Deleuze and Guattari's expression (1992), that is, the sense of belonging to a new locality, resulting in what David Bevan calls "renewed identity" (1990, 4). The ambivalent feeling of belonging and strangeness towards Spain (Relvas 2018), led Sardinha to the formulation of his Hispanist theory which, although recognising Portuguese and Spanish cultural individuality and political autonomy, intends to be a compromise between the two Iberian countries in order to recover the lost dream of the Peninsula's ecumenical mission in the world. Sardinha's integralist discourse begins to convey a unitary vision of otherness, an attempt to legitimize Hispanism as a cross-border and transatlantic trend, attaining a vast geographical space, focusing both on the "Portuguese overseas heritage" still prevailing in South America, Africa and Asia (India and Macao), and the Spanish mission in Morocco, which should be preserved at any cost, especially after the Melilla disaster in 1921 and to which Sardinha was not indifferent, by dedicating his seminal book to the ten thousand soldiers who perished in the Battle of Annual⁴.

² Armed incursions of Monsanto and Monarquia do Norte, led by the counter-revolutionary soldier Paiva Couceiro (1919).

³ All the excerpts cited are translated by the author.

⁴ "To the memory of those Spanish soldiers who, fertilizing the cliffs of Morocco with their anonymous blood, were able to bring to life in a hopeless century all the historical grandeur of the Peninsula.", "*À memória daqueles soldados espanhóis*

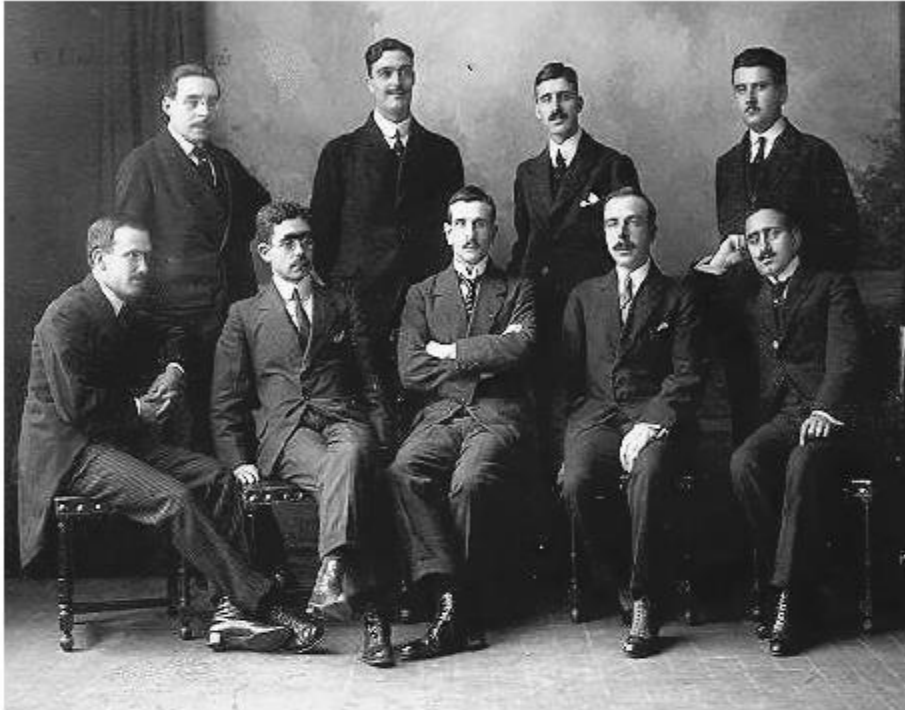


Fig. 3-2 Naval League Conferences in 1915. From left to right, standing: Ruy Ulrich, Hipólito Raposo, Luis de Almeida Braga and José Pequito Rebelo. From left to right, sitting: António Sardinha, Vasco de Carvalho, Luis de Freitas Branco, Xavier Cordeiro and Alberto Monsaraz.

A Aliança Peninsular as a political, cultural and spiritual project

Sardinha's production on Peninsular affairs is spread over the following titles: *The Peninsular Alliance- Background and Possibilities* [*A Aliança Peninsular - Antecedentes e Possibilidades*], (with 3 Portuguese editions: 1924, 1930, 1972 and two Spanish editions: 1930, 1939); *At the Castilian Fireplace* [*À Lareira de Castela*] (1943); and *The Peninsular Affair* [*La Cuestión Peninsular*] (1927, 1940) as a result of a set of essays published in Portuguese, Brazilian and Spanish journals and cultural magazines between 1921 and 1924. In *A Aliança Peninsular* the Integralist thinker aimed at

que, regando com seu sangue anónimo as penhas de Marrocos, souberam dar vida num século sem esperança a toda a grandeza histórica da Península" (Sardinha, 1972).

awakening Hispanic peoples to their “universal vocation”; by recognising the common Iberian historical background, and stressing the importance of future cooperation for the accomplishment of a glorious mutual destiny, as Maura Gamazo highlighted in his prologue to *A Aliança Peninsular* (1972, xxi). According to Sardinha’s treatise, the Lusophone and the Hispanic worlds shared “Madre Hispania” as their geographical origin, forming intertwined relations and multiple exchanges that resulted in a unique cultural dialectic (Marcocci 2016). Sardinha’s book, read and followed by countless sympathizers, including the Spanish Ramiro de Maeztu and Primo de Rivera and Brazilians Gilberto Freyre, Plínio Salgado and Getúlio Vargas, enclosed a messianic message, given the vocation endorsed for Iberia as a pioneer in the modern age of an ecumenical ideal craving for the absolute, and, ultimately, as the propagator of a predominantly Iberian, European and Western civilizational model, as he stressed that “The Peninsula will be in Europe, not only its head, but its saviour” (Sardinha 1972, 267).

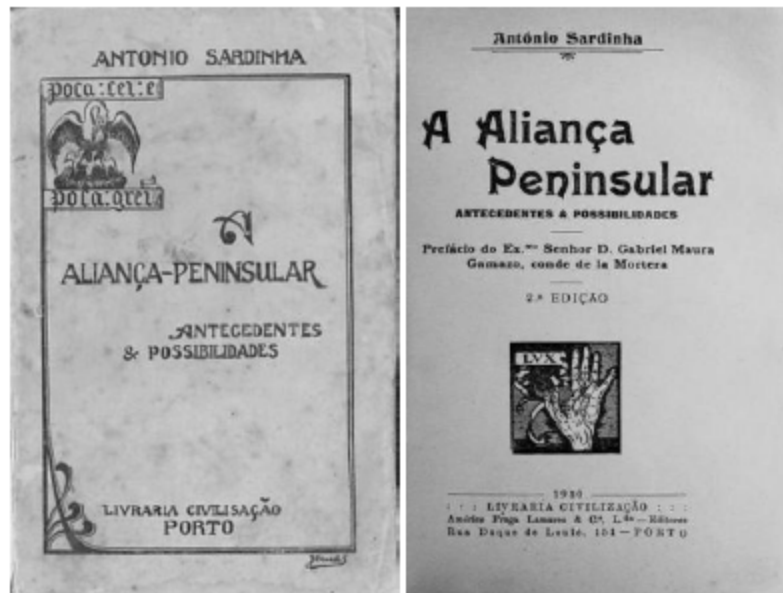




Fig. 3-3 Portuguese editions: 1924, 1930, and 1972 and the Spanish editions: 1930 and 1939

The process of conquest, colonization and civilization of the South American countries was seen as a predestined mission performed by Portugal and Spain, since “to spiritualize is to civilize” (1972, 330). Transcendence and traditionalism therefore defined the strengths of his Hispanist programme embodied in the identity matrix of Catholicism and universalism (Sardinha 1943, 94). “Let us”—stated the author—“therefore prepare ourselves to receive the high dignity in which God invests us as a point of connection between Europe and America” (1972, 242). Sardinha went further by detaching the Iberian Peninsula from its European (mainly Latin) cultural references and focused on his Pan-Hispanic legacy, a “unified transatlantic cultural space” reaching the idea/ideal of a super/supra-nationalism, placing Hispanism in a utopian territoriality (Deleuze & Guattari 1992, 39). The political and geographical boundaries of Hispanic world, forged in the path of discoveries, gave way to a re-dimensioned map shaped by an immaterial heritage, a “newly imagined realm” (Bouker 2009, 1), representing the Portuguese last crusade to the fulfilment of the Fifth Empire.

If Hispanism encompassed the archives of collective memory, it was grounded on shared beliefs, as Alexander Wendt states, of “myths, narratives, and traditions that constitute who a group is and how it relates to others” (Wendt 2010, 163)⁵. Through the appropriation of the literary and historical myths of Sebastianism and Quixotism, as the two ultimate models of the Iberian symbolic system, Sardinha expressed the Portuguese expansionist vocation and the Spanish chivalrous tradition. The “sentimental and mystical reason of Sebastianism”, in contrast with the “knight-errant spectrum” of Don Quixote, “individualize, historically and ideally, Portugal and Castile” (Sardinha 1972: 110), revealing inexhaustible “sources of positive energy in the dynamics of national genius” (Sardinha 1940: 67). In this sense, Don Quixote and Don Sebastian, holders of a “set of feelings and moral forces” (Sardinha 1928, 260–261), assure the prevalence of spirit over matter.

This utopian project, which sought to recover *mare nostrum* Atlantic policy, cultural hegemony (1972, 350), and lost greatness, is no less than a renewed discourse of imperialist revivalism. As Joan Ramón Resina stresses, the cultural domination that represents Hispanism, in its hegemonic

⁵ Alexander Wendt analyses collective identity using these constructivist variables, as follows: “Cultural change involves the emergence of new forms of collective identity, [...]. I discuss four «master variables» or causes of collective identity formation: interdependence, common fate, homogenization, and self-restraint, each of which can be instantiated or realized concretely in multiple ways” (Wendt 2010, 44).

assertion, has always been understood as a project of civilization or as a redemptive mission (2005, 160–161) and is no less than a disciplined memory to achieve real and symbolic dominance. Thus, *A Aliança Peninsular* was not merely an exhortative narrative of the common ecumenical past, it conveyed a condescending, racist and elitist discourse towards the young South American countries, turning his creed into a salvific mission, as it is intended to “save” the young South American nations, “desperately in need of support and orientation from Iberia, now that America has just emerged from the dazzling mystery of its primitivism” (1972, 337). Sardinha’s contempt for native cultures and races, whose government should be assured by Creole elite, “so eminently representative of the modern intellectual tendencies” in South America (1972, 337), meant civilization’s victory over barbarism. If, from the political point of view, Sardinha stood for the monarchical, anti-parliamentary, conservative and Catholic system upheld by the two Iberian royal houses with a military and diplomatic union for their common defence (1972, 320), he nevertheless recognized that the presidential system under the aegis of corporate and authoritarian states would better serve Latin American young nations. This political system, prevailing until today in South American countries, is according to Walter Mignolo, a rearticulation of the colonial matrix of power, converted into an “internal colonialism”, affirming that this nation-state model is clearly “a colonial power” led by a “white elite from European descent”, who “took the power from the hands of Spanish and Portuguese monarchies re-enacted in their own hands” (2007, 157).

That is why Sardinha’s Hispanism is to be found in the antipodes of postcolonial and decolonial thinking. Far from today’s decolonial epistemic perspective (around theorists such as Walter D. Mignolo, Ramón Grosfoguel or Anibal Quijano⁶), Sardinha’s Hispanism was, simultaneously, a neo-colonial model in a post-imperial temporality, which struggled to preserve the Iberian domain over former colonies in order to regain world dominance. Validating just one form of knowledge, the Eurocentric one, Sardinha’s political discourse did not allow the epistemic diversity to which the Romantic movement gave expression in the Western world and especially in South America with the early proclamation of Brazilian

⁶ “Quijano’s seminal article of colonial matrix of power is described in four interrelated domains: control of economy (land appropriation, exploitation of labour, control of natural resources); control of authority (institution, army); control of gender and sexuality (family, education) and control of subjectivity and knowledge (epistemology, education, and formation of subjectivity)” (Mignolo 2007, 156) Decoloniality is, therefore, “a response to the relation of direct, political, social and cultural domination established by Europeans” (Quijano 2007, 168).

independence in 1822⁷ and the spread of liberation movements in the Spanish speaking countries led by Simon Bolivar, José Martí, among others. According to Sardinha, “the mad wind of romanticism”, resulting in the “literary Indianism with influence on the individualist insurrection” (1972, 337), was responsible for the “chaotic blur of *mestizos* trampling on the loose” (1972, 340). As a counter-revolutionary theory, Hispanism aimed to prevent the spreading of French liberal politics and North American utilitarianism, whose harmful effects were, according to the Portuguese ideologist, the cause of the loss of Latin American identity (1972, 340). Hispanism was, therefore, an imperialist surrogate intended to unify peoples under the same cultural heritage, erasing African, Asian and Latin American indigenous identities, in an attempt to preserve the colonial structures of power. Therefore, Sardinha’s theory contributes to what Boaventura Sousa Santos calls an Epistemicide (2009, 10), disabling the free expression of Latin American native paradigms and epistemologies, and imposing a Eurocentric and, more precisely, an Iberocentric epistemology prevailing over the voiceless subaltern native cultures (Spivak 2010). Following the same line of thought, Anibal Quijano refers to Eurocentred colonial domination in Latin America, stating that it obstructed “the cultural production of the dominated” and therefore it was “a very efficient means of social and cultural control” (2007, 169).

Conclusion

As we have seen, Antonio Sardinha’s initial anti-Iberianism gave way to a Hispanic consciousness which was politically engaged with the monarchical regime, culturally affiliated to the common historical deeds and convergent myths, gathering and complementing the two Peninsular nations. It was in this context that, as an alternative to the republican and democratic systems in crisis, António Sardinha conceived a supra-nationalist triangle joining Iberian, Latin American and African countries, and by recovering the Lusophone and Hispanic powers he aimed at re-establishing the old world order.

According to Sardinha, the Hispanist theory was the one that best suited Peninsular and South-American political, economic and cultural urges of

⁷ Brazilian Romanticism (19th century) was the literary period that came after *Arcadismo* (18th century) and is divided into three phases: First Generation (Indianism), Second Generation (Ultra Romanticism) and Third Generation (*Condoreirismo*). According to Sardinha, it was “the problem of literary Indianism and its influence on the individualist insurrection that resulted in the mad wind of romanticism” (1972, 337).

the 1920s, becoming a vital ideology of his Integralism movement and a reference point for Portuguese, Brazilian and Spanish political movements in the following decades. Sardinha's ambivalent theory was based on rescuing the old Hispanic civilizational paradigm with the aim of reshaping political, cultural and social cartographies, in order to re-establish a new kind of colonial hegemony using a narrative of nostalgia, grounded on spiritual, historical and cultural ties. Hispanism must be therefore understood in the light of the historical and political circumstances of the moment, as an attempt of perpetuating the glorious past and searching for the balance of forces between empires.

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