

Intellectuals in the Latin Space during the Era of Fascism

Crossing Borders

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Chapter 2

António Sardinha and his Ibero-American connections: Traditionalism and universalism

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2 **António Sardinha and his Ibero-American connections**

Traditionalism and universalism

Sérgio Campos Matos

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Portugal and Spain sought to strengthen cultural and political ties with the American nations, their former colonies. In a world of large colonial empires, increasingly becoming globalized and interconnected through railways, the electric telegraph, telephone, mass media and so on, there was a growing awareness that the smaller powers could only survive by organizing themselves into alliances or systems of large blocs of nations where ethnic, religious and linguistic affinities would have an important role to play.

These intentions were evident during the fourth centenary of the voyage of Columbus (1892) and in the organization of a series of scientific congresses in the late nineteenth century (e.g. the Hispano-Portuguese-American Congress), and later during the first centenary of the independence of Brazil (1922). Portugal and Spain were engaged in new diplomatic and cultural relations with the new American states. At a time of globalization, the conviction that was spreading among the elites of small powers was that only by strengthening their interrelations would it be possible to recover their national projection in a world dominated by great empires: the British, the Russian, the French and, from the end of the century, the German empire, as well as the United States of America, which after that time would extend its power into the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

António Sardinha (1887–1925), born in Portugal (Monforte, Alentejo), was the most prominent theorist of *Integralismo Lusitano* (Lusitanian Integralism), an influential Portuguese cultural and political elite movement active between 1914 and the beginning of Estado Novo, the dictatorial regime established in Portugal in 1933. He was an essayist, poet, pamphleteer and editor of the movement's most important doctrinal organ: the review *Nação Portuguesa*, 1914–1938. The Integralists defined themselves as royalists, traditionalists, an organic, anti-liberal, anti-democratic and Catholic movement.¹ *Integralismo* was highly critical of the Portuguese First Republic, the third republican regime established in modern Europe in 1910, after France and Switzerland.

How can we understand *Integralismo Lusitano* and António Sardinha, in this context? How can we interpret his universalism with a counter-revolutionary and Roman Catholic nationalism? Where were historical memory and its

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Hispanist theorization of Portugal and Spain and their relations with the Ibero-American world placed in the configuration of this idea of modernity of tradition? Two cautionary points in my analysis deserve to be stated.

Firstly, we need to understand Sardinha in his time, without taking into account the subsequent appropriations of *Integralismo Lusitano*. We should distinguish his original thought processes from his subsequent inheritance. There is a chance that most of the posthumous compilations of his texts, collated by his admirers, did not correspond to his own intentions.² Second, Sardinha's thinking must be understood in the context of its transnational and cross-cultural connections, both upstream and downstream. I intend, for instance, to take into account the influence Maurras had on his thinking and Sardinha's impact in Spain and Brazil.

Moreover, it is important to look beyond the two positions that have been dominant for decades: both the apologetic interpretations of Integralist thought (looking at it through its vocabulary and historicist mythology) and the reductive interpretation, which tended to view *Integralismo Lusitano* as an undifferentiated whole and as the movement that was the precursor of the *Estado Novo*, without taking into account the diversity of the paths of the initial group and the existence of various Integralist generations.

2.1 Tradition and modernity: historical consciousness

Sardinha claimed to be counter-revolutionary, anti-modern, but also ultra-modern (adopting the words of Jacques Maritain).³ This traditionalism sought to integrate modern times through a dynamic concept of tradition, while also assuming a universalist but not cosmopolitan attitude. This partly explains why Sardinha collaborated on a modernist magazine, *Contemporânea*. On a par with this universalism and in line with an ideal of *Republica Christiana*, the Integralist attitude was one of being rooted in tradition and valuing the social and cultural function of founding myths such as that of the Miracle of Ourique.⁴ Sardinha even affirmed that *Integralismo Lusitano* was the 'party of the dead' in that 'everything that is rests on everything that was', or even the 'party of national unity [...] of conservation of the Fatherland (*Patria*)'.⁵ However, it should be highlighted that, in the name of an ideal concept of *Patria* and Nation, the Integralists' intention was not to start another political party.⁶ Instead, they were a movement, a pressure group that did not manage to achieve any social influence outside of the elites. Sardinha was opposed to the liberal tradition's concept of *Patria* that he considered abstract, but he himself did not refrain from adopting a concept that was not only geographical and memorial but also essentialist, an absolute of the eternal *Patria*, an inheritance from our ancestors.

The Integralists cultivated a traditionalist nationalism, opposed to cosmopolitanism but praising a universalist attitude:

There is a universalism closely linked to nationalism, as there is a cosmopolitanism no less closely linked to the deplorable insanity of liberalism. It is through traditionalism that a fair and prudent combination of these two elements – *nationalism* and *universalism* – operates.⁷

This rejection of cosmopolitanism is an example of the battle for the dominant use of concepts clearly evident in other doctrinal texts by Sardinha: *cosmopolitanism* was negatively associated with liberalism, democracy and freemasonry. And if it is certain that there was a universalist tradition in liberalism, democratism and socialist ideologies, it is also clear that the mentor of *Integralismo Lusitano* wanted to oppose them with a Catholic and traditionalist *universalism*.

Marquis Quintanar, Santibáñez del Rio, a Spanish friend and translator into Spanish of Sardinha, considered *Integralismo Lusitano* 'a traditionalist nationalism, a *lover of progress*'.⁸ And for Sardinha, traditionalism was first of all 'permanence in renewal'. He assumed a nationalism that was understood as a 'deep instinct of vitality'.⁹ Tradition was, for him, 'dynamism and continuity' and he claimed that it was open to the future.¹⁰ Much later, in 1969, Marcello Caetano, a former Integralist, created a motto for the political campaign of the regime's party, *Acção Nacional Popular*, when he was President of the Council of Ministers. The motto was 'Renewal in continuity' (*Renovação na continuidade*).¹¹

Sardinha rejected the label of conservatism:

... there is a reactionary mystique. Our monarchists are organised [...] not with conviction, but as a party. A lack of a school of violence. And with violence they lack everything: purpose [...] *We, the Integralists, we are not conservatives – given the passivity that the word expresses. With the energy and aggressiveness that always follow renewals, we are rather renovators.*¹²

Later, another monarchist, the Portuguese historian Barrilaro Ruas, would write: 'António Sardinha was everything but a conservative. His concept of tradition, repeated so many times but so many times misunderstood, has nothing to do with time stopping or with the mean-spirited interest of hiding talents under the mattress'.¹³ In truth, Sardinha was well aware of his being a man situated in his time and who sought to respond to the challenges of the present in continuity with the past. This was a traditionalism that made use of the instruments of modernity and, in this respect, was comparable with *Action Française* up to a certain point. In fact, as previously stated, *Action Française's* organizational model 'was based on a surprising mixture of archaism and modernity': a world of publications, militant groups, study circles and unevenly structured networks, and a large ideological pressure bloc.¹⁴

2.2 Historiography and historical revision

The Portuguese First Republic established in October 1910 turned various social and political sectors against itself: workers influenced by anarchist trade unionism, monarchists removed from power or young intellectuals educated at the University of Coimbra. Among these, António Sardinha, who in his youth had sympathized with republicanism, quickly became one of the strongest critics of the new regime. An important milestone in Integralist doctrine was when the Portuguese magazine, *Nação Portuguesa* (1914–1938), began publication.

Sardinha, the master of *Integralismo Lusitano*, was a blunt critic of democracy and individualism, which he considered socially solvent. This was because Sardinha advocated an organicist concept of nation: he saw it as being an organic, natural and spiritual whole that precedes and forms the individual – not the other way round. He was, then, part of a tradition of European counter-revolutionary thought (Burke, Maistre, de Bonald).¹⁵ The nation was not, for him, an association of citizens united by a pact. The individuals were instead seen as part of a *family*, a cell, who had an influential function in society. For Sardinha, there were concrete individuals – not Man as a universal figure.¹⁶ As such, he naturally rejected the universal values of the French Revolution – liberty, equality, fraternity and so on. It can be understood therefore why he was a firm opponent of liberal contractualism, democratism and universal suffrage.

In the strict sense of the term, António Sardinha was not a historian. However, as an essayist and through very intensive intellectual activity he played a decisive role in the construction of the historical traditionalist narrative on Portuguese history. How was this possible? It is true that he never systematized a theory and interpretation of the history of Portugal, nor did he even construct a continuous narrative of its path. But he did leave numerous articles published in the periodical press and books, from which it is possible to characterize an ideal concept of history and a general interpretation of the national historical path. Were it not for his unexpected death at the beginning of 1925, he would certainly have expounded them in a History of Portugal, but of this we have no more than the structure.

From 1834 to 1851, there was a dominant historical narrative in Portugal: the secular liberal narrative. Sardinha cultivated a devastating, pessimistic view of liberal history and historiography, which he blamed for Portugal's decline, denationalization and degradation since the Liberal revolution.¹⁷ In the historical context of the Portuguese First Republic, the Integralists fought for the *re-founding* and the *reaportuguesamento* (re-Portuguesization) of the nation. Sardinha saw his generation as a generation of *redemption*, and he intended to stand as the group's master.¹⁸

He started with the idea that there had been a break in the Portuguese national tradition with the Marquis of Pombal, and especially with the Liberal revolution of 1820. But in its rebirth, the absolute state had already

had, in his view, a diluting effect on the Christian concept of *auctoritas* and on the national tradition. Centralism and the naturalist idea of power had been instrumentalized against the subjects.¹⁹ It is not surprising that he devoted time and special attention to the rehabilitation of the kings of the Braganza dynasty (sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) such as João IV, João V and João VI as well as Queen Carlota Joaquina and D. Miguel – the latter two being particularly condemned by Liberal historiography. In contrast to the value he ascribed to these monarchs, Sardinha gave very negative portraits of such historical figures as Pombal (a seventeenth-century reformer from a viewpoint of enlightened despotism), Gomes Freire (distinguished officer and freemason, accused of leading a conspiracy against the monarchy of King John VI), Pedro IV (the first liberal Portuguese king, 1826) and Mouzinho da Silveira (Minister of Finance in 1832 and liberal reformer), all of whom were considered agents of denationalization.

Sardinha developed a dynastic theory of national history: kings had made the country and its history (as Fustel de Coulanges had suggested). The monarchy would restore the nation. But he also appealed to the idea of the popular origin of power. Theoretically, he refused two allegedly conflicting theories of history: the popular theory (that he considered a romantic theory) and the overvaluation of individual action. But in practice, in his historical essays he ended up overvaluing the role of the elites and especially the monarchs in national history to the detriment of collective movements and the action of popular groups, which he left in the background. For example, without the action of the person who became the king, the movements in favour of national independence in 1385 would, in his view, have failed.

Sardinha had often insisted on the need to build a new history of Portugal and a systematic doctrine-based programme to revise national history. With this intention in mind, his knowledge of French historiography and French historical experience was significant.

On several occasions he invoked the criticism of Fustel de Coulanges in relation to nineteenth century French historiography. The French historian took a very negative view of party history, which was tendentious and had become an instrument that fomented 'civil war' among the French. According to Sardinha, Fustel's diagnosis of the French case applied perfectly to Portuguese historiography: a story of winners who, in his view, discredited the nation. There are also clear points of contact between Sardinha's position and Charles Maurras' historical criticism in relation to the liberal memory, namely relating to the idea that it was the liberals who had fed the rage against the national community and that it was necessary to cultivate a love of the past, the duty of a country being 's'aimer dans son passé et s'honorer dans ses morts'.²⁰ For Maurras, patriotic loyalty was also born out of a love of the past and a feeling of national unity. In this sense, according to the ideologist of *Action Française*, it was perfectly legitimate to

mobilize history towards a nationalist orientation. Did he not see in Fustel ‘le premier nationaliste de l’histoire de France’, constructing the unity of the French in line with their history?²¹

We should emphasize the importance of history in the *Integralismo Lusitano* project as an instrument to nationalize the Portuguese people, and the centrality of the topic of denationalization²² in its political programme: ever since the Renaissance, Portugal had been denationalizing itself.²³ This process of denationalization continued through Pombalism (*Chronological and analytical deduction*) and the Liberal regime. Hence, it is understandable that Sardinha established a strategic priority in his doctrine-based programme in terms of his traditional nationalism – the revision of national history.²⁴

How did Sardinha envisage a new history of Portugal? It is significant that his idea stood in critical opposition to two works from the early 1920s: the school text book authored by Paulo Merêa and Damião Peres and Fortunato de Almeida’s *História de Portugal*, whose first volume had just been published.²⁵ If the former work, that of the University of Coimbra historians, did not please him because of its alleged ‘lack of affirmation’ and reductionist scheme (and it can be clearly seen that the divergence is also one of ideological orientation), it is significant that his criticism fell mainly on Fortunato de Almeida’s work which, for Sardinha, expressed the concept and method of Langlois and Seignobos. What displeased him was the nature of the old-fashioned, positive history of the erudite historian who was, in his view, too passive in his narrative of the past:

For Dr. Fortunato de Almeida, history is what *has already been* – it is described like a museum object, like a static value limited and conditioned in space and time. Thus what escapes him is what there is in History, which is essentially dynamic, that is alive and continuous. He is only concerned with the outer layer of events ...²⁶

It should be noted that for Sardinha, history was a science although the personality and psychology of the historian did intervene. However, history should also have a public and accessible dimension.²⁷ It can be understood therefore that Sardinha counterposed that ‘external view’ of the past and sterile erudition, still dominant in the 1920s, with an ‘internal view’ of history, a history of synthesis, also psychological (here the example being the Oliveira Martins of *História da Civilização Ibérica* and his biographies, especially *A vida de Nun’Álvares*, but not of course the romantic narrator in his pessimistic philosophy).

Sardinha was especially concerned with achieving *Integralismo Lusitano*’s hegemony in the cultural field, starting with a systematic revision of the dominant historical narrative. Hence the problem of the social efficacy of a history of Portugal was also relevant – he wanted to purge not only excesses of erudition that might prejudice its reception but also (and especially)

judgements which, in his view, were distorted by the liberal narrative. We can thus understand why he pointed to António Ballesteros' *Historia de España y su influencia en la historia universal* (vol. I, 1919) as an example, and why he emphasized his main priority – a historiographical revision, which entailed constructing a type of 'breviary of corrections or errata'.²⁸

In Sardinha's historical essays, a providentialist idea of the nation's historical mission to expand faith and Empire should also be noted. He valued the religious factor as an instrument of national unity, and it is not by chance that his essays frequently resonate with a vocabulary of a religious nature: *crusade, faith, resurrection, resurgence* and so on. He also based his pan-Hispanist idea upon the Catholic monarchies of João II, Filipe II and João VI.

2.3 Hispanism, pan-Hispanism

Sardinha always blamed Iberism for being a liberal, democratic and masonic expression. However, other conservative intellectuals, some of them his friends, such as the Brazilian historian Oliveira Lima or the Peruvian writer Angelica Palma, qualified his thought as a 'new Iberism' or just as Iberism. How can we understand this apparent discrepancy?

In 1919, after participating in the failed attempt to restore the monarchy at Monsanto, António Sardinha had to go into exile in Madrid (1919–1921). This experience was a turning point in his intellectual path.²⁹ In this city, he had contact with Catholic traditionalist intellectuals, as we will see later. These years coincided with his reflections on the relations of Portugal with the Ibero-American world.

He took special care in choosing the political and historical vocabulary that connected Portugal to Spain and the Ibero-American world. He used several relevant identitarian concepts – some of which were also operative concepts – such as *Hispanism, pan-Hispanism, Peninsularism, Hispanic civilization, Latinity (Latinidad)*,³⁰ *Peninsular conscience*. These concepts had strong roots in the past but they also promised a future horizon. They were in opposition to pan-Americanism, which was seen as a threat to Hispano-America.

We can understand his use of the concept of *Hispanic civilization* as opposed to Oliveira Martins' *Iberian civilization*, a concept that Sardinha rejected because he always resisted Iberism. Sardinha's theory of Hispanism was very favourably received in conservative sectors of the Madrid *intelligentsia*.³¹ For Sardinha, Hispanism and Catholicism were the basis of Latinity. And the centre of Latinity was the Iberian Peninsula – not France, as Maurras had intended.

How can we characterize pan-Hispanism? As one of the first scholars who studied it wrote, it was 'a Spanish-led movement that aims at achieving solidarity among the Hispanic nations. Pan-Hispanism [...] differs basically from its rival programs in that it is a conscious expression of the persistence

of the idea of empire'.³² However, the concept of pan-Hispanism has hardly been considered (being less widely used than Hispanism and Hispano-Americanism), perhaps due to the adverse reactions of South American elites to a possible new submission to the former *madre patria*.³³ It was also seen as a reaction by Spanish and Hispano-American intellectuals to the risk of denationalization of those nations in touch with pan-Americanism. In addition, it was a reaction to the resumption of historical memory, 'traditions' and 'material heritage'.³⁴

There are historians who establish a clear distinction between *pan-Hispanism* as a conservative and Catholic movement and *Hispanic-Americanism* as a progressive and Liberal one.³⁵ However, this distinction is not always clear. It is not possible to determine with precision when Hispano-Americanism first came into being. But this is not a relevant question. Various historians, such as Gracia Perez, date its origins to the first three decades of the nineteenth century.³⁶ In Spain, certainly, it developed over the course of the nineteenth century, particularly from the middle of the century onwards: men such as Castelar, one of the pioneers of the Iberist ideal, focused on bringing together the Peninsular and the American peoples.³⁷ In the last 20 years of the century, it became 'fully visible' and in the first 30 years of the twentieth century, it became a 'hegemonic identitarian discourse'.³⁸ An important geopolitical aspect from the start of Hispano-Americanism had been the inclusion of the Luso-Brazilian space.³⁹

Sardinha's position in regard to Spain was not always the same. His contact with Spanish authors dates back to 1906.⁴⁰ In 1915, the Integralists took advantage of the context of World War I where nationalism could play a major role: in a cycle of lectures given in the Naval League, they responded to the Iberist threat and tried to mobilize public opinion and public action.⁴¹ Anti-Iberism was indeed an instrument of affirmation of the Integralist group. But their attitude towards Spain, especially in the case of Sardinha, changed considerably (the same happened to Fidelino de Figueiredo, before and after the time he lived in Madrid). While maintaining his position on Iberism, after his two-year exile in Madrid, Sardinha now clearly showed his admiration for Castilian history and culture.

He underlined the unity of historical destiny as well as a social and political parallelism between Castile and Portugal and he saw the concept of *hispanidad* (a synonym of Hispanism) as a paradigm of Western civilization. For him, Hispanism was the essence of Christian civilization⁴² and an instrument for the wide diffusion of his traditionalist ideal. Sardinha valued the topic of Hispanism,⁴³ giving it a universalist dimension – as would later happen with Maeztu – and rejected the concept of Iberism. For him, Iberism was very negatively linked with liberalism, revolution and, above all, freemasonry. In addition, in 1915, anti-Iberism had been the main topic for the public affirmation of *Integralismo Lusitano*, which is why he had returned to the geographical name *Hispania*.

By shifting the terminology, he was trying not to be confused with the defenders of a political union between Portugal and Spain. On the contrary, taking Oliveira Martins as his inspiration, he stressed the idea of political dualism on the Peninsula. In other words, although, in his view, the spirit of Hispanic Catholicism, including the American nations, might have a global mission to fulfil, there was a fundamental difference between unity and the unitarism that it was necessary to preserve since unity thrived on diversity. Thus we could say that Sardinha held a transnational view of Portuguese problems.

In this context, he used another concept: *Peninsularism*. There is something messianic in his idea of an Iberian Peninsula as the saviour of a Europe and its civilisation in crisis – at a time of globalization, a transnational and transcontinental vision was required as an alternative to Iberism. We can therefore understand why Sardinha joined the *Unión Ibero-Americana* in 1921 as the result of having had contact with the Marquis of Figueroa, the head of the association.⁴⁴ But his Hispanism co-existed with the idea of a 'Greater Portugal' that should assert itself through naval power (and here he was inspired by his reading of the theory of the American, Alfred Thayer Mahan⁴⁵). Some of his critics accused him of an Iberism that threatened the autonomy of Portugal. However, in his theory of a Hispanic super-nationalism, Portugal and Brazil would have a very important place alongside the other Hispanic nations. It was a pan-nationalism or a macro-nationalism.⁴⁶ The Portugal–Spain political dualism defended by Sardinha implied the idea of parity between the two nations, despite the reality of the asymmetry of power between the two states.

Having been the sole peninsular nation where there had been strong resistance to Iberism, we can understand the fact that it was in Portugal that we find, in the 1910s and 1920s, a search for alternatives to the concepts of Iberism that were circulating in the public space. Semantic changes were needed to designate the whole peninsula. It was the time of the 'Spanish danger' and external threats to the young Portuguese Republic, not just from the Spain of Alfonso XIII, but also threats from the German Empire to the Portuguese colonies in Africa. Why not go back to *Hispania*, since that had been a popular appellation up until the seventeenth century – or, as an alternative, the even more neutral noun *Peninsula*? In fact, that was precisely the change that had been adopted by Sardinha since his exile in Spain. So it was as an alternative to Iberism (which he reduced to the unitarian position, thus forgetting federalism) that he adopted the concept of *Peninsularism* mentioned above.

Furthermore, Sardinha considered *Latin America* and *Latinity* inappropriate designations.⁴⁷ In this respect, he distanced himself from *Action Française* and Maurras. This was a controversial designation both in Spain and in South America (where it was rejected by indigenist sectors). And, like the Spanish intellectual Juan Cebrián and Aurelio Espinosa, Sardinha considered its use a

means of erasing the past glory of the Portuguese and the Spanish in America. It was an appellation that suited French interests in the new continent. For Sardinha, Latinity was Christianity, Catholicism. The essence of Latinity was the Hispanic spirit: ‘by the universal character of its historic mission, the backbone of Latinity’.⁴⁸ Latinity was affiliated with *Res publica Christiana*. The master of *Integralismo* even ended up considering the concept of Latinity ‘deceitful and false’, superimposing on it the concept of Hispanism.

2.4 Relations with Spanish and Ibero-American intellectuals

Sardinha’s Hispanism was much more successful in Spain and South America than in Portugal: public opinion in Portugal continued to react strongly against the idea of forging closer links with the Hispanic world, saturated as it was with the feeling of the ‘Spanish danger’ and anti-Iberism. (Some decades earlier, Oliveira Martins’ cultural Iberism had faced the same nationalist resistance.) The Integralists were not enthusiastic about Sardinha’s Hispanist idea and, in fact, Alberto Monsaraz distanced himself unequivocally. In the summer of 1919, he argued with his friend saying:

I disagree with you about becoming politically and morally intimate with Spain [...] For now, no, no and no! The threat of conquest hangs over us. Castile is drawing up what is clearly a pre-war policy and the worst thing is that England does not oppose it. Remember that our work is a national work and the first condition of our nationalism is hatred of Spain, the best legacy our grandfathers who died at Aljubarrota and Montes-Claros gave us. Close your eyes and live the best centuries of our history. Ultimately, you will agree that I am right.⁴⁹

On the other hand, the young Manuel Múrias was one of the few Integralists who nurtured Hispanist aspirations. In a letter to Sardinha, dated 1922, in a very optimistic tone, he guaranteed: ‘You can be sure the elite is with you. And the Hispanist ideal is gaining ground bit by bit. Today nobody looks askance at Spain’.⁵⁰

Sardinha’s theory about Hispanism was favourably received by conservative sectors of the Madrid intelligentsia. Maeztu referred to the following Spanish intellectuals: Vasquez de Mella, the Count de la Mortera, the historian Ballesteros, the Marquis de Figueroa, Blanca de los Rios, the Marquis de Lozoya, Angel Herrera⁵¹ and the Marquis de Quintanar Santibáñez del Rio.⁵² The latter, essentially adopted and embraced his ideas.⁵³ Maeztu considered Sardinha to be one of the great prophets of *hispanidad* (*uno de los grandes profetas de la Hispanidad*).⁵⁴ In fact there were some strong affinities between Sardinha and the late Maeztu: a spiritual concept of race, *hispanidad* as a spiritual community and a traditionalist, Catholic and universalist nationalism. But the paths of the two traditionalist theoreticians had been very different until Maeztu adopted traditionalism in the 1920s.

For his part, the Marquis de Lozoya considered that the *Aliança Peninsular*

should be the breviary of Hispanic youth, if we want to form a generation that is not devoid of what is the indispensable food in the life of a people: the existence of an ideal; a generation not poisoned by the overwhelming pessimism of the 1900s.⁵⁵

Unamuno had said almost the same about the *Historia da Civilização Ibérica*. Later, several professors from the University of Zaragoza – M. Sánchez Izquierdo, Leonardo Prieto Castro and Antonio Muñoz Casayús – showed themselves to be great admirers of Sardinha and saw in *Integralismo Lusitano* an influential elite movement that had a decisive influence on the counter-revolution in Portugal and the new order of the Portuguese military dictatorship that emerged after 28 May 1926.⁵⁶

Sardinha died in 1925, just as he had started to make contact with his Hispanic American interlocutors. However, in his archive which is kept in the Catholic University in Lisbon there is some interesting correspondence with South American authors including, among others, the Peruvian intellectuals Angelica Palma (1878–1935), an admirer of Eça de Queiroz who came to collaborate on the *Integralist* journal *A Nação Portuguesa*, and the Peruvian historian José de la Riva-Agüero (1885–1944). In one of her letters, Angelica Palma refers to Sardinha's Iberism in a positive sense, something that never happened among Portuguese intellectuals of the traditionalist political field (although later Franco Nogueira would be an exception with his critical attitude). She wrote: 'I see that *your Iberism* is also scrupulously nationalist, since Alfonso XIII's discourse has flayed it a little'.⁵⁷ And she adds: 'Politics is often so tortuous that it is difficult not to distrust it, but I believe, through impartial observation, that among Spanish intellectuals there is now a sincere affection for Portugal and admiration for its mentality'.

Another example is that of the Peruvian historian José de la Riva-Agüero, an exile in Spain, who during his stay in Lisbon confessed he was a reader and admirer of Fernão Lopes, João de Barros and 'the incomparable Oliveira Martins'. When he read *Portugal Contemporaneo*, Riva-Agüero was moved to discover what the nineteenth-century history of Portugal and Peru had in common.⁵⁸

In Sardinha's archive, there are also some very interesting letters from Brazilian intellectuals. These include correspondence from Gilberto Freyre, Jackson de Figueiredo and Elisio de Carvalho. In a letter that must have been written in late 1924, Gilberto Freyre, the Brazilian anthropologist who Sardinha never managed to meet personally, thanks him and praises *Aliança Peninsular*, which he had been offered by the author:

Strong and sharp pages, in which I found a great deal of clarification about the affair that I have been passionate about for years. In fact – my

early education in the United States made me a Hispanist. In your book I found complete clarification. It is a fertile book. It is an extremely strong (?) book.⁵⁹

Freyre admired Sardinha, even though he later noted his ‘political sectarianism’ and his ‘cultural westernism’ – his detachment in relation to Africa and the Orient.⁶⁰

In his turn, the Catholic essayist Jackson de Figueiredo (1891–1928)⁶¹ sends him books he has written (among which *Do nacionalismo na hora presente*, 1921) and criticizes the then fashionable proposal for a Luso-Brazilian confederation. (A short time before, Bettencourt Rodrigues’ work *Uma Confederação Luso-Brasileira*, Lisboa, 1923, had been published.) A defender of total Brazil-Portugal political autonomy, as an alternative Figueiredo suggested developing Luso-Brazilian relations based on a Christian culture.

Among Sardinha’s Ibero-American correspondents, a final significant example is Elisio de Carvalho, editor of the magazine *América Brasileira* (founded in Rio de Janeiro in December 1921). Carvalho noted the affinities of this magazine with *Nação Portuguesa* – which Sardinha sent him – and with *Integralismo Lusitano*.⁶² What is significant in regard to the self-definition of political identities is the way in which he compares himself to Sardinha: ‘you [are] a Catholic, monarchist and nationalist, while I, imperialist and nationalist, am profoundly pagan, amoral, and the foundations of my aristocratism lie in Caesarism, in tyranny’.⁶³

From this correspondence of Sardinha’s, we notice his commitment to maintaining close ties with Hispanic intellectuals of various political tendencies, some of them editors of magazines including the socialist politician and journalist, Luis Araquistáin (1886–1959), editor of the magazine *España* from 1915 to 1923, and also his intention to disseminate *Nação Portuguesa*, of which he was editor, in both Spain and Brazil.

As far as Sardinha’s reception in Spain is concerned, I should mention three very different groups where his ideals were well received. The *Sociedad de los Amigos de Portugal*, an association presided over by Romanones: in a letter of March 1922, Quintanar informed Sardinha that he was organizing this pluralist group in which intellectuals from very different tendencies would be involved. Maeztu, Lozoya, Bueno, Gonzalez Blanco and Rafael Gallega had all already joined. He considered the ‘political neutrality’ of this group an ‘unavoidable sacrifice’.⁶⁴ It was a group aimed at conviviality and was not very effective. It did not last long and only some of its members sympathized with *Integralismo Lusitano*. A great deal closer to the political orientation of the Integralists was the Spanish *Partido Social Popular*, founded in December 1922 and led by Angel Ossorio Galhardo.⁶⁵ This group would disappear under Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship when most of its members joined *Unión Patriótica*, the single party of the Dictatorship. Finally, we must mention *Acción Católica*: it had been Marqués of Quintanar,

a friend and disciple of Sardinha's, who first became engaged in disseminating knowledge of *Integralismo Lusitano* in Spain.⁶⁶ The work of Sardinha was especially well received in these circles.

Nevertheless, his considerable knowledge of contemporary Spanish culture and the Spanish intellectuals of his time was an important factor in building his cultural capital and the recognition he received in other ideological and cultural fields, including that of the *Seara Nova* followers António Sérgio, Raúl Proença and the republican historian Joaquim de Carvalho. In fact, he was invited by these independent Portuguese democrats to collaborate on various books and reviews – *Lusitânia*, *Arquivo de História e Bibliografia*, the *Guia de Portugal* – and to publish in the University Press of Coimbra (Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra) – which clearly shows that, beyond the political divergences, there was an intellectual consideration that operated on another plane: the Republic of Letters. Also his partnership in joint projects – such as the review *Homens Livres* in collaboration with the *Seara* followers – reveals that, despite the divergences, communication was maintained and there were possible convergences between critical sectors in relation to the Portuguese First Republic. However, we should look further into this conservative *pan-Hispanism* in Portugal and Spain in the years 1920s and 1930s.

The concepts of *Hispanicity*, *Hispanism* and *pan-Hispanism* were far from being confined to a merely retrospective, traditionalist, conservative and Catholic point of view. An example of this is *Contemporânea*, a modernist magazine, in which cosmopolitanism and *Casticismo*, futurism and traditionalism all co-existed. In *Contemporânea* in June 1922, Sardinha reflected on pan-Hispanism in relation to the commemoration of the 'Day of the Race' (12 October, the discovery of America). He once again took up this concept used by the Count de la Mortera, Gabriel Maura Gamazo, understanding it as a confluence of *lusitanismo* and *espanholismo* and he firmly rooted it in the idea of the moral unity of a transnational civilization capable of becoming a bond of unity between Europe, America and Africa.⁶⁷

However, pan-Hispanism was far from being consensual in the Portuguese political panorama: there were those who resisted the pan-Hispanist idea based on a cultural nationalism that insisted on the historical and cultural differences between Portugal and Spain. Two examples: the traditionalist Martinho Nobre de Melo, a former minister of Sidónio Pais, and the republican João de Barros would both have preferred to strengthen the relationship with Brazil. Martinho Nobre de Melo qualified, as a chimera, the idea of a community of Portugal and Spain with the nations of Latin America prior to an understanding with Brazil, which he considered a priority.⁶⁸ In his opinion, 'only the powerful nations could promote systems of alliances and create circles of influence in the world order'.⁶⁹ He was not, therefore, a fan of federations of nations, and the republican João de Barros, aware of the need for smaller nations to integrate into the international system, preferred to tighten links with Brazil. The defenders of Ibero-Americanism were in fact supporters of the formation of a bloc of small nations which, in the highly unstable international context of the

1920s, could resist pan-Americanism and Anglo-Saxon imperialism.⁷⁰ This required caution on the part of the smaller powers.

2.5 Final notes

In conclusion, the political discourse of Sardinha configures a traditionalist, counter-revolutionary and ethnic nationalism, with a strong historicist bent. He was mainly a theorist, an influential *doctrinaire*, not a man of action. However, *Integralismo Lusitano* was a cultural and political elite movement, a pressure group oriented towards action. Hence we can understand Sardinha's insistence on a dynamic idea of tradition and the *reaportuguesamento* of Portugal, of a 'second Founding' of the nation.⁷¹ This was clearly an alternative to the republican political nationalization programme as conceived in the context of *Renasença Portuguesa* but was not without dissent (Raúl Proença *versus* Teixeira de Pascoaes).

The priority he assigned to a programme of historical revision was a condition of renationalization, revival and restoration of the historical Portugal. But it must be also related to the idea of *politique d'abord* and expectations of counter-revolution's success.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that Integralist nationalism is only enclosed in a merely retrospective and static relationship with the past as the republican essayist Raúl Proença intended. According to Sardinha, an idea of future as redemption, based on a Christian and Universalist essence of the nation, is implicit. However, in 1921, Raúl Proença did not understand *Integralismo* in this way, developing a criticism of the respective retrospective patriotism that emphasizes the partial and instrumental character of its recourse to an organicist, monarchic, nationalist and allegedly universalist tradition.⁷² The forward-looking dimension of *Integralismo Lusitano* would, above all, be expressed in pan-Hispanism as a transcultural and transnational idea.

Sardinha's theorization of the relations between Portugal, Spain and the Ibero-American world reveals the extreme care taken in the use of concepts that concern the relations between Portugal, Spain and Ibero-America. He was aware of the relevance of social and political vocabulary as a way in which *Integralismo Lusitano* could become influential in the Hispanic world.

Hispanism was instrumental in setting up an idea of modernity of tradition, a tradition that could build a new future of greatness. And, as we have seen, this idea found a significant audience among the elites of the Ibero-American world. However, in Sardinha's essays, there is a tension between a universalist aspiration and a universalist nationalism, between modernity and traditionalism. An unresolved tension? *Integralismo Lusitano* was largely an imported political culture (Maurrasianism, positivism) but it was also rooted in Portuguese Catholicism and traditionalism. In any event, Sardinha played a distinctive role in the renewal of the political vocabulary that connected Portugal not only with Spain but also with other Spanish-speaking nations.

Notes

- 1 A significant compilation of the ideological program of *Integralismo Lusitano* can be detected in: Fernão da Vide, *O pensamento integralista* (Lisbon: Junta Provincial da Estremadura, 1923). The studies by Manuel Braga da Cruz, António Costa Pinto and Paulo Archer de Carvalho cited in the final bibliography continue to be extremely valuable to understand this pressure group as a whole.
- 2 After his death in 1925, different publishers edited the texts that Sardinha had published in journals or reviews: 'Lvmen' (Lisboa-Porto-Coimbra, R. Janeiro), Atlântida (Coimbra), Livraria Férin (Lisboa), Edições Gama. In some of these volumes, organized by Rodrigues Cavalheiro and Hipólito Raposo, the texts are not dated. However, in life Sardinha had already prepared *Ao ritmo da ampulheta*, edited in the year of his death (1925), and *Na feira dos mitos. Ideias & factos* (1926).
- 3 António Sardinha, *Ao ritmo da ampulheta* (Lisbon: 'Lvmen', 1925), XII.
- 4 The miracle of Ourique was a mythical and providential tradition which was much spread in Portuguese historical culture, from the fifteenth until the nineteenth century, according to which Christ would have appeared to be the first King of Portugal, Afonso Henriques on the eve of the battle of Ourique in 1139, announcing that he would win the battle and would be the head of a dynasty ruling over a great empire.
- 5 António Sardinha, "Testemunho de uma geração," *A prol do comum* (Lisbon: Livraria Férin, 1934), 18–19.
- 6 See Luís de Almeida Braga, *Sob o pendão real* (Porto: Ed. Gama, 1942), 196–97.
- 7 Sardinha, *Ao princípio era o verbo* (2^a ed., 1940 [1923]), XVIII.
- 8 Quintanar, *Por tierras de Portugal* (Madrid: Compañía General de Artes Gráficas, 1930).
- 9 Sardinha, *Ao princípio*, XVIII.
- 10 Sardinha, *Ao ritmo*, XXV.
- 11 Marcello Caetano, *Depoimento* (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: Record, 1974), 47–48.
- 12 Sardinha, *Ao Princípio*, 193. António Costa Pinto, "A formação do integralismo lusitano (1907–17)," *Análise Social* XVIII, no. 72–74 (1982): 1409–19.
- 13 Henrique Barrilaro Ruas, "O conceito de Tradição em António Sardinha" (Causa Nacional, n.d.). www.integralismo.org.br/?cont=781&ox=316#.WvW6MYgvzM consulted 11-05-2018. And he quotes Sardinha: 'Tradition is not a stationary point in the past. It is rather an endless continuity, forever renewing itself. In this way, it encompasses a feeling of actuality for those of us who have lived and experienced it as a thing of ours, made up of our daily substance – tradition' ('No Jardim da Raça').
- 14 Gilles Le Béguec and Jacques Prévotat, "1898–1919. L'éveil de la modernité politique," in *Histoire des Droites*, ed. Jean-François Sirinelli (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), I, 213–89.
- 15 Massimo Botta, "Contre-révolution," in *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution Française*, eds. François Furet and M. Ozouf (Paris: Flammarion, 1988).
- 16 It can therefore be understood that he did not use the concept of *citizenship*. Conversely he turned to the concept of *generation* (associated to an elite who would be in charge of restoring the thread of the national tradition). "Testemunho de uma geração"; *A prol do comum ... Doutrina e história* (Lisbon: Livraria Ferin, 1934), 3–20.
- 17 Sardinha, *A prol do comum ...*, 142.
- 18 Sardinha, "Testemunho de uma geração," *A prol do comum ...*, 3–20.
- 19 Sardinha, "Monarquia e República," *Ao princípio*, 134–35.

- 20 Charles Maurras, *Quand les Français ne s'aimaient pas* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1916), 50–55.
- 21 Maurras, *Quand les Français*, 76. Note however that Sardinha and the Integralists diverged from Maurras on various other topics, such as Maurras' paganism. See: Ana Isabel Sardinha Desvignes, "L'Action Française au Portugal (1910–1918): quelques repères pour l'histoire d'une réception," in *Charles Maurras et l'étranger – L'étranger et Charles Maurras*, eds. Olivier Dard and M. Grunewald (Berne: P. Lang, 2009), 280–81; Desvignes (2016).
- 22 Denationalization was a hot topic by the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth among both republican and traditionalist milieux. Its meaning has to do with a sense of losing national character through external determinants such as the influence of foreign cultures, the Roman and the French cultures in the case of Sardinha.
- 23 Sardinha, *Ao ritmo da ampulheta*, 143.
- 24 Sardinha, *Ao princípio*, 240.
- 25 Paulo Merêa and Damião Peres, *História de Portugal* (Coimbra: Coimbra Ed., 1920); and Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal* (Coimbra: Author's edition, 1922).
- 26 Sardinha, "Questões de história," *Nação Portuguesa*, II série, no. 5 (1922): 231.
- 27 Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Para uma avaliação crítica do magistério de António Sardinha*, Separata de *A Cidade*, no. 2, (Jul–Dez. 1988): 151.
- 28 Sardinha, "Questões de história," *Nação Portuguesa*, II série, no. 5 (1922): 234.
- 29 Ana Isabel Sardinha Desvignes, *António Sardinha (1887–1925): um Intelectual No Século*, (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2006); Desvignes (2016).
- 30 Sardinha, *A Lareira de Castela. Estudos Peninsulares* (Famalicão: Minerva, 1943) [1st.ed 1920], 93.
- 31 Ramiro de Maeztu, "Prologo," in A. Sardinha, *A aliança peninsular* (3.^a ed., Lisbon: s.n., 1972) ed. [1924], LXVI. The concept of Hispanism had been frequent in historical Spanish culture since the late 1800s.
- 32 Mark J. Van Aken, *Pan-Hispanism. Its origin and development to 1866* (Berkeley, CA and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1959), VII.
- 33 J. L. Benedicho Beired, "Hispanismo e latinismo no debate intelectual ibero-americano," *Varia História* 30, no. 54 (Set./Dez. 2004): 636, note 14.
- 34 J. Fred Rippy, "Pan-hispanic propaganda in Hispanic America," *Political Science Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (September 1922): 402–14.
- 35 This is the case of Isidro Sepúlveda, *El Sueño de la madre pátria: hispanoamericanismo y nacionalismo* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2005).
- 36 Gracia Perez, *Hijos de la Madre Patria* (Zaragoza: Institución «Fernando el Católico»/C.S.I.C., 2011).
- 37 César Rina, *Iberismos. Expectativas peninsulares en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Funcas, 2016), 204–16.
- 38 Gracia Perez, *Hijos*, 27.
- 39 In fact, this was already present in the statutes of the Ibero-American Union, an institution created in Madrid in 1885 with the aim of strengthening the social, economic and cultural relations between Spain, Portugal and the American Nations of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. Durántez Prados, "Espanña en su dimensión ibérica y iberoamericana," *Aportes* 85, no. 2 (2014): 161–62.
- 40 See Susana Rocha Relvas, *António Sardinha e as suas relações com a Espanha* (facsimile edition), (Lisboa, FCSH-UNL, 1998), 94–96.
- 41 On iberism, see my *Iberismos – nação e transnação, Portugal e Espanha (c.1807–c.1931)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2017).
- 42 See Paulo Archer de Carvalho, "Três teses sobre a Ucronia e a floresta utópica. A propósito do Integralismo Lusitano," *Revista de História das Ideias* 24 (2003): 357–414.

- 43 Only at the beginning of the twentieth century did it acquire a meaning that refers to the national identity. Ilan Stavans and Ivan Jaksic, *What Is Hispanidad?* (Austin: University of Texas, 2011), 3.
- 44 Susana Relvas, *António Sardinha*, 65.
- 45 It was a theory of the mastery of the seas through naval power as a deciding factor in empire's international supremacy.
- 46 Louis Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982).
- 47 Sardinha, *A Lareira de Castela*, 104, Sardinha, "Lição do Brasil," *A Prol do comum*, 214. The term Latin America, dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, was far from consensual.
- 48 Sardinha, "Hispanismo e Latinidade," *À Lareira*, 94–95.
- 49 Biblioteca Universitária João Paulo II (BJPII), António Sardinha Archive, *letter from A. Monsaraz to A. Sardinha* 16-08-1919, Correspondence of Alberto de Monsaraz, s.l., Pasta nº 149. On this, see Nuno Simão Ferreira, "Alberto de Monsaraz e a vaga dos nacionalismos e dos radicalismos político-autoritários europeus do pós-I Guerra Mundial: um rumo até ao Fascismo?," *Lusíada. História* 4 (2007): 13–14. I would like to thank the author for this information.
- 50 BJPII, António Sardinha Archive, *Letter from Manuel Múrias to A. Sardinha* 25-04-1922, 4.
- 51 Angel Herrera (1886–1968), journalist, politician and priest, who would become a leader of *Acção Católica*.
- 52 Maetzu, "Prologo," Sardinha, *A Aliança ... LXVI*. Quintanar's translation.
- 53 Quintanar [Santibáñez del Rio], *Portugal y el hispanismo*, (Madrid: s.n. 1920), 55.
- 54 Maetzu and Sardinha eventually met in during his exile in Spain. On Maetzu and Portugal, see Pablo Sánchez Garrido, "Maetzu y Portugal. Análisis político y intelectual sobre la Primera República (1910–1926)," *Hispania* LXXVI, no. 254 (September–December 2016): 721–49.
- 55 Lozoya, "El portugues enamorado de Toledo," *Raza Española*, 73/74 (Jan–Feb 1925): 60. Cited by Susana Rocha Relvas, *António Sardinha*, 127.
- 56 Luís de Almeida Braga, *Posição de António Sardinha* (Porto: Ed.Gama, 1943), 118.
- 57 BJPII, António Sardinha Archive, Angelica Palma, *letter from A. Sardinha from Madrid* 22-11-1922. Another exception was the Brazilian historian Oliveira Lima: see "Um novo iberismo," *A Nação Portuguesa*, 3ª s., no. 7/8 (1925): 2–9. About Angelica Palma and other Hispanic authors we are following, see Susana Rocha Relvas, "António Sardinha e o mundo hispânico: diálogo com mulheres sul-americanas," *Mulher, cultura e sociedade na América Latina*, Vol. 4 (Lisboa: Ed. Colibri, 2003), 61–84.
- 58 BJPII, *Letter from José de la Riva Agüero y Osma to A. Sardinha from Lisbon*, 2-04-1923. Riva Agüero (1885–1944), Peruvian historian, essayist and politician, conservative and Catholic.
- 59 BJPII, A. Sardinha Archive, *Gilberto Freyre, letter to A. Sardinha*, n.d.
- 60 Gilberto Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina* (Rio de Janeiro: Livr. José Olympio Ed., 1953), 115.
- 61 Jackson de Figueiredo Martins, jurist, professor, journalist, essayist and politician. He converted to Catholicism and contributed to the organization of the lay Catholic movement in Brazil.
- 62 BJPII, A. Sardinha Archive, *Letter from Elisio de Carvalho to A. Sardinha from Rio de Janeiro*, 1-02-1923.
- 63 BJPII, A. Sardinha Archive, *Letter from Elisio de Carvalho to A. Sardinha from Rio de Janeiro*, 1-04-1924.

- 64 Susana Relvas, *António Sardinha*, letter n°45, 43.
- 65 According to Lozoya, this *Partido Social Popular* would be suited to becoming an “adaptation of *Integralismo*” for Spain. George Gomes, *António Sardinha: um teórico transnacional de la Contre-révolution (1887–1925)*, 80.
- 66 Mercedes Gutierrez and Fernando Jimenez, “La recepción del Integralismo Lusitano en el mundo intelectual español,” *Elites e poder. A crise do sistema liberal em Portugal e Espanha (1918–1931)*, edited by Manuel Baiôa (Lisboa: Colibri, 2004), 316.
- 67 António Sardinha, “O Pan-Hispanismo,” *Contemporânea*, no. 2 (Junho 1922): 49–51 (text included later in *À Lareira de Castela*, 1943, 173–78).
- 68 Martinho Nobre de Melo, “As relações luso-espanholas. O pan-iberismo,” *Contemporânea* 2, no. 4 (1922): 5.
- 69 Id., *Idem*, 6.
- 70 Sérgio Campos Matos, “Transnational identities in Portugal and Spain (c.1892–c.1931): Hispano-Americanism, Pan-Lusitanism and Pan-Latinism,” *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 31, no. 2 (2018): 75–96, 271–79.
- 71 Sardinha, *Ao princípio*, XX–XXI.
- 72 Raúl Proença, “Acerca do Integralismo Lusitano,” *Obra Política* (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1972) [texts dated from 24-12-1921 to 1-07-1922], 23–28.

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