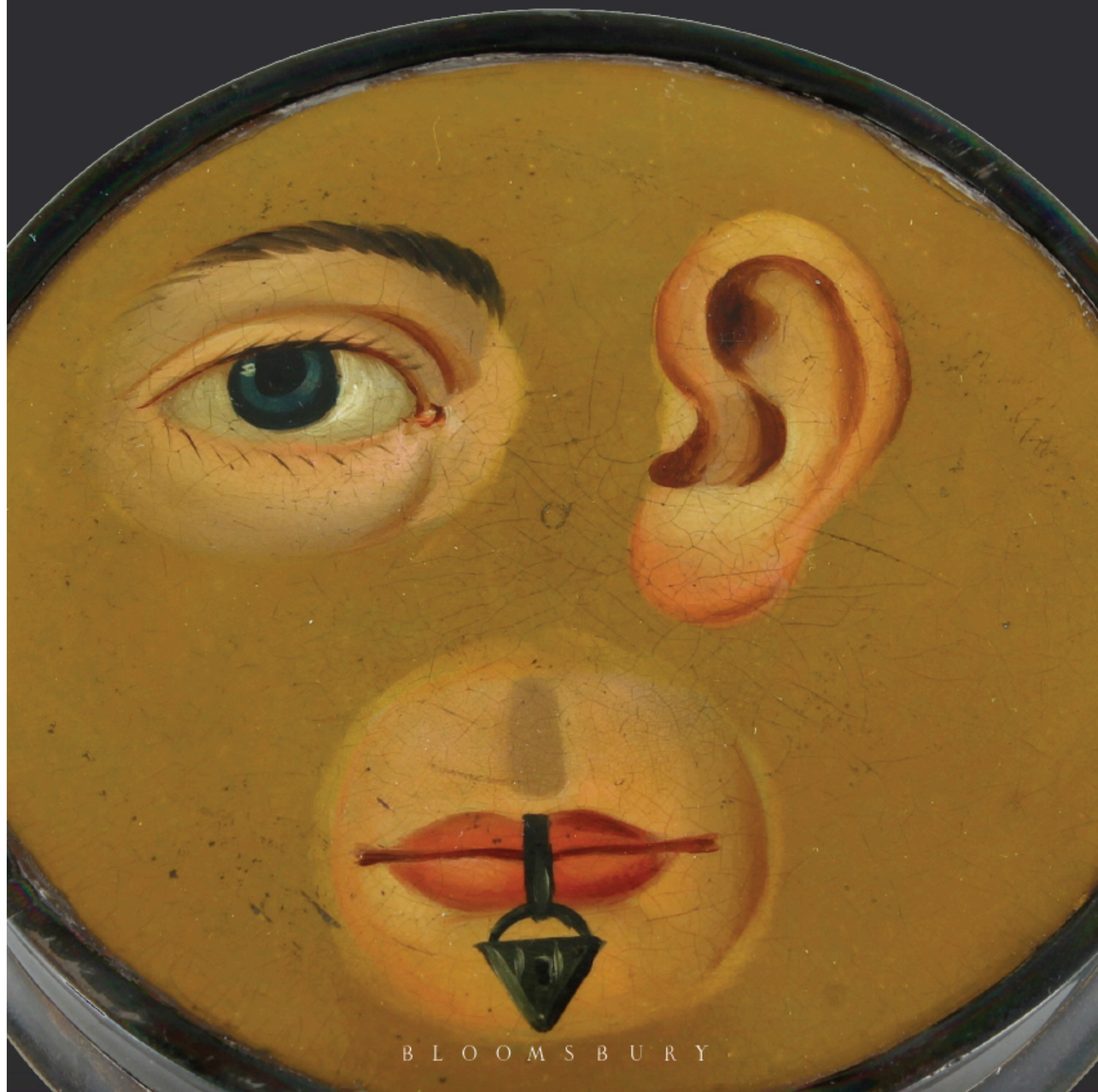
EDITED BY REVA WOLF AND ALISA LUXENBERG

FREEMASONRY and the VISUAL ARTS from the Eighteenth Century Forward

— Historical and Global Perspectives —



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Freemasonry and the Visual Arts from the Eighteenth Century Forward

Historical and Global Perspectives

Edited by
Reva Wolf and Alisa Luxenberg

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Cover image courtesy of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London: snuff box, painted papier-mâché (9.5 cm), maker unknown, c. late eighteenth or early nineteenth century

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Introduction

The Mystery of Masonry Brought to Light

Reva Wolf and Alisa Luxenberg

With the emergence of modern Freemasonry—a fraternal organization focused on the virtues of brotherhood, charity, and moral uprightness—and the founding of the Grand Lodge of England around 1720, the physical act of building acquired a metaphorical significance, referring to moral and spiritual development.[1] The Old Testament Temple of Solomon represented the model of perfection for which the Mason was to strive. In the founding publication and formative history of Freemasonry, James Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, of 1723, he proposed that the Temple of Solomon was the greatest building ever to have been erected (reflecting a view then commonly held through much of Europe), and that "[t]his most sumptuous, splendid, beautiful, and glorious Edifice, attracted soon the inquisitive Artists of all Nations."[2]

Given Freemasonry's focus on architecture and metaphor, and, by extension, symbols, it is hardly surprising that from the outset the arts figured prominently in Freemasonry's self-image, and that numerous artists were Masons. This centrality of the arts to the history of Freemasonry, and, conversely, Freemasonry's significance for the history of art from the 1720s forward, is the overarching subject of this book. From the outset, pictures were used to validate and promote the movement, including in Anderson's *Constitutions*, with its impressive frontispiece, rich in symbolism, representing a Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England passing on to his successor a set of compasses and a copy of the Constitutions (Fig. 0.1). As the Freemasonry expert Martin Cherry has observed, the inclusion of such a print in the *Constitutions* raised its material value, and is evidence of the significance the Grand Lodge placed on it.[3] John Pine (1690–1756), the artist who made this print, was himself a Freemason, as was often the case with artists who produced works that had a masonic function.[4] Moreover, within the *Constitutions* (which we highlight not as the sole source or set of laws for the practice of Freemasonry, but as an extremely influential early document), Anderson envisioned artists working in a wide range of mediums as Masons. According to Anderson, painters and sculptors always had been considered "good Masons," as much as builders, stonecutters, bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, tentmakers, "and a vast many other Craftsmen that could be nam'd, who perform according to *Geometry*, and

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the Rules of *Building*."[5] In theory, and sometimes also in practice, the lodges were places where the leveling effect implied by this statement—the valuing of the "crafts" as much as the "fine arts" of painting, sculpture, and architecture—was embraced.[6] In fact, "craft" objects, such as richly decorated aprons and elegant jewels, were routinely made for and used by Masons in their rituals (as in Color pls. 7 and 13, and Figs. 9.1–9.3 and 9.5).[7] The multi-media aspect of masonic rituals, touched upon in some of the essays in this volume, is a topic that warrants further study.[8] As the sociologist Mary Ann Clawson contends in her examination of fraternalism's artisanal identity, "ritual is analogous to art; it must exert an aesthetic appeal."[9]

After the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions*, Freemasonry spread rapidly, and visual art was called into service to provide evidence of its remarkable dissemination.[10] Its far reach is put on graphic display in a print entitled *The Freemasons* (*Les Free-Massons*), designed by Louis Fabricius Dubourg (1693–1775), engraved by Jacob Folkema (1692–1767), and published in 1736 in the sixth volume of Jean-Frédéric Bernard (1683–1744) and Bernard Picart's (1673–1733) influential *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the World* (*Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du*

Figure 0.1 John Pine, frontispiece to James Anderson's *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, 1723, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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monde) (Fig. 0.2).[11] The print represents a lodge room populated by eleven men, some seated and others standing, but all dwarfed in size by the vast placard behind them—and this is the detail that is of special interest to us here—on which are posted the numbers, names, cities or towns, and pictorial signs of the meeting places of numerous masonic lodges. This information is placed neatly within rectangles lined up in a grid of twenty-three across and six down. The grid design and particulars of the lodge designations were derived from the 1735 *A List of Regular Lodges According to their Seniority and Constitution*, by the previously mentioned London-based artist John Pine. The authors of *Religious Ceremonies and Customs* noted this fact, even identifying Pine as a Freemason, in the lengthy footnote that comprises most of the discussion of Freemasonry included in their book.[12] This careful acknowledgment conveys the idea that the information in the print is authentic, since it comes right from the source (Pine created the official annual engraved lists of lodges from 1722–23 to 1741).[13]

Striking is the sheer number of lodges portrayed in *The Freemasons*: 129 in total. The majority are identified as being located in London and throughout Britain, but it is noteworthy that also included are lodges in Paris, Valenciennes, Hamburg, "Boston in New England," Gibraltar, Madrid (misspelled "Marid"), and "Bengall in the East Indies" (Figs. 0.3 and 0.4). The composition of this print, in which the lodge names cover much

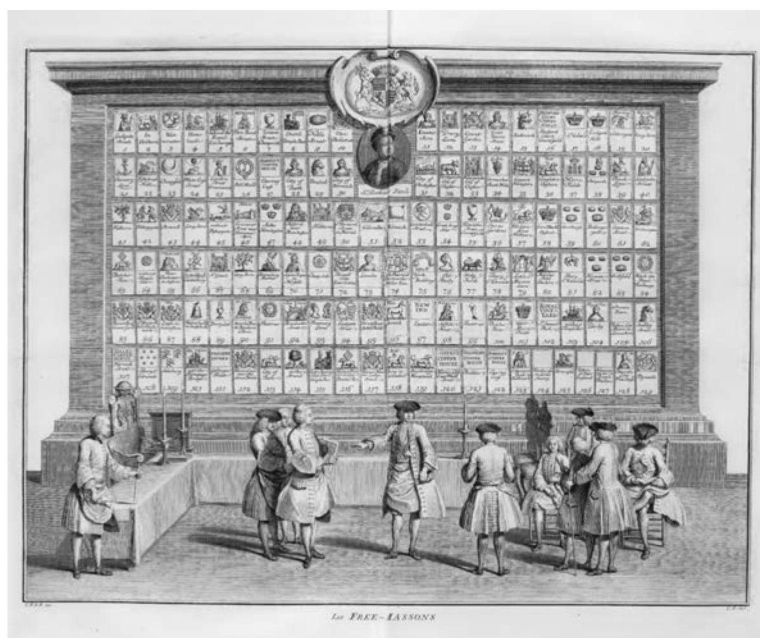

Figure 0.2 Louis Fabricius Dubourg and Jacob Folkema, *Les Free-Massons*, two-page engraving between pages 252 and 253 in Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 6, 1736. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 0.3 Louis Fabricius Dubourg and Jacob Folkema, *Les Free-Massons*, two-page engraving between pages 252 and 253 in Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 6, 1736, detail. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Figure 0.4 Louis Fabricius Dubourg and Jacob Folkema, *Les Free-Massons*, two-page engraving between pages 252 and 253 in Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 6, 1736, detail. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

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of the vast wall-like molded placard in the depicted room (presumably a lodge interior), underscores the message of Freemasonry's global reach. Even the physical size of the print—a two-page spread—contributes to this message.

In addition to visualizing the widespread establishment of Freemasonry by the mid-1730s, Dubourg and Folkema's *The Freemasons* also features some of the standard symbolic objects of the order, objects discussed in several of the essays within this volume: the compasses (in the left hand of the brother positioned in the center of the composition); the square (in the left hand of the brother furthest to our left, and in the right hand of the one standing in profile facing the brother in the center); the apron (seen on all the men who are viewed from the front); and the trowel (in the right hand of the man furthest to our left, suspended from a ribbon draped around the neck of the one in the center, and in the right hand of one of the seated men) (Figs. 0.5 and 0.6). The written description of Freemasonry within *Religious Ceremonies and Customs* highlights these four objects, describing them as the "signs and adornments of Freemasons" (*les marques & les ornemens des Free-massons*).[14] These and other symbols, like Masonry itself, spread swiftly and far, as the essays in this volume on Portugal, Germany, the American colonies and the United States, India, Iran, and Haiti show.

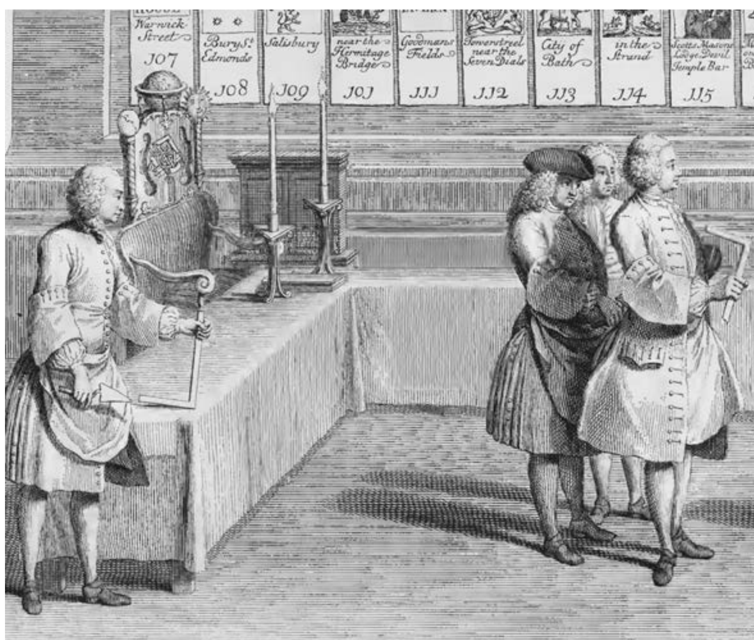

Figure 0.5 Louis Fabricius Dubourg and Jacob Folkema, *Les Free-Massons*, two-page engraving between pages 252 and 253 in Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 6, 1736, detail. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

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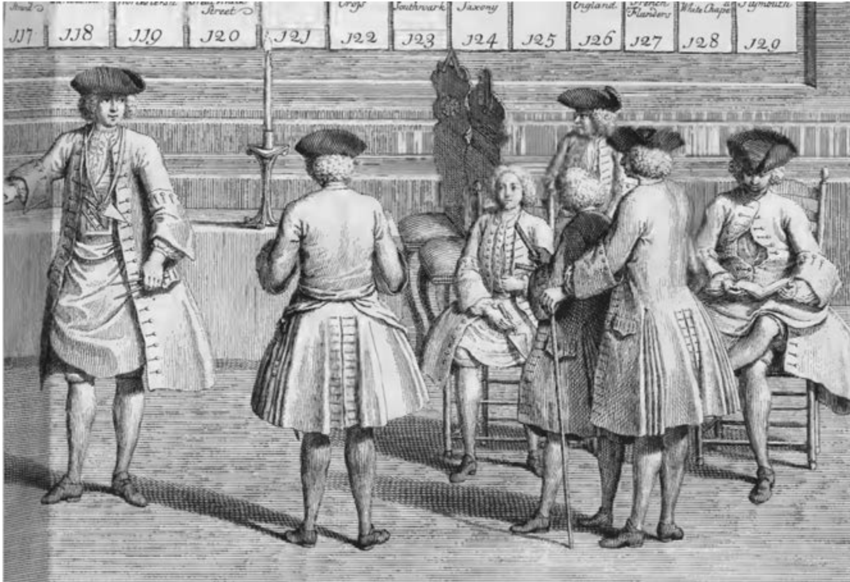

Figure 0.6 Louis Fabricius Dubourg and Jacob Folkema, *Les Free-Massons*, two-page engraving between pages 252 and 253 in Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 6, 1736, detail. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

The rapid and wide-ranging spread of Freemasonry adds to the methodological challenges inherent in studying an organization that placed great value on being able to keep a secret, as a sign of trust (about which more will be said later in this introduction). This quick fanning out ensured that Freemasonry would not be a single, unified, institution. Moreover, in the section of the *Constitutions* entitled "General Regulations," Anderson outlined a system that, while encouraging uniformity, allowed for a degree of uniqueness, stating that each lodge was to have its own by-laws, while, at the same time, "[a]ll particular lodges are to observe the same Usages as much as possible, in order to which, and for cultivating a good understanding among Free-Masons, some members out of every Lodge shall be deputed to visit the other Lodges as often as shall be thought convenient."[15] In this way, a balance between uniformity and variation was prescribed from the outset, and the openness to variations among lodges—a likely key to the order's success—is reflected in the art produced for, by, and/or about Freemasonry.

It wasn't long before the degree of variation crossed over the line of "official" acceptability, and splinter groups appeared, producing their own, sometimes highly distinctive, art. The first such faction, formed in a direct rejection of James Anderson and his colleague, John Theophilus Desaguliers (see Fig. 4.3), was described in a hoax newspaper report of 1724 as the Ancient Noble Order of the Gormogons.[16] Visual art

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was immediately called into service to recognize this short-lived order (about which little is known to this day), apparently to celebrate it in a silver medal, and to satirize it, together with the Freemasonry of the Grand Lodge of England that it mocks, in a print by one of the most successful and influential British artists of the eighteenth century, William Hogarth (1697–1764), himself a Freemason (it's unclear exactly when he became a member) (Fig. 0.7).[17] In his print, with the ironic title *The Mystery of Masonry Brought to Light*, both the imagery and the detailed caption suggest—perhaps we could even say foreshadow—the global reach that Freemasonry was to attain. The masonic procession depicted is led not by a British brother but rather by the "emperor of China," followed by Confucius, while a personification of Freemasonry (or perhaps Desaguliers), dressed as an old woman, sits atop an ass and Anderson goes to kiss her behind.[18] The ladder through which Anderson puts his head is a basic symbol of Freemasonry that Hogarth has strategically re-oriented from its upright position (indicating a moral and spiritual climb) to a horizontal one (suggesting a lack of such upward movement). The supposed leader of the breakaway order, the troubled Philip Wharton, died in 1731, and with him, it would seem, the Gormogons.[19] But its "mystery," and the questions of interpretation raised by Hogarth's print, live on. (As an aside, it should be noted that Hogarth was one of the first artists known to have joined

Figure 0.7 William Hogarth, *The Mystery of Masonry Brought to Light by ye Gormagons*, 1724, etching and engraving, 9.88 × 13.85 in. (25.1 × 35.2 cm). The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library, 107267.

Freemasonry and is perhaps the artist about whom the most has been written—and debated—on the significance of the fraternity for his art and career.)[20]

An array of other masonic, para-masonic, and quasi-masonic orders soon emerged throughout Europe, and well beyond, and with them, a wealth of visual imagery reflecting local traditions. The case studies in our volume offer a vivid illustration of the varied types of art that emerged as Freemasonry spread beyond Great Britain. For example, Cordula Bischoff's essay shows how in Germany, by the early 1740s, depictions of both Freemasons and members of the related Order of the Pug appeared in remarkable porcelain figurines, drawing upon an art form that was a specialty of the region to visualize and support members of fledgling German lodges. The Order of the Pug is of special interest because it is one of the first masonic-related orders in which women were permitted to become members. This arrangement is in direct opposition to the male-only vision of Freemasonry that the Grand Lodge of England and other masonic groups uphold to this day. Yet, recent studies have revealed the important and varied roles played by women in the early history of Freemasonry.[21] The porcelain figurines produced for and depicting members of the Order of the Pug make clear that the arts are part of this history. We have chosen to arrange the case studies in this volume chronologically to provide a sense of how art for this and other orders fits into the unfolding of Freemasonry's history.

Some of the many eighteenth-century offshoots of Freemasonry with significant reverberations in the visual arts were developed by charismatic but controversial figures. The most famous among these was Giuseppe Balsamo (1743–1795), who conferred upon himself the aristocratic title "Count Alessandro di Cagliostro." Balsamo founded an extremely successful, if short-lived, new lodge in London of the "Egyptian Rite," as he called it. A marble portrait of Balsamo, created by Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828) in Paris in 1786, with the sitter turned in an upward gaze, is an example of how art was called into service to promote the image of Balsamo as a spiritual guide (Fig. 0.8). It seems likely, as the Houdon expert Anne Poulet has proposed, that Houdon and Balsamo, who had come to Paris the previous year, met through masonic networks.[22] Houdon was a member of the fabled Parisian Nine Sisters Lodge, to which some of the most famous artists, writers, and politicians of the day belonged, and through which he secured assignments to sculpt other portraits of Masons, such as the American Benjamin Franklin and Scot John Paul Jones.[23] Soon after Houdon made the sculpture of Balsamo, however, Balsamo was embroiled in scandal. To cut a long story short, he eventually returned to his homeland of Italy, where he died in prison in 1795. To this day, the question of whether he was a schemer or an honorable seeker of spiritual awakening remains open to debate.[24] (An extended study of the French Nine Sisters Lodge—as well as the English lodge of the Nine Muses, likewise established in the 1770s—and the arts, is, to our knowledge, lacking, and one of the many topics for further research that we hope this volume will encourage.)[25]

Although Balsamo and his Egyptian rite were discredited, Egyptian motifs, along with those coming from other distant cultures, had been part of Freemasonry's mythic history beginning with Anderson's *Constitutions*. Anderson praised the "*famous* Pyramids" as demonstrating "the early Taste and Genius of that ancient Kingdom."[26]

Figure 0.8 Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Giuseppe Balsamo, Comte di Cagliostro*, 1786, marble, overall without base, 24.76 × 23.19 × 13.50 in. (62.9 × 58.9 × 34.3 cm). Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 1952.5.103.

The pyramid, along with the obelisk, sphinx, and other Egyptian forms, became significant elements in Freemasonry-related art (see Figs. 5.4, 7.8, 8.1, 8.2, and 8.8 for examples).[27] In his essay within the present volume, William D. Moore proposes that imagery of Solomon's Temple in the United States "visually conflated ancient Jewish architectural structures with Egyptian forms made familiar . . . through popular visual culture." The association of Freemasonry with Egypt, and, by extension, Africa, also took on special meaning within particular communities, as Cheryl Finley and Deborah Willis meaningfully intimate in their essay here on photographic portraits of African American Freemasons.

While in Europe, quasi-masonic and para-masonic groups such as the Order of the Pug and the Egyptian Rite emerged, in North America, in the years leading up to and just after the Revolution, a rift developed, imported from England, between so-called "Ancient" and "Modern" Freemasonry, with class-based divisions that are reflected in approaches to portraiture, printed imagery, and public displays, as David Bjelajac and

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Nan Wolverton reveal in their essays on the painter John Singleton Copley and the silversmith and engraver Paul Revere. Later, in the nineteenth century and beyond, portraiture also played an important role in symbolizing social position; in striking photographic portraits of Prince Hall Freemasons, we see a visualization of the self-reinvention and liberating pride of African Americans following the Civil War.

Freemasons elsewhere likewise re-purposed ideas and imagery first encountered through European colonizers.[28] In Talinn Grigor's essay on the links between Freemasonry and Persian Revival architecture, we discover that in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India and Iran, fire-temple forms and symbols are distinctive, prominent features of Freemasonry (as in Color pl. 9). Grigor shows how this imagery reflects a fascinating merging of cultural traditions that is made additionally evident in such works as a lecture by K.R. Cama entitled "A Discourse on Zoroastrians and Freemasonry." Freemasonry also was introduced by the colonizers in Haiti, where it was adapted, along with its visual codes, to fit the needs of its particular complex historical circumstances, which led to an intriguing cross-pollination with Vodou, as Katherine Smith explains in her essay in this volume. Smith observes that both Freemasonry and Vodou, in their rituals and visual expressions, are often described as "constructing a mythology out of borrowed symbols." Such local adaptations of Freemasonry can test the universalist vision of the order's ideals, as can extenuating circumstances within its mainstream. For example, the nationalism that will swell in times of war can affect relations between members, as Martin Cherry reveals in his contribution to our book, a social history of Arts Lodge No. 2751 in London in which we read of the difficulties faced by Freemasons during the First World War who had emigrated from places that had become enemy countries.

The existence of foreign members in Arts Lodge No. 2751 was rooted in the "brotherly love" that Anderson highlighted as "the foundation, capstone, and glory of this ancient fraternity."[29] In practice, this vision led lodges to open their doors to brothers from anywhere. The significance of this custom, and of travel generally, for the eighteenth-century expansion of Freemasonry, has been the subject of innovative research in recent decades, especially in the writings of the historian Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire.[30] Applying Beaurepaire's perspective to the realm of the visual arts, we discover that the multi-national social networks of the Masons had considerable ramifications for the dissemination of their visual expressions and codes, and also provided artists with spaces in which to seek mutual support and valued clients who stood outside of the traditional patronage systems of Church and State. The importance of travel is given an historical as well as symbolic meaning in the *Constitutions*, in which it is explained that the Temple of Solomon, upon being built, "became the Wonder of all Travellers, by which, as by the most perfect Pattern, they corrected the *Architecture* of their own Country upon their Return."[31] Travel, then, is hailed as a means through which to seek perfection.

Coinciding with and reinforcing this concept of the virtues of travel was the eighteenth-century flourishing of the Grand Tour and the later rise of new technologies, such as the steam-powered boat and press, which helped to increase the scope of both travel and print culture and facilitated the wide circulation of the images and ideas of

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Freemasonry. The importance of the Grand Tour—a journey in Europe and especially Italy typically involving visits to ancient and renaissance monuments—for the spread of Freemasonry has been noted in recent scholarship and is a rich subject for further research.[32]

Travel plays a significant role, in one way or another, in virtually all the case studies within this volume. David Bjelajac shows how Copley profited from "Freemasonry's global expansion of lodge networks" and from the masonic connections of his father-in-law, who had moved from England to the North American colonies. The Spanish artist Francisco de Goya's trip to Italy likely entailed associating with and benefiting from the support of a masonic community in southern France. Members of alternative masonic groups in Europe—Martinez de Pasqually (1727?–1774) and followers of Franz Mesmer (1734–1815)—traveled to Haiti, contributing to the exportation of masonic imagery to the Caribbean. In mid-nineteenth-century France, Baron Taylor's ambitious publishing project in the mode of the picturesque voyage (*voyage pittoresque*) takes travel as its very subject and belongs to a lineage of generously illustrated *voyages pittoresques* publications created by Masons (a lineage as yet to be studied and, like the Grand Tour, one of the many possibilities for further research suggested by the essays in this volume). Within the African American community, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the mobility of photography as a medium was a "means of promoting membership in a masonic lodge," while lodge membership facilitated travel within the U.S., Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe.

Directly related to travel is trade and its role in bringing together people and things from distinct places. Trade networks were extremely influential in the spread of Freemasonry and its imagery; they surface as a sub-theme in several of the essays in this book. In 1738, the architect Carlos Mardel, whose origins were in Eastern Europe, joined a lodge in Lisbon, at which he associated with other foreign-born residents of the Portuguese city, several of whom were merchants, as David Martín López shows in his study of Mardel and Freemasonry in eighteenth-century Portugal. Some members of the Order of the Pug in Leipzig belonged to Huguenot trade families, such as Féronce and Valentin. Goya's close associates and supporters Martín Zapater and Sebastián Martínez both were successful businessmen who likely were Masons. Nearly half of Paul Revere's clients were fellow Freemasons, and, as Nan Wolverton notes, these associations resulted in commissions both close to home and "as far away as Suriname or Dutch Guiana," and, already in the eighteenth century, objects such as Chinese export punch bowls "circulated masonic imagery between the public and private worlds of production, commerce, and use" (see Fig. 5.6). Figures of masonic symbolic significance likewise took on an added meaning when connected to the world of business and industry, as William D. Moore shows us regarding the Biblical image of the ironworker as it comes to be associated with the construction of railroads.

Of special note, when considering the nexus of Freemasonry, visual imagery, travel, and business, is the trade card. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, Freemasons included symbols on their business cards to reveal their masonic identity to other Masons, evidently in hopes of thereby attracting business from brothers. Some interesting examples of these trade cards, from Spain and the United States, which

provide an idea of their noteworthiness in design and execution, are reproduced here (Figs. 3.9 and 5.3). These examples were directly influenced by trade cards from Britain, which Alexander Meyrick Broadley featured in one of the earliest studies of Freemasonry and the visual arts, the pioneering *Freemasonry in Its Relation to Serious Pictorial Art in the Eighteenth Century: 1717–1800*, published in 1913. There are dozens of these trade cards housed in libraries and museums, awaiting further study for what they reveal about the individuals whose wares and services they advertise and about the circulation of masonic imagery. Broadley called attention to the artistic merits of these objects, but their history—including, importantly, their migration from one country to another—has yet to be written.

In addition to showing the expansive chronological and global reach of the intertwined histories of Freemasonry and the visual arts, our volume underscores the wide range of art forms and objects through which these connections were realized and manifested. The works discussed include painting, architecture, metalwork, printmaking, porcelain, stained glass, textiles, drawings, sculpture, and photography; the types of objects range from snuff boxes to small figurines to large monuments, from jewels to bowls and other kinds of vessels, from book illustrations and posters to temporary altars and wall murals, and, as just noted, trade cards. The length of this list is perhaps not just happenstance, but rather part and parcel of the nature of Freemasonry, going back to Anderson's assertion, noted earlier in our introduction, that artists working in various mediums were deemed "good Masons." In this vein, David Bjelajac proposes that Copley was aware that "Freemasonry allied artists and artisans alike with experimental natural philosophy."

The very forms and elements of art sometimes acquired a symbolic significance in Freemasonry. For example, David Martín López notes that the architect Carlos Mardel used a triangular pediment, a form unprecedented in Portuguese architecture, for the mid-eighteenth-century Pombal palace at Oeiras and in other, later structures, and he views Mardel's introduction of it as evidence of Palladio's influence on masonic aesthetics. The introduction of a triangular pediment also is found on the Lodge Rising Star in nineteenth-century Bombay, and in other masonic structures from the area, again otherwise absent from the architectural history of the region, and therefore, Talinn Grigor proposes, it "must have had a masonic significance." Palladio's significance in the revival of such architectural elements is noted in Anderson's *Constitutions*, within a discussion of Italian renaissance architecture, in which, according to Anderson, "*Geometry* recover'd its Ground" in the work of several architects, "but above all, by the *Great* Palladio."[33] The pediment serves as both a signpost of this architectural heritage and to evoke the triangular form that is a central element in masonic symbolism (as in Color pls. 9 and 16). The compositional use of the triangular form symbolically is not limited to architecture, and can be seen, for example, in photographic compositions, as Cheryl Finley and Deborah Willis reveal.

Anderson's reference to the "Rules of *Building*" underscores the centrality of architecture to Masonry's history, symbolism, and meaning. The moral perfection for which Freemasons strove, as noted at the outset of our discussion, was to be in the image of the Temple of Solomon, and God was conceived as the "Great Architect." Not

surprisingly, then, architecture was one of the first art forms to receive scholarly attention from art historians as it relates to Freemasonry.[34] It is a recurring subject throughout this volume, playing a key role in essays about Portugal, France, India and Iran, the United States, and England.

Masonic symbolism is sometimes also understood to be embedded in the very working techniques used by artists. In his essay on Copley, David Bjelajac suggests that this symbolism is inherent to the mezzotint, a tonal printmaking technique in which the artist works from dark to light, favored by Copley's father-in-law, the Freemason Peter Pelham. In the study of Baron Taylor's *Voyages pittoresques*, it is proposed that lithography may well have been selected as the technique for the imagery within Taylor's multi-volume work because the printing plate is stone, suggestive of an association with stonemasonry and its symbolism in Freemasonry (notably, "working the rough ashlar" as a metaphor for moral enlightenment), and because, like mezzotint, it can be used to produce dramatic light effects evoking the move from darkness into light. There is no doubt that lithography sometimes was associated with Freemasonry. In nineteenth-century Spain, where it was common for brothers to assume symbolic names, one that recurred was that of the inventor of lithography, Alois Senefelder (1771–1834).[35]

However, it is important to note that in many situations it is difficult to determine whether a symbol or object has masonic significance, because Freemasonry drew upon a vast repertoire of existing images, which in turn came to be adapted to new contexts or as historical circumstances changed. The influential twentieth-century art historian E.H. Gombrich took on this problem in his study of a print produced some four years after the French Revolution, *Égalité* (*Equality*), of 1793.[36] Gombrich argued that despite our limitations, it is obvious that the carpenter's level in *Égalité* was borrowed from masonic imagery (see, for example, Figs. 2.5, 4.2, 5.1, 5.3, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.9, and 10.2, and Color pls. 2, 9, 14, and 15).[37] Such perceived adaptations of masonic symbols for revolutionary purposes readily lead to a thicket of existing questions about Freemasonry's possible contribution to the French Revolution, given the order's emphasis on values that overlap with ideals of the Revolution, including liberty, equality, and fraternity.[38]

Not only the level, but other fundamental symbols of Freemasonry—notably, the compasses and the square—can raise challenging questions of interpretation. As we have seen, the compasses are already used as a masonic symbol in the frontispiece to Anderson's *Constitutions* (see Fig. 0.1). They appear together with the square in Dubourg and Folkema's *The Freemasons* (Figs. 0.2–0.6). However, these objects obviously can have meanings that are unrelated to Freemasonry: for example, in a painted portrait, to denote that a person is an architect, or in a print, to symbolize a quality or behavior or type of activity (as in Fig. 4.1). Indeed, the compasses, square, level, and other masonic symbols seem to have developed directly out of the emblem books that were produced in abundance in the decades leading up to the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England. Within emblem books, sometimes the compasses and square were even used in combination, just as they often are in Freemasonry, and sometimes they were combined with the plumb line, another familiar masonic motif

(seen in Fig. 4.2 and Color pls. 7 and 14). Examples are the representations of "Judgement" and "Perfect Work" in the 1709 English edition of Cesare Ripa's extremely influential emblem book, *Iconologia*, first published in 1593 in Italian and subsequently in extensively illustrated editions in various languages (Figs 0.9 and 0.10). The connections between emblem-book imagery and such masonic symbols is a rich topic, warranting further work, as hinted at by E.H. Gombrich, and later, by Andy Durr.[39] Indeed, James Anderson owned a French edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* published in 1644.[40] One fascinating and important avenue for future work is in the way the symbols in both emblem books and Freemasonry can have more than one meaning (in the 1709 English edition of Ripa, which is the version that would have been most accessible when Freemasonry emerged in England, the compasses and square are used to connote judgment and "perfect work," but also—either alone or together—to signify beauty, corography, geography, horography, mathematics, parsimony, perfection, and theory).[41]

Regarding the difficulties in interpreting the symbolism of Freemasonry, and speaking from the vantage point of his own time, Gombrich contended: "The history of masonic symbolism is unfortunately a subject hard to document, since most histories of the Freemasons are written *ex parte*, accepting or half accepting the mystic history of the order."[42] When Gombrich wrote these words, a certain reluctance existed among art historians, and academics generally, to consider Freemasonry as a serious subject of study. In recent decades, the situation has changed on both sides of the equation, with academic and masonic scholars often borrowing freely from each other's work and

35 Moral Emblems.

Fig. 137. Giorno naturale: *A NATURAL DAY.*
A wing'd Boy, with a Circle in his Hand, in a Chariot above the Clouds, with a lighted Torch; the Chariot drawn by four Horses, one white, one black, the other two bay; signifying the four Parts that make up a *natural* Day, *i. e.* the *Rising* and *Setting*, *Noon* and *Midnight*; all the Time the Sun spends in going once round the whole *Orb*, which the Circle shews.

Fig 138. Geographia: *GEOGRAPHY.*
An old Dame, in an Earth-colour'd Garment; a terrestrial Globe at her Foot; the Compasses in her right Hand, wherewith she measures the said Globe, and a geometrical Square in her left.
Old, denotes the *Antiquity* of this Art; the Compasses, the *measuring* and *describing* of the Earth, which is truly Geography. The Square, the *taking* the several Proportions, Length, Breadth, *&c.*

Fig. 139. Giuditio: *JUDGMENT.*
A naked Man, attempting to sit down upon the Rainbow; holding the Square, the Rule, Compasses, and Pendulum, in his Hand.
The Instruments denote *Discourse*, and *Choice*, Ingenuity should make of Methods to understand, and judge of any thing; for he judges not aright, who would measure every thing in one and the same Manner. The Rainbow, that much Experience teaches Judgment; as the Rainbow results from the Appearance of diverse Colours, brought near one another by Virtue of the Sun-beams.

Fig. 140. Gioventu: *YOUTH.*
A conceited young Spark, in a parti-colour'd Garment; a Grey-hound on one Side, and a Horse, finely accoutred, on the other; standing, as if he would fling away his Money.
He is *proud*, and *conceited*, and has those Animals by him, to denote the particular Inclination of Youth; and their *Prodigality*, by squandering his Money. His Habit, the frequent *Altering* of his Mind.

Figure 0.9 Isaac Fuller, "Judgement," in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, or Moral Emblems*, ed. Pierce Tempest, 1709, 35. University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

57 Moral Emblems.

FIG. 225. Offeſa : *OFFENCE.*

A beutiſh Woman, her Cloths ruſt-colour, with Tongues, preſenting a Gun to two Dogs, going to worry a Hedge-hog.

The Ruſt ſhews *Offence*; the Tongues, that ſhe offends in *Words* and Deeds. The Dogs and Hedge-hog, that thoſe that do Hurt to others, are *hurt themſelves.*

FIG. 226. Obligo : *OBLIGATION.*

A Man arm'd; with two Heads, and four Hands; to demonſtrate that a Man oblig'd acts *two* Parts, *viz.* to take care of himſelf, and to ſatisfy another. The Hands and Heads ſignifie the Dividing of the *Thoughts* and *Operations.*

FIG. 227. Obedienza : *OBEDIENCE.*

A pious, modeſt Virgin, ſubmitting to a Yoak, with the Inſcription *SUAVE* on it.

The Yoak and Croſs import the *Difficulties* that accompany this Virtue, as *SUAVE* does the *Pleaſures* reſulting from the Practice, when it is ſpontaneous.

FIG. 228. Oratione : *PRAYER.*

An old Woman, cloth'd with a white Mantle; looking up to Heaven, kneeling; in one Hand, a fuming Cenſer, a Heart in the other; and a Cock on the Ground.

Kneeling denotes her being *conſcious* of her *Failings*; her Mantle, that Prayer ought to be in *ſecret.* The Heart ſhews that if it prays not, Lip-labour is in *vain.* The Incenſe-pot is a Symbol of *Prayer.* The Cock denotes *Vigilance.*

FIG. 229. Operatione parfetta : *PERFECT WORK.*

Holding a Miroir, and a Square and Compaſs in her Hands.

The Glaſs, wherein we ſee no real Images, is a Reſemblance of our *Intellect*; wherein we phancy many Ideas of Things that are not ſeen; but may be practis'd by Art, by the Help of *material Inſtruments*, which the Square denotes.

FIG. 230. Operatione manifeſta : *WORKS made MANIFEST.*

A Woman ſhewing both her Hands open, in each of which is an Eye in the Palm.

The Hands ſhew the chief *Inſtruments* of all Operations. The Eye, the *Quality*, which ought to be *manifeſt* to the World : So that frivolous Works, that are not grounded on Reaſon, totter, and are eaſily thrown down.

Figure 0.10 Isaac Fuller, "Perfect Work," in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, or Moral Emblems*, ed. Pierce Tempest, 1709, 57. University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

fruitfully sharing their discoveries. To use the present study as an example, we, as non-Mason researchers, have drawn upon Durr's work on emblem books and masonic symbols, written by a Freemason in a journal published by Freemasons, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*. The bringing together of these two realms in the twenty-first century in a kind of collective knowledge, or "convergence culture," to borrow a term from the media theorist Henry Jenkins, allows for a more extensive awareness of Freemasonry's history, to the communal benefit of all, than was previously possible.[43] An important step in this direction has been the opening up to non-Masons of masonic libraries and archives, from which many of the authors in our volume have benefited.

A turning point in the academic study of Freemasonry in the English language was an article from 1969 by the historian John M. Roberts, "Freemasonry: Possibilities of a Neglected Topic."[44] Roberts, who shared some of the preconceptions expressed later by Gombrich, lamented the lack of scholarship on the subject by the "professional historian," and its "abandonment to masonic antiquarians or to cranks."[45] He convincingly diagnosed the source of the situation: on the one hand, the alarmist conspiracy theories going back to the eighteenth century, and on the other hand, the closed-door masonic research practices of the time, had come together to "produce a self-perpetuating situation."[46] Roberts outlined many possible avenues for research. Particularly suggestive for the study of art history was his assertion that English historians had either ignored or interpreted in limited political terms, the influence of lodges "as cultural agencies, as generators and transmitters of ideas and symbols, and as sources of attitudes and images."[47] Art historians soon took up the call, and a few

articles in the field that examined Freemasonry, such as Gombrich's essay, came out in the decade following Roberts' essay.[48] But the subject really gained momentum in the 1980s, in particular within the field of architectural history, in which two significant books included Freemasonry as a central subject, Joseph Rykwert's *The First Moderns* (1980) and Anthony Vidler's *The Writing of the Walls* (1987). Historians also picked up the threads of Roberts' article, notably Margaret C. Jacob, in two studies, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (1981) and *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (1991). Beginning in the 1990s, and gaining momentum in the first two decades of the twenty-first century, scholars from across the globe, benefiting from the tools of communication offered by the internet, have been sharing their discoveries as the study of Freemasonry and the visual arts has steadily grown in depth and breadth, both within and outside of masonic institutions, as shown by the bibliography accompanying this volume and the publications consulted in the various essays within it.[49]

All this work has emerged despite the challenges that the topic seems to present. Aside from the difficulties resulting from Freemasonry's borrowed symbolic language, other challenges are rooted in the secrecy typical of its rituals, membership, and, sometimes, venues. Reactions to this secretive element emerged early in the order's history, leading to the publication, soon after that of Anderson's *Constitutions*, of so-called "exposures" that claimed to reveal the rituals, signs, and other details of Freemasonry. An early example, printed in many editions, is Samuel Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, first published in London in 1730. Later exposures often included pictures, such as *L'ordre des francs-maçons trahi et le secret des Mopses révélé* (*The Order of the Freemasons Exposed and the Secret of the Pugs Revealed*), of 1745, discussed in Cordula Bischoff's essay on the Order of the Pug. How to interpret such publications—as accurate documents of Masonry, partisan tracts filled with falsehoods, or deliberately misleading descriptions coming from the Masons themselves—is an open question. Scholars must tread carefully in consulting these intriguing publications, and any prints contained within them, but contextual analyses such as Bischoff's can advance our understanding of them in revealing ways.

The limitations presented by the element of secrecy are at times exacerbated by legal constraints, such as, notably, the papal bull condemning Freemasonry of 1738, which most especially affected Portugal, Spain, and their dominions. Other examples, moving forward in time, are the nineteenth-century Qajar monarchy's prohibition of the order, which had an impact in Iran, or that of the fascist governments of mid-twentieth-century Germany, Spain, and Vichy France, which led to the confiscation of thousands of documents from masonic buildings and individuals.[50] Freemasons living in such difficult circumstances seem to have avoided producing or retaining written documents in order to protect themselves. Several essays in this volume offer models for how to work with this and other limitations of the subject. In her essay, Talinn Grigor accepts, and even embraces, the fragmentary nature of the tantalizing history of Freemasonry and architecture in Iran that she traces, addressing it directly. In her study of the Order of the Pug, Cordula Bischoff shows that archival materials still have much to tell us, and in fact can lead to concrete knowledge where before it had been absent. Her discoveries

make a good case for not shying away from research on Freemasonry and the visual arts on account of the order's secrecy. David Bjelajac provides compelling circumstantial evidence for the masonic significance of some of Copley's portraits, advancing an approach to studying the intersections of Masons and non-Masons within the history of art (thereby revealing an eighteenth-century "convergence culture").

These are some of the ways the essays in the pages that follow work innovatively with, and find ways to move beyond, the challenges inherent in the subject of Freemasonry and the visual arts. It is our hope that this set of case studies will encourage future scholarship on the topic. With this goal in mind, we have compiled a bibliography of sources we believe to be of special use to the study of Freemasonry and the visual arts.

One potential area of further work concerns contemporary art. Several successful artists of the past few decades have explored masonic imagery. The best-known and most provocative example, perhaps, is Matthew Barney, in his film *Cremaster 3* (2002), which contains an abundance of masonic symbolism and complex allusions to masonic ritual. Theaster Gates, in his installation, *A Complicated Relationship between Heaven and Earth, or When We Believe* (2014), explores the relationship between material culture and spirituality, bringing together objects from various traditions, including a mechanical bucking goat, which is an item formerly used in masonic rituals in the United States, and a glass decorated with the compasses and square. These are but two examples of the ways in which contemporary artists have explored the power and meanings of masonic imagery.

The essays in this volume consider how masonic images and practices have persisted and, alternately, how they have been transformed or re-formulated to suit the needs of particular times, places, or artists. The essays, taken together, provide a global perspective on the ways in which Freemasonry and the visual arts have been linked and have reinforced each other over the course of three centuries. The collective knowledge that emerges from our set of case studies demonstrates that visual imagery has the potential to give us access to long-lost, forgotten, or concealed histories, and that its central role in the history of Freemasonry is important to the history of art. Cordula Bischoff asserts that, "[f]ar more emphatically than the few written documents, the large number of still preserved figurines testifies to the broad spread and importance of the Order of the Pug." Similarly, in the essay on Goya, it is proposed that what "appears to be lacking in written evidence is revealed through a visual language that we only now are starting to 'read.'" This book contains diverse approaches to "reading" this language, and to probing its political, social, religious, and spiritual contexts, in the process inviting an array of possibilities for future work.

Notes

1 The traditionally held date of the founding of the Grand Lodge of England is 1717, but recent scholarship has suggested the later date of 1721. Arguments for each date were presented at the recent symposium, "1717 and All That," held at Quatuor Coronati

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Lodge No. 2076 on February 15, 2018. See also Andrew Prescott and Susan Mitchell Sommers, "Searching for the Apple Tree: Revisiting the Earliest Years of English Organised Freemasonry," in *Reflections on 300 Years of Freemasonry: Papers Delivered to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge Tercentenary Conference on the History of Freemasonry*, ed. John S. Wade (London: Lewis Masonic, 2017), 681–704.

2 James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons, Containing the History, Charges, Regulations, etc. of that Most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity, for the Use of the Lodges* (London: John Senex and John Hooke, 1723), 14. On the high regard for Solomon's Temple in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Europe, see, for example, Tessa Morrison, *Isaac Newton and the Temple of Solomon: An Analysis of the Description and Drawings and a Reconstructed Model* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2016).

3 On this point, and for a discussion of the imagery in this frontispiece and those of later editions of the *Constitutions*, see Martin Cherry, "Illustrations of Masonry: The Frontispieces of the Books of Constitutions, 1723 to 1819," in *Reflections on 300 Years of Freemasonry*, 77–92.

4 Cherry, "Illustrations of Masonry," 78.

5 Anderson, *Constitutions*, 26.

6 Related to this point is the fact that several types of masonic objects, in particular those produced in the United States, tend to be classified as "folk art" in present-day terminology. Two recent studies of such objects are Lynne Adele and Bruce Lee Webb, *As Above, So Below: Art of the American Fraternal Society, 1850–1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), and Stacy C. Hollander and Aimee E. Newell, *Mystery and Benevolence: Masonic and Odd Fellows Folk Art from the Kendra and Allan Daniel Collection* (New York: American Folk Art Museum, 2016). Social implications of the leveling of the arts also played an important role, sometimes leading to affiliations of Freemasonry with progressive social movements; for an example of this kind of affiliation, see Pierre Mollier, "Fouriérisme et franc-maçonnerie," in *Une fraternité dans l'histoire: Les artistes et la franc-maçonnerie aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles*, ed. Claire Stoullig and Frédérique Thomas-Maurin (Paris: Somogy; Besançon: Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie de Besançon, 2005), 97–101.

7 For a recent study of masonic aprons, see Aimee E. Newell, *The Badge of a Freemason: Masonic Aprons from the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum and Library* (Lexington, MA: Scottish Rite Museum and Library, 2015).

8 On this aspect of masonic ritual, as it relates to theater, see C. Lance Brockman, ed., *Theatre of the Fraternity: Staging the Ritual Space of the Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, 1896–1929* (Minneapolis: Frederick R. Wiseman Art Museum, University of Minnesota, 1996).

9 Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 13.

10 For an interesting case, predating Anderson's book, of possible masonic symbolism in an extensive fresco series of 1716–17, see Douglas Lewis, "Freemasonic Imagery in a Venetian Fresco Cycle of 1716," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988), 366–99. The fact that this fresco series is in a building designed by the renaissance architect Andrea Palladio is intriguing, since Palladio's work was

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highly praised by Anderson and inspired other Freemasons, such as Lord Burlington at Chiswick House (as noted in the essay by David Martín López in this volume).

11 On the print, the artists are identified as "L.F.D.B." and "I.F." Dubourg, who worked closely with Picart before the latter's death and made other prints for *Religious Ceremonies and Customs*, is clearly "L.F.D.B." Formerly, it was thought that British printmaker (and Freemason) John Faber (*c.* 1695–1756) was "I.F."; see the otherwise informative discussion of this print in Rae Blanchard, "Was Sir Richard Steele a Freemason?" *PMLA* 63, no. 3 (September 1948): 904–6. The identification of "I.F." as Jacob Folkema is followed in recent studies; see, for example, Philippe Langlet, *Lecture d'images de la franc-maçonnerie* (Paris: Éditions Dervy, 2013), 21. This attribution makes sense, given that Folkema engraved many other designs by Dubourg and by Picart, and considering that Faber specialized in mezzotint portraits rather than engravings for books.

12 Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. 6 (Amsterdam: J.F. Bernard, 1736), 252 n. This acknowledgment of Pine's lodge list is noted in Blanchard, "Was Sir Richard Steele a Freemason?" 904–5. On Pine's engraved lists, see also Andrew Prescott, "John Pine: A Sociable Craftsman," *Masonic Quarterly Magazine* 10 (July 2004): 9. A copy of Pine's 1735 *List of Regular Lodges* is held in the collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Antiq.f.E.1735.1). For the possible significance of discussing Freemasonry in a lengthy footnote, rather than in the body of the text, and other aspects of the inclusion of Freemasonry in *Religious Ceremonies and Customs*, see Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book that Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard's* Religious Ceremonies of the World (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 279–82.

13 See Cherry, "Illustrations of Masonry," 78.

14 Bernard and Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses*, 252 n. For a detailed analysis of these and other symbolic forms in this print, see Langlet, *Lecture d'images*, 15–53.

15 Anderson, *Constitutions*, 61.

16 *The Daily Post*, September 3, 1724; on this and other reports of the period, which includes an early analysis of William Hogarth's print about the Gormogons that we discuss here, see R.F. Gould, "Masonic Celebrities: No. VI.—The Duke of Wharton, G.M., 1722–1723; with which Is Combined the True History of the Gormogons," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 8 (1895): 123–55.

17 Hogarth's print was advertised in the same newspaper on December 2, 1724; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 3rd rev. ed. (London: The Print Room, 1989), cat. no. 55 (BM Satires cat. no. 2549). An example of the silver Gormogon medal is in the collection of the British Museum (accession no. MG.1039).

18 Anderson is identified by Gould, "Masonic Celebrities," 140 and 154. For the possibility that Desaguliers is the old woman, and for a discussion of distinct interpretations of this print, see Marie Mulvey-Roberts, "Hogarth on the Square: Framing the Freemasons," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (2003): 255–59.

19 Gould, "Masonic Celebrities," 137.

20 Several works on Hogarth's art and Freemasonry are listed in our bibliography.

21 See, for example, Robert Collis, "Chivalric Muses: The Role and Influence of Protectresses in Eighteenth-Century Jacobite Fraternities," in *Gender and Fraternal Orders in Europe, 1300–2000*, ed. Máire Fedelma Cross (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 102–32, and Alexandra Heidle and Jan A.M. Snoek, eds., *Women's Agency and Rituals in Mixed and Female Masonic Orders* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008).

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22 On Houdon's sculpture of Balsamo as it relates to Houdon's masonic connections, see Anne L. Poulet's catalog entry in Poulet, with Guilhem Scherf, et al., *Jean-Antoine Houdon: Sculptor of the Enlightenment* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 123–26, cat. no. 14.
23 For the sculptures of Franklin and Jones, see Poulet, 247–50, cat. no. 43, and 251–55, cat. no. 44.
24 On Balsamo, see Roberto Gervaso, *Cagliostro: A Biography*, trans. Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin (London: Gollancz, 1974). A satirical print by James Gillray, *A Masonic Anecdote* (1786), makes fun of Balsamo's purported deceptions and also of the secrecy surrounding Freemasonry, as he is shown exclaiming, in Italian, "I am discovered"; British Museum accession no. 1868,0808.5578 (BM Satires cat. no. 7010).
25 For an informative overview of the Nine Sisters Lodge, see Frédérique Thomas-Maurin, "La loge des Neuf Soeurs," in *Une fraternité dans l'histoire*, 32–38.
26 Anderson, *Constitutions*, 5.
27 A connection can be drawn to the emblem book—the significance of emblem books will be discussed later in our introduction—as revealed in part of the lengthy subtitle to the 1709 English edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*: *As Designed by the Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Modern Italians.*
28 On colonialism and the spread of Freemasonry, see especially Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasons and British Imperialism, 1717–1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
29 Anderson, *Constitutions*, 56.
30 The most extensive of Beaurepaire's works on this subject is *L'Autre et le Frère: L'étranger et la franc-maçonnerie en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998).
31 Anderson, *Constitutions*, 14. Corresponding to this statement is the observation that medieval stonemasons (who figure prominently in masonic origin narratives) "by the very nature of their work, were itinerant," as noted in James Stevens Curl, *Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: Architecture, Symbols, and Influences* (London: Historical Publications, 2011), xxiii.
32 On the significance of an early masonic lodge in Florence, see Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009), 17–19.
33 Anderson, *Constitutions*, 39.
34 For example, Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980), and Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987).
35 María Teresa Roldán Rabadán, "Análisis y estudio de los nombres simbólicos utilizados por los miembros de cuatro logias madrileñas," in *La masonería en la España del siglo XIX. II symposium de metodología aplicada a la historia de la masonería española*, ed. J.A. Ferrer Benimeli, vol. 2 (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1987), 535.
36 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Estampes et photographie, RÉSERVE QB-370 (44)-FT 4.
37 E.H. Gombrich, "The Dream of Reason: Symbolism of the French Revolution," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 2, no. 3 (September 1979): 187–205.

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38 The literature on whether (or to what extent) Freemasonry influenced the French Revolution is extensive. For two sides of the debate, see Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans*, 2nd rev. ed. (Lafayette, LA: Cornerstone Book Publishers, 2006), and Kenneth Loiselle, *Brotherly Love: Freemasonry and Male Friendship in Enlightenment France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014).

39 Andy Durr, "Chicken and Egg—the Emblem Book and Freemasonry: The Visual and Material Culture of Associated Life," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 118 (2005): 20–35. Durr's article includes a pioneering discussion of masonic compasses and square imagery in relation to emblem books (23–27). Other references to the emblem book's importance for the development of masonic symbolism, and further discussion of the subject, are included in the essay on Goya in the present volume.

40 *A Catalogue of Curious and Useful Books in Divinity, History, Physick, Surgery & C. in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French and English. Being the Libraries of the Late Dr Anderson, and of an Eminent Surgeon . . . Monday the 27th of this Instant, 1739 . . . sold by Thomas Payne* (London, 1739), 2, cat. no. 42. A study of this sale catalog is currently being prepared by Susan Mitchell Sommers and Andrew Prescott. For an overview, see their essay, "James Anderson: A Child of his Time," in *Reflections on 300 Years of Freemasonry*, 650. Another emblem book in the sale catalog of Anderson's library, perhaps less relevant to masonic symbolism, but still of interest, is Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* (London: Printed for William Freeman, 1710); *A Catalogue of Curious and Useful Books*, 29, cat. no. 822. Our gratitude to Susan Sommers for sharing with us this information on the content of Anderson's library.

41 Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, or Moral Emblems*, ed. Pierce Tempest (London: Benjamin Motte, 1709), 10, 18, 35, 38, 51, 59, and 74, respectively. See, in the edition of Ripa that Anderson owned, *Iconologie: ou explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblems et autres figures hyérogliphiques* . . . (Paris: M. Guillemot, 1644), 28, 54, 107, 113, 129, 140, and 160.

42 Gombrich, "The Dream of Reason," 202.

43 Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006). On distinctions between research on Freemasonry by Masons and non-Masons, and the value of a shared research enterprise, see Andreas Önnerfors, "Extending the Horizon: How to Bring the Study of Freemasonry Further," *IF: Zeitschrift für international Freimaurer-Forschung* 16, no. 32 (2014): 32–55.

44 John M. Roberts, "Freemasonry: Possibilities of a Neglected Topic," *The English Historical Review* 84, no. 331 (April 1969): 323–35.

45 Roberts, "Freemasonry: Possibilities of a Neglected Topic," 323–24.

46 Roberts, "Freemasonry: Possibilities of a Neglected Topic," 325.

47 Roberts, "Freemasonry: Possibilities of a Neglected Topic," 326.

48 See also Bruce Chambers, "The Pythagorean Puzzle of Patrick Lyon," *The Art Bulletin* 58, no. 2 (June 1976): 525–33.

49 An important example of electronic intellectual exchange on masonic subjects is "Freemasonry: An E-mail Discussion List for Academic Researchers, Graduate Students and Heritage Professionals," a vibrant, international listserv community.

50 For the example of France, see the overview in Martine Poulain, "Saisies et spoliations des archives maçonniques durant la seconde guerre mondiale," in *La Franc-maçonnerie*, 269–70.

3

Goya and Freemasonry

Travels, Letters, Friends

Reva Wolf*

The cover of a 2010 issue of the *Journal of The Masonic Society*, published by a North American independent masonic research organization, features the *Injured Mason* (1786–87; Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), a painting by the Spanish artist Francisco de Goya (1746–1828) (Fig. 3.1). Encountering Goya's art in such a venue provokes the questions of whether he could have been a Freemason, and, if he were, what relevance this identity might have for our understanding of his art and life.

Taking up these questions, and focusing on details of (1) his trip to Italy in the early 1770s, (2) his extended correspondence with a close friend upon his return to Spain, and (3) his time in southern Spain in the early 1790s, I propose that Goya moved within masonic circles and was likely a Freemason, and that these associations contributed to the direct, intimate, and private aspects of Goya's art that have long been viewed as strikingly modern and singularly powerful.

The first and greatest challenge that arises when attempting to conduct research on Freemasonry in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Spain is that the order was prohibited during most of this period. From an early point in its history, Freemasonry was perceived as a threat to the Catholic Church, and it was forbidden in a papal bull of 1738. The French authorities ignored the pope's directive, but the Spanish rulers, and the Inquisition, followed it.[1] The covert existence of Freemasonry in Spain during periods of prohibition is suggested by the fact that it emerged quickly and flourished during the two moments in Goya's lifetime when it was permitted. The first of these intervals occurred under Joseph Bonaparte (r. 1808–13), who came to power after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain.[2] The second, and more significant, took place during the constitutional government of the so-called *Trienio Liberal* (1820–23), instituted following the "Revolt of Riego," with which the repressive King Ferdinand VII (r. 1808; 1814–33) was forced to comply—events organized at least in part through masonic networks.[3] As a result of the prohibitions, the typical kinds of evidence for masonic affiliation, such as lists of lodge members, often do not exist. However, in the case of Goya, other kinds of evidence—traces of masonic networks, the symbolic visual language in his letters and art—offer compelling clues to his likely identity as a Mason.

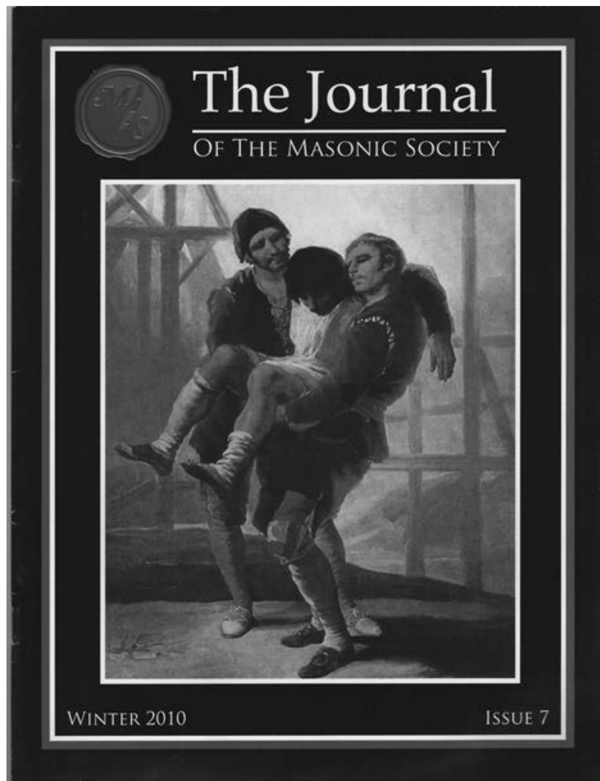

Figure 3.1 Cover, *Journal of The Masonic Society* 7 (Winter 2010). Used by Permission of the *Journal of The Masonic Society*. All Rights Reserved.

Part 1. The Italian Sojourn: A Masonic Network in Marseille?

Despite the official prohibitions, Spaniards had ample opportunity to become involved in Freemasonry through interactions with foreigners. Recent scholarship has provided concrete evidence for such interactions and has underscored the importance of international networks, which themselves exemplify the masonic virtue of providing support to brethren.[4] Although we may not discover his name on a lodge list, we do have several indications that Goya associated with Masons, one of the earliest instances being on his first trip outside of Spain.

Like many other European artists of the mid-eighteenth century, Goya traveled to Italy as a young man in order to study its treasures of ancient, renaissance, and baroque art.[5] In Italy during 1771, he filled a parchment-bound sketchbook with drawings.[6] Along with these drawings, the sketchbook contains various notations, including passages, written in Italian and then in French, referring to one Baudoin in the offices

of Tarteiron in Marseille. Tarteiron has been identified as an important businessman, and it has been proposed that for this reason Goya would have associated with both Tarteiron and his affiliate, Baudoin.[7] But we learn from René Verrier's pioneering research on Freemasonry in Marseille and Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire's studies of masonic networks in the eighteenth-century Mediterranean world that Louis Tarteiron, in addition to being an influential businessman in Marseille, was a Protestant, and, still more interesting for our purposes, an important member of the Saint-Jean d'Écosse lodge of that city, where he rose to the level of Grand Master.[8] Baudoin is not mentioned in these histories and is more difficult to identify. However, a likely clue to his identity is found in the archives of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, in the so-called "Fichier Bossu," an extensive card index, arranged by surname, of Freemasons, primarily French; created in the mid-twentieth century by the eponymous Jean Bossu, the Fichier includes several cards for "Baudoin" and "Beaudoin," two of which refer to individuals from or residing in towns near Marseille, making them good candidates for the person to whom Goya refers.[9]

It is likely Goya passed through Marseille on his way home from Italy, following a standard travel route.[10] One theory is that Goya might have been in contact with Baudoin in order to arrange for shipping his luggage from Marseille to Spain, so that he would not need to carry it with him.[11] Another possibility is that Baudoin, as a Mason affiliated with Tarteiron, provided Goya with lodging during his stopover in Marseille or perhaps in a nearby town in southern France (Goya also lists Toulon—spelled "Tolon"—in his Italian notebook).[12] One of the "charges" of Freemasons, as set out in the foundational 1723 *Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, was to support brothers from elsewhere.[13] One form of this support was to offer lodging and other kinds of hospitality to foreign brothers. The idea was that, as a Mason, wherever you went you could rely on being "at home" in the company of other Masons. Indeed, records show that Tarteiron assisted a foreign Mason, the Dutch businessman Cornelius Sturemberg, who fled to Marseille from Genoa to avoid persecution for his masonic affiliation.[14] It may well be that Goya likewise received assistance, if of a more everyday variety, in the form of lodging, as he traveled through southern France on his return from Italy to Spain. (One way Goya could have made the link to Baudoin and Tarteiron was through one of the several artists residing in Rome who were attached to the Marseille academy of art during the early 1770s, and who also were Freemasons.)[15]

The evidence for Goya's association with Freemasonry in Marseille warrants a revision of the historian Gérard Dufour's speculation on the possibility that Goya was a Mason.[16] Dufour supposed that Goya joined the order much later, during the rule of Joseph Bonaparte, which, as we have seen, was one of the few periods during Goya's life when Freemasonry was permitted in Spain. Dufour made a case for the presence of masonic symbolism in allegorical and compositional elements in paintings, prints, and drawings that Goya made during this period of political upheaval.[17] He found no positive proof that Goya was a Freemason, but he did find references in two publications that he believed made his case. The first is a vague mention, dating to 1822, of an unnamed artist then still alive, who had decorated one of the Madrid masonic lodges established under Bonaparte; Dufour proposed, unconvincingly, that this artist could

have been Goya.[18] The second reference is in Freemason Andrew Thomas Blayney's account of his 1810 experience in Madrid as a prisoner of war, in which, Dufour claims, Blayney recalled being invited by Goya to stay in his home.[19] The French version of Blayney's 1814 memoir that Dufour consulted names not "Goya," however, but one "M. G***."[20] Turning to Blayney's account in the original English, we discover that "G***" was, in fact, the name of a Frenchman, "Monsieur Guillet."[21] Although Dufour's research was flawed, it raised the important questions of whether Goya was a Mason and whether his art contains masonic symbolism.[22]

Part 2. "Your Brother Paco": Masonic Symbols and Valedictions in Goya's Letters

Upon his return from Italy, Goya initially went back to his hometown of Zaragoza, and then, from the second half of the 1770s onward, pursued his career ambitions in the Spanish capital of Madrid. From Madrid, he kept an extensive correspondence with a close friend in Zaragoza, Martín Zapater, a successful businessman. In a portrait of Zapater painted by Goya in the mid-1790s (Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico), Zapater is shown reading one of Goya's letters, the correspondence, thus memorialized, clearly occupying an important position in the relationship between the two men. The intimacy of letter writing was valued and nurtured generally in the eighteenth century, and was treasured by Freemasons.[23] Several of Goya's letters to Zapater contain seemingly enigmatic drawings which, through a comparative study, are revealed as probable masonic symbols.

These drawings, often used in conjunction with words as parts of sentences, were described, in an essay of 1975 by the art historian Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, as functioning like "hieroglyphs." Lafuente Ferrari emphasized the need to publish the letters together in order to begin to understand their significance.[24] Their publication followed soon after.[25] Then came several attempts at interpretation, with the drawings in the letters typically characterized as cryptic: "very mysterious"; "private information and in-jokes"; "not very easy" to comprehend.[26] When we come to realize that the majority of these drawings likely either allude to or are a form of masonic symbolism, their mystery gains a purpose, and a pathway is cleared to help us comprehend their significance.

An early example, dating to January of 1777, shows a profile of part of a face, with the right hand held in front of the mouth and the thumb either next to or touching the nose (Fig. 3.2).[27] This image, a carefully delineated and masterful contour drawing—not just an off-the-cuff scribble within a letter—is part of a sentence in which Goya states that he misses Zapater and that the person apparently symbolized by the drawing has asked about him with affection. The unusual configuration of this drawing—not to mention its placement within the letter—has caused much puzzlement and has led to varied interpretations among scholars. In their edition of Goya's letters, Mercedes Agueda and Xavier de Salas view it as representing a gesture so habitual that the person it alludes to could be identified through this gesture alone.[28] To their suggestion, Guy

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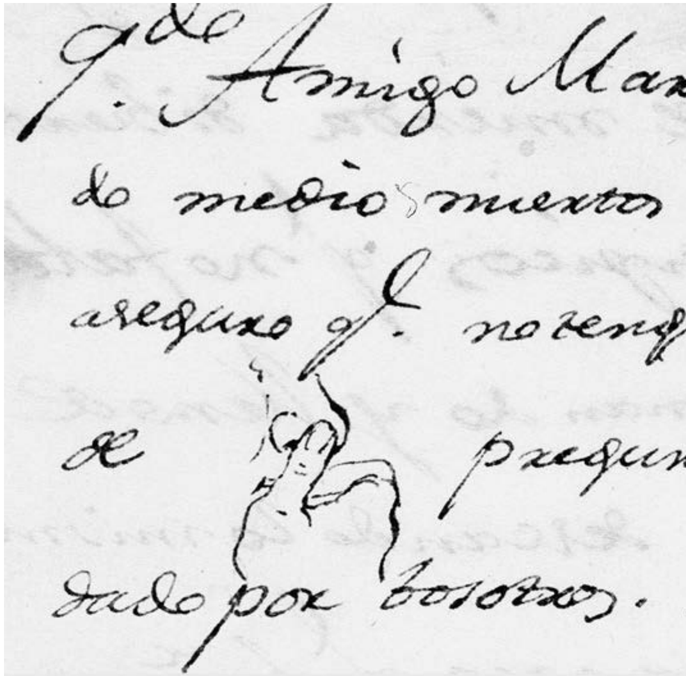
q.do Amigo Mar
do medio muertos
areguro q. no teng
de pregun
dado por bosotros. .

Figure 3.2 Francisco de Goya, letter to Martín Zapater, January 22, 1777 (detail). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, ODG102. © Archivo Fotográfico Museo Nacional del Prado.

Mercadier adds that the drawing contains comical and/or pejorative connotations, such as of scratching oneself, picking one's nose, smelling bad, or having a congested nose. (Mercadier also raises the possibility that the drawing may refer to a surname.)[29] Arturo Ansón Navarro proposes that the image shows the act of inhaling snuff, a suggestion followed by Sarah Symmons in her English edition of Goya's letters.[30] René Andioc argues that the position of the thumb and hand do not correspond to how they would be placed while taking snuff.[31] With some hesitancy, Andioc then offers his own tentative and, in the end, unconvincing, interpretation: the hand in front of the mouth may be a gesture of protection from the cold, since the letter is dated to January and in it Goya refers to Zapater's travels (wishing him good weather).[32]

The context of the letter reveals that the image signifies a person who has asked about Zapater "with much care" ("*con mucho cuydado por bosotros*"). These words fit well with the concern of masonic brotherhood and also, perhaps, with the masonic discretion that we might associate with the gesture of a hand placed over the mouth. Secrecy and silence are required of Freemasons (and in a letter of around four years later, Goya observes that he and Zapater are silent about that which warrants silence).[33] Perhaps there is a connection to the secrecy of initiation ceremonies of masonic lodges.

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Hand gestures, including ones that incorporate the fingers, thumb and nose, are important features of these ceremonies.

Eighteenth-century representations of initiation scenes, if not necessarily entirely accurate, at the very least give us an idea of the nature of the hand gestures involved. A case in point is a series of prints illustrating Freemasons assembled to receive apprentices, published in Augsburg with French captions. One print in the series shows the entrance of a candidate, blindfolded, into the lodge; among those present to receive him is the brother, positioned in the center back of the composition, who looks out at us while holding his right index finger up to the right side of his nose (Fig. 3.3).[34] The gesture is not identical to what Goya drew in his letter, but it does show us that touching the side of the nose with a finger was within the repertoire of masonic signs or signals (see also Color pl. 3).

The descriptions of these signs found in masonic handbooks, like the visual evidence in prints depicting initiation rites, contain intriguing similarities to the drawing in Goya's letter. Some especially compelling examples are described in the *Manual de la mazonería* that was published in 1822—during the *Trienio Liberal* when

Figure 3.3 Jacques-Philippe Le Bas after L. Wachsmut, *Assemblée de francs-maçons pour la réception des Apprentis: entrée du récipiendaire dans la loge* (*Assembly of Freemasons Receiving Apprentices: Entry of an Initiate into the Lodge*), published by Martin Engelbrecht, Augsburg, mid-eighteenth century, etching, 11.811 × 16.535 in. (30 × 42 cm). Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RÉSERVE QB-201 (109)-FOL, © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Freemasons could practice freely and openly in Spain and when, for the first time, a handful of such "catechisms" were published in Spanish. One sign ("*señal*") described in the *Manual de la mazonería* that has some resemblance to the hand configuration in Goya's drawing involves placing the index and middle finger of the right hand together on top of the mouth ("*poner el dedo índice y el de en medio de la mano derecha juntos sobre la boca*"); another involves placing the first two fingers of the right hand on the side of the nose ("*al lado de la nariz*").[35]

If these signs are close to but not a perfect match for what is shown in Goya's drawing, it should be kept in mind that masonic rites took on distinct forms as they moved in time and place.[36] Even in Goya's day, writers recognized their pliability. In the introduction to the *Manual de la mazonería*, which includes descriptions of the Scottish and French rites as well as adoption rites for women, it is noted that although Freemasonry is uniform in its principles, dogmas, and morality, it is varied in its practices. The reason for the existence of distinct rituals, the author observes, is that the order spread at the same time throughout Europe, and therefore took on "the particularities of the dispositions of the places where it was adopted" ("*la tintura del genio de los pueblos que la adoptaron*").[37] Other publications also discerned variations in masonic gestures. A screed against Freemasonry, *Centinela contra francs-masones* (or, *Sentinel against Freemasons*), first published in Spain in 1752 with subsequent editions issued into the late eighteenth century, describes how a particular sign could vary by lodge.[38]

More broadly, an aspect of masonic handbooks of this period relevant to Goya's drawing is that they sometimes contained pictographs. Particularly common—most especially in France—are triangles made up of three dots, symbolizing masonic brothers, and rectangles formed by four lines, signifying masonic lodges. Both of these shapes are included in the instructions for writing like a Mason ("*Método para escribir masónicamente*") offered in one of the Spanish Freemasonry handbooks from the time of the *Trienio Liberal*.[39] Using pictographs in his letters to Zapater, Goya, in his own way, may well have been "writing masonically."

The general significance of silence and secrecy of the hand over the mouth in Goya's drawing from the letter of 1777 also seems to be a central meaning of some of the pictographs in his letters of the 1780s. An undated letter of late 1782 or early 1783 contains an eye, ear, and mouth on two lines, as part of a sentence (Fig. 3.4).[40] Within the context of the sentence, these pictures would seem to refer to a particular person.[41] Goya writes that he sends his best to everyone, and to—completing the phrase with the eye, ear, and mouth images. At the same time, as Canellas López observed in his edition of Goya's writings, it is possible to "read" the three images as the expression "see, hear, and keep quiet."[42]

A motto adopted by the Grand Lodge of England in the early nineteenth century is *Audi Vide Tace*—"Hear, See, but Keep Silent." However, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, this motto often appeared in masonic contexts as *Vide, Aude, Tace*—"See, Hear, but Keep Silent"—as, for example, inscribed under the frontispiece image (dated 1776) to *Jachin and Boaz*; *or, an Authentic Key to the Door of Free-Masonry*, of 1785.[43] Both versions of the motto were visualized in pictographs, not

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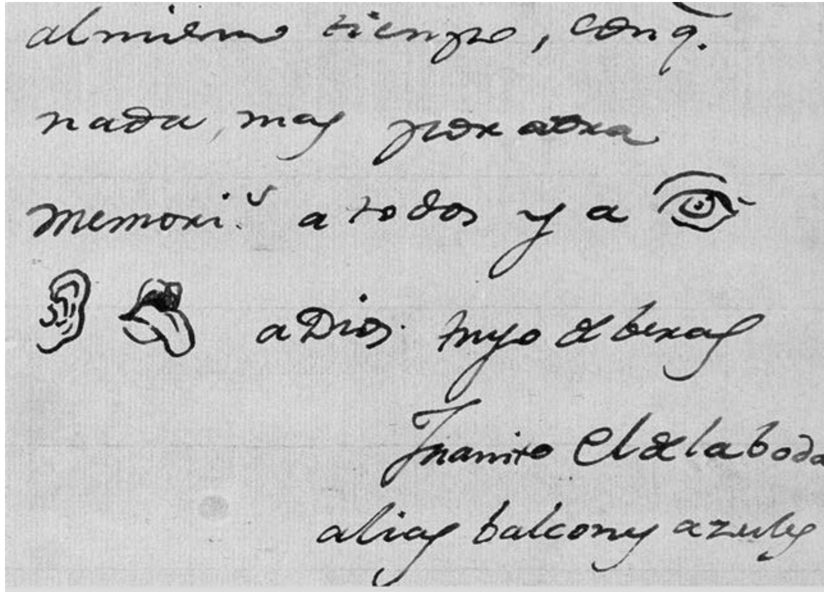
almismo tiempo, cong.
nada, mas por ahora
memori.s a todos y a
aDios tuyo d beras
Franco el dela boda
alias balcony azules

Figure 3.4 Francisco de Goya, letter to Martín Zapater, late 1782 or early 1783 (detail). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, ODG011. © Archivo Fotográfico Museo Nacional del Prado.

unlike Goya's drawings, including on snuff boxes designed for use by Masons. Examples that visualize *Vide, Aude, Tace* show the eye, ear, and mouth following the same order as in Goya's pictographic rendering (Color pl. 4).[44]

A curious distinction between Goya's pictographs and those on the snuff boxes, however, is in the portrayal of the mouth. In Goya's version, the tongue protrudes out of the mouth, while on the snuff boxes, the lips are shut tight and the mouth is closed securely with a lock. The locked mouth is an obvious reference to the silence that the masonic motto addresses. What, then, might a protruding tongue signify? Was Goya poking fun at the silence and secrecy that was so cherished by Masons? Another possibility is suggested by the entry for "tongue" in Albert G. Mackey's 1874 *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*:

> In the early rituals of the last century, the tongue is called the key to the secrets of a Mason; and one of the toasts that was given in the Lodge was in these words: "To that excellent key of a Mason's tongue, which ought always to speak as well in the absence of a brother as in his presence; and when that cannot be done with honor, justice, or propriety, that adopts the virtue of a Mason, which is silence."[45]

Mackey's words suggest that for eighteenth-century Masons, the tongue had a meaning close, if not identical, to that of locked lips. In his entry for "Mouth to Ear," Mackey

Color plate 4 Maker unknown, snuff box, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, painted papier-mâché, 3.74 in. dia. (9.5 cm). Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London, M2017.443.

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makes note of the masonic lesson to "use the lips and the tongue only in the service of a brother."[46] If the pictographs in Goya's letter refer to a person, then perhaps he is a fellow Mason.

This person might be referred to again in a pictograph within another letter Goya sent to Zapater, undated but from around the same time.[47] Once again, the eye, ear, and tongue sticking out of the mouth are shown, but now lined up in pairs: two eyes, two ears, and two mouths. In addition, this set of images is followed by the word "alias" and then a sequence of four pictographic forms that represent a shaving bowl, razor, scissors, and another less easily identifiable object. The equation of parts of the face with shaving implements may have been readily understood by Zapater, but it presents quite a riddle for us! In attempting to solve this riddle, while extending further the possibility that the pictograph alludes to someone who is a Mason, we might ask whether Goya was somehow making an association with a print by William Hogarth (1697–1764), *Night*, of 1738, which places a Mason and a barber in parallel worlds (Fig. 3.5).[48] Hogarth's composition features a wounded Master Mason who stumbles

Figure 3.5 William Hogarth, *Night* (from the series *The Four Times of Day*), 1738, engraving, second state of two, 19.409 × 15.748 in. (49.3 × 40 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Sarah Lazarus, 1891 (91.1.94).

down the street accompanied by a "Tiler," or lodge guard, while in the window to our left is a barber holding up the nose of his client with one hand and a razor with the other.[49] The razor makes a "v" configuration, producing a calculated inversion of the "^" shape of the masonic square that hangs from a ribbon around the Mason's neck.

The plausibility of this connection to Hogarth, who had become a Mason in the 1720s, shortly after the founding of the Grand Lodge of England, and whose work Goya likely knew, is fortified if we consider the drawing in another letter from Goya to Zapater, of around the same time, of shaving tools combined with other items, including what appears to be a hand-held lamp, an object also in Hogarth's print, where it is carried by the Tiler (Fig. 3.6).[50] Goya again included eyes—now omitting ears and mouths—and he positioned the eyes within—not next to—the assortment of objects, leading René Andioc to compare the drawing to emblem book illustrations of Jealousy, from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, and (in a different vein) of Prudence, from Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*.[51] Goya's knowledge of emblem books has often been noted.[52] However, emblem book pictures are a key source for masonic symbols, too, making it difficult to determine whether Goya's image (as but one example) is masonic or whether

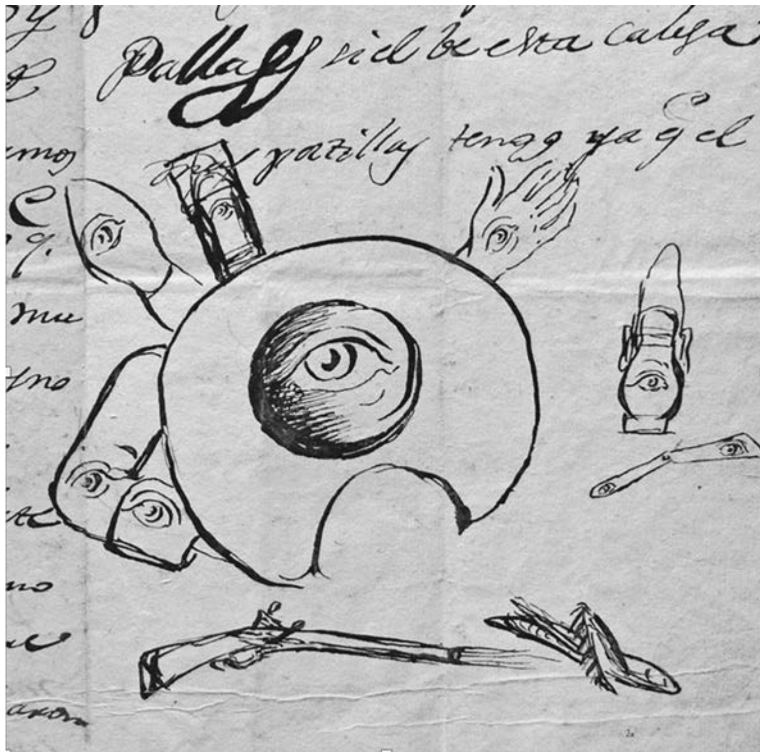

Figure 3.6 Francisco de Goya, letter to Martín Zapater, mid-1780s (detail). Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, inv. 15648–6.

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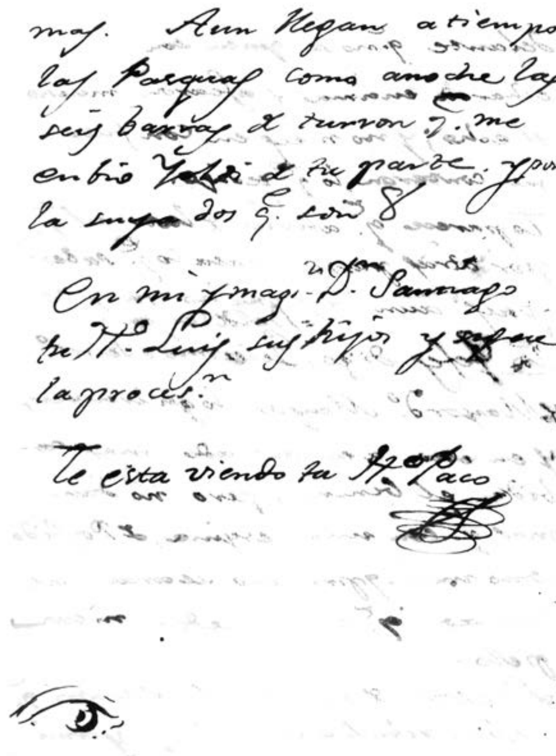
it is an emblem-book-derived symbol without masonic significance.[53] The unusual combination of eyes, barber tools, and lamps in this image is not found in the allegorical figures of emblem books and suggests a masonic symbolism instead.

In the 1790s, Goya continued his practice of including drawings in his letters to Zapater in ways that suggest a masonic significance. In a letter of late 1790 or early 1791, he introduced yet again a disembodied eye, now in isolation (Fig. 3.7).[54] The eye appears at the bottom of the letter, in the spot typically reserved for the name of the addressee in correspondence of the period. For this reason, it has been interpreted as standing for Zapater.[55] Beyond this identification, the image invites a range of associations. As Hanneke Grootenboer notes in a study of late eighteenth-century eye miniatures, at this time the meaning of the disembodied eye shifted depending upon the context in which it was deployed.[56] She observes that in Europe during the 1780s and 1790s its meaning often involved a fusion of religious connotations with Enlightenment values: the "all-seeing eye of God, looking down upon his people with


mas. Aun llegan a tiempo
las ... como anoche las
seis barras de turron q. me
enbio ... de tu parte. y por
la ... dos q. son 8

En mi ymag. D. Santiago
... y ...
la proces.n

Te esta viendo tu ... Paco

Figure 3.7 Francisco de Goya, letter to Martín Zapater, late 1790 or early 1791 (detail). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, ODG047. © Archivo Fotográfico Museo Nacional del Prado.

equal care (and scrutiny) towards all, fuses with the Enlightenment's supreme eye of reason."[57] By the last decades of the eighteenth century, the routine use of this eye in masonic objects and publications of all kinds (such as in the frontispiece to the previously mentioned *Jachin and Boaz*) is an important instance of this fusion. The combined appeal both to the senses (if paradoxically) and to reason inherent in this fusion is a distinctive feature of Freemasonry that may go a long way in helping us to comprehend the dynamic tension between these apparent opposites in Goya's paintings, prints, and drawings.[58] The eye, evoking the sense of sight (and in other letters the nose, ear, and mouth recalling other senses), highlights the sensual side of this equation. Goya's use of non-verbal elements in his letters to Zapater has been aptly described as placing an "emphasis on the senses."[59]

Goya often used words in his letters that suggest a profound intimacy, and some of these terms of affection, like the drawings, seem to have a distinctly masonic significance. Most notably, Goya signed off on some letters as "Brother" ("*Hermano*," written in abbreviated form, as "*H.º*" or "*Herm.º*"). The letter of 1790 that contains the eye in the corner is signed, "your Brother Paco" ("*tu H.º Paco*"), and another, of May 10, 1794, "your Brother Paco" ("*tu Herm.º Paco*"), while a third, from some days later, May 21, 1794, is addressed to Zapater as "dear Brother" ("*q.do H.º*").[60] There are various ways to interpret these valedictions and greetings (which have gone virtually unstudied in the scholarship on Goya), but when taken in combination with the other evidence, such as the disembodied eye in the letter of 1790, they make sense as expressions of masonic brotherhood.

French and British eighteenth-century masonic correspondence practices provide illuminating points of comparison. The historian Kenneth Loiselle has observed that French Freemasons routinely called each other "brother" in their letters and that this fact "indicates clearly that masonic identity mediated their social relations."[61] He calls our attention to a manuscript on how to write a masonic letter, *Modèle pour écrire une lettre maçonnique* (1786), which advises that the recipient be addressed as "brother."[62] Warm valedictions of "brother" also appear on official British masonic correspondence of the period; an example from Gibraltar, dated 1789, reads, "Y.r Affectionate B.r"[63]

Another relevant point of comparison to Goya's letters is in the strong words of affection found in correspondence between French Masons—for example, "dear brother that I love with all of my heart."[64] Goya expressed similar feelings in his letters—signing them, to give two examples from 1794, "his very affectionate Francisco Goya" and "think of him who loves you best."[65] "Brotherly Love" was, according to the formative *Constitutions of the Free-Masons*, "the foundation, capstone, cement and glory" of Freemasonry.[66] It is likely that at times the strong bonds of brotherhood went beyond friendship.[67] The question arises of whether a space for the expression of homosexual love existed within eighteenth-century Freemasonry. In one letter to Zapater, Goya wrote inviting his friend to visit, noting that he had prepared a room where the two could be together and sleep.[68] Such an arrangement may not have been unusual among heterosexual men during the eighteenth century.[69] In any event, at the time, Freemasonry certainly was attacked in Spain for encouraging homosexuality. In the anti-masonic treatise, *Centinela contra francs-masones*, the author claimed to have

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received a report from Holland that Freemasons were "sodomites." "These are not Spanish invectives," he wrote (clearly intending to imbue his argument with the appearance of objectivity), "nor fictions of the ecclesiastics. We have received this news from the north."[70]

Part 3. Goya's Illness and the Masonic Connection in Cadiz

From the outset, Freemasonry was to serve as a support system for its members. Goya often turned to his close friends, including Zapater, at times of crisis. On more than one occasion, Zapater assisted Goya when he was in financial need.[71] In 1792, the artist became ill, and in early 1793, he traveled to Seville and then to Cadiz, in southern Spain, to recover, with the support of his friend, Sebastián Martínez y Pérez (Fig. 3.8). Martínez seems to have been part of an extended network of friends and business associates that included Goya, but also Zapater. While Goya convalesced at Martínez's home, Zapater and Martínez corresponded on the status of their mutual friend's

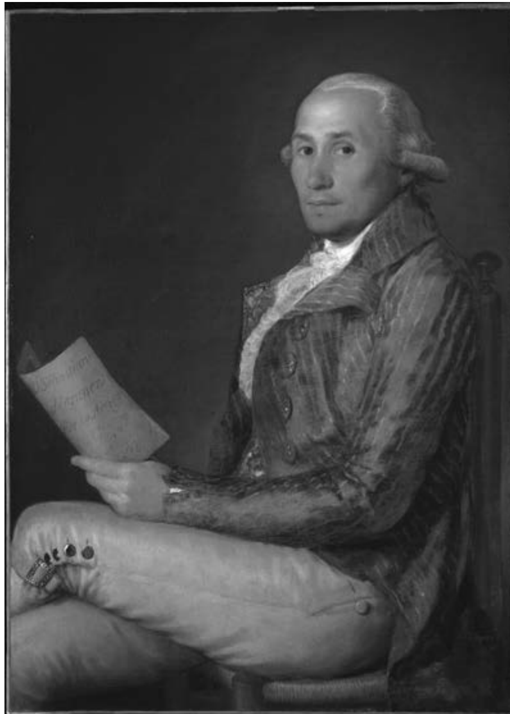

Figure 3.8 Francisco de Goya, *Sebastián Martínez y Pérez*, 1792, oil on canvas, 36.614 × 26.614 in. (93 × 67.6 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.289).

health.[72] It is possible that Goya's convalescence at Martínez's home, as well as the circumstances that led Goya to paint Martínez's portrait, were products of a shared masonic network.

Martínez, about whom quite a bit more is known than Zapater, was a successful merchant operating in a cosmopolitan port city.[73] He traded in wine, textiles, and other goods. He amassed large art and book collections, which Goya likely studied.[74] An independent-minded collector, he fought protracted battles with the Inquisition over his acquisition of prohibited works of art and books.[75] The directness of his challenges to the Inquisition are remarkable, and are not out of character with Freemasonry, the practice of which was, of course, itself subject to the Holy Office's persecution.[76]

Sebastián Martínez's trade card, created by the Cadiz artist José Rico, contains imagery that would seem to have been intended to reveal to other Freemasons that he was a brother (Fig. 3.9).[77] The card is rich in imagery that alludes to his business: the ship out to sail on the sea, at our right; the figure of Hermes or Mercury, the messenger god and god of commerce, known for his swiftness—and in certain contexts, a masonic symbol—seated in the center; the wine barrel, on our left; and the two neatly and securely tied packages on either side of the composition.[78] The package to our left is noteworthy, because it contains a six-pointed star, or "hexalpha," which in England was used as a symbol within Royal Arch Freemasonry beginning in the 1760s.[79] By the 1780s, the symbol had spread elsewhere, and was regularly incorporated into Austrian lodge seals designs.[80]

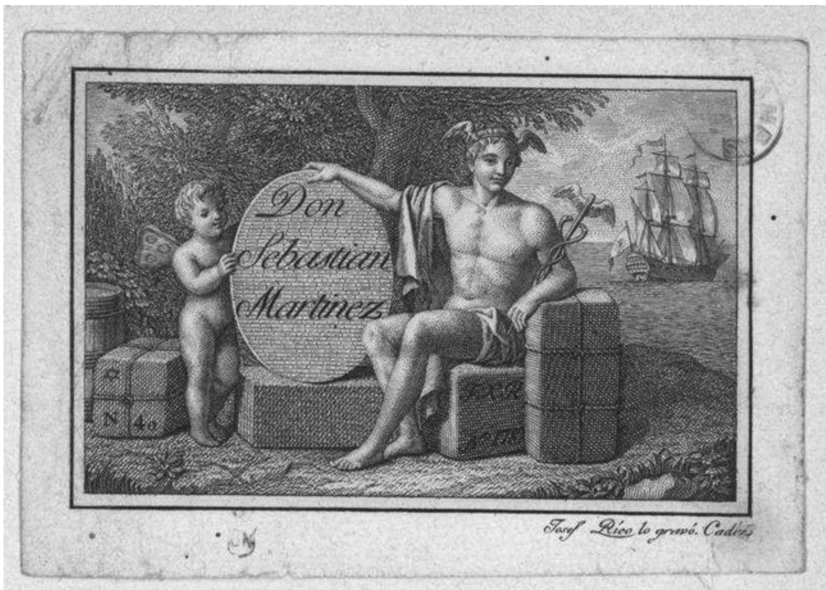

Figure 3.9 José Rico, trade card for Sebastián Martínez y Pérez, late eighteenth century, engraving, 2.755 × 3.937 in. (7 × 10 cm). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, ER/2174(16).

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In England, trade cards were, in fact, among the many objects on which the masonic six-pointed star appeared during the late eighteenth century. By this time, Freemasons routinely included symbols of their fraternal association on these cards. In an early and interesting study of the connections between Freemasonry and art in the eighteenth century, Alexander Meyrick Broadley observed that "artistic masonic trade-cards" started to appear around 1750 and were a manifestation of the masonic ideal of mutual support and cooperation.[81] Royal Arch Freemasons typically included a six-pointed star on their cards, as Martínez had on his.[82] Furthermore, a different symbol of Royal Arch Masonry, the so-called "Triple Tau," is featured on corded packages in another British trade card of the time, in just the same way the star is featured on a package in Martínez's card.[83] The merchant whose business is advertised in this card, J. Headdey, was, like Martínez, in the export business; his card contains similar motifs signaling this line of work, including a ship and Mercury's caduceus.[84]

It is highly likely, then, that the design of Martínez's trade card would have drawn upon British models. The six-pointed star on this card is a remarkable clue to Martínez's identity as a Mason. What appears to be lacking in written evidence is revealed through a visual language that we are only starting to "read" now, some 200 years after the fact.

Martínez, Zapater, and Tarteiron, three important contacts for Goya during the last third of the eighteenth century, were all successful businessmen (positions that paralleled Freemasonry's unique place as separate from both church and state) and all likely belonged to a shared masonic network. This network would seem to have been extremely important to Goya, guiding him through many difficult times. His likely identity as a Mason, moreover, may deepen our understanding of many aspects of his art and life: his sophisticated use of hand gestures in portraits, prints, and drawings; his creation of albums of drawings that are "private," or, secret; and his ability to hold reason and emotion in a dynamic visual balance. Late eighteenth-century Masonry has been described as "a microcosm of a new secular and civic, yet quasi-religious, political order we have now come to know simply as the modern world."[85] In this context, the directness and intimacy of Goya's art that make it still seem so "modern" take on a new, historically grounded significance. The full extent of this significance remains to be discovered. One of the many places to look is in the painting of the *Injured Mason* (Fig. 3.1).

Notes

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parts of this essay were presented in talks held at the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies conference (Spring 2016), the colloquium on the Iberian world at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (Fall 2016), and the World Conference on Fraternalism, Freemasonry, and History (Spring 2017).

1 See José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, *La masonería española en el siglo XVIII*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1986).

2 For an overview of this history, see José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, *La masonería española contemporánea*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (1800–1868) (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1987). On designs by the artist José Ribelles for a lodge established by Bonaparte in Madrid, see José Manuel de la Mano, "Goya intruso: arte y política en el reinado de José I (1808–1813)," in *Goya en tiempos de guerra*, ed. Manuela B. Mena Marqués (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2008), 59–61.

3 See Brian R. Hamnett, "Liberal Politics and Spanish Freemasonry, 1814–1820," *History* 69 (1984): 222–37; and Juan José Morales Ruiz, "Fernando VII y la masonería española," *Hispana Nova* 3 (2003): 75–92.

4 For a case study, see José A. García Diego, "Un gran científico que fue masón: Fausto de Elhuyar," in *La masonería en la España del siglo XIX. II symposium de metodología aplicada a la historia de la masonería española*, ed. J. A. Ferrer Benimeli, vol. 2 (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1987), 657–67. On Spaniards who became Masons while in Paris during the 1780s, see Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *L'Autre et le Frère: L'étranger et la franc-maçonnerie en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), 466–67. Another case, of some fourteen years later, in Brest, is explored by Georges Demerson in "Une loge maçonnique espagnole à Brest en 1801–1802: 'La Reunión Española,'" *Bulletin hispanique* 57, no. 4 (1955): 375–400.

5 For an excellent overview of the scholarship on Goya's trip to Italy, see Joan Sureda, "Goya and Italy: From *Hannibal* to *Los Caprichos*," in *Goya and Italy*, ed. Joan Sureda, vol. 1 (Zaragoza: Museo de Zaragoza, 2008), 17–22. The two-volume catalog (volume 2 comprising a separate series of essays in Spanish, *Goya e Italia*) also provides a useful panorama of the kinds of art, events, and people that Goya would have encountered during this trip (though Freemasonry is not mentioned).

6 The sketchbook came to light only in the 1990s; see Sureda, "Goya and Italy," 19–20.

7 Jeannine Baticle, *Goya* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1995), 34–35; Juliet Wilson-Bareau, "Goya and France," in *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, ed. Gary Tinterow and Geneviève Lacambre (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 139 n. 4. See also Malena Manrique, *Goya a vuelapluma: los escritos del cuaderno italiano* (Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014), 144–45.

8 René Verrier, *La Mère Loge Écossaise de France, à l'Orient de Marseille, 1751–1814* (Marseille: Éditions du centenaire, 1950), 11–12, 24, and 35, and pls. III and V; and Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, "Le rayonnement international et le recrutement étranger d'une loge maçonnique au service du négoce protestant: Saint-Jean d'Écosse à l'Orient de Marseille au XVIIIe siècle," *Revue historique* 293 (April–June 1995): 267, 272, 279, and 281–83; and also by Beaurepaire, *L'Autre et le Frère*, 108–9, and "Saint-Jean d'Écosse de Marseille: Une puissance maçonnique méditerranéenne aux ambitions européennes," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 72 (2006): 5, 11, and 13–14.

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9 "Baudoin Joseph-François-Tropez," from Saint-Tropez, and "Beaudoin Pierre," residing in Solliès; Fichier Bossu, Fonds maçonnique, Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter cited as Fichier Bossu). The relevant "Tarteiron" listings in the Fichier Bossu include "*père*," "*fils*," "L. F.," "L.," and "Laurent." The Fichier Bossu is known to contain occasional errors, and therefore requires special care in its use, but nonetheless remains a fruitful tool for scholars, especially when the information it provides is corroborated in other sources. The Fichier Bossu is available online at http://fichier-bossu.fr/.

10 Anna Reuter, "El *Cuaderno Italiano* de Goya," in *Goya e Italia*, vol. 2 (*Estudios y ensayos*), 87–88.

11 Reuter, "El *Cuaderno Italiano* de Goya," 89.

12 Manrique, *Goya a vuelapluma*, 65 (numbered by Manrique as page 41a of the Italian notebook).

13 James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons, Containing the History, Charges, Regulations, etc. of that Most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity, for the Use of the Lodges* (London: John Senex and John Hooke, 1723), 55–56.

14 See Beaurepaire, *L'Autre et le Frère*, 107–10 and 389.

15 On artistic life and Freemasonry in eighteenth-century Marseille, see Régis Bertrand, "Le 'glorieux' XVIIIe siècle marseillais: Marseille de la Régence à la Révolution," in *Marseille au XVIIIe siècle: Les années de l'Académie de peinture et de sculpture, 1753–1793* (Paris: Somogy; Marseille: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2016), 31–32. Among the artists included in *Marseille au XVIIIe siècle* who both were Masons (as recorded in the Fichier Bossu) and resided in Rome when Goya was there are J. J. Foucou, François Poncet (see Alexandre Maral, "Les sculpteurs de l'Académie de Marseille," 246–51 and 239–46), and François André Vincent (see Gérard Fabre, "De l'école académique de dessin à l'Academie de peinture: sculpture et architecture civile et navale de Marseille 1753–1793," 129).

16 Gérard Dufour, *Goya durante la Guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008), 79–84 and 254–57.

17 Dufour, *Goya durante la Guerra*, 254–56.

18 Dufour, *Goya durante la Guerra*, 80–81 and 255. The weakness of this suggestion was also noted by David Martín López in his paper, "What If Pombal, Goya and Lorca Were Freemasons? New Perspectives on the Masonic and Philo-Masonic Presence in Portugal and Spain," in the College Art Association conference panel, *The Mystery of Masonry Brought to Light: Freemasonry and the Visual Arts from the Eighteenth Century until Now*, February 5, 2016, Washington, DC.

19 Dufour, *Goya durante la Guerra*, 251 and 255 (Dufour misspelled Blayney as "Blaney," and identified him as English, but he was Irish).

20 Andrew Thomas Blayney, *L'Espagne en 1810: Souvenirs d'un prisonnier de guerre anglais* (Paris: Louis-Michaud, 1909), 128.

21 Andrew Thomas Blayney, *Narrative of a Forced Journey through Spain and France, as a Prisoner of War in the Years 1810 to 1814*, vol. 1 (London: E. Kerby, 1814), 269.

22 For another conjecture about the possible significance of Freemasonry for Goya's art, see Alisa Luxenberg, "Black Arts: Allegory, Alchemy, and Theurgy in the Enigmatic Drawings of C.F. de La Traverse," *Master Drawings* 49 (Summer 2011): 241–42.

23 See Kenneth Loiselle, *Brotherly Love: Freemasonry and Male Friendship in Enlightenment France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), chapter 4.

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24 Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, "Las cartas de Goya a Zapater y los epistolarios españoles," in *Homenaje a la memoria de Don Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino 1910–1970* (Madrid: Castalia, 1975), 286 and 328.
25 Ángel Canellas López, ed., *Diplomatario de Francisco de Goya* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1981); Mercedes Agueda and Xavier de Salas, eds., *Francisco de Goya: Cartas a Martín Zapater* (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1982).
26 Guy Mercadier, "El dibujo en las cartas de Goya a Martín Zapater: de la ilustración humorística al código confidencial," *Actas del I Symposium del Seminario de Ilustración Aragonesa* (Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1987), 149; Sarah Symmons, introduction to *Goya: A Life in Letters*, ed. Sarah Symmons, trans. Philip Troutman (London: Pimlico, 2004), 51; and René Andioc, "Algunos dibujos en las cartas de Goya a Zapater (y otras cosas)," in Andioc, *Goya: Letra y figuras* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 119.
27 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 209–10, no. 11 (text) and 78 (image).
28 Agueda and Salas, *Goya: Cartas*, 39 n. 4.
29 Mercadier, "El dibujo en las cartas," 147. Along similar lines, María Teresa Rodríguez Torres sees a connection to a popular expression, "*sólo los ricos guardan los mocos*" (only the wealthy keep their snot) in her book, *Goya: Entre sueños, chanzas, y realidad* (Madrid: Ars Magna, 1996), 47–48.
30 Arturo Ansón Navarro, "Revisión crítica de las cartas escritas por Goya a su amigo Martín Zapater," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 59–60 (1995): 249, and Symmons, *Goya: A Life in Letters*, 74 n. 3.
31 Andioc, "Algunos dibujos en las cartas," 119–20.
32 Andioc, "Algunos dibujos en las cartas," 120.
33 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 239, no. 53.
34 This print series is often reproduced in publications on Freemasonry. For the existence of other versions of the series with the compositions inverted (the brother therefore holding the left finger, not the right, to his nose), see James Stevens Curl, *Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: Architecture, Symbols, and Influences* (London: Historical Publications, 2011), 101, and Philippe Langlet, *Lecture d'images de la franc-maçonnerie* (Paris: Éditions Dervy, 2013), 55–106 and pls. 21–22.
35 *Manual de la mazonería, ó sea retejador de los ritos escoses, francés y de adopción* (Cadiz: Roquero, 1822), 46 and 52. Other gestures described in the *Manual* that might also be compared to that in Goya's drawing, although they are less similar to it than these two, include putting the right hand up to the throat with the thumb separate, to form a square (28), placing the left hand on the lips with the thumb separate, again to form a square (81–82), and grasping the tip of the nose with the thumb and index finger of the right hand (145).
36 On this point, see also the introduction to the present volume.
37 "Introducción," *Manual de la mazonería*, 17.
38 *Centinela contra francs-masones: Discurso sobre su origen, instituto, secreto y juramento*, trans. Joseph Torrubia, 3rd ed. (Madrid: Ramón Ruíz, 1793), 14.
39 *La Antorcha del francmason* (Bordeaux: H. Lavalle, Jr., 1822), 263.
40 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 244–45, no. 62 (text) and 78 (images).
41 See Mercadier, "El dibujo en las cartas," 148. Mercadier offers this interpretation as an alternative to the proposal that the drawings signify "until I see you, hear you, and speak to you," proposed by Agueda and Salas, *Goya: Cartas*, 90 n. 11. Mercadier's interpretation is followed by Andioc, "Algunos dibujos en las cartas," 130–31.

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42 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 74.
43 See T.O. Haunch, "English Craft Certificates," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 82 (1969): 189 n. 1.
44 Another snuff box, almost identical, and two others in which the ear comes before the eye, reflecting the order of *Audi, Vide, Tace* (one containing a Phrygian cap, and the other, inscribed with a French translation of the Latin motto), are in the collection of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, London (hereafter cited as LMF), cat. nos. M2009.1503, M2009.1534, and M2003.432, respectively. The box pictured in color plate 4, also in the LMF (M2017.443), contains a silver mount dated 1846 that is believed to be a later addition, according to Mark Dennis, curator, LMF, as reported by Martin Cherry, Librarian, LMF, email correspondence with the author, June 4, 2018 (the box is dated 1846 in Curl, *Freemasonry and the Enlightenment*, 111).
45 Albert G. Mackey, *An Encyclopedia of Freemasonry and Its Kindred Sciences* (Philadelphia: Moss and Co., 1874), 820.
46 Mackey, *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, 512.
47 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 248, no. 69 (text) and 78 (images). A case is made for identifying the person as a friend of Goya and Zapater named Pallás in Mercadier, "El dibujo en las cartas," 151. A further elaboration of this identification is in Andioc, "Algunos dibujos en las cartas," 130–31. For another interpretation of the drawings, as constituting a self-portrait, see Symmons, *Life in Letters*, 140 n. 3.
48 There is an extensive literature on the masonic symbolism of Hogarth's print and of the painting on which it was based. A succinct recent discussion that draws out the political subtext of the masonic imagery is Elizabeth Einberg, *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 177–80. On Goya's awareness of Hogarth's work and of British satirical imagery more generally, see Reva Wolf, *Goya and the Satirical Print in England and on the Continent, 1730 to 1850* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1991). For more on Hogarth and Freemasonry, see the introduction to the present volume.
49 The manner in which the barber holds up his client's nose is strikingly similar to an initiation gesture described in the *Manual de la mazonería*, 145 (see n. 35, above).
50 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 261–62, no. 92 (text) and 76 (images). The letter is undated. Canellas López suggests 1785; others propose spring 1784. See Agueda and Salas, *Goya: Cartas*, 118 n. 1; Ansón Navarro, "Revisión crítica," 262; and Symmons, *Life in Letters*, 148.
51 Andioc, "Algunos dibujos en las cartas," 127–28.
52 A pioneering study of Goya's use of emblem books is George Levitine, "Some Emblematic Sources of Goya," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22 (January–June 1959): 106–31.
53 On emblem books as sources of masonic imagery, see: Andy Durr, "Chicken and Egg—the Emblem Book and Freemasonry: the Visual and Material Culture of Associated Life," *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* 118 (2005): 20–35; Stacy C. Hollander, "Signs and Wonders: The Art of Fraternity," in Stacy C. Hollander and Aimee E. Newell, *Mystery and Benevolence: Masonic and Odd Fellows Folk Art from the Kendra and Allan Daniel Collections* (New York: American Folk Art Museum, 2016), 24–26; and Pierre Mollier, Sylvie Bourel, and Laurent Portes, eds., *La Franc-maçonnerie* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2016), 38–41.
54 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 307, no. 178 (text) and 78 (image).
55 Mercadier, "El dibujo en las cartas," 153; Andioc, "Algunos dibujos en las cartas," 127. On the dating of the letter, see Ansón Navarro, "Revisión crítica," 275–76.

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56 Hanneke Grootenboer, *Treasuring the Gaze: Intimate Vision in Late Eighteenth-Century Eye Miniatures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 70. Grootenboer points out that eye miniatures were not just symbols, but also portraits, and this latter significance seems relevant to Goya's eye in the letter in question.
57 Grootenboer, *Treasuring the Gaze*, 63.
58 The embrace of the co-existing dualities of the occult and the Enlightenment within eighteenth-century Freemasonry is highlighted in Paul Kléber Monod, *Solomon's Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 288.
59 Symmons, *Life in Letters*, 51.
60 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 317, no. 193, and 317–18, no. 194.
61 Loiselle, *Brotherly Love*, 112.
62 Loiselle, *Brotherly Love*, 120.
63 W.M. Leake, letter to the Deputy Grand Master, July 15, 1789; Historical Correspondence, Moderns Grand Lodge, Gibraltar, HC 20/A/11a, LMF.
64 Philippe-Valentin Bertin du Rocheret, letter to Jean-Philippe de Béla, 1746, as cited in Loiselle, *Brotherly Love*, 122.
65 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 320, no. 198, and 318–19, no. 195 (translation from Symmons, *Life in Letters*, 244 and 245).
66 Anderson, *Constitutions*, 56.
67 See Loiselle, *Brotherly Love*, 134.
68 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 324–25, no. 206. Several other letters from Goya to Zapater contain crude or strong language that is difficult to interpret.
69 On these questions, see Loiselle, *Brotherly Love*, 91–95, and 134 n. 57 for relevant bibliography.
70 *Centinela contra francs-masones*, 43.
71 See, for example, Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 267, no. 103.
72 Canellas López, *Diplomatario*, 453, nos. LXVII, 455, LXIX, 456–57, and LXXII. On the details of Goya's illness and of his time in Seville and Cadiz, see Gudrun Maurer, "Una leyenda persistente: El viaje de Goya a Andalucía en 1793," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 28 (2010): 74–81.
73 The significance of Cadiz as a cosmopolitan port during the eighteenth century is often noted; an informative work on this aspect of the city is Manuel Bustos Rodríguez, *Cádiz en el sistema atlántico: La ciudad, sus comerciantes y la actividad mercantil (1650–1830)* (Madrid: Silex, 2005).
74 See María Pemán, "La colección artística de don Sebastián Martínez, el amigo de Goya, en Cádiz," *Archivo español de arte* 51 (January–March 1978): 53–62, and María Pemán Medina, "Estampas y libros que vió Goya en casa de Sebastián Martínez," *Archivo español de arte* 65 (July–December 1992): 303–20. On Martínez's business and cultural activities in Cadiz, see Ignacio Gil-Díez Usandizaga, "Sebastián Martínez, el amigo de Goya," *Brocar: Cuadernos de investigación histórica* 38 (2014): 197–209.
75 See especially Elisabel Larriba, "Sebastián Martínez y Pérez *versus* Pedro Sánchez Manuel Bernal o la lucha de un ilustrado gaditano contra el Santo Oficio," *Trienio* 34 (November 1999): 5–29, and also, Enrique Gacto, "El Arte vigilado (Sobre la censura estética de la Inquisición española en el siglo XVIII)," *Revista de la Inquisición* 9 (2000): 7–68.
76 Notable is the story of John Coustos' punishment in Portugal, at the hands of the Inquisition, which was circulated widely beginning in the mid-1740s and came to

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stand for masonic persecution and heroism; some twelve editions of a book about Coustos' saga were published between the mid-1740s and 1800; see Wallace McLeod, introduction to *The Sufferings of John Coustos: A Facsimile Reprint of the First English Edition, Published at London in 1746* (Bloomington, IL: Masonic Book Club, 1979), 48–49.

77 The trade card is dated around 1807 on the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (inventory no. 14778, record no. 1005114); however, Martínez died in 1800. See also Francisco Aguilar Piñal, "Otra innovación del siglo XVIII: las tarjetas de visita," *Bulletin hispanique* 104, 1 (2002): 32–33, and 37, no. 6. A recent study of José Rico clears up the confusion of chronology that likely led to the misdating of the trade card; see José María Collantes González, "Nuevos datos en torno a la Santa Cueva de Cádiz: notas sobre una estampa del grabador José Rico," *Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo* 21 (2015): 267–79.

78 On the complex symbolic identity of Mercury, and his association with Masonry, see Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans*, 2nd rev. ed. (Lafayette, LA: Cornerstone Book Publishers, 2006), 133–35.

79 Bernard E. Jones, *Freemasons' Book of the Royal Arch* (London: George G. Harrap and Company, 1957), 238–44 and 259–68. Jones illustrates several late eighteenth-century masonic jewels graced with six-pointed stars and refers to the Charter of Compact (1766) and an engraved portrait of Dr. Francis Drake (1761) as early examples.

80 These lodge seal designs appear on frontispieces to several issues of the *Journal für Freymaurer* published between 1784 and 1786.

81 Alexander Meyrick Broadley, *Freemasonry in Its Relation to Serious Pictorial Art in the Eighteenth Century: 1717–1800* (Weymouth: Sherren and Son, 1913), 20.

82 Some examples from the collection of the British Museum are accession nos. Banks 48.34, D,2.1429, D,2.3339, and D,2.729.

83 British Museum, accession no. D,2.2834.

84 Martínez could easily have come into contact with Freemasonry through his international business associations. One possible point of connection is Gibraltar, where the Catholic Friendship Lodge included several members who worked in trade and commerce, including one living in Cadiz. See Keith Sheriff, "La conexión Genovesa en Gibraltar: La logia, 'friendship,'" in *Gibraltar, Cádiz, América y la masonería: Constitucionalismo y libertad de prensa, 1812–2012*, ed. José Miguel Delgado Idarreta and Antonio Morales Benítez, vol. 1 (Gibraltar: Gobierno de Gibraltar; Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Española, 2014), 29–50.

85 Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 178.

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