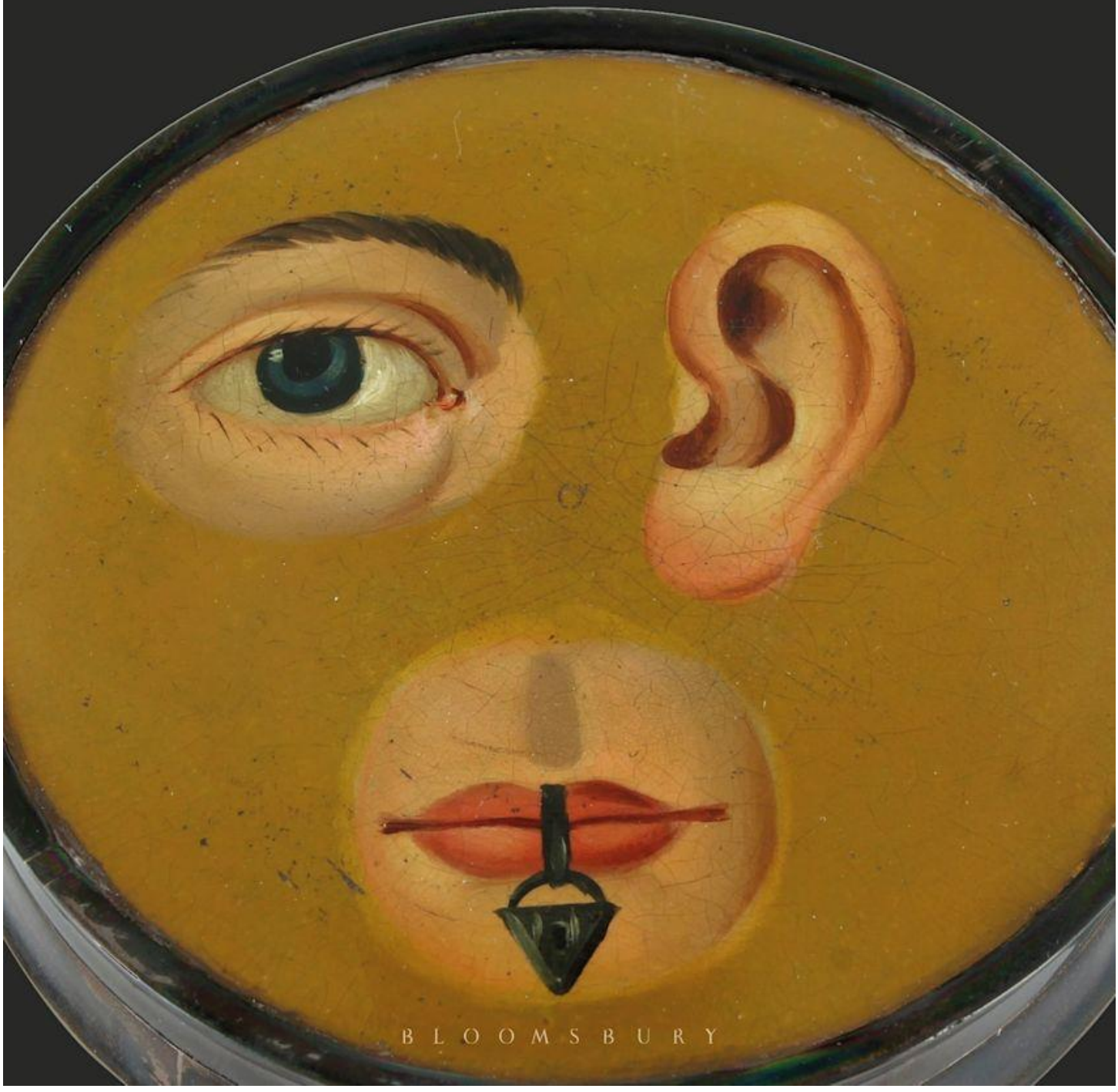
EDITED BY REVA WOLF AND ALISA LUXENBERG

FREEMASONRY and the VISUAL ARTS from the Eighteenth Century Forward

— Historical and Global Perspectives —



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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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Freemasonry in Eighteenth-Century Portugal and the Architectural Projects of the Marquis of Pombal

David Martín López

This essay considers the significance of the philo-masonic attitude of the influential Portuguese Enlightenment politician, the Marquis of Pombal (1699–1782), through the analysis of his urban policies and of works of art and architecture created under his rule, most of them overseen by his friend, the architect and Freemason Carlos Mardel (1696–1763).[1] Despite the recent growth in research on the history of Freemasonry, there remains a bias in the academic world against the study of connections between art and Freemasonry in Europe. This bias is most evident in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In these three countries, Freemasonry was established in the early eighteenth century, soon after the founding of the Grand Lodge of England. The roots of the resistance to studying Freemasonry and the visual arts in southern Europe can be traced back to this period, when a papal bull of 1738 condemned the fraternal order.

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis of Pombal and Count of Oeiras, has been both criticized for his affiliation with Masonry and admired for expelling the Jesuits from Portugal and Brazil.[2] Without evidence, some historians have imbued Pombal with political motivations that pose difficulties for the study of this important figure in Portugal's history. I propose to ask, what changes in our understanding of Pombal if we speculate that he was a Freemason? How can art be useful for this proposition? By analyzing his biography and examining the symbolism in several artistic and architectural projects associated with him, I will explore these questions.

Pombal was one of the principal political leaders of Portugal during the Enlightenment. After the 1755 earthquake, he was responsible for the urban transformation of Lisbon and social reforms throughout the kingdom. Earlier, Pombal had been protected by King D. João V (r. 1706–50) who epitomized the absolutism of the period. Portugal was enjoying a Golden Age because of the gold it acquired from its colony of Brazil, but this profit was used to finance a war against Spain rather than to improve the infrastructure of Portugal.[3] Moreover, the king's major concerns before the great earthquake were to demonstrate extreme luxury and opulence, to maintain the Catholic religion, and to advance modern technology. With his new source of funds, D. João was able to move forward with these initiatives.[4]

João V resisted the practice of Freemasonry at the same time that he protected individual Masons. Masonic symbols and references abound in architecture erected during his reign. An extraordinary image, possibly a portrait of João V, apparently painted shortly after his reign, presents itself on the door of the meeting room in the chapter house of Elvas Cathedral, in a work that portrays the king with masonic tools, including a golden trowel (Color pl. 1). Golden trowels were frequently used in masonic rituals, such as the consecration of foundation stones. The trowel implies the cement that is a symbol of union and fraternity in Freemasonry.[5] Is the painting an encrypted allegory that indicated the king's protection of Freemasonry in Portugal or his membership in the order? We cannot decode with certainty this royal portrait or allegory, but I will provide examples of how D. João V protected, either directly or indirectly, through Pombal and other politicians, many of the first Freemasons of his kingdom.

Pombal remains one of the most enigmatic personalities of the eighteenth century, and his possible adherence to Freemasonry, perhaps through initiation in London or Vienna where he served as Portuguese ambassador from 1738 to 1744 and from 1745 to 1749, respectively, has not been documented. It is not unusual that one cannot confirm Pombal's masonic affiliation, because in the Catholic countries of the Iberian Peninsula during that period, such documentation was not kept or was destroyed by Freemasons to protect both their institutions and their reputations. Yet, as the historian José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli warns, most of the politicians who were responsible for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, Spain, France, and Italy have been called Freemasons without any evidence to support such an identity.[6] Most historians who believe in the masonic association of Pombal speculate that he was initiated in London or Vienna.[7]

The Freemason and historian Andrés de Oliveira Marques proposes that the evidence of Pombal's Freemasonry can be found in many artistic manifestations of masonic symbolism in works created under his administration.[8] In the 1990s, Oliveira Marques's theory seemed risky, but now through art historical methods and new considerations of the period, one can reinforce and embrace it. This essay will demonstrate the existence of several masonic references in Pombal's residences and in architectural projects realized under his direction.

The main façade of the residence of the Marquis of Pombal in Évora displays a coat of arms and a masonic reference that do not appear in any of his other residences. The coat of arms crowns the small palace's façade and is inscribed 1753 (Fig. 1.1).

By then, Pombal had returned from Vienna and was already in the service of King D. José I (r. 1750–77). Carved in white marble, the cartouche represents Pombal's arms, topped by a nobleman's armor and helmet on which stands a bird with a horseshoe in its beak. One element, although linked to a certain tradition in Portuguese heraldry, is here quite similar to an article of masonic ritual dress.[9] The coat of arms is sculpted as though it were a leather apron, with its ribbon-like ties and buckle. This object could serve as an aesthetic metalanguage to communicate to the initiated the symbolic rhetoric of the masonic order, and the marquis' identity as a Mason.

Figure 1.1 Pombal Palace, main entrance with the coat of arms of Pombal, 1753, Évora, Portugal. Photograph by the author.

The Symbolism of the Baixa

After the earthquake that devastated Lisbon in 1755, the Marquis of Pombal directed the urban recovery and went on to help enact social reforms in the kingdom. The disaster that took place on November 1, 1755 had continental aftershocks. The earthquake shattered Europeans not only from a sentimental and humanitarian point of view but also from symbolic and cultural ones, calling into question the Christian morality of the time.[10] Nevertheless, the city needed to be rebuilt and to function. As Leonor Ferrão contends, the project for rebuilding the area of Lisbon known as the Baixa was an instrument of power to demonstrate the state's ability to create a more hygienic modern city and to favor, as far as possible, the mercantile bourgeoisie over the aristocracy in the reconstruction of the city. The elimination of churches and palaces in the Baixa is an example of this political program to displace the courtiers from the urban center. The new urban plan was to be simple and rational to ensure the effectiveness, both ideological and political, of Lisbon's revival. Interestingly, this simplicity was obtained using a hydraulic system that was extremely complex in terms of geometry and symbolism.[11]

Pombal, despite being plenipotentiary minister, a position he held from 1750 to 1777, was involved in determining even minor details of various artistic, cultural, and political projects of the urban renewal. His intensive supervision of the urban reform in the Baixa is extraordinary. In the Pombaline cartulary that comprises the proceedings of the urban reform, especially housing construction in the Baixa, numerous documents bear the signatures of the technicians responsible for the ground plans and elevations,

but there are also indications of the direct supervision of Pombal, who signs either as the Count of Oeiras or the Marquis of Pombal.[12]

The *Real Praça do Comércio* (Royal Square of Commerce) in the Baixa, where Pombal's ideas are reflected, was one of the most important examples of the new urbanism of the Enlightenment in Europe. It was created after the great earthquake as an elegant square in a Palladian style, with its classical and modern associations, and as Kenneth Maxwell observed, was probably based on copies of designs by the third Lord Burlington, Richard Boyle (1694–1753), whom Pombal must have known from meetings of the Royal Society in London.[13] As Portuguese ambassador, Pombal had lived in London from 1738 to 1744, when Lord Burlington was still active in architectural and urban design. Burlington and the engineer and architect Carlos Mardel, who worked under Pombal, were both Freemasons, and their architecture can be read in close consideration of the architectural metaphors in the foundational publication of Freemasonry, James Anderson's *Constitutions* (1723). These two architects saw Palladianism as an embodiment of the beauty of geometry. Both were also interested in building with a new concept of style after the baroque, that would achieve beauty through the emulation of renaissance prototypes and pay homage to medieval master stonemasons through proportions and symmetry, in harmony with historical sacred architecture.

Beyond the masonic associations with the Palladian style, the Royal Square of Commerce offers other symbols of Freemasonry in its design and decoration. The allegorical sculptural relief, *Royal Generosity Comforting Lisbon*, situated on the pedestal of the equestrian statue of King D. José I, designed by José Machado de Castro (1731–1822), contains several symbols that might be interpreted as masonic (Fig. 1.2).

Most notable are the compasses and the square, but also appearing are Athena with an olive branch, a crown of laurel leaves, a lion, a pelican, and two keys, which may have been read not only as the keys to the city but also as a symbol of the masonic Treasurer.[14] In 1793, the masonic aesthetic of this public square was reinforced at the pier with two free-standing columns that evoke the standard masonic pair of Boaz and Jachin. Creating a grand entrance to a new city rebuilt after the earthquake, the public square suggests a temple of modernity where commerce triumphs and religion is relegated to second place. The possible masonic meaning of these columns was emphasized later, in the nineteenth century, when they were adorned with spheres above the capitals similar to those found on the columns of Boaz and Jachin in masonic lodges (Fig. 1.3).

The configuration in the Baixa of two parallel streets named after silver and gold—*Rua da Prata* and *Rua do Ouro*—and a central avenue—*Rua Augusta*—dedicated to the king or to heroes, in the sense of "august ones," contains a marked masonic character, as these streets all lead to the Royal Square of Commerce, as if it were the *sancta sanctorum* of a hypothetical open-air lodge itself. This theory, which from a scholarly point of view is difficult to prove, has taken a deep hold within Portuguese freemasonic society.[15] In fact, metals like gold and silver were extremely important symbolically and visually in Masonry.[16] Perhaps the eponymous streets recall that Masons were to divest themselves of all metals before entering the lodge. Furthermore, the non-religious

Figure 1.2 Joaquim Machado de Castro, Equestrian Statue of King D. José I, detail, bas relief of *Royal Generosity Comforting Lisbon*, 1775, Praça do Comércio, Lisbon. Photograph by the author.

Figure 1.3 Cais das Colunas, *c.* 1760, view from the Praça do Comércio, Lisbon. Photograph by the author.

nomenclature of the streets, combined with the reduction in visual markers of ecclesiastical power in the Baixa, to the point of leaving some devotional chapels, such as *Nossa Senhora dos Olivais*, inside buildings whose external appearance is eminently secular, is noteworthy and suggestive in terms of potential masonic allusions.

Mardel: Ideology in the Service of Freemasonry

Pombal's friendship with Carlos Mardel was a direct link to Freemasonry. Mardel was of Hungarian origin, born in Pozsony, now part of Slovakia. He came to Portugal in 1733 to work in the army and then at the *Aqueduto das Águas Livres*, a vast aqueduct system that was being built in Lisbon. Although Mardel's career prior to his arrival in Portugal is largely obscure, it is known that he spent time in England and France, and he may have studied engineering or practiced it at European courts. During his early residence in Portugal, Mardel usually signed as "Charles Mardell," which the art historian George Kubler believed indicated French ancestry.[17] José Augusto França argued differently, that Mardel employed a French spelling of his name when he embraced the *rocaille* aesthetic, and ceased to sign as such when his structures became more classical.[18]

In any event, soon after his arrival in Portugal, Mardel became a member of the second masonic lodge in Lisbon, the *Casa Real dos Pedreiros Livres da Lusitânia* (Royal House of Freemasons of Lusitania).[19] This lodge in 1738 had twenty-four members, all of them foreigners, including seven merchants, four seafarers, three army officers, three priests, two dancing masters, a mathematician, and a man of unknown occupation, as recorded in documents preserved in the Torre do Tombo National Archive in Lisbon.[20] Also called the Irish Lodge, its meetings were conducted in English, and its ritual was guided by Anderson's *Constitutions*. There Mardel met many foreigners who had lived in London, as well as future patrons and Portuguese friends, nobles, courtiers, and bourgeois, most of whom shared the progressive aesthetics of the future Marquis of Pombal.

Carlos Mardel was one of the most important foreign architects to work during the transformation of baroque Lisbon into the Pombaline enlightened capital. Like so many other architects, painters, sculptors, and merchants living in the city before the earthquake of 1755, he played a central role in producing a new architecture of classical aesthetics. In addition, Mardel was among the first to use freemasonic symbols and aesthetics in the city's architecture and planning. These elements are also found in Pombal's residences and his urban renewal program.

Freemasonry provided a valuable community for foreigners in eighteenth-century Lisbon, both before and after the earthquake. Freemasonry in this period constituted a supranational network of men whose purpose was philanthropic, to support brothers in need, and even to assist Masons' widows and family members who fell on hard times after the death of their providers. In Lisbon, especially before 1755, Freemasonry was the only associational avenue for foreigners that provided a private place for socializing and networking between people of varying religious beliefs, commercial practices, and

nationalities. In fact, members from Italy, Ireland, France, England, and other countries created internal diversification within the lodges, particularly in terms of religion. At the same time, since many of these foreigners were Protestants who formed their own lodges, there was a degree of segregation as well.[21]

Merchants and men with particular skills populated the Lisbon lodges. As Margaret Jacob and Matthew Crow observe of early Freemasonry:

> Besides conviviality and fellowship, the masonic lodges held other cultural attractions for merchants and gentlemen, and these may partly explain why lodges tended to associate with a new, enlightened culture. Master Masons were literate and known for their mathematical and architectural skills, particularly with fortifications, military and urban.[22]

The first masonic lodge founded in Lisbon, in 1727, was called the Lisbon Lodge or English Lodge, and more pejoratively, by the Inquisition, *Os Mercaderes Hereges* (the Merchant Heretics Lodge), due to the number of its members who were Protestant, British, and engaged in commercial activity. In 1735, this lodge moved to London and asked to be admitted into the Grand Lodge of England. It closed definitively in the fateful year of 1755.[23]

Perhaps not surprisingly, in 1738, the Inquisition accused the Royal House of Freemasons of Lusitania of heresy. The Dominican priests examined all the lodge's documents and investigated every person associated with it. These proceedings are preserved at the Torre do Tombo archive in notebook 108 of the *Cadernos do Promotor.* The name of Mardel appears many times in every declaration, but there is no report specifically about his masonic activity.

On July 18, 1738, Friar Carlos O'Kelli, Professor of Theology at the College of Nossa Senhora do Rossário, in the Corpo Santo neighborhood, was called to testify about the *pedreiros livres* (Freemasons), because he knew many Irish members of the lodge. His testimony is revealing about Mardel:

> And in this city, [the meeting] took place in the Romolares neighborhood, in the house of Mister Rice, which is understood to be an inn. And the aforementioned congregation is composed of English, Scottish and Irish, and Roman Catholics as well as heretics; and it is known that among them is a Hungarian man, married to an Irishwoman, called Carlos Mardel, sergeant major in the royal artillery and architect to His Majesty.[24]

It is curious that Mardel was not called before the tribunal of the Inquisition. By this time, he already had been given responsibility for state projects, and seems to have received protection from the court.

Perhaps, as Oliveira Marques suggests for Pombal, the dossier on Mardel might have been eliminated from the archive when, a few years later, a new Grand Inquisitor was named, Paulo António de Carvalho e Mendonça (1702–1770), the brother of Pombal.[25]

It is believed that Mardel was the person responsible for the post-earthquake construction of the new palace of the Inquisition in Rossio Square, a significant and unusual assignment since his name had been linked to Freemasonry in most of the aforementioned testimonies of 1738.[26] Furthermore, this new architecture for the Holy Office of Lisbon is an example of the laicization of the city through urban planning that can be associated with the Pombaline period and exclusively with Mardel's activity. Here, Mardel symbolically weakened the presence of the Church from the large new square by creating an axis of Pombaline buildings that displaced the church of St. Dominic, historically related to the Holy Office, to another square, thereby separating political and religious issues in a visual and institutional way. Yet, during Pombal's ministry, only some Freemasons, such as Mardel, seem to have been protected, while others, notably the wealthy Swiss-British merchant John Coustos, were punished by the Inquisition.[27]

During his sojourn as ambassador to the Austrian court (1746), Pombal married his second wife, Leonor Ernestina de Daun (1721–1789), whose origins were Austro-Hungarian, like those of Queen Maria Anna of Austria (1683–1754) and Mardel. In fact, the queen played an important role in arranging the marriage of the marquis with Leonor, the daughter of Marshal Daun, who boasted an ancient lineage in Austria but whose resources had diminished by the 1740s.[28] Leonor was an enlightened woman who suggested reforms and offered ideas for Pombal's palace at Oeiras, paying special attention to its French gardens.[29]

I wish to underline Mardel's close relations, both socially and culturally, with the Austro- Hungarian colony both in and outside Portugal. He renovated a church in Lisbon consecrated to the fourteenth-century Bohemian vicar John Nepomucene (or Nepomuk) in 1723, six years before his official canonization by Pope Benedict XIII. Queen Maria Anna of Austria and some of her subjects, like Mardel, were responsible for introducing into Portugal the devotion of Saint John Nepomucene, the patron saint of confessors.[30] This controversial Austro-Hungarian saint, canonized in 1729, was revered for having honored the privacy of the queen's confession, thus protecting her from her husband. Enlightened society valued the saint for maintaining secrets and friendship. His martyrdom would have been embraced from a philo-masonic perspective, and the saint's iconography spread widely among the enlightened freemasonic elite of Spain and the Americas, specifically the Canary Islands and Mexico.[31]

Let us return to the testimony reported in the *Caderno do Promotor* to examine the language purportedly used inside Mardel's lodge, particularly in terms of architecture. This vocabulary should be analyzed as, within Freemasonry, it was customary to apply terms of art and architecture as theoretical and symbolic tools of the individual's ethical and spiritual formation. This semantic aspect has not been considered fully by art historians as a means to understanding some of the tenets of eighteenth-century classicism that were valued by Mardel.

The first edition of Anderson's *Constitutions* emphasized the architecture of Palladio and Vitruvius for its classicism and for the importance it placed on geometry and proportion, beauty and utility. Given that the *Constitutions* was composed by an

Englishman, many passages refer to leading English architects, notably Inigo Jones, as the initiator of classicism in England, and Christopher Wren, as the paradigmatic mediator between the two seventeenth-century modes, baroque and classicism. Furthermore, the book discusses Palladio, Sansovino, and Michelangelo as renaissance architects who understood the traditions of geometry, the true foundation of operative (and, later, speculative) Masonry. Familiar with the inner experiences of the Irish lodge, Diogo O'Kelly, servant of the prince D. António, gave testimony that reflected the architectural symbolism in Anderson's *Constitutions*.[32]

After the scandal involving the Irish Lodge in Lisbon, Mardel continued to receive many architectural projects from high-ranking Catholic officials, even before he obtained the obvious protection of Pombal. The noble residence commissioned to Mardel in 1734 by Lázaro Leitão Aranha, Principal of the Patriarchal Cathedral of Lisbon, in the suburb of Junqueiras, is a pre- scandal example. Yet, in 1740, well after his masonic activity became known, Mardel built a small chapel for the same eminent cleric, dedicated to *Nossa Senhora dos Aflitos e o Santo Cristo* (Our Lady of Sorrows and the Sorrow of Jesus), whose extraordinary panels of Portuguese tile represent the Raising of the Cross and Descent from the Cross, with the figures of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus.[33] The floor is covered in black and white tilework in a checkerboard pattern that was not common in Portuguese architecture of that period, but was a standard element of lodge rooms.

Pombal's Oeiras and Lisbon Palaces: Freemasonic Aesthetics for the Marquis

The Pombal palace in Oeiras, built largely between 1737 and 1740, is essential to understanding the aesthetics and ideology not only of its architect, Carlos Mardel, but also of its owner, the Marquis of Pombal. Mardel's close friendship with Pombal developed through his work on this project. In addition, Mardel's original contributions to Portuguese architecture started with the Oeiras Palace. In fact, according to the genealogy of classical-style roofs designed by Mardel, the palace of Pombal at Oeiras proves to be extremely significant, as it forecasts the later Pombaline double-roofed dormer windows observed in the Baixa after 1755.

In this *quinta-palàcio*—a mixture of a traditional residence in the countryside and an urban palace—the architect created, for the first time in Portuguese civil architecture, a triangular pediment over the central façade (Fig. 1.4). This novel use of a classical architectural form can be considered part of the Palladian influence on freemasonic aesthetics. As Walter Rossa suggests, this unprecedented motif in Portugal represents an innovative solution in civil architecture.[34] Mardel valued the triangular pediment as a decisive element in the composition of palace façades, and the gable roofs that he designed for Oeiras reappear later in Pombaline Lisbon on the lanterns of the aqueduct and fountains of *Águas Livres*.[35]

This use of the classical pediment is related to the architectural innovations that Mardel observed in London, in contemporary residences like Chiswick House (1725),

Figure 1.4 Carlos Mardel, Palace of the Marquis of Pombal, 1737–40, Oeiras, Portugal. Photograph by the author.

built and designed by Lord Burlington. As Jane Clark claims, "Just as Ham House reveals the undoubted masonic affiliations of the Dysarts and the Lauderdales, so Chiswick House reveals those of Burlington."[36] In addition to his active participation in Freemasonry, Burlington avidly promoted the Palladianism that prevailed in British masonic aesthetics of the period.

The complex personality of Pombal makes his religious nature somewhat confusing. He was markedly anti-Jesuit and apparently anti-clerical, even at the beginning of his administration, yet he seems to have derived some aesthetic inspiration from the Jesuits in his chapels and oratories in Lisbon and Oeiras, including their iconography, as well as that of other important religious orders.[37] But when Pope Clement XIV, who suppressed the Jesuit order, presented Pombal with a gift of his papal portrait, the Prime Minister thanked the Pope and placed it in his palace in Oeiras.[38]

In the chapel of *Nossa Senhora das Mercês* at the Oeiras palace, the distribution of the space and the floor's checkered design are similar to those by the French Freemason architect, Charles de Wailly (1730–1798), for private lodges in French palaces.[39] The floor pattern is an example of one of the principal symbols of the masonic order that figures in several rooms in Pombal's palaces and chapels, but that alone may not exclusively signify Freemasonry. However, the chapel floor in Oeiras accrues special significance because a Freemason architect conceived it. Its meaning seems clear.

In its symbols and texts, Freemasonry adopted figures, forms, and narratives from Jewish, Christian, Egyptian, and so-called Oriental sources. In the *Caderno do Promotor*, Dionysius Hogan's testimony provides important evidence about passwords, codes,

and signs that were used in the Irish Lodge of Lisbon.[40] He mentioned the password "Tubal-Cain," referring to a biblical figure who appears in masonic legend as the great inventor of metallurgy, in whose magical forge the first swords were made, and who is connected to Vulcan and Hephaistos, the classical gods of fire and the forge, as noted by Eduardo R. Callaey Aranzibia.[41] It is the masonic password for the third degree, the Master Mason degree. During the eighteenth century, Tubal- Cain was equivalent in masonic importance to Hiram Abiff, the constructor of Solomon's Temple. William O'Haver alerts us to the figure's masonic significance and association with metalwork:

> We may also consider that two very prominent individuals in our work, both Tubal-cain and Hiram Abif were not workers in stone. We are told in the first section of the Master Mason degree that Tubal-cain has so improved himself in Geometry, or Masonry, as to become the first known inventor, as well as instructor, in curious smith-works. In the second section of the Fellow Craft degree we learn that this was the primary occupation of one Hiram, a widow's son of the tribe of Napthali, as well.[42]

It is therefore not surprising that some symbolic allusions to the forge of Vulcan exist in the Pombal palace in Oeiras. In the stuccowork of one private room, we can observe an alchemical oven (athanor) which is pentagonal and polyhedral.[43] The iconography of the athanor, which was called the Philosophical Furnace, Furnace of Arcana, or Tower Furnace, was deployed in the hermeticism of the Enlightenment. In such beliefs, the alchemist investigates the perfection of the soul through the knowledge of metals, and seeks to create the philosopher's stone in the athanor.[44] Eighteenth-century Freemasonry also approached this idea, sometimes using the esoteric methods and vocabulary of alchemy and Kabbalah.[45] All these elements—together with the painting *Concordia Fratrum* to be discussed next—constitute a symbolically hermetic and philo-masonic palace.

The *Concordia Fratrum*, a canvas affixed to a ceiling in the *Concórdia* Hall in Pombal's palace in Oeiras, is a paradigmatic composition when read from the perspective of masonic aesthetics.[46] In this painting, Pombal and his brothers, the administrator Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado (1701–1769)[47] and the cardinal Paulo António Carvalho de Mendonça, are depicted shaking hands in a masonic way, creating an infinity symbol (Fig. 1.5).

A painting in the Museum of Fine Arts of Reims by Michel-Nicolas Perseval (1745–1837), *The Union of the Three Orders*, has a similar composition to the one at Oeiras, and a distinctly freemasonic context (Fig. 1.6). Three Masons, a priest, a military officer, and a nobleman—just like the brothers in *Concordia Fratrum*—are represented; they are shaking hands in front of a masonic temple. In this painting's classicizing temple, we can see symbols of Freemasonry: the eye of God inserted in the pediment; the column of Boaz; and the square and compasses on the lintel. Perseval's architectural rhetoric presents the brotherly union of these social orders as an allegory of Freemasonry. The same aesthetic and motif can be read in the palace of Pombal.

Figure 1.5 Joana do Salitre, *Concordia Fratrum*, *c.* 1767, oil on canvas affixed to the ceiling, Concórdia Hall, Palace of the Marquis of Pombal, Oeiras, Portugal. Photograph by the author.

Figure 1.6 Michel-Nicolas Perseval, *The Union of the Three Orders*, *c.* 1789, oil on canvas, 50.78 × 72.44 in. (129 × 184 cm). Museum of Fine Arts of Reims.

The painting in Pombal's Oeiras palace has yet to be thoroughly studied. In a short essay on the picture, Maria Teresa Crespo makes no mention of *Concordia Fratrum*'s motto as masonic. However, one can find this motto on eighteenth-century ritual pieces and masonic coats of arms, such as a masonic vessel (*c.* 1775) in the Limerick Museum (Fig. 1.7). Meanwhile, some of Crespo's theories about the masonic symbolism of the painting seem to be forced. For example, her idea that two columns and the checkered floor represent masonic symbols is weakened when we observe that three columns are depicted in the painting, and the floor is not strictly checkerboard, as it contains ovals and other geometric shapes.[48]

In addition to the palace at Oeiras, other properties of Pombal, like his Lisbon residence on *Rua do Século*, indicate the philo-masonic environment of its owner. Carlos Mardel was responsible for the main work there. Philo-masonic elements are immediately noticeable in the stucco decoration by the Italian artist João Grossi, or Giovanni Maria Teodoro Grossi (1715–1780).[49] Grossi has not been documented as a Freemason, but several of his designs, including some outside of Pombal's properties, have elements of masonic symbology. Protected by the marquis, Grossi was named director of the *Aula de Desenho e Estuque* (Academy of Design and Stucco) at the Royal Factory of Rato.[50]

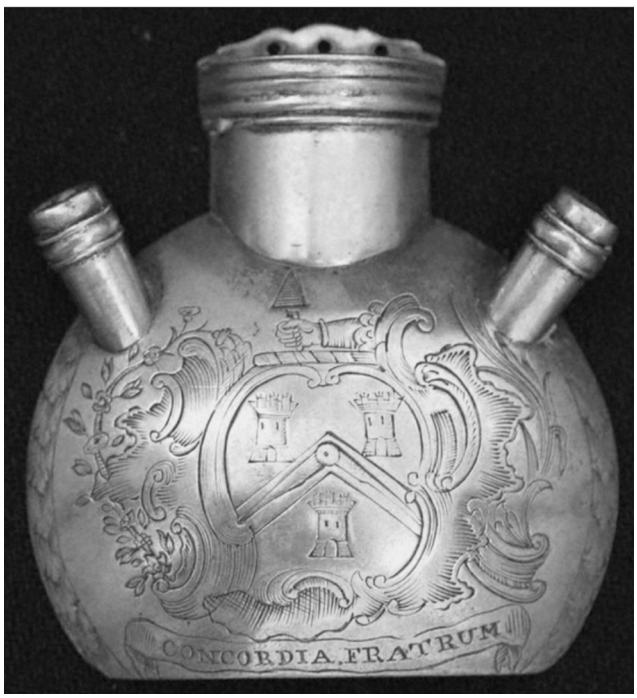

Figure 1.7 Masonic vessel, *c.* 1775–1800, Limerick silver, 2.67 × 2.4 in. (6.8 × 6.1 cm). Jimmy Kemmy Municipal Museum, Limerick, Ireland, 1991.0624.

At Pombal's palace in Lisbon, many stucco decorations reflect the ideology of Freemasonry. Their imagery ranges from the masonic square that is encrypted on the ceiling of the small chapel to the mythological narratives in the main rooms, such as one related to the Isis cult in the main staircase, in which the figure of Berenice II is shown cutting her hair (Fig. 1.8).[51] Berenice II was the wife of the ancient Egyptian king Ptolemy III. The legend relates that she promised to offer her magnificent hair to the gods if her husband was allowed to return safely from the Third Syrian War. When he came back, she cut off her hair and gave it to a temple consecrated to the goddess Artemis at Zephyrium, near Aswan. A few days later, the hair disappeared from the temple. The astronomer and mathematician Conon of Samos showed Ptolemy that the stars next to the constellation of Leo appeared to be the queen's hair, placed there by Artemis. This constellation was called *Coma Berenices* (Berenice's Hair), and its link to the cult of Isis comes from a parallel story told by Plutarch (*Moralia* 14.2–4), in which the Egyptian goddess offered her hair to Osiris's temple in Coptos.

Figure 1.8 João Grossi. *Kronos, The Truth, and Berenice II*, *c.* 1755–80, stucco, main staircase, Palace of Pombal, Lisbon. Photograph by the author.

Masonic references to the goddess Isis reflect an eighteenth-century exotic cult, and she is represented, along with Time, or Kronos, unveiling an allegory of Truth, on French masonic diplomas of the period.[52] Even more than in Europe, it became the foundational iconography of masonic allegory in North America, repeated in many American masonic diplomas, mausoleums, and public monuments, readapting this iconography as Time with the weeping Virgin of the third degree. Albert Pike (1809–1891), a notable (if controversial) figure of American Freemasonry, decried his fellow Masons' apparent ignorance of the Egyptian iconography underlying their symbol of Time and the Virgin:

> Blue Masonry [a reference to the first three degrees], ignorant of its import, still retains among its emblems one of a woman weeping over a broken column, holding in her hand a branch of acacia, myrtle, or tamarisk, while Time, we are told, stands behind her combing out the ringlets of her hair. We need not repeat the vapid and trivial explanation there given, of this representation of *Isis*, weeping at Byblos, over the column torn from the palace of the King, that contained the body of Osiris, while Horus, the God of Time, pours ambrosia on her hair.
>
> Nothing of this recital was historical; but the whole was an allegory or sacred fable, containing a meaning known only to those who were initiated into the Mysteries.[53]

In 1762, Mardel reorganized the street on which Pombal's Lisbon palace sits. He added a semicircular square with a fountain, *Chafariz da Rua do Século*, to create a magnificent setting for the palace (Fig. 1.9).[54] This fountain is significant for its formal sobriety.

Approached by seven polygonal steps, its Doric portico supports an open Mardelian pediment surmounted by a shell.[55] This structure can be read as a conceptual rendering of the Temple of Solomon through a typology that was often used during the nineteenth century in masonic regalia, doors and façades, and furniture. In old photographs, the mosaic pavement patterns recall those of ancient synagogues such as Bet Alfa in Israel. More recently, the masonic symbolism of the place has been reinforced with the new design of the pavement of the square. Pombal's coat of arms is recreated in the traditional black- and-white Portuguese paving stones, while an all-seeing eye encompassed by a triangle was added to the center of the design. This kind of masonic aesthetic interaction with the urbanism of Lisbon can be seen in many Pombaline places.[56]

In conclusion, we can affirm that the mandate of the Marquis of Pombal was, above all, an example of enlightened absolutism that transcended Portugal's borders. Pombal's masonic affiliation can be demonstrated through a careful study of the art he promoted along with the secularization and modernization—for which he was partly responsible—that were transforming Lisbon in a resounding way. Carlos Mardel played a fundamental role in the aesthetic development of Freemasonry in eighteenth-century Lisbon. His numerous public commissions during the reigns of D. João V and D. José I allowed Mardel to pursue his commitment to modernization as he drew upon

Figure 1.9 Carlos Mardel, *Chafariz do Século* (Fountain in the Rua do Século), Lisbon, 1763, with modern paving stones. Photograph by the author.

classicism and the symbolic rhetoric of masonic mythology which gave a secular, cosmopolitan appearance to the city.

These aesthetic concepts of Freemasonry, developed during masonic meetings and in works of art and architecture, allow us to understand how eighteenth-century Lisbon generated an innovative symbolic discourse. Like a phoenix rising from its ashes, the city was reborn, and became a model of urban spatial organization and modernization that was echoed in early city planning across the United States of America, from the capital of Washington, DC, in the East to the town of Sandusky, Ohio, in the Midwest.

Notes

1 The main part of this essay was developed during a Postdoctoral Fellowship from the Spanish Ministry of Education that I held in the Instituto de História da Arte of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa from June 2011 until July 2013.
2 José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, "Estudio comparativo de la expulsión de los jesuitas de Portugal, Francia y España," in *Homenaje a Antonio Domínguez Ortiz*, ed. Juan Luis Castellano and Miguel Luis López Guadalupe Muñoz, vol. 3 (Granada: University of Granada, 2008), 311–26.
3 Before Brazilian diamonds became an important revenue source for Portugal, it was the gold of Brazil which sustained the Portuguese kingdom. Mario Domingues, *D. João V. O homen e a sua época* (Lisbon: Prefácio, 2005), 22.

4 Lúcia Helena Costigan, *Through Cracks in the Wall: Modern Inquisitions and New Christian Letrados in the Iberian Atlantic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 186.
5 Juan Carlos Daza, *Diccionario Akal de francmasonería* (Madrid: Akal, 1997), 208.
6 Rafael Olaechea and José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, *El Conde de Aranda. Mito y realidad de un político aragonés,* 2 vols. (Zaragoza: Librería General, 1978); José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, "Carlos III y la masonería de Nápoles," in *I Borbone di Napoli e i Borbone di Spagna* (Convegno internazionale organizzato dal Centro di Studi italo-spagnoli, April 4–7, 2001), ed. Mario Di Pinto, vol. 2 (Naples: Guida Ed., 1985), 103–89; José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, "Bernardo Tanucci y la masonería napolitana a través de la correspondencia entre Tanucci y Carlos III (1775–1783)," *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica* 10 (1986): 85–138.
7 António H. de Oliveira Marques and João José Alves Dias, "Pombal na tradição maçónica portuguesa," in *Pombal revisitado*, ed. Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1984), 61–71. In the 2005 novel *O Maçon de Viena*, written by the Freemason José Braga Gonçalves, the author describes Pombal not only as initiated in Vienna, but also as having founded a masonic lodge in Portugal with the name of *Fénix* (Phoenix). His symbolic name, Braga suggested in his novel, was Philon.
8 António H. de Oliveira Marques, *História da Maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 1, *Dos origens ao triunfo* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1990), 39.
9 Portuguese heraldry manifests a tradition in which the helmet is attached to the coat of arms by a belt with a richly decorated buckle. Many Portuguese blazons in the Hall of the Coats of Arms (a.k.a. Hall of the Deer) of the National Palace of Sintra possess a similar motif, with shields of the prominent noble families of Portugal during Don Manuel I's reign hanging from belts attached to deer.
10 Sara Loureiro and Inês Morais Viegas, eds., *Portugal, aflito e conturbado pello terramoto do anno de 1755* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2010).
11 Leonor Ferrão, "Um oficial do génio e a Nova Lisboa," *MONUMENTOS: Revista semestral de edifícios e monumentos* 21 (2004): 66–75.
12 Inês Morais Viegas, ed., *Cartulário pombalino: colecção de 70 prospectos (1758–1846)* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2005).
13 Kenneth Maxwell, "Lisbon: The Earthquake of 1755 and Urban Recovery under the Marquês de Pombal," in *Out of Ground Zero: Case Studies in Urban Reinvention*, ed. Joan Ockman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 20–45.
14 Daza, *Diccionario Akal de francmasonería*, 242–43.
15 Luis Manuel Mateus, *Franco-mações ilustres nas ruas de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Biblioteca-Museu República e Resistência, 2003), 14–18.
16 Jules Boucher, *La Symbolique maçonnique* (1948; repr., Paris: Éditions Dervy, 1995), 34.
17 George Kubler and Martín Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800* (London: Penguin Books, 1959), 364.
18 José Augusto França, *Lisboa pombalina e o Iluminismo* (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1977), 195–96.
19 Oliveira Marques, *História da Maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 1, 122.
20 *Caderno do Promotor*, no. 108, 409-409v, cited in Graça da Silva Dias and J.S. da Silva Dias, *Os primórdios da maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1980), 441–46. See also Oliveira Marques, *História da Maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 1, 122–25.
21 Oliveira Marques, *História da Maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 1, 195.

22 Margaret Jacob and Matthew Crow, "Freemasonry and the Enlightenment," in *Handbook of Freemasonry*, ed. Henrik Bogdan and Jan A. Snoek (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 101.
23 Oliveira Marques, *História da Maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 1, 122.
24 "E nesta cidade se fás nos Romolares, em casa de Mistre Rice, que entende que dá caza de pasto. E a dita congregação se compõe de ingleses, escocesez e irlandezes, asim catholicos romanos como hereges; e tãobem sabe que entra nella hum hungaro, cazado com huma irlandeza, chamado Carlos Mardel, sargento mor da artilheria neste reyno e arquiteto de Sua Magestade." *Caderno do Promotor*, no. 108, 409v, cited in Silva Dias and Silva Dias, *Os primórdios da maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 2, 442–43.
25 António H. de Oliveira Marques, "La masonería en Portugal en el siglo XVIII," *Trocadero* 1 (1989): 27–36.
26 Inácio de Vilhena Barbosa, "Paços dos Estáos, Paços da Inquisição, Palacio da Regencia e do Thesouro, Theatro de D. Maria II," *Archivo pittoresco: semanário illustrado* 6, no. 5 (1863): 33–35.
27 After his ordeal in Portugal, Coustos' biography was published in London, providing an extraordinary account of his suffering. The fact that Coustos was not a Roman Catholic and refused to become one led to his mistreatment and punishment. John Coustos, *The Sufferings of John Coustos, for Free-Masonry, and for His Refusing to Turn Roman Catholic, in the Inquisition at Lisbon* (London: W. Strahan, 1746).
28 Harold Victor Livermore, *History of Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), 353.
29 Rodrigo Dias, *A Quinta de Recreio do Marquês de Pombal* (Oeiras: Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, 1987), 10–11.
30 Teresa Leonor Vale, "João António Bellini de Padua: a mobilidade de um escultor italiano em Portugal no seculo XVIII—parcerias artísticas e encomendadores," in *Artistas e artífices e a sua mobilidade no mundo de expressão portuguesa* (Actas VII Colóquio Luso-Brasileiro de História de Arte, June 20–23, 2005), ed. Natália Marinho Ferreira-Alves (Porto: Universidad de Porto, 2007), 512.
31 David Martín López, "Un santo protector de la Ilustración. San Juan Nepomuceno y su sentido filomasónico," article in preparation.
32 *Caderno do Promotor*, no. 108, 461, cited in Silva Dias and Silva Dias, *Os primórdios da maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 2, 510–11. The architectural symbolism in Anderson's *Constitutions* is discussed by David Martín López in "Las Constituciones de Anderson (1723): Clasicismo, Arquitectura y Masonería," paper given at the international conference *Books with a View*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, November 24, 2011.
33 These two figures, seldom represented in Portuguese tile art, had, during this period, hermetic associations with the protection of secrets and the preservation of the Holy Grail. For more information on the links between Joseph of Arimathea, the Templars, and ancient masonry, see Nicola Lococo Cobo, *Historia oculta de la masonería*, vol. 4, *Monasterios, iglesias y castillos* (Oviedo: Masonica.es, 2016), vi.
34 Walter Rossa, *Além da Baixa: indícios de planeamento urbano na Lisboa setecentista* (Lisbon: IPPAR, 1998), 113.
35 Rossa, *Além da Baixa*, 113.
36 Jane Clark, "Lord Burlington Is Here," in *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, ed. Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), 291.

37 In the Oeiras palace chapel, we can distinguish symbolic elements of the Royal, Celestial and Military Order of Our Lady of Mercy and the Redemption of the Captives, the Order of Preachers or Dominicans, and the Franciscan Order.
38 Francisco Correia, ed., *Marquês de Pombal. Catálogo bibliográfico e iconográfico* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1982), 50.
39 Stéphane Ceccaldi, "Le 18è^{me} siècle, Prémices d'une architecture maçonnique," in *De l'idéal au réel. L'architecture maçonnique du 18è^{me} siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Musée de la Grande Loge de France, 2010), 42–48.
40 Silva Dias and Silva Dias, *Os primórdios da maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 2, 465–66, referring to *Caderno do Promotor*, no. 108, 423–423v.
41 Eduardo R. Callaey Aranzibia, *El otro imperio cristiano. De la Orden del Temple a la francmasonería* (México D.F.: Editorial Lectorum, 2006), 30.
42 William O'Haver, "Whence Came You?" in *Pharos: The Silas H. Shepherd Reader*, vol. 2, *Influences*, ed. Jesse D. Chariton (Wisconsin: Silas H. Shepherd Lodge of Research No. 1843, 2013), 101.
43 On the masonic symbolism of these forms, see Boucher, *La Symbolique maçonnique*, 298.
44 Jacques van Lennep, *Arte y alquimia. Estudio de la iconografía hermética y de sus influencias* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1978), 24–27.
45 José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, "El masón, hombre de la Ilustración," in *Masonería e Ilustración. Del siglo de las Luces a la actualidad*, ed. José Ignacio Cruz (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2011), 56–57.
46 Scholars have previously described the *Concordia Fratrum* as a fresco, but it is an oil painting on canvas.
47 He served as Governor of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (1751–59) and Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Colonies (1760–69).
48 Maria Teresa Crespo, *O Tecto da Sala da Concórdia, no Palácio do Marquês de Pombal em Oeiras* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Oeiras, 2009), 21–22. As Crespo notes, the ceiling's attribution to Joana do Salitre and its dating after 1767 are generally accepted.
49 Isabel Mayer Godinho Mendoça, "Estucadores do Ticino na Lisboa joanina," *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa*, 2nd series, no. 1 (2014): 185–220.
50 Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, *Collecção de memorias relativas às vidas dos pintores, e escultores, architectos, e gravadores portuguezes, e dos estrangeiros, que estiverão em Portugal, recolhidas e ordenadas por Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, pintor ao serviço de S. Magestade o Senhor D. João VI*, 2nd ed. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1922), 215–17.
51 Mercedes Martín Hernández, "Sincretismo religioso en el Egipto Tolemaico: el culto de efebos a deidades egipcíacas," in *Actas del Segundo Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología, March 12–15, 2001*, ed. Josep Cervelló Autuori, Montserrat Diaz de Cerio, and David Rull Rubó (Bellaterra: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 2005), 173.
52 Many eighteenth-century examples of this iconography are conserved in engravings at the Museum of the Grand Orient de France and the GOF archives at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, both in Paris. In Freemasonry, the god Kronos is adapted iconographically to signify both Time and the god Horus. This syncretism began during the eighteenth century and increased greatly after Napoleon's campaign in Egypt.
53 Albert Pike, *Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry* (1871; repr. Richmond, VA: L.H. Jenkins, 1947), 379. The emblem seems

to have first appeared in Jeremy Cross, *True Masonic Chart, or Hieroglyphic Monitor* (New Haven: Flagg and Gray, 1819), 17.

54 Luís Chaves, *Chafarizes de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1962), 24.

55 The seven steps in Freemasonry have a special meaning; they refer to Jacob's Ladder as well as the seven steps of the Symbolic Temple, perceived as a synthesis of the masonic lodge. See Lorenzo Frau Aubrines and Rosendo Arús, *Diccionario Enciclopédico de la Masonería. Taller General de la Francmasonería*, vol. 3 (Havana: La Propaganda Literaria, 1883), 12–13.

56 David Martín López, "La estética masónica en Lisboa: nuevas perspectivas para historiar la ciudad," special issue, *Revista de História da Arte* (*Estudos de Lisboa*) 11 (2014): 267–82.