

The Architectural Sources for the Frontispiece of James Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons of 1723*.¹

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Introduction

James Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons of 1723* was the first publication of the newly created 'Premier Grand Lodge of England' which was established between 1717 and 1721.² That those who sought to produce a set of *Constitutions* were of a Whig, and therefore pro-Hanoverian disposition, is not in dispute, as the formation of Grand Lodge, whether in 1717 or 1721, can be placed largely in a context of a reaction to the failed Jacobite rebellion of 1715³, with the continued fear of a successful Stuart (and therefore pro-Catholic) restoration. In a nutshell, the creation of a legendary history of the Craft in the form of a set of *Constitutions*, dedicated to King George I, was a visible indication to the Crown that the Freemasons were loyal followers of the Hanoverian king.⁴

The frontispiece to Anderson's *Constitutions* was engraved by John Pine, but its artist remains unknown.⁵ The symbolism of the frontispiece has been a constant source of debate and speculation among Masonic scholars for the last near 300 years, but no one explanation has satisfactorily identified its origins, designer or relevance.⁶

This essay will seek to demonstrate that the frontispiece was not an original composition, but a close amalgamation of two Italian engravings of theatre and masque-set designs taken from *Il Giudizio di Paride* (1608), a series of seven etched by Remigio Cantagallina (1582-1686) after the artist Giulio Parigi (1571-1635).⁷ That these engravings were known in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is demonstrated by the work of the Stuart architect Inigo Jones (1573-1652), whose set design for the masque *Albion's Triumph* is a very close copy of Parigi's 'Intermedio Sesto: Tempio della Pace' ('Sixth Interlude: the Temple of Peace').

This paper will also examine two further theatre-set designs from the *Il Giudizio di Paride* series and reveal how they may provide further pictorial references to both Freemasonry and the *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614), potentially indicating an earlier dating for the first Rosicrucian manifesto.

The Symbolism of the 1723 Frontispiece.

The frontispiece to James Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons of 1723* (plate 1) depicts the Past Grand Master John Montagu, 2nd Duke of Montagu (1690-1749)⁸ dressed in the regalia of the Order of the Garter, who passes over a pair of compasses and a scroll of the new *Constitutions* to the newly installed Grand Master, Philip Duke of Wharton (1698-1731). Both men are surrounded by their officers, including the Reverend Dr John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744) who stands on the far right dressed in his religious vestments. In the distance ocean waves are represented as if being restrained by an invisible force, symbolic of the escape of the Israelites from Egypt and Moses's parting of the Red Sea.⁹ Between the feet of the Grand Masters is shown the word "Eureka" accompanied by the mathematical symbol for Euclid's 47th Proposition-, an theorem which is described by James Anderson (1679-1739) in the *Constitutions of 1723* as 'the Foundation of all Masonry, sacred, civil, and military...'¹⁰

The eight figures are framed between an arcade of five sets of double columns supporting entablatures which get visibly smaller as they extend toward the arch in the background. These columns represent

the five Roman architectural orders and are arranged in terms of their hierarchical and ceremonial importance.¹¹ Starting with the fluted Composite order positioned nearest the Grand Masters,¹² the column screens stretch into the distance in progression of the Corinthian, Ionic, Doric and Tuscan.¹³ In the foreground a second coffered arch frames the sun god Helios or Apollo (patron of the arts) on his chariot as he races across the sky. Apollo is here probably representing not only the celestial body of the sun, but also the concept of enlightenment. The two arches could be read as representing the course of the sun as it travels across the northern hemisphere between the vernal (21 March) and autumnal equinox (21 September). Apollo represents both the longest day of the year (21 June, celebrated by the Freemasons on the feast day of St John the Baptist on June 24), and midday, when the sun is at its highest point of the sky (later stated as the time of the murder of Hiram Abiff).¹⁴ In addition, the rosettes of the nearest coffered arch may indicate the need to guard secrecy within the lodge where all talk is private, and therefore is spoken *sub rosa* ('under the rose').¹⁵

Two masque-set designs: *Intermedio Terzo: Il Giardino di Calipso* ('Third Interlude: The Garden of Calypso') & *Intermedio Sesto: Tempio della Pace* ('Sixth Interlude: the 'Temple of Peace').

Examining the structural elements within the frontispiece to *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* it can be noted that several of its architectural components bear strong visual similarities with two theatre and masque sets designed by the Italian architect Giulio Parigi, in particular the pairing of columns leading to arches in the distance. A "masque" in this context was an elaborate play performed at court, its purpose to glorify a particular family, aristocrat or monarch. Members of the court would often join in the main performance. Masques were particularly popular in European courts during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The masque-set designs under discussion (and their subsequent engravings) are the third and sixth interludes from Giulio Parigi's *Il Giudizio di Paride* for the wedding celebration of Prince Cosimo de' Medici (1590-1621) and Maria Magdalena of Austria (1589-1631) which took place on October 25, 1608 at the Teatro mediceo degli Uffizi in Florence. Giulio Parigi was a prominent and successful architect and designer who worked for the Grand Ducal court of the Medici. Parigi was known for his use of perspective in his stage designs and was a great influence on the Stuart architect Inigo Jones (1573-1652).¹⁶

Parigi's design for 'Intermedio Sesto: Tempio della Pace' (plate 2) shows a gathering of mortals among temple buildings with an assembly of gods in the clouds above. On either side of the composition avenues of paired columns are arranged in perspective leading the eye towards the gods frolicking in the distance. Beneath the deities two arched loggias extend towards the vanishing point. Positioned in a break of the clouds the god Zeus sits on the back of his eagle, whilst his attendants appear in other clouds on either side. The paired columns extending from the wings of the stage appears to be one of two sources for the frontispiece of the 1723 *Constitutions*, but the number of paired columns has been increased from three to five to represent the complete Roman architectural orders.

The second design after Parigi that appears to have been influential on the frontispiece of the *Constitutions* of 1723, comes from 'Intermedio Terzo: Il Giardino di Calipso' (plate 3). At the centre of the design another arch dominates the composition. Attached walkways lead from the arch to the structures which form the architectural avenues that extend towards additional buildings and trees which lie beyond. It is the central arch with its presiding deity that was of interest to the designer of the *Constitutions* as it is transformed in the 1723 frontispiece into an arch where the balustrade runs above, rather than beneath it. Zeus is replaced by Helios or Apollo with his chariot, an appropriate deity for Freemasons as the god Apollo was the protector of the Liberal Arts, important subjects to Freemasons.

It is therefore possible to interpret the frontispiece to Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 as an amalgamation of Parigi's 'Il Giardino di Calipso' and 'Tempio della Pace'.¹⁷ From 'Tempio della Pace', the designer has taken the representations of paired columns and increased them in number from three to five, whilst also employing the central arch from 'Il Giardino di Calipso' and presiding position of the deities from both engravings. Combined they make an almost exact match for the architectural elements contained in John Pine's engraving from *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons*.

Giulio Parigi and his Influence on Inigo Jones.

English aristocrats travelling to Italy would have been familiar with the engravings for Parigi's *Il Giudizio di Paride* and housed them in their country house libraries. The influence of these theatre designs on the architect Inigo Jones,¹⁸ for example, was very pronounced and Jones almost certainly purchased the engravings of *Il Giudizio di Paride* on or before his visit to France in 1609. Jones's design for *Albion's Triumph* (1612): scene 1: 'A Roman Atrium' for the Stuart court, is a very close copy of Parigi's 'Tempio della Pace', complete with an arcade of paired columns and double arches in the distance.¹⁹ Further evidence of Jones's familiarity with *Il Giudizio di Paride* is provided by the design for 'Intermedio Primo: Palazzo della Fama' (plate 4) which was closely copied by Jones for his set-design for Scene 4, 'The Palace of Fame', from *Britannia Triumphans* (1638). Jones had previously taken the medieval tower from 'Palazzo della Fama' and employed it (in modified form) as 'The House of Fame' for *The Masque of Queens* in 1609. As the author John Peacock explains, 'In Giulio Parigi, unique combination of stage designer and landscape artist, Jones found a uniquely useful guide to the staging of landscape... Jones both followed his example and copied his work but did neither uncritically'.²⁰ During the period from 1631 to 1640 virtually every setting for Jones's masques was lifted directly from engravings of scenery by Parigi for the Florentine *intermezzi*.²¹

The Florentine Academy, Neoplatonism and Inigo Jones.

Giulio Parigi's theatre-set designs for the royal wedding may have contained hidden references to Neoplatonic concepts.²² In 1438/39 Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici (1389-1464) founded a Neoplatonic academy in Florence where Marsilio Ficino (1433-94) and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) taught.²³ The author Frances Yates believes that the early seventeenth century saw a renaissance of this Hermetic tradition which manifested itself in 'new forms which had absorbed alchemical influences, and which were particularly important in relation to the development of the mathematical approach to nature'.²⁴

This Hermetic-Cabalistic inheritance was demonstrated by Inigo Jones who was in every sense a Neoplatonist. Jones's architecture reveals conclusively a commitment to Harmonic proportion whilst his designs for the Stuart masques were embedded with Neoplatonic symbolism and references,²⁵ complimenting Ben Jonson's literary contributions to the masques which were also redolent with Platonic overtones.²⁶ The Stuart masques by Jones were conceived for court propaganda and reaffirmation of the special status of the monarch in the same vein as the Medici spectacles. For example, the Stuart anti-masque showed the gathering forces of strife and discord, with the main play exemplifying the semi-divine aspects of the king or queen banishing forces of unrest through the magical properties of their persons. In the Caroline masque, the Stuart monarchs were often portrayed in the guise of classical deities and/or celestial bodies (e.g. the sun) whose light overpowers and disperses darkness. The Stuart monarch was also often identified as a 'Mercurian' monarch through his mystical associations with Mercury.²⁷ The 'touching for the king's evil' (for scrofula) was another manifestation of the Stuart belief in Divine Right.²⁸ Jones would have been aware of such messages within *Il Giudizio di*

Paride and this may have been the major reason why he chose close approximations for his masque-set designs. Astrology, Hermeticism and mythology were important aspects of Stuart kingship.

The original design by Inigo Jones for Scene 1: 'A Roman Atrium' from *Albion's Triumph* (1612) was acquired by John Talman (1677-1726)²⁹ and purchased by Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington from the late Elihu Yale (1648-1721) on 31 January 1722,³⁰ shortly before the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions*. It is highly probable that Burlington either owned his own engravings from *Il Giudizio di Paride*, or purchased Jones's set from John Talman.³¹ These could have been consulted, together with the design by Jones for 'A Roman Atrium', before the frontispiece of the *Constitutions* was drawn up.

***Il Giudizio di Paride* and Rosicrucianism.**

Giulio Parigi's *Il Giudizio di Paride* may, in addition, include references to Rosicrucianism- a seventeenth century Germanic esoteric movement which found notoriety through the publication of three manifestos, and which historically has been regarded as having an influence on Freemasonry.³² The authors of the *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614) and the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615) are unknown, although Johann Valentin Andreae (1586-1654) claimed authorship of the third manifesto, the *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz* in 1616. Although a Rosicrucian brotherhood almost certainly never existed as an organised collective,³³ the manifestos promised the imminent arrival of a 'Golden Age' of moral, religious and spiritual enlightenment facilitated through an esoteric mix of Hermetic and Cabalistic knowledge.³⁴ Although an allegory, many men took the manifestos literally and made fervent attempts to join the Rosicrucian fraternity which they believed was steeped in genuine occult wisdom.

'Intermedio Primo: Palazzo della Fama' (plate 4) contains within its title the word 'Fama' and is highly suggestive of the *Fama Fraternitatis Rosae Crucis*, a Rosicrucian manifesto that was published anonymously in 1614 in Kassel in present day Germany. However, manuscript versions of the *Fama Fraternitatis* are known to have been in circulation from at least 1610.³⁵ The publication of the *Fama Fraternitatis*³⁶ also contained a long extract from an Italian work, translated into German,³⁷ providing a direct link to Italy shortly after the designs for *Il Giudizio di Paride* were produced. Given the short time frame between the publication of the 'Palazzo della Fama', with its Neoplatonic imagery, and the *Fama Fraternitatis*, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the Rosicrucian manuscript may have been known and circulating at the time of, and possibly before, the wedding of Prince Cosimo de' Medici in 1608. It is also known that the third Rosicrucian manifesto, by Andreae, *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz* ('The Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz'), was originally written circa 1606, i.e. eight years *before* the publication of *Fama Fraternitatis*, and two years *before* Parigi designed his *Il Giudizio di Paride*.

The link between the 'Palazzo della Fama' and the *Fama Fraternitatis* is further reinforced by the medieval tower in the 'Palazzo della Fama' that appears to be the source for the moveable tower on the Rosicrucian frontispiece to Theophilus Schweighardt's remarkable *Speculum Sopicum Rhodo Stauroticum* of 1618 (plate 5). This emblematic design is saturated with encoded alchemical symbolism, the meaning of which would have been understood by esoteric practitioners of the period. When compared the two designs feature remarkably similar characteristics. The central tower in both designs, for example, contains four square windows with people in the upper windows. The base of both structures has entrances decorated with voussoirs (wedge-shaped stone elements of an arch) with circular features immediately above. In *Speculum Sopicum Rhodo Stauroticum* the cupola has attached wings between which is placed the word 'Fama', whilst in the 'Palazzo della Fama' the wings belong to the Roman goddess *Fama* who blows a trumpet. A similar trumpeter also appears in Schweighardt's tower. As such it is tempting to suggest that the *Fama Fraternitatis* was named after the goddess *Fama*, who apart from being associated with fame and renown, was also known for her gossip and rumour, descriptions particularly apt for an 'invisible' society who could not be contacted or joined, and existed through hushed whispers,

rumour and hearsay.³⁸ In addition, both designs feature a similar type of wall-walk with guards positioned to the left and right. In *Speculum Sopicum Rhodo Stauroticum*, windows replace the machicolations which feature in the *Palazzo della Fama*. Both towers are also similar in that they possess wide, broad bases that support smaller structures. It is possible in *Speculum Sopicum Rhodo Stauroticum* that the wide square lower part represents 'earth' and a slim, polygonal upper part, 'heaven'.³⁹ To the left of each design similar rocky outcrops are also present.

The extent to which Rosicrucianism influenced the development of Freemasonry is uncertain. As Frances A. Yates has written, 'The origin of Freemasonry is one of the most debated, and debatable subjects in the realm of historical enquiry'.⁴⁰ However difficult it is to assess, interest in the Rosicrucians was certainly expressed by early Freemasons, several of whom were early members of the Royal Society. Elias Ashmole (1617-92), the first recorded English Freemason, is known to have professed an interest in the esoteric fraternity and to have written a letter wishing to join.⁴¹ The Rosicrucian manifestos were also known to the natural philosopher Robert Boyle (1627-91), who, when writing about 'our new philosophical college' (a group that foreshadowed the Royal Society), gave it the name 'the Invisible College'.⁴² As Frances Yates explains, 'this word 'Invisible College'... is the old *ludibrium*, the old joke about invisibility always associated with the R. C. Brothers and their college'.⁴³

A further link between Rosicrucianism and the original members of the Royal Society can be found on the frontispiece to Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1668). The frontispiece commemorating the royal charter for the Royal Society, depicts Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and William, 2nd Viscount Brouncker (1620-84) who are gathered around a bust of King Charles II. An angelic being places a laurel leaf crown on the head of King Charles. She can be interpreted as the goddess Fama who is winged and carries her trumpet (plate 6). This identification also conforms to the title of the frontispiece 'The Fame of the Royal Society'.⁴⁴ The figures are also situated on a chequered floor, a possible indirect reference to alchemy and Freemasonry.⁴⁵

It is also possible that Freemasonry in Scotland was influenced by Rosicrucianism, and that its Cabalistic and Hermetic characteristics were eventually brought south into England. As Marsha Keith Schuchard has shown,⁴⁶ the first British translation of *Fama Fraternitatis* was made in the 1620s and the German alchemist Michael Maier first learned about the Rosicrucians when he visited England between 1612 and 1616. The character of Scottish Freemasonry has traditionally been more esoteric than English Craft Freemasonry, with any vestiges of Cabalistic, Hermetic and chivalric themes largely discarded or omitted from ritual by the Whig-centric Grand lodge formed in either 1717 or 1721. However, the eclectic mix of esoteric philosophies and doctrines may have lived on in Scotland and the continent and contributed to strands within 'Ecosais' higher grade masonry and those within the 'Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite'.

One of the first Masonic references linking Freemasonry to Rosicrucianism appeared in Scotland in Henry Adamson's *The Muses Threnodie* in 1638:

*For what we do presage is not in grosse,
For we are the brethren of the Rosie Crosse,
We have the Mason Word and second sight,
Things for to come we can fortell aright.*

Several of the higher Masonic degrees, most notably the Rose-Croix, the 18th degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, are reminiscent of the Rosicrucian brotherhood, so in some form the phenomenon of Rosicrucianism had at least a partial influence on Freemasonry.

The second interlude of Parigi's *Il Giudizio di Paride* may also be significant in its influence on Freemasonry. Entitled 'Intermedio Secondo: Astraea' (plate 7), the theatre design shows Hebe, cup bearer to the gods and the goddess of eternal youth, seated on an eagle. To her left a seated Astraea holds flowers. In mythology Astraea was the virgin goddess of innocence and purity who left earth during the Iron Age when its inhabitants become greedy and corrupt.⁴⁷ It was foretold that one day she would return and create a new 'Golden Age' of human enlightenment and achievement in arts and culture. Astraea was associated with the constellation Virgo and was identified in Europe with King Charles II, Queen Elizabeth I (the 'Virgin Queen') and King Philip IV of Spain (rule: 1621-65). In Russia, Astraea and her 'Golden Age' were associated with Empress Elizabeth of Russia (rule: 1741-62) and Catherine the Great (rule: 1762-96). Between 1815 and 1822 a Grand Lodge in Russia named 'Astrea' also existed.⁴⁸

In eighteenth and nineteenth century England, the goddess Astraea was also associated with Freemasonry.⁴⁹ In 1738 Astraea is directly named in Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* in the following lines:

And thou ASTRÆA (tho' from Earth,
When Men on Men began to prey,
Thou fled'st to claim celestial Birth)
Down from *Olympus* wing thy Way;
And mindful of thy antient Seat,
Be present still where MASONS meet).⁵⁰

As Professor Jan Snoek has also shown, several French pseudo-exposures from the 1740s contained songs that featured Astraea and indicated that the Masons saw themselves as the reason why Astraea had already returned to earth to establish a new 'Golden Age'.⁵¹

In conclusion, this essay sought to demonstrate that much of the architectural symbolism present in the frontispiece to Anderson's *Constitutions* can be argued to derive from at least four theatre and masque-set designs from Parigi's *Il Giudizio di Paride*. In this authors opinion they demonstrate to be the source of inspiration for early 18th century Freemasonry and some Rosicrucian symbolism. When 'Intermedio Sesto: Tempio della Pace' and 'Intermedio Terzo: Giardino di Calipso' are amalgamated together they form a creditable match for the design of the frontispiece for James Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* of 1723. That the seven engravings that made up *Il Giudizio di Paride* were known in to artists and architects in England is illustrated by at least three theatre-set designs by Inigo Jones, including one for the Stuart masque *Albion's Triumph* (1612): scene 1: 'A Roman Atrium' which is almost an exact copy of 'Intermedio Sesto: Tempio della Pace'. Access to these set designs, both those of Jones and the engravings after Giulio Parigi, could have been provided by Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, who owned the theatre and masque set-designs by Jones and almost certainly provided the designs taken from *Il Giudizio di Paride*, today at Chatsworth House. Burlington was well placed to provide the loan of such materials with many of his close friends (such as Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond (Grand Master from 1724)) and Thomas Coke, 1st Duke of Leicester, Grand Master from 1731)) being important Freemasons.

In addition, 'Intermedio Secondo: Astraea', forms a further likely connection to early eighteenth-century Freemasonry. The inclusion of the word 'Fama' in the title of 'Intermedio Primo: Palazzo della Fama' may be coincidental or may indicate a veiled reference to the Rosicrucian manifesto *Fama Fraternitatis*, which although known in manuscript form in 1610, may have been in circulation earlier than previously thought. The similarity of the medieval tower in the 'Palazzo della Fama' to that of the moving 'Temple of Knowledge' in Theophilus Schweighardt's *Speculum Sophericum Rhodo Stauroticum* of 1618, may be

viewed as further evidence of the influence of Rosicrucian themes pre-1610, itself supported by the existence of *The Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz*, originally written by Johann Valentin Andreae around 1606. The degree of influence that the myth of Rosicrucianism exerted on Freemasonry is difficult to assess, but the findings of this paper demonstrates the possible relationship between the two, and that such Rosicrucian themes would have been known to the founding fathers of Grand Lodge and to the draughtsman of the *Constitutions* frontispiece.

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Illustrations

Plate 1- Frontispiece to James Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* of 1723.
Plates 2,3,4,6,7- The MET. Reproduced under the open access scheme.

Plate 1: John Pine's engraved frontispiece to James Anderson's *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* of 1723.



The paired columns represent the five Roman architectural orders whilst the symbol for Euclid's 47th Proposition is placed between the feet of Philip Wharton and the Duke of Montagu

Plate 2: 'Sixth Interlude: Temple of Peace' (*Intermedio Sesto: Tempio della Pace*), from *Il Giudizio di Paride* for the wedding celebration of Cosimo de' Medici in Florence, 1608. Remigio Cantagallina (1582–1656), after Giulio Parigi (Italian, 1571–1635).

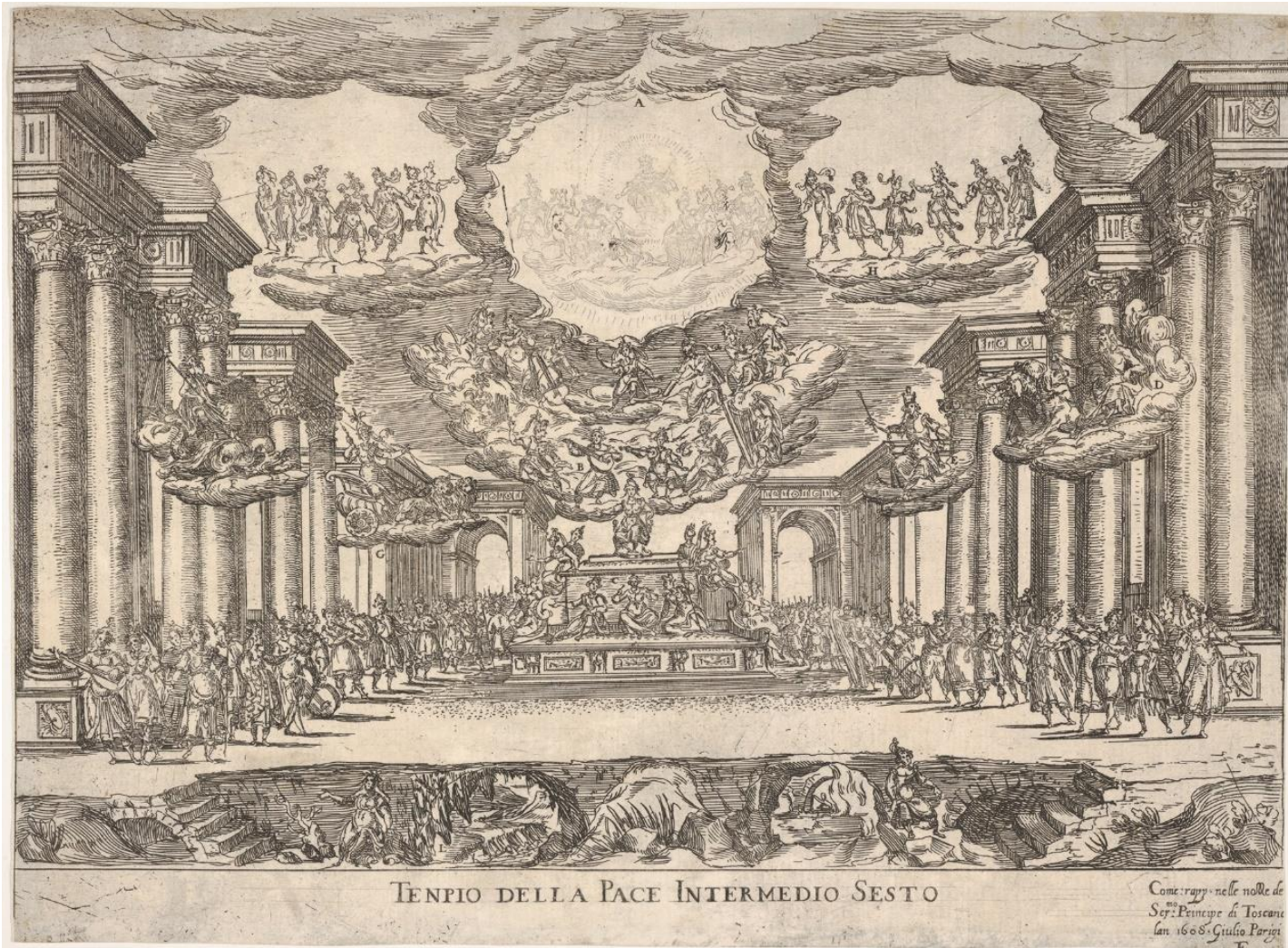


Plate 3: 'Third Interlude: Garden of Calypso' (*Intermedio Terzo: Giardino di Calipso*), from *Il Giudizio di Paride* for the wedding celebration of Cosimo de' Medici in Florence, 1608. Remigio Cantagallina (1582–1656), after Giulio Parigi (Italian, 1571–1635).



Plate 4: 'First Interlude: Palace of Fame (*Intermedio Primo: Palazzo della Fama*)', from *Il Giudizio di Paride* for the wedding celebration of Cosimo de' Medici in Florence, 1608. Remigio Cantagallina (1582–1656), after Giulio Parigi (Italian, 1571–1635).



Plate 5: Detail of frontispiece to Schweighardt's Rosicrucian *Speculum Sopicum Rhodo Stauroticum* (1618). The goddess Fama was associated with gossip and rumour, a perfect figurehead for the secret Rosicrucian fraternity with whom nobody could communicate or join.



Plate 6: 'The Fame of the Royal Society' from Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667). The goddess Fama places a laurel leaf crown on a bust of King Charles II. The frontispiece was designed by John Evelyn and etched by Wenceslas Hollar.



Plate 7: 'Second Interlude: Astraea (*Intermedio Secondo: Astrea*), from *Il Giudizio di Paride* for the wedding celebration of Cosimo de' Medici in Florence, 1608. Remigio Cantagallina (1582–1656), after Giulio Parigi (Italian, 1571–1635).



¹ I would like to give specific thanks to Professor Jan Snoek in the preparation of this paper. His insights, edits and suggestions have been invaluable to the finished essay. I would also like to thank Mrs Harriet Sandvall, Mrs Jane Clark, Dr Cristina Ruggero, Michael Deriaz, Alex Echlin, Laurence Rich, Michael Deriaz and Dr Marsha Keith Schuchard for their comments and support.

² The traditional date of 1717 has now been challenged by some Masonic historians who propose a later date of 1721. See Professor Andrew Prescott and Professor Susan Mitchell Sommers, 'Did Anything Happen in 1717?', in John S. Wade (ed.), *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* (London: Quatuor Coronatorum Lodge No. 2076, Volume 131, 2018), pp. 43-60.

³ See Ric Berman, *Espionage, Diplomacy & the Lodge: Charles Delafaye and the Secret Department of the Post Office* (Goring Heath: The Old Stables Press, 2017).

⁴ For the political background to the creation of Anderson's *Constitutions*, see Tobias Churton, 'Anderson's *Constitutions*, 1723 and 1738: heretical or revolutionary? in Trevor Stewart (ed.), *Freemasonry and Religion: Many Faiths, One Brotherhood* (London: Canonbury Masonic Research Centre, Volume 3, 2006), pp. 26-50.

⁵ Various artists have been proposed as the designer responsible for the frontispiece of the *Constitutions* including Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734) who provided an illustration for the dedication page of the 1738 edition of the *Constitutions* showing Hiram Abiff revealing plans for the Temple to King Solomon. Thornhill also promoted himself as an architect. Another architect who must be considered as the creative influence behind the *Constitutions* frontispiece is Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington and 4th Earl of Cork (1694-1753). Richard Boyle was a dedicated follower of Inigo Jones and sought to acquire surviving architectural, theatre and masque-set designs by Jones (this included the masque-set design *Albion's Triumph* which he acquired from the drawings collected by John Talman (1677- 1722) with other masque designs bought by Burlington on either 4 May 4 1720 on 31 January 1722). Burlington was the leader of the Neo-Palladian movement which would become the dominant aesthetic style in British architecture until the advent of Neo-Classicism towards the end of the eighteenth century. Burlington was a strict adherent to the 'rules' which governed the classical orders as laid down by architects such as Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554) in the sixteenth century. Burlington rejected the corruptions, elaborations, embellishments and distortions of Mannerist and Baroque treatments of the orders. The earl also appeared in the 1723 edition of the *Constitutions* in the 'Fellow-Craft's Song' by Charles Delafaye (1677-1762). This could possibly be a gesture of gratitude for providing the designs and engravings on which the frontispiece to the *Constitutions* was based. In the 1738 edition of the *Constitutions* Burlington was replaced in the poem by the Earl of Carnarvon.

⁶ For example, see Martin Cherry, 'The Illustrations of Masonry: The Frontispiece of the *Book of Constitutions* 1723-1819 in Dr. John S Wade (ed.), *Reflections on 300 Years of Freemasonry: Papers Delivered to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge Tercentenary Conference on the History of Freemasonry, Queens' College, Cambridge 9-11 September 2016* (London: Lewis Masonic, 2017), pp.77-92.

⁷ It is possible that Remigio Cantagallina was an early pupil of Giulio Parigi.

⁸ John Montagu gave early Grand Lodge a degree of respectability and following his premiership as Grand Master between 1721 and 1723 the number of men joining Masonic lodges significantly increased.

⁹ Martin Cherry, 'Illustrations of Masonry: The Frontispiece of the *Book of Constitutions* 1723-1819' in John Wade (ed.), *Reflections on 300 Years of Masonry* (London: Lewis Masonic for *Quatuor Lodge*, 2017), p. 77.

¹⁰ James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons. Containing the History, Charges, Regulations, &c. of the most Ancient and Right Worshipful FRATERNITY'. For the Use of the Lodges* (London: Printed by William Hunter, for John Senex, at the Globe, and John Hooke at the Flower-de-Luce over against St Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, 1723), p. 51.

¹¹ The columns were first shown together in terms of their hierarchical order in the fourth book of Sebastiano Serlio's *I sette libri dell'architettura* ('Seven Books of Architecture', 1537). For the importance of the five Roman architectural orders in Freemasonry and their symbolism, see Colin Dyer, *Symbolism in Craft Freemasonry* (Shepperton: Lewis Masonic Ian Allan Regalia Ltd, 1983), pp. 78-80.

¹² The Composite is the highest status of the Roman orders and was a combination of the Ionic and Corinthian.

¹³ The Doric, Ionic and Corinthian formed the original Greek orders. In Freemasonry, they represent the virtues of Strength, Wisdom and Beauty. Many Freemasons however, were influenced by the reconstructions of the Jesuit architect Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552-1608) who wrote that the classical orders were created by God and first used at the Temple in Jerusalem (Solomon's Temple). The image of the Temple in classical dress would have long lasting appeal to Freemasons such as William Stukeley (1687-1765) and John Wood (1704-54). The original Temple was also described in terms of a classical palace in the *Constitutions* of 1723 where it was adorned with '1453 Columns of Parian Marble, with twice as many Pillasters, both having glorious Capitals of several Orders' (Anderson's *Constitutions*, 1723, p. 43).

¹⁴ Samuel Prichard, *Masonry Dissected: Being an Universal and Genuine Description of All Its Branches, from the Original to the Present Time: as it is Delivered in the Constituted Regular Lodges...* (London, 1730), p. 26.

¹⁵ For the rose as a symbol of secrecy, see David Stevenson, *The Origins of Freemasonry, Scotland's Century: 1590-1710* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 97.

¹⁶ 'It was Bernardo Buontalenti who had made the Medici court theatre the wonder of Europe; but more influential for Jones was his successor Giulio Parigi, the first stage designer to publish his work systematically' (John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 188).

¹⁷ The process of combining elements from several different set designs into a new composition was a distinctive characteristic of Inigo Jones masque-set designs which the creator of the frontispiece of the *Constitutions* may have been imitating. As Harris and Higgott explain: 'Almost all Jones's stage designs were copied from printed sources, but the copying was not really literal: as with architectural designs, Jones often amalgamated two or three sources in a single drawing, tightening the original composition and classicising the architectural settings by reproportioning façades and stripping away fussy, Mannerist details' (John Harris & Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, New York: Philip Wilson Publishers for the Royal Academy of Arts, 1989, p. 271).

¹⁸ During his career Inigo Jones designed 'more than fifty masques, plays and court entertainments... More than 450 drawings for scenery and costume still survive, revealing his skill as a draughtsman and his knowledge of contemporary Italian stage designs, particularly those of Alfonso and Giulio Parigi at Florence' (Giles Worsley, *Inigo Jones and the European Classicist Tradition*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, p. 6).

¹⁹ Through imitating stage designs of the Medici wedding, Inigo Jones was creating a sense of continuity between the Houses of Stuart and Medici who were related through the marriage in October 1600 of King Henry IV of France and Marie de' Medici. Their daughter, Henrietta Maria, married King Charles I of England on 13 June 1625. Their oldest son, Prince Charles Stuart, was known as 'the black boy' because of his dark, swarthy looks likely inherited from his great-grandfather, Francesco I de' Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany (1541-87). The physical complexion of Charles Stuart was a source of embarrassment for Henrietta Maria who worried that her critics would question her son's paternity.

²⁰ Peacock, *Inigo Jones*, p. 191. However, for Harris, Orgel and Strong, Inigo Jones 'was a relentless plagiarist, a magpie artist who lifted from a multiplicity of sources ideas for scenery and costumes' (John Harris, Stephen Orgel & Roy Strong, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*, Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973, p. 68).

²¹ Harris, Orgel & Strong, *The King's Arcadia*, p. 79.

²² Once again, I am grateful to Professor Jan Snoek for bringing this to my attention.

²³ The Neoplatonism evident at the Florentine Academy may have been the major influence behind the Rosicrucian movement in the early seventeenth century.

²⁴ Frances A Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. XII.

²⁵ For example, see Vaughan Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 2009) & Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

²⁶ Harris, Orgel, Strong, *The King's Arcadia*, p. 62.

²⁷ Douglas Brooks-Douglas, *The Mercurian Monarch: Magical Politics from Spencer to Pope* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

²⁸ See Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973).

²⁹ Cinzia Maria Sicca (ed.), *John Talman: An Early-Eighteenth-Century Connoisseur* (Yale: Yale University Press). It is also worth stating here that the collector John Talman was the son of the architect William Talman (1650-1719) who was a close friend of the Freemason John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744). Desaguliers stored William Talman's 'impressive collection of pictures, busts, statues, vases, marble tables' at his residence at Channel Row in Westminster (Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, London: John Murray Publishers Ltd, 2nd edition, 1978, pp. 804). It is possible that both father and son were Freemasons and a painting of an unidentifiable architect at Freemasons' Hall is possibly that of William Talman. A Catholic and spending long periods of time in Rome, Talman was fostering friendly relationship with the Papacy. It is possible that Talman possessed secret Jacobite sympathies. See Graham Parry 'John Talman: A Life in Art', *The Walpole Society*, 59 (1997), pp. 20-22. I am grateful to Marsha Keith Schuchard for this information.

³⁰ Richard Boyle acquired many of the surviving architectural and masque-set designs of Inigo Jones and displayed them in large folio books in his *Studiola* (Blue Velvet Room) at Chiswick House in West London. The designs were inherited by the 4th Duke of Devonshire and today are split between the Devonshire archive at Chatsworth House and the Royal Institute of British Architects. See J. Harris & G. Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, p. 23.

³¹ The present author has discovered that the engravings for *Il Giudizio di Paride* are housed in the Devonshire archives at Chatsworth House. Frustratingly the Head Curator was unable to establish when the engravings entered their collection. However, they acknowledge that the probability that they were once owned by Lord Burlington is very high.

³² See Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp. 206-218.

³³ As Frances A. Yates clarifies, 'There is immense evidence of a passionate search for Rosicrucians but no evidence that they were ever found' (Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 207).

³⁴ Frances Yates believes that the influences behind the Rosicrucian manifestos may have originated from England. She explains: 'there can be no doubt that we should see the movement behind the three Rosicrucian publications as a movement ultimately stemming from John Dee' (Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 56).

³⁵ Adam Haselmeyer saw the *Fama* in 1610 and his reply was reprinted in the first edition of the *Fama* published in 1612 (Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 58).

³⁶ In the *Fama Fraternitatis* the body of its leader Brother C.R. (identified as Christian Rosencreutz in the *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz*) is found “whole and unconsumed” in a vault in 1604. The notion of a cadaver being lost and then found was also central to the ‘Master Mason’ degree of Freemasonry where the body of Hiram Abiff was lost in the Temple but found in a shallow grave by three ‘Fellow-Craft’ Masons. The idea of precious items being found in a vault also appears in the degree of the Holy Royal Arch where a keystone is removed to reveal a vault beneath containing sacred objects.

³⁷ Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 58.

³⁸ The goddess *Fama* was not just confined to the *Fama Fraternitatis*. *Fama* next appeared in the *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz* where she arrived concealed within a tempest, with wings covered with eyes and holding a trumpet. She then passes a wedding invitation to Christian Rosencreutz. As Frances A. Yates elaborates, ‘She thus connects with the trumpet sounds of the first Rosicrucian manifesto, the *Fama*’ (Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 86).

³⁹ I am most grateful to Professor Jan Snoek for bringing this to my attention in a private communication.

⁴⁰ Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 266.

⁴¹ Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp. 247-61. Also see Tobias Churton, *The Golden Builders: Alchemists, Rosicrucians and the first Freemasons*, p. 117.

⁴² Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 235. Robert Boyle was also an alchemist. He was the third Earl of Burlington’s great-great uncle and Burlington has several busts of the natural philosopher at his villa at Chiswick. Burlington also commissioned new editions of Boyle’s most famous writings. For the alchemical pursuits of Robert Boyle, see Lawrence Principe, *The Aspiring Adept: Robert Boyle and his Alchemical Quest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁴³ Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 183.

⁴⁴ Similar views were expressed by Frances A. Yates where she pondered ‘whether the trumpeting angel was meant to recall the *Fama*’ (Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, p. 192).

⁴⁵ Similar tiled or chequered floor appear in alchemical illustrations. The tiled floor in the frontispiece of the *Constitutions of 1723* bears a strong resemblance to that by H. Khunrath entitled ‘The Cabalist-Alchemist’ from *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1595). Both designs included tiled floors which lead to an arch towards the vanishing point.

⁴⁶ Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision*, p. 287. For Hermetic and Cabalistic influences within British Freemasonry that were largely suppressed or omitted from Grand Lodge post 1721, see Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Masonic Rivalries and Literary Politics: from Jonathan Swift to Henry Fielding* (London: Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2018).

⁴⁷ For *Astraea* in general, see Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

⁴⁸ Douglas Smith, *Working the Rough Stone; Freemasonry and Society in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999), pp. 28, 37. Many of Russia’s lodges in the 18th century were influenced by Rosicrucianism.

⁴⁹ On the incorporation of *Astraea* in Masonic literature from at least 1744 onwards, see *The Wisdom of Astraea. Freemasonry in the Eighteenth and First Third of the Nineteenth Century – Objects in the Hermitage Collection. Exhibition catalogue* (The State Hermitage Museum. St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers), 2013.

‘*Fama*’ reappears on many local lodge certificates of the 19th century, as well as on the Moderns Grand Lodge Certificates of the early 19th Century (before the union between the Ancients and the Moderns in 1813), the so called “Three Graces” certificates. I am most grateful to Mrs Harriet Sandvall for this information.

⁵⁰ *The new book of constitutions of the Free and accepted masons. Containing their history, charges, regulations, &c.* (ed.) by J. Anderson, 1738, p.214. I am grateful to Professor Jan Snoek for bringing this to my attention.

⁵¹ On the incorporation of *Astraea* in Masonic literature from at least 1744 onwards, see J. A. M. Snoek, ‘De namen en kleuren van de twee Leidse loges – Over *Astrea* en de *Vrijmetselarij*’, *Acta Macionica*, 6 (1996), pp. 195-227 and M. Davies, *The Masonic Muse: Songs, Music and Musicians Associated with Dutch Freemasonry: 1730-1806* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2005).