

THE 1723 CONSTITUTIONS IN PORTUGUESE MASONIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Introduction

This text describes the references to the 1723 Constitutions in Portuguese Masonic historiography and the translations that have been made from it. Portugal is a "peripheral" country and its freemasonry is also "peripheral" and quantitatively not very expressive when compared to the rest of Europe. The existence of the Inquisition contributes, in the countries of Southern Europe, to this gap in relation to the rest of European freemasonry. But, even in the 19th century, the Portuguese Masonic reality is diverse. It is not up to this text to detail this issue. This is a purely factual text, without any interpretative pretense. In the context of the celebrations of the 1723 Constitutions, it might be useful to get a sense of their representation in historiography and how and when they were translated. Perhaps a set of texts like this for various countries will help to get a clearer idea of the impact of the 1723 Constitutions, or the lack thereof, on peripheral Masonries.

Although it does not fall within the scope of this paper, I must make a reference to the 18th century. Except for lodges in Madeira, an island with a strong English trading community, there is practically no Portuguese freemasonry until 1797. There is only freemasonry in Portugal, that is, lodges of civilian or military foreigners. Some of these lodges were the target of proceedings brought by the Inquisition that resulted in the investigation and sometimes imprisonment of several Freemasons. The bureaucratic court proceedings of the Inquisition are very detailed and a source of precious information about the operation of these lodges and their ritual. However, even in these proceedings the references to the Constitutions are only two: one in the 1743 John Coustos case², where the reference is explicitly "James Anderson, The constitutions of the free-masons"; and another, Michael Hyde's case of 1798, where there is only a reference to some «Constitutions» without allowing the identification of which work and which specific edition. Michael Hyde was a native of Ireland, an innkeeper, resident in Portugal and member of Military Lodge No. 315. It can be assumed that this is one of the versions of the English Constitutions The lodge was known to the police as the lodge of James Gordon, a dyer from Manchester, who is the one who handles the obtaining of the patent with the Grand Lodge of England.

The Masonic bibliography of the early 19th century does not mention the 1723 Constitutions, nor James Anderson, with the exception of José Agostinho de Macedo (1761-1831). Macedo was a Catholic priest, prolix writer, great polemicist, and fiercely anti-Masonic; undoubtedly one of the great figures of Portuguese counter-revolutionary thought. In his anti-Masonic works reference to

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² The bibliography on John Coustos' process is vast. In English it is worth mentioning the classic study by Wallace MacLeod, «John Coustos: His Lodges and His Book», in, *Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, No. 2076, vol. 92 (1979).

James Anderson and the Constitutions sometimes appears, but without any detail or reference to their contents.

The Portuguese versions of the “1723 constitutions”

There are six translations, total or partial, of the 1723 text, published between 1905 and 2011, the first almost two centuries after the first English edition³. The remaining editions have never been translated, nor do they deserve references in the bibliography of the 19th and 20th centuries. The 1723 text is completely missing in the older Portuguese historical works. The Portuguese masonry is closer to the French bibliography than to the English. The Freemasons of a higher level of education spoke French. English is used less. It is frequent to find correspondence exchanged between English and Portuguese freemasons, writing those in their language and the Portuguese responding in French. This detachment in relation to the English Constitutions doesn't hold only with a bigger linguistic difficulty and distancing of the Anglo-Saxon bibliography. The constitutional thematic has a more different understanding in Portugal than in England and even in 18th and beginning of 19th century France. The Portuguese tradition isn't regulatory, but constitutional, replicating the patterns of the political French constitutions and its division of powers.

The editing of books about masonry in the seventeenth-century Europe is abundant with translated works in several languages, some reissued several times. That bibliography little will have circulated in Portugal, due to the existence of the Inquisition, and mainly because it wasn't translated⁴. It is necessary to wait for the second decade of the 19th century so that the masonic and anti-masonic bibliography begins to diffuse.⁵ All of this contributes to the fact that the institutional expansion of the masonry only occurs in the 19th century. The first Portuguese organization, the *Grande Oriente Lusitano*, is created in 1801, long after the French Revolution and the constitution of March 31, 1791; and in the same year that the Napoleonic Code that will have an enormous impact on the European civil law is published.

³ As a curiosity, a French edition of the *Deveres – Charges* -was published in Portugal in 1984, without indicating the source, in: M. Van Hoof Ribeiro, *Maçonaria o conhecimento iniciático e a ordem maçónica*, Lisbon: s/ed, 1984, 2nd ed. By this date, Oliveira Marques' 1983 translation was already published, as referred to below.

⁴ Some books in foreign languages were translated into Portuguese by the Inquisition for the use in the court proceedings.

⁵ The two works that initiate this surge of publications are: the anonymous anti-masonic, *Epitome do Systema da seita dos Pedreiros Livres e dos Iluminados*. Serampore: s. ed. 1803. I only know of the copy I have. Brazilian historian Pablo Iglesias Guimarães attributes the authorship to José Anastácio Lopes Cardoso in the article “O Caçador de Pedreiros-livres: José Anastácio Lopes Cardoso e sua ação contra a Maçonaria Luso-brasilica (1799-1804)”, in *Revista de História, S. Paulo; Universidade de S. Paulo*, n° 176, 2017, available at: <https://www.scielo.br/j/rh/a/N8XZmr5CrMPkrbbfwwSMyvR/?format=pdf>. The pro-masonic one is Hipolyto José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça, *Cartas sobre a Framaçonaria Segunda edição feita sobre a original de Amsterdam, e augmentada com duas cartas escriptas em 1778 sobre o mesmo assumpto*. Madrid: [W. Lewis], 1805, 132 pg. Despite the reference to "second edition" it is the first edition, edited in London by W. Lewis, see Borba de Moraes (1983) II, 561 and Innocência III, 199. There is a copy of this edition in the National Library of Portugal with the call number: P. 11758 P.

The first masonic constitution printed is dated 1806 – there is a handwritten constitution that is unknown nowadays but referred to in the Inquisition proceedings⁶. It has nothing to do with the tradition of the “Constitutions” of the English masonry and even contemplates a Chapter II titled “*Da divisão de poderes do G.: [rande] O.: [riente] L.: [usitano]*” - The division of powers of the G.: [rande] O.: [riente] L.: [usitano] - revealing the constitutional influence on which it is based.⁷ The one that follows it in 1821 has the structure of a political constitution of its time and is even further apart from the English and even the French masonic tradition which was based on "General Regulations" rather than the constitutional model. The first Constitution of the Grand Orient of France dates from 1849. These reasons explain, partially, the alienation of Portuguese freemasonry in relation to the texts edited during the 18th century. For this reason, one finds scarce references to the Constitutions of English Freemasonry in the main works of history, propaganda or divulgation edited in Portugal.

Miguel António Dias (1805-1878) freemason and doctor by profession who lived for several years in Europe in exile and wrote several works on Masonic themes published between 1834 and 1853, never mentions the 1723 Constitutions.⁸ Dias books remained for decades a reference to Portuguese freemasons and scholars. The matrix of his knowledge and the bibliography he cites are French and there is little reference to English freemasonry. Despite that, in the 1st edition of the "*Biblioteca Maçónica*", - Masonic Library - he publishes some "*Estatutos ou Leis Gerais da Franc-Maç.: [onaria]*" - Statutes or General Laws of the Franc-Freemasonry- where he deals with England, France, Belgium and Holland, making free adaptations of texts he does not quote. It is in the part concerning England that we find a compilation of articles I, II and III of the "Charges of a Free-Mason" reduced by António Dias to a "single article". The text cannot be considered a translation, but an adaptation where conceptual rigor is absent. Nevertheless, it is worth transcribing for what it reveals of the understanding of the time on this issue. The italics are in the original:

Single Article.

A Freemason [on] is obliged by his Tenure, to obey the moral law; and if he rightly understands the Art, he will never be a stupid Atheist nor an irreligious Libertine.

⁶ See Fernando Marques da Costa, *A Maçonaria entre a força e o cacete, entre o mito e a realidade – 1807-1834*. Lisbon: Campo da Comunicação, 2018.

⁷ *Constituição da Maçonaria em Portugal*. Paris: Imprimerie de Brun, [1806?], 68 pg. There is a copy in Arquivo e Biblioteca Pública de Ponta Delgada, with the call number JC Misc. 247/3 RES and another one on display at the Masonic Museum, in Lisbon, without a call number. It was reedited in 2006: António Ventura (intr.), *Primeira Constituição do Grande Oriente Lusitano*. Lisbon: Grémio Lusitano, 2006.

⁸ For a biography of Miguel António Dias see: A.H.de Oliveira Marques, *Dicionário de Maçonaria Portuguesa, vol 1*, (Lisbon: delta, 1986), 471-472. Miguel António Dias' work is full of factual errors common at the time: *Bibliotheca Maçónica ou Instrução completa do Franc-Maçon*. (Paris: J.P. Aillaud, 1834); *História da Franc-Maçonaria ou dos Pedreiros Livres*. (Lisbon: s/ed., 1843); *Architectura Mystica do Rito Francez ou Moderno pelo auctor da Bibliotheca Maçónica e da História da Maçonaria*. ([Lisbon], s/ed., 1843); *Manual do Franc-maçon do Rit.: Francez ou Moderno por um Cav.: Roz.: Cruz.:*. (Lisbon: Typographia Maçónica Lusitana, 1844); *Annaes e Código dos Pedreiros Livres em Portugal*. (XX, xx, 1853). *Código e Ritual da Maçonaria Eclectica* (Lisbon, s/ed., 1857).

But though in ancient Times Masons were charged in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation, they inhabited, it has recently been deemed more convenient only to oblige them to that Religion which each one deems more honest and more reasonable; those opinions which can make a man good and upright, sincere and humane towards his equals, whatever his believe may be.. So that, by such an excellent principle *fremasonry* becomes the Center of Union among men, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remained at a perpetual distance.

A Mason is a peaceable Subject *to the Civil Powers of the country*, wherever he resides and works

A Freemason is a peaceful subject of *the civil authorities of the country* where he lives and works.

In this way he must abstain from entering into plots and conspiracies contrary to the peace and prosperity of his nation and must not act as a disobedient man to the inferior magistrates, so that the princes, observing the innocence and fidelity of the Ord^o:[er], may be able to defend it from the evil intentions of its adversaries. So that if a Brother should be a Rebel against the State he is not to be countenanced in his Rebellion, however he may be pitied and should not be admitted to the LL^o:[odges] so as not to cause jealousy to the government.

The members of a L^o:[odge] must be good and sincere, free of birth, and of a mature age: neither slaves, nor dissolutes and libertines, nor women are admitted, but only respectable men of good *character*⁹.

António Nunes dos Reis and Rodrigo Felner (1808-77) published in 1845 and 1846 a Masonic Almanac in which they refer to several historical facts, but there is no reference to the text of the English Constitutions.¹⁰ The newspaper "*A Expressão da Verdade*" which began publication on February 5, 1866 and was published on a weekly basis for three years (1866-68) includes at the end of each year a useful subject index of the articles. Miguel António Dias' influence is notorious in texts of a more historical nature. References to Anderson, Dermott, and Ramsay, or to their works, are very sparse. The first appears in an article in the section entitled "*Factos Históricos*" - Historical facts - where a chronological review is given. In the entry relating to 1717, after describing several incorrect facts about the origin of the first Grand Lodge it states: "These four lodges called for this purpose a general assembly, composed of all the freemasons in and about London, and constituted a central authority, under the title of the Grand Lodge of England, recognizing no more than the three symbolic degrees, which sum up all the principles of Masonry. (The text of this constitution is found in Anderson's Book of Constitutions)."¹¹

One has to wait until 1868 to find the following text in the entry referring to 1723 of an article with the title "*Cronologia Maçonica*" - Masonic Chronology -: "Publishes Jaime Anderson, under the

⁹ *Bibliotheca Maçonica ou Instrução completa do Franc-Maçon*, (Paris: J.P. Aillaud, 1834), 145-146

¹⁰ Felner, N. dos Reis e R., *Almanak do Rit.: Esc.:Ant.: e ACC.: em Portugal para o Ano de 5845*. Lisbon: Typ. de O. R. Ferreira, 1845.

¹¹ *A Expressão da Verdade*, 1st year, no. 18, 04.06.1866, 68

sanction of the Grand Lodge of London, the work entitled "*Instituições Maçônicas*"- Masonic Institutions -, which contains the history, precepts and regulations of our ancient and respectable fraternity."¹² A new reference to Anderson appears in the article "*Bibliografia de maçons que se tem distinguido pelos seus talentos e virtudes*" - Bibliography of Freemasons who have distinguished themselves by their talents and virtues - where it only says "Anderson, English minister, historian, literate and author of the work entitled: - "*Constituição da Antiga e hon·:[orável] fraternidade*", printed in 1723".¹³ Only near the end of the year 1868, in the article "*Bibliografia: lista de algumas obras maçônicas publicadas desde 1726 até ao ano de 1859*", - Bibliography: list of some Masonic works published from 1726 to the year 1859 - can we find a set of bibliographic references, transcribed from some works of his time. Unfortunately, the titles are translated into Portuguese, which makes it difficult to identify some works,¹⁴ however, there we will find:

5741. – Constitutions, history, laws, precepts, regulations and usages of the freemasons, Hague, at 8th, - 1741¹⁵;

5754 – Ancient institutions and duties of the freemasons, with an exposition of their noble work etc., London, in 4th, 1754.¹⁶

5764¹⁷ – Ahiman's principles; a work composed for the instruction of those who already are or wish to be freemasons, which contains the fifth essence of all that has been published on Masonry, etc., London, 8th ed, - 1764, by Lawrence Dermott. There were made eight editions of this work, with some things added, according to the times, and also some changes in the titles. The latest edition is from 1813.

-The duties, statutes, or regulations of freemasons, Francfort and Leippsick, at 8th, - 1764.¹⁸

The 1723 and 1738 editions also appear cited in the collective work directed by J. Fernandes Costa (1848-1920) edited in 1884.¹⁹ The long 194-page text, divided over several entries in the

¹² *Idem*, 3rd year, 1868, 31.

¹³ *Idem*, 3rd year, 1868, 94. The wording did not allow the less informed reader of the time to distinguish whether Anderson was a "minister" of the church or of Her Majesty's government.

¹⁴ *Idem*, 1868, 356-359

¹⁵ *Constitutions, Histoires, Loix, Charges, Reglements, et Usages, de la tres venerable confrairie des Acceptés Francs-Maçons. Tirés de Leurs Temoignages Authentiques & Traditions Fielles de plusieurs Siecles, Traduit de l'Anglois par Jean Kuenen, Deputé Grand Maître des Loges Regulieres en Hollande, Pour être lü à la reception d "un nouveau Frere, suivant que le Maître ou ses Surveillants l'Ordonneront.* A La Haye, MDCCXLI [1741].

¹⁶ It is possible that the date 1754 is a typo and refers to the 1756 edition.

¹⁷ This is the second edition of this work.

¹⁸ *Les Devoirs, Statuts, ou Reglemens, Generaux des Francs Maçons; mis dans un nouvel ordre et approuvés par la Grande Loge des Sept Provinces Unies des Païs-Bas. Les devoirs, Statuts, ou Reglements Généraux des Francs Maçons; mis dans un nouvel ordre et approuvés par la Grande Loge des Sept Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas,* Francfort & Leipsic: Chez Jean George Esslinger, 1764.

¹⁹ J. Fernandes Costa (dir.), *Enciclopédia das Enciclopédias: Dicionário Universal Português Ilustrado*, Vol. VI (Lisbon: Tip. Do Dicionário Universal Português Ilustrado, 1884), 302-496. The four volumes published were edited in a three-column format in 4°. The articles on this subject start in the 1st column on page 302, under the word "Maçon" - freemason - and end in the entry "Maçonnerie" in the 3rd column, page 496. Leopoldo dos Reis wrote on 23.10.1922, a letter to the newspaper "A Luz", published in no. 149, Vth year, 16.12.1922, pgs. 5-6, where he identifies the authors of each of

Encyclopedia, never refers to the Constitutions or produces any commentary on them. Only in the bibliography of foreign works can one find: *The Constitutions of the Freemasons*, by James Anderson. London, 1st ed., 1723; 2nd ed., 1738.²⁰

Manuel Borges Grainha (1862-1925) might be considered the first masonic historian. He studied to become a Jesuit but quit the seminar and went to the university in Lisbon and became a fierce anti-congreganist, a mason and a masonic historian. The work of Manuel Borges Grainha (1862-1925) after historizing the creation of the Grand Lodge in 1717 only mentions: "From here, then, dates the beginning of its history, the first basic document of which is the "*Livro das Constituições da Grande Loja de Inglaterra*"- Book of Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England - , a work by James Anderson published in London in 1723."²¹

The first translation of part of the "Constitutions" was made by António Maria Soveral (1874-1920), author of a very popular "*Guia Maçónica*" - Masonic Guide - which had two editions in its time.²² Under the title "*As regras ou Instruções de um Maçon*" - The Rules or Instructions of a Freemason - it translates only the part corresponding to "The Charges of a Free-Mason" without ever mentioning the source, nor citing the text of the Constitutions in the bibliography. The translation is not accompanied by any explanation or notes.²³

Eurico Aguiar Cruz (1897-1970)²⁴ is the author of the second translation, probably made in the 60s of the last century.²⁵ The text is found in an unpublished, typescript work in the archives of the Grande Oriente Lusitano. A Freemason, initiated in 1926, and a researcher in the history of Portuguese Freemasonry, always signing with the symbolic name Myriel, Aguiar Cruz left a vast,

the articles. Thus, according to this letter, the "maçon"-freemason- article was written by Álvaro Rodrigues de Azevedo, Fernandes Costa, Alberto de Oliveira and Henrique Marques, coordinated by the former. It is not within the scope of this work to detail the parts that each one wrote. The newspaper "*A Luz*" publishes part of the texts, transcribing the articles "*Maçon*"- freemason -and "*Maçonaria*" - freemasonry- in no. 149, Vth year, 16.12.1922; 152, VIth year, 16.01.1923; 153, VIth year, 01.02.1923 and no. 160, VIth year, 01.09.1923.

²⁰ *Idem*, 425.

²¹ Manuel Borges Grainha, *História da Maçonaria em Portugal 1735-1912*, (Lisbon: s/ed., 1912), 13.

²² António Maria Soveral, Degree 33, signs his Masonic texts with the symbolic name "Lavoisier": A:·de S:· [António de Soveral], *Guia Maçónica*, (Lisbon: s/ed., 1905), 160 pgs. 2nd ed. 1913, 268 pgs. There is a 3rd edition from 2003 with the "updated spelling": A:·de S:· [António de Soveral] and António Arnault, (pref.), *Guia Maçónica*, Lisbon: Grande Oriente Lusitano, 2003. It has been reedited by: Lisbon: Esquadro e Compasso, 2017. There are at least three editions of other "Masonic Guides": *Nova Guia Maçónica do Ritos Escossez e Francez*. Lisbon: s/ed., 1875, 128 pg.; Galeno, *Nova Guia Maçónica do Ritos Escossez e Francez*. Porto: s/ed., 1887, *Nova Guia do Franc-Maçon do Rito Francez ou Rito Moderno Compilada pelo Ven:· de uma Resp:· Off:· da Obediência*. Leiria: s/ed., 1908, 170 pp. with no reference to the Constitutions. They are usually small volumes, easy to fit in a pocket, and represent a kind of abbreviated versions of the "Tuileurs" that have been abundantly published in all countries. In Portugal the longest lasting was the French Rite: [Miguel António Dias], *Manual do Franc-maçon do Rit:· Francez ou Moderno por um Cav:· Roz:· Cruz:·*. Lisbon: Typographia Maçónica Lusitana, 1844, 388+ [8]pg., 2nd ed. 1863, 328+[2] pg., 3rd ed. 1871, 328+[6]; 4th ed. 1905, 380 pg., all printed in the same typography.

²³ A:·de S:· [António de Soveral], *Guia Maçónica*, (Lisbon: s/ed., 1913), 134-146.

²⁴ For a biography of Aguiar Cruz see: A.H.de Oliveira Marques, *Dicionário de Maçonaria Portuguesa*, vol 1, (Lisbon: delta, 1986), 440-441.

²⁵ The work is not dated. In the introduction it cites a number of works, the most recent being from 1952, the text is therefore later.

almost unpublished work²⁶. The translation can be found in the datiloscrypt work entitled "*Cadernos Maçónicos*" - Freemasonic Notebooks -, which is composed of a set of five autonomous volumes following an initial plan thus established: "I- Princípios, Fins e Espírito da Maçonaria" – I-Principles, Purposes and Spirit of Freemasonry – (20 pp.); "II- História" – II- History – (22 pp.); "III – Constituição de Anderson" – III - Anderson's Constitution (sic) – (75 pp.); "IV – Graus e Ritos" – IV - Degrees and Rites – (51 pp.); "V – Iniciação, simbolismo e organização" – V - Initiation, symbolism and organization – (86 pp.); "VI - Excomunhões e Anátemas" – VI - Excommunications and Anathemas –. Of these only the first five are in the archive, and it is impossible to know if the last one was ever written. The author explains that the purpose of these "Notebooks" is "[...] to give the apprentices some initial glimpses of the Masonic culture that we are all in need of."²⁷ The third volume, dedicated to the Constitutions, begins with a long 46 page introduction that begins with a description of the work of 1723 but then deals mainly with the Old Charges that precede it, translating all or part of the following texts for the first time: "Constituição de York" - York Constitution - (926), the "Regius" manuscript (1389 -1400), the "Cooke" (1390-1410), the "William Watson" (1570-1600), the "Constituição de 1663"-The 1663 Constitution-, the "Tew" manuscript (1680) and the Constitutions of 1722, the first printed in London.²⁸ The author uses the best and most up-to-date bibliography existing at the time, namely M^{gr} E. Jouin²⁹. He also mentions several times, without citing any specific work, James Hughan and Wilhelm Begemann who revolutionized the study and analysis of the Old Charges of operative Freemasonry. From the 1723 text translates only "The Charges of a Free-Mason", the "General Regulations" and the "Postscript" on how to constitute a new lodge.³⁰

The third translation was made by A.H. de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007) a renowned historian and former deputy Grand Master, and of it there are two identical editions. The first, published in the second edition of the work "*A Maçonaria Portuguesa e o Estado Novo*" - Portuguese Freemasonry and the New State- and the other in the masonic magazine "*Rebeldia*"- Rebelliousness.³¹ In both cases, only the part "The Charges of a Free-Mason" is translated. The author mentions in a note that the translation is made directly from English from the bilingual edition of the work by Daniel Ligou.³²

Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos (1935-), University Professor with a PhD in Portuguese studies, is the author of the fourth translation published in 1993, under the auspices of the "*Sociedade*

²⁶ Remains to be published, namely, the *Achegas para a História da Maçonaria em Portugal 1735-1935* – Contributions to the 1735-1935 Freemasonry History in Portugal - a long research work of 925 pages.

²⁷ Myriel [Eurico Aguiar Cruz], *Cadernos Maçónicos*, typewritten, P-IV.

²⁸ Eurico Aguiar Cruz, *Cadernos Maçónicos, apontamentos coligidos pelo Ir.: Myriel*, [Lisbon], s/d., Typewritten. Library of the Grande Oriente Lusitano.

²⁹ E. Jouin (trans.), *James Anderson, Livre des Constitutions Maçonniques reproduction du texte original anglais 1723 accompagnée d'une traduction française, d'une introduction et de notes et publiée par M^{gr} E. Jouin*. Paris : 1930.

³⁰ Myriel [Eurico Aguiar Cruz], *Cadernos Maçónicos III*, III-47-72. Typewritten.

³¹ A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *A Maçonaria Portuguesa e o Estado Novo*, (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 1983), 76-82. 3rd ed. 1995, 74-80. *Rebeldia: Revista Cultural e de intervenção Cívica*, no. 5, May, 1989, 2-6.

³² Daniel Ligou, (intr., transl. and notes), *Anderson Constitutions – Constitutions d' Anderson*. (Paris: Lauzeray International, 1978). René Desmed, gives an interesting review of the translation of Daniel Ligou na *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 1981, vol. 59-4.

Portuguesa de Estudos sobre o Século XVIII"- Portuguese Society for 18th Century Studies.³³ This is the first almost complete edition, preceded by a brief introductory note where the author states that "it seemed useful to consider Anderson's Constitutions in a Portuguese perspective" without it being clear what this really means.³⁴ The author only explains that "the translation dismissed major literary concerns, in a rigorous proposal of not distancing itself from the primitive text".³⁵ The introduction also includes a very brief biographical note on James Anderson, now very outdated, another on the commissioning of the Constitutions, and a detailed and commented description of the structure of the work. The introduction ends with a description of the first Portuguese references to the Constitutions taken from Silva Dias' work on the Inquisition processes of 1742.³⁶ It is a bilingual, line by line version, with the original text on the left and the Portuguese on the right, respecting the page numbering of the original. The edition is sloppy. Between pages 58 and 67, several pages of both the English and Portuguese texts are out of place. Finally, the part corresponding to the "Songs" is not translated into Portuguese; instead, a French version is presented, taken from Daniel Ligou's work without mentioning it.³⁷ The author includes 34 notes, but only four concern the translation of the work, with all the remaining notes referring to the text of the introduction.

In 2006, the translation done by Salvato Telles de Menezes (1949-) is edited. It is the first to fully translate the work of 1723, including the songs.³⁸ The text is preceded by a short three-page introduction where it is explained that the translation that has been made:

"[...] owes much to the seminal works of A.H. de Oliveira Marques and Daniel Ligou, the latter with regard to several footnotes, tries to be as faithful as possible to the original, respecting the author's stylistic and orthographic idiosyncrasies and the peculiarities of the literary English of the time (deeply marked by the cultural impact caused by the translation of the "Bible" - the so-called "King James version" - published in 1611) and trying to find those linguistic solutions that may provide the contemporary reader less versed in Masonic themes with a more immediate approach to the complexity and subtlety of the text"³⁹.

Telles de Menezes never mentions the translation by Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos from 1993, which is strange, as he only seems to know the partial translation by Oliveira Marques from 1983. He opts for a sequential bilingual scheme, by chapters, i.e., for each part of the book, first

³³ Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos (intr., transl. and notes), *Constituições de Anderson*. Lisbon: Universitária Editora, 1993, 212 pg.

³⁴ *Idem*, 1.

³⁵ *Idem*.

³⁶ *Idem*, 15-17. Graça e J. S. da Silva Dias, *Os Primórdios da Maçonaria em Portugal*, 4 vol., Lisbon: INCM, 1980, vol. II, t. II, 483

³⁷ Daniel Ligou (intr., transl. and notes), *Anderson Constitutions – Constitutions d' Anderson*. Paris: EDIMAF, 1990, 75-84

³⁸ Salvato Telles de Menezes (intr., transl. and notes), *As Constituições dos Franco Maçons: contendo a História, Os deveres, os Regulamentos, &c. da Muito Antiga e Venerável FRATERNIDADE*. Lisbon: Campo da Comunicação, 2006, 256 pg.

³⁹ *Idem*, 15.

appears the Portuguese translation, paginated in a running order, and then the English version, respecting the original pagination. The entire work has been translated, including the songs, and is accompanied by 146 translator's notes, followed by 31 pages with short biographies of the names quoted in the work. The quotation transcribed above, however, leads the author to use some expressions that are current in today's Masonic vocabulary to make the text more accessible to this public, but which were not in use in the first half of the 18th century, thus misleading the reader. I cite, as an example, the use of the expression “Sapientíssimo” - Most Wise, popular in Portuguese Freemasonry, but not used at the time, nor nowadays in most of the continental Freemasonry who opt for “Sereníssimo” - Most Serene.

Finally, in 2011, the work of Cipriano de Oliveira appears, proposing a new translation, the sixth, although incomplete, for not including the part concerning the Songs.⁴⁰ The author explains that these "are largely a verse version of the initial 'history'. Besides the difficulty of translating the verses into another language, almost all of them have fallen into disuse and are not even sung in English lodges. We have chosen to exclude this chapter from the present text".⁴¹ This last work is different in nature from the previous ones, conceptually imprecise, starting with the translation of the title, as it opts for the singular "Constitution"⁴², unlike most national and international translators.⁴³ This is not a bilingual edition; only the text of the Portuguese translation is presented.⁴⁴

As it is the case in most countries around the world the 1723 Constitutions are always referred to as Anderson Constitutions. Myths die hard.

⁴⁰ Cipriano de Oliveira, *Constituição de Anderson – 1723*. Chamusca: Edições Cosmos, 2011, 152 pg.

⁴¹ *Idem*, 93.

⁴² Philippe Langlet also opts for the singular : Philippe Langlet, *La Constitution des francs-maçons 1723*, Paris : Honoré Champion, 2018.

⁴³ The plural "Constitutions", in the sense of a set of norms, is the rule used in Portugal since the 16th century in the "Synodal Constitutions", for example. Very close to the date of 1723, the Synod of 1707 approves the first Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia, edited in the 19th century with the same plural: *Constituições primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia*. São Paulo: Typography of Antônio Louzada Antunes, 1853. 697 pages.

⁴⁴ Of the 152 pages of text, 93 are an introduction that is divided into five chapters: I - a Inglaterra dos séculos XVII/XVIII – England XVII and XVIII centuries; II - As novas Ideias – New Ideas; III - A Maçonaria- Freemasonry; IV - Constituição de Anderson de 1723 – 1723 Anderson Constitution; V - Comentários à Constituição de Anderson – Comments on Anderson Constitution: this is the longest part, with 20 pages, containing the translator's personal interpretation of the 1723 text and its current meaning.