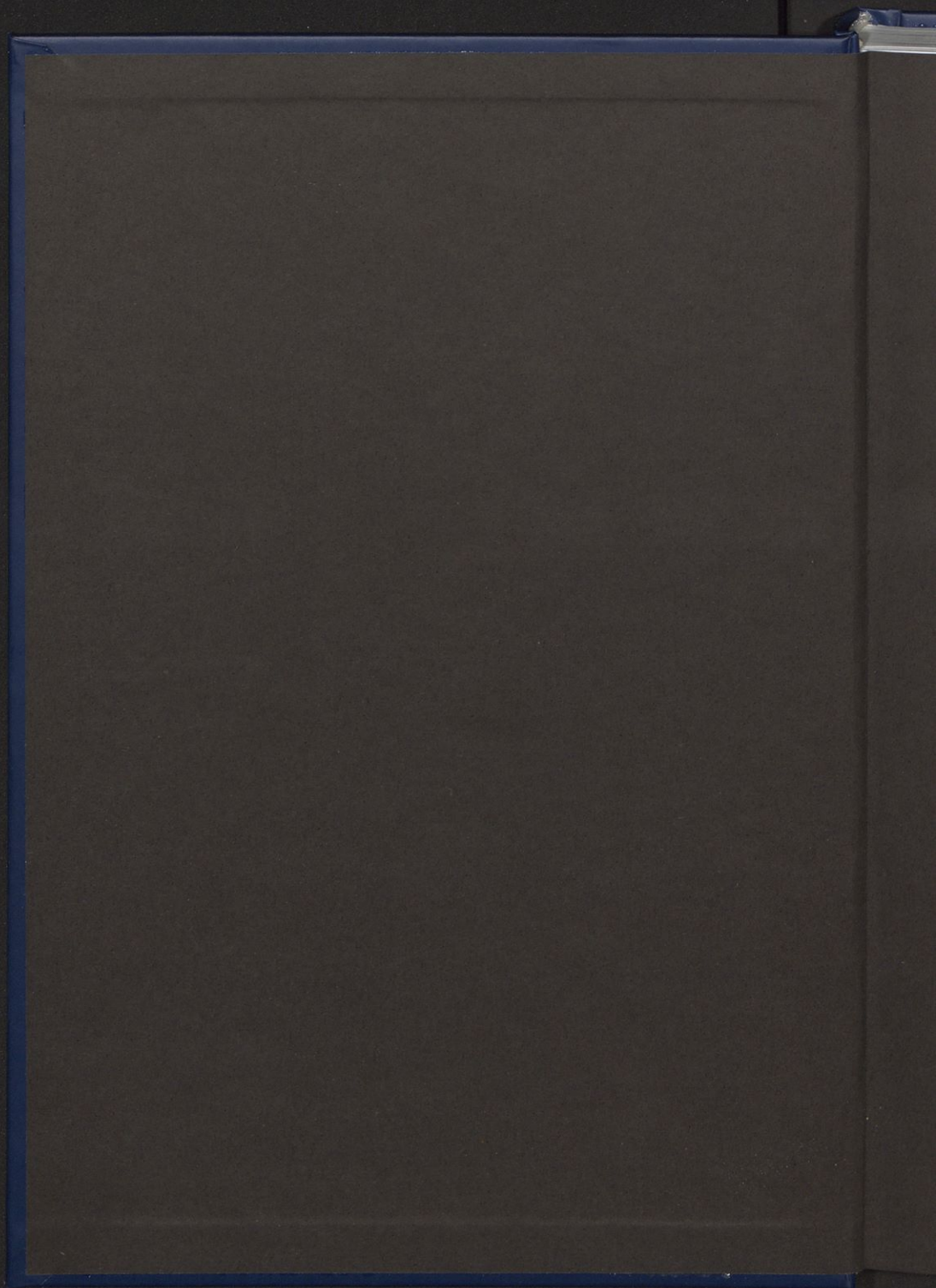




THE SECRET OF THE LODGE

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SLOVENIA
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THE SECRET OF THE LODGE

International Symposium
"Freemasonry in Central Europe",
National Museum of Slovenia,
Ljubljana 11 May 2017

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ARHIV REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE

GS I 776024

THE SECRET OF THE LODGE

International Symposium *Freemasonry in Central Europe*,
National Museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana 11 May 2017

Editor-in-chief: *Matevž Košir*

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Layout: *GALdesign*

The cover page is based on the exhibition poster, created by *Miran Mohar* and *Mima Suhadolc*

Print: *Tiskarna Januš*

Print run: *200 copies*

Publisher: *Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana, in behalf Barbara Ravnik*

Co-publisher: *Arhiv Republike Slovenije*

© 2018 Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana



202010848

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji

Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

061.251(4-191.2)(082)

INTERNATIONAL Symposium Freemasonry in Central Europe (2017 ; Ljubljana)

The secret of the lodge / International Symposium Freemasonry in Central Europe, Ljubljana, 11. maj 2017 ;

[editor-in-chief Matevž Košir ; translation Amidas ; photographer Tomaž Lauko, Franci Virant]. - Ljubljana :

Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2018

ISBN 978-961-6981-27-9

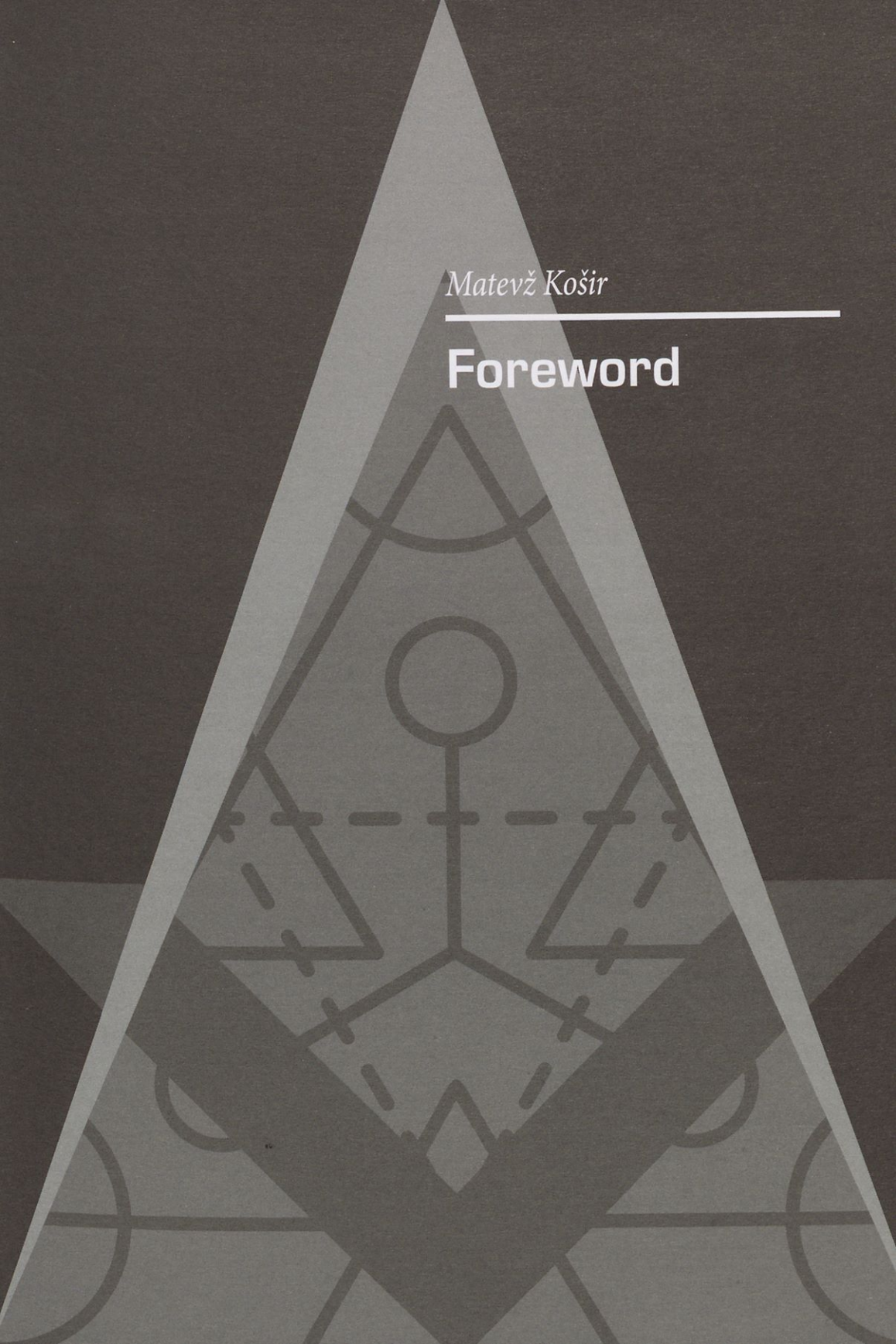
1. Gl. stv. nasl. 2. Dodat. nasl. 3. Košir, Matevž

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Matevž Košir

Foreword

*Flutist Mateja Bajt M.A.A. playing a
piece for solo recorder by Anton Heberle:
Sonate brillante at the opening of the
exhibition "The Secret of the Lodge,"
National Museum of Slovenia
on 28 February 2017.
(National Museum of Slovenia)*

The year 2017 is an important year in the history of Freemasonry since it marks the 300th anniversary of (modern) Freemasonry, in other words the founding of the first Grand Lodge in the world — the Grand Lodge of London and Westminster, the predecessor of the United Grand Lodge of England. The anniversary has been an occasion for discussions and research and for a reflection on Freemasonry around the world. In Europe alone, the tercentenary has been marked by numerous events including three major academic conferences: a three-day tercentenary conference dedicated to the history of Freemasonry at Queens' College, Cambridge,¹ a conference on Masonic "research lodges" in Toulon,² and a two-day "world conference" on fraternalism, Freemasonry and history at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, under the title "Research in Ritual, Secrecy and Civil Society".³ To these conferences we should also add a number of exhibitions, for example an exhibition at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna,⁴ as well as similar events in other parts of the world, for example an international conference at the University of California.⁵

This jubilee did not pass unmarked in Slovenia either. The 300th anniversary of the founding of the first Grand Lodge in 1717, and thus the beginnings of Freemasonry, was an opportunity to hold the exhibition "The Secret of the Lodge" at the National Museum of

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- ¹ Tercentenary International Conference celebrating 300 years of Freemasonry, Queens' College, Cambridge, England, 9–11 September 2016.
 - ² 1st International Meeting of Masonic Research Lodges: "The Tradition in Freemasonry, the Stake in the Making of Mankind", Toulon, 19–21 May 2017. This conference attracted more than two thousand participants.
 - ³ World Conference on Fraternalism, Freemasonry and History (WCFFH): "Research in Ritual, Secrecy and Civil Society", Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, 26–27 May 2017. Around 100 papers were contributed to this conference.
 - ⁴ 300 Jahre Freimaurer, Das wahre Geheimnis, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 23 June 2017 to 7 January 2018.
 - ⁵ 300 Years of Freemasonry: Its Meaning at its Founding and Today, University of California, 4 March 2017.



Slovenia in Ljubljana.⁶ This exhibition opened on 28 February 2017 and was seen by 7,398 visitors over the course of three months. It also received ample media coverage. To coincide with the exhibition, an international symposium was organised to shed light on the history of Freemasonry, with a particular focus on Central Europe.⁷ In terms of content, the exhibition followed the book *Zgodovina prostozidarstva na Slovenskem* ("History of Freemasonry in Slovenia"), published in 2015 by Modrijan, which thus took on the role of exhibition catalogue. The present Proceedings are the result of the international symposium.

The story of the founding of the Grand Lodge in London in 1717, when four existing lodges decided to merge, is one of the best known in Freemasonry. That year marks the start of Freemasonry. It is true that lodges already existed before this, originally in the form of stonemasons' guilds. But a significant definition of the character and scope of modern Freemasonry only comes with the "Constitutions of the Free-Masons" in 1723. The story of the founding of the Grand Lodge in 1717 was published for the first time by James Anderson in his 1738 version of the Constitutions, in other words almost 20 years after the events he describes. The most recent research has shown that the story of the meeting and establishment of the Grand Lodge in 1717 is one that is not confirmed by contemporary sources. Susan Mitchell Sommers and Andrew Prescott⁸ believe that the Grand Lodge of England was not founded until 1721. In other words it

⁶ "The Secret of the Lodge. Freemasonry in Slovenia." Exhibition of the National Museum of Slovenia in conjunction with the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia. National Museum of Slovenia (Prešernova), 28 February to 28 May 2017. Authors of the exhibition: Matevž Košir and Jože Podpečnik; visual concept: Miran Mohar and Mima Suhadolc.

⁷ International symposium "The Secret of the Lodge. Freemasonry in Central Europe". National Museum of Slovenia (Metelkova), 11 May 2017.

⁸ Andrew Prescott: Die erste Erwähnung der Gross-Loge? In: Ammen, Michael / Bettag, Klaus / Snoek, Jan A.M.: Wurzeln der Freimaurerei-Aktuelle Forschungsergebnisse über ihre Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Band 1, Driftsethe 2016, p. 287 ff.



Minister of Culture, Tone Peršak, at the opening of the exhibition “The Secret of the Lodge,” National Museum of Slovenia on 28 February 2017. (National Museum of Slovenia)

was established at the time of the installation (as Grand Master) of the Duke of Montagu on 24 June 1721. Research by Sommers and Prescott would appear to prove that the story from 1717 was a myth invented by Anderson. The meetings supposedly held at the Goose and Gridiron public house in 1717 never took place, and available evidence shows that Anderson’s description of the formation of the Grand Lodge and its history up to 1723 are inaccurate. Be this as it may, even the establishment of the Grand Lodge in 1721 may be seen as the result of a process that began earlier. In other words, correcting the date of the founding of the Grand Lodge from 1717 to 1721 does not represent a change of any great significance.⁹

As Hans-Hermann Höhmann points out, Freemasonry is a product of the modern age, of modernity, that has nevertheless incorporated material from past history, in particular from the tradition of stonemasons’ fraternities. The transition from stone masons’ fraternities to the lodges of Freemasons is in many ways still the subject of diverse hypotheses and assumptions. One issue is that of continuity or, in some cases, backwards projections that are the result of the influence of a range of esoteric elements on Freemasonry in the second half of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth — the consequence of the collecting and combining of various symbolic and Hermetic elements from the history of culture and religions. What is certain is that Masonic symbols, rituals and legends derive from the world of ideas surrounding the European building tradition, within which the English and Scottish traditions have particular importance. The establishment of the “Grand Lodge of London and Westmin-

⁹ Helmut Reinalter, Die Gründung der ersten Grossloge in London 1717- ein Mythos? In: Quatuor Coronati Berichte, No 37, Vienna 2017, p. 165 ff.



The lobby of the National Museum of Slovenia just before the opening of the exhibition “The Secret of the Lodge” on 28 February 2017. (National Museum of Slovenia)

ster”, the first Grand Lodge, marks a transition from prehistory to history in Freemasonry. The 1723 “Constitutions” are effectively the laws and regulations of Freemasonry. A decisive influence on the concepts contained within the Constitutions was exercised by their co-author John Theophilus Desaguliers, who may be considered the father of modern Freemasonry. The ideas, symbols and organisation of the Freemasons were also met with a significant response on the continent, both in France and elsewhere. Despite the existence of common starting points, there remained a considerable empty space in which, from the eighteenth century onwards, lodges created different Masonic worlds reflecting their different motives and interests, social and political conditions, and the manner and period in which they were established. This is also linked to the internal democracy in lodges, the ideal of tolerance, and the fact that Freemasonry is a self-formed institution.

It is therefore difficult to talk about a single Freemasonry. It would be more correct to talk about multiple Freemasonries. Even in its origins, Freemasonry does not represent uniformity, and in fact various forms of Freemasonry have existed since the earliest days, particularly following the development of Masonic systems consisting of multiple degrees.

The early eighteenth century brought with it the establishment of lodges in which we encounter individuals of different statuses and political affiliations. Mathematics, in particular geometry, is seen as divine and part of the Hermetic tradition. Lodges express a symbolic affiliation both to the stonemasonry or building tradition and to the Hermetic tradition. They developed an ethical system that was not tied to a specific Church, and offered a form of moral discipline for groups and individuals. They derived from guilds, fraternities, coffee houses and literary and

philosophical societies, and formed ties with learned academies (in London, Paris, etc.). At the same time they gained a “civil society” character, as a voluntary association positioned between family, state and Church. In the eighteenth century, Masonic lodges unwittingly became schools of democracy, with the election of dignitaries, debates, and so on, and to a large extent they also began to adopt the ideas of humanism and the Enlightenment. From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, with the emancipation of women, women’s lodges have gradually become part of the Masonic landscape. Another of the common Masonic ideals was charity, so lodges soon began to establish charitable funds.

The tercentenary has seen an increase in the attention paid to Freemasonry, both by academics and by the popular media. Despite this, stereotypes about Freemasonry continue to exist. There is a notable lack of studies on what participating in the life of a lodge means to the members themselves. The in-depth papers contained in the present Proceedings represent a contribution to the understanding of Freemasonry.

The Proceedings contain eleven papers covering various aspects of the history of Freemasonry. Dieter Binder writes about Freemasonry as a means of making a gentleman. He defines the Masonic lodge as a place of self-education and focuses on the educational function of ritual. Helmut Reinalter focuses on the historical development of Freemasonry in Central Europe, in particular in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Marcus Patka writes about Johannes Carl Barolin, a successful businessman and fervent Austrian Freemason, pacifist and thinker connected to the peace movement, whose ideas, which were sometimes also rather utopian, did not meet with broader social acceptance. Despite the fact that it is impossible today to talk

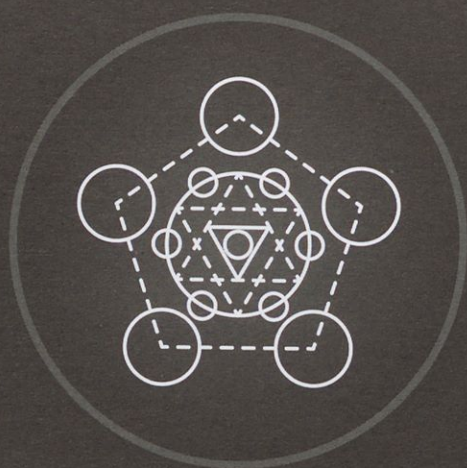


about Freemasonry as an exclusively male society — and indeed some women's lodges are more than a hundred years old — the exclusion of women from the work of Masonic associations is one of the contradictions critically addressed by Fischer, whose paper discusses women and Freemasonry and offers a history of female Freemasonry. Pierre Mollier offers a brief presentation on Freemasonry in Napoléonic times and advances the theory that Masonic lodges were one of the foundations of Napoléon's empire. Matevž Košir summarise the history of Freemasonry in Slovenia from its origins to the present day. Slobodan Marković provides a historical overview of Freemasonry in Yugoslavia in the period 1919–2000. He also reaches further back into history and looks at Freemasonry in Serbia in the nineteenth century. Fulvio Conti writes on the history of the Grand Orient of Italy and Masonic lodges in the Balkans in the 1870–1920 and the evolution of relations between them, from friendly ties to increasing hostility. Luca G. Manenti presents Freemasonry in Trieste, with a particular focus on the twentieth century and the role of Italian Freemasons in the resolution of the Trieste Question. The development of Freemasonry, its historical and conceptual framework, structure and connections, with a focus on German Freemasonry, is the subject of an in-depth study by Hans-Hermann Höhmann. The Proceedings end with a paper by Grün on establishing secularity through language and Masonic rituals.

Thanks are due to all the authors and collaborators who have contributed in any way to the creation of these Proceedings, including those who have constantly expressed their support for the symposium but who, owing to their numerous obligations, have not been able to contribute a paper.

Panellists at the symposium on the history of Freemasonry in Central Europe, held at the National Museum of Slovenia on 11 May 2017. (National Museum of Slovenia)







Hans-Hermann Höhmann

**On the
Development
of Freemasonry
in Germany:
Fundamentals,
Interrelationships,
Concepts**

Abstract

The author deals with the origins, principles, meaning, development and characteristics of freemasonry. The study presents the historical development of freemasonry in Germany, its detailed analysis shows close connections between the freemasonic origins and its future. On one hand, the past shapes the present of freemasonry, while on the other, the future tasks of freemasonry can only be determined by understanding which traditions will be relevant for future endeavours. The author specifically highlights the importance of the humanist and the Enlightenment traditions. He is able to follow and present these traditions throughout the history of freemasonry in Germany, in addition to those occurrences in German freemasonry that digressed from these traditions. The text is based on the author's book *Freimaurerei in Deutschland. Aspekte der Vergangenheit — Aufgaben für die Zukunft* (Freemasonry in Germany. Aspects of the Past — Job for the Future). Salier-Verlag Leipzig 2017, p. 12–66. The translation is published with the permission of the author and the publishing house.

KEYWORDS: Freemasonry, Concept, History, Germany, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder

Historical and Conceptual Framework

Freemasonry is a worldwide league of friends and is — according to the website of the United Grand Lodge of England — considered to be “one of the world's oldest and largest non-religious, non-political, fraternal and charitable organisations”.¹ Freemasonry does, however, also present a specific symbolically ritualistic approach to teaching and knowledge, which from the very beginning, was built around the practice of an ethically based manner of conducting one's life: “A Mason is oblig'd, by his Tenure, to obey the moral Law” was already the wording in “Anderson's Constitutions” of 1723, and a later much cited definition, also from English Freemasonry, picked up on these thoughts: “Freemasonry is a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory, and illustrated by symbols”. Freemasonry thus attempts to address the intellectual and emotional side of humanity equally. Intellect and emotions are not separated, and in particular the ritual practice observed in the Lodges is to contribute towards gaining insights into the realities of life *simultaneously in terms of thinking and feeling*.

The Brotherhood of Freemasonry is a product of the modern era. Absorbing impetuses for progress and structural material from more ancient history, it emerged as an institutionally organisationally composed social group of significance at the beginning of the 18th century in England looking back nowadays at a development built up over a period of 300 years. The historical background to the League stretches back further and begins with the mediaeval and early modern fraternities of stonemasons and their builders' huts, from which (and with reference to which) before and after 1717, the year of the foundation of the first Grand Lodge in London the modern Masonic lodges developed rather like some sort of explosion. The details of this “great transformation” from the builders' huts of the stonemasons into the Lodges of the “Gentlemen Masons” still lie in the mists of time and are the subject of academic hypotheses

¹ <http://www.ugle.org.uk/what-is-freemasonry>, most recently accessed on 27. 03. 2017.

and numerous varieties of speculation. What has still not been adequately clarified is whether and to what extent what was involved in what was later to be described as “the esotericism of Freemasonry” was the gradual inflow of old ways of thinking and symbols into Freemasonry by the builders’ huts of the Middle Ages and the early modern period or whether the increasing significance of esotericism in the Freemasonry of the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th was the result of a grand process of bringing together the various elements from the history of western culture and religion. Not least has this caused the *comprehensive need for the ritual of high-grade systems* and to that extent has more to do with looking backwards rather than forwards.

Academic reappraisal of the Masonic past is impeded not only by the scarcity of source material available, particularly in respect of the practice of early Freemasonry. There is the additional factor that results of source-based research are frequently overlaid with *legends* which themselves come from Freemasonry. John Hamill emphasises in his history of English Freemasonry² the distinction between “authentic” (academic) schools, which rely on the analysis of verifiable facts, and “non-authentic” schools. The latter inadmissibly set Freemasonry on the basis of conclusions on what was later — especially in the second half of the 18th century — to become Freemasonry, in particular the Freemasonry of high-grade systems in a direct relationship with religions, mysteries, cults and hermetic-esoteric traditions of centuries past. Generally, Freemasons have always been tempted to discover the roots of the desired form of Freemasonry in the past compared with that of the present, in order thereby to legitimise it.

What is clear, however, is that the symbols and rituals of Freemasonry, which are still observed to this day, are first and foremost the forms and ideas of the European building tradition, its organisational combinations, its legends (the Temple of Solomon, Master Builder Hiram, the legend of the “Quatuor Coronati” martyrs) as well as the techniques of the members of the builder’s huts, who mutually recognised each other as masons. They stem from and thus as a whole belong to the history of Freemasonry. Alongside the English traditions, it was predominantly the Scottish ones that were of particular significance. In his radical study on the origins of Freemasonry, David Stevenson has pointed out that significant elements of the Brotherhood — the rituals hidden from the public, the secret procedures for the mutual recognition as masons, the solemn initiation ceremonies for new members as well as the admission of non-stonemasons into the Lodges — along with the practical rules for the exercising of the trade and social facilities — were already detectable in the Scottish Lodges in the 16th and 17th centuries.³ Stevenson has in addition clearly pointed out that within the rituals not only those of building and architectural symbolism but also those of esoteric concepts were gaining in significance. These can be traced back to hermetic traditions of the Renaissance, not least because of the fact that Freemasonry, even when it was only in its formation phase, met with resistance from the representatives and Institutions of the established Christian churches. It is, however, to be accepted that the early seclusion in the Lodges of the Scottish Freemasons did

² Hamill, John: *The Craft. A History of English Freemasonry*, Great Britain Crucible 1986, pps. 15–25. Great Britain Crucible 1986.

³ Stevenson, David: *The Origins of Freemasonry*, Cambridge 1998.

not *directly* lead to the high-grade systems filled with all sorts of additional symbolic rituals which became popular in the second half of the 18th century.⁴ On the one hand, hermeticism in the early Scottish Lodges had been a component part of an organisationally simple, still not yet even three-grade, Freemasonry and, on the other, it had developed over longer periods of history and was to that extent bound by tradition which it was unaware it was actually adopting. Thus it can be considered as significantly more authentic than the frequently sought after and seemingly indiscriminate esotericism in the symbolic and ritualistic creations in the high-grade systems of the late 18th century. Hermeticism and alchemy, the search for truth in religious eclecticism, hope for a “Consensus of Religions” — all that indeed had for the intellectuals of the late age of the Enlightenment a considerable fascination, not as firm, dogmatic doctrine, but as a “melting pot of various different unorthodox figures of painting and figures of thought”,⁵ who could replace orthodox Christianity.

It can then reasonably be assumed that there had been no transition from “operative” (skilled building craftsmen) to “speculative” (symbolic-philosophical) Freemasonry in the previously accepted form when a chronological sequence points specifically to the 17th century. The builders’ huts were already firmly established long before the emergence of Freemasonry as a modern “speculative” social type of organisation, and it was precisely this that attracted non-professional outsiders in growing numbers to become “accepted masons”. Ernst Bloch for example has written about the significance of ideas and symbols in building as regards the raw materials used, the technical aspects considered and the purposes of the actual buildings themselves, especially sacred buildings. In the vivid “artistic ambitions” section in the chapter on Architecture (“Buildings which portray a better world, an architectural Utopia”) of his monumental work “The Principle of Hope”, he writes:

*“At that time, there was another artistic ambition in work than the so-called purpose of art and because it was an ambition in art, what it showed, apart from raw materials, technical aspects and purpose, as being the most important determining factor was fantasy. It was this that met all the demands of canonical building perfection as regards a credited symbolic model. This model actually governed the way work was carried out not only in terms of its dream and plan as the archetype before the actual building was begun, but it also laid down the rules forming part of the master rules. Thus the respective grand architectural artistic ambition was the same as the respective symbolic intention which was traditionally effective in the ideology of the old building trade. But this intention was attempting with triangle and compass to come nearer, particularly in terms of image, to the dimensions of an existing building conceived as being ideal.”*⁶

⁴ “In the Freemason community Hermes Trismegistos still appears, in the first half of the 18th century, to play no significant role. Solomon’s Temple or the Knights of the Temple are the most important historical references. In the second half of the 18th century, this fundamentally changes”. Ebeling, Florian: *Das Geheimnis des Hermes Trismegistos. Geschichte des Hermetismus*. With a Preface by Jan Assmann, Munich 2005, p. 161.

⁵ Hermetik, Eklektik, Consensus, www.jgoethe.uni-muenchen.de/.../hermetik.html, most recently accessed on 27. 03. 2017.

⁶ Bloch, Ernst: *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, Second Volume, Frankfurt am Main 1982, p. 837. Bloch’s relationship with Freemasonry is ambivalent: “As is known, Freemasonry uses above all else the emblem of building; it phantasizes its history through the entire history of building. It is extremely unlikely that this bourgeois-noble fraternisation itself ... arose from bricklaying. But it is even more unlikely that it invented just by itself the fundamental architectonic allegorical gimmick it uses.” Ibid., p. 838f.

The fact that already in the 17th century and before, Lodges existed in the later sense clearly indicates that the Brotherhood emerged from historical continuities, and that in this respect what is relevant to only a limited degree is the effective date most commonly used for the transition of the history prior to the actual history of Freemasonry, namely 24 June 1717, when four London Lodges merged to form the first Grand Lodge in the world, to record it as the date modern Freemasonry was founded, irrespective of the fact that there are scarcely any reliable sources available confirming the date and the event.⁷

However, the London foundation was of *great, indeed decisive, significance* for the further development of Freemasonry. For with the "Grand Lodge of London and Westminster" there began the Lodge-wide institutionalisation and content-related design of Freemasonry which created the organisational and conceptual basics for the dynamic development now emerging in England and very soon beyond England too. In 1723 the London Grand Lodge adopted its first Constitution which, after its author, the Presbyterian clergyman, originally from Scotland, James Anderson, was called the "Anderson Constitutions", conceptually but very significantly dating back to the architectural father of modern Freemasonry, John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683–1744).⁸ In 1719 Desaguliers was elected as the third Grand Master of the London Association. He was a French emigrant and Protestant clergyman, belonged to the Isaac Newton circle of friends, was, as a natural philosopher, a member of the London "Royal Society" and introduced into the Freemasons' Brotherhood the first significant representative of the English aristocracy, Duke John of Montagu, who then himself became Grand Master in 1721.

In Germany the "Anderson Constitutions" are known as the "Alte Pflichten" ("Old Duties") and have become pioneering guidelines for policy-making decisions.⁹ Programmatically, above all the first of these duties bears the motto "Von Gott und der Religion":

"The mason is as a mason duty-bound to obey moral law; and if he understands art correctly, he becomes neither a narrow-minded God-denying atheist nor a disengaged free spirit. In olden times masons in each country were indeed duty-bound to belong to the religion which applied in their country or to their people. Today, however, it is considered more advisable to bind them only to the religion with which all people are in agreement and to leave each person to form his own particular beliefs and convictions. They should thus be good and upright men, men of honesty and integrity, regardless of their profession or faith or which convictions they might otherwise care to represent. Thus Freemasonry becomes a place of conciliation and a means of creating true friendship between people which would otherwise have forever remained alien to them."

The "Alten Pflichten" actually contain the basic foundations of Freemasonry still valid to the present day: the significance of comradeship in friendship, the moral commitment of the Freemason, the habitus demanded of him of honesty and integrity, the renunciation of divisive

⁷ References can be found in the second edition of the "Konstitutionen" of 1738.

⁸ Cf. on this and on the following Michael Voges: *Aufklärung und Geheimnis. Untersuchungen zur Vermittlung von Literatur- und Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der Aneignung des Geheimbundmaterials im Roman des späten 18. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1987, p. 24.

⁹ A copy of "Alte Pflichten" can be found in: Eugen Lennhoff, Oskar Posner, Dieter A. Binder: *International Freemason Lexicon*, Munich 2000, pps. 16–23.

religious regulations and the practical application of tolerance as the basis for unity and cooperation between people.

The founding of the first London Grand Lodge in 1717, followed by the founding of the “Grand Lodge of All England”¹⁰ based on the “Harodim” tradition in York in 1725 and a third English Grand Lodge, the “Grand Lodge of Ancients” in 1751¹¹, all produced a dramatic development of Freemasonry. In England, Scotland and Ireland — as the mother countries of modern Freemasonry — the number of Lodges grew by the end of the 18th century to over 1,000.¹² Freemasonry quickly spread across the overseas territories of Great Britain, especially in the American colonies which later became the United States. In 1733, the Provincial Grand Lodge of Massachusetts was set up all the way from England in Boston. A few decades later, Freemasons were to play a leading role in the American Independence Movement as well as in the constitutional history of the USA.¹³

Freemasonry was also spreading quickly across the continent of Europe. Just as in England, the Brotherhood’s ideas, organisational forms and symbols were resonating loudly. Even the opposition of the Catholic church which had already been deployed since early on could not prevent its spreading, particularly since the papal condemnations were not made public in all dioceses and many high-ranking Catholic clerics belonged to the Brotherhood of Freemasons. The first country outside Great Britain in which Freemasonry gained a foothold was France. Vestiges of Lodge establishments in Paris can be traced as far back as 1725. Informative pleasure in carrying on a discourse, as well as, later, the tendency towards imaginative three-grade systems were characteristic for the further development of French Freemasonry. There was also significant development of Freemasonry in the Netherlands, where after 1731 numerous Lodges arose. In that year, in the Hague, Duke Franz Stephan von Lothringen, later to become the husband of Maria Theresa and, as Franz the 1st, the Holy Roman Emperor, were received into the Brotherhood by a deputation of high-ranking English Freemasons.

Emergence and Development of Freemasonry in Germany, Austria and Switzerland

The first Lodge in Germany which can be supported by documentary evidence was established in 1737 in Hamburg, which is why German Freemasonry could celebrate its 275th birthday in 2012. Already in 1733, according to other sources 1735, the English Grand Master, the

¹⁰ Cf. Jan Snoek, *The Harodim. An unknown third tradition within English Freemasonry in the 18th century*, http://freimaurer-wiki.de/index.php/Frederik:_Die_Harodim, most recently accessed on 20. 03. 2017.

¹¹ The Grand Lodge of the “Ancients” claims greater Masonic legitimacy for itself and derogatorily called the Lodge founded in 1717 the Grand Lodge of the “Moderns”. In 1813 the two Grand Lodges merged to become the “United Grand Lodge of England” in which the tradition of the “Ancients” dominated.

¹² Cf. Peter Clark: *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800. The Origins of an Associational World*, New York 2000, pps. 309–349.

¹³ Cf. Steven C. Bullock: *Revolutionary Brotherhood — Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order 1730–1840*, Chapel 1996; Christopher Hodapp *Solomon’s Builders: Freemasons, Founding Fathers and the Secrets of Washington D.C.*, Berkeley CA 2007.

Earl of Strathmore was to authorise eleven German gentlemen to set up a Lodge in Hamburg, although this information is to be treated with caution. The oldest document surviving today is written in French and talks about the founding of a "Loge en Hambourg" on 6 December 1737. The benefactor was Lieutenant Charles Sarry who later became Dutch in anticipation of the forthcoming developments when he was designated "Deputy Grand Master of Prussia and Brandenburg". Co-benefactors were Baron Georg Ludwig von Oberg, who became Chairman a week later, the eminent city doctor Peter Carpser, the scholar Peter Stüven and Daniel Krafft. This "Société des acceptés masons libres de la Ville de Hambourg" operated on the Bäckerstraße in the tavern owned by the innkeeper Jens Arbien. In 1743 it took the name "Absalom" (later "Absalom zu den drei Nessel") which it has retained to this day. It was also Oberg who, as Head of a delegation from the Hamburg Lodge, received Crown Prince Frederick (soon to become "Frederick the Great") into Freemasonry in Braunschweig in August 1738. Frederick was attracted both by the tolerant spirit of the Brotherhood and the aura of secrecy and confidentiality surrounding it and soon acted as Chairman of the Court Lodge he started in Rheinsberg.

Not long after the Hamburg foundation, Lodges were set up in Dresden, Berlin, Bayreuth, Leipzig and many other German towns. In spite of some hostility, the dynamic of German Freemasonry was significant right up to the second half of the 20th century. Thus, in the first 50 years of the Brotherhood's history, from 1737 to 1787, around 400 Lodges with some 25,000 admissions were founded. A further wave of foundations came about in the (new) German Empire after 1871. This wave continued into the Weimar Republic. So it was that between 1871 and 1925 a further 300 Lodges were created and in the mid-1920s the number of members from all German Lodges reached its peak level with over 80,000 Freemasons. In the process it was the "old Prussian" Grand Lodges which dominated with approximately 70% of the total of German Freemasons. Indeed the collapse of the Hohenzollern Monarchy had scarcely any negative effect on the expansion of the Grand Lodges — the influx into the Lodges was on the contrary strong for a number of years after 1918 — but loyalty with the loss of the imperial protectors with a generally *predominantly national conservative attitude of most German Freemasons* led to an often hostile, at best indifferent, attitude towards the Weimar Republic.¹⁴ The German Grand Lodge system was simultaneously highly fragmented. In 1933 — before the demise in the Nazi era — there were 11 Grand Lodges in Germany and of these certainly two — the *Freemasons Brotherhood of the Rising Sun* and the *Symbolic Grand Lodge of Germany* — were not recognised by the others as regular.¹⁵

The social composition of the German Lodges was already in its early stages to a large extent made up of members of the upper middle classes, the "haute bourgeoisie" (officials and — often former — officers; academics, teachers, artists; entrepreneurs, bankers, senior executives). But the nobility also played a significant role. Karlheinz Gerlach describes the social composition of the Brandenburg-Prussian Lodges in the late 18th century as follows:

¹⁴ Cf. Hans-Hermann Höhmann: Europas verlorener Friede, die national-völkische Orientierung innerhalb der deutschen Freimaurerei und die "freimaurerische Erinnerungspolitik" nach dem II. Weltkrieg, in this Volume, p.

¹⁵ Cf. Manfred Steffens: Freimaurerei in Deutschland. Bilanz eines Vierteljahrtausends, Flensburg 1964.

*“Every third Freemason was descended from the nobility, whereas the other two-thirds of Freemasons came from the upper middle class. Administrative officials and officers each made up a third, entrepreneurs (including publishers and printers, innkeepers, ship’s captains and others) about a quarter, intellectuals (theologians, university and senior secondary school teachers, doctors, pharmacists without the academically trained officials and members of the lower regimental ranks) as well as artists made up around a tenth of Lodge membership. Although the number of members rose quickly, the percentage share of the various social groups remained more or less at the same level over the years. Craftsmen and the lower orders, the people and women too were not however able to apply to join societies or Lodges.”*¹⁶

The religious structure of German Freemasonry was initially mixed, since the papal condemnations did not reach many places. In the “classic age of the citizen” throughout the 19th century, the population was predominantly Protestant: The “Apollo” Lodge in Leipzig, for example, in 1906 had 89.2% evangelical-Lutheran, 3.2% Catholic and 6.0% Jewish members.¹⁷ The Jewish members in “humanitarian” Grand Lodges at the end of the 20s — according to an article in the “Verein deutscher Freimaurer” in a written answer¹⁸ to Ludendorff’s anti-Freemason pamphlet “Extermination of Freemasonry through the exposure of its secrets” — amounted to around 3,000. With 24,000 members of the “humanitarian” Grand Lodges in Germany, this would mean a significant Jewish proportion and underline how much German Jews before the Nazi catastrophe felt themselves to be German citizens with connotations of the German middle class.

Today (2016) there are, according to information in the “List of Lodges for 2017”, in the “United Grand Lodges of Germany” (cf. vD) 480 Lodges with 15,500 members.¹⁹ This information seems to me, however, to be exaggerated and I consider membership figures of around 14,500 to be more plausible.

In Austria too, Freemasonry was gaining a foothold in the 18th century and through numerous significant members soon reached a high social level. Already in 1731, Maria Theresa’s husband, Duke Franz Stefan of Lothringen, who later became Kaiser Franz I, had, as already mentioned, been accepted into the Brotherhood in the Hague by a delegation of English Freemasons. In 1742 the first Lodge was founded in Vienna where Freemasonry in the 1780s reached its peak. Particularly in the “Zur wahren Eintracht” Lodge there worked alongside Ignaz Freiherr von Born a Freemason who turned the Lodge into a centre of the Enlightenment and a place of scientific and academic research. With other Freemasons, Born edited the significant “Journal for Freemasons” and through his preoccupation with the ancient Egyptian mysteries provided inspiration for the creation of Mozart’s Masonic opera “Die Zauberflöte”. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart had become a Freemason in 1784 and has bequeathed numerous

¹⁶ Karlheinz Gerlach: Die Freimaurerei im Alten Preußen 1738–1806. Die Logen zwischen mittlerer Oder und Niederrhein, Innsbruck Wien Bozen 2007, p. 11.

¹⁷ Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann: Die Politik der Geselligkeit, at the place indicated p. 368.

¹⁸ Die Vernichtung der Unwahrheiten über die Freimaurerei durch 116 Antworten auf 116 Fragen, published by the Society of German Freemasons, Leipzig 1928, p. 33.

¹⁹ 2017 List of Lodges Masonic, Pantagraph Printing & Stationary CO, Bloomington Ill. In Germany published by the American Canadian Grand Lodge, A.F. & A.M., p. 297.

compositions for the Lodges to use. Also Emmanuel Schikaneder, the librettist of “Zauberflöte”, who had been admitted to the Freemason Brotherhood in Regensburg, belonged in Mozart’s time to a Vienna Lodge. The temporary end for Freemasonry in Austria came in 1793 with the closing of the Lodges and the secret trial in 1795 against the Viennese Jacobins.²⁰ Also the further development of Austrian Freemasonry was thwarted time and again by administrative restrictions and prohibitions. The Lodges could since the 1860s, however, move as “Fringe Lodges” to Hungary where Freemasonry was permitted. From 1918 to 1938, with the assumption of power by the National Socialists, there were Lodges once again in Austria, although they nevertheless afterwards shared the fate of German Freemasons and were banned. After the Second World War, work resumed to restore Freemasonry. According to the “List of Lodges for 2017”, the 77 Lodges of the “Grand Lodge of Austria” currently have just short of 3.450 members.²¹

The uneven structure of Switzerland from the political-geographical point of view in the 18th century brought with it a very divergent pattern of development. Initially, the Brotherhood went to Geneva, where in collaboration with the Scottish Freemason George Hamilton, the first Lodge was founded in 1736. Even early on, however, Freemasonry was meeting obstacles, because the Calvinistic clergy protested and a member of the municipal government publicly called the Lodge a “School of Ungodliness”. In 1739 the “Parfaite Union des Étrangers” was set up in Lausanne under a commission from the English Grand Master. Here too there were sporadic prohibitions and administrative restrictions. Development proceeded less restrictively in Zurich, where, in 1740, the first Lodge, bearing the name “La Concorde” was set up. In 1762 the Zurich district Regiment in Thionville founded a field Lodge with the name “Zur schweizerischen Freiheit” (“for Swiss Freedom”). Officers returning home and Zurich citizens admitted into foreign Lodges set up the “La Discretion” Lodge in Zurich in 1771. Under its energetic Chairman Diethelm Lavater (1773–1826), a doctor, member of the Government and brother of the famous Johann Caspar Lavater, the Lodge adopted the system of Strict Observance and was now called “Gerechte und vollkommene Loge zur, Bescheidenheit und Freiheit” (“Rightful and perfect Lodge inspired by Modesty and Freedom”), today called “Modestia cum Libertate”. From the beginnings of Swiss Freemasonry, by 1844 over 30 Lodges had been developed. They worked according to various different systems. There were probably mergers with Lodges in the French-speaking regions of Switzerland and since 1822 there was even a “Grande Loge Suisse”, to which, however, neither Zurich nor Basle belonged. It took years of negotiations — until 1844 — before the Swiss Grand Lodge “Alpina” could be set up. Today it has 80 Lodges with around 3,600 members.²² Characteristic of Swiss Freemasonry is the fact that the Lodges have plenty of scope and space for organising their own rites.²³

²⁰ <https://www.wien.gv.at/wiki/index.php/Freimaurer>, viewed on 20. 03. 2017.

²¹ 2017 List of Lodges Masonic, at the place indicated p. 138.

²² 2017 List of Lodges Masonic, at the place indicated p. 372.

²³ Christof Meister.

Changes, Reforms and Differentiations

Reforms in Freemasonry, i.e. changes to its institutional structures, its substantive concepts and its rituals, have been in existence just as long as Freemasonry itself. Scarcely had the operating stonemasons ceased working with stones and putting up buildings, scarcely had they become “speculative”, scarcely had they, with the “Grand Lodge of London and Westminster”, created an initial institutional framework, than they then wanted and had to know what directions and contents the speculations of the Gentlemen Masons should actually be — first of all in London and Great Britain, but soon also on the continent of Europe and elsewhere in the world.

What was missing for the passage to the *present from the past* and for the future and what had to be formed was a clearly defined solid institutional and conceptual basis. There existed — according to the Germanist Michael Voges²⁴ — programmatically as well as structurally, something along the lines of a “challenging void” which had to be filled, and depending on their various motives and interests, each according to the pressures of time and the different social and political standpoints of the individual Lodge, Freemasons in the 18th century and in later history set about and did not cease creating around themselves their various Masonic worlds and since these never seemed perfect, Freemasons never stopped working on them.

All — later so many different — Freemasons largely concurred with the initial basic conditions: historical remembrance, ideological reorientation, and social change were important factors at the turn of the 18th century for the foundation and dynamic of Freemasonry.²⁵

- “Historical remembrance” meant remembering the religious and civil wars of the 16th and 17th centuries, which had caused such tremendous suffering to life and limb, to homes and possessions among the population as a whole as well as to the elite. The consequence was a great need for tolerance, a deep yearning for bridge-building between the religious and politically divided parties.
- “Ideological reorientation” meant the multi-layered process of secularisation, individualisation and the development of autonomy which started momentarily in the late 17th and 18th centuries and brought with it a profound shift in the structures of meaning and interpretation of the world.
- “Social change” referred to the fundamental changes in the social and economic realities which went hand in hand with the processes at the level of awareness and also, in terms of structure, set the essentials of modernity.

The growing standard and professional differentiation in society, the gradual emergence of the middle classes and modern capitalist economic systems, the functional and social polarisation even in the nobility, the enhanced educational opportunities, the urbanisation and the

²⁴ Michael Voges: *Aufklärung und Geheimnis. Untersuchungen zur Vermittlung von Literatur- und Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der Aneignung des Geheimbundmaterials im Roman des späten 18. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1987, p. 82.

²⁵ Cf. a detailed account by Hans-Hermann Höhmann: *Freimaurerei. Analysen, Überlegungen, Perspektiven*, Bremen 2011, pp. 12–50.

intensified spatial mobility characterised by European, above all by British, colonialism as well as by international and intercontinental traffic: All this led to the peoples of Europe being released from their traditional bonds and social anchors and to ensure trust in themselves having to set aside patterns of interpretation practised over generations.

These changes led not only to uncertainties but indeed to real crises too. They created a very definite inclination to track down and use new opportunities for adjustment, commitment and conduct. A demand was growing for changed forms of what would today be called “social networking” in accordance with new forms of “social capital”, and thus the 18th century became the *epoch of the formation of associations and sociability*.

Freemasonry was now obviously turning out to be a *particularly attractive form* of making new relationships. This also resulted from the wide availability of the Brotherhood for the satisfaction of many different social and cultural needs, such as the possibility to develop the Lodges and Lodge systems further by changes and reforms, and adjust changing structural conditions and focal points of interest.

There were many motivations — or to be more precise perhaps — sets of motivations, which allowed Freemasonry to become for members a strong, Europe-wide social and cultural, as well as very distinctive, movement and let it determine its contents.²⁶ Motives like contents were organised in such a way as to satisfy specific, but in their concept completely different and, in fact, quite often contradictory, functions whereby they simultaneously provided permanent prods for differentiation.

- Then there was the *social function*, to bring people together, let them transcend class boundaries as “bloße Menschen” (“mere humans”) (Lessing), as fellow humans, as human brothers, and offer them social networks, new opportunities for self-validation and self-realisation, chances for an impressive self-exaltation by rank and order as well as new forms of camaraderie and entertainment.
- Then there was the *religious function* of conveying to people by a system of symbols which were new but nonetheless based on old roots, the notion of forming optimistically positive attitudes towards themselves and each other, the cosmos and transcendence and make up for the widely spread dissatisfaction with the established ecclesiastical authority in the 18th century. Thus the churches soon sensed the religious competition from the Lodges, suspected the latter of religious indifference and hermetically esoteric heresies and reacted with condemnations of Freemasonry.
- Then there was the *spiritually historical-philosophical function* of creating space for people to afford them the opportunity of using their own rationality, of guiding themselves towards autonomous awareness and conducting — in the sense of a “nothing surpasses thinking out loud with a friend” (Lessing) — the discourse on the content of moral law, on the structures of a better world and the ideas of the Enlightenment.
- And finally there was the *political function*, of offering people in the Lodges which were in something of a turmoil but still absolutely constituted, an independent “moral inner

²⁶ Hans-Hermann Höhmann: Freimaurerei at the place indicated p. 19.

space" (Reinhart Koselleck), in which in anticipation of the forthcoming bourgeois revolutions the "Mystery of Freedom" could be experienced as "Freedom in the Mystery".²⁷

The significance of the social function is particularly to be emphasised. After analysing a very large quantity of source material, Karlheinz Gerlach comes to the following conclusion for Brandenburg-Prussia in the 18th century: "Only a minority associated high-flown spiritual or even esoteric aims with Freemasonry. Most Freemasons were looking for a community of upright, virtuous, commercially respected and influential men. They were striving for camaraderie as well as social and cultural commitment."²⁸

Three Large Groupings of Freemasonry

As regards world Freemasonry, in the 19th century there arose through the differential process described at least three large (and even these in turn partially differentiated) types of Freemasonry which to this day define the image of the Brotherhood:

- The *ethically symbolic* Freemasonry, which dominates throughout the world and is particularly adopted by English and American freemasonry as well as by many continental European Grand Lodges among which the Großloge der Alten Freien und Angenommenen Maurer von Deutschland (GL AFuAM vD) (*Grand Lodge of the Old Free and Accepted Freemasons of Germany*) is also represented. To this Group, there currently belong just under 2.3 million Freemasons worldwide²⁹ roughly 95%. The Freemasonry of this Group is religiously open, demands no declared belief in Christianity, although it lays down as a condition of membership the acknowledgement of a "Supreme Being" as well as the presence of a "Holy Book" (in Christian cultures the Bible) as symbols for the transcendental relationship between people. Within ethically symbolic Freemasonry there are, however, significant distinctions. There exist more liberal varieties as well as those with a formally and in terms of content strongly conservative orientation. Here again, a distinction can be drawn between groupings with a strongly enlightened-humanistic profile and those with a stronger esoteric or stronger conventionally bourgeois, traditionally religious focus.
- *Christian* Freemasonry which has made acknowledgement of the teachings of Jesus Christ a precondition for membership and is represented in particular in the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland) with their emphasis on obedience as well as nearer home in the Große Landesloge der Freimaurer von Deutschland (GLL FvD) (*Grand National Lodge of the Freemasons of Germany*). The strongly religious character of this variety of Freemasonry based unequivocally on Jesus Christ, the "Supreme Master" of Christian Freemasonry, cannot in the end be expressed in the unambiguous Christological culmination that the blood of the Brothers in the Order is symbolically

²⁷ Reinhart Koselleck.

²⁸ Karlheinz Gerlach: Die Freimaurerei, at the place indicated, p. 11.

²⁹ The inaccurate and still often quoted figure of 6 million is wildly exaggerated., as the number of Freemasons since the 1970s — particularly in the USA as well as in England, Australia, New Zealand and Canada — has dropped by more than 3.5 million.

united in the ritual with the blood which the "Supreme Master" shed for mankind. This symbolic act serves as a sign of the mission "to follow him in faith, hope and love". Overall approximately 2.5% of all Freemasons worldwide belong to this group.

- *Secular-liberal* Freemasonry, which is particularly represented by the Grand Orient de France, is likewise made up of around 2.5% of Freemasons worldwide. In its Statutes the Grand Orient defines itself as a "philosophical, philanthropic and progressive Institution", has abandoned the symbol of the "Grand Mason" in its rituals, even accepts atheists as Freemasons, takes sides on social and political issues and expects a sociopolitical commitment from its members. It has approximately 47,000 members in France. The Freemasonry in the *Grand Orient de France* (and a few similarly structured Grand Lodges in other countries) is not recognised as regular by most Grand Lodges around the world.

It should be pointed out that alongside these groupings of Freemasonry organised into groups of men, there is also a Freemasonry of women, which is currently developing very dynamically. In numerous countries systems of "mixed" Lodges (Lodges which admit men and women) also exist and of these the most important grouping is the *Droit Humain* (*Human Right*). Here in this country Freemasonry is represented by the Women's Grand Lodge of Germany to which nowadays almost 30 Lodges belong.

In contrast to the unambiguous preponderance of ethically symbolic Freemasonry from the *international perspective*, in the 19th and early 20th century in *Germany* the Christian form, represented by the "old Prussian Grand Lodges", stood clearly in the foreground (Grand National Mother Lodge "Zu den Drei Weltkugeln" ("To the Three Globes"). Grand National Lodge of Freemasonry of Germany; Order of Freemasons; Grand Lodge of Prussia, known as the Royal York on Friendship"). Up until the closure of the Lodges under the pressure of the Nazi system in the mid-1930s, over two-thirds of German Freemasons belonged to these Grand Lodges. The old Prussian Grand Lodges claimed for themselves a special "German element" of high significance to them.³⁰

The Common Facets of "Freemasonry"

In spite of the variations described, there were always at the same time certain fundamental elements which were a constituent part of the Freemasonry which remained the same across countries and over times and which make it expedient with all these variations to talk of a social and cultural model called "Freemasonry".³¹

Of these *characteristics of the fundamental structure of Freemasonry* the four main ones were and are the following:

³⁰ Ferdinand Runkel: *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, First Volume, new edition Königswinter 2006, p. 15.

³¹ Freemasonry indeed always remained a "space within which much was possible" but this space was not undefined. It contained recognisable structures and rules". Cf. Monika Neugebauer-Wölk: "Einführung" on Florian Maurice: *Freimaurerei um 1800*, at the place indicated p. XVIII.

- The select Group, protected by secret rites and as a rule consisting of men, called in short the “*Masonic secret*” which determines the boundaries of the Lodge group whereby the discharging of an oath of secrecy or a solemn vow acts as the conclusion of a “Group contract” and one which in the event of breach is sanctioned by expulsion from the Brotherhood. As regards the oath, the texts of which could at times turn out to be threateningly brutal, the playful element, which plays a significant role in Masonic ritual and is regularly overlooked in “anti-Masonicism”, cannot be disregarded.³²
- The *initiation-like character* of the rites: The initiation of the new member and his pergrination through the various grades follow a series of rites which, since Arnold van Gennep, have been described as “rites of passage”³³ and the expression of a certain human image of Freemasonry based on the evolution of man.
- The *Symbolism of Building*, the main focus of which, centred on the obligatory idea of Time and the “Great Builder” as meaningful concepts in the field of building, was more widely considered in combination with the emergence and development of high-grade systems featuring esoterically hermetical elements and reminiscences of knights and their noble deeds.
- A *Canon of Values*, partly Enlightenment-inspired and humanistic, partly esoteric, partly religiously-based concepts like philanthropy, brotherliness, forbearance, the search for higher knowledge and hermetic awareness, piousness, Christian belief and deep spirit of communion revolves in step with the Redeemer, sets the path for the “practice” of these values in the secret environment of the Lodge and thereby constitutes and defines the Lodge group as a positive alternative inner world to the various “profane” outer worlds.

The fundamental structure und Canon of Values from the outset could, however, be shaped or interpreted very differently — the Canon of Values in particular in its significance for the political and social as well as the philosophical and religious contexts, within which the Lodges and Lodge systems defined themselves. This means that Freemasonry in its historical development was compatible with very different political structures, firstly (and particularly) with those of the bourgeois structures establishing themselves in the 18th century when Freemasonry was at least already capable of making progress phase by phase and became the catalyst for future political reforms, indeed far-reaching changes in terms of civic equality, democracy and national independence. For Freemasonry, because of the constitutive separation of inner and outer areas, of inner (private) virtues and outer (public) virtues, the Masonic Canon of Values also proved to be — just as with pre-democratic-absolutist and, as became particularly evident at the turn of the 1930s, compatible with non-democratic, politically authoritarian and nationalist structures. In the end, really large parts of German Freemasonry — especially the Christian-old Prussian parts — wanted fervently to follow National Socialism and its Führer.³⁴

³² “The ceremonial side is really one of our great differentiators, but ... they are just plays ... and they are rather nice plays ...” Nigel Brown, Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England, in: The Social Issues Research Center: The Future of Freemasonry, London 2012, p. 30.

³³ Arnold Van Gennep: *Übergangsriten*, translated by S. Schomburg-Scherff, Frankfurt a.M. 1986 (from the original *Les rites de passage*, 1909).

³⁴ Cf. on this the detailed *Identität und Gedächtnis*, Hans-Hermann Höhmann, at place indicated pps. 63–78.

The above explanations on the Masonic Canon of Values already make it clear that the concurring elements of Freemasonry indicated have proved time and again throughout the history of Freemasonry to be capable of various different interpretations and organisational patterns. Not only was the Masonic Canon of Values and Orientation from the very beginning flexible in terms of content and interpretation, particularly in its significance for the political and social as well as the philosophical and religious contexts in which the Lodges and Lodge systems defined themselves. Different concepts surrounding the issue of whether Freemasonry presented an ethically oriented Brotherhood, which might well be called a "System of Morality", or a religious Order, or whether only Christians or all people believing in God should be accepted into the Brotherhood had an impact on the content and form of rituals which then in turn consolidated thinking and discussions on certain types of teaching about Freemasonry and lent it continuity.

It is indeed right that symbols and rites in their history now spanning three centuries are the particular features of Freemasonry which made it distinguishable from other ethical-social Associations, but symbols and rites did not define, or at least did so only partially, the conceptual contents of Freemasonry which varied from system to system, and indeed often from Lodge to Lodge and which often, depending on the respective dominant ideological basis and structure of interests, received a new version of symbols and rites.

The "Masonic Secret"

The most binding of the various versions of Freemasonry that has withstood the test of time is the brotherly *Community*, the secrecy practised, the setting of boundaries, the separation of the inner from the outer — in short the "*Masonic Secret*". It had and has several functions for group formation and is thus also of great relevance for the issue of changes and reforms in Freemasonry. Among these (even still today) partially knowingly set, partially implicitly practised, there are functions of the Masonic Secret which can — partly subsequent to Michael Voges — still to the present day mainly be divided into the following seven:³⁵

- The *Protective Function*: Originally, the secrecy of Lodge meetings — just like the activities of many other communities at the time of the Enlightenment — was a condition for a domain exempt from state and church interventions and controls, which served to practise as a new social group model and hold discussions on the Enlightenment. To paraphrase the abovementioned conclusion of the Bielefeld historian Reinhart Kosellecks: The "Secret of Freedom" was only to anticipate "Freedom in Secrecy".³⁶ Simultaneously, secrecy was always also a precondition of another protection: of the safeguarding — in the event of the interference-prone publication — of the integrity of the ritual events.
- The *Social Function*: Being part of a shared secret serves the foundation of friendship and the formation of networks between people, who would otherwise not meet up with each

³⁵ Cf. Michael Voges: *Aufklärung und Geheimnis*, at place indicated pps. 79–82.

³⁶ "Apparently not to be affected by the State, citizens obtained this secret inner room in the Lodges in that very same State. In this room in which — under the protection of secrecy — civic freedom was already being realised. Freedom in secret becomes the secrecy of freedom." Reinhart Koselleck: *Kritik und Krise*, at place indicated, p. 60.

other as friends. On the “set of scales” symbolically set up in the rite, people of different social standing, strata and milieux communicate with each other. Meeting as “mere” human beings within the framework of the Masonic rite did not actually remove the social differences, but it did, however, overcome them in the inner room of the Lodge and at least mitigated their significance outside the Lodge: “He’s a prince” is something to think about as the Priest sings in Mozart’s and Schikaneder’s Masonic opera “Zauberflöte” before Tamino begins, but Sarastro answers: “Even more than that, he’s a human being”.

- The *Integrative Function*: The secret and sharing in it bind together the generally rather undefined aims of Freemasonry through the foundation of emotionally experienced, richer and more symbolically enhanced features in common.. The Masonic secret is effective as an emotional home, as an attribute which belongs in the common home: “No one will ever behold what we entrust to each other, because the Temple is built on silence and trust”, wrote the Freemason Goethe on the subject in one of his poems.
- The *Pedagogical Function*: The openness and willingness protected under the oath of secrecy for personal change (“Self-perfection”, “Work on the rough stone” of one’s own self) serve towards the practising of the virtues,³⁷ which are also to be put to the test in the “profane” environment of the Freemason. The intention to have an impact on the habitus of the member of the Lodge in the sense of a moral development of the human being, is and has been found in many texts and rites since the beginning of modern Freemasonry.³⁸

The Masonic secret, however, also had (and has) functions which to a greater or lesser degree are in contradiction with the declared objectives of Freemasonry, but which to this day retain their effectiveness. Among these are:

- The *Illusion-fomenting Function*: The Masonic secret serves (at least *also* serves) the creation and security of a space for realising manifold “self-realisation and self-exaltation ambitions”. These are served by the ritualistic construction of a particular atmosphere far from the world of the profane and conducive to increasing the depth as well as the value of feelings, the awarding of offices, honours and Orders which bring about the reciprocal measuring of a particular personal significance³⁹ as well as the performance of elaborate ceremonies, not least when Grand Lodges lay on international events and representatives of the various national Masonic Lodges meet each other.
- The *Attraction Function*: The mystery in which the Brotherhood enshrouds itself — a “mantle of secrecy” — can enhance the appeal of Freemasonry and is occasionally extolled as one of the main means of advertising the Brotherhood.
- The *Function of the “inner Hierarchy”*: An increase in the ranks of Freemasonry beyond the traditional stages of “Apprentice”, “Fellowcraft” and “Master Mason” in the sense of a “hierarchy of initiations” creates wider options not only for experience, validity and

³⁷ Cf. Klaus Hammacher: Einübungsethik. Überlegungen zu einer freimaurerischen Verhaltenslehre, Schriftenreihe der Forschungsloge Quatuor Coronati Bayreuth, No. 45/2005.

³⁸ Cf. Kristiane Hasselmann: Die Rituale der Freimaurer. Performative Grundlegungen eines freimaurerischen Habitus im 18. Jahrhundert, Bielefeld 2008.

³⁹ On this the detailed account by Hans-Hermann Höhmann: Habitus, Soziales Feld, Kapital. Freimaurerei im Lichte der Soziologie Pierre Bourdieus, in: Ders.: Freimaurerei, at place indicated, pps. 115–131.

self-fulfilment, but also for compartmentalisation and internal differentiations, which quite often have proved and prove to be an element in the generating of disputes within and between the Lodges and Grand Lodges.

Finally, mention must be made of a practice which is in direct contradiction to all Masonic objectives and principles: the *Exploitation of Masonic Forms* for politically active elites which have nothing (or nothing more) to do with Freemasonry, but with which all sorts of conspiracy theories are then associated (Example: the “Propaganda Due” organisation, P2, which had links to a former Italian Masonic Lodge and — without any connection with regular Italian Freemasonry — became a secret organisation in the 1970s).

The Masonic Secret does not, however, prevent either communication with the public and society at large or the building up of regional and international networks or — particularly through overlapping memberships — collaboration with other Associations.⁴⁰ The typical relationship for the Lodges of cohesion and openness made Freemasonry — as was originally pointed out by Georg Simmel — into a “secret Society” of a specific and from the very outset highly restricted type.

Michael Voges too makes reference to the ambivalent character of the Masonic Secret.⁴¹ On the one hand, as to whether it has been an important element in the Masonic organisational structure or, on the other, whether it has always been contrasted by elements which “put greater emphasis on the public character of the structure”. In so doing, Voges is alluding to the manifold representations in press coverage and stresses the public perception of the imminent excessive coverage of Freemasonry in the press. It had been this “semi-publicity” which from the very beginning distinguished Freemasonry from the secret societies in the stricter sense. The “semi-public” character of Freemasonry runs through the entire history of the Brotherhood and even today plays a pivotal role in the nature of the communication between Freemasonry and its social environment.⁴²

A Difficult Relationship: Freemasonry and the Enlightenment

Against the background of the historical development, to differentiate between the clearly different structures, it is also necessary to examine the accentuated *problems arising from the relationship of Freemasonry to the Enlightenment*.

It was possible for Masonic Lodges in the sense of the Enlightenment to be understood totally as models of bourgeois society, as social nuclei in which discussions took place on the subject of bourgeois morality and where the Brothers could interact with each other. The secret of the

⁴⁰ Cf. Holger Zaunstöck: Die vernetzte Gesellschaft. Considerations on the history of communication in the 18th century, in: Joachim Berger/Klaus-Jürgen Grün: Secret Society. Weimar and German Freemasonry, Munich Vienna 2002, pps. 147–153.

⁴¹ Michael Voges: Aufklärung und Geheimnis, at place indicated, p. 82.

⁴² On this, the detailed account by Hans-Hermann Höhmnn: The German discussion on Freemasonry in the present day: What is Freemasonry, what does it want, what is expected of it? in: the same publication: Freemasonry, at place indicated pps. 152–178.

rites as well as the secrecy surrounding social practices thereby served as protection, because the political environment did not yet allow pursuing such intentions publicly.

This does not however mean that the Members of the Lodges, the Lodges themselves or even the Masonic systems evolving in the course of the 18th century were in a general or total sense “promoters of the Enlightenment”. Enlightenment was one option among many. Men who saw themselves as philosophers of the Enlightenment could use the Masonic Lodges as local meeting places for getting together with their friends, although the Lodges did not feature the Enlightenment as part of their operations. Observers too who would happily see an extremely close connection between Freemasonry and the Enlightenment would have to agree with the conclusion of the Bielefeld historian Rudolf Vierhaus that quite other ideas than those of the Enlightenment have flowed into Freemasonry, even those to which a directly anti-Enlightenment character can be attributed.

For Vierhaus, this influx was supported by that tendency of Freemasonry “which besides sinking into a mere camaraderie of dignitaries constitutes its greatest danger: the susceptibility for esoteric, pseudo mysticism and secretiveness as the expression of a self-attributed significance not requiring justification to the outside.”⁴³

The “Classic Freemason Discourse” and the Friedrich Ludwig Schröder Reforms

The changes and differentiations, the reforms which have been and have remained characteristic of Freemasonry have now partly taken place “from below”, from the Lodges, in a gradual evolution, according to locations and systems. They also partly occurred historically bundled together, in the context of social-political changes, in phases of greater or lesser reforms.

Reforms were combined with discussions on reforms. Also, as regards the organisation of present day Freemasonry, it is worthwhile keeping track of the discussions which were held at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries — often following Lessing’s “Ernst und Falk”. Five authors in particular are of outstanding interest: Lessing himself, Wieland, Herder, Fichte and Krause, and the “thinking aloud” of these five as well as the history of the way they were received almost just in itself characterises as it were the “golden epoch” of the course of Freemasonry in Germany, the level of which was never reached again.⁴⁴

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) was disillusioned by the Freemasonry of his time. Yet Freemasonry remained for him an Institution of significance, particularly if it can fulfil its intended function of bridging conflicts and disputes. Nevertheless, Lessing was captivated by the fascination of Freemasonry. He even criticised the concrete form of the Brotherhood, the “current scheme of which does not even want to enter his head”. He also dared to bring and

⁴³ Rudolf Vierhaus: Enlightenment and Freemasonry in Germany also in: Germany in the 18th century. Political Constitution, social structure, intellectual movements, Göttingen 1987, pps. 110–125, here p. 118.

⁴⁴ On this, the detailed account by Hans-Hermann Höhmann: Zwischen Aufklärung und Esoterik. Humanistische Freimaurerei als Projekt für das 21. Jahrhundert, 2nd Edition, Leipzig 2014, pps. 26–35.

show the essence of Freemasonry as the particular expression of a “true ontology” — “what and why Freemasonry is, if and where it has been, and how and by what means it is promoted or prevented”. He does this — particularly, but not only, in “Ernst und Falk”⁴⁵ — as the advocate of a *Culture of the mediation which transcends boundaries*, whose motto and objectives are *friendship and human kindness* and which are realised in an open process of the search for truth. If you read Lessing’s “Ernst und Falk” from the perspective of the anticipation of modern ideas, then you will discover a concept which has been resurfacing as the “Böckenförde Formula” for more than 200 years. The liberal constitutional State, according to the Professor of Law and Constitutional Judge Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, might live on in conditions in the name of freedom which it cannot achieve through the law and legal restraints and which, were they to become effective in political and social reality, would rely on “the moral substance of the individual and the homogeneity of society”⁴⁶ In Lessing, this idea is echoed in that the State cannot tear down “the terrible boundaries” between States, Churches, social groups and individuals by the force of law. To overcome them would require an “additional oeuvre”, an *opus supererogatum*, and he wanted Freemasons to “make it their business” to be heavily involved in this.⁴⁷

Lessing is not the only participant in the “classic Freemason discourse”, the modernity of which is a valid means of (re)discovery in the search for sources for a *contemporary Freemasonry in the tradition of humanism and the Enlightenment*.

For *Christoph Martin Wieland* (1733–1813) enlightenment means the learning of the ability to distinguish between brightness and darkness, light and dark and, as Freemasons, investigate “not hermetic, magic, gnostic and cabbalistic secrets”, but to prove themselves as world citizens and commit themselves to freedom, equality and fraternisation as the true pillars of Freemasonry.⁴⁸

The philosophical and pedagogic views of *Johann Gottfried Herder* (1744–1803) form a high point in the German and European Enlightenment of the 18th century: Herder’s deeper, universally-based humanism, his democratic interpretation of history and society, his ideas on the equality of man, equal rights and the fraternal attachment of all peoples and nations, his condemnation of colonialism, his rejection of war and violence, his advocacy of tolerance and intellectual freedom contain *indispensable points of reference* for dealing with the unsolved problems facing humanity at present.⁴⁹ On the subject of Freemasonry, Herder writes (at first) mostly about its institutional form: “All such symbols might once have been good and necessary, but,

⁴⁵ The most interesting edition is: Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: Ernst und Falk with the sequels of Johann Gottfried Herders and Friedrich Schlegels, publ. and with an epilogue provided by Ion Contiades, Frankfurt am Main 1968. Cf. also Roman Dziergwa: Lessing und die Freimaurerei. Investigations on the reception of G. E. Lessing’s late work “Ernst und Falk”. Discussions for Freemasons in the Masonic and anti-Masonic writings of the 19th and 20th century (until 1933), Frankfurt am Main inter alia 1992.

⁴⁶ Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde: The genesis of the State as the vehicle for secularisation, in: Recht, Staat, Freiheit, Studien zur Rechtsphilosophie, Staatstheorie und Verfassungsgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main 1991, pps. 42–64, here p. 60.

⁴⁷ Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: Ernst und Falk, at place indicated p. 27.

⁴⁸ Quoted in accordance with Peter Volk: Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), in: Helmut Reinalter (prod.): Freimaurerische Persönlichkeiten in Europa, Innsbruck 2014, pps. 165–170, here p. 169.

⁴⁹ Cf. Wolfgang Förster: Johann Gottfried Herder and the programme for a “new Enlightenment” in: Journal for Marxist Renewal, <http://www.zeitschrift-marxistische-erneuerung.de/article/966.johann-gottfried-herder-und-das-programm-einer-neuen-aufklaerung.html>, most recently accessed on 30.11.2015.

it seems to me, that they are no longer so for our times. For our times, it is the opposite of their method which is necessary, namely unadulterated, bright, revealed truth".⁵⁰ Herder changes his position however in the collaboration with Friedrich Ludwig Schröder on his reform of the Hamburg rites and now posits a humanitarian *Community*, because a community (might well) achieve a thousand times more than scattered individuals could ever do, even at their most noble levels of effectiveness".

Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) — being formulated in the middle of the reform process after the collapse of "Strict Observance" — institutionalised Freemasonry remains committed at its strongest level. He too is approached to "write something on the tabula rasa of Freemasonry which is worthy of it". He is preoccupied with the question of whether there is a convincing purpose for the Masonic Lodges and he sees the answer in a *humanist educational task* from the Masonic Lodges and subscribes to them in accordance with the task set "by going out from the Community and separating from it... cancelling once again the disadvantages of the method of formation in the wider community and blending the unilateral formation for the particular position of the individual into the general one applicable to that individual as part of mankind as a whole".⁵¹

Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1781–1832) is represented with the following opinion, "after the cleansing of a few modest components worthy of criticism" the "whole range of practices handed over" could be incorporated into the "*Brotherhood of Man*" drafted and thus simultaneously preserved and surmounted by him and then again it was an alternative to the historic "graded model" of Freemasonry. In 1814 after the victory over Napoléon, Krause published a series of essays which were afterwards collated under the programmatic title "Draft of a European Confederation as the Basis for Universal Peace". Krause saw the effective opportunities for Freemasonry to prepare the way for the future federation of mankind into "separate halls" and "guided by the instinct of reason and rationality".⁵²

What is now interesting is that Masonic ritual does not play a defining role in terms of *content* in any of these concepts. For all authors, what is involved is in each case a differently focussed *Function Structure* in Freemasonry. Rites are secondary and follow the ideas. To Ernst's question: "Is there not something arbitrary about Freemasonry? — Does it not have words, signs and practices which can all be different and are therefore arbitrary?!", Lessing lets Falk answer: "It does. But these words and signs and practices are not Freemasonry."

Ritual is *not the source of knowledge and awareness but a spiritual practice* by means of which the cognitively determined purpose of the Brotherhood is firmly embedded in the habitus of the Freemason and becomes the source of ethical motivation and interpersonal warmth.

⁵⁰ Johann Gottfried Herder: Gespräch über eine unsichtbar-sichtbare Gesellschaft, in: Ion Contiades (Prod.), at place indicated, p. 72.

⁵¹ Johann Gottlieb Fichte: Philosophie der Maurerei. Letters to Konstant, produced by Thomas Held, Düsseldorf and Bonn 1997.

⁵² Karl C. F. Krause: Die drei ältesten Kunsturkunden der Freimaurerbrüderschaft, Dresden 1820, p. CLXXVI, quoted in accordance with: Reinhard Hörn: The influence of Masonic ideas on Krause's "Urbild der Menschheit", in: Klaus-M Kodalle: Karl Cristian Friedrich Krause (1781–1832). Studies on his philosophy and Krausism, Hamburg 1985.

Not least in this connection can the Hamburg reformer *Friedrich Ludwig Schröder* (1744–1816) be cited as the representative of a *value orientation and ritual conception* of Freemasonry derived from the enlightened-humanistic tradition. This shows not least the task structure which Schröder associates with his ritual.⁵³

The *basic moral attitude* of man is to be consolidated, the *fulfilling of moral duties* is insisted upon, the *overcoming of preconceptions* and the *search for truth, particularly on oneself* is demanded. All errors and misconceptions which stand in the way of humanity are to be eliminated. Overall, ritual, as Schröder means it, is to ensure the self-education of brother Freemasons to become *enlightened and conscientious human beings*. This is served — according to the words of Schröder — by the “concentration on the riches of the spirit and the heart and on no other honour than that which a person might care to give himself”.

The ritual has to be emphatic but unpretentious. It takes place in the workroom, the builders’ hut but not in the Temple. The Brothers meet in a workshop which is spiritual as well as moral. Work does not begin with a solemn, ceremonial entry or an esoteric “pre-Lodge ceremony” — as these days provided for by the ritual of the AFuAM Grand Lodge of Germany —, but with the Master’s hammer blow. Work is carried out exclusively in the three grades of Apprentice, Fellowcraft and Master Mason, because only this is valid in the Masonic sense as Schröder sees it. Schröder and Herder, who collaborated on the Hamburg ritual reform project, are in total agreement that even one more grade above the old grades would be contrary to the comprehensive Masonic motto of all “Reason and Experience”.⁵⁴

What is decisive for Schröder is *compliance with the grades* which the Freemason professes. Other requirements for compliance, especially those of a religious nature, are not granted any significance in the Lodge. As a “mere person”, the Freemason is seeking only that which all persons are seeking, what binds them as persons and what corresponds to the honour which the person gives himself. Nevertheless “*everything which we otherwise are and seek and believe and have, we leave behind before the door of our Assembly*” — NB “of the Assembly” and not “of the Temple”.

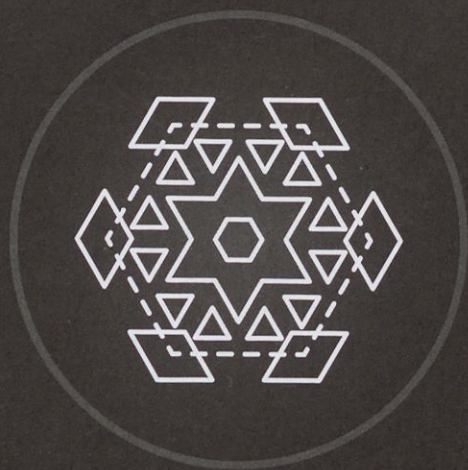
The Ritual as a whole is the development of mind and heart. The Brothers taking part in it are to rationally capture and emotionally experience the values of Freemasonry, so that the result can be seen in an “act for the improvement of mankind”.

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The text is based on his book “Freimaurerei in Deutschland. Aspekte der Vergangenheit — Aufgaben für die Zukunft” (*Freemasonry in Germany. Aspects of the Past, Tasks for the Future*), Salier-Verlag Leipzig 2017, pps. 12–66. Translation and publication with the approval of the Author and the Publisher.

⁵³ Friedrich Ludwig Schröder: Ritual of the Apprentice grade in the Masonic Lodges working fairly and perfectly under the Constitution of the Grand Provincial Lodge of Hamburg and Lower Saxony (1801).

⁵⁴ Herder: Letter to Schröder of 24. 11. 1800, in: DA9, p. 637 (No. 166a).





Dieter A. Binder

**Freemasonry
as a Means
of Making
a Gentleman**

Abstract

Freemasonry is understood as an important factor in the process of self-ennoblement within the emancipatory process of the bourgeoisie.

In this paper, Freemasonry is understood as an educational process that has had decisive effects on the formative process of civil society. Irrespective of the frequently asserted close relationship between this new form of society and the Enlightenment, the main point here is the educative function of the ritual as a means of reducing social inequality in a corporatist society. Hence, Knigge's educative treatise follows the tradition of Baldassare Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano*, which was well received in England, while making a concrete reference to the educative categories of the Old Charges of early Freemasonry in England. The social openness of this discreet society enabled men of different social backgrounds to come together on the level of brotherliness. Here, the ritual equalised differences between men, at the same time creating a code of behaviour that prevented relations from becoming too familiar, thus ultimately observing the existing social hierarchy outside the Lodge. Together with the Enlightenment, however, the Lodge can be considered to be a promoter of equality — a principle that would finally become a catchword of the French Revolution under the umbrella of the Enlightenment.

KEYWORDS: Old Charges, Enlightenment, Education, Adolph Freiherr Knigge

Research on Freemasonry focuses on intellectually outstanding products, on concise socio-cultural forms of manifestation, and on the history of the reception of Freemasonry associations in the context of conspiracy theories. However, the function of the ritual is very rarely referred to, although Kristiane Hasselmann has already pointed out its impact on the development of civic habitus.¹ All in all, one gets the impression that scientific research tends to favour categories of Freemasonry, as opposed to the bigger picture. The plethora of different Grand Lodges and their often contradictory aims and divergent structural monopolies ultimately reflect the enormous increase in popularity which this form of organisation enjoyed in wide circles of 18th century Western and Central European society.

When in 1719 John Theophilus Desaguliers was elected the third Grand Master of the Premier Grand Lodge in London two years after its founding, the social spectrum of that association changed abruptly. The petit-bourgeois association was transformed into a "social happening" that enabled the election of John Montagu, 2nd Duke of Montagu, as Grand Master in 1721. James Anderson, who in 1723 composed the "Old Charges" — the Constitution of the Free-Masons — in close collaboration with Desaguliers, laid down the general rules of Freemasonry, which have remained valid to the present day. Moreover, those regulations held the key to overcoming the structures of corporate society, despite a strong influx from the nobility and Royal families: Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine, was admitted in 1731, the Prince of Wales in 1737, and Frederick, King of Prussia, in 1738.

¹ Hasselmann, Kristiane, *Die Rituale der Freimaurer. Zur Konstitution eines bürgerlichen Habitus im England des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Bielefeld: transcript, 2009.

The “Old Charges” mentioned above define the prerequisites that candidates were required to fulfil as follows: “That is to be good Men and true, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguish’d; whereby Masonry becomes the Center of Union, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain’d at a perpetual Distance,”² stating further that “Persons admitted of a Lodge must be good and true Men, free-born, and of mature and discreet Age, no Bondmen, no Women, no immoral or scandalous Men, but of good Report.”³ The “General Regulations” stipulate the required prerequisites in detail: As a rule, no man under 25 years of age was to be admitted,⁴ and no man was to be made a member of a particular Lodge without giving one month’s previous notice to that Lodge, “in order to make due Enquiry into the Reputation and Capacity of the Candidate.”⁵ Moreover, no candidate could “be enter’d a Brother [...] without the unanimous Consent of all the Members of that Lodge,” which also required “their Consent” be “formally ask’d by the Master.”⁶

The characteristic alliance of friendship and conviviality that Maurice Aymard spoke of emerged at the beginning of the “convivial” [18th] century. Bonding was regarded as highly exclusive.⁷ If a man entertaining a bond of friendship with another man wished to forge such a bond with a third man, he was required to inform his partner thereof beforehand and to request his consent to do so, quite in accordance with Masonic regulations. In his Treatise “Umgang mit Menschen/ On Human Relations”, Freiherr Adolph Knigge emphasises the exclusivity of such close friendships: “By the by, if it lies within one’s power, I would advise becoming intimate with as few people as possible. It is wise to entertain a small circle of friends and extend that circle only with the utmost caution.”⁸

An astounding degree of unanimity is achieved when the basis of recruitment — “Men of Honour and Honesty” — and the model of the Gentleman are juxtaposed. Originally, this expression signified members of the lower nobility, i.e. the landed gentry, but it was increasingly assigned to any man with sufficient income and appropriate education whose honourable character, decorum, and way of life were beyond reproach. Geoffrey Beard dates the word’s shift from its aristocratic origins to the turn of the 18th century.⁹ In that context, then, special significance can

² The Charges of a Free-Mason, I, in: 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 5723 (1723).

³ Charges, III.

⁴ General Regulations, IV, in: Constitutions.

⁵ General Regulations, V.

⁶ General Regulations, VI.

⁷ Aymard, Maurice, *Freundschaft und Geselligkeit*. Ariès, Philippe, Duby, George, (Eds.), *Geschichte des privaten Lebens*. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1991, Vol. 3, pp. 451–495.

⁸ Freiherr Adolph Knigge’s book “On Human Relations” [Hannover: Fackelträger, 1993 (Ausgewählte Werke 6), EA 1788], which has become almost proverbial, stands in a great tradition. Cf. Burke, Peter, *The Fortunes of the Courier. The European Reception of Castiglione’s Cortegiano*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995. Castiglione, Baldassar, *Il libro de Cortegiano*. Milano: Bibliotheca Universale Rizzoli, 1998. Notes made by 16-year old George Washington in his exercise book prove that he had also absorbed those principles of education (George Washington’s Rules of Civility & Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation. Bedford: Applewood Books, 1988.) His notations originate from French Jesuits who had compiled them in 1595 and which were translated into English for the first time in 1640 by Francis Hawkins for his son. (Cf. George Washington’s Rules of Civility and Behaviour, <http://www.foundationsmag.com/civility.html>, retrieved 28 Dec 2016).

⁹ Beard, Geoffrey, *The Complete Gentleman. Five Centuries of Aristocratic Life*. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.



*Le Grand Livre illustré du patrimoine maçonnique, Paris, 2001: The citizen as a nobleman.
(Picture of a ceremony in the Lodge La Clémentine, 1829.)*

be attributed to Daniel Defoe's definition of the word in his 1729 book "The Complete English Gentleman", in which he describes the making of a Gentleman as an elevation "above the mechanics."¹⁰ Beard continues on this idea in that he quotes from Samuel Johnson's Dictionary: he sees a "gentleman" as "a man of birth: a man of extraction, though not noble." Such a man was expected to possess comprehensive education in "grammar, logic, rhetoric and [...] civility of manners"¹¹ that would enable him to embark on his "Grand Tour", a concluding educational trip around Europe.¹² To a Gentleman's environment belonged the "noble seat" as an embodiment of his good taste and ultimate sign of his affiliation to the "Panoply of Death", which, in the broadest sense, meant that he was well equipped for his final journey.¹³

Importantly, the Freemason and Gentleman alike needed to possess a flawless reputation and certain educational attributes that were guaranteed by an appropriate educational model. Free-

¹⁰ Cited in Beard, *Gentleman*, pp. 14f.

¹¹ Beard, *Gentleman*, p. 34.

¹² Beard, *Gentleman*, p. 37, referring to Francis Bacon's Essay "Of Travel" (1625). Cf. Burke, Peter, *Varieties of Cultural History*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997.

¹³ Beard, *Gentleman*, p. 200.

masonry expected its members to also behave accordingly in everyday life¹⁴ and develop a specific sense of belonging to the group through their firm bond with a Lodge and its characteristic educational procedures. A dynamic process within a group was created through a ritual within the central points of which the seeker was required to undertake a journey.¹⁵ The image of travel is reflected in the visitation rights of foreign Lodges at the portals of which the traveller was required to confirm his identity not only by means of passwords and grips, but also by means of his Mason's certificate. The world of symbols and symbolic words with which the seeker was confronted were only deciphered in the course of a perpetual dynamic process within the group. Knowledge of ancient languages, i.e. of Latin and Greek, as a characteristic trait of the Gentleman, resurfaced in an alienated form. If we take the huge number of attempted etymological derivations into account, the playful character of the ritual becomes clearly recognisable.

The ritual corresponds to the concept of Baroque playfulness, such as alluded to by Johan Huizinga. "In every aspect of 18th century cultural life, we encounter the naïve spirit of ambitious competition, the formation of clubs, and the secrecy prevailing in literary clubs and drawing associations, the craze to collect rarities and natural artefacts, the tendency towards secret associations and the enjoyment of social gatherings and conventicles, all of which are born of an attitude to playfulness. However, this does not mean that those forces were of no value; on the contrary: it is precisely the impetus of play and a dedication that was uninhibited by doubt that made them immensely fruitful for culture."¹⁶ The function of the ritual is similar to that of dance, namely to establish discipline in a festive ambience.

Returning to the comparison between Gentleman and Freemason, it is evident that the "noble seat" in the Masonic context is the Lodge, which had undergone a metamorphosis from a Mason's Lodge to a "Temple". The rooms were accordingly enhanced over time. What had begun as a hasty deployment of ritual artefacts in the back rooms of inns and taverns would become a permanent and outwardly visible representative home. Besides the central temple, its innermost areas would receive the collections that were expected of a Gentleman. The *memento mori* of the Master's ritual stood for the Gentleman's "Panoply of Death". While monumentally decorated graves frequently create the illusion of eternal life, the question of death and overcoming one's fear of death became a core concern of Freemasonry. The image of the "sublime Master", the commemoration of the dead, and the Chain of Brotherhood around the coffin of the deceased are symbols of life after death, because the chain of Brethren never ceases to exist, but lasts beyond death.

Richard Senneth speaks of the decay of public life during this period, which, in its turn, led to a retreat into the private sphere.¹⁷ He sees that as a major prerequisite for the rise of the bourgeoisie. At this point, the Lodge is attributed a specifically semi-public character — in the sense of Habermas — where intimacy and "restricted" publicness provided an appropriate refuge for

¹⁴ Accordingly, the Mason's composure was to take effect in everyday life. Charges VI, 2, 5.

¹⁵ Beard, Gentleman, p. 46, interprets the well-known Meissen porcelain figures depicting two Freemasons observing a globe as an "attractive model [...] for all the elegant Travelers on the Grand Tour."

¹⁶ Huizinga, Johan, *Homo ludens. Vom Ursprung der Kultur im Spiel*. Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1997 (EA 1938), p. 202.

¹⁷ Sennett, Richard, *Verfall und Ende des öffentlichen Lebens*. Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1983.



William Hogarth, *The Night* (1738). This is a copy of a copper engraving in my own collection. Copyright owner unknown. A drunken Freemason petty bourgeois.

themselves — comparable to the Government policy of diplomacy at the time.¹⁸ England's specific social structure with its blurred transitions between the aristocracy, so-called old families and the bourgeoisie, which was in a process of consolidation, and the strong, politically driven upheaval of recent decades formed the backdrop for the acceptance of those new associations.

¹⁸ Habermas, Jürgen, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*. Neuwied-Berlin: Luchterhand, 1962.

At the beginning of the 18th century, public and private life overlapped and their "functions intersected, thus opening up free times and spaces."¹⁹ Due to the fact that it was forbidden to discuss politics and religion, one was keen to conceal recent explosive issues from public view. This was the setting in which the bourgeoisie liberated itself "from the private indoor sphere to which the state had confined its subjects."²⁰ Freemasonry provided the bourgeoisie with an ideal environment in which privacy was surrounded by an arcanum, bringing forth a social model that could exist as a free space within the respective forms of government in Europe. "The complex, socially integrative task of the Lodges, then, was to socially and culturally compensate for and digest the functional loss of the aristocratic elites, on the one hand, and to satisfy the demands of the up-and-coming bourgeois strata for prestige and recognition, on the other."²¹

The increasing ritualisation of procedures at the Lodge prevented "the embarrassment of getting too close" from arising between Freemasons of different social backgrounds: the ritual substituted courtly etiquette, at the same time as providing a setting for practising social intercourse between the emergent bourgeoisie and representatives of the old upper class. The importance of an individual's education is specified in the "Old Charges", in the section on "Behaviour towards a strange Brother."²² Here, caution is regarded as a cardinal virtue, and it was likewise expected that such prudent behaviour prevailed between brothers outside the Lodge.²³ The dignified treatment of the arcanum, therefore, depended largely on the integrity that was characteristic of the Gentleman. Knigge endorses this in that he reflects on the arcanum from the perspective of an onlooker: "As a so-called profane person, one feels at a total loss amongst members of a secret association. Of course, there is nothing more ill-mannered and in greater contrast to the true notions of a noble way of life than when a number of men entertaining discourse in the said fashion deprive a stranger who encounters these men with benevolence in order to indulge in the pleasures of conviviality, of any enjoyment at all, by continually diverting the conversation to other subjects of which he has no inkling."²⁴ Moreover, Knigge shows that moral obligation towards the arcanum was a crucial part of a Gentleman's education. Assuming, then, that discretion was regarded as a principle necessity in relations with others, emphasis is also laid on the fundamental character of the obligation to confidentiality: "Beware of spreading news from one house to another, of divulging intimate table talk, family conversation and remarks you have made about the domestic life of those with whom you are on a familiar footing."²⁵ Generally speaking, Knigge believed that confidentiality was "one of the most important virtues in social relations [...]"²⁶ Criticising the excessive conviviality of his time, he comes to a remarkable conclusion in his "praise" of confidentiality: "There is

¹⁹ Nicole Castan, *Öffentlich und privat*. Ariès, Duby, Geschichte, p. 412.

²⁰ Kosselleck, Reinhard, *Kritik und Krise. Eine Studie zur Pathogenese der bürgerlichen Welt*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1989, p. 41.

²¹ Schindler, Norbert, *Freimaurerkultur im 18. Jahrhundert. Zur sozialen Funktion des Geheimnisses in der entstehenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, Berdahl, Robert M. (Ed.), *Klassen und Kultur*. Frankfurt/Main: Syndikat, 1982, p. 223.

²² Charges, VI, 6.

²³ Charges, VI, 3.

²⁴ Knigge, Umgang, p. 24, 2.

²⁵ Knigge, Umgang, p. 49, 30.

²⁶ Knigge, Umgang, p. 59, 48.



Algernon Tudor-Craig (Ed.), *Catalogue of Portraits and Prints of Freemason Halls in the Possession of the United Grand Lodge of England*, London 1938: Anthony Sa(w)yer — the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, 1717.

certainly no need to partake in broad discussion on the disadvantage of such imprudent disclosure of one's own and other people's secrets. However, there are quite a few other things that are not really secret, but which reason restrains us from disclosing, and again, other things that are neither informative nor entertaining for anyone, but whose disclosure could be of disadvantage to a person. I therefore recommend prudent discretion without lapsing into ridiculous secrecy, since no virtue is more requisite in social relations. Incidentally, I am inclined to agree with the observation that citizens of despotic states, on the whole, tend to be more secretive than those where freedom prevails.²⁷

While Freemasonry in England had emerged from a firmly established bourgeoisie and in France "class distinction [...] had even penetrated the Lodges," in German-speaking territories, Freemasonry became a "melting pot of the aristocracy and the emergent bourgeoisie."²⁸ In all three regions, the ritual was prerequisite to the Lodges' socially integrative tasks, where a new society could be tested in a playful form. Despite the general desire to establish a global association of Brethren from the very beginning, the system differentiated rapidly. Ultimately, the Lodges were, and still are, a mirror of the society in which they exist(ed). In France, English tolerance was replaced by the nation's close relationship to the Enlightenment and a specifically critical attitude towards religion. Both traditions prevail in the German-speaking world and in North America today, whereas the French model, as a whole, became exemplary for Romance

²⁷ Knigge, Umgang, p. 59, 48.

²⁸ Schindler, Freimaurerkultur, p. 222f.

countries in Europe, and developments in England had a significant influence on the Scandinavian region. Instead of a unified system, then, a wide variety of forms spread across Europe and to the European colonies. One pledged oneself to brotherhood in general and to the arcanum and successive initiation in particular. However, it was left to the individual associations to define their world of forms and specify their goals, since: "Enlightenment and the clandestine society are the two peculiar hobby horses" of the 18th century "upon which the folly and wisdom" of "contemporaries are borne."²⁹ The fraternity developed into a sociable encounter between brothers and sisters, and occasionally the purely male association would become an exclusively female order. In addition, Freemasonry provided useful camouflage, a "masonry in a masonry" as it were, because its "ludicrously farcical ceremonies" (Archduke Maximilian Franz, Elector of Cologne) were largely regarded as harmless. Systems and societies such as the Illuminati, 18th century Rosicrucianism, the Prussian League of Virtue, the National Freemasons of Poland, Les Amis de la Vérité und Charbonnerie in France, the Italian Carboneria, and finally, the Russian Decembrists need to be mentioned here due to their organisational relationship and occasional personal cross-connections. Such societies affected the observations of various conspiracy theorists, who received enormous impetus upon the outbreak of the French Revolution.³⁰

Correctly assuming that Freemasonry had rapidly become a "fashionable pastime," Bernhard Beyer noted that the male exclusivity of English Masonry was greatly challenged on the continent.³¹ Moreover, French Masonry had "from early on, daubed the noble simplicity of English rituals and ancient tradition with various new patterns and appendages, changing it into a splendid amusement that was furnished with opulent ceremonies." Although Beyer, very much a child of his time, denounced those developments which he referred to as erroneous, handing them on to his French neighbours despite their often German origins, it is important here to briefly address the breaking-up of the "noble simplicity of English rituals" with respect to high degree systems and their "chivalric rituals," which had been central to the Rite of Strict Observance. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Falk sneered at this uncontrolled proliferation that had deeply irritated 18th century Freemasonry: "Ernst: [...] Der eine will Gold machen, der andere will Geister beschwören, der Dritte will die [Tempelritter] wieder herstellen — Du lächelst — Und lächelst nur? — [...] Falk: [...] Man müsste sie vielmehr laut bekennen, und nur den gehörigen Punkt bestimmen, in welchem die [Tempelherren] die Freimaurer ihrer Zeit waren. [...] Sehen und fühlen alle Freimaurer, welche jetzt mit den [Tempelherren] schwanger gehen, diesen rechten Punkt: wohl ihnen. [...] Erkennen und fühlen sie ihn aber nicht, jenen Punkt; hat sie der Gleichlaut verführt; hat sie bloß der Freimaurer, der im [Tempel] arbeitet, auf die [Tempelherren] gebracht; haben sie sich nur in das [rote Kreuz] auf dem [weißen Mantel] vergafft; möchten sie gern einträgliche [Komtureien], fette Pfründen sich und ihren Freunden zuteilen können."³² While Raymond Williams emphasises the significance of the "chivalric ro-

²⁹ BAHRT, Carl Friedrich, Ueber Aufklärung und den Beförderungsmittel derselben von einer Gesellschaft. Leipzig-Wien: Waltherische Buchhandlung-Wuchererschen Buchhandlung, 1789, p. 249.

³⁰ Rogalla von Bieberstein, Johannes, Die These von der Verschwörung 1776–1945. Philosophen, Freimaurer, Juden, Liberale und Sozialisten als Verschwörer gegen die Sozialordnung. Flensburg: Flensburger Hefte Verlag, 1992.

³¹ Beyer, Bernhard, Geschichte der Großloge "Zur Sonne" in Bayreuth 1741–1811. Frankfurt/Main: Bauhütte, 1954, Vol. 1, p. 90.

³² Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, Ernst und Falk. Gespräche für Freimaurer. Mit einer Einführung und Erläuterungen von Wolfgang Kelsch. Hamburg: Bauhütte, 1981, pp. 61–63.



Stubbs, Haunch, Hall (copyright: United Grand Lodge of England). *The imperial habitus: the Duke of Sussex, first Grand Master (1813–1843) of the United Grand Lodge of England* (engraving by John Harris).

mance" for social consciousness around the mid-18th century,³³ Burke draws attention to an aspect that was addressed in William Robertson's "History of Charles V" (1769).³⁴ Following its reception during the 18th century, "wild" chivalry influenced the refinement of morals in Europe. In view of the continuing enthusiasm for "chivalry" in the 19th century, we are tempted to conclude that, in imagined chivalry, the rising bourgeoisie had discovered an alternative that would compensate for the waning significance of feudalism.

The Gentleman, or Gentleman Mason, was raised to the spheres of chivalry, which was thus able to provide the backdrop for a suitable ritual. However, and this is the decisive criterion in that context, social advancement was no longer dependent on one's aristocratic standing, but was a constituent part of the Freemasonic system of education and selection. Hence one could speak of the "nobility of spirit", as it is still referred to today in connection with a specific class within the Sovereign Order of Malta. If we link observance of the high degrees of chivalry to the ideal of the Gentleman, it brings us back to the concepts of "a man of extraction" and "great lineage". The Gentleman's prerequisite "extraction" is substituted for within this social network. In its commitment to "chivalry", Freemasonry participated in a tradition that played a key role in differentiating medieval feudal society, allowing it to imagine a hierarchical pyramid based on brotherly equality, at the top of which no longer stood the master craftsman originating in tradition, but the enraptured "secret Superior", as specified in the Rite of Strict Observance³⁵. References to the tradition of the Knights Templar, which has lost none of its attraction to the present day, or to King Arthur's Round Table and the Holy Grail, can be compared to Anderson's attempt to prove Masonry's mythic age, hence also its grandeur, in a speculative chronicle.³⁶ The acquisition of specific forms within an educational model, as occurred in Freemasonry in its reception of chivalry, brings us back to the introductory thesis statement: Freemasonry as a means of making of a Gentleman. Importantly though, in Central Europe, the "Knight" emerged in lieu of the Gentleman, a concept originating in England's specific social structure.

Hence, the "Knight" is understood as a vehicle of self-ennoblement for the emancipated bourgeoisie of the late 18th and 19th centuries. As opposed to the premodern feudal concept of the Central European region, the bourgeoisie appropriated the "nation" on a political level, creating from its grossly blurred definition a "*heroic epos*". This went hand in hand with the militarisation of 19th century society, which, with the introduction of conscription and especially the institution of the reserve officer, implemented the notion of the military caste in the bourgeoisie.³⁷ Hence also leading to an intensification of self-ennoblement, which Ute Frevert renders more precisely as "the discreet charm of aristocracy and the personality of the bourgeoisie."³⁸ An analogous process can also be observed within Central European Freemasonry as early as the

³³ Williams, Raymond, *Culture*. London: Fontana, 1981, pp. 181–205.

³⁴ Burke, *Varieties*, 96.

³⁵ Hammermayer, Ludwig, *Der Wilhelmsbader Freimaurer-Konvent von 1782. Ein Höhe- und Wendepunkt in der Geschichte der deutschen und europäischen Geheimgesellschaften*. Heidelberg: Schneider, 1980 (Wolfenbütteler Studien zur Aufklärung 5, 2).

³⁶ Andersons *Chronik der Freimaurerei*, in: Lennhoff, Eugen, Posner, Oskar, Binder, Dieter A., *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon*. München: Herbig, 2000, pp. 35–39.

³⁷ *Vorschrift für das ehrenrätliche Verfahren, Verordnungsblatt für das k.k. Heer vom 15. Mai 1871*.

³⁸ Frevert, Ute, *Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. München: Beck, 1991, pp. 178–196.

18th century, when this novel societal model had begun to elevate the traditions of craftsmanship to the status of high degrees, which hark back to chivalric narratives, and in the 19th century, primarily in old Prussian Lodges, which had formed a patriotic prayer league of Protestant provenance with a Masonic ritual vested in chivalry, in place of humanist ideals. Embedded in petit-bourgeois elitism, that attitude fuelled the gradual change from humanitarian to “German nationalist” Freemasonry and its resultant collaboration with National Socialism.³⁹

But, to return to the process of individual education in Freemasonry, the Freemason sees the “rough stone” as a symbol of himself,⁴⁰ and in the ritual of the first grade and its symbolism, the entered apprentice is called upon to work on himself. Central to Knigge’s observations on “human relations” are, first and foremost, “relations to oneself.”⁴¹ Here, self-education and self-esteem are explicitly interpreted as a social mission to prevent a person from drifting into narcissism. “Should you, however, wish to find consolation, happiness and peace in your relations to yourself, then you must treat yourself with the same caution, honesty, kindness and justice as you would others, that is to say, take care neither to embitter and oppress yourself through abuse, nor to disregard yourself through negligence, nor to spoil your character through flattery.”⁴² What is meant here is that self-education and self-perception should be aligned with one’s environment, but Knigge also explicitly points out the danger of intolerance towards others in the process of self-education: “It is a matter of course to allow and to forgive oneself everything, but to deny the same to one’s brothers, and to blame one’s shortcomings, if they are acknowledged as such, on fate or irresistible forces, but to be less indulgent towards the errors of one’s brothers.”⁴³ Knigge thus provides a transition to complex “relations with people of various natures, temperaments and moods of the spirit and heart,”⁴⁴ a subject that largely determines the next part of his account.⁴⁵ “The work of the entered apprentice (and every Mason) on himself [...] using the chisel of knowledge and the hammer of will”⁴⁶ leads to the “finely cut stone” that symbolises the fellow, i.e. the next degree. Social interaction plays a central role in this degree, and Knigge emphasises the equality of both parties: “In a friendship, both parties should be able to give and take to the same extent. If one side outweighs the other by far, it will upset the equation and thus, the friendship.”⁴⁷ Hence, he postulates the basic principle governing relations between members of a Lodge as a general principle of human relations. This example also clearly indicates that Lodges acted, in no small way, as a mirror of society. Knigge’s demands on the individual definitely corresponded to the “Know thyself!” maxim of the entered apprentice upon which Masonic integration and social communication were built, although Knigge had endeavoured to maintain a critical distance to Masonry and the Illuminati

³⁹ Cf. Grunwald, Arnold; *Freimaurer auf dem Weg zum Nationalsozialismus*. Leipzig: Salier, 2014; Höhmann, Hans-Hermann, *Identität und Gedächtnis*. Leipzig: Salier, 2014.

⁴⁰ *Handbuch des Freimaurers von der Forschungsloge Alpina*. Lausanne: Alpina, 1999, p. 488.

⁴¹ Knigge, *Umgang*, pp. 80–84.

⁴² Knigge, *Umgang*, p. 81, 3.

⁴³ Knigge, *Umgang*, p. 84, 8.

⁴⁴ Knigge, *Umgang*, pp. 85–1125.

⁴⁵ Knigge, *Umgang*, Zweyter Theyl, pp. 137–274; Dritter Theyl, pp. 283–399.

⁴⁶ *Handbuch*, p. 477.

⁴⁷ Knigge, *Umgang*, p. 205, 2.

at the time his treatise was published: "To the various harmful and harmless mechanisms with which our philosophical century is engaged belongs an array of different secret associations and orders. Today, one is likely to encounter but a few men, regardless of their social standing, who have not [...] at least for a brief period, belonged to such a clandestine fraternity."⁴⁸ He vehemently rejects the idea that something "great and useful" could be achieved within the Lodges that could not be done "in bourgeois and domestic life." "Charitable action requires no mysterious trappings; friendship should be of free will and conviviality does not need to be nurtured through secret channels."⁴⁹ And he explicitly states: "Again, I advise you not to follow this fad [...] and to return neither a good nor bad verdict on those systems, because their purpose is often very well concealed."⁵⁰ Knigge consciously confines his concept to the individual and their relations to society, i.e. to the making of a "Gentleman"; the step beyond, which Freemasonry makes, remains outside the scope of his discourse.

If the process of enlightenment and modernisation that led to the demystification of the world, and hence to the secularisation of society, is understood in the sense of Max Weber's hypothesis, it follows that the ritual acts as a framework for an educational process that is detached from predominantly religious ideas. At first, this education led to a retreat into the private sphere, but it would also affect the public sphere at the same time.⁵¹ According to the "Old Charges", self-education was intended to serve the sphere of private intimacy within the fraternity itself, but to also serve the public, since the Freemason was required "to consult your own Honour and that of the ancient Brotherhood."⁵² Heinrich Zschokke, in a general context relating to citizenship, had already pointed out in the first half of the 19th century that a citizen could never lead a solely private life as he was always required to be representative of his group.⁵³ Such education was geared towards a society that was slowly going through the process "of restructuring and reorganising its hierarchies and statutes"⁵⁴ following bitter political and religious conflict. Classical frameworks such as religion and political power had either faded or had not yet become common knowledge. "Quarrels about Religion, or Nation, or State Policy" were therefore regarded as expressly obsolete.⁵⁵ Since all other frameworks had proved fragile and had in some cases been seen to cause conflict, all that remained was the individual education of a man that would truly preserve form within society. Subsequently, the Lodges were entrusted with the task of educating the sensible citizen. Gottfried Benn puts it in a nutshell: "Since we are not approaching the Truth after all, let us at least have good manners."⁵⁶

Within an interpretative framework such as this, one could acknowledge the differentiation between regular and irregular systems, which had been postulated since the mid-19th century,

⁴⁸ Knigge, Umgang, p. 382, 1.

⁴⁹ Knigge, Umgang, p. 383, 1.

⁵⁰ Knigge, Umgang, p. 385, 2.

⁵¹ Revel, Jacques, Vom Nutzen der Höflichkeit. Ariès, Duby, Privates Leben, pp. 173–211.

⁵² Charges, VI, 2.

⁵³ Cf. Meyerhofer, Ursula, Vom Vaterland, Bürgerrepublik und Nation. Nationale Imaginationen in der Schweiz 1815–1848. Zürich: Chronos, 2000.

⁵⁴ Revel, Höflichkeit, p. 189.

⁵⁵ Charges, VI, 2. This not only applied to the actual work of Freemasonry, but also to the time afterwards.

⁵⁶ Cited in Eyring, Georg, Lose Blätter. Aus dem Tagebuch eines Büchernarren. Hamburg: Quod Libet, 1997.



The Goose and Gridiron Alehouse, the first meeting place of Grand Lodge, 24 June 1717. Artist's impression based on a sketch published in 1894 when the building was demolished.

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Stubbs, Haunch, Hall (copyright: United Grand Lodge of England). The first meeting place of the Grand Lodge: "The Goose and Gridiron Alehouse" in London, 1717.

as a merely descriptive portrayal of society. The world of symbols had kindled the conflict between the United Grand Lodge of England, whose imperial gesture was but a dim reflection of the Empire, and the Grand Orient de France. Given the principle that a new Lodge could, and can, only be established if in possession of a Patent, the United Grand Lodge considers itself to be the Mother Lodge of all Lodges. Hence, the binding character of their precepts for younger Lodges and Grand Lodges. As a consequence, the United Grand Lodge of England terminated relations to parts of Romance Freemasonry in reaction to their abolishing the binding principle of faith in the "Great Architect of the Universe". Both positions can be justified with the aid of the "Old Charges". Take, for example, the prohibition on "Quarrels about Religion" and its relevance to the impartiality of Lodges in religious questions, "especially ever since the Reformation in Britain, or the Dissent and Secession of these Nations from the Communion of Rome," leaving the interpretation of religion to the individual. In Romance countries, the conclusion was reached in the mid-19th century that the consequences of such an attitude was to ban the symbolic "Great Architect of the Universe" from the Lodges. It was all the easier to implement this step, which was regarded as revolutionary from an English point of view, because there existed, and still exists, no generally accepted obligation regarding symbols. In response, those opposed thereto insisted that, according to the "Old Charges", the Mason was required to obey the moral Law and "if he rightly understands the Art, he will never be an ignorant Atheist, nor an irreligious Libertine."⁵⁷ Ultimately, this brief excursus has attempted to clarify the position of Freemasonry as an instrument of education that responded to time-related and societal requirements, seeking to create its own content.

Only a few years after the first Grand Lodge had been established, the first of a string of conspiracy theories began to circulate, whether instigated by church-related circles of all denominations or by rival Freemasonic obediences, in close connection with exposures claiming to reveal the practices and secrets of Freemasonry.⁵⁸ Ever since the French Revolution and its atrocities, especially at the height of the bloody Reign of Terror, there have repeatedly been various attempts to explain complex processes by way of a holistic concept, i.e. conspiracy theories. Freemasonry is known to have been the subject of widespread superstition since the beginning of the 19th century, its mystic cult, in particular, being the cause of much speculation. What was decisive for the further development of conspiracy theories, however, was the link established between the anti-Masonic world view and anti-Semitic traditions and denunciations, thus putting Freemasonry on the same level as Satanism. In that context, then, anti-modernist Catholic circles delivered the basis for anti-Masonic agitation propagated in Fascism and National Socialism. In Communism, the universal conspiracy theory acquires an appropriate differentiation: Freemasonry is seen as the incarnation of the bourgeoisie and is therefore prohibited. All of those conspiracy theories, though, have one thing in common: they assume the existence of a homogeneous and internationally organised Masonry that is governed by a clandestine superior individual. Regional differences play no role at all. The close ties that existed between the political and social elites in 18th century and, to some extent, 19th and 20th century Freemasonry provided enough transparency to allow governmental authorities to keep an eye on Freema-

⁵⁷ Charges, I.

⁵⁸ W. Kirk MacNulty, *Freemasonry. Symbols, Secrets, Significance*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2006, 92.



James Stubbs, T.O. Haunch, *Freemasons' Hall. The Home and Heritage of the Craft*, London: United Grand Lodge of England, 1983 (copyright: United Grand Lodge of England). The imperial habitus: the Freemasons' Hall of the United Grand Lodge of England.

sonic activities. Wherever those ties did not sufficiently exist, however, the government sought to increase its influence by imposing restrictive measures of control, perhaps best embodied by Joseph II's Freemasonry Patent. When politically motivated conspiracy theories nonetheless emerged, it was certainly not the fault of Freemasonry. In this respect, Freemasonry's situation was similar to that of the Jews. It is not the victim of aggression who is to blame for the development of an enemy image, for the enemy image is the projection of irrational, frequently ideologically-related fears, and the aggressiveness of the assailants. It is not surprising, then, that efforts made by Grand Lodges to establish relations with the public, with the appropriate means and despite the arcanum, largely failed. As concerns the post-1945 period, I would like to follow up briefly on the idea I outlined above in relation to the French Revolution. The bipolar world of the Cold War, with its clearly defined enemy images, greatly harmonised our emotional balance. Clear-cut role allocations — here the Goodies, i.e., Western civilisation, and there the Baddies, i.e., the hostile East, and vice versa, helped to create stability. The collapse of that world in 1989/1990 led to an unprecedented level of political, economic, and social mobility. What had been experienced briefly as liberation, however, rapidly gave way to a feeling of insecurity on both sides of the fallen Iron Curtain.

Pluralism, i.e. an open society, is widely perceived as a threat to the existing order, again leading to the revival of long dormant paradigms, especially in conjunction with crisis-laden economic and social phenomena. It is by all means comparable to the pace with which Freemasonry has returned to the now democratised societies of the former Eastern bloc — thus being representative of that fresh democracy — accompanied by the awakening of conspiracy theories and enemy images throughout Europe. According to Slovenian legal historian and priest Stanko Ojnik, Freemasonry is once again being called upon to educate its members in citizenship in order to strengthen civil society.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ When questioned by the author regarding the foundation of "Združena Srca" (United Hearts Lodge) in his home town Maribor, Professor Dr Stanko Ojnik replied: "After decades of Communist rule, citizens have disappeared from our society. I would therefore welcome any association that educates our young people in citizenship." (Author's notes, 15 September 2006)





Helmut Reinalter

**Freemasonry in
Central Europe.
History and
Present**

Abstract

Concerning the historical development of Freemasonry in Central Europe, the Masonic Lodges started spreading from the British Isles to the continent (to Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) already in the first half of the 18th century. In Germany, the first Masonic Lodge was established in 1737 in Hamburg, named "Lodge d'Hambourg" (subsequently: "Absolom zu den drei Nesseln", which translates as "Absolom to the three nettles"). This Lodge also accepted the Prussian crown prince, who would later become King Friedrich II (1740–1786) in Brunswick. From there, Freemasonry spread in Prussia and then to the rest of Germany relatively quickly. From the Freemasons' convention of Wilhelmsbad in 1782, very heterogenic, esoteric-ideological movements emerged. The groups of rationalists and philosophers of the Enlightenment had an ally in the secret society of the Illuminati, which had a very political-rational core. This order was founded in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830) in Ingolstadt. The main difference between the Order of the Illuminati and Freemasonry, despite strong personal connections, lay in the character and direction of the two societies. Freemasonry was an esoteric-hermetic society without a political ideology, whereas the Illuminati possessed a rational-enlightened system with an ideological-political direction.

In the 19th century, Freemasons were a part of the national unification movement, but it would be wrong to claim that the unification of Germany was the work of Freemasonry alone. Already in the first half of the 19th century, new secret societies were formed which crucially differed from Freemasonry as regards their political character, although they did orient themselves by means of their Lodges, in their outward form, and their practical organisational structures. Freemasonry was realised in the 19th century in Central Europe mostly also due to the rapidly changing living conditions and forms of living, which led to various crises of identity. In the new civil ruling classes, pessimism and optimism as regards progress were intimately interwoven, something that lastingly favoured irrational and distinctly anti-modernist intellectual trends — as evidenced by the development of the far-reaching political and societal crises of the first half of the 20th century. In this difficult phase of development, Freemasonry partially enjoyed the protection of the ruling houses until 1918. Its significance lay not only in its humanitarian accomplishments, but also in the reformation movement. On the other hand, both the 19th century and the period of European fascism were times of continual intellectual, ethically conflict-burdened altercation with different political systems and directions. In the 20th century Freemasonry had to deal with harsh criticism and due to various, quickly escalating conspiracy theories, it was defamed and persecuted. Many fascists saw in Freemasonry an organisation that aspired to world domination, helped along by Jewish high finance. After 1945, Freemasonry was constituted anew after its temporary demise in Central Europe.

Today, Freemasonry is examining the question of its significance in society and whether its goals are still relevant. Freemasonry thinks of itself as an ethical confraternity and its ethical basic consensus lies in the development of a way of life that has also been called an "aesthetics of existence." Its aesthetic values can be summarised as formation, organisation, and transformation. The aesthetics of existence is a will to form, to make art out of oneself and one's life. The aesthetics of existence also means to invent oneself and work on oneself, whereby the art of

living is not the adherence to norms, but the attitude of the individual. The art of living entails a working out of one's own life in the form of a personal piece of art. Freemasonry as the art of living is an attempt to form, an attempt to self-design, and not a scientific method. This aspect in particular finds expression in the Masonic rituals and should by all means be deepened.

KEYWORDS: Enlightenment, Esoteric, Freemasonry in Central Europe, French Revolution, Illuminati, National Movement

Different theories, myths, and legends regarding the origins and formation of European Freemasonry have developed over the centuries — some even reaching as far back as to the ancient world. Today, reflection on Masonic history focuses more on western European guilds, bricklayer and stonemason guilds, cathedral architects, journeymen, and early academies and enlightened societies.¹ In today's mundane research, artisanal fraternities — i.e. the masons' guilds and master builders — are considered to be the true precursors of modern Freemasonry. A great deal of Masonic philosophy can be traced back to their traditions. These fraternities consisted mostly of members of the stonemasons' guild, but they also accepted other related craftsmen into their ranks.

I.

Concerning the historic development of Freemasonry in Central Europe, the Masonic Lodges started spreading from the British Isles to the continent (to Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) already in the first half of the 18th century. In Germany, the first Masonic Lodge was established in 1737 in Hamburg, named "Lodge d'Hambourg" (subsequently: "Absolom zu den drei Nesseln", which translates as "Absolom to the three nettles"). This Lodge also accepted the Prussian crown prince, who would later become King Friedrich II (1740–1786) in Brunswick. From there, Freemasonry spread in Prussia and then to the rest of Germany relatively quickly. From the Freemasons' convention of Wilhelmsbad in 1782, very heterogenic, esoteric-ideological movements emerged. The groups of rationalists and philosophers of the Enlightenment had an ally in the secret society of the Illuminati, which had a very political-rational core. This order was founded 1776 by Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830) in Ingolstadt. The main difference between the Order of the Illuminati and Freemasonry, despite strong personal connections, lay in the character and direction of the two societies. Freemasonry was an esoteric-hermetic society without a political ideology, whereas the Illuminati possessed a rational-enlightened system with an ideological-political direction.²

¹ Helmut Reinalter: Die historischen Ursprünge und die Anfänge der Freimaurerei, in: *Geheimgesellschaften. Kulturhistorische Sozialstudien*, ed. Frank Jacob, Würzburg 2013, p. 49f.

² Helmut Reinalter (ed.): *Freimaurer und Geheimbünde im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa*, Innsbruck 2016, p. 9f., and p. 87f.; Helmut Reinalter (ed.): *Der Illuminaten-Orden (1776–1785/87). Ein politischer Geheimbund der Aufklärungszeit*, Frankfurt/M. 1997; Ludwig Hammermayer: *Der Wilhelmsbader Freimaurer-Konvent von 1782*, Heidelberg 1980. About this Convention will soon be published with official documents in two volumes, Basel 2017/18, ed. Helmut Reinalter, Reinhard Markner and Claus Oberhauser.

The historic development of Freemasonry in Central Europe in the 19th century was shaped by reforms, the national question, and the emergence of secret political societies. Without a doubt, the reforms of the 19th century are to be seen partially as the continuation of ideas from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, and from a Masonic perspective as a movement of emancipation. All of the great challenges of that time were desires for emancipation. In fact, the Restoration, Romanticism, and the Age of Metternich — at their core and in their basic structure — were all determined by the ascension of the bourgeoisie and the formation of civil society. The struggle for the emancipation of social groups and institutions from traditional legal restrictions made the variety of the problems of this transition period clear. Agricultural reforms, trade reforms, community reforms, and educational and university reforms were important parts of this comprehensive emancipation process, which at first loosened the manacles of the old society, and then, step by step, broke them open.

In the 19th century, Freemasons were part of the national unification movement, but it would be wrong to claim that the unification of Germany was the work of Freemasonry alone. Already in the first half of the 19th century, new secret societies were formed which crucially differed from Freemasonry in their political character, although they did orient themselves through the Lodges in their outward form and practical organisational structures. Freemasonry was realised in the 19th century in Central Europe mostly also due to the rapidly changing living conditions and forms of living, which led to various crises of identity. In the new civil ruling classes, pessimism and optimism as regards progress were intimately interwoven, something that lastingly favoured irrational and distinctly anti-modernist intellectual trends — as evidenced by the development of the far-reaching political and societal crises of the first half of the 20th century. In this difficult phase of development, Freemasonry partially enjoyed the protection of the ruling houses until 1918. Its significance lay not only in its humanitarian accomplishments, but also in the reformation movement. On the other hand, both the 19th century and the period of European fascism were times of continual intellectual, ethically conflict-burdened altercation with different political systems and directions. In the 20th century, Freemasonry had to deal with harsh criticism and due to various, quickly escalating conspiracy theories it was defamed and persecuted. Many fascists saw in Freemasonry an organisation that aspired to world domination, helped along by Jewish high finance. After 1945, Freemasonry was constituted anew after its temporary demise in Central Europe.³

In Austria, the first Masonic Lodge, “Aux Trois Canons”, was founded in 1742 in Vienna. More followed soon after. During the time of Joseph II, Lodges were at first fostered, and then in 1785 restricted in number by the Masonic Patent. What followed was the slow downfall of the Austrian brotherhood. Under the influence of the French Revolution, all secret societies and Freemasonry were eventually forbidden by the imperial Edict of 1795. In the climate of political Restoration, there were no opportunities to reactivate Freemasonry, even though the

³ Helmut Reinalter: Die Entwicklung der Freimaurerei vor dem Hintergrund der politischen Geschichte, Gesellschafts- und Ideengeschichte im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert, in: Freimaurer und Geheimbünde im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa, p. 16f.; Helmut Reinalter: Die Weltverschwörer. Was Sie eigentlich nie erfahren sollten, Salzburg 2010.

brothers kept in loose contact with each other.⁴ At the beginning of the liberal era in the 1860s, after a long prohibition, Freemasons in Vienna once again tried to regain official approval. Only in 1848, for a brief time, was there a flickering of the Masonic light in Vienna. However, the masons' guild "Zum heiligen Joseph" only existed for a very short time due to the revolutionary events. Due to the victory of the reaction, this attempt at reactivation did not last long. Only the Compromise between Greater Austria and Greater Hungary in 1867 changed the situation because from that point on Freemasons in Austria could carry out their ritual activities on Hungarian territory.⁵

The reappearance of Freemasonry after the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 entailed a fresh start because few personal connections remained after a few decades of prohibition. Freemasonry developed on the other side of the Leitha very quickly after 1868. Freemasonry had always had enemies, but now they were further encouraged by the battle of cultures, the "Kulturkampf," which led to modified forms of conspiracy theories during the Habsburg Empire. An important religious-ideological starting point for the Kulturkampf was the "Syllabus errorum" proclaimed by Pope Pius IX in 1864, in which among others, Freemasonry was harshly condemned. This also had an effect on Austria. Problems as to the Masonic style and basic differences in perception regarding questions of its worldview subsequently led to tensions between the border Lodges.⁶ While the first phase of the border Lodges was a time of consolidation and defining a standpoint, in the 1890s Freemasonry developed an intellectual strength that manifested in critical reflection on societal problems as well as in increased engagement in questions regarding formal education and child education. The Austrian brotherhood was above all pacifist, internationalist, and engaged in social reforms before the First World War.⁷

With the downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy, esoteric thought and occultism gained strength in Vienna after the turn of the century. With the outbreak of the First World War, border Lodges had to accept some limitations. In 1918, the Grand Lodge of Vienna was formally appointed, whereby the new state accepted the founding of Masonic guilds in Austria, so the border Lodges could locate their ritual activities in Vienna again. Now that Freemasonry had found favourable conditions, despite the consequences of war, the Grand Lodge tried to reduce prejudices and to educate people about its actual operations through public relations work. The intellectual work done in the Lodges after 1918 was of an impressive standard because it focused particularly on the problems of the time. The engagement of the Grand Lodge was principally focused on pacifism, but also on social politics and social legislation, as well as on the welfare system. After this heyday of the Austrian brotherhood, the demise of Freemasonry in Austria

⁴ Helmut Reinalter (ed.): *Freimaurer und Geheimbünde im 18. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa*, Frankfurt/M. 1989; same: *Freimaurer und Geheimbünde im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa*.

⁵ Helmut Reinalter: *Die Freimaurer in Österreich*, in: *Zirkel und Winkelmaß. 200 Jahre Großloge von Österreich*, Wien 1984; Herwig Obrecht: *Der Kampf um die staatliche Anerkennung der Freimaurerei*, Dissertation, Wien 1950; Helmut Reinalter: *Liberalismus und Kirche in Österreich im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: *Der deutsche und österreichische Liberalismus*, ed. Helmut Reinalter in Harm Klueting, *Innsbrucker Historische Studien* 26, Innsbruck 2010, p. 149f.

⁶ Helmut Reinalter: *Die Freimaurerei in Österreich im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Freimaurer und Geheimbünde im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa*, p. 134f.

⁷ Marcus Patka: *Freimaurerei und Sozialreform. Der Kampf für Menschenrechte, Pazifismus und Zivilgesellschaft in Österreich 1869–1938*, Wien 2011.

began in 1933, because the attacks of the National Socialists against it increased. The Lodges had to be disbanded eventually, the brothers dispersed — most of them rejected the national socialist regime as a matter of principle.⁸ Many brothers also emigrated and many Jewish Freemasons died in concentration camps. Of the roughly 2,000 brothers that the Grand Lodge of Vienna still had before 1938, only about 70 remained after the fall of the Third Reich in 1945. They found each other again with the goal of founding Austrian Freemasonry anew after the Second World War, and did so under the harshest of conditions and very slowly.

Freemasonry in Switzerland was in decline in the years before and during the French Revolution, but recovered in the years after 1800 relatively quickly. This heyday ended abruptly with the fall of Napoléon in 1813. After 1815, various systems spread due to refoundings.⁹ During the Regeneration period, the Swiss Grand Lodge was founded. There were also some Freemasons among the figures propagating the unification of Switzerland. After the victory over the Sonderbund, the Swiss Confederation implemented a new constitution that led to today's federal state. Freemasons were also crucial in the writing of this constitution. In the German-French War and in the Kulturkampf, many Swiss Freemasons saw a regression into barbarity. Additionally, the conflict with the Catholic Church during the Kulturkampf had a negative impact on Freemasonry in Switzerland. A growth phase only began after 1890, which lasted until the First World War. Much like in Austria, Freemasonry there, too, was committed to pacifism and the Grand Lodge especially advocated for Switzerland to join the League of Nations. This welcome development was soon ended with Fascism and the associated anti-Masonic propaganda. Reconstruction after 1945 happened in different steps.¹⁰

II.

Today, Freemasonry is examining the question of its significance in society and whether its goals are still relevant. Freemasonry thinks of itself as an ethical confraternity and its ethical basic consensus lies in the development of a way of life that has also been called an "aesthetics of existence." Its aesthetic values can be summarised as formation, organisation, and transformation. The aesthetics of existence is a will to form, to make art out of oneself and one's life. The aesthetics of existence also means to invent oneself and work on oneself, whereby the art of living is not the adherence to norms, but the attitude of the individual. The art of living entails a working out of one's own life in the form of a personal piece of art. Freemasonry as the art of living is an attempt to form, an attempt to self-design, and not a scientific method. This aspect in particular finds expression in the Masonic rituals and should by all means be deepened.¹¹

⁸ Helmut Reinalter (ed.): *Freimaurerei und europäischer Faschismus*, Innsbruck 2009; especially Marcus Patka: *Österreichische Freimaurer im Nationalsozialismus. Treue und Verrat*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2010, p. 52f.

⁹ Walter Hess: *Die Geschichte der Freimaurerei in der Schweiz im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Das Wiedererwachen der Logen in der Helvetik*, in: *Freimaurer und Geheimbünde im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, p. 145f.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Helmut Reinalter: *Einleitung*, in: *Freimaurer und Geheimbünde im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert in Mitteleuropa*, p. 12f.

Another important task of Freemasonry today is the clarification of its relationship with the conception of enlightenment. Enlightenment as a never-ending task and as a concept of thought is self-enlightenment, as becoming Self through free thought, but also as the enlightenment of things, in the sense of removing mental and real obstacles to self-enlightenment. Enlightenment directs itself as thinking for oneself (Immanuel Kant) against arrogated authority and prejudices, as directing thinking against errors, irrationalism, and superstition, against absolutisations and ideologies, as well as absolute truths. Freemasonry can pursue enlightenment as a model of thought and continue its attempts as part of a critical enlightenment. Enlightenment as a model of thought must not neglect the elucidation of oneself so it does not degenerate into pseudo-enlightenment or destroy itself as an ideology.¹²

Furthermore, Freemasonry has a very specific anthropology that defines the core values that govern and guide a Freemason while working the Rough Stone. This anthropology is not complete but partial because it brings those parts that deal with ethical completion into the foreground. Parts of the Masonic understanding of humanity are freedom, tolerance, and brotherhood, as well as the symbol of the "Great Architect of the Universe". The full essence of Masonic anthropology can be gained through initiation rites. The self-realisation of a human as a Freemason happens in the form of a permanent, dialectical argument between the principles and the individual, led by the Masonic conception of the human being and by the behavioural norm of the "Great Architect of the Universe". The pillars of Freemasonry highlighted here show that it is not a complete philosophical system, but a closely outlined practical philosophy of humanity, a human behavioural model that describes the nature of humans. The Masonic conception of the human being occupies a special position in European thinking because it sets out to be connecting, integrating, and balancing, instead of being excluding.

Of course, Freemasonry also has socio-political tasks aside from its self-education programme. Human responsibility leads it to occupy itself with the current problems of society, whereby this argument has to follow current knowledge. Today, to name just a few current tasks, these would be problems of peace and conflict resolution, the environment, fundamentalism, dealing with the external, the social function of Freemasonry, and technical civilization. Freemasonry appears, due to its specific structure (reason, sensuality, individualisation), to be especially well-suited to engagement in socio-political matters. Without a doubt, it has influenced social and cultural evolution in an indirect way, without ever appearing as a political or social actor itself.

Freemasonry has been in favour of progressive ideas since its founding and has always worked for positive societal change. From today's perspective, one has to object that the unambiguity regarding progress and reaction is no longer a given. Conservative behaviour can nowadays also be progressive and a great deal of what appears to pertain to progress does not necessarily have to serve progress. Independent of that, Freemasonry should now focus more on its fundamental categories before focussing on the background of the times, namely:

¹² Helmut Reinalter: Aufklärungsdenken und Freimaurerei, Zürich 2014.

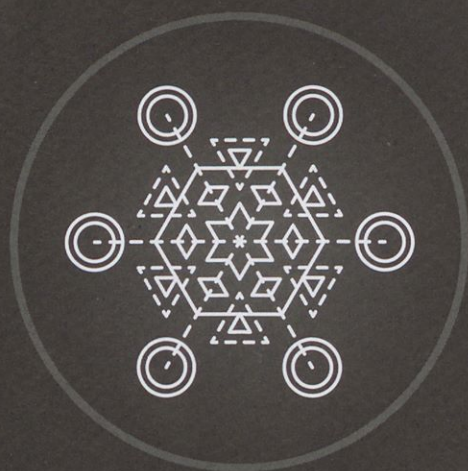
1. the self-commitment that Freemasons must measure themselves by;
2. the development of a spiritual attitude that shapes itself in the discourse of the brothers (discourse ethics);
3. the development of a Masonic philosophy of life or art of life;
4. the generation of a new ethical orientation by the dynamic process of change in society;
5. the attempt to keep Freemasonry alive as an idea and a praxis;
6. intensified commitment to practical humanity, tolerance, and confraternity;
7. an enlightened critical-ideological attitude as its mission.¹³

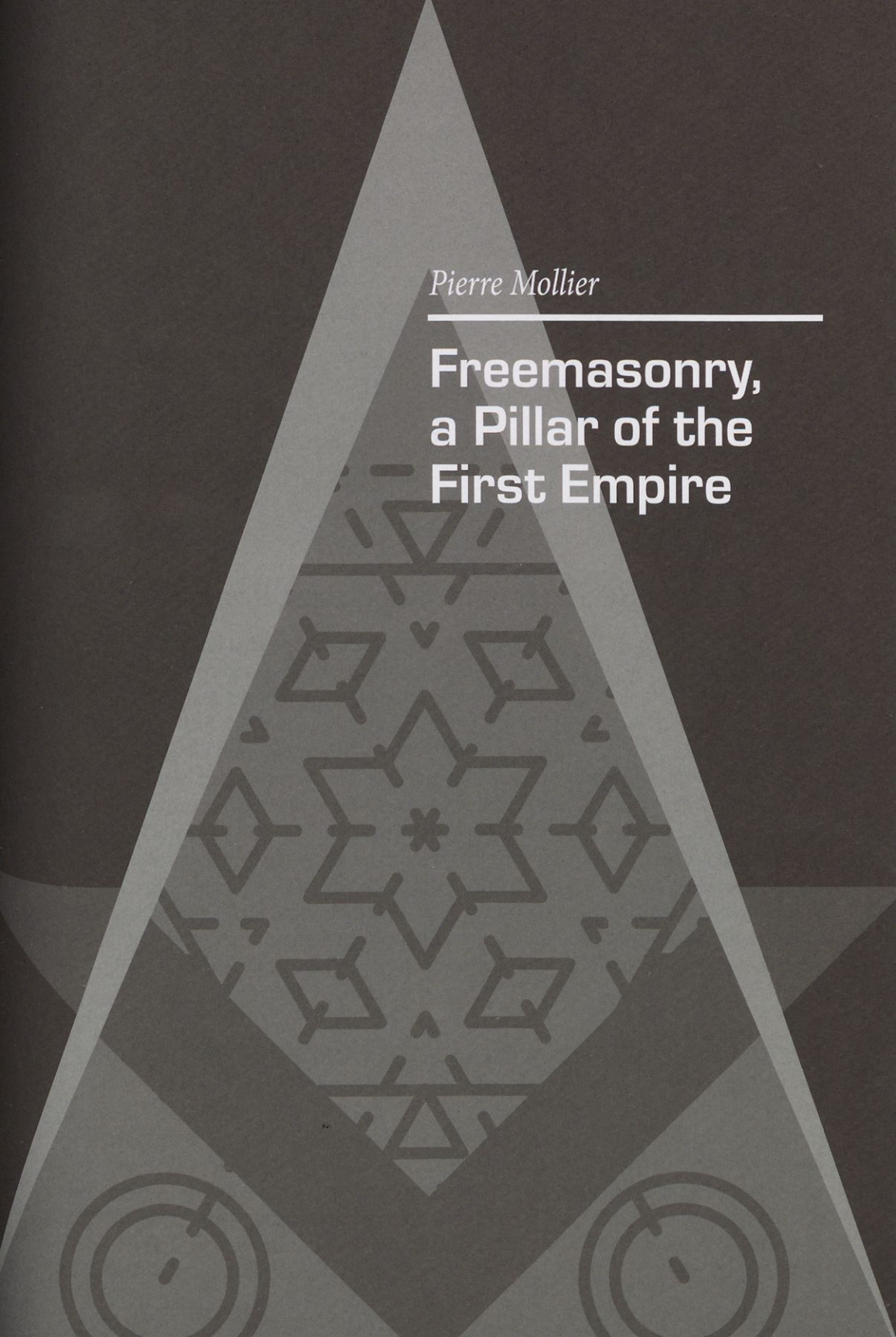
¹³ Helmut Reinalter: Aufklärungsdenken und Freimaurerei, p. 109.



Reconstruction of the masonic temple "Valentin Vodnik" lodge (1940) at the exhibition "The Secret of the Lodge" at the National Museum of Slovenia. (National Museum of Slovenia)







Pierre Mollier

Freemasonry, a Pillar of the First Empire

Abstract

It will not be long before historians, or even those studying the First Empire out of interest, encounter Freemasonry. A simple look at the lives of that Empire's main players will reveal that they were Masons and that this often played a guiding role in their lives. Indeed, few are the dignitaries (major, medium or even minor) in the Empire who were not at one time or another linked in varying degrees to the lodges. For some, such as Cambacérès, Junot, Lacépède, MacDonald, Masséna, Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angély and Ségur, the lodges even played a part in education during their youth. Friendships and acquaintances within places of power are partly explained by frequent attendance at the lodges before the Revolution, when these future officials of the Empire were still young and seeking their way into the society of the Ancien Régime. Just a brief look at the directory of the Grand Orient of France from 1804–1815 will soon reveal the close links between the Napoléonic Regime and Freemasonry. In fact, it is difficult to find any members of the imperial government who were not also on the Masonic staff.

KEYWORDS: Napoléon, Freemasonry

The Lodges at the Heart of the Napoléonic Regime

Although it is not denied, this significant Masonic presence in the First Empire has often been underestimated. Because of their own perceptions, those who have studied Imperial Masonry, be they historians of the lodges or of the Empire, too often put forward analyses based on two models. The first model regards it as the fantasy of a bourgeoisie which had at last succeeded without any great political consequence. We then recall this ironic and probably apocryphal utterance by Napoléon regarding the arch-chancellor who presided over Masonic banquets and Council of State meetings with equal seriousness. The second model portrays Masonry as tightly controlled by the terrible Fouché Police and thus, in the sacred history of the Republic, sees the Napoléonic period merely as the years in which the spring tightens as the Age of Revolution dawns. However, if the lodges delighted in the pomp and splendour of "Empire", and if, of course, the police kept an eye on them (and on the whole social body), these frameworks of interpretation appear restrictive and simplistic. Our hypothesis, in contrast, is that the lodges are at the very heart of the Napoléonic regime, and one of the pillars of the First Empire.

For the Masons, Napoléon was the Guarantor of the Gains of 1789

In 1800, the middle classes who had instigated the Revolution rallied massively to the Consulate. In 1804, they continued to see Napoléon as the guarantor of the gains of 1789 in both legal and economic terms. The Emperor resisted the return of the Bourbons and the Ancien Régime, but also against the excesses of 1793 and pressure from the working classes. The bourgeoisie which had populated the lodges in the 1780s began to build them again in 1800–1802. From 1804 onwards, the Grand Orient experienced rapid growth. Under the careful and benevolent

direction of Cambacérès, its staff included almost every dignitary of the Empire. It comprised 300 lodges in 1804, more than 600 in 1808 and 1200 in the 130 French Departments of the Great Empire by 1812! In the departments, Freemasonry brought together the administrative elite and the local bourgeoisie. It was not uncommon to see them presided over by the Departmental Prefect, assisted by the Receiver General of Finance and the Presiding Judge at the Court! Often these were, in fact, the "Worshipful", "Senior Warden" and "Junior Warden" of the lodge in the county seat, most members being officials, businessmen, traders and lawyers. Brother Portalis, Minister of Religious Affairs, sums up the situation clearly: "*The wisest move was to direct Masonic societies, since they could not be proscribed. The real means of preventing them from degenerating into illegal and disastrous assemblies was to give them tacit protection, by allowing first dignitaries of State to preside over them.*"¹

"From Grandees of the Empire to Office Clerks"

The importance of Freemasonry in the society of the First Empire is very evident in the testimonies of two convinced Masons, despite their critical tone. In 1806, the young Swedish traveller Chevalier Harmensen wrote in his correspondence: "*Everything is fashionable in Paris, from pompoms to Masonry [...]. Lodges have therefore opened; the great personages have brought in the plaques and cordons they have received from all countries, and in this confusion of decorations (for the Masons of Paris have them aplenty) it is difficult to distinguish what is civil from the fatuous artefacts to which the servants of the Grand Orient attach such importance. Soon all the talk was about Masonry, and everyone, from Grandees of the Empire to office clerks, rushed en masse to the Lodges.*"² Once the fires of imperial festivities were extinguished, one old and experienced Mason reported: "*Often the lodges received those who should not be admitted, often one heard there what should not be said there: grandeur evoked adulation; politeness took the place of frankness, many came to see and be seen, temples were meeting places, Masonry was a means of progressing, there were crowds, but real Masons were few.*"³ The author of these lines, Brother Cormeilles Massé, was well qualified to comment on this social and political dimension; his lodge, *Saint Alexandre d'Ecosse*, was one of those most cherished by the arch-chancellor.

The Lodges in the Empire's Political System

How can the political dimension of Freemasonry be analysed at a time when it claimed to have nothing to do with politics? Officially, lodges were simply places for meeting, cultural exchange and conviviality. The meetings mainly involved rituals of initiation to the different ranks and discourse on philosophical or literary questions. Furthermore, all the brothers attended the

¹ Hivert-Messeca (Yves), "Portalis — Minister of religious affairs or the theory of the gold halter", in *Freemasonry under the Empire: A golden age?* op. cit.

² Letter from Chevalier d'Harmensen in Fabre (Benjamin) *An insider in the superior secret societies, Franciscus Eques to Capite Galeato, 1753–1814*, Paris, 1913, p. 400.

³ Tuchendler (Jacques), "Abridged History of St. Alexander of Scotland, from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration," in *Traditional Renaissance*, No. 138–139–140 April / October 2004, p. 165.



Napoléon Bonaparte.

banquet which invariably closed the evening. They drank, sang, they discussed current affairs. For example, on 5 December 1804, when Marshals Masséna and Kellermann, Senators Clement de Ris, Valencia and Lacépède, Generals Lassalle and Rouyer and the Count of Ségur, gathered for a “do” at the Grand Orient, it is easy to imagine that during the conversation and the banter around the table during the meal, opinions of interest to the historian were expressed on the current situation. The method proposed by Maurice Agulhon⁴ concerning the concept of sociability remains an altogether stimulating framework. Individuals establish regular relationships between themselves and, simply because of that, play a social role. The lodges of the large, medium and small towns in the country form a network that enmeshes the whole of French territory. In addition, they exchange correspondence, and travelling brothers visit other lodges and forge friendships. It was common for a lodge to maintain regular relations with a dozen other “ateliers”⁵ all over France by this means. At the centre of the network, Grand Orient staff regulated and directed Masonic life. Each lodge had an “Assistant to the Grand Orient” in Paris, often a person born in the country who had settled in the capital, with whom it maintained contact. It passed on its requests, such as rituals, licences or Masonic certificates, through this person. It received circulars or reports from national authorities in Paris almost every month. The brothers could thus see the presence and involvement of the very top names of the regime: Cambacérès, Lacépède and Regnault de Saint-Jean d’Angély, who were involved in most Masonic events. The various levels of organisation of the Grand Orient formed concentric circles, thus creating a continuous chain leading from Cambacérès down through the greater or lesser dignitaries of the regime to the Worshipful Masters of the provincial lodges. Thanks to this system, there were ultimately only two or three intermediaries between the centre and the periphery. Although the “ordinary officers”, the middle-ranking executives of the Grand Orient, did not of course have close relations with Cambacérès himself, they saw him, albeit rather formally

⁴ Agulhon (Maurice), *Penitents and Freemasons of Old Provence*, Paris, 1968.

⁵ Word synonymous with “lodge” in Masonic vocabulary.

The Bonapartes and Freemasonry

The interest of the Bonapartes, a family of minor provincial nobility marked by the Enlightenment, in Freemasonry was in the spirit of the times.

Charles (1746–1787)

Freemasonry had been present in Corsica in the 18th century since the first lodge, *La Parfaite Union*, emerged in Bastia in 1772, soon followed by *La Sincère Amitié* in Corte in 1778. To date, the Masonic leanings of Charles are attested to only by the reference made in the minutes of the initiation of Jérôme, presented as the “*Son of a Mason*” in 1801, but there is no reason to doubt it.

Joseph (1768–1840)

“*Joseph Bonaparte, 26, profession Executive War Commissioner, native of Ajaccio in Corsica*” was initiated on 8 October 1793, along with the conventional Salicetti, by the *La Parfaite Sincérité* lodge in Marseille. The year, the place and the clearly Jacobin orientation of the lodge show how this Masonic commitment then formed part of the natural course of a young man won over by new ideas. Under the First Empire he would be Grand Master in title of the Grand Orient of France even though, because of its remoteness, the affiliation was in fact run by Cambacérès. At the same time, he assumed the position of Grand Master of the Grand Orients of Naples and then of Spain, and evidently always showed a sympathetic interest in the lodges.

Napoléon (1769–1821)

Napoléon a Freemason? Much has been written about that question! Given his family background, the statement is credible, but to date no document has been found to establish it for certain. François Collaveri has advanced enough convincing arguments for the initiation of Napoléon, especially the fact that he was presented as a Brother throughout the Empire, including by Masons in his very close entourage and sometimes under official circumstances, without it ever being denied. He was initiated during the campaign in Egypt.

Lucien (1775–1840)

Passes for a Mason, but no testimony has yet been found in the archives.

Louis (1778–1846)

It is not known where or when he was initiated, but he was Assistant Grand Master of the Grand Orient at the beginning of the Empire.

Jérôme (1784–1860)

“*Jérôme Bonaparte, son of a Mason, a native of Ajaccio, Department of Liamone, born ... X 1784, midshipman and of the Catholic religion*” received the light in the *La Paix* lodge in Toulon on 20 April 1801. The King of Westphalia later became protector of the Order in his short-lived kingdom: “*His Majesty therefore promises you, gentlemen, his Royal Protection, though, as he does not doubt, the foundation of your institution is that of true Masonry, the principles of which His Majesty himself professes in his capacity as a Freemason.*” (Palais de Cassel, 25 February, 1808)

but ultimately within a relatively small framework, several times a year. The Grand Master's two direct assistants, Alexander Roëttiers de Montaleau and Etienne de Joly, who were in constant contact with him and had moreover known him for a long time, regularly shared with them the Grand Master's thoughts, choices and attitudes, thus rendering him closer and more present. These "ordinary officers" were themselves in close contact with the Worshipful Masters and deputies of the lodges. Thus, Imperial Masonry set up a very concrete, very effective system of supervision of the bourgeoisie to make them into the "granite masses" which were the foundations of the regime.

For Jacques-Olivier Boudon, the Freemasonry of the First Empire "*constitutes the Bonapartist party.*"⁶ In the tense atmosphere following the Malet plot, when the Grand Army was suffering setback after setback, Cambacérès did not hesitate (for once) to go from implicit to explicit and to declare in a full meeting of the Grand Orient: "*If the State were in danger, I would call around my person all the widow's children;⁷ and with this sacred band, marching against the seditious, I would prove to the world that the Emperor has no more loyal subjects than French Masons.*"⁸ After the Revolution, an entire section of the bourgeoisie, won over to the Enlightenment and to the principles of philosophical liberalism, could no longer be integrated into the political system via the Catholicism re-established by the Concordat. The lodges replaced the parishes to incorporate the Voltairian bourgeoisie into the Napoléonic state.

Cambacérès: A Convinced Young Mason who Became Grand Master

Initiated in 1773 in Montpellier at the Lodge *L'Ancienne et la Réunion des Elus*, he immediately proved himself a zealous Mason, as evidenced by his correspondence with two of his cousins. In 1786 he became a member of the College of Officers, where he became "*Keeper of the Seals*". He was still Keeper of the Seals in 1787 and 1788, but in 1789 he became more involved in the lodge by assuming the more important functions of Junior Warden, thus becoming the number three in the atelier.

Curiously absent during the first promotion of Empire dignitaries in the Masonic hierarchy on 30 September 1803, he became Grand Administrator General during the reorganisation of December 1804, but in the following months he was promoted to First Assistant Grand Master of the Grand Orient of France and was installed in this office on 13 December 1805. In his inaugural speech, Cambacérès recalled that: "*Long since initiated into the various ranks of Masonry, he had always shown it the utmost dedication; that it afforded him pleasant memories; that he willingly accepted the dignity offered him by the GO, it being even more valuable to him for allowing him to express frequently this former dedication*". On 27 December 1806, he presided over the work of the Grand Orient: "*I cannot (he said) find myself in this place without experiencing the sweet emotion that a true Mason finds amongst his brothers.*" He effectively managed

⁶ History of the Consulate and the Empire, Editions Perrin, Tempus collection, p. 251.

⁷ Symbolic expression that refers to the Freemasons in Masonic vocabulary.

⁸ Saint-Jean d'Hiver of 28 December 1812.

The Directors of the Grand Orient in 1807

General Chart of Officers of the GO of France

GG First Dignitaries (extracts)

Grand Master

His Majesty Joseph Napoléon, King of Naples and Sicily, Grand Elector of the Empire

Assistant Grand Masters

His Royal Highness Prince Cambacérès, Arch Chancellor of the Empire, Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Orders of the Black Eagle and Red Eagle of Prussia

His Royal Highness Prince Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, Grand Admiral of France

Grand Administrator General

TRF Kellermann, Senator, Marshal of the Empire, Member of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour and Knight of the King of Württemberg's Orders.

Grand Conservators General

TRFs

Masséna, Marshal of the Empire, Grand Cordon and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour
[...]

Grand Representative of the Grand Master

TRF Valence, Senator, Major General, one of the Commanders of the Legion of Honour, President of the Electoral College of the Department of Marne and of the Canton of Vesly

Grand Lodge of Administration

Grand Administrators

The RF

De Lacépède, Senator, Grand Chancellor and Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour

Gantheaume, Councillor of State, Vice Admiral of France, Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour

Lannes, Marshal of the Empire, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour

Grand Conservators

Muraire, Councillor of State, First President of the Supreme Court, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour

Maret, Minister and Secretary of State

Simeon, State Councillor, one of the Commanders of the Legion of Honour

[...]

However, we also find Miot and Clement de Ris

In the Symbolic Grand Lodge: "

Choiseul-Praslin, Beurnonville, MacDonald, Fouché, Mareschalchi, Beauharnais, Augereau, Jaucourt, Lefevre, Luynes...

In the Grand Chapter:

Serrurier, Brune, Régnier, Pérignon, Soult, Chaptal, La Tour d'Auvergne, Laplace, Regnaud de Saint-Jean d'Angély, Ysembourg, Chasset, Fabre de l'Aude...

the Grand Orient throughout the Empire. Regularly present at meetings, he monitored Masonic administration in detail. At the same time, he was the director both in title and de facto of all the hugely popular high-ranking systems of that time. Promoted to the 33rd Degree by Kellermann and Valencia on 8 July 1806, he was installed as Grand Commander of the *Supreme Council for the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite* on 13 August 1806, and as Grand Master of the *Rite of Heredom of Kilwinning* on 1 December 1806, of the *Mother Lodge of Scottish Philosophical Rite* on 20 March, 1807 and of the *Rectified Scottish Regime* in March 1809. He was also Honorary Worshipful Master of the *L'Impérial des Francs-Chevaliers* and *Sainte-Carolina* lodges in the Paris Orient. Under the Restoration, the Grand Orient paid tribute to his memory: "He rendered genuine service to the Order [...] as soon as this prosperity [that is, the Empire] ceased, he resumed simple manners and habits [and] frequented the temples assiduously."

Lodges at the Heart of Power

La Grande Maîtrise: In the style of the old regime, Arch Chancellor Cambacérès established a "personal lodge", *Saint-Jean de la Grande Maîtrise*, in which the great worthies of the Empire worked under protection from the Masonic people. Within this discreet framework, it also seems to have received diplomats from countries with which France was in sometimes delicate negotiations.

L'Imperiale des Francs Chevaliers: the "political" lodge par excellence, with its cohort of Tribunal and Senate members. In the style of Clement de Ris, many are "Brumairiens", the moderate Republicans of the Directoire allied to Napoléon. Its members included Bordas; Carrion de Nisas; Challan; Chasset; Clement de Ris; Davous; Duvidal de Montferrier; Fabre de l'Aude; Gavre; Gillet; Harville de Jouvenel; Hurel; Jaubert; Lasseret; Maret; Miot; Nompere de Champigny; Pérignon and Simeon. It should be noted that Fabre de l'Aude, member of the Council of the Five Hundreds under the Directoire, was close to Barras, who maintained contact and ties with General Bonaparte. Like Clement de Ris, he was one of those characters who did not occupy the first rank at the time of the Empire. It is however known that, because of their role between 1792 and 1800, they knew many things about many people. At the beginning of the Consulate, Clement de Ris was the subject of an abduction which remained rather mysterious; its purpose seems to have been to recover compromising policy papers, and it is the subject of Balzac's great novel "A Murky Business".

Ideas and Culture in Imperial Masonry

Contrary to popular assertion, Napoléonic Masonry was not confined to the splendour of Empire rites and pageantry. Some Masonic circles had real intellectual and research activity. Thus, following the Revolution, Masons played an important rôle in the beginnings of protection of cultural heritage. Specifically, it was Brother Aubin Millin who created the idea of "historical monuments". In Paris, Alexandre Lenoir developed his Museum of French Monuments, while Denon and Lavallée set up the Louvre Museum. In Toulouse, Alexandre Dumège preserved

local “gothic monuments” from the greed of materials merchants and brought together the first archaeological collections. The great centre of Masonic thinking was the *Académie Celtique*, which, besides the aggressively Celtic and pretty but marginal ideas of some of its members, set up all the foundations of French ethnology with the comprehensive 1806 survey on life in the countryside. Moreover, a little research shows that some ateliers contain very interesting works, such as the theosophical collections conceived by François-Nicolas Noel in the “Le Creuset Moral” lodge of Orléans or Masonic instruction sessions organised by the great philosopher Maine de Biran in the Bergerac lodge.

The ancillary Freemasonry of Imperial Europe

In Italy, Holland, Westphalia and Spain, Freemasonry played an important role in the various “French regimes”. It united the elites of the national and liberal bourgeoisie on which the new kingdoms sought to rely and associated them with the French cadres who came from Paris. Politically, lodges showed unwavering support to Joseph Napoléon, Louis Napoléon, Joachim Napoléon and Jérôme Napoléon. At the same time, however, on the philosophical level, they helped spread the ideas of the Enlightenment in these regions. Thus, for example, for the first time in Germany, they welcomed Jews into their ranks. After the fall of Napoléon and his brothers, Freemasonry was banned everywhere in Europe as a hotbed of liberal activism.

The Legion of Honour. A Masonic Institution?

The history of the Legion of Honour begins in 1802 when the then First Consul entrusted General and Councillor of State Mathieu Dumas with the creation of the new national decoration. Dumas, however, was a zealous Mason. A member of the *L'Ancienne et la Réunion des Elus* lodge in Montpellier, he held several offices there, including that of Hospitalier in 1787, in which year the Junior Warden was a certain Cambacérès! “Twenty years later”, the two Brothers met again; in another setting!

In 1803, Bonaparte appointed as the first Grand Chancellor another brother, the famous naturalist Lacépède. Bernard de Lacépède was a convinced and committed Mason, initiated at age 18 in 1774 by the Agen lodge *La Sincérité*. A young, provincial intellectual who had come to Paris, he first joined the lodge *Les Frères Initiés*. He was a Mason there in the 1780s with another future great Empire dignitary, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angély. He then joined the prestigious *Les Neufs Sœurs* lodge, and participated in the initiation of Voltaire. Having made his way during the Revolution, he was one of the first Grand Officers elected by the Grand Orient once Masonic activity was restored. Second Grand Warden, then Grand Administrator and finally Grand Conservator, he also worked as a diligent Mason in his lodge all his life and was a dignitary with a strong presence in the directorate of the Grand Orient.

But besides the Masonic capacity of most Empire dignitaries involved in the founding of the Legion of Honour, Freemasonry played an important role in the establishment of the new or-

der. Officially appointed Grand Chancellor at the first session of the Grand Council on 14 August 1803 Lacépède immediately faced the need to establish an administrative authority for the Legion of Honour. He then explained that he had brought together “*Old friends accustomed to his way of working*”. It requires no great effort to determine where these old friends came from. The administration of the Grand Chancellery was organised into five divisions. The leaders of the first (Amalric), second (Davaux) and fifth (Lavallee) divisions were well-known Masons, as was the assistant head of the third, Barouillet. Raoul, the lawyer responsible for litigation, two cabinet members, and Peyre, the architect of the institution, were also active Masons.

Numerous in this first administration of the Legion of Honour that they set up together, the Masons of the Great Chancellery even created a lodge there: “*Les Commandeurs du Mont-Thabor*,” named after the Eastern Army’s famous victory in which some founders of the atelier had participated. The lodge adopted the motto “*Honour and Homeland*”, the same as that of the Legion of Honour, and elected the Grand Chancellor as Worshipful Master! In the somewhat eclectic style of the Empire, the “Lodge of the Grand Chancellery”, as it must be called, combined chivalrous rites with Voltairian philosophy.

Such a great presence of Masons in the creation and the first years of the Legion of Honour is in no way anecdotal. This presence has marked it permanently. What values have these Brothers passed down to our first national order? Freemasonry is ultimately something of a paradox. Its rites and symbolism connect it with the traditional institutions of Old France: brotherhoods, craft communities, orders of chivalry etc. Through its sociability, debates and exchange of ideas, it firmly ties in with the Enlightenment and modernity. It is this double legacy which Lacépède and “his friends” bequeathed to the Legion of Honour and which today still constitutes a major feature of its identity. “*I desired (wrote the Brother and Grand Chancellor) that this fine institution might serve to provide firm foundations for public morality, restore the worship of true honour and revive the former French chivalry under new emblems, purified from what centuries of ignorance had given it and embellished with what it could hold of the centuries of Enlightenment.*”

“*The former French chivalry [...] embellished [...] enlightenment*”: here is a beautiful and very Masonic definition of the Legion of Honour.

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R. PREFETTURA DEL FRIULI

Nro:1945 Gab: Udine 23 Dicembre 1925.

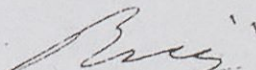
Signor Sottoprefetto di

G o r i z i a

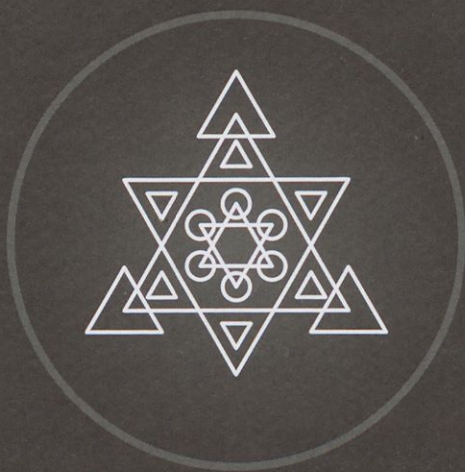
Per l'osservanza, trascrivo il seguente cifrato Ministeriale, con preghiera di mettermi in grado di fornire sollecita evasione:

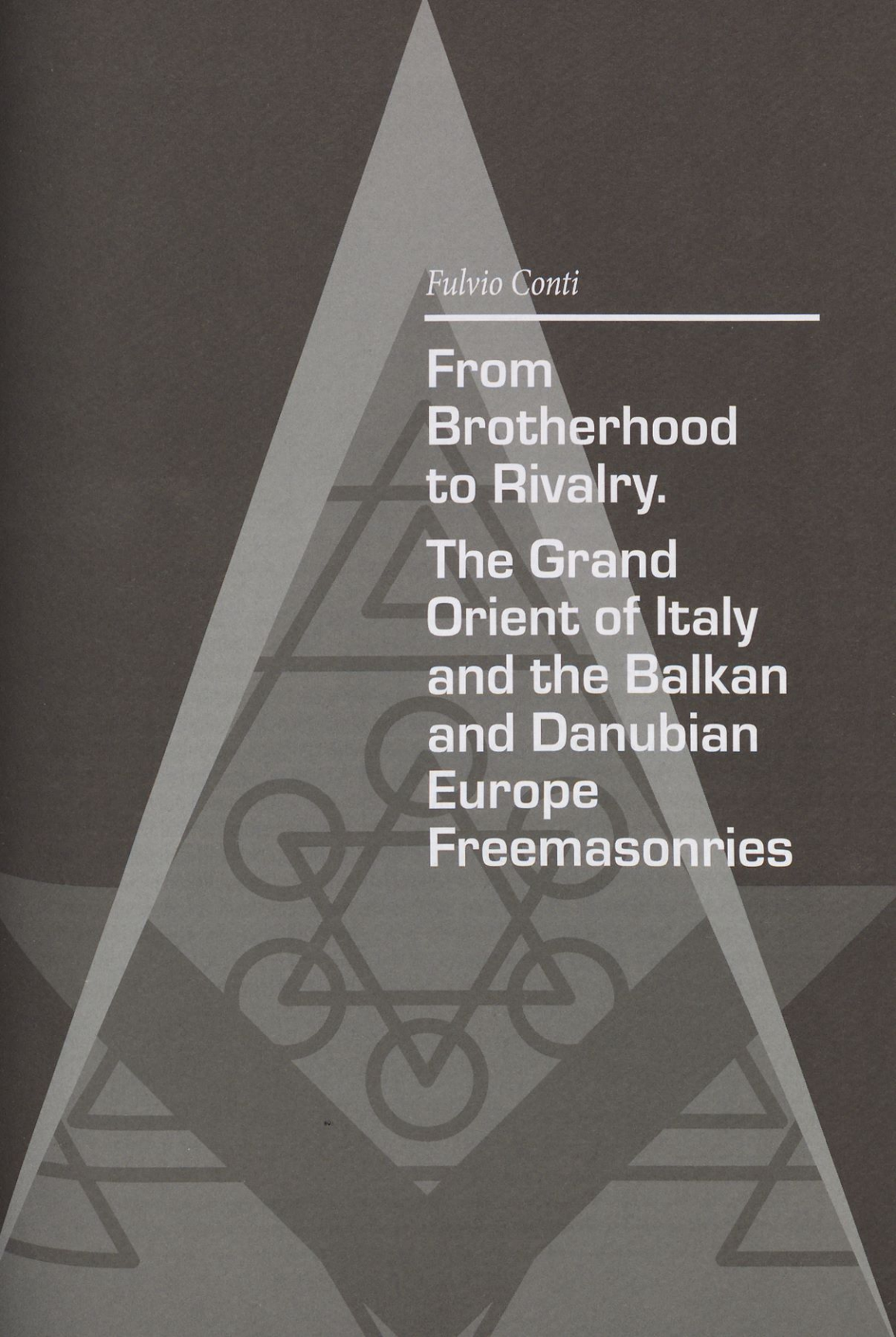
"Nro:30899 Richiamando disposizioni circolari 5 Novembre N.R. 27039 circa occupazioni loggie dipendenti palazzo Giustiniani SS.II. sono autorizzate riconsegnare legittimi proprietari locali sedi loggie occupate et avvalendosi sempre facoltà Art:3 Legge Comunale e Provinciale mantenere sequestro sui mobili, simboli et documenti di pertinenza loggie stesse comunicando all'uopo apposite sequestratorio da scegliersi preferibilmente fra rappresentanti enti beneficenza assicurine con biglietti espresso urgente."

IL PREFETTO
(Ricci)



Letter of the Udine Prefecture to the Deputy Prefect in Gorizia regarding the anti-masonic measures, 1925.
(Archives of the Republic of Slovenia)





Fulvio Conti

**From
Brotherhood
to Rivalry.**

**The Grand
Orient of Italy
and the Balkan
and Danubian
Europe
Freemasonries**

Abstract

Between 1870 and 1920, the Grand Orient of Italy (GOI) had an important role in the revival and spread of Freemasonry in some of Europe's Danubian and Balkan countries. In particular, the GOI founded several lodges in Serbia and Romania, of which some famous representatives of local cultural and political life participated. Italian Freemasonry looked sympathetically towards local nationalist movements and encouraged their anti-Habsburg and anti-Turkish actions. World War I, however, opened up deep divisions between the GOI, which claimed Italy's rights over Rijeka and Dalmatia, and the Serbian and Croatian Freemasonries, which defended the expectations of the rising Yugoslav state. The article reconstructs these events and, more generally, seeks to shed some light on the GOI's relations with the various Masonic organizations in Danubian and Balkan Europe between the 19th and 20th centuries.

KEYWORDS: Freemasonry, Grand Orient of Italy, Balkan and Danubian Europe, Nationalism/Universalism.

1.

The Grand Orient of Italy was founded in 1805 at Napoléon's urging, when most of the Italian peninsula was occupied by the French. During these years, Italian Freemasonry became a sort of the emperor's long arm, serving as a tool to build consensus and integrating the bourgeois elites within the new regime. In the eyes of the absolute monarchs overthrown by Napoléon, Freemasonry ended up being identified as the emblem of the French Revolution and its Jacobin ideals.¹ Thus, when the 1815 Congress of Vienna decreed Napoléon's annihilation and the restoration of absolutism, Freemasonry was banned in all the Italian states, unleashing a kind of witch hunt against the Masons.² The Grand Orient of Italy was reconstituted only in 1859, after the end of the Second War of Independence and a few months before Garibaldi's Expedition of the *Mille*: two events that should have decreed the birth of a united and independent Italy.³ The Grand Orient immediately had a strong political connotation. Promulgated by some liberal members very close to Prime Minister Camillo Cavour, it was conceived as a body intended to bring the ruling classes of the country together and to direct their actions toward supporting the new Kingdom of Italy and its government. In the space of a few years, however, control of the Grand Orient was taken over by followers of Garibaldi and Mazzini, namely, by democratic and republican-minded figures. In 1864, for a short time, Garibaldi himself was elected a Grand Master, though he remained an inveterate Freemason until his death.⁴ From that moment on until the birth of fascism, Italian Freemasonry had a strong democratic and progressive connotation. Many representatives from left-wing parties included republicans, radicals, socialists, and even anarchists.⁵ While they were engaged in battles aimed at socially and politically

¹ Cazzaniga, 2006, *Nascita del Grande Oriente*.

² Della Peruta, 1981, *La Massoneria in Italia*; Conti, 2008, *Massoneria e Risorgimento*.

³ Conti, Novarino (ed.), 2011, *Massoneria e unità d'Italia*.

⁴ Conti, 2008, *Il Garibaldi dei massoni*.

⁵ Conti, 2003, *Storia della massoneria*.

modernizing the country and secularizing society, another common element, however, was a strong sense of patriotism, an obstinate defense of the state that came out of the Risorgimento's struggles against its internal and external enemies, especially against the Catholic Church, which did not recognize its legitimacy.⁶ For some time, their patriotism, in tune with Mazzini's philosophy, managed to coexist with the Masonic ideal of the universal brotherhood of peoples. Nevertheless, especially from the beginning of the 20th century, it began to assume more extreme tones to the point of taking on more aggressively nationalistic positions.⁷ It is interesting to underscore that these values were also shared by many Freemasons with a republican, even socialist bent. Antimonarchic forces and internationalist ideals were set aside to fully support Italy's ambition of becoming a superpower and of playing an important role in southern Europe and the Mediterranean. This is one of the possible interpretations of the creation by the Grand Orient of Italy of several Masonic lodges in central and Danubian Europe, the Near East, and countries along the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, a phenomenon that began in the 1860s and lasted until the end of World War I.

With the founding of these lodges, the Italian brothers favored Freemasonry's spread to countries where it was persecuted or where no regular lodges existed. Nevertheless, at the same time, this was a way of extending Italy's influence into some regions of the Ottoman Empire that, between the 18th and 20th centuries, had seen significant political and institutional instability, regions where economic and commercial opportunities as opening up in those years. The network of Italian lodges abroad was, in short, a sort of "parallel diplomacy", encouraged by the various governments that used them somewhat to pursue their political goals. It was a strategy largely shared by all the other "Latin Freemasonries": the Grand Orient of France as well as the lodges in Spain, Portugal, Greece, and the Danubian area. They dissociated themselves from the apolitical and agnostic model of Anglo-Saxon (primarily English) Freemasonry to work intensely on political and social fronts.⁸

From this point of view the case of the Italian Masonic presence in Europe appears particularly significant and deserving of further investigation. It very clearly highlights how it passed from the bonds of the pure Masonic brotherhood of its origin, when Italian Masons offered their support in desire for the freedom and independence of the Balkan peoples, to a phase where rivalries and conflicts prevailed. At first, it was a rivalry between lodges, (e.g., between the Grand Orient of Italy and the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary), which appeared after 1890, when some Serbian and Croatian lodges, founded under Italian influence, came under the control of the Hungarian Freemasonry. Later, especially with the approach of the Great War and with nationalistic sentiment breaking out, many lodges came to express territorial claims and hegemonic pretensions. Moreover, they did so based on criteria of ethnic, social, and cultural supremacy that had little to do with the Masonic tradition of universalism and cosmopolitanism, and more with the power politics of their respective nations.⁹ At the same time, the foundations of cooperation between some European and American Freemasons that had led to the birth in 1902

⁶ Conti, 2006, *Laïcité et légitimation*.

⁷ Conti, 1999, *Fra patriottismo democratico e nazionalismo*; Conti, 2000, *Les liturgies de la patrie*.

⁸ Beaurepaire, 2002, *L'Europe des francs-maçons*; Conti, 2005, *Massoneria e radicalismo*.

⁹ Berger, 2010, *Between universal values*; Berger, 2010, *European Freemasonries*.

of the *Bureau international des relations maçonniques* were lessened. At the outbreak of World War I this organization suffered the same fate as the socialist Second International. It suddenly dissolved, unable to stem the nationalist disbandment of the various Masonic dependencies.¹⁰

2.

As has been stated, the spread of Italian Masonic lodges in central and eastern Europe began in the 1860s. Greece was one of the first regions towards which the Grand Orient of Italy looked, with the dual purpose of promoting the Masonic institution's spread in Europe, and secondly, of consolidating its presence abroad by affirming itself as the Masonic organization of reference in the Mediterranean basin. Moreover, Greece, the birthplace of European civilization, had been a key symbol for progressive and cosmopolitan freemasonry in the 18th century. It was not by chance that many Masons, even Italians, had enthusiastically joined the philhellenic movement at the beginning of the 19th century.

The Grand Orient of Italy's first two lodges were founded in 1862: one, *Panellenium*, in Athens headed by the journalist Antonio Nicolaidis, and the other, *Sons of Leonidas*, on the island of Syros. Four years later, at the initiative of the Athenian Masonic core in Athens that, in the meantime, had become stronger, six other lodges, all affiliated to the Grand Orient of Italy — five on mainland Greece (Piraeus, Calcid, Patras, Argo, and Lamia) and one in the island of Corfu — came into existence at the same time. In April of the following year, 1867, these eight lodges asked to leave the Grand Orient of Italy to create an autonomous and independent lodge, the Grand Orient of Greece.¹¹ The Grand Orient of Italy, as its Grand Master Francesco De Luca said, "found righteous and holy aspirations for the liberty of our native soil," approved the Greeks' initiative in good faith and promised its cooperation so that the new lodge was recognized by various foreign masonries. "Let us render to others," said the Grand Master, "the justice we wanted for ourselves."¹²

However, Italian Freemasonry did not forsake its presence in the Hellenic Kingdom, already taking the *Pythagoras* Lodge under its control in 1868. It had sprung up independently in Vathi, on the island of Samos, and accepted both Greeks and Italians. In 1883, it then became the turn of Corfu's *Progress* Lodge. Moreover, in this case, it was founded by a group of Italians and Greeks who had left a pre-existing lodge, *Phoenix*. This lodge had been active on the Ionian island since 1843 and belonged to the Grand Orient of France. Nonetheless, the Corfu lodge lasted only one year, dissolving in 1884. Still in 1884, the *Eastern Star* Lodge, also a dependency of the Grand Orient of Italy, was active on Zakynthos, which shortly thereafter no longer had any sign of life.¹³

From 1884 on, there were no longer any Italian Masonic lodges in Greece. It is nonetheless true that one entitled 4th May was founded on Rhodes in 1913. However, at that time, the is-

¹⁰ Berger, 2014, *Regimes of Territoriality*; Conti, 2017, *The Masonic International*.

¹¹ Ligou, 2004, pp. 559–562.

¹² Polo Friz, Mammone, Francesco De Luca, p. 132.

¹³ Grande Oriente d'Italia, 1884, *Elenco generale*.

land, which today is part of Greece, had recently been conquered by the Kingdom of Italy in the victorious war fought against Turkey between 1911 and 1912. Moreover, the name given to the lodge recalled the date in 1912 Italian troops landed on Rhodes. The name was meant to celebrate the country's military triumphs and colonial conquests, eloquently revealing the nationalistic change that the ideology of Italian Freemasonry had undergone at the beginning of the 20th century. It was not the first time that a date indicative of a historical event considered particularly important was chosen as the name of a Masonic lodge. In the decades following Italian Unification, several lodges in Italy had made this choice: *11th May* in Marsala, *20th July* in Milazzo, *29th September* in Ancona, *20th June* in Perugia, and many others. However, those dates recalled battles and significant moments in the struggle for national independence, aiming at disseminating a patriotic feeling that still seemed fully compatible with the ideals of Masonic universalism.¹⁴ On the eve of World War I, this expectation definitely came to an end, revealing that national interests in European masonries, especially the more politically engaged ones, had prevailed over the utopian design of the "Universal Republic of Free Masonry".¹⁵

3.

One interesting case that also confirms this tendency is that of Italy's Masonic presence in Macedonia, especially in Thessalonica. This city was one of the Ottoman Empire's most progressive and most dynamic, with a population consisting mainly of Sephardic Jews. The *Macedonia* Lodge founded there in 1864, was one of eleven that the Grand Orient of Italy came to rely upon in the Turkish Empire at the end of the 1870s (five were based in Istanbul, four in Smyrna, and one in Magnesia). Nevertheless, after Sultan Abdul Hamid II's rise to the throne in 1876, almost all of these lodges were forced to close. Unlike his predecessor Murad V, affiliated with the Grand Orient of France, Abdul Hamid II initiated a policy of closure towards the West and a deep aversion towards Freemasonry.¹⁶

The Masonic presence in the Ottoman Empire became quite robust at the beginning of the 20th century, and its awakening greatly contributed to a journey by the then Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Italy, Ettore Ferrari, who went to Turkey with the explicit mandate of re-launching the Italian lodges.¹⁷ One Thessalonian lodge, *Macedonia Risen*, assumed particular importance by becoming the gathering place and a sort of organizational front for the Young Turk movement.¹⁸ The architect of the lodge's rebirth — as well as a supporter of a coalition with the group of nationalists and constitutionalists from the Ottoman Freedom Association — was Emanuele Carasso, a Sephardic lawyer of Italian origin. Affiliated with *Macedonia Risen* at the end of 1902, he became Worshipful Master and encouraged the enrollment of numerous individuals who held top positions in both the Union and Progress Committee and the government

¹⁴ Conti, 2010, *L'Italia dei liberi muratori*.

¹⁵ Beaurepaire, 1999, *La République universelle*.

¹⁶ Iacovella, 2002, *Fratelli in migrazione*; Conti, 2008, *Entre Orient et Occident*; Locci, 2013, *Il cammino di Hiram*.

¹⁷ Ferrari, 1910, *La Massoneria italiana*; Loi, 1987, *La missione di Ferrari*.

¹⁸ Hanioglu, 1989, *Notes on the Young Turks*; Iacovella, 1997, Ettore Ferrari; Iacovella, 1997, *Il triangolo e la mezzaluna*.

formed in 1909 after the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid II.¹⁹ Among the best-known names are those of Mehmed Talat, future vice president of the Chamber; Rahmi ben Riza, who, like Carasso, was then elected to the Ottoman Parliament for the Thessalonica College; Midhat Şükrü, Secretary of the Union for Progress; and Ismail Hakkı Canbulat as well as Refik Bey, the latter the Minister of Justice, who died in 1909. There were also a large number of senior officers from Thessalonica's military command, including Chief of Staff Ismail Hakkı, who were members of *Macedonia Risen* Lodge. As noted, that armed body played a decisive role in putting down Abdul Hamid II's counterrevolutionary attempt in March 1909.

After Mehmed V's rise to power in 1909, the Grand Orient of Italy openly claimed the role played by Freemasonry in the revolution of the Young Turks.²⁰ Again in 1909, it contributed to the birth of the Ottoman Grand Orient, to which official recognition was immediately offered. It also signed an agreement that allowed it to maintain the lodges as its dependencies in Ottoman territory and to create new ones.²¹ However, when the Italo-Turkish war broke out in September 1911, these good relations did not prevent the Grand Orient of Italy from enthusiastically greeting the Italian ships that departed for the Libyan conquest and giving all its support to the colonial enterprise. It was a choice that attracted multiple and contradictory criticisms of the Masonic institution. On the one hand, some foreign lodges were accused of betraying the Masonic values of universalism and pacifism. On the other, participants in the Italian nationalist movement had denounced the ongoing Turcophilia, ambiguity, and substantial anti-patriotism.

Moreover, the fact was that, in a past war, the Grand Orient of Italy had not helped the Young Turks when they turned to it for intercession with the Italian government to prevent the annexation of Tripoli. Some members of the Italian lodge in Istanbul played an important role in the peace negotiations between the two countries and were present at the meetings that led to the preliminary Treaty of Ouchy in May 1912 and to the Lausanne peace treaty the following year. In any event, as the Turkish government shortly thereafter shifted towards authoritarianism, the Grand Orient of Italy did not hesitate to distance itself, creating conditions that gradually reduced the Italian Masonic presence in Anatolia.

Thessalonica's Italian lodges had a completely different fate, as the city had become part of the Kingdom of Greece after the Peace of Bucharest in August 1913, which ended the Second Balkan War. The *Macedonia Risen* Lodge remained active until November 1925, when the Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Italy Domizio Torrigiani decreed the self-dissolution of all the lodges under him so as prevent their being affected by a newly approved fascist law in which Freemasonry was defined as a secret society and its suppression sanctioned.²² In 1906, however, *Labor et Lux*, another Italian lodge established in Thessalonica, decided in 1925 to continue its activity and, by 1931, had 34 affiliates. This lodge, the majority of whose members were from the Jewish community, played a decisive role in re-establishing Italian Freemasonry. It was one of the few lodges represented in Paris at the January 1930 meeting that marked the birth of the Grand Orient of Italy in exile. Representing the lodge was Giacomo Carasso, who had long been

¹⁹ Locci, 2011, La figura di Emanuele Carasso.

²⁰ Alla giovine Turchia, 1909; Onoranze ai Fratelli turchi, 1910; La massoneria e la rivoluzione turca, 1910.

²¹ De Poli, Il mito dell'Oriente, 2006, p. 650; Ligou, 2004, pp. 1232–1237; Saunier, 2000, pp. 869–870.

²² Conti, 2014, La massoneria italiana.

its Worshipful Master before moving to Paris, where he had close relations with some well-known supporters of anti-fascism.²³

4.

The particularly high number of Italian lodges that had found fertile soil in Romania was due largely to the reforms introduced by Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the ruler who had unified the Moldavian and Wallachia Principalities in 1862. Although still formally under the Ottoman Empire, it created the premise for the birth of an independent Romanian state. Cuza, who was a mason and a Worshipful Master of a Bucharest lodge, implemented a secular modernization policy. Monastic property of the Orthodox Church was confiscated; civil and penal codes inspired by the Napoléonic ones were adopted. Free public education and the University of Bucharest were instituted. However, above all, agricultural reform was launched to free peasants from the feudal constraints that still burdened them and to promote land redistribution. Opposed by conservatives, Cuza was ousted in 1866 through a conspiracy and replaced by the Prussian Prince Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, from which the Principality of Romania came into being.

The first core of lodges adhering to the Grand Orient of Italy was formed in Romania between 1874 and 1876. Three were set up in Bucharest (*Harmony, Romania, and Alexandru Ioan Cuza*). Another was in Giurgiu, the important city on the Danube at the border with Bulgaria. Since 1869 it had been connected to the capital of Bucharest by the first railway line inaugurated in Romania. There was another, in the Moldovan region of Vaslui, named after the King of Italy, Vittorio Emanuele II. An article published in 1876 in the *"Rivista della massoneria italiana"* said that "the country's best intellects, the most authoritative and wealthiest men" had gathered in those lodges. They had "founded schools" and "taken sweeping control of the press". In short, they exercised "great influence on the destiny of their country."²⁴

The development of these lodges was interrupted in 1877 by the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish conflict, with Romania aligning with Russia and proclaiming its independence from the Ottoman Empire. This independence was definitively endorsed by the 1878 Berlin Peace Conference. In 1881, after further agreements in exchange for some territories with Russia, the Kingdom's constitution was officially proclaimed and Prince Karl was crowned King Carol I of Romania. For Freemasonry, permeated by universalist values, and which after the 1867 Geneva Congress was engaged in spreading the modern peace movement, wars for national independence were considered "fair wars."²⁵ The Romanian Masons, including those from the Italian lodges, were no exception. An 1879 article published in the Italian press stated, "When it comes to a country's independence, men of thought and of peaceful propaganda become men of arms and actions. Thus have our beloved Brothers of Romania acted."²⁶ The conquest of

²³ Fedele, 2005, *La massoneria italiana*, pp. 50–51.

²⁴ *Notizie massoniche*, 1876, pp. 6–7.

²⁵ Gotovitch, 1987, *Franc-maçonnerie, guerre et paix*; Lubelski-Bernard, 1988, *Freemasonry and Peace*; Conti, 2004, *De Genève à la Piave*; Conti, 2015, *La Franc-maçonnerie*.

²⁶ *Ruménia*, 1879, n. 2, p. 28.

independence had profound repercussions on the Romanian Masonic world, which sought to create an autonomous national lodge by bringing together most of the lodges that had belonged to foreign lodges until then. The initiative took form in 1879 and led to the establishment of a Grand Orient of Romania, to which the three Italian lodges in Bucharest also belonged. In 1878, one of these, *Alexandru Ioan Cuza*, had changed its name to *Romanian Independence*.²⁷ This time, however, the Grand Orient of Italy did not show the same condescending attitude it had displayed when the Greek and Ottoman Grand Orients were formed. Indeed, it immediately exhibited a clear aversion to the new lodge. In particular, the decision made by the Romanian Grand Orient to replace the traditional Masonic invocation "to the Great Architect of the Universe" with the formula "To the Triumph of the True" aroused suspicion that revealed atheistic tendencies. Moreover, it seemed to echo the same choice made shortly before by the Grand Orient of Belgium and of France. Another rift in Masonic rituals and symbols was formed by the decision to modify the trinomial "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", with which Freemasonry paid tribute to the ideals of the French Revolution. The word "Equality" was removed and replaced by the Romanian expression "*Dreptate*", which could be translated as "Righteousness", "Justice", or "Law". Several articles in the "*Rivista della massoneria italiana*" also expressed doubt that the constitutions of the Grand Orient of Romania did not guarantee the "full equality of race and religion". Above all, they contained rules that were discriminatory against Jews.²⁸

In December 1880, the Grand Orient of Romania ended its short existence, and its membership was absorbed in 1881 by a new lodge, the Grand National Lodge of Romania. An army officer, Captain Constantin Moroiu, became its Grand Master and undisputed leader. Moroiu stood out for his very centralized, idiosyncratic management style and for the excessive ease with which he bestowed high Masonic degrees. The main foreign lodges often conflicted with the institution he led, leading to the creation of new lodges under their control in Romanian territory. The Grand Orient of Italy's case was representative, having founded twenty-one lodges in Romania in only seven years, between 1879 and 1885. It began in 1879 with the *Lumina* Lodge in Bucea, Transylvania. Between 1880 and 1881, five lodges were formed in an equal number of Moldovan towns: *Trajan* in Adjud; *Star of Bârlad* in Bârlad; *Costachi Negri* in Bacau; *Lucia* in Bozieni; and *Stephen the Great* in Roman. The last of these was named for one of the symbols of Moldovan identity, the *voivode* (sovereign), who had defended his kingdom in the second half of the 15th century, fighting against the Turks, the Poles, and the Hungarians. Additionally, *Coroana Romaniei* Lodge was established in Bucharest in 1881, remaining active until 1893. It endorsed the reopening of Italian Freemasonry in the capital.²⁹ The lodges established in 1882 were mostly concentrated in Moldovan cities: *Dochia* and *Bistritza* Lodges in Piatra Neamt (the ancient Petrodava); *Instructionea* and *Virtutea* Lodges in Focșani; *Vitorul* in Botoșani, which took an active part in the Grand Orient of Italy's various initiatives and was dissolved in 1902; and *Alexandru Cel Bun* in Fontanele, a small town near Bacau.³⁰ In 1884, it merged with *Costachi Negri* Lodge, creating the new *Sapientia* Lodge, whose Worshipful Master for several years had been Prof. Friedrich Muller, head physician in the city hospital. *Fraternitatea Romana*

²⁷ Ligou, 2004, pp. 1072–1080.

²⁸ La Massoneria in Rumenia, 1879; Il Grande Oriente di Rumenia, 1879; La Massoneria in Rumenia, 1880.

²⁹ Bucharest, 1881; Massoneria in Romania, 1881.

³⁰ La Massoneria in Rumenia, 1882; Bacau, 1882.

Lodge was established in 1882 in Brăila, an important port town on the Danube, and *Bassarab* Lodge founded in 1883 in Craiova, two towns located in the Wallachia region. In 1883, the *Concordia* and *Pionul* Lodges were established in the Moldavian towns of Tecuci and Piatra as well as *Petru Rares* in Târgu Ocna, a town in the district of Bacau, in 1884.³¹ One interesting case was represented by the *Zur Bruderkette* and *Montefiore* Lodges, founded in 1884 at Marmornitz and in 1885 in Mihăileni, two towns of Bucovina, which, among their affiliates, had many brothers from neighboring Austria, where Freemasonry was poorly tolerated. The second was dedicated to Moses Haim Montefiore, the rich Jewish financier and philanthropist of Italian origin but a naturalized Englishman, who had devoted much of his life — he died in 1885 — to helping various Jewish communities around the world.³² In December 1889, the Mihăileni lodge decided to change its name and call itself *To Friendship*, most likely so as not to clash too much with the Romanian political and intellectual world that, even in its most advanced sectors, was permeated with a deep anti-Semitism.³³ It ceased to exist in 1895.

Still in 1885, a lodge named after *Queen Elizabeth*, the consort of Charles I of Romania, was founded in Fălticeni, a town in the Moldovan region in the country's northeast. This name, together with the others already mentioned, reveals how, like in Romania, the Masonic lodges were in accordance with the provisions of the Anderson Constitutions, characterized by a legitimist principle and by fidelity to institutions and to the political regime in force. After 1885, the push for the construction of new lodges in Romania, placed on the dependencies of the Grand Orient of Italy, almost stopped. Among the few were the *Ajouturul* Lodge in Călărași, a town in the ancient Wallachia region in the southeastern Romania, founded in 1893 and in existence until 1902; *Romania Prudenta*, established in Bucharest in 1893 and dissolved in 1899; and *Unirea-Virtutea*, founded in 1895 in Focșani by the merger of the two pre-existing lodges and disappeared in 1901.

Many of these lodges were relatively short-lived, with some surviving until the early twentieth century. In any case, of all the Italian lodges created in the country, only the *Romania* Lodge in Bucharest was active in 1914, having been re-established in 1906. After overcoming the perils of World War I, it ceased to exist in 1925 obeying the decision to disband made by Grand Master Domizio Torrigiani not to violate fascist law.

5.

In the period preceding World War I, the other two Central European countries where the Grand Orient of Italy had some lodges under its control were Bulgaria and Serbia

The first trace of an Italian Masonic presence in Bulgaria dates back to the early 1880s, when the *Hope* Lodge was active for a short time in Rusciuk, a town on the Danube River whose Worshipful Master was the pharmacist Ugo Dunzinkiewicz.³⁴ The second lodge, *Acacia*, was much

³¹ Notizie massoniche, 1883.

³² Notizie massoniche, 1885, n. 3–4, 13–14, 17–20.

³³ Costantini, 2005, Nae Ionescu, pp. 40–46.

³⁴ Grande Oriente d'Italia, 1884, Elenco generale; Ligou, 2004, pp. 174–176.

longer-lived, having been founded in 1905 in Xanthi, a Thracian city that belonged to Bulgaria for a few years, and, as such, it was recorded in the yearbooks of the Grand Orient of Italy.³⁵ Previously part of the Ottoman Empire, the city was conquered by the Bulgarians in November 1912 during the first Balkan war and recognized by the Bucharest Treaty of 1913. After the defeat of Bulgaria in World War I, the 1920 Treaty of Neuilly saw the city was definitively assigned to Greece along with other Western Thracian territories. In any case, the *Acacia* Lodge's Worshipful Masters included the stationmaster Jacques Mohlo and Doctor George Hekimoglou. It was very active and contributed large sums of money to various initiatives promoted by the Grand Orient of Italy, such as Masonic festivals for the centenaries of Mazzini's birth in 1905 and Garibaldi's in 1907, or relief for the victims of the 1908 earthquake in Reggio Calabria and Messina. The *Acacia* Lodge survived until 1925, as well as another lodge, *Demeter*, founded in Sofia in 1919 by the Grand Orient of Italy. Its Worshipful Master was the economist and statistician Adolfo Mario Morgantini, at that time the director of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Bulgaria.³⁶

As for Serbia, the first Italian lodge was set up in October 1876 during a particularly troubled period in the Balkan principality's history. The previous year, a riot had broken out in Bosnia-Herzegovina that was severely repressed by the Ottoman governors. This caused the Serbs to request intervention from the Russian Empire and the resulting outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. The 1878 Congress of Berlin ratified the Principality of Serbia's final independence, later transformed into a kingdom in 1882. However, at the same time, it put an end to its expansionist designs on Bosnia-Herzegovina by deciding that it become a military protectorate of Austria-Hungary. The Belgrade lodge, called *Light of the Balkans* (*Svetlost Balkana*), was set up with the help of the Italian consul Luigi Joannini Ceva di San Michele, demonstrating that the new government, led by the Freemason Agostino Depretis, was interested in introducing Italy to the political and diplomatic games of the Slavic area.³⁷

The *Light of the Balkans* Lodge marked Freemasonry's rebirth in Serbia, with membership increasing among the numerous political and cultural leaders, including university professors Mihailo Valtrović, Stevan Popović, and Svetomir Nikolajević, as well as the painter Đorđe Milovanović.³⁸ In February 1882, it was joined by a second lodge, *Serbian Cooperation* (*Srbska Zadruga*), also affiliated with the Grand Orient of Italy.³⁹ This was a highly politicized lodge, whose Worshipful Master was Svetomir Nikolajević, one of the founders of the Serbian Radical Party and of the local Red Cross. He was mayor of Belgrade and, in 1894, prime minister of Serbia. Its members also included the economist Mihailo Vujić, another Radical Party exponent who was Minister of Finance and Prime Minister in 1901–1902.

In 1883, the *Light of the Balkans* was dissolved and from its ashes rose the *Concord, Work, and Fortitude* (*Sloga, Rad i Postojanstvo*) Lodge under the patronage of the Grand Orient of Italy, of

³⁵ Annuario massonico, 1908.

³⁶ Annuario massonico, 1920; Annuario massonico, 1923.

³⁷ Stamenkovich-Markovich, *A Brief History*, 2009, p. 38; Zugic, 2011, *Light on the Balkans*; Cuzzi, 2015, *Serbia*; Spadaro, 2016, *Svetlost Balkana*.

³⁸ Belgrado, 1878; Belgrado, 1879, n. 3, n. 19; Belgrado, 1880.

³⁹ Stamenkovich-Markovich, *A Brief History*, 2009, p. 40.

which the previously mentioned Mihailo Valtrović was a Worshipful Master.⁴⁰ In 1885, when the *Serbian Cooperation* Lodge ceased to exist, many of its affiliates decided to join *Concord*, which remained the only Masonic lodge in Serbia until 1890. That year, some of its members, including Svetomir Nikolajević, founded a new lodge called *Pobratim*, which was placed a dependent of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary.⁴¹ In fact, this lodge officially began its work in February 1891 and was a remarkable success. It was led until 1899, when it had more than 90 members, by Đorđe Vajfert, a mining entrepreneur, owner of the famous Weiferte brewery, and later governor of the Bank of Serbia. It confirmed that the Italian Masonic influence in Serbia had been replaced by the Magyars, a fact confirmed by the dissolution of the *Concord, Work, and Fortitude* Lodge, decreed by the Grand Orient of Italy in 1905.

At that time, however, it should be said that relations between the Italian and Hungarian Freemasonries were good. Freemasonry returned to Hungary after the 1867 *Ausgleich*, the Austro-Hungarian compromise, which had established the dual monarchy, yet it continued to be prohibited and persecuted in Austria. Many Hungarian exiles contributed to the resurrection of the Budapest lodges. After the 1848–1849 revolution, many fled to Italy and France where they were initiated into Masonic secrets. Between 1862 and 1865, thirty-three Hungarian nationals, including Count Ferenc Pulszky, were initiated⁴² in Turin's only lodge, *Dante Alighieri*. Returning home in 1867, Pulszky was one of the architects of the 1870 founding of the Hungarian Grand Lodge of St. John, becoming its first Grand Master. He was also elected the first Grand Master of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary, the institution that arose in 1886 from the merger of the Grand Lodge of St. John and the Grand Orient of Hungary, founded in 1871.⁴³ At his death in 1897, the Grand Orient of Italy dedicated a moving remembrance to him.⁴⁴ It should be recalled that Lajos Kossuth, the father of Hungarian independence and also a Mason, spent the latter part of his life in Italy, until his death in Turin in 1894. In 1889, a delegation of about eight hundred Magyar citizens, including several Masons, went specifically to Turin, on a sort of political pilgrimage meant to pay homage to the illustrious patriot.⁴⁵

The relations of the Grand Lodge of Hungary with Italian Freemasonry and especially with the Serbs deteriorated beyond repair in 1908, when the Italians refused to adopt the protests of its Serbian brothers and endorsed Bosnia-Herzegovina's annexation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Serbian Masons then sought alliances and protection elsewhere. In 1909 and 1910, two new lodges were established in Belgrade: the first affiliated itself with the Grand Orient of France and the second with the Grand Lodge of Hamburg. In 1909 the first Scottish Rite organizations saw the influence of the Supreme Council of Romania. In addition, in 1912, with the support of the Greek Masons, the Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite of Serbia was founded and was accepted that same year as a regular member at the international congress of the Su-

⁴⁰ Belgrado, 1883; Stamenkovich-Markovich, *A Brief History*, 2009, p. 41.

⁴¹ Stamenkovich-Markovich, *A Brief History*, 2009, pp. 42–46.

⁴² Polo Friz, Lodovico Frapolli, 1990; Polo Friz, Lodovico Frapolli, 1993; Polo Friz, Lodovico Frapolli, 1998; Polo Friz, *La massoneria italiana*, 1998; György, 1998, *A Forty-Eighter's Vita*.

⁴³ Ligou, 2004, pp. 599–603; Saunier, 2000, pp. 411–412.

⁴⁴ *Massoneria ungherese*, 1897.

⁴⁵ *I magiari a Torino*, 1889.

preme Councils of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite held in Washington.⁴⁶ Almost all of the Serbian lodges associated with foreign Masonic lodges passed to its dependencies, among them the “Italian” *Concord, Work, and Fortitude* Lodge, which was reconstituted in March 1912.⁴⁷ This act, however, did not end the presence of Italian lodges in Serbian territory. In 1909, a lodge of the Grand Orient of Italy (called *Earth and Sun*) was founded in Monastir, a city now part of the Republic of Macedonia. However, in 1913, after the Balkan wars, it was taken from the Ottoman Empire and assigned to Serbia, taking the name of Bitola.⁴⁸ After the war, the city became part of the kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. In addition, the Italian lodge remained active until 1925.

The lodges of the Grand Orient of Italy, therefore, played a decisive role in the revival and spread of Freemasonry in Serbia between the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1880, the “*Rivista della massoneria italiana*” published a speech by a director of the *Light of the Balkans* Lodge, in which he described the similarities that existed between Italy and Serbia in their respective struggles for the conquest of freedom and independence. In addition, he brought back the feeling of friendship uniting both Serbian and Italian Masons in the common interests that the two states had in the Adriatic and Balkan areas: namely the aim of reducing Ottoman influence and of containing Austrian expansionism.⁴⁹ An article by Stanoje Mihajlović, appearing in the same magazine in 1913, stated that these were the reasons that had pushed Serbian Freemasonry to perform a deeply patriotic action now, after the upheaval in the Balkan region through wars and rebellions, a new phase opened for the Serbian Masons. The article’s author declared that, “as pioneers of humanity and opponents of solving international problems through war”, they had to strive to find “a solution by means of humanitarian and peaceful means to the already quite complicated problem of the Balkan question.”⁵⁰

In reality, the time available for seeking this type of solution had run out. It was the very reassertion of patriotism as an identity-making element in Latin and Central Europe Freemasonry, a patriotism that could still fall into humanitarian and universalist terms, at the outbreak of World War I, which was the cause of the unhealable wounds and fractures. In particular, with both defending their own national interests, Serbo-Croatian and Italian freemasons collided on how to allocate the upper Adriatic territories after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires. This dissent emerged extensively at the congress of the allied and neutral countries Freemasonries, held in Paris in June 1917, where the main point on the agenda was, nevertheless, a discussion about the plan to form a League of Nations after the end of the war.⁵¹ The Grand Orient of Rome’s delegation claimed Italy’s right to annex Istria and Dalmatia as well as Trieste and Gorizia. The Serbs instead asked that Trieste be internationalized and that there be a plebiscite for the other territories where the majority of the population was Slovenian-Croatian.⁵²

⁴⁶ Stamenkovich-Markovich, *A Brief History*, 2009, pp. 48–66.

⁴⁷ *La Massoneria in Serbia*, 1916.

⁴⁸ *Annuario massonico*, 1909.

⁴⁹ *Discorso*, 1880.

⁵⁰ *La Massoneria in Serbia*, 1913.

⁵¹ *Grand Orient de France — Grande Loge de France*, 1917, *Congrès des Maçonneries*.

⁵² *The National Claims*, 1919; Košir, 2015, *Zgodovina prostozidarstva*, pp. 188–202.

The Paris Congress approved a preliminary document, which was interpreted in Italy as caving in to the demands of the Slavs and attracted fierce criticism at the upper levels of the Grand Orient, to the point of forcing Grand Master Ettore Ferrari to resign.⁵³

6.

The “Adriatic question” continued to trouble Italian Freemasonry even after the end of the war. Moreover, the definition of the eastern border, established only with the Rapallo Treaty in November 1920, and the rhetoric of a “mutilated victory” were at the center of public discussion in Italy. Freemasonry’s contribution to Gabriele D’Annunzio’s Rijeka (in Italian Fiume) expedition is well known and there is no need to discuss it again here. It suffices to consider the role played by the *Syrius* Lodge in Rijeka. Founded in 1901 by the Grand Lodge of Hungary, it fell under the banner of the Grand Orient of Italy in 1919.⁵⁴ I would rather draw attention to the rapid spread of Italian lodges in Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania, which occurred between late 1918 and the early 1920s. It seemed as if Freemasonry felt that it was part of the Italianization process in those territories and that, through its lodges, it contributed to creating ties with the new mother country. Even from this point of view, it appears quite clear that not a trace of Freemasonry’s ancient cosmopolitan spirit remained.

The Grand Lodge of Italy stood out in this operation, the new Obedience (called *Piazza del Gesù*) came out of a split of the Scottish Rite Masons from the Grand Orient of Italy in 1910. This Grand Lodge had a more conservative and nationalist political connotation, with many of its members belonging to the fascist movement. Four of its lodges were active in Pula between 1919 and 1924 and they had suggestive names: *Fifth November 1918*, *Homeland*, *Pola Liberated*, and *Light and Labor*. One was founded in Zadar/Zara (*Premuda* Lodge) in March 1920; one in Postojna/Postumia in April 1921 (*Italian Lookout*); one in Opatija/Abbazia in November 1921 (*Carnaro*); and two in Rijeka/Fiume, respectively in August 1922 (*Thirtieth October 1918* Lodge, the date on which Rijeka’s Italian National Council had proclaimed the city’s annexation to Italy) and in October 1923 (*Twelfth September 1919* Lodge, the date of D’Annunzio’s expedition). Lastly, one was established at some unknown date in Isola d’Istria/Izola; it was named for *Domenico Lovisato*, an Istrian geologist and irredentist.⁵⁵ Other lodges were founded in Albania, at Valona, Scutari, and Durres as dependencies of the Grand Lodge of Italy during those same years.

Even the Grand Orient of Italy contributed to populating Istria and Dalmatia with Masonic lodges, beginning with *Francesco Rismondo*, founded in Šibenik in 1919, named for the Dalmatian patriot and one of the symbols of irredentist martyrology. Enlisted as a volunteer in the Italian army, he died in August 1915, possibly executed as a deserter by the Austrians. Four lodges were added to this one: *Fourth November* in Zadar in 1920, *Concord* in Opatija in 1922, *Nazario Sauro* in Pola in 1923, and *New Italy* in Rijeka in 1923.

⁵³ Isastia, 1995, Ettore Ferrari; Conti, 2015, From Universalism to Nationalism; Cuzzi, 2017, Dal Risorgimento al mondo nuovo; Mola, 2017, La massoneria europea.

⁵⁴ Mola, 1990, L’ultima impresa; Karpovicz, 2017, Freemasonry.

⁵⁵ Pruneti, 2010, Annali, pp. 541–560.

In 1918, before the end of hostilities, the Grand Lodge of Italy opened its secret lodge in Prague, identified simply by the number 40. In March 1919, with the prohibitions imposed by Austrian authorities having failed, the *Narod* Lodge was established in Prague, which, a few months later, sprouted five other lodges under the Great Lodge of Italy. In December 1919, these six lodges, all practicing the Scottish Rite, joined in forming the Grand National Lodge of Czechoslovakia. In January 1920, they formed the Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite in Czechoslovakia. Finally, the annals of the Grand Lodge of Italy on Piazza del Gesù finally stated that it founded a lodge in 1919 in Vienna, called *New Era*, and in 1920 one in Poland, called *Copernicus*.

The collected data, presented here in a very concise manner, reveal that even after the war, Italian Masonic lodges continued to play a very important role outside national boundaries. Moreover, they confirmed that, setting aside Freemasonry's universalist utopia from its origins, they were interpreters of their country's expansionist aspirations and of the nationalist sentiment that was largely held by the ruling class. Despite Freemasons having been strongly supportive of its rise, Fascism banned Freemasonry in 1925 and interrupted its widespread growth in many foreign countries that had begun in the 1860s. This important page in the history of Italian Freemasonry has been quickly outlined with reference to the countries in Danubian and Balkan Europe. I hope that there will be future occasions to take up this subject again in order to carry out greater, crucially needed in-depth analyses.

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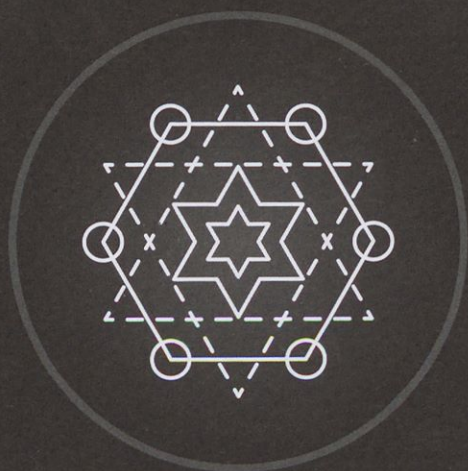
Zeit des Diktatur-Regimes (1929-1934), als nahezu sämtliche wichtigen öffentlichen Ämter von Logenmitgliedern bekleidet wurden. Auch nach 1934 war der Einfluß der Freimaurerei auf die Geschicke des Landes sowohl in politischer wie in wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht außerordentlich stark.

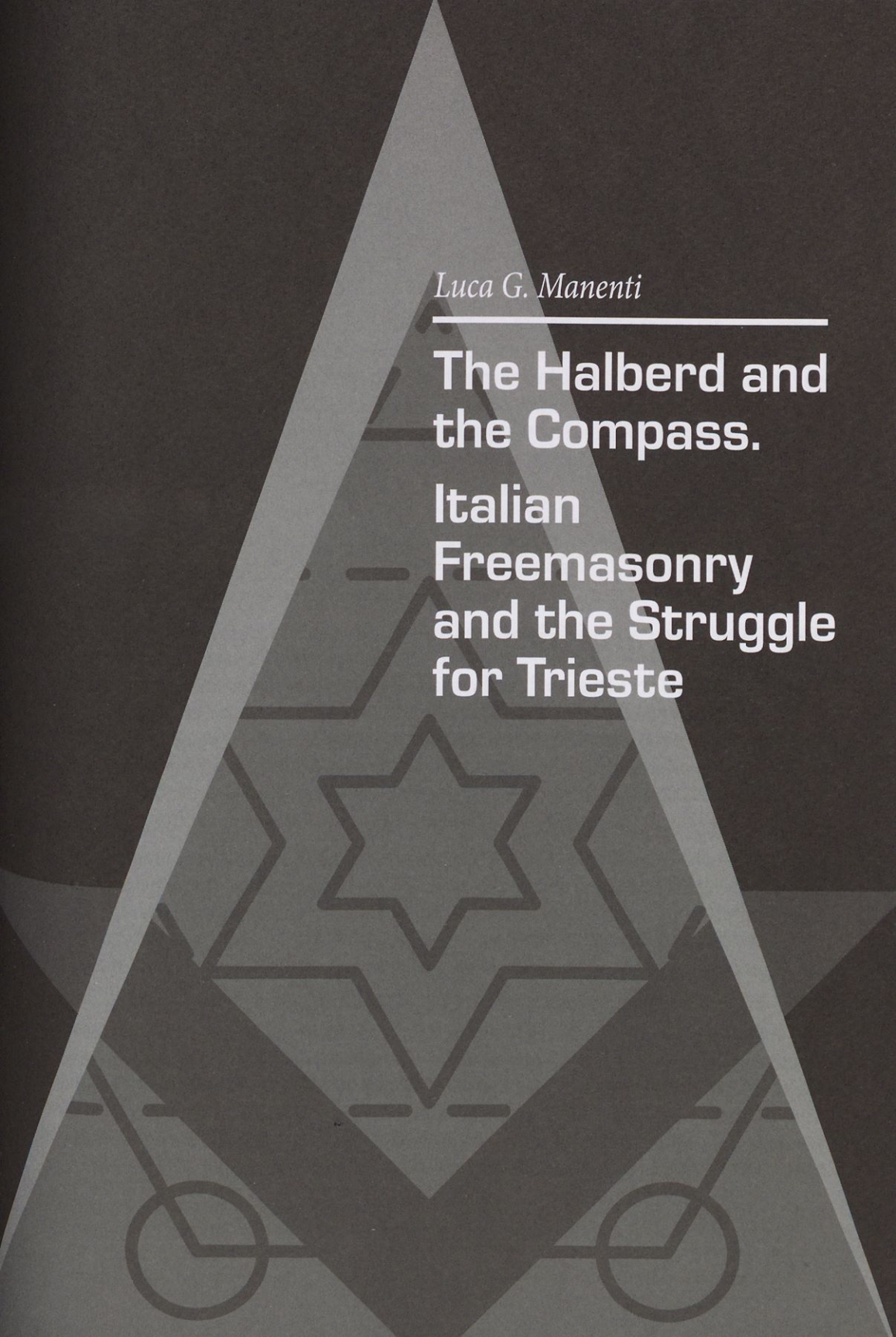
Am 30. Juli 1939 erschien eine Verordnung des Innenministers, nach der das bestehende Versammlungsverbot auch gegen die Freimaurerlogen anzuwenden sei. Kurz nach dieser Verordnung wurde die Auflösung der "Großloge für Jugoslawien des unabhängigen Ordens Bne B'rith" (Juden-Loge) verfügt, der Großloge "Jugoslavija" jedoch die Möglichkeit einer freiwilligen Selbstauflösung belassen.

Mit diesem Verbot der Freimaurerei versuchte die damalige jugosl. Regierung vermutlich nicht nur dem Wunsche katholisch-klerikaler Kreise nachzukommen, sondern auch dem von deutschen und italienischen Presseorganen erhobenen Vorwurf der Freimaurerfreundlichkeit zu begegnen. Späterhin wurden in den Logen auch Haussuchungen durchgeführt, die Archive beschlagnahmt und die Räume versiegelt.

Es besteht der begründete Verdacht, daß die Auflösung bzw. das Verbot der Freimaurerei nur zum Scheine durchgeführt wurde. Vor allem wurde jede offizielle Veröffentlichung von Mitgliederlisten strikt abgelehnt. Die vorhandenen Freimaurer-Listen stammen aus antifreimaurerischen Kreisen und können nicht als korrekte Unterlagen zur Belastung der benannten Personen angesehen werden. Es ist deshalb auch nicht möglich, so wie es s.Zt in Deutschland geschah, nach vorhandenen Mitgliederlisten das öffentliche Leben in dem Maße von den Freimaurern zu bereinigen. In Jugoslawien muß demnach ein anderer Weg eingeschlagen werden:

Es sind von den einzelnen Logen, die weiter
unten





Luca G. Manenti

The Halberd and the Compass.

**Italian
Freemasonry
and the Struggle
for Trieste**

Abstract

This paper deals with the relationship between Freemasonry and Italian irredentism between the end of the 19th century and the First World War. Irredentism was a political movement which came into being in Italy subsequent to political unification that and called for the country's national borders to be extended to include those regions having a majority Italian population but under different sovereignty, in particular, Trento and Trieste under Austrian rule.

During the 19th century, these two cities witnessed the appearance of small groups of individuals who yearned for annexation to Italy, but whose struggle was fought in two very different economic and cultural contexts. In Trento, with its strongly Catholic traditions, the irredentists were more keenly aware of social problems than in the more affluent Trieste, where the movement was more politically conservative in its approach. There, Freemasonry had deeper roots and from a certain point on it lent its support to irredentist aims. We shall begin by examining the formation of Trieste's Freemasonry, and then discuss its ties with the Italian patriots on the other side of the Adriatic.

KEYWORDS: Freemasonry, Grand Orient of Italy, Trieste, Irredentism

The Freemasons in Trieste

Since 1719, when Karl VI founded the free port, Trieste had become a magnet for people of very different nationalities and religions, and it was the resulting contact between merchants and travellers from all over, so typical of border areas and ports, which brought about the rise of Freemasonry. The first Triestine Lodge was founded clandestinely in 1765: nine years later, the Austrian officer Thomas von Welz (provided with a warrant) founded the Lodge officially under the Italian name *La Concordia*; it was later to join the Austrian Grand Provincial Lodge.¹

In addition to the Stock Exchange and the business community's usual other meeting places, the Lodges provided the emerging middle classes (which used Italian as their *lingua franca*) with the opportunity to come together and discuss the issues of the day in a context governed by a code of conduct that placed every member on an equal footing. Trieste's Freemasonry amalgamated a merchant class quite heterogeneous in cultural, religious and linguistic terms with the surviving nobility, which was culturally Italian but politically in favour of defending a relative autonomy.²

Lodge meetings were often convivial events, dominated by music and good food and drink, so that in a certain sense Freemasonry was just one of various ways of socialising with others, like the clubs and social circles linked to cafes, theatres and concert halls.³ Although some of Trieste's Masons might have felt a feeling of closeness to Italy, it would be wrong to see the beginnings of the future irredentist movement in Freemasonry; in fact, no Italian party existed in the city at the time, and Freemasonry certainly did not fill this gap.

¹ Francovich, 1974, *Storia della Massoneria*, pp. 265–266; Trampus, 2008, *L'eredità del Settecento*, pp. 283–284.

² Manenti, 2013, *Massoneria e società*, pp. 227–229.

³ Giarrizzo, 1994, *Massoneria e illuminismo*, p. 25.

But things were to change. As the principal legacy of the French Revolution, the 19th century saw the rise in Europe of a new concept of nationhood: Freemasonry was by no means immune to the attractions of this emerging idea, and incorporated it into its own cultural horizons, thereby creating a lasting contradiction between its traditional cosmopolitanism and the new nationalist stirrings. This coexistence was common to all the Masonic families. Although it is often claimed that Freemasonry was more politicised in the Mediterranean countries than in the rest of Europe, Britain's Grand Lodges responded to the threat represented by Napoléon's army on the continent by becoming more political, and by repeatedly declaring their loyalty to the crown.⁴

In 1792, Franz II succeeded to the throne of Austria and outlawed Freemasonry in all the territories of the Holy Roman Empire for its alleged key role in the French Revolution.⁵ In the opinion of the opponents of Freemasonry the Masonic plot had consisted of trying to force the State to accept the egalitarianism principle, and in order to do that, the Masons had first had to destroy the very foundations upon which society rested.⁶ The spirit of tolerance and the sense of equality that dominated the Lodges and the eligibility and periodic nature of the elected offices held by the brethren were all forms of democracy. Although some revolutionaries were indeed Masons, the idea of the French Revolution having been a Masonic conspiracy has been shown to have been a legend concocted by reactionary literature,⁷ and amounts to a simplistic interpretation of a much more complex historical issue.

Freemasonry officially (not in reality) disappeared in Trieste until the Empire came to an end, except for during the three French occupations (1797; 1805–1806; 1809–1813). At that time the local Masons were almost all pro-French and Bonapartists, despite the expropriations suffered by the citizenship. While it would be anachronistic to assign irredentist connotations to anything connected to Italianness before the collapse of Austria-Hungary, there is no doubt that the sense of belonging to Italian culture grew stronger during the Napoléonic period, which the French enhanced by introducing the Italian language into the education system.⁸

At the same time, on the opposite shores of the Adriatic, a movement aspiring to Italy's political unity was born, and its processing centre became a reformed (and for the very first time centralised) Freemasonry. As the Kingdom of Italy was established, so the Grande Oriente d'Italia was founded in Milan, on 20 June 1805. Just like in France, the Freemasonry of the new-born Kingdom of Italy became a propaganda machine in the hands of Bonaparte, but from then on it was to forever be bound up with the idea of the Italian nation.⁹

In Koper (made part of the Kingdom of Italy) a French colonel founded the military Lodge *Dell'ulivo del levante* in 1806, which was under the aegis of the Grande Oriente d'Italia and attended by citizens of Trieste, who made numerous requests to Napoléon for their city to be incorporated into the neighbouring Kingdom.¹⁰

⁴ Harland-Jacobs, 2007, *Builders of Empire*, pp. 130–143.

⁵ Gastaldi, 2006, *La Massoneria e l'emancipazione*, p. 43.

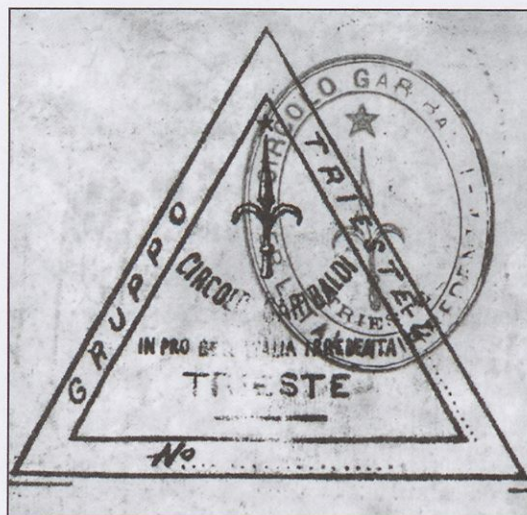
⁶ Harismendy, 1999, *Il complotto*, p. 634.

⁷ Francovich, 1978, *Studi*, p. 85.

⁸ Apih, 1988, *Trieste*, pp. 19–20.

⁹ Manenti, 2014, *Tra azione politica*, p. 92.

¹⁰ Tamaro, 1927, *La loggia massonica*; Tamaro, 1976, *Storia di Trieste*, Vol. 2, p. 210.



Seal of the Garibaldi Circle
(Circolo Garibaldi).

Three years later, the State of the Illyrian Provinces was established, with Ljubljana as its capital. The new administrative body included seven Masonic Lodges, one of which was based in Istria's county seat, Trieste, and named *La Vedovella*.¹¹ When the Austrians regained possession of their former territories in October 1813, Freemasonry was banned because it was seen as a creature of Bonapartism. However, Trieste's Masons escaped excessive punishment thanks to the policy of moderation adopted by the new chief of police, Carlo Cattanei di Momo, who chose a former Mason as his confidant.¹²

During the Restoration, Freemasonry — cosmopolitan, speculative and intellectually sophisticated — was replaced by the *Carboneria*, which had a pronounced nationalist disposition and was able to recruit followers from among the populace. But the latter still drew on the Freemasons' structures, rituals and passwords. On the Italian peninsula and the coast of the eastern Adriatic, the sense of spiritual kinship with Italy which had taken root in the Lodges of the Napoléonic period was embraced by men who at times had been Masons. In Trieste during the 19th century, two new Lodges were founded called *Adriatica* and *Pensiero e azione*, the latter name being modelled on Mazzini's famous motto.¹³

Therefore, Trieste's Freemasonry gradually acquired an Italian character, in both a cultural and political sense. This was a slow, complicated process, which was completed in the second half of the 19th century, when the liberal-national party, always torn between the economic needs that bound it to the Empire and its sense of loyalty to Italy, came to power in the city. Freemasonry became patriotic, and, as we shall see, patriotism meant irredentism.

¹¹ Hivert-Messeca, 1996, *Propinquità geografica*, p. 126; Cecovini, 1979, *La Massoneria*, p. 780.

¹² Tamaro, 1976, *Storia di Trieste*, Vol. 2, pp. 220–221; Tamaro, 1931, *Materiali per la storia*, pp. 314, 319–320.

¹³ Polo Friz, 1998, *La massoneria italiana*, p. 207.

Italian Freemasonry and Irredentism

The border established after the war of 1866 between the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Italy left the issue of the Trentino and Venezia Giulia regions undecided, and placed Italy in an unfavourable position from a military point of view, depriving it of natural barriers to the north. By dashing its hopes to incorporate Austria's Italian-speaking regions (which for linguistic, ethnic and cultural reasons Italian patriots considered a natural extension of their country), the Congress of Berlin in 1878 only heightened Italy's perception of being strategically vulnerable.¹⁴

On the eve of the 1866 Italian-Austrian war, pro-Italian groups in Trieste and some sections of the Kingdom's ruling class had planned for the conflict to continue until the "unredeemed" lands were annexed.¹⁵ But by exacerbating previous frustrations, the Congress of Berlin triggered even stronger feelings in patriotic circles. The result in Italy was a host of demonstrations in the streets and organisations demanding the conquest of lands that, in the anthropomorphic conception of the nation deeply rooted in Risorgimento discourse,¹⁶ were seen as limbs unnaturally severed from the body of the motherland.

Italian irredentists continued to protest against the interruption of unification and clamoured for the process to restart, proposing either diplomatic solutions or actual armed intervention: a Fourth War of Independence (after the Third of 1866), but changes in the international situation had made their plans unfeasible. In fact, in 1882 Italy joined the Triple Alliance with the central Empires. The Austrian enemy had become an ally, whom the politicians considered indispensable in order to avoid Italy's isolation on the European stage.

Irredentism found support in Italy especially among the parties of the left, but there were also pro-monarchy groups that shared the same political outlook, but believed that the solution was more likely to come from behaving cautiously, rather than planning revolutions like the republicans. This fledgling irredentist movement, then, was a mixed bag of small societies enamoured of a romantic ideal, a hangover from Garibaldi's era. With the passing of time, however, more clearly structured associations began to spring up with well-defined statutes and programmes.

The most important of these was the *Associazione in pro dell'Italia irredenta*, founded in Naples in 1877 by Matteo Renato Imbriani, the very first man to use the expression "unredeemed" to indicate those Italian lands waiting to be freed from foreign rule.¹⁷ The term had a strong religious resonance, reminiscent of Christ's sacrifice to redeem the sins of humankind. Imbriani was not a Freemason himself, but he was surrounded by them, including his close associate and the first president of the *Italia irredenta*, Giuseppe Avezzana, who had been one of Garibaldi's generals.

¹⁴ For a bibliography of Italian irredentism, see: M. Garbari, 1979, *La storiografia*; Capuzzo, 2003, *Trieste*, pp. 896–897. The best essay on the subject is still Sabbatucci, 1970–1971, *Il problema dell'irredentismo*.

¹⁵ Stefani, 1965, *Il problema dell'Adriatico*, pp. 76–85.

¹⁶ Banti, 2000, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, pp. 56–108.

¹⁷ Macchia, 1971, *L'irredentismo repubblicano*.

The irredentist universe was made up of many different sympathisers, not all of them explicitly politicised: committees of veterans, cremation societies, labour organisations, and of course, Masonic Lodges. The support that Italian Freemasonry offered to patriots was of three different kinds: logistical, financial and methodological.

Logistics: Associations and Networks

During the 19th century, a number of men from Trentino, Trieste, Istria and Dalmatia had ended up in Italy, either as volunteers in Garibaldi's army or to escape from political upheaval. In 1848, after the failed uprising in Trieste, a small group of men involved in the revolt had moved to Italy, soon to be followed by had the Wars of Italian Independence expatriates.¹⁸ Many espoused Mazzini's principles and began to set up a network to assist those who, in the course of time, were to follow their example. Among these were the students who came to Padua to study when it became part of Italy in 1866 and then went on to swell the ranks of the national movement.¹⁹

Numerous soldiers and university students joined Masonic Lodges, which in recently unified Italy had become the place of choice for members of the rising liberal middle class to meet up and discuss matters. Many of these Masons ensured the safe passage of individuals perceived as compatriots from Austria to Italy. The three logistical bases for the expatriates from the "unredeemed" lands were Turin, Rome and Milan, where the presence of three patriots from Trieste guaranteed assistance.

Turin had been the capital of the Kingdom of Sardinia, the State of the Savoyard dynasty, which had led the process of Italian unification, and the place where the Grande Oriente d'Italia (hereinafter: GOI) was re-founded on 20 December 1859.²⁰ The main Lodge in town was the *Dante Alighieri*. One of its affiliates, Eugenio Solferini, who was a high member of the Scottish Rite, chaired the *Comitato triestino-istriano* in the 1880s, which was set up to rescue compatriots.

In Rome, the lawyer Aurelio Salmona, parliamentary stenographer, brother of the *Universo* Lodge and an acquaintance of Guglielmo Oberdan, was present from 1871 onwards, when the city became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy and the new headquarters of the GOI. According to some historians, he was the brains behind the assassination attempt on Emperor Franz Josef,²¹ but in the absence of documents to prove it, this remains pure speculation. He provided for the safe passage of fellow Italians from Austria until his death in 1890.

In Milan, the Mason Raimondo Battera, chief of the *Circolo Garibaldi* (hereinafter: *Circolo*), an irredentist group with branches in Trieste and all over Italy, provided a safety net for those who left the Empire, whether Masons or not.²² In 1888, the *Circolo's* leadership set up the *Società di beneficenza*, whose aim was to protect (as recounted in a letter of the same year) "working-class

¹⁸ Corbanese, 1999, *Il Friuli*, p. 51.

¹⁹ Volpe, 2002, *Italia moderna 1910–1914*, Vol. 3, p. 117.

²⁰ Conti, 2011, *La rinascita della massoneria*.

²¹ Salata, 1924, *Oberdan*, p. 41; Maserati, 1996, *Eugenio Popovich D'Angeli*, p. 227.

²² Manenti, 2012, *Irredentismo e massoneria*.

youths [who] leave their native country and the ignominious Austrian uniform without seeking support and advice, trusting only in their patriotic enthusiasm, and who, lacking in any other means, knock on the first door that they find.”²³

However, belonging to the brotherhood made the task easier: the brethren could rely on a frame of reference, avoid impostors and spies, be introduced into political circles through letters of recommendation and sometimes find work which allowed them to survive. The Lodges and the irredentist organisations worked together like filtering devices to identify those men deemed true patriots and thus worthy of admission.

Of course, not all irredentists were Masons and not all Masons were irredentists, but the same person often did possess both qualities and, sometimes, a third: being Jewish. The Napoléonic era had seen the first entry into Freemasonry of Italian Jews, further encouraged by the adoption of the Albertine Statute (*Statuto Albertino*) in 1848, which sanctioned their emancipation and provided the basis for increasing loyalty to the nascent Italian State. Irredentism was attractive to many Jews, who were also sympathetic to the patriotic and anti-clerical stance of Freemasonry.²⁴

The Masonic network operated in multiple directions: the Lodges formed the basic units linked to each other, to the patriotic associations and to journalists, intellectuals and local politicians. The GOI was the central hub connected to every Lodge and to the nerve centres of the State: Parliament, the Government, and its ministries and secretariats. The hierarchical relationships between the GOI and the peripheral Lodges did not involve blind obedience on the part of the latter to the former. The Masonic leadership was careful to be cautious in its attitude towards irredentism so as not to risk jeopardising Italy's international relations, but several Masons expressed impatience with the rules of diplomacy, and voiced the desire to mount an armed insurrection against Austria so as to fight a final War of Independence, although no such event ever took place.

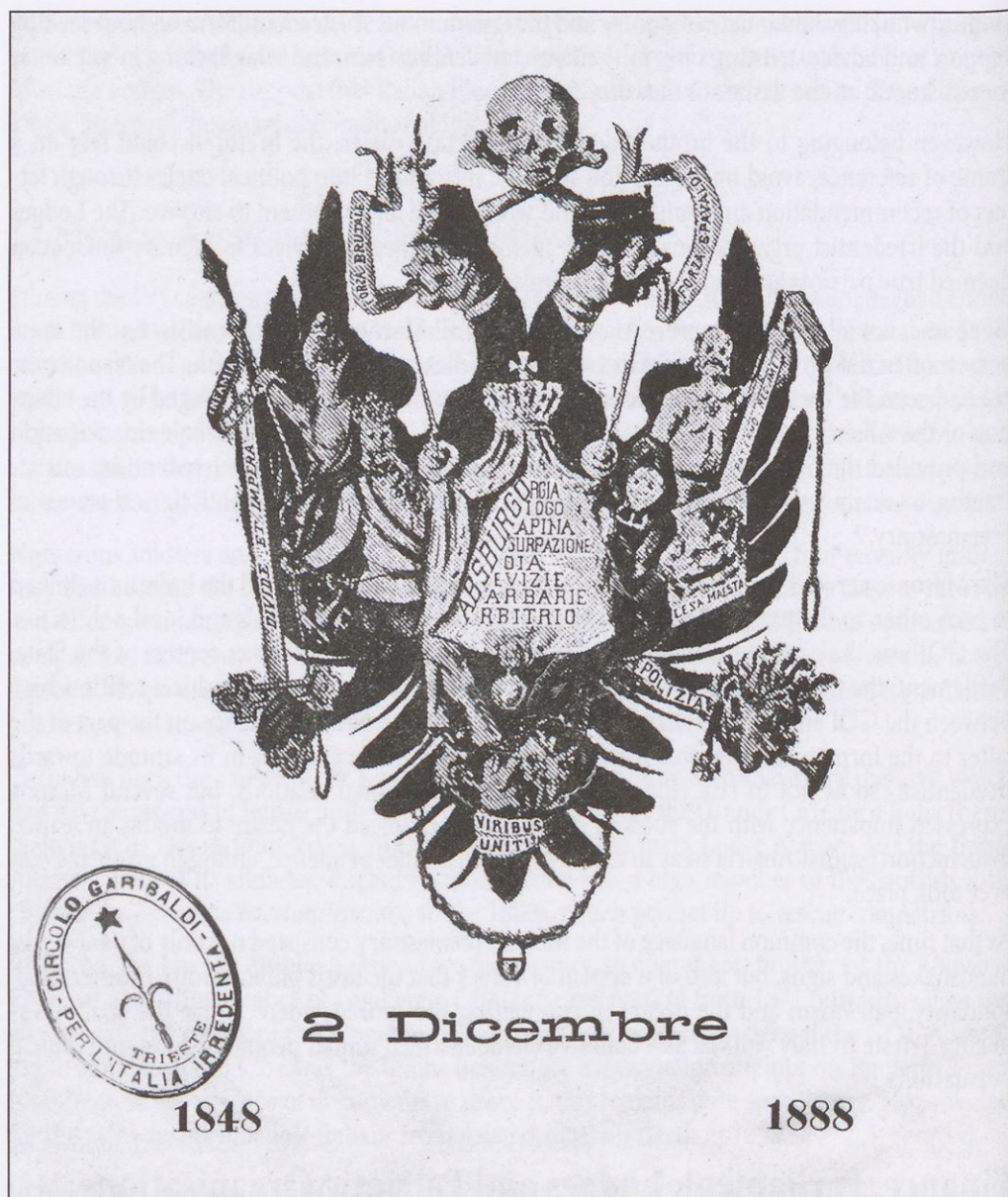
At that time, the common language of the Italian Freemasonry consisted not only of passwords, handshakes and signs, but also of a system of values that included philanthropy, brotherhood, solidarity, patriotism and the dream of conquering the “unredeemed” lands: the goal of annexing Trieste to Italy worked as a cohesive element which united people of different political persuasions.

Finance: Parliament, Lodges and Patriotic Organisations

The second area of collaboration between Freemasonry and irredentism was finance. In the period under consideration, there was a continuous transfer of financial resources from the Lodges to irredentist circles. To better understand the situation, we must remember four names, those of two prime ministers, Francesco Crispi and Giovanni Giolitti, and of two Grand Masters, Adriano Lemmi and Ernesto Nathan.

²³ Manenti, 2015, *Massoneria e irredentismo*, p. 71.

²⁴ Catalan, 2007, *Massoneria ebraismo irredentismo*.



Anti-Habsburg propaganda pamphlet.

Having come to power in 1887, Francesco Crispi was what in Masonic terms is called a “sleeping” brother, meaning he was no longer a Lodge-goer. However, he remained a close friend of Lemmi, Grand Master of the GOI from 1885 to 1896, who had earlier been a generous sponsor of many of Mazzini’s revolutionary undertakings. Thanks to the crucial mediation of Salvatore Barzilai, a Mason born in Trieste and a member of the *Circolo*, who was considered the voice of irredentism in Parliament, Crispi and Lemmi repeatedly financed irredentists in Italy and kept

in contact with Felice Venezian in Trieste, head of the liberal-national party and Worshipful Master of the *Alpi Giulie* Lodge.²⁵

Venezian was also in contact with Ernesto Nathan, Lemmi's successor as head of the GOI. Born in London in 1845 to Sarina Levi Nathan, a faithful friend of Mazzini, he became an Italian citizen in 1888, Grand Master for two periods (1896–1903; 1917–1919) and mayor of Rome from 1907 to 1913. He expended much energy consolidating the image of Freemasonry as a bulwark of the State, trying to make it into what he termed a “patriotic and educational association, not political.”²⁶

Despite that, Nathan's political commitment as Grand Master was unwavering. He was among the promoters of the *Associazione Dante Alighieri*, founded in 1889 to defend the Italian language and culture in the Kingdom and abroad,²⁷ and with Felice Venezian he cultivated what has been described as an “irredentist friendship.”²⁸ Nathan's name was on a list of people drawn up by Barzilai in 1895 who might fill the *Circolo*'s coffers.²⁹

Giovanni Giolitti, who was prime minister several times and one of the most important politicians in Italy in the years leading up to the Great War, was not a Mason, but confessed in his diary that with Nathan's help he had supported the victory of the liberal-national party in the Trieste municipal elections of 1908, because it was seen as useful to Italian foreign policy.³⁰ In 1915, the seventy-year-old Nathan volunteered to fight in the war for the conquest of Trento and Trieste, in order to wage the physical war that he had previously waged with the weapons of propaganda and financial contributions.

For their activities, the irredentists used money that came from both the bottom and the top of the Masonic hierarchy. For the most part, their associations were made up of ordinary men whose names often say little to historians, but who nevertheless formed the backbone of both their Lodges and the irredentist movement. Many of them were members of the *Dante Alighieri*, which was used as a channel through which money flowed from Italy to the irredentists across the border.

The associations located on the Italian-Austrian border played a delicate role as a kind of connecting bridge. The Udine section of the *Circolo* was directed by Giovanni Marcovich. Born in Trieste, he was initiated into Freemasonry at a very young age, in Izmir. In 1885 he moved to Udine, where he founded and became Worshipful Master of the *Nicolò Lionello* Lodge, reaching the eighteenth degree of the Scottish Rite.

The *Circolo*'s branch in Udine served as a link with the “unredeemed” provinces, as testified by a letter that Marcovich sent to the central section in Milan in 1887, which was collecting fees from affiliates. Including a little donation in the envelope, the sender said: “I cannot do more

²⁵ Manenti, 2015, *Massoneria e irredentismo*, pp. 75–80.

²⁶ Conti, 2012, *Nathan Ernesto*, p. 880.

²⁷ Pisa, 1995, *Nazione e politica*.

²⁸ Levi, 1945, *Ricordi*, p. 150.

²⁹ Manenti, 2015, *Massoneria e irredentismo*, p. 164.

³⁰ Giolitti, 1945, *Memorie*, pp. 260–261.

for now, believe me, because I am constantly the target of requests for money from people that I cannot abandon.”³¹

His counterparts in Trieste were Felice Venezian and Lorenzo Bernardino,³² both members of numerous pro-Italian associations: the *Alpi Giulie* Lodge, the *Circolo*, and the *Società operaia triestina*. Bernardino was the final link in a chain that stretched from Milan to Trieste. In short, the money flowing across the border from Italy took various routes: some came through institutional channels and went directly into the coffers of Venezian’s party, especially in pre-election periods; some was made available to Bernardino, who used it to print the all-important propaganda. The geographical range within which money circulated remained the same, but several intermediaries were involved in making this happen.

The beneficiaries of the patriotic donations that came from Italy under the auspices of the Freemasons were the irredentists of Trieste, who were a litigious combination of democrats and conservatives, but whom Venezian somehow managed to manoeuvre. His energy was consumed in trying to ease the friction between the two main parts of the movement, and this skill in mediation brings us to the third and final point regarding the relationship between Freemasonry and irredentism: the organisational model which the former provided to the latter.

Methodology: Pluralism and Rituals

Of the list of twelve candidates that Venezian put forward for the 1893 municipal elections in Trieste, six were Freemasons.³³ The elections were successful, and the group included brothers of both the republican and monarchist persuasions, so as to bring the different factions of irredentism together in a united front. These tactics, consisting of including the more radical elements within the moderate areas, thereby preserving a single identity and at the same time tempering the most aggressive impulses, can be traced straight back to the previous organisational experience of Freemasonry.

On almost every occasion, almost everywhere, the predominant feature of Freemasonry was how it managed to persuade individuals with very different political and social backgrounds to find a way to co-exist, even when these individuals were in theory irreconcilable, to the extent that some commentators have used the image of the mythological Janus to account for this ambivalence.³⁴ The Lodges resolved their internal tensions by balancing out the conflicting elements. They were able to absorb opposing forces, find a compromise, and create a common platform of ideas that anyone could accept, with just a little effort at being conciliatory. The price to be paid was the difficulty involved in conveying any strong ideology, while the advantage was an extraordinary capacity to respond to practical requirements.³⁵ Thus, Venezian persuaded the pro-Italian republicans of Trieste who had been reluctant to adapt to the timing

³¹ Manenti, 2015, *Massoneria e irredentismo*, p. 149.

³² De Franceschi, 1951, *Il Circolo Garibaldi*, p. 352.

³³ Manenti, 2015, *Massoneria e irredentismo*, p. 241.

³⁴ Callaey, 2010, *Il mito*, pp. 11–19.

³⁵ Bonvecchio, 2007, *Esoterismo e massoneria*, pp. 94–102; Giarrizzo, 1996, *Massoneria*, p. 558.

of their conservative brothers to agree to his tactics by using the same Masonic *praxis* so successfully employed in the Lodge to smooth over contrasts. In fact, the *Alpi Giulie* Lodge was composed of men of very different political beliefs.

The interconnections between the Lodges and political groups also touched on the ritualistic dimension, as shown by the links between the *Alpi Giulie* Lodge and the *Circolo* in Trieste, which had many members in common. By way of explanation, we should begin with a letter sent to Milan in 1893 by Eugenio Jacchia, head of the Bologna section of the *Circolo*. In his message, he described what had happened at the *VIII agosto* Lodge when the brothers had discussed the issue of Trento and Trieste: "Last week, upon hearing the reports on what had been voted for in Rome, after speeches from its most influential members, the Bologna Lodge rose unanimously to its feet, among endless cheers, chanting 'Viva Trieste e Trento!'"³⁶ Given the extreme difficulty involved in obtaining such information, this is a document of exceptional value, and clear evidence of the degree of politicisation (in an irredentist direction) of an important part of Italian Freemasonry.

The meeting had taken the form of an areopagus, a high-level Masonic meeting where political debates were allowed. More precisely, it was the room of the thirtieth degree of the Scottish Rite, called the degree of the "kadosh knights", which drew on the legend of the Templars and their initiation ritual containing the symbolic scarring of the papal tiara and the royal crown, representations of religious and political despotism.³⁷

The *Circolo* in Trieste emulated this *modus operandi*, organising itself as a political arm of the *Alpi Giulie* Lodge, a project which came to fruition at the end of 1895, when the irredentist association became a permanent part of the structure of the Lodge. By doing so, it became an integral part of the GOI, since the *Alpi Giulie* was a branch of a special Lodge called *Propaganda massonica*, which had been set up in 1877 by the Grand Master, Giuseppe Mazzoni, with the aim of welcoming to it the leading figures on the Italian cultural, political and economic scenes.³⁸

The Great War

In 1903, Nathan was involved in a shocking scandal when he was accused of helping a suspected murderer to escape justice in the name of Masonic solidarity, and was forced to resign as Grand Master.³⁹ Ettore Ferrari replaced him and gave the GOI a different identity, anchoring it more solidly in the tenets of the left. But the change in the political climate at the turn of the century was accompanied by a transformation in how irredentist militancy was expressed, and some Italian Masons gradually began to lend their support to a more aggressive form of irredentism than before.

³⁶ Manenti, 2015, *Massoneria e irredentismo*, p. 162.

³⁷ Farina, 1988, *Il libro dei rituali*, pp. 368–412.

³⁸ Gratton, 1987, *Trieste segreta*, p. 150.

³⁹ Mola, 2015, *La massoneria italiana*, pp. 255–256.



Anti-Habsburg propaganda pamphlet.

When the First World War began, after some initial uncertainty, the GOI came out in favour of fighting alongside the Entente. At the time, the GOI was going through some difficult times, made worse by the outcome of the Socialist Congress held in Ancona, which had decreed that party members may not be Masons. The war gave Freemasonry the opportunity to re-enter the political arena and carve out a prominent role in the ensuing debate between neutralists and interventionists that occupied Italian public discourse for ten months.

The Masonic press was fiercely hostile to the conservative currents of the Church of Rome, viewed as anti-irredentist forces allied with the Catholic Habsburgs, who dreamed of restoring the Pope's temporal power. Another topic in the GOI papers released to the brethren was that of Teutonic violence. On 28 October 1914, the Mason Gustavo Canti wrote that only by defeating

the Germans could Italy “adjusts its boundaries, freeing the provinces who still groan under a foreign yoke, and snatch the just and unchallenged domination of the Adriatic sea.”⁴⁰

The goal of conquering Trieste was echoed in the columns of the Masonic newspaper “*L’Idea Democratica*”, which published articles with titles such as *The Crazy Bestiality of the Austrians*, *The Teeth of Germany*, *Austria Delenda (Austria Must Be Destroyed)*, *Hindenburg the Butcher*, *The Innate Barbarism of German*, and so on.⁴¹ A group of high-level brothers planned to raise a volunteer force of Masons with the mission of carrying out an expedition in the Habsburg territories. Two of the brains behind this initiative were Antonio Feder and Eugenio Jacchia, former leaders of the Venice and Bologna sections of the *Circolo*.⁴²

All the European Masonic Obediences made the same patriotic choice as the Italian one, oblivious to all the efforts made previously to create international organisations able to find a peaceful solution to disputes between states.⁴³ They all replicated the same pattern of alliances as their countries did: for this reason, the Grand Orient de France (GOF) severed all ties with German Freemasonry, and the *Goethe* Lodge, which was attended by brethren from the Reich, was banned from Paris.⁴⁴ At the same time, the press controlled by the association of the German Grand Lodges accused the GOF of putting pressure on the GOI to earn its solidarity.⁴⁵

The Great War thus laid bare just how difficult it was to reconcile two of the founding principles of Freemasonry: cosmopolitanism and patriotism. This dichotomy had always been present in the Masonic philosophical system, which had urged the brethren to promote peace among peoples, while remaining law-abiding citizens of their own countries, just as Anderson’s *Constitutions* of 1723 had recommended.⁴⁶ With the war, every form of internationalism was thrown into question: this included not only the Masonic form of internationalism, but the socialist one, in the light of the support offered by all the socialist parties in Europe to the pro-war policies of their respective countries.

Italian Freemasonry lost 10% of its members in the Great War, and the King himself expressed the nation’s gratitude.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the fascist rulers failed to recognise the patriotic role Freemasons had played in the past, and in 1925 the Regime passed a law obliging the GOI to disband itself. The links between Freemasonry and the political legacy of irredentism were lost forever.

⁴⁰ Conti, 2003, *Storia della massoneria*, p. 240.

⁴¹ Manenti, 2015, *Dall’irredentismo all’interventismo*, p. 204; Isastia, 1997, *La Massoneria al contrattacco*.

⁴² Mola, 1992, *Storia della massoneria*, pp. 396–397.

⁴³ Esposito, 1987, *Le grandi concordanze*, pp. 172–216.

⁴⁴ Hoffmann, 2007, *The Politics of Sociability*, p. 276.

⁴⁵ Combes, 2005, *Relazioni massoniche internazionali*, p. 176.

⁴⁶ Novarino, 2015, *La massoneria*, p. 220.

⁴⁷ Mola, 2013, *Masons in Italy*, p. 236.

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Nadaljevanje zaslišanja dr. Borisa Furlana.

Zaslišancu se da v vednost, da se bo zapisnik stenografiral in se mu del v podpis strojni prepis stenografa. Zaslišanec vzame opombo na znanje.

bljani?

Udejstvovati sem se začel v letu 1934, po moni preselitvi v Ljubljano.

Kdo vas je v ložo uvedel?

To je bil pokojni senator dr. Novak, s katerim sva bila znana.

Kako je prišlo do tega?

V pogovoru me je vprašal če se zanimam za fremaonsko gôbenje, če bi rad pristopil in na to sem pristal.

Kakšno izjavo ste ob pristopu v ložo podpisali?

Podpisnik sem običajni formular, ki je bil v loži v navedi, nemrež kot pristopnica. V njej je bilo povderjeno, da je trebazastopati ideje miru, človečenstva, tolerance in bratstva. To so gesla fremaonskeideologije

Kako in kje ste bili v ložo sprajeti?

Bilo je to v Zagrebu v loži "Maksimiljan Vrhovec", kot se je zagrebško ložoisimenovala

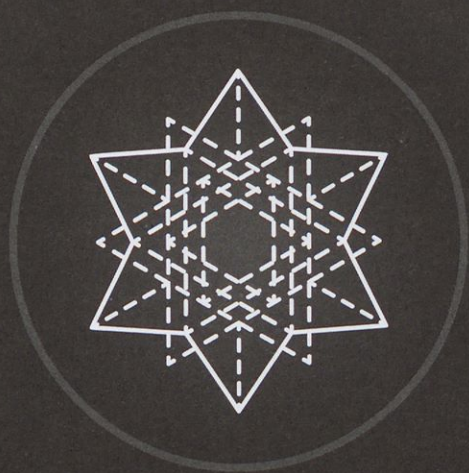
Kateri člani so bili pri sprejemnem sestanku navzdih?

Bili so prisotni člani zagrebške lože, imenoma jih ne poznam. Starešineje bil po poklicu višji sodnik. Prisotni pa so bili tudi sledeči člani ljubljenske ldže: Novak, Horvio industrialec iz Krenja, Milan Widmar profesor. Drugih na sprejemnem sestanku ni bilo kolikor se spominjam.

Kaj je bila vsebina oz. diskusije sprejemnegasesatanka in naka kšen način je bil sprejem izvršen?

To je bil običajni sprejemni obredni način. V eni sobi sem menda v priostnosti tajnika podpisal pristopno izjavo, ki sem jo že omenil. Nato so me peljali z zavezanimi očmi v drugo sobo, kjer sem se seznanil z ostalimi člani. Na sestanku je bilo govora zgolj o minljivosti človeškega življenja (raznišjanje). Povderjeno je bilo tudi, da so člani veseli, ker imajo enega Slovencev. O politiki ni bilo govora, niti ni bilo govora o politiki na nobenem sestanku, ki se jim prisostvoval.

Kaj vas je privedlo do vstopa v fremaonsko gibanje?





Marcus G. Patka

**Johannes
Carl Barolin
Honorary
Member of the
Grand Lodge
of Vienna,
Sovereign Grand
Commander of
the Scottish
Rite and “Great
Reformer of all
Worlds”**

Abstract

Johannes Carl Barolin was an Honorary Member of the Grand Lodge of Vienna (GLvW), a Founding Member and later Sovereign Grand Commander of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite in Austria (AASR) and, in addition, one of the most active freemasons and pacifists of his time. As a liberal social reformer he left a thoroughly original heritage of publications. His books and brochures revolve around topics like a worldwide economic Union, reforms to the educational system, to the calendar and chronometry, etc. In the current Austrian lexikons, however, he is not even mentioned which shows how little significance he had achieved. A written heritage is unknown. This very first contribution to the life and work of a forgotten pioneer and theoretician of Austrian liberalism is intended to present the main features of his reform projects and submit them to critical appraisal.

KEYWORDS: Johannes Carl Barolin, Freemasonry, Liberalism, Pacifism

Success as a Businessman, Tragedy in his Family Life

As the son of *Anton Barolin* (5.6.1817–21.1.1888) and *Theresia Therese Barolin* (originally from Iglau in Bohemia, 21.3.1828–18.12.1915), Johannes Carl Barolin was born on 30 September 1857 in Laibach/Ljubljana (at that time, a province of Carniola).¹ He was a Roman Catholic and attended the K.K. State Secondary School in Laibach, but nothing is known of his academic studies. At the beginning of the 1880s he moved with his family to Vienna, where he saw greater opportunities for his trading company. Here he got to know the Viennese-born woman who was later to become his wife — Leopoldine Maria Flor (5.9.1867–7.7.1947). Barolin's admission to the Vienna commercial Association was announced for the November of 1882.² Advertisements from 1886 are to be found for a glove business run by Carl Barolin at 51 Kärntner Straße opposite the opera house.³ On 9 June 1899 the company's proprietor was entered in the Register for One-Man Companies handling "matters connected with the deterioration of chemical products in a commercial business".⁴ What became clear at an early stage was also his penchant for unconventional methods, which from time to time brought him into conflict with the regulations in force. So, Barolin had printed appeals sent out for donations towards 50 paediatric hospitals in Lower Austria and Silesia. In so doing, he set up a "snowball system" where each donor was to stick a brand name on a card and subsequently pass this on. This system was, however, under the regulations in force at the time, against the law, as the use of the funds donated was not clearly apparent.⁵

¹ <https://www.geni.com/people/Johannes-Carl-Karl-Barolin/6000000023601321425>. As further siblings there are Heinrich Barolin (30.6.1859–3.10.1860, in Ljubljana) and Theresia Barolin (1862–30.5.1904 in Vienna) as well as half-sisters from the father's marriage to Marie Barolin (née Odwarska, no life data), Rosa Barolin (ca. 1846–14.12.1868 in Ljubljana) and Anna Maria Barolin (1850–20.3.1871 in Ljubljana).

² Newly joined members, in: Kaufmännische Zeitung. Journal of the Vienna Commercial Association, 15.11.1882, 11.

³ Gloves, in: Neue Freie Presse, 1.12.1886, 13.

⁴ Official Journal. Supplement from the "Allgemeine österreichischen Gerichts-Zeitung" 25/1899, 1.

⁵ Inadmissible Collection in: Neue Warte am Inn, 16.1.1897, 1–2. Unauthorised Collection: Salzburger Volksblatt, 2.1.1897, 3.

Johannes Carl and Leopoldine Barolin lived continuously from September 1900 at 8/7, Apollo-gasse. In the Lehmann address directory there are also entries which show that in the years after that Klara, Johann and Therese Barolin were also registered there. The business address of the trading company Barolin & Artacker from 1912 was listed as 4, Neubaugürtel. This company expanded brilliantly with branches in Cologne, Paris, London and Cairo. It sold products from the chemical factory in Basle — involving medicines like Kryofin (against sciatica and headaches), Vioform (substitute for iodoform), Ferratogen (for the gastric juice system) or Sulfurool (an ammonium substitute). After Barolin's death, the firm was deleted from the Companies' Register on 7 December 1934.⁶ The income of a "business tycoon"⁷ allowed him to finance trips which he used towards promoting freemasonry and pacifism.

In his private life, though, fortune didn't look down on him so kindly. The three children, Hortensia "Horta" (10.10.1888–13.11.1889), Camillo (1890–11.6.1892, peritonitis) and Melitta Barolin (1898–?) died when they were mere toddlers. The first-born daughter, Dr. Flora Maria Stricker-Barolin (15.7.1886–21.11.1962 in Vienna) developed to become a significant gynaecologist and specialist in obstetrics. She was married to the physician Dr Oskar Stricker. In the 1930s she worked as an Assistant to Prof. Otto Pötzl at the Psychiatric Clinic.

Leopoldine Barolin also developed her own sphere of influence. During the First World War, after a legal action against the Bohemian Industrial Bank in December 1917 for price rigging found guilty and sentenced to twelve days' arrest and a fine of 10,000 Kronen. Other co-defendants received even stiffer penalties.⁸ The media at the time reported extensively on it. Already before the action she had started out on her own philanthropic, pacifist and social reforming activities. In November 1916 she took part in the founding of an Association for the creation of middle-class recuperation homes.⁹ In addition to Leopoldine Barolin, the appeal was also signed by Anitta Müller-Cohen, Heinrich Glücksmann, Julius Ofner, Engelbert Pernerstorfer and Julius Tandler. In February 1917 she took part in the inauguration of the first Tuberculosis Welfare Office in the Municipality of Vienna.¹⁰ In the inter-war years she became extremely active in work for the ecological "Nature Centre" Association, which was also highly praised in the media.¹¹ Here, too, she met the Austrian-born Jewish activist Anitta Müller-Cohen. Leopoldine Barolin also played an active part in the work of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom. In Vienna in July 1921 the League held a congressional meeting at which Leopoldine Barolin took charge of the accounting. On the subject of her performance, this is what was said: "Without worrying too much about the public, this tireless woman relieves the women superficially involved in many affluent middle class organ-

⁶ Deletion of the following firms, in: Official Gazette in the Wiener Zeitung, 8.1.1934, 14.

⁷ Birgit Morgenbrot: The Vienna upper middle-classes in the First World War. The story of "Austrian Political Society" (1916–1918). Vienna, Graz, Cologne 1994, 213.

⁸ The action against the Bohemian Industrialbank, in: Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 14.12.1917, 9th Courtroom, in: Wiener Zeitung, 12.12.1917, 4.

⁹ Founding of an Association for the creation of middle-class recuperation homes, in: Neue Wiener Tagblatt, 19.11.1916, 13, creation of middle-class recuperation homes, in: Österreichische Volkszeitung, 9.11.1916, 8.

¹⁰ The first Tuberculosis Welfare Office in the Municipality of Vienna, in: Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 21.2.1917, 9.

¹¹ The first Austro-German Nature Centre, in: Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung, 16.5.1919, 10. Donations for the Nature Centre Association, in: Neue Freie Presse, 5.12.1918, 8.



Johannes C. Barolin, member of the "Eintracht" (Concorde) lodge from 1891 to his death in 1934.

isations of the burden of converting performance into actual deeds and her prudent care and perseverance are boundless."¹²

Officer of the Austrian Society for Peace, the Grand Lodge of Vienna and the AASR

A glance in the "Kodek"¹³ reveals to us that Johannes C. Barolin was admitted on 14 June 1891 to the Fringe Lodge "Harmony", where he held various offices and in later years was even appointed as an Honorary Member, without having been a Worshipful Master. His identity as a Freemason was, however, quickly made public. So, in December 1898, an invitation was made in the Catholic *Reichspost* by the Fringe Lodge "Socrates" in which alongside many other names was also that of Barolin. On its front page, the newspaper put an article about this entitled *Forbidden and yet allowed*. It went on to say: "More than 90% of the persons mentioned are Jews. It is these who, by their very participating in Freemasonry, blatantly give expression to their opposition to Catholicism."¹⁴ The article stirred up some Members of Parliament even to the point of raising a question in the Imperial Council with the Prime Minister, Prince Windischgrätz, which resulted in several names of Freemasons appearing again in the newspaper.¹⁵ Four years later, Barolin was once again cited as a Freemason and a Jew, this time in the newspaper *Das Vaterland*.¹⁶ In the inter-war years, too, numerous articles came out in the

¹² Retrospective to the International Women's Congress, in: Wiener Montags-Presse, 25.7.1921, 6.

¹³ Günter K. Kodek: Our building blocks are people. The members of the Vienna Freemason Lodges 1869–1938. Vienna 2009, 29.

¹⁴ Forbidden and yet allowed, in: Reichspost, 7.12.1894, 1–2.

¹⁵ Freemasonry, in: Deutsches Volksblatt, 8.12.1894, 4–5.

¹⁶ For the "Tribesmen in Prague", in: Das Vaterland, 5.1.1898, 4.

Reichspost against the Lodges, so that it comes as no surprise that Barolin's name came up again there too.¹⁷

He did a great service to Freemasonry when, in 1908, together with Heinrich Glücksmann he took over the pledge for the admission of Alfred Hermann Fried into the "Socrates" Lodge. Along with Fried, Barolin also travelled in 1910 as the Representative of the Fringe Lodges to the XVIIIth World Peace Congress in Stockholm and in 1913 to the VIth International Freemasons' Exhibition, which took place at the same time as the opening of the Palace of Peace in the Hague.¹⁸

In 1904 Barolin also joined the Austrian Peace Society (ÖFG) founded by Fried and Bertha von Suttner in 1891.¹⁹ In the same year he must have visited the XIIIth World Peace Congress in Boston.²⁰ He also used further business trips to make unifying and peacemaking contacts, about which he quickly spoke out including in the *Zirkel* as well. First of all from Paris where he visited several Lodges of the Grand Orient de France at 16 rue Cadet and reported on the friendly reception and local customs. Especially pleasant was the announcement of the founding of the German-speaking "Goethe" Lodge in which the Viennese brothers Max Dubsky and Theodor Steinherz were leading participants.²¹ Soon afterwards Barolin registered for the World Peace Congress in Milan with an appeal to the Foreman to have influence brought to bear on putting greater emphasis on peace work in Lodge discussions and work programmes.²² From London he brought with him a pamphlet from the League of Universal Brotherhood and Native Races Association which had devoted itself to the idea of universal fraternisation: "The symbol of this League consists of two interlocking hands, the handshake of a white man and a negro. This much discussed allegory is covered with the motto: 'You're all brothers'."²³ Barolin later stored in the *Zirkel* several extracts from his writings on school reform.²⁴

Only two years after his admission, Barolin's name is already to be found alongside that of Ludwig Karel and Artur Müller in an Advisory Committee of the ÖFG, which was intended to support the structural reform proposed by Müller.²⁵ In December 1906 he was for the first time elected to serve on the Board and confirmed in the following years.²⁶ In 1913 there were other

¹⁷ The Vienna Obscurantists. 15.8.1925, 9.

¹⁸ Walter Göhring: Suppressed and forgotten. Nobel Peace Prize laureate Alfred Hermann Fried. Vienna 2006, 141, 147, 157–158. See also: XVIIIth Peace Congress in Stockholm, in: *Die Friedenswarte* 7/1910, 140. XVIIIth World Peace Congress, in: *Die Friedenswarte* 9/1910, 180.

¹⁹ New Members, in: *Die Friedenswarte* 11/1904, 216.

²⁰ Official Report of the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress: Held at Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A., October Third to Eighth, 1904.

²¹ Karl Barolin: From Paris, in: *Der Zirkel* 35/1906, 545–548. Also by Barolin: From Paris, in: *Der Zirkel* 5/1906, 73–74.

²² Karl Barolin: Peace work and Freemasonry, in: *Der Zirkel* 3/1906, 48.

²³ A "League of World Fraternisation and Associations of Race", in: *Der Zirkel* 26/1908, 404–405. (The Term "Negro" was at this time widely used in everyday speech.)

²⁴ Johannes C. Barolin: Suggestions (from his Speech at the First Austrian Education Day in Gmunden, 21 July 1909), in: *Der Zirkel* 33/1909, 474–479. Also by Barolin: "The School State" [Parts 1–4], in: *Der Zirkel* 12/1910, 169–172; 13/1910, 185–190; 14/1910, 201–206; 15/1910, 218–221.

²⁵ Minutes of the Board Meeting on 18 October 1906, in: *Die Friedenswarte* 11/1906, 219.

²⁶ Minutes of the Board Meeting on 18 December 1906, in: *Die Friedenswarte* 1/1907, 20. Minutes of the XVth Annual General Meeting, in: *Die Friedenswarte* 3/1907, 59–60.



Barolin family: Johannes with his wife Leopoldina and daughter Marija with her family, in 1930 or thereabouts. (geni.com)

Freemasons on the Board such as, for instance, Balduin Groller and Ludwig Karell and Leopold Katscher, with the Good Templars being represented by Josef Longo.²⁷ As his professional title, however, Barolin did not choose “Businessman”, but “Author”.²⁸ At the beginning of August 1910 Barolin took part together with Fried and Arthur Müller in the 18th International Peace Congress in Stockholm.²⁹ At the end of September 1911 he travelled to Rome with Bertha von Suttner and Alfred Hermann Fried to attend the follow-up Congress.³⁰ His final activity just before the First World War was the preparation of the XIXth World Peace Congress planned for September 1914 in Vienna and at which Barolin as well as the Brothers Heinrich Glücksmann, Rudolf Goldscheid, Balduin Groller, Paul Kammerer and Ludwig Karell sat on the organisational Committee.³¹

²⁷ On this, see: Marcus G. Patka: Abstinent Templar Knights. The International Order of Good Templars (I.O.G.T.) and its sub-organisations in Austria between social democracy and German Arianism, in: *Quatuor Coronati Berichte*. Vienna Yearbook for historical Freemason Research 36/2015, 191–338.

²⁸ Austrian Peace Society, in: *Neue Freie Presse*, 31.7.1910, 9.

²⁹ Eighteenth International Peace Congress, in: *Neue Freie Presse*, 2.8.1910, 5.

³⁰ The 19th World Peace Congress, in: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 29.6.1911, 13.

³¹ XIXth World Peace Congress in Vienna, in: *Die Friedenswarte* 6/1914, 235–240.

Even during the First World War, Barolin appeared. He thus introduced a motion based on the belief that there would be an early Peace Accord at the Assembly of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary on 19/20 May 1917, that the 200th Jubilee of the Freemasons should not degenerate into a mere anniversary celebration, but that all Grand Lodges should set up Committees to explore the area of disagreements between peoples and counteract these. Greater effort must be made on reconciliation of peoples and recognise the World War as a turning point in history because it must never be allowed to happen again. Finally, he called on his brother Freemasons to continue along this path, to turn biased preconceptions into friendship and put the notion of connecting and not separating into the mind of the public.³²

After the end of the First World War on 8 December 1918, the Grand Lodge of Vienna (GLvW) could be founded. On 29 March 1919 Barolin, in the course of some reorganisation in the still young Board of Grand Officers, was vested with the office of IInd Grand Supervisor, a position he held, however, only until 1921. From 1927 dual membership was instituted with the “Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart” Lodge in Graz and from 1930 with the “Paracelsus” Lodge in Klagenfurt. This was certainly also connected with his function as Grand Representative of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia at the GLvW. In addition, he was a member of the Vienna national Committee of the Society of German Freemasons. In 1925 he travelled to Paris as the official Delegate of the GLvW at the World Peace Congress. From a historical perspective, significantly more spectacular was his participation at the International Freemasons’ Congress with 56 delegates from 18 countries in Belgrade, which was also described as the “Locarno of the Freemasons”. This was organised from 12 to 14 September 1926 by the International Masonic Association and took place in the chambers of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia. In the course of the sessions at the event and to great applause, a fraternal kiss was exchanged between Leo Müffelmann and Arthur Groussier.³³ Barolin travelled to peace congresses as long as his strength permitted and so went to London in July 1922. He was an official delegate of the ÖFG along with Friedrich Hertz and Alfred Grünfeld. They were accompanied by Arthur Müller from the Austrian branch of the League of Nations and Dr Metzger from the Catholic Peace League. Germany was represented by Prof. Ludwig Quidde, Hellmuth von Gerlach, Helene Stöcker, Prof. Walther Schücking and Fritz Böttcher, the Secretary of the Jewish Peace Society.³⁴ The Austrian delegation to the World Peace Congress in 1924 was significantly greater, because it was held in Berlin which was nearer. In an enthusiastic report, Artur Müller emphasised the fact that social democratic as well as middle-class speakers had come to the Conference Hall in the Reichstag, where ten years earlier the declaration of war found its approval. Alongside Barolin and Hertz, other delegates were Rudolf Goldscheid as Representative of the ÖFG, his wife Marie Goldscheid for the International Women’s League for Peace and Freedom, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and his wife Ida Roland for the Pan-European Union, Alfred Grünfeld for the Society for Peace Education as well as Olga Misař for the Federation of the opponents of war.³⁵

³² A Vienna Brother for World Peace, in: *Der Zirkel* 9–10/1917, 108–109.

³³ Karsten Oelckers: *Grand Master Leo Müffelmann. Disputes over the direction being taken within German freemasonry in the years 1923–1934.* Leipzig 2014, 38–70.

³⁴ The 22nd General Peace Congress in London, in: *Prague Daily*, 23.7.1922, 6.

³⁵ Artur Müller: Impressions of the Berlin Peace Congress, in: *Neues Wiener Journal*, 1.11.1925, 13.

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Barolin developed his activity within the AASR significantly more intensely than he has for the GLvW.³⁶ On this he had a decisive head start, as he had already, in 1916, become a member of the Swiss Rectified Scottish Rite and in the following years had risen to the 33rd grade. In the records of the Upper Council (OR) of Austria there are references to Barolin's activities: At the time of its founding on 25 October 1925, Eugen Lennhoff was elected as Sovereign Grand Commander (SGK) and Barolin as General Grand Keeper of the Seals. The Minutes of the meeting were not, however, signed by Lennhoff but by Barolin. Probably after they had been drafted, Lennhoff wasn't in the country and Barolin appeared as one of those present as the most Wor-thy. It can thus be the conclusion, when Barolin on 9 March 1929 after the decease of Ottokar Mascha took over his function as Deputy SGK. He was simultaneously elected as his successor as a delegate to the Supreme Conseil de France, On 17 April 1929 Barolin, on a suggestion

³⁶ Günter K. Kodek: The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. Founding and first years in Austria, in: QC Reports 105-134. The Minutes of the meetings of the Supreme Council are to be found in the Special Archive in Moscow. Günter Kodek has received a copy of them from there and passed it on to the Archive of the Grand Lodge of Austria.

from Otto Klein, also took over the management of the newly set up Consistory of the 32nd Grade, to which the name "Albert Pike" was given. Here a new basis was to be given within the Austrian AASR to the work for world peace. On 3 January 1930, after a long discussion on the successor to Lennhoff who had to retire before the end of his period in office due to pressure of work, Barolin was elected to the SGK. An inaugural visit took him to Grand Master Richard Schlesinger, on which Barolin reported at the next meeting on 8 January 1930. In addition to all that, mention must be made of the fact that in Vienna he also visited the "Droit Humain" Lodges, whose principles correspond to the 33-grade system of the AASR and also works using the same rituals.³⁷ On 3 May 1930 Barolin reported about the journey undertaken jointly with Karl Doppler and Eugen Lennhoff to Berlin to attend the appointment of the local Supreme Council. In so doing, he emphasised the impact of the newly created ritual and suggested that a flag be made in celebration, although this was declined on the grounds of costs. As early as 31 January 1931 Barolin made it known that, on the grounds of age, he would not be standing again for the office of SGK and, in his place, Friedrich G. Walker was elected. Barolin was immediately and to great acclaim appointed Honorary Grand Commander. Thus he tried once more to win over those of his Brothers with a like mind for his peace work. The following statement was issued on 12 March 1932: "Br. Barolin introduces the following draft: Regime in the State, an application for the implementation of pacifist activities, especially with youth organisations." On 13 October 1932 a heated discussion took place within the OR as Adolf Kapralik had demanded the "putting to sleep" of the AASR in Austria — Barolin spoke out decidedly against this. The meeting in October 1934 was dedicated by the SGK deputy Karl Doppler to the memory of the late brothers Barolin and Walker. The Supreme Council around the world would be informed of this. Karl Doppler was subsequently elected as the new SGK. Johannes Carl Barolin passed away on 11 October 1934 aged 77.³⁸ Heinrich Glücksmann delivered the eulogy at his grave.³⁹

Pacifism

In 1904 there came out, with *The Division of the Earth*, the most comprehensive work by Barolin, but for now his pacifist writings should be presented: in 1906 he published his *Proposal for the XVth Peace Congress* in Milan. In it he refers just once in his entire publications to Freemasonry and in so doing offers his personal appreciation of it: "Here, I am thinking of the hierarchies of priests in the great religious confraternities, of military institutions where the Chiefs of Staff, officers and men necessarily blend into one single and yet internally exhibit huge differences. Freemasonry, too, even if one casts aside the numerous gradations in the upper ranks, still have Officers, Masters, Fellowcraft Masons and Apprentices. The Salvation Army, which in America and England have developed such huge quantities of propaganda, is divided into officers and soldiers; just like the Temperance Movement, the Oddfellows, the Druids, and in a certain

³⁷ Susanne Balázs: Men and Women together build at the Temple of Humanity — The Minutes of the "Droit Humain" Lodge "Vertrauen" in Austria from 1927 to 1938, in: *Quatuor Coronati Berichte*. Vienna Yearbook for historical Freemason Research 36/1916, 196–219.

³⁸ The grave of Johannes Car and Leopoldine Barolin is located in the Vienna Central Cemetery, Group 42, Extension C, Row 5, Number 4.

³⁹ Cases of death, in: *Neue Freie Presse*, 16.10.1934, 6.

sense also, the large International movement, the Social Democrats. Even [...] the Anarchists [...] don't miss out on setting up a tightly-knit and stalwart Organisation."⁴⁰ Similarly, the Peace Companies were to act by having their sub-committees permanently meet and confer on political, economic, religious, national and ethical issues. In addition he suggests a subdivision of members into "Peace Officers" and "Peace Soldiers". "Better to have 500 energetic, actually productive peacekeepers seeking out the disruptive element, than 50,000 well-meaning people dreaming about the idea of peace."⁴¹ In reference to the Handbook of the Peace Movement by Alfred Hermann Fried, Barolin also advises moving towards a better selection of leading personalities from the world of politics, as many of them here only wanted to score points as pacifists, but in their day-to-day business carried on contrary dealings. He closes with the appeal: "Whoever wants peace, must energetically fight for it!"⁴²

Presumably also from the time before the First World War comes the two-page paper *How diplomats and the press could serve the idea of peace*. In it he directs an appeal to diplomacy to intervene proactively if tensions grow. Each diplomat should swear an oath not to increase differences he has observed between nations but via his head of government immediately refer them to the international Arbitration Tribunal in the Hague. It must be ensured that "with the regulations available, there should be no place left for a master race, for drones alongside the worker bees and that privileged people can be found alongside the disenfranchised."⁴³ The press should introduce a new heading "Changes in the life of the common people" in order to point out the pattern of differences and compensation options.

Barolin also had his proposals for the Peace Congress in Stockholm printed.⁴⁴ In them, he was attempting to bring singing into the service of the notion of peace. He recommended the creation of lyrics and corresponding melodies even into the books dedicated to songs themed on peace and for which even their own harmonic structure was created. So songs were to be created in tune with various aspects such as the extolling of the idea of peace and its apostles, friendship, reconciliation or even harmony. Barolin did not wish to miss out on reporting extensively about the Congress in the *Zirkel*.⁴⁵ In view of the tense political situation in Europe, Barolin in the *Friedenswarte* called for a stronger recourse to international Courts of Arbitration — the *Zirkel* also published the article.⁴⁶ With great empathy, Barolin was also still reporting on the XXth World Peace Congress held in the Hague in 1913, at which, on the eve of the World War, the personalities involved in international pacifism got together for one last appeal for peace.⁴⁷

In 1919 Barolin published *Trostworte zum Friedensschluss*: To relieve the financial difficulty, a system was to be introduced for declaring assets, a sort of mandatory enquiry under which a new currency had to be introduced. New bridges of friendship and peace had to be built as well

⁴⁰ Johannes C. Barolin: Kampforganisation gegen Friedensstörungen. Vienna 1906, 4–5.

⁴¹ Ibid., 11.

⁴² Ibid., 15.

⁴³ Johannes C. Barolin: How diplomats and the press could serve the idea of peace. Vienna o.J., 1–2.

⁴⁴ Johannes C. Barolin: Suggestions for the 18th International Peace Congress in Stockholm. Vienna [1910].

⁴⁵ Joh. C. Barolin: Work still to be done after the Stockholm Peace Congress, in: Der Zirkel 1–2/1910, 10–12.

⁴⁶ Joh. C. Barolin: To all peace lovers, in: Der Zirkel 4/1912, 58–60.

⁴⁷ Johannes Carl Barolin: Under the sign of peace, in: Der Zirkel 2/1913, 17–23.

as a duty-free warehouse and free port zone. Food prices had to be controlled. By the creation of new cottage areas, cleanliness in towns could be shown, something which would convince tourists of the quality of life. In addition, Barolin recommended looking after artistic sites and the development of boarding schools and housekeeping education.⁴⁸

Thoughts on Race and Nation

Closely connected with pacifism were also Barolin's thoughts on race, which at first glance sounds something of a paradox. But similar to the "Founder of Jewish Socialism" Moses Hess, Barolin evidently used the terms Race and Nation synonymously. In 1923 the brochure *Nationalität und Friede* came out. In it he examined the question of migration and enthused about the multiple fertilisation between Germanic peoples and Slavs who also show national characteristics and idiosyncracies. "These numerous relationships of reciprocity should [...] provide the starting point for peaceful coexistence. The Teutonic person in non-German and Slavic countries and, conversely, the Slav or German-speaking Slav amongst Germans must introduce a feeling of goodwill as soon as he becomes aware that he is a guest among people of foreign races, in order to recognise that he will have to operate as a sort of link and be a factor in reconciliation. [...] If we pacifists could succeed in putting these thoughts across as a general conviction that none of the peoples in Europe is totally pure, that every nation has a really big part of another nation, against whom it stands as a sort of enemy, with its own ranks, then in the end it must be on the way to reaching the sensible notion that the fiery chasms already set against other peoples are not only no longer used and that the other nation is treated like a good friend, albeit with a difference of opinion."⁴⁹

A few years later, a memorandum came out on the League of Nations Conference on the issue of minorities in March 1929. The author splits minorities into five groups and refers to Stresemann and Briand, who have spoken out about their protection. What lies behind the chosen wording is once more: "It is the pacifist intent which underlies the emphasis of racial characteristics in our explanatory statements that Germans, who have Slavic blood in their veins and Slavic characteristics, may among the German people be the bearers of reconciliation between Germans and Slavs."⁵⁰

In a leaflet produced shortly afterwards, Barolin once again challenges the possibility of purity of breeding, as practically all areas in Europe have played host over the centuries to various different peoples, which means that they could well have blended together: "With these explanatory statements, my intention was to determine that comrades in language are not at the same time comrades in race, that a race certainly does not coincide with a language. It is perhaps precisely thanks to this mixture that the Germans, French and English have such high mental capabilities and excellent skills that they lead the way and stand at the pinnacle of mankind. [...] In the conflict in matters of nationality and race, lies the seed of reconciliation between peoples.

⁴⁸ Johannes C. Barolin: Words of comfort on the Peace Treaty. Vienna 1919.

⁴⁹ Johannes C. Barolin: Nationality and Peace. Vienna 1923, 16–17.

⁵⁰ Johannes C. Barolin: Thoughts on the Minorities Problem. Vienna 1929, 12.

Pacifists would now, in the interest of all mankind, have the task of developing this seed into a sapling, then into a plant and then into a mighty tree casting its shadow over all peoples.”⁵¹

Proposals for Social and Economic Reform

Amongst Barolin's earliest writings is his confrontation with the social question which he wanted to solve by the implementation of a tighter organisation. Already by 1898 appeared the brochure *Relief for communities — Solution of the social question by the creation of a welfare state in the free State*. This brochure developed into a new broader version entitled *The welfare state in the State*. The author did not want to have the word “social” understood in the generally accepted sense, but to introduce his own interpretation. The “Welfare state” should have its own laws and be integrated simultaneously and completely into the free State, just like an Institution or military unit. For him it was to encompass all needy people like the old, children, the physically handicapped, the mentally disturbed, the unemployed but also “released prisoners, the workshy and drunkards”. “This whole mass of people who, without earnings or acquisitions, are a burden to those who work hard and to the population as a whole, could be grouped together and by providing them with some form of useful activity turn them into a big well-disciplined family capable of keeping itself and leading in turn to a noble dignified life where their mental awareness would improve and become sharper.”⁵²

Each mature citizen of both sexes could join the welfare state. Communities and Municipalities should hand over the two areas of their foster children and the financial resources previously spent on them. Foster children should be installed where their own needs can be satisfied, in other words in sewing rooms, gardening allotments and poultry farms. Working hours should be settled by the individual needs of the free State. “The assignment of the individuals falling as a burden on the free State, such as cripples, the mentally disturbed, the workshy, drunkards, etc. is made in accordance with the gradual structuring of the welfare state; their inclusion also depends on the accommodation resources available.”⁵³ Barolin also expressed his hope that under his new system alcoholism could be contained. The work programme should be fixed by a Commission to be set up in the course of a five-year plan. This would include: individual requirements (food, clothing, housing, etc.), safety considerations (shelters against slipping on steep terrain, rock slides, avalanches, risks of flooding, torrent dams), health-related considerations (sewerage, drainage in marshland). Funds should be gained as all Communities and Municipalities would from now on be making available to the welfare state all the financial resources previously allocated to social welfare. Finally, what needs to be found is a system whereby domestic production is so profitable that all members can be fed and clothed as a result of it. Young mothers would occasionally be able to entrust their children to the care of the welfare state. Also those suffering from mental stress through work were to be offered the opportunity of finding a place to recover in the quietness of the countryside which they could satisfy simply by being involved in agricultural output. “For all factors in the State, it is vitally important that a counterbalance be

⁵¹ Johannes C. Barolin: *Race-Nation. A Way to Reconciliation*. Vienna 1925, 3.

⁵² Johannes C. Barolin: *The Welfare State within the State — an extended new edition*. Leipzig o.J., 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 6.

created in the present free State with its multiple unhealthy conditions and excesses. To do this, what is needed is a welfare state so that cases of misfortune, business crises and warlike events do not lead to violence on the part of the people and conflicts of any kind."⁵⁴ Just to what extent Barolin was convinced by his own proposals can be seen from a detailed Letter to the Editor of 1930 in which he recommends his document as the solution to the current economic problems.⁵⁵

In 1907 in the Vienna Academic Publishing House, document came out entitled *Import Museums* on the theme of economic strategy: Domestic need should be strengthened domestically more than previously, for great gains go abroad as local products are not available: "This large nearby core consumption area is unfortunately being surrendered to a large extent to foreign companies almost without a fight; the modest single combat which is being attempted by quite a few locals is not supervised and managed by the competent Authorities. There is consequently a lack of any reasonable rational organisation which means that no level of radical success can be achieved, unless the senior guardians of work on the domestic front and national economic interests take over the management. No positive result can be achieved until a proper organisation is fully in place, which purposefully strives towards the ideal goal, namely to capture the markets of domestic industry, business and agriculture as well as meeting the needs of domestic consumption (to the extent that this is possible)."⁵⁶ As a first step, what would be effective was the construction of Import Museums. Products from abroad should be presented and in addition the model of a possible domestic product and statistical material on the sales value and selling price. Several models of the Import Museum were presented.⁵⁷ The objects could quite simply be obtained through Customs. A precondition would be close cooperation on the part of the Ministries for Trade, Finance and Education. They should be an interface to data for all business people and traders as well as for training on national economics. The situation had come about where apples from California were cheaper in Vienna than locally-grown ones. The focus was to ensure that the sunny areas in the Balkans were better adapted to fruit growing. There was also a need for locally produced wool, foodstuffs of all sorts and textiles.

It was not until 1930 that Barolin again tackled the social issue.⁵⁸ In *On the Genesis of the Unemployment Problem* he deplores the divergence of the Poor-Rich split and points out that he had already always asked for this to be adjusted. If this had been heeded, there would today be neither Social Democrats nor Communists, but to a greater or lesser extent people enjoying prosperity. Instead, what would be presented would be a totally shattered economy. As a counter-model, Barolin recommended his "Welfare state within the State", with, as a direct programme, Interior Colonisation, Exterior Colonisation as well as a six-hour day, although all this had to be agreed internationally.

Already here it must be stated that Barolin's concepts on society's and economic reform very often originate from an environment still to be given a name, something which grew even stronger with advancing years and might well have become infused with a certain obstinacy on

⁵⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁵ On the Unemployment Problem, in: Neues Wiener Abendblatt, 24.1.1930, 1–2.

⁵⁶ Johannes C. Barolin: *Import Museums*. Vienna 1907.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 13–15.

⁵⁸ Johannes C. Barolin: *On the Genesis of the Unemployment Problem*. Vienna [ca. 1930].

the part of the visionary who had remained incredible. To define Socialism and not something like the collapse of stock exchange transactions as the originator of the misery, was the tone adopted at the time particularly by extreme right-wing politicians and publications.

Proposals for Parliamentary Reform

Barolin published his proposals for the inner reforming of Parliamentarianism in the liberal magazine *Die Wage* as well as in his own brochure.⁵⁹ His main focus was the strengthening of minority rights. Parliament should be a “faithful mirror image of the multiple layers in the population”. Also, the procedures should be simplified and made less expensive as well as ensuring that all Parties are represented. As regards inner structural reform, the author suggests that for the future there should be a system with three Chambers, each of which should have precisely 150 members. The first Chamber would be the one determining laws and should consist of represented chosen from all Parties, since this could then be described as a proper “Parliament of the Parties”. The second Chamber would from the point of view of economics guarantee the interests of the population and therefore be called “Parliament of Interests”. Finally, the third Chamber — and here Barolin is really innovative — should consist solely of women. In arranging the overall structure, however, this was to be based purely on male principles, as the only matters the third Chamber had to discuss related to the question of women’s rights, the bringing up of children and the welfare system. The deputies in these Chambers were to be designated as the holders of the “general, direct, equal and secret right to vote”. In place of the hitherto customary representative voting system, a proportional voting system was to be implemented. The Parties would thereby be forced to develop a more sharply defined programme, intended also to reveal divergent points to other candidates. New elections were to be held every four years.

At this point it must also be noted that Barolin was indeed really innovative in his concepts such as, for instance, in his terminology with expressions like “nation’s body”, although his thinking remains firmly embedded in the past.

Proposals for School Reform

Closely associated with pacifism and social reform is that of education, which represented a significant part of the “outdoor work” of the Fringe Lodges. Of some sort of involvement on the part of Barolin with the “Free School” Association, nothing is known, even if it might well have existed. The first Austrian School Reform Meeting took place in Gmunden from 19 to 22 July 1909. Here Barolin gave a talk on the *Adjusting of School to Life*. It would also involve a summary his book which had come out simultaneously, which is still talked about. After him, Georg Schmiedl gave a talk entitled *Representational Education as a Stipulation for all School Levels and Grades*.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Johannes C. Barolin: Suggestions for Voting and Parliamentary Reform. Vienna [1906].

⁶⁰ First Austrian School Reform Day, in: Linzer Volksblatt, 7.7.1909 5. The first Austrian School Reform Day, in: Reichspost, 22.7.1909, 7. First Austrian School Reform Day, in: Innsbrucker Nachrichten, 8.7.1909, 3. School Newspaper, in: Linzer Volksblatt, 23.7.1909, 3. School Reform in Gmunden, in: Tages-Post, 23.7.1909, 7. See also: An application from Denmark. The Danish to Austrian teachers, in: Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 15.7.1920, 7.

In 1909 the renowned Vienna publisher Wilhelm Braumüller published a comprehensive work by Barolin entitled *The School State. Proposals for Reconciliation and the Achievement of a Lasting Peace through the School* in which he developed his own ideas.⁶¹ The work is dedicated to Emperor Franz Joseph on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of his accession to the throne. Already in the Preface, he refers to the existing education system as “behind the times and irrational” and goes on to add: “The dominance of conservative ideas, the adherence to an outdated pattern, they bear the main blame for schools today being outstripped by a raging spirit of the age from the past. But a part of the failing can be traced back to the sin of omission: we failed to allow the practitioners to have an influence on the organisation of the school, which led to the overestimation of theoretical education.”⁶² Therefore, it is necessary that “the school theoretically make provision for all living conditions and circumstances of life and monitor the mechanism which is very much involved in societal life in all its sections and movements.”⁶³ The author then outlines the historical development via the monastery and convent school to the primary school and names Pestalozzi and Rousseau as the most significant thinkers of the past. For the present, he names the founder of the sites for the education of the poor, Adolph Diesterweg, the founder of the kindergarden, Friedrich Fröbel, then the Reformer of Prussian Education, Johann Friedrich Herbart and from Austria, Vinzenz Eduard Milde (1832–1853, Archbishop of Vienna) because of his regeneration of the teaching of handicrafts and his advocacy of physical training. It continues on the same theme: “Balanced nutrition, body care and many other factors, on which an orderly lifestyle depends, are not appropriately observed in the school.”⁶⁴ Practical skills would have to attract greater attention as well as knowledge about the most important additives and standard substances. In addition, sense of smell, taste and colour should be sharpened. Insufficient and unbalanced nutrition pose a threat to physical and mental wellbeing. Finally, it must also provide career guidance.

Barolin then goes on to the current discussion on schools in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and refers to Prof. Ernst Mach’s work *Popular Scientific Lectures* and the Society for School Reform. The uppermost principle of youth education is reckoned to be individualisation. The school motto should be “the integration into the immense organism of modern living.”⁶⁵

Physical training is also something which should be made use of in the area of defence, a phenomenon like days off has grown out of a false notion of humanity. Barolin presents the redistribution of the types of school depending on age groups in a diagram. On it he shows regular education beginning already at the age of 4 with secondary and tertiary education being set to last until the age of between 16 and 20. Thereafter, a four-year practical period as an interim should be annexed. There are then detailed models of the individual types of school and school timetables. Up to the age of 8, schools should be coeducational and after that they should be separate. The teaching of character is considered to be just as important as the acquisition of

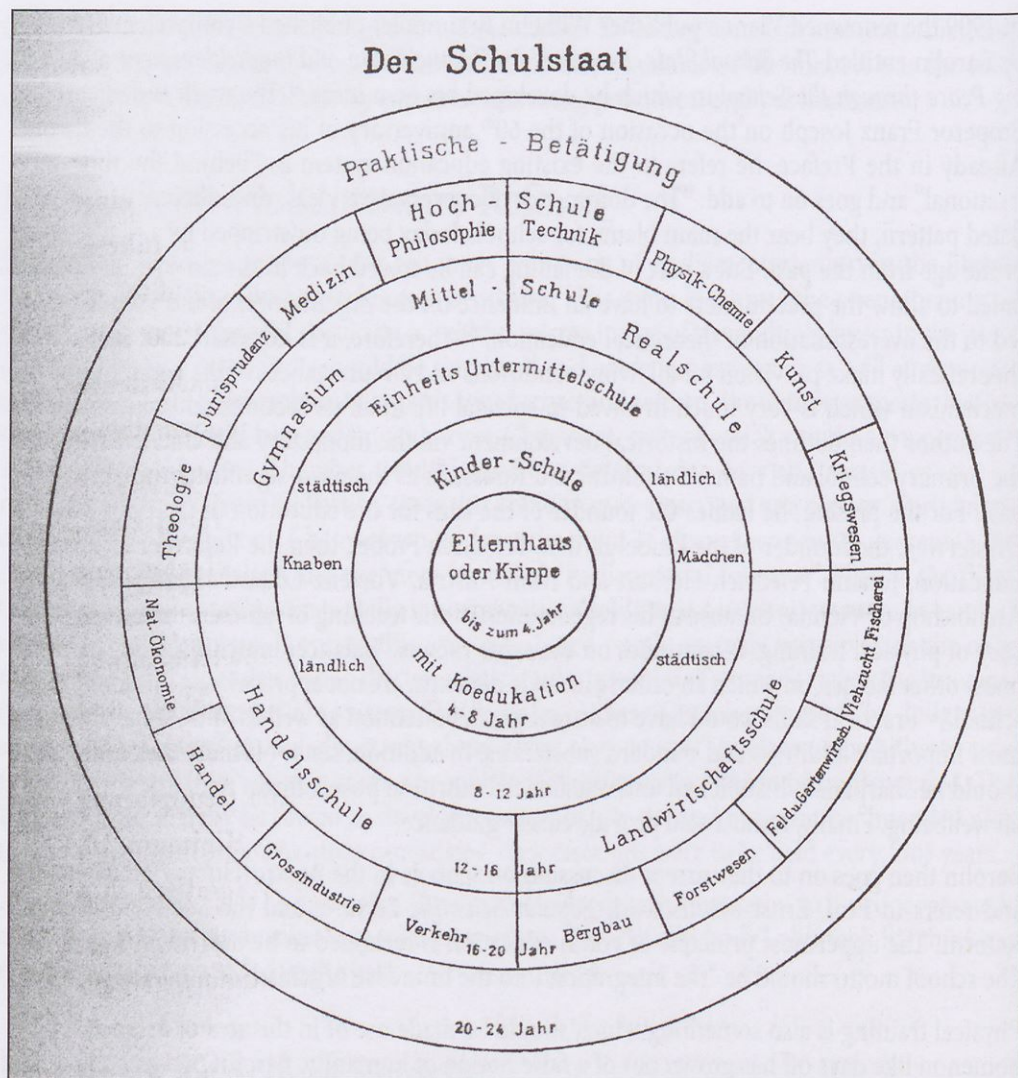
⁶¹ Johannes C. Barolin: *The School State. Proposals and reconciliation and bringing about a lasting peace through the school*. Vienna 1909.

⁶² *Ibid.*, X.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, XI.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.



From Educational state.

theoretical knowledge, which is why lessons are restricted to 24 hours. In respect of secondary schools, Barolin refers to the Conferences of School Principals from Lower Austria in 1900, 1903 and 1906. The secondary school for girls should prepare them for future careers and therefore their course should be structured between a higher school of economics and a preliminary academic curriculum.

For the fulfilment of his goals, Barolin demanded no less than the worldwide standardisation of his education plans. Therefore he subsequently compares the school systems of various different countries. Following on from his universal claim, he also requires the teaching of all relevant religions, which was certainly a bold gesture in the Catholic Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Along with the school system, the defence system was also to be standardised internationally, for even the peace lover must also remain realistic and can only bring about reform within the existing system. A logical consequence of the internationalisation was to be an intensive exchange of students, as these students would not lack anything if education was based on these unified teaching plans. These plans should also include an obligatory annual Day of Peace in the teaching programme.

In several further brochures details are debated. Thus, Barolin pleads for the founding of a Pedagogical Academy with the character of a university: For the teaching staff, people from the practical side of life should also be used, including writers, artists, professional experts, diplomats, doctors, architects, lawyers as well as reformatory superintendents, flower and fruit growers, merchants and traders or engineers.⁶⁶ In accordance with his internationalistic ethos, the question of student exchange was an important issue for him, because that was where a way would be recognised for reconciliation between peoples. This had also been needed in earlier times. An important precondition would, however, be a broad harmonisation of the school systems, and for this we propose a 4x4 step education system. The International Bureau for Education in Geneva could involve itself on the organisational front.⁶⁷

Barolin's proposals were heard, as can be seen from an article in the *New Free Press*: "Barolin's proposals contain numerous noteworthy suggestions; his merit is indisputable for having shown how a system of standardised school organisation, comprising all types of school and considering all areas of human activity, could be created. The very inspiringly written book should have as many readers as possible amongst parents and teachers as well as amongst those persons working in the official school Authorities."⁶⁸

A similar article came out in the *Neuen Wiener Tagblatt*: "It is exceptionally instructive to follow how Barolin is thinking of implementing these proposals [...] The work should be eagerly studied by everyone interested in our educational system whether for personal or professional reasons."⁶⁹

Proposals for Calendar Reform

A further comprehensive publication from Barolin was dedicated to the phenomenon of time measurement, which he wanted to develop into the decimal system.⁷⁰ The Preface for *The Hundred Hour Day* stems from Prof. Ing. R. Hegersdorf. He explains that for linear measurements and weights, the metric system had long since been introduced and so the counting of time should also be simplified. France had already become a pioneer of the metric system, but what was still lacking was a memorandum in German, which we now have in front us. There then follows an

⁶⁶ On the issue of the Teacher Academy. Vienna: o.V. 1928.

⁶⁷ Pupil exchange and reconciliation. Vienna: o.V. 1927.

⁶⁸ Ludwig Fleischner. The School State, in: *Neue Freie Presse*, 21.5.1910, 27. See also: Social Women's Education. In: *Prager Tagblatt*, 12.11.1909.

⁶⁹ Literary Review, in: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 7.3.1910, 12. Also see: Books just in, in: *Salzburger Volksblatt*, 4.12.1909, 18. Other opinions can be found in: *Znaimer Tagblatt*, 7.9.1911, 3.

⁷⁰ The hundred hour day. The proposal on time reform based on the decimal system, as a supplement to an analogous radian and length measurement. Vienna, Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller 1914.

explanation covering several pages on the history and practice of time division and measurement. Beginning with the Chaldeans, many ancient cultures and the calendars of ecclesiastical cultures and analysed and the advantages and disadvantages of solar years and lunar years also weighted up, just as for units like year, month, day, hour, etc. As a day contains 96 quarter-hours, these could almost imperceptibly be extended up to 100, which would mean that the metric system could be set up. Furthermore, the author speaks out in favour of a week with five working days and two days of rest, and here the working days could much more easily be broken up into units of ten. The author then goes on to sketch out a new chronometer, showing a watch with ten instead of twelve units. In conclusion, Barolin pleads for the introduction of summer time which, apart from the five-day week, is the only one in the book which found its implementation and a firm place in today's society. According to various enquiries, this work was the most resounding in the positive reviews it received.⁷¹ After the War, Barolin took up this theme again in Georg Schmiedl's Social Pedagogical Society at the Anatomical Institute of the University of Vienna.⁷²

Proposals for World Reform

The book *The Division of the Earth* came out in 1904 and was dedicated to the interparliamentarian Peace Conference the year before.⁷³ The author must have regarded it as one of his most significant works, since he even referred to it over and over again in later years. He pleads for a fair division of the already existing colonies in favour of the densely populated industrialised countries in Europe. The USA and Russia already had enough land mass and didn't need to be considered any more. Smaller countries should voluntarily join forces and move away from a feeling of "State egotism" towards one of "State altruism". The industrialised countries should band together with smaller neighbouring countries linked by culture and language and form business conglomerates. These then needed a merchant fleet and harbours on all waterways where coal could be offloaded. In addition there was then as large a colonial territory as possible in order to distribute products and overpopulation. Within the new economic area there would be no Customs or tariff barriers. Each of the new economic zones would have to make arrangements for an international Commission. Barolin emphatically alerted everyone to the "yellow peril" and about a new mass migration from Asia to Europe. On this topic, he also got round to talking about the Ottoman Empire which was often mocked as the "sick man on the Bosphorus": "Whatever else, Islam isn't dead and it will demonstrate its awfulness with eruptive force when a large movement, be it national or religious, galvanises the rigid body once again."⁷⁴

He showed a great understanding of Germany, which in any case should expand to the East where many Germans already lived, but their fate was deplored. "But for how long should Ger-

⁷¹ Other articles can be found in: Pester Lloyd, 1.2.1914, 22. Midday edition of the Neues Wiener Journal, 19.5.1914, 3. Fremdenblatt, 22.3.1914, 8. Neues Wiener Journal, 3.5.1912, 4; 9.1.1916, 13; 19.5.1916, 19. Prager Tagblatt, 31.8.1911, 32. Pester Lloyd, 28.2.1915, 14. Tagblatt, 16.1.1931, 11: Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung, 22.3.1914, 7.

⁷² Speeches and corporate Newsletters, in: Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 8.5.1918, 53.

⁷³ Johannes C. Barolin: *Die Teilung der Erde*, Dresden 1904. See also: The Interparliamentarian Peace Conference, in: Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 10.9.1903, 4.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 33.

many still have colonials without any colonies? How long should it still with its best bloodlines be a common fertiliser of peoples?!"⁷⁵ Indeed, many native-born Germans would now be living in South America, but there the southern European element was already too large — which is why the future was to lie in South Africa. By an alliance with the Netherlands, their colonies would be extended more quickly into the Indian Ocean.

The whole of the Balkans including Greece and North Africa, in other words a large part of the Ottoman Empire, would be annexed to the Austro-Hungarian complex. Egypt would virtually blossom from the Austrian influence, if it were liberated from the British and the Ottomans. Italy's request on Albania would have to be rejected while one needed a colony in southern China.

The Romanic area would result virtually organically from the possessions of France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Italy. With all its might and colonial power, England was shown little understanding: "We are indeed, in principle, friends of the English, but their egotistical global politics, their hatred of foreigners, which mostly means the Germans, all demand taking an energetic stance in the interest of downtrodden and threatened peoples."⁷⁶ On the other hand, he praised the British education system and its humanitarian institutions. To the argument that England was the loser in the redistribution of the world, Barolin answers that it had seized the opportunity at an early stage and everywhere and that other powers had done no more than put in an appearance. The Russian economic area handicapped by the weather will be enriched by Romania, Bulgaria, the rest of the Ottoman Empire, Persia and Afghanistan. Asia will be feted as the cradle of great religions like Brahmanism, Buddhism, Judaism and Christianity as well as Islam and Shamanism, as will the medieval high cultures in China and Japan. These territories alone should survive and the rest would be divided up between European powers.

Genuine "creativity" is how Barolin describes the formation of the "Nordic-Zionist-Japanese economic area — Sweden, Denmark and Norway should initially unite with Switzerland and now let's take a look in the direction of Palestine: "Situated in the middle of the bridge between three continents, this must be a land blessed by God, a land which according to the Bible "flows with milk and honey" — and this is where the lethargic, fatalistic residents are supposed to continue to govern? Spontaneously, there is an urge for a solution there.

Here is where a competent and capable nation belongs — one which would be appointed to take on a powerful position in the League of Nations and scale the giddy heights of prosperity. And there, along with our thoughts set at top-level happiness, meet up with the modern Zionist movement.

Which people would probably have had a greater right to these desirable regions than the Jews who, in fortune and misfortune, in days of nameless suffering and the deepest national humiliation, have turned round this holy land in tenacious unprecedented devotion with their secret wishes and, paying homage to the "oriental joy in fairy tales even in Europe, have covered up the often hideous misery of reality. So, we think to ourselves that Palestine would again become the

⁷⁵ Ibid., 42.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 63.



Zionist interest sphere from Division of the land.

ancestral seat of the Jewish people.”⁷⁷ And so, a strike was made on this area as well as the Sinai and the whole Arabian Peninsula. “What increase would there be in global wealth if Arabia were provided with culture! Even if the wildernesses might still be as widespread, the successes of the still young Jewish settlement in Palestine have shown how profitable the land is in its fertile parts and how well all the various products integrate.”⁷⁸ The holy sites in Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Kerbala and Nadschaf would be under an administration and would contribute to the economic upturn. In the Far East, Siam, Japan and Korea should still belong to this economic area. Significant coastal areas should be included in the Chinese economic area to serve as a base camp for the European powers. Africa should finally be divided up between the German, Romanic and Austro-Hungarian area. North America should incorporate Central America and Latin American form an area of its own. Australia should split away from England, as it had not achieved anything there. Important waterways like the Gibraltar or Panama canals should come under international administration.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 91–92.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 96.

In order to guarantee the integrity of the economic areas, an international Committee would obviously have to be created: "First and foremost, therefore, would be that the world confederation of states must for all time guarantee inviolability to all the smaller states, which today enjoy political independence and are to join up with larger states to form one economic area [...] similarly all desires to conquer and disrupt international traffic would be quelled by the prospect of success stemming from the ten major economic areas steadfastly and mutually guaranteeing their vested rights; should there be disruption from one state, then the superiority of all the others would be so evident that the futility of such an attempt would be clear from the outset."⁷⁹

Finally, Barolin picks up on his original theme: disarmament — only a firm world order could make this possible. In his closing remarks, however, the author predicts a large-scale war as long as England "continues to maintain the old mistrust and the differences between the powers"⁸⁰. The reception given to the book was, as expected, mixed: a review possibly written by Heinrich Glücksmann actually called the book "curious", but also "the down-to-earth reform project of a political realist, who with a clear eye contemplates the difficult positions which provoke a catastrophe and sees a remedy in the stabilising of the Customs issues and their supervision by an international Customs court of arbitration."⁸¹ Significantly cooler was the reaction in the *Reichspost*: "The definitely not uninteresting book is a trade utopia the attainment of which — no matter how pleasant that might be — is unfortunately unattainable because of the political prerequisites. At a time when the Conference in the Hague and the idea of a Commission for Peace could not preserve their own creator, the Tsar, from painful disappointments, the book dreamed of the appointment of a permanent world delegation to deal with economic issues and the division of the earth between cultural states in accordance with their trading interests. Indeed as a modern man, he even accepts and, which as a Philosemite through and through, including Arabia, refers to as a Zionist area of interest in Palestine. The Austro-Hungarian group receives in Africa the north-eastern part with Abyssinia whilst British East Africa receives in China the southern part of the province of Tsche-kiang together with a population of around 10 million. The trouble Herr Barolin has taken to draft all this has to be recognised but unfortunately this didn't materialise."⁸² In the *Friedenswarte* the book was presented as a new publication but was not reviewed in any way.⁸³ The *Zirkel* could not deny Barolin a review which naturally turned out to be extremely positive:

"The manuscript of the work was presented to the Committee of the Congress of the Interparliamentary Union which met in Vienna in the September of the previous year. That already speaks for the author's ideals and leanings which come across as bright beams of light shining forth from the unique work which portray his intentions and views as the manifestation of a staunch Freemason in whose heart lie the peace of the world and the good of mankind. Title and chapter headings awaken the belief that here we are dealing with a utopian rhapsody with excursions into the fourth dimension. This is not so, however. Here the poet teams up with the merchant,

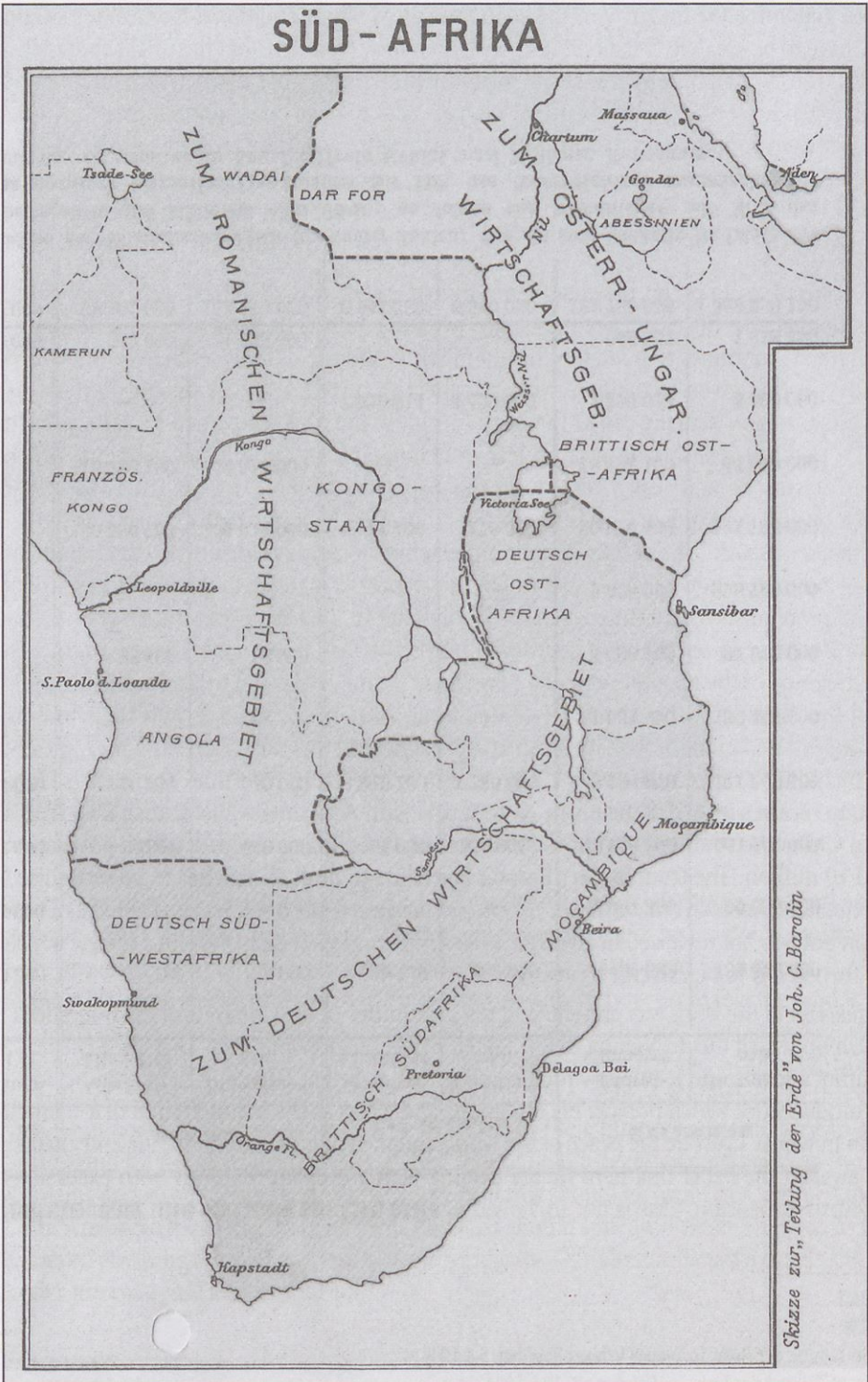
⁷⁹ Ibid., 180.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 190.

⁸¹ Cf.: Die Teilung der Erde, in: Neues Wiener Tagblatt, 5.4.1904, 4.

⁸² Rewiew of Teilung der Erde, in: Reichspost, 10.5.1904, 11.

⁸³ Literature and press, in: *Die Friedenswarte* 7/1905, 142.



European spheres of influence in Southern Africa from Division of the land.

the computer with the idealist, the keen thinker with the dreamer, the statistician with the theorist of people's happiness — someone who peeps into all corners of life. And if Br. Barolin would like to see the world — taking all countries into account — divided into ten large economic areas embracing agriculture and industry all of which are in economic harmony, then he bases this division and its benefits on an exact calculation which must win over every sceptic. Of course, as is demonstrated there, these are only nice possibilities. What is being dispensed there is the national economic policy of an altruist. The implementation of these proposals is still a very, very long way off. But it is at any rate of great value that the way to peaceful solutions to the issues of interest stirring people up against each other is being shown — and such a guide, which merits attention and consideration, is Barolin's book which reads like a thrilling novel and is yet thoroughly grounded in scientific and academic expertise and imparts information and instruction on practically all current burning questions of a social political and national economic nature. What is currently happening over in Asia, is prophetically announced in the book, proof of just how keenly the writer considers the facts and how shrewdly he assesses them."⁸⁴ It remains to note, however, that this represents the only review of a book penned by Barolin in the *Zirkel*.

In 1927 Barolin published an abridged version of the book in a leaflet. But this time there were no longer ten but only nine economic areas, a Germanic, a Romanian, a Danubian, a Russian, a British, a North American, a South American, a Chinese and a Japanese — there is no longer any mention of a Jewish-Zionist area.⁸⁵ This meant that his vision had already been made impossible by warlike riots akin to civil war between its Jewish and Muslim inhabitants. Barolin had obviously at an early stage with his alert sense of awareness Zionism, but in the end it was only treated as a fashionable case of Judeophilia. It remains to note that Zionism in contrast to Barolin has achieved its objectives.

Barolin had obviously at an early stage with his alert sense of awareness Zionism, but in the end it was only treated as a fashionable case of Judeophilia. It remains to note that Zionism in contrast to Barolin has achieved its objectives.

More than 20 years after *Teilung der Erde*, Barolin presented a second large-scale work in which he once again promoted economic conglomerates created artificially or diplomatically. He was especially keen on a Danube Federation as this was very much in demand at the time in liberal economic circles, in order to bring together again the markets which had once been united under the Habsburgs. The document *Für und wider die Donauföderation* appeared in the usual form of a double publication, the second part of which was based on *Los vom Rhein!* by Kurt Schechner. It amounts to a statement of defence. He pleads for a Germany looking towards the east and a strong economic alliance with Russia. According to him, an More that amalgamation of Germany with German Austria would only be a matter of time.

In his text, Barolin points out that the previous General Commissioner for Austria, Dr Zimmermann, had recently given a speech at the International Political Institute of Williamstown, during which he pleaded for the implementation of a Danube Federation for the financial rehabilitation of Austria. But this was not intended to be a political but purely economic amal-

⁸⁴ [Review of] *Teilung der Erde*, in: *Der Zirkel*, 30/1904, 460

⁸⁵ Johannes C. Barolin: On the history of the development of the World Economic Conference. [Vienna 1927].



European colonies in East Asia from Division of the land.

gamation. Barolin soon gets round to talking about his *Teilung der Erde* paper but also about Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, whose proposals “flow from the lines of thought of a peace lover and philosopher whose main focus is directed towards reducing the political sources of friction in Europa./ Dominate me on the contrary beside my ideal of peace, namely economic considerations.”⁸⁶ Coudenhove was interested only in the question of which effects the division of the world proposed by him would have in its wider framework. Barolin pleaded for a controlled economy and broad free trade without Customs barriers. As regards Austria, he saw the solution not in the “Anschluss” to Germany wished for by the national liberal front and feared by industry, but just in the Danube Federation. Afterwards he refers to his document *Der soziale Staat im Staat* and the possibilities set out in it to combat social misery and unemployment. Special praise is given to the fiscal policy of city councillor Hugo Breitner, who was redeveloping Vienna’s finances. But the Mayor Karl Lueger and Karl Seitz are also thanked. When referring to the previous envoy Friedrich Wiesner, Barolin is talking about a high-ranking diplomat who worked hard for the creation of Austrian colonies overseas. But the plan for a Danube Federation would also face opposition, because these “fear the States of the small Entente only because they lacked the guaranteed security that from it an Austro-Hungarian Monarchy might well arise which would have to be called into question because of its short existence. This guarantee would have to be accomplished.”⁸⁷ Therefore it would be necessary to win over the League of Nations for the undertaking. Further capital was committed to by Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and their multi-ethnic population.

Finally, Barolin returns to his proposals for the division of the world, but instead of the original ten, we are back once again to only nine economic powers — the Zionist area is no longer mentioned here. This time, no more maps are added and in the list the Arab states are lumped together into the area of British influence. Egypt is no longer shown in the Austrian area.

Subsequently, Barolin finds his way back to his dispute with Coudenhove-Kalergi, who is quoted as saying that the opponents of a Pan-Europa described this as a limited ideal and “in order to sabotage the United States from Europe, they will request the United States of the World.”⁸⁸

He counters this by saying that his proposals had from the beginning differed significantly from those of his adversary: “I put the main value on economic prerequisites, and from this with the utmost urgency there arises the division of this one Europe into three large economic areas, which Coudenhove would like to see united into a Pan-Europe. Coudenhove restricts himself to this argument against which I consequently move towards the division of all countries on earth into large economic areas. Coudenhove-Kalergi says: the leading world powers today as the Russian Federation, England and America and from this draws the following conclusion: Why should there only be these three Federations and not a fourth, namely Pan-Europe? But I go further, by saying: Don’t let’s just stand still, let’s draw all States, countries and peoples into the circle of our consideration, let’s make a clean sweep and let’s create a new large economic area so that we can then devote ourselves to the question of its division in the interest of a

⁸⁶ For and against the Danube Federation. 1.: J.C. Barolin: Danube Federation. 2.: Kurt Schechner: Los vom Rhein!. Vienna, Leipzig 1926, 15.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 34.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 60.

Tab. 12. Tabelle über die Verteilung der Wirtschaftsgebiete auf die einzelnen Erdteile.

Wirtschaftsgebiete	Europa		Asien ohne Kaspi- und Aral-See		Afrika		Amerika		Australien und Ozeanien		Zusammen	
	Quadrat- kilometer	Einwohner- zahl	Quadrat- kilometer	Einwohner- zahl	Quadrat- kilometer	Einwohner- zahl	Quadrat- kilometer	Einwohner- zahl	Quadrat- kilometer	Einwohner- zahl	Quadrat- kilometer	Einwohner- zahl
Deutsches Wirtschafts- gebiet	578 330	62 450 000	1 620 501	55 084 000	5 064 200	16 140 000	32	5 000	638 510	690 000	8 499 882	134 309 000
Österreichisch - Ungar. Wirtschaftsgebiet	925 749	56 050 000	45 000	5 300 000	6 025 607	28 736 000	—	—	—	—	6 907 356	90 089 000
Romanisches Wirt- schaftsgebiet	1 443 010	101 062 000	1 154 173	32 398 000	18 112 000	126 707 000	2 807	400 000	27 000	100 000	20 738 590	261 267 000
Englisches Wirtschafts- gebiet	315 120	41 900 000	7 610 340	329 836 500	9 360	653 000	20 650	540 000	329 100	1 180 000	8 284 570	371 209 500
Russisches Wirtschafts- gebiet	5 667 452	118 762 000	25 394 468	63 645 000	—	—	—	—	—	—	31 661 920	182 407 000
Nordisch - zionistisches Japanisches W.-Geb. Chinesisches Wirt- schaftsgebiet	850 200	13 380 000	4 576 400	84 600 000	—	—	88 100	12 000	—	—	5 620 700	97 972 000
Nordamerikanisches Wirtschaftsgebiet	—	—	2 920 000	228 700 000	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 920 000	228 700 000
Südamerikanisches Wirtschaftsgebiet	—	—	416 300	16 710 000	—	—	20 598 786	104 916 000	17 400	170 000	20 970 436	121 796 000
Australisches Wirt- schaftsgebiet	—	—	—	—	—	—	18 492 150	46 510 000	—	—	18 492 150	46 510 000
Internationales Kanal- zollfreigebiet	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 929 014	4 400 000	7 929 014	4 400 000
	9 883 466	394 221 000	43 739 294	813 384 650	29 815 967	172 306 000	39 401 095	153 478 000	8 941 333	6 540 000	131 789 555	1 539 930 150

Es sei uns hier auch gestattet, eine Parallele zu ziehen zwischen den Bevölkerungsziffern, der Größe der Wirtschaftsgebiete in runden Zahlen, wie sie sich belläufig im Laufe der nächsten Jahre ergeben dürften. An der Spitze würde England marschieren, da dessen Wirtschaftsgebiet 400 Millionen einschliesst, es folgen das romanische mit 270, das chinesische mit 250, das russische mit 200, das deutsche und nordamerikanische mit je 150, das nordisch-zionistisch-japanische mit 110, das österreichisch-ungarische mit 100 Millionen; endlich entfallen auf das südamerikanische 60, das australische zehn und das internationale Kanalzollfreie Gebiet zwei Millionen Einwohner.

European colonies in East Asia from Division of the land.

lasting peace whereby all ambitions and aspirations of the powers are to be laid out and finally settled.”⁸⁹ For a quarter of a century now he had been asking for a World Trade Organisation. In a footnote, the author refers again to current enthusiastic articles on his book *Teilung der Erde* from Franz Schuhmeier, Karl Lueger and Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Max Nordau, King Oskar II of Sweden and many others. Quoted also are newspaper reviews including one from Theodor Herzl or another from the Berlin Freemasons’ magazine *Am rauhen Stein*.⁹⁰ There then follow further discussions on the other economic areas. For its colonial work England is especially praised in particular, as during the war she had, to the amazement of the enemy, protectively rallied the colonies around the motherland. Also for the “creation of a certain state independence in Palestine”⁹¹ it was the art of British diplomacy which had to be thanked. Finally, in accordance with the League of Nations, a demand was made for a World Economic Delegation and a World Cultural Heritage Organisation. A brief review in the *Prague Daily* describes the document as an amended version of *Teilung der Erde*: “In accordance with the needs of today, he has undertaken a regrouping of the contents and rewritten the 1903 goals and demands to set them on more realistic ground.”⁹²

From 16 to 18 January 1928 the German Provincial Conference was held in Berlin. For this, Barolin printed a leaflet with proposals on the administrative reorganisation of Germany with

89 Ibid., 61.
 90 Ibid., 63.
 91 Ibid., 98.
 92 “The Danube Federation”, in: Prager Tagblatt, 9.12.1926, 7.

its central theme remaining that of one single unified State.⁹³ Already in his document on the Danube Federation, he had suggested eight administrative districts for Germany, whereby, in particular, enclaves were to be avoided. But the actual debate was extremely muddled, focusing on subjects with names like Federalism, Unitarianism and Centralism. What was important was that there should not be any modifiable Contracts which were intended to specify the rights between the individual partners. Areas in common were to be the Imperial Council, Defence, Central Bank, Customs' policy, etc.

Barolin's last published paper from 1933 and gives suggestions for a world economic conference. In it he pleads for a reduction in working hours and a planned economy, in each country bigger and more efficient general staff levels should be achieved which should organise generous domestic colonisation as well as an emigration policy, which is why colonies must also be created for Germany and Italy. The next sentence is extremely problematic: "Even here the political and moral reformer of Germany, Reich Chancellor Hitler, could operate in a groundbreaking and pioneering manner. The vigorous gymnastics practised by him in the field as sacrificial messenger under the most difficult and dangerous conditions were arguably for him the source of the accumulation of the enormous drive which was necessary to crush the senile dispositions of the German people and rip the doors wide open for a young Germany."⁹⁴ Had Barolin lived only a few months longer, he would have regretted this sentence. Under no circumstances was he a supporter of the geopolitical aims of the Nazi regime. Thus, in this brochure, he speaks out in favour of new alliances of various countries and treats US President F.D. Roosevelt with great respect. But the economy of the USA could recover only by strengthened immigration from Europe. This is why Barolin even appeals to the League of Nations to participate meaningfully. Here, too, it is demonstrated how little his ideals could withstand the real balance of power, for the hard-won League of Nations, which did not come into being until after the First World War, remained a toothless piece of machinery.

Resumé

It's not easy assessing the life and work of Johannes Carl Barolin. He remains a pioneer of the welfare state, universal suffrage, education and all the way up to international Institutions. Undoubtedly he was a visionary who predicted globalisation, the dangers of which he recognised and wanted to counteract through his approach as a pacifist. But he was certainly no politician who would have taken firm steps for the realisation of his ideas, just like Theodor Herzl. What is astonishing about Barolin is his belief in the rationality and the inherent goodness in people, but also his versatility, all of which in turn became a cardinal theme of his. Generally acknowledged was his enormous zeal for work which he had put into a host of totally different themes. A wider discussion on his theories cannot be traced in the contemporary press and thus a greater resonance about him is denied. His proposals still mostly observed on the reform of time were not implemented in any way whatsoever. He recognised at an early stage the many problems of the

⁹³ Johannes C. Barolin: *Reich, Länder und Anschluss*. Vienna 1928.

⁹⁴ Johannes C. Barolin: *Suggestions for the World Economic Conference*. Vienna 1933, 12. On this see: *Thoughts on the World Economic Conference*, in: *Westböhmsche Tageszeitung*, 10.6.1933, 3.

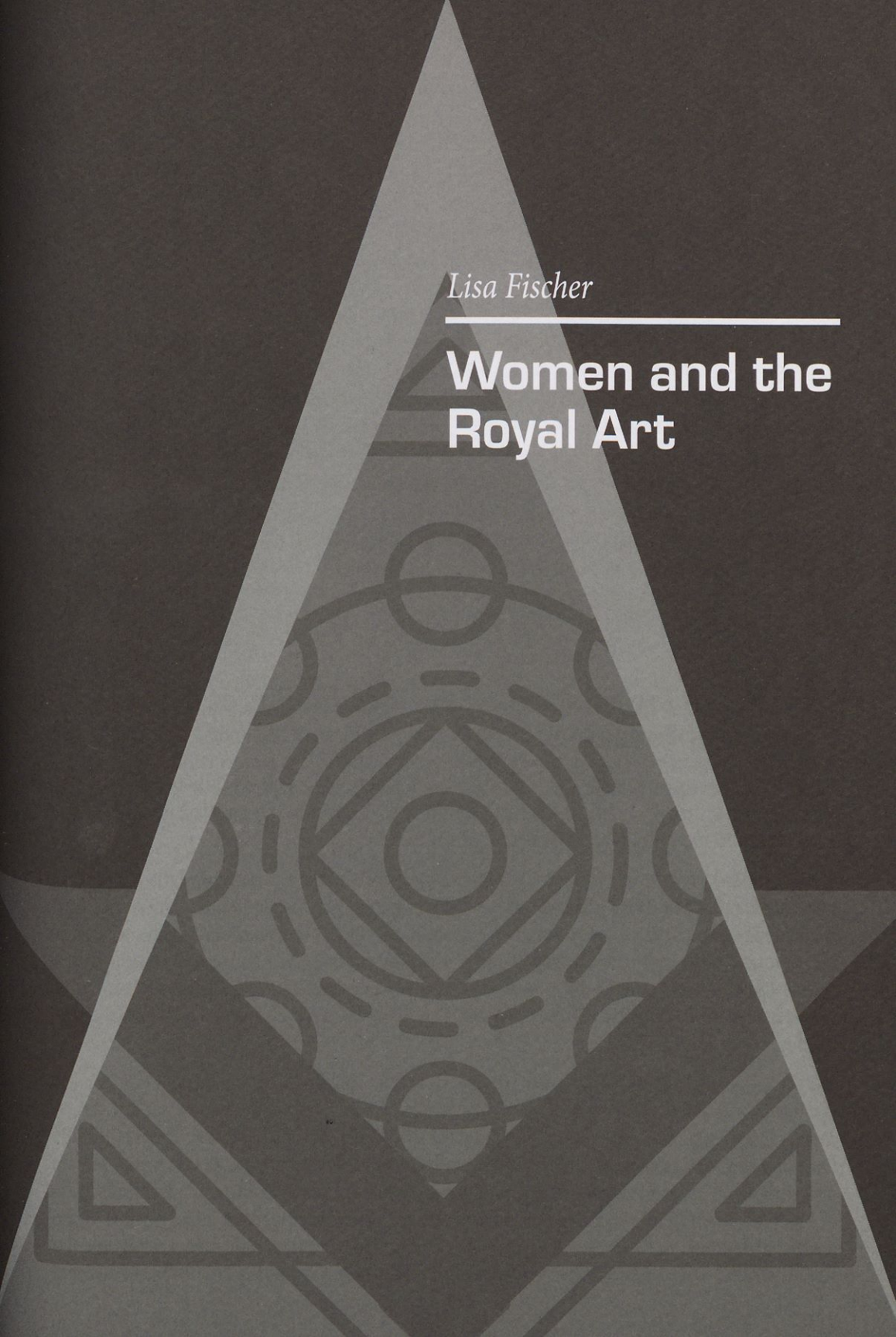
society of his time and encouraged discussion on these, but his proposals for a solution remained ineffectual. To some extent what can be seen in Barolin is the tragedy of Austrian liberalism before and after the First World War. Mentally charging forwards at many levels of the necessities of life, more energy was invested in large constructs of thoughts than in actually implementing them in the world of everyday politics. The reproach of the Discussion Club is not exactly unfounded. What remains symptomatic is his handling of the question of women's rights — he acknowledges their important place in society, but he wants to limit them to the conventional role models. So innovative is Barolin in his internationalist world view, so reactionary in the way he presents himself in his Eurocentric focussing on the interests of the industrialised countries, including the unconditional promotion of colonialism, and so altruistically does he care to colour all these. Open to criticism on so many fronts is also his terminology, which very often smacks of being nationalistic. Naturally many terms did not have an impact before their misuse by the Nazi regime, but nevertheless they substantiate his intellectual origin. The reference to earliest works also leads to the conclusion that these were not further developed intellectually. In view of the Nazi regime, finally, pacifism turns into appeasement, but by this time Barolin was already an old man. His view of freemasonry was extremely elite and educated to a high degree, but in spite of that, even though it was open to quite a bit of criticism. His standing as a freemason, however, impeccable. With the exception of Eugen Lennhoff there was scarcely any other who invested so much time and money in a comprehensive journey to work on every link of the chain in Europe.

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Lisa Fischer

Women and the Royal Art

Abstract

If Freemasonry hopes to fulfill its own requirements as regards being an innovative force of transformative social progress towards a more humane world, Freemasonry must recognise the existing contradictions within the system. From the 18th to the present 21st century, women have been banned from membership in some Masonic associations around the world. This not only circumvents the principle of equality laid down by them, but also violates human rights. The production and reproduction of a male dominion is still a fact in this context. Both men and women are subject to it in many Masonic systems and it continues for both. Thus, a hegemonic state is maintained rather than terminated. The fulfillment of an egalitarian claim is a fundamental Masonic category, equality is indivisible, hence also that of men and women! Masonic groups that exclude women represent an anachronism, are unbelievable, and destroy the basis on which they build their claims of freedom, equality, and solidarity.

A historical inventory of the development of Freemasonry in the Habsburg Empire from the 18th century up to the present day can elucidate the developmental process of female participation based on the available sources and provide an overview. It thus brings the still existing grounds for the exclusion of women into critical discussion.

KEYWORDS: Mixed Order, Le Droit Humain, Equality of Women, Contradictions

Women and Freemasonry, or the Indivisibility of the Principle of Equality

“Woman is now equal to man. That is law. And as Freemasons, we have a duty to observe laws, although it may be difficult for some on this point. Let us adapt to the time lest it overtake us.”
Emil Frankl 1919, brother of the Grand Lodge of Austria

Three hundred years of Freemasonry is a proper occasion to take a look behind the mirror and to use it for reflection. Born as a child of the Enlightenment, the association has blossomed into a worldwide organisation, overcome prohibitions, conspiracy theories, defamations, as well as idealisations, and despite its contradictions in the 21st century, it is a constantly growing institution. In contrast to the still existing rumors of a secret connection, one can read everything worth knowing. The practice of the Masonic journey of discovery, however, offers only membership.

The Royal Art, as Freemasonry was also called, was established in England in 1717. It soon acted as a critique of the absolutist state. Inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment, it spread rapidly from England to the European mainland. Thus, in 1743, the Habsburg Empire saw the founding of its first Lodge. Although the Emperess Maria Theresa closed it, her broad reform programme was based on knowledgeable consultation; most of her consultants were members of Freemasonry. Her physician Gerard van Swieten was the driving force in the reform of the health care system, and Tobias von Gebler and Johann Melchior von Birkenstock reformed the school system. Joseph von Sonnenfels distinguished himself by bringing about the abolition of

torture. Ignaz von Born, the model for Sarastro in the *Magic Flute*, founded the Natural History Museum by cataloging parts of the Natural Resources Cabinet. The most important advocate and protector of Freemasonry, as well as an active brother, was Albert of Saxony-Teschen. He was the husband of Maria Theresa's daughter Maria Christina and founder of the largest copperplate collection in Europe, the Albertina.¹

In the 18th century, the Royal Art was not only a fashion but also a model for contributing to the general well-being of the people. Humanity and education policy were values that built on modest, honest, and hard-working life and rejected fundamentalism and intolerance. The proponents strove to achieve wisdom through rationality and knowledge, and to bring beauty into the world not only as an aesthetic category, but as a harmony between opposites. Members were discreet and tried to engage themselves not only theoretically but also practically for the benefit of the public. Baroque buildings, landscape gardens and libraries became the metaphorical architectures of a better world, on which theory should prove itself in practice. Art and knowledge were part of a great world theatre that staged itself on a private scale in the Lodges. The members of Freemasonry soon became important proponents of a supra-regional value system and international network. The sociopolitical visions crossed the Atlantic and reached America, where they were applied in 1776 by the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the subsequent Bill of Rights.

The meetings of Freemasons became an essential motor of the European Enlightenment and a reflection of the social and political restructuring processes of modern times. Freemasonry, however, was not uncontroversial in the public eye due to its secrecy and internal struggles. Moreover, it was very inhomogeneous. In the Lodges one could find the alchemical search for the philosopher's stone and rational scientific delight, chivalrous games and elite awareness. Equally contradictory was the Lodges' relationship to women, who were excluded from their equality postulate. Thus, the fraternal members produced not only light but also shadows from the beginning.

If we look at the relationship between the sexes, the dilemma of the Enlightenment becomes manifest. In the English *Constitutions of the Free-Masons* of 1723, the formalistic foundation of Freemasonry, women were denied the right of entry from the beginning. The reasons for their exclusion were derived from history and even from the Bible. It was claimed that curiosity and the fall into sin in Paradise were due to Eve.² The brothers were convinced that the entry of women would lead to conflicts, and that the men would be deterred from their work on the construction of the Temple of Virtue by erotic distractions. This biologicistic argumentation appeared again around 1900 in the Habsburg Empire in the hotly debated discussion on the entry of women into the purely male Lodges. Paradoxically, this reasoning is also used by some brothers in the 21st century to legitimise discrimination against women and to continue the legacy of a male bond.

¹ Fischer, Eden, 2007.

² "Versuch über die Geheimnisse". In: Freymäurer Bibliothek, Vol. I, 1782, pp. 104–105.

The Magic Flute — a Cult Opera and the Dialectics of the Enlightenment

The century of the Enlightenment already showed dark shadows along with its light side. Spirit and rationality were masculine, emotion and intuition increasingly assigned to women. Thus, the triumph of the spirit over the body, that is, over nature, became at the same time a victory of the masculine over the feminine. Also the Masonic cult opera *The Magic Flute*, by the composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart with the libretto by the Freemason Emanuel Schikaneder, makes this clearly visible on the stage. The ideals of Freemasonry were the inspiration for the initiation of Pamina and Tamino. Amongst a backdrop of dark forests, the path led from darkness to Sarastro, the priest of light. It was a revolutionary element that man and woman enter together into the rooms of initiation. The fact that the queen of the night was sacrificed in this way shows the failure of the enlightened principle of equality. The duality of day and night, of rationality and emotion, collapsed under its own demands. Only in the acknowledgment of the domination of the imagined male light in the person of Sarastro and the destruction of the feminine darkness in the person of the queen of the night was Pamina, the partner of Tamino, able to enter the Masonic alliance. The daughter had to agree to the disempowerment of her mother, the guardian of the old secrets, and had to allow her murder in order to be accepted into the new faith system of man. What was performed on stage as a utopia of freedom reestablished the male-defined norm. Thus one hears Sarastro saying, "A man must guide your hearts, for without him every woman will walk out of her sphere of action."

Now the mind was to command enchanted nature.³ Magic was defamed, as opposed to the Logos. The quite positive legacy of the rational principle increasingly displaced the irrational as the value of compensation. The new hegemonic system of the masculine and bourgeois discipline sacrificed everything that seemed dangerous to its assertion. The passions were shifted to the regions of the subconscious, women excluded from alliances, orders, and guilds, and included in the privacy of the bourgeois household. The principle of striving for the harmony of opposites collapsed at the moment it was formulated.

France versus England *Le Droit Humain — Equality between Men and Women*

While the purely male branch of Freemasonry, which was dominated by England, maintained its principles as regards the exclusion of women, there was a substantial change in France in the late 19th century. Maria Deraismes was the first woman to be admitted to the Freemason Lodge "Les libres penseurs" in Le Pecq, a small community near Paris, on 14 January 1882, with the support of Georges Martin. She was one of the most important French writers of the 19th century, a brilliant philosopher, gifted painter, and passionate pianist. Like no other woman before her, she had made a furore with her speeches, attracted a broad public with her clever writings,

³ Horkheimer, Adorno: *Dialektik*, 1969, p. 10.



Maria Deraismes (1828–1894).

and laid out pioneering signs by means of political actions.⁴ As the authoritative feminist of France, she devoted her whole life to the equality of women. With her inclusion in a Freemason Lodge, the practical steps required in theoretical writings were taken: recognition of the equivalence of men and women in society and Freemasonry. The Lodges wanted to implement the principles of “proper thinking, speaking and acting.”⁵ With the inclusion of Maria Deraismes in France a certain development had come to its end point, which had already been announced in the 18th century. In the so-called French Adoptive Lodges, mostly aristocratic ladies and gentlemen were allowed to work together in the temple after a ceremonial Masonic ritual and devote themselves outside their walls to charity. Since this institution enjoyed great popularity all over France, the purely male-defined Grand Orient in Paris in 1774 allowed female participation and ritual work in the presence and under the direction of one of its masters.⁶

When, at the end of the 19th century, the efforts towards reform increased in France along with the pressure to allow women to be treated equally, the step of Maria Deraismes and Georges Martin appeared to be an appropriate sign of the times. But the admission of a woman also led to enmity there and immediately resulted in the division of the Lodge. On 14 March 1893, Deraismes, together with the physician and mayor Georges Martin (1844–1916), founded the “Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise Mixte de France”, which passed into the Order of Le Droit Humain. Together with her sister and 16 other women, Maria Deraismes was accepted and chosen to be the first master of the chair. Marie and Georges Martin, on the other hand, presented the example of the mixed order, of which they were profoundly convinced: the ideal in Freemasonry was the inclusion of an equivalent pair in the Lodge, because social harmony was

⁴ *Oeuvres complètes*, 1895, reprinted without date.

⁵ Grosjean, Georges Martin, 1988.

⁶ Tauschinsky: Die Freimauerei, in: *Der Zirkel* 18/1913, p. 274.

based on gender democracy in the family. The work itself was understood as the starting point of a social and political process of transformation that was meant to eliminate social, religious, and gender inequality. Thus, these brothers and sisters achieved a milestone in the history of Freemasonry. After the sudden death of Maria Deraismes — she died a year later, in 1894 — the wife of Georges Martin, Marie, together with her husband and Marie's sister Anne, led the mixed Order into an international future.

The Order became open to all without distinction as to sex, race or faith. Thus, contrary to England, France had taken a decisive step towards the practical realisation of equality between men and women within Freemasonry. The mixed Order of *Le Droit Humain* first spread across Switzerland, England, and Holland, and then to other countries. Above all, thanks to Dr Annie Besant's commitment, its path led from Europe to India.

Austrian Steps to the Mixed Structure *Sisters in the "Grenzlogenzeit" 1872–1918*

The first era of the "Royal Art" during the Habsburg Empire of the 18th century excluded women. After its prohibition of 1795 and apart from a brief intermezzo after the revolution of 1848, more liberal legislation in Hungary allowed the reestablishment of Lodges starting in 1867. In order to avoid the outright ban in Vienna, activists established the non-political "Humanitas" association in 1869⁷, whose members, under the most difficult conditions, founded a Lodge of the same name in Neudörfel an der Leitha. They were able to hold their Masonic gatherings in Hungarian territory and under the patronage of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary. The first St. John's celebration took place in 1872. An interesting article was published in the journal "Die Freimaurer-Zeitung" in July 1872; it was also the first time that the "sisters" were officially invited as such to a Masonic gathering.⁸ The author explained the reason for the exclusion of women through the different fields of activity: women worked in the domestic sphere, while the men worked in the public sphere. It was therefore the task of women to help their men as assistants with advice and action. Although the invitation of sisters, that is to say, of the wives, widows and fiancées of the brethren must be regarded as unusual, the division of labour between the sexes, reduced to biology, found a clear correspondence: female membership was excluded, but their support for their husbands through the implementation of this idea within the family and their commitment to public charity was desired.

In the so-called "Grenzlogenzeit", i.e. the time of the "Border Lodges" between 1869 and 1918, there was lively traffic between Vienna and the cities of the Habsburg Empire, in which the "Royal Art" in Hungary was established under more liberal legislation: Pressburg, Odenburg, and Neudörfel an der Leitha. Although it was an exclusively masculine chain, the wives, widows, and fiancées who were named sisters were invited to so-called "sister ceremonies". The programme of the social events was often embellished with demanding artistic performances

⁷ Patka: *Freimaurerei*, 2011, p. 43.

⁸ Bericht über das erste Johannis-Fest, in: *Der Zirkel* 14/1872, p. 61.

by female singers and pianists. Also the meetings for the St. John celebrations, in which several Lodges often collaborated, were always open to the sisters.⁹ Ritual mourning in the temple could even be held in the presence of sisters.¹⁰

Women — Duties without Rights

Whether women were absent or present due to their biological determination in the role of mother or serving wife, the Freemasons once again added a divine foundation as an aspect of the irreplaceable order. However, the social upheavals of Viennese Modernism had an effect on all sectors of society. Educational, social, and emancipatory issues concerned both men and women and also left their mark on Freemasonry. Now equality was not only rhetorical, but also theoretically required. In an argument in the magazine *Der Zirkel*, the whole spectrum between the rejection or admission of women quickly became apparent. The lawyer Dr Heinrich Scharfmesser, the initiator and chairman of an institution for abused children, wrote an impressive plea in May 1902: "Woman has become aware of her equal rights, and we preach: 'Know thyself!' On the basis of this self-knowledge, she demands the freedom of self-actuation, equality with all men without distinction of sex, and fraternity by acknowledging equivalence. Freemasonry, as a philosophical and progressive union, has to be the first to seriously consider the question of the admission of women into participation, and to prepare for its execution."¹¹

These words did not go unheard. Thus, many Lodges opened their doors to women and introduced them into their secret teachings with so-called "sisters' instructions" — an almost revolutionary step. But it remained an experiment. In fact, women were regarded as supporters of men and were only used as their assistants. Some brothers were open to political changes in society, but they did not dare to take a formal step towards integration due to the simultaneous rejection of women's membership. On the other hand, socio-political issues such as the reform of education or women's right to vote were discussed in some Lodges and were thus present internally as well as on the public stage.

Despite the existing exclusion of women, there were innovations. In the "Pioneer" Lodge in Pressburg, a revolutionary premiere occurred in April 1905. For the first time a female speaker, Cilly Schleiffer, discussed the topic "Woman in marriage".¹² The crowds were so great that many people had to stand in the lecture hall. Women were, therefore, allowed to work together with men on a case-by-case basis, but without actually being admitted. Social meetings or gatherings during the summer break, which were not held in the temple, were organised for men and women anyway. They offered a cultural programme in which female artists performed.

All these events should strengthen the cohesion of the brothers and oblige their women to work together in the public sphere. Ladies were only tolerated while working in the Lodge without

⁹ M.A.: Das gemeinschaftliche Johannis-Rosenfest, in: *Der Zirkel* 6/1892, pp. 46–47, and Rudnschau, in: *Der Zirkel* 30/1903, p. 453.

¹⁰ Ceremoniell, in: *Der Zirkel* 12/1892, p. 94.

¹¹ Scharfmesser: Die Zulassung der Frauen, in: *Der Zirkel* 31/1902, p. 497.

¹² Rundschau, Inland, "Pionier", in: *Der Zirkel* 27–28/1905, p. 411.

any membership rights, but were worshiped with words. In the work outside the Lodges, on the other hand, there was significant support for the various charitable activities. Here, the cooperation of some brothers with the women's movement at both the formal and local levels was demonstrated. The debate on the admission of women into Freemasonry was intensively pursued in the first decade of the 20th century. In 1907, Dr Max Dembski from Dresden published an article about women in Freemasonry in the journal *Der Zirkel*. Therein he ended with the words: "To what extent this idea can be realised must be left to the time, but there can be no doubt that a solution to the problem, i.e. that the feminine element can be placed more than hitherto in the service of Masonic thought that embraces all mankind, would only serve it as a blessing. The true Freemason knows in a person only a person, the same link in the same chain; there is neither man nor woman, but both as one in the great covenant of humanity: The friends of light are one, indifferent, whether man or woman, and their God is a power, a striving for good, and indifferent to where, when, and how."¹³

The subject provoked strong opinions; in the magazine *Der Zirkel* a "war of pens" arose. The positions of advocates and opponents of female membership collided. In 1909, finally it was possible in a Lodge to adopt a resolution stating that it was considered desirable and necessary to allow women to join Freemasonry and to enter into the Grand Lodge.¹⁴ Proposals for the founding of special female Lodges were also formulated, while the occasional cooperation of women was still practiced in some Lodges.

In the end, the question that arises is how it was possible for this topic to be discussed so widely in Austria. Freemasonry was then in a developmental phase after a long period of prohibition. Although it was marked by traditions, it was not hampered by recognition by foreign Grand Lodges. Thus, Austria represented an experimental laboratory in which unorthodox thought could be expressed. In addition, the debate was held in the magazine "Der Zirkel", a Viennese publication that could not have existed during the period of prohibition.

Restoration and Innovation

After the decay of the Habsburg Empire and the proclamation of the Republic of Austria, women were given the right to vote for the first time in 1918, so they were legally equated with men on the political stage. For Freemasonry this meant a fundamental new beginning after its golden age in the 18th century and the following prohibition, which only allowed the "border lodges" in Hungarian territory. Already on 8 December 1918, the Grand Lodge of Vienna again constituted itself as an exclusive men's federation. At the same time, the question of the admission of women was again discussed. In *Wiener Freimaurer-Zeitung*, the following was mentioned in 1919: "Woman is now equal to man. That is law. And as Freemasons, we have a duty to observe laws, even if many things are difficult on this point. Let us adapt to the time lest it overtake us."¹⁵ The final words the lawyer Dr Emil Frankl delivered during his lecture in the Enquete on the aims and paths of the

¹³ Dembski: Die Frauen, in: *Der Zirkel* 15/1907, pp. 223–224.

¹⁴ Rundschau, Inland, "Sokrates", in: *Der Zirkel* 14/1909, p. 201.

¹⁵ Frankl: Unsere Enquete, in: *Wiener Freimaurer Zeitung* 1–3/1919, p. 27.

newly founded Grand Lodge of Vienna seemed like an appeal. A survey of the brothers regarding the admission of women had been carried out, but had led to a rejection thereof, as the Grand Master, the lawyer Richard Schlesinger, told everyone: "Among the answers received, almost full unanimity prevailed, both among the most radical and the most conservative brothers. The question of the admission of women was almost unanimously rejected. It is not as if the intellect of the woman, her willingness to sacrifice, or her altruism should somehow be contradicted. But there were also concerns of a different kind which cannot be dismissed by the fact that today woman has her seat and voice in public life, in the legislatures, in the community, and in other public bodies. It is pointed out, and I agree with this view, that the idea of fraternity is specifically a union of men, that the reception of women can lead to jealousies and alienation among the brothers themselves, and it is worth mentioning that a number of brothers and especially physicians also brought up the sexual aspect during the meeting, which speaks against the admission of women. [...] Today, however, it may be concluded that in the circles of brothers the desire to admit women, which would have to essentially change the structure of the life of the Lodge, does not exist."¹⁶ So they rejected the participation of sisters and denied their self-imposed principle of equality. A historic opportunity was lost in the restoration of the male association.

1922 — The first Mixed Lodge in Vienna

In Austria, the first Mixed Lodge, i.e. consisting of men and women, of *Le Droit Humain* was founded in Austria in 1922, completely independently of the Grand Lodge of Vienna.¹⁷ There are few sources regarding the developmental history of *Le Droit Humain* in Austria, since the documents have been regarded as lost since National Socialism. Oral information comes from a Lodge brother, Dr Fritz Engel, born in 1897, who was able to flee to England during the period of the Second World War. He was one of the founding members of the first Mixed Lodge in Vienna. According to him, in the 1920s there were frequent visits by the brothers of the Grand Lodge of Vienna to the Mixed Lodges, but regular collaboration failed.¹⁸ In 1927 the Grandmaster Dr Richard Schlesinger reported in *Wiener Freimaurer-Zeitung* on the visits to the Mixed Order, *Le Droit Humain*, which was forbidden by the Grand Lodge: "It is emphasised that our covenant was a male bond, that once women were allowed to enter, then all possible jealousies, disagreements, and even worse things would sneak into the Lodges. On the other hand, a number of men who have been guests of a Mixed Lodge in Vienna, visits to which the Grand Lodge has forbidden, has reported that none of these things were mixed in this Lodge, and that the work of the Lodge was at a considerable height move. I do not believe that there is a need today to include women in our ranks, but what I regret is that we are not even in a position to inquire as to what they [i.e. Mixed Lodges] look like, and that if we did, we would violate a prohibition that the Grand Lodge of Vienna had to adopt in accordance with its international obligations."¹⁹

¹⁶ Schlesinger: *Wir und die Anderen*, in: *Wiener Freimaurer Zeitung* 1–3/1919, p. 20.

¹⁷ Fröhlich: *Die Geschichte*, o. D., pp. 31–37, 31, and: *Eine Loge mixte in Wien*, in: *Wiener Freimaurer Zeitung* 7–8/1923, p. 8.

¹⁸ Fröhlich o. D., pp. 31–37, 32.

¹⁹ Schlesinger: *Unsere Einstellung*, in: *Wiener Freimaurer Zeitung* 1/1927, p. 3.

The prejudices of the male chain still existed; this chain, moreover, had bowed to the orders of the Grand Lodge of England, and thus prescribed the ban on visiting Mixed Lodges. Nevertheless, in the inter-war period, there was close co-operation between men and women in many public areas. The brethren who were present in the activist wing of Freemasonry, together with many women, made important sociopolitical proposals in the area of education, social reform and youth welfare. There were also personal relationships between the Members of the Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Vienna and the Mixed Order.

During the Nazi regime, Freemasonry was banned and many of its members were subjected to persecution. After the end of the Second World War, the already existing Grand Lodge of Austria could be established in 1945. In 1955 it renamed itself the Grand Lodge of the Old, Free and Accepted Masons of Austria. As of 2017, it comprises 3,400 members. The admission of women is still forbidden. In 1952, the United Grand Lodge of England adopted the highly-anticipated recognition of its entry into the male-dominated majority fraction — all French connections had to be canceled. In Austria, *Le Droit Humain* was able to reconstitute in 1955 with the reconstruction of the “*Harmonie*” Lodge under the venerable composer Mary Dickenson-Auner. The following years were characterised by the slow growth of the Mixed Order. This accelerated only from the 1980s onwards and resulted in a membership of more than 500, with mostly female members. The Grand Lodge of Austria still relies on the principles of English Freemasonry, which prohibits the admission of women. In contrast, *Le Droit Humain* is a Mixed Order and consistently respects the principle of equality, and thus gender democracy.

Freemason Male Bondage versus Gender Democracy

The Masonic claim of being a free and equal society based on solidarity stands on uncertain terrain and shows the inhomogeneity of Freemasonry. The basic requirement of equality, including between men and women, is not really resolved, since the Grand Lodge of England and all its subordinate groups still oppose the admission of women. The global challenges with their numerous fields of conflict are not only a consequence of social inequalities, but above all a consequence of gender-specific discrimination. The construction of a better world has to be formulated by brothers and sisters structurally and consistently under the premise of equality, and should be implemented consistently within Freemasonry, as a theory is measured by its practice. Initiation into Freemasonry entails pursuing a path of knowledge. From the apprentice to the master, the system gains support in its hierarchical structure, which not only demands freedom of thought, but is committed to obedience, thus creating dependencies. Mechanisms of the sub-order are neutralised by the collective community experience within the group and legitimised by the humanitarian mission of working on the “rough stone” for the general resolution of social grievances. The connection conveys unity and solidarity. The lack of women in many Lodges is perceived not as a practical deficit, but as a systemic need. The reproduction of the unconscious is so advanced that reflection thereon takes place only under difficult conditions. There is also no question that this function is not only assigned to the internal mechanisms, but by the exclusion of women it denies networking at the socio-political level in the sense of working together. Thus, when the claim to ethnic and religious tolerance is

a hindrance to the participation of women, the justification for its exclusion is based not only on the patriarchal heritage or historical habit, but on a foundation that still corresponds to the production and reproduction of male domination.

The Punctual Self-suppression of Women

The reproduction of the unconscious in the sense of the maintenance of a male-dominated norm also finds its continuation in the attitudes held by many women. This is clearly evident in the rules of the German language. The verbal assumption of the masculine names of the individual grades, from apprentice to master, requires a formal identification with the masculine. The language mask is traced in the sense of an adaptation to the hegemonic structures of a male covenant. But only accurate denominations reflect true reality, and repetitions determine them. In the repetitive language of a master behind which a woman works, women practice realities which, through a false form, conceal their own content, that of the female sex, and thereby make themselves invisible. The acceptance of such practices, which women themselves have chosen, results in a paradoxical situation of over-adjustment and the denial of one's own subject-matter. Thus, they are aware of the fact that they are not structurally equal in the Lodges that do not exclude women. This, in turn, also helps to maintain the status quo without becoming the driving force of awareness-raising processes.

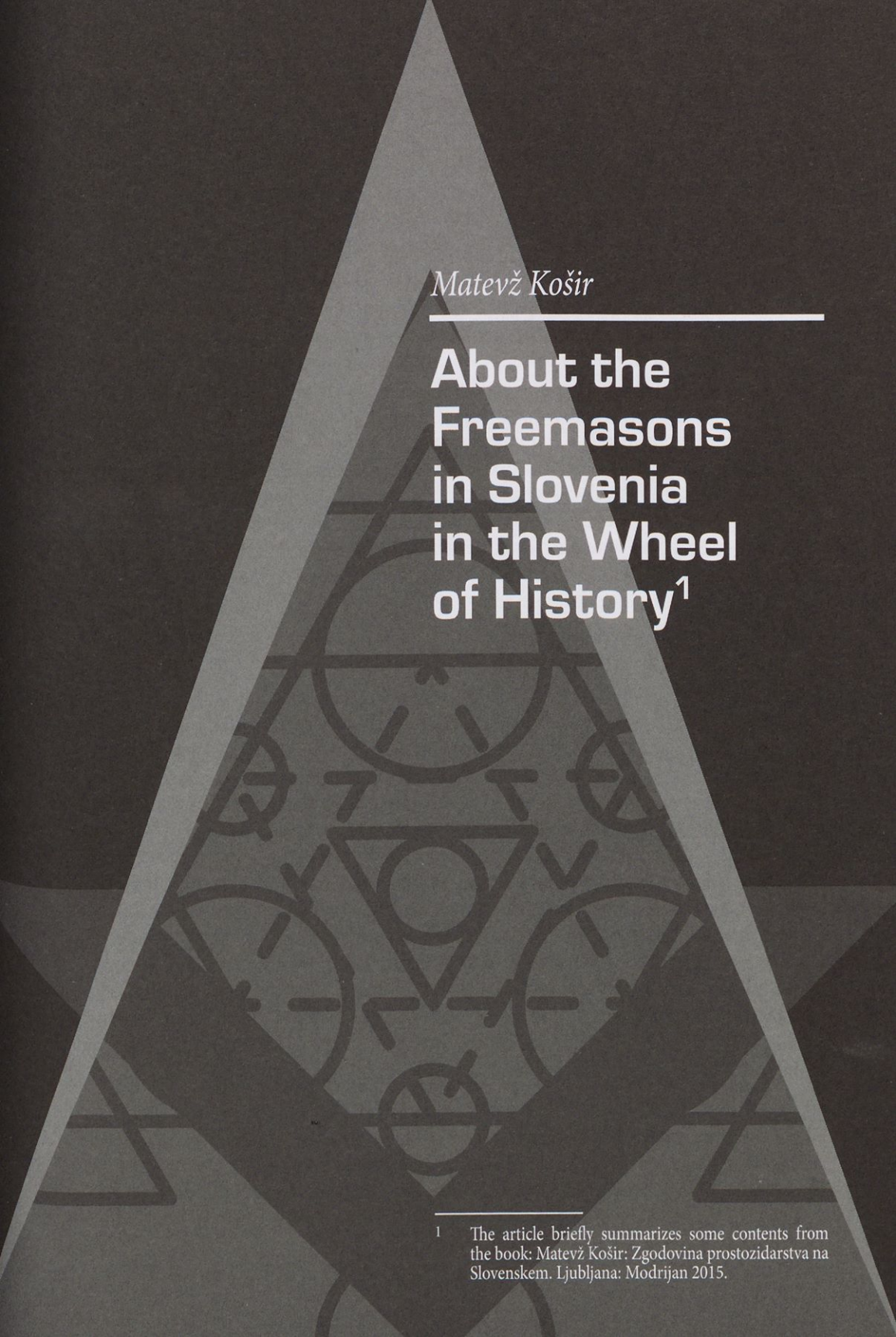
The dividing line within Freemasonry, which is by no means a homogeneous system, is shown in the equal treatment of women. The participation of women is prohibited in all the groups recognised by England. The Grand Lodge of England even reserves the right to define female membership as the reason to not recognise Mixed Lodges as regular Lodges. In contrast, for the direction of *Le Droit Humain*, which is oriented towards France, the membership of men and women is the basis of its system. After 300 years of history of the "Royal Art", in the 21st century the dialectic of an incomplete enlightenment is manifest again in the gender balance. The question of women is a test of the credibility of the Masonic postulate of freedom, equality, and solidarity in practice.

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Matevž Košir

About the Freemasons in Slovenia in the Wheel of History¹

¹ The article briefly summarizes some contents from the book: Matevž Košir: *Zgodovina prostozidarstva na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana: Modrijan 2015.

Abstract

The history of freemasonry in Slovenian lands reflects and is marked by the tumultuous political history of this territory. Freemasonry pursues the objective of self-improvement, yet many other aims have often been ascribed to it. This explains why the history of freemasonry in Slovenian lands remains very closely connected to conspiracy theories, ranging from accusations that freemasons were responsible for the French revolution to the Gestapo's accusations of global domination and, during the communist period, accusations of imperialistic conspiracy. Nevertheless, freemasons in Slovenian lands also enjoyed periods of respite, during which lodges were active in Ljubljana while more unfavourable conditions prevailed elsewhere in Europe. Such was the case from 1792 to 1795, from 1811 to 1814, and in 1940. The historical presence of freemasonry in Slovenian territory has been relatively modest, yet, time and again, we come across Slovenian freemasons leaving strong marks — culturally, scientifically, and otherwise — on the society in which they lived. This being said, the history of Slovenian freemasonry may only be discussed against the backdrop of the political and historical context to which Slovenian territory itself belonged. Slovenian freemasonry was thus part of the history of freemasonry in the Habsburg Monarchy between the 18th century and the year 1918, except for the brief Napoléonic interlude between 1806 and 1813 when it was linked to the Grand Orient de France. From 1918 to 1941 it was part of the history of freemasonry in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and later part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, after which it shared the same fate as other Freemasonic movements within the Fascist and Nazi occupational systems, and from 1945 to 1990 within communist Yugoslavia. After 1991, freemasonry in Slovenia saw brighter times and we hope that the Freemasonic ideas of tolerance, peace, and brotherhood will find an echo in broader Slovenian society.

KEYWORDS: History, Freemasonry, Slovenia, 1717–2017

The 18th Century

In the first half of 18th century, the Freemasonic movement did not observably penetrate into the lands where Slovenian speakers dwelt, but individuals coming from those lands did enter Masonic lodges elsewhere. The first Carniolan whose admittance to a Masonic lodge was recorded came from the renowned diplomatic Cobenzl family. Count Karl Cobenzl (full name Count Johann Karel Filip Cobenzl), born in 1712 in Ljubljana, became a member of the German Masonic Lodge in Bayreuth in 1741.² He joined the Bayreuth Castle Lodge (Schlossloge), which in 1753 merged with the City Lodge “Sun” (Zur Sonne). He was initiated to the degree of Entered Apprentice and later passed to the degree of Fellow Craft, whence he rose to higher Masonic degrees.³ From 1753 on he was chamberlain (Kämmerer) and Minister Plenipotentiary in the Austrian Netherlands (bevollmächtigter Staatsminister in den Österreichischen

² Cobenzl, Karl Johann Philip Graf von. Geb. 21 July 1712 in Laibach; gest. 20 January 1770 in Brüssel. Geheimer Rat und Österreichischer Gesandter in Bayreuth. 1753 als Bevollmächtigter Minister mit der Leitung der Verwaltung der Österreichischen Niederlande betraut. 1741 in der Schlossloge zum Lehrling und Gesellen aufgenommen. [Bernhard Beyer: Geschichte der Großloge Zur Sonne, Band I (Die Mutterloge, von 1741–1811). Frankfurt am Main 1954.]

³ Bertrand van der Schelden : La franc-maçonnerie belge sous le régime autrichien. Loveral 2006, 138.

Niederlanden). He was a reputable statesman and enlightened progressivist, exercising important influence on cultural life in Belgium. He died in 1770 in Brussels. Members of the Cobenzl family also belonged to Masonic lodges later in the second half of the 18th century.

The first Slovenian who made it in the Masonic "hierarchy" was Josip von Plenčič, son of a reputable Viennese professor of medicine, Marko Plenčič (born in 1705 in Solkan near Gorica). Josip Plenčič was born in 1751 in Vienna and, like his father, studied medicine. In 1778 he became professor of practical medicine at the Prague high school. In 1777, at the age of twenty-six, Josip Plenčič was already a member of the Viennese "Three Eagles Lodge" (Zu den drei Adlern). A year after his move to Prague, he joined the "Three Crowned Pillars" Lodge (Zu den drei gekrönten Seulen). We meet him again in 1782 in the Czech Land Lodge and in 1783 also in the Prague "Truth and Harmony" Lodge (Wahrheit und Einigkeit). In February 1785, Josip Plenčič became the Deputy Grand Master of the Czech Land Lodge.

Josip's brother Leopold — Marko Plenčič's second son — was born in Vienna in 1749. He completed his legal studies and worked at various courts. From 1782 onwards he was a member of the Viennese Crowned Hope Lodge. Leopold arrived 1814 in Ljubljana in February 1814, where, among other assignments, he served as Court Commissar for Justice (Justiz-Hofkommissär). According to ministerial documents, he owed this nomination to his "thorough understanding of law, but also of the language and the land." He helped reform the judiciary in the Illyrian provinces. During his tenure, the police informant Kremnitzer denounced Leopold as a freemason, but this denunciation did not damage the reputation he enjoyed with his superiors. In 1816 he became the Vice President of the highest judicial office (Vizepräsidenten der Obersten Justizstelle), in 1819 he was nominated President of the Legal and Judicial Section of the State Council (Vorsitzenden der Rechts- und Justizsektion des Staatsrates), and in 1823 he reached the position of supreme judicial president. He died in 1830.

The first Masonic centre of the Inner Austrian lands in the 18th century was in Trieste. Initially, the lodges in Trieste were merely temporal, with a membership consisting of English and French officers who happened to be in town. The lodge called "Happiness," allegedly under the influence of the German lodges, was established in 1761, followed by the "Unity" Lodge (La Concordia) in 1773. Its founders had addressed their petition for the constitution of a Triestine Lodge at the Prague Lodge, at the Viennese "Three Eagles Lodge", and at the German lodges, but they received the letter of protection from the Prague Scottish Lodge. The founding members were mainly civil servants, soldiers, and merchants.⁴ After its merger with the "Harmony" Lodge in 1785, the "Unity" Lodge was active under the name of "True Harmony and Concord" (Zur allgemeinen Harmonie und Eintracht/Harmonie et Concorde universelle). The Count of Turjak (Auersperg) was one of its members.

In 1776, the enlightened Count Karl Zinzendorf (1739–1813) became governor of Trieste. Ten years prior to his nomination, in 1766, he had been admitted to the Masonic "Candour" Lodge ("De la candour") in Strasbourg. Before that, Zinzendorf maintained active contact with the "Saint John of Scotland of Secret and Harmony" Lodge "Saint Jean d'Ecosse du Secret et de l'Harmonie" in Malta. During his tenure as governor of Trieste, which lasted until 1782, he tried

⁴ L. Abafi: Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Österreich-Ungarn, Band II. Budapest 1890–1899, 197–208.



*The pendant of a Lodge Orator and a Temple Guardian from the 18th or early 19th century.
(National Museum of Slovenia, Photo: Tomaž Lauko)*

to impose enlightened, liberal economic measures. He also helped his fellow mason, the disreputable Casanova, when Casanova sought refuge in Trieste after his expulsion from Venice. Zinzendorf left for Vienna in 1782 and was replaced as governor of Trieste by Count Pompeo Brigido, the brother of the Archbishop of Ljubljana. Pompeo had served for a brief spell as District Governor of Gorizia (Kreishauptmann) and State Governor of Carniola (Landeshauptmann von Krain). He governed Trieste from 1783 to 1797. Both of the Brothers Brigido are presumed to have been members of the Trieste Lodge called "Anchor" (All'Ancora).⁵

During the reign of Joseph II (1780–1790), the number of lodge members in Vienna who originated from lands inhabited by Slovenians kept increasing. Until the end of the 18th century the membership of Masonic lodges included more than fifty men originating from these territories. Some of them belonged to more than one lodge, but we do not know exactly in which. Thus, the membership of the Viennese "True Concord" Lodge (Zur wahren Eintracht) included: Baron Georg (Jurij) Vega, Baron Vinzenz Georg Struppi, Baron Sigfried Taufferer, and Count

⁵ Fulvio Trillo: Den "Weissen Ziehbrunnen" gibt es noch. Die Freimaurer in Triest von der Aufklärung bis zur Restauration, Quattuor Coronati Berichte, 1992, h. 13, 51.

Christian Anton Attems. We also find Tobias Gruber, half-brother of Gabriel Grube, a Jesuit, constructor, and hydraulic engineer from Ljubljana, and Count Joseph Brigido,⁶ the brother of the Archbishop of Ljubljana. Johann Anton Ricci, a cathedral canon, later to become auxiliary bishop, also visited the lodge. This lodge entertained a lively correspondence with other lodges, including those in Gorizia, Trieste, and Maribor. Others coming from territories populated by Slovenians, including the two Barons Sigismund (Žiga) Zois and Georg (Jurij) Vega (a mathematician known primarily for his logarithms), found their way to other lodges in Austria, the Czech lands, Hungary, Italy, Germany, and The Netherlands. The clergy too, was represented in the lodges. Baron Mihael Brigido, the Archbishop of Ljubljana from 1788 to 1806, was a member of the lodge in Trieste, but also a member of the "Generosity" Lodge (Zur Grossmut) in Pest. In 1803, Archbishop Brigido sent a Slovenian translation of the Bible by Jurij Japelj, two grammar books and two dictionaries to Maksimiljan Vrhovac, Bishop of Zagreb and an enlightened progressivist and Freemason, who had expressed his interest in the Slovenian language. His brother Baron Joseph Brigido was also member of the Viennese "True Concord" Lodge (Zur wahren Eintracht). The Counts Szapáry from Murska Sobota were among the first Masons in Prekmurje. Pavel Szapáry was a member of the Hungarian "Generosity" Lodge (Zur Grossmut)⁷ since 1776. Some authors claim that other eminent notable personalities, such as historian and playwright Anton Tomaž Linhart, also belonged to lodges but there is no firm proof to substantiate those claims. It is not excluded that the linguist Jernej Kopitar, known as Linhart "Freimaurer", belonged in 1839 to a lodge during his stay in Vienna (1778–1780), but it does not seem very likely. He was certainly not among the founding members of the "Charity and Steadfastness" Lodge (Zur Wohlthätigkeit und Standhaftigkeit) in Ljubljana or "True Concord" (Zur wahren Eintracht) in Vienna.

At the United Hearts Lodge — "*Zu den vereinigten Herzen*" — in Maribor

In 1782, the "At the United Hearts" Lodge (Zu den vereinigten Herzen) was established in Maribor. The summer after, it moved to Graz. The elitist Viennese "True Harmony" Lodge, under the leadership of Ignaz von Born recognised the Maribor Lodge as the real Lodge of Saint John. It therefore stood under the auspices of the Land Lodge of Austria. Count Johann Wenzel von Pötting, a retired councillor in the administration of Banat, came to Maribor in 1782 and played a crucial role in the establishment of the lodge there. Pötting was a Worshipful Master at the Lodge in Timisoara and "director" of the Rosicrucian Circle in the Czech lands. Abafi⁸ is of the opinion that he had come to Maribor to create a Rosicrucian Circle and that the establishment of a Masonic lodge was supposed to help him achieve this goal. He founded the lodge relatively quickly. A list composed on 27 March 1783 indicates that the Austrian Land Lodge confirmed the "just, true, and perfect" Lodge of the Brethren of Saint John, named "United Hearts" in Maribor. The list of all members of the lodge was sent with a cover letter to Vienna on 28 March 1783. All the founding members of the "United Hearts" Lodge who were Master Masons in

⁶ Die Protokolle der Wiener Freimaurerlogen "Zur wahren Eintracht" 1781–1785 (hg. von H.-J. Irmen in Zusammenarbeit mit F. Heß und H. Schuler). Frankfurt am Main u.a. 1994 (Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Forschungsgstelle "Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1770–1850", No. 15) num. 353, 355, 356, 366, 378.

⁷ Branko Šömen: Molčeče nevidno bratstvo. Murska Sobota, Zagreb, Ljubljana 2002, 151–155.

⁸ L. Abafi: Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Österreich-Ungarn, 5 Bände. Budapest 1890–1899.

1782 had been Freemasons before, but — with only a few exceptions — it is impossible to determine to which lodges they had belonged.

The “United Hearts” Lodge included among its members five active soldiers as well as a surgeon and a priest from Baron Ludwig von Terzy’s regiment. Among the members of the lodge were also a former soldier, two civil servants, two retired civil servants, one surgeon, and a person who used to work for the Grand Master.

The seal of the lodge was a hexagram depicting, in the middle, three burning hearts and, above the hearts, two male dogs holding the banner “Triple Union.” Above the banner was the Eye of Providence and underneath it the Square and Compass; a chain surrounded the ensemble. The meetings of the Masons took place at the Radvanje castle in the vicinity of Maribor. Some data indicate that the castle’s barroom, that was also a cooper’s workshop, had been converted to a temple. Masonic symbols could still be found on the ceilings in the mid-19th century.

The Maribor Lodge had been formed relatively quickly and its members quarrelled among themselves and distrusted the leadership. Worshipful Master of the Maribor Lodge Pötting acquired a reputation as “a babbler and a charlatan” and soon fell into disgrace. Pötting and his “ceremonies” in the castle were the object of rumours in the entire Maribor region. In the middle of the year 1783, Pötting thus decided to move the Lodge to Graz. He travelled to Graz and, through the intermediary of gubernium, asked the Emperor to let him establish a lodge in the capital of Styria. The imperial ministry granted him the authorisation, but only on the condition that he explain the Masonic secrets. What and even whether Pötting replied is unknown, but we do know that — to the supreme satisfaction of his opponents — he resigned as Worshipful Master of the Maribor Lodge in 1783 and left.

Following Count Pötting’s resignation, the Lodge moved to Graz. Artillery Major Aleksander Edlen von Ender played a vital role in the transfer of the Lodge to Graz and the establishment of the temple there. He was a member of two lodges in Prague. The Graz Lodge kept the name of its predecessor in Maribor and received its founding charter from Prague. The Lodge had 82 members in 1785, including the majority of the “brothers” who had participated in the founding of the Maribor Lodge. Its membership included twenty-four soldiers, sixteen officials, twelve priests, seven merchants and craftsmen, six teachers, six civil servants, five individuals of independent means, four doctors, four pensioners, three industrialists, one lawyer, one artist, one painter, and one landowner. Forty-one members were noblemen, for the most part belonging to the lower nobility. Count Thadeus von Trattmansdorf was one of the Masters of the Lodge. He was a cathedral canon in Olomütz and was named Bishop in 1794 and Cardinal in 1816. Fifteen members originated from Lower Styria and one from Carniola.

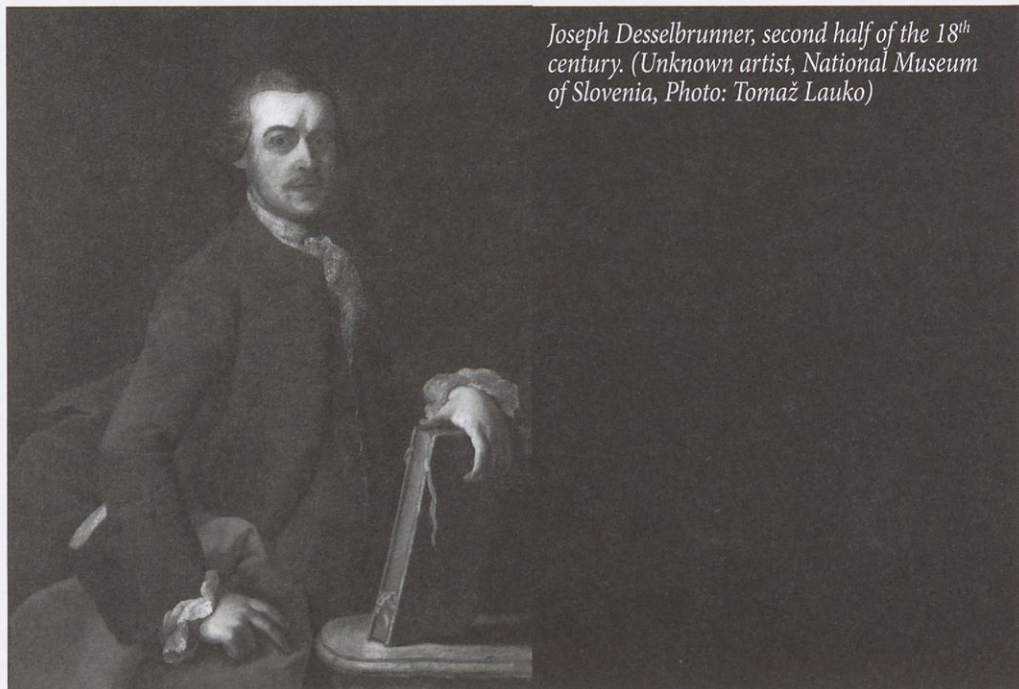
The “United Hearts” Lodge was the first Masonic lodge in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. It continued to play a vital role in these territories even after it had moved to Graz and after several other lodges had been established. In 1783, “The Charitable Mariana” Lodge (Zur wohlthätigen Mariana) was formed in Klagenfurt. In the mid-1780s the “Sincerity” Lodge (Zur Freimüthigkeit) was founded in Gorizia. The Lodge had 15 members in 1785.

The "Charity and Steadfastness" Lodge in Ljubljana

The initiative for the founding of the "Charity and Steadfastness" Lodge in Ljubljana came from several Freemasons from Ljubljana and the Viennese "Saint Joseph" Lodge (Zum Heiligen Joseph). Following the imperial patent, issued over conflicts with the Grand Lodge of Austria, the "Saint Joseph" Lodge from Vienna became dormant in 1785, but was reactivated in 1790. It received a new constitution from the Grand Land Lodge of Germany in Berlin, which became its mother lodge. It is probably not a coincidence that a lodge was only established in Ljubljana in the beginning of the 1790s. The patent issued by Joseph II allowed the establishment of lodges only in the capitals of the Crown lands and gubernia, which, for Inner Austria until the 1790s, meant Graz and Trieste. The administrative reforms introduced in 1791 by Leopold II strengthened the prerogatives of the Carniolan board, which obviously made it possible to form a Masonic lodge in Ljubljana as well. It was, however, the Viennese "Zum Heiligen Joseph" Lodge that did most to bring about its creation.

The "Charity and Steadfastness" Lodge is first briefly mentioned on 1 May 1792 in a letter in which the Viennese "Saint Joseph" Lodge informs the Grand Land Lodge of Germany (Grosse Landesloge von Deutschland) in Berlin that a new lodge had been formed in Ljubljana. In the spring of 1792, the capital of Carniola witnessed the birth of a new lodge, formed by thirteen brothers, eight Masters, one Fellow Craft, and four Entered Apprentices. Baron Bernhard Rosetti, Imperial and Royal Chamberlain and member of the Carniola State Committee (Mitglied des Krainer Landesausschusses), was temporarily named acting Worshipful Master, whereas Alojz Kapus von Pichelstein, the secretary and the archivist of the Carniolan estates, was appointed as temporary secretary. They sent an original, but undated, protocol of the sitting to the Viennese "Saint Joseph" Lodge with a request for constitutional documents. The letter informed the brothers in Vienna of the fact that they had already elected the Worshipful Master and the officers and prepared everything that was needed to form a lodge. The Lodge counted among its members: five soldiers, five civil servants, one priest and two merchants or rather, "industrialists" (the Desselbruner brothers). The soldiers belonged to the Carniolan-Littoral battalion of the Provincial defence forces, stationed in Ljubljana under the command of Major Count Joseph von Thurn. In addition to the temporary Worshipful Master Rosetti and Secretary Kapus von Pichelstein, the following notables were appointed officers of the Lodge: the industrialist Jožef Edler von Desselbruner from Ljubljana (Senior Warden), military judge Joseph Pichler (Junior Warden), military surgeon Karl Trockenbrod (Director of Ceremonies), imperial royal secretary in charge of administering income from tobacco and of the stamp duty office in Ljubljana Adalbert Vischer von Riselbach (Treasurer), and cathedral preacher and director of the theological seminary in Ljubljana Joseph Pinhak (Orator). The Vienna brothers sent the petition from Ljubljana, together with a bill of exchange for 18 ducats, to the Grand Lodge of Germany in Berlin on 2 June 1792. They also added a recommendation to the documents in which they fully endorsed the entreaties of their brothers from Ljubljana. They underlined that the Ljubljana brothers were "eagerly" expecting the constitution of the lodge and hoped to receive the documents needed for its regular functioning "as soon as possible."

For reasons of security the package containing the documents was sent from Vienna to Berlin without Masonic seals. On 2 January 1793 the Grand Lodge of Germany sent the constitution



Joseph Desselbrunner, second half of the 18th century. (Unknown artist, National Museum of Slovenia, Photo: Tomaž Lauko)

for the Ljubljana brothers with the rituals for the first three degrees. The package had travelled for quite some time before the Worshipful Master of the Ljubljana "Charity and Steadfastness" Lodge, Baron Rosetti, finally received it.

All founders of the "Charity and Steadfastness" Lodge in Ljubljana had been Freemasons before they formed the lodge. Rosetti was initiated to the lodge in Trieste; Desselbrunner in Graz; Pichler, Adalbert, Pinhank and Vischer (Fischer) in Vienna; Kappus von Pichelstein was Master at the "Saint Joseph" Lodge in Vienna; and Karl Trockenbrod in Luxembourg. The founding membership also included: court lawyer Jožef Edler von Foedransperg (Master), initiated and raised at the "Seven Wise Men" Lodge (Zu den sieben Weisen) in Linz; Captain Gross in Count Turn's regiment, previously active in the "Charitable Mariana" Lodge (Zur wohlthätigen Marienne) in Klagenfurt (Fellow Craft); and Entered Apprentices: Anton Blažič, counsellor at the Provincial court in Ljubljana, previously active in the Lodge in Trieste; Friedrich von Reitenburg (Reichenberg), Captain in Count Turn's regiment, previously at the "United Hearts" Lodge in Graz; Zschischka von Trocsenau, Lieutenant in Count Turn's regiment, previously at the Lodge in Trieste; John the Baptist Edler von Desselbrunner, previously a member of the Lodge in Munich. It would seem that the Ljubljana Lodge was not particularly active, but it is possible that it expanded and admitted new members. For the time being, however, we only have extant the initial list of founding members, established at the beginning of May 1792.

The police suspected the existence of an independent lodge in Ljubljana in the 1790s, but in a report of 23 September 1793, the then governor of Carniola, Count von Gaisrach, informed the

Police minister, Count Pergen in Vienna, that he did not have any reports of a Masonic lodge in Carniola and was therefore not able to inform him about the number of its members. He also communicated that the Carniolan Freemasons had purportedly joined the Trieste "True Harmony and Concord" Lodge (*Harmonie et Concorde*) and only wanted to form a filial lodge in Ljubljana. Gaisrach solicited the information from the governor of Trieste, but the governor could not provide him with an answer because the Worshipful Master of the "True Concord" Lodge in Trieste, merchant Bareaux was in Vienna at the time.⁹ There was certainly a grain of truth in the alleged connection between the lodges in Ljubljana and Trieste, if only for the fact that the Worshipful Master of the Ljubljana Lodge used to be a member of the lodge in Trieste. It would also seem that Governor Gaisrach did not take very seriously the denunciations received by the police directorate in Ljubljana and that he even protected the incriminated group. The Worshipful Master of the Ljubljana Lodge, Baron Rosetti, was registered as a Freemason in the police records, yet he remained an influential personality in the land and was frequently named to important positions in the provincial administration. Anton Blažič was ennobled by the Emperor in 1795 despite the fact that he was registered as Freemason in secret police files in Ljubljana. Real or suspected membership in a Masonic lodge, even after the prohibition of 1795, did not have a negative impact on a person's career provided that such person was not obviously Francophile. Nevertheless, the Ljubljana Lodge was probably active only for a brief period and certainly not after 1795.

The 19th Century — The Napoléonic Lodges during French Reign

The first lodges were formed in the area of the future Illyrian provinces (the capital was in Ljubljana) as early as 1806, in Koper and Zadar. A year later, lodges were constituted in Split and Kotor and later in Rijeka, Šibenik, Trieste, Dubrovnik, Kotor, Karlovac, Makarska, and Poreč. The majority of these lodges belonged to the Grand Orient de France. Later after 1808, some of them, Koper, Šibenik and Split, were supposedly attached to the Grand Orient of Italy.

The Levantine "Olive Tree Lodge" (*Olivier du Levant*) — Koper¹⁰

Following the second French occupation of the Austrian lands in 1805, the Habsburg Monarchy, in accordance with the Bratislava peace treaty, renounced their claims to Istria and Venetian Dalmatia in favour of the Napoléonic Kingdom of Italy. The first lodge that was formed in the territory of today's Slovenia in the beginning of the 19th century was the "Levantine Olive Tree" (*Olivier du Levant*) in Koper and its founders were French soldiers and civil servants. The Lodge addressed a petition to the Grand Orient de France in Paris for a constitution and the instructions for consecration on 2 March 1807. Some five months later, the constitution was granted. The literature mentions that it was the Grand Orient in Milan that first sponsored the

⁹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, AVA, Polizeihofstelle, No. 348, fasc IV, 1793.

¹⁰ Peter Vodopivec, Matevž Košir: O prostozidarstvu in prostozidarjih na Slovenskem (Preface to Binder 2008) Dieter A. Binder: Skrivna družba. Zgodovina in simbolika prostozidarjev. Celje 2008, 272–273.

Lodge in Koper, formed in 1806, but this information is incorrect. The list that the founders sent to Paris together with the petition for sponsorship indicated that the Lodge had nineteen members, including seven Frenchmen and eight locals. The majority of dignitaries were French. The Senior Warden, who also acted as the Worshipful Master, was Colonel Raymond Lafargue. He was a military commander in Koper and his Masonic degree was the "Sovereign Prince of the Rose Croix." Among the officers were two natives of Koper: Vincenzo Zulatti Bartoletti, born in Šibenik and supervisor of mines and forests in Koper, was provisional Junior Warden; Benedetto Petronio, engineer and supervisor of roads and bridges, held the official post of Orator in the Lodge. Later (supposedly in 1808 or 1809) Petronio became the Worshipful Master of the Koper Lodge.

In addition to Bartoletti and Petronio, the list of 1807 includes among the membership of the "Levantine Olive Tree" Lodge the following natives of Istria or Koper: Angelo Moreschi, municipal and later port official, Angelo Calafati, Prefect of Istria, Francesco Gavardo, lawyer, Pietro Bratti, pharmacist, Pietro Turini, landowner, and Nicolo Venier, judge. At the end of 1806, the Koper Masons launched a procedure to admit the following new members to the Lodge: the lawyer Girogia Bassegia, judicial officer Andrea Dell'Acque, Counsellor at the Court of Appeals Frederic Bembo, and prosecutor at the court of first instance in Koper Nicolo Franceschi. By the end of 1807, the Lodge in Koper counted at least twenty-three members. More recent lists of members have not been preserved. The only more recent document that bears the signatures of the officers and "brothers" is a diploma issued in 1811, when the Consul of the Kingdom of two Sicilies in Trieste, Joseph Maille, was admitted among its members. Aside from the above-mentioned Vincenzo Zullati Bartoletti, Francesco Gavarda, and Andrea Dell'Acque, the diploma also bears the signatures of lawyer Nicolò de Rini, painter and theatre director Michel Spavanza, secretary of the French "Istrian government" Giovanni Vincenzo Benini, and Trieste natives B.G. Giorgini and M. Baldini.

In 1808 at the latest, the Koper Lodge was integrated into the Grand Orient of Italy based in Milan. The Grand Orient of Italy was active within the Napoléonic lodges. The Koper Lodge operated under the authority of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, which is clearly apparent from the diploma of the Koper Lodge of 1811. The Austrian police knew about the majority of the Masonic "brothers" that figured on the list and the letter addressed to the Grand Orient Lodge in Paris. In their reports to the Austrian governor in Trieste and to the police directorate in Vienna in 1814 — following the departure of the French — they listed eighty-two names of alleged members of the "Levantine Olive Tree" Lodge.¹¹

French Military "Perfect Friendship" Lodge (*La parfaite Amitié*) in Ljubljana (1809)

A Masonic lodge had been constituted in Ljubljana even before the city became the capital of the Illyrian provinces in October 1809, when French soldiers established a lodge called "Perfect friendship" (*La parfaite Amitié*) on 7 July 1809. This was most likely an itinerant military lodge that moved away from Ljubljana, together with the soldiers, in the very year it was formed.

¹¹ Ibid.

“Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon” Lodge (Les Amis du Roi de Rome et de Napoléon) in Ljubljana.

French officers and civil servants who were Masons and posted to Ljubljana formed the new Masonic lodge in June 1811.¹² The available data do not indicate that French officers and civil servants, Masons who had been posted to Ljubljana, maintained any contacts with the local members of the Austrian and other lodges formed in the 18th century. For example, on “Saint John’s Day” in Klagenfurt — occupied by the French since May 1809 — the French General Rusca invited the Carinthian Masons Count Enzenberg and Gundersdorf, but also Anton von Blažič, former member of the “Charity and Steadfastness” Lodge in Ljubljana. Blažič responded to the invitation but, after a talk with the General and because he was not particularly in favour of the French, did not take part in the festivities.¹³

All sixteen founders of the “King of Rome and Napoléon” Lodge in Ljubljana were French. They chose the name of the lodge and, in June 1811, drafted its regulations and designed the seal. The preserved manuscripts indicate that the full name of the lodge was the “French-Illyrian Lodge of the Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon”. According to its regulations, the Ljubljana chapter was supposed to be a permanent, “true” and “perfect” lodge and it was supposed to offer refuge to itinerant military lodges accompanying the French military forces on a stopover in the capital of the Illyrian provinces.¹⁴ The printed regulations of the Ljubljana Lodge had 78 pages and 445 articles. Its cover was decorated with Masonic symbols. All members of the Lodge had to be acquainted with the regulations. They were kept on the table of the brother orator and four times per year the main articles were read out at the Lodge. The regulations of the Ljubljana Lodge required that the Lodge gathered three times a month, on the 8th, the 18th, and the 28th day of the month. If one of those dates fell on a Sunday, the meeting was postponed till the Monday after. The Lodge met for two hours and the transaction of Masonic business could not exceed the allotted time. Both feasts of Saint John (the winter and especially the summer one on 24 June) were celebrated with a ceremonial formal dinner. The founders of the Lodge in Ljubljana planned to form other lodges under the authority of the Orient of Ljubljana. In the event that more lodges were to be formed the regulations contained a provision that allowed all the members of the Orient of Ljubljana to attend the “Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon” Lodge.¹⁵

The Grand Orient in Paris did not have any major comments regarding the regulations of the Lodge and the list of members, but they did mind the fact that the Lodge had been named after the son of Napoléon and Marie Louise (Napoléon’s heir and King of Rome) and Napoléon. Some dignitaries of the Grand Orient considered the name “insufficiently Masonic”, but the “brothers” from Ljubljana insisted. They conveyed the message to Paris that they wanted to bolster the feeling of love for the French Emperor and thereby undermine the remaining feeling of

¹² Peter Vodopivec, Prostožidarska loža rimskega kralja in Napoleona v Ljubljani v luči francoskega gradiva. In: Kronika 36 (1988) No. 1–2. p. 17.

¹³ Rudolf Cefarini, Kärnten und die Freimaurerei, Wien 1932, from p. 43 on.

¹⁴ France Kidrič: Francosko-ilirska loža prijateljev kralja rimskega v Napoleona v Ljubljani. In: Slovan, mesečnik za književnost, umetnost in prosveto, 12/1914, 10–11.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 59.



Seal of the Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon Lodge, made in 1811. (National Museum of Slovenia, Photo: Tomaž Lauko)

devotion towards the Austrian sovereign. Besides, they were of the opinion that renaming the Lodge would cause serious difficulties. Several new members had already been admitted to the Lodge, they had received diplomas bearing its name, its regulations had been printed, the seal engraved, and the Lodge painted.

The dignitaries in Paris were still reluctant and the “constitution” of the Lodge was confirmed only in July 1812, more than a year after the founding members in Ljubljana had petitioned for it. Thus, on 12 October 1812, the Lodge was solemnly consecrated according to the prescribed ritual and in the presence of guests from some of the other lodges in the Illyrian provinces.¹⁶

According to the list communicated to the Grand Orient in Paris in 1811, the “Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon” Lodge numbered thirty-six members. The most prominent among them was Charles Godfray Redon de Belleville, General Intendant of the Illyrian provinces and the Worshipful Master of the Lodge. Laurent Étienne Carré d’Haronville, Deputy Inspector of the Imperial Treasury, was the acting Worshipful Master and had the Masonic degree of the “Knight of the Rose-Croix”. War commissioner Victor Germain became the Worshipful Master in 1812, after Redon de Bellville and Carré d’Haronville had left Ljubljana, and he had achieved the Masonic degree of “Sovereign Prince of the Rose-Croix”, the seventh and highest Masonic degree in the French rite.

According to its regulations the Lodge was supposed to have a maximum of sixty members, twelve of which (one fifth) had to be locals — Illyrians. But the number of local Freemasons was slowly increasing. The lists of members that the officers of the Lodge sent to the Grand Orient in Paris indicate that, in January 1812, the Lodge counted seventy-four members including six locals; in October of the same year seven of the forty-four members were locals and by the end of June 1813 fourteen out of forty-two members were locals.

¹⁶ Vodopivec 1988, p. 18.

The first Illyrians that joined the Lodge towards the end of the year 1811 were: Žiga (Sigismund) Pagliaruzzi, a renowned Francophile, landowner, and adjunct during French reign; Jožef Globočnik, administrator of the military warehouse; Anton Kalan, lawyer and counsellor at the Court of Appeals, Franc Ksaver Repežič, a notary in Ljubljana; and associate member Luštrek, who figured on the list of the Lodge without his full name or profession, with only the mention that he was "born in Illyria". Before its solemn consecration in October 1812 two more Carniolans joined the Lodge: municipal official Bernard Klobus and Bruno Müller, a civil servant at the directorate for roads. The third Carniolan — pharmacist Johann Wondraschek — was admitted to the Lodge during the ceremony on 12 October 1812.

The report on the solemn consecration of the Lodge on 12 October 1812 that was sent to Paris mentioned that the ceremony took place in an enthusiastic, at times even dramatic, atmosphere in a place where "silence, peace, and love for one another" reigned. Three representatives of the Grand Orient, chosen in Paris from among the members of the Ljubljana Lodge, led the consecration. The Master of Ceremonies, together with other officers, conducted the ritual. First, they verified the Masonic qualifications of all in attendance, read the constitutional letter, and then each candidate swore the oath and signed the charter. The Worshipful Master distributed the regalia to the dignitaries. Following his address, the representative of the Grand Orient read a declaration announcing the consecration of the "French-Illyrian Lodge Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon" within the Orient in Ljubljana. Two other representatives of the Grand Orient repeated the message, and fanfares and a round of applause followed. The members of the Lodge were sworn to secrecy and, before the end of the ceremony, "brother" Repežič gave the Lodge a present: a richly decorated box that would be used to protect and keep the constitutions. A formal dinner and official toasts followed. Masons from other lodges also attended the solemn installation. Three Croatian and Serbian officers from the Croatian Military Frontier were among the guests. The banquet ended with a final song, a human chain was formed, and charity contributions were raised.¹⁷

The last list of members of the "French-Illyrian Lodge Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon" is dated 26 June 1813. The Lodge counted fourteen "Illyrian" Masons. In addition to the aforementioned, the list includes the following members: lawyer and "imperial prosecutor" Maksimiljan Wurzbach, a priest at the church of Saint Jacob Janez Pohlin; banker and merchant Anton Rudolf; and three "artists" Anton Heberle and brothers Matevž and Anton Babnik. The memoirs of two members of the Ljubljana Lodge indicate that the Lodge also held social events and entertainments, which particularly welcomed artistically and especially musically trained Masons. Several musicians were affiliated to the Lodge: the brothers Babnik and Anton Heberle. Heberle was a composer, flautist, and the alleged inventor of the recorder (*csákan*, *flûte douce*). He performed in several European cities and his most famous and most frequently played composition is *Sonata Brillante*. One of the rules for banquets is that brothers invite each other to sing when toasts are pronounced. The members of the Lodge celebrated the two feasts of Saint John with special gravity. In the winter the feast of Saint John the Evangelist falls on 27 December, and in the summer that of Saint John the Baptist on 24 June. Music also played an important role as accompaniment to the rituals in the Lodge.

¹⁷ Ibid.



Master Mason's apron of a member of the Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon Lodge in Ljubljana. (National Museum of Slovenia, Photo: Tomaž Lauko)

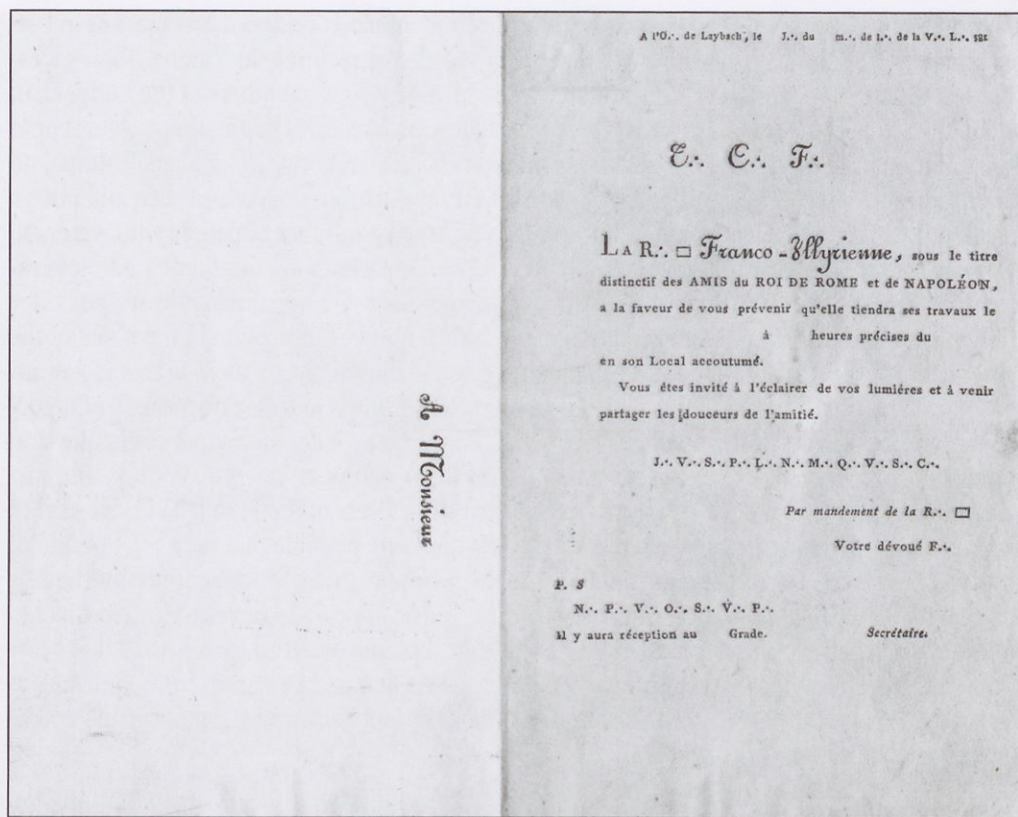
Repežič and Kupferstein were two Illyrian brothers who rose to the highest Masonic degree of "Sovereign Prince of the Rose-Croix". All the other Illyrians had already been Masters by June 1813. Only the last three Carniolans admitted to the Lodge — Heberle and the brothers Babnik — were still Entered Apprentices. Six local brothers were among the dignitaries in 1813. The French founders of the Orient in Ljubljana clearly believed that the "Lodge Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon" could become a more permanent Masonic lodge and they tried to create a local core that would be able to sustain the Masonic activity even after the departure of the French administration and military. The Lodge, which initially only operated on the first three symbolic degrees (Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, Master), asked the Grand Orient of France in the spring of 1813 to be allowed to also work in higher degrees.

Austrian police informants had already begun collecting information about Freemasons in Ljubljana and were sending lists with their names to the Police directorate in Vienna. Their excessive zeal led them to "uncover" considerably more local "Illyrian" members of the Lodge than could be found on the lists that the officers of the Ljubljana Masonic chapter themselves sent to Paris. The Austrian police records show that the French-Illyrian Lodge in Ljubljana counted no fewer than sixty-five "Illyrian brothers". It is true that the Austrian police identified and put on file all of the fifteen Illyrian Masons, but they also included a number of people who were well disposed towards the French government, civil servants working for the French administration, and Francophiles, some of whom, though Freemasons, were not affiliated with the Lodge in Ljubljana. The Austrian police records thus include a number of presumed members of the "Friendship of the King of Rome and Napoléon" Lodge, including the former District Governor of Gorizia and the Mayor of Ljubljana from 1812 to 1813 Anton Codelli, café owner Colloredo, printer and bookseller Viljem Henrik Korn, merchant Franc Galle, municipal councillor and innkeeper Andrej Malitsch, auxiliary bishop Anton Rizzi, and poet Valentin Vodnik. The correspondence indicates that the lists of members that the officers of the Ljubljana Lodge sent to Paris in 1812/1813 have not all been preserved. It is therefore possible that for a brief period of time the Lodge counted among its members people whose names cannot be found in the lists that have been preserved. Literary historian France Kidrič appears to have confirmed this hypothesis when he signalled the existence of a Masonic diploma dated 16 March 1812 that bears signatures of several people that do not figure on the lists that had been sent from Ljubljana to Paris. The French army and administration had to leave Ljubljana and Carniola at the end of September, beginning of October 1813.

However, some facts still demonstrate that we do not have the final answer regarding the "Illyrian" members of the "Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon" Lodge. After the death of her husband, Baroness Antonija Codelli, née Schmidburg, made a donation to the Provincial Museum of Carniola in 1884. The donated part of her husband's estate included objects that had belonged to the French-Illyrian Lodge as well as a few Masonic insignia and garments. It is not known how these objects came to the family estate, but one may wonder if there is a grain of truth in the Austrian police reports that listed the Baroness's father-in-law and Mayor of Ljubljana, Baron Anton Codelli, among the Freemasons. A similar question can be asked about the merchant Franc Galle. He too had been included in the list of Freemasons of the Austrian police informants during the French reign, but he could not be found in the membership list of the Friends of the "King of Rome and Napoléon" Lodge. However, a stone table with carved Masonic symbols had been found at the Bistra castle, which used to belong to Galle.

It is astonishing, however, that the Austrian police informants failed to mention a number of eminent French members of the Ljubljana Lodge, such as the editor of the French official journal *Télégraphe Officiel*, Charles Nodier, a member of the Ljubljana Lodge in 1813.¹⁸ In 1815 he anonymously published the history of secret societies in Napoléon's army (*Histoire des sociétés secrètes dans l'armée de Napoléon et ses constitutions*). After 1801 Nodier was allegedly the Grand Master of the Priory of Sion (*Prieuré de Sion*).

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 20



*Invitation, The Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon Lodge in Ljubljana.
(National Museum of Slovenia, Photo: Tomaž Lauko)*

The Ljubljana Masons housed their temple in the former ballroom, built after the 1774 fire next to Saint Jacob's Church, where the Jesuit lyceum used to stand. The temple was arranged according to Masonic regulations. They walled in all the windows and left only small openings. There was a temple, an entrance — or “the hall of lost steps” — and a dark room. Three doors prevented the uninvited from entering the temple: the main doors of the ballroom, the doors that connected the entrance and the hall of lost steps, and the doors from the hall to the temple. The *Reglèment* (Regulations of the Ljubljana Lodge) reported that the temple was rectangular and decorated in accordance with Masonic rules: it had two pillars, one near the rows on the north side and the other near the rows on the south, an altar on the eastern side that was also used as the Worshipful Master's table, five tables in the shape of a prism and a triangular stand. The Senior Warden's table was placed at the southern pillar, the Junior Warden's at the northern pillar, and both were on the western side. The Secretary's table was above the northern pillar on the eastern side, the Orator's above the northern pillar on the western side and the Treasurer's left of the Orator's. There were six candelabra on the altar and on the tables: a nine-branch candelabrum on the Worshipful Master's table, a seven-branch one on the table of the Senior Warden, a five-branch one on the Junior Warden's table, and three-

branch candelabra on the other tables. The altar was in a shape of a cylinder and it represented the third pillar. Next to the entrance was a table with the names of all the founding members. Inside the temple, there was supposed to be a fourth pillar with the carved names of all the deceased members of the Lodge. The members of the Lodge wore a medallion of the Lodge. It was made of silver and was worth 1 franc and 50 cents. The emblem of the Lodge was an eagle with a child on its spread-out wings holding a lightning bolt in his claws. It was supposed to be worn in the buttonhole. Every Mason of the Ljubljana Lodge wore a sword during the ceremony. In addition to this, before entering all lodge brothers had to adorn themselves with their jewellery, the medallion, the insignia of their lodge and degree, and the dignitaries had to wear their regalia. The Entered Apprentice's apron was made of white leather with a black hem, the Fellow Craft's was also made of white leather, but with a blue silk hem, and the Master's apron was made of white silk with a red hem. The aprons were adorned with appropriate Masonic symbols according to the holder's degree. The dignitaries wore light blue 10-cm wide ribbons with signs symbolising their rank (for example, the Square and Compasses for the Worshipful Master). The dignitaries' apron was made of white leather with a blue hem. They wore white leather gloves, adorned with a rosette made of blue ribbon. The Worshipful Master and the Wardens wore a small hammer. An alms bag for the poor, intended for charity, was passed around during the banquet. The regulations of the Ljubljana Lodge regarding these formal dinners mention singing and the reading of compositions that the brothers themselves wrote. Between the sixth and the seventh toasts, the brothers were invited to grace the banquet by singing and reading their own "architectural compositions." They were encouraged to make them as authentic and innovative as possible. Here, the architectural element must be understood symbolically because Masonic endeavour guides people to a moral and humane life regardless of their religion or belief.

Article 14 of the *Reglément* stipulated that it was forbidden to discuss political and religious matters in the Lodge. The regulations of the Ljubljana Lodge imposed a monthly fee of 6 francs for the Lodge and a yearly fee of 3 francs for the Grand Orient of France. In addition, the members had to cover the costs of the banquets. The only dignitaries of the Lodge that received a salary were the two Tylers. They received honoraria for the receptions and 100 francs and were exempt from paying the yearly contribution and other fees. One of the Tylers had to stand in front of the doors of the temple and assure that the lodge could work without any disruptions. Both had to come to the temple before the work started in order to prepare everything that was needed.

The Lodge had 20 dignitaries, elected once per year before the Feast of Saint John the Baptist on 24 June. The dignitaries were the Worshipful Master, who continued to keep a number of privileges after the end of his tenure, the Senior and Junior Wardens, the Orator, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Guardian of the Seal, the Collector of Gifts, the Senior and Junior Experts (both of whom had to have higher Scottish Rite degrees), the Master of Ceremonies, a representative at the Grand Orient in Paris, the Steward, the Architect, the Guardian of the Temple, and the two Tylers.

The Master's apron from the Ljubljana Lodge has been preserved and is especially interesting. It is made of lambskin and richly decorated with Masonic symbols: Egyptian, Oriental, Biblical

and those that symbolise the medieval construction guilds. The images were first printed onto the leather and then painted by hand.

The lodges stopped their activities after the departure of the French at the end of 1813 and the restoration of the Austrian authority, which also re-established the 1795 ban.

The Period of the so-called Border Lodges (Grenzlogen)

Sigismund Pagliaruzzi was one of the rare Masons affiliated with the Ljubljana Lodge who did not hide his sympathies for Freemasonry even after the departure of the French. As reported by the aforementioned article by Henrik Costa in *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins für Krain* in 1863, the fact that Pagliaruzzi had been a member of the Lodge in Ljubljana during the Illyrian period was widely known. Other than that, even in the second half of the 19th century newspapers in the territories inhabited by Slovenians did not pay much attention to Freemasonry. For example, in August 1874 the "Catholic Slovenian" reported briefly (after the *Neue Freie Presse*) that the Freemasons had obtained authorisation to form a lodge in Vienna and, a week later, that the government had banned its constitution.

The same newspaper wrote in 1883 about the tenth anniversary of the formation of the "Humanitas" Lodge, which was active along the Austro-Hungarian border in Neudorf in Hungary and reported on some other lodges situated along the border.¹⁹ Although the participation of the Masons from territories inhabited by Slovenians in the so-called border lodges (Grenzlogen) is a largely under-researched topic, we nevertheless know some of their names.²⁰ At least ten names of Slovenian members of those lodges, especially the "Humanitas" Lodge, are known. The most prominent among them was Vinzenz Fereri Klun, born in 1823 in Ljubljana, a historian, geographer, politician, member of the Imperial Council in Vienna, and member of the "Humanitas" Lodge from 1872 onwards, who played a significant role in the life of the border lodges. Vinzenz Fereri Klun was the Deputy Worshipful Master of the "Humanitas" Lodge from 1874 to 1875. He founded the action committee for the legalisation of Freemasonry in Cisleithania and acted as its president until his death in 1875. The Committee worked towards the formation of the Grand Lodge of Austria. From October 1874 to February 1875 Klun was also the editor of the Masonic magazine *Der Zirkel*.

Three members of the Imperial Council representing territories inhabited by Slovenians joined the German liberal members who, on 27 October 1874, filed a proposal amending the Law on associations in a way that would legalise Masonic lodges in Cisleithania. On 7 November 1874 Richard Foregger extensively justified the proposal modifying the Law on associations and legalising Freemasonry in the Austrian half of the Monarchy before the Imperial Council.

¹⁹ Newspaper Slovenec num. 90, 1.8. 1874; num. 93, 8.8. 1874; num. 17, feb. 1883; num. 130, 3.5. 1883; num. 163, 19. 7. 1883.

²⁰ Günter K. Kodek: Unsere Bausteine sind die Menschen. Die Mitglieder der Wiener Freimaurer Logen 1869–1938. Wien 2009. Ders.: Zwischen verboten und erlaubt. Chronik der Freimaurerei in der österreichischen Monarchie 1867–1918 und in der I. Republik 1918–1938. Wien 2009.

Johannes Carl Barolin was an interesting personality among the Freemasons born in Carniola and affiliated with the border lodges. He was a merchant and owner of the company Barolin & Artacker with branches in Zagreb and Budapest, president of the Austrian peace society, writer, and member of the "Eintracht" Lodge. Barolin was a designated officer of the Grand Lodge in Vienna and was named an honorary member of the "Eintracht" Lodge in 1919. He joined the "Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart" Lodge in Graz in 1927. From 1930 on Barolin was also active in the "Paracelsus" Lodge in Klagenfurt. He was initiated into the Scottish Rite in Switzerland in 1916, reaching the highest (33rd) degree in 1925 and became Deputy Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite in Austria. In 1929 he was elevated to the office of the Grand Commander and in 1931 into the office of the Honourable (Past) Grand Commander of the Scottish Rite.²¹ In the wake of the First World War, the Grand Lodge of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), later the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia, named him its representative at the Grand Lodge in Vienna.

The Grand Lodge of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia

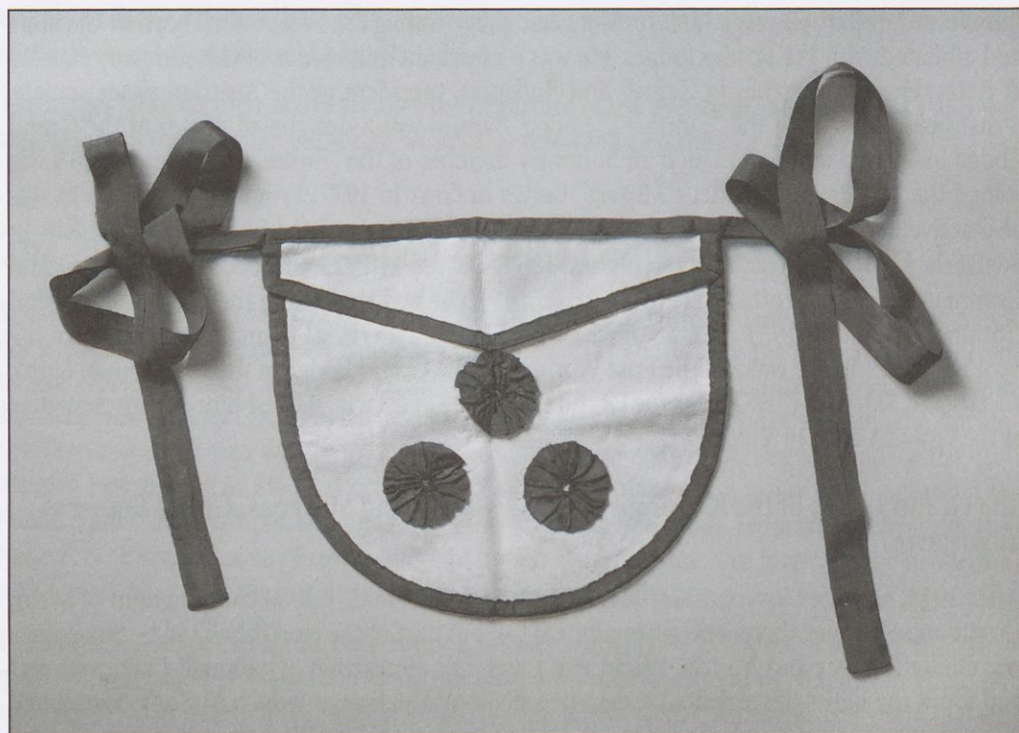
After 1918, most of Slovenian territories came under the authority of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (hereinafter Kingdom SHS), but part of the land inhabited by Slovenians was allotted to Italy and Austria. World War I was the culmination of nationalistic movements and it put the nationally oriented lodges in a delicate situation, in which Masonic values had to be re-examined through the prism of a new international political geometry. Freemasons played an observable role in the peace processes, for example at the Paris peace conference. International Freemasons also intervened in the irredentist conflict and mediated between Italian territorial appetites and the national interests of the Southern Slavs.

The lodges located in the territory of the newly created Kingdom SHS merged into the Grand Lodge of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (SHS) Yugoslavia on 9 June 1919. The Grand Lodge SHS was based in Belgrade and it incorporated the following lodges: "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" and "Ivan grof Drašković" from Zagreb, "Budnost" from Osijek, and "Sloga, Rad i Postojanstvo", "Pobratim", and "Šumadija" from Belgrade.²² The contribution of Slovenians to the foundation of the Grand Lodge SHS in 1919 was modest. Only two Slovenians, Davorin Trstenjak, the Worshipful Master of the Lodge "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" in Zagreb, and Boris Zarnik, who became member of the Council of the Grand Lodge SHS, were included. Zarnik had been affiliated to a German lodge, the one in Würzburg, from 1907 ("Zu den zwei Säulen am Stein").

The Grand Lodge of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was renamed the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia in 1929. Until 1940, thirty lodges operated under its auspices. Eight were active in Belgrade, seven in Zagreb, and two in Subotica. Ljubljana, Karlovac, Novi Sad, Skopje, Pančevo, Sombor, Vršec, Zrenjanin, Kotor, Dubrovnik, Split, Sarajevo, and Osijek each had one lodge. The estimates that can be found in extant literature indicate that the number of members of the lodges in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between the two world wars was approximately 2300.

²¹ 50 Jahre Schottischer Ritus in Österreich, Festschrift. Wien 1975, p. 6.

²² Zoran D. Nenezić, *Masoni u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1998, p. 367.



*Masonic apron that belonged to Miljutin Zarnik (1873–1940).
(National Museum of Slovenia, Photo: Franci Virant)*

The majority of them were active in the Croatian and Serbian lodges, including very eminent men: members of the Serbian Royal Academy in Belgrade and the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb, university professors, famous artists, but also ministers in Yugoslav governments. The Yugoslav royal family, the Karađorđevićs, maintained a close association with Yugoslav Freemasonry, especially King Aleksander and Prince Pavel Karađorđević. The latter was a close friend of the Duke of Kent, a relative on his wife's side, who became the Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England in 1939. The number of Slovenian Freemasons was significantly smaller than in Croatia and Serbia.

Slovenian Members of the Lodges that Operated under the Authority of the Grand Lodge of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Grand Lodge Yugoslavia

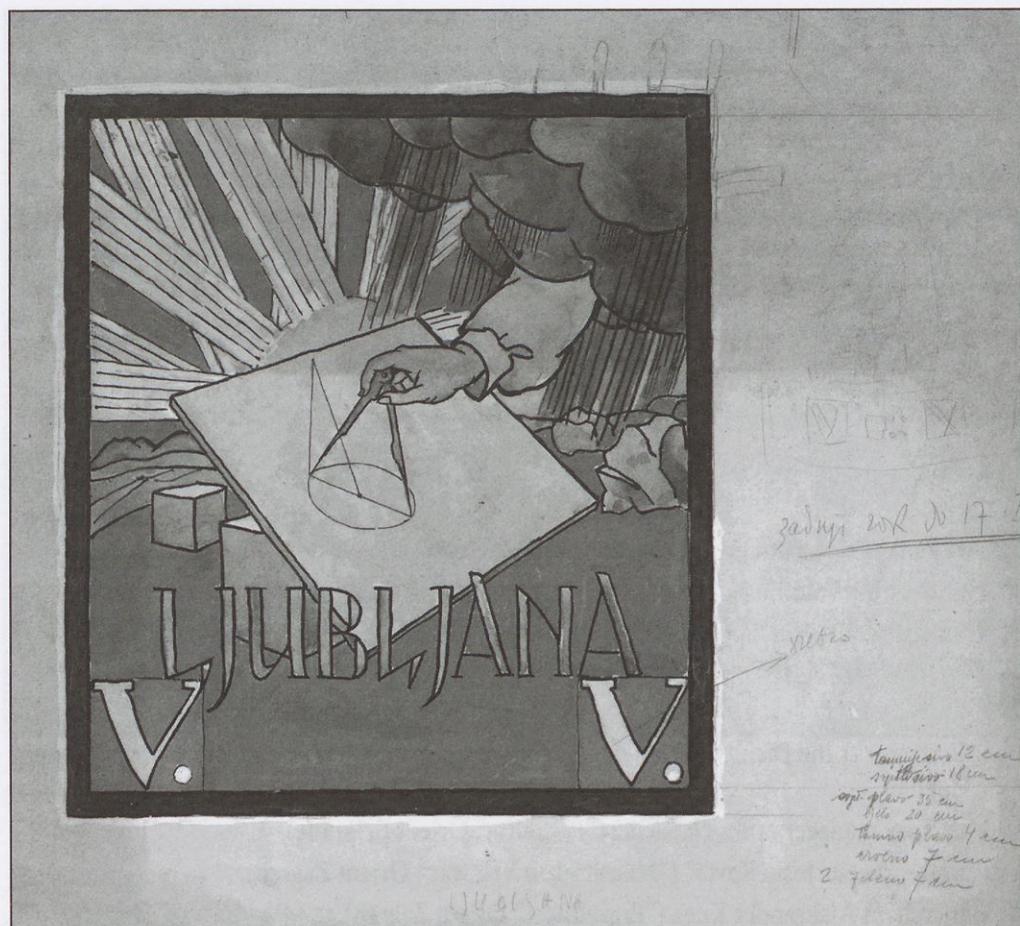
The "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge was formed in Zagreb on 17 March 1913. The Slovenian teacher Davorin Trstenjak from Krčevine near Ormož became the Worshipful Master of the Lodge, directing it until his death in 1921. The Lodge was named after Maksimiljan Vrhovec (1752–1827), member of the "Prudentia" Lodge in Zagreb, an enlightened progressivist, one of the initiators of the Croatian cultural movement in the 18th century and Bishop of Zagreb from 1787 until 1827. Trstenjak joined the Zagreb "Love t=Thy n=Neighbour" Lodge in 1909 and

in 1912 he wrote an essay entitled "On the reform of Freemasonry." Initially written merely for his fellow lodge members, the essay was subsequently published more widely.

As early as 1919, Trstenjak admitted the first three Slovenians to the "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge: lawyer and liberal politician Vladimir Ravnihar; an attorney, who later became a government minister, Fran Novak; and the lawyer, critic and illustrator Miljutin Zarnik. The "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge was the most important meeting place for the Slovenian Freemasons. Until a lodge was formed in Ljubljana, the Slovenian and the Croatian brothers agreed that the Zagreb Lodge would accompany and encourage the development of the Slovenian Masonry.²³ Seventeen Slovenian Freemasons (including Davorin Trstenjak) were active in the "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge between 1914 and 1936. The known data indicate that at least thirty-eight Slovenian Freemasons were affiliated to the Yugoslav lodges operating under the authority of the Grand Lodge SHS (Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia after 1929). They were:

- Doctor-paediatrician Matija Ambrožič ("Sloga rad i postojanstvo", Orient Belgrade),
- Lawyer and director of the District office for the workers' insurance in Ljubljana Joža Bohinjec ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Lawyer Leopold Boštjančič ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Lawyer and politician from the Littoral region Ivan Marija Čok ("Dositelj Obradović", Orient Belgrade),
- Director of the law firm Jakob Debevc ("Valentin Vodnik", Orient Ljubljana)
- Professor at the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana Boris Furlan ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Factory manager Maks Horowitz ("Pobratim", Orient Belgrade),
- Entrepreneur Josip Kavčič ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Merchant Aleksander Knez ("Pravednost", Orient Zagreb),
- Factory manager Stanko Kosen ("Ivanjski Kres", Orient Karlovac),
- Lawyer, journalist, liberal politician and minister Albert Kramer (Orient Belgrade),
- Opera singer Josip Križaj ("Maksimiljan Vrhovec", Orient Zagreb),
- Lawyer and minister for social affairs after the Second World War Anton Kržišnik ("Sloga rad i postojanstvo", Orient Belgrade),
- Pianist and educator Ciril Ličar ("Dositej Obradović", Orient Belgrade),
- Linguist and writer Janko Lokar ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Businessman and mountain writer Evgen Lovšin ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb), lawyer,
- liberal politician, minister and Ban of the Drava Banovina province in the 1930s Drago Marušič ("Perun", Orient Zagreb)

²³ Peter Vodopivec. O slovenskih "bratih" v prostozidarski loži Maksimiljan Vrhovac v Zagrebu, Stiplovškov zbornik. Historia 10. Znanstvena zbirka Oddelka za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani. Ljubljana 2005, 293, and: Peter Vodopivec: Prostozidarska loža Valentin Vodnik v Ljubljani (1940), in: Kronika, časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino, 40/1992, no. 1, 44–52.



Draft for a Masonic banner for the Valentin Vodnik Lodge of Ljubljana.
(National Museum of Slovenia, Photo: Tomaž Lauko)

- Lawyer and minister Fran Novak ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Businessman Maks Obersnel ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Conductor and composer Marko Polič ("Pravednost", Orient Zagreb),
- Lexicographer Janko Pretnar ("Istina", Orient Belgrade)
- Lawyer, politician, and publicist Vladimir Ravnihar ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Lawyer and diplomat Vladimir Rybář ("General Peigné", Orient Paris),
- Banker, commercial director Egon Srebre ("Istina", Orient Zagreb),
- Bank manager Avgust Tosti ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Teacher Davorin Trstenjak ("Hrvatska vila", Orient Zagreb),

- Professor of electrical engineering at the faculty of engineering in Ljubljana and chess master Milan Vidmar ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Lawyer, politician and diplomat Josip Vilfan ("Dositej Obradović", Orient Belgrade)²⁴,
- Official of Drava Banovina Jakob Vivoda ("Pravednost", Orient Zagreb),
- Lawyer and liberal politician Bogumil Vošnjak (Orient Belgrade),
- Dentist Vinko Zalokar ("Ivanjski Kres", Orient Karlovac),
- Biologist Boris Zarnik ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Critic and illustrator Miljutin Zarnik ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Veterinarian Fran Zavrnik ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Doctor Fran Zupanc ("Maksimiljan Vrhovac", Orient Zagreb),
- Lawyer and liberal politician Gregor Žerjav (Orient Belgrade),
- Lawyer and former Austrian minister Ivan Žolger (Orient Belgrade),
- Ethnologist and liberal politician Niko Županič (Orient Belgrade),
- Commercial director of the paper mill in Vevče near Ljubljana Egon Srebre ("Pravednost", Orient Zagreb).²⁵

A B'nai Brith Lodge named "Zagreb" was formed in Zagreb in 1927. It was active under the auspices of the XIth district of the independent order of B'nai Brith based in Istanbul. The Istanbul district participated in the constitution of the B'nai Brith Lodge of Serbia in Belgrade as early as 1911. The Grand Lodge of the Order for Yugoslavia was established in Belgrade in 1935 (XVI-IIth district). Marko Rosner, an industrialist from Maribor, was active in the "Zagreb" Lodge.

First Initiatives to Form a Lodge in Ljubljana

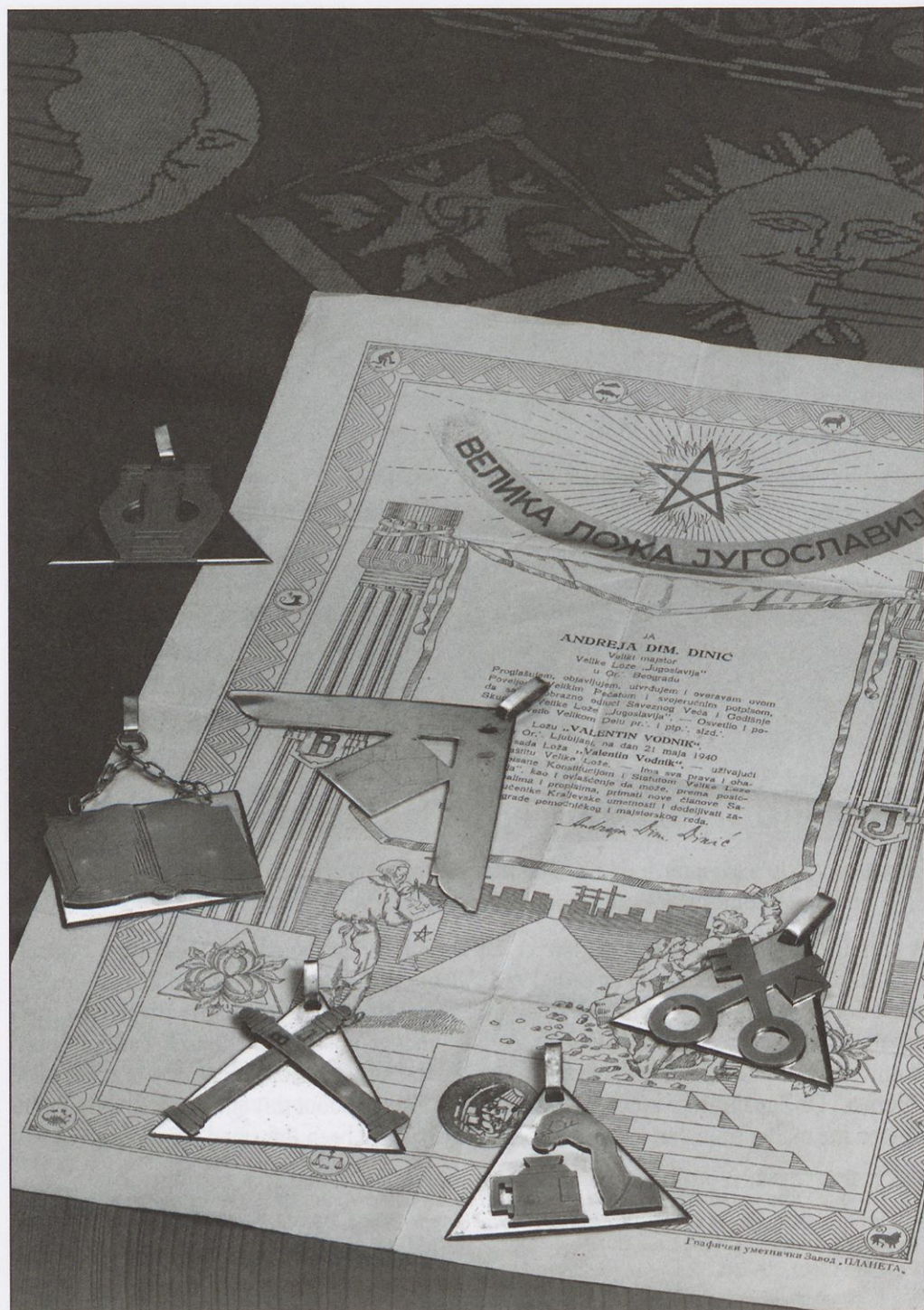
Efforts to set up a Masonic lodge in Ljubljana started soon after the creation of the Kingdom SHS, both in Masonic circles and among younger liberal politicians.²⁶

A prominent liberal politician and lawyer, Dr Gregor Žerjav, intended to establish a Masonic lodge in Ljubljana in late 1920 or early 1921. A letter that has been preserved among the Masonic documents in the Archives of Yugoslavia shows that Žerjav's initiative triggered a lively debate among the Freemasons in Zagreb. Žerjav, although not a Mason himself, had met several university professors in Ljubljana and discussed the formation of a lodge. It was a Slovenian "brother", Dr Zupanc, who apprised the Masons in Zagreb about this enterprise, but they considered the matter immaterial because their lodge had not been informed. They observed that

²⁴ Dr. Josip Vilfan was admitted to the Belgrade Lodge Dositej Obradović in 1939 as a self-employed emigrant from Istria. For Josip Vilfan's incontestable membership see Nenezić 1998, p. 589, 612, B. Šömen erroneously lists him as dr. Joža Vilfan. Šömen 2002, p. 220.

²⁵ Šömen 2002, 205–244. Vodopivec 2005, 293.

²⁶ A lecture on the French-Illyrian Lodge in Ljubljana (1811), delivered on 23 June 1921 at the meeting of lodges in Zagreb, reveals some information about the initiative in the Masonic circles. It considers the fact that a few Slovenian brothers entered the lodge Maksimiljan Vrhovac a renewal of Masonic life in Slovenia, in: Newspaper Šestiar no. 2/1921, 23.



Diploma and jewels distinguishing the officers of the "Valentin Vodnik" lodge.
(National Museum of Slovenia, Photo: Tomaž Lauko)

Masonic lodges could not be established like singing choirs and that Mr Žerjav should have approached the issue from a completely different angle. They nevertheless seriously discussed whether or not Žerjav would be an appropriate candidate for membership in the lodge. They agreed that he could have been admitted and could have played a significant role in the establishment of Freemasonry in Slovenia. However, a fellow Slovenian, Vladimir Ravnihar, was also critical of Žerjav and warned about his impatience and risky business transactions. Gregor Žerjav was not accepted to the "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge in Zagreb — either because of his political exposure or because he left for Belgrade to become a government minister. Eventually, he was to join one of the lodges in Belgrade.

The second attempt to create a lodge in Ljubljana happened in 1927. At that time, a group of people wanted to join the "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge in Zagreb, including the Slovenian painter Ivan Vavpotič, who had recommended the others. Vavpotič had previously petitioned to be admitted to the "Pobratim" Lodge in Belgrade, but the decision about his application was postponed. Due to objections formulated by some "brothers", especially the Croatian painter Tomislav Krizman, his admission was also rejected by the "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge. The correspondence of 1927 about the rejection of Vavpotič's application for membership at the "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge indicates that Slovenian Masons were actively working on establishing a lodge in Ljubljana.

Slovenian Masons tried to attract several prominent fellow citizens, including the poet Oton Župančič, into their ranks. At that time this was still the "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge.

The "Valentin Vodnik" Circle and Lodge in Ljubljana

A Masonic circle²⁷ named "Valentin Vodnik" was founded in Ljubljana in 1931. The choice of the name was almost certainly motivated by the work of literary historian France Kidrič. In a study of the French-Illyrian Lodge "Friends of the King of Rome and Napoléon" published in 1914 in a literary magazine *Slovan*, Kidrič hypothesised that the first Slovenian poet, Valentin Vodnik, had likely been a member of the Lodge. Whereas the Circle started its activities in 1931, the formation of the real lodge was delayed because its founders could not find an appropriate meeting place. The Ban of Drava Banovina province Drago Marušič solved the problem by making his apartment available for the purpose. The members of the Masonic Circle in Ljubljana met once a month in a few private apartments and in the private room of the New World Inn (Novi Svet). The founders of the Lodge also had to obtain all the necessary insignia, candelabra, and swords, and that took time too. The insignia and the candelabra were allegedly designed and fabricated by an artist from Zagreb. The Lodge was then just a continuation of the Circle of the same name. The "Valentin Vodnik" Lodge had a small membership; nevertheless, it was formed as a true and perfect lodge.

The "Valentin Vodnik" Lodge in Ljubljana was established in 1940. In the beginning, it counted eighteen, possibly a few more, members. Although the number of "brothers" affiliated with the Ljubljana Lodge was small in comparison to the bigger lodges in Zagreb and Belgrade, its membership included some very prominent names from Slovenian cultural and political

²⁷ A Masonic Circle is a lodge in the making.

circles at that time. The first (and only) Worshipful Master was Fran Novak. After he had been taken ill, Boris Furlan took over as Deputy Worshipful Master. Representatives of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia and guests from Croatian and Serbian lodges attended the opening of the Lodge. Two documents confirm the date of its solemn consecration and constitution: the letter of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia, signed by the Grand Master Andrija Dinić, and the dedicated copy of the Bible (translated by Karadžić and Daničić) that the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia presented as a gift to the newly formed lodge. One copy of the charter whereby the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia constituted the "Valentin Vodnik" Lodge is kept at the National Museum in Ljubljana and one at the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.

The Masonic Circle and Lodge "Valentin Vodnik" brought together men of free spirit and liberal orientation, but their association did not stand for any common politics. Some supported a centralist state, others opposed it; they all took individual and autonomous positions about important political issues. Similarly, the lectures that enlivened their meetings were supposed to be apolitical. The conductor and director of the Ljubljana opera house Mirko Polič delivered a lecture about Mozart's Magic Flute, the professor of electrical engineering at the University of Ljubljana Milan Vidmar spoke about his travels to America and the "theory of relativity", the linguist and writer Janko Lokar expounded on Slovenian literature, the economist Evgen Lovšin reported on the conflict between the Croatian bishop Jurij Strossmayer and Pope Pius IX and the professor of legal philosophy Boris Furlan shared his thoughts about democracy, freemasonry, and Masonic symbolism. In the 1930s, the Slovenian Freemasons also took part in several cultural and political activities that were distinctly national in character. For example, they supported the construction of the university library in Ljubljana with a successful intervention at the Ban Council of Drava Banovina.

The Ljubljana Freemasons, organised from the Masonic Circle "Valentin Vodnik", decided at one of their meetings to help "with all their might" the project of building the university library in Ljubljana. They mandated their member Evgen Lovšin, who was a director and a councillor at the Ban Council, to put things in motion at the Ban Council and to lobby with all the Slovenian sympathisers in the Education and Finance Ministries in Belgrade. Lovšin's initiative succeeded and the Ban Council of the Drava Banovina earmarked two hundred thousand dinars in the 1934/35 budget for the construction of the new university library in Ljubljana. In addition, and to honour the fiftieth birthday of Ban Marušič (who was also member of the Masonic Circle in Ljubljana), the Ban councillors also raised a sum of ten thousand diners for the foundation stone of the library, which they named the "stone of Ban Marušič".

The Ljubljana Masons also won decisive support from their Serbian brothers. In Belgrade, Dr Fran Novak advocated for the construction of the university library in Ljubljana with utmost zeal. The Minister of Education and the Minister of Finance in Belgrade decided to include in the 1935/36 budget proposal the first instalment of the funds needed for the construction of the university library. The ministers also proposed amending the Law on finances with a mandate to obtain a loan at a mortgage bank.

This concluded the first and most vital phase of the campaign to construct the much-needed university library in Ljubljana. The library was built between 1936 and 1941 following the

plans of architect Jože Plečnik. There is no evidence that Plečnik was a freemason himself, but the “brothers” held him in very high regard, including in Prague, where he had been active for quite a number of years. From 1911 to 1920 Plečnik taught as a professor at the School for Arts and Crafts, and from 1920 to 1930 he oversaw the renovation of the Hradčane castle as the project’s main architect. The Czech architect František Lydie Gahura (1891–1958) studied with Plečnik in Prague from 1914 to 1917. Gahura later worked at the architecture office of the Bata shoe factory in Zlin. He visited Plečnik in Ljubljana, presumably in 1937. Gahura was a freemason and he is specifically mentioned here because he delivered a lecture on Plečnik in 1937 or 1938 at the Czech Masonic Dilo Lodge (Work). The lecture was later published in the internal bulletin of the lodge.²⁸

The activity of the “Valentin Vodnik” Lodge was officially interrupted because of political pressure and a ban that led to the “self-imposed dormancy” of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia in 1940. The Lodge was effectively disbanded only after the attack of the Axis powers against Yugoslavia and the subsequent Italian occupation in April 1941. The majority of the members present at the last meeting of the Lodge opted for resistance against the occupier. Slovenian freemasons who chose to support the resistance movement and the Liberation Front (OF) obviously did not do so out of any degree of sympathy for the communists that led the OF. Their decision was motivated by nationalist (Slovenian) and patriotic (Yugoslavian) feelings and a firm opposition to Fascism and National Socialism.²⁹

Freemasons from the Slovenian Territory in Austrian and Italian Lodges

Following the collapse of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, several freemasons originating from Slovenian territory joined the newly formed Austrian lodges. Jožef Bezjak, owner of the bank office in Maribor, was a member of the “Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart” Lodge in Graz and admitted to the “In Labore Virtus” Lodge in Zurich in 1936. Georg Pevec (born in Ptuj in 1893), a painter with a Fine Arts degree, graphic designer, and high school professor of drawing and art history, was admitted to the “Zukunft” Lodge in Vienna in 1932. He left the Lodge two years later for political reasons. Paul Pirih, owner of the Ptuj leather factory, in 1924 joined the Viennese “Zum Eisernen Anker am Rauhen Stein” Lodge, which operated under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of Germany. Johann (Hans) Wildl, the above-mentioned merchant in Trieste and industrialist in Polzela near Celje, had been active in the “Humanitas” Lodge since 1905 and joined the “Zum Eisernen Anker am Rauhen Stein” Lodge in 1923.

The lodges situated in the territories of the collapsed Austrian Monarchy that were occupied by Italy in 1918 were revived in the wake of World War I. In November 1919, the “Alpi Giulie” Lodge, initially formed at the end of the 19th century, was thus revived in Trieste.³⁰ At the same time, a new lodge named “Guglielmo Oberdan” was formed. One of the first events organised

²⁸ Andrej Hrausky, *Simboli v Plečnikovi arhitekturi*, Ljubljana 2016, p. 127 ff.

²⁹ Vodopivec 1992, p. 46.

³⁰ *Appunti per una storia della Massoneria triestina*, in: *Rivista Massonica* 18/1976 11–21.



Fran Novak (1877–1944, Dachau concentration camp).

jointly by the two lodges was a ceremony commemorating this Italian patriot, killed in 1882. Oberdan's mother was a Slovenian and his original family name was Oberdank. Freemasons in Trieste and Rijeka openly supported D'Annunzio's annexation of Rijeka to Italy. The "Sirius" Lodge in Rijeka, formed in the beginning of the 20th century, joined the Grand Orient of Italy in November 1919. At the end of the First World War, a new lodge was formed under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of Italy (Gran Loggia d'Italia). It was called "Italia Nuova — XXX ottobre" 1918.

In 1920, lodges were in operation in Trieste and Rijeka, but also in Udine, Tržič, Monfalcone, and Koper.³¹ The Koper Lodge "Nasario Sauro" is no longer referenced by 1922, but there is mention of a lodge in Postojna. Six lodges altogether were active in 1922 in Trieste under the auspices of the Grand Orient of Italy. In addition, there were two lodges in Rijeka, one in Pula and one in Gorizia. Given the irredentist orientation of the Italian lodges, their membership included hardly any Slovenians. Despite this predominant orientation, however, the Italian police in Trieste, and even in Gorizia, kept reporting throughout the 1920s on freemasons who were sympathetic to the Slovenian cause and were possibly even Slovenians themselves.³²

The fascist takeover marked the beginning of difficult times for freemasons in Italy. In Trieste, the attacks against lodges and freemasons perpetrated by fascist squadrons began already in 1925.

³¹ Fulvio Conti: *Massoneria Italiana*. Bologna 2003, p. 278.

³² Košir, Vodopivec 2008, p. 283.

The Gestapo and the Suspension of Activities of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia

Attacks against freemasonry intensified in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after the assassination of King Alexander in Marseille in 1934. Until then, the anti-Masonic campaign that was particularly active in Catholic circles had not reached the broader public. After the assassination, however, anti-Masonic attacks were orchestrated against the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia. Freemasons were held responsible for the assassination and calls to ban Masonic organisations in the state intensified. The Nazi Reich Security Office (Sicherheitsdienst, hereafter SD) began to pay attention to Yugoslav freemasons with growing intensity, especially after the annexation of Austria. The office in Vienna played a special role in the matter, but it was the departments in Klagenfurt and Graz that were in charge of Yugoslavia. The departments in Klagenfurt and Graz collected lists of names of Yugoslav freemasons, studied the nature of Masonic work and analysed their political influence. The Graz department of the SD (section VI, responsible for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) employed 112 agents, including 95 operatives in Slovenia. The Security Service (SD) and the Secret State Police (Geheime Staatspolizei or Gestapo) started such activities in Yugoslavia following the assassination of the Yugoslav King Alexander in 1934. It was around that time that the German publishing house U. Bodung Verlag published a Serbo-Croatian translation of the anti-Masonic brochure written by Henri-Robert Petit entitled *Kralj Aleksandar I od Jugoslavije kao žrtva Masonske zavjere* (*La maçonnerie à l'œuvre. Alexandre de Yougoslavie, victime d'une conjuration maçonnique*). In addition to the anti-Masonic propaganda work, the Sicherheitsdienst also followed prominent international freemasons. Thus for example, they kept an eye on the famous American freemason and publicist Ossian Lang, Secretary of the Grand Lodge of New York. On the one hand, the contacts between the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia and the United Grand Lodge of England intensified. On the other hand, the Gestapo and the SD paid ever-closer attention to Masonic activities. A meeting took place towards the end of 1938 between the influential American freemason Ossian Lang and the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia Dušan Miličević and his deputy Franjo Hanaman. The SD wiretapped the meeting and the ensuing report has been preserved. The Germans obviously attached great importance to the meeting because the report was sent to SD Director Reinhard Heydrich in Berlin.

Ossian Lang played an important role in fostering relations between the Grand Lodge SHS (later to become the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia) and international lodges. A meeting took place in Vienna in 1927 between Ossian Lang, representing the Grand Lodge of New York, Dušan Miličević, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge SHS, and Adolf Mihalić. Eugen Lennhoff was probably present as well. Lang advocated for closer contacts between the Grand Lodge of New York and the Grand Lodge SHS and he proposed that the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New York recognise the Grand Lodge SHS. Lang travelled from Vienna to New York via London and used the stopover to lobby the United Grand Lodge of England for recognition of the Grand Lodge SHS. His vigorous efforts did not go unnoticed in London.

Lang reported on it in a letter addressed to Miličević and Mihalić from London. He also informed the Secretary of the Grand Lodge of New York Robert Judson Kenworthy about the bid



The Nagode Trial, 1947 The photograph shows Boris Furlan, (front row, fourth from the right) and his lawyer Vladimir Ravnihar (at the stand). The Nagode Trial, which took place between July and August 1947, was a political show trial staged by the Communist authorities in Slovenia. (National Museum of Contemporary History).

for recognition. As a result, the United Grand Lodge of England recognised the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia in 1930 and the two lodges exchanged their representatives.³³

The SD and Gestapo continued to monitor Lang's every step. During his stay in Villach 1938 he met with the (former) Carinthian freemasons Cefarin and Kalchberger (a painter) several times. Lang then travelled to Vienna. The Gestapo also appended a report on Ossian Lang's meeting, but said report referred to the 1928 meeting in Aachen. According to the Gestapo, Lang met in Aachen the freemasons Reichl and Lennhoff, as well as a vicar named Gruber. These meetings and negotiations led the Gestapo to observe that it was totally absurd ("absolut abwegig") to talk about Jesuits fighting freemasons. The Gestapo furthermore established that Gruber had always held a negative view of freemasons, but since he had met them, the Gestapo concluded, Gruber was just a play orchestrated by the Viennese freemasons.

The Gestapo added a memorandum on whether Jesuits could be freemasons of a Catholic variety. The contacts between the Jesuits and the Catholic Church on the one hand, and the freemasons on the other, were interpreted essentially as elaborate conspiracies. In September 1938, the Gestapo headquarters in Carinthia obtained detailed reports on the talks conducted between Lang and the two Yugoslav freemasons. These data were analysed and in December 1938 the headquarters discussed the issue of Masonic activities. Gestapo Headquarters in Vienna sent a

³³ Košir 2015, 334–345.

letter to Carinthia. The police had urgently to obtain documents regarding freemasons from the neighbouring countries. The purpose of this operation was to analyse the political activities of the freemasons. The SD branch in Carinthia was instructed to focus its attention on the issue of Masonic activities in Yugoslavia. On 20 December 1938, the head of the Danube Department thus sent the documentation pertaining to the Yugoslav and the Slovenian freemasons to the SD in Berlin. In addition to collecting data, the Gestapo also assisted and encouraged anti-Masonic propaganda in Yugoslavia.

The Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia was therefore confronted with ever-increasing pressure, including bans on Masonic assemblies and newspapers in the years 1939/1940. In July 1940, the police raided and searched the premises of the Grand Lodge of

Yugoslavia and Belgrade. Given the circumstances, the Grand Lodge made the decision on 1 August 1940 to suspend its activities and go "dormant".

World War II and its Aftermath

The occupying German and Italian forces arrested several freemasons and sent them to concentration camps. A large majority of freemasons joined the resistance, primarily within the Liberation Front (OF), but also within the Yugoslav army of Dragoljub (Draže) Mihajlović and in the British intelligence forces. The proportion of freemasons among the ministers and advisors of the Yugoslav government in exile in London was also significant.

Masonic lodges were revived in Trieste and in Austrian Carinthia in the wake of World War II. Such a renaissance was not possible in Yugoslavia. Post-war communist leaders were intensely suspicious of freemasons and they subscribed entirely to the position of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International of 1922 as well as to the Soviet understanding of freemasonry as a "weapon" of the bourgeoisie.

The majority of freemasons that remained in Yugoslavia after 1945 soon realised that the socialist government had no sympathy for Masonic activities and no intention of supporting any form of revival of the lodges. Any serious attempt to do so after 1945 was therefore bound to fail, especially in light of the fact that the new authorities closely monitored any such attempts. Freemasons had no other choice but to accept the fact that socialist Yugoslavia would not tolerate their activities. Some of the Yugoslav freemasons abroad began seeking possibilities, after 1945, to form the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia in exile. The Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia in exile was thus formed in 1947 and the Yugoslav secret political police kept a close watch on it. The Yugoslav communist authorities also fought freemasonry on the propaganda front and did so through Masonic channels in cooperation with Dušan Tomić, a Yugoslav freemason in Paris.

Police officers and members of the Slovenian State Security Administration considered that freemasonry represented a serious threat to every political regime even in the 1950s, after the most intense political pressure was supposed to be over. In Slovenia, several pre-war freemasons were accused of hostile activities against the new "people's" government and were imprisoned immediately after the war. Avgust Tosti, member of the "Maksimiljan Vrhovac" Lodge in



Stanoje Mihajlović (1888–1946).

Zagreb and the “Valentin Vodnik” Lodge in Ljubljana before the war, and director of the Credit Institution for Commerce and Industry until the end of the war, was sentenced to death before a military court in 1945. His death sentence was later commuted to long-term imprisonment.³⁴ He was released in 1952. A similar fate befell Professor Boris Furlan, also sentenced to death on grounds of anti-state activities in 1947.

Freemasonry under Socialism — the Example of Boris Furlan

The case of Boris Furlan (1894–1957) poignantly illustrates the fate of Slovenian freemasonry in the 20th century. Furlan was born on 10 November 1894 in a Slovenian middle-class family in Trieste. After finishing high school he left for Paris in 1913 and studied law at the Sorbonne. He returned to Trieste³⁵ in 1920. The city had already been annexed to the Kingdom of Italy. He first worked as assistant in the law firm headed by Dr Josip Vilfan and opened his own law firm in 1925. The political situation deteriorated, especially after the burning down of the Trieste National Hall in 1920 and the victory of fascism. The Prefecture in Trieste started tailing Furlan

³⁴ Žarko Lazarevič, Jože Prinčič: *Bančniki v ogledalu časa*: Ljubljana 2005, 71–75.

³⁵ Peter Vodopivec: Boris Furlan (1849–1957). In: *Usoda slovenskih demokratičnih izobražencev*, Slovenska matica. Ljubljana 2001.

during this period. The increasingly difficult circumstances, marked by numerous searches and innuendos about his probable arrest, made him leave Trieste and flee the fascist persecution. Accompanied by his Ljubljana-born wife he escaped to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1930. The most productive, visionary, and culturally incisive core of the Slovenian middle class left Trieste during that period. Furlan opened a law firm in Ljubljana and started teaching at the Faculty of Law at the end of 1930. He taught legal philosophy and legal theory, first as an assistant professor and later as an associate and a full professor, until World War II. He had established a reputation as an internationally acclaimed specialist in legal philosophy.

He joined the Masonic Lodge "Maksimilijan Vrhovac" in Zagreb and the Masonic Circle "Valentin Vodnik" in Ljubljana in 1933. He was elected Worshipful Master of the "Valentin Vodnik" Lodge in 1940. His Masonic sponsor was Fran Novak, an old acquaintance from Trieste. In Fran Novak's absence he led the solemn consecration of the "Valentin Vodnik" Lodge on 21 May 1940.

After Yugoslavia signed the Tripartite Pact on 25 March 1941, Furlan travelled to Belgrade with his wife, daughter and a young son. Assisted by the merchant Primc from Trieste and the British, the family was able to leave Yugoslavia. Furlan had been on the list of people wanted by the fascist authorities. The Axis powers invaded Yugoslavia and part of Slovenia was occupied by Italy. Consequently, the Italian fascist authorities sentenced Furlan to death in absentia in June 1942. He moved to London in 1943 and served for a brief spell as Minister of Education in the Yugoslav government in exile. Furlan resolutely endorsed the Liberation front (OF) in 1943, but also understood its shortcomings. Despite conflicts and internal struggles, he pleaded for unity and cooperation among Slovenians. He defended the partisan war because he believed that the movement was open and democratic.

Furlan's BBC speeches of 1944 reflect this understanding. British planes scattered flyers with his printed speeches over Slovenia on several occasions. His view of the liberation movement was in many ways clouded by idealism. At the end of February 1945 he travelled to Belgrade via Bari and returned to Ljubljana, full of optimism, after the liberation of Slovenia in May 1945. He took up his professorship again and even became Dean to the Faculty of Law. Vice-President Kardelj received him in Belgrade. Furlan's initial enthusiasm, however, was short-lived. The reality was very far from the open society and real democracy that he had expected on the basis of the letters that Vidmar and others used to send him to London. Ljubljana after the liberation was not what it used to be before the war. Furlan was not willing to accept the world in which he had found himself and tried to help friends and acquaintances who were persecuted by the police and the Department of National Security (OZNA). The communist authorities increasingly distrusted him and their relations visibly cooled. Faced with the reality at home, Furlan was beset by doubts. The Department of National Security opened a file on Furlan as early as October 1945. The realisation that he was being followed and wiretapped greatly disappointed him. Furlan was a sympathiser of the Liberation front (OF), but as he did not defend narrow communist positions, the communist authorities judged his views too open-minded and liberal. His daughter Staša returned to Slovenia wearing the uniform of the Overseas Brigades, but fled to America with the help of her friends from Trieste just in time to escape an arrest planned by the State Security Administration (UDBA); she never returned from America. Furlan contacted the

British Consul and considered fleeing to Trieste with his wife, but he was overtaken by events. During the night between 29 and 30 May UDBA agents raided his home and arrested him. The harrowing interrogations that started immediately after his arrest lasted for two months. He was accused of collaboration with an "anti-people's organisation" and spying. The interrogators were especially interested in Furlan's membership of the Masonic lodge, information about when he joined it and his activities within it. Fran Novak's death in the Dachau concentration camp in 1944 had made Furlan the highest-ranking Slovenian freemason. Furlan was accused of maintaining contacts with British intelligence services since the late 1930s, blamed for the translation of Orwell's *Animal Farm* and reproached for his friendship with Jack Hopter, an official of the American Red Cross.

The trial against the fifteen accused, including Furlan, started on 29 July 1947. The court proceedings were broadcast over loudspeakers on the streets of Ljubljana for the citizens' benefit. This was the second political trial against Furlan. A Masonic brother, the 76-year old Dr Vladimir Ravnihar, defended Furlan at the trial. The court was completely unreceptive to the arguments presented by the defence. When Ravnihar countered the Prosecutor's accusations by arguing that Furlan had supported the partisans throughout the war, in the USA, and in Britain, the Prosecutor replied that he had done so in order to fight them better. In August 1947, the court sentenced Furlan to death by shooting. The judgment provoked diplomatic protests and an avalanche of negative reactions in the Western media. Furlan's lawyers immediately applied for pardon. The Presidium considered the plea and commuted the death sentence to a twenty-year prison sentence. Furlan was incarcerated in a solitary cell all this time. He asked for books, but, already very ill, he did not insist. Solitude was very difficult for him and the stress caused his heart condition to deteriorate seriously. On 27 March 1951, after four-and-a-half years of confinement, Furlan was released on parole for health reasons. He did not enjoy true freedom, however, because the UDBA operatives followed him everywhere and he was aware of this. In November 1953, Furlan was the victim of a public humiliation at the hands of youth militants, agents of the political police. They broke into his home, dragged the helpless heart patient from the house, loaded him into a wheelbarrow, and took him to the Sava bridge with the intention of throwing him in the Sava River. One of the militants used the occasion to make a speech. He demanded that Boris Furlan be removed from Radovljica because of his treacherous activities and ended his speech with a cry "Death to the traitor!" Furlan was gravely injured during the incident that could have ended tragically had it not been for Dr Josip Vidmar, Furlan's friend, lawyer and freemason, who was visiting him at that time. Furlan died in Radovljica on 10 June 1957. Many of his friends, university professors and lawyers, attended the funeral. The UDBA followed him until his death and wrapped up his file with a report on the people who had attended his funeral. Furlan disappeared from public memory for half a century. His name was deleted from academic bibliographies and from the list of lawyers who had participated in the war of liberation. The victims of the Nagode trial were rehabilitated in 1991.

The thesis that links the Yugoslav communist authorities to freemasons, affirming that Josip Broz-Tito and some other communist dignitaries were freemasons, is a simple historical fabrication. Vjenceslav Cenčič recently published this fabrication in a book entitled *Titova poslednja ispovijest* (*Tito's last confession*) (2001). The book, *Velika podvala* (*The Great Hoax*) (2003),

shows that Cenčič's claims regarding the communist authorities and freemasonry do not stand up to any serious historical scrutiny and belong to the realm of fiction. These forgeries are naïve pieces of political propaganda, fabricated in certain circles at the time of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Not only does Tito never appear on any Freemasonic lists, but the Yugoslav communist party's stance had been exceedingly anti-Masonic even when Yugoslavia was still a Kingdom. After he came to power in 1945, Tito systematically suppressed all attempts and initiatives to revive Masonic activities. He crushed some leading Yugoslav freemasons without a trace of pity.

One of the leading Yugoslav freemasons, Dr Stanoje Mihajlović, thus met a tragic fate. Born on 22 August 1882 in Upper Kovin (Ráckeve) in Hungary, Mihajlović entered the Belgrade "Pobratim" Lodge as early as 1911 and visited lodges in Zagreb, London, Berlin, and Paris. He held a lecture at the Paris Lodge in 1911. During World War I, in 1916, he was active in a group of Yugoslav freemasons that sought to inform the public about the Yugoslav national-political question with the help of the French freemasons. At that time Mihajlović actively participated in the meetings of the Parisian "Friendship of the Peoples" Lodge (Fraternité des Peuples), where Yugoslav freemasons were soon engaging in bitter confrontation with their Italian brothers over issues related to the fate of Trieste, Istria, and Dalmatia.

Later on, he was active as a member of the administration of the Grand Lodge and the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of the Kingdom of SHS and of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In 1939 he assisted, on behalf of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia, at the consecration of the Duke of Kent as the Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England. It was upon this occasion that Mihajlović met the King of England.

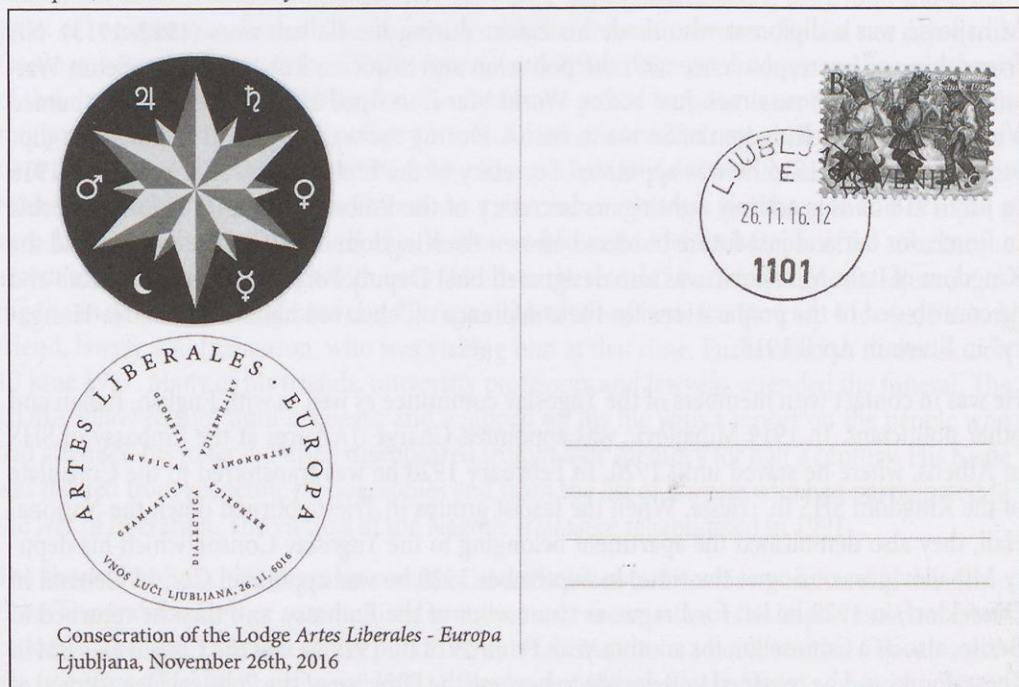
Mihajlović was a diplomat who made his career during the Balkan wars (1912–1913). His friendship and correspondence with the politician and historian Robert William Seton Watson goes back to those times. Just before World War I, in April 1914, Mihajlović was named Vice Consul of the Kingdom of Serbia in Berlin. During the war, he moved in European diplomatic circles. In 1916 he was appointed Secretary of the Embassy in Paris. From July 1916 to July 1918 he was actively fighting, as Secretary of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Serbia in Rome, for fair and just future borders between the Kingdom of SHS in the making and the Kingdom of Italy. Mihajlović was also designated First Deputy Foreign Minister of Serbia and he contributed to the preparations for the conference of "enslaved nations of Austria-Hungary" in Rome in April 1918.

He was in contact with members of the Yugoslav committee as well as with English, Italian and other politicians. In 1919 Mihajlović was appointed Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy of SHS in Athens, where he stayed until 1920. In February 1920 he was transferred to the Consulate of the Kingdom SHS in Trieste. When the fascist groups in Trieste burned down the National Hall, they also demolished the apartment belonging to the Yugoslav Consul, which his deputy Mihajlović was using at the time. In September 1920 he was appointed Consul General in Düsseldorf, in 1922 he left for Prague as Counsellor of the Embassy, and then he returned to Berlin, also as a Counsellor, for another year. From 1923 till 1924 he was the Consul General in Thessaloniki and he returned to Belgrade to become the Director of the Political Department at



Veljko Varičak leading the advanced Scottish rite lodge "Baron Jurij Vega". (National Museum of Slovenia)

Commemorative envelopes issued to mark the official acceptance of the Ljubljana lodge Artes Liberales Europa. (National Museum of Slovenia)



the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of SHS. Soon enough, he was again sent abroad as Counsellor at the Embassies in Warsaw, followed by Berlin and Madrid. He was named Ambassador to Tirana in 1928 and he remained there until he retired in 1931.³⁶

At the beginning of the war, he figured on the German wanted list, but they could not locate him. After the liberation of Belgrade, the new communist authorities briefly imprisoned him although he had not collaborated either with Nedić or with Draža Mihailović. He was put under surveillance, first by the Department of National Security (OZNA) and later by the State Security Administration (UDBA). In 1946, he and his wife actress Slavka Kos Mihajlović decided to depart via Austria to England where they had friends. But the Slovenian UDBA agents had found out about the plan and arrested them on the bus in Lenart in the Slovenske Gorice region (20. March 1946). They were interrogated for several days, mainly about the freemasons in Belgrade. The night after the execution order arrived from Belgrade, UDBA agents took them to the Kozjak forest, shot them, and buried them (end of May 1946).³⁷

As from 1945, secret police agents compiled lists of men who had been members of Masonic lodges in the period from 1918 to 1940. At the same time, they closely watched and followed up on every suspicion of renewed Masonic activity. The post-war lists amassed by the Slovenian police featured more people who were suspected of freemasonry than the total number of all the pre-war freemasons that had been active in the Yugoslav Masonic lodges. The police inspectors believed that freemasons were a threat to the regime because they were supposed to have contacts abroad, including with political exiles. Even in 1974 they still maintained that Masonic lodges were a "tool of Western imperialism."

The Renewal of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia in 1990

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the revival of freemasonry in former Eastern Europe, the Grand Lodge of Germany supported and encouraged the efforts to resuscitate the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia. A few minor problems delayed the project, but the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia was finally opened on 23 June 1990. Yugoslav émigrés in Germany, members of one of the lodges in Düsseldorf, participated in the project. One of the members of this lodge became the Grand Master of the newly re-established Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia. The future Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia and the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Austria met in 1989. One of the future Slovenian freemasons, designated to become the acting Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia, also attended the meeting.

The first Slovenian had established contact with freemasons from Belgrade even before the Grand Lodge was formed. Two Slovenians joined the "Pobratim" Lodge, active under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia, in March 1991. A month later both were raised to the degree of Master and at the first annual assembly of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia, in Belgrade in June 1991, one of them was chosen as one of the two Deputy Grand Masters of the Grand

³⁶ Matevž Košir, Razgibano diplomatsko in prostozidarsko življenje dr. Stanoja Mihajlovića ter njegov tragični konec leta 1946 na Kozjaku. In: SLO: Časi, kraji in ljudje: slovenski zgodovinski magazine. No. 7 (Sep. 2015), 56–59.

³⁷ SI AS 1931; and: Zavadlav Zdenko, Pozna spoved. Iz dnevnika slovenskega oznovca, Celovec 2010, p. 194–196.

Lodge of Yugoslavia.³⁸ The Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia intended to resuscitate the lodge named "Valentin Vodnik" in the autumn of 1991. The plan still has never been carried out because Slovenian freemasons stopped travelling to Belgrade after the declaration of Slovenian independence in June 1991. In the spring of 1991, the fourth Slovenian was admitted to the "Pobratim" Lodge in Belgrade. However, the war that broke out in Slovenia in June-July 1991 prevented him from taking part in the activities of the lodge.

Dramatic events that took place in the territories of the disintegrating Yugoslav state inevitably impacted the work of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia. The difficulties and tensions that appeared at the formation of the lodge intensified in the years 1992 and 1993. In 1992, the Grand Lodge did not hold its annual assembly and the next assembly was held in Rimini in 1993. The extreme tension in Serbia and in the territory of the former Yugoslavia dictated this choice of venue. The then Grand Master was expelled from freemasonry on that occasion. Relations between freemasons in the Serbian-Montenegrin remnant of former Yugoslavia started to calm down slowly after that.³⁹

When Yugoslavia was falling apart in 1991, the Slovenian freemasons established direct contact with Austrian freemasons without passing through the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia. The Austrian freemasons played a crucial role in reviving freemasonry in Slovenia.

The Deputation Lodge "Illyria"

Following the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the following people and entities took the initiative to renew freemasonry in Slovenia: a section of Viennese freemasons led by Viennese architect Čedo Kirchner, the Klagenfurt "Three Pillars in the South" Lodge (Zu den drei Säulen im Süden), and the Slovenian and Croatian "brothers" who were active in the Austrian lodges. The first Slovenian freemason was admitted to an Austrian lodge on 19 October 1990, followed by two others in 1991. The three of them had been members of the lodges that were active under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia.

On 27 February 1992, a month and a half after the European Community recognised the newly established states of Slovenia and Croatia, the Austrian freemasons in Klagenfurt formed the Deputation Lodge "Illyria" in order to revive freemasonry in Slovenia and Croatia. The Deputation Lodge "Illyria" was solemnly constituted on 21 March 1992 in the Grand Temple of Vienna in the presence of the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Austria. The lodge functioned within the structures of the Grand Lodge of Austria. On the occasion of the solemn consecration, five Slovenians were admitted to the lodge. Although the Grand Lodge of Austria had not recognised the Grand Lodge of Yugoslavia, it did accept three Slovenian freemasons with the degree of Master Mason who had been initiated into freemasonry in Belgrade.

Thirteen Austrian brothers from various Austrian lodges were among the founding members of the "Illyria" Lodge. The Deputation Lodge "Illyria" was thus an Austrian-Slovenian-Croatian lodge. Initially, when the Lodge used to meet at the Temple in Vienna, it conducted its activities

³⁸ Blaue Blätter, November 1991, p.9.

³⁹ Bratislav Stamenković, Slobodan G. Marković: Kratak pregled istorije slobodnog zidarstva Srbije, Regularna velika loža Srbije. Belgrade 2009, 155–168.

in the three languages. Later, the members met in Klagenfurt and Graz: the Croatian brothers worked in Graz and the Slovenians in Klagenfurt. Both parts now functioned in a bilingual regime, for example, Slovenian and German in Klagenfurt. New members were admitted on 25 April 1992 in Vienna, on 5 May in Klagenfurt, and five new members joined the lodge in Ljubljana. Fifty-one years after the last meeting of the “Valentin Vodnik” Lodge, the “Illyria” Lodge held its first reunion in Ljubljana on 26 September 1992. By the end of the year 1992, the Lodge counted nineteen Slovenian freemasons. Croatian, Austrian and Italian freemasons joined their Slovenian brothers at the meeting that took place in Ljubljana on 13 March 1993. Ninety-six members had joined the “Illyria” Lodge by mid-1993.⁴⁰

The ever-increasing number of members and the separation of work between the Croatian and the Slovenian brothers led to the split of the Deputation Lodge “Illyria” into two parts. On 18 December 1993, a special Deputation Lodge was created for Slovenia — Orient Klagenfurt. The partition of the Lodge was undoubtedly also justified by the fact that Slovenia and Croatia became independent countries in 1991.⁴¹

The Deputation Lodge “Dialogus” Orient in Klagenfurt

Light was brought to the Deputation Lodge “Dialogus” on 5 March 1994 in Klagenfurt. This marked a new foundation for freemasonry in Slovenia. The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Austria, the acting Grand Master, and the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Austria conducted the ceremony in Klagenfurt. The acting Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Italy was also in attendance. All the Slovenian members of the “Illyria” Lodge became members of the Deputation Lodge “Dialogus” on this occasion. From that moment on the Lodge met twice a month in Klagenfurt and twice a month “in the open air” in Ljubljana. The headquarters of the Lodge were in Klagenfurt.⁴²

During this time many texts, previously unavailable in Slovenian, were translated: rituals, constitution, rules and regulations, and other Masonic texts. The association “Dialog”, formally established and registered at the same time as the seat of the Lodge in Ljubljana, declared itself the legitimate heir to all the Masonic lodges that had been active in Slovenian territory. Its objective was to revive Freemasonic ideas and traditions. The Association bought the required premises and started to rebuild them for that purpose. The Temple and the auxiliary rooms were ready for use in autumn 1996. On 5 October 1996, the light was lit in the new Temple. At the same time, two true and perfect Slovenian lodges were created.

The True and Perfect Lodges “Dialogus” and “Žiga Zois” Orient Ljubljana

On 5 November 1996, the Grand Lodge of Austria brought the light to two true and perfect Slovenian Lodges “Dialogus” and “Žiga Zois”. The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Austria lit the light in the presence of several freemasons from neighbouring countries. The ceremony

⁴⁰ Cedo Kirchner: Das werden der DL “Illyria” in: *Blaue Blätter* (Jänner) 1994, 8–9.

⁴¹ Warum DL “Dialogus”?, in: *Blaue Blätter* (März) 1994, 3.

⁴² Lichteinbringung der DL “Dialogus”, in: *Blaue Blätter* (April) 1994, 3.

took place in the newly built Temple in Orient Ljubljana. The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Austria conducted the ceremony. Other officers of the Grand Lodge of Austria, as well as Austrian freemasons from Graz, Innsbruck, Klagenfurt, Linz, and Vienna, Croatian brothers from Zagreb, and freemasons from Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany also attended the ceremony.⁴³

The "Dialogus" Lodge took its name from the Deputation Lodge "Dialogus", which was active in Klagenfurt. The "Žiga Zois" Lodge was named after Baron Sigismund Zois, one of the leading men in the Slovenian cultural movement in the 18th century. Zois was a businessman, benefactor, mineralogist and member of several prominent European scientific associations of his time.

The Lodge "Arcus" Orient Ljubljana and Grand Lodge of Slovenia

In October 1998, the third true and perfect Lodge "Arcus" Orient Ljubljana saw the light of day. The number of freemasons in Slovenia had increased to such an extent that the conditions for the creation of the first Grand Lodge in the Slovenian history were fulfilled. On 16 October 1999, the Grand Lodge of Austria consecrated the Grand Lodge of Slovenia. The establishment of the Grand Lodge of Slovenia marked the beginning of an independent life for freemasons in Slovenia.

The Grand Lodge of Slovenia has become the highest organisation within "regular" Freemasonry in the Republic of Slovenia. As an independent Masonic organisation, it has exchanged treaties of amity and recognition with many other regular Grand Lodges. The Grand Lodge of Slovenia was recognised in February 2001 by the Conference of Grand Masters of Masons in North America. Since 2001, the Grand Lodge of Slovenia has also been recognised by the United Grand Lodge of England and more than 50 other regular Grand Lodges around the world, with which it is in relations of amity. In form and in content, as well as in part through personal family connections, it is the successor of former lodges operating in the territory of the present-day Republic of Slovenia from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Shortly after the establishment of the Grand Lodge, two regular Masonic orders were founded. These were the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry (in 2000) and the Order of the Royal Arch (in 2007). These two orders have signed a "concordat" (an agreement on mutual relations and activity) with the Grand Lodge of Slovenia. The first Slovene Freemasons were initiated into the Scottish Rite in 1990 by the Supreme Council (Mother Council of the World) of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States of America. The Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite for Slovenia was established in 2000.⁴⁴ *Both the Grand Lodge of Slovenia and the two Masonic orders are registered as societies and operate in accordance with the laws of the Republic of Slovenia governing the activities of societies. With the approval of the Grand Lodge of Slovenia, the Order of the Royal Arch also introduced two Masonic orders to Slovenia: the Masonic and Military Order of the Red Cross of Constantine and the Order of Knights Templar, the latter of which operates as Carantania Preceptory No 683, founded in London in 2011.*

⁴³ Lichteinbringung der LL "Dialogus" und "Žiga Zois", in: *Blaua Blätter* (November) 1996, 5.

⁴⁴ For more on the Scottish Rite in Slovenia, see: M. Košir, *Zgodovina prostozidarstva na Slovenskem* ["History of Freemasonry in Slovenia"], Modrijan 2015, pp. 500–506.

In September 2002 the Grand Lodge of Slovenia founded an English-speaking deputy lodge called "Hospitality" in the Orient of Ljubljana (this operated until the summer of 2005). In November 2002 it founded the "Anton Tomaž Linhart" lodge in the Orient of Bled (disbanded in October 2005). In March 2006 the Grand Lodge of Slovenia founded the "United Hearts" lodge, a deputy lodge under the Orient of Maribor. In 2009 it brought the light to a new temple in the Orient of Maribor. That same year it founded the true and perfect "Olivetum" lodge in the Orient of Koper. Since 2014 a deputy lodge of the "Quattuor Coronati" research lodge has operated in Ljubljana. In 2016 the Grand Lodge of Slovenia founded the true and perfect "Artes Liberales Europa" lodge, followed in October 2017 by a true and perfect lodge called "Words and Actions" (*Besede in dejanja*) in the Orient of Ljubljana.⁴⁵

In 2009 the Grand Lodge of Slovenia solemnly celebrated the tenth anniversary of its founding at the Ljubljana Exhibition and Convention Centre, with a number of international guests. In 2010 the Scottish Rite for Slovenia celebrated its tenth anniversary in a similar manner at Cankar Hall. The Order of Royal Arch Masons celebrated its tenth anniversary in 2017.

The Grand Lodge of Slovenia is part of the international conferences of European regular lodges and world conferences of Grand Lodges. In cooperation with the Grand Lodge of Austria, the Grand Lodge of Slovenia offered support to Bosnian Freemasons in the process of founding the Grand Lodge of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first Bosnian lodge, called "Lux Bosniae", had its seat in Ljubljana. The Grand Lodge of Bosnia and Herzegovina was dedicated in Sarajevo in 2004.

In 2017 the Grand Lodge of Slovenia played an active part in the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Freemasonry. As explained on the Grand Lodge's website:

"The culmination of the year-long celebration of the tercentenary of the beginnings of modern Freemasonry was an event held at the Royal Albert Hall in London on 31 October 2017. More than 3,900 Freemasons and more than 130 Grand Masters from all over the world made this spectacular event, organised by the United Grand Lodge of England, an historic occasion. Among the attendees was Marko Bitenc, the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Slovenia. The event at the Royal Albert Hall represented the climax of a year of celebration that has taken place not only in England but throughout the world. This gala event on the last day of October included processions, addresses and a modern theatrical representation of the history of Freemasonry and was particularly notable for the presence of the highest Masonic dignitaries. Among them were the Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England, HRH the Duke of Kent, HRH Prince Michael of Kent, HRM Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and HE John A. Kufuor. The event, which was live-streamed to Freemasons around the world, was followed by a gala dinner at Battersea Evolution in Battersea Park, where the attendees were addressed by Brigadier Willie Shackell, Grand Secretary of the United Grand Lodge of England: '2017 is a year to look forward as well as back. Throughout these 300 years we have continued our strong traditions of friendship, openness and charity and our Tercentenary celebrations have been very much about highlighting the values of Freemasonry that we all hold. We were delighted to be in the company of so many Freemasons from around the world at this grand event to mark

⁴⁵ <http://www.prostozidsrstvo.si> (retrieved 30 October 2017)

an historical moment celebrating 300 years of Freemasonry. I feel that our role and relevance in society today could not be stronger and we now look forward to our journey through the next 300 years.' There are currently around six million Freemasons around the world, with just over 300 of them forming part of regular Freemasonry in Slovenia. Freemasonry is one of the world's largest non-religious and non-political organisations and is based on brotherhood and the symbolic continuation of the stonemasonry tradition."⁴⁶

Other Grand Lodges in Slovenia

Grand Orient of Slovenia

The Grand Orient of Slovenia represents a system of Freemasonry for men and women. The first member was initiated in 1992 and the first lodge was founded in 1994 by seven Slovenes — men and women — who were members of the Heidelberg-based Grand Lodge for Men and Women (*Grossloge von Deutschland für Frauen und Männer*). It derives from the tradition of the "co-masonic" order Le Droit Humain, from which the German lodges broke away in 1959. This led to the establishment in Slovenia of the "St Germain" lodge.

The Grand Orient of Slovenia adheres to the tradition of Le Droit Human and the pre-war lodges of this order in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which operated in Zagreb (the "Humanitas" lodge from 1932 and the "Pythagoras" lodge from 1934), of which Milica Gradišnik was a notable female member. The two lodges had close connections with theosophical circles.⁴⁷

In 2007 the lodge joined the Austrian *Universalen Freimaurerorden Hermetica*. At that time three further lodges split from the "St Germain" lodge: "Ex Oriente Lux", "Sanctum Sanctorum", and "Hermes". In 2012 the Grand Orient of Austria founded the Grand Orient of Slovenia, which is a member of the *Association Adogmatique de l'Europe Centrale et de l'Est*.⁴⁸ A lodge of perfection, "Addytum Lucis", grew out of the Grand Orient of Slovenia, under the aegis of the inter-obedience Grand College of the Scottish Rite for Austria. The Grand Orient of Slovenia counts around 70 members. Its Grand Master is Aristid Havliček.⁴⁹

Grand Regular Lodge of Slovenia

This lodge was founded in 2006 by some of the members of the "Anton Tomaž Linhart" lodge who seceded from the Grand Lodge of Slovenia. In October 2014 it was dedicated by one of the (irregular) Grand Lodges of Serbia — the Grand National Lodge of Serbia — which follows the Scottish Rite, consisting of multiple degrees,⁵⁰ and in 2016 founded its own Supreme Council

⁴⁶ <http://www.prostozidarstvo.si/tristoletnica-zacetkov-sodobnega-prostozidarstva/> (retrieved 10 November 2017)

⁴⁷ See also: M. Košir, *Zgodovina prostozidarstva na Slovenskem* ["History of Freemasonry in Slovenia"], Modrijan 2015, pp. 264–266.

⁴⁸ <http://freimaurer-wiki.de/> (retrieved 10 November 2017).

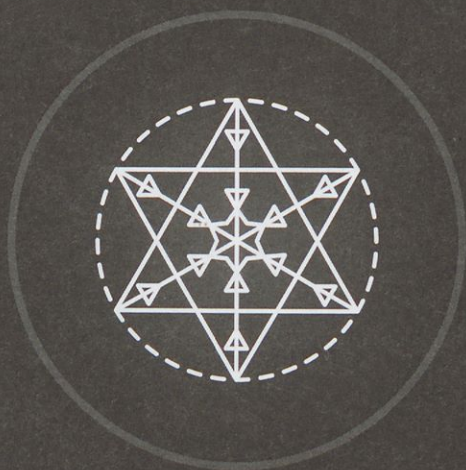
⁴⁹ <http://www.jivatma.si/23-6-2017-ezotericno-prostozidarstvo/> (retrieved 10 November 2017).

⁵⁰ <http://www.kurir.rs/vesti/drustvo/1597949/masoni-uspesno-konstituisana-velika-regularna-loza-slovenije>

of the Scottish Rite. From the point of view of “regular” Freemasonry, these are irregular Grand Lodges, which the United Grand Lodge of England and other regular Grand Lodges or Supreme Councils do not recognise.

*Duke of Kent talking the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Slovenia, Marko Bitenc, on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of Freemasonry, Freemasons’ Hall, London 2017.
(Chris Allerton Photography/UGLE)*







Slobodan G. Marković

**Overview
of the History
of Freemasonry
in Yugoslavia
(1919–2000)**

Abstract

The paper gives an overview of the history of Yugoslav freemasonry with an introduction on Serbian freemasonry in the late 19th century. It is particularly focused on: the international position of the Grand Lodge "Yugoslavia", relations with religious organisations and toward the Yugoslav idea, as well as its social structure.

It also provides an analysis of the persecutions of freemasonry in the period 1940–1945 as well as efforts to renew freemasonry in communist Yugoslavia. Finally, an overview of the renewal of freemasonry in Yugoslavia and Serbia in the 1990s has also been made.

KEYWORDS: Yugoslavia, Freemasonry, the Grand Lodge "Yugoslavia"

The first Masonic lodge in Belgrade is believed to have appeared at the end of the 18th century during the Ottoman era and since then Masonic activities occasionally continued. There was a Turkish lodge in Belgrade which also included Serbian members in the 1840s and 1850s. Since the 1880s masonic lodges operated on the territory of Serbia, with short breaks, until their ban in 1940.

From the moment Serbia became internationally recognized as an independent state in 1878, Masonic lodges started to emerge in Serbia, especially since the 1880s. These lodges were under the jurisdiction of foreign grand lodges: the Grand Orient of Italy (lodges "Luce dei Balcani", 1876, "Srpska zadruga", 1881 and "Sloga, rad i postojanstvo", 1883), the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary (lodge "Pobratim", 1891, and "Nemanja", 1892), the Grand Orient of France (lodge "Ujedinjenje/L'Union", 1909) and the Grand Lodge of Hamburg (lodge "Schumadija", 1910). All these lodges operated in Belgrade and only the lodge "Nemanja" briefly operated in Niš.¹

Both the Belgrade lodge "Pobratim" (1890) and the Zagreb lodge "Hrvatska vila" (1892) were established with the help of the Budapest lodge "Demokratia" which "defined as its task to work on bringing peoples in Hungary and around her closer, and to mediate in order that agreements between them are made."² At the end of 1892 the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary had 53 lodges and 2,461 members under its protection.³ "Hrvatska vila" was the first lodge that used the Croatian language in ritual work. It was reorganised in 1903 under a new name as the lodge "Ljubav k blišnjemu" (Love thy Neighbour). At the beginning of the 20th century, lodges "Pobratim" and "Ljubav k Blišnjemu" actively worked on Serbo-Croatian cultural and political ties.

An unusual way of organising the highest masonic authority took place in Serbia and had to do with foreign policy issues. In Europe, after several lodges are established in a given national territory, the establishment of a grand lodge as the highest masonic body soon follows. In Ser-

¹ [Aleksijević], 1909, *Die Freimaurerei in Serbien*. Reprinted in *Neimar* (1926), pp. 405–418. [Stojković], 1893, *Слободно зидарство* [Freemasonry], pp. 97–104.

² Prelog, 1929, *Istorija slobodnog zidarstva*, p. 138.

³ Of these the lodge "Pobratim" in Belgrade had 33 members, lodge "Nemanya" in Niš 17, and lodge "Hrvatska vila" in Zabreb 14. At the time, their mother lodge in Budapest "Demokratia" had 105 members and was the fourth biggest Hungarian lodge. *Bericht der Symbolischen Grossloge*, 1892, p. 20. AJ, 100, f. 1–106.

bia this usual line was not followed. From 1908 Serbian freemasons started to work on laying the ground for their own Supreme Council. In other words, they sought to establish the highest body of one of special orders of freemasonry. This peculiar course of events was caused by the public outrage provoked in Serbia by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in October 1908. Consequently the lodge “Pobratim” became “Unabhängige Loge von Serbien ‘Pobratim’” (Independent Lodge of Serbia “Pobratim”).⁴

Actions to make Serbian freemasonry fully independent were soon undertaken. First in April 1909, they received a patent for the Chapter of Rose Croix 18° from the Supreme Council of Romania. Then on May 22, 1912 10 Serbian freemasons were raised to 33° by a representative of the Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of Greece. The next day the Supreme Council of Greece set up the Supreme Council of Serbia, and George Weifert became its first Grand Commander. It was established for both craft freemasonry and the Scottish Rite and was recognized by the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction in Washington in October 1912.

By the outbreak of the Great War four lodges were operative in Serbia (“Sloga rad i postojanstvo”, “Pobratim”, “Schumadija” and “Ujedinjenje/L’Union”) as well as the masonic triangle “Kosovo”.⁵ These lodges were dedicated to masonic endeavours but also to national aims which was not unusual for continental freemasonry of the time. After 1908 the Yugoslav idea became very influential in Belgrade. It affected the lodges as well and the co-operation between the lodges “Pobratim” and “Hrvatska vila”. In addition to purely masonic matters, they now also had in mind the prospects of the potential unification of South Slavs.

After Serbia’s defeat by Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1915, the Serbian army and political élite faced an exodus to Greece via Albania. France received thousands and Britain hundreds of Serbian boys and students who continued their education in these countries. Many Serbian intellectuals from Serbia and Serbian, Croatian and Slovene politicians from Austria-Hungary also found temporary refuge in Paris and London. In December 1914 the Serbian Assembly in Niš proclaimed the unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as Serbia’s war aim. Western allies were originally not too pleased with this aim since they were desperately trying to bring Italy to their side and Italy requested wide areas of Eastern Adriatic populated by South Slavs as compensation for its support.

The Serbian government and the Yugoslav committee, which gathered politicians from Austria-Hungary who had emigrated to the West in 1914, found support for their aims in powerful sections of British and French public opinions including some very influential freemasons. In these endeavours Croatian and Serbian freemasons came into direct conflict with Italian freemasons and this battle of aspirations was mostly fought in Paris in the lodges of the Grand Orient of France (GOF) and the Grand Lodge of France (GLF). After the fall of Serbia in the

⁴ J. A., 1926 [1912], *Die Freimaurerei in Serbien*, p. 415. In the Archives of Yugoslavia there is no preserved correspondence between the SGLH and its former lodge “Pobratim” in 1909/10, but in letters from 1911/12 the SGLH addressed “Pobratim” with the above title. *AJ*, 100, f. 1–1023, 1029, 1031, 1033.

⁵ Under the Supreme Council of Serbia were “Sloga, rad i postojanstvo”, “Pobratim”, and “Schumadija.” *Neimar* published only one issue before the outbreak of the war and was at the time the official organ of the Supreme Council. It lists the meetings of all lodges and also includes “Kosovo” in addition to the three above mentioned lodges. This was the lodge based in Skopje. *Neimar*, No. 1–3 (Jan–Mar, 1914), p. 2.

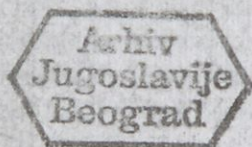
KONSTITUCIJA

VELIKE LOŽE SRBA, HRVATA
I SLOVENACA

„JUGOSLAVIJA“

U

OR. BEOGRADU



ZAGREB

HRVATSKI ŠTAMPARSKI ZAVOD D. D.

1919.

The cover page of the Constitution of "Jugoslavia", the Grand Lodge of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, from 1919.

autumn of 1915, the seat of the Serbian Supreme Council was transferred to Marseilles where it operated in the last years of the War. Particularly active and apparently successful with his lectures in French lodges was the Croatian mason Hinko Hinković. The Serbian freemason Jovan Aleksijević actively worked in Switzerland to attract support of the Swiss public opinion for Serbia and South Slavs and focused his activities on his brethren in this country.⁶

Upon the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in December 1918 the Grand Lodge of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes — “Jugoslavia” (1919–1929) was established in June, 1919, in Zagreb and was renamed in 1929 the Grand Lodge “Jugoslavia” (1929–1940) after the official name of the Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovenes was changed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. The Grand Lodge of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes came into being by the unification of the three Lodges in Serbia previously under the protection of the Supreme Grand Council of Serbia and the three Croatian lodges previously under the protection of the Symbolic Grand Lodge of Hungary. Just before the unification a grand lodge was established in Zagreb with Dr. Adolf Mihalić as its grand master. The GLJ had around 300 members on the territory of Yugoslavia.⁷

By 1923, twenty eight Masonic grand bodies recognised the Grand Lodge “Jugoslavia” — GLJ. The constitution of the Swiss Grand Lodge “Alpina” was adopted as the basis for the Yugoslav grand lodge. The Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite continued to operate for the degrees above the third. Grand Secretary Jovan Aleksijević claimed in 1923 that in Yugoslavia there were “no Masonic Bodies not recognized as regular.”⁸ The GLJ was a member of the International Masonic Association. It kept very close relations with freemasons in France, including both the Grand Lodge of France and the Grand Orient of France. A lodge in Paris under the GLF, “Général Paigné”, was particularly focused on Yugoslav members and had the closest relations with the Grand Lodge in Belgrade. In June 1930, the United Grand Lodge of England — UGLE accorded its recognition to two grand lodges in Prague, to the National Grand Lodge of Romania and to the Grand Lodge “Jugoslavia.”⁹ The official journal of Yugoslav Freemasons *Šestar* published a report in English signed by Adolf Mihalić, expressing satisfaction that the UGLE had recognised the GL “Jougoslavia”. It proudly states: “...it is no longer a mere saying that we are a link in the masonic chain which encircled the globe. We have now joined hands with other civilized nations, who have justly appreciated our endeavours.”¹⁰

A series of new lodges was established or accepted in the 1920s. By 1928 four lodges were established in Belgrade, one in Novi Sad, Zagreb, Duborvnik, Karlovac, Kotor, and Subotica. Lodges that had operated under Hungarian protection were also accepted: one in Sombor, one in Subotica and one in Vršac. The semi-official history of freemasonry composed by university professor Milan Prelog states that by August 1928 there were 18 lodges under the

⁶ Вујовић, 1994, *Француски масони*, pp. 191–230. Hinković, 1927, *Iz velikog doba*, pp. 185–188. [Aleksijević], 1925, *Из избеглиштва*, pp. 631–635.

⁷ Ligou, 1997, *Dictionnaire de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, s. v. “Yougoslavie”.

⁸ Jov. Aleksijevic, 33° to Oliver D. Street, 32°, Belgrade, December 8, 1920, in *Report of the Grand Lodge of Alabama for 1922*, pp. 57–58, 199–202.

⁹ *Quarterly Communication*, 1930, pp. 336–337.

¹⁰ [Mihalić], 1930, *The Recognition*, p. 128.

The National Claims of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes

PRESENTED TO THE BROTHERS OF THE ALLIED COUNTRIES

BY THE SERBIAN BROTHERS

MEMBERS OF THE R.°. L.°. N° 288 *Cosmos*

WITH A PREFACE BY THE

MOST ILL.°. BR.°. **General PEIGNÉ**

HONORARY GRAND MASTER OF THE GRAND LODGE OF FRANCE



PARIS

PRINTING "L'ÉMANCIPATRICE"

3, Rue de Pondichéry, 3

—
1919

The cover page of a pamphlet entitled "The National Claims of the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes", presented "to the Brothers of the Allied Countries" in Paris in 1919.

protection of the GLJ with around 1,000 members.¹¹ However, this number seems somewhat exaggerated.¹²

Experience of co-operation of the Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Committee with France and the United Kingdom and with their freemasons in the period 1914–1919 paved the way for the orientation of Yugoslav freemasonry. Masons in Yugoslavia maintained the closest possible relations with French and British freemasons. Until 1935 Yugoslavia was highly dependent on France in foreign policy matters, and its freemasons followed this state policy and relied on their French brethren. In the 1930s British freemasonry became increasingly influential in Yugoslavia and many Yugoslav freemasons focused on co-operation with the UGLE.

In international activities tensions inherited from the Great War were felt between Yugoslav and Italian freemasonry. Thus, an opportunity was missed to establish a good channel of communication between Italy and Yugoslavia. But when in October 1925 the Grand Orient of Italy was forced by Fascist Italy to self-suspend its activities, Yugoslav freemasons openly criticised the Fascist order in Italy and its dictator Mussolini. Very cordial relations were kept with Czechoslovak and Austrian freemasons.¹³ The GL “Yugoslavia” brought light to a new grand lodge in Czechoslovakia. In October 1923, a delegation of the GLJ, headed by its grand secretary Jovan Aleksijević, established the People’s Grand Lodge of Czechoslovakia.¹⁴ The new state of Yugoslavia was a protector of the results of the Paris Peace Treaty, while Italy and Hungary headed a revisionist group of countries. Pre-war links with the SGLH could not have been exploited for finding a *modus vivendi* with Hungary since freemasonry was at best tolerated in inter-war Hungary and could not have played the role it had played prior to 1918.

In September 1926, the GLJ hosted a great masonic congress in Belgrade, organised by the International Masonic Association (AMI). The congress was dedicated to peace and called for international disarmament. This was the first time after WW1 that a member of a German lodge, Dr. Leo Müffelman, the president of lodge “Bluntschli” in Berlin, delivered a speech and was later given a hug by Arthur Groussier, President of the Council of the GOF.¹⁵ He later delivered speeches in lodges in Paris “in the spirit of reconciliation.”¹⁶ Thus, the Belgrade congress witnessed one of the first signs of rapprochement between French and German freemasons.

¹¹ Prelog, 1929, *Istorija slobodnog zidarstva*, p. 142.

¹² Three years later Sreten Stojković mentions 900 members in 23 lodges under the GL “Jougoslavia.” [Stojković, 1931, *Слободно зидарство*, p. 106.

¹³ See the speech of the Grand Chaplain of the GLJ given in July 1930 in honour of Bro. Lennhoff from the Grand Lodge of Vienna: [Branković] [1931], *Говори старешине ложе*.

¹⁴ *Šestar*, No. 5–6 (1936), p. 94.

¹⁵ Documents and reports from the Congress are available in Stamenković and Markovich, 2009, *A Brief History*, pp. 86–91. Cf. „Свечани ритуални рад слободних зидара”, *Politika*, Sept. 14, 1926, p. 5.

¹⁶ Lennhoff, 1929, *Die Freimaurer*, p. 287.

Yugoslav Freemasonry and Yugoslavism

The new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had 74.4% of “Serbs and Croats” (they were listed together in the census of 1921) and 8.5% of Slovenes. It had 46.7% of Orthodox Christians, 39.3% of Roman Catholics, 11.2% of Muslims (this percentage includes Slavic and Albanian Muslims), 1.9% of Protestants and 0.5% of Jews.¹⁷ Freemasonry in Yugoslavia appeared as one of the institutions that could attract different ethnic and religious groups, although not all of them to an equal degree. On the occasion of the unification of six lodges into the Grand Lodge, Jovan Aleksijević delivered a speech addressed to Croatian and Slovene brethren. In it he expressed how happy he was that two great deeds of our people had been achieved: “The first deed is the unification of Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia into one national state, the second is their unification into a single masonic community. These are the two most magnificent achievements in the Slavic South that are unknown to history, that centuries do not remember.”¹⁸

The three leading intellectual proponents of this line in the 1920s and 1930s became Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, Serbian historian Vladimir Ćorović, and Croatian historian Viktor Novak. Two of them were born as Roman Catholics, with Ćorović having a Christian Orthodox family background. At least two of them were freemasons. Only in the case of Meštrović there are some doubts if he was a member. What is certain, however, is that he was one of the founders of the Rotary Club Zagreb in 1929.¹⁹

The activities of the three intellectuals supported the Yugoslav idea, but this concept was severely shaken in June 1928, after a Serbian deputy from Montenegro shot several Croatian MPs and fatally wounded the Croatian national leader Stjepan Radić. King Alexander introduced his personal rule in January 1929 and suspended the Yugoslav constitution. Several prominent freemasons including the historians Vladimir Ćorović and Viktor Novak supported even the King's personal rule. The Grand Lodge was divided on its future course of action and it seems that Dušan Miličević, who later became the second grand master (from 1933 till his death in August 1939), convinced the Craft to take a middle line. Whoever wanted to publicly support the personal rule was allowed to do it, but the Grand Lodge made no public endorsement. Viktor Novak moved from the University of Zagreb to the University of Belgrade in the 1920s. He edited *An Anthology of Yugoslav Thought and National Unity* that could be considered as one of the best defined monuments of Yugoslavism. In the foreword to the *Anthology*, intentionally dated Vidovdan 1930, King Alexander states: “The prophets and forerunners of Yugoslavia, as well as her martyrs, are the eternal glory and the living moral strength of the great Yugoslav thought. Through them the national idea of freedom, love and unity has become reality. By emulating them it will become a glorious future.”²⁰

¹⁷ Markovich, 2011, *Ethnic and National*, pp. 94–95.

¹⁸ *Neimar*, No. 5 (February 1922), pp. 200, 202.

¹⁹ Mužić, 1983, *Masonstvo u Hrvata*, pp. 235, 240, 272, 303. Quisling police in occupied Serbia considered him as a freemason and a member of the lodge “Dositej Obradović”, but available lists of the members of this lodge do not confirm it. AS, BIA Collection, Fund 93. Gestapo also saw him as a freemason. AS, BIA Collection, Fund 93, “List of freemasons made from Gestapo”. Zagreb police records from 1940 also mention him in a joint list of the three Zagreb lodges (“Perun”, “Neptun”, and “Bošković”). AJ, f. 14–16. Finally he was seen in the Belgrade lodge “Dositej Obradović” in the late 1930s. AJ 100, f. 18–194.

²⁰ Novak, 1930, *Antologija jugoslovenske misli*, p. v.

In the period of the personal rule (1929–1931) or dictatorship of King Alexander as it is also known, all political parties were suspended. It was precisely in this period that the Grand Lodge established four new lodges: two in Zagreb in 1929, one in Sarajevo in 1930, and one in Petrovgrad in 1931. During the period of the King's personal rule this kind of action could have been made only with the approval of the king. It seems that the ideological adherence to Yugoslavism was a key element that made this co-operation possible.

After the assassination of King Alexander in Marseilles on October 9, 1934, there was a campaign in the press around Europe accusing freemasonry, particularly the Grand Orient of France, for his murder. It is clear that the most influential circles in the GLJ and the king shared very similar values and were equally attached to the concept of Yugoslavism. It is also clear that the king was very close to France and therefore all accusations of this kind seem to have been a part of anti-masonic campaigns, which were very influential in Europe of the 1930s. In reality, when the King was killed, the Zagreb lodges were the first to hold the commemorative meeting and, three days later, the Grand Lodge "Yugoslavia" did the same. The meeting of the GLJ was dedicated to the King as if he was a member of the Craft.²¹ Undoubtedly some prominent Yugoslav freemasons, like Viktor Novak and Vladimir Ćorović and the Grand Mater George Weifert, considered the King as a kind of protector of the GLJ.²²

In Croatian freemasonry not everyone looked favourably on the fact that the Croatian lodges were subjected to the central authority of the Grand Lodge in Belgrade. There was also a clear division among freemasons in Croatia based on their attitude to Austria-Hungary during the Great War. Particular disagreement emerged on what should be done with the former lodge "Ljubav bližnjega". The differences grew and the GLJ tried to assuage the situation by not taking sides. In 1926 the new lodge "Prometej" was established but was suspended already in January 1927. This prompted the secession of those members who were dissatisfied with the situation, and out of three new lodges the Symbolic Grand Lodge "Libertas" was created in May 1927. It continued to operate till 1940.

Yugoslav freemasonry played the role of a staunch supporter of the Yugoslav idea in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Kingdom had other organisations like "Sokol" at its disposal. They played the same role. Freemasonry only added an intellectual component to the Yugoslav idea.

Yugoslav Freemasonry and Christian Churches

The attitudes of the two leading churches in Yugoslavia to freemasonry were rather different. In February 1934, when the lifelong Deputy Grand Master and editor-in-chief of *Šestar* Adolf Mihalić died in Zagreb, no religious service was held during his funeral since the "Roman-Catholic parish in charge refused to participate."²³ Certain anti-Catholic feelings, and

²¹ See testimony of the former Grand Secretary of the GLJ, Antonije Šokorac, given to the "Institute" in 1952, AJ 100, f. 15–516.

²² See *Šestar* No. 9–10 for 1934, particularly the speech of Bro. Vladimir Ćorović printed in both Serbo-Croat and French, pp. 173–178.

²³ *Šestar*, No. 3–5 (1934), p. 39.



A COMMUNICATION

*relating to the campaign of the press
in various countries against the Freemasonry
attributing to the latter the responsibility
of the attempt of Marseille*

ANNEXE to No.



Referring to the resolution adopted by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky United States America (1), on one part, and of the decision of the meeting of the International Masonic Association (2) held at Luxembourg in September 1934, on the other.

The Grand Lodge « Yugoslavia » considers itself authorised to draw the attention of all the regular « Obediences » even those with whom it has not yet had the happiness to enter into fraternally relations, to the campaign of slander against Freemasonry in several countries of Europe. It is possible that this campaign is wide-spread and that it has even found an echo in one part of the American press.

This campaign of slander against the Freemasonry having been launched the day following the murder at Marseille of the King of Yugoslavia and of the French minister of Foreign Affairs tends to trouble the judiciary instruction which is being held now relative to this horrible

attempt and to sow confusion in the public opinion of the entire world even amongst the Freemasonry of the Univers!

The documents collected in this present communication will contribute to enlighten the Masons of the entire world on the origin and the real aim of this actual propaganda against the universal Freemasonry.

It is above all a telegraphic agency of the press called the « Oriente » whose office is at Rome, which took upon itself to spread in the world the most fantastic accusations against the Freemasonry.

Two days after the attempt at Marseille, that is to say the 10th of October 1934, the « Oriente » announced that its Bulletin had published information according to which a masonic Lodge of Grenoble would have decided to « clear out » the balkanic dynasties, because these represented the last reactionary vestiges of past times, and it added textually :

« After the murder two days ago at Marseille which cost the life of the regreted King of Yugoslavia the French police has the duty to search what accords existed between the preparation of the regicide of Marseille and the « Grand Orient Maçonnique ».

On its part, the *Corriere della Sera* of the 27th of October published under the title of : « The complicity of the Masonry », a fictitious information dated from Geneva, thus worded :

« The news affirming the complicity of Freemasonry in the murder of King Alexander has found different echos in all the European press and even in the American press. The « Oriente » agency is even able to give new precisions on this subject. The greater part of these regicides are bound up with the Masonry. In Yugoslavia, the Masonry, that is to say the one which belongs to the Grand Orient, gave Princip who was a member of the « Pobratim » Lodge of Sarajevo and all the Yugoslavian revolutionaries are members of the different Lodges of « Sumadiya », « Kossovo », « Stvaranje », and of the « Pobratim » At. of Zagreb. The leaders of the

(1) On the proposal of the T. Ill. Br. John H. Cowles, past Grand Master of Kentucky, the Grand Lodge of Kentucky adopted, unanimously, the following resolution:

« Whereas, the world is passing through a most distressing period and those of us who are fortunate enough to live in America do not fully understand how our Brethren are suffering in those countries where freedom of speech, freedom of thought and freedom of action is denied;

« Masons have, by some Governments, been forbidden to practice principles of the Fraternity through their organized Lodges. The fundamental principle of freedom of thought and freedom of speech is denied Masons in other countries;

« We believe that if this world is to be saved from the great depression it must be done on the principle of Brotherhood.

« Therefore, we feel that the Masons in other countries can render great service if given the opportunity to do so, and it is resolved by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky that the sympathy of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky be extended to the Brethren who are deprived of their rights, and we request those in authority throughout the world to extend to the members of this Fraternity the privilege of practicing and applying the principles of Masonry through organized Lodges. »

(2) The « Convent » of the International Masonic Association of 1934 decided to centralise all documents of interest to the Masonry of the entire world and has charged the Grand Chancery of this Association to distribute periodically communications to the Obediences adhering to it and even to those who are not members.

even amateur ideas of some Croatian freemasons on a Croatian Catholic Church independent of Rome, further contributed to mutual antagonism. When the Yugoslav Government decided to sign a concordat with the Holy See, the so-called Concordat Crisis emerged in the spring of 1937. It polarised the Yugoslav political parties and fully antagonised the Serbian Orthodox Church against the state. The Yugoslav freemasonry, usually divided on almost any key political issue, was now fully united against the Concordat. Public pressure in Serbia was so strong that the Yugoslav government had to abandon its idea to sign the Concordat in spite of the fact that it managed to secure a slim majority in the Parliament.

After the failure of the Concordat, the relations between Yugoslav freemasonry and the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia reached their lowest point. In retrospect one can understand that an anticlerical organisation such as the European continental freemasonry must have been opposed to the concept of concordats in principle and that it influenced the GLJ. However, Yugoslav freemasons had to take into account that in 1931 37.5% of the Yugoslav population were Roman Catholics and since Yugoslav unity was their primary concern, their action against Concordat may be described as less than favourable for inter-religious relations in Yugoslavia. This stance only further antagonised the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia to freemasonry. The Archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac and Anton Korošec, a Catholic priest and the leader of the Slovene People's Party, were particularly harsh in criticising freemasonry in the late 1930s. In his New Year message communicated on December 31, 1939, Korošec mentioned three of his concerns for the upcoming year: "communists, freemasons and foreigners", and called masons "black moles."²⁴ In its reply the Grand Lodge contrasted the statement of Korošec with the initiative of the US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt "whom world public opinion knows as a freemason" to co-operate with Pope Pious XII in the "common task of saving mankind and the old civilisation", and insisted on the constitution of the GLJ which in article 6 requested patriotism from its members.²⁵

Relations with the Serbian Orthodox Church were decorous, but less than cordial. When Grand Master Dušan Miličević died in Belgrade, an openly masonic funerary oration was held in front of the Belgrade Cathedral and the speech delivered by his parish priest forty days after his death was even printed in *Šestor*, the official organ of the Grand Lodge.²⁶ However, the Russian Church in Exile had its seat in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Many members of this church saw Jews and freemasons as culprits for the Bolshevik revolution, and their propaganda influenced certain circles of the Serbian Orthodox Church.²⁷

²⁴ The reply of the Grand Lodge "Yugoslavia" was published in the leading Belgrade daily *Politika*, January 5, 1940, p. 6.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *Šestor*, No. 7–10 (1939), pp. 129–130.

²⁷ One prominent clergyman was among the Serbian freemasons. Protosingel Platon Jovanović (1874–1941) was initiated in the lodge "Pobratim" in 1910, and went on to become a bishop of Banja Luka in 1939. No records of his masonic activities after 1911 have been preserved. AJ, 100, f. 18–239. Also, two priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church from Vršac were freemasons: Božidar Popović was a freemason, a former MP, and a member of the lodge "Aurora" in Vršac. For his obituary see *Šestor*, No. 6–7 (1931), pp. 143–146. Three years after his death, in June 1934, another priest from Vršac, Stevan Samoilov, was initiated in the same lodge. AJ, 100, f. 4–652 (Circular of the GLJ, No. 332). Two bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church are sometimes mentioned as freemasons in the inter-war period, but there is no evidence to confirm this claim. Mužić, 1983, *Masonstvo u Hrvata*, p. 253.

In terms of the third religious group in Yugoslavia — Muslims — the GLJ was not particularly successful. It is rather conspicuous that the share of Muslims among the Yugoslav freemasons was insignificant. For the time being, I have been able to find only two or three names: Hasan Rebac, and Abduselam Džumhur, and possibly Prof. Mehmed Begović. If one accepts that in 1940 the number of regular Yugoslav freemasons was between 800 and 1,000 then the percentage of Muslim members stands at well below 0.5% compared to 11.2% of their share in the total population of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia by the census data of 1931.

In terms of the religious background of its members, Yugoslav freemasonry consisted overwhelmingly of Orthodox Christians and Roman Catholics. There were also several dozen of Jews, more in Zagreb than in Belgrade lodges. Protestants were also present, particularly in lodges in Voivodina. Overall the Yugoslav freemasonry was a Serbo-Croat and Christian club, open for other religious and ethnic groups.

The Structure of Serbian/Yugoslav Freemasonry

Most of the lists of Yugoslav freemasons now available are a result of the work of various police authorities (SS State Security, Gestapo, Yugoslav Royal Police, Croatian Ustasha police, Quisling police in Serbia and Yugoslav Communist secret services) made in the period between 1939 and the 1950s. Police analysts not infrequently confused members of different organisations (the GL “Yugoslavia”, the GL “Libertas”, B’nai B’rith lodges, the Rotary International). These lists include even the candidates who only applied for membership but were never admitted to the ranks. A popular history of freemasonry in Yugoslavia extensively examines these lists. By doing that it contributed to a huge confusion about the identity of members of lodges under the GLJ.²⁸ Hence a complete and fully reliable list of Yugoslav interwar freemasons has yet to be reconstructed. Some sources are still located in Russia, where they were transferred at the end of WW2. In 1956, the Soviet Union returned materials on the Rotary International, but some materials on Yugoslav lodges are still kept in Moscow.²⁹

In the Archives of Serbia I have found a list composed by Serbian Quisling authorities in 1941 or 1942 containing 124 names of mostly Serbian freemasons, and additionally 295 names of “masons of private professions”, making up a total of 419 names. This list is far from final, and shares all the deficiencies of other police lists. Therefore it is only a good indication on the composition of lodges in Belgrade, Skopljje and Voivodina in 1940. The division into two categories immediately reveals that around 30% of Serbian freemasons were connected to state institutions and around 70% to private professions. The list is relevant primarily for Serbian freemasonry since it includes only 22 names from Croatian lodges.³⁰ Each name is followed by

²⁸ Nenezić, 1984, *Masoni*, pp. 553–563. Particularly inaccurate is appendix 19 on freemasons in Yugoslav royal governments which grossly overexaggerates the number of freemasons in these governments. *Ibid.*, pp. 553–556.

²⁹ Two collections “the Yugoslav masonic lodges, 1900–1903, 1922–1938”, and “the Grand Lodge Yugoslavia, 1926–1941” are still in Moscow. I am indebted to Mr. Miladin Milošević, director of the Archives of Yugoslavia, for this information. See also the catalogue of the Fund 100 in the Archives of Yugoslavia.

³⁰ 245 are from Belgrade lodges, 103 from lodges in Voivodina, 32 from the Lodge “Kosovo” in Skopljje, 22 from Croatian lodges, 15 from French lodges (of them 12 are from lodge “Général Paigné”) and 1 from a Belgian lodge.

the given freemason's occupation, name of the lodge he belonged to, and sometimes his degree in freemasonry is also provided. In the second list covering private professions 25 names are listed without occupation, while one is a member of B'nai B'rith.³¹ For the remaining 393 freemasons the structure is as follows:

Occupation of freemasons from Serbia in 1940:

Occupation	No.	%	Occupation	No.	%
Doctors	41	10,4	Real estate and hotel owners	6	1,5
Barristers	40	10,2	Printers and booksellers	6	1,5
Merchants	36	9,2	Industrialists	6	1,5
Bank/Insurance owners and officials	32	8,1	Company Directors	6	1,5
Engineers	31	7,9	Former Ministers	5	1,3
Univ. Professors (incl. polytechnics)	27	6,9	High State Officials (Asst. Ministers)	4	1
High civil serv. (counsel. and heads)	24	6,1	Associations of Citizens	4	1
Civil servants (of medium rank)	17	4,3	Entrepreneurs	4	1
Judges	15	3,8	Prosecutors	3	0,8
Pharmacists	12	3	Craftsmen	3	0,8
Artists and Writers	11	2,8	Workers	3	0,8
Directors of state institutions	11	2,8	Shop foremen	3	0,8
Teachers in grammar/sec. schools	11	2,8	Diplomats	2	0,5
Journalists	10	2,5	Veterinarian	1	0,3
Clerks	9	2,3	Notary	1	0,3
Architects	8	2	Student	1	0,3
Total: 393 persons					

It is noteworthy that the police authorities in Belgrade identified only four ex-ministers among Yugoslav freemasons (two from Belgrade and two from Zagreb lodges) and one ex-Bulgarian minister who was a member of a lodge in Belgrade. There are eight additional ministers from

³¹ AS, Fund BIA, No. 93, f. "Spisak masona u Jugoslaviji" ["Lists of masons in Yugoslavia"], pp. 1–7, 19–33. I also have doubts that some of the persons in these two lists were real members of masonic lodges in Yugoslavia. Since the idea behind making this chart was to offer insight into the approximate social structure of Serbian and Yugoslav freemasonry and not to establish the exact list of members, the fact that these lists are not fully reliable is not of primary importance.



The foundation charter of the “Perun” Lodge, Zagreb, 1929.

Croatian lodges listed by Zagreb police in 1940.³² The available records suggest that most inter-war ministers came from Croatian lodges. Among them, the lodge “Maksimilijan Vrhovac” was known for its strong Yugoslavism. Lists with names of the members of Zagreb lodges, composed after the lodges were closed in 1940, suggest that the six Zagreb lodges under GLJ (“Maksimilijan Vrhovac”, “Ivan grof Drašković”, “Pravednost”, “Neptun”, “Perun” and “Bošković”) had 240 members in 1940, while the GL “Libertas” had 50 members.³³ Yugoslav freemasonry gathered Serbian and Croatian intellectual and bureaucratic elites, barristers, judges, and a part of industrialists. Working class members were insignificant and even the lower middle class was almost absent. One could therefore safely conclude that this was primarily an organisation of upper and upper middle classes which also included some medium strata of the middle class. Although its composition corresponded to Who’s Who in Yugoslavia, still many names from Serbia that are usually mentioned as freemasons, particularly among top politicians, seem not to have been members of the Craft.³⁴ The same could be said of Yugoslav rulers, whose membership, although frequently mentioned, cannot be positively established.³⁵

Yugoslav inter-war freemasonry was an elitist organisation. This prompted its critics to see various conspiracies behind it. Anti-masonic circles saw it as a group aspiring to establish a clandestine government. Available sources indicate that this interpretation is far removed from reality. The major political parties in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia like the Radical Party and all its splinters, the Croatian Peasant Party and the Slovene People’s Party were either under mild or no influence of freemasonry at all. The last was even openly anti-masonic. The role of freemasonry was primarily intellectual. With the exception of its fight against the Concordat the Yugoslav freemasonry played no important political role in the Kingdom.

³² The following former ministers are listed: Juraj J. Demetrović, Dr. Ljubomir Tomašić, Jevrem Tomić and Dr. Milorad Đorđević. The fifth is Kosta Todorov, an ex-minister from Bulgaria. Dr. Milorad Đorđević was executed by Germans in 1943. A list of Zagreb police, from the period when masonic lodges were closed in 1940, includes at least 10 former or incumbent ministers. Additionally to Demetrović and Tomašić the following names are also listed as members of the Zagreb lodges under the GL “Jugoslavia”: Dr. Ivan Andres, Dr. Stanko Švrļjuga, Dr. Oton Frangeš, Dr. Želimir Mažuranić, Dr. Marko Kostrenčić, Mitar [Dimitrije] Magarašević, Stanoje Mihaldžić, and Dr. Srdan Budisavljević. Also, Dr. Milan Ulmanský is mentioned as a member of the Grand Lodge “Libertas”. AJ, 100, f. 14 – 14–18. Among Slovenian freemasons ministers in the royalist Yugoslav governments were Dr. Fran Novak, Drago Marušić and Boris Furlan. Košir, 2015, *Zgodovina prostozidarstva*, pp. 359, 384, 441.

³³ AJ, 100, f. 14 – 14–18, 160–161, 313.

³⁴ A former administrative secretary of the Grand Lodge “Jugoslavia” reported to the “Institute” (a cover used by the Yugoslav Communist Security Service to gather data on freemasonry) that the following persons usually considered as freemasons were not members of lodges under the GLJ: Dr. Momčilo Ninčić, Dr. Ivan Šubašić, Dr. Ante Trumbić, Ivan Meštrović, Dr. Kosta Kumanudi, Bogoljub Jevtić, Slobodan Jovanović, Dr. Mihailo Konstantinović. However, in the case of Konstantinović she did not exclude the possibility of him having been a member of a foreign lodge. Notes from conversations with Ljubica Anastasijević given to the “Institute”, June 10, 1952. AJ, 100, f. 15 – 471–472. Viktor Novak submitted his replies on freemasonry in 1942 to the Belgrade Quisling Police. As the former Grand Secretary (1934–1940) of the Grand Lodge, “calling God as a witness” he swore that the following persons had never been freemasons: Svetozar Priviće, Mihailo Konstantinović, Ivan Šubašić, Mилоje Smiljanić, General Dušan Simović, Dr. Branko Čubrilo, Prof. Slobodan Jovanović, Prof. Boža Marković. AJ, 100, f. 17 – 742. In both anti-masonic and non-masonic monographs most of these names are mentioned as freemasons.

³⁵ King Alexander was not a member of the GLJ. He was neither a member of the UGLE. In 2009, the grand master of the Grand Lodge of Croatia asked the UGLE to check the possible membership of 33 Croats and Serbs in the UGLE. Diana Clements, director of the Library and Museum of Freemasonry replied: “We cannot locate any of those gentlemen in our records.” The enquiry includes the following names: Josip Broz Tito, King Alexander, Prince Paul, King Peter II. The reply is undated. The UGLE’s Library and Museum of Freemasonry, folder Yugoslavia.



The foundation charter of the “Valentin Vodnik” Lodge, Ljubljana, 1940.

Pressure of the Third Reich and the Ban of Yugoslav Freemasonry

In 1935–1936 public attacks on Yugoslav freemasonry reached unprecedented dimensions, but the real blow came in 1939–40. In March 1938, after the Anschluss of Austria by Nazi Germany, Yugoslavia became the Reich's neighbour. Nazi Germany immediately implemented a policy of Nazification of all organizations of Germans (Donau Schwaben) who lived in Yugoslavia. They also found many local associates and launched a very strong propaganda campaign in favour of the Reich. In 1938 Nazi agents began composing lists of Yugoslav freemasons. The Archives of Yugoslavia possess a collection of documents of SS Sicherheitsdienst (SS Intelligence Service) for the area of Upper Danube for 1938–1939.

In May 1939, the commander of the SS Security Service for the area of Upper Danube informed his superior in Berlin that 14 masonic lodges existed in Yugoslavia with around 1,000 members. It was added that there was also red freemasonry (of higher degrees) with 200 members who were also members of blue freemasonry. Prof. Hanamann from Agram (Zagreb) was singled out as a very influential member of the red freemasonry. It was also stated that in Slovenia Freemasonry did not really develop after the War. The clerical Slovenian People's Party was credited for this. It forced freemasons of Leibach (Ljubljana) to close the lodge, and seven freemasons from Ljubljana therefore belonged to the Zagreb lodges. It was also added that a Croatian grand lodge which consisted of "Croatian autonomists of a more radical direction" operated in Zagreb.³⁶ This was an updated report since the report from March mentions 800 members and still lists George Weifert as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge.³⁷

Since the SS Secret Police had collected lot of data on Yugoslav freemasons by the spring of 1939, it seems plausible that through their agents in Yugoslavia the Third Reich supplied pro-German press with anti-masonic information. Pro-Nazi propaganda became especially influential in 1940–41. The most virulent anti-Semitic and anti-masonic campaign was launched through the openly pro-Hitler *Novi Balkan* weekly. In 1940/41 the influential Belgrade daily *Vreme* was also engaged in a virulent anti-Jewish and anti-masonic campaign. All this was done with the clear aim of intimidating Yugoslav Jews and freemasons.

Rumours of a possible ban of freemasonry in Yugoslavia appeared under the governments of Milan Stojadinović (June 1935 — February 1939), who was the second president of the Rotary Club Belgrade in 1930–1931.³⁸ The Minister of Interior Affairs in his cabinets was Anton Korošec (till August 1938) who advocated closer co-operation with Nazi Germany and openly expressed his anti-Masonic and anti-Jewish feelings. He was, however, unable to do anything during his tenure. Nonetheless, there was pressure from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy on Yugoslavia to ban freemasonry. *Šestar*, the official organ of the GLJ, stopped its publication in December 1939. The Grand Lodge entered 1940 with many plans including the

³⁶ AJ 100, f. 29 – 508–509, 529–530. "aus kroatischen autonomisten radikalster Richtung besteht." There are two reports: one is dated May 5, 1939, and the other May 20, 1939.

³⁷ AJ 100, f. 29 – 561.

³⁸ [Kujundžić], 1930, *Светски конгрес Ротара*, p. 4.



The charter from 1925 on the appointment of Sreten Stojković 33 as the grand representative of the Supreme Council of Yugoslavia to the Supreme Council of Czechoslovakia.

establishment of new lodges in Belgrade and elsewhere. Among the last actions of the Grand Lodge was the establishment of the Slovene Lodge “Valentin Vodnik” on May 21, 1940.³⁹

German pressure intensified and the government of Dragiša Cvetković yielded in spite of the fact that at least three of its members were freemasons.⁴⁰ The GLJ was under so much pressure that it found it wise to terminate all of its activities on August 1, 1940. That was effectively a ban. It happened in the midst of preparations for a new Anglo-Yugoslav lodge that would operate in English and would be under the protection of the UGLE.⁴¹ It is clear that after the fall of France (in June 1940) Yugoslav freemasons focused all their hopes on England. Therefore it is quite possible that at least some documents of the Grand Lodge could have been transferred to England. Some documents were also destroyed on this occasion by the Grand Lodge.⁴²

On March 25, 1941, Yugoslavia joined the Tripartite Pact after Germany forced Prince Regent Paul to abandon his policy of neutrality. However, two days later mass demonstrations were organised and a coup d'état took place in Belgrade. A new government headed by General Dušan Simović took power. Although the British secret service SOE had similar plans it only helped the coup. A history of SOE, written for governmental purposes only, admits: “The impetus came from the national spirit of the Yugoslavs themselves.”⁴³ Public dissent about the act of March 25 was so strong in some parts of Yugoslavia, particularly in Serbia, that unrests would have broken out with or without foreign intervention. Hitler was furious about the coup and decided to punish Yugoslavia. He interpreted the coup as a part of British involvement. The attack of the Third Reich on April 6 crushed Yugoslavia within ten days. The government fled to Jerusalem and then to London. The Germans were convinced that the government of Simović was full of freemasons and therefore investigation of their role became a priority for German secret services. By the time of the coup Yugoslav freemasons were largely swept by a wave of Anglophilia. In 1938–1940 many short-lived journals were published in Belgrade with freemasons as contributors.⁴⁴ All of these journals were pro-British and anti-German. This only made the German authorities more suspicious of Yugoslav freemasons.

³⁹ Vodopivec, 1992, Prostožidarska loža, pp. 47–48.

⁴⁰ Dr. Ivan Andres, Dr. Srdan Budisavljević and Stanoje Mihaldžić. Jevrem Tomić was also a minister in this government till June 20, 1940.

⁴¹ Đurović [1967?], Iskustva iz robijaškog, p. 134.

⁴² Administrative secretary of the GLJ, Ljubica Anastasijević, testified in 1952 that she personally burnt a part of the archives and that the Germans found the remaining part. AJ, 100, f. 15 – 470.

⁴³ Mackenzie, 2002, *The Secret History*, p. 111.

⁴⁴ The following journals were banned by Yugoslav authorities: *Krug* in 1938, *Vidici*, *Britanija* and *Danica* in 1940.

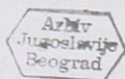


Београд 1 августа 1940 године

Бр. 13770

МИНИСТАРСТВУ УНУТРАШЊИХ ДЕЛА,

Београд.



Част нам је известити Вас, да је Управно веће Велике ложе југословенских слободних зидара донело 1 августа 1940 године одлуку: да Велика слободнозидарска ложа "Југославија" обустави свако деловање и да изврши ликвидацију своје и свих подручних јој ложа на целој територији Краљевине Југославије.

Овим престаје сваки рад слободних зидара.

Ликвидационе радове свршиће одређени одбор у лице: гг. Милана Подградског, касационог судије у пензији, Јанка Шатарика, архитекте и Александра Богојевећа, директора Прве хрватске штедионице, сви из Београда.

Заменик Великог Мајстора

Милош



Велики Мајстор

Велики Мајстор

Letter from the "Jugoslavia" Grand Lodge, dated 1 August 1940, informing the Ministry of Interior Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia that the "Jugoslavia" Grand Lodge had decided to "cease all of its activities and to conduct its own liquidation as well as that of all of its Lodges on the whole territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia."

Yugoslav Freemasons during World War Two

As soon as Nazi Germany invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941 freemasons in Serbia and Croatia were subjected to persecutions. Serbia was made a German occupation zone with a local commissioner. Later on August 29, 1941, a puppet government headed by General Nedić was installed by German authorities. The Independent State of Croatia was created on the territories of Croatia and Bosnia under the former terrorist organisation Ustasha which had participated in the murder of King Alexander. The Ustasha regime in Croatia was virulently anti-Semitic and anti-Serb.

In Serbia, a special Gestapo inquisitor, Hans Richter, who specialised in masonic matters, interrogated leading Belgrade freemasons and kept them in jail. Viktor Novak was arrested in April 1941, only a week after the German capture of Belgrade. It seems that Richter was particularly interested in the freemasons who were members of the Supreme Council — in other words, those who had 33°. Both German and Quisling authorities occasionally persecuted groups that in their opinion had ties to freemasonry. The Quisling police of Belgrade made a special questionnaire with 33 questions and sent it to hundreds of addresses of Belgrade freemasons in the spring of 1942. The replies of 161 freemasons have been preserved and in many cases they were very courageous.⁴⁵ The most vivid anti-Masonic action in Belgrade was the anti-masonic exhibition (October 1941–January 1942) organised by German authorities with the help of local collaborators. The exhibition blamed freemasons and Jews for the Coup of March 27 and was also anti-communist and anti-British. Even anti-masonic post stamps with illustrations from the exhibition were printed.

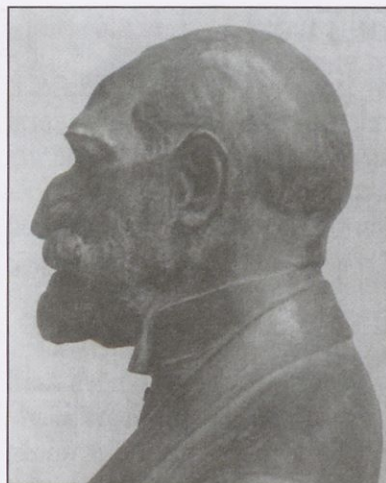
On November 4–5, 1941, German military authorities arrested 200 Belgraders. They were treated as hostages, but after interventions of Quisling authorities they were re-categorised as “prisoners”. Some 130 of them were marked as freemasons in various lists that German and Quisling authorities had, and it is obvious that the whole group was arrested by German police because of their presumed or real adherence to the Craft.⁴⁶ In the same period (on November 10/11) 40 freemasons were arrested in Zagreb and were interned in concentration camps till April 1942. Ustasha authorities investigated their alleged connections with foreign secret services.⁴⁷ A list of all Yugoslav freemasons who were victims during WW2 has yet not been made. Among prominent freemasons who were killed was former Yugoslav minister and Zagreb freemason Stanoje Mihaldžić. He was killed in Sarajevo as a presumed British spy.

In addition to the German occupation, Serbia during WW2 was the arena of a civil war between the Royalist and Communist movements. The communist movement emerged victorious in 1944. Since many Yugoslav freemasons were royalists, some of them were executed when the communist forces entered Belgrade. Juraj Demetrović, a former royal minister, was among the freemasons who were executed by the Yugoslav communist Secret Police — OZNA in late 1944, after the communists liberated Belgrade from German occupation.

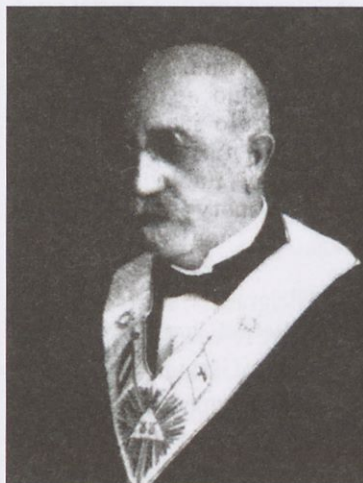
⁴⁵ See, for example, replies of Đura Đurović and Viktor Novak. AJ, 100, f. 16 – 677–683, and f. 17 – 732–750.

⁴⁶ German military commander told the Serbian pro-fascist leader Dimitrije Ljotić that “they were arrested as members of freemasonic lodges.” Јовановић, 1971, Однос окупатора, p. 99.

⁴⁷ Mužić, 1983, *Masonstvo u Hrvata*, p. 303.



A bust of George Weifert/Dorđe Vajfert, the Grand Master of the "Jugoslavia" Grand Lodge from 1919 to 1933, and the sovereign grand commander of the Supreme Council of Serbia (1912–1919), and the Supreme Council of Yugoslavia (1919–1937). He was also the governor of the National Bank of Serbia (1890–1902, 1912–1918) and the National Bank of Yugoslavia (1919–1926).



Picture of Dr Adolfo Mihalić, Deputy Grand Master of the "Jugoslavia" Grand Lodge (1919–1934) from the temple of the Supreme Council of the Southern Jurisdiction in Washington.



Badge of a member of the Federal Council of the "Jugoslavia" Grand Lodge.

Communist Rule in Yugoslavia and Freemasonry (1944/45–1991)

The victory of communists in Yugoslavia in 1944/45 did not create favourable conditions for the renewal of Masonic activities. Unlike, Poland, Hungary, or Romania, which were essentially occupied by Soviet soldiers, a home grown communist movement won in Yugoslavia, and therefore Sovietisation was conducted as early as 1945. It had two forms. There was the direct implementation of Stalinism till 1948. In that year Yugoslav communists came into conflict with Stalin and were expelled from the Communist Information Bureau. What followed was “Stalinist resistance to Stalin” which lasted until Stalin’s death in March 1953.⁴⁸ Expelled from the Soviet bloc, the Yugoslav dictator Josip Broz needed to find new allies, and he found them — improbable as it might have been — in the United States of America, which would remain committed to communist Yugoslavia till its dissolution. However, Yugoslav communists themselves oscillated in their foreign policy between co-operation with Western democracies that provided them with financial aid and with the Soviet Union that remained ideologically closer to them. This status of communist Yugoslavia between the two opposite blocs made the position of Yugoslav freemasons somewhat easier. Liberalisation of Yugoslavia began in the late 1950s and it included possibility of travelling abroad for the freemasons who had not been convicted in 1944–1946.

Some Yugoslav lodges continued to operate in emigration. In 1947, the Supreme Council of Yugoslavia was renewed in exile in Rome (with lodges in Paris, Rome, Cairo and Alexandria). This lodge did not receive foreign recognition. It appointed Miloye S. Dinitch (Miloje Dinić) 33° as its grand secretary. The communist Yugoslav authorities made efforts to counter émigré masonic organisations, and found a collaborator, Dušan Tomić, a prominent Yugoslav freemason who lived in France. Various proceedings of grand lodges indicate that Tomić was successful in his campaign against Yugoslav freemasons in exile.⁴⁹ He was in contact with the high-ranking Yugoslav communist official Moša Pijade, a personal friend of his. He urged him to endorse the official re-activation of freemasonry in Yugoslavia. Nothing of this kind happened.⁵⁰

Tomić’s correspondence with the Sovereign Grand Commander in Washington, John H. Cowles, reveals that American freemasons were interested in supporting the re-activation of freemasonry in Yugoslavia and helping their brethren in distress. In his letter to Dušan Tomić, he still refers to Ljubomir Tomašić as the grand commander.⁵¹ Since official re-activation was impossible to achieve, unofficial campaigns were undertaken. It was precisely Tomašić who gathered some of the freemasons in Belgrade in the period after WW2. He headed the so-called Yugoslav lodge. Later its leaders became Božidar Pavlović and Vojislav Paljić. A separate group acted as the Belgrade lodge and was headed by Damjan Branković. It operated till 1956. The Yugoslav secret service monitored both lodges and did its best to plant intrigues between them.

⁴⁸ Pavlowitch, 2006, *Yugoslavia’s Great Dictator*, pp. 54–61.

⁴⁹ See “Yugoslavia”, *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky* (1948), pp. 145–146.

⁵⁰ AJ, 100, f. 15 – 252–466.

⁵¹ AJ, 100, f. 15 – 330–331. Tomašić was the last grand commander of the Supreme Council of Yugoslavia elected in 1940. AJ, 100, f. 16, 523. Before WW2 Tomašić was the president of the Senate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

ŠESTAR

GLASILO VELIKE LOŽE „JUGOSLAVIJA“

Tiskano kao rukopis samo za bratstvo, sl. i ne smije se izdavati u profane ruke

BROJ 7–10

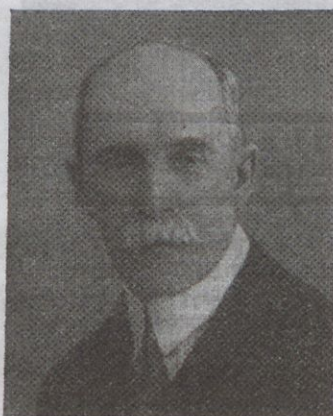
GODINA XVIII

1939

Fr.: DOUCHAN MILITCHEVITCH

Grand Maître de la Grande Loge „Jugoslavijska“

Le 30 août 1939 à 4 h. de l'après-midi, notre Grand Maître Douchan Militchevitch nous a quittés dans sa 70^{ème} année, ayant consacré cinquante ans de sa vie au service de notre Idéal.



Fr.: Douchan Militchevitch

Nous pleurons le parfait Ouvrier, le Maître éclairé, nous pleurons l'Homme qui sut être dans l'accomplissement de ses devoirs profanes et sacrés l'expression même de l'esprit maçonnique par l'indépendance de son esprit, sa tolérance, sa culture, sa calme décision, par sa vie toute de sacrifices aux siens, à son pays, aux faibles et aux opprimés.

Tout jeune, familier de nos disciplines, il choisit, et sans défaillance, sa voie, prend en toute connaissance de cause ses responsabilités d'homme tel que nous l'entendons et dès lors l'histoire de sa vie et celle de l'Idée maçonnique dans notre pays ne vont plus faire qu'un, pendant un demi-siècle. Leur commune évolution, leur développement spirituel, leur épanouissement battent au même rythme, s'élèvent, par dessus les obstacles, d'un même élan sûr, obstiné, vainqueur vers les cimes. De la petite Loge »Concorde, Travail, Constance« où il entre à Belgrade en 1889 à notre G. L. „Jugoslavijska“ qu'il a tant contribué à fonder en 1919 par l'union des loges serbes, croates et slovènes et à laquelle il a consacré les vingt dernières années de sa vie, Ouvrier, Vénérable, Grand Maître, Gr. Com.: du Sup.: Cons.: enfin, toujours, partout Douchan Militchevitch est au premier rang sur la brèche, mène le bon combat. Cœur et âme adonné à la tâche, il édifie il sauvegarde l'Oeuvre. Pleinement conscient de ses devoirs il met sa claire volonté à les remplir jusqu'au bout, sans relâche, fidèle dans tous ses labeurs au serment solennel de son entrée dans notre enceinte, champion de notre Idéal, vivante incarnation des hauts principes maçonniques.

Issue of the official journal of the "Jugoslavia" Grand Lodge, Šestar, from 1939, dedicated to the memory of the Grand Master of the "Jugoslavia" Grand Lodge, Douchan Militchevitch/Dušan Miličević (Grand Master 1933–1939).

The nature of communist autocracy is revealed by the fact that even shipments with assistance in clothes and other supplies sent from American freemasons to their Yugoslav brethren became a matter of utmost concern and supervision. The Yugoslav Secret Police — UDBA was particularly upset by the contacts of the Yugoslav lodge with freemasons from other areas of Yugoslavia. An undated report of the Secret police from the late 1950s claims that freemasons endeavoured to renew their work in the following cities: Subotica, Vršac, Sombor, Novi Sad, Zrenjanin, Zagreb, Split and Ljubljana. The report claims that apart from Ljubljana, in all other cases the Belgrade group stood behind initiatives, and it named Dr. Ante Dražić, the last editor of *Šestar*, as the key person in Zagreb.⁵² UDBA found out that from 1953 on the two lodges sent analyses to prominent Yugoslav emigrants, and it falsely claimed that Franc Šumi was as a person who wanted to re-activate former triangle “Valentin Vodnik” in Ljubljana. The report confirms that UDBA had in its possession the proceedings from every meeting of the Yugoslav lodge. Members of the Yugoslav lodge were in contact with the Supreme Council in Washington, more accurately with Luther Smith. They also had links with Swiss freemasons.⁵³ Another report from the same period claims that freemasons had become very active in Belgrade 3–4 years earlier (1953/54). The report assesses: “Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration, based on the data that we now possess, if we were to say that today it is one of the most active enemy groups in Belgrade.”⁵⁴

UDBA claimed that the heart of freemasonic activity in Belgrade was the Serbian Academy of Sciences. It was for this reason that the office of Prof. Vojislav Mišković, a member of the Academy, was put under surveillance. In the 1950s, Ilija Đuričić, the rector of the University of Belgrade, was put under surveillance as a former freemason, as was the case with two professors of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Miloš Đurić and Viktor Novak. UDBA was particularly upset by an article published in the *New York Times*⁵⁵ that was “carefully read” at the Serbian Academy “particularly among masons who are under operative work.” One also learns that the phone lines of Prof. Mišković, Prof. Radivoje Kašanin and barrister Pavlović were under surveillance.⁵⁶ The UDBA report reveals that they used the label “freemason” with equal arbitrariness as various police authorities had done during WW2. Any opponent of communism who was in contact with a freemason was potentially viewed by the UDBA as another mason.

It is also known that in 1967, or some time later, Đura Đurović wrote a report to the Grand Commander of the Southern Jurisdiction, Luther Smith, on the conditions in Yugoslav jails, particularly on the treatment of political prisoners. He himself had spent almost seventeen years in jail for his support of the pro-royalist resistance movement. He was arrested again in late 1973, and sentenced to another five years of imprisonment. There was strong international pressure through Amnesty International to release Đurović, and he was pardoned in 1977.⁵⁷

⁵² AS, Fund BIA, report entitled “Zabilješka o masonima” [“A note on freemasons”], No. 93.

⁵³ A six page document of the second section of UDBA for Yugoslavia, entitled “Oživljavanje aktivnosti masona u Jugoslaviji” [“Renewal of Freemasonic Activities in Yugoslavia”], dated June 8, 1957, AS, Fund BIA, No. 93.

⁵⁴ A seven page document of UDBA for Belgrade, entitled “Aktivnosti masonerije u Beogradu” [“Activities of freemasonry in Belgrade”], dated June 12, 1957, AS, Fund BIA, No. 93.

⁵⁵ *The New York Times*, March 17, 1957.

⁵⁶ Official note by Boško Matić in the Belgrade department of UDBA, dated April 11, 1957. AS, Fund BIA, No. 93.

⁵⁷ Markovich, 2012, Dr. Djura Djurović, pp. 318–319.

The UDBA even monitored funerals of prominent freemasons. The Belgrade barrister Dragoljub Joksimović commented on the funeral of Damjan Branković in September 1954, and an UDBA informant passed his words: “We buried grand master Damjan Branković. It was a silent demonstration against Marshal Tito and communism.”⁵⁸ The funeral of Đura Đurović in April 1983 was one of the last occasions when the remaining pre-war freemasons of Belgrade gathered together. His relatives remember that UDBA sent a number of agents to attend the funeral. In the private papers of Đurović I have discovered “Code Maçonique” of the Swiss Grand Lodge “Alpina.”⁵⁹ It contains printed masonic codes in Serbo-Croat. Only further research can reveal the nature of contacts of Yugoslav freemasons in the 1960s and later with the GL “Alpina.” However, it is known that several members of the GL “Alpina” were available in 1990 for bringing light back to the GLJ.⁶⁰

In the 1980s a new interest in freemasonry clearly appeared in Yugoslavia. Three new books on the subject were published in 1983/84.⁶¹ An analyst of Radio Free Europe — RFE was particularly impressed by a review of Popovski’s book in the popular weekly *Ilustrovana Politika* that stated that it was well known “that Freemasons have always had very high moral and ethical standards.” The RFE researcher considered this “laudatory assessment” of freemasons as “a new and politically interesting phenomenon in Yugoslavia.”⁶² The same year saw the publication of a book written by Zoran D. Nenezić. In the 10th and final chapter of his book the author discusses freemasonry in communist Yugoslavia. In it he formulated many peculiar speculations. For instance he writes about the “intrigues” of foreign masonry “which found communication channels with some of the leaders of nationalism, “mass movement” [a movement in Croatia] and liberalism.”⁶³ He demonstrates open antipathy for the two lodges that operated in Belgrade after WW2 and for their associates in other parts of Yugoslavia. He ends his book by a statement that he took from an operative of the Serbian Secret Service, Boško Matić, “that many masons used to work on increasing their influence and many still do, either as individuals or within other forces and structures.”⁶⁴

Renewal of Freemasonry in Serbia (1990–)

In April 1990 three lodges were reactivated in Belgrade and on June 23, 1990, the United Grand Lodges of Germany with the support of the Grand Orient of Italy brought light to the Grand Lodge “Yugoslavia” (1990–1993). The first grand master became Zoran Nenezić, the man who in his book showed open animosity for both freemasons who tried to renew the Craft in Yugoslavia after WW2 and those who did the same abroad.

⁵⁸ AS, Fund BIA, personal file of Dragić Joksimović, p. 263.

⁵⁹ Given to me by a late Belgrade barrister who was a friend of Đurović and who hid some of his manuscripts.

⁶⁰ See “From the Memoirs of Bro. Braca Čeran”, in Stamenković and Markovich, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁶¹ Mužić, *op. cit.*; Popovski, 1984, *Tajanstveni svet masona*; and Nenezić, *op. cit.*

⁶² Antić, 1984, New Interest.

⁶³ Nenezić, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

⁶⁴ Nenezić, *op. cit.*, p. 515. Cf. Матић, 1983, Масони, p. 92.

Divisions in the GLY soon emerged and encouraged a group of its members who opposed the dictatorship of then Serbian President Slobodan Milošević to summon a meeting in Rimini (Italy) in March 1993 where the Regular Grand Lodge “Yugoslavia” — RGLY (1993–2006) was established, but the Grand Lodge “Yugoslavia” also continued to operate. In October 1993 the Senate of the United Grand Lodges of Germany withdrew its recognition of the Grand Lodge “Yugoslavia” and recognized the Regular Grand Lodge “Yugoslavia” instead.⁶⁵ In December 2000, the UGLE also recognised the RGLY. After the dissolution of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro in 2006, the RGLY changed its name to the Regular Grand Lodge of Serbia.

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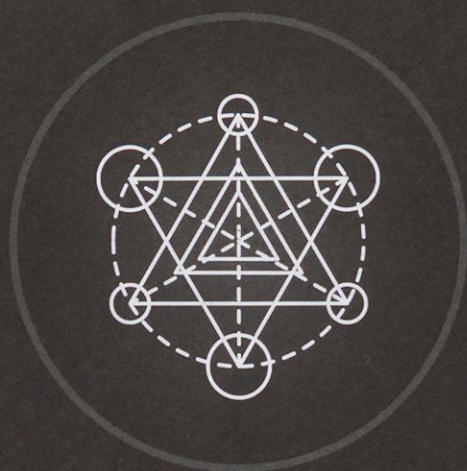
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*Celebrating the 300th anniversary of Freemasonry, organised by the United Grand Lodge of England at Royal Albert Hall in London with representatives of masonic lodges from all over the world.
(Chris Allerton Photography/UGLE)*





Klaus-Jürgen Grün

**Invisible Truth:
Modeling
Secularity
through
Language and
Performance
Games in
Masonic Rituals**



Geometry

There is a small engraving from the year 1541 by the German painter and engraver Georg Pencz at the British Museum; it is named *Geometria*. The female figure on the right hand side is holding a tablet in her left and a compass in her right hand. Different geometrical shapes are lying on the ground, easily identifiable as Platonic solids.

Pencz belonged to Albrecht Dürer's studio. Due to his spreading the radical views of Thomas Müntzer he was imprisoned in 1525 together with two other painters. The three were called the "godless painters", because of their asserted disbelief in baptism, Christ, and transubstantiation. Later they became part of the "Little Masters" due to their tiny, intricate, and influential prints.

Geometria is the 6th of the *Seven Liberal Arts*. It provides the means for understanding the world or even the universe. As we know about Albrecht Dürer, that he "penetrated to the religious core of this theory", as Frances Yates emphasizes, "with his brilliant mind he seized its mathematical basis; with his artist's hand he executed designs of profound religious meaning with faultless geometrical precision. Dürer saw art as power, and the root of aesthetic power was in number" (Yates, 58). Yates puts Dürer's famous engraving *Melencolia* "into the atmosphere of Renaissance occult philosophy" (Yates, 69). I understand the atmosphere of *Geometria* by Georg Pencz in the same tradition. Geometry is on its way to becoming the leading form knowledge concerning the structure of the world. In this tradition we even find Spinoza's claim about constructing ethics and the social world by means of the geometrical method. His *ethica more geometrico demonstrata* (1677) finally restricts even god's free will to the necessity of the laws of nature. At the end of this Spinozistic development we find Goethe's tragic play *Faust* portraying Faust as "a character who was accepted by his people as their ideal prototype" (Kaufmann, 56). Goethe achieved a transformation of Spinoza's pantheism of being into a pantheism of becoming because he was not very much affected by the mechanism of Spinoza's construction.

The Book of Nature

In the second half of the 16th century the "Elizabethan world was populated, not only by tough seamen, hard-headed politicians, serious theologians. It was a world of spirits, good and bad, fairies, demons, witches, hosts, conjurors" (Yates, 87). We all know this not only from Christopher Marlowe's *Doktor Faustus* and Shakespeare's plays like *The Tempest* or *Hamlet*. The atmosphere of Renaissance, as Yates describes it, was "a movement of protest of the Renaissance occult traditions against the Catholic reaction" (Yates, 198). Protest arises because of different opinions regarding the method of reading the *book of nature*.

As we know of the condemnation of 219 philosophical and theological propositions in the year 1277 announced by the bishop of Paris — Étienne (Stephen) Tempier — the scholars at the college of arts at the University of Paris were forbidden from teaching major Aristotelian theories about nature. Mainly those theses were affected that diminished the power of God. "It was number 147 that really hurt", stated even in the *Millennium Issue* about *The church and science of The Economist*. "It said that if something has been established as contrary to nature, or physically impossible,

then not even God can bring it about" (The Economist). Nature mainly is ruled by laws of nature and less by God's will.

On the other side not only is God's power diminished, but alchemists and magicians even claimed to have the power to perform transmutation and transubstantiation without the consent of the church. It came even worse after Galilei's metaphorical writings about the *Book of Nature* and Newton's mechanical philosophy. Galilei declares: "Philosophy is written in this grand book, the universe, which stands continually open to our gaze. But the book cannot be understood unless one first learns to comprehend the language and read the letters in which it is composed. It is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometric figures without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it; without these, one wanders about in a dark labyrinth" (Galilei, 4).

"The new mechanical philosophy", summarizes Jacob, "banished spiritual agencies, inherent tendencies, and anima from the universe. In their place were put explanations based upon those natural properties capable of mathematical calculation. Nature had to be observed and experienced, and wherever possible given mathematical expression" (Jacob, 30). Whereas the pantheistic materialism of seventeenth-century radicals owed "its origin to the magical and naturalistic view of the universe which Christian churchmen and theologians had labored for centuries to defeat", they find in nature a sufficient explanation and cause for the existence of man and his physical environment. "In other words, the separation of God from Creation, creature from creator, of matter from spirit, so basic to Christian orthodoxy and such a powerful justification for social hierarchy and even for absolute monarchy, crumbles in the face of animistic and naturalistic explanations. God does not create *ex nihilo*; nature simply is and all people (and their environment) are part of this greater All" (Jacob, 32).

Frances Yates' famous interpretation of the Shakespearean and Elizabethan atmosphere of renaissance occult philosophy puts the occult renaissance philosophy in opposition to the Catholic demonization of natural philosophy that diminishes God's power by subordinating his abilities to the laws of nature. Even if renaissance and freemasonry establish a praise of nature and not God, the radical results like for example John Toland's masonic ritual *Pantheisticon* were "never officially adopted", as Margaret Jacob points out in her study *The Radical Enlightenment* (Jacob, 24).

There always was a strong reaction against the efforts of freeing the rational understanding of the power of nature from its contamination with black magic and occult witchcraft. "This play," Frances Yates asserts concerning Christopher Marlowe's *Doktor Faustus*, "was not written to be read by literary critics looking for mighty lines in the quiet of their studies. It was written to be produced in the popular theatre, with horrific diabolical effects, to audiences working up into hysteria. In fact, as already remarked, it belongs to the atmosphere of the contemporary witch crazes in which the building up of Cornelius Agrippa into a black magician played a significant part" (Yates, 140).

On the other hand Yates says Shakespeare's magical play *The Tempest* "presents, in new and fascinating guise, old and familiar arguments. That the magic of Prospero is a white magic is underlined in the emphasis on chastity in Prospero's advice to his daughter's lover, and elsewhere in the play. The white and pure magic of Prospero is contrasted with the black magic of the evil

witch, Sycorax, and her son. Prospero is using the *De occulta philosophia* to call on good spirits (the name, Adel, is mentioned in Agrippa's book), and he overcomes and controls the bad magic of the witch" (Yates, 187).

Therefore we recognize an old reading of the book of nature and a new reading; in the old reading of the book of nature spirits, good and bad, fairies, demons, witches, and consecrated wafers existed in the real world and were considered as real causes. In the new reading they are nothing more than metaphors and symbols.

I would like to highlight Galilei's reading of the *book of nature*. Not only in his condemned book *The Essayer* does Galilei teach a transformation of the literal meaning of religious expressions into metaphorical meaning. The *book of nature* written in mathematical signs (which is emphasized by *Geometria*) is pure metaphor. And pure metaphors are in Galilei's view sacraments and other metaphysical entities.

As we find on the one hand freemasonry in the tradition of the cabalistic philosophy in which the relationship between God and nature is led to a new order, we find on the other hand a consequently structured transformation of literal meanings into metaphors and symbols. One of the symbols of this relationship is the letter "G".

What is a Symbol?

A short while ago I read the following announcement on an online forum: "Selling my clothes for a symbolic price. Everything for 2 pounds. Clothes are washed..."

We have heard of other symbolic prices. What is to be understood by the term "symbolic price"? At least that it is not a real price, maybe a kind of a virtual price? A symbolic price means that any amount of money should be taken *as if it were* a price. It is something that does not exist.

In the same way there occurs the letter "G" as one of the major symbols in freemasonry. We cannot understand a symbol without thinking. The other thing is a word as a sign. We do not need rationality to understand the sign "stop" or "listen". The letter "G" as a symbol activates thinking to put sense into it. If rituals in freemasonry were to put a word for the letter "G", it would be a boring venture. One would just impose a word. But putting just the letter "G" excites attention.

A symbol creates an analogy. In religion symbols are analogies to the supernatural external world, which is imaginable as an everlasting real existing entity. The symbol of God — the crucifix — claims that there is a historical fact that is taken for the cause of the symbol. Therefore, we find the use of symbols in religious thinking as a doubling of something else. There is a real God and there is the symbol of God. But symbols can be understood to represent things that do not exist but are imagined to become possibly true in the future. The peace dove is a symbol of a peace that has never before existed. It is a symbol of hope. I will concentrate on this meaning of symbols. They are signs of hope, taken as if there were a real development. "The one is to make believe that something is the case; the other is to believe that it is. The one is to use a disguise or mask for illustrative or explanatory purposes; the other is to mistake the mask for the face" (Turbayne, 7).

To undress revelation into metaphor happens when Galilei proves that revelation is not necessary to explain nature and the natural power of creation.

The praise of nature transforms these symbols of occult power into analogies of the physical existing world. The word "sunset" does not any more represent the real setting of the sun as it was understood before Copernicus. It has developed into a pure metaphor, which has no literal meaning. The same happens when the letter "G" reminds us of the major laws of the physical world or the cosmos as a system that is ruled by the laws of geometry. But it reminds us as well not to think that there must be the one and only true meaning. It is nothing else but a symbol. There is no obligation to establish something in or outside the world such that is expected to be the real "G".

In this way we have to understand the symbol of the Great Architect of the Universe. The understanding of freemasonry as a symbolic association leads not to a new religion, wherein the Great Architect of the Universe is another god like all the different others to which people pray in their various ways. A symbol means the avoidance of the obsessiveness to establish a being above the symbol, which doubles the symbol.

If freemasons imitate the geometrical laws while walking in their rituals only in straight lines or right angles, they establish an analogy of the social world with the physical world. It expresses the desire of having a social order as if it were as binding as the laws of geometry. This analogy is much more convincing than a philosophical theory. It makes the participants familiar with the analogy between geometry and the moral order of a society not by telling abstract knowledge but by practice.

Allegory and symbol are two familiar forms of metaphorical expression. Whereas we can identify Pencz' *Geometria* as an allegory of the sacred geometry, the letter "G" must be seen as a symbol. Allegories are said to be much more related to religious thinking. Symbols belong to the world of imagination.

"When Goethe and his successors attacked allegory they were attacking something identified with older forms of religious orthodoxy. When they praised symbol they were setting up their own 'imaginative' alternative to that orthodoxy" (Crisp, 335).

A symbol has a secularized meaning. A symbol of god is not God himself; a symbol of evil is not evil itself. And so on. The question is only, then, whether something symbolized belongs to the existing universe or not? Does the symbol of evil, namely the devil, exist in the universe? To understand the symbol it is not necessary to give an answer to this question. We just can take it for a symbol and nothing else. As long as symbols are analogies of physical things, we can be sure of the existence of something real (But this does not mean that a symbol must be an exact copy of a physical entity. We only know that something existing is the source of this analogy.). But what if a symbol does not have a source domain? If we think of a red heart, we can understand it as a symbol of love. But there is no existing thing like "love" as a source domain to which the symbol is the target domain.

You can find a wastebasket on the desktop of your computer screen. The source domain of this symbol is well known as a waste paper basket underneath your desk you are sitting on while working. In cases like this our mind is able to separate the categories. No sane person tries to put

the empty banana peel into the symbol of a basket on the computer screen. But we deal with the “documents” and “dates” on the computer as if they were things like wastepaper in a real office. There is no great opportunity to confuse the two categories in this case. The basket underneath the desk is real and the icon on the screen is only a symbol or a metaphor.

The confusion of our mind by words begins with confusion in the understanding of symbols and metaphors. If we do not understand the difference between symbols or metaphors and the real world, we get lost in confusion. When Nietzsche writes: “God is dead”, we are not allowed to conclude: “Therefore God must have existed.” Just because the sentence “God is dead” looks the same as the sentence “Elvis is dead” our mind is persuaded to forget that God did not exist in the same way as Elvis. Yet we do not even know whether God is something else than a pure metaphor or a pure symbol. In freemasonry anyway God is only a symbol. But in religions God is more than a symbol (whatever the word “more” should mean).

In freemasonry no symbol is *more* than a symbol. Compared to the symbol of love, which we can see in the red heart, this means that there is nothing like “love”. The symbol only makes us think as if there were. Besides, everybody is free to associate/connote what love or God should be besides their being mere symbols. But this is everybody’s own opinion and has nothing to do with freemasonry.

Freemasonry only works with symbols and metaphors. This is probably the most difficult, progressive, and revolutionary fact. Because we can recognize a strong force to add occult qualities as a source domain to the symbols. In the lodges of the *Große Landesloge der Freimaurer von Deutschland* they say, e.g., that the Bible is “more than a symbol”. What is the Bible more than a symbol? Only religious and conservative thinking holds the Bible to be the documentation of historical facts. If this is true, it is not a result of rationality, reason, and thinking, but it is a matter of contingency. It is the answer to the question of someone’s religious beliefs. Especially, it has nothing to do with freemasonry. Freemasonry is a symbolic system.

This leads me to the question of the state of the reality of symbols.

The State of Reality of Symbols and Metaphors

“A symbol is an object or design or other material object that stands in for something abstract or even invisible. In a way, it’s shorthand. To a driver, a red octagon-shaped sign means stop, even if the letters are worn off” (Hodapp, 129). But how should we count the state of reality of an abstract or invisible thing? A stop-sign does not represent something that really exists. Money is a symbol of values. But this does not mean that there is such a thing like “value” between heaven and earth.

What about the symbols for good and evil? Like angels and devils? Are they symbols of abstracts or invisibles that really exist? We don’t know, and it is not important to know.

“There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so” (Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2), as Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* lets us know. He reminds us of the large difference between using a metaphor and taking it literally. It is the same difference as between using a symbol and mistaking it for the

thing symbolized. Metaphors and symbols only make us believe that something is the case. The other side is to believe that it is. "The one is to use a disguise or mask for illustrative or explanatory purposes; the other is to mistake the mask for the face" (Turbaybe, 7).

Freemasonry is mainly symbolic. There are no hidden mysteries; there is no magic in these curious images and symbols. They imprint in our mind that fraternity is the result of labor and work.

How can we be sure that there are no occult qualities and entities behind the symbols and metaphors? The study of conceptual metaphor gives us an answer.

Communication by symbols is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting and using language. Concepts are metaphorically structured in a systematic way. "A convenient short-hand way of capturing this view of metaphor", summarizes the Hungarian linguist Zoltán Kövecses, "is the following: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (A) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (B), which is what is called a conceptual metaphor. A conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another. A conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience. Thus, for example, we have coherently organized knowledge about journeys that we rely on in understanding life. [...] The two domains that participate in conceptual metaphor have special names. The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain" (Kövecses, 244).

I refer in my considerations to the theory of conceptual metaphors as examined by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson from the University of Berkley in the late 1970s. The way symbols occur in freemasonry is to be related to the way metaphors rely on the conceptual system of our thinking. That means that the nature of symbols is not a matter of analogy to a transcendental supernatural world. It is a matter of cognition, a matter of rationality and reason.

Metaphorical and symbolic action in communication is due to less sharply and brightly delineated structures made understandable by the use of more sharply and brightly delineated structures. This is why we understand sentences like: "Inflation has gone up." Sharply delineated is the physical source in our bodily functions with up and down. "Up" usually is more and "down" usually is less. If we stand upright we symbolize more vitality than lying down on the floor. We would not understand sentences like "the stock market has gone right" or "the stock market has gone left" because there is no mapping or blending of the bodily functions of left and right with the most interesting function on the stock market. Surely, a superstate could invent a language as George Orwell describes it with the concept of "Newspeak". A "Thought Police" could control the language and could ensure that everybody uses the sentence "inflation has gone right" when wanting to say "inflation has gone up". But that sentence would be a pure artificial saying. It would not be a conceptual metaphor. There is no other source than the power of thought control of the government. This is not so in the sentence "inflation has gone up". Here we have the source of our bodily experience that "more" means "up". (We are climbing up to the 5th floor; we fill up our car with gasoline; and in the "upper class" we find people who conceit to have more of everything.)

The way conceptual metaphors are understandable is originally a one-way street. The more sharply delineated bodily concepts are used to make the more abstract system or idea understandable, as we can see in the symbol of the waste basket on the screen of our laptop. It is not

the other way around that we refer on less sharpened ideas — like a supernatural world or occult qualities — to make the physical world understandable. In this way we must understand the symbolic work of freemasons in practicing rituals. Everything freemasons do in a temple has a pure metaphorical and symbolic meaning.

In their famous work *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson summarize: “It is crucial to recognize that questions about the nature of meaning, conceptualization, reasoning, and language are questions requiring empirical study; they cannot be answered adequately by mere a priori philosophizing. The nature of metaphor also is not a matter of definition; it is a question of the nature of cognition.”

Do we systematically use inference patterns from one conceptual domain to reason about another conceptual domain?

The empirically established answer is “yes”. We call that phenomenon conceptual metaphor, and we call the systematic correspondences across such domains metaphorical mappings.

This leads to a further empirical question: Are those metaphorical mappings purely abstract and arbitrary?

The empirical answer is “no”. They are shaped and constrained by our bodily experiences in the world, experiences in which the two conceptual domains are correlated and consequently establish mappings from one domain to another” (Lakoff, 246).

Primacy of Practice

When freemasons gather in temples, they are practicing symbolic work. In this ritual action there occurs a specific kind of confirmation of truth. It is not the words that are spoken which confirms validity, but the practice performed does. In most English rituals of the First Degree — the Entered Apprentice Degree of Freemasonry — there is a part where the Worshipful Master asks the Senior Deacon: “How may I know you to be a Mason?” The Senior Deacon answers: “By certain signs, a token, a word, and the perfect points of my entrance.” These are symbols and practices that confirm validity. In German rituals of the first degree there are even more actions that activate confirmation by practice and doing. For example after the oath the candidate swears he is instructed on how masons work with the hammer on the rough stone. After the candidate replays what he was taught, the Senior Deacon says to the Worshipful Master: “The new brother has begun in front of the eyes of all brethren with his masonic work.” This shows the change of confirming validity from the weakness of words in swearing an oath to the true meaning of practice: Everybody has seen that the candidate has worked like freemasons do.

Traditional philosophy and theology confirm truth with the concept of correspondence. Something is true if it corresponds with the facts. If the pope says, “Jesus is alive,” and Jesus really is alive, then he told the truth. But this is not the way men establish truth and distort it. Especially in religious questions there is no absolute truth. The pope can be right or not. So far there is no way to describe the meaning of correspondence in his belief. But Lakoff’s and Johnson’s theory of conceptual metaphor include a new theory of truth that is close to the way people speak and

act by speaking. "When we give everyday descriptions," they explain in their famous book, "for example, we are using categorizations to focus on certain properties that fit our purposes. Every description will highlight, downplay, and hide — for example:

I've invited a sexy blonde to our dinner party.

I've invited a renowned cellist to our dinner party.

I've invited a Marxist to our dinner party.

I've invited a lesbian to our dinner party.

Though the same person may fit all of these descriptions, each description highlights different aspects of the person. Describing someone who you know has all of these properties as "a sexy blonde" is to downplay the fact that she is a renowned cellist and a Marxist and to hide her lesbianism. In general, the true statements that we make are based on the way we categorize things and, therefore, on what is highlighted by the natural dimensions of the categories. In making a statement, we make a choice of categories because we have some reason for focusing on certain properties and downplaying others. Every true statement, therefore, necessarily leaves out what is downplayed or hidden by the categories used in it" (Lakoff, 163).

This is the way we use language to make people believe what we say is the truth. If Donald Trump says that there are nice guys within the Ku-Klux-Klan, then we should not follow him to concentrate on a loophole. Rather we should ask what kind of categories he has downplayed by highlighting the fine guys. There we find that he did not deign to mention the categories "nazi", "racist", or "fundamentalist".

The social, political, and religious world we live in is primarily established by highlighting, downplaying, and hiding categories that we learned to keep together objects and ideas that seem to have familiar qualities.

In masonic rituals and symbols we find in analogy to the other artwork and performance plays a special way of highlighting and downplaying familiar categories. Take for example the word "temple". What we usually call a temple is a sacred building reserved for religious or spiritual rituals and activities such as prayer and sacrifice. In the Christian world the temple is called a church and the house of the deity. It is orientated from east to west in the explicit sense of the words.

The freemason's temple highlights important categories that are downplayed in religious temples. For example, a freemason's temple can be any backroom in a restaurant or any other building. There is no need for the east-west-orientation. Only the practice of the ritual creates, for the specific time of the ritual itself, the illusion as if the Worshipful Master has his chair in the east. The ritual work transforms the literal meaning of orientation in a symbolic and metaphorical meaning. The ritual raises visibly to everybody the idea that a "sacred" temple could be as well sacred only in the metaphorical and symbolic sense. The power of this ritual work is totally different from the power of spoken words. One could say: "A temple is just a building made of dead stones like every other building." Others would hear the words and could agree or disagree. It is just an opinion and one who does not agree will forget the sentence as fast as it was spoken.

This is not so in the ritual work of freemasons. Some or all brethren could believe that a temple is a sacred building and has a sacred meaning in the literal sense of the word and only sacred

priests perform liturgical practices. However, when the freemason participates in the masonic ritual, he confirms another meaning. Because of his performance, the word “temple” takes on a different meaning. He participates in a scenic play in a temple that has no explicit orientation to the east, in which no priest is acting, but instead an elected member of the lodge acts as if performing a liturgical practice. If he prays, the prayer is only metaphorical. Because freemasonry is not a religion, the “pray-er” only prays symbolically. He acts as if he were a person praying. like an actor in a theater would act as if he were the real person praying.

All this and much more transform the meaning of liturgical practice. It is the transformation from explicit meaning in metaphorical and symbolic meaning of religious matters.

Therefore, freemasonry can be understood as a total work of art and the participants in a Masonic ritual are the artists. They are practicing performance games and not religious ceremonies. Freemasonry stands more closely to a dramatic play. To perform a drama or a comedy means to act as if you were the person the audience should imagine. In a drama like *Oedipus Rex* it is not necessary that there is a real son of king Laios and his wife Iocaste. Gaming in a theater play highlights as well as freemasonry special aspects of our social life and our relationship with nature by using symbols and metaphors without the claim of taking them literally.

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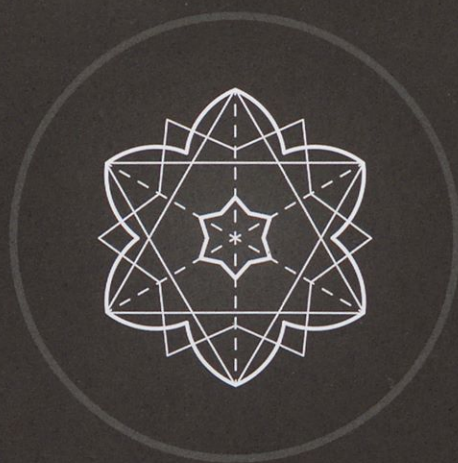
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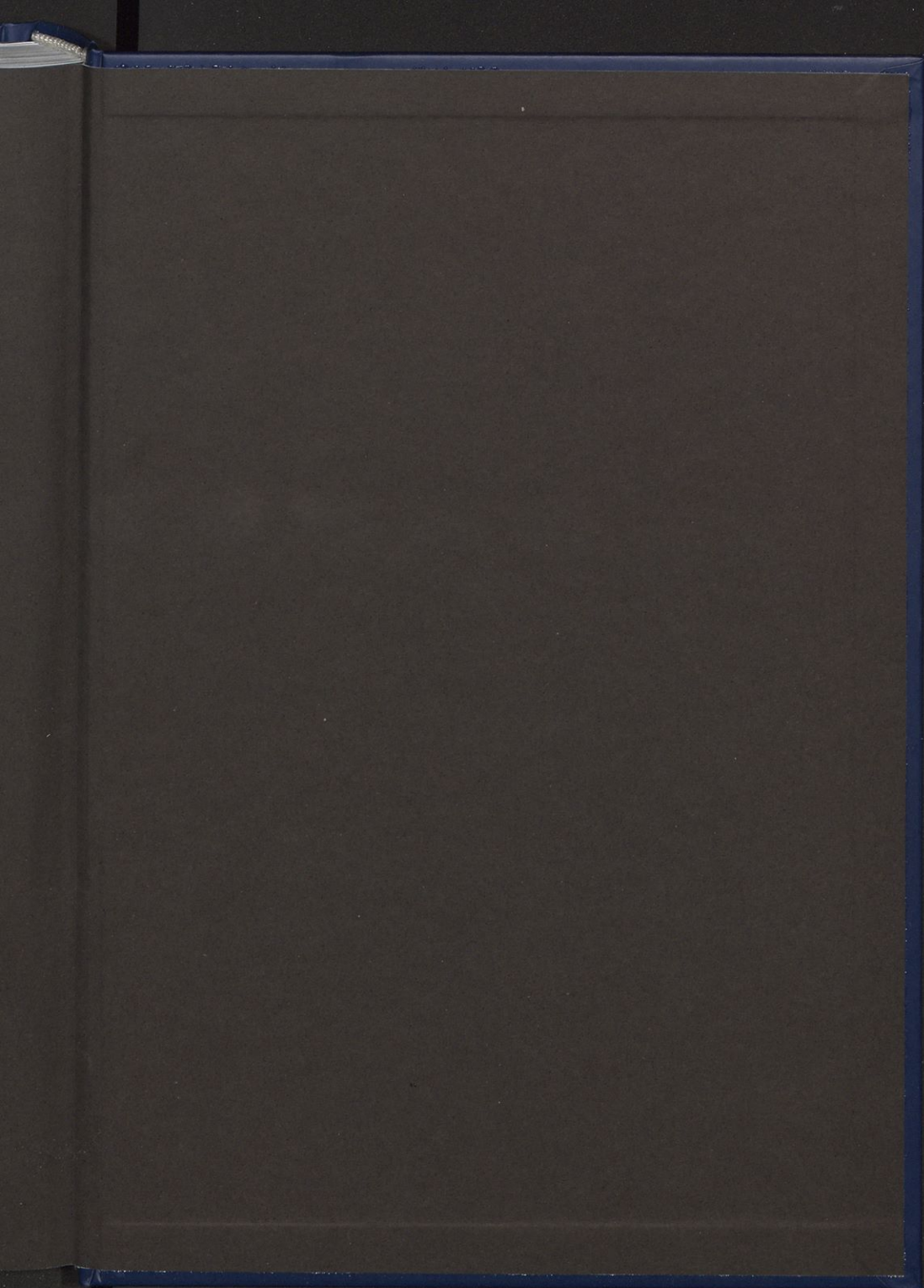
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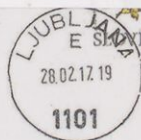
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OSFA 2017

Narodni muzej Slovenije – Metelkova, 11. maj 2017.



18 €

ISBN: 978-961-6961-27-9



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